THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KHAROSTHI SCRIPT

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by

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A list of abbreviations.
It is a well-known fact among Indologists that the most ancient scripts of India are two in number, viz., the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts barring the Indus Valley script which is still undeciphered. The fundamental characteristic of the Brāhmī script is that it is written from left to right, that it was prevalent throughout India from the fourth century B.C. at least, that it also went outside India in the Far East, North-East and North to become the precursor of the scripts of the respective countries and that all modern scripts of India with the exception of a few are derived from the Brāhmī script. On the other hand the main peculiarities of the Kharoṣṭhī script are that it is written from right to left, that it was mainly prevalent in the places which are now known as the North Western Frontier Province, the Punjab and the Ganges-Jumna Doab roughly from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D., that after the Kuṣana period of Indian history this script went outside India in Chinese Turkestan and was in use there for at least a century.

It is practically from the latter part of the eighteenth century that the Britishers as well as Indians became interested
in Indian archaeological remains and incidentally came across
the Kharos̱hī script which was found used mainly in inscriptions
and coins. The earliest decipherment of the Kharos̱hī inscrip-
tions is to be referred to the early thirties of the last cen-
tury and from that time onwards a number of Kharos̱hī inscrip-
tions have been edited, re-edited and studied in a number of
oriental journals. The most important landmark in the study
of the Kharos̱hī script is Bühler's work, Indische Palaeographie
published in 1896 in which one section is devoted to the study
of this script and one plate is given showing the development
of this script. Though Bühler's work is a piece of great and
undoubted merit, yet there are certain drawbacks in it which
may be pointed out. First, the very scope of Bühler's work,
as it is called Indische Palaeographie, is such a vast one
that it is not possible for one individual scholar to do proper
justice to it and it is for this reason that we find lacuna in
the work of Bühler. It seems that Bühler's work, so far as
the Kharos̱hī script is concerned, is not so full, complete
and elaborate as it is desired. In 1924 Majumdar published
his very important paper entitled "A list of Kharos̱hī inscrip-
tions" in Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal, New Series, vol. XX, pp.1-39 which put for the first
time the whole literature on Indian Kharos̱hī inscriptions in
one place. In 1929 Konow published his volume on Indian
Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, pt. I in which he has dealt with all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found in India up till that time. The whole set of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as found in Chinese Turkestan by Stein was edited by Boyer, Rapson, Senart and Noble and published in parts I-III between 1920 and 1929.

The object of this thesis is to show the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in and outside India. Before actually stating the scope of this work it is necessary to say a few words as preliminaries. First, there has not been much archaeological excavation in India with the result that the number of Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered up till now is rather meagre if we consider the period of time in which the Kharoṣṭhī script was prevalent in India. It may probably be concluded that there is the great possibility of other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions being found in India if more systematic excavation and search are made. Secondly, as palaeography as an individual subject and also on the comparative basis has been little studied in India up till now, we have not got the photographs of many of the specimens, particularly the coins. Though this statement may be considered rather partially true of the Kharoṣṭhī records, it is fully true if we take into account the whole range of Indian written records. It is necessary that in order to have a true and correct idea about the development of
the scripts of India we should not only take into account the whole range of Indian records, i.e., inscriptions, coins and other kindred archaeological matters but also the manuscripts as well as early printed books. Thirdly, in the work on Kharoṣṭhī documents by Rapson, Boyer, Senart and Noble photographs of a few documents only are published and this lack of photographs should certainly be considered as a stumbling block in the way of the proper study of these documents. It is absolutely necessary to publish the photographs of all these documents in one consolidated volume for the proper facility for the study of these records. Fourthly, it is apparent from an article published by Oldenburg at least half a century ago that certain Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts containing the Dharmapada are in the St. Petersburg library. It is also necessary to publish all these records in one consolidated volume. Lastly, it is also desired that all other Kharoṣṭhī records which still lie unpublished in Indian and European libraries and museums should be published as early as possible for the cause of learning and scholarship.

The above items are the main drawbacks to which the present author wants to draw the attention of scholars. Besides these there are other drawbacks at present which are due to the Second World War. It can safely be said that no event in the human history up till now has put the world of scholarship
in such a tragic manner as the Second World War. It is, therefore, inevitable that this war has also put unsurmountable obstacles in the way of the study of the Kharoṣṭhī documents. On account of the War the invaluable Kharoṣṭhī documents which are preserved in the British Museum could not personally be examined as they have been kept away for safe custody during the period of war. Also it was not possible to examine the coin collection of the British Museum as that invaluable collection has also been taken outside the Museum for safe custody. Also as the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, that indispensable guide-book for all research workers in the field of Indian and greater Indian archaeology has ceased its publication since the outbreak of the war, it was not possible to be absolutely up-to-date so far as the bibliography of the subject is concerned.

However in spite of all these inevitable difficulties due to the nature of the subject and the outbreak of the Second World War the author of this thesis has spared no pains to make it as up-to-date as possible. The object of this thesis is to show the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in and outside India and the present author has taken full advantage of the materials which are present. The whole examination of this script is based here on the proper examination of the facsimile of each individual inscriptions, documents and coins which are
available. This is the real material on which this study is
based. The present author has utilised only those results of
the previous authors which are necessary to start the present
thesis. So far as the originality is concerned, the following
points may be stressed. First, the whole scheme of the thesis,
i.e., the study of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in
and outside India is itself an original idea because no palaeo-
grapher who has studied the Kharoṣṭhī script before the present
author has this view. Secondly, the present author has discussed
in each chapter the prevalence of the old types of letters and
the beginning of new types of letters which is also an original
feature of this work. Thirdly, throughout the whole text there
are many suggestions, indications and interpretations which are
original. Lastly, the present author claims full originality
for the remarks which are made in Chapter XV entitled General
Conclusions.

So far as bibliography is concerned a few words are neces-
sary as explanation. Majumdar gave an excellent, up-to-date
bibliography of Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions up to 1924 in his
paper entitled "A list of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions" which has
been fully utilised by Konow in his work on Indien Kharoṣṭhī
inscriptions published as Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol.
II, pt. I with the addition of those extra references which are
published after 1924 and before 1929. So it appears that it
would be quite all right if the reference is given only to Konow's work which presupposes a knowledge of the whole literature up till 1929. The additional material which is published after this date is given in the footnote as the additional material on the topic. So far as the literature on coins is concerned, the important catalogues, particularly by Rapson, Smith, Whitehead, Gardner and Allan are taken into special consideration. So far as the literature on the Khotan manuscript of the Dharmapada and the Kharoshthi documents of Chinese Turkestan are concerned the bibliography which is given is up-to-date.

A list of abbreviations is given to show the nature of literature which has been consulted in the preparation of this work.

The work consists of 17 chapters, 3 appendices, 17 tables, 16 keys to tables as key is not required in case of one table and explanation of Tables I-XV and XVII because explanation is not required of one plate. The seventeen chapters are named as follows:-

I. The period of Asoka; II. The period of Negama coins; III. The Indo-Bactrian period; IV. The period of tribal coins; V. The Indo-Scythian period; VI. The Indo-Parthian period; VII. The period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II; VIII. The period of the great Kuṣanas; IX. The period of the later Kuṣana rulers; X. The period of the Khotan Dharmapada; XI. The period of the document no. 661; XII. The period of Papiya, Tajaka and Amgoka; XIII. The period of Mahiri and
Vasmana; XIV. The numerals; XV. General conclusions; XVI. The name of the script; XVII. The origin of the script. The appendices are the following:- I. The Kharosthi script on ancient Persian coins; II. A note on the Kharosthi script found in the documents which cannot be set in the chronological scheme; III. A note on the Kharosthi letters found in unillustrated documents.

A word of explanation is necessary for the individual drawing of the letters in the text as well as the tables. It should be pointed out that they are neither the exact replica of the letters nor the measured eye copies. As the different letters vary in size, it is not possible to give each letter in its actual measurement; but they have been drawn as faithfully as possible. It is expected that the examiners will kindly look into the actual letter in the original text when there is any doubt.

The present author wishes to express his best thanks to his supervisor, Professor H.W. Bailey for his guidance and inspiration. He is further heavily indebted to him as well as Professor T. Burrow for kindly furnishing him with a number of unpublished documents for use in this thesis. He is also under heavy obligation to Mr. C.P.T. Winckworth and Dr. R.B. Whitehead for the discussion of a number of points.
The present author thanks the authorities of the Cambridge University Library where this piece of research work has been done. Among other libraries where he has been given facilities from time to time special mention may be made of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the India House Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies Library and the Edinburgh University Library.

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CHAPTER I

The Period of Aśoka

The beginning of the Indian civilisation has been traced back to the age of the Indus Valley Culture, the vestiges of which have been found in a number of places in Sind, the Punjab and Baluchistan. One of the most interesting classes of antiquities found here is the inscribed seals which have until now baffled all scholars in their attempts at decipherment. Therefore it is a matter of great regret that though the history of the art of writing in India is as old as the Indus Valley age, yet since it has not yet been deciphered, we are not in a position to evaluate this script. In order of chronology a few early Indian coins are to be noted; but they are only a few. Besides these two different kinds of material the next source which obviously present before us is the well-known inscriptions of Aśoka, the third ruler of the imperial Maurya dynasty who flourished in the third century B.C. These epigraphs are written in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts. They have been found at various places and on different types of materials. Among these inscriptions those which have been engraved at Shahbazgarhi

and Manshrai are written in the Kharoshthi script. Besides the colophon of one of Asoka's minor rock inscriptions found at Siddapur in Mysore State is also written in the same script. Any analysis of the Kharoshthi script as used in the Maurya period must be based on the study of these inscriptions.

It is curious but at the same time true that the Kharoshthi script was used in this age as far south as Siddapur in Mysore State in certain inscriptions of Asoka, where however only the colophon of these inscriptions is written in the Kharoshthi script while the remaining portion of the inscriptions is written in the Brahmi script. Regarding this unusual character of the writing of the colophon in the Kharoshthi script and also of its occurrence in so southern a part of India Bihler remarked that "the use of the two alphabets probably indicates that Paṣa was proud of, and wished to exhibit, his accomplishments. In fact, his winding up with lipikarepa in Northern characters reminds one of a trick of school boys, who sometimes sign their books in Greek or other foreign characters. The use of the Northern characters may further be taken to indicate that Paṣa once served in Northern India, where the Kharostri alphabet prevailed;
for it is even now most unusual to find professional writers who know other alphabets than those used in their native districts, while the epigraphical evidence available at present is not favourable to the assumption that the Kharosthi alphabet was commonly known all over India."

Vowels

One finds that the form of ə is of two different varieties. The first type of ə is a letter which is shaped like a hook. (I.1.I) The second type of ə is a letter like the first type to which another hook is joined to the left lower end. (I.1.II)

In this connection it is necessary to consider a remark of Rapson. In discussing the initial form of ə found in the Kharosthi documents at Niga, Endere, and Lou-lan sites in Chinese Turkestan he remarked that "the initial form of ə, 1 seems as the basis from which all the other initial vowels are made by the addition of diacritical marks; and these diacritical marks are similar to those which indicate the same vowels when attached to consonantal radical signs... This use of initial ə as a radical something like the Semitic aleph is characteristic of Kharosthi among Indian alphabets; but, as Bühler has pointed out, a similar tendency to make other vowels by means of additions to the sign for ə is observable in certain Indian

derivatives of Brāhmī, as for instance in Devanāgarī and in Gujarātī; and Hoernle has shown how the same principle tended to modify Brāhmī when it was used for Khotanese in Central Asia, and how it has prevailed in the Tibetan alphabet which was borrowed from Khotan.¹ There is also the example of the anusvāra added to this vowel - the anusvāra is indicated by a miniature ma added to the lower end of the stem of the letter. ² (I.1.III)

The letter ₁ is formed by a slightly oblique stroke passing through the stem of the first type of the letter a. ³ (I.2.I)

The stroke used for indicating the letter ₁ corresponds in form and position to the upper half of the stroke whose addition to the letter a makes the letter ₁. This stroke is placed in two different ways. In the first type it is a slightly oblique stroke attached to the stem of the first type of a. ⁴ (I.4.I).

In the second type it is a horizontal stroke attached to the left side of the stem of the first type of the letter a. ⁵ (I.4.II)

The stroke used for indicating the letter ₁ corresponds in form and position to the lower half of the stroke whose addition to the letter a makes the letter ₁. ⁶ (I.5.I).

Simple aksaras

Gutturals

The letter ka has four varieties. The first type of ka is a letter which consists of one vertical line to the left upper end of which one horizontal line is drawn to the left and from the middle of which a slightly curved line is drawn downwards in the right. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.I) The second type of ka is a letter of which the upper portion of the main limb as well as the side limb have a definitely pronounced curve \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.II) The third type of ka is a letter of which only the side limb is curved. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.III). The fourth type of ka is distinguished by an oblique stroke drawn upwards from the left lower end of the vertical. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.IV) The \( i \)-stroke attached to this letter is a slanting line which goes across the left horizontal line forming the letter. (I.6.I) The \( u \)-stroke is indicated by a slightly slanting stroke attached to the left lower end of the stem of the letter. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.V) The \( e \)-stroke is practically the upper half of the \( i \)-stroke. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.VI) The \( o \)-stroke corresponds in position to the lower half of the \( i \)-stroke. \( \text{\textdollar} \) (I.6.VII). The anusvāra is a miniature \( ma \) attached to the lower end of the stem of the letter. (I.6.III).

There are three different types of kha. The first type of kha which is somewhat unusual is a kind of semi-circle. \( \text{\textcent} \) (I.7.I)
The second type of kha which is most common is that which is formed by one horizontal line to the left end of which one vertical line is drawn upwards and to the right of which one vertical line is drawn downwards. ꧂ (I.7.II) The third type of kha is like the second type with the addition of one slanting stroke going upwards to the left of the right vertical line. ꧃ (I.7.III) The ɾ-stroke attached to this letter is a slanting line which pierces through the horizontal line forming the letter. ꧄ (I.7.IV) The u-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by turning the right vertical line into a curve. ꧅ (I.7.V) The o-stroke attached to this letter corresponds in position to the lower half of the ɾ-stroke. ꧆ (I.7.VI)

There are altogether three different types of the letter ge. The first type of ge is a letter which makes an angle with the help of one vertical line in the left upper side. ꧇ (I.8.I) The second type of ge is a letter in which this angle is changed into a curve. ꧈ (I.8.II) The third type of ge is a letter to the lower end of which a bar is attached to the left. ꧉ (I.8.III) The u-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by the o-stroke of the lower end of the stem. ꧊ (I.8.II). The e-stroke is a vertical line attached to it in the upper side of the curve on the left. ꧋ (I.8.IV) The o-stroke is a short oblique line which is drawn downwards from the angular position in the lower portion of the letter. ꧌ (I.8.V) The anusvāra is formed by the
addition of the consonant \textit{ma} to the lower end of the stem of the letter. \footnote{(I.8.VI)}

There is only one type of \textit{gha} which is formed by the addition of one stroke to the right of the circle forming the letter \textit{ga}. \footnote{(I.9.I)} The \textit{o}-stroke attached to this letter is of the same nature as we have found in the case of the letter \textit{ga}. \footnote{(I.9.I)}

\textbf{Palatals}

A close study of the inscriptions has shown that \textit{ca} has a number of varieties. Writing about the different varieties of \textit{ca} Bühler opined that \textit{ca} had three varieties, viz., (1) head with obtuse angle, (2) head with curve and (3) head with curve, connected by a vertical with the lower part; but, as it will be presently shown, the varieties of \textit{ca} are far more in number than three. The first type of \textit{ca} is a letter which has the head with the obtuse angle. \footnote{(I.10.I)} The second type of \textit{ca} is a letter which has the head with the curve. \footnote{(I.10.II)} The third type of \textit{ca} is like the second type with the addition of an upward oblique stroke drawn from the left side of the lower limb. \footnote{(I.10.III)} The fourth type of \textit{ca} has a vertical line between the head and the lower part. \footnote{(I.10.IV)} The fifth type of \textit{ca}

\footnote{(1) It is not clear from what source Bühler drew the two forms of \textit{gha}. (STIP, Tafel I.9.I,II, 1896). It seems that the strokes indicating the \textit{gha} have not been properly placed.}
ca is like the fourth type with the addition of an upward oblique stroke drawn from the right side of the lower limb. \( \chi \) (I.10.V) The \( \mathbf{i} \)-stroke goes vertically through the middle of the head as well as the lower part of the letter. \( \chi \) (I.10.VI) The \( \mathbf{u} \)-stroke is a slightly curved line which is drawn towards the left from the lower end of the tail. \( \chi \) (I.10.VII) The \( \mathbf{g} \)-stroke is indicated by a vertical line drawn to the middle of the upper part of the letter. \( \chi \) (I.10.VIII) The \( \mathbf{c} \)-stroke is indicated by a slanting line drawn from the middle of the right limb of the lower part of the letter. \( \chi \) (I.10.IX)

There is only one type of the letter \( \mathbf{cha} \). This type is formed by one curve from the middle of which one straight vertical line is drawn downwards. Further one horizontal line passes through the vertical line. \( \mathcal{V} \) (I.11.I) The anusvāra added to this letter is indicated by the letter \( \mathbf{ma} \) being added to the lower end of the stem of the letter. \( \mathfrak{f} \) (I.11.II)

Bühler included in his work a somewhat different type of letter as a variety of \( \mathbf{cha} \).\(^1\) Regarding this point he opined that the head of \( \mathbf{cha} \) was sometimes angular and sometimes round and lost occasionally the cross-bar below the head; but it has been proved by later researches that the letter without the cross-bar below the head is an altogether different letter. It has been first shown by Boyer that this particular sign is used in

\(^{1}\) STIP, Tafel I.11.II, 1896.
all cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit $kṣa$; but it should be pointed out that in the period of Asoka this rule was most probably not very strictly observed and it is for this reason that we have two words, viz. $Chāpāti$ in S.XII.5 and $chapati$ in M.XII.4 meaning the same word. $\gamma$ (I.12.I) The $\dot{i}$-stroke passes slantingly through the left portion of the curve of the letter. $\gamma$ (I.12.II) The anusvāra is a miniature ma added to the stem of the letter. $\gamma$ (I.12.III)

The letter $ja$ is expressed in four different ways. The most common type of $ja$ is a letter which is formed by the addition of an oblique stroke to a vertical line on the left and thus forming an angle. $\gamma$ (I.13.I) In the second type of $ja$ a horizontal line is added to the stem. $\gamma$ (I.13.II) The third type of $ja$ is like the second type with the slight difference that the head portion tends towards the left. $\gamma$ (I.13.III) The fourth type of $ja$ is characterised by the addition of an upward stroke to the left of the stem of the first type of this letter. $\gamma$ (I.13.IV)

The $\dot{i}$-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by an oblique stroke which pierces the left limb of the letter. $\gamma$ (I.13.V)

The y-stroke is indicated in two different manners - once by the addition of a horizontal stroke towards the left drawn from the lower end of the stem $\gamma$ (I.13.VI) and the other by turning the lower end of the stem into a hook. $\gamma$ (I.13.VII) The $\ddot{e}$-stroke

(1) JA, (10), 12 pp.422-30, 1911.
(2) In this work this particular sign is indicated by $chā$. 
corresponds in form and position to the upper half of the i-stroke. \( \text{I.13.VIII} \) The \( \text{a} \)-stroke is indicated by a line which is drawn downwards from the angle made by the meeting of the two lines forming this letter. \( \text{I.13.IX} \) The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of the consonant \( \text{ma} \) to the lower end of the stem. \( \text{I.13.X} \)

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{ṅa} \). The first type is marked by the presence of one curved line attached to one vertical line and from the point where they meet the vertical line is drawn downwards. \( \text{I.14.I} \) In the second type the upper line on the right side is curved in nature. \( \text{I.14.II} \) In the third type we find the upper lines as curved and this type of \( \text{ṅa} \) is most common in these inscriptions. \( \text{I.14.III} \) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is a line which is drawn in a slanting manner through the portion where the two letters are joined. \( \text{I.14.IV} \) The \( \text{a} \)-stroke is an oblique line drawn to the middle of the line on the left from the outer side. \( \text{I.14.V} \) The \( \text{a} \)-stroke is a line which is drawn from the upper limb on the left. \( \text{I.14.VI} \) The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of the consonant \( \text{ma} \) to the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.14.VII} \)

four Linguals
There are different types of the consonant \( \text{ṭa} \). The normal form of \( \text{ṭa} \) is an upright straight line with a horizontal line on
either side, on the left near the head and on the right near the foot. The first type of ṭa is an upright straight line with a horizontal line on the left touching the head and with another horizontal line on the right a little below the middle of the upright straight line. \( \text{(I.15.I)} \) In the second type of ṭa the horizontal line on the left touches the upright straight line a little below the head and the horizontal line on the right touches the upright straight line a little below the middle of the upright straight line. \( \text{(I.15.II)} \) In the third type the horizontal line on the left as well as on the right meet each other at one point and thus the whole letter looks like a cross. \( \text{(I.15.III)} \) In the fourth type the bar on the right is altogether omitted. \( \text{(I.15.IV)} \) The i-stroke is a line which goes through the left horizontal line (I.15.I, II). The e-stroke is a line which is attached to the left horizontal line in the outer side. \( \text{(I.15.V)} \) The anusvāra is indicated by an almost straight horizontal line attached to the lower end of this line. \( \text{(I.15.VI)} \)

While discussing the morphology of the letter ṭha Rapson made a very important observation which should be quoted in full. He remarked, "When Bühler wrote his Indische Palaeographie in 1896 and for many years afterwards no distinction was recognised by epigraphists between the phoenetic values of the lingual surd aspirates which are transliterated in this work as ṭha, 60 and
and ṭhā, 63. Bühler regarded ṭha, the form found in Asoka's edicts, as the original from which the later ṭha was differentiated by loss of 'the hook which should rise from the end of the second bar'. But in 1911 M. l'Abbé A.M. Boyer showed clearly that examples of ṭhā occur also in later inscriptions, and that in the MS. D. de Rh., as well as in Kharoshṭi inscriptions generally, other than the edicts of Asoka and the Niya documents, ṭha generally corresponds to Skt. ṭṭa or ṭṭha, and ṭhā to Skt. ṭṭa or stha.

First, it is necessary to offer some criticism to the remark of Bühler that the later ṭha was differentiated by the loss of "the hook which should rise from the end of the second bar." The type of ṭha which Bühler explains as the later type is also found in the inscriptions of Asoka as it will be presently shown though the number of this type of ṭha is small. Further it is evident from the above statement of Rapson that Boyer has clearly shown that the examples of the so-called early ṭhā also occur in the later inscriptions. So no clear-cut division may be made so far as the prevalence of this type of ṭhā is concerned. So far as the inscriptions of Asoka are concerned, it must be said that this type of ṭhā also expresses the same phonetic value as the other one in many cases, e.g., [s]ṛṭhām in S.IV.9 and ṭṛṭhikanam in S.V.12. However when it is possible to make distinction between these two

different types in the later periods, we should make that here also. The letter ठा is written in only one way. Here we find an upright straight line to the left of which a rectangular box-like stroke is attached in the upper field. It is further important to note that on the left side two lines do not meet each other. \( I.16.I \) The \( \_ \)-stroke is a vertical line which is drawn from the left end of the upper horizontal line downwards piercing through the lower horizontal line. \( I.16.II \) The anusvāra is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is nothing but the consonant \( ma \) added to the stem of the letter. \( I.16.I \) In the second type the added \( ma \) has been angular in shape instead of being curved in nature. \( I.16.III \)

There is only one type of the letter ठा which consists in one upright straight line with one horizontal line on the left touching the head and another horizontal line just below it. \( I.17.I \) The \( 1 \)-stroke pierces through the two horizontal lines. \( I.17.II \)

The consonant दा is written in two different ways. The most common type of दा consists of an upright straight line to the left of which is attached one horizontal line from the left end of which another vertical stroke is drawn upwards. \( I.18.I \) The second type of दा consists of an upright straight line to the left of which a curve is added. \( I.18.II \) The anusvāra is the consonant \( ma \) which is angular in shape and which is added
to the lower end of the vertical forming this letter. \( \ddagger \) (I.18. III)

The consonant ḍha is written in three different ways. The first type of ḍha consists of an upright straight line from the upper end of which one horizontal line is drawn on both sides. \( \Upsilon \) (I.19.I) The second type of ḍha is like the first type with the addition of an oblique stroke drawn upwards on the left side from the lower end of the vertical. \( \Upsilon \) (I.19.II) There is another type of ḍha which consists of an upright straight line to which two horizontal lines are added to the upper and the lower ends. \( \Pi \) (I.19.III) The \( g \)-stroke is expressed by an oblique stroke which goes through the left side of the horizontal line. \( \Pi \) (I.19.I) The \( g \)-stroke is indicated in two ways: once it is indicated by a short oblique stroke which is drawn upwards from the left portion of the horizontal line. \( \Upsilon \) (I.19.IV); in another case it is indicated by an upright stroke which is drawn from the place where the upright straight line meets the horizontal line. \( \Upsilon \) (I.19.V) The anusvāra is indicated by an angular \( m \) added to the stem of the letter. \( \ddagger \) (I.19.VI)

The letter ṇa has three different types. The first type which is most common is characterised by the round head. \( \ddagger \) (I.20.I). The second type of ṇa has an angular head. \( \ddagger \) (I.20.II) The third type of ṇa resembles the first type of ṇa with the addition of a stroke from the left side of the stem upwards. \( \ddagger \) (I.20.III) The \( g \)-stroke is indicated by a line which is drawn upwards from the head of the figure. \( \ddagger \) (I.20.IV) The
anusvāra is indicated by the consonant ma attached to the stem of the letter. \( \text{\textcircled{\textdegree}} \) (I.20.V)

Dentals

There are four different types of the letter ta. The first type of ta consists of a slightly oblique line to which a curved line is attached in the upper field. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.I) In the second type the head of the letter is quite pronounced. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.II) The third type of ta is a letter which has a very short vertical in comparison with the curve on the left. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.III) The fourth type of ta is like the second type with the addition of an upward stroke on the left drawn from the stem of the letter. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.IV) The i-stroke is indicated by an oblique line which goes through the upper horizontal line. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.V) The u-stroke is expressed in three different ways. In the first case it is indicated by a short curve which is added to the lower end of the stem. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.VI) In the second it is expressed by a short horizontal line which is drawn from the lower end of the stem towards the left. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.VII) In the third case it is a horizontal stroke which is drawn from the middle of the curve in the lower portion. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.VIII) The e-stroke is indicated by a slanting line which is above the horizontal line. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.IX) The o-stroke is indicated by a line drawn from the inner side of the horizontal line downwards. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (I.21.X) The anusvāra is
indicated in two different ways according to the form of the stem. In the first case it is the consonant ma which is drawn across the stem of the letter. (I.21.XI) In the other case the anusvāra is added to the type of the letter which has one stroke drawn upwards from the left of the stem. For this reason this anusvāra is drawn towards the right touching the right side of the stem with the left line. (I.21.XII)

The consonant tha is probably represented in two different manners. The first type of tha is a letter which consists of an upright straight line cut by a horizontal line a little above the middle thus giving the shape of a cross. (I.22.I) In the second type of tha there is the horizontal bottom-line. Bühler took this sign as an anusvāra but Hultzsch took it as probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mansehra. If we accept the opinion of Hultzsch, then we must consider it as another type of tha. (I.22.II) The i-stroke is expressed by a vertical line which pierces through the left side of the horizontal line forming the letter. (I.22.III) The e-stroke is a line which meets the left side of the vertical at the end. (I.22.IV) The o-stroke is an oblique line which is drawn downwards from the angle formed by the union of the vertical and the horizontal line on the left. (I.22.V)

The consonant da is expressed in two different ways. The first type of da is a letter which consists of a curved line with a hook at the head. (I.23.I) The second type of da is a letter
which is almost a straight line with a hook attached to the left side in the lower part. \( \text{I.23.II} \) The istringstream is indicated by a vertical stroke which is drawn through the vertical.

(I.23.I) The istringstream is a horizontal line which is drawn from the stem in the lower end towards the left. \( \text{I.23.III} \) The istringstream is a line which is drawn in a vertical manner and which touches the vertical in a slanting manner. \( \text{I.23.IV} \) The anusvara is indicated by a short line added to the bottom of the vertical. \( \text{I.23.V} \)

The letter istringstream is represented in two different ways. The first type of istringstream consists of one form of the letter istringstream to which a horizontal line is drawn from the upper end towards the left. \( \text{I.24.I} \) The main difference between this type of istringstream and the second type is that in the latter type one curved line is added to the lower end of the letter moving towards the left. \( \text{I.24.II} \) The istringstream is a slanting vertical line which passes through the upper horizontal line forming the letter. \( \text{I.24.III} \) The istringstream is drawn in a slanting manner from the left lower end of the letter. \( \text{I.24.IV} \) The istringstream is a vertical line which is drawn from the horizontal line towards the upper direction. \( \text{I.24.V} \) The anusvara is indicated by a curved line which is added to the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.24.VI} \)

The letter istringstream is expressed in three different ways. The first type of istringstream consists of an upright straight line from the
right upper end of which one slightly vertical line is drawn towards the right.  *

(I.25.I) The second type of na has an upright straight line to the upper end of which one hook-like curve is added.  *

(I.25.II) The main characteristic of the third type of the letter na is that a slanting stroke moving upwards is added to the left of the lower end.  *

(I.25.III) The ṭ-stroke is a line which pierces through the vertical of the letter.  *

(I.25.IV) The ū-stroke is indicated by a horizontal line which is drawn from the left lower end of the vertical.

(I.25.V) The ṣ-stroke is a vertical line which is added to the upper part of the vertical line on the right.  *

(I.25.VI) The ṣ-stroke is a slanting line which is drawn outwards from the angular position in the lower field.  *

(I.25.VII) The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of the consonant ma to the lower end of the letter.  *

(I.25.VIII)

**Labials**

The consonant pa has two forms. In the first type of pa we find an upright straight line. Another horizontal line is drawn towards the right from a little below the upper end. Again another short vertical line is drawn downwards from the right end of this horizontal line.  *

(I.26.I) The second type of pa is like the first type of pa to which an horizontal stroke is added to the left at the lower end.  *

(I.26.II) The ṭ-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the middle of the horizontal line forming this letter.  *

(I.26.I) The ū-stroke is
indicated by a short horizontal stroke which is drawn from the lower end of the vertical towards the left. J (I.26.III) The e is a vertical stroke drawn from the middle of the horizontal line. J (I.26.IV)

There are at least two different types of the letter pha. The first type of pha is a letter which consists of a typical pa with the continuation of the horizontal stroke to the left of the vertical. J (I.27.I) The second type of pha is like the first type of pha with the addition of a stroke going upwards from the left lower end of the vertical. J (I.27.II)

There is only one type of the letter ba. It consists of an upright straight line to the left upper part of which a hook-shaped curve is attached. J (I.28.I) The o attached to this consonant is a short stroke which is drawn downwards from the middle of the curved line forming this letter. J (I.28.II)

The consonant bha has been expressed in three ways. The first type of bha which is most common in the inscriptions of Asoka consists of a slanting straight line, one horizontal line which is drawn on both sides of the upper end of this slanting straight line and another slanting stroke which is drawn from the middle of the slanting straight line on the right. J (I.29.I) The second type of bha consists of an upright straight line, one horizontal line which is drawn on both sides of the upper end of this upright straight line and one curved line drawn downwards.
from the middle of the upright straight line on the left. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.II}} \) The third type of \( bha \) is characterised by all the lines being absolutely straight. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.III}} \) The \( i \)-stroke is a line which goes vertically through the left limb of the upper horizontal line. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.IV}} \) The \( u \)-stroke is a horizontal line which is drawn towards the left from the lower end of the main vertical line. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.V}} \) The \( e \)-stroke is a vertical line drawn upwards from the left limb of the horizontal line. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.VI}} \) The \( g \)-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which is drawn downwards from the left limb of the horizontal line. \( \overline{\text{I. 29.II}} \)

The consonant \( ma \) has been indicated in a number of ways.

In the first type of \( ma \) we find a flat, semi-circular curve opening in the upper side. \( \overline{\text{I. 30.I}} \) In the types which we call here second, third, fourth and fifth - the main characteristic is the addition of some stroke on the outer side of the left bar. In the second type we find a semi-circular curve attached to the left side of the main semi-circular curve. \( \overline{\text{I. 30.II}} \) In the third type of the letter \( ma \) we find an oblique line just immediately below the left side of the letter. \( \overline{\text{I. 30.III}} \) In the fourth type one hook-like curve is attached to the left bar. \( \overline{\text{I. 30.IV}} \). In the fifth type we find a curved line placed just immediately on the outer side of the left bar. \( \overline{\text{I. 30.V}} \) It is rather difficult to explain the addition of this stroke on the outer side of the left bar. Bühler, however,
opined that this kind of ma still showed the remnants of the side-stroke and the central vertical or slanting stroke contained in the Mem of the Aramaic script from which the Kharosthi script is supposed to have been derived. The i-stroke is indicated by an upright straight line which is drawn through the middle of the letter. (I.30.VI) The u-stroke is indicated by a horizontal line drawn from the upper end of the left bar. (I.30.VII) The e-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which meet the middle of the curve forming this letter. (I.30.VIII) The o-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is a vertical stroke which is drawn from the left side of the curve downwards. (I.30.IX) In the second type it is a vertical stroke which is drawn downwards from the middle of the curve forming this letter. (I.30.X) The anusvāra is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it is the representation of the letter ma but in a miniature and angular form and attached to the right bar. (I.30.XI) In the second type it is indicated by two short horizontal strokes on the two bars constituting this letter. (I.30.XII)

**Semi-vowels**

The consonant va has six types. In the first type we find a letter which consists of two vertical lines drawn from one

(1) *IBA*, p.104, 1898.
point and thus forming an angle. In this letter the two lines thus drawn are of equal length. \( \wedge \) (I.31.I) In the second type the right vertical is greater in length than the left vertical. \( \wedge \) (I.31.II) In the third type it is exactly the opposite. \( \wedge \) (I.31.III) In the fourth type the top is not angular like the preceding three types but curved. \( \wedge \) (I.31.IV) In the fifth type the top is not only rounded but also very broad \( \wedge \) (I.31.V) The sixth type of \( \text{ya} \) has an upward stroke drawn from the end of the left vertical. \( \wedge \) (I.31.VI) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the left bar. \( \wedge \) (I.31.VII) The \( \text{y} \)-stroke is represented by a horizontal line which is drawn from the left lower end of the vertical. (I.31.I) The \( \text{g} \)-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In one type it is represented by a short vertical stroke drawn upwards from the middle of the right vertical. (I.31.II) In the other type this vertical stroke is drawn from the left side. (I.31.IV) The \( \text{c} \)-stroke is represented by a short vertical line which is drawn inward from the left limb. (I.31.III) The \text{anuvāra} is indicated by two upright vertical strokes drawn from the lower ends of the two bars. \( \wedge \) (I.31.VIII)

The consonant \( \text{ra} \) is also expressed in two different ways. In the first type we find a letter which consists of an upright straight line to the upper end of which a short horizontal line is added. From the left end of this horizontal line another
vertical stroke is drawn upwards thus forming an angle. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.I) In the second type the upper portion of the letter is in the nature of a pronounced curve very much resembling the consonant \( \text{ta}. \) \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.I) The \( \overset{\smile}{\smile} \)-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which goes through the horizontal portion of the letter. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.III) The \( \overset{\smile}{\smile} \)-stroke is a horizontal line which is drawn from the lower end of the stem to the left. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.IV) The \( \overset{\smile}{\smile} \)-stroke is a vertical line which is drawn inside from the top part of the letter. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.V) The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of the consonant \( \text{ma} \) to the lower end of the stem of the letter. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.32.VI)

The consonant \( \text{la} \) is indicated in four different manners. The first type of \( \text{la} \) is a letter which consists of a vertical straight line from the middle of which on the left one vertical stroke is drawn. From the end of this vertical stroke another vertical stroke is drawn downwards thus forming an angle. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.33.I) There is the second type of this letter in which the left part of the letter is in the form of a curve. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.33.II) The third type of this letter is characterised by a hook-shaped stroke which is added to the left of the main vertical line. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.33.III) The main characteristic of the fourth type is not only the different shape of the stroke on the left of the vertical but also another vertical stroke which is drawn upwards from the left lower end of the vertical. \( \dot{\overset{\smile}{\smile}} \) (I.33.IV) The \( \overset{\smile}{\smile} \)-
stroke is indicated by a vertical line which goes through the part of the letter which is to the left of the vertical line. (I.33.I) The $g$-stroke is a vertical line which is drawn upwards from the upper portion of the hook-shaped stroke to the left of the vertical straight line. (I.33.III) The $g$-stroke is a vertical line which is drawn downwards (I.33.V)

The anusvara is indicated by the representation of the consonant $ma$ just below the stem of the letter in an angular form. (I.33.VI)

The consonant $va$ is indicated in two different manners. In the first type which is more common it consists of an upright straight line from the left upper end of which another horizontal line is drawn towards the left forming an angle. (I.34.I) The second type of $va$ is characterised by the presence of one hook-shaped stroke to the left of the lower end of the stem. (I.34.II) The $i$-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the upper horizontal line forming this letter. (I.34.III) The $u$-stroke is a horizontal line which is drawn from the left lower end of the stem. (I.34.IV) The $o$-stroke is a vertical line which is drawn inside from the horizontal line forming this letter. (I.34.V) The anusvara is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is indicated by the representation of the consonant $ma$ added to the stem of the letter. (I.34.VI)

The other form of the anusvara is indicated by changing the stem.
of the letter into a curved thing on the right which certainly represents the letter ma. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.34.VII)

**Sibilants and ha**

The consonant șă is indicated in two different manners. In the first type we find a letter which may be called a rectangular figure without the lower horizontal line. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.35.I) In the second type of șă we find the addition of an upward vertical stroke to the lower end of the left limb. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.35.II) The i-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which passes through the middle of the horizontal line forming this letter. (I.35.I) The u-stroke is indicated by a horizontal line which is drawn from the left side of the left lower limb. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.35.III) The e-stroke is indicated by a vertical stroke which is drawn upwards from the middle of the horizontal line forming this letter. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.35.IV) The anusvāra is indicated by two upward strokes drawn from the two ends of the vertical lines forming this letter. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.35.V)

The consonant sa is indicated in one way. It consists of one upright straight line and a curved line which is extended on both sides of the top of this upright straight line. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \) (I.36.I) The u-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first case it is a horizontal stroke which is added to the lower end of the stem on the left side. (I.36.I) In the second case
the lower end of the stem itself is made a curve towards the left. (I.36.II) The anusvāra is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is indicated by the representation of the consonant ma to the lower end of the stem. (I.36.III). In the second case it is indicated by an angular stroke. (I.36.IV)

The consonant sa is one of the most widely used letters. There are various forms of this letter. In the first, most common, type we find an upright straight line to which a parabolic curve is added in the upper part and another vertical stroke is drawn upwards a little way from the main upright straight line. (I.37.I) The second type of sa looks like a triangle to the upper side of which one short horizontal stroke is added. (I.37.II) The third type of sa looks like a triangle to the lower part of which a small vertical stroke is added. (I.37.III) The fourth type of sa looks like the second type of sa with the addition of a horizontal line touching the lower part of the letter. (I.37.IV) The fifth type of sa is practically a four sided figure. (I.37.V) The sixth type of sa is like the first type of sa with the addition of a curve to the stem on the left side. (I.37.VI) The i-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which is drawn through the upper part of the letter. (I.37.VII) The u-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is a
vertical stroke drawn towards the left in the lower part. (I.37. V) In the second case the stem of the upright straight line is made a curve towards the left. P (I.37.VIII) The g-stroke is indicated by a line which is drawn downwards from the angle made by the meeting of the upright straight line and the curved line. P (I.37.IX) The anusvara is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is the representation of the consonant ma attached to the stem of the letter. P (I.37.X) In the second case it is indicated by an almost horizontal stroke going across the stem a little above the lower most point. P (I.37.XI)

The consonant ha is indicated in three different manners. In the first type which is by far most common it is a letter consisting of an upright straight line whose upper end on the left and lower end on the right are turned into small hooks. U (I.38.I) In the second type we find another letter which is very similar to the first type with the exception that instead of the hook at the lower end on the right we find here a horizontal line. U (I.38.II) In the third type the hook-shaped stroke on the left side in the upper field has been changed into a vertical line and the hook-shaped stroke on the right side in the lower field has been changed into a straight line. U (I.38.III) The i-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is almost a horizontal line drawn through the stem of the letter. (I.38.II) In the second case it is an
oblique line going through the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.38.IV} \)

The \( \text{y} \)-stroke is indicated by a short horizontal line which is drawn towards the left from a little above the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.38.III} \) The \( \text{e} \)-stroke is indicated by a short horizontal line which is drawn towards the right for a little above the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.38.V} \) The \( \text{anusvāra} \) is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is a little curved line which goes through the stem of the letter. \( \text{I.38.VI} \) In the second case it is a short stroke which is added to the left side of the lower end of the stem. \( \text{I.38.VII} \)

**Compound aṅgaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

The compound letters with the initial ka and ga are found. The compound letter with the initial ka is kra. So far as the formation of the compound letter kra is concerned, it is necessary to have general remarks stated here. It has been observed that there are two different manners in which ra when associated with another consonant may be expressed, viz., (1) by a line, with or without a downward tend on the right, drawn through the stem of a letter; and (2) by a line, straight or curved, at the foot. There can be no doubt that the prefixed ra is written in the former manner and the suffixed ra in the latter. We can, therefore, easily understand the formation of the compound letter
kra in which one horizontal stroke is added to the lower end of the stem of the letter ka in the right. bjerg (1.39.1)

The compound letter with the initial ga is gram. Here also as in the case of kra the suffixed ra is indicated by a horizontal stroke which is drawn from the lower end of the stem towards the right. v (1.39.2)

Groups with initial lingual

The compound letter which is made with the initial jpha is jphra. In this letter also the suffixed ra is indicated by a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the upright straight line towards the right. U (1.40.1)

Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are made with the initial ta, tha, and dha. The compound letter tra is indicated in one manner. Here we find one typical ta to which one horizontal stroke is drawn from the right end of the vertical. U (1.41.1) The compound letter tva is indicated by the addition of an upward curve affixed on the right to the end of the stem of the letter ta U (1.41.2)

There are two different types of the compound letter thra. In the first type we find a curve attached to the right side of the lower end of the vertical line constituting the letter. U (1.41.3) In the second type we find the addition of a horizontal
The only compound letter to be considered with the initial de is dra. If we study the different examples of dra found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, then we see that the compound letter dra has been formed in one manner, i.e., the ra is indicated by a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the letter towards the right. \( (I.41.IV) \)

The compound letter with the initial dha is dhra. If we study the different examples of dhra found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, then we find that the compound letter dhra has been formed in two different manners. In the first type we find an horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the letter dha towards the right. \( \text{(I.41.VI)} \) In the second type we find the curve attached to the lower end of the letter dha on the right. \( \text{(I.41.VII)} \)

Groups with initial labial

We find the compound aksaras formed with the initial pa, ba, bha, and ma. So far as the compound letter with the initial pa is concerned, we find the letter pra which is expressed by two forms in which the suffixed ra is expressed either by a straight stroke \( \text{(I.42.I)} \) or a curved stroke \( \text{(I.42.II)} \).

The compound letter with the initial ba is bra which is indicated by two forms in which the suffixed ra is indicated
either by a straight stroke \( \gamma \) (I.42.III) or a curved stroke \( \gamma \) (I.42.IV)

The compound letters with the initial bha are bhye and bhra. In case of the compound letter bhye it is a combination of the two letters bha and ya, the letter ya being added to the lower end of the vertical stroke forming the side-limb of the letter bha. \( \frac{1}{\gamma} \) (I.42.V) In the case of the compound letter bhra the letter ra is indicated by a horizontal stroke attached to the lower end of the bar forming this letter towards the right. \( \gamma \) (I.42.VI)

The compound letters with the initial ma are mma, mya and mru. So far as the compound letter mma is concerned, we find two distinct manners in which this letter is formed. In the first type we find the left curve of the second ma added to the lower middle point of the first ma. \( \gamma \) (I.42.VII) In the second type the second ma in a smaller form is placed just below the first ma. \( \gamma \) (I.42.VIII) In the compound aksara mya the letter ya is placed below ma, the upper part of the letter ya touching the lower part of the letter ma. \( \gamma \) (I.42.IX) So far as the compound letter mru is concerned, the word ra is attached to the word ma in the form of a horizontal stroke drawn from the right end of the letter ma. \( \gamma \) (I.42.X)
Groups with initial semi-vowel

So far as the groups with the initial semi-vowel are concerned, we find the compound letters formed with the initial ra and va. While discussing the shape of the compound letter kra it has been shown that the prefixed ra is written by a line, with or without a downward bend on the right, drawn through the stem of a letter. If this view is adopted, Hultzsch's reading of many of these words is open to objection. Here all cases where the ra is written by a line, with or without a downward bend on the right, drawn through the stem of a letter are taken as those of the prefixed ra and it is also clear that there is no linguistic difficulty in accepting this. The compound letters formed with the initial ra are rta and rva. In the compound letter rta the prefixed ra is indicated by a line, with a downward bend on the right, drawn through the stem of the letter. \( I.43.I \) In the compound letter rva the prefixed ra is indicated by a line, without a downward bend on the right, drawn through the stem of the letter. \( I.43.II \) as well as by a line, with a downward bend on the right, drawn through the stem of the letter. \( I.43.II \)

The compound letter formed with the initial va is vva. This letter is formed by the addition of a short horizontal line drawn from the lower end of the vertical forming the letter va towards the right. \( I.43.IV \)
Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial sa and sa. The compound letter with the initial sa is ōra. The letter ra is attached to the letter sa in the form of a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the right vertical line forming this letter towards the right. \( \text{(I.44.I)} \)

Regarding the formation of the letters in this group, Rapson rightly observed that "most of the groups beginning with sibilants are regular in their formation; that is to say, their structure is evident at a glance. But when sa, 155, and ša, 144, are compounded with certain other letters, cursive forms are produced in which the original features of the constituent signs are modified to such a degree that they are by no means easily recognisable. Thus in sta, 239, the characteristic head of sa has disappeared and is replaced by a short horizontal line, so that the upper portion of the compound saša resembles ra, 135; and the suffixed ta which was once written below sa, 155 as ta, 75, has become a horizontal line drawn through the stem of sa." ¹ A close study of the different letters constituting sta has revealed that there is only one type of this letter. In it we find that the characteristic head of sa has disappeared and is replaced by a short horizontal line, so that the upper portion

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¹ KI, pt. III, p.319, 1929. It appears that Bühler's reading of the compound letter given in his work (STIP, Tafel I.39.IV) as sta is not correct.
of the compound akṣara looks like the ṛa; and the suffixed te has become a slightly curved horizontal line drawn through the stem of the letter sa. \( \chi \) (I.44.II) In this group we find one example in which three letters are compounded, e.g., stṛa. The portion stṛa has been compounded in the manner as has been shown in the case of the compound letter stṛa. The consonant ṛa has been indicated in the form of a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the stem of the letter sa towards the right. \( \chi \) (I.44.III) We find the compound letter Ṛpa. In the first type the characteristic head of Ṛa has disappeared and is replaced by a curved vertical line and the right limb of the letter ṛa has been added to the stem of the letter sa. \( \chi \) (I.44.IV) In the second type instead of this curved vertical line we find another kind of line reminding us of the upper vertical line forming the letter sa. \( \chi \) (I.44.V) We also find the compound letter sra which is made in two different ways. In the first type we find the letter ra indicated by a hook attached to the right side of the lower end of the stem of the letter sa. \( \chi \) (I.44.VI) In the second type we find the letter ra indicated by a straight horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the stem of the letter sa towards the right. \( \chi \) (I.44.VII)
CHAPTER II

The period of negama coins

We have already shown in the last chapter the different types of letters as found in the inscriptions of Asoka engraved on the rocks at Shahbazgarbi, Mansehra and Siddapur. In north-western India certain coins have been found which may be referred to a period immediately after the time of Asoka. This region is now known as Taxila. Regarding the provenance of certain groups of coins in this region Allan has observed, "The identification of the ruins near the modern Shah-dheri, in the valley of the Haro river, some twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi, with the ancient city of Taxila (Takṣaśīla), the capital of the kingdom of the same name, is due to Cunningham, who says that thousands upon thousands of coins are found there. It is on Cunningham's authority that most of these coins in the Museum collection are attributed to Taxila. The majority of the Museum specimens, including all the rarer pieces, were obtained by him on the site. Of the three main sites corresponding to three stages in the history of the city in ancient times - the Bhir Mound, Sirkap, and Sirsukh - Cunningham was mainly concerned with Sirkap."\(^1\) Regarding

\(^1\) CCAI, p. CXXV, 1936.
the provenance of these coins Cunningham has remarked, "Thousands upon thousands of coins are also found amongst the ruins of Taxila, which, though perhaps not so interesting as the figures and ornaments, are certainly more valuable for the history of the city, as they range from the most ancient times down to the present day. In the accompanying plate I have brought together a selection of specimens of the most ancient period down to the time of the Greeks." It is, therefore, evident from the above quotations that the type of coins which we are going to deal with has been found in the regions near or in Taxila. They were first studied by Cunningham. Bühler devoted himself to a study of these coins. Rapson also dealt with them. The most important and recent study is by Allan.

It is important to discuss the question of their date before we come to discuss the palaeographical characteristic of the Kharosthī legends engraved in them. Cunningham thought that these coins were to be referred to the third century B.C. In this connection one statement of Bühler is worth quoting. He writes down, "From their inscriptions, which are partly in Brāhma characters of the kalsi type and partly both in Brāhma and in

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(2) CAI, pp.63-65, pl. III, 8-12, 1891.
(3) IS, No. III, pp.48-50, 1898.
(4) IC, SS 5, 1897.
(5) CCAI, pp.cxxv-cxxxii, 214-19, pts. XXXI, 1-17, XXXIV.3,4,6, 7, 1936.
Kharoṣṭhī letters, Sir A. Cunningham has already drawn the obvious inference, that both alphabets were used in Northern India during the third century B.C. Rapson also held the opinion that the Dojaka-Negama types of coins should be dated at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Allan holds that "these negama coins are exceedingly rare; indeed, they seem to be known only from the Cunningham specimens in the Museum. The epigraphy has been described as Asoka, but when we see how closely the Brāhmi inscriptions of the coins of Agathocles resemble the Brāhmi of Asoka, we realize how difficult it is to date these coins within fifty years. I am inclined to put them in the first quarter of the second century B.C. If any deduction is to be made from their absence from the well-known hoard of coins of Taxila, Pantaleon and Agathocles, it is that they are later than these Greek rulers and not earlier." It seems that Allan's dating of these coins is somewhat late; in any case it will be quite fruitful to discuss the matter fresh.

In order to discuss the matter anew it is necessary to enumerate the specimens on which our arguments will rest. They are described by Allan as (1) the negama series, (2) the

(1) IBA, p. 48, 1898.
(2) IC, SS4 and 6, 1897.
(3) CCAI, pp. cxvii-cxviii, 1936.
pañcaneśame series and (3) the Hirānasame series. The illustrations of these coins have been mainly published by Cunningham, Rapson, and Allan; and as the photographs given in Allan’s work are exceedingly good, we shall take examples mainly from his work. The coins belonging to the first, second and third series are found in Allan’s work.

So far as the date of the first series of coins is concerned, it is important to make an enquiry into the dating of the Brāhmī legend on the obverse and also the coin-technique of this series. It is interesting to note that one out of the three Dojaka coins illustrated here has the Brāhmī legend in the reverse order. There is no doubt that we get here three Brāhmī letters, viz., ga, ne, and mā. The point which is to be discussed now is the period to which these three letters may be ascribed from the point of view of palaeography. It seems that the test letter for coming to some conclusion regarding the period of this legend is the letter ga. In all these examples the letter ga has the angular head. The angular headed ga as well as the slightly curve-headed ga have been found in the third century B.C. though the first type is more common; but in the

(1) CGAI, pl. XXXI. 2-4, 9, 1936.
(2) Ibid., pl. XXXI. 11-16, 1936.
(3) Ibid., pl. XXXIV, 3, 4, 6, 7, 1936.
(4) Ibid., pl. XXXI. 4, 1936.
second century B.C. and onwards the letter \( ga \) is invariably rounded in the head\(^1\). Regarding the letter \( ga \) prevalent in the third century B.C. Bühler observed that "the \( ga \), which is originally pointed at the top, is sometimes slightly rounded, in cols. IV, VI, X-XII."\(^2\) It is evident from a study of the plate given in Bühler's work that the letter \( ga \) has the rounded head from the second century B.C. and onwards. But against this assertion it may be argued that Agathocles who has been referred to the second century B.C. has issued one type of coin with the Brāhmī legend on the obverse in which we find the letter \( ga \) having an angular head.\(^3\) But it may be argued whether Agathocles cannot be placed some time earlier than the age in which he has been placed. There is one piece of interesting evidence which may be brought in here. The last letter of the Brāhmī legend of the coins of Agathocles has been read by scholars in two different manners. One group of scholars reads this as \( sa \) and the other group as \( ga \).\(^4\) This letter looks very much like the Brāhmī letter \( ga \) and it is most probably for this reason that a number of scholars have come to the conclusion that it should be read as \( ga \). But here reference should be made to an article showing

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(1) STIP, Tafel II.11, 1896.
(2) IP, p.35, 1904.
(4) Von Sallet, Gardner and Rapson read this as \( sa \); whereas Smith, Whitehead and Franke read it as \( ga \).
that one letter looking very much like the Brahmī ṣa should be considered as ṣa. In this article I have very clearly shown that the Māmyan Brāhmī inscription of Māhāstham "shows for the first time that in the Maurya period two forms of Brāhmī ṣa were prevalent - one which looks like the usual Aśokan ṣa and the other like an Aśokan ṣa."

But even this analysis does not improve our position regarding the possibility of the dating of the negama series of coins to the third century B.C. For this point we must have recourse to the evolution of the coin-technique in ancient India. According to that the earliest type of coin which we find here is that known as punch-marked. They are made in the most primitive manner as impressions with the help of dies were made on them when they were in the semi-molten condition. After this they were clipped off if they were found to be more in weight. The next type of coin occurring in India is that known as cast coins. After this we get another type of coin which is known as single-died. They are so called because there is the impression only on the obverse, the reverse being quite plain. After this we get another type of coin in which there are impressions on both sides. They are known as double-died. These negama coins as well as the coins of Agathocles are very

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(2) Ibid., p.208, 1936-37. It may also be concluded that the last word of the Brāhmī legend on the coins of Pantaleon is also to be read as ṣa and not as ｡ as has been done by a group of scholars.
closely related by the bond of the similarity of technique. Both of them are specimens of the double-died type. The point which is most important in this connection is that in both these types of coins we have got the incuse on one side. If we judge the coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles of this type on one hand and the negama series of coins of Taxila on the other hand, then we shall have to conclude that there is such a similarity between these two classes of coins that one must be considered as evolved out of the other. As we do not find this peculiar incuse-mark on any other monarch's coins except Agathocles and Pantaleon, and as in Taxila we get several different types of coins with this incuse-mark, it is more reasonable to conclude that the coins with the incuse-mark on one side found at Taxila are to be placed earlier than the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon. It, therefore, becomes apparent that these coins are to be placed some time earlier than that of Agathocles and Pantaleon and that, therefore, they are to be placed roughly in the last quarter of the third century B.C.

We are to discuss now the second and the third series of coins. It appears that Allan thinks that these two types of coins are related. There is a very interesting point in the third series of coins which should be discussed here. Of this series we must say that they are seriously mutilated. In Allan's work there are the illustrations of four specimens but it is not
possible to get the full inscription in any one of them. The reading which we can get from a study of all these mutilated specimens is *Hidu-jasame* as read by Allan. Now a similar or almost similar legend occurs in two types of coins, one of which Allan has attributed to Taxila and the other which is a type made by Agathocles. Allan rightly holds that this type of coin of Agathocles was imitated from the other type attributed to Taxila. In this connection he has observed, "It is possible that we should attribute to Taxila the following coin (Obv., fig. 3) as the original copied by Agathocles: Obv. A conventional representation of a plant; below in Kharoṣṭhī, *Hiraṇasame*. Rev. star over [ Illustration ] (Panjab Mus. Cat., i, Pl. II. 51). Agathocles copied the type, replacing the plant by a tree in railing on one side and retaining the star and mountain on the other, with his name in Kharoṣṭhī below, *Akathukrayasa*." Now there is no doubt that there is an affinity between the type of coin from which the type of Agathocles was copied and the series of coins which are named the *Hiraṇasame* series by Allan. The similarity is of such a nature that the *Hiraṇasame* series is to be placed earlier.

(1) *CCAII*, p.c.xxxii, 1936.
(2) *CCPML*, Vol. I, pl. II.52, 1914. The specimen illustrated in Whitehead's book is rather very worn out; for a good idea of the obverse legend one should consult IC, pl. I. 16, 1897 and for a good idea of the reverse legend one should consult *COSKBI*, pl. IV. 10, 1886.
(3) *CCAII*, p.c.xxxii, 1936.
than the type from which one type of Agathocles' coins were copied. There cannot, therefore, possibly be any doubt that the Hirānasame series of coins is to be placed in the third century. It is very difficult to say in what way the coins belonging to the second series are to be ascribed to this age. Anyhow it is apparent that Allan wants to refer them to the same series as the third series of coins.

After discussing the nature of antiquities which are to be considered here along with their dates it is now necessary to discuss the shape of the different Kharāṣṭhī letters which have been found here. We have found here only a few letters.

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

The only letter found in this group is the letter ka. Though the specimens are only a few in number, yet we find here two distinct types which are old, viz., \( \overline{\text{ḥ}} \) (II.1.I) and \( \text{ḥ} \) (II.1.II).

Palatals

Among the palatals we find two letters, viz., ca and ja. So far as the letter ca is concerned, there are two different kinds, one of which is not found in the inscriptions of Asoka. The first type \( \chi \) (II.2.I) is very similar to one Asokan type.
The second type is quite a new one. The most important point which makes it different from the Aśokan types is that there is some vacant space between the upper and the lower curves. (II.2.11)

The letter je which is found in some coins is exactly the same as that found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. (II.3.1)

**Dentals**

Among the dentals we find only the examples of da. It is not any new type because such a type is also found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. (II.4.1) Here it is important to discuss how this word is to be read. The scholars whose opinion is of importance regarding this inscription are Cunningham, Rapson and Allan. Cunningham read this letter as do. Rapson read it as do or du. Allan read it as do. It seems more logical to take this letter as do and not as du. Regarding the o-stroke Bühler has remarked that "the o-stroke mostly corresponds in its position to the lower half of the i-stroke..., but it stands further to the right in the angle, formed by the upper part of the letters." So far as the u-stroke is concerned, he has also remarked that "the u-stroke stands regularly at the

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(1) CAI, p.64, 1891.
(2) IC, Key to Pl.II, no. 2, 1897.
(3) CAI, p.214, 1936.
(4) IP, p.26, 1904.
left lower end of the consonant... but a little higher up if the foot of the consonant is curved to the left or to the right or has a hook on the right."¹ It is apparent from a study of these two statements that this sign should better be considered as a stroke because had it been an u-stroke, then it would have been added to the left lower end of the letter.

There is another letter which has been taken as na by all scholars and which should be considered here. There is one letter in one group of coins which has been read as ne by Allan.² Cunningham also read this letter as ne.³ Allan has not discussed why this letter should be considered as ne because it is so different from the specimens of na occurring in the age of Asoka and illustrated in Bühler’s work.⁴ It is extremely difficult to say how this letter is to be identified as na.

¹ 1 l P., p. 26, 1904.
² CCAI, pp. 216-17, 1936.
³ CAI, p. 64, 1891.
⁴ STIP, Tapel I.24, I-V, 1896. In this connection it is necessary to offer certain criticism to the copying and interpretation of the coin-legends as proposed by Allan. He has written one legend in the script as found on coins and interpreted it as "pamcanskame" (CCAI, p. 216, 1936). An examination of the specimens given in his work, ibid., pl. XXXI, nos. 11-16, 1936 shows that it is clear that it cannot be the transliteration of the legend which is given just at its left side. In the eye-copy there is no sign attached to the letter pa which may be interpreted as anusvāra and moreover nowhere has he explained why the third sign should be considered as ne, an explanation needed since it is so different from the previous signs indicating this letter.
Even if they are to be considered as na, then we must admit that they are most unusual. There are two different types of this letter Ꞵ (II.5.I) and Ꞵ (II.5.II).

Labials

Among the labials we find two letters, viz., pa and ma. The example of pa which we have found here is very similar to one type of pa found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Ꞵ (II.6.I)

The second example is one pa. The anusvāra is made in the form of an angular ma attached to the lower end of the stem of the letter. Ꞵ (II.6.II)

On these coins we have got two different kinds of the letter so far as the letter ma is concerned, viz., ma and me. Both these letters are very similar to the same letter found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Ꞵ (II.7.I) and Ꞵ (II.7.II)

Sibilants and ha

The only letter of which we get an example in these coins is the letter hi. This letter is very similar to the kindred letter prevalent in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Ꞵ (II.8.I)

(1) Can these two letters be equated with e? There is possibly great similarity between them and the vowel e found in the inscriptions of Aśoka.
The Indo-Bactrian period

Here it will be our endeavour to discuss the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script as found on the coins of some Hellenistic rulers who began to issue bilingual coins approximately from the first quarter of the second century B.C. In order to understand properly and correctly the penetration of the Bactrian Greeks into India it is necessary to make an historical retrospect. At one time a belief was popularly held that India was an isolated country in the very early times of history; but after the momentous discovery of the Indus civilisation at Moherjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhu-daro and other places in Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan and even as far south as Gujarat such a belief has been proved to be without foundation. One important conclusion which has been drawn from a study of the antiquities belonging to this civilisation is that the people of this civilisation knew very intimately the people who were living in the Tigris and the Euphrates Valley in Mesopotamia and who are known as the Sumerians. The age of the Indus Civilisation has been referred to the period
extending from c.3250 B.C. - 2750 B.C. by Marshall\(^1\) and Majumdar\(^2\) has proved that the Indus civilisation began some time earlier and also ended some time later. This important conclusion of Majumdar which is based on the stratification of painted potteries found at a number of sites in Sind has been accepted by all workers in this field.

After the expiry of the above-mentioned period a certain obscurity prevailed in the period; we have however certain evidences which again prove this connection existing between India and the land of the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the German archaeological excavations at Boghaz-Koi in Cappodocia have been found bricks which contain the names of deities which figure in the earliest Indian literary records, viz., Mitra, Indra, Varupa and the Nasatyas. These inscriptions have been referred to approximately 1400 B.C. and the names are identical with the forms which are found in the hymns of the Rg-Veda. These clay-tablets show the relationship existing between India and Persia. To the same period as these inscriptions belong the famous letters from Tell-el-Amarna. In these occur references to the people of Mitarmi in north-west Mesopotamia whose princes bear names like Artatama, Tusratta,

\(^{(2)}\) MASI, no. 48, 1934.
and Suttarna which are certainly Aryan in form. For five hundred years (c. 1746-1180 B.C.) the Kassites ruled over the whole of Babylonia and amongst these also the names of the princes and deities seem Aryan. To a much later period belongs the list of deities worshipped in different temples of Assyria, which was found in the library of Assurbanipal (c. 700 B.C.) where occur the name Assara-Mazas, immediately preceding the seven good angels and the seven bad spirits. It is interesting to note that even as late as 700 B.C. the first part of the god’s name remains more like the Sanskrit Asura than the Avestan Ahura. The above account shows clearly the connections between Persia and India going back to the grey dawn of the period of Indo-Iranian unity, when the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus and the Persians still formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock. The Hindus and the Persians are closely related through bonds of common Aryan blood, close kinship in language and tradition and in the matter of religious beliefs, ritual observances, manners, and customs. The Veda and the Avesta, the two earliest literary works of these two groups of people contain sufficient evidence to indicate this close relation.

The Avesta is probably the oldest source showing Persia’s interest in India, although there is a great deal of uncertainty about its precise date. However it may be concluded
that the Avesta in the main is pre-Achaemenian in content. In the Avesta the name for India is Hindu which, like the old Persian Hi(n)du, is derived from the river Sindhu which is equal to the Indus. In the Avestan Vendidad there is the mention of one region known as Hapta Hindu probably identical with the territory of ' Sapta Sindhavas', 'Seven rivers' mentioned in the Rg-Veda. In the Avesta there is another allusion which possibly refers to some Indian mountain. It is the citation of a mountain called Us-Hindava. The name Us-Hindava means 'Beyond (or Above) India' according to one way of translating; but another rendering makes it simply 'the mountain from which the rivers rise.' Owing to this uncertainty and to a general vagueness in later texts it can not be finally identified but it may be identified either with the Hindu Kush or the Himalaya or with some other range. There are a number of Avestan names of places located south of the Hindu Kush in the territory that once at least was common in part to the Indians and the Iranians and has had, as a natural borderland, an important influence upon India's history in later ages. These domains are roughly a considerable section of Afghanistan and partly a part of Baluchistan. One of the proofs of this community of interest is the fact that the territory of Arachosia which corresponds to the modern province of Kandahar was known, in later Parthian times, as 'White India'.
Before the sixth century B.C. and for numerous ages afterwards there is further proof of relations between Persia and India through the facts of trade in antiquity, especially through the early commerce between India and Babylonia, which was largely via the Persian Gulf.

In the sixth century B.C. we enter upon the more trustworthy ground of recorded political history. In this period the Achaemenian empire was brought into very close touch with India through the campaigns carried on in the east of Iran by Cyrus the Great at sometime between 558 and 530 B.C. It is very difficult to correctly identify all the realms which were conquered by him. It is said that his conquests included the districts of Drangiana, Sattygydia and Gandaritis, verging upon the Indian borderland. The history of Cyrus' conquest in India is shrouded in much obscurity; still we may conclude that even if there are reasonable causes for expressing doubt that Cyrus actually invaded Northern India, there can be no question that he did campaign in the territories corresponding to the present Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus could hardly have extended the Persian dominions in the direction of India as he was rather occupied with the conquest of Egypt, even though he may have been occupied at the beginning of his reign.
in maintaining suzerainty over the extensive regions inherited from his father.

For the reign of Darius we have the important evidence in the inscriptions executed by that monarch's command and containing his own statements. The three inscriptions which are meant here are the Bahistan Rock Inscription, the Persepolis Inscription and the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscription. The first inscription has been ascribed to a period between the years 520 and 518 B.C., the second between 518 and 515 B.C. and the third after 515 B.C. In the Bahistan inscription there is no mention of India in the list of the twenty-three provinces which were under his suzerainty; but in the other two inscriptions clear mention has been made of Hi(n)du, that is, the Punjab territory, as a part of the realm. The Northern Indian domain must, therefore, have been annexed some time between the promulgation of the Bahistan inscription and the completion of the other two records. It is generally accepted by all scholars that the Indian conquest took place in about the year 518 B.C. Besides these three inscriptions we also know of this fact from the account of Herodotus who clearly stated in his work that the Indian realm was the 'twentieth division' of the Persian empire. There is one passage in Herodotus which gives further evidence of the Persian annexation or control of the valley of the Indus from its upper course
to the sea including therefore the Punjab and Sind, as well as of the possibility at that time of navigating by sea from the Indus to Persia. The dominion of Persian authority under Darius comprised, therefore, the realm from the embouchement of the Indus to its uppermost tributaries on the north and west.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes who ruled from 486-465 B.C. The Persian domination of some portions of Northern India is also maintained in his reign. It is interesting to note that an Indian contingent, consisting of both infantry and cavalry, was among that huge army which was sent by that monarch against Greece. It may be concluded that the eastern domain of the Persian empire was almost the same during the reign of Xerxes as it had been during the time of Darius.

The period which followed the defeat of the Persian empire under Xerxes by Greece marks the beginning of the decadence of the Achaemenian empire. However this hold by Persia over some portions of North-Western India remained till 330 B.C. when Darius III, the last of the Achaemenid rulers was able to issue to Indian troops when making his final stand at Arbela to resist the invasion by Alexander the Great.

Alexander the Great is the first Greek ruler to invade and conquer some portions of India; but it must be pointed out
here that Alexander conquered some portions of India not as part of India itself but as part of the vast Persian empire. It is only the last phase of the struggle between Persia and Greece which began in the fifth century B.C. The story of Alexander's invasion in India may be told here in the briefest manner. In 329 B.C. Alexander reached the Kabul river but did not make any immediate attack on India. In 327 B.C. he sent on a herald to the rājā of Takṣasīlā and other princes to the west of the Indus to meet him in the Kabul Valley. The king of Takṣasīlā who was advised by his son Ambhi to meet the Yavana invader decided to do so. After the submission of the King of Takṣasīlā Alexander divided his army into two divisions. One division commanded by the Macedonian generals moved to the Indus by the shortest route and the other which was led by the king himself turned up into the hills. The two divisions were to rejoin each other upon the river Indus. In his march Alexander encountered the Aśvakas, i.e., Assakenoi, who were defeated and were also treated with great ferocity.

When Alexander was fighting in the valleys to the north of the Kabul river, the other division of the army went along the Kabul river to the Indus. After a few days' march they reached the Indus. The region where this second Macedonian division was encamped was the part of the territory of a king
called by the Greeks Astes and who had his capital at the town of Puṣkalāvatī to the north of the Kabul river. This prince declared himself to be an enemy of the invaders and was ultimately defeated. The territory of this prince was given to another subservient Indian prince.

After a few months' fighting the tribes who were living in the hills to the north had submitted to Alexander. In the meantime the second Macedonian division fortified and garrisoned a place which the Greeks called Orobatis and Alexander also marched forward to take possession of various small towns between Puṣkalāvatī and the Indus. Alexander in his forward march captured the strong fortress of Aornus. After this successful occupation of Aornus Alexander crossed the river Indus. In the meantime the leaders of the second Macedonian garrison constructed a bridge over the Indus some way down. The king of Takṣaśilā was now no other than Ambhi himself; the old king had not lived to see the Yavanas enter his city. The new king of Takṣaśilā behaved in this manner, the Paurava king who had his territory to the east of the Hydaspes had been watching the immense peril come near. He also came to know about the alliance of his old enemy, the King of Takṣaśilā and the Yavana conqueror. To meet the Yavana invader the Paurava king could draw upon the resources of his own principality lying between the Hydaspes and the Acesines. The king of
Abhisāra was inclined to make common cause with him but unfortunately he played a double game. He sent his brother to Takṣaśila to announce his submission to Alexander and at the same time prepared to send forces to join the Indian army accumulating on the banks of the Hydaspes. Probably somewhere near the place where is now the town of Jhelum the army of the Paurava gathered on the bank of the Hydaspes in the spring of 326 B.C. Then Alexander with his army crossed the river Hydaspes. When the Paurava prince received tidings of the landings of the Yavanás, he could not yet tell from which direction the main attack would come. The division which crossed the river with Alexander numbered about 11,000 men. A memorable battle was fought between the Paurava king and Alexander in which the proud Indian prince was defeated; but Alexander was so much impressed with his chivalry that he returned the Paurava king his territory and made him his friend.

The state of things which Alexander and his men found in the Punjab was one of division and the first effect of the Greek conquest was internal unification. In the Punjab another tribe called by the Greeks Glausai or Glauganikai surrendered to the Macedonian conqueror and the kingdom of the Paurava prince was extended over this land. After this the European army kept near the foothills of the Himalayas, marching through the country north of Amritsar. The region was one of those
held by free tribes. The Adriṣṭas are among the first tribes to submit to the European army; but the powerful Keśatriyas did not submit to the Yavanás without resistance and they chose the fortified town of Sangala as the centre of resistance. But unfortunately they were defeated. Sangala was razed to the ground, and the country handed over to the Paurava. After this the European army advanced towards the kingdom of Saubhūti who submitted to them without giving any resistance.

The European army marched further eastwards and reached the banks of the Hyphasis; but on the banks of the Hyphasis an imperious check awaited him. According to the opinion of Benav "the army, which had followed him thus far, suddenly struck: all the personal magnetism, all the stirring and indignant appeals of the king could not induce the stout Macedonian country men to go a step further. For three days he shut himself in his tent, and the battle of wills remained in grim deadlock. At last the king recognised the bitter necessity of giving up his ambitions half fulfilled. To save his face probably, he offered sacrifice again to the Greek gods, as preliminary to crossing the river and then discovered that the omens were unfavourable. After that he gave the word for the retreat." But against this view of Bevan who somehow

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followed Smith in this matter Roy Chaudhury and Roy have shown the cause of Alexander's retreat from India in a different manner. Roy Chaudhury has observed that "Alexander succeeded in conquering the old Persian satrapies of Gandhara and India, but was unable to try conclusions with Agrammes king of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, i.e., the last Nanda king of Magadha and the other Gangetic provinces. Plutarch informs us that the battle with Porus depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India. Moreover they were afraid of the 'Gandaritai and the Praisiai' who were reported to be waiting for Alexander with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. As a matter of fact when Alexander was retreating through Karmania, he received a report that his satrap Philippus had been murdered. Shortly afterwards the Macedonian garrison was overpowered. The departure of Eudemos (cir. 317 B.C.) marks the final collapse of the Macedonian attempt to establish an empire in India." Roy has also come to a similar conclusion. He writes down, "It seems clear that one of the causes of the mutiny on the Hyphasis was the terror struck in the Greek camp by the reports, which were far from exaggerated, of the strength and prowess of the

(1) PHAI, p.177, 1932.
Nandas, the founders of the first empire in India. But this was not the only cause. We have been already informed by Plutarch that the battle with Porus depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India... It was perfectly legitimate for them to infer the nature of the struggle that awaited them if they crossed the Beas and met the hosts of Magadha. Thus the demoralisation of the Greek army seems to have begun as soon as Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush and reached its climax on the Hyphasis when the reports about the strength and power of the Nandas began to reach the Greek camp. This must be contained in some measure with the war-weariness of the Greek army who seemed to be engaged in strange and distant lands in interminable campaigns. The result was mutiny in the Greek camp and the retreat of Alexander."

In 326 B.C. India saw the wave of European invasion begin to ebb. If the river Hyphasis became the eastern boundary of his empire, Alexander thought it prudent to pass along his frontier, pursue the course of the Indus to the ocean and return by the sea-board to Babylon. Then Alexander prepared a huge fleet by which he began to glide down the Hydaspes and in ten days' time reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and the

(1) JPASB, N.S., Vol. XIX, p.368-69, 1924.
Acesines. Here the Šibis offered submission; and the resistance of others was easily suppressed. But further down stream a strong confederation of free tribes was awaiting the Europeans with a high courage. There was a tribe called the Mālavas (in Greek Malloi) and another tribe called the Kṣudrakas. With a suddenness which disconcerted the plans of the Indians found Alexander in their midst. It was at the storming of one of Indian towns that Alexander almost lost his life. The European army became violent and the terror of the European host had now broken the spirits of the Mālavas and their surviving headman, as well as the head men of the Kṣudrakas came to the Macedonian camp tendering their submission. Then other Indian tribes such as Abastanes, Xathrii and Ossadii also submitted. The European army at last reached the last confluence where the Acesines, carrying in it the waters of the other great rivers, united in those days with the Indus and a single vast stream rolled down towards the ocean. Here again the armament halted, sometime at the beginning of the year 325 B.C.

The most powerful prince of the territory between the confluence and the delta was one whom the Greeks called Musicamus (Mousikanos), possibly a title denoting 'the chief of the Mūšikas'. Another Indian chief whom classical texts called Sambus or Sabus (Sāmbhu ?) at enmity with Musicamus hastened to make friendship with the foreigners and Alexander
made him the satrap of some hill district lying back from the river. The other prince Musicamus became determined to offer resistance; but Alexander took him by suddenness. There was no way left for Musicamus than to pay submission. Subject to the supremacy of Alexander Musicamus was left his former state and authority. Another chief of the locality, 'Oxycanus' or 'Porticanus' attempted resistance but also failed in the attempt. The prince called Sambus renounced his allegiance but his capital Sindimana opened its gates however at Alexander's approach, and the little revolt was crushed. Now the Brāhmanas began to excite the people against the Yavanas and Musicamus was induced to throw off the allegiance; but he was defeated and killed.

On the lower Indus the coming of the Macedonians was anticipated with terror. At the point where the Indus in those days divided into two branches was situated the great city of Pattala. The king of Pattala took to arms against Alexander but he was also put to submission. Before Alexander came to Pattala, the great European host who had invaded India had begun to break up. A part of the army was ordered to march home by way of Kandahar and Seistan. With the remainder Alexander continued his journey downstream. The plan which Alexander had formed for his return to the west involved his own marching through the sands of Makran, the southern border
of the Empire and the passage of the fleet along the coast from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf. In September 325 B.C. the Yavana army moved out of Pattala on the homeward journey.

The consequences of the invasion of India by Alexander may be summarised in the following manner. First, he left the Punjab and Sind solidly attached, he believed, to his world-empire. Secondly, the contact of India with the Greek world did not cease with the breaking up of the empire founded by Alexander. Any influences which may be shown to have come to India from the Greek coast may be regarded as the indirect result of the conquest of some parts of India by Alexander.

The mist of obscurity clings heavily round the course that events took in India during the years that immediately followed the death of Alexander. The accounts of the division of the empire by Alexander's generals at Babylon (323 B.C.) and those of the subsequent partition of Triparadisus (321 B.C.) agree in pointing to a considerable modification of the limits of Indian satrapies as at first mapped out. Pithon, one Macedonian was entrusted with the control of the land lying between the Paropanisus and the Indus; Taxila is left supreme in the county between the Indus and the Hydaspes; and Porus is given a great accession of territory, his sphere of influence now extending all the way down the main stream to
the sea. In the next stage of Graeco-Indian relations Taxila and Porus do not appear. When Seleucus Nikator, the founder of the dynasty that bears his name had made his position so secure as to be able to turn his attention to the extreme east of the dominions he had got, a new ruler had arisen in India in the person of Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty who had made himself the master of Northern India. Under his leadership India threw off the last remnants of the Macedonian yoke. Sometime in the 4th century B.C. Seleucus Nikator invaded India to get the territory which had been taken by Candragupta. We may think that about 305 or 304 B.C. Seleucus thought himself quite fit to demand a reckoning with Candragupta and crossed the river Indus advancing by the way along the Kabal river. In that struggle which followed between Seleucus and Candragupta the Indian prince seemed to get the better of his opponent. The terms of peace point to a recognition by Seleucus that his own arm was neither long enough nor strong enough to govern Indian territories from Babylon. As regards territory the arrangement appears, upon the face of it, to have been entirely favourable to Candragupta.

A large number of coins belonging to the house of Seleucus Nikator have been found inside India as well as to the region west of it. It shows that there was a busy life throbbing on both sides of the Indian frontier during the forty or fifty
years about which history is silent, that merchants were constantly coming and going, buying and selling. When the silence is at last broken, it is by the confused echo of an occurrence that was fraught with important consequences to India's immediate future. The birth of the new kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia was an event of first rate political importance. Bactria was the rich country between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, corresponding in large measure to Northern Afghanistan. Beyond it between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (Syr Daria), lay Sogdiana or Parthia. In 250 B.C. both these provinces revolted from the Hellenistic yoke. The leader of the Bactrian revolt was Diodotos. He was succeeded by a son of the same name to carry his policy to its logical conclusion.

At the same time the province of Parthia also declared its independence. The leader of the revolt was the governor of Parthia named Arsaces I.

It is not known definitely how long Diodotos II ruled; but it is certain from Polybius (XI, 34) that when Antiochus III appeared in the east at the head of an army, about 212 B.C., determined to reassert the Seleucid supremacy over the revolted kingdoms, the Bactrian throne had for some time been occupied by Euthydemus, who, in reply to the challenge of Antiochus, explained that he did not think it fair that he should be interfered with. The first real glimpse we get of
him is when he comes into conflict with Antiochus the Great. The Parthian campaign of the latter had been arduous and Arsaces III of Parthia seems at length to have been driven to yield upon terms, and by the year 208 Antiochus was at liberty to turn his arms against Bactria. To enter it, he had to ford the river Arius (Hari Rūd), the passage of which Euthydemus was prepared to dispute. When the critical moment came, the Bactrians allowed themselves to be outmanoeuvred. Antiochus displayed great personal courage and Euthydemus was so perturbed that he retreated at once to his capital at Zariaspa or Bactra, the modern Balkh. A siege presumably followed, and it is generally taken for granted that this was the famous siege of Bactra, casually mentioned by Polybius in quite another content. However that may be, the struggle was a prolonged one. By 206 two years had elapsed without either side having gained a decisive advantage. Meanwhile barbarian swarms were hovering anxious along the northern frontier of the kingdom. If the internecine strife continued, they might at any time descend upon the country and ruthlessly destroy every vestige of Hellenic civilisation. The reality of this peril was pressed home upon Antiochus by Teleas, a fellow-countryman of Euthydemus when the latter had empowered to use his good offices in working for a settlement. Antiochus gladly accepted the prospect of an honourable escape from a
situation that threatened to grow more and more embarrassing. Informal negotiations ultimately resulted in the despatch of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, as a fully accredited envoy to the camp of Antiochus. Polybius speaks in very high terms of the favourable impression which the handsome youth produced upon the Seleucid King, who offered him one of his daughters in marriage and indicated his desire to put down all objection to the use of the royal title by Euthydemus. An agreement covering the disputed points was drawn up and signed and a formal alliance was also concluded. After this agreement having been made Antiochus marched towards India and invaded it. The second Greek invasion of India amounted to little more than a reconnaissance in force. At this time Asoka had already breathed his last. Antiochus met a prince whom Polybius calls 'Sophagasenos, king of the Indians'. Sophagasenos offered his submission to Antiochus. After the Seleucid forces had withdrawn, the eyes of Euthydemus were turned longing towards the Land of the Five Rivers. He may actually have annexed it. If it did, it was probably only towards the close of his reign, for he would hardly have ventured to put such ambitious design into execution until he felt secure from interference at the hands of Antiochus III, and that he can scarcely have done before about 197, when the latter became hopelessly involved in the meshes of the anti-Roman policy which was to prove his ruin. The real instrument of conquest was his son
and successor, Demetrius, of whose romantic career one would like to believe that a far-off echo has survived in Chaucer's picturesque description of "the great Emetrius, the king of Inde."

There is no doubt that Demetrius is the first Hellenistic prince who issued coins having the bilingual legend. On one side we find the legend written in Greek and on the other side the legend is written in Kharoṣṭhī. A large number of coins having the obverse legend in Greek and the reverse legend in Kharoṣṭhī have been found. The rulers whose coins are found are mainly Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Antimachus Theos, Eukratides, Plato, Heliokles, Lysias, Antialkidas, Diomedes, Archebius, Apollodotos, Strato I, Strato with Agathokleia, Polyxenos, Menander, Epander, Dionysios, Zoilos, Apollophanes, Artemidors, Antimachus Nikephoros, Philoxenus, Nikias, Hippostratos, Theophilos, Amyntas, Telephos, Penkolaos, Strato I with Strato II, Hermaicos, and Hermaios with Kalliope. It is very difficult to make a chronological and genealogical scheme for these rulers because there is practically no material to do that except the evidence which is supplied by their coins. With the help of numismatic as well as literary evidence which is available it is possible to have two distinct houses, one founded by Euthydemos and the other founded by Eukratides.
The house of Euthydemos

It is evident from a study of the findspot as well as the nature of coins that the princes of the dynasty of Euthydemos who ruled both in Bactria as well as in the land to the south of the Hindu Kush mountains are Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathocles and probably also Antimachus.

Of these rulers Demetrius is the only prince who was known to classical authors. It is not yet definitely known where the bilingual coins which he issued were struck.

There is no doubt that Pantaleon and Agathocles were undoubtedly closely connected because they struck coins which are similar in type and form. The similarity is so much that we may consider them as the successive rulers. The palaeographical characteristic of the Brāhmī legends of the coins of these two rulers place them in the last quarter of the third century B.C.

The commemorative medals struck by Antimachus show that he claimed to be the successor of Diodotos and Euthydemos; but there is no evidence to mark his relation to Agathocles who also claims such a descent. Agathocles and Antimachus may have been ruling at the same period in different kingdoms. If we believe in such a theory, then we must hold that the house of Euthydemos was divided into two kingdoms at this stage, one being ruled by Agathocles and his successors, and
the other ruled by Antimachus and his descendants. The reverse type in which Antimachus is represented as riding on a prancing horse and wearing a flat cap (kausia), as on the obverse of the large silver Bactrian coins, is evidently a portrait; and the same type is continued on the coins of Philoxenus, Nicias, and Hippostratos who may have succeeded to the kingdom of Antimachus.

It is held by a group of scholars that there were two rulers bearing the name of Antimachus. The one ruler is Antimachus I Theos and the other, Antimachus II Nikephoros; but, according to the opinion of Rapson, it seems more probable that the coins assigned to these are merely the Bactrian and the Indian issues of the same ruler. The two classes are connected by their types; and the difference between them may well be local rather than chronological. They represent the workmanship of districts separated by some hundreds of miles and dissimilar in culture. They find parallels in the coinages of other Graeco-Indian rulers, viz., Demetrius, Eukratides, and Heliokles.

Of the princes to this house who ruled only in India Apollodotos seems to have been the first. He is twice mentioned by the ancient authors, and on both occasions along with Menander. From this evidence it may be concluded that these two princes were members of the family of Bathydemos, that they
belong to the same period and that Apollodotos was the elder.

Apollodotos appears to be represented by Apollodotos II Philopator, and Menander by Agathokleia and Strato. In the long and distinguished list of queens who have ruled in India must be included the name of Agathokleia. Her relation to Menander cannot be proved very definitely; but it is by no means improbable that she was his queen and the governor of his kingdom after his death. She was undoubtedly the mother of Strato I Soter. The coins issued by Agathokleia in association with her son, and by Strato ruling at first alone and afterwards in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator, supply the most valuable evidence for the reconstruction of the history and chronology of this period. On the earliest of these coins Agathokleia is represented as the queen regent holding the place of honour with her portrait and Greek inscription on the obverse, while the Kharoṣṭhī legend of the young prince occupies a subordinate position on the reverse. Afterwards the combined portraits of mother and son declare their association in the government; and, later still, a series of portraits shows Strato first reigning alone - as a youth or as a bearded man, and then in advanced old age reigning alone and in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator. If we judge from the different portraits found on the coins of Strato, then we find glimpses of a life of
more than seventy years. Between the earliest and the latest there is indeed a long interval, and to some period in this interval must be assigned the reigns of Apollodotos II Philopater, Dionysius, and Zoilus. They are associated by their common use of a peculiar monogram and it is probable that they were all descendants of Apollodotos I. Apollophanes whose name indicates that he may have been a member of the same family must belong to the period represented by the latest coins of Strato.

The life-time of Strato witnessed the decline in the eastern Punjab of the royal house to which he belonged and also the downfall of the Yavana rule in Northern India because during his rule there still came another great foreign invasion which led to the supremacy of the Sakas and Pahlavas.

The house of Euhratides

From such notices of the history of Bactria and Parthia as has been preserved by Greek and Latin writers a few main facts in the career of Eukratides may be gathered. He drove out Demetrius from the Bactrian kingdom, invaded the countries to the south of the Hindu Kush and wrested from Demetrius and the members of his house their possessions in the Kubl Valley, Arachosia and Asia and in N.W. India at some time before
162 B.C. He was deprived by Mithradates I of his recently conquered possessions in Ariana at some time between 162 and 155 B.C.; and, while returning in triumph from an Indian expedition, was slain by his son. Justin furnishes the important information that the prince who murdered Eukratides was a colleague of his father. The only Greeks whose names and portraits appear on a coin together with those of Eukratides are Heliodoros and his wife Laodike. Gardner thought that Heliodoros and Laodike were the father and mother of Eukratides; but von Sallet proposed an altogether different interpretation of the coins in question. He thought that these coins were issued by Eukratides, not in honour of his parents, but on the occasion of the marriage of his son Heliodoros with a Laodike whom von Sallet conjectured to have been daughter of Demetrius by the daughter of Antiochus III. If von Sallet's conjecture be accepted, then it is permissible to think that Heliodoros was the colleague of Eukratides referred to by Justin, and the murderer of his father.

The coins show that Heliodoros, the successor of Eukratides, also ruled both in Bactria and India, and that after his reign Greek power in Bactria ceased. Henceforth these princes are found only in kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush, and they are divided into two rival houses - the successors of Eukratides in the Kabul Valley and in N.W. India,
and the successors of Euthydemus in the eastern region of the Punjab.

The successors of Heliocles who, from numismatic evidence, are known to have ruled over the kingdom of Pukkalavati are Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus, and Peucelius.

The only Hellenistic ruler whose name has yet been found on a purely Indian monument is Antialkidas. A Bemagar inscription makes him a contemporary of Kaiśiputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā who probably ruled in the third quarter of the second century B.C. (sometime after Agnimitra). The capital of Antialkidas was probably at Taksāsilā or Taxila, the place whence his ambassador Heliodoros went to the kingdom of Bhāgabhadra.

On certain coins struck in the district of Taksāsilā (type 'Pilei') Antialkidas is associated with Lysias; but there is nothing to explain the relation which one bore to the other, or even to show clearly to which of the two royal houses of Yavanas Lysias belonged.

The type 'Pilei' is continued by Archebius after whose reign it is no longer found on any coins issued by a Yavana king.

There is numismatic evidence to show that Amyntas also belonged to the house of Eukratides.

Hermaeus is the last prince of the house of Eukratides. On some of his silver coins Hermaeus is associated with his
queen Calliope, who, like Agathokleia, must have been a princess in her own right. In the obverse type which represents the jugate busts of the king and queen, both of them wear the diadem; and their names are associated in the Greek and Kharoshthi legends.

With the conquest by the Sakas of the kingdoms held by the last successors of Euthydemos in the Eastern Punjab, Yavana rule had already ceased in the north-western region of the sub-continent which is now known as India, that is to say, the N.W. Frontier Province and the Punjab; and Hermaeus was the last king of his race to reign in India in its more extended historical and geographical sense, which includes the southern half of the present Afghanistan. His kingdom in the Upper Kabul Valley was the last remnant of the Yavana dominions; and it was hemmed in on every side by actual or possible foes - on the east and on the south-west by the Sakas and Pahlavas of Peshawar and Kandahar, and on the north by the Yueh-Chi who, since their settlement in the rich land of Bactria, had become a great power under the leadership of their chief tribe, the Kušanas. It was once held by Rapson that the Kušanas were the invaders who came over the Paropamisus from Bactria; and the testimony of coins, on which the names of the last Yavana king, Hermaeus, and the first
Kuṣāṇa conqueror, Kujula Kadphises, are found in association, seemed to justify this conclusion; but a fuller consideration of all the available evidences shows that the opinion of F.W. Thomas is almost certainly correct, viz., that there was an intermediate period during which the Pahlavas were in possession of Kahl.

The coins which bear the name of Hermæus must extend over a long period; and those which were mechanically copied by Kujula Kadphises to supply his first issues in the Kabul Valley are themselves barbarous. They are of copper and very far removed from the silver coins which were their prototypes. The earliest coins are of good style and of good metal; and they belong to the period before any of the square Greek letters had been introduced. Later issues are of coarser workmanship; the silver is alloyed, and the square □ appears in the Greek legend. So far, the deterioration of art and the debasement of the coinage are such as might well be expected to have taken place during the reign of a king who was menaced by enemies on every side. But further stages of degradation can only be explained as the result of a complete change in the character of the civilisation of this region. The alloyed coins are succeeded by barbarous issues which are unmistakably of copper, and finally of others in which Σ Χ Π Ο and, "the saviour", in the king's title appears as Σ Χ Π Ο Σ Ξ and is rendered in the corresponding Kharoṣṭhī legend by the word
mahatasa. It is clear that the Greek language was no longer properly understood by the die-engravers. These last are the coins which are imitated by Kujula Kadphises whose date can scarcely be earlier than 50 A.D., since, according to Marshall's observations, the evidence of the discoveries of Takṣaśilā shows that he was rather later than Gondophares, who is known to have reigned during the period from 19 A.D. to 45 A.D.

A large number of coins have been found which belong to the monarchs of the houses of Eukratides and Eutnydemos. They have the legend in two different scripts generally, viz., the Greek and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts. A considerable number of books and articles have been written on various problems connected with this group of coins. The most important single works on these coins are mainly the works written by Gardner\(^1\), Rapson\(^2\), Smith\(^3\) and Whitehead\(^4\) and the study of the Kharoṣṭhī script as found on the coins of the rulers belonging to the houses of Euthydemos and Eukratides will be made mainly on the basis of the information got from these coins.

Until very recent times we did not get any Kharoṣṭhī inscription of any of these rulers. The only inscription which

\(^1\) CGSRKI, 1886.
\(^2\) IC, 1897; CN, 1906.
we have recently found is the Bajaur casket inscriptions of
the reign and time of Menander.\(^1\) There are altogether seven
inscriptions engraved on this casket and they belong to dif-
ferent periods of time. Majumdar who had edited these in-
scriptions observed that "while... Inscriptions C-E are refer-
able to the period of the Saka Satraps of Taxila and Mathura,
Inscriptions A-B must be referred to a somewhat earlier date.
This date is suggested by Inscription A which refers itself
to the reign of Mahārāja Minandra, i.e., the Greek king
Menander, who ruled some time in the 2nd century B.C. To
the same date must also be assigned Inscriptions A\(^1\), A\(^2\) and B
which exhibit palaeographic features identical with those of
Inscription A. The difference in age between the two sets of
inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years, so
that we may suppose that the additional inscriptions C, D and
E were engraved some time in the 1st century B.C."\(^2\)

Besides this inscription there are certain other inscrip-
tions which may be referred to this age. These inscriptions
are three in number, viz., the Swat Relic Vase Inscription of
the Meridarkh Theodoros\(^3\), the Taxila copper-plate inscription
of a meridarkh\(^4\) and the Tirath Rock inscription.\(^5\)

(1) EI. Vol. XXIV, pp.1-8, pls, 1938.
(4) Ibid., pp.4-5, pl. I.2, 1929.
(5) Ibid., pp.8-9, pl. I.5, 1929. Three other inscriptions
which have been grouped along with these three epigraphs by
Konow, viz., the Bajaur seal inscription of Theodamas,
Paris Cornelian inscription and Saddo Rock inscription can
not be discussed with these inscriptions as they seem to be
definitely later if judged from the standpoint of palaeo-

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Vowels

It will be our endeavour to show those types of letters which we have found in the preceding period as well as any type which has been evolved. Beginning with the vowels one finds that the form of $a$ varies. Some of its varieties have already been found in the preceding period while others are not found there. The first type of $a$ is a letter which is shaped like a hook. (III.1.I) The second type of $a$ with an angle, not a hook, is distinctly not to be confused with the other. (III.1.II) The anusvāra attached to this letter is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the attached ma or anusvāra is nothing but a slanting stroke which is drawn from the left lower end of the vertical. (III.1.III) The second type is a miniature ma attached to the right side of the lower end of the vertical. (III.1.IV)

The vowel $i$ is indicated by a stroke which goes through the stem of the first type of the vowel $a$ in a horizontal manner. (III.2.I)

The vowel $u$ is formed by the addition of an oblique stroke drawn from the left side of the lower end of the vertical. In this way it is very similar to this vowel which we have found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. (III.3.I).

The vowel $e$ is made by the addition of a horizontal stroke attached to the stem of the vowel $a$ to the right. (III.4.I)
The first letter which we are to do here is the letter ka of which a number of varieties are found. There are exactly similar to the types which have been found in the preceding period. \( \gamma \) (III.5.I), \( \gamma \) (III.5.II) and \( \gamma \) (III.5.III). We have found also the examples of ki \( \gamma \) (III.5.IV) and ke \( \gamma \) (III.5.V).

There are altogether three different types of the letter kha. The first type of kha has also been found in the inscriptions of Asoka. \( \gamma \) (III.6.I) The second type of kha is a semi-circle to the lower part of which one curved line is added. \( \gamma \) (III.6.II) The third type of kha is a parabolic curve. \( \gamma \) (III.6.III) The e-stroke added to this letter is a slanting line drawn from the upper field to the middle line. \( \gamma \) (III.6.IV)

There is only one type of ga which is also found in the inscriptions of Asoka. \( \gamma \) (III.7.I) The i-stroke attached to this letter is a slanting vertical line which is drawn through the left arm of the letter. \( \gamma \) (III.7.II)

The letter gha which we find here is quite distinct from the type of gha which we have noticed in the inscriptions of Asoka. It is formed by the addition of a limb drawn from the middle of the vertical. \( \gamma \) (III.8.I)
Palatals

There are three different types of the letter ca which are very similar to the same letters found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. \( \mathbf{x} \) (III.9.I), \( \mathbf{y} \) (III.9.II) and \( \mathbf{z} \) (III.9.III)

On a coin of Strato I we have found the legend maharājasa pracārāsa tratarasa Stratasa. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākrit word pracārāsa is pratyakṣasya. It is, therefore, obvious that this sign stands for a letter which is different from cha and which has, therefore, been indicated by the term cha. This sign looks like the letter cha without the horizontal line crossing the vertical. \( \mathbf{y} \) (III.10.I) We have found another example in which the o-stroke is attached to this letter. The o-stroke is drawn from the left lower end of the semi-circular curve. \( \mathbf{y} \) (III.10.II) The word where this letter occurs has been read by Thomas as aghadakṣopayae which, according to Konow, is Sanskrit arghadaksīnāyai or a mistake for the usual arogadakṣipayae, Skr. arogyadaksīnāyai. Here also it is apparent that this particular sign corresponds in Sanskrit to the compound letter kṣa.

The letter ja has been expressed in a number of ways. Here we have found a number of varieties of ja which we have also found in the inscriptions of Aśoka as well as in some of

the negama coins. They are Υ (III.11.I) and Υ (III.11.II)

Besides these forms of ja there are certain other forms of ja which are found in this period for the first time. There is one type of ja which is similar to ja as shown in III.11.II with the addition of a dot just below the upper oblique line on the left. Υ (III.11.III) That this dot is present is clear from the plate of coins in Whitehead's work. It is very difficult to explain the significance of this dot and to say whether it has got any peculiar phoenetic significance. There is one statement of Bühler which may be quoted in this connection. It runs as follows: "The meaningless upward stroke connected with the foot of the verticals occurs only occasionally on the Indo-Grecian coins... (7.VI; 20.VI; 36.VI). More frequently it appears attached to the left of the signs, as in a (1.VI), and even with ha (37.VI). A cursive substitute is the very common dot, as in ha (37.VII); compare also ma (29.VII)."¹ That this statement is, to some extent, not correct may be pointed out here. Bühler was not justified in citing the examples of ma and ha with the dot as the cursive substitute for "the meaningless upward stroke connected with the foot of the verticals" because in no example of ma nor of ha is this upward stroke drawn from the foot of the vertical found. Of course though Bühler has not mentioned any example of ja in this connection, we have found the examples of ja

(1) IP, p.27, 1904.
with the upward stroke drawn from the foot of the vertical in
the inscriptions of Asoka. But here the example is, to some
extent, different. Here we have found the presence of the
horizontal base-line for this letter besides this dot. There-
fore it seems that it is not possible to explain the true
significance of this dot though we must consider this peculiar
type as an altogether new one. There is another type of \text{j}
which is like III.11.I with the addition of an upward stroke
to the end of the vertical on the left. ∨ (III.11.IV) There
is one question attached to this sign, viz., whether this
sign is to be read as \text{ja} or \text{ju}. There is a divergence of
opinion regarding the interpretation of this sign. Gardner
has read this sign as \text{ja}.\(^{(1)}\) It seems that Rapson read this
sign as \text{ju}.\(^{(2)}\) Whitehead has interpreted this sign as \text{ja}.\(^{(3)}\)
Smith has also interpreted this sign as \text{ja}.\(^{(4)}\) Let us, first of
all, deal with the interpretation as proposed by Rapson. There
are two different points of view from which this should be
judged, i.e., from the point of view of palaeography as well
as from the point of view of phoenetics. From the point of
view of palaeography it may be quite all right. In the

(1) GGSKBI, p.lxx, 1886.
(2) IC, pl. I.10 and key to this plate, 1897.
inscriptions of Aśoka we have found a similar letter which has been rightly read as ju by Hultzsch and others.¹ The word which is written there with the help of this sign is majura meaning peacock. From the point of view of phonetics the form maharajusa is decidedly doubtful. Let us now deal with the reading proposed by Gardner, Smith and Whitehead. From the palaeographical point of view it may be said that this ja may be a variation of the variety of ja with the upward stroke drawn from the foot of the vertical which we have found in quite a number of the inscriptions of Aśoka. The reading maharajasa would give an acceptable Prākrit form. If we are to choose between these two different readings, then we prefer the reading ja because in most of the similar legends we read ja. In that case this may be considered as another type of the letter ja. There is another type of ja not previously found. It is formed by the addition of an oblique stroke drawn from the left lower side of the vertical towards the left. (III.11.V) There are different interpretations for this sign. Gardner considered this sign as one form of ja occurring in this age.² Smith also held a similar view³; but Bühler read this as ju. In this connection he has written that "on the coins of Antimachus, Apollodotos, Eukratides,

(1) S. III. 6.
(2) CGSKBI, p. lxx, 1886.
Menandros and Zoilus the third sign of the first word is \( \gamma \), and all numismatists read maharajasa (māhārajasa or māharaṣa) taking \( \gamma \) simply as a variety of \( \gamma \) or \( \gamma \). As the inscriptions nowhere show such a complicated form of the letter, it seems difficult to accept this view, and I would suggest that the upward stroke is intended for an \( \eta \). The Pāli offers the form rājūhi, rājūhi, rājunap and rājüşu. Hence a genitive rājussa is linguistically possible and might be accepted for the coins, where we find also (see below) the genitive tratarasa, i.e., trātārasa, though the literary Pāli does not admit the stems in tāra in that particular case.

The unusual turn of the \( \eta \)-stroke was, of course, caused by the base-line of the letter, which did not admit of its being turned downwards as is regularly done in \( \gamma \) ju.\(^1\) It is very difficult to say which of the two interpretations is better. The general tendency among scholars at present is to consider this letter as \( \text{ja} \). If we accept this view, then we must consider it as a new variety of the letter \( \text{ja} \).

We have also found the examples of the letter \( \text{jha} \) \( \gamma \) (III.12.I) as well as \( \text{jho} \) \( \gamma \) (III.12.II)

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Only one type of śa is found and this is similar to the type which has been found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. (III.13.1) The i-stroke attached to this letter is exactly of the same nature as we have found in other similar examples of the preceding periods. (III.13.1)

There is only one type of the letter da. (III.14.1) It is exactly similar to a type of da which has been found in the preceding period. The i-stroke attached to this letter is a line which passes through the horizontal portion of this letter.

The letter na is very important so far as the question of the evolution of this script is concerned. We have found here practically one type of na which is very different from the types of this letter occurring in the previous period. The examples of this letter have been found in the Swat Relic Vase Inscription¹, the Taxila copper-plate inscription of a meridarkh² and also in some inscriptions found at Bajaur of the reign of Menander.³ Regarding the shape of the letter na Konow has observed that "the cerebral nasal na has two different forms, which occur side by side during the whole period:

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² Ibid., no. II, 1929.
one with a rounded, the other with an angular head. The former can be traced from Pāṭhyār and Tirath down to Wardak, the latter from Karnal and the Swat and Taxila Meridarkh inscriptions down to Wardak and Jaulia. Sometimes the head is almost rectangular; cf. Fatehjang, Kala Sang, sometimes in Manikiala, &c."¹ Regarding the shape of the letter ṁa found in the Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros Konow has remarked that "ṁa has a pointed head."² On the shape of the same letter in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of a meridarkh he has again observed that "ṁa has the pointed top which we find on the Swat Vase, the Muchai and Paja records."³ Konow, by his first statement, leads us to believe that the two types of ṁa are prevalent simultaneously from this time to the time of the Wardak vase inscription, i.e., from the middle of the first century B.C. to the late Kuṣana period. Here we want to make two general statements. First, in the preceding period, i.e., during the period of Aśoka we do not find any example of ṁa with an angular head. In that period we find mainly two different types so far as the head is concerned, i.e., one type in which the head is round and another type in which, to use an expression used by Konow, "the head is almost

² Ibid., p. 1, 1929.
rectangular." Therefore what Konow has found in Fatehjang, Kalasang and Manikiala inscriptions has already been noticed in the inscriptions of Asoka. Secondly, it is for the first time that we have found the occurrence of pa with an angular head. Therefore it is almost certain that the occurrence of such a type of pa can not be placed earlier than this period. While Konow believes in the prevalence of these two different types of pa at the same time, Majumdar hold an altogether different view. He was of the opinion that the pa with the rounded head was earlier than the pa with an angular head. Regarding the palaeographical features of certain inscriptions found on the casket at Bajaur of the reign of Menander Majumdar made the following observation, "The engraving of letters has not been carried out in the same uniform style throughout, and from this point of view, the inscriptions may be classified under two distinct groups. In A, A', A'' and B the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in C, D and E the writing is shallow, the letters are comparatively small and the strokes in many places are no better than superficial scratches.... The grouping of inscriptions as suggested above can be justified also on grounds of palaeography. Inscriptions A-B have in all the instances pa with a rounded head, but in C-E it shows definitely an acute angle." 1 Here Majumdar obviously thought the pa with the

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rounded head is earlier than the \( \text{pa} \) with the angular head. This opinion of Majumdar is very opposite to that held by Konow. There is, however, one point in which we wish to offer criticism. Majumdar believed that there were two different types of \( \text{pa} \) in these inscriptions but a close perusal of the plates which accompany his article had led us to form the idea that here we find only one type of \( \text{pa} \) and that is, with the angular head. The examples which we have found in the inscriptions no. A (\( \text{pra [pa] - [sa] me [da]} \)), A2 (\( \text{pra[asameta]} \)), D (\( \text{gri[ayatri, sakamupisa]} \)) and E (\( \text{amakatena} \)) have the angular head, though the \( \text{pa} \) as found in A and A2 has not such a pronounced angle as the remaining ones. Anyhow the letter \( \text{pa} \) as found in A and A2 has not the rounded head as Majumdar believed. We may, therefore, conclude that this type of \( \text{pa} \) with the angular head is found here for the first time / (III.15.1) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is a slanting line drawn through the head of this letter. / (III.15.II)

**Dentals**

A number of varieties of the letter \( \text{ta} \) has been found. Among these varieties some have already been found in the inscriptions of Adoka and some are absolutely new. The following types of \( \text{ta} \) which have been found here are also found in
the inscriptions of Aśoka, viz., \( \text{ alf } \) (III.16.I) and \( \text{ alf } \) (III.16.II). Besides these two types there is one type which we have not found in the preceding period. The main characteristic feature of this type is that it has a horizontal baseline. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.16.III) The letter \( \text{ alf } \) is exactly similar to the same letter in the inscriptions of Aśoka. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.16.IV) In the Aśokan inscriptions we have found three different ways in which the \( \text{ alf } \)-stroke is attached to the letter; but here we find the prevalence of only one type out of these three types with a small curve added to it. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.16.V) The letter \( \text{ bef } \) is exactly similar in nature to the same letter in the inscriptions of Aśoka. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.16.VI) The letter \( \text{ bef } \) is also exactly similar in nature to the same letter in the inscriptions of Aśoka. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.16.VII)

There is no dissimilarity between the letter \( \text{ bef } \) occurring in this period and the same letter in the preceding period. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.17.I) The \( \text{ bef } \)-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by the slight curving of the lower end of the vertical. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.17.II) The \( \text{ bef } \)-stroke added to this letter is made in two different manners. In the first type it is added to the left end of the horizontal line. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.17.III) In the second type this is added further inwards. \( \text{ bef } \) (III.17.IV)
The letter da has been expressed in a number of ways. Out of these different types of letters some have already been found in the preceding period and some are new types. The types which are previously found are $S$ (III.18.I) and $S$ (III.18.II) Besides these two types we have found two other types which are not found in the preceding period. The first type consists of an almost straight vertical line with a horizontal base-line. $\dot{i}$ (III.18.III) The second type has a hook at the head and also a horizontal stroke on the left of the base. $f$ (III.18.IV) The $i$-stroke is indicated in two different manners. The first type (III.18.I) has already been found in the preceding period. The second type is a horizontal stroke passing through the vertical. (III.18.IV)

The letter dha which is expressed in one way is an old type. $\dot{j}$ (III.19.I)

The letter na is expressed in two different ways. The first type is an almost straight vertical line. $f$ (III.20.I) The second type consists of two parts, i.e., a curved line to which one horizontal base-line is added. $\dot{j}$ (III.20.II) The $i$-stroke is expressed by an almost horizontal line going through the vertical. $f$ (III.20.III)
The letter pa is indicated in three different ways. Of these types one is an old one. $h$ (III.21.I) There is another type with an upward stroke added to the base of the vertical. $h$ (III.21.II) There is another type in which the vertical stops at the place where the horizontal stroke meets it at the head. $h$ (III.21.III) The $i$ attached to this letter is a vertical stroke going through the horizontal line. $h$ (III.21.IV) The $u$ is a short stroke added to the left of the base of the vertical. (III.21.II)

There are two different types of the letter pha of which one is an old one. $+$ (III.22.I) The second type is a new one in which the vertical on the left does not go above the horizontal. $+-$ (III.22.II) The $i$-stroke is attached to this letter in two different manners. In the first type the $i$-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the left side of the horizontal line. (III.22.II) In the second type the $i$-stroke is a vertical line which goes down touching the left end of the left side of the vertical. $+-$ (III.22.III)

There is only one type of ba which occurred in the preceding period. $\forall$ (III.23.I) The $i$-stroke attached to this letter is a vertical line which goes through the head of this letter. (III.23.I) The $u$-stroke is indicated by a complete curve attached to the left lower end of the letter. $\forall$ (III.23.II) The $o$-stroke is the same as that found in the preceding age. $\forall$ (III.23.III)
There is one type of the letter bha which is an old type. $	ext{ня}$(III.24.I) The i-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the left side of the main horizontal line. $	ext{ня}$(III.24.II)

The letter ma is expressed in five different ways. Out of these different types of ma some have already been found in the preceding period and some are absolutely new. The following types of ma have already been found in the inscriptions of the preceding period, viz., $\text{ма}$ (III.25.I), $\text{ма}$ (III.25.II) and $\text{ма}$ (III.25.III). Besides these types we have got two other types which are not found in the preceding period. The first of these types is a little different from III.25.III as the horizontal stroke is placed below the curve of the letter. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.IV) The second type is a distinctly new one. It is an ordinary example of the letter ma with a dot below the curve of the letter. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.V) The i-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the curve of this letter. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.VI) The u-stroke is indicated by a horizontal line added to the left side of the curve. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.VII) The g-stroke is a vertical line drawn towards the middle of the curve. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.VIII) The anusvāra is expressed by the placing of a miniature ma below the main ma. $\text{ма}$ (III.25.IX)
Semi-vowels

The letter \textit{va} is expressed in two different manners. They are old types, viz., $\wedge$ (III.26.I) and $\triangleright$ (III.26.II). The $\nu$-stroke is an upward line drawn from the lower end of the left vertical $\wedge$ (III.26.III). The \textit{anusvāra} is expressed by the placing of a miniature \textit{ma} to the left of the left vertical. $\triangleright$ (III.26.IV)

The letter \textit{ra} is expressed in two different manners. They are old types, viz., $\checkmark$ (III.27.I) and $\mathcal{N}$ (III.27.II). The $i$-stroke is a vertical line which passes through the horizontal portion of the letter. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.27.III)

There are different types of the letter \textit{la} of which a few are the representation of the old types. They are the following ones: $\mathcal{N}$ (III.28.I) and $\checkmark$ (III.28.II). In the new type there is the addition of a short horizontal line to the end of the vertical line. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.28.III) The $i$-stroke is a vertical line which goes through the horizontal portion of the letter. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.28.IV)

The letter \textit{va} is indicated in the old manner. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.29.I) The $i$-stroke attached to this letter is a vertical line which goes through the horizontal portion of the letter. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.29.II) The $\nu$-stroke is a short horizontal line drawn from the lower end of the vertical towards the left. $\mathcal{N}$ (III.29.III)
Sibilants and \( \tilde{ha} \)

The letter \( \tilde{sa} \) is indicated only in one manner and this type of \( \tilde{sa} \) is also found in the preceding period. \( \tilde{\ell} \) (III. 30.I) The \( \tilde{a} \)-stroke attached to this letter is a vertical line which goes through the middle of the horizontal line forming this letter. \( \tilde{\ell} \) (III.30.II)

So far as the letter \( \tilde{sa} \) is concerned, we have found a number of types, some of which are old and some of which are new. Before discussing these different forms and their importance in the history of the evolution of this script it is important to summarise an article on this point written by Majumdar. While writing a note on the coins of Aces he had to deal with the shape of the Kharoṣṭhī letter \( \tilde{sa} \). In this connection it is important to quote what he has written. He has observed that "for our present purpose the most important letter is the dental sibilant (\( \tilde{sa} \)), which in Aśokan inscriptions has the appearance of the English letter P with a horn stretched to the left of the loop. (Fig. I) In the records of the Śaka-Pahlava period, it shows an opening on the left but retains in many cases a trace of the upward projection of the lower vertical and the horn of the letter is stretched above as a vertical stroke (Fig. 2) or as a curve turned to the right. (Fig. 3) In the inscriptions of the Kusānas as well as in those from Central Asia, the letter is always of
the 'open' type, without any upward projection of the lower vertical. (Fig. 4) Pl. LXIV which illustrates the development of the Khąroṣṭhī alphabet on the coins will show that the 'closed' Asokan or 'archaic' type of sa regularly occurs on all the Indo-Greek coins (Pl. LXIV, 1-6), and on all the issues of Māues (Pl. LXIV, 7-8), the Vonones group (Pl. LXIV, 9), and Ažes I and Ažilises (Pl. LXIV, 10-12), and the 'open' or 'late' type on the coins of Ažes II (Pl. LXIV, 13), Ažes II with Aśpavaran (Pl. LXIV, 14, 15) and Gondopharnes. On the coins of the latter group of kings the 'intermediate' form, which retains a trace of the projection of the lower vertical, often appears (Pl. LXIV, 15) simultaneously with the 'open' type. But the letter regularly takes the open form on the currency of the Kusāna kings Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. (Pl. LXIV, 18-21). It is necessary to offer certain criticism to this statement of Majumdar. There is no doubt that in the Asokan inscriptions the type of sa is 'closed'; but when Majumdar says that "the 'closed' Asokan or 'archaic' type of sa regularly occurs on all the Indo-Greek coins (Pl. LXIV, 1-6)," he is certainly far from what actual specimens indicate because we have found on coins of certain Indo-Greek rulers, viz., Strato² and Dionysius³ the prevalence

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(1) ASIAR for 1928-29, pp.171-72, 1933.
(2) CN, pl. XII, no. 11, 1906.
(3) CGSKBI, pl. XII.9, 1886.
of the 'open' typed \textit{sa}. It is further important to note that on coins of Strato we find both these types of \textit{sa}. We therefore find that the observation of Majumdar is not wholly correct. Here we have found a number of types of this letter of which some are old types and some are new. Here we have found two different varieties of the letter \textit{sa}, i.e., the 'closed' or archaic and the 'open' or late. It has already been said that in the inscriptions of Aśoka we have found only the closed varieties. So there cannot be any doubt that the 'closed' variety is earlier in age than the 'open'. Among the 'closed' varieties there are certain types which have already been noticed in the inscriptions of Aśoka, viz., \textit{P} (III.31.I) The second type is almost an example of the \textit{sa} of the first type with the addition of a horizontal baseline. \textit{P} (III.31.II) Let us now see the 'open' or late types. The third type is an open type or, according to the phraseology of Majumdar, the 'intermediate' form, which retains a trace of the projection of the lower vertical. \textit{P} (III.31.III) The fourth type is absolutely an open type which is found on a type of coin of Strato I. \textit{P} (III.31.IV) The \textit{I}-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by an oblique line which goes through the head of this letter. \textit{K} (III.31.V)

The letter \textit{ha} is indicated in a number of ways among which some are old types and some are new ones. The following
are the old types, viz., \(\varPi\) (III.32.I), \(\varOmega\) (III.32.II), \(\varPi\) (III.32.III) There is one type which is absolutely new. This type looks like III.32.I with the addition of a dot to the left of the lower portion of the curve. \(\varPi\) (III.32.IV) The \(i\)-stroke is an oblique line which goes through the middle of the main vertical line. \(\varPi\) (III.32.V) The \(u\)-stroke is a short oblique line which is placed to the left of the vertical portion of the letter in the lower part. \(\varPi\) (III.32.VI) The \(e\)-stroke is an oblique line drawn to the upper portion of the letter. \(\varPi\) (III.32.VII)

**Compound akṣaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

The compound letters are made with the initial ka and ga. So far as the group with the initial ka is concerned, we find \(kra\) which is similar to the same letter as found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. \(\varPi\) (III.33.I) So far as the group with the initial ga is concerned, we find \(gra\) which is made by the addition of a horizontal stroke drawn towards the right side from the lower end of the vertical. \(\varPi\) (III.33.II) In shape this letter is similar to the same letter found in the inscriptions of Aśoka.
Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are made with the initial ta, da and dha. So far as the group with the initial ta is concerned, we find the compound letter tra. This compound letter is indicated in only one manner which is old. \( \text{L} \) (III.34.I)

The compound letter with the initial da is dha which is formed in the same manner as in the preceding period. \( \text{L} \) (III.34.II)

The compound letter with the initial dha is dhra which is formed in a manner as found in the preceding period. \( \text{L} \) (III.34.III)

Groups with initial labial

The compound letter is made with the initial pa. The letter is formed in two different manners, viz., \( \text{b} \) (III.35.I) and \( \text{b} \) (III.35.II)

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The compound letter is formed with the initial ra only. The compound letter thus formed is rkhe which is the following one:– \( \text{q} \) (III.36.I)
Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial sa only. The letters thus formed are sta and stra. The letter sta is very similar to the same letter as found in the preceding period. \( \div (\text{III.37.I}) \) The letter stra is also similar to the same letter as found in the preceding period. \( \div (\text{III.37.II}) \)
CHAPTER IV

The period of tribal coins

Here it will be our endeavour to discuss the position of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the second as well as first centuries B.C. as we learn from the coins of the Andumbaras, the Kunindas, the Bājanyas and some uncertain coins. Before discussing the question of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script it will be important to narrate the history of these tribes so far as it is important from the standpoint of the study of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script.

The coins of the Andumbaras are known for a long time. They formed a tribe which was mentioned by a number of Indian as well as classical authors. Pliny gives the description of a people called the Odeonbasses but as they are placed in the Kaech, they cannot be equated with this people. In the Mahābhārata there is the mention of the Andumbaras with the people of the north. The Bhāt-samhitā places them in the middle country. The Gaṇapātha on Panini, iv. 2, 5, 3, places them near the people of Jālandhara, a location which the coins

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support. So far as the provenance of these coins is concerned, there is no doubt that they are found in a definite area in the Northern Punjab. These coins have been mainly found in Pathankot, Jwalamukhi, Trippal and also Hoshiarpur district. From this evidence it is to be concluded that "the Andumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kangra district, the Gurdaspar district and the Hoshiarpur district, that is to say, the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvi." So far as the coins of the Andumbaras are concerned, Allan has divided them into three classes, viz., a series of copper coins bearing the name of the tribe, a few rare silver pieces, and a group of round copper and billon pieces, the attribution of which is due to Cunningham and is supported by provenance, but has not yet been further confirmed or disproved.

To the first class of coins are to be referred the coins of four kings who are named Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dharaghosa. The most interesting element in these coins from our point of view is the legend which is in Kharoṣṭhī on the obverse and Brāhmī on the reverse. The full legends, which are in Prākrit, run thus:—

(1) CCII, p.lxxvii, 1936.
barisa. b. Mahadevasa reṇa Rudradasasa Odu(ṇ)barisa. c. Mahadevasa rana Dharaghosa Odu(ṇ)barisa. d. Mahadevasa reṇa Odu(ṇ)barisa. Allan has rightly observed that "the epigraph points to the first century B.C. The Pathankot coins were found with coins of Zoilus, Vonones and Gondophares, as well as of Kaniśka and Huviśka, so that the Awiumbara coins probably preceded the coins of these invaders."¹

To the second group of coins belong some coins of Dharaghosa and Mahādeva who are also known from the first group of coins. But there is another ruler whose coins will be referred to this group only and who is, therefore, a new name. His name is Rudravarman. The legend is important for our purpose. The legend which is in Prākrit is written in Kharoṣṭhī on one side and Brāhmī on the other side. The Kharoṣṭhī legend, if reconstructed, runs thus: vijayaya reṇa vemakisa Rudravarmasa.

Regarding the third group of coins Allan has observed, "Following Cunningham, we have retained the attribution to the Andumbaras of a group of coins of kings whose names end in mitra, which are not in type or style particularly closely connected with the coins bearing the name Oduṃbari. A link is perhaps found in the elephant, usually, however, with rider on the obverse, and, though rarely visible, the tree in

¹ CCAI, p. lxxxiv, 1936.
front of it."¹ We have found the coins of four rulers, viz., Āryamitra, Mahīmitra, Bhānūmitra and Mahābhūtimitra. The legends on these coins are Prākrit written in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. Regarding the age of these coins Allan remarks that "these coins come from the Punjab, notably from the Hoshiarpur district, and are to be dated in the first century B.C. or A.D."² Allan has not explained why he wishes to ascribe these coins even to the first century A.D. Of course we do not see any difference between the legends of these coins and those of the coins mentioned above. Rapson has also attributed these coins to the beginning of the 1st century B.C. when he remarks that "the coins found in the district of Pathankot are in style like the hemidrachms of the Greek prince Apollodotos and are found together with them. Their date is, therefore, probably c.100 B.C."³ It is, therefore, fairly obvious that these coins cannot be placed as late as the first century A.D.

Like the Andumbaras the coins of the Kunindas are also known for a long time.⁴ The Kuninda tribe has been referred to in ancient Indian literature. In the Brhat Samhitā the

¹ Ibid., p. lxxxvi, 1936.
² Ibid., p. lxxxvi, 1936.
³ IC, SS 43, 1897.
Kuñindas have been placed in the north-eastern division along with the Kashmirians, Kulutas and Sairindhas. The form Kulinda is found in Varāhamihira's Brhat-Saṃhitā as well as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and Mahābhārata. The name was also quite well known to Ptolemy who gives the name Kulindrine to the country in which the Beas, Sutlej, and Jumna rise. So far as the provenance of these coins is concerned, there is no doubt that they are to be referred to some definite area. These coins have been found at Tappa Mewa in the Hamirpur district of the Punjab, at Sunnit, four miles west of Ludhiana, at Jvalamukhi, also in the Punjab, at Karnal and also at Behat near Saharanpur. The distribution of these coins, therefore, suggests that the Kuñindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik Hills between the Jumna and the Subtlej, and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej. Allan has attributed these coins into two main groups, one issued about the end of the first century B.C. and the other about three centuries later. Regarding the division of these coins one remark of Rapson is very important. He observes that "their coins are of two periods. The earlier, which, like those of the Andumbaras, have legends in both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters, and like them too are found in company with hemidrachms of Apollodotos... are probably as early as B.C. 100... The later, which seem to
show the influence of the larger copper money of the Kuśanas, and which bear inscriptions in a later form of Brāhmī characters, may, perhaps, belong to the 3rd or 4th centuries A.D.... The fact that the coins of the Yaudheyas also fall naturally into similar classes...would seem to show that these Hindu states, and probably others, rose in power as the Greek and Kuśana supremacies successively declined.¹

Here we are to deal with the coins of the earlier period. This class of coins bears the name of Amoghabhūti only. The legends are in Prākrit, the obverse being in Brāhmī and the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī. From the palaeographical point of view these coins are to be referred to the first century B.C.

The coins of the Rājanyas are also known for a long time.² The correct reading of the first part of the legend Rajaṇa — previously read rajāṇa — was first given by Smith.³ This corresponds to the Sanskrit Rājanya, a synonym of Kṣatriya, but, as Jayaswal has pointed out, it is here the name of a people and the inscription Rajaṇa-janapadasa means 'of the Rājanya tribe'. They have been mentioned by a number of ancient Indian authors. In the Bṛhat-saṃghīta they are mentioned among the peoples of the north. This name has been

¹ IC, SS 50, 1897.
Bergny who concluded that the inscriptions were:

Br. \( Vṛṣṇī\)-\( rājān\)-\( ga\)-\( ś\)-\( as\)-\( ya\) \( tr\)-\( ar\)-\( as\)

Khar. \( Vṛṣṇī\)-\( rājān\)-\( ga\) -\( tra\)-

Allan reads the legends as follow:—

Br. \( Vṛṣṇī\)-\( r\)[ā]j\( n\)-\( ga\)-\( ś\)-\( as\)-\( ya\) \( tr\)-\( ar\)-\( as\)

Khar. \( Vṛṣṇī\)-\( rājān\)-\( ga\)-\( ś\)

Regarding the age of this coin Allan has observed that "the coin belongs to the first century B.C., presumably to the northern India." We, thus, see that all these coins presumably belong to the same age, viz., the 1st century B.C.

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels, one finds one variety of the vowel \( ā\) which is an old type. \( ā\) (IV.1.I)

The vowel \( o\) is also an old type in which we find one stroke drawn from the vertical of the letter towards the left. \( o\) (IV.2.I)

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

The first letter which we are to do here is the letter \( ka\) of which at least two varieties are found here. These are old

(1) JRAS, 1900, pp.416-21, 1900.
(2) CCAI, p.clvii, 1936.
types. They are the following ones: \( \行 (IV.3.I) \) and \( \行 (IV.3.II) \) Here we have found examples of \( \kj \) and \( \ku \). The letter \( \kj \) is represented in the same manner as in the preceding period. \( (IV.3.I) \) The \( \upstroke \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated by one horizontal stroke added to the left side from the foot of the vertical forming this letter. \( \行 (IV.3.III) \) There is only one type of the letter \( \ge \) which seems to be an old type. \( \行 (IV.4.I) \)

The type of the letter \( \gha \) is also old. \( \行 (IV.5.I) \). We have also found the example of the \( \downstroke \)-stroke added to this letter. \( \行 (IV.5.II) \)

**Palatals**

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \ja \) which are old. \( \行 (IV.6.I) \) and \( \行 (IV.6.II) \)

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \hha \) which are also old. \( \行 (IV.7.I) \) and \( \行 (IV.7.II) \)

**Linguale**

There is only one type of the letter \( \ya \) which is old. \( \行 (IV.8.I) \) The \( \downstroke \)-stroke attached to this letter is an oblique line which passes through the head of the letter. \( \行 (IV.8.II) \)
Dentals

There are two different types of the letter \( \text{ta} \) which are old. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.9.I) and \( \text{\`}\) (IV.9.II) The \( i \)-stroke added to this letter is also old. (IV.9.II)

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \text{da} \) all of which are old. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.10.I) and \( \text{\`}\) (IV.10.II) The letters \( \text{\`}\) (IV.10.III) and \( \text{\`}\) (IV.10.IV) which we find here are also old.

The letter \( \text{dha} \) is of one variety and is an old type. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.11.I)

The letter \( \text{na} \) which is also of one variety consists mainly of one perpendicular line. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.12.I)

Labials

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{pa} \) which is old. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.13.I)

We find the prevalence of only one type of the letter \( \text{ba} \) which is old. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.14.I)

The letter \( \text{bha} \) which we find here is also an old type. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.15.I) The \( u \)-stroke attached to this letter is a short horizontal line added to the lower end of the stem on the left. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.15.II)

We find two different types of the letter \( \text{ma} \) of which one is an old type. \( \text{\`}\) (IV.16.I) The second type which is
new is formed in a different manner. Instead of being a semi-
circular figure it is perfectly an angular figure consisting
of two slightly slanting lines. \( \text{\textgamma} \) (IV.16.II) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke
attached to this letter is a perpendicular line piercing
through the semi-circle. \( \text{\textpsi} \) (IV.16.III)

**Semi-vowels**

The letter \( \text{\textva} \) has only one form which was also prevalent
in the preceding period. \( \text{\textomega} \) (IV.17.I)

The letter \( \text{\textra} \) is expressed in two different manners.
These two types are old. \( \text{\textgamma} \) (IV.18.I) and \( \text{\textgamma} \) (IV.18.II) The
\( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is the perpendicular line
which goes through the horizontal portion of this letter.
\( \text{\textomega} \) (IV.18.III) The \( \text{\textu} \)-stroke is indicated by an almost curved
stroke added to the end of the vertical on the left. \( \text{\textupsilon} \) (IV.18.IV)

The letter \( \text{\textva} \) is expressed in two different manners which
are old types. They are the following ones:- \( \text{\textgamma} \) (IV.19.I)
and \( \text{\textgamma} \) (IV.19.II). The \( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is
also an old type. \( \text{\textupsilon} \) (IV.19.III) We have found one letter
on a coin which Bergny has read as \text{\textvri}.\(^1\) It is important to
discuss its previous reading. Cunningham read it as \text{\textvri}.\(^2\).

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(1) JRAS, 1900, p.416.
(2) CAI, p.70, 1891.
Allen says that Bergny has read it as \( Vr \); but it seems that Bergny has not proposed the reading which Allan has ascribed to him. The first question which is to be tackled here is that whether this sign should be read as \( Vr \) or \( Vri \). Of course Cunningham and Bergny have written this sign as \( Vri \). It is very difficult to say what Cunningham actually meant when he wrote it as \( Vri \) when in case of the Brāhmī legend he wrote it as \( Vri \). Obviously he most probably gives different values to these two signs. In any case we can not have any sign which may be read as \( Vri \) or it may be argued that the addition of the two letters \( ra \) and \( i \) is nothing but \( r \). Therefore the sign which has been transliterated as \( Vri \) by Cunningham and Bergny is meant to be taken as \( r \). Therefore this sign should best be transliterated as \( Vr \). This reading is still more certain because in the corresponding Brāhmī legend we find the letter \( Vr \). If this letter is \( Vr \), then it is certainly the first use of the vowel \( r \) in conjunct with a consonant inscriptions so far as the Indian Kharoṣṭhī are concerned. In this connection two remarks of Rapson are worth quoting. He remarked, "No example of initial \( r \) has been noticed: but medial \( r \) is regularly represented by a zig-zag stroke, which is either written across the stem of the letter to which it is attached, or beneath the letter if it has no stem: e.g., \( vr \)dhī, IV, 139 (1) CCAI, p.clvi, 1936.
line 3; Pl. 3a; mptaga, B, IV, line 1; Pl. 3b). As might be expected in Prakrit, r is often replaced by ri or ru. Thus we find, for example, both grha (I.105, B.1.1) and griha (XV, 114, L.5).'' Another remark of his on this question runs thus: "The Niya documents afforded the first known examples of the Kharoṣṭhī r. This vowel is written as a zig-zag either across the stem of a letter — across the left hand stem when there are two — or below the letter; e.g. ṛ, 7; kr, 13; mr, 117. Sometimes a consonant r is combined with the ṛ; e.g., Ṛr, 228; and in one instance Ṛr is written with the two vowel-signs ṛ and ā; see inscr. no. 585, note 2." If this sign is taken as the representation of the letter vr, then it is certainly the earliest example of its kind found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. But there is one important difference between the ṛ which is found in this Indian coin on one hand and the ṛ which is found in the inscriptions of Chinese Turkestan on the other hand. Whereas in the Indian coin the r is formed by the placing of two horizontal strokes one after another across the stem of the letter, in the inscriptions of Chinese Turkestan these two lines are joined by another line diagonally thus giving it the form of a zig-zag. \( \text{r} \) (IV.19.IV)

(1) ACIO, 14th, Algiers, p.216, 1905.
(2) KI, pt. III, p.298, 1929.
Sibilants and ha

The consonant सा has been expressed in the old manner. 

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(IV.20.I)

The letter हा has been expressed in two different ways. The first type is that which Majumdar has termed the intermediate type, i.e., between the closed and the open types.

3 (IV.21.I) The second type is that which Majumdar has called the open type. 3 (IV.21.II)

The letter हा has been indicated in two different manners. These two types are old. 2 (IV.22.I) and 4 (IV.22.II)

The अ-stroke attached to this letter is also old. (IV.22.II)

Compound aṅgaras

Groups with initial lingual

We find one very interesting letter which Bergny has read as प्पा. It is important to discuss the readings proposed by different scholars. The first scholar to propose a reading for this legend is Cunningham. He proposed the reading व्रीष्णि राजा ज्ञागनासया भुबारासया. ¹ He has not given any translation of this reading and Allan has rightly observed that "it is, however, impossible to make sense of this."² Bergny has proposed the reading प्पा instead of ज्ञा and in justification of this new reading he has remarked that "the transverse stroke

(1) CAI, p.70, pl.IV. fig. 15, 1891.
(2) CCAI, p.clv, 1936.
of No. 2, \( \text{.toolStripSeparator} \), represents the \( p \), and this is also the case in No. 5, \( f \), which I read as \( \text{pna} \).\(^1\) Allan, it seems, has accepted the reading proposed by Bergny.\(^2\) It must be pointed out that such a sign meaning the compound letter \( \text{pna} \) has not been found in any other Kharoshthi record found in India or Chinese Turkestan. It is very difficult to say whether this sign actually means \( \text{pna} \). Of course what argument Bergny has given is not at all unconvincing. Therefore it may be taken as the representation of the compound \( \text{aksara pna} \).

\( f \) (IV.23.I)

Groups with initial dental

In this group we find two examples, viz., \( \text{tra} \) and \( \text{dra} \). The suffixed \( \text{ra} \) with the letter \( \text{ta} \) is indicated by a horizontal stroke drawn from the foot of the vertical towards the right. \( \text{~} \) (IV.24.I)

The letter \( \text{dra} \) is also made in the same way. \( \text{~} \) (IV.24.II)

Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial \( \text{sa} \) and \( \text{ga} \). The letter \( \text{spa} \) is an old type. \( \text{~} \) (IV.25.I)

The compound letter with the initial \( \text{sa} \) is \( \text{sni} \) which is absolutely new. Cunningham has read this as \( \text{sni} \).\(^3\) Bergny

\(^1\) JRAS, 1900, p.417.

\(^2\) CGAI, p.clvi, 1936.

\(^3\) CAI, p.70, 1891.
reads this as \( \text{āni} \) and Allan has accepted the reading of Bergny.\(^2\)

Regarding this compound letter Bergny has observed that "the transverse stroke of no. 2, \( \text{āni} \), represents the \( \text{n} \), and this is also the case in No. 5, \( \text{ā} \), which I read \( \text{ppa}. \).\(^3\) It is interesting to note that in the Kharoshthi inscriptions found in Chinese Turkestan no example of the compound \( \text{aksara} \) \( \text{ā} \) has been found; but we have found a few letters in which there is a superscript line which has sometimes been taken as indicating some other letter. Regarding this question certain remarks of Rapson should be quoted. He writes, "The use of a short straight line which is written above certain consonants is one of the characteristic features of the alphabets of the Niya documents and of the MS. Deutruil de Rhins. In his edition of the MS. D. de Rh., M. Senart, who adopts the opinion of Prof. Oldenburg, everywhere regards this line as a sign of aspiration. Whether this is a satisfactory explanation in all instances in the MS. D. de Rh. may be doubted; but it is certain that the superscript line never has this value in the Niya documents. In these it is invariably used to indicate a compound \( \text{aksara} \); and in every case except perhaps \( \text{āhā} \), 39, the form of which has not yet been explained, it shows that one element only of the compound \( \text{aksara} \) is

\[(1) \quad \text{JRAS, 1900, p.} 417.\]
\[(2) \quad \text{CCAI, p.} \text{clvi, 1936.}\]
\[(3) \quad \text{JRAS, 1900, p.} 417.\]
expressed and that the other element is to be understood. In the Niya documents, therefore, the superscript line is a mark of abbreviation. Rapson has shown that the superscript line is found with the letters ga, gu, ca, cha, ma, ga, sa and ha and he has shown that this line has the value of na or na, as the case may be according to the rules of sandhi, with the letters ga, gu, sa, sa and ha. It may be argued that this very line obviously stands for the letter na or na and the very line itself may be considered as a good example of the representation of na or na. In the case of the word sni, we see that the horizontal line cutting the stem of the letter ga has been considered as the representation of pa and there is no doubt that this is quite convincing. But against this assumption in the case of this line along with these letters we have got the presence of this superscript line along with other letters where this line has got different meaning. It has been shown by Rapson that this line has the value of sa when found associated with ca and the value of ra when found associated with ma. In the case of the letter cha the significance of this superscript line is not yet understood because even without the superscript line the value of this letter was ka. There is no doubt that this stroke represents the value of pa. So this compound letter should be read as sni. (IV. 25. II)

(1) KI, pt. III, p. 320, 1929.
CHAPTER V

The Indo-Scythian period

In a previous chapter we have dealt with the position of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the Indo-Bactrian period. Before approaching the question of the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the succeeding period it is necessary to give a short historical account of the period. The Indo-Greeks had come from Bactria over the Hindu Kush into the upper Kabul Valley and thence along the Kabul river into India by a route which has since been abandoned for that route which now leads through the Khyber pass. It was formerly supposed that the Śakas came into India from the same region and by the same path; but this view is beset with difficulties which are almost unexplainable. First, if the Śakas are supposed to have come through the Kabul Valley, then all traces of their invasion must be supposed to have vanished from that region because, among thousands of coins which were collected on its ancient sites at the same time when the country was still open to archaeological investigation, the coins of the earliest Śaka kings are absent. Secondly, it is certain that the Kabul Valley remained in the possession of the Yavana
princes of the house of Eukratides after the Yavana dominions in N.W. India on the eastern side of the Khyber pass, that is to say, in Peshawar and Rawalpindi, had been conquered by the Śakas. Entrance into India from the side of Bactria was, therefore, not a possibility at this period. The second suggestion that the Śakas may have entered India from their northern home in the country of Jaxartes through Kashmir is a physical impossibility. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Śakas reached India through Ariana (W.S. Afghanistan and Baluchistan) by the great highway, associated in modern times with the Bolan pass, which led from the Parthian provinces of Drangiana (Seistan) and Arachosia (Kandahar) over the Brahui Mountains into the country of the lower Indus (Sind). This route was well known and comparatively easy. The Scythian settlements, which can only have been the results of invasions along this route, gave to the region of the Indus delta the name 'Scythia' or 'Indo-Scythia' by which it was known to the Greek geographers, and the name 'Śakadvīpa' as it appears in ancient Indian literature. This region still continued to be governed by the Pahlavas, who are inseparably connected with the Śakas at the end of the first century A.D. There can be little doubt that Indo-Scythia was the base from which the Śaka and Pahlava armies moved up the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries to attack the Yavana kingdoms of the successors of Euthydemus and Eukratides.
In all periods the name 'Scythian' has been applied generally to the nomads inhabiting the northern regions of Europe and Asia; and, according to Herodotus (VIII, 64), the term 'Śaka', as used by the Persians, was equally vague. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius it denotes no less than three different and widely separated settlements of Scythians. These enumerated from east to west, have been identified as follows:— (1) The Sakā Tigrakhandā who were the Śakas having home in the country of the river Jaxartes (the Syr Daria); (2) the Sakā Haumavarga who have been identified with the Śaka settlers in the Persian province of Drangiana, the country of the river Helmand, the later Persian Sijistan; (3) The Śaka Taradarayā, that is to say, the Scythians of Europe who inhabited the steppes of Russia to the north of the Black Sea.

The initial impulse of the tribal movements, which were destined to overwhelm Greek civilisation in the Oxus country, and to determine the history of N. India for many centuries to come, may be traced to an incident in the turbulent history of the Huns, against whose inroads the Chinese emperors protected themselves by building the Great Wall. In the neck of country between the Great Wall and the mountains which forms part of the province of Kansu, lived a people known to Chinese historians as the Yueh-Chi. Being attacked and defeated by the Huns the Yueh-Chi were driven from their country
and began a westward migration which necessarily brought them into conflict with other nomads and produced a general condition of unrest among the tribes inhabiting the northern fringe of the deserts of Chinese Turkestan. The pressure caused by the steady onward movement of Yueh-Chi tribes, numbering probably from half a million to a million souls, forced upon it other nomads and set up a flood of migration which, after sweeping away the Yavana power in Bactria, was only stayed in its westward course by Parthia.

The Chinese historians have recorded certain incidents of this migration. In the country watered by the river Ili the Yueh-Chi came upon a tribe called the Wu-sun. The Wu-sun were defeated, and their king was killed; and the Yueh-Chi continued their journey westwards towards the Issyk-Kul Lake in the country which was until recently Russian Turkestan. Here they appear to have divided themselves into two bands—the one, afterwards known as the Little Yueh-Chi, going southwards and settling on the borders of Tibet, and the other, the Great Yueh-Chi, continuing their movement towards the west until they came into contact with a people whom the Chinese called Sse (Sai) or Sek, and who are probably to be identified with the Šakas of Jaxarks. The Yueh-Chi took possession of the country of the Šakas; and the Šakas being driven to the south-west occupied the country of the Ta-hia or Bactria.
The immediate cause of the downfall of the Greek rule in Bactria would, therefore, seem to have been an overwhelming invasion of Sakas hordes who had been driven from their own lands. It is probable that for a brief period the Sakas warrior chiefs took the place of Eukratides and Heliokles as rulers of the Ta-hia. Such would appear to have been the state of affairs when the Chinese envoy in 126 B.C. visited the Yueh-Chi and found them still in the territories to the north of the Oxus from which they had expelled the Sakas. The infant son of the Wu-sun king, who was slain by the Yueh-Chi in their earlier conflict, had been adopted by the Huns; and when the boy grew up to manhood and became king of the Wu-sun, he with the aid of his protectors led an expedition against the Yueh-Chi and drove them into the country south of the Oxus. The result must necessarily have been a further dispersal of the Sakas. A concise summary of events is given in the Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin. In ancient times the Hiung-nu defeated the Yueh-Chi; the latter went to the west to dwell among the Ta-hia, and the King of the Sai (Sakas) went southwards to live in Kipin. The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms. This account is supplemented in the Annals of the Hon dynasty which stated that the Sakas king became the lord of Kipin.
The summary records the complete annihilation of the Saka rule in Bactria. The king himself becomes the king in Kipin - a geographical term which is used in various senses by Chinese writers, but which, in this case, would most naturally mean Kapisa (Kapisa); and the tribes formerly under his command are dispersed. There is no indication that any considerable body of Sakaas accompanied their king to Kipin. The main movement, impeded by the Yavana power in Kabul, would naturally be westwards in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan. The tide of Scythian invasion had no doubt been flowing in these directions since the time when the Sakaas were first expelled from their territory beyond the Jaxartes by the Yueh-Chi; for there is evidence to show that the earlier Scythian settlements in Iran were reinforced about the time when the Sakaas first occupied Bactria. The kings of Parthia who now held eastern Iran were engaged during two reigns (Phraates II, 138-128 B.C., and Artabanus I, 128-123 B.C.) in unsuccessful struggles with their Scythian subjects; and the contest was only decided in favour of Parthia in the reign of the next monarch, Mithradates II the Great (123 - 88 B.C.). Parthia had now taken the place of Bactria as the barrier which impeded the westward course of migration from Upper Asia. But the stream of invasion was only diverted into another channel: checked in Ariana, it forced its way along the line of least resistance into the
country of the lower Indus (Indo-Scythia). The Saka invasion of India, like the invasion of the Huns (the Hupas) between five and six centuries later, was but an episode in one of these great movements of peoples who have so profoundly influenced the history not only of India but also of Western Asia and Europe.

On a few of their coins the Saka and Pahlava kings repeat the Great royal title 'king' or 'Great King'; but their normal style is 'Great King of Kings' a title which is distinctively Persian. It has a long history from the kṣāyathiyānāṁ kṣāyathiyā of the inscriptions of Darius down to the Shāhān Shāh of the present day. In the Parthian empire the title was probably first assumed by Mithradates II the Great (123-88 B.C.) in imitation of his predecessors, the Achaemenids. It was in his reign that the struggle between the Kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Iran was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar confirmed. In these subordinate governments Parthians (Pahlavas) and Scythians (Sakas) were so closely associated that it is not always possible to distinguish between them; the same family includes both Parthian and Scythian names. It is, therefore, little more than a convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the family of Maues, who invaded the lower Indus Valley, as
Sakas, and those of the family of Vonones, who ruled over Drangiana (Seistan) and Arachosia (Kandahar), as Pahlavas. The relation between Maues and Vonones is uncertain; but it is clear that their families were associated in a later generation.

It has been supposed that the introduction into India of the Persian and Parthian title, 'Great King of Kings' was the result of an actual conquest of N.W. India by Mithradates I. This view has been justly refuted by Rapson. According to his opinion the invasion of India must be referred to a period after the reign of Mithradates II when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent. The association to which the coins bear witness is not one between Parthia and Eastern Iran, but between Iran and N.W. India. In fact, all through the period of Saka and Pahlava rule the countries to the west and east of the Indus were governed by members of the same royal house. There were normally three contemporary rulers of royal rank - a king of kings associated with some junior member of his family in Iran, and a king of kings in India; and the subordinate ruler in Iran usually became in due time king of kings in India.

The assumption of the imperial title, 'King of kings', by these Saka and Pahlava suzerains is most significant as testifying to the diminished power of Parthia at this period.
In Parthia itself the title remained in abeyance during the interval from 88 to 57 B.C. which separates the reigns of Mithradatis II and Mithradates III; and in the meantime it was assumed not only by the Saka king Maues in the East, but also, in the years 77-73, by Tigranes, King of Armenia, the great rival of Parthia in the west.

In eastern Iran the 'king of kings' and the prince of his family who was associated with him in the government issued coins bearing the names of both - the former in Greek on the obverse, and the latter in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. Greek was the ordinary language of coins throughout the Parthian empire; it was not characteristic of any particular province. Kharoṣṭhī, on the other hand, was, in eastern Iran, restricted to Arachosia (Kandahar). We may reasonably infer these from his Kharoṣṭhī coin-legends that the viceroy governed this province in the upper valley of the Helmand and its tributaries. The other province, Drangiana (Seistan), was most probably under the direct rule of the suzerain.

In India the 'king of kings' ruled with the aid of satraps and military governors. The first three Saka suzerains who succeeded to the dominions of the Yavanas in the N.W. Frontier Province and the Punjab are Maues, Azes I, and Azilises. Their numerous coins are mainly copied from those of their Yavana predecessors; and it is, therefore,
probable that the coins represent only those districts of
the Śaka realm which were formerly held by the Yavanas.

The precise date of Maues cannot at present be deter-
mined. There are certain sources which must be tapped to
arrive at some reasonable conclusion regarding this point.
First, we have the classical writings. Classical authors
speak of the Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia.
According to Ptolemy (vii. 1, 55, 62) it extended on both sides
of the Indus from the Kabal river to the Arabian Sea. The
delta was called Patalene, the country to the north and north­
east Abiria, and the south-eastern province Syrastrene, i.e.,
Sūrāṣṭra, the modern Kathiawar. In the Periplus Scythia, i.e.,
Indo-Scythia, is spoken of as being under Parthian rule. At
the time of that work, i.e., in the second half of the first
century A.D., Indo-Scythia accordingly seems to have come under
the rule of the Parthians.

The inference which we can draw from these sources is
accordingly to the effect that the stronghold of the Scythians,
i.e., in this connection the Śakas, was in the Indus country,
and that the Śaka conquest had been effected long before the
second half of the first century A.D.

A similar result may be deduced from the traditional
accounts preserved in a Jaina work of unknown date entitled
the Kālakārīya-kathānaka. Here we read about the Jaina
teacher Kālaka whose sister was abducted by Gardabhilla, king of Ujjayini. He then went to the kula called Sagakula, the kula of the Sākas. There the feudatories (Sāmanta) were called sāhi and their overlord sāhānu sāhi, i.e., king of kings. Kālaka stayed with one of the sāhis, and as their chief together with ninety-five other sāhis fell into disgrace with the 'king of kings', Kālaka induced them to accompany him to Hindukadeśa. They crossed the Indus, embarked in ships, proceeded to Kathiawar and divided that country among themselves. When the autumn came, the Ācārya led them on to Ujjayini, where Gardabhilla was made a prisoner. A sāhi was established as over-king, and in this way this dynasty of the Saka kings came into being. After sometime Vikramāditya, the king of Mālava ousted this Saka dynasty and established his own era. But also his dynasty was overthrown by another Saka king who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed. It is then added that this incident has been narrated in order to give information about the origin of the Saka era. From this tradition we can infer the following historical conclusions. A Saka empire, with emperors using the title 'king of kings' (sāhānu sāhi) existed in the Indus country some time before the establishment of the Vikrama era. Its centre of gravity seems to have been on
the western shore of the Indus. We are further told that these ancient Śakas made themselves masters of Kathiawar and, for some time, of Ujjayinī; that their overthrow in the latter place by Vikramāditya was the occasion for the establishment of the Vikrama era; and that 135 years later another Śaka established the well-known Śaka era. We are not told that the Śāhi who ousted Gardabhilla introduced an era of his own, and we are left to guess whether his dynasty brought an era from Sākukula, which era must then have been established some time before the expedition to Ujjayinī and probably by the first sāhāpu sāhi, or struck to the old reckoning of Mālava. The former alternative seems to be the most probable one, since Vikramāditya thought it advisable to introduce an era of his own. We have no certain traces of Indian secular eras before Vikramāditya, and it seems a priori likely that he established an era of his own in imitation of the Śaka conquerors whom he replaced. About the duration of this Śaka dynasty in Ujjayinī some information seems to be deducible from some memorial verses preserved in Jaina literature. It is said in this literary work that the Śakas ruled in Ujjayinī for four years, i.e., from 60 or 61 B.C. We must accordingly assume that the Śaka dominion in the Indus country had been established some time before that date, how long we cannot say. Some indications can, however, be deduced from the use
of the imperial title 'king of kings' used by the Īkṣvakudācā in the Indus.

It has been shown above that this title was used by Maues for the first time in the period from 88 to 57 B.C. It is thus clear that the Īkṣvakudācā empire was founded by Maues sometime between 88 and 60 B.C.

The main sources for the history of Maues is a number of coins and inscriptions which are also incidentally the sources for the study of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period. The coins of Maues, as usual, have two different scripts on two sides, one, the Greek and the other, the Kharoṣṭhī. So far as the inscriptions are concerned, we find mainly the following kinds of inscriptions, viz., inscriptions where the name of Maues occurs and inscriptions which are to be referred to his time, a little later or earlier.

The first type of the inscription is the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika of the year 78.

The second type of inscriptions are the following ones:-

(1) Maira inscription of the year 58.
(2) Shahdaur inscription of Damijada.
(3) Shahdaur inscription of Śivarachita.

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(1) IC, SS 29, 1897; JPASB, N.S., XXIV, Num. Sup. XLI, pp. 28N - 29N, nos. 23-26, 1929; Ibid., N.S., XXVI, Num. Sup. XLIII, p. 45 N, no. 872, 1930.
(3) Ibid., pp. 11-13, 1929.
(4) Ibid., pp. 13-16, 1929.
(5) Ibid., pp. 16-17, 1929.
It is important to discuss how these inscriptions may be placed together. There is no doubt that the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika of the year 78 is to be referred to the time of Maues because it is also written in this record (\[samva\]t\[\text{\textsl{a}}\]rayae \[\text{\textsl{a}}\]hasatatimae 20 20 20 10 44 maharayasa mahaptasa Mogasa Pa \[\text{\textsl{a}}\]ne \[\text{\textsl{a}}\]asa \[\text{\textsl{a}}\]asa divase p\[\text{\textsl{a}}\]came 41). Konow has referred the years of the following inscriptions to the same era, viz., Maira inscription of the year 58, Manserah inscription of the year 68, Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68, Muchai inscription of the year 81, Mathura lion-capital, Mathura elephant inscription, Bimaran Vase inscription, Kala Sang inscription of the year 100 (?), Mount Banj inscription of the year 102, and The Bajaur casket of the reign of Menander. (Inscriptions no. C, D, and E).
inscription of the year 68, Muchal inscription of the year 81, Kala Sang inscription of the year 100 (?), and Mount Banj inscription of the year 102. Therefore these dates range from the year 58 to the year 102. There are certain inscriptions which are not dated. It may be questioned how they can be placed in the chronological order. These inscriptions are Shahdaur inscription of Damijada, Shahdaur inscription of Sivarachita, Mathura lion-capital, Mathura elephant inscription, Bimaran Vase inscription and Bajaur casket of the reign of Menander (Inscriptions nos. C, D, and E). Regarding the age of the Shahdaur inscription of Damijada Konow has remarked, "There can not, however, be any doubt that the inscriptions are fairly old. We may note the ca, which reminds us of the Mansehra and Sihila vase inscriptions; the angular bha, which has almost the same shape as in the Patika plate; the la, which has its nearest parallels in the Sihila and Lion capital inscriptions, and the distinct prolongation of the leg of sa, which slopes upwards and forwards as in the Patika record." It is evident from this remark of Konow that his idea is to refer this inscription to the time of Mansehra, Sihila, Mathura Lion capital and Taxila copper plate inscriptions. Therefore there is no doubt that his idea is to refer

this inscription to the same age. Regarding the Shahdaur inscription of Śivarachita Konow has remarked, "The beginning is quite illegible, and four or five syllables have disappeared. What can be read is ayasa samp, followed by traces of four or five signs. Sam is probably the usual abbreviation of saṃvatsare, and the ensuing signs must in that case have been numerical figures. It would be possible to read them as 1 100 11, i.e., 102, but also as 20 20... e.g., as 80 and something or 90. If I am right in my explanation of samp, the preceding ayasa must be the name or part of the name of a ruler, and it is tempting to think of Aya, Azes, in which case the defaced akṣaras at the beginning of the line might be restored as maharṣaya or maharājasa. A priori there is no objection to assuming that our inscription belongs to the time of Azes, and some year between 80 and 102 would not be unlikely, if my explanation of the double dating of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, as referring to the 103rd year of the Śaka era and the 26th after the accession of Azes, is accepted. Nor would there be any serious difficulty in assuming that our record is about forty years later than the Damijada inscription. The date of the latter is, moreover, quite uncertain. In view of the general uncertainty as regards the reading of the first line I cannot, however, do more than state that I think it probable that
our inscription belongs to the reign of Azes, and I publish it in this place, in connection with the other Shahdaur inscription, with attempting to arrange it chronologically."

Regarding the Mathura elephant inscription Konow has observed, "The characters are too few to allow of a certain dating. Kha has a rather square head and reminds us of the Zeda inscription. Tu reminds us of the Manikisla bronze, but the \( u \)-loop is added behind, as in the \( u \) of the Mathura Lion Capital inscription I. Dha has almost the same shape as in the Fatehjang record. Sa has its nearest parallels on the Mathura lion capital, and the same is the case with sta." Though Konow is not certain about the dating of this inscription, yet his idea is to place it in this age. So far as the Bimaran vase inscription is concerned he has observed, "The characters are, on the whole, well-cut... They make the impression of being fairly old. We may note the \( ye \), which has an angular top but a bend in the middle of the left leg. Similar forms are found on the Lion capital and in Kaldarra. The \( sa \) seems to be a cursive form of the old \( sa \) with the leg continued upwards towards the head-curve. The nearest parallels are again found on the Lion-capital. Most characteristic is apparently the ante-consonantic \( r \) in sarva, which again

\( ^2 \) Ibid., p. 49, 1929.
reminds us of the Lion-capital and seems to be distinctly older than the shape found in the Taxila scroll and apparently also than those of the Takht-i-Bahi and Paja records. From the point of view of palaeography there does not seem to be any objection to a dating of the Bimaran vase as about contemporaneous with the Mathura lion-capital. And there are also two orthographical features which remind us of the latter. Intervocalic $t$ is always written $tr$, except in $\text{mu}(\text{y})\text{javada}$ and $\text{piyadide}$, where it has become $da$, and intervocalic $g$ is written $gr$, where the capital has $kr$. It is probable, as mentioned in connection with the Lion Capital, that the sounds intended were fricatives, and I shall transliterate $t(r)$, $g(r)$ respectively.¹

We shall now discuss the Mathura lion-capital inscription. This is one of the most important Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. From the standpoint of palaeography as well as from the standpoint of historical information contained in this inscription there is no doubt that this inscription is to be referred to this period. The Mathura lion-capital inscription gives the genealogy of the house of Rañjubala which may be shown thus:—

Though this inscription gives the genealogy of the house of Ranjubula, yet this is given only as a corollary because the main object of this inscription is to give the pedigree of Ayasi Kamuia, the queen of Rajula.

Besides this genealogy there is also the mention of the mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika. There is no doubt that this mahākṣatrapa Kusuluka Patika is to be identified with Patika, the son of Liaka Kusuluka who is mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78. It is necessary to discuss the purport of the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78. In the Taxila copper plate we get a genealogical idea which may be tabulated in the following manner:-

Liaka Kusuluka

Patika

The exact position of the princes like Rajula, Śuḍasa Naǔluda, Liaka Kusuluka and Patika must be discussed. Unlike the Indo-Greek princes the Saka kings style themselves on their coins by Basileus Basileon, corresponding to the
Prakrit on the reverse, maharajasa rajarajasa. They also appropriate the epithet mahatasa, corresponding to the Greek Megalov, which we find on the coins of the Greek kings. The title rajaraja - king of kings - was not an empty boast. Moga had under him the viceroys Liaka and Patika of Taxila, Azes had under him at least one subordinate ruler, i.e., the strategos Aśpavarman. The title satrap or kṣatrapa occurs in the Behistun inscription in the form Kṣatrapāvan which means 'protector of the kingdom'. The word 'strategos' means a general. It is obvious that the Scythians revived in northwestern India the system of government by satraps and military governors. It is, therefore, evident that the kṣatrapas or satraps were the governors on behalf of the Scythian overlord.

The Mathura lion-capital inscription gives the names of Rajula and his son Suḍāsa Naḍluda as satraps. Rajula is mentioned in this inscription as mahāksatrāpa (mahācātra/vasa, A¹; mahachatravasa, B¹). He is also known from a number of coins and one Brāhmī inscription. The coins of Rajula have been found mainly at Mathura. They are of different types. Allan has classified the coins of Rajula preserved in the British Museum into three classes.¹ Here it is necessary only

¹ CCAI, pp. 185-89, 1936.
to discuss the nature of the legends. In class I we find a Greek legend indicating Rajula on the obverse and one Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse indicating Rajula who is named here Ranjuvala. In class II we have only the Brāhmī legend indicating Rajula who is named here as Rājuvala on the obverse and there is no legend on the reverse. In class III we find the legend in corrupt Greek and the Kharoṣṭhī legend on the reverse indicating Rajula. It is apparent that the name of the same ruler has been written in three different manners, viz., Rajula, Rajuvula and Rājuvala. In a Brāhmī inscription called Mora (now Mathura Museum) stone-slab inscription there is the mention of the son of Rajuvula. Of course the name of the son is not intelligible. It is interesting and at the same time important to note that Rajula = Rajuvula = Rājuvala = Rājuvala is called kṣatrapa in some records and mahākṣatrapa in some other records. There is no doubt that the epithet kṣatrapa is of lesser importance than the epithet mahākṣatrapa. In class I of his coin he is known as kṣatrapa (chatrapaṇa); but in other records, i.e., the Mathura lion-capital inscriptions, in other two classes of coins and in the Brāhmī inscriptions he is called mahākṣatrapa (mahacha[tra]vasa, Mathura lion-capital, A1, mahachatrapasa, Mathura lion-capital, B1, mahachatrapasa, class III of his

coins, mahakhatapaśa, class II of his coins and mahākṣatrapa
in the Mora (now Mathura Museum) stone slab inscription.

Rajula was probably succeeded by his son Sudasa who is
mentioned in the Mathura lion-capital inscription, two Brāhmi
inscriptions, viz., the Mathura (Kankāli Tilā, now Lucknow
Provincial Museum) Jania inscription on sculptured stone-slab
of the time of Svāmin mahākṣatrapa Soṣāsa of the year 721 and
the Mathura (Jail Mound) stone slab inscription of the time of
svāmin mahākṣatrapa Soṣāsa2 and in some coins3 where we do
not find any Kharoṣṭhī legend. Therefore it is only in the
Mathura lion-capital inscription that we find the name of
Sodasa in the Kharoṣṭhī script. As in the case of his father
he is also mentioned in some inscriptions as kṣatrapa and in
some inscriptions as mahākṣatrapa.

As the inscriptions and coins of Rajula as well as his
son Sodasa have been found mainly in Mathura, they are known
as the satraps of Mathura.

In the Mathura lion-capital we find the mention of other
important personages such as Kharaosta Kamuia, Kusuluka
Patika and Mevaki Miyika.

(1) Ibid., no. 59, 1912.
(2) Ibid., no. 82, 1912.
(3)
Kharaosta Kamuia is mentioned in the Mathura lion-capital inscription twice (Kharaostasa Yuvarāṇa, A.4, Kharaosto Yuvaraya, E) and also on some coins. The coins of Kharaosta Kamuia has the Greek legend \( \text{XAPAHT[EI CATPA} \) and the Kharoṣṭhī legend \( \text{chatrapasa pra} \) Kharaostasa Arṣasa putrasa on the reverse. The importance of the coin-legends rests with the fact that they show that Kharaosta was not the son of Rajula, as has sometimes been assumed, but of Arṣa. The general construction of the inscription seems to show that Rajula's queen was the daughter and not the mother of the Yuvaraja Kharaosta. That such was the case seems also to follow from the fact that she as well as he are characterised as Kamuia, for such designations are inherited from the father and not from the mother. It will be seen that Kharaosta cannot be characterised as Yuvarāṇa in his quality as the heir-apparent of the mahākṣatrapa Rajula. The latter's son and co-regent, who in due course succeeded himself, was the kṣatrapa Soḍāsa. The title Juvarāṇa must bear reference to something different from the position as kṣatrapa or mahākṣahāpa and so far as can be traced, there can only be the question of the imperial throne. In other words Kharaosta was the legal heir of Moga. And that was apparently the reason why Rajula had married his daughter and

made her his chief queen; he wanted to strengthen his position among the Saka leaders. Here it is important to quote one important statement of Konow. He writes, "At the time of the Lion capital the state of things was apparently as follows: Maues, the king of kings was no more, and the yuvarāja, Kharaosta, had not been installed as his successor. One of the Saka chiefs had married Kharaosta's daughter, and, if Kharaosta was to die without a male issue, he might reasonably hope that the imperial title would, in due course, pass over to his family. It is conceivable that the other chiefs were little pleased at this prospect. And, at all events, there is nothing to show that the title 'king of kings' was continued with the Saka after the demise of Maues. Instead of installing the Yuvarāja as 'king of kings', the Saka chiefs seem to have established a federation, with the two most important ones, Patika and Rajula, as mahākṣatrapa, and subordinate kṣatrapas in other provinces. Patika probably held sway in the old province of his father, in Chukhsa, which included Taxila, and it seems probable that Mevaki Miyika, whose name is associated with his in the inscription, was his co-regent and perhaps his son, just as Rajula's son, Soḍāsa, was associated with his father as kṣatrapa in the Mathura country. In Taxila the Sakas were soon afterwards replaced by Parthian rulers. In Mathura Soḍāsa was still mahākṣatrapa in the year
A.D. 15. I therefore think that the title mahākṣatrapa was not introduced before the death of Maues, and that its introduction bears witness to the first stages of a dismemberment of the Saka empire in the Punjab, following about half a century after the defeat of the Sakas in Mālava at the hand of Vikramāditya. We still have to consider the question about Kharaosta's claim to the position as 'king of kings'. He was not the son of Maues, but of another person, Arta or Orta, who is not known from other sources. Now we know from the history of the Western Satraps that the succession among the Sakas sometimes passed from the ruling prince to his brother. It is accordingly possible that Arta was a brother of Maues and was destined to succeed him, but died before him, wherefore the right of succession was transferred to his son Kharaosta. But then we may infer that Maues was, like Kharaosta, a Kamuis. And if we bear in mind that mb becomes m, i.e., mm, in the dialect of the Kharoṣṭhī dhammapada, and that u is used for the common o in Śūdras in the Lion capital inscriptions, Kamuis can very well represent a Skr. Kāmbojaka i.e., Kharaosta and Maues would belong to the north-western Sakas of Ki-pin and not to the branch which came to India from Seistan."

The Kusulua or Kusuluka group - There is another name found in the Mathura lion-capital which must be accounted for. This is Kusuluka Patika. In the Mathura lion-capital we have found the passage mahācāravasa Kusul[u]asa Patikasa (Mathura Lion capital, Gl). In the Taxila copper plate inscription of Patika of the year 78 we have found the passage čhaha[ra]ta[sa] [cukhsa]sa ca catarapasa Liaka Kusuluko nama tasa [pu]tro Pati[ko] (ll. 1-2). The passage in the Mathura lion-capital has been translated by Konow as "in honour of the mahāksatrapa Kusuluka Patika" and the passage in the Taxila copperplate inscription of Patika of the year 78 as "of the kaharata and kṣatrapa of Chukhsa-Liaka Kusuluka by name - his son Patika." From a study of these two passages it is apparent that the term "Kusul[u]asa Patikasa" means Patika, the son of Kusuluka. In the other inscription we know that the full name of the satrap was Liaka Kusuluka. Here it is important to quote certain relevant passages from Konow's writings. He observes that "the term Kusuluka is also known from other sources. Liaka Kusuluka is evidently the same person who has issued coins with the legend ΛIAKO KÖZÖVÅO ... Liaka had son, Patika, who seems to be spoken of in the copper plate as a jaūva, and this jaūva is most probably the same title which is used by the early Kuśāṇa ruler... in the forms...yavuga...The jaūva Patika is evidently the
same person who occurs as the mahāksatrava Kusulua Patika in
the most important record which we possess of the Sakas in
India, the inscriptions engraved on a sand-stone capital from
Mathura, the so-called Lion Capital. Dr. Fleet held this
Patika to be another person, but the use of the same designa-
tion Kusulua, by the mahāksatrapa Patika and by the father of
the jaīva Patika is a priori in favour of identifying them,
and we should only be justified in separating them if it could
be shown that they cannot be identified, which is by no means
the case." 1

Numismatists are of opinion that Maues was succeeded on
the throne of the Western Punjab by Azes who put an end to
Greek rule in the Eastern Punjab by annexing the kingdom of
Hippostratos. According to the opinion of Konow Azes did not
belong to the same dynasty as Maues. In this connection one
statement of his is worth quoting. He writes down, "It has
usually been assumed that Azes belonged to the same dynasty
as Maues. This opinion cannot, however, so far as I can see,
be reconciled with what can be inferred from our sources.
Maues was certainly a Saka, while Azes seems to have been a
Parthian." 2 There is a very important theory of Konow re-
garding which should be discussed here. Now we have a number

of coins which have been interpreted in different ways.

First, we have found a large number of coins of a prince having the name Azes. From Whitehead’s catalogue we get the following types of legends on the coins bearing the name of Azes, viz., (1) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZOY} \):

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa; (2) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZOY} \)

in barbarous Greek script:

Maharajasa mahatasa dharmikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa; (3) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZOY} \):

Maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa; (4) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZOY} \):

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa. We also find coins in which there is the name of Azes and Aśpavarmans, viz.,

Maharajasa mahatasa dharmikasa rajatirajasa Ayasa, We also find coins on which we find two names, viz., Azes and Azilises, one on the obverse and the other on the reverse. This type is the following:— (1) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZOY} \):

Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilīṣa. We then have the coins of a king who is named Azilises. They are the following ones:— (1) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZIΛΣΟΥ} \):

Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayilīṣa; (2) \( \text{BAZILE} \text{IN MEZALOY AZIΛΣΟΥ} \):

Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilīṣa. There is another type of coin in which the name Azes is on the
obverse and the name Azilises on the reverse. The following
is that type of coin: — (1) \( \text{BA}_1\xi_1 \text{E}_1 \text{AL} \text{BA}_2\xi_1 \text{E}_2 \text{A}_2 \text{N} \)
\( \text{ME}_{1\text{A}}\text{O}_1 \text{Y} \text{AZ}_1\text{O}_1 \) : Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilišasa.
There is another type of coin in which we find the name
Spalirises on the obverse and the name Azes on the reverse.
That type is the following one: — \( \text{BA}_1\xi_1 \text{E}_1 \text{AL} \text{ME}_{1\text{A}}\text{O}_1 \text{Y} \)
\( \text{BA}_1\xi_1 \text{E}_1 \text{AL} \) : Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa.

It is now necessary to indicate conclusions which we may
derive from a study of these coins. First, it is certain
that there was a king whose name was Azes and this is proved
by a large number of coins on both sides of which we have got
the name Azes written in Greek as well as in Kharošṭhī.
Secondly, there is no reason to question the almost unanimous
opinion of numismatists that Azes I was succeeded by Azilises.
Thirdly, there was certainly a period in which these two
kings are associated in the government. On some coins which
they issue conjointly both bear the imperial title, 'Great
king of kings'; but Azes I, as the elder, occupies the place
of honour on the obverse with its Greek legend. Fourthly, on
other coins, however, the same two names appear with the same
titles, but with a change of position — Azilises occupying
the obverse with a Greek legend, and Azes the reverse with a
Kharošṭhī legend; and, as degrees of dignity or seniority are
undoubtedly indicated by these positions in similar instances,
it has been inferred that Azilises was associated with two kings named Azes - possibly with his father and predecessor at the beginning of his reign and with his son and successor at its close. The existence of a second Azes might well be questioned if it could be proved by no more cogent argument than this. But the coins which bear the name show so great a diversity of style that, from this fact alone, numismatists have suspected that they must have been struck by more than one king. There is also the archaeological evidence to prove this point. Marshall who has carried out systematic excavations at Taxila for a considerable period of time has shown that on the evidence of archaeological stratification we must make room for two Azes, Azes I and Azes II.

Now it is important to discuss the significance of the coins on the obverse of which we find the name of the king Spalirises and on the reverse Azes. There is no doubt about the pedigree of Spalirises. He is considered as the brother of Vonones. Though there is no doubt that Spalirises and Azes issued joint coins, still we cannot say the exact relationship between these two personages.

In any case the whole upshot of the above discussion is that after Maues we get in succession three rulers, viz., Azes, Azilises and Azes II.
So far as the reign of Azes I is concerned, we have got certain coins and possibly one inscription, i.e., the Shahdaur inscription of Sivarachita.

Azes I was succeeded by Azilises who is known only from his coins. Azilises was succeeded by Azes II who is also known from his coins only.

There is no doubt that these Indo-Scythian princes were rulers of considerable prowess and of extensive territory. It has already been shown that during the time of Maues there were satrapal families at Mathura as well as Taxila. Now there is one type of coin of Azes II from which we find the evidence of another satrapal family which may be called the house of Indravarman.

We know of the existence of this Satrapal family of Indravarman from two types of coins - one of Azes and the other of Gondophernes. On the coins of Azes we find the legend as follows:-

_Ipdravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa_. From this coin-legend we come to know that Aśpavaran, the son of Indravarman was a strategos of Azes II. From this it is evident that Aśpavaran was a satrap of Azes II.

We should now discuss the age of the Bajaur casket of the reign of Menander. (Inscriptions C, D, and E). Regarding the age of these inscriptions Majumdar has remarked, "The
engraving of letters has not been carried out in the same uniform style throughout, and from this point of view the inscriptions may be classified under two distinct groups. In A, A', A' and B the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in C, D and E the writing is shallow, the letters are comparatively small and the strokes in many places no better than superficial scratches. A similar example of superficial engraving of Kharosthi letters is afforded by the Charsadda Casket inscription of the year 303."

"The grouping of inscriptions as suggested above can be justified also on grounds of palaeography. Inscriptions A-B have in all the instances n with a rounded head, but in C-E it shows definitely an acute angle. In the former inscriptions n has a long sweep in its top curve, resembling the letter in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Edicts of Asoka. In the latter inscriptions this curve has taken an angular or hook like appearance, akin to the type occurring in the inscriptions of the Kushan period. Significant also are the varying shapes of the letter s which in A-B is generally of the closed type as in the Asokan inscriptions and Indo-Greek coins, while in C-E it shows in all cases a definite gap at the upper left side of the crossing loop, although in the majority of examples its lower vertical slightly extends upward, beyond the point where it meets the loop. The latter feature is
characteristic of the s as found in the inscriptions of the Saka period, while the upward extension of the vertical is absent in the letter occurring in the Kushan inscriptions. While, therefore, Inscriptions C-E are referrable to the period of the Saka Satraps of Taxila and Mathura, Inscriptions A-B must be referred to a somewhat earlier date. This date is suggested by Inscription A which refers itself to the reign of Maharāja Minādrā, i.e., the Greek king Menander, who ruled sometime in the 2nd century B.C. To the same date must also be assigned Inscriptions A¹, A² and B which exhibit palaeographic features identical with those of Inscription A. The difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years, so that we may suppose that the additional inscriptions C, D and E were engraved sometime in the 1st century B.C.¹ It is evident from the above quotation that these inscriptions are to be referred to this age.

After making this historical resume it will be fruitful to make an enquiry into the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period.

Here it will be our endeavour to show those types of letters which we have found in the previous period as well as any type which has come out as a result of the process of evolution. Beginning with the vowels one finds a number of varieties of \( \ddot{a} \) some of which are old and some new. The old types are the following: \( \ddot{a} \) (V.1.I) and \( \ddot{a} \) (V.1.II). In the new type we find the addition of a slanting stroke to the foot of the letter on the left side. \( \ddot{a} \) (V.1.III).

The vowel \( \ddot{a} \) is indicated in two different manners and there is practically no difference between these two types and the types prevalent in the preceding period. \( \ddot{a} \) (V.2.I) and \( \ddot{a} \) (V.2.II). It is important to note that a few dots have been added to the end of the lines forming the letter as shown in V.2.I. There is also the example of the anusvara added to this letter. (V.2.I)

There is a great difference between some types of \( \ddot{u} \) prevalent in this period and the types of \( \ddot{u} \) occurring in the preceding periods. The difference is so great that it is necessary to point it out because it serves as a mark of demarcation between this period and the preceding periods. In the preceding periods we have found the type of \( \ddot{u} \) in which one horizontal stroke is added to the left from the foot of the vertical; but here the case is different. Here we have found three different types of the vowel \( \ddot{u} \) of which only one
is an old one while the other two are new. The first type is an old one. \( \text{(V.3.I)} \) The other two types are absolutely new and require special notice. The first new type is formed by the addition of a loop to the end of the stem of the letter \( \text{"} \) on the left. \( \text{(V.3.II)} \) It is interesting to note that this type of \( \text{\text{"}} \) is found for the first time in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika. It is quite possible that this type of \( \text{\text{"}} \) should be considered as marking the line of demarcation between this and the preceding periods. The third type of \( \text{\text{"}} \) is that letter in which the loop is turned backwards. \( \text{(V.3.III)} \) In this connection one remark of Konow should be quoted. He observes, "\( \text{\text{"}} \) has the cursive loop-shape, which we have already found in the Shahdaur inscription, but in I.1. the loop is turned backwards, after the vertical has been bent forwards, and in I.4 we seem to have the \text{\text{"}} \) shape, without the loop and only with the bend, which we have also found in the Swat vase of Theodora." \( \text{\text{(1)}} \) Here should be set down certain remarks on this observation. First, when Konow speaks of the Shahdaur inscription, he obviously refers to the vowel \( \text{\text{"}} \) added to one consonant as there is no example of the vowel \( \text{\text{"}} \) without being added to the consonant in the two Shahdaur inscriptions.

Secondly, Konow has not referred to the presence of the type of the letter ∑ which is found in the Mathura lion-capital and also in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika, i.e., the type in which the loop is on the left.¹ Thirdly, it is interesting to note that in the Mathura lion-capital we find the letter ∑ which is found in the Asokan period. Therefore in the Mathura lion capital we find three different types of ∑, the first type being the Asokan type and the other two types, later ones.

The vowel ∑ is indicated in two different ways. These two different types of ∑ are old. ∑ (V.4.I) and ∑ (V.4.II)

The vowel ∑ is indicated in two different ways. ∑ (V.5.I) and ∑ (V.5.II).

Simple aṅgaras

Gutturals

There are two different types of the letter ka of which one is an old one and the other, a new one. The following is the old one:— क (V.6.I) The new type is the following one:— क (V.6.II) Regarding this particular letter Konow has observed, "The next word was read bhuho by M. Senart, just as in the Mount Banj inscription, while Mr Majumdar reads kue. The

(1) See the letter u in the words like urena (CII, Vol. II, Pt. I, no. XV, A, 1.9, 1929) and Natuludo (Ibid., no. XV, D).
first aksara is certainly ku."¹

Though Konow has accepted the reading of Majumdar, yet neither he nor Majumdar has explained why this sign is to be taken as ku because the letter ka as found here is so much different from the examples of ka which were prevalent in the preceding period. The sign has something in common with the letter ka as well as the letter bha. The one important point which stands in the way of its being taken as an example of ka is the placing of the hook-like stroke in the same line with the upper horizontal stroke. The reason for which it cannot be considered as an example of bha is that the vertical stroke containing the hook is attached to the upper horizontal line. But there is another very important point which possibly points us to take it as an example of ku. In the Niya documents Rapson has found one type of ka which he thinks as "a cursive form of ka, which appears also in the inscriptions of the Kuśāṇas."² In a footnote he has referred to Bühler's Indian Palaeography, p. 28, Taf. i, b, Col. xi. Here we would criticise Rapson's result. He has not made a distinction between the type of ka found in Bühler's table and the one which he has illustrated. The main distinction which is very important is that in the Kuśāṇa type as found in Bühler's work the curve does not touch

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¹ Ibid., p. 53, 1929.
the vertical as in the case of the Niya alphabet. It is, therefore, quite logical to say that the Niya alphabet is the developed form of the Kuśana type. The type which we find here may be called a precursor of the Kuśana type. Here we have found examples of \(ki\), \(ku\) and \(ko\). The letter \(ki\) is represented in the same manner as in the preceding periods.

\(\text{(V.6.III)}\) The letter \(ku\) is expressed in two different manners which are new. It has already been shown that the vowel \(u\) which occurs in this period has two new types characterised by the addition of a loop to the end of the stem of the letter \(a\) on the left and also in another form where the loop is turned backwards, after the vertical has been bent forwards. Now here we have two different examples of the vowel \(u\) added to this letter. In the first type we find the addition of the loop to the end of the stem of the letter on the left. \(\text{(V.6.IV)}\) It is important to note that this type of \(ku\) has not been found in the previous period. The second type of \(ku\) is also extremely clear in the plate in Konow's work and is highly interesting. Here we find the addition of a round stroke to the bottom of the vertical. \(\text{(V.6.V)}\) We also find the example of \(ko\) which is also somewhat different from the type which was prevalent in the Asókan period. In the Asókan period the stroke meant for the vowel \(o\) is a stroke which is drawn downwards from the upper horizontal
line; but here the stroke meant for the vowel ə is drawn more or less from the point where the horizontal as well as the vertical lines meet. ə (V.6.VI)

There are altogether three different types of the letter kha, all of which are old types. They are the following ones: - ꞔ (V.7.I), ꞙ (V.7.II) and ꞙ (V.7.III) Here we have found the examples of khu and kho. The ə-stroke attached to the letter kha is indicated in two different manners. In the previous example, i.e., occurring in the Ashokan period, we find the ə-stroke indicated by curving the lower vertical; but here in these two different types the case is altogether different. Here we find the addition of a loop to the bottom part. This is obviously the ə-stroke which is attached to the letter a and which has already been mentioned. In the first type we find the addition of a loop to the end of the stem of the letter kha on the left. ꞔ (V.7.IV) The second type is that in which the loop is turned backwards, after the vertical has been bent forwards. Ꞓ (V.7.V) The letter kho is indicated as in the preceding periods. ꞙ (V.7.VI)

There is only one, old, type of the letter ə. ꞣ (V.8.I) It is interesting to note that there are dots at the end of the curved portion as well as at the end of the stem. We have also found an example of the letter ə. ꞣ (V.8.II)
There is another type of ga which is distinguished by a curved horizontal stroke at the foot. This letter is found for the first time on the coins of Aspavarman, the strategos of Azes II. This letter is also found in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan. In this connection an observation of Rapson is worth quoting. He writes, "ga...is distinguished from ga...by the curved horizontal stroke at the foot which similarly marks the difference between ja... and ja, and between ūa and ùa...This letter occasionally interchanges with ga and ka;...but its most characteristic use in these documents is to represent the Skt. suffix - ka when added to participles; e.g. ditaga = datta, or to nouns or adjectives; e.g. kala → kāla. Some clue to its pronunciation is afforded by its interchange with va; cf. aprameya in inscr. no. 177 with aprameya in no. 107; kosalga in no. 177 with kosabya in no. 370. In view of this fact and of the undoubted Iranian influence which is seen in the language of these documents, we may reasonably conclude that ga is the Avestan spirant ga. This letter is found also in Graeco-Indian coin-legends, in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, in the inscription on the Wardak vase, and in other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions."¹ Therefore this letter should be considered as the

letter ga and as the precursor of the same letter found in the later documents. (V.9.I)

There is only one type of gha which is an old one. (V.10.I) The i-stroke added to this letter is a slanting line passing through the curved portion of this letter. (V.10.II)

**Palatals**

There are two different types of the letter ga, all of which are old types. They are the following ones: - (V.11.I) and (V.11.II). The y-stroke attached to this letter is different from that prevalent in the previous Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Here we find the addition of a loop to the end of the right curve of the lower portion of the letter on the left. (V.11.III)

There are two different types of the letter cha of which one appears to be old and the other new. The old type is the following one: - (V.12.I) In the second type there is no space between the upper and the lower curves forming this letter. (V.12.II) The i-stroke added to this letter is expressed in two different manners. In the first type the vertical stroke pierces through the upper curve (V.12.I); whereas in the second type the vertical stroke pierces through the two curves on the left. (V.12.II)
There is only one type of the letter cha which is an old one. (V.13.I) We have also found the example of the letter chi. (V.13.II) The e-stroke added to this letter is a slanting stroke which is drawn to the curve on the left.

There are a number of different types of cha all of which are old. They are the following ones:- (V.14.I), (V.14.II), (V.14.III) and (V.14.IV) There are the examples of ju and jo. The u-stroke attached to this letter is a complete curve. (V.14.V) The following is the example of the letter jo. (V.14.VI) It is important to note that in this period we do not find the example of the letter ja in which there is a dot and of which we have found examples in the Indo-Greek coins.

There is no difference in the letter na found in this period and those found in the previous periods. They are the following ones:- (V.15.I) and (V.15.II).

Linguals

Only one type of ja is found and this is similar to the type which has been found in the earlier inscriptions. (V.16.I)

There are two different types of the letter jha of which one is an old type and the other a new type. The old type is
the following one: - \( \text{ī} \) (V.17.I). The new type is the following one: - \( \text{ī} \) (V.17.II).

There are two different types of Ṛa which are old. \( \text{ṛ} \) (V.18.I) and \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.18.II). The stdafx attached to this letter is an old type. \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.18.III) The u-stroke is a curve which is attached to the lower end of the stem. \( \text{♭} \) (V.18.IV)

We have also found the example of the o-stroke added to this letter. \( \text{♭} \) (V.18.V)

There is only one type of ḍha which is old. \( \tilde{\text{ṛ}} \) (V.19.I).

There are a number of types of Ṛa some of which are old and some of which are new. The following are the old types: - \( \text{ṛ} \) (V.20.I) and \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.20.II). The following are the new types: - \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.20.III), \( \tilde{\text{ṛ}} \) (V.20.IV). We have found examples of \( \text{nī} \) and \( \text{ṇam} \). The examples of \( \text{nī} \) are of two different types. In the first example we find the stroke indicating the ś piercing through the head of this letter. \( \text{♭} \) (V.20.V) In the second example the stroke indicating the ś pierces only through the stem of the letter. (V.20.III) The anusvāra attached to this letter is one miniature  \( \overline{\text{ma}} \) added to the lower end of the vertical on the right side. \( \text{ś} \) (V.20.VI).

**Dentals**

There are a number of types of the letter ta which are old. They are the following ones: - \( \text{ṛ} \) (V.21.I), \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.21.II) and \( \text{ṝ} \) (V.21.III). We have found the examples of the
\textit{i}-stroke attached to this letter (V. 21. II) and also of the \textit{e}-stroke attached to this letter. \(\text{v}\) (V. 21. IV) The \textit{u}-stroke added to this letter is a new type. It is the loop which is turned backwards, after the vertical has been bent forwards. \(\text{v}\) (V. 21. V) The \textit{o}-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \(\text{v}\) (V. 21. VI)

The letter \textit{tha} which is of one type is old. \(\text{v}\) (V. 22. I) The \textit{u}-stroke added to this letter is a complete loop attached to the stem of the letter on the left. \(\text{v}\) (V. 22. II)

There are two different types of the letter \textit{da} which are old. They are the following ones: \(\text{v}\) (V. 23. I) and \(\text{v}\) (V. 23. II) We find the examples of \textit{di} and \textit{de}. The examples of \textit{di} are of two different kinds, viz., one type in which the stroke indicating the \(\text{i}\) goes through the stem of the letter in a slanting manner. \(\text{v}\) (V. 23. III) In the other type the \(\text{i}\) is indicated by the stroke which goes through the stem in the almost horizontal manner. \(\text{v}\) (V. 23. IV) The \textit{e}-stroke attached to this letter is also of two different types. In the first type the stroke indicating the \(\text{e}\) is attached to the stem of the letter in the upper side. (V. 23. I) In the second type the \textit{e}-stroke is attached to the stem of the letter in the lower portion. \(\text{v}\) (V. 23. V)

The letter \textit{dia} has been expressed in two different manners and they are old ones. \(\text{v}\) (V. 24. I) and \(\text{v}\) (V. 24. II)
The i-stroke attached to this letter is a line which passes through the upper horizontal line forming this letter. (V.24.II)

The type of the letter na which we have found here is old. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.25.I) The i-stroke added to this letter is expressed in one manner. The stroke indicating the i passes through the stem of the letter in a horizontal manner. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.25.II)

**Labials**

The letter pa is expressed only in one manner. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.26.I) The letter pi is an old type. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.26.II) There is one type of the u-stroke added to this letter. It is in the form of a complete curve. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.26.III) There is one type of the a-stroke added to this letter. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.26.IV) The anusvāra is a curve, one side of which is added to the lower end of the sum of the letter. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.26.V)

There is only one type of the letter ba whose head is of a more curved nature than the preceding type. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.27.I) The u-stroke attached to this letter is in the form of a complete curve to the stem of the letter on the left in the lower end. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.27.II)

There are two different types of the letter bha of which one is an old one and the other new. The following is the old one:– \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.28.I) The new type is characterised by its cursiveness. \( \text{\textbullet} \) (V.28.II) The i attached to this letter is
a vertical stroke passing through the left side of the horizontal line forming this letter. \( \text{V.28.III} \) The \( \text{Y} \)-stroke attached to this letter is a complete loop to the lower end of the stem on the left. \( \text{V.28.IV} \)

There are five types of the letter \( \text{ma} \) of which some are old and some are new. The old types are the following ones: \( \text{V.29.I} \), \( \text{V.29.II} \), \( \text{V.29.III} \). Besides these three types there are two other types which may be considered new. The main characteristic of the first new type is the presence of two dots at the two ends of the letter. \( \text{V.29.IV} \) In the second type the figure looks like the lower half of a rectangular figure. \( \text{W} \) \( \text{V.29.V} \) The letter \( \text{mi} \) is an old type. \( \text{V.29.VI} \) There are two different types of the letter \( \text{mu} \) of which one appears to be old and the other new. The old type is the following one: \( \text{V.29.VII} \) The new type is the following one: \( \text{V.29.VIII} \) The letters \( \text{me} \) \( \text{V.29.V} \) and \( \text{mo} \) \( \text{V.29.VI} \) are old types. The \( \text{anusvāra} \) added to this letter is in the form of a miniature \( \text{ma} \) placed below the letter \( \text{ma} \). \( \text{V.29.X} \)

**Semi-vowels**

We find three different types of the letter \( \text{ya} \) of which two are old types and the other new. The old types are \( \text{V.30.I} \) and \( \text{V.30.II} \). In the new type we find the presence
of dots at the two ends of the letter. \( \backslash \) (V.30.III) The letter \( \backslash \) is an old type. \( \backslash \) (V.30.IV) There are two different types of the letter \( \backslash \) of which one appears to be older in form. The first type of the \( \backslash \)-stroke consists in a short upward stroke which is added to the left foot of the letter. \( \backslash \) (V.30.V) The other type which is certainly a more recent one consists in a loop which is added to the left foot of the letter at the lower end. \( \backslash \) (V.30.VI) The letters \( \backslash \) \( \backslash \) (V.30.VII) and \( \backslash \) \( \backslash \) (V.30.VIII) are old types. The anusvāra is indicated by an upward slanting stroke added to the foot of the right limb of the letter. \( \backslash \) (V.30.IX)

There are four different types of the letter \( \backslash \) of which three are old and the one, new. The old types are the following ones:- \( \backslash \) (V.31.I), \( \backslash \) (V.31.II) and \( \backslash \) (V.31.III). The peculiarity of the new type is that it has two dots at the two ends of the letter. \( \backslash \) (V.31.IV) The letters \( \backslash \) (V.31.III), \( \backslash \) (V.31.V) and \( \backslash \) (V.31.VI) are old types. The anusvāra is a miniature ma added to the letter at the foot. \( \backslash \) (V.31.VII)

The letter \( \backslash \) is indicated in two different manners. They are old types. \( \backslash \) (V.32.I) and \( \backslash \) (V.32.II) The \( \backslash \)-stroke added to this letter is of two different types, viz., one in which the loop attached to the left of the stem in the lower part is not complete \( \backslash \) (V.32.III) and the other in which the loop is a complete one. \( \backslash \) (V.32.IV)
The letter \textit{va} is indicated in two different manners. Out of these two types one is an old one. \textit{7} (V.33.I) The other type is a new one which is characterised by the prolongation of the stem. \textit{7} (V.33.II) Here it is important to quote a statement of Rapson. He observes that "Rühler has observed that 'in the later times the head of \textit{va} is nearly always round.' This is true of some of our documents in which \textit{va}, 135, is so written as to be scarcely distinguishable from a, A; and it seems most probable that certain forms which have been admitted into our text are due to confusion of these two letters; e.g., \textit{asu} in inscr. no. 32, and \textit{agti} in no. 70. There are abundant examples of each of these words, and there can be no doubt that the normal forms are \textit{vasu} (or \textit{vasu}) and \textit{va}$^\text{agti}$. In cursive writing the head of \textit{va} sometimes disappears almost entirely leaving little more than the bare stem; e.g. \textit{mahanuvças}, in no. 1, Pl. I; but as a rule in the Niya documents \textit{va}, 135, retains the straight head-line which is its distinctive feature." \textit{1} But here Rapson has not mentioned one very important characteristic of the type of \textit{va} occurring in Chinese Turkestan which is apparent in the illustration given in his work. This characteristic is the elongation and the more curved nature of the stem of the letter. This characteristic is also very clear in the type of \textit{va} which has been

\textit{(1) KI, pt. III, p.308, 1929.}
just discussed. This clearly shows that the origin of this type of va found in Chinese Turkestan should be referred to this period. The letters vi ṭ (V.33.III) and ve ṭ (V.33.IV) are old types. There is one letter which has been read by Konow as vaいますが he has not accounted for the curve attached to the lower end of the stem of the letter. It seems that this word should be taken as yam and not va. ṭ (V.33.V)

**Sibilants and ha**

We have found two different types of the letter sa of which one is old and the other, new. The old type is the following one:— ∩ (V.34.I). In the new type the head is completely round. □ (V.34.II) The i attached to this letter is an old type. □ (V.34.III) The y-stroke is represented by a loop attached to the left side of the left limb. ∩ (V.34.IV) The g-stroke attached to this letter □ (V.34.V) and the o-stroke attached to this letter □ (V.34.VI) are old types.

The letter sa is an old type. ṭ (V.35.I) The letters si ṭ (V.35.II) and se ṭ (V.35.III) are old types. In the letter sa we find one slanting downward stroke from the left side of the vertical. ṭ (V.35.IV)

There are different types of the letter sa found in this period. Among these types some are new and some are old.

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Majumdar propounded a theory that the closed variety of the dental sibilant regularly occurs on all the Indo-Greek coins and on all the issues of Maues, the Vonones group and Azes I and Azilises and that the open or 'late' type on the coins of Azes II, Azes II with Aspavarman and Gondophares, and that on the coins of the latter group of kings the intermediate form, which retains a trace of the projection of the lower vertical often appears simultaneously with the open type. It has been already shown that such a state of things cannot be proved from the existing coins. It seems that the closed as well as the open types of the letter \( sa \) occur side by side for a longer period of time than Majumdar had thought. Here in this period also we find the closed as well as the open types. Moreover we find also new types of the closed as well as the open varieties. It is, therefore, apparent that Majumdar's theory cannot be accepted. We have found a number of old types of the letter \( sa \). They are the following ones:– \( \bar{P} (V.36.I) \) and \( \bar{P} (V.36.II) \) There are a number of new types which may now be mentioned. In the first new type we find the prevalence of the dot at two ends of the letter. \( \bar{P} (V.36.III) \) In the second new type the head as well as the foot of the letter is definitely angular. \( \bar{P} (V.36.IV) \) We find the letter \( si \). \( \bar{P} (V.36.V) \) The \( \imath \)-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by a loop attached to the left lower side of the vertical. \( \bar{P} (V.36.VI) \) We also find the letter \( se \). \( \bar{P} (V.36.VII) \) The
anusvara is nothing but the addition of a ma to the lower end of the vertical. 姥姥 (V.36.VIII)

The letter ha was indicated in four different ways. Among these different types some are old and some are new. The following are the old types: -= subclass (V.37.I), subclass (V.37.II) and subclass (V.37.III) The following is the new type: -=  subclass (V.37.IV)

We have found the letters hi  subclass (V.37.V), he  subclass (V.37.VI) and ho  subclass (V.37.VII) The anusvara added to this letter is indicated by the placing of the letter ma below the horizontal line forming this letter. 嘘 (V.37.VIII)

Compound akṣaras

Groups with initial guttural

The compound akṣara is found with the initial ka. So far as the group with the initial ka is concerned, we find krā. It seems that there are two different types of krā of which one type has been found in the preceding period. The following is that old type: -=  subclass (V.38.I) The second type appears to be a new one. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that the horizontal line indicating the letter ra is curved in nature.  subclass (V.38.II)
Groups with initial lingual

We find only the compound consonant with the initial āha. Its formation is very simple. The ra is added in the form of a horizontal stroke drawn from the end of the stem of the letter towards the right. \(\text{I} \) (V.39.I)

Groups with initial dental

The compound consonants are made with the initial ta, da and dha. So far as the group with the initial ta is concerned, we find the compound words tra and tsa. The compound aksara tra has been indicated in two different ways which are old. They are the following ones: \(\text{I} \) (V.40.I) and \(\text{I} \) (V.40.II) The most important compound letter having the initial ta which is found in this period for the first time is the letter tsa. This letter is found in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102. M. Senart who edited this inscription for the first time read it as tsa; but Majumdar read it as tēa. His observation in this connection is important. He remarks, "The most interesting, however, is the conjunct letter tē in satvatasa which was read ta by M. Senart. Its resemblance to the Central Asian tē is clear enough and here the two distinct letter forms t and ə can be easily detected in the body of the ligature."\(^1\) Regarding this ligature Konow

\(^1\) JPASB, NS, Vol. XVIII, 1922, p.66, 1923.
has observed, "After [thu]ve follow samvatsārya. It will be seen that the compound tēa is a little irregular, in so far as the upper horizontal protrudes to the right of the vertical, which, in its turn, is continued in a straight line up to the horizontal." Regarding this ligature Lüders remarked, "Die Ligatur tēa ist nicht neu, wie Banerji meint. Sie findet sich, weil man von unsichern Fällen absicht, in samvatsārya in der Taxila Inscrift der Patika (Ep. Ind. 4, 54; Bühler, samvatsārya), und in der Mahaban Inscrift (Journ. As. IX, 4, 514; Senart samvatsārya) und in bhētsāṭi und matāṇa in MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, wie Franke schon vor zehn Jahren erkannt hat (Pāli und Sanskrit, S.96.f)." Konow has rightly observed that this ligature is a little irregular as the upper horizontal protrudes to the right of the vertical. It is not otherwise. J (V.40.III)

There is another compound letter which Whitehead considers as the compound letter ndra in the letter Indravarmaputrasa; but there is possibly no doubt that it should be read as Indravarmaputrasa. Therefore the compound letter which is found here is really dra. Σ (V.40.IV)

(2) SKPAW, 1912, p.825, 1912.
The compound letter with the initial dhe is dhra $\frac{?}{2}$ (V.40.V).

**Groups with initial labial**

We find the compound akṣaras made with the letters pe and bha. So far as the compound letter with the initial pa is concerned, we find the letter pra which is an old type. \( \alpha \) (V.41.I)

So far as the compound akṣara with the initial bha is concerned, we find the letter bhra which is expressed in two different ways and which are different from the same letter occurring in the preceding period. In the first type the letter ra is expressed by a horizontal stroke which is drawn from the vertical line of the subsidiary portion of the letter towards the right. \( \frac{\alpha}{\alpha} \) (V.41.II) In the second type the ra of the letter is indicated by a hook-like stroke. \( \frac{\alpha}{\alpha} \) (V.41. III).

**Groups with initial semi-vowel**

The compound letters are formed with the initial ra only. The letters thus formed are rda, rdhi, rma, rra, and rva. It is interesting to note here that we find for the first time the example of rda; but it is not at all clear in the photograph which has been published in Konow's work.\(^1\) However we

\(^1\) C33, vA, II, p.1, ra XV, q., c., 1727.
may consider it as a new type of the compound letter. The compound letter rdha occurs in the Shahdau inscription of Damijada. Regarding this letter Konow has observes. "Then follows sabhadasa savalavachapitrasa, an aksara which seems to be rdha, and an unmistakable cha...If the reading of the aksara following after the ensuing sa as rdha is correct, sardha can hardly be anything else than Skr. sārdham, which is sometimes used at the end of the compounds." It is almost certain that in this example we find a line without a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter.

(V.42.I) In the other example which represents rdhi the compound letter is different. Here in this case the prefixed ra is expressed by a line with a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter. (V.42.II) The letter rma has been expressed in two different manners. In one type it is expressed by a line without a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter. (V.42.III) In the second type this is indicated by a line with a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter. (V.42.IV) The letter ra added to the same letter ra is naturally indicated by a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the vertical to the right. (V.42.V) The letter ra added

(1) Ibid., p.15, 1929.
to the letter \( \text{va} \) is expressed in two different manners. In the first type we find one line without a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter. \( \textit{...} (V.42.VI) \)

In the second type we find the letter \( \text{va} \) indicated by one line with a downward bend on the right drawn through the stem of the letter. \( \textit{...} (V.42.VII) \)

**Groups with initial sibilant**

We find the compound letters made with the initial \( \text{sa}, \text{sa}, \) and \( \text{sa} \). The compound \( \text{akṣaras} \) made with the initial \( \text{sa} \) are \( \text{spa} \) and \( \text{stra} \). There is a divergence of opinion regarding the reading of the sign which should be considered as \( \text{spa} \). The same sign was read by different scholars as either \( \text{spa} \) or \( \text{stra} \) or \( \text{spa} \). Bühlner gave the examples of \( \text{spa}, \text{stra}, \) and \( \text{spa} \) in his book, *Indische Palaeographie*. In discussing the letter \( \text{spa} \) he remarked, "The ligatures of the Indo-Grecian coins, such as \( \text{kra, khre, stra...} \), and those of the Saka inscriptions, \( \text{ste, khsa...} \), \( \text{sta...} \) show only small changes. The same remark applies to the ligatures on the coins of the Sakas and the older Kuśanas, where, however, some new groups appear, such as \( \text{psa...} \), \( \text{psa...} \), \( \text{spa...} \) which has been mostly misread as \( \text{spa} \) on account of the Greek Spalyrises, \( \text{spa} \) with the \( \text{va} \) turned into a curve." (1) Regarding the letter \( \text{spa} \) he again remarks,

(1) IP, p. 29, 1904.
"The ligature of sa and pa is formed according to the same principles, but the sa is mutilated still more and merely indicated by a little hook at the top of the vertical of pa in spa ... and spi ... In spa ... the hook stands on the side-limb of pa."¹ Regarding these three different compound letters Rapson has also made some discussion which is worth quoting. Regarding the letter spa he remarks, "When initial ̄sa, 144, is combined with pa, 99, the result is a compound aks̄ara which very effectively conceals the characteristic features of both letters. The transcription of this letter ōsa, 250, reflects the uncertainty which the editors felt as to its value at the time when their system of transliteration was settled. The aks̄ara, no doubt, bears a general resemblance to that which M.Senart had previously identified as ōsa in the Ms. Dutreuil de Rhins; e.g. in the word jatisaṅsaara; and since the difference between the two characters appear to be slight - the head of the Niya sign being less angular than that of ōsa, while the lower portions of both were similar - it was thought advisable to adopt a transliteration which was also only slightly different; and ōsa was the result. But in reality the two aks̄aras have nothing in common; and the evidence supplied by certain parallel forms which have since been

¹ Ibid., p.27, 1904.
recognised leaves no possible room for doubting that the supposed āṣa is to be read everywhere in our documents as ūṣa.¹

Rapson has not made any special remark regarding the forms of the letters āva and ūṣa; but the shape of these two letters is apparent from the plate which is given in his work. So far as the letter āva is concerned, we have got here an example of the letter āvam² from which we have a clear idea how this compound letter has been formed. He has also given an example of the letter ūṣa in his work.³ It is evident from a comparative study of the form of this compound letter in Indian inscriptions and in the documents of Chinese Turkestan that there is a considerable difference between these two letters. It is at least clear from the above that the letter which looks like ṇ (V.43.1) should be read ūṣa. The letter āra is formed in one manner. The ra is indicated by a horizontal stroke drawn right from the right limb of the letter. \( \text{جمال} \) (V.43.2)

The letter pri is formed by the addition of a horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the vertical towards the right. \( \text{جمال} \) (V.43.3)

The compound letter ūṣa is an old type. \( \text{جمال} \) (V.43.4)

We also find the letter ūṣa. \( \text{جمال} \) (V.43.5).

(1) KI, pt. III, p.319, 1929. It should be pointed out here that Bailey has rightly read this compound letter as āṣa in his recent transliteration of the Khotan Dharmapada. (BSOAS, Vol. XI, pp.488-512, 1945).
(2) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 229, 1929.
(3) Ibid., pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 243, 1929.
Punctuation mark

We have found the use of the punctuation mark in three inscriptions, viz., the Fatehjang stone-inscription of the year 68, the Muchai inscription of the year 81 and the Mathura Lion-capital, B Inscription. To the Fatehjang stone-inscription of the year 68 Konow has made the following observation. "After the figures denoting the year there is a short dash, which evidently marks a stop. M.Senart explained the curious hook following after the final figure of the date as a similar dash. M.Boyer, on the other hand, read it as de, and this reading was accepted by Mr. Majumdar. What stands on the stone is, as will be seen, a sloping vertical, with a horizontal protruding from the middle towards the right. A somewhat similar de, without any horizontal or bend of the top, is found in the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 468, but here the g-stroke joins the sloping vertical near the bottom. Moreover the distance between the sign and the next letter is unusually small. In such circumstances I am inclined to accept M.Senart's explanation and to follow him in thinking that the stroke has become enlarged by a flaw in the stone."¹ There is another example of dash in the Muchai inscription of the year 81. This dash is indicated by two slanting lines crossing each other.

dash Konow has remarked, "It is perfectly certain, viz.,

\[ \text{vashe ekasitmaye 20 20 20 20} \]

followed by two lines crossing each other, but evidently only meant to make a stop, in a similar way as in the Fatehjarg inscription."¹ There is also another example of the dash after the word putra in the Mathura Lion capital, B inscription. Regarding this dash-mark Konow has observed, "B2 runs \text{Vajulasa putra}, which is clearly miswritten for \text{Rajulasa putra}. The \text{tra} has the angular \text{r}-stroke and two short strokes in front. They are perhaps intended to indicate that the words written in smaller letters in front of \text{putra} should be inserted in this place or after B3, which runs \text{sudase kastrave} with the same shape of \text{tra} as in B1."²

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(1) Ibid., p.29, 1929.
(2) Ibid., p.41, 1929.
CHAPTER VI

The Indo-Parthian period

In this chapter it will be our endeavour to discuss the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the period which is known as the Indo-Parthian period. Before discussing the actual position of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period it is necessary to give a brief resume of the chief political events of the period. The first family which we must deal with in this connection is the family of Vonones. So far as Vonones is concerned, the main source of evidence for the reconstruction of his history is his coins. There is no doubt that Vonones was a Parthian because the very name is quite well-known from the list of the Parthian kings. There are reasons to believe that he and his family for some time held sway in Kabul, and we have indication to assume that it was this Parthian dynasty which overthrew the Greek dominion in Ariana. We can form some idea of the portion of the genealogical history of the family of Vonones from a number of types of coins which he issued. One type of coin has, on the obverse, the Greek legend \textit{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑ}, and on the reverse, in Kharoṣṭhī letters,
maharajabhrata dhramikasa Špalahorasa. In another type of coin we have, on the obverse, the Greek legend

BΑΣΙΛΕΩς
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΜΑΥ and on the reverse, in Kharoṣṭhī letters, Špalahoraputra dhramisa Špalagadama. From these two different kinds of coins of Vonones we can have the following genealogy:—

Vonones   Špalahora
     Špalagadama

The name Vonones occurring in these coins is also known from the imperial dynasty of Parthia. One of the sons of Phraates IV who were sent to Rome about 10 B.C. had this name, and he was later on placed on the imperial throne of Parthia. His dated coins range between A.D. 8/9 and 11/12. We also know of another emperor, Vonones II, who does not seem to have left any coins. According to Tacitus his reign was short and inglorious, and his accession took place in A.D. 51. It has usually been considered impossible to identify either of these kings with the ruler mentioned on the coins under discussion, who has been described as a king of Drangiana and Arachosia. So far as the date of Vonones is concerned, Rapson thought that the use of the imperial title shows that he must be later than Mithradates II. So far as the date of Vonones is concerned, Rapson remarked, "The most trustworthy evidence
as to the date of Vonones is supplied by the coins of Spalirises, 'the king's brother'. If the king, who is not named, was Vonones himself, as is usually assumed, the earlier coins of Spalirises, i.e., those struck by him before he became suzerain of eastern Iran in succession to Vonones, may perhaps afford a valuable historical indication. There are two classes of these... In the first, Spalirises appears alone as 'the king's brother' without any distinctly royal title. In the second, he as senior (Greek legend) is associated with Azes as junior (Kharoṣṭhī legend), both of them bearing the subordinate or vice-regal title, 'Great King'. Vonones was evidently reigning as Great King of Kings at this time. The relationship of Azes to Spalirises is not expressed in the Kharoṣṭhī legend; and in such cases it seems to be assumed that the junior is the son of the senior; otherwise, i.e., when the junior is a brother or nephew, the relationship is stated. We may conclude, then, that this Azes was most probably the son of Spalirises and the nephew of Vonones, and we may identify him with Azes II, who afterwards became suzerain of N.W. India and ended his reign in A.D. 19. Vonones was at least a generation earlier; that is to say, he appears to have been contemporary with Azilises and possibly Azes I. Until more definite evidence can be discovered, he may be supposed to have begun his reign c. 30 B.C. It seems impossible, therefore, to identify him with
But against this theory of Rapson Konow has propounded a new theory. According to Konow "the date assigned to the East-Iranian Vonones by Professor Rapson, c.30 B.C., is a little too early." He argues that if Spalirises was the brother of Vonones, the imitation of the coins of Hermaeus points to a somewhat later date. Therefore he argues that though this, the last Great King, may have ruled for a long period, Rapson can hardly be right in assuming that he 'may have been reigning for some time before or after c.40 B.C.' We shall see later on that Hermaeus was, for some time of his reign, associated with the Kusana ruler Kujula Kadphises, who did not start on his career before A.D. 25. In such circumstances it is reasonable to see whether it is possible to identify the East Iranian Vonones with the Parthian emperor, Vonones I. When the latter mounted the throne of Parthia in succession to his father in A.D. 8, he does not seem to have been a young man. We learn from Tacitus' Annals ii 2 that he was not fond of hunting and riding, and that he preferred to be carried about in a litter. The Parthians soon got disgusted and called in Artabanes III, who was of Arsacid blood but was living with the Dahae. Vonones took refuge with the

Arménians, who made him king in A.D. 16. The Roman governor of Syria, however, reduced him to nominal power, and later on, at the request of Astabanus, he was removed to Cilicia, and, when he attempted to escape, he was killed in A.D. 19. If we assume that he was then about sixty years old, he would have been about fifty when he was placed on the Parthian throne, and such an age might reasonably be inferred from Tacitus' narrative. We have already seen that his father Phraates IV sent him and his brothers to Rome about 10 B.C. It is hardly likely that this was merely the outcome of paternal affection and anxiety for the safety of the princes. It looks more like an exile. Phraates' favourite wife, the Italian slave girl Musa, whom Augustus had presented to him, seems to have exercised considerable influence, and she would naturally do what she could in order to secure the throne for her son Phraataces, in preference to his older half-brothers, who would, of course, be less dangerous in Rome than in Parthia. On the other hand, the frequent internal troubles during the reign of Phraates IV would more than once have offered an opportunity to his sons for setting up as independent rulers in some part of the empire, e.g., in Arachosia, where we find the East-Iranian Vonones. And if Vonones, the son of Phraates, had tried to do so, we should understand better why he was exiled in 10 B.C.
Konow, therefore, thinks that the most likely inference from the available material is that the East-Iranian Vonones was the same person who later on became the Parthian emperor Vonones I. Sometime before 10 B.C. he was in charge of the eastern provinces and then assumed the imperial title, 'King of kings'.

This may have happened at the time when Mithradates rose against Phraates in 12 B.C., or even earlier. If we are to ascribe the coins of Vonones with Spalahora and Spalagadama to that period, the coins of Spalyris and Spalagadama would belong to about the same time. After Vonones had been sent to Rome in 10 B.C., we should then be inclined to date the coins issued by 'the great king'... Spalirises and 'the great king'... Aya, in other words Aya would have been the joint ruler of Arachosia and perhaps of Kabul from about 10 B.C.

Later on Spalirises assumes the title of 'King of Kings' in the west and Azes in the east.

There is another Indo-Parthian family which we should trace here. This is the family of Gondophares. The history of Gondophares is deduced from his inscription, coins and Christian traditional literature. Gondopharnes' name is unquestionably Pahlava (Parthian), for the various forms in which it appears on the coins are merely attempts to render local pronunciations of the Persian Vindafarna, 'the winner of glory' in Greek letters. Many of his coin types are
borrowed from the money of his predecessors, and, like them, may be traced back to Yavana originals. They seem to show that he succeeded to the dominions of the Pahlavas and Šakas both in eastern Iran and in N.W. India. That he ruled also in the Kabul Valley, which was probably annexed before his reign, appears to be shown by the large number of his coins which were found on its ancient sites by Masson and other explorers at the time when such exploration was still a possibility. Numismatic evidence shows also that his immediate predecessor on the throne was Azes II for the two monarchs are associated with the same strategos, 'commander-in-chief', Ašpavarman, son of Indravarman. On the coins of Gondopharnes and on those of his successor, Pacores, we find the name of another strategos, Sasas, who no doubt succeeded Ašpavarman as commander-in-chief. The sequence of the strategoi thus affords valuable evidence for the order of succession of their sovereigns. Two generations of these military chiefs - Ašpavarman and his nephew, Sasas - held office during the reign of Azes II, Gondopharnes, and Pacores.

But before he succeeded Azes II as Great King of Kings in India Gondopharnes had also succeeded him as viceroy of Arachosia. In this subordinate rule he was at one time associated, under the suzerainty of Orthagnes, with Guḍa or Guḍana (Guḍāna), who may perhaps have been his brother. This is the
view of Rapson. Against this view Konow has an altogether
different theory. He observes, "The designation Orthagnes,
occuring on the obverse of these coins, is, as is well known,
equivalent with Arestan [\textit{rho\iota\mu\sigma\tau\mu\alpha\nu\eta\nu\iota\alpha}] thraghna, 'victorious', and the
reverse of the coins shows a winged Nike with palm and wreath.
Orthagnes is usually considered to be the name of the suzerain,
under whom Guduvhara held a subordinate position. Professor
Rapson thinks that Guduvhara succeeded Azes as viceroy in
Arachosia before he became his successor as Great King of
Kings in India. The legend on the reverse of the Orthagnes
coins does not, however, point to a subordinate position.
The titles of Guduvhara are exactly equivalent to those of
Orthagnes. In such circumstances it seems to me that Orthagnes
must be identified with Guduvhara, i.e., it is not a name but
an honorific designation assumed after an important victory.
And since these coins have been found in Seistan and Kandahar,
we may perhaps assume that Guduvhara, as Great King of Kings
made a victorious expedition against the Sakas in the west."

The name of Gondopharnes, and possibly those of two
princes of his family, Guda and Abdagases, have been preserved
in connection with the legends of St. Thomas in the literature
of the early Christian Church. The apocryphal Acts of Judas

\footnote{(1) CII., Vol. II, pt. I, p.xlvi, 1929.}
Thomas the Apostle, which contains an account of the ministry of St. Thomas in India, exists in Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions; and of these the earliest, the Syriac, is supposed to date from before the middle of the third century A.D. The story may be told in the following manner. At one time all the apostles had been in Jerusalem. They divided the countries among them for the purpose of preaching the faith of Christ. India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. He was not willing to go; but Jesus Christ appeared to him in a vision of the night and said to him not to be afraid. But still he persisted not to go to India. Then Jesus Christ appeared, claimed him as his servant, sold him to the Indian merchant Ihabban who was sent by King Gudnaphar to bring to him a skilful carpenter. St. Thomas journeyed with Ihabban to the court of King Gondopharnes who ordered him to build a palace. St. Thomas spent the money of the king in acts of charity - to build a palace, not made with hands, immortal in the heavens; and the disappointed king cast St. Thomas and the merchant into prison. While they were lying there, Gad, the king's brother died, and being carried by the angels to heaven is shown the heavenly palace which St. Thomas had built by his good works. Gad was restored to life; and in the sequel both Gondopharnes and Gad were converted. There is no doubt that Gudnaphar who is mentioned...
here is to be identified with Gondopharnes; Gad, the brother of the king may possibly be the Guḍa or Guḍana, who is associated with him on coins.

It is important to note the different personages whose names are found on the coins of Gondopharnes. The first personage to be mentioned in this way is Aśpavarma. The legend on such coins runs thus:— obv. Greek legend, corrupt and illegible. Rev.:— Jayatasa tratarasa Imdravarmaputrasa strategasa Aspavarmasa. The second personage whose name is mentioned in this way is Sasas. The legend on such coins runs thus:— BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ in corrupt Greek: Rev. Maharajasa mahatasa tratarasa devavradasa Guduvharasa Sasasa. In another type the obverse legend is the same but the reverse legend runs thus:— Maharajasa rajatirajasa devavratasa Guduvharasa Sasasa. The third personage whose name is mentioned in this way is Guḍa. The legend on such coins runs thus:— BACIΛΕΥΣ BACIΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΩΘΑΡΝΗΣ Rev: Maharajasa rajatirajasa Guduvharasa guḍana. It is interesting to note that "some Sasa coins were found by Sir John Marshall at Sirkap, where the obverse shows the bust of a bearded king, in which Professor Rapson has recognised the king Pacores. The reverse bears the Kharoṣṭhī legend maharajasa Aspabhratapurasa tratarasa Sasasa, i.e., as explained by Sir John, 'of the maharāja, the
brother's son of Aśpa [varma], the saviour.' It thus becomes evident that Sasa is the name of a scion of the family of Aśpararman, the strategos of Azes and Guduvhara.\(^1\)

There is no doubt that Aśpavarma and Sasa occupied the position of strategos during the rule of Gondophares. There is some controversy regarding the exact significance of the term Sasan. Cunningham was the first to identify him with Gad, the king's brother and Rapson speaks of Gondophares as being associated with the subordinate ruler as viceroy in Arachosia with Guda or Guđana, 'who may perhaps have been his brother.' But against this view of Cunningham and Rapson Whitehead, Fleet and Konow think that it is the name of the tribe of Gondophares.\(^2\)

Then we find the coins of another personage named Abdagases. Regarding this personage Rapson observes that "as none of the coin-legends of Abdagases bears the imperial title, there is no evidence that he reigned independently at any time. The types suggest that he ruled as the viceroy of Gondopharnes in Iran (Seistan and Kandahar) (Pl. VIII, 54; VII,34)."\(^3\) Against this assertion of Rapson Konow observes that "other coin legends mention a nephew of Guduvhara called

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Abdagases. According to Gardner these coins have been found in the Western Punjab. There are two different legends, viz., \( BAC\_Y\_E\_Y\_C \) \( \text{with} \) \( A[B\_D\_A\_G\_J\_A\_O\_Y \) on the obverse and \text{maharagasa} \text{Avadaga\textashyasa} \text{tradarasa} on the reverse; and \( BAC\_Y\_E\_Y\_T\_O\_C\) \( BAC\_Y\_E\_Y\_N\_Y\) \( A\_D\_G\_A\_S\_D\_Y\) on the obverse and \text{Guduvhara} \text{bhradaputrasa} \text{maharajasa} \text{tradarasa} \text{Avadaga\textashyasa} on the reverse. The title seems to show that he did not occupy an independent position. Mr. Whitehead registers a coin with the Kharoṣṭhī legend \text{maharajasa} \text{rajatirajasa} \text{Gudavharabhrataputrasa} \text{Avadaga\textashyasa}. If this reading is right, it shows that Abdagases may at some time have assumed the imperial title. To judge from Mr. Whitehead's plate, however, the word preceding Gadavhara, or, rather Guduvhara, seems to be \text{maharajasa}.”

The king Pacores whose bust Rapson has recognised on some Saśa coins seems to have occupied an independent position. His coins came from Kandahar and the country to the west of Bhakar and according to Rapson they "show that he was undoubtedly suzerain in Iran, for they bear the imperial title together with the type 'victory' which was first issued by Orthaghes..., and his portrait combined on coins found at Takṣaśilā with the symbol of Gendopharnes and the legend of the commander-in-chief, Shasās, proves that he exercised at

least a nominal sway in India.\(^1\)

According to Konow "he cannot be identified with the King Pakores II of Parthia, because the bust on the latter's coins is different and his date (A.D. 77-110) too late. Another Pacores, the brother of Vologases I (A.D. 57-77), is mentioned as having received the kingdom of Media Atropane after the accession of Vologases, but we have no means for judging of his possible identity with Pacores.\(^2\)

The types of another king, Sanabares, with their purely Greek legend, must be attributed to Seistan. There is no evidence of his rule either in Kandahar or India.

The passing of Pahlava rule in eastern Gandhāra (Takṣaśīlā) is illustrated by the remarkable hoard of 21 small silver coins which was found by Marshall in an earthen jar on the ancient site of Sirkap. The coins belong to four distinct classes, all hitherto unknown - two belonging to the reign of Gondophares, and one each to the reigns of Pacores and Vima Kadphises. Regarding this find of coins we get the following information from the writing of Marshall. He writes, "Most important of all the numismatic finds is the group of 21 small silver coins...which were contained in an earthen jar...All these were new types. Eight of them bear on their

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(1) Ibid., p.xlvii, 1929.
(2) Ibis., p.xlvii, 1929.
reverse the legend: Maharajasa Aspabhrataputrasa Sasasa...

Coins of Gondopharnes with the word Sasasa on the reverse have long been known to us, but it has been a matter of dispute whether Sasasa was the name of a subordinate ruler or some unexplained epithet of Gondopharnes himself. It is now clear that it is the name of a ruler, Sasan, and that like his uncle Aspa, whom I identify with Aspavarma, he was first a strategos of Gondopharnes, and subsequently assumed independent or quasi-independent power. Of the remaining coins five belong to Sapedanes, five to Satavastra, and three to a Kushan king. The Kharoshthi legends on the coins of Sapedanes read: Maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa sapedanasa; and those on the coins of Satavastra: Maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa satavastrasa. Both these kings were previously unknown to us. That they came after Gondopharnes is clear from the style of the coins; but over what kingdom they ruled is uncertain. No other coins belonging to them have been found at Taxila, and it is unlikely, therefore, that either of them reigned at Taxila. Probably they were contemporaries of Kujula or Wima Kadphises and ruled over small states further west, acknowledging the supremacy of the Kushan overlord, who had established his capital at Taxila. This supposition is borne out by the three coins, Nos. 45, 46, and 47, which supply an important link between the Pahlava and the Kushān.
issues. These coins are also of silver and similar to the issues of Sasan, Sapêdana and Satavastra described above, but they bear on the obverse the head of a Kushân king resembling that of Wima Kadphises. On the reverse are a winged victory and the legend Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kûsanasa javugasa (?). The epithet yavuga (= Turkish jabgu) is found on coins of Kûjûla Kadphises, and is supposed to have been replaced by the title maharaja rajatiraja after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct. Of the more readily identified coins of Kadphises I the collection includes several rare specimens. In the case of two of these (Nos. 47 and 48) the letters on the reverse, although clear, are not decipherable. They are, therefore, reproduced in facsimile. Of the very rare "seated Buddha and Zeus" type there are six specimens, which collectively yield the legend on the reverse yavugasa Kûjûla Kasasa Kûsanasa, thus putting their identification beyond dispute.¹

Against this view of Marshall Rapson has propounded a somewhat different theory. First, he believes that the coins on which we find the names of Sapêdana and Satavastra really belong to the reign of Gondopharnes. He observes that "the

¹ ASIAR for 1912-13, pp.43-44, 1916.
first two classes bear the portrait and the symbol of Gondopharnes, with the names respectively of Sapedana and Satavastra and the style 'great king, king of kings', which is only one degree inferior to the most lofty title assumed by Gondopharnes, viz., 'Great King, Supreme King of Kings'. Such a style can only mean that, even in the reign of Gondopharnes, the allegiance of the governors to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal.\(^1\) There are certain reasons for which this view of Rapson cannot be accepted. First, it is not possible to accept his view that in these two types of coins we find the portrait of the king Gondopharnes. There is no similarity between the portrait found in these coins and the portrait which is found in the coins of Gondopharnes. Secondly, though it is true that here we find the symbol which is found for the first time in the coins of Gondopharnes, it must, however, be noted that this symbol has also been found to be used in the coins of Abdagases. At the most it may be said that these two rulers belong to the house of Gondopharnes about which there is probably no doubt. Therefore we cannot accept the view of Rapson that Sapedana and Satavastra are to be considered as the governors of the monarch Gondopharnes; on the other hand, we take them to be the actual rulers of the

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kingdom. In other points there is no difference of opinion between Marshall and Rapson.

The main sources for the study of the Kharoṣṭhī script of this period are a number of coins and a few inscriptions. The persons whose coins we are going to consider here for study have already been named. The inscriptions which are considered here for this purpose are the following:

(1) The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103.1
(2) Other Takht-i-Bahi inscriptions.2
(3) Paja inscription of the year 111.3
(4) Kaldarra inscription of the year 113.4
(5) Marguz inscription of the year 117 (?)5

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels we, first of all, find the examples of a. The letter a is of one type and is old.7 (VI.1.I)

The letter i which is also found in this period is also an old type.7 (VI.2.I)

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2 Ibid., p. 63, pl. XII, nos. 2 and 3, 1929.
3 Ibid., pp. 63-65, pl. XIII, 1, 1929.
5 Ibid., pp. 66-67, pl. XIII, 3, 1929.
There are three different types of the letter all of which are old types. They are the following ones: \( \gamma \) (VI.3 I), \( \gamma \) (VI.3.II) and \( \gamma \) (VI.3.III).

The letter \( \gamma \) which is of one type is also old. \( \gamma \) (VI.4.I)

**Simple akṣaras**

**Gutturals**

The letters under this group are ka, kha, ga and gha.

We find two distinct types of the letter ka. They are \( \gamma \) (VI.5.I) and \( \gamma \) (VI.5.II) The \( \gamma \)-stroke attached to this letter is of two different types, viz., the old and the more recent types. The old type consists of a short horizontal line which is drawn from the lower end of the vertical towards the left. \( \gamma \) (VI.5.III) The other more recent type consists of a full curve attached to the left foot of the vertical. \( \gamma \) (VI.5.IV)

The letter kha of which we find only one type is an old one. \( \gamma \) (VI.6.I)

The letter ga of which we find only one type is also an old one. \( \gamma \) (VI.7.I) The \( \gamma \)-stroke attached to this letter is a full curve attached to the left side of the vertical. \( \gamma \) (VI.7.II) There is also the example of the letter go. \( \gamma \) (VI.7.III)

The letter gha found in this period is an old type. \( \gamma \) (VI.8.I) There is also the example of the letter ghe. \( \gamma \) (VI.8.II)
Palatals

We find the letters ea and ja. The letter ea is of two kinds and has been found in the preceding period. \( \chi \) (VI.9.II) and \( \gamma \) (VI.9.II)

The letter ja is of two different kinds and both of them also occur in the preceding period. \( \gamma \) (VI.10.II) and \( \gamma \) (VI.10.II)

Linguals

We find the letters ga and na. The letter ga which occurs in this period rather infrequently is an old type. \( g \) (VI.11.I)

The types of the letter na are old. \( \phi \) (VI.12.II), \( \phi \) (VI.12.II) and \( \phi \) (VI.12.III). The i-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. \( \lambda \) (VI.12.IV). The anusvara is added to this letter in the form of a miniature ma. \( \mathcal{L} \) (VI.12.V)

Dentals

We find the letters ta, tha, da, dha and na. There are three different types of the letter ta of which two are old types and the remaining one possibly a new type. The following are the old types: \( \tau \) (VI.13.I) and \( \tau \) (VI.13.II). The new type has a very pronounced curved head. \( \mathcal{L} \) (VI.13.III)
The stroke attached to this letter $\mathring{h}$ (VI.13.IV) and the stroke attached to this letter $\mathring{h}$ (VI.13.V) are old types. The letter tha is also an old type. $\mathring{h}$ (VI.13.I)

There are a number of different types of the letter da which are old ones. They are the following ones: $\mathring{s}$ (VI.15.I), $\mathring{j}$ (VI.15.II), $\mathring{j}$ (VI.15.III), $\mathring{f}$ (VI.15.IV) and $\mathring{j}$ (VI.15.V) The stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first case one horizontal line passes through the stem of the letter. $\mathring{j}$ (VI.15.VI) In the second case it passes through the stem of the letter in a slanting manner. (VI.15.IV)

The stroke is also indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is a short horizontal line which is drawn from the lower end of the stem towards the left. (VI.15.III) In the second case it is a curve attached to the stem of the letter in the lower field in the left. $\mathring{j}$ (VI.15.VII) The stroke attached to this letter is an old type. $\mathring{f}$ (VI.15.VIII) The stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. (VI.15.V)

The letter dha of which we have got only a few examples is an old type. $\mathring{f}$ (VI.16.I)

The letter na also occurs very infrequently. It is also an old type. (VI.17.I) From this we can also have an idea about the stroke attached to this letter.
Labials

We find the letters pa, ba and ma. There is only one type of the letter pa which is an old one. \( \text{(VI.18.I)} \) The \( i \)-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. \( \text{(VI.18.II)} \) The \( u \)-stroke is expressed in three different manners. In the first type the short horizontal stroke at the left base of the stem showing the \( u \)-stroke takes a somewhat rounded shape. \( \text{(VI.18.III)} \) The second type is that in which this somewhat rounded curve has become a complete curve. \( \text{(VI.18.IV)} \) The third type is that in which this curve is added to the lower end of the stem of this letter. \( \text{(VI.18.V)} \) We have also found the example of anusvāra which is the addition of a ma to the stem of the letter on the right. \( \text{(VI.18.VI)} \)

The letter ba is written in the old manner. \( \text{(VI.19.I)} \) The \( o \)-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. \( \text{(VI.19.II)} \)

There are two different types of the letter ma which are old. \( \text{(VI.20.I), \text{VI.20.II)} \) The \( i \)-stroke attached to this letter is also old. \( \text{(VI.20.III)} \)

Semi-vowels

We find the examples of ya, ra, la and ya. There are two different types of the letter ya which are old. They are the following ones: \( \text{(VI.21.I) and \text{VI.21.II)} \) The
e-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. ½ (VI. 21. III)

We find three different types of the letter ='../stroke' all of which are old. In the first type we find the addition of a small horizontal stroke to the base of the vertical on the left. ½ (VI. 22. I) The other two types are also found in the preceding period. ½ (VI. 22. II) and ½ (VI. 22. III). The ¼-stroke attached to this letter ½ (VI. 22. IV) and the e-stroke attached to this letter ½ (VI. 22. V) are old types.

We have found two different types of the letter ¼ which are also prevalent in the preceding period. They are the following ones: - ½ (VI. 23. I) and ½ (VI. 23. II) The ¼-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. ½ (VI. 23. III)

We have found in this period only one type of the letter ¼ which occurred also in the preceding period. ½ (VI. 24. I) The ¼-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. ½ (VI. 24. II). The e-stroke attached to this letter is somewhat peculiar because the stroke is drawn upwards from the extreme left end of the horizontal line forming this letter. ½ (VI. 24. III)

Sibilants and ha

We find the letters ½, ½, ½, and ½. There are two different types of the letter ½. There is no doubt that the
earliest type of $\text{sa}$ from the standpoint of evolution is that which is composed of three straight lines. $\cap$ (VI.25.I) The second type is that in which the upper part is rounded, $\cap$ (VI.25.II) The $\text{├}$-stroke attached to this letter $\cap$ (VI.25.III) and the $\text{├}$-stroke attached to this letter $\cap$ (VI.25.IV) are old types.

The letter $\text{sa}$ has only one type which is old. $\cap$ (VI.26.I)

There are a number of varieties of the letter $\text{sa}$ which are old types. From the point of evolution the types may be arranged in the following manner. The first type is the closed variety which is found infrequently. $\cap$ (VI.27.I) The second type is that which is between the closed and the open varieties. $\cap$ (VI.27.II) The third type is that which is an open variety. $\cap$ (VI.27.III) In the fourth type we find the vertical of the letter being slightly bent towards the left. $\cap$ (VI.27.IV) The $\text{├}$-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by a small curved line attached to the left foot of the vertical. $\cap$ (VI.27.V) The $\text{├}$-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. $\cap$ (VI.27.VI) The anusvāra is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is nothing but a miniature $\text{ma}$ added to the lower end of the vertical. (VI.27.II) In the second type this $\text{ma}$ is rather more cursive in form. $\cap$ (VI.27.III)
There are two different types of ha which are old. 2 (VI.28.I) and 3 (VI.28.II) The i-stroke attached to this letter is also old. 4 (VI.28.III)

**Compound akṣaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

We find the example of kra only which is an old type. 7 (VI.29.I)

**Groups with initial dental**

We find the compound letters with the initial ta. The letters which are formed in this way are tre and tsa. The example of the letter tre is an old one. 2 (VI.30.I) There is the example of the compound letter tsa. Regarding the true value of this compound letter opinion differs. Banerji who edited this inscription for the first time read this letter as tsa. 1 Majumdar also followed Banerji in the reading. While discussing the compound letter tāe occurring in the Mahābān inscription of the year 102 Majumdar remarked, "The most interesting however is the conjunct letter tā in sapvatsāraye which was read te by M. Senart. Its resemblance to the Central Asian tā is clear enough and here the two distinct letter forms t and ā can be easily detected in the body of the ligature.

(1) IA, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, p.65, 1908.
The ligature \textit{ts} also does occur in North-Western Kharoṣṭhī documents. Thus in the l.1 of the Paja inscription of the year 111 the compound letter \textit{ts} occurs, and not \textit{t̪} as supposed by Professor Konow; and in this conjunct group the letter \textit{sā} is very very prominent."\textsuperscript{1} Regarding this identification proposed by Banerji and Majumdar Konow has made the following observation, "L.1 begins with the word \textit{sāmpvatsāraye}. Messrs Banerji and Majumdar read the third letter as \textit{ṣa}, evidently because the prolongation of the left leg of \textit{sā} gives the left hand part of the \textit{aṅgāra} a distinct similarity with a \textit{sā}. But then there would not be any \textit{t̪}, and the right hand part of the letter would be unexplained. In our \textit{aṅgāra} it is bent forward at the bottom and almost joins the middle of the front leg."\textsuperscript{2} It is very difficult to say finally which of the two readings is correct. Banerji and Majumdar obviously saw in this compound letter one \textit{t̪a} superimposed on one \textit{sā}. There is no doubt that there is some space between the upper portion of the compound letter which is certainly taken by them as representing \textit{t̪a} and the lower portion of the letter which is probably taken by them as forming the letter \textit{sā}. Of course Banerji and Majumdar obviously thought that the right hand part of the letter was a joined enclosure. But against this

\textsuperscript{(1)} JFASB, NS, Vol. XVIII, 1922, p.66, 1923.
reading there may be one serious objection. If we believe that the lower part of this compound letter represents the letter $sa$, then we cannot explain the inherent weakness of the argument that this letter does not possess a protruding head which is almost always evident in the case of $sa$. But still in favour of the reading of this letter as $tsa$ we may say that in certain cases of the letter $sa$ which are of course a very few only in number the protruding head is absent. So far as the reading of Konow is concerned there are certain important points which may be said against it. The most serious objection to the reading proposed by Konow is that the right hand part of the letter is bent forward at the bottom and joins the middle of the front leg. It is not clear why Konow says that the right hand part of the letter "is bent forward at the bottom and almost joins the middle of the front leg." It is not clear why he says "almost" because in his plate as well as in the plate given in Banerji's paper the right hand part of the letter is bent forward at the bottom and joins the middle of the front leg. We do not know of any example of $sa$ having this form on the right side. It is, therefore, almost clear that this compound letter is to be considered as $tsa$ and not as $t̄sa$ as Konow has read. $P$ (VI.30.II)
Groups with initial labial

We find the groups formed with the initial pa and bha. The compound letter formed with the initial pa is pra in which the ra is indicated by a curved line drawn upwards on the right from the lower end of the vertical. \( \text{Ur} \) (VI. 31. I)

There is the example of the letter bhra of which we have already found a few examples in the preceding period. \( \text{F} \) (VI. 31. II)

Groups with initial semi-vowel

We find the letters formed with the initial re and va. The compound letters formed with the initial re are rjhu, rtu, rma and rva. The example of the letter rjhu is found in the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103. Regarding this compound letter Konow has remarked. "The first three letters were read ejhuna by M. Boyer, while M. Senart only read the first and the third ones. The base of the second akṣara is certainly jha. Then we have a curve across the leg, and I do not think that there can be any doubt that it is the ante-consonantic \( r \), which has this shape in the Patika, the Lion Capital, and other old inscriptions, while the left termination usually joins the preceding akṣara in a loop in later records. Below this curve there is a loop, which looks like the usual y-loop, and the most likely reading is, a priori,
I have formerly thought it possible that the curve and the loop belong together, representing an intermediate stage between the old curve and the later curve with loop, so that we should read erjhapa, but erjhupa seems to be the correct reading.\(^1\) There is no doubt that it represents the compound letter rjhu. \(\text{VI.32.I}\) The second compound letter which we are to consider here is the letter rtu. It is very rare but occurs in some coins of Gondopharnes. There is no doubt that it represents the compound letter rtu. \(\text{VI.32.II}\) We find the example of the compound letter rma. This letter is exactly of the same morphology as found in the preceding period \(\text{VI.32.III}\) The ra of the compound letter rva is expressed by a straight line. \(\text{VI.32.IV}\)

The compound letters with the initial va are vha, vhre and vra. The compound letter which we take as vha has been read as pha by Rapson. Regarding this sign he observes, "The character which the editors transliterate as pha...is found also in the coin-legends of Gondopharnes, in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (Gondopharnes), in the Manikyala inscription (Kaṇiṣka), and in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. It was formerly regarded as merely a later variant of pha...; but the evidence of the MS. D. de Rh., in which, as in the Niya documents, the

two letters occur side by side, show that they must represent different sounds; and, since the publication of M. Senart's edition of the MS. D. de Rh., in 1898, the value of $\phi\alpha$ has been much discussed. In 1902 Prof. Franke proposed to read this sign as $fa$, and in 1909 Prof. Lüders gave his reasons for preferring $pha$. In adopting the transliteration of $pha$, that is to say in regarding the letter as some modification of $pha$, the editors are substantially in agreement with Prof. Franke."

"The most cogent evidence of the value of this character is supplied by the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī coin-legends of Gondopharnes, the genitive of whose name appears in a variety of forms in each alphabet, such as $\gamma\nu\alpha\iota\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron$; $Gudapharasa$, $\nu\omicron$; and, since the name Gondopharnes is unquestionably the old Persian Vindafarna, we have here a certain example of the representation of the Iranian surd spirant $fa$, by the Greek $\phi\epsilon$ and the Kharoṣṭhī $pha$. We may reasonably conclude, then, that $pha...$ is used to express this surd spirant, and that it is thus distinguished from $pha...$, the representation of the Sanskrit surd aspirate."¹

Regarding this sign Bühler also remarked, "The inscription of Gondopherres, and some coins of that king and of Azilises (P. Gardner, Cat. In. C. Br. Mus. p. 94, No. 22), show -

the first in the king's name - a peculiar sign (26, X)
usually read \( \text{pha} \), but possibly meant for \( \text{fa} \), as O. Franke proposes, ZDMG. 50, 603. 1

But certain remarks may be made against the statement of Rapson and the letter in question may be taken as representing \( \text{vha} \). The only reasonable evidence which he has brought for reading it as \( \text{pha} \) is the transliteration of the Iranian name which is given in Greek as \( \text{YNADQEP} \); but against this evidence supplied by him we can put forward a number of arguments for taking it as \( \text{vha} \). First, the reading of Rapson may be opposed from the shape of the letter because there is practically nothing in common between the shape of the letter \( \text{pha} \) and this letter; but, contrarily, this may be considered as \( \text{vha} \), the left half of the letter being the representation of \( \text{va} \) and the curved stroke attached to it on the right as \( \text{ha} \). Secondly, Rapson was obviously under the impression that this letter occurred only in the words of Iranian origin; but such is not the case. We find this sign occurring in a word which Konow transcribes as \( \text{Dhivhakarasa} \) and makes it equivalent to \( \text{DIPamkara} \), in another word \( \text{[bha]gavrato} \) which is equivalent to \( \text{bhagavato} \), in a word \( \text{makava} \) which Bailey rightly

\[ \text{(1) IP, p. 28, 1904.} \]
\[ \text{(2) CIII, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 28, 1904.} \]
\[ \text{(3) 85043, vol. 81, p. 3, p. 470, pt. 1, 1945.} \]
\[ \text{(4) 85043, vol. 81, p. 3, p. 470, pt. 1, 1945.} \]
makes equivalent to bhagavan, a word salavha\(^1\) which Bailey makes equivalent to Pāli salabhā, a word avha\(^2\) which stands for ābhāti. In the inscription no. 661 we have the word aphīnáma\(^3\) which Konow equates with Sanskrit abhijñāna. It is, therefore, clear that it is wrong to assume that this word occurs only in the words of Iranian origin; on the contrary, it occurs in a number of words which are of Indian origin. It seems that it stands for either pa, va or bha. \(\checkmark\) (VI.32.V) We have also found the compound letter vha. \(\checkmark\) (VI.32.VI) The ra of the compound letter vra is indicated by a short horizontal line drawn from the lower end of the stem of the letter towards the right. \(\checkmark\) (VI.32.VII)

**Groups with initial sibilant**

We find the compound letters formed with the initial ṣa only. The compound letters thus formed are ṣpa and ṣra. The letter ṣpa is formed in one manner and the type of this letter which we find here has also been found in the preceding period. \(\checkmark\) (VI.33.I) The ra of the compound letter ṣra is indicated by a short horizontal stroke added to the foot of the right vertical forming this letter. \(\checkmark\) (VI.33.II)

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\(^{(2)}\) IwA, 13, 1-7, 1945.
\(^{(3)}\)
CHAPTER VII

The period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II

In the last chapter we have shown the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the period which is known as the Indo-Parthian period. In this chapter it will be our endeavour to see the further development of this script in the Kuṣana period. But as the Kuṣana period of Indian history is long, as we can make three distinct groups and as there are many inscriptions, the whole problem of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the Kuṣana period is divided into three different chapters, viz., the period covered by the reigns of Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, the period covered by the reigns of Kañiska, Kañiska II, Vasiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva and the subsequent period. In this chapter we shall discuss the first of these three periods. Before discussing the general form of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period it will be important to give a brief resume of the chief political events of the period.

In the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 of the reign of Gondopharnes there are the words erjhuna
Kapasa puyae which has been translated by Konow as "in honour of erjhupa Kapa."1 Regarding the explanation of this term Konow has observed that "here erjhupa is evidently the same word which we find as alysănai eysănai in the language of the ancient Iranian population of Khotan, the same language which the great Kuşana ruler Kanishka later on employed in his coin legends. And Kapa is probably another and older Kuşana, who on his coins is called Kadapha, Kaphsa, Kapa, &c. In the inscription he is designated as erjhupa, and as the corresponding alysănai is used to translate Skr. Kumāra, we may infer that he was then a young prince, and perhaps without any official position. If the identity of the erjhupa Kapa and the Kuşana Kadapha, or as he is usually called, Kujula Kadphises, proves to be right, we here for the first time meet with a family or tribe which later on plays a considerable role during the period covered by Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions."2

It will be important to discuss the history of the name Kuşana. But it should be pointed out here that as our main problem of study is the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period, our study of this problem will be as brief as possible. The very name Kuşana has been found in different forms. In the coin-legends we find the Greek forms

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(2) Ibid., pp.xlviii-xl ix, 1929.
forms Kuśana, Khuśana. We find the terms Khuśana and guśana in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the term Kuśāna (putro) in one Indian Brāhmī inscription and the terms Kusamda, Kuṣapra, Kuśana and Kurṣana in the Kharoṣṭhī documents found in Chinese Turkestan. An almost similar form seems to be represented by the Chinese Kuei-shuang. According to Karlgren, nos. 456, 923, this is pronounced as Ḵwe-ṣiang in T'ang times, Ḵhere meaning a yodicized K. According to Konow "all these forms point to an adjective formed with the suffix āna from a base beginning with a guttural, which may have been a fricative, and containing a ā or u;"¹ but Baron A. von Stäel Holstein differently thought that the adjective Kuśāṇa does not exist, the form being everywhere the genitive plural of Kuṣa. But against this assertion Konow emphatically asserts that "the Chinese Kueishuang and Central Asian names such as Kuṣanasma, seem to prove the existence of the adjective Kuśāṇa, which bears the same relation to Kuṣa as guḍana to guḍa."² There is no doubt that the Kuśāṇas were a tribe or a family within a larger group and that there are some facts which seem to prove that this larger group was the Yueh-chi.

² (2) Ibid., p.xlxi, 1929.
Regarding the nationality of the Kuṣāṇas there are certain theories which should be discussed here. In Rāja-
taranginī I, 170 Kalhana speaks of Kaniska and other members of his family as Turuṣkas, i.e., Turks. A number of scholars have adduced arguments to prove that the Kuṣāṇas were the Turks. First, some of the titles used by Kadphises I have been explained as Turki. Secondly, the Turki nationality of the Kuṣāṇas is supposed to have been presented by their features as portrayed on their coins. But against this theory of the Turki origin of the Kuṣāṇas Konow has propounded the theory that the Kuṣāṇas were the Iranians. The following are the points by which he controverts the theory of the Turki nationality of the Kuṣāṇas. First, the large nose and other features shown in the likeness are characteristic of the so-called Homo alpinus, which is stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan. Secondly, all we are aware of the history and ethnology of Chinese Turkestan is to the effect that the Turki element is comparatively late. Thirdly, several terms and designations used by the Kuṣāṇas find their explanation in an Iranian language, which was once spoken and used in literature in parts of Chinese Turkestan, and only in it. This language is called by some scholars North-Aryan, by some other scholars East Iranian, by some other scholars Saka and by some other scholars Khotani.
Konow calls this language the Saka or Sakish language. He also proves that many words and expressions which are found in the Kušāṇa coins and inscriptions are Śaka in origin. Konow, therefore, concludes that "every thing accordingly points to the conclusion that the Kuśāṇas were Iranians, at least in language, and the affinity with the Sakas leads us to think that they were a Saka clan or family. This reading would be proved if the reading ΣA KA KΟΣΑΝΟ on the coins of Heraus or Mianus proves to be right."

In order to get more information about the Kuśāṇas it is necessary to examine the Chinese sources. In the Chinese accounts they are mentioned with two other peoples, viz., the Yüeh-chi and the Ta-hia, and it is possible that they can be identified with one of these two peoples. The Chinese people appear to have been aware of the existence of the Yüeh-chi since the second half of the third century B.C. We read in the Shi-ki the following account, "Originally they were strong and esteemed the Hiung-nu of small account. But when Mao-tun mounted the throne, he attacked the Yüeh-chi and defeated them. When the shan-jū Lan-shang had killed the king of the Yüe-chi, he took his skull and turned it into a drinking-cup. Originally the Yüe-chi lived between Tun-Huang and the Ki-lien. After they had been defeated by the Hiung-nu, they went far

away, beyond Ta-wan (Perghāna). In the west they defeated the Ta-hia and made them subject to themselves. Thereafter they lived to the north of the Oxus river and established their headquarters there.¹ According to the same source of information the defeat of the Yüe-chis must have taken place before 176 B.C. in which year Mao-tun informed the Chinese emperor of this incident in a communication. As a result of this defeat the Yüe-chi made themselves the masters of the Sai-wang country on or about the year 165 B.C.; but it was destined that the Yüe-chis would not remain long in this country. The Tsien-Han-shu informs us that the king of the Wu-sun had an old grudge against the Yüe-chi and therefore attacked them and drove them out in or about 160 B.C. After this the Yüe-chi went westwards and conquered the Ta-hia.

The Chinese got more information about the Yüe-chi through Chang-Kien who was sent westwards in order to get the assistance of the Yüe-chi against the Hiung-nu in 138 B.C. The Hiung-nu detained him for a long time, but after about 10 years he succeeded in escaping to Ta-wan (Perghana), when he was escorted to the K'ang-kū (Sogdiana), who again sent him on to the Yüe-chi. He did not succeed in enlisting their services and was no more successful with the Ta-hia, wherefore he returned to China in 126 B.C. The account of his mission

was the chief source from which the Chinese got further information about the Yüe-chi. Their country was stated to be rich and fertile, and the people peaceful and happy. Their capital was Kien-she, to the north of the Oxus, and they had made themselves masters of the Ta-hia, whose capital was Lau-shi, to the south of the river, in the present Badakshan.

Further information about the Yüe-chi is found in the Annals of the Later Han, the Hou Han-shu written in the fifth century A.D. But actually Fan Ye, the author of this book is relating the facts already told by Pan Yang at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125). It is accordingly the events of the period A.D. 25-125 which are narrated by Fan Ye, though there are some additions referring to a somewhat later time in the case of the countries which were near enough to remain in contact with China after the reign of the emperor Ngan. The capital of the Yüe-chi is now the old Ta-hia capital Lanshī, in Badakshan, which remained their capital down to the fifth century A.D. There is accordingly a marked change since the days of Changkien, when the Yüe-chi were settled to the north of the Oxus. The conquest of the Ta-hia country does not seem to have been completed at that time, and we have thought it possible above to assume that Saka tribes were then still in power in Bactria. In the period of the Hou-Han-shu the Yüe-chi had settled down in the old Ta-hia
country and now represented the whole Ta-hia empire, i.e., as M. Chavannes puts it: henceforward they are the Ta-hia. This change must have taken place some time between Chang Kien's departure and A.D. 25.

There was another branch of the Yüe-chi which did not join in the expedition towards the Ta-hia. It is stated in the Shi-ki that a remainder of the Yüe-chis who were unable to depart took refuge with the Kiang in the southern mountains and were called the Little Yüe-chi evidently to distinguish them from the conquerors of Ta-hia, who are usually called Ta Yüe-chi, i.e., Great Yüe-chi. We also hear that some of the Yüe-chi had returned to their old seats in Kan-chou, where they are stated to have revolted against the officials in A.D. 189. It must have been these Yüe-chis who are stated in the T'sien Hau-shu to have taken part in an expedition in order to prevent an alliance between the Hiung-nu and the Tibetans in 61 B.C.

Even as late as 939 A.D. the Little Yüe-chi are mentioned as a war-like tribe in Kan-su.

It is necessary to mention this because there are some indications to show that Kapışka rose to power in Chinese Turkestan, so that there may be some connection between the Kusāṇas and the Little Yüe-chi.
It is only after the Yüe-chi had completed the conquest of the Ta-hia country and become the representative of the Ta-hia empire that we hear about the Kuei-shuang, i.e., the Kuşānas, in Chinese sources. In order to grasp all the features which may help us to judge of the race-affinity of the Kuşānas we must examine the Chinese accounts about the Ta-hia.

The oldest references about the Ta-hia are found in the Shi-ki and the Tsien Han-shu. According to the former source Ta-hia is situated more than 2,000 li south-west of Ta-wan (Perghana) and south of the Wei water (Gus). The people have no supreme ruler, but the various towns appoint men or chiefs.

It has already been observed that the Chinese ambassador Chang-Kien found the Ta-hia subject to the Yüe-Chi and Lan-shi in the present Badaksan as their capital. The Tsien Han-shu adds about the Ta-hia that there were there five principalities, each under one hi-hou, which all depended on the Ta Yüe-chi, viz., Hiu-mi, with the capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi, with the capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with the capital Ha-tsao; Hi-tren with the capital Po-Mao; and Kao-fu with the capital Kao-fu.

In the Hou Han shu the state of things is different. Lan-shi is now the capital of the Yüe-chi, and the Annals go on to say: 'Formerly the Yüe-chi were conquered by the Hiung-nu; they transferred themselves to the Ta-hia and divided that...
kingdom between five hi-hou, viz., those of the Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Tu-mi.

This account differs from the old one in two respects: instead of mentioning the five principalities as existing within the Ta-hia country, it says that the Yüe-chi divided the Ta-hia empire between five hi-hou, and instead of Kao-fu it gives Tu-mi as the name of the fifth principality.

Professor Marquart has identified Hiu-mi with the present Wakhân, Shuang-mi with Chitral, Kuei-shuang with the country immediately to the north of Gandhāra or with Gandhāra itself, Hi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu with Kabul. Tu-mi should perhaps be substituted for Kao-fu, but the general localisation is clear; the five principalities were outside the Ta-hia stronghold in Badakhshan, and in districts which are not very distant from the route which the Sakas must have considered to have followed on their way to Ki-piu. In such circumstances it is not even certain that the five principalities were peopled by the Ta-hia, or ruled over by them before the Yüe-chi conquest.

The third of them was Kuei-shuang, i.e., the Kušāṇa principality, apparently situated somewhere between Chitral and the Panjshir country.

There is no doubt that the Kušāṇas were almost certainly Iranians. Kaniska, the great Kušāṇa ruler seems to have
started on his career in the Khotan country, where we have every reason for locating some of the Little Yüe-Chi.

The Kui-shuang principality was made the starting point of a development which led to the establishment of a large empire in India and the Indian borderlands.

The passage in the Hou Han-shu which speaks about how the Yüe-chi divided the Ta-hia kingdom between the five hi-hou continues as follows: 'More than a hundred years after this the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang, called Kiu-tsiue-kio, attached the four other hi-hou; he styled himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kuei-shuang. He invaded An-si and seized the territory of Kao-fu; moreover he triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. Kiu-tsiu-kio died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-Kao-Chen became king in his stead. He again conquered Tien-Chu and appointed a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüe-chi became extremely powerful. In all the kingdoms they were spoken of as "kings of Kuei-shuang", but the Han struck to their old designation and called them Ta Yüe-chi.

As shown by Marguart both the rulers mentioned in this passage can be identified. Kiu-tsiu-kio is evidently identical with the Kuśapa Kuju(la) Kapa, known from coins, and Yen-Kao-Chen, his son is the Wima Kathpīśa (or Kapṭhiśa) of
coins, whose name possibly occurs in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the year 187.

In this section we shall give only that portion of the historical information which is necessary as a background for our study of the problem of the further development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period. The first ruler of course is Kue-tsii-kio or Kujula Kadphises.

Rapson considers Kujula Kara Kadphises to be different from Kujula Kadphises and states that he seems to have succeeded the satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Puṣkalavati and that he may have been contemporary with Wima Kadphises. But against this view we may adduce the following points. First, it seems that the imperial title used on his coins precludes the idea of his having been a subordinate ruler. Secondly, the Chinese annals tell us only of two Kuśāna monarchs with the imperial power. It may, therefore, be concluded that the addition kara cannot prevent us from ascribing these coins to Kadphises I. It is also important to note that at Sirkap we have found a coin of Kadphises I showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse and the Kharoṣṭhī legend... jula Kara dharmathī. There is no doubt that the person who is meant here is Kujula Kadphises. Regarding the term Kara Konow has observed that

(1) ASIAR for 1912-13, p.52, no. 49.
"Kara may be a title, of a similar kind as the unexplained kāla preceding the name Kusanasena in the Niya documents, no. 399, where the comparison with gušura Kusanasena in nos. 136, 193, 198, makes us inclined to think of a title. Moreover, the word Kara is sometimes absent from the coins in question."

According to the Hou Han-shu his son and successor was Yen-Kao-Chen, who can hardly have been a young man at his octogenarian father's death. We learn from the Hou Hau-shu that Yen-Kao-Chen appointed a general to rule in his stead. We have no indication to show that he himself resided in India and the Kahaltse inscription is the only one which mentions his name. His governors in T'ien-Chu were no doubt the Western Kṣatrapas whose history we shall discuss later on. His empire was not, however, limited to T'ien-chu. He also inherited his father's kingdom in the north-west, and also there he seems to have appointed other persons to carry on the government. That such was the case may be inferred from the numismatic evidence.

In the new provinces added to the empire by Wima Kadphises the government was apparently also carried on by a viceroy, and these viceroys are known as the Western Kṣatrapas who held sway in Suraṣṭra and Mālava. The provinces ruled over by the

Western Ksatrapas do not belong to the territory of Kharostaalu
inscriptions. There are, however, some features in their
records which seem to throw light on the further history of
the Kusana empire in the north and these features must be
taken into consideration. The term 'Western Ksatrapas' is
used so as to include at least two distinct families — the
Kshahratas and the family of Caśtana. There are certain im-
portant points regarding the Western Ksatrapas which should
be clearly stated here. First, the northern origin of the
Western Ksatrapas is most clearly proved by the use in their
early coin-legends of the Kharostaalu alphabet. As used on the
coins of the Western Ksatrapas Kharostaalu is evidently a
foreign alphabet. At first it seems to claim in the coin-
legends an equally important place with Brahmi, but it falls
into gradual disuse, and after the reign of Caśtana it is
abandoned altogether. Secondly, it is certain that the
Western Ksatrapas were of foreign, i.e., non-Indian, origin:
and it is quite possible that the two families may have be-
longed to different races. Here it will be necessary to dis-
cuss the history of those monarchs on whose coins we have
found the Kharostaalu legend.

The first Western Ksatrapa on whose coins we find the
Kharostaalu inscription is the ruler called Bhūmaka. Then we
find the Kharostaalu inscription on the coins of the Western
Ksatrapa Nahapāna who, according to the opinion of Rapson, is
possibly the successor of Bhūmaka.

The next Western Kṣatrapa ruler on whose coins we find the Kharoṣṭhī legend is Caśṭana who was the son of Ysamotika.

Such is, in short, the history of the period of which the Kharoṣṭhī script we are now going to analyse. So far as the Kusana dynasties are concerned, the main materials on which the Kharoṣṭhī script is used are the inscriptions and coins. So far as the inscriptions are concerned, we know that Konow has divided them into three groups, viz., the inscriptions to be referred to Kadphises group and to their times, the inscriptions which are definitely of the Kaniska era and the inscriptions which are of a late period. In this chapter we shall discuss the inscriptions of the first category.

The following are the inscriptions of Kadphises I:-

(1) Panjtar inscription of the year 122.

(2) Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136.

We have got the following inscription of Kadphesis II:—

(1) Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (?).

Besides these inscriptions there are other inscriptions which are also to be referred to this period. It is important to note down certain observations in this connection. First, there is no doubt that Konow has arranged the inscriptions in:

(2) Ibid., pp.70-77, 1929.
(3) Ibid., pp.79-81, 1929.
a chronological order. Of course this general principle he could not maintain in case of certain inscriptions which, though of an older era, actually belong to an age later than the time envisaged by the inscriptions referred to the new Saka era. Secondly, it has been proved by Konow that in the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103 Kujula Kadphises is mentioned for the first time (cf. erjhuna Kapasa puyae, l.5). We have seen that he is mentioned for the last time in the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136. It may be concluded from this evidence that all the inscriptions which are in between should be referred to the time of Kadphises I. In the same way the inscription which may be placed between the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 and the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (?) are to be referred to the time either of Kadphises I or Kadphises II. Thirdly, Konow has shown that Kaniska was the founder of a new era known as the new Saka era which began in A.D. 128-29. According to him there is another older Saka era which is known as the old Saka era and which began in 84-83 B.C. On this basis we can take all the inscriptions up to the Dewai inscription of the year 200 in this category. Therefore the inscriptions which we are going to use here as the evidence for the further development of the Kharosthi script are the following ones:-
(1) Other Takht-i-Bahi inscriptions.  
(2) Paja inscription of the year 111.2 
(3) Kaldarra inscription of the year 113.3 
(4) Marguz inscription of the year 117 (?)4 
(5) Panjtar inscription of the year 122.5 
(6) Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134.6 
(7) Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136.7 
(8) Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168.8 
(9) Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (?)9 
(10) Taxila silver vase inscription of the year 191.10 
(11) Taxila gold plate inscription.11 
(12) Taxila vase inscription.12 
(13) Taxila copper ladle inscription.13 
(14) Bedadi copper ladle inscription.14 
(15) Dharmarajika inscriptions.15 
(16) Jaulia inscriptions.16

(2) Ibid., pp. 65-66, 1929. 
(3) Ibid., pp. 65-66, 1929. 
(4) Ibid., pp. 66-67, 1929. 
(5) Ibid., pp. 67-70, 1929. 
(8) Ibid., pp. 77-79, 1929. 
(9) Ibid., pp. 79-81, 1929. 
(10) Ibid., pp. 81-82, 1929. 
(12) Ibid., pp. 87, 1929. 
(13) Ibid., pp. 87-88, 1929. 
(14) Ibid., pp. 88-89, 1929. 
(15) Ibid., pp. 89-91, 1929. 
(16) Ibid., pp. 92-97, 1929.
(17) Minor Taxila inscriptions.¹

(18) Seal inscription of Sivasena.²

(19) Dewai inscription of the year 200.³

The next material which we make use of for the proper study of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this period is the coin-legends of the kings Kadphises I and Kadphises II which are mainly found in the books written by Gardner,⁴ Smith⁵ and Whitehead.⁶ We also find further material for the study of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the coin-legends of the Western Kṣatrapa rulers Bhūmaka, Naḥapāna and Caṭana.⁷

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels we find the letter a which is an old type. (VII.1.I)

The letter i is also an old type. (VII.2.I) The anusvāra is expressed by the addition of a short ma to the end of the vertical. (VII.2.II)

There are three different types of the letter u. In the first type the down stroke indicating the letter u is a short line going upwards. (VII.3.I) In the second type we find

² Ibid., p.103, 1929.
³ Ibid., pp.104-06, 1929.
⁴ GSMBI, 1886.
a curve attached to the foot of the letter on the left. (VII.3.II) In the third type we find the same curve attached in the same fashion to the centre. (VII.3.III)

The letter e is indicated in two different manners all of which are old. (VII.4.I) and (VII.4.II)

The example of o which we have got is an old type. (VII.5.I)

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

There are two different types of the letter ka which have been found in the preceding periods. They are the following ones:— (VII.6.I) and (VII.6.II) Though these two types are found in the preceding period, yet the last type is less common than the first one. In the preceding period we have found an example of this type in the Indo-Scythian period. ¹ In this connection it is necessary to discuss one statement of Rapson. Regarding one type of ka found in Chinese Turkestan he writes down, "Ka, 11, is a cursive form of ka, 10, which appears also in the inscriptions of the Kuśānas."² And in a footnote he has asked the reader to consult Bühler's Indische Palaeographie, p.28, Taf.1.6, Col. xi. This statement of Rapson requires criticism. From

(1) IP, pp.27-28, 1904.
(2) KI, pt. III, p.301, 1929.
his statement it appears that this Kuṣāṇa ka and this cursive form of ka found in some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Chinese Turkestan are absolutely of the same form; but a close perusal of both these letters shows that they are fundamentally different though this difference itself gives more interest to the whole problem. In the letter drawn by Rapson we find the left side of the letter filled up by the curve in the upper field whereas in the specimen shown by Bühler the curve on the left side is not complete. Regarding this type of ka Bühler has observed that "in the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa varieties, the head of ka is commonly converted into a curve (6,VIII), and in the Kuṣāṇa variety this curve is connected with the side-limb of ka (see 6,X)." It is not possible to know exactly from what inscription Bühler has copied the letter ku as shown in his Tafel 1.6, Col. xi; but he has indicated the inscriptions from which these sections of the plate have been prepared. In this connection he has observed, "1-37, cols. X-XII, and 31-37, col. XIII, traced or drawn according to Dr. Hoernle's facsimile of the Sue Bihar inscription, supplemented by some signs from the Manikyala stone and gelatine copies of the Wardak and Bimaran vases by Dr. S. von Oldenberg." There is no doubt that all these inscriptions are to be placed later

(1) IP, pp.27-28, 1904.
(2) Ibid., p.24, 1904.
than the inscription in which this type of ka has been found. It is found in the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168. Moreover in the preceding period a similar example has been found in the Kala Sang inscription of the year 100 (?). From this we can easily conclude that the cursive type of ka which is found in the Niya documents and shown in Rapson's work is a further step in the process of evolution which is marked through the examples found in the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51, Manikiala inscription of the year 18, Sui Vihar copper plate inscription of the year 11, Peshawar Museum Inscription of the year 168 and Kala Sang inscription of the year 100 (?). The closed type of the Niya documents is certainly the next step in the process of evolution. So far as the vowel attached to this letter is concerned, we have found only one type of which has also been found in the preceding age. (VII.6.II)

The letter kha is expressed only in one manner which was prevalent in the preceding period. (VII.7.I) The u, e, and o-strokes which are attached to this letter are old types, viz., khu (VII.7.II), khe (VII.7.III) and kho (VII.7.IV).

(2) Ibid., pp. 53-54, 1929.
(3) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 11, 1929.
The letter ga is expressed as in earlier sources. \( \gamma \) (VII. 8.I) The \( \gamma \)-stroke attached to this letter is expressed in the form of a full curve attached to the left foot of this letter. \( \gamma \) (VII.8.II) The \( g \)-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. \( \gamma \) (VII.8.III)

The letter \( \dot{g} \) is expressed in the same manner as in the preceding period. \( \gamma \) (VII.9.I)

The letter \( \ddot{g} \) is also an old type. \( \gamma \) (VII.10.I). The \( g \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (VIII.10.I)

**Palatals**

There are two different types of the letter ca which are old. \( \gamma \) (VII.11.I), \( \gamma \) (VII.11.II) The \( \gamma \)-stroke attached to this letter is a complete curve on the left side of the lower limb. \( \gamma \) (VII.11.III) The anusvāra is indicated by a miniature \( ma \) attached to the lower end of this letter. \( \gamma \) (VII.11.IV)

The letter cha is an old type. \( \gamma \) (VII.12.I)

The letter cha is an old type. \( \gamma \) (VII.13.I) We have found the letter \( ch \). \( \gamma \) (VII.13.II) The \( \gamma \)-stroke added to this letter is expressed by a complete curve attached to the foot of this letter. \( \gamma \) (VII.13.III)

There is only one type of \( j \) which is an old one. \( \gamma \) (VII. 14.I). The \( j \)-stroke attached to this letter is also an old
The letter ṣha which is very infrequently found is expressed in only one manner.  \( \text{I} \) (VII.15.I) The anusvāra added to this letter is a miniature ma attached to the lower end of the vertical.  \( \text{V} \) (VII.15.II).

The letter ma is indicated in two different manners as we have found in the preceding period.  \( \text{I} \) (VII.16.I) and  \( \text{V} \) (VII.16.II). The ṅ-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type.  \( \text{V} \) (VII.16.III)

Linguals

There is only one type of the letter ṭha which is an old one.  \( \text{V} \) (VII.17.I)

The type of the letter ṇa which is found here is also an old one.  \( \text{I} \) (VII.18.I) We have also found the example of the letter ṇu.  \( \text{V} \) (VII.18.II)

The type of the letter ṇha which is found here is also an old one.  \( \text{V} \) (VII.19.I)

There are three different types of the letter na.  \( \text{I} \) (VII.20.I),  \( \text{V} \) (VII.20.II) and  \( \text{I} \) (VII.20.III). It seems that the last is a new form with its curved lower part. The
letter ṇa as found in documents of Chinese Turkestan similarly has a curved part. It is quite possible that the type of ṇa found in Chinese Turkestan is derived from this type of ṇa. We have found the ऽ, ऽ and ऽ-stroke attached to this letter. They are old types, नी (VII.20.IV), गू (VII.20.V) and गृ (VII.20.VI) The anusvāra is expressed by a miniature मा attached to the lower end of the vertical. (VII.20.VII)

**Dentals**

There are two different types of the letter त which are old ones. त (VII.21.I) and त (VII.21.II) The vowels ऐ, ऐ, ऐ and ऐ attached to this letter are old types. They are the following ones: ति (VII.21.III), तु (VII.21.IV), ते (VII.21.II) and तो (VII.21.V)

The letter ठ has been expressed in one manner which is old. ठ (VII.22.I) There are also found the examples of the vowel ऐ, ऐ and ऐ attached to this letter. They are also old types. ठ (VII.22.II), ठ (VII.22.III) and the (VII.22.IV)

There are three different types of the letter थ all of which are old. They are the following ones: थ (VII.23.I), थ (VII.23.II) and थ (VII.23.III) The ठ-stroke attached to this letter is indicated in two different manners. In the first

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(1) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 74, 1929.
type it is a slanting stroke which goes through the middle stroke forming this letter. \( \text{(VII.23.IV)} \) In the second type it is a horizontal stroke which goes through the middle of the vertical line forming this letter. \( \text{+ (VII.23.V)} \) The \( \nu \)-stroke is a full curve attached to the left side of the lower vertical. \( \text{\textcircled{8} (VII.23.VI)} \) The \( e \)-stroke is an oblique line attached to the upper side on the right. \( \text{(VII.23.III)} \)

The letter \( dha \) is expressed only in one manner which is old. \( \text{\textcircled{3} (VII.24.I)} \) The \( i \)-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. \( \text{\textcircled{9} (VII.24.II)} \)

The letter \( na \) is indicated only in one manner which is old. \( \text{\textcircled{9} (VII.25.I)} \) The \( i \)-stroke is a horizontal line going through the vertical of this letter. \( \text{\textcircled{7} (VII.25.II)} \)

**Labials**

There are two distinct types of the letter \( pa \). One is an old form, the other new. Bühler could not show the new form in his palaeographical chart because at that time this type of \( pa \) was not known from any existing specimen. It was Scott who first rightly pointed out this new type of \( pa \). In this connection he observes that "in the case of several other letters, of which Bühler gives only single forms, right-handed or left-handed as the case may be, we find two forms on the coins. Thus Bühler gives only one form, right-handed, of the
letter pa whereas we find two forms \((h, \eta)\) on the coins of this hoard. The latter form is found for the most part on coins which have the purest Greek inscription, and is also generally associated with the left-handed form of \(\tilde{\eta}a\)." It is not possible to ascertain why Rapson has not accepted this new type of pa in his book on the coins of the Andhras, Western Kṣatrapas.\(^2\) There is no doubt that Scott's opinion on this point is perfectly right. The two forms of the letter pa are the following ones: \(\tilde{\eta}n\) (VII.26.I), \(\eta\) (VII.26.II) The \(i\)-stroke attached to this letter is an old one. \(\eta^n\) (VII.26.III) The \(\eta\)-stroke is indicated in three different manners, viz., \(\tilde{\eta} (VII.26.IV), \eta (VII.26.V)\) and \(\eta (VII.26.VI)\)

There is only one type of the letter ba which is an old one. \(\beta\) (VII.27.I) The \(\beta\)- and \(\gamma\)-strokes attached to this letter are also old types, viz., \(\betau\) (VII.27.II) and \(\betao\) (VII.27.III)

There is only one type of the letter bha which is an old type. \(\gamma\) (VII.28.I) The example of bhi which we find in this age is definitely new. The stroke which indicates the form of \(i\) is attached to the right end of the upper horizontal line and not to the left side of the upper horizontal. \(\gamma^i\) (VII.28.II)

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(2) CCADWKTDBD, p.cxcv, 1908.
The letter ma is indicated in two different manners. These two types are old. \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.I) and \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.II)

The letters mi \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.III), mu \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.IV), me \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.V) and \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.VI) and me \( \text{V} \) (VII.29.VII) are old types. The anusvāra attached to this letter is a miniature ma placed below the original letter. (VII.29.IV)

Semi-vowels

There are two distinct types of the letter va. \( \text{V} \) (VII.30.I) and \( \text{V} \) (VII.30.II) The u-stroke attached to this letter is a curved line attached to the left foot of the letter.

\( \text{V} \) (VII.30.III) The e-stroke attached to this letter is also an old one. \( \text{V} \) (VII.30.IV) The anusvāra is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the anusvāra is indicated by a short stroke going upwards. \( \text{V} \) (VII.30.V) In the second type it is indicated by a short horizontal line going through the lower end of the right side of the curve. \( \text{V} \) (VII.30.VI)

There are three different types of the letter ra all of which are old types. \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.I), \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.II) and \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.III) The letters ri \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.IV), ru \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.V), ra \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.VI) and ro \( \text{V} \) (VII.31.VII) are all old types.

There are two distinct types of the letter la \( \text{V} \) (VII.32.I) and \( \text{V} \) (VII.32.II) The letters la \( \text{V} \) (VII.32.II) and
lo (VII.32.II) are old types.

There is only one type of the letter va which is an old one. \( \exists \) (VII.33.I) The letters vi \( \exists \) (VII.33.II), vu \( \exists \) (VII.33.III), ve \( \exists \) (VII.33.IV) and vo \( \exists \) (VII.33.V) are old types.

**Sibilants and ha**

There is only one type of the letter sa which is an old one. \( \exists \) (VII.34.I) The i- and e-strokes attached to this letter are expressed in the old manner, viz., sa \( \exists \) (VII.34.II) and so \( \exists \) (VII.34.III)

There is only one type of ga which is old. \( \exists \) (VII.35.I)

There is one letter which is an ordinary ga with a superscript line. It is found for the first time in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134. This letter is not found in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*; but at the same time it is interesting to note that this letter is found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. Regarding the general significance of this superscript line as well as the particular significance of this line along with the letter ga Rapson has observed, "The use of a short straight line which is written above certain consonants is one of the characteristic features of the alphabets of the Niya documents and of the MS. Dubreuil de Rhins. In his edition of

the MS. D. de Rh., M. Senart, who adopts the opinion of Prof. Oldenberg, everywhere regards this line as a sign of aspiration. Whether this is a satisfactory explanation in all instances in the MS. D. de Rh., may be doubted; but it is certain that the superscript line never has this value in the Niya documents. In these it is invariably used to indicate a compound akṣara; and in every case except perhaps ोहे, 39, the form of which has not yet been explained, it shows that one element only of the compound akṣara is expressed and that the other element is to be understood. In the Niya documents, therefore, the superscript line is a mark of abbreviation. The line above... ş... denotes suffixed ṁ or ṁ. Regarding the superscript line over the letter ş in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134, which we have taken here for an example Konow remarks, "Of individual characters we may note... the superscript line which we know from the Dubreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above şa in the word taṣa, Sk. trisna, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiara record uses a dot in the word Kriṣṇayasa, Skr. Kriṣṇayasa. In the Corpus I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing taṣa, Kriṣṇayasa, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word ş'usāei, Skr.

(1) KI, pt. III, p. 320, 1929.
Prof. Rapson has shown that śa with the superscribed line stands for śna in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the ś was actually sounded. I shall therefore write śpusaha, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.¹ This shows that the letter śa with the superscript line is found for the first time in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134. (VII.36.I)

There are a number of varieties of the letter śa, all of which are old types. Here it should be mentioned that the thesis of Majumdar that the closed Aśokan or archaic type of śa regularly occurs on all the Indo-Greek coins and on all the issues of Maues, the Vonones group, Azes I and Azilises and the open or late type on the coins of Azes II, Azes II with Aśpavarman and Gondopharnes is not correct. We find the different types of śa in all the inscriptions even as late as this period with which we are now dealing. The following are the types of śa which we have found here:—

There is another letter which is to be considered here. This letter is found on some coins of Kujula Kadphises which Rapson has published. Here Rapson has read the fifth akāra as intended for sa, a reading which has already been noticed by Franke as occurring on a coin of Kujula Kadphises in the Berlin Museum. There are certain letters in the Taxila inscriptions which Konow has read as s(y)a. This word occurs in Thēutaras(y)a Thavarsputras(y)a in the inscribed silver cups, Mumjakritas(y)a and s(y)a in the inscribed silver plate with three legs, and Comanadputras(y)a Jhawdanamas(y)a in the inscribed silver sieve. Now in all these cases which are six in number Konow has proposed the reading s(y)a. Konow has edited these inscriptions for the first time. So far as the inscribed silver cups are concerned Konow has observed, "In the case of sa the result is a letter which reminds us of sya. This letter only occurs in the genitive termination saa, so that it is possible to think of sya. We shall see, however, below in No. 3 that the same sign there occurs for an initial sa, where sya is out of the question. It, therefore,

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(1) JRAI, 1903, pp. 286-87, 1903.
(2) ZDMG, 1896, p. 604 in the word [yav]ug[a]ssa. But Rapson notes, "Is it not really -sya?"
(4) Ibid., no. XXXVII, 3, 1929.
(5) Ibid., no. XXXVII, 5, 1929.
seems more probable that we have before us a modified, perhaps a voiced $\mathcal{g}$. I shall write $\mathcal{s}(y)\mathcal{g}$.$^1$ In case of the same character occurring on the inscribed silver plate with three legs Konow has again observed, "The $\mathcal{sa}$ has the terminating loop which seems to represent a subscript $\mathcal{y}$; so that we should perhaps read as $\mathcal{sy}_{\mathcal{sa}}$. The same sign is, however, also used as an initial, and I shall transliterate $\mathcal{s}(y)\mathcal{a}$. It should be noted that there is, in this record, a distinct upward prolongation of the lower part of $\mathcal{sa}$.$^2$ Regarding this letter in the inscribed silver sieve Konow observes, "The $\mathcal{sa}$ of the termination $\mathcal{sa}_{\mathcal{sa}}$ can be read as $\mathcal{sy}_{\mathcal{sa}}$ and has the upward continuation of the leg."$^3$ Now from the remarks of Rapson and Konow certain important points emerge out. First, there is no doubt that the first word of this compound consonant is $\mathcal{sa}$. But so far as the second part of this letter is concerned, opinion differs. First, Rapson thinks that there is some fine distinction between the two compound letters in a coin of Kujula Kadphises for which reason he takes one to represent $\mathcal{sa}_{\mathcal{sa}}$ and the other to represent $\mathcal{sy}_{\mathcal{sa}}$. Regarding the second letter he remarks, "The sixth akṣara, here read as $\mathcal{sy}_{\mathcal{sa}}$, is like the form given in Bühler, Indische Palaeographie, Taf. 1,

$^1$ Ibid., p.98, 1929.
$^3$ Ibid., p.99, 1929.
But this statement of Rapson may be criticised. First, there is no difference between the fifth and the sixth aksaras. Secondly, there is much difference between the sixth aksara of the coin shown by Rapson and the specimen shown in Böhlert's chart. Therefore we should conclude that the same value be attached to the fifth as well as the sixth aksaras. Know in course of his remarks at different places which have been quoted above came to the conclusion that this letter is to be considered as sva or a modified, perhaps a voiced sa. Therefore it seems that there are three different interpretations on the same sign, i.e. ssa, sva or a modified, perhaps a voiced sa.

In order to see which of these readings is the best it is necessary to discuss the problem afresh. It was M. Senart who for the first time discussed the question of the origin and value of a similar letter occurring in the Wardak vase. According to him the lower portion of this character is unquestionably the subscript vya, as it appears in the Wardak vase in other combinations such as kya in Sakyamune (1.1), thya in mithyaga (1.3), pya in aru pata (1.3) and lya in Kamagulya (1.1). This sa appears six times in the Wardak Vase inscription, viz., in maregasa thrice (11.1, 2), Ho (or Hu)

(1) JRA, 1903, p. 287.
(2) JA, 1903, p. 517-85, 1914.
veskaṣa (1.2) and mithyagasa (1.5) So far it might be read quite satisfactorily as sya in accordance with its evident formation but the sixth example occurs in the word maṣ[ə] (1.1) where the reading sya cannot be easily explained. This one example, therefore, raises a legitimate doubt as to the value of this letter. In view of the undoubted occurrence of the in a word which must be the equivalent of the Skt. maṣ[ə] and of the equally undoubted interchange of the Niya sa with sa, M. Senart prefers to read sa in all the six instances and to regard the Wardak sa and sa as parallel and equivalent forms which are nevertheless not used indiscriminately. He suggests that the value of an original sya may have been first obscured by its pronunciation as ssa, and that subsequently, when all recorrection of its origin had been lost, the use of a character once exclusively final was more or less generalised as in the Niya documents. In this last observation the practical identity of the Wardak and the Niya sa is assumed; but there are certain difficulties in the acceptance of this view.

In the Khotan Dharmapada otherwise known as the Manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins² there seems to be absolutely no difference in value between sa and sa. The distinction

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2) Bso As, V. II., p. 3, pp. 488-512, 1945.
between them seems to be purely formal. Thus the letter \( \text{sa} \) is usually written at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of words.

There is, therefore, no doubt that in the Khotan Dharma-pada \( \text{sa} \) has, to a very great extent, superseded \( \text{sa} \) in actual use. In the Niya documents its encroachments are more restricted. Here it is almost regularly the termination of the genitive singular; and in this function it cannot be alternatively represented by the ordinary \( \text{sa} \). But the only alternative termination of the genitive singular, and one which is sometimes found side by side with \( \text{sa} \) in the same document, is the Skt. \( \text{sy} \), for example, in inscription no. 703, Pl. XII, compare \( \text{lespamnsa} \) in obv. (2) with \( \text{jivitasya} \) in Rev. (5). It is clear that the scribes of the Niya documents regarded as \( \text{sa} \) and \( \text{sy} \) as \( \text{aksaras} \) which were not identical but which might be used to express the same grammatical case; and, judging from this fact alone, we might very naturally conclude that \( \text{sa} = \text{Pkt. sa} \).

This view is only partly true because it is insufficient to explain all the phenomena for \( \text{sa} \) occurs in positions where it cannot represent \( \text{sa} \).

M. Senart assumed that this Niya \( \text{sa} \) is only another form of the Wardak \( \text{sa} \); but Rapson did not accept this view on account of the difference in form. According to him the
origin of the Niya ṣa which is also characteristic of the Khotan Dharmapada originated in the sign which has been read as ssa on a copper coin of Kujula Kadphises which bears the legend: Kujulakassasya kuṣanasya [vuga... Rapson, therefore, concluded that this letter was derived from a group = ssa which is actually found on the coins of the Kuṣāṇas, that as the representative of the Prākrit termination of the genitive singular the sign is invariably used correctly with its original value and that eventually at a time when its origin was forgotten it was sometimes written by the scribes in positions where it was not phonetically justified.

There is the further possibility that this sign may be merely a modification of ṣa made by the addition of a base line and intended to represent the corresponding sonant sibilant za.

It, therefore, follows that this consonant is incompletely standardised to express ssa, ṣa and sya. Here we will indicate this sign by the letter ṣa. > (VII.38.I)

The letter ḍa is indicated in two different manners and they are old types.  (VII.39.I) and  (VII.39.II) The letters hi (VII.39.III), he (VII.39.IV) and ho (VII.39.V) are old types.
Compound aksaras

Groups with initial guttural

We find the compound letters formed with the initial ka, kha and ga. The example formed with the initial ka is kri.

The example formed with the initial kha is khsa. It is an excellent example showing very clearly the letter kha superimposed on sa. (VII.40.II)

The example formed with the initial ga is gra. (VII.40.III)

Groups with initial lingual

We find only the letter ṝre. (VII.4.I)

Groups with initial dental

We find the letters formed with the initial letters ta, da, and ḍha. The letters formed with the initial ta are tra, tva and tsa. There is only one type of the letter tra which is an old one. (VII.42.I) There is only one type of the letter tva which is also an old one. (VII.42.II) The example of the letter tsa is very clear. (VII.42.III)

There are two peculiarities of this letter which may be noted. First, there is an upward bend of the bottom of ta. Secondly, the left vertical forming the letter ṝsa is more elongated than the right one.
The compound letter formed with the initial da is dra which is an old type. \( \ddagger \) (VII.42.IV)

The compound letter formed with the initial dha is dhra which is an old type. \( \ddagger \) (VII.42.V)

Groups with initial labial

We find the letters formed with the initial pa, ba and bhe. One ligature formed with the initial pa is pra which is an old type. \( \ddagger \) (VII.43.I) There is another ligature which we take as pphe. This was taken by Rapson as lpa. Regarding it he has observed, "Initial l in a compound skgara is not commonly expressed in accordance with the usual rule of combination, viz., by la, 133, placed above the following consonant; e.g. lpi - lve, 221-4; but it is also sometimes indicated, like prefixed r, by a conventional sign - two oblique lines forming a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem of the associated letter; e.g. lpi, 220. Hitherto, examples of this latter method of expression have been observed only when l is followed by p; e.g. alpa in inscr. no.468; silpa and silpiga in nos. 355 and 217, &c.; and in this particular combination the other method, by which the l is written above the p, is rare. Indeed it is doubtful if lpa, 219, is to be found anywhere in our documents, though lpi similarly expressed has been noted in [ka]lptapta in insc. no.141.
The aksara lpi, 220, occurs also in the Kharoṣṭhī coin-legends of Vima Kadphises, the second part of whose name should evidently be read as Kalpisē, the equivalent of the Greek KAKPiC. There are some difficulties in the way of its taking as lpi. The following are the chief points of criticism which may be levelled against the statement as well as the theory of Rapson. First, it is not possible to judge whether the statement of Rapson is correct because the examples which he has cited as showing this sign have not yet been published, e.g., nos. 468, 355 and 217. Secondly, a close perusal of the plate in which the sign no. 220 of Rapson's plate occurs shows that the drawing done by him is not correct. Thirdly, there is no reason why a sign which looks so different from the letter la should be considered as la. It is, therefore, quite natural that suspicion arises in our mind regarding the correctness of the reading proposed by Rapson. It may now be seen whether this sign may be differently identified. From the palaeographical point of view this St. Andrew's cross may be identified either as tha or pha. From the linguistic point of view the reading tha is hardly admissible because the compound letter which is lpa in Sanskrit is changed into ppha in N.W. Prākrit and ppa in Pāli. Arguing from this point of

view the letter pha is preferred. Therefore it seems more
cogent to take the St. Andrew's Cross as standing for pha.
Therefore we shall read this compound letter as ppha. $\Phi$
(VII.43.II)

We find the letter bra which is an old type. $\Omega$ (VII.
43.III)

We also find the letter bhra which is also an old type.
(VII.43.IV)

Groups with initial semi-vowel

We find the letters formed with the initial ra and va.
The compound letters formed with the initial ra are the letters
rva and rma. It is important to note that a similar type of
rva has not been found in the preceding periods. The main
peculiarity of this compound letter is the formation of a
curve on the left lower side. $\gamma$ (VII.44.I) We also find the
letter rma. $\gamma$ (VII.44.II)

We have also found the example of the letter vhri. $\nu$
(VII.44.III)

Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial sa and
sa. The letters formed with the initial sa are spa, sra and
sva. The letter spa which is expressed in one way is an old
The letter śra is also an old type. We find here for the first time the example of the letter śva in which the va is indicated by curving the right vertical line.

The letters formed with the initial sa are sā and sra. The letter sā is an old type. It is interesting to note that we get here for the first time the compound letter svā. In Bühler's work there is an example of the letter svā which has been taken either from the Sui Vihar or Wardak or Manikiyala or Bimaran inscription all of which are to be referred to the time of Kaniska. So this example which has been found in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134 should be considered as the earliest example of its kind found in Indian Kharosthi inscriptions. Rapson has also given the example of this compound letter in his work. It would be quite fruitful if we could make a comparative study of the different types of svā found in these inscriptions. First, we get this compound letter in the Kalawan copper plate inscription of the year 134 in the word sarvasatvāpa. Then we find the same letter in the Manikiala stone inscription of the year 18 in the word svarabudhisa.

(1) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 249, 1929.
(2) EI, Vol. XXI, p. 259, l. 5, 1931-32.
found in Chinese Turkestan in the word svasssvapniye. From a comparison of these three different signs one interesting character becomes evident. In the Kalawan copper plate inscription the curved stroke at the bottom of the vertical indicating the letter va is not so much elongated upwards as that found in the Manikiala stone inscription of the year 18 and in the inscription no. 471 found in Chinese Turkestan. It seems that the curve is more elongated in the example shown in the inscription no. 471 than in the Manikiala stone inscription of the year 18, the example of which is more elongated than that shown in the Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134. (VII.45.V)
CHAPTER VIII

The period of the great Kuṣānas

In the last chapter we have dealt with the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the inscriptions and coins of the time of Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises. In this chapter it will be our endeavour to give an idea of the further development of this script during the period envisaged by the monarchs belonging to the Kaniśka group of the Kuṣāna monarchs of India. Before giving an idea of the further development of the script it will be necessary to give a short sketch of the historical events which are important for the purpose of the elucidation of the problem.

The first ruler of this dynasty is Kaniśka who is known from a number of sources. In the Tibetan sources there is an information that the Khotan king Vijayakīrti carried out an expedition against India in conjunction with the king Kaṇīka and the king of Guzan. If we can believe this statement, then we must assume that the Kuṣānas, sometimes after the death of Wema Kadphises, succeeded in getting the help of the Khotanese ruler for a policy of aggression in India. We may, therefore, reasonably assume that the population of
Khotan was partly of the same group as the Kuśāṇas.

It is a well-known fact that Kaniska is not mentioned in Chinese historical sources; but it is at the same time true that the Chinese knew about the happenings in the Western country down to about A.D. 125, not after that time. From this we must conclude that Kaniska rose to power after A.D. 125. If he be the same as the king Kaniška, then he must have started his career of conquest from the Khotan country. And there are indications in Chinese Buddhist texts which point in the same direction. We have the following statement in the Chinese translation of Kumarālātā's Kalpaṇaṃdaṇītika which says, "In the family of the Kuśa there was a king called Chen-t'auki-ni-ča. He conquered Tung T'ien chu (i.e., according to Hunter and Levi, Eastern India) and pacified the country. His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land." Levi is inclined to explain Chen-t'ān as connected with Candana which, according to Das, in Tibet texts is stated to be an old designation of Khotan. Therefore Levi observes, "The original Chen-t'an or Chīn-thān would be Kashgaria; and Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ča would be Kaniška, king of Khotan."

(1) JASB, LV, i, 1886, p.193, 1887.
If Kaniska is supposed to have come from Khotan, it will be necessary to accept the theory of Baron A. de Stael Holstein that he did not belong to the great (Ta), but to the little (Siao) Yue-chi. The Ma-ming-pu-sa-chuan, the biography of Aṭvaghoṣa, which was translated into Chinese before A.D. 412, clearly mentions that Aṭvaghoṣa's patron, i.e. Kaniska was king of the Siao Yue-chi. And in its description of the Little Yue-chi kingdom of its own time the Wei-shu gives the information that its capital was Purusapura, i.e., Peshawar, and that for this reason they were called the Little Yue-chi. The Baron was probably right in explaining this curious statement as meaning that Peshawar was known as the ancient capital of the Little Yue-chi, and that therefore the designation Little Yue-chi might be transferred to other tribes using the same capital. Now it is certainly Kaniska who first made Peshawar the capital of the Yue-chi empire and the remark in the Wei-shu accordingly adds strength to the theory that Kaniska belong to the Little Yue-chi.

We have mainly three different kinds of sources for the history of the rule of Kaniska in India. They are the inscriptions written in the Brāhmaṇi as well as the Kharoṣṭhī scripts, coins and literary sources. The following Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions belong to his reign:
(1) Kaniṣka casket inscriptions.¹
(2) Sui Vihar copper plate inscription of the year 11.²
(3) Zeda inscription of the year 11.³
(4) Manikiyala inscription of the year 18.⁴

These are the Kharoshṭī inscriptions on which we find the name of Kapiśka; but from the date of the Brāhmi inscriptions we know that he ruled for further period of time. The Brāhmi inscriptions of the time of Kapiśka which have been found up till now are the following ones:

(1) Allahabad inscription of the time of Kapiśka of the year 1.⁵
(2) Sarnath Buddhist image inscription of the time of Mahārāja Kapiśka of the year 3.⁶
(3) Sarnath Buddhist umbrella post inscription of the time of mahārāja Kapiśka of the year 3.⁷
(4) Mathura Jaina image inscription of the time of devaputra Kaniṣka of the year 5.⁸
(5) Mathura Jaina image inscription of the time of Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra šahi Kaniṣka of the year 7.⁹

¹ Ibid., pp.135-137, 1929.
² Ibid., pp.138-41, 1929.
³ Ibid., pp.142-45, 1929.
⁴ Ibid., pp.145-50, 1929.
⁵ Ibid., pp.146-49, 1929.
⁶ EI, Vol. 3, Appendix, no. 18, 1912.
⁷ Ibid., no. 927, 1912.
⁸ Ibid., no. 18, 1912.
⁹ Ibid., no. 21, 1912.
(6) Mathura Jaina image inscription of the time of Mahārāja Kaniska of the year 9.


(8) Inscription of the time of Kaniska of the year 23.

(9) Mathura image inscription of the time of mahārājātirāja Kaniska.

(10) Mora image inscription of the time of Kaniska.

We have an inscription of the year 24 of the reign of his successor Vasiśka. From this epigraphical evidence it is clear that Kaniska ruled for 23 years. Therefore some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which are dated in some year to be referred to the age of Kaniska are to be referred to the time of Kaniska. They are the following ones:

(1) Box-lid inscription of the year 18.

(2) Kurram casket inscription of the year 20.

Besides these inscriptions some other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions have been referred to the age of Kaniska by Konow on the palaeographical consideration. They are the following ones:

(1) Ibid., no. 22, 1912.
(2) Ibid., no. 23, 1912.
(3) ASIAR for 1920-21, pt 35, 1923.
(5) Ibid., no. 14a, 1912.
(6) Ibid., no. 149a, 1912.
(8) Ibid., pp. 152-55, 1929.
Besides these inscriptions the history of Kaniśka can also be deduced from a study of his coins which have been found in great abundance in Northern India. Besides we have found Kaniśka mentioned in Chinese sources.

After Kaniśka came Vāsiśka, Huviśka and Kaniśka II of the Ara inscription. The former two kings also seem to have ruled in Kashmir. In Kalhana's Rājarangini, i. 168 ff. we read, "There were in this land three kings, Hūśka, Juśka and Kaniśka who built three towns named after them. That wise king Juśka who built Juśkapura with its vihāra was also the founder of Jayasvāmpura. These kings, who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turuṣka race, built as Suśkaletra and other places maṭhas, caityas, and similar (structures). During the powerful reign of these (kings) the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by (practising) the law of religious mendicancy had acquired great renown. At that time one hundred and fifty years had passed in this terrestrial world.

(1) Shah-ji-ki Dheri inscribed bricks. 1
(2) Manikiala bronze casket inscription. 2
(3) Manikiala silver disc inscription. 3

Ibid., pp.137-38, 1929.
Ibid., pp.150-51, 1929.
Ibid., p.151, 1929.
since the blessed Sākyasimha had obtained complete beatitude.
And a Bodhisattva lived (then) in this country as the sole
lord of the land, namely the glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided
at Śaḍaradvana."

Konow has rightly remarked that "Kalhana's dating of
these kings is clearly wrong, but it is certain that his
Juṣka is identical with Vāsiska, his Huṣka with Huviṣka."

There is no doubt that the immediate successor of the
great king Kaniṣka was Vāsiṣka. As we have shown before, the
last date of Kaniṣka is the year 23 and already in the follow-
ing year we find Vāsiṣka mentioned with the imperial title.
We have two inscriptions of Vāsiṣka which are the following:

1. Isapur (now Mathura Museum) column inscription of the
time of Vāsiṣka of the year 24.2
2. Mathura (Jail mound, now Mathura Museum) Buddhist image
   inscription of the time of Vāsiṣka of the year 28.3

We have found two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which may be
ascribed to his reign. They are the following ones:

1. Peshawar Museum Inscription, no. 21.4
2. Hidda inscription of the year 28.5

(2) EI, Vol. X, Appendix, no. 149a, 1912.
(3) Ibid., no. 33, 1912.
(5) Ibid., pp.157-58, 1929.
So far as the Peshawar Museum Inscription, no. 21 is concerned, the place where the name of the king and the year was mentioned has been much blurred; but Konow has made the following observation regarding this portion, "l.l. Only some fragments of the writing remain. We have a complete ma, the lower portion of a ha, traces of two sas with long verticals, and the greater part of a sa. The first word must, accordingly, have been maharajasa. Then there are remnants of a letter which seem to be va, and further what looks like the u-matra of an aksara. It would be possible to read the name as Vajhuskasa, but the existing traces are too faint to allow us to judge. The remainder of the first line is hopeless, and the difficulty is increased through the apparent distribution over two lines. If the two or three blurred groups of strokes which seem to stand in the lower line are flaws in the stone of the same kind as we can observe below 1.4, it would be possible to read the end of the line as 20 4 jethasa, though the apparent 4 is a straight and not a sloping cross. We might then tentatively restore the whole line as maharajasa Vajhuskasa sambatsare 20 4 jethasa. But the only certain word is maharajasa."¹ So far as the Hidda inscription of the year 28 is concerned, we may ascribe it to

the time of Vāsiśka as we have a Brāhmī inscription of Vāsiśka of the year 28.

According to Konow Vāsiśka was succeeded as emperor by his son Kaniska II. We have the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the year 41, found at Ara on the Indus, which bears witness to the existence of a second Kaniska. In this inscription we have the significant passage maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa [Kai}[sa]rasa Vajheškaputrasa Kaniskasa. Regarding the identification of this ruler Konow has observed, "We must therefore evidently assume the existence of a second Kaniska, the son of Vajhešha. Now Kalhaṇa's Jūka shows that the s of the name Vāsiśka must have been voiced, and such a pronunciation is reflected in the form Vajheška. In other words, the father of the king Kaniska of the Ara record was Vāsiśka, the successor of the great Kaniska and it is quite likely that this second Kaniska was the ruler mentioned in the Rājatarāṇī." ¹

But against this there is one fact which should be mentioned. The inscriptions of Huviska fall between the years 29 and 60. ² This shows that there was a certain overlapping

¹ (Ibid., p. lxxxi, 1929.)
² (It is not known why Konow thinks that the date found on the inscriptions of Huviska range from 33 to 60 because we have two other records of the reign of Huviska bearing the dates 29 (EI, Vol. X, Appendix, no. 35, 1912) and 31 (Ibid., no. 13a, 1912).
of the reigns of these kings, and in this connection it is
of interest that the wording of the Rājatarangīṇī leads us
to think of three contemporaneous kings.

In order to avoid this difficulty Lüders naturally as-
sumes that after the death of Kaniska Vasiška succeeded to
the throne, that the empire was divided into two parts.
Kaniška II, the son of Vasiška began to rule in the north
while Huvīška held sway in India proper. Later on, however,
Huvīška also became master of the north, for in the year 51
he is mentioned as emperor in the Wardak vase inscription.

According to Konow "this theory is the only one which
leads to satisfactory results. It must, however, perhaps be
slightly modified. It can hardly be doubted that Vasiška
was the immediate successor of the great Kaniška. The lat-
ter's last date is in the year 23, and already the following
year we find Vasiška mentioned with the imperial title. He
was probably the son of Kaniška, since his own son bears this
same name, and succeeded his father in the natural course of
events, wherefore he did not issue coins in his own name.
His last recorded date is in the year 28, and he may have
died about that time. I think that we may assume that he was
succeeded as emperor by his son Kaniška II. Huvīška may,
as we have seen, have been the actual conqueror of Kashmir,
perhaps as the great Kaniška's general, and he was probably
a brother of Vāsiśka. After the latter's succession to the position of emperor, or after his death, he seems to have become governor or viceroy in the eastern provinces, at least as early as the year 33. It is noticeable that he is not characterized as emperor (rajaśīraja) before the year 40. Until then he is simply styled mahāraja devaputra. It is therefore possible to assume that he did not make himself independent before that date, and that may have been the occasion when he began to issue coins in his own name. We can not tell whether Kanīśka II survived this new departure of Huviśka by more than a year, or if it was brought about by rumours of his approaching death. We only know that Kanīśka was later on recognized as suzerain also in the north, for he bears the imperial titles in the Wardak inscription of the year 51. This statement may be criticized for the following reason. The statement of Konow that "it is noticeable that he is not characterized as emperor (rajaśīraja) before the year 40. Until then he is simply styled mahāraja devaputra" is open to criticism. It is quite true that before the year 40 he is styled either mahāraja devaputra or by no epithet; but even after the year 40 he is sometimes called simply mahāraja or mahāraja devaputra. It is far more

(2) EI, Vol. X, Appendix, nos. 29, 33, 35 and 38, 1912.
(4) Ibid., nos. 45a, 46, 1912.
(5) Ibid., no. 51, 1912.
important that in the year 51 he is styled as maharaja devapatra in the Mathura (Jail Mound, now Lucknow Provincial Museum) Buddhist image inscription\(^1\) and maharaja rajatiraja in the Wardak vase inscription.\(^2\) From this analysis it is quite clear that too much emphasis has been given on the epithet maharaja rajatiraja as found in an inscription of this monarch of the year 40.\(^3\) It is quite true that we do not find any inscription of this monarch bearing the epithet maharaja rajatiraja before the year 40 but this may also be considered as purely accidental as no special importance has been attached to this point in the later inscriptions of this monarch. It seems, therefore, that Lüders' assumption is more reasonable than that of Konow.

When we take the Ara inscription of the year 41 into account, we should also take into consideration the Shakardarra inscription of the year 40.\(^4\)

The ruler who came to the Kusana throne after Kaniska II is Huviśka. The main sources for the history of Huviśka are the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and coins. It is not necessary to give a list of the Brāhmī inscriptions of this monarch. The only Kharoṣṭhī inscription which has been found of his reign is the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) EI, Vol. X, Appendix, no. 52, 1912.
\(^3\) EI, Vol. X, Appendix, no. 149c, 1912.
\(^5\) Ibid., p.165, 1929.
The next ruler of whom we find mention is Vāsudeva I. No inscription has been found in the Kharos̱hṭhī script bearing his name. All the inscriptions bearing his name have been inscribed in the Brāhmī script and bear the dates ranging from the year 74 to 98. Therefore the Und inscription of the year 61 may be referred either to his reign or earlier. In any case there is no possible doubt that this inscription is to be referred to only one year after the Brāhmī inscription of the time of Huvāiska of the year 60. When we know from the source of the Brāhmī inscriptions that Vāsudeva's inscriptions range from 74 to 98, we may conclude that the Mamane Dheri pedestal inscription of the year 89 may be ascribed to the time of Vāsudeva.

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels we find three different types of a of which two are old types. The following are the old types: - ḍ (VIII.1.I) and ḍ (VIII.1.II). The third type of a which is a new one has the lower portion of the vertical slightly bent. ḍ (VIII.1.III) It is interesting to note that this type of a reminds us of the Central Asian a found in some Kharos̱hṭhī documents discovered in Chinese Turkestan.

(2) Ibid., pp.171-72, 1929.
The *anusvāra* is made by the addition of a miniature ma to the foot of this letter. \( \text{Jan}\) (VIII.1.IV)

We have found four different types of the vowel \( \text{J} \) among which only one is an old type. \( \text{J} \) (VIII.2.I) The remaining three types are new: \( \text{J} \) (VIII.2.II), \( \text{J} \) (VIII.2.III) and \( \text{J} \) (VIII.2.IV). The last type reminds us very much of one Central Asian type.

There are three different types of the vowel \( \text{y} \) which are all old. \( \text{y} \) (VIII.3.I), \( \text{y} \) (VIII.3.II) and \( \text{y} \) (VIII.3.III)

The vowel \( \text{a} \) is expressed in five different forms of which three are old and two are new. The old types are the following ones: \( \text{A} \) (VIII.4.I), \( \text{A} \) (VIII.4.II) and \( \text{A} \) (VIII.4.III). The new types are the following ones: \( \text{A} \) (VIII.4.IV) and \( \text{A} \) (VIII.4.V)

The vowel \( \text{o} \) is expressed in two different forms of which one is an old type. \( \text{O} \) (VIII.5.I) The other one is a new type. \( \text{O} \) (VIII.5.II)

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**Simple aṅgāras**

**Gutturals**

There are a few types of the letter ka of which some are old types and some new. The following are the old types: \( \text{A} \) (VIII.6.I), \( \text{G} \) (VIII.6.II), \( \text{G} \) (VIII.6.III) and \( \text{G} \) (VIII.6.IV). The new type is the following one: \( \text{G} \) (VIII.6.V)
It is interesting to note that a similar type of ka is found in some Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. Konow thinks that he has found the example of kā here.

(VIII.6.IV) Regarding this particular letter Konow observes, "The vertical of ka in kale, l.2, is provided with a back-wards curve, which reminds us of the curve marking long vowels in a Kharoṣṭhī Sanskrit document from Eastern Turkestan. I shall therefore write kā." (1) Regarding this point Rapson has observed that "it was formerly supposed that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet lacked the means of distinguishing long from short vowels; and the fact that such a means existed, even if it was not commonly employed, was first made clear by evidence supplied by the Niya documents. The lengthening of any vowel may be indicated by a short stroke written below the line, in form and position like the virāma of the Devanāgarī alphabet; cf. ṭ, 3; kā, 12; ṭī, 77; ṭū, 102, &c. But the length of vowels is thus marked consistently and regularly in those inscriptions which are written in Sanskrit more or less, correct, such as the verses of inscr. nos. 511 and 525. In the Prākrit documents any indication of length is merely occasional and apparently purely arbitrary; that is to say, length is entirely disregarded in most of the documents of this class, while it is very

partially and inconsistently observed in the rest." There are three different types of the _attached to this letter of which two are old types and one new. The old types are the following ones:-  (VIII.6.VI) and  (VIII.6.VII) The new type is that in which the stroke is indicated by the form of a miniature triangle at the foot of the letter on the left.  (VIII.6.VIII) The _anusvāra_ added to this letter is a miniature _ma_ attached to the stem of the letter.  (VIII.6.IX)

There is another type of _ka_ which Rapson writes as _k̄_ and Konow as _k̄_. Regarding this letter Konow observes, "There are also other peculiarities which remind us of the manuscript. Thus _ra_ becomes ṣ in _phaṣa_, Skr. _sparsā_, D 2; _sk_ becomes _k_ in _kamdha_, Skr. _skandha_, D 3; _sankara_, Skr. _samskāra_, B 2. The _ka_ in such words differs, it is true, from the usual _ka_, in so far as the vertical is prolonged above the head, so that the sound must have been modified.

We have found a similar sign in the Lahore Museum inscription on the Buddha's writing-board, which contains references to events dealt with in Buddhist literature. In the Dhammapada we find _Kanhapa_, Skr. _skandhānam_, but _saghara_, Skr. _samskāra_. I shall write _k̄_." Regarding the same letter as found in the inscriptions of Chinese Turkestan Rapson observes, "_Ka_15,

most probably represents a non-Indian guttural, and may be compared with the second form of ka which is found in Central Asian Brāhmi. It seems to occur chiefly in popular words like a-valika, pake, make, and in proper names like Kumatsuṇa (inscr. no. 383) = Kumtsena (no. 592). Occasionally it seems to interchange with ka, as for instance in the name last quoted, which may very plausibly be identified with the Kumnasena of inscr. no. 322; also Vukimtiyasa in inscr. no. 108 with vukimte in no. 513. \(1\) (VIII.7.1)

There are two different types of the letter kha of which one is old and the other new. The old one is \(\chi\) (VIII.8.1) The new one is \(\chi\) (VIII.8.2) We have got the examples of khī \(\chi\) (VIII.8.3), khu \(\chi\) (VIII.8.4) and kho \(\chi\) (VIII.8.5)

There is only one type of ga which is old. \(\chi\) (VIII.9.1) The letter gu is also an old type. \(\chi\) (VIII.9.2) There are two different varieties of the \(\circ\)-stroke attached to this letter of which one is an old type. \(\chi\) (VIII.9.3) In the new type the oblique stroke indicating the \(\circ\) is attached to the left of the loop forming this letter. \(\chi\) (VIII.9.4) There is only one variety of the \(\circ\)-stroke attached to this letter in which the stroke indicating the \(\circ\) is attached to the left of the vertical. \(\chi\) (VIII.9.5)

\(1\) KI, pt. III, p.304, 1929.
We have found a number of examples of the letter ǧa. Regarding the distinction between the letters ǧa and ḡa in the Niya documents Rapson has observed that "in careless writing ǧa, 24, and ḡa, 178, are easily confused; but in most of our documents the distinction between the two letters is clear: the horizontal stroke at the base of ǧa is normally somewhat curved and attached to the letter at an angle, while in ḡa it is straight and attached with a bend."(1) It may be true of those documents but no such distinction can be made of ḡa and ǧa in these inscriptions. So we are solely to rest on the words themselves. We have got here two different types of ǧa. In one type the horizontal stroke at the base is straight and attached with a bend. (VIII.10.I) In the other type the horizontal stroke at the base is somewhat curved and attached to the letter at an angle. (VIII.10.II) We have also found the example of the ǧ-stroke attached to this letter. (VIII.10.III)

The letter ḡa is an old type. (VIII.11.I) We have also found an example of the letter ǧhī. (VIII.11.II)

Palatals

There are four different types of the letter ϥ of which two are old types and two are new. The old types are ϥ (VIII.12.1) and Ϭ (VIII.12.11). In the first new type there is a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical. Ϭ (VIII.12.111). It should be noted that this type of ϥ has great similarity with the type of ϥ shown in Rapson's plate. The other one is very similar to this type. Ϭ (VIII.12.1111). We find the example of the letter ϥ (VIII. 12.1).

There are two different types of the letter ϥ which are old. ϭ (VIII.13.1) and ϯ (VIII.13.11). The ϱ attached to this letter is old. (VIII.13.11) The u-stroke is indicated in three different manners. In the first type the hook indicating the u-sign is not complete. ϭ (VIII.13.111). In the second type the hook indicating the u-sign is complete and added to the left side of the stem. ϯ (VIII.13.1111) In the third type the hook is complete and added to the bottom of the stem in the middle. ϯ (VIII.13.111).

There is only one type of the letter ϥ which is old. ϯ (VIII.14.1). The letters ϯ (VIII.14.11) and ϯ (VIII.14.111) are old.

(1) KI, pl. XIV, no. 29, 1929.
There is only one type of the letter jha which is old. \( \text{(VIII.15.I)} \) The letter jho \( \text{(VIII.15.II)} \) is also an old type.

There is only one type of the letter \( \sim \) which is a new type. The peculiarity of this letter consists in the addition of a hook to the stem of the letter. \( \text{(VIII.16.I)} \)

**Linguals**

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{tha} \) of which two are old and the remaining one new. The old ones are \( \text{(VIII.17.I)} \) and \( \text{(VIII.17.II)} \) In the new type the lower portion of the vertical is curved on the left. \( \text{(VIII.17.III)} \) In this respect this letter has very close similarity with the letter shown in the plate drawn by Rapson.\(^1\) The letter \( \text{jhi} \) is an old type. \( \text{(VIII.17.IV)} \)

The anusvara is a miniature \( \text{ma} \) added to the lower end of the vertical. \( \text{(VIII.17.V)} \)

The letter \( \text{da} \) is written in one way which is old. \( \text{(VIII.18.I)} \)

We have found examples of the letter \( \text{da} \), i.e., the letter \( \text{da} \) with a straight line or a curve at its base. Regarding this letter as found in the Kharosthi documents \( \text{(1) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, 60, 1929.} \)
from Chinese Turkestan Rapson writes, "The two forms of \( \text{\textdollar}a, \) 67 and 68 - the former having a straight line and the latter a curve at its base - are interchangeable;...but neither of these is ever confused with \( \text{\textdollar}a, 66. \) How \( \text{\textdollar}a \) differs in use from \( \text{\textdollar}a \) it is impossible at present to say with absolute precision. Examples of either at the beginning of a word are few and, in the case of \( \text{\textdollar}a, \) is doubtful; but in the middle of a word, while \( \text{\textdollar}a \) is the most normal form between vowels, \( \text{\textdollar}a \) occurs after a nasal either expressed or understood. It seems clear that these two letters represented different sounds; and the addition of a differentiating line or curve at the foot must, no doubt, indicate that \( \text{\textdollar}a \) was regarded as a modification of \( \text{\textdollar}a. \) It is possible that the \( \text{\textdollar} \) of \( \text{\textdollar}a, 67 \) and 68, may have been a spirant like the English th in other; cf. \( \text{\textdollar}, \) p.301; \( \text{\textdollar }, \) p.303; or a lingual \( \text{\textdollar}a.\) We have found examples of two different varieties, one having a straight line and the other a curve at its base. \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VIII.19.I}) \) and \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VII.19.II}) \) The letter \( \text{\textdollar} \) is an old type. \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VIII.19.II}) \)

The types of \( \text{\textdollar}a \) which are found are old. \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VIII.20.I}), \) \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VII.20.II}) \) and \( \text{\textdollar}, (\text{VII.20.III}) \) The \( \text{\textdollar} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the oblique stroke indicating the \( \text{\textdollar} \) touches the

head of the letter. \( \overrightarrow{\text{I}} \) (VIII.20. IV) In the second type the almost horizontal stroke indicating the \( \text{i} \)-stroke pierces through the vertical of the letter. \( \overrightarrow{\text{J}} \) (VIII.20. V) The \( \text{u} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated by some sort of a triangle added to the left of the vertical. \( \overrightarrow{\text{f}} \) (VIII.20. VI) The \( \text{g} \)-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is an oblique stroke drawn to the upper part of the vertical forming this letter. \( \overrightarrow{\text{f}} \) (VIII.20. VII) In the second type the stroke touches the head of the letter. \( \overrightarrow{\text{g}} \) (VIII.20. VIII) The \( \text{anuvāra} \) is indicated by a miniature \( \text{ma} \) attached to the lower end of the vertical. (VIII.20. IV)

**Dentals**

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ta} \) which is old. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.21. I) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is also an old type. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.21. II) The \( \text{u} \)-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is only a short curve attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.21. III) In the second type the curve is complete. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.21. IV) The \( \text{g} \)-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.21. V)

There are two different types of the letter \( \text{th} \) of which the first one is an old one. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.22. I) The novelty of the other type lies in the fact that the end of the vertical is, to some extent, curved. \( \overrightarrow{\text{t}} \) (VIII.22. II)
The \( \text{i} \)-stroke attached to this letter is old. (VIII.22.I)

The \( \text{u} \)-stroke is expressed by a complete curve to the left of the vertical on the lower end. \( \text{u} \) (VIII.22.III)

There are two different types of the letter \( \text{da} \) of which one is old and the other new. The old type is \( \text{J} \) (VIII.23.I)

The new type is \( \text{y} \) (VIII.23.II) The \( \text{i} \) attached to this letter is expressed in two different manners. In the first type it is an oblique stroke which pierces through the vertical of this letter. \( \text{f} \) (VIII.23.III) In the second type it is an oblique stroke which touches the head of the letter \( \text{f} \) (VIII.23.IV) The \( \text{u} \)-stroke is added to this letter in three different ways. In the first type it is only a curving of the lower end of the vertical. \( \text{f} \) (VIII.23.V) In the second type the curve is more pronounced. \( \text{f} \) (VIII.23.VI) In the third type the curve is complete. \( \text{f} \) (VIII.23.VII)

The \( \text{e} \)-stroke added to this letter is made in three different manners. In the first type it is expressed by a short horizontal stroke drawn from the upper end of the vertical. \( \text{e} \) (VIII.23.VIII) In the second type it is expressed by a stroke drawn to the right from the middle of the vertical. \( \text{e} \) (VIII.23.IX) In the third type the stroke is placed in the upper field a little distant from the letter itself. \( \text{e} \) (VIII.23.X)
There are two different types of the letter ध्या among which one is old and the remaining one new. The old type is ध्य (VIII.24.I). The new type is a very cursive letter. ध्य (VIII.24.II) The ठ-stroke added to this letter is old. ध्य (VIII.24.III)

There are two different types of the letter ना of which one is an old type and the other new. The old type is ना (VIII.25.I) The new type has a short horizontal stroke added to the vertical of the letter on the left. ना (VIII.25.II) The ठ-stroke is added to this letter in two different manners. In the first type the oblique stroke indicating the vowel ठ passes through the vertical of the letter. ना (VIII.25.III) In the second type this stroke passes through the head of the letter. ना (VIII.25.IV) The ठ-stroke is expressed in two different manners of which one is a new one. The old one is ना (VIII.25.V) In the new type the loop indicating the vowel is to the right end of the vertical. ना (VIII.25.VI) The ठ-stroke is attached to the stem of the letter. ना (VIII.25.VII) The ठ-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. ना (VIII.25.VIII) The anusvāra is a miniature मा attached to the lower end of the vertical of this letter. ना (VIII.25.IX)
Labials

There are three different types of the letter pa of which two are old types and the remaining one new. The old types are / (VIII.26.I) and \ (VIII.26.II). In the new type the arm on the right is so curved that it forms almost a loop. (VIII.26.III) This letter has great similarity with the letter published in Rapson’s work. The u-stroke attached to this letter is expressed in three different manners. In the first type the u-stroke is nothing but an almost complete loop to the left of the vertical. \ (VIII.26.IV) In the second type the u-stroke is indicated by a circle attached to the lower end of the vertical. (VIII.26.III) In the third type the u-stroke is a triangle attached to the left side of the vertical in the lower end. \ (VIII.26.V) The letters pe \ (VIII.26.VI) and po \ (VIII.26.VII) are old types.

There are two different types of the letter pha of which one is a new type. The old type is \ (VIII.27.I) The main peculiarity of the new type is that the right arm of this letter is more or less curved. \ (VIII.27.II) There is a great similarity between this type of pha and that shown in Rapson’s plate.²

(2) KI, pl. XIV, 103, 1929.
There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ba} \) which is old. 

\( \gamma \) (VIII.28.I) The \( \mathbf{1} \)-stroke goes through the left vertical line forming the letter. 

\( \Upsilon \) (VIII.28.II) The \( \mathbf{u} \)-stroke is indicated in three different ways. In the first type it is represented by a loop at the left lower end of the letter. 

\( \Upsilon \) (VIII.28.III) In the second type it is represented by a circle attached to the lower end of the vertical. 

\( \Upsilon \) (VIII.28.IV) In the third type it is represented by a cursive curve attached to the lower end of the vertical. 

\( \Upsilon \) (VIII.28.V) The \( \text{anuvāra} \) is indicated by a miniature \( \text{ma} \) which is connected with its \( \text{matra} \).

There are four different types of the letter \( \text{bha} \) of which two are old and two new. The old ones are \( \overline{h} \) (VIII.29.I), \( \underline{h} \) (VIII.29.II). The main peculiarity of the first new type is the addition of a horizontal stroke to the left lower end of the vertical. 

\( \overline{J} \) (VIII.29.III) There is another new type. 

\( \overline{J} \) (VIII.29.IV) The \( \mathbf{1} \)-stroke attached to this letter goes through the upper horizontal line. 

\( \overline{J} \) (VIII.29.V) The \( \mathbf{u} \)-stroke is represented by a loop to the left lower end of the vertical.

The letter \( \text{ma} \) is indicated in three different manners. 

Out of these three types two are old ones and the other new. 

The old types are \( \cup \) (VIII.30.I) and \( \cup \) (VIII.30.II) The new type is \( \cup \) (VIII.30.III). There are four different
types of the i-stroke attached to this letter. Of course there are actually two types so far as the shape of the letter ma undergoing a change in conjunction with this sign in two different manners, still we are forced to consider here four different types of the i-stroke. The first i-stroke pierces through the letter. (VIII.30.IV) The second i-stroke is very cursive at the lower end almost looking like an anusvāra. (VIII.30.V) The third i-stroke is joined by the prolongation of the left side of the curve of the letter at the place where it has pierced through the letter. (VIII.30.VI) The fourth i-stroke is joined by the prolongation of the right side of the curve of the letter at its upper end. (VIII.30.VII) The u-stroke is indicated in two different manners. The first u is an oblique stroke attached to the left side of the curve. (VIII.30.VIII) In the second type the letter ma is laid on its side, the right part of the semi-circle rises high up, and the left is bent downwards. (VIII.30.IX) There are two different types of the e-stroke attached to this letter of which one appears to be a new type. The old type is (VIII.30.X) The new type is formed by the inward curving of the left side of the letter. (VIII.30.XI) The a-stroke attached to this letter is old. (VIII.30.XII) The anusvāra is marked by a miniature ma which is placed below. (VIII.30.XIII)
Semi-vowels

There are five different types of the letter \( ya \) of which two are old types and three new ones. The old types are \( \wedge (VIII.31.I) \) and \( \cap (VIII.31.II) \). The new types are \( \cap (VIII.31.III), \& (VIII.31.IV) \) and \( \triangledown (VIII.31.V) \). The last two types are very similar to the type shown in Rapson's work.\(^1\) The \( i \)-stroke added to this letter is an old type. \( \cap (XIII.31.VI) \) The \( u \)-stroke is represented by a loop to the lower end of the left curve. \( \cap (VIII.31.VII) \) The \( e \)-stroke attached to this letter is an old type. \( \cap (VIII.31.VIII) \) The letter \( yo \) is also an old type. \( (VIII.31.III) \) The \anu\ is indicated by the curving of the lower end of the right vertical of the letter. \( \cap (VIII.31.IX) \)

The letter \( ra \) is indicated in three different manners. Out of these types two are old and the remaining one new. The old types are \( \wedge (VIII.32.I) \) and \( \cap (VIII.32.II) \). The new type is rather a cursive letter \( \cap (VIII.32.III) \). The letter \( ri \) is an old type. \( \cap (VIII.32.IV) \) The \( u \)-stroke is indicated by a triangular loop to the left lower end of the vertical. \( \cap (VIII.32.V) \) The letter \( re \) is an old type. \( (VIII.32.II) \) The \( o \)-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the \( o \)-stroke is added to the vertical of the letter. \( \cap (VIII.32.VI) \) In the second type the \( o \)-stroke is added to the upper horizontal line.

\(^1\) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV. 124, 1929.
(VIII.32.VII) The anusvāra is expressed in two different manners. In the first type it is represented by a straight stroke added to the left of the vertical. (VIII.32.VIII) In the second type it is written cursively as a curve at the end of the stem. (VIII.32.IX)

There are four different types of the letter la of which three are old and one new. The old types are (VIII.33.I), (VIII.33.II) and (VIII.33.III). The new type is (VIII.33.IV). The i-stroke is indicated by a vertical line which goes by touching the end-portion of the curved portion of this letter. (VIII.33.V) The letter le is an old type. (VIII.33.VI)

There are three different types of the letter va among which two are old and one new. The old types are (VIII.34.I) and (VIII.34.II). The new type is a very cursive one. (VIII.34.III) The letter vi (VIII.34.IV) is an old type. The g-stroke is indicated in three different manners. In the first type it is added at the point where the vertical as well as the horizontal strokes forming this letter meet. (VIII.34.V) In the second type it meets the extreme end of the horizontal line forming this letter. (VIII.34.VI) In the third type it goes over the horizontal line forming this letter. (VIII.34.VII)
Sibilants and ha

There are four different types of the letter ša of which two are old types and two, new. The old types over \( \square \) (VIII.35.I) and \( \bigcirc \) (VIII.35.II). The new types are \( \triangledown \) (VIII.35.III) and \( \mathcal{N} \) (VIII.35.IV). The letters \( \ddagger \) (VIII.35.V), \( \mathcal{G} \) (VIII.35.IV) and \( \mathcal{M} \) (VIII.35.VI) and \( \mathcal{O} \) (VIII.35.VII) are old types.

There are two types of the letter śa which are old. \( \mathcal{T} \) (VIII.36.I) and \( \mathcal{J} \) (VIII.36.II)

We have also found one type of the letter śa which is an old one. \( \mathcal{M} \) (VIII.37.I)

There is only one type of the letter śa which is an old one. \( \mathcal{F} \) (VIII.38.I) The letters \( \ddagger \) (VIII.38.II), \( \mathcal{S} \) (VIII.38.III) and \( \mathcal{R} \) (VIII.38.IV) are old types.

The anusvāra is marked by a miniature ma which is connected with its maṭrīka (VIII.38.II).

We have found the examples of śa which are of two different kinds. \( \mathcal{F} \) (VIII.39.I) and \( \mathcal{Z} \) (VIII.39.II)

There are three different types of the letter ha which are old. \( \mathcal{Z} \) (VIII.40.I), \( \mathcal{Z} \) (VIII.40.II) and \( \mathcal{Z} \) (VIII.40.III). The letters \( \mathcal{H} \) (VIII.40.IV), \( \mathcal{H} \) (VIII.40.V) and \( \mathcal{H} \) (VIII.40.VI) are old types.
Compound aksarae

Group with initial vowel

There is a very peculiar compound letter आय whose is found in this period for the first and last time in the whole sphere of Kharosthi records. Regarding this letter Konow has observed, "The only real difficulty is the first word, which was read atre by Bayley, antra by Dowson, atra by Bhagvanlal, vyatra by Hoernle and Majumdar, and uta by Bühler and Johannesson. As already mentioned, the first letter is evidently an ordinary a with a ya hook, and so far as I can see, there are two possibilities. Either आय is meant to signify a or a sound approaching a, or else आय is, as Professor Lüders has proposed, a shortened writing instead of आय. This latter explanation is the most likely one, because we should not expect atra in such a Sanskritized record, and because ayatra is supported by Prakrit forms such as anna, apna, which show that the element aya was felt as a pronominal base, from which ayatra might be formed just as tatra from the base ta." This is the explanation which Konow has given of this letter; but we can offer the suggestion that the compound letter आय signifies the i.

As a support for this assertion two evidence may be cited. In one Niya document we have the word येवामया which

certainly stands for vayamapi showing that the subscript ya of the ligature pya stands for i. In the like manner we find in one Tibetan text the word ʰyin-trə which stands for Indra. This last example does not only suggest that a compound letter with an initial vowel is possible but also explains such a ligature. Therefore it seems more reasonable to conclude that the compound letter ʰya has the sense of i.

Groups with initial guttural

These are the compound letters formed with the initial ka and ga. The compound letters formed with the initial ka are kva and kra. The compound letter kva is indicated in two different manners. In the first type a miniature round headed ya is added to the left of the stem of the letter ka.

(VIII.42.I) In the second type one miniature angular headed ya is added to the stem of the letter ka. (VIII.42.II). The compound letter kra is an old type. (VIII.42.III)

The compound letter formed with the initial ga is gra. It is of two varieties. (VIII.42.IV) and (VIII.42.V)

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(2) PST, 61 (Tibetan text), pp. 92, 96 (general body of the work), 1924.
Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are formed with the initial ta, tha, da and dha. The compound letters formed with the initial ta are tma, tra, tvsa and toa. In the ligature tma one ma is placed below the lower end of the vertical of the letter ta touching it at the middle point. (VIII.43.I)

The conjunct tra has been indicated in two different ways, viz., by a straight horizontal line and also by a line of curved nature. ℓ (VIII.43.II) and ℓ (VIII.43.III). The compound letter tvsa is an old type ℓ (VIII.43.IV) The compound letter tsa has been expressed in two different ways. In the first type the letter ta is written above the letter sa to the right touching it. ℓ (VIII.43.V) In the second type the stem of the letter ta touches the middle of the upper horizontal line of the letter sa. ℓ (VIII.43.VI)

The compound letter formed with the initial tha is thwa. In this letter one miniature ya is added to the lower end of the vertical of the letter tha. ℓ (VIII.43.VII)

The compound letter formed with the initial da is dra which is an old type. ℓ (VIII.43.VIII)

The compound letter formed with the initial dha is dhra which is an old type. ℓ (VIII.43.IX)
Groups with initial labial

We find the compound letters formed with the initial \( \text{pa} \) and \( \text{bha} \). The compound letters formed with the initial \( \text{pa} \) are \( \text{pti} \), \( \text{rva} \) and \( \text{pra} \). From the lower end of the vertical of the letter \( \text{pa} \) one \( \text{ta} \) has been drawn in order to form the compound letter \( \text{pti} \). \( \text{pti} \) (VIII.44.I) One miniature \( \text{va} \) has been added to the lower end of the vertical of the letter \( \text{pa} \) in order to form the ligature \( \text{rva} \). \( \text{rva} \) (VIII.44.II) The ligature \( \text{pra} \) is of two kinds which are old types. \( \text{pra} \) (VIII.44.III) and \( \text{pra} \) (VIII.44.IV)

The ligature with the initial \( \text{bha} \) is \( \text{bhra} \) which is an old type. \( \text{bhra} \) (VIII.44.V)

Groups with initial semi-vowel

We find the ligatures formed with the initial \( \text{ra} \), \( \text{la} \) and \( \text{va} \). The ligatures with the initial \( \text{ra} \) are \( \text{rjha} \), \( \text{rta} \), \( \text{rthe} \), \( \text{rma} \), \( \text{rni} \), \( \text{rva} \) and \( \text{rve} \). In all these cases except \( \text{rma} \) the transverse line indicating the letter \( \text{ra} \) is attached to the stem of the other letter by a loop and is continued downwards as a rounded curve. This characteristic is first noticed in the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II. Thus we find the ligatures \( \text{rjha} \) \( \frac{2}{3} \) (VIII.45.I), \( \text{rta} \) \( \frac{2}{3} \) (VIII.45.II), \( \text{rthe} \) \( \frac{1}{3} \) (VIII.45.III) The ligature \( \text{rma} \) is indicated in three different manners. Out of these three types one is rather unusual. Regarding this compound letter
Konow has remarked, "The compound *rma* in *dhrmakhirisya* has usually been read as *kha*, and the bottom stroke of the preceding *dha* has been taken to be an *anusvāra*. The reading, however, absolutely certain. The only difference between our aksara and the *rma* of the Jaulian inscription No. 6 is that the *r* curve has been continued backwards and cursive connected with the top of *ma.*

In the second type the stroke indicating the letter *ra* is drawn through the right limb of the letter. (VIII.45.IV)

In the third type which is very cursive the letter *ra* is indicated in the whole added to the right limb of the letter *ma.* (VIII.45.V)

The ligature *rmi* is highly interesting. Here the stroke indicating the letter *ra* is attached to the stem of the stroke *i* and is continued downwards as a rounded curve. (VIII.45.VII)

The ligature *rya* is interesting. We have found altogether four different types of this compound letter. There is no fundamental difference in the formation of the first three types, the only difference being in the shape of the letter *ya.* (VIII.45.VIII)

(VIII.45.IX) and (VIII.45.X); but the fourth type is distinctly different as the letters *ya* and *ra* are joined together by a small curved line. (VIII.45.XI)

There is only one type of the ligature *rya* which is an old type. (VIII.45.XII).

The ligature with the initial la is lya which is formed by the addition of one ya to the lower end of the vertical of the letter la. (VIII.45.XIII)

The ligatures with the initial ya are vha and possibly vhrya. The ligature vha is an old type. (VIII.45.XIV)

There is the ligature vhrya which is very unusual and which has been read as such by Konow. Regarding this unusual compound letter he has remarked that "the next letters were read phuka by Cunningham, phkaka by Dowson, and kpvaka, i.e., kpuaka, by Pargiter. The first akṣara consists of a vha, with a rounded bar across the long upright, and an angular addition at the bottom. The cross-bar is similar to the ante-consonantic r of rma in the Kaniska casket, Kurram and Jaulia inscriptions, and the subscribed hook seems to be ya. I therefore read rvhyaka, or perhaps vhryaka, which would be an Iranian adjective formed from the base...

(VIII.45.XV)

Groups with initial sibilant

We find the compound letters with the initial sa, ša and ša. The ligatures with the initial ša are špa (VIII.46.I) and šve (VIII.46.II) which are old types.

The ligatures with the initial ga are gka, gthu and sva. We have found four different types of the ligature gka. Out of these types three follow the same principle so far as the formation of this compound letter is concerned, the only difference being in the different types of ka added to each example. The main principle observed in the formation of the first three types is the addition of a ka to the lower end of the stem of the letter ga. \( \text{ṭ} \) (VIII.46.III), \( \text{ṭ} \) (VIII.46.IV) and \( \text{ṭ} \) (VIII.46.V) The formation of the fourth type is rather peculiar. For this reason there is even a difference of opinion regarding the reading of this compound letter. Regarding this ligature Konow has remarked that "the first word was read as Vasiṣṭhaputraśa by Mr Banerji, Vajheśkaputraśa by Professor Lüders, and Mr Majumdar took the second aksara to be perhaps 'a conjunct with da as the second member' and read the third as spa. It will be seen that the second letter is clearly the old form of jha which we find in the Asoka inscriptions. It is almost certain that there is an e-stroke. The third one is identical with the sa of the Zeda inscription, and though gka has a different shape in the ensuing Kaniskaśa, I have no doubt that we must read gka, the more so because a compound spa is never used in Kharoṣṭhī records."\(^{(1)}\) (VIII.46.VI) The

ligature sthu is formed by one horizontal line drawn through the vertical of the letter sa. (VIII.46.VII) The ligature sva is formed by the addition of one miniature ya to the stem of the vertical of the letter sa. (VIII.46.VIII)

The ligatures formed with the initial sa are sta, sva and sva. The conjunct sta is an old type. (VIII.46.IX) The ligature sva is formed by the addition of one miniature ya to the lower end of the vertical of the letter sa. (VIII.46.X) There is only one type of the letter sva which is an old type. (VIII.46.XI)
CHAPTER IX

The period of the later Kuṣana rulers

In the last chapter we have dealt with the Khaṛoṣṭhī script as found in the inscriptions of the Kaniśka group of the Kuṣana rulers. In this chapter it will be our endeavour to study the further development of the script as found in the inscriptions of a later period.

The main material for the study of the development of the Khaṛoṣṭhī script is a number of inscriptions which have been referred to this age by Konow. These inscriptions are the following ones:

1. Loriyan Tangai pedestal inscription of the year 318.
2. Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 4860.
3. Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 4871.
4. Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 4995.
5. Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 5095.
7. Jamalgarhi pedestal inscription.

(2) Ibid., pp. 107-08, 1929.
(3) Ibid., pp. 108-09, 1929.
(4) Ibid., pp. 109-10, 1929.
(5) Ibid., p. 110, 1929.
(6) Ibid., pp. 110-13, 1929.
(7) Ibid., pp. 113-14, 1929.
(8) Jamalgarhi pilaster base inscription.  
(9) Lahore Museum halo inscription.  
(10) Lahore pedestal inscription.  
(11) Jamalgarhi lamp inscription.  
(12) Jamalgarhi pavement stone inscription.  
(13) Hashtnagar pedestal inscription of the year 384.  
(14) Palatu Dheri pedestal inscription.  
(15) Ghaz Dheri pedestal inscription.  
(16) Skarah Dheri image inscription of the year 399.  
(17) Shahr-i-Napursan pedestal inscription.  
(18) Peshawar Museum inscription, no. 1.  
(19) Peshawar Museum inscription, no. 4.  
(20) Naugram inscription.  
(21) Peshawar inscription on a writing board.  
(22) Lahore inscription on a writing board.  

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(2) Ibid., p. 115, 1929.  
(3) Ibid., pp. 115-16, 1929.  
(4) Ibid., p. 116, 1929.  
(5) Ibid., pp. 116-17, 1929.  
(6) Ibid., pp. 117-19, 1929.  
(7) Ibid., pp. 120, 1929.  
(8) Ibid., p. 123, 1929.  
(9) Ibid., pp. 124-27, 1929.  
(10) Ibid., pp. 123-24, 1929.  
(12) Ibid., p. 128, 1929.  
(13) Ibid., p. 129, 1929.  
(14) Ibid., pp. 129-30, 1929.  
(15) Ibid., pp. 130-31, 1929.
(23) Yakubi image inscription. 1

(24) Peshawar Museum inscription, no. 5. 2

(25) Nowshera pedestal inscription. 3

We shall now discuss the age of these inscriptions. Konow whose researches in this line are the latest may be relied on for this point. Regarding the date of the Loriyan Tengai pedestal inscription of the year 318 he has observed, "The characters are evidently late. We may note the short vertical terminating the horizontals in ṭha, va and re, and the square va with the left limb projecting above the top-line, which we know from the Arā inscription. The date is quite clear, viz., sa 111 100 44 Prothavadasa dī 20 4 111, corresponding according to Dr Van Wijk's calculations, to the 27th August, A.D. 234." 4

Regarding the Loriyan Tengai inscription, no. 4860 he has observed that "the aṅgaraṇs, which are of the same kind as in other Loriyan Tengai inscriptions, vary in size from ½ in. to 1½ in., and are badly drawn and executed with little care and undertaking. We may note the late shape of bu, which reminds us of the Jaulia records, the unique exception- al mu, and the ancient sa, with a distinct prolongation of

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(2) Ibid., p. 133, 1929.
(3) Ibid., p. 134, 1929.
(4) Ibid., p. 106, 1929.
the lower limb. There cannot be any doubt that the style is very debased."¹

He has not made any observation regarding the date of the Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 4871.

In connection with the Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 4995 he has observed, "The characters are of the same late type as in other Loriyan Tangai records. We may note the shape of mu, the position of the e-stroke above the head of kha, and the pa like ya."²

He has not made any observation regarding the date of the Loriyan Tangai inscription, no. 5095.

So far as the date of the Jamalgarhi inscription of the year 359 is concerned he has made the following observation, "I.¹ opens with the date, and it is not likely that anything is missing. The first akṣara is sam, where the anusvāra is marked by a slight forward bend of the vertical. Then follow the figures 111 100 2020 10 441, i.e., 359, where the second 20 is written so near the ensuing 10 that it has evidently been added subsequently. It also stands so near the preceding 20 that it cannot well have been written before the 10 had been incised. The engraver evidently first wrote 339, and then noticed that he had made a mistake.

(1) Ibid., pp.107-09, 1929.
(2) Ibid., p.109, 1929.
and added the second 20. It is less likely that he has wanted to correct 339 to 349, because the 10 was evidently in his draft. Then follows a word which Mr. Daya Ram suggested to read as \( \text{ispai}l\text{asa} \) or \( \text{ika}i\text{la}s\text{a} \), but which Professor Thomas was no doubt right in reading as \( \text{a}\text{spa}i\text{usa} \), Skr. \( \text{a}\text{svayu}j\text{a}h \). It will be seen that the stone was peeled off in several places, so that it looks as if there were a horizontal across the head of the initial \( \text{a} \), an \( \text{u} \)-loop below \( \text{i} \), and only traces of the loop of \( \text{u} \). Then follows \( \text{padham}\text{mamm} \), with anticipation of the ensuing nasal in the second and third syllables; cf. \( \text{danam} \text{mukha} \) in the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168. The date is, accordingly, the first \( \text{A}\text{sva}j\text{u} \ 359 \), corresponding, according to Dr. Van Wijk's calculations, to the 24th August, A.D. 275.1

Regarding the approximate date of the Jamalgarhi pedestal inscription he has observed that "the characters are on the whole well drawn, but the \( \text{ga} \) of 1.2 is misshapen and looks like \( \text{ti} \), with a small vertical in the top angle, which has its parallel in the \( \text{ga} \) of the upper line of the Shahr-i-Napur\text{San} pedestal inscription. They are evidently late. \( \text{Kha} \) reminds us of the Ara and Jaulia inscriptions, \( \text{pha} \) of the Ara and Dewai records, \( \text{ya} \) of the Wardak vase, and \( \text{sa} \) of the Jamalgarhi inscription of the year 359, and, in the

\[1 \text{CII, Vol. II, pt. I, p.111, 1929.} \]
word vasētha, of the Peshāwar Museum inscription of the year 168."¹

Regarding the Jamalgarhi pilaster base inscription he has remarked that "it consists of two lines, the first of which is incomplete. The characters seem to be of the same kind as in the Hashtnagar inscription."²

Regarding the date of the Lahore Museum halo inscription, Lahore pedestal inscription, Jamalgarhi lamp inscription and Jamalgarhi pavement stone inscription he has not made any observation.

Regarding the date of the Hashtnagar pedestal inscription of the year 384 he has observed, "There cannot be any doubt about the reading, the execution of individual letters being throughout excellent. The only thing to be remarked is that the anusvāra hook is everywhere to be found in the field below the raised band where the inscription is incised. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to base conclusions on the palaeography. The cha has the later, cursive shape, and may be compared with the forms found in the Ara and Wardak records, and sa is of a similar kind. We may note the form pāmcami for pāmcame, which is evidently influenced by the preceding divasāmmi. After the date there are traces of an akṣara, but it is impossible to say which.

(2) Ibid., p.115, 1929.
We should expect the name of the donor in the genitive, followed by dana or danamukha. The only difficulty connected with the record is the question about the era, which has been discussed in the Introduction, where the various views propounded by other scholars have been mentioned and reasons have been given for referring the date to the old Saka era. According to Dr Van Wijk's calculations it then corresponds to the 7th June, A.D. 300.

Konow has not written anything regarding the date of the Palatu Dheri pedestal inscription and the Ghaz Dheri pedestal inscription.

Regarding the age of the Skarah-dheri image inscription of the year 399 he opines that according to Dr Van Wijh's calculations its date is the 10th May, A.D. 315.

Regarding the age of the Shahr-i-Napursan pedestal inscription Konow has observed, "Rühler drew attention to the cursive forms of such letters as da, bu, mu which reminded him of the Zeda, Sui Vihar, Manikiala, and Wardak vase inscriptions, and assigned the record to the Kaniska-Vasudeva period. Similar forms are also found in Jaulia." ²

Regarding the date of the Peshawar Museum inscription, no. 1, he has observed, "The fragment contains the termination

(2) Ibid., pp. 123-24, 1929.
of two lines of Kharosthī letters, written in a cursive hand and sloping downwards... The characters remind us of the Wardak vase, the Dhammapada manuscript, and the Niya documents, especially the final akṣara of 1.1, which looks exactly like the sign Professor Rapson transliterates as an underlined ə in the Niya documents and which also occurs in 1.1 of the Wardak inscription.\(^1\)

In connection with the date of the Peshawar Museum inscription, No. 4, he has observed that "the characters have no characteristic features, but make the impression of being comparatively late. We may note the shape of ə, which reminds us of the Jamalgardi inscription of the year 359."\(^2\)

Regarding the palaeographical peculiarity of the Naugram inscription Konow has observed that "the characters remind us of the Dharma-rājīka inscription; cf. especially the ya. The akṣara ə has a curious forward curve of the vertical, which may be compared with the flourish in the last letter of the Takht-i-Bahi record."\(^3\)

Konow has not made any remark regarding the date of the Peshawar inscription on a writing board and the Lahore inscription on a writing board.

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(2) Ibid., p.128, 1929.
(3) Ibid., p.129, 1929.
Regarding the palaeographical peculiarity of the Yakubi image inscription he has observed that "the characters point to a comparatively late date. Ka reminds us of the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168; Kha of Zeda and Arā; ca of Manikiala; ja and sa of Wardak."¹

Regarding the palaeographical characteristic of the Nowshera pedestal inscription he has observed that "the characters remind us of the Kala Sang and Shakardarra stones and the Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168 (ka), of the Kharosthi Dhammapada (dha), and of the Ara and Hashtnagar inscriptions (sa)."²

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels we find the example of a which is an old type. ʃ (IX.1.1)

There is only one type of the vowel i which is an old type. ʃ (IX.2.1)

The vowel u is indicated by a loop added to the left side of the lower end of the vertical of the letter a. ʃ (IX.3.1)

The vowel e is expressed in two different forms which

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² Ibid., p.134, 1929.
are old. $\gamma$ (IX.4.I) and $\gamma$ (IX.4.II)

The vowel o is also an old type. $\delta$ (IX.5.I)

**Simple aksaras**

**Gutturals**

There are three different types of the letter ka, all of which are old. $\mathbf{\bar{h}}$ (IX.6.I), $\mathbf{\bar{h}}$ (IX.6.II) and $\mathbf{\bar{p}}$ (IX.6.III). The stroke indicating the vowel e is attached to the horizontal line forming this letter. $\mathbf{\bar{h}}$ (IX.6.IV) The u-stroke is represented by a curve attached to the left of the lower end of the vertical. (IX.6.II)

There are two different types of the letter kha which are old. $\mathbf{\bar{g}}$ (IX.7.I) and $\mathbf{\bar{g}}$ (IX.7.II) The e-stroke added to this letter is also an old type. (IX.7.I) The anusvāra is represented by a miniature $\mathbf{\bar{m}}$ added to the foot of this letter. (IX.7.II)

There is only one type of the letter ga which is an old type. $\mathbf{\bar{f}}$ (IX.8.I)

There is only one type of the letter gha which is an old type. $\mathbf{\bar{s}}$ (IX.9.I)

The letter gha is expressed in one manner. The gha so expressed is an old type. $\mathbf{\bar{d}}$ (IX.10.I) We have found also an example of the letter gho $\mathbf{\bar{d}}$ (IX.10.II)
Palatals

There are two different types of the letter ca which are old. \( \gamma \) (IX.11.I) and \( \nu \) (IX.11.II) The \( e \)-stroke added to this letter is an old type. (IX.11.I).

We have also got the example of the letter chi which is an old type. \( \nu \) (IX.12.I)

The example of ji which we have found here is a very peculiar one. The letter ji in this case looks more or less like an example of \( \tilde{j}i \); but from the content of the inscription there cannot be any doubt that this reading is correct. \( \nu \) (IX.13.I)

The example of \( \tilde{na} \) is also a peculiar one because the left vertical is bent at the head rather unusually. There was some difference of opinion regarding the reading of this letter. Regarding the word in which this letter occurs Konow remarks, "The next four letters were read as 'iveruṇa' by Mr Daya Ram, while Mr Majumdar seems to read 'ive radna' which he translates, 'a jewel, i.e. an image of the Buddha.' I follow him in thinking that the marks in front of ra, which Mr Daya Ram took to be an u-loop, are simply due to the peeling off of the stone. The last aksara, on the other hand, is certainly \( \tilde{ne} \). If we compare rajarami of the Hidda and tanuvakrami rajamgi of the Kurram inscription, it seems probable that \( \tilde{rane} \) is Prākrit rāp, Skr. arāp.
in the forest, grove.\textsuperscript{1} However the curve of the upper portion of the left horizontal line of this letter is a very peculiar one. \textit{(IX.14.I)}

**Linguals**

There are two different types of the letter \(\ddh\), one with the straight head \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.15.I)} and the other with the curved head. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.15.II)}

There is only one type of the letter \(\ddh\) which is an old one. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.16.I)} The letter \(\ddh\) is also an old type. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.16.III)}

The letter \(\ddh\) is an old type. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.17.I)} The anusvāra is added to it by a short curve added to the foot of the vertical. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.17.II)}

There are three different types of the letter \(\ddh\) all of which are old types. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.18.I)}, \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.18.II)} and \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.18.III)}. The \(\ddh\)-stroke added to this letter is also an old type. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.18.III)}

**Dentals**

There is only one type of the letter \(\ddh\) which is an old one. \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.19.I)} The letters \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.19.II)}, \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.19.III)} and \(\ddh\) \textit{(IX.19.IV)} are all old types.

The letter \textit{tha} is also an old type. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.20.I)

There is one type of the letter \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} which is old. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.21.I) The letters \texttt{\textasciitilde} and \texttt{\textasciitilde} (IX.21.II), \texttt{\textasciitilde} (IX.21.III), \texttt{\textasciitilde} (IX.21.IV) and \texttt{\textasciitilde} (IX.21.V) are all old types.

There is only one type of the letter \textit{dha} which is an old one. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.22.I) The letter \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} is also an old type. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.22.II)

There is only one type of \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} which is old. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.23.I)

\textbf{Labials}

There is only one type of the letter \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} which is an old one. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.24.I) The letter \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} is an old type. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.24.II) The \texttt{\textasciitilde} is indicated by a short curve added to the foot of the vertical. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.24.III) The \texttt{\textasciitilde} is a short oblique line added to the left side of the vertical of the letter. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.24.IV) The \textit{\textasciitilde} is indicated by a miniature \texttt{\textasciitilde} added to the foot of the vertical. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.24.V)

There is only one type of the letter \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} which is an old one. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.25.I) The \texttt{\textasciitilde} is added to this letter in two different ways. In the first type it is a curve added to the left side of the vertical. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.25.II) In the second type it is a loop added to the left side of the vertical. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.25.III) The \texttt{\textasciitilde} is added to the left side of the vertical. \textit{\texttt{\textasciitilde}} (IX.25.IV)
There is only one type of bha which is an old type. (IX.26.I)

There are two different types of the letter ma which are old. U (IX.27.I) and U (IX.27.II). The letters mi ψ (IX.27.III) and (IX.27.IV), m (IX.27.V), me U (IX.27.VI) and map U (IX.27.VII) are old types.

Semi-vowels

There are two distinct types of the letter ra which are old. O (IX.28.I) and O (IX.28.II).

There is only one type of the letter ra which is old. (IX.29.I). The letter ri O (IX.29.II) is an old type. The u-stroke is added to this letter in two different ways. In the first type it is only a curve added to the left side of the vertical. (IX.29.III) In the second type it is a loop added to the left side of the vertical. (IX.29.IV)

The o-stroke is also indicated in two different manners. In the first type the o-stroke is drawn from the middle of the vertical to the left. (IX.29.V) In the second type the o-stroke is drawn from the middle of the horizontal line forming this letter. (IX.29.VI) The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of a miniature ma to the lower end of the vertical of the letter. (IX.29.VII)
There is only one type of the letter la which is an old one. ʃ (IX.30.I). The i-stroke is added to this letter in three different manners. In the first type it goes through the curved portion of the letter. ʃ (IX.30.II) In the second type the stroke touches the head of the letter on the outer side. ʃ (IX.30.III) In the third type the stroke is a little bit to the left of the letter. ʃ (IX.30.IV)

There is only one type of va which is an old one. ʃ (IX.31.I) The letter vi is also an old type. ʃ (IX.31.II)

Sibilants and ha

There are two different types of the letter ṣa which are old. ʃ (IX.32.I) and ʃ (IX.32.II)

The type of the letter ṭa which is found is also old. ʃ (IX.33.I)

There is only one type of the letter sa which is an old one. ʃ (IX.34.I) We have found here a letter which Konow has very rightly considered as an example of the letter ṡa. Regarding this letter he has observed, "Then follows a ṭa with a curve to the right, which might be explained as a subsequent ṣa, assuming eva to have become ṣpa in the same way as ṭva becomes ṭpa. It seems, however, more probable that the curved hook is the sign of length which we find, in this form, in the Sanskrit verses contained in one of the
Kharoṣṭhī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan, and I therefore read sa, and take this together with the ensuing akṣaras, mīsa, to represent Skr. svāmikasya, of the master, wherewith it is difficult to say whether the 'master' is the husband or the ruler or principal.\( ^1 \)\( ^{11} \) (IX. 34.II) The u-stroke is indicated by the curving of the lower portion of the vertical of this letter. \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 34.III) The letter se is an old type. \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 34.IV) The anusvāra is indicated by a miniature ma added to the lower end of the vertical of the letter. \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 34.V) There is also the example of the letter sa which is an old type. \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 35.I) There are two different types of the letter ha which are old ones. \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 36.I) and \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 36.II) The letters hi \( \text{ʃ} \) (IX. 36.III) and he (IX. 36.II) are old types.

### Compound akṣaras

#### Groups with initial guttural

The ligatures are formed with the initial kha and ga. The ligature formed with the initial kha is khti. So far as this letter is concerned, it may be pointed out that Bühler as well as Rapson have not illustrated any example of

this compound letter in their respective works; but it is 
at the same time very doubtful whether the reading proposed 
by Konow is correct. Regarding this letter he has remarked, 
"Then follows ta and a curious letter which seems to be khti." 
\( \text{\( f \)} \) (IX.37.I) 

The letter gra which we have found here is an old type. 
\( \text{\( \Lambda \)} \) (IX.37.II) 

**Groups with initial dental** 

The ligatures are formed with the initial ta. The 
letters thus formed are \( \text{\( tr\)} \) (IX.38.I), \( \text{\( tva \)} \) (IX.38.II) 
and \( \text{\( t\)} \) (IX.38.III) All are old types. 

**Groups with initial labial** 

The conjunct letters are formed with the initial pa. 
The letter thus formed is pra which is of two different 
types. \( \text{\( b \)} \) (IX.39.I) and \( \text{\( b \)} \) (IX.39.II). 

**Groups with initial semi-vowel** 

The compound letters are formed with the initial ra 
and va. The letter formed with the initial ra is rva which 
is an old type. \( \text{\( \text{\( \nu \)} \)} \) (IX.40.I). 

The letters found with the initial \textit{va} are \textit{wha} \(\Upsilon\) (IX. 40.II) and \textit{whra} \(\Upsilon\) (IX. 40.III)

\textbf{Groups with initial sibilant}

The compound letters are formed with the initial \textit{sa} and \textit{sa}. The letter formed with the initial \textit{sa} is \textit{spa.} \(\eta\) (IX. 41.I)

The letter formed with the initial \textit{sa} is \textit{sva} \(\varepsilon\) (IX. 41.II).
CHAPTER X

The period of the Khotan Dharmapada

In the preceding chapter we have dealt with the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in the later Kusana period. This was the last phase of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script in India because after this period we do not find any Indian inscription written in the Kharoṣṭhī script which may be referred to a later age. Though the Kharoṣṭhī script was not used in India proper after the later Kusana period, yet it was used for some time longer in Chinese Turkestan. In Chinese Turkestan was discovered the Prākrit text of the Dharmapada in the Kharoṣṭhī script in 1892 by the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins who found altogether three fragments which he dispatched to Paris. Regarding these fragments Lüders wrote, "In 1897 Senart made known their contents and value....Senart's communication created a sensation in the Aryan section of the Oriental Congress held in Paris. The find represented a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript. The Kharoṣṭhī character till then had been known only from
inscriptions in the outermost boundary of North-West India. Epigraphical comparison proved the date of the manuscript to be the second century. As to its content, it was a recension of the Pali Dhammapada in a Prakrit dialect, which was till then unknown in literary compositions. The manuscript was only a fragment. Another portion of the same manuscript was brought to Petrograd. Senart edited this manuscript for the first time. Oldenburg published only one folio of the St. Petersburg collection. After these two pioneer publications a number of scholars published articles on these manuscripts. Lüders published a paper on the Manuscript Dubreuil de Rhins. Franke also published an article on this manuscript. Rhys Davids also published a paper on this manuscript. Bloch published a communication on the dialectical peculiarity of this manuscript. Konow published two important notes on these manuscripts. Leumann wrote an interesting note on the compound letter mha as found in it. Barua and Mitra published a useful:

(1) "Maniman, Literary History", p. 227.
(3) Predvaritdnaia gametka o buddijskoj rukopese napisanoj pismenami Kharoshti S.F. Oldenburga. Sanktpeterburg, 1897.
(6) "JRAS", 1899, pp. 426-28, 1899.
(7) "JA", Xe serie, tome XIX, pp. 331-37, 1912.
(8) "PEW", 1914; AO, Vol. XIX, pp. 6-20, 1941.
(9) "AK", pp. 391-95, 1903.
translation of Senart's French article as well as their own arrangement and interpretation of the manuscript. In the appendix on the Kharos̄ṭhī alphabet as found in the documents of Chinese Turkestan Rapson referred to the palaeographical peculiarities of this manuscript. Recently Bailey has published a transliteration and a full glossary of this manuscript.

Vowels

Beginning with the vowels we find five different types of the letter ā all of which are old. (X.1.I), (X.1.II), (X.1.III), (X.1.IV) and (X.1.V).

There are three different types of the letter ì of which two are old and one new. The old types are (X.2.I) and (X.2.II) In the new type the oblique stroke is added to the foot of the stem of the letter by means of a curve. (X.2.III)

There are three different types of the letter ū out of which one is old and the remaining two new. The old one is (X.3.I). In the second type we find the formation of an almost triangle at the base to the left. (X.3.II) In the third type this triangle is complete. (X.3.III)

(1) PD, 1921.
We have found three different types of the letter ω of which two are old and the remaining one new. The old types are Γ (X.4.I) and ζ (X.4.II). The new type forms a loop to the left of the base. ζ (X.4.III)

There is only one type of the letter ω which is old.
Γ (X.5.I)

Simple aksaras

Gutturals

There are four different types of the letter ka of which three are old and one new. The old types are ԃ (X.6.I), Ԅ (X.6.II) and ḭ (X.6.III). The new one is a very characteristic letter and is not found in any Indian Kharoshthi record. The main peculiarity of this letter is that it makes a double curve in the vertical portion of the accessory limb on the right. Ԅ (X.6.IV). The letter ḭ is an old type. Ḧ (X.6.V). The u-stroke is indicated in three different ways, all of which are old. ḧ (X.6.VI), Ḩ (X.6.VII), Ḧ (X.6.VIII). The letters Ԅ (X.6.IX) and ԏ (X.6.X) are also old types.

There are three different types of the letter kha of which one is an old one and the remaining two new. The old one is ԛ (X.7.I). The main characteristic of the second type is that its lower portion is formed more or less like
a screw. $\alpha$ (X.7.II) The main characteristic of the third type of this letter is that the lower portion ends in a somewhat semi-circular curve. $\beta$ (X.7.III) The $u$-stroke added to this letter is new because it forms some angular form to the left of the base. $\gamma$ (X.7.IV)

There are two different types of the letter $\alpha$ which are old. $\varphi$ (X.8.I) and $\psi$ (X.8.II). The letter $\phi$ is an old type. $\varphi$ (X.8.III) There are two different ways in which the $u$-stroke is added to this letter. In the first type it is a loop attached to the left side of the base of the letter. $\varphi$ (X.8.IV) In the second type which is a new one a triangle is found at the base of the letter. $\varphi$ (X.8.V) The letter $\alpha$ is an old type. $\varphi$ (X.8.VI)

The letter $\alpha$ is an old type. $\lambda$ (X.9.I). The letter $\phi$ is also an old type. $\lambda$ (X.9.II)

**Palatals**

There are two different types of the letter $\alpha$ which are old. $\varphi$ (X.10.I) and $\psi$ (X.10.II) The $u$-stroke which is a new one is added in the form of a triangle to the left of the base. $\varphi$ (X.10.III)

There are three different types of the letter $\alpha$ of which one is an old one. The old one is $\varphi$ (X.11.I). The new types are $\varphi$ (X.11.II) and $\psi$ (X.11.III). The letters $\chi$ (X.11.III) and $\omega$ (X.11.IV) are old types.
There is only one type of the letter cha which is an old type. (X.12.I) The u-stroke is added as a triangle to the left of the base of the letter. (X.12.II) The letter che is an old type. (X.12.III) There are two different types of the letter ja which are old. (X.13.I) and (X.13.II). The letter ji is an old type. (X.13.III). The u-stroke is indicated by the formation of a triangle to the left side of the base. (X.13.IV) The letter je is an old type. (X.13.V) We have found here one letter for the first time in Kharoshthi inscriptions and that is, one ja, with a superscript line. Regarding this letter Rapson has observed that "the use of a short straight line which is written above certain consonants is one of the characteristic features of the alphabets of the Niya documents and of the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. In his edition of the MS. D. de Rh., M. Senart, who adopts the opinion of Prof. Oldenburg, everywhere regards this line as a sign of aspiration. Whether this is a satisfactory explanation in all instances in the MS. D. de Rh., may be doubted; but it is certain that the superscript line never has this value in the Niya documents... In the list of examples, which is given above to illustrate the different letters with which this superscript line is associated, the aksara ya, 44, is included. But it should be noted that
this combination, though occurring frequently in the MS. D. de R., is not, as was formerly supposed, found in the Niya documents. ¹ We have found the examples of this letter. ²

(X.14.I) The .stroke added to this letter is an oblique stroke going through the left curve of this letter. ³ (X.14.II) The ₃-stroke is almost a triangle attached to the right side of the base of the letter. ⁴ (X.14.III)

There are two different types of the letter ḫē which are old. ⁵ (X.15.I) and ⁶ (X.15.II). The ₃-stroke attached to this letter is a complete loop to the left of the stem of the letter. ⁷ (X.15.III) The letter ḫē is an old type. ⁸ (X.15.IV)

**Linguistics**

There is only one type of the letter ḫē which is an old one. ⁹ (X.16.I) The letter ḫē is an old type. ¹ (X.16.II) The ₃-stroke is drawn just below the second horizontal line forming this letter. ² (X.16.III)

There is only one type of the letter ḫē which is an old one. ³ (X.17.I). The ₃-stroke passes through the upper and the lower horizontal lines forming this letter. ⁴ (X.17.II) The ₃-stroke is a vertical line attached to the second horizontal line. ⁵ (X.17.III) The ₃-stroke is added just

¹ (1) KI, pt. III, p.320, 1929.
below the second horizontal line forming this letter. \( \Uparrow \) (X.17.IV).

The type of the letter \( \text{da} \) found in this manuscript is an old one. \( \Uparrow \) (X.18.I) The \( i \)-stroke passes obliquely through the curve of the letter. \( \Uparrow \) (X.18.II)

There are two different types of the letter \( \text{da} \) which are old. \( T \) (X.19.I) and \( \overline{T} \) (X.19.II). The \( u \)-stroke attached to this letter is a triangle to the left of the base of the letter. \( \overline{T} \) (X.19.III)

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{da} \) of which two are old and one new. The old types are \( J \) (X.20.I), \( \overline{J} \) (X.20.II). The new type is characterised by the pronounced curve. \( J \) (X.20.III) The \( i \)-stroke passes obliquely touching the head of the letter. \( \overline{J} \) (X.20.IV) The \( u \)-stroke is a triangle attached to the left side of the stem of the letter. \( J \) (X.20.V) The \( e \)-stroke is a short vertical line added to the head of the letter. \( \overline{J} \) (X.20.VI) The \( e \)-stroke is a short oblique stroke drawn from the left side of the vertical. \( \overline{J} \) (X.20.VII)

**Dentals**

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ta} \) which is an old one. \( \overline{\gamma} \) (X.21.I) The letters \( tu \) \( \overline{\gamma} \) (X.21.II), \( te \) \( \overline{\gamma} \) (X.21.III) and \( to \) \( \overline{\gamma} \) (X.21.IV) are old types.
There are three different types of the letter tha of which two are old and the remaining one new. The old types are + (X.22.I) and + (X.22.II). In the new type there is a peculiar curve attached to the lower end of the vertical forming this letter. $\frac{4}{3}$ (X.22.III) The u-stroke attached to this letter is a triangle to the foot of the base. $\frac{5}{2}$ (X.22.IV) The g-stroke is a short vertical line attached to the upper part of the horizontal line forming this letter. (X.22.III)

There are four different types of the letter da, all of which are old types. $\frac{5}{3}$ (X.23.I), $\frac{5}{4}$ (X.23.II), $\frac{5}{6}$ (X.23.III) and $\frac{5}{8}$ (X.23.IV). The i-stroke is added to this letter in two different ways. In the first type it passes through the head of this letter. $\frac{5}{7}$ (X.23.VI) In the second type it goes touching the head of the letter. $\frac{5}{7}$ (X.23.VI) The u-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it is only by curving the lower portion of the letter. $\frac{5}{7}$ (X.23.VII). In the second type it is by a complete loop attached to the lower portion of the letter. (X.23.IV) The letters de $\frac{5}{7}$ (X.23.VIII) and do (X.23.III) are old types.

There are two different types of the letter dha which are old. $\frac{5}{3}$ (X.24.I) and $\frac{5}{7}$ (X.24.II). The i-stroke is an oblique line which passes touching the head of the letter.
(X.24.III) The u-stroke is expressed in two different manners. In the first type it is a loop attached to the stem of the letter. (X.24.IV) In the second type it is a triangle attached to the stem of the letter. (X.24.V) The letter Ḫ is an old type. (X.24.I)

There are three different types of the letter na which are old. (X.25.I), (X.25.II) and (X.25.III). The letters ni (X.25.II), nu (X.25.IV), ne (X.25.V) and no (X.25.VI) are all old types.

There is also another type of na which is characterised by the presence of the superscript line over it. Regarding this letter Senart observed, "Nous avons déjà rencontré, et nous rencontrerons plusieurs fois par la suite, l'n surmonté du trait de l'aspiration pour exprimer ṇdh du sanscrit. Je ne décide pas ici quelle prononciation exacte correspondait cette orthographie." In any case this is a letter which has not been found in the preceding periods. (X.26.I)

Labials

There are two different types of the letter pa which are old ones. (X.27.I) and (X.27.II). The letter pi is an old type. (X.27.III). The u-stroke is formed as a triangle added to the left at the bottom of the letter. (X.27.IV) The letter po is an old type. (X.27.V).

(1) JA, 1898, IX. ser, 12, p.260, 1898.
There are two distinct types of the letter ψha of which one is an old one. The old type is φ (X.28.I) The characteristic of the new type is that, instead of a straight vertical line, it has a curved line attached to the right side of the vertical. ψ (X.28.II) The ψ-stroke is indicated by a triangle added to the left end of the vertical. (X.28.I)

There is one type of the letter ψa which is very similar to the later Kusana type. Ξ (X.29.I) The Ξ-stroke passes obliquely through the curve of this letter. Ξ (X.29.II) The Ξ-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type the lower portion of the letter is curved. Ξ (X.29.III) In the second type the Ξ-stroke is indicated by a triangle added to the bottom of the letter on the left. Ξ (X.29.IV)

There are six different types of the letter bha of which two are old and the remaining four new. The old types are Ξ (X.30.I) and Ξ (X.30.II). The first new type is the following one:- Ξ (X.30.III). The second new type is a very distinctive one and is characterised by the curved nature of the vertical bar added to the right horizontal line. Ξ (X.30.IV). The other new types are the slight variations of this type. Ξ (X.30.V) and Ξ (X.30.VI). The Ξ-stroke added to this letter passes through the left portion of the horizontal line forming this letter. Ξ (X.30.VII)
The u-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it is only a short curve added to the left of the bottom of this letter. (X.30.V). In the second type it is a triangle added to the left at the bottom of the letter. (X.30.IV). The letter bhe is an old type. (X.30.VIII)

The q-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type the stroke is drawn obliquely from the left side of the horizontal line forming this letter downwards. (X.30.IX) In the second type the q-stroke is drawn from the main vertical line of this letter. (X.30.I)

There are two different types of the letter me which are old. (X.31.I) and (X.31.II). The letters mi (X.31.III), Ψ (X.31.IV), μ (X.31.V) and c (X.31.VI), me (X.31.VII) and mo (X.31.VIII) are old types.

Semi-vowels

There are eight different types of the letter ya of which four are old and the remaining four new. The old types are λ (X.32.I), (X.32.II), (X.32.III) and (X.32.IV). The new types are (X.32.V), (X.32.VI), (X.32.VII) and (X.32.VIII). The i-stroke added to this letter is an old one. (X.32.I,III). The y-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it is indicated by the addition of a short upright stroke to the left vertical. (X.32.IX) The second type is indicated by the
addition of a triangle to the bottom of the left vertical. (X.32.VI) The letters \(\text{ve} \wedge (X.32.X)\) and \(\text{vo} \wedge (X.32.XI)\) are old types.

There are three different types of the letter \(\text{ra}\) which are old. \(\text{r}\) (X.33.I), \(\text{r}\) (X.33.II) and \(\text{r}\) (X.33.III). The letter \(\text{ri} \wedge (X.33.IV)\) is an old type. The \(u\)-stroke is indicated in two different ways. In the first type the \(u\)-stroke is indicated by a complete loop. \(\text{r}\) (X.33.V) In the second type the \(u\)-stroke is indicated by a triangle added to the bottom on the left. \(\text{r}\) (X.33.VI) The letters \(\text{te} \wedge (X.33.III)\) and \(\text{to} \wedge (X.33.I)\) are old types.

There are four different types of the letter \(\text{la}\) which are old. \(\text{l}\) (X.34.I), \(\text{l}\) (X.34.II), \(\text{l}\) (X.34.III) and \(\text{l}\) (X.34.IV). The letter \(\text{li} \wedge (X.34.V)\) is also an old type. \(\text{li} \wedge (X.34.V)\) The \(u\)-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type it is formed by curving the lower portion of the vertical. \(\text{li} \wedge (X.34.VI)\) In the second type it is formed by adding a triangle to the left bottom side of the letter. \(\text{li} \wedge (X.34.VII)\). The letters \(\text{lo} \wedge (X.34.VIII)\) and \(\text{lo} \wedge (X.34.II)\) are old types.

There are two different types of the letter \(\text{ve}\) which are old. \(\text{v}\) (X.35.I) and \(\text{v}\) (X.35.II). The letter \(\text{vi} \wedge (X.35.I)\) is an old type. \(\text{vi} \wedge (X.35.I)\) There are two different types of the letter \(\text{vu} \wedge (X.35.III)\) and \(\text{vu} \wedge (X.35.IV)\). The letters \(\text{ve} \wedge (X.35.V)\) and \(\text{vo} \wedge (X.35.VI)\) are old types.
Sibilants and ha

There are three different types of the letter $\text{ša}$ of which two are old and the remaining one new. The old types are $\text{ʃ} \ (X.36.I) \text{ and } \text{ʃ} \ (X.36.II)$. The new type is $\text{ʃ} \ (X.36.III)$. The letter $\text{ši}$ is an old type. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.36.IV)$. The $\text{y}$-stroke is formed like a triangle to the left side of the bottom of the left vertical forming this letter. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.36.V)$. The letters $\text{ša} \ (X.36.III)$ and $\text{šo} \ (X.36.II)$ are old types.

There are two different types of the letter $\text{ša}$ of which one is an old one and the other new. The old one is $\text{ʃ} \ (X.37.I)$. The new one is $\text{ʃ} \ (X.37.II)$. The letter $\text{ši}$ is an old type. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.37.III)$. The $\text{y}$-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the bottom of the vertical line is turned like a curved line on the left. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.37.IV)$. In the second type one triangle is formed to the left of the bottom of this letter. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.37.V)$. The letters $\text{ša} \ (X.37.VI)$ and $\text{šo} \ (X.37.I)$ are old types.

The letter $\text{ša}$ is indicated in the old manner. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.38.I)$. The $\text{y}$-stroke is indicated in two different manners. In the first case it is a curve attached to the left side of the bottom of the letter. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.38.II)$. In the second case it is formed like a triangle. $\text{ʃ} \ (X.38.I)$. It is important to note that here for the first time in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions we have found the use of the letter $\text{ʃ}$ in conjunct with this letter. Senart read this letter as $\text{ša}$ and the whole
word as \textit{anasāvū}; but recently Bailey has rightly taken this letter as \textit{sp} and the whole word as \textit{apasaṟvū}. The sign indicating the vowel \textit{r} is written as a zig-zag across the stem of this letter. \textit{ṛ} (X.38.III) Regarding this letter Rapson has observed, "The Niya documents afforded the first known examples of the Kharoshthi \textit{ṛ};" but since we have found an example of this vowel along with another consonant, this observation may be amended. The letter \textit{ṣ} (X.38.IV) is an old type.

There are two different ways in which the letter \textit{ṣ} is indicated. \textit{ṛ} (X.39.I) and \textit{ṝ} (X.39.II). The letters \textit{sī} (X.39.II), \textit{ṣ} (X.39.III) and \textit{ṣ} (X.39.IV) are old types.

There are two different types of the letter \textit{ḥa} which are old. \textit{ḥ} (X.40.I) and \textit{ḥ} (X.40.II). The \textit{i}-stroke added to this letter is an old one. \textit{ḥ} (X.40.III). The letter \textit{ḥu} is indicated in two different ways which are absolutely new. In the first type it is a short semi-circular curve placed in the lower field on the left. (X.40.I) In the second type it is a short complete circle which is attached to the left lower portion of the letter. \textit{ḥ} (X.40.IV). The \textit{u}-stroke added to this letter \textit{ḥ} (X.40.V) and the \textit{u}-stroke added to this letter \textit{ḥ} (X.40.VI) are old ones.

(1) \textit{JA}, 1898, IX ser., 12, p.230, B5, 1898.
Compound akṣaras

Groups with initial guttural

The ligatures are formed with the initial ka and ga. The conjunct letter formed with the initial ka is kro \( \text{r} \) (X.41.I).

The compound letter formed with the initial ga is gra. \( \text{c} \) (X.41.II)

Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are formed with the initial ta, da and dha. The ligatures formed with the initial ta are trā, tvā and tā. The letter trā is an old type. \( \text{v} \) (X.42.I) The letter tvā is made in one manner. \( \text{v} \) (X.42.II) We have found the example of the letter tā. Regarding this conjunct letter Rapson has remarked, "There has been some difference of opinion among scholars as to the value of the sign which is here transliterated tā, 192. Bühler transcribes it as tā, observing however that it has been read generally as tā; and it must be admitted that the form of this compound character, as it appears in some of the stone inscriptions, is most naturally explained as consisting of t (cf. ta, 75; tma, 188) superimposed on ṭā, 144. But there can be no doubt that in the Niya documents the reading tā is correct, since the akṣara tau is found in the word utṣuka.
in the Buddhist Sanskrit verses of no. 511, the language of which, although containing a few Prakrit forms, is predominantly Sanskrit in its phonology. We may conclude, then, that the same sign has the same value when it occurs in other documents in such words as sampaṭērē (passim) and savatā (inscr. no. 7); and we must suppose that the lower portion represents sa written cursorily in a manner which effectually disguises its origin, as in the very similar aksēra ha which M. Senart has identified in the MS. D. de Rh. After the publication of Rapson's opinion Konow has written a note on the problem summarising all previous writings on the subject and giving his opinion on it. He has concluded that this compound letter is to be taken as tsa. Bailey has also recently taken this compound letter as tsa.

From the morphological point of view there is no doubt that this letter is a combination of the letters ta and sa, (X.42.11)

The conjunct letter formed with the initial da is dra which is an old type. (X.42.1V) We have the compound letter dra of (X.42.1V).

The conjunct letter formed with the initial dha is dhra. (X.42.1VI)

(2) BSOS, Vol. VI, pp. 405-09, 1930-32.
Groups with initial labial

The ligatures are formed with the initial pe, ba and ma.

The ligature formed with the initial pe is pre which is of two different types. □ (X.43.I) and △ (X.43.II).

The ligature formed with the initial ba is an old type. ⊕ (X.43.III).

The conjunct letter formed with the initial ma is mma.

Regarding the compound letter mma as found in this text Senart has observed, "Je dois insister un peu sur la lecture que je propose pour ce mot; car la décision prise commande toute une série de cas parallèles; je veux parler du second caractère. Il est certain que l'ụ est habituellement marqué ici par un crochet placé au pied de la consonne et plus ou moins penché vers la droite, d'ailleurs plus au moins fermé, au point de se présenter parfois comme un petit cercle un peu oblong. Le signe que nous avons ici au-dessus de notre u est aussi un crochet, mais plus arrondi, plus ouvert que l'autre et surtout placé plus vers la droite de la consonne. Si l'on tient compte de cette circonstance que le son mu est ordinairement noté par un caractère spécial ñ, il faut avouer que, malgré une certaine similitude, le signe sonacrit doit être distingué du signe ñ, que ce n'est donc pas mu qu'il faut lire. Étant donnée la forme de l'anuvāra dans l'alphabet épigraphique, on pourrait le vouloir retrouver..."
ici; mais l'anusvāra n'est sûrement pas noté d'ordinaire dans notre manuscrit, et, dans le seul cas absolument certain que j'en ai jusqu'ici relevé—c'est dans les fragments de Saint-Pétersbourg—il affecte ua contraire la forme enacte de l'm; je ne puis donc voir dans notre crochet un anusvāra, mais simplement un m final souscrit, comme souvent dans les textes épigraphiques en devāgarī. La lecture saṃmāṣati serait en elle-même invraisemblable; c'est surtout dans le mot brāhmaṇa que reparaît notre signe; la transcription brāmāṇa est également inadmissible. La comparaison qui s'impose avec l'anusvāra des inscriptions est cependant instructive. Tout le monde admet que cette forme de l'anusvāra n'est rien que l'm retourné. J'estime que, de même ici, notre crochet n'est rien que l'm retourné, mais conservant sa valeur normale. Le signe י serait ainsi = mm. Dans tous les cas où je l'ai relevé, cette analyse est absolument satisfaisante. S'il ne paraissait que dans le mot brāhmaṇa, on pourrait soupçonner un groupe mh; mais, indépendamment de l'invassemblance graphique, il n'y a point de place pour un h dans le cas présent. Un exemple me paraît décisif pour l'interprétation que je propose et m'a, pour ma part, finalement convaincu; c'est dans les fragments de Saint-Pétersburg, au vers qui correspond à Dhammap., 82, le mot टू टू . Le crochet inférieur est sûrement intentionnel, et de valeur
positive: nous ne pouvons lire que gammiro = gambhiro. Un peu plus loin dans le même fragment, aux deux vers qui représentent Dhammap., 81, nous retrouvons, très nettement le même tracé. Il est clair que cette fois nous pourrions lire le mot intéressé: samimja[pt]i; mais la lecture mmp est exclue pour gammiro, et le sanscrit buddhique lit régulièrement sammiṣjati et habituellement aussi le pāli; nous sommes donc autorisés à lire sammiṣjati. Cette lecture du signe lire, autant que je puis voir, toutes les difficultés. Il est vrai que le redoublement des consonnes ne se note pas dans notre manuscrit. L'objection est de peu de poids si l'on songe à l'inconsistance si caractéristique de son orthographe. Quelque solution que l'on préfère adopter, on ne pourrait échapper à la nécessité d'en admettre, dans ce cas, une manifestation nouvelle, brāhmaṇa étant plus souvent écrit par que par et gambhiro par que par »1. But there is another interesting point in support of its being taken as mma which may be given here. In the Shahbazgarhi version of the inscriptions of Aśoka we have the words which have been transcribed as samma-patipati (S.IX.19), samma-pratipati[ti] (S.XIII.5) and samma-patipati (S.XI.23) Bühler read the last word as samma-pratipati.2

(1) JA, 1898, IX. ser. 12, pp. 234–36, 1898.
Of course the second ma is placed in the case of the Dharmapada text differently from that which is found in the case of the inscriptions of Aśoka. (X.43.IV)

**Groups with initial semi-vowel**

The ligatures are formed with the initial ra and va. The compound letters formed with the initial ra are rke, rpo, rta, rtha, rda, rdha, rbha, rma, rya, rva and rsa.

So far as the compound letter rke is concerned, it may be pointed out that Oldenburg who edited this fragment of the Dharmapada could not decipher this conjunct letter and Bailey has rightly taken the word in which this letter occurs as udarka. The form of ka which is used here is one which is typically found in the Dharmapada manuscript. (X.44.I)

We have found also the compound letter rpo. Oldenburg read this letter as sabamna; but Bailey has correctly read it as sabamno (X.44.II). The compound letters rta (X.44.III) and rtha (X.44.IV) are old types. We have also found the compound letter rda (X.44.V) and rdha (X.44.VI). The compound letter rbha is also found. Oldenburg has incorrectly read this word as bhra and so he read the whole word in which this compound letter occurs as.

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chīnapumabhravu which has been correctly read by Bailey as chippa-puparbhavu.\(^2\) \(\overline{\eta}\) (X.44.VII) We have also found the compound letters \(\eta\) (X.44.VIII), \(\rho\) (X.44.IX), \(\nu\) (X.44.X) which are old types. We have also found the compound letter \(\varphi\) (X.44.XI)

The ligatures formed with the initial \(\eta\) are \(\nu\) and \(\nu\). The letters \(\nu\) (X.44.XII) and \(\nu\) (X.44.XIII) are old types.

**Groups with initial sibilant**

The ligatures are formed with the initial \(\eta\), \(\eta\) and \(\eta\).

The letters formed with the initial \(\eta\) are \(\eta\) (X.45.I) and \(\eta\) (X.45.II) which are old types.

The ligature formed with the initial \(\eta\) is \(\varphi\) (X.45.III)

The compound letters formed with the initial \(\eta\) are \(\eta\), \(\eta\), \(\eta\) and \(\eta\). The letter \(\eta\) (X.45.IV) is an old type. The compound letter \(\eta\) is found here for the first time in the Kharoshthi inscriptions. This compound letter occurs in the \(B\) fragment of the Dharmapada manuscript which was edited for the first time by Senart. He read this portion as o.vanas...ru and added the note, "Je

ne puis rien tirer de ce qui subsiste de ce dernier põda.
Je le regrette d’autant plus que la queue de l’â, qui est nettement reconnaissable, est traversée d’un trait semi-circulaire qui formait sans doute avec la lettre d’appui, un groupe dont il eût été intéressant de fixer la valeur."¹
Lüders rightly identified this letter with the compound letter ama.² In this conjunct letter the letter ma stands through the stem of the letter. ʃ (X.45.V) The compound letters sva ʃ (X.45.VI) and ava ʃ (X.45.VII) are old types.

¹ JA, 1898, IX serie, 12, p.259, 1898.
²
CHAPTER XI

The period of the document no. 661

In the preceding chapter we have dealt with the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the Khotan Dharmapada. In this and the succeeding two chapters it will be our endeavour to discuss the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the documents found in Chinese Turkestan.

Before going to a discussion of the script as found in these documents it will be our endeavour to give an idea of the workers in this line. It was Stein who discovered almost all the documents. Boyer also edited two inscriptions, one found at Niya and the other at Miran. Rapson published a very interesting paper on the palaeographical peculiarity of these documents. Later on in collaboration with Boyer, Senart and Noble he transcribed and edited all the Kharoṣṭhī documents found by Stein and Huntington.


(2) JA, X ser. tome V, pp. 463-72, 1905.

(3) Ibid., ii seq., 1911, pp. 418-22, 1911.

(4) ACIO, XIV, Algier, 1905, i, pp. 210-21, 1905.

Burrow has published certain articles and books on the problem. Lüders published an article on the script and the language of these documents. Noble published an article on one of the documents found at Endere. Thomas has contributed some articles on these documents. Konow has published an article on the linguistic peculiarity of these documents.

For the present purpose of our study the most important works are those which deal with the documents themselves. Most of these documents have been transcribed and edited by Rapson in collaboration with Boyer, Senart and Noble. Besides these inscriptions Burrow has edited a number of inscriptions. But it is a matter of great regret that only a few out of all these documents have been actually illustrated. It is not possible under the present circumstances to examine all the documents.

(1) BSOS, VII, pp. 509-16, 779-90, 1933-35; JRAS, 1935, pp. 667-75, 1935; BSOS, VIII, pp. 419-35, 1937-39; Ibid., IX, pp. 111-23, 19; LKDCT, 1937; TKDCT, 1940. I am grateful to Dr. Bailey for kindly giving me photos of these documents from Dr. Burrow which I have used in the relevant chapters. Here I have made use of nos. 765, 767, 769, 770, 771, 772, 774, 775, 776, 777, 779, 781 and 782.


(4) A0, XII, pp. 37-70, 1934; Ibid., XII, pp. 44-80, 1935.

(5) A0, XIV, pp. 243-40, 1936.
The documents which have been fully or partly illustrated are nos. 1, 17, 20, 32, 33, 39, 48, 96, 139, 140,
147, 149, 159, 160, 164, 165, 191, 198, 205, 222, 235, 265,
266, 272, 283, 288, 298, 305, 310, 316, 320, 322, 326, 329,
331, 333, 343, 345, 358, 362, 376, 399, 401, 415, 420, 432,
435, 439, 440, 462, 467, 475, 476, 478, 505, 510, 511, 514,
515, 517, 519, 520, 523, 524, 532, 547, 558, 560, 561, 562,
565, 568, 569, 570, 571, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582,
583, 587, 588, 593, 604, 605, 606, 607, 613, 616, 621, 625,
633, 637, 638, 640, 646, 647, 656, 659, 661, 677, 686, 694,
695, 696, 697, 701, 702, 703, 708, 709, 713, 714, 715, 719,
720, 721, 722, 725, 727, 729, 732, 735, 743, 754, 755, 756.\(^1\)

Many of these documents are dated in the regnal year
of kings and from a study of this evidence we can come to a
conclusion regarding the period of time to which these docu-
ments are to be referred to. A study of all these documents
has shown that six rulers have been mentioned in these docu-
ments. One of these rulers Hinajha Dheva Vijidasimha is
definitely called Khotana maharaya, i.e., the great king of
Khotan.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) All these numbers are those which have been given to
these documents in KI, pts I-III, 1920-29. Besides these
I have received photos of nos. 247, 248, 289, 292, 317,
314, 349, 351, 357, 368, 379, 385 from Dr. Bailey which
I have used in the proper place.

\(^2\) KI, pt. II, no. 661, 1927.
There is no direct evidence regarding the kingdom governed by other five princes; but one ruler out of them is definitely known not to be the king of Khotan as he sent a horse as a present to the king of Khotan. In writing to his ministers, the cojho Koly'isa and Sopjaka he says: 'ogu Alyoyena Khotamna qu dasi te visajidemis tumahu rajakicaga karaya ou-Alyaya, hastamni Khotamna maharayaga aspa prahogd prahidemis,' i.e., 'I have sent the oug Alyaya on a mission to Khotan. For the sake of the affairs of your province I have sent in the hand of the oug Alyaya a horse as a present to the great King of Khotan.' Here the name of the King is not recorded; but as the ministers, cojbos Koly'isa and Sopjaka who are addressed are mentioned in the dated inscriptions of the king Jitugha Mahiri only, there is no doubt that the king who is meant here is Jitugha Mahiri.

When Jitugha Mahiri is proved not to have ruled in Khotan, it follows that the remaining four kings also did not rule in Khotan because there is evidence to show that these five rulers make a homogeneous group, the members of which having been intimately connected.

(2) TKDCT, no. 214, p.40, 1940.
The order of succession of these rulers may now be dealt with. In no. 582 there is some valuable evidence regarding this problem. This document may be divided into two parts, the first dealing with the reign of Jiṣugha Āpgoka and the second with that of Jiṣugha Mahiri. In the first part we find an agreement concerning the sale of land which was originally made in the 20th regnal year of Jiṣugha Āpgoka (sagvatsāre 20 mase 4 divase 20 2 mahanuava maharaya Jiṣugha Āpgoka devaputra sa ḍhūnāyami) and among the names of many witnesses are found those of the mahatvas, Kitātā Vārpa and Kāla Karamitā. These two dignitaries are similarly associated in a number of other documents belonging to the reign of Jiṣugha Āpgoka and bearing dates which range from the year 16 (no. 586) to the year 24 (no. 715). In the second part the terms of the agreement were modified by a postscript which is evidently written in different and blacker ink and which is dated in the 4th regnal year of Jiṣugha Mahiri (sagvatsāre 4 mase 2 tivase 20 4 4 mahanuava maharaya Jiṣugha devaputra sa Mahiriya iṣa čhūnāyami). It is authorised by three officials - ogu Jeyabhatra, cāmkura Cataragā and oṣo Somjaka who appear also in no. 584 which is likewise dated in the fourth regnal year of Jiṣugha Mahiri (sagvatsāre 4mase 2 divase 20 4 4 mahanuava maharaya Jiṣugha Mahiriya devaputra sa čhūnāyami). As has already been stated,
the name of Somjak occurs only in documents belonging to
the reign of Mahiri. There can, therefore, be no doubt that
Jitugha Angoka was the predecessor of Jitugha Mahiri. We
have found a number of records which are dated in the regnal
years of Jitugha Angoka and which range from the regnal year
5 to the regnal year 46 or 36. In the like manner we have
found a number of documents of the time of Jitugha Mahiri
which are dated in the regnal years of this king. These
years range from the year 4 to the year 28.

It is also certain that Jitugha Mahiri was succeeded by
Vaśmāna. The following are the most cogent reasons for this
assertion:- (1) We know from no. 243 that Larsu was the son
of the cojhbo Samasena, and from no. 593 and 577 that
Samasena held office in the years 17 and 20 of Mahiri (no.
243, Larsu vimñëveti yatha edasa pitu cojhbo - Samasena
cakvala aspa laqi dita; no. 593, esa mutra cojhboana Samasena
Eöasa ca. Samvatsāre 10 4 3 mahanuava maharaya Jitugha
Mahiriya devaputrasa mase 42 divase 20; no. 577, esa mutra
cojhbo Samasenasya. Samvatsāre 20 maharayatirayasa mahanuava
maharaya Jitugha Mayiri devaputrasa mase 10 divase 3). But
from nos. 343 and 345 it is known that Larsu was his father's

(1) This date occurs in no. 418 which is unfortunately not
illustrated. According to Rapson the second numeral may
be read either as 20 or 10. (No. 418)
successor as the cojhbo in the years 8 and 9 of the reign of Vaśmana (no. 343, saṃvatsare 44 mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Vaśmana devaputra mase 10 2 divase 441 iṣa ounammī cojhbo Larsu; no. 345, ēga lihitagā śramagna Anamāsena paride Bugosena prace cojhbo Larsuasa anata dharidavya...saṃvatsare 441 mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Vaśmana devaputra mase 3 divase 4 1 iṣa ounammī Larsu ahati)

(2) Secondly, Ṣippēya who first appears as sothamgha in the year 21 of Mahiri (no. 576, saṃvatsare 20 1 mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Mayiri devaputra mase 10 2 divase 20 3... tatra sačhi ahati cojhbo Namāsma sothamgha Keníga raya vaṭaya ga Ṣippēya sothamgha Ṣippēya) continues to bear the same title in the year 7 of Vaśmana. (no. 604, saṃvatsare 4 3 mahanu...[ma]harāya Jitugha Vaśmana devaputra mase 4 2 tivase 20 4 1... yan kalaṃ ramakasa sītiyamī Caṣṣeya sōmgha anita tāp kalaṃ muptra bignitagā sotha[m]gha Ṣippēya).

(3) Thirdly, we find the extension of the career from the reign of Mahiri into the reign of Vaśmana afforded by Cūgā(o)pa (no.420, saṃvatsare 20 4 3 mahanuava maharāya Jitugha Mayiri devaputra mase 1 divase 10 4... tatra sačhi Aṛīṣa naṃma stri Śeseīryaye bhi ti vara sačhi kala Cūgāpa and no. 345, saṃvatsare 4 4 1 mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Vaśmana devaputra mase 3 divase 4 1 iṣa ounammī Larsu ahati bhudarthha cadotamī śramagna Anamāsena Cugopaga
paride amna avemicae gidaka huati milima 20 10) and Gâṣâeya
(no. 415, samvatśare 4 3 bhâṭaragasa mahanuava maharaya
Çitugha Mahiriya devaputrase mase 3 tirase 4 1 ....
amne sači janati śramana parvati tivira Budharachkida vasu
Kolfisa khula putre Lpatga śramagama vyarivala Priyavada
Çâṣâeya gaca and no. 604, samvatśare 4 3 mahanu...[ma]
harâya Çitugha Vasmana devaputrase mase 4 2 tivase 20 4 1 ...
yam kâlam Ramakasa sitiyâmi Gâṣâeya sogha anita tâm k. lam
muntra bimnitâga gotha[g]ha Lṣipeya)

From these three evidences it is clear that Çitugha Mahiri
was succeeded by Çitugha Vasmana. Therefore the
order of succession of these three rulers is the following:
(1) Çitugha Amgoka, (2) Çitugha Mahiri and (3) Çitugha
Vasmana.

There are two other rulers whose position in the chrono-
logical order should be decided. They are Pepiya and Tajaka.
There is no doubt that Pepiya and Tajaka preceded Çitugha
Amgoka, Çitugha Mahiri and Çitugha Vasmana. The evidence
for such an assertion is got from what we know of the family
history of the scribes who wrote documents dated in the
regnal years of the kings. Many of our documents are deeds
recording the agreement between the buyers and the sellers;
and these usually include a declaration of the scribe to
the effect that "this was written by me, B, the son of A."
When the scribe's son has himself become a scribe, the declaration takes the form, "this was written by me, C, the son of B." Such information is valuable evidence which sometimes enables us to determine the order of succession of the kings in whose reigns the documents were written.

In two examples we have found recorded the names of representatives of three generations - grandfather, father and son - associated with dates in three reigns.

(1) In the reigns of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka:-

(1) [divira] Tamasp, son of divira Kosena, in the year 3 of Pepiya; (2) divira Tamasa, in the year 3 of Tajaka (no. 422); (3) divira Mogata, son of divira Tamasa, in numerous documents of the reign of Amgoka ranging from the year 6 (no. 581) to the year 32 (no. 392). This evidence may be shown in the following tabular form:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>divira Kosena</th>
<th>Divira Tamasa (3rd regnal year of Pepiya) and also (3rd regnal year of Tajaka)</th>
<th>Divira Mogata (in numerous documents of Amgoka ranging from the year 6 to the year 32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

This evidence clearly shows that Pepiya and Tajaka were the predecessors of Amgoka.

(2) In the reigns of Tajaka, Amgoka and Mahiri:-

(1) divira Siganaya in the year 3 of Tajaka (no. 422); (2) divira Ramotsa, son of Siganaya, as the actual writer of...
deeds, in years 8 and 24 of Amgoka (nos. 654 and 715); (3) divira Sugamta, son of divira Ramsotsa, in the year 15 of Mahiri (no. 591). This evidence may be shown in the following tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Regnal Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>divira Sig'neya</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divira Ramsotsa</td>
<td>8th and 24th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divira Sugamta</td>
<td>15th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This evidence clearly shows that the order of these three rulers in the order of succession is Tajaka, Amgoka and Mahiri, Tajaka being the earliest one.

Thus it is quite clear that the first two rulers are Pepiya and Tajaka, the third ruler Amgoka, the fourth Mahiri and the fifth Vasmana. There appears to be no conclusive evidence to determine the order of succession of Pepiya and Tajaka. Regarding this point Rapson has observed that "the view which has been adopted in our list, viz., that Pepiya reigned before Tajaka is perhaps the most probable; but as yet no convincing evidence has been discovered which makes the alternative view impossible."

It is, therefore, clear that the whole range of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan represents two different families ruling over two different localities, viz., (1) the family of Hinajha Dheva Vijidasinha and

(2) the group represented by the rulers Pepiya, Tajaka, Aṃgoka, Mahiri and Vaśmana.

(1) The family of Hinajha Dheva Vijidasimha - We have found only one inscription of this family which is recorded in the 10th regnal year of Hinajha Dheva Vijidasimha.

(2) The group represented by the rulers Pepiya, Tajaka, Aṃgoka, Mahiri and Vaśmana - There are some documents of these five rulers which are dated in their regnal years and from that we can form an idea about the period covered by their reigns. It may be shown in the following tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Inscriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepiya</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>495, 648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajaka</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṃgoka</td>
<td>46 or 38</td>
<td>418, 676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahiri</td>
<td>28 years</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśmana</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96 or 88 years at least

Therefore this group of documents represents roughly 100 or 90 years. So for the sake of convenience we may take the documents of Pepiya, Tajaka and Aṃgoka in the first group and the documents of Mahiri and Vaśmana in the second group. The first group covers a period of at least 57 or 49 years and the second group 39 years at least.

It is, therefore, clear that we are going to study these inscriptions in three different groups, viz., (1) The inscription of the family of Hinajha Dheva Vijidasimha,
(2) The inscriptions of the rulers Pepiya, Tajaka and Aṃgoka, (3) the inscriptions of the rulers Mahiri and Vașmana.

(1) The family of Hinajha Dheva Vijidasimha. As it has been said beforehand, there is only one inscription of this family. It is no. 661.

(2) The inscriptions of the rulers Pepiya, Tajaka and Aṃgoka - We have altogether found a large number of inscriptions written in the Kharosthi character in Chinese Turkestan. They are of three main kinds. First, some of them are dated in the regnal year of some ruler. Secondly, some of them may be ascribed to the reign of some rulers on the evidence furnished by the internal study. Thirdly, some of these inscriptions are dated in the regnal year but unfortunately the name of the ruler is not mentioned. Lastly, there are some inscriptions which do not afford any evidence for arrangement in a chronological scheme.

Further it is a matter of great regret that all the documents have not been illustrated. Therefore it is not possible to make a thorough study of all the inscriptions. Therefore we shall take into account only those inscriptions whose illustrations have been published and whose illustrations I have got through the kindness of Drs Bailey and Burrow and which have been noted beforehand.
It is a matter of regret that no inscription of the kings Pepiya and Tajaka have been illustrated.

We have found the following inscriptions of the king Ajgoka illustrated and also found from Dr. Bailey.

(1) No. 782 - 2nd regnal year; (2) No. 581 - 6th regnal year; (3) No. 579 - 9th regnal year; (4) No. 571 - 17th regnal year; (5) No. 580-19th regnal year; (6) No. 582 - 20th regnal year; (7) No. 587 - 21st regnal year; (8) No. 715 - 24th regnal year; (9) No. 709 - [26]th regnal year; (10) No. 583 - 33rd regnal year; (11) No. 677 - regnal year lost.

(3) The inscriptions of the rulers Mahiri and Vasamana - of Mahiri we have found the following inscriptions dated in the regnal years and illustrated:-

(1) No. 582 - 4th regnal year; (2) No. 732 - regnal year lost; (3) No. 415 - 7th regnal year; (4) No. 570 - 11th regnal year; (5) No. 578 - 11th regnal year; (6) No. 331 - 11th regnal year; (7) No. 568 - 11th regnal year; (8) No. 637 - 11th regnal year; (9) No. 569 - 13th regnal year; (10) No. 298 - 17th regnal year; (11) No. 593 - 17th regnal year; (12) No. 577 - 20th regnal year; (13) No. 588 - 20th regnal year; (14) No. 322 - 21st regnal year; (15) No. 576 - 21st regnal year; (16) No. 222 - 22nd regnal year; (17) No. 420 - 27th regnal year.
There are certain inscriptions which may be ascribed to the time of Mahiri from the evidence supplied by internal information. No. 17 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri because here we find the mention of the cojho Somjakaka (cojho somjakasa dadavo mahanuava maharaya lihati cojho somjakasa matra deti) who is mentioned in the dated inscriptions of Mahiri only. It is for the very same reason that the inscriptions nos. 20, 33, 235, 248, 272, 289, 292, 288, 305, 310, 317, 326, 329, 341, 349, 351, 357, 368, 385, 440, 520, 562, 621, 725, 735, 743 are referred to the time of Mahiri. (No. 20, cojho somjakasa dadavo mahanuava maharaya lihati cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 33, cojho somjakasa dadavo mahanuava maharaya libati cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 235, cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 248, cojho somjakasa matra deti evam ca japmawda bhavidavya; no. 272, mahanuava maharaya [libati] cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 288, bhataraga cojho somcakasa padamulagmi viyadavo; no. 289, cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 292, cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 305, priya devamanusaga priyabhuratu cojho somjakasa; no. 310, cojho somjakasa dadavo mahanuava maharaya lihati cojho somjakasa matra deti; no. 317, priyadevamagnusaga priyadarsanasam cojho somjakasa; no. 326, esa lihita ga tasa avanepoiyana gothaghrhavasa - i karmaya ni
gothagrhavasa bhumakhetra praceya cojhbo sa[ma]...sa anada
dharitavo; no. 329, mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo
somjagasa mantra deti; no. 341, mahanuava maharaya lihati
cojhbo-somjakasa mantra deti; no. 349, mahanuava maharaya
lihati cojhbo-somjakasa mantra deti; no. 351, mahanuava
maharaya lihati cojhbo-somjakasa mantra deti; no. 357,
mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo somjakasa mantra deti; no.
368, cojhbo-somjakasa dadavo; no. 385, bhajeragasa priya...
[rsana].......devatasa priyapitu mahamta-cojhbo-somjakasa;
no. 440 (cut) [jhbo] somjaka [sa] (cut); no. 520, cojhbo
somjakasa dadavo mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo somjakasa
matra deti; no. 562, cojhbo somjakasa [dadavo] mahanuava
maharaya lihati cojhbo somjakasa mantra deti sa ca ede Kuung'e;
no. 621, mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo somjakasa mantra
deti; no. 725, cojhbo somjakasa dadavo; no. 735, cojhbo
somjakasa dadavo; no. 743, mahanuava maharaya lihati cojhbo
somjakasa mantra deti).

Nos. 362 and 765 are to be referred to the time of
Mahiri. Here we have got the following relevant passage, no.
362, mahanuava maharaya lihabi cojhbo gamasena Pgoasa ca
mantra deti and no. 765, puratha mahatvana cojhbo gamasena
Pgoasa. It is evident from the inscriptions no. 593, 436 and
577 that he was a cojhbo in the time of Mahiri (no. 593, esa
mutra cojhboana samasena Pgoasa ca samvatsare 1043 mahanuava
mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Mahiri devaputra mase 4; 2 divase 20; no. 436, ega mutra cojho gamasena saṁvatsare 10 4 4 1 mase prathame tivase 20 4 1 mahanuava maharaya Mahiri devaputra; no. 577, ega mutra cojho gamasenasaya saṁvatsare 20 maharayatirayasa mahanuava maharaya Jitugha Mayiri devaputra mase 10 divase 3). Therefore this document is to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

No. 376 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri. Here we have the following relevant passage, na viñati lekha prehi-degi biti karya khotaniye re[me]naymi storbala krīdānti Namatasa putra Namarajhma dura ega sa vida; Namarajhma is mentioned as the senior cojho in nos. 120 and 133. Further he is mentioned as the cojho and the contemporary of Sompjaka in no. 507 (ega mu)tra cojho soppjakasa cojho Sompjaka carapurusa Opgeya sa ca niče kitaṁti tatra sañhi aṅgade.. [cojho] Yitaka Namarajhma Līmsu Ṛasu Kaįe ya śrivāga Rutravāpañmama ga tasuca Cīṃgha se (kra) sa ca). We know that Sompjaka flourished in the time of Mahiri. Therefore Namarajhma who is mentioned in no. 507 and in no. 376 becomes a contemporary of Sompjaka and must, therefore, be referred to the time of Mahiri. Therefore the document no. 376 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

No. 399 is also to be referred to the time of Mahiri. Here we have the following relevant passage, priyadarāṇasa
priyadevamapnuyyana yogya divyavarsasatayukema sunampa-
parikirtitasya pracaChadevatasya priyabhruatu cojhbo
Samasenasya ogu-Cirnavhara cojhbo CinyaSa saca arogya KoJalya
pariprichamti puna puno. Here we get the mention of cojhbo
Samasena who, as we learn from the inscriptions nos. 593, 436
and 577, flourished in the time of Mahiri. Therefore this
inscription is also to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

No. 598 is also to be referred to the time of Mahiri.
Here we have the relevant passage, [e] Sa hastalekha likhita
mahi sothamga Mot. ga putra tirira Mog.yasa mahatvana
[anatena]: Mogiya is mentioned in no. 298 dated in the 17th
regnal year of Mahiri, no. 588 dated in the 20th regnal year
of Mahiri and also in no. 577 dated in the 20th year of
Mahiri. It is, therefore, apparent that this inscription is
to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

No. 719 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri. Here
we have the relevant passage, mahanuava maharaya lihati
kitSaitsa Luthuasa mantra deti. Now we know from no. 415
that KitSaitsa Luthu was a contemporary of cojhbo Somjaka.
(no. 415, samvatsare 43 bharagaraSa mahanuava maharaya CitughSi
mahiriya devaputrasa mase 3 tivase 4 1 isa chumnapmi saca yan
kala khotaniye CadoSa raja parajhidati tam kalammi ta striya
tsinae Khotaniye tre mana re agajhi damti ayidati kiutsa
yitsa Luthuasa gothammim cojhbo Somjakasa matuae). Now we
know that Somjaka flourished only in the reign of Mahiri. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

Thus we see that the inscriptions nos. 17, 20, 33, 235, 248, 272, 286, 289, 292, 305, 310, 317, 326, 329, 341, 349, 399, 351, 357, 368, 385, 440, 520, 562, 621, 725, 735, 743, 362, 376, 399, 598, 719, 765 are to be referred to the time of Mahiri for the internal evidence supplied by these documents.

There are two other inscriptions which may also be referred to the time of Mahiri. These inscriptions are nos. 462 and 505. In no. 462 we get the mention of a man called Puṣnasena. We get the mention of one man called Puṇnasena in no. 489 which is dated in the 10th year of Mahiri. But we cannot say it certainly because there is the possibility of this man being different from the man mentioned in the inscription no. 462. So we can provisionally ascribe this inscription to the time of Mahiri.

In no. 505 we find the mention of ekhara Mōgiya. We find the mention of one vasa Mōgiya in the inscriptions nos. 577 and 588 which are dated in the 20th year of Mahiri and also of one Mōgiya in the inscription no. 298 dated in the 17th regnal year of Mahiri. There is no certainty that vasa Mōgiya mentioned in the inscriptions nos. 577 and 588 and
the man simply called Mogiya are identical with akhara Mogiya mentioned in the inscription no. 505. Anyhow there is the great possibility of all these Mogiyas being identical. We have, therefore, taken this Mogiya as flourishing during the time of Mahiri.

There is another inscription which may also probably be referred to the time of Mahiri. It is no. 96. In it we get the mention of tampha Pamcina and Jeyaka. We find the mention of one Pamcina in the inscription no. 436 dated in the 19th regnal year of Mahiri and also in the inscription no. 169 dated in the 26th regnal year of Mahiri. It is, therefore, possible that this inscription is also to be referred to the time of Mahiri.

There are certain other documents which gave got evidence by which we may ascribe them not to the reign-period of only one monarch, i.e., either Mahiri or Vasmane but to the period of both of them. That is, they may be referred to either of them. These documents are nos. 1, 39, 139, 140, 159, 160, 164, 165, 198, 247, 265, 266, 435, 439, 515, 517, 524, 547, 561, 625, 633, 638, 713, 720, 729, 769 and 771. In no. 1 we have the relevant passage, cojhbo Tampakasa dadavya maharuva mahary a lihati cojhbo Tampakasa mastra deti. The cojhbo Tampaka is mentioned in the inscription no. 575 dated in the 17th regnal year of Mahiri as well as in the
inscription no. 204 which is dated in the 7th year of Vaṣmana. It is, therefore, apparent that the cojhbo Taṃjaka flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmana.

In no. 39 we find the mention of cojhbo Śamasena and Lyipeya. The cojhbo Śamasena is mentioned in no. 593 dated in the 17th year of Mahiri, no. 436 dated in the 19th year of Mahiri and in no. 577 dated in the 20th year of Mahiri. But Lyipeya is mentioned in no. 637 dated in the 11th year of Mayiri and no. 576 dated in the 21st year of Mayiri. He is also mentioned in no. 604 dated in the 7th year of Vaṣmama.

From these data we can conclude that Lyipeya flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmama. Therefore this document is to be referred to the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmama.

In no. 139 there is the mention of cojhbo Lyipeya and cojhbo Taṃjaka. While discussing no. 39 we have shown that cojhbo Lyipeya flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmama. The cojhbo Taṃjaka is mentioned in no. 575 dated in the 17th year of Mayiri and in no. 204 dated in the 7th year of Vaṣmama. It is, therefore, clear that the cojhbo Taṃjaka flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmama. Therefore the inscription no. 139 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri as well as Vaṣmama.
In nos. 140, 769, 771 there is the mention of the gothamgaha Lûipeya. We have shown in our discussion about the inscription no. 139 that the gothamgaha Lûipeya flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vașmana. Therefore these inscriptions are also to be placed at that time.

In no. 159 we have the relevant passage, priyadarsanana priyabhru cojhbo Tamjâga- gothamgaha Lûipeyasa ca viyalidavo. The cojhbo Tamjâga is mentioned in no. 575 dated in the 17th year of Mayiri and in no. 204 dated in the 7th year of Vașmana. This discussion shows that these two officers are to be referred to the time of Mahiri as well as Vașmana. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vașmana.

In no. 160 we have the relevant passage, priyadevasanugyan-sampujitana priyadarsanana priyabhru cojhbo-Lûipeye-Lûimsuca Tasauc-Kunala-Sunakaga ca namakero kareti. We have shown in our discussion about the inscription no. 159 that the cojhbo Lûipeya flourished in the time of Mahiri and Vașmana. Therefore this inscription is also to be referred to their age.

In the like manner we find the mention of the cojhbo Lûipeya in the inscriptions nos. 164, 165, 198, 265, 435, 439, 515, 517, 547, 638 and 713. We have already stated that the cojhbo Lûipeya is to be referred to the time of
Mahiri and Vaśmna.

In no. 247 we find the mention of Cugopa. It is proved by nos. 420 and 345 that Cugopa flourished in the time of Mahiri as well as Vaśmna.

In no. 266 we find the mention of the cojhbo Yitaka.
The cojhbo Yitaka is mentioned as a contemporary of gothamgha Lāipeya in the inscription no. 37 who was a contemporary of Mahiri and Vaśmna. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vaśmna. The cojhbo Yitaka is also mentioned in the inscriptions nos. 524, 561, 720 and 729. Therefore these inscriptions are also to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vaśmna.

The inscription no. 625 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vaśmna. Here we have the relevant passage, "(broken)...[hi evam ca]...[purva] cojhbo Kśyī[na s]ādha [r]ājadhāraga āsi tāṃ kalaṃmi...o...ga...[ge]na Kuṭaṣa caneṣa nama camakṣa hastammi sacaymi viṣajitaśa āsi se Kuṭaṣa Lāįįmna gothade Khotamniye parasa kṛitaṃ yeṃ kalaṃ mi tuo cojhbo Taṃjaka rājadhāraga hudesi tāṃ kala vau saṇamoya Lāįįmna sa ca garaṃitgyti. Here we get the name of the cojhbo Taṃjaka as the man in charge of the province. Now the cojhbo Taṃjaka is mentioned in the inscription no. 575 dated in the 17th year of Mahiri and in the inscription no. 204 dated in the 7th year of Vaśmna. From this evidence it appears that this inscription is to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vaśmna.
The inscription no. 633 is to be referred to the time of Mahiri and Vaşmana for the following reason. In this document we have the passage, \textit{vasu Sağamaya priyavata sa ca viyalidavo}. Now we learn from the inscription no. 625 that he was a contemporary of the \textit{cojhe} Taţjaka. Now the \textit{cojhe} Taţjaka is mentioned in the inscription no. 575 dated in the 17th year of Mayiri and in the inscription no. 204 dated in the 7th year of Vaşmana. It is, therefore, evident that this inscription is to be referred to the time of Mahiri as well as Vaşmana.

We have found the following inscriptions dated in the regnal years of Vaşmana and illustrated:– (1) No. 767 - 6th regnal year; (2) No. 770 - 6th regnal year; (3) No. 604 - 7th regnal year; (4) No. 343 - 8th regnal year; (5) No. 345 - 9th regnal year; (6) No. 777 - 9th regnal year; (7) No. 401 - 10th regnal year; (8) No. 478 - 10th regnal year.

There are certain other inscriptions which are to be referred to the time of Vaşmana on account of the internal evidence supplied by the inscriptions. These inscriptions are nos. 320, 475, 714.

In no. 320 we find the mention of an officer called guşura Kuşanasena. Now he is mentioned in the inscription no. 478 dated in the 10th year of Vaşmana. Therefore this inscription is to be referred to the time of Vaşmana.
In no. 475 we find the mention of a man called Uvagena. Now this man Uvagena is mentioned also in an inscription dated in the 11th year of Vasmana (no. 760). Therefore this inscription is to be referred to the time of Vasmana.

In no. 714 we find the mention of the cojho Takra. Now this officer is also mentioned in the inscription no. 318 dated in the 9th year of Vasmana. On account of this evidence this inscription is to be referred to the reign of Vasmana.

There are certain inscriptions which, as evident from the internal evidence, appear to belong to the time of Apsoka and Mahiri; but as we are going to make a study of these documents in two different groups, viz., the documents of Pepiya, Tajaka and Apsoka, and (2) the documents of Mahiri and Vasmana, we will not take into consideration these documents. The following are those documents:— Nos. 32, 147, 467, 519, 640.

There are certain other documents which have got no evidence to be placed in the chronological scheme. It is for this reason that they are not considered here. The following are those documents:— Nos. 48, 148, 191, 205, 283, 316, 333, 379, 432, 510, 511, 514, 523, 532, 558, 560, 565, 605, 606, 607, 613, 616, 647, 659, 686, 694, 695, 696,
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697, 701, 702, 703, 708, 721, 722, 727, 754, 755, 756, 772, 774, 775, 776, 779 and 781. 1

The palaeography of the document no. 661

The document no. 661 belongs to a class totally different from other inscriptions found in Chinese Turkestan. The following are the main characteristics for which it may be considered as such. This document was found by Stein and described as such: E.vi.ii.1. Oblong tablet, ends roughly cut. Obv. 9 Khar., clear, black, regular hand-writing covering \( \frac{2}{3} \) of surface. Rev. scattered Khar., chars. in one corner. Very good condition - 8" x 4" x " Pl. XXXVIII. 2

It was discovered at Endere Site at Ruin E.vi-ii. 3 It was transcribed and edited by Boyer, Rapson and Smart. 4 There are various points for which it must be considered as totally different from other documents found in Chinese Turkestan. Secondly, this monarch is definitely called the great ruler of Khotan. (Khotana maharaya). Thirdly, we find here the mention of men called Khvarnarse, Vāgīti, Vadhağa, Bahudhiva who are not mentioned in any other Kharosthī document found in Chinese Turkestan. Fourthly, the dialect of this inscription is very different from the dialect of other Kharosthī

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(1) These documents have been studied in Appendix II.
(4) Ibid.
documents found in Chinese Turkestan.\(^1\) Fourthly, the writing is also very different from that of the other inscriptions found in Chinese Turkestan. We shall now discuss in detail the palaeographical characteristic of this inscription.

**Vowels**

The examples of \(a\) which we have found are of three different types all of which are old ones. \(\ddot{a}\) (XI.1.I), \(\dot{a}\) (XI.1.II) and \(\breve{a}\) (XI.1.III).

The letter \(i\) which is an absolutely new type is characterised by the dwarfed head and a short base added to the stem of the letter. \(\breve{i}\) (XI.2.I)

The letter \(u\) is expressed in one manner which is old. \(\ddot{u}\) (XI.3.I)

**Simple akṣaras**

There are two different types of the letter \(ka\) which are old types. \(\breve{\eta}\) (XI.4.I) and \(\breve{h}\) (XI.4.II). The letter \(\breve{k}\) is also an old type. (XI.4.II)

We have found another type of \(ka\) which is different from the usual type by the addition of a dot above the upper horizontal portion of the letter. Regarding this dot Rapson observed, "The modified vowel \(â\) (e.g. \(tâ\), 80), which is

\(1\) BSOS, Vol. VIII, pp.430\# , 1936.
represented by a single dot above the line, is one of the characteristic features of the language of the inscription from Endere, no. 661. In this dialect it is the equivalent both of \( \ddot{e} \) in Sanskrit (e.g. \( \text{kida} = \text{k\text{\text{-}rta} } \); \( \text{muljana} = \text{m\text{\text{-}l}eyena} \)) and of \( \ddot{e} = \text{aya} \) in the ordinary Prakrit of the Niya Inscriptions (e.g. \( \text{madradi} = \text{ma\text{\text{-}m}tredi} \)); and it is used as the termination of the nom. sing. masc. (e.g. \( \text{asti manusa\text{\text{-}na\text{\text{-}nagar\text{\text{-}ga}}}} \)).

Regarding this very dialectical peculiarity Noble has observed, "\( \text{ta kali} = \text{tat-\text{ka\text{-}le}} \). It is characteristic of this inscription that there is a marked tendency towards confusion in the use of \( a, i, e \), the last being sometimes retained as in \( \text{samvatsare, mase, pacema} \), though we more commonly find \( \text{p\text{\text{-}cima} } \) in other documents, sometimes replaced by \( i \) as twice in \( \text{kali, sa\text{\text{-}ga\text{-}ji, nirava\text{\text{-}fisco} } } \), but most frequently represented by \( e \) modified by a single dot above the sign. This modified \( e \), derived in some instances from \( \ddot{e} \) seems to represent an \( e \) sound tending towards an \( a \) sound rather than \( i \). It may be represented perhaps by \( \ddot{e} \) just as in German. This sound is found in \( \text{manusa\text{-}na, nagara\text{-}ga, madradi, mulyana, ma\text{-}sa, tana, and so on... madr\text{-}adi corresponding to the usual matreti, ma\text{-}m\text{-}treti, and with the same meaning as the very common ma\text{-}tra} \) or ma\text{-}tras|teti. The corresponding Sanskrit form is \( \text{mantrayate, and as is usual in Prakrit, the middle termination} \).

is replaced by the active and the denominative suffix by $e$.

In this peculiar dialect of Endere the regular Niya $e$ is here replaced by the modified $i$, while in the similar forms cudiyadi, vidiyadi (unless they are passives), the same original sound appears $i$ just as original $e$ appears as $i$ in kali, saga$\ddot{i}$, nirave$\dddot{i}$aco, dhinadi.$^1$ Regarding the same dialectical peculiarity Burrow has stated, "In the instrumental the $-e$ is treated differently, becoming $i$, e.g.
mulyå$\dot{\partial}$, tå$\dot{\alpha}$na. The same appears in the 3rd sing. of the causative, madrå$\ddot{\partial}$i = mamtre$\acute{\partial}$i. It is not obvious why there is this difference. We might think of it as due to their being terminations and therefore less strongly accented, resulting in a shortening of the $\ddot{\partial}$ to $\dot{\partial}$. ... If we are going to consider the possibility of Saka influence, we might also see it in the nom. sing. An $\ddot{\alpha}$ is otherwise unknown in Middle Indi$\ddot{\alpha}$n; but we do get a similar modified $a$ in Saka in the nom. sing. gyast$\ddot{\alpha}$, etc. Since there is no trace of such a form inside India, from which the language must have been imported, and since everywhere the $-e < \dot{\alpha}b$ of the nom. sing. is not distinguished from original $e$, there is hardly any possibility left except that it was invested in Khotan.

Similarly tå$\dot{\alpha}$na = Saka ttå$\dot{\alpha}$na, madrå$\ddot{\partial}$i = Sak. dyå$\acute{\alpha}$nte, etc.
The accusative, too, in Saka is $-u$, gyast$\ddot{\alpha}$u, etc., just as

here. If we assume that these things are due to the influence of Saka, then there remains no difference between the two dialects which need to be attributed to their Indian source. Basically they are the same language and the fact that they look so different is due almost entirely to recent developments in their Central Asian environment. The Niya dialect, as we have seen, coincides pretty closely to that part of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of N.W. India, which have the nominative in -ə. These for the main part are concentrated in that area to the west of the Indus round Peshawar, which was the centre of the Kushan dominions. It is this official language, then (as one would have expected for historical reasons), which has been transplanted to Khotan and Shan-Shan, taking on a slightly different form in each.¹

We have the use of this dot over certain letters in this inscription. They are the following words:— manusā, nagarāgā, madrādi, mulyāna, maṣā, kidā, vakhaṇā, tāna, bahudhivā, Śaśivakā and Spaniyakā. Here we are to take only the examples of the letter ka with the dot. They are Śaśivakā and Spaniyakā. There is no doubt that here it is used as the termination of the nominative singular masculine. ² (XI.5.I)

There are two different types of the letter kha which are old. \( \overset{\sim}{\text{k}} \) (XI.6.I) and \( \overset{\circ}{\text{k}} \) (XI.6.II). The letters khe (XI.6.I) and khi (XI.6.II) are also old types.

There is only one type of the letter \( \overset{\sim}{\text{c}} \) which is an old one. \( \overset{\sim}{\text{c}} \) (XI.4.I). The letters \( \overset{\bullet}{\text{d}} \) (XI.6.I) and \( \overset{\bullet}{\text{d}} \) (XI.6.II) are also old types. We have probably also found the use of visarga along with this letter. Regarding the use of the visarga in these documents Rapson has remarked, "The recognition of the Kharoṣṭhī sign for visarga as the equivalent of the Sanskrit final \( \text{g} \) or \( \text{r} \) is due to the discovery in Sir Aurel Stein's second expedition of the tablet no. 523, which contains verses written in classical Sanskrit with the intermixture of a few Prākrit solecisms. In the ordinary dialect of the Niya documents no such sign is required, since final \( \text{g} \) and \( \text{r} \) are invariably dropped: the nominative singular of a noun is represented by its base (e.g. Skt. \text{manuṣyaḥ} = manuṣa), while adverbs like \text{prātar} and \text{punar} appear as \text{prate} and \text{puna}. But, when Kharoṣṭhī is adopted to the expression of Sanskrit or of some dialect which retains visarga, the need is supplied by two dots written above the consonantal sign; e.g. \text{tatḥ}, \( \overset{\bullet}{\text{t}} \). Examples may be seen in the photolithographic illustration of insc. no. 523 = N. XXIV.viii.9 in Serindia, Plate XXIV, Rev. - \text{vartamānḥ} in line (1), \text{punaḥ} in line (2), &c."
"But visarga is also retained and is similarly expressed in the curious dialect of the tablet from Endere, no. 661 = E.vi.i.1, which is illustrated in Serinda, Plate XXXVIII, and in our Plate XII; e.g. utap in line (2), &c. The occurrence in the same line of this tablet of two forms of the nominative singular is very remarkable - asti manuṣa nagaraṇa, asti mayi utap in line (2) - as also is the use of a nominative form of the accusative in the next line - so yato vikrīnāmi."

"An isolated example of visarga expressed in the same manner seems moreover to occur in the inscription on the Wardak vase in the form haṣṭhunah (line 2), which is manifestly the genitive singular of a proper name. The two dots above the final -na are distinct, as has been observed by both M. Senart and Mr. Pargiter in their editions of this inscription. M. Senart reproduces the dots in his transliteration, while Mr. Pargiter regards them as negligible; but, now that the sign for visarga has been identified in the Niya documents, there would seem to be no reason for doubting that it has its usual significance in this instance."

(1) K1, pt. III, pp.299-300, 1929. But in this connection Konow holds a different view. He observes, "In haṣṭhunā, line 1.2, there are, as first seen by M. Senart, two dots above the final na, which are without any parallel in Indian Kharoṣṭhī Records. They are, on the other hand, found in a Sanskrit Kharoṣṭhī document from Endere in Eastern Turkestan, where they are used in such cases where we should expect..."
We have found the example of the *visarga* in conjunction with the letter ṭa. \( \text{\`}\) (XI.7.4)

There is also the example of the letter ṭa with a single dot over the head. There is no doubt that it is used as the termination of the nominative singular masculine.

\( \text{\`}\) (XI.8.1)

There is one type of the letter ṭha which is a new one in as much as the stem of the letter ends in a short base. \( \text{\`}\) (XI.9.1). This characteristic, though it may be a small one, is not found in the examples of the letter ṭha occurring in the preceding periods.

Footnote contd.

*a visarga*, e.g., *manusyā pathi vartamāṇa*, but also in *yivita*, i.e., *yivitaṃ*. Professor Rapson transliterates ah and, consequently, in our inscription, hastham. To me it seems more probable that the sound intended is the vowel which is noted in the same way in the Brāhmī Saka texts from Eastern Turkestan and which was the regular termination in the nominative and genitive singular of Saka *a*-bases. I shall, however, only retain the two dots and write *a*, leaving the question about the meaning of the two dots open." (CII, Vol. II, pt. I, p.166, 1929).

In a recent article he has further observed, "The masculine termination is *a* or *a*, and it seems to me that we must necessarily infer that the writing *a* with two dots above, must represent the same sound which is written *a*." (AO, Vol. XIV, pp.237-38, 1936) But Thomas has criticised this view by remarking that "the suggestion (Act. Or., xiv, pp.237-38) that in document 661 *a* and *a* which had been distinguished by Rapson (pp.299-300) as representing respectively an e vowel and ah, have the same value seems to render insufficient justice to Rapson's observation, and ignore the occurrence of *a* (with two dots) in *budhip* (no. 523)." (BSOAS, Vol. XI, pt. 3, p.534, 1929).
Palatals

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{ṣa} \), \( \text{ṭ} \) (XI.10.I), \( \tau \) (XI.10.II) and \( \text{ṭ} \) (XI.10.III). The letters \( \text{cu} \) (XI.10.III) and \( \text{ce} \) (XI.10.II) are old types.

We have found the example of the letter \( \text{ṣhe} \) which is an old type. \( \gamma \) (XI.11.I) The letters \( \text{ṣhi} \) (XI.11.I) and \( \text{ṣhu} \) \( \gamma \) (XI.11.II) are old types.

We have found also one type of the letter \( \text{ṣa} \) which is an old type. \( \gamma \) (XI.12.I)

There is the example of the letter \( \text{ṣa} \) in this inscription. This letter is found here for the first time in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Regarding this letter Rapson has observed that "as regards its form, \( \text{ṣa} \), 48, bears the same relation to \( \text{ja} \), 43, as \( \text{ge} \), 21, to \( \text{ga} \), 21; and in each instance the addition of a horizontal stroke to the end of the stem of a mute consonant would seem to indicate that it was pronounced as a spirant (v. sup., p.301)."\(^1\) Regarding the characteristic of the letter \( \text{ṣa} \) he has remarked, "\( \text{ge} \), 21, is distinguished from \( \text{ge} \), 21, by the curved horizontal stroke at the foot which similarly marks the difference between \( \text{ja} \), 48, and \( \text{ja} \), 23, and between \( \text{da} \), 67, and \( \text{da} \), 66."\(^2\) There is only one type of this letter. \( \gamma \) (XI.13.I). The \( i \)-stroke attached to this letter passes through the left bar of this letter. \( \gamma \) (XI.13.II). The \( u \)-stroke is indicated by a short

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\(^1\) KI, pt. III, p.302, 1929.
\(^2\) Ibid., p.301, 1929.
curved stroke lying in the left lower field. (XI.13.III)

There is only one type of the letter ḫa which is a new type in as much as its stem ends in a short base. (XI.14.1)

There is only one type of the letter ḫa which is an old type. (XI.15.1)

**Linguale**

There is only one type of the letter ḫa. Regarding this letter Rapson wrote, "In the earliest Kharosṭhī inscriptions the normal form of ḫa is an upright straight line with a horizontal line on either side, on the left near the head and on the right near the foot; and in the Niya documents, ḫa, 57, is manifestly a cursive development in which the characteristic horizontal lines of the earlier form retain their original direction but are written continuously at the top and at the bottom of the stem respectively, while the stem itself, originally upright, is written slantingly, as regularly happens when a similar stroke is added at the foot of a letter; cf. ḫa, 24, with ḫa, 2; ḫa, 48, with ḫa, 43; ḫa, 67 with ḫa, 66; ḫa, 141 with ḫa, 135."¹ The letter is of only one type. (XI.16.1) The ḫ-stroke is indicated by the addition of a horizontal stroke drawn from the middle.

of the stem to the left. (XI.16.I) The visarga is indicated by two dots in the field over the upper horizontal line. \[ \cdot \] (XI.16.II)

There is only one type of the letter da which is an old one. \( \ddot{\text{a}} \) (XI.17.I). The letter du is also an old type. (XI.17.I)

Dentals

There are two different types of the letter te which are old. \( \ddot{\text{t}} \) (XI.18.I) and \( \dddot{\text{t}} \) (XI.18.II) The letters ti (XI.18.II) and tu \( \dddot{\text{t}} \) (XI.18.III) are old types.

We have found the example of the letter ta with a dot at the top. \( \ddot{\text{t}} \) (XI.19.I). It is found in the word tāna which corresponds to a Sanskrit tana.

There is only one type of the letter tha which is an old one. \( \dddot{\text{t}} \) (XI.20.I)

There are two different types of the letter da of which one is an old type and the other a new type. The old type is \( \dddot{\text{d}} \) (XI.21.I) The new type is \( \dddot{\text{d}} \) (XI.21.II) In the new type the additional curve to the lower end of the stem of the letter is the characteristic feature. This type of da is typical only of this document. The i-stroke \( \dddot{\text{i}} \) (XI.21.III) and u-stroke (XI.21.I) are added to this letter in the old manner.
There is also the example of the letter ḍ in the word
hindā occurring twice in this document. .Ticks (XI.22.I)

There is only one type of the letter ḍha which is an
old type. .Ticks (XI.23.I) The i-stroke \( \overline{i} \) (XI.23.II) is added
to this letter in the old manner.

There are two different types of the letter na of which
one is an old type and the other the new type. The old type
is \( \overline{i} \) (XI.24.I) The new type has a base added to the stem
of the letter. .Ticks (XI.24.II) We have found the use of the
\( \overline{i} \)-stroke which is an almost horizontal stroke drawn from
the right end of the lower portion of the stem. .Ticks (XI.24.III)
The i-stroke goes through the stem of the letter. (XI.24.I)
We have found here for the first time the example of the
\( \overline{i} \)-stroke. Regarding this point Rapson has remarked, "It was
formerly supposed that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet lacked the
means of distinguishing long from short vowels; and the fact
that such a means existed, even if it was not commonly em-
ployed, was first made clear by evidence supplied by the Niya
documents. The lengthening of any vowel may be indicated by
a short stroke written below the line, in form and position
like the virāme of the Devanāgarī alphabet; cf. \( \overline{a} \), 3; \( \overline{kā} \), 12;
\( \overline{ṭṭ} \), 77; \( \overline{ṛṛ} \), 102, &c. But the length of vowels is thus
marked consistently and regularly only in those inscriptions
which are written in Sanskrit more or less correct, such as
the verses of inscr. nos. 511 and 535. In the Prakrit documents any indication of length is merely occasional and apparently arbitrary: that is to say, length is entirely disregarded in most of the documents of this class, while it is only very partially and inconsistently observed in the rest."

"The Niya documents offer a very few examples of the short straight line which occasionally appears at the end of the stems of letters in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions and in the coin-legends of the Graeco-Indian kings. (v. inf., note 1) Such a mark is seen in the first two syllables of pepiya, where it may possibly indicate that this name should be read as paipiya (see inscr. no. 648, notes 1 and 2); and in one or two other instances it has been read as a sign of lengthening. The few examples which are known occur in tablets of the two earliest kings, Pepiya and Tajaka (v. inf., 'kings and regnal years'); and it seems possible that they may illustrate the older method of denoting the length of vowels in the Kharoshthi alphabet of Niya. But the evidence afforded by these isolated examples is perhaps not conclusive. (See note in Corrigenda to Part I, no. 422, p.292)."¹ Now in this example the i-stroke is lengthened by the use of one short horizontal stroke to the

right lower end of the stem. \( \xi \) (XI.24.IV) The \( \eta \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \( \xi \) (XI.24.V)

**Labials**

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{pa} \) which is an old one. \( \eta \) (XI.25.I) The \( \eta \)-stroke added to this letter is in the form of a short triangle added to the left side of the lower end of the stem of the letter. \( \eta \) (XI.25.II)

The example of \( \text{ba} \) which we have found here is an old type. \( \eta \) (XI.26.I)

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{ma} \) of which one is an old type and the remaining two, new types. The old type is \( \gamma \) (XI.27.I). The new types are \( \xi \) (XI.27.II) and \( \eta \) (XI.27.III) The \( i \)-stroke passes through the curve of the letter and has a little base to the left. (XI.27.I)

**Semi-vowels**

There are two different types of the letter \( \text{ya} \) which are slightly different from each other and which are absolutely new types. They are \( \eta \) (XI.28.1) and \( \xi \) (XI.28.II) It is important to note that the shape of the letter \( \text{ya} \) in the inscriptions of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka is very different from that of the two different types of the letter \( \text{ya} \).
as found in this inscription. It is in this point also that there is the fundamental difference between this inscription on one hand and the inscriptions of Pepiya, Tajaka and Angoka on the other hand. The 1-stroke \( \text{I} \) (XI.28.III) and the \( \text{I} \)-stroke \( \text{I} \) (XI.28.IV) are added to this letter in the old manner. The visarga is indicated, as usual, by the two dots placed above the horizontal stroke forming the letter. (XI.28.II)

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{r} \). \( \text{r} \) (XI.29.I)

The \( \text{r} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \( \text{r} \) (XI.29.II)

The letter \( \text{i} \) is an old type. \( \text{i} \) (XI.30.I) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke touches the left portion of the head of the letter. (XI.30.I)

The letter \( \text{a} \) retains the straight head-line and also has a small base to the left of the stem. \( \text{a} \) (XI.31.I) The \( \text{i} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old fashion. \( \text{i} \) (XI.31.II)

There is also the example of the letter \( \text{a} \). \( \text{a} \) (XI.32.I)

**Sibilants and ha**

The type of the letter \( \text{s} \) which is found here is very different from the letter \( \text{s} \) occurring in the preceding periods and also in the succeeding periods. The main peculiarity of this letter lies in the screw-like shape of
the lower portion of the left bar constituting this letter.

(XI.33.I) The \( u \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XI.33.II) Such is also the case with the \( c \)-stroke added to this letter. (XI.33.I)

There is also the example of the letter \( a \) with a dot at the top. It is important to note that it has a base. (XI.34.I)

There is also the example of the letter \( pa \) with a horizontal stroke drawn from the end of the vertical towards the right. (XI.35.I) The \( o \)-stroke is added to it in the old manner. (XI.35.I)

There is also the example of this letter with a dot at the top. (XI.36.I)

There are two different types of the letter \( sa \) which are absolutely new. (XI.37.I) and (XI.37.II). The \( i \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XI.37.III) Such is also the case with the \( u \)-stroke. (XI.37.IV) and the \( c \)-stroke (XI.37.V). The anusvāra is indicated in two different manners, one in the form of a short horizontal stroke drawn towards the left from the end of the vertical (XI.37.II) and the other by the addition of a miniature \( ma \) to the lower end of the vertical of the letter. (XI.37.III).
There is also the example of the letter Ga which is also a new type. (XI.38.I) The e-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XI.38.I)

There are two different types of the letter ha of which one is an old one and the other a new type. The old one is (XI.39.I) The new type has a flat head (XI.39.II) The i-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XI.39.I)

**Compound akgaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

The ligatures are formed with the initial ka, kha and ga. The compound letter formed with the initial ka is kri which is an old type. (XI.40.I).

The compound letter with the initial kha is khra which is made by the addition of the letter va to the lower end of the letter kha. (XI.40.II)

The only compound letter with the initial ga is gra which is an old type. (XI.40.III)

**Groups with initial dental**

The compound letters are formed with the initial ta and da. The ligature formed with the initial ta is tsa. Regarding this letter Rapson has observed, "There has been some difference of opinion among scholars as to the value of
the sign which is here translated tṣ, 192. Bühler transcribes it as ṭṣ, observing however that it has been read generally as ṭṣ; and it must be admitted that the form of this compound character, as it appears in some of the stone inscriptions, is most naturally explained as consisting of ṭ (cf. ta, 75; tma, 188) superimposed on sa, 144. But there can be no doubt that in the Niya documents the reading ṭṣ is correct, since the akṣa tṣu is found in the word uṭṣuka in the Buddhist Sanskrit verses of no. 511, the language of which, although containing a few Prākrit forms, is predominantly Sanskrit in its phonology. We may conclude, then, that the same sign has the same value when it occurs in other documents in such words as sanvatsare (passim) and savatsaǐ (ins. no. 7); and we may suppose that the lower portion represents sa written curatively in a manner which eventually disguises its identity, as in the very similar akṣa ṣa which M. Senart has identified in the MS. D. de Rh."¹ There are certain points of criticism which must be expressed against this statement of Rapson. First, it is not possible to adhere to the opinion of Bühler which was passed long ago when so many Kharoṣṭhī documents were not found. Secondly, it is absolutely clear that it shows very clearly the combination of the letters tṣ and sa and not the

letters ta and sa. Thirdly, it is not correct to hold or presume that these documents should strictly observe the rules of classical Sanskrit grammar. Fourthly, the reading of M. Senart of one letter as rsa is also not correct. In fact he himself remarked, "Je ne vois pas que le groupe que je lis rsa puisse être interprétés autrement. Il n'est pas malaisé d'y retrouver l's; quant au ñ nous n'en avons, je crois, aucun exemple dans les inscriptions; il n'est donc pas facile de précisera avec certitude l'analyse des éléments constitutifs. La valeur du signe est attestée par plusieurs examples."\(^1\) Recently Bailey has also correctly taken this compound letter as \(\text{t}sa\).\(^2\) It is, therefore, correct to take this compound letter as \(\text{t}sa\). \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.41.I)

The ligature formed with the initial \(\text{d}a\) is \(\text{dra}\) which is made in the old manner. \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.41.II).

**Groups with initial semi-vowel**

The ligatures are formed with the initial \(\text{ra}, \text{la}\) and \(\text{va}\). The compound letters formed with the initial \(\text{ra}\) are \(\text{r}sa\), \(\text{r}va\) and \(\text{rsa}\). The formation of these compound letters is made according to the old manner. Thus we have \(\text{r}sa\) \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.42.I), \(\text{r}va\) \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.42.II) and \(\text{rsa}\) \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.42.III)

The ligature formed with the initial \(\text{l}a\) is \(\text{lyo}\). \(\text{J}^5\) (XI.42.IV)

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(1) J.A.
The ligatures formed with the initial *va* are *vri* $\frac{7}{2}$ (XI.42.V) and *vhi* $\frac{7}{4}$ (XI.42.VI).

**Groups with initial sibilant**

The conjunct letters are made with the initial *sa* and *se*. The ligature formed with the initial *sa* is the letter $\frac{7}{2}$ (XI.43.I).

The ligatures formed with the initial *se* are *sti*, *spa*, *sys* and *sra*. The letter *sti* is an old type $\frac{7}{2}$ (XI.43.II). The letters *spa* $\frac{7}{2}$ (XI.43.III), *sys* $\frac{3}{2}$ (XI.43.IV) and *sra* $\frac{3}{2}$ (XI.43.V) are quite usual types.

**Punctuation-mark**

We have got one punctuation mark to differentiate the name of different witnesses. It is indicated by a straight vertical line.
CHAPTER XII

The period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka

In the last chapter we have discussed the palaeography of the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the document no. 661 found at the Endere Site. In this chapter we shall discuss the palaeography of the inscriptions of the kings Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka. We have already shown that these monarchs ruled for at least 49 or 57 years. As we have already said in the last chapter, our study of the development of the palaeography of the Kharoṣṭhī script will be based here on the evidence furnished by the documents 782, 581, 579, 571, 580, 582, 587, 715, 709, 583, 677 because they are the only inscriptions illustrative of this group.

**Vowels**

There is only one type of the letter ḫ with a pronounced loop at the head and a curve at the foot. 莤 (XII.1.I) We have also found the example of the letter _CURVE (XII.1.II).

We have found here for the first time the example of the letter _ANTHROPOMORPHIC. Regarding this letter Rapson has remarked, "It was formerly supposed that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet lacked..."
the means of distinguishing long from short vowels; and the
fact that such a means existed, even if it was not commonly
used, was first made clear by evidence supplied by Niya docu-
ments. The lengthening of any vowel may be indicated by a
short stroke written below the line, in form and position
like the virāma of the Devanāgarī alphabet; cf. ə, 3.11
t. (XII.2.1)

The vowel i which is found in these documents is an old
type. ə (XII.3.1)

The vowel u found in these documents is a new type
characterised by a loop attached to the head and another loop
attached to the foot. ʃ (XII.4.1)

There is only one type of the vowel e which is an old
type. ʃ (XII.5.1)

The main peculiarity of the letter a which differenti-
tiates it from the same letter found in the preceding periods
is the shape of the letter a to which the stroke is added to
make it o. ʃ (XII.6.1)

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

So far as the letter ka is concerned, Rapson has ob-
served that "ka, 11, is a cursive form of ka, 10, which

appears also in the inscriptions of the Kuśānas. In certain
handwritings ka, 10, is liable to be confused with bhe, 109;
hte, 181; tsa, 192; or āsa (= ṣpa), 250; and in non-
Sanskritic proper names and other words of doubtful ety-

mology the editors have not always been able to decide de-

finitely between these possible alternative readings. In
such cases one form has been given in the text and others in
the notes; e.g. in inscr. no. 418, amgoṅka² : - 2ka, - āsa; in
no. 642, tsuṭiye : 3 ku-, bhu - " From this statement
it appears that Rapson has found only two variants of the
letter ka; but it is questionable whether the certain exam-

ples of ka which he has pointed out as making confusion with
the letter bhe, ḷka, tsa, and āsa = ṣpa should be considered
as distinct types. Here in these documents we have found
four distinct types of the letter ka. ḷ (XII.7.I), ṣ (XII.
7.II), ṭ (XII.7.III) and ṭ (XII.7.IV). Out of these
four different types XII.7.III is a new type. The ā-stroke
is indicated in two different manners. In the first type
it is indicated by the short round stroke which lies to the
right of the letter in the lower field. ṭ (XII.7.V) In
the second type it is more or less a horizontal stroke drawn
from the lower end of the stem of the letter towards the
right. (XII.7.IV) The i-stroke is drawn in the old

manner. \( \text{\textordfervent}} \) (XII.7.VI). Such is also the case with the \( \text{\textordfervent}} \) (XII.7.VII) and \( \text{\textordfervent}} \) (XII.7.VIII) added to this letter. The _\text{\textordfervent}_ is indicated by the addition of a miniature \text{\textordfervent} to the lower end of the stem of the letter. \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.7.IX)

There are two different types of the letter kha which are old. \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.8.I) and \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.8.II). The \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.8.II) and \( \text{\textordfervent} \) strokes (XII.8.III) are made in the old manner.

The letter \( \text{\textordfervent} \) which has been found in these documents is an old type. \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.9.I) The \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.9.II) and \( \text{\textordfervent} \) strokes (XII.9.I) are made in the old manner.

The letter \( \text{\textordfervent} \) is expressed in the old manner. \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.10.I) The \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.10.II), \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.10.III) and \( \text{\textordfervent} \) strokes (XII.10.IV) are all made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{\textordfervent} \) which is worthy of special mention for one reason. In this example the stem ends in a curve turned towards the left. This characteristic is not found in the examples of this letter found in the previous periods. \( \text{\textordfervent} \) (XII.11.I)

**Palatales**

Regarding the letter \( \text{\textordfervent} \) Rapson has observed, "Ca, 29 and \( \text{\textordfervent} \), 45, are often so written as to be practically indistinguishable; and even in the same word the editors have
preferred to read sometimes one and sometimes the other. Thus the phrase *tatra saçı cañati* in inscr. no. 590 appears as *tatra saçı jannati* (or *jannayti*) in no. 495.\(^1\); but this statement is true of only one type of the letter *ca* and not of the other type of the letter *ca*. There are altogether two different types of the letter *ca*. \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.I) and \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.II). The \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.III), \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.II), \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.IV), \(\frac{1}{2}\)-strokes \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.V) are added in the old manner. The *anusvāra* is a miniature *ma* added to the foot of the letter. \(\frac{1}{2}\) (XII.12.VI)

We have found here for the first time the use of the letter *osa*. Regarding this and similar other letters Rapson has remarked, "The use of a short straight line which is written above certain consonants is one of the characteristic features of the alphabets of the Niya documents and of the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. In his edition of the MS. D. de Rh., M. Senart, who adopts the opinion of Professor Oldenburg, everywhere regards this line as a sign of aspiration. Whether this is a satisfactory explanation in all instances in the MS. D. de Rh., may be doubted; but it is certain that the superscript line never has this value in the Niya documents. In these it is invariably used to indicate a compound aṅgara; and in every case except perhaps *oṣa*, 39, the form

\(^1\) KI, pt. III, p.302, 1929.
of which has not yet been explained, it shows that one element only of the compound aksara is expressed and that the other element is to be understood. In the Niyā documents, therefore, the superscript line is a mark of abbreviation.

...The explanation of the superscript line in o, 30, is equally clear. In this instance it indicates the omission of ː; e.g. kaci in inscr. no. 675 = kaścit; pacc in no. 17, Pl. I = paścāt; nice in no. 1, Pl. I = niścaya. Similarly when ca is written as ̄a in the Buddhist Skt. verses of no. 511, Pl. VIII, it represents the sandhi ̀sc; e.g. sthāra ̄a mādhyā navakāṣa bhīkṣu in obv. line 3; sasyā in obv., 1,6. In dukhāca dukha-prabhavas, in Rev. 1,4, the first example requires some explanation, while the second is evident. In dukhāca we have an illustration of the use, which is found elsewhere in Buddhist Sanskrit, of the feminine duḥkhāḥ in place of the usual duḥkham. Thus, wherever the test can be applied, the line above ̄a indicates prefixed ː. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, the rule holds good in other cases also and that, for instance, the place name nācira in no. 13 is really nāscira.¹ We have found the example of the letter ̄a. (XII.13.I) and ci (XII.13.II). We have also found the example of the letter ̄a. (XII.13. III).

There is the example of the letter ḍha which is an old type. *(XII.14.1)*

We have found here for the first time the example of the letter ḍha. Regarding this letter Rapson has remarked, "In the MS. D. de Rh. ḍha never has the superscript line with which it is nearly always associated in the Niya documents. Indeed so constantly is this character written as ḍhā, 39, that the few examples in which the line does not appear in our printed text may well be questioned. It may be asked if they cannot be explained, as mistakes due to accidental omission by the scribe, to the indistinctness of the writing, or to error on the part of the editors. On the evidence of isolated forms like ḍhāmāṣa[sa], in inscr. no. 185, and ḍhunamāmi (v. sup.) when compared with the usual ḍhunamāmi, it was formerly supposed that ḍha was used at the beginning of a word and ḍha in the middle of a word or compound, and that in the latter case the superscript line indicated that the consonant was doubled in the Prākrit oṣha = Skt. kṣa. But this view is no longer tenable. It now seems to be unquestionable that in the Niya documents ḍha is the normal form both initial and medial; and that oṣha, even if it was ever intended, is in any case exceptional. An undoubted instance of initial ḍh may be seen in ḍhāṃti = kṣānti, the first word in the verses of tablet no. 510, Pl. VII; and ḍhāma = kṣema,
in inscr. no. 126 is almost equally certain. As examples of medial āka may be cited parichimna = perikṣaṇa in no. 376; vṛṣaṇa = vṛṣkṣa in no. 482; bhumaśakra = bhūmakṣetra in no. 450."

"As we shall see (p. 320), the superscript line is used with other letters to denote a compound aṅgara; and therefore, when it is associated with cka in the Niya documents, we may infer that it is intended to show that this aṅgara was pronounced as a compound aṅgara, i.e. kṣa, and should properly be so transliterated. Professor Sten Konow has maintained this on other grounds; and Prof. Hultsch was no doubt right in transliterating cka as kṣa in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions of Aśoka's edicts. But it still appears that Rapson could not satisfactorily explain the presence of this superscript line. Regarding this point he has himself admitted that "in every case except perhaps āka, 39, the form of which has not yet been explained, it shows that one element only of the compound aṅgara is expressed and that the other element is to be understood. In the Niya documents, therefore, the superscript line is a mark of abbreviation." In a foot-note to this statement he has further remarked, "As this aṅgara is to be read as kṣa, its form may

(2) Ibid., p. 320, 1929.
perhaps be explained as sa, 157, with the crescent-like head inverted. In this case the superscript line would indicate the omission of the initial k.1 We have found only one type of this letter. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (XII.15.I). The letters \( \bar{\delta}f \) (XII.15.II), \( \bar{\delta}g \) (XII.15.III) and \( \bar{\delta}e \) (XII.15.IV) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \dot{\lambda} \) which is old.

\( \gamma \) (XII.16.I). The \( \dot{\iota} - \dot{\gamma} \) (XII.16.II), \( \upsilon - \gamma \) (XII.16.III) and \( \epsilon \)-strokes \( \dot{\gamma} \) (XII.16.IV) are drawn in the old manner. The anusvāra is also added in the old manner. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (XII.16.V)

The type of the letter \( \ddot{\lambda} \) which is found here is an old type. \( \gamma \) (XII.17.I) The \( \dot{\iota} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \( \tilde{\gamma} \) (XII.17.II)

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \jmath \). Regarding this point Rapson has observed, "The Kharoṣṭhī letters transliterated as \( \jmath \)a, \&c.; fall into two distinct classes which are apparently never confused - (1) those with an angular head like \( \jmath \)a, 50, and \( \jmath \), 51, and (2) those with a rounded head like \( \jmath \)u, 52; and unfortunately in our system of transliteration these two classes have not been distinguished."

"The angular form of \( \jmath \)a most commonly interchanges with \( \text{sa or } s\text{a} \), e.g., \( \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \text{j} \text{h} \text{i} \text{d} \text{a} \text{m} \text{t} \text{i} \) in inscr. no. 415: \( \text{a} \text{g} \text{a} \text{s} \text{i} \text{t} \text{a} \text{m} \text{t} \text{i} \)"

(1) Ibid., p.320, 1929.
in no. 212; ajhuraka in no. 639; asuraga in no. 318; jhagamoya in no. 630; sağamoyasa in no. 625; tivejhe in no. 495; divage in no. 496; parižhidati in no. 415; parasitamti in no. 491; phumajheva in no. 143; phumaseva in no. 26; phumaseva in no. 135. The Skt. dāsa appears as dañha in 569 (esa samamn̤era unida añ dañha kadevo) and as ḍañsa in no. 491 (edañsa ḍañsa budhañsa nañma).

"The most natural explanation of this interchange is that the angular headed jhe represents the Avestan sonant sibilant žg; and it may be observed that it is used also as the equivalent of the Greek Zeta in the coin-legends of the Graeco-Indian king Zoilus — Ino = jhoilasa (B.M. Cat., Pl. XII, 10-13)."

"Occasionally this jhe, 35, interchanges with cha, 35; cf. jhorita in inscr. no. 177 with choridavo in no. 265."

"As regards its form this letter may well be explained as a cursive development from the jhe of Aśoka’s edicts which Bühler supposed to be made from ja, 43, by the addition at the base of the angle of a short stroke to denote aspiration; but it is doubtful if these two characters even have the same phonetic value. In the edicts jhe represents a Prākrit j̣h̃a = Skt. dhya. In the Niya documents no undoubted example of this use of the angular headed jhe has yet been noticed; but, as our knowledge of the language is still very imperfect, it would at present be rash to assert that no such
example exists. It seems certain, however, that the normal representative of Skt. dhya is ja; e.g. ajesamna in inscr. no. 508 = adhyesapena; vijagti in no. 156 = vidhyanti."

"The round-headed form which the editors have transliterated as jha (e.g. jhu, 52) interchanges with ja; cf. jhuthi in inscr. no. 677 with juthi in nos. 291 and 571; ajhuvadae in no. 586 with ajuvadae in nos. 572 and 592 and indeed it is not impossible that it should be read as ja wherever it occurs. For, as Bühler has observed, the left side-stroke of ja tends to become curved, even in the earlier Kharoshthi inscriptions, while at a later date it is nearly always definitely rounded; and the supposed jha of our documents is in fact practically identical with the ja which Bühler gives as an illustration from the Bimaran vase.

In appearance this character is almost indistinguishable from ja, 66; hence variant readings such as ajho: ado in inscr. no. 604, note 4; samde: yamjha in no. 571, note 9."

The following are these two different types of the letter jha. j (XII.18.I) and y (XII.18.II). The e-stroke is also added to this letter in the old manner. y (XII.18.III) The u-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. y (XII.18.II)

The form of the letter \( \tilde{\text{na}} \) which is found in these documents is an old one. (XII.19.I) The \( \tilde{1} \)-stroke is attached to this letter in the old manner. (XII.19.II) The \( \tilde{e} \)-stroke added to this letter is in some sense peculiar.

We can make a short observation in this connection. In an earlier period we find the stroke indicating the \( \tilde{e} \) added to the right upper side of the vertical of the letter. In a still earlier period we find the \( \tilde{e} \)-stroke added to the right upper side of the curved portion of the letter; but here we find the \( \tilde{e} \)-stroke added to the right lower side of the stem of the letter. (XII.19.III)

**Linguale**

There is only one type of the letter \( \tilde{a} \) which is also found in the earlier inscription no. 661. (XII.20.I) The \( \tilde{u} \)-stroke is drawn to this letter in the old manner. (XII.20.II)

There is only one type of the letter \( \tilde{\text{ha}} \) in which the lower portion of the vertical ends in a curve moving towards the left. (XII.21.I). The \( \tilde{1} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XII.21.II) The anusvāra is added in the form of a short curve attached to the lower end of the letter. (XII.21.III)
There is only one type of the letter ग which we have also found in the earlier inscription at Endere. ग (XII. 22.I)

There is also the letter ध in this group of inscriptions. This letter is not of much frequency in the previous records. There we have found two different types of this letter - one with the straight line attached to the base of the letter and the other a curved line attached to the base of the letter. But here we find only one type of this letter in which the line attached to the base is more or less straight. ध (XII.23.I) The ठ (XII.23.II) and ड strokes (XII.23.III) are added in the old manner. The anuvāra added to this letter is a miniature म placed below the lower horizontal line forming this letter. ध (XII.23.IV)

The form of the letter ध which we have found here is very much different from similar letters found in the previous documents. There is great chance of its being confused with the letter क. (XII.24.I) The ठ-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. ठ (XII.24.II)

Dentals

There is only one type of the letter त which is an old type. त (XII.25.I) The त-stroke added to this letter is indicated by a stroke placed to the right side of the base of
the stem of the letter. Ꝍ (XII.25.II) The letters Ꝑ (XII.25.II), Ꝝ (XII.25.III), Ꝛ (XII.25.IV), ꝩ (XII.25.V), ꝩ (XII.25.VI) and ꝟ (XII.25.VII) are old types.

There is only one type of the letter thə which has the lower end of the vertical turned towards the upper side on the left. ꧢ (XII.26.I) The letter thı is also an old type. ꧢ (XII.26.II)

There is only one type of the letter da which is an old one. ∞ (XII.27.I) The letters đā ꧐ (XII.27.II) and du ꧐ (XII.27.III) are old types. There is one type of the letter de which is worth mentioning. Regarding this form Rapson has observed, "De is most commonly expressed by the conventionalised form, 88, but occasionally also by da, 85, surmounted by the vowel e; e.g. padabhyaṃ in 288, Pl. IV."¹

But it may be interesting to note that a similar type of letter, at least in the fundamental characteristic, is found in a preceding period. ꧣ (XII.27.IV). The letter dha ꧤ (XII.27.V)

There is only one type of the letter dha ꧤ (XII.28.I). The letter dhap ꧤ (XII.28.II)

There are three different types of the letter na. It is inexplicable why Rapson mentioned only one type when so

many different types can easily be found out in the documents. \( \Lambda \) (XII.29.I), \( \Phi \) (XII.29.II) and \( \Gamma \) (XII.29.III). There is no doubt that this last type has been mostly used in these inscriptions. The letters \( \nu \) (XII.29.IV), \( \mu \) (XII.29.V), \( \nu \) (XII.29.II) and \( \mu \) (XII.29.III) are old types.

### Labials

There is only one type of this letter which is an old one. \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.30.I) The letters \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.30.II), \( \breve{\mu} \) (XII.30.III) and \( \mu \) (XII.30.IV) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \breve{\nu} \) which is an old one. \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.31.I) The letters \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.31.II) and \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.31.I) are made in the old manner.

There are three different types of the letter \( \breve{\nu} \) of which two are old and one new. The old types are \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.I) and \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.II). The new type is \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.III). The letters \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.I), \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.II) and \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.32.II) are made in the old manner.

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \breve{\nu} \) which are old. \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.33.I) and \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.33.II). The letters \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.33.II) and \( \breve{\nu} \) (XII.33.II) are old types. We have found here the example of the letter \( \breve{\nu} \). In this connection Rapson has remarked, "The Nāy documents afforded
the first known examples of the Kharosthī र. This vowel is written as a zig-zag either across the stem of a letter - across the left hand stem when there are two - or below the letter; e.g. र, 7; क्र, 13; म्र, 117. Sometimes a consonant र is combined with the र; e.g. झर, 228; and in one instance म्र is written with the two vowels र and ज; see inscr. no. 585, note 2."1; but it has already been shown that the ex-

ample of the र along with another र is also found in the preceding period. ऽ (XII.33.V) The letters मे ः (XII.33.VI) and मो ः (XII.33.VII) are old types. There are two different types of anusvāra added to this letter. In the first type the right side of the second म is added to the lower middle of the first म. ऽ (XII.33.VIII) In the second type the second म is placed differently below the first म. ऽ (XII.33.IX)

Semi-vowels

There are three different types of the letter या which are old ones. य (XII.34.I), न (XII.34.II) and भ (XII.34.III) The letters यि ः (XII.34.IV) and यो ः (XII.34.V) are old types. The anusvāra is indicated by curving the lower portion of the right horizontal line forming this letter. ः (XII.34.VI)

There is only one type of the letter re which is an old one. ꜇ (XII.35.I). The letters ri ꜇ (XII.35.II), ru ꜇ (XII.35.III), re ꜇ (XII.35.IV) and ram ꜇ (XII.35.V) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter la. ꜇ (XII.36.I) The letters ṭa ꜇ (XII.36.II), ṭu ꜇ (XII.36.III), le ꜇ (XII.36.IV) are made in the old manner. The anusvāra is indicated by the addition of a miniature ma to the lower end of the stem of the letter. ꜇ (XII.36.V)

There are two different types of the letter va. Now regarding this letter Rapson has remarked, "Bühler has observed that 'in later times the head of va is nearly always round.' This is true of some of our documents in which va, ꜊, is so written as to be scarcely distinguishable from ꜇, ꜇; and it seems most probable that certain forms which have been admitted into our text are due to confusion of these two letters; e.g. ṭsu in inscr. no. 32, and ṭupti in no. 70. There are abundant examples of each of these words, and there can be no doubt that the normal forms are ṭasu (or ṭasv) and ṭupti. In cursive writing the head of va sometimes disappears almost entirely leaving little more than the bare stem; e.g. mahānuava, in no. 1, Pl. I; but as a rule in the Niya documents va, ꜊, retains the straight head-line which is its distinctive feature."¹ The following are the types

of this letter: - \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.37.I) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.37.II). The letters \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.37.III), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.37.IV), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.47.V) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.37.VI) are made in the old manner.

There is also one type of the letter \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.38.I). The letters \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.38.II), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.38.II) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.38.III) are made in the old manner.

**Sibilants and ha**

We have found only one type of the letter \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.39.I) It is important to note that the type of \( \bar{\eta} \) occurring in these documents is very different from the type of the same letter found in the document no. 661. We have found an example of the letter \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.39.I). The letters \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.39.III) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.39.II) are old types.

There is only one type of the letter \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.40.I). The letters \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.40.II), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.40.III) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.40.IV) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.I) The letters \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.II), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.III), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.IV), \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.V) and \( \bar{\eta} \) (XII.41.VI) are made in the old manner.
There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ṣ} \) which is an old one. \( \text{(XII.42.I)} \). We have also an example of the letter \( \text{ṣ} \) \( \text{(XII.42.II)} \).

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ḥ} \) which is an old one. \( \text{(XII.43.I)} \). The letters \( \text{ḥ} \) \( \text{(XII.43.II)} \), \( \text{ḥu} \) \( \text{(XII.43.III)} \), \( \text{ḥo} \) \( \text{(XII.43.IV)} \) and \( \text{ḥm} \) \( \text{(XII.43.V)} \) are old types.

**Compound akṣaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

The ligatures are formed with the initial \( \text{kā, kā, ge} \) and \( \text{ga} \). The letters formed with the initial \( \text{kā} \) are \( \text{kra} \) and \( \text{kva} \). The formation of the letter \( \text{kra} \) is an old one though we find two different types for the variation in the form of the letter \( \text{kā} \) \( \text{(XII.44.I)} \) and \( \text{(XII.44.II)} \). The compound letter \( \text{kva} \) is also formed clearly. \( \text{(XII.44.III)} \).

The compound letter with the initial \( \text{kā} \) is \( \text{kā} \) which is formed in the clearly understandable manner. \( \text{(XII.44.IV)} \).

The ligatures formed with the initial \( \text{ge} \) are \( \text{gra} \) \( \text{(XII.44.V)} \) and \( \text{gva} \) \( \text{(XII.44.VI)} \).

The ligatures formed with the initial \( \text{ga} \) are \( \text{̄gā} \) \( \text{(XII.44.VII)} \) and \( \text{̄na} \) \( \text{(XII.44.VIII)} \).
Groups with initial palatal

The ligatures are formed with the initial ca and jha.
The conjunct letter formed with the initial ca is āko. \( \frac{1}{2} \)
(XII.54.I)
The ligature formed with the initial jha is jhbo. \( \frac{3}{2} \)
(XII.45.II)

Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are formed with the initial ta and da. The ligatures formed with the initial ta are tāa, tma, tra, tva and tśa. The ligature which we read here as tāa was read by Rapson as ḥga, though he also had given the alternative reading of tāa. The most serious objection to this reading is that the very letter ḥa which was read by Rapson is altogether wanting in the entire range of the Kharosthi records. Secondly, the letter which he preferably read as ḥa can easily be read as ta on the face of it. It is, therefore, better to take this letter as tāa and not as ḥga. Burrow has already pointed out this in an article. 2


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letter ma is joined to the lower end of the vertical of the right side. (XII.46.III) The compound letters tra ꝫ (XII.46.IV), tva ꝫ (XII.46.V) and tse ꝥ (XII.46.VI) are old types.

The ligatures found with the initial da are dria ꝧ (XII.46.VII) and dva ꝧ (XII.46.VIII)

Groups with initial labial

The compound letters are formed with the initial pa and ma. The ligatures formed with the initial pa are pāi, pra and psu. The ligature pāi is formed clearly. (XII.47.I) The compound letter pra is an old type. (XII.47.II) The conjunct psu is also found in the most clear manner. (XII.47.III)

The ligature formed with the initial ma is mga ꝧ (XII.47.IV)

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The ligatures are formed with the initial re, la, and va. The compound letters formed with the initial ra are rga, rjha, rpe, rma, rva, rva, rsa and rse. The formation of these compound letters rga ꝧ (XII.48.I), rjha ꝧ (XII.48.II), rpa ꝧ (XII.48.III), rma ꝧ (XII.48.IV), rva ꝧ (XII.48.V), rva ꝧ (XII.48.VI), rpa ꝧ (XII.48.VII) and rse ꝧ (XII.48.VIII) is easy to follow.
The ligatures formed with the initial la are lga, lfa and lma. It is easy to follow the formation of the ligature lge. (XII.48.XI) So far as the ligature lfa is concerned, it is essential to enter into a discussion about it. In this compound letter we have found one la to the right lower portion of the vertical of which one small curve is drawn. Rapson interprets this as a modified pe and read this letter as lfa. Against this view of Rapson Burrow as well as Lüders interpreted this conjunct as lfa. It appears that it is more reasonable to accept the reading proposed by Burrow and Lüders. (XII.48.XI) The other ligature, lma is quite easy to follow. (XII.48.XI)

The ligature formed with the initial va is vya. (XII.48.XII) Regarding this letter Rapson has remarked, "In the alphabet of the Niya documents, v as the first letter of a group has been found in combination with y and r only; and in both cases it is represented by the significant portion of va, 135, while the suffixed y or r is indicated by its own conventional sign (v. inf.); e.g. vya, 225. The character vka which is thus produced is often scarcely to be distinguished from va, 141."4

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Groups with initial sibilant

The ligatures are formed with the initial sa, ga and sa. The compound letters formed with the initial sa are sa. (XII.49.I) and sva (XII.49.II)

The ligature formed with the initial ga is sga (XII.49.III) and sta (XII.49.IV).

The ligatures formed with the initial sa are sta, sva, sva and sva. The ligature sta (XII.49.IV) is an old type. The compound letter sva is also an old type. (XII.49.VI). The ligature which is read here as sva was originally read by Rapson as spa as he read another ligature as lga (XII.49.VII) The ligature sva is also an old type. (XII.49.VIII).
CHAPTER XIII

The period of Mahiri and Vašmana

In the last chapter we have dealt with the palaeography of the Kharosthī script as found in the documents of the kings Pepiya, Tajaka and Aṃgoka. In this chapter it will be our endeavour to discuss the palaeography of the documents of the kings Mahiri and Vašmana and also of the inscriptions which may be referred to their times. As has been already said in a previous chapter, we have found documents of Mahiri with as the latest date the 28th regnal year and those of Vašmana with as the latest date the 11th regnal year. Therefore these inscriptions may be said to cover a range of 39 years, or roughly 40 years.

In this chapter we have taken into account the following kinds of inscriptions. First, the inscriptions of Mahiri which are dated in the regnal year of this ruler. They are nos. 582, 732, 415, 570, 578, 331, 568, 637, 569, 298, 593, 577, 588, 322, 576, 222, 420. Secondly, the inscriptions of Vašmana which are also similarly dated. They are nos. 767, 770, 604, 343, 345, 777, 401, 478. Thirdly, there are certain inscriptions of Mahiri which, though
undated, have other evidences to show that they belonged to the reign of Mahiri. They are nos. 17, 20, 33, 235, 248, 272, 288, 289, 292, 305, 310, 317, 326, 329, 341, 349, 351, 357, 358, 362, 368, 376, 385, 399, 440, 520, 562, 598, 621, 633, 719, 725, 735, 743, 765. Fourthly, there are certain inscriptions of Mahiri which are probably to be ascribed to the time of Mahiri. They are nos. 96, 462, 505. Fifthly, there are certain inscriptions of Vasmana which are to be ascribed to the time of Vasmana as gathered from the internal evidence. They are nos. 320, 475, 714. Lastly, there are certain other documents which do not contain evidence which will allow us to ascribe them to the reign of either of these two rulers but to both of them. They are nos. 1, 39, 139, 140, 159, 160, 164, 165, 198, 247, 266, 435, 439, 515, 517, 524, 547, 561, 625, 638, 713, 769 and 771.

Vowels

There are three different types of the letter a all of which are old. ḍ (XII.1.I), ḍ (XII.1.II) and ḍ (XIII.1.III). The anusvāra is indicated by a miniature ma added to the foot of this letter. ḍ (XIII.1.IV)

The letter ḡ is indicated by the addition of a short stroke to the foot of the letter a. ḍ (XII.2.I)
There is only one type of the letter \( \text{I} \) which is an old one. \( \text{II} \) (XIII.3.I) There is also the example of the letter \( \text{I} \) in which the foot of the letter is turned upwards to indicate the added \text{ma} indicating the anusvāra. \( \text{I} \) (XII.3.II)

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \text{u} \) which are old types. \( \text{II} \) (XII.4.I) and \( \text{II} \) (XII.4.II)

There are two distinct types of the letter \( \text{e} \). In the first type it is only a short stroke attached to the foot of the stem of the letter \( \text{a} \). \( \text{II} \) (XIII.5.I) In the second type a loop is formed to the foot of the letter \( \text{e} \) besides the line attached to it. \( \text{II} \) (XIII.5.II)

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{o} \) which is an old one. \( \text{II} \) (XIII.6.I)

**Simple akṣaras**

**Gutturals**

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{k} \) all of which are old types. \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.I), \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.II) and \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.III). The letters \( \text{ka} \) \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.IV), \( \text{ki} \) \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.V) and \( \text{ku} \) \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.VI) are made in the old manner. The vowel \( \text{a} \) added to this letter is indicated by a zig-zag stroke across the stem of the letter. \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.VII) The letters \( \text{ke} \) \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.VIII) and \( \text{ka} \) \( \text{II} \) (XIII.7.IX) are also old types.
There is another type of ka which Rapson has transliterated as Ka. Regarding this letter he has observed that "Ka, k, most probably represents a non-Indian guttural, and may be compared with the second form of ka which is found in Central Asian Brāhmī. It seems to occur chiefly in popular words like avalīka, pake, maka, and in proper names like kumsena (ins. no. 383) = Kuptsena (no. 592). Occasionally it seems to interchange with ka, as for instance in the name last quoted, which may very plausibly be identified with the kumpasena of ins. no. 322; cf. also vukityiyasa in ins. no. 108 with vukityte in no. 513. With regard to the form of this letter, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Ka, k, and ke, cf. 11; e.g. in inscr. no. 430, pake²: -ka, -hka; and between Ka and pha, 103; e.g. in no. 384, kape²-ya: 2-phe-"¹ The following is the type of this letter. (XIII.8.I) The g-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. (XIII.8.I) It is interesting to note that a similar letter has been found in the period of the great Kuṣānas.

There are two different types of the letter kha which are old. (XIII.9.I), (XIII.9.II). The letters khi (XIII.9.III), khu (XIII.9.IV), khe (XIII.9.V) and kho (XIII.9.VI) are old types. The anusvāra added to

¹ (1) KI, pt. III, p. 301, 1929.
this letter is a miniature ma added to the stem of the letter. " (XIII.9.VII)

There is only one type of the letter ga which is an old one. ' (XIII.10.I). The letters gi ' (XIII.10.II), go ' (XIII.10.III), ge ' (XIII.10.IV), go ' (XIII.10.V) and go ' (XIII.10.VI) are old types. The anusvāra added to this letter is indicated in two different manners. In the first type the stem of the letter itself is curved to make the miniature ma. " (XIII.10.VII) In the second type one small ma is added to indicate the anusvāra. " (XIII.10.VIII).

There is only one type of the letter ga which is an old one. ' (XIII.11.I) The letters gi ' (XIII.11.II), gu ' (XIII.11.III), ge ' (XIII.11.IV) and go ' (XIII.11.V) are old types. The anusvāra added to this letter is a miniature ma placed below the horizontal line forming this letter. " (XIII.11.VI).

There is another type of letter which is read as ĥa as it has a dash at the top. According to Rapson the line above ĥa denotes suffixed na or na. We have found only one type of this letter ĥ (XIII.12.I). The letters ĥ' i (XIII.12.I), ĥu ĥ (XIII.12.II) and ĥam ĥ (XIII.12.III) are made in the old manner.

(1) KI, pt. III, p.320, 1929.
There is only one type of the letter \( \text{sha} \) which is an old one. \( \text{\textit{SHA}} \) (XIII.13.I) The letters \( \text{ghi} \) (XIII.13.II) and \( \text{ghu} \) (XIII.13.III) are made in the old manner.

**Palatals**

There are three different types of the letter \( \text{ca} \) which are old ones. \( \text{\textit{C}} \) (XIII.14.I), \( \text{\textit{C}} \) (XIII.14.II) and \( \text{\textit{C}} \) (XIII.14.III). The 1-stroke is placed in two different manners. In the first type it is a vertical line which goes piercing through the left side of the head of the letter. \( \text{\textit{C}} \) (XIII.14.IV). In the second type it is an oblique stroke which is place in the upper field of the letter. (XIII.14.III) The letters \( \text{\textit{su}} \) (XIII.14.II), \( \text{\textit{ce}} \) (XIII.14.V), \( \text{\textit{ce}} \) (XIII.14.III) and \( \text{\textit{CE}} \) (XIII.14.VII) are made in the old manner.

There is one type of the letter \( \text{\textit{ca}} \) which is an old one. \( \text{\textit{C}} \) (XIII.15.I). The letters \( \text{\textit{CI}} \) (XIII.15.II) and \( \text{\textit{CE}} \) (XIII.15.III) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{\textit{cha}} \) which is an old one. \( \text{\textit{CH}} \) (XIII.16.I). The letters \( \text{\textit{chi}} \) (XIII.16.II), \( \text{\textit{che}} \) (XIII.16.III), \( \text{\textit{CHO}} \) (XIII.16.IV) and \( \text{\textit{CH}} \) (XIII.16.V) are made in the old manner.

It is important to note that we have found only a few examples of the letter \( \text{\textit{cha}} \); while, on the other hand, the example of the letter \( \text{\textit{cha}} \) is most common. The letter \( \text{\textit{cha}} \)
as found in these records is an old type. \( \gamma \)  

The \( \mathbf{1} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner.  

(XIII.17.I)

There is only one type of the letter \( \mathbf{\check{c}ha} \) which is old.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.18.I) The letters \( \mathbf{\check{c}hi \gamma} \) (XIII.18.II) and \( \mathbf{\check{c}hu \gamma} \) (XIII.18.III) are made in the old manner. When an \( \text{anuvāra} \) is added to this letter, the \( \mathbf{u} \)-stroke takes the form of a short horizontal stroke drawn from the lower left end of the vertical.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.18.IV). The letters \( \mathbf{\check{c}he \gamma} \) (XIII.18.V) and \( \mathbf{\check{c}ham \gamma} \) (XIII.18.VI) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \mathbf{ja} \) which is an old one.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.19.I) The \( \mathbf{a} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated by a short, slanting stroke added to the foot of the letter.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.19.II) The letters \( \mathbf{jil} \) (XIII.19.III), \( \mathbf{ju} \) (XIII.19.IV), \( \mathbf{je} \) (XIII.19.V) and \( \mathbf{jam} \) (XIII.19.VI) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter \( \mathbf{jla} \) which is an old one.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.20.I) The letter \( \mathbf{jil} \) is made in the old manner.  

(XIII.20.II)

There is only one type of the letter \( \mathbf{jha} \) which is angular headed.  

\( \gamma \) (XIII.21.I) The \( \mathbf{\mathbf{a}} \)-stroke attached to this letter is indicated in two different ways. In the first case it is a slanting stroke which goes touching the upper portion of the angular portion of the letter.  

(XIII.21.II) In the second case the line indicating the
1-stroke is placed to the left of the letter in the field. 

(XIII.21.III) The letter \( \text{he} \) is also an old type. \( \text{f} \) 

(XIII.21.IV)

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{he} \) which is an old one. \( \text{f} \) (XIII.22.I) The 1-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \( \text{f} \) (XIII.22.II) The \( \text{g} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated in two different manners. In one type it is in form and direction the upper half of the ordinary 1-stroke. \( \text{f} \) (XIII.22.III) In the second type the stroke is added to the end of the stem of the letter. \( \text{f} \) (XIII.22.IV)

**Linguists**

There is only one type of the letter \( \text{ia} \). 

(XIII.23.I) The letters \( \text{ti} \) (XIII.23.II), \( \text{tu} \) (XIII.23.III) and \( \text{tun} \) (XIII.23.IV) are made in the old manner.

(XIII.23.I) The letters \( \text{ti} \) (XIII.23.II), \( \text{tu} \) (XIII.23.III), \( \text{tun} \) (XIII.23.IV) and \( \text{tun} \) (XIII.23.IV) are made in the old manner.

(XIII.24.I) The letters \( \text{thi} \) (XIII.24.II), \( \text{thu} \) (XIII.24.III), the \( \text{h} \) (XIII.24.IV) and \( \text{the} \) (XIII.24.IV) are made in the old manner.

(XIII.25.I) The \( \text{g} \)-stroke is added to this letter in the old way. (XIII.25.I)
There is only one type of the letter ḍa which is an old one. *(XIII.26.I)*

There are three different types of the letter ḍa which are old ones. *(XIII.27.I), (XIII.27.II) and (XIII.27.III)*. The letters ḍā (XIII.27.IV), ḍē (XIII.27.V) and ḍō (XIII.27.VI) are made in the old manner. The anusvāra added to this letter is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it is a miniature ma which is placed below the letter. *(XIII.27.VII)*. In the second type one side of the miniature ma is added to the lower end of the letter. *(XIII.27.III)*

There is only one type of the letter ḍha which has also been found previously. *(XIII.28.I)* The i-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. *(XIII.28.II)*

Regarding the letter pa Rapson has remarked, "The existence in the Niya documents of the lingual nasal pa, 74, has been doubted, and it is certain that this letter is not to be found in most of them. But throughout this work the editors have in the notes indicated pa as a possible alternative reading for na wherever the character seemed to resemble forms 74 rather than form 94. Sometimes such a pa seemed to be justified; e.g. dhāmena = dharmena in no. 555, note 2; parikrayena in no. 532, note 4. In other places no such justification was apparent; e.g. aniti and nidati in no. 573,
note 4; pikhaleti in no. 557, note 1; vidhanepa, as contrasted with striyapa and dhāmena, in no. 555, note 2. It was evident, therefore, that, as regards by far the greater number of these documents, no distinction between na and na was made by the scribes; and that, even if such a distinc-
tion was ever intended, it was not consistently observed."

"The Buddhist poems, however, belong to a higher class of literature than the other documents, which deal with the affairs of every day life, and it would not be surprising to find in them a greater degree of accuracy in expression.
In no. 510, Pl. VII, for instance, the reading nirvapam, given as an alternative in note 1, may well have been in-
tended; and the same observation may be made with respect to several of the variant readings in no. 511, Pl. VIII;
e.g. gana, gane, caraṇa, mrgaṇa, in notes 12 and 13. But it must be admitted that even in this inscription, which is remarkable for its careful writing, most of the words in which pa should strictly be used have na in its place; e.g. avanā, guna, gune, trini, prakāṣena, maranaṣya, varna, vivarna, suvarna. 1

(XIII.29.1) The anusvāra added to this letter is a miniature ma added to the stem of the letter.

(XIII.29.1)

Dentals

There is only one type of the letter ta which is an old one. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.I) The letters ti \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.II) and tu \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.III) are made in the old manner. When the letter is tum, the y-stroke takes the form of a short stroke added to the left side of the bottom of the stem. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.IV). The letters te \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.V), to \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.VI) and tam \( \uparrow \) (XIII.30.VII) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter tha which is an old one. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.I) The a-stroke added to this letter is in the form of a short stroke added to the right side of the lower end of the vertical constituting the letter. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.II) The letters thi \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.III), thu \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.IV), the \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.V) and tham \( \uparrow \) (XIII.31.VI) are made in the old manner.

There are two different types of the letter da which are old ones. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.32.I) and \( \uparrow \) (XIII.32.II). The a-stroke added to this letter is expressed by a short stroke below the letter. \( \uparrow \) (XIII.32.III) The a-stroke is added to this letter in two different manners. In the first type which is more common it goes through the head of the letter (XIII.32.II). In the second type it is placed on the left side of the letter in a detached manner. (XIII.32.I) The letters du \( \uparrow \) (XIII.32.IV) and de \( \uparrow \) (XIII.32.V) are made in the old manner. There is another type of de in which
the stroke indicating $e$ is drawn from the upper field to the head of the letter. $\overset{\frown}{f}$ (XIII.32.VI) The letters de $\overset{\frown}{f}$ (XIII.32.VII) and dam $\overset{\frown}{f}$ (XIII.32.VIII) are made in the old manner.

There are two different types of the letter dha. $\overset{\frown}{3}$ (XIII.33.I) and $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.33.II). The $\overset{\frown}{3}$ is a stroke attached to the lower end of the letter. $\overset{\varpi}{2}$ (XIII.33.III) The letters dhi $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.33.IV), dhu $\overset{\varpi}{2}$ (XIII.33.V), dhe $\overset{\frown}{3}$ (XIII.33.VI) and dham $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.33.VII) are made in the old manner.

There are two different types of the letter na which are old ones. $\overset{\frown}{3}$ (XIII.34.I) and $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.34.II) Among these types the first one is more frequent. The $\overset{\frown}{3}$-stroke is added to this letter in two different manners. In the first type the $\overset{\frown}{3}$-stroke is indicated by a short stroke drawn towards the right from the lower end of the vertical forming this letter. $\overset{\frown}{3}$ (XIII.34.III) In the second type it is indicated by a detached stroke placed to the right lower side of the letter. $\overset{\varpi}{2}$ (XIII.34.IV) The $i$-stroke is also expressed in two different manners. In the first case the stroke indicating the $i$-stroke passes touching the left portion of the head of the letter. $\overset{\varpi}{4}$ (XIII.34.V) In the second case it is placed to the left of the letter in a detached manner. $\overset{\varpi}{4}$ (XIII.34.VI) The letters nu $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.34.VII) and nr $\overset{\varpi}{3}$ (XIII.34.VIII) are made in the old
manner. The $e$-stroke added to this letter is expressed in two different manners. In the first case it is a short stroke drawn from the upper field to the head of the letter. $\breve{f}$ (XIII.34. IX) In the second case it is a stroke drawn from the right side of the base of the letter. $\breve{f}$ (XIII. 34.X) The letters no $\breve{f}$ (XIII.34.XI) and ne $\breve{f}$ (XIII. 34.XII) are formed in the old manner.

Labials

There is only one type of the letter $p\hat{a}$ which is an old one. It is important to note that this letter, when single, has the curved portion closed with the vertical line. $p$ (XIII.35.I) The letter $p\hat{a}$ is formed by the addition of a short stroke to the right side of the vertical. $\hat{p}$ (XIII. 35.II) The letters $\hat{p}i$ (XIII.35.III) and $pu$ $\breve{b}$ (XIII. 35.IV) are formed in the old manner. When the anusvāra is added to the letter $pu$, the stroke indicating the vowel is indicated by a short horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the vertical towards the left. $\breve{b}$ (XIII.35.V). The letters $pr$ $\breve{a}$ (XIII.35.VI), $pe$ $\breve{n}$ (XIII.35.VII), $pa$ $\breve{a}$ (XIII.35.VIII) and $pam$ $\breve{b}$ (XIII.35.IX) are made in the old fashion.

There is only one type of the letter $pha$ which is a new one. The new element in this type is that the horizontal
portion of the letter on the right makes a complete curve.  \( \text{(XIII.36.I)} \)

There are two types of the letter ba which are old ones.  \( \text{(XIII.37.I)} \) and \( \text{(XIII.37.II)} \). The letters bi (XIII.37.II), bu \( \text{(XIII.37.III)} \) and bo \( \text{(XIII.37.IV)} \) are formed in the old manner. The anusvāra is indicated by turning the lower end of the vertical into a curve on the left.  \( \text{(XIII.37.V)} \)

There are three distinct types of the letter bha which are old.  \( \text{(XIII.38.I)} \), \( \text{(XIII.38.II)} \) and \( \text{(XIII.38.III)} \). The \( \tilde{a} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated by a short stroke added to the foot of this letter.  \( \text{(XIII.38.III)} \) The letters bhi \( \text{(XIII.38.IV)} \) and bhu \( \text{(XIII.38.V)} \) are formed in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter ma which is an old one.  \( \text{(XIII.39.I)} \) The \( \tilde{a} \)-stroke added to this letter is indicated by a short stroke placed below the letter. \( \text{(XIII.39.II)} \) There are two different types of the \( \tilde{a} \)-stroke. In the first type which is more common it is a straight vertical line going through the letter \( \text{(XIII.39.III)} \) In the second type the lower end of this vertical line ends in a flourish to the left. \( \text{(XIII.39.IV)} \) The letter mu is an old type. \( \text{(XIII.39.V)} \) The vowel \( \tilde{a} \) is written as a zig-zag below the letter. \( \text{(XIII.39.VI)} \) The \( \tilde{a} \)-stroke
added to this letter is indicated in two different manners. The letter mo is an old type. Gy (XIII.39.V) The letter man is indicated by the placing of one me below the letter me. Gy (XIII.39.X)

Semi-vowels

There are two different types of the letter ye which are old. H (XIII.40.I) and H (XIII.40.II). The a-stroke attached to this letter is a short stroke added to the foot of the vertical stroke of the letter. H (XIII.40.III) The letters yi (XIII.40.I), ye H (XIII.40.IV), yo H (XIII.40.V) and yam H (XIII.40.VI) are made in the old manner.

We have found only one type of the letter ra which is, as a rule, distinguished from ta by the greater length of its stem. H (XIII.41.I) The a-stroke attached to this letter is indicated by a short stroke attached to the foot of the stem of this letter. H (XIII.41.II) The letters ri H (XIII.41.III) and ru H (XIII.41.IV) are made in the old manner. When the anusvāra is added to the letter ru, then the u is indicated by a short stroke added to the left of the vertical. H (XIII.41.V) The letters re H (XIII.41.VI), re H (XIII.41.VII) and ram H (XIII.41.VIII) are made in the same manner.
There is only one type of the letter la which is an old type. \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.I) The \( \mathcal{L} \) added to this letter is a stroke attached to the lower end of the vertical of the letter. \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.II) The letters li \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.III), lu \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.IV), le \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.V), lo \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.VI) and lam \( \mathcal{L} \) (XIII.42.VII) are made in the old manner.

There are two different types of the letter va which are old. \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.I) and \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.II). The letters va \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.III), vi \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.IV), vu \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.V), vr \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.VI), ve \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.VII), vo \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.VIII) and vem \( \mathcal{J} \) (XIII.43.IX) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter v'\( a \) \( \mathcal{Z} \) (XIII.44.I) The letters v'i \( \mathcal{Z} \) (XIII.44.II) and v'e \( \mathcal{Z} \) (XIII.44.III) are made in the old manner.

Sibilants and ha

There are three different types of the letter s'\( a \) which are old ones. s'\( a \) (XIII.45.I), s'\( a \) (XIII.45.II) and s'\( a \) (XIII.45.III) The i-stroke attached to this letter is indicated in two different ways. In the first type it goes through the horizontal portion of the letter. (XIII.45.I). In the second type it goes touching the left upper portion of the letter. (XIII.45.III) The letters s'\( u \) s'\( a \) (XIII.45.IV), s'e s'\( a \) (XIII.45.V), s'o s'\( a \) (XIII.45.VI) and s'sp s'\( a \)
(XIII.45.VII) are made in the old manner.

There are two types of the letter sa which are old ones. \(\hat{T}\) (XIII.46.I) and \(\hat{P}\) (XIII.46.II). The i-stroke attached to this letter is expressed in two different manners. In the first type it goes through the left side of the curve forming this letter. (XIII.46.II) In the second type it is to the left of the letter itself. \(\hat{T}\) (XIII.46.III) The letters \(\hat{u}\) (XIII.46.IV), \(\hat{e}\) (XIII.46.V), \(\hat{o}\) (XIII.46.VI) and \(\hat{a}\) (XIII.46.VII) are made in the old manner.

There is also one type of the letter \(\hat{a}\). \(\hat{T}\) (XIII.47.I) The i-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner. \(\hat{P}\) (XIII.47.II)

There is only one type of the letter sa which is an old one. \(\hat{P}\) (XIII.48.I) The \(\hat{a}\) is indicated by a short stroke placed below the right lower portion of the letter. \(\hat{P}\) (XIII.48.II) The letters \(\hat{u}\) (XIII.48.III) and \(\hat{e}\) (XIII.48.IV) are made in the old manner; but when the anusvara is added to this letter, the u-stroke is indicated by a short horizontal stroke drawn from the lower end of the vertical to the left. \(\hat{P}\) (XIII.48.V) The letters \(\hat{e}\) (XIII.48.VI), \(\hat{a}\) (XIII.48.VII) and \(\hat{a}\) (XIII.48.VIII) are made in the old manner.

There are two distinct types of the letter sa of which
There are two distinct types of the letter ha which are old ones. L (XIII.50.I) and ो (XIII.50.II). The letters hi (XIII.50.II), hu ल (XIII.50.III), he े (XIII.50.IV), ho ो (XIII.50.V) and ha ओ (XIII.50.VI) are made in the old manner.

There is only one type of the letter ha. A close study of all words in which this letter occurs shows that the line above ha indicates suffixed na or ओ (XIII.51.I). The e-stroke is added to this letter in the old manner (XIII.51.II).

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**Compound akṣaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

We find the groups with the initial ka, kha, ge, gha and gha. The compound letters formed with the initial ka are kto, kma, kya, kram and kve. The formation of the ligatures kto र (XIII.52.I), kma र (XIII.52.II), kya प (XIII.52.III), kram ब (XIII.52.IV) and kve ब (XIII.52.V) is quite easy to follow.
The compound letter with the initial kha is khva. \( \Gamma \) (XIII.52.VI)

The ligatures with the initial qa are qva \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.52.VII)
and qra \( \Lambda \) (XIII.52.VIII).

The compound letter with the initial qa is qa to which
is an old type. \( \Omega \) (XIII.52.IX)

The conjunct with the initial qha is qhra. \( \Phi \) (XIII.52.X)

Groups with initial palatal

The ligatures are formed with the initial qa, cha, chha
and jha. The compound letters with the initial qa are qa\( ' \)
\( \Upsilon \) (XIII.53.I), cro \( \Lambda \) (XIII.53.II) and cve \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.53.III)

The compound letter with the initial cha is chha \( \Phi \)
(XIII.53.IV).

The ligature with the initial chha is chhaya \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.
53.V).

The compound letters with the initial jha are jhbo \( \Upsilon \)
(XIII.53.VI) and jhma \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.53.VII).

Groups with initial dental

The compound letters are formed with the initial ta, da
and na. The ligatures formed with the initial ta are tg\( ' \)
\( \Upsilon \) (XIII.54.I), tma \( \Lambda \) (XIII.54.II), tva \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.54.III),
tra \( \Lambda \) (XIII.54.IV), tva \( \Upsilon \) (XIII.54.V) and ts\( ' \)
\( \Upsilon \) (XIII.54.VI).
The compound letters formed with the initial da are

\( \text{đ} \) (XIII.54.VII) and \( \text{đva} \) (XIII.54.VIII).

The ligatures formed with the initial na are \( \text{nja} \) (XIII.54.IX) and \( \text{nva} \) (XIII.54.X).

Groups with initial labial

The compound letters are formed with the initial pa, bha and ma. The ligatures formed with the initial pa are

\( \text{pka} \) (XIII.55.I), \( \text{pta} \) (XIII.55.II), \( \text{pna} \) (XIII.55.III), \( \text{pye} \) (XIII.55.IV), \( \text{pra} \) (XIII.55.V), \( \text{pse} \) (XIII.55.VI) and \( \text{psu} \) (XIII.55.VII).

The ligature formed with the initial bha is \( \text{bhla} \) (XIII.55.VIII).

The compound letters formed with the initial ma are \( \text{mka} \) (XIII.55.IX), \( \text{mne} \) (XIII.55.X), \( \text{msom} \) (XIII.55.XI) and \( \text{msu} \) (XIII.55.XII).

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The compound letters within this group are formed with the initial re, le and va. The letters formed with the initial re are \( \text{rke} \) (XIII.56.I), \( \text{rge} \) (XIII.56.II), \( \text{rci} \) (XIII.56.III), \( \text{rji} \) (XIII.56.IV), \( \text{rta} \) (XIII.56.V), \( \text{rtha} \) (XIII.56.VI), \( \text{rmn} \) (XIII.56.VII), \( \text{rpi} \) (XIII.56.VIII),
The compound letters formed with the initial $\text{la}$ are $\text{lg}'a$, $\text{lma}$, $\text{lj}'a$ and $\text{ly'a}$. The formation of the compound letter $\text{lg}'a$ is clear. $\text{lg}'a$ (XIII.56.XVI). The compound letter $\text{lma}$ is also clear. $\text{lma}$ (XIII.56.XVII) The compound letter $\text{ly'a}$ is also found in this period as in the preceding period. $\text{ly'a}$ (XIII.56.XVIII) The formation of the compound letter $\text{ly'a}$ is also clear. $\text{ly'a}$ (XIII.56.XIX)

The compound letters formed with the initial $\text{va}$ are $\text{vya}$ (XIII.56.XX) and $\text{vhe}$ $\text{vhe}$ (XIII.56.XXI).

Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial $\text{sa}$, $\text{sa}$ and $\text{sa}$. The ligatures with the initial $\text{sa}$ are $\text{s'ra}$ (XIII.57.I), $\text{s'ra}$ (XIII.57.II) and $\text{s'va}$ $\text{s'va}$ (XIII.57.III).

The compound letters with the initial $\text{sa}$ are $\text{sa}$ (XIII.57.IV), $\text{stu}$ (XIII.57.V), $\text{sah}'i$ (XIII.57.VI), $\text{sta}$ (XIII.57.VII), $\text{sta}$ (XIII.57.VIII), $\text{sya}$ $\text{sya}$ (XIII.57.IX) and $\text{sya}$ (XIII.57.X).

The ligatures formed with the initial $\text{sa}$ are $\text{sta}$ $\text{sta}$.
(XIII.57.XI), stri ¹ (XIII.57.XII), sthi ¹ (XIII.57.XIII),
ena ¶ (XIII.57.XIV), sy'a ¶ (XIII.57.XV), sya ¶ (XIII.57.
XVI) and ara ¶ (XIII.57.XVII).
CHAPTER XIV

The numerals

In the period of As'oka the numerals in use are 1, 2, 4 and 5. In all these cases there is no doubt that they represent the numerals because in all cases they are preceded by words denoting the numbers which the numerals are to describe.

In the Shehbazgarhi rock-edict no.1 we find the use of the numeral sign indicating one. It is true that there is no word before this numeral sign indicating that it is one; but in all other recensions of the same inscription found at Girnar, Kalsi, Mansehra and Jaugada one word indicating this numeral is placed instead of this numeral sign. Therefore there is no doubt that it represents one. The sign for one is indicated by one slanting one. / (XIV.1.1)

The numeral two is indicated by two vertical strokes placed side by side. In the Shehbazgarhi rock-edict no.1 we find the word duv[i] placed before this numeral whereas in the Mansehra version the place where this numeral ought to be is seriously mutilated. However we have got here the word du[v]e. The numeral is indicated by two slanting lines. // (XIV.2.1)
We find the existence of the numeral four in the thirteenth rock-edict of Shahbazgarhi. The Mansehra version is seriously mutilated and nothing can be read. But in the Shahbazgarhi recension we find the word \textit{cature} before the numeral indicating four. This numeral is expressed by four parallel vertical strokes. \textit{|||} (XIV.4.1)

The numeral indicating five is found in the Shahbazgarhi as well as Mansehra versions of the third rock edict. The expression which has been used to indicate this number is \textit{pamcasu pamcasu} in both cases. The numeral has been expressed by five parallel vertical strokes. \textit{|||} (XIV.5.1)

In the Indo-Bactrian period we find two numerals, viz., 5 and 14. It is necessary to discuss the formation of the numeral 5 first. The letter five is found in the inscriptions of As'oka but it is written in a different manner. In the inscriptions of As'oka the numeral is indicated by five parallel vertical lines; but here the numeral five is indicated by one inclined cross and to its left one vertical stroke. There is no doubt that this sign indicates the numeral 5 as the numeral is also expressed in word. The portion of the inscription where this occurs runs thus: \textit{pamcamaye 41, i.e. fifth, 5.} It is obvious that this

(1) EI, vol.XXIV, p.7, 1938
inclined cross which indicates the numeral 4 is nothing but the fixing of four vertical strokes. Thus we can easily understand the significance of these two signs meaning the numeral 5. Thus we see that the numeral one is indicated by the slanting stroke / (XIV.1.II), the numeral four by one inclined cross X(XIV.4.II) and the numeral five by one inclined cross and to its left one vertical stroke. /X(XIV.5.II)

There is the remaining numeral 14 which should be now discussed. Regarding this numeral Majumdar observed, "The day of the month of Kartika is expressed as 4 4 4 1 1, i.e. 14. This rotation is rather unusual, since the customary way to express the number 14 would be to write 10 4. The third digit, viz., 4, which is engraved below the line, appears to have been added later." Majumdar added a note which runs thus: "The second symbol for 1 is longer than the first. A similar example occurs in the Fatchjang inscription of the year 69 (C.I.I., vol.II, pt.I, Pl.IV, 1)." We would offer certain criticism to the statement of Majumdar. First, it is not at all a matter of importance to find out the similarity between the second symbol for 1 in this inscription and the second symbol for 1 for the date portion 16 in the

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(1) EI, vol.XXIV, p.3, 1938
(2) Ibid.
Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68. Secondly, it is inexplicable how Majumdar calls this inscription as dated in the year 69 as there cannot be any doubt regarding its year being 68. In an example of the numeral 12 found in the Maira inscription of the year 12 the date is expressed by a sign, very similar to the Kharos̲ṭhra, for 10 and two other vertical strokes indicating two. This system is followed from this time onwards. It, therefore, seems that the date, if it was written 10, at first through mistake in this inscription, was unusual because the numeral 10 ought to have been represented by the sign for 10 which is very similar to the Kharos̲ṭhra. It, therefore, seems that the engraver at first wrote 9 indicated by the signs meant for 4, 4 and 1 and then he added 1 to the left of the vertical stroke and also one 4 below to make it 14. Or another explanation is possible. It may be that the sign intended for 10 was not evolved at that time and so the numeral 14 written in this manner.

In the Indo-Scythian period we find the numerals 5, 12, 16, 58, 68, 78, 81, 100 and 102. The numerals thus represented are /, I (XIV.1.III), 2, II (XIV.2.III), 4, X (XIV.4.III), 5, |X| (XIV.5.III). It is important to note that the signs for 10, 20 and 100 are found in this period for the first
time. The sign for 10 is found in the Maira inscription of the year 58, the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika of the year 78. Here the sign for 10 very much resembles the Kharoṣṭhī letter a. (XIV.6.11). The sign for 20 is found in the Fatehjang stone inscription of the year 68, the Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika of the year 78 and the Muchai inscription of the year 81. The numeral 20 is represented by a double curve, looking like a cursive combination for two 10, for 20. The sign for 100 is found in the Mount Benj inscription of the year 102. The sign for 100 is indicated by a sign, resembling a Brāhmī ta or tra, for 100 to the right of which stands a vertical stroke, whereby the whole becomes equivalent to I c.

(XIV.8.3)

The numbers lying between 10, 20 and 100 are expressed by groups in which the additional ones are invariably placed on the left. Thus for 5 we have 4 (+) 1. Groups formed of the signs for 10 (+) 1 to 10 (+) 9, and 20 (+) 1 to 20 (+) 9

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(2) Ibid., pp. 23-29, 1929
(3) Ibid., p. 20, 1929
(4) Ibid., p. 28, 1929
(5) Ibid., p. 30, 1929
(6) Ibid., p. 57, 1929
and so forth are used to express the numerals 11 to 19, and 21 to 29, etc.

In the Indo-Parthian period we find the numerals 15, 20, 26, 103, 111, and 113. It is important to note that some of these numerals are preceded by words expressing the numerals. Thus we have the expressions paVca[ds]a'el before 15, [ti]s'atime2 before 103 and ekad[as]a'sa'timeye before 113.3

The numerals thus represented are 1, / (XIV.1.IV), 2, // (XIV.2.IV), 3, /// (XIV.3.IV), 4, X (XIV.4.IV), 5, IX (XIV.5.IV), 10, IX (XIV.6.IV), 20, 3 (XIV.7.IV) and 100, (XIV.8.IV).

In the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II we find the numerals 1, 2, 8, 15, 20, 23, 30, 122, 134, 136, 168, 191, and 200. As in the preceding period the numeral is indicated not only by figures but also by words in some cases. The numeral 1 is preceded by the word pra9hane4, the numeral 8 by the word asthame5 and the numeral 23 by the word trevis'e.6 In the remaining cases the numeral is not preceded by any word; still there is no ambiguity in the meaning of the numerals. The use of the words indicating the numerals may

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2. Ibid., p. 52, 1929
3. Ibid., p. 65, 1929
4. Ibid., p. 70, 1929
5. Ibid., p. 106, 1929
6. EII, vol. XXI, p. 259, l. 1
then be considered as a superfluity. In the numeral 200 another vertical stroke is added to the right of the vertical stroke whose addition makes it one hundred. The numerals thus represented are 1, 1 (XIV.1.V), 2, II (XIV.2.V), 3, III (XIV.3.V), 4, X (XIV.4.V), 5, IX (XIV.5.V), 10, VII (XIV.6.V), 20, XX (XIV.7.V), 100, C (XIV.8.V), and 200, CC (XIV.9.V).

In the period of the great Kusanas we find the numerals 5, 11, 15, 18, 20, 25, 28, 40, 41, 51, and 89. Out of these numerals some are also expressed in words. They are the following ones:—11, 28 and 41. The word ekadas’e has been used to indicate 11, 1 aṣṭavīṣ’e to indicate 28 and ekacapar[i][s’a]! to indicate 41. The numerals which are represented are 1, 1 (XIV.1.VI), 4, X (XIV.4.VI), 5, IX (XIV.5.VI), 10, VII (XIV.6.VI) and 20, XX (XIV.7.VI).

In the period of the later Kusanas we find the numerals 5, 27, 318, 359 and 384. Out of these numerals only the numeral 5 is preceded by one word indicating it. It is the word paṃcame. The numerals represented here are 1, I (XIV.1.VII), 3, III (XIV.3.VII), 4, X (XIV.4.VII), 5, IX (XIV.5.VII), 10, VII (XIV.6.VII), 20, XX (XIV.7.VII). In the numeral 300 two vertical strokes are added to the right of the vertical...
A stroke whose addition makes it one hundred. $\text{III}$. 

In the period of the Khotan Dharmapada we have found the numerals 17, 25, 30, 40 and 50. In no case are they preceded by any word indicating them; still they are quite easy to be understood. The numerals which should be noted here are 1, 1 (XIV.1.VIII), 3, III (XIV.3.VIII), 4, $\times$ (XIV.4.VIII) 5, IX (XIV.5.VIII), 10, $\gamma$ (XIV.6.VIII) and 20, 3 (XIV.7.VIII).

In the document no. 661 found at Endere in Chinese Turkestan we have found the numerals 3, 10, 18 and 8000. The numeral 3 is different from the preceding type in two fundamental characteristics. First, unlike the numeral three in the preceding periods, here these lines are invariably connected and written cursorily. Secondly, there is one short horizontal stroke added to the bottom of the vertical line on the extreme left. $\text{I}$. The numeral 4 is also different from the preceding type in three fundamental elements. First, the cross indicating the numeral 4 is placed in a different way. Secondly, a very small vertical stroke going downwards is added to the right horizontal line. Thirdly, a small horizontal base is added to the lowermost point of the stem of the vertical line. $\text{D}$. The numeral 10 is indicated by the sign $\gamma$ (XIV.6.VIII). The numeral for 1000 is found here for the first time in the Kharosthi inscriptions. It is indicated by a sign which is certainly
derived from the Aramaic script of the fifth century B.C.

\[ \text{(XIV.11.IX) This sign is preceded by the numeral which indicates the number of thousands intended. As it is 8000, two numerals indicating four are added before it.} \]

In the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Angoka we have found the numerals 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33, 60 and 70. Now all these numerals are expressed without any word indicating the numeral except in the case of 70 which is expressed by the word satati.\(^1\) Here the stroke indicating the numeral one is a slanting vertical stroke.

\[ \text{(XIV.1.X) The numeral two is fundamentally different from the preceding type. In the older type of the Kharosthi script 2 is represented by upright or slanting lines; but in the Niya documents these lines are invariably connected and written cursive as two.} \]

\[ \text{(XIV.2.X) In the same manner the numeral 3 is also fundamentally different from the preceding type. In the older type except that which we find in the document no.661 the numeral 3 is represented by three upright or slanting lines; but in these documents these lines are invariably connected and written cursive as three.} \]

\[ \text{(XIV.3.X) There is a slight but fundamental difference between this numeral and the numeral indicating three in the document no.661 found at Endere in Chinese Turkestan. The numerals 4, 5, 10 and 20 are represented in} \]

\[ \text{(I) KI, pt.II, no.571, CI, R, 11.4-5, 1927} \]
the usual manner. They are $4,X, (XIV.4.X)$, $5,/X, (XIV.5.X)$, $10,7, (XIV.6.X)$ and $20,3, (XIV.7.X)$.

In the period of Mahiri and Vagmana we have found the following numerals:– $1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28$ and $30$. They are formed in the same manner as in the preceding period. The numeral $1$ is represented by $/ (XIV.1.XI)$, $2$ by $/ (XIV.2.XI)$, $3$ by $/ (XIV.3.XI)$, $4$ by $X (XIV.4.XI)$, $5$ by $/X (XIV.5.XI)$, $10$ by $7 (XIV.6.XI)$ and $20$ by $3 (XIV.7.XI)$. 
CHAPTER XV

General conclusions

In this chapter it will be our endeavour to give an idea about the general conclusions which we can deduce from the above study regarding the development of this script. It is evident that the chapters which particularly deal with the script are written more or less speaking in a chronological order. Thus we have the chapters on the script as deduced from the records of the period of As‘oka, from the legends on the negama coins, from the legends on the coins and also the inscriptions of the Indo-Bactrian period, from the legends on the tribal coins, from the legends on the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Parthian period, from the legends on the coins and inscriptions of the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II, from the inscriptions of the great Kuṣana rulers, from the inscriptions of the later Kuṣana rulers, from the Khotan Dharmapada, from the document no.661 found at Endere, from the documents of the reign of Pepiya, Tajaka and Aṃgoka and from the documents of the reign of Mahiri and Vaṣmana.

In this chapter we shall discuss the problem of the evolution of the script in two different ways. First, we
shall try to determine the fundamental characteristic of each age. Secondly, we shall see the development of such vowels, consonants and compound letters which have undergone such change.

**Fundamental characteristic of the script of each period**

The most striking characteristic feature of the script as found in the inscriptions of As'oka is the prevalence of a comparatively limited number of types of vowels, consonants, and compound letters. This shows the premature nature of the script at this stage. Secondly, there is the paucity of the number of ligatures which is certainly due to the nature of the language which it carries. Thirdly, we find the presence of a typical hook to the lower end of the letter in case of a number of letters, viz., \( \text{ka} \) (I.6.IV), \( \text{kha} \) (I.7.III), \( \text{ca} \) (I.8.II), \( \text{ca} \) (I.10.III), and \( \text{ga} \) (I.10.VI), \( \text{je} \) (I.13.IV), \( \text{pha} \) (I.19.II), \( \text{pa} \) (I.20.III), \( \text{ta} \) (I.21.IV), \( \text{de} \) (I.23.II), \( \text{dha} \) (I.24.II), \( \text{na} \) (I.25.III), \( \text{pe} \) (I.26.II), \( \text{pha} \) (I.27.II), \( \text{va} \) (I.31.VI), \( \text{la} \) (I.33.IV), \( \text{va} \) (I.34.II), \( \text{s'a} \) (I.35.II) and \( \text{se} \) (I.37.VI). This element occurs very infrequently in the Indo-Bactrian period and is almost completely wanted in the succeeding periods. Lastly, we have found rather characteristically the horizontal line added to the
bottom of some letters, e.g., \( \varphi \) (I.13.11), and \( \psi \) (I.13.11), \( \text{gha} \) (I.19.11). This characteristic occurs infrequently in the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian periods and completely dies out in the latter periods.

The most fundamental characteristic of the Indo-Bactrian period is the presence of a dot in the lower portion of a few letters, e.g., \( \chi \) (III.11.11), \( \digamma \) \( \text{me} \) (III.25.11) and \( \text{he} \) \( \varphi \) (III.32.11). In the Indo-Scythian period this dot remains in case of \( \text{me} \) \( \varphi \) (V.29.11) and \( \text{he} \) \( \varphi \) (V.37.11) but rather very infrequently and completely dies out in the later periods.

The period covered by the tribal coins is characterised by the presence of the vowel \( \varphi \) added to a consonant for the first time in the Kharosthi records. \( \varphi \) (IV.19.11)

There are certain letters which are fundamentally characteristic of the Khotan Dharmapada. These letters are \( \text{ka} \) \( \varphi \) (X.6.11), \( \text{kha} \) \( \varphi \) (X.7.11), and \( \zeta \) (X.7.11), \( \text{tha} \) \( \varphi \) (X.22.11), \( \text{pha} \) \( \varphi \) (X.28.11), \( \text{bha} \) \( \varphi \) (X.30.11) and \( \text{ve} \) \( \varphi \) (X.32.11). The main peculiarity of these letters is that a screw-like thing is appended to some part of these letters. These letters are typically found in this document and in no other Kharosthi document. Secondly, there is another letter, viz. \( \text{ne} \) with a dash at the top which is also characteristic letter of this document. \( \varphi \) (X.26.11)
The inscription no. 661 found at Bureh is a very characteristic document and there is absolutely no doubt that palaeographically it is different from the Khotan Dharmapada as well as the documents to be referred to the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Angoka and to the time of Mahiri and Vasmana. First, the most characteristic letter is \( s^{'a} \_ (XI.33.I) \) which is not found either in the preceding or in the succeeding periods. Secondly, there is another peculiarity in which this record differs from the preceding as well as the succeeding periods. This peculiarity is the presence of a dot at the top of certain letters, viz., \( k^\hat{a} \hat{\_} (XI.5.I) \), \( g^{'a} \hat{\_} (XI.8.I) \), \( t^\_ (XI.19.I) \), \( d^\hat{a} \_ (XI.22.I) \), \( v^\_ (XI.32.I) \), \( s^{'a} \hat{\_} (XI.34.I) \), \( g^\hat{\_} (XI.36.I) \). This characteristic is not found in any other Kharosthi records. Thirdly, here in this record we have found the examples of numerals 3 and 4 which are framed in a characteristic manner. These types of three \( \_^\_ (XIV.3.IX) \) and four \( \_ (XIV.4.IX) \) are not found either in the preceding or in the succeeding period.

So far as the periods of Pepiya, Tajaka and Angoka and that of Mahiri and Vasmana are concerned, it should be pointed out that palaeographically there is practically no difference between these two periods. The following are the most important palaeographical characteristics of the periods.
First, the most important point which strikes us is that the vowels and consonants are more or less stereotyped in these documents in contrast to the diverse letterforms as found in the inscriptions of As'oka. It is rather striking that though hundreds of documents have been found, yet there is not much variety in the letters. Secondly, we find here rather characteristically a large number of compound letters. Thirdly, we have found here for the first time the use of the letter स (XII.2.1). Lastly, the numerals two द (XIV.2. X and XI) and three न (XIV.3.X and XI) are framed in a manner quite different from the preceding one.

**Development of signs in different periods**

A few general remarks are necessary before tackling up this problem. First, a thorough study has been made in the previous chapters showing the prevalence of different types of vowels, consonants and ligatures in each period. It is, therefore, obvious that in each period there are certain letters which are old, i.e., prevalent in the preceding periods and certain letters which are new, i.e., not prevalent in the preceding periods. But out of all these letters there are certain which clearly show the development. In this section we shall tackle only those letters. Secondly, it must be
observed that it is not necessary that all letters will show the mark of development in each period. Lastly, some letters developed more quickly than other letters.

Vowels

The word a has a number of varieties differentiated by small points of difference; but if we take into account only those which characterise development, then we see that it has undergone development not in all periods but only in a few. The vowel a ṃ (XV.1.I) which we find in the period of As’oka undergoes the first real change in the age of the great Kusānas by the turning of the lower portion of the vertical into a slightly curved line. j (XV.1.II) which was maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana j (XV.1.III).

The vowel i ṭ (XV.2.I) found in the period of As’oka undergoes first real change in the period of the great Kusānas. j (XV.2.II) by turning the lower portion of the vertical into a slightly curved line which is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana j (XV.2.III).

The vowel u ṭ (XV.3.I) found in the period of As’oka undergoes the first real change in the Indo-Scythian period by turning the lower horizontal stroke into a curve either on the left ṭ (XV.3.II) or on the right ṭ (XV.3.III).
which are maintained even in the period of Mahiri and 
Vasmana $\eta$ (XV.3.IV) and $\omicron$ (XV.3.V).

The vowel $\varepsilon \eta$ (XV.4.I) found in the period of As'o'ka 
undergoes the first real change in the Indo-Parthian period 
by changing the horizontal stroke into a slanting stroke 
drawn from the lower end of the vertical upwards $\eta$ (XV.4. 
II) which was maintained even in the period of Mahiri and 
Vasmana. $\eta$ (XV.4.III)

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

The characteristic letter ka $\eta$ (XV.5.I) found in the 
period of As'o'ka gives rise to another type of ka in the Indo-
Scythian period by placing the constituent part of the letter 
going up and forming one line at the top $\eta$ (XV.5.II) which 
is almost the same in the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises 
II $\eta$ (XV.5.III) and in the period of the great Kuṣānas. $\eta$ 
(XV.5.IV). Besides this type of ka we find also in the pe-
riod of the great Kuṣānas the closed variety $\eta$ (XV.5.V)
We find this type of the letter ka prevalent in the period 
of Pephya, Tajaša and Aŋgoša $\eta$ (XV.5.VI) and also in the 
period of Mahiri and Vasmana. $\eta$ (XV.5.VII)
Palatals

The typical ca found in the period of Asoka $\gamma$ (XV.6.I) shows an important change in the Indo-Bactrian period. $\gamma$ (XV.6.II) This is further changed in the period of the great Kusanas $\gamma$ (XV.6.III) from which we get the latest form in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. $\gamma$ (XV.6.IV)

The letter che as found in the period of Asoka $\gamma$ (XV.7.I) undergoes a notable change in the Indo-Scythian period $\gamma$ (XV.7.II) In the period of Mahiri and Vasmana the vertical turns into a slightly curved line at the bottom. $\gamma$ (XV.7.III)

The letter ja which is found in the inscription of Asoka $\gamma$ (XV.8.I) was fundamentally changed in the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II when the lower portion of the vertical becomes rounded in shape. $\gamma$ (XV.8.II) This shape of the letter is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana $\gamma$ (XV.8.III)

The letter jha found for the first time in the Indo-Bactrian period $\gamma$ (XV.9.I) undergoes the first real change in the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Angoka where the lower portion of the vertical is changed into a curve. $\gamma$ (XV.9.II) This form is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana $\gamma$ (XV.9.III)

The typical $\tilde{a}$ found for the first time in
the inscriptions of As'oka undergoes the first real change in the period of tribal coins so far as the head-portion is concerned. \( \mu \) (XV.10.II) It undergoes another change in the period of the great Ku\'sanas when the lower portion of the vertical is changed into a curve. \( \nu \) (XV.10.III) This is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. \( \nu \) (XV.10.IV)

**Linguals**

The typical त which is found in the period of As'oka ह (XV.11.I) is fundamentally changed in the period of the document no. 66I \( \pi \) (XV.11.II) This form was retained till the last period, i.e., that of Mahiri and Vasmana \( \zeta \) (XV.11.III)

The typical ज ष (XV.12.I) found in the period of As'oka is fundamentally changed in the period of the document no. 661 य (XV.12.II) The same shape is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. य (XV.12.III)

The letter द ज which we find for the first time in the period of the great Ku\'sanas \( \zeta \) (XV.13.I) is fundamentally changed in the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka. ज (XV.13.II) This latter form is retained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. \( \zeta \) (XV.13.III)
Dentals

The letter 
which we find for the first time in the period of As'oka is fundamentally changed in the period of the great Kuśānas by changing the lower end of the vertical into a curve. This characteristic is also retained in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana.

The letter dha which we find in the period of As'oka undergoes the fundamental change in the period of the great Kuśānas by making it a more curved letter. This shape is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana.

Labials

The typical letter pha found in the period of As'oka is fundamentally changed in the period of the great Kuśānas when the right portion of the letter is almost changed into a curve. This is made a complete curve in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana.

The typical letter ba found in the period of As'oka is fundamentally changed in the period of the Khotan Dhamapada. This shape is retained in the period of Mahiri and Vaśmana.
**Semi-vowels**

The letter $\underline{\text{va}}$ (XV.18.I) as found in the period of Asoka is fundamentally changed in the period of the great Kusanas when it is changed into a rectangular figure $\n$ (XV.18.II). This shape is retained till the end of the period of Mahiri and Vasmana $\n$ (XV.18.III).

**Sibilante**

The letter $\underline{\text{sa}}$ (XV.19.I) found in the period of Asoka has slightly rounded off in the Indo-Scythian period. $\n$ (XV.19.II) In the period of the great Kusanas there is another type of $\underline{\text{sa}}$ with slightly curved right side. $\n$ (XV.19.III) which becomes the precursor of the similar letter in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana $\n$ (XV.19.IV).

The letter $\underline{\text{sa}}$ is one of the most important letters so far as the development is concerned. In the period of Asoka we find a typical $\underline{\text{sa}}$ which may be called the closed variety. 

$\n$ (XV.20.I) In the Indo-Bactrian period we find these different varieties, viz., the closed variety $\n$ (XV.20.II), the intermediate variety $\n$ (XV.20.III) and the open variety. 

$\n$ (XV.20.IV) In the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian periods and the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II the open variety is most commonly used though of course we find very
stray cases of the closed as well as intermediate varieties. In the period of the great Kuśanas the prevalent variety of \( \text{ae} \) is the open type. \( \overrightarrow{\text{P}} \) (XV.20.V). The same shape is still retained in the period of Mahārī and Vasūmaṇa \( \overrightarrow{\text{P}} \) (XV.20.VI).

**Vowel-signs**

So far as the vowel-signs are concerned we find the development of at least one type of the \( \text{u} \)-stroke. In the period of Asoka we find one type of the \( \text{u} \)-stroke which is indicated by a short horizontal stroke drawn from the base of the stem towards the left. \( \overrightarrow{\text{Y}} \) (XV.21.I). In the same period there is also another type of the \( \text{u} \)-stroke which is indicated by a little more curved stroke added to the left of the stem. \( \overrightarrow{\text{Y}} \) (XV.21.II) In the Indo-Bactrian period we find three different types of the \( \text{u} \)-stroke flourishing side by side, i.e., the \( \text{u} \)-stroke which is indicated by a short horizontal stroke drawn from the base of the stem towards the left \( \overrightarrow{\text{Y}} \) (XV.21.III) or which is indicated by a little more curved stroke added to the left of the stem \( \overrightarrow{\text{Y}} \) (XV.21.IV) or which is indicated by a complete curve. \( \overrightarrow{\text{Y}} \) (XV.21.V). In the period of the tribal coins, the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian periods, the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II, and the period of the great Kuśanas these three types of the \( \text{u} \)-stroke occur side
by side with a tendency of the first type becoming lesser than the other two types. In the period of the later Kuṣana rulers, of the Khotan Dharmapada, of the document no.661 we find the prevalence of the two types of the u-stroke, i.e., that which is indicated by a little more curved stroke added to the left of the stem and that which is indicated by a complete curve. From the period of Pepiya, Tajaka, and Angoka the u-stroke is invariably represented by a complete curve. (XV.21.VI). The same shape is retained in the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. (XV. 21.VII)

So far as the r-stroke is concerned we find its use for the first time in the period of tribal coins where it is represented by two horizontal lines going through the stem of the letter. (XV.22.I) This r-stroke is changed into a zigzag stroke by the addition of a vertical line connecting the right end of the upper horizontal with the left end of the lower horizontal and also making these two horizontal lines wavy in nature in the period of the Khotan Dharmapada. (XV.22.II) The same form is maintained in the latest period of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, i.e., the period of Mahiri and Vasmana. (XV.22.III).
Compound akṣaras

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The compound letter with the initial ra is highly interesting as it shows the distinct stages of development. In the period of Asoka we find the initial ra indicated by a horizontal line going through the stem of the letter. ॥ (XV.23.I) The same was also the practice in the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian periods. In the Indo-Parthian period we find two different types of the initial ra of which one is like the one as found in the previous period. The other one which is far more interesting from the standpoint of evolution is characterised by a fundamental change which consists in the rounding up of the lower portion of the stem of the letter. ॥ (XV.23.II). In the period of Kadphises I and Kadphises II this was changed into a completely curved line. ॥ (XV.23.III). This shape is maintained in the period of Mahiri and Vamana. (XV.23.IV)

From the above discussion it is apparent that the greater number of letters underwent fundamental change in the period of the great Kuśanas than in any other period. Therefore the period of the great Kuśanas may be considered as a landmark in the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script.
Numerals

There are certain numerals in which we find the development. The numeral 2 is represented by two vertical strokes from the period of As'oka onwards \((\text{XV.24.I})\); but in the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka it undergoes the fundamental change. Here these two lines are joined up by a curved line and the line on the right is invariably smaller than the line on the left. \((\text{XV.24.II})\)

In the like manner the numeral 3 is represented by three vertical strokes from the period of As'oka onwards \((\text{XV.25.I})\); but in the period of the document no. 661 it undergoes the fundamental change. Here these three lines are joined up by curved lines and the two lines on the right are of equal length and smaller than the line of the extreme left. Moreover there is a small horizontal line added as the base of the line on the extreme left. \((\text{XV.25.II})\) The numeral 3 is represented in the period of Pepiya, Tajaka and Amgoka and also that of Mahiri and Vasmana like that found in the period of the document no. 661 with the exception of the horizontal base. \((\text{XV.25.III})\)
CHAPTER XVI

The name of the Script

The Kharoṣṭhī script is one of the two most ancient scripts of India, the other being the Brāhmī script apart from the script which has been found on a number of seals at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Chanhu-daro, Jhukar and other places belonging to the Indus civilisation. At the period of its first decipherment this script was called Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Bactro-Pali or Ariano-Pali because this script was used in the writing of the Pali legend on the reverse of the coins of the Hellenistic rulers of India.

The name Kharoṣṭhī applied to this script was first used by Terrien de Lacouperie. In the Lalitavistara there is the mention of 64 kinds of writing among which the Kharoṣṭhī script is one. They are:— (1) Brāhmī, (2) Kharoṣṭhī, (3) Puṣkaraśaṭī, (4) Aṅga, (5) Baṅga, (6) Magadha, (7) Maṅgalāya writing, (8) Manuṣya writing, (9) finger-writing, (10) writing of S’aṅkāri, (11) writing of Brāhmaśvalī, (12) writing of Drāviḍa, (13) writing of Kinari, (14) writing of Dākeśa, (15) writing of Ugra,

(1) BOR, I, pp.58-64, 1886-87
(16) figure writing, (17) cursive (anuloma) writing, (18) half low-shaped writing (ardha-dhanus), (19) writing of Darada, (20) writing of Khasya, (21) writing of Cin, (22) writing of Huna, (23) writing in which the letters are most in the middle (madhyakṣara-vistara), (24) flowery writing (pūpa), (25) writing of the Devas, (26) writing of the Nāgas, (27) writing of the yakṣas, (28) writing of the Gandharvas, (29) writing of the Kinnaras, (30) writing of the Maharāgas, (31) writing of the Asuras, (32) writing of the Caruḍas, (33) writing of the Mṛgacakra, (34) circular writing, (35) writing of the vāyumaruts, (36) writing of the Bhaumadevas, (37) writing of the Antarīkṣa devas, (38) writing of Uttrasāru, (39) writing of Purvaśideha, (40) perpendicular writing, (41) pendulous writing (nikṣepa), (42) scattered writing, (vikṣepa), (43) disordered writing (prakṣepa), (44) ocean writing (sāgara), (45) thunderbolt writing (vajra), (46) cross-writing (lekha-pratilakha), (47) slow-writing (anudrute), (48) sʿastravarta writing, (49) āpradevāvarta writing, (50) utkṣepavarta writing, (51) nikṣepavarta writing, (52) pāda-likhita writing, (53) dvivuttarapadasandhi writing, (54) vāvaddasʿottarapadasandhi writing, (55) Adhyāharaṇī writing, (56) sarvarutasengrahaṇī writing, (57) vidyānuloma writing, (58) vimisasʿrta writing, (59) riṣitāpastaptān
writing, (60) rocāmēndharamī-prekṣene writing, (61) gagana-prekṣene writing, (62) sarvasugadhiniyandān writing, (63) sarvasārāsārigrāhāni writing and (64) sarvabhūtarutagrahāni writing.¹ Mitra has added a note to this statement. He writes, "The 64 names may be classed under four heads; viz., 1st referring to particular countries; 2nd, to particular tribes or classes; 3rd, implying peculiarities in the configuration of the letters; 4th, cryptic or imaginative forms. Under the first head may be reckoned the writings of Aṅga, Bāṅga, Kaliṅga, etc.; and these probably imply certain then existing and current forms of writing. The second includes the Devas, Khasiyas, Hūnas, Kinnaras, Daradas, etc., but there is nothing to show that some of the tribes named, such as the Khasiyas, the Daradas, and the Nagas, ever had any writing current among them. The Garūdas and Mahoragas are mythical beings. No information is available to show the character of the other two heads; a good many of them are probably fanciful."²

It is necessary to ascertain the date of the composition of the Lalitavistara. This Sanskrit text is almost identical with that which was translated into Chinese in 615 A.D. and

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¹ BI, NS, no. 473, Chap. X.
² Ibid., pp. 168-189.
later on into Tibetan. The differences are quite unimportant, as for instance in this case the list amounts to 65 in these Chinese and Tibetan versions. An earlier text of the same work had been previously translated three times into Chinese in circa. 250, 308 and 427 A.D. but the first and third of these were already lost in 730 A.D. The second, which is still in existence, covers about 360 pages of text, namely one third less than the version of 615 A.D. in the same edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka. The third century A.D. would, therefore, be the latest period which the Chinese translations permit to be assigned for the composition of the ground-work of the Lalita-vistara.

The Fa-wan-shu-lin, a Chinese encyclopaedia of extracts from the Tripitaka, compiled in 668 A.D. by Tao-shi, reports a traditional legend attributing the invention of writing to three individuals: (1) Fan (or Brahma) who wrote from left to right; (2) Kia-lu (or Kia-lu-she-ti) who wrote from right to left and (3) Tsang-hieh who wrote from top to bottom and is the legendary inventor of the Chinese characters. The word Kia-lu was transcribed variously but explained as "ass-lipped" which is the meaning of Kharasṭhā which name can be easily recognised in the complete Chinese rendering Kia-lu-she-ti.

(1) CCI, nos.159, 160.
There is a great deal of controversy regarding the exact meaning of the word Kharosthi. Here it will be interesting to give an idea of the different opinions held. First, the earliest theory regarding this point is that which was propounded by Lacouperie. He observed, "In this name of K'u-liu and its meaning is hidden, I think, another valuable information concerning the primeval origin of this writing for the Hindus. Let us keep in mind the meaning 'ass lips', of its full form Kharosti, and premise that this name, foreign to the Sanskrit onomastics, is a folk etymology, an Indian significant adaptation obtained in the striving-after-meaning of a foreign name, which name was probably no other than that of Kyros, the Kuras and Kurush of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Khusrau of Persian history... It was previously to 540 B.C. that Kyros extended his sway in the east, north and south, and subjected to his rule the regions bordering India on the north-west, and it is therefore from that date that the introduction into India of notions of civilisation from the west became possible through the channel of the well-managed Persian monarchy. The knowledge and use of alphabetic writing, though limited as it may have been, because of the little demand for it in N.W. India, were certainly among the then introduced notions; and there is a great probability that in the name of the
Kharoṣṭhī writing, running from right to left, as was that of the Persians, we find concealed the name of Kyros, introducer of the writing in India, and traces of his fabulous capacity of a mule or ass; the motive of the former having been lost on the way, or found objectionable for play which was made on the name of the Persian conqueror.¹

Secondly, we have the theory of Ludwig. He takes Kharoṣṭha to be the original form of the name and Kharoṣṭha a false transliteration into Sanskrit. And he considers Kharoṣṭha to be the Indian representative of a possible, though not actually found, Aramaic harūṭhā, "engraving, writing".²

Thirdly, we have another theory propounded by Levi.³ According to him the name of the Kharoṣṭhī or Kharoṣṭhī was early familiar to Indologists from being placed, immediately after the Brāhmī, in the list of 64 forms of writing in the Lalitavistara. In 1886 Lacouperie pointed out a passage in the Fa-yuan-shu-lin in which the Kharoṣṭhī (oṣṭhī), a form of writing reading from right to left, is contrasted with the Brāhmī writing which reads from left to right. Scholars,

¹ BOR, I, pp.60-61, 1886-87
² GFK, pp.68-71, 1896
³ BEFEO, ii, pp.246-53, 1902; IA, 1904, pp.79-84, 1904
basing on this information, applied the name Kharoṣṭhī to this script. For some time specialists hesitated between the two forms, Kharoṣṭhī and Kharoṣṭhī. Bühler, who had used and popularised the name, finally decided in favour of Kharoṣṭhī; and, on the authority of his Indische Palaeographie, the name Kharoṣṭhī has the likelihood of henceforth obtruding itself as the accepted form. The traditional interpretation, preserved by the Chinese compilations and commentaries, where Kharoṣṭhī is always translated "ass-lip" seemed to justify this preference. In support of this etymology Chinese tradition traces the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī script to a rishi called Kharoṣṭha. But against this theory Levi brought forward certain new information regarding the origin of this name. He quoted certain passages from the Sin-ya Ta-fang-Kuang Fo-hua-yen-king Yin-yi of Huei-yuan. The author, Huei-yuan lived in the T'ang period. In the 45th chapter of the new translation of the Avatamsaka (Jap. ed. I, fasc. 3, p. 22b) which corresponds to the 29th chapter (Jap. ed. I. fasc. 8, p. 46b) of the old translation of the Indian monk Buddhabhaddra, of the family of the Sākyas (between 399 and 421), the Buddha enumerates the localities destined to serve for all time as residences for the Bodhisattvas, and the Bodhisattvas destined for all time to preach law in each of these
localities, Here in course of enumeration mention has been made of the kingdom of Shu-le and also of a place in it named Head of the cow (Gos’irṣa). In Huei-Yan’s Yin-yi we find the comment that the correct form of the name of Shu-le is Ki’a-lu-shu-tan-le. This gloss is found word for word in the commentary on the Avatams’aka-sūtra, composed at the end of the 5th century by Ch’eng-Kuen, the fourth patriarch of the Avatams’aka school who died between 806 and 820 A.D. He also speaks of Shu-le and K’ia-lu-shu-tan-le as being equivalent. The same gloss on the name Shu-le, a propos of the same passage, is found in the excellent Yi-tsie-king yin-yi (chap. 22) of Huei-lin, a contemporary of Chang-kien, who also died in the Yuan-ho period (806-820). Hi-lin, author of the Siu-yi-tsie-king Yin-yi, who continued Huei-lin’s work, repeats exactly the notice of his predecessor, with regard to Shu-le, in the itinerary of Wu-kông. Hi-lin flourished in the first half of the 9th century A.D. Thus the identity of Shu-le and K’ia-lu-shu-tan-le was accepted and taught in the Buddhist schools of China during the 19th century. The transcription K’ia-lu-shu-tan-le leads directly back to an original Kharoṣṭha. According to Levi the value of Shu-le itself is well-known. It is the name which has been regularly employed since the time of the first Han dynasty to denote
the town of Kashgar. The Kharoṣṭra is, therefore, the
country of Kashgar, and the Kharoṣṭhī is very probably
the writing of this country. He further believes that
the Kharoṣṭhī was the writing of Central Asia, of the country
of Kharoṣṭra. Henceforth it would be wise to abandon the
incorrect form Kharoṣṭhī and to return to the authentic
form Kharoṣṭhī, set aside by mistake.

This view of Levi has been very severely criticised
by Franke and Pischel in an article.¹ It is divided into
two different sections, Franke dealing with the Chinese
sources and Pischel with the Indian sources. Franke opposes
the theory of Levi on the following grounds. First, he re-
marks that not a single commentary, earlier or later than the
commentary on the Avatams̄a-akasūtra, makes the slightest men-
tion of the abbreviation of the name Shu-le from K’i-a-lu-
shu-tan-le. That Shu-le is identical with the district of
Kashgar of the present day we should learn, if we did not
know it already, directly from the history of the war-like
expeditions of the ruling dynasty which says, "Kashgar is the
old Su-le, a country in Turkestan existing already at the
time of the Han and T’ang dynasties". According to Franke,

¹ SKPAW, pp. 184-96, 735-745, 1903.
Levi's conclusion that the Kharoṣṭhī writing had been the writing of Central Asia can, in his opinion, no more be con-
sidered as borne out by facts. In support of his criticism
he gives some arguments. First, it is very doubtful if we
are/all entitled to speak of one writing of Central Asia.
Secondly, it is also difficult to decide whether the Kharoṣṭhī
was used in Shu-le first and in its oldest form as the fan-
tastic etymology of Hui-Yuan might lead us to believe. Other
and stronger proofs are necessary for this also. Thirdly,
he thinks that another locality has much greater possibility
of being equated with the Kharoṣṭhī country than with the one
proposed by Levi. He says that it is a strange coincidence
that south-south-west of Kashgar, between the high mountain
chains of the Pamir, there is a country which Hieun Tsang
calls Kie-p' an-teo, a name that St. Julien renders by Kharanda.
The Chinese pilgrim says that the writing and speech of this
country resemble as a whole that of the country of Kasha;
but the great historical work T'ung-tien by Tu Yen remarks
of this country that it has also the names Han-to and Ko-lo-to.
This last designation would be the exact translation of the
Prākrit form Kharoṣṭha, i.e., Sanskrit Kharoṣṭha. In agree-
ment with this the T'ang Annals remark in their description
of Su-le: Ko-pán-to or Han-to or Ko-kuan-tan or Ko-lo-to
lies south-west of Su-le. The T'ang Annals continue in its description: "The country lies between the mountain chains of T'sung-ling .... It is bounded on the west by Hu-mi (Matotch ?), on the south the boundary is not fixed, on the north it extends to the borders of Su-le, on the north-west to P'an-han (?). Its princes come from Su-le and have resided there for generations. The dress, appearance and speech of the inhabitants of this country are similar to those of Khotan, yet there are many differences. Their writing resembles that of the Brähmanas." According to Franke this indeed would seem to be a country which bore the name Kharoṭṭhe or Kharoṣṭha and whose writing bore a close resemblance to that of Kashgar and Khotan.

In the same article Fischel criticised the view of Levi by judging the Indian sources of evidence. He writes that the name Kharoṣṭhi occurs in Sanskrit only once and that is in the Lalitavistara. First, he says that if the name of the writing had been Kharoṣṭri, one would expect to find Kharoṭṭi and Kharoṭṭiyā in the Ardha-māgadhī; but the best manuscripts have oṭṭhī and oṭṭhiyā. Secondly, in the Lalitavistara the enumeration of the scripts begins with Brāhmi, Kharoṣṭhi and Puṣkarasārī. The first is attributed to Brahmān, the third to Puṣkarasādī. There is no doubt that Puṣkarasādī was an old author. According to Pischel, therefore, it is almost impossible that the writing of Kashgar
should have been placed between Brahman and Puṣkeraśūdi. The position is rather in favour of the distinct statement of all old Chinese authors that Khaṛottaka, "ass-lip" was the name of a great saint. Further in the Jaina enumeration Khaṛottakī and Puḵkhaṛasāriyā stand together, though between Sāmbhī and Khaṛottakī are Jávaṇāliyā and Dāsāpuriyā or Dāsāūriyā. It is impossible to make out the correct meaning of these last two names. It is natural to trace Dāsāpuriyā to Dāsāpura so that here indeed the name of a place would stand between names of persons. However the reading Dāsāūriyā with ।, which is confirmed by very good MSS., makes the derivation from dāsāpura, dāsāpura, a kind of grass, much more probable; all the more so because yevanēla is the name of a grass. The writing may have been named so from the form of the letters. At any rate it is noticeable that, here too, Khaṛottakī stands immediately before Puḵkhaṛasāriyā. Analogies to the proper name Khaṛoṣṭha are found in numerous mythical proper names. The name may be Indian, and the Chinese statement that Khaṛoṣṭha lived in India is in itself not incredible. He comes to the conclusion that Khaṛoṣṭha is Sanskrit for Kharaosta, and that the Chinese tradition proves correct. Further he says that according to the T'ang Annals Su-le, i.e., Kashgar, is also called K'ā-sha. Now in the Lalitavistara there is a script known as the Khāṣya-lipi. We
have successively Daradalipi, Khñyalipi, CÎnalipi, and in similar order, the Jainas have under the Mlecchas, CÎna Lhâsiya, Khasa and Khâsiya. Not only the name Khñyalipi, but the order, which is strictly geographical, makes it probable that the writing of Kashgar is meant. If Kharo$thî had been the writing of Kashgar, we should have expected to find it between Daradalipi and Cinalipi. But Khñyalipi, which both by its name and the Chinese tradition is proved to be the writing of Kashgar, stands there.

In continuation of this article Franke and Pischel further criticised the view of Levi. 1 Franke again holds that "we must give up the idea, as irreconcilable with all the information at our disposal, that the Kharo$thî (or Kharo$trî) writing originated in Central Asia and took its name from a country Kharo$tra there. So far as the Chinese sources are concerned, there is no trace of a Kharo$tra country in Central Asia, and I attach no more value to the name K`o-lo-to = Kharo$tha, for a district, in the present Sarik-kol (l.c., p.190) than I do to the etymologies of Schu-le." 2 From the philological point of view Pischel again objected to the argument of Levi.

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1 SKPAW, pp.238-48, 1905
2 SKPAW, pp.238-48, 1905
In a succeeding article \(^1\) Levi refuted the arguments put forward by Franke and Pischel. He says that the Mahāsāṃnipātasaūtra (Ta-t'ai-king) translated into Chinese by Narendraysā as between 589 and 618 contains, in the section of the Sūryagarbha-sūtra, a list of the spots sanctified by the presence of a Bodhisattva. In course of this enumeration, he mentions Khotan (Yu-t'ien) on the steep banks of the river near mount Nieon-lun (cow's head: Gos'irsa). This list is evidently parallel to that of Avatams'aka; the only notable divergence bears on the very name we are studying. Where Śīkṣānanda writes Chou-le (Kashgar) or Buddhhabhadra writes Pien-yi (the border-barberian), the translator of the Sūryagarbha writes Yu-t'ien (Khotan). The value of Honei-Yuan's formula is then most clearly evident. In the new translation of the Avatams'aka he meets with an expression which, compared with the ancient version, looks alarmingly like an arbitrary invention. Why Chou-le when Buddhhabhadra said Pien-yi? The correct name is K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le, replies Houei-Yuan. Well and good, but why Chou-le rather than Pien-yi? Houei-yuan adds that Chou-le is derived directly from K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le which, according to Levi, is Sanskrit Kharoṣṭra.

Fourthly, we have another theory regarding the origin of the name Kharoṣṭhī propounded by Przyluski.\(^2\) According

\(^1\) IRAS, 1930, pp. 43-45; IA, vol. LX, pp. 150-51, 1931
to him among the tutelary deities of the towns of North-West India the Mahāmāyuri mentions the Yakṣa Kharaposta, whose name is mentioned in Chinese as 'hide of donkey'. Khara means 'donkey' in Indo-Aryan; but postais wanting in Sanskrit dictionaries. While discussing the allied word pustaka Gauthiot showed that its origin should be sought in Iranian post (Avesta pāṣta, Pet. pōst, Per. pūst) which means 'skin' or 'hide', that Sanskrit pust or pustaka, 'manuscript', is derived from an Iranian word denoting 'skin' or 'hide' because pustaka was at first a 'manuscript on skin or hide', the use of which spread from Persia to North-West India. According to him the name of the Yakṣa Kharaposta and that of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta as found in the Mathura Lion Capital are doubtless superposable and that the latter, like the former, means 'skin of donkey'. He, therefore, suggests that, posta being a word of Iranian origin, the compounds Kharaposta, Kharaosta might not have been intelligible to uneducated Indians. It was, therefore, tempting to substitute for the second element of Kharaosta an Indian word understood by all, and this word might have been ṭa, 'lip'. In fact tradition knows of a ṭa called Kharosta, 'lip of donkey', to whom the invention of the Kharoṣṭhī script was ascribed. Kharoṣṭha, formed of Khara and ṭa, might well have been the Indian corruption of the
Iranian compound Kharaosta: popular etymology might have replaced the ancient saint called 'Hide of donkey' by the saint 'Lip of donkey'. If this be granted, the highly disputed question of the origin of the name of the Kharosthī script appears in a new light. If the name of the saint to whom the invention of this script was attributed is traceable to an original Kharaosta, the form Kharosthī should have the same origin. Historically this induction is completely satisfactory. The documents in the Kharosthī script, which have come to us from Central Asia, are often written on the hide of the camel or more rarely on the hide of the horse or the donkey. Donkeys being particularly numerous in North India, their hide should have been used more commonly in this region than that of horses or camels. We can easily see that Kharosthī may have in the past denoted writing on the hide of the donkey or Kharaosta. As a parallel we may quote an old Persian text in which there is the mention that the faith of the whole Avesta and Zend had been prepared on ox-hides and written with liquid gold.¹

These are four main theories regarding the origin of the name of the script. Let us now discuss the validity of

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¹ ZPNCB, pp.152-152, 1943
each of these theories. There is no doubt that the general trend of thought as advanced by Lacouperie is quite right when he said that this script came from the region of the Achaemenid emperors; but his equation of Kyros, Kuras, Kurash or Khusrau with Kharosthi is not at all satisfactory.

So far as the theory of Ludwig is concerned, his equation of Kharottha with an imaginary Aramaic word 'haruttha' is not satisfactory for the following reasons. First, we do not see how this can be equated. Secondly, there is nothing specially characteristic in the word 'haruttha' which induces us to equate it with Kharostha.

So far as the theory of Levi is concerned, Franke and Pischel have rightly criticised it severely. It is not possible to accept the theory of Levi.

It appears that the theory proposed by Przyluski is the most possible one.
CHAPTER XVII

The origin of the script

There cannot be any doubt that the art of writing in India is of high antiquity; but it is a matter of great regret until recent times that it could not be proved from the archaeological point of view that the art of writing in India was older than the time of Asoka. But the recent discovery of a number of seals bearing the inscriptions in an unknown script has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the art of writing in India is as old as the third or fourth millennium B.C. to which these inscriptions are referred to on the basis of the similarity between the Sumerian and these antiquities. There is a wide gap between this period and the next period because the next period in which we find the art of writing is the third century B.C., i.e., the period of Asoka in which time we find the remarkable inscriptions engraved in two different scripts which are known as the Brahmi and the Kharosthi scripts.

The Brahmi and the Kharosthi scripts are, therefore, the two most ancient scripts of India setting aside, of course, the Indus Valley script. The main peculiarities of the Brahmi script are the following ones. First, the Brahmi script is written from left to right. Secondly, the modern
Indian scripts are evolved out of the Brāhmī script. Thirdly, the Brāhmī script is also the progenitor of many extra-Indian scripts which are in use at present and others fallen out of use. The main peculiarities of the Kharoṣṭhī script are the following. First, the Kharoṣṭhī script is written from right to left. Secondly, it was prevalent in India roughly from the third century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. and outside India in Central Asia a few centuries more. After that it dies out completely. Thirdly, this script did not give rise to any other script.

Here it will be our endeavour to discuss the question of the origin of this script. In the last chapter dealing with the name of the script we have shown four different theories about the explanation of the name Kāraṇṭhī. One point which is very important in this connection is that all these theories about the explanation of the name of the script tend to show that this script is supposed to have come from the outside region. Out of these four theories only one which was propounded by Levi tended to show that this script came from Chinese Turkestan but this theory has been correctly refuted by Franke and Fischel. Therefore there is no doubt that the general trend of thought is that this script came from somewhere in the west.

There are a number of scholars who have written on this topic. A short summary of their views may be given.
E. Thomas first pointed to the relationship of the Kharoshthi script with the Aramaic script by the points of similarity. According to him the Kharoshthi as well as the Semitic scripts of the west came from the same source. The proofs of the common origin of these two different types of scripts are that they are written from right to left and in the leading idea of the construction of the majority of the characters of either, and, more definitely, in the approximation and close unity, in each series of the several forms of ने, बे, पे, टे and ते.

This view of Thomas was never disputed; but given further additional material by Taylor and Cunningham. Taylor has observed, "The introduction of the Indo-Bactrian alphabet into India must be assigned to a period considerably earlier than the reign of Asoka, as it makes its appearance in the Kapur-di-giri inscription in a greatly expanded form, the twenty-two Aramean consonants having been developed into an elaborate alphabet of at least 35 letters; five vowels, the cerebral series of consonants, and numerous aspirated letters, all of which are unknown in the Aramean alphabet, having been evolved ... The earliest knowledge possessed by

(1) EIA, vol.2, pp.144-68, 1858
the Indian nations of the art of writing came from Persia. For its introduction a probable date and occasion can be assigned. In the year 500 B.C. the Persians under Darius conquered the greater portion of the Punjab, and Herodotus asserts that India, by which he probably means the valley of the Indus, was formed into the 20th satrapy of the Persian empire, paying an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold. In the Persepolis inscription we find that India constituted the 13th and the 21st of the Persian provinces. The fact that the range of the Indo-Bactrian alphabet was approximately co-extensive with the limits of the eastern satrapies of Persia seem to suggest that its introduction and diffusion was a consequence of the Persian conquest. On every ground of historical probability the naturalisation of the Persian alphabet in India must be connected with the conquests, not of the Greeks but of the Persians, who would necessarily employ the art of writing, to them so familiar, in the administration of their Indian satrapies.¹

Cunningham further elaborated the theory of Taylor.² He thought that the additions which we find in this alphabet must have been made when this alphabet came in contact with

² CAI, pp.31-7, 1891
the more fully developed alphabet of India, i.e., Brahmi.

It was Bühler who very elaborately developed the theory propounded by E. Thomas and supported by Taylor and Cunningham. In two very interesting communications he has dealt with this problem. As one of these articles is a more detailed study of the other, we may make a summary of the viewpoint of Bühler, as laid down in the larger article. The reasons for the introduction of the Aramaic alphabet into India have been adduced by Bühler. They are the following ones:

1. The occurrence of the old Persian word 'dipi', "writing", "edict", 'dipati', "he writes" and dipati "he causes to write".
2. The fact that the territory of the Kharoṣṭhī script corresponds very closely with the context of the portion of India which was presumably held by the Persians.
3. Among the Persian sigloī there are some marked with single syllables in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, whence it may be inferred that they were struck in India during the Persian period, and that the Kharoṣṭhī was prevalent during a great part of the fourth century B.C., certainly before the fall of the Persian empire in B.C. 331.

Some considerable variations in the Kharoṣṭhī letters of the

(1) IP, pp. 19-24, 1904; IBA, pp. 92-114, 1898
As'oka edicts, as well as the strongly cursive forms of several ligatures, such as *sta, spa* etc. in the same manner point to the conclusion that the alphabet had had a long history before the middle of the third century B.C.

Why was the Aramaic alphabet introduced in India in spite of the fact that there was already one script, i.e., the Brahmi, prevalent in India? It becomes imperative to show that there were special circumstances which forced them to use the alphabet of their conqueror. First, it has been shown that the Aramaic language and writing, which already in the time of the Assyrian empire occur in contracts and on the official standard weights, were frequently employed for official correspondence, accounts and other official purposes during the rule of the Achaemenian kings in many different provinces of empire. The Aramaic language was used for official purposes in Egypt, Western Asia, Arabia, and even Persia. It is important to note that two Aramaic inscriptions have been recently found – one at Taxila and the other in Afghanistan. This shows that the Aramaic script was also prevalent in India. The inscription in the Aramaic which was found at Taxila was reported by Marshall. Of the place of its discovery Marshall wrote, "Clearance of the rooms in block F round about Shrine I. In the course of this
work a discovery of a considerable value was made in the shape of an Aramaic inscription carved on what appears to have been an octagonal pillar of white marble, of which, unfortunately, only the piece reproduced in fig.1 has been recorded. This piece was found built into the wall between the chambers a₁ and a₂ in the north-west corner of the block, and in as much as these chambers date approximately from the reign of Azes I, it must have been buried in its present worn and broken condition before the beginning of the Christian era".¹ The second Aramaic inscription was found in Afghanistan and edited by Birkeland.² Therefore there is no doubt that the Aramaic script was used for official and other purposes in India and adjacent countries. It seems natural to conclude that the Persian satraps carried with them into India their staff of subordinates who were accustomed to the use of the Aramean letters and language. And this would fully explain how the Indians of the Indo-Persian provinces were driven to utilise the characters, commonly employed by the scribes and accountants of their conquerors, though they already possessed a script of their own. It, therefore, seems

¹ ASIAR for 1914-15, p.25, 1920
² AO, vol.XVI, pp.222-33, 1937
that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet was the result of the intercourse between the offices of the satraps and of the native authorities, the Indian chiefs and the heads of towns and villages, whom, as the accounts of the state of the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion show, the Persians left in possession in consideration of the payment of their tribute. The Indians probably used at first the pure Aramaic characters, just in much later times they adapted the Arabic writing for a number of their dialects, and they introduced in the course of time the modifications, observable in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, for which process the additions to the Arabic alphabet, employed for writing Hindi, furnish an analogy, perhaps not perfect but nevertheless worthy of notice.

It will now be fruitful to make a comparative study of the Aramaic script, the script as found on the Aramaic inscriptions found at Taxila and Kabul and the earliest Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the inscriptions of As‘oka. For the Aramaic script we will mainly take the letters as found in the Carpentras Stele¹ with additions from elsewhere as necessary. For the Kharoṣṭhī script we shall utilise the relevant letters as found in our Table I. Before we proceed

(1) TSA, 1889
to the detailed comparative study of these letters it is important to note the following important points. First, the oldest Kharosthī script, i.e., as found in the inscriptions of Asʿoka is to be compared with the Aramaic script which is earlier than the period of the inscriptions of Asʿoka, i.e., roughly 6th - 5th century B.C. Secondly, it should also be borne in mind that as a rule the Aramaic script which is used for comparison must be different from the Kharosthī script which is compared with it but at the same time it must be logically shown that the Kharosthī letters are derived from the Aramaic script.

**Borrowed signs**

No.1. The identity of \( \text{א} \) with Aleph \( \text{א} \) is quite evident. In the Kharosthī letter we find the absence of the small stroke to the right portion of the letter Aleph. (XVI.1.IV, I,a and III,a).

No.2. The letter \( \text{ב} \) is a slightly changed form of the letter Beth \( \text{ב} \). In the Kharosthī letter we find conspicuously the absence of the upward portion of the right vertical constituting the letter Beth. (XVI.2.IV, I and III).
No. 3. The letter Gimel is not found in the Carpentras stele. Therefore we take an example of the letter Gimel from the Teima inscription which is referred to c. 500 B.C. by Euting.\(^1\) We can probably derive the letter \(\text{g} \text{a} \) (♀) from the Aramaic letter Gimel if we assume that in the Kharōṣṭhī letter \(\text{g} \text{a} \) we find the addition of a loop to the upper portion of the vertical on the right.\(^{\text{A}}\)(XVI.3.IV, I and II)

No. 4. The Kharōṣṭhī letter \(\text{d} \text{a} \) (♀) comes from the letter Daleth if we assume that in the later Kharōṣṭhī specimen the letter loses the upper portion of the vertical on the right.\(^4\)(XVI.4.IV, I, and III) It is interesting to note that in the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the letter Daleth has already undergone so much change that it looks almost like a Kharōṣṭhī \(\text{d} \text{a} \). (♀) (XVI.4.II)

No. 5. The identity of the Kharōṣṭhī letter \(\text{h} \text{a} \) (♀) with the letter He may be established if we attach the central vertical line of the letter He to the right lower end of the vertical. (XVI.5.IV,a, I and II). Another type of \(\text{h} \text{a} \) occurs in the inscriptions of Asʿoka in which all the lines are straight (♀) and which can be easily deduced from the above type of the letter He in the above-mentioned manner. (XVI.5.IV,b, I and II)

\(^{\text{A}}\)TSA, 1889
No.6. The letter \( \text{va} \) (7) as found in the inscriptions of As`oka has preserved almost exactly the form of the letter waw. (7) (XVI.6.IV, I, II and III) No.7. The letter \( \text{je} \) (\( \gamma \)) as found in the inscriptions of As`oka has been derived from the letter Zain \( (\gamma) \) as found in the Teima inscription. (XVI.7.IV and Ia). The letter Zain in the Carpentras Stele (XVI.7.I,b) in the Aramaic inscriptions at Taxila (XVI.7.II) and Kabul (XVI.7.III) differ greatly from the similar letter found in the Teima inscription.

No.8. The letter \( \text{s'a} \) (\( \square \)) as found in the inscriptions of As`oka is derived from the letter Cheth. (\( H \)) The only point of difference between these two letters is that the portion of the vertical lines above the horizontal line is absent in the case of the letter \( s'a \). (XVI.8.IV, I and III).

No.9. The letter \( \text{ya} \) (\( \wedge \)) as we find in the inscriptions of As`oka has been possibly derived from the letter Yod (\( \wedge \)) as found in the Carpentras Stele. The point of difference is that in the Kharosthi letter \( ya \) the portion of the right vertical above the meeting point with the left vertical is omitted. (XVI.9.IV and I) It is further interesting to note that the Kharosthi letter \( ya \) is very similar to the letter Yod in the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila. (XVI.9.IV and II)

No.10. Bühler has derived the Kharosthi letter \( ka \) from
the Aramaic Kaph and regarding this point he has written
that "the connexion of \( \text{ka} \) (col. III) with the Aramaic Kaph is
asserted by M. T. Halevy, but he compares the sign of the
Papyri [50] (col. II), which is very dissimilar. I think,
there can be no doubt that the Kharosthi letter is a modification
of the Babylonian Kaph in col. I, b, which was turned
round in order to avoid a collision with \( \text{le} \) and further received
the little bar at the top for the sake of clearer
distinction from \( \text{pe} \). The sign in Col. I, a, which likewise
comes from Babylon, has been added in order to show the
development of that in Col. I, b, from the oldest form". ¹

The arguments which have been put forward seems to be rather
far-fetched; but unless we accept these two assumptions of
Bühler, we cannot derive the Kharosthi letter \( \text{ka} \) (\( \text{t} \)) from
the Aramaic Kaph. (\( \text{t} \)) (XVI. 10. IV and I).

No. 11. Bühler has also derived the letter \( \text{le} \) from the
Aramaic Lamed (\( \text{L} \)). Regarding the derivation he has ob-
served, "Lamed, consisting of a vertical with an appendage
at the foot had, as stated above, to be turned topsy-turvy
in order to yield the Kharosthi \( \text{le} \), with which Dr. Taylor and
M. Halevy have identified it. Moreover, the curve which then
stood at the top was connected into a broken line and
attached a little below the top of the vertical, in order to

(1) IBA, pp. 103-4, 1898
avoid a collision with A.\textsuperscript{1} The arguments of Bühler, as in the case of the letter ka, is also rather very weak because there is no reason how the letter Lamed can be turned topsyturvy in order to give rise to the form la in the process of evolution. (XVI.11.IV and I)

No.12. Bühler has also derived the Kharosthi letter ma (ˤ) from the Aramaic Mem (ג'); but it is very doubtful whether this derivation is correct. The following are the most important points of objection. First, it is inexplicable how the side stroke and the central vertical stroke which are inherent in the letter Mem cannot be found in the Kharosthi letter ma. Secondly, it is very difficult to say whether the appendages which we find associated with certain types of ma of the Asōkan period and also of the Indo-Bactrian period are really the constituent part of the letter itself or any other added signs, particularly vowel signs. It, therefore, seems that the derivation of the Kharosthi letter ma from the Aramaic Mem is highly problematical. (XVI.12.IV, I, II and III).

No.13. There is possibly no doubt that the Kharosthi letter na (ן) is derived from the Aramaic letter Nun (XVI.13.IV, IIa, III).

No.14. The Kharosthi letter sa (ם) has been derived from the Aramaic letter Sameh (ץ). Regarding this deriv-

\textsuperscript{(1)} IBA, p.104, 1898
tion Bühler has observed that "the identity of sa with the Aramaic Samech (col. I) has hitherto not been recognised. Nevertheless the not uncommon form of sa with the polygonal or angular head, given in Col. III, permits us to assert that also in this case the Gandharans used for the notation of their dental sibilant the sign which one could expect to be employed for the purpose. The top stroke and the upper portion of the right side of the Kharoṣṭhī sa correspond very closely to the upper hook of the Samech of Teima, being only made a little broader. The little slanting bar in the centre of the Samech may be identified with the downward stroke, attached to the left of the top line of sa, and the lower left side of sa appears to be the corresponding portion of the Samech, turned round towards the left in order to effect a connexion with the downward stroke."¹ (XVI.14.IV,I)

No.15. The Kharoṣṭhī letter pa ( || ) as found in the inscriptions of As'oka may be derived from the Aramaic Phe. Regarding this derivation Bühler has observed that "the identity of pa with Phe is plain enough .... The Semitic letter ... has been turned round .... in order to avoid the

(1) IBA, p.105, 1898
resemblance to A. The form with a hook, attached to the right top of the vertical ... occurs still a few times in the Manshehra version of the Edicts. Usually the hook or curve is placed lower, as in Col. III, b, and it may be noted that in the Manshehra pa it is attached nearly always very high up, in the Shahbazgarhi letter not rarely lower.¹ (XVI. 15. IV. and I). It is very difficult to accept this opinion of Bühler.

No. 16. The Kharoṣṭhī letter胞 (♀) as found in the inscriptions of As‘oka is derived from the Aramaic sade (♀) as found on the papyri. (XVI.16. IV and I)

No. 17. The Kharoṣṭhī letter ḵha ('][$] has been derived from the Aramaic letter Quph ('][$]). There is no doubt about this derivation as the only thing which is absent in the Kharoṣṭhī ḵha is the line which is drawn downwards from the central line of the letter Quph. (XVI. 17. IV and I)

No. 18. The Kharoṣṭhī letter ṭa ('][$) is derived from the Aramaic letter Resh ('][$) (XVI. 18. IV. and II)

No. 19. Bühler derived the Kharoṣṭhī letter ṭa ('][$) from the Aramaic letter Shin; but it seems that this derivation is rather far-fetched. Regarding this point he has observed that "these tendencies required two Aramaic letters,­ (1) IBA, pp.105-06, 1898
Lamed (No. 11, I and III) and Shin (No. 19, I and III) to be turned topsy-turvy, and caused in the Shin the development of a long vertical out of the short central stroke, as well as mutilations of some other signs. \[1\] But these two reasons seem to be very weak. So it is not possible to derive the Kharosthi letter \(sa\) from the Aramaic letter Shin ( \(\backslash\) ) as Bühler wanted to do (XVI. 19. IV, I, II, and III).

No. 20. Bühler derived the Kharosthi letter \(ta\) from the Aramaic letter Taw but in a round-about way. He says that the oldest Kharosthi representatives of the Aramaic letter Taw are the dental \(tha\) (XVI. 20. V. a) which is very similar to one Aramaic Taw (XVI. 20. I, b) and the lingual \(ta\) ( \(\dagger\) ) (XVI. 20. V, b) where the second stroke on the right denotes the organic difference and the lingual \(tha\) where the second stroke on the left denotes the organic difference. (XVI. 20. V, c). In this form of \(tha\) the bar, which originally stood at the side has been added at the top, and out of such a form the dental \(ta\) ( \(\gamma\) ) (XVI. 20. IV) seems to have been developed. Its top line has been lengthened considerably and the downstroke has been shortened and bent in order to avoid a collision with \(va\) and \(ra\).
Derivative signs

There is no doubt that certain signs which are found in the inscriptions of Asoka are formed by the addition of diacritical marks to the letters which are already derived from the Aramaic letters.

The initial ı, u, e, and o are made by the addition of diacritical marks to the letter a, viz., ı ı (XVI.1.V, a), u ı (XVI.1.V, b), e ı (XVI.1.V, c) and o ı (XVI.1.V, d).

The aspiration is expressed by a curve, a hook or a straight stroke, which latter, as the case of bha ı (XVI.2.V) shows, is a cursive substitute for the curve. Secondly, the original form of the unaspirated letters is sometimes slightly modified. Thus we find the curve appearing on the right of the letter pe to form the letter gha. ı (XVI.3.V), at the top of da to form dha ı̅ (XVI.4.V, a) without any change in the original forms. The straight stroke alone is found, on the left of the original letter je, to form the letter jha. ı (XVI.7.V) The vertical line constituting the letter pe is produced towards the left to form the letter pha. ı (XVI.15.V) The stroke of aspiration appears on the right in the letter cha ı (XVI.16.V) and in the letter pha ı (XVI.4.V, b); but in the former sign the small slanting stroke at the top of the vertical on the left
has been straightened and contained with the sign of aspiration into a bar across the vertical. In the letter ḍha the whole head of the unaspirated letter has been flattened down and reduced to a single stroke, which together with the sign of aspiration forms the bar across the top of the vertical. With respect to ṇa it is sufficient to point out that it has been developed from the dental ṇa by a slight prolongation of the right hand stroke. \(\text{(XVI.13.V, a)}\) The case of the lingual ḍa is rather doubtful. \(\text{(XVI.4.V, c)}\) Possibly it may be derived from the older dental ḍa by the addition of a short vertical straight line on the right, which coalesced with the vertical of the ḍa and thus formed the sign with the open square at the head. But it is also possible that the Aramaic alphabet, imported into India, possessed several variants for Daleth and that the heavier one was chosen to express the heavier lingual ḍa, while the lighter or more cursive one was utilised for the dental ḍa.

The origin of the remaining two consonant signs, the palatal Ṇa and of the anusvāra may now be tackled. There is no doubt that the palatal Ṇa consists of two dental ṇa, joined together and it may be added that in the inscriptions of Ass'oka sometimes the right half and sometimes the left half are only rudimentary. \(\text{(XVI.13.V, b)}\) There is no doubt
that the anusvāra is nothing but a subscript small ma.


The above analysis clearly shows that the principal letters of the Kharoṣṭhī script have been borrowed from the Aramaic script and that certain other letters are actually derived from the borrowed signs; but besides these two kinds of letters there are two other characteristics of the Kharoṣṭhī script which should be tackled here. They are the vowel-signs added to the simple as well as compound aksarās and the formation of the compound aksarās. One vowel-sign added to the simple as well as compound aksarās is nothing but the addition of that diacritical mark whose addition to the vowel a makes it one of other vowels. Secondly, the rules for the compound aksarās are made by the makers of the Kharoṣṭhī script.
APPENDIX I

The Kharosthī script on ancient Persian coins

Any work dealing with the history of the origin and development of the Kharosthī script should begin with the consideration of a number of ancient Persian coins; but as these Persian coins are not definitely known to have been found in India, it is not possible to ascribe this account in the general body of the text. We are not sure about the extent of territory in India over which the Persian emperors ruled; but there can be no doubt that the Persian rulers issued their currency with the country under their control.

The Persian emperors issued coins made in two different metals, viz., gold and silver. The daric was the standard gold coin of ancient Persia and was probably first minted by Darius who was the first monarch of this house to annex some portion of north-western India to his empire. It is, therefore, logical to conclude that this type of coins would have access to his Indian possession also; but there is one reason, mainly economical, which goes against this theory. In India gold was not only found in profusion but also in far more abundance than silver. In the period of the Persian occupation
of some portions of North-Western India the ratio between
gold and silver in India was not higher than 1:8, as compared
with 1:13.3 maintained by the Persian mint. Therefore the
darics which entered India constituted an artificially in-
flated currency. There was no temptation to accumulate them
when they could be exchanged elsewhere for silver at a very
great profit. The conclusion suggested here has been fully
borne out by the actual phenomenon because the darics have
not been discovered in any quantity in India though stray
specimens are found out at some sites.

The corresponding silver coinage was sigloii or shekels,
twenty of which were equivalent to one daric. It is common to
find the sigloii from Indian dealers and it may be reasonably
inferred that they are fairly often disinterred from the soil
of India itself. That is just what is wanted from the working
of the economic law.

Most of these coins have counter-marks the addition of
which has usually served one or other of two distinct purposes.
It has occasionally merely denoted the ratification or re-
sanction of a currency already legal; it has more frequently
been used to show some change in the conditions of a currency —
as, for instance, a change in its value as a legal tender, or
its circulation in a different country or under a different
government.
Some of these Persian sigloi bear letters which Rapson took to be Kharoṣṭhī letters. He observed that Bébélon published a collection of these marks and also gave reasons for attributing several of them to certain countries, viz., Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. He has given a plate showing the Persian coins bearing the counter-marks. In some of them Rapson discovered a few Kharoṣṭhī letters, viz., ṭī, ḍa, ṁa, me, ma, and ha. He maintained the same view in another work.

In an article on a find of coins made in Cilicia, Newell also considered some counter-marks to be Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters. He observed, "All our sigloi had evidently been in circulation for many years along the coasts of Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus - some had even been out to India and back - before their final owner saw fit to buy his little hoard. ... No. 94 had certainly been in India, for on it we see the Elephant punch-mark so common to the flat, punch-marked purānas of Indian numismatics, we have also the letter forms Fig. I, 11

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(1) JRAS, 1895, pp. 865–77
(2) PA, p. xi, 1893
(3) IC, § 7, 1897
(4) NC, 4th series, vol. XIV, p. 27, 1914
and 10, very similar to "gha" and "ta" of the Kharosthi alphabet. Furthermore, we have what appears to be letters of the Brahmi alphabet: Fig. 1.32 or 16 (97), 40 (138), 24 (112), 31 (125), 37 (136). The Fig. 1.18 (99) may be either a Brāhma or a Kharosthi character. Several other more or less obscure characters seem to be variants of these alphabets.  

Against these views of Rapson and Newell Hill has proposed a theory of his own. In this connection he has observed, "Rapson, it is true, held twenty-four years ago that some at least of the punch-marks were Indian in origin, and included Brāhmī and Kharosthi characters. But of the former, his यो, if turned upside down would serve for the Cypriote र (No.121), his व is more probably a more or less mutilated ankh, his खा is the Lysian monoskeles; his प is, if turned upside down, may be the Phoenician (No.128); his ज may be the Greek E (Nos.117-19). He is inclined to think that his गो (No.140) is more probably to be completed as the symbol No.81; but, as a matter of fact, it must be conceded to him that the form as given is correct. This exhausts his list of Brāhmī characters. Of the Kharosthi his म is, he admits, in

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(1) NC, 4th series, vol.XIV, pp.27-28, 1914

Cambridge University Library
some instances at least, probably a crescent (Nos. 45 ff); his
me is a kind of flower (Nos. 70 ff); his mam is really the
symbol No. 173, his ti may equally well be a Phoenician mim
(No. 132); while his da and he (Nos. 133 ff) are not sufficient-
ly characteristic to afford strong evidence on either side.
Newell has added one or two more to his list of alleged Indian
characters. No. 138 in our table he compared with Kharoṣṭhī
ta, but there is nothing very close to the form in Bühler's
table. No. 139 (drawn by him without the complete loop on
the right hand) he compares with Kharoṣṭhī gha; as here drawn
it comes much closer to Brāhmī oha (upside down). His nos. 32
and 16 I take to be floral in origin and less angular than he
has depicted them; his No. 24 (our No. 141) is not really very
like Brāhmī khi; nor do I quite see with which Brāhmī sign
he would identify his No. 31; his No. 37 is hardly characteris-
tic enough to serve as basis for argument."

Macdonald accepted the view of Hill so far as this ques-
tion is concerned. 2

The whole problem may be re-examined with a view to reach-
ing definite conclusion. There is no doubt that the Achaemenid
emperors beginning with Darius Hystaspes to Darius III hold

(1) JHS, vol. XXXIX, p. 127, 1919
some portions of North-Western India. It is, therefore, quite natural to conclude that their coins would be found in this part of India; but we are extremely unfortunate in not finding early Persian coins of this nature. It is true we find the mention of a few Persian coins in one issue of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India but they are of an altogether different nature. Therefore it must be held that till now there is no authentic find of coins of this nature from India; but this does not necessarily mean that all the coins of this type which have been reported to have been found in India are not found in this country. At least this question should remain open. The most important point in the argument of Hill is that none of these coins is known to have been found definitely in India. Had these coins been reported to have been found in actual excavation in India, then Hill would not have been able to speak as he did in this article. Another thing which went in favour of Hill's arguments is that the so-called letters occur alone. On account of this fact these signs have been easily explained otherwise. But when Hill explains one sign, identified as Kharoshthi letter by Rapson, as a Phoenician sign, he also goes by the same method of argument.

(1) ASIAR for 1926-27, p.212, 1930
If we assume that these coins had been found in India, then there is absolutely no flaw in the argument of Rapson. There is probably no serious argument against this assumption. It is a historical fact that the Persians made two satrapies out of soil in north-western India and this subjugation was kept almost for two hundred years. If the Persian coins may be found in all parts of their empire, it is inexplicable how not a single Persian coin has been found in the soil of India. It, therefore, appears that there is possibly some error in recording the find-spot of these coins. Some of the coins may have been actually found in India.

We may tentatively accept the reading of Rapson. If we accept it, then the Kharosthi letters which we find here become the earliest specimens of this script. The letters are, therefore, to be referred to the 4th century B.C. at the latest. They are ti, da, ma, me, mam, and ha.

It is very difficult to make a correct idea of the shape of the ta because it is joined with the i-sign. Rapson, therefore, rightly observed that "this is certainly not unlike the form of ti which constantly appears on the coins, where, from

(1) JRAS, 1895, p.876, Fig.7, also perhaps Fig.8, 1895.
want of space, the true proportions between the consonant itself and its attendant vowel mark are often disregarded." The other letter belonging to this group is da which is a curved line to which one horizontal stroke is added to the foot on the left.2

We find the letters ma, me and mem. Rapson found this letter on six different coins but he has observed that "it is, of course, extremely doubtful whether, in some instances at least, this is not simply a crescent."3 If we take it as an example of ma, then it is a flat, semi-circular curve.4 The e-sign is indicated by a vertical stroke which meets the middle of the curve forming this letter.5 It is difficult to see what is actually engraved for mam because the photograph is not clear. Rapson said that this mam was very similar to the mam found in certain Indo-Bactrian coins. Regarding this point he wrote, "This is precisely the form of mam which is found on coins (v. Gardner, Catalogue, pl.XIV, 2 and 6, when it occurs in the left field of two silver coins)."6 There is some mistake in the statement as well as in the drawing which may be pointed

(1) JRAS, 1895, p.376, 1895
(2) Ibid., 1895, p.376, Fig.9, 1895
(3) Ibid., 1895, p.375, 1895
(4) Ibid., 1895, pp.375-6, 1895
(5) Ibid., 1895, p.376, 1895
(6) Ibid., 1895, p.376, 1895
out here. First, this sign does not occur on the coin represented in Gardner's Catalogue, pl.xiv, 6; but it occurs on the coins described as pl.xiv, 2, 3, and 4. Secondly, the sign which Rapson drew for the letter mem and which he considered similar to pl.xiv.2. of Gardner's Catalogue was not correct. Gardner drew a similar letter to indicate the same sign in the body of the catalogue;¹ but a perusal of the plates which are given in his work shows that his drawings on this page are not correct;² but the drawing for these letters which he has given on p.lxxi of his book is correct.³ What is wrong in Gardner's drawing in the body of the Catalogue and also Rapson's drawing in this article is that there is no bar connecting the two 'ma's, one above and the other below. The specimen in Rapson's plate does not show this sign clearly, but if the form is like that which is given in Gardner's table of Kharosthi letters, then it is certainly a form which is worthy of note. It is nothing but the placing of two 'ma's in two exactly opposite positions to indicate the sound mem.

(1) CGSKBI, p.59, 1886
(2) CGSKBI, pl.XIV, 2, 3, 4, 1886
(3) Ibid., p.lxxxii, 1886
APPENDIX II

A note on the Kharoṣṭhī script found in the documents which cannot be set in the chronological scheme.

In our chapter on the Kharoṣṭhī script as found in the documents of Pēpiya, Tajaka and Amgoke and also on those of Mahiri and Vaṣāmana we have already stated that there are certain inscriptions which are published but which cannot be set in any chronological scheme. We omitted those inscriptions; but as they contain some letters which are not found in these two sets of records, we propose to treat them in this appendix.

The documents which have been taken in this connection are nos. 48, 149, 191, 205, 283, 316, 333, 379, 432, 476, 510, 511, 514, 523, 532, 558, 560, 565, 605, 606, 607, 613, 616, 646, 659, 686, 694, 695, 696, 701, 702, 703, 708, 721, 722, 729, 754, 755, 756, 772, 774, 775, 776, 779 and 781. Here in this appendix a discussion has been made only of those letters which have not been found in the previous chapters.

Simple akṣaras

Gutturals

We have found the example of the letter ka devoid of its inherent a. Regarding this kind of letter Rapson has observed,
"Since the language of all Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions known before the date of Sir Aurel Stein's second expedition to Chinese Turkestan (1906-08) is some form of Prākrit which does not allow a word to end with any consonant except m, ..., no expedient had hitherto been observed whereby a consonant deprived of its inherent a could be indicated. But such an expedient is indispensable if Sanskrit is to be written in Kharoṣṭhī; and the discovery of a tablet containing Sanskrit verses (no. 523) showed for the first time that the function of the Devarṣagari virāma could be supplied in Kharoṣṭhī by writing a final consonant below the line and by making it rather smaller than the other characters.¹ (XVII.1.I.)

There is also the example of the a-stroke added to the letter kha. This is indicated by a short stroke which is placed below the letter. ²(XVII.2.I.)

There is also the example of the letter gā, the a being indicated by a stroke drawn from the foot of the stem towards the right. ³ (XVII.3.I.)

There is also the example of the o-stroke added to the letter gha. ⁴ (XVII.4.I.)

¹ KII, pt. III, p. 297, 1929
Palatals

We have found the examples of the letter $\mathbf{c\tilde{e}.}$ (XVII.5.I.)

We have found also the example of the letter $\mathbf{c\tilde{e}a.}$ (XVII.6.I.)

There is also the example of the letter $\mathbf{c\tilde{e}a.}$ which is found only in one inscription. (XVII.7.I.)

We have found the examples of the letter $\mathbf{j\tilde{e}.}$ (XVII.8.I.)

We have also found the examples of the letter $\mathbf{j\tilde{h}a.}$ (XVII.9.I.)

Linguals

We have found the example of $\text{visarga}$ in conjunction with the letter $\mathbf{th.}$ (XVII.10.I.)

We have also found the example of the letter $\mathbf{th\prime.}$ (XVII.11.I.)

There is also the example of the letter $\mathbf{dh[m].}$ (XVII.12.I)

Regarding the lengthening of the vowel sign Rapson observes, "It was formerly supposed that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet lacked the means of distinguishing long from short vowels; and the fact that such a means existed, even if it was not commonly employed, was first made clear by evidence supplied by the Niya documents. The lengthening of any vowel may be indicated by a short stroke written below the line, in form and position and like the $\text{virāma}$ of the Devānāgarī alphabet; cf. 3;
ke, 12; ti, 77; pu, 102 etc. But the length of vowels is thus marked consistently and regularly in those inscriptions which are written in Sanskrit more or less correctly such as the verses of inscriptions nos. 511 and 525. In the Prakrit documents any indication of length is merely occasional and apparently purely arbitrary: that is to say, length is entirely disregarded in most of the documents of this class, while it is only very partially and inconsistently observed in the rest. ¹

Dentals

We have found the long i attached to the letter ta ṭa (XVII.13.I) and the a attached to the same letter. ɾa (XVII.13.II.) There is also the example of this letter in conjunction with visarga. ṭ (XVII.13.III.) There is also the example of this letter without the inherent a. ɾa (XVII.13.IV.) We have found one sign ∞ below this and other letters. Regarding this sign Rapson has observed, "Some modification of the vowel may also perhaps be indicated by the sign ∞ which occurs frequently in inscription 511, pl. VIII, and sporadically

¹ KI, pt. III, p. 299, 1929
elsewhere. In inscription 511 it is written beneath certain 
skandhas containing the vowels a or u; but its use is confined
to a few words; viz: upalabhi, ladhva, satamasya, subhadra,
ütama, uktama, bu[...], vis'udha."(XVII.13.V.)

There is the ə-stroke attached to the letter da. ə
(XVII.14.I.)

There is also the example of the visarga attached to the
letter dha. ə (XVII.15.I.)

There is also the example of the visarga attached to the
letter na. ə (XVII.16.I.)

Labials

There is the example of the long u attached to the letter
pa. ə (XVII.17.I.)

We find the example of the u-stroke attached to the letter
pah. It is in the form of a complete loop attached to the
left side of the lower end of the stem. ə (XVII.18.I.)

We find the example of the ə-stroke attached to the
letter bha. ə (XVII.19.I.) Further we find the sign ə
attached to this letter. ə (XVII.19.II.)

Semi-vowels

We find the example of the long u attached to the letter
ra. $\mathfrak{r}$ (XVII. 20. I.)

There is the example of the sign ∞ attached to the letter la. $\mathfrak{l}$ (XVII. 21. I.)

There is also the example of the long i attached to the letter va. $\mathfrak{v}$ (XVII. 22. I.)

Sibilants and ha

We find the example of the letter s. The s is indicated by a short stroke placed between the two limbs of the letter. $\mathfrak{s}$ (XVII. 23. I.) There is also the example of the long i added to this letter. $\mathfrak{i}$ (XVII. 23. II.) and also of the sign ∞ added to this letter. $\mathfrak{v}$ (XVII. 23. III.)

We have found the example of the letter sa to which the s-stroke is added. The s is indicated by a curved stroke which is drawn from the lower end of the stem. $\mathfrak{s}$ (XVII. 24. I.) When the s-stroke is added to the letter sam, it is indicated by a detached stroke placed below the letter. $\mathfrak{v}$ (XVII. 24. II.)

We have found the examples of the letter sa to which the long i is added. $\mathfrak{i}$ (XVII. 25. I.) We have also found the example of the letter sa to which the sign ∞ is added. $\mathfrak{v}$ (XVII. 25. II.)
There is also the example of the letter sa with a superscript line. Regarding this letter Rapson has observed, "The line above g, g', g and h denotes suffixed n or n. .... The superscript line has also the same significance when it is used with s." (XVII.26.I.)

We have found the examples of the letter ha (XVII.27.I) and hi_ (XVII.27.II.)

**Compound sksaras**

**Groups with initial guttural**

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial ka, ga, g'a and gha. The compound letter formed with the initial ka is kta. (XVII.28.I.)

The compound letters with the initial ga are gta (XVII.28.II) and gdhah (XVII.28.III.)

The compound letter with the initial g'a is g'cma (XVII.28.IV).

**Groups with initial lingual**

The compound letter in this group is formed with the initial gha. It is the letter ghg'e (XVII.29.I).

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(1) KI, pt.III, pp.320, 321, 1929
Groups with initial dental

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial da and na. The compound letter formed with the initial da is dya $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.30.I) and drya $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.30.II).

The compound letter formed with the initial na is nta. $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.30.III.)

Groups with initial labial

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial ba, bha and ma. The compound letters with the initial ba is bdha $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.31.I).

The ligatures with the initial bha are bhti $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.31.II) and bhya $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.31.III).

The compound letters with the initial ma are mva $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.31.IV) and mla $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.31.V).

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial ra and la. The ligatures with the initial la are rla $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.I) and rvra $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.II).

The ligatures formed with the initial la are lca $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.III), lts $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.IV), lma $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.V) and lve $\frac{a}{f}$ (XVII.32.VI).
Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial ñ'a and ñ. The ligatures formed with the initial ñ'a are ñ'pa ḅ (XVII.33.I) and ñ've ḅ (XVII.33.II).

The ligatures formed with the initial ñ are ñka ḅ (XVII.33.III), ñ̄a ḅ (XVII.33.IV) and ña ḅ (XVII.33.V).
APPENDIX III

A note on the Kharoshthi letters found in unillustrated documents

In the previous appendix we have shown the number of letters which are found in illustrated documents but which cannot be set in the chronological scheme; but as many of these documents are not illustrated, it is not possible to show a number of letters which are found there. In this appendix an idea has been given of these letters.

Vowels

There is the vowel r in the rna (no. 24, UT, 0, 1.2). ¹
This has been illustrated by Rapson in his work. ²

Simple akṣaras

Palatals

There is the example of the letter jho in the word jhorita (no. 177, R, 1.1). We have also found the example of the letter ṅā in the word ṅātiyo (no. 437, CT, R, 1.5).

(1) All these numbers refer to KI, pts. I-III  
(2) KI, pt. III, pl. XIV, no. 7, 1929
Labials

We have found the letter p in the word ciptiga (no. 422, 1.3) and the letter m in the word milimi (no. 422, 1.5).

Sibilants and ha

We have found the letters su in the word masii (no. 173, 0, col. A, 1.1) and sr in the word prasaptati (no. 383, R, 1.6).

Compound akaras

Groups with initial guttural

We find the compound letters with the initial ka, kha, and ga. The compound letter formed with the initial ka is the ksa in the word nokgari (no. 195, 0, 1.2).

The compound letter formed with the initial kha is the word khama in the letter trakama (no. 324, 1.5).

The compound letter formed with the initial ga is the letter g'ge in the word cimg'ge (no. 345, UI, R, 1.7).

Groups with initial palatal

The compound letters are formed with the initial ca, ja, and na. The compound letters formed with the initial ca are the letter cma in the word cmekama (no. 103, R, col. B, 1.5) and the letter cya in the word secyam (no. 436, UT, 0, 1.5).
The conjuncts with the initial जे are the letter जो in the word तम्जो (no.453, O, 15.) and the letter ज्ञा in the word राज्यामि (no.152, UT, 0, 1.4).

The ligatures with the initial ने are the letter न्द्रा in the word काम्निकाभ (no.610, Col.A, l.1) and the letter न्यास in the word पुण्य (no.209, 0, 1.1).

Groups with initial lingual

The compound letters are formed with the initial धा.

These letters are ध्या in the word ध्याच्यासा (no.685, O, Col.A, l.2) and ध्रा in the word ध्रासा (no.216, R, 1.1).

Groups with initial dental

The compound letters in this group are formed with the initial ता and ना. The conjuncts with the initial ता are the letters तस (ग‘)ो in the word पुंतस (ग‘)ो (no.688, O, Col.A, 1.3) and तस्मा in the word तस्मायास (no.110, R, 1.4).

The conjuncts formed with the initial ना are the letters न्द्या in the word [स‘]न्द्यासा (no.762, O, Col.C, l.3) and न्मा in the word न्मास (no.7, UT, 0, 1.2).

Groups with initial labial

The ligatures are formed with the initial पा and मा. The compound letters formed with the initial पा are the letters
pei in the word 

in the word ripsti (no.123, 0, 1.3) and pdho in the word 

(no.137, 0, Col.B, 1.3).

The compound letters with the initial ma are the letters 

in the word 

(no.147, 0, Col.A, 1.3), ms'a in the 

word 

(no.74, col.B, 1.3) and 

in the word 

(no.137, 0, col.B, 1.1).

Groups with initial semi-vowel

The conjuncts are formed with the initial ra and la. The 

conjuncts formed with the initial ra are the letters 

in the word 

motirdhi (no.701, 0, Col.E, 1.2), rba in the word 

(durbala) (no.125, 0, 1.2), lts in the word 

(no.66, 0, Col.B, 1.4) ltsa in the word 

(no.422, 0, 1.6) lde in the word 

(no.574, CI, 0, 1.3) and lna in the word 

(no.701, 0, Col.C, 1.7).

Groups with initial sibilant

The compound letters are formed with the initial sa and 

sa. The compound letters formed with the initial sa are the 

letters 

in the word 

(cinaggasiya) (no.324, 0, 1.8), stsa in the word 

(ramastsa) (no.582, CT, R, 1.6).

The conjunct with the initial sa is the letter 

in the 

(word acokisg'iya) (no.361, 0, 1.2) and the letter 

in the 

(bhasaghaga) (no.551, R, 1.1).
EXPLANATION OF TABLE I

(1) I. 1. I - a: Devanapriasa (CJJ, vol.I, S.I. 1)
(2) I. 1. II - a: athara (Ibid., S.IV. 10)
(3) I. 1. III - āṛ: aṭtaraṇ (Ibid., S.IV. 7)
(4) I. 2. I - i: imisa (Ibid., S.III. 6)
(5) I. 3. I - u: uyanašpi (Ibid., S.VI. 14)
(6) I. 4. I - e: eṣa (Ibid., S.X. 22)
(7) I. 4. II - e: e[ta] (Ibid., S.IV. 9)
(8) I. 5. I - o: orodhaneseṣu (Ibid., S.V. 13)
(9) I. 6. I - ki: kici (Ibid., S.I. 1)
(10) I. 6. II - ka: [ka]ṣaṃti (Ibid., M.IX. 6)
(11) I. 6. III - kam: kaṃ[bojeṣu] (Ibid., M.XIII. 10)
(12) I. 6. IV - ka: kṣaṃti (Ibid., S.VII. 4)
(13) I. 6. V - ku: kups (Ibid., S.II. 5)
(14) I. 6. VI - ke: keraḍaputra (Ibid., S.II. 4)
(15) I. 6.VII - ko: pradesiko (Ibid., S.III. 6)
(16) I. 7. I - kha: likhaṃti (Ibid., S.I. 1)
(17) I. 7. II - kha: sukhaṣye (Ibid., S.V. 12)
(18) I. 7. III - kha: muhaṃ (Ibid., S.VI. 15)
(19) I. 7. IV - khi: likhitas (Ibid., S.I. 3)
(20) I. 7. V - khu: kundrakena (Ibid., S.X. 22)
(21) I. 7. VI - kho (Ibid., S.X. 22)
(22) I. 8. I - ge: pratibh[o]gaye (Ibid., S.II. 5)
(24) I. 8. III - ga: nagareṣ[u] (Ibid., M.V. 24)
(25) I. 8. IV - ge: kalige (Ibid., S.XIII. 6)
(26) I. 8. V - go: mrugo (Ibid., S.I. 3)
(27) I. 8. VI - gam:
(28) I. 9. I - gho: bherighosa (Ibid., S.IV. 8)
(29) I.10. I - ca after ye (Ibid., S.II. 4)
(30) I.10. II - ca after vuta (Ibid., S.II 5)
(31) I.10. III - ca after bahireṣu (Ibid., S.V. 13)
(32) I.10. IV - ca after ye (Ibid., S.XII. 7)
(33) I.10. V - ca after paratra (Ibid., M.VI. 31)
(34) I.10. VI - ci: cirathitika (Ibid., S.VI. 16)
(35) I.10. VII - cu before ekatia (Ibid., S.I. 2)
(36) I.10. VIII - ce: hace (Ibid., M.IX. 8)
(37) I.10. IX - co: Gaḍa (Ibid., S.XIII. 9)
(38) I.11. I - che: ichati (Ibid., S.VII. 1)
(39) I.11. II - chëm: ichëmti (Ibid., S.VII. 2)
(40) I.12. I - chä: chënti (Ibid., S.XII. 5)
(41) I.12. II - chë: sangëṭëna (Ibid., S.XIV. 13)
(42) I.12. III - chëm: vrachënti (Ibid., S.V. 11)
(43) I.13. I - ja: rajano (Ibid., S.II. 4)
(44) I.13. II - ja: samaja (Ibid., M.I. 3)
(45) I.13. III - ja: puja (Ibid., M.XII. 3)
(46) I.13. IV - ja: janasa (Ibid., S.VI. 14)
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(48) I.13. VI - ju: majura (Ibid., S.I. 3)

(49) I.13. VII - ju: rajuka (Ibid., S.III. 6)

(50) I.13. VIII - je: pujeti (Ibid., S.XII. 1)

(51) I.13. IX - jo: pra(jopadaye (Ibid., M.IX. 2)

(52) I.13. X - jem: jujamtu (Ibid., S.IV. 10)

(53) I.14. I - ño: raño (Ibid., S.I. 1)

(54) I.14. II - ño: raño (Ibid., S.I. 2)

(55) I.14. III - ña: sa(yaye (Ibid., S.III. 6)

(56) I.14. IV - ñi: ammi (Ibid., S.VII. 17)

(57) I.14. V - ñe: am(ye (Ibid., S.V. 13)

(58) I.14. VI - ño: raño (Ibid., S.IV. 8)

(59) I.14. VII - ñam: spañam (Ibid., S.X. 22)

(60) I.15. I - ti: sampatipati (Ibid., S.IV. 9)

(61) I.15. II - ti: anuvatisamti (Ibid., S.V. 11)

(62) I.15. III - ta: bhatamayesu (Ibid., S.V. 12)

(63) I.15. IV - te: nivutasi (Ibid., M.IX. 6)

(64) I.15. V - ñ: usasina (Ibid., S.X. 22)

(65) I.15. VI - ñam: dharmas-vuñam (Ibid., S.XIII. 10)

(66) I.16. I - þam: [s]retham (Ibid., S.IV. 10)

(67) I.16. II - th'o: ath'o (Ibid., S.IX. 20)

(68) I.16. III - þam: atham (Ibid., S.IX. 20)

(69) I.17. I - tha: athaye (Ibid., S.XIII. 11)

(70) I.17. II - thi: raðhikanam (Ibid., S.V. 12)
I.18. II - da: apabhamdata (Ibid., S.III. 7)
I.18. III - daṃ: atapraṣādaṃ (Ibid., S.XII. 5)
I.19. I - ṣhi: vaṇhito (Ibid., S.IV. 7)
I.19. II - ṣha: ārīḍha-bhatita (Ibid., S.VII. 5)
I.19. III - ṣha: ārīḍha-bhatita (Ibid., M.VII. 33)
I.19. IV - ṣhe: vaṇheti (Ibid., S.XII. 4)
I.19. V - ṣhe: vaṇhēsu (Ibid., S.V. 12)
I.19. VI - ṣhaṃ: padham (Ibid., S.VII. 5)
I.20. I - na: paṇa (Ibid., S.I. 3)
I.20. II - na: anāpesanti (Ibid., S.III. 7)
I.20. III - na: anāpemi (Ibid., S.VI. 15)
I.20. IV - ne: dhrama - cāraṇena (Ibid., S.IV. 8)
I.21. I - ta: likhitā (Ibid., S.I. 3)
I.21. II - ta: vuta (Ibid., S.II. 5)
I.21. III - ta: vuta (Ibid., S.II. 5)
I.21. IV - ta: tatha (Ibid., S.VI. 16)
I.21. V - ti: atikrataṃ (Ibid., S.IV. 7)
I.21. VI - tu: likhapitu (Ibid., S.I. 1)
I.21. VII - tu: aradhetu (Ibid., S.VI. 16)
I.21. VIII - tu: pituna (Ibid., S.XI. 24)
I.21. IX - te: vijite (Ibid., S.III. 6)
I.21. X - te: hetuto (Ibid., S.III. 7)
I.21. XI - tam: atikrataṃ (Ibid., S.IV. 7)
I.21. XII - tam: vaṇhitam (Ibid., S.IV. 9)

(98) I.22. II - the: tatha (Ibid., S.V. 11)

(99) I.22. III - thi: c[i]ra-thitika (Ibid., S.V. 13)

(100) I.22. IV - the: anathesa (Ibid., S.V. 12)

(101) I.22. V - tho: apagratho (Ibid., S.XIII. 6)

(102) I.23. I - di: dipi (Ibid., S.I. 1)

(103) I.23. II - de: pativadana (Ibid., S.VI. 14)

(104) I.23. III - du: dukara (Ibid., S.V. 11)

(105) I.23. IV - de: devana (Ibid., S.I. 2)

(106) I.23. V - da: tadom (Ibid., M.XII. 4)

(107) I.24. I - dha: kamdhani (Ibid., S.IV. 8)

(108) I.24. II - dha: orodhanesu (Ibid., S.V. 13)

(109) I.24. III - dhi: sudhi (Ibid., S.VII. 2)

(110) I.24. IV - dhu: sadhu (Ibid., S.III. 7)

(111) I.24. V - dhe: aradhenu (Ibid., S.VI. 16)

(112) I.24. VI - dham: bahuvadhani (Ibid., S.IV. 9)

(113) I.25. I - na: devana (Ibid., S.I. 1)

(114) I.25. II - na: mahana[sas]i (Ibid., S.I.2)

(115) I.25. III - na: orodhanaspi (Ibid., S.VI. 14)

(116) I.25. V - ni: vahuni (Ibid., S.IV. 7)

(117) I.25. V - nu: anusas'isamti (Ibid., S.IV. 10)

(118) I.25. VI - ne: orodhanesu (Ibid., S.V. 13)

(119) I.25. VII - no (Ibid., S.I. 3)

(120) I.25. VIII - nam: devanam (Ibid., S.II. 4)

(121) I.26. I - pi: dipi (Ibid., S.I. 1)
(123) I.26. III - pu: putra (Ibid., S.IV. 9)
(124) I.26. IV - pe: anapamati (Ibid., S.III. 7)
(125) I.27. I - phe: mahapala (Ibid., S.XIII. 11)
(126) I.27. II - phe: apaphala (Ibid., S.IX. 18)
(127) I.28. I - be: bahum (Ibid., S.I. 2)
(128) I.28. II - be: apalibodhaye (Ibid., S.V. 13)
(129) I.29. I - bha: pratibhagaye (Ibid., S.II. 5)
(130) I.29. II - bho: bhoti (Ibid., S.IV. 10)
(131) I.29. III - bha: bhatana (Ibid., M.V. 24)
(132) I.29. IV - bhi: raabhise (Ibid. M.VIII. 35)
(133) I.29. V - bhu: bhutapruve (Ibid., S.IV. 8)
(134) I.29. VI - bhe: bramanibhhu (Ibid., S.V. 12)
(135) I.30. I - me: dhrame (Ibid., S.I. 1)
(136) I.30. II - me: dhrame (Ibid., S.VI. 16)
(137) I.30. III - me: mana (Ibid., S.VIII. 17)
(138) I.30. IV - me: manati (Ibid., S.XII. 2)
(139) I.30. V - me: mana after Maka (Ibid., S.XIII. 9)
(140) I.30. VI - mi: imisa (Ibid., S.III. 6)
(141) I.30. VII - mu: mula (Ibid., S.XII. 2)
(142) I.30. VIII - me after [y]e (Ibid., S.V. 11)
(143) I.30. IX - mo: mo [ch'aye] (Ibid., S.V. 13)
(144) I.30. X - mo: mo [ch'aye] (Ibid., M.V. 23)
(145) I.30. XI - ma: ima (Ibid., S.IX. 20)
(146) I.30. XII - 

(147) I.31. I - 

(148) I.31. II - 

(149) I.31. III - 

(150) I.31. IV - 

(151) I.31. V - 

(152) I.31. VI - 

(153) I.31. VII - 

(154) I.31.VIII - 

(155) I.32. I - 

(156) I.32. II - 

(157) I.32. III - 

(158) I.32. IV - 

(159) I.32. V - 

(160) I.32. VI - 

(161) I.33. I - 

(162) I.33. II - 

(163) I.33. III - 

(164) I.33. IV - 

(165) I.33. V - 

(166) I.33. VI - 

(167) I.34. I - 

(168) I.34. II - 

Cambridge University Library
1.34. III - vi: vihisa (CJJ, vol. I, S.IV. 7)

1.34. IV - vu: vuta (Ibid., S.II. 5)

1.34. V - vo: after vadhito (Ibid., S.IV. 7)

1.34. VI - vam: evam (Ibid., S.XI. 23)

1.34. VII - vam: vyamanato (Ibid., S.III. 7)

1.34. I - s'ì: priyadras'isa (Ibid., S.I. 2)

1.34. II - sa's: s'atani (Ibid., S.IV. 7)

1.34. III - sa'u: pas'u (Ibid., S.II. 5)

1.34. IV - sa'e: tadise (Ibid., S.IV. 8)

1.34. V - sa'am: anapes'ami (Ibid., S.III. 7)

1.34. I - su: [pas]casu (Ibid., S.III. 6)

1.34. II - su: orodhanesu (Ibid., S.V. 13)

1.34. III - sam: kasanti (Ibid., S.V. 11)

1.34. IV - sam: prasamsa (Ibid., S.VII. 2)

1.34. I - sa: prissə (Ibid., S.I. 1)

1.34. II - sa: priadras'isa (Ibid., S.I. 2)

1.34. III - sa: Satiya (Ibid., S.II. 4)

1.34. IV - sa: sevalokshitena (Ibid., S.VI. 16)

1.34. V - su: spasuna (Ibid., S.V. 13)

1.34. VI - sa: imisa (Ibid., S.IV. 10)

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(3) II. 2. I - ca: pescanekama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 13)
(4) II. 2. II - ca: pamoacanekama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 14)
(5) II. 3. I - ja: Dojake (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 2)
(6) II. 4. I - do: Dojake (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 2)
(7) II. 5. I - ne: nekama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 11)
(8) II. 5. II - ne: nekama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 14)
(9) II. 6. I - pa: paca (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 13)
(10) II. 6. II - pam: pama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 14)
(11) II. 7. I - ma: pamoacanekama (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 14)
(12) II. 7. II - me: (Ibid., pl.XXXI. 9)
(13) II. 8. I - hi: hida (Ibid., pl.XXXIV. 6)
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12. II - Jho: Jho'lasa (Ibid., vol. I, pl. VII. 534)
16. II - ta: Apaladatasa (Ibid., vol. I, pl. III. 231)
16. III - ta: tratarasa (Ibid., vol. I, pl. IV. 213)
16. VI - te: Teliphasa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. IX. X)
16. VII - to: Atrimitorasa (CGSKBI, pl. XIII. 2)
17. I - tha: Akathakreyasa (Ibid., pl. IV. 10)
(48) III.18. II - da: Apaladatasa (CCPML, vol.I,pl.IV,236)
(49) III.18. III - da: tradaras (Ibid., pl.IV. 236)
(50) III.18. IV - di: (Ibid., pl.V. 322)
(53) III.20. II - na: Menadrasa (CGSKBI, pl.XI. 12)
(54) III.20. III - ni: S’akamunisa (EI, vol.XXIV, pl.I, A2)
(56) III.21. II - pa: Palasinasa (Ibid., pl.V. 371)
(57) III.21. III - pu: Hipustrastasa (Ibid., pl.VIII. 606)
(60) III.22. II - phi: Philasinasa (Ibid., pl.VII. 577)
(61) III.22. III - phi: Philasinasa (Ibid., pl.VII. 590)
(62) III.23. I - bi: Arkhebiyasa (CGSKBI, pl.IX. 1)
(63) III.23. II - bu: (CCPML, vol.I, pl.V. 344)
(65) III.24. I - bha: bhagrasavo (Ibid., no.1)
(66) III.24. II - bhi: (CN, pl.XII. 15)
(68) III.25. II - ma: maharasasa (CN, pl.XII. 10)
(70) III.25. IV - ma: maharasasa (CGSKBI, pl.IX. 8)
(72) III.25. VI - mi: dhramikasa (Ibid., pl.III.147)
(75) III.25. IX - mam: (CCIMC, vol.I, pl.VI.7)
(77) III.26. II - ya: jayadhara (Ibid., pl.III.189)
(78) III.26. III - ya: Dimetriyusa (IC, pl.I.10)
(79) III.26. IV - yam: jayamtesa (GSKBI, pl.XIV.5)
(81) III.27. II - ra: maharajasa (Ibid., pl.III.150)
(84) III.28. II - la: Palasinasa (Ibid., pl.V.371)
(85) III.28. III - la: Philasinasa (Ibid., pl.VII.576)
(86) III.28. IV - li: Teliphasa (Ibid., pl.IX.X)
(88) III.29. II - vi: pratihavidra (Ibid., no.I)
(91) III.30. II - s'i: Kavis'iyanaga - (CCPML, vol.I, pl.III.131)
(93) III.31. II - sa: maharajasa (GSKBI, pl.XV.7)
(95) III.31. IV - sa: [trade]rasa (CN, pl.XII.11)

(97) III.32. I - ha: maharajasa (Ibid., pl.I. 26)

(98) III.32. II - ha: (CN, pl.XII. 10)

(99) III.32. III - ha: maharajasa (CGSKBI, pl.IX. 9)

(100) III.32. IV - ha: maharajasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.III.150)

(101) III.32. V - hi: Hipustratasa (Ibid., pl.VIII. 610)


(103) III.32. VII - he: Heramayasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.IX.649)

(104) III.33. I - kra: Evukratitasa (Ibid., pl.III. 108)


(106) III.34. I - tra: tradarasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.IV. 307)

(107) III.34. II - dra: Minadrass (EI, vol.XXIV, no. I, A)

(108) III.34. III - dhra: dhramikasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.III.147)


(110) III.35. II - pra: prach'essa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.V. 356)

(111) III.36. I - rkhe: Arkhebiyasa (Ibid., pl.IV. 229)


(113) III.37. II - stra: Stratasa (CGSKBI, pl.XI. 5)
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(1) IV. 1. I - a: ajamitrasa (CCAI, pl.XV. 14)
(2) IV. 2. I - o: Odubarissa (Ibid., pl.XV. 2)
(3) IV. 3. I - ki: Vamakisa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XVI. 137)
(4) IV. 3. II - ka: Kenadasa (CCAI, pl.XXII. 3)
(5) IV. 3. III - ku: Kunidasa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 1)
(6) IV. 4. I - ga: bhagevata (Ibid., pl.XIV. 16)
(7) IV. 5. I - gha: Amoghabhutissa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 1)
(8) IV. 5. II - gho: Dharaghosasa (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(9) IV. 6. I - ja: Ajamitrasa (Ibid., pl.XV. 14)
(10) IV. 6. II - ja: maharajasa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 6)
(11) IV. 7. I - na: rañas (Ibid., pl.XIV. 13)
(12) IV. 7. II - na: rañas (Ibid., pl.XV. 14)
(13) IV. 8. I - na (Ibid., pl.XXII. 5)
(14) IV. 8. II - ni: kunidasas (Ibid., pl.XXII. 1)
(15) IV. 9. I - ta: vijayata (Ibid., pl.XIV. 13)
(16) IV. 9. II - ti: Amoghabhutissa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 6)
(17) IV.10. I - da: S[i]vadasasa (Ibid., pl.XV. 1)
(18) IV.10. II - da: kupidasa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 1)
(19) IV.10. III - du: Odubarissa (Ibid., pl.XV. 2)
(20) IV.10. IV - de: mahadevasa (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(21) IV.11. I - dha: Dharagośasa (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(22) IV.12. I - ne: Bhanumitra (Ibid., pl.XV. 22)
(23) IV.13. I - pa: janapsadasa (Ibid., pl.XXIX. 13)
(24) IV.14. I - ba: Odubarisa (CCAI, pl.XV. 2)
(25) IV.15. I - bha: bhagavata (Ibid., pl.XIV. 16)
(26) IV.15. II - bhu: Amoghabhutisa (Ibid., pl.XXII. 6)
(27) IV.16. I - ma: mahâ (Ibid., pl.XV. 2)
(28) IV.16. II - ma: Vamakisa (CPMML, vol.I, pl.XVI. 137)
(29) IV.16. III - mi: Vis'pamitra (CCAI, pl.XIV. 14)
(30) IV.17. I - ya: vijeyata (Ibid., pl.XIV. 13)
(31) IV.18. I - re: raña (Ibid., pl.XV. 3)
(32) IV.18. II - re: raña (Ibid., pl.XXII. 3)
(33) IV.18. III - ri: Odubarisa (Ibid., pl.XV. 2)
(34) IV.18. IV - ru: Rudradessasas (Ibid., pl.XV. 10)
(35) IV.19. I - va: mahadevasa (CCAI, pl.XIV. 16)
(36) IV.19. II - va: bhagavata (Ibid., pl.XIV. 16)
(37) IV.19. III - vi: vis'pamitra (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(38) IV.19. IV - vr: vrsni (Ibid., pl.XVI. 5)
(39) IV.20. I - sa: Dharaghosasa (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(40) IV.21. I - sa: mahadevasa (Ibid., pl.XIV. 16)
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(41) IV.22. I - ha: meha (Ibid., pl.XV. 2)
(42) IV.22. II - hi: Mahimitrasa (Ibid., pl.XV. 20)
(43) IV.23. I - ppa: (Ibid., pl.XVI. 5)
(44) IV.24. I - tra: vis'pamitra (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(45) IV.24. II - dra: Rudradessasas (Ibid., pl.XV. 4)
(46) IV.25. I - st'a: Vis'pamitra (Ibid., pl.XIV. 14)
(47) IV.25. II - sni: (Ibid., pl.XV. no. 5)
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(27) V. 9. I - g'a: strategas (CGSKBI, pl.XX. 2)
(29) V. 10. II - ghi: mahasavinda (Ibid., no.XV, N, 1.3)
(30) V. 11. I - ca: samuchina (Ibid., no.XI, 1.2)
(31) V. 11. II - ca: caturtha (Ibid., no.XV, A, 1.4)
(32) V. 11. III - ca: pracu (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.2)
(33) V. 12. I - chi: pracu (Ibid., no.XI, 1.10)
(34) V. 12. II - chi: palichina (Ibid., no.XV, J, 1.1)
(35) V. 13. I - cha: mahaka[tara]vasa (Ibid., no.XV, A, 1.1)
(36) V. 13. II - chi: S'ivarach'itasa (Ibid., no.XVII, Main)
(37) V. 13. III - cha: chaesa (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.2)
(39) V. 14. II - ja: rajatirajasa (Ibid., pl.XI, 1-2nd ja)
(40) V. 14. III - ja: maharajasa (Ibid., pl.XI, 56)
(41) V. 14. IV - ja: rajarajasa (Ibid., pl.XI, 187 - 2nd ja)
(43) V. 14. VI - jo: savaaro (Ibid., no.XV, C, 1.1-2)
(44) V. 15. I - hsa: juvarena (Ibid., no.XV, A, 1.4)
(45) V. 15. II - hsa: jasvane (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.4)
(49) V.18. I - da: sodase (Ibid., no.XII)
(50) V.18. II - da: S’udase (Ibid., no.XV, C, l.3)
(51) V.18. III - di: S’udise (Ibid., no.XV, M, l.1)
(52) V.18. IV - du: eduo (Ibid., no.XVIII)
(55) V.20. II - pa: srmanami (Ibid., no.VIII, B, l.3)
(56) V.20. II - pa: vasdirapra (Ibid., no.XII)
(57) V.20. III - pi: kaipitha (Ibid., no.XV, E, l.3)
(58) V.20. IV - pe: [sahastyarapa (Ibid., no.XVIII)
(59) V.20. V - pi: s’akamupasa (Ibid., no.XIII, l.3)
(60) V.20. VI - nam: Mupjanandaputra (Ibid., no.XVII, lid)
(61) V.21. I - te: [su]tasa (Ibid., no.X, l.2)
(62) V.21. II - ti: rajatirajasa (COPML, pl.X, no.1)
(63) V.21. III - te: mshatasa (Ibid., pl.X, no.1)
(64) V.21. IV - te: strategas (COSKII, pl.XX, no.2)
(66) V.21. VI - te: puyayamto (Ibid., no.XIII, l.4)
(67) V.22. I - tha: [pra]tithaveti (Ibid., no.XIII, l.4)
(68) V.22. II - thu: thuva (Ibid., no.XV, A, l.4)
(69) V.23. I - de: ded[1] (Ibid., no.XI, l.3)
(70) V.23. II - da: Mu[m]javadaputra (Ibid., no.XVII, Main)
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<td>V.24. I - dha:</td>
<td>sadha (Ibid., no.XV, A, l.6)</td>
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<td>V.25. II - ni:</td>
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<td>V.26. II - pi:</td>
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<td>V.26. III - pu:</td>
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<td>V.28. I - bha:</td>
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<td>V.28. II - bha:</td>
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<td>V.28. IV - bhu:</td>
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<td>V.29. IV - ma:</td>
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(93) V.29. VI - mi: (CCPML, vol.I, pl.X, no.4)


(95) V.29. VIII - mu: s'akamunisa (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.3)

(96) V.29. IX - mo: Mogasa (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.1)

(97) V.29. X - mam: [samgha]raman (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.3)


(100) V.30. III - ya: Ayasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XI, no.157)

(101) V.30. IV - yi: Ayilisasa (Ibid., pl.XIII, 319)


(103) V.30. VI - yu: yuvaraya (Ibid., no.XV, E, 1.1)

(104) V.30. VII - ye: ekṣa'itimaye (Ibid., no.XIV, 1.1)

(105) V.30. VIII - yo (Ibid., no.X, 1.5)

(106) V.30. IX - yam: puyayamto (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.4)


(109) V.31. III - ri: karita (Ibid., no.XV, E, 1.1)


(112) V.31. VI - re: kadhavaro (Ibid., no.XV, J, 1.1)

(113) V.31. VII - rem: metapiterem (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.3)

(114) V.32. I - le: Budhilasa (Ibid., no.XV, F, 1.1)

(115) V.32. II - li: Liasa (Ibid., no.XI, 1.3)
(117) v.32. IV - lu: Naüludo (Ibid., no.XV, D)
(118) v.33. I - va: savalavādhapitra (Ibid., no.IX, 1.1)
(119) v.33. II - va: bhagravatras (Ibid., no.XVII, Main)
(120) v.33. III - vi: praṭhavī (Ibid., no.XI, 1.9)
(121) v.33. IV - ve: vēha (Ibid., no.XI, 1.6)
(122) v.33. V - van: Mu[p]javamsa (Ibid., no.XVII, Main)
(123) v.34. I - s’a: Khales’amus’o (Ibid., no.XV, J, 1.1-2)
(123) v.34. II - s’a: s’arirehi (Ibid., no.XVII, Main)
(124) v.34. III - s’i: S’ivarach’i[te]sa (Ibid., no.X, 1.2)
(125) v.34. IV - s’u: S’uṣaṣe (Ibid., no.XV, C, 1.3)
(126) v.34. V - s’e: Sodas’e (Ibid., no.XII)
(127) v.34. VI - s’o: Khales’amus’o (Ibid., no.XV, J, 1.1-2)
(128) v.35. I - sa: aṣṭaṣṭhis (Ibid., no.XI, 1.1)
(129) v.35. II - śi: vaṣiṣṭugana (Ibid., no.XIV, 1.2)
(130) v.35. III - se: vaṣe (Ibid., no.XIV, 1.1)
(131) v.35. IV - so: Sodas’e (Ibid., no.XII)
(132) v.36. I - sa: mahastasa (CCPML, vol.I, pl.X, 15)
(133) v.36. II - sa: Īndravarmaputrasa (Ibid., pl.XII, 317)
(134) v.36. III - sa: rejaṇajas (Ibid., pl.XI, 157)
(136) v.36. V - si: sisti (Ibid., no.XI, 1.7)
(137) v.36. VI - su: Kusul[u]ase (Ibid., no.XV, G, 1.1)
(138) v.36. VII - se: S’uḍase (Ibid., no.XV, B, 1.3)
(139) V.36. VIII - sam (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XII, 1.1)

(140) V.37. I - ha: mahatasa (CCPM, vol. I, pl. X, 1)

(141) V.37. II - ha: mahatasa (CGSKB, pl. XVIII, 12)


(143) V.37. IV - ha: maharajasa (CCPM, vol. I, pl. XI, 157)


(145) V.37. VI - he: mahesri (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.2)

(146) V.37. VII - ho: Abuhola [e] (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.6)

(147) V.37. VIII - ham: mahamatasa (Ibid., no. XIII, 1.1)

(148) V.38. I - kro: kroninasa (Ibid., no. XV, R, 1.2)

(148) V.38. II - kra (Ibid., no. XV, E’)

(149) V.39. I - dhra: pradhravipratre (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.1)

(150) V.40. I - tra: Imdravarmaputrasa (CCPM, vol. I, pl. XII, 317)


(152) V.40. III - ts’a: samvats’araye (Ibid., no. XIX, 1.2)

(153) V.40. IV - dra: Imdravarmaputrasa (CCPM, vol. I, pl. XII, 317)

(154) V.40. V - dhra: dhremikasa (Ibid., pl. XII, 231)


(156) V.41. II - bhra: bhretara (Ibid., no. XIII, 1.4)

(157) V.41. III - bhra: bhretara (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.7–8)

(158) V.42. I - rdha: sardha (Ibid., no. IX, 1.1)

(159) V.42. II - rdhi: syubalsvardhi[e] (Ibid., no. XIII, 1.4)
| (160) V.42. III | rma: [dhe]rma (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XI, 1.5) |
| (161) V.42. IV | rma: Imdravarmaputrasa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XII, 317) |
| (163) V.42. VI | rva: purvaye (Ibid., no. XIII, 1.1) |
| (164) V.42. VII | rva: sarva (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.15) |
| (165) V.43. I | spa: [vi]spa (Ibid., no. XI, 1.8) |
| (166) V.43. II | ra: s’ramanami (Ibid., no. VIII, B, 1.3) |
| (167) V.43. III | sri: mahesri (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.2) |
| (168) V.43. IV | sta: kharroostasa (Ibid., no. XV, A, 1.4) |
| (169) V.43. V | stra: Strag’asa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XII, 317) |
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(1) VI. 1. I - a: Aparānādпутrēpa (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, 1.2)

(2) VI. 2. I - i: Thādorensa (Ibid., no. XXIV, 1.1)

(3) VI. 3. I - e: (ti)s’ātimsē (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)

(4) VI. 3. II - e: puyse (Ibid., no. XX, 1.5)

(5) VI. 3. III - e: erjhuna (Ibid., no. XX, 1.5)

(6) VI. 4. I - o: kuo (Ibid., no. XXV, 1.1)


(8) VI. 5. II - ka: kāpasa (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XX, 1.5)

(9) VI. 5. III - ku: Pakurasa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XVI. 76)

(10) VI. 5. IV - ku: kue (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, 1.2)

(11) VI. 6. I - khe: Ves’akhasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)


(13) VI. 7. II - gu: Guduvharasa (Ibid., pl. XV. 61)

(14) VI. 7. III - go (Ibid., pl. XVI. 72)


(16) VI. 8. II - ghe: Ṣaṃghē (Ibid., no. XXII)


(20) VI. 10. II - ja: maharaja (Ibid., pl. XV. 43)

(22) VI.12. I - pa: [Bo]yapessa (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.XX, l.3)
(23) VI.12. II - pa: Boyapessa (Ibid., no.XX, l.4)
(24) VI.12. III - pa: depe (Ibid., no.XX, l.4)
(25) VI.12. IV - pi: pukaraṇi (Ibid., no.XXIV, 1.1)
(26) VI.12. V - paṃ: Aṇāmdaputrena (Ibid., no.XXIII, 1.2)
(29) VI.13. III - ta: karaṇite (Ibid., no.XXIV, 1.2)
(30) VI.13. IV - ti: rajatairajya (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XV.1)
(32) VI.14. I - the: Thaidorena (Ibid., no.XXIV, 1.1)
(33) VI.15. I - da: devavrada (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XV.1)
(34) VI.15. II - da: (ṣa)bhaḍapa (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.XX, l.4)
(36) VI.15. IV - di: dis'e (Ibid., no.XXI, 1.7)
(37) VI.15. V - do: Thaidorena (Ibid., no.XXIV, 1.1)
(38) VI.15. VI - di: rajadirajya (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XV.38)
(40) VI.15. VIII - de: devavrada (CCPML, vol.I, pl.XV.1)
(42) VI.17. I - ni: Guduvhànisa (COSKBI, pl.XXII.11)
(43) VI.18. I - ps: per[i]vars (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.XX, l.4)
(44) VI.18. II - pi: pidu (Ibid., no.XX, l.6)
(46) VI.18. IV - pu: sapu\[trechitarata\] (Ibid., no. XX, 1.4)
(47) VI.18. V - pu: puyae (Ibid., no. XX, 1.5)
(48) VI.18. VI - pam: pamca\[da\]se (Ibid., no. XXIII, 1.1)
(49) VI.19. I - ba: se\[p\]ba\[ts\'area\] (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(50) VI.19. II - bo: Bοya\[n\]asa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.4)
(51) VI.20. I - me: maharayasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.1)
(52) VI.20. II - me: [ti]s\'atimae (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(53) VI.20. III - mi: B\[e\]lassa\[m\]ise (Ibid., no. XX, 1.3)
(54) VI.21. I - ya: maharayasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.1)
(55) VI.21. II - ya: Bοya\[n\]asa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.4)
(56) VI.21. III - ye: sa\[m\]vats\'arsye (Ibid., no. XXIII, 1.1)
(57) VI.22. I - ra: rajara\[j\]asa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 43)
(58) VI.22. II - ra: Guduv\[h\]aras (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XX, 1.1)
(59) VI.22. III - ra: karavita (Ibid., no. XXIV, 1.2)
(60) VI.22. IV - ri: karite (Ibid., no. XXIII, 1.2)
(61) VI.22. I - re: The\[d\]ore\[p\]a (Ibid., no. XXIV, 1.1)
(63) VI.23. II - ls: S\'palahorsputrasa (Ibid., pl. XIV. 382)
(64) VI.23. III - li: S\'paliris\'asa (CGSKBI, pl. XXII. 2)
(66) VI.24. II - vi: karavita (Ibid., no. XXIV, 1.2)
(67) VI.24. III - ve: Ves\'akhasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(68) VI.25. I - s\'a: Ves\'akhasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(69) VI.25. II - a'sa: [ti]s'astime (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XX, 1.2)
(70) VI.25. III - s'i (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 35)
(71) VI.25. IV - s'e: pamočadas'e (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, 1.1)
(72) VI.26. I - sa: vasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.1)
(73) VI.27. I - sa: Guduvharasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.1)
(74) VI.27. II - sem: sampvas'araye (Ibid., no. XXIII, 1.1)
(75) VI.27. III - sa: Ves'akhass (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(76) VI.27. IV - sa: maharajasa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 43)
(77) VI.27. V - su: hidasuhase (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, 1.2)
(78) VI.27. VI - se: divease (Ibid., no. XX, 1.2)
(79) VI.27. VII - sem: samghe (Ibid., no. XXII)
(80) VI.28. I - ha: maharaja (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 38)
(81) VI.28. II - ha: maharajasa (Ibid., pl. XV. 43)
(85) VI.30. II - tse: sampvas'reye (Ibid., no. XXIII, 1.1)
(86) VI.31. I - pra: apratihastacakra (CCIMP, pt. IX, 9)
(87) VI.31. II - bhre: Guduvharabhrasoputra (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 61)
(88) VI.32. I - rjhup: erjhupa (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XX, 1.5)
(89) VI.32. II - rtu (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV, 43)
(90) VI. 32. III - rme: As'pavarmasa (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 35)

(91) VI. 32. IV - rva: sarvasaspāṇa (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIV, 1.2)

(92) VI. 32. V - vha: Guduvharasa (Ibid., no. XX, 1.1)

(93) VI. 32. VI - vhre (CCPML, vol. I, pl. XV. 1)

(94) VI. 32. VII - vra: devavrada (Ibid., pl. XV. 1)

(95) VI. 33. I - s'pa: s'palahorasa (Ibid., pl. XIV. 374)

(96) VI. 33. II - s'ra: s'rañanasa (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXIII, 1.1)
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<td>VII. 2. II</td>
<td>iµ: Ḩaḍra[seŋa]sa (Ibid., no. XXXV, no. 3)</td>
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<td>VII. 3. I</td>
<td>u: Yaūasa (CGSKBI, pl. XXV.5)</td>
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<td>VII. 3. III</td>
<td>u: Thethiteq (Ibid., no. XXXV)</td>
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<td>(7)</td>
<td>VII. 4. I</td>
<td>e: Takaš'ia (Ibid., no. XXXII, l.1)</td>
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<td>VII. 4. II</td>
<td>e: puyse (Ibid., no. XXXVII, no. 6)</td>
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<td>(9)</td>
<td>VII. 5. I</td>
<td>o: dhaśuo (Ibid., no. XXVII, l.2)</td>
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<td>(10)</td>
<td>VII. 6. I</td>
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<td>(11)</td>
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<td>VII. 9. I</td>
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(24) VII.11. IV - cam: candrabhi (EI, vol.XXI, p.259, l.1)
(25) VII.12. I - ch’a: chadas’ilaе (Ibid., p.259, l.2)
(27) VII.13. II - ch’i: arogadach’iase (Ibid., no.XXVII, l.5)
(28) VII.13. III - ch’u: ch’unèpa (EI, vol.XXI, p.259, l.1)
(29) VII.14. I - ja: maharajasa (CGSKBI, pl.XXV, 7)
(30) VII.14. II - ji: Jivanaṃdiṇa (EI, vol.XXI, p.259, l.4)
(31) VII.14. III - ju: Kujula (CGSKBI, pl.XXV, 1)
(32) VII.14. IV - ju: Kujula (Ibid., pl.XXV, 3)
(33) VII.15. I - jha: Mahajhanaputraśa (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.XXVII, pl.XX, no.3)
(34) VII.15. II - jham: Arajhamdasa (Ibid., no.XXVII, pl.XX, no.9)
(36) VII.16. II - ña: raña (CCADWKTD, pl.IX.245)
(37) VII.16. III - ño: raño (Ibid., pl.IX.248)
(38) VII.17. I - ḥa: Jeḥamase (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.XXVIII, l.1)
(39) VII.18. I - ḡa: chadas’ilaе (EI, vol.XXI, p.259, l.2)
(41) VII.19. I - ḡha: Naṃdivaṅhaṇeṣa (EI, vol.XXI, p.259, l.3)
VII.20. III - pa: saitena (EI, vol. XXI, p. 259, 1.3)
VII.20. IV - ni: nivase (CII, vol. II, pt. I, no. XXVII, 1.5)
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VII.20. VI - no: Nocae (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.2)
VII.21. II - te: tena (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.2)
VII.21. III - ti: rejatirajasa (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.3)
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VII.21. V - to: bhagaveto (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.1)
VII.22. I - tha: prathavita (Ibid., no. XXXII)
VII.22. II - thi: dhramathidasa (CIIKBI, pl. XXV.2)
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VII.23. I - da: arogadach'ipnae (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.3)
VII.23. III - de: khanavide (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.3)
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VII.23. V - di: (Ibid., no. XXXI, 1.1)
VII.23. VI - du: bhradu (EI, vol. XXI, p. 259, 1.3)
VII.24. II - dhi: dhita (EI, vol. XXI, p. 259, 1.2)


VII.25. II - ni: niyatito (Ibid., no. XXXVII, no. 6)

VII.26. I - pa: ch'atrapasa (Ibid., no. XXX)

VII.26. II - pa: Nahapanasa (CCADWKTDB, pl. IX.247)


VII.26. IV - pu: S'amaputrena (EI, vol. XXI, p. 259, 1.4)


VII.26. VI - pu: [Im]tavhrisputra (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.2)

VII.27. I - ba: Bahaliensa (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.2)

VII.27. II - bu: budhana (Ibid., no. XXXII)

VII.27. III - bo: bosi(dhi)satvagahami (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.3)


VII.28. II - bhi: camārebhi (Ibid., p. 259, 1.1)


VII.29. III - mi: bosi(dhi)satvagahami (Ibid., no. XXVII, 1.3)

VII.29. IV - mum: Mumjakritaga (Ibid., no. XXXVII, no. 3)

VII.29. V - me: pradhame (Ibid., no. XXVI, 1.1)

VII.29. VI - me: sa'thame (Ibid., no. XXXIX, 1.2)

VII.29. VII - mo: rāthanikamo (EI, vol. XXI, p. 259, 1.5)
(87) VII.30. II - ya: sahayara (Ibid., no.XXVIII, l.2)
(88) VII.30. III - ya: kuyula (CGSKBI, pl.XXV.5)
(89) VII.30. IV - ye: samvatsaraye (EI, vol.XXI,p.259,l.1)
(91) VII.30. VI - yam: toym (Ibid., no.XXXXIX, l.3)
(94) VII.31. III - ra: Theutersaga (Ibid., no.XXXVII, no.1)
(95) VII.31. IV - ri: samaparicage (Ibid., no.XXVII, l.5)
(96) VII.31. V - ru: Urumujaputre (Ibid., no.XXVI, l.2)
(97) VII.31. VI - re: bhretarehi (Ibid., no.XXXIII)
(98) VII.31.VII - re: arogadachinae (Ibid., no.XXVII, l.3)
(99) VII.32. I - la: Takhsailea (Ibid., no.XXVII)
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(68) VIII.20. I - na: [væ]nasa (Ibid., no.LXXXIII,no.486)

(69) VIII.20. II - na: ch'upami (Ibid., no.LXXV, 1.1)

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(76) VIII.21. I - ta: Nagadatasa (Ibid., no.LXXXIV, 1.4)

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(94) VIII.24. I - dha: Budha (Ibid., no. LXXVI, 1.5)

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(97) VIII.25. I - ni: Kanikasaya (Ibid., no. LXXIV, 1.1)

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(101) VIII.25. V - nu: tenu [v]akami (Ibid., no. LXXX, 1.1B)

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(105) VIII.25. IX - nam: [Ba]lanamdi (Ibid., no. LXXIV, 1.3)

(106) VIII.26. I - pa: arupsyata (Ibid., no. LXXXIV, 1.2)

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(207) VIII.43. IX - dhre: vadhra (Ibid., no. LXXXVI, 1.2)

(208) VIII.44. I - pti: svaptir (Ibid., no. LXXVI, 1.4)

(209) VIII.44. II - pya: srupysta (Ibid., no. LXXXVI, 1.3)

(210) VIII.44. III - pre: pra'sisyasa (Ibid., no. LXXXIV, 1.2)

(211) VIII.44. IV - pri: Dharmapriyena (Ibid., no. LXXXVIII)

(212) VIII.44. V - bhre: bhtrara (Ibid., no. LXXXVI, 1.11)

(213) VIII.45. I - rjhe: marjheaka (Ibid., no. LXXV, 1.2)

(214) VIII.45. II - rte: hetumurt(o)sa (Ibid., no. LXXXVI, 1.4)

(215) VIII.45. III - rthe: anagra[ha]rthae (Ibid., no. LXXXV, 1.5)

(216) VIII.45. IV - rms: Dhrmakathisya (Ibid., no. LXXX, 1.1B)

(217) VIII.45. V - rms: S'ved'swaras (Ibid., no. LXXXVIII)

(218) VIII.45. VI - rms: Dharmapriyena (Ibid., no. LXXXVIII)
(219) VIII.45.VII - rmi: navaśārīgīna (CII, no.LXXVI, 1.12)
(220) VIII.45.VIII - rya: acarīya (Ibid., no.LXXIV, 1.2)
(221) VIII.45. IX - rya: acarīya (Ibid., no.LXXX, 1.1c)
(222) VIII.45. X - rya: acarīya (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.4)
(223) VIII.45. XI - rya: nīrāśīde (Ibid., no.LXXXVIII)
(224) VIII.45. XII - rva: purvāsa (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.1)
(225) VIII.45. XIII - rva: Kamagulyaputra (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.1)
(226) VIII.45. XIV - vha: [Da] śavaḥrīyaka (Ibid., no.LXXXV, 1.4)
(227) VIII.45. XV - vṛhya: G(r)paśaḥrīyaka (Ibid., no.LXXXVII)
(228) VIII.46. I - s'pa: Ves'pas'issa (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.3)
(229) VIII.46. II - s'va: Śveḍ'avarman (Ibid., no.LXXXI, 1.1B)
(230) VIII.46. III - ska: kan[ī]'s kasya (Ibid., no.LXXXIV, 1.1)
(231) VIII.46. IV - ska: kaniskasa (Ibid., no.LXXV, 1.2)
(232) VIII.46. V - ska: kaniskasa (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.2)
(233) VIII.46. VI - ska: Vajheska (Ibid., no.LXXV, 1.2)
(234) VIII.46. VII - sthu: hasthunā (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.2)
(235) VIII.46. VIII - sye: s'isyasya (Ibid., no.LXXXIV, 1.2)
(236) VIII.46. IX - stha: p[r]atistāvatī (Ibid., no.LXXVI, 1.6)
(237) VIII.46. X - sva: Kaniśkyassyā (Ibid., no.LXXXV, 1.1)
(238) VIII.46. XI - sva: Svarabuddha (Ibid., no.LXXXVI, 1.11)
**EXPLANATION OF TABLE IX**

| IX. 2 | I | As'pa[u]sa (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.1) |
| IX. 3 | I | u: dhamaūte (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.2) |
| IX. 4 | I | e: [am]bse (Ibid., no. XLVI, 1.1) |
| IX. 4 | II | e: savsena (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.1) |
| IX. 5 | I | o: oke (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.2) |
| IX. 6 | I | ks: karavide (Ibid., no. LXVIII) |
| IX. 6 | II | ku: jinskumaro (Ibid., no. LXVI) |
| IX. 6 | III | ka: Dhivhakarasa (Ibid., no. LXXI) |
| IX. 6 | IV | ke: [u]dilisakehi (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.2) |
| IX. 7 | I | khe: danamukhe (Ibid., no. LXVI) |
| IX. 7 | II | kham: khsmda[vanatu] (Ibid., no. XLI, 1.2) |
| IX. 8 | I | ga: baga[mi] (Ibid., no. XLI, 1.2) |
| IX. 9 | I | g'a: Hidag[ste]sva[stevens] (Ibid., no. LXVI) |
| IX. 10 | I | gha: Samghamitraṣa (Ibid., no. LVIII) |
| IX. 10 | II | gho: Budaghogasa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.1) |
| IX. 11 | I | ce: ce[tiye] (Ibid., no. XLVIII, 1.1) |
| IX. 11 | II | ce: pamcami (Ibid., no. LIII) |
| IX. 12 | I | ch'i: sro[gu]dach'ip[se] (Ibid., no. XLVI, 1.2) |
| IX. 13 | I | ji: jina (Ibid., no. LXVI) |
| IX. 14 | I | ņe: ræne (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.2) |
| IX. 15 | I | tha: prothavadasa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.1) |
IX.15. II - 

IX.16. I - da: edatuve(1) (Ibid., no.LI)

IX.16. II - di: [u]diliakehi (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.1)

IX.17. I - sham: padhammmmi (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.1)

IX.18. I - na: danamukhe (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.18. II - na: danamukhe (Ibid., no.XLIV)

IX.18. III - ni: [a]ro[gu]dach’i[pi][se] (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.2)

IX.19. I - ta: tasa (Ibid., no.LIV)

IX.19. II - ti: ek[u]na[ca]dus’atimae (Ibid., no.LX, 1.1)

IX.19. III - tu: edatuve[1] (Ibid., no.LI)

IX.20. I - thu: [eka]thu[sa] (Ibid., no.XLVIII, 1.2)

IX.21. I - da: danamukhe (Ibid., no.XLIV)

IX.21. II - di: prati[hevedi] (Ibid., no.LXII)

IX.21. III - di (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.21. IV - du: [ca]dus’atimae (Ibid., no.LX, 1.1)

IX.21. V - de: prathavide (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.2)

IX.22. I - dha: Budhagho[sa] (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.22. II - dho: Budhorumasa (Ibid., no.LVIII)

IX.23. I - na: danamukhe (Ibid., no.XLIII)

IX.24. I - pa: padhammmmi (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.1)

IX.24. II - pi: pida (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.1)

IX.24. III - pu: puyae (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.1)

IX.24. IV - po: Poda[enasa]h[ae]hi (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.1)
IX.25. I - bs: bagam [mi] (Ibid., no. XLI, 1.2)
IX.25. II - bu: Budharumasa (Ibid., no. LVI, 1.1)
IX.25. III - bu: Budhaghoṣasa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.1)
IX.25. IV - bo: Bosevarumasa (Ibid., no. XLIX)
IX.26. I - bha: Vasethabharisā (Ibid., no. XLVI, 1.1)
IX.27. I - ma: Bu[dh]oramasa (Ibid., no. XLI, 1.1)
IX.27. II - ma: ek[u]na[ce]dus'ataime (Ibid., LX)
IX.27. III - mi: Budhamitrasa (Ibid., no. XLII, 1.1)
IX.27. IV - mi: bagarō (Ibid., no. XLI, 1.2)
IX.27. V - mu: dana[mukhe] (Ibid., no. XLIII)
IX.27. VI - me: Metrey[e][na] (Ibid., no. LXVIII)
IX.27. VII - mām: padham[ra][ni] (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.1)
IX.28. I - ya: [a]ya[tu]bo (Ibid., no. LXI, 1.2)
IX.28. II - ya: sadaviyarisa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.2)
IX.29. I - ra: Budharach'idasa (Ibid., no. XLII, 1.2)
IX.29. II - ri: sadaviyarisa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.2)
IX.29. III - ru: Budhavarumasa (Ibid., no. XLVIII, 1.1)
IX.29. IV - ru: Sagharumasa (Ibid., no. XL, 1.2)
IX.29. V - ro: aroga (Ibid., no. LVIII)
IX.29. VI - ro: aroga (Ibid., no. LXIII)
IX.29. VII - râ: [vi]hara[m] (Ibid., no. LXI, 1.1)
IX.30. I - la: lavis'ae (Ibid., no. LVII)
IX.30. II - li: [u]ōliskehi (Ibid., no. XLV, 1.2)

IX.30. IV - li: liyana (Ibid., no.LXIII)

IX.31. I - va: prothavadasa (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.31. II - vi: sadaviyarisa (Ibid., no.XL, 1.2)

IX.32. I - s'α: s'ami (Ibid., no.LI)

IX.32. II - s'α: ek[u]pa[ca]duṣ'atimae (Ibid., no.LX)

IX.33. I - sα: Budhaghosasa (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.34. I - sα (Ibid., no.XL, 1.1)

IX.34. II - sē: sāmīsa (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.1)

IX.34. III - su: suhe (Ibid., no.L)

IX.34. IV - se: Vasethabharise (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.1)

IX.34. V - sam (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.1)

IX.35. I - sα: svam[i]ga (Ibid., no.LXI, 1.1)

IX.36. I - ha: Sihamitrass (Ibid., no.XLIV)

IX.36. II - he: parigrahe (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.2)

IX.36. III - hi: S[i]hil[ι]sssa (Ibid., no.XLIV)

IX.37. I - khti: Takhtidreṣa (Ibid., no.LXXI)

IX.37. II - gra: parigrahe (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.2)

IX.38. I - tra: Budhamitrass (Ibid., no.XLII, 1.1)

IX.38. II - tva: sa[rva][sa]tvana (Ibid., no.XLVI, 1.1)

IX.38. III - tsa's: samts'are (Ibid., no.LXIV)

IX.39. I - pro: prothavadasa (Ibid., no.XL)

IX.39. II - pra: pratīthavedi (Ibid., no.LXII, 1.1)

IX.40. I - rva: sarva (Ibid., no.XLV, 1.2)

IX.40. II - vha: Dhivharasa (Ibid., no.LXXI)

(97) IX.41. I - s'pə: As'pəfi[u]sa (Ibid., no. XLV, l.1)

(98) IX.41. II - sva: svam[1]ga (Ibid., no. LXI, l.1)
## EXPLANATION OF TABLE X

| (1) | X. 1. I | a: pramajea (BSOAS, vol. XI, p. 490, Ab, 6) |
| (2) | X. 1. II | a: athagio (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4) |
| (3) | X. 1. III | a: as'oka (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 16) |
| (4) | X. 1. IV | a: yeca (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 16) |
| (5) | X. 1. V | a: anica (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1) |
| (6) | X. 2. I | i: prakai (Ibid., p. 490, As, 6) |
| (7) | X. 2. II | i: ida (Ibid., p. 495, C recto, 35) |
| (8) | X. 2. III | i: yai (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 9) |
| (9) | X. 3. I | u: suriu (Ibid., p. 490, As, 3) |
| (10) | X. 3. II | u: priu (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 24) |
| (11) | X. 3. III | u: ca'iri (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4) |
| (12) | X. 4. I | e: esu (Ibid., p. 496, C verso, 27, c) |
| (13) | X. 4. II | e: eso (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2) |
| (14) | X. 4. III | e: eso (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 3) |
| (15) | X. 5. I | o: ohragdi (Ibid., p. 490, As, 3) |
| (16) | X. 6. I | ke: ka'ena (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 10) |
| (17) | X. 6. II | ke: karodi (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 7) |
| (18) | X. 6. III | ke: loka (Ibid., p. 490, As, 2) |
| (19) | X. 6. IV | ke: udaka (Ibid., p. 492, B, 13) |
| (20) | X. 6. V | ki: loki (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 6) |
| (21) | X. 6. VI | ku: viraku (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4) |
| (22) | X. 6. VII | ku: loku (Ibid., p. 490, As, 3) |
(23) X. 6. VIII - ku: akuyano (BSOAS, vol. XI, p. 491, Ac, 1)
(24) X. 6. IX - ke: loke (Ibid., p. 490, A fragment, 1)
(25) X. 6. X - ko (Ibid., p. 493, C recto, 1)
(26) X. 7. I - kha: dukha (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(27) X. 7. II - kha: nikhamadha (Ibid., p. 490, As, 4)
(28) X. 7. III - kha: gakhaca (Ibid., p. 497, O, 4)
(29) X. 7. IV - khu: cakhuma (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4)
(30) X. 8. I - ga: magana (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4)
(31) X. 8. II - ga: sats'anasagapa (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 9)
(32) X. 8. III - gi: athagio (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4)
(33) X. 8. IV - gu: magu (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(34) X. 8. V - gu: magu (Ibid., p. 491, Ac, 1)
(35) X. 8. VI - go: mago (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 3)
(36) X. 9. I - g'a: sag'ara (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(37) X. 9. II - g'i: sag'i (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 13)
(38) X. 10. I - os: anica (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)
(39) X. 10. II - os: cari (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 6)
(40) X. 10. III - cu: mucuno (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 12)
(41) X. 11. I - cha: micha (Ibid., p. 490, As, 2)
(42) X. 11. II - cha: adhikachadi (Ibid., p. 491, A, 2)
(43) X. 11. III - chi: adhikachi (Ibid., p. 493, B, 30)
(44) X. 11. IV - che: chetva (Ibid., p. 493, B, 35)
(45) X. 12. I - chi'as: bhich'ave (Ibid., p. 493, B, 52)
(46) X. 12. II - ch'u: moch'u (Ibid., p. 496, C verso, 32)

(48) X.13. I - ja: Jadi (Ibid., p.490, Aa, 6)
(49) X.13. II - ja: Jara (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 7)
(50) X.13. III - ji: dhama-jivino (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 8)
(51) X.13. IV - ju: uju-kadesu (Ibid., p.494, C recto, 22)
(52) X.13. V - je: pramajes (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 6)
(53) X.14. I - ja: prañjadi (Ibid., p.491, Ac, 8)
(54) X.14. II - ji: ujidasu (Ibid., p.494, C recto, 3)
(55) X.14. III - ju: padiviju (Ibid., p.492, B, 29)
(56) X.15. I - ne: pranasi (Ibid., p.489, Ab, 2)
(57) X.15. II - ne: sañadu (Ibid., p.495, C recto, 33)
(58) X.15. III - nu: bhadrana (Ibid., p.490, Aa, 7)
(59) X.15. IV - ne: puñe (Ibid., p.491, B, 3)
(60) X.16. I - tha: athagio (Ibid., p.489, Ab, 4)
(61) X.16. II - thi: dithi (Ibid., p.490, As, 2)
(62) X.16. III - tho: se'tho (Ibid., p.489, Ab, 4)
(63) X.17. I - the: uhanamsdo (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 8)
(64) X.17. II - thi: svith'ido (Ibid., p.495, C verso, 5)
(65) X.17. III - the: santh'ehadu (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 9)
(66) X.17. IV - tho: pravada-thbo (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 16)
(68) X.18. II - di: padiviju (Ibid., p.492, B, 29)
(69) X.19. I - dha: dhasvadhadi (Ibid., p.490, Ab, 8)
(70) X.19. II - dha: vadhadi (Ibid., p.495, C recto, 4)
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<td>X.19.III</td>
<td>dhu: ruḍhu (BSOAS, vol. XI, p. 497, 0, 5)</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>X.20. I</td>
<td>na: vivāṣaṇa (Ibid., p. 495, C verso, 6)</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>X.20. II</td>
<td>na: anatva (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 3)</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>X.20. III</td>
<td>na: śādēna (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 16)</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>X.20. IV</td>
<td>pī: anīca (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>X.20. V</td>
<td>pū: anuṭhēhaḍu (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 9)</td>
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<td>X.20. VI</td>
<td>ne: uṭhāne (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 9)</td>
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<td>X.20. VII</td>
<td>no: carīṇo (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 8)</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>X.21. I</td>
<td>ta: tāda (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>X.21. II</td>
<td>tu: spramatu (Ibid., p. 490, As, 6)</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>X.21. III</td>
<td>te: sutesu (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 15)</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>X.21. IV</td>
<td>to: muto (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 3)</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>X.22. I</td>
<td>tha: yujatha (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 4)</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>X.22. II</td>
<td>the: yvasadetha (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 7)</td>
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<td>X.22. III</td>
<td>the: pathe (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 3)</td>
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<td>thu: anuṭhubsni (Ibid., p. 497, 0, 2)</td>
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<td>da: yada (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)</td>
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<td>du: dukha (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)</td>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>de: spramadena (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 16)</td>
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<td>dho: radi (BSOAS, vol. XI, p. 491, Ac, 1)</td>
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<td>dha: gradhadi (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)</td>
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<td>dhi: vis'odhia (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)</td>
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<td>dhu: supradhau (Ibid., p. 491, Ac, 5)</td>
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<td>dhu: sadhu (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 24)</td>
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<td>25. I</td>
<td>ni: nivinadi (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)</td>
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<td>nu: nudadi (Ibid., p. 590, Ab, 16)</td>
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<td>no: pranadi (Ibid., p. 491, A, 7)</td>
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<td>26. I</td>
<td>a: bananam (Ibid., p. 493, B, 51)</td>
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<td>phu: phugamu (Ibid., p. 492, B, 25)</td>
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<td>pha: phassu (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 10)</td>
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<td>bi (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 10)</td>
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<td>bu: budha (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 4)</td>
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(120) X.30. III - bhe: bhamana (Ibid., p. 491, Ac, 9)
(121) X.30. IV - bhu: bhudana (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4)
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(128) X.31. II - mo: amodi (Ibid., p. 491, A, 6)
(129) X.31. III - mi: semidhi (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 17)
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(131) X.31. V - mu: mahuti (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 18)
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(142) X.32. VIII - ye (Ibid., p. 495, C verso, 7)
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(148) X.33. III - re: purejavu (Ibid., p. 491, Ac, 2)
(149) X.33. IV - ri: cauli (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 4)
(150) X.33. V - ru: jagaru (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 15)
(151) X.33. VI - ru: aruyu (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 16)
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(160) X.35. I - vi: nivinadi (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 1)
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(162) X.35. III - vu: gavudegio (Ibid., p. 492, B, 10)
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(169) X.36. IV - s'i: sus’îls (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 5)
(170) X.36. V - s'û: gevas’u (Ibid., p. 493, B, 38)
(171) X.37. I - sô: eso (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(172) X.37. II - ss: yesa (Ibid., p. 495, C recto, 42)
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(174) X.37. IV - s u: sûtva (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 10)
(175) X.37. V - sû: sükêna (Ibid., p. 492, B, 24)
(176) X.37. VI - sê: sêvha (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 7)
(177) X.38. I - su: sucârîda (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 6)
(178) X.38. II - su: suriu (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 3)
(179) X.38. III - sr: ânas’ru (Ibid., p. 492, B, 5)
(180) X.38. IV - so (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 3)
(181) X.39. I - gâ: gag’âra (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(182) X.39. II - gi: gevâgi (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 2)
(183) X.39. III - ge: gevaa (Ibid., p. 490, Aa, 2)
(184) X.39. IV - go (Ibid., p. 493, B, 39)
(185) X.40. I - hu: uhû (Ibid., p. 491, B, 3)
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(187) X.40. III - hi: hitva (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 15)
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(189) X.40. V - he: muhêna (Ibid., p. 492, B, 11)
(190) X.40. VI - ho: bahô (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 10)
(191) X.41. I - kro: skrodhu (BSOAS, vol. XI, no. 491, B, 2)
(192) X.41. II - gra: gradhadi (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(193) X.42. I - tra: trakehi (Ibid., p. 491, Ac, 1)
(194) X.42. II - tvs: anstva (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 3)
(195) X.42. III - ts'as: sats'ana (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 9)
(196) X.42. IV - dre: bhadras'u (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 15)
(197) X.42. V - dva: dvayu (Ibid., p. 497, O, 1)
(198) X.42. VI - dhve: udhvaradh (Ibid., p. 491, A, 5)
(199) X.43. I - pre: prahā (Ibid., p. 490, As, 6)
(200) X.43. II - pre: prāṇā (Ibid., p. 489, Ab, 2)
(201) X.43. III - bre: bremāco (Ibid., p. 497, O, 2)
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(205) X.44. III - rts: kirta (Ibid., p. 496, C verso, 34)
(206) X.44. IV - rths: arthā (Ibid., p. 498, O, 25)
(207) X.44. V - rds: nabhimardadi (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 7)
(208) X.44. VI - rdha: vardhadi (Ibid., p. 496, C verso, 34)
(209) X.44. VII - rbha: punarbhavu (Ibid., p. 497, O, 8)
(210) X.44. VIII - rms: Buddha-varma (Ibid., p. 497, O, 1)
(211) X.44. IX - rya: virya (Ibid., p. 494, C recto, 17)
(212) X.44. X - rve: sarva (Ibid., p. 496, C verso, 41)
(213) X.44. XI - rsa: sarsava (Ibid., p. 498, O, 22)
(214) X.44.XII - vri: vridhavayarino (BSOAS, vol. XI, p. 496, C verso, 34)

(215) X.44.XIII - vhe: makavha (Ibid., p. 490, Ab, 17)

(216) X.45. I - s'pa: vis'pas'a (Ibid., p. 492, B, 25)

(217) X.45. II - s'ra: s'rameno (Ibid., p. 497, O, 17)

(218) X.45. III - ska: puskara (Ibid., p. 498, O, 22)

(219) X.45. IV - sta: hasta (Ibid., p. 492, B, 10)

(220) X.45. V - sma: vanasma (Ibid., p. 493, B, 50)

(221) X.45. VI - sys: yasya (Ibid., p. 498, O, 24)

(222) X.45.VII - sva: svadimada (Ibid., p. 490, Ae, 5)
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<td>ji: aji (Ibid., l. 5)</td>
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XI.13. II - j`i: Avij`ida (Ibid., 1.2)
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XI.25. II - pu: pur`a`du (Ibid., 1.7)
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XI.27. I - mi: ch’unami (Ibid., 1.1)

XI.27. II - ma: mahareya (Ibid., 1.1)

XI.27. III - ma: nama (Ibid., 1.2)

XI.28. I - ya: mahareya (Ibid., 1.1)

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XI.28. IV - yo: (Ibid., 1.6)

XI.29. I - ra: mahareya (Ibid., 1.1)

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XI.30. I - li: kali (Ibid., 1.1)

XI.31. I - va: samvats’are (Ibid., 1.1)

XI.31. II - vi: vij’ida (Ibid., 1.2)

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XI.34. I - s’ā: manus’ā (Ibid., 1.2)

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XI.37. III - sim: simhasya (Ibid., 1.2)

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(73) XI.38. I - ge: mages (KI, pt. II, pl. XII, no. 661, 1.1)
(74) XI.39. I - hi: Hinajhasya (Ibid., 1.1)
(75) XI.39. II - ha: mehersya (Ibid., 1.1)
(76) XI.40. I - kri: vikrīṇi (Ibid., 1.3)
(77) XI.40. II - khva: khvarnarse (Ibid., 1.2)
(78) XI.40. III - gra: grañḍu (Ibid., 1.5)
(79) XI.41. I - ts'a: samvats'are (Ibid., 1.1)
(80) XI.41. II - drā: madrādi (Ibid., 1.2)
(81) XI.42. I - rne: khvarnarse (Ibid., 1.2)
(82) XI.42. II - rva: serva (Ibid., 1.6)
(83) XI.42. III - rsa: khvarnasāya (Ibid., 11.4-5)
(84) XI.42. IV - lyo: mulyo (Ibid., 1.4)
(85) XI.42. V - vri: samvrīteh (Ibid., 1.5)
(86) XI.42. VI - vhi: svviñānu (Ibid., 11.2-3)
(87) XI.43. I - sti: asti (Ibid., 1.3)
(88) XI.43. II - sti: asti (Ibid., 1.2)
(89) XI.43. III - spa: spaniyaka (Ibid., 1.9)
(90) XI.43. IV - sya: simhasya (Ibid., 1.2)
(91) XI.43. V - srs: sahasra (Ibid., 1.3)
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| (1) | nuave (KI, pt.II, pl.X, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1) | (2) | Amkvag's (Ibid., 1.2) | (3) | árocenti (Ibid., pt.II, no.677, SI, pl.XXXVII, L.A.IV.ii.2, UT, 0, 1.5) | (4) | kitsitsa (Ibid., pt.II, pl.X, no.581, UT, 0, 1.5) | (5) | ubheya (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0 1.3) | (6) | essa (Ibid., pt.II, no.579, SI, pl.XXIII, N.XXIV, viii.82, CT, 0, 1.1) | (7) | oguana (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027, UT, 0, 1.2) | (8) | kalemmi (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.3) | (9) | Amguvaka (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.5) | (10) | ku'dag'a (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, INA, N.027, UT, 0, 1.8) | (11) | kāla (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, CT, 1.1) | (12) | kāla (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.5) | (13) | ki[d'am]ti (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.3) | (14) | kuha (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, CT, R, 1.2) |
(15) XII. 7.VIII - ko: koneya (KI, pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.2)

(16) XII. 7. IX - kam: kamsa (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, pl.XIII, 1.7)

(17) XII. 8. I - kha: Tekha (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, CT, R, 1.1)

(18) XII. 8. II - khi (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.4)

(19) XII. 8. III - kho: Khotammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.583, pl.X, UT, O, 1.5)

(20) XII. 9. I - gu: Amguvaka (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.1)

(21) XII. 9. II - gi: gida (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.4)

(22) XII.10. I - g'a: Amkvag'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.2)

(23) XII.10. II - g'i: sagimena (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, UT, 0, 11.3-4)

(24) XII.10. III - g'e: ag'eta (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.8)

(25) XII.10. IV - g'o: Amg'oka (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, UT, 0, 1.1)

(26) XII.11. I - gha: itugha (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.1)

(27) XII.12. I - ce (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.6)

(28) XII.12. II - cu: acuniya (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, pl.XIII, 1.7)

(29) XII.12. III - ci: kilmecli (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.4)

(30) XII.12. IV - ce: praceya (Ibid., pt.II, no.579, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.82, CT, 0, 1.1)

(32) XII.12. VI - com: comdsema (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.8)

(33) XII.13. I - ca: pačéma (Ibid., pt.II, no.583, pl.X, CT, R, 1.1)

(34) XII.13. II - ci: pačima (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.8)

(35) XII.13.III - ce: pace (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, INA, pl.XVIII, CT, R, 1.2)

(36) XII.14. I - chi: padichida (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.3)

(37) XII.15. I - ch'a: trubbhč'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.3)

(38) XII.15. II - ch'i: ssč'i (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.6)

(39) XII.15.III - ch'u: čh'unsami (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, pl.XIII, 1.1)

(40) XII.15. IV - ch'e: vrčh'ena (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.2)

(41) XII.16. I - ja: jayamtasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1)

(42) XII.16. II - ji: saraji (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.5)

(43) XII.16.III - ju: ajuvads (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.7)

(44) XII.16. IV - je: sajeati (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.8)


(46) XII.17. I - j'a: dhamač'a (KI, pt.II, no.581, pl.X, UT, 0, 1.4)
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XII.18. II - jhu: jhuthi (Ibid., pt.II, no.677, SI, pl.XXXVIII, L.A., IV.ii.2, UT, 0, 1.3)

XII.18.III - jhe: divajhe (BSOS, vol.IV, 1937-39, p.117, no.782, 0, 1.3)

XII.19. I - ñe: koñeya (XI, pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.2)

XII.19. II - ñi: amniya (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.6)

XII.19.III - ñe: Kuv’îneya (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, CT, R, 1.2)

XII.20. I - ṭa: ute (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.3)

XII.20. II - ṭu: Jitugha (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, pl.IX, UT, 0, 1.1)

XII.21. I - ṭha: aṭhama (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, INA, no.XVIII, N.027, UT, 0, 1.3)

XII.21. II - ṭhi: purathida (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

XII.21.III - ṭham: soṭham (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)

XII.22. I - ḍa: pimḍa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)

XII.23. I - ḍa: s‘ed’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)

XII.23. II - ḍi: paḍ’ichida (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)
(62) XII.23. III - d’o: cad’oti (KI, pt.II, no.582, UT, O, 1.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxviii.85)

(63) XII.23. IV - d’am: kid’amti (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, O, 1.6, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027)

(64) XII.24. I - dhe: dhamas’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.2, pl.X)

(65) XII.24. II - dhi: cadhiya (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.2, pl.IX)


(67) XII.25. II - te: tavastaga (Ibid., pt.II, no.583, UT, O, 1.4, pl.X)

(68) XII.25. III - ti: maharayatireyage (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.1, pl.X)

(69) XII.25. IV - tu: pitu (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, O, 1.5, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027)

(70) XII.25. V - te: piteya (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.4, pl.X)

(71) XII.25. VI - to: cato (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.7, pl.X)

(72) XII.25. VII - tam: garshitamti (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, O, 1.4, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027)

(73) XII.26. I - ths: uthsheyati (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.4, pl.IX)

(74) XII.26. II - thi: uthida (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.4, pl.X)

(75) XII.27. I - das: sacadharmastidase (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.1, pl.X)

(76) XII.27. II - di: divage (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.2, pl.X)
(77) XII.27. III - du (II., pt.II.no.571, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.IX)
(78) XII.27. IV - de: devaputra (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)
(79) XII.27. V - dam: camdamma (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.8, pl.X)
(80) XII.28. I - dha: dharmiyasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)
(81) XII.28. II - dham: dhamda (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, CT, R, 1.2, pl.X)
(82) XII.29. I - na: Kosenaya (Ibid., pt.II, no.677, UT, 0, 1.6, SI, pl.XXXVIII, L.A.iv.ii.2)
(83) XII.29. II - ne: neci (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.2, pl.IX)
(84) XII.29. III - na: Karsenav'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.7, pl.X)
(85) XII.29. IV - ni (Ibid., pt.II, no.579, CT, 0, 1.1, SI, pl.XXIII, N.XXIV.vii.i.82)
(86) XII.29. V - nu: nueva (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)
(87) XII.29. VI - nam: Šh'unammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)
(88) XII.30. I - pa: pas'u (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.5, pl.X)
(89) XII.30. II - pi: v' api (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, UT, 0, 1.5, pl.X)
(90) XII.30. III - pu: devaputra (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)
(91) XII.30. IV - pam: pamsasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.IX)
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<td>ma: bhuma (Ibid., pt. II, no. 579, CT, 0, 1.1, SI, XXIII, N.xxiv. viii.82)</td>
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(108) XII.34. II - ye: maharayatirayaśa - 2nd ra (KI, pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1 pl.X)

(109) XII.34. III - ye: maharayatirayaśa - 1st ra (Ibid., pt.II, no.58, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(110) XII.34. IV - yi: yipilya (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, 0, 1.1, SI, pl.XI, 0, 1.1)

(111) XII.34. V - yo: (Ibid., pt.II, no.583, CT, R, 1.1, pl.X)

(112) XII.34. VI - yam: jayantasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(113) XII.34. I - re: maharayatirayaśa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(114) XII.35. II - ri: kori (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, 0, 1.3, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027)

(115) XII.34. III - ru: rutraya (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, 0, 1.2, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027)

(116) XII.35. IV - re: samvats'are (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(117) XII.35. V - ram: karamba (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

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(119) XII.36. II - li: muli (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.5, pl.X)

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(121) XII.36. IV - le: lekha (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, CT, R, 1.1, pl.X)

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XII.37. I - va: nusya (KI, pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, l.1, pl.X)

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XII.40. I - sa: esa (Ibid., pt.II, no.579, CT, 0, l.1, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.82)

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(138) XII.40. IV - sam: kisamne (KI, pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.IX)

(139) XII.41. I - sa: sacadharmastidega (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(140) XII.41. II - si: siyati (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.7, pl.IX)

(141) XII.41. III - su: masu (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)

(142) XII.41. IV - se: senaya (Ibid., pt.II, no.677, UT, 0, 1.2, SI, pl.XXXVIII, L.A.iv.ii.2)

(143) XII.41. V - so: sotiva (Ibid., pt.II, no.580, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

(144) XII.41. VI - sam: samma (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

(145) XII.42. I - se: maharayatiraya (Ibid., pt.II, no.581 UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(146) XII.42. II - se: mae (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)

(147) XII.43. I - ha: maharayatiraya (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(148) XII.43. II - hi: msh (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.5, pl.IX)

(149) XII.43. III - hu: huda (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.IX)

(150) XII.43. IV - ho: muho (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, 0, 1.8, pl.IX)

(151) XII.43. V - ham: mahamtasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(152) XII.44. I - kra: kraya (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.X)
(153) XII.44. II - kri: vikrida (KI, pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)

(154) XII.44. III - kva: Amkvag’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)

(155) XII.44. IV - k’g'a: ricik’g’aga (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, 0, 11.4-5, pl.XIII)

(156) XII.44. V - gra: graham (Ibid., pt.II, no.583, CT, R, 1.2, pl.X)

(157) XII.44. VI - gra: Amgvas (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, 0, 1.1, pl.XIII)

(158) XII.44.VII - g’ta: bhug’ta (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, 0, 1.3, INA, pl.XVIII,N.027)

(159) XII.44.VIII - g’na: sig’naya (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, 0, 1.9, pl.XIII)

(160) XII.45. I - og’o: Tamcgo (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.3, pl.IX)

(161) XII.45. II - jhbo: cojhbo (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

(162) XII.46. I - tg’a: pitg’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.3, pl.IX)

(163) XII.46. II - tma: yatma (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.7, pl.X)

(164) XII.46.III - tma: yatma (Ibid., pt.III, no.715, 0, 1.8, pl.XIII)

(165) XII.46. IV - tra: devapatrasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.X)

(166) XII.46. V - tva: mehatvens (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.6, pl.X)

(167) XII.46. VI - ts’a: samvats’are (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)

(168) XII.46.VII - dri: drita (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, 0, 1.7, INA, pl.XVIII,N.027)
(169) XII.46. VIII - dva: raysadvarammi (KI, pt.II, no.571, UT, O, 1.8, pl.IX)
(170) XII.47. I - pg'i: pg'ita (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, UT, O, 1.7, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv. viii.85)
(171) XII.47. II - pras: pravamag'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.579, CT, O, 1.1, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.82)
(172) XII.47. III - psu: apsuana (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 12, pl.IX)
(173) XII.47. IV - mso: Ramsotkasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, O, 1.2, pl.IX)
(175) XII.48. II - rjha: purjhavers (Ibid., pt.II, no.560, UT, O, 11.5-6, pl.X)
(176) XII.48. III - rpa: v'arpa (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.6, pl.X)
(177) XII.48. IV - rma: sacadharmastidaga (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.1, pl.X)
(179) XII.48. VI - rva: sarva (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, O, 1.7, pl.X)
(181) XII.48.VIII - rse: Karsenav'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.3, pl.X)
(182) XII.48. IX - lg'e: Kolg'esa (BSOS, vol.IX, 1937-39, p.117, no.782, 0, 1.4)
(183) XII.48. XI - ly'i: ly'ipatg'a (KI, pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.3, pl.IX)
| (184) XII.48. XI | lme: kilmeci (KI, pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.4, pl.X) |
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| (186) XII.49. I | s'ru: s'ruda (Ibid., pt.III, no.709, UT, O, 1.2, INA, pl.XVIII, N.027) |
| (187) XII.49. II | s'va: es'variya (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, UT, O, 1.6, pl.X) |
| (188) XII.49. III | sg'a: trusg'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.3, pl.X) |
| (189) XII.49. IV | sta: suv'esta (BSOS, vol.IX, 1937-39, p.117, no.782, O, 1.3) |
| (190) XII.49. V | sta: tavastaga (KI, pt.II, no.581, UT, O, 1.5, pl.X) |
| (191) XII.49. VI | sya: tasya (Ibid., pt.II, no.677, UT, O, 1.4, SI, pl.xxxviii, L.A. iv.ii.2) |
| (192) XII.49. VII | sy'a: tamsy'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.571, CT, R, 1.5, pl.IX) |
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(2) XIII. 1. II - a: agata (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(3) XIII. 1. III - a: mahauava (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, 1.1, AK, pl.XIV, N.xv.166)
(4) XIII. 1. IV - a: am (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(5) XIII. 2. I - a: isi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.6, pl.XI)
(6) XIII. 3. I - a: is'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(7) XIII. 3. II - a: im (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.2, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)
(8) XIII. 4. I - a: uti (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.5, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(9) XIII. 4. II - a: ukestawam (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1-2, pl.XI)
(10) XIII. 5. I - e: deviyae (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)
(11) XIII. 5. II - e: tsinae (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, 1.5, pl.VI)
(12) XIII. 6. I - o: opg'eyas (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.6, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(13) XIII. 7. I - o: ukestawam (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1-2, pl.XI)
(14) XIII. 7. II - ka: kala (KI, pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)
(15) XIII. 7. III - ka: eka (Ibid., pt.II, no.638, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.XII)
(16) XIII. 7. IV - kā: kāla (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(17) XIII. 7. V - ki: kirteya (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(18) XIII. 7. VI - ku: kuvāniyammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.5, pl.XI)
(19) XIII. 7. VII - kr: kṛta (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(20) XIII. 7. VIII - ke: Somjakena (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.9, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)
(21) XIII. 7. IX - kam: kamjaka (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 0, 1.2, pl.VI)
(22) XIII. 8. I - k'e: Kak'eyasa (Ibid., pt.I, no.266, 0, col.B, 1.1, AK, pl.CII, N.xv.76 + 181)
(23) XIII. 9. I - kha: lekha (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.8, pl.XI)
(24) XIII. 9. II - kha: anadi-lekha (Ibid., pt.I, no.310, UT, 0, 1.3, AK, pl.XCVIII, N.xv.137)
(25) XIII. 9. III - khi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(26) XIII. 9. IV - khu: Khula (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, CI, R, 1.3, pl.VI)
(27) XIII. 9. V - khe: Khema (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.2, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)
(28) XIII. 9. VI - kho: Khotamnammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)
(30) XIII.10. I - ge: jituga (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 1, pl. XI)

(31) XIII.10. II - gi: gilang'a (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 3, pl. XI)

(32) XIII.10. III - gu: ogu (Ibid., pt. II, no. 582, CT, R, l. 4, SI, pl. XXI, N.xxxiv.viii.85)

(33) XIII.10. IV - gr: gothagravasa (Ibid., pt. I, no. 326, CT, R, l. 2, AK, pl. XCVI, N.xv.100)

(34) XIII.10. V - ge: drangesu (Ibid., pt. I, no. 272, 0, l. 6, AK, pl. XCII, N.xv.88)

(35) XIII.10. VI - go: gothagravasa (Ibid., pt. I, no. 326, CT, R, l. 2, AK, pl. XCVI, N.xv.100)

(36) XIII.10. VII - gam: agamdevya (Ibid., pt. I, no. 376, 0, l. 5, AK, pl. XCII, N.xv.33)

(37) XIII.10. VIII - gam: kilpigameyana (Ibid., pt. I, no. 164, 0, l. 9, pl. III)

(38) XIII.11. I - g'a: vasdhig'a (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 2, pl. XI)

(39) XIII.11. II - g'i: vug'ica (Ibid., pt. II, no. 582, CT, R, l. 6, SI, pl. XXI, N.xxxiv.viii.85)

(40) XIII.11. III - g'u: Sug'utasa (Ibid., pt. II, no. 593, UI, 0, l. 3, SI, pl. XXIII, N.xxxiv.viii.96)

(41) XIII.11. IV - g'e: tougosra (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 8, pl. XI)

(42) XIII.11. V - g'o: Pug'o (Ibid., pt. I, no. 17, UT, 0, l. 2, pl. I)

(43) XIII.11. VI - g'am: pravamanag'ami (Ibid., pt. II, no. 633, R, l. 5, pl. XI)

(44) XIII.12. I - g'i: sug'iki (Ibid., pt. II, no. 593, UT, 0, l. 8, SI, XXIII, N.xxxiv.viii.95)
(45) XIII.12. II - g'u: Sug'uta (KI, pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.7, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv. viii.95)
(46) XIII.12.III - g'am: sig'amti (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.8, pl.XI)
(47) XIII.13. I - gha: samgha (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.9, pl.XI)
(48) XIII.13. II - ghi: citughi (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, l.1, pl.VI)
(49) XIII.13.III - ghu: bhagusamghasa (Ibid., pt.I, no.322, UT, 0, l.3, SI, pl.XCIV, N.xv.155)
(50) XIII.14. I - ca: ced'otammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)
(51) XIII.14. II - cu: cuv'alekna (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.4, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)
(52) XIII.14.III - ci: tskemci (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, l.2, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)
(53) XIII.14. IV - cim: cimmida (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.5, SI, pl.XXII, N.xxiv.viii.85)
(54) XIII.14. V - ce: prace (Ibid., pt.II, no.570, CT, 0, l.2, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.73)
(55) XIII.14. VI - co: cojhbo (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)
(56) XIII.14.VII - csam: camkuna (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.4, SI, XXI, N.xxiv. viii.85)
(57) XIII.15. I - ča: pača (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.7, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.156)
(58) XIII.15. II - či: niči (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.5, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(59) XIII.15.111 - ce: pace (KI, pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.3, pl.XI)
(60) XIII.16. I - chs: pariprochati (Ibid., pt.I, no.164, 0, 1.3, pl.III)
(61) XIII.16. II - chi: pruchitag’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.5,Si, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(63) XIII.16. IV - cho: choridasvo (Ibid., pt.I, no.159, 1.3-4, pl.III)
(64) XIII.16. V - chem: pruchamnæ (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 1.4, pl.VI)
(65) XIII.17. I - ch’i: sach’i (Ibid., pt.I, no.358, 0, 1.4, AK, pl.XCIII, N.xv.305)
(66) XIII.18. I - ch’a: hach’atí (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.II)
(67) XIII.18. II - ch’i: sach’i (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.8, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(68) XIII.18.III - ch’u: ch’unammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)
(69) XIII.18. IV - ch’um: ajsach’umma (Ibid., pt.II, no.577, UT, 0, 1.4, SI, pl.XXII, N.xxiv.viii.80)
(70) XIII.18. V - ch’e: bhumaçh’etra (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, 1.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)
(72) XIII.19. I - ys: Somjaks (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)
(73) XIII.19. II - ja: jënasamsa (KI, pt.II, no.547, written across, l.1, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxiv.viii.42)

(74) XIII.19.III - ji: jëtuga (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)

(75) XIII.19. IV - ju: ujuč¿u (Ibid., pt.I, no.222, U, 11. 5-6, pl.IV)

(76) XIII.19. V - je: jëyabhastra (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.4, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.83)

(77) XIII.19. VI - jam: jëmna (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.8, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)

(78) XIII.20. I - jë: bhij¿a (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, 1.7, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)

(79) XIII.20. II - jë: yaj¿itag¿a (Ibid., pt.II, no.604, R, 1.1, pl.XXVI, N.xxvi.vii.11)

(80) XIII.21. I - jha: dajha (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.II)

(81) XIII.21. II - jhi: dajhi (Ibid., pt.I, no.39, UT, 0, 1.2, pt.II)

(82) XIII.21.III - jhi: parasjhidati (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.VI)

(83) XIII.21. IV - jhë: jhenig¿a (Ibid., pt.I, no.362, 0, 1.5, AK, pl.XCI, N.xxv.310)

(84) XIII.22. I - ña: emga (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XII)

(85) XIII.22. II - ñi: kûnita (Ibid., pt.II, no.577, UT, 0, 1.3, SI, pl.XXXII, N.xxiv.viii.80)

(86) XIII.22.III - ñë: potg¿onena (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.8, pl.XI)
(87) XIII.22. IV - ñe: potgónena (XI, pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)
(88) XIII.23. I - ts: vatsyag'ana (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.5, pl.XI)
(89) XIII.23. II - ti: uti (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxvii. viii.96)
(90) XIII.23. III - tu: jìtuge (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)
(91) XIII.23. IV - tam: gitamti (Ibid., pt.I, no.305, 0, l.6, pl.IV)
(93) XIII.24. II - ðhi: purauthidæ (Ibid., pt.I, no.401, UT, 0, l.5, AK, pl.CIV, N.xvii.3+2)
(94) XIII.24. III - ðhu: luthuaq (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UI, 0, l.4, pl.VI)
(95) XIII.24. IV - ðhe: svass'ithe (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.4, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv. 88)
(96) XIII.24. V - ðhem: svathamgha (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, l.2, pl.II)
(97) XIII.25. I - ðho: ðhov'ae (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.10, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)
(98) XIII.26. I - ðda: pimda (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.6, pl.XI)
(99) XIII.27. I - ðda: gid'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.7, pl.XI)
(100) XIII.27. II - ðda: kid'ays (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.6, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxvii. viii.96)
(101) XIII.27. III - ð'em: vih.d'emi (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.9, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv. 88)
(102) XIII.27. IV - ḍ'i: tātātga (XI, pt.II, no.577, UT 0, 1.6, SI, pl.XXII, N.xxviii.96)

(103) XIII.27. V - ḍ'e: vih.ḍ'eti (Ibid., pt.I, no.358,0,1.5, AK, pl.XCIII, N.xv.305)

(104) XIII.27. VI - ḍ'o: caṇ’otammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.2, pl.XI)

(105) XIII.27.VII - ḍ'am: giḍ'anti (Ibid., pt.II, no.547,0, written across, 1.3, SI, pl.XXXV, N.xxviii.42)

(106) XIII.28. I - ḍha: dhāpeyasa (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.8, pl.XI)

(107) XIII.28. II - ḍhi: caḍhiya (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, 1.5, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxviii.85)

(108) XIII.29. - ṇam: sunamta (Ibid., pt.II, no.577, UT 0,1.3, SI, pl.XXXII, N.xxviii.80)

(109) XIII.30. I - ta: agata (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.1, pl.XI)

(110) XIII.30. II - ti: patida (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.3, pl.XI)

(111) XIII.30.III - tu: matuṣe (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT 0, 1.4, pl.VI)

(112) XIII.30. IV - tum: tumpa (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0, 1.11, pl.XI)

(113) XIII.30. V - te: parvatesu (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.3, pl.XI)

(114) XIII.30. VI - to: cīkīmto (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.11, pl.XI)

(115) XIII.30.VII - tam: khotamammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.1, pl.XI)

(116) XIII.31. I - the: prathama (Ibid., pt.II, no.637,0,1.1, pl.XI)
XIII. 31. II - thā: yathā (KI, pt.I, no.198, 0, 1.2, AK, pl.C, N.ix.1)

XIII. 31. III - thi: uthita (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.3, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)

XIII. 31. IV - thu: imthu (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.2, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

XIII. 31. V - the: s'avathena (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, 1.3, pl.II)

XIII. 31. VI - them: pamthammi (Ibid., pt.I, no.165, 0, 1.5, pl.III)

XIII. 32. I - di: divasa (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 0, 1.2, pl.VI)

XIII. 32. II - di: divasammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

XIII. 32. III - dā: dānagrana (Ibid., pt.II, no.597, UT, 0, 1.6, SI, pl.XXII, N.xxiv.viii.80)

XIII. 32. IV - du: dutiyae (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.6, pl.XI)

XIII. 32. V - de: devaputraga (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

XIII. 32. VI - de: sajavides (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, 1.3, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)

XIII. 32. VII - do: ido (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1. AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

XIII. 32. VIII - dam: idam (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, R, 1.3, pl.VI)

XIII. 33. I - dha: sadha (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.8 pl.XI)

XIII. 33. III - dha: sadha (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, 1.5, pl.VI)
(132) XIII.33. II - dhā: rajadhāreyena (XI, pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 9, pl. XI)

(133) XIII.33. IV - dhi: [avara]dhi (Ibid., pt. I, no. 358, 0, l. 5, AK, pl. XCI, N. xv. 305)

(134) XIII.33. V - dhu: dhura (Ibid., pt. I, no. 345, UT, 0, l. 11, pl. V)

(135) XIII.33. VI - dhe: s'odhesyamdi (Ibid., pt. I, no. 272, 0, l. 9, AK, pl. XCII, N. xv. 88)

(136) XIII.33. VII - dham: dhammene (Ibid., pt. III, no. 732, UT, 0, l. 5-6, INA, pl. XVIII, N. xlv. 03)

(137) XIII.34. I - na: potg'onena (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 3, pl. XI)

(138) XIII.34. II - na: vasuana (Ibid., pt. I, no. 322, UT, 0, l. 4, AK, pl. XCV, N. xv. 155)

(139) XIII.34. III - nā: nināđe (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 7, pl. XI)

(140) XIII.34. IV - nā: pāganāđa (Ibid., pt. I, no. 320, CI, R, 1. 5, AK, pl. XCVII, N. xv. 154)

(141) XIII.34. V - ni: nikaste (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 2, pl. XI)

(142) XIII.34. VI - ni: nice (Ibid., pt. I, no. 310, UT, 0, l. 3, AK, pl. XCVIII, N. xv. 157)

(143) XIII.34. VII - nu: mahanūsava (Ibid., pt. I, no. 331, UT, 0, l. 1, AK, pl. XCIV, N. xv. 166)

(144) XIII.34. VIII - nr: purana[g'anj]vena (Ibid., pt. I, no. 272, 0, l. 8, AK, pl. XCII, N. xv. 88)

(145) XIII.34. IX - ne: amnēhi (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 7, pl. XI)

(146) XIII.34. X - ne: uneyag'a (Ibid., pt. I, no. 415, CT, 0, l. 1, pl. VI)
ahuno (XI, pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.4, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxv. viii.96)

av’anemci (Ibid., pt.III, no.713, 0, l.8, INA, pl.XVII, N.iii.x.4)

parvatammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)

pādamāde (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.9, pl.XI)

picavidemi (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.10, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

putra (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.4, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxv. viii.96)

pu: (Ibid., pt.I, no.266, after col.C, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)

Ly’ipeya (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.10, pl.XI)

potg’a (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)

pamthaci (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.5, pl.XI)

phalogala (Ibid., pt.II, no.524, UT, l.3, pl.IX)

pumšabala (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.10, pl.XI)
[160] XIII.37. II - bi: ambila (KI, pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, l.2, pl.II)

[161] XIII.37. III - bu: bulade (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, l.6, pt.VI)

[162] XIII.37. IV - bo: bodhisatvaga (Ibid., pt.I, no.288, UT, 0, l.1, pl.IV)

[163] XIII.37. V - bim: bimmida (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, l.2, pl.II)


[165] XIII.38. II - bha: Putg'ebha (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 0, l.6, pl.IV)

[166] XIII.38. III - bha: prthabh[ā]rig[e] (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, l.4, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)

[167] XIII.38. IV - bhi: bhij'a (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, 1.7, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxv.iii.86)


[169] XIII.39. I - ma: mahasruva (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XIV, N.xv.166)

[170] XIII.39. II - mā: vartamāna (Ibid., pt.I, no.165, 0, l.12, pl.III)

[171] XIII.39. III - mi: divasammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)

[172] XIII.39. IV - mi: milima (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)


[174] XIII.39. VI - mr: samrdhae (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.9, AK, pl.XCII,N.xv.88)
(175) XIII.39.VII - me: acomenammi (KI, pt.II, no.637, 0, l.3, pl.XI)
(176) XIII.39.VIII - me: prathamame (Ibid., pt.I, no.222, 0, l.1, pl.IV)
(177) XIII.39. IX - mo: segamoyena (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.8, pl.XI)
(178) XIII.39. X - mam: mantra (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)
(179) XIII.40. I - yi: mayiri (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)
(180) XIII.40. II - ya: maharaya (Ibid., pt.II, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)
(182) XIII.40. IV - ye: segamoyena (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.8, pl.XI)
(183) XIII.40. V - yo (Ibid., pt.I, no.298, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCVII, N.xv.122)
(184) XIII.40. VI - yam (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)
(185) XIII.41. I - ra: maharaya (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)
(186) XIII.41. II - ra: maharaya (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 0, l.1, pl.VI)
(187) XIII.41.III - ri: mayiri (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)
(188) XIII.41. IV - ru: carapurusa (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.12, pl.XI)
(190) XIII.41. VI - re: samvatsare (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)
(191) XIII.41. VII - ro: perosperasa (XI, pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.7, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)

(192) XIII.41.VIII - ram: karammi (Ibid., pt.I, no.222, 0, 1.7, pl.IV)

(193) XIII.42. I - la: kala (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

(194) XIII.42. II - la: pādasmūde (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.9, pl.XI)

(195) XIII.42. III - li: milima (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(196) XIII.42. IV - lu: luthuasa (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.VI)

(197) XIII.42. V - le: katilena (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.7, pl.XI)

(198) XIII.42. VI - lo: lomati (Ibid., pt.I, no.17, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.I)

(199) XIII.42. VII - lam: kalam (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(200) XIII.43. I - va: sāṃvatsare (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, 1.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)

(201) XIII.43. II - va: mahanuava (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, 1.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)

(202) XIII.43. III - vā: sāvāvidavya (Ibid., pt.I, no.358, 0, 1.8, AK, pl.XCIII, N.xv.305)

(203) XIII.43. IV - vi: deviyal (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

(204) XIII.43. V - vu: vug'ica (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, 0, 1.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)
(205) XIII.43. VI - vr: vrđhi-jamna (KI, pt. I, no. 160, UT, O, l. 4, pl. XCVI, N. iv. 139)
(206) XIII.43. VII - ve: velammi (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 5, pl. XI)
(207) XIII.43. VIII - vo: ginidavo (Ibid., pt. II, no. 582, CT, R, l. 7, SI, pl. XXI, N.xxiv. viii. 85)
(208) XIII.43. IX - vam: vamti (Ibid., pt. II, no. 593, UT, 0, l. 7, SI, pl. XXIII, N.xxiv. viii. 96)
(209) XIII.44. I - v's: kuvʹaniyammi (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 5, pl. XI)
(210) XIII.44. II - v'i: paluvʹisse (Ibid., pt. I, no. 20, UT, 0, l. 2, pl. I)
(211) XIII.44. III - v'e: vimnavʹeti (Ibid., pt. I, no. 17, UT, 0, l. 2, pl. I)
(212) XIII.45. I - s'i: s'irsa (Ibid., pt. I, no. 20, UT, 0, l. 2, pl. I)
(213) XIII.45. II - s'a: is'a (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 0, l. 2, pl. XI)
(214) XIII.45. III - s'i: s'iyati (Ibid., pt. I, no. 358, 0, l. 2, AK, pl. XCI, N.xv. 305)
(215) XIII.45. IV - s'u: gusʹura (Ibid., pt. I, no. 415, UT, 0, l. 5, pl. VI)
(216) XIII.45. V - s'e: s'essa (Ibid., pt. II, no. 582, CT, R, l. 7, SI, pl. XXI, N.xxiv. viii. 85)
(217) XIII.45. VI - s'o: s'odhesyandi (Ibid., pt. I, no. 272, 0, l. 9, AK, pl. XCII, N.xv. 88)
(218) XIII.45. VII - s'am: dhasʹammi (Ibid., pt. I, no. 401, UT, 0, l. 5, AK, pl. CIV, N.xvii. 3+2)
(219) XIII.46. I - sa: s'esa (KI, pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.7, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)

(220) XIII.46. II - si: presidavya (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.8, pl.XI)

(221) XIII.46.III - si: vyosis'atu (Ibid., pt.III, no.714, 0, l.7, INA, pl.XVIII, N.iii.x.5)

(222) XIII.46. IV - su: parvatesu (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.3, pl.XI)

(223) XIII.46. V - se: aše[n]ena (Ibid., pt.II, no.547, written across, l.2, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxiv.viii.42)

(224) XIII.46. VI - so: sodhama (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)

(225) XIII.46.VII - sam: acasamnamna (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, CT, R, l.4, pl.VI)

(226) XIII.47. I - se: leša (Ibid., pt.I, no.222, 0, l.4, pl.IV)

(227) XIII.47. II - si: leši (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, l.4, pl.VI)

(228) XIII.48. I - sa: sagamoyena (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.8, pl.XI)

(229) XIII.48. II - sā: säcešu (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.10, pl.XI)

(230) XIII.48.III - si: āsi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.6, pl.XI)

(231) XIII.48. IV - su: masu (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.2, pl.XI)

(232) XIII.48. V - sum: sundara (Ibid., pt.II, no.621, 0, l.6, SI, pl.XXVII, N.xxix.1.2)

(233) XIII.48. VI- se: sevasītyae (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, 0, l.7, pl.IV)
XIII.48. VII - so: sojakasa (KI, pt.I, no.222, 0, l.2, pl.IV)

XIII.48. VIII - sam: samvatsare (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv. 166)

XIII.49. I - ga: maharayatireyaga (Ibid., pt.II, no. 637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)

XIII.49. II - ga: Ly'ipega (Ibid., pt.I, no.17, UI, 0, l.2, pl.I)

XIII.49. III - gā: purvam[a][a]num[a][a]ga ()

XIII.49. IV - gi: thavitesi (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, l.2-3, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)

XIII.49. V - ge: mage (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.1, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii. 96)

XIII.50. I - ha: mahanuava (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCV, N.xv. 166)

XIII.50 II - hi: sdehi (Ibid., pt.I, no.160, UI, 0, l.3, AK, pl.XCVI, N.iv.139)

XIII.50. III - hu: cohura (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.6, pl.XI)

XIII.50. IV - he: vihed'enti (Ibid., pt.I, no.164, 0, l.9, pl.III)

XIII.50. V - ho: ahono (Ibid., pt.I, no.17, UT, 0, l.l, pl.I)

XIII.50. VI - ham: garahamti (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, l.4, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)


XIII.52. I - kto: vuktoga (Ibid., pt.I, no.322, UT, 0, l.6, SI, pl.XCIV, N.xv.155)
XIII.52. II - kma: sukmanasa (KI, pt.II, no.633, R, l.1, pl.XI)

XIII.52. III - kyu: kyutseyens (Ibid., pt.II, no.633, R, l.1, pl.XI)

XIII.52. IV - kram: nikramta (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, O, l.6, pl.XI)

XIII.52. V - kve: kvemamahi (Ibid., pt.I, no.164, O, l.11, pl.III)

XIII.52. VI - khve: khvaniyade (Ibid., pt.II, no.478, O, l.1, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxii.iii.13)

XIII.52. VII - gya: arogys (Ibid., pt.II, no.475, R, l.3, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxii.iii.9)

XIII.52. VIII - gra: grahida (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, O, l.3, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxiv.viii.96)

XIII.52. IX - g’to: vug’to (Ibid., pt.II, no.577, UT, O, l.7, SI, pl.XXII, N.xxiv.viii.80)

XIII.52. X - ghra: s’ighra (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, O, l.7, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)


XIII.53. II - cro: crorma (Ibid., pt.III, no.714, O, l.4, INA, pl.XVIII, N.iii.x.5)

XIII.53. III - cve: cviayimsa (Ibid., pt.II, no.478, O, l.1, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxii.iii.13)


XIII.53. V - ch’ya: sah’yamti (Ibid., pt.I, no.165, O, l.11, pl.III)
(263) XIII.53. VI - jhbo: cojhb°(KI, pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(264) XIII.53.VII - jhma: nammara°jhma (Ibid., pt.I, no.376, 0, 1.1, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.333)

(265) XIII.54. I - tg°o: potg°o (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(266) XIII.54. II - tma: yatma (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.6, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

(267) XIII.54.III - tya: ityarth°a (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, 1.3, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

(268) XIII.54. IV - tre: devaputra°a (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

(269) XIII.54. V - tva: mahatvana (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.5, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxviii.96)

(270) XIII.54. VI - ts°a: samvats°are (Ibid., pt.I, no.331, UT, 0, 1.1, INA, pl.XCV, N.xv.166)

(271) XIII.54.VII - dra: kilamudra (Ibid., pt.I, no.17, CT, R, 1.1, pl.I)

(272) XIII.54.VIII - dva: rayadvar°am°m°i (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.II)

(273) XIII.54. IX - ng°a: s°rusting°a (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.4, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxvili.96)

(274) XIII.54. X - nya: kørum°a (Ibid., pt.I, no.320, CT, 1.4, AK, pl.XCVII, N.xv.154)

(275) XIII.55. I - og°a: dhapg°eyes (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.8, pl.XI)

(276) XIII.55. II - pts: ly°ipta (Ibid., pt.III, no.732, UT, 0, 1.4, INA, pl.XVIII, N.xlv.63)
(277) XIII.55. III - pns: cipns (KI, pt.II, no.547, Col.B, l.1, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxiv.viii 42)

(278) XIII.55. IV - pyam: apyamtes (Ibid., pt.I, no.298, 0, l.1, AK, pl.XCVII,N.xv. 122)

(279) XIII.55. V - prs: prsthama (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, l.1, pl.XI)

(280) XIII.55. VI - psu: kupsuta (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N. xxiv.viii.96)

(281) XIII.55. VII - psu: apsu (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, l.8, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxv. viii.96)

(282) XIII.55. VIII - bhra: priyabhadrarana (Ibid., pt.I, no. 320, 0, at the other end: inverted, AK, pl.XCVII, N.xv.154)

(283) XIII.55. IX - mg'a: cimg'ayae (Ibid., pt.II, no.475, R, l.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N. xxii.iii.9)

(284) XIII.55. X - mne: šammena (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, CM, R, l.1, pl.VI)

(285) XIII.55. XI - msom: ramsommtka (Ibid., pt.I, no.222, 0, l.4, pl.IV)

(286) XIII.55.XII - msu: hy'imsu (Ibid., pt.II, 604, R, l.3, SI, pl.XXXVI, N.xxv.1.vi.1)

(287) XIII.56. I - rku: partukena (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.6, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv. 88)

(288) XIII.56. II - rga: antargata (Ibid., pt.I, no.399, R, A, l.2, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv.88)

(289) XIII.56. III - rci: karcika (Ibid., pt.II, no.462, Col. B, l.1, SI, pl.XXVI, N. xxii.l.2.b)
(290) XIII.56. IV - rji: viṣərjideśi (XI, pt.I, no.160, 0, 1.3, AK, pl.XCVI, N. iv.139)


(292) XIII.56. VI - rts: bhudartha (Ibid., pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, 1.3, pt.II)

(293) XIII.56.VII - rma: purnabalaṣa (Ibid., pt.I, no.322, UT, 0, 1.7, SI, pl.XCIV N.xv.155)

(294) XIII.56.VIII - rpi: dirpvis (Ibid., pt.I, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(295) XIII.56. IX - rbhe: garbhena (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.2, SI, pl.XXIII, N.xxviii.96)

(296) XIII.56. X - rma: carma (Ibid., pt.I, no.17, UT, 0, 1.2, pl.I)

(297) XIII.56. XI - ury: karya (Ibid., pt.I, no.358, 0, 1.8, AK, pl.XCIII, N.xv.305)

(298) XIII.56.XII - rve: parvatammi (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.2, pl.XI)

(299) XIII.56.XIII - rs’a: sudars’anaṣa (Ibid., pt.I, no.358, 0, 1.7, AK, pl.XCIII, N.xv.305)

(300) XIII.56.XIV - rve: verssa (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.9, pl.XI)

(301) XIII.56. XV - rve: tirsa (Ibid., pt.I, no.39, CT, R, 1.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii. 85)

(302) XIII.56.XVI - lg’a: gulg’s (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, 1.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii 85)

(303) XIII.56.XVII - lma: calmadanani (Ibid., pt.II, no.547, written across, 1.1, SI, pl.XXXV, N.xxiv. viii.42)
(304) XIII.56.XVIII - ly'a: kily'agiyas (KI, pt.I, no.322, U, O, l.8, SI, pl.XCIV, N.xv.155)
(305) XIII.56. XIX - lys: vekalya (Ibid., pt.I, no.322, O, l.6, AK, pl.XCI, N.xv.310)
(306) XIII.56. XX - vya: vyag's (Ibid., pt.I, no.637, O, l.2, pl.XI)
(307) XIII.56. XXI - vha: tiravhara (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.4, SI, pl.XXI N.xxviii.85)
(308) XIII.57. I - s'ra: s'rmasna (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, CT, R, l.2, pl.VI)
(309) XIII.57. II - s'rr: sevas'rreyse (Ibid., pt.I, no.420, O, l.7, pl.VI)
(310) XIII.57. III - s'va: priyas'vasu (Ibid., pt.I, no.140, UT, O, l.2, AK, pl.XCIII, N.iv.133)
(311) XIII.57. IV - sg'a: asg'sra (Ibid., pt.II, no.604, O, l.2, SI, pl.XXVI, N.xxvi.i.1)
(312) XIII.57. V - stu: vestug'sim (Ibid., pt.I, no.140, UT, O, l.5, AK, pl.XCIII, N.iv.133)
(313) XIII.57. VI - sāhî: vasāhīg's (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, O, l.2, pl.XI)
(314) XIII.57. VII - stas'o: ramasts'o (Ibid., pt.II, no.582, CT, R, l.6, SI, pl.XXI, N.xxiv.viii.85)
(315) XIII.57. VIII - sma: vasmana (Ibid., pt.I, no.401, UT, O, l.1, AK, pl.CIV, N.xvii.3+2)
(316) XIII.57. IX - syā: asisyāti (Ibid., pt.II, no.621, O, l.2, SI, pl.XXVII, N.xxix.1.2)
(317) XIII.57. X - svā: svastamgha (KI, pt.I, no.33, UT, 0, l.2, pl.II)

(318) XIII.57. XI - sta: ukastatam (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

(319) XIII.57.XII - stri: striya (Ibid., pt.I, no.415, UT, 0, l.3, pl.XI)

(320) XIII.57.XIII - sthī: sthisyadi (Ibid., pt.I, no.272, 0, l.9, AK, pl.XCII, N.xv. 88)

(321) XIII.57.XIV - sme: tusmakam (Ibid., pt.I, no.140, UT, 0, 1.4, AK, pl.XCIII, N.lv.133)

(322) XIII.57. XV - sy’a: parosy’araṣa (Ibid., pt.II, no.593, UT, 0, 1.7, SI, pl. XXIII, N.xxiv.viii. 96)

(323) XIII.57.XVI - sye: magasas (Ibid., pt.II, no.637, 0, 1.1, pl.XI)

(324) XIII.57.XVII - sre: sahasresi (Ibid., pt.I, no.164, 0, l.3, pl.III)
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(1) XIV. 1. I - 1 (CII, vol.I, S.I.3)
(2) XIV. 2. II - 2 (Ibid., S.I.3)
(3) XIV. 4. I - 4 (Ibid., S.XIII.9)
(4) XIV. 5. I - 5 (Ibid., S.III.6)
(5) XIV. 1. II - 1:5 (EL, vol.XXIV, no.II, D. 1.2)
(6) XIV. 4. II - 4:5 (Ibid.)
(7) XIV. 5. II - 5 (Ibid.)
(8) XIV. 1.III - 1:12 (CII, vol.II, pt.I, no.VIII, 1.2)
(9) XIV. 2.III - 2:16 (Ibid., no.XII)
(10) XIV. 4.III - 4:16 (Ibid., no.XII)
(11) XIV. 5.III - 5 (Ibid., no.XIII, 1.1)
(12) XIV. 6.III - 10:16 (Ibid., no.XII)
(13) XIV. 7.III - 20:81 (Ibid., no.XIV, 1.1)
(14) XIV. 8.III -100:102 (Ibid., no.XIX, 1.2)
(15) XIV. 1. IV - 1:15 (Ibid., no.XXIII, 1.1)
(16) XIV. 2. IV - 2:26 (Ibid., no.XX, 1.1)
(17) XIV. 3. IV - 3:113 (Ibid., no.XXIV, 1.3)
(18) XIV. 4. IV - 4:15 (Ibid., no.XXIII, 1.1)
(19) XIV. 5. IV - 5:15 (Ibid., no.XXIII, 1.1)
(20) XIV. 6. IV - 10:15 (Ibid., no.XXIII, 1.1)
(21) XIV. 7. IV - 20:26 (Ibid., no.XX, 1.1)
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<td>37</td>
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<td>1:5</td>
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<td>3:27</td>
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(49) XIV. 7. VIII - 20:25 (BSOAS, vol. XI, pt. 3, p. 491, A, 1.8)
(50) XIV. 3. IX - 3 (KI, pt. II, no. 661, 1.1, pl. XII)
(51) XIV. 4. IX - 4:8000 (Ibid., no. 661, 11.3-4, pl. XII)
(52) XIV. 6. IX - 10 (Ibid., no. 661, 1.1, pl. XII)
(53) XIV. 11. IX - 1000:8000 (Ibid., no. 661, 11.3-4, pl. XII)
(54) XIV. 1. IX - 1 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 580, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.X)
(55) XIV. 2. X - 2 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 581, 1.5, pl.X)
(56) XIV. 3. X - 3:7 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 581, 1.5, pl.X)
(57) XIV. 4. X - 4:7 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 581, 1.5, pl.X)
(58) XIV. 5. X - 5:25 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 583, UT, 0, 1.1, pl.X)
(59) XIV. 6. X - 10 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 571, UT, 0, 1.4, pl.IX)
(60) XIV. 7. X - 20 (Ibid., pt. III, no. 715, 1.1, pl.XIII)
(61) XIV. 1. XI - 1 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 1.3, pl.XI)
(62) XIV. 2. XI - 2 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 1.3, pl.XI)
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(64) XIV. 4. XI - 4:5 (Ibid., pt. II, no. 637, 1.3, pl.XI)
(65) XIV. 5. XI - 5 (Ibid., no. 637, 1.3, pl.XI)
(66) XIV. 6. XI - 10 (Ibid., no. 637, 1.3, pl.XI)
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(50) XV.14. III = XIII.31. I
(51) XV.15. I = I.24. I
(52) XV.15. II = VIII.24. II
(53) XV.15. III = XIII.33. II
(54) XV.16. I = I.27. I
(55) XV.16. II = VIII.27. II
(56) XV.16. III = XIII.36. I
(57) XV.17. I = I.28. I
(58) XV.17. II = X.29. I
(59) XV.17. III = XIII.37. I
(60) XV.18. I = I.31. I
(61) XV.18. II = VIII.31. III
(62) XV.18. III = XIII.40. I
(63) XV.19. I = I.35. I
(64) XV.19. II = V.34. II
(65) XV.19. III =
(66) XV.19. IV = XIII.45. II
(67) XV.20. I = I.37. I
(68) XV.20. II = III.31. I
(69) XV.20. III = III.31. III
(70) XV.20. IV = III.31. IV
(71) XV.20. V = VIII.38.I
(72) XV.20. VI = XIII.48.I
(73) XV.21. I = I.13.VI
(74) XV.21. II = I.8.II
(75) XV.21. III = III.29.III
(76) XV.21. IV = III.17.II
(77) XV.21. V = III.23.II
(78) XV.21. VI =
(79) XV.21. VII =
(80) XV.22. I = IV.19.IV
(81) XV.22. II = X.38.III
(82) XV.22. III = XIII.7.VII
(83) XV.23. I = I.43.II
(84) XV.23. II = VI.32.I
(85) XV.23. III = VII.44.I
(86) XV.23. IV =
(87) XV.24. I = XIV.2.I
(88) XV.24. II = XIV.2.X
(89) XV.25. I = XIV.3.III
(90) XV.25. II = XIV.3.IX
(91) XV.25. III = XIV.3.X
EXPLANATION OF TABLE XVII

(1) XVII. 1. I - dhik (KI, pt.II, no.523, R, 1.4, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxiv.viii.9)
(2) XVII. 2. I - khā: dukhā (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, R, 1.4, pl.VIII)
(4) XVII. 4. I - ghō: samghosasya (Ibid., pt.II, no.703, R, 1.6, pl.XII)
(5) XVII. 5. I - cā (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, R, 1.1, pl.VIII)
(8) XVII. 8. I - jā: pūjā (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, O, 0.1.2, pl.VIII)
(9) XVII. 9. I - jhā: dajhā (Ibid., pt.II, no.508, 0, 1.4, SI, pl.XXXIX, T.xii.a.11.20)
(10) XVII.10. I - thā: netheḥ (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, 1.3, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxix.viii.9)
(12) XVII.12. I - dhī: (Ibid., pt.II, no.708, 0, 1.1, SI, pl.XXXIX, T.xii.a.11.20)
(13) XVII.13. I - tī: atīta (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, 1.9, pl.VIII)
(14) XVII.13. II - tē: taila (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, 1.4, pl.VIII)


(19) XVII.15. I - dhīh: budhī (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, l.1, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxiv.viii.9)


(21) XVII.17. I - pū: pūjā (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, O, l.2, SI, pl.XXV, N.xxiv.vi.1)

(22) XVII.18. I - pha (Ibid., pt.II, no.708, O, l.9, SI, pl.XXXIX, T.xii.a.ii.20)


(27) XVII.22. I - vī: svīci (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, O, l.5, pl.VIII)


(30) XVII.23. III - s'ū: vis'udhe (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, O, l.1, pl.VIII)
(31) XVII.24. I - śā: stātē (KI, pt.II, no.702, 0, l.6, SI, pl.XXXVIII, L.B., iv. l.6)  
(32) XVII.24. II - śām: yeśām (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, l.4, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxvii.9)  
(34) XVII.25. II - sa: sātamsāya (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, R, l.3, pl.VIII)  
(35) XVII.26. I - sa: sātragnākta (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, l.1, pl.VIII)  
(36) XVII.27. I - hā: hāyati (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, l.2, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxvii.9)  
(37) XVII.27. II - hī: pariḥnākāle (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, l.3, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxvii.9)  
(38) XVII.28. I - kta: uktāma (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, l.2, pt.VIII)  
(39) XVII.28. II - gta: parimugta (Ibid., pt.II, no.702, 0, l.5, SI, pl.XXXVIII, L.E. iv.i.6)  
(41) XVII.28. IV - gčma: lugaḍma (Ibid., pt.II, no.701, R, Col.D, l.1, SI, pl. XXXVIII, L.A.ix.i.1)  
(42) XVII.29. I - dhgē: caudgu (Ibid., pt.II, no.701, R, Col.E, l.8, SI, pl. XXXVIII, L.A.ix.i.1)  


(48) XVII.31.III - bhyam: abhyamdare (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, l.3, pl.VIII)

(49) XVII.31 IV - mya: upagamy (Ibid., pt.II, no.511,0, l.5, pl.VIII)

(50) XVII.31 V - mla: kamla (Ibid., pt.III, no.754, Col.A, l.5, INA, pl. XVIII, L.A. ili.i.01)


(52) XVII.32. II - rvra: punarvrajam (Ibid., pt.II, no.523, R, l.1, SI, pl.XXIV, N.xxiv.viii.9)

(53) XVII.32.III - lcs: omgila (Ibid., pt.II, no.701, Col.C, l.3, SI, pl. XXXVIII, L.A. ix.i.1)

(54) XVII.32. IV - l't'si: mals'ige (Ibid., pt.II, no.701, Col.A, l.7, SI, pl. XXXVIII, L.A., ix.i.1)

(55) XVII.32. V - lme: kilmcisyana (Ibid., pt.II, no.432, UT, 0, l.2, pl.VII)

(56) XVII.32. VI - lve: salveta (Ibid., pt.I, no.191, Col.A, l.2b, AK, pl.CII, N.vi.12)
(57) XVII.33. I - s'pa: as'pa (KI, pt.II, no.565, Col.B, l.2, SI, pl.XXVI, N.xxiv.viii.68)

(58) XVII.33. II - s'ya: nas'yat (Ibid., pt.II, no.565, Col.A, l.4, SI, pl.XXVI, N.xxiv.viii.68)


(60) XVII.33. IV - stha: tistha (Ibid., pt.II, no.511, 0, l.6, pl.VIII)
# A list of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACIO</td>
<td>Actes du Congrès International des Orientalistes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>Ancient Khotan. By M.Aurel Stein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Kern</td>
<td>Album Kern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Acta Orientalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIAR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India - Annual Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEPEO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOR</td>
<td>Babylonian and Oriental Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSOAS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSOS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAI</td>
<td>Coins of Ancient India. By A. Cunningham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASIR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India - Reports. By A. Cunningham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCADWKTDBD</td>
<td>Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikūṭaka dynasty and the Bodhi dynasty. By E.J.Rapson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCAI</td>
<td>Catalogue of the coins of ancient India. By J.Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCI</td>
<td>Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. By Bunigo Nanjio</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGSKBI</td>
<td>The coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum. By P.Gardner</td>
</tr>
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</table>
CHI - Cambridge History of India
CII - Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Col. - Column
CN - Cordia Numismatics
CT - Cover-tablet
EI - Epigraphia Indica
EIA - Essays on Indian antiquities of the late James Prinsep. Edited by E. Thomas

FEW - Festschrift Ernst Windisch, 1914
GPK - Guru-pūjā-kaumudī
IA - Indian Antiquary
IBA - On the origin of the Indian Brāhma alphabet. By Georg Bühler
IC - Indian Coins. By E. J. Rapson
INA - Innermost Asia. By M. Aurel Stein
Ind.C. - Indian Culture
IP - Indian Palaeography. By Georg Bühler
IS - Indian Studies, No. III. By Georg Bühler
JA - Journal Asiaticque
JBBRAS - Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JPASB - Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>KI</td>
<td>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir M. Aurel Stein and edited by A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson, E. Senart and P.S. Noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKDC</td>
<td>The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. By T. Burrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mansehra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>Numismatic Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NKGWG</td>
<td>Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>New Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PD</td>
<td>Prakrit Dhammapada based upon M. Senart’s Kharoṣṭhī manuscript with text, translation and notes. By B.M. Barua and S.N. Mitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political history of ancient India. By H.C. Ray Chaudhury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Preliminary Report on a journey of archaeological and topographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan. By M. Aurel Stein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
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<td>RDC</td>
<td>Ruins of desert Cathay. By M. Aurel Stein</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Shahbazgarhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>SI</td>
<td>Serindia. By M. Aurel Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>SKPAW</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STIP</td>
<td>Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palaeographie von Georg Mühler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>The Alphabet. By Isaac Taylor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TKDCT - A translation of the Kharosthi documents from Chinese Turkestan. By T. Burrow

TSA - Tabulae Scriptae Harrnaicae von J. Ettmig.

UT - Under-tablet

VOJ - Vienna Oriental Journal

ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZPNCB - Zoroastrian problems in the ninth century books. By H. W. Bailey