KHAROŠTHI DOCUMENTS
THE LANGUAGE OF
THE KHAROŚTHI DOCUMENTS
FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

by

T. BURROW, M.A.
Research Fellow of Christ's College,
Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1937
INTRODUCTION

The documents in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asia, are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit that was used as the administrative language of Shan-Shan or Kroraina in the third century A.D. The texts range over a period of at least eighty-eight years, as is seen from Prof. Rapson’s Table of Kings and Regnal Years, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, pp.326-8. The date is approximately fixed by a Chinese document, found in the same heap with a number of Kharoṣṭhi tablets, which is dated A.D. 269. Further than this it is not possible to go yet, because none of the kings has been found referred to in Chinese annals. The language of the documents is uniform throughout and there is no trace of evolution from the earliest to the latest.

The bulk of the texts comes from Niya, the ancient Caḍota which lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom bordering on Khotan. For the rest there are a few from Endere (=Śāca) and about forty from the Lou-Lan area where the ancient capital of the kingdom Kroraina was situated. A single document from Endere (661) is written in a different dialect from the rest, and since it refers to a king of Khotan, it may be taken to represent the Prakrit used similarly for administrative purposes in Khotan at that time. (B.S.O.S. viii, 430–34.)

For a variety of reasons the language has presented considerable difficulties of interpretation. In the first place it represents a variety of Prakrit not otherwise known; and secondly it contains a large number of non-Indian words from various sources. The general position of the language has already been dealt with in a series of articles (‘Iranian Loan-words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents’, I, B.S.O.S. vii (1934), 511 ff.; II, B.S.O.S. viii (1935), 779 ff.; ‘Tocharian Elements in Kharoṣṭhi Documents’, J.R.A.S. (1935), pp. 667 ff.; and ‘The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit’, B.S.O.S. viii (1936), 419 ff.). Referring to the full discussions in these papers, it will be sufficient here to indicate the main conclusions arrived at.
The language was used for official purposes in the Shan-Shan kingdom. Its original home was N.W. India, probably in the region of Peshawar. It agrees closely with the (post-Aśokan) Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from N.W. India and (slightly less closely) with the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada. Further, it exhibits sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages to be assigned definitely to that group (B.S.O.S. viii (1936), 434 and Konow, ib. 605 ff.). Among the Dardic languages it would seem to be most closely allied to Torwali.

At the same time it differs from all other varieties of Prakrit preserved, in the degree to which its inflectional system has decayed and altered. There is no reason to impute this to the users of the language in Central Asia, because with them it was a stereotyped official language, whereas the phenomena observed are those of normal linguistic change. Moreover, the changes are actually found to occur over the rest of the Indo-Aryan field at a later date. For instance, they have ceased to distinguish between Nominative and Accusative. This became general in Indo-Aryan in the Apabhraṃśa stage. Other phenomena which occur (though less thoroughly) in Apabhraṃśa are the tendency to transfer all nouns to the a-declension (§§ 67, 70), extension of -r as the general termination of feminine nouns (§ 74, cf. forms in Ap. (Bhavisatta-kaha) like sampunnī, avainni, khittī, etc.), use of the Locative instead of the Accusative with verbs of going, sending, etc. (§ 123, cf. L. Alsdorff, Kumārapālandpratibodha, Introd. § 43 (1) b).

Especially interesting is the formation of a new active past tense from the past participle passive (§ 105). This has not developed even in Apabhraṃśa, but is common in the modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. J. Bloch, L’Indo-Aryen, p. 276). There is a precisely similar development in Modern Persian.

The question arises whether these tendencies to evolution developed unusually early in the home of this Prakrit (due to foreign invasion, influence), or whether they may not have been more general in India only obscured by the conservative tendencies of the literary Prakrits. We might ask, for instance, that since the Prakrit used by Kālidāsa remained the same for
INTRODUCTION

centuries after his time, to what extent may it not have been artificial and archaic even then? Anyway it is curious that our language, while usually the most conservative in phonetic preservation (B.S.O.S. viii (1936), 422), is at the same time the most advanced of all in inflectional decay.

The dialect that had thus evolved in India is subjected to two kinds of foreign influence: (1) Iranian, (2) the native language of Kroraina.

The Iranian loan-words have been dealt with in my two papers (B.S.O.S. vii, 509 ff., 779 ff.). Further examples (discussed in Index) are anada ‘carefully’, cojibo (name of an official), namamniya, paraša, veša sujinakirta. They total together some forty or forty-three words, which is quite considerable.

As regards the origin of these Iranian words, there is no reason to assume that they entered the language at the same time and from the same place. In the case of the word meaning ‘treasury’, for instance, we have two dialect forms gaṇja- (cf. gaṃṇa and kaṇi) and gansa- (cf. kāṃjhaṭaṭaṇa). A very few words are specifically Saka, namely anada, praḥoni, lastana.

The title cojibo appears in the Maralbashi dialect of Saka as caizba. jheniga is peculiar to Saka and Sogdian, although the same base appears in N.Pers. zīn-hār ‘protection, security’ and zindān ‘prison’. If draṅga is connected with Avestan thraxt-, etc., it shows the typically Saka treatment of thr-. avāna ‘village’ occurs in both of the Saka dialects (having lost its initial a-), but also in Western Iranian, Arm. avan.

On the other hand, the mass of the words might equally well appear in a typically Western Iranian language, e.g. kākhorda, guśura, divira, načira, tavāstaga, špura, veša, šada, stora. Many of them have not, so far at any rate, turned up in Khotanese. šada ‘pleased’ definitely cannot be Kh. (tsāta), and guśura shows a treatment that is not Khotanese but typical of the eastern part of Iranian. There is some reason to believe that a large number of the words at any rate had been taken into the Prakrit in N.W. India before it came to be used in Central Asia.

(1) Quite a number of the Iranian loan-words here appear also in India in Sanskrit, etc., namely, sthora, gaṇja, (aśva)vāra, divira, draṅga, kākhorda. saste ‘day’ occurs in Kharoṣṭhi in-
scriptions from N.W. India; *namatāka* 'felt' is used in Pali. In the case of these words we may be pretty sure that they had become part of the language in India itself.

(2) There are traces of the phonetic developments that occur in the languages of specifically those Iranians who occupied N.W. India in the centuries round about the Christian era. *Gušurā* shows the same treatment of initial *vi-* as occurs in the proper name *Gudāphara* (Gondophonnes). The change of *d>* *l* in *lāṃti* 'gift' is paralleled by royal names in India beginning with *spalā-* (= *spāda* 'army*'). The same change is observable in *Pushto*, and may have been characteristic of the Iranian-speaking population bordering on N.W. India at quite an early date.

(3) Iranian proper names in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (*B.S.O.S.* vii, 789) are exceedingly rare, so that certainly there was no Iranian population in this kingdom. The solitary Khotan document (661) indicates a different state of affairs for Khotan, but there is no means of ascertaining its relative date. The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit are such that each must have its origin separately in India and not one depend on the other (cf. *B.S.O.S.* viii (1936), 430 ff.).

We may conclude that the Prakrit already in India had a fair sprinkling of Iranian words, and that in Central Asia a smaller number (*cojho*, etc. above) were further introduced.

The second foreign element to which the Prakrit was subjected is the native language of the kingdom. It is represented by a wealth of proper names (over 1000) and about 100 words. Working on the phonetic structure and suffix formation of this material it is possible to demonstrate a strong affinity of this language with 'Tocharian' (Agnan and Kuehan, cf. H. W. Bailey, *B.S.O.S.* viii (1936), 883–917). This point I have dealt with in detail in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff. We may term the language 'Krōrainic' after the capital of the kingdom.

The pronunciation of the Prakrit was strongly affected by the phonetic structure of 'Krōrainic'. It was devoid of voiced stops, consequently we find writings like *kilāne=glāna* 'sick', *tamāda= daṅḍa, poṅga=bhoṅga*, etc. (§ 14). Similarly it was devoid of aspirates with like effects (§ 24). The solitary document from
INTRODUCTION

Khotan does not show these tendencies, whence we may infer that the language there was of a different type.

Actual word-correspondences in the documents with Agnean and Kuchean are unfortunately few. Among the most certain are:

- *kilme* ‘district’ = Agnean *kälyme* ‘direction, district’.
- *kitsaitsq*, a title (elder?) = Kuchean *ktsaitsañe* ‘age’.
- *sõthanga* ‘tax-collector’: Agnean *sõstänk*, meaning the same.
- *șilboğa* (i.e. *șilyoğa*) ‘document’: Agnean *șlyok* which translates Skt. *śloka*.

Considering the strong evidence (*J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff.) that Krorainic was a language closely akin to Agnean and Kuchean, it is surprising that there are so few obvious etymologies, but it may be due to difference of subject-matter: the texts in those languages are chiefly religious, whereas the Krorainic words in the Prakrit are mostly of a technical nature (official titles, crops and objects of local use, etc.).

Such briefly are the relationships and history of the language of the Niya documents. The present work is divided into two parts: first, a Grammar of the language; and secondly, a combined Index and Vocabulary, where the forms are referred to the paragraphs of the Grammar so far as they are treated there, while an attempt is made as far as possible to explain the meaning of individual words, with references to the existing literature.
Part I
GRAMMAR

VOWELS

§ 1. There is a slight tendency in the documents for e to become i: ajiṣaṇṇae 419 (usually ajaśaṇṇae = adhyesanaṇṇā ‘at the request of’), ichiyati 425 (usually -eyati), cẖiitra = kṣetra 160, 255, etc.; viṭaṇṇa 177 = vetāṇṇā, but the reading is uncertain. Finally: niċi = niĉe ‘decision’, vaṇṭi ‘in the presence of’ = upāṁte, kimṇa = kena 609, tina 532 (tiṣu 511). The change was regular in the dialect of Khotan: 661 saγaṇi = sakāśe, niravāṣīṣo, kali, cudiyadi = codeyāti, etc. But in the dialect of Niya the e is preserved in the vast majority of cases. In the Kharoṣṭhī Dh.p. instances are common, e.g. virāñṣu averana Cvo 28, sarvi, uvito, etina, etc. Likewise loan-words in Saka: ajiś ‘to seek’, prraçi(ya)-sambuddha-, cīya = caitya. It seems to have been a specifically Khotanese change, which had already taken place at the date of no. 661; but it cannot have been very much earlier, because the Saka loan-word jheniḍa always appears with e in the texts although i in Saka yṣiṇiṇya.

§ 2. The treatment of o is parallel to that of i. It is preserved in the documents with the sole exception of kuṣava 345 for usual kośaṇa. rucate 585 is probably to be compared with Pali, Pkt. rucati rather than with Skt. rocate. paribhuṣyanmaṇaṇae 579, 581 is probably for *bhoṣjanīae, rather than ṣbhojanāya, because the infinitive is usually formed from the present base. cudiyadi in 661 shows that the change was established in Khotan, as is later borne out in the Saka texts (Konow, Saka Studies, p. 20).

§ 3. e occasionally appears for short i: garbheni 593, ṣetiḥa 591 (usually jiṭuḥa), pačemakalammaṇi 332 (pačiṇa 165, etc.); levistarena 160 (usually livistara = lipi-vistāra) has probably been influenced by lekha.
GRAMMAR

§ 4. *o* is written for *u* frequently after *h* and *pr*: *baho, amaho, prahoja, laho, ahono, gohomi* side by side with *bahu, amahu, etc.*, *prochidavo* and *pruchidavo*. In all these cases the difference between the signs for *o* and *u* is very small, and it is more likely that *u* should everywhere be read than that there was really a change from *u* to *o*.

§ 5. The regular treatment of the vowel *r* is *ri*, which is written *ri, r* and *ṛ*: *atripta 390, etriśa, krita, kriṣati, ghrida, grihasta, dṛīṭha, triti, prichati*. It is written *ṛ* in *ṛna, kṛta, grha, grheyati, dr̥thati, ṛṛ in dṛ̥thāga, tadr̥śa*. The *ṛ* is also used to represent *rī, rī aśṛṛta 511, Priyaśṛṛ, Kutaśṛṛae*. After *p* we get *ru* in *pruch- (proch-)*, though also *pricha, pariprichati*. Usually after labials the vowel *ṛ* is written (probably=ru): *prchati, pṛtheṣu, mṛga, mṛda ‘dead’, mṛduka (mṛyati=mṛiyate), viṇḍhi, vṛṛha, vṛṛha, samṛṛhae, pravṛṛtṛ. It appears as *i* in *kica=kṛtṛa, kiḍa=kṛṛa, kiṣamnae ‘to plough’, ginnenmti ‘they take’, śingavṛṛa ‘ginger’. As *a* in *praṛṛata=prakṛṛa, anahetu=ṛnahetu (unless ana=sa-, an- ‘not’), kataṃti*. As *u* in *huḍi 703=brṛṭi praṛṛa=prabṛṛa*. A following dental is usually cerebralised when the *r* disappears: *praṛṛata, kiḍa, huḍi*. The rule seems to be that *r* is preserved, but a number of forms have crept in from other dialects without *r*. In the Dh.p. examples are found where the *r* becomes *r* and vowel: *vṛṛha Cvo 34, drīḍha Cvo 17, savṛuto=sameṛṛa;* but (as a result of its Prakrit original?) forms without *r* are more common: *diṭhi, kita, kica, alagito=alamkṛṛa, akīṭaṇa, amutuo, mucuno, etc.*

§ 6. *aya= (1) aya: svaya ‘self’ 709, vayam 663, 666, śayati ‘gets hold of’ *(śrayate), jayaṃta ‘victorious’.*

(2) *eya: bheya (bheyidavya), veyam, ubheya, treya, ničeya, praceya (seyita), jeyamta, sampreṣeyati 288.*

(3) *e: anenetti, niče, prace, tre, sve=svayam. Almost always in causative verbs: taḍeti, dhareti, etc.*

The forms in -aya are certainly due to the influence of Sanskrit. It is more difficult to judge of the relation of the -eya and -e forms. We find *praceya* by the side of *prace, ničeya* and *niče, treya* and *tre*. It would seem that *-aya* everywhere regularly became -e, but that final -e=-aya was readapted to the declen-
VOWELS

sional system by the adding of -a. The process was applied also to native words and names ending in -e: loteya for lote, Lāpeya beside Lāpe, etc. Further, when the second -a formed part of a heavy syllable (e.g. Jayamta, Jeyamta) the disyllabic form was regularly preserved (never *jenta).

§ 7. ava becomes o in vyochiṃnida, vyoseti, no = '9', omāga = gwana(kā) ‘falling short’, ohara.

ava is preserved in avāśītha ‘remaining’, avakasa, avasa ‘certainly’.

va alternates with o in the non-Indian sothamga (an official), also svathamga, and in the name of the king, Angoka and Anikoṣā (Angvaka, Anguwaka, Angonka).

§ 8. Final -āya>-ae in infinitives: deyamnae ‘to give’, etc. Also written -aya, -aye; karaṇnaya, karaṇnaye; the suffix -aga=-aka is treated in the same way: dītāe ‘given’, thavaṃnnae (-aga) ‘cloth’; also -aga: ditağa, dharamnaga.

The change is much more common in past participles than in ordinary nouns and adjectives. (Here perhaps the original Nom. Sing. -ake (cf. § 53) might be responsible, cf. § 74.)


-ya is always preserved in karya. Dhamapri n.pr. = Dharma-

priya. Then -ya comes to be written for -i: ahumapya 399 = aham

api, palpiya 42 = palpi ‘tax’. The treatment of gerundival forms is peculiar. Either the -eya is preserved or it becomes -vo: dadavya and dadavo. Both forms are found in about equal numbers, cf. §§ 53, 116.

§ 10. Svarabhakti occurs regularly between r and h: garahati

‘complains’, arahamta ‘saint’. Also in gilanağa ‘sick’.

An i is evolved before stri only in 231 istriae, but the regular form in the dialect is stri as in Sanskrit.

§ 11. A certain amount of vowel elision occurs in Sāndhi: e.g. ajwadāe ‘starting from to-day’, cesā = ca ēsa, emaceva =
evam ca eva, cisā = ca ǐsa. That is to say in, formulae that are regarded as one expression. For the rest hiatus is the rule: 324 pariha ra oṣita anmīesa, etc.

1-2
§ 12. Final -as seems to have become -e as in the Mansehra version of Aśoka’s edicts. It is preserved regularly in the ablative singular: tade, Cādodade, goṭhade, savathade, etc.= eṭatas. The nominative and accusative have been confused and the -a which serves for both is the accusative -am. Only se = saḥ preserves the old nominative ending. In addition we often find u (o) or a in adverbial forms in -tas: itu, ito = itah, agratu, agrata = oṭah, punu, puno, puna = punar, pratu = prātar, yatu 52 = yataḥ.

J. Bloch (B.S.O.S. vi, 292) points out a similar occurrence of the adverbial tato in the Kalsi (and Mansehra) version of Aśoka’s edicts.

Both e and o seem to have been current in the North-West. In Aśoka Shahbazgarhi has o, Mansehra e. In the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the e seems to predominate in the districts west of the Indus. The Kharoṣṭhī Dh.p. has o or u (or a) in the nominative, which may be due to its Prakrit original.

§ 13. The elision of vowels is not infrequent: Butṣena = Buddhaśena, Yokesena = Yogaśena, Ṣamnera = Śrāmanera, Ṣam- sena = Śamaśena, vastarna = (u)pastarana, muṣka = muṣika 565. Often in non-Indian names: Yilika and Yilğa, Vapika and Vapiḍa, Maṇgeya and Maṇģeya, etc. Finally: cotan = codanma 425, rotan 252, 272 = rotanma, gaman 646 = gamana, śraman 250 = śramana. It is worth while noticing that all these examples of the elision of final a come after n. Probably there was a general tendency to elide the final a, but except in the case of -na there was no temptation to express it in writing, since the a-vowel is not written and the virāma was not used in writing Prakrit. Only in the case of -ana was it convenient to write the shorter form by using the anusvāra under the preceding akṣara. No doubt -an stands for -an as in Tocharian.

Final -deva in proper names seems to have been shortened to *-deva, and then this has further developed into -deyu. Examples: Upateyu, Ḫivadeyu, Baladeyu, Budhadeyu.
§ 14. Unvoicing. The native language of Shan-Shan lacked the voiced stops \( g \), \( j \), \( d \), \( b \), as is evident from a survey of the proper names. As a result of this they tended to unvoice the Prakrit \( g \), \( d \), etc., and the fact is sometimes reflected in the spelling, e.g. *kilane ‘ill’, yokaḥ̄ema, civarac̄hi 460, chaṃlpita = jahlpita 113, cāmnma = janma 180, saracidatī 648 = sarajitam̄ti (usually), canatī 590 = janatī, tanṭa, tač̄ima, taš̄vīda, tita, tivai̇jhi, ti̇vira, ti̇vya, tūi ‘2’, tura, toṣa, trakhma, tṛṃg̣ha, tṛi̇tha, tharidāvo, utȧga, satrīṣa, mutra, pratejā, cotejā, vetejā, Namtaśena, poğa = bhogā.

Usually the forms are sporadic, the voiced forms being the usual ones, but in *pal̄pi* (i.e. *balī*), = *bali*, the \( p \) invariably occurs because that word had been adopted into the popular speech and was felt as a native word.

As will be seen the confusion is commonest with dentals. That is probably because the state of things in the Prakrit itself gave rise to confusion. The traditional writing of *dida* ‘given’ was *dita*, and so it was easy to write \( t \) in other positions, e.g. *tida*. In other cases a spirant, \( ṣ \), \( y \), \( s \), \( w \), was produced and there was less tendency to confusion. Further, the \( t \) and \( d \) are often difficult to distinguish in writing.

§ 15. Another result of pronouncing \( d \), etc. as \( t \), etc. was to write \( d \), etc. instead of \( t \): *dusya, daha, dahi, dumahu, dena, danu, danuvaka, daṇḍita, daṇḍam̄na* ‘carpenter’, *jinida = ch̄ 580, jhorida = chor̄*.

In native proper names: *Giraka* beside *Kiraka*, *Jimoya* beside *Cimoya*, *Jinaša* beside *Cinaša*, *Pideya* and *Piteya*, *Dhameca* and *Tameca*, *Bośarsa* and *Pośarsa*, *Buṃni* and *Pūṃniyade*, *Parabulade* and *Parampulammi*.

It is worth while noticing that most of the Prakrit examples are pronominal forms, and possibly the voicing has some foundation in the Prakrit itself. As unaccented forms their initial would be liable to be treated as intervocalic \( t \), i.e. become voiced; although here again it should perhaps be attributed to confusion of writing.
§ 16. Intervocalic consonants $k$, $c$, $t$, $t$, $p$, $s$, $s$, probably $\dot{s}$, become voiced, and $k$, $c$, $t$, $p$, also $g$, $j$, $d$, $b$ (?), further become spirants $g$, $s$, $(j)$, $\dot{d}$, $v$.

$k$, $g$: avagaja=avakāśa, prağasita=prakāśita, aģasita ‘carried off’ from ā and kas; pratigara, sigata, yathagamağaraniya 661 =yathakāmakarantiya, anega, bhaģa, etc.

The $k$ is usually preserved in ēka, which points to a double $k$ as in Prakrit ekka. The pronunciation of this $g$ was very close to $y$, because they are occasionally confused.

$g$ is written for $y$: apramegọ, frequently for aprameyo(a); kosalga, for kosalya; vyaga=vyaya-

$y$ is written for $g$ in amna yala 431=amna kala. The phrase has been treated as a compound. Also viraya=viraģa 546, 622, jheniya 278 (usually jheniga) ‘under the care of’, sanvatsaraye (=ake) 186, 422.

The suffix -aga tends to become -ae, especially in past participles, dītae and dītāga, etc. Similarly -uka becomes -uva in agandwōva 33. The guttural was weaker in the suffix than in other places. -ika=-i, cf. § 75.

$k$ and $g$ are often preserved in writing: akasida, ogata, nagra, etc.

Noteworthy is the title ogu, which never appears with the spirant, although that is otherwise the rule not only in Indian but in native words: Çaţu, Moţata, etc. It is perhaps oggu with double $g$.

The state of things in the Dh.p. is exactly the same, although the writing is less clear. Intervocalic $k$ and $g$ both appear as $k$: urako, etc.; but that $k$ is confused with $y$ just as $g$ in the documents udaka B 13, Cvo 18 =udaya, dhoreka Cvo 37 =dhoreya, so that it is plain we are dealing with a spirant.

§ 17. $c$ and $j$. In the Dh.p. intervocalic $c$ and $j$ invariably become $y$: sọyati=socati, goyari=gocare, vianato=vijanato, parvaitasa=pravrajitasya. In the documents the treatment is not so regular. We find $y$ for $j$ in maharaya (always), vanije ‘merchants’ 35. $n$ contracted out of niya=niya ‘own’, and in the literary pieces oya=ojas 501, bhoyamma=bhojana 501.

In addition both $c$ and $j$ are represented by $\dot{s}$, $j$ (i.e. $z$): praṣura=pracura, yajitaga=yācitaka, vajidesi ‘you read’ 376
CONSONANTS

(so read instead of vat-); j = š, j in bhīja ‘seed’, vibhasita ‘decided’. There is some difficulty in deciding between y and š, and, in the last instance, vibhayita could possibly be read. Since both treatments are well attested it is impossible to decide on linguistic grounds. Perhaps vibhai- is more likely because the alternative spelling j never appears. In that case y may be taken as the regular treatment of j because the j of bhīja may be explained by the doubling of the consonant after a long vowel (common in Prakrit, Pischel, § 91), i.e. bhīja > *bhīya > *bhiyya > *b(h)iyya > bhīja (on j = jj, cf. rāja, aja beside rāja, aja). The same development appears in iśa ‘here’, Skt. iha, As. (Shah) ia, i.e. iyā > iyya (by a natural emphasising which particles like this are exposed to) > iśa, ija (= *iṣa).

In Saka loan-words j and c usually appear as š ( = š) : ttīśa = tejas, daśa = dhvaja, aśīria = ācārya, avīśā = avici.


Intervocalic t is sometimes preserved: aloṭa viloṭa ‘plundering and ravaging’, samghati-davo 106, 584, paṭa ‘cloth’. Here we probably have tt. Not however in viheṭa 621 (usually viheḍ-) ‘worries’, coṭaṭa 317 = coḍaṭa, guṭa 17, which obviously stands for gūḍha. With reference to these spellings it must be borne in mind that the difference between the aksaras for ta and ʿa is often very small.

At present in the North-West intervocalic ʿ is represented by r, and that may have been the pronunciation at this time. There seems to be one instance of confusion between ʿ and r. In 574 saḍa tammi appears for saratammi ‘in the autumn’. Moreover in the Dh.p. B 43 visara = visaṭa, Cvo 39 karu = kāṭum, ajinaśaria (Pet. Fragm.) = ajinaśāṭyā. Likewise in Tocharian loan-words we find r for t, ʿ: Cakravar = ṣvāḍa, kapār = kapāṭa, kor = koṭi.

On the other hand loan-words in Saka usually appear with l: alavī ‘forest’, kalā ‘crore’, gula ‘molasses’, nālai = Skt. nāṭaka, virūlināa ‘made of beryl’, palā ‘banner’, which would seem to point to l.

§ 19. t, d. There is no doubt that intervocalic t was voiced in the Prakrit, but matters are obscured by the fact that the
natives of Shan-Shan pronounced everywhere \( t \) for both \( d \) and \( t \). Further, the traditional system of writing was probably archaic, so that e.g. \( dita \) was written for what was pronounced \( dida \) by proper speakers of Prakrit and \( tita \) by the natives of Shan-Shan. As a result we find \( t \) and \( d \) used indiscriminately for intervocalic (and even initial, §§ 14, 15) \( t \) and \( d \).

\( t \) is omitted in \textit{caura} ‘4’, side by side with \textit{catu-} and \textit{caturtha}. Similarly in the Dh.p. we find \textit{cauri} ‘4’, although intervocalic \( t \) is usually preserved. Further possible examples are \textit{samao (samaeh)} ‘with’<\textit{samatah} and \textit{mahuli ‘aunt’}<\textit{mātuli}.

§ 20. \( p=v \): \textit{avi, darśaveti,} etc.; \textit{uṭavala, parivalitavya, vavaṇṇa, macida,} etc.

The \( p \) is often preserved in writing: \textit{paripalitavo, upagata, aparaya,} etc.

Intervocalic \( b (bh) \) is usually preserved as such: \textit{paribujiṣatu ‘you shall understand’, vibhaṣita,} etc. They may have pronounced \( v \), which does turn up occasionally: \textit{Śilaprava n.pr. 519, 592, and possibly parivane 214=paribhāṇḍa(ka), pivaṇṇa 586=*pi-bandhanāya.} In 519 read \textit{bahuve} not \textit{vahuve}.

In the Dh.p. examples of \( b (bh) = v \) occur: \textit{aivalaśa=abalāśva, abhīvuyu=abhibhūya} and vice versa \textit{makabha} is written for \textit{maghavā}.

In \textit{supraudha, praujhati} the \( v \) (i.e. \( v \)) is not written. Similarly in Saka \textit{aviṣya=abhīṣeka}.

§ 21. \( s \) becomes \( z \), written \( j \): \textit{avaģaja=avakāśa, kojalya, dajavita, pradejade.} This \( s \) is often preserved in writing.

§ 22. \( s \) becomes \( z \), written \( s \) or \( jh \): \textit{ajhia=āṣya, agajhidati ‘they seized’, tivajha ‘day’, dajha ‘slave’.}

\( s \) in \textit{maṣa ‘month’, daṣa, divaṣa, spaṣa, Budhaṣena}, and always in names in -\textit{sena, aṣi ‘was’, visajīdesi ‘you sent’}.

The \textit{-asya (-assa)} of the genitive singular also appears as \textit{-aṣa} (cf. R. L. Turner, \textit{J.R.A.S.} (1927), 227–39).

As in the case of the other consonants intervocalic \( s \) may be preserved in writing: \textit{aṣi (3 times) side by side with aṣi (3 times), asita ‘sat’ 339, etc., ykasita, nikasisyati, prahitesi 358, denasi 358,} etc.

\( s \) never appears when followed by \( u \) or the anusvāra, e.g. \textit{svasu}
CONSONANTS

'sister', masu 'wine', vasanta 'spring'. Probably this was a question of convenience of writing.

s appears initially in certain particles and pronominal forms which were unaccented, and consequently the s could be treated as intervocalic: samao and sadha 'with', saca (particle introducing a quotation), se 'he', saroa 'all'.

The two ways of expressing s probably arose independently. Perhaps jh was modified from the existing jh specially to represent the Iranian z, which there was no room for expressing in Kharoṣṭhī, because in the Iranian word jeniga we invariably find jh and not s. Similarly ajhade 'free-born', Hinajha = othyno, whereas s arose as a modification of the s in the same way as ĝ, j, etc. were invented, to meet the developments of the Prakrit itself which had occurred by this time. On the whole question see the Account of the Alphabet, p. 310 of the edition.

§ 23. s probably followed the analogy of the other sibilants, but trouble was not taken to express it: darśida, which is no doubt = Av. daras 'bind', must contain a voiced s, i.e. *darśida.

§ 24. There is a tendency to drop the aspiration in the aspirated consonants kh, gh, etc. That was because the native language of Shan-Shan had no aspirates and consequently in pronouncing the Prakrit they neglected them: nikalisyati 188 (usually nikhali-) 'to remove', gaṣa 'fodder', gṛida 'ghee', śīgra, vyagra, saṣga, agacati 122, cinnita 598 'cut', jinida = cinnita, pratama, savatade, śitilya, adicite, gandarvena, goduma, daridavo, paṃda = paṃthā, sada 'with', madya 'middle', tanana = dhanānām 583, vṛtaqa 399 'old', uta 'camel', kumba 'jar', baṇena, bara, buma.

§ 25. It was always correct to write the aspirated forms, and these more usually occur, e.g. ghrida (21 times), grīda (3 times), bhuma (39 times), buma (7 times), adhimatra, ghāṣa, ghṛita, lekha (never *leka), goṭha (never goṭa), jetha (never jetā), savathā, bhaqa, etc., etc. uta 'camel' is invariably written without aspiration except in 422 (one of the earliest of the documents), where it appears with the modified th: uṭha.

§ 26. This state of affairs further results in the writing of aspirated forms where they do not belong: amgha 252, dρamgha
§ 27. Those aspirated consonants which had remained down to the time of the importation of the Prakrit into Central Asia are treated as stated above. But before this time the majority of intervocalic aspirates had become $h$ (for those that remain, e.g. śavata, cf. § 24): -ehi, -ahi of the instrumental plural: lihāti (also written likhāti), saṃmuha, pramuha, suha, nihā (=nikhan or nihan?), taha ‘so’, amahu, tumahu = asmabhyaṃ, etc., lāhu, lāḥsita = labhante, parihātra ‘claim’ = paribhāṣā, prahūḍa=pra-bhṛta, gohomi ‘wheat’ (also goma and godūma), hući-=bhṛti- 399, hoti, etc. ‘is’. The change is regular in the case of terminological elements, the unaccented hoti, huda, and in the case of intervocalic kh.

In the examples of $h$ in the Dhp. we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with northern forms or forms from the original version, e.g. oha=ogha, ohaseti=avabhāsayati, suha, lahati, aṣuha, uhu=ubho B 2.

§ 28. There is considerable irregularity in the treatment of $h$, owing to its absence in the native language.

1 (1) It is omitted: mahānuva for mahānuva (once, 593)= oḥāva, mayi 661=mahi (Gen. not Loc.), ara=hāra 113, svarna ara (?), danagrama 577, 588 for usual danagrama ‘giving and taking’, goma ‘wheat’, giḍa=grhīta, Syabala n.pr.=Sihabala, aṛhati besides haṛhati (only here aṇ- is the original form), astama besides hastama ‘dispute’, astalekha 414, astammi 662, paṇḍavāga ‘security’=paṇḍhu-aṭa=pratibhū, paropamāsanā 510=*paropahāṃsanā (as required by the metre).

(2) It is transposed in uhati for huati ‘is’.

(3) It is put in where it does not belong: prihito smi 140= prītosmi, hadhehi 476 (usually adehi), sahasrahani 646 ‘thousands’, sahaḥ besides sahma ‘with’, Pugohasa 511 (Gen. of Pu-go). Possibly heṛi 663=ṛda ‘sheep’.
CONSONANTS

§ 29. Besides ṣ there is a letter transliterated ś which was probably a ṝ. It was characteristic of the native language which had no ṣ. It occurs commonly in native names: Ṛṣṇika, Ṛṣṭpa, Ṛṣṇaca, Ṛṣu, and in the title ṛṣas.

In Prakrit words it is evolved between u and a following vowel: ṛhetvēna, Instr. of ṛhetu ‘cause’; ṛtanvāṅga ‘own’; similarly in ṛvasuṇāna Ṛpimsuṛvasya.

They are not however consistently used. We find ṣ side by side with ś in native proper names: Ṛrpeya beside Ṛrpeya, ṛasu besides ṛasu. Further ṛukto, ṛugaca (also ṛuḡaca), ṛugeya, ṛuru, ṛuryaṅa.

Also ś instead of ṣ in the Prakrit: ṛvadae, ṛkaṅaveti, ṛimśaveti, maevē, ṛamti.

The explanation of this confused state of affairs is probably that they tended everywhere to say ś, which was the nearest sound in their own language to the Prakrit ṣ.

§ 30. It was probably a characteristic of the local pronunciation that they tended to pronounce initial u- as ṛu-. We find ṛuryaṅa side by side with ṛuryaṅa (some kind of profession or class) and in 399 ṛulasi seems to be for ullāsa ‘wonder’. Also native names are common beginning with ṛu-, ṛu-, practically non-existent with u- (see Kharoṣṭhī Inscr. Index Verb.).

§ 31. ḷ was softened before i in the native language into what has been printed ḷḥ but should be written ḷy or ḷy, e.g. ḷyipeya, ḷyimsu, etc. In Prakrit words it does not often appear, though it was probably usually pronounced. We find ḷyihida 575 for ḷihita, ḷyaliḥi fem. of ḷyla ‘wild’. In ḷalḥi ‘tax’=bali it is invariably written just as the initial ṛ- always appears for b-, presumably because it had become part of the native language.

In native names it is occasionally, though rarely, omitted to be written: ḷipe 754 beside ḷīpe, ḷivarajhma beside ḷīvarasmā, ḷiśalihṛma beside Piśalpiyram. i.

§ 32. yi- probably developed in other positions too. Certainly at the beginning of words, just like ṛu- developed out of u-.

There are no native names beginning with i-, plenty with yi-: ṛitaka, ṛilīga, ṛipge, ṛisata, ṛirumdhina. It affects Prakrit words only in yiyo=iyam 348, 410, yima=ime 237.
Possibly native ni, ti had also become ñi, ci. ti does not seem to occur in native names, ni only in Kenika, Cinika (which is probably derived from Cina ‘Chinese’ and so would keep its n); whereas ñi is common: Ñimeya, Acuñiya, Apñiya, Kuñita, Kriñila, Mañigeya, Señiña. In the case of the last two changes, no influence on the Prakrit can be traced.

§ 33. One of the chief characteristics of the North-Western Prakrit, and which is found in the Dardic languages to this day, is the preservation of the three sibilants as in Sanskrit:

ṣ. śata, dasa, darśaveti, avvakāsa, etc.
ś. teṣu, doṣa, eṣa, varṣa, etc.

There are no instances of confusion.
śāsana becomes śāsana 310 in the same way as original *sāsā became śaṣa in Sanskrit. It was the regular form in the North-West, as it occurs also in the Dh.p. and as a loan-word in Saka śśāsana. The Dh.p. also has viśpaṣa, which is the same kind of assimilation.

§ 34. The cerebral ṇ has ceased to be distinguished from n in the dialect. It is occasionally written, but irregularly. (See Account of the Alphabet, p. 305 of the edition.)

CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

§ 35. Stop + stop. Assimilated in the same way as in other Prakrits: anata = ājñapta, sata = šapta, satati ‘70’, satamna ‘7th’, bhata = bhakta, balakarena = balātkārena, ratața = raktaka, satu = saktu, vuta = ukta and upa, samcītenta = samkṣiptena, upamna = utpanna, ukasta = *ukkasta, učivana from ut + kṣip, ladha = labāha.

The conjunct consonants are preserved in writing sometimes: vibhaktaṭa, vuka, praṇapta, vimiṇapta.

In 541, uktama = uttama, a mistaken attempt at restoration is made.

§ 36. Compounds with r. As a rule r is not assimilated.
(a) r comes first: antargata, Arjunasa, varjavidavo, viśarjida, artha, ardha, kartavo, kirti, vardhati, purva, sarva, garbha, karya,
niryoğa, durlāpa = durlabha, parvata, varṣa, darśida ‘packed’, darśana.

There do not seem to be any examples of Prakrit ṛk. In native names there seems to be a tendency for it to become ṛg, though voiced stops are otherwise absent from the language, e.g. Argiceya, Argiya, Kargate, Cargayodae, Tsurgeya, Bargada. k also appears: Carka, Tsurkeya, Patirke, etc. ṛ never appears as a spirant in this position. The same change appears in Saka (birṛga < vrka, etc.) (Konow, Saka Studies, p. 23).

ṛm is written m: dhāma, kāma, caṁa, niṁala, jīvaśaṁa. rm is occasionally written; dharmiyaśa 579, 581, title of king Arṅgoka. Occasionally also the superscript line is omitted: jīvaśaṁma 611, dhama 228, Dhamaśriææ 21, etc.

(b) Consonants + r: agra, vyagra ‘tiger’ 665, citra, atra, tre, matra, kāmakaritra, kriṣiovatra, apramana, pra-, prati- (also paḍi-), prathama (also paḍama), bhrata.

ṛgr is represented by kr in ajakra ‘up till to-day’ and possibly in akri (bhuma) = agrya.

The t which sometimes appears for tra, e.g. Paṭaya and Patraya, Brahmacarita 399 for Brahmacaritra, kāmakarita 166 v.l. for tra, is merely due to the fact that the two akṣaras are difficult to distinguish.

§ 37. Cases where r is assimilated.

(a) When placed first: śakara 702 ‘sugar’, vadhi 264 n. 3 might be vardhi ‘rope’, viṣajīdava side by side with viṣarj-, parivatādemi ‘I exchanged’ = parivart-, kaṭavo beside kartavo, bhaṭarāga ‘master’, adha 169 (usually ardha). At 589 also aḍha occurs. sadha ‘with’ (also sarḍha), payati = paryāpti, aya (409) = ārya, sava 565 (elsewhere always sarva), tumbhīcha 589 (trubhīcha 581) = durbhikṣa, umṇa 149 = uṇṇā.

The cases of assimilation are definitely in a minority; where both forms occur those with ṛ are much more common (e.g. sava and sarva, adha, aḍha and arḍha; the forms without r occur only once). Some forms may be borrowed from an Eastern dialect. That is certainly so in the case of bhaṭarāga ‘master’.

Athoṣaṅga ‘serviceable’ according to Prof. Thomas = arthopaṅka. The value of the ṛḥ is not certain (see the Account of the
GRAMMAR

Alphabet, p. 304 of the edition). No other example is found which contains an r.

(b) r comes last: vakūtha = apakruṣṭa (doubtful), otherwise kr is always preserved, krita, parikraya, etc. The r is always assimilated in uṭa = uṣtra ‘camel’; also Rāṭhapala n.pr. 660 = Rāstrapāla.

§ 38. Apart from these it is only assimilated in the case of śr, which regularly becomes ś: śayati ‘seizes’ = śrayate, māṣu = śmaṣrū, śamāṇa, śaṃmnera = śramaṇa, śrāmaṇera, śuṇami 695 ‘I hear’. vyoṣeti ‘pays, hands over’ probably = *vyavaśrayati and perhaps Prakrit vosirai, which the grammarians explain as vy-ava-sṛj. mīṣi (bhuma) may be mīṣra ‘mixed’.

The change is often neglected in writing, almost always in śru- ‘to hear’, also śramana.

This development was universal in the North-West. It does not occur in Āsoka, but is common in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and in the Dh.p., e.g. saṣaka, saḍhu ‘faithful’, saṃano, seṣha = śreyas, sṛtvana. Also in loan-words in Saka: ṣṣamana, ṣṣāvaa, ṣṣadda. Note also Toch. saṃam, Sogd. śmn = śramana.

In the Dh.p. sr also seems to share this treatment in anavasu-tacitasa; viṣravatena = *viṣravantena represents an intermediate process or else sr is just written for ś. Compare also śrotas = srotas, etc. in the Divyāvadāna. The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, from which this text is abstracted, is said to belong to the North-West.

§ 39. A characteristic of the North-West was the transposition of r in forms like dhrama for dharma. It occurs in both the Kharoṣṭhī versions of Āsoka, e.g. grābhagara, dhrama, krama, pruva, draśana, side by side with forms that are not transposed, e.g. saṃra (written for sarva), kiṭra, athra, etc. Outside Āsoka it is common in the MS. Dutreuil du Rhins, e.g. drugati, dru-medhīs, druga, pravata.

On the other hand there is practically no trace of it in the dialect of these documents. The only examples are trubhīcha = durbhikṣa 581 and śirmitra n.pr. 117, etc. compared with śrīmitra 94.
CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

Similarly, in most of the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from N.W. India this change is absent, e.g. (Konow, C.I.I. ii, p. cvi) dirgha, dharma, وبة kariṃ, وبة sarma, وبة varma, etc.

§ 40. l is usually not assimilated: jālpita, jālma, śilpiṅga, alpa.
In this respect the dialect is more archaic than the Northern versions of Aśoka, where l is assimilated, e.g. apa, kapa, as also in the Dh.p. apa.

§ 41. y is usually assimilated to a preceding consonant.
  ky = k or ḍ in osuka, ṅa = autsukya.
  jy = j: raja, jetha.
  dy = ṭ: padeka, paduvaṭa.
  ty = c: kica. But always nitya.
  dy = j: aja, upajeṣādi, khaja.
  dhy = j: ajeṣanmaṇe = adhyeṣanayā, jāna Ś 11 = dhyāṇa, vijaṃti = vidhyanti.
  ny = ni: aṇa, pumṇa.
  bhy = ṃ in abomata = abhyavamata in the phrase abomata kr- to disregard, disobey'.
  vy = v in gerundives: dadavo beside dadavya (cf. § 9).
  sy = ś: avasa, udiṣa, nasaṭi.
  sy = ś: kariṣadi, manmuṣa, etc. The change had already taken place in Aśoka's time and was general in the North-West, e.g. (in Aśoka) arabhiṣānti, manuṣa, anapeṣānti, etc. Similarly in the Dh.p. devamanuṣaṇa B 4. In the latter text the future seems usually to be in ś: esiti, payeṣiti. Presumably the ya of the future had become i before the change took place.
  ṇhy = cḥ in saṃhami 188.
  sy becomes ṣ in the termination of the genitive singular (§ 22): gothaśa, etc.; s initially in sali 'brother in law' = syāla.
  Sometimes y is written in connection with ś, ṇ, c, ṇ, ḍ where it is not justified, e.g. priyadarśyanasa 152, paripruṣyaṃtī 690, Sacyami 436, giḍya = giḍa 215 'took'.

§ 42. Sometimes y is not assimilated. In many cases this is merely the archaic or Sanskritising way of writing, which we are continually meeting with. Certainly in the case of genitive singulants in asya and futures in isyati. (The assimilation had already taken place in Aśoka 500 years earlier.) Also in osukya,
madya, madhya (curiously enough j is never written in this word, though it usually occurs in such forms as aja, etc.), anyyatha, manyu, udīṣya. It is perhaps regularly preserved in the futures stasyati, dasyati; syā(i) always becomes siyati.

The combinations ry and ly were probably regularly preserved: kalyana, niryoga, viryavanga, karya. payati in the phrase bhijapayati ‘capacity for seed’, which seems to be =paryāpti, is an exception, also aya in 419=ārṣa. Final -ya (i.e. -iya) usually becomes -i (§ 9). It is always preserved in karya.

Initial vy- and sy- stand for viya-, siya-, with which they alternate, e.g. vyochinnita, vyoseti, vyarthta. Also viyos-, etc., siyati and syati ‘may be’. Note also Syabala n.pr.=Si(h)abala.

§ 43. tv and dv tend to become p and b, e.g. badaśa ‘12’, cāparīṣa ‘40’, biti ‘second’.

We also find dvadāsa and always dvi, dui ‘2’, which was disyllabic. Also daditva, sampreṣitva 204, bhudva 49. Always dvara.

The v is omitted in diguna ‘double’. Presumably also in indeclinable participles in ti=Vedic tvī, vañiti ‘having read’, etc.

Similar forms are found in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, see Konow, C.I.I. ii, p. cviii, e.g. sapana= satwanaṃ, ekacapariśai ‘41’.

The rule is that original tuva-, duva- as found in the Veda were not assimilated: dui, Vedic dudā, Lat. duo, etc., but di-guna, biti, assimilated in different ways. Compare Vedic dvi- always monosyllabic, dvara, Vedic dvārā, e.g. R.V. 4. 51. 2.

§ 44. A nasal following another consonant is usually preserved. n is represented by the superscript line in nāga, viṇa=vighna, grheyaati (usually giṃ̄-), trṣa, tuṣi, laṣi ‘gift’, śatra.

nm is preserved in janamna.

kha in trakhma ‘drachma’.

tm becomes tv in mahatva (an official title), if that is not =mahattva, and in atvama 510. The tv passes further into p in apame 139, which seems to =atmanah.

Compare atva in the M. version of Aśoka (ed. 11), also ata.
CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

Sh. has always *ata*. The Dh.p. has *anatma* and *atuma* with svarabhakti.

*jī* is assimilated to *ṅ* in *vimūṇati, sāṃṉaveti, yamīṇa*.

In *anatī=ājnapti* we have to do with a borrowing. In Asoka too we find *anap-* instead of the regular *añap-*. Similarly in Pali.

§ 45. The voiced stops *j, d, b* tend to be assimilated to a preceding nasal. The process is most regular in the Dh.p.: *kuñaru A³ 4, nivinatī A³ 1, tunati B 28, kana B 34, china B 37; N, d: kunala Cvo 31,dana B 39, panita Cvo 26; mb: avaramu A³ 2, udumaresu B 40.*

In the documents we find *gamaṇavara=gaṇjavara, chimṇati, bhiṃṇati, baṃṇanae ‘to bind’, amila 655 (of uncertain meaning) besides *ambila 33 (=āmila?), hastama ‘dispute’, an Iranian word =ha+stamba-, parivanae 214 probably =paribhāṇḍaka ‘the load of a horse, baggage’, bhana 149=bhāṇḍa- (?)*.

The change never appears in *daṃḍa, piṃḍa*, and we find for instance *bamdhitāga 660 side by side with baṃṇida ga 346.*


§ 46. In the Dh.p. unvoiced *k, c, t*, etc. are voiced when preceded by a nasal, e.g. *paga=paṅka, paja=paṃca, sabaṣu=saṃpaśyan.*

The documents do not present any consistent picture. We find *upaśamghidavo=upaśaṅk-, saṃghalidavo=samkal-, gamdavo 14 times against gamtavo twice, cimda- and cimt- in about equal proportions; c never appears as voiced: kiṃcī, paṃca.* Probably the change was regular as in the Dh.p., but since the natives of Shan-Shan tended to unvoice all voiced stops, it has been considerably obliterated.

The loan-words in Saka show the same change: *arahanda, cambaa, saṃduṣṭi.*

§ 47. The anusvāra is often omitted in writing, e.g. *abhya- dara, kada, gadavo, Tajaka, traghade=drʌṃghade, śīrgha 585 ‘horn’, sīghavera ‘ginger’, soṭhaga 422 (usually soṭhamga), etc.*

It is written where it does not belong, e.g. *muntra=mudrā,* *jiṭumgha* (name of a king, usually *jiṭugha*), *caṃḍita 113=*
jālpitaṃti, kāṁlāṃmi 98, nagaṃrammi 25, jīvavāmitra 290, manasiṃgāra, Samṛpina, tumbhīcchā = durbhīṣā.

In viṣati, triṣa, caparīṣa, siha, the -ṃ- is omitted as in all the Prakrits, Pali tisa, siha, etc. singha in 511 is due to a re-introduction of Sanskrit simha, as elsewhere in India, ‘Singhalesia’, etc. It is also regularly omitted in sarajitaṃti ‘they agreed’ (samrajyatī) and viṣalavīta 295 = visāṃlap-.

An anusvāra is usually inserted before n, m after short vowels, e.g. gachanaṃ, deyanaṃ, and all the infinitives: asamna = āsana, khamnitaṃti ‘they dug’, Khotāṇna, gaṃnana, jaṃna, jaṃnma, śrāmanṇa, suminna ‘dream’, biṃnita, chiṃnita, karuṃṇya, punīṇa; locatives in anmi: agaṃnisyatu, navaṃna, satanīna ‘7th’, nammakuroati.

Forms without the inserted anusvāra occur, but they are very much rarer, gachanae, etc., not more than one in seven.

The anusvāra is only rarely inserted in the case of long vowels. Never in the case of genitive plurals in -ana, instrumental in -ena.

Examples: anmitaṃti ‘they brought’, jaṃnasa, pariṃhina, pramanṇa, siṃmasa, Bhiṃmaṣena.

Nasals followed by the corresponding stop are always written with anusvāra, not ni, ni, n, etc. The n which appears printed is probably never correct. The combination ng should be read, as given alternately in the notes, tga. It occurs only in native names: Kāṭgaya, Kūṭgē, Kuritgē, Cāṭgu, Cāpitgū, etc. ng, where it is certain, is always represented by mngh: dramga, amgha, saṃghalidavo. Also g never became a spirant after the nasal. nk should be read as ts in Ramṣona, etc. Similarly in the MS. Dureuil du Rhins: the akṣara transliterated nis by Senart should be read ts: satsara A² 6, ahitsai A⁴ 8, bhetsiti C⁰ 3, for saṃsara, etc. There was no n in Kharoṣṭhī.

§ 48. Groups with final sibilant.

kṣ is preserved in the form ēch: ēchera, yogaṃhema, bhīchū, trubhīcchā, cočha ‘clean’, ēhuna, ēhira, dilīcha = titikṣā, dačhina, nachatrami, pracaḥcha, etc.

hačhati ‘may be, will be’ = Prakrit acchāi shows that that form must go back to an original kṣ. The kṣ is also preserved in the
Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka and in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the North-West.

In Saka we find ks in loan-words: kṣāndā = kṣānti, etc. The writing of the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. does not preserve the distinction between ēh and ch, e.g. chaya, bhichavi, etc.

In the modern languages of the North-West original ks is distinguished from ch, e.g. Shinā čeć = kṣetra aći = aksi.

It is of course not certain whether ēh stands for ks or some modification of it in the direction of the modern languages, but it is worth noticing that in Saka we find kṣattrā written for chattrā.

ks is simplified to š before m in suśmela = sūkšmelā ‘small cardamoms’, which occurs frequently in the Bower Manuscript.

ks becomes kh only in khoritağa ‘shaven’, which must be borrowed. In 322 we find bhīghu instead of the usual bhīchū. Khema is a place-name and not = kṣema.

ts is preserved in saṃvatsara, vatsa. It is assimilated in osuka = autsukya.

A ō is developed between m and s or š: mamtsa, paropipatsāmanā 510 = paropahimsamāna. Similarly in the Dh.p. (printed ns by Senart): satsara, ahitsai A 4, bhametsu B 34. In loan-words in Saka: saṃtsāra.

nš becomes mc (i.e. ntś) in saṃcaya 31 = saṃśaya ‘doubt’. The same form occurs in the Tocharian loan-word saćce.

Konow (B.S.O.S. vi, 465 ff.) wants to read ts as ō, both original ts in saṃvatsara and when it has developed as in saṃtsara. But it is difficult to see how this would differ from c, and in fact when saṃśaya develops into saṃṭšaya it is written saṃcaya in 31. In 283, however, we find saṃśaya.

§ 49. Groups with initial sibilant.

šc is preserved in the form ē: pača, niča, kači.

šk becomes šg in mušgešu (Skt. muška-), Puṣğariyade. In muška 565 = mušikā, where the šk has arisen more recently by the dropping of the vowel, it is preserved. The etymology and meaning of hašga are uncertain. trušga 581 seems to be made up of the prefix dur- and Iranian huška ‘dry’ (or read vusغا).
More remarkable, initial sk seems to become šg in šgabhane ‘to prop’ 586. The šg might have originated in forms of the verb compounded with a preposition. The treatment is confined to the language of the documents. In Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from N.W. India we find forms like pukarini=puṣkariṇī, and in the Dh.p. we find puṣkara (see Konow, C.I.I. ii, p. cix). Exceptions are nikhal- ‘remove’=niṣkaḷ- and ūka (ṣuṣka) if that=ṣuṣka ‘dry’; nikasta ‘went away’ is probably=niṣ-kas. In the two last words the aspiration is almost always dropped.

st is preserved as a rule except sometimes in forms of √sthā: asti, hasta, astrarana, vistara, viśvasta, grihasta.

√sthā appears either as stā or thā, never sthā, e.g. stasyati, stavidavo, stiḍaṇḍa, thanaṇṇmi, thavatnanae, thida, viṭhida. aṭhī ‘bone’ for asthi appears with the cerebral, as in the other Prakrits (Pischel, § 308).

št is always assimilated to th (f): aṭa, aṭha, avaśiṭha, kaniṭhāga, goṭha, jeṭha, uṭa, praṭha. kāṣṭha becomes kāṭha in 511, and in 422 uṭha is written for usual uṭa. The value of thā is doubtful, but it is usually consistently separated from th. It would seem to stand for sth also in kuṭhāḍhīra.

In prasamṭhīta 511 and vaṭhāyāga if that=upasthāyaka it represents sth; cf. Saka vaṭhāyaa.

In atiṭhovae it seems to stand for rth (cf. § 37).

sp is preserved in puṣpa ‘flower’.

śm becomes m in maṣu ‘beard’.

sm becomes m in locatives in ammi, amahu ‘of us’. It is preserved in vismaraṇga ‘forgot’. This treatment of sm was by no means general in the North-West. It also tended to develop into sv, which might further be assimilated into ss or become sp. We find locatives in -asi in Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (Konow, C.I.I. ii, p. cxi).

Locatives in -aspi are confined to Aśoka. In the Dh.p. we find: sm, sv, s, e.g. anusmara, asmi, svadi A² 5, pratīsvado A² 9. s in locatives in -asa for -asi: asmi loke parasa ca, etc.

sn is preserved in the form ś in śana 647, etc.

śn is preserved in the form ś: tuśi, krṣaṇa, etc.

śl becomes l in leśiśamṛti, which according to Prof. Thomas is from śliṣ.
CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

śv becomes śp (printed ūs) in āśpa ‘horse’, śpedaṇa ‘white’; śv is preserved in writing in viśvasta. Similarly in native names we find Leśpānna written side by side with Leśvānna. The same change occurs in the Dh.p. viśpasa, viśpa, and in Saka loan-words viśpasta, Viśpāsarmā n.pr.

sv becomes śv in śvasu ‘sister’, śvastiḥemena. This śv further develops into śp in priyaśpasuṣae 317. Compare Kalasha īśpoṣi = śvasrīya, Garwi īśpo ‘sister’. sv is always preserved in svayām, sveya, sveh ‘self’, and we find svasti written as well as svasti. This development does not take place in the case of svā- or svā-. Instead we find śp in śpeṭha (title) beside svēṭha, śparna beside svarna and swarna.

The śp is also developed out of śp(h) in parospha ‘one another’, śpāra, śpura = Iranian (u)spurra ‘complete’, and śpāsa, which may be connected with the Iranian √spas ‘to keep watch’, Tamaspha n.pr. This śp appears as sv in svasaṇṇiye 471.

§ 50. Miscellaneous.

In aśimatra = adhimātrā we find a quite unexplained ś ( = z) for dh. A similar change seems to have taken place in masu = madhu ‘wine’, cf. Lüders, ‘Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises’, S.P.A.W. (1933), p. 5. For further examples inside India, cf. Prof. Thomas in B.S.O.S. VIII, 791.

v is represented by m regularly in games- = gaves- ‘to seek’, ema = evam. Further āmeṭhitā in the Dh.p. verses 510; cimara 149 may = cīvara. The phenomenon also appears in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. bhamanai = bhāvanāya, nāma = nāvam and in Apabhraṃśa (Pischel, § 261).

For śīṭhila besides śīṭila there is a form śiśila, which seems to be due to some kind of assimilation.

In 510 dilīcha = titikṣa. The change t (d) to l seems to be due to dissimulation. The change d to l is not uncommon in the modern North-West languages (Grierson, Torwali, p. 14, e.g. talā = tadā). In 565 tričha is probably the same word, with dissimulation into r.

Timṣura and drimṣura = Tāmbūla quite irregularly, as is natural in a word borrowed from the vernaculars; cf. Pkt. simbali = sālmali.
GRAMMAR

DECLENSION

§ 51. The declensional system is considerably modified, compared with the literary Prakrits. As in Apabhramśa there is no distinction between nominative and accusative. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative. The neuter is lost. Feminines, except proper names and words denoting living creatures, are transferred to the a-declension. Except for these feminines that survive there is only one declension, the a-declension, nouns in -i, -u, -r, etc. being adapted to it by the addition of -a.

§ 52. The case terminations are:

Sing. | Pl.
---|---
Nom. Acc. | -a | -a sometimes -e
Instr. | -ena | |
Dat. | (-ae aya) | -ehi
Abl. | -ade (āde) | |
Gen. | -āsa (asya) | -ana (-anāṃ, -ānāṃ)
Loc. | -anmi, occasionally -e | -esu

§ 53. Sing. Nom. Acc. The -a of the nominative accusative is the original accusative. Final -anī became -a, as in the Gen. Pl. -ana, whereas -as became -e (§ 12). The nominative must have originally been -e in the dialect, but such forms as do occur are merely irregularities of spelling, e.g. durbhale 40, paṭevare 164, parikreye 401. Compare avaśe 345, 437 for avaśa=avaśyam.

A nominative accusative sign in -o occurs sometimes. Regularly in the case of gerundives: dadavo, kartavo. Forms in -avya and -avo are used side by side indiscriminately. The former is presumably due to Sanskritising. Possibly -anī became -o after v, instead of -a, as elsewhere. We also find jīvo, and tuvām ‘thou’ becomes tuo. Other forms in -o occur sporadically which cannot be so explained. They are probably due to the influence of Sanskrit or another Prakrit: lamgho ‘lame’ 106, arogīyo 161 (usually arogi), vartamano 164 (usually vartamana), prathamadaro 165, rajadar 579, ekago 296, grahito 359, jivamto 646, putro, praputro, nātiyo 437 (but see Index, s.v.). Further forms which frequently have -o are aprameyo and apramego, namakero
=namaskārya, manasikaro. As a variant of -o we find -u in
toṣu 373 = doṣām.

The suffix -aṇa tends to become -ae in the nominative accusative (§§ 8, 16): kiṭae, dita, gita, thavastae, namatae. -aṇe in
culaṇe 117 = Pali cullaka is presumably just a way of writing
-aye, -ae (cf. § 16). Occasionally this -ae is further modified
into -e: saṣavamṇe ‘scout’ = saṣavamṇae (aṇa), bhātare
‘master’ 147, athove ‘serviceable’ 367 = atθovae, -aṇa, kuḍe 164
= kuḍaṇa ‘boy’, namate 476 = namatae ‘cloth’, šune 17 = šunaka
‘dog’, vaṭhaye 189 = vaṭhayaṇa.

§ 54. Sing. Instr. The instrumental presents no remarkable
features. It probably never becomes -ina (cf. § 1) except in
pronominal forms: tiṃma, kiṃma. Parihaṣina 279 can alter-
natively be read parihaṣena. Nor does it ever appear shortened
to -eṇa.

§ 55. Sing. Dat. Except in infinitives the dative is rare. It
had obviously died out in the popular speech. We find posa-
thakaṇaya in 489 yo bhīṭu posathakaṇaya nanvarṣeyati,
‘Whichever monk shall not conform to the rite of fasting’,
which is obviously imitated from the language of the religious
texts. Also one or two compounds with -artha: prahuḍarthaṇa
‘for the sake of a present’, maghalartaya 221 ‘for the sake of
good luck’; oartha and oarthaṇi are used in the same way.
prahuḍartha, khadamnarthi 212, puṃnarthi 345. avamicae ‘on
loan’ is probably = apamityaka, āpamityaka (Arthaśāstra, II,
13. 1, 6) rather than apamityāya.

§ 56. Sing. Abl. is always in -ade = Pkt. -do: gothade,
nagarade, bhumade, Caḍodade, Calmadanade, etc. The long a is
sometimes expressed: Nināde 637, Puṣgariyade 660. There are
no forms in -ama = asmāt. The words avasama and hastama are
nominative singulats (see Index, s.v.).

§ 57. Sing. Gen. The genitive is in -aṇa, perhaps = -aza,
cf. § 22. But it is never found written -ajha; -asya is often
restored in writing through the influence of Sanskrit: Lāṃsuṣasya
163, Tamjakaṣya 541, Koldhiṣasya 159, etc.
§ 58. Sing. Loc. The usual ending is -ə́ṃni: avānə́ṃni, kalaṃni, cḥunə́ṃni, rayadvarə́ṃni, goṭhaṃni, thanə́ṃni, hastə́ṃni, divasə́ṃni, hemaṇtə́ṃni, etc.
-e occurs in samvatsare, maṣe, divaṣe used in dating formulas, elsewhere very rarely: haste 117, 140; -i: rayadvari 46. (This may be adjectival, § 75.)

The non-Indian saste ‘day’ forms a locative in sastehi 442–656. The same form occurs in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from N.W. India.

It is also inflected in the usual way: sasteə́ṃni 329, etc. tivasehi 655 is written on the analogy of sastehi.

§ 59. Pl. Nom. Acc. There is no distinction between the nominative and the accusative plural. They are usually identical in form with the nominative accusative singular. Thus -a 46: mahatva vivada pruchitaṃti ‘The magistrates examined the dispute’, 506 ede śramaṇa, etc.; in -ae: 293 avi ca yo parasitaevi Čaḍotiye ‘The Čaḍotans who were carried off’, Koṅgisasaṃṇi Supiye gadaya mamtreṭi ‘He says the Supis have come to K.’, 506 ede śramaṇa Kuhaniyāde na aidae huanṭi ‘These śrāmanas have not come from the capital’; -aṅga: 180 potaṅga dui mṛtaṃti ‘two young (animals) died’, 27 catu kisorāga ‘four colts’. Gerundives in -o: ede uta cavala Lpīpeyaṣa hastə́ṃni Calma-daṇṇaṃni viṣajidavo ‘These camels must quickly be sent to C. in the hand of Lpīpeya’, etc.

§ 60. There is a plural in -e which is regularly employed in the case of the suffix -i and the native suffix -emci, -imci. Examples: rajiye jamna 272 (Acc.), gramiye 271, Čaḍotiye 326, kilmeciye ‘belonging to the district of’, 152, 271, etc., Yave-aṅanemciye 401, klasemciye (a kind of official) 562, Saciṃciye 160, seniye ‘soldiers’, 1. 397, 478, Supiye 109, 119, etc. *vanī out of vanij- forms its plural in the same way, vaniye agamiṣyati 35. This plural is not applied indiscriminately to all bases in -i. We never find *sachiye for instance as plural of saṭhi ‘witness’ but saṭhi according to the general rule. Similarly gavi = ‘cow’ and ‘cows’.

Sometimes we find -i in the plural instead of -iye, following the general rule, e.g. 305 Calmatə́ṃci aṃna dərṣitaṃti ‘The
people of C. packed the corn', Tsegeci 505, kilmeci 632, rajj janna 272 side by side with rajjye janna; also 639 yatha atra ogu ajjurakaśa kilmeci Çaṭotiye imade gachamti 'That there the Çaṭotans belonging to the district of the ogu Ajjuraka go from here', 32 tatra bahuve Çaṭoti Parvatiye sachi 'There many Çaṭotans from the mountains are witnesses'. The last two examples are illustrative of the rule that of nouns and adjectives in apposition only the last is inflected. Similarly Krorainci manmuṣana 370.

There is a plural -iya (=i, § 9) in 324 Supiya...agaṭamti 'The Supi's came'.

Other plurals in -e occur without it being possible to make any definite rules. Most commonly when preceded by r: gothadare 362, 371, 475, 506, 528, 735, dranghadhare 'officials' 554, dranghadhare 107, lehare 'letter carriers' 109, 376, bhradare 195, prahare 'blows' 209, 462, etc. (also prahara 187, 204).

The plural avasīṭhe 'remaining' is always in -ė. Similarly sīthe 305, 519.

Further examples are utavale 562 (side by side with utavala), thamavamte 468, mahanmte 160, bahuve canmme 180 (=j- 'young ones'), vrde 326, ṣadavide 580, kilane 'sick' 414, nave 338, padatale (namasyati) 696, khamje ('lame?') 156, manmuṣe (Acc.) 130.

The -e is now and again written -eya: spasavanmneya 522, mahatveya 580, rajadaraya 582.

Instead of -e, -i is sometimes written: avaradhi 358, cori 676, avasīṭhi 63, sarwi 279, mahanmti 303, bahuvi 351, yatmi (kind of official) 349, purimi 140.

§ 61. Traces of the neuter plural in -āni occur rarely, chiefly in introductory formulas of which the style tends to be influenced by Sanskrit, e.g. bahukodiṣatasahasrani, rajakaryani 272, ṣadani 133, karyani 161; vaḍaviyani 212 looks like the erroneous application of this termination to a feminine stem.

§ 62. Plurals which have nothing to correspond to them in Prakrit occur in -amca and -eyu.

(a) The plural in -amca was pointed out by Prof. Thomas in J.R.A.S. (1927), p. 544. Examples: ašpaṁca 387, 681, ṣaḍamca
85, dajhamca 133, pataucha 660, bhumaucha 366, 713, utamcha 681, utaca (with omission of anusvāra) 387, mahatvaucha 696, paśumaucha 683.

(b) The native word pake (= ?) forms its plural in pakeyu. These two forms are explained out of Tocharian in J.R.A.S. (1935), p. 673.

§ 63. The Pl. Instr. Abl. -ehi is rarely met with: putra dhidarehi (sadha) 450, sarvehi sadena bhavidavya 702. There is no certain instance of its being used in an ablative sense. At 12 taḡastehi varidavo it might be an ablative, only the meaning of taḡasta is quite unknown.

§ 64. Pl. Gen. bhratarana, cojahoana, paśavana, manusana, etc. The sign of length is sometimes written əsatayukāna 399, cojahoana 107. Under the influence of Sanskrit we find it written -anām, bhratarānām 162 and -anām, bhataraṇānām 140, 162, opramananām 140, priyadarṣanānām 126, 140, sampujitanām 140, 162, cojahoanām 576.

§ 65. The Pl. Loc. presents no abnormal features: utiyeśu, gotheśu, drangeśu, nagaresu, nīmāṃtreśu, paśvošeṣu, parvateśu, prītheśu, musgeśu.

§ 66. Their knowledge of Sanskrit has induced the writers to put in a dual occasionally: padēbhyam (Dat.) 288 with the e of the plural, pateyo 722, padayo 34, 97, 133, pādeyo 498 = pādayoh.

§ 67. Except for words denoting living creatures old feminines tend to be transferred to the a-declension. Examples: ratrāṃmi 415 ‘by night’, velāṃmi 637; simāṃmi 163, 367 may be from simā- or simā--; devataṣa, siṃataṃmi 576. Similarly feminines in -i: pritiyena, etc. (§ 70).

The feminine terminations occur sometimes as well: ratriyae 370, veḷa veḷaya ‘from time to time’ 358, 371, paṃadīṣaya 90 side by side with purvadiṣade.

The form is always used in dutiye = *dūtyayā in the phrase dutiye gam- ‘to go as an envoy’, and more commonly in ajeṣamne = adhyeṣanayā ‘at the request of’ (also ajeṣamnena). Preservation is to be expected in fixed formulas.
§ 68. The suffix -i has become the sign of the feminine. Of old feminines in -ā only bharya ‘wife’ is regularly retained as a feminine; Nom. Acc. bharya, Instr. Gen. Loc. bharyae. No plural forms are found. The only feminine from which quite a number of inflected forms occur is uti ‘a female camel’. The forms are Nom. Acc. uti, Gen. Instr. Loc. utiae, Nom. Pl. uti, Gen. Pl. utiyana, Loc. Pl. utiyešu. As will be seen the masculine forms are attached in the plural. Other nouns in -i are stri (striae, strie, striyana), bhaṭariyae 756, vaḍavi ‘mare’, vaḍaviyae 600, vaḍaviyana 600, kuḍi, kuḍiyae ‘girl’, devi, deviyae, dajhi ‘slave-girl’, mahuli, prithivi. From adjectives and participles the feminine is always in -i where Sanskrit and Prakrit have -ā. There is a similar tendency in Apabhraṃśa. Examples: uniti= unniṭā, gilani ‘sick’, śpeti ‘white’. The -i is perhaps partly out of -iḥa, cf. § 16.

Feminine nouns in -r are adapted to this declension, e.g. Nom. Acc. madu, Gen. etc. maduae, śvasu, priyaśpasuae 316, dhitu, dhitue 416. In the dvandva putradhidarehi 450 there is a different treatment.

Instead of -ae the genitive is sometimes in -e in nouns ending in -i and -u, e.g. strie 209, madue 450, dhitue 416. This is due to analogy, strie is to stri as bharyae is to bharya. But compare also the similar treatment of the suffix -ae (§ 53), which cannot be explained in this way.

§ 69. Feminine proper names are distinguished from ordinary nouns in that the -ae of the oblique cases is transferred to the nominative, so that there is no distinction of case at all, e.g. 39 yatha edeśa dajhi Cimikae nama ‘They have a slave-girl called Cimika’.

Nominatives in -a are found rarely: 415 sa striya Tsina; Sarpina 279, Supriya 621, Konuma 46. Very rare is the nominative in -ae other than in proper names: 157 mahi bharya... jivamtiyae asti.

As a result of this we even once or twice find genitives in -aśa: Suṭaśa 117, Cataroyaeṣa 399.

The -ae is appended to native names in -o: Kuviñoae, Kacoae, Kroeae, Camoae, Pitoae, Yasoae, Laroae, etc.
GRAMMAR

Corresponding to genitives like strie, madue, we find nomi-
natives in -oe: Koloe, Camtanoe, Tsordhoe, Pitoe, Suqoe. Simi-
larly Sarvavāre. Conversely we find -aee on the analogy of
-oae: Cakorvāae 279, Tiltutamaae, Namlgaae, Puñalajhaae,
Lṛipimttsaee, Sāganāpaae, Sāgapcacaee, Sarpiśaee, Sālwvāae. Or
we may be dealing with native bases on -ā to which the termina-
tion was added, as always in native bases like Yāso-ae, Lḥipe-
y-āsā.

§ 70. Nouns in -i are transferred to the a-declension by
appending the terminations -aśa, -ena, etc. to the stem in -i.
Nom. -i, Instr. -iyena, Gen. -iyaśa, Loc. -iyaṃmi, Nom. Pl. -i,
sāchi, are treated in the same way. The nominative accusative
(singular and plural) may also be written -iya though less
frequently. The genitive singular may be -iśa (as in Pali and
Prakrit), but in the other cases the fuller forms are always used.
Examples: paṭhi (=bali), paṭhiyasa 725, paṭhiśa 162, 508,
paṭhiyena 42, dīthi (Nom. Pl. measure of length), khi (Nom.
Sing. and Pl.; also khiyi 186), Saṃgarāchisyā n.pr., sācī,
saṭhiyena, saṭhiyana. Originally feminine: priti, pritiyena,
anatīyade (cf. the treatment of nouns in -ā, § 67). Occurring
only in the nominative: prahuni (‘garment’), sali ‘brother-in-
law’ (but Skt. syāla-), vacari (‘jar’?), mukeśi, vināni, saṃni, pratyti.

Nouns originally in -ya, -iya are not distinguishable from
nouns in -i: muli, muliyena, muliyammi, asiyade, arogi, Dhamapri,
etc. Similarly -iya in bīti ‘2nd’, bītiyasa and bītiṣa. The proper
name Saṃgaśri makes its genitive Saṃgaśṛṣa in 419 (i.e.
Saṃgaśriṣa, cf. § 5).

§ 71. Nouns in -u are treated in exactly the same way as
those in -i. Examples: masu ‘wine’, masuvena, masuṣa, masusya,
masuṣa, masuṣammi; vasu (a title), Gen. Pl. vasuṇana, vasuṇana;
bhiṣu, bhiṣusya; hetu, hetuvena. Only in Nom. Acc.: lahu,
vastu, tanu ‘own’, manyu, vaṭhu (= ?). The nominative is never
extended to -uṇa, as -i to -iya. The genitive in -usya is much
more frequent than -uṣa. The word paṣu preserves some old
forms. Quite according to type are Gen. Sing. paṣuṣa, Loc. Pl.


DECLENSION

paśuvesu 568. But we find paśava in the Nom. Pl. (paśu is also plural 519)=paśavah, whence further a Gen. Pl. is formed, paśavana 315, 584. paśuna 725 seems to be a Nom. Pl., cf. also paśunamaça, § 62; bahu is sometimes plural, e.g. 430, but it also makes its plural in bahūve (vi) presumably out of bahave=bahavah, with the -u from the singular. But perhaps the analogy of sarve is responsible for the -e here, since we never find *paśave.

§ 72. Other bases. On feminines in -r see § 68. From pitr we have Nom. Acc. Sing. pita, more usually pitu, Gen. pitusya 109 (text -vya), Nom. Pl. pitara. From bhrāty, Nom. Acc. bhrata and bhratu, Nom. Pl. bhatara and bhatare, Gen. Pl. bhratarana, bhratuana 157, priyabhratrea 159 (case?); priyajamata. There are no agent nouns in -tr.

From -an bases taksan ‘a carpenter’ is expanded into tačhamna. Usually the -n is simply dropped and they are inflected as -a bases. mahatva ‘magistrate’=mahātmā, Gen. mahatvoṣa. Neuters: bhuma, -aṣa, -aṃmi; śirṣa, śirṣaaṣa (589, cf. the proper names in -aṣa, § 73); namena; posathakaṃaya.

-ant bases are enlarged to -aṃta except mahā- in compounds, maharaya, mahəcojho 259 beside mahānta cojho 161, etc. Examples: mahāntaṣa, jayaṃta ‘victorious’, jayaṃtasa, araṃta, Puṃṇaṃvanta, Viryavaṃda.

Śirasa in the phrase śirasa viṃśaṃvemi is an isolated example of the consonantal declension, no doubt due to the influence of Sanskrit. We get the regular treatment in manasaṃmi; manasiyaṃnmi 399 is a result of confusion between manasi and manasaṃni.

From śarat we have Loc. saratammi ‘in Autumn’.

Dhamuṣ ‘bow’ is declined as a -u base: dhammuṇena 190.

§ 73. Native names (and words) are treated in the same way as Prakrit words in -i,-u; e.g. in -i,-u: Cādihi, Cādhiya, Cādihyaśa, Tami, Tamiyaṣa, Piṭi, Piṭiṣa, Saṃghuti, Saṃghutiṣa, Suṇi, Suṇiya, Suṇiyaṣa, Suṇiṣa, Suṇiyena, Yonu, Yonuṣa, Yonuṣa, Lpiṃsu, Lpiṃṣoṣasya, Lpiṃsuṣa, Larsi, Larsu, Larsuṣa, Larṣuṣa. Similarly in -o and -e: Tamcgo, Tamcgoaṣa, cojho, cojhoṣa, cojhoaṃ, Cgit, Cgitouṃ, Cgitoyena. In names in -e the extended form -eya of the nominative is more common than
the simple -e: L̥haipya and L̥haipê. That is no doubt because in the Prakrit they wrote parikreya niĉeya, etc. for what they pronounced (and sometimes wrote) parikre niĉe. No doubt L̥haipê is the real native form. Examples: Maś̥diĉe, -eya, -eyasa, -eyena, Caule, Cauleya, Caulesa, Parsuçe, -eya, -eyasa, -esa. As in nouns in -i, -u shorter forms occur for the genitive: -esa, -osa, -isa, -usa, beside -eyasa, etc., but not for the other cases. Names in -a declined -aena, -aasa, etc. possibly contain long ā (cf. feminines in -a, -ae, § 69): Câcāaṣa, Craamaena, Tamâçaasa, -aena, Tamâspaasa, Tuṣânaaṣa, Tsuģɛšlaaṣa, Motēkaaṣa, Šakaaṣa.

**SUFFIXES**


The feminine corresponding to -aṅga is -i (=ika): ṣpedaṅga: ṣpeti, bhaṭaraṅga : bhaṭari, jivamdaṅga : jivanti, kuḍaṅga : kuḍi.

When added to past participles in -ta they have a passive meaning, while the simple -ta is used as the 3rd person of the preterite: dita ‘he gave’, ditaṅga, dite ‘given’.

The form -ae for -aṅga is much commoner in participles than elsewhere.

§ 75. The suffix -i. Adjectives are made from nouns by substituting -i for the -a of the nominative accusative: Caḍoti ‘belonging to C.’, Khotamni, Parvati, samvatsari palpi ‘the year’s tax’, masuvi ṣothaṅga 272 ‘The ṣothaṅga (an official) connected with masu (wine)’, ghriti paṣu, caṇali paṣu 613 ‘small cattle consisting of goats’, goṭhi kama 298, rayadvəri mahatva 46, upaśamghi śrava 139, paruvarṣi ‘belonging to last year’,
SUFFIXES

rivarsī ‘belonging to the year before last’, catuvarsī and caura varsī ‘four years old’, vatsiya ‘possessing a calf’ (gavi) 676.

The -i is derived from -ika; the guttural was weaker in suffixes than elsewhere and would disappear (§ 16): sañwatsari palhi = sañwatsariko balīh. Such forms were originally vṛddhied, but vṛddhi has died out in the language except for one or two stereotyped or borrowed forms: vevatuğa ‘an object of (legal) dispute’.

§ 76. A suffix -tra is used three or four times to make abstracts from agent nouns: brahmacaritra (-ta) 399, kāmakaritra (-ta) 106, 130, kṛṣīvatra ‘cultivation’ (from kṛṣīva-la or =kṛṣīvāatra, cf. Index).

Formed with the same suffix is jañatra. It is used in the phrases jañātrenā da-, anī- which seem to mean ‘give, take in marriage’, e.g. 21 tam kalammi eṣa Cato śramana Sundarāśa dhitu Supriya nama bharya anīta cañātrena ‘At that time this śramana Cato took as wife the daughter of Sundara called Supriya, cañātrena’. The sense seems to require ‘with the proper marriage ceremony, in legal marriage’ or something like that. There is considerable difficulty in establishing a uniform reading, but ǒtra seems to be the best attested. We find 474 jañātriṣena v.l. jañāvīṣena, 418 jañāṭovena v.l. jañātrena, 555 jañātrena v.l. jañāvōena, 621 cañātrena.

§ 77. Native suffixes. -e(m)ci, -i(m)ci, -ci is used in making adjectives from place-names: avānamci, Kroraimci, Calodenci, Calmatamci, Calmandanemci, Tsakemci, Nimanci, Potgeci Bha-(tsa-)gase mc i, etc. Native words: kilmenći ‘belonging to the district of’, klašemci (some kind of official). It is rarely applied to Prakrit words: pāṃthaci masu 637, simici mahatva 436.

-ina appears commonly in native words: cuśālina (title), cilanđhina ‘shared’, pamlcarina, acoviṇna, koyimanađhina (an official connected with corn).
§ 78. First Person.

**Sing. Nom. ahu.** The explanation of the -u is difficult; -am usually becomes -a. We also find -u instead of -a in the Gen. Pls. amahu and tumahu.

**aham** is also written quite commonly, which is of course. Sanskritising. Also ahum (apya) 399.

Acc. not found.

**Gen. Dat. mahi (=mahyam), mama, 161.** Elsewhere mama is used as Nom. or Acc., e.g. 139 mama aroğımi ‘I am well’, 524 yatha mama Śristeyāṣa paride srutemi ‘As I have heard from Śriste’, 164 iṣa mama prochanṭi ‘Here they ask me’.

**Instr. maya 16, 328, 331, 661.** At 329 it is used as Gen.: maya maharayaṣa padamulammi.

Loc. not found. mayi 661=mahi (cf. § 28).


There also occur asmehi 370 and asmabhī 585; asmaṅga 713=asmākam. In 86 we find asmaṅgema: Casminenavisajideśi asmaṅgema caragena ‘You have sent Casmina our spy’. The Instr. is often confused with the Nom. Acc. as here, so that asmaṅgema has nothing to do with the Vedic inflected asmāka ‘our’. Loc. and Instr. forms do not occur; asmehi 370 is Gen. from the context.

§ 79. Second Person.

**Sing. Nom. tuo (Vedic tuvām; for the -o cf. § 53).** tu at 63 may be just careless writing.

The form tuo is used apparently as an Instr. with gerundives, e.g. 113 tatra tuo piṅita cita kartavo ‘There by you expressly attention must be made’ (cf. Index Verb.). The form tuo naturally cannot=tvaya. On the confusion of Nom. and Instr. cf. §117.

Instr. does not occur. taya 430 is taken as=tvaya in the Index Verb. Read probably tapataya ‘immediately’ for ta(thā) taya. The Loc. also does not occur. Gen. tahi on the analogy of mahi=mahyam (tehi dahi). Also tusya, tuṣa with the nominal
PRONOUNS

-sya. tusya is used as a Nom. at 157 tusya...udağa bamnidesi 'you blocked up the water'. tava occurs once: 161 tava paride. tomi=tava...mi (see Index). The enclitic forms me and te are not used.

PLURAL. Only Gen. forms occur: tumahu (cf. amahu) with t- from the singular as always in Middle Indian. Other forms are tusmahu, tusmağa 399, tumakam 140. The forms are of course artificial, otherwise we should have *tusmahu, etc. Quite isolated is yuşme: 519 avı tusya pitu Suguta yuşme agrata uğa atha aspa pratişruta 'And your father Suguta in front of you promised a camel and a horse’. The reading is not certain: yuşmu and yuşma are given as variants.

§ 80. sa-, ta-.

SING. NOM. Masc. se with -e regularly developed out of -as (§ 12). It is sometimes written şe, which indicates that the s was voiced owing to its being unaccented; so occurs rarely, 198, 337. Fem. sa; Neut. tam. Since nouns do not distinguish masculine and neuter tam is only used when it stands by itself, e.g. 283 tam vismaridavya 'That must be forgotten'.

Acc. Masc. Fem. Neut. ta=tam, tăm, e.g. 582 ta bhuma praceya 'concerning that land'; 415 ta striya...ağajhidamti 'They carried off that woman'. Unlike nouns the pronoun distinguishes Nom. and Acc. but there are occasional confusions, e.g. 625 se is Acc.: şe kuđaga Lpimimnaşa gothade Khotamniye paraşa kritamti 'The Khotanese carried off that boy from the farm of Lpimimna'.

INSTR. Masc. tena. Abl. tade 140. Usually the form stands by itself=tatah 'thereupon'; tasma- only in tasmarta 'for that reason'.

GEN. taşa, tasya, with suffix -emi: taşemi 'of the very...' 491, 578. Fem. taya: tae 415, tayă 383.

LOC. The Loc. seems to be in te in the phrases te bhumammi...eśvari huda (222) 586, te masu šaṭammi 'in that vineyard'; cf. 571, 572, 582, 587, 654, 715. In the phrase tam kalammi, which occurs frequently, tam may either be abbreviated out of the Loc. *tammi or it may be a compound=tatkale, which is more probable. Compare also tam karanma 335=tatkāranat
(also tena karamna). tomi, in 123 tomi divasaśmi is used as the equivalent of the Loc. Sing., otherwise it seems to be=tava. tatra, tatremi are used instead of the Loc. Sing., e.g. tatrimi desaśmi 55, tatremi rajaśmi 40.

PL. NOM. ACC. te.

GEN. teśa, tešan, with suffix -emi: teśemi. Also tana 579, 655. taśa 514 is a mixture of teśām and tāsām; in tana 655 the ordinary nominal termination is used.

LOC. teśu.

§ 81. eṣa-, eta-.

SING. NOM. eṣa for all genders.

ACC. eda. eda is rarely used as a Nom.: 140 eda vikridavo, 309 eda anma na anidae ‘this corn has not been brought’. In the phrases yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati ‘When this wedge-seal comes there’ (yahi eda anati lekha... 272) and eda vivada... pruchi-davo ‘This dispute is to be examined’ eda always occurs and never eṣa. On the other hand in the common phrase heading legal documents, eṣa lekha (lihitāga, pravāmaṇaṇa) ... anada dharidavo ‘This document is to be carefully preserved’, eda does not occur. So perhaps in eda kilamudra and eda vivada we have a kind of Tatpuruṣa compound, ‘A wedge-seal about this (matter), the dispute about this’.

eṣa is used as an Acc. in 714 eṣa Tśugeta atra viṣajidemi ‘I have sent this Tśugeta there’, 721 eṣa Danutreya atra viṣajidama.

The pronoun is not inflected in the oblique cases when used attributively, e.g. 52 eda parikrayade, 140 eda karyami, 255 eta bhumaṇa, 431 eda masuṣa, etc.

GEN. Masc. eṭaṣa, edaṣa (-ṣya); Fem. etaya 331.

PL. NOM. ACC. eda for all genders (eda vadaṇi 212). eda is plural at 195 eda bhradare. As in the singular ede is not inflected when used attributively, e.g. 55 ede khula utana, 310 ede manmuṇaṇa, 187 ede bhradaran, etc.

GEN. edeṣa, eteṣa; edana occasionally, 113 (?), 187. In 478 edeṣana has a double termination.

§ 82. i-, ima-.

SING. VOC. iyo, yiyo (printed śiśo, see Index Verb.) =iyan. This is more probable than idaṁ because intervocalic d is not
omitted in the dialect. On the initial yi- see § 32. It is not common, being used only in the phrase iyo (yiyoy) pravamnaga ‘this document’. itam=idad is likewise in these phrases itamca lihitiga 355, etc. The -ca is always added without having any meaning of its own.

Acc. ima 345. se śramana ima cora mānmusa...Larsuṣa dita ‘The śramana gave this thief man to Larsu’ 291, 506. The Acc. is not very common. Like eda, ima is used as a stem form in apposition with oblique cases: 162 ima varṣami, 236 ima ṣaradammi. Also in compounds like ima varṣi ‘this year’s’.


§ 83. ka-.

Only found in the Nom. Masc. ko, Neut. ki, kim. It is not found used as an interrogative but only as a relative=‘whatever’, e.g. 209 ko...paścina amnyatha ičeyati karaṃnnae ‘Whoever afterwards should wish to do otherwise’, etc.; 541 kim tade paṇḍivati siyati ‘Whatever news shall be from there’.

kimna, which is Īnstr. in form, =Pkt. kiṇa (cf. Pischel, § 428), is used as a Nom. 609 kimna atra na esati ‘Whoever shall not come there’. It has an interrogative sense in 86 na taḥa janami kimna pravamnaga atra ginnidavo ‘I do not know what document is there to be taken’. This is a case of the usual confusion of Īnstr. and Nom. Unexplained forms are kamita, 169 kamita maṣa divāṣa ghrida prace anati lekha atra gachiṣati tam kala... ‘On whatever month or day a letter of command shall come about the ghee, at that time...’ (=kāmita ‘whatever you please?’), and kema, 160 yo atra kema hasta lekha uḍaṇa bhiṣasa prace...hačhati, taḥa margidavo ‘Whatever hand-letter may be concerning seed and water, so you must seek’. Kema seems to =kaći in the common phrase yo kaći ‘whoever’. Initial k- is certainly not different from k. All words with initial k- are variants of forms with k (cf. Index Verb.). kema occurs in Apabhramśa=katham, but that meaning does not suit here.

§ 84. kaścit ko pi, etc.

Sing. Nom. kaći, i.e. kaści. Once koci 437:161 yo tava kačipuna isagamisyati ‘Whoever shall come...’; 437 yo ca koci paścina kalaṃmi maṇṭra uthaveyati ‘Whoever at a future time shall
upset this ruling’. Neut. kimci: 335 nevi adeh kimci šrudama ‘We have not heard anything from there’; 106 kaṃmakaritra na kimci kareti ‘He does not do any work’; 260 puna vivada kimci siyati ‘(If) again there shall be any dispute’; 31 yesa samcaya kimci tatra mamtra siyati ‘Of whom there is doubt (whether) there is any ruling on that point’; 17 tade kimci kimci Maṣṭhiṅe Papyrus sa ca giḍati ‘M. and P. took from that little by little’.

imci in the phrase na imci ‘not at all’ (also ma imci) is out of kimci. The omission of the k is due to its being attached enclitically to na (ma). On the liability of k to be dropped in certain positions of weak stress cf. § 16.

Gen. kasya ci: 709 na kasyaci mamtra asti.

Pl. Nom. keči with the e erroneously adapted from the singular. kimca, 377 na kimca tritha ‘nothing has been seen’, is perhaps just miswritten for kimci.

kopi occurs only 198 kopi varaga syati so...isa anidavo. The text should be read ko pivaraga syati ‘whichever shall be fat’. kikama ‘whatever’ = *kim kāmam in the phrase kikama karaniya syati ‘whatever is to be done’.

§ 85. ya-.

Sing. Nom. Acc. yo for all genders: 136 yo athovaṛa palayam- 

naṛa mamnaśa syati ‘What serviceable fugitive man there may 

be’; 157 yo mahi bharya iṣa gilani ‘My wife who (was) ill here’; 

106 yo iṣa kaṃmakaritra vithiḍaṇa huati ‘The work that has been 

put off here’; 126 yo adehi sasavaṁme Pagō iṣa viśarjīdetu ‘The 

scout Pagō whom you sent here’; 140 (āṃna)...yo iṣa paṭichid-

dama ‘The corn which we received here’. yo is also occasionally 

used for the plural: 271 yo asmahu atra Cāḍodāmi kilmećiye, 

tahi sarvabhavena jheniṅa (siy)amti ‘The people of our district 

who are there in Cāḍota, let them be under your care by all 

means’; 165 yo puna tahi karyani hačaṃti ‘What affairs of 

yours shall be again (=in the future).

When followed by ca we usually have yam instead of yo, 

e.g. 140 yo āṃna...yam ca āṃna, 370 yam ca viṁṇavemi; 621 yo 
puna edaṣa putra’ddhara yam ca daśi ‘What sons and daughters 

(there are) of him and what slave-girls’ (daśi may be either 
singular or plural).
PRONOUNS

Occasionally the ca has no meaning of its own, e.g. 517 ede jamna tade omāga isa aniṣyatu, yam ca teṣa jāmnaṣa śītha, tuo pādīchisyatu ‘(If) you bring these people here less (than the proper number), what penalty there is for those people, you will receive it’. Apart from this yam is only used in the phrases yam vela, yam kala, yam kalammi; compare tam kala, tam kalammi (§ 80).

yo is probably out of yam, rather than yah or yad, because the yam is preserved in the combination yam ca, where it was treated as in the interior of a word. Final -am usually became -a. Exceptions have been noticed in the case of -vam (§ 53). Perhaps am tended to become o after y too. Compare iyo = iyam. Also we find writings such as arogiyo 152, etc. beside arogi. On the other hand svayam always becomes sveya or sve.

INSTR. yena as an adverb = ‘so that’: 272 yena raja karyani na imci sīśila bhavisyāṇti.

GEN. yasya.

Pl. Nom. ye (also yo above).

GEN. yeṣa.

§ 86. svayam appears sveya, sve 193, sveyam eva 22, svaya 709.

From ātman- we have apane = atmanah: 139 tuo apane acovina pādīvāvō ‘You must yourself examine the acovina (=?)’. Transferred to the a-declension, apanasya: 201 apanasya kritaṅga ‘your own deeds’. But the passage is fragmentary and the reading doubtful.

The old reflexive tanu- ‘self’ has taken on the meaning of ‘own’. The meaning belongs properly to the derivative adjective tanuvāga ‘belonging to the self’. The simple tanu is used in the same way, e.g. 165 tuo sōtaṃga Lpiveya tanu gothade vyosiṣati ‘You, sōtaṃga Lpiveya, shall pay it from your own farm’. Most usually, however, tanu is a noun meaning ‘property’: 326 Kaṃaya ni goṭha grhavaṣa amahu pitupitamaṅga tanu ‘Kaṃaya’s farm and residence are inherited property of us’, etc.

Tanuwaka is also found in the inscriptions of N.W. India (Taxila scroll, Kurram). It is preserved in the Dardic languages, e.g. Torwali tanu ‘own’. Grierson (Torwali, § 127) is wrong in explaining it out of ātman.
§ 87. Pronouns expressing quantity are keti = Pkt. kettiya (Pischel, § 153). It is used in relative clauses, e.g. 17 Maṣḍhiṅe Pṛṛya ṣa ca ṣavattha ṣavidaṛya, keti edeṣa siyaṃti ‘M. and P. must swear on oath (stating) how many they have’; 73 eda paḍi, keti vithiḍaga siyati…iṣa viṣajidavo ‘This tax, however much has been held back, must be sent here’.

eti = ettiya: 439 pruḥidavo bhutartha eṣa eti drāṃga dharidae siyati ‘It must be enquired whether he has really held so many offices’. Skt. tati occurs once in the compound tativarsi: 570 garbhini uṭi bhagaṇa kirṣoṣa uṭi tativarsi Ṣaraṇeṇa vyoṣidavo ‘Ṣaraṇena must pay back, in place of the pregnant female camel, a kirṣoṣa (=?) female camel of as many years old’. With -dṛṣ are formed etriṣa, ketriṣa and yaḍṛṣa. The e- instead of Sanskrit i- is the usual thing in Middle Indian (Pischel, § 121).

§ 88. Adjectives declined pronominally are amṇa: Gen. Sing. amṇaṣa or amṇisya, Pl. amṇe. Gen. amṇesa, amṇesana 690 (cf. edeṣana, § 81), amṇana va 590, amṇamaṇṇana 357 = ‘one another’; paresa 509, 713; paroparasya, paroparaṇa ‘one another’; eka, ekisya 272; eke ‘some’ 468; sarvi ‘all’; -i is always used, not -e, in the Nom. Pl. Gen. Pl. sarvina 431–2. The same form occurs in the Wardak vase. Instr. sarvehi 702.

NUMERALS

§ 89. Figures are usually employed, but now and again the numerals, sometimes as well as the figures. The numerals that occur are:

1. eka, i.e. probably ekka as in Prakrit because the k is always written and not ṛ (except 709). In the plural eke means ‘some’. The ordinal is both prathama (pratama) and paḍama, just as prati- and paḍi are both used.

2. dui, dvi, due, tui, du = Skt. dve; as in the Veda it is disyllabic (cf. § 43). Ordinal: biti and dviti. diguna ‘twofold’ with irregular treatment of dvi- (§ 43).

NUMERALS

4. catu and caura. The omission of t in the latter form is unusual (§ 19). cohura seems to be '4' in 637 amña paśava 4 cohura, but the passage is difficult. Ordinal: caturtha. The t is never omitted in this form.

5. pamca, pamcama.

6. so. so is perhaps out of śva, cf. Av. xśvaś, etc., like soṭhamga and śvathamga (§ 7). Otherwise we should expect -a as in the other Prakrits. The ordinal is sodhama 110, 637. The dh may be just written for t (§ 15), in which case it is a new formation instead of saṣṭha-, made by adding -tama to so.

7. sata, satama. 8. atha, athama. 9. no, navama.

10. daśa, daśama, dasammi (ordinal locative).

11. ekadaśa 341 (ordinal).

12. badaśa, badaši 599 (ordinal).

13. trodasa = trayodaṣa. Otherwise in Middle Indian we have te = tre (terasa).

15. paṃcadaśa 489. As an ordinal: paṃcadaśammi 599 (locative).

18. aṭhadaśam (ordinal locative) 354.

20. viśati. 30. triśa. 40. capariśa.

42. du caparisa. 50. paṃcaśa. 70. satati.

90. novati, with o instead of a borrowed from no '9'.

100. sata. 110. daśutara sata. 1000. sahasra.

ADVERBS

§ 90. Any adjective may be used as an adverb: śigra, cavala 'quickly', piḍita 'taking pains', samuha, dura, bhutartha 'really'.

As elsewhere the instrumental is used in making adverbial expressions out of nouns: adhāmena 'illegally', sarvabhavena 'altogether'. There is further a tendency to apply this termination to indeclinables compounded with a preposition, e.g. anupurvena 'in front', savistrena 140. The correct Sanskrit forms are anupurvenam savistaram, etc., but later and incorrect texts reflect the state of things in the popular language, e.g. Matsya. P. 148. 65. sāvadhānenā; regularly in Apabhramśa, e.g. savisesem, savinaena, saviyappem, etc. in the Bhavisatta-kāha. As a result
of this sa appears practically as an independent word, e.g. tahi sa madue bharyae putra dhidarehi iša agamdao ‘You must come here with your mother, wife and children’. Similarly yatha dhāmena=yathādharmam. Whence yatha also is used almost like a preposition: 40 yatha purva rayadvari mahatoana vibhaśi-toğena ‘According to the former decision of the magistrates at the king’s court’.

§ 91. Individual Adverbs. atra ‘here’, avaśa=avaśyam; anada=‘carefully’. It is common in certain set phrases: eda vivada anada pručidavo ‘This dispute is to be carefully gone into’; avi śaṣa jivida paricaṇga anada račīdavya ‘Watch is to be kept carefully even at the expense of your life’; eša pravamnaṅga anada dharidavo ‘This document is to be preserved carefully’. In the last-mentioned phrase suha occurs as a synonym (569, 593) and suha=su ‘well’ (compare 419 suha vikrida with 587 suvikrida). For the etymology cf. the Index. ahuṇa=adhuṇa. The o might be due to an original particle u, i.e. *adhuṇa u. adehi ‘from there’; for the suffixed -hi cf. forms in Apabhramśa like anettahi=anyattra, etthahi=itah. anṛyatha ‘otherwise’. aṃra is used as a kind of particle introducing sentences=‘again, another thing’. ajakra=‘up till to-day’. itu and imade ‘hence’, iša ‘here’. The word occurs also in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India, instead of ia, iha in Asoka. Aśokan ia (S. and M. 6), i.e. iya for iha, became iša as described in § 17. upari ‘above’. tatra ‘there’. pača ‘behind’. patama=‘back’ (i.e. *pattama, cf. Torwali pat ‘back’ out of *patta-). patena occurs twice in the phrase patena stavidavo: 58 teṣa jamnaṣa sa stri tatiyemi patena stavidavya Pujo Lpipeyaṣa ca nidavo (cf. 63). The woman had been killed, so it cannot mean simply ‘restore’. We must translate then: ‘By those people that woman is to be made recompense for to such an extent (i.e. to the amount of her value) and (it) is to be taken by Pujo and Lpipe.’ puna, punu=punah. praṭha ‘forthwith’= *praṣṭham. prata=prātar. bahi, bahiyade ‘outside’. bhuya ‘again’, also bui, buo 377, and bhiyo=Pali bhīyyo 579. suṭha ‘well’ (suṭhu), but it must be out of *suṭham. sudha=‘only’, e.g. 272 sudha nagara račīdavya, avasīṭhe roji jamna oḍidavya
‘Only the city is to be kept, the rest of the people of the kingdom are to be abandoned’.

The suffix -mi, -emi is found commonly in adverbs (also after genitives of pronouns: tasyemi, tešemi). Examples: tatremi, atremi, išemi, tatiyemi (see above under patena), inthuami ‘so’ beside inthu.

PREPOSITIONS

§ 92. a=ā. 419, 549 ko a pačima kalammi codeyati. Against the explanation ko ca (Kharoṣṭhī Inschr. Index Verb.) c is never otherwise omitted. On the analogy of acamta, yava (see below), ā would take a locative, not an ablative, in this dialect. agratu (ta)=agrataḥ only 519, with the same meaning as purathida (see below). Sucamaša agratu, yušme agratu; yušme only occurs here, and what case is meant is uncertain (cf. § 79).

acamta. 253, 367 acamta Khotamnāvmi ‘as far as Khotan’.

abhyaḍara. 291 abhyadara kuhanīyaṇmi anisyaṃti ‘They will bring into the capital’.

karamna. 207 ima Aputasa karamna iša ichitaṃti marganae ‘They wanted to search this (man) on account of Aputa’.

pača. 144 taḍitaṇgade pāca ‘after the beating’.

patama=‘back’. 64 caṃkura Vajesasa imade anṭaṇi uṭa 4 Samarsade patama nikhalidavo Samarsade uṭa 4 dadavo Śunade patama nikhalidavo Śunade uṭa 4 dadavo Piṣaliyade patama nikhilidavo ‘From here the caṃkura Vajesa has 4 anṭaṇi camels, they are to be sent back from Samarsa (and) 4 camels are to be given from Samarsa, (these) are to be sent back from Śunna (and) 4 camels are to be given from Śunna, (these) are to be sent back from Piṣali’. The base *patta is common in the modern Dardic languages, cf. Torwali pat ‘back, behind’.

purathha, purathida ‘in the presence of’ (as witnesses). 322 eṣa lihitaga cojhabana Śitaka (Yi-) Vuktoṣa ca purathha ‘This was written in the presence of the cojha’s Š. and V.’; 592 eṣa lihitaga purathha mahatoṇa ‘In the presence of the magistrates’.

paride ‘from’. 11 edaṣa Apiṣae nama uneyaga prace Kungeyaṣa paride vivada ‘He has a dispute about an adopted girl called Apiṣae (adopted) from Kunge’. paride, which is very common always, takes the genitive and not the ablative.
practice 'concerning' = pratyayam takes either the stem or the genitive, e.g. 582 Yipiya ni bhuma practice 'concerning Yipi's land' and 579 Moğata ni bhumaṣa praceya. The word is borrowed into Saka in the form prracai. bhagena 'in place of,' 'on behalf of': 30 yatha Apiçoaṣa bhagena Tsegayənməni Tusaṇa thida tasa bhagena Khotənmi Kanasaga thida 'That Tusana stayed at Tsegə instead of Apiço and in place of him, Kanasaga of Khotan'. It is also used without a case meaning 'as a substitute': 19 isā tri Tamasyanae bhagena Yitasenaṣa khulona (==ana) vaṃṭi thida 'Here the woman T. stayed with the herds of Y. as a substitute' (or 'taking her turn').

Yava 'as far as'. 214 yava Khemənmə, 506 yava Tatigo Bhatraṣa ca agamanənmə 'Until the arrival of Tatigo and Bhatra'.

It does not take the locative in the expressions yava ajakra diwaṣa, yava jivo.

vaṃṭi = upānte. It is borrowed into Saka in the form bendā: 5 khulana vaṃṭi thidavo 'Must stay with the herds, in charge of the herds'; 621 esā... Asoğa ni kilmeci Catoveṣa vaṃṭi bala simaya āsisyati 'He used to dwell when young next door (simāyām) to Catove who belonged to the district of Asoka'; 39 teṣa vaṃṭi unida vardoḥida 'She was brought up with them'. It is frequently used in expressions of legal transactions: 579 tivira Ramaṣotaṣa vaṃṭi bhuma vikrida 'He sold land to the scribe Ramaṣota', etc.; 546 ou vāsu Bhimaṣenaṣa vaṃṭi garahisyama 'We will complain in front of the ou vāsu Bhimaṣena'. vaṃṭi is more frequently used of the person against whom an action is taken: 212 ahuno ede vaḍavi praceya edaṣa vaṃṭi pariḥaṣaṃtī 'Now they are making a claim against him about these mares'. Further examples of legal transactions: 551 eda kuḍi Pūṣena Bhasḍhaṣa vaṃṭi pariḥaṭṭa 'Pūṣa made an exchange with Bhasḍha of this girl (for another)'; 24 yatha edaṣa daṭjha Sarpiçova vaṃṭi Caule aṣpa ṛṇa nikhalati 'That Caule has a horse out on loan with his slave Sarpiço (or 'wants to take away a horse he has lent to...'). Frequently with the phrase asamna gam, which seems to mean 'take possession of': 425 eka bhettivaṣa vaṃṭi nasti danagrahaṭa asamna na [gaṁdavo] 'There shall be no giving or taking one from another and no assumption of
PREPOSITIONS

ownership’; cf. 260, 436, etc. samaho, samao='with'; compare Apabhrāṃśa samau=samatas. The omission of the t is unusual (§ 19), but might occur in a word like this which was weakly stressed. In that case the h must be regarded as simply indicating a hiatus: 326 tena samao, 164 sada storena jamna samaho ‘With our beasts and our men’. sardha, sadha (§9), the usual word for ‘with’, may be used with the instrumental, genitive, or simple stem. In the plural it is not found with the instrumental. It may be placed before or after its noun, more often after. Examples: 82 sardha valaṇena and valaṇena sardha ‘with a guard’, 425 kala Cūḍāpaṇa sardha, 516 Khotaniyana sardha, 632 bharya sadha, 83 Namtaśṛma sādha, etc.

VERB

§ 93. The personal endings are the same as in Prakrit except that side by side with the -ṣi of the 2nd singular there is a form in -tu which is used in all the three tenses, e.g. 399 sūtha na lamcaṇa karetu yadi kālihari karetu ‘Certainly you do not do rightly if you make a quarrel’; 439 puna ahuno rayaka govi picavidetu ‘Now again you have put the royal cattle in his charge’; 114 puna ahuno bhuya palṣi omāga viṣajīṣyatu avaṣa tanu goṭhade puna vyōṣisatu ‘(If) again now you send the tax less (than the proper amount) certainly you shall pay from your own farm’. The forms occurring are:

Present. arogetu ‘you are well’, ichatu, karetu, choretu 134, darsavetu 761, denatu, picavetu 439, prasavetu, margetu 399, viṁṇavetu, viṣojetu 247, śayatu ‘you seize, take’.


Future. agachisatu 634, dāsyatu 507, anisyatu 517, 554, odiṣatu ‘you will let go, allow’, karisyatu, nivartisyatu 634, paḍichisyatu 517, paribuṣiṣatu, labhīṣatu 635, vikriṣaṃtu 633, vithisyatu 165 ‘you will keep back’, viṣajīṣyatu 68, 145, 414, vyōṣiṣatu 714.

From a survey of the passages in which these forms occur it can be seen that they are always used of the actions of the person to whom the letter is addressed.

The -tu is probably taken from the 2nd person of the pronoun.
\textbf{GRAMMAR}

§ 94. The middle is not used except occasionally artificially: \textit{rucate} 585 = S. \textit{rocate} or Pali \textit{ruccati}, \textit{vam\text{\textacute{n}a}tade} = \textit{vandate} 669.

The passive is quite rare. It is used commonly in \textit{\text{\textgrave{u}}rayati} ‘it is heard’ and \textit{\text{\textgrave{u}}cati} ‘it is said’. The only other examples are \textit{parini\text{\textacute{y}amti} 399, lihyati 224, niyati 364} (possibly optative = \textit{neyati}), \textit{nikhalyati 743}.

§ 95. Outside \textit{asti} the only remnant of athematic conjugation is \textit{\text{\textacute{s}akoma} 161, 646}, which is used as a 1st person singular (= \textit{\text{\textacute{s}akomi)}). \textit{asti} is used as a strong affirmative and \textit{nasti} as a strong negative: 315 \textit{yava asti siyati} ‘As much as there is’; 272 \textit{yasa asti st(o)ra ha\text{\textacute{c}hati tade nikhalidavo} ‘Of whom there shall be a horse from him it is to be taken’; 714 \textit{yo asti pal\text{\textacute{p}i kareti, yo nasti dura nikhalidavo} ‘He who pays his tax (well and good), he who does not must be removed}; \textit{nasti}: 124 \textit{sa\text{\textacute{c}hi isa nasti hutamti} ‘There were no witnesses here’, cf. 161, 166, 326, 431}.

§ 96. Verbs in \textit{-ati}. It is not possible to tell whether verbs like \textit{janati} keep the long \textit{\text{\textacute{a}}} or have been fully adapted to the \textit{bhi} class; \textit{janati} may be either \textit{j\text{\textacute{n}\text{\textacute{n}}\text{\textacute{a}}}ti} or \textit{\text{\textacute{\text{\textacute{\textgrave{u}}}n}}}\text{\textacute{n}ati}.

Of interest is \textit{denati} ‘give’ for \textit{deti}, which also occurs. The \textit{na} is probably borrowed from the verb with the opposite meaning \textit{gr\text{\textacute{h\text{\textacute{n}}}\text{\textacute{a}}}ti}.

\textit{sth\text{\textacute{a}}} makes its present \textit{thiyamti} 358, compare Pali \textit{pati\text{\textacute{p}h}iyati ‘stands against, resists’}.

The old perfect \textit{\text{\textacute{\textgrave{a}}ha} receives the terminations of the present \textit{ahati} 345 ‘says’.

\textit{bhavati} regularly became \textit{hoti}. But more common is \textit{hoati}, which has been readapted to the system.

List of forms: \textit{avaja\text{\textacute{s}i} = \text{\textacute{\textgrave{a}}}padyase, ichati, game\text{\textacute{s}a}t (gave\text{\textacute{s}ate)}, garahati, coda\text{\textacute{n}t}, jivama, nan\text{\textacute{d}a}ti, namasyati, na\text{\textacute{y}a}ti, na\text{\textacute{s}a}ti, nikasati, nikhasati ‘goes away’, ‘is spent’, padichati, pari\textit{pruc\text{\textacute{h}}}ati, pariha\text{\textacute{s}a}t ‘claims’ (pari-bh\text{\textacute{a}}\text{\textacute{s}}, pr\text{\textacute{c}}h\text{\textacute{a}}t, bhavati, marati, m\text{\textacute{r}}\text{\textacute{y}}\text{\textacute{a}}ti, ma\text{\textacute{m\text{\textacute{n}}}a}ti, margamti, rucati, laha\text{\textacute{t}} (labhate), likhami, lihi, vako\text{\textacute{s}a}nti, vardh\text{\textacute{a}}ti, vaha\text{\textacute{m}t}, vija\text{\textacute{m}t} (vidhyanti), sam-\textit{\text{\textacute{\textgrave{e}}}hivati, sa\text{\textacute{m\text{\textacute{t}}}\text{\textacute{s}a}nti} (sam-di)\text{\textacute{\text{\textacute{\textgrave{u}}}s}}, harami, har\text{\textacute{a}}di}.

§ 97. Verbs in \textit{-eti}. As in the rest of the Prakrits \textit{-eti} is no longer a specifically causative suffix, its place having been taken
VERB 45

by -aveti. The regular terminations are -emi, -esi, -eti, -ema, -emti, but fuller forms also occur, presumably in imitation of Sanskrit: Sing. 1. viṁñaveyəmi 663, preṣeyami 269; Sing. 3. preṣeyati 25, etc., sampreṣeyati 288; Plur. 1. samviṁñaveyama 288, viṁñaveyama 259. These forms are identical in spelling (but not in pronunciation; the e must have been ə) with optatives formed from the same verbs and can only be distinguished by the context.

kṛ, as usually in Prakrit, is conjugated in this class: karemi, kareši, karemdi. Beside janami, janasi, we find janemi, janesi, as occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 510).

ārogya makes a denominative in this class: aroğemi, -etu, -ema; also -ama 721, -emti; arogyosmi 399 is an attempt to Sanskritise it, like gatosmi, etc. for gademi.


Cases of confusion between the two classes are rare: saṃtiśemi 127 (saṃtiśaṃti 703) = saṃ + diś, nikhalati 24, nikhalamana 189; viṁñaavatu 292. Probably the vowel-stroke has been omitted by carelessness.

§ 98. Practically no imperative forms occur. Outside hutu there is only dāvyatu, 3rd passive, 399 ma imci vṛta āta dāvyatu ‘Let not an old camel be given’. hutu (hutu) is common and is used for both singular and plural, e.g. 10 [sarvi] pruchitae hutu ‘Let all be asked’ and 244 aivi Pṛgeça āta 3 nita avasa jheniça hutu ‘And P. brought 3 camels, by all means let them be under your care’.

The reason for the practical loss of the imperative is that its place has been taken by passive constructions with gerundives in -avya.

§ 99. Future. set forms are practically universal. The only anit forms are sačhyami, sače 311, stasyati and dasyati (also deyiśati).

The a of iṣyati is sometimes marked long, so that possibly
it had been lengthened on the analogy of the optative: *asisyāti* 621 (ās-), *gachisyāti* 223, *dasyāti* 677.

Beside *-ami* of the 1st singular there are a few forms in *-a*: *gameśa* 372, *parimarśya* 368. They are not = Saur. *-issam* but mistakes; cf. *bhavisya* 109 = *bhavisyati*.

The ending *-isyati* (išati) is usually added to the present base, but we find *gamišati* beside *gachisyati*. There is no distinction as a rule between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*, e.g. *anaviṣyati* from *anaveti* ‘commands’, *oḥisyati* from *oṇeti* ‘lets go’. At the same time forms corresponding to *-avisyati* are found. These are no doubt artificial: *preṣeyiṣyasi* 399 (preśiṣama 288), *sodhyiṣyati* ‘will pay’ 635, *sodheyamādi* 272.


haṭhati, = Pkt. acchaī, is generally used as an optative, more rarely as a future: 352 *nīce haṭhati* ‘There will be a decision’.


§ 100. The optative has always the primary endings: *(-eyāmī), (-eyāṭi, -eyati, (-eyama), (-eyatha), -eyānti*. The long ā is sometimes written: *gṛheyāti* 320, *coteyāti* 582, *bhaveyāti* 678, *devānti* 437. From the last example it appears that contrary to the usual Prakrits -ā- can occur before the group -nt- in this dialect.

*praviṣayati* 489 is a mistake for *praviṣeyati*. *haṭhati* is to be classified as an optative. In the majority of cases it occurs in subordinate clauses with *yadi*, etc., where the optative is the rule. Parallel with *syati*: 160 *yo atra hasta lekha udāga bhīṣaṣa prace syati athava levistarena anati lekha haṭhati* ‘What hand-
letter may be there concerning water and seed or what letter of instruction with a detailed account there may be'.

Other examples: anuvaṛteyati, avarajeṣṭyati (aṇaṁdaḥ-), ichiyeṣṭi (cf. § 1), uthaveṣṭi, -yamti, kareṣṭi, -ati, coteṣṭi, taṭeyeṣṭi, deyati and deyeṣṭi 345 (cf. dey-isyati), prabhaveṣṭi 437, prāṣameṣṭi 373, bhaveṣṭi, māṃṭreyati 100, viṣarjeṣṭi 696, veteṣṭi, sajeṣṭi.

As in the future no difference is made between verbs in -eti and verbs in -ati.

§ 101. Present participles are rare. There is a tendency to generalise the middle forms in -māṇa, as in later Ardha-Magadhi. Examples are achiṃnmanama ‘encroaching on’, gachamanama, (kathamanama 514), karemanama, nikhalamanama. vartamanama is used as a kind of noun in the phrase yahi Khema Khotamnade vartamanama sivati ‘If there be any news (events, happenings) from Khema and Khotan’, = pravṛti, paḍivati. The participle is used to make a circumscribed tense with sivati: 235 pruṣhidadavo bhudartha se miṣi edaṣa tanuvaṇga sivati anahetu Suṣīka achiṃnmanama sivati ‘You must enquire whether this miṣi-(land) really belongs to him (and whether) Suṣīka is encroaching on it, (taking if off him) on account of a debt (or without cause ana=a, an- ?)’; cf. nikhalamanama siyamti 189.

The active participle is only used in certain stereotyped phrases and in words that have become adjectives, e.g. jīvaṃdaṇa, Fem. jīvaṃti, ‘alive’; jayaṃta, jeyaṃta ‘victorious’ (a title of kings). Used participially are samta: 482 puṟva dhamā vibhaktaṇa yena samula vṛčha chiṃnmaṇti tatra samta vṛčha varidavo api avinḍama ‘The former law was that when they cut down trees with the roots—the trees which are there (still)—they must be stopped, a horse is the recompense’, and janamda, frequently in the phrase janamda bhavidavo ‘you must know’.

§ 102. Indeclinable Participle. The regular dialectical form is in -ti. It is not frequent: śruniti: 341 edesā śrunitiPiṣaliyade iṣa viṣajīdavo ‘These, having heard them are to be sent here from Piṣali’. apruchiti: 39 edesā dajhi Cimikae yama, edesā ana apruchiti dhitu Kapgeyaṣa dajhana uniti dita ‘They have a slave-woman called Cimike; without asking their permission (ajñaṁ
she gave her daughter to slaves of Kapge as a foster-child' (cf. 492). \textit{vajiti}: 376 \textit{eda lekha vajiti cavala kara (\ldots)} \textit{kartavo} ‘Having read this letter, immediately\ldots is to be done’ (cf. 152, 725). \textit{palayiti}: 491 \textit{adehi palayiti agada} ‘Having fled from there he came’ (cf. 540).

The form was characteristic of the North-West. It is found in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p.: \textit{upajiti} C\textsuperscript{v}o 44, \textit{pramayjiti} A\textsuperscript{2} 3, \textit{parivajeti} A\textsuperscript{2} 8. Also in the two North-Western versions of Asoka.

It is presumably out of Vedic -\textit{tv}, although this is not the regular treatment of the group -\textit{tv}- (§ 43).

Apart from literary pieces (\textit{kytva} 647, \textit{samprasitva} 204, \textit{Khatva}, \textit{pitva} 565, which is influenced by the Literary Language) the only forms in -\textit{tva} that occur are \textit{srutva} 399, \textit{bhudva} 49, where the reading and interpretation of the whole text are difficult, and \textit{daditva}, which occurs twice in the same phrase: 345 and 437 \textit{yo ca koci\ldots amitha icheyamti karamma\ldots muhadodana apramanca ca bhaveyatam tamda praptam ca deyamti catuvarsha\ldots a\textit{spa}ramca\textit{sa} prahara sarva eta dan\textit{da} daditva ava\textit{se} ca eda yatha uvar\textit{ti} l\textit{hitaga}. Here an indeclinable participle hardly seems to suit the context and we have perhaps an example of the Vedic gerundives in -\textit{tva} (cf. Macdonell, \textit{Vedic Grammar}, § 581).

‘Whoever shall want to make it otherwise, attacking (the agreement) again shall have no authority, and they shall give the ensuing penalty (namely) a 4-year-old horse and fifty blows, \textit{all this penalty is to be given}, and certainly (the agreement) shall remain as written above.’

With -\textit{ya} are formed \textit{uvadae=up\textit{\text{"a}}daya} ‘starting from’, and \textit{uti\text{"a}, udi\text{"a}}, which presumably = uddi\text{"ya}, although its usage does not tally with Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is used not with an accusative (\textit{tam uddi\text{"ya} with reference to him}), but by itself at the beginning of clauses, apparently meaning ‘with reference to this matter’, e.g. 159 \textit{adehi tusya mahahvana paride na kimci srutam\text{"a} udi\text{"a} ahuno sadavida Kol\text{"i}a\text{"a} ha\text{"a}t\text{"a}m\text{"a} vacari 2 prah\text{"i}dem\text{"a}} ‘From there I hear nothing from you and the high officials, with reference to that (fact), (considering that), I have sent 2 \textit{vacari} (‘\text{"a}\text{"a}\text{"a}r\text{"a} ?) in the hand of the \textit{sadavida Kol\text{"i}a\text{"a}}, etc. etc.

\textit{vacitu}: 399 \textit{yahi esa stovamna atra esati lekha vacitu, tomi}
stōvamnaṣa haste uṭa iṣa prahādaṇya. It may be explained either as a passive vacitu = vācyatu for vācyatām (cf. davyatu below and §98) or as an indeclinable participle like the Ardha-Māgadhi forms in -ittu (chindittu, jinittu, etc.). ‘Having read the letter, thereupon the camel is to be sent here in the hand of Stovāmna.’

§ 103. Infinitive. The infinitive is regularly in -aṃnae = -anāya (gamanāya, etc.). The form is also found in the North-West versions of Asoka, e.g. kṣamanaye S. 13 (where the other versions have -tave). The forms are always made from the present tense, not from the root as in the corresponding Sanskrit verbal nouns, e.g. gīmnaṃnae ‘to take’, not *gṛhamnae. Examples: ayaṃnae ‘to come’ (ayida ‘came’), karaṃnae, -aya, -aye, asadhamnaye ‘to settle’ (sad, usasamnaye ‘to depart’, kaṃavaṃnaye; kṣaṃnae, kriṣaṃnae, kriṣivaṃnae, all meaning to plough, khayaṃnaye ‘to eat’, gachhaṃnaye, garaḥaṃnaye, chinnnaṃnae, tadaṃnae, thaṃvaṃnae, desaṃnae, dhamanaye ‘to tame, break’, dharamnaye, nivartanae, niḥmaṃnaye 331 = niḥananae 586, paribhuchanaye = paribhuṇj-, paśaṃnae ‘to inspect’, pica-vamaṇnaye, prichaṃnaye, presaṃnae, bāṃnaṃnae (bandh-), pivaṃ-nanae 586 (pi-bandh-), maraṃnaya ‘to kill’ (mareti) 420, amaraṃnae ‘not to die’ 703, marganae ‘to seek’, račhaṃnae, vikriṃnaṃnae; beside vikriṃnaṃnae occurs vikraṇaṃnae 586–7, 590, 592, vyosaṃnae ‘to pay’, visarjanae, śrūṇaṃnae, sgaḥhamnaye (= skabh-, cf. § 49), sajavanaye ‘to make ready’, savamaṇnae ‘to swear’, aniyanaye ‘to bring’, thiyaṃnaye ‘to stay’, deyaṃnaye.

Forms in -tu = -tum are very rare: kartu, ṛgantu 646 and probably visajītu, 262 dviti vara imade anati kilamudraatra gachati adehi hastagadaviṣajītu na imci iṣa agachati ‘A second time a wedge-seal of command goes from here (with orders) to send him here under arrest, he does not come’. Compare visarjane in 4 anadi lekha gada adehi uṭa 4 Calmādanammi visarjane.

The infinitive is used as a verbal noun in 376 sajavanaye prāce ‘about getting ready’.

§ 104. Causative. The causative is in -avati = āpayati as in the rest of the Prakrits. The long ā is written in saṃvītavya 358 ‘to be caused to swear’. Examples of causative verbs are
agasavida (a+√kas ‘to carry off’), anavisyati, anāvidavo ‘command’, asavidavo (from √ās, ‘to settle somebody’), uthaveti, uthaveyati, thavita, darśaveti, dāvidaṅgena ‘with a gift’ 749, nivartavidavo ‘cause to turn back’, bandhavita, varjavidavo, vimāvāviti, vithavēsī, vithavida=‘keep back’, vyavasthavidaṅga, sajavanmae, sthaventi.

parichinnavitamti ‘They caused to perish, used up’ 272 is formed from the past participle passive.

From karma a denominative is made by this suffix kamaveti, meaning ‘to cause to work’. It also means simply ‘to work’ in 107 (cf. Pischel, § 559).

PAST TENSE

§ 105. As in the modern Indo-Aryan languages and in Persian, a new past tense is formed by attaching the personal endings to the past participle passive. The paradigm from dā ‘to give’ would be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditemi</td>
<td>ditama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diteśi</td>
<td>ditetha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dita</td>
<td>ditaṁti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3rd singular has no termination, the simple stem being used both for the masculine and the feminine ‘he or she gave’. The forms in -ta are practically never used as participles, their place being taken by the extended forms in -āga, in the feminine by -i (cf. § 74). The development must have started from the intransitive verbs, gatah+asmi would give gademi in this dialect (§ 12). In the plural gatah+sma would give gadama. These are the forms that actually occur, and this difference of vowel in the singular and plural shows that we are actually dealing with the nominative singular and plural of the participle and the verb ‘to be’ and not simply the addition of personal endings borrowed from the present. This is the only place where a trace of the old nominative singular in -e is preserved. The 3rd singular dita represents the neuter singular, to judge from the form -u in the Khotan dialect (661), where -u < am. Cf. B.S.O.S. viii, 432.

The result of this (purely phonetic) development into -emī, -eśī was that these terminations were felt as being the same as
those of the present in -emi, -esi, and the transition into a purely verbal form was facilitated. In the 2nd plural -etha is due entirely to analogy instead of -astha. Forms in -atha probably never occur. The only example is kitātha 213 which is doubtful. The 3rd plural is always in -amti for -āh samti. Curiously enough forms in -emti never occur. There seems to be a rule that the anusvāra is never written when d takes the place of t in the past participle, e.g. aitamti and ayidati ‘they came’. This is more likely to be a habit of writing than really phonetic, especially since we know that the people did not distinguish between t and d (§ 19). Compare ida cā 573 for the usual itam ca (§ 82).

§ 106. The writers seem to have been aware of the origin of these forms because in the 1st person singular we find -osmi occasionally instead of -emi. It is of course Sanskritising. It is usually found in intransitive forms: ṣadosmi ‘I am pleased’ beside ṣademi, prihitosmi ‘I am pleased’ 140, gatosmi 146. In a transitive verb only prahidasmi = prahidemi ‘I sent’ 316. The same thing happens to the denominative aroge mi ‘I am well’, for which arogyosmi appears in 317.

§ 107. As in the future (§ 99) the past participle and its derivatives are as a rule formed from the present with the help of the vowel i. But a greater number of original forms are preserved. Often both forms occur. Examples: anatemi ‘I commanded’ (also anavideśi), abomata = abhyāvamata, in the phrase abomata kar- ‘disregard, disobey’; ukasta ‘went away’ (also ukasita), upanma = utpamna, kiṭa, kiṇa, kṛta and kata from kṛ; gīta also gīmnita ‘took’ (also grahita), dr̥thā (trytha) ‘saw’, thida, nātha ‘perished’, nikasta ‘went away’, nikramta, nigada, pariṃkīmna, parimukta 702 (written for parimukta which is Sanskrit; the real dialectical form occurs in mutamti ‘they released’ 63), praviśṭha, prahita ‘sent’ (*pradhitā rather than prahita from prahinoti on account of prahatavya = pradhātavya; perhaps the two verbs have been confused), prasṛtamti, bhuta, myta, ladha, vakutha (also vakosida), vikrida ‘sold’ (also vikṛnīta), vināṭha, viśvasta, vyochīnna 506 (usually vyochiṃnīta),

The bahuvrihi नादर्था=ज्ञातर्था is treated like a participle and we get नादर्थमि ‘I have learned’.

2. anavidesi, kideśi, krideośi ‘you bought’, gadesi, gamesidesi, gidesi, giśnidesi, thavitesi, ditesi, nikhalitesi, parimargidesi, picavidesi, prahitesi, bāmhidesi (bandh-), vajidesi ‘you read’, vikridesi, vithavidesi, vibhasitesi, visajidesi, sajvidesi, sanntithesi, hudesi. For the forms in -tu, cf. § 93.


§ 109. Plural. 1. ayitama, kiḍama, kridama, giḍama, chiṁnidama, tidama, triṇama, nikhalidama, nītama, nivartavidama, paṭjchidama, pariśhitama, praḥitama, and prehida ‘we sent’, leṣitama, varidama, vibhaktama, and vibhasitama ‘we gave a (legal) decision’, viṣajidama, vyochiṁnidama, śakidama ‘we were able’, śrutama, hutama.

There are probably no 1st plurals in -ema. Those forms which occur seem to be mistakes for the 1st singular in -emi. In 164
gatema, śrutmema, apruchitema, aroğema, are mistakes for gatemi, etc., as also sasomas for sasomi. So probably prahidema 77 and śrudema 399.

2. achinmidetha, asidetha, ichidetha, picavidetha.


With d for t: gadaṃti, paḍicidamti 589 and paḍicidamti, sarajidamti 586.

As stated above (§ 105) the anusvāra is not usually written when d takes the place of t. Examples: ayidati, uṭhāvidati, uṭhidati, garahidati, chimnīdati, niḍati, niyidati, parajhidati (beside paraṣitaṃti), vikridati. paḍicintamti 598 = paḍichitaṃti.

§ 110. Passive forms in -aka.

Forms in -aḡa and -ae are used indiscriminately. Compare for instance 581 esā hasta lekha likhīḍa, with 715 esā pravamnaṅa hasta lekha likhīdāe.


On the ending -ae, see further, §§ 8, 74.

§ 111. Forms in -aḡa are: avyoḥchimnīḍa 471, asitaḡa, kritāḡa (kṛ and kṛ), krisitaḡa, khāyidaḡa ‘eaten’, khoridaḡa
'shaved', gachidaga 388, cimdita'ga 'reckoned, assessed', corita'ga -daga, ta'dita'ga, tida'ga, thavidaga, thida'ga, dita'ga, natha'ga, nikasta'ga, nikhasta'ga, padichita'ga, palayida'ga, picavita'ga, prasa-vita'ga -daga, prahita'ga, bamdhiita'ga 660 and bannida'ga, bimid-ida'ga 'broken', mumtrita'ga 'sealed' 247, mrita'ga and mryda'ga 'dead', yajita'ga 'borrowed' (cf. S. yacitaka), ladha'ga, likhita'ga, vavita'ga 'sown', vikarita'ga, vitita'ga 343, 544 - 'distributed', vitita'ga 'kept back, withheld', vina'tha'ga, vibha'ta'ga and vibhasita'ga 'decided' (of a lawsuit), visajida'ga, vismarida'ga, vyochinnida'ga, vyavasthavidaga, samgalita'ga, stita'ga, hodaga.

§ 112. A number of these forms are used substantively, and as such may occur in the oblique cases. corida'ga prace might mean 'about a theft' or 'about a thing stolen', but e.g. ta'dita'gade pa'ca 'after a beating' is definitely an abstract noun. This is the only example of the ablative. Instrumental forms are quite common: ta'dita'gena 'through a beating', darshida'gena, 40 yadi ...darshida'gena marisya'ti 'If it shall die through being (over) loaded', dava'da(gena) 659, vijita'gena, 190 tena vijita'gena mrya'ti 'dies owing to that wound', vibha'sita'gena 'decision', vyochinni-da'gena 297, 339, yatha purva vyochinnida'gena 'as formerly decided' (cf. § 90), sruta'gena 399.

visajida'gena in 732, mannu'sa visajida'gena prace is simply the instrumental written for nominative accusative (§§ 117, 118).

§ 113. Feminines in -i. The proper feminine form in the passive is in -i. In the active no distinction is made between masculine and feminine. Compare for instance in 39 edesa dajhi Cimikae nama edesa ana aprochiti dhitu Kapgeyasa dajhana uniti dita 'A slave-woman of their's called Cimikae without asking their permission gave her daughter as a foster-child to the slaves of Kapge' with pruchidavo bhutartha edesa dajhi Kapgeyasa dajhana uniti diti edesa ana aprochiti siyati ' (You) must enquire whether really their slave (i.e. the child) was given to slaves of Kapge without asking their permission'; cf. further 279 Yave avanammi kilmeci kala Acuniyasa svasu Cakuvasae nama Ajiyama avanammi kilmeci Pgenasa bharya aniti huati 'Cakuva sister of kala, Acuni of the district of Yave avana, was taken to wife by Pgena of the district of Ajiyama avana'; 4 pruchidavo bhutartha kriti
siyati 'whether she has really been bought', etc. Compare the Apabhraṃṣa forms like avaṁūti, ṭaliṭṭi, diṭṭi, saṃjuttī, uppanni, etc. (Bhavisatta-kahā) and § 74.

These forms have to be distinguished by the context from indeclinable participles in -ti (§ 102).

The distinction between masculine and feminine is occasionally neglected. We find feminine forms in -ae at 45 edaṣa dajhi Cīmikāsā dhītu Rutrayaṣa unuti giṭae 'The daughter of their slave-woman Cīmikāsā was taken as a foster-child by Rutraya' (cf. 434). On the other hand -i instead of -ae in 473 yatha edaṣa śramana Sāṃgāśīrā masuṣaṭa bhumaḥetra bāṇdhovā thaviti siyati 'That the monk Sāṃgāśīrā mortgaged a vineyard and a field of (ploughing) land with him'; 327 muli huti.

§ 114. There is one exception to the rule that the forms in -tağa, -tae are passive, and that is the compound past tense ditaṇe siyati 'he should have given' and ditaṇe huati 'he has given'. Examples: 439 bhutartha eṣa eti draṁga dharidae siyati 'Whether he has really held so many offices'; 33 yadi bhudartha eva hačhāti, eṣa Suğī giḍaṇa hačhāti 'If it is really so, (if) this Suğī has taken (them)'; 345 bhudartha śramanna Anāṃdasena Cuğopaśa paride ṣāṇa ṣvamicae giḍaka hoati 'Really the monk A. has taken corn on loan from Cuğopa'; 545 yati bhudartha coḥbo Kāṃci edaṣa aṣpa niṇae siyati 'If really the coḥbo Kāṃci has taken his horse'.

The auxiliary verb may occasionally be omitted, e.g. 144 yati Sōganasa taṭitaṇade pača Kacana na karya kiṭae (for kiṭae siyati) 'If Kacana did no work after being beaten by Soğana'.

§ 115. In intransitive verbs there naturally cannot be the usual difference between active and passive. Here the difference is that the forms in -tağa have a participial, those in -ta a verbal sense, e.g. mṛtağa 'dead', mṛta 'died', gatağa 'gone', gata 'went', etc. As usual the form in -tağa, -tae is used in making the compound past tenses, e.g. 637 yam kala kāla kirteya Khotanaṃmi dutiyaya gatağa āsi 'When kāla kirteya was gone on a mission to Khotan'; 19 bhudartha Tāmaṣyanae bhāgena Yītasenaṣa kholona vaṃti thidaṇa siyati ' (Whether) really T. stays with the herds of Y. in her turn'; 370 asitaṇe huamti.
§ 116. Gerundive. The gerundive is the most common of the verbal forms. It is practically always made with the help of the vowel i from the present: ginnidavo, krinidavo, etc. Original forms preserved are martavya, gamdavo (never *gachid-), vikridavo (beside vikrinidavo), kartavo, nidavo (beside niyid-), prahatavya = pradhátavya. There is no difference as a rule between verbs in -eti and verbs in -ati: vyósidavo, viṣajidavo, etc., but we find uthavedavo 575 besides uthavidavo.

Curious forms made from the past participle are nikhastidavo 612, ścihidavya ‘to be punished’ 482, samdédavo 721 (from sada ‘pleased.’)

Forms in -vo and -vya alternate indiscriminately (§ 53), as do t and d (§ 19). Thus there are four spellings: -tavya, -tavo, -davya, -davo.

Of the three forms -avya, -ya and -anýya, -avya is the only one that remains as a living suffix. -ya is found in kica and uneya ‘foster-child’; -anýya in karañniya in the phrase yatha kama karaniya ‘to be done what one likes with’.

§ 117. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative accusative. This process is closely associated with the development of the past participle into an active past tense (cf. § 105). tena dita, ‘given by him’, began to be felt as active ‘he gave’, and finally the nominative was used as well, śe dita.

This is exactly the same state of affairs as occurs in many of the modern languages. Compare for instance Grierson, Torwali, § 21. The subject of tense formed from the past participle is put into the ‘agentive’ case, which corresponds to the old instrumental. At the same time, as in these documents, the nominative is more frequently used. Examples of the instrumental = the modern agentive are 47 edesa gotha grhavaśa Apgaeyena udageṇa sargita ‘Apgaey flooded their farm and habitation with water’; 506 Tatiṣṇa Śaṃcaasa daśha picāvida kamaavamnae ‘Tatiṣṇa sent a slave to Śaṃca to work’; 574 kori Muldeyaśa dañhana paride Ramšotsena bhuma krīda ‘Ramšotsa (-nika) bought some land from the slaves of kori Muldeya’, etc.
Of course these constructions correspond exactly to the ordinary Sanskrit passive constructions, but there is no doubt that they are translated as active because (1) exactly the same state of affairs is found in modern languages such as Torwali, where the construction with the agentive = instrumental is translated as active, (2) in the vast majority of cases the past participle in -ta is construed with the nominative where it must be active, (3) the instrumental is used as the subject of the present tense (§ 118), (4) in practically all definitely passive constructions, i.e. with participles in -taţa and with gerundives, the genitive, not the instrumental, is used to express the agent.

§ 118. As a result of the development sketched above, the instrumental is confused with the nominative in all positions, and since the nominative is not distinguished from the accusative also with the accusative.

As nominative: 494 yatha Paţinena aloţa vilotade purva Mocţapiyaşa vamti swarna ṛna nikhaleti ‘That Paţina has some gold lent to Mokşapriya before the plundering (of the realm)’; 622 Maharayaputra kala Pumţabalena lihati ‘The king’s son kala P. writes’; 106 sigra Suţitena tui ṛtena īsa vişajidavo ‘Quickly Suţita and two camels are to be sent here’; 283 tade aham maharayena sarva karya krida ſadadha hodemi ‘From that I the king have learnt all about what has been done’; 399 Cīnaţenena mṛtaţa ‘C. is dead’.

More rare is -ena in the 3rd singular of the preterite: 431 su-veṣṭha Mareţa paţiditena for oţa ‘The suveṣṭha Mareţa received’.

As accusative: 69 adehi śramana Caţuţenena vişarjidesi ‘You sent the monk C. from there’; 86 adehi Casminena vişarjidesi asmaţena caraţena ‘You sent C. our spy from there’; 106 avi ca īsa maţmuşa Samghadhaţemena Ṛgaṇaţa vamti vikridesi ‘And here you sold a man S. to Šagaṇa’; 272 coţhbo Somjaţena aţţovae ajhate jaţma suţha abomata (=abhyaţomata) kareṇdi ‘The serviceable free-born people very much disregard the coţhbo S.’; 540 Kacana uthita Sunaţtena taţita ‘Kacana arose and beat Sunaţta’.

It is used as the stem-form in quasi-compounds like ogu Kuţanaţenena coţhbo Lpipeyaţa ca 198.
Finally, the confusion goes so far that the genitive termination is added on to the instrumental in 345 Bugošenaša prace ‘About Bu(dha)gosa’.

The instrumental plural is rare, but the same confusion is found to occur: 297 mahatvehi vyochčnimačitni ‘The magistrates made a decision’.

§ 119. The genitive is almost exclusively used for expressing the agent with passives, i.e. the participle in -taqa and gerundives. The instrumental occurs very rarely, e.g. 436 yatha pańthami gachamana Maşdıgeyena bānındaqa matritani ‘They said that while travelling on the road they were bound by Maşdıge’.

But this is definitely the exception. Examples of the usual genitive construction are: 45 Cimikae dhitu Rutrayaša uniti gičae ‘The daughter of Cimikae was taken as foster-child by Rutraya’;

24 yo edeşa devaputraša padamule bhumacitra ladhaqa ‘The land which was received by them from the feet of his majesty’;

157 se pirovammi goyamni na paðichaqa devataqa ‘That sacrifice of a cow at the bridge was not accepted by the deity’;

735 palayamnaga Sugišaša ladhaqa huati ‘An exile was received by Sugišta’.

With gerundive: 83 Campeyaša isa gamdavo, tahi Lpiqrasmaša pidiša osuka avajidavo ‘By you Lpiqrasma zeal is to be shown’;

106 yo etasa manmaša paðivati siyati tusya atra samghašidavo ‘What information there is about this man is to be put together by you there’;

345 taha sarva śramana Anandašenaša viyosidavo huda ‘And so everything was to be paid by the monk Anandasena’, etc. etc.

§ 120. Beside the genitive there are occasional examples of the nominative used with gerundives, so that the gerundive becomes a kind of active like the past participle passive. The tendency however is not much developed. Examples are: 58 yo taya arthadana gičanti sadha tanu Puço Lpipeya ginnidavya ‘What property they took from her, along with herself, is to be taken by Puço and Lpipe’;

119 Supiye Calmatanėšu...agaštavya ‘The Supis are going to come to the Calmatanas’;

322 ešalihiša Khotanší manmaša prace Kilpašiya anatha dharidavo ‘This document about a man of Khotan must be carefully preserved by Kilpašiya’;

528 putra dhidara...sama bhaqa ginnidavo ‘The
sons and daughters must receive an equal portion of the inheritance'; 671 te valaåga trina samvatsari paåavara gïnnidavo 'Those guards must receive provisions of three years'; 722 ahuno Svarñabala atra gaåñdavya huati 'Now Svarñabala is going to come there' (cf. 634).

§ 121. The genitive sometimes appears instead of the nominative accusative: 120 rajadharåga mahåtvana Šitgapotågyade varidama nivartavidama 'We stopped and turned back the magistrates in charge of the administration of the kingdom from Šitgapotåg'; 370 asmahu goåthanmi Kroraimci maåñnuåsana asitae huanüti 'Men of Krorayina dwelt on our farm'; 655 teåsa uẖañvidati 'They arose'; 450 rotañña avi curåñmaåsa işa anidavo 'rotana and curåñma (two agricultural products) must be brought here'; 422 Argiceyaåsa bhratarâna Kuवayaåsa vämte bhuma vikridati 'The brothers of Argiceya sold land to Kuवaya'; 187 avi eså kaniåtha Cimola Kuवayaåsa taḏita 'Also this younger (brother) Cimola beat Kuवaya'; 152 ahuno atra rayaka uẖiyâna viñajidemi 'Now I have sent royal camels there'. In some of these instances we are certainly dealing with a partitive genitive, e.g. uẖiyâna 'some camels', curåñma 'a quantity of curåñma'. In other cases the genitive is erroneously used, e.g. 187 Kuवayaåsa.

§ 122. In lists of names followed by ca the genitive always appears instead of the nominative, so that for instance cojho bo Yitaka tomgå Vuktoša ca may mean either 'The cojho Y. and the tomgå V.' or 'of, to the cojho Y. and the tomgå Vukto'. Examples are very frequent, e.g. 9 yatha edåsa stri Caḏhi Parsu Alpaya Rasparaåsa ca aģasitañti 'That C. P. A. and R. carried off a woman of his'; 69 Larsu Tamjakaåsa ca atra viñajidemi 'I sent Larsu and Tamjaka there'; 588 Kakeya Žeyakaåsa ca. The construction is less common in nouns other than proper names, e.g. 71 eså piņuå ca...gatañti 'He and his father went'; 561 amklatså putågtså odaɾasya ca (three kinds of camel); 633 kojava tavastağa ghrídaåsa ca krinidavo 'kojava, tavastağa and ghee are to be bought'. The same construction is used in a similar list in the plural: 544 Šrâmañña braåmana vurcuåga sa ca 'Monks, brahmans and vurcuågas'.
Descriptive nouns and adjectives in agreement with lists of names like these are put in the genitive plural whether the phrase is to be taken as genitive or nominative, e.g. 157 bhaṭaraṅgaṇa priyadarśanana sunamaparikirtitana priyabhruatuana cojho Tsmaya tivira Tgaca caraka Sucamānaya ca ‘To the masters, fair to see, renowned with good name, the brothers cojho Tsmaya, the scribe Tgaca and the spy Sucamma’. On the other hand as nominative: 709 eda vivada svaya devaputra śruta, oguana Purvayana Rutraya Cināsena suvēthana Athma Śpālaya Laṣa ... cojhoana Alpaya ... vaśammaśa ca ‘His Majesty heard this dispute himself, the ogus P. R. C. the suvēthas A. Ś. L. and the cojhoos Alpaya and ... vaśamōṇa’; 578 cojhoana Bimbhāsena Somjhaša ca pruchitaṃti; 579 saci apsuaana Apsya Śaṃcāsa ca ‘witnesses are the apsus A. and S.’, etc. etc.

§ 123. The locative has taken the place of the accusative in expressing the goal with verbs of going, sending, etc. A similar development is to be observed in Apabhraṃśa (Ludwig Alsdorf, Kumārapālāpratibodha, p. 65): r, etc. hasitgata rayadvaramūmi iṣa viṣajidavo ‘He is to be sent here to the king’s court under arrest’; 14 yatha eṣa Khotanammi dutiyaya gada ‘That he went on a mission to Khotan’; 27 yaṃ kala Deviyae atra Cādottammi aida ‘When the queen came there to Cādota’; 506 Śaṃcāsa daṇha Sanaca nama tena sadha Khemammi palyita ‘S.’s slave called Sanaca fled with him to Khema’; 195 uṭa yaṃṇammi ... nitaṃti ‘They took a camel to the sacrifice’; 621 puna iṣa svaya viṣeyesu aitamti ‘Again they came themselves here into (our) territories’. Parallel with this development the locative is used with the preposition a, yava and acamta ‘up to’ (cf. § 92).

This rule has no exceptions except in certain stereotyped phrases like asanāna gaṃḍāvo ‘to take possession of’ (āṣanāṃ gantāvayam). It follows that načira in the phrase načira gachamti (13, 15) cannot be a place-name or even an ordinary noun indicating the goal. It is probably an Iranian word meaning hunting (B.S.O.S. vii, 513).

§ 124. The future may be used as a sort of imperfect to express what used to take place: 182 Kamjaka viṃṇāveti yatha eṣa rayaka utavala purva rayaka utavaṇana rajade va (ra) ēhavala
-deviṣyaṃti. . . purva rayaka uṭa caturtha divaśa vudhiṃ bhavisyati
'Kanjaka informs us that he is a keeper of the royal camels,
former they used to give to the keepers of the royal camels a
vačhavala. . . formerly the royal camels used to be vudhiṃ on
the fourth day'; 309 yo tahi āṇa purva atra rajadhara huanīti,
ṭam kala adehi koyimaṃḍhina anma milima i Sa 20 20 10 (iṣa)
aniṣyaṃti 'Those who were governors before you, at that time
they used to bring 150 milima of koyimaṃḍhina corn'; 376
caturtha karya, purva māsanumūsa lehare gachisyati 'A fourth
matter, formerly letter-carriers used to go every month'; 435
purva rajadhamā yaṣya rayaka dhāmammi māṃṣuṣa athava stora
marisyati avaśa rajadhāṃade cimtitaḥ huati 'Formerly it was
the law of the realm that of whomsoever a man or beast died in
state employment, it was reckoned (i.e. paid out) from the
administration'; 621 eṣa Saṅgamovi ogu Aṣoṭa ni kilmec Catoveṣa
vamti bala simaya aṣiṣyati 'This Saṅgamovi when young used to
dwell on the boundary next to Catove who belonged to the
kilme of ogu Aṣoka'. Slightly different is the usage in 634 tahi
iṣa gaṃtavo asi, ajakra divaśa iṣa na agachiṣatu 'You were to
have come here, up till to-day you have not come'.

This usage is interesting because it is exactly what is laid
down in Pāṇini 3. 2. 112 abhiṣṇāvacane lṛṭ 'The future is used
for the past when somebody uses a word recalling something'.
The commentary gives us an example: abhiṣṇāsi Devadatta
vayam Kāṣmīretu vatsyaṃah Śū 'You remember Devadatta, we
used to dwell in Kaśmir'. This is obviously the same kind of
thing as the examples quoted above. The usage is not found in
Sanskrit literature except artificially in imitation of Pāṇini.
Pāṇini was a native of the North-West, so this was probably a
piece of local syntax, which was not current in the rest of India
and so does not appear in literature, but turns up again in the
local dialect, where the influence of the grammarians is of
course quite out of the question. It is interesting that Pāṇini's
statement should be confirmed in this most unliterary of
dialects.

It is not quite clear how the future should take over this sense.
Instances of the future used as a kind of preterite in various Indo-
European languages are given by Brugmann (Grundriss², 11,
§ 125. As stated above the imperative with the exception of *hotu* has ceased to be used (§ 98). The gerundive in *-tavya* is most frequently used for giving orders. Also both the future and the optative are employed.

Future: 153 *avaṣa etasa maṣasya 20 sasteyamhi Kumṇaṇa iva agamasyati* ‘Definitely Kumṇaṇa shall come here on the 20th day of this month’; 157 *tasuca Ṭpimsva caivala viṣajitavya ari Calamma śaca go anisyati* ‘The *tasuca* Ṭpimsva is quickly to be despatched, along with Calama he will bring the cow’. This is exactly parallel with the English use of the future in giving instructions.

Optative: 152 *avaṣa ede kilmeciyē tava sarvabhavena jheniga sivamti* ‘Certainly let these people of (my) district be under your care by all means’ (cf. 161, 164); 187 *taha ajivvadāe kaniṭha bhṛata jeṭha bhṛata taḍeyati, putra pita taḍeyati* ‘So from to-day let the elder brother beat the younger brother, and the father beat the son’. This is the same use of the optative as occurs in the law-books in laying down general rules. 385 *teṣa piḍita anati ditea sivati* ‘Let very carefully a command be given to them’; 437 *ajivvadāe taya kuḍiyae prace Maṣṭḥiyeṣa eṣvarya sivati* ‘From to-day let there be ownership for Maṣṭhiyog of that girl’; 696 *yo atra tahi paḍivati bhaveyati emeva mahi lekha viṣarjeyasi* ‘Anything that may happen to you there, you might send me a letter about it’.

§ 126. Prohibitions.

*ma iṃci—mā kimcit* (§ 84) is construed with the present, the future, the optative and the gerundive in expressing prohibitions. The particle *iṃci* is almost always added to the *ma*. (Exceptions, see Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, Index Verb., *ma*.)

Present: 272 *ede samṛdaie jāma varidae hotu, ma iṃci daraṃṇaṇa jāmnasa upeḍemdi* ‘Let these rich people be stopped, let them not oppress the debtor people’; 288 *ṣe Ṣamamnera tehi jheniga sivati, ma iṃci abomata kimci karemdi* ‘Let this Ṣamamnera be under your care, let them not disregard him’ (or ‘treat him with disrespect’); 364 *ma iṃci adhamena*
Camakaša paride niyati 'Let him not be taken from Camaka unlawfully'. (This may be optative = neya(n)ti; for i = e cf. § 1.) 386 avi Caḍotiye varidavya ma iṇci parvatiyana adhāma kareṇti 'Also the Caḍotans must be prevented, let them not be unjust to the mountain people'; 729 ma iṇci adhāmena rajadhaṁa pruchāṃti 'Let them not administer (lit. “enquire”) the law of the realm unjustly’. In most of these examples the ma-sentence has practically developed into a subordinate clause so that we can translate 386, for instance, ‘The Caḍotans are to be prevented from committing injustice on the mountaineers’.

With Optative: 275 na vithana karṭavo ma omāga siyati ‘It is not to be held back, (the amount sent) must not be short’ (cf. 306, 307); 519 ma iṇci vismaridaṇa siyati ‘Let it not be forgotten’.

With Future: 347 ma iṇci Caule paṇṭha chinnisyati ‘Let not Caule cut (= stop) his pathway’; 546 ma iṇci atra Kolgenerator vithana kariṣati ‘Let him not make a keeping-back (of the camel) from Kolgenerator’; 585 ma iṇci atra masuṣa viṇḍa kariṣyati avaśa anavidavvo deyamnae ‘Let him not make a hindrance about the wine there, certainly he is to be told to give it’. In 310 we have examples of ma iṇci with the future (as with the present, see above) used practically as a subordinate clause. Cima Kaśikaṣa ca picavidavvo ma iṇci para raja nikasisyati ‘They are to be put into the hands of Cima and Kašika lest they should get away to a foreign kingdom’; and, teṣa hastamni ede mamnuṣa iša viṣajiidavvo ma iṇci puna paṇṭhade pranaśisyati ‘In their hand these men are to be sent here lest they should again escape from the road’.

With Gerundive: 22 ma iṇci vithana karṭavo ‘A holding back is not to be made’; 338 ma atra maṃṭra śrūṇidavvo.

More common than ma with gerundives is na (na iṇci), which of course originally was the only correct form: 31 na iṇci tade atikramidavo ‘There must be no transgression from that’; 188 na nikhalidavo.

There are only occasional examples of na being used in prohibitions otherwise than with gerundives: 399 bahu varṣa amṭargata uṭa na preṣeyamsi ‘Do not send a camel many years old’.
§ 127. Subordinate clauses. yo.

Without verb: 9 yo garbha, vinātha; 165 yo iša vartamana Lūpimsuṣa paride ādārtha bhavīdavao 'What happenings (there are) here, you must learn from Lūpimsu'.

With Indicative: 31 yo Lūpimo Puṣoena śadha danagrahana hoati '(That) giving and taking which there is between Lūpimo and Puṣo'.

With Optative. In relative sentences of a general nature the optative is exclusively used. When the future is used it always conveys a definite reference to the future. From this distinction it is possible to assert that the mysterious form hačhati is properly an optative (cf. § 100). Examples: yo atīha-vañga palayaṁmañga maṁnuṣa siyati se...iša ativatidavo 'What serviceable fugitive man there is, he is to be sent here'; 187 yo eka bhītyaṣa vamti ede bhūtaranā avarājeyamti, te varidavo 'What any of these brothers do wrong one against another, they are to be stopped'; 47 yeṣa vivada siyati rayadvaranmi visajidaavya 'Of whom there is a dispute, they must be sent to the king's court'.

With Future: yo tava kači puna iša agamiṣyati emeva ahu teṣa tanu saṃṅna janisyami 'Who of you shall come here in the future, so I will regard them as my own' (teṣām tanu-samaṁna jīnasyāmi); 272 yo maṁnuṣa cojhbo Somjakena abomata kariṣyati se...iša...visajidavo 'The man who disobeys the cojhbo Somjaka, is to be sent here'.

§ 128. The usual expression for 'when' is yaṁ kala with the indicative: 35 yaṁ kala Cīnasthanade vanīye agamiṣyati, tam kala ṅa pruchidavo 'When the merchants shall come from China, then the debt is to be enquired into'; 272 yaṁ kala Khotammaṇe yogāĉhema bhaviṣyati, rajya sthisyadi tam kala śodhesyaṁdi 'When there shall be security from Khotan and the kingdom shall be established, they will pay'; 183 yaṁ kala Supiye Caḍo-Raṇṇi agataṁti 'When the Supis came to Caḍota'.

§ 129. yadi.

With Optative: yadi amṇaṭha siyati 'If it is otherwise'; 35 yadi vivada siyati; 45 yati na dṛjhega na śrudağa siyati 'If they have been neither seen nor heard of'; 144 yati Soğanaṭa taḍita-
inden Kacana myda ga siyati 'If Kacana died through Soğana's beating'; 189 yati avasitha nikhalamana siyan ti 'If they are removing the remaining ones'.

With Future: 165 yati tade purima paca ima visajisayatu paam-
thammi para sa bhavisayati, tuo...vyoishasi 'If you despatch it before or after then and it is stolen on the way, you will pay'; 206 yati Ayamatu vasammi bhuya vithisyati 'If he still keeps it back in Ayamatu yasa'; 211 yati ahuno bhuya eda palbi na spora is a anisyaniti na cirena tuo...agamisyasi 'If now again they do not bring this tax complete, before long you shall come (your-
self').

yadi is not used with the present indicative.

§ 130. yatha with the indicative is regularly used in introducing quoted speech, the text of a complaint, etc.: 7 Liphe vimnaveeti yatha triti varsha huda Arsina sa paride gavi savatsi 2 vyochihniti 'Liphe announces that the third year has come (since) 2 cows with calf were legally awarded to him from Arsina'; 14 Sameka vimnaveeti yatha esa Khatamnammi dutiyaya gada 'Sameka announces that he went on a mission to Khotan'.

yatha may be also used meaning 'as', in which case it usually takes the optative: 7 yatha rayadvarammi vyochihnidasga siyati tena vidhanena ni ce karta vo 'As the award was made at the king's court, according to that ruling a decision is to be made' (cf. § 45).

Rarely with the future (in the sense of yahi): 84 yatha esa atra agamisyati, tatheva sigra... 'As (=when) this man shall come there, so quickly...'.

§ 131. yahi is used with the future in the sense of 'when, as'. The form is probably to be compared with the Avestan yezi: yahi eda kilamudra atra esati; 289 yahi gamnana pravam-
na ga...atra anisyati 'when he shall bring there a document containing the reckoning'. It sometimes means 'if', being indistinguishable from yadi with the future: 161 yahi eta karya tuo mahi kariyas i 'If you do this thing for me'; 634 yahi tatra cita na kariyas u 'If you do not pay attention to that'.

§ 132. yava is used with the optative: yava asti siyati taha sarva isa prahadavo 'So much as there is, is all to be sent here'.
yena is used either with the future or the optative, meaning ‘in order that’: 272 rajade sama sama parikre dadavo yena raja karyani na imci siśita bhaviṣyaṃti ‘Equal pay to each is to be given from the state, so that the administration of the king does not become slack’; 320 avasa etaśa Pṛuvaśenaṇa prace ciṇḍedavya oṣīdavya, yena atra mama kriṣitāga vavitaṇa hastamṇi gṛheyati ‘Certainly thought must be taken about this Pṛuvaśena, he must be set free so that he can take in hand my ploughing and sowing’.

§ 133. Subordinate clauses without introductory particle.

(a) Conditional: atra na paribujjatu hastagata iva visajidavo ‘If you do not get clear about it there, they are to be sent here under arrest’; 223 amūṭaḥa siyati, yathadhaṁena niçe kartaṇo ‘If it is otherwise, a decision is to be made in accordance with the law’; 266 puna vivada kimci siyati ‘If there is any dispute again’; 546 yaṃ ca Preyaśa vivada siyati, iva agamiṣyati, iśemi ogu vasu Bhimaṇaṇa vaṃti garahiṣyama ‘And what dispute of Preya there is, if (when) he comes here, we will complain before the ogu vasu Bhimaṇaṇa’; 714 puna ahuno bhuya paliṇa omāga visajijāyatu avasa tanu gothade puna vyoṭiṣṭatu ‘If again now you send the tax short, certainly you will pay from your own farm’.

(b) Indirect questions: 3 pruchidavo bhutartha kriṭi siyati ‘You must enquire whether she has really been bought’; 24 pruchidavo bhutartha eva haṭhi, etc. etc.

With Indicative: 520 pruchidavo esa duś draṃga dhareti puna śāpaṇavanti dhaṃna kareti ‘You must ask whether he holds two offices and again (=in addition) is performing the duty of scout’.

§ 134. Reported speech.

As stated above (§ 130) people’s words are usually quoted introduced by yatha. In addition ityarthathā may be appended to quoted speech, or it may be given without any special indication at all. iti is no longer used by itself. Examples of ityarthathā are: 124 Saṃsaṇa. ‘Lāṇḍeṇa ca garahitaṃti. . . bhuma praceya saḍi nasti hotamti’ ityarthathā ‘S. and L. complained about some land . . . (they said) there were no witnesses’; 272 avi parवcaraṇa
uvādaē Supiyana paride upaśaṁgīdavo huati ityartha ‘Also since last year there is cause of alarm from the Supis so it is said’.

When reported speech is given without any particle at all it is customary to append the verb ‘to be’ to participles and gerundives, whereas in straightforward statements this is not done. Instances are: 63 eda praçe tu Apgeyade anati gīdeśi, Lpipeyaśa sti patena stavidavya hoati ‘Concerning this you have received instructions from Apgeya that the woman is to be restored to Lpipeya’; 144 tuo anati gīdeśi saṁhitaya savatha śavidavya hoati, yati Soğanaśa taḍitaṅgena Kacana mṛdaṅga siyati avindama maṁnuṣa vyochīṃṇidaṅvya hoati ‘You received a command that an oath was to be sworn by the witnesses and that if Kacana had died through Soğana’s beating a man was to be awarded as recompense’; 206 avi ca imade lekha gata tahi putra Apita Sujatena śadha masu isa anidavya aṣi ‘Also a letter went from here that your son Apita along with Sujata was to bring the wine here’; 506 avi samaya kīṭamti, ṣe dajha Śrāṣṭha gothammi na oḍidavya huati tava Śaṅcaena kaṁavidavo huati yava Tatīga Bhatraśa ca agamanammi ‘Also they made an agreement that the slave Śrāṣṭha was not to be left on the farm, he was to be made work by Śaṅca until the arrival of Tatīga and Bhatra’; 160 mahāṁte vṛdhį-jāmna inthu manṭreṇti cojho Lpipeyaśa Sacaṁmi goṭha ohara titagā uhati, uḍaṅga bhiṣa na titaga uhati ‘The very old people speak thus, that the yield (?) of a farm in Saca was given to cojho Lpipeya but water and seed were not given’.

**Nominal Composition**

§ 135. The last member of a dvandva is usually inflicted in the singular. A few examples of the old type remain, e.g. pita-putre 715 ‘father and son’, edeṣa pitapurtrana 71, ede bharya pate 632.

In 450 putradhidarehi is plural because it means ‘sons and daughters’. Examples of the usual singular inflection are: pitumade 164, madupitūṣya 109, hasta padmī 339, Khema Khotamanade 283, Calmadana Caḍodade 246, śubhasubhāṣa 165, danagrahana.
This development is further attested inside India in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, e.g. C.I.I. ii, 12, *matapitaram*, whereas the Aśokan texts still always use the plural *matapitusu*.

§ 136. There has developed in this language a principle of group-inflection, by which the last member only of a nominal group is inflected, e.g. *cojhbo Yitaka tonğa Vuktoṣa ca* ‘To the *cojhbo Yitaka* and the *tonğa Vukto*’ (on the use of the same form for Nom. and Gen. see §122). With feminine last 566 *Kupṣuta Tilutamae ca*. It is not always easy to draw the line as to where ordinary cases of Nominal Composition end and where this loose stringing together of nouns begins. That is noticeably the case in the type quoted in the next paragraph, which corresponds in a way to the Sanskrit Karmadāraya. In the case of ordinary dvandvas it is doubtful in the light of these facts whether e.g. Khema *Khotamnade* should be called a compound, especially when it is considered that in making accumulations of substantives the particle *ca* is not usually employed, e.g. 19 *coḍaga pačevora parikraya dadavo* ‘Clothing, food and wages must be given’. Similarly with verbs: 9 *ağasitānti taḍitānti* ‘They carried off and beat’.

§ 137. Examples of Karmadāraya are: *cojhbo Tamjakaṣa, stri Suṇisa, 4 kori Rutrayaṣa, 55 rayaka khulana, 133 priya nivasaṇa Svaneyaṣa, 248 mahaṇta rajakaryena, 24 edaṣa dajha Sarpiğaṣa vaṇṭi, 32 Peta-avaneṃci Saṅapeyaṣa, 152 priyabhṛatu soṭhamga Ṭipyeyaṣa, 245 edaṣa pitu cojhbo Šamaṣenaṣa, 575 maya rajadivira śramamma Dhamapriyena.

In all these cases the words hang very loosely together, and they must be regarded as group-inflection, rather than compounds in the proper sense of the term.

Examples are quite common in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of N.W. India, which shows that the usage was widespread and not a peculiarity of this particular dialect. Cf. C.I.I. ii, p. cxv, mahadanapati Patikasa, erjhuna Kapasa, maharāja rajatitaja Hoveṣkasa.

§ 138. Genitive Tatpuruṣas are very common: *anati lekha, rayadvaraṃmi 16, pāḷpi uṭa, viṃṇati lekha, padamulade, khula*
uta, parikra anma 25, gothakarya 31, Cinasthana 35, anma nadha 'pack of corn' 68, anma sësa 140, ghrita pasu 141, go yamña 155, gamnana pravamnağa 'document of accounts' 159, palpi dhama 164, raya saçhi 165, rajakaryami 272, bhuma muli 624, maharaya-putra 622.

Unlike later Sanskrit the Tatpuruṣa compound is practically never made with a personal name as the first member. They say Lāpeyaşa hastammi (4) Cimgeyaşa satade 82, Catoasa gothade 621, etc. etc.

§ 139. Bahuvrihis are rare: mahauava, şovarsi '6 years old', catuvarsaga (etc.), ūdartha, maṁnuşa rupa, 324 paśvavalana stri Kroae pramuhanam.
Part II
INDEX

A

a = ä rather than ca (?), § 92.

akas: (ağas, ağajh-). = *äkasayati from kas 'to go', i.e. 'to cause to come (to oneself), take away', opposite of nikas, nikhas = nîkâsâyati 'eject, send away'. Lpipeya garahati yatha edaśa gavi 2 seniye Sacîntyca ağasitaṃti, eka gavi patama odiṇaṃti, eka khayitaṃti 'L. complains that soldiers from Saca took away two of his cows: one cow they let go back, one they ate'. akasida, § 16; ağajhidati, §§ 22, 109.

akışdha: (ağiṣḍha, ağiṣṭa). An article of some kind, because it is numbered, not measured, e.g. 431-2 ağiṣḍha 2...aṃśa ağiṣḍha 1. Since it is often mentioned in conjunction with koja 'rug' (see s.v.) it will be an article of similar nature.

akri: § 36, where it is derived from agrya. But the meaning is uncertain and it may mean 'uncultivated (land)' as suggested by Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xii, 38. There is hardly enough evidence to decide whether miṣi-land or akri-land was most valuable. In 571 miṣi-land of an area requiring 3 milima of seed is worth 60 muli (see s.v.). In 222 akri-land requiring ⅓ a milima (10 khī) is worth 10 muli, i.e. the same value. On the other hand in 579 akri-land requiring ⅔ milima is only valued at 13 muli. But there is not enough evidence to make any generalisations about price. Cf. under miṣi.

amk'âtsa: i.e. amkâtsa (agîltsa in 422 is a variant of this word). An epithet describing camels. It may be = the Toch. B. aknâtsa, A. akânts 'ignorant', meaning an untrained camel. The original form of the Tocharian word was anknâtsa, which might easily be dissimilated in this dialect into ankâtsa. J.R.A.S. (1935), p. 673.

ágamduva: § 16. =ágantuka-.

agîltsa: Probably = amkâtsa above. Anuvāra is often omitted (§ 47) and the g instead of ḡ indicates its presence, because simple intervocalic ḡ becomes ḡ (§ 16).

Amkvaka: (Aṃgoka, etc. § 7). The name may be Chinese An-čhu according to Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 49, 50.

agratu: §§ 12, 92.

ágantu: § 103.

ağeta: An official repeatedly mentioned side by side with yatma (see s.v.), both of whose functions seem to have been closely connected with the collection and delivery of the tax (palî); cf. 57, where
the ageta and yatma are responsible for conveying palshi, 714; an investigation is being held into the conditions of collecting the taxes, and the vasu, ageta and yatma are commanded to appear. Similar functions appear in 275 and 307. Further, the ageta possesses judicial functions in connection with legal transactions, e.g. 640 esa likhitaga rayakade ageta Lpapatga traghade bhuma praceya Lustuasa anada dharidavo 'This document from the royal administration, from the department (office) of the ageta Lpapatga, concerning land, must be carefully preserved by Lustu'; 715 thana ko paçima kañlammi vasu ageta raya dvarammi codeyati... 'Likewise whoever at a later time makes a complaint before the vasu, or the ageta or at the king's court'; 437 yo ca koci paçima kañlammi taya kuñiyae kridena caña kurva Kapgeya ni bharatere bharutputro va praputro va ṣati, yo aṇīma kiłmeci vasu agetana șa ca biti vara mañ-tra niñkaleyaṃti 'And whoever at a later time, (either) the brothers of Kapgeya or his brother's son, or grandson, or any other relative, brings the matter up a second time concerning this girl before the local (kiłmeci) vasus or agetas.

aṅga: To be read atga, cf. § 47. Always used in connection with multi 'price, payment'. It seems to mean something like 'additional, complementary, subsidiary' payment, e.g. 571 giḍa multi uta 1 duvarṣaṅga pañcasa multiyena, Koñayena pañichida aṃīna atga multi giḍa masu khi 10 'He received the price, one camel two years' old worth 50 multi. Koñaya received. Further he took a complementary payment of 10 khi of wine.'

aco, acovina: The meaning seems to be, as Prof. Thomas points out (Acta Or. xiii, 58), a kind of courier or messenger. Not indeed the regular monthly postal service described in 376, but a special courier to report impending attacks from enemies (cf. 133, 139). In that case aco might be some kind of outlook post on the frontier.

Against Prof. Thomas' explanation (ib.) from Sanskrit ājava or ājūh, internal j never becomes c. It became regularly y and under certain cases j (= śc), § 17. acaṣamnaṇa 415 (= ajeṣamnaṇena), if not merely to be regarded as an error, represents jj, which might possibly have been unvoiced into cc according to § 14.

Acomena: Place-name. Connected with aco (?), cf. the article cited above.
achinati: 'encroach on, appropriate', § 101.
ačhiati: = hačhiati, § 28.
ačhaniya: 703. Read perhaps račhaniya 'to be kept'.
ajakra: §§ 36, 91.
Ajiyama: See under avana.
aĵiṣamnae: § 1. ajeṣamnae, §§ 41, 67 = adhyesanayā.
ajuvaldae: § 11.
INDEX

ajhatu: Only 152. The meaning is quite uncertain, but it seems to have nothing to do with ajhate.


ajhateyāga: 242. The alternative reading ajhateyana is to be preferred, because otherwise it would not be inflected, cf. § 137; = ‘of the free men’.

ajhi: 562. Meaning and etymology quite obscure.

ajho: Obscure: but there is no reason to think it is connected with aco as Prof. Thomas thinks (Acta Or. xiii, 60). The letter deals with the transportation of the state supplies of corn and wine. Apart from that the passage containing ajho is far from clear. It runs: uṭa 20 20 tre tre milima nadha kartavo dui vara Piṣāliyaṃmi nihaṃsitavya, masuṃṇi uṭa 10 4 i prathame va ajho tre nikhalidavo ‘Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 milima each (of corn), and the two-thirds are to be stored at Piṣāli. For the masu fifteen camels are to be got out...?...’. Certainly uṭa is the subject of nikhalidavo, but is ajho another nominative parallel to it or some kind of adverb? Since we are dealing with wine it might be suggested that ajho = S. āsava (cf. §§ 7, 22), but that also fails to make the passage clear.

aṭha: § 49.
aṭhi: § 49.
aṭhovāga: = ‘ready, fit (for work), capable, available (for use)’, §§ 37, 49. The meaning was first pointed out by Prof. Thomas in Acta Or. xii.

aḍīni: Some kind of grain or crop. It is grown by seed (579).

adha: § 37.
amtaṇī: An epithet of horses and camels. The ġ cannot stand for the suffixal -ka, because we never find āghi in these forms. It must be an adjective derived by the suffix -i (§ 75) from a noun antāk, or antak. Probably Iranian, cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 779.

ativatidavo: Means ‘send, hand over, deliver, dispatch’. Probably = atipātaya—rather than ativartaya—because r is not usually assimilated to t, and, in the few instances where it is, a cerebral results, §§ 36, 37.

atvanama: § 44.
adhi: § 91.
adha: § 37.
adhamena: § 90.
ana, anati, etc.: § 44.

anata, anada: § 91. Seems to mean ‘carefully, well, properly’. It occurs regularly in certain stock phrases, e.g. 1, etc. eda vivada samuha anada pruchidavo ‘This dispute is to be carefully investigated in person’; 571, etc. esa pravamnaṇa Koṇaya nī miṣiyasa
praceya divira Ramśotsasa anada tharitavo ‘This document concerning the miṣī-(land) of Koṅaya is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramśotsa’. In 569 and 593 suha occurs in place of anada in the same formula. suha seems to mean much the same as su ‘well’ in 419 sukriṣa suhavikrida. Also in the phrase avi śpasa jivida paricaṇena anada račhidavya (cf. under śpasa). The meaning hardly allows us to equate it with Skt. ājñaptam ‘ordered’. It is perhaps the same word as Saka ānata ‘kept preserved’ (in the Saka version of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa Śūtra, vide Konow, S.B.P.A.W. (1935), pp. 428 ff. ānatu yanda translates ārakṣayiṣyathi). In the Maralbashi dialect the same word appears as anāḍu. This identification is strengthened by the fact that in our documents it is most frequently used with verbs like rakṣ- and dhar-.

anatiyena: § 70.
anavidetu: § 93.
anahetu: either = ṛnahetu or ana-, is the extended form of the negative prefix which appears occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 77), the meaning being ‘without just cause’. Although the treatment of ṛ- is irregular (§ 5), the former interpretation is supported by 719, where Saṅgapeya and Pgo carry off a woman anahetu; then the text goes on to say yo Saṅgapeya Pgo sa dharaṇṇaṇga hačhati ‘And whatever he (the owner of the woman) shall be owing to S. and P.’, etc.

aniyanae: § 103.
aniśati: § 99.
anupurvena: § 90.
anusampaṭṭi: = anusandhi or ānusandhi ‘adjoining’ (cf. Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 79).
apacira: (also written avacira, apcira). It appears as a kind of measure in the sale of vineyards (masu saḍa) not of other kinds of cultivated land. Ordinary sown land was measured not by area but by the amount of seed which was sown on it (see bhijapayati), and from 655 this seems to have been the case with vineyards. Budhaṃmaṇaṃ vamti miṣi viṣkrida, tatra bhijapayati miśima 1 khi 4 1, masu saḍa, tatra masu vuta pacira 10 3 ‘He sold to B. some miṣi-(land), there the capacity for seed was 1 m. 5 kh., (also) a vineyard; (and) there vines are planted to the extent of 13 apacira’. It is clear that apacira is some term indicating the number or quantity of vine-plants, and not the area. According to Stein (Ruins of Ancient Khotan, p. 247) vines are trained along low fences running in parallel lines. Perhaps apacira means ‘row’, i.e. a row of standard length in which vines were planted.
apanasya: § 86. = ātmanah.
apane: §§ 44, 86. = ātmanah.
apyamțara: § 14.
apramegō: §§ 16, 53.
apru: Only 722. Seems to be some noun of relationship belonging to
the native language. Unfortunately no information is available on the actual relationship of the people mentioned.

aprochiti: = apṛṣṭvā, § 102.

apsu: Title. There is practically no information as to the nature of their functions. We find them mentioned along with other officials in lists of witnesses, e.g. 571 cojhbo Kuviṇeyya sači, vāsudana Acuṇiya Cadhiya Vapiṇaka ca, apsuana Śāṃcā Pitga toṃgha Karāṃtsa gaṇa, sači Tamcgo, agetana Lpīpatga Kuīnana Kuviṇeyya yatma Kuviṇeyya ca sači. Perhaps toṃgha and apsu were functions very closely connected, because the most natural translation is ‘... of the apsu’s Śāṃcā Pitga and the toṃgha Karāṃtsa’, i.e. subordinating the toṃgha Karāṃtsa to the general conception of apsu. Otherwise we would have had ga ca after the name Pitga. Further, Karāṃtsa appears in 579 with the title apsu, while Śāṃcā appears at the bottom of this same document with the title toṃgha.


ambila: § 45. Possibly the same as amila 655, but the meaning of both is quite uncertain.

Ambukaya: Seems to be a title or surname: only 251.

abomata: = abhyavamata, §§ 41, 107—used with kṛ in the sense of ‘disobey’, ‘disrespect’, e.g. 371 yo esa cojhbo Somjaka abomata kariyati, vacanena na kariyati ‘This man who shall disobey the cojhbo Somjaka and shall not act according to his word’.

abramo: Quite obscure. The b suggests that it does not belong to the native language (§ 14).

abhatayutu: 399. One might suggest a reading like asamta *abhuta *yatu tusmāga anartha bhavati ‘(They say) things which are not, things which have not been, from which you suffer’.

abhīthe: 272. There is a variant reading akista which might be a proper name. abhīthe would mean ‘desirable, suitable’, but it is unusual to find an attributive adjective inflected, § 137 (unless -e<-ae<-aga, § 53).

abhuricitāgena: § 112.

abhismiṃtī: ‘They came to an agreement’.

amaraṃnae: § 103.

amahu: § 78.


aya dvara: = ‘revenue’, as pointed out by Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 71, quoting the Kāśyapa Parivartya, where the same phrase is found.

ayāṃnae: § 103.

aya Ridhasena: = ārya R., § 42. The word has a purely religious sense ‘reverend’, as in Buddhist texts, and does not elsewhere occur. The assimilation of ry to y is not regular (§ 36, cf. karya), but religious terms common to Buddhists in general are naturally liable to irregularities.
INDEX

ayidana: 676. If the correction asitana be adopted caña mamtsa asidana na nikhalita might be translated ‘By them having eaten the flesh, the skin was not removed’. But there is no other example of the participle in -ta being inflected in this dialect.

ayogena: Skt. áyoga. It is used to denote an additional payment to be made, when an old payment is long overdue, something like interest: e.g. 437, the payment of 3 muli has been deferred, consequently a ruling is made yatha patami muli šeṣa viśhīde huati taha ahuno se muli eka ayoγena giṃmitavo huda muli 4 i aṃ̄na varita ‘Just as the rest of the price (mentioned) on the document (paṭṭa) has been retained, so now that sum is to be received with one ayoγa, the sum is 5 muli, other payment is forbidden’. eka is obscure, but it is clear that the ayoγa is the extra 2 muli which have been added owing to deferment of payment. 14, an envoy to Khotan had not been provided with a guard (valaγa) at Caḍota at the expense of the state. Now an order is made that the wages of a guard be paid him saḍha ayoγena, i.e. complete with interest or an extra sum to make up for his own expense and trouble. 68 (two men have eaten a sack of corn belonging to somebody else) eṣa aṃ̄na sa ayoγena Opge Līpesa ca giṃmidaivy ‘This corn plus interest is to be received by O. and L.’ There do not seem to be any documents recording a deed of loan on interest, so if usury was practised, which it hardly can have been on a large scale, there is no means of learning what the general word for ‘interest’ was. ayoγa always occurs where an additional payment has to be made by people who have neglected paying sums due for a long time. ayoγa in the sense of ‘something added on to, an addition, extra’ is a quite natural meaning, although it does not appear to be used in Sanskrit exactly in this sense.

ara: § 28. =hāra (?).

arabhtidavya: § 116.

ari: =ārya (?). ārya certainly becomes āya in one place (see above), but there is a specifically monkish term. ari does not seem to be associated with any particular function, like many of the titles, so that a general meaning something like ‘sir’, which ārya might easily have, is the most likely. On the other hand the term is not applied to very many people.

ariḍi and ariḍaγa: Only 109. Among a list of things senṭ as a present. According to Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 78=ārdri and ārdaraka ‘ginger’. The phonetics are irregular, but such a word is likely to exhibit irregularities due to borrowing.

arivaγa: Probably means ‘guide’. The arivaγa is frequently mentioned as conducting envos to Khotan: 135 avi arivaγa maṃmuṣa aṭhovaγa 1 dadavo yasya anuparvona gamdavo siyati etaṣa arivaγa sena storena gamdavo ‘Also a capable arivaγa-man is to be given (to the envos) who shall go in front of them. This arivaγa must go on his own beast.’ Similarly 22, 253. The office was hereditary:
INDEX

438 Bhimaśena vimśaveti, eṣa pitarā pita uvāde na arivaṅga asti
Khotanśni mata na anada janati, arivaṅga na kartavo 'Bh. informs
(us): he is not an arivaṅga from his father and ancestors, he does
not properly know the Khotan mata, you make him an arivaṅga,
his name is not made an arivaṅga’. mata unfortunately is obscure.
Skt. mata- does not seem to give any good sense. Similarly in 10
a man complains that his paternal profession is klasemci not
arivaṅga. Etymology uncertain. Prof. Thomas suggests Skt.
arpaka-, i.e. through *arpaka- with svarabhakti.

are: 2 are khi 1. Apparently the same as ara in 176 ara khi 1. Perhaps
‘half a khi’<Ir. ardaka. For r<rd, r compare nokṣari<navaka sard-.
aroqi: § 9.
aresa: (and areṣahi). Obscure.
aroqemi: § 97.
arohaṅga: Only 420. Uncertain; perhaps something like the saddle of
a camel; =ārohaka.
Argiyongiṁsavae: § 69. Read Argiyonγ (=tγ)iśae.
artavaśa: 431. Some object.
arthā: § 55.
arnavaṭī: A kind of cloth measured in hands (hasta) 83, which may be
white (śpeti 83, which seems to show that the word is feminine).
arvaṅga(e): Occurs before a few proper names, namely Apeṇna (87,
147, 210, 531), Kolkṣa (560), Uvaṃṣa (543). It may be the
Iranian proper name Arṣaka- (Arsaces).
alamgiḷa: Only 109. Some article; gaalamgiḷa ‘along with an a’.
a la va la: 499. Reading uncertain.
alena: Epithet of kojava ‘rug’, ‘blanket’ 549; =aḷayana- ‘rug for
lying down in (?)’.
alotā: § 18. =aḷotṭa ‘plundering’; single t would have become ḍ.
avaγaṇa: §§ 16, 21.
avana: Hardly from Skt. apana ‘bazaar’, because the meaning is
rather ‘village’ or ‘parish’. It might first have meant a local market,
then market-town including the land round it: 124 Peta avanemci
bhumaṇa praco ‘Concerning the lands belonging to the parish of
Peta’. The word is most likely of Iranian origin: O.Pers. avahana,
Araiz wives: avan, both meaning ‘village’; Saka vāna<(a)vāna,
which shows that the second a was long. The meaning is obviously
nearer than that of Skt. apana. nagara is used as a synonym for
avan, in 25, peta nagaramni.

The avanas, always mentioned by name (the word avana does
not occur independently), are the following:

(1) Yave avana; at 497 it appears as deviyae yave avanamni.
(2) Peta avana; in 494 as deviyae peta avanamni.
(3) Catiṣa devi avana; also Catiṣa deviṣae a² 334, etc., and devi
Catisae a² at 295.
(4) Yirumghina avana, only 297.
INDEX

(5) Ajiyama avana.
(6) Vanti avana.
(7) Traasa avana.
(8) Navaça avana 366.
(9) Tomgraka maharayaşa avanannya 549.
(10) Deviye ogu Anuğya ni avanannya 629.
(11) Pagina avanannya 750.

Note also that Armenian avan is similarly compounded with proper names, e.g. Vataś-avan (Hübschmarm, Arm. Gr. p. 79).

The avanas frequently appear as administrative units for collecting taxes (cf. 42, 121, 165, 468) or other purposes (e.g. 136, 296, 439). In 16 Peta avana is put in charge of a cañkura. Individuals mentioned in the documents often have their avana referred to, showing that it was an important unit of administrative classification.

avamicæ: § 55. Perhaps = apamityaka, rather than apamityāya.
avalika: § 75. Mentioned side by side with kojava ‘blanket, counterpane’, and namata ‘rough coat’ is perhaps an object of somewhat similar nature.
avasa: §§ 7, 41. avase, § 53.
avasama: Not = avasāt, because the ablative is always in -ade never -ama, § 56. The meaning seems to be something like ‘unsuitable, improper’: 69 mahe iša avasama Bhoti-nagarade anma nihkalamae ‘It was not proper for me here to remove the corn from Bhoti-nagara’, or ‘It was not opportune that the corn should be removed’; 29 tatra sačhi iša nasti, udisha avasama hoda iša niče karanmae ‘On that point there are no witnesses here. Therefore it was impossible to make a decision here’, or ‘It was held that we should . . .’. Compare Saka viyama ‘improper’ (B.S.O.S. viii, 141) which is opposed to presama ‘suitable’. The words must be Indian not Iranian. Skt. *apusama and *prasama.
avijda: § 17.
avimdhama: ‘recompense, penalty’, e.g. 144 yati Soğana tađitağena Kacana mṛdağa siyati avimdhama maḍnuṣa vyochimnidadvya hoati ‘If Kacana (a slave) died through Soğana’s beating, a man (i.e. slave) must be adjudged to the owner in recompense’. The term avimdh(h)ama includes both the making good of losses caused to other people by illegal action, e.g. 676 (somebody having stolen a cow) udisha triguna avimdana chimnidama ‘Therefore we have decided on a restitution of three times the amount’, and also punishment, retribution in the form of beating, etc. (209, 419, etc.).
avihameya: The alternative reading avisaṃmeyay = abhisamaya is to be preferred.
aspa: = asva, § 49. aśpamca, § 62.
asade: i.e. ajhade (z). Internal s was voiced, so appears written for z.
asadhanae: = āsūdanāya ‘to settle’ (Act.).
INDEX

asamna: § 123. Only in the phrase asamna gāmadava. The meaning seems to be ‘take possession of’. Compare possess from sedeo. Cf. § 123.

asamne: § 373, is from āsanna (opposite to tura = dūra in the next line).

asamagā: See under hastama.

asamga: § 78.

ahati: § 96.

ahu: §§ 78, 96.

ahunnevā: = ahuno eva.

ahuno: § 91.

āmechita: § 50.

imcī: § 84.

ichiyati: §§ 1, 100.

itamca: (and idamca), § 82.

itu: §§ 12, 91.

ityarthā: § 134.

imthuammi: § 91.

imā: § 82.

iyō: § 82.

iśā: § 91. iśemi, § 91.

istrīa: § 10.

ukas-: ut + √kas ‘to go’, meaning ‘depart, go away’. ukasta, § 107.


utā: §§ 25, 37, 49. utavala, § 20; uṭi-, § 68.

uḍa: § 25.

udhaviyadi: 661. Optative, not = uthāpyate, § 100.


udīśa: §§ 41, 102.

umna: § 37.

unidaṅga: (also uneyāga, unidi (Fem.)). The forms are used indiscriminately, compare 538 strīRamanāśīrae unidi giḍae huati with 542 sā kuḍi Ramanāśīrae nama uneyāga giḍae. = ‘adopted (child)’. The custom was very prevalent, since numerous documents refer to it. A payment was made by the adopters to the parents which was called kuthačhira (see s.v.). In 569 it is laid down that they are not to be treated as slaves: eṣa Śaṃmaṇnera unidaṅga na dajha kaḍavo na vikrimidavo...emu kaṭavo yathā uniyā maṃmuṣa ‘This Ś. (is an) adopted (child), he is not to be made a slave, not to be sold, he is
to be treated like an adopted person’. With the permission of their masters, slaves could adopt children in the same way, cf. 39.

From un-nī in the sense of ‘bring up’, ‘rear’ (39 unida vardhida).

**upagata**: § 20.

**Upateyu**: = Upadeva, cf. Ḫivateyu and § 13.

**upama**: § 107.


**upasamghidavo**: § 46.

**uuyoña**: (?). Apparently title of some kind.

**uryaṅgana**: See vuryaṅa.

**uvadæ**: §§ 29, 102.

**uhati**: § 28.

**E**


**ekago**: § 53.

**ekhara**: Title or surname. The kh shows that it cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina, which was quite devoid of aspirates (or spirants: kh may stand for x).

**eti**: § 87.

**etrisa**: § 5.

**ema**: § 50. emaveca, § 11.

**emamtara**: (and imamtara). =‘in the meanwhile, during this interval’. From ima- and antara; emamtara seems to be due to the influence of ema.

**eśvari**: § 9.

**O**

**ogu**: One of the commonest of the titles in the documents. The g in the middle of the word is striking. Otherwise both in the Prakrit and in native names g appears in these positions: bhaṅga, Caṅgula, Oṅga, etc. There is no other word in which g appears regularly. In this word it is invariable. This perhaps indicates that it was pronounced *oggu*. Anyway the term cannot have belonged originally to the native language of Kroraina, because it was devoid of voiced consonants (§ 14).

As regards its significance, it appears to have been about the highest title that existed, since in lists of people with their titles the ogu comes first, e.g. 732 astama pruchitaṁti ogu Ḫeyabhatra camkura Catarāga cāvalaina Tīráphara cojhbo Somjaka Ḍāiptaṣa ca, 574 tatra saṅhi hutamti ogu Daṁapala kori Muldeya kitsatsa Lstuṣaṇa ca. Similarly 709 (the king—the ogus—the suveṭhas—cojhbo, etc.), 582, etc. The title guśura seems to have been connected in some way with ogu. A number of people appear both as ogu and guśura, e.g. Kuṣanaṇa, Cakurata, Aśoṅga; while in the document 584 esa muntra guśura Ḫebhatra camkura Carāga cojhbo Somjakaṣa ca is the same formula (and the same people)
who appear in 582 eṣa mu(dra) ogu ḫeyabhatra caṅıkura Ca(tarağa) (co)ḥbho Somjakaṣa ceṣa. About twenty-five ogus are mentioned.  
ogaṇa: Some kind of crop measured in milimas and khis (154). Perhaps connected with Toch. oko ‘fruit’, oka ‘plant’.  
oḍē: § 99. =‘let go’, ‘send away’, ‘allow’: 211 edaṣa miṣiṇaṁmi khadaṁnarti Kaka ṿāpeṣa ca vāḍaṭyani oḍiṁṭti ‘K. and L. let mares loose in his cornfield to eat’; 18 kriṣiṇaṭra na oḍeṇi karaṁnae ‘He will not allow him to do cultivation’. The etymology is not clear. It may be connected with Pali oḍḍeti ‘throw away, reject’ (Pv. A. 256 oḍḍayāṁi = chaḍḍayāṁi) and oḍḍeti meaning ‘to set or lay a snare’ (pāṣa).  
omaga: § 7. =avamaka ‘short’ (of measure).  
oya: § 17. =oja-.  
orovaga: =*avaroṇaka (?). The meaning is not clear.  
osūga: §§ 41, 48.  
ohara: 160. goṭha-ohara = avahāra, perhaps the ‘produce of a farm’, which can be removed (ava-hṛ) annually at harvest time.

**K**

kaː: § 83. kači, §§ 49, 84.  
kaṭhā vaṁṇaṅga: 583. Obscure. Lüders (Textilien, p. 21) equates it with kaṭa thavaṇṁe (141), assuming that ha is miswritten.  
kaṃjhaṇvaliyanā: Only 725 avi(k)kaṃjhaṇvaliyaṇa paḷiṇyaṣa anada pricha ganana kartaṇo; the meaning is obviously ‘treasury-officials’. kaṃjha-=Ir. ganza-, another dialectical form of gaṇja-, which also appears in the documents, cf. gaṇṇi. The last member of the word is obscure.  
kaṭa: 607. = kāṭha (?).  
kaṭavo: § 37.  
kaṭīṇa: § 49.  
kaṭaṁti: § 5.  
kaṭma: 160. = (?), katma kriṣiṇatra kareṁti.  
katvētha: 470. = ‘you have made’. Read kaṭētha (?).  
kaṃpo: 43. Apparently something made of gold.  
kaḥḍha: Perhaps ‘grazing-land, pasture’, cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 513. Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xiii, 70) thinks that it was communally owned. Cf. s.v. naṭira.  
kaṃita: § 83.  
kaṃmuṇta: 207. Lüders (op. cit. p. 6) equates it with kamaṇṭa (see s.v. candrikamaṇṭa), but without adequate reason.  
kaṃaveti: §§ 29, 104.  
kaṇṭavatra: 534. (?). It looks Indian. kaṭapātra (‘glass vessel’) (?). c becomes s (f) rather than y. But the signs are easily confused.
kāraṇṇiya: § 116.
karitu: § 93. karemana, § 101; kariṣadi, § 41.
karoma: 505. Some object.
karsenaṇa: Some kind of official. Closely connected with the sadavida. They are mentioned together 482, 590. The karsenaṇa is comparatively rarely mentioned, only about six or seven individuals bearing that title.
kāla: Title. It may mean ‘prince’ because Kāla Pumṇābala is called mahārayaputra 622, 634. About ten kālas are mentioned.

Prof. Thomas has suggested (Festschrift...H. Jaccobi, p. 51) that it is the same word as appears as kara in Kujula Kara Kadphises on the coins of that monarch, while guṣṭra = kujula. The identifications are exceedingly probable, although the phonetics are not easy to explain. On the other hand titles like these are liable to be borrowed from kingdom to kingdom, undergoing phonetic changes en route. Cf. s.v. guṣṭra.
kavāji: Perhaps = kavacikā, which would give kavāji (kavāṣi) in this dialect (§§ 14, 74 ikā>i, § 17 c>s, f). From 505 it is clearly an article of dress.
kaśa: 400. Epithet of amṇa ‘corn’.
kaśplāya: 534 kaśplāya 4 (in a list of objects).
kaśara: 606: śramāṇa Ayila vimṇaveti yathā edaṇa stri Cadiṣaṇe maṇṇa kaśara dahita ‘The monk Ayila says that the woman Cadiṣa has burnt his kaśara’ (edaṇa ... maṇṇa, anacoluthon). Compare Toch. A. kāṣār = Skt. kāṣāya (also B.). The Toch. forms perhaps find their explanation in this dialect. Beyond that the origin of the r is mysterious.
kākāni: 399. (?).
kārsenade: 86. Read probably kārsenāva. The officials sadavida and karsenaṇa are mentioned together in other places, cf. s.v. karsenaṇa.
kāla: Cf. s.v. kāla.
kikama: § 84.
kica: § 41.
kicamāga: ‘due, owing’ (of tax, etc.). Etymology unknown.
kidā: §§ 5, 18, 107.
kimtrā: A surname. Cf. kimtrāi.
kitsaitsa: Title. The kitsaitsa was of very high rank, often being mentioned along with kālas (581, 606, 640, etc.), also with tasuca (495, 648). The functions of the kitsaitsa were of a judicial nature (e.g. 495, 581, 606, 719, 730). Connected possibly with Toch. B. ktsaitsaṇe ‘age’. The meaning ‘elder’, i.e. member of a sort of council of elders, would be quite appropriate. Cf. J.R.A.S. (1935), p. 673.
kimna: §§ 1, 83.
kirsoṣa: Epithet of utī ‘female-camel’, 570.
kilamudra: ‘wedge-seal’, i.e. wedge-shaped wood on tablet with the royal seal on. Stein, Ruins of Ancient Khotan, p. 368.

kilme: = ‘estate’; kilme(ni)ci ‘tenant’ according to Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xiii, 63).

It is not easy to be quite sure about the precise meaning of the word. It seems to be the same as the Toch. A. kālyme ‘direction, district’ and often a general meaning like that is suitable: Yāvé avānāṃni kilmeci-i ‘belonging to the district of Yāvē avanā’. But there are certain indications that it has a more specified meaning. Notably 374 samvatsarī pāłśi cintitāga yo kilmečiyana paride yam ca rajade ‘The year’s tax was assessed, both that from the kilmečis and that from the rájya’. That may mean that the rájya was the land directly owned by the king, while the kilmes were fiefs or estates granted to the nobility of the realm. The titles of people who have kilmes under them are those which for other reasons are known to have been the most exalted. Most frequently ogu (209, 254, 393, 621, 639, 734). Also camkura (437 and 16, where Peta avana is handed over to the camkura Arjuna), kala (256, 367) and possibly cojho (152). No one without a high title is mentioned as having a kilme, so that it is not just a case of ordinary landed-proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching feudalism. Cf. also J.R.A.S. (1935), p. 674. A connection may be suggested with the ‘Lord’s land’ of the Tibetan documents (Prof. Thomas, J.R.A.S. (1934), p. 96).

kišanma: § 5. kišivanma, § 104.

kukuđa: § 18.

kuthačhira: § 49. Technical term indicating the payment made by people adopting a child to the parents (cf. s.v. uneyaga). This usually consisted of a horse (45, etc.) or camel (569). Except in 741, the word always occurs in the genitive, e.g. 569 kuthačhira sa uta akłata dita ga ‘An aŋklata camel was given (as a return for) kuthačhira’, i.e. as a return for having nourished the child in its earliest infancy, a payment was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child. kutha- is obviously the participle of kuš- ‘extract’ (connected with cüs- (?)), meaning the milk which had been sucked by the child. The th instead of th is unexplained (§ 49). The genitive is difficult unless we understand something like kuthačhira sa prati kara.

kuḍa: 358 = kuḍa ga.

kuḍa ga: Fem. kuḍi (i=ikā) ‘boy’ and ‘girl’. The word is common in a number of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Panjabi kuirfem., Lahnda kura masc., kuriefem., etc., chiefly in the languages of the North-West. A connection with N.Pers. kuḍak ‘child’ is not out of the question.

kuthala: Both meaning and etymology are difficult. It might appear from 327 Kolaśiyaga vaṃti miṣiyanmi kuthala xo 3 viṅvida ‘In miṣi-land he sold 13 kuthala to K.’ that it was a unit of land-
measurement. On the other hand land is not usually measured by area, but by the amount of seed it takes (see s.v. payati, bijapayi), and the fact that kuthala is placed before bhuma, qualifying it (e.g. 419, 582), indicates that it was a particular form or kind of land. Since undoubtedly the kuthalas are numbered (see above) a meaning something like a ‘strip of land’ would be most adequate, and kuthala bhuma would mean land divided up in such a fashion. Such systems of land-tenure are of course common. The word cannot belong to the native language because of the aspirate th. Nor can it be Iranian because internal th would appear as h at this time (both in Saka and Pahlavi). As a rule (§27) th would become h in Indian words too, so that the word may represent *kuthala.

**kurora**: Epithet of land, bhuma kurora. Perhaps = N. Pers. kurār = ‘a plot of land with a raised border prepared for sowing’; B.S.O.S. vii. 780.

**kulola**: § 28.

**kuvana**: kvaivana 430. (1) Epithet of corn (āṃna), collected as tax. There are three technical terms applied in this sense: kvaivana, koyimamdhina, tsamghina (e.g. 272), but their precise signification is not clear. (2) in 318 kvaivana prahuni; compare Saka khaṃ thau = Skt. cailapattā.

**kuśava**: § 2.

**kusanta**: Surname or title.

**kuhani**: (and khoani, kuhanemci). = ‘The Capital’ or ‘Citadel’; cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* xii, 61. 530 mahanuva maharaya lihati...yatha...iṣa kuhaniyammi ‘...here in the kuhani’, i.e. Krorayina, the capital from which the great king is writing. In 489 the Khuhanemci Bhičhu-sangha lays down the ecclesiastical rules for the provincial sangha at Cañota.

**keti**: § 87.

**ko**: § 83.

**kojala**: § 21.

**kojava**: = Pali kojava ‘a rug or cover with long hair, a fleecy counterpane’. Both words may be connected with kaucaapaka, which is enumerated among the different kinds of rugs (kambala) at *Arth. Śāstra*, ii, 110. 100.

**kotareyana**: 414. Obscure.

**kopī**: 198. Read ko pivaraga ‘whichever is fat’ instead of kopī varaṅa in the text.

**kobala**: Surname. = kompala (?).

**koyimamdhhi**: (and koyimamdhina; in koyimam 38, -dhī has perhaps been omitted by mistake). The term is applied to a particular class of officials in charge of collecting grain, e.g. 38 Apeṇṇasa pitu Opgeya Koyimam (dhī (?)) hoati; 309 tam kāla adehi koyimamdhina amna miling iṣa x sa 20 20 10 (iṣa) aniṣ...ti ‘At that time the k.s used to bring from there 170 m. of corn’. Cf. tsamghina.

**korara**: Surname or title. Applied to Suṅīta (73, 181, 577), Rutraya (147, 180, 382) and Cakrāla (334).

**kori**: An official whose functions seem to have been most closely
INDEX

connected with the royal herds. Thus in 4 kori Rutraya is given instructions about the dispatch of camels. Further orders about camels are given to koris in 40, 64, 228, about horses in 213, 223, 228. They occasionally however appear in other functions, namely legal disputes, e.g. 32 (instructions to kori Rutraya about a marriage dispute), 49 (Rutraya: along with cojhbo Yitaka and tonga Yukto: dispute about property).

koro: 383. Apparently a kind of camel.
korno: 46 striyanakorno dhidare 2 (? striyanakorno ... or striyanakorno). Quite obscure.
koltarśa: Surname or title. Applied to Kuṇγe (66), Salveta (210, 281) and Tsuγenāmna (266).
kośaλga: § 16.
kośava: Cf. kojava.
krataγa: 534 krataγa 2 (in a list of objects).
kriθa: 580 dhanθa devaṃti aśpa tre nā kri ṭha prahara satati (nakriθa or na kriθa (?); epithet of horse (?)).
krita: § 5.
kriśaγa: § 74.
kriγati: § 5.
kriśivatta: § 76.
krisivamnae: § 103.

kremeru: 318, 660. Some object which has to do with cloth or clothing, as appears from 660.

kroṇa: 163. Epithet of uτa ‘camel’ (or nikroṇa).

klaseṃci: Officials whose duties were concerned with looking after horses and camels connected with the army: 562 ede Kuṇγe Oγana saca caura seni klaseṃciye, tusya puna rayaka uṭavala karetu, yo paṃca seniyade aśi siyaṃti eda aṃñā rajadhāṃa kareṇti, taha sūtha na laṃcaγa karetu, mahi maharayaśa anatiyade aṃñāθa karetu, yahi eda kilamuḍa atra eṣati prathā yo atra aśhove jaṇṇa siyaṃti teṣa Kuṇγeyasya paride (uτa) uτi piśiṇa, uṭavale kartavo ede Kuṇγe Oγanaṣa ca piṇḍa klaseṃna dhaṇa kartavo ‘These (people) Kuṇγe and Oγana are klaseṃci for four armies (divisions of the army), but you are making them keepers of the royal camels. They are performing another state duty which on the top of their army-(work) (seniyade aśi: aśi = aγhi which occurs below tade aγhi. It = adhi, cf. aṣiṃa) makes five (jobs). In this you are certainly not acting rightly, you are acting differently from the command of me, the great king. When this wedge and seal shall come there, such people as are available there, the camels must be handed over from Kuṇγe to them, and they must be made keepers of camels, (while) these people Kuṇγe and Oγana perform their fundamental klaseṃna-duty.’ It is clear from this passage that the duties of the klaseṃci were sufficiently near those of the uṭavala for them to be confused by the authorities. In 10 a man complains that he is klaseṃci at Peta aṭana and is being made an arivaγa (‘guide’, see s.v.).
INDEX

K

kema: § 83.

KH

khakhorna: An attempt is made in B.S.O.S. vii, 780 to show that this word should be read khakhorda and is = Av. kaxw'arda ‘wizard’, Arm.L.W. kaxard ‘magician’, Skt. kākhorda, kharkoṭa, etc., meaning the same. khakhorna stri would then mean ‘a witch’, a meaning which fits the passages well.

khaja: § 4x.
khāṃje: § 60.
khavta: § 107.
khadiṃnarthi: § 55.
khamnavataqesi: Cf. s.v. vataqa.
khara: = (1) ‘ass’ 598, 628; (2) a surname or title, e.g. kha Kungeyaza 456. Connected with ekhara (?).
kharagi: 292. Perhaps means ‘asses’.
kharavarna: 318. Some object.

khi: Measure of capacity: 20 khi = 1 milima. Since milima has been shown to be = Gk. μέθυνος, khi is probably = χοῦς. As regards the change from ṛ to ṛ Konow says (Saka Studies, p. 20) that in Saka a dental or guttural fricative effects the change ṛ > ṛ (tiṣma ‘seed’ = *tauhma through *tūhma, although here the x comes last).

khula: = kula ‘herd (of camels, etc.)’. On kh- for k- in Prakrit, cf. Pischel, § 206. But the change does not occur elsewhere in this word. Both Pali and Prakrit have kula.

khuvanecri: Cf. kuhani.
kheni: = khani ‘a pit’.

khema: Has hitherto been taken as = Skt. kṣema. But kṣ becomes čh not kh in this dialect. khoritaqa ‘shaven’ is an exception. But this word in the compounds śvastičema and yogacchema exhibits the regular form.

Further, it suits the sense of the passages better to take it as a place-name. In 214 yava khemaṃmi means obviously ‘as far as Khema’, because we are dealing with the stages of the journey of an ambassador to Khotan, and the provisions to be made for them. Khema appears from this document to have been a town between Caḍota and Khotan. In 506 and 709 we hear of slaves fleeing to Khema. Apart from this khema only occurs in the stock phrase yahi Khema Khotamnade vartamana haḍhati imthu ami mahu maharayaṣa padamulaṃmi viṃṇadi lekha prahadaiva 272, etc. ‘When there is news (vartamana = praṇṛti) from Khema and Khotan you must send a letter of information to the feet of me the great king’. For the construction Khema Khotamnade compare Caḍota Calmadaṇade, etc. and § 135.
INDEX

Khotamna: = Khotan. Kh no doubt stands for x to judge from Saka
Hvatana, N.Pers. xutan, etc.

khorita: § 48. (= ksor-)

khoña: Name of a man. Probably a Khotanese. B.S.O.S. vii, 516.
kvani: Cf. kuhani.
Khvarnarse: n.pr. B.S.O.S. vii, 515 and 789.

G

gachamana: § 101.
gachisat: § 99.

gamda pitaka: 511. = ‘boils and eruptions’.

gatosmi: § 106.
gademi: § 105.
gamdavo: § 46.
ganasag: A surname applied to Sakha, who was a Khotani (335).

kanasaka, which is obviously the same, appears alone in 30

Khotani Kanasaka.

gamiyana: Cf. Pali gamika=gamiya ‘courier’.

gamesati: § 50.
gamesisa: § 99.
garahan: § 10.
garbheni: § 3.

galpiti: 162. Lüders (B.S.O.S. viii, 641) suggests plausibly that it

is a mistake for samgalpiti ‘having collected’, with l’ (i.e. l’y) for l

according to § 31.

gidy: § 41.

gimta: or gita; 225 amña gida ginta khi 1, something measured in

kkhs.

Giraka: § 15.
gilana: § 10.
gut: = gudha, § 18.
gumoca: 534. Some object.

guṣura: Title. It is among the highest titles like kala and ogu. With

the latter it seems to have rather close connections, because a

number of people appear with both titles (see s.v. ogu). Their

functions were judicial (216, 295, etc.). There were guṣuras in

Khotan as well as in Shan-Shan (413).

Prof. Thomas (Festschrift... H. Jacobi, p. 51 and Acta Or. xiv,
p. 66) proposes to equate guṣura with the title kujula, kuyula,
kozoulo, which occurs on the coins of the Kuṣan kings.

Leaving aside this problem for a moment I propose to equate

guṣura with N.Pers. vazir, Av. viṣira. The N.Pers. is reborrowed

from Ar. (Horn, Neupersische Etymologie, s.v.), the correct N.Pers.
form would be *guṣir. The change from vi- to gu- which is
characteristic of N. Pers. was also at work among the Iranians who appeared in North India in the first century A.D.

Gudaphara = Vindafarnā. Further, c is regularly changed to ś in this dialect (§ 17), so that the form we would expect corresponding to vaxīr if borrowed into a North-West Prakrit would be guśira, and the assimilation of the vowels produced the form we have, guśura.

If this is true kufula of the Kuśana inscriptions, if connected with this word, will have to be a corruption of guśura in the mouths of non-Iranians of some kind.

In support of this hypothesis it may be further pointed out that guśura cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina on account of the initial g (§ 14), and if kufula were the original form it is incredible that a people possessing no voiced stops would substitute guśura for it. gauśura appears as an official title in a Sanskrit document from Kuci (Lüders, ‘Zur Geschichte u. Geographie Ostturkestans’, S.P.A.W. 1922).

goduma: § 24.
gōma: =gohūma ‘wheat’; gohomi 83 represents an intermediate stage. In 72 (ja²) huma (’ga-) read gohuma probably. Cf. § 27 and § 28.
gōšato: 157. Read certainly go vito (cf. s.v. vito).
gramiye: § 60.
grahito: § 53.
grihasta: § 5.

GH

ṅgaca: Read Tūgaca as in the notes. A variant is Taṅgaca, cf. § 13 and § 47.

C

caurā: ‘four’, § 19.
cāṃkura: An official title. Peta atvāna is put in charge of a cāṃkura, 16. They appear from time to time as judges along with ogus, cojhbos, tasucas, cuvalayinas (318, 506, 583, etc.). Cāṃkura Kapgeya has kilmecis (see s.v.) under him. Other administrative duties are entrusted to them (64, camels, 532). Prof. Thomas compares cañ-hhyir, cañkhyur of the Tibetan documents (J.R.A.S. (1927), pp. 75 n., 79; (1933), p. 550; (1934), pp. 97, 252). He has further shown that its meaning in Tibetan is ‘protector’ (Acta Or., XIII, 73), and proposes to equate it with the Skt. nagara-rakṣaka, i.e. guardian of the city or chief of police. The Tibetan word is presumably borrowed from some Central Asian language.
INDEX

cakhorade: 320 ogu je ya sa ni ro cakhorade. Read ogu jeyasa ni ro cakhorade, but the expression is quite obscure.
cagali: § 75.
caññatrena: = jaññatrena, § 14.
Cañota: It is noteworthy that there are surprisingly few native names containing cerebrals, so that the language was probably devoid of them. Cañota is definitely exceptional. J.R.A.S. (1935), p. 669.
Cañotiyé: § 60.
Cañodemci: § 77.
Cataroyaağa: § 69.
catu: § 89.
catuvarşağa: § 139.
cañdrı̤kąmañta: 372. cañdrı̤ka 714. According to Prof. Thomas 'moonlight-workings' = 'jade' (Acta Or. xii, 46), only in that case we ought to have had -kamañta, § 36. In 714 the word should perhaps be read cañdrı̤kąmañta, because the na which is printed separately seems inappropriate. It is not clear whether we are dealing with a compound expression or with two separate words (cañdrı̤ and kamañta) which happen to be mentioned together. cañdrı̤ might be connected with Skt. cañdrakam 'ginger'. kamañta has been compared with N.P. kamaṇḍ 'noose' which is uncertain as long as its meaning is unsettled, and also with kamaṇta (see s.v.). A further connection with Saka kāmādi is suggested by H. W. Bailey, Z.D.M.G. 1936, p. 576.
capariśa: = '46', §§ 43, 47.
camari: 585: camari vavala 1. Probably a mistake for camari vala, i.e. the tail of the camara or chowrie.
carapuruşa: 'Spy' or 'intelligence agent' as in Sanskrit.
caru: Surname or title applied to Kutgeya (103), Mutreya (277), Lustu (327), Jimoya (385), Pratgā (576).
Calmadan Cañodađe: § 135.
cavala: = 'quickly', § 90.
caşağa: = Skt. caṣaka- 'cup', used of a small measure of capacity, less than a kahi.
caṭuğhi: Cf. jituğhi and § 14.
cita: = citta; cita cartavya 'attention is to be paid'.
cimd: = cint-, § 46. It is used in the sense of 'reckoning' or 'assessing' the amount of tax, e.g. 468 yahi purvika adehi Yave avanaṇmi kilmeçiyana paride samvatsari pālpi amna nadha pīṇḍa milima 10. 4. 1. Cimdiṭağa 'Formerly from there at Yave avana the yearly tax from the kilmećis (see s.v.) was assessed altogether at 15 milima of corn'.
citiṣati: 667. Perhaps = cintiṣyati. On the omission of anusvāra see § 47.
citarianae: 703. Read ciwanae = jivanae 'to live', which makes good sense. The aksaras tra and ṑ are quite easily confused.
Cina: Skt. Cina = 'Chinese'.

INDEX

Cinarāha: B.S.O.S. vii, 515. Probably cina- = Chinese and Iranian phara=farnā, just as Cinasena is formed with the Indian -sena.
cina veṭha: 353. Pali veṭha, vethana according to Prof. Rapson and cina=‘Chinese’.
cinika: § 32.
cimnita-da: §§ 24, 45.
cimara: = cīvara (Prof. Rapson), cf. § 50.
ciraimta: 587. Epithet of bhuma ‘land’. cirāyita (?) (i.e. land that has grown poor by being used for a long time). Quite doubtful.
cilamdhina: ‘common, shared’: 21 yatha edasa Lzpamena sadha uṭa cilamdhina hato ‘That of him there is a camel owned in common with L.’; 256 (they have divided property…) sudha Patraya cilamdhina hoda ‘Only Patraya was (remained) common property’.
On the suffix -ina, cf. § 77.
Civamitra: § 14.
ciśa: § II.
cudiyadi: §§ 1, 2.
curoṇa: (croṇa, ciroṇa). Some kind of agricultural commodity, sent as tax (paṭi). From 264 curoṇa paṣu 2 ‘curoṇa sheep 2’ it would seem to be something that is got from sheep or goats (cheese?).
culage: § 53.
culo: 304. Apparently a surname.
cuvalayina: An official title. cuvalayinas act as judges (582, 709, 732). In 135 cuvalayina Pihurmaśeva goes on an embassy to Khotan. His name has a definitely foreign appearance (possibly Iranian, see s.v.). Judging by the position they occupy in lists of titled people, the cuvalayinas were inferior in rank to ogus, guṣuras and caṃkuras, possibly superior to cojḥbos (cf. 582, 584, 709, 732).
Only a few cuvalayinas are mentioned, namely: Malbhuta, Onuṉi, Pihurmaśeva, Pumṇavanta and Tiraṇhara. In certain cases cu seems to be a proper name, cf. 278, 573, 702.
Coka: Surname of Pigha, 103.
cokto: Surname of Somgoṣya and Arkāṁga (558).
cokho: (cokha). Surname of Šuṭa (72).
cojḥbo: The commonest of all the local titles. About forty people are referred to with the title cojḥbo. Judging from the position he regularly occupied in lists the cojḥbo was inferior in rank to ogu, guṣura, kāla and caṃkura (478, 709, 732, etc.). On the other hand cojḥbo Somjaka was certainly governor of the province of which Cadaota was the capital (272 ekṣya etaṣa raja picavadi), so that he at least must have been superior in power to all the ogus, etc. residing there. But again the large number of cojḥbos mentioned,
much larger than that of *ogu* or *gušura* or *camkura*, shows that they cannot as a rule have held such high positions as Somjaka.

Their functions were both judicial and administrative (tax-collecting, etc.). Also national defence in the case of Somjaka (cf. especially 272). How closely they were connected with the army it is impossible to say, because most of the documents are dealing with civil life. In 713 *cojhbo* Tağıra reports a victory over an unspecified enemy, where it looks as if he had been commanding. In 478 apparently *gušura*, *spētha*, *cvōlayina* and *cojhbo* are all said to be military men: *Iša čhunammi khvaniyade seniye ayitaŋti gušura Kuşanasena, caruweta spētha Vidhura, cvōlayina Puṇiha-van̄ta, cojhbo Namipala Palaḫeyasa ca.*

The bulk of the wedge tablets (*kilamudra*) and leather documents (*anadi-lekha*) from the court are addressed to *cojhbos*, so that while their rank was not so high as *ogu*, etc., they certainly played the most active part in the administration of the kingdom.

Since the native language of Kroraina had no voiced stops the group *jḥb (=zḥb)* indicates that the title must have come from outside.

*cojhbo* is no doubt identical with the *cazba* mentioned in the Maralbashi documents edited by Konow (‘Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt’, *S.B.P.A.W.* (1935), pp. 772 ff.). Dr W. Henning points out in a communication that it is derived from Av. *cazdaḥvant-* (Nom. Sing. *cazdaḥvāṇa*) which is translated by Pehl. *vičārtār*.


cotan: 489. Obscure.
coteyati: § 100.
corri: § 60.
coritağa prace: § 112.

CH


charma: 231: *charmani syati*. Not a future of course, because it would be *sy* not *sy*.

charmplita: § 14.

chinma: § 45.

chotağa: 161. = (?).

choreti: *chorayati*, which occurs in Buddhist Sanskrit, = ‘throw away, abandon’: 134 *ma inci edeṣa ajhia dhaṇena raja dhaṇa choretu* ‘Do not abandon the law of the kingdom for a law (emanating) from the mouths of these people’. It may perhaps sometimes mean ‘to send’ (265); *jhorita* seems to be a variant, cf. § 15.

choretu: § 93.
Čh

čitra: § 1.
čiraṣa: 415, 434. Both times in the technical sense of kuṭhačhira (see s.v.).
čuna: =‘time, date’, occurring in the formula iṣa čhunaṁmi, which comes after the year, month and day of the king’s reign.
= Saka ksuna with the same meaning. It is also borrowed into Kucheans as kṣun. In the Maralbashi Saka it appears as χανα.

J

jamṇatriyena: Cf. § 76.
jamḍunāṃca: 565 ‘worms’. Cf. Lüders, ‘Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises’ (S.P.A.W. (1933), pp. 15-19). He prints a text from Śorcq in debased Sanskrit, where jamṭuna is used parallel to ahi in the animal cycle. For the plural, cf. § 62. This renders it unnecessary to assume that sarpa or bhujaga has been omitted.
janāṁta: § 101.
janati: § 96.
jamṇiyae: 506. tanuvaṅga gothadare paṃca jamṇiyae sadha sata (= sapta) ‘Collection of five people’ (?)
janemi: § 97.
jamṇma: § 44.
jamatā: § 72.
jayarmta-: §§ 6, 101.
jalpita: § 40.
jalma: = jālma, § 40.
jāna: = dhyāna, § 41.

Jitṛugha: A title of the kings of Shan-Shan, which appears first in the seventeenth year of the reign of Amgoka. Its meaning and origin are unknown but it must certainly be foreign, because the native language possessed no j (§ 14), with the result that the title often appears as citugha, and almost certainly no t either.
jinida: § 15.
Jimoya: § 15. = Cimoya.
jivaṃṭaṅga: § 101.
jivaṃṭiyae: § 69.
jivaṃṭo: § 53.
Jivaśaṅama: § 36.
jivo: § 53.
juṭhi: (cuthiye, juṭhi). An obscure term connected with sowing and agriculture. It is not an adjective because it is placed after bhija ‘seed’ in 703: ’bhija juṭhi. The form cuthiye 422 looks like a plural (cf. § 60). It cannot belong to the native language (§ 14, and cf. under Jitugha).
INDEX

Jeṣuṭgha: = ḫuṭuṭha, § 3.
jeṭha: = ḫyeṣṭha, §§ 41, 49.
Jeyanamta: = ḫayāṇanḍa.
jeṣamtaṣa: § 6.
Jiryaṣyaṣa (?): Read as in the note ḫeyaṣa or ḫayaṣa. It is obviously the same ogu Jayaṣa who is mentioned elsewhere.

JH

=jh or z. Cf. Khar. Inscr. III, 303. They are distinguished in the originals but not in the transliteration.
Jhaṣimoya: B.S.O.S. VII, 789.
Jheniga: = ‘under the care of’; Saka yṣiniya, Sogd. zynyh. Konow, Acta Or. x, 80. The i must have been long to judge from the Saka, i.e. *zeniga. Compare also N.Pers. zin-hār ‘protection’ and zindān ‘prison’.
Jheniya: § 16.

N

natiyo: § 53. Perhaps to be read ḫati yo, e.g. 437...putro va praḥputro va ḫati yo amiḥa kilmeći ‘Son or grandson (or) relation (or) any other kilmeći’.
Nadartha: § 139.
Nadarthemi: § 108.

T

tera: = sthavira.

DH

=(1) ḫha, (2) an akṣara of quite uncertain value. Cf. Khar. Inscr. p. 305 and plate XIV.
Dhipu: 722. Some part of a bow (dhanu) or something connected with it.
Dhyaṣhyaṣa: 685. = dryaṣhyaṣa, which occurs in the following document, i.e. tryakṣi ‘three-eyed’. Some god (?), Śiva (?). Also which of the two forms of ḫha (see above) is it?

T

ta-: Demonstr. pron. § 80 (declension and syntax).
taḡado: Surname of Suṭita 137.
taḡastehi: Uncertain, since it only occurs twice, 12, 43. In taḡastehi varidavo 12 it might be either instrumental or ablative plural, ‘They are to be kept away from taḡastas or by taḡastas’. Or is it possibly an advers?
tamcaṃ: 117 sarva ṭiṇḍaiṃ taṃ caṃ gavi. Read perhaps sarva ṭiṇḍaitemcaṃ gavi, i.e. *itaṃca (§ 82) (ṭiṇḍayita=‘collected together’). Or perhaps sarva ṭiṇḍa inṭaṃca gavi (cf. § 82 for itaṃca).
INDEX

tačhamna: § 72.
tamda: § 14.
tačitaγeγa: (and tačitagade), § 112.
tati: 570 uτi taτi vaɾši ‘A female camel so many years old’. Cf. § 87.
tatremi: § 91.
tade: § 12.
tanana: § 24.
tanu, tanuvaga: § 86.
tanutrī: Read no doubt tanudī as suggested in the notes, i.e. fem. of tanuvaga (§ 74). tr and v are easily confused, cf. jaṃṇatrena and jaṃṇavena; also citranae (above)=citvanae.
tapadaya: =‘thereupon, straightaway’. Etymology obscure.
tañena: Title or surname of Suṣita (118, 384) and Kuleya (174).
taravacena: Some instrument for cutting or chopping, 585. (It is used parallel with śastrena.)
tarvārdha (?): 479. Obscure.
tavanaga: See thaṃnaga.
tāvastaga: =‘carpet’ (Prof. Thomas comparing Gk. τάπερς, a loan-word from Persian, and N.Pers. tāftan, tābam). From the same base is thaṃnaga (see s.v.). Arm.L.W. tapast and tapastak ‘mat’, N.Pers. tabastah=‘fringed carpet’.
tasavita: =daśavita, § 14.
tasuca: An official title. Nothing very definite is to be learned about their functions. Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xiii, 78) suggests that it means ‘interim’, but does not quote any evidence from the documents. To judge by their position in official lists the nasuca were not amongst the highest titles (oug, guṣura, kāla) but on a lower level with sabho, vasu, soṭhama, e.g. 709, 588, 422.

In 580 sačhi dīvīra Apgeya, sačhi soṭira nasuca Catata, sačhi kāla Karamaṭaṇa putra Kamjiya, Catata has a double title soṭira nasuca. Is soṭira the Greek σωρήμα used as an honorific title and is nasuca an equivalent of that?
tagemi: § 80.
tasmarttha: § 80.
taha: § 27.
tahi: § 79.
tike: 147 tike giṇaṃti. Read pake (?).
tiṭhi: Cf. diṭhi.
tita (etc.): § 14.
tina: § 1.
timpura: § 50.
timitavya: Only in the phrase prahuḍartheya na timitavya. The
meaning is clear from comparing a variant of the same phrase: 320 prahudârthaya na manyu kartaiva, i.e. ‘You must not be angry or worried, upset about a present’. (It was customary always to send a present with a letter, and this phrase is used when an excuse is given for not doing so.) dimidavvo also occurs, and it is difficult (cf. §§ 14, 15) to be sure which is the correct form. timi*- occurs oftenest, which is in its favour. Possibly connected with tâmyati, although the phonetics are difficult. We may have a special treatment of original *tiîmyeti. Has N.Pers. tîmâr ‘sorrow’ anything to do with it?

Tiraphrâra: Iranian name. B.S.O.S. vii, 515. The deity Tîra appears on the Kušân coins (Stein, Ind. Ant. (1888), p. 95) as TEIPO.

tirâ: (and tîsa, torâ 39 is apparently a mistake). Epithet of horse or mare. It is only used in the existing documents about those horses or mares which are given as a payment when children are adopted (see s.v. kuṭhâchira). The meaning is obscure but it is interesting to note that the form tirâ is always masculine (used with aspa) while tîsa is feminine (used with vadhâvi 39. 771), thus giving a glimpse of the morphology of the native language.

tivajhe: § 22.

tivahehi: § 58.

tiśu: § 1.

tu (tuo): § 53.

tugugâ: Title of Cimola (306, 360), Sudarśana (374). In 187 read probably tugugâ for vulgarâ (as in the notes).

tumhûkiña: §§ 37, 47.

tumahû: §§ 27, 79.

te: = tasmin, § 80.

teyamgadhi: 271 (or teyangami). Read perhaps te yangami nidavvo.

tomga: An official. He comes among the list of officials who are qualified as ajhade ‘noble’ or ‘free’ (436). His functions were closely connected with those of the cojho. The cojho Yitaka and the tomga Vukto repeatedly have letters addressed to them in common (11, 23, 28, 37, 42). These functions seem to have been most closely connected with camels and horses, and the conveying of things from one part of the kingdom to another (see, for instance, 387, 622). No. 96 consists of a list of tomgas and a statement of the number of people belonging to each of them. These are perhaps the vaṭhâyaga (=upasthâyaka), who are referred to in 387, 622, i.e. the staff of subordinates employed by the tomgas. From that document it appears that tomgas were pretty numerous. Perhaps it was a military rank, ‘captain’.

Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 53; J.R.A.S. (1934), p. 255, suggests a connection with ston-gyān and ston-dpon of the Tibetan documents. The latter seems, however, to have been a much more
INDEX


tomi: = tva yā according to Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 52. The form can be explained as to = tava and mi, which is frequently appended to pronominal forms (§ 91). On the genitive as agent see § 119. It seems to mean tasmin at 123.

tommihi: 165 tommihi gadha isa viṣajīdava ‘Is to be sent here along with the tommis (?) if tommi here is instrumental plural, it is the only one of its kind. We expect -iyehi (§ 70). Also a noun tommi appears nowhere else. No doubt it is written for tomi, for which see s.v.

toṣu: § 53.

trakhma: §§ 14, 44.

traghade: §§ 14, 47.

Traṣa Ávānaṃmi: See s.v. ávāna.

tričha: § 50. Perhaps = *tirikṣa* dissimilated out of titikṣā (cf. diličha):

565 nāga naṭhatrāmi tričha, sarva karya saḥitavya ‘In the nāga-nākṣatra forbearance: everything is to be endured’.

triti: §§ 5, 89.

trina: § 89.

trīśa: §§ 47, 89.

trubhīčha: § 39.


truso: 631. Title or surname of Kunaṣena.

trepe: Surname of Jivamitra (5 times).

tvaca: 792. In a list of spices. Skt. tvac and tvaca = ‘cinnamon’ and ‘cassia-bark’.

tsamḥ(h)ina: or tsamghina(ā) (for the -vā as a suffix cf. karsenavā).

A particular class of official engaged in providing corn to the state, usually mentioned side by side with the koyimaṇḍhina. Possibly tsamḥ(h)ina is an epithet describing a particular class of grain collected as tax, and tsamgh(h)ina(ā) the official connected with it, in which case koyimaṇḍhina would have to have both senses, e.g. 164 yo puna adehi rajade tsamghina kvenamaṇḍhina pali dhana italic is a mama pruchānti, either ‘What arrangement about tax from that kingdom (province) the ts.s and k.s ask me’ or ‘What arrangement about tsamghina and koyimaṇḍhina tax they ask’. The first seems most probable.

TH

thamavanite: § 60.

tharitavo: § 14.

thavaṃnağa: (thavaṃnae, thavaṃna-mae, also tavanağa). = Saka
INDEX

thauna 'cloth' (B.S.O.S. VII, 512). Cf. also for the form N.Pers. tafnah 'web'.

thavitağa: 416: tha° 1. Participle form from the same base as thavannaga (?)

thaviti: § 112.

thiyanți: § 96.

thiyanae: § 103.


D

dajavita: Cf. đašavita. Only we would have expected dajavita.

Dajapala: n.pr. = Dvajapāla; cf. đaśa in Saka (loan-word) = dhvaja.

dajha: § 22. dajhamca, § 62.

danḍa praptam ca: Possibly plural in -amca, § 62.

dadavo: (and dadavya), §§ 9, 116.

daditva: § 102.

danagrahana: (dvandva), § 135; danagrana, § 28.

darsaveti: § 20. = 'show'. Used when somebody tries to prove that
some property belongs to him: 734 yo atra ou Bhimasenaṣa tanu
kilmeçiyana bhumaçhetra Rutraya Pañcama sa ca tanu darsaveti
'The land that there belongs to oug Bh.'s own kilmeças. R. and
P. are attempting to prove it is their own property'.

darṣ.: 'to pack', = Av. darṣa. B.S.O.S. VII, 510.

daśammi: § 89.

daśavita: Occurs associated with lists of names beside which are
placed amounts of grain, etc. which they have either paid or
received. Construed with the name of the official in charge of the
transaction, e.g. 627 đašavita Caneya ima 10. 2. It is not quite
clear whether the people receive or give the things mentioned,
since the object of đašavita is always the people mentioned in the
list. On the first alternative we might regard đašavita as a de-
nominative from đaśa '10', i.e. 'He collected the tenth from'.
Or secondly, if the meaning is to 'distribute' (i.e. wages in the form
of corn, animals, etc. to people employed in the royal service), it
may be causative from √dāś, Skt. dāśayati 'give, grant, bestow'.
For the latter alternative speaks the fact that people with official
titles (apsu, vasu, tongha, etc.) are frequently mentioned in the
lists. On the other hand, lists of names are frequently headed by
śadade (an administrative unit, see s.v.), where the ablative would
seem to imply that something was taken from śada. Alternatively
the word might be taken as a title parallel to śadavida (O. Stein,
B.S.O.S. VIII, 770).

daśutara: § 89.

daśya: § 15 (and dha, dahi, etc.).

daśyāti: § 99.

daḥita: = dagda (passage explained under kaṣara).

daśyatu: = dāsyasi, § 93.
INDEX

dīṭhi: Measure of length. Skt. dīṭī. There is no need to compare directly Av. dīṭay- (see Khar. Inscr. Index Verb).
dīṭa: May be either *dīṭa or *dīttā. The first would correspond with Indo-Eur. dotō-, Skt. -dīta (in compounds). Torwali dīṭ ‘gave’, preserving the t speaks for original *dīṭa; dīṭa would give dī in Torwali. Cf. further, B.S.O.S. VIII, 431, where it is shown that the form dhītu in 661 must represent *dīttam.
dītææ: (and ditaqå), §§ 8, 16, 53.
dīlīqå: § 50.
dīvra: ‘scribe, writer’. Iranian loan-word. M.Pers. dīpīr, N.Pers. dabīr. The Iranian forms show a long i, so that we may have *dīvra. On the other hand, the word is borrowed into Sanskrit with a short i, dīvira.
dīṣita: 295. Read probably yāṣita as in note 6 (i.e. yācita, which goes well with the ablative goṣhade).
du: § 89 (dui, due).
duṭqå: 722. = dutaka- ‘burnt’ (not dīṭa).
duṭiyyae: § 67.
duřa: § 90.
durbhale: § 53.
durlåpa: § 14.
dṛṭhati: 3rd plural, dṛṭhati = dṛṭhamti ‘they saw’.
denati: § 96.
deyāmnææ: § 103.
deyåṃtì: § 100.
devaputra: A title introduced into India by the Kuṣan kings, and by them adopted from the Chinese ‘son of heaven’. That it is used by the kings of Kroraina indicates some connection between the two dynasties.
dramgå: Cf. B.S.O.S. VII, 510. The question is put there as to whether the meaning is not ‘office, department’ in general rather than ‘Frontier-watch station’ as Stein suggested, or even ‘toll-house’, and this seems to be rendered quite clearly by 520 Suqīya garahatå yathå eṣa śoṭhâṃga, avi rajaṃmi dīvira eṣa puna śpaśavaṃṇi dhaṇṇa Salveyenå saṭṭha samma kareti Salve anqīla dramqna dhareti ... pruchidavo eṣa duī dramga dhareti, puna śpaśavaṃṇi dhaṇṇa kareti ‘Suqīya complains that he is śoṭhâṃga, also scribe in the royal administration, and that again he is performing the duty of śpaśavaṃṇa along with Salve. Salve does not hold any other offices... you must ask whether he (Suqī) holds two offices and on top of that is performing the duty of śpaśavaṃṇa’. It is quite clear that the office of dīvira, etc. is here referred to as a dramga.

Similarly dramqadhare (tr⁰, etc.) means people employed in the
government administration. Cf., for instance, 554 sarva tranghadhare gotha bhatara janma tramanjna bramanjan va vurcuja za ca. List of the different classes of subjects: Officials—householders—tramanjnas and brahmanas—vurcujas (=?). It must be the same word as drahga of the Rājatarāngiṇī, but the development of meaning is not quite clear. The same word appears as udriṇa in Kuṭṭanimatesam 936. For the etymology, cf. (rather than drang-, B.S.O.S. vii, 510) Av. braxta ‘zusammen-đränkt’, N.Pers. taraṇīdan ‘to be compressed’, turang ‘a prison’. This suits well if the original meaning was ‘a fortified place’. The initial dr- would be the Saka development of br-. If we take udṛanga as the original form we might explain the word out of Skt., i.e. ud+raṅga ‘an elevated structure’.

driju: 661. = triṃśat (?). The passage is not clear. Read probably amghi tadriju and cf. Konow, Acta Or. xiv (1936), 238.
drimpura: § 50.
dvadaśa: § 43.
dvarammi: § 43.
dvi: §§ 43, 89.

DH

dhamnuenā: § 72.
dhanē: A small weight, 702. It cannot be dhānya, because that would give *dhaṇa. It is no doubt a loan-word along with trakhma. N.Pers. dāṅg ‘fourth part of a dram’ (Steingass, Pers. Engl. Dict.). The earlier forms, quoted by Horn (Neupersische Etymologie, s.v. dāṅg), are: davaṇki (O.Pers. Heracleides in Et. Magn.), Arabian loan-word dānaq, Pahl. dāṅg as in N.Pers. Originally therefore *dānaka-. For -e in the Kharaṣṭha corresponding to -aka, cf. ajhade= *āzātaka, N.Pers. āzādah, and saste= *sastaka- ‘day’.

Dhameca: § 15.
dhāmna: § 36. Note the idiomatic sense of ‘employment in the royal administration’, e.g. 567 eṣa Suṣṭiya soṭhamga dhamade nikhalidavya ‘This S. is to be removed from the post of soṭhamga’; 1o arivaga dhamena, etc.
dharamnagā: = dhāranaga ‘owing (a debt)’.
dharmiaṣa: § 36.
dhalavaṇgu: 661. Perhaps means ‘document’: maya dhalavaṇgu Bahudhivā likhidu Khvamarsasya ajiṣānayi ‘By me Bahudhiva this document was written at the request of Khvamarse’.

dhitu: Declension of, § 68.
dheṣati: § 99.

N

na imci: § 126.
nāgara: § 16.
nāga: § 64.
nadi: 368. Fragmentary. Probably (a)nadi.
jadha: =Skt. naddha-. Used as a substantive=‘parcel’, e.g. 59 sadma teṣa jaṃnasā tana tanu nadha isa anidavo ‘That corn of those people is to be brought here in separate parcels for each of them’; 291 tre tre milima nadha kartavo ‘The parcels are to be made each of 3 milima’. Much the same as darṣa.

namakero: § 53.

namatae: (and namataga), § 53. =N.Pers. namad ‘felt: a garment of coarse cloth’ (Steingass), Pahl. namat ‘rug’ (Tavadia, Śāyast-nē-Śāyast, Index, s.v.), Anglo-Indian numdah (Stein, Ruins of Ancient Khotan, i, 367).

Borrowed probably from Iranian, also Pali namataka, and nantaka = namata = some kind of coarse garment.

namaṃniya: (also namana). Only in the phrase namaṃniya deyanae ‘to exchange’ (?). Four methods of disposing of property are mentioned in deeds of sale (cf. 571, 580, 581, 587, etc.): (1) ‘sell’ (vikrīnanae), (2) ‘give as a present’ (prahuḍa deyanae), (3) ‘mortgage’ (bamdha(v)a thavanae), (4) ‘exchange’ (?) (namaṃniya deyanae). Both forms must be derived from a word namana. This may be < an Iranian nimāna (for na < ni, cf. namata < nimata), cf. Arm.L.W. mnan ‘instar’, ‘similis’, N.Pers. namūnah ‘similar, like’, ‘pattern’, etc. The meaning ‘exchange’, i.e. give something for something like it, might easily develop from this.


namena: § 72.

Narasaka: 500 n.pr. Iranian, adopted from Narsēs (M.Pers. nerseh) with the suffix -ka (?).

nasati: § 41.

nasti: § 95.

ni: § 17. =niya ‘own’: used as a suffix in place of the genitive after proper names, e.g. 593 Šarsena ni putra Balašena; 437 Kapthēya ni kilmec Īmpala; 582 Yipyā ni bhuma pracey ‘Concerning Y.’s land’.

Often a word like putra or dajha is omitted without its being possible to tell the exact relationship of the people, e.g. 129 Kunigeya ni Lamga, 210 Šeyaka ni Tamjakaṣa, etc. In 318 Šāŋgila ni Kačanośa coridaţa ‘A theft by Kačano of Šāŋgila’ it appears from the document that Kačano was slave of Šāŋgila.

Compare the similar use of hīvī ‘own’ in Saka, just to strengthen a genitive, without any particular force of its own; cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 790.

nikalisatī: § 24.

nikiṣati: (and nikiṣati). =niṣ + kas ‘go’ (cf. a-kas, ukas) ‘depart, go away’. Sanskrit only causative nikiṣāyati ‘to expel’: 436 Maṇḍhīge taṣa prace savathā sata, tade coṭha nikiṣa ‘M. swore on oath concerning him, then went away cleared’. ‘To come out’ of witnesses: 326 avi tatra bahu Caṅtiye vṛdhē nikiṣaṇtī ‘And there, many old men of Caṅtā came forth as witnesses’. ‘To be
expended, used up' of corn, etc.: 140 yo tade anānde nikhastra ga amīśa dītavya 'So much of that corn as has been expended, given to others'. The prevalence of the form without the aspirate (nikhas- more frequently than nikhas-) is noticeable compared with nikhal-, where it is usually preserved; cf. § 24.

nikraṁta : = nisīkṛanta; absence of aspiration as in nikas.

nikrōna : 146. Epithet of uṭa 'camel'. Perhaps kroṇa (see s.v.).

nikhaleti : = S. niśkālayati 'expel, remove, eject, take out, bring out': 69 na nagara de jaṁna nikhalidavo 'The people is not to be removed from the city'. With ṣna to 'lend' on, 'have out' on loan: 495 Moṭhapriyaṣa vaṁti suṁvarna ṣna nikhaleti 'He lends or has on loan gold with Moṭhapriya'. (More likely than 'recovers a debt', because then we would expect the preposition paride 'from' rather than vaṁti 'with'.) Without ṣna: 160 yaṁ kala Sarpiṣa isa asitaṛa uhati bhuma se nikhaleti, udaṛa bhija Saciṃcyi nikhaleti katuṇa kṛiśivatra kareṃti 'When S. was living here, he used to let the land, the people of Saca lent, (provided) water and seed and katmas (= ?) did the cultivation'.

nikhaleti : § 94.

nigata : An adverb twice used with verbs of going somewhere: 83 yaṁ kala tuo nigata rayadvaraṇmī ukasidavo ačhati 'When you are going to travel away to the king's court'; 119 iṣa śruyati Sūpiye Calmatanēśu ima caturthā maṇmī nigata agaṇtavya 'Here it is heard, the Sūpiyas are going to come to Calmadana on the fourth month of this year'. 'Down to', adverbial use of nigatum 'gone down'.

nigrahā : 'punishment'.

ničiri : 677. Epithet of harka 'tax'. Prof. Thomas takes it as an adjective from načira (B.S.O.S. viii, 792).

ničātra : = nakṣatra. ni3 also appears in Toch. loan-word nɪkṣəṃtrə. The first part was taken as the prefix ni-.

nitya : Never *nica, § 41.

niyatī : § 94.

niravaśiṣa : § 1.

niryoğa : 'relaxation', § 42.

nivasağa : 'neighbour'.

nivarakaya : 320. Read probably as in note 4 niravakāsa.

nisağa : Epithet of anma 'corn', which is paid to people in the king's service. The meaning seems to be something like the corn required for their current subsistence.

nisamghana : 8. nisamgha anma is intended. The am perhaps indicates ā (Khar. Inscr. iii, 300).

nihaṇi : § 27. = nikhan, also nihaṇanae. The -n- perhaps due to native phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 32.

nuava : Apparently short for mahānuawa = mahāṇubhāva (royal title). Less likely an independent (non-Indian) title.

noñi: Epithet of uṭa 'camel'.

novati: § 89.

pakē: = 'package, parcel' (of rations, allowance paid to state employees), = Tibetan pha-tsa in documents from the same region. See Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. XIII, 54 ff. Compare perhaps Kučean pāke 'portion'.

pakēyu: § 62.

pañcara: (and pañcaraına ānna). Perhaps = 'fodder' and 'grain for feeding'; 146 ānna mṛga uṭasa pañcaraına ānna huda milima 4 kхи 10 'Also for a mṛga-camel the corn for fodder (?) was m. 4, kh. 10'. But the sense cannot be established with certainty. It might be something more definite, such as the food to be consumed on a journey, etc.

paceya: 79. = (?)

pača: §§ 49, 91, 92.

pačadara: Comparative of pača 'later'.

pačevara: = 'food, provisions', as is clear especially from 505 Tsuṅgenāṁma satu milima 2 kхи 10 4 āna māka kхи 4 1, kavaśi 1; pačevara pīṇḍa milima 3 chatağa 1, tena Tsuṅgenāṁma giğa 'Tsuṅgenāṁma-meal, 2 milima, 15 kхи, maka kхи 5; one tunic: the sum of provisions 3 milima, clothing—1 (article), that Tsuṅgenāṁma received'. Here clearly pačevara is the general term 'food' in opposition to the particular kinds of food enumerated, just as chatağa (= chādaika) 'clothing' is in opposition to the particular garment mentioned. Cf. also 19 coḍağa pačevara parikraya dądavā 'Clothing, food, wages must be given'.

Etymology uncertain, but a connection may be suggested with the Sogd. pš'br 'food, provisions'. Original pačyaʷ- = 'food for a journey', cf. Skt. pātheya-.

pacharkayina: 65. Read pañcaraına probably.

pajeka: 349. Read probably pažeka, which is the regular form in this dialect corresponding to pratyeaka.

paṭa: = paṭṭa 'roll of silk'. The word is discussed at length by Lüders, Textilien, p. 24 ff.

paṭamca: § 62.

paṭanağa: 223, 383. Read probably paṭuvağa (see s.v.).

paṭami: 437. Probably locative of paṭa in the sense of 'tablet'.

paṭayaşa: Read Patrayaşa, which is the same name. Since the aksaras ta and tra are very much alike, cases like this are obviously a question of confusion of writing, not of a phonetic t = tra (cf. § 36). Similarly paṭaya.

paṭi: 437 esā paṭi. = Skt. paṭṭikā in the sense of 'tablet' (iṅā = i, §§ 74, 75).

paḍiga: 140. = paḍega (pratyeaka).

paḍīcimta: § 109.

paṭuvağa: Skt. pratibhā- and the suffix -aka 'security, surety', §§ 28, 41: 446 Katiyaşa pače, Cama Sumati paṭuvağa 'Kati's
INDEX

parcel. Cama Sumati is security'; 703 śarīra huṣṭyama osuṣa awajidavo cīvane, ko jīvitasya paḍwaga amaranmae 'Care is to be taken in the maintenance of your body to live, (and) as far as there is a security for life, not to die'. Read paḍwaga in 546 for paṭwaga and in 223, 762 for paṭanaga. In 223 hasta paḍwaga the hasta is reminiscent of Iranian idiom. Cf. forms like N.Pers. dast yār.

paḍega: § 41.

patama: Adverb. = 'back', § 91. Cf. Torwali pat out of *patta-:
64 imade anṭaṇi uṭa 4 Samarsade patama nikhiladavo, Samarsade uṭa 4 dadavo, Sunade patama nikhiladavo, Sunade uṭa 4 dadavo, Piṣaliyade patama nikhiladavo '4 anṭaṇi camels from here are to be turned back from Samarsa, from Samarsa 4 camels are to be given; they are to be turned back from Snuna and 4 (fresh) camels are to be provided from Snuna; these are to be sent back from Piṣali'; 1 eka gavi patama oḍitamti, eka khayatamti 'They let one cow go back, one they ate'.

patena: § 91.

pateyo: § 66.

panthaci: § 77.

patsa poṇa: 393. = (?) .

padebhyaṇi: § 66.

payati: Cf. biṣa payati.

payita: 703 bhuma payita. Causative from pī 'drink'. 'The ground has been watered.'

paraṃpurāṇmi: 586. No doubt the same as is written paraḥubalade (415). Obscure, but not a place-name because it is used immediately after Caḍota in 586 iṣa Caḍota paraṃpurāṇmi. Prof. Thomas thinks it is the Gk. παραμπολάνη 'camp'.

paraśa: In the phrases (1) paraśa bhav-: 165 yati... paṃthamni paraśa bhaviṣyati, tuo soṭhanga Lpipeya tanu gothade evosīasi 'If it disappears (isplundered) on the route, you, soṭhanga Lpipeya, shall pay from your own farm'; (2) paraśa kar-: 324 se kuḍaṇa Lpiminnasa gothade Khotaniye paraśa krikṣamti 'The Khotanese carried off (kidnapped) that boy from Lpiminnas farm'.

From paraśa there further occurs a denominative verb paraśita, paraśitaṃti 'plundered'; 324 Supiya Calmadanamṇi aṅgatamṇi, raja paraśitaṃti, maṃnuṣa rupa paraśa kiḍamti 'The Supis came to Calmadana, plundered the kingdom and carried off the inhabitants'. Perhaps Iranian parā+āsa.

paričhinavitamti: § 104.

paride: § 92.

parinīyaṃti: § 94.

paribujiśatu: 2nd Sing. (§ 93) Fut. of pari-budhya-te 'understand'.


parimargiṣya: § 99.

pariyaṭṭitaṃti: 130 (text parivṛtiṭitaṃti). Read perhaps parivaṭṭitaṃti 'they exchanged'.
pariyamanti: 373. =(?).
parivatida: § 37. Skt. parivartayati ‘exchange’.
parivanae: 214. = The stock of provisions carried by a horse. Skt. paribhanądaka §§ 20, 45; or *paribhandhaka- (?).
parisamisati: 130. =(?).
pariharsha: Obsec. Only in the phrase pariharṣa ajhati 216 = paridharṣa ‘assault’ (?).
parihaṣa: (and verb parihaṣati). Skt. paribhāṣā and paribhāṣate (=revile, abuse’). The meaning is obviously something like ‘complains’. It is construed with vaṃti and the genitive: 212 ede vaḍavi praceya edaṣa vaṃti parihaṣamti ‘Concerning these mares he makes complaint against him’ (or perhaps more specifically as in Skt. ‘abuses’).
paru: Perhaps parah (rather than param) with -u for -ahi as in itu, yatu, § 12.
paruvarsa: = paruvadvarṣa- ‘last year’.
parospāra: §§ 49, 88.
Parvata: ‘The Mountain’. Name of a mountainous district near Çaḍota, presumably the hills to the south. Whence Parvatiye ‘the people of the mountains’.
palaga varna: 660. Some object. It appears in a list of kinds of cloth or cloth articles.
palayanaga: ‘fugitive’.
palayamne: § 53.
palayiti: § 102.
pallyarnaaga: 318. =(?).
pavanaga: 234. = pravamanaga (?).
pasamanae: 721 (and pasidavo 159). Probably from paśyati, although in Sanskrit it is not used outside the present tense.
pasu: Declension of, § 71.
pasādha: 345. =(?).
pasamanamno: or pasamanamta. Something made of cloth (thavamanamne), 534.
pasāmnakara: 627. p° Suśīta ‘A maker of pasāmnas (=?)’.
Alternatively the reading may be patsāmna or pachana.
pāganātsa: 320 eta puna pāganātsa līhitavya. =(?).
pādayo: § 66.
pādemi: 320. =(?).
pimga: 416 p° 4 = Skt. piṅga (?) (something yellow-coloured); pingha 264.
picara: = pratyarha according to Prof. Thomas, Acta Or. xii, 66, and B.S.O.S. viii, 792. 288 lekha prahuḍa preśiṣama yo tehi
INDEX

picara syati ‘We will send a letter and present which will be worthy of you’; 107, etc. picaradiyavasarṣasatayupramanasa ‘Whose span of life is a hundred divine years worthy of him’.

There are considerable phonetic difficulties in the way of this etymology. prati- in this dialect is represented by paḍi- or prati- but never by pati-. Nor is there any reason why the a of the first syllable should be changed to i. picavamnnae may be a parallel (see below, s.v.).

picav-: (picavamnnae, picavita). The same difficulties are against identifying it with pratyarpa- as in the case of picara-, pratyarha. Further, p would probably be preserved in this dialect (§ 36) and even if assimilated pp would not become v.

The meaning, too, does not correspond exactly. Skt. pratyarpa- always means ‘give back, restore’ not simply ‘hand over to’, which is arpayati.

picavamnnae means ‘to hand over to, entrust’: 16 maya maharayena Peta-avana caṃkura Arjunaṣa picavida ‘By me the great king, Peta aśva, has been put in charge of caṃkura Arjuna’; 439 ahuno rayaka gavi picavetu ‘Now you are putting the royal cows into his hands’.

If picav- is really＝pratyarpa- its irregularity may be due to its being a loan-word from another dialect. Likewise picara. Alternatively it might be referred to an original *pi-cyāvayati ‘to cause to go to, send, hand over’.

piḍita-: =piḍita-. Used as an adverb, § 90, ‘expressly’.

piḍhipiṣa-: 532: Yavē avanāṃmi kilmeciya Vusmeka nama madu dhaṃena yavē avanāṃmi nikastaṇa, se Caḍotamāṇi piḍhipiṣa huati, sa Caḍodade palayida atra kaṁaveṇti, Yavē avanāṃci piḍhipiṣa Yavē avanāṃmi kaṁavidaivyāya. From the general sense of the passage, it seems that piḍhipiṣa must have something to do with piṭya ‘father’. ‘A (man) called Vusmeka who is kilmeci in Yavē avanā has gone out to Yavē avanā by mother right (because his mother was native there). On his father’s side he is of Caḍota. He fled from Caḍota (and) they have him working there (i.e. in Yavē avanā). People who belong to Yavē avanā on their father’s side are to be made to work in Yavē avanā.’ Then instructions are given for him to be sent back. It appears that labourers or serfs were more or less tied to the soil and not allowed to migrate from place to place. The actual form, piḍhipiṣa, is quite obscure.

pita(-u): § 72 (declension).

pitupitamaṇa: =pitupitāmaha with the suffix -ga substituted for -ha, and loss of vṛddhi as commonly.

Pitoe: § 69.

pidaranā: 648. =(?).

piro: (and pirova, pirovala ‘keeper of the piro’). Probably＝‘bridge’, since it is something closely connected with roads which can be seized to prevent people passing: 639 yam kala imade anati lekha
atra eṣati pāṃṭha varidavya piro śayidavya siyati tam kalamni varidavya, avi piro śayidavya 'When there comes a letter from here (saying that) the road is to be stopped and the bridge to be seized, then it is to be stopped and the bridge is to be seized'; 120 pirova ṣarva jaṃna kaṃakare aitaṃti...prapamna bahu kha...ṣe utaṅga 'All the workmen went to the bridge...the water was very disturbed (reading khal(lu)ṣa = kaluṣa). The passage has not been fully read, but the sense is clear. The work on the bridge had caused the water in some drinking place (prapamna) to become impure. Further corroboration can be drawn from 310, where it is feared some men will escape from the country—praṇha ede maṃṇuṣa anada parimargidavya, pirova Cima Kaṣikaṣa ca picaavidavya 'Forthwith these men are to be carefully sought for, the bridge is to be put in charge of Cima and Kaṣika' (if this is a proper name) —and 333, where we hear of fugitives from Khotan getting on to the bridge. In 122 a large cow is destroyed on the Parcona bridge (i.e. by falling over): Parcona pirovammi go mahanṭa x naṭha.

As to the etymology it may be connected with N.Pers. pul, Pahl. puhl, Av. pərṣtu and pəšu. The original form would be pṛhwaka, giving *pṛhwaka, *pṛoṇa, pirova and piro. For the final ĝ disappearing compare aganduva and § 16. For va, o, cf. svathamga and sothamga, etc., § 7.

pivamṇamnae: § 20. =*pi-bandhanāya 'to bind on'.

pivarae: pivara- 'fat'. In 198 read ko pivaraṅga for kopi varaṅga.
Pisalpiyammi: § 31.
Pugohasā: § 28.

puṅgebha: Read putṛgtesa, § 47. Epithet of uṭa 'camel'. For the suffix -tsa, cf. amiklatsa. Exact meaning uncertain.

pučama: 534. Some object.

puṇa-: § 41.

puṃṇarthi: § 55.

putradhīdareli: § 62.

punu: §§ 12, 91.

puraṭha: § 92. =purastāt 'in the presence of'.
puraṭhida: =puraṭha (puraṭhistha-).
purata: =puraṭaḥ. Same meaning as puraṭha.
puradu: 661. =purataḥ in the dialect of Khotan.
purta: 78. The variant reading pursa is to be preferred (cf. s.v.).
pursa: Epithet of uṭa 74, paṣu 157. The n.pr. Pursavara will mean a person who rides on a pursa (horse or camel). Perhaps a castrated animal from pursa (pursa) biṃnita (bhint-) 78, though of course biṃnita may just as well refer to some other operation, such as making a hole in the nose or ear, etc.
pursaka: 383. =pursa.
Pulaya: Surname of Sunaṃta (8), Suğiya (384), Kuuta (613).
puṣga: 383. =(?).
INDEX

Puṣḍarīyaḍe: § 49.
puṣpa: § 49.
peḍa: 207. Skt. peta, petaka ‘basket’, Pali peta, Buddh. S. peḍā ‘id.’
Peta ayamna: See avana.
peta vamnidaṇa: 318. = (?)
petri: 399. = paitrika.
poga: § 14.
potga: 225. The same as potgoṇṇa(ṇa). Perhaps the latter part of the word has been accidentally omitted.
potge: (potge). Connected with water (347, 397). 397 is fragmentary, but the subject seems to be that soldiers had been going into a potge for water. In 347 a potge is said to be without water, and a letter is sent about the affairs of the potge (potgeci karyani praceyā): 120 sitga-potge (sitga may be a proper name). With regard to this potge water is said to have become turbid because workmen went to mend a bridge (cf. s.v. piro). No. 701 is a list of people sent to keep guard over a potge (potge račhamna jaṇna). The meaning ‘tank, reservoir’ seems most suitable.
potgoṇa: 207. Usually potgoṇena; always used in conjunction with masu, e.g. 637 masu prahuda preṣidavya khi 3 potgoṇena. Apparently some particular form of wine: distinguished from samiyena (cf. s.v.). The suffix, as Lüders (B.S.O.S. VIII, 641 n.) remarks, would seem to be connected with Saka -auṇa and Toch. -oṇa. [Read in 207 potgoṇena instead of potgaṇa 1.]
potage: § 60.
opothi: 17 (caṇṇa pothi), 534. Compare N.Pers. pōst ‘skin’ (?).
Posarsa: § 14. Same as Bosarsa.
posara: 382. Some object.
praṣṭa: § 5. praṣṭa niṃkhalitaṃti 17 ‘They fetched out into the open’.
pracukamaṇṇ: 392 pracukamaṇṇ nagara. = (?)
prace: ‘concerning’, §§ 6, 92. Borrowed into Saka as pracai, Skt. pratyaṇa.-
prattha: § 91. ‘forthwith’, from pra and vsthā.
pratu: § 12.
prathade: 152 prathade eda lekha atra prahidemi ‘from a journey, from on a journey’. Skt. pra-sthā.-
pramura: § 27.
pravāmnaga: = prapannaka ‘deed, document’. The rectangular double tablets are headed yiyo pravamnaga.
praṣura: = pracura, § 17.
praṣavita: (and praṣavitaṇṇa). = ‘granted, allowed’, and as a noun, ‘a grant’. It differs from the ordinary word for ‘present’, prahuda, by being used chiefly of royal grants to individuals, especially of fugitives (palayamnaga). The idea is relinquishing one’s claim to something and letting somebody else have it: 403 iṣa jeyakṣa
palayāṇṇaṇa prasavitaṇa asi ‘Here a fugitive was given as a special grant to Jeyaka’, cf. 161, 355. Also of corn: 637 aṇṇa Yitayaṇa milima 1 kala prasavida ‘Another (thing), the kala made the Yitaya a grant of 1 mi’; of a farm: 375 suveṭha Cinasena ni goṭha mayā maharayena edaṇa Dmusvaṇṭaṇa prasavita dita ‘The farm of the suveṭha was given as a special grant by me the great king to Dmusvaṇṭa’; 504 prasavidavo = ‘They are to have a grant made them’ (ahuno ede prasavidavo, the subject of the (passive) verb being the people to whom the grant is made, instead of (as usually) the thing granted).

Skt. prā + va = ‘to allow, give up, to deliver’.

prasta: 711. Skt. prastha (a measure).


prahatavo = pradhāṭavya ‘to be sent’ from prahita ‘sent’, § 116.

prahita: ‘sent’ might be either prahita from prahīnoti or prahita from pradadhāti. The gerundive prahatavo points to the latter, the meaning to the former. The two verbs have probably become confused.

prahuḍa: §§ 5, 27.

prahuḍartha: § 55.


It might also be read prahoni, cf. § 4.

prigha: 316, 318. Lüders (Textilen, p. 30) identifies it with prīga of the Mahāvyutpatti, which means a kind of silk material.

pricha: § 5.

pritiyena: §§ 67, 70.

priyāśpasuae: § 50.

prihitosmi: § 28.

pruch-: § 5.

presi: s. pṛṣya- ‘servant’.

pṛṣeyati: § 97.

pṛṣeyiṣyas: § 99.

phaḍitaṇa: 760. = (7).

phalitaṇa: 214. Some kind of horse’s food.

phalophala: 524. Cf. Pali phalāphala ‘all kinds of fruit’.

PH

Phuṁaṇeva: Probably an Iranian name. The latter half of the word seems to be = O. Iran. zaiba-, N. Pers. zēb (cf. Aurangzebe) ‘beautiful, or beautifying’. The first half is not clear.

Phuvasena: Not a native name on account of the initial pḥ.

B

badaṣa: § 43.

badho: (also bandhaṇa, bandh(o)va and bandhova). In 331 na ba vo thavidavo is miswritten for this. It occurs always in a list of
phrases stating the various ways of disposing of property, e.g. 591 ēsvarya īuda vikirināne bādho thavānnae, namāni deyānnae, amīśe prahūḍa deyānnae. In distinction to the other phrases the verb used is thavānnae 'to place' not deyānnae 'to give'. The meaning may be 'pledge, mortgage' like the Skt. bandhakaṁ dā- (Kālāka on Manu 8. 143, explaining ādhau by bhūmigodhanādau bhogāṛthān bandhake datte). The form is difficult to explain. From the various spellings it might seem that bandhova is the best form, and this would correspond to Skt. bāndhavaka-. But against this Skt. bandhu- and its derivatives never had any meaning except that of 'relation, kinsmen'. If we take baddho as the original form =baddha- the meaning would be all right, but a final -o corresponding to the nominative or accusative is irregular. However, there are examples, § 53. In that case the m may have been inserted from other derivatives of bandh-. As for the alternation of final -o and -ova, compare piro, pirova.

bāṃnanāe: § 45.
bahi: § 91.
bahiyaṭa: § 91.
bahu: Declension of, § 71.
bahudhivā: 661. =bahuidipi-; ? name or title of a scribe.
bittà: § 43.
bīṃnaṭṭi: § 45.
buṉ: § 91.
Bujhimoṣika: Iranian name. B.S.O.S. vii, 789.
Budhaphārma: 655. Written thus for Budhavarrna (?).
Būṇni: Place-name (?). Cf. Būṇmyaṭa and § 14.
bedhana: 288. Miswritten for vedana or vidhāna (Prof. Thomas) (?).
boyarma: § 17.
bramanṇa: 554 śramanṇa bramanṇa. Perhaps taken as an indefinite phrase out of Buddhist literary usage, rather than indicating the presence of Brahmíns in Central Asia.
brhamacariṭa: §§ 36, 76.

BH

bhaṭena: = 'on behalf of, in place of', § 92. For the development of meaning compare N.Pers. xi-bahr-i 'on behalf of'. The idiom may be due to Iranian influence.
bhaja: §66. =(?).
bhāṭarağa: § 37.
bhāṭaraiēa: § 68.
bhāṭare: § 63.
bhana: 149. =bhāṇḍa (?), cf. § 45.
INDEX

bharya pate: § 135.
bhaviṣya: § 99.
bhiṅgi: or kīghi § 318. Some article described as blue and red.
bhīghu: § 48.
bhīja: = bhīja 'seed', § 17.
bhīja payati: = Skt. bīja-paryāpti- 'capacity for seed'. Land is not measured by area but by the amount of seed it will take to cultivate it, e.g. 549 Sanghabudhiyāsa vamti buma vikrīda bhīja payati milima 1 kī, 10 'He sold to Sanghabudhi land (of which) the capacity for seed was mi. 1 kī 10'. The treatment of ry is not usual (§§ 36-7) as compared with nīryoṣa kārya. But another example is aya 409, which certainly = ārāya-.
bhīṁnita: § 47.
bhīyo: 579. = Skt. bhīyah, Pali bhīyyo.
bhudva: § 102.
bhumāṇca: § 62.
bhrata: Declension of, § 72.

Maimcil: § 126.
Mairi: § 28.
maka: A commodity appearing among a list of items sent as tax (paḷpi) 714-15, and taken along with satu 'meal' as a man's provisions 505. One might think of a connection with Toch. mālke 'milk', except that in 715 it seems to be sent a long distance (to the capital as tax). The value of the sign k is uncertain.

Maghaḷaṛṭaya: § 55.
maṭavō: 278. The meaning required is 'should be measured'. Perhaps it is miswritten for maṭavō.

mata: = mṭa (?), § 5.
matu: Declension of, § 68.
maṃṭsa: § 48.
madu pitusya: § 135.
madhya: § 41.
manasikaro: § 53.
maṃnasiyaṃmi: § 72.
maṃnuṣa: § 41. maṃnuṣe, § 60.
mama: § 78.
maravara: B.S.O.S. vii, 510 and 785.
marganae: § 103.
maṣu: (= śmaṣrū-), §§ 38, 49.
maṣa: § 22.
maṣa: § 58.

masu: §§ 22, 50, 71. = 'wine', Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', S.P.A.W. (1933), p. 3. For the treatment of dh, cf. aṣimatra = adhimatra. A similar change appears in Palestinian Gypsy (gestu = godhuma), though since it occurs in only
one dialect it must have taken place after they left India and can have no direct connection with this. *masu* (i.e. *mazu*), § 22, itself might be an attempt to pronounce an Iranian *maṭu*, but that leaves *aṣimatra* unexplained. Cf. further under *šuka masu*.

*masuvī*: § 75.

*masu* *ṣāḍa*: ‘vineyard’. = Skt. *śāla* ‘enclosure, fence’ (Lüders, loc. cit.).

*masuṣya*: 283. Read *manuṣya*.

*mahatva*: §§ 44, 72.

*mahatveya*: § 60.


*mahamta*: § 72.

*mahi*: § 78.

*mahuraga*: 355. Something measured in *khis*. In Skt. *mahoraga* is given by the dictionaries as the root of a certain plant.

*mahuli*: Lüders (B.S.O.S. viii, 640) denies that this = Skt. *mahilā*. It may mean ‘grandmother’, because Ramotiae, who is said to be the *mahuli* of *Sunaṃda* (528), is mother of *Suṅgūta* (538) and a *Suṅgūta* is father of a *Suṇāṃda* in the same series of documents (524). More likely however it = ‘aunt’ (< *mātuli*) with *t*, as very rarely, omitted and *h* as hiatus-filler (§ 28).

*milima*: = *mēr̥m̥uros* (Prof. Thomas). Cf. *khi*. There is a confusion between *l* and *d* (ῆ) in Sogdian (Gauthiot, Grammaire Sogdienne, vol. i, 12–13), but the evidence seems to be against Sogdian influence in these documents. Cf. also B.S.O.S. vii, 785.

*mishi*: § 38, where it is explained as *mīṣya*, but that is uncertain, cf. under *akri*. Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xii, 38), quoting 582 (*puranaṅga* *mīṣya* *bhuma* *huati*, *tade* *paru* *esa* *bhuma* *akri* *patida* ‘Formerly it was *mīṣi*-land, after that it fell *akri*’, regards *mīśi* as = ‘cultivated’ and *akri* as uncultivated. In that case one might suggest a connection with Saka *ttumāsa* ‘seed-field’ (as representing *tauksamāsi*–).

*mukeši*: See under *lote*.

*mugeša*: Can hardly be the same as *mukeši* because the sibilants are never confused, § 33. It is some legal expression, probably with the same meaning as *avindama* (cf. s.v.): 591 *ko*... *amitha* *icheyati* *karaṇmāṃ* *mugeša* *gīdhamti* *ṣaṃḍa* *aśpa* 1 *prahara* 20 20 10 ‘Whoever tries to make it different they have taken upon themselves a penalty (fine) of one *ṣaṃḍa* horse and 50 blows’.


*muti lata*: Skt. *muktā lātā*: *mukti* for *muktā* in Suv. pr. S. iv, 84.

*muli*: § 9. = *mulya*. It is used to mean both ‘price’ in general and also a particular unit of value: (1) 422 *niyida* *muli* *Kuvāyaśa* *paride* *uṭa* *agilta* 1 ‘The price was taken from Kuvāya, I untrained (?) camel’; (2) 345 *taha* *sarva* *pīṃḍa* *gaṅganena* *muli* *huda* 1 *Sa* ‘So the whole sum being reckoned comes to 100 *muli*’. The locative or instrumental of *muli* is used alongside the name of the object
serving as payment to indicate how many muli it is worth, e.g. 437 Komāla Suġiyōsa ca du cāpariṣa muliyaṁ viyala uṭa 1 paḍiĉitaṁti ‘Komāla and Suġiya received 1 wild camel worth 42 muli’. The following table, collected from the documents, illustrates the value of various articles in muli:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uṭa duwarṣaṅga</td>
<td>50 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masu khi 10</td>
<td>10 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tavastaṅga hasta 13</td>
<td>12 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aśpa 1 catuvarṣaṅga</td>
<td>40 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭa 1 ekavṛṣaṅga</td>
<td>40 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eka uṭa viyala</td>
<td>40 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭa anṅklatsa</td>
<td>30 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭa anṅklatsa</td>
<td>30 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khara</td>
<td>15 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 go</td>
<td>10 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 koja</td>
<td>5 muli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 koja</td>
<td>10 muli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 431 it appears that 13 hasta of tapestry (tavastaṅga) is worth one golden stater. The same is said in 579 to be worth 12 muli. So provisionally we may regard the muli as being equal in value to $\frac{1}{13}$ of the golden stater (suṅvarna ṣadera).

musāya: An adverb used with ‘give, sell, present’, meaning ‘without reservation’, i.e. so that the previous owner has no further claims: 621 yo puna edaśa Saṅamovi bharya putra dhidara yaṁ ca daśi sarva edaśa Saṅamovi musāya praśavita ‘Again what wife, sons and daughters and what slave-girl of him Saṅamovi (had) Saṅamovi presented all to him without reservation’; 39 uniti teṣemni musāya tanurā hotu ‘The adopted girl belongs to them without reservation’. The etymology is obscure.

muṣgeṣu: § 49.
mṛga: § 5.
mṛda: § 5.

mṛdhena: 385 uparyāṁ mṛdhena pratiṁhami = ‘I await with the greatest impatience (?)’, i.e. a+Pali middha (Vedic mṛdh-, mṛdhra). But upari is not usually used to make a kind of superlative.

meta: Only 179 meta paḍiĉitaṁti ‘They received meta’. Quite obscure.

mepoğa: 721. Something sent as a present.
Moṅgeya: Read Motgeya, § 47. Obviously the same as Motaṅe (§ 13).
**INDEX**

yamña: § 44.
yatita: 376. Read yajita.
yatu: § 12.
yatma: An official connected with the collection and conveyance of taxes, especially of corn. His functions are to some extent connected with those of the aṣīta (cf. s.v.). In 305 the yatma has to pack parcels of corn (nadha). In 374 the yatma Aco, along with the tuγuça Sudarśana, assesses the annual tax at Masina. yatma is construed with the genitive of aṇna ‘corn’, e.g. 349 eda aṇṇasa aṇṇa paṇek (read paṇeka) yatmi kartavo ‘Of this corn other yatmas are to be made severally’; 430 kvaṇa aṇṇasa yatma ‘yatma of the kvaṇa corn’. We also hear of them in connection with conducting camels, 23, 546.
yatha: § 130.
yadi: § 129.
yala: 431 aṇṇa yala. Cf. § 16.
yava: § 92.
Ya ve avana: Cf. avana.
yahi: § 131.
yitavya: 164 aṇṇapaṇa suta dhāṇayitavya. A sort of causative from dāna- (?) (‘food and drink are to be given them well’).
yima: §§ 32, 82.
yiyo: §§ 32, 82.
Yirumaṇdhina: Cf. avana.
yena: § 132.

**R**

racana: 225. = (?)
raja: § 41.
rajakaryani: § 61.
rajive: § 60.
raju: Skt. rajju- ‘rope’.
raṭhi: 574. Some part of the equipment of a vineyard raṭhi vṛccha pannṛ gīmnidavo, possibly an epithet of vṛccha.
raḍi: or saḍi; 431–2. = (?)
ratu: *B.S.O.S.* vii, 514. = Av. ratu. Pahl. rat ‘authority, judge’, used of the elders in an order of the bhikṣus. If it is really the Iranian word it is noteworthy that the final -u is preserved at so late a date.
ratiae: § 67.
Ramṣoṇka: Read Ramṣotsa and compare Ramaṣṭso, which is apparently a different form from the same base.
raya: § 17.
rayadvari: § 58.
rayana: See *samuda rayana*.

*BKD*
INDEX

rasaṃṇa: 345 rasaṃṇa 2. If = Skt. raṣṭanā it should have had the palatal š: perhaps Iranian N.Pers. raṣan ‘rope’, cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 786.
rasvata: 80. rasoṃṭa 137, 211; rāsuvaṃṭa 209. Surname or title.
rucate: §§ 2, 94.
rutrīyāṇṇa: 600. Epithet of vaḍaṭi ‘mare’ (?).
rupya: Skt. rūpya ‘silver’.
rete: 690 rete utaṃ ca. Obscure.
rotāṇṇa: (rotāṇ). Some commodity which had to be sent as tax, 295, 385, etc. cūroṇa, another commodity equally obscure, is often mentioned beside it, 272, 357, 430. In 272 caṇḍrikaṃṭa is mentioned along with it.

There is an Iranian *rauḍana which means ‘madder’ (N.Pers. rōyan, rōyang, North Balōči rōdin). It might possibly be that, but unless the meaning in the Kharoṣṭhī documents can be fixed, it naturally remains uncertain. Cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 787.

L

laṅgārīnci: 272 laṅgārīnci jaṃṇa. Quite obscure. May or may not be a proper name.
lāgēsatî: Only 166, which is fragmentary. Skt. lag- ‘follow’ (?).
lamgto: § 53.
lamcāga: Seems to mean ‘rightly, properly, adequately’. Cf. 562 taha suṭha na laṃcāga karetu, mahī maharayaṣa anatiyaṭe anṃṇatha karetu ‘(In behaving) thus, you certainly do not act rightly, you act differently from the command of me the great king’, where the second clause more or less paraphrases the first (cf. 272, 399); 283 khajabhojena laṃcāga paripalitavya ‘They are to be adequately looked after (nourished) with food’. (Very frequent in this phrase, cf. 358, 362, 475; parival- has the sense of N.Pers. parvaridan, i.e. ‘nourish, feed up, fatten.’) When used in connection with paying taxes, etc. it means ‘the full amount due’: 622 avi ciroṇaṣa lamce ṭa anidavo ‘Also the amount of ciroṇa due is to be brought here’ (lamce here may be the noun from which laṃcāga is derived, or it may = laṃcāga by § 53); 586 lotey na laṃcāga tita ‘He has not given an adequate ransom’.

Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xiii, 66) regards the word as derived from Skt. laṅcā ‘gift’, and that it means as an adverb ‘gratis’, and sometimes just a gift. But the meaning does not seem so suitable in a survey of all the passages in which it occurs.

laṭhanami: 392. Obscure, but probably not a proper name. Rather (like kabhoḍhami) some particular kind of land. A connection with Pers. dašt ‘plain, desert’ is suggested in B.S.O.S. vii, 786.

laṭhaya: 298. Epithet of kṛiṣivatra ‘cultivation’, opposed to apyaṃtara (= abhyā). So apparently land lying outside a particular boundary round the village. Read laṭhani, taking it as an adjective from laṭhana (?)
INDEX

laṣi: i.e. *laṣni, § 44, means 'a gift', as is shown by 678 ēsvarya bhave-
yati... baṇḍhova thavāṇnae vikirnanae aṃhiṃa laṣi deyaṇnae. In
this formula, which occurs frequently (cf. 582, 591, etc.), aṃhiṃa
prahaṇḍa deyaṇnae is usually used in place of aṃhiṃa laṣi d6 here.
Cf. N.Pers. dāḷaṇ 'gift', and for the change d > l B.S.O.S. vii, 786.

lāsta: 358 na ba lasta bhaviṣyatā. It may be one word balasta. In the
INDEX Verb. ba is taken as = vā, but that does not occur elsewhere.
In 331 (which is given) na ba vohavidavo there is certainly a
miswriting, na ba baṇḍhova th6 is intended. Anyway the meaning
is obscure.

lāstana: 'quarrel, dispute'. = Saka lāstana, as Konow points out.

lāstuṇa: Some article of dress because it is made of cloth: 566 citra
paṭa mae lastuṇa 'a l6 made of many coloured cloth'. It is fre-
quently sent as a present. It was not of great value (184 lahu
manasiṅgara matra). Cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 786.

lāhaṃti: § 27.

lāho: §§ 4, 27.

līvaṣa: Only 109. Some object sent as a present.

līṣita: Cf. leśita and § 1.

liḥati: § 27.

leṅga: i.e. letga. Only 419. Epithet of bhuma 'land'; aṃhiṃa letga
kuthala bhuma.

levistarena: § 3.

leśpa: Some object sent as a present (140).

leś-. Means something like 'to conduct': 376 edaṣa Sacade ropa 2
valaṇgam ca dadavya, simaṃmī leśiṃṭi tade Caṇḍadade stora aṭhovā
valaṇgaṃca dadavya. 'To him from Saca 2 horses and a guard are
to be given, they will conduct him as far as the boundary: then
from Caṇḍā a horse fit for its work and a guard must be given'.
Skt. śleṣavatī 'bring near to, in contact with', § 49. (Cf. Prof.
Thomas, Acta Or. xiii, 51.)

lote: In 585 lote is the ransom paid by a slave for his freedom: tanu
praṇasa lote tīta maṃmuṣa Cīṃgeya nama paśavi 4. 2. 'He gave as
a ransom for his own person a man called Cīṃgeya and 6 sheep'.
In all other passages lote is used in connection with wedding
contracts. No. 32 illustrates what happened: yathā Opaṇe Peta-
avanemci Saṇgaṇeṣa dhitu Cīṅga Opaṇe Peta-avāna kilmeyanmi
ānida taya lode svaṣu Cīṅga Saṇgaṇeṣa iṣhida deyaṇnae eda svaṣu
aṃhiṃa dīta, na kiṃci Saṇgaṇeṣa dīta 'That Cīṅga took as his
wife in the district of Opaṇa Peta avāna the daughter of Saṇgaṇeṣa
(a native) of Opaṇe Peta avāna. As her lode Cīṅga was going to
give his sister to Saṇgaṇeṣa; this sister he gave to others: he gave
nothing to Saṇgaṇeṣa'. The lote is something given in exchange
for a wife. Here Cīṅga gives his own sister in exchange. Usually
it is not mentioned what the lote was. It may always have been
a question of exchange of women, or there may have been pay-

8-2
ments for a wife in cattle, etc. (such are actually never mentioned). The custom of exchanging women is illustrated also by 279 Vaše avanāṇṇaṁ kilmeći kala Acuṇiyaśa śvasu Cakuvāae nama Ajiyama avanāṇṇi kilmeći Pgenaśa bharya aniti huati. taya strīyae Vaše avanāṇṇi (lo)te—śina nidaya, tatra taya putra dhidara jātaṇṭi, Vaše avanāṇṇi kilmećiye Caṃcā Pgenaśa dhitu bharya anida tade avasiṭhe sarvi Ajiyama avanāṇṇi tanūvāe hutaṇṭi, matuāe bhagena Vaše avanāṇṇi Caṃcāsa bharya Sarpina huda 'Cakuvāae sister of kala Acuṇiya a native of Vaše avāna was taken to wife by Pgena of the kilme of Ajiyama avāna. Of that woman lote (and mukeṣi) were not taken to Vaše avāna. There (in Aj° a°) sons and daughters were born to her. Caṃcā kilmeći of Vaše avāna, took to wife the daughter of Pgena. All the rest (of Pgena's children by Cakuvāae) have remained belonging to Ajiyama avāna. On behalf of her mother Sarpiṇa is in Vaše avāna as wife of Caṃcā°. Here it is clear that no lote (and mukeṣi) having been given for Cakuvāae, her daughter Sarpiṇa, when grown up, is married by a man in Vaše avāna, and this serves instead of a lote. The interesting thing is that, as far as one can judge, the dealings are not between families but between avānas (parishes or towns- ships). It was necessary that one woman having gone from Vaše avāna to Ajiyama avāna in marriage, another should come from Aj° to Ya° in exchange. Further information on the regulations prevailing between avānas is supplied by 481 Yapgu viniṭṭaveti yatha edaśa śvasu Suṅnumae nama Dhaṇapri Sumadatasā ca matu, na loti mukeṣi diti...pruchidavo yo Suṅnumae veṛa kilme dhaṇa hoati taha Suṅnumae putramaṇṛ eda ṭalpi Vaše Avanāṇṇi kartavo 'Yapgu informs us that his sister called Suṅnumae is mother of Dhaṇapri and Sumadata; lote and mukeṣi has not been given. . . You must enquire, and whatever Suṅnumae°s veṛa kilme dhaṇa was, according to this, tax is to be provided by her sons in Vaše avāna°. It appears from 474 that Suṅnumae had been married by the monk Sāmpapala, who belonged to Catiṣa deva avāna. The meaning of veṛa kilme (usually applied to strī) is unfortunately obscure, but it emerges from this document that until the lote (and mukeṣi) had been paid by the husband for her, or by his children on his behalf, they were under liability to pay the tax in the avāna from which the wife came, which was assessed on her head. lote usually occurs side by side with mukeṣi (474, 481, 585) without it being possible to distinguish exactly between the two terms. Occasionally they occur by themselves: lote 32, mukeṣi 338, 555. It may indicate different ways in which a substitute for a wife taken was made, e.g. if lote as suggested by 32 (see above) meant providing a wife for the people from among whom a wife was taken, mukeṣi might mean making some kind of payment. But this is uncertain. Another term which seems to have some connection with this custom is muḍhaśi in 573 Aral-
INDEX

piyaṣa matu Ajiyama avānade aniti huati, taha matuae muṣhāṣi ta kuḍiya atra nidati 'Arāpi' mother was taken as wife from Ajiyama avāna, and so they took that girl there as muṣhāṣi (something like 'as a return for') her mother'. It appears that the girl was adopted by Catēya and Cataraqa (presumably of Ajiyama avāna) as a kind of return because her mother came from there. All the same the usual payment for an adopted child was made for her.

Prof. Thomas (B.S.O.S. vi, 522 ff.) wants to regard the mukeṣi as some individual by whom lote was paid, but it necessitates forcing the grammar and syntax of certain passages, e.g. by regarding mukeṣina as instrumental of mukeṣi (instead of mukeṣi na), although the instrumental of nouns in -i is invariably -iyena,

§ 70.

lomati: 17. = 'foxes'. Skt. lomataka-

V

vaka: (at 574 vağa). = 'rent' paid for the use of land: 498 mahi atra bhumaḥetra na kasya ditaṅga krishṇmae, tamarsatha ahuno iṣa Lpīpeyaṣa paride vaka giḍemi, taha bhumaḥetra edaṣa Lpīpeyaṣa krishṇmaye, kasya krisidavo 'I have a field there, which has not been given to anyone to plough. Therefore I have here received rent from Lpīpeya, so (I have given) the field to this Lpīpeya to plough, it is to be ploughed by him'. Similarly in 496 the vaka paid by Lpīpeya for a piece of land is two khi of ghee. In 559, 574 vaka anma 'vaka corn' is that part of the produce which is paid to the owner of the land.

vakūṭha: = apakruṣṭha (?). If so it is irregular, § 37. It is the participle of vakosānti (see below).

vakoṣānti: Meaning and etymology uncertain. It occurs only rarely: 298 Caku Moği Asena saca laṣṭana kriṣṭanti, Caku vakosida goṭhi kaṇa karaṇmae Asena Moğiya saca rayavataṃmi vakosānti garahamnae 'Caku, Moği and Asena made a law-suit. Caku was assigned the duty of doing the work at home while Asena and Moği take upon themselves the part of presenting the complaint at the king's court'. Such is obviously the general meaning of the sentence. Similarly 750 na coḥho Lpīpeyaṣa vivataṃmi vakūṭha nevi garahida may mean something like 'He did not take part in Lpīpeya's law-suit and did not present a complaint'; 107 puna śrayati suḍe draṅghadare atra punar eva (tu le) ṇena vakosānti ayaṣa karyeyu 'Further it is heard that the suḍe (=?) officials are again interfering in the affairs of your worship ((tu le) ṇena =?)'.

vaghu: Only 383 uṭa vaghu. A kind of camel.

carai: Some kind of vessel used for holding ghee (159), corn (266), meal (satu 214), pomegranates (dhaḍima, taḍima 617, 295). They were of various sizes. A vacari of 1 khi is mentioned (295) and
one of 4 khi. There is no indication as to what they were made of, whether wood, earthenware, etc.

vacarina: 345. Apparently the same as vacari.

vacitu: § 102.

vačhavala: 182. Another reading is ra₇, which is perhaps to be preferred: esa rayaka utavala purva rayaka utavalana rajade vačhavala deviyyanti ‘He is a keeper of the royal camels; formerly they would give to the royal camel-keepers a guard (or guards) from the realm (administration)’, i.e. in case of attacks by bandits, etc.

vačhu: 330 vačhu jaṇma and 338 nave avaṣa vačhu prasavetu ‘You are certainly sending new vačhus’. They were supplied by the uryaṇas. There is no clue to the nature of their functions.

vajo. (1) A mistake for vara: 419 bhiyi vajo. bhiyi vara ‘a second time’ regularly occurs in this phrase. (2) bhija vajo appears in 580 and 587 as a substitute for the usual bhija payati. An attempt to explain payati is made under bhijapayati. The etymology of vajo is quite obscure.

vajita: § 102.

vaṭaṅga: (1) 357. Written by mistake for vaṭayaṇa (see below) unless it is another form of the word= Pali upatthāka-. (2) khamnavataga = ‘you are a procrastinator’ from *kṣanavartaka—according to Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xiii, 67). The treatment of the kṣ (usually = ḍh, § 48) is irregular.

vaṭayaṇa: (and vaṭhayaṇa). =Skt. upasthāyaka ‘attendant’. The same form is borrowed into Khotanese vaṭhāya- (Konow, Saka Studies, Vocab.), e.g. 579 kori ṣṭalṭayaṣa vaṭayaṇa Śirāsa saṭhi, ‘Śirāsa, servant of the kori ṣṭalṭaya is a witness’; 622 ede ṛṭhe ṛṭomha vaṭhayaṇana śadha tahi ṛṭaḥṣita īṣa amidavo ‘These camels are to be brought here along with the ṛṭomhas and their assistants, under your supervision’.

vaṭṭhayaṇa: (see above), § 49.

vaḍavi: ‘mare’, § 68.

vaḍavīyani: § 61.

vaṃtade: § 94.

vaṃṭi: =upānte ‘in the presence of, near, with’. Khotanese bendi. Illustrations of its use are 546 ogu Bhimaśena vaṃṭi garahiṣyama ‘We will make a complaint before the ogu Bhimaśena’; 579 tivira Ramśotaṣa vaṃṭi bhuma viķrida ‘He sold land to the scribe Ramśotaṣa’; 24 yatha edaṣa daṣa ṛṭha Šarpigṣa vaṃṭi Caule aṣṭa ṛṇa niķhalati ‘That Caule has a horse out on loan with his slave Šarpigṣa’. Cf. § 92.

vatu: 140. Something sent as a present to a woman.

vaṃṇante: 517. Surname or title of Balasena.

vaniye: ‘merchants’, § 17.

vayam: § 78.

vara: For pače vara, see s.v. pačevara.
INDEX

varaṇa: (1) 198 kopi varaṇa. Read ko pīvaraṇa 'which(ever) is fat'.
(2) 667 udhisa varaṇa na oḍita. Obscure because the text is fragmentary.

varaya: (1) 291. =‘part’; cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 787. (2) 371 eka varaya
bhuya iṣa gametiṣama 'Once again we will examine them here'=
vara 'time' (and -ka>-ya).

varayaṃ: 206 ma iṃci varayaṃ bhaviṣyati, ma mahi toṣa karisyutu
'Don't blame me in case there is nothing to stop it' (taking it as
=vāraka-, but the construction is exceedingly difficult and
obscure).

vartade: =vartaṭaka. (Lokapraśaṇa, ed. Weber, p. 98, quoted by
Prof. Rapson, Khar. Inscr. Index Verb.) There ought not to be an
intervocalic ḍ. It becomes ḍ. The reading is doubtful. varamḍe
is a possible alternative.

vartamana: Is used as a substantive meaning 'what is happening,
events, news' in the phrase e.g. 272 yahi Khema Khotanyade
vartamana haḍhati iṃthu ami mahi maharayaṇa padamulaniṃ
viṇṇādi lekha prahadaṇya 'If there is any news from Khema and
Khotan verily a letter of information should be sent to the feet
of me the great king'. Cf. also 165 yo iṣa vartamana Lpimśulaṇa
paṇide ṣadartha bhavidaṇa 'What the news is here, you must learn
from Lpimsu'.

vartamano: § 53.

vardhi: 565. =vṛddhi- 'growth' with guṇa taken from the verb
vaṛdha-.

varmi: or sarmi; 163. Something to do with a camel, but the reading
of the whole passage is uncertain.

varsāga: 311 hastavarsāga, something sent as a present; 318 varṣaṇa 1,
among a list of objects stolen; 243 hastavarse 3.

varsāgana: 550 uṭa varṣaṇana ciṃtidaṇa; "grana possibly to be read
(i.e. varṣagrahaṇa), cf. danagraṇa). Possibly also varṣaṇana(na),
the meaning in any case being 'The age of the camel is to be
reckoned'.

valaṇa: =pālaka-. The v- is due to compounds like paśuvala, utaṇala,
etc.

valačidavo: 569 emu kaṭavo yatha uṇṇiya māmmuṣa valačidavo
'He is to be done to as an adopted person . . . (?) . . . '. Obscure.
Read perhaps yatha uṇṇiya māmmuṣa va lačidavo (=maṇuyā
iva) 'He is to be characterised as an adopted person'.

vala matra: 573 Yimila laṣiyā pruchama vala matra na kṛṇci 'We do
not ask of Yimila any gift, not even a hair (vāla-).'

valiyana: 725 avi karmha valiyana pahṣyaṇa anada ganaṇa pricha
kartoṇa 'Also a careful inquiry into the accounts of the tax is to
be made by the (k)armṭha vali'. The first member seems to be a
variant of gamaṇa, karmṭha (=Ir. gaṇja), i.e. Ir. kanaṣa- (?)

vavala: 585 camari vavala 1. Probably ditography for camari vala
'chowrie'.
vaše: 534 vaše 4, in a list of objects deposited.
vaśdhīga: Obscure. 622 eṣa masu parvataṁmi gihnipado vaśdhīga kartavo ‘This wine must be taken to the mountain, and a vaśdhīga must be made’; 634 tuo masu milima 4 2 nikhalidavo. Cēgito Cakuvala tahti gadha parvataṁmi gamtavo vaśdhīga karannae ‘By you 6 milima of wine is to be brought out (provided) and Cēgito Cakuvala has to go with you to the mountain to make a vaśdhīga’; 637 kala Kirteya iṣa agata Cāḍotaṁmi parvataṁmi vaśdhīga krtā ‘kala Kirteya came here to Cāḍota and made a vaśdhīga on the mountain’. It may have been some kind of regular festival held on the mountain, at which wine was consumed.
vasaññmi: In the phrase ima varṣa vasaññmi=‘Rainy season’. Compare Saka varṣa vaśya (B.S.O.S. viii, 932).
vasu: An official title. The vasu is mentioned in close connection with the āgeta in the formula (571, 715, etc.) ko paśima kalaṁmi vasu āgeta rayadvaranmi codeyati vedeyati... ‘Whoever at a later time shall find fault or bring the matter up either before the vasu and āgetas (i.e. the local judicial authorities) or at the king’s court...’. In 714 the vasus, āgetas and yatmas are summoned to the king’s court, on account of an inquiry into the conditions of taxation. Vasus were common; about twenty-five are mentioned.
vastarna: Is perhaps = upastarana rather than avastarana. It is doubtful if av-a could ever appear as va-. Either it remains as ava- or it is contracted into o-.
vastarāṁnena: Only in the obscure phrase 431-2 eṣa masu garva astaranva vastaranena vikrinidavo. It is also possible to read astaranena (432, note 1).
vastava: (and vastavya). = vāstavya ‘residing in, an inhabitant of’.
vikroññaññae: § 103. = vikroññane (which also occurs). Since it occurs a number of times (586-7, 590, 592) it must be a genuine form and not simply a mistake for vikroññane.
vikriṣamtu: ‘you will sell’, § 93. For *vikriṣatu; on the insertion of anusvāra where it does not belong, cf. § 47.
vijitaṇena: § 112.
(vičiṁnanae): 654. Probably to be read (vičiṁnanae).
vimñavatu: § 93.
vimñavayaṁmi: § 104.
vimñaveti: (and other forms with v). § 29.
vīto: An epithet connected with āspa ‘horse’ (209, 415, 574, 648), paśu ‘sheep’ (609) and go ‘cow’ (157, so read instead of sato). It may be placed either before or after the noun with which it is used, e.g. 609 vīto paśu 1; 648 āspa 1 vīto. The meaning is quite uncertain.
vithida: (vithiṣyati, causative vithavidesi, etc., verbal noun vithana). = Skt. vi-ṣṭhā-. It is remarkable that the dental th always
appears. It must have been reintroduced from the simple verb *thiyati*. The meaning is always active in the sense of ‘keep away from, hold back from’, not only in the causative *vithav-,* but also regularly in the simple verb *vithi-,* e.g. 165 ma iñci tongāna paride *uṭa vithisyatu* ‘Do not keep the camel back from the tongas’.

The assumption of an active sense on the part of this verb was probably associated with the change of the past participle passive to an active past tense (see § 105), so that *vithita* meaning ‘stood aside, set aside, kept back’ developed in a manner parallel to the ordinary transitive verb the meaning of ‘he put aside, kept back’. Similarly the verbal noun *vithana* has the active sense of ‘keeping back’, 57 ma *vithana kartavo* ‘There must be no keeping back, putting aside’, with reference to the tax that is demanded in the letter.

**vidapanā?**: or *vidapa* 1; 318. Separation of words uncertain. Some object among a list of things stolen.

**vinaṭiṣyaṃti**: The sense of the passage seems to demand that it is =vinaṭiṣyaṃti: 368 athava kala...atikramiṣaṃti, yo Sacaṃmi karyani vinaṭiṣyaṃti sarva ahu maharaya tahi paride pariṃargiṣya ‘On the other hand if they...overstep their time, whatever affairs in Saca are ruined, I the great king will seek everything from you’.

Read probably vinaṭiṣyaṃti with ṣ for ś (§ 21). The aksarās representing ṣ and t are not very different (Khar. Inscr. Plate XIV).

**vinila**: 292 avi bhija dadaevya yena kṛṣivadra vi ni la vistirna kariṣyati.

No doubt a mistake for *vipula*, compare 216 vistirna *vipula cintidavo*. That is obviously what the sense demands: ‘And also seed is to be given so that they can make full and extensive cultivation’.

**vibhaṣita**: =*vibhajita- for vibhakta* (which also occurs), § 17. The alternative reading vibhayita is probably to be preferred because j seems always to have become y (while c becomes ś, f (ə)). The meaning is ‘made a legal decision’.

**vihala**: =vyāla-. Epithet of *uṭa* ‘camel’ meaning ‘wild, bad to manage’. Lüders (B.S.O.S. viii, 647 ff.) wants to separate it from this and regards it as a native word. But the group vy is unfamiliar in the native language.

**vīyalitavo**: (vīyalidavo, vīyalidavo). Always in the formula addressing letters, e.g. 140 bhaṭaraṅgānīṃ soṭhaṁga Līpeya Sarpineca ca padamulaṃmi vīyalidavo. According to Prof. Thomas (Acta Or. xii, 15)=*vījālitavya- ‘to be untied’.

**vīyosita**: (vīyosidavo, etc., also vyo-), §§ 37, 42. =‘hand over (a payment that is due)’: 434 eda Kutreyaṇa vīyosidavo, Budhasenaṇa niviḍavvo ‘This (horse) is to be delivered by Kutre and taken by Budhasena’; 142 Līpeya pačevara avamīcav dita milima i khi i yahi purviha iṣa gīmaṇmi iatra diguna vīyoṣemti iṣena vīdhanaṇa atra soṭhaṁga Līpeyaṇa pačevara vīyoṣitavo ‘Līpeya gave some food as a loan, mi ṣ, khi i; the traditional rule is that people pay back
twice as much as they receive; according to that rule the food is to be repaid to the _śoṭhaṃga_ Lāpieya'.

The verb is no doubt = Pkt. _vosirai_, which the grammarians derive from _vy- ava- stıy_. That would not account for this form, which seems to represent _*vy- ava- śrayati_. This is further supported by the forms which occur (without _vi-_) in the _Māhāvastu_, cf. Senart's note on 1. 13. 6. There are three forms: _osaratı_, _osirati_ and _osirati_. The difference of the vowel (_a_ and _i_) would be understandable, if it were a svarabhakti vowel out of an original group _śr_, and the _i_ in the third form may be original.

_virağa_: § 16.

_viloṭa_: 'plundering', usually in conjunction with _aloṭa_, e.g. 494 _Khotanīyana aloṭa vilotoṭade purva_ 'Before the ravaging and plundering by the Khotanese'. The _t_ (not _d_) indicates a double consonant -ṭṭ-. The corresponding Sanskrit word appears as _luṇṭh- _or _luṇṭ-, with a nasal inserted.

_vilomaya_: 510. Probably to be read _vilomani_.

_vivatha_: = _vivāda-, § 26.

_visāti_: '20', § 46.

_vimśpade_: Only 82 _Suṅgutaṣa vimśpade Cimgeyaṣa satade_ 'From Suṅguta's _vimśpa_ and Cimge's _sata_. _sata_, literally 'hundred', is an administrative divisiôn: _vimśpa_ being used parallel to it must be something the same, but the form is obscure. Phonetically it must represent _vimpa_, which does not fit the sense.

_viṣaj_: 'to send'. The two forms _viṣaj- _and _viṣarj-_ are used indiscriminately, § 37.

_viṣalavita_: = _visanlap-, § 47.

_vismaridāga_: 'forgotten'. The group _sm_ is preserved in this word though usually _s_ is omitted. Cf. § 49.

_viheta_: § 18. Usually _viḥeṭ-. _

_vihedeti_: = _viheṭhayati_ 'trouble, molest, harass': 164 _avi ca ahono iṣa Peta avanemciye palji dhanā praco suṭha viheṛemti_ 'And now here the people of Peta avana are causing trouble about the conditions of taxation'; 206 _Sujata iṣa suṭha viheṛitamti_ 'They harassed Sujata a great deal here'.

_vucati_: § 94.

_vuta_: 655. = _upta_ 'sown'.

_vurcuğa_: Denotes a particular class of people: 554 _sarva trāṃghadharē goṭha bhajara jāṃṇa śramaṇa bramaṇa vurcuğa sace ede jāṃṇa ... iṣa anītava_ 'All the state officials, the people who are heads of houses, monks, brahmins and _vurcuğa_... _vurcuğa_ is a title of _Luṭhu_ in 277; _vurcuğa_ _luṭhuṣa prađeđade_ 'From the district of the _vurcuğa_ Luṭhu'. We also have the phrase _vurcuğa prađeđade_ 'From the district of the _vurcuğa_' twice (277, 304), both times heading 'lists of camels and the individuals connected with the transaction.

_vuryağa_: Some kind of official. Four or five people are given this
title: Opgeya (290, 384), Vuru (569), Ratge (586, 715), Pgrta (579).
In 215 vuryaga is given as a possible alternative reading to the one given in the text. The vuryaga Opgeya is head of a pradeja ‘district’: 762 anna muli vuryaga Opgeyasra pratejade lihita ‘The price of the corn from the district of Opge was written’. A variant of the word is uryaga (cf. § 30) in 630 treya uryaga paride jamna 10 4 1 kala Punhabalasa dadavo ‘From the three uryaga 15 people are to be given to kala Punhabalasa’.

vrtaga: = vrdhaka, § 24.

vrdhe: Plural, § 60.

vega: (also veaga). In the phrase vega kilme striyana the term indicates some class of women: 211 vega (so read instead of draja) kilme striyana palpi na anisyaniti ‘They will not bring the tax of the vega kilme women’; 714 avi vega kilme striyana palpi spura pruchidavo ‘Also the tax of the vega kilme women is to be demanded (or enquired into) in full’. After general instructions about palpi ‘tax’, the palpi of the vega kilme women is mentioned by itself as a special class. 165 vega kilme striyana palpi bhuma na va ka anna spora visajitavo admits of two readings, either bhuma navaka anna as in the text or bhumana vaka anna. Translated according to the latter reading it runs: ‘The tax of the vega kilme women (and) the corn paid as rent (see under vaka) for the lands is to be sent in full.’ 481 Yapgu vihnnaveti yatha eda sausu Sugnumae nama Dhamapri Sumadatas sa matu, na loti mukeji di ... pruchidavo, yo Sugnumae vega kilme dhaama hoati taha Sugnumae putranam eda palpi Yave avanaammi kartavo ‘Yapgu says that his sister called Sugnumae is the mother of Dhamapri and Sumadata loti and mukeji have not been given ... you must enquire into it, what obligations Sugnumae has concerning vega kilme, this tax is to be paid by the sons of Sugnumae in Yave avana’. There is obviously not enough material here for deciding the meaning of the word, but it is possible that it represents *vēka out of Iranian vidavak (Pahl. vēvak, N.Pers. bēvak), meaning ‘widow’. Certainly Sugnumae in 481 was a widow, because the dealings are with her sons, not her husband. Even then the phrase vega kilme is difficult; kilme usually means something like ‘district’. The vega kilme might mean something like the ‘widows’ department’, ‘widows’ state’.

veda: (or reda). A particular object (655).

veya: ‘we’, §§ 6, 78.

veya samāyaya: 283 yo tesa vamti purimaṇa veda-samāya tam vismari-tavya ‘They must forget their old hatred and suspicion’.

velammi: § 67.

vela velaya: § 67.

vevatuğa: § 75.

vothavidavo: 331. It is not equal to vyavasthōpayitavya-. Initial vy- is not assimilated to v (§ 42). The passage runs: na vikrinidavo
 INDEX

na ba vo thavidavo nevi gothade dura nikhalidavo. By comparison with similar formulas (see s.v. bāṃdhova) there is little doubt that ba vo has been miswritten for badho or bāṃdhova.

vyāga: = vyaya ‘expense’, § 16.
vyāldavo: See vyālditavo.
vyařivala: vihāra pāla-, cf. § 28.
vyaṇavsthavidāga: 229 ‘arranged, settled’.
vyočhimna: 506. = vyavachinna- used as an active past tense (§ 107). The form vyochimnida- is the usual one; ‘decided’.
vyoṣeti: See vyọṣeti.

vračhi: 586 vračhi chinnamnae obviously represents vyṛṣa ‘to cut down the trees’. Probably miswritten for vričha (i.e. the vowel stroke attached to the wrong akṣara). That would regularly = Skt. vyṛṣa, § 5.

vēṣi: 719. Cannot = veṭyā on account of the äche. The palatal cheme is always kept distinct.

šakoma: § 95.
šagri: Epithet of masu ‘wine’ (or ‘grapes’) 349, opposed to śuki masu (see s.v. śuka). It seems to be equivalent to šaḍi, which occurs twice (169 and 221), and perhaps should be read so. šaḍi would mean ‘wine or grapes fresh from the vineyard’ (śaḍa).
šacami: (saṭhe, saṭhyami), §§ 41, 99.
šaṃda: Epithet of atpa ‘horse’. No doubt = Skt. śaṇḍha, meaning ‘a castrated horse’. The confusion of sibilants is noticeable, but the writing wavers in Sanskrit between śaṃda and śaṇḍha (Monier-Williams, Skt. Dict.). We find initial š- for instance in the Bower MS. (see the Index, s.v. śaṃḍya).
šaḍa tammi: § 18.
šaṭa: An administrative division meaning something like ‘a hundred (households)’. Frequently at the head of lists containing accounts of taxes, etc., e.g. 168 Svayaṣa śaḍaṃmi masu śēṣa khi 10 4 ‘In the śaḍa of Svaya, arrears of wine 14 khi’.
šaṭa racana: Something among a list of objects stolen (225).
šato go: Read vito, as suggested alternatively.
šadani: Plural, § 61.
šadavida: An official title. They were closely connected with the karsenavōs. They are mentioned together, e.g. 482 edaṣa kilme-yaṃṭi Molpina bhuma ladhaye, šadavida karsenavāc achinmaṇti, na oḍeṇṭi kriṣaṇmaṇe ‘In his kilme Molpina has received some land, the šadavidas and karsenavōs take it from him and will not let him plough’. Also in 86. They are mentioned as transporting the
INDEX

commodities paid as tax to the king (159, 247); Ricikśa is called a śadavida at 715, a karsenāva at 590.

One might regard it as a denominative from śada meaning 'a person put in charge of a śada' (see above s.v.). Of the people given the title of śadavida, most are mentioned as being in charge of śada's, namely Suģita (76; 247), Yapgu (75; 656), Maşdhighe (41; 436), Kaşgya (41; 569). The title is comparatively not very frequent, about nine being mentioned by name.

śamuda rayana: Occurs twice: 252 śamuda rayana khayana māmtsa Dadavlo 'śamuda rayana and meat to eat shall be given'; 387 ahunu śamuda rayana iinci vişajidavo sudha namata 2 vişajidavo. In the latter passage it is obvious that vraya na iinci should be read, because iinci does not occur by itself but only with the negatives na and ma. Translate: 'Now the śamuda rayana are (or is) not to be sent, only (sudha) the two felt garments are to be sent.'

The significance of the term is quite obscure. In 387 śamuta is given as a more probable reading in the corrections (Khar. Inscr. p. 292). If so it may be the same as śamuta in 15, which is equally obscure.

śamuta: 15. Possibly the same as śamunta (śamuda) (see above).

Śamṣena: § 13.

śarataṁmi: § 72.

śavāvitavya: Causative of śap-, § 104.

śaśana: = sāsana, § 33.

śīṃgavera: 'ginger', § 5.

śigra: 'quickly', § 90.

śīṭha: sīṭa- (sā) 'punishment, chastising': 248 śīṭha nigraya kartavya 'Chastising and punishment is to be made'; 248 ahunu Cimolaśa śīṭha kīḍa prahara dita 'Now chastisement was performed on Cimola, blows were given'. Similarly 371, 517.

śīṭhidavya: 482 go avindama śīṭhidavya 'They are to be punished by paying a cow as damages'. On double formations like this see § 116.

śīṭhe: 'remaining, left over', 305, 519. = sīṭaka (sīṣ-). On -e<aka, see § 53.

śitiyaṁmi: Seems obviously from 678 to mean 'side': Kroraiṁmāmi mahamta nagarasa dačhina śitiyaṁmi bhuma 'Land in Kroraina on the right-hand side of the great city'. The only other passage where it occurs is 604 yam kālam Ramakaśa śitiyaṁmi Caşgya songha anita 'At the time when Caşgya brought songha (= ?) to the side of Ramaka'. The reading yiti- is also possible (Khar. Inscr. p. 308).

Śilaprava: § 20.

śilpiḍa: 'artisan', § 40.

śiśila: = śiṭhilā- 'slack', § 50.

śuka: Epithet of masu 'wine' or 'grapes' (see s.v.). Not = śulka 'tax' as Lüders ('Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises',
INDEX

S.P.A.W. (1933), p. 6) takes it, because it is used exclusively of masu and never of other commodities, while the usual word for 'tax' is palphi.

masu undoubtedly means wine, because it is referred to as a liquid (cf. s.v. masu and 633, 175). Possibly however it may have had the meaning of 'grapes'. At any rate šuka is easiest to explain on that supposition, i.e. šukka- 'dried grapes'. The aspirated form šukha occurs once (387). On the omission of aspiration see § 24. More difficult is the fact that the regular treatment of šk is šg (see § 49).

Dried grapes also figure in Tibetan documents from the same region. Prof. Thomas, J.R.A.S. (1934), p. 475.

If masu means wine, šuka might be regarded as connected with the Skt. šukta- meaning 'fermented'. The relationship of the two forms would be something like that between Pkt. mukka- and Skt. mukta-. A further possibility is šukla, referring to the colour of the wine.

šuğa bhava: ('Bawa) 252. Quite obscure.
šudha: 'cleared off; clearing off' (of payments, debts, obligations). Usually in the phrase šudha upagata. Cf. šodheti in the sense of 'pays off'.
šune lomaṭi: 'dogs and foxes' (see s.v. lomaṭi).
šeśa: 'arrears' of tax.
šodhitavo: (šodheyiṣyasi, etc.). = 'pays off' of šudha.
špeta: = śveta, § 49.
śrutaṅgaṇa: § 112.
śruniti: Indecl. part., § 102.
śruyati: 'it is heard', § 94.
śvasu: 'sister', §§ 22, 49, (decl.) 68.
śvasti: § 49.

§

šada: See B.S.O.S. vii, 514. There are two alternatives: (1) that it = N.Pers. šād, etc. 'pleased'. If so it is interesting, because the Khotanese Saka is excluded as the dialect from which it was borrowed. They have tsāta-; (2) that it is Indian Pali sāta 'pleasant', asasāta- 'unpleasant', out of śrāta-, 'cooked', hence 'sweet'. In view of the prevalence of Iranian influence in the language, the first alternative is probably to be preferred, as being less complicated.

śamdédavo: § 116.
śadosmi: § 106.
śamana: = śramana, § 68.
śamimna: 318. Some article.
śaminya: A completely obscure term used in connection with masu
‘wine’ (637) and anma ‘corn’ (103). Also şamiyo (225), e.g. 703 se anma sangalidawa Saŋgašayə picavidavya milima 4 x du khi şamiyena ‘That corn is to be collected and delivered to Sarpaga, five milima and 2 khi, şamiyena’; 637 Cikimto, vasu Saŋgamoya Tumpala Cakola şaca masu parvatesu şamiyena milima 4 x gišati Cikimto, the vasu Saŋgamoya Tumpala and Cakola took wine into the hills şamiyena 6 milima’.

şayati: ‘seizes’. =krayati -te §§ 6, 38: 324 vasu Yonuṣa daṣha maṃmuša Saṃrpina nama Supiya şayitaṃṭi, Cinaṣgaşiyaṣa prahuḍa prahitaṃṭi ‘The Supis seized a slave man of the vasu Yonu called Saṃrpina and sent him as a present to Cinaṣgaşi’; 713 yaṃ ca yudhaṃni maritaṃṭi, yaṃ ca jivaṃtaṇa şayitaṃṭi ‘Both those which they slew in battle and those they took alive’.

šiṅga poṅge: i.e. šiṅga potge, cf. § 47. See s.v. poṅge.

šilpoğa: ‘document’ or ‘tablet’. Some of the documents refer to themselves as eda šilpoğa (470). They are regularly mentioned as being written šilpoğa lihitaqa (312, 470). Lüders (B.S.O.S. viii, 652) compares Toch. A. šyok=Skt. šloka. It is there perhaps a native Tocharian word identified with the Sanskrit rather than a borrowing. Otherwise such irregularity would be difficult to explain. Perhaps too with an originally more general meaning as seen here.

šulga: 582 eda šulga lihitaqa. Obviously the same as šilpoğa. A phonetic variant (šilpoğa=šilyoga, § 31), or merely an error of spelling (λ). šulpaṃḍha: Some article that has to be sent.

şeyita: § 6.

şeraka: 289 and 431–2. A proper name (?).

šo: ‘6’, § 89.

şoṭhamqa (and şoṭhamqa): An official in the royal administration charged with keeping the accounts of taxation and royal property (carnels, etc.), ‘tax-collector’. Such in general seems to have been the nature of their functions to judge from the allusions which occur. We find individual şoṭhamgas charged with peculation: 272 eda masu masuui şoṭhamqa dranghadhare sarve paričhinavitaṃṭi ‘This wine the şoṭhamgas belonging to the wine department and the officials have consumed entirely’; 567 Suḫiya viṃṇaveti yatha edaṣa caturtha varaḥ huda şoṭhamqa huda, goṭhaṃni suṭha viṇaṭha, iva masuui draṃgami gamnana kiḍae huda, Suḫiya Pgiṣa şaca dharaṇaṇa hutaṃṭi masu šada pancaṣa milima pramanama...yati eṣa Suḫiya gothami viṇaṭha saiyati, eṣa Suḫiya şoṭhamqa dhanade nikhalidavya, amña şoṭhamqa kartavya, yo masu rayaka masu masuui draṃgami dharaṇaṇa hutaṃṭi, taha se masu Suḫiya Pgiṣa şaca viyoṣidavya, puranaṇa masu sangalidavo, yo navagi masuvaṃṭi Suḫiyaṇa nasti karya, anuṣṭa şoṭhamqa sangalidavya ‘Suḫiya says that this is the fourth year that he has been a şoṭhamqa; he has lost a lot on the farm. Here in the wine office
a reckoning has been made. Suğıya and Pğişa owe 150 milima of wine... If this Suğıya has lost it on the farm, he must be removed from the duty of şothamga. Another person must be made şothamga. The wine, royal wine that they owe to the wine department, this wine Suğıya and Pğişa must pay: the old wine is to be collected, as regards the new wine Suğıya has nothing to do with it, it is to be collected by the other şothangas.' From this it is quite clear that the şothanghas were engaged in collecting commodities, wine, etc., paid as tax: also that they were appointed by the local cojhbo, the letter being addressed to cojhbo Somjaka.

The office was nearly related to that of divira 'scribe'. The divira Rмышota is also referred to as şothamgha Rмышota. In 520 Suğıya is said to hold two offices, that of şothamgha, and that of scribe. The divira Moğiya (598) is son of the şothamgha Moteğ. The divira Vuğaca (507) is son of the şothamgha Luðhu. The şothamgha Kanṯaka (182) is said to be in charge of the royal camels. şothanghas are charged with conducting camels to the king (341). They were charged with making payments from the royal treasury. Letters are addressed to the şothamgha Lpîpeya to make provision for envos to Khotan (14, 135), to pay a woman's wages (19), in connection with the appointing of officials (435), etc. The word occurs in Toch. A. as şoštänkän 'tax-collectors' (cf. H. W. Bailey, B.S.O.S. viii, 905).

şodhama: sixth, § 89.
şgabhanæ: skabh-, § 49.
şvathamga: § 7.

S

şa: § 90.
samgalitağa: (samgalitavo, samgh-, etc.). = 'collect'; Skt. samkala-yati, § 46.
sağafı: § 1.

şa ca: (i) § 122. Meaning 'and'. Possibly = Vedic saca 'with', although the writers seem to have regarded it as the genitive termination with -ca. At any rate they occasionally wrote -asya ca instead: 561 amklatsa putgetsa odarasya ca (three different kinds of camel: subject of the sentence).

(a) An introductory particle appearing at the head of messages in letters, e.g. 1 (and passim) mahanuva maharaya lihati, cojhbo Tămjakasa matra deti, śaca... 'The great king writes, he gives instruction to the cojhbo Tămjaka, namely...'. In private letters after the introductory formulas the contents of the message are introduced by evam ca viṁati, śaca... (288) 'And thus is the message, namely...' or more often evam ca, śaca...

sacadhamastidása: Title of king Anągoka. = satyadharmasthita 'abiding in the true law'.
samcaya: = samkaya 'doubt', § 48.
Sacyami: Miswritten for Sacánymi, § 41.
INDEX

sačni: ‘witness’; declension of, §§ 60, 70.
samčhitena = sanņkṣiptena ‘in brief’.
sajavanae: ‘to make ready’, § 103.
sajeyati: Optative, § 100. Only used in the phrase ko pačina kalāṇmi vedeyati codeyati sajeyati, a formula referring to bringing a question before the law and finding fault with an agreement already made. In its place we find in 661 yo pacena kali...cudiyadividiyadi vivadu uthaviyadi. It is not clear how the meaning can be connected with Skt. sajyati ‘cling’.
saņņa = saņjīna-, § 44. Usually in the phrase tanu saņņa janidavo, e.g. 585 asmabhī kilmeci avaśa jheniga hotu tanu saņņa janidavo ‘The people belonging to our kilme must certainly be under your care, they are to be recognised as your own’. Either the phrase is to be regarded as a Bv. compound tanusaņjīna-, something like ‘characterised as one’s own’, or more probably tatpurusa = tanusaņjīna jñātavyā ‘an idea that they are your own is to be recognised’, because in 331 tanu and saņņa are separated: yatha tanu dita saņņa janidavo.
samta: § 101.
satriśa: 209, may be sadya ‘a penalty equal for both parties’.
samđdena: 475 sarva samđdena aroğemi ‘I am well with all that belongs to me’.
sadha: ‘with’, §§ 22, 37, 92.
samdhīšečhya: 702. Quite obscure; probably something has been miswritten.
sapimda: 71. = ‘owned in common’.
samprajaya: 399 samprajaya kartavya kufala kartavya brahmacariña. The letter closes with formulas from the Buddhist religion, naturally in a different style and language from that of the ordinary documents. Obviously samprajānyā- is meant, Pali sampajāña ‘care, attention, circumspection’. The treatment of ny is unexpected.
sampreṣeyati: § 6.
sambaraṃdhamma: mitra saṃbhaṃdhæma. Written for sambadhamma ‘We have formed a friendship’. On the insertion of anusvāra where it does not belong, cf. § 47.
samaya: ‘agreement, contract’.
samarena: 164. An official designation parallel with tsanģhina and kvemamṛdhina. In 387 samarenæmi is given as an alternative reading for samasenaṃmi in the text. There, likewise, the term is used in connection with taxation.
samaho: = samao, §§ 28, 92.
samuha: §§ 27, 90.
samṛdhæ: § 5.
samme: 149, 617. An abbreviation for saṃvatsare.
samovada: ‘agreement’.

Bkd
sarachidati: =sarajitamti, § 27.
sarajitamti: =samrañi-, § 47.
sargita: 47 edaśa gotha grhavasa Apgaeyena uḍaṇena sargita ‘His farm and house were flooded with water by Apgaeya’; from sṛṣṭi, sarga-.
sarva: Declension of, § 88.
śarvabhavena: § 90.
śarvaśu: Only 422: śarvaśu Ajiyama avanamnci kilme uṣhidatid...
Obscure.
śarvaṣaṁ: 326 Kañayya ni gotha grhavasa bhumaśetra śarvaṣaṁ tena saīao. Read śarvaṣaṁtena as one word. ‘K.’s farm, house, land along with everything that is his’; cf. s.v. samdena. For śarvaṣataṁ in the sense of ‘all one’s belongings’, cf. Divyavadvāna, p. 439, l. 30.
sarva śpara: See s.v. śpara.
samvatsare: § 58.
samśaya: See vera samśaya.
sastehi: Same as sasteyāṃmi. It occurs also in three Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from N.W. India (C.I.I. vol: 11, Index). Konow (ib. p. 152) explains it as a participle susta- from Iranian sād- ‘to shine’. The word is not known to occur in this sense in any Iranian dialect that is preserved, but the development of meaning is quite natural; cf. N.Pers. rōz from ruč- ‘to shine’. More difficult to explain is the termination -hi. It is less common than -eyāṃmi. Since it is the only form that occurs in the (older) inscriptions from India, it is no doubt the original form, while sasteyāṃmi represents the analogical introduction of the usual termination of the locative singular. Konow (loc. cit.) explains it as instrumental plural, but the syntax is by no means clear.
sahasrahani: §§ 28, 61.
sahini: Epithet of bhija ‘seed’, differentiating it from juthi, which is equally obscure (see s.v.): 291 sā amna cavala samgallitavo, duś bhaṅga juthi, eka bhaṅga sahini, uta 20 20 tre tre milima naṁha kartavo ‘That corn is to be quickly collected, two parts juthi, one part sahini. Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 milima each’; 387 bhuma vikrida bhija sahini vajo khi 4 3 ‘He sold land with a capacity for 7 khi of sahini seed’.
sanaprū: 660 (also sanaprū). Some article consisting of cloth.
sigataṃmi: § 67.
simgha: § 47.
sidhalaṃna: 109. Apparently siddhalavaṇa-, meaning some kind of salt. Something corresponding to sindhu- or saindhava- lō would be more familiar. Saka has sidalum translating saindhova which is obviously derived from our word.
sima: § 67.
INDEX

simici: § 77.
siyati: § 42.
sira: Only 140 si° 3. Some article.
sukri: Only 74. Epithet of usta ‘camel’.
suji na kirta: Only 318 in a list of objects; Lüders (Textilien, p. 31) points out that this word = N. Pers. sōzankard. Ar. lw. sūsanfird ‘embroidery’, ‘needlework’.
suṭha: = suṭhu ‘very’. The form must correspond to something like *suṭham.
suṭa: or sutra; reading uncertain. Epithet of mulli ‘price’, e.g. 590 amṇa sutra mulli gīḍa 4 4; 480 amṇa atga suṭa mulli gīḍa ānna milima 1 khi 10 (see also atga). In 714 without mulli in a list of things sent as tax: ...croṇa, amṇa suṭa ekamantta... The meaning is quite obscure.
suṭi: = (? ) 566. suṭi karna bamdhana.
sude: 107. Epithet of dranagadhare ‘officials’.
sudha: = ‘only’, § 91. The etymology is not clear.
Supiye: Name of a hostile people always mentioned as engaged in marauding activities, carrying off animals (212) and men (324, 491). They are mentioned as attacking Calmadana (= Cercen) 119, 324, 722, Caḍota 183. There was a garrison at Sāca (Endere) to watch out for them, 133, 578. The cojhbo Sarṇjaka at Caḍota was not strong enough to oppose them in the field, and locked himself and the inhabitants within the city walls, until they went away. The desert on the north and Khotan in the west being excluded, they must have been tribes in the Kun-Lun mountains to the south-east of that strip of the Shan-Shan kingdom which ran up through Cercen to Niya. In the Saka text published by Leumann (E XVI. 9) they are mentioned as Supīya (which shows that the ī was long), along with Huns and other invaders who attacked the Kingdom of Khotan. Cf. further Prof. Thomas in Acta Or. xii, 54 ff. and Tib. Texts and Docs. pp. 78 and 156.
suvēṭha: (also suvēṭta). A title. Nothing very definite about their sphere of activity is to be learned. The suvēṭha Khosa goes on an embassy to Khotan (362). Suvēṭhas act as judges along with oğus, cojhbos, etc. (506, 709). About nine are mentioned.
suṣaṇa: 215. Some class of individuals: treya suṣaṇa eka eka potaṇa gīḍamntti ‘The three s°s took one young animal each’. Another possible reading is vuryaṇa (see s.v.). The word appears as suṣaṇa in 387 suṣaṇa rajadhana kareṇti. ‘Informant’ (sūcaκa-)?
se: = sa, §§ 12, 22, 80.

seniya: 'soldiers', § 60.

so: = sa, § 80.

sokhali̇ga: 665 sokhali̇ga sarthaṣa 'The sokhali̇ga caravan'. Name of a place (?)

somgha: Occurs twice. 637 am̄na, kālaṣa padamulāde varṣa varṣi rajadhareyana somgha praśavitaṣa 'Another thing, somgha was granted year by year from the feet of the kala to the employees of the state'; 604 yaṃ kala Ramakaṣa sītiyanmī Caṣghya somgha anita 'When Caṣghya brought somgha to the side of (?) cf. sītiyanmī Ramaka'.

sotira: Apparently a title. 580 sačhi divīra Apgeya sačhi sotira tasucha Catata 'The scribe Apgeya was a witness, the sotira tasucha Catata was a witness'. Possibly an adaptation of the Gk. σωτήρ.

somstanmī: 149. Some article. Probably some piece of apparel because it is mentioned between kāṃculī 'girdle' and kayaṇadhana.

stasyati: §§ 41, 99.

stora: = Av. staora-, Pahl. stōr, N.Pers. sutūr 'a large animal' (camel or horse) or simply 'horse'. In 13 vaḍavi storn ca, it obviously means 'horse'. In 164 saḍa storena, jaṃna samaho, it means 'animals' as opposed to jaṃna 'people'.

storavara: 'riding on a stora'. Iranian -bāra as in O.Pers. asabāra-, etc. Formed with the same suffix are also atapavara, utapavara, and possibly Pursavara (a proper name). In Skt. avavāra (Epic).

stovarnmī: Only 399 tasmartha eta stovarnmīna atra viṣajita uṭa pṛichannaye, yahi esa stovarnmīna atra ēṣati, lekha vacitu, tomi stovarnmī haste uṭa ēṣa prahadavya 'Therefore this stovarnmī has been sent there to demand a camel, when this stovarnmī comes there, having read the letter, a camel is to be dispatched in the hand of the stovarnmī'. It is either a proper name, or the name of a particular kind of official that might be used for the purpose.

stri: Declension of, § 68.

Spaniyakā: 661. Iranian name (?), cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 515. (Av. spanyah- 'more holy', Pahl. spēnāk.)

spāra: (also spura). = 'completely'. More often in the phrase sarva spāra (spura) 'all complete': 272 prātha cavala paruvarṣi śuka masu, ima varṣi masu sarva spāra saṃgalidavya 'Forthwith last year's dry grapes (?) and this year's grapes are to be quickly collected all completely'. An Iranian word. Saka uspurrā-, Arm.L.W. spār, Pahl. (u)spurr, (u)spurrik, N.Pers. sipārī, cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 787.

spārnā: = svarna, § 49.

spāsa: 'watch, watching, guard'. Whence spāsavāmna 'guard, watchman'. Iranian *spāsa and *spāsapāna (cf. Sogd. sp's 'service', N.Pers. sipās 'thanks', both of which have lost the original meaning). The word is discussed in B.S.O.S. vii, 512. Cf. § 49. Cf. further Saka spāṣāna (H. W. Bailey, Z.D.M.G. 1936, p. 576).
INDEX

spura: Cf. spara.
speṭha: Cf. swetha and § 49.
spora: = spura, probably to be read so. Cf. prochidavo for pruchidavo, etc. and § 4.
Syabala: = Sihabala-, § 28.
sruba: 509. Also surua, 524. Only in the phrase rayaka srueva (surua) tonγa, indicating some kind of employment in the royal service (cf. s.v. tonγa).
svachaṃtaγa: 639. =‘of their own accord’ (sva-chandas-). The feminine is svachami at 555.
svachimna: 211. (=?).
svaya: §§ 6, 49, 86.
svē: = svayam, §§ 6, 86.
svēta: 72. ... priya sveta Kamcāga... seems to indicate some kind of relationship. The same document contains apru (see s.v.), which also apparently is a noun of relationship. Neither word appears anywhere else.

H

haṇhati: Is used both for siyati and bhavisyati, cf. §§ 4, 99, 100. The optative sense is the more usual. The word = Pkt. ačhαi. The no doubt is from huda, hodi, hotu, etc. Cf. Prof. R. L. Turner in B.S.O.S. viii, 795 ff.

harg: = ‘tax’, or some particular kind of tax. The most usual word for tax is palβi. The word is Iranian. The Arm.L.W. hark corresponds most closely to it. A different form of the same base is represented by Ar. and N.Pers. xarγ. For a full discussion, cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 788.

hali: Obscure; only 83 ma inci eda hali kariyasi.

hašga: Word of uncertain meaning: occurs in the phrase hašga nikhaleti (297, 751) ‘to remove, take out, a hašga’; 297 hašga nikhaleti, yatha purva dhāna hašga iša rayadavoramni ativahidavo ‘He takes out the hašga...according to the former land the hašga is to be sent over here to the king’s court’.

In 542 we have hašgadana in the sentence: yatha stri Kaciya prace, hašgadana prace edeša vamti parihašamti, eda stri hastagadah kareṃti...that concerning a woman Kaci, concerning the giving of the hašga, they make a claim against (?) him, and take hold of this woman’.

hastama: § 45. = ‘dispute’. Same as vivada. Iranian word ha(m)-stamba-. Cf. B.S.O.S. vii, 788.

hiṣiteya: 399. The reading is not certain, but the context demands something corresponding to Skt. hrdaya; a form hiṣeya would perhaps be all right.

INDEX

huḍiyami: §§ 5, 27. From bhṛti-. Only 703 sarira huḍiyami osūḍa avejidavo 'Care is to be exercised in the maintenance of your body'.

heḍi: § 28. =edā 'sheep' (?)

hetuvena: §§ 29, 71.

hoati: § 96.

hotu: § 98.

hora: An alternative reading for huve in 100. Both obscure.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY WALTER LEWIS, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.