

A Loan Contract from Gandhāra

Bajaur Collection Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 15

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Preface

This edition contains a brief introduction, diplomatic transliteration, edition with provisional translation and a word index to scroll no. 15 (BC 15) of the Bajaur Collection, which is in fact no scroll at all but a folded letter. It comprises of a secular document consisting of the thus-far only extant example of a loan-contract from proper Gandhāra. However, despite that the largest parts of it survived, its interpretation remains at many places uncertain because the phraseology, as standardized as it may have been, is unique in absence of other comparable and contemporaneous documents from the same region. By way of comparison, the genre of the famous Niya documents, shows slightly different characteristics, and the stock-phrases contained in these differ from those that seem to be utilized in the contract from the Bajaur collection. Moreover, contrary to BC 15, the terminology of the Niya documents is fairly well established, because there are so many of them, and the meaning of uncertain terms can often be deduced from the many occurrences in the same or varying contexts.

The structure of the document follows in general well-established conventions known from similar kinds of documents from the ancient world, for example Aramaic or Bactrian documents, and also those presented in normative texts from ancient India such as the *Arthasāstra* and later handbooks on letter writing, such as the *Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāśikā*. Nonetheless, BC 15 seems to contain remarkably detailed regulations, which bear witness to sophisticated juridical practices at this early but internationally well-connected period, even though the sentences have not been entirely understood, because they are either incomplete or without parallels. The tentative and occasionally probably incorrect interpretation of the fragmentary document is here offered to the learned audience as a basis for discussion and further study.

For this edition, I was able to consult earlier unpublished attempts of interpretation by Harry Falk (Berlin) and Ingo Strauch (Lausanne), who generously shared their work and for which I am very grateful.

Conventions

- [...] Uncertain or damaged but partially still legible akşaras or akşara parts.
- (*...) Restorations of akşaras or parts of akşaras that are either illegible or not preserved.
- <*...> Restorations of akşaras or parts of akşaras that were omitted by the scribe without leaving a gap in the manuscript.
- {...} Superfluous akşara or akşara part..
- + Lost akşara that has not been preserved.
- ? Illegible akşara.
- . Lost or illegible part of an akşara.
- / Or.
- /// Beginning or end of an incompletely preserved line in the manuscript.
- ◇ Little space between words in the manuscript.
- ◇◇◇ A large space between word groups in the manuscript.

Abbreviations

1st	first person
3rd	third person
abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
BC	manuscript from the Bajaur Collection
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
cpd	compound
dat.	dative
DG	<i>A Dictionary of Gāndhārī</i> (ed. Baums/Glass 2002–)
dir.	direct case
f.	feminine
G	Gandhari
gen.	genitive
ind.	indeclinable
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
NWS	<i>Nachtragswörterbuch des Sanskrit</i> (ed. Hanneder et al. 2013–16)
P	Pali
pass.	passive
pl.	plural
pp.	past participle
pres.	present
pres. part.	present participle

pron.	pronoun
r	recto
SDLS	<i>Sanskrit Dictionary of Law and Statecraft</i> (ed. Olivelle/Brick/McClish 2015)
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
v	verso
v.	verb

Introduction

Earlier studies on BC 15

A very brief description of the fragment, its contents, a brief quotation, a sample image and sample *akṣaras* (“scribe 15”) have been included in the overview of the Bajaur Collection by Ingo Strauch (2008a).¹ Further brief mentions followed.²

Strauch referred to the fragment as “document regarding a loan business,” “a private document (*hastalekha*)” (2008a) and “a legal document” (2008b). He also prepared the first preliminary transliteration in 2006 and shared them with other scholars. In meantime, Nasim Khan, who was then also part of the Bajaur Collection Project at the Freie Universität Berlin,³ published Strauch’s transliterations in 2008, but without his consent and without mentioning his name, together with color reproductions of the original scans.⁴

The previous mentions were based on a slightly different arrangement of the originally folded segments (A, C, B, D–G, instead as A–G), and contain another interpretation of the address line that was visible on the outside of the folded document insofar as the place of residence was ascribed to the addressee instead of the sender (Strauch 2008a). All mentions are very sparse in descriptions of the contents, which is easily understandable, given the fragmentary state and the lack of sufficient comparative material.

The contents of BC 15 were verbally introduced to a larger audience by Harry Falk during the XVIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies in 2011, held in the Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Jinshan, Taiwan.⁵ This presentation was primarily concerned with the signatures or abbreviated forms of personal names (monograms) found at the end of the document of BC 15 in comparison with similar forms, which occur on coins and seals, but were previously never deciphered. Harry Falk collected these specimen, provided an interpretation for the reading, and attempted to place the document chronologically more precisely.

¹ See Strauch 2008a: 12, 13, 16, 65.

² Strauch 2008b: 108–109, 111, 127; Falk/Strauch 2014: 71, 74; Strauch 2014: 810. On a few physical characteristics, see also Baums 2014: 204–205, 210–211, 218. The fragment is listed under the number CKM 278 in <https://gandhari.org/>.

³ For details on the project, see the other publications on manuscripts from the Bajaur collection.

⁴ Nasim Khan 2008: 17–20, “fragment 2 (frame 3),” figs. 7–8; 159–161, “fragment 19 (frame 35),” figs. 76–77.

⁵ The title of the presentation was “Numismatic Kharoṣṭhī as a Means to Date Buddhist Inscriptions and Manuscripts?”

Physical Description

Format, fold lines and state of preservation

The document of BC 15 consists of one single sheet of birch bark that bears visibly parts of fifteen or sixteen lines of text on the recto and one line on the verso. Its original **measurements** can roughly be estimated to 21.5 cm in length and 23 cm in width.⁶ This, however, is based on the assumption that fragments of the majority of the lines have survived, whereas no larger segments from in between are missing. As the document is broken apart into several segments, but their horizontally adjoining edges are heavily damaged, the original length could have been also slightly larger. Moreover, it is not fully certain whether the tiny remnants of a few akṣaras in line 1 were part of a separate line or belong somehow to the second one. In the latter case, the total length might have been about 1 cm less. Both of the vertical **margins** are lost,—the right one preserves at least the first akṣaras in a few cases (lines 3–5, perhaps also lines 13 and 16),—and while the number of missing syllables can by and largely be reconstructed in a few lines (3–4, 14–16), it remains unknown, how wide the original margins exactly were. The complete width could therefore also have been slightly wider or narrower than the suggested measurements. In the other scrolls of the Bajaur collection, the width of the right vertical margins varies between 5 and 15 mm (mostly around 7–9 mm). The left margin is frequently lost, and where it is preserved, despite that it may have been intended to equal the opposite one, its measurements are uneven and depend on the respective scribes and how many syllables they squeezed into the end of a line in order to complete a word. In case of aligned verses, it can be wider than at the right side, depending on the number of syllables in each pāda. There is no trace of a vertical line dividing the margins from the text as found in some other scrolls (cf., e.g. BC 3 and Melzer *BC 5*: 7, n. 19), let alone a stitched seam as in the long but narrower scrolls containing much longer texts.

The upper margin measures 1.9 cm up to the uppermost akṣara remnants, while the remaining blank space at the bottom, including the two lowermost horizontal segments from the original folding, is ca. 4.5 cm long.

Figure 1 shows the outlines of the **preserved and lost portions** of the recto from the reconstructed document. The small separate fragments (see also pl. 8) that are included at the bottom belonged to the now lost parts of segments B to D. Their exact position could not be ascertained. The drawing additionally shows the fold lines of the seven horizontal, originally folded segments, which are indicated as shaded stripes. Only segments D–F and F–G are still attached in the middle, while the others had become loose and their adjoining parts are

⁶ All measurements for scrolls from the Bajaur collection have been taken from the scans. They did not directly touched the scanner, since they remained in their glass frames, and they are not completely flattened either. Depending on the scanner, the actual measurements of the fragments may thus slightly deviate, but not significantly.

unfortunately damaged. Therefore, some trace of doubt remains with concern to the original arrangement, or whether whole segments are still missing in-between.

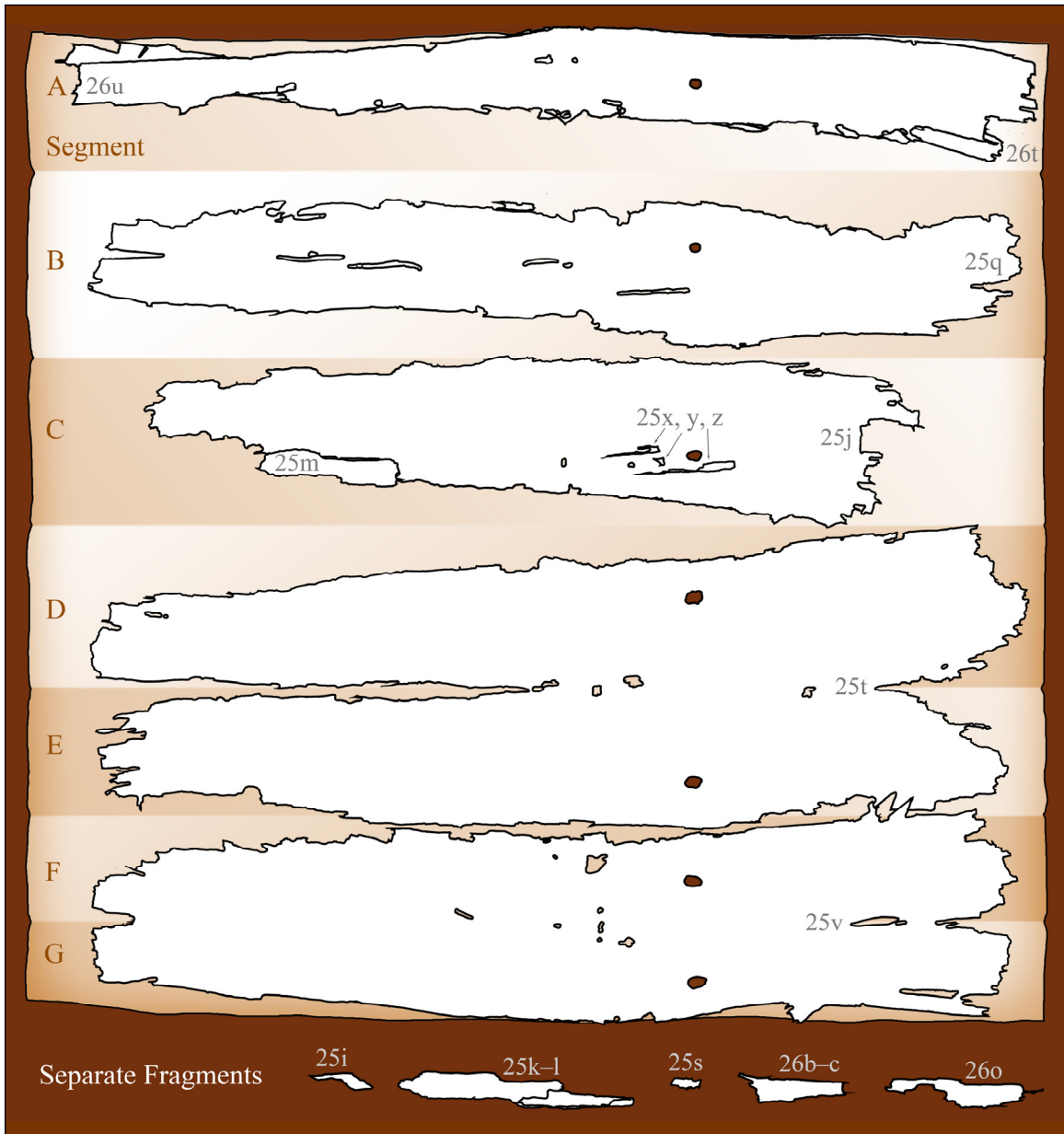


Fig. 1 Outlines of preserved and lost portions of the recto. The seven shaded stripes show the proportions of the originally horizontally folded segments (A–G).

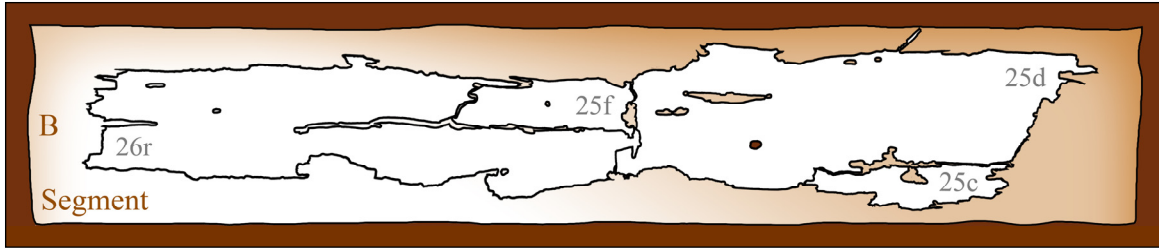


Fig. 2 Outlines of preserved and lost portions of the verso of segment B. This segment contains the name of the sender and the addressee. It has been assembled from four fragments, all separated from the recto.

A comparison of the reconstructed document (pl. 6) and the drawing (fig. 1) with the original scan (pl. 1) reveals that the position of segments B and C had to be exchanged. This decision is based on three considerations. At first, the size of the small punch-hole, which increases from the top to the bottom, aligns much better in the new arrangement and tallies nicely with the suggested folding pattern. Secondly, the non-central location of the string-hole, in either the upper or the lower half of a segment indicates which segment can theoretically border on each other and which cannot. Thus, segment B can impossibly continue with segment D as in the arrangement on the original scan, while in the reconstruction, the string-holes would perfectly align in the folded state. Thirdly, the presence of the word *viṃṇaveti* (P *viñṇāpeti*, Skt. *vijñāpayati/vijñāpayati*) “informs” points rather towards the beginning of the document than to a later passage, since it is a standard term utilized in the opening phrases of letters. It therefore makes much better sense in the second or third line of the reconstructed document than in the seventh or eighth line.

The sheet was **originally folded** six times upwards, from the bottom to the top, with the main text of the document (recto) in the inside. The size of these segments increases up to the second segment from the top (segment B) from about 2 to 3.7 cm. The preserved part of the uppermost segment, however, measures only 2 cm. It appears as if it was considerably shorter than the preceding segment, and would thus have covered in the folded state only a portion of the verso of segment C.

The folding patterns becomes also partially traceable when some remains of imprints are examined, or remnants of separated chips of the surface layer, which adhere to the adjacent surface of the other side of the letter, as well as adhering fragments from other scrolls, revealing those segment sides, which faced the outside of the folded-up letter. Here, we notice, for example, almost legible imprints of line 16 (the last line of the document) of segment E recto on the verso of segment G (fig. 3). Additionally, the *-u*-vowel-marker of the last monogram is hidden in this line beneath a one-layered, separated chip from the verso of segment G, which was originally folded over segment E. The spot of the missing surface-layer is clearly visible by its lighter color. Another such piece can be seen in the same line 16 further to the left, which covers a small part of the *-u*-vowel marker in *pu*. Its original position is likewise visible on the verso of segment G (pl. 7).

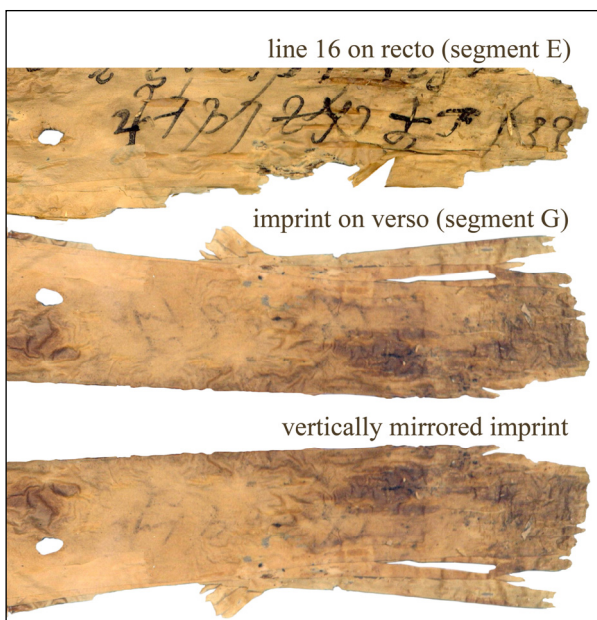


Fig. 3 Ink traces on segment G verso, belonging to line 16 on the recto of segment E. A missing chip from near the string-hole of segment G verso lies now partially on the last sign of line 16 (a monogram) on segment E.



Fig. 4 A section from segment B verso. It shows a part of the line containing the name of the sender and the addressee. Above it adheres a fragment from another scroll (BC 17.1), showing that this segment was on the outside of the folded letter. The lost portions of the surface layer in the middle of the text line are exactly at that place, were once the letter was vertically folded. Their loss is therefore not surprising.

On the verso of segment F (pl. 7), small missing portions of the beginning of line 11 on segment D recto are still preserved, but the text side lies unfortunately on the bark and is therefore not assessable on the scan. On segment E verso, three one-layered tiny chips (fragments 25x–z) belonging to lines 8–9 on segment C recto have survived. A few akṣaras remnants even shine through.

A one-layered fragment, numbered as 26s, with the script hidden on its down-facing side, adheres to segment B verso (fig. 4). This belongs in fact to another scroll (BC 17.1) and proofs that this side of the segment was on the outer side of the folded letter. Similarly, the verso of segment C contains fragments of another, albeit unidentified scroll. This section was only partially covered by segment A, because of its shorter size, and some portions of another scroll seem to have crept in while being stored with the other scrolls.

After the letter has been folded upwards, another scribe than that of the main text of the document wrote on the now only visible surface, namely the verso of segment B, the name of the sender and the addressee as well as the place of the sender's residence. However, he wrote from the opposite side, or rotated the letter, since the akṣaras stand upside-down. Afterwards, a small hole, measuring 1.1 to 2 mm in diameter, was punched through all segments at once, at 7.3 to 7.9 cm from the right margin, which is a little bit less than one third of the entire width.⁷ That it has not been earlier inserted seems to be indicated by the destroyed upper part of the akṣara *ṣa* in line 11 on segment D.

⁷ Similar holes can be found in BC 10 (3.3 cm from the right margin), containing Buddhist verses on most probably the verso side. The reason of the holes in BC 10 is unclear, but it is always imaginable that the text was sent together with a letter. The other (recto) side is said to be blank (Strauch 2008a: 11), but no scan or photograph seems to be available.

The dimensions of the holes gradually diminish from segment D to A upwards, while those in the lower segments D to G stay approximately the same. The larger size of the lowermost holes is probably connected to the way the document was bound.

Presumably, a cord was drawn through the holes. After this, the whole document was folded once more, but this time vertically with the right and left margins aligning, and so that the line with the names of the sender and the addressee was visible on the outside. That portion of the text, which was situated on the crease has now been lost. In this state, the document was probably firmly bound again with the same cord and secured by a seal.⁸ However, neither the cord nor the seal seem to have survived, but on the other hand, the exact details and conditions of the original find were never accurately documented. It is noteworthy that the holes do not show obvious signs of deterioration except that the lowermost holes are slightly larger and horizontally more elongated than those on the top, which were closer to the outside. When the observations on the fragments from probably another scroll, which lie on the surface of segment C verso, are correct, it appears as if the document was stored together with the other scrolls of the find as already opened,—folded, but with the cord and seal removed.

In most birch-bark manuscripts, the **recto and verso** of a folio or sheet can easily be distinguished on account of the color, even if the originally attached layers of the bark fell asunder and got separated over the time. While the lighter color usually characterizes the recto—for manuscript folios as well as in nature—the darker side from the inside of the bark serves as the verso. There are also other characteristics of the surface, which help to distinguish the outer (recto) side from the inner (verso) one. The knots are much more pronounced on the outer side, while they gradually diminish from layer to layer to the inside or verso. For the lenticels, this is not clearly visible, but they appear usually more distinct on the outside (recto), because their dark color stands out against the light-colored side of the bark, and their borders are often much clearer outlined than on the inside (verso) where their dark color sometimes even merges with that of the bark surface. Additionally, when seen through a microscope, they protrude on the inner side, while they slightly dent on the outside (Furihata: 2009: 27–28 with figs. 49–50). However, such fine differences can better be made out on the originals than on reproductions.

Based on the lighter color, the side with the many lines of text of BC 15 seems to represent the recto (outer side) of the bark, but the other above-described details are not distinctly recognizable on the scanned images. Especially the appearance of the clearly outlined shape of the lenticels on the darker portions of the verso may let raise doubts. Unfortunately, the scans of the verso from the Bajaur manuscripts appear generally less sharp than those of the recto, which may perhaps be due to the shape and thickness of the glass frame. An additional difficulty lies in the interpretation of the dark spots on the verso as well as on some portions of the recto, namely at the left margin, especially on segments B and F–G as well as on the horizontal lower edge of segment B. On segments F–G it is clear that the darker places on the recto are only at such places found where the surface layers have been broken away, which means that they represent the recto side of the lower layers.

⁸ It cannot be disproven that the vertical folding occurred only after disposing of the document, albeit it is tempting to compare it with the examples from Niya and Aramaic documents, which were folded in a similar manner.

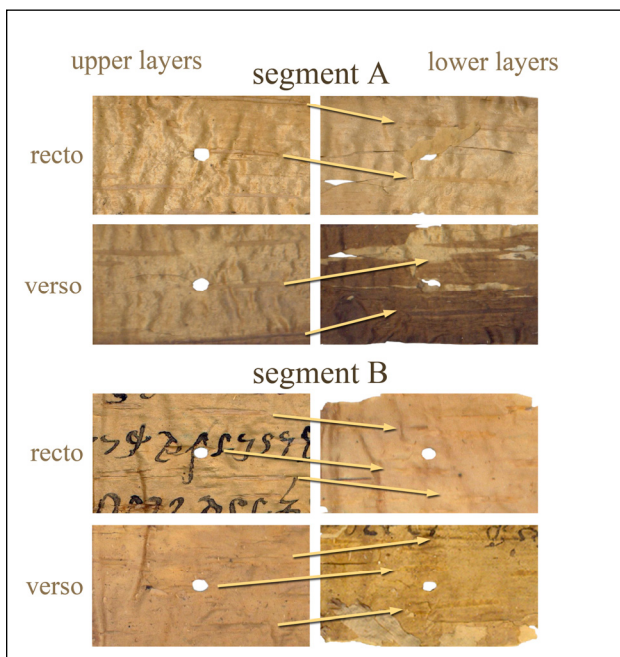


Fig. 5 Alignments of the string-holes in relation to the lenticels through the different layers belonging to the same segments A and B. The slightly different position shows that the two sides have already become split when the hole was punched, most probably when the letter was folded upwards. The figure also shows the different qualities of the scans from the two faces, one being less sharp than the other.

It may be assumed that the verso side was **exposed to moisture** over some time, which can result into darkening of the bark, and it thus deviates from the original color. However, whether this might have happened in ancient times or more recently, remains unclear.

The folding-up of the document caused the **layers** of the two uppermost segments to be entirely separated (see pl. 9 showing the inner sides of the two separated pieces). Normally, one would assume that this must have occurred in more recent times, perhaps due to the age and environmental influences, but there is an indication that an initial **splitting** took place already before the small hole was punched through the folded-up document. A close inspection of the position of the **string-holes** relative to the lenticels in the several layers belonging to one and the same segment reveals that they are not exactly aligned through all layers (fig. 5). The position of the hole shifted up to 3 mm in the first two segments, and it is similarly

also visible on the third segment C, although to a lesser extent.

The fact that layers of the first two segments are now entirely separated and that the string-holes do not perfectly align on the recto and the verso made it in the beginning extremely **difficult to reconstruct** the letter and to understand its folding pattern. Only after outlining the lenticels of segment B, flipping them vertically and placing them on top of the separated layers from the verso, which contain the line with the name of the sender and the addressee, proved that they actually represent the verso of segment B.

Usually it is difficult to tell from the scans of how many layers the birch-bark sheet consisted. The splitting, however, allows examining the fragments further. On the separated recto side of segment A, at least two layers can be made out and the same can be observed for the separated verso side. Therefore, the original sheet consisted of at least four layers, possibly more.

Brief description of all fragments from frames 25 and 26

Most fragments of BC 15 are preserved in the glass frame 25 together with a few other small fragments (pls. 1–2), whereas some smaller parts are contained in frame 26 (pls. 3–4). Altogether, the fragments in these two glass frames may belong to more than two different scrolls, but the

situation is complex and requires further study. In any case, it became clear that most of the other fragments in these frames were originally stored or found in immediate vicinity to the loan contract (BC 15) although the texts they bear have no relationship with it. Several tiny pieces belonging to each other still adhere on these. In order to bring some preliminary clarity into the situation, all fragments and their relationship, as far as it has been possible to detect without editing them apart than BC 15, will briefly be described in the following.

To BC 15 belong the fragments 25c–d, 25f, 25i?, 25j–m, 25q, 25s–z, 26b?, 26o, 26r, 26t–u. The fragments of the other scrolls than the loan contract (BC 15) are badly preserved.

One scroll (labelled here as **BC 17.1**) was written by two different scribes, one on the recto and another one the verso.⁹ A small piece of it (26s) adheres on segment B verso of BC 15. The text on recto (verso in Strauch 2008a), written in a thinner script, consists of ślokas. Fragment 25a represents the left side of this scroll, fragment 25g contains the upper right part of recto. Fragment 25h also belongs to 25a, but it does not appear to directly adjoin. Fragment 26a is from verso. Fragment 26n belongs to the recto, but it does not directly adjoin. Fragment 26s preserves most probably the right side of the verso.

Fragments 26d–k and 26p–q (labelled here as **BC 17.2**) might be part of another scroll, but this is uncertain. If one assigns them to the same scroll as the previous one, the distribution of the two scribes to recto and verso does not seem to apply here, at least not in the same way. Fragment 26p contains also a small hole at about 3.7 cm from the right margin. Together with this hole and a similar script, it reminds of **BC 10**, which also contains verses. However, BC 10 is said to be blank on the other side (see n. 7), which is here only sometimes the case. A small fragment (26n) belonging to 25a (BC 17.1) adheres to the verso, and in many similar instances this represents another portion of the same scroll, but as also fragments of the other scrolls adhere to BC 15 and the other way round, this cannot easily be decided.

In previous publications, the other fragments, which do not directly belong to BC 15, were named BC 17, containing “possibly Buddhist verses(?)” (Strauch 2008a: 13) and “unidentified possibly metrical text” (Falk/Strauch 2014: 69).

Fragm.	Belonging to	Brief description
25a	BC 17.1	Fragment from the left side of a scroll containing two different texts, written by two different scribes on recto and verso.
25b	BC 17.1	A one-layered fragment with the akṣara remnants hidden on its back adheres to the recto of 25a and covers a portion of its text.
25c	BC 15	One-layered fragment without text from segment B verso.
25d	BC 15	Fragment from segment B verso. Several tiny chips, which do not carry akṣara remains, lie on top of it. These were not catalogued. On the left side,

⁹ Strauch’s scribe 16 on recto (here = verso), whose script was characterized as “Bold upright hand with a tendency towards footmarks, with letter *na*” and scribe 17 on verso (here = recto): “Flowing, thin hand with a tendency towards footmarks” (Strauch 2008a: 17). The allocation of recto and verso is uncertain.

- two small pieces from the upper layer are folded over, so that it is impossible to see whether they bear any akṣaras.
- 25e ? Unlocalized micro fragment lying on top of segment B verso from BC 15 with a small portion of an akṣara.
- 25f BC 15 Fragment from segment B verso.
- 25g BC 17.1 One-layered fragment belonging to the upper right part of 25a recto.
- 25h BC 17.1 Fragment belonging to 25a recto, but apparently not directly adjoining.
- 25i BC 15? Small fragment lying on the verso of 25h. It might belong to BC 15, but its exact location remains unknown.
- 25j BC 15 Segment C.
- 25k-l BC 15 Two detached one-layered fragments that can be combined to one piece. Its exact location is unclear.
- 25m BC 15 Fragment belonging most probably to the end of line 8 on segment C.
- 25n ? One-layered fragment lying on 25j verso (segment C), most probably from another manuscript. It is not clear whether there is writing on its back, but nothing shines through.
- 25o-p ? Two one-layered fragments lying on 25j verso (segment C), most probably from another manuscript. As in the preceding case, it is not clear whether there is writing on the back, since nothing shines through.
- 25q BC 15 Segment B.
- 25r ? One-layered fragment without ink, which is visible in the lower right corner of 25j recto (segment C) of BC 15. It possibly protrudes as a part of fragment 25p adhering to 25j verso.
- 25s BC 15 Small one-layered fragment with a remnant of an akṣara, which borders on segment D. It could not be assigned.
- 25t BC 15 Two large segments (segments D-E), which are still attached at the right side. Between them, in the middle, two or more tiny fragments without discernible akṣara remains cover a portion of line 14. They have not been numbered.
- 25u BC 15 A one-layered fragment without writing adheres to the blank part of the left side on the lower segment of 25t recto (segment E). It covers only a tiny portion of the -u-vowel marker in *pu* (line 15) and belongs to the lowermost segment G verso.

- 25v BC 15 Two large segments (segments F–G), which are still attached. They have been left blank, since the text ended earlier.
- 25w BC 15 Tiny chip lying on fragment 25j recto (segment C), on the third akṣara in line 7. It bears a remnant of an akṣara, though illegible.
- 25x BC 15 Tiny chip from line 8 lying flipped over on 25t verso (segment E). Akṣara remnants shine through.
- 25y BC 15 Tiny chip from the space to the lower left of *n[e]* in line 8 lying flipped over on 25t verso (segment E). Nothing is legible.
- 25z BC 15 Tiny chip from line 9 lying flipped over on 25t verso (segment E). It preserves the topmost portions of the akṣaras *ṭh. [ko h]i [sabhaga]*, but hardly anything legible shines through.
- 26a BC 17.1? One-layered fragment with two akṣaras, most probably belonging to the verso of 25a.
- 26b BC 15? One-layered fragment with visible parts of three akṣaras, possibly belonging to BC 15. Its exact location could not be ascertained.
- 26c ? One-layered fragment, which partially covers 26b. The script maybe hidden on its back.
- 26d–g BC 17.2 Four adjoining fragments, probably from the left side of the scroll. Its upper and lower edges fit to fragments 26h and 26i.
- 26h BC 17.2 Fragment from the left margin. It belongs with fragments 26d–g and 26i to one larger piece, but does not directly adjoin the fragments 26j–k.
- 26i BC 17.2 Fragment from the left margin, belonging with fragments 26d–g and 26h to one larger piece.
- 26j BC 17.2 Separated layer belonging to 26k. It moved only a few millimeters from its correct position.
- 26k BC 17.2 Larger piece of the left side of BC 17.2. Some portions of layers became partially separated and shifted their position a few millimeters. It is not entirely clear, whether the main fragment is in one piece or broken into several parts. The verso is partially hidden beneath fragment 26n.
- 26l–m ? Two one-layered fragments lying on the right side of 26k recto. The writing on the back shines partially through.
- 26n BC 17.1 Fragment adhering to the verso of 26j–k. It belongs to fragment 25a, but it does not directly adjoin. On the recto, only the lower margin is visible.
- 26o BC 15 Probably one-layered Fragment from BC 15, which lies underneath 26k recto, but its correct position could not be located.

- 26p BC 17.2 Fragment from the right side of the scroll. It does certainly not belong to the same lines as fragments 26j and 26k, because the verso is left blank.
- 26q BC 17.2 Separate one-layered fragment, which probably belongs to 26p recto, although it is uncertain, where exactly.
- 26r BC 15 Fragment from the segment B verso.
- 26s BC 17.1 One-layered fragment adhering with its writing hidden on the back to fragment 26r (segment B verso of BC 15). The mirror image of the akṣaras shows faintly through. It belongs most probably to the right side of fragment 25a verso.
- 26t–u BC 15 Two at least two-layered pieces that have fallen apart. They belong to two sides of the same segment A. The width, the crease in the middle and the location of a small string-hole indicates that it is a part of BC 15. The thin akṣara remnants visible on 26u recto might be upper parts of the first or second line.

The layout of the text

The hands of five different persons are clearly identifiable. The main scribe (scribe B) wrote the core text of the document in thirteen or fourteen lines (segments B–E recto) without any attempt in structuring it visually. It lacks spaces between words or other syntactical units, as well as punctuation marks altogether, and this makes it especially difficult to know the beginning or end of a sentence. The general damage of the vertical margins increases the uncertainties in the interpretation of the text even further. There are 58 to 64 akṣaras in the better-preserved lines. The average height of the akṣaras comes to 4–5 mm, and in some cases up to ca. 8 mm without *-e* or *-i*-vowel markers. While the beginning of the first line on the recto is not preserved, the distance of the text to the upper margin is known. It measures almost 2 cm.

Starting at the end of line 14 up to line 16 on segment E, three witnesses (scribes C–E) left their signatures or monograms in their own handwriting after an always-repeated stock phrase consisting of the word *sakṣi* “witness,” followed by the name and father’s name and thereafter the words *yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe*. This stock phrase has also been written individually by each of the witnesses in their own distinct handwriting, the size of the letters of which is generally larger than that of the main scribe B. At least one of the witnesses (scribe E) left small spaces between words, which facilitate the reading. The last two segments of the scroll (F–G) remain blank.

The verso of the letter remains empty except for one line in the middle of segment B. Most probably, it was added only after completing the text on the recto and folding the letter horizontally upwards as described above. Another scribe (scribe A) wrote it with the names of the sender and the addressee together with the sender’s place of residence. This scribe left a large space between the personal data of the sender, which were written first, and the name of the addressee. He thus separated both specifications visibly, and herewith followed a well-established convention. He utilized also small spaces between words. When unfolded, the extremely cursive

letters stand upside-down, when the letter is turned over horizontally like a normal scroll with a Buddhist text on both sides.

Paleography

The akṣaras are illustrated in the sequence of the Arapacana alphabet. The following table shows, which akṣaras of this alphabet are attested in BC 15, and which are absent. A few examples occur only in combination with a vowel sign or with an underbar. The akṣara *ha* २, which is not included in the Arapacana alphabet is also found, as well as the number signs 2 (1 + 1) ॥, and 100 ॥.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
A	Ra	Pa	Ca	Na	La	Da	Ba	Ḍa	Ṣa	Va	Ta	Ya	Ṭha	Ka	Sa	Ma	Ga	Tha	Ja	Śpa
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
Dha	Śa	Khi	Kṣi	Sta	Ña	Ṭa	Bha	Che	Spa	Vha	Tsa	Gha	Ṭha	Ṇa	Pha	Ķa	Za	Ća	Ṭa	Ḍha

Five scribes (scribes A–E) are clearly recognizable. The next table illustrates all akṣaras of scribes A, C, D, and E in comparison with those of scribe B. It shows the different sizes and variations in the slant. Scribes B and C, for example, wrote the akṣara *kṣa* in two strokes, while scribes D and E combined them into one. The witnesses (scribes C–E) spelled the word *yatha* (Skt. *yathā*) differently, namely *yatha* (scribe C), *yatham* (scribe D), which might actually represent *yathā* with a long vowel, and finally *yartha* (scribe E), which almost looks as if this scribe misunderstood the shape of scribe D. These variants are shown under *Tha* (no. 19).

	1	2	3	7	8	11	12	13	14	15	16										
A																					
B																					
C																					
D																					
E																					
	A	I	U	Ra	Ri	Pu	Da	De	Bu	Va	Ve	Vi	Tra	Tre	Ya	Ye	Ṭhe	Ka	Sa	Sam	Ṣa

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	25	26	29	34	34	35	36	36	42	-	-
A	-	-	୨	୪	-	-	-	୩	-	୪	୬	୫୫	୫	୬	୩୩୩	୩	୪	୧୧	-
B	୨	୩	୨	୪୪	୫୫	୬୬୬	୩୩୩	୩୩୩	୫	୪୪୪	୬୬	୫୫୫	-	୬	୩୩୩୩	୫୫	୬୬	୪୪	୫୫୫
C	-	-	-	୪	୫	୬	-	-	୫	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	୪
D	୫	-	-	୫	୬	-	୩	-	୫୫	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	୫
E	-	୩	-	୫	୫	୬	୩	-	୫	-	-	-	-	-	-	୫	-	-	୫
	Su	Ma	Ga	Tha	Ji	Śpa	Dha	Śra	Kṣi	Sta	Bhu	Gha	Ghra	Ṭhi	Na	Ne	Ḍha	Ha	Hi

Phonology and Orthography

Single consonants

Single initial consonants of words, or second or last members within a compound, are usually retained as in Sanskrit. However, there are often exceptions in the Bajaur manuscripts concerning last compound members. In this one, it is the word *dharmasāla* (Skt. *dharmasālā*), for which one rather expects the spelling *dharmasala*. Words following the negation prefix *a-* behave like other second members of compounds, as expected. In all instances, they retain their original consonant(s) (*akirtida*, *apaḍibadha*, *apaḍiharita*, and *apracarova*). A special case might be the proper name *bhudamitra*. It remains here a matter of interpretation, whether the first part derives from Skt. *bhūta* (rather unlikely), *budha*, or *buddha*. The spelling of proper names may not apply to the same rules as in the text of the document.

The words in the following tables are quoted without square brackets, which indicate uncertain readings, and in most cases without the grammatical endings. Words of uncertain interpretation have mostly been omitted.

Medial unaspirated consonants		
Skt.	G	Examples in BC 15
-k-	-k-	darakacarya, prakasēyati, viśpathaka, savaḍhika
-g-	-g- Ø(?)	ṇagaradara, ṇagaravastava, sabhaga (uncertain) -*bhaiṇea (preserved is only ? i ? a; very uncertain)
-c-	-c-	darakacarya
-j-	-j-(?) -y-	cajaeati (uncertain, and only, if not to be read as <i>ca jaeati</i>) bhayamaṇa
-t-	-d- -t-	aīrakhida, eda, kirtidaakirtida, carida, dadava, paridade, purade, budharakṣida/vudharakhida, bhudamitra (only if based on Skt. <i>bhūta</i> and not <i>buddha</i> or the like), liayeadī (uncertain), śada, harida- abhisameti, cajeati / ca jaeati, parihareati, prakasēyati, viṃṇaveti, sampaḗeati (in some of these verb endings, <i>-ti</i> might also represent Skt. <i>-nti</i>); apaḍiharita, pa(*r)ivamc(*a)ṇ(*a)tipati (uncertain)
kṛt- prati	kiḍ- paḍi	atvakiḍa, kiḍa apaḍibadha, apaḍiharita, paḍipadi(-) (uncertain), paḍihaṭava
-d-	-d-	ucheda
-p-	-v-	kahavaṇa, apracarova(-), karaviati (uncertain), viṃṇaveti

Medial semivowels and <i>ha</i>		
-y-	∅(?)	jaeati (uncertain, and only, if not to be read as <i>cajaeati</i>), -*bhañea (preserved is only ? i ? a; very uncertain), liayeadī (uncertain)
-aya-	-e-	prakaśeyati (interpretation uncertain), vimñaveti, śadaduve (interpretation uncertain)
-r-	-r-	apaḍiharita, karaviati (uncertain), carida (uncertain), darakacarya, ṇagara-, paridade, parihareati, purade, purima(-), harida-
-v-	-v-	eva, samghaśrava
-l-	-l-	k(*a)l(*a) (uncertain), dharmāśala, mula, samula
-h-	-h-	*ghrahi (attested form: <i>ghrahaye</i>)
	-ś-	iśa
Medial aspirates		
-kh-	-kh-	hastalekha
-th-	-th-	yatha
-dh-	-d-(?)	bhudamitra (only, if based on Skt. <i>budha</i> , which is uncertain)
	-s-(?)	purimasibaṃdhaṇa (uncertain)
-bh-	-bh-	abhisameti
Medial nasals and <i>-m-</i>		
-ṇ- / -n-	-ṇ-	many examples, -eṇa (eight times)
	-ṇ-	uṇa, purimasibaṃdhaṇa (restore to <i>-baṃdh(*e)ṇa?</i>), -eṇa (seven times)
-m-	-m-	several examples
Medial sibilants		
-ś-	-ś-	dharmāśala
	-ś-	prakaśeyati
-ṣ-	-ṣ-	aṇeṣaṇa, eṣa
-s-	-s-	abhisameti

Table 1

Single medial consonants correspond not always to the usual, expected change, because not all single, unvoiced consonants become voiced between vowels. The original unvoiced consonant *-k-* is always preserved and never becomes *-g-* or *-g̣-*, while a medial *-g-* is written with an underbar as *-g̣-*. There may be an exception, where *-g-* is reduced to the vowel that follows, but this is speculative since the word is hardly legible.

The unvoiced consonant *-c-* is retained, while its voiced counterpart *-j-* becomes *-y-*. Or it may also be retained, but this represents another very uncertain case.

For *-t-*, there are three options. 1) In most words, but mostly excluding verb endings, it becomes *-d-*. 2) There are also a few exceptions, where it is either retained as *-t-*, or only written as *-t-*, maybe by accident, because the akṣaras *ta* and *da* were frequently confused by Kharoṣṭhī scribes. However, *-t-* remains *-t-* in almost all verb endings of the third person, be it the indicative or the optative. In some of the examples, it is uncertain whether the ending represents singular or plural. In the latter case, *-t-* would correspond to Skt. *-nt-*, which would then be the expected

equivalent, with or without a preceding anusvāra. However, at least the verb *viṃṃaveti* represents clearly a singular form. 3) If *-t-* occurs in equivalents to Skt. *kṛta* and *prati-*, it becomes a retroflex *-ḍ-* with an underbar.

A medial voiced *-d-* remains, and *-p-* becomes *-v-*, as usual.

The **medial semivowels** *-r-*, *-v-*, and *-l-* are generally retained. For *-y-*, however, this is less clear, because the interpretation of the few examples is difficult. The combination *-aya-* is represented by *-e-*, following the usual rules. Finally, *-h-* seems to be retained, but this is attested in only one word, while Skt. *iha* as an exception is *iṣa* in Gandhari.

With regard to **medial aspirates**, *-kh-*, *-th-*, and *-bh-* remain and are written as in their Sanskrit equivalents. For *-dh-*, the situation is unclear, because the only two examples are uncertain. 1) Especially the proper name *bhudamitra* leaves not only room for interpretation (G *da* = Skt. *ta*, *dha*, or *ddha*), but it might also intentionally contain a characteristic spelling, which does not follow the conventions of the document text. 2) Only if *purimasibaṃdha* (or *-baṃdhaṇa*) is read as a compound and understood as containing an equivalent for Skt. *ādhi*, *-dh-* would be represented as *-s-*, exactly as one would expect it in a normal Gandhari text. Unfortunately, no other word has survived, which supports this replacement.

Medial sibilants bear sometimes underbars. The sibilant *-ś-* is once represented as *-ṣ́-*, and once as *-ṥ-*, while a medial *-ṣ-* is always written *-ṩ-*. However, this akṣara occurs only twice in the preserved portion of the text. The remaining sibilant *-s-* is also written as *-s-* in the only certain example.

The **medial nasals** *-ṅ-* and *-n-* are all written as *-ṅ-* by all scribes of the document. However, scribe B adds an underbar to *-ṅa(-)* several times (seven times in the instrumental singular ending *-eṅa*, while he wrote eight times *-eṅa*, and sometimes also elsewhere). The **labial** *-m-* is naturally not altered.

Preconsonantal -r-		
Skt.	G	Examples in BC 15
-rt-	-rt- -ṛ-	kirtidaakirtida paḍihaṭava
-rdh-	-ḍh-	vaḍhamṭi, saṃghavaḍhaṇaputra, savaḍhika
-rm-	-rm-	dharmāṣala
-ry-	-ry-	darakacarya
-rṣ- (P -h-)	-h-	kahavaṇa
Postconsonantal -r-		
-gr-	-gr-	agra
-tr-	-tr-	-putra, yatra, bhudamitra, mitrathanavastava
(-)pr-	(-)pr-	apracarova(-), prakāṣeyati
prati-	paḍi-	apaḍibadha, apaḍiharita, paḍipadi(-) (uncertain), paḍihaṭava
śr-	śr-	saṃghaśrava
-ṣkr-	-kr-	ṅikramita
-ṣṭr-	-ṭh-	uṭhi

Consonant clusters excluding -r-		
Skt.	G	Examples in BC 15
-kṣ-	-kh- -kṣ-	aīrakhida, vudharakhida budharakṣida, sakṣi
-ṅgh-/ṁgh-	-ṁgh-	saṁghavaḍhaṇaputra, saṁghaśrava
-cch-	-ch-	ucheda
-ṁc-/ṁc-	-c-	pa(*r)ivamc(*a)ṁ(*a)tipati (uncertain)
-jñ-	-ṁñ-	viṁñaveti
-tt- / Pkt. -tt-	-t-	pa(*r)ivamc(*a)ṁ(*a)tipati (uncertain), ṁikramita (absolute suffix)
-tth-	-ṁth-	uṁthapati
-tm-	-tv-	atvakiḍa (if the reading is not <i>asvakiḍa</i>)
-ty-	-c-	apracarova(-), cajaeati (only, if not to be read as <i>ca jaeati</i>)
-ddh-	-dh- -d-	apaḍibadha (if not based on Skt. <i>-bandha</i>), budharakṣida (if not based on Skt. <i>budha</i>) bhudamitra (only, if based on Skt. <i>buddha</i>)
-dy-	-j-	saṁpaḍeati
-dya	-ji	aji
dv-	duv-	duve, śadaduve
-dhy-	-j-	aḷeṣaṇa
-ṁt-/ṁt-	-ṁt-	kraṁta/bhraṁta, vaḍhaṁti
-ṁdh-/ṁdh-	-ṁdh- -dh-	purimasibaṁdhana (or <i>-baṁdha</i>) apaḍibadha (if not based on Skt. <i>-baddha</i>)
-mp-/ṁp-	-ṁp-	saṁpaḍeati
-vy-	-v-	ṁagaravastava, dadava, paḍihaṭava, mitrathanaḍavastava
-śv-	-śp-	viśpaṭha/viśpaṭhaka
-st-	-st- -ṁth-	ṁagaravastava, mitrathanaḍavastava, hastalekha viśpaṭha/viśpaṭhaka
(-)sth-	(-)th-	thana, mitrathanaḍavastava
-sy-	-ś-	taśa, -śa (genitive singular ending)

Table 2

Consonant clusters

The preserved text of BC 15 contains only two examples of **three combined consonants** (*-ṣkr-* > *-kr-*, *-ṣṭr-* > *-ṭh-*), both with a postconsonantal *-r-*. The first example is reduced to the latter two, and the second one shows an assimilation of *ṣ-*, while the *-r* is not perceivable.

Excepting anusvāras as well as semivowels, **consonant clusters of two parts** retain their second consonant in *-cch-* > *-ch-*, *-jñ-* > *-ṁñ-*, *-tt-* > *-t-*, *-ddh-* > *-dh-* (with a possible but uncertain exception in the name *bhudamitra*, if based on Skt. *buddha*), and *(-)sth-* > *(-)th-*. The two clusters *-kṣ-* and *-sta-* remain unchanged in some cases, while in others, they appear altered by assimilation (*-kṣ-* > *-kh-* and *-st-* in *viśpaṭha/viśpaṭhaka* > *-ṁth-*). Both variants are also known from other Gandhari texts. The first altered cluster occurs in the proper names *aīrakhida* and

vudharakhida, but as already stated, proper names do not necessarily reflect the same language or dialect as the document. The cluster *-tth-* has become *-ṭh-*.

Anusvāras are mostly written, namely in *kraṃta* or *bhraṃta* (beginning of the word uncertain), *pa(*r)ivamc(*a)ṇ(*a)tipati* (uncertain), *purimasibaṃdhaṇa* (or *-baṃdha*), *vaḍhaṃti*, *viṃṇa-veṭi*, *saṃgha-*, and *saṃpaḷeati*. In the word *apaḍibadha*, it is uncertain, whether it derives from Skt. *-baddha* or *-bandha*. In the latter case the anusvāra would have been left unwritten, which is a common feature in many other Gandhari manuscripts. In several optative endings of the third person (*-eati* etc.), it is unclear whether they should be read as plural and whether an anusvāra was there meant to be included, but left unwritten.

Preconsonantal -m- in Skt. *ātman* became *-tv-* (*atva-*), if the reading is correct, and not *asva-* (= Skt. *asva-*).

The **semivowel -y-** as the second part of a cluster results in: *-ty-* > *-c-*, *-dy-* > *-ḷ-* (however, *adya* > *aji*), *-dhy-* > *-ḷ-*, *-vy-* > *-v-*, and *-sy-* > *-s-*. There may be other examples of passive forms, but these are usually ambiguous. **Preconsonantal -r-** is either retained (*-rt-* > *-rt-*, *-rm-* > *-rm-*, *-ry-* > *-ry-*), or turns the main consonant into a retroflex (*-rt-* > *-ṛ-*, *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*), or other developments occurred (Skt. *-rṣ-* / P *-h-* > *-h-* in *kahavaṇa*). **Postconsonantal -r-** is generally preserved, including in *śr-*, but there are two exceptions of *prati-* > *paḍi-*, and *-ṣtr-* > *-ṭh-*. **Postconsonantal -v-** occurs in Sanskrit equivalents only in *dvā/dvaya* and *viśvasta/viśvastaka* and shows the development *dv-* > *duv*, and *-śv-* > *-śp-* in *viśpaṭha/viśpaṭhaka*.

Vowel sandhi

The assumption of a vowel sandhi always bears the risk to be a wrong interpretation, when the surrounding text is not altogether clear. It is therefore easily possible that the following suggested cases could also be segmented and understood in a different way. The words are here quoted together with their respective endings, but there are not translated. The hiatus between two vowels in the first case may be for the sake of clarity.

Sandhi	G	BHS or Skt. with translation	Lines
<i>a + a > aa</i>	<i>kirtidaakirtide</i>	<i>kīrtitākīrtita</i> , “specified and/or unspecified”	5, 14
<i>a + a > a</i>	<i>pa(*r)ivamc(*a)ṇ(*ā)tipatiyo</i>	<i>*parivañcanātipatti</i> , “passing [the date of repaying] by deceiving” (interpretation uncertain)	6
<i>a + ā > a</i>	<i>darakācarya(*śa)</i>	<i>dārakācārya</i> , “schoolteacher”	12
	<i>purimāsibaṃdhaṇa</i>	<i>*purimādhibandha/*-bandhana</i> , “former mortgage bond” (or read <i>purimasibaṃdh(*e)ṇa</i> ; interpretation uncertain)	3
<i>a + e > e</i>	<i>ṇēva</i>	<i>naiva</i> , “by no means”	4
<i>ma + e or -ṃ + e > me or -m e</i>	<i>edaṇamēva or edaṇam eva</i>	<i>*etannāmaiva</i> , or <i>etānām eva</i> , “having that name,” or “of these” (interpretation uncertain)	12

Table 3

Foreign terms and proper names as well as names of uncertain etymology

The following list contains unexplained words and foreign terms and names. Not all unexplained words are necessarily foreign in origin, however, their etymology is doubtful.

Word	Attested form	Language	Meaning
<i>ai</i>	<i>aiṛakh[i]daṣa</i> , <i>(*aiṛakhi)[da]putre</i>	?	(proper name)
<i>asura</i>	<i>asuraputre</i>	Iranian?	(proper name)
<i>azada</i>	<i>azade</i>	Iranian	“free, freedom”
<i>aho mi</i>		?	
<i>udhaṇa</i>	<i>[u]dhaṇe¹</i>	?	(proper name)
<i>kṣuṇa</i>	<i>(*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi]²</i>	Iranian	“date, time”
<i>khsam̐dika</i>	<i>[sa]m̐</i> (very uncertain)	Greek	the month “Xandikos”
<i>jihona/jihonia</i>	<i>j[i]hon[e]</i> , <i>[ji]honiēna</i>	?	(proper name)
<i>dara</i>	<i>ṇagaradarade</i>	?	(place name?)
<i>mahadiṇa</i>	<i>maha[di]ṇaput(*r)[e]</i> , <i>[mahadi](*ṇaputre)³</i>	?	(proper name)
<i>śamgaśia</i>	<i>śamgaśia</i> (reading uncertain)	?	(place name)

Scribal errors

The scribe of the names of the sender and the addressee on the verso of the document (scribe A in line A) wrote swiftly and casually. Deciphering his script would be difficult without knowing the contents. He seems to have written *-p[utv]eṇa* instead of *-p[ut]reṇa*, and another time *-p[u]troṣa* instead of *-p[u]traṣa*.

The main scribe B is also not free of errors. The hardly legible expression following *iśa* in line 2, which most probably represents a word denoting “day” or “date” (*[d]i (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi]* or *vi (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi]*, or *[d]i(*vasa)[ṇmi]*) is either miswritten or seems to differ from the well-known variants for this word group. One wonders whether the *-o* ending in *apaḍibadho* in line 7 is correct, when the following terms seem to describe the money (*kahavaṇa*) in plural. There may

¹ In one instance, the shape of the first syllable resembles *am*, but the second (incomplete) example and the monogram suggest an *u* in the beginning.

² The reading is uncertain. An alternative for *[d]i (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi]* or *vi (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi]* is *[d]i(*vasa)[ṇmi]*.

³ Or *[mahati]-*.

be more inconsistencies concerning the vowel-endings of words, but without understanding the whole document properly, such cases are difficult to detect. In line 11, the text does not seem to make sense. Most probably, some kind of omission occurred there, or perhaps an unintentional confusion of proper names. It remains unclear, how this is to be resolved. One possibility may be to complete to *sam[gh](*avaḍhaṇa)⟨*putreṇa sam⟩[gh](*a)śrav(*e)ṇa*, but that does not solve all problems in this sentence. In line 12, most probably the genitive ending was omitted in *daraka-carya⟨*śa⟩*. Elsewhere, it is unclear whether syllables or vowel markers were omitted as in the unusual form of the verb *uḥapati* in line 8, for which one would rather expect another spelling, such as *uḥhap(*e)ti* or *uḥhapa(*ya)ti*, unless the form represents a passive.

The signing witnesses were also not flawless, despite that they wrote each only few words. Witness number two (scribe D), who is named Budharakṣida, wrote erroneously *yatham* for *yatha* (line 15), unless the curve at the bottom of *tha* is a rare representation of a long vowel, and moreover, he appears to have omitted the word *viṣpaṭhe* before his signature.⁴ Long vowel-markers do not occur elsewhere in the document, but the cultural background of this witness is unknown. Witness number three (scribe E), called Udhaṇa, added a superfluous preconsonantal *r*- in *yartha* (correct to *ya{r}tha*), perhaps as an attempt to copy the shape of scribe D.

⁴ The signature actually somewhat resembles the word *viṣpaṭhe*, but it would be difficult to imagine that the signature was omitted instead. However, the different spelling of the name *budharakṣida* as *vudharakhida* in the alleged signature is also noteworthy.

Morphology and Syntax

Because the text comprises only few lines, and thus represents the language incompletely, generalized remarks must wait until similar documents are discovered. The letter is additionally incomplete, lacks punctuation altogether, and is difficult to understand, leaving room for interpretation. From the surviving portions it becomes clear that the text has been composed in the nominal style, which is already seen in the introductory sentences. This section ends with the expression *yatha vimñaveti* (Skt. *yathā vijñāpayati*) in line 3. The verb *vi\jñā* expresses that somebody addresses a socially higher standing person, in this case the creditor Bhudamitra. It is frequently employed in letters in general, for example in the late *Lekhapaddhati*, and it also occurs as a standard in the opening statements in many letter documents from Niya (*vimñaveti yatha*), describing who informed the sender. The verb form requires a nominative for the informer, but here, in BC 15, the corresponding name Saṃghaśrava is inflected in the instrumental case, as if *vimñaveti* would be a passive form, which is probably not the case.

Nominal forms

The majority of endings illustrate the nominative and instrumental cases, which is easily explained by the nominal style preferred in the document. Differences between the distributions of endings in the nominative and accusative singular, however, can thus not be studied on a sufficient basis. Among the theoretically possible masculine or neuter singular endings of the nominative in *-a*, *-e*, or *-o*, most examples have *-e*. This was certainly the ending of choice, whereas in the other few examples, it is unclear, whether the vowel sign has been forgotten (in case of *-a*), or what the reasons were behind the difference.

The masculine/neuter instrumental singular ending is spelled either *-eṇa* with eight preserved examples written by scribe B, or *-eṇa* with seven preserved examples by the same scribe. The latter variant, which is not used by the other scribes, appears mostly in this case ending, while there are only two other examples found in the word *uṇa* (Skt. *ūna*; 4), and *purimasibaṃdhaṇa* (BHS **purimādhibandhana*, or restore here to *-baṃdh(*e)ṇa*, instr. sg.?: 3).

The spelling of the masculine or neuter genitive singular ending is exclusively *-aṣa*, while *-asa* is unattested.

The following table shows, which forms can be found in BC 15, and in which words they occur. The few extant pronouns and numbers are not contained, since they are discussed separately below. For more clarity, square brackets indicating uncertain readings have been removed, and if a word is more than one time attested, only the most complete version is quoted.

gender	m./n.	m./n.	f.	f.
Skt.	-a	-in	-il-ī	-ā
G	-a	-i	-i	-a
singular				
nom./acc.	-e, rarer -a or -o	-i	-i	—
instr.	-eṇa or -eṇa	-aye	-iyo(?)	-aye?
dat.	-aye(?)	—	—	—
abl.	-ade	—	—	-aye?
gen.	-aśa	—	—	-ae?
loc.	-aṃmi, -e(?)	—	—	-ae?
plural				
nom.	-a, -o (as an error?)	—	—	—
gen.	-aṇa	—	—	—

Skt. -a **m./n., sg. nom.:** -e: *udhaṇe* 11, 16, *kirtidaakirtide* 5, 14 (or acc.?), *gamaṇe* A, *jihone* 11, 14, *-putre* 11 [2×], 15 [2×], *budharakṣide* 11, 15, *bhayamaṇe* 8, *viśpaṭhe* 6?, 14, 15, 16, *śadaduve* 4 (actually dual), *saṃghaśrave* 8; -a: *atvakiḍa* 8 (uncertain), *purimasibaṃdhaṇa* 3 (or read *-baṃdh(*e)ṇa* as instr. sg.?), *mula* 4 (uncertain), *viśpaṭhaka* 6?, 13 (uncertain); -o: *jaṇo* 14 (uncertain), *purimo* 11 (or acc.?), *viśpaṭh(*a)ko* 9 (uncertain), *hastalekho* 13 (or acc.?). **sg. acc.:** *uṇa* 4 (uncertain), *bhudamitre* 7 (uncertain); **sg. instr.:** *(*a)greṇa* 5, *uchedeṇa* 4, *k(*a)-l(*e)ṇa* 6 (uncertain), *carideṇa* 7 (uncertain), *jihoniṇeṇa* 12, *mitrathanaṇavastaveṇa* A, *mitrathanaṇavastaveṇa* 3, *(*v)ikr(*a) ? n(*e)ṇa* 6 (uncertain), *śadeṇa* 4, *saṃghavaḍḍhaṇaputveṇa* A (emend to *-putreṇa*), *(*saṃghavaḍḍhaṇaputveṇa)* 2–3, *saṃghaśraveṇa* A, 7, 11, 13, *(*saṃghaśra)v(*e)ṇa* 26o.a, *harida ? i ? eṇa* 3; **sg. dat.:** *apracarovaye* 4 (uncertain); **sg. abl.:** *ṇagara-darade* 3 (gender uncertain), *paridade* 4, *purade* 12; **sg. gen.:** *aṇrakhidaśa* 12, *kaḥhiaputrośa* A (emend to *-putraśa*), *(*ka)ḥhiaputraśa* 3–4, *ṇagaravastavaśa* 4, *-tr(*a)śa* 7, *bhudamitraśa* A, *saṃghaśravaśa* 12; **sg. loc.:** *-aṃmi:* *(*kṣ)u(*ṇa)ṃmi* or *di(*vasa)ṃmi* 2, *thanaṃmi* 8; -e: *agre* 14 (uncertain, maybe also nom. or an incomplete instr.); **pl. nom.:** -a: *apaḍḍiharita* 6, *kahavaṇa* 4, 6, 7, 13, 25k–1.b, *dadava* 7, *paḍḍihaṭava* 13, *sabhaga* 9 (uncertain), *samula* 7, 9, 13, *savaḍḍhika* 7, 13; -o: *apaḍḍibadho* 7 (erroneous?); **pl. gen.:** *viśpaṭhakaṇa* 13 (uncertain).

Skt. -in **m., sg. nom.:** *sakṣi* 14, 15 [2×]; **sg. instr.:** *ghrahaye* A.

Skt. -il-ī **f., sg. acc.:** *uḥhi* 8; **sg. instr.:** *pa(*r)ivamc(*a)n(*a)tipatiyo* 6 (uncertain).

Skt. -ā **f., sg. instr. or abl.:** *aḥḥeṇaye* 12; **sg. gen. or loc.:** *dharmaśalae* 11.

Table 4 Conspectus of nominal inflections.

Pronouns

Uncertain first-person pronoun: The word *ahomi* or *aho mi* starts the first sentence of the contract after the first introductory sentence(s) ending in *yatha vimñaveti*. It is followed by the Iranian term *azade*, which means “free,” or “freedom,” as well as another unknown word, and its meaning and etymology are uncertain. Perhaps it represents two forms of the pronoun of the first person *aha*, such as a nominative singular and an enclitic for the instrumental or genitive singular (“I, mine/by me”), or perhaps something else, such as a finite verb in the first person or another unidentified term.

The **third-person pronoun** is attested with certainty in only the genitive singular (*taṣa*, 13).

The following forms of **demonstrative pronouns** occur:

<i>ida</i> (Skt. <i>idam</i>)	m. nom.(?) sg.	<i>iṃmo</i>	line 13
	m. nom. sg.	<i>[i]</i> ? ⁵	line A
	mn. nom.(?) pl.	<i>[im](*e)</i> ⁶	line 25k–l.b
<i>eda</i> (Skt. <i>etad</i>)	mn.(?) nom.(?) sg.(?)	<i>edo</i>	line 9
	mn. nom. pl.	<i>ede</i>	lines 6, 7, 13
	mn.(?) gen. pl.	<i>edaṇam</i> ⁷	line 12
	unknown	<i>eṣe</i>	line 14

The word *ye* is found a number of times in the text. The interpretation is not always certain, but in most cases it seems to represent the **relative pronoun**:

<i>ya</i> (Skt. <i>yad</i>)	m. nom.(?) sg.(?)	<i>ye</i> (interpretation uncertain)	line 13
	m. nom. pl.	<i>ye</i>	lines 7, 13
	mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?)	<i>ye</i> (interpretation uncertain)	line 7

The **reflexive pronoun** *atva* is contained in the compound *atvakiḍa* (Skt. *ātmakṛta*; 8), if the word is not differently read as *asvakiḍa* (Skt. *asvakṛta*), but the shape of the akṣara looks more like *tva* than *sva*, as far as this can be said, since none of these two akṣaras occurs a second time in BC 15.

Numerals

Only the words for “two” and “one hundred” occur. They describe the amount of the loan and most probably the (monthly?) interest. The original amount is given in numbers (1-1-100) and words (*śadaduve*, most probably nominative; 4). Whether one reads this as a compound or two words may depend on the reader.

The interest seems to be expressed by the verb *vaḍhamti* (Skt. $\sqrt{vṛdh}$) “to increase” and instrumental case in *duveṇa śad[e]ṇa* (4) “by two percent.” Two percent is not very much, but it was common. The *śāstras* recommend this percentage as a standard for *brāhmaṇas*.

⁵ The interpretation is uncertain.

⁶ Or restore to *[im](*a)*, *[i](*m)[m](*a)*, or *[i](*m)[m](*e)*.

⁷ This is an alternative interpretation of *edaṇama* (Skt. **etannāman*) in *edaṇam[eva]*.

Verb forms

Amongst the attested **finite forms**, the optative (sg.) is most frequently utilized in the text. Additionally, a few present indicative forms exist in BC 15, but no other tenses. Third person's endings are generally **-ti** for the singular, and perhaps also sometimes for the plural, especially when an already heavy syllable precedes as in *abhisameti*, where it is unclear whether this represents singular or plural. For the present indicative plural, once **-ṃti** is found.

Present indicative:

- 3rd sg. $\sqrt{jñā}$: *viññaveti* (with the agens in the instrumental case, but a passive would here be unusual; 3), $\sqrt{sthā}$: *uṭhapatī* (unusual spelling, possibly to be restored to *uṭhap<*e>ti* or *uṭhapa<*ya>ti*, or passive?; 8).
- 3rd sg./pl. \sqrt{i} : *abhisameti* (8)
- 3rd pl. $\sqrt{vṛdh}$: *vaḍhamṃti* (4)

Several examples of the **optative** occur:

- 3rd sg. \sqrt{as} : *[s]iyo* 8 (interpretation uncertain), $\sqrt{kāś}$: *prakaśeyati* (8), \sqrt{kr} : *[ka]raviati* (caus. and pass., interpretation uncertain; 12), \sqrt{jan} or \sqrt{tyaj} : *cajaeati* or *ca jaeati* (7), \sqrt{pad} : *sampajēati* (14), $\sqrt{lī}$: *lia[ye]adi* (interpretation uncertain; 4), \sqrt{hr} : *parihareati* (13).

Some of these examples, such as for example *parihareati*, may also represent passive forms of the optative. Perhaps another form can be identified, but this depends on the reading, being either *uṇa apracarova[ye]* or *uṇaa pracarova[ye]*. In the latter reading, *pracarova[ye]* might perhaps be an optative of the causative from Skt. *pratyā√ruh*.

BC 15 contains only one clearly identifiable example of the **absolutive (gerund)**, namely *nikramita* (\sqrt{kram} , cf. P *nikkhamitvā*, BHS *niṣkramitvā*; 3) “having moved out.” It may have been a conventional expression indicating either that somebody has moved from one place to another, or where he originally hails from, in contrast to the current place of residence. The form belongs to a rather frequent variant of the absolutive, ending in *-(t)ta* or *-i(t)ta*.

Only one example of a **present participle** has been identified, which corresponds to the Skt. ending in *-māna*: \sqrt{bhaj} : *bhayamaṇ[e]* (m. nom. sg.; 8). The *-e*-ending indicates that participles in *-maṇa* (Skt. *-māna*) can be inflected, which is not seen in many Gandhari manuscripts.

The verbal adjective or past participle: The few attested Gandhari forms correspond to the Sanskrit endings in *-ta* and *-ita*. Some of the listed examples may actually represent nouns. In case of personal names, the spellings may vary (cf. **Budharakṣida/Vudharakhida**, **Bhudamitra**, **Aīrakhida**). Although it is uncertain, whether *budha/vudha* and *bhuda* are really two spellings of the same word, it is possible that there has been an awareness about such spelling variants, and that they have deliberately been retained in such legal documents as BC 15, especially when these persons wrote personally their names as it is the case for Budharakṣida, and Jihona/Jihonia, son of Aīrakhida. Bhudamitra, on the other hand, is the creditor. His name occurs at least four times in the same spelling including on the outside of the folded-up letter.

√*kīrt*: *kirtida* and *akirtida* (5, 14); √*kr*: *kiḍa* (11), *atvakiḍa* (or read *asvakiḍa*?; 8); √*kram*/√*bhram*: *kraṃta*/*bhraṃta* (reading uncertain; 6); √*car*: *carida* (possibly a noun; 7); √*bandh*: *apaḍibadha* (which might also represent the noun *pratibandha*; 7); √*budh*?: *budha* (as part of the name Budharakṣida; 11, 15) and *vudha* in his signature, cf. also *bhuda* (as part of the name Bhudamitra; 3, 7, 9, A); √*bhram*/√*kram*: *bhraṃta*/*kraṃta* (reading uncertain; 6); √*rakṣ*: *-rakhida* (as part of the name Aīrakhida; 12, 15), *rakṣida* (as part of the name Budharakṣida; 11, 15); √*śvas*: *viśpaṭha* (6?, 14, 15, 16; cf. also *viśpaṭhaka*; 6?, 9, 13 [2x]); √*hr*: *apaḍiharita* (caus., 6).

Future passive participles (gerundives) seem to be attested in only two examples, both ending in *-dava* (Skt. *-tavya*).

<i>dadava</i>	Skt. <i>dātavya</i>	“to be given.”	mn. nom. pl.	line 7
<i>paḍiḥaṭava</i>	Skt. <i>pratihartavya</i>	“to be brought back.”	mn. nom.(?) pl.	line 13

Both words have not only related meanings, but they occur also in similar constructions: “These *kahavaṇas* [...] are to be given / to be brought back, which Saṃghaśrava ...” In the second sentence, the *kahavaṇas* are further characterized by several attributes; however, in both sentences the continuation remains unfortunately unclear.

line 7: *ede kahavaṇa* ————— *dadava* — [ye] (*saṃ)ghaśraveṇa ...
 line 13: *ede kaḥaḥavaṇa a[ḥi]hi v[iśpa]ṭhaka samula savaḍhika paḍiḥaṭava ye sa(m)ghaśraveṇa ...*

Indeclinables, adverbs and abbreviations

The most interesting stock phrase involving indeclinables and adverbs centers around the words *aji hi viśpaṭha* or *aji hi viśpaṭhaka* (Skt. *adya* and *hi*, as well as *viśvasta* or *viśvastaka*), which is found eight times. The meaning of the last word is not fully clear, except for that it appears to derive from Skt. *viśvas* “to be trustful, trust in, rely on.” It occurs in mainly two combinations, but the context is not always preserved. In the first variant (A), the form *viśpaṭhaka* is mainly (or exclusively) used. The phrase starts more or less with the demonstrative pronoun *eda*. In the second example (line 9) the particle *hi* is included, and in the third example (lines 12–13), *eva* may be added, being followed by at least two unknown syllables. The other words, which immediately follow or precede the expression *aji hi viśpaṭhaka* name or describe the amount of the money (*kahavaṇa*) of the loan (highlighted here in green color). Only in the third example, this is uncertain.

In the second variant *yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe* (B), the word *yatha* is added. This phrase occurs together with the names and signatures or monograms of the witnesses. The ensuing question is, whether *viśpaṭha* or *viśpaṭhaka* refers to persons (witnesses), or to things (money, or the general content of the contract), or to both, but differently in variants A and B. The phrase in variant B may possibly be translated as “[the above content is exactly] so as today entrusted,” perhaps also in the sense of “as mutually consented,” “[legally] verified,” or “[lawfully] acknowledged,” or alternatively, it may be rendered as “the witness ..., as today acknowledged” or “entrusted.”

- A line 6: *ede kahavaṇa aji hi viśpaṭh[e]* (the reading might also be *viśpaṭha[ka]*) ...
 line 9: *edo [aj]ihi viśpaṭh(*a)[ko h]i [sabhaga s](*a)mu[l](*a) [s](*a)[va]ḍhik(*a) ...*
 lines 12–13: *edaṇame[va]* (or read *edaṇam e[va]*) ? + *[aj]ihi viśpaṭhakaṇa ...*
 line 13: *taṣa ede ka[ha]vaṇa a[aj]ihi v[ī]śpaṭhaka samula savaḍhika paḍiḥaṭava ...*
- B line 14: *yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe*
 lines 14–16: *sakṣi* — name — father’s name — *yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe* — signature/monogram
 line 15: *sakṣi* — name — father’s name — *yatha{ṃ} aji hi <*viśpaṭhe>* — signature/monogram
 lines 15–16: *sakṣi* — father’s name — name — *[ya]{r}tha aji hi viśpaṭhe* — signature/monogram

Other indeclinables and adverbs are *agre* and *agreṇa* (Skt. *agre* and *agreṇa*)⁸ “[as] above, [as] in the beginning,” *iśa* (Skt. *iha*) “here, now,”⁹ *eva* (Skt. *eva*; in *neva*), *ca* (Skt. *ca*) “and,” *na* (Skt. *na*) “not” (in *neva*), *paridade* (Skt. *parīta* plus abl. suffix *taḥ*) “from [the possession of],”¹⁰ *purade* (Skt. *purataḥ*) “in front of, before,” *yatra* (Skt. *yatra*) “where, in which place,” *va* (Skt. *vā*) “or” (uncertain), and perhaps *vi* (Skt. *api*; even more uncertain; cf. *di*).

As an abbreviation, *ka* is found, standing for *kahavaṇa*, and perhaps *di* for *divasa* “day,” but the reading and interpretation of this syllable is uncertain (cf. *vi*).

⁸ The word might perhaps also be used as a noun.

⁹ This occurs only in the phrase *[i]śa [d]i(*vasa)[ṃmi]*, or *[i]śa [d]i (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṃmi]*, or *[i]śa vi (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṃmi]*, depending on the reading of the badly preserved akṣaras.

¹⁰ Cf. G *paride* in the Niya documents, P *parito*, Skt. *paritaḥ*.

Transliteration

In the transliteration, the number of missing syllables in the gaps has only been estimated, whereas the actual number of the lost syllables remains uncertain.

Segment B of verso

A (*by scribe A:*) [i] ?¹ ◇ ghra[ha]ye² ◇ sa[m]ghaśravaṇa³ ◇ sa[m]gha[vaḍha]ṇap[utv]eṇa⁴ ◇ hari +
+ + + + +⁵ ◇ mi[trathanavasta]veṇa⁶ ◇◇◇ bhudamitraṣa kaṭhiap[u]t[r]oṣa ◇ gaman[e]⁷

Recto

1⁸ + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? ? + ? ? ? ? ? .[e]/.[i] + + + + + + + + ? + ? + + + + + ?⁹ + +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

¹ The line seems to start with the akṣara [i], but it is not entirely certain whether the surface layer in the beginning of the line is damaged. Alternative readings for the preserved portion of [i] may theoretically be [tha] or [sta]. The unclear akṣara contains something that looks like a very thin slanting line, which reaches far down. This might be only a shadow, but it might also be a part of an -[o] or -[i]-vowel marker.

² The reading of the first akṣara ghra might also be ghr[i], since there appears to be a very fine line, where theoretically an *i*-vowel marker might be found. However, it is thinner than the other vowel markers in this line and it might be insignificant. The akṣara [ha] (ॆ) is faint and difficult to read. Its shape also resembles [tra] or [tre].

³ The first casually written akṣara (𑀧) cannot clearly be distinguished from sa without anusvāra. However, the presence of an anusvāra can be assumed from the several other occurrences of the name. Similarly, the akṣaras śrave (𑀧𑀲) would hardly be legible without context, due to the cursive script and the manner, how they are combined.

⁴ Without the knowledge of which name is meant here, the cursive akṣara [va] (𑀶) would have been read as da, and the first ṇa (𑀧), which is combined with the preceding akṣara, as ya or śa. The word p[utv]e-ṇa (𑀧𑀲𑀧𑀲𑀳; the correct form is putreṇa) has been slightly misspelt. The p- is extremely cursive, particularly how its first va-like stroke is combined with the preceding ṇa, and the -[u]-vowel marker is unusually written and can only be read in comparison with the -u-vowel in the later word bhuda- (𑀧𑀲𑀳). Thereafter follows an erroneous slanting line that somewhat resembles a preconsonantal -v-. It is probably an unintentional connection between the end of tr- and the -e-vowel marker.

⁵ The gap is located on the central, vertical crease, where the damage occurred in the folded state of the letter.

⁶ Due to the damage in the bark and the casual handwriting, the akṣaras [tra], [tha], and [ṇa] would hardly be legible, if the word would not be elsewhere attested in the document.

⁷ A little piece that is folded over covers the place above ṇa. The upper point of the -e-vowel marker seems nevertheless visible, but it is not entirely clear. Hence, a reading as ṇa instead of ṇ[e] might also be possible. Whether the line really ends here is unclear, because the small pieces of the bark, which are folded over, hide whatever might have been here.

- 2 (by scribe B:) + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? [s]. [sa]m¹¹ + + + ? + + + ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
[i]śa [d]i¹² ?¹³ .[m̄mi¹⁴ ghr].¹⁵ ? ? .[m̄gh]. + + + + + + + + + +
- 3 ṅa harida ?¹⁶ [i]¹⁷ ?¹⁸ [e]ṅa śamgāśia¹⁹ ṅagaradarade ṅikramita mitrathañavastaveṅa yatha
viṃṇaveti ahomi azade [v]i²⁰ [ṅu]²¹ purimasibaṃdhaṅa²² bh[u]da[m]i .r. + +
- 4 ṭhiaputraśa²³ [ṅa]garavastavaśa²⁴ paridade uchedeṅa kahavaṅa śadaduve ka 1 1 100 mu[la]²⁵
ṅeva lia[ye]adi²⁶ uṅa apracarova[ye]²⁷ vadhamṭi duveṅa śad[e]ṅa ka[r]i ? ? + +

-
- ⁸ Neither the number of akṣaras in this line is certain, nor whether this line is really separate from line 2. The preserved akṣara fragments are all from the upper parts, but nothing is legible.
- ⁹ The remnant consists of a long vertical line, which reaches high above the average size of the akṣaras.
- ¹⁰ The preserved shape looks like [ma], but it might also represent the foot of many other letters.
- ¹¹ Since the upper part of the letter is not preserved, a reading and reconstruction as the rare conjunct (kh)[sa]m would also be possible.
- ¹² Or vi.
- ¹³ The akṣara looks like .u, but it might also be read as [va] with the end of the stem exceedingly curved, resembling an *u*-vowel marker.
- ¹⁴ The expected reading for akṣara .[m] would be [ṅa]m or [śa]m/[sa]m, but the upper distinguishing part is missing. The preserved portion looks like [i]m, which does not appear to make sense. Perhaps the extended curve of the anusvāra that resembles the *-i*-vowel marker is due to a slip of the pen. Alternative readings for the remnants of the following akṣara [mi] are [ga] and [kṣa].
- ¹⁵ The akṣara [ghr]. has been read in comparison with the second word in line A. The shape also resembles that of [śr]., or [t]r. plus another akṣara.
- ¹⁶ The reading might be [ya], [śa], or [ka], [pa], [bha]. Since the upper part is lost, there might have theoretically been an *-e*-vowel marker.
- ¹⁷ An alternative reading for the preserved akṣara part that looks like [i] would be [sti].
- ¹⁸ This might be any akṣara with a long vertical stem, such as ḍa, ṅa, ra, etc.
- ¹⁹ Without knowing the word for certain, the first syllable śam might also be read as the two syllables dhāṅa, if the scribe did exceptionally not separate them with sufficient space. Alternatives for śi are śi and śri. The word might also form a compound with the following word.
- ²⁰ Since the lower part is only incompletely preserved, the reading [v]i[m] may also be possible.
- ²¹ Possibly also [du], [da], or [na]. The *-u*-vowel marker is uncertain. The syllable may be a part of the same word as the preceding one.
- ²² Whether the indentation in the stem of ba was intended as an anusvāra or whether it is a mere flourish, remains uncertain. The surface layer of the bark is lost above baṃdhaṅa, leaving room for interpretation with concern to the vowels. Alternatives are baṃdhaṅ., to be restored to baṃdhaṅ(*e), and baṃdh. ṅa, to be restored to baṃdh(*e)ṅa.
- ²³ There is a dark spot above śa, which slightly resembles the shape of an *e*-vowel marker, except for that the angle of the slant seems not right. Since no *e*-vowel is required at this place, this might have been a slip of the pen.
- ²⁴ The upper part of [na] is not absolutely clear, and the slight curve of the stem differs from the usually straight stem of ṅa. The misleading shape of the head may be due to a tiny chip adhering to the bark, but it is uncertain. In case of a chip, the remnants might belong to the beginning of line 10, where the surface layer is partially lost. Otherwise, the reading [sa]garavastavaśa may perhaps also be possible.
- ²⁵ The upper part of [la] is partially covered in the scan. There might have been an *e*-vowel marker.
- ²⁶ For [ye], the reading [śe] may also be considered, and the segmentation might equally differ.
- ²⁷ The segmentation is uncertain. One might also attempt to read uṅaa pracarova[ye], isolate the final [ye], or read both words as a compound.

- 13 [aj]i hi viśpaṭhakaṇa ye ca immo hastalekho⁷² parihareati taṣa ede ka[ha]vaṇa a[ji] hi v[īspa]ṭhaka samula savaḍhika paḍihaṭava ye sa. ghaśraveṇa sa. [ghavaḍha]⁷³ +
- 14 + .[e] + ? ? .[i ta]⁷⁴ jaṇo⁷⁵ da a/va si yaṃ/śaṃ [sa] ta sa ce va aṃ⁷⁶ te⁷⁷ eṣe ? ? ? + ?⁷⁸ ? [r]e⁷⁹ agr[e] ki[r]tida[akirti]de sampaṇeati yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe ◊ (by scribe C:) sakṣi [jiho] +
- 15 + ? ? ? [da]putre⁸⁰ yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe monogram/signature no. 1 ◊ (by scribe D:) sakṣi bu[dha]rakṣide asuraputre yathaṃ⁸¹ aji hi monogram/signature no. 2⁸² (by scribe E:) sakṣi [mahaḍi]⁸³ + +
- 16 + [u]dhaṇe⁸⁴ ◊ [ya]rtha⁸⁵ ◊ aji hi viśpaṭhe monogram/signature no. 3⁸⁶

⁷² The slanting thin line visible above *sta* is probably nothing than a small chip lying on the bark.

⁷³ The lower parts of the akṣaras *ṇa sa. [ghavaḍha]* are lost.

⁷⁴ There seems to lie a small separate fragment with akṣara remnants beneath *.[i ta]*. It is, however, unclear whether it belongs to this place or to somewhere else, and for this reason, the akṣara remnants on it, amongst them an *u*-vowel marker, have been ignored.

⁷⁵ One may also attempt to read *ṇ[i]*, if one assumes that the upper part of the *-i*-vowel marker is not visible.

⁷⁶ Perhaps *dha* might also be an option.

⁷⁷ Or *ta*, if the *-e*-vowel marker is only the extended end of the *-i*-sign from the syllable *ri* in the line above.

⁷⁸ Or perhaps *.[u]*.

⁷⁹ The akṣara is not clear. In comparison with the numerals in line 4, it might also represent the number 200. In this case, the preceding akṣara remnants may be read as 1 1, and this opens the possibility that the preceding word was *kahavaṇa*. However, this is all very speculative.

⁸⁰ The shape of this *da*, if it really is one, differs from the other examples including the one occurring in the same name in line 11, because the scribe is different. It resembles a *ṇa*, or a *de* of scribe B.

⁸¹ The mark that resembles an anusvāra (𑀓) might perhaps represent a long-vowel marker. In this case, the word would read *yathā*.

⁸² The signature is not absolutely clear, and the letters also resemble the word *viśpaṭha*, which is here missing. But if we read it instead, the signature would be missing.

⁸³ The damaged bark contains many fine creases at this place, rendering the name almost illegible, even with the help of the other occurrence in line 10, which has been written by a different scribe. The transliteration *[mahaḍi]* is merely a guess. There are other possibilities, especially for the last akṣara, which might also be read as *[ti]*.

⁸⁴ The letters *dha* and *ṇe* are combined. They therefore almost look like *dhaye*. The reading of *[u]* is influenced by the monogram, which clearly shows the *-u*-vowel marker, even though it is only visible as a shadow from behind a one-layered, separate fragment, which covers it. A tiny distinctive remnant of the *u*-vowel marker is still visible at the bottom of the akṣara *[u]*.

⁸⁵ The intention for writing *ya* may be discernible, but only if one knows the word. Otherwise, the akṣara shape also resembles *va*, *dha*, or even *bha*. The second syllable is also faulty, but perhaps the scribe was confused by the spelling of *yathaṃ* or *yathā* in the handwriting of the preceding witness in line 14.

⁸⁶ The *-u*-vowel marker is hidden beneath a separate one-layered fragment that lies on top of it, but its shape shines still through.

Separate, unlocalized fragments

- 25i** **a** /// ? [k]./[bh]. ? ?⁸⁷ ///
- 25k-l** **a** /// + + + + + + + + + ? + + ///
- b** /// ?⁸⁸ [im]. [ca] kahava[na] ? + + ?⁸⁹ ? ?⁹⁰ + ///
- 25s** **a** /// ? ? // ⁹¹
- 26b-c** **a** /// [n]. [p]. [t]. ? + + + ///
- 26o** **a** /// + + ? [v]. na [sa]ṃ[ghavaḍhaṇap]. + + ///
- b** /// + + + + ?⁹² + + + + + + + + ///

⁸⁷ Uncertain, whether these are two or three illegible akṣaras.

⁸⁸ The remnant preserves the lower part of a curved stem. It might be [a], [va], or something else.

⁸⁹ Possibly .[e], or .[i], or the upper end of the long stem of an akṣara like *pa* or *la*.

⁹⁰ Perhaps .[e], or .[i]. The ink is very faint.

⁹¹ It might also be possible that the fragment should to be rotated by hundred-eighty degrees.

⁹² Possibly .[e], or .[i], or the upper end of the long stem of an akṣara like *pa* or *la*.

Edition

Because the original text does not contain punctuation, and the syntax remains in many places uncertain, punctuation marks have not been inserted into the following edition.

Sender

(A) (*by scribe A:*) i ? ghrahaye Saṃghaśraveṇa Saṃghavaḍhaṇaputreṇa⁹³ Hari(*da) + (*i) + (*eṇa) Mitrathāṇavastaveṇa

Addressee

Bhudamitraṣa Kaṭhiaputraṣa⁹⁴ ◇ gamaṇe

Introduction

(1)⁹⁵ + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? + ? ? ? ? .e/.i + + + + + + + + ? + ? + + + + ? + + + + + + + + + + + (2) (*by scribe B:*) + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? ? (*ma)ṣ(*e)⁹⁶ sam⁹⁷ + + + ? + + + ? ? ? ? ? ? iśa di(*vasa)m̐mi⁹⁸ ghr(*ahaye Sa)m̐gh(*aśraveṇa Saṃghavaḍhaṇaputre)(3)ṇa Harida ? i ? eṇa⁹⁹ Śaṃgaśia¹⁰⁰ Nagaradarade ṇikramita Mitrathāṇavastaveṇa yatha viṃṇaveti

⁹³ Emended from *p[utv]eṇa*.

⁹⁴ Emended from *-p[u]t[r]oṣa*.

⁹⁵ Neither the number of akṣaras in this line is certain, nor whether this line is really separate from line 2.

⁹⁶ Or *(ma)ṣ(a)*.

⁹⁷ Or *(kh)sam*.

⁹⁸ Or *di (kṣ)u(ṇa)m̐mi*, or *vi (kṣ)u(ṇa)m̐mi*.

⁹⁹ Alternatively, one may read and restore to *harida(*bha)i(*ṇe)eṇa* or *haridabhāi(*ṇe)eṇa*, but this is uncertain.

¹⁰⁰ Depending on the interpretation, this word might also belong to a compound with the following one.

Main text of the loan contract

ahomi azade vi ṇu¹⁰¹ purimasibaṃdhaṇa¹⁰² Bhudami(*t)r(*aṣa Ka)(4)ṭhiaputraṣa Nagaravastavaṣa¹⁰³ paridade uchedeṇa kahavaṇa śadaduve ka 1 1 100 mula¹⁰⁴ ṇeva liayecadi uṇa apracarovaye¹⁰⁵ vadhāṃti duveṇa śadeṇa kari ? ? ++ (5) ? ṇa va ca a aṃ/dha/vaṃ ce ṇa¹⁰⁶ ? ? ? + (*a)greṇa kirtidaakirtide ? ? ta ? ? ++ ? ? ? .e/.i +++ ? + (6) + + + + + + + + ? ? ? .o/.i ? ? ? ?¹⁰⁷ kramṭ(*e)ṇa (v*)ikr(*a) ? ṇ(*e)ṇa¹⁰⁸ pa(*r)ivamc(*a)-ṇ(*a)tipatiyo¹⁰⁹ v(*a) k(*a)l(*e)ṇa¹¹⁰ apaḍiharita ede kahavaṇa aji hi viśpaṭhe ?¹¹¹ ? + + + + (7) + + + + + tr(*a)ṣa¹¹² ? da cajeati¹¹³ Bhudamitre ede kahavaṇa dadava ye (*Saṃ)ghaśraveṇa apaḍibadho samula savadhika ye carideṇa a + + ? ? .e ? + + + + + (8) + (9) + + + + + + + + ? ti edo aji hi viśpaṭh(*a)ko hi sabhaga s(*a)mul(*a)s(*a)vadhik(*a)¹¹⁴ bh(*u)d(*a)mi(*traṣa) + (10) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .i a p. ? + (11) + + + (*B)udharakṣide Asuraputre Udhaṇe Mahadīnaput(*r)e Jihone <*...> Saṃgh(*avadhāṇa)(*putreṇa Saṃ)gh(*a)śrav(*e)ṇa¹¹⁵ kiḍa dharmāśalae purimo adha ? ? si paḍipadi ? ? ? ? + + (12) + jihoneṇa aīrakhidaṣa darakacarya(*ṣa) putreṇa aḷeṣanaye saṃghaśravaṣa saṃgha(*va)dhaṇapu(*traṣa) ? ?¹¹⁶ karaviati diviṇajaṇami¹¹⁷ purade edaṇameva¹¹⁸ ? + (13) aji hi viśpaṭhakaṇa ye ca immo hastalekho parihareati taṣa ede kahavaṇa aji hi viśpaṭhaka samula savadhika

¹⁰¹ The reading of this syllable is uncertain. It might also be a part of the same word as the preceding one.

¹⁰² Alternatively, to be restored to *-baṃdhaṇ(*e)*, or *-baṃdh(*e)ṇa* as instrumental singular.

¹⁰³ Since the upper part of the first syllable is not entirely clear, there might also be the possibility that the place name reads Sagara.

¹⁰⁴ Perhaps this can also be restored to *mul(*e)*, or together with the following word, to *mul(*e)ṇeva*. The respective portion is not clearly visible on the scan.

¹⁰⁵ The word boundaries of *lia[ye]adi uṇa apracarova[ye]* remain uncertain.

¹⁰⁶ If one only knew what the text states here, the preserved akṣara remains would be sufficient to support the reading.

¹⁰⁷ Or only three uncertain syllables instead of four.

¹⁰⁸ Perhaps *(v*)ikr(*ama)ṇ(*e)ṇa* or *(v*)ikr(*ama)ṇ(*e)ṇa*, but the reading remains uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps also *pa(*r)ivamc(*e)ṇ(*a)tipatiyo*.

¹¹⁰ From the preserved remains, *p(a)r(e)ṇa* and *k(a)r(e)ṇa* may also be possible.—All suggested reconstructions in this line are highly uncertain, as are the readings and the interpretation of the word boundaries.

¹¹¹ Instead *viśpaṭhe ?*, one may also read *viśpaṭhaka*.

¹¹² It is tempting to restore + + + *tr(*a)ṣa* to *(*bhadami)tr(*a)ṣa*, but it remains uncertain.

¹¹³ Or read as two words *ca jaeati*.

¹¹⁴ Theoretically, since the lower ends of the syllables are lost, and depending on the antecedent, for example *mula* instead of *kahavaṇa*, which is, however, not extant, the word group may also read *sabhag(*o) s(*a)mul(*o) s(*a)vadhik(*o)*.

¹¹⁵ The reconstruction is tentative. It is unclear, how much text was omitted, or what happened here. The name of Jihone's father seems to be missing, and Saṃghaśrava's father unusually precedes his name.

¹¹⁶ Due to the creases around a knot in the bark, these syllables were never legible.

¹¹⁷ As the meaning remains unclear, it cannot be decided whether this is one word or several.

¹¹⁸ Or read *edaṇam eva*.

paḍihatava ye Sa(*ṁ)ghaśraveṇa Sa(*ṁ)ghavaḍha(*ṇa)(14)(*putr)e(*ṇa) ? ? .i ta jaṇo da a/va si
yaṁ/saṁ sa ta sa ce va aṁ te eṣe ... + ... re¹¹⁹ agre kirtidaakirtide saṁpaḷeati

Signing witnesses

yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe ◊

(by scribe C:) sakṣi jiho(*ṇe) (15) (*āirakhi)daputre yatha aji hi viśpaṭhe monogram/signature
no. 1

(by scribe D:) sakṣi budharaḷṣide asuraputre yatha {ṁ}¹²⁰ aji hi <*viśpaṭhe> monogram/signature
no. 2¹²¹

(by scribe E:) sakṣi mahaḍi(*ṇapu)(16)(*tre)¹²² Udhane ya {r}tha aji hi viśpaṭhe monogram/signa-
ture no. 3

Separate, unlocalized fragments

25i a /// ? k./bh. ? ? ///

25k-1 a /// + + + + + + + + + ? + + ///

b /// ? im(*e)¹²³ ca kahavaṇa ? + + ? ? ? + ///

25s a /// ? ? ///

26b-c a /// ṇ(*a)p(*u)t(*r). ? + + + ///

26o a /// (*saṁghaśra)v(*e)ṇa saṁghavaḍhaṇap(*utreṇa) ///

b /// + + + + ? + + + + + + + ///

¹¹⁹ In comparison with the numerals in line 4, the akṣara *re* might also represent the number 200. In this case, the preceding akṣara remnants may be read as 1 1, and this opens the possibility that the preceding word was *kahavaṇa*, which is, however, very speculative.

¹²⁰ Or read *yathā*.

¹²¹ The signature is not absolutely clear, and the letters also resemble the word *viśpaṭha*, which is here missing. But if we read it instead, the signature would be missing.

¹²² Or alternatively to be read as *mahati(*ṇaputre)*. The corresponding akṣaras are badly preserved.

¹²³ Or *im(a)*, or *i(m)m(e)*, or *i(m)m(a)*.

Tentative Translation Attempt

Sender

(A) (*by scribe A:*) This [document is drafted, *or* commissioned, *or* sent] by the debtor (*or*: householder) Saṃghaśrava, son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa, (relative of) Harida, resident of Mitrathana.

Addressee

Going to Bhudamitra, son of Kaṭṭhia.

Introduction

(1) (*by scribe B:*) ... (2–3) (In the year ... of the ruler ..., in the) month ..., (the ... day). At this date, the debtor (*or*: householder), Saṃghaśrava, (son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa, relative of) Harida, resident of Mitrathana since he moved [there] from Śaṃgaśia Nagaradara(?),¹²⁴ informs as follows:

Main text of the contract

(3–5) I(?), [of my own] free [will]¹²⁵ ... [concerning] the former(?) mortgage bond(?): The capital of two hundred *kahavaṇas*, *ka.* 200, [taken] by extraction(?) from Bhudamitra, son of Kaṭṭhia, resident of Nāgara, should not become less [even by] one, without raising [it] again (?), bearing an interest of two percent ... (5) ... [as] specified and unspecified above ... (6) ... not brought back in due time because of ..., violation [of the regulations in the contract](?), or by passing [the date of repaying] by deceiving(?). These *kahavaṇas*, [as] today entrusted,¹²⁶ ... (7) ...¹²⁷ should be abandoned(?).¹²⁸ These *kahavaṇas* are to be given to Bhudamitra,¹²⁹ which [are to be / have been]

¹²⁴ The reading of the name Śaṃgaśia is uncertain. Other alternatives might be Śaṃgaśia, Śaṃgaśria, Dhaṇagaśia, Dhaṇagaśia, or Dhaṇagaśria. It might also belong to a compound with the following word, or the *-a*-ending is some unusual ablative ending. The interpretation of the name Nagaradara is likewise uncertain.

¹²⁵ Or: “as a freeman”? This is all very uncertain.

¹²⁶ *G aji hi viṣpaṭhe* or *aji hi viṣpaṭhaka*.

¹²⁷ Amongst other things, the gap might contain the name Bhudamitra in the genitive.

¹²⁸ Or: “[if there] should arise [e.g., the necessity].”

¹²⁹ It is uncertain, whether the name Bhudamitra belongs to the preceding phrase or to this word group or sentence.

... by Saṃghaśrava, without *pratibandha*, [but] including the original amount [and] including the interest, ... **(8)** [He/They] agree(s) [that]¹³⁰ Saṃghaśrava should be liable(?) [in case of damage(?)] caused by himself,¹³¹ and that a female camel is provided [as a security(?)]. Where ever it stays, it should be revealed [in public that] ... **(9)** This [amount], [as] today entrusted, including the share(?), including the original amount, including the interest, [is to] ... to Bhudamitra. ... **(10)** ... **(11)** [The witnesses] Budharaḥṣida, son of Asura, Udhaṇa, son of Mahadīṇa, Jihōṇa,¹³² The son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa Saṃghaśrava made in the court of justice(?) the previous **(12)** On the request of Jihōṇa, son of the schoolteacher Aīrakhida, the ... of Saṃghaśrava, son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa, should be made in front of Of these / To these / The thus-named(?)¹³³ ... **(13)** today entrusted ones(?), and this handwritten document should be delivered. These *kahavaṇas*, [as] today entrusted, including the original amount, including the interest, are to be brought back to him, which [are to be / have been] ... by Saṃghaśrava, **(14)** son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa, This ..., [exactly as] specified and unspecified above, should be carried out(?).

Signing witnesses

As today entrusted:

(13–14) *(by scribe C:)* The witness Jihōṇa, son of Aīrakhida, as today entrusted. *(It follows his monogram/signature [no. 1].)*

(14) *(by scribe D:)* The witness Budharaḥṣida, son of Asura, as today entrusted. *(It follows his monogram/signature [no. 2].)*¹³⁴

(14–15) *(by scribe E:)* The witness Udhaṇa, son of Mahadīṇa,¹³⁵ as today entrusted. *(It follows his monogram/signature [no. 3].)*

Separate, unlocalized fragments

(25i.a) ...

(25k–l.a) ...

(25k–l.b) ... and these *kahavaṇas* ...

¹³⁰ Or: “[this he/they] agree(s).” Then a new sentence starts with Saṃghaśrava.

¹³¹ Or, depending on the interpretation of the word, *atvakiḍa* or *asvakiḍa*, “not caused by himself.”

¹³² The text is here incomplete.

¹³³ *edaṇameva* or *edaṇam eva*.

¹³⁴ The signatue is not absolutely clear, and the letters also resemble the word *viśpaṭha*, which would otherwise be missing. But if we read it, the signature would be missing.

¹³⁵ Or Mahatīṇa. Above in line 10, the name is spelled Mahadīṇa.

(25s.a) ...

(26b–c.a) ... son of (Saṃghavaḍha)ṇa(?) ...

(26o.a) ... by (Saṃghaśra)va, son of Saṃghavaḍhaṇa ...

(26o.b) ...

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Word Index

The glossary has partially been created with READ (*Research Environment for Ancient Documents*) including, however, countless minor modifications. Although the Arapacana sequence is the original alphabet of the Gandhari language, most readers are more familiar with the Brāhmī or Sanskrit alphabet, which is also the only one offered as a sorting devise by the READ software, and which therefore underlies this glossary. The letter *Za* is here an exception, since it does not exist in this alphabet. It has been included at that place where its corresponding Brāhmī spelling *Ysa* would be expected. Long vowels in the Pali or Sanskrit equivalents do not play a role in the sort order. Absolutes are listed as separate lemmata with their Pali and Sanskrit equivalents, but there seems to be only one clearly identifiable example contained in BC 15 (*nikramita*). Since the loan contract is thus far the only one of its kind from proper Gandhāra without the possibility of critical comparison, many translations are unfortunately very tentative and may be subject to future revisions. Sequences of syllables that have not been understood, especially in lines 5 and 14 were not included.

a see *akirtida*, *apaḍibadha*, *apaḍiharita*, *apracarova*, and *asvakiḍa*(?).

Ai m. Skt. uncertain, probably name of a deity.
See *Aīrakhidaputra*.

Aīrakhida m. Skt. uncertain, “Aīrakhida” (a schoolteacher, father of Jihōṇa/Jihōṇia).
gen. sg. *aīrakh[i]daṣa* 12.
See also *Aīrakhidaputra*.

Aīrakhidaputra m. Skt. uncertain, “son of Aīrakhida” (named Jihōṇa/Jihōṇia).
nom. sg. (**aīrakhī*)[*da*]putre 15.

akirtida pp. P *akittita*, Skt. *akīrtita*, “unspecified, unwritten.” See *kirtidaakirtida*.

agra adj. P *agga*, Skt. *agra*, “[as] above, [as] in the beginning” (instr. or loc. sg.), or cf. SDLS s.v. *agra*: “total in amounting, total sum.”
n. instr. sg. (**a*)[*gr*]*e*[*ṇa*] 5; nom. or loc. (depending on the meaning) sg. [*a*]*gr*[*e*] 14.

acarya m. P *ācariya*, Skt. *ācārya*, “teacher.” See *darakacarya*.

aji ind. P *ajja*, Skt. *adya*, “today, on this day.”
aji 6, 14, 15 [2×], 16, [*aj*]*i* 9, 13, [*aj*]*i* 13 (occurring in all cases in the phrase *aji hi viśpaṭhe/viśpaṭhaka-*).
See also **hi** and *viśpaṭha/viśpaṭhaka*.

aḷeṣaṇa f. P *ajjhesanā*, Skt. *adhyeṣanā*, “request.”
instr./abl. sg. *aḷ[eṣa]ṇa*[*ye*] 12.

aḍha(-) etymology uncertain; cf., e.g., Skt. *āḍhaka*, “a measure [for grain],” or Skt. *ardhabhāga*, “the half.”
unclear: *a*[*dha*] 11 (word incomplete at the end, possibly also to be read as *aḍha*[*ka*] or *aḍha*[*bha*](**ga*)).

atipati f. Skt. *atipatti*, “passing [the date of repaying].” See *parivaṃcaṇatipati*.

atva refl. P *atta*(*n*), Skt. *ātman*, “self, himself.”
See *atvakiḍa*.

atvakiḍa adj. Skt. *ātmaḷṛta*, “[damage(?)] caused by himself” (interpretation uncertain).
n. nom.(?) sg. *atvakiḍa* 8 (due to the graphic similarity, one might also attempt to read the

word as *asvakiḍa*, Skt. *asvavr̥ta*, “not self-caused”).

apaḍibadha adj. P *appaḍibaddha/appaḍibandha*, Skt. *apratibaddha/apratibandha*, “with nothing being hold back,” or “without *pratibandha*,” which may be “some kind of advance or deposit that a buyer gives to a seller prior to the actual purchase” (SDLS s.v.).
mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *apaḍibadhō* 7.

apaḍiharita pp. P **appaḍihār̥ita*, Skt. **apratihār̥ita*, probably “not brought back.”
mn. nom.(?) pl. *apaḍiharita* 6.

apracarova m. P **appaccār̥opa*, Skt. **apratyār̥opa*, “without raising again.”
dat.(?) sg. *apracarova[ye]* 4 (interpretation of the word and ending uncertain; one may also consider to read with the preceding word *uṇaa pracarova[ye]*, a possible optative form).

abhisameti v. P/Skt. *abhisameti*, “agrees, comes to an agreement.”
pres. 3rd pl.(?) *abhisameti* 8.

azada m. Iranian, “free, freedom.”
? sg.(?) *azade* 3 (exact meaning in this context and segmentation uncertain).

asi m. possibly Skt. *ādhi*, “mortgage, deposit.”
See *asibaṃdha/asibaṃdhaṇa*, *purimasibaṃdha/purimasibaṃdhaṇa*.

asibaṃdha/asibaṃdhaṇa mn. Skt. **ādhibandha* or **ādhibandhana*, “mortgage bond, mortgage contract.” See *purimasibaṃdha/purimasibaṃdhaṇa*.

Asura m. Skt. uncertain, “Asura” (father of Budharakṣida). See *Asuraputra*.

Asuraputra m. Skt. uncertain, “son of Asura” (named Budharakṣida).
nom. sg. *asuraputr[e]* 11, *asuraputre* 15.

***asti** v. P *atthi*, Skt. *asti*, “is;” 3rd sg. opt.: P *siyā*, Skt. *syāt*.
opt. 3rd sg. *[s]iyo* 8 (interpretation uncertain).

asvakiḍa(?) adj. Skt. *asvavr̥ta*, “not self-caused” (alternative interpretation of *atvakiḍa*). See *atvakiḍa*.

ahomi / aho mi Skt. uncertain, cf., perhaps an equivalent of the Skt. verb *ā√hvā* in the 1st person, “I declare, I invoke,” but the verb is usually found in different contexts (cf., e.g., SDLS s.v. *ā√hve*); or, two forms of the personal pronoun *aha* (e.g., nom. sg. and enclitic for instr./gen. sg.), “I, mine/by me.”
unclear: *ahomi* 3.

ida dem. P *idaṃ*, Skt. *idam*, “this.”
m. nom. sg. *[i]* ? A (interpretation uncertain);
m. nom.(?) sg. *immo* 13; mn. nom.(?) pl. *[im](*e)* 25k–l.b (or restore to *[im](*a)*, *[i](*m)[m](*a)*, or *[i](*m)[m](*e)*).

isa ind. P/Skt. *iha*, “here, now.”
[i]śa 2 (part of the word group *[i]śa [d]i(*vasa)[ṃmi]*, or *[i]śa [d]i(*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṃmi]*, or *[i]śa vi(*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṃmi]*)

ucheda m. P/Skt. *uccheda*, possibly “cutting off, setting aside, transferring(?)” however, the word has a negative meaning in general, such as “eradication.”
instr. sg. *uchedeṇa* 4.

uṭhi f. Niya documents *uṭi*, Skt. *uṣṭrī*, “female camel.”
acc. sg. *uṭhi* 8.

uṭhapati v. P *uṭhapeti*, Skt. *utthāpayati*, “provides, appoints,” or “acquires(?)”
pres. 3rd sg. *uṭhapati* 8 (unusual spelling, possibly to be read as *uṭhap(*e)ti* or *uṭhapa(*ya)ti*, or passive?).

uṇa mn. P/Skt. *ūna*, “less.”
acc.(?) sg. *uṇa* 4.

Udhaṇa m. Skt. uncertain, “Udhaṇa” (son of Mahadiṇa).
nom. sg. *[u]dhaṇ[e]* 11 (the shape of the first akṣara looks more like *aṃ* than *[u]*; however, the monogram in line 15 suggests that the latter might be meant here), *[u]dhaṇe* 16.

eda dem. P *eta(d)*, Skt. *etad*, “this.”

mn.(?) nom.(?) sg.(?) *edo* 9; mn. nom. pl. *ede* 7, 13; mn. nom.(?) pl. *ede* 6; mn. gen. pl. *edaṇam [eva]* 12 (or read *edaṇam[eva]*; interpretation uncertain); unclear: *eṣe* 14 (unclear context, and the following syllables are illegible).

See also *edaṇama*.

edaṇama adj. Skt. **etannāman*, “having that name.”

m. nom./acc. sg./pl. *edaṇama* in *edaṇam[eva]* 12 (or read *edaṇam [eva]*; interpretation uncertain).

eva ind. P/Skt. *eva*, emphasizing particle; G *ṇeva*, P *neva*, Skt. *naiva*, “by no means.”

[eva] 12 (in *edaṇam[eva]* or *edaṇam [eva]*, interpretation uncertain), *ṇeva* 4 (interpretation uncertain).

ka ind. Skt. *ka*, abbreviation for “Kahavaṇa” (a certain coin).

ka 4.

Kaḥhia m. Skt. uncertain, “Kaḥhia” (father of Bhudamitra). See *Kaḥhiaputra*.

Kaḥhiaputra m. Skt. uncertain, “son of Kaḥhia” (named Bhudamitra).

gen. sg. *kaḥhiap[u]troṣa* A (emend to *-p[u]-traṣa*), (**ka*)*ḥhiaputraṣa* 3–4.

***karavedi(?)** v. P *kāreti/kārāpeti*, BHS *kārāpayati*, Skt. *kārayati*, “causes to do, causes to be made.”

opt. 3rd sg. *[ka]raviati* 12 (passive?; reading, segmentation and interpretation uncertain).

kara m. P/Skt. *kara*, “hand” etc.

instr. sg. *[k](*)a[r](*)e)ṇa* 6 (less likely alternative reading for *[k](*)a[l](*)e)ṇa* [Skt. *kāla*]; the reading *[p](*)a[r](*)e)ṇa* [Skt. *para*] may also be possible). See *kala*.

kari- v.(?) probably a form of Skt. \sqrt{kr} , “to make” (etc.).

unclear: *ka[r]i* 4 (word incomplete at the end).

kala m. P/Skt. *kāla*, “time, date,” instr.: “in due time.”

instr. sg. *[k](*)a[l](*)e)ṇa* 6 (the readings

[p]()a[r](*)e)ṇa* [Skt. *para*, “somebody else”] and *[k](*)a[r](*)e)ṇa* [Skt. *kara*, “hand” etc.] are equally possible).

kahavaṇa mn. P *kahāpaṇa*, Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa*, “Kahavaṇa” (a certain coin).

nom. pl. *kahavaṇa* 7, *ka[ha]vaṇa* 13; nom.(?) pl. *kahavaṇa* 4, 6, *kahava[ṇa]* 25k–l.b.

kiḍa pp. P *kata*, Skt. *kr̥ta*, “made.”

mn. nom. sg./pl. *kiḍa* 11.

See also *atvakiḍa*.

kirtida pp. P *kittita*, Skt. *kīrtita*, “specified, written.” See *kirtidaakirtida*.

kirtidaakirtida pp. Skt. *kīrtitākīrtita*, “[as]” or “[whether] specified and/or unspecified [above], written and unwritten.”

mn. nom./acc. or instr. (in case the preserved word is incomplete at the end) sg. *ki[r]tidaa-ki[r]ti[de]* 5; mn. nom./acc. sg. *ki[r]tida[a-kirti]de* 14.

kraṇṭa/prāṇṭa/bhraṇṭa-kraṇṭa-bhraṇṭa pp. cf. Skt. (-)*krāṇṭa*, *prāṇṭa* “border”, or (-)*bhrāṇṭa*.

m.(?) instr.(?) sg. *[k]raṇ[t](*)e)[ṇa]* 6 (reading, segmentation and interpretation uncertain).

kṣuṇa(?) mn. Iranian, “date, time.”

loc. sg. (**kṣ*)*u*(*)*ṇa*[*m̄mi*] 2 (uncertain; the words *[d]i* (**kṣ*)*u*(*)*ṇa*[*m̄mi*] or *vi* (**kṣ*)*u*(*)*ṇa*[*m̄mi*] are alternative readings for *[d]i*(*)*ṇa*[*m̄mi*]).

See also *di(?)*, *divasa(?)* and *vi(?)*.

Khsamdika(?) m.(?) Skt. uncertain, Greek *xandikos*, “Xandikos” (a Greek [Macedonian] month name).

unclear: *[sa]m̄* 2 (incompletely preserved and interpretation very uncertain; for an alternative suggestion, see *saṃvatsara(?)*).

gamaṇa n. P/Skt. *gamana*, “going to.”

nom. sg. *gamaṇ[e]* A.

***ghrahi/*ghrihi** m. cf. Skt. *grāhin* or *grhin*, “deftor” or “householder” (uncertain).

instr. sg. *ghra[ha]ye* A (or to be read as *ghr[iha]ye*, *[ghr](*)ahaye* or *[ghr](*)ihaye*)

- 2.
- ca** ind. P/Skt. *ca*, “and.”
ca 8, 13, [ca] 25k–l.b.
 See also **cajedi* / *ca* **jayadi*.
- **cajedi* / *ca* **jayadi* v. P *cajati*, Skt. *tyajati*, *tyajate*, “quits, leaves, gives, renounces,” or, P *jāyati*, Skt. *jāyate*, “arises.”
 opt. 3rd sg. *cajaeati* or *ca jaeati* 7.
- carida** n. Cf. P/Skt. *carita*, “acting, behavior,” or “circulation, investment(?)”.
 instr. sg. [ca]ri[deṇa] 7 (reading, segmentation and interpretation uncertain).
- jaṇa** m. P/Skt. *jana*, “person, people.”
 nom.(?) sg. *jaṇo* 14 (interpretation uncertain, because the context is unclear; perhaps second member of a cpd).
 See also *diviṇajaṇa*.
- jaṇami** see *diviṇajaṇa*.
- **jayadi* v. P *jāyati*, Skt. *jāyate*, “arises.” See **cajedi/ca* **jayadi*.
- Jihoṇa**/***Jihoṇia** m. Skt. uncertain, “Jihoṇa/Jihoṇia” (son of the schoolteacher [*darakacarya*] *Aīrakhida*).
 nom. sg. [i]hoṇ[e] 11, [jiho](*ne) 14; instr. sg. [ji]hoṇieṇa 12.
- ṇa** ind. P/Skt. *na*, “not,” G *ṇeva*, P *neva*, Skt. *nai-va*, “by no means.”
ṇeva 4.
- Ṇagara/Sagara** mfn. cf. Skt. *nagara*, *nagarahāra*, or *sagara/sāgara*, “Ṇagara” or “Sagara” (name of a town or area). See *Ṇagaradara*, *Ṇagaravastava/Sagaravastava*.
- Ṇagaradara** mfn. Skt. uncertain, cf. perhaps *nagarahāra*, “Ṇagaradara” (name of a town or area; cf. Skt. *Nagarahāra*), or “the town Dara,” or Skt. *nagaradvāra*, “city gate.”
 abl. sg. *ṇagaradarade* 3 (or read in cpd as *śaṃgaśiṇagaradarade*).
- Ṇagaravastava/Sagaravastava** m. Skt. **nagara-vāstavya*, “resident of Ṇagara (or Sagara).”
 m. gen. sg. [na]garavastavaṣa 4 (or read [sa]garavastavaṣa?).
- ṇaputra** m. Skt. uncertain, “son of ...”
 unclear: [ṇ](a)[p](u)[t](r). 26b–c.a (word incomplete at the beginning and end). See also *Mahadiṇaputra*, *Śaṃghavaḍḍhaṇaputra*.
- ṇama** n. P *nāma*, Skt. *nāman*, “name.” See *eda-ṇama*.
- ṇikramita** abs. P *nikkhamma*, *nikkhamitvā*, BHS *niṣkramitvā*, Skt. *niṣkramya*, “having moved out, coming from.”
nikramita 3.
- ṇeva** see *eva* and *ṇa*.
- ta** pers. P *ta(d)*, Skt. *tad*, “he, this.”
 gen. sg. *taṣa* 13.
- tra** m.
 gen. sg. [t]r(*a)[ṣa] 7 (word incomplete at the beginning).
 See also *Kaṭhiaputra*, *Bhudamitra*.
- ¹thaṇa** n. P *ṭhāna*, Skt. *sthāna*, “place.”
 loc. sg. *thaṇammi* 8.
- ²thaṇa** n. P *ṭhāna*, Skt. *sthāna*, “[sacred] place.”
 See *Mitrathaṇa*, *Mitrathaṇavastava*.
- dadava** gdv. P *dātabba*, Skt. *dātavya*, “to be given.”
 mn. nom. pl. *dadava* 7.
- dara/Dara** mfn. Skt. uncertain, cf. *hāra*, or *dvāra*, or (less likely) *antara*. See *Ṇagaradara* (or to be read as part of the cpd *śaṃgaśiṇagaradarade*).
- daraka** m. P/Skt. *dāraka*, “boy, child.” See *darakacarya*.
- darakacarya** m. Skt. *dārakācārya*, “schoolteacher, teacher of boys” (profession of *Aīrakhida*, father of *Jihoṇa/Jihoṇia*).
 gen. sg. *darakacarya*(*ṣa) 12.
- di(?)** ind. Skt. *di*, “day” (abbreviation of *divasa*).
 [d]i 2 (interpretation uncertain; this is an alternative reading in [d]i (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi] for vi (*kṣ)u(*ṇa)[ṇmi], or [d]i(*vasa)[ṇ-

mi]).

See also *kṣuṇa*(?), *divasa*(?) and *vi*(?).

divasa(?) mn. P/Skt. *divasa*, “day.”

loc. sg. [*d*]*i*(**vasa*)[*m**mi*] 2 (or alternatively be read as [*d*]*i*(**kṣ*)*u*(**ṇa*)[*m**mi*], or *vi*(**kṣ*)*u*(**ṇa*)[*m**mi*]).

See also *kṣuṇa*(?), *dī*(?) and *vi*(?).

diviṇa see *diviṇajana*.

diviṇajana Skt. uncertain.

unclear: *diviṇajanami* 12 (segmentation and interpretation uncertain; the ending *-mi* may be a loc. sg. or a verb ending of the 1st pers.).

duve card. P *dvā*, *dve*, Skt. *dvā*, *dvau*, *dve*, “two,”

G *duveṇa śadeṇa*: “by/of two percent.”

instr. du. *duveṇa* 4.

See also *śadaduve*.

dharma m. P *dhamma*, Skt. *dharma*, “justice, dharma.” See *dharmaśala*.

dharmaśala f. P *dhammasālā*, Skt. *dharmaśālā*, “court of justice(?)”

gen./loc. sg. *dharmaśala*[*e*] 11.

paḍīpadi(-) cf. Skt. *pratipatti* and forms of *prati-√pad*; the meaning depends on the context, which is uncertain.

unclear: [*pa*]*ḍī*[*padi*] 11 (reading uncertain, probably incomplete at the end).

paḍībadha pp. or m. P *paṭibaddha*/*paṭibandha*, Skt. *pratibaddha*/*pratibandha*, “hold back, hindered,” or perhaps “some kind of advance or deposit that a buyer gives to a seller prior to the actual purchase” (SDLS s.v.). See *apaḍībadha*.

paḍīhaṭava gdv. Skt. *pratihartavya*, “to be brought back.”

mn. nom. pl. *paḍīhaṭava* 13.

paḍīharita pp. P **paṭihārīta*, Skt. *pratihārīta*, usually “hold back or hindered,” but here probably “brought back.” See *apaḍīharita*.

para mnf. P/Skt. *para*, “somebody else.”

instr. sg. [*p*](*)*a*[*r*](*)*e*ṇa 6 (less likely alternative reading for [*k*](*)*a*[*l*](*)*e*ṇa [Skt. *kā-*

la]; the reading [*k*](*)*a*[*r*](*)*e*ṇa [Skt. *kara*] may also be possible). See *kala*.

paridade ind. P *parīta*, Skt. *parīta* plus abl. suffix *taḥ*, “from [the possession of].”

paridade 4 (cf. G *paride* in the Niya documents, P *parito*, Skt. *paritah*).

parivaṃcaṇa n. Skt. *parivañcana*, “deceiving.”

See *parivaṃcaṇatipati*.

parivaṃcaṇatipati f. Skt. **parivañcanātīpatti*, “passing [the date of repaying] by deceiving.”

instr.(?) sg. *pa*(*)*r**i*[*vamc*](*)*a*[*ṇ*](*)*a*[*tipa-ti*]*yo* 6 (reading and interpretation uncertain).

****pariharadi*** v. P *pariharati*, Skt. *pariharati*, *pariharate*, “sends, delivers” (uncertain).

opt. 3rd sg. (pass.?) *parihareati* 13.

putra m. P *putta*, Skt. *putra*, “son.”

instr. sg. *putreṇa* 12. See *Airakhidaputra*, *Asuraputra*, *Kaṭhiaputra*, *-ṇaputra*, *Mahadiṇaputra*, and *Samghavaḍhaṇaputra*.

purade ind. P *purato*, Skt. *purataḥ*, “in front of, before.”

purade 12.

purima adj. P/BHS *purima*, “earlier, former,” or “in front of, to the east(?)”

? nom./acc. sg. *purimo* 11.

See also *purimasibaṃdha*/*purimasibaṃdha-ṇa*.

purimasibaṃdha*/*purimasibaṃdhaṇa mn., BHS **purimādhibandha*/**purimādhibandhana*, Skt. **pūrvādhibandha*/**pūrvādhibandhana*, “former mortgage bond.”

nom.(?) sg. *purimasibaṃdhaṇa* 3 (or restore to *purimasibaṃdhaṇ*(*)*e*, or *purimasibaṃdh*(*)*e*ṇa as instr. sg.; interpretation and segmentation of the cpd or words uncertain).

****prakaśedi*** v. P *pakāseti*, Skt. *prakāśayati*, “shows [in public], makes known, reveals.”

opt. 3rd sg. *prakaśeyati* 8.

pracarova m. P **paccāropa*, Skt. **pratyāropa*, “raising again” (uncertain). See *apracarova*.

- praṅta(?)** mn. Skt. *prānta*, “border.” See *kraṅta/praṅta/bhraṅta/-kraṅta/-bhraṅta*.
- baṅdha/baṅdhaṅa** mn. Skt. *bandha* or *bandhana*, “bond, contract.” Cf. also SDLS s.v. *bandha*: “collateral or bond given for a loan (sometimes viewed as given to a friendly third party to inspire confidence of the creditor), security, penalty (the precise meaning of this term is often unclear; Kane III: 419).” See *asibaṅdha/asibaṅdhaṅa* and *purimasibaṅdha/purimasibaṅdhaṅa*.
- Budha** m. P *budha* or *buddha*, Skt. *budha* or *buddha*, “Budha (Mercury),” or “Buddha.” See *Budharakṣida*.
- Budharakṣida** m. P *budharakkhita* or *buddharakkhita*, Skt. *budharakṣita* or *buddharakṣita*, “Budharakṣida” (son of Asura). The name seems to be spelled *Vudharakhida* in the signature, but the interpretation is uncertain. nom. sg. (*b)[udha]rakṣide 11, bu[dha]-rakṣide 15.
- ***bhaiṅea / ? i ? a** m. P *bhāḡineyya*, Skt. *bhāḡineya* or uncertain, “sister’s son,” or “relative or descendant” (uncertain). See *Harida ? i ? a / *Haridabhaiṅea*.
- bhaga** m. P/Skt. *bhāga*, “share,” or “some kind of tax.” See *sabhaga*.
- bhayamaṅa** pres. part. P/Skt. *bhajamāna*, perhaps “being liable, responsible” (NWS s.v. *√bhaj*, however, the word can have many different meanings). m. nom. sg. *bhayamaṅ[e]* 8.
- Bhuda** m. P/Skt. *bhūta*, “a demonic being” (unlikely) or “Śiva,” or P/Skt. *budha*, “Mercury,” or P/Skt. *buddha*, “Buddha.” See *Bhudamitra*.
- Bhudamitra** m. P **bhūtamitta*, or **budhamitta*, or *buddhamitta*, Skt. **bhūtamitra*, or **budhamitra*, or *buddhamitra*, “Bhudamitra” (son of Kaṅhia). acc.(?) sg. *bhudamitre* 7; gen. sg. *bhudamitraṣa* A, bh[u]da[m]i(*t)r(*aṣa) 3, [bh](*)u[d](*)a[m]i(*traṣa) 9.
- bhraṅta(?)** pp. Skt. (-)*bhrānta* (reading and interpretation uncertain). See *kraṅta/praṅta/bhraṅta/-kraṅta/-bhraṅta*.
- maṣa** m. P/Skt. *māsa*, “month.” loc.(?) sg. (*ma)[s](*)e 2 (reconstruction and interpretation uncertain; an alternative reading is ? s(*a)).
- Mahadiṅa** m. Skt. uncertain, “Mahadiṅa” (father of Udhaṅa). See *Mahadiṅaputra*.
- Mahadiṅaputra** m. Skt. uncertain, “son of Mahadiṅa” (named Udhaṅa). nom. sg. *maha[di]ṅaput(*r)[e]* 11, [mahaḡi]-(*ṅaputre) 15–16 (possibly also to be read as [mahati]-). Cf. also -[n](a)[p](u)[t](r).- in 26b–c.a.
- ¹**mitra** mn. P *mitta*, Skt. *mitra*, “friend.” See *Bhudamitra*.
- ²**Mitra** m. P *mitta*, Skt. *mitra*, “Mitra” (name of a solar deity). See *Mitrathaṅa* and *Mitrathaṅavastava*.
- Mitrathaṅa** n. Skt. *mitrasthāna*, “Mitrathaṅa” (name of a settlement or town). See *Mitrathaṅavastava*.
- Mitrathaṅavastava** m. Skt. **mitrasthānavāstavya*, “resident of Mitrathaṅa.” instr. sg. *mi[trathaṅavasta]veṅa* A, *mitrathaṅavastaveṅa* 3.
- mula** n. P/Skt. *mūla*, cf. also *mūlya*, “capital, original amount of a loan” (cf. SDLS s.v. *mūla*). nom.(?) sg. *mu[la]* 4. See also *samula*.
- ya** rel. P *ya(d)*, Skt. *yad*, “which.” m. nom.(?) sg.(?) *ye* 13 (interpretation uncertain); m. nom. pl. [ye] 7, *ye* 13; mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *ye* 7 (interpretation uncertain).
- yatra** ind. Skt. *yatra*, “where, in which place.” *yatra* 8.
- yatha** ind. P/Skt. *yathā*, “thus, so, as, according to, as follows, namely, correctly.” *yatha* 3, 14, 15, *yatha{ṁ}* 15 (or to be read as *yathā?*), [ya]{r}tha 16.

rakṣida/rakhida pp. P *rakkhita*, Skt. *rakṣita*, “protected by.” See *Airakhida*, *Budharakṣida*.

***liadi** v. P *līyati*, Skt. *līyate*, “disappears in,” with G *uṇa*, P/Skt. *ūna*: “becomes less” (interpretation uncertain).
opt. 3rd sg. *lia[ye]adi* 4.

lekha m. P/Skt. *lekha*, “letter, document.” See *hastalekha*.

va ind. P/Skt. *vā*, “or.”
[v]()a* 6 (interpretation uncertain).

vaḍhaṇa m. P *vaḍḍhana*, Skt. *vardhana*, “thriving, increasing, strengthening.” See *Samghavaḍhaṇa* and *Samghavaḍhaṇaputra*.

vaḍhaṃti v. P *vaḍḍhati*, Skt. *vardhati*, *vardhate*, “increases, bears interest.”
pres. 3rd pl. *vaḍhaṃti* 4.

vaḍhika adj. P *vaḍḍhika*, Skt. *vṛddhika*, “bearing interest.” See *savaḍhika*.

vastava m. Skt. *vāstavaya*, “resident.” See *Nagaravastava/Sagaravastava* and *Mitrathaṇa-vastava*.

vi(?) ind. P *pi*, Skt. *api*, emphasizing particle.
vi 2 (interpretation uncertain; contained in *vi* *(*)kṣu(*)ṇa)[ṃmi]*, which is an alternative reading for *[d]i* *(*)kṣu(*)ṇa)[ṃmi]*, or *[d]i* *(*)vasa)[ṃmi]*). See also *di(?)* and *divasa(?)*.

vi ṇu(?) uncertain.
vi [ṇu] 3 (occurring in the phrase *ahomi* or *aho mi azade vi [ṇu]*; reading, segmentation and meaning uncertain).

***vikramaṇa/*vibhramaṇa(?)** n.(?) cf., e.g., Skt. *vikramaṇa*, or **vibhramaṇa*, depending on the interpretation of the previous term of the phrase, perhaps “crossing,” or “violating [a contract](?).”
instr.(?) sg. *(*)v[ik]r(*)a ? [ṇ](*)e[ṇa]* 6 (reading and interpretation uncertain).

viṃṇaveti v. P *viṃṇāpeti*, Skt. *vijñāpayati*, *vijñāpayati*, “informs.”
pres. 3rd sg. *viṃṇaveti* 3 (the subject is here

unusually found in instr. sg.; in this context, however, this verb normally appears in active voice).

vibhramaṇa(?) Skt. **vibhramaṇa* (interpretation uncertain). See **vikramaṇa/*vibhramaṇa(?)*.

viṣpaṭha/viṣpaṭhaka pp./adj. P *vissattha/*vissatthaka*, Skt. *viśvasta/viśvastaka*, cf. also Skt. *viśpaṭa/*viśpaṭaka*, “entrusted, trustworthy, reliable,” perhaps in the sense of “lawfully, [legally] verified, [lawfully] acknowledged,” cf. also Skt. *viśpaṭa/*viśpaṭaka*, “very clear, intelligible” (the term is always preceded by *aji hi*).

mn. nom.(?) sg. *viṣpaṭh[e]* 6 (the reading might also be *viṣpaṭha[ka]*), *viṣpaṭhe* 14, 15, 16, *{*viṣpaṭhe}* 15; mn.(?) nom.(?) sg. *viṣpaṭh(*)a[ko]* 9 (segmentation uncertain); mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *v[iṣpa]ṭhaka* 13, mn.(?) gen. pl. *viṣpaṭhakaṇa* 13 (segmentation and interpretation uncertain).
See also *aji* and *hi*.

Vudharakhida see *Budharakṣida*.

Śaṃgaśia(?) mfn. Skt. uncertain, meaning also uncertain; perhaps the name of a settlement or town, or of a smaller unit of a town or area.

abl.(?) sg. *śaṃgaśia* 3 (ending uncertain, maybe in cpd with the following word *nagaradarade*). See also *nagaradara*.

śada n. P *sata*, Skt. *śata*, “a hundred,” G *duveṇa śadena*: “by/of two percent.”

instr. sg. *śad[e]ṇa* 4.
See also *śadaduve*.

śadaduve card. P *sataduve*, Skt. *śatadvaya*, “two hundred.”

nom.(?) du. *śadaduve* 4.

-śala f. P *sālā*, Skt. *śālā*, “hall” (any tall building with a rectangular plan). See *dharmaśala*.

śrava n. Skt. *śravas*, “glory,” perhaps cf. also Skt. *śarman*, “shelter, protection”(?). See *Samghaśrava*.

saṃvatsara(?) mn. P *saṃvacchara*, Skt. *saṃvatsara*, “year.”

unclear: *[sa]m* 2 (incompletely preserved; for an alternative interpretation, see *Khsaṃdi-ka*(?))

sakṣi m. P *sakṣhi(n)*, Skt. *sākṣin*, “witness.”
nom. sg. *sakṣi* 14, 15 [2×].

Sagara see *Naḡara/Sagara* and *Naḡaravastava/Sagaravastava*.

saṅgha m. P *saṅgha*, Skt. *saṅgha*, “[Buddhist] community.” See *Samghavaḍhaṇa*, *Samghavaḍhaṇaputra*, and *Samghaśrava*.

Samghavaḍhaṇa m. P **samghavaḍdhana*, Skt. *saṅghavaradhana*, “Samghavaḍhaṇa” (father of Samghaśrava). See *Samghavaḍhaṇaputra*.

Samghavaḍhaṇaputra m. P **samghavaḍdhana-putta*, Skt. **saṅghavaradhanaputra*, “son of Samghavaḍhaṇa” (named Samghaśrava).
instr. sg. *sa[m]gha[vaḍha]ṇap[utv]eṇa* A (emend to *-p[ut]reṇa*), (**samghavaḍhaṇaputre*)*ṇa* 2–3, *sa[m]gh[gh](*avaḍhaṇa)(<*putre-ṇa)* 11 (restoration uncertain), *sa(*m)[gha-vaḍha](*ṇaputr)e(*ṇa)* 13–14, *[sa]m[gha-vaḍhaṇap](utreṇa)* 26o.a; gen. sg. *saṅgha-(*va)ḍhaṇapu(*traṣa)* 12. See also *-[n](a)-[p](u)[t](r)*. - in 26b–c.a.

Samghaśrava m. Skt. **saṅghaśravas*, “Samghaśrava” (son of Samghavaḍhaṇa).

nom.(?) sg. *saṅghaśrave* 8; instr. sg. *sa[m]-ghaśraveṇa* A, (**sa)[m]gh[gh](*aśraveṇa)* 2, (**saṃ)ghaśraveṇa* 7, (**saṃ)[gh](*a)śra-va(*e)ṇa* 11, *sa(*m)ghaśraveṇa* 13, (**saṃgha-śra)[v](*e)ṇa* 26o.a; gen. sg. *saṅghaśravaṣa* 12.

sabhaga adj. P/Skt. *sabhāga*, “including the share,” or perhaps “including the tax.”
mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *[sabhaga]* 9 (reading and interpretation uncertain).

samula adj. P/Skt. *samūla*, “including the capital or the original amount.”

mn. nom. pl. *samula* 13, mn. nom.(?) pl. *samula* 7, mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *[s](*a)mu[l](*a)* 9.

***sampaḷadi** v. P *sampajjati*, Skt. *sampadyate*, “be successful, becomes;” or “amounts.”
opt. 3rd sg.(?) *sampaḷeati* 14.

savaḍhika adj. P *savaḍhika*, Skt. *savṛddhika*, “including interest.”

mn. nom. pl. *savaḍhika* 13, mn. nom.(?) pl. *savaḍhika* 7, mn.(?) nom.(?) pl.(?) *[s](*a)[va]ḍhik(*a)* 9.

svakiḍa adj. Skt. *svakṛta*, “self-caused” (uncertain). See *atvakiḍa* and *asvakiḍa*(?).

Harida m. cf. Skt. *hārīta* (uncertain), “Harida” (relative or ancestor of Samghaśrava). See *Harida ? i ? a / *Haridabhaiṇea*.

Harida ? i ? a / *Haridabhaiṇea m. Skt. uncertain, “relative or descendant(?) of Harida,” or “son of Harida’s sister(?)”

instr. sg. *hari(*da) + (*i) + (*eṇa)* A, *harida ? [i] ? [e]ṇa* 3 (perhaps to be read as and restored to *hari(*dabhaiṇeeṇa)* in line A and *harida(*bha)ī(*ṇe)ṇa* or *haridabhai(*ṇe)-eṇa* in line 3).

hasta m. P *hattha*, Skt. *hasta*, “hand.” See *hastalekha*.

hastalekha m. Skt. *hastalekha*, “[handwritten] document, deed.”

nom.(?) sg. *hastalekho* 13.

hi ind. P/Skt. *hi*, emphasizing particle.

[h]i 9 (interpretation uncertain); in the phrase *aji hi viṣpaṭhe/viṣpaṭhaka-*: 6, 9, 13 [2×], 14, 15 [2×], 16.

Cf. also *aji* and *viṣpaṭha/viṣpaṭhaka*.