

ART. IX.—*On a newly discovered Bactrian Pali Inscription ;  
and on other Inscriptions in the Bactrian Pali Character.*  
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[Read 16th February, 1863.]

IN January, 1862, Mr. A. A. Roberts, of the Bengal Civil Service, presented to the Society two copper plates inscribed with Bactrian Pali characters, said to have been found at Hussun Abdal, near Rawal Pindee, in the Punjab. These plates were submitted to the examination of Mr. Norris, and that gentleman at once picked out the names of Takhaśila nagara (Taxila) and Śākya-muni, proving the inscription to be one of more than ordinary importance. Having made a transcript of the document, he wrote a few notes upon it which were read at one of the Society's meetings, and he then suggested that the plates should be sent to me. The interest I had taken in these Bactrian inscriptions from the time of our joint labours on the Kapur di Giri edicts was well known to him, and was sufficient to ensure a careful if unsuccessful consideration of the newly-discovered inscription. In this recommendation the Society acquiesced and placed the plates at my disposal for examination and report. I now propose to state the results of my investigation.

A very short examination satisfied me of the value of the record, and of the great service which Mr. Roberts had rendered to Palaeographic science in preserving this relic and in making it available for the furtherance of our knowledge of the somewhat restricted but greatly perplexing stock of Bactrian Pali records. The inscription of Kapur di Giri, with all the assistance it received from two independent versions in another character, has in many points baffled the learning and industry of Wilson and Burnouf, and I know of no inscription in this character of which, up to the present time, a complete and convincing interpretation has been offered. The one now before us has enabled me to understand many things in other inscriptions of which I was in doubt or ignorance before, and, above all, it supplies the long-desired key to the Bactrian system of numbers. Encouraged by the new light which it

affords, and emboldened by the very unsatisfactory condition of Bactrian antiquities, I have extended my enquiries to several other inscriptions in the Bactrian character.

Mr. Thomas, with the consent of Mr. Austin, has kindly placed at my service the two plates of inscriptions which appeared in his edition of Prinsep's works. These two plates, and the additional two now published, contain nearly all the Bactrian inscriptions which have been made known. I propose to go through the whole of these, and although I have no expectation of making all things clear, I hope to help the advance of knowledge by a detailed statement of the results of my study and a frank acknowledgement of my doubts and difficulties. Others may thus be incited to follow up the investigation, and looking at it from a different point of view, or bringing to it greater and more varied knowledge, may correct my errors and make up for my deficiencies.

The inscription of Mr. Roberts was described as being upon two copper plates, and Mr. Norris dealt with them as distinct plates, but their general appearance made me suspect them to be two portions of one plate broken very nearly in the centre. A careful examination confirmed this surmise. The two corresponding ends were much corroded and abraded, but upon joining them together a small portion of each accurately fitted into the other, and in one place the juncture completed a letter, part of which was graven upon one and the remainder upon the other portion of the plate. This was decisive, and afforded a clear direction as to the order of reading the inscription.

The plate is fourteen inches long and three broad. The letters which are composed of small dots punched upon the plate, vary somewhat in size, but are very carefully and distinctly formed; their average length may be said to be half an inch. The short line at the bottom of the plate is in somewhat smaller characters, as also is that stamped on the back of the plate as an endorsement or label. With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to give, in Roman characters, my reading of the inscription:—

- Line 1.* Sanvatsaraye at̄ta-satatimae XX7333 Maharayasa mahantasa mogasa pashemasa nasasa divase panchame IX Etaye purvaye chbaharasa  
 2. chukhsasa cha chhatrapasi Liako Kusuluko nama tisa patropati . . . . . Takhaśīlaye nagare utarena prachu deśo Chhema nama atri



3. *ġepatiko apratittāvita* Bhagavat Śakamuīsa ġariram pati-  
thavati saṅgharamam cha sarva-buddhana puyae mata  
pitaram puyayanto

4. *ġhatrapasisa putra darasa ayu bala vardhīa bhratara sarva*  
*cha satiga ... a ... dhavasa cha puyayanto mahadana*  
*patipatika siḡha uvajae*

*Short line at bottom.* Rohini mitrenaya imahi saṅgharame nava  
kamika

*On the back.* Patipasa ġhatrapa Liako.

The opening sentence is *Samvatsaraye aḡa-satātīmae*, Sans. *Samvatsare aḡṡa-saptatīme*, "In the 78th year." The first word has two points of interest; it supplies a new compound in the form *ts*, and a variety of the locative case, *ye* being used instead of the common *e*. The words expressing the number are of the chief importance; it is therefore satisfactory to find that the letters on the plate are distinctly legible, and that, with one exception, their powers have long been conclusively decided. The exception is the second character rendered as *ff* (or *ffh*) but of which the value has hitherto been unknown. A little consideration will, however, demonstrate that its power must be that now assigned to it. There cannot be any doubt as to the second word of the number being *satātī*, "seventy;" the preceding word must, therefore, be the unit, and that unit unquestionably begins with the vowel *a*. *Aḡṡa* (Pali, *aḡṡa*) is the only unit which has *a* for its initial, and consequently, that number must be here intended. A further proof of the value of this character is found in line 3, where we have it in the word *apratittāvita*, the Pali equivalent of *āpratishthāpita*. After this there cannot be any doubt of the character being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *shṡ* and *shṡh*. The reason for reading it as *ff*, and not as *shṡ*, is twofold; the number seventy being in the Pali form *satātī*, it is only reasonable to expect that the unit must be the Pali *aḡṡa*, not the Sanskrit *aḡṡa*, and in the second place we have another character for the compound *shṡ* very clearly written on the Wardak Urn. These words are succeeded by six numerals, representing the number 78. The system of notation will form an independent portion of this paper, and need not be further noticed here. Then follow the words *Maharajasa mahantasa pashemasu masasa divase panchame* 5. The three concluding words admit of no doubt whatever, but signify the "5th day of the month." The other four words are all in the genitive agreeing with *masasa*, and apparently in connection with it. The last of them, or perhaps the

last two, must be the name of the month, but I have been unable to identify it quite satisfactorily. The name unfortunately occurs just at the fracture of the plate, and the first two letters are very indistinct; the first of them may be *p*, *k*, or *bh*, and the second seems to be *she*, but as it is difficult to decide what these letters really are, we may perhaps assume the name to be *Panemasa*, i. e., *Panæmus*, one of the Seleucidan months; for we shall find these months employed in other inscriptions. The initial letter seems to be preferably *p*, and it is easy to perceive how the letter *ne* might come to look like *she*, where the plate is so eaten away and corroded. Assuming then the name to be *Panemasa*, we have the words *Maharajasa mahantasa mogasa*, to dispose of. The first word is the same as *Mahārājasa*, the substitution of *y* for *j*, being common in Prakrit, and of which we shall meet with other examples, as *puyæ* for *pujæ*. *Mahantasa* is the adjective "great," for the Pali retains throughout the conjunct *n*, which occurs only in some of the cases in Sanskrit. In modern times the word is used for the head of a religious establishment. I have not been able to find a plausible equivalent for *moga*, and hence am led to conclude that it is a name. Having thus examined the meaning of each word, their syntactical relation requires attention, and is not without its difficulty. The words are all in the genitive case, agreeing with the word *masasa*, but whether they are to be taken as epithets of the month, or whether they are to be construed in connection with the previous sentence, "In the year," is a matter of some importance. In Fig. 2, of Plate x, we have the words *Chetrasa maha dharistisa* 8, the words *maha dharistisa*, whatever they may mean, clearly being used as an epithet of the month, like the *Rajabu 'l-murajjab* of the Muhammadans. There is, therefore, good ground for believing that descriptive epithets were occasionally applied to the months. But when we come to examine those before us, it is difficult to see how *maharajasa* and *mogasa* can thus be applied. The former might possibly have the forced signification of "very royal," but no intelligible meaning is discoverable for *mogasa*; I propose, therefore, but not without much hesitation, to read the opening sentence, "On the 5th day of the month Panæmus, of the 78th year of the mighty king, the great Moga." Who or what this *Moga* is it is difficult to conjecture. There is the *Magas* of the Kapur di Giri Inscription, and the name of *Maudgala* or *Mogala*, the great disciple of Gotama, is derived from the word *Mudga*, the Pali of which is *Muga* or *Moga*. *Mahanta* might fairly be applied to this great priest, but the applicability of *Maharaja* is not so apparent. The epoch from which

the year is numbered, must also remain in doubt—the number of the year is too high to be that of the reign of any king, so that if it really be “the year of” of any particular person, it must date from his birth or accession, or his death, like the era of Buddha. We shall have, however, to recur to this subject in reviewing other dates.

The words coming next after the date are *etaye purvaye*, locative cases apparently like *samvatsaraye* at the beginning. The following word is *chhaharasa*, but the final *s* is doubtful, and the vowel attached still more obscure. Taking the word in connection with the next, *Chukhsasa*, which is a genitive, and followed by the conjunction *cha*, we may fairly assume this to be in the same case. The opening sentence then will read, *Etaye purvaye chhaharasa chukhsasa cha*. Unfortunately the two words *chhahara* and *chukhsa* are unintelligible; the latter has a very foreign look, but the former may spring from the root *kshī* “to dwell,” “to reign.” *Etaye*, is the demonstrative pronoun, and means, “in this;” and the word *pūrva*, as a noun, signifies “the east,” and in Pali has the meaning of “the presence” (Clough 124). The latter seems to be the most suitable meaning here. We may, therefore, read the sentence, “In this presence of Chhahara and Chukhsa.” The following words are, *Chhatrapasi Liako Kūsuluko nama*, “The satrap by name Liako Kusuluko.” I read the final of *chhatrapa* as *si*, for the point of the *s* is evidently curled intentionally, and is so made when the word occurs again in the third line. The whole word appears to be a mere variant, not an inflection, of the word *chhatrapa*, as we have the genitive termination added thus, *chhatrapasi-sa* in line 3. The next word is *tisa* “his,” and is followed by the letters *patropati*, which extend as far as the fracture, and leave the word incomplete, as there is room for two more letters. If this be the right reading, it is probably connected with the word *pātra*, though the application of this word is not obvious. In my first reading of the plate, I took it to be *patipati*, but Mr. Thomas, after cleaning the copper, considers the engraving as correct, and so we must leave the word in doubt. The next words are *Takhasīlaye nagare utarena prachu deśo chhema nama*—rather an awkward sentence, but apparently signifying “The country called Chhema, north-east of the city of Taxila.” *Prāchu* is the Sanskrit *prāch*, *prāg*, “east,” and the phrase *utarena prachu* is equivalent to the ordinary *prāg-uttarena*. *Chhema* for *Kshema* represents a well known word, but it has not been found as the name of a locality agreeing with that specified in our text. The following word is *atri* or *atra*, “here.” The third line begins with

the word *śepatiko*, the name of the building or establishment set up by the Satrap. No Sanskrit equivalent for this word is apparent. The word *śepa*, with the signification of "comfort," is given by Hardy in his *Eastern Monachism*, and possibly is connected with the word *śepatiko*. We shall probably be not very far wrong in assuming this word to designate a temple, vihar, or some sort of building for religious purposes. The following word is a participle, *apratīṭṭavita* for *āpratiṣṭhāpita* "established," "founded"—the substitution of *tt* for *sth* has already been referred to, and that of *v* for *p* is common in Prakrit; thus *paḍivaddi* is the Prakrit of *pratipatti*, and in a future page we shall find *ṭhuvo* for *ṭhupo*. After this come the words *Bhagavat Śakamunisa śariram*, "a relic of the Holy Śakamuni," and the verb *patiṭharati*, the medial letter of which is somewhat obscure, but the whole word is sufficiently clear, and signifies "establishes," "places." The sentence then may be translated, "The Satrap, by name Liako Kusuluko, deposits a relic of the Holy Śakamuni in the *śepatiko* established in the country called *Chhema*, north-east of the city of Taxila." The language is not very grammatical, and the dependence of the different words is not very clear. The word *atra* seems to be used instead of putting the name of the country in the loc. case, that case having already been used for the name of Taxila.

The next sentence is *Saṅgharamam cha sarva buddhana pūyae*, "in honour of the Saṅgharama, and of all the Buddhas." Burnouf discusses the meaning of *Saṅgharama* (Lotus 436), and comes to the conclusion that it signifies "the garden of the assembly," and by extension the "lieu d'habitation des Religieux." This signification is certainly borne out by the etymology, and would seem to apply to the word in a passage lower down, but it hardly suits our text, where the word is coupled with "all the Buddhas." May not the term be used to designate the Buddhist religion, or the priesthood collectively? The next sentence is *Mata-pitarāṃ pūyayanto*, "for the honouring of his father and mother." The last letter of *pūyayanto* is indistinct, but there can be no hesitation about it as the word occurs again in the next line. It is the dative case of the active present participle. The following sentence, beginning line 4, is *Chhatrapasisa putra darasa ayu-bala vardhia*, "For the long life, strength, and prosperity of the son and wife of the Satrap." The Sanskrit word *dārī*, wife, is a masculine, and is always used in the plural; but the Pali, while retaining the gender, employs the word in the singular, as in the text (Clough 29). *Vardhia* is from the Sanskrit *vriddhi*. The next sentence is defective—*Bhratara sarva*

*cha sati . ga . . . dhavasa cha puyayanto.* The defective word after the *cha* is doubtless some form of *sat*, "good," "virtuous," and . . . *dhavasa* may probably be completed as *bandhavasa*, gen. of *bandhava*, "a relative." Omitting the defective word, the sentence may be translated, "For the honouring of all his brethren and . . . relatives." The last sentence appears to be *Maha dana patipattika sidha uvajae*, "For the knowledge (making known) of his great liberality, fame, and success." The final word seems to be *uvaja*, the Sanscrit *upajñā—maha dana patipatti* is clear; but whether the *ka* should go with *patipatti*, or with the following word *sidha* or *sija*, is doubtful. I have taken this word to stand for *siddha* or *siddhi*.

The small line at the foot reads *Rohini Gatrenaya imahi sangharame nava kamika.* The two first words form a name, and must be read as transcribed; for if *Gatrena* be taken as an instrumental, the *ya* will be superfluous. *Imahi* is the loc. "in this," agreeing with *sangharame*, "religious abode." The next word is obscure, and may be *nava*, *nara*, or *nata*; as *nava* it will mean "new," as *nara* "man." The last word is *Kamika*, Sanskrit *Karmika* or *Kārmika*, "maker." *Kārmika* is also the name of a Buddhist sect (Burnouf, Int., 441), but the word would here appear to be used in its simple sense. The whole seems to be the builder's endorsement or certificate, "Rohini Gatrenaya, the new (?) builder in this religious abode."

The endorsement on the back is a sort of label comprising the Satrap's name—*Patipasa Chhatrapa Liako.* If *Patipasa* be taken as a gen., the reading will be "Liako, Satrap of the Lord of Lords;" but if the word be a nom., as we have seen *Chhatrapasi* to be, it will then read, "The Lord of Lords, the Satrap Liako."

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year seventy-eight (78) of the great king, the great Moga, on the fifth (5) day of the month Panæmus. In this presence of the Chhahara (?) and Chukhsa (?), the Satrap, by name Liako Kusuluko deposits a relic of the Holy Śākyamuni, in the *śepatiko* established in the country called Chhema, north east of the city of Taxila, in honour of the great collective body of worshippers and of all the Buddhas; for the honouring of his father and mother; for the long life, strength, and prosperity of his son and wife; for the honouring of all his brothers and relatives; and for making known his great liberality, fame, and success.

Rohini Gatrenaya, the (new ?) builder in this religious abode.



Liako, Satrap of the Lord of Lords.

Liako Kusuluko, the Satrap of this inscription, is a new name; but his dynastic name of Kusuluko is, without much doubt, the same as the Greek Kozola, and the Bactrian Kujula or Kuyula which has been found upon many coins (see Thomas' Prinsep II, 202, 3). Mr. Thomas has kindly favoured me with copies of the usual legends of these coins, and has noted several variants observable in them. They will come under review in a subsequent portion of this paper. Little is known of these Kozolas or of the date of their power. Their coins have been found in considerable numbers in the Punjab, and the present inscription is an indication of their authority over Taxila. They would seem to have belonged to a Scythic race; and the various ways in which their name is rendered in Bactrian characters is strong evidence of its being a foreign one.

The Bactrian word for Satrap, which has hitherto been rendered "*Chatrapa*," I have converted into *Chhatrapa*. The initial letter is a clear modification of the *chh* of Kapur di Giri, and the transition stages are seen in Mr. Bayley's seal (plate iv, fig. 6), and in the Wardak Urn (pl. x). It is always found as the representative of the Sanskrit *ksh*, of which compound, *chh* and not *ch*, is the modern representative. Thus we find *Rachhita* for *rakshita*, and *dachhina* for *dakshina*; and the word *chhatrapa* itself is spelt *Kshatrapa* on the coins of the Sah Kings, and *Khatripa* on the coins of the "Buddhist satraps," the signification being "ruler or patron of the Kshatras." (Prinsep ii, 85, 87, 223.)

#### NUMERAL SYSTEM.

Before entering upon a consideration of any other inscriptions I propose to investigate the numeral system as exemplified and explained in this inscription, and to bring together all the dates within reach. These Bactrian figures have, for a long time, excited the curiosity of the learned, and Colonel Cunningham has put forward a system of interpretation so authoritatively that I feel bound to notice it at length, and accordingly allow him to speak for himself in a note.<sup>1</sup> He gives the figures a decimal value; but a mere

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Cunningham's readings of these dates were, I believe, first made known in the year 1854 (Beng. Journal, xxiii, p. 703), in which he states his interpretation to rest "upon the authority of a stone slab in my own possession, which gives in regular order the nine numerals of as early a period as the Sah

glance at the array of six figures in the Taxila plate is sufficient to prove that the numerals must have an arbitrary and not a decimal power; that the Bactrian system must in fact be of the same nature as the Roman. I had long been possessed with this idea, arising, in the first instance, from the fortuitous resemblance of the figures in the Manikyala inscription to the Roman C and X, and I was confirmed in it by the occurrence of three figures in the date of the month on the Wardak Vase.

Upon reading the words *atta satatimae*, "seventy-eight," in the Bactrian plate, and the word *panchame*, "five," I immediately sent my readings, with the figures, to Mr. Norris, and by return of post he

coins of the Satraps of Saurashtra;" and he then continues to state in a note that he discovered in the year 1852, "that these numeral figures, from 5 to 9, were the initial letters of their *Pashtu* names written in *Ariano Pali*. Thus 5 is represented by *p* for *pinz*; 6 by *sp* for *spaj*; 7 by *a* for *avo*; 8 by *th* for *atha*, the *a* having been already used for 7; and 9 by *n* for *nah*. Even the 4 is a *ch*; but as the *Pashtu* word is *sator*, this form must have been derived from India. The first four figures are given in two distinct forms, the second set being the older; and the two forms show, in the clearest manner, how the straight horizontal strokes of *Asoka's*, and even of later days, gradually became the 1, 2, 3 of India, from which they were transmitted through the Arabs to Europe." The objections to this theory have already been very forcibly urged by Mr. Thomas (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* xxiv, p. 556; *Prinsep*. Vol. I, 144, 145), and I should not have noticed it so fully here but for the reference to the inscribed stone upon which the theory is stated to have been founded. It is very much to be regretted that no copy of this stone has ever been made public for the satisfaction of the learned in these matters, as it is quite clear that Colonel Cunningham's interpretation and method of application are uncertain or erroneous, indeed he himself seems to have mistrusted his own renderings, as in his first paper above quoted he read from left to right, but in his last (*Beng. J.* 1862, page 303) he reverses the method. The dates of which he gave solutions in the first paper, are —

1. Manikyala (pl. ix),  $XX\gamma = 446$ .
2. Ohind (pl. x, fig. 2), month  $XX = 44$ .
3. " " " year |  $333$  | 333.
4. Panjtara (see pl. x, fig 3), year 390.

Upon comparing the first and second of these, it is clear that they were read from left to right; the reading of the last date is unintelligible. In the last paper the reading is from "right to left," and the numbers  $333$  (Wardak, pl. x), and  $XX\gamma$  (Pl. ix, fig. 3), are rendered as 331 and 144, from which also it appears that the figure  $\gamma$  had in the interim changed its value from 6 to 1. The true value has been given to the figure X, 4, from the first; but the reading of  $XX$  as 44 in the date of a month was a manifest error, as has been well urged by *ajendra Lal* (*Beng. J.* vol. xxx, 342). Whether the correct rendering of the figure X was more than accidental it is impossible to say without a reference to the authority of the "stone slab," a publication of which document is urgently required for the furtherance of antiquarian knowledge.

favoured me with his interpretation of the numerals, which entirely agreed with that I had myself determined in the interim, and satisfied me that we had concurrently arrived at the true solution. It was clear from the date of the month that IX represented 5, *i.e.*, 4 and 1; consequently the two X's at the left of the number of the year expressed the number 8. It was thus manifest that the figures must be read from right to left. Taking the form 7 to represent 10, and the duplication of that form in the figure 3 to be 20, the required number 78 was obtained—thus XX7333.

$$78 = .4 + 4 + 10 + 20 + 20 + 20$$

The result of this is that we get examples of the figures 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, and 20, and are enabled, as I shall presently show, to express all numbers under 100.

The date then of the Taxila Plate is 5th Panæmus, of the year 78.

The inscription on the Hidda Jar, which will be found in the plate at page 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*, appears to be the earliest date known; the year being XX = 8. Colonel Cunningham, in his last paper on these dates, reads it as consisting of three figures XX7, but this is a mistake, as there are only two figures. In this interesting paper, Colonel Cunningham first makes known the fact of the Seleucid months being in use. I had previously made the same discovery by reading the name of the month in the Wardak inscription as Artemisius. Gladly conceding to Colonel Cunningham the merit of first publication, it is desirable to mention the fact of my having independently arrived at the same conclusion, and being entirely of accord in identifying a Seleucid month. The very unsatisfactory nature of the published copy of the Hidda inscription, and the absence of any means of verifying it, had induced me to pass it over, but I now fully concur with Colonel Cunningham in reading the month as Apilaca, or rather Apiraca, *i.e.*, Appellæus. The succeeding words he reads as *vrehi dasami*. We may admit that the last word is that which is really intended, but it reads *dasahi* rather than *dasami*; it may, however, be allowed to pass for "10th." The word which Colonel Cunningham reads "*vrehi*" requires attention, as it occurs in several other inscriptions. Rajendra Lal, in his paper on the Wardak inscription, agrees in reading the word as *vrehi*, and thinks it to be an abbreviation of Vrihaspati, or Thursday. Colonel Cunningham, however, considers it the representative of the Sanskrit *vriddhi*, and to mean the increase of the moon—the bright half of the

month. I am obliged, however, to dissent from these opinions, and I concur with Mr. Thomas's tentative reading *stehi*. The initial letter is clearly the well-known "st" of Thomas's alphabet: it is found in the names of Strato (Ari. Antiq., plate vi, fig. 10) and Hippostratus, and in the word which Colonel Cunningham reads as "Strategasa," the Greek Στρατηγός, on the coins of Asparvarma (Beng. J., 1857, p. 696). In the face of all these it is impossible to read the word as *vrehi*, however desirable it might be. We must here anticipate a little, and compare the various dates in which the form appears. The following are examples of its use:—

Hidda—*Apiraesa stehi dasahi* = 10.

Wardak—*Arṭamisiyasa stehi* 1X7 = 15.

In fig. 3, pl. ix, it occurs after an illegible month as *stehi* 7 = 10. It may possibly be found in the Manikyala inscription between the name of the month and the word *divasa*, "day;" but this is far too doubtful for the purposes of argument. Colonel Cunningham, in his last paper, supplies another date, *Tsattikasa divasa vrehi (stehi)*, 3, which he renders "third day of the increase of Xanthikos." It is very desirable to ascertain if the word *divasa* really occurs as placed in the last date, or whether it is only inserted as complementary, as is the case with Colonel Cunningham's reading of the Wardak inscription, in which he gives the word *divasa*, though it is not in the original. The solutions of the word proposed by Babu Rajendra Lal and Colonel Cunningham, even supposing it to be *vrehi*, as they read it, are by no means satisfactory. The supposition of its being an abbreviation of Vrihaspati, Thursday, is quite inadmissible, for the letters "*vrehi*" are not "the initials" of Vrihaspati; and even if they were it is next to impossible that they could be used in that sense in so many different records. The proposal to look upon the word as signifying the increasing half of the moon is more specious, but equally untenable. I cannot find that the Sanskrit *vriddhi* is ever used to express "the increase of the moon;" but even supposing it to have been employed in that signification *vrehi* is not the Prakrit or Pali form of the word. The word *vrehi* is used as we have seen with the Seleucid months, perhaps exclusively with them; and although there are reasons for believing those months to have been luni-solar, there are none, that I am aware of, for supposing the purely Hindu division of the bright and dark half to have been observed in them. Finally, if Colonel Cunningham's reading of his last date *Tsattikasa divasa vrehi (stehi)* is accurate, it settles the question, for there the term follows the word "day," which it could not do if

it had the meaning he proposes: it would necessarily come after the name of the month if it related to the month. Though satisfied of the inaccuracy of the interpretations proposed, it must be confessed that no convincing solution of the word is apparent. It seems to be a word in the locative case; and in plate x, fig. 2, we have a form "*stisa*," which may possibly be the genitive. It seems to be equivalent to "date;" the "*Arfamisiyasa stehi*, 15," of the Wardak Vase, corresponding with the "*divasa panchame*, 5" of the Taxila inscription. Further discoveries may enable us to settle the meaning of the word more distinctly, but we cannot err very much in attaching to it the meaning here proposed.

The Manikyala inscription (plate ix) is dated XX7, *i.e.*, 18; and the month is apparently given in the last line of the short passage on the right-hand side of the inscription. Colonel Cunningham has read it as "*Kattikasa mäsä divasa*, 3;" and I agree in the main with this reading of the letters; but there is such obscurity in this part of the record that copies and tracings made at different times vary considerably. The first two letters and the last two are distinct, the others are all very hazy, and cannot be traced with any degree of certainty. The first two letters make *karti* (for the compound is *rt*, not *tt*), the next letter does not resemble the required *k*, but its true form is somewhat doubtful. The next is *s*, and is tolerably clear. The succeeding letters are extremely indistinct; and one tracing of my own is somewhat suggestive of the word *stehi*. The *d* of *divasa* is not clear, but the other two letters are distinct. The figure which Colonel Cunningham reads as 3 is badly formed; but there can be no hesitation in identifying it with the 20 of the Taxila plate. We may, therefore, read the date of the Manikyala inscription as "20th Kartika, year 18."

The short and indistinct legend figured in plate ix, fig. 3 is dated in the same year as the Manikyala inscription; that is XX7 = 18. Colonel Cunningham reads the month "doubtfully" as Artemisius (Beng. Journ., 1862, p. 303), but I cannot go with him in this reading. The number of the year is followed by two unknown letters, and the rest are indistinct, but appear to finish with "*stehi* 10." The date would then appear to be "10th of ———, year 18."

The date next in succession is that of the Wardak Urn, which is Sam 1733 *Masya Arfamisiyasastehi* 1X7 "15th of the month Artemisius, in the year 51."

Colonel Cunningham's two Yusufzai inscriptions from Ohind and Panjtar (plate x, figures 2 and 3) have the peculiarity of being

preceded and followed by a straight stroke, enclosing the three central figures as it were in brackets; and it is just possible that this may be their use here; but as the single stroke is the representative in other places of the numeral 1 we are not justified in assuming that they have no numerical value in the dates before us. If they are really part of the date the right-hand stroke may be the representative of 100; but this is a mere speculation. The Ohind inscription reads "*San 13331 Chetrasa maha-dhatistisa vaomiti XX.*" I have adhered strictly to the published copy, but I am curious to know if the original might not justify the reading of *attamiti* instead of the unintelligible word *vaomiti*. The first letter as it now stands may be read indifferently as *a* or *v*, and the second merely requires a straight instead of a curved top to make it *tt*—the word would then be *attamiti*, "eight," and would agree with the numerals **XX** = 8. The emendations required to arrive at this intelligible reading are so slight that they may very fairly be suggested, but I will not assume them however probable they may appear. The date then of this inscription is "8th Chaitra, of the year 61." The value of the right-hand stroke remains to be settled; but, as before stated, it may possibly stand for 100, and if so the year will be 161. I have, in a previous page, noticed the words "*maha-dhatistisa*," and the ground for considering them to form a descriptive epithet of the month. The meaning of *maha* is obvious; *dhatistisa* may possibly be the Sanskrit adjective *dhatri*, "cherishing, nourishing, fostering"—an epithet not unsuitable to the vernal month of Chaitra. As to the termination *stisa*, may not this be the genitive form of the word *stehi*, already commented upon.

The other Yusafzai inscription from Panjtar (pl. x, fig. 3) presents an unknown numeral if the form is correctly delineated. It is not possible to do more than guess at its value; but supposing it to be a real figure, it may dispute the representation of the number 100 with the right-hand 1. The following figure is 20, and the two succeeding strokes may be considered as representing 2. Colonel Cunningham reads this date as *San 390 Śrāvanasa māsā sudi prathamē*. Passing over the number of the year, which is irreconcilable with our present system of numbers, the remainder of the reading is satisfactory. I am not sure, however, that we should read *māsā sudi* rather than *māsasahi*, for the very slight twist at the bottom of the *s* is not to be compared with the well-developed conjunct *u* which occurs subsequently; and the next letter is more like the usual *h* than *d*. *Sudi* is certainly more intelligible, and so far preferable. The word *prathamē* is clear and certain,

and the stroke following it may be taken as its numerical representative.

#### REVIEW OF THE NUMERALS.

Having thus gone through all the known dates, we may now proceed to sum up our acquisitions, to examine the arguments for and against the values assigned to the figures, and to see how far the Bactrian system is capable of development from the materials in hand.

1. The stroke representing the figure 1 has been hitherto passed over, with the belief, apparently, of its being a mere stop or mark of separation dividing the numerals from the letters; and at first sight there is nothing improbable in such a supposition. The Wardak inscription employs this stroke after two figures in the date of the month, so that it could have no power if the figures had a local value like the Arabian numerals; and the copies of the Ohind and Panjtar inscriptions (pl. x, figs. 2 and 3) place it both before and after the undoubted figures, enclosing them as it were in brackets; thus affording a *prima facie* case for deeming it of no numerical value. On the other hand, it must be observed that it is entirely absent from the Manikyala inscription, and in the Taxila inscription it is absent from the number of the year, while it is used in the date of the month. Independent, therefore, of any knowledge of its value it would seem to have been used with a purpose and a power. Now, as to its being the representative of the unit *one*, the general use of this symbol for that purpose need only be referred to as strongly favouring the supposition. The four straight strokes in the Kapur di Giri inscription, representing numerically the *chaturajano*, prove it to be there used as the figure 1; following the word *prathame* in the date of the Panjtar inscription it must be looked upon as the figure representing that number; and, finally, the way in which it is used in the Taxila inscription is decisive of its value; unless, indeed, the interpretation of the numbers in that document is altogether erroneous.

2. 3. The equivalents for these numerals are not given in the Taxila inscription, and the only inference we can draw respecting them is from the Kapur di Giri inscription, where four distinct strokes are used as the representative of the numeral 4.

4. The four lines of the Kapur di Giri inscription are represented by X in the Taxila inscription; the four points of the cross being severally counted as one, like as a star with 5 points, was used by the Egyptians as the representative of 5 (Revue. Arch. Oct, 1862).

The change thus effected between the date of the Kapur di Giri and Taxila inscriptions is a very reasonable one, and the character so formed is a fair and intelligible symbol for the number 4. This figure, like the Roman V, is an important one, being used with additions for expressing other numbers. As we have facts to deal with, it is unnecessary to theorise as to the employment of the number 4 as a master number; there are arithmetical reasons in its favour, and the Indians have certainly shown a partiality for this number and its multiples, in their weights, measures, and coinage.

5. This number is very clearly expressed in the Taxila inscription by IX, *i.e.*,  $4 \times 1$ .

6. 7. We have no example as yet of these numbers, but we may conjecture that they are represented by the X for 4 with additional straight strokes, upon the same principle as in the numbers 5 and 8.

8 Is represented by XX, that is by two figures of 4.

9. Of this numeral we have no example; it might, however, be clearly represented by IXX.

10. 20. Ten is represented by the sign 𑀓, and twenty by 𑀔, that is by a double ten, in the same way as 8 is noted by a double 4.

The highest numeral that we are acquainted with is 78, the date of the Taxila inscription, in which the 70 is expressed by three 20's and a ten. It may reasonably be inferred that the same principle continued up to 100. Thus, although we have examples of only six figures, including the 10 and 20, we may, by carrying out the principle, express the unknown numbers intelligibly and in all likelihood accurately, thus:—

	Certain.	Conjectural.		Certain.	Conjectural.
1 . . . .	I		10 . . . . .	𑀓	
2 . . . .		II	20 . . . . .	𑀔	
3 . . . .		III	30 . . . . .		𑀔𑀓
4 . . . .	X		40 . . . . .		𑀔𑀔
5 . . . .	III or IX		50 . . . . .		𑀔𑀔𑀓
6 . . . .		IIIX	60 . . . . .		𑀔𑀔𑀔
7 . . . .		IIIX	70 . . . . .	𑀔𑀔𑀔𑀓	
8 . . . .	XX		80 . . . . .		𑀔𑀔𑀔𑀔
9 . . . .		IXX	90 . . . . .		𑀔𑀔𑀔𑀔𑀓

In the conjectural column there are many numbers about the accuracy of which there cannot be the remotest doubt; thus, seeing how the numbers 5 and 8 are formed, there can be very little doubt

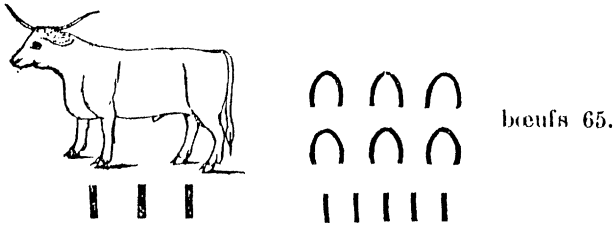


about 9; and having the number 70 there is small room for hesitation about the way of representing the numbers between 20 and 70. No number, however, has been inserted under the head of "certain" without express authority in words for the value assigned to it. As to the numbers from 100 upwards we are at present in the dark, and have not the same means of constructing them as we have of lower numbers. Whether a simple stroke upon the right of the figures is the representative of 100, or whether the unknown figure in pl. x, fig. 3, be the symbol of that or any higher number must, for the present, be a mere subject for speculation, and remain open for the decision of future discoveries. The newly discovered inscriptions of Muttra with Indian Pali letters and Bactrian Pali figures may, when published, afford means for verifying and extending our knowledge of these numerals.

The Bactrian system thus developed may appear, at first sight, clumsy and complicated; but keeping the Roman system in remembrance, it is impossible to pronounce it improbable or unpractical. Comparing the Bactrian, so far as we know it, with the Roman, there is little reason to prefer one over the other, on the ground of clearness or simplicity.

It is beside my present purpose to seek analogies to these numerals, or to make any general comparison of them with other ancient systems of notation; nor have I the means at my command for doing so. Mr. Thomas, who has taken great interest in my discovery, has very kindly brought to my notice an "Exposé des Signes de Numeration usités chez les Peuples Orientaux;" par A. P. Pihan, Paris, 1860, in which the following very curious account is given of the Phœnician system:—"Un trait horizontal (—), quelquefois recourbé à droite (⤵) indiquait le nombre 10 . . . . . La première dizaine s'exprimait aussi par l'un des signes suivants  $\curvearrowright$   $\curvearrowleft$   $\curvearrowright$ , ou — 0, ou bien  $\curvearrowright$  0. Le nombre 20 pouvait s'écrire — — ou  $\equiv$  ou bien encore  $\curvearrowright$  0 0 3 (ce qui représente deux fois  $\curvearrowright$ ). Cependant il existait un signe commun pour les vingtaines. On le figurait habituellement ainsi N." The higher numbers up to 80 were made by repeating the sign for 20, thus N N = 40, N N N N = 80. This system, so far as respects the numbers 10 and 20, and the repetition of the latter for the expression of higher numbers is identical in principle with our numerals, and seems conclusive as to the accuracy of the values assigned to the Bactrian figures before this Phœnician system came under my notice. The similarity of the two cannot well be accidental. The Bactrian figures, therefore, like the characters

of the alphabet, must have been drawn from a Semitic source. It is interesting also to compare the Egyptian figures 9 for 100 and  $\Omega$  for 10 which continued in use to the second or third century after Christ; and the following illustration of the Egyptian system which appeared in the *Revue de l'Archéologique* for October, 1862, is very apposite in its analogy to the Bactrian.



#### EPOCH OF THE DATES.

The materials at our command do not enable us to fix the epoch from which the dates start, nor are we by any means certain that they are all concordant and of the same era. The use of the Seleucid months gives fair ground for believing the Seleucid era also to have been in use; but the documents before us cannot be so old as their dates would make them according to that era. The *Samvat* of *Vikramaditya* comes perhaps nearest in point of time, but we cannot assume that era to have been in use in Bactrian inscriptions without good evidence, and none is at present forthcoming. The epoch may be the rise of the dynasty, or the accession or the death of some king or great personage. The number is too high in one instance (*Taxila* plate) to admit of its being the year of the reign, which is encouraging, and leaves ground for hope that future discoveries may enable us to determine the epoch, and thus settle a very important point in Indo-Bactrian chronology.

#### COINS OF THE KOZOLA KADPHISES GROUP.

The coins of the *Kozola Kadphises* group give us three names, *Kadphises*, *Kozola Kadaphes*, and another *Kadphises*. The Bactrian Pali legends present a few variants, which Mr. Thomas has pointed out, and which will be noticed in due order.

The coins of *Kadphises* are thus described by Mr. Thomas in *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. ii, p. 202:—

“Copper—Plate xxviii, fig. 12.

“Obverse—Head as in the *Su-Hermæus'* coins.

“Legend—ΚΟΡΕΗΛΟ [Variety ΚΟΡΟΝΛΟ] ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔ-ΦΙΖΟΥ.

“Reverse—Hercules as above.

“Arian Legend—*Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanayatugasa.*

“Monograms—Arian *dh* with *r.* *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xi, figs. 10, 11.”

These coins have also been described by Colonel Cunningham (*Beng. J.*, vol. xxiii, p. 709, and pl. xxxv). His reading of the Arian legend is *Kujula Kasasa Kushanga Yathagasa Dhama pidasa.* I propose to slightly amend these versions by reading the Bactrian legend (pl. iv, fig. 7 a) as follows: *Dhama (hidasa) Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yarugasa*, “(coin) of the Yaruga of the Kushans Kujala Kasa, steadfast in the Dharma.” In the variants of this legend we find *tharasa* for *thirasa* and *Sujula* for *Kujula*.

The coins of Kozola Kadaphes are thus described (Prinsep, vol. ii, p. 203):—

“Copper small coin—Plate xviii, figs. 13, 14, 15, and pl. xxviii, figs. 13, 14.

“Obverse—Youthful head.

“Legend—ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΕ ΧΟΡΑΝΕΥ ΖΑΘΟΥ.

“Reverse—A Scythic figure.

“Arian Legend—*Khashanasa Yauasa Kuyula [Kuyarla?] Kaphsasa Sachha dhani phidasa.*

“Monogram, No. 124—Some specimens add the Bactrian letter inserted in the plate under No. 125. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xi, fig. 14.”

Colonel Cunningham’s reading and translation of the Bactrian legend is (*Beng. J.*, vol. xxiii, p. 709), *Khushanga Yathaasa Kujula Kaphsasa Sachha-dharmapiḍasa*, “Coin of the king of the Khushang Kujula Kaphsa the Crown of the true *dharma*.” My reading differs in a few particulars, being, *Khashanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphsasa Sacha-dharma thirasa* “(coin), of the Yauasa of the Khashan, Kuyula Kaphsa, steadfast in the true *dharma*” (plate iv, fig. 7, b).

The coins of the second Kadaphises are thus described (Prinsep’s *Essays*, ii, 213):—

“Gold—Unique.

“Obverse—King, seated after the Oriental fashion (cross-legged) on clouds. He holds a club in his hand, and small flames ascend from his shoulders; he wears a Scythic cap surmounted by a single-centred trident.

“Legend—ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΟΟΕΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC.

“Monogram—169.

Fig. 4. Mamikvayala Cylinder.

Handwritten script on a cylinder, likely representing a specific word or name.

Handwritten script, possibly a variant or related form.

Handwritten script, possibly a variant or related form.



Fig. 5. Mamikvayala Silver disc.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7. a

Rev.	[Handwritten symbols]		Rev.	[Handwritten symbols]
				Variante

Fig. 8.

[Handwritten symbols]	[Handwritten symbols]	[Handwritten symbols]	[Handwritten symbols]	[Handwritten symbols]	[Handwritten symbols]
+ thi	mu?	si	Compound	ts	ts
rdh	rdh	rm	rm?	rv	rv
st	st	sv	sv	par	par
				mian	mian
				van	van
				z	z
				san	san
				han	han

“Reverse—Siva and his bull (Nandi); flames rise from the divinity’s head; he holds a trident in his right hand.

“Arian Legend—*Maharajasa Rajadirajasa sarvaloga Imastasa Mahimastasa Hapinasasa.*

“Monogram—159.

“Other gold and copper coins of this king have some varieties in the device, thus:—

“Obverse—King seated on an Eastern throne, with a flower in his right hand. Legend and monogram as above.

“Reverse—Device as above.

“Jour. des Sav., 1834, pl. fig. 7; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. x, fig. 5, and pl. xxi, fig. 7.

The Bactrian legend (pl. iv, fig. 7 *c*) is remarkably clear and intelligible. There is no reason to call in question the first half of Mr. Thomas’s reading, but the latter half may certainly be greatly improved. The reading I propose is *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Sarva-loga-iśvarasa Mahiśvarasa Kapiśasa* “(Coin) of the Great King, King of Kings, ruler of the whole world, the mighty Lord Kapisa.” The gold coin which Mr. Thomas describes as “Unique,” reads *Hapinaśasa* for *Kapiśasa*. The star at the foot of the *pi* in the name is persistently repeated, but its power is not obvious. Professor Wilson read it *s*, making the name *Kapsiśa*; but the analogy of the *phis* in fig. 7 *b* forbids this rendering.

The substitution here proposed of *thira* or *thida* for the word hitherto read *piḍa* or *phida* is a manifest amendment. The old reading originated with the late Professor Wilson, who thought the character to be “in all probability *pi*,” because “the same form very nearly commences the equivalent of Philoxenes” (*Āriana Antiqua*, 257). The same learned writer conjectured the title as being either *Dhama-piḍasa* or *Dhama-piśasa*, “the parent, or the friend of justice.” Colonel Cunningham considered the word to be *piḍa*, a chaplet or crown, and consequently read the compound *Dhama-piḍa*, “Crown of the Dharma.” He admitted this compound to be “unusual,” but still he thought it “grammatically correct and eminently Buddhistical.” Mr. Thomas appears to have adopted the last reading in default of a better, but has changed the word *piḍa* to *phida*. With respect to Colonel Cunningham’s reading it must be observed, in the first place, that the Sanskrit word for “crown” is not *piḍa*, as he writes it, but *piḍā*, not masculine but feminine; next that the cerebral *ḍ* is not employed in the word on the coins, but the dental *ḍ* or the letter *r*; and lastly the compound is, as he admits, an unusual one. On examining the character, it is evident

that the right hand perpendicular is the stem or base of the letter, and the line on the left is the vowel mark—to make the letter *pi*; the positions of these lines must be reversed, and a downward curve must be added to the horizontal line. The character is, perhaps, more like *phi*, but still the curve of the horizontal line, distinctive of the letter *ph*, is absent in the character before us. The only objections to the proposed rendering *thi*, is the circumstance of the left end of the horizontal line being somewhat longer than in the simple *th*; but this prolongation has probably been made to allow of the vowel *i* being graven distinctly across it. But the fact of the word being written *tharasa* upon some coins is, I think, conclusive as to the word being really *thirasa*. The emendation *thira* represents the Sanskrit *sthira*, firm steadfast, a word very commonly employed in compounds; and the epithet *dharma-thira*, steadfast in the *dharma*, conveys a very appropriate and intelligible meaning, corresponding with the well-known name *Yuddhishthira*.

The alteration in Fig. 7 *a* of Colonel Cunningham's reading *Yathagasa*, and of Mr. Thomas's, *Yatugasa* to *Yarugasa*, is abundantly justified by the exact resemblance of the letter in question to the normal form, and to the frequently recurring *r* in Fig. 7c. This word *Yaruga* corresponds with the word in Fig. 7b, which I concur with Mr. Thomas in reading *Yaiiasa*. No meaning has yet been assigned to this word or words, and I have no conjecture to offer as to the signification. The two words are probably only different ways of expressing some foreign title. The letter *r* is rarely elided, but the guttural is frequently omitted; thus we have *dhamiasa* for *dhamikasa* on the coins.

Fig. 7c is important, as affording in the word *sarva*, a character which there can be little hesitation in accepting for *rv*, and as supplying a key to similar combinations with other letters, as *rdh* of the word *samvardhaka* in the Manikyala inscription. The word which I have transcribed *iswara*, I at first read *isura*, a difference of spelling, not of meaning; but finding the vowel *u* to be invariably affixed to the left perpendicular line of the *ś* in the Kapur di Giri and Wardak inscriptions, and the same vowel to be similarly annexed, in the Taxila inscription, to the left line of the *y*, while the anuswara is annexed to the right, I conclude that the word on the coin must be read *iswara*—if this is right we get a new compound *św*. It may further be observed that in the Kapur di Giri inscription, and in the word *Śravan* in Colonel Cunningham's Panjtar inscription, the letter *r* is appended to the right hand perpendicular of the *ś*; these facts together, establish the rule that

vowels are added to the left limb, and conjunct consonants to the right limb of the letters *y* and *ś*.

## PESHAWAR VASE.

Plate iii, fig. 2. This is a legend copied from a Steatite Vase now in the Museum at Peshawar, but its history is unknown to me. The inscription is carefully and clearly executed, every letter is distinctly formed, and the whole is in a fine state of preservation. A copy of the inscription was sent to me some months ago by Mr. Thomas, and I had but little difficulty in mastering it. The reading is—

*Gihilena Siha-rachhitena cha bhratarehi Takhaśīlāe ayam thūvo pratiḥavito sava Buddhana puyae.* “This tope was erected in Taxila by the brothers Gihilena and Siha Rachhitena, in honour of all the Buddhas.”

The word Taxila, I was at first disposed to read as *tat śīlāe* or *tan śīlāe*, but there can be no doubt that the reading now proposed is the right one, especially when the light of the Taxila inscription is thrown upon it. There is little in the wording of this inscription to call for special remark, as the whole is expressed in very grammatical language. The word *Takhaśīlāe*, derived from the Sanskrit *Takṣaśīlā*, takes the proper form of the feminine locative. The inward bend of the right limb of the *y* in *ayam* has been read as anuswara, but it may be omitted without injury to the sense. *Thūvo* may be *tuvo* with the unaspirated letter, and the substitution of *v* for *p* in this and the following word is a regular Prakrit change already noticed in the Taxila inscription. The form *sava* instead of *savaa* is a nearer approach to the Pali.

## BIMARAN VASE.

Fig. 3, pl. iii, is from a Steatite Vase, found by Masson in a tope at Deh Bimaran, near Jelalabad. Within the vase was inclosed a gold casket, described by Professor Wilson in the following terms:—“The casket is chased with a double series of four figures, representing Gautama in the act of preaching; a mendicant is on his right, a lay follower on his left, and behind the latter a female disciple: they stand under arched niches resting on pillars, and between the arches is a bird; a row of rubies is set round the upper and lower edge of the vessel, and the bottom is also chased with the leaves of the lotus. The vase had no cover” (*Ariana Antiqua*, 41). Engravings of the vase and casket are given in the same work. The longer inscription is scratched or graven round

the body of the vase; the shorter one round the upper part or shoulder, not on the cover, as stated in the description of the plate; for, as above observed, the vase had no cover. Burnouf picked out the word *Sarirahi*, but Colonel Cunningham was the first to make known the fact of the upper line being only an abbreviation of the longer one, and to read the opening words as *Bhagavána Sarirahi* "(Stupa), containing relics of Bhagwán or Buddha" (Jour. As. Soc., Beng., vol. xxiii, p. 707). The commencement of the longer inscription he read as *Sri Tabachitrása Khamaspada putrasa* "(gift) of Sri Tabachitra, the son of Khamaspada." These readings, although imperfect and open to amendment, do, nevertheless, give a very good idea of the import of the inscription. The engraving in the *Ariana Antiqua* is somewhat faulty; but the copy now given has been carefully copied from the original vase. Taking the longer inscription, the first word is a name in the genitive case, and is plainly *Śiva-rachhitasa*. This differs considerably from Colonel Cunningham's reading, but the variation arises from the close resemblance of the letters *t*, *b*, *r*, and *v*—the normal forms of which are clearly distinct, but are sometimes confounded in practice. A close adherence to the normal forms in this instance supplies a well-known name in Sanskrit, *Śiva-rakshitasya*. The next word is also a name which is very difficult to read; indeed, the two versions of it on the vase differ materially. The first character Colonel Cunningham reads *kh*, to which letter it bears a partial though not satisfactory resemblance. The next character differs in the two versions; in the long one it appears to be *ḍ* in the other *m*; the following character is like *v* in the first, and *dh* in the second; the last letter is in both versions an *n* or *ḍ*. Assuming that the first letter is *kh*, until a more satisfactory reading is arrived at, the transliteration of the name of the longer legend will be *Khadavana*, and of the shorter *Khamidhana*. I leave the name in doubt, for future discoveries or more acute investigators to determine. The following word is clearly *putasa*, or *putrasa*, and that succeeding it *danam*. The next character is one to which no equivalent has hitherto been assigned: but I think we have now very good grounds for reading it as *mu*. The syllable *mu*, in "*Śikyamuni*" in the Taxila inscription, is expressed by a character strongly resembling this, and in the same name on the Wardak Vase the *mu* is identical with this character. This is tolerably decisive, and the sentence now before us appears to strengthen the proposed rendering. The *mu* is followed by *hi*, making *muhī*. The Sanskrit *adas*, "that," "this," makes, in several of its cases, *amu*; and I take



this word *mhi* to be a contracted form of the Prakrit locative *amhi*, "in this." But whether this conjecture be right or wrong, and whatever the true value of the letter, there can be little or no doubt of the word in the inscription signifying "here;" the words "gift here," corresponding exactly with the "relic here," which comes in subsequently. Here the shorter legend terminates. Continuing with the longer one, the next word is the verb, or rather participle. It commences with *niya*. The following letter is uncertain; and the engraver appears to have so deemed it, for he has endeavoured to make it more distinct by re-writing it, but with little success. It may be *khi*, *dī*, or *tī*; the final character may be read *nan*. The whole word is in all probability *niyatīnam*, the causal past participle of the root *pat*, which signifies "made to descend," "lowered," "deposited beneath." The following words are *bhagavat śarīrehi*; which words also occur separately at the beginning of the shorter legend. *Śarīrehi* is as Burnouf observed the "forme Palie de l'instrumental pluriel," but it is not probable that the word can be used in that sense here. In the longer legend an instrumental plural might possibly be admitted, but the construction would be a very forced one. In the shorter legend it seems quite inadmissible, for no sense can be got out of the phrase "with the holy relics." The word *ehi*, or *ihi*, a dialectical variety of the Prakrit *iha*, signifying "here," or "in this," is, doubtless, the true reading, and supplies a consistent and appropriate meaning—*Bhagavat śarīre ehi* "Here (or, in this) is the holy relic." The remaining words are but a repetition of the formula in figs. 1 and 2—*Sarva buddhāna pūyae*, "in honour of all the Buddhas;" the *n* of *Buddhāna* is obliterated, but may be unhesitatingly supplied.

The reading of the shorter legend is then *Bhagavat śarīre ehi. Siva-rachchitasa Khamidhana? putasa dana ehi*. "In this is the holy relic. In this is the gift of Siva Rachhita, son of Khamidhana" (?). The reading of the longer one is *Siva-rachchitasa Khaḍavāna (Khamidhana) putasa dana mhi niyatīnam. Bhagavat śarīre ehi sarva buddhāna pūyae*. "The gift of Siva Rachhita, son of Khamidhana (?), is here deposited. In this (is placed) the holy relic in honour of all the Buddhas."

In this inscription we have met, for the first time, a variety in the form of the letter *y*, differing but slightly from the letter *ś*, with which it has hitherto been confounded. The difference, though small, is distinctly marked in this inscription; the top line of the *y* being sloped, that of the *ś* quite straight. The final word of this inscription recurs in the Wardak Vase inscription, in which Babu

Rajendra Lal has read it "*puśae*," and has translated it as "nourishment, protection, or prosperity," making it an imaginary noun, supposed to be derived from the root *push*, to cherish or nurture (*Journ. As. Soc., Beng. : No. IV, 1861, p. 344*). Mr. E. C. Bayley subsequently adopted this reading in an attempt to explain the inscription now under notice<sup>1</sup> (*Id. : No. II, 1862, p. 190*). The formation of a simple noun meaning "prosperity," from the root, "to cherish," is not very obvious. But it is unnecessary to pursue this enquiry further; the employment of the same formula in two other inscriptions, where the word is clearly written *pujæ*, is quite sufficient to determine the true reading.

#### MANIKYALA CYLINDER.

We now come to some of the important articles extracted by General Ventura from the great tope of Manikyala. A full description of the excavations and of the articles discovered is given in Prinsep's Works (vol. i., p. 93), but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to state that although coins, medals, and other relics were found in several parts of the tope, there were three distinct deposits at the depths, respectively, of 12, 45, and 64 feet, for the security and preservation of which great precautions had been taken. In the first deposit was found an iron or copper box, enclosing one of pure gold, within which were several coins, some of a comparatively late date. The second deposit also consisted of a copper box, enclosing a gold one; but nothing was found in the latter. The third deposit consisted first of a copper box, enclosed in this was a brass cylindrical box on the cover of which an inscription was punched. Within this brass box, and immersed in a thick brown liquid, was a gold cylindrical box, four and a-half inches long, and one and a-half inches in diameter. This box also contained some of the brown liquid and some fragments resembling broken amber. There was besides a small gold coin with the legend OHPKI KOPANO, and some other illegible letters, another small gold coin, and lastly, "a plain disc of silver, upon which have been engraved certain letters evidently calculated and intended to explain the whole mystery" (Prinsep i, 102). The inscription on the lid of the brass cylinder is that given in fig. 4, pl. iii, and that of the silver disc as fig 5 in pl. iv.

Colonel Cunningham has given considerable attention to these.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bayley says, "The inscription from Bimaran is also a dedication of a reliquary for the prosperity (*pusæ*) of Sri vechitra . . . dhatra putra."

His reading of the first is—*Swati Siva Chatrapasa Gandaphuka Chatrapa putrasa danatrayam*. “The three gifts of the Satrap Swasti Siva, son of the Satrap Gandaphuka.” In explanation of this, he says—“The last four letters of the inscription which, for want of room on the lid of the cylinder, are placed below, I read as *danatrayam*, ‘the three gifts.’ These, I suppose, to refer to the three cylinders or relic boxes which were deposited in the three separate chambers of the tope” (Jour. As. Soc. Beng. xxiii, 699). Mr. Thomas has already taken exception to the rendering “Swati Siva,” preferring “Kavi Siva;” and his amended copy of the legend fully justifies him in this reading. The word *Kavi* signifies “poet” and may possibly bear that meaning here. The following word is unmistakably *Chhatrapasa*. The next word, which Colonel Cunningham reads Gandaphuka, is somewhat doubtful, but his rendering can hardly be right. He appears to have taken the line at the bottom of the *g* for an *n*, but this addition to the letter is frequently used without any alteration of the sound, as in *Bhagavat*, in fig. 3, pl. iii. The first letter, then, is a simple *g*, the next is *n*, not *d*. The third is a doubtful compound; the upper part of the letter is identical with the *ph* of the coins of Gondophares, and is observable in Colonel Cunningham’s Panjar inscription, though it is not the usual form of *ph*. Mr. Thomas has already demurred to the rendering of the subjoined letter by *u*, very justly observing that it is different from the usual form of that vowel. This part of the letter resembles *k* in shape, and from the analogy of *shk* in the names of Kanishka and Huvishka in the Manikyala and Wardak inscriptions, would appear to be a *k*,—if it be so, the compound will be *phk*, and the whole word *Ganaphkaka*. The two next words are clearly *Chhatrapa putrasa*, and the following word *dana*. The last word, which Colonel Cunningham reads *trayam*, is open to much doubt, and is important as the basis of his theory as to the three gifts or deposits. The first letter may be either *tr* or *t*,—it has generally been read as *tr* in the word *putra*, but it may be a simple *t*, as it is in the word *Bhagavat* (fig. 3, pl. iii), where the curl of the bottom cannot represent the letter *r*. The final character is a compound which Colonel Cunningham reads *yam*, but the first is preferentially the cerebral nasal, and the whole word therefore is *traham* or *taham*. It must be admitted that there is much plausibility in the reading *trayam*, for “it assimilates so well with apparent probabilities.” To my eye, however, the word is *traham*, not *trayam*, and I cannot allow any conjecture, however plausible, to lead me astray from a strict literal rendering of the

original. The reading *trāṭā* appears, moreover, to be a very natural one, and requires very little theory to support it. The Sanskrit *trāṭā* with the cerebral *n*, as in the word before us, signifies "preserving, protection," and, according to Böhlingk and Roth, "covering for the body, armour, helmet"<sup>1</sup>; it may therefore be considered as applicable to the brass box on which the inscription is engraved, and in which the "gift" was deposited. For these reasons, the reading now proposed is—

*Kavi-Śiva Chhatrapasa Ganaphkaka Chhatrapa putrasa dana trāṭam.* "Casket of the gift of Kavi Śiva Chhatrapa son of Ganaphkaka Chhatrapa."

#### MANIKYALA SILVER DISC.

The short inscription on the silver disc, which Prinsep considered so important as a key to the whole (fig. 5, p. iv) now claims our attention. Colonel Cunningham has published more than one decipherment and interpretation of this legend. Upon his last reading he has built a very ingenious and attractive theory, concerning which it is desirable to quote his own words. He says—"The upper line (of the inscription) may be read, without hesitation, as *Gomangasa* 'of the emancipated,' or more literally of 'one who has abandoned the body,' from *guna* abandoning, and *angga* the body. The second line I read as *Kanarakasa*, taking the first and fourth letters as cursive forms of *k*. No doubt this plain disc of silver, as J. Prinsep supposed, was intended to explain the whole mystery. This mystery I believe to be explained by my reading of the two words as *Gomangasa Kanarakasa*, or '(relics) of the emancipated Kanerki.' According to this reading, the great tope of Manikyala was the Mausoleum of the Indo-Scythian Kanerki or Kanishka, the paramount ruler of Kabal, Kashmir, and the Punjab, about the beginning of the Christian era. The Brown liquid, therefore, most probably contained the mortal remains of the great Indo-Scythian emperor, mixed with a portion of sandal wood or other ashes from his funeral pile" (Jour. As. Soc. Beng. vol. xxiii, 701).

I very much regret that I am unable to acquiesce in this theory. The true interpretation of the legend has long seemed to me to be much more simple than that proposed by Colonel Cunningham. I must confess that in the examination of old inscriptions, and

<sup>1</sup> Schutz für den Körper, Harnisch, Helm u.s.w.

especially in these Buddhist inscriptions, my turn of mind inclines me to seek for the simple rather than the mystic, for a plain ordinary meaning, intelligible to all contemporaries, in preference to a refined and spiritual expression, comprehensible only by the learned and the priesthood. Mr. Thomas has already demurred to this interpretation, and very pertinently remarks that "no theory at all is preferable to a bad one; the negative position is not likely to mislead, the positive converse is."

The reading of the first word as *Gomangasa* seems to me untenable, and the interpretation of that reading to be equally inadmissible. The first letter with the subjoined vowel is certainly *go*, the next letter is *m*; thus far our readings coincide. The following letter, which Col. C. reads *ng'*, is clearly *n*,—the dental, as I believe, but the cerebral, according to Mr. Thomas,—at any rate it most closely resembles the *n* in the word *danam*, the curve not being sufficiently deep for the cerebral. The final letter is *sa*; thus there is only a difference of one letter between us; Colonel Cunningham's reading being *Gomangasa*, that now proposed *Gomanasa*. Let us now examine if there is anything in the proposed etymology of *Gomangasa* to make that reading preferable. The derivation of the term is said to be from *gun*, abandoning, and *angga*, body. In the first place, there is the fatal objection that *gūi* cannot by any conceivable means become *gom*, nor is any suggestion offered in explanation of the assumed change. The meaning "abandoning, leaving" is certainly to be found under the substantive *Gūa* in Wilson's Dictionary, but Bohtlingk and Roth remark upon it as an unusual sense (*besondere Bedienst*); and no such meaning is given to the word in the Pali *Amera Kosha* (Clough, pp. 51, 104, 107). But it is with the verb or participle, and not the noun, that we are concerned in this compound word, and no such signification is traceable to the root in any of the authorities consulted. Wilson gives to the root the meanings to "invite, advise"; Westergaard agrees, "*Consilium dare, suadere*"; Clough's List of Pali roots says "to accustom." It is not to be found in *Delius' Radices Præcitiæ*, nor can I find it in *Cowell's Vararuchi*. Taking all these points into consideration, it is not too much to say that Colonel Cunningham's interpretation is inadmissible.

<sup>1</sup> "It is not a little singular that Major Cunningham should have fallen in with so many of these otherwise rare letters *ng*,—they are infrequent enough in the ordinary language, but we have no single example of their use in the entire *Kapur di Giri* inscription, and Prinsep was a long time before he detected the sign at all in the Pali Lat alphabet."—Thomas in Prinsep, vol. i, p. 103, note.

Before offering any suggestion as to the import of this word, it seems desirable to examine the second word which Colonel Cunningham reads *Kanarakasa*. Mr. Thomas, though differing decidedly from this rendering, nevertheless "concurrs in the acceptance of the opening letter as *k*," which is the more surprising from the fact of Colonel Cunningham having felt a difficulty in this reading which he got over only by supposing the letter to be "a cursive form." If in "cursive" writing it be allowable to reverse the form of a letter, to turn it bodily round, then this letter may be a *k*, not otherwise. The outline of the letter most closely resembles the normal form of the letter *v*, the vowel *o* being subjoined in the same manner as to the letter *g* in the preceding word. The next letter is too angular in the head, and differs so distinctly from the *n* in the word above, that it cannot be so read; to me it is preferentially *d*. The next letter is clearly *v*. The following is a very doubtful character; it is probably the letter *t* in combination with some consonant, possibly *r*. The last letter is *s*. The word may then be read *Vodavartasa*,—with doubt and hesitation certainly, but with much greater adherence to the regular forms of the letters than in the reading *Kanarakasa*. This rendering of *Kanarakasa* must have sprung from a preconceived notion as to what the word ought to be, and would probably never have been proposed if a coin of "Kanerki" had not been found with the piece of silver.

*Gomanasa* appears to be the gen. case of the Sanskrit *gomat*, making *Gomān* in the nom., and *Gomatās* in the gen. The word signifies "rich in kine," being in fact a word of similar formation and import to the well-known *Govind* and *Gopāl*. The word *Goma* is given in the Pali Vocabulary with this meaning. There is, however, another derivative word in Sanskrit, exactly similar in character, and having precisely the same primitive meaning, which has the further signification of "an attendant on a Buddha," according to Wilson, and of "a Buddhist lay brother," according to Böhtlingk and Roth. This word is *Gomīn*, or *Gomī*,—may not the word *Gomān*, *Goma*, have been used in a similar sense? We have then a choice of two interpretations,—*Gomanasa* may be taken as a name or title, like *Govind*; or it may mean "of the lay brother." The other word, *Vodavartasa*, if that be the true reading, is connected with the Sans. *udvartta*, "abounding, plentiful," but it is probably used here as a name. Accordingly, we may conjecturally and with hesitation presume the legend to signify—"Of the lay brother *Vodavarta*."

## SEAL RING.

Fig. 6, pl. iv, is a defective inscription on a copper seal procured by Mr. Bayley in the Punjab. "As the letters are reversed, the seal most probably belonged to one of these Indian satraps, who must have used it for stamping and authenticating his public documents. The Ariano Pali legend has not been satisfactorily made out, but it appears to be *Sivasena Chatrapa Atri naram Pathanavare* "(Scaled) by Sivasena, of the race of Atri, Satrap of Pothowar" (Cunningham, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxiii, 698). The learned writer goes on to suggest that "Pathanawaré may probably be considered as the original form of the present Pothowar, which is a part of the Rawal Pindi district." The letters of this short legend are stiff and well defined, the forms approaching the Kapur di giri type, especially in the letter *chh*. Very little change appears necessary in the reading above proposed, but that little involves some alteration in the interpretation. The reading now proposed is *Śivasena Chhatrapa Atridara paṭana are . . .* "Śivasena Chhatrapa, city of Atridara . . ." The letter after the word Atri, which I have rendered *d*, is more like that letter than *n*, but I am not disposed to insist upon my reading if any reason can be shown for preferring *n*,—the letter in question may possibly be a stiffly formed *n*. I cannot find the *m* which Colonel Cunningham gives in his reading *naram*, and the letter which I have read *r* differs somewhat from the true shape as exemplified in the last letter of the inscription. The next difference is a slight one, a substitution of *t* for *th*; but in the last letter but one there is a difference of more importance, as the notion of the modern Pothowar being connected with this inscription, depends in some measure upon the reading of the two final letters. Colonel Cunningham's reading of these letters is *vare*; the *re* is indubitable, but it is equally clear that the other letter is *a*, and not *v*, for the letter is exactly like the *a* in Atri, and quite different from the *v* of Śiva. The final words, then, are *Paṭana are*, the former being the Sans *Paffana* city; and the latter, in all probability, a mere fragment of a word. I have not succeeded in finding any city of *Atridara* in the authorities I have consulted, but the Brahminical tribe of *Atri* was widely spread in the north-west of India from the earliest times, and the name was also borne by a tribe of Rajputs mentioned in the Maha-Bharat.

## THE MANIKYALA STONE INSCRIPTION.—PLATE IX.

The Manikyala inscription discovered by M. Court, and which is the subject of Plate ix, baffled the acumen and ingenuity of Prinsep, and has remained to the present time the opprobrium of scholars and antiquaries. The familiar words *maharaja* and *chhatrapa* were picked out at once, and the word *nihar* in the left hand margin has since been read. Colonel Cunningham, in his paper so frequently referred to, made a considerable advance by reading the names of *Kanishka* and *Gushan*, but his other speculations upon the inscription are more than doubtful. He put them forward, indeed, with considerable hesitation. Taking the end of the fourth line he says the name of the Satrap "is unfortunately doubtful, but I venture to read the name as *Gandaphuka*,<sup>1</sup> which I will retain for the present for want of a better or more probable reading. The inscription appears to me to contain the following important facts:—"In the year 446, in the reign of Kanishka, Maharaja of the Gushang (tribe) the Satrap erected a tope (for what purpose I have not yet been able to decipher)." As a proof of his attachment to the Buddhist faith, the inscription ends with the words *Sachadhama-pidasa*, 'of the crown of the true *dharma*.' That the inscription refers to the building of a tope may very fairly be predicated, but I am obliged to reject unhesitatingly the supposed name, *Gandaphuka*, and the reading of *Sachadhama-pidasa*.

The foregoing is, I believe, a fair summary of the decipherments of this inscription, and I fear that I cannot add very much to them. Some few words, however, seem to be intelligible, and I hope to aid the progress of discovery by making them known, and by pointing out possible variants from the published plate. The original stone had, apparently, a very uneven surface originally, and time has so added to its imperfections that no two copies of the inscription agree in all the details. I possess several independent tracings, three of Mr. Thomas's and two of my own, and I propose to point out the important variations which occur in them.

The first line of the inscription appears to be independent, and to serve as a kind of heading to the rest, being, perhaps, somewhat similar in character to the "Sacred to the Memory" of our grave-stones. The reading seems to be *Bhatarasya Tabuddhisa aga patiasae*,

<sup>1</sup> This is Col. Cunningham's reading of the name on Gen. Ventura's cylinder, and which he supposes to occur again in this inscription. The reading of the name on the cylinder has been already noticed in page 244.



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Fig 2  
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Fig 3  
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“In hope of the future of the brother Tabuddhi.” The meaning of the word *aga* will be discussed in the notes on the Wardak Urn inscription, in which it occurs many times. The word *patiśa* is, probably, the Sanskrit *pratyūśā*, “reliance, hope”—one tracing makes the *pati* into *pali*, but this would make very little, if any, alteration in the meaning.

The body of the inscription opens with the date “*San 18.*” This is succeeded by the character *sp*, which is followed by a letter wholly illegible; the next letter is *pu*, then comes one without a head, but which is, probably, *rv* or *rt*, for the conjunct *r* is distinct; the last of this series is again *sp*. It is difficult to make any guess at the import of these five syllables beginning and ending with *sp*; the word *pūrva*, “old, prior, chief,” is probably included among them, and the last may be *aspa*, a word found on the coins (Sans. *aśva*); the whole is, perhaps, a name or title. The next word is *maharajasa*, “of the great King;” the object of this genitive case is not very manifest, it may, however, refer to the date “In the year 18 of . . . . the great King,” but this is far too doubtful to form the basis of any theory. The following word is unmistakably *Kaeshka*, but it has for its final a letter which all the tracings agree upon, and which cannot, I think, be read otherwise than as *ram*, thus, apparently, forming a word in the genitive plural. The succeeding words are clear *Gushanna vaśa samvardhaka*, “Increaser of the dominion of the Kaeshkaras and Gushans.” The last word may be read without the final *ka*, and may signify simply “increase.” *Vaśa* may be either *vanśa*, “family,” or *vaśa*, “authority, supremacy;” but the latter seems preferable. The next letter is a clear *l* in the plate, but some tracings make it resemble an *e*, and as such it might be the dative or locative of the word *Samvardhaka*. The last letter of the line is *l*. The first letter in the following line is *no* or *nu* in the plate, but one tracing makes it *hi*, and another more like *da*. The following letters are *tena śaga*, but the first of them may be *re*, or even *d*, for its outline is not very distinct: and the last letter has an *o* added to it in some copies. I am quite at a loss to suggest any probable meaning for these six or seven letters, and am afraid that the sense must remain in obscurity. The next words are *vespaśisa chhatrapasa*, the first of which will be found repeated in the last line. The next line, and the line following (five and six) begin with a series of letters which may be considered identical, notwithstanding some little varieties in the outlines. The copies differ most in respect of the second letter of the upper line; some make it, doubtfully, *ri*, but the *i*

should probably be nothing more than the upward bend peculiar to the consonant. Continuing our reading, the fifth line begins with *huta* (or *hoba*) *murtasa*, and continues *tasa apanage vihare*; the last letter *re* is somewhat obscure, but is not doubtful. The rendering *mu* has been already referred to in the notes upon fig. 3 of plate iii, and will again come under notice in the Wardak Inscription. *Vespasisa Chhatrapasa Hutamurtasa* are all genitives, and must be taken together; they, probably, have their complement in some of the words preceding them, while the following word *tasa*, the genitive of the pronoun, would more naturally relate to what follows. The words *Vespasi* and *Hutamurta* are, probably, names or titles, standing, as they do, in agreement with *Chhatrapa*. A further reason for considering them to be names or titles is that *Huta*, apparently, is found in the last line connected with *Vespasi*, thus, "*Huta Vespasi*." In Sanskrit, *huta* signifies "offered sacrificed," and *murta* may represent *mūrti*, "form, body," *mūrtta*, "formed, swooned," or, *mṛita*, "dead." None of these, however, supply any intelligible meaning to the context. I take the words *tasa apanage vihare*, to signify "in his own vihar," for it is not improbable that the word *apanage* is connected with the Hindi *āp*, *apna*, from the Sanskrit *ātman*; or, it may be a proper name "in his *Vihar* of *Apanaga*." The sixth line begins "*Huta (Hoba) murta*" in the nominative, followed by the words *atra*, "here," and *nana*, "many, various." These are succeeded by two words, which I pretty confidently render as *Bhagava Budha*; the letters *bh*, *v*, and *dh*, are clear and are so given in all the copies; a copy of my own makes the second letter distinctly *ga*, and the unknown form given in the plate closely resembles that letter. The most doubtful is the *bu*, which is more like *su* in some of the tracings. Taking all the letters together, however, there can be very little hesitation in recognizing the words *Bhagava Budha*. The succeeding letter is an unknown one, and we have nothing here to suggest its power. The plate gives the true form graven on the stone, and the only point open to doubt, is, whether the bend of the down stroke is sufficiently distinct to form the nasal. The last letter of the line is, apparently, *va*.

The last line is in a very unsatisfactory condition, and will, I fear, remain unintelligible until the preceding context is so clearly understood as to suggest the words to be expected here. Two tracings make the line to begin with *a*, but this is, probably, a mere fracture. Several copies agree in making the first letter *pa*, and the second *la*, but one of my own makes the latter resemble *ka*, as in

the engraving. The following character is pretty clearly *sta*, and that after it *va*. The next letter is very doubtful; besides the form given in the engraving, we have the variants *ve* and *śe* in different copies. The following letters *ri*, *sa*, are sufficiently distinct. The next two are obscure, but the plate gives a fair representation of them, and no variant is suggested. The following letter may possibly be *e*, not *hu*; and the next, which is obscure, must be either *v* or *t*. Then comes the word *vespasi*. The following letter is clear on the stone, and may be a badly-formed *a*; the next seems to be a defective *n*; then comes *khu*, followed by two unknown characters, and the finals are *e* and *na*. The third letter from the end may be *dhi* or *chi*, but is very doubtful.

The short passage in the left margin commences with a series of instrumental cases connected by the copulative *cha*. The first words may be read as *Buritena cha vihara*; then come the letters *kara*, followed by an unknown form. The next letter is possibly a defective *k*, and the last is *na*. From the collocation of the words there can be little hesitation in admitting this last word to be in the instrumental case, and there is very little doubt in my mind as to the meaning of the word, which I suppose to be, "maker, builder." The following word reads *samvena*, but probably is either intended for *sarvena*, or is used in the same sense. The next word is *cha*, and that following is *parivarena*, the *re* being defective at the point where the characteristic twist of the *r* should appear. The following word is *saddhac*, and but for its commencing with the dental *s* I should take it to stand for *śraddhá*, "faith"—*sandhá*, "union, association," seems, however, to be the more suitable equivalent. The following words are clearly *tena kusat-mulena*, for some tracings indicate the presence of the *u* wanting to the *k*, and we have a repetition of the phrase *inena kusat-mulena* on the Wardak urn. I take the word *mula*, if that be the true reading, to be a derivative, signifying "foundation," from the root *mul*, to plant, and in Pali "to found." The passage thus far may, therefore, be somewhat conjecturally rendered as "Buritena, the architect of this vihar, and his whole train of workmen in union by this meritorious foundation," do something which I can only guess at, for the remainder of the passage is very indistinct and unintelligible. The first letter is *tu*, as given in the plate, but the next is so obscure that its true outline cannot be traced—*st*, the next letter, is tolerably clear, but *ht* seems a possible variant and a more likely form. The next letter, which is *di* in the plate is converted distinctly into *cha* in two tracings. The next two characters are *sya*,

*va*, and the next, which is *ka* in the plate, may also be *spa*—that next in order may be *sta* or *hi*—the last is *cha*. There seems then to be fair ground for considering these letters to form two words ending in *sta* or *hi*, and the conjunction *cha* to be placed between them; if the former is the right rendering, they are probably verbs; but if the latter, instrumental plurals. This short inscription terminates with the copulative *cha*, which affords good reason for supposing it to be connected with the two lines on the opposite side, where we find the same prevalence of instrumental cases. The first words of this may be read as *Sandha budhi tena cha*, for the *i* to the second *dh* is clear in two copies. This would appear to be a name. The next letter is very obscure, but probably *va*. The next is still more doubtful; one copy makes it *si*, another *so*, the others incline to the form of *k*, as in the plate: the following letter is also doubtful, but the plate appears to have the best rendering. The last two letters are clearly "*gena*," another instrumental case. It is impossible to make much out of this beyond assuming that the first is a name in the instrumental case, followed by a conjunction; which makes it probable that the last word, in the same case, is a name also. The last line contains the date, and has already been examined. It appears to read *Karttikasa masa divasa 20*—"Twentieth day of Karttika."

The two words written upside down at the top of the inscription may be read *Sachhasana bhavatu*, for there seems to be a stroke under the second letter, making it *chh* in preference to *m*. This may be rendered "May it be manifest"—"May it be clear to all." The Sanskrit *Sikshat*, has the signification of "manifest" being derived from *aksha*, the eye.

Fig. 2 of plate ix is the bi-literal inscription discovered by Mr. E. C. Bayley in the Kangra hills. These counterpart legends are stated to be "cut on two granite boulders, about thirty yards apart." I shall simply quote the rendering of these as given in Thomas's Prinsep (vol. i., p 160). Bactrian, *Krishnayaśasa aramā*; "the garden of Krishnayasa." Indian, *Krashnayaśasya arama madantasya*: "the garden of the happy Krishnayasa."

Fig. 3 of Plate ix.—This is taken from the lid of a brass box, which "seems to have enclosed the usual silver and gold boxes devoted to the enshrinement of relics." It was included among the relics sent home by Mr. Masson, but the place of its discovery is unknown. The inscription seems to have been badly executed at

the first, and the box has been very much rubbed, so that a correct delineation is difficult, if not impossible. I have a copy of my own which differs in some respects from that in the plate. There can be no doubt that we ought to begin with the date "*San 18,*" &c., which has already been examined, and need not be further referred to here. After the date is a small blank, and then the inscription begins with what appears to be a name in the gen. case—*Hasharesya*. Taking the letters in order they read *ga, go* or *gi, lu* or *vi*, the letter we have assumed to be *mu*, and then two doubtful letters, possibly both of them *n*, or one *n* and the other *d*. My copy makes the next word *śarir*, and the last word seems to be *parishkaṣṭi*, or *parishpaṣṭi*, for the character read *shp* differs somewhat from the *shk* of the Manikyala and Wardak inscriptions, and the last compound *ṣṭi* has not been met with before. The word seems to be connected with the root *kāś*, "to shine," or *spaś*, "to touch, take, connect," and to both of which the sense of "making manifest" is applicable.

#### WARDAK INSCRIPTION.—PLATE X.

The inscription upon the Wardak urn is the longest we possess in the Bactrian character, after that of Kapur di giri. It is in a most perfect state of preservation, not a single letter has been obliterated, yet such are the difficulties attending the interpretation of these inscriptions that high authority pronounced this record to be written in no Sanskrit dialect. This opinion has been shown to be erroneous; and some isolated passages have been translated, but no satisfactory interpretation of the whole document has yet been accomplished—and I cannot boast of a complete success. I hope, however, to clear up a few points, and to render some service by stating the objections which appear against some of the readings and interpretations proposed by my fellow-labourer Babu Rajendra Lal. The Bengal Journal, No. IV, of 1861, contains his proposed translation of the document, but the writer disclaims all desire of having it looked upon "as other than tentative," and expresses himself "fully prepared to surrender the version whenever further research will suggest another better fitted to suit the requirements of the monument." Before proceeding to criticise I will perform the more grateful task of applauding the success he has achieved, especially in the reading of the name of the king, and in identifying him with the Hushka of the Raja Tarangini. This alone would have been a valuable gain; but I am disposed to go further, and agree, in a great measure, with

Colonel Cunningham, in believing that however much the details may be improved, a very fair notion of the general scope of the record has been obtained.

Before entering upon a consideration of the document I must express my acquiescence in the opinions of Mr. Thomas and Rajendra Lal as to the want of due care in the delineation of the characters. They have been formed by a firm decided hand; but so little trouble has been taken to mark the true outlines and nicer shades of distinction that it would seem as if the work had been executed from a copy by an engraver who was ignorant of the letters or language: take for an example the letter *bh* as it appears in the frequently recurring word *bhavati*. It is also desirable that some guiding principle should be first laid down for discriminating the letters *r*, *t*, and *v*, which differ in some respects from the normal forms. In the best examples of writing, as we have already seen, the *r* and the *v* are about equal in height, if there is any difference the *v* is longer than the *r*. In this document, however, the *v* appears to be generally short in the stem, but the main point of distinction is observed; the horizontal line of the *v* being straight, that of the *r* curved at the point. The *t* is more true to the real form, being generally short in the perpendicular; and curled at the point of the horizontal. The line at the bottom of the letter *g* would appear to be an optional addition, for it is sometimes given and sometimes omitted in the same word *agabhaga*, and it can hardly have any power in the word *bhagavan*.

The inscription opens with *Sam*, for *Samvatsara*, year; then follow the figures for 20, 20, 10 and 1, the year, therefore, is 51. The words *Māsya*, or *Māssa*, "of the month;" and *Artamisiyasastehi*, "Artemisius," follow, and are succeeded by figures representing 15. The date, then, is "15th Artemisius of the year 51." The value of this date has already been discussed in a previous page, and needs no further notice here.

Rajendra Lal's amended reading of the first line, as given in a note at the end of his article, is—

"*Imena gatrigeno Samugusa putra Vagamiteguso iya khaba thar-masatasa siya Vagamitega Vihar Mritwa-vrinvi Bhugavat Sakyadanna śarir paridhareti or patidhareti.*"

"In this gatrigena (cross way?) the son of Samuguso of (the village) of Vagamitega has placed this pillar (of religion and virtue??), and that monastery of Vagamitega for the relics of the divine Śakya."

The reading of the first two words is clearly *imena gatrigena*,

hi vre s y si na tt a

Handwritten text line 1: 1st line.

Handwritten text line 2

Handwritten text line 3

Handwritten text line 4: 2nd line.

Handwritten text line 5

Handwritten text line 6

Handwritten text line 7: 3rd line.

Handwritten text line 8

Handwritten text line 9

Handwritten text line 10

Handwritten text line 11

Handwritten text line 12: 4th line.

Fig. 2 x x 4 4 7 7 7 7 4 4 3 2 0 2 2 1 3 3 3 1 3

Handwritten text line 13



there is no *o* at the end of the last word, and its insertion in the reading is probably a mere slip of the transcriber or printer. The following letter is, I think, *bh*, for it is identical in shape with the undoubted *bh*, five letters from the end of the third line; if it be a sibilant it must be the cerebral *sh*, but the *bh* is preferable for the reason given. A similar variety in the form of the letter *k* is observable in the fourth letter of line 2. The letters *māgu* succeed, but it is by no means clear that the final is *s*, or rather *sy* or *ss*, the sign of the genitive, as it differs materially from the final *sy* or *ss* of the word *māsyā* in the date, and of the word *Vagamaregasya* a few letters further on. There are no means at present for determining its true value, but the upper part of the character appears to be *l* and the lower part a conjunct *y*; the preceding letters being Bhamagu, we may arbitrarily read the whole as a name Bhamagulya. The next word is *putra*, and I think there can be no doubt of the following one being *Vagamaregasya*, not *Vagamitegaso*, for there is no *i* perceptible, and the middle consonant has the true normal form of the *r*. The next word is *iya*, and then follows a series of 9 letters, which are perhaps the most difficult in the inscription, and out of which nothing satisfactory can be extracted. Mr. Thomas's tentative transcription and Rajendra's first and second versions are as follows:—

Thomas.—*Khaanagrashana—siga.*

Rajendra.—1. *Khasavamri sekhalā—siga.*

„ 2. *Khaba dharmasatasa—siga.*

The first letter may be admitted to be *kh*. The next is doubtful; it may be a *b*, for it is like the initial of the word which appears to be *Budha*, in line 6 of the Manikyala inscription, or it may be a badly formed *a*; the succeeding letter I have no hesitation in reading as *d*, and that following as *mi* or *mmi*, making altogether *khabadami* or *khaadammi*, which I take to be a word in the locative case, the horizontal stroke at the bottom of the *mi* possibly having the power of doubling the consonant, and making *mmi* the common Prakrit form of the locative. The *mi* in *Artemisijas* and *mitra* has no such mark appended; some value must, therefore, be assigned to it, and that which I have suggested is the most obvious. The next letter is a very bad one; it may be *k*, *bh* or *sh*; let us take it as *ka*. The following letter is *da*, the next a badly formed *l*, like the *l* in the undoubted word *kusal* at the beginning of line 2; the last two letters are *siga*, upon which all are agreed. The reading then is *khabadammi kadala siga*; the first word may be the Sanskrit *stambha*, and the last

may be the representative of *śringa* as suggested, but I am at a loss to propose any meaning for the whole. I would gladly adopt Rajendra's last version, could I find the least warrant for it, as it affords an intelligible meaning; but a strict adherence to the text forbids the reading, and compels me likewise to reject a fancy I have sometimes indulged of the latter *mmi* being an imperfectly formed *g*, which supposition would give us the word *dagabha*. We now come to a more intelligible passage, *Vaga-mariga viharanmi*, "in the vihara of Vaga-mariga." The next letter is *tu*; but the following one is doubtful, probably *sti*; the next is *mmi*, making altogether *tustimmi*, apparently a locative. The nearest Sanskrit equivalent is *stuti* "praise;" but the Pali form of that word is *tuti*, and *tusti* is hardly admissible for the Prakrit. The next word is *Bhagavan*, not *Bhagavat*, but the following name is doubtful; it begins with *śa*, and, although the next compound is more like *shy* than *ky*, the latter is preferable; the *k* is supported by the word *kusal* in the next line, and a warrant for the conjunct *y* may be found in *Masya* and *Vaga-maregasya*. We thus get *Śakya*. The power of the next letter has hitherto been unknown. It resembles, however, the indubitable *mu* of the Taxila Plate, and as that sound is required here, we may assume it to have that power until a better offers. It is followed by an *n* apparently doubled; but there can be no doubt of the word being in the gen. and so we will read *Śakyamunna*, "of Śākya-muni." The last two words are distinctly *śarir paridhareti* or *paridhaređi*, the latter being the true Prakrit form. The following is a consecutive reading, the doubtful letters being in Roman:—

*Imena gatrigena Bhamagulya putra Vaga-maregasya iya Khabadammi Kadala śiga Vaga-mariga viharanmi tustimmi Bhagavan Śakyamunna śarir paridhaređi.*

I can find no authority supplying a meaning to the word *gatriga*. Rajendra Lal says, it may "possibly" have the sense of "crossway;" but this compels him to read "imena gatrigena" as a locative, though the phrase is unequivocally in the instrumental. May not the word apply to the urn in which the relic would seem to have been deposited, and be read, "With this urn." The following words apparently mean, "Vaga-marega, the son of Bhamagulya," and the donor in a subsequent passage distinctly calls himself "Hāshtuna marega," leaving little room for doubt as to "Marega" being the name of his family or sect. *Vaga* is possibly the Sans. *varga*, "class." The following doubtful words are not suggestive of any intelligible rendering but *Vaga-mariga viharanmi* may be translated "in the Vihara of Vaga-mariga." The following

obscure word, *tustinmi* may possibly signify "in praise." *Bhagavan Śākyamunna śarīr*, means "the relic of the Holy Śākyā," and the last word *paridharetī* or *paridharedī* is the Prakrit Causal form, from the root *dhri*, to hold, to keep—and may be rendered as "places, deposits." The obscurities in this passage are so great as to deter me from venturing upon any attempt at a literal translation, but the general meaning is, I think, sufficiently clear; viz.: "With this (votive urn?) of Vaga-marega, the son of Bhamagulya there is deposited a relic of the Holy Śākyā in the Vihar of Vaga-mariga."

Rajendra's reading of the next passage is *Imena Kusalākhillena Mahārāja rājātirāja Huvishkasya agabhagae bhavatu*, which he translates, "May the fruit of this depository of innumerable blessings (relic-deposit) be conducive to the good fortune of Huvishka, the great king and king of kings."

There is little objection to this reading beyond that which Mr. Bayley made to the reading of the 7th letter as *khi*—it is certainly not the same as the *kh* in the preceding line. We have in the name of Śākyamunna assumed its power to be *mu*, and for consistency will so read it here. The reading will then be—*Imena kusal mulena maha-rajā rajatirajā Huvishkasya agabhagae bhavatu*. The second and third words occur in the Manikyala stone, on the left-hand side, where the initial is clearly *k*; this removes all doubt which might arise from the malformation of the letter on the urn. The reading of the second word is *mula*, the first letter appearing to be *mu* for the reasons above stated. This word I have supposed to mean "foundation" in the Manikyala inscription. The gist of this and of many other passages depends entirely upon the words *agabhagae*. This phrase occurs several times in this form, that is, in the locative case, which is employed in Pali for the dative, and may also stand for the inst. and genitive. At the end of the 3rd line, however, *aga-bhaga* the nominative is found; and in two instances we have a variety of the phrase in *agabhaga patisaṇam* (or *patiyaṇam*) *bhavatu*. Rajendra Lal has discussed the signification of the term at some length. In the first place he rejects Mr. Bayley's idea of its meaning "an expiation for sin," on the ground that the Sanskrit *agha*, "sin," would in all likelihood have been written with the Bactrian *gh*, and not *g*. In Pali, however, there is a word *aga* or *agu*, meaning "sin" (Clough's Pali Vocab., p. 10), which would seem to be connected with a root *ang*; as in the Dhammapada, we meet the word *anangana*, "sinless." (Faussböll Dhammapada, pp. 23, 295; Weber in Zeitschrift Deutsch. Morg. Gesell., vol. xiv, p. 49). In Sanskrit also we have *Āgas*, "sin."

It is clear then that we may adopt the signification "sin," if desirable; and if taken in that sense the second word *bhaga* must stand for the Sanskrit *bhanga*, "breaking," "defeat." Another reading which suggests itself is the Sanskrit *anga-bhāga*, "a portion of the body;" and a third is that which Rajendra adopts *agra-bhāga*, "first or chief share," but which he understands to signify "good fortune" in the record before us. Let us now see if the word *patiśāsanam* will help us. Rajendra reads this word "*parisāsanā*," and takes it to be the Sanskrit "*pratiśāsanā*," which he renders "control." The true reading of the word in the inscription is *pati* (or *paṭi*), not *pavi*, being in this respect nearer to the equivalent proposed; but *śāsana* is hardly admissible, because the second sibilant of the Sanskrit word is dental, while that in the inscription is palatal, and the sibilants are so clearly and regularly distinguished in Bactrian that very strong evidence is required to establish a case of confusion. The word may be either *patiśāsanam*, or *patiyayanam*, for it is difficult to distinguish *ś* from *y*, and the changes may be rung upon these two letters—the curve of the right limb of the first of them may also be intended for the anuswāra. I cannot think of any satisfactory Sanskrit equivalent, for the only words which suggest themselves are *pratiśraya*, "a house, refuge," and a derivative from either *śāśwat*, "continually, perpetually," or *yaśas*, "fame." The word *aga* makes its appearance in a different combination in the Manikyala inscription, the first line of which reads, "*bhatarasya Tabuddhisa aga patiśāśae* (or *patiśāśae*); the last word is the Sanskrit *pratyāśā* "trust, confidence," and hence this line appears to signify "In hope of the 'Aga' of the brother Tabuddhi." If this be anything like the true sense all idea of *aga* signifying "sin" must be set aside. It is also very difficult to see how the word *anga*, "body," can have any application, and we are consequently driven back upon the word *agra*, "chief, supreme," which would make the above line read, "In supreme hope of the brother Tabuddhi"—a vague and unconvincing result. *Agra*, however, as a substantive, has the meaning of "top, summit," and hence may signify "exaltation," "preferment." The same word under the form *āgā* is used in Hindi, with the sense of "the front," "that which is before," "the Future;" and I am strongly inclined to believe that the latter is the true meaning of the word in the inscription. At any rate it seems the most suitable of all the possible equivalents that we have examined, and it may accordingly be adopted. I shall gladly surrender it if a more appropriate or authoritative rendering is offered. Taking the word then to mean "the Future," *bhāga* must signify "lot," and

*patiśāsanam*, we may assume to mean "perpetual," the whole meaning "a lasting portion in the world to come." Turning now to the passage, a further difficulty meets us in the construction of the sentence; it begins with an instrumental, which is followed by a genitive, and ends with a locative and the verb. There seems to be no help for this, but to take one as a nominative, when we shall find the sense to be, "May this meritorious foundation tend to (procure) a lasting future lot for Huvishka, the great king, king of kings." The difference after all, between this and Rajendra's version, is but little; an exhaustive examination of all conceivable renderings of the phrase *agabhagae* seemed, however, to be desirable, and has not been, I hope, altogether unprofitable.

The next two sentences are about the clearest in the whole inscription; Rajendra reads them—

*Mātāpitā nāme pushae bhavatu. Bhrāta nāme hasphanimategasya pushae bhavatu.* "May it be to prosperity of the name (my) mother and father—may it be to the prosperity of my brother Hasphanimatega."

I can find no warrant for the reading "*nāme*," which appears to have troubled Rajendra in his translation; and the *me* is manifestly the possessive pronoun. I think the compound letter in the name is clearly "*sh*."—The word which he reads "*pusae*," and for which he constructs the meaning "nourishment, prosperity," from the root *push* to cherish, is without doubt the *puṣae* (Sans. *puṣā*) of the Taxila Inscription. In the Bimaran Vase we have seen the same word written with a character intermediate between the *y* and *ś*, and in this inscription the two characters appear to be confounded. The ordinary form of the *y* never occurs in this Wardak inscription, but it cannot be conceived that the letter is altogether absent. The reading of these sentences is—

*Māda pidar me puṣae bhavatu. Bhradar me Hashtunamaregasya puṣae bhavatu.* "May it be to the honour of my father and mother—may it be to the honour of the brothers of me, Hashtunamarega." The final *r* of *pidar* and *bhradar* seems to represent the genitive plural.

Rajendra's reading of the next clause is—*Suchyami bhushana tigamitrasya bhratigana pushae bhavatu.* "May it be to the prosperity of the brothers of Tigamitra, the ornament of Suchyami." "The doubtful word," he says, "being the first, *Suchyami*." To me this word or words seems not at all doubtful, but my reading is different. The first letter is *śo* not *su*, the next a simple *ch* not *chy*, and Rajendra so reads the same character three times in the last line, and the third is *me* and not *mi*—the whole making *śocha me*,

“my purity,” *śocha* being the Sanskrit *śaucha*. Rajendra’s *bhushana* is inadmissible, the sibilant, if it be one, is palatal, not cerebral, and ought not to be confounded with it. The letter seems to be preferably *y*, making *bhuya*, which I suppose to represent the Sanskrit *bhūyāt*, the optative of *bhū*, giving the sense “May it be to my purity.” The remainder of the sentence reads *natiḡa mītrasa bhātīgana puyae bhavatu*. The first word I suppose to be the Sanskrit *naptri* “a grandson,” or preferably *juāta*, “a relative,” which becomes *nātā* in Hindi, and supplies a meaning consistent with the context. *Bhātīgana*, a genitive plural, which Rajendra read as *bhrātīgana* “brothers,” is more probably the Sans. *bhartti*, “protector;” for a clause has been specially devoted to the brother, and the orthography of the word differs. The reading of this clause is *Śocha me bhuya. Natigamītrasa bhātīgana puyae bhavatu*. “May it be to my purity—may it tend to the honour of relative and friend (and) of (my) protectors.”

Rajendra’s reading of the next clause is *Mahīśachya Ugamategasya aga-bhaga pariśāsana bhavatu*, “May it ensure to the highly pure (or the great minister) Ugamatega control over good fortune.” The first word is either *Mahīśācha* or *Mahiyācha*, for it is impossible to distinguish with certainty whether the character is intended for *ś* or *y*; the word occurs again lower down, and there the form of the letter gives some ground for reading it as *y*. Rajendra supposes the word equivalent to *Mahā suchī* “highly pure,” or *mahā sachiba*, “great minister;” but neither of these is satisfactory in sense, and the orthography is objectionable. The whole sentence reads, *Mahīśācha Vaga-maregāḡam aga-bhaga patīśāsana bhavatu*. The first word appears to be a term qualifying the second, which, as we have seen above, is the name of the donor’s family or class, and one would expect it to have some religious or sectarian meaning. There was a sect of the school of Rāhula designated “mahīśāka” (Bournouf, Int. p. 446) and this term is so like the one in our text, that we may presume them to have some connection. This clause then will read as follows, “May this work tend to the lasting (happy) future lot of the *Mahīśācha Vaga-maregas*.”

Rajendra’s reading of the first clause in the third line is *Sarvasatwena ārya gatichīnāe bhavatu*, “May it prove conducive to the moral improvement of mankind.” I read “*Sarva sattana aroḡa dachhīnāe bhavatu*.” The letter *tt* (or *tw*) is a new form, but the body of it is clearly *t*. The formation of the *chhi* is curious, the stem extending above the semicircular top, and so far resembling *mi*. As, however, the vowel is appended in addition there can be no hesitation in reading it as *chhi*. The vowel mark *i* is more

distinct on the urn itself, passing, as it ought, right through the letter. *Sattana* is a genitive plural from the Sans. *Sat*, and signifies in Pali, "wise," learned (Clough 28) *dachhina* is the Sans. *dakshina*. The whole may be confidently rendered, "May this tend to the health and reward of all the learned."

Rajendra says the next clause, "has a long string of names of objects, most of which are unintelligible," and he offers no explanation of any part of it. I am reluctantly compelled to come to much the same conclusion; but some of the words are intelligible, and afford a clue to the drift of the passage. The first three words seem to be *avišana* Sans. *avešana*, "passion, demoniac possession;" *riya*, "desire, lust;" and *parsa*, Sans. *sparśa*, "touch" "contact." The succeeding letters are *tasāvabhavagaśo*. I cannot suggest any meaning for *taśa*, as the palatal *s* precludes us from assuming the word to be either *trishñá*, "thirst," or *trása*, "fear." The *tu* may possibly belong to the preceding word making *śparata* instead of *parśa*, and then the next word would be *śava*, Sans. *śiva*, a corpse. The succeeding word is in all probability *bhāva*, state, condition of mind; but *gaśo*, the following one, is unintelligible. After this come the words *atra antara*, "hereupon." Some letters follow which are difficult to read with precision, and I am unable to discover any meaning until we get towards the end. The last words appear to read *arupanta sarvina puñae bhavatu*, "may it be to the honour of all incorporeal beings (emancipated spirits?)." So far then as this clause of the inscription is readable, it appears to begin with an aspiration for the removal of passion, lust, and ceremonial impurity, and to conclude with a desire that the work (of building the vihar) may be to the honour of all emancipated souls.

Rajendra's reading of the next clause is *Mahiśachayārhana satwasangena avashati ganasya parivara cha aga-bhaya pariśāsana bhavatu*, "May it ensure control over good fortune to those who observe the autumnal fast *abasatha*, as also to their domestics and such pious congregations as are capable of noble conduct." My fellow-labourer must forgive me for saying that here he seems to have given the reins too freely to his imagination. I cannot acquiesce in the reading *satwasangena*, nor in the greater part of the translation. The first word is the same as that we have above read as *mahiśacha*; the next is a name *Rohanasa*; the next is *dasa*, probably *dāsa*, "a slave," "servant." It is difficult to say what the next compound character is intended for, as we have no exact parallel to it. The body of it is *v*, so that it may be intended for *rv*, and be only a faulty execution or a variety of the character

which occurs at the beginning of this line in the plate. If so the word is probably *sarvina*, which compels us to suppose the letter *s* to have been omitted, and the phrase to read *dasa sarvina* instead of *dasarvina*. In offering this suggestion I may be making up for my own deficiencies, but I see no other way of getting through the difficulty. The following word is *avashatri* or *avashatri*, which Rajendra takes to mean the *avasatha* religious observance. I find no authority for considering the *avasatha* to be a Buddhist institution, but even if it be, the orthography differs too materially from that of the word *avashatri* to be taken as its original. The nearest equivalent appears to be *aveshtri*—"inquirer," "searcher." The next word is *ganasa*, "of the band or class;" those succeeding are *parivara cha*, "and the train," which is followed by *aga-bhaga parisáśanam bhavatu*. The whole of it appears to signify, "May there be a perpetual happy future lot for all the servants of the Mahiśacha Rohana, and for his train of attendant students."

The last clause Rajendra reads *Mistugrasya cha agabhaga bhavatu*, "May it ensure good fortune to Mistugra." The only objection to this reading is to the rendering of the second character. The first part of this character is clearly the cerebral *t*, and when we consider the few consonants that can be added to this letter, we shall have little hesitation in reading the compound as *tt*. The whole will then read *Miṭṭhagassa cha aga-bhaga bhavatu*, "May there be a (happy) future lot for *Miṭṭhaga*."

The last line written in larger characters is thus rendered by Rajendra *Esha vihāru asansthāna mahāsangigana patigaha*. "This vihāra is the asylum of the houseless of the great congregation." The first two words are clearly *esha viharam*, the termination of the last word, however, seems to be erroneous, the accusative being employed as a nominative. The following word, which Rajendra reads *asansthānana*, presents some difficulties. The first two characters are pretty certainly *asan*, but the following is the palatal *rś*, and certainly cannot be taken as *sth*. But giving the compound its proper equivalents *rś* we get the impossible combination *asaurś*. To escape from this difficulty we can only suppose the compound to be *śr* instead of *rś*, which will give the word *asanśrana*, a word which has much the same meaning as Rajendra's *asansthānana*; but may possibly have also some peculiar sectarian signification, being connected as it is with the *Mahāsanghis*, the great sectarians. *Parigraha* signifies "accepted;" it has also the meaning "belonging to" (Clough, 115). The passage may, therefore, be translated



“This *Vihara* belongs to the *asanśras* (or, ‘to the houseless’) of the great congregation.”

PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

Year 51—Artemisius 15.—With this (votive urn?) of Vaga-marega, the son of Bhamagulya, there is deposited a relic of the Holy Śākya in the vihar of Vaga-mariga. May this meritorious foundation tend to (procure) a lasting future lot for Havesika, the great king, king of kings: may it be to the honour of my father and mother: may it be to the honour of the brothers of me, Hashṭuna-marega: may it be to my purity: may it tend to the honour of relative and friend, and of (my) protectors: may this work tend to the lasting future lot of the Mahiśacha Vaga-maregas: may this tend to the health and reward of all the learned. (The next clause is not fully intelligible, but appears to begin with an aspiration for the removal of passion, lust, and ceremonial impurity, and to conclude with a desire that the work of building the vihar may be to the honour of all emancipated souls.) May there be a perpetual (happy) future lot for all the servants of the Mahiśacha Rohana and for his train of attendant students: may there be a happy future lot for Miṭṭhaga.

This Vihar belongs to the *Asanśras* (or “to the houseless”) of the great congregation.

Before dismissing this inscription I may remark that there appears to have been an attempt at writing a portion of it in verse. The fourth line apparently concludes with a couplet of twelve syllables, and is preceded by a couplet of eleven.

Fig. 2 of plate x has been already examined in page 233, and the greater part of Fig. 3, comprising the date, has also been referred to. The words following the date are *Maharajasa Gushanasa raja*. “Of the great king Gushan.” The substitution of *y* for *j* is a common one, as we have already seen in several instances. Here the word *Gushan* is apparently used as the name of a king not of a people.

These two last inscriptions were discovered and published by Colonel Cunningham, *Beng. J.*, xxiii, 705. The first of them contains a few letters more than are given in the Plate; the second two lines more; but the dates, being the most important parts, were alone included in our plates. Nothing is known of these inscriptions beyond the fact of their having been found, the one at Ohind and the other near Panjtar, in the Yusafzai country. It is to be

regretted that so little is known about them. A description of the positions in which they were found, and some account of the perfection or imperfection of the stones and the inscriptions would be of service in any attempted translation.

#### NOTES ON THE ALPHABET.

The characters of the Taxila Plate are so clear and so well defined that a few notes upon them and upon the characters in fig. 8 of plate iv. will be useful for reference.

The letters *t*, *r*, and *v*, which have hitherto been frequently confounded, here appear in their true normal forms. The *t* is short in the stem, and curled at the point of the horizontal line. The *r* and *v* are longer in the stem than the *t*; the horizontal line of the *r* is curled like the *t*, but that of the *v* is perfectly straight. These are the true points of distinction, and ought never to be disregarded without strong reason. That variations do occur is certain, as we have seen in the Wardak inscription (page 256); but all the best specimens of writing mark the points of distinction above defined.

I have incidentally stated some of the reasons for the emendations in respect of the letters *ch* and *chh*; but the following general summary may be acceptable. The first form of the *ch*, of which two slightly varying specimens are given, has long been conclusively settled by the Kapur di Giri inscription and the coin legends. The second form, of which also there are two slightly different types, is well exemplified and decided by the Taxila Plate. The third form is used in the word *Chaitra* in fig. 2, plate x, and is employed for the copulative *chai* in the Manikyala Inscription. The fourth form is so used in the Wardak Inscription as to leave no doubt of its power. The earliest form of the *chh* is that of the Kapur di Giri edicts. The second form, found on Mr. Bayley's seal, departs slightly from this type by omitting the transverse line. The transition from this form to the third, by converting the angular to a semi-circular top, is easy and manifest. This letter has usually been read as *ch*, but is very clearly *chh* for reasons I have stated above (page 228), chief of which are its similarity to the earlier forms of the *chh*, and its being the constant representative of the Sanskrit *ksh*. The fourth form is found in the Wardak Inscription in line 8 of plate x, in the word *dachhina* for *dukshina* (see page 262).

The two forms of the letter *y* are found in the word *puyae* in the Bimaran and Wardak Vase Inscriptions. This word is written with

the ordinary form of the *y* in the Taxila Inscription in precisely the same phrases, and there cannot be the slightest doubt of its being the same. The first form differs sufficiently from the *ś* to mark a difference in pronunciation, and the second is probably only a careless manner of writing.

The additional form of the *Kh* is found in the Wardak Inscription, line 2, and in the word *Khushan* of the coin legends (plate iv, fig. 7 b).

The reasons for reading the character *phi* are given in page 239, where it is shown to occur in the word *phira* for the Sanskrit *sthira*.

There can be no doubt as to the character *mu*, which is found so distinctly in the word *Śākyamuni* in the Taxila plate. The second form, however, is not quite so certain, but still there is little room for doubt. It resembles the certain form of the *mu* more than any other letter; it occurs in what seems to be a faulty spelling of the same name *Śākyamuni* in the Wardak Inscription; and wherever it occurs the sound *mu* appears to be suitable (see pp. 242, 253, 259).

The variety of the letter *s*, which has been read *si*, occurs twice on the Taxila plate in the word *Chhatrapasi*, and it is difficult to see what else than the vowel *i* can be expressed by the curl of the point. The same twist appears to be added to the letter *t* at the end of line 2; but this is not quite certain as the plate is much decayed in this spot.

*khs*—See line 2 of Taxila Plate.

*tt*—See lines 1 and 3 of the Taxila Plate where it is the representative of the Sanskrit *shṭ* and *shṭh*. It also occurs in a short inscription published in the Beng. J. for 1862, page 178, where it greatly troubled Rajendra Lal, who finally read it as *jṇa*, and the word in which it is found as *prājṇa*. The word, however, is clearly *preṭṭa*, Sans. *preṣṭa*, "dear."

*phs*—See coin legend. Plate iv, fig. 7 b.

*bhr*—The first form of this compound is found on the coins, and was so read by Colonel Cunningham (Ben. J. xxiii, p. 695). The second form is found in the word *bhrata* in the Taxila, Peshawar and Wardak Inscriptions.

*rt*, *rt*, *rdh*. &c. &c. —The conjunct form of the *r* preceding a consonant is found in two shapes. That of the *rv* and *rdh* of the Taxila and Bimaran Inscriptions (plate iii), and that of the *rv* in the word *Sarva* in the coin legend (plate iv, fig. 7 c). This latter form is found combined with other consonants in the Manikyala and Wardak Inscriptions, and its power may be now considered settled.

The two forms of the *rm* differ from the ordinary way of pre-

fixing the *r*, Colonel Cunningham was the first to read this compound. The character *rmi*, which occurs in the Manikyala Inscription is doubtful.

*św*—This compound is found in the word *Isvara* (plate iv, fig. 7 c); and I may here repeat what I have before stated in page 240, that conjunct consonants appear to be always joined to the right-hand limb of this letter and the letter *y*, while vowels are added to the left.

*śhk*—The first form of this compound occurs in the name Kaneshka, line 3 of the Manikyala Inscription. The second form in the name Huvishka, Wardak Vase, line 4.

*śht*—See Wardak Vase, line 5.

*st, str*—The first form of the *st* was made known by Mr. Norris in his article on the Kapur di Giri Inscription. The second will be found in Mr. Thomas's Alphabet (Prinsep's Essays ii, p. 166). The form *str* occurs in the word read "*Strategasa*" by Colonel Cunningham.

*sy*—The two forms of this compound are found in lines 1, 2, and 6 of the Wardak Inscription. And it may be here stated that the first appears to be the common way of adding a conjunct *y*. See the words read as *Gulya* and *Śakya* in lines 2 and 3 of the same inscription.

*pr, tr, śc*.—The adjunct form of the *r* has long been well-known.

*pan, ram, śc*.—The form of the anuswara has also been long recognised, but a few examples are given from the Taxila Plate. The *mam* and *han* are worthy of attention.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my thanks to Mr. Thomas for many valuable hints and for references to books of authority not within my reach. The characteristic care and accuracy with which he has prepared the Taxila plate will be appreciated as much by my readers as by myself.

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