
Part I: **South Asia**

North India

Stefan Baums

The Earliest Colophons in the Buddhist Northwest

Abstract: The oldest known colophons in South Asia are preserved in the rock edicts of Aśoka in the northwestern script Kharoṣṭhī. The production of epigraphic colophons continues in the northwest throughout the period of use of the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language, and from the first century CE onwards also becomes visible in the manuscript record of this region. The present article discusses in detail the reading and interpretation of the three preserved Gāndhārī manuscript colophons. It proposes a new reading for the Khotan Dharmapada colophon revealing the true name of its scribe, and suggests a new physical understanding of the Gāndhārī Prajñāpāramitā scroll bringing the placement of its colophon in line with that of the Dharmapada colophon at the top of the recto of both scrolls. The article concludes by showing how the early Gāndhārī practice of colophons is continued in the administrative documents of the Krorayina kingdom as well as in the Buddhist manuscripts from Gilgit, and it places it in a wider historical arc from the Aramaic colophons of the fifth century BCE to the Bactrian colophons of the sixth century CE.

1 Introduction

Five years ago, Oskar von Hinüber published an overview of early colophons in Sanskrit manuscripts, from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent in particular.¹ He traced the prehistory of these colophons back to the Buddhist canonical literature transmitted in Pali and early Brāhmī epigraphical sources. The purpose of the present article is complementary to von Hinüber's, in as much as it focuses on the very earliest written documents of the northwest, manuscripts and inscriptions, in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. After describing the colophons and related phenomena observable in this corpus, it will sketch the development of this genre in the transition from Gāndhārī to Sanskrit and point out some historical continuities.

¹ Von Hinüber 2017, 45–72.

Colophons are usually defined – and here understood – as scribal notes attached to a manuscript copy of a text (*pustakapraśasti* in the terms of Jinavijayamuni),² as opposed to explicit: information about a text that forms a more integral part of the text itself (Jinavijayamuni's *granthapraśasti* – in Sanskrit often signalled by the word *samāpta*-), such as information about the author or a chapter listing. Colophons are thus more loosely attached to a text than explicit (though it is still possible, in certain cases, for a colophon to be copied from one manuscript exemplar to another). At the same time 'true colophons belong to the written tradition',³ in contrast to such paratextual features as *uddānas* (summary keyword sections), which therefore also remain outside the scope of the present article.

In view of the Aramaic antecedents of other aspects of Gandhāran scribal culture,⁴ it is reasonable to assume that the practice of colophons was also inspired by this model. The Aramaic documents that we have are of an administrative nature (which was most probably also the case regarding the earliest Gāndhārī documents),⁵ and in their colophons typically give information about the scribe that prepared the document, the person for whose benefit it was prepared, and possible witnesses to any legal act that the document records or constitutes. An example is provided by Porten,⁶ where the colophon proper occurs at the bottom of the recto of a marriage contract (ll. 14–15):⁷

Nathan son of Ananiah wrote this document. And the witnesses herein: witness Nathan son of Gaddul; Menahem son of Zaccur; Gemariah son of Maḥseiah.

In the Aramaic documents, this is echoed by a shorter so-called endorsement at the bottom of the verso (which would have been visible on the outside of the document when folded up; l. 17):

Document of marriage which Anani wrote for Ta]mut

² Von Hinüber 2017, 47.

³ Von Hinüber 2017, 49.

⁴ Baums 2014.

⁵ Baums 2014, 218–219.

⁶ Porten 1979, 83.

⁷ For further examples of Aramaic colophons from Bactria, see Naveh and Shaked 2012, Folmer 2017.

2 Inscriptions

In the Indian cultural sphere, too, the earliest colophons are scribal signatures, which we find added to the Aśokan inscriptions at Brahmagiri, Jatinga-Ramesvara and Siddapura:⁸

capaḍena likhite li[pi]kareṇa (Brahmagiri, CKI 29)
 + + ḍena [likhita]ṃ + [pika]reṇa (Jatinga-Ramesvara, CKI 30)
 capa + + + + + ṇa (Siddapura, CKI 31)

Written by Capaḍa the scribe.

It is remarkable that in all three of these inscriptions, the name of the scribe (not necessarily the same person as the engraver) and the verb of action are written in Brāhmī script like the bodies of these inscriptions, but the term *lipikareṇa* ‘scribe’ in Kharoṣṭhī script. This would seem to indicate that the profession of scribe (which moreover is expressed using the Iranian loanword *lipi* ‘script’) was at this time in the mid-third century BCE still firmly associated with the northwest. It may also indicate that the particular scribe Capaḍa hailed from those parts, and was evidently proficient therefore both in the Kharoṣṭhī script of his homeland and the Brāhmī script used by Aśoka in India. By employing Brāhmī for his name (as opposed to his professional designation), he ensures communication of it to the intended local audience. All in all, the scribe reveals a certain professional pride.⁹

This pride is subverted, and the form of the colophon usurped, by the voice of Aśoka himself at the end of the fourteenth Rock Edict (= the end of the set of Rock Edicts) which reads (using the Shahbazgarhi version, CKI 14):¹⁰

so siya va atra ki ce asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay[a] karaṇa va aloceṭi dipikarasa
 va aparadhena

But it may be that something here is written incompletely, either on account of the place [Bloch: omitting a part], or not liking the motive, or through a fault of the scribe.

In the post-Aśokan period, we have four epigraphic examples of colophons from first- and second-century-CE Gandhāra in Gāndhārī language. Gāndhārī was the literary language (or rather range of increasingly Sanskritized dialects) of the

⁸ Hultzsch 1925, 175–180. – Here and in the following, + indicates a lost akṣara, ? an illegible akṣara, (*) reconstructed text, and [] unclear text.

⁹ Cf. Settar 2004 for a detailed consideration of Capaḍa as the earliest artisan from ancient India that we know by name.

¹⁰ Hultzsch 1925, 70–71; Bloch 1950, 134.

region around Peshawar in Pakistan (Gandhāra proper) and a larger area including northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan (often called Greater Gandhāra) from at least the first century BCE onwards (maybe from as early as the third century BCE), as well as, by cultural export, enclaves on the Silk Roads from the third century CE.¹¹

These four epigraphic colophons belong to a more narrowly Buddhist context than the Aśokan inscriptions, that of relic-donation records. The most elaborate of these is the colophon at the end of the inscription on a gold leaf interred in a stūpa by the Oḍi king Senavarma (CKI 249; Fig. 1):¹²



Fig. 1: The relic inscription of Senavarma, king of the Oḍi (CKI 249; Baums 2012, 228). Object lost.

likhita ya śariraprañihavaṇia Saṃghamitreṇa Laliaputreṇa anakaeṇa karavita ya Ṣaḍieṇa Sacakaputreṇa meriakheṇa ukede ya Baṭasareṇa Preaputreṇa tirat(*e)ṇa vaṣaye catudaśaye 10 4 iṣparaśa Seṇavarmasa varṣasahasā parayamaṇasa Śrāvaṇata masasa divase aṭhame 4 4 io ca suṇe solite Valieṇa Makaḍakaputreṇa ga[m]hapatiṇa

The (inscription) about the establishment of the relic was written by Saṃghamitra, son of Lalia, the *anankaios*, and (it) was manufactured by Ṣaḍia, son of Sacaka, the meridarch, and (it) *ukede* by Baṭasara, son of Preaputra, the *tirata*. In the fourteenth – 14th – year of the lord Seṇavarma, lasting a thousand years, on the eighth – 8th – day of the month Śrāvaṇa. And this gold was weighed by Valia, son of Makaḍaka, the treasurer.¹³

This colophon enumerates all the different roles involved in the production of the inscribed gold leaf, starting as usual with the scribe (Saṃghamitra), then apparently naming the producer of the golden support (Ṣaḍia), followed pre-

¹¹ Fussman 1989, Salomon 2001, Baums and Glass 2002–.

¹² Baums 2012, 227–233; also discussed in von Hinüber 2017, 49–50.

¹³ This translation (rather than the conventional ‘householder’) for *gṛhapati* follows the arguments in von Hinüber 2017, 49 and 60.

sumably by the engraver (Baṭasara).¹⁴ The date (on a ritually significant day, hence presumably that of the relic installation rather than that of the production of the object) is set off by a space, in turn followed (without space) by the specification of one further role to have been expected before the date, which therefore may well have been added to the text as an afterthought: the gold leaf was, probably, weighed (*solite* for *tolite*?) by the treasurer Valia. Of particular interest is Saṃghamitra, who bears a monastic name, but simultaneously holds the Hellenistic title ‘anankaïos’, corresponding roughly to the Indian *amātya* ‘minister, privy counsellor’. Clearly, Saṃghamitra was a person of some standing in the royal administration (unless we are to assume that he merely coordinated the production of the relic inscription on behalf of the king) as well as being a monastic. This dual role is also common among the scribes at Niya (see below).

The second, shorter epigraphic colophon forms part of a roughly contemporary relic inscription of similarly elaborate and literary type, namely that of Helagupta:¹⁵

io ca citravide budhamitraputreṇa vasueṇa sarvabudhaṇa puyae sarvasatvaṇa hidasuhadae

And this has been fashioned by Vasua, son of Buddhmitra, in honor of all buddhas, for the state of well-being and pleasure of all beings.

It occurs without physical separation at the very end of the inscription, which is inscribed on a set of five linked copper plates. The precise meaning of the word *citravide* in context – in particular whether it refers to the scribe or the engraver – is uncertain. Of particular interest in the colophon is how the producer of the inscription appears to express that the act itself was done in honour of all buddhas and for all beings, so that merit clearly accrued from it.

Also from the Apraca dynasty, the western neighbours of the Oḍis and fellow supporters of Buddhism in the mountain ranges of northern Gandhāra, there exists an example of a scribal colophon on the so-called Shinkot casket (CKI 176).¹⁶ This relic container bears an older inscription mentioning the name Menander, though with unclear significance and some doubts about its authenticity, and a clearly genuine younger dedication inscription of the Apraca king Viyajamitra. At the end of the second inscription this simple statement has been attached:

¹⁴ On the somewhat unclear word *ukede* see now von Hinüber 2017, 60.

¹⁵ Falk 2014, Salomon 2020.

¹⁶ Baums 2012, 202–220.

viśpilena aṇaṃkayeṇa likhiṭe

Written by Viśpila, the anankaioś.

As with the Senavarma inscription, the scribe (or coordinator of the production of the inscription?) here holds the title of ‘anankaioś’.

The fourth epigraphic scribal colophon comes from the Kurram valley and is attached to the end of a relic inscription (CKI 153) on a miniature stūpa that cites the complete Buddhist canonical formula of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*):¹⁷

aya ca praticasaṃmupate likhida mahiphatiena sarvasatvana puyae

And this Dependent Arising has been written by Mahiphatia in honor of all beings.

The way that the word *praticasaṃmupate* is used here with reference to the inscribed text parallels the introduction of text titles in manuscript colophons (see below).

In addition to these four, there is another notable inscription that could be considered a physically detached ‘producer’s colophon’ (CKI 151):¹⁸

gomaṇasa karavakasa

Of Gomana the producer.

This is inscribed on a silver disk deposited alongside a bronze relic container bearing a separate inscription (CKI 150) specifying the donor of the relic.¹⁹

3 Gāndhārī manuscript colophons

The exploration will now commence of the three earliest known Indian manuscript colophons, all in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. Treated sheets of birch bark were the usual writing material of early Gandhāran manuscript scribes, either used singly or joined into long vertical scrolls.²⁰

Almost all currently known Gāndhārī manuscripts (approximately 150 substantial scrolls) have been discovered or brought to scholarly attention since the

¹⁷ Baums 2012, 241–242.

¹⁸ Baums 2012, 249–250.

¹⁹ Baums 2012, 249.

²⁰ Refer to Baums 2014 for a detailed discussion of early Gandhāran manuscript culture.

1990s, and the large majority of them remain unpublished. Nonetheless, the fact that only so few colophons among those manuscripts studied have been preserved seems significant, and is probably due to the place of attachment of colophons at the very beginning of the recto or end of the verso of a scroll, making the colophon easy to consult when the scroll was folded, in the usual fashion, from the bottom of the recto upwards so that the recto faced inwards. The vicissitudes of the centuries have, in the case of most scrolls, led to the loss of precisely these outer layers of birch bark that would have borne a colophon.²¹

3.1 Khotan Dharmapada

The first of the three known Gāndhārī colophons is located at the top of the recto of the Khotan Dharmapada scroll. This manuscript is unusual in several respects. It was discovered in 1892, long before the wealth of recent Gāndhārī manuscript finds, and near the city of Khotan on the southern Silk Road – well outside the core area of the language. At almost five metres it is also unusually long for a Gāndhārī manuscript.²² The first verse in this version of the Dharmapada is preceded by the line in question, separated by a larger than usual vertical space and written in slightly larger letters, though apparently by the same scribe as that of the text itself. A significant amount of birch bark was left empty above the colophon at the very top of the scroll, but as neither of the two available facsimiles reproduces the entirety of this space, its exact height cannot be ascertained. In any case, it is reasonable to assume that the purpose of this empty space, which would have constituted the outermost layers of the folded-up scroll, was to prevent damage to the beginning of the text, and it is this very practice to which the survival of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon may be owed. Incomplete as it is, the reproduction of the top of the scroll in Brough 1962 shows that at least two strips were left empty, indicating that the colophon would not actually have been visible on the outside of the completely folded-up scroll but would have required partial unfolding to consult.

The portion of the manuscript in question is preserved in St. Petersburg, and in his first comment on it, which contained a facsimile of the top of the manuscript

²¹ See von Hinüber 2017, 50 on the comparable loss of colophon-bearing first or last folios of pothi manuscripts.

²² Baums 2014, 186.

including the colophon line (Fig. 2), Sergeĭ Ol'denburg" confessed he had been unable to decipher it:²³

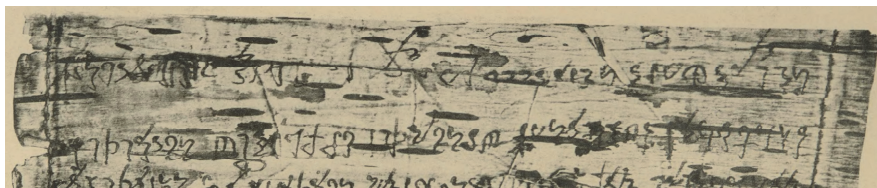


Fig. 2: The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada (CKM 77) as reproduced in Ol'denburg" 1897. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).

При теперешнемъ состояніи рукописи, когда не всѣ отрывки могли еще быть вклеены въ надлежащихъ мѣстахъ и рукопись еще не достаточно расправлена, отъ первой строки читаются только отдѣльные слоги.

In the present condition of the manuscript, when not all fragments could yet be pasted into the proper places and the manuscript is not yet sufficiently straightened out, from the first line only individual syllables can be read.

This is true: especially in the middle of the line, one fragment containing the upper part of some *akṣaras* (graphic syllables) and another fragment containing their lower half are pushed together in such a way that much of the writing is obscured. But at least the first two words of the line can be confidently deciphered already in Ol'denburg"'s plates. They read *budhavarmaṣa ṣamaṇaṣa* 'of the monk Buddhavarma', and as such clearly do not form part of the Brāhmaṇavarga that follows.

The first serious attempt at reading the first line of the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript, still based on the facsimile that Ol'denburg" published, was made by Sten Konow, who perceived in it a 'writer's remark':²⁴

budhavarma[sa] ṣamaṇa[sa] b[u]dhaṇaḍi[sa 20 20] 10 likh[i]da × ... leṇ[a] × ṣoṇalodida
araña

Konow correctly read *budhavarmasa ṣamaṇasa*, initially adding a second name *budhaṇaḍisa* to it. He interpreted the following three signs, the lower halves of

²³ Ol'denburg" 1897, 3.

²⁴ Konow 1943, 8.

which are obscured, as the numeral 20 20 10, i.e., 50, and upon further consideration separated the *sa* from *budhaṇādi* to go with the numeral as an abbreviation for *saṃbatsara* ‘year’ and to form a date in the Kuṣāṇa era (which would have made the manuscript almost exactly contemporary with the paleographically similar Wardak Vase, CKI 159).²⁵ This in turn prompted him to reinterpret *budhaṇādi* as Skt. *buddhanāndi* ‘felicitation of the Buddha’, with reference either to a Buddhavarga (which due to Ol’denburg’s facsimile that cut off all indication of the empty space above this line he hypothesized to have preceded),²⁶ or to the final stanza of the following Brāhmaṇavarga. It is now known that the first interpretation is contextually impossible, and the second seems far-fetched. Even if that was not the case, however, the position of the date in a non-initial position would still be counter to the usual epigraphical practice (but note the date in the Senavarma inscription above). Concluding what he took to be the first sentence, Konow read *likhida* ‘written’. The following partially obscured *akṣara* he took to be a large punctuation sign, followed by an indeterminate number of obscured *akṣaras* (approximately three), then possibly the word *leṇa* ‘cave’ with reference to the Gośṛṅga cave in which the manuscript was allegedly discovered,²⁷ followed by another large punctuation mark. The line concludes, in Konow’s reading, with the two words *śoṇalodida araṇa*, which he understood as ‘crimson-red grove’ and took to be the name of a monastery.²⁸ Overall, Konow’s tentative interpretation of this colophon, unlikely as it is in many details, would yield a formulaic structure SCRIBE (gen.) – OBJECT – DATE – PLACE.

Only two years after Konow, H. W. Bailey provided another reading of the colophon as part of his reedition of the parts of the Khotan Dharmapada for which at that time images were available:²⁹

budhavarmaṣa ṣamaṇaṣa budhaṇādi sa 20 20 10 ... varma p. ṇ. ... dhi ... araṇa³⁰

²⁵ Baums 2012, 243–244.

²⁶ The Pali Dhammapada does contain a Buddhavagga which, however, as no. 14 does not immediately precede the Brāhmaṇavagga (no. 26).

²⁷ This word is not otherwise attested in Gāndhārī. It was formerly read in the reliquary inscription of Indravarma (CKI 242; Baums 2012, 207–208) – which in any case was not known to Konow – in the compound *muryakaliṇa* – that is now taken to mean ‘of Mauryan times’.

²⁸ The word Skt. *śoṇa* ‘crimson’ is not otherwise attested in Gāndhārī, and *lohida* is consistently spelled thus (never with medial *d* as in Avestan *roidita* adduced by Konow).

²⁹ Bailey 1945, 497.

³⁰ For easier comparison, Bailey’s transcription conventions have been adapted to those of the other material cited in this article.

He does not refer to Konow's reading, and considering wartime vicissitudes it is certainly possible that Konow's article had not yet reached him. It is all the more surprising, then, how much his attempt does agree with Konow's, in particular in the unusual identification *budhaṇadi* = *budhanāndī* and the interpretation of the following *akṣaras* as a date. Bailey does not provide any commentary or translation, but in his glossary sanskritizes the words of this line as follows: *buddha-varma*, *śramaṇa*, ?*buddha-nāndī*, *araṇya*.

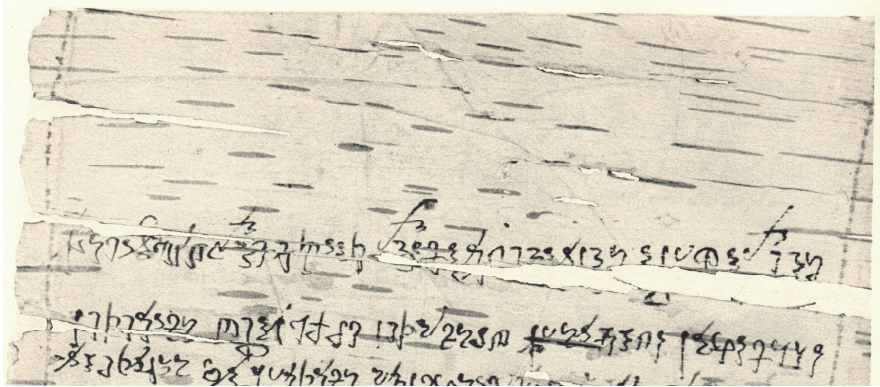


Fig. 3: The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada as reproduced in Brough 1962.

A major advance in the interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon was made by John Brough in his comprehensive edition of the manuscript:³¹

budhavarmasa śamaṇasa
 budhaṇadisardhavayarisa
 ida dharmapadasa postaka
 dharmuyāṇe likhida araṇi

Brough had been able to procure new and clearer photographs of the St. Petersburg portion of the scroll, including the colophon line (Fig. 3), that allowed him to discard Konow's problematic suggestions of the term *nāndī* and a date. Instead, he read the compound *budhaṇadisardhavayarisa* 'student of Budhaṇadi (Skt. Buddhānandin)' (with reference to Budhavarma). The spelling is unusual (*sardhaviharisa* would have been expected), but Brough argues convincingly³² for

³¹ Brough 1962, 119.

³² Brough 1962, 177–178.

a spelling pronunciation on the basis of a development [vifia:ri:zə] > [veja:ri:zə]. Next he was able to complete the previously obscured middle part of the line as *ida dharmapadasa postaka* ‘this book of the Dharmapada’, i.e., a reference to the physical manuscript. The apparent use of *dharmapada* as a straightforward text title in this early period is notable.³³ The theoretical possibility that *dharmapada* here is a mere appellative is made unlikely by the even clearer parallel use of *prañaparamida* as a text title in the next colophon to be discussed. In the final part, Brough was not only able to discern a locative ending *-i* in *arañi*, but also the verb *likhida* (wrongly read earlier in the line by Konow), and finally suggested a reading *dharmuṃyaṇe* (Skt. *dharmodyāṇe*) ‘in the Dharma grove’ as an indication of the place where the writing took place, suggesting it may have been the name of a monastery.

In discussing the role of Budhavarma,³⁴ Brough rejected the possibility that he might have been the traditional author of this version of the Dharmapada (as Dharmatrāta was alleged to have been for the Udānavarga), suggesting instead that Budhavarma (whose name is given in the genitive) was the owner of the scroll.³⁵ Significantly, this interpretation leaves the scribe – arguably the central role in the composition of colophons – unnamed.

Brough entertained the possibility that the colophon was intended to be metrical, possibly in a ‘mixture of Vaitāliya and Aupacchandāsika [meters; SB]’, but with ‘a fair degree of license’.³⁶ In view of the other Gāndhārī colophons now known, combined with related epigraphical formulas, there appears little need, however, to consider a metrical interpretation, quite apart from the fact that in contrast to the verses of the body of the text, no *pāda* (verse quarter) spacing is apparent in the colophon line.

Bhāgacandra Jaina accepted Brough’s reading wholesale and translated the colophon into Hindi as यह धर्मपद पुस्तक बुद्धनन्दि के शिष्य श्रमण बुद्धवर्मन द्वारा अरण्य में स्थित धर्मोद्यान में लिखी गई (‘This Dharmapada book has been written by the monk Buddhavarman, pupil of Buddhanandi, in the Dharma Grove located inside the forest’).³⁷ He thus places the ‘Dharma grove’, apparently likewise taken as the name of a monastery, inside a forest.

³³ See Balbir 1993 on the history of text titles in early Indian heterodox movements.

³⁴ Brough 1962, 41.

³⁵ On ownership inscriptions on Gandhāran monastic utensils, see Falk 2006.

³⁶ Brough 1962, 178.

³⁷ Jaina 1990, ६५; cf. also १११.

Like Jaina, Richard Salomon accepted Brough's reading of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon in all details,³⁸ translating it into English as 'This manuscript of the Dharmapada, belonging to the monk Buddhavarman, pupil of Buddhanandin, has been written in the Dharmodyāna forest', in contrast to Jaina taking 'Dharma Grove' to be the name of a forest. Acknowledging the problem of the missing indication of a scribe, Salomon further suggests (contradicting his own translation) that Buddhavarman should be taken as the scribe rather than the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript's owner, with the genitive rather than the instrumental indicating the agent of the sentence (a possible, though evidently ambiguous, procedure in the Gāndhārī language).

In 2014, the present author introduced a novel reading and interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon,³⁹ solving the problem of the apparent absence of a scribal indication:

Budhavarṃasa śamaṇasa Budhaṇadisa[r]dhavayariṣa ida Dharmapadaṣa postaka Dharmaśraveṇa likhida araṇi

This book of the Dharmapada of (= belonging to) the monk Buddhavarma, student of Buddhanandin, has been written by Dharmaśrava in the monastery.

This new reading was prompted by the observation that the fragments near the end of the line, where Brough read *dharmuyane*, do not align correctly in the photographs reproduced in his plates. Adjusting their alignment (Figs 4 and 5), it became apparent that Brough's reading *dharmuyane* is incorrect. What Brough had read as the *u* loop on *mu* and the right leg of *ya* turned out to be the *akṣara śra*, his left leg of *ya* combines with the vertical line above to yield *ve* (the horizontal top of the base letter being obscured by the overlapping fragments), and Brough's *ne* is simply *ṇa*. The result is the new reading *dharmāśraveṇa*, i.e., the name Dharmaśrava in the instrumental case.⁴⁰ This, then, is an unambiguous indication of the grammatical agent of *likhida* and thus the scribe of the manuscript, showing that (contrary to Salomon's suggestion) Buddhavarma was,

³⁸ Salomon 1999, 41.

³⁹ Baums 2014, 204. This had also been briefly summarized, on the basis of the present author's presentation of his discovery at the 2014 conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, in Strauch 2014a, 811–813 (= Strauch 2014b, 478–481).

⁴⁰ Quite a few compound names with the second element *-śrava* are attested in Gāndhārī manuscripts and inscriptions: *Ariaśrava*, *Imdraśrava* (see below), *Dharmaśrava*, *Budhaśrava*, *Mahaśrava* and *Samghaśrava*. It is possible that this naming pattern was a calque on Greek names ending in *-κλής*. See also Baums 2018b for other syncretistic Greek-Indian naming patterns in early Gandhāra.

in fact, the owner or commissioner (not the scribe) of the manuscript. The semantic development of *araṇya* from ‘wilderness’ to ‘wilderness monastery’ to ‘monastery in general’ is well attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions.

Most recently, Harry Falk proposed yet another interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon.⁴¹ He does so in the context of discussing the obscure word (or sequence of akṣaras) *rayakaiūaku* in the business document CKM 430, suggesting that (in violation of the known phonetic rules of Gāndhārī) it goes back to OIA *rājakaguptaka*- (which would at best have yielded *rayakaiūtaku*). As a parallel he adduces the word *dharmamuya*- in the inscriptions CKI 219 and 1081, apparently the name of a Buddhist school, equating it phonetically with OIA *dharmaguptaka* (where the original editors of these inscriptions had suggested a less direct connection). This *dharmamuya*-, in turn, reminded him of the word *dharmuyane* as read in the Khotan Dharmapada by Brough (which Falk incorrectly cites as *dharmamuya*-). In place of this word, then, he reads *dharmadraśaṇe*, and translates *dharmadraśaṇe likhita araṇi* as ‘was written in the monastery to show the *dharmā*’. He does not explain how exactly he arrived at this reading, but apparently he took Brough’s plate at face value, not realizing that the two fragments bearing the word in question have to be adjusted, as explained above. Falk then appears to have taken the right half of *śra* as *dra*, the left half of *śra* in combination with the stem of *ve* as *śa*, and the vowel mātṛā of *ve* in combination with *ṇa* as *ṇe*, which requires assuming not-quite-right shapes for the three akṣaras in question. Syntactically, his proposal suffers from the same absence of an indication of a scribe as Brough’s interpretation, and from taking the locative as indicating a purpose, when a dative would have been the more natural case for this. Finally, the word OIA *darśana* is attested in five verses (175, 231, 243, 257 and 273) of the Khotan Dharmapada proper, where it is spelled *daśaṇa* or *darśaṇa*, but never *draśaṇa*, and of course it means ‘seeing’ rather than ‘showing’. Even leaving aside the first issue of not adjusting the fragments before attempting a reading, Falk’s proposal thus has a host of problems stacked against it. This is all the more puzzling as he was already aware of the present author’s interpretation (as presented in 2014). It is hoped that the more complete explanation of its basis and rationale provided above will put to rest any future reader’s doubts once and for all.

41 Falk 2021, 13.

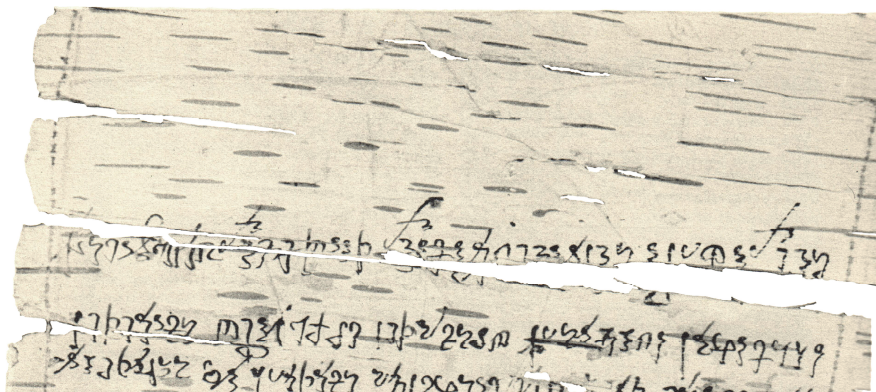


Fig. 4: The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada Image based on Brough 1962 with fragments moved into their proper position. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).

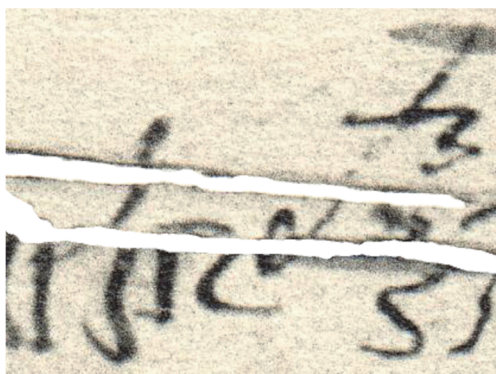


Fig. 5: The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada. Detail of Fig. 4. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).

3.2 *Prajñāpāramitā*

The second preserved Gāndhārī manuscript colophon belongs to a first-century-CE fragmentary *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript. The first published reading and translation by Harry Falk are:⁴²

⁴² Falk 2011, 23.

paḍhamage postage praṇaparamidaē budhamitra ///
 idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imena ca kuśalamūlena (sic) sarvasatvaṇa matrapitra ...

In this first book of the *prajñāpāramitā* (of?) Buddhāmītra (and NN?), the co-student of
 Indraśravaśa.

By this root of bliss (may there be well-being?) for all people (and?) for mother and father (...).

This was modified by Falk and Seishi Karashima one year later as follows:⁴³

paḍhamage postage praṇaparamidaē budha[mitra] ///
 idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imeṇa ca kuśalamūleṇa sarvasatvamatrapi[trap]u[yae] ///

This is the first book of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, (of) Buddhāmītra (...), the room-companion of
 Indraśravaśa. And may it be, through this root of bliss, (...) for the veneration all [sic] living
 beings, for mother and father.

Before discussing the text of the colophon, it is necessary to solve some conundrums regarding the construction of this scroll and the position of the colophon in it. The scroll contained chapters one to five of an early version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* textually close to the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, of which only chapter one and chapter five have been preserved.

According to Falk and Karashima, when the scroll was opened up in 2005, the strips into which it broke were placed into five glass frames numbered 1 to 5.⁴⁴ Photographs were taken documenting the process, but are unpublished. In their absence, the procedure can, however, still be deduced from the order in which the strips were assigned to the different frames. If the eighteen strips diagrammed in Falk and Karashima's figure 4 are numbered 1 to 18 in their textual order looking at the recto of the scroll, the following pattern emerges: strips 1, 2 → frame 3; strips 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 → frame 5; strips 15, 17+18 (on this see below) → frame 1; strips 16, 14, 12, 10 → frame 4; strips 8, 6, 4 → frame 2. The regular intervals of two, first following the odd-numbered fragments, then the even-numbered ones, suggest that the person opening the scroll did not (except possibly twice in the beginning of the procedure) turn over the flattened scroll on the working surface, but instead removed layer after layer from the top, first working his way into the centre of the scroll (strip 17+18), then continuing on until all strips had been separated. The same procedure was also followed by conservators at the British Library when they opened up scroll 18 of the British Library Kharaṣṭhi manuscript collection.⁴⁵

⁴³ Falk and Karashima 2012, 25.

⁴⁴ Falk and Karashima 2012, 20, 22.

⁴⁵ Baums 2009, 62–67.

Falk's impression was that the writing surface of the scroll was produced by pasting together two different sheets of birch bark, which would make this the only known Gāndhārī manuscript manufactured in this way. That this was not, however, the case, and that the *Prajñāpāramitā* scroll's writing material in fact consisted of a single layer of birch bark can be seen in three places where knot-holes are visible in corresponding places on the recto and verso of the scroll: strip 5B4 = 5A4 (left), strip 5B5 = 5A3 (right) and strip 4B2 = 4A5 (middle). The empty areas on the top of the recto and the top of the verso have alternative explanations as either areas originally left empty or as places where the surface of the bark (which naturally consists of several thin sub-layers) delaminated at some point between the use of the scroll and its unrolling. For the third, small empty area on the front side of strip 1A2 (= no. 17 above) and the back side of the smaller fragment 1A5 (= no. 18 above), the simplest explanation is that here, too, delamination is to blame, and that fragment 1A5 should be restored to its proper position on the surface of the recto of strip 1A2. Once all this is accounted for, the result is a scroll with the thickness of a single natural layer of birch bark (itself consisting of several natural sub-layers), with the top of the recto left empty,⁴⁶ and the text running all the way down the recto and then the verso of the scroll, with chapter five terminating right at what would have been the physical end of the verso.

This brings us to the colophon and the question of its position in the scroll. In his first preliminary description, Falk wrote that the 'verso is inscribed too for about 60 % [this number presumably excludes the three delaminated strips at the top of the verso] and shows the text end together with a colophon', and spoke of 'the last lines of the text, with its colophon'.⁴⁷ This is modified in his later publication with Karashima, which speaks of a 'separate strip of birch bark bearing a colophon' and provides the following detailed description:⁴⁸

The upper left part [of segment 3A8, the bottommost fragment on the verso; SB] was covered by the colophon sheet with a considerable amount of overlap. As the colophon sheet is so thin, it was possible to scan the fragment with light from above which showed the hidden text. The letters from one part of the colophon sheet are still visible behind and between the text letters.

⁴⁶ As was the case with Ol'denburg's 1897 and Brough's 1962 editions of the Khotan Dharmapada, Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013 unfortunately do not illustrate this empty area at the top of the recto of the scroll.

⁴⁷ Falk 2011, 20, 22.

⁴⁸ Falk and Karashima 2012, 19, 22, 25.

and again:

Partly covered by a thin layer of a shred of segment 3A8 at the end of chapter 5, a small sheet of bark was found without a physical connection to the segments of the main text.

Regrettably, Falk and Karashima did not publish a photograph of the colophon fragment in situ attached to fragment 3A8, but from their descriptions in combination with their illustrations,⁴⁹ it may be deduced that the colophon fragment had roughly the same size and outline as fragment 3A8, and was stuck to it in such a way that the text of the colophon faced the text on the recto of fragment 3A8, but was upside down in relation to it. Two possible explanations may be proposed (if we are not to assume an entirely random attachment of a loose colophon fragment of unknown origin at this spot). Either the colophon did indeed follow the last line of chapter 5, as Falk suggests, and ended up stuck to fragment 3A8 in the described fashion because it was folded over onto it independently of the overall folding up of the scroll that would have proceeded from the bottom of the recto = top of the verso. Or the colophon preceded the beginning of chapter 1, just as it did in the Khotan Dharmapada scroll, with some empty space left above it. It would then have ended up stuck to fragment 3A8 as described if – for the sake of deposit – the scroll was folded up from the bottom of the recto = top of the verso, but with the recto rather than the verso irregularly facing outwards.⁵⁰ In such a configuration, the verso of fragment 3A8 would in fact have come to be positioned immediately opposite (but upside down) a strip bearing the colophon above the beginning of chapter 1, with two further empty strips preserved above it.⁵¹ This second possibility is supported by the above description of the colophon fragment as very thin, which would readily be explained by the fact that it is not an independent fragment of full thickness, but only the delaminated surface of the recto corresponding to what Falk and Karashima have called 5A6.⁵²

⁴⁹ Figure 3 in Falk and Karashima 2012 and Figure 2 in Falk and Karashima 2013.

⁵⁰ See Salomon 1999, 50–51, for a description of British Library fragment 21 folded up in the same inside-out way. The unpublished photographs of the opening of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scroll should allow a determination whether it was, in fact, folded up with the recto facing the outside.

⁵¹ This is the case whether one accepts the proposed combination of fragments 1A2 (no. 17) and 1A5 (no. 18) into a single strip or not, as the reader can verify with a model paper scroll and a pen.

⁵² Once again, it is regrettable that Falk and Karashima did not illustrate the empty reverse of the colophon fragment, since this might have helped determine whether it is the original inner side of a delaminated layer.

Returning to the text of the colophon, based on the published images, the present author would read:⁵³

paḍhamage postage prañāparamidaē budh[amit]r[a](*sa) + + + + + + +
idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imeṇa ca kuśālamul[e]ṇa sarvasatva ? ? ? ?

This agrees in all essential details with the two variant readings given by the original editors, except for the end of the second line, which even with the tracing provided in the edition seems not quite clear enough to confidently see in it an expression of honour for mother and father. As the left margin is preserved in the second line and its position is clear in the first line, the number of missing or unclear *akṣaras* can be determined with some certainty.

In their grammatical interpretation of the first two words, the original editors vacillated between the locative and the direct case. As it appears unlikely that the missing portion at the end of the first line could have contained anything but epithets of Buddhāmītra in the genitive case, however, there is nothing to justify a locative case, and a direct case in *-e* thus seems most likely. We may then translate:

The first book of the Perfection of Understanding of Buddhāmītra + + + + + + +
the student of Indraśrava. By this root of merit, all beings + + + +

As we have seen in the case of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon, the genitive is likely to mark the owner of the manuscript rather than its scribe. Falk and Karashima note that – in contrast to the Khotan Dharmapada – the colophon appears to be written in a different hand than the body text of the manuscript, and that the body text uses a ‘more traditional way of forming the letters’.⁵⁴ This raises the interesting possibility that Buddhāmītra did not in fact commission the manuscript before it was written, but that the colophon referring to him is a secondary addition.⁵⁵

The formulaic structure of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript would then be OBJECT – OWNER – DEDICATION, introducing a new last element apparently dedicating the merit of its production – not inappropriately for this text – to all beings.

⁵³ In Falk 2011 and Falk and Karashima 2012.

⁵⁴ Falk and Karashima 2012, 24 and 25.

⁵⁵ Similar to the names of some of the donors in the later Gilgit manuscripts; cf. Schopen 2009, 201–203.

3.3 British Library fragment 3B

This brings us to the third and last of the three currently known Gāndhārī manuscript colophons, on fragment 3B of the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. It was first described by Salomon, who read and translated as follows:⁵⁶

/// [p]. ///
 /// [tv].a idi ṇavodaśa °
 /// [mi] postaga gaṣa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamaṇasa

Thus [ends number] nineteen.⁵⁷

[...] book; twenty-five (25) verses; of the monk Saṅghaśrava.

Salomon noted that the lines on this side are written in the same hand as the multi-scroll verse commentary on British Library scrolls 7, 9, 13 (first text) and 18,⁵⁸ and thus may somehow be related to this verse commentary. The other side of the colophon fragment contains four lines of unrelated and unidentified text in a different hand. Salomon considers *tv.a idi* to be the end of the preceding text proper, *idi navodaśa* a concluding phrase on that text, and the next line the colophon proper. In support of this we note that the last line, though written in the same hand, is set off by a larger than normal vertical space and written in larger letters. Salomon thinks it is likely that *mi* is either the locative singular ending or the enclitic pronoun ‘of me’, and is troubled by the ending *-e* on what appears to be a direct-case form *gaṣae*. He interprets the name Saṅghaśrava in the genitive as an indication of the scribe but, as we have seen, the other two preserved Gāndhārī colophons and in particular that of the Khotan Dharmapada in its new reading make it more likely that the genitive refers to the owner of the manuscript.

A revised text of this colophon – calculating the approximate number of missing *akṣaras* – was provided by Stefan Baums:⁵⁹

+++++++ /// ??? /// ++++++
 ++++++ /// [t]. a i di ṇavodaśa ✱
 ++++++ /// .[e] postag. gaṣa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamaṇasa

⁵⁶ Salomon 1999, 40–42.

⁵⁷ Or: ‘Thus [ends] the nineteenth’.

⁵⁸ Edited in Baums 2009.

⁵⁹ Baums 2009, 609.

We see that substantial amounts of text are missing in the beginnings of lines. The complex punctuation mark following *ṇavodaśa* is the one that the same scribe uses throughout the verse commentary to mark ends of sections.

One year later, Timothy Lenz provided his own transliteration of the fragment that he had prepared independently:⁶⁰

```
/// ? [p]. ? ///
/// [tv]. a idi ṇavodaśa ° 10 ///
/// [mi] postaga gasae pacaviśati 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamanasa ///
```

and translated

[2r] ... nineteen. 10 [3r] ... book; twenty-five verses; of the monk Saṅghaśrava.

He thus follows the reading of Salomon, but with an interpretation of the complex punctuation mark after *ṇavodaśa* as a simple punctuation mark followed by the numeral 10. This does not, however, account for all four small circles forming this mark, and in any case one would rather have expected 10 4 4 1 if the numeral were to be repeated in number signs, as the numeral in the following line is. It is also clear that the end of the line containing the end of the preceding text is completely preserved, and likely that so is the end of the colophon line.

Finally, Baums revised his earlier reading of the last two lines as follows:⁶¹

```
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// [t]. a i di ṇavodaśa ✽
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// [ge] postag(*e) gasa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamaṇasa
```

In light of *paḍhamage postage* in the *Prajñāpāramitā* colophon, and considering that the verse commentary is a multi-volume text, it is now likely that *ge* in the present colophon is also the last syllable of an ordinal number, maybe ‘first’, but possibly also ‘second’ or ‘third’. In light of this, the ending *-e* can also be reconstructed in *postag(*e)*. Even though this is phonetically the same as in the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, here it is syntactically not only possible, but indeed most appropriate to interpret it as a locative ending. The ending *-ae* in *gasae* that puzzled Salomon is the younger direct-case plural ending of the feminine also known from other dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan; here then, as in the case of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, the colophon appears to represent a less formal or younger form of language. It can be translated thus:

⁶⁰ Lenz 2010, 154.

⁶¹ Baums 2014, 203.

+++++nineteen.

+++++in the ++th volume, twenty-five – 25 – verses. Of the monk Saṃghaśrava.

Like for the other two manuscript colophons, it is necessary to address the question of the original position of this colophon on its scroll. In contrast to the Khotan *Dharmapada* and *Prajñāpāramitā* colophons, it does not appear to have been positioned at the top of the recto of its scroll: this is clear from the fact that at least two lines preceded it. At the same time, however, it also did not occur at the very end of the verso of its scroll: the row of small holes running vertically through what was the middle of the fragment are the remnant of a reinforcing stitching that in the scrolls of this scribe's verse commentary is applied to the areas of overlap of separate birch-bark sheets forming a long scroll, and the piece of bark jutting out at the bottom left of the fragment gives the impression of being the very top of the otherwise detached next sheet, glued under the one bearing the colophon.

Two possible explanations present themselves: Either the side of this fragment with the colophon is the very bottom of the inscribed part of the verso of the scroll,⁶² followed by a certain amount of bark (evidently at least one sheet) that had been left empty in the absence of more text to put down. This would, however, make the verse commentary not the primary text of this scroll, whereas it is the primary text on all the scrolls that clearly belong to this scribe's verse commentary (and is in fact followed by a secondary text in another hand on British Library scroll 13). Alternatively, one could consider the possibility that this is the recto of the scroll, with the line ending in *ṇavodaśa* concluding a text, and the colophon line either referring back to this text, or pointing forwards (as the other two known Gāndhārī colophons do) to a following text that would have started after a vertical gap and is entirely lost.⁶³ The discrepancy of numbers (nineteen versus twenty-five) makes it difficult to consider both lines as references to the same text, while it would seem strange to have a larger vertical gap between a colophon and a following text to which it belongs than between the colophon and an unrelated text that precedes it.

⁶² This is the second of the two possibilities entertained by Salomon 1999, 40 (who refers to what I call the bottom of the verso as the 'top of the verso').

⁶³ The first of the two possibilities of Salomon 1999, 40, that 'the colophon could have been written at the end of a text at the bottom of the recto', seems less likely. There are examples of Gāndhārī scrolls (such as British Library scroll 1) whose text ended some distance before the end of the recto, but in all such cases where a secondary text was later added, it followed immediately after the end of the primary text, not with the gap that would have been left here.

While the question of the exact position of this colophon on its scroll thus remains, for the present, unanswerable, what is clear is that here we have to do with a different pattern than in the case of the Khotan Dharmapada and *Prajñāpāramitā* scrolls, and that consequently also in the case of Gāndhārī colophons not yet discovered, more than one physical possibility must be entertained.

3.4 Niya

An apparently direct continuation of the Aramaic legal colophons specifying scribe, commissioning person and witnesses resurfaces after six hundred years in the Gāndhārī administrative documents on wood slabs and leather sheets found at Niya, a western border town of the ancient Krorayina kingdom on the southern Silk Road.⁶⁴ Scribes are here called *divira* and occupied a respected position in society serving the royal administration; some of them were Buddhist monks or held additional administrative positions.⁶⁵ The following example, from a document settling a property dispute in the second half of the third century CE (CKI 889), is typical of legal colophons at Niya:⁶⁶

tatra sakṣi azate jaṃna apsu Mutreya sakṣi Rutreya sakṣi tarmena Calmasa sakṣi śramaṃna Budharakṣiya sakṣi eṣa lihitaga mahi tivira Sunaṃtaṣa Mutreya ari Kuṃṇeṃyaṣa ca ajeṣaṃnae śarvadeśaṃmi pramana

The witnesses to this are free-born people: the *apsu* Mutre is witness, Rutre is witness, the *tarmena* Calmasa is witness, the monk Budharakṣi is witness. This document of me, the scribe Sunaṃta, at the request of Mutre and *ari* Kuṃṇe is an authority in all places.

These colophons are not physically set off from the rest of the document. Textually, they do tend to occur near its end, though sometimes an additional formula specifying legal punishments, or the like, still follows them. The evidence from Niya almost certainly presupposes similar colophons in this type of document from Gandhāra itself that were written on perishable writing supports.

⁶⁴ See Atwood 1991 for an overview.

⁶⁵ See Agrawala 1966–1968, and Atwood 1991, 176 on the career of the scribe Ramṣotsa.

⁶⁶ Baums 2018a.

4 Outlook and conclusions

The focus of this article has been on the earlier tradition of colophons in the Indian northwest, partly because of the significant manuscript discoveries recently made from this period, but no less because the later colophons from the Gilgit finds have received exemplary and exhaustive treatments already in the hands of Oskar von Hinüber.⁶⁷ To give just one typical example of a Gilgit scribal colophon, that of the *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa* will serve:⁶⁸

devadharmoyam Bālosimphena sārđham bhāryā Jijađiena sārđham mātāpitrau
paramaduṣka<rakar>trau sārđham Kṣiṇiena Akhaloṭiena Diṣoṭa Jija Maṃgali + + + +
Utrapharna Gavidoṭi Vaṭūri Khuṣoṭi Khuṣogoṭena sārđham sarvasatve sarva[prāṇi]bhir.
yad atra puṇya tad bha[va]tu [sarv]vasatvānām [anut]t[arajñānavāpnuyā. tathā] sārđham
paramakalyāṇamitra Sthirabandhuena. likhidam idaṃ pustakaṃ dharmabhāṇaka
Narendradattena

This is the donation of Bālasimpha, together with (his) wife Jijađia, together with (his) parents who do a highly difficult thing, together with Kṣiṇia, Akhaloṭia, Diṣoṭa, Jija, Maṃgali + + + + Utrapharna, Gavidoṭi, Vaṭūri, Khuṣoṭi (and) Khuṣogoṭa, together with all beings, all who live. The merit that is here shall be for the acquisition of highest knowledge by all beings. Also together with the highest spiritual friend Sthirabandhu. This book has been written by the reciter of the dharma Narendradatta.

The secular colophon type first seen in the Aramaic documents and then in Niya lives on into a third manuscript culture, namely that of the Bactrian documents of the latter half of the first millennium. The type is illustrated well by a colophon added, at the bottom of the leather folio, to a receipt for wine and grain from the year 579 CE:⁶⁹

This signed document has been [written] by me, Tet, and by me, Piy, for you, Muzd, concerning the grain and wine.

This historical survey has traced the transformations scribal colophons underwent in the Indian northwest, from their antecedents in the Achaemenid administrative tradition using Aramaic language and script, through their adoption for Buddhist purposes in inscriptions as well as in manuscripts in Gāndhāri lan-

⁶⁷ Von Hinüber 1980, 2004, 2014. – Two additional colophons from Sanskrit manuscript finds in the northwest are that of the Kuṣāṇa-period Vinaya manuscript from Bairam Ali (von Hinüber 2017, 50–53) and that of a sixth–seventh-century Itivṛttaka manuscript from Bamiyan (Demoto 2016).

⁶⁸ Von Hinüber 1980, 63–64 no. VI; 2004, 78–80 no. 39B.

⁶⁹ Sims-Williams 2012, 56; cf. Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018, 83.

guage and Kharoṣṭhī script, their continued use for administrative purposes in the Gāndhārī documents from Niya, their adoption in the emerging Sanskrit manuscript tradition of the northwest, and finally the survival of their administrative use in the Bactrian documents.⁷⁰

In the literary examples, a gradual expansion of the formula of colophons is seen, from a simple indication of scribe, commissioner and witnesses to much more elaborate colophons that also include text titles and long lists of intended beneficiaries. This last element is incorporated from contemporary Buddhist donative inscriptions, with their notion of the transference of the merit accrued by a donation to other parties, and occupies the ready-made slot in the formula originally occupied by the witnesses of secular documents. In the terminology of Schiegg 2016 (based on Searle 1979), this addition introduced an expressive/assertive function to the text type of colophon that previously had been entirely declarative (if we consider the specification of punishments in legal documents to be situated outside the colophon proper).

Abbreviations

CKI	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, see Baums and Glass 2002–.
CKM	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts, see Baums and Glass 2002–.

References

- Agrawala, R. C. (1966–1968), ‘Scribes in Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan’, भारती: *Bulletin of the College of Indology*, 10–11: 123–124.
- Atwood, Christopher (1991), ‘Life in Third–Fourth Century Cadh’ota: A survey of Information Gathered from the Prakrit Documents Found North of Minfeng (Niyā)’, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 35: 161–199.
- Bailey, H. W. (1945), ‘The Khotan Dharmapada’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11: 488–512.

70 A hint at one possible (though not entirely conclusive) mechanism of the continuity from the Gāndhārī into the Sanskrit manuscript phase is provided by the name of the aunt of the first-century CE Apraca ruler Indravarma, Bhagadattā, and the ‘Bhagadatta line’ (*bhagadattavaṇśa*, *bhagadattaanvaya*) from which the sixth-to-eighth-century CE Palola kings of Gilgit claimed to be descended (von Hinüber 2004, 85–99; Baums 2012, 207). This hypothesis is now strengthened by the discovery of a Gāndhārī document on silk mentioning an unnamed Palola king (CKM 430; Falk 2021, 10–15).

- Balbir, Nalini (1993), 'Titres et canons dans l'hétérodoxie indienne', in Michel Tardieu (ed.), *La formation des canons scripturaires* (Patrimoines, religions du livre), Paris: Cerf, 47–59.
- Baums, Stefan (2009), *A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18*, PhD Dissertation, University of Washington.
- Baums, Stefan (2012), 'Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions', in David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon and Stefan Baums (eds), *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries* (Gandharan Studies, 1), Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, 200–251.
- Baums, Stefan (2014), 'Gandhāran Scrolls: Rediscovering an Ancient Manuscript Type', in Jörg B. Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (eds), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 1), Berlin: De Gruyter, 183–225.
- Baums, Stefan (2018a), 'A New Gāndhārī Document from Niya', in Lutz Edzard, Jens W. Borgland and Ute Hüsken (eds), *Reading Slowly: A Festschrift for Jens E. Braarvig*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 59–70.
- Baums, Stefan (2018b), 'Greek or Indian? The Questions of Menander and Onomastic Patterns in Early Gandhāra', in Himanshu Prabha Ray (ed.), *Buddhism and Gandhara: An Archaeology of Museum Collections* (Archaeology and Religion in South Asia), Abingdon: Routledge, 33–46.
- Baums, Stefan and Andrew Glass (2002–), *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*, <<https://gandhari.org/catalog>> (accessed on 10 January 2022).
- Bloch, Jules (1950), *Les inscriptions d'Asoka traduites et commentées* (Collection Émile Senart, 8), Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Brough, John (1962), *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London Oriental Series, 7), London: Oxford University Press.
- Demoto, Mitsuyo (2016), 'Fragments of the Itivṛttaka', in Jens Braarvig (ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts* (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 4), Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 183–266.
- Falk, Harry (2006), 'Three Inscribed Buddhist Monastic Utensils from Gandhāra', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 156: 393–412.
- Falk, Harry (2011), 'The "Split" Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Texts', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukk'yōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 14: 13–23.
- Falk, Harry (2014), 'The First-Century Copper-Plates of Helagupta from Gandhāra Hailing Maitreya', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukk'yōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 17: 3–26.
- Falk, Harry (2021), 'Two Fragmentary Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukk'yōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 24: 7–16.
- Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima (2012), 'A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra – Parivarta 1 (Texts from the Split Collection 1)', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukk'yōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 15: 19–61.
- Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima (2013), 'A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra – Parivarta 5 (Texts from the Split Collection, 2)', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukk'yōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 16: 97–169.
- Folmer, Margaretha (2017), 'Bactria and Egypt: Administration as Mirrored in the Aramaic Sources', in Bruno Jacobs, Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Matthew W. Stolper (eds), *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich: Imperiale Muster und Strukturen: Akten des 6. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema »Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und alt-orientalischer Überlieferungen« aus Anlass der 80-Jahr-Feier der Entdeckung des Fes-*

- tungsarchivs von Persepolis, Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 14.–17. Mai 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 413–445.
- Fussman, Gérard (1989), 'Gāndhārī écrite, gāndhārī parlée', in Colette Caillat (ed.), *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes* (Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne, série in-8°, 55), Paris: Institut de civilisation indienne, 433–501.
- Fussman, Gérard (2004), 'Dans quel type de bâtiment furent trouvés les manuscrits de Gilgit?', *Journal asiatique*, 292: 101–150.
- Hultzsch, E. (1925), *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Konow, Sten (1943), 'The Oldenburg Folio of the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada', *Acta Orientalia*, 19: 7–20.
- Lenz, Timothy (2010), *Gandhāran Avadānas: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 1–3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A–C* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 6), Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Naveh, Joseph, and Shaul Shaked (2012), *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria from the Khalili Collection*, London: The Khalili Family Trust.
- Ol'denburg", S. F. (Ольденбургъ, С. Ф.) (1897), *Предварительная замятка о буддйской рукописи, написанной письменами kharoṣṭhī Predvaritel'nāia zamētkā o buddīiskoi rukopisi, napisannoī pis'menami kharoṣṭhī*, Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoī Akademii Nauk Tipografiia Imperatorskoī Akademii Nauk.
- Porten, Bezalel (1979), 'Aramaic Papyri & Parchments: A New Look', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 42: 74–104.
- Salomon, Richard (1999), *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Salomon, Richard (2001), "'Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit": New Sources for the Study of the Sanskritization of Buddhist Literature', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 44: 241–252.
- Salomon, Richard (2020), 'The Copper Plates of Helagupta', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 63: 3–69.
- Schiegg, Markus (2016), 'Scribes' Voices: The Relevance and Types of Early Medieval Colophons', *Studia neophilologica*, 88: 129–147.
- Schopen, Gregory (2009), 'On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas: Buildings, Books, and Lay Buddhist Ritual at Gilgit', in Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique* (Études thématiques, 23), Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 189–219.
- Searle, John R. (1979), *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Settar, S. (2004), 'Footprints of Artisans in History: Some Reflections on Early Artisans of India', in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress: 64th Session, Mysore 2003*, Patna: Indian History Congress, 1–43.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2012), *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, I: Legal and Economic Documents*, revised edn, London: The Nour Foundation.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas and François de Blois (2018), *Studies in the Chronology of the Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 505. Band / Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik, 83), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Strauch, Ingo (2014a), 'Looking into Water-Pots and over a Buddhist Scribe's Shoulder – On the Deposition and the Use of Manuscripts in Early Buddhism', *Asiatische Studien*, 68: 797–830.

- Strauch, Ingo (2014b), 'Looking into Water-Pots and over a Buddhist Scribe's Shoulder: On the Deposition and the Use of Manuscripts in Early Buddhism', *Eurasian Studies*, 12: 463–498.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (1980), 'Die Kolophone der Gilgit-Handschriften', *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 5/6: 48–82.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2004), *Die Palola Šāhis: ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber: Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas* (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies, 5.), Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2014), 'The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research', in Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds), *From Birch-Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field,' Stanford, June 15–19 2009* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 460 / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 80), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 79–135.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2017), 'On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons', *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture*, 27: 45–72.

