

Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions

STEFAN BAUMS

The Gandharan reliquary inscriptions cataloged and translated in this chapter are found on four main types of objects: relic containers of a variety of shapes, thin gold or silver scrolls deposited inside reliquaries, thicker metal plates deposited alongside reliquaries, and stone slabs that formed part of a stūpa's relic chamber or covered stone reliquaries. Irrespective of the type of object, the inscriptions follow a uniform pattern described in chapter 5. Three principal eras are used in the dating formulae of these inscriptions: the Greek era of 186/185 BCE (Salomon 2005a); the Azes (= Vikrama) era of 58/57 BCE (Bivar 1981b);¹ and the Kanishka era of c. 127 CE (Falk 2001). In

addition to or in place of these main eras, regnal years of a current or (in the case of Patika's inscription no. 12) recent ruler are used in dating formulae, and detailed information is available about two of the royal houses concerned: the kings of Apraca (family tree in Falk 1998: 107, with additional suggestions in Salomon 2005a) and the kings of Oḍi (family tree in von Hinüber 2003: 33).

In preparing the catalog, it became apparent that not only new and uniform translations of the whole set of inscriptions were called for, but also the texts themselves needed to be reconstituted on the basis of numerous individual suggestions for improvements made after the most recent full edition of each text. All these suggestions (so far as they could be traced) are integrated in the texts presented here, and so are a number of new proposals for improvement (fully justified in the notes). The result can be considered a first step toward a complete (and much-needed) reedition of the corpus of Gandharan reliquary

1. The conventional equation of the Azes and Vikrama eras has recently been questioned, and it has been suggested that the absolute dates for the Greek and Azes eras should be moved forward to c. 174 and c. 46 BCE (see the detailed discussion in Errington and Curtis 2007: chap. 3, and Falk and Bennett 2009; see also above, p. 186). This proposal remains under discussion, and for present purposes I follow the established dates.

inscriptions, but it remains preliminary since only selected difficult passages were reread and verified from photographs and none of the objects were available for direct examination. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the several improvements proposed here will hold up to scrutiny.

Three Gandharan reliquary inscriptions are of doubtful authenticity. The gold leaf inscription of a brotherhood establishing a stūpa in year 39 of Azes (CKI 455) most clearly appears to be a forgery (Salomon 1999: 144; 2005a: 369) and is not included in the present catalog. The inscription on the “base” belonging to the reliquary lid that bears Ariasrava’s inscription (no. 23) may also be forgery (see note on the text), and it is not clear whether Budhapriya’s earthenware pot (no. 42) did in fact serve as a reliquary (see chap. 5, n. 15), but giving them the benefit of the doubt, these latter two inscriptions are included.

The structure of the catalog entries is as follows:

Donor(s), year and era of the inscription (where known) [date in Common Era]

Description of the object

Provenance

Last known location and inventory number

(Position of the inscription on the object:) Text of the inscription

(Position of the inscription on the object:) Translation of the inscription

References to main previous publications on the inscription

Number of the inscription in part II (abbreviated CKI) of the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass, <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>)

In titles and translations, the spelling of Gandhari proper names has been harmonized so that they occur in the same form throughout the catalog. Sanskritized forms are used only for pan-Indian terms such as the names of months and gods. In the Gandhari texts, double angle brackets « » indicate interlinear insertions by the engraver, double curly braces { } deletions by the engraver, square brackets [] uncertain readings, parentheses with an asterisk (*) restorations of lost text, angle brackets with an asterisk < * > restorations of text accidentally omitted by the engraver, simple curly braces { } deletions of text erroneously added by the engraver, question marks ? illegible syllables, and plus signs + lost syllables; in translations, parentheses indicate additional information not in the corresponding Gandhari texts; in Gandhari texts as well as in translations, line numbers are placed in square brackets. References are primarily to earlier editions of the inscriptions and to other publications used in establishing the present texts and translations; as a matter of principle, publications predating Konow 1929a are not included since an exhaustive bibliography and summary of earlier research is available in that work. Complete documentation of all publications relating to Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions forms part of the *Bibliography of Gāndhārī Studies* (Baums and Glass,

<http://gandhari.org/bibliography/>) and can be consulted there. The inscriptions are here presented in two sections: those that can be placed in reasonably secure chronological sequence, either because they have known dates or donors or are from the sparsely documented early period, and those that can be dated only approximately on paleographical or archaeological grounds.

A. Inscriptions with known dates or donors

1. Unknown year of Menandros [c. 150 BCE]; reestablished by Vijayamitra (II), year 5 [8/7 BCE]²

Steatite cylindrical (fig. 6.1)

Shinkot, Bajaur, Pakistan

Location unknown

2. Falk (2005) argues on the basis of their layout, language and unexpected content that inscriptions A/A¹, A², C1/C2, and D1 on this reliquary are modern forgeries. Some of the features he notes may, however, simply be due to the fact that these inscriptions, if genuine, would be more than one hundred years older than the bulk of preserved reliquary inscriptions. Inscription B would then have been added by the reliquary's first new owner (identified by Salomon [2005a: 382] as Vijayamitra I, predecessor of Viṣṇuvarma), and inscriptions D2/D3 and E, in connection with its final reestablishment (by Vijayamitra II, son of Viṣṇuvarma).

3. The date for the establishment of the relics was apparently changed from the 8th to the 14th day of the month after the inscription had already been engraved, and the original number 4 4 had to be modified accordingly by adding 4 below and inserting 11 in the narrow space after it (Fussman 1993: 104–5).

(Outside of lid:) [A] . . . minedrasa maharajasa
kaṭiasa divasa 4 4 4 1 1³ praṇasa]me[da] (*śarira
bhagavato) [A¹] [śa](*kamunisa prati)[thavi]ta
(Inside of lid:) [A²] praṇasame[da] (*śarira bhagava)-
[to] śakamunisa
(Outside of lid, added:) [C1] vijaya[mi](*)[r](*)[ṇa]
[C2] pate pradithavide
(Inside of base, rim:) [D1] ime śarira palugabhuṭao
na sakareaṭi tasa śariaṭi kalaḍe na śadhro na
piṃḍoya ke yi pitri grīṇayaṭi tasa ye patre vapomua
(Inside of base, side:) [B] viyakamitraṣa apracarajasa
(Inside of base, middle:) [D2] vaṣaye paṃcamaye 4
1 veśakḥasa masasa divasa paṃcaviṣaye iyo
[D3] praṭithaviṭe vijayamitrena apracarajena
bhagavatu śakimuṇisa samasabudhasa śarira
(Underside of base:) [E] viṣpilena aṇaṃkayeṇa
likhiṭe

(Outside of lid:) “[A] . . . of the great king Menandros, on the 14th day of the month Kārttika, (*relics of the Lord,) [A¹] (*the Śākya sage,) that are endowed with life are established.”

(Inside of lid:) “[A²] (*Relics) of the Lord, the Śākya sage, that are endowed with life.”

(Outside of lid, added:) “[C1] By Vijayamitra (II) [C2] (this) bowl is established.”

(Inside of base, rim:) “[D1] These relics, having become broken, are not treated with respect. *tasa śariaṭi* after (some) time. Nobody provides the funerary ritual nor food and water to the ancestors. The bowl that belongs to it is barely covered.”



Fig. 6.1. *Portion of the Shinkot inscriptions, unknown year of Menandros (no. 1)*

Cylindrical steatite container

Location unknown

(Inside of base, side:) “[B] Of Vijayamitra (I), king of Apraca.”

(Inside of base, middle:) “[D2] In the fifth—5th—year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Vaiśākha, this [D3] relic of the Śākya sage, the completely enlightened one, is established by Vijayamitra, king of Apraca.”

(Underside of base:) “[E] Written by Viśpila, the *anankaio*s.”⁴

Majumdar 1937–38a; Konow 1939–40; Sircar 1942; Konow 1947b; Lamotte 1958: 464–65; Brough 1962: 91, 95; Sircar 1965: 102–6; Schopen 1987: 204; Fussman 1989: 459–60, 468; Fussman 1993: 95–111; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 997–1000; Schopen 1999: 295; Falk 2005: 349–53, 355; Salomon 2005a: 360, 362, 367, 379–80, 382, 385; Salomon 2009a: 128–29
CKI 176

4. Cf. the note on *amaca* in inscription no. 30.

2. *Gomitra*, year 12⁵

Stone relic-chamber slab

Provenance unknown

Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan
105111

(Inside of slab:) [1] ? + + .[u] ? . . . [2] [va]ṣe vata-
mane ya [d]u[va]ḍaya ? ? ? [3] pra[ta]maheṣiṇa
gomitreṇa ṣamaṇeṇa [4] dhamakasikēṇa ime
śarira pradi[5]ṭhaviḍa tasa bhagavadu śakam[u]-
ṇisa [6] (*uta)map[u]galasa <*de>[va]didevasa
ma[7](*haṣamaṇasa) [sava]sapahiḍas(*u)[kha]-
(*ya)

(Inside of slab:) “[1] . . . [2] and in the current
twelfth year . . . [3] by the monk Gomitra, the
great sage who has attained . . . [4] the reciter of
the dharma, [5] are established these relics of that
Lord, the Śākya sage, [6] the highest man, the
chief god of the gods, [7] the great monk, for the
benefit and happiness of all beings.”

Sadakata 2003; Tanabe 2007: 227, 297; Salomon
2009b
CKI 464

5. Paleographically not later than the first century BCE and possibly as old as the middle of the second century BCE. “Twelfth year” most likely refers to the reign of an unknown king.

6. Paleographically not later than the middle of the first century BCE (Konow 1929a: 2). Konow (1939–40: 639–40) suggested that Theodotos and Menandros (no. 1) might have been contemporaries.

3. *Theodotos*⁶

Steatite miniature stūpa (figs. 5.8, 5.9)

Swat, Pakistan

Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan G 344

(Outside of base:) the[u]dutena⁷ meridarkhena
pratiṭhaviḍa ime śarira śakamuṇisa bhagavato
bahujāṇa[hita]ye⁸

(Outside of base:) “By Theodotos, the meridarch,⁹
are established these relics of the Śākya sage, the
Lord, for the benefit of many people.”

Konow 1929a: 1–4; Konow 1939–40: 639–40;
Sircar 1965: 111; Ghosal 1981b; Tsukamoto 1996–
98: 1001–2
CKI 32

4. *Unknown meridarch*¹⁰

Copper sheet

Taxila, Pakistan

Indian Museum, Kolkata, India

7. Konow (1929a: 2) read *theudorena* (Greek Θεόδωρος); Salomon (above, p. 198) improves the reading to *the[u]dutena* (Greek Θεόδοτος).

8. Konow (1929a: 4) read *-stitiye* and translated “for the purpose of security”; Salomon (above, p. 199) suggests that the engraver, though stumbling on the first two akṣaras, intended *hitaye*.

9. Greek μεριδάρχης, “governor of a district or province” (Liddell and Scott 1940 s.v.).

10. Paleographically datable to the second half of the first century BCE (Konow 1929a: 4; Fussman 1994: 26) or later (Konow 1939–40: 640).

? ? + + meri[a]kheṇa¹¹ sabhayakeṇa thubo pra[ti]-
stavito matapitu puyae aghadakṣoṇayae

“... by the meridarch¹² together with his wife is
established (this) stūpa, in honor of mother and
father (and) for the highest reward.”

Konow 1929a: 4–5; Konow 1939–40: 640; Fussman
1994: 20, 26
CKI 33

5. Loṇa¹³

Schist lid

Provenance unknown

Private collection

(Inside of lid:) kumarasa viṣuvarmasa [a]teuria loṇa
grahavadi[dhita]¹⁴ im[e] śarira pratīhaveti sarva
budha puyāita atitaṇagatapracupaṇa pracega-



Fig. 6.2. The inscription of Loṇa (no. 5)

Schist lid

Private collection

11. Konow (1929a: 5) read *meri[ḍa]kheṇa* with *ḍa* < *dra*, itself presumably < *dar* by “Dardic metathesis.” The latter would, however, not be expected in a loanword such as *meridarkha*, and a further development to *ḍ* is also not typical of (orthographic) *dr* that arose from Dardic metathesis. Fussman (1994: 20, 26) read *merilukheṇa* and questioned the identity of the word with the Greek title. Konow’s reproduction does, however, allow reading *meri[a]kheṇa*, the word is reproduced as such in the eye copy in Cunningham 1871: 125, and the form without *d* is now also attested in Nagaṇaḍa’s inscription no. 6, l. B2, *meriakha[sa]*; in Seṇavarma’s inscription no. 24, l. 14, *meriakheṇa*; and in Utaṛa’s inscription no. 9, l. 3, *meriakhomata*.

12. See the note on inscription no. 3.

13. This reliquary must have been established several years

before Vijayamitra II succeeded his father, Viṣuvarma (in the year 12/11 BCE, as shown by no. 13), since Viṣuvarma himself is still called a prince in the inscription. The name of the ruling king at the time is not known, but it might have been the (hypothetical) Vijayamitra I who added inscription B to the Shinkot reliquary (no. 1).

14. Salomon (1995a: 27) read *loṇagrahavadi dho* (or *co*) *ta* (or *kha*) and translated “Dhota [. . .] a householder of(?) Loṇa.” But the photographs used for Salomon’s edition also allow reading *[dhita]* “daughter” and taking Loṇa as the name of the donor, which reduces the number of unknown proper names from two to one and is thus preferable on principle. Another donation by a lady from the women’s quarters (*amteuriae*), of Viṣuvarma’s son Vijayamitra II, is attested some thirty-five years later in Prahodi’s

budha puyaïta bhaga[va]to şavaḷa puyaïta braṃṇa
saha[m]pati puyaïta śakro de[va]ṇa idro puyaïta
catvaro ma[ha]raya puyaïta sarva(*sa)tva puyaïta

(Inside of lid:) “A (lady) of the women’s quarters of
prince Vişuvarma, Loṇa, daughter of a householder,
establishes these relics. All buddhas are honored;
past, future, and present solitary buddhas are
honored; the disciples of the Lord are honored;
Brahman Sahampati is honored; Śakra, ruler of
the gods, is honored; the four great kings are
honored; all beings are honored.”

Salomon 1995a; Mukherjee 1997: 143–44; Salomon
2005a: 360, 380, 382, 385
CKI 247

6. *Ṇagaṇaḍa*, year 50 or 60 (of Azes) [8/7 BCE or
2/3 CE]

Schist spherical

Dir, Pakistan

Private collection

(Inside of lid:) [A1] vaşae 20 20 [10] kartiasa masasa
divasae 20 4 viyamitrassa ava[A2]cara[ja](*sa
raja)[m](*)i ṇe hasto iśa divasami [A3] ṇagaṇaḍa ?

inscription no. 19, and the donor of inscription no. 29, Cadrabhi,
is likewise distinguished as the daughter of a householder
(*dhrammasa grahavatisa dhita*).

(Outside of lid:) [B2] iśa divasami ṇaa[ṇa]ḍa ta[ra]-
viasa meriakha[sa bha]ya [B1] thobo paḍiṭhapeti
ja[lo] + + + mi mahata ?

(Outside of base:) [C1] mahatavipraheṇasa śarira
paḍiṭhavima [C2] saba budha puyaïta Dhama-
gutina saga [dana]

(Inside of lid:) “[A1] In the 50th [or 60th] year, on
the 24th day of the month Kārttika, in the reign
of Vijayamitra (II), [A2] king of Apraca, under the
constellation Hasta, on this day [A3] Ṇagaṇaḍa.”

(Outside of lid:) “[B2] On this day Ṇagaṇaḍa, wife
of the meridarch Taravia, [B1] establishes a stūpa
at *jalo* + + + (thinking,) ‘Of the one who has
abandoned greatness.’”

(Outside of base:) “[C1] ‘Of the one who has aban-
doned greatness we establish relics.’ [C2] All
buddhas are honored. Gift to the Dharmaguptin
community.”

Falk 2003a: 74–76; Falk 2003b; Falk 2010: 19–25
CKI 454

7. *Samgharakṣita*, year 60 (of Azes) [2/3 CE]

Schist cylindrical (fig. 5.3)

Provenance unknown

Private collection

(Outside of base:) sam 20 20 20 khsamḍikasa 10 4 1
samgharakṣitena śirakaputreṇa śarirae pratistavitae
savabudhaṇa puyae

(Outside of base:) “In the year 60, on the 15th of Ksandikos, by Saṃgharakṣita, son of Śiraka, a relic is established in honor of all buddhas.”

Salomon 2000: 55–59

CKI 403

8. *Imḍravarma (I) with others, year 63 of Azes [5/6 CE]*

Schist spherical (fig. 5.7)

Bajaur, Pakistan

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

1987.142.71a, b

(Outside of body:) [3] saṃvatsarae treṣaṭṭhimaē 20 20
20 1 1 1 maharayasa ayasa atidasa kartiasa masasa

divasae ṣoḍaśae imeṇa cetrike¹⁵ kṣ[a]ṇ[e] idra-
varme kumare apracarajaputre [4] ime bhagavato
śakyamuṇisa śarira pradīḥaveti ṭhiāe gabhirae
apradīḥavitaprove pateṣe brammaṇo[ṇ]o] prasa-
vati sadha maḍuṇa rukhuṇakaa jiputrae¹⁶ apraca-
rajabharyae [5] sadha maūleṇa ramakeṇa sadha
maūlaṇie daśakae sadha śpasadarehi vasavadatae
maha[ve]dae ṇikae ca gahiṇie ya utarae [6] pitu a
puyae viṣuvarmasa avacarayasa [7] bhrada vaga
stratego puyaite viyayamitro ya avacaraya madu-
śpasa bhaīdata¹⁷ puyita

(Outside of lid:) [1] ime ca śarire muryakaliṇate
thubute kiḍapaḍiharia avhiye aheṭhi majimami
pratiḥhavaṇami pratiḥha[visa] [2] vasia paṃcaīśo

15. Bailey’s (1978: 10) suggestion that *cetrike* is derived from *citra*, “excellent, distinguished,” and should be translated as “auspicious” is followed with some hesitation by Salomon (1982: 60) and Salomon and Schopen (1984: 109) (reading *cetrike kṣeṇe*), whereas Fussman (1980b: 3–4) reads and translates *cetripekṣeṇa*, “par cette quinzaine brillante” (taking *cetri* as *citra* and *pekṣeṇa* as *pakṣeṇa*). The third akṣara of the phrase is, however, clearly *ke* (as pointed out by Salomon and Schopen 1984: 109), and *cetrike kṣ[a]ṇ[e]* thus seems to be the best reading. As for the interpretation of this phrase, the best approach may be to take *cetrika* as the regular Gandhari equivalent of Sanskrit *caitrika*, which according to Pāṇini 4.2.23 (Böhtlingk 1887) is an alternative form of *caitra*, “related to the constellation Citrā; the month Caitra.” The intended meaning may then be that the preceding date is to be interpreted according to the system in which the year starts with the month Caitra rather than that in which it starts with Kārttika, the same month in which the relic establishment in question took place, which may have prompted this specification. If this interpretation is correct, it would provide proof that already in the first century

of its existence, the Azes/Vikrama system of dating operated with these two variants known from later and modern sources (see Salomon 1998: 182).

16. The name should presumably be read *rukhuṇakae*, but the *e* mātrā is not clearly visible in the available images. Falk (1998: 95) correctly identified the title as *ji(va)putra* but read *rukhuṇaka ajiputra* with “inverted position of vowel signs” in the second word, not realizing that *a* has to be part of the instrumental ending of the name and that the title is here given in its shorter form *jiputra* (for which cf. Śatruleka’s inscription no. 17, l. 5, *rukhuṇaka jiputra*).

17. The name of Imḍravarma’s aunt probably corresponds to Sanskrit Bhagadattā. In the sixth to eighth centuries, the Palola Śāhis of the Gilgit region claimed to be descended from a “Bhagadatta line” (*bhagadattavaṇśa*, *bhagadattaanvaya*; von Hinüber 2004: 85–99, with further reference to a certainly unrelated Bhagadatta line in seventh-century Assam). Bhagadatta also occurs as the name of a prince in the Mahābhārata (Sörensen 1904 s.v.).

(Outside of body:) “[3] In the sixty-third—63rd—year of the late great king Azes, on the sixteenth day of the month Kārttika, at this moment (according to) Caitrika (reckoning) Prince Imḍravarma (I), son of the king of Apraca (Viṣuvarma), [4] establishes these relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage, in a secure, deep, previously unestablished place. He produces Brahman merit together with his mother, Rukhuṇaka, who has a living son (Vijayamitra II), the wife of the king of Apraca (Viṣuvarma); [5] together with his maternal uncle Ramaka; together with his maternal uncle’s wife Daṣaka; together with his sisters and wife, Vasavadata, Mahaveda, and Nika, and the lady of the house, Utara; [6] and in honor of his father, Viṣuvarma, king of Apraca. [7] His brother Vaga, the general, is honored, and Vijayamitra (II), king of Apraca. His mother’s sister Bhaḍdata is honored.

(Outside of lid:) “[1] And these relics, from a Maurya period stūpa, on which a miracle has been performed, are established in a secure(?), safe, central(?) establishment. [2] *vasia* fifty.”

Mukherjee 1977–78; Bailey 1978; Fussman 1980b; Bivar 1981a: 372–73; Bivar 1981b: 52–54; Mukherjee 1981a: 51–82; Salomon 1982; Fussman 1984: 32–33, 46; Salomon and Schopen 1984; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 941–43; Falk 1998: 85–86, 94–95; Salomon 2005a: 360, 380–81, 385; Falk 2005, 347–49; Falk 2008a: 76–77; Behrendt 2007: 20, 22–23
CKI 242

9. Utara with Imḍravarma (I)

Silver sheet (found in schist elliptical container)

Bajaur, Pakistan

Private collection

[1] [sa]va budha puyaīta aditaṇagatapracupaṇa
[sa]va pracegabudha puyaīta sarvarahaṃta puyaīta
utara (*kuma)[2][ra]bhaya sadha imḍravarmēna
kumarena bhagavato dhatue pratistaveti śīla-
staṃbho [hi]te a. sadaḍha ujim[da] . . . [3] utaraūto
pupidrio uṣaṃveo puyaī(*ta) meriakhomata śreṭha
puyaīta śpaśuro viṣu(*varmo) [4] apacarayo
puyaīta jivaputra rukhunaka puyaīta [va]go¹⁸
[stra]teo puyaīta apacaraya vi(*jaya)[5]mitr[o]
puyaīta dhrama[s]eno ṣamano ṇaveamio puyaīta

“[1] All buddhas are honored, past, future, and present. All solitary buddhas are honored. All saints are honored. Utara, [2] wife of the prince (Imḍravarma I), together with Prince Imḍravarma (I) establishes relics of the Lord. A stone pillar is set up. . . . a. *sadaḍha ujimda* . . . [3] Utaraūta, Pupidria, (and) Uṣaṃvea are honored. Śreṭha, mother of the meridarch,¹⁹ is honored. (Her) father-in-law Viṣuvarma, [4] king of Apraca, is honored. Rukhuṇaka, who has a living son, is honored. The general Vaga is honored.

18. Salomon (1997a: 184) read *[a]go* but now (personal communication) prefers *[va]go*. The name is possibly related to *vagamarega* in inscription nos. 43 and 44.

19. See the note on inscription no. 3.

[5] Vijayamitra (II), king of Apraca, is honored.
The monk Dhramasena, the superintendent of
construction, is honored.”

Salomon 1997a; Salomon 2005a: 381, 385
CKI 265

10. Utara

Schist cylindrical (letters inlaid with gold) (fig. 5.1)
Bajaur, Pakistan
Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan
100156

(Outside of lid:) utara stretegabharya imu thubu
pratiṭhaveti apratiṭha(*vi)daprovami pradeśami
tramaṇospami sava budha puyita atidaaṇagada
pracegasabudha puyida rahata puyida

(Outside of lid:) “Utara, wife of the general
(Imḍravarma I), establishes this stūpa in a previ-
ously unestablished place, in the Tramaṇa *ospa*.
All buddhas are honored, past and future; the
solitary buddhas are honored; the saints are
honored.”

Mukherjee 1981b; Salomon 1988; Bivar 1996:
142–44; Salomon 1996a: 234; Falk 1998: 94; Salo-
mon 2003: 54–57; Salomon 2005a: 361, 381, 385
CKI 255

11. Ajidaseṇa, year 4²⁰

Gold sheet (found in schist spherical container) (fig.
3.10)
Mata, Swat, Pakistan
Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan
101740

20. Although the three known inscriptions of the royal
house of Oḍi are dated only by regnal years (no. 11: year 4
of Ajidaseṇa; no. 22: year 5 of Varmaseṇa; no. 24: year 14 of
Seṇavarma), it is possible to calculate approximate absolute
dates for their production. The inscription of Seṇavarma (no.
24, l. 8) refers to Kujula Kadphises (*kuyulakataph[śp]a*) as
“great king, chief king of kings” (*maharajaratiraya*) and must
therefore have been composed during this Kuṣāṇa ruler’s reign,
sometime between 40 and 90 or 95 CE (Errington and Curtis
2007: 54; Bopearachchi 2008: 52). An earlier, rather than later,
point within this time span is suggested by two possible (though
by no means certain) identifications. Suhasoma, the *anankaio*s of
Seṇavarma in no. 24, l. 9, may be the same person as Suhasoma,
the co-donor in the earthenware pot inscription CKI 369 associ-
ated with the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts,
which is likely to belong to the middle of the first century CE
(Salomon 1999: 150, 152–53). If this is the case, it would lend

support to the possibility that this manuscript collection
originated in Swat (Nasim Khan and Sohail Khan 2004: 9) rather
than, according to a hearsay report, in Hadda (Sadakata 1996:
311). A second possible identification concerns Vasavadata, wife
of Suhasoma and main donor in the earthenware pot inscription
CKI 369, who may be the same person as Vasavadata, the sister
of Imḍravarma I in no. 8 (Salomon 1999: 152–53, 2005a: 385).
The two firm dates that we have for Imḍravarma I are 5/6 CE
(no. 8) and 15/16 CE (no. 13). Vasavadata is mentioned as his
sister in 5/6 CE, when he was still a prince (*kumara*), but she is
not mentioned in 15/16 CE, when he had become general
(*stratega*). If we therefore assume that she became the wife of
Suhasoma just before the latter date, at a young age of about
fifteen years, then she would have been forty years old in 40 CE
(the earliest possible date for the Seṇavarma inscription) and,
less likely, sixty-five years old in 65 CE (in the middle of the
possible date range for the inscription). Both proposed identifica-

[1] rajasa vijidaseṇasa kuṭadhipatisa p(*u)tre ajida-
seṇa oḍiraja{sa} ṇavhapati sa²¹ saba [2] budha
puyāita adidaṇagataprakupāṇa save pracegasa-
budha puyāita adidaṇagataprakupāṇa [3] save

tions therefore suggest that the Seṇavarma inscription was produced near the beginning of the reign of Kujula Kadphises, and I shall here assume a very approximate date of 50 CE, placing Seṇavarma's accession in c. 36 CE. Since we know that Seṇavarma succeeded his older brother Varmaseṇa (no. 24, l. 1), we may assume that the latter's reign was somewhat shorter than usual, though it did last for at least five years (no. 22), placing its beginning at c. 25 CE. Assuming further that their father, Ajidaseṇa, enjoyed a normal reign of c. twenty years, he would have become king in c. 5 CE, and his present inscription would therefore date to approximately 9 CE. While the preceding is very tentative, it does not contradict any of the historical gleanings we have of the relationship between the Apraca and Oḍi kings and the Kuṣāṇa emperors, and synchronizing the Oḍi kings in even a preliminary way with the main sequence of dated Gandharan reliquary inscriptions seemed preferable for purposes of this catalog to treating them in an entirely separate section.

21. The overall construction of the sentence is in the active voice, with a series of gerunds (*puyāita*) followed by the main verb *pratiṭhaveti*. The titles *oḍiraja* and *ṇavhapati* should therefore be in the nominative case, just like the preceding *p(*u)tre ajidaseṇa*. It is possible that a scribe involved in the preparation of this inscription had the text *ajidaseṇa oḍiraja ṇavhapati sa saba budha puyāita . . . pratiṭhaveti*, with a nominative singular demonstrative pronoun *sa* following the name and titles (cf. the inscription of Ajidaseṇa's ancestor Vasuseṇa, as quoted inside Seṇavarma's inscription no. 24, l. 3: *vasuseṇe oḍiraya iṣmahokulade se imo ekaiḍo pratiṭhaveti*, and maybe Vagamarega's inscription no. 43, l. 1: *kamagulyaputravagamarega sa . . . bhagavada śakyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti*), but that he wrongly interpreted *ṇavhapatisa* as an agentive genitive and the first *puyāita* as a past participle, prompting him to add another genitive ending to *oḍiraja* after the words *p(*u)tre ajidaseṇa* had already been written.

bhagavato ṣavage puya(*i)ta madapida puyāita
save puyaharaha puyāita ime tasa[4]gadasa
bhagavado rahado samasabudhasa śakamuṇisa
śakavirajasa²² vijacaraṇasa[5]paṇasa dhadue
pratiṭhaveti apratiṭhavitaṇubami paḍhavipra-
deśami tirae mahathuba[6]mi dhakṣiṇami bhagami
ayam eḍaṇi sabadukhovachedae nivaṇae sabatadu
[7] vaṣaye caūṭhaye 4 aṣaḍasa masa(*sa) divasaye
daśame 10

“[1] The son of King Vijidaseṇa, the fortress master, Ajidaseṇa, king of Oḍi, *navha* master, he honors all [2] buddhas, past, future, and present, honors all solitary buddhas, past, future, and present, [3] honors all disciples of the Lord, honors mother and father, honors all who deserve honor, and

22. Fussman (1986: 2) interpreted this word as a compound of *śaka* and *viraja* (= Old Indo-Aryan *viraja*), translating “exempt de passion parmi les Śākya.” The sequence of epithets *bhagavāṇ śākyamuṇiḥ śākyādhirājah* is, however, well attested in Sanskrit Buddhist texts: Saṅghabhedavastu II 67.13–14 (Gnoli 1977–78), Divyāvadāna 193.9 (Cowell and Neil 1886), and Smaller Sukhāvātīvyūha 99.15–16 (Müller and Nanjio 1883); and an extended version (*bhagavantaṃ tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddhaṃ śākyamuṇiḥ śākyādhirājaṃ*) occurs in Abhidharmakośavyākhyā 376.19–20 (Wogihara 1932–36). The Gandhari word in question is therefore best understood as a compound of *śaka* and *aviraja*, the latter being a phonetic spelling of *abhirāja* with the common prefix variant *abhi-* for *adhi-* (on which see, e.g., Glass 2007: 167–68). While a compound **sakkābhirāja* is not attested in Pali, the form *abhirāja* with *abhi-* does occur in canonical texts as part of the compound *rājābhirāja* (Suttanipāta 553 = Majjhimanikāya II 146 = Theragāthā 823; Jātaka IV 309.15, V 322.22).



Fig. 6.3. *The inscription of Patika (no. 12)*

Copper sheet

British Museum 1967,1018.5

establishes these relics [4] of the Tathāgata, the Lord, the saint, the completely enlightened one, the Śākya sage, chief king of the Śākyas, [5] perfect in knowledge and conduct, in a previously unestablished place of the earth, in Tira, [6] in the great stūpa, in the southern part. This now may serve for the elimination of all suffering, for nirvana. [7] In the fourth—4th—year, on the tenth—10th—day of the month Āṣāḍha.”

Fussman 1986; Bailey 1989; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1003–5; von Hinüber 2003: 8, 32; Falk 2003–4: 577 CKI 334

12. *Patika, year 78 of Maues*²³

Copper sheet (fig. 6.3)

Taxila, Pakistan

British Museum, London, UK 1967,1018.5

23. The wording of the date in this inscription is ambiguous: it could refer either to year 78 of an otherwise unknown era established by Maues, or to year 78 of an unknown era (or,

(Recto:) [1] [saṃva]tśaraye aṭhasatatimae 20 20 20
10 4 4 maharayasa mahaṃtasa mogasa pa[ne]-
masa masasa divase paṃcame 4 1 etaye purvaye
kṣaha[ra]ta[sa] [2] [cukhsa]sa ca kṣatrapasa liako
kusuluko nama tasa [pu]tro pati[ko] takhaśilaye
nagare utareṇa pracu deśo kṣema nama atra
[3] (*de)śe patiko apratiṭhavita bhagavata śaka-
muṇisa śariraṃ (*pra)tithaveti [saṃgha]ramaṃ ca
sarvabudhana puyae matapitaraṃ puyayaṃt(*o)

possibly, of the Greek era) that fell in the reign of Maues. Since the reign of Maues is assumed to have begun around 80 BCE (Cribb) or between 78 and 58 BCE (Falk), Patika's inscription would date to between 1 and 20 CE under the former assumption (followed here), or either 108/107 BCE (assuming the Greek era and a very early date for Maues) or between 80 and 50 BCE (both of which seem too early). See Salomon 2005a: 371–73 for a fuller discussion and further references.

[4] [kṣatra]pasa saputradarasa ayubalavardhi[e]
 bhratara sarva ca [ñatigabaṃdha]vasa ca
 puyayaṃto mahadanapatipatika ja uva[ja]e²⁴
 [5] rohiṇimitreṇa ya ima[mi] saṃgharame
 navakamika

(Verso:) patikasa kṣatrapa liaka

(Recto:) “[1] In the seventy-eighth—78th—year of
 the great king, the great Maues, on the fifth—
 5th—day of the month Panemos, on this first
 (lunar day), Patika, the son of the *kṣaharata*
 [2] and governor of Cukhsa—called Liaka
 Kusuluka—establishes in the city of Takṣaśilā—
 the northeastern area is called Kṣema—in [3] this
 area Patika (establishes) an unestablished relic
 of the Lord, the Śākya sage, and a monastery in
 honor of all buddhas, honoring mother and father,

24. This word was reconstructed as an instrumental *uva[za]-e(*na)* by F. W. Thomas (1931: 6), followed by Konow (1932: 953; 1936: 530–31), and as *uva[ja]e(*na)* by Fussman (1989: 455–56). All of them identified this teacher of Patika with Rohiṇimitra, the superintendent of construction, in the following line. This ignored, however, Konow’s earlier observation (1929a: 24, 28) that line 5 had been added subsequently to the main part of this inscription, just as the line mentioning the superintendent of construction in Lala’s inscription (no. 37) is a subsequent addition. It seems preferable, therefore, to interpret *uva[za]e* as an accusative and connect it with the preceding as an additional object of *puyayaṃto*, making Patika’s teacher and the superintendent of construction two separate persons. As originally suggested by Konow, both in this inscription and in Lala’s the superintendents added their own footnotes to the main text in order to be associated with the merit of the relic establishment.

[4] for the increase of lifespan and strength
 of the governor with son(s) and wife, honoring
 (his) brothers and all relatives and kinsmen, and
 the teacher of the great donation master Patika.
 [5] With Rohiṇimitra, who is the superintendent
 of construction in this monastery.”

(Verso:) “For Patika the governor Liaka.”

Konow 1929a: 23–29; F. W. Thomas 1931: 6, 10, 15;
 Konow 1932: 953; Brough 1962: 61; Sircar 1965:
 124–25; Fussman 1989: 455–56; Tsukamoto 1996–98:
 1006–8; Cribb 1999: 196; Falk 2002: 88; Salomon
 2005a: 370–73
 CKI 46

13. *Rukhuṇa*, year 27 of Vijayamitra (II), 73 of Azes
 and 201 of the Greeks [15/16 CE]

Schist spherical

Bajaur, Pakistan

Private collection

(Inside of lid:) vaṣaye sataviśaye 20 4 1 1 1 iśparasa
 vijayamitrassa apacarajasa aṇuśastiye ye vucati
 ayasa vaṣaye tresā(*ta)timae²⁵ 20 20 20 10 1 1 1
 yoṇaṇa vaṣaye ekaduśatimaye 2 100 1 śravaṇasa
 masasa divasaye aṭhamaye iśa divasaṃmi prati-
 ṭhavidu thuve rukhuṇaye apacarajabharyae vijaya-

25. The reading *trisa(*ta)timae* in Salomon 2005a: 363 is a misprint (Salomon, personal communication). I have further shown (2006: 37) that *tre-* may be the regular form of “three” in compound with multiples of ten.

mitreṇa apracarajeṇa iṃdravarmeṇa strategeṇa
sabharyarehi sakumarehi

(Inside of lid:) “In the twenty-seventh—27th—year
in the rule of Lord Vijayamitra (II), king of Apraca,
in the seventy-third—73rd—year that is called ‘of
Azes,’ in the two-hundred-and-first—201st—year
of the Greeks, on the eighth day of the month
Śrāvaṇa, on that day a stūpa is established by
Rukhuṇa, wife of the (former) king of Apraca
(Viṣuvarma), by Vijayamitra (II), king of Apraca,
(and) by general Iṃdravarma (I), together with
their wives and sons.”

Salomon 2005a; MacDowall 2007; Jakobsson 2009
CKI 405

14. Ramaka, year 74 of Azes [16/17 CE]

Stone relic-chamber slab (fig. 6.4)

Bajaur, Pakistan

Location unknown

(Inner side of slab:) [1] saṃvatsaraya codusatatimae
20 20 20 10 4 maharayasa [2] mahatasa ayasa
vurtakalasa aśpai[a]sa²⁶ [3] masasa divasaṃmiṃ

26. Fussman (1980b: 6) read *aśpaiśusa*, but his plate allows the reading *aśpai[a]sa*, which is closer to the expected Gandhari form *aśpaiusa* (so in the donative stone inscription CKI 116; Fussman 1980b: 18) < Old Indo-Aryan *āśvayuj-*; for intervocalic *i* instead of *y*, see also *dukhadaïae* from *-dāyāya* in line 15 (Salomon 2000: 65–66) and *śaïa* < *śayyām* in verse 37b of the British Library Gandhari version of the Anavataptagāthā (Salomon 2008).

1 1 1 aśpaiṇa nekṣetreṇa aja [4] sudivase s[u]-
nakṣetre ramake mahaś[ra]vaputre kuti[5]gra-
mavastave²⁷ apratistavitapruve paḍhavipradeśe
[6] pratiṭhaveti bhagavato śariraṃ ka[i]hakami
ka[7]laretamiṃ sarvabudhaṇa sarvapracesem-
budha[8]ṇe puyae matipidu bharyae putrana maha-
[9]vermasa mahiṃdrasa puyee s[u]kaṇikaśpa[pa]-
so[10]ṇa bharyae kṣatra[pa] + + + + muñatrasa
kṣatra[11]vasa yola + + + + + puyae savasa-
[12]tvaṇa puya[13]e iya [śa]rirapratīṭhavaṇa
kimatrae bhoḍu [14] samudayapra(*ha)ṇae²⁸
magabhavaṇae ṇir[o]sa(*sa)kṣ[i](*)a²⁹
[15] dukhadaïae

(Inner side of slab:) “[1] In the seventy-fourth—74th
—year of the great king, [2] the great Azes, whose

27. Probably a mistake for *kaṃtiagramavastave*; see no. 15, l. 2, *kaṃtiagramava[sta]vasa* (Fussman 1980b: 19).

28. Fussman (1980b: 7) translated “pour la cessation de la production [de la douleur],” interpreting *praṇae* as a locative form equivalent to Sanskrit *praṇāśe*. But the expected case in this as in the other members of the enumeration is the dative, and it therefore seems preferable to consider *praṇae* a scribal error for or maybe a contraction of *prahaṇae* “abandoning,” the action typically associated with *samudaya* in the context of the four noble truths.

29. Fussman (1980b: 7) read *[mu]ṇorasakṣae*, interpreting it as Sanskrit **mānarakṣaye* and translating “pour la destruction du goût et de l’orgueil.” Salomon (2000: 65) modified the reading to *[ma]ṇorasakṣae*, interpreted the first part as Sanskrit *manoratha-*, and translated “to the destruction of desire.” A reference to the truth of cessation is, however, expected, and further investigation of the plate makes it likely that the akṣara *[mu]* is an illusion created by the right protusion of the vowel



Fig. 6.4. *The inscription of Ramaka (no. 14)*

Stone relic-chamber slab

Location unknown

mātra of *ṇi* in combination with the upper-left part of the preceding *e*. The vowel mātrā of the following *ro* is faint but visible so that the expected reading *ṇir[o]sa* is secure. The identity of the second part of the compound is less clear: Fussman's identifications of a base consonant *kṣa* and an akṣara *e* seem correct, but the spacing suggests that another akṣara, mostly obliterated and crossed by the vertical line marking the left border of the main

text area, intervened between these two. A solution is suggested by two Gandhari commentaries in the British Library collection, which, in enumerations of the four noble truths, refer to *ṇiroṣa-sakṣia* (Saṅgītisūtra commentary, British Library fragment 15, frame 31 verso, seventh line of the *vimuktyāyatana* section) and *ṇirosa(*sa)kṣia* (verse commentary [Baums 2009, scroll 13, line 70], with the same apparent haplography as in the inscription).

time has passed, on the 3rd day [3] of the month Āśvayuj, under the constellation Āśvayuj, now [4] on (this) good day, under (this) good constellation, Ramaka, son of Maḥāśrava, [5] resident of the village Kaṃti, [6] establishes in a previously unestablished place of the earth a relic of the Buddha in *kaiḥaka* [7] *kalaretra*,³⁰ in honor of all buddhas (and) [8] of all solitary buddhas, in honor of mother and father, of the wife (and) of the sons [9] Mahavarma and Mahiṃdra, [10] in honor of the governor . . . the *sukaṇikaśpapasoṇa*³¹ wife, [11] of the governor . . . *muñatrasa*, of *yola* . . . , [12] [13] in honor of all beings. For what purpose should this establishment of the relics be?

30. Fussman (1980b: 7) translated “ici, à Kamikalaretra,” combining the uncertain first *ka* with the preceding to give either an otherwise-unattested compound, Sanskrit *śarīrāṇka*, literally “body part,” or a derivative, *śarīraka*, in “graphie fleurie.” But both of these phrasings are phonetically difficult and do not occur in any other reliquary inscription. Taken together with the fact that *[i]ha* is unlikely to correspond to Sanskrit *iha* since the regular Gandhari form of this adverb is *īsa*, it seems preferable to interpret simple *śariraṃ* as the accusative object of *pratiṭhaveti*, followed by not one but two words, possibly place-names, with the locative ending *-ami(ṃ)*.

31. It is possible that this damaged phrase contains the word *śpasa*, “sister” (instead of *śpa[pa]*); cf. nos. 8 and 22. It is less certain whether *kaṇika* can be interpreted as Sanskrit *kanyakā*, “young girl, daughter,” or the equivalent of Sanskrit *kanīyasī*, “younger sister, daughter” (Salomon, personal communication). The expected Gandhari reflex of the former would be **kaṇaka* (historical spelling) or **kaṇea* (phonetic spelling) and that of the latter would be **kaṇiya*, but it is not clear whether Gandhari had an independent reflex of Sanskrit *kanīyasī*, which in Pali merged with *kañṇā*.

[14] For the abandoning of the origin (of suffering), for the development of the path, for the realization of cessation, [15] for the elimination of suffering.”

Fussman 1980: 5–7; Fussman 1984: 36; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 944–46; Salomon 2000: 65–66; Salomon 2005a: 385
CKI 251

15. *Ramaka and Uḍita*³²

Schist ovoid container (fig. 3.44)

Bajaur, Pakistan

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA
1987.142.70a, b

(Inside of lid:) [1] ramakaṣa maḥāśravaputraṣa
daṇamukhe

(Outside of base:) [2] ramakasa maḥāśravaputrasa
kaṃtiagramava[sta]vasa io śarira uḍiteṇa ime śarira
[3] pratiṭhavidā ye sava puyaraha puyaḍa

(Inside of lid:) “[1] Donation of Ramaka, son of
Maḥāśrava.”

(Outside of base:) “[2] This relic is (given) by
Ramaka, son of Maḥāśrava, resident of the village
Kaṃti. Uḍita³³ [3] establishes these relics. All
those who deserve honor are honored.”

32. This relic container was found in association with the relic-chamber slab of no. 14.

33. While this word appears to be a personal name in the context of the present inscription, one should also consider a possible connection with the unclear expression *aoḍito* (*thubu*) in the Chilas rock inscriptions CKI 353 and CKI 356.

Bailey 1978: 4, 12–13; Fussman 1980b: 4–5; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 943–44; Falk 1998, 102–3; Salomon 2005a: 385; Behrendt 2007: 23
CKI 243

16. *Year 76 of Azes [18/19 CE]*

Stone relic-chamber slab

Swat, Pakistan

Ryukoku Museum, Kyoto, Japan

[1] savatśaraye śasatadimaye 20 20 20 10 4 (*1 1)
[2] ayasa ka[1]agadasa teśasa masasa (*di)[3][va-
sa]ye navamaye 4 4 1 iś[a] (*divasami) (4) + +
[p](*)[a]diṭhaveti ś[ari](*)ra) . . .³⁴

“[1] In the seventy-sixth—76th—year [2] of Azes,
who has died, on the ninth—9th—day of the month
Tiṣya, on this (*day) . . . [4] establish relics . . .”

Falk 2010: 13–16

CKI 544

34. The stone slab is broken off at this point, but on the parallel of the other reliquary inscriptions, it is likely that the inscription continued with a reference to the Buddha, the names of the donors (unless they preceded the verb in the very small gap at the beginning of l. 4), and possibly a listing of the intended beneficiaries of the relic deposit.

35. This attractive new reading (proposed in Falk 2008b: 105) is here provisionally adopted in place of earlier *deśami[higro]* (Falk 1998: 92–93).

36. Falk (1998: 97) suggests that *rukhuṇaka* is the subject of both the finite verb *prakṣalavati* and a preceding gerund that in his reading is spelled *pujāyitra* but was “pronounced *pūjayittā*.” This syntactic interpretation would account for the absence of a conjunction *ca* linking *rukhuṇaka jiputra* and *sarva [pu]jaraham*

17. *Śatruleka, year 77 of Azes [19/20 CE]*

Steatite ovoid cointainer (fig. 3.45)

Bajaur, Pakistan

Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, Germany

I 5892

(Outside base:) [1] savatsaraye satasa{sa}tatimaye
maharajasa ayasa vurtakalasa śavaṇasa masasa
divasaye catuviśaye 20 4 śatrulekeṇa kṣatraveṇa
subhutikaputreṇa apracarajabhagineyena
[2] bhagavato śakamune dhatuve pratiṭhāvita
apraṭiṭhāvitapurvaṃmi pradeśaṃmi aṭhayi-
gramaṃmi kaśaviyana bhadaṃtana parigrahaṃmi
sarva budha pujayita sarva pracegasabudha-
rahaṃtaṣavaka pujayita sarve [3] pujaraha
puyayita ima dhatuvi pratiṭhāviti sadha bharyayi
daviliye putrehi ca imdraseṇeṇa menaṃdrena ca
matapita pujayita bhrada imdasene iśparo
[4] vijayamitro avacaraja [4A] <(*iṃ)dravarmo
stra[5]tego³⁵ gaṃdharaśpami pujayidu rukhuṇaka
jiputra sarva [pu]jaraham pujayi[t]a³⁶ imi dhatu
prakṣalavati patrulaśiśara

but is not sufficient to explain the anusvāra on the latter, since the regular analogical Gandhari accusative plural ending of the presumed thematicization *pujaraha-* ← Old Indo-Aryan *pūjārhan-* would be *-a* (and the regular Gandhari reflex of exceptionally preserved Old Indo-Aryan *-ān* would be *-o* < **-am*). In addition, the spelling *-tra* for the suggested gerund suffix *-ta* < Old Indo-Aryan *-tvā* would have to be considered an outright mistake and could at best be explained as a miscopying of the historical spelling of the same suffix, *-tva*. Finally, Falk’s interpretation leaves the last six akṣaras of the inscription, *patrulaśiśara*, without syntactical connection. On balance, it therefore seems

(Outside base:) “[1] In the seventy-seventh year of the great king Azes, whose time has passed, on the twenty-fourth—24th—day of the month Śrāvaṇa, by Governor Śatruleka, son of Subhutika, nephew of the king of Apraca (Vijayamitra II), [2] relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage, are established in a previously unestablished place, in the village Aṭhaya, in the possession of the Kāśyapīya venerables. All buddhas are honored; all solitary buddhas, saints, and disciples are honored; all [3] who deserve honor are honored. He establishes these relics together with (his) wife Davili and his sons Im̐drasena and Menandros. Mother and

father are honored. Brother Im̐drasena, Lord Vijayamitra (II), king of Apraca, [4A] [5] (and) General Im̐dravarma (I), master of Gandhara,³⁷ are honored. Rukhuṇaka, who has a living son (Vijayamitra II), (and) all who deserve honor are honored. Patrulaśīśara washes this relic.”

Bailey 1982: 150–55; Fussman 1984: 33–38; Salomon 1984; Mukherjee, 1986; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 946–48; Mukherjee 1997; Falk 1998: 87–95, 97–99; Ghose 2000; Salomon 2005a: 360–61, 379, 385; Falk 2008b
CKI 257

preferable to accept the lack of conjunction between *rukhuṇaka jiputra* and *sarva [pu]jaraham* (cf. asyndetic *bhrada im̐dasene īsparo vijayamitro avacaraja <*im̐>dravarmo stratego gaṃdharaśpami*, ll. 3–5), to consider the anusvāra on *[pu]-jaraham* a scribal slip, and to read *pujaya[t]a* or *pujaya[d]a* (cf. the unexpected form *pujayidu* in the preceding sentence) as a past participle concluding the sentence. The inscription thus contains two passages expressing honor, one covering the Buddhist community in a stereotyped expression (*sarva budha . . . puyayita*, ll. 2–3), the other covering Śatruleka’s family (*matapita . . . pujaya[t]a* or *pujaya[d]a*), and both passages conclude with the same expression of honor to “everybody (else) who is worthy of honor (but not named explicitly in the preceding).” The remaining part of the inscription would then be a sentence starting with the object *imi dhatu* governed by the following finite verb *prakṣalavati* (parallel to the sentence following the previous expression of honor, *ima dhatuvi pratiṭhavi . . .*, l. 3) and the subject *patrulaśīśara*. A comparable sentence with the structure patient–verb–agent expressing an activity related to the establishment of the relic occurs at the very end of the near-contemporary inscription of Seṇavarma (no. 24): *io ca suṇe solite valieṇa makaḍaputreneṇa ga[m̐]-hapatiṇa*. This would make Patrulaśīśara the name of the person

performing the washing of the relic. The first part of his or her name could be connected with the dynastic name of the Paṭola or Palola Śāhis (see von Hinüber 2004: 73, who considers Paṭola a Sanskritization of Palola), and compare the name Bhaīdata in Im̐dravarma’s inscription no. 8, l. 7, for another possible onomastic connection with this dynasty. The second part of the name may be related to that of Śīśireṇa, wife of Viśpavarma (see Im̐dravarma’s inscription no. 25). In view of this syntactic parallel and the possible onomastic connections, the newly proposed reading *patrolaśīśaka* “(topped by?) a silken turban” (Falk 2008b) seems less likely.

37. Falk (1998: 94) interprets *gaṃdharaśpami* as the locative of a compound **gaṃdhara-śpa*, in which *śpa* would be a term for “some rather large area” and possibly related to Sanskrit *śva*, “property.” It seems more straightforward to take *śpami* as a nominative singular corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan *svāmī*, “master,” and as part of the subject of *pujayidu*. The word in question is attested with added *ka*-suffix in Aśoka’s Ninth and Eleventh Rock Edicts at Shahbazgarhi (ll. 19 and 24) and Mansehra (ll. 5 and 13) (*spamikena*), as well as in the pedestal inscription CKI 117 (*spamiāsa*) and in Kharoṣṭhī scroll 19 in the Senior Collection (*spamiāṇa*). (This solution has now also been adopted in Falk 2008b.)

18. *Ṣṃdragivarṃa*³⁸

Schist cylindrical

Bajaur, Pakistan

Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan

100157

(Inside of lid:) [1] ṃdragivarṃe kumare vijaya-
mitrasa avacarajasa putre śarira [2] pratiṭhaveti
śpadiami apratiṭhavidaprovami [3] pradeśa[4]mi
(Outside of base:) [1] ṃdragivarṃe kumare vijaya-
mitrasa avacarajasa putre śarira pratiṭhavedi
śpadiami apratiṭhavidaprovami pradeśami
[2] sava budha pu[j].

(Inside of lid:) “[1] Prince Ṣṃdragivarṃa, son of
Vijayamitra (II?), king of Apraca, [2] establishes
relics in Śpadia in a previously unestablished
[3] place.”

(Outside of base:) “(1) Prince Ṣṃdragivarṃa, son
of Vijayamitra (II?), king of Apraca, establishes
relics in Śpadia in a previously unestablished
place. [2] All buddhas are honored.”

Salomon 2003: 51–54; Salomon 2005a: 382, 385
CKI 402

38. Assuming that Ṣṃdragivarṃa was a son of Vijayamitra II
(Salomon 2005a: 382), he would have belonged to the same
generation as Vijayamitra II’s nephew Śatruleka (Falk 1998:
107).

19. *Prahodi, year 32 (of Vijayamitra II) [20/21
CE]*³⁹

Schist spherical

Bajaur, Pakistan

Ryukoku Museum, Kyoto, Japan

(Outside of lid:) [1] iśparasa viyidamitrassa avaca-
rayasa aṃteuriae prahodia nama ime śarira
pratiṭhavita [2] vaṣaye duatrisāe 20 10 1 1 thuva-
navakaṃmike śirile nama tasa samadravana tasa
aṃtevasa aśorakṣide nama se navakaṃmike⁴⁰

(Outside of lid:) “[1] By a (lady) of the women’s
quarters of the lord Vijayamitra (II), king of
Apraca, Prahodi by name, these relics are estab-
lished [2] in the thirty-second—32nd—year.
The superintendent of stūpa construction is
called Śirila. (It) is his *samadravana*. His pupil
is called Aśorakṣida. He is a superintendent of
construction.”

Sadakata 1991; Sadakata 1996: 302–5; Tsukamoto
1996–98: 955; Salomon 1997a: 188, 190; Falk 1998:
86; Salomon 2005a: 369, 379, 382–83, 385
CKI 359

39. Rukhuṇaka’s inscription (no. 13) shows that the first year
of Vijayamitra II’s reign corresponded to 12/11 BCE.

40. Sadakata (1996: 303) divided the words and translated
as follows: *thuvanavakaṃmike śirilenamatasa samadravanatasa
aṃtevasa aśorakṣidena masenavakaṃmike*; “⟨Le reliquaire a été
fabriqué⟩ par Aśorakṣida, intendant de mesure, élève de
Śirilenamata, intendant de construction du stūpa, *samadrava-
nata* (?)” Salomon (1997a: 190) suggested reading instead

20. *Yasi Kamui; reestablished by Śuḍasa*⁴¹

Stone pillar capital (fig. 6.5)

Mathura, India

British Museum, London, UK (1889,0314.1)

(Top and back of pillar:) [A1] mahakṣatrovasa
rajulasa [A2] agramaheṣia yasia [A3] kamuia
dhitra [A4] kharāostasa yuvaraṇa [A5] matra
nadadiakasa ya [A6] sadha matra abuholaa
[A7] pitramahipiśpaṣia bhra[A8]tra hayuar<*>e)na
sadha hanacana[A9]añāürena horakapa[A10]ri-
varena iṣa pradhavipra[te][A11]ṣe nisime śarira

thuvanavakaṃmike śirile nama tasa samadro vana tasa aṃtevasa aśorakṣide nama se navakaṃmika and translating “The superintendent of the construction of stūpas [was] named Śirila. His [disciple] was in turn (*vana* = Sanskrit *punar*) Samadra. His [Samadra’s] disciple is named Aśorakṣida (Aśokarakṣita). He is the superintendent of construction [of this stūpa].” While most of these suggestions are clear improvements, it still seems preferable to read *samadravana* as one word, on the grounds that Gandhari *vana* is the enclitic form of Sanskrit *punar* (corresponding to Pali *pana*, not *puno*; cf. Brough 1962: §69) and as such should follow the first word of its clause in Salomon’s interpretation (**tasa vana samadro*) and that the abrupt construction without any word for “disciple” seems awkward. If, on the other hand, *samadravana* is understood as an action noun with prefix *sam-* and suffix *-ana-* indicating the role of Śirila in the construction of the stūpa or establishment of the relics, then the overall composition of the sentence is balanced: two persons are introduced by name and a statement is made about each of them. The exact interpretation of *samadravana* remains unclear, but a reexamination of this passage (only part of which is illustrated in Sadakata’s plates) in the original or in good images may help resolve this question and should at the very least make it possible to decide between Sadakata’s reading *samadra* and Salomon’s conjecture *samadro*.

pratēthaviṭo [A12] bhakavato śakamuṇisa
budhasa [A13] śaki{ { [mu] } } rayasa śpa[e] bhusa-
vi[ha][A14][ra] thuva ca sagharama ca caṭ<*>-
[A15]diśasa saghasa sarva[A16]stivaṭana parigrahe
(Lion bodies:)⁴² [B1] mahakṣatravasa [B2] vajulasa
putra [B3] śuḍase kṣatrave [E1] kharāosto
«[E’] kamuio»⁴³ yuvaraya [E2] khalamasa kumara
[E3] maja kaniṭha [E4] saman<*>u)moḍa[E4’]ka
karita [M1] kṣatrave śuḍise [M2] imo padhavi-
[M3]prateṣo [I1a] veyaaḍirṇa [I2] namo kadh-
a[I3]varo [I4] viyaa[I1b]kadhavaro busa-

41. Patika is referred to as “great governor” and bears the title *kusulaa* in line G1 of this inscription, whereas he was a simple “governor” and the title *kusuluka* was associated with his father in Patika’s inscription no. 12, l. 2. I follow Falk (2011: 134) in assuming that approximately ten years have elapsed between the two inscriptions.

42. Śuḍasa’s inscription is arranged around the bodies of the two lion sculptures, in seven registers following the reading direction of the Kharoṣṭhī script when standing in front of the pillar: B (head of right lion); E, M (back and side of right lion); I1a–4 (front of right lion); I1b and J1–2 (front of left lion); KL (side of left lion); F (head of left lion); G and J3 (back of left lion). Refer to Konow 1929a: pl. VI for an illustration of this arrangement.

43. Falk (2011) treats E’ as a later addition without relation to Śuḍasa’s inscription. It would be a suprising coincidence, however, to find the words *kamuia* and *kamuio* in close physical proximity to the names of Kharāosta’s daughter Yasi (l. A3) and Kharāosta himself (l. E1) if the latter occurrence was not intended to form part of Śuḍasa’s inscription. Konow took the same view in reading *kharāosto yuvaraya kamuio*, but *kamuio*, inserted above the first akṣara of *yuvaraya*, is better read before *yuvaraya*, following the usual convention for interlinear insertions in Gandhari manuscripts.



Fig. 6.5. *The inscriptions of Yasi Kamui and Śuḍasa (no. 20)*
Stone pillar capital
British Museum 1889,0314.1

pa[J1]rva(*take){?}na palichina [J2] niṣimo karita
niyaṭiṭo [KL1] ayariasa [KL2] budhatevasa
[KL3] utaena ayimita [F1] budhilasa naḥaraasa
[F2] bhikhusa sarvastivaṭasa [G1] mahakṣat[r]a-
vasa kusulaasa patikasa me[na]kisa [G2] miyikasa
kṣatravasa puyae [J3] sarvastivaṭana parigrahe
(Bottom:) [N1] ayariasa budhilasa naḥaraḥasa
bhikhu[N2]sa sarvastivaṭasa pa(*ri)gra[N3]na
mahasaghiana pra[N4a]ñaviṭave [P1] sarvasa
saḥasta[P2]nasa puyae [O1] sarvabudhana puya
dhamasa [O2] puya saghasa puya
(Remaining empty spaces:) [R1] takṣilasa
[R2] kroninasa [N4b] khalolasa [Q1] khardaasa
[Q2] kṣatravasa [J'1] khalaśamu[J'2]śo
[C1] kaluia [C2] varajo [C3] kamuḥa [D] naaludo
(Lion necks:) [H'] dhamadana [H] guhavihare

(Top and back of pillar:) “[A2] By the main wife
[A1] of the great governor Rajula, Yasi
[A3] Kamui, daughter [A4] of the young king
Kharaosta [A5] and mother of Nadadiaka,
[A6] together with (her) mother, Abuhola,
[A7] (her) father’s mother, Piśpaṣi, and (her)
brother [A8] Hayuara⁴⁴ (and) together with the
hanacana[A9]*añaiira* [A10] retinue of donors,
[A11] in this place of the earth outside the
monastic boundary a relic is established [A12] of
the Lord, the Śākya sage, the Buddha, [A13] king
of the Śākyas in his own [A14] Busa Monastery,

44. This grouping of the donors’ names and titles follows Konow 1929a and Falk 2011. At least three alternative arrangements and interpretations are possible: (1) the relic is established by Yasi Nadadiakasa, main wife of Rajula, daughter of Kamui, and mother of Kharaosta (F. W. Thomas 1907–8: 140); (2) it is established by Nadadiakasa, daughter of Yasi Kamui, who is the main wife of Rajula and mother of Kharaosta (Fleet 1907: 1025);

and (also) a stūpa and quarters for the community, [A16] in the possession [A15] of the community of the four directions of the Sarvāstivādas.” (Lion bodies:) “[B2] The son [B1] of the great governor Rajula, [B3] the governor Śuḍasa, [E4’] makes [E1] the young king Kharaosta «[E’] Kamuia», [E2] Prince Khalama [E3], and Maja the youngest [E4] applaudants; [M1] the governor Śuḍasa [J2] makes [M2] this [M3] place of the earth—[I3]the encampment [I2] called [I1a] Veyaadinṛa [I4] (and) the Viyaa [I1b] encampment—[J1]separate from Mount Busa⁴⁵ [J2] outside the monastic boundary; and (it) is

offered (by him). [KL3] It is accepted with water [KL1] by the teacher [KL2] Budhateva. [F1] By Budhila, [F2] a city-dweller (and) Sarvāstivāda monk, [G2] in honor [G1] of the great governor Patika, (son) of Kusulaa, (and) of the governor Miyika, son of Menaki, [J3] in the possession of the Sarvāstivādas.”

(Bottom:) “[N2] The act of possession [N1] of the teacher Budhila, the city-dweller (and) Sarvāstivāda monk, should be announced to the Mahāsāṃghikas.⁴⁶ In honor of the whole Sakastana. [O1] Honor to all buddhas, [O2] honor to the dharma, honor to the community.”

or (3) it is established by Rajula, his main wife Yasi, his daughter Kamui, the young king Kharaosta and his mother Nadadiakasa (reading one name in each line). Under alternative interpretations (1) and (2), Kharaosta would be the son of Yasi and the son (or adopted son) of Rajula. Under alternative interpretation (3), Kharaosta would appear to be the son-in-law of Rajula (and heir apparent through Kamui; see *kharaosta* «*kamuia*» *yuvaya* in l. E1). These three alternative interpretations provide an explanation for the continued reference to Kharaosta as “young king” in Śuḍasa’s inscription by assigning these two rulers to the same generation. On the other hand, Kharaosta refers to his father as Arṭa rather than Rajula in his coins (Salomon 1996a: 440), and the interpretation of Kharaosta as Yasi’s father now receives further support from the corresponding specification “husband–title–name–father” in Loṇa’s inscription no. 5 (*kumarsa viṣuvarmasa [a]teuria loṇa grahavadi[dhita]*). Under this scenario, two interpretations suggest themselves for the use of *yuvaya* in Yasi’s as well as in Śuḍasa’s inscription: (1) Rajula’s marriage to Kharaosta’s daughter Yasi was intended to establish a dynastic alliance but did not result in offspring, leading to the rapid succession of Rajula’s son Śuḍasa from another wife while Yasi’s father, Kharaosta, still remained “heir apparent” to Arṭa;

(2) the title *yuvaya* could (pace Salomon 1996a: 440–41) be a mainland-Indian interpretation “young king” of a compound with the foreign title reflected in Gandhari *yavuga-* and *yāūga-* (coins of Kujula Kadphises), *yāūa-* (Priavaśa’s inscription no. 28, l. 5; all three extended with the Indian suffix *-ka-*), and *[ya]gu-ramṇa* (Kharaosta in Iṃdravarma’s inscription no. 25) and would thus not refer to the age or succession status of Kharaosta.

45. Falk (2011: 127) translates “the camp Vaijayadinna, which is separated from the Victory-camp by the Bodha-hill,” but it is not clear that *viyaakadhavaro* can be interpreted as an ablative, and in view of the previous mention of the Bhusa Monastery in lines A13–14, *busaparva(*take){?}na* is likely to refer to this monastic institution rather than a geographical feature.

46. Falk (2011: 128) translates “must not be offered to the Mahāsāṃghikas,” but the more literal translation of the verb as “announce” yields a satisfactory meaning: the Mahāsāṃghikas were the predominant Buddhist group in Mathura at the time (Falk 2011: 132), and it was therefore particularly important that the new Sarvāstivāda monastery declare its existence to its powerful neighbors.

(Remaining empty spaces:) “[R2] Of Kronina
[R1] from Takṣaśilā. [N4b] Of Khalola. [Q1] Of
Khardaa, [Q2] the governor. [J’1–2] Khalaśamuśa.
[C1] Kaluia, [C2] Varaja, [C3] (and) Kamukā.
[D] Naaluda.”

(Lion necks:) “[H’] Dharma gift [H] in the cave
monastery.”

Konow 1929a: 30–49; Fussman 2005–6: 709–11;
Falk 2011
CKI 48

*21. Sons of Dhramila, Kumuka, and Dasadija, year
83 of Azes [25/26 CE]; reestablished by Kopsākasa*
Stone short cylindrical (fig. 6.6)

Provenance unknown

Private collection

(Outside of lid:) [1] saṃvatsarae treaśiti ma[2]ha-
rajasa ayasa vurtakalasa aṣa[3]dhasa masasa
diasaye paṃcamaye 4 1 [4] aṭhami[bapa]-
sariḍhaparida dhramilapu[5]tra sabhakae
kumukaputre dasadija[6]p(*u)[tre] saareṇa ṇama
śarira pradi[7]ṭhavedi aṭhayigramami apradiṭha-
[8]vidapruvami paṭhavi[9]pradeśami

(Underside of base:) [10] bhagavato śakamuṇ[i]sa
[11] [bosi]veṃto te dhaduve śilapari[12]bhavida
sama[s]iparibha[vi]da praña[13]paribhavida to
dhaduve ṇiṣhit[a] [14] [aho ca] aparimaṇada
du[khato] moi[d](*o) [15] logo ce[va t](*e)ṇa
pra[ḍi]moido⁴⁷ [16] tasa c[e] ko[pśak]as[e]
maha[ra]ja [to]⁴⁸ [17] dhaduve⁴⁹ pratiṭh[a]veti⁵⁰
[18] tramaṇe

(Outside of lid:) “[1] In the year eighty-three [2] of
the great king Azes, whose time has passed,
[3] on the fifth—5th—day of the month Āṣāḍha

47. Fussman (1984: 39) read *ṇiṣehide aṃtra ca aparimaṇadadu*
[*khapa*]mo i[da] logo ce vaṃsaṇa pratramo ido and translated
“[. . .] sont (données ?). Et à l’intérieur (?), ce don (?) incommen-
surable . . . les gens ici-bas (?) . . .” The first word is better read
ṇiṣehit[a] (compare the much narrower *do* at the end of l. 15)
and is in all likelihood the same word form as *ṇiṣayeta* in ll. 5–6
of Senāvarma’s inscription (no. 24), with Gandhari palatalization
of *a* and *h* written for the intervocalic glide and with an expected
accusative object (*to dhaduve*). (The Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
form corresponding to this Gandhari word is *niśrayitvā*, and
Edgerton [1953 s.v.] notes for Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra 335.11
the variant *niṣevitvā*, which appears to be based on the Gandhari
form with palatalized *a*.) The interpretation of the following is
guided by a passage in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā
(14.20–21; Vaidya 1960): *mayāite sarvasattvāḥ parimocayitvā*
aparimāṇato duḥkhaskandhāt, “I have to liberate all these beings
from the immeasurable mass of suffering.” Instead of *aṃtra* I
propose to read [*aho*] (note the round top of the second akṣara
and the thin but clear trace of the *o* mātrā) with a foot mark on
the initial *a*, referring to the donor of the relics. In light of the
Aṣṭasāhasrikā parallel, the following words should then be
divided *aparimaṇada du[khato]*, tentatively reading [*to*] for
Fussman’s [*pa*]. The next word, *moi[d](*o)*, is the regular
Gandhari form of the Old Indo-Aryan past participle *mocitaḥ*,
“liberated,” and reoccurs with a prefix in the next line. The two
syllables following *logo* are best interpreted as *ceva* = Old Indo-
Aryan *caiva*, with a foot mark on *va*. The interpretation of the
next two akṣaras remains somewhat unclear: the damaged first
akṣara could also be read as [*s*], but in view of the next clause,
which apparently also starts with a demonstrative pronoun
referring to the Buddha, whose relics are being established,
it seems not unlikely that the word intended here is [*t*](**e*)ṇa,
“by him.” The last word of this sentence is *praḍimoido*, with
the common suffix variant *prati-* for *pari-* in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā
passage.

[4] . . . *aṭhamibapasariḍhaparida*⁵¹ . . . [5] the son of Dhramila, Sabhaka, son of Kumuka, [6] (and) the son of Dasadija, Saareṇa by name, [7] establish relics in the village Aṭhayi, in a previously unestablished [8–9] place of the earth.”

(Underside of base:) “[10] These relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage, [11] *bosiveṇto*,⁵² [12] are pervaded by virtue, pervaded by concentration, [13] pervaded by understanding. Based on these relics

48. Fussman (1984) read here the name and title of a secondary donor (*kopśakase mahar[i]lja*) followed by the demonstrative pronoun *tu*, whereas Falk (2010) suggested reading *cekodhikasa mahadhajasa* as two epithets of the Buddha specifying *dhaduve*. The first word, however, presents serious difficulties of form and meaning, and it is not easy to interpret the third-from-last akṣara and the last akṣara as *dha* and *sa*. I therefore revert to a modified version of Fussman’s original interpretation, noting that in all three occurrences *dhadu-* is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun.

49. Printed *dadhuve* in Fussman 1984: 39, but clearly *dhaduve* in the plate.

50. Falk (2010: 28) reads *idralogo ca vaṃsaṇa praṭamo idrotasa cekodhikasa mahadhajasa dhātuve pratiṭheṇeti* and translates “The world of Indra is the best of (all) places to live. The relics of him who is upheld by Indra (*indrota*), who is superior by one, who has a large banner, does (the donor) install.” The interpretation proposed here for the first part of this passage seems preferable because of its closer agreement with the Aṣṭasāhasrikā parallel identified in the preceding (and also consulted by Falk).

51. This string probably contains the end of the dating formula and the personal name of the first donor, but the details remain unclear. Fussman (1984: 39) translates “huitième <*tithi*>, (pendant la quinzaine sombre ?), Saridha Parida (?).”

52. Fussman (1984: 39) translates “possesseur de l’Éveil,” apparently interpreting [*bosi*]veṇto as corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan **bodhivataḥ*.



Fig. 6.6. The inscription of *Kopśakasa* (no. 21)

Stone cylindrical container

Private collection

[14] I am liberated from the immeasurable suffering, [15] and what is more, the world is liberated by him. [16] And the great king *Kopśakasa* establishes these [17] relics of that one [18] in *Tramaṇa*.”

Fussman 1984: 38–46; Schopen 1987: 205; Salomon 1996a: 234; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 948–50; Falk 1998: 94; Schopen 1999: 296; Radich 2007: 528; Falk 2010: 28–29

CKI 266



Fig. 6.7. *The inscription of Ayadata (no. 22)*
Silver sheet
Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum 101371

22. *Ayadata, year 5 of Varmaseṇa*

Silver sheet (found in schist ovoid container)
(figs. 3.18, 6.7)
Swat, Pakistan
Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan
101371

[1] vaṣa 4 1 rayasa varmasenasa oḍiraya[sa] ṇabha-
pat[i]sa śravaṇasa di ? ? ? ? [d](*)va[sa]mi
ayadate kumare + + ? ? ? ? + ? [v]. ? [2] dhodo
thubo pradiṭhaveti bhagavado śakamuṇisa dhadue
i[śa] tiraye atari ṇagarami sarva (*budha) [p]uyita
[prac](*)ega)[saṃ]budha [3] puyita sarva budha-
ṣavaka puyita rayo rvarmas(*)e)ṇo puyita ayaseṇo
kumaro puyi(*)ta) + ? [lo]yo [ayida](*)se)ṇo rayo
[4] puyita ṭhaya[te] madara bhadara śpasa dara ya
puyaīto

“[1] In the 5th year of King Varmaseṇa, king of Oḍi,
ṇabha master, on the . . . day of Śrāvaṇa, on . . . day
Prince Ayadata . . . establishes . . . [2] *dhodo* stūpa
relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage, here in Tira, in
the inner city(?). All buddhas are honored; the
solitary buddhas [3] are honored; all disciples
of the buddhas are honored; King Varmaseṇa is
honored; Prince Ayaseṇa is honored; . . . King
Ajidaseṇa [4] is honored; the mothers, brothers,
sister, and wife who remain are honored.”

Salomon 2003: 39–51
CKI 401

23. *Ariaśrava, year 98 of Azes(?) [40/41 CE]*

Deep-based schist spherical (figs. 3.43, 6.8)

Dir District, Pakistan

Private collection

(Inside of lid:) sarva budha puyaīta sarva praceasa-
budha putaīta sarva rahata puyaīta sarva aṇagami

puyaīta sa(*yi)dagami⁵³ puyaī(*ta) sodavaṇa
 puyaīta śega puyaīta sarva śilavata puyaīta sarva
 puyaraha puyaīta sarvasapa puyaīda ariśrava
 siasena[vha]ya⁵⁴ sadha putrehi dhramaruyena
 dhamaūtena ca śiṭhakehi⁵⁵ putrehi sadha dhidue
 arupraue labubhayae śiṭhikehi ca dhiturehi⁵⁶
 [yo] sa⁵⁷ bhakava śilaparibhavi(*to)⁵⁸ samasipari-
 bhavito vimutiparibhavito vimutiparibhavito[ō] tasa
 bhagavato dhadu pariṭhavemi eva pariṭhaveataya
 eva paricaamtaya⁵⁹ nivaṇaprati[e] bhotu siasena
 puyaīda parabha[vi]da vuto

(Inside of base:)⁶⁰ maharayasa mahatasa ayasa
 samvatśaraya aṭhaṇavatimaye 20 20 20 20 10 4 4
 cesa masa diye paṃcadaye 10 4 1 gupharasa
 bhratuputrasa avakaśasa rajami imdravarmaputre
 statree āspavarmame rajami
 (Inside of base:)⁶¹ daṇamukho denaṇitharvappaava ? ?

(Inside of lid:) “All buddhas are honored; all solitary
 buddhas are honored; all saints are honored; all
 nonreturners are honored; the once-returners are
 honored; those who have entered the stream are

53. Sadakata (1996: 308) and Nasim Khan (1997: 26) read *sadagami*. See the note on no. 24, l. 8, for the reconstruction of this word.

54. Sadakata (1996: 308) read *siasena phaya* and translated “épouse de Śivasena”; Nasim Khan (1997: 26) read *siasenagaya* and translated “family of Śrīyasena.” Neither of the suggested Sanskrit forms of the name is phonetically possible, and the most likely equivalent is in fact Siṃhasena (see no. 48 for two more names based on *siṃha*). The second part of the compound is a Gandhari form of *bhāryā*, “wife,” as correctly recognized by Sadakata, but with initial *vh* weakened from intervocalic *bh* rather than with *ph* and unmotivated devoicing.

55. One of the Gandhari commentaries in the British Library collection (Baums 2009: l. 13.28) also uses *śiṭhaga* in the meaning “the rest, the others.”

56. Sadakata (1996: 309) read *dhitarehi*, and Nasim Khan (1997: 26) read *dhitrarehi*, but *dhiturehi* is possible and preferable in view of the preceding form *dhidue*.

57. Sadakata (1996: 309) read *yesa*, and Nasim Khan (1997: 26) read *yosa*. The best interpretation seems to be as two separate words, the relative pronoun *yo* followed by the demonstrative pronoun *sa*, introducing a relative clause and with a correlative in *tasa*.

58. Emended on the basis of the three following parallel terms.

59. This form corresponds to Sanskrit *parityajantyāḥ*; cf. the concluding sentence in Urasaka’s inscription no. 30: *atvaṇo arogadakṣiṇae nivaṇae hotu a[ya] desamaparcago*.

60. This part of the inscription was considered a forgery in Senior 2001: vol. I, 125, and Salomon 2005a: 369. The base on which it is inscribed appeared to be a modified lid, and the inscription itself seemed fresh and in a different style from the genuine inscription on the lid. As regards its content, the concluding words present syntactical problems (but compare the several mistakes in the genuine inscription) and the position of the name of Aze preceding the year is unparalleled (with the exception of Rukhuṇaka’s inscription no. 13, which has its own special syntax: *ye vucati ayasa vaṣaye*). On the other hand, it can be argued that a forger who was obviously familiar with reliquary dating formulae would have avoided such idiosyncracies, and the form *paṃcadaye* with otherwise-attested but rare *y* for *ś* or *ṣ* also appears genuine. Salomon (personal communication) now considers it possible that this part of the inscription may not be a forgery after all.

61. This faint inscription, written above the preceding one, was first noticed by Nasim Khan (1997: 21). It is unclear whether it could be genuine even if contrary to current appearances the base is in fact a modified lid and the inscription bearing the date is a forgery.



Fig. 6.8. *Portion of the inscription of Ariášrava (no. 23)*
Schist lid
Private collection

honored; those in training are honored; all those who are virtuous are honored; all those who deserve honor are honored; all beings are honored. I, Ariasrava, wife of Siasena, together with (my) sons Dhramaruya and Dhamaita (and) the other sons, together with (my) daughter Aruprava, wife of Labu, and the other daughters, establish a relic of that Lord who is pervaded by virtue, pervaded by concentration, pervaded by liberation, pervaded by liberation. May it be for the attainment of nirvana of her who thus establishes (it), who thus donates (it). Siasena is honored. *Parabhavida vuto.*”

(Inside of base:) “In the ninety-eighth—98th—year of the great king, the great Azes, on the fifteenth—15th—day of the month Caitra, in the reign of Abdageses, nephew of Gondophares, in the reign (of?) General Aspavarma, son of Imdravarma (I).”
(Inside of base:) “Donation *denañitharvapraava* ? ?.”

Sadakata 1995; Sadakata 1996: 308–11; Khan 1997; Senior 2001: vol. 1, 125; Salomon 2005a: 360, 369, 381, 385; Radich 2007: 528–29
CKI 358

24. *Seṇavarma, year 14*

Gold sheet (found in gilded-schist miniature stūpa)
(figs. 3.26, 6.9)

Swat, Pakistan

Location unknown

[1] aryagaṇatavagaṇabramacaryagaṇasa ubhayata-
saṃghasa saṇivaṭṭasa pria[dir]asa[ta]thuvavalasa
śīrasa pada vadati seṇavarme īspare oḍiraya
ṇavhapati viṇaveti io ekaūḍe thuve yeṇa rayaneṇa
pratīṭhavite tasa dayateṇa me kadamasa deyasame
yava me [bhra]ta varmasenaṇa ṇama adikramami
yada io ekaūḍe dadhe tatra aṇṇa pi [2] mahia
pidarapidamahana mahante adu[ra] gahathuva
dadha te ma[ye] seṇavarmeṇa kiḍa hovati io ca
ekaūḍe mahanteṇa arohapariṇameṇa ṇiṭhite ta
same ṇiṭhita parakramami īsa ekakuḍami vijuva-
pati tae dahiasa thuvasa vipariṇame kiḍe se me
sarve upaḍa vitate mulaśa[1]e ukṣivita avaśita tatra
pratīṭhava[3]ṇia lihitia utaraseṇaputre vasuseṇe
oḍiraya īśmahokulade se imo ekaūḍo pratīṭhaveti
tedaṇi mulaśale raaṇade bhagavado śarira aho
seṇavarme ayidasenaputre ate ceva īśmahoraja-
kulasabhavade oḍiraja sarva bhavene sarva
cedyasa samuṇaharita aṇe vivavene aṇṇe abhi-
[4]praene vivula vestario mulavato karita te tasa
bhagavato abhutapurusaṇaravarakujaṇasa
mahasarthavahosa savatra dhamehi paramavaśi-
pratiprataneṇirhadamalakasa dasa aṇegakapaśata-
sahasakuśalamulasamudaṇidasa vadhitavaḍhidasa
hadaragadoṣamohasa [5] sarvasa zaṇaanaśaśa-
malakhilaamgaṇagratha[v]iprahinaṇsa⁶² sarvehi
kuśalehi dhamehi abhiṇehi jaṇavalavimohasama-

62. The reading is *-aṇuśaśa-*, which appears to be a miscopying of *-aṇuśaya-*.



Fig. 6.9. The inscription of *Seṇavarma* (no. 24)

Gold sheet

Location unknown

sisamavatisapratipurasa dhatu pra[ti]ṭhavemi ye
tada tadiśate atmabhavate vayirasaghaṇade
aṃdimaśarirate visayuyeṇa pacimaṇeṇa śarireṇa
ṇiṣaye[6]ta aṇutaravosi apisavudha apisavuḍita te
dhama tatha dhiṭha yasa ke aṇe paśeati aṇoma
aṇasia te dhama apisavuḍita savasaṃgharaṇakṣaye
sarvajatiḥjaramaraṇabhayaṇiṇavatasa avayidrogati-
kṣayapayosaṇe kiḍe ṇisaṇe sarvajadiḥjaramaraṇasa
tasa daṇi aṇuvatae [7] pariṇivudasa ima dhadu
śilaparibhavita samasipraṇavimuti<(*vimuti)-
ñāṇadraśa<(*ṇa)paribhavita⁶³ ime śarireṇa tada-
gadapravadiśaṇiṇaṇadhatugade ta pratiṭhavemi

prasamu ce vata bhagavatarahasamasamvudho
dhataragadoṣamokha daśavalavalasamuṇagata
catvariveśarayaprata [8] agrodakṣiṇea puyita
praceasavudharahaṃtaśavakaṇaṇagamisa<(*yi)-
dagami[so]davaṇisarvaaryapugala⁶⁴ puyita mata-
pita dukaracara[a]the uzaṃda jivaputra tiṭhata
pida ca adhvadida ayidaseno oḍiraya puyita
maharajarayatirayakuyulakataph[śp]aputro
sadaṣkaṇo devaputro [9] sadha aṇakaṇeṇa suhaso-

63. These are the five “pure” *skandha/khanda* (Sanskrit/Pali) or *sampadā* (Pali), discussed by Schopen (1987: 204–6, 1999: 296–8) and Radich (2007: 523–70). Since the fifth *skandha* is consistently called *vimuttiñāṇadassana* in Pali canonical literature, it is likely not only that in this inscription one *vimuti* was omitted by haplography (Schopen 1999: 319) but also that the last member of the compound should be reconstructed as *draśa<(*ṇa)*. The first three *skandha* are likewise said to pervade

meṇa aṣmaṇakareṇa sayugasavalavah(*e)ṇa sadha
guṣurakehi sturakehi ca puyita bhrada adhvatido
varmaseno oḍiraya tiṭhata ca aḍidavarm[o] ayaseno
ca kumara puyita bhadasena raya upadae yava
pravidamaha me diśaseno oḍiraya sarva i(*ṣma)-
horayakulasabhavo [10] puyita sarva pari(*va)ro
puyita bramo sahaṃpati śakro devaṇidro catvari
maharaya aṭhaviśati yakṣasenaṇapati hariti sapari-
vara puyita sakṣiteṇa aviyamahanireā payato
karita utvareṇa [a] bhavagro atraturo yavada satva
uvavaṇa apada va dupada va catupada va vahupada
va [11] ruvi aruvi saṃṇe asaṃṇe sarvasatvaṇa
hidasuhadae hoto ayam edaṇe devasame aya ca
ṣadha ye ca prasade se kimatraye hoto ye teṇa
śakamuṇiṇa rahato samasavudheṇa dhama abhi-
savudho madanīmadano pivasaviṇayo alaya-
samughaso vatovacheto taṣokṣayo aśeṣo
[12] virago ṇir(*o)so śato praṇito advarasa aṇijo
aroga acata(*ṇ)iṭhu acadavramaṇo acatapayosano
tatra amudae dhatue ṇivatato yatra imasa aṇavata-
grasa sasaraṣa kṣaye payosaṇe hakṣati yatra imaṇa
vedaīdaṇa sarve śīdalibhaviśati ye [va]ṇa imo
ekaūḍo thuvo ṇiṭhidao viṇiṭhi[13]tao daheati ite

udhu deve va maṇuṣe va yakṣe va ṇage va suvaṇi
va gadharve va kuvhaḍe va se aviyamahaniraa
padeati saṣarire ye vaṇa aṇumotiśati teṣu idei
puṇakriāe aṇubhvae sia[t]i likhita ya śariraprai-
ṭhavaṇiā saṃghamitreṇa laliaputreṇa aṇakaēṇa
karavita ya ṣaḍi[14]eṇa sacakaputreṇa meriakheṇa
ukede ya baṭasareṇa preaputreṇa tirat(*e)ṇa
vaṣaye catudaśaye 10 4 iṣparaṣa seṇavarmasa
varṣasahaṣa parayamaṇasa śravaṇata masasa
divase aṭhame 4 4 io ca suāṇe solite⁶⁵ valieṇa
makaḍakaputreṇa ga[m]hapatiṇa

“[1] He greets with his head the feet of the noble
flock, the ascetic flock, the chaste flock, of the
twofold community that has assembled, of the
guardian of the *priadirasata* stūpa. Seṇavarma, the
lord, king of Oḍi, *ṇavha* master, announces: this
stūpa Ekaūḍa is the donation of me, the *kadama*,
as the heir of the prince that established it, as I
transcend the name of my brother Varmasena.
When this Ekaūḍa burnt down, then also other
[2] great nearby womb stūpas⁶⁶ of my fathers and
grandfathers burnt down. These have been made

the relic in the inscription of the sons of Dhramila, Kumuka, and Dasadija (no. 21, ll. 11–12); and in Ariasrava's inscription (no. 23) the Buddha is pervaded by what appears to be a garbled version of the full set of five.

64. Salomon (1986) and von Hinüber (2003) reconstructed *-sa(*ga)dagami-*, apparently on the basis of Pali *sakadāgāmin*, but the Gandhari form *sa[yi]ḍakami* is now attested in the British Library Saṅgītisūtra commentary (British Library Fragment 15, frame 30 verso, third line of the *anuttarya* section).

65. Falk (2003–4: 577) suggests that *solite* was miscopied for *tolite*.

66. A womb stūpa is a special kind of stūpa, apparently with reference to the relic installed in it, as suggested by Falk (2003a: 78). Compare further the repeated reference in the third chapter of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (31.10–11, 26–27, 28; 32.13–14, 15; 32.31–33.1; 33.16, 32; 34.15–16, 20; 35.12; 36.11–12; Vaidya 1960) to the construction of *saptaratnamaya-tathāgatadhātugarbha-stūpa-*, “stūpas that are wombs for

(whole) by me, Seṇavarma, and this Ekaūḍa is completed with a great change of height. Having completed these properly, I continue my efforts. There was a lightning strike in this Ekaūḍa. A change was made of the stūpa that had been burnt by it. This whole devastation was laid open by me. The root enclosure was thrown out and entered(?).⁶⁷ [3] An inscription about the establishment was there: ‘Vasuseṇa, son of Utaraseṇa, king of Oḍi from the Ikṣvāku family, he establishes this Ekaūḍa.’ Back then there was in the root enclosure by order of the king a relic of the Lord. I, Seṇavarma, son of Ajidaseṇa, and then, because of (my) birth in the Ikṣvāku royal family, king of Oḍi, having considered everything with (my) heart, everything with (my) mind, having

spread some (relics?) because of the ripening (of action), some [4] on purpose widely from the root (a)va,⁶⁸ establish this relic of that Lord, the miraculous man, excellent man, elephant; the great caravan leader; who in all respects has reached the attainment of highest control over the factors (of existence) and whose impurities are blown away; *dasa*; who over many hundreds of thousands of world ages has assembled the roots of good; who has gradually grown; who has destroyed lust, hate, and delusion; [5] who in all respects through meditation has abandoned inclinations, impurities, obstructions, blemishes, and fetters; who through all good factors (of existence) that one should be acquainted with⁶⁹ has fulfilled meditation, powers, liberation, concentration, and attainments. He

Tathāgata relics and made of the seven jewels” (presumably referring to the same seven precious substances that are in fact often found deposited inside Gandharan reliquaries; Fussman 1987: 70), and to *tathāgata dhātugarbhaṇi caturaśīti stūpa koṭiṣaḥasrāṇi*, “eight hundred and forty billion stūpas that are wombs for Tathāgata relics” in Samādhiraṇasūtra 218 (Vaidya 1961). The interpretation of *gaha* as “womb” (Sanskrit *garbha*) rather than “chapel” (Sanskrit *grha*) receives further support from inscription no. 57, (*śa)[ri]ra[m] *pratiṭhavedi gavh[r]a* (*thubammi), where *gavh[r]a* can only be interpreted as corresponding to Sanskrit *garbha*, “womb,” not to Sanskrit *grha*, “house.”

67. This seems to refer to the relic chamber, with *mulaśa[l]e* corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan **mūlaśālāḥ* and *avaśita* (for **avaśrita*) to Old Indo-Aryan *apāśritaḥ*, past participle of *apāśrayati*, “to resort to.” Von Hinüber (2003: 17) read *mulaśave ukṣivita* *avaśita* and translated “Die *ursprüngliche Reliquie(?)* wurde aufgestellt und *fertig gestellt(?)* in this passage, but *mulaśale*, “in der Reliquienkammer(?),” in line 3.

68. It is possible but not certain that we should read *mula*(*śa)[l]ato, “from the root enclosure,” for *mulavato*.

69. Von Hinüber (2003: 22) Sanskritizes *abhiñehi* as instrumental singular *abhiññayā* (expected Gandhari form: *abhiññae*) but translates it as plural: “durch die Einsichten.” Salomon (2008: 265–6) discusses the form *jihitsehi*, apparently the instrumental plural of a feminine *ā*-stem with the ending of the masculine *a*-stems, supporting von Hinüber’s translation of the form *abhiñehi*. Syntactically, however, the phrase *sarvehi kuśalehi dhamehi abhiñehi* remains difficult under this interpretation, even if one supplies a conjunction *ca* after *abhiñehi*. A promising alternative interpretation is suggested by the fact that in Pali *dhamma* very frequently serves as the patient of *abhiññāti* (*Critical Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *abhiññāti*), and in *Milindapañha* 69.18–21 it occurs with the gerundive *abhiññeyya* in an expression that parallels our inscription: *yo sammā paṭipanno abhiññeyye dhamme abhiññāti . . . so labhati nibbānaṃ*. Therefore, the Gandhari word *abhiñehi* in our passage is here interpreted as

who at that time supporting himself⁷⁰ with his last body—which is separate from his final body, the corporeality that is of that kind (just described), the thunderbolt agglomeration—[6] attained the highest enlightenment and, having attained enlightenment, saw these factors (of existence) in such a way that anybody else can see them without subtraction or addition and, having been enlightened to these factors, make exhaustion of all impulses, exhaustion and conclusion of all birth, aging, death, fear, and falling apart and of wrong and bad rebirth, an end of all birth, aging, and death—of that one, [7] who has gone to nirvana without remainder, I now establish this relic, pervaded by virtue, pervaded by concentration, understanding, liberation, and the seeing and

knowledge (‘of liberation), this (relic) which has bodily gone to the nirvana element that is *pravadiśa*⁷¹ of the Tathāgata. And first indeed is honored the Lord, the saint, the completely enlightened one, who has destroyed lust, hate, and delusion, who is endowed with the power of the ten powers, who has attained the four confidences, [8] who deserves the best reward. The solitary buddhas, saints, disciples, nonreturners, once-returners, those who have entered the stream, and all noble persons are honored. Mother and father, who undertake a difficult practice—Uzaṃda,⁷² who has a living son and who is still alive, and (my) father who passed on, Ajidaseṇa, king of Oḍi—are honored. Sadaṣkaṇa, son of the great king, chief king of kings Kujula Kadphises, son

the contracted instrumental plural of the gerundive agreeing with *dhamehi*.

70. The form *ṇiṣayeta* appears to correspond to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *niśrayitvā* and to *ṇiṣehit[a]* in the inscription of the sons of Dhramila, Kumuka, and Dasadija (no. 21, l. 13; see there for further discussion), even though (as noted by von Hinüber 2003: 25) it here has a dependent instrumental rather than the expected accusative.

71. The meaning of *pravadiśa* remains unclear. On the basis of a Jātaka verse and its commentary, von Hinüber (2003: 26–27) suggests that *diśa* corresponds to Pali *disā*, “region,” as a term for nirvana, with *prava* corresponding either irregularly to Old Indo-Aryan *prāpya* (the region to be attained by a Tathāgata) or by emendation to *pravara* (the best region of the Tathāgata). One should also consider whether *pravadiśa* might have been miscopied for *pravadita* or *pravadiya* (the nirvana element spoken of by the Tathāgata). Finally, the available image shows a small blob at the lower left of *pra* that could be interpreted as

an *u* mātrā, giving the word *pruva* (Old Indo-Aryan *pūrva*) with unclear application.

72. Falk (2003–4: 576) proposes to reanalyze von Hinüber’s (2003, 28) *matapita dukaracara athe uzaṃda*, “Die Eltern opfern sich für ihre Kinder auf. Daher sind Ujhaṃda . . .,” as *matapita dukaracara[o] theuzaṃda*. In this reading, he takes *-cara[o]* as a nominative dual (Old Indo-Aryan *-cārakau*), which would be highly unexpected in Gandhari even in reference to a natural pair such as mother and father (*matapita* itself does not carry a dual ending). On the imperfect analogy of purely Greek names such as *theuduta* (see inscription no. 3), he suggests taking *theuzaṃda* as a mixed name whose prior element is Greek and whose latter part looks like the frequent Iranian *zāda*, “son,” but would have to be another unknown word since here we have a woman’s name. In view of the difficulties raised by this reinterpretation, another solution is adopted here. One of the verse commentaries among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments (Baums 2009, l. 939) cites the word *drokaraṭha*—from a canonical

of the gods, [9] together with the *anankaïos*⁷³ Suhasoma, the *aṣmaṇakara*, with his yoke animals and with his army and carriages, together with the *guśurakas* and the *sturakas*, is honored. The brother who passed on, Varmaseṇa, king of Oḍi, and the princes Ajidavarma and Ayaseṇa, who are still alive, are honored. Beginning with King Bhadaseṇa and up to my great-grandfather Diśaseṇa, all kings of Oḍi, born in the royal family of Ikṣvāku, [10] are honored. The whole retinue is honored. Brahman Sahampati, Śakra, ruler of the gods, the four great kings, the twenty-eight yakṣa generals, (and) Hārītī with her retinue are honored. In brief, starting from the Avīci great hell at one end and upward until the top of existence, whichever beings exist here in between, footless or two-footed or four-footed or many-footed, [11] with form or formless, conscious or unconscious, may it be for the benefit and happiness of all beings. This donation now and this faith and the tranquillity

verse, where it appears to correspond to Old Indo-Aryan **duṣkarāsthā*-, “undertaking what is difficult.” On the basis of this parallel, the passage in our inscription can be read as *matapita dukaracara[a]the uzaṃda*, in which the word in question corresponds to Old Indo-Aryan **duṣkarācārāsthāḥ* (the compound *duṣkarācārakarman* is attested in Mahābhārata 3.198.75). The representation of Old Indo-Aryan *sth* as *th* in Gandhari is possible (though *ṣh* is the most common reflex); the ending *-e* for what appears to be a nominative plural *a*-stem remains somewhat problematic. This interpretation has the additional advantage of preserving the name Uzaṃda and its possible connection with *ujjīṃda* in Uṭaraś inscription no. 9, l. 2.

that there is, for what purpose should that be? The teaching to which the Śākya sage, the saint, the completely enlightened one, became enlightened—(which is) the crushing of conceit, the removal of thirst, the destruction of attachment, the cutting of the course (of rebirth), exhaustion of craving, complete [12] fading (of lust), cessation, (which is) calm, advanced, without fever,⁷⁴ unshakable, (which is) health, complete perfection, complete chastity, complete conclusion—in that immortal element may they come to rest, where there will be exhaustion and conclusion of this round (of rebirth) without end or beginning, where all of these feelings will be cool. Who, however, when this stūpa Ekaūḍa [13] is perfectly completed, later burns it, that one—god or human or yakṣa or nāga or suparṇin or gandharva or kumbhāṇḍa—shall fall into the Avīci great hell with his body. Who, on the other hand, applauds it, may that(?) be for the merit-making and glory of those. The (inscription) about the establishment of the relic was written by Saṃghamitra, son of Lalia, the *anankaïos*, and (it) was manufactured [14] by Ṣaḍia, son of Sacaka, the meridarch,⁷⁵ and (it) *ukede* by Baṭasara, son of Preaputra, the *tirata*. In the fourteenth—14th—year of the lord

73. See the note on *amaca* in inscription no. 30.

74. Following Salomon 1986: 280, corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan **ajvara*, with unexplained ending *sa*.

75. See the note on inscription no. 3.

Seṇavarma, lasting a thousand years, on the eighth—8th—day of the month Śrāvaṇa. And this gold was weighed by Valia, son of Makāḍaka, the householder.”

Bailey 1980; Fussman 1982; Czuma 1985: 165–69; Fussman 1986; Salomon 1986; Schopen 1987: 204–5; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1002–3; Schopen 1999: 296–97; Falk 2003a: 78; von Hinüber 2003; Salomon 2003: 50, 58; Falk 2003–4; Fussman 2003–4; Salomon 2005c; Radich 2007: 527–28, 541–70, 1043–44; Salomon and Baums 2007
CKI 249

25. *Ṃdravarma (II) with wife*⁷⁶

Combination of two silver goblets (fig. 5.2)

Provenance unknown

Miho Museum, Shigaraki, Japan

(Underside of base:) *naṃ*

(Outside rim of lid:) mahakṣatrapaputrasa [ya]gu-
raṃṇa khara[yosta]sa [śa] 20 4 4 ana 4 ma 2

(Outside rim of lid:) imdravarmasa kumarasa sa 20 4
4 dra 1

(Outside rim of base:) imdravarmasa kumarasa sa 20
20 1 1 1

(Outside body of lid:) [1] viśpavarmastrategaputre
imdravarma kumare sabharyae ime śarira pari-
ṭhaveti taṇukaami thubami viśpavarmo stratego
[śi]śireṇa ya stratega[2]bharya puyāita imdra[vasu]
apacaraja vasumi[dra] ca jiaputra puyāita imdra-
varmo stratego utara ya strategabharya puyāita
viye[3]mitro avacarayo sabharyao puyāito sarva-
ñadisagho puyāita sarvasatva puyāita savasatva
patiṇivāito

(Outside body of base:) [1] viśpavarmasa strategasa
putre imdravarma kumare sabharyae ime śarira
pratiṭhaveti taṇuakami thubami viśpava(*r)mo
stratego śiśireṇa ya [2] strategabharya puyāita
imdravasū apacaraja vasumitra ya jivaputra
puyāita[m] imdravarmo stratego puyāita utara
[3] strategabharya puyāita viyemitro avacarayo
sabharyao puyāita sarvañadisagho puyāita sarva-
satva ya [4] puyāita sarvasatva pariṇivāito

(Underside of base:) “*ṇaṃ*”

(Outside rim of lid:) “Of the *yagu* king Kharaosta,
son of the great governor. 28 staters, 4 *dhānakas*(?),
2 *māśas*.”

(Outside rim of lid:) “Of prince Imdravarma (II). 28
staters, 1 drachm.”

76. The main donor of this reliquary, Prince Imdravarma II, son of Viśpavarma, cannot be identical with Prince (later General) Imdravarma I, husband of Utara (see nos. 8, 9, 10, 13, and the possibly spurious second inscription in no. 23), who is also referred to as an honoree in this reliquary. Imdravarma II is

conjecturally placed two generations (c. fifty years) after Imdravarma I, possibly illustrating the same sharing of names between grandfather and grandson as with Vijayamitra II and Vijayamitra III (and maybe Vijayamitra I: Falk 1998: 107; Salomon 2005a: 380–81).

(Outside rim of base:) “Of prince Iṃdravarma (II).
43 staters.”

(Outside body of lid:) “[1] Prince Iṃdravarma (II),
son of General Viśpavarma, establishes together
with (his) wife these relics in (his) personal stūpa.
General Viśpavarma and Śiśireṇa, [2] wife of the
general, are honored. Iṃdravasū, (former?) king
of Apraca, and Vasumitra, who has a living son
(Vijayamitra III), are honored. General Iṃdravarma
(I) and Utara, wife of the general, are honored.
[3] Vijayamitra (II or III?), (former?) king of
Apraca, is honored together with his wife. The
community of all relatives is honored. All beings
are honored. All beings are brought to nirvana.”

(Outside body of base:) “[1] Prince Iṃdravarma (II),
son of General Viśpavarma, establishes together
with his wife these relics in (his) personal stūpa.
General Viśpavarma and Śiśireṇa, [2] wife of the
general, are honored. Iṃdravasū, (former?) king
of Apraca, and Vasumitra, who has a living son,
are honored. General Iṃdravarma (I) is honored.
Utara, [3] wife of the general, is honored. Vija-
yamitra (II or III?), king of Apraca, is honored
together with his wife. The whole community of
relatives is honored, and [4] all beings are honored.
All beings are brought to nirvana.”

Salomon 1996b; Falk 1998: 103–6; Salomon 2005a:
381–82
CKI 241

26. *Helaiūta*, year 121 of Azes [63/64 CE]

Copper sheets

Provenance unknown

Location unknown

[1] maharajasa mahatasa ayasa vurtakalasa varṣaya
ekaviśatiśadamaye 1 100 20 1 gu[2]rpieyasa
masasa diasammi tridaśamami 10 3 utarehi
proṭhavadahi nakṣetra[mi] [3] iśa kṣunami helaūte
demetriaputre avivage pratiṭhaveti bhagavado
rahado sa[4]masabudhasa sugado logapida⁷⁷
aṇutaro puruṣadhammasarasiṇa śasta devamaṇu-
śaṇa śa[5]kamun[i]sa dhadue taṇuakami thubumi
aīriṇa dhamaūtakāṇa śamaṇaṇa parigra[6]hami
apaṇasa hidasuhadaye nivaṇasabharadae metreasa
mosaṇadae dhami . . .

“[1] In the one-hundred-and-twenty-first—121st—
year of the great king, the great Azes, whose time
has passed, [2] on the thirteenth—13th—day of
the month Gorpaios, under the constellation
Uttara Proṣṭhapada, [3] at this moment Helaūta,
son of Demetrios, *avivage* establishes [5] relics of
the Lord, the saint, [4] the completely enlightened
one, the well-gone one, the father of the world,
the best driver of men who need to be tamed, the
teacher of gods and men, [5] the Śākya sage, in
(his) personal stūpa, in the [6] possession of the
Dharmaguptaka teachers (and) monks, for (his)

77. Wrong historical spelling (and possibly misinterpretation)
of *logavido*, “knower of the world.”

own benefit and happiness, for (his) preparation for
nirvana, for the *mosañada* of Maitreya *dhami* . . .”

Falk 2010: 17–19
CKI 564

27. *Unknown donor*⁷⁸

Copper sheets
Orakzai, Pakistan
Private collection

[1] . . . kṣatrapasa yodamuṇisa mahipiduse[na]e
[2] . . . apadragaṇi balatepaṣaviha [3] . . . [4] . . .
[5] . . . ga [6] . . . pa [7] . . . teṇa budhamitraputreṇa
+ [kha] + + ṇa dhitravidasa [8] + + + + sataṇa
puyae samagu + hanasa kha[da]ti . . .

“[1] . . . of the governor Yodamuṇi . . . [7] . . . by the
son of Budhamitra . . . [8] . . . in honor of . . . beings
. . .”

Khan 2002; Falk 2010: 17
CKI 442

28. *Priavaśa, year 126 of Azes [68/69 CE]*

Schist box
Provenance unknown
Private collection

(Outside of body:) [1] savatsaraye ṣaviśavaṣaśatimae
[2] maharayasa mahatasa ayasa kalagada[3]sa

78. Paleographically first or second century CE (Khan 2002: 154).

aṣaḍasa masasa divasami [4] treviśami iśa
divasami [5] yaūasa ra[j]ami⁷⁹ i [6] maharayasa
ṇai[mi]tra [7] [vha]jao [8] tre[haṇi]a[y]ao puyae
[9] yeṇa io vihare pratiṭha[10]vide [11] i śarira aḍi
pradeṭhavidā [12] priavaśasa⁸⁰ ṣamaṇasa [13] ime
ya śarira pradeṭhavi[14]da i daṇamuhe priava-
[18]śasa ṣamaṇasa [15] madapida puyaīda
[16] mahiṣadagaṇa⁸¹ aīri[17]aṇa parigrahami

(Outside of body:) “[1] In the one-hundred-and-
twenty-sixth year [2] of the great king, the great
Azes, [3] who has died, on the [4] twenty-third
day of the month Āṣāḍha, on this day, [5] in the
reign of the *yaūa*, this⁸² [6] . . . in honor . . . of the

79. Fussman (1985c: 48–49) considered reading *rajami* but settled on *raṣami* and translated “pour la protection” because *rajami* seemed to fit neither the general context nor the preceding genitive *yaūasa*. On the other hand, one would expect a dative rather than locative to express purpose (cf. the frequent *puyae*, “in honor of”), and the word *rajami* is now attested in Ariāśrava’s inscription no. 23: *gupharasa bhratuputrasa avakaśasa rajami imdravarmaputre statree aṣpavarmame rajami*. Even though some doubt remains about the genuineness of this parallel, on balance the reading *rajami* seems preferable.

80. Miscopied for *priavaśasa*.

81. Miscopied for *mahiṣasagaṇa*, itself a variant of expected *mahiśasagaṇa*.

82. Fussman (1985c: 48–49) interprets this occurrence of *i* and the one in line 14, but not the one in line 11, as the conjunctive particle corresponding to Old Indo-Aryan *ca*. Since the latter occurs in the form *ya* in line 13, however, and since none of the three occurrences of *i* is in the expected enclitic position, it seems preferable to interpret all cases of *i* as short forms of the demonstrative pronoun in either the singular (l. 14) or plural (l. 11; the referent in l. 5 is unclear).

great king . . . relatives and friends [7] *vhajao*⁸³
 [8] *trehaṇiayao*, [9] who [10] established this
 monastery, [11] these relics are established there.
 [12] The monk Priavaśa [13] also [14] establishes
 these relics. This is a donation [18] of the monk
 Priavaśa. [15] Mother and father are honored.
 [16] In the possession of the Mahīśāsaka
 [17] teachers.”

Fussman 1985c; Salomon 1995b: 130–31; Tsukamoto
 1996–98: 952–54
 CKI 331

29. *Cadlabhi, year 134 of Azes [76/77 CE]*
 Copper sheet (found with miniature stūpa [fig. 3.25])
 Kalawan, Taxila, Pakistan
 National Museum, New Delhi, India
 8788 KW 31-289/1

[1] *saṃvatśaraye* 1 100 20 10 4 *ajasa śravaṇasa*
masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 *imeṇa kṣuṇeṇa*
caṃdrabhi uasia [2] *dhraṃmasa grahavatisa dhita*
bhadravalasa bhaya chaḍaśilae śarira praistaveti

83. Initial *ṇ* is unexpected in *ṇati* < Old Indo-Aryan *jñāti*, but the extended form *ṇatiga* also occurs in Vagamarega's inscription no. 43: *ṇatigamitrasaṃbhatigaṇa puyae*. Compare further Urasaka's inscription no. 30: *mitramacañatisalohi(*ta)ṇa [pu]yae*. In light of Vagamarega's *-saṃbhatigaṇa*, “associates,” it is tempting to see an equivalent < **saṃ* > *vhajao* in the following word (interpreted as a proper name by Fussman 1985c).

gahathu[3] *bami sadha bhraduṇa ṇaṃdivaḍhaṇeṇa*
grahavatiṇa sadha putrehi śameṇa saiteṇa ca
dhituṇa ca [4] *dhramae sadha ṣuṣaehi rajae idrae*
ya sadha jivaṇaṃdiṇa śamaputr[e]ṇa ayariṇa ya
sa[rva]sti[5] *vaṇa parigrahe raṭhaṇikamo puyāita*
sarva[sva]tvaṇa puyae ṇivaṇasa pratiae hotu

“[1] In the 134th year of Azes, on the twenty-third—
 23rd—day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this moment
 the lay-follower Cadrabhi, daughter [2] of the
 householder Dhrama, wife of Bhadravala, estab-
 lishes at Chaḍaśila relics in a womb [3] stūpa
 together with her brother, the householder
 Ṇadivaḍhaṇa, together with her sons Śama and
 Saīta and her daughter [4] Dhrama, together with
 her daughters-in-law Raja and Imḍra, together
 with Jivaṇadi, son of Śama, and in the possession
 of the [5] Sarvāstivāda teachers. The kingdom and
 town are honored. May it be in honor (and) for the
 attainment of nirvana of all beings.”

Konow 1931–32; Konow 1932; Sircar 1965: 131–32;
 Ghosal 1981a; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 971–72; Salomon
 1998: 269–70; Falk 2003a: 71, 78; Seyfort Rugg
 2005
 CKI 172

30. Urasaka, year 136 of Azes [78/79 CE]

Silver sheet (found with fragments of schist container)
Taxila, Pakistan

National Museum, New Delhi, India 8789 Dh' 12-65

[1] sa 1 100 20 10 4 1 1 ayasa aṣaḍasa masasa divase
10 4 1 iśa diva[se pradi]stavita bhagavato dhatu[o]
ura[sa][2]keṇa [iṃ]tavhriaputraṇa bahaliṇa ṇocae
ṇagare vastaveṇa teṇa ime pradistavita bhagavato
dhatuo dhamara[3]ie takṣaśi[*la]e taṇuvae bosī-
satvagahami maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa
khuṣaṇasa arogadakṣiṇae [4] sarva[bu]dhaṇa
puyae pracagabudhaṇa puyae araha[*ta]ṇa pu[ya]e
sarvasa[*tva]ṇa puyae matapitu puyae mitramaca-
ñatisa[5]lohi[*ta]ṇa⁸⁴ [pu]yae atvaṇo arogadakṣiṇae
ṇivaṇae hotu a[ya] desamaparicago⁸⁵

“[1] In the 136th year of Azes, on the 15th day of the
month Āṣāḍha, on this day relics of the Lord are
established [2] by Urasaka, (one) of the sons of
Iṃtavhria, a Bactrian and resident in the town

84. Gandhari *amaca* = Sanskrit *amātya* here preserves its
Vedic meaning “intimate,” as shown by its position between
mitra and *ñati-salohita*. On the way to classical Sanskrit the
meaning had narrowed to “minister” (or, maybe better, “privy
counsel,” German *Geheimrat*). In the Gandharan context it may
therefore be equivalent to the Greek title *aṇakaya* (ἀνακᾰτος),
“of persons, connected by necessary or natural ties, i.e. related by
blood” (Liddell and Scott 1940, s.v.), that occurs in nos. 1 and 24.

85. The Sanskrit form corresponding to this word is *deya-*
dharmaparityāgaḥ; cf. Ariasravaś inscription no. 23: *eva*
pariṭhaveataya eva paricaaṃtaya ṇivaṇapratī[e] bhotu.

Ṇoaca. He establishes these relics of the Lord
[3] in the Dharmarajika (stūpa) in Takṣaśilā in (his)
personal bodhisattva-womb (stūpa) for the reward
of health of the great king, chief king of kings, son
of the gods, the Kuṣāṇa, [4] in honor of all buddhas,
in honor of solitary buddhas, in honor of saints, in
honor of all beings, in honor of mother and father,
in honor of friends, intimates, relatives, [5] and
blood relatives. May this giving of a donation be
for (his) own reward of health and nirvana.”

Konow 1929a: 70–77; Lüders 1940: 22–26; Brough
1962: 82; Harmatta 1964: 18; Sircar 1965: 133–34;
Ghosal 1986; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1008–9; Falk
2003a: 78; Salomon 2005a: 377
CKI 60

31. Year 139 of Azes [81/82 CE]

Stone spherical

Provenance unknown

François Mandeville, Hong Kong, China

(Outside of body:) sa 1 100 20 10 4 4 1 ayasa
aṣaḍasa{sa} diase 20 1 iśa divasa pradiṭhavita
bhagavato dhatuu

(Outside of body:) “In the year 139 of Azes, on the
21st day of Āṣāḍha, on this day relics of the Lord
are established.”

Falk 2010: 16
CKI 563

32. Year 147 (of Azes) [89/90 CE]

Sandstone box (figs. 3.47, 3.59)

Provenance unknown

Location unknown

(Inside of lid:) [1] vaṣa 1 100 20 20 4 1 1 1 [2]
jeṭhasa dive caada[3]śe io daṇamuho bha[4]ṭarasa
dhamavadaa[1a]ṭa sadha ku[1b]l[e]ṇa⁸⁶

(Inside of lid:) “In the 147th year, on the fourteenth
day of Jyaiṣṭha, this is the donation of the lord
dhamavadaaṭa together with his family.”

Falk 2010: 16–17

CKI 536

86. Falk (2010) took *bhaṭarasa* as the name of the donor and read *dhamavadaaṭasadhakulaṇa*, translating “of Bhaṭṭāra who belongs to the groups of judges (and) executors.” It seems preferable to understand *bhaṭara* in its usual sense of a title. The following sequence, read by Falk as *dhamavadaaṭa*, would then in all likelihood contain the name of the donor and should as such be in the genitive case. Compound names starting with *dhama-* are richly attested, but the last akṣara of the sequence cannot be read as *sa*, presenting an unsolved problem. If we provisionally accept this interpretation, however, then the following sequence is an instance of the very common pattern of specifying family members as co-donors in the instrumental case following the preposition *sadha*. This also removes the need to introduce the otherwise-unattested technical terms Sanskrit *dharmavāda* in the meaning “judge” and *arthasādhya*.

33. Saṭaṣaka and Muṃji, year 156 (of Azes) [98/99 CE] (reestablished by Aprakhaka, year 172 (of Azes) [114/115 CE])

Steatite spherical

Provenance unknown

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK EA 1995.72

(Outside of lid:) [1] hora [2] saṃvatsaraye
ṣapaṃcāiśaśadama maṣe ire d(*i)asa 20 1 1 1
[s]aṭaṣake⁸⁷ hirmaaputra muṃji [s]aṭaṣakaputra
thuvaṃ [3] pratiṭhaveti apratiṭhavitapruve sarva-
budhana pujae matrapidu pujae budhaṇa bhoṣi
pravuṇama ṇa agho duho
(Inside of lid:) [4] ime bhagavato śarira pratiṭhapita
savabudhana puyae aprakhakasa heliuphilaputrasa
[5] duasatatiśadama gurpiya yaṃbulima maṣa
saste 4 4

(Inside of base:) [6] avinavuliehi

(Outside of lid:) “[1] Donation. [2] In the one-
hundred-and-fifty-sixth year, in the month Aira,
on the 23rd day, Saṭaṣaka, son of Hermaios, (and)
Muṃji, son of Saṭaṣaka, [3] establish a stūpa in a
previously unestablished (place) in honor of all
buddhas, in honor of mother and father. (May)
we attain the enlightenment of the buddhas, not
highest pain.”

87. The name of this donor may be related to that of the honoree Sadaṣkaṇa in Seṇavarma's inscription no. 24, l. 8, and the reading [S]aṭaṣaka is therefore preferred to the graphically identical [S]atraṣaka proposed in Falk 2010: 27.

(Inside of lid:) “[4] These relics of the Lord are established in honor of all buddhas by Aprakhaka, son of Heliophilos, [5] in the one-hundred-and-seventy-second (year), in the intercalary (ἐμβόλιμος) month Gorpaios, after 8 days.”
(Inside of base:) “[6] With the *avinavulias*.”

Fussman 1985b; Salomon 1995b: 130–31; Salomon 1996a: 234; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 950–52; Falk 2003a: 74; Falk and Bennett 2009; Falk 2010: 25–28
CKI 328

34. *Khadadata, year 157 (of Azes) [99/100 CE]*
Schist wide-mouth spherical
Provenance unknown
Private collection

(Outside of lid:) [1] sa[m]vatsara satapacaiśa(*śa)da
1 100 20 20 10 4 1 1 1 mase proṭha sastehi sa[ta]-
viśati iśa kṣ[u]nami pratiṭhavati khadadata utara-
[ci]tathopo [2] mahavanami matapitina pujartha
sarvasatvana puyartha utarapuya[rtha]

(Outside of lid:) “[1] In the one-hundred-and-fifty-seventh—157th—year, in the month Prauṣṭhapada, after twenty-seven days, at this moment Khadadata establishes the stūpa built by Utara [2] in the Great Forest (Monastery), in order to honor mother and father, in order to honor all beings, in order to honor Utara.”

Salomon 1995b: 128–33; Salomon 2005a: 363
CKI 225

35. *Utaraya, year 157 (of Azes) [99/100 CE]*

Schist miniature stūpa (fig. 5.4)

Hazara District, Pakistan

Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, USA 1999.49

(Base:) saṃbatsara satapaṃ(*ca)īśa 1 100 20 20 10 4
1 1 1 mase pr(*o)ṭha [1] utaraya bhikhuṇi pradi-
ṭhava(*ti) bhaghava[dha]tu kharavalamahavane
rañe matapitinaṃ puyartha

(Base:) “In the fifty-seventh—157th—year, in the month Prauṣṭhapada, on the 1st (day), the nun Utaraya⁸⁸ establishes a relic of the Lord in the Kharavala Great Forest Monastery in order to honor mother and father.”

Salomon 1995b: 133–39
CKI 226

36. *Year 303 (of the Greeks) [117/118 CE]*

Schist miniature stūpa (fig. 5.5)

Kula Dheri, Charsadda, Pakistan

Peshawar Museum, Peshawar, Pakistan 3218

(Outside of base:) [1] sabatśa 1 1 1 100 1 1 1
[śravaṇasa] m[asasa] d[ivase 4 4 macayemaṇa
bha]gav[ato] śar[ir]a [ta]ṇ[uvae] thuba[e]
sagharamu pradiṭhaveti

(Inside of base:) [2] avaśaūrami madapidupuya(*e)

88. The name Utaraya is a variant of Utara, and it is possible that nos. 34 and 35 refer to the same person (cf. the use of Rukhuṇaka in nos. 8, 9, and 17 but Rukhuṇa in no. 13).

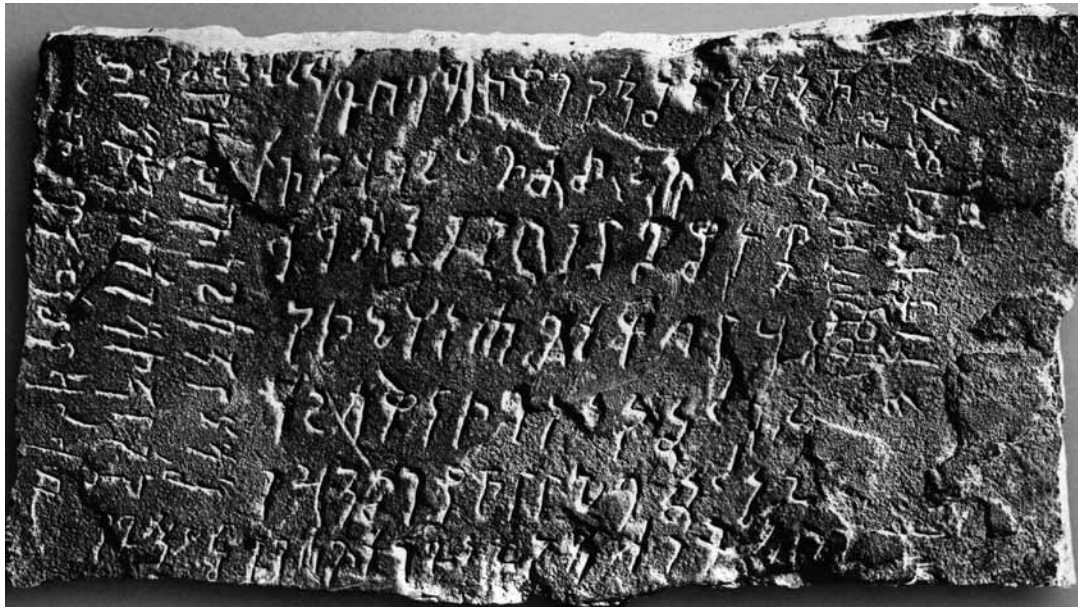


Fig. 6.10. *The inscription of Lala (no. 37)*
Stone relic-chamber slab
Bibliothèque nationale de France

sarvabudhaṇa puyae sa[3]rvapraca[*ga]budhaṇa
puyae sarvarahataṇa puya[*e]

(Outside of base:) [4] putradarasa puyae mitrañadi-
salohidaṇa puya[*e] maharayasa gramas[v]amisa
avakhazadasa puyae kṣatravasa

(Outside of base:) “[1] In the 303rd year, on the 8th
day of the month Śrāvaṇa, *macayemaṇa*⁸⁹ estab-
lishes relics of the Lord in his personal stūpa in
the monastery,”

(Inside of base:) “[2] in Avaśāūra. In honor of mother
and father, in honor of all buddhas, [3] in honor of
solitary buddhas, in honor of all saints,”

89. As explained in Salomon 1997b: 371, *macayemaṇa* is a
badly garbled version of the name of the donor of these relics.
The true name may not be recoverable.

(Outside of base:) “[4] in honor of (his) son(s) and
wife, in honor of friends, relatives, and blood
relatives, in honor of the great king, the village
master Avakhazada, the governor.”

Majumdar 1937–38b; Konow 1940; Konow 1947a;
Tsukamoto 1996–98: 957–58; Salomon 1997b:
368–71; Falk 2003a: 78; Salomon 2005a: 377; Falk
2008b: 205
CKI 178

37. *Lala, year 18 of Kanishka [144/145 CE]*

Stone relic-chamber slab (found with copper con-
tainer) (fig. 6.10)

Manikyala, Pakistan

Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France

(Inside of slab:) [1] saṃ 10 4 4 [kartiyasa maze
divase 20] e[tra] purvae maharajasa kaṇe[2]ṣkasa
guṣaṇavaśasaṃvardhaka lala [3] daḍaṇayago
veśpaśisa kṣatrapasa [4] horamurt[o] sa tasa
apanage vihare [5] horamurto etra ṇaṇabhaga-
vabudhaz[a]va [6] p[r]atistavayati saha tae[na]
veśpaśieṇa khudacie[na] [7] buriteṇa ca vihara-
kara[vha]eṇa [8] sa[m]veṇa ca parivareṇa sadha
eteṇa ku[9]śalamulena budhehi ca ṣa[va]ehi [ca]
[10] samam sada bhavatu [11] bhratarasvara-
budhisa agrapa[ḍi]aśae [12] sadha budhileṇa
navakarmigeṇa⁹⁰

(Inside of slab:) “[1] In the 18th year—on the 20th
day of the month Kārttika, on this first (lunar
day)—of the great king [2] Kanishka, Lala,
increaser of the Kuṣāṇa line, [3] judge,
[4] donation master of the governor Veśpaśi—he
is [5] donation master in his personal monastery—
[6] establishes here several relics of the Lord, the
Buddha, together with the group of three Veśpaśia,
Khudacia, and [7] Burita, the builder of the
monastery, [8] and together with (his) whole
retinue. Through this [9] root of good as well as
through the buddhas and disciples [10] may it
always be [11] for the best share of (his) brother
Svarabudhi. [12] Together with Budhila, the
superintendent of construction.”

90. Line 12 of this inscription appears to be a later addition
by the superintendent of construction himself (Konow 1929a:
24, 149), just like line 5 of Patika's inscription no. 12.

Konow 1929a: 145–50; Lüders 1940: 20–21; Brough
1962: 61; Sircar 1965: 142–43; Humbach 1976:
38–39; Ghosal 1982; Tsukamoto 1996–98
CKI 149

38. *Year 18 (of Kanishka) [144/145 CE]*

Brass box

Afghanistan

Location unknown

(Lid:) saṃ 10 4 4 maṣe arthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e]
kṣunaṃmi gotamaṣamaṇasa śarira paristavida

(Lid:) “In the 18th year, in the month Artemisios,
after 10 (days), at this moment relics of the
Gautama monk are established.”

Konow 1929a: 151–52; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 941
CKI 152

39. *Śveḍavarma, year 20 (of Kanishka) [146/147 CE]*

Copper miniature stūpa (fig. 3.46)

Kurram Valley, Pakistan(?)

Location unknown

(Outside of base:) [1] [saṃ 20 masa]sa avadunakasa
di 20 iś[e] kṣunaṃmi śveḍavarma yaśaputra
tanu[v]akaṃmi raṃṇaṃmi (*navaviha)raṃmi
acaryana sarvastivadana pari[grahaṃ]mi
thubaṃmi bhagavatasa śakyamunisa [2] śarira
pradiṭhavedi yatha uta bhagavada avijapracaga
saṃkara[m] saṃkarapracaga viṇana [vi]ṇana-

pracaga namaruva namaruvapracaga ṣaḍa[ya]dana
 ṣaḍayadanapracaga phaṣa [ph]aṣapracaga
 [3] vedana vedanapracaga taṣa taṣapracaga
 uvadana uvadanapracaga bhava bhavapracaga
 jadi jadipracā[ga] jaramaranaśogaparidevadukha-
 dormanastaüvagasa [evam asa] kevalasa dukha-
 kaṃdhasa saṃmudae bhavadi [4] sarvasatvana
 puyae aya ca praticasaṃmupate likhida mahiphati-
 ena sarvasatvana puyae

(Outside of base:) “[1] In the 20th year, on the 20th day of the month Audunaios, at this moment Śveḍavarma, son of Yaśa, establishes in (his) personal monastery, the New Monastery, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda teachers, in a stūpa, [2] relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage. As has been said by the Lord: Under the condition of ignorance there is determination; under the condition of determination there is consciousness; under the condition of consciousness there is name and form; under the condition of name and form there are the six (sense) spheres; under the condition of the six (sense) spheres there is contact; under the condition of contact [3] there is feeling; under the condition of feeling there is craving; under the condition of craving there is assuming; under the condition of assuming there is existence; under the condition of existence there is birth; under the condition of birth there is aging, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, distress, and trouble. This is the origin of this whole mass of suffering.

[4] In honor of all beings. And this dependent arising has been written by Mahiphatia in honor of all beings.”

Konow 1929a: 152–55; Konow 1929b; Sircar 1965: 148–49; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 978–79
 CKI 153

40. *Mitravarma, year 20 (of Kanishka) [146/147 CE]*

Slate block with hollow
 Shahi Kot, near Torkham, Afghanistan
 Location unknown

(Outside of lid:) budhasa
 (Inside of lid:) [1] saṃbatsara viṃśati 20 [2] mase
 ulo saste 20 10 iṣe kṣu[3]ṇami pratiṭhavite bhaga-
 vada [4] dhaduśarira mitravarmasa [5] thubami
 tanuakami śpae

(Outside of lid:) “Of the Buddha.”
 (Inside of lid:) “[1] (In)⁹¹ the year twenty—20—
 [2] in the month Oloios, after 30 days, at this
 [3] moment [4] a relic of the Lord is established
 [5] in Mitravarma’s personal, own stūpa.”⁹²

Falk 2003a: 71–74
 CKI 368

91. See Baums 2006: 41–42.

92. As part of his argument concerning *gaṃdharaśpami* in line 5 of Śatruleka’s inscription no. 17 (see the note there), Falk

41. *Samghamitra, year 28 (of Kanishka) [154/155 CE]*

Earthenware container

Hadda, near Jalalabad, Afghanistan

Location unknown

(Outside of body:) [1] sambatśarae aṭhaviśatihi 20 4
4 mase apelaē sasteḥi daśahi 10 iśa kṣunaṃmi
pratistapita śarira ramaraṃṇami thubami samgha-
mitrena navakarmi⟨*e⟩na [2] edena k⟨*u⟩śala-
mule⟨*na⟩ eteṣa dharmana labhi bhavima y⟨*e⟩ṣa
dharmaṇaṃ eta vo syet⟨*i⟩ śarira sarvasatvana
nirvanasambharae bhavatu ramasa agripracaya⁹³

(Outside of body:) “[1] In the twenty-eighth—28th—
year, in the month Apellaios, after ten—10—
(days), at this moment relics are deposited in the
Rama Monastery in a stūpa by Samghamitra, the
superintendent of construction. [2] Through this
root of good may we obtain those dharmas of

(2003a: 73) interprets *śpae* in the present inscription as an
“area-name . . . to do with property rights.” While this sugges-
tion is good and the possibility needs to be considered, I prefer
to understand *gaṃdharaśpami* in Śatruleka’s inscription as
“master of Gandhāra” and therefore adopt the conservative
translation of *śpae* as “own” (Sanskrit *svake*).

93. The original of this inscription is lost and Konow edited it
from an imperfect eye copy prepared by its discoverer, Charles
Masson. Konow (1935–36: 41–42) considered whether the clear
reading *pracaya* should be taken as Old Indo-Aryan *pratyaya*,
“support,” or rather as a miscopied *pracaśa* = Old Indo-Aryan
pratyamśa, “share.” In light of several parallels (nos. 37 and 43),
the latter interpretation is adopted here.

which these your relics consist. May it be for the
preparation for nirvana of all beings and the best
share of Rama.”

Konow 1929a: 157–58; Konow 1935–36; Tsukamoto
1996–98: 962–63; Salomon 2005a: 364
CKI 155

42. *Budhapriya and others, year 44 (of Kanishka) [171/172 CE]*

Earthenware spherical

Jalalabad, Afghanistan

Private collection

[1] samvatsarae caducapariśadima 20 20 4
[2] budhapriyasa iyo raṃṇo pradīṭhavavido
[i]gamiga budadevasa zaṃdasarasa viharisva-
misagilasa bhatamuḍaya [3] budhavarma

[1] “In the forty-fourth—44th—year, [2] this monas-
tery is established by Budhapriya and, individually,
by Budadeva, Zadasara, the monastery master
Sagila, Bhatamuḍaya, [3] and Budhavarma.”

Strauch 2007: 79–83

CKI 511

43. *Vagamarega, year 51 (of Kanishka) [177/178 CE]*

Bronze spherical (fig. 4.33)

Wardak, near Kabul, Afghanistan

British Museum, London, UK 1880.93

(Outside of body:) [1] saṃ 20 20 10 1 maṣa arthami-siya sastehi 10 4 1 imeṇa gaḍigeṇa kamagulyaputra-vagamarega ṣa iṣa khavadami kadalayigavaga-maregaviharammi thu[ba]mmi bhagavada śakyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti [2] imeṇa kuśala-muleṇa maharajaratirajahuveṣkaṣa agrabhagae bhavatu madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me haṣṭhunaḥmaregaṣa puyae bhavatu yo ca me bhuya ṇatigamitrasaṃbhatigaṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya ca vagamaregaṣa agrabhagapaḍiyamśae [3] bhavatu sarvasatvaṇa arogadakṣiṇae bhavatu aviyaṇaragaparyata yava bhavagra yo atra aṃtara a[m]ḍaḍo jalayuga śaśvetiga arupyata sarviṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya ca rohaṇa sada sarviṇa avaṣatrigaṇa saparivara ca agrabhagapaḍiyamśae bhavatu mithyagaṣa ca agrabhaga bhavatu [4] eṣa vihara acaryaṇa mahasaṃghigaṇa parigraha

(Outside of body:) “[1] In the 51st year, in the month Artemisios, after 15 (days), at this time Vagamarega, son of Kamagulya, he establishes here in Khavada, in the *kadalayiga*⁹⁴ Vagamarega Monastery, in a stūpa relics of the Lord, the Śākya

sage. [2] Through this root of good may it be for the best lot of the great king, chief king of kings Huvishka; may it be in honor of my mother and father; may it be in honor of my brother Haṣṭhunaḥmarega; and may it be in honor of my further relatives, friends, and associates; and [3] may it be for the best share and lot of me, Vagamarega; may it be for the reward of health of all beings; and may it also be in honor of all, whoever there is here in between, from the Avīci hell at one end to the top of existence, (whether) egg-born, womb-born, moisture-born, (or) formless; and may it always be for the best lot and share of my horse-men,⁹⁵ with all umbrella-bearers and with the retinue; and may there be a best lot for the one who is wrong. [4] This monastery is the possession of the Mahāsāṃghika teachers.”

Konow 1929a: 165–70; F. W. Thomas 1931: 4, 10; Bloch 1951: 51; Maricq 1958: 367; Brough 1962: 68–69, 71; Sircar 1965: 158–59; Fussman 1974: 88–89; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1016–17; Falk 2008a CKI 159

94. Konow (1929a: 167; following Lüders and Pargiter) interpreted *ṣa* as the nominative singular demonstrative pronoun, *kadalayiga* as equivalent to Sanskrit *kṛtālaya*, “having fixed his residence,” with additional *-ka* suffix, and the phrase enclosed by these two words as parenthetical. The newly discovered inscription of the daughter of Vagamarega, however, contains what appears to be the same word in the spelling *kadalyage*. In both inscriptions, the word precedes the designation of the monastery in which the relics are established, apparently forming a

compound with it in the present inscription, and in the locative case in the daughter’s inscription. The word in question, whose equivalence with *kṛtālaya* is thus made less certain, appears to be a specification of the monastery rather than a place-name (as suggested by Falk 2008a: 70). The interpretation of the remaining phrase as parenthetical is further weakened by the appearance of *iṣa khavadami* without pronoun or other subject immediately after the dating formula of the daughter’s inscription. But in spite of the unexpected spelling *ṣa* (instead of *sa*) it seems possible to

44. Daughter of Vagamarega, year 51 (of Kanishka)
[177/178 CE]

Bronze spherical

Wardak, near Kabul, Afghanistan

Private collection

(Outside of body:) [1] saṃ 20 20 10 1 maṣe artha-
misiya sastehi 10 4 1 iśa khavadami kamagulya-
putravagamaregavihara[thu]ba kadalyage
viha[*ra]mi śamaṇaṇa mahasaṃgigaṇa parigraha
khoḍadhida dhidae [*thu]bae⁹⁶ pratiṭhaviṭi
[2] igagamigami bhagavada śakyamuṇaśa śarira
pariṭhida imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa madapiteṇa puyaye
bhavadu haṣṭhunaḥmaregaśa puyaye bhavatu
vagamarigaśa agrabhagadae bhavadu maheya
ca dhidae arogadakṣiṇae bhavatu agrabhaga
sarvasatvaṇa ca [3] [*a][gra]bhagadae bhavatu
ṇ[*i]rvanaparayana ca aviyaniragaparyata
yava bhavagra yo atra aṃtara aḍaja jalayuga
śaśv[*e]tiga aru[v]i ova[*va]tiga saha sarviṇaṇa

ṇirvaṇaeda nirvaṇadae naye bhavatu mahiya ca
rohaṇa agrabhagadae bhavatu bahulamithyagaśa
ca agrabhagadae bhavatu

(Outside of body:) “[1] In the 51st year, in the month
Artemisios, after 15 (days), here at Khavada, at
the stūpa of the Vagamarega Son-of-Kamagulya
Monastery, in the *kadalyaga* monastery, in the
possession of the Mahāsāṃghika monks, the little
daughter(?) establishes the daughter’s stūpas(?).
[2] In each of them relics of the Lord, the Śākya
sage, are established. By this root of good may it
be in honor of mother and father, may it be in
honor of Haṣṭhunaḥmarega, may it be for the best
lot of Vagamarega, and may it be for the reward
of health of me the daughter (and for) the best lot;
[3] may it also be for the best lot of all beings and
conducive to (their) nirvana; and may it be for the
attainment of nirvana of all, whoever there is here
in between, from the Avīci hell at one end to the

maintain the interpretation of this word as a demonstrative
pronoun in light of the parallel construction of Vasuseṇa’s
inscription as quoted inside Seṇavarma’s inscription no. 24, l. 3,
*utaraseṇaputre vasuseṇe oḍiraya iśmahokulade se imo ekaūḍo
pratiṭhaveti*, and, apparently, Ajidaseṇa’s inscription no. 11, *ajida-
seṇa oḍiraja[sa] ṇavhapati sa . . ime . . dhadue pratiṭhaveti*.
Otherwise, one would have to interpret *sa* as a genitive ending
of *kamagulyaputravagamaregaśa* (cf. Konow 1929a: 166) and
assume a break of construction, with the sentence starting in the
passive and ending in the active.

95. Konow (1929a: 169) interpreted this word as genitive
plural of Sanskrit *roha*, “sprout,” and translated “my descendants,”
whereas Falk (2008a: 73) translated “my horsemen,” apparently

connecting it with Sanskrit *roha*, “riding on” (attested only at the
end of compounds), and under the influence of his reinterpretation
of the following words as “umbrella-bearers” and “retinue.”
The latter interpretation is tentatively followed here, but it has
to be noted that the occurrence of the word in the inscription of
Vagamarega’s young daughter (no. 44)—which is otherwise
suitably modified from Vagamarega’s own—presents a problem.

96. This reconstruction (Falk 2008a: 70) is provisional. One
problem is the apparent absence of the daughter’s name; another
is the proposed form [*thu]bae, which would have to be
interpreted as a diminutive (Old Indo-Aryan *stūpaka-) with
unexpected Gandhari ending -e for Old Indo-Aryan -ān.

top of existence, (whether) egg-born, womb-born, moisture-born, formless, (or) spontaneously arising; and may it be for the best lot of my horse-men(?); and may it be for the best lot of the one who holds many wrong views.”

Falk 2008a

CKI 509

*45. Mahasena and Saṃgharakṣita*⁹⁷

Gilded-bronze incense container (fig. 3.32)

Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, Peshawar, Pakistan

Peshawar Museum, Peshawar, Pakistan 2848

(Outside of lid:) [2] kaniṣ[kapu]re ṇagare [a]yaṃ
gadha[ka]raṃḍe + t. (*mahara)jasa kaṇi-

(Outside of body:) [4] ṣkasa vihare mahasenasa
saṃgharakṣitasa agiśalanavakarmiana

[3] deyadharme sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu

(Top of lid:) [1] acaryana sarvastivatina pratigrahe

(Outside of lid:) “[2] In the city Kaniṣkapura, this
incense box . . .”

(Outside of body:) “[3] is the donation [4] of
Mahasena and Saṃgharakṣita, superintendents of
construction of the fire chamber in the monastery
of the (*great) king Kanishka. [4] May it be for
the benefit and happiness of all beings.”

(Top of lid:) “[1] In the possession of the
Sarvāstivādin teachers.”

Konow 1929a: 135–37; Burrow 1944; Mukherjee

1964; Dobbins 1968: 155–61; Fussman 1987:

77–82; Mukherjee 1989; Sadakata 1998; Tsukamoto

1996–98: 993–94; Errington and Falk 2002; Falk

2008b: 190

CKI 145

97. This incense box (the so-called Kanishka casket) was found inside the relic chamber of a stūpa and itself contained a small crystal flask with bone fragments. While it is thus clear that in its final use it served as a relic container, it remains unclear whether the inscription on it refers to its establishment in the stūpa or to an earlier donation of the incense box for use in a monastery. Errington and Falk (2002: 101–10) date the establishment of the relic to the time of Huvishka (second half of the second century CE) on numismatic, art-historical, and archaeological grounds.

B. Undated inscriptions

46. *Śatrea*⁹⁸

Steatite spherical

Provenance unknown

Private collection

(Outside of lid:) [1b] [bhagavato dhatue] śatraeṇa
sagharthaṇiṇeṇa pra(*di)ṭhavidī sarvasapaṇa puyae
(Inside of lid:) [2] im(*e)ṇa [ku]śa[lamuleṇa
agadakṣiṇa]⁹⁹ śatreasa bharyae [3] {yara}
[1a] yarae

(Outside of lid:) “[1b] Relics of the Lord are established by Śatrea, the *sagharthaṇi*, in honor of all beings.”

(Inside of lid:) “[2] By this root of good (may there be) the highest reward [3] [1a] for Yara, the wife of Śatrea.”

Fussman 1985a; Salomon 1997b: 372–75

CKI 326

98. Paleographically, this inscription can be dated between c. 50 BCE and c. 50 CE (Fussman 1985a: 30).

99. Salomon (1997b: 374) reconstructed **arogadakṣiṇa* but noted that “there is nothing in the extant text corresponding to the second syllable, *ro*.” The simpler reading proposed here seems preferable in light of *aghadakṣoṇayae* in the unknown meridarch’s inscription no. 4 and *agrodakṣiṇea* in Seṇavarma’s inscription no. 24, l. 8 (while the apparent absence of *r* in *ag(r)a* in two of these three occurrences remains a problem).

100. Paleographically, this inscription can be dated to the beginning of the first century CE and is possibly related to Utaṛa’s relic establishments, nos. 9 and 10 (Salomon 1996a: 238). An identical copy of this inscription on a gold sheet (CKI 332;

47. *Mahazada, Kriṇi, and Śamasabaha*¹⁰⁰

Silver sheet (found in silver compressed-spherical container)

Provenance unknown

Private collection

[1] mahazada kriṇi śamasabaha a [2] śari[ra]
praethavedi [tra]manosami śila[3]stabhami

“[1] Mahazada, Kriṇi, and Śamasabaha [2] establish
relics in the Tramana *osa* [3] in a stone pillar.”

Salomon 1996a: 233–35

CKI 327

48. *Sihila and Siharakṣita*¹⁰¹

Schist ovoid container

Taxila, Pakistan

Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh,
India N.N. 1

(Outside of body:) sihileṇa siharakṣiteṇa ca
bhratarehi takhaśilae ayaṃ thuvo pratithavito
savabudhaṇa puyae

(Outside of body:) “By the brothers Sihila and
Siharakṣita this stūpa is established in Takṣaśilā
in honor of all buddhas.”

Konow 1929a: 87; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1010

CKI 65

Salomon 1996a: 235–38) appears to be a modern forgery.

101. Paleographically, this inscription is slightly later than Patika’s inscription (no. 12, c. 1–10 CE; Konow 1929a: 87).

49. *Ayabhadra*¹⁰²

Steatite container

Sanghol, Punjab, India

Location unknown

(Outside of lid:) upasakasa ayabhadrasa

(Outside of lid:) “Of the lay-follower Ayabhadra.”

Thapar 1980: 78–79; Sharma 1985: 19; Gupta 1987: 101–2; Sharma 2003: 25–27

CKI 239

50. *Sacabhama*¹⁰³

Schist spherical

Provenance unknown

Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore

1994.4956-1

(Outside of lid:) bharyae ca sacabhama(*e)

(Outside of lid:) “And of (his) wife Sacabhama.”

Krishnan 2007: 81, 268

CKI 400

102. The archaeological context of this relic container belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period (Sharma 2003: 27). On paleographical grounds, Mukherjee (in Sharma 2003) dated it to either the first century BCE or the first century CE, while Gupta (1987: 101–2) preferred the early first century CE.

103. The archaic shape of *sa* and the attachment of pre-consonantal *ra* in a separate stroke point to a date not later than the early first century CE. This inscription is similar in type to

51. *Śira*¹⁰⁴

Gold sheet (found in circular granite dish)¹⁰⁵

Taxila, Pakistan

Location unknown

[1] śirae bhagavato dhat[u] preṭhav[e]tiye matu

[2] hasisa pitu hasase loo tasa siati yo ha

[3] dehajati

“[1] (Donation) of Śira establishing a relic of the Lord [2] in her mother’s goose, in her father’s goose. May it be her world when there is [3] rebirth of the body.”¹⁰⁶

Konow 1929a: 83–86; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 1009–10
CKI 64

Ayabhadra’s inscription no. 49. It appears to contain the end of a relic donation formula, the beginning of which (giving at a minimum the name of Sacabhama’s husband) presumably was inscribed on a separate object (such as a matching relic container). I originally transcribed this inscription from a photograph provided by Peter Skilling, and during a visit to the Asian Civilisations Museum in February 2009 I was able to check my reading on the original and to verify that neither the body nor the lid of Sacabhama’s relic container bear any additional words.

104. Paleographically, this inscription is intermediate between Patika’s inscription (no. 12, c. 1–10 CE) and the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (CKI 53, 45/46 CE; Konow 1929a: 84).

105. See chapter 4, Appendix, no. 392.

106. The original of this inscription had already been lost when Konow (1929a) published it from an eye copy. It was found together with a crystal figurine of a goose, confirming that part of the interpretation. The interpretation of the second half of the inscription remains particularly uncertain.

52. *Śivarakṣita*¹⁰⁷

Steatite spherical (fig. 4.24)

Bimaran, near Jalalabad, Afghanistan

British Museum, London, UK 1880.27

(Outside of lid:) bhagavaṭa śarirehi śivarakṣita
muṃja[v]aṃdaputrasa daṇamuhe

(Outside of base:) śivarakṣita mu[m]javaṃdapa-
t[r]asa daṇamuhe ṇiyatide bhagavaṭa śarirehi
sarvabudha[ṇa] puyae

(Outside of lid:) “With relics of the Lord, donation
of Śivarakṣita, son of Mujavada.”

(Outside of base:) “Donation of Śivarakṣita, son of
Mujavada, offered with relics of the Lord in honor
of all buddhas.”

Konow 1929a: 50–52; Dobbins 1968: 151–55;
Fussman 1987: 69–71, 83–84; Errington and Cribb
1992: 186–87; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 957; Salomon
2005a: 360
CKI 50

53. *Son of Gaṇavhryaka*¹⁰⁸

Bronze cylindrical (fig. 4.6)

Manikyala, Pakistan

British Museum, London, UK 1848,0602.2.a–b

107. Dated c. 20–50 CE on numismatic and paleographical grounds (Fussman 1987: 70).

108. This inscription is written in comparatively early Kharoṣṭhī, with half-open *s* and angular *k*.



Fig. 6.11. *The inscription of Gomaṇa (no. 54)*

Silver disk

British Museum 1848,0602.3.c

(Outside of lid:) kaviśiākṣatrapasa gaṇavhryaka-
kṣatrapaputrasa daṇamukho

(Outside of lid:) “Donation of the governor of
Kapiśā, son of the governor Gaṇavhryaka.”

Konow 1929a: 150–51; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 984
CKI 150

54. *Gomaṇa*¹⁰⁹

Silver disk (found in gold cylinder inside no. 53)
(fig. 6.11)

Manikyala, Pakistan

British Museum, London, UK 1848,0602.3.c

[1] Gomaṇasa [2] karavakasa

“[1] Of Gomaṇa, [2] the manufacturer.”

109. Paleographically, this inscription is similar to the one on the casket in which it was found.

Konow 1929a: 151; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 984
CKI 151

55. *Unknown donor*¹¹⁰

Stone spherical (fig. 4.23)
Kabul, Afghanistan
Location unknown

Jacquet 1836: 259–62; Honigberger 1851: 73
CKI 600

56. *Trami*¹¹¹

Schist miniature stūpa (fig. 5.6)
Kula Dheri, Charsadda, Pakistan
Peshawar Museum, Peshawar, Pakistan 3219

(Base:) tramisa daṇamu[khe] ime śarira presthevida
budhaṇa puyae

(Base:) “Donation of Trami. These relics are estab-
lished in honor of the buddhas.”

Majumdar 1937–38: 10; Tsukamoto 1996–98:
958–59
CKI 177

110. This reliquary, discovered in 1832 by Johann Martin Honigberger, was sold to an unknown buyer at the Hauptmaut in Vienna in 1850, and its further whereabouts remain unknown. Jacquet (1836: 259) reported faint traces of an ink inscription on the outside of the lid. The reliquary probably belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period.

111. Paleographically identical with the inscription of year 303 (of the Greeks, 117/118 CE), no. 36, with which it was found (Majumdar 1937–38b: 10).

57. *Fragmentary inscription*¹¹²

Stone relic-chamber slab (fig. 6.12)
Khudu Khel, Pakistan
Location unknown

[1] . . . (*śa)[ri]ra[m] pratiṭhavedi gavh[r]a-
[2](*thubaṇmi)¹¹³ . . . [daṇamu]kh[o ca]

“[1] . . . establishes a relic (*in) a womb [2] (*stūpa)
. . . and the donation . . .”

Konow 1929a: 128; Tsukamoto 1996–98: 987
CKI 135

112. Paleographically comparatively late and reminiscent of the Jamalgarhi inscription (CKI 116, 173/174 CE; Konow 1929a: 128).

113. Konow (1929a: 128) reconstructed <*bha>gavhra(*to). While the spelling *vh* does rarely occur in place of *v* (e.g., *kara[vha]eṇa* in no. 37), it is not otherwise attested in the word *bhagava*. Moreover, the hook to the right would have to be taken, not as postconsonantal *r*, but as the diacritical mark that indicates fricativization or other weakening of the base consonant, which would not make any sense with an original fricative like *v*. On the other hand, *gavh[r]a* is a perfectly regular outcome of Sanskrit *garbha*, with weakening of *bh* (leading further to *h* in *gaha*) and Dardic metathesis of *r*. That the expression should be completed as (*śa)[ri]ra[m] pratiṭhavedi gavh[r]a(*thubaṇmi) is made likely by the parallel in Cadrabhi's inscription (no. 29): *śarira praistaveti gahathubami*.



Fig. 6.12. *Fragmentary inscription (no. 57)*
 Stone relic-chamber slab
 Location unknown

58. *Teyamitra*

Schist cylindrical

Swat, Pakistan

Private collection

(Outside of base:) teyamitre[ṇa] .uh..eraputreṇa
 prati[ṭhavi]t[a] bhagavado śarira śakamuṇisa
 budhasatvaga⟨*haṃ⟩mi ⟨*budha⟩satagahaṃmi
 viharami

(Outside of base:) “By Teyamitra, son of .uh..era, are
 established relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage, in a
 bodhisattva-womb (stūpa) in the monastery.”

Falk 2003a: 77–78

CKI 457

Bibliography

Exhibition catalog Tokyo 1984. *The Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan*, Seibu Museum of Art, Tokyo.

- Aiyar, V. N. 1925–26. “An Inscribed Relic Casket from Kurram.” *Epigraphia Indica* 18: 16–20, pl. facing p. 21.
- Bailey, H. W. 1978. “Two Kharoṣṭhī Casket Inscriptions from Avaca.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3–13.
- _____. 1980. “A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of Seṇavarma, King of Oḍi.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 21–29.
- _____. 1982. “Two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 142–55.
- _____. 1989. “Kharosthi kutadhipati and navhapati.” In Devendra Handa and Ashvini Agrawal, eds., *Ratna-Chandrikā: Panorama of Oriental Studies (Shri R. C. Agrawala Festschrift)*, 65–66. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.
- Basu, Chandreyi. 2004. *Displaying Many Faces: Art and Gandharan Identity; Selections from the David R. Nalin Collection*. Westchester, PA: Nalini International Publications.
- Baums, Stefan. 2006. “Bemerkungen zum Ordinalzahlssystem der Gāndhārī.” In Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz, and Anne Peters, eds., *Jaina-Itihāsa-Ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, 33–44. Indica et Tibetica: Monographien zu den Sprachen und Literaturen des indo-tibetischen Kulturraumes 47. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.
- _____. 2009. “A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13, and 18.” PhD diss., University of Washington.
- Baums, Stefan, and Andrew Glass. ongoing a. *Bibliography of Gāndhārī Studies*. <http://gandhari.org/bibliography/>.
- _____. ongoing b. *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*. <http://gandhari.org/catalog/>.
- _____. ongoing c. *A Dictionary of Gāndhārī*. <http://gandhari.org/dictionary/>.
- Behrendt, Kurt. 2003. *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*. Boston: Brill.
- _____. 2007. *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Bellew, Henry W. 1864. *A General Report on the Yusufzais*. Lahore: Punjab Government.
- Bhatti, Muhammad Ilyas. 2000. *Taxila, an Ancient Metropolis of Gandhara*. Lahore: Umar Zirgham Publishing.
- Bivar, A. D. H. 1981a. “The Azes Era and the Indravarma Casket.” In Herbert Härtel, ed., *South Asian Archaeology, 1979: Papers from the Fifth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe Held in the Museum für indische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, 369–76. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

- _____. 1981b. "The 'Vikrama' Era, the Indravarma Casket, and the Coming of the Indo-Scythians, Forerunners of the Afghans." In *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, 47–58. Acta Iranica, 2d series, Hommages et Opera Minora 7. Acta Iranica 21. Leiden: Diffusion E. J. Brill.
- _____. 1996. "Zar-Dheri: An Unrecorded Gandhara Stupa and a Possible Provenance." *South Asian Studies* 12: 139–45.
- Bloch, Jules. 1951. "Trois notes." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 44: 43–53.
- Böhtlingk, Otto. 1887. *Pāṇini's Grammatik*. Leipzig: Verlag von H. Haessel.
- Bopearachchi, Osmund. 2008. "Les premiers souverains kouchans: Chronologie et iconographie monétaire." *Journal des savants*, 3–56.
- Bopearachchi, Osmund, and Marie-Françoise Boussac, eds. 2005. *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*. Actes du colloque international organisé par Christian Landes and Osmund Bopearachchi au Musée archéologique Henri-Prades-Lattes du 5 au 7 mai 2003. Indicopleustoi: Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean 3. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Bopearachchi, Osmund, Christian Landes, and Christine Sachs, eds. 2003. *De l'Indus à l'Oxus: Archéologie de l'Asie centrale*. Lattes: Association Imago—Musée de Lattes.
- Brancaccio, Pia, and Kurt Behrendt, eds. 2006. *Gandharan Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Brown, Robert. 2006. "The Nature and Use of the Bodily Relics of the Buddha in Gandhara." In Brancaccio and Behrendt 2006: 183–209.
- Brough, John. 1961. "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from China." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24: 517–30. (Reprinted in John Brough, *Collected Papers*, ed. Minoru Hara and J. C. Wright, 203–16 [London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1996].)
- _____. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London Oriental Series 7. London: Oxford University Press.
- Burrow, T. 1940. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. James G. Forlong Fund 20. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- _____. 1944. "The Term Agīśāla in Two Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions." *Journal of the Greater India Society* 11: 13–16.
- Callieri, Pierfrancesco, and Anna Filigenzi, eds. 2002. *Il maestro di Saidu Sharif, alle origini dell'arte del Gandhara*. Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente. Rome: Museo nazionale d'arte orientale, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali.
- Cambon, Pierre, et al. 2006. *Afghanistan: Les trésors retrouvés*. Collections du musée national de Kaboul. Paris: Musée Guimet.
- Cambon, Pierre, and Fredrik Hiebert. 2008. *Afghanistan: Les trésors retrouvés*. Collections du Musée national de Kaboul. Paris: Musée Guimet.
- Carter, Martha. 1987. "A Gandhara Blessing." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 1: 45–65.
- _____. 1997. "A Reappraisal of the Bīmarān Reliquary." In R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman, and E. Errington, eds., *Gandharan Art in Context: East–West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, 71–93. Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge. New Delhi: Regency Publications.
- CKI = Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (part II of Baums and Glass, ongoing b).
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda. K. [1927] 1972. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. Reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

- _____. 1927. "The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image." *Art Bulletin* 9: 287–328.
- Cowell, E. B., and R. A. Neil. 1886. *The Divyâvadâna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends Now First Edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS. in Cambridge and Paris*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Cribb, Joe. 1993. "The 'Heraus' Coins: Their Attribution to the Kushan King Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30–80." In M. Price, A. Burnett, and R. Bland, eds., *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, 107–34. London: Spink.
- _____. 1997. "Shiva Images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Coins." In K. Tanabe, J. Cribb, and H. Wang, eds., *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture: Papers in Honour of Professor Ikuo Hirayama on his 65th birthday*, 11–66. Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies.
- _____. 1999. "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology: Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I." In Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, eds., *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, 177–205. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- _____. 1999/2000. "Kanishka's Buddha Image Coins Revisited." In "Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot," special issue of *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6: 151–89.
- Cunningham, Alexander. 1871. *Archaeological Survey of India: Four Reports Made during the Years 1862–63–64–65*. Vol. 2. Simla: Government Central Press.
- _____. 1879. "Notes on the Gold Coins Found in the Ahin Posh Tope." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 48: 205–10.
- _____. 1882. *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878–79*. Archaeological Survey of India Report 14. Calcutta.
- _____. 1888. "Coins of the Indo-Scythian King Miaüs or Heraüs." *Numismatic Chronicle* 3.8: 47–58.
- Czuma, Stanislaw. 1985. *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Dani, A. H. 1969. *Peshawar, Historic City of the Frontier*. Peshawar: Khyber Mail Press.
- Dani, A. H., and N. A. Khan. 1998. "Relic Casket and Addorsed Sculpture from Buchkan Stupa, Palai." *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 21.2: 157–63.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. 1965–66. "Shaikan Dheri Excavation (1963 and 1964 Seasons)." *Ancient Pakistan* 2: 17–214.
- _____. 1968. *Gandhara Art of Pakistan*. University of Peshawar Archaeological Guide Series 3. Peshawar.
- Dar, S. R. 1988. *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 1.2 (July–December).
- _____. 1990. "Criteria and Problems of Study of Gandhara Art." *Journal of Central Asia* 13.2: 149–90.
- _____. 1994. "Classical Approaches to the Study of Gandhara Art." In C. B. Asher and T. R. Metcalf, eds., *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*, 37–46. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, Swadharma, Swarajya Sangha, Madras and Oxford IBH Publishing Co.
- Dehejia, Vidya. 1997. *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- De Marco, G. 1987. "The Stūpa as a Funerary Monument: New Iconographic Evidence." *East and West* 37: 191–246.
- Dobbins, K. Walton. 1968. "Two Gandhāran Reliquaries." *East and West* 18: 151–62.
- _____. 1989. "Buddhist Reliquaries from Gandhara." In Devendra Handa and Ashvini Agrawal, eds., *Ratna Chandrikā*, 105–24. New Delhi: Harman Publishing House.

- E/4/1068. British Library India Office Collections, *Bombay Dispatches*, 7 April–1 September 1841, 587–88.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Errington, Elizabeth. 1987. “The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhara and the Finds of Jamalgarhi.” PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. (Electronic resource: British Library integrated catalogue, <http://catalogue/bl.uk>.)
- _____. 1990. “Towards Clearer Attributions of Site Provenance for Some 19th-Century Collections of Gandhāra Sculpture.” In M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology, 1987*, 765–81. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- _____. 1999. “Rediscovering the Collections of Charles Masson.” In Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, eds., *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, 207–37. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- _____. 1999/2000. “Numismatic Evidence for Dating Buddhist Remains of Gandhara.” In “Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot,” special issue of *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6: 191–216.
- _____. 2002. “Numismatic Evidence for Dating the ‘Kaniška’ Reliquary.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8: 101–20.
- Errington, Elizabeth, and Joe Cribb, eds. 1992. *The Crossroads of Asia*. Cambridge: Ancient India and Iran Trust.
- Errington, Elizabeth, and Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis. 2007. *From Persepolis to the Punjab: Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*. London: British Museum Press.
- Errington, Elizabeth, and Harry Falk. 2002. “Numismatic Evidence for Dating the ‘Kaniška’ Reliquary.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8: 101–20.
- Fabrègues, C. 1987. “Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhāran Sculpture.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 1: 33–43.
- _____. 1992. 169. “Panel: Adoration of the Stupa.” In Errington and Cribb 1992: 172–73.
- Faccenna, Domenico. 1980–81. *Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan), 1956–1962*. 5 vols. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- _____. 1995. *Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan): The Buddhist Sacred Area, the Stupa Terrace*. 2 vols. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- _____. 2001. *Il fregio figurato dello Stupa Principale nell'area sacra buddhista di Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)*. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Faccenna, Domenico, and Anna Filigenzi. 2007. *Repertorio terminologico per la schedatura delle sculture dell'arte gandharica: Sulla base dei materiali provenienti dagli scavi della Missione archeologica italiana dell'IsIAO nello Swat, Pakistan*. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Falk, Harry. 1998. “Notes on Some Apraca Dedicatory Texts.” *Berliner indologische Studien* 11–12: 85–108.
- _____. 2001. “The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kuṣāṇas.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7: 121–36.
- _____. 2002. “Frühe Zeitrechnung in Indien.” In *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie: Zum Wesen kontinuierlicher Zeitrechnung in Antike und Gegenwart*, 77–105. Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient 1. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- _____. 2003a. “Five New Kharoṣṭhī Donation Records from Gandhāra.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9: 71–86.
- _____. 2003b. “Un nouveau reliquaire (de la dynastie) apraca.” In Bopearachchi, Landes, and Sachs 2003: 379–80.

- _____. 2003–4. Review of von Hinüber 2003. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 98: 573–77.
- _____. 2004. “The Kanīṣka Era in Gupta Records.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 10: 167–76.
- _____. 2005. “The Introduction of Stūpa-Worship in Bajaur.” In Bopearachchi and Boussac 2003: 347–58.
- _____. 2006. *Aśhokan Sites and Artefacts*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- _____. 2008a. “Another Reliquary Vase from Wardak and Consecrating Fire Rites in Gandhāra.” In C. Bautze-Picron, ed., *Proceedings of the 18th Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, London, 2005*, vol. 1, *Religion and Art: New Issues in Indian Iconography and Iconology*, 63–80. London.
- _____. 2008b. “Kharoṣṭhī Inschrift.” In Christian Luczanits, ed., *Gandhara, das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese*, 105, 190, 205. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- _____. 2010. “Signature Phrases, Azes Dates, Nakṣatras, and Some New Reliquary Inscriptions from Gandhara.” *ARIRIAB* 13: 13–33.
- _____. 2011. “Ten Thoughts on the Mathura Lion Capital Reliquary.” In Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg, eds., *Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb*, 121–41. Mumbai: Reesha.
- Falk, Harry, and Chris Bennett. 2009. “Macedonian Intercalary Months and the Era of Azes.” *Acta Orientalia* 70: 197–216.
- Filigenzi, Anna. 2002. “La tradizione dei depositi votive: I reliquiari.” In Callieri and Filigenzi 2002.
- Fleet, John. 1888. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 3. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Foucher, Alfred. 1905. *L’art gréco-buddhique du Gandhara*. 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1974. “Ruines de la vallée de Wardak.” *Arts asiatiques* 30: 65–130.
- _____. 1980a. “Documents épigraphiques kouchans (II).” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 67: 45–58.
- _____. 1980b. “Nouvelles inscriptions śaka: Ère d’Eucratide, ère d’Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kanīṣka.” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 67: 1–43.
- _____. 1982. “Documents épigraphiques kouchans (III): L’inscription de Senavarma, roi d’Oḍi; Une nouvelle lecture.” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 71: 1–46.
- _____. 1984. “Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (II).” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 73: 31–46.
- _____. 1985a. “Deux dédicaces kharoṣṭhī.” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74: 29–34.
- _____. 1985b. “Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (III).” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74: 35–42.
- _____. 1985c. “Nouvelles inscriptions śaka (IV).” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 74: 47–51.
- _____. 1986. “Documents épigraphiques kouchans (IV): Ajitasena, père de Senavarma.” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 75: 1–14.
- _____. 1987. “Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art.” In Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, eds., *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, Held at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, in May 1986*, 67–88. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für indische Kunst 8. Berlin: Museum für indische Kunst.
- _____. 1988. “Documents épigraphiques kouchans (V): Buddha et bodhisattva dans l’art de Mathurā; Deux bodhisattvas inscrits de l’an 4 et l’an 8.” *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient* 77: 5–25.

- _____. 1989. “Gāndhārī écrite, gāndhārī parlée.” In Colette Caillat, ed., *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, 433–501. Paris: Institut de civilisation indienne.
- _____. 1993. “L’indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité.” *Journal asiatique* 281: 61–138.
- _____. 1994. “Upāya-kauśalya: L’implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra.” In Fukui Fumimasa and Gérard Fussman, eds., *Bouddhisme et culture locales: Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations; Actes du colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991*, 17–51. Études thématiques 2. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient.
- _____. 2003–4. Review of von Hinüber 2003. *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 90–91: 517–20.
- _____. 2005–6. “Histoire du monde indien.” *Annuaire du Collège de France: Résumé des cours et travaux* 106: 695–713.
- _____. 2008. *Monuments bouddhiques de la région de Caboul*. Vol. 2. Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan 76. Paris: Diffusion de Boucard.
- Fussman, Gérard, and LeBerre. 1976. *Monuments Bouddhiques de la région de Coboul Vol 1. Le monastère de Gul Dara*. Paris: Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique française en Afghanistan XXII.
- Ghosal, S. N. 1981a. “The Kalawān Copper-Plate Inscription.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 23.1–2: 1–7.
- _____. 1981b. “The Swāt Relic Vase Inscription of Meridarkh Theodoros.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 23: 12–14.
- _____. 1982. “Mānikīāla Stone Inscription of Kaṇiska I—Year 18.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 24: 9–15.
- _____. 1986. “Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushāṇa King—Year 136.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 28: 69–76.
- Ghose, Rajeshwari. 2000. “Buddhistisches Reliquiar.” In Marianne Yaldiz et al., *Magische Götterwelten: Werke aus dem Museum für indische Kunst Berlin*, 19–20. Potsdam: Unze Verlags- und Druckgesellschaft.
- Glass, Andrew. 2007. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Gnoli, Raniero. 1977–78. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu: Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Serie orientale Roma 49. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Göbl, Robert. 1976. *A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan)*. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- _____. 1984. *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kuṣānreiches*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gordon, M. E., and D. H. Gordon. 1945. “A Survey of Ancient Gandhara.” *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*, n.s., 1: 9–25.
- Gupta, S. P. 1987. “Sanghol: The Meeting Place of Works of Art of Gandhara and Mathura Schools.” In Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, eds., *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, in May 1986*, 89–104. Veröffentlichungen des Museums für indische Kunst 8. Berlin: Museum für indische Kunst.
- Guy, John, ed. 2007a. *La escultura en los templos indios: El arte de la devoción*. Barcelona: Fundación La Caixa.
- _____. 2007b. *Indian Temple Sculpture*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum Publications.
- Harmatta, J. 1964. “Sino-Indica.” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12: 3–21.
- Hauptmann, Harald. 2006. *Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway*. Heidelberg: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Higuchi, Takayasu (supervisor). 1984. *The Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan*. Tokyo: Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. 2003. *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Senavarma-Inschrift*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 2003, no. 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- _____. 2004. *Die Palola Śāhis: Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber; Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas*. Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies 5. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern
- Hoernle, A. F. R. 1879. "Gold Coins from Jalalabad." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 48: 123–38.
- Honigberger, Johann Martin. 1835. Letter from Honigberger to I. Forshall, 21 August. British Museum Original Papers.
- _____. 1851. *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande oder Reise-Erlebnisse, nebst naturhistorisch-medizinischen Erfahrungen, einigen hundert erprobten Arzneimitteln und einer neuen Heilart, dem Medial-Systeme*. Vienna: Carl Gerold und Sohn.
- Hultzsch, Eugen. 1925. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 1. Oxford: Printed for the Government of India at the Clarendon Press.
- Humbach, H. 1976. "Zwei iranische Namen in indischer Überlieferung." *Die Sprache* 22: 36–39.
- Huntington, Susan. 1985. *The Art of Ancient India*. New York: Weatherhill.
- Ihsan, Ali, and Muhammad Zahir. 2005. *Guide to Peshawar Museum*. Peshawar Museum.
- Ingholt, Harald. 1957. *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Jacquet, E. 1836. "Notice sur les découvertes archéologiques faites par Mr. Honigberger dans l'Afghanistan." *Journal Asiatique*, 3d ser., 2: 234–77.
- _____. 1837. "Notice sur les découvertes archéologiques faites par Mr. Honigberger dans l'Afghanistan." *Journal Asiatique*, 3d ser., 4: 401–40.
- _____. 1838. "Notice sur les découvertes archéologiques faites par Mr. Honigberger dans l'Afghanistan." *Journal Asiatique*, 3d ser., 5: 163–97.
- _____. 1839. "Notice sur les découvertes archéologiques faites par Mr. Honigberger dans l'Afghanistan." *Journal Asiatique*, 3d ser., 7: 385–404.
- Jakobsson, Jens. 2009. "Who Founded the Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C.E.?" *Classical Quarterly* 59: 505–10.
- Jongeward, David. 2003. *Buddhist Art of Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Royal Ontario Museum Collection of Gandhara Sculpture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for South Asian Studies.
- Khan, Ashraf. 1993. *Gandhara Sculptures in the Swat Museum*. Saidu Sharif, Pakistan: Archaeological Museum.
- _____. 2004. *Gandhara: Geography, Antiquity, Art and Personalities*. Mirpur, Azad Kashmir: Ashiq Hussain Chaudry.
- Khan, Ashraf, ed. 2005. *A Catalogue of the Gandhara Stone Sculpture in the Taxila Museum*. The Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Culture, Govt of Pakistan, 2 vol.
- Khan, Nasim M. 1997. "An Inscribed Relic-Casket from Dir." *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 5: 21–33.
- _____. 2002. "Kharoshthi Inscribed Copper Plates from Rani Dab at Orakzai Agency in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan." *Ancient Pakistan* 15: 153–56.
- Khan, Nasim, and M. Sohail Khan. 2004. "Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts from Gandhāra: A New Discovery." *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 12: 9–15.

- Khan, Shah Nazar. 1995. "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai, Kabal, Swat." *Ancient Pakistan* 11: 75–174.
- Klimburg-Salter, D., and M. Taddei. 1991. "The *Uṣṇīṣa* and the *Brahmarandhra*: An Aspect of Light Symbolism in Gandharan Buddha Images." In G. Bhattacharya, ed., *Akṣayanīvī: Essays Presented to Dr. Debala Mitra*, 73–93. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica 88. Delhi: Sri Satguru.
- Konow, Sten. 1929a. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 2.2. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch.
- _____. 1929b. "Remarks on a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from the Kurram Valley." In *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 53–67. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 1931–32. "Kalawan Copper-Plate Inscription of the Year 134." *Epigraphia Indica* 21: 251–59.
- _____. 1932. "Kalawān Copper-Plate Inscription of the Year 134." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 949–65.
- _____. 1935–36. "Hidda Inscription of the Year 28." *Epigraphia Indica* 23: 35–42.
- _____. 1936. "Note on Toramāṇa." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 12: 530–33.
- _____. 1939–40. "New Traces of the Greeks in India." *New Indian Antiquary* 2: 639–48.
- _____. 1940. "A New Charsadda Inscription." In Bimala Churn Law, ed., *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 305–10. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute.
- _____. 1947a. "Charsadda Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of the Year 303." *Acta Orientalia* 20: 107–19.
- _____. 1947b. "Note on the Bajaur Inscription of Menandros." *Epigraphia Indica* 27: 52–58.
- Krishnan, Gauri Parimoo. 2007. *The Divine Within: Art and Living Culture of India and South Asia*. Singapore: Asian Civilisations Museum.
- Kurita, Isao. 1988. *Gandharan Art: The World of the Buddha*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Nigensha Publishing.
- _____. 2003. *Gandharan Art: Ancient Buddhist Art Series*. Rev. and enl. ed. 2 vols. Tokyo: Nigensha Publishing.
- Lad, Shri P. M. 1995. *The Way of the Buddha*. New Delhi: Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1958. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: Des origines à l'ère śaka*. Bibliothèque du Muséon 43. Louvain: Publications universitaires.
- Lerner, Martin, and Steve Kossak. 1991. *The Lotus Transcendent*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Luczanits, Christian, Michael Jansen, et al. 2008. *Gandhara: The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Lüders, Heinrich. 1940. "Zu und aus den Kharoṣṭhī-Urkunden." *Acta Orientalia* 18: 15–49.
- _____. 1961. *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Edited by Klaus L. Janert. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse 47. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- MacDowall, David W. 2007. "The Eras of Demetrius, Eucratides and Azes." In Rika Gyselen, ed., *Des Indo-grecs aux Sassanides: Données pour l'histoire et la géographie historique*, 103–10. *Res orientales* 17. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'étude de la civilisation du Moyen-Orient.
- Majumdar, N. G. 1937–38a. "The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander." *Epigraphia Indica* 24: 1–8.
- _____. 1937–38b. "Inscriptions on Two Relic-Caskets from Charsadda." *Epigraphia Indica* 24: 6–10.

- Mani, B. R. 2004. "Excavation at Ambaran, and Akhnur Terracottas." In R. C. Sharma and Ghosal Pranati, eds., *Buddhism and Gandharan Art*, 83–102. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Maricq, André. 1958. "La grande inscription de Kaniška et l'étéo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane." *Journal asiatique* 246: 345–440.
- Marshall, John. 1951. *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall, John and J. Vogel. "Excavations at Charsada in the Frontier Province," *Archaeological Survey of India 1902–03*. Repr. 1970 Varanasi, India Indological Book House.
- Masson, Charles. Sketches of Excavated Relic Deposits from Darunta District, Chahar Bagh and Hadda 1834. British Library India Office Collections, Uncataloged Masson Papers Bundle 1, 3ff.
- Mitra, R. 1862. "On Some Bactro-Buddhist Relics from Rāwalpindi." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 31: 175–83.
- Mizuno, S., ed. 1970. *Basawal and Jelalabad-Kabul: Buddhist Cave-Temples and Topes in South-East Afghanistan, Surveyed Mainly in 1965*. Kyoto: Kyoto University.
- Mukherjee, B. N. 1964. "Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī Casket Inscription." *British Museum Quarterly* 28: 39–46.
- _____. 1977–78. "An Interesting Kharoshthī Inscription." *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 11: 93–114.
- _____. 1981a. *Mathurā and Its Society: The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. M.
- _____. 1981b. "A Note on an Interesting Kharoshthī (Kharoshṭī) Inscription." *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 23.1–2: 147–49.
- _____. 1986. "A Casket Inscription of the Time of Vijayamitra, the Ruler of Avaca." *Indian Museum Bulletin* 21: 7–10.
- _____. 1989. "A Note on the Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī Casket Inscription of Kanishka I." *Berliner indologische Studien* 4/5: 375–79.
- _____. 1997. "Farewell to Bhagamoya." *South Asian Studies* 13: 141–44.
- Müller, F. Max, and Bunyiu Nanjio. 1883. *Sukhāvatī-vyūha: Description of Sukhāvatī, the Land of Bliss*. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan ser., 1.2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MSS Eur. E161/VII. British Library India Office Collections, Masson Manuscripts, Correspondence VII (copies of Masson's letters).
- MSS Eur. E164. British Library India Office Collections, Masson Manuscripts, Journals and Narratives III.
- MSS Eur. F63. British Library India Office Collections, Masson Manuscripts, Sketches and Drawings I.
- MSS Eur. F64. British Library India Office Collections, Masson Manuscripts, Sketches and Drawings II.
- Nishikawa, Koji., et al. 1988. *Gandhāra 2: Preliminary Report on the Comprehensive Survey of Gandhāra Buddhist Sites, 1986*. Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Chosatai.
- P/387/71. British Library India Office Collections. Extract Masson's letters to Lt. Col. H. Pottinger, no. 3. *Bombay Political Proceedings*, 1 April 1835, Bombay Castle Political Consultations 12, no. 780.
- Pal, Pratapaditya. 1986. *Indian Sculpture*. Vol. 1. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Pearse, E. G. 1865. "On Certain Buddhist Antiquities of the Hazara Valley." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 34: 111–13.

- _____. 1887. “A Note to Accompany These Antique Buddhist [*sic*] Relics.” British Museum Asia Department Archives, 1887/0717.30.
- Perkins, John. 2007. “Three-Headed Śiva on the Reverse of Vima Kadphises’s Copper Coinage.” *South Asian Studies* 23: 31–37.
- Pigou, R. 1841. “On the Topes of Darounta and the Caves of Bahrabad.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10: 381–86.
- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1839. “Literature and Antiquities.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 8: 341.
- Provenzali, Anna. 2005. *L’arte della regione del Gandhāra*. Milan: Museo archeologico di Milano.
- Quagliotti, Anna Maria. 2000. “Gandharan Bodhisattva with Surya Headdress and Related Problems.” In Maurizio Taddei and Guiseppe DeMarco, eds., *South Asian Archaeology, 1997: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, vol. 3, 125–54. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Radich, Michael David. 2007. “The Somatics of Liberation: Ideas about Embodiment in Buddhism from Its Origins to the Fifth Century C.E.” PhD diss., Harvard University.
- Rhi, Juhjung. 2005. “Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhara—or Vice Versa.” *Artibus Asiae* 65.2: 169–210.
- Rosenfield, John. 1967. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rtveladze, E. 1993/94. “Coins of the Yuezhi Rulers of Northern Bactria.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3: 81–96.
- Ruegg, D. Seyfort. 2005. “The Kalāwan Copper-Plate Inscription: Early Evidence for Mahāyāna-Type Thinking?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28: 3–9.
- Sadakata Akira [定方晟]. 1991. “アヴァチャ王ヴィイダミトラ32年の刻文” [Avacha ō Viidamitora 32 nen no kokubun]. 東方 [Tōhō] 7: 123–29.
- _____. 1995. “ガンダーラの舍利容器の刻文” [Gandāra no shari yōki no kokubun]. 大法輪 [Daihōrin] 62: 66–70.
- _____. 1996. “Inscriptions kharoṣṭhī provenant du marché aux antiquités de Peshawar.” *Journal asiatique* 284: 301–24.
- _____. 1998. “カニシカ舍利容器銘文解説の試み” [Kanishika shari yōki meibun kaidoku no kokoromi]. 春秋 [Shunjū] 8: 26–29.
- _____. 2003. “パキスタン方面出土の仏教文字資料” [Pakisutan hōmen shutsudo no bukkyō moji shiryō]. 中外日報 [Chūgai nippō], 15 February 2003, 6–7.
- Salomon, Richard. 1982. “The ‘Avaca’ Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102: 59–68.
- _____. 1984. “The Bhagamoya Relic Bowl Inscription.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 27: 107–20.
- _____. 1986. “The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29: 261–93.
- _____. 1988. “The Reliquary Inscription of Utara: A New Source for the History of the Kings of Apraca.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31: 169–77.
- _____. 1995a. “A Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscription of the Time of the Apraca Prince Viṣṇuvarma.” *South Asian Studies* 11: 27–32.

- _____. 1995b. “Three Dated Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9: 127–41.
- _____. 1996a. “Five Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10: 233–46.
- _____. 1996b. “An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116: 418–52.
- _____. 1997a. “Another Reliquary Inscription of the Apraca Princess Uttarā.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 11: 183–91.
- _____. 1997b. “The Rededication of Buddhist Reliquaries: A Clue to the Interpretation of Problematic Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.” In Raymond Allchin and Bridget Allchin, eds., *South Asian Archaeology, 1995: Proceedings of the 13th Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Cambridge, 5–9 July 1995*, 365–76. Cambridge: Science Publishers.
- _____. 1998. *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. South Asia Research. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- _____. 2000. “Two New Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 14: 55–68.
- _____. 2003. “Three Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscriptions in the Institute of Silk Road Studies.” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9: 39–69.
- _____. 2005a. “The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 B.C. in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription.” In Bopearachchi and Boussac 2005: 359–401.
- _____. 2005b. “The Name of Taxila: Greek Τάξιλα, Gāndhārī *Takṣaīla*, Sanskrit *Takṣaśilā*, Pali *Takkasilā*.” *East and West* 55: 265–77.
- _____. 2005c. Review of von Hinüber 2003. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125: 316–20.
- _____. 2008. *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 and Senior Scroll 14*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, vol. 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- _____. 2009a. “The Fine Art of Forgery in India.” In G. Colas and G. Gerschheimer, eds., *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*, 107–34. École française d’Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques 23. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient.
- _____. 2009b. “Observations on the Reliquary Slab Inscription of Gomitra.” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 12: 7–19.
- _____. 2011. “An Unwieldy Canon: Observations on Some Distinctive Features of Canon Formation in Buddhism.” In Max Deeg, Oliver Freiberger, and Christoph Kleine, eds., *Kanonisierung und Kanonbildung in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 820 / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 72), 161–207. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Salomon, Richard, and Stefan Baums. 2007. “Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho*.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29: 201–27.
- Salomon, Richard, and Gregory Schopen. 1984. “The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7: 107–23.

- Sarianidi, Victor. 1985. *Bactrian Gold from the Excavations of the Tillya-Tepe Necropolis in Northern Afghanistan*. New York: H. N. Abrams; Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.
- Schopen, Gregory. 1987. "Burial 'ad Sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archeology of Religions." *Religion* 17: 193–225.
- _____. 1996. "What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions." In Vidya Dehejia, ed., *Unseen Presence: The Buddha and Sanchi*, 58–73. [Mumbai]: Marg Publications.
- _____. 1997. *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*. Studies in the Buddhist Traditions. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- _____. 1999. "The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk: Conservative Monastic Values in an Early Mahāyāna Polemical Tract." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27: 279–324.
- _____. 2004. *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- _____. 2005. *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sengupta, A. and Das, D. 1991. *Gandhara. Holding in the Indian Museum. A Handlist*. Calcutta.
- Senior, R. C. 2001. *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*. 3 vols. Lancaster: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Seyfort Rugg, D. 2005. "The Kalawān Copper-Plate Inscription: Early Evidence for Mahāyāna-Type Thinking?" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28: 3–9.
- Sharma, G. B. 1985. "The Excavations at Sanghol." In S. P. Gupta, ed., *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol (1st–2nd Century A.D.): A Recent Discovery*, vol. 1, 17–19. New Delhi: National Museum.
- _____. 2003. "The Excavations at Sanghol." In S. P. Gupta, ed., *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol (1st–2nd Century A.D.)*, vol. 1, 25–27. 2d ed. New Delhi: National Museum.
- Simms-Williams, Nicholas, and Joe Cribb. 1995/96. "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4: 75–142.
- Simpson, W. 1879. "Coins from the Ahin Posh Tope near Jelálabád." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 48: 77–79.
- _____. 1879–80. "Buddhist Architecture in the Jellalabad Valley." *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 37–58.
- Sircar, Dines Chandra. 1942. "A Note on the Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander." *Epigraphia Indica* 26: 318–21.
- _____. 1965. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*. Vol. 1, *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.* 2d ed. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Sörensen, S. 1904. *An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Spooner, D. B. 1912. "Excavations at Shah-jī-kī-Dhērī." *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 38–59.
- Srinivasan, Doris. 2006. "From Roman *Clipeata Imago* to Gandhāran Image Medallion and the Embellishment of the Parinirvāṇa Legend." In Pierfrancesco Callieri, ed., *Architetti, capomastri, artigiani: L'organizzazione artistica nell'Asia ellenistica*, 247–69. Rome: Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- Starza-Majewski, O. 1999. "A Kusana Gandhara Marble Bodhisattva Head." *South Asian Studies* 15: 15–23.
- Strauch, Ingo. 2007. "Two Inscribed Pots from Afghanistan." *Gandhāran Studies* 1: 77–88.
- Strong, John. 2004. *Relics of the Buddha*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Swati, Muhammad Farooq. 1997. "Pre-Kuṣāṇa Reliquaries from Pātaka, Swāt." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 7 part 2. Cambridge: 249–55.

- Taddei, M. 1979. "The Story of the Buddha and the Skull-Tapper: A Note in Gandharan Iconography." *Annali: Istituto Universitario orientale Napoli* 39.3: 395–420.
- Tanabe Katsumi [田辺勝美]. 2007. ガンダーラ佛教美術: 平山コレクション [Gandāra bukkō bijutsu: Hirayama korekushon]. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- Tarzi, Zmaryalai. 1999–2000. "Mise au point sur quelques schistes 'Gréco-bouddiques' d'Afghanistan." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 6.
- Tarzi, Zmaryalai, and D. Vaillancourt. 2005. *Art et archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie central*.
- Thapar, B. K. 1980. *Indian Archaeology, 1976–77—a Review*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India.
- Thomas, Edward J. 1927. *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Thomas, F. W. 1907–8. "The Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion-Capital." *Epigraphia Indica* 9: 135–47.
- _____. 1931. Review of Konow 1929a. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 133: 1–15.
- Tissot, Francine. 1987. *Les arts anciens du Pakistan et de l'Afghanistan*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- _____. 2002. *Gandhāra*. 2d ed. Paris: Paris-musées; Suilly-la-Tour: Findakly.
- _____. 2005. "La tête Ortiz: Gandharienne ou pas?" In Tarzi and Vaillancourt 2005: 163–85.
- _____. 2006. *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan, 1931–1985*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Tsukamoto Keishō [塚本啓祥]. 1996–98. インド仏教碑銘の研究 [Indo Bukkyō himei no kenkyū]. Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten.
- Vaidya, P. L. 1960. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, with Haribhadra's Commentary Called Āloka*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 4. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- _____. 1961. *Samādhirājasūtra*. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 2. Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. 1986. "The Second Century of the Kaniṣka Era." *South Asian Studies* 2: 1–9.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst. 1950–51. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. 3 pts. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1949, no. 1, and 1950, nos. 2–3. Berlin: Akademie.
- Willis, Michael, et al. 2000. *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*. London: British Museum Press.
- Wilson, H. H. 1841. *Ariana Antiqua. A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan, with a Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes by C. Masson*. London: East India Company Court of Directors. Reprint, Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1971.
- Wogihara, Unrai. 1932–36. *Sputārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. Tokyo: Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā.
- Zwalf, W. 1996. *A Catalogue of the Gandhara Sculpture in the British Museum*. 2 vols. London: British Museum Press.

Gandharan Studies

VOLUME I

Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries



Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries

DAVID JONGEWARD

ELIZABETH ERRINGTON

RICHARD SALOMON

STEFAN BAUMS



EARLY BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS PROJECT *Seattle*

Distributed by

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS *Seattle and London*

Copyright 2012 by the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, Seattle
Printed in Canada

18 17 16 15 14 13 12 1 2 3 4 5

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project
c/o Department of Asian Languages and Literature
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195-3521

University of Washington Press
PO Box 50096
Seattle, WA 98145-5096, USA
www.washington.edu/uwpress

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Jongeward, David.

Gandharan Buddhist reliquaries / David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon, Stefan Baums. — First [edition].
pages cm — (Gandharan studies ; v. 1)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-295-99236-5 (hardback)

1. Buddhist reliquaries—Gandhara (Pakistan and Afghanistan)
 2. Gautama Buddha—Relics. I. Errington, Elizabeth.
 - II. Salomon, Richard, 1948– III. Baums, Stefan, 1974– IV. Title.
- NK1676.J66 2012
704.9'4894309549123—dc23 2012016853

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39-1984.