

# Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pāli *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho*\*

## I. Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* = Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*

Until now, the Gāndhārī word *iṣmaho* has been known only from the *stūpa* dedication inscription of Seṇavarma (Bailey 1980, Fussman 1982, Salomon 1986, von Hinüber 2003). This important document, written on a gold leaf and dating from the early first century A.D., is the longest single inscriptional text known in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. The word in question occurs three times in Seṇavarma's inscription:

line 3a: *utaraseṇaputre vasuseṇe oḍiraya iṣmahokulade*, “Vasuseṇa, son of Utaraseṇa, King of Oḍi, **from the Iṣmaho family**”.

line 3c: *seṇavarme ayidaseṇaputre ate ceva iṣmahorajakulasabhavade oḍiraja*, “Seṇavarma, son of Ayidaseṇa, and therefore, **by virtue of birth in the Iṣmaho royal family**, king of Oḍi”.

line 9e: *bhadaseṇa raya upadae yava pravidamaha me diśaseṇo oḍiraya sarva i(\*ṣma)horayakulasambhavo*,<sup>1</sup> “from King Bhadaseṇa up to my paternal great-grandfather Diśaseṇa, the kings of Oḍi, all **born in the I(\*ṣma)ho royal family**”.

The word *iṣmaho*, whose meaning and etymology have been up to now completely obscure, has usually been assumed to be a non-Indian name. Thus, for example, Fussman (1982, p. 44) commented, “Ce mot semble un nom propre, d’origine non-indienne”, and von Hinüber (2003, p. 34,

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<sup>1</sup>Here the syllable *ṣma* was apparently omitted by scribal error, as the normal spelling is confirmed by the two other occurrences of the word in this inscription. This error presumably does not have any linguistic significance.

n. 30) similarly remarked “Unarisch scheint der Name des Stammvaters Iṣmahō zu sein”.

Now, however, *iṣmahō* has been observed in another Gāndhārī text in a context which makes it clear that this name is not in fact non-Indian, but rather is the Gāndhārī equivalent of the name of the renowned legendary king known in Sanskrit as Ikṣvāku and in Pāli as Okkāka. The text in question is a Buddhist birch-bark scroll in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), which appears to date from about the second century A.D. (figs. 1–2). This manuscript, which is only now beginning to be studied, appears to consist of formulaic accounts of the lives of fifteen Buddhas, from Dīpaṅkara to Maitreya, enumerating for each Buddha the *kalpa* in which he lived, his life-span, his class (*brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya*), the size of his assembly (*saṃnipāta*), the duration of his *dharma*, etc. Thus in its format and contents this new text resembles biographical texts such as the Mahāpadāna-sutta / Mahāvadāna-sūtra, Buddhavaṃsa, and Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, but it seems to have a particularly close similarity to portions of the Bahubuddha-sūtra contained in the Mahāvastu (ed. Senart, III 224.10–250.8).

The portion of the new text described above is preceded by a set of fifteen verses containing a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) of the future Buddhahood of Śākyamuni, which are presumably being spoken by a previous Buddha. The passage in question here is part of what appears to be the third verse in this series. The surviving portion of the verse, comprising part of the second and fourth quarters and all of the third, reads as follows:

+++ (\*ka)///[p](\*e) ido asakhae ·  
 iṣmahovatsaṇaraśakasiho ·  
 tariśasi devamaṇu[śa] ? /// +

[An] incalculable world-age from now,<sup>2</sup> as the Śākya man-lion in the Iṣmaho lineage,<sup>3</sup> you will cross over ... gods and humans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Mvu I 53.2, *kalpasmim ito asaṃkhyeye*.

<sup>3</sup>The sense of this line is not completely certain. We propose to read the entire quarter as a single compound, *iṣmaho-vatśa-ṇara-śaka-siho*, although superficially it might seem easier to divide it into two words, *iṣmahovatsaṇara śakasiho*, and translate “as a man of the Iṣmaho lineage, the Lion of the Śākyas”. But we provisionally reject this interpretation, mainly because -*ṇara* at the end of a compound *iṣmahovatsaṇara* would be superfluous and stylistically weak. We suspect that *ṇaraśakasiho* should rather be read as a sub-compound, by way of a conflation of the two expressions *śakasiho* (= Skt *śākyasiṃha*) and *ṇarasiho* (= *narasiṃha*). *Narasiṃha* and equivalent epithets of the Buddha such as *puṛuṣasiṃha* and *puṛuṣavyāghra*, though rare in Pāli, are common in some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, especially in the Mahāvastu, with which the new Gāndhārī text under discussion here has many common features of style and contents. For example, in *narasiṃhatāye prañidheti*, “He makes a vow to attain the state of a man-lion”, that is, “of Buddhahood” (Mvu I 83.8), *narasiṃha* is used in a context of predictions of future Buddhahood, as in our text. Similarly, the synonymous *puṛuṣasiṃho* occurs in a context similar to that of the passage in question in *puṛuṣasiṃho śākyakulānandajanano* (Mvu II 164.13).

But it must be conceded that in the proposed interpretation the construction is still somewhat odd, with the sub-compound -*ṇaraśakasiho* instead of the expected -*śakaṇarasiho*. However, compounds with irregular word order are not unknown in Buddhist usage (see Edgerton 1953, §23.10), and in this case the peculiarity could be explained on metrical grounds, since the irregular ordering of the words in -*ṇaraśakasiho* provides a normal ending for a *triṣṭubh* line ~ ~ ~ ~ ~), whereas the normal compound order *śakaṇarasiho* (~ ~ ~ ~ ~) would not fit the metre. Although ideal metrical patterns are often treated rather loosely in Gāndhārī texts (see, for example, Salomon 2000: 49–51), a preliminary analysis of the new text in question here seems to show that it followed the standard metrical pattern of the *triṣṭubh* metre much more closely than many other Gāndhārī texts, perhaps because the text was originally composed in Gāndhārī rather than translated into Gāndhārī from some other Indo-Aryan language. For this reason, we take the metre of this text to be phonetically and etymologically reliable, although we would not necessarily do so for all Gāndhārī texts.

<sup>4</sup>Possible reconstructions of the last quarter of this verse include *deva-manuśa[lo](\*)ga* (compare Buddhavaṃsa 2.55, *sabbaññutam pāpuṇitvā santāressaṃ sadevake*) or *devamanuśa[śa](\*)sta* (compare, e.g., Mvu I 239.9, *śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyānāṃ ca*).

The key phrase for our purposes is the second quarter, *iṣmaho-vatśaṇaraśakasiho*. The reference to *śakasiho* = Skt *śākyasiṃha* makes it certain that the addressee here is indeed the (then) future “historical” Buddha Śākyamuni, while the phrase *iṣmahovatśa* indicates that he is being associated with the Iṣmaho lineage (*vaṃśa*).<sup>5</sup> Since the Śākyas are universally deemed in Buddhist tradition to be descended from the lineage of the legendary *cakravartin* emperor Ikṣvāku, there can hardly be any doubt that *iṣmaho* here is the equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*, despite the several unusual phonetic correspondences between the two — correspondences which, however, are no more unusual, indeed somewhat less so, than those between Skt *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*, as will be discussed in detail below (section 2).

Moreover, the association of the descendants of Ikṣvāku with the Śākyas is expressed in similar terms to those of the new text in, for example, Mahāvastu III 247.12–13, *śuddhodanasya rājño ikṣvākujasya putro māyāya śākyakulanandijanano śākyo bhūt śākyasukumāro*, “King Śuddhodana, the descendant of Ikṣvāku, had with Māyā a son, the Śākya who brought delight to the Śākya clan, the tender Śākya youth”. Similarly, the expression applied to the Buddha in Mahāvastu III 343.15, *ikṣvākukulasambhave*, “born in the Ikṣvāku clan”, is virtually identical to *iṣmahorajakulasabhavade*, the epithet adopted by Seṇa-varma in his inscription (line 3c). These parallels thus confirm that Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* does in fact correspond to Skt *ikṣvāku* / Pāli *okkāka*.

Though not previously attested as such, *vatśa* in the compound *iṣmaho-vatśa-ṇara* is a more or less normal Gāndhārī correspondent to Skt *vaṃśa*. Here the *t* has arisen as an excrescent consonant between the underlying nasal (here left unwritten, as very often in Gāndhārī) and the following sibilant: *vaṃśa* ([vāṣa] or [vaṇṣa]) > *vatśa* ([vantśa]). Parallel developments (though involving the dental rather than the palatal sibilant) are attested, for instance, in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan, in *matsa* = Skt *māṃsa* and *satsara* = *saṃsāra* (Brough 1962,

<sup>5</sup>The equivalence of Gāndhārī *vatśa* with Sanskrit *vaṃśa* will be explained below.

pp. 73–74; additional examples from Central Asian Gāndhārī provided in Burrow 1937, p. 19).

The ligature representing the consonant cluster in question in our text, 𑖦, is nowadays usually transliterated as *tsa*, though *tśa* has also been used for it. On purely visual grounds, it is difficult to distinguish whether the second member is 𑖦 śa or a simplified form of 𑖦 sa. This issue was discussed at some length by Brough (1962, pp. 73–77),<sup>6</sup> who preferred the transliteration *tsa* on both graphic and phonetic grounds, since most of the examples available to him, such as the aforementioned *matsa* = *māṃsa* and *satsara* = *saṃsāra*, involved original dental sibilants. However, the present case of *vatśa* = *vaṃśa* revives the question of the correct transliteration, or perhaps rather transliterations, of 𑖦, and suggests that it perhaps did double duty for both *ts* and *tś*. Whether this represents an actual merger of the two, either in the writing system or in the phonology of the language, is difficult to determine on the basis of the data currently available. Although in general the three sibilants of Old Indo-Aryan are retained as such in Gāndhārī, they tend to merge or alternate graphically, if not phonetically, in consonant clusters; for example, the absolutive corresponding to Sanskrit *dr̥ṣṭvā* is written in different texts as *diṣpa* and *dhriṣpaṇa*, and also, possibly, as *dispa*.<sup>7</sup> In any case, the equation between Sanskrit *vaṃśa* and Gāndhārī *vatśa* is supported on contextual grounds by a passage in Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda (ed. Johnston, 1.24): *tasmād ikṣvākuvaṃśyās te bhuvi śākyā iti smṛtāḥ*, “Therefore those members of the lineage of Ikṣvāku are known in the world as Śākyas”. Here the compound *ikṣvākuvaṃśyās* mirrors *iṣmaho-vatśa*- in our new manuscript.

<sup>6</sup>See also the further discussion in Glass 2000, pp. 130–31.

<sup>7</sup>The last reading is however uncertain and largely reconstructed; see Salomon 2000: 143–44 and Allon 2001: 93. For other citations, refer to the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project's online Gāndhārī dictionary (<http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/dictionary.php>).

## 2. Etymological problems

Thus there can be no reasonable doubt that *iṣmaho* is the Gāndhārī equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*. Although the form *iṣmaho* cited here is a transliteration from Kharoṣṭhī script, in which vowel quantity is not distinguished, we can safely assume that the vowel of the second syllable was long. This is suggested first of all by the corresponding long vowel of the Sanskrit and Pāli forms, although this alone is not conclusive in light of the several other problems in the phonetic correspondences between these three words (as discussed below). But it is confirmed by metrical considerations,<sup>8</sup> since the word in question appears at the beginning of a *triṣṭubh* line, where the expected metrical pattern would be – – ∪.

Although this metrical pattern confirms the expected quantity of the vowel of the second syllable, at the same time it suggests that the *o* vowel of the third syllable is to be read as short. This is a bit surprising, since we otherwise have no direct evidence of the existence of *ō* as an independent phoneme in Gāndhārī or other MIA languages. Since *u* and *o* alternate frequently in Gāndhārī orthography, one might suppose that *iṣmaho* is merely a graphic alternative for *\*iṣmahu*, with final *u* as suggested by Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. However, the fact that the name is consistently written with *-o* in all four attestations speaks against this, and we can therefore suppose that the pronunciation was *iṣmāhō*, although the phonological status and etymological significance of the final vowel remain uncertain.

As noted above, although the functional equivalence of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* to Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka* is clearly established, the phonetic correspondences of the three forms of the name are anything but normal:

For the initial vowel, Pāli has *o* against Sanskrit and Gāndhārī *i*.

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<sup>8</sup>Compare n. 3 above.

For the consonant clusters in the second syllable, the three languages have respectively *kk*, *kṣv*, and *ṣm*, none of which are normally equivalents for any of the others.

For the consonant of the third syllable, Gāndhārī has, untypically, *h* against *k* of Pāli and Sanskrit.

For the final vowel, Pāli, Sanskrit and Gāndhārī have *a*, *u*, and *o* respectively.

At first glance it therefore seems likely that in *ikṣvāku* / *okkāka* / *iṣmaho* we have an instance of the frequent pattern whereby proper names in the various Indian Buddhist languages<sup>9</sup> exhibit irregular phonetic correspondences. This pattern was already well-established in connection with Pāli and Sanskrit, and recent discoveries of numerous Buddhist literary texts in Gāndhārī<sup>10</sup> have shown that it applies there as well. One example where the newly discovered Gāndhārī form of a proper name fails to correspond normally with either the Pāli or the Sanskrit forms — involving the name of the city of Taxila, namely Sanskrit *takṣaśilā*, Pāli *takkasilā*, and Gāndhārī *taṣṣaīla* — is discussed in detail in Salomon 2005B, and several other cases (some involving material that has not yet been published) have also been observed. For example, the Gāndhārī equivalent of the name of the king known in Pāli as *pasenadi* and in Sanskrit as *prasenajit* — which, as usual, themselves do not correspond normally — has now been revealed to be *praṣeniga*, which again corresponds neither to the Pāli nor the Sanskrit form (Allon 2001, p. 304; British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 12 + 14, line 75, *p[r]aṣen[i]g[e]no*). The overall problem of the relationship of the aberrant manifestations of proper names in different Buddhist languages has not yet been studied in any organized and comprehensive manner

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<sup>9</sup>This is not to suggest that this phenomenon is unique or peculiar to Buddhist languages, or even to Indian languages only. Similar inconsistencies between dialectal forms of proper names, involving special etymological, phonological, and/or orthographic patterns, could presumably be documented in other language groups in India and elsewhere, although we are not aware of any systematic studies of this phenomenon.

<sup>10</sup>For an up-to-date summary of these and related finds, see Allon, forthcoming.

(though we intend to address it in a future study with special reference to proper names in Gāndhārī).

Buddhist scholars in ancient times, like us, wrestled with the problem of the etymology of such proper names, and often had to resort to explanations that from the modern perspective it is easy to dismiss as “folk etymologies”, but that doubtless, once established, themselves began to exert an influence on the transmitted forms of these names in the Buddhist tradition. For example, the Sanskrit form of the name *ikṣvāku* is typically derived from *ikṣu*, “sugar-cane”, for which derivation a legend was created according to which the eponymous king Ikṣvāku was born from a sugar-cane plant and named accordingly: *eṣo kumāro ikṣuto jāto bhavatu imasya ikṣvākutti nāmaṃ*, “This baby was born from the sugar-cane (*ikṣu*), so let his name be Ikṣvāku” (Mahāvastu II 422.19–20). In a variant of this legend recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, the sage Suvarṇadvaiṣṭya found two newborn boys in a sugar-cane field and named them after this findspot: *ikṣuvāṭāl labdhvā ikṣvākā ikṣvākā iti caturthī saṃjñā saṃvṛttā*, “Because they were taken from a sugar-cane field, their fourth name became ‘Ikṣvāka, Ikṣvāka’<sup>11</sup>” (Saṅghabhedavastu, ed. Gnoli, I 25–26). After they grew up, both brothers in turn succeeded to the throne, and the younger became the progenitor of the Ikṣvāku clan.

The corresponding Pāli name, *okkāka*, is differently but equally fancifully derived by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Dīghanikāya from *ukkā* “torch” (= Skt *ulkā*), on the grounds that when King Okkāka spoke it seemed as if the light from a torch (*ukkā*) came out of his mouth: *tassa kira rañño kathanakāle ukkā viya mukhato pabhā niccharati, tasmā naṃ okkāko ti sañjānimsu*, “They say that when that king spoke, a light like [that of] a torch (*ukkā*) came forth from his

<sup>11</sup>Note the final vowel *-a*, as in Pāli *okkāka* and Jaina Prakrit *ikkhāga* (cited below).



mouth, and therefore they named him Okkāka” (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī I 258.6–8).<sup>12</sup>

Yet despite these very different traditional etymologies for Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*, and despite the striking phonetic inconsistencies between them, it is clearly not out of the question that they are in fact etymologically related. No less an authority than Wilhelm Geiger maintained that this was the case, supporting this correspondence with the following three arguments:

- (1) The initial *o* of the Pāli name comes from the *u*- of an original *\*ukkhāka*, according to the rule that “[n]ot infrequently *i* and *u* become *ē* and *ō* before double-consonance” (Geiger 1943, p. 65).
- (2) The form *\*ukkhāka* is justified on the grounds that “Sometimes in P[āli] *kkh* and *cch* alternate in one and the same word” (Geiger 1943, p. 100), so that a hypothetical *\*ukkhū* could have coexisted in Pāli or related dialects with *ucchu*, which is the usual Pāli equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣu* “sugar cane” (Geiger 1943, p. 66, n.1).
- (3) The deaspiration of the second syllable (*\*ukkhāka* > *okkāka*) is explained by comparison with other instances of “[m]issing aspiration in sound-groups with the sibilant in second position” (Geiger 1943, p. 105).

Each of these proposed changes is in and of itself plausible and more or less well attested, but it is still noteworthy how much special pleading is required to establish a regular etymological correspondence between *ikṣvāku* and *okkāka*, and it must also be pointed out that the irregular contrast between the final vowels (*u* / *a*) remains unexplained. The situation is further complicated by the corresponding name in the Jaina Prakrits, which usually appears as *ikkhāga*, although (*teste* Mehta and Chandra 1970, p. 103) *ikkhāgu* is also attested in the compound *ikkhāgu-vaṃsa*. Thus the usual Prakrit form, *ikkhāga*, corresponds to Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* except for the final vowel, which agrees with Pāli

<sup>12</sup>Compare also the etymology of the name *ikṣvāku* found in the Brahmanical tradition, where it is said that Ikṣvāku was born from the nose of his father Manu when the latter sneezed (*√kṣu*); e.g., *kṣuvatas tu manor jajñe ikṣvākur ghrāṇataḥ sutah* (Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.6.4ab).

*okkāka* (and with the Buddhist Sanskrit form *ikṣvāka* in the Saṅghabhedavastu passage quoted above).<sup>13</sup>

Thus one can feel some sympathy for the opinion of E.J. Thomas, diametrically opposite to that of Geiger, who declared that “Pāli ... Okkāka ... cannot by any device be treated as a form of the name Ikshvāku” (1927, p. 6). Nonetheless, the peculiar phonetic correspondences between certain proper names in Sanskrit and Pāli, including *ikṣvāku* / *okkāka* as well as *takṣaṣilā* / *takkasilā*, may yet prove to be regular as our knowledge of their transmission improves. They may, for instance, find a partial explanation in phonological features of the Sinhala language which could have affected their rendition in Pāli texts as transmitted and canonized in Sri Lanka. This could explain the otherwise anomalous deaspiration of expected *kkh* in both of the aforementioned Pāli forms (cf. Geiger 1938, pp. 39–40, and the third argument from Geiger 1943 cited above).<sup>14</sup>

In balance, it may tentatively be concluded that, despite their rather peculiar correspondence, Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka* probably are etymologically related. The next question, then, is whether the same can be said for the newly identified Gāndhārī form of the name, *iṣmaho*. As noted previously, there are two main problems in establishing a direct parallelism between the consonants in *iṣmaho* and Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. Regarding the initial of the final syllable, the usual Gāndhārī reflexes of Sanskrit intervocalic *-k-* are *g*, *gh* or *Ø*, but not *h*. There is, however, at least one fairly clear instance of *-k-* > *-h-*, namely *tuspahu* as the equivalent of Sanskrit *yuṣmākam*, occurring eight times in scroll 5 of the

<sup>13</sup>The form of the name which appears in the Prakrit inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings of the Deccan (see section 3a) is *ikhāku* (graphic for *ikkhāku*; Vogel 1929, p. 27). This relatively late form corresponds directly to the Sanskrit and is presumably derived from it. It is therefore of no further significance for our discussion.

<sup>14</sup>It is less clear whether Sinhala vowel harmony (Geiger 1938, pp. 22–25) can be invoked to explain the variation in the final vowel of the name (Pāli *a*, Sanskrit *u*), since forms with final *a* also occur on the Indian mainland, as noted above.

Senior Gāndhārī manuscript collection (Glass 2007, §§5.2.1.1, 6.2.1), and on the basis of this data it is at least plausible to equate the *h* of *iṣmaho* with the *k* of *ikṣvāku*.<sup>15</sup>

It is more difficult, though not impossible, to establish a connection between the clusters *ṣm* of *iṣmaho* and *kṣv* of *ikṣvāku*. Two separate problems are involved in this and will be discussed in turn: the apparent reduction of OIA *kṣ* to G *ṣ*, and the correspondence of OIA *v* to G *m*. The reduction of *kṣ* to *ṣ* is initially puzzling, since in isolation the OIA cluster *kṣ* is usually retained in Gāndhārī as such, or rather is represented in writing by the Kharoṣṭhī character 𑖑 which is conventionally transliterated as *kṣ* but which was probably a unitary consonantal phoneme whose pronunciation cannot be precisely determined, but which may have been [tʃ] or the like (Brough 1962, p. 72 and n. 4). There are, to be sure, exceptions to this pattern. Thus, in certain cases the equivalent of OIA *kṣ* is represented as *kh* in Gāndhārī, as in the frequent *bhikhu* = *bhikṣu*, but this and most other such cases are explainable as borrowings of Buddhist technical terms into Gāndhārī from another MIA dialect. There is also at least one case, namely *kuchie* = *kukṣau* “in the stomach”,<sup>16</sup> where OIA *kṣ* is reflected by Gāndhārī *ch*. But there is no instance known to us where Gāndhārī has *ṣ* for isolated OIA *kṣ*.

In OIA *ikṣvāku*, however, special conditions obtain since here *kṣ* is part of the rare three-consonant cluster *kṣv*. No other parallel is

<sup>15</sup>There is also one instance where an intervocalic *-h-* in Sanskrit is represented by *-k-* in Gāndhārī, namely *sataḥam* = *\*saptāham*, “for a week”, in an unpublished fragment of a Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā in the Senior collection (fragment 14, line 20; Salomon 2003A: 79; Salomon, in progress). This could be interpreted as a hypercorrection resulting from a (near-)merger in the scribe’s dialect of the reflex of Skt intervocalic *k* and *g* with *h*. (The Kharoṣṭhī letter *k*, a modified form of *k*, probably indicates the voiced fricative [ɣ].)

<sup>16</sup>In the British Library manuscript of another Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā (British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1, line 38; Salomon 1999, pp. 30–33; Salomon, in progress).

available in Gāndhārī for this particular cluster; the only attested case of a Gāndhārī reflex of an OIA cluster of the type *kṣ*C involves *kṣy*, which is represented in Gāndhārī as *kṣ* in *dhrekṣatu* = *\*drakṣyantu* (Allon 2001, p. 89) and *mukṣasa* = *mokṣyatha*.<sup>17</sup> We do, however, know that in other forms of MIA three-consonant clusters could receive special treatment, and in particular that sometimes the second consonant in such clusters seems to have been articulated more strongly than the first, outweighing it in assimilation:

Wenn sich jedoch die Silbengrenze in die Konsonantengruppe hineinverlagert, wird dadurch wie in der Kompositionsfuge die Hierarchie scheinbar aufgehoben [...], da jetzt der zweite Konsonant stärker artikuliert wird. (von Hinüber 2001, pp. 202f., based on Berger 1955, pp. 76f.)

Among the several examples listed by von Hinüber, two are especially relevant for our discussion of OIA *ikṣvāku* and G *iṣmaho*: “Skt *tīkṣṇa*: *tīk-ṣṇa* > *\*tīṣ-ṣṇa* > mi. *tiṇha* neben mi. *tikkha* [...] und P *tikhiṇa* < *\*tikhṇa*” and “Skt *abhīkṣṇa* > *\*abhiṣṇa* > P *abhiṇha* neben P, Amg *abhikkhaṇa*”. In the light of these parallels, G *iṣmaho* would represent exactly the reconstructed middle stage in the development of such clusters: *kṣv* [kṣv] has undergone assimilation to *ṣm* [ṣm] (see next paragraph on the change from *v* to *m*), but sibilant and nasal have not yet been metathesized. Indicating syllable boundaries by hyphens, as in von Hinüber’s examples, the sequence of developments would then have been: OIA *ik-ṣvā-ku* > *\*[iṣ-ṣvā-ku]* > *\*[iṣ-ṣmā-ku]* > G *iṣmaho*. The apparent counter-examples of stable *kṣ* in G *dhrekṣatu* and *mukṣasa*, cited above, have to be seen on the background of independent assimilation of OIA *ṣy* > G *ś* and the need for morphological clarity at the boundary of verbal root and tense suffix.

The other problem in the correspondence of OIA *kṣv* to G *ṣm* is the apparent change of *ṣv* into *ṣm*. The normal outcome of OIA sibilant + *v* in Gāndhārī is *śp*: *prabh(\*a)[śp](\*a)ra* < *prabhāsvara* (Allon 2001, p. 96), *pariśpeḍaṇa* < *parisveditāni* (Glass 2006, p. 145), *iṣparasa* <

<sup>17</sup>British Library, Anavatapta-gāthā, lines 95, 122.

*īśvarasya* (von Hinüber 2003, p. 41). Alternative outcomes, especially in the Khotan Dharmapada and the Niya documents, are preservation of the original cluster and complete assimilation (e.g. *svaga* and *saga* < *svarga*, Brough 1962, p. 103), but as far as the available data allows us to judge, original sibilant + *v* never turns into sibilant + *m* in Gāndhārī (as already noted in Allon 2001, p. 96, n.8).<sup>18</sup>

OIA sibilant + *m*, on the other hand, has a broad range of G outcomes, including besides *sm*, *śp* and *s* (cf. Allon 2001, pp. 95f.) also *sv*: *rasvi* < OIA *raśmi* or MIA *\*rasmi*, *svadi* < *smṛti* (Brough 1962, pp. 102f.), [*s*]v(\*a)[*d*](*\*ima*) < *smṛtimant* (Salomon 2000, p. 91).<sup>19</sup> Thus, while it may be true that G *śm* itself cannot be considered a regular outcome of OIA *śv*, in a more general sense sibilant + *m* and sibilant + *v* seem to have functioned as phonetic variants in Gāndhārī. If we further keep in mind that none of the currently attested G outcomes of OIA sibilant + *v* involve an original retroflex sibilant and that none of them involve an original three-consonant cluster, we may cautiously suggest that *śm* in *iṣmaho* is at least a plausible Gāndhārī phonetic development of earlier *śv*. In conclusion, it appears possible to consider the medial cluster *śm* in G *iṣmaho* not only a regular MIA development of OIA *kṣv*, but in fact an attestation of the type of reconstructed intermediate form posited by Berger and von Hinüber for P *tiṇha* and *abhiṇha*.

Having considered the relationship of the three main attested forms of the proper name Ikṣvāku, we now turn to the question of its ultimate origin and meaning. Since we have seen that G *iṣmaho* can plausibly be derived from a form like OIA *ikṣvāku* whereas the inverse is not true (expected back-formations would have been *\*iṣmā(b)hu* or even

<sup>18</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of the MIA development of stop or sibilant + *v* see Sakamoto-Goto 1988.

<sup>19</sup>These examples also show that the G sound change *sm* > *sv* is of wider application than the corresponding change in other dialects of MIA that is usually explained as nasal dissimilation (Sakamoto-Goto 1988: 96–100, von Hinüber 2001: 190).

\*iṣvā(b)hu, but not iṣvāku), and since Skt iṣvāku and P okkāka agree in having a *k* in their first cluster that G iṣmaho lacks, it appears that in this case the G form of the name has no claim to greater antiquity than either the Skt or the P form. In fact, in some respects it would seem to be farther removed from the ultimate origin of the name than both the Skt and the P form, and while any future investigation into this origin will have to account for the newly-discovered G form, it would be unwise, despite the early attestation of the G form, to base any ultimate etymology on the form iṣmaho alone without giving equal consideration to the other two forms.<sup>20</sup>

The traditional derivation from the word iṣu “sugar cane” is thus neither confirmed nor contradicted by the new G evidence. It is clear, however, that at the linguistic stage of Gāndhārī itself any original connection with iṣu would have ceased to be transparent and that a secondary folk-etymological connection with iṣu (as in the Mahāvastu and Saṅghabhedavastu passages quoted above) would likewise have been difficult to maintain: while the word for “sugar cane” has not yet been found attested in Gāndhārī, its form would almost certainly have been \*iṣu (or maybe \*uṣu) and thus clearly distinct from the word iṣmaho. This is of course the same situation as obtains in Pāli where, as we have seen, Buddhaghosa did not attempt to establish a connection between okkāka and ucchu, but instead drew on the word ukkā “torch” (pace Geiger’s attempt to connect okkāka with ucchu).

The connection of the name Ikṣvāku with iṣu has independently been cast into doubt by several modern authorities. Thus the derivation from iṣu (“Augenwimper, Zuckerrohr”) plus a suffix āku, as proposed

<sup>20</sup>Were it not for this, one could have speculated that iṣmaho might be related to iṣu ‘arrow’ or the rare Skt iṣma / iṣma / iṣva / iṣva ‘spring, name of the god Kāma’ (comm. on Uṇādisūtra 1.144; iṣmaḥ kāmavasamṭayoh (Pāṇḍeya 1985), p. 18; cf. also Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. iṣma). But in view of the preceding arguments, these two words could at most have assumed a local Gandhāran folk-etymological relationship to the name-form iṣmaho and are highly unlikely to be the ultimate source of the attested triplet of forms iṣvāku / iṣmaho / okkāka.

by Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954, p. 267), was dismissed by Mayrhofer (1992, p. 186) as “nicht zielführend”, and Witzel (1999, p. 357) characterizes the supposed suffix *āku* as “strange”. It may be the case that the true origin of this proper name, as of so many others in Sanskrit and other languages, lies buried, probably irretrievably, beneath the sands of time. That is to say, it may ultimately go back to some long-lost word, whether Indo-Aryan or quite possibly belonging to an indigenous substrate language. This in fact is the conclusion of Kuiper (1991, pp. 6–7), who includes *ikṣvāku* among the “group of persons who were on the side of the Aryan society but whose names must, on morphological grounds, be considered non-Aryan”. This view is also endorsed by Witzel (1999, pp. 356, 360), who classifies *ikṣvāku* among the numerous proper names in the Ṛgveda which he considers to be “Non-IA or of doubtful etymology” (p. 356), and this conclusion appears to be cautiously endorsed by Mayrhofer (2003, p. 18), who lists *ikṣvāku* as “Fremdname?”. An attempt to trace such a pre-Indo-Aryan etymology was in fact made by Berger (1959, p. 73), who explained *ikṣvāku* “bitterer Kürbis, Citrillus Colocynthis” as a survival of an Austroasiatic word for “pumpkin” (Kürbis), allegedly functioning as a totemic clan name. This etymology is cited by Mayrhofer (1992, pp. 185–86) without comment, but the justification provided by Berger is sketchy at best and can hardly be considered definitive.

Of course, it is always possible that some future discovery or insight may provide a more convincing solution to the problem of the ultimate origin of the name Ikṣvāku, but at this point one hardly dares to hope for this. For such a new source of information could have been hoped for, if anywhere, in Gāndhārī; but in fact, we find that the Gāndhārī form does not do much to clarify this issue, at least for the time being. This means, most likely, that the etymological issue is not one that is definitively soluble, and the ultimate origin of the name may be lost in the mists of prehistory.

### 3. Ramifications, historical and Buddhological

#### 3a. *The Ikṣvākus and the Kings of Oḍi*

This, however, is by no means to say that the new Gāndhārī data is of no use to us. Quite to the contrary: although it does not solve the etymological problem surrounding the name Ikṣvāku and its equivalents, it does provide new insight into other issues. The first of these involves the history of the Iṣmaho kings of Oḍi, in one of whose inscriptions, the *stūpa* dedication of Seṇavarma, the Gāndhārī form *iṣmaho* was first noticed (section 1). The Iṣmaho kings, who are known only from three Buddhist reliquary inscriptions in Gāndhārī, ruled, apparently, in lower Swat in or around the first century A.D.<sup>21</sup> Like their neighbours, the kings of Apraca,<sup>22</sup> the Oḍi kings seem to have been feudatory allies of the Saka and early Kuṣāṇa dynasties of Gandhāra and adjoining areas.

Now that it has become clear that their dynastic name Iṣmaho is not “non-Indian” or “non-Aryan” as once thought (see section 1), but rather is the Gāndhārī equivalent of the ancient and renowned name Ikṣvāku, we can see that the nomenclature of the Iṣmaho dynasty is part of a recurrent historical pattern. For there are at least two other instances in which Indian Buddhist dynasties of the historical period took on the name Ikṣvāku in order to lay claim to an association with the lineage of the Buddha himself, who, as a Śākya, was held to have belonged to the venerable Ikṣvāku line. The first such case is the Ikṣvāku (= *ikhāku*; see n. 13) dynasty of the eastern Deccan, which patronized the great Buddhist monasteries at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and elsewhere in the Kṛṣṇā River Valley in the third century A.D. The second instance of this pattern is documented in the Sri Lankan Buddhist historiographic tradition, where the Dīpavaṃsa “portrayed the Sri Lankan kings as the true heirs to the Ikṣvāku legacy, a claim that the Ikṣvākus of Andhra had

<sup>21</sup>See Salomon 2003B: 39–51 for the most recent information on the inscriptions and history of the Oḍi kings.

<sup>22</sup>For recently discovered inscriptions of and information on the Apraca kings, see Salomon 2005A: 378–83.



earlier staked out for their imperial kingdom in which, at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Sri Lankan Buddhists had received their first recorded recognition” (Walters 2000, p. 118). Furthermore, in various Buddhist literary traditions (as summarized in Lamotte 1988, pp. 218, 681–82) the Mauryas and other dynasties are credited with a familial relation to the Śākya and thereby to the Ikṣvākus, and no doubt many further examples could be cited.

Of course, the skeptical historian cannot fail to doubt the legitimacy of these alleged descents from the Ikṣvāku line, and this skepticism need not be restricted to the instances from the relatively later periods. For even the claim of the Śākya themselves to Ikṣvāku descent<sup>23</sup> has, to say the least, a legendary air about it. According to the account in the Ambaṭṭha-sutta of the Pāli Dīgha-nikāya (D I 92–93)<sup>24</sup> and Buddhaghosa’s commentary thereon, the original King Okkāka, under the influence of his favorite wife, exiled his five eldest sons from his kingdom, whereupon they settled near the slopes of the Himālaya and became known as the Sakkas (= Śākya). The legend of the exiled sons seems a “likely story”, which could easily inspire one to question the historicity of Śākyamuni’s Ikṣvāku descent. That is to say, one may suspect that the association of the Buddhist lineage with the venerable line of Ikṣvāku, who in Brahmanical tradition was the son of Manu, the grandson of the Sun, and the progenitor of the royal line of Rāma, was a device to establish legitimacy and nobility for the Buddhist line in the eyes of the wider, non-Buddhist world of the time.

However this may be, we can be quite certain that the claims of the kings of Oḍi to Iṣmaho / Ikṣvāku lineage is, historically speaking, a spurious one. For, although their dynastic name is now known to be an Indian and not a foreign one, and although their personal names are all (with one partial exception, Diśaseṇa) “durchsichtige und gut deutbare

<sup>23</sup>As recorded, for example, in the Saundarananda (1.24), as quoted above (section 1).

<sup>24</sup>This legend is also referred to in Aśvaghōṣa’s Saundarananda 1.18–21 and in Mahāvastu I 348.11–351.14.

Sanskritnamen” (von Hinüber 2003, p. 33, n. 30), this does not mean that they were in fact of Indian ethnicity. A priori, given their historical and geographical situation, one may expect that they were, like their neighboring rulers and allies, Sakas or other Central Asian nomads who had conquered territories in the northwestern borderlands of India around the beginning of the Christian era and adopted the Buddhist religion and Indian names. This suspicion is confirmed by the reference in the inscription of *Seṇavarma* (line 1c) to his identity as a “Kadama” (*tasa dayateṇa me kadamasa*, “of me, by descent from him a Kadama”). This term is in all probability equivalent to the label *kārddamaka* which was applied to a member of the Saka dynasty of Western India in an inscription at Kaṇherī, and also to *kardamaga*, the name of a king, very likely also a Scythian, who is mentioned in one of the *Gāndhārī avadāna* texts among the British Library scrolls (Salomon 2003B, pp. 48; 58, n. 9; Salomon 2005C, p. 318). Therefore it is very likely that the *Ṣmahō* kings of Oḍi were in fact Sakas or members of some other Central Asian ethnic groups who claimed a spurious Indian lineage in order to legitimize their Buddhist kingship.

### 3b. *Ṣmahō and the Gāndhārī Hypothesis*

Another point of interest regarding the name *ṣmahō* involves its implications for the early history of Buddhism in China, and in particular for the “Gāndhārī hypothesis”, according to which some of the earliest Chinese translations of Buddhist texts were prepared from originals not in Sanskrit, but in Gāndhārī or Sanskritized versions of underlying Gāndhārī texts.<sup>25</sup> This theory was originally proposed on the basis of the transcriptions of certain proper names in early Chinese Buddhist translations which seemed to reflect Gāndhārī rather than Sanskrit pronunciations, or features of Kharoṣṭhī rather than Brāhmī script, and the body of relevant evidence has grown and expanded in recent years. The newly discovered Gāndhārī word *ṣmahō* constitutes

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<sup>25</sup>For a general discussion of the “Gāndhārī hypothesis”, see Boucher 1998: 471–75.

another such case, in that it, rather than the Sanskrit form *ikṣvāku*, is clearly reflected in certain Chinese renditions of this name.

The Chinese equivalents of *ikṣvāku* etc. are numerous, but they appear to fall into three main groups. These are :

- (1) 一叉鳩 *yīchājū* (reconstructed Old Northwest Chinese [ONWC] pronunciation, following Coblin 1994 : *ʔit-tṣhā-ku*), a transcription of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. This appears, for example, in the 大般涅槃經 *Dà bānnièpán jīng* (= Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra; T. vol. 12, no. 375, p. 839c23).
- (2) 甘蔗王 *gānzhèwáng* “Sugar-Cane King”, a translation of the Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* on the basis of the traditional etymology from *ikṣu* “sugar-cane” (as discussed in section 2). This form occurs, for example, in the 根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事 *Gēnběn shuō yīqièyǒubù pínàiyē yàoshì* (= Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-bhaiṣajyavastu ; T. vol. 24, no. 1448, p. 33c23).
- (3) 懿師摩 *yìshīmó* (ONWC *ʔi(s)-ṣi-ma* ; also several related forms and variants, discussed below), a very good phonetic approximation of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho*, which cannot be connected with Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* or Pāli *okkāka*. This form of the name appears in the 四分律 *Sīfēn lǜ* (= Dharmaguptaka-vinaya ; T. vol. 22, no. 1428, p. 779b1, etc.).

It is particularly interesting that this third rendition of the name, the one which clearly reflects a Gāndhārī substrate, occurs in the *vinaya* of the Dharmaguptaka school, because this concords with an already established pattern of associations between the Dharmaguptakas and the recently rediscovered remnants of Gandhāran Buddhist texts. This association is manifested in the following data :

- (1) The British Library scrolls, the oldest and largest collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts known to date, were found in a pot bearing a dedication to the Dharmaguptakas (Salomon 1999, pp. 166–67).
- (2) A manuscript among the British Library scrolls containing the Saṅgīti-sūtra with commentary has a close relationship in its contents and arrangement to the version of the Saṅgīti-sūtra contained in the Chinese translation of the Dīrghāgama (長阿含經 *Cháng āhán jīng*), which is almost certainly a Dharmaguptaka text (Salomon 1999, pp. 171–75).

- (3) Fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra in the Schøyen manuscript collection similarly resemble the corresponding version of this *sūtra* in the Chinese Dīrghāgama more closely than the several other versions, although here the pattern is not as distinct as in the case of the Saṅgīti-sūtra (Allon and Salomon 2000, pp. 272–73).
- (4) The Gāndhārī version of the Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra contained in scroll 2 of the Senior collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts (Salomon 2003A) similarly seems, on the basis of a preliminary study, to resemble the Chinese Dīrghāgama recension of this *sūtra* more than any of the several other versions (Allon, in progress).
- (5) Episodes from the life of the Buddha recorded in scroll 24 of the Senior collection apparently resemble the corresponding versions of the same stories in the Chinese Dharmaguptaka-vinaya more than those in other *vinayas* (Allon, in progress).<sup>26</sup>

The correspondence of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* with 懿師摩 *yìshīmó* of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya is thus consistent with the several other indications of connections between the newly rediscovered Gāndhārī literary corpus and the Dharmaguptaka tradition as it was transmitted to and preserved in China. However, the matter becomes considerably more complicated when we take into account the several other Chinese renditions of the name in question, as follows:

聲摩 *shēngmó* (ONWC *śeṇ-ma*): 長阿含經 *Cháng āhán jīng* (= Dīrghāgama), e.g., T. vol. 1, no. 1, p. 82c23 (*sūtra* no. 20) and p. 149a20 (*sūtra* no. 30).

鼓摩 *gǔmó* (ONWC *ko-ma*): 佛開解梵志阿鷄經 *Fó kāijiě fānzhi āfū jīng* (= Ambaṣṭhasūtra), T. vol. 1, no. 20, p. 260a26.

鬱摩 *yùmó* (ONWC *ṛut-ma*): 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 *Mishāsāibù héxī wūfēn lǜ* (= Mahīśāsaka-vinaya), T. vol. 22, no. 1421, p. 101a10.

<sup>26</sup>Also of interest in this context is a passage in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya (T. vol. 22, no. 1428, p. 639a14; discussed in Lévi 1915: 440, Salomon 1990: 255, and Boucher 1998: 474) which refers to the recitation of the Arapacana syllabary by monks. Since it is now established that the Arapacana was originally the ordinary alphabetic order of the Kharoṣṭhī script (Salomon 1990: 262, 265), this passage provides a further suggestion of an association between the Dharmaguptaka school and Gāndhārī textual traditions.

伊摩 *yīmó* (ONWC 7i-ma): 大樓炭經 *Dà lóutàn jīng* (= \*Mahā-paridāhasūtra?), T. vol.1, no. 23, p. 309a23.

The origins and relationships of these alternative forms of the name are quite complex, but they all seem to be related to the Gāndhārī-derived 懿師摩 *yishīmó* as graphic and/or phonetic variants. For example, in the Dīrghāgama (T. vol. 1, p. 149a20) 懿摩 *yimó* is given as a variant (Sòng and Míng editions) for 聲摩 *shēngmó*. This 懿摩 *yimó* is presumably a graphic variant, and since 聲摩 *shēngmó* is difficult to explain as a phonetic equivalent of *ikṣvāku* etc., it is perhaps a corruption of an original 懿摩 *yimó*, the latter being in turn a shortened transcription in place of the fuller form 懿師摩 *yishīmó*, of a sort that is common in Chinese Buddhist translations (e.g. 目連 *mùlián* = *Maudgalyāyana* / *Moggallāna*).

鼓摩 *gǔmó*, occurring in an early independent *sūtra* translation by Zhīqiān 支謙 (A.D. 222–253), can similarly be explained as a graphic variant for the aforementioned 懿摩 *yimó*. 鬱摩 *yùmó* in the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya is conceivably also a graphic variant for 懿摩 *yimó*, while 伊摩 *yīmó* in the independent *sūtra* translation 大樓炭經 *Dà lóutàn jīng* might be a sound variant for it or a similar form.

The association of all of these forms with each other as graphic or phonetic variants of an original 懿(師)摩 *yì(shī)mó* is in fact endorsed by the Liáng-dynasty scholar Sēngyòu 僧佑 (d. A.D. 518) in his treatise 釋迦譜 *Shìjiā pǔ* “Genealogy of the Śākya Clan” (T. vol. 50, no. 2040). Sēngyòu notes (pp. 3c23–4a2) with regard to this name: “In ancient times there was a king named Yimó 懿摩. (The *Lóutàn jīng* says Yīmó 一摩.) The Dharmaguptaka-vinaya says Gǔshīmó 鼓師摩, but the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya says Yùmó 鬱摩. These three sounds, *yī* (一), *yì* (懿), and *yù* (鬱), are close to one another. Considering their sounds, I suppose that Yimó 懿摩 is the original one. But as for the characters 鼓 *gǔ* and 懿 *yì*, they resemble each other, and therefore in the copying [懿 *yì*] was just a mistake for 鼓 *gǔ*.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>乃往過去有王。名懿摩(樓炭經云一摩)。曇無德律云。鼓師摩。彌沙塞律云。鬱摩一懿鬱。此三音相近。以音而推。竊謂懿摩是正。但鼓懿字

If the interpretation proposed above is correct, it would mean that the Gāndhārī-derived or Gāndhārī-influenced forms of the name Ikṣvāku occurring in Chinese translations are not limited to Dharmaguptaka texts. They are, to be sure, prevalent there, both in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya which has the clearly Gāndhārī-based 懿師摩 *yìshī mó* and in the Dīrghāgama, a probable Dharmaguptaka collection, whose 聲摩 *shēng mó* is, as noted above, probably a variant of the former. But we also have 鬱摩 *yù mó*, again likely a variant of 懿師摩 *yìshī mó*, in the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya, as well as several other variants in early individual sūtra translations of uncertain sectarian affiliation. Therefore, although the data derived from the Chinese forms of this name does support an association between the textual tradition of Gandhāra and that of the Dharmaguptakas as reflected in early Chinese translations, it also reminds us that this is no by means necessarily an exclusive relationship. Indeed, we should rather expect that texts of other schools would have existed in Gāndhārī (whether or not they have survived or will ever be found), and that Chinese texts affiliated with those other schools also would reflect Gāndhārī substrate forms.<sup>28</sup>

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相似。故傳寫謬為鼓耳。Interestingly enough, Sēngyòu here gives 鼓師摩 *gǔshī mó* as the reading of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya, rather than 懿師摩 *yìshī mó* as given in the Taishō text edition (cited above). These and similar textual variations themselves confirm the author's point that the various readings are merely alternatives for the same name.

A somewhat different interpretation is offered by Bǎochàng 寶唱, another Liáng-dynasty scholar-monk, in his treatise 經律異相 *Jīnglǜ yìxiàng* "Sūtra and Vinaya Miscellany" (T. vol. 53, no. 2121, p. 32a23). He gives the name corresponding to *ikṣvāku* as 鬱摩 *yù mó* and explains the alternative renditions 懿摩 *yì mó* and 鼓摩 *gǔ mó* as dialect approximations (方言之左右 *fāngyán zhī zuǒyòu*) of 鬱摩 *yù mó* (又云懿摩。長阿含經云鼓摩。蓋方言之左右耳。).

<sup>28</sup>Although references to the Dharmaguptakas are particularly prominent among Gāndhārī inscriptions, several other schools, such as the Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas and Mahīśāsakas, are also mentioned in them (Salomon 1999: 176–77). Thus we could reasonably expect that these schools, or at least their Gandhāran branches, would also have had textual corpora in Gāndhārī.

We can only hope that further studies of this and other words by specialists in Chinese Buddhist translation literature will clarify both the immediate problem raised here and the broader issues that it involves and implies. But in the meantime, this new data does, on the one hand, provide further evidence in favor of the “Gāndhārī hypothesis” and, on the other hand, confirm the significant role of the Dharmaguptaka literature in it.

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## FIGURES

(both courtesy of the Library of Congress)

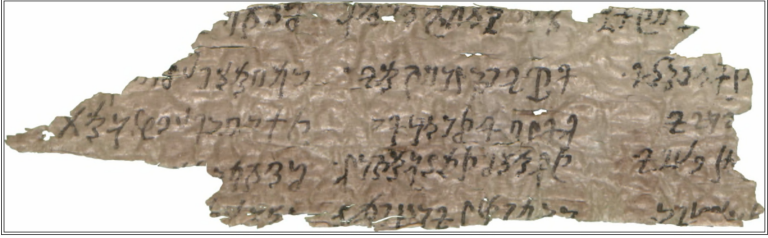
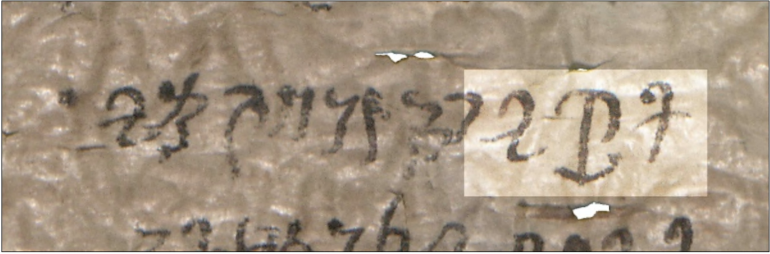


Fig. 1: A fragment from the beginning of the Library of Congress Scroll.

Fig. 2: Detail of verse 3c on the fragment shown in fig. 1, with the word *iṣmaho* highlighted.