

## Review Article

### Buddhist Inscriptions from Termez (Uzbekistan): A New Comprehensive Edition and Study

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub<sup>a</sup>, Richard Salomon<sup>b</sup>, Stefan Baums<sup>c</sup>

*a) EPHE, Paris*

Cristina.Scherrer-Schaub@unil.ch

*b) University of Washington*

rsalomon@u.washington.edu

*c) University of California, Berkeley*

baums@berkeley.edu

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Fussman, Gérard, with a contribution by Nicholas Sims-Williams and in collaboration with Eric Ollivier, *Catalogue des inscriptions sur poteries* (Shakirjan Pidaev, Tukhtash Annaev, and Gérard Fussman, *Monuments bouddhiques de Termez/Termez Buddhist Monuments*, I). Collège de France, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, fasc. 79.1–2. Part 1: Introduction, catalogues, commentaires. Part 2: Planches, index et concordances, résumés. Paris: Édition-Diffusion de Boccard, 2011. 280 pp., 96 plates. ISBN 978 2 868 03079 5. €88,-.

#### Part 1. The Study of the Buddhist Monasteries at Termez: Some Methodological Observations

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

The remains of the ancient Termez are situated at a distance of eight kilometers to the north and west of the modern Termez, the county-town of the Surkhan Darya, and the vestiges stretch along an elbow of the Amu Darya, the ancient Oxus river covering a surface of 500 ha. The site on the shore of the Oxus river, which is here quite large, is majestic and faces the island of Aral Paygambar, which throughout history has facilitated the crossing of the river, thus joining the present regions of Uzbekistan and

Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup> Termez is thus one of the numerous crossroads that have characterized the history of Central Asia itself, in addition to its crucial role in connecting distant Eurasian regions including the maritime regions bordering the continent, a fact that seems to be here, once again, confirmed in the name “dramila-vihara” (61 KT, p. 78 and Appendice 2, p. 50), reconstructed by the author as “drāviḍa,” the monastery of the Southerner. We cannot but praise the exemplary cautious approach of Gérard Fussman, avoiding oversimplified conclusions and hazardous interpretations to such an extent that, apparently, he chooses not to refer to the case of Chilas II, 2, 8 studied by him and attesting the name “Drubila”, whose supposed derivation from “Drāviḍaka” Fussman considered as possible, though “elle n’est pas démontrable.”<sup>2</sup>

The excavation of the Buddhist sites of Termez and Northern Bactria unearthed by A. Strelkov in 1926–1928 on the occasion of the first archaeological mission directed by B. Denike, and the archaeological reports published by the Russian scholars, have shed new light on the impetus of penetration of Buddhism in the north-western regions and beyond.

Galina Pougatchenkova<sup>3</sup> in her moving description of the history of the TAKE (“Expédition Archéologique Pluridisciplinaire de Termez”) underlines the fact that the spirit of the project was since the very beginning to initiate a comprehensive study of the region, gathering scholars from various fields and various countries (after 1993),<sup>4</sup> a tradition that, for the best and at least partially, has been pursued until the present time.

The site of Termez was noted as early as 1882 by the French geographer Gabriel Bonvalot, and the monasteries of Kara-Tepa and Fayaz-Tepa are here excellently presented; the accurate description is illustrated by refined plans which are the hallmark of Gérard Fussman and his team at the Collège de France. The description of the monuments and the hypotheses concerning the function of their internal parts are stimulating and pose interesting questions that will certainly be raised in the future, when more data will be available and the announced volumes published. And yet, one cannot refrain from wondering whether or not the no doubt provisional and circumstantial definition of *viḥāra*, “un monastère bouddhique est

<sup>1</sup> See Leriche 2001: 75. The text is here translated with minor changes. Cf. Fussman p. 14 with a “choix raisonné” of the available bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Fussman 1989: 8–9.

<sup>3</sup> Pougatchenkova 2001: 24 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Leriche 2001: 77–79.

un édifice comportant une partie largement accessible, autour d'un stūpa principal," which supports the idea that "le plan de ces édifices est tout à fait abérrant si chacun d'eux est un monastère," is here (at Kara-Tepa south) and always applicable.

The still illuminating Hōbōgirin's entry on "DAIJI" (by Antonino Forte and Hubert Durt)<sup>5</sup> gives interesting clues on this matter, starting with a passage from the Vinaya (PTS II 172.28 and 155.22) distinguishing three sort of "residence," large (*mahallaka*), small (*khuddaka-vihāra*), and the extremely interesting intermediary or "résidence courbe" (*addhayoga-vihāra*). This last "ne devait consister qu'en une cellule, ayant sans doute la forme d'une galerie puisqu'il est prescrit qu'une chambre (gabbha) peut y être ajoutée latéralement pour une petite résidence ou au milieu pour une grande résidence." Thus the idea that the "résidences individuelles", as Gérard Fussman (p. 16) rightly terms the [nowadays semi-] hill caves that constitute the Kara-Tepa south complex, might have been considered as an "*addhayoga-vihāra*" cannot be absolutely discarded. Interestingly enough, the taxonomy related to the different vihāras is attested in the narrative of the "Prophecy of the Li-country," although to verify whether this corresponds to archaeological evidence in the region of Khotan far exceeds the present scope. All this to say that the author's proverbial cautious attitude alluded to before might possibly include, in the case in point, the hypothesis that the term *vihāra* could be polysemic.

While critically analysing the vexing question of the abandonment of the monastic sites of Termez (p. 17), Fussman rightly points to counter-evidence that, contrary to the idea of Staviskij and Harmatta, for whom "le bouddhisme aurait alors disparu de Termez à la suite des persécutions religieuses dont Kirdir fut l'initiateur," seems to lead to the conclusion that Buddhism was still active in the region at the end of the seventh century, if not later. Among others, the author briefly alludes here to Dharmamitra, the Buddhist Master who composed the Vinayasūtraṭīkā and, rather surprisingly for us, dates him to the sixth century, though with a question mark. Actually, as we have shown on several occasions Dharmamitra, the Tokhar, may be dated to the end of the seventh or the eighth century,<sup>6</sup> thus nicely fitting in the cluster of data gathered from

<sup>5</sup>) Forte and Durt 1983: 679b ff.

<sup>6</sup>) This dating of Dharmamitra was at first proposed in 2003; see C. Scherrer-Schaub, in Pierre Leriche, Shakir Pidaev et al. "MAFOUZ de Bactriane, Mission archéologique franco-ouzbèke de Bactriane septentrionale. Bilan de campagne 2003," p. 24: "L'étude

philology and art history (Lo Muzio forthcoming), attested in the larger context of what the Indian Buddhist scholars themselves termed “Bahir-deśa,” the regions to the far north and west, that is, Gandhāra (in its largest sense) and Tokharestan. And in this respect the catalogue is extremely precious. Indeed, further evidence may now be provided by the secure dating of most of the inscriptions published by Fussman (see *infra*, part 2, pp. 149–150).

Modest and sceptical about the import of his work, Gérard Fussman gives precious advance notice to the reader (pp. 28–39). In these pages the author practically provides a short although essential manual on the basic methodological principles underlying the combined study of epigraphical, historical and archaeological data, in the same way that Fussman has lavishly transmitted his teaching at the Collège de France. Curiously enough however, the exactness of his approach is, at times, obscured by recondite/unexplicable presuppositions.

Indeed, while we easily understand that the author, whose immense knowledge, acute analysis and own style are well known, tries to settle things definitively, in some cases<sup>7</sup> the arguments are conspicuously peremptory. If the minute and rigorous description of the sites and monuments or the careful reading of inscriptions may positively profit to a statistical-cum-taxonomical approach, in matters of history, religious and sociological appreciation/interpretation, this may be questionable. It is as if, in some arguments advanced here, categories such as Nikāya or Mahāyāna affiliation, donative formulae, the status of a religious or a lay/person, and the competence and duties of a community's officer would be clear and distinct elements, once and for all fixed and unchanged in time and in space as well.

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historique et philologique de la transmission des textes en Asie centrale, comparée avec les données de l'historiographie indienne et tibétaine entre autres, permet aujourd'hui d'entrevoir l'importance des réseaux monastiques bouddhiques à caractère pour ainsi dire 'trans-asiatiques.' L'étude des sites archéologiques de Bactriane, et en premier lieu de Termez, permettra de confirmer l'existence de ces réseaux et d'en étudier les divers aspects. Enfin, les recherches en cours tendent aussi à montrer, contrairement à ce que l'on croyait jusqu'ici, que le bouddhisme continue à fleurir à Termez, en tout cas jusqu'au VII–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère.” This dating was also maintained in C. Scherrer-Schaub, “Dharmamitra et le bouddhisme de Termez,” contribution presented at the Journées d'étude sur Termez in 2006 (cf. Fussman, chapter I, Introduction, p. 10). Unfortunately the papers presented at that occasion remained unpublished. An English version will appear in Scherrer-Schaub (forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup> Among others, these are found in Chapter IV and V, Appendice 1 “Revendications de propriété personnelle (les inscriptions de Buddhaśira),” pp. 41–45, and Appendice 2 “Noms de monastères: Bactres expliqué par Termez,” pp. 47–53.

Paradoxically enough this is an idealistic attitude, a form of “reductionism.” Reality is rather characterized by complexity, variety, circumstantial facts, and anomalies. On the other hand, we have to admit that a peremptory affirmation may positively give rise to interesting new hypotheses, provided this is grounded upon arguments explicitly expressed.

Let us start with a general remark. The corpus under examination clearly shows the fact that only the Mahāsāṃghika Nikāya is mentioned. Shall we then deduce that in the large span of six centuries no bhikṣu nor upāsaka from another nikāya lived, taught, or passed through Termez and the surrounding area?<sup>8</sup> The expression *cāturdiśa-bhikṣusaṃgha* that designates the universal community (that is, including the “foreign” bhikṣus), and that appears frequently in donative inscriptions, is in itself indicative of the implicit institutional dynamic. This is a complex matter, indeed. However, it may here be reduced to the essential: the bhikṣu is religiously and institutionally affiliated to a particular nikāya, but at the same time enjoys intercommonage, that is, the right of sharing property and so on with his religious fellows, particularly when travelling, though, at the same time, he must keep the rules of his temporary hosting residence. The fact that the donation is granted to the universal saṃgha, and given in acceptance (*prati-lpari-graha*) to the Mahāsāṃghika, does not exclude the possibility that the monastery in question may be hosting monastics from various obediences. It rather indicates that in that particular case the Mahāsāṃghika are (juridically) entitled to the acceptance of that gift/grant and so on. In other words, in case of dispute, their Vinayadhara (but also the Abhidharmadhara or other high dignitaries) will be summoned to arbitrate.<sup>9</sup>

Without entering the complex, unsettled, recurrent and possibly misconstrued question about the “naissance”—si naissance il y eut!—of the Mahāyāna (p. 35), we wonder why the author advances the following delicate and unsustained argument discarding the presence of Mahāyāna in Termez,

<sup>8</sup>) Cf. the following statement on p. 17: after having said that Dharmamitra is designated as “Ārya-mūlasarvāstivāda Mahā-vinayadhara Tukhāra-Vaibhāṣika Ācārya Dharmamitra,” Fussman concludes that “Il n’habitait donc pas Kara-tepa, qui relevait de l’école mahāsāṃghika.” Although as we have shown it might be partially true that Dharmamitra didn’t live his entire life in Termez, the general statement remains astonishingly short, and somehow slightly inconsequential since the author on p. 35 recognizes that some scholars “soulignent le fait avéré qu’un même monastère, quelle que soit l’école dont il se réclamait, abritait souvent des moines hinayanistes et mahayanistes ...”.

<sup>9</sup>) Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2009: 154, and n. 12.

even if he expresses a proviso (p. 36): “J’ajouterai, avec les mêmes réserves, que si au moins l’un des moines de Kara-Tepa faisait précéder son nom de l’épithète *dharmakathika*-, utilisée dans les textes de toutes les écoles du Petit Véhicule”—and again, on p. 45: “... *dhārmakathika* (chez les *Sarvāstivādin*)—, nous n’avons aucune mention d’un *dharmabhāṇaka*-, terme très connoté qui désigne celui qui prêche, souvent dans l’adversité et l’incompréhension, l’enseignement nouveau du *mahāyāna*.”

This passage deserves further comment. What is at stake here is not the fact of affirming or denying the presence of *Mahāyāna* in Termez, rather the question of the argument supporting that statement. First of all, the definition of a *dharmakathika*/*dhārmakathika*. Fussman is right in saying that he is (literally) un “prêcher,” “ein Prediger” (Lüders 1926: 43). But not only that. By way of example, let us mention Ārya Cūḍa, the *dharmakathika* of Sañci IV.385 (Tsukamoto 1996–1998: 790; see Marshall-Foucher-Majumdar 399, MS vol. I, p. 342, III Plate 134, South Gate 2). The inscription reads: *aya-Cuḍasa atevāsino Balamitrassa dāna thabho*. We have thus here a case where the *antevāsin* Balamitra is the disciple of the *dharmakathika* Ārya Cūḍa/Kṣudra, and this tells us something more about the “prêcher.” The category of *antevāsin* is well attested in the Vinaya. The *antevāsin*—lit. “dwelling near the boundaries, dwelling close by”<sup>10</sup>—is the name of the candidate for *pravrajyā*: “Il se procure deux patrons, un précepteur (*upādhyāya*) et un maître (*ācārya*) dont il deviendra respectivement le compagnon (*sārdhavihārin*) et l’élève (*antevāsin*).”<sup>11</sup> And there is more. The *dharmakathika* is not a category which is exclusive to the *nikāyas*, as it appears also in several *Mahāyāna* sūtras. On the other hand, while it is true that the term *dharmabhāṇaka* acquires a specific role in the *Mahāyāna* (p. 36) where, among others, the term designates the quality of the *bodhisattva* of the ninth *bhūmi*, the ideal “orateur” skilled in all varieties of rhetorical devices, the term equally appears rather early indeed, at Bhārhut (signalled by Etienne Lamotte in 1958), where a *bhāṇaka*, the Venerable (*bhadanta*) Valaka is, once again, donating a pillar. The inscription reads (Bhārhut 77, Lüders 1961: no. A61, Tsukamoto 571–572): *bhadanta-Valakassa bhanakassa dāna[m] thabho*. Shall we conclude that Valaka was a *Mahāyānist*?

<sup>10</sup>) The term comes from the brahmanical tradition: see Hara 1980: 93, n. 9.

<sup>11</sup>) Lamotte 1976: 61 and n. 9.

But also: the Dīgha- or Majjhima-bhāṇakas are reciters of scriptures and specialists in oratory, and we find them both in literature<sup>12</sup> and in inscriptions, namely at Bhārhut 53, and at Pauni 8 with reference to the interesting category of “*pañcanikāyika*,” that is the Jātaka-bhāṇaka, the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Samyutta- and Anguttara-bhāṇaka (Tsukamoto p. 517), in this case the “*pañcanikāyika*,” undoubtedly designating a “hīnayāna” category, might have been perceived as a more or less appropriate substitute of *trepitaka*- (cf., by contrast, Fussman p. 33).

We are thus once again faced with the complexity and the compelling large, dynamic, and pluralistic approach—some sort of categories-cum-reductionism’s pulverizing—that we have to assume in analysing the problematic “Hīna- versus Mahāyāna.” The fundamental study of David Seyfort Ruegg<sup>13</sup> may be taken, in this respect, as a “manuel du bon apprentissage.” Worth mentioning in passing is D. Seyfort Ruegg’s thoughtful analysis of the Kalawān copper-plate, and his concluding remark: “The ambiguity and uncertainties noted above confirm once more how difficult it may be to cite an inscription as conclusive evidence for doctrinal or religious development of Buddhism. It is also necessary to keep in mind that in many a case there is no neat, clean and abrupt break between (proto-) Mahāyāna and what preceded it: often we have to do with continuing development rather than with total discontinuity.”<sup>14</sup>

In Appendice 2, “Noms de monastère: Bactres expliqué par Termez,” and which constitutes the fifth chapter, Fussman gives a detailed analysis of the vihāra’s names attested in 20 and 21 FT and in “Kara-Tepa sud and nord” that are here usefully listed in chronological order (pp. 48–49), and reconsiders the general problematic related to the monastery’s name with an excursus inspired by the recent article of Étienne de la Vaissière (2010), whose outline is faithfully followed by Fussman (pp. 51–53). It is also the occasion to come back to the name *dramila* (61 KT, p. 49) and the “long-distance networks”<sup>15</sup> which linked the limits or external boundaries of the Buddhist world. Fussman (p. 50) notes that “l’hypothèse Drāviḍa-, étymon du mot tamil, désigne aussi tout le sud-est de l’Inde,” further adding that “... les Mahāsāṃghika, bien implantés par ailleurs dans l’Inde du nord et du

<sup>12</sup> See von Hinüber 2000: §§ 85 and 121.

<sup>13</sup> Seyfort Ruegg 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Seyfort Ruegg 2005: 3–9.

<sup>15</sup> See now Neelis 2010.

nord-ouest, l'étaient aussi en Andhra Pradesh et au Tamilnad: ils auraient eu une vingtaine de monastères à Dhanyakaṭaka (Bareau 1955, 55–56), généralement identifiée à Amaravatī, en tout cas situés dans cette région. On peut donc supposer que le ou les premiers moines, ou des moines du monastère étaient originaires d'Andhra Pradesh et que celui-ci portait deux noms: “le monastère seigneurial” et “le monastère du/des Tamoul(s).”

While we have “rien à dire” about this hypothesis, it might be worthwhile (although possibly too fussy) to consider that the “vingtaine de monastères à Dhanyakaṭaka” are those recorded by Xuanzang in the seventh century.<sup>16</sup> In the second and third centuries, that is more or less at the time of 61 KT (Fussman p. 49), the Mahāsāṃghika well attested in Mathurā are also present in rare inscriptions at Karle 32 and 33 (ca. 100–180; Tsukamoto pp. 466–468, cf. Bareau 1955: 36), while we do not know much about their monasteries in the Southern regions. Incidentally and interestingly enough, Tamils are attested in the first and second centuries at Amaravatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, two of the fiefs of the Mahāsāṃghika's sub-schools of that period, attested in Buddhist śāstric literature (particularly the Mādhyamika masters Nāgārjuna, Bhā(va)viveka and Candrakīrti), thus hinting at that complex and fertile far-flung itinerary taken by those who crossed their path on the Eurasian continent, and of which Termez gives confirmation.

Concerning the seemingly clear and distinct function of *vihāra-svāmin* (p. 53 sub finem) Fussman adopts here the quite radical definition of Gregory Schopen (2004: 220–221), himself partially following B.C. Gokhale. The fact that the *vihāra-svāmin* might be the owner of the monastery is certainly consistent in some particular regions or epochs, while in others the *vihāra-svāmin* may tend to be the high dignitary/ecclesiastic representative in charge of directing the monastery. After all, the term “patron” (English and French) equally covers a large semantic field, according to its use in the course of history. All this depends upon the socio-political context and, above all, on the system regulating the freehold. As early as 1915, Sylvain Lévi and Édouard Chavannes published in the *Journal Asiatique* what may still be considered as a fine piece of scholarship, followed by a comment on additional notes kindly provided by Paul Pelliot, in the same journal (Lévi and Chavannes 1915a, 1915b). The wealth of material that we find here however has not received the attention it deserved, with the notable exception of Silk (2008: 147–158). This article of Lévi

<sup>16</sup>) See Bareau 1955: 37.

and Chavannes—“Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du bouddhisme indien”—says much about the *mo mo ti* 摩摩諦 or *vihāra-svāmin* [cf. Nakamura 1981: 128ob s. v.] including passages where the *mo mo ti* assumes the role of some sort of general manager or trustee. Possibly this might have been one of the sources inspiring Étienne de la Vaissière in his choice of using the term “curateur.”

The reader will have understood by now that, contrary to the opinion of the author underestimating the import of the material, this book is extremely challenging. For the fine edition of the inscriptions that will be reviewed in the following pages, and for the problematic that Fussman raises invite the reader to further explore the matter, we are grateful to the author.

## Part 2. Notes on the Edition of the Inscriptions

Richard Salomon

This book presents comprehensive and definitive editions and analyses of over three hundred inscriptions on pottery, nearly all of them fragmentary,<sup>17</sup> which have been found in the course of excavations of the Buddhist monastery sites near modern Termez in southern Uzbekistan, on the northern bank of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River. The great majority of the material comes from the twin sites of Kara-Tepa and Fayaz-Tepa, which have been excavated on and off since the 1930's, but a few come from other nearby sites such as Chingiz-Tepa, Kampyr-Tepa and Zar-Tepa. Overall, these inscriptions range, according to Fussman, from the first to the seventh centuries AD, although specimens from the later part of this span are rarer and less securely dated (see my further comments on this point below.)

Nearly all of the inscriptions are written on water-jugs or other types of earthenware utensils for everyday use. Like similar inscriptions found in Gandhāra and other parts of the Indian subcontinent, most of these inscriptions fall into two formulaic categories: those which label the utensil as a

<sup>17</sup> Because of the fragmentary condition of the inscriptions, it is difficult to specify the exact number involved. In many cases it is uncertain whether two or more inscribed sherds belonged to the same pot. For example, Fussman groups together three such fragments as inscription KT 8 on the grounds that they are “si sembables qu'ils pourraient avoir appartenu à un même vase, raison pour laquelle je les groupe, à tort peut-être, sous un seul numéro” (p. 61; see also his general comments on this problem on p. 32).

donation (Skt. *dānamukha*) to the monastery, and those which identify it as the personal property (Skt. *paudgalika*) of a particular monk. Many of the donative records mention the masters of the Mahāsāṅghika school (e.g., 11 FT, *acaryanam mā(\*ha)samghigānam*), and since no other Buddhist schools are mentioned, it is clear that the Kara-Tepa and Fayaz-Tepa monasteries belonged to the Mahāsāṅghika tradition.

The great majority of the inscriptions are written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script, but about sixty<sup>18</sup> are in Sanskrit, or rather a casual approximation of Sanskrit written in late forms of Brāhmī script, and about twenty in the local Bactrian language written in a cursive Greek alphabet. In eleven cases, the inscription is duplicated in two or even all three of these languages and scripts. A final chapter presents eight new inscriptions in an unknown script whose characters are “clairement dérivés de la kharoṣṭhī” (p. 133) and an unknown language which Fussman has elsewhere (1974: 34) proposed to call “Kambojī,” though he does not use that term here.

Of the more than three hundred inscriptions presented in this volume, over two hundred were discovered in recent excavations at Fayaz-Tepa and Kara-Tepa north and have not been previously published. Fussman’s comprehensive edition thus builds upon the foundation established by V.V. Vertogradova in her 1995 study of the Termez inscriptions, but goes far beyond it in light of more recent finds as well as in re-editing and improving on previous editions by her and other scholars. Fussman’s edition is authoritative and comprehensive in the fullest sense of both terms. He includes detailed descriptions of every inscribed sherd, no matter how tiny or illegible, even those which “semblent n’avoir aucun intérêt” (p. 27). His justification, bordering on apology, for “ce fastidieux travail” is hardly necessary, since the quality of the work justifies itself.

Besides an exhaustive introduction with two appendices and the complete presentation and evaluation of the individual inscriptions, this study offers the following useful supplements: bibliography, list of inscriptions classified by languages and scripts, reference list and concordance to the previously published inscriptions, index of site names, separate word indices for Indic languages and for Bactrian, and a subject index, as well as summaries in English (8 pages) and Russian (12 pages).

<sup>18</sup>) These and the following totals are calculated from the “Liste des inscriptions classées par langues et écritures” (pp. 241–242).

Virtually all of the inscriptions are illustrated in the second part of the volume, which contains the plates and the supplements, as well in an accompanying CD-ROM disk. The seventy-two black and white plates illustrating the individual inscriptions are preceded by twenty-four plates, twelve of them in color, containing maps, detailed plans and views of the sites, and reconstructed illustrations of the types of inscribed vessels.

The two preliminary chapters, “Présentation du site et des monastères de Kara-Tepa et Fajaz-Tepa” and “Le corpus des inscriptions sur poteries de Termez. Présentation et conclusions en guise d’introduction,” introduce the inscriptions in their archaeological and historical context. Along with the editions themselves, this overall survey and evaluation is one of the major contributions of this book. Whereas inscriptions of similar types have been found at many other Gandhāran sites, sometimes in considerable numbers, nowhere else are there as many as at Termez and, more importantly, nowhere else have they been as completely and expertly documented as in this volume. Here we have an all-too rare instance in the Indological field of the integration of epigraphy and archaeology by one of the few scholars expert in both areas. The chronology of the monasteries at Kara-Tepa and Fayaz-Tepa has been a longstanding problem, and Fussman here presents a comprehensive reconstruction on the basis of palaeographic dating of the inscriptions combined with other archaeological data such as coin finds. These lead him to propose, with due caution, a total range of dates from ca. AD 50 to 650 for Kara-Tepa as a whole (pp. 18, 28), from about the first to the third centuries AD for the archaeologically distinct sub-site of Kara-Tepa south (p. 16), and from ca. AD 50 to 400 for Fayaz-Tepa (pp. 25, 28).

Fussman’s paleographic estimates for the dates of the inscriptions are presented with due caution and reserve, such as “Les limites indiquées sont seulement vraisemblables” (p. 63) and “l’analyse paléographique ne permet pas d’aboutir à des datations très précises. Celles que je donne sont prudentes” (p. 112; cf. also p. 104 [206 KT]), and he provides for each inscription a range (“fourchette”) of possible dates of varying length, sometimes as much as two centuries or even more, on the basis of its script form. But these estimates are often arrived at by reference to only one test letter—usually *sz*, which is typically the best test letter for the chronological development of Kharoṣṭhī script—in the brief and fragmentary inscriptions. It is true that the cumulative evidence of several hundred such inscriptions carries some weight, and I do not doubt that the dates which Fussman arrives at are “in the ballpark.” Nevertheless, I still have reservations about

the precision and reliability of the date ranges which he attributes to the inscriptions.

I harbor doubts, in particular, about the latest dates for the two sites, both of which are based in the slim evidence of two very fragmentary inscriptions. The first of these is 213 KT (p. 105), which according to Fussman is “le seul tesson de KT inscrit en proto-śāradā,” and which he accordingly dates to ca. AD 620–670. The sherd in question bears “un seul akṣ., très effacé, mais dont la lecture est sûre: /sā/.” He further asserts that “Cette insignifiante inscription permet en outre de conclure au maintien de contacts culturels ... entre Termez, Bāmiyān et le bouddhisme gangétique au 7<sup>e</sup> siècle encore.” The latest epigraphic date for Fayaz-Tepa, ca. AD 400, is similarly based on a sherd on which nothing survives but the triangular head mark of an otherwise lost letter, which Fussman takes to be characteristic of Brāhmī of the early fourth century. The terminal dates for the two sites which he arrives at on the basis of these two fragments are not at all unreasonable, and indeed are supported or at least not contradicted by various types of archaeological and historical evidence. Still, it should be kept in mind how slim the epigraphic evidence is for these declining phases during which the record becomes very sporadic, fragmentary, and ambiguous, so that not too much confidence and accuracy should be attributed to it. Two stray potsherds bearing one akṣara and the head mark of another can hardly constitute iron-clad proof.

The question of the original name(s) of the Kara-Tepa and Fayaz-Tepa monasteries is addressed by the author in chapter 5 = appendix 2, “Noms des monasteres: Bactres expliqué par Termez” (pp. 47–53). The name of the *Khadevaka-vihāra* occurs in several inscriptions from Kara-Tepa, and this seems to have been the principal institution there. Two inscriptions from Fayaz-Tepa refer to a *Haya-vihāra*, which Fussman takes to have been the ancient name of that site, though it should be noted that both inscriptions are small fragments, so that the name is not completely certain. Particularly interesting is the new discovery of two inscriptions from Kara-Tepa (60–61 KT) referring to a *dramila-vihāra*. Fussman plausibly equates *dramila* with Sanskrit *drāviḍa*, “Dravidian,” and takes the name to indicate that the Termez monasteries had some communication with south India (p. 35; see the remarks above by C. Scherrer-Schaub, p. 7–8), and that some of the monks in the monastery, perhaps even its founders, were from there (p. 50). In either case, Fussman concludes (pp. 51–52) that *Khadevaka-vihāra* and *Dramila-vihāra* were alternative names for the Kara-Tepa monastery, while the Fayaz-Tepa institution had its own name, *Haya-vihāra*. However, there

is also at least a possibility that the name Khadevaka-vihāra referred to the entire complex, including Fayaz-Tepa as well as Kara-Tepa; see the discussion of this point in the comments below on inscription 11 from Fayaz-Tepe.

As to the editions of the individual inscriptions themselves, I have little to add to the author's masterful presentations. There are only two inscriptions for which substantial suggestions can be offered, namely 10 FT, which is discussed by Stefan Baums in the following part of this review, and 11 FT. The latter reads, in Fussman's edition (p. 113), [line a] *īyo ghaḍa nīśaderikhra* CASSÉ (\**saṃghami cadud*)[*īśami*] *acaryanam ma(\*ha)saṃghigā[naṃ]* [line b] *parigrahe*, and is translated as "Ce vase NĪŚADERIKHRA <est donné ...> à la communauté des quatre quartiers, confié aux maîtres mahāsāṅghika," with the comment "Je ne comprends pas *nīśaderikhra*." But the first four syllables of this sequence should be read as *niyadeti* = Sanskrit *niryātayati* / Pāli *niyyātetī* "gives, presents, dedicates," which is common in Buddhist inscriptions and texts,<sup>19</sup> though it apparently does not occur elsewhere among the Termez materials.

This leaves the intriguing question of what the following word or words, of which only the first syllable (Fussman's *khra*) plus a small remnant of the following one (not noted by Fussman) survive, would have been. Photographs taken by Stefan Baums on site at Fayaz-Tepa in September 2005 (fig. 1), showing twenty-two fragments of the inscribed pot glued together, suggest that approximately one-third of the inscription, or a little more, is missing. Since the surviving part of the first line of the inscription, which ran around the entire circumference of the pot, contains twenty syllables, there should be about ten to twelve more missing syllables. Of these, five would have been taken up by the Fussman's secure reconstruction of the formulaic element (\**saṃghami cadud*)[*īśami*], leaving some five to seven syllables completely lost.

According to the typical formulae of Buddhist donative inscriptions (as summarized by Fussman on pp. 37, 72, and 112), we might expect to find here either the name of the donor or that of the monastery to which the recipients, namely the Mahāsāṅghika masters (*acaryanam mahasaṃghigānam*), belonged. This raises the interesting possibility that the missing word was *kha(\*d)[e](\*vakavihare)* or the like, that is, that it recorded the

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven 1953) s.v. *niryātayati*, °*teti*.

monastery name which, as mentioned above, has been noticed in several inscriptions from Kara-Tepa (see pp. 48–50) but not among those from the neighboring Fayaz-Tepa site. This would imply that the two sites represented two parts of the same institution with the same name, a possibility which Fussman considered (p. 29, “Kara-Tepa nord et Fajaz-Tepa ... seraient seulement deux localisations différentes du même monastère”) but ultimately rejected.

Although Fussman read the first letter of the word in question as *khra*, he also noted that “*Khra* peut aussi être lu *kha* (fioriture) ou *k̐ha* [= *k̐ha*] (fricative).” The latter syllable consists of the normal consonant for *kha* modified by a diacritic stroke to the right at the bottom, and this is the character which is regularly used in this monastery name in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Kara-Tepa, as shown by the examples compiled by the author on pp. 48–49. The subscript stroke on the syllable in question in 11 FT (see fig. 2) is in fact it is quite similar to the horizontal one in *khade*(\**vavaka-viharami*) in 43 KT, although in some other cases (e.g. 56 KT) it curves up toward the right. After this letter, on the very edge of the sherd, there remains the tip of the upper right corner of the next syllable, which could be the *e* vowel of a following (\**d*)*e*.

There are, however, two points that could be raised against this conjectural reconstruction of *k̐ha*(\**d*)[*e*](*\*vakavihare*) (or *-viharami*). First of all, in this case the name of the monastery would come before the generic *saṃghami cadudisami* “to the community of the four directions.” Although this is indeed the sequence which is presented in Fussman’s sample formulae (e.g. p. 37, “... // dans le monastère Z // à la communauté universelle <des moines bouddhistes> // ...” ; similarly on pp. 72 and 112), as a matter of fact the order of these two elements in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is almost always, if not always, the reverse of this. I find no exceptions to this rule among the Termez inscriptions (although the only case where both of these elements are clearly preserved is 43 KT, which reads in part (\**sagha*)[*mi*] *cadurdi[s]ami khade*(\**vaka-viharami*)), and only one doubtful case elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This is in the Tor Dherai potsherd inscriptions, for which Konow’s reconstructed text (1929: 176), based on a combination of thirty-five small fragments, reads the relevant passage as *svakiya-l*(\**a*)*taniya-Yolamiraṣahi-vihare saghe caturdisē*. Here the relative ordering of the two component elements (i.e., the name of the monastery and the *saghe caturdisē* formula) is based on only one small sherd (no. 28) where according to Konow “we have *ha*, followed by a defaced space, and then *saghe*.” But the reading of this fragment is rather uncertain, and it is by no means sure that the sequence he deduces is correct.



Figure 1. Inscription 11 FT



Figure 2. Inscription 11 FT: the syllables *kha*(*\*d*)[*e*]

The second problem with the proposed reconstruction is that it would not leave enough room for the name of the donor which the active verb *niyadeti* leads us to expect, since it would take up five or six of the estimated five to seven missing syllables. Thus we would have to translate “\_\_\_\_\_ gives this pot to the Kha(\*devaka monastery), to the community of the four directions, in the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika masters.” The absence of the donor’s name would be less jarring if the verb were in the past participle form (*niyadida* or the like) which is often seen in Kharoṣṭhī dedicatory inscriptions, in which case the inscription could be interpreted as “This pot is given.” But here the active verb virtually demands a subject/agent, and this suggests that the missing word could have been the donor’s name rather than the name of the monastery. If this is the case, it could still be *khadevaka*, that is, the name, or rather title (= Bactrian  $\chi\omicron\alpha\delta\eta\omicron$  “seigneur”; p. 49) of the royal founder and patron.

The issue is further complicated by the problem of another small remnant (fragment c) of what seems to be the inscription on the same pot, which could not be fitted together with the other twenty-two fragments (Fussman, p. 113, “Je ne sais où placer le fg. c”; see fig. 1, at the lower left). This sherd preserves only the non-distinctive bottoms of two characters, the second with the subscript vowel *u*. If this fragment belongs in the main line of the text, it would rule out the reconstruction proposed above. It is possible, however, that it belonged to a supplementary line written around the shoulder of the pot, as in KT 20d (pl. 30) or as in, for example, British Library pot A (Salomon 1999: pl. 23). So in the end, the matter remains indeterminate, and will probably remain so unless, by some miracle, some other fragments of this pot are discovered in the future.

Other than this, I have only some minor comments on a few inscriptions, most of them so trivial that I hesitate even to mention them; I present them here only in the interests of comprehensiveness.

8 KT (p. 61): Fussman reads fragment a as */sadiha[a]/*, but I see the first letter as *pa* rather than *sa*. If so, *padiha[a]* may be part of a term equivalent to, for example, *agrapa[di]śāśae* (Manikiala inscription, CKI 149, l. 11) or *agrabhagapadiyamśae* (Wardak vase inscription, CKI 159, l. 2) “for the largest share (of the merit).” Compare *a<sup>m</sup>grabhaga[e]* in 90 KT (p. 84) and */[x] śadae bha [x]* in 102 KT (p. 87), which should probably be reconstructed as *(\*padi)[y](\*)śadae bha(\*vatu)*, despite Fussman’s doubts about the latter word.

10 KT (p. 61): Fussman reads /*helamasadha* [x]/, but I doubt that the slightly curved stroke at the top level of the line is really *ma*. More likely it is a punctuation mark separating the previous part of the text ending in *hela* (whose sense remains obscure) from the latter part in which the donor introduces his intended co-beneficiaries with the word *sadha* “with,” according to the normal formula.

112 KT (p. 88): Instead of /*jigamkhai* BLANC ?[xxxx]/, I would propose /*jigambai iya* [khvade] x. Fussman notes the peculiarity of the third syllable, commenting “Le *kha*, si c’en est un, est très rectiligne, forme très rare .... Lecture peu sûre donc.” In fact it is not *kha*, but rather the variety of *ba* with an angular head and extended top stroke (compare Glass 2000: 86, “type 10”).

Although Fussman declines to read the four following syllables, which are badly faded, they seem to me to be discernible and in fact to contain a further reference to the *Khadevaka* monastery, which should then be added to the list on pp. 48–49. /*jigambai* seems to be the end of the inscription, which ran around the entire pot, though its sense remains obscure. The demonstrative *iya* “this” is reminiscent of the typical opening of a donative inscription, *iyō ghaḍa* “This pot ...,” though the apparent absence of the *o*-vowel diacritic, and more importantly of the accompanying nominal referent casts doubt on such an interpretation. Since *y* and *ś* are virtually indistinguishable in later forms of Kharoṣṭhī, this word could also be read as *iśa* “here,” so that *iśa* [khvade] x / could have meant “Here in the *Khadevaka* monastery ...” But this too is an unusual opening, so the inscription remains enigmatic.

121 KT (p. 90): Fussman reads /*dhuyami* /, but I see the first syllable as *rdha*, perhaps to be reconstructed as (\**sa*)*rdha*, “together with,” in which case the following *yamil*, or more likely *śamil*, might be the beginning of a proper name.

163 KT (p. 95): Fussman has / [x] *g[ina]ka* /, but the last letter is clearly *bha*, and the first could be *kṣi* or even *kṣo*. But neither suggestion yields any obvious sense.

170 KT (p. 96): Instead of *harthavya*[h], read *hartthavya*[h] (sic).

3 FT, fragment b (pp. 110–111): The peculiar sign which follows *dhāmnamuka* (sic; “graphie triplement fautive de **danamukha** ‘don’”), is read by Fussman as *khra*. But this double curve with two dots, one on each

side, must rather be a punctuation mark or decorative (or auspicious) sign, perhaps marking the beginning and end of the inscription.

37 FT, fragment b (p. 117): Fussman proposes /*[x x x] pari[g.]*/ in place of M.I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia's earlier (1983) reading *pratigh*. But here Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia's reading, at least for the first two syllables, seems better. The word in question is of course the formulaic *pratig(\*rahe)*, as noted by Fussman.

46 FT (p. 119): In /*na satvana s[u]khaya [xx]* BLANC OU EFFACÉ/, "que cela soit pour le bonheur de [tous] les êtres ...," the last syllable, which according to Fussman "ressemble à un *se*," surely is *tha*. The preceding letter, mostly lost in a broken portion of the edge of the dish, is then presumably *a*, yielding /*a]tha* = Skt. *artham*, "for the sake of." It is true that in this construction we would expect the preceding *sukhaya* to be in the genitive rather than, apparently, dative, but we may have here a blending of two formulae for expressing the intention of a donation.

71 FT (p. 123): Fussman's reading, "assez peu assurée," is /*anugadasa da-se[kha]* /, "suivi ...," but the correct reading must be *arogadakṣinaye* [*kh.*], with the wish "for the blessing of health" that is very common in Buddhist inscriptions, though not attested in the other Termez inscriptions (except perhaps in FT 27b, /*[da]kṣine[y.]* /). Here the previous reading by V.V. Vertogradova, /*saṃga-dakṣinaye di* /, was closer to the mark, though dismissed by Fussman as "impossible."<sup>21</sup> The last syllable might be the beginning of the name or title *khadevaka*, discussed above in connection with FT 11, but it does not appear to have the subscript diacritic mark with which this name is normally written in Kharoṣṭhī script.

79 FT (p. 124): Fussman describes the inscription as consisting only of "Restes de 3 akṣ. dont un *ga* ou *gha*," but it seems to me that the familiar word /*gha]ḍa* "pot" can be discerned with reasonable certainty.

1 Termez-East (pp. 127–128): The conclusion of this inscription on the rim of a large stone bowl found near Termez is read by Fussman as *sarvasatvana hidaye suhaye sampa[.]yadu*. He proposes to restore and emend the verb at the end to *samp(\*u)[r]yadu* and translates accordingly "Qu'il soit rempli

<sup>21</sup> Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 1983: 36 cited the *arogadakṣinae* formula from other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in her comments on this one, but did not propose it as the actual reading. It seems surprising that three eminent epigraphists should have missed what seems to me, at least, to be the obvious reading.

pour le bien <et> le bonheur de tous les êtres,” commenting “Il s’agit très probablement de la partie haute d’un grand bol de pierre destiné à recevoir des aumônes collectives, si du moins la lecture et la traduction du dernier mot sont exactes.” But I am not sure that this is the case. The usual verb form in blessing formulae of this type is *bhavadat/bhavadu*, as at the end of 10 FT (see part 3, below). This is obviously not the case here, but *samp(\*u)[r]yadu* “may it be filled” would be completely anomalous. I therefore suspect that the underlying verb is the equivalent of Sanskrit *sampadyate* / Pāli *sampajjati*, whose senses (“to succeed, prosper; to turn out, to happen, become,” according to the Pali Text Society’s Pali-English dictionary) overlap with *bhavati* and would be entirely appropriate to the context.

The problem with the reading and interpretation mainly concern the third syllable, the upper part of which is mostly lost in a crack in the rim of the bowl. Its lower portion is however mostly preserved, and it is fairly clearly the looped curve of a pre-consonantal *r*, which in Kharoṣṭhī is always attached to the bottom of the stem of the consonant which it precedes. (It is not clear to me why Fussman in his direct transcription (*sampa[.]yadu*) apparently interprets this mark as a post-consonantal *y*, but in his restored reading (*samp(\*u)[r]yadu*) as the pre-consonantal *r* which it must be.) I therefore suggest that the missing consonant in the syllable in question is *j*. The only part of this element that survives is the tip of a stroke at the upper left, to the left of the crack. This remnant is indeterminate, but is at least consistent with the diagonal stroke at the upper left corner of a Kharoṣṭhī *ja*. Thus the reading of the verb would be *samparjadu* and the concluding phrase would mean “May it be (or “succeed”) for the benefit and happiness of all beings.” The subscript *r* would here be functioning as an indirect indication that the consonant to which it is attached is a geminate, this being a well-attested orthographic device in Kharoṣṭhī script (see, e.g., Salomon 1999: 122–123), although I have not noted any other examples of it among the Termez inscriptions.

A few other examples of large inscribed stone bowls, apparently intended to receive offerings, are known from various parts of India.<sup>22</sup> The dedicatory inscriptions on these bowls follow standard formulae, and do not include a verb meaning “to fill.” For example, the Brāhmī inscription of the Kuṣāṇa period on a bowl from Pālikheṛā (Mathurā), dedicated

<sup>22</sup> Two of these are discussed in Falk 2005: 447–451, to which may be added the Kailvan inscription (Sircar 1955–1956).

to the Mahāsāṃghikas, concludes with (\**sarvasat*)[*vā*]naṃ hita[s](/\**ukhae*) bh[ava]t[u] (Lüders 1961: 165, § 125). Such parallels strengthen my doubts about the likelihood of a verb “to fill” in the Termez bowl.

It seems somewhat surprising, in view of the formulaic and repetitious characters of these inscriptions, that many of them remain incomprehensible, including some in which a fair amount of text is preserved. Regarding this problem, Fussman remarks “Le lecteur du corpus s’étonnera peut-être du nombre élevé de suites de syllabes que je n’ai pas su comprendre. C’est la loi du genre. Mes successeurs rectifieront la lecture ou/et en proposeront des traductions acceptables” (p. 39). I regret that I have not been able to suggest any improvements for the vast majority of such cases. By way of illustration of the problem, I cite here KT 86, which Fussman (p. 83) reads as /*[x]laghada* <sup>ma</sup>*halika devoti pujarthai [saṃ x]*/ and translates “... LAGHADA, en l’honneur de ma vieille mère Devotī, [saṃ x]..?”, with the caution that “Bien que l’inscr. soit parfaitement conservée, sa translittération n’est pas sûre, sa traduction encore moins.” What is remarkable about this inscription is the contrast between relatively calligraphic character of its script (as seen, for example, in the elaborate flourish on the subscript element of *rtha*) and the obscurity of the text. Here I very hesitantly suggest that the sequence *likade* (or perhaps rather *likate*) is a defective spelling for the equivalent of Sanskrit *likhita-*, and that the text contains a scribal signature like that in the Bactrian inscription 20b KT (νοβιχτο βυιχπο βο[δδο]ζιγοσσα, “<a> écrit <ceci> le moine Buddhaśira,” p. 66). But since the preceding (or following) word lacks the expected instrumental ending, this is hardly satisfactory.

Thus it remains to be explained why this and many other Termez inscriptions are completely or largely incomprehensible. Regarding this problem, Fussman points out that, on the one hand, “le travail matériel d’écriture a été fait par des spécialistes .... la réalisation des inscriptions est presque toujours parfaite, l’écriture est belle .... donc l’œuvre d’un professionnel expérimenté” (p. 38). He is therefore more inclined to attribute the obscurity of such inscriptions not to their scribes but rather to their composers, namely local donors who “ne comprenait pas toujours la langue indienne de l’inscription” and local monks “dont la langue maternelle n’était pas un moyen-indien” (p. 39). However this may be, one may still hold out hope, along with Fussman, that at least some of these problems may eventually be solved. The concluding part of this review, concerning the remarkable inscription FT 10, provides at least one encouraging example.

### Part 3. A Donative Inscription in Upajāti Meter

Stefan Baums

In his comprehensive collection and masterful edition of inscribed pottery from Termez, Gérard Fussman presents as number 10 FT (pp. 112–113) the exceptionally well-preserved upper part of a water pot with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription running around its circumference. According to Fussman's description, the vessel in question was found in 2005 in a waste-water pit in the ruins of the monastic establishment of Fayaz-Tepa. The diameter of the preserved part of the pot is 32 cm, and the akṣaras of the inscription measure approximately 2 cm in height. The inscription is executed in black ink in a fluid Kuṣāṇa hand, dated by Fussman to ca. 100–170 CE. When found, much of the pot was covered in a calcium deposit which was scraped off by conservators prior to Fussman's reading of the inscription, which runs as follows:<sup>23</sup>

◇ iyo ghari ◇ leramavarṇasa diya ◇ veḍarśavarṇasa ja lanapa + ◇ samñīyamjadadadaśa samgha ◇ sanasanaḍana bhavatu sukharta ◇ ??? ◇ + + ◇

‘Ce vase ◇ est le don de Leramavarṇa ◇ et de Veḍarśavarṇa lanapa + ◇ samñīyamjadadadaśa communauté ◇ sanasanaḍana; que ce soit pour le bonheur ...’

Fussman duly cautions his readers that the meaning of several parts of this inscription remained unclear, and that consequently the transliteration of these parts is subject to revision.

I had the opportunity to inspect this inscribed water pot on site in Fayaz-Tepa, immediately after its discovery in the summer of 2005, when visiting the archeological excavations in the Termez area with Richard Salomon. On this occasion, I took a series of digital color photographs of the object prior to the removal of the calcium deposit which reveal some details of the inscription more clearly than the black-and-white photographs reproduced in volume 2 of Fussman's edition. These photographs form the basis for the following proposed new interpretation of the inscription, according to which its main part is a stylized donative formula in upajāti verse that runs for three-fifths of the total circumference around the shoulder

<sup>23</sup>) Transcription conventions adopted for this review: ◇ = space, [ ] = uncertain reading, (\*) = reconstruction of lost text, ⟨\*⟩ = conjecture of omitted text, ? = illegible akṣara, + = lost akṣara.

of the pot and faces a short additional phrase on the opposite side of the vessel (fig. 3).<sup>24</sup>

#### Pāda a (fig. 4)

*iyo ghaḍ[a] ledromavarṇasadrīśa*

The inscription commences as usual with a designation of the object, in this case *iyo ghaḍa* (Skt. *ayaṃ ghataḥ*) ‘this pot.’ Fussman suggests that this is the proper reading, but transcribes *ghari* following the visual appearance of the word after the cleaning of the pot. In my photographs of the pot before cleaning, the shape of *ḍa* with its deep, rounded left arm is clear. Only the bottom of the stem is damaged and the presence of an *o* mātrā can therefore not be entirely ruled out, but *ghaḍa* is clearly the expected form in the Termez material, with ten entries in Fussman’s word index.

The next word is read as *leramavarṇasa diya* by Fussman, taking *Lerama-varṇa* as the Iranian name of the first of two donors, depending on *diya* as an abridged and otherwise unattested variant of the usual *deyadharmā* ‘donation.’ The color photograph clearly shows a stroke to the right on the second akṣara, ruling out *ra* as a possible reading, and on closer inspection it becomes clear that this stroke to the right is a continuation of the stem of the akṣara, whereas another line to the bottom left is a separate stroke, suggesting a reading *dro* (or conceivably *tro*). The same base reoccurs in the last but one akṣara of the word, this time with a slightly smaller and less angular subscript *r* and a vowel mātrā *i*. The last akṣara of the word is visually ambiguous between *ya* and *śa*, and its interpretation depends on the context provided by the interpretation of *ledroma*. The parallelism with *veduryavarṇa*(*\*e*)*na* in pāda b (see below) strongly suggests the designation of a precious substance, and the only plausible formal candidate is the adjective *\*vedroma* (Skt. *vaidruma*) ‘of coral.’ If this interpretation is correct, then the clear initial akṣara *le* with its diagonal, curved left arm has to be understood as a miscopying for *ve*. The possibility of such a miscopying is supported by the evident miscopying in the beginning of pāda d (see there), and the lexical identity ‘coral’ receives further support from the pairing of

<sup>24</sup> I presented my first reading of this inscription (as well as 11, 18, 29, 40b and 46 FT) at the 216th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society (Seattle 2006), and would like to thank Richard Salomon and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for discussing its interpretation with me.



Figure 3. Inscription 10 FT: Layout

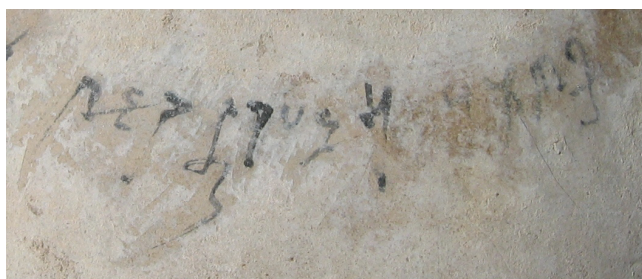


Figure 4. Inscription 10 FT: Pāda a

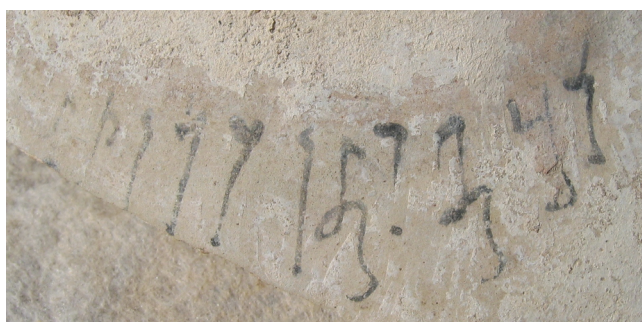


Figure 5. Inscription 10 FT: Pāda b

beryl and coral in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (*vaidūrya-musāra-pratyuptām*; pw s.v. *musāragalva*, BHSD s.v. *musāra*). I therefore read *ledromavarṇasadriśa* (Skt. *vaidrumavarṇasadriśaḥ*) ‘similar to the color of coral.’

Fussman correctly notes a small space after *iyo ghaḍ[a]*, setting off the subject noun phrase of this sentence from its predicate. The predicate, in turn, is followed by a much larger space, suggesting that everything up to this point should be taken as a unit. The first three words of the inscription add up to a total of twelve syllables which can be scanned metrically as ◡ - ◡ - | - ◡ ◡ | - ◡ ◡ ◡ ×. Depending on whether the *d* of *-sadriśa* is taken to make position, this pattern can be interpreted as a triṣṭubh pāda with unexpected resolution of the tenth syllable or as a regular jagatī pāda, which is the solution favored here.

### Pāda b (fig. 5)

*veḍuryavarṇ(\*ē)na jalena p[ur]ṇa*

The next word is read *veḍarśavarṇasa* by Fussman and interpreted as the genitive of the name of a second donor Veḍarśavarṇa, depending like Leramavarṇa on *diya*. The color photograph reveals a horizontal footstroke on *ḍa*, looping around to form a triangular *u* mātrā. As in the case of *-sadriśa* in pāda a, the following akṣara is visually ambiguous between *rya* and *rśa*, but the preceding *ḍu* and following *-varṇa-*, together with *ledroma-* for *\*vedroma-* in pāda a, strongly suggest the reading *rya* and an interpretation of the word as *veḍurya-* ‘beryl.’ The second part of the compound does not show any trace of a vowel mātrā on *rṇa*, and the smooth surface above the akṣara does not suggest accidental loss of a mātrā, but together with the following instrumental it seems reasonable to posit scribal omission of an *e* mātrā and read *veḍuryavarṇ(\*ē)na* (Skt. *vaidūryavarṇena*) ‘having the color of beryl.’

Fussman interpreted the following akṣara *ja* as the conjunctive particle, joining the two donors’ names, but the expected form of this particle would be *ca* (after a consonant or as a historical spelling) or *ya* (after a vowel), and even though *ja* for *ca* is attested several times in the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript, the following akṣaras and the next word favor reading *jalena* (Skt. *jalena*) ‘water.’ Fussman reads the end of the preceding word and the last word of the pāda as *lanapa* + (which he leaves without interpretation), but the last akṣara is visible in the color photographs (as well as faintly on Fussman’s plate 71) and has the characteristic top hook of *ṇa*. Small traces

of ink at the bottom of the last two akṣaras suggest, in view of the context, a reading *p[ur]ṇa* (Skt. *pūrṇaḥ*) ‘filled.’ The following space marks these three words as a unit, and in the suggested interpretation they scan as a regular triṣṭubh pāda (- - ∪ - | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ - ×).

### Pāda c (fig. 6)

[*taṃ*] *vbri[yaṃna c]ad(\*u)d(\*i)śa(\*mi) sa(\*ṃ)gh(\*e)*

The next group of words poses the greatest challenge to my metrical interpretation of the main inscription. As it is written, it consists of only ten akṣaras, and the interpretation of all but the last word is fraught with difficulties. The last two words are read as *dadadaśa saṃgha* by Fussman, and he notes that one is tempted to see here the very common specification of the ‘community of the four directions’ as recipient of the donation, but since the beginning of this group of words remained unclear to him he cautiously refrains from translating anything but *saṃgha*. Following Fussman, I reconstruct the expected locative form *sa(\*ṃ)gh(\*e)* (the anusvāra is broken off and barely hinted at by a bend in the stem of *sa*), and go one step further in supplying the other missing vowel mātṛās and reading a weakly characterized *ca* in [*c]ad(\*u)d(\*i)śa* (compare also the omitted *e* mātṛā on *vedūryavaṃ(\*e)na* in pāda b). Together, the last two words of the group now scan as - ∪ ∪ - - ×, which is not a legitimate pattern for either a triṣṭubh or a jagatī pāda. To remedy this before moving on to the interpretation of the first part of the pāda, I tentatively suggest scribal omission of one akṣara, giving [*c]ad(\*u)d(\*i)śa(\*mi) sa(\*ṃ)gh(\*e)* (Skt. *cāturdiśe saṃghe*) ‘to the community of the four directions’ with mixed locative endings and a light scanning of the second syllable of [*c]ad(\*u)-* in Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition.

If this is accepted, then the remaining four akṣaras form the beginning of a triṣṭubh pāda, and at least the second and fourth syllable should be heavy. Fussman reads *saṃñīyaṃja* and leaves the interpretation open. The first akṣara can be read not only as *sa*, but also as *taṃ* with a large anusvāra, and the visual appearance favors the latter reading. The only interpretation that suggests itself is as a demonstrative pronoun in the accusative case, resuming here at the beginning of the second half of the verse the nominative *iyo* at the beginning of the first half. The second akṣara does not have the typical curled right arm of *ṇa*. The large curve to right from the foot of its stem is likewise incompatible with a reading *ñi*, and the short horizontal projection



at the top left (crossed by the *i* mātrā) suggests a reading *vhri* or *vhi* for this akṣara. The third akṣara could be interpreted as *dhi* or *riṇ* as well as *yaṇ*, and while the overall shape of the fourth akṣara does resemble *ja*, close inspection of the color photographs reveals traces of a bend to the top and right from the left arm that also allows an interpretation as *na*.

At this point, the two main missing elements of a typical donative inscription are the name of a donor and a verb or noun denoting the act of donation, and since neither appears to occur in the following pāda d either, it is likely that at least one of these elements is provided in the beginning of the present pāda. None of the possible combinations of these akṣaras yield a satisfactory verb or noun of giving (even if one is willing to entertain vowel sandhi between the first akṣara and a following prefix *avhi-*), but solid support for a donor's name *Vhriyaṇna* is provided by the occurrence of the same name in female form as *Vhriyana* (as well as *Vhirina*) on an inscribed silk strip from Miran in Xinjiang, China. Its editor (Boyer 1911: 420) points out that this patronymic is already known in the Avesta (where it has the form *Friiāna*), and in general Iranian names figure prominently among the Termez inscriptions. The sentence remains somewhat elliptical due to the absence of a verb, but the overall construction is clearly active, and a conventional verb of giving such as *niyadedi* (Skt. *niryātayati*) is readily supplied. In this reading, the complete pāda scans as a regular triṣṭubh (- - - - | - - - - | - - - - x).

### Pāda d (fig. 7)

*sana[sa]najhana bhavatu sukhārtha*

At the beginning of the next group of words, Fussman reads *sanasanādāna* without interpretation, but points out that one would expect *sarvasatvana* (Skt. *sarvasattvānām*) 'of all beings' as the first word of the expression. On closer inspection, it is noticeable that the foot of the third akṣara is written in somewhat weaker ink than the rest of this akṣara and more wavy than the stem of the first *sa*, and the fifth akṣara, read as *ḍa* by Fussman, has the characteristic curled left ascender of the letter *jha* (cf. secure *ḍa* with straight ascender in pāda b). I therefore read *sana[sa]najhana*, but the meaning of this string is not immediately apparent.<sup>25</sup> The beginning

<sup>25</sup> The tempting interpretation of the last two akṣaras as the word *jhana* (Skt. *dhyāna*) 'meditation' is highly unlikely in context.

of this line thus appears to present a second instance (after the clear case of *le* for *ve* in pāda a) of miscopying by a scribe who did not understand the wording of the inscription. Following Fussman's suggestion, one possible exemplar for this miscopying would be *\*sarvana satvana* (Skt. *sarvānām sattvānām*) 'of all beings,' in two words rather than one to meet the metrical constraints of the inscription. In this interpretation, pāda d would scan as a triṣṭubh with resolution of a heavy into two lights in eighth position (– ∪ – | – ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ – x), requiring that at least the second word be read with word-final shortening. This feature has been observed in another original Gāndhārī verse (the uddāna of a scholastic text, cf. Baums 2009: 402), and it agrees well with the suggestion of Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition in *[c]ad(∗u)d(∗i)śa(∗mi)* (– ∪ ∪ – ∪) in pāda b. In this interpretation, the fifth akṣara *jha* would probably represent a graphic misinterpretation of roughly similar *tva*, but the exact chain of events that would have led from original *sarvana sa-* to *sana[sa]na* remains elusive.

A possible alternative exemplar for the extant text would be *\*sanatana dana* (Skt. *sanātanaṃ dānam*) 'everlasting gift.' In this case the pāda would also scan as a triṣṭubh with resolution in eighth position (∪ – ∪ – | – ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ – x), requiring a light final in the second but, inconsistently, a heavy final in the first word. The fifth akṣara *jha* would then seem to be the result of a phonetic rather than a graphic confusion (the dental fricative [z] for the dental stop [d]), out of pattern with the clearly graphic confusion of *le* for *ve* in pāda a. The first of these two interpretations would provide an expected, commonplace reading (cf. *sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu* on the Kaniška Casket, CKI 145), whereas the second interpretation posits a highly unusual formulation. As a general principle, the commonplace reading should be preferred over the exotic, but in this special case the inscription evidently reaches for unusual formulations in pādas a and b, and an unusual formulation in pāda d would help explain why the scribe made a mistake in copying it. On balance, however, the metrical inconsistency and unexpected phonetic slip implied by the second interpretation (*\*sanatana dana*) do favor the first interpretation (*\*sarvana satvana*), and stepping back from these philological intricacies one finally has to admit that an earthenware pot would be a rather poor choice for an 'everlasting donation' (or for recording the 'everlasting donation' of another object).

**Additional Phrase (fig. 8)**

| [bh].[v].n[a]sa ca ?

The empty horizontal space left on the circumference of the pot opposite to the verse contains faint traces of a group of seven additional signs, indicated by Fussman as  $???\Diamond++$ , but left undiscussed. On the color photographs, it is possible to make out the basic shapes of most of these signs. The first is a long vertical line followed by a small space. The height of the line and the fact that no additional strokes appear to be connected to it suggest that it is not part of a word, but rather an initial punctuation mark. The only clear parts of the next letter are a vertical stem and a horizontal top line extending to the left and right of the stem; I very tentatively read this sign as the akṣara *bh.*, with loss of the right arm and any vowel mātṛā that may have been present. The remains of the next akṣara resemble the top of a *v.*, again with loss of any original vowel mātṛā. The third akṣara has the distinctive head of a *n[a]*, and the fourth is a completely preserved *sa*, followed after a small space by a fairly unambiguous *ca*. This last akṣara is followed by dark shadows on the surface of the pot that, if they are the remains of ink at all, probably formed a large final punctuation mark or graphic design. Taken together, the best interpretation that suggests itself is that a secondary donor 'Bh.v.na' added his name in the genitive case followed by the conjunctive particle.

In summary, I suggest that the primary donative inscription on this pot from the Fayaz-Tepa monastery is a four-pāda upajāti verse (consisting of one jagatī and three triṣṭubh pādas) in Sanskritized orthography and language, with variant poetic phrasing of the usual elements of such donative inscriptions. The donor (whose gender cannot be determined) bears the Iranian name Vhriyaṃna and dedicates the pot to the universal Buddhist monastic community, expressing the wish that the donation contribute to the happiness of all beings. A secondary donor 'Bh.v.na' subsequently added his name in the empty space between the end and the beginning of the verse inscription in an attempt to partake of the merit of the donation. The complete proposed reading and translation of these two inscriptions run as follows:

*iyo ghad[a] ledromavarnasadrīṣa*  
*veduryavarṇ(\*e)na jalena p[ur]ṇa*  
*[taṃ] vhrī[yaṃna c]ad(\*u)d(\*i)śa(\*mī) sa(\*m)gh(\*e)*  
*sana[s]a[najhana bhavatu sukhārtha*  
 | [bh].[v].n[a]sa ca ?

‘This pot, similar to the color of coral,  
 is filled with water that has the color of beryl.  
 Vhriyamna (gives) it to the community of the four directions.  
 May it be for the sake of happiness of all beings.’  
 ‘Also of Bh.v.na.’

The newly discovered pot from Fayaz-Tepa is the second known example of a poetically elaborated, metrical Gāndhārī Buddhist donation record. The first case (CKI 229) is inscribed on the pedestal of a sculpture from the Peshawar District and was, fittingly, published by Fussman himself (after the preliminary work of Mukherjee 1972) in 1985. His reading and translation of this inscription were: *sihenam sa[harthako vi]kramasya | so hatva + + gato budhabhavam | [k]aravitayam pratimam maharṣe namgetra śaṇḍulavikrīḍitasya* | ‘A companion of lions in valour, he defeated [hatred?] and attained Buddhahood. Was ordered to be done this statue of the great ṛṣi, of the king of elephants, who plays with difficulties [like a tiger?].’ Taken together, the Peshawar and Fayaz-Tepa inscriptions thus illustrate the aspiration to harness the beauty and accomplishment of poetry for the making of religious merit, not only in the center of the Gandhāran world but also in its far outposts in northern Bactria.

## Abbreviations

CKI Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (part II of Baums & Glass ongoing)  
 FT Fayaz-Tepa  
 KT Kara-Tepa

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