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Inscribed Objects from Greater Gandhāra

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While travelling in Pakistan and Japan (March 2008, September 2009) I saw a number of hitherto unpublished objects inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī.[1] The objects belong to the Buddhist culture flourishing between the 1st century B.C. and 4th century A.D. in Greater Gandhāra, as Richard Salomon called this region. In most cases the exact origins of the objects are unknown—some originate in the northwestern area of Pakistan, the modern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, others in eastern Pakistan, within which the region around Jalalabad has been and still is key to new discoveries of objects of art and writing. I am using the opportunity of the current Festschrift to report on some of these objects. As we will see, all objects yield a special link to objects published or discussed by the celebrated scholar, which is not surprising given the overwhelming number of Richard Salomon's important and groundbreaking publications on Kharoṣṭhī epigraphy. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the owners of the objects or photos, especially to Mr. Kurita from Tokyo, who have given me permission to publish the objects.

1. A Headless Bodhisattva Stucco Image from Gandhāra and the Ghost Word *adhvātīta* (figs. 1–3)

In spring 2008, a beautiful stucco sculpture of a Bodhisattva from a private collection was shown to the author. Together with two Buddha figures, this sculpture is thought to form part of a triad excavated some years ago from a Buddhist site called Badbair (Badbher), about 5 km south of Peshawar at the road to Darra and Kohat. Reportedly, the sculpture was complete when found.

As was the case for the accompanying Buddha statues, the head was fastened with a bolt on the body. The whereabouts of the head are presently unknown. The size of the current headless figure measures 107 cm in height including the pedestal, which is now separated from the main body but clearly belongs to this statue. The pedestal measures 89 × 28 cm and is furnished with the Kharoṣṭhī inscription:

saghana<*dasa> danamukhe madapidarana adhvadi<da>na kalagadana puyae bhava(tu) uajayasa saghorumasa adhvadidasa puya[e bhava]tu
"This gift of Saghana<da> (Skt. Saṃghānanda) shall be for the worship of (his) deceased, passed away parents. It shall be for the worship of the deceased preceptor Saghoruma (Skt. Saṃghavarman)."[2]

The Formula

The text of the epigraph can be compared with the text of the so-called "Brussels Buddha"[3] published by G. Fussman (1974: 54–58 = CKI 232):

sa[ṃ] 4 1 Phagunasa masasa di paṃcami Budhanadasa trepiḍakasa danamukhe madapidarana adhvadidana puyaya bhavatu
"An 5, au cinquième jour du mois de Phalguna, don de Buddhanada qui connaît le Tripiṭaka; que soit en l'honneur de son père et de sa mère décédés."

With the exception of the date formula, the text of our epigraph is, apart from some noteworthy peculiarities, almost identical to the one reported by Fussman. Firstly, the current text repeats the

Fig. 1. Stucco statue of a Bodhisattva from Gandhāra. Photo: Courtesy of I. Kurita.
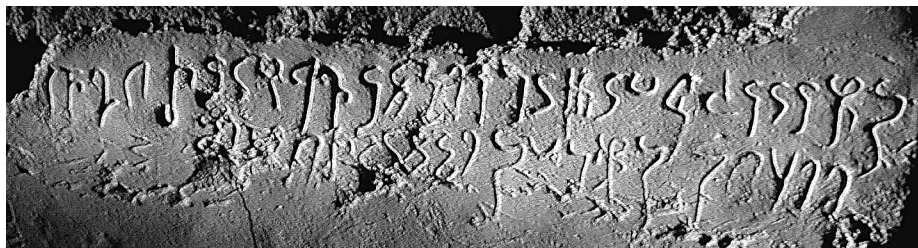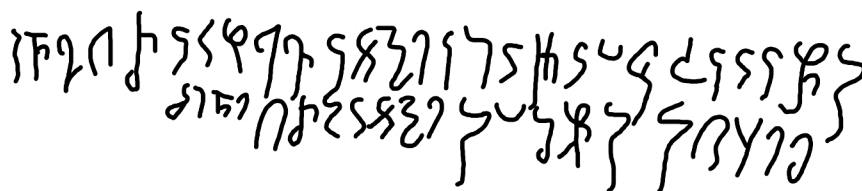

Fig. 2. Inscription.

Fig. 3. Drawing of the inscription.

formula and makes the gift dedicated to two different groups:

1) to the parents—like the Brussels Buddha—and
2) to the preceptor (*uajaya*, Skt. *upādhyāya*) of the donor.

Secondly, in the first line the word *kalagadana* "dead, deceased" is inserted after the incompletely executed synonym *adhvadi<da>na*, the latter possibly by haplography.

The term, *adhavadida*, invites more detailed comments, especially since they may shed light on an ongoing debate on the authenticity of the "Brussels Buddha" which has recently been questioned by Francine Tissot (2005). In his *editio princeps*, Fussman (1974) suggested that *adhvadida* is a typical Buddhist term, and means "*adhva-atīta*," "que a passé son temps, décédé." He came to this conclusion by comparing it to other expressions such as *atīto adhvā* and *atīto addhā* that are known in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli texts.[4] A few years later, the expression *adhvadida* was again found in the famous Senavarman inscription where it even occurred twice (CKI 249, line 8: *adhvadida*, line 9: *adhvatido*). In his edition of this text, Fussman finds his interpretation of *adhvadida*, "décédé," confirmed (1982: 26).

As far as one can judge from subsequent editions and studies on this important text, the interpretation of *adhavadida* to mean "décédé, deceased," was not questioned further (see Salomon 1986, von Hinüber 2003, Baums 2012: 227–33).[5] For instance, von Hinüber followed Fussman's suggestion and Sanskritizes the Gāndhārī *adhvadida* as *adhvātīta* (2003: 28, 30). Modifying, however, Fussman's interpretation, he underlined that this term is not found in Buddhist literary sources, despite its unquestioned meaning. Instead, he refers to related, but not identical expressions such as Pāli *addhagata* "old" and Pāli *atīto addhā*, "past."[6]

There seems to be no reason to question the meaning of *adhvadida* to indicate "dead, deceased." The semantic inferences suggested by Fussman and subsequently by von Hinüber are, however, conjectural. Indeed, both *atīto adhvā* and *atīto addhā* mean "the time passed," providing the noun *adhvan* with a temporal connotation which is also the base of the Pāli adjective *addhagata* "gone the path, old." Other related expressions listed in the CPD are the compound *atīta-(m)-addha*, "the past way," i.e., "a former existence." As far as published reports go, there is no indication that a combination of these words would bear the meaning "dead, deceased." There is no published text—either Buddhist or non-Buddhist—in which the compound *adhvātīta* is used with this specific meaning. Thus, Fussman's suggestion regarding the word's etymological background is far from certain and might need to be revised.

While the compound *adhvātīta* is never found in Fussman's suggested connotation, its final member *atīta* is well attested as "gone, passed" = "dead," both in Buddhist and non-Buddhist usage (cf. PW s.v.). The same meaning has also been attributed to the augmented form *abhyatīta* which is frequently used in Buddhist texts including those written in Pāli where it occurs as *abbhatīta*, "deceased" (cf. CPD s.v.).[7] It is also attested in non-Buddhist texts, for example, in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra (cf. PW s.v. "gestorben") where we can find the verse (4.252):

*guruṣu tv **abhyatīteṣu** vinā vā tair gṛhe vasan,*
ātmano vṛttim anvicchan gṛhṇīyāt sādhutaḥ sadā.

"At a time when his elders **have passed away** or he is living at home without them and he is seeking a means of sustenance, he may always accept gifts from good people" (trans. Olivelle 2005: 137, my emphasis).

One might therefore ask whether the Gāndhārī *adhvadida* is associated to this lexeme rather than to an otherwise unattested *adhvātīta*.

Such an explanation could be supported by the idiomatic usage of this term in combination with a succeeding synonym *kālagata* or *kālakata*. In the language of the Pāli canon this phrase usually occurs as *abbhatīta- kālakata-*, although the combination *abbhatīta- kālagata-* is also known (CPD s.v.: Th 242; DN II 201,9; 218,3; MN I 464,35; 465,6 ≠ DN II 200,5). According to the quotations referred to by the CPD this usage seems to belong to the oldest layers of the canonical literature including the Theragāthās.

In Buddhist Sanskrit, we can find this phase in one of the stories of the Śayanāsanavastu, in which the monks recite verses in honor of the deceased donors of the monastery (Gnoli 1978: 37.6–38.13):

*bhagavatā uktam: **abhyatītakālagatānāṃ***
dānapatīnām nāmnā dakṣiṇā ādeṣṭavyā

*iti. saṃghasthaviro '**bhyatītakālagatānāṃ** dānapatīnām arthāya gāthāṃ bhāṣate.*
"The Blessed One had said: 'The reward must be assigned in the name of the dead donors!' (. . .). The Elder of the Community (. . .) was reciting the verse for the sake of dead donors . . ." (trans. Schopen 1996: 92 = 2004: 225).

The expression *abhyatītā kālagatā-* is also found in the Sanskrit version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (9.15 + 16), in which the Pāli parallel has only *kālakata-* (Waldschmidt 1951: 166f.): (*tryupāsā)-kaśatāni abhyatītāni kālagatāni* "three hundred deceased, passed away laymen."

This idiomatic usage was also adopted for one of the Buddhist inscriptions from Mathurā. There, we find the text: *[mātapitr̥̄]ṇa [abhyat]itakalaga[tā]-nāṃ pujāy[e] bhavatu* "Let it be for the worship of (his) deceased parents" (Lüders 1961: 80, § 44). As correctly noticed by Lüders, "(t)he term *abhyatītakālagata* "deceased" was adopted from the language of the canonical texts (*abbhatīta-kālakata; -kālaṃkata)*" (1961: 81).[8] In addition, Lüders refers to another occurrence of this term in a "Buddhist formulary for the announcing of gifts to the Order from eastern Turkestan" (Lüders 1940: 609).

It could be suggested that the phrase that was used on the new Bodhisattva pedestal is a Gāndhārī reflex of this idiomatic Buddhist usage. It has been noted before that it was a rather widespread practice to use elements of the canonical language for inscriptional texts (cf. Salomon and Schopen 1984, Falk 2010: 18–19).

But can the Gāndhārī term *adhvadida* be explained as a term that represents an underlying Old Indian *abhyatīta*? In Gāndhārī, the Old Indian cluster *dhv* as well as its non-aspirated variant *dv* has been shown to be treated inconsistently. In most instances, the clusters of a voiced dental and *v* are preserved or assimilated to *d(h)* (*ddh*): *dvipa-* < Skt. *dvīpa-*, *dvitiya-* < Skt. *dvitīya-*, *dhvaja-* < Skt. *dhvaja*, *urdhva-* < Skt. *ūrdhva-* (GD s.vv.). In other instances, however, we find labialized forms: Gāndhārī *ubhra* < Skt. *ūrdhva*, *bitiya-* < *dvitīya-*, Gāndhārī *badaśa* < *dvādaśa* (GD s.vv., von Hinüber 2001: p. 197, § 253). This development is quite usual for a number of Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan languages (e.g., CDIAL s.v. *ūrdhva*). This phonetic parallelism could provide an explanation for the correlation of *adhvadida* and *abhyatīta*. One might suggest

that a Middle Indian form *abbhatīta/abhatīta* was misunderstood by a Gandhāran "translator" as going back to an Old Indian word containing the sound combination *dhv*. If this assumption is correct, the canonical locution *abbhatīta- kālagata-* might have become hyper-Sanskritized or better hyper-Gandharized, to *adhvadida- kalagada.* Subsequent to this process, it may have become implemented in the epigraphical language. Potentially promoting this implementation, the combination of *adhva(n)* and *atīta* was commonplace in the Buddhist literature, despite this combination's different meaning in these latter instances.

Returning to the disputed authenticity of the "Brussels Buddha" and hence its inscription, it is worthwhile stressing that this object is special in that the expression *adhvātīta* had been noticed in the engraved text for the first time. By inference, a potential forgery would not have been able to copy from any other inscriptional template. Moreover, the phrases from Buddhist literature to which Fussman and other scholars had referred are also unable to provide an obvious source for *adhvātīta.* This would suggest that its creation would have been the result of an innovative forger. By inference, one would have to conclude that either all the inscriptional texts containing *adhvātīta* are fakes or that the Brussels Buddha must be genuine. In the latter case, the astonishing similarity between this piece and the stele exhibited at the Peshawar Museum remains to be explained. This explanation is not thought to involve the product of a modern forgery as has been suggested by Francine Tissot.

The Persons

On the object, the text also included the donor's name in the initial phrase *saghanadanamukhe.* According to my interpretation, the name is seemingly miswritten and has to be restored as *saghanadasa* "of Saghananda (Skt. Saṃghānanda)." The erroneous text *saghanadanamukhe* is probably the result of a haplographical misspelling for *saghana**da**sa **da**namukhe.* In the process of copying the text, the writer seems to have "jumped" from the *da* of the donor's name to that of the following word, thereby omitting the sequence *sa da*. According to other epigraphs, a name in the genitive case is to be expected before the word *danamukhe.* Although an interpretation as *sa-*

ghana danamukho "gift of the saṃghas" cannot be excluded, it seems to be less probable based on the usual phraseology of this type of texts and on the lack of parallels of this kind of expression in Buddhist donative records.

A structurally related Gāndhārī name, i.e., Budhanada, has been reported from the above cited Brussels Buddha. Contrary to G. Fussman (*buddhanada* "qui pousse le cri du (ou des) Buddha"), I would like to interpret this name as Skt. Buddhānanda/Buddhananda "joy of Buddha." This new interpretation would also be supported by the revised reading of this name as *budhanaṃda.* The hook on the bottom of the akṣara *na* is clearly visible on the published photograph. Other composite names with -(*ā)nanda* or related forms as final member are attested with Pāli Dhammānanda (Malalasekara 1937–1938: s.v.) and Saṅghanandi (ibid., s.v.).

In the text, a second person called Saghoruma has been mentioned. This name is a securely attested Gāndhārī variant of the well-known Skt. name Saṃghavarman, with the phonetic development -*oruma* < Skt. -*varman*. The same variant is attested in the Loriyān Tangai pedestal inscription of the year 318 (CKI 111; Konow 1929: 106–7). It can be compared to the related name Budhoruma (< Skt. Buddhavarman; CKI 112, 131).

The title of Saghoruma is given as *uajayasa* representing Skt. *upādhyāyasya*. Other attested Gāndhārī forms of this title are *upajayasa* in the Mamāne Ḍherī pedestal inscription of the year 89 (CKI 161) and *uvajayasa* in the Monumental begging bowl inscription from Chalagram (CKI 367, Falk 2005). The reading *ua* here reflects a third possibility of representing the Old Indian prefix -*upa*- in the Kharoṣṭhī-Gāndhārī writing system where intervocalic *p* is sometimes elided. It can be suggested that Saghoruma was the personal preceptor of Saghanada, who led him through his ordination (*upasaṃpadā*).[9]

2. Reliquary Slab (figs. 4, 5)

The photograph of the inscribed stone slab was shown to the author in September 2009 by Mr. Kurita, Tokyo. The object presented here can be attributed to the group of reliquary slabs, which according to Richard Salomon constitute "a special sub-genre of Gandhāran relic dedication inscription(s), namely, those in which the text
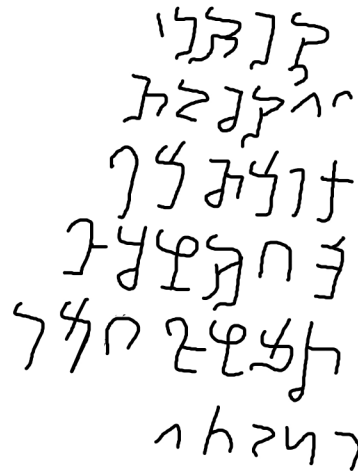

Fig. 4. Inscribed schist slab.

Fig. 5. Drawing of the inscription.

was recorded on the cover slab of the chamber containing the reliquary instead of on or in the reliquary itself" (2009: 18). According to its palaeographical features (closed *sa*), the reliquary slab inscription of Gomitra seems to represent

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the earliest example of this text type datable to the first century B.C. (Salomon 2009: 18). Salomon adds three closely related texts which can be attributed to the same category:

a) the Māṇikiāla stone inscription dated in the Kaniṣka year 18 (CKI 149). This inscription was discovered *in situ*; it is the covering slab of a relic chamber in a *stūpa*. Remarkably, the inscription was written on the bottom part of the slab, invisible from the outside.
b) the Ramaka slab dated in the Azes Year 74 (CKI 251)
c) the reliquary slab from Shāhi Koṭ near Torkham published by Harry Falk (2003: 71–74 = CKI 368)

The last slab, however, differs in both size and function from the two preceding examples. It served as a lid-stone of a reliquary which consists of a block of schist "which had received a square hollow to accommodate some of the ashes of the Buddha" (Falk 2003: 71).

This small series of slabs was recently extended by the publication of a reliquary slab (CKI 544) originating from the "remnants of a stūpa at Gunyār. This site is located at roughly 34°36′ N, 72°03′ E, in the hills located a few kilometres south of Thana in the Malakand Agency" (Falk 2010: 13). Although Harry Falk suggested that this latter slab formed part of a stone cist (2010: 15)—like that published by Fussman (1985 = CKI 331)—it cannot be dismissed out of hand that this slab once served as a lid-stone of a relic chamber comparable to the Gunyār slab, the Māṇikiāla stone inscription, and the Ramaka slab.

The inscription on the new slab to be published here is only partially preserved. It shares some formal features with the parallels referred to above. As already observed by Salomon, some of the inscriptions (reliquary slab of Gomitra, Ramaka slab) were encircled by a kind of frame, of which only the vertical lines are preserved. A similar vertical line is visible on the right side of the new slab. Its left side is almost completely broken off. It is thus impossible to infer the exact amount of text missing, though it can be estimated that roughly two thirds of the original has been lost.

The preserved text can be read and translated as follows:

saṃvatsara[y.] ///
ayasa vutraka(lasa) ///
tha[va]re kurea ///

ṭhe śa[r]agaḍue ? ///
pa[t]igrahe śarira /// (sa)
(r)vab(u)dhap(u)ya(e) ///
"In the year . . . of the deceased Aya (Azes) (. . .) Thavara (*son of) Kurea (. . .* and) the elder/excellent (?) Śaragaḍua (. . . *established) for the acceptance of (*the teachers of the . . . school) the bodily relics (. . .) for the worship of all Buddhas."

The Date Formula

As shown by Falk (2010: 14–15), the phrase "year # of the deceased . . . Azes" is attested in epigraphical records ranging from the Azes Year 63 up to 126. For the adjective "deceased" we find both *kalagada* (Skt. *kālagata*) and *vurtakala* (Skt. *vṛttakāla*). The use of these terms, however, is irrelevant with regard to the chronological or geographical provenance of the text. According to Falk's observation, there are elements of this formula that allow for a more exact chronological and geographical allocation. Thus, Azes' name is often supplemented by titles such as *maharaya* (Skt. *mahārāja*) and *mahata* (Skt. *mahant*). Falk distinguished five different groups, depending on the occurrence and combination of these titles. But due to the fragmentary character of our piece it is not possible to determine to which of these groups it belongs. Based on the range of years within which this formula is attested, the new slab should be dated to the 1st century A.D. Such a dating would additionally be supported by the style of the Kharoṣṭhī script with the half-closed type of *sa*.

The Donors

According to the parallels (e.g., Ramaka slab, CKI 251), the date formula is usually followed by the name of the donor. We therefore decided to interpret the preserved words *thavara kurea* in this sense:

tha[va]ra: The reading of the second *akṣara* is not certain. It could also be read as *na*, if the traces on the top are part of the letter rather than a fissure in the stone as suggested here. It is difficult to ascertain whether the proposed reading *thavara* has to be understood as a title corresponding to Skt. *sthavira* (Pali *thera*), "Elder," or as a personal name related

to Skt. *sthāvara*. As a personal name it has been attested on two silver cups from Taxila as *Theütarasya **Thavara**putrasya* (Konow 1929: pp. 97–98, pl. 19.1–2 = CKI 88, CKI 89).

kurea: Due to the lack of context, this form is difficult to interpret. It can be interpreted either as a 3rd sg. optative of √*kṛ* "do, make," or as a name of unknown meaning with the ending -*ea* going back to Skt. -*aka*. In view of the names preceding and following this word, the second option seems to be preferable. Since the word was written in the undeclined stem form, it was possibly followed by -*putra* "son of."

ṭhe: The first three letters of the fourth line most closely resemble *ṭhe*, possibly the final syllable of a word written at the end of the preceding line. *Jeṭhe* (Skt. *jyeṣṭhaḥ* "eldest, excellent") or *śreṭhe* (Skt. *śreṣṭhaḥ* "excellent") are potential candidates. It is highly likely that one of these words formed part of a donor's name.

śaragaḍue: In my view, the second word of the fourth line represents another personal name. In this case, the word begins with the frequently attested element *śara* (Skt. *śara* "arrow"), which is also found in Gāndhārī names such as Śarasena (CKD 570) and Śaraspa (CKD 221, 577, 564). The second letter of this word is *ra*; seemingly corrected, i.e., it was originally written wrongly as *sa* (𑀭, *ra* in grey colour). The second element of this presumable name can be related to Skt. *gaḍu/ gaḍ(ḍ)uka* "water-pot." The ending -*ue* is indicative of a stem *gaḍua*.

The Recipients

The text seems to continue with a reference to the recipients of this relic gift. The technical term ***pa[t]igrahe*** is the only remaining word of this phrase. It can be compared to numerous parallels containing a Gāndhārī form of either Skt. *pratigrahe* or *parigrahe* (for the synonymous use of both terms, cf. Salomon 1999: pp. 193–94 and fn. 11). Following the parallels, the term ***pa[t] igrahe*** most likely would have been preceded by the name of a Buddhist school.

The Action

According to the usual phraseology, the inscriptions on relic containers and related objects refer to an action which is commonly described by a phrase like *śarira pratiṭhaveti* "establishes the bodily relics." It can be suggested that the new slab contained a similar expression with a form of Skt. *prati-sthā*, "establish."

The Reward

In line with many other donative records, the inscription ends with a formula that refers to the expected reward resulting from the documented donation. The preserved passage *(r)vab(u)dhap(u)ya* indicates that the conventional phrase *sarvabudhapuyae* (Skt. *sarvabuddhapūjāyai*) "for the worship of all Buddhas" was part of this formula.

3. Standing Buddha, Gift of the Monk Jivea (figs. 6–8)

Mr. Kurita (Tokyo) provided me with the photograph of a headless standing Buddha figure, of which the origin is unknown. The size of the figure reaches nearly 1 metre. Both of its arms are broken. The figure is standing on a pedestal, which is inscribed with a legible Kharoṣṭhī legend:

jiveasa ṣamaṇasya daṇamukhe
"Gift of the monk Jivea (Skt. Jīvaka)."

The text is remarkable, because it is the record of a gift of a monastic. His name, Jivea (Skt. Jīvaka), has been attested only recently, namely on a seal published by Rahman and Falk (2011: 130, 10.01.38). The related form Jivaka has been found on another seal that was used as an earring. It has been published by Richard Salomon as part of the contents of a reliquary (2005: 383, 389; cf. Rahman and Falk 2011: 19). Interestingly, the Jivea of the Aman ur Rahman Collection seal has also been labelled as monk (*ṣamaṇa*).

The slightly Sanskritized language (genitive ending -*sya*) suggests that the inscription belongs to the later phase of Kharoṣṭhī, i.e., the late 2nd/3rd century A.D.

4. A Biscript Seal (figs. 9, 10)

The last and smallest object I will present here concerns an oval bronze seal (19 × 16 mm). The

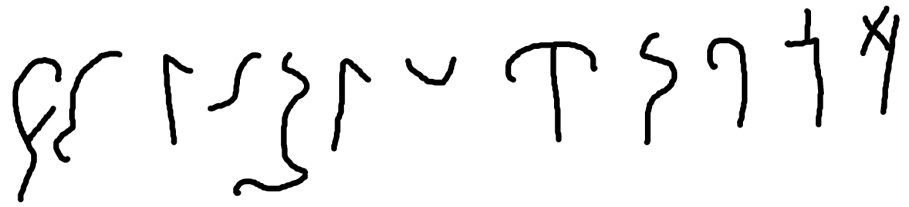Fig. 6. Standing Buddha.

Fig. 7. Inscribed pedestal.

Fig. 8. Drawing of the inscription.
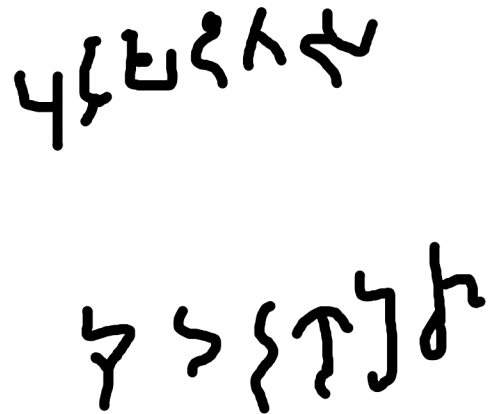

Fig. 9. Biscript seal.

Fig. 10. Drawing of the inscription.

figure of a fish is depicted on the seal alongside an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī. In both cases, the inscriptions display the same Middle Indian text **puruṣadatasa** "Of Puruṣadata (Skt. Puruṣadatta)." Seals of this type are common in northwest India. As Richard Salomon noticed in his monumental work on Indian epigraphy "(i)nscribed seals often have legends in both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī" (1998: 70f.) referring to the examples published by Konow (1929: 100 no. 2: *mahayaśaputrasa manavasa*, 102*: śivarakṣitasa* = Rahman and Falk 2011: 185f.: TM 07.01.01).[10]

The Aman ur Rahman Collection contains a piece closely related to this new biscript seal whereon the figure of a fish[11] is accompanied by the Kharoṣṭhī legend *puśatratrasa* "Of Puṣyatrātṛ" (Rahman and Falk 2011: 147).

Notes

1. I am most grateful to Christine Mohr (Lausanne) who took the trouble to check the English of an earlier draft of this article.

2. The text of this epigraph has been published by S. Karashima (2013) as part of a short paper. Given its recency, I only became aware of it after having completed this article. The basis of Karashima's readings are photographs that he received from Isao Kurita (plate 13). According to Karashima, the piece on the photographs was found "in Landi Kotal (a small town at the top of the Khyber Pass) in Pakistan" (2013: 27). Karashima's reading and translation differ from the current one in two instances: 1. *saghana danamukhe* "a donation from the communities (of the four directions?)," 2. *sagharamasa* "for . . . Saṃghārāma." These two interpretations would result in rather unusual phrases or forms that have no parallels in other texts. A donation given by several Buddhist communities is not attested in Buddhist epigraphy. If the generic term *saṃgha* is used, it occurs in the beginning of the standard formula of Buddhist donative inscriptions in the singular: *cāturdiśe saṃghe.* Obviously, the translation suggested by Karashima refers to this usage. But as far as I am aware there is not a single inscription or text which would mention the "communities (of the four directions?)" in plural. With regard to the securely attested Gāndhārī name Saghoruma, I refer to the commentary above (*The Persons*).

3. The name is due to one of its former owners, M. de Marteau, from Belgium. The object is now kept in a private collection in Japan (Tissot 2005: 395).

4. Fussman said: "De même, l'expression *adhvadida- < adhva-atīta-*, 'qui a passé son temps, décédé'

est typiquement bouddhique. Les expressions *atīto adhvā, atīto addhā*, 'les temps passé,' ne se rencontrent qu'en sanskrit mixte et en pāli. En sanskrit, *adhvan-* a presqu'exclusivement le sens de 'route' ou de '(temps de) route'; l'emploi métaphorique 'temps du voyage' > 'temps de la vie' est particulier aux textes bouddhiques" (1974: 55).

5. Fussman's interpretation was also referred to by Theo Damsteegt who adds: "The expression itself is not recorded, but we should note Pali, BHS *addhan-, adhvan-* meaning 'time' and Sanskrit *adhvan-* for which Böhtlingk gives inter alia the meaning 'Reise in's Jenseits'" (1978: 246).

6. "Der Ausdruck *adhavadida < adhvātīta* ist zwar unmittelbar verständlich, . . . , doch scheint dieses Kompositum in der Literatur gar nicht und epigraphisch sonst nur einmal bezeugt, vgl. . . . als mögliche literarische Vorbilder Pali *addha-gata* 'alt', *atīto addhā* 'Vergangenheit', BHS *atīte adhvani* 'in der Vergangenheit'" (von Hinüber 2003: 29).

7. As has already been suggested by Damsteegt (1978: 248) the reading *atyatīta* found in the editions of the Divyāvadāna and Avadānaśataka is to be corrected into *abhyatīta-*. Consequently the lemma *atyatīta* of the BHSD should be replaced by *abhyatīta*.

8. Cf. Damsteegt 1978: 164. Damsteegt points to another epigraphical attestation ". . . where at the end of line 4 the words *mātāpitraṇa abhatitana[ṃ]* are found."

9. For the role of the *upādhyāya* in the early Buddhist monastic community and its relation to the Brahmanical *ācāryakula* system, see Scharfe 2002: 133–38.

10. Cf. also Rahman and Falk 2011: 13 and the seals 06.01.13 on p. 69, TM 07.07.01 on p. 186 and TM 15.06.08 on p. 195 (both kept now in the Taxila Museum).

11. The figure of the seal was indicated by the authors as "Bird sitting atop of an altar or pedestal," but should rather be identified as a fish (cf. Strauch 2012).

Abbreviations

CDIAL   *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (Turner 1966)

CKD   Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Documents (www.gandhari.org, ed. S. Baums and A. Glass)

CKI   Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (www.gandhari.org, ed. S. Baums and A. Glass)

CPD   Critical Pāli Dictionary (http://pali.hum.ku.dk/cpd/)

GD   *A Dictionary of Gāndhārī* (www.gandhari.org, ed. S. Baums and A. Glass)

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