

AN INSCRIBED BOWL FROM TERRACE 57
AT TAPE ŠOTOR, HAḌḌA¹

ZEMARYLAĪ TARZI, RICHARD SALOMON, AND INGO STRAUCH

Part I: The archeological context of the bowl

(Z. Tarzi)

Haḏḏa is the name of a present-day village in eastern Afghanistan, located twelve kilometers south of the modern city of Ĵalālābād, which was rebuilt by the Mogul king Ĵalāl ud-din Akbar in 1560 CE (fig. 1). But in the past, and specifically before the Mogul city, the capital of the region, which was known as Nagarahāra, was located fifteen kilometers north-west of Haḏḏa and more than five kilometers to the west of today's Ĵalālābād. It was with ancient Nagarahāra that the Buddhist site of Haḏḏa was connected. As for the ancient city of Haḏḏa, it is for the most part buried under constructions of the modern village, with the exception of a long portion of the western fortified wall with a ditch in front of it which was still visible until the beginning of the 1980-s. Indeed, it is on this village that a large monastic ensemble depended; it was made up of some twenty large monasteries scattered almost all around the village, where they found a propitious place on the plateaus and hills to serve as refuge from the seasonal torrents. By looking at the simplified physical map prepared by me (fig. 2), one can see that the village and the Buddhist monasteries surrounding it were all, almost without exception, built on tertiary mounds of conglomerate.

Researchers who specialize in the Buddhist world of India and Central Asia, and particularly of northwestern India, know how significant a role

¹ The authors wish to express their appreciation to Nadia Tarzi-Saccardi for translating the first part of this article from French to English, and to Timothy Lenz for preparing the digital image of the inscription (fig. 12) on the basis of Z. Tarzi's eye-copy of the lost original vessel.

the artistic school of Haḍḍa has played in the evolution and progress of art and religion in ancient India and Central Asia, which today corresponds to a vast area comprising Kashmir and large parts of northern Pakistan and of Afghanistan. The art and archaeology of Haḍḍa has often been confused with the art of Gandhāra, also known as Greco-Buddhist art. This short presentation is not the place to recount the history of Haḍḍa, all the more so since it has been done many times (Mostimandi 1969, 1971; Tarzi 1976, 2002; Cambon 2004). Instead, I take the opportunity to briefly present the history of archaeological research at Haḍḍa, beginning with A. Foucher, the first Director of the French Delegation of Archaeology in Afghanistan (Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan = DAFA), and with A. Godard, deputy director and architect of the Delegation, who in 1923 undertook a series of surveys on the site of Tape Kalān to the south and southwest of the village of Haḍḍa in order to provide an estimate of their archaeological value, so that excavations of wider scope could subsequently be undertaken there (Foucher 1947: 378–383). Following their discoveries, the scientific world got a new and more fascinating appreciation for the archaeological riches of Haḍḍa, different from that of the British explorers of the nineteenth century. A. Foucher and A. Godard being occupied with other tasks in Kabul, Bāmiyān and Balkh, the continuation of the excavations of Haḍḍa was entrusted to J. Barthoux, who excavated there between 1926 and 1928.

With J. Barthoux (1930, 1933), large-scale excavations began on approximately a dozen sites. Five hundred *stūpas* were unearthed, and he exhumed about 1500 significant archaeological objects, a large number of them consisting of heads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist divinities, mostly molded in stucco. These objects – true works of art – used to adorn the facades of the *stūpas* and the walls of the niches and chapels. Following the political crisis that Afghanistan underwent in the 1920-s, a large number of these remarkable discoveries was plundered. J. Barthoux was nevertheless able to save about three thousands of them, which were divided between the Musée Guimet in Paris and the Kabul Museum. The part that was returned to the Kabul Museum was plundered three times, most recently by the Taliban.

The art of stucco modeling in Haḍḍa suddenly revealed a very exceptional later branch of Hellenistic art and proved that Haḍḍa was one of

the points of geographical and artistic contact between the Hellenistic world and Buddhist India; and the discoveries at Tape Šotor have very eloquently confirmed the implantation of Greek art in the region (Tarzi 1976, 2000, 2009).

Not all of the 500 *stūpas* had their cores excavated, and consequently we are missing many important inscriptions, whether on parchment, bark, metal leaves, vases, or reliquaries. In studying the history of the excavations and archaeological research at Haḍḍa, I am inclined to say that the site was cursed. The archaeological finds coming from the ruins of these monasteries were repeatedly the object of destruction, of pillage, even of theft. These misfortunes apply as well to the French as to the Afghan excavations, and I will address these as well as possible without wounding sensitivities on either side. On the side of the French excavations by J. Barthoux, we know that his relationship as the party responsible for the excavations of Haḍḍa with J. Hackin, one of the directors of the Musée Guimet, was the cause of the dispersal of part of J. Barthoux's discoveries across the world, and of the failure to publish parts of his excavation reports, such as the plates for volume IV of the *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* (MDAFA; Barthoux 1930), and the entire volume V, which probably was to have been dedicated to sculptures. But as far as the discovery of manuscripts or inscriptions is concerned, this being the main topic of this article, we have only very little material. And yet, when we read the report dated May 16, 1928, sent by J. Barthoux to “Monsieur le Président de la Commission d’Afghanistan au Ministère de l’Instruction Publique à Paris,” we find an interesting passage on the division of objects between the Afghan government and the French legal representatives, carried out April 11, 1928: “By turning aside some of his objections and meeting his needs for a little fee, we were able to include all of the most beautiful heads in our share. The papyri are with us, as well as the most beautiful paintings, and also beautiful statues and sculptures in schist... In total, we have 87 boxes...”²

² “En lui retournant certaines de ses objections, en monnayant ses desiderata, nous sommes arrivés à faire entrer dans notre lot toutes les plus belles têtes. Les papyrus sont chez nous, les plus belles peintures également ainsi que les belles statues ou sculptures sur schiste... Au total, nous avons 87 caisses...”

During my visits to the Musée Guimet in the 1980-s, I learned that objects from Haḍḍa which had been stored in the basement of the museum in Paris had been moved to the top floor of a new warehouse where a few years later I studied, cleaned and restored hundreds of objects from Haḍḍa. When I asked for information about the parchments cited by J. Barthoux, no one was able or wanted to answer me. I found out that during the opening of one of the boxes, the responsible parties were confronted with a heap of shavings which appeared to them of no more interest than a large heap of sawdust. Not understanding why such material had been packed, they threw it into the garbage. One of the persons responsible, who is no longer with us today, regretted this negligence for the rest of his or her life. I think that this may have been a matter of the decomposition of manuscripts written on fragile materials, poorly packed and ill suited to stand up to a voyage on unpaved roads, by train and by ship, all the way from Haḍḍa to Paris, passing through extremes of temperature and repeatedly shaken. If Barthoux used the term ‘papyrus’ instead of birch bark, he may be excused, since he had worked in Egypt with Professor Montet before being engaged by A. Foucher to become his handy-man in Haḍḍa. And yet, in the course of these excavations J. Barthoux exhumed several large inscribed ceramic shards, one of which G. Fussman (1969) was able to publish. We owe the first information on these inscriptions on vessels to J. Hackin, who in his “Catalogue du Musée de Kabul” (in manuscript form) gives on a double page (pp. 149–150) a copy of an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

Some decades after J. Barthoux, it was in 1965 that my predecessor Š. Mostamindi (1969) undertook new excavations in Haḍḍa, carried out and financed entirely by the Archaeology Institute of Afghanistan (AIA), at the site of Tape Šotor. It was in 1973 that I took charge of the Afghan excavations at the site of Tape Šotor and at a new site, Tape Tope Kalān, near the village of Haḍḍa (Tarzi 1976, 1988, 1991, 2000, 2002). These sites provided an important number of ceramic vessels and shards inscribed with Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī characters. Since our excavations had been executed according to more scientific procedures than at the time of J. Barthoux, the dating of the pottery or ceramic shards became easier, so that we were better equipped to help the epigraphists.

Unlike my predecessor, I kept all of the ceramic shards found in our excavations; the accumulated materials became very significant, so that

dozens of inscriptions awaited the specialists of the IAA in Kabul. Unfortunately, not all of these inscriptions were photographed and copied, since they resulted from the sorting of dozens of tons of ceramic shards. Only 50% of them were registered; the others were awaiting the progress of the sorting, drawing, restoration, and especially gluing together in order to put together, if possible, complete vessels and to photograph them.

As I have previously mentioned, Haḍḍa was cursed; but the misfortunes of J. Barthoux were trivial compared to ours. Indeed, the site of Tape Šotor, which had been restored and developed by us to become an open air *in situ* museum, was looted, plundered and burned by Islamists of the Haḍḍa madrasa during the rule of the communist President, Dr. Najib. At the same time, objects from seasons IV and VII of the Tape Šotor excavation, which had been in the warehouses of the AIA in Ĵalālābād and which included some very beautiful and important objects, were stolen and transported in two big trucks to Peshawar and Islamabad, and thence to the great museums and collections of the west and the east. Prior to my departure into exile in 1979, objects from excavation seasons VIII and XII at Tape Šotor and seasons I and II at Tape Tope Kalān, along with a significant number of restored inscribed ceramics, were kept in the warehouses of the old AIA building at Dārul Amān, Kabul. This building, located about 150 meters from the Kabul Museum, and the Museum itself were ransacked on the same day. The disaster exceeded the bounds of barbarism. Things that could be sold were taken away, and the rest were smashed to pieces right there. The inscribed bowl from terrace 57 which is the subject of this article was among those vessels which had already been restored, glued together, drawn and photographed. The circumstances of my departure caused me to lose a majority of my photographic archives, notes, travel logs, etc. The drawings of our bowl (fig. 11) and of the inscription which encircled it (fig. 12) were among the few documents that could be saved.

At the end of summer of 2002, following my first – in twenty-three years – excavation campaign in Bamiyan, albeit of brief duration, and having in my possession sufficient funding, by agreement with the AIA of the Ministry of Information and Culture and with the French Embassy in Kabul, I received authorization to excavate the ruins of the former AIA building at Dārul Amān which had served as a warehouse, as has been discussed in the preceding pages. These salvage excavations enabled me

to excavate 601 objects originating from previous Afghan and foreign excavations. Several tons of ceramic shards could be saved. It was among thousands of shards that I was able to identify three that belonged to our bowl (fig. 9), which had previously been glued together and restored, and to determine their original location in relation to the bowl, and particularly to the inscription on it (fig. 10).

Location of the discovery of the bowl from terrace 57

Looking at the overall excavation map for the Tape Šotor excavations (fig. 3), we see terrace 57 at the northeast, as a relatively late construction occupying an empty space located at the angle of cells 52–56, with *caitya* EXXIV on one side and cell 58 and gallery 88 on the other. The terrace had been added in order to consolidate, like a buttress, especially the group of cells 52–56 which had no doubt been threatening to collapse. Up to phase THS. V (fig. 4A), location 57 had served as a forecourt or passage to cell 58. During the following period (THS. VI) an oblong room was built there that was connected only with cell 58 (figs. 4B, 5). Access to the latter was through the ground floor, as was also the case with room 51, which communicated only with the upper floor. It is certain that room 57 was not used as living space but rather as a storeroom, since its two new walls did not retain any trace of any kind of coating (figs. 5, 6). On the other hand, the floor was laid out with a layer of the greenish clay that is found in Haḍḍa and on the site of Tape Šotor itself which is called *šenelay* by the local residents (fig. 8). This is a type of clay with a high degree of plasticity that is nevertheless highly water resistant, and which is extracted in the form of scales or large flakes. No archaeological objects were found on this floor; this seems to prove what was just said above, that this room was never occupied. Some time later, evidently during THS. VII, the eastern and northern walls of room 57 were doubled on the outside with a view toward transforming it into a terrace (fig. 4C). The addition of these double walls was intended by the builders to relieve the pressure of the fill which they intended to pile up in the interior of room 57.

I will not linger any further on the architectural description and the mode of construction of the walls of room 57. Like most of the walls at Tape Šotor, they are made of earth with a mixture and alternating layers

of building (*paxsa*) and raw bricks, all built on a bed of local rubble stone, that is, pebbles and large fragments obtained from cutting or digging into the conglomerate (figs. 5, 6). In many cases the bases are placed directly on the conglomerate, as in the western wall of 57. Sometimes the latter is leveled and evened out to serve as a very shallow foundation trench, as with the southern wall of 57; sometimes it is moderately deep, as with the eastern wall of 57; and sometimes very deep, as was done for the foundation of the northern wall. The building processes for the inside walls of room 57 are similar in all aspects to those of gallery 88 in terrace 60. This is indeed the main period of development of the terraces at the Tape Šotor site.

On the basis of our photomontage (fig. 8), it can be seen that the fill of terrace 57 originated from different sectors of Tape Šotor, mainly from the demolition of old dilapidated monuments, and it is generally very rich in ceramic fragments and pottery shards. I invite the interested readers to consult my article: “La céramique de Haḏḏa: étude préliminaire” (Tarzi 2005), in which I was concerned with the study of the pottery of Tape Šotor that came from the fill of the terraces. This resulted in a study of the percentages of the pottery in Haḏḏa, the first one in that area, in which I was strongly encouraged by the greatest ceramologist of all time, my lamented colleague J.-Cl. Gardin. I will not take the time here to discuss all the ceramic that was collected in the fill of room 57, but I will describe the stratigraphic layers, starting with the lowest one, normally the most ancient, and proceeding to the highest or most recent:

11. Virgin soil, the tertiary conglomerate that constitutes the natural mound on which the monastery of Tape Šotor is built.

10. A thin layer of clay originating from the erosion of the walls, washed down by the autumn and spring rains.

9. A layer of *šenelay*, as described previously, that leveled out the ground to nearly horizontal.

8. A thick layer of fill made of mixed earth, sand and dirt from the cutting of the rosy-colored conglomerate, and of small fragments of wall coating painted white and red; also many potsherds.

7. A thin layer of fill like the previous one, but containing more gravel, as well as fragments of ceramic and pottery.

6. A thin layer of fill originating from the destruction of ancient buildings along with some raw brick rendered brownish by some traces of fire

(fragments of charcoal and burned coating). The ceramic in this layer was abundant and very rich.

5. This layer has the same texture as no. 7.

4. It is in this layer of fill that the bowl 57 was excavated, which forms the topic of this article that I share with my colleagues R. Salomon and I. Strauch, who are studying the inscription that encircles the bowl in question. The texture of this layer resembles that of layer 6 but is thicker, and in it were excavated numerous sherds that can be placed in a range of dates between the third and fifth century CE. The large sherds of bowl 57 were found concentrated on about one square meter. Some sherds of medium and small size were scattered here and there, but not too far from each other. In this layer we also found numerous sherds belonging to oil lamps, of which only two were almost intact. We also noticed the presence of fragments originating from the white and black coating of the walls, and these were speckled with vegetal (?) motifs in white, yellow and red. From the similarity between layers 8 and 4, we can reasonably deduce that both layers originated from the destruction of the same monument or same area of Tape Šotor.

3. This layer has the same composition and texture, and the same percentage of sherds, as that of layer 8, described above. But here the mixed earth layer alternates several times with fine layers of sand.

2. This layer was composed of mixed earth, fine gravel, a little sand, and also ceramic and pottery sherds. In terms of composition and texture, this one is different from the other layers described so far.

1. This is a layer of stucco revetment of ivory color, placed on top of a gravel screed, each adhering to the other and giving layer 1 a total thickness of considerable more than 20 cm (fig. 7). By this method of stuccoing, the surface of the layers of fill of room 57 was transformed into terrace 57 in order to communicate on the same level with the northern portico of the great courtyard, that is, terrace 60, situated at ground level. I would like to draw attention to the fact that whenever at Haḍḍa we find ourselves in the presence of a space covered with stucco, whether courtyard, terrace, enclosure, or courtyard with *stūpas*, we are in the presence of an uncovered area, that is, one exposed to the open air.

The layout of the ground of terrace 57 gave us some difficulties, since no remnants of cult or religious monuments were found there. But when

the stucco-covered surface is viewed in raking light, one can still discern the trace of a circle which may have been left behind by a *stūpa* that had been completely looted and dismantled by the looters. Indeed, in this northeastern zone of Tape Šotor, my predecessor and I myself found a certain number of blocks of terracotta that made up the architectonic elements of one or two *stūpas*, some belonging to the circular drums, the others to orthogonal ones. What is certain is that the trace left on the stucco-covered ground is circular. The existence of one or two *stūpas* will not be discussed at length in the context of this article, as it has already been mentioned (Tarzi 1991: 207–208) and will be discussed in greater detail in the course of the publication of the final report on the Afghan excavations in Tape Šotor, either by myself or by my students.

The bowl from terrace no. 57

The bowl was unearthed in the form of several sherds during the excavations of the twelfth season in the winter of 1977–78. I copied the inscription (fig. 12) in Haḍḍa in 1977. The drawing of the bowl was accomplished after gluing together and restoration at the AIA in Kabul in spring, 1978 (fig. 11). I published the bowl in a preliminary study on the ceramics of Haḍḍa (Tarzi 2005: 267, fig. 12b); I am repeating that description here in a form adapted to the context of this article.

It is a fairly large bowl of 26 cm in height, relatively open, with a diameter of not less than 44 cm. It is made of an almost homogenous mixture of ochre-reddish color, slightly rosy, with a small amount of degreasing compound. The slip is of ochre-rose color. The bowl was most likely fired at a mid-range temperature. As has been mentioned before, it is encircled by an inscription in Brāhmī characters consisting of 61 *akṣaras*, 135 cm in length, running a little more than once around the bowl.

If we are to engage in a comparative study, it may not be immune to criticism, all the more so in that we are limited by the rarity of the form of this type of bowl and of similar forms with which to compare it. Nevertheless, I will do my scholarly duty in order to establish a filiation with sites in northwestern India, first of all with Damkot (Rahman 1968–1969: 205, fig. 31, no. 284), and by way of a very approximate comparison that requires us to proceed to the edge of Gandhāra, with Thareli (Mizuno and

Higuchi 1978: fig. 31, no. 1), but with an uncertain resemblance, and also with the site of Ranigat (Niskhikawa 1988: pl. 29, no. 97) which also allows a vague comparison. But all of these put together with our bowl do create a certain familiar look. To the south of the Hindukush, at the sites of Begram (Ghirshman 1946 [Begram II]: pl. XLIII, no. 67) and Wardak (Fussman 1974: fig. 32, no. 53), the profile of the rims allow for a comparison with our bowl. This resemblance extends as far as the north of the Hindukush, in Bactria, specifically at the site of Delberĵin (Kruglikova and Pugačenkova 1977: fig. 96, no. 3) as well as at the sites of Durman Tapa (Mizuno 1968: fig. 12, no. 154) and Chaqlaq Tapa (Higuchi et al. 1970: fig. 36, no. 67), although the comparison with the latter site is uncertain.

We conclude our comparative study here because the form and the profile of bowl 57 of Tape Šotor, being an exceptional type, cannot be dated as easily as one might have expected. We have discussed the challenges of stratigraphic research, since our bowl originates from fill, as we detailed above, but its connection with a specific monument can never be known. Out of the thousands of drawings of ceramics from Tape Šotor which were made either at the excavation site of Hađđa or at the AIA in Kabul, only 1725 drawings of profiles or of complete vessels are included in my archives, and not a single profile is comparable to that of our vessel. By referring once more to our documentation (fig. 8), we notice that the rubble of terrace 57 originated from the demolition of old monuments to fill the void of room 57 around the beginning of phase TSH.VII, corresponding to the fifth and beginning of the sixth century CE. It is therefore very probable that our bowl is the work of potters of the fourth or fifth century CE.

I hope that the epigraphic study which follows will provide the desired further information and detail.

Part II: Edition and analysis of the inscription

(R. Salomon)

Introduction

The inscription presented here (fig. 12) belongs to a common class of inscriptions, dating from the first few centuries of the common era, which record the donation of water pots or other vessels and implements to mon-

asteries in Gandhāra and adjacent territories to the north and west.³ Within this corpus, this specimen is of special interest in that, first of all, it is complete, which is relatively rare though by no means unique. Secondly, it is written in Brāhmī script and hybrid Sanskrit language, in contrast to the much more common specimens in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language. But most importantly, it is, unfortunately, one of the few objects of this class (with the exception of the material from Termez) for which full, detailed and reliable archaeological information is available. For most of the published inscriptions of this class from the Gandhāra region and adjoining territories were either early finds by nineteenth century explorers who left at best only sketchy reports of the circumstances of their discoveries, or else they have come to light on the antiquities market with little or no reliable information as to their true provenance. Many potsherds containing fragments of inscriptions have been published in reliable archaeological reports,⁴ but nowhere do we have such a detailed and authoritative account of the archaeological context of a complete inscription of this class as has been provided by Z. Tarzi in the first part of this article. (The importance of this contextual information is discussed below under the rubric “Significance for the history of Buddhist institutions at Haḍḍa.”)

It is of course highly regrettable that, as explained by Tarzi, the difficult circumstances in modern Afghanistan have led to the loss, not only of most of the original pieces of the pot in question, but also of most of the photographic and other documentation of it. Nevertheless, thanks to the very precise eye-copy which Tarzi was able to retain and which he has generously shared with the other authors of this article, it is possible to present a complete and reliable edition of the inscription. This article thus represents something of an archaeological and epigraphic salvage

³ The materials of this class which were known at the time of writing were summarized in Salomon 1999: 187–191. Several more examples have been discovered or published subsequently. Most notably, the complete corpus of inscriptions from Kara Tepe and Fayaz Tepe (near Termez, Uzbekistan) was definitively published in Fussman 2011. Two of the authors of this article (Salomon and Strauch) are planning a book which will compile all known examples of inscriptions on Gandhāran water pots.

⁴ References in Salomon 1999: 188.

mission, so to speak, and whatever degree of success it may attain is due to Tarzi's dedicated efforts.

Text and translation

1. [d](*e)yaddharmmo yaṃ kuḍāke bhadanta-buddhana[d]dasya niryādeti saṅ[gh]e catturdiśe heḍā-[gh]rijāk[ū]ṭammi ācarya[n]naḥ sarv-vās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ pratigrahe

1a. āṛā ?

2. vyāpā[c]e saṅgha[n]adasya

1. This vessel is the pious gift of Venerable Buddhanadda (= Buddhananda?); he presents it to the universal congregation at the Vulture Peak at Haḍḍa, in the possession of the Sarvāstivartin (= Sarvāstivādin?) masters.

1a. ????

2a. (Under the) administration of Saṅghanada (= Saṅghananda?).

Notes on the text and translation

1. *bhadanta-buddhana[d]dasya*: Here the translation, “of Venerable Buddhanadda,” is presented on the assumption that the genitive ending has an agentive sense, to be construed with [d](*e)yaddharmmo yaṃ kuḍāke. In theory, the genitive could alternatively be understood as objective, in which case the translation would be “This vessel is a pious gift to Venerable Buddhanadda.” But the former interpretation is preferred, mainly on the grounds of the parallel phrasing in the inscription on British Library Pot C, which reads [a]ya pañighaḍa [da]ṇaṃmukh[o] virataṭae [srva]hiamabharyae niryateti ..., “This water pot is the pious gift of Virataṭa, wife of Srvaḥiama; she presents it...” (Salomon 1999: 205; CKI no. 371), where it is obvious that the name in the genitive (feminine) case, *virataṭae*, is that of the donor rather than of the recipient. This interpretation is also preferred on the grounds that the alternative, that is, taking Buddhanadda as the recipient, would leave the name of the donor unstated, which is very unusual, though not unheard of (Salomon 1999: 214; cf. Salomon 2012: 179).

niryādeti: The syllable *de* has been added below line, beneath and a little to the right of *ryā*. The alteration may reflect a hesitation or confusion on the part of the scribe between the active form *niryādeti* and the passive *niryādita-*; see the comments below on under “Formula.”

heḍā-[gh]rijāk[ū]ṭammi: *heḍā* is undoubtedly to be identified with the modern toponym Haḍḍa, thereby confirming its antiquity. This conclusion is corroborated by another inscription (not yet published) which records the gift of a water pot to the monk Buddhādāsa in the Samaṃtapāsa Mahāpriyāraṇya monastery at *hiḍaga* (*saghe caturdiṣe hiḍage samaṃtapaṣe mahāpriaraṇ[y]e*). Although the findspot of this pot is not definitely known, it is reasonable on the basis of the toponym *hiḍage* to suppose that it too came from Haḍḍa.

The name *heḍāiāmi* also occurs on a gold leaf inscription which was said to have been found at Haḍḍa (*apraṭiḥavitapruvami heḍāiāmi gramarammami*; CKI no. 455). I have previously (Salomon 1999: 144, n. 3) expressed doubts about the authenticity of this inscription because of its several unusual characteristics. It could now be argued that the agreement of the toponym with that seen in two unquestionably genuine inscriptions supports the authenticity of the gold leaf inscription, but I still retain some suspicions about it.

Ghrijākūṭa- is no doubt the name of the monastic institution to which the vessel was donated. This must have been named after the Vulture Peak (Skt. *gḍhrakūṭa*, Pāli *gijjhakūṭa*) at Rājagṛha, which was a favorite haunt of the Buddha and his followers. (For the phonetic correspondences of the Gāndhārī form, see the notes below under “Orthographic and paleographic features.”) Here we have an example of the familiar custom of naming monastic institutions in Gandhāra (as elsewhere) after sacred spots in the homeland of Buddhism; compare, for example “the universal congregation at Rājagṛha” (*saṃghe caturdiṣe rayaghami*) in the inscription on British Library pot C (Salomon 1999: 213).

*sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ*: The subscript *t* that is expected in the third syllable is not visible in the available images, but the extended vertical stem below *s*, as well as the expected form of the word, makes it very likely that it was originally present. In the same syllable, there is in addition to the large *i* vowel diacritic above the *s* another short stroke running diagonally up to the left. This might be taken as another part of the vowel

diacritic, in which case the combination could be understood as \bar{i} instead of i , but I suspect that it is really only an extraneous mark.

*Sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ* is presumably a hyper-sanskritized form equivalent to Sanskrit *sarvvāstivādinām*, referring to the school which, along with the Dharmaguptakas, is the one most frequently mentioned in Gandhāran inscriptions, especially those from the region of Haḍḍa (Salomon 1999: 177). The names of familiar Buddhist schools are sometimes presented in unusual forms in inscriptions; for example, one water pot inscription records its dedication to the *dharmamuyana* masters, which seems to be an abnormal variant of the familiar Dharmaguptaka (Salomon 2002: 353).⁵

1a. *ārā* ?: The phrase is highly enigmatic, as it resembles nothing seen in other inscriptions of this type. It is also unusual in that it is written between the level of lines 1 and 2, directly below the syllable *yam* in line 1. The first two characters are clearly *ārā*, but the third syllable is anomalous. It is smaller than all the other characters and is written below the level of the preceding characters. If it is to be read as a normal Brāhmī letter, the best guess would be *ga*, but it only partially resembles the usual form of that letter. Alternatively, it might be read as the numerical figure 7, as it is fairly similar to the normal form of that numeral as shown, for example, in the charts of the numbers in the alphabets of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period in Sander 1968: Tafel 8, 20. Finally, it might be taken as a punctuation or abbreviation marker of some sort, though admittedly it does not resemble any of the normal Brāhmī signs of this type.

If we are to read this obscure sequence as *ārā[ga]*, it might be taken as an abridgement of one of the usual benedictive formulae found in Buddhist donative inscriptions, namely Sanskrit *ārogyadakṣiṇāyai/Gāndhārī arogadakṣiṇae*, “for the reward of good health” (Salomon 2012: 189). But this interpretation would require us to assume that *rā* was written in error for *ro*. In view of the other peculiarities of vowel notation in this inscription (discussed below under “Orthographic and paleographic features”) this is at least conceivable, but still unexpected. Moreover,

⁵ See the further discussion of this word in part III of this article.

no other inscription known to us contains an abbreviated form of this common phrase.

Alternatively, reading *ārā* as it is (but still retaining the doubtful assumption of an abbreviation), we might guess that it is short for *ārāmika*, a monastic administrative term that is well-attested in Buddhist literature. Although (as discussed in part III of this article) it is difficult to specify the exact functions of the monastic administrators known in Sanskrit as *vaiyāpṛtyakara* and *ārāmika*, and although these functions vary widely according to different texts and traditions, it is clear that they are closely connected. For example, Silk (2008: 48) in his exhaustive study of the matter concludes that “it is not clear ... what difference – if any – there is between his [the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*’s] responsibilities and those of the *ārāmika*.” Given that the office of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* is referred to (in the form *vyāpā[c]e*) in the following line of this inscription, it would not be too strange if there was also a reference in it to an *ārāmika*, who was perhaps in some way associated with the donation of the vessel. But in this case, the following character remains unexplained. If, as suggested above, it is the numeral 7, it could in theory refer to an *ārāmika* who was somehow designated by the number 7. But for lack of any evidence of similar numerical designations for monastic administrators, this is hardly convincing.

Thus both of the interpretations of line 1a presented here are highly speculative and vulnerable to various objections. In short, the phrase remains to be satisfactorily explained.

2. *vyāpā[c]e saṅgha[n]adasya*: This line, like the intermediate one designated here as 1a, is probably a secondary addition rather than an intrinsic part of the main text on line 1. Here *vyāpā[c]e* is one of numerous variant forms of a Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit term *vaiyāpṛtya*, referring in various contexts to monastic duties or services. The meanings of this complex term are discussed in detail by I. Strauch in the third part of this article; here, it may suffice to point out that the intention of the addition was probably to include in the inscription the name of the supervising official, one Saṅghananda, along with that of the principal donor, perhaps with a view to providing him with some share of the merit of the donation. A similar pattern has been observed in several reliquary and *stūpa*

inscriptions which contain postscripts or additional notations mentioning the name of the *navakarmika* or supervisor of construction who presided over the process, or of other officials or individuals who were somehow involved and hoped thereby to gain a portion of the merit generated (Salomon 2012: 195).

saṅgha[n]adasya: The third syllable is blurred and unclear, but the context suggests that it should be *na*. Below and to the left of it there is another unclear, partially preserved letter, which looks like another *n*. Perhaps this was another case of non-etymological duplication of consonants which is seen several times elsewhere in this inscription; see below under “Orthographic and paleographic features.”

There is also a very short stroke going diagonally upwards to the right over the *d*. This is probably not meant as a *ā*-vowel diacritic, and is more likely just an incidental mark; compare the note above on *sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ*.

Dating on paleographic grounds

In the first part of this article, Z. Tarzi concluded on archaeological grounds that “It is ... very probable that our bowl is the work of potters of the fourth or fifth century CE.” This conclusion is at least approximately compatible with the range of dates which can be attributed to it on the basis of paleographic comparisons. In general, the form of Brāhmī script seen here could be described as transitional between the Kuṣāṇa period, that is, the first to early third centuries CE, and the Gupta period, or the fourth to sixth centuries CE. Among the best test letters which happen to occur in this inscription, *ma* is invariably of the later type, more characteristic of the Gupta period, in which the left side contains a semi-circle open to the left, in contrast to the older Kuṣāṇa type with a triangle at the bottom. Similarly, the left side of *ba* has a pronounced inward bend that is typical of later forms of Brāhmī, in contrast to the square shape that is seen in the Kuṣāṇa and earlier eras. On the other hand, the *na* composed of two diagonal lines meeting at a right angle under the head line is more typical of earlier forms, in contrast to the looped form that is characteristic of the Gupta period. The strongly triangular shape

of *va* is similarly more archaic than the rounded form that appears in Gupta Brāhmī.

Thus on purely paleographic grounds I would be inclined to attribute a date in or around the third century CE, in contrast to Tarzi's archaeological estimate of the fourth or fifth centuries. I would not rule out a fourth century date paleographically, though the fifth century would be unlikely. Of course, on both sides we are dealing with approximative methods at best, and in the case of the inscription we are especially limited by several factors. One is that the third and earlier part of the fourth centuries of the common era are particularly poorly documented in north Indian inscriptions, so that we have an insufficient number of firmly datable points of reference with which to establish grounds for comparison. Second, we are limited by the brevity of the inscription, so that we have available for comparison only those letters which happen to occur in it. And finally, paleographic dating is an imprecise method even under the best of circumstances. All too often, paleographic dates are attributed on the assumption that changes in the forms of particular letters are instantaneous and consistent, whereas the truth is that in Indian scripts, as in others, older and newer forms can coexist even for centuries in more or less random alternation, often even within the same document. For example, the Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of the [Kaniṣka] year 33 = ca. 160 CE (Bloch 1905–1906: 181–182) has both the old form of *ma* (in *mahārājasya*, line 1) and the new one (in *mātāpitihi*, line 2).⁶ In the end, then, all that we can say with any reasonable certainty is that the vessel and its inscription probably date from the third or fourth centuries of the common era. Thus they belong to the later phase of Gandhāran Buddhist culture during which the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language were being replaced, or have recently been replaced, by Brāhmī and hybrid Sanskrit.⁷

⁶ See the further comments on the limitations of paleographic dating in Salomon 1998: 168–170.

⁷ On the date and historical circumstances of the replacement of Kharoṣṭhī script, see Salomon 2008, esp. pp. 148–152.

Significance for the history of Buddhist institutions at Haḍḍa

Besides the one being presented here, several other earthen vessels with dedicatory inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī are believed to have come from Haḍḍa, although this provenance is guaranteed only in the case of three of them. The first of these is the so-called ‘Hidda inscription’ on a clay pot (CKI no. 155) which was found by Charles Masson at “tope no. 13 of Hidda.”⁸ The original object is lost and the inscription is recorded only in the form of Masson’s eye-copy, according to which it recorded the dedication of relics at a *stūpa* in a place called either *rajaraṃṇāmi* or *ramaraṃṇāmi*, “the royal monastery” or “the monastery of Rāma” (?). The second inscription of this type which is reliably reported to have come from Haḍḍa is CKI no. 223, which was registered in the Kabul Museum as coming from Haḍḍa (“vient de Haḍḍa;” Fussman 1969: 5), though without any further specification. The inscription records the dedication of the jar on which it is written to the Sarvāstivādins (*sarvastivādiṇaṃ parigrahe*) at a place called *samaṃtapaśe mahapriyaraṃṇe*,⁹ “the monastery of Mahāpriya at Samantapāśa.” A third inscription that can be definitely assigned to Haḍḍa is the aforementioned unpublished inscription on a jar recording its donation at the Samantapāśa Mahāpriyāraṇya monastery at Haḍḍa (*saghe caturdiśe hiḍage samaṃtapaśe mahāpriaraṇ[y]e*). Here both the reference to *hiḍage* = Haḍḍa and the correspondence of the name of the monastery with that of the Kabul Museum inscription guarantee that this jar came from Haḍḍa.

A group of inscribed pots and potsherds which were published by A. Sadakata in 1996 were reported to have come from Haḍḍa (“On aurait assuré ... que ces jarres ... provenaient de Haḍḍa” [p. 311]), and on the basis of their resemblances to the known Haḍḍa jars this attribution is plausible. Sadakata’s inscription d (= CKI no. 362) is dedicated to the Dharmaguptakas in the monastery of Sreṭha (*sreṭharaṇa* = Skt. **śreṣṭhāraṇya*). His pot a (CKI no. 361), which is apparently the same object as British Library pot B (CKI no. 370), was donated to the Sarvāstivādins at the monastery

⁸ Masson in Wilson 1841: 111.

⁹ Fussman (1969: 6) read the latter word as *Mahapriyasaṃṇe*, but the correct reading *-raṃṇe* is clear enough in the accompanying photograph (pl. I).

of Pūrṇaka (*puṇnagaraṇa* = **pūrṇakāraṇya*). This fact in turn strengthens, but does not prove the supposition (Salomon 1999: 68) that the other pots in the British Library came from Haḍḍa, and if so, we can also take into consideration the information from British Library pot C, which was dedicated to the Sarvāstivādins “at Rājagṛha” (*rayagahami*). Finally, yet another institution, “the village monastery at Haḍḍa” (*heḍaiami gramaramami*)¹⁰ is mentioned in the gold leaf inscription, but as noted above, I still harbor doubts about its authenticity.¹¹

Summing up this material, we have definite or probable epigraphic testimony for five separate monastic institutions in the area of Haḍḍa, besides the one being introduced in this article:

1. The royal monastery or monastery of Rāma (*rajaramaṇami/ramaramaṇami*)
2. The monastery of Mahāpriya at Samantapāśa (*samantapaśe mahapriyaramaṇe*), mentioned in two inscriptions
3. The monastery of Sreṭha (Skt. Śreṭha; *sreṭharaṇami*)
4. The monastery of Pūrṇaka (*puṇnagaraṇami*)
5. [The monastery at] Rājagṛha (*rayagahami*)

Of these five institutions, nos. 2, 4 and 5 are associated in the inscriptions with the Sarvāstivādins, while no. 3 is a Dharmaguptaka monastery. (No affiliation is mentioned for no. 1). Thus we have a modest body of information about the names of some – perhaps only a fraction of the total – of the monastic institutions at Haḍḍa, and we know the lineage affiliation for most of these. What we do not have, for any of them, is a firm geographical and archaeological context. This, then, is the special value of the new inscription presented here: it gives us at least a general indication of the location of a particular monastery. We must of course proceed with caution here, since the new vessel was found in a storage room in a layer containing rubble from previous structures, so that we cannot be

¹⁰ Among the many abnormal features of this inscription is the form of the name of the monastery, given as *gramaramami* (= Skt. *grāmārāme*?), in contrast to the other monastery names which all end in *-ramaṇami* = *-araṇye*.

¹¹ Not taken into consideration here is CKI no. 542, the seal of a “Forbearance-increasing monastery” (*khaṃtivardane vihare*). Although this is seal “is said to come from Haḍḍa” (Falk 2008: 20), there is no cogent evidence for this statement.

sure that it was originally located in or even very near room 57, at the northeastern corner of the Tape Šotor site. But we can at least safely assume that it belonged to the Tape Šotor complex, so that we now know, for the first and so far the only time, the original name of one of the monastic complexes at Haḍḍa, namely the *hedā-[gh]rijāk[ū]tammi* or “Vulture Peak at Haḍḍa.” We also now know that the Tape Šotor complex, or at least part of it, was at the time of this inscription affiliated with the Sarvāstivādin tradition.

As for the scholastic affiliations of the institutions at Haḍḍa generally, the data presented above seems to indicate that the Sarvāstivāda was predominant, while the Dharmaguptakas are definitely represented at only one site, the monastery of Śreṣṭha. However, this may be misleading, as some of the several unprovenanced pot and potsherd inscriptions mentioning the Dharmaguptakas (Salomon 1999: 175–176) are likely to be from Haḍḍa. Among other possibilities, the Dharmaguptakas may have been more prominent in the Haḍḍa area during the earlier centuries of the Common Era, with the Sarvāstivāda school gradually becoming more influential during the third and fourth centuries. One hint of this is that our new Sarvāstivādin inscription is in Brāhmī rather than Kharoṣṭhī, which is a likely indication of a later date.

All of this is not much, but it is much more than nothing. For the rest, we can only hope that future researches will clarify similar issues, for example, the exact location of the monastery of Mahāpriya at Samantapāśa, another Sarvāstivādin institution which is now attested by two inscriptions. Could this, for example, be the original name of the Tape-e-Top-e-Kalān complex, another site that yielded large amounts of pottery (Tarzi 2005: 211)?

Formula

Donative inscriptions on Gandhāran pottery and other objects typically follow one of two patterns, or occasionally – as in our case – combine the two patterns.¹² The first pattern takes the form of a nominal sentence

¹² On the formulae and function of inscriptions on water pots, see Salomon 1999: 240–243.

along the lines of “This water pot is the pious gift (*deyadharmā*, or less commonly *daṇamukha*) of NN to the universal community,” as in British Library pot E (Salomon 1999: 218; CKI no. 373), *aya pa[ni]yaghaḍae hastadatae teyavarmabharyae deyadharmā saghe catuḍiṣe* etc., “This water pot is the pious gift of Hastadattā, wife of Teyavarma, to the universal community...” The second pattern involves a verb-object construction, either active as “NN presents this X to the universal congregation,” or more frequently passive, “This X is presented by NN to the universal congregation,” as in the Mamāne Dherī stele inscription (CKI no. 161), *...niryāide ime deyadharme dharmapriena ṣamanena...* “This pious gift is presented by the monk Dharmapriya...” But sometimes the two formulae are combined, as in British Library pot C, *[a]ya paṇighaḍa [da]ṇamukh[o] viratae [Sṛva]hiamabharyae niryateti saṃghe caturdiṣe rayagahami...* “This water pot is the pious gift of Viratata, the wife of Sṛvahiama; she presents it to the universal community at Rayagaha,”¹³ or as in an inscribed stone bowl (CKI no. 404), *Budhapriasaṃaṇasa ...daṇamuhe io vajrakuḍae ṇiyatati thubami*, “Gift of the monk Buddhapriya...; he presents it to the *stūpa* at Vajrakūṭa...” As noted above, the syntax of our inscription, *[d](*)eyaddharmmo yaṃ kuḍāke bhadanta-buddhana[d]dasya niryādeti saṅ[gh]e catturdiṣe...* matches this pattern exactly.¹⁴

Language

The language of the inscription is hybrid Sanskrit with a Gāndhārī substratum. Examples of the morphological features which mark it as hybrid Sanskrit are the nominative singular ending in *-e* in *kuḍāke* (= Skt. *kuṇḍakāḥ* or *kuṇḍakam*) and the locative singular masculine in *-mmi* in *-[gh]ṛijāk[ū]ṭammi*. The latter form alternates, as is typical of the hybrid language, with the standard Sanskrit locative in *-e* (*saṃ[gh]e catturdiṣe*).

¹³ The parallels presented here show that the doubts expressed about the syntax of this inscription in Salomon 1999: 212 were unnecessary.

¹⁴ The Bimaran reliquary (CKI no. 50) also contains these two formulations, but as parts of separate texts presenting the same information with different syntax: on the lid, *...śivarakṣiṭasa muṇḍa[v]aṃdaputrasa daṇamuhe...*, “Gift of Śivarakṣita, son of Muṇḍavanda,” and on the base, *śivarakṣiṭasa mu[m]javadaput[r]asa daṇamuhe ṇiyatide...* “Gift of Śivarakṣita, son of Muṇḍavanda, presented...”

Middle Indo-Aryan phonological features in the inscription include the voicing of original intervocalic *t* in *niryādetti* = Skt. *niryāṭayati* and the palatalization of the underlying cluster¹⁵ in *[-gh]rijā-* = P. *gijja*/Skt. *ḡḍhra/ḡḍdha*. In the same word, the spelling with *j* instead of normal MIA *jjh* is one of the indications of a Gāndhārī substratum, since in Gāndhārī the distinction between *j* and *jh* is often leveled; compare, for example, Gāndhārī *jaṇa* or *ṛjaṇa* = Skt. *dhyāna* (Brough 1962: 59) or *bejaṇa* (*sic!*) = *bodhyaṅgānām* (Glass 2007: 121). The Gāndhārī form of this toponym is attested in three texts: *griṛjaiūḍe* in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (line 1.1; Falk and Karashima 2012: 28 [reading *griṛjauḍe*]), *griṛja* /// in the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (fragment 44b, r-1; Allon and Salomon 2000: 251, 253), and *griṛjaiū* /// in the Mahāyāna sūtra from Bajaur (2: 2C.27-29; Strauch forthcoming: part 2). Here, the aspiration has apparently been thrown back to the preceding syllable, whence *gh-* in place of original *g-*.

Also indicative of a Gāndhārī background to this approximation of Sanskrit is the frequently abnormal indication of vowel quantity, examples of which are compiled in the next section. Yet another characteristic feature of the hybrid dialect is the hypersanskritized form of *sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ* for normal *sarvāstivādinām*, as mentioned in the text notes.

Orthographic and paleographic features

In several cases, vowel length is indicated incorrectly or abnormally. In *kuḍāke*, the long vowel on the second syllable is not etymologically justified (Skt. *kuṇḍaka*, *kuṇḍikā*), and the same is the case with the second syllable of *[-gh]rijā-* (in *[gh]rijāk[ū]ṭammi*). Conversely, etymologically long vowels are thrice left unmarked in *ācarya[n]naḥ* (*sic*) = Skt. *ācāryānām*. Interestingly enough, a similar misspelling occurs in a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription on a potsherd of Gandhāran origin,¹⁶ reading /// *mi acaryya* ///, presumably to be restored as *(*parigraha)mi acaryya(*naṃ)* or the like.

¹⁵ The Pāli form of this word, *gijja*, does not correspond normally to the Sanskrit *ḡḍhra* or *ḡḍdha*; this is noted briefly by Edgerton (“aberrantly;” BHSD s.v. *ḡḍdha*). Both the Pāli and the newly attested Gāndhārī forms seem to reflect an underlying but unattested variant form **ḡḍhya*.

¹⁶ British Library potsherd 9; Salomon 1999: 230.

In two cases, two vowel diacritic signs are attached to the same consonant, in violation of all orthographic rules for Indian scripts. In *-k[ū]tammi*, the consonant sign for *k* has both an *u* diacritic at the bottom and an *ā* at the top. Presumably this peculiar orthography is intended to indicate the etymologically expected long vowel *ū*. Similarly in *-[gh]rijā-*, the *gh* has vowel signs for both *r* and *i*, seemingly indicating a vacillation between a more Sanskritic spelling *ghṛjā* and an MIA (Gāndhārī) spelling *ghrijā*.

In any case, the several abnormalities of vowel notation are strongly suggestive of the transition from Kharoṣṭhī script, in which vowel quantity is normally not indicated, and Brāhmī, where it is. It is hard to avoid the impression that this inscription is the work of a scribe whose first language was Gāndhārī and who had originally learned to write in Kharoṣṭhī script, and had only secondarily, and not very successfully, mastered the art of writing Sanskrit in Brāhmī script.

Another idiosyncrasy of this scribe is his habit of writing geminate consonants which are not etymologically justified. Even within this short inscription, we find six certain examples¹⁷ of this: *[d](*)yaddharmmo*,¹⁸ *-buddhana[d]dasya*, *niryādeti*, *catturdiśe*, *ācarya[n]naḥ*, *sarvvās(*)ivvārtinaḥ*. This peculiarity too may be attributed to habits resulting from the use of Kharoṣṭhī script, where geminate consonants are never indicated but are invariably represented by the corresponding single consonant. It would seem that this scribe, or perhaps the graphic tradition in which he was trained, had developed a habit of over-compensating for the old Kharoṣṭhī orthography by writing geminates even where they did not belong.

Yet another orthographic peculiarity of our inscription is the use of final visarga in place of anusvāra twice in the phrase *ācarya[n]naḥ sarvvās(*)ivvārtinaḥ*. This too might be attributable to a Kharoṣṭhī substratum, where visarga is absent entirely and anusvāra is often used sporadically, inconsistently, and in some styles not at all. On the other hand, confusion between visarga and anusvāra is also a common error in

¹⁷ If the intended reading of the last word is *saṅgha[nna]dasya*, this would constitute a seventh instance.

¹⁸ The gemination in *-dharmmo* is normal, though optional, in standard Sanskrit, as also in the second syllable (but not in the fourth) of *sarvvās(*)ivvārtinaḥ*.

later Sanskrit manuscripts, and this may be an early manifestation of that pattern. But in any case, it strengthens our sense that the scribe's familiarity with standard Sanskrit was limited.

Besides these orthographic issues, the paleographic features of this inscription – that is, the configuration of the syllabic units – are also sometimes abnormal and remarkable. Particularly unusual is the construction of consonantal ligatures with superscripts instead of the normal subscripts. In all normal forms of Brāhmī script and its many derivatives, only clusters consisting of *r* plus a following consonant have a superscript position for the first element (e.g. Devanāgarī र्प *rpa*); in all other cases, the first consonant of a cluster is placed on the main line of writing, with the following consonant below (e.g. प्र *pra*) or after it (प्स = *psa*). But in this inscription we see the geminate *dd* in *buddhana[d]dasya* composed with the first *d* written above the line,¹⁹ instead of the second *d* below as in normal Brāhmī. Similarly in *saṅgha[n]adasya*, the syllable *ṅgh* is written with superscript *ṅ* instead of subscript *gha*, although the same combination is written in the normal fashion in *saṅ[gh]e catturdiśe*.

Calligraphic features

This inscription is also notable for its calligraphic touches, such as the extended subscripts in *[d](*)yadharmmo* and *-k[ū]ṭammi*, in which the subscript *m*-s are attached to the superscript ones by a long vertical line, rather than being placed immediately below them as in ordinary style. In the last syllable of *buddhana[d]dasya*, the subscript *y* extends far below and to the left.

Some of the vowel diacritics, particularly *i*, are also subjected to calligraphic extension. Most often, post-consonantal *i* is written as a long arc curving up and to the left, then bending back toward the right and curving up again at the bottom toward the left; this form appears in *niryādeti* (fourth syllable), *[gh]ṛijāk[ū]ṭammi*, *sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ* (third syllable), and *pratigrahe*. A second form, consisting of a vertical line running

¹⁹ We might have expected here *n* rather than *d* as the first element of the conjunct, yielding the normal name *buddhananda*, but the superscript letter is quite clearly *d* rather than *n*.

upwards, then diagonally down to the left, and then curving upward again to the left, occurs in *niryādeti* (first syllable) and *sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ* (fifth syllable). It is perhaps not accidental that the latter two words each have the two different shapes of *i*; the scribe may have intentionally alternated the forms.

Other calligraphic flourishes include the elaborated curl on the subscript *r* in the first syllable of *pratigrahe*; here the other subscript *r* in the third syllable is less elaborated, perhaps again as a strategy of variation. In both of the superscript *r*-s in *sarvvās(*t)ivvārtinaḥ* the vertical line is crossed by two small horizontal lines, instead of the single serif of the normal form. Finally, above the dot representing anusvāra in *ayaṃ* there is a doubled semi-circle. This seems to be merely decorative, although it slightly resembles the *candra-bindu* sign used in later scripts to represent a true nasalized vowel, but with the *candra* element upside-down.

Though remarkable, the calligraphic features of this inscription are not unique. Similar types and degrees of decorative flourishes and extensions can be observed in some other Gandhāran pot inscriptions. For example, the Brāhmī inscription no. 172 from Kara Tepe (Fussman 2011: 1.97 and 2:195, pl. 57) also has radically elongated subscript *y*-s, though their shape is somewhat different from the one seen in our inscription. Corresponding decorative features are also seen in some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on pots, such as the British Library pot C with its elongated anusvāras and vowel diacritics (Salomon 1999: 203–209). British Library potsherds 5 and 6 (Salomon 1999: 226–228) also show interesting flourishes, especially the deeply extended preconsonantal (subscript) *r* in no. 6 (*sarvasya*). On another jar with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, “The letters are written in large, bold strokes, sometimes with long decorative extensions of the lower vertical portions” (Salomon 1996: 239). In general, it seems that the technique of writing with brush and ink on the large curved surfaces of earthen vessels was conducive to such calligraphic extensions and flourishes, which are otherwise rarely seen in other contemporary inscriptions and manuscripts.²⁰

²⁰ On calligraphy in the classical Indian tradition in general, see Salomon 1985.

Part III: The term *vyāpāce* and its cognates in inscriptions from Gandhāra

(I. Strauch)

The inscription discussed in Part II concludes with a kind of postscript containing the term *vyāpā[c]e*. The Haḍḍa bowl is not the only text from “Greater Gandhāra” in which this technical term occurs, for it is also attested on a number of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on pottery that are hitherto unpublished. They will be part of the prospective comprehensive edition of inscribed pottery from Greater Gandhāra that is currently being prepared by a team of scholars including Richard Salomon and myself (see above n. 3). Based on this new inscriptional evidence, I will try below to relate these epigraphical data to the literary evidence concerning this term and thereby to determine the specific role of this office in the context of Gandhāran Buddhism.

Salomon convincingly connects this term with the Buddhist Sanskrit term *vaiyāpṛtya*. Based on its technical character and its application in the inscriptional texts under study, it seems permissible to associate this term with a specific monastic office that is referred to in Buddhist texts from various geographical and chronological contexts, namely BSkt. *vaiyāpṛtyakara* (see BHSD s.v. *vaiyāpatya*)/P. *veyyāvaccakara* (see PTSD s.v. *veyyāvacca*) “monk-administrator, etc.”

The present – slightly sanskritized – form *vyāpāce* is seemingly based on the Gāndhārī spelling of this term, which is represented in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as *vyavace* or *viavace* (see below). All these forms should go back to an OIA **vyāpṛtya* rather than to the usual form *vaiyāpṛtya*. The same form seems to underlie a verse from the *Mahāvastu* (I.298.19) where, although the manuscript reads *vaiyāvṛtya*, the meter suggests the underlying form *vyāvṛtya* (cf. BHSD s.v. *vaiyāpatya*).²¹ The form ending in *-e* has to be interpreted as loc. sg., hence “under the administration (of).”

²¹ Such a form may also be also attested on the Gupta period inscription on a copper vessel from Shorkot, where the donor is designated as *.yābṛtyakara*. Only the subscript *-ya* of the ligature in the first syllable is preserved. Von Hinüber (2012: 374, n. 2) suggests the reconstruction *vyābṛtyakara*. However, the alternative reconstruction [*vaiy*][yā]bṛtyakara proposed by Falk (2004: 142 = 2013: 355) cannot be excluded.

The vaiyāpṛtyakara in Buddhist literature

A comprehensive study of this and related administrative terms is now available in Jonathan Silk's monograph *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*, where a whole chapter (pp. 39–73) is devoted to the office of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*. According to Silk, the term can be rendered as “administrative monk,” “supervisory monk” or “manager monk” (2008: 39). However, as usual, the exact meaning and range of functions covered by this term differ considerably, depending on the geographical and historical context. In Theravāda sources, the office is explicitly linked to a non-monastic person who seems to act as a kind of agent in transactions that are prohibited for monks. As Kieffer-Pülz stresses in her review of Silk's monograph, “all references from the Theravāda texts, canonical and commentarial, present the *veyyāvaccakara* as a non-monk” (2010: 74–75). This usage is clearly based on the meaning of this term in the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, as becomes sufficiently obvious in the Naiḥsargika Pācittiya rule 10 in all extant *Prātimokṣasūtras*, where the *veyyāvaccakara* is listed beside the *ārāmika* and the *upāsaka* (cf. Silk 2008: 41–44). According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *veyyāvaccakara* has to be perceived as a *kappiyakāraka* “legalizer, ..., one who renders things acceptable or legal on behalf of a monk, which is what such a servant does by accepting donations on the monk's behalf” (Silk 2008: 44–45). Silk rightly observes that this meaning – pointing to the *veyyāvaccakara* as a kind of agent – is close to the use of this term in a number of non-Buddhist technical texts, such as Dharma- and Arthaśāstra sources (2008: 41).

There can be no doubt that the *veyyāvaccakara/vaiyāpṛtyakara* of the *Prātimokṣa* is a non-monastic individual. Otherwise his function in the rule Naiḥsargika Pācittiya 10 – receiving the money for a robe instead of the monk who is not supposed to accept money – would be completely illogical. Although all of the preserved *Prātimokṣasūtras* preserve the wording of this rule and the reference to the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*, the actual meaning of this term and its usage in the later Vinaya language (and probably also in the practical use of this term in monastic administration) seem to have changed outside the Theravāda world. A constant feature of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* that is attested by the majority of sources cited by Silk is his association with the sphere of donations.

But Vinaya texts of other schools – in particular those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins – indicate that the office of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* could also be fulfilled by a monk. Thus the *Samgharakṣitāvādāna* in the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya reports that the monk Samgharakṣita was appointed to the office of *vaiyyāpṛtyakara* (Silk 2008: 46–47). The text explicitly speaks of a *vaiyyāpṛtyakaro bhikṣur* (Pravr-v III 266). It even seems that among the Mūlasarvāstivādins the office enjoyed a rather high reputation. This is particularly shown by a story from the *Karmaśataka*, a collection that probably also belongs to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school (Silk 2008: 180–183). Here *Sarvavara, a Tripiṭaka master, is designated as *vaiyāpṛtyakara* and in this function is responsible for the rain retreat of a huge assembly of 77,000 monks. In fulfilment of his task he approached a group of five hundred wealthy sea-merchants who handed over to him a large sum in cash. Unfortunately, Sarvavara became greedy and buried the money instead of giving it to the monks.

As Silk noticed, the function of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* in this *Karmaśataka* story is closely connected to the prescriptions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. Silk (2008: 46) refers here to a passage from the *Varṣāvastu*, without however explicitly noting that this passage represents a particular type of Vinaya text, namely a *karmavācanā* formula. The text of this formula, as read by Shōno in his new edition of the *Varṣāvastu*, runs:

(so 'ham e)vaṃnāmā asminn āvāse antaḥsīme pūrvvikāṃ ttraimāsīṃ varṣā upagacchāmi amukena vaiyyāpṛtyakaraṇa²² amukena gocaragrāmeṇa (...)
(Shōno 2010: 36, cf. Clarke 2014: plate 27, fol. 75v6)

I, the monk NN, enter the early three-month rain retreat in this residential district, within the boundary, with the administrator NN, with the village NN as begging ground ...

This wording, with the inclusion of the reference to the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*, is confirmed by the Tibetan (*zhal ta bgyid pa*) and Chinese translations (警事人)²³ as well as by the version included in the *karmavācanā* collection from Gilgit published by von Hinüber (1969). The latter reads:

²² Read: °kareṇa.

²³ T 1445, 1042a24–b02 (*Varṣāvastu*); T 1453, 471a5–12 (*karmavācanā* collection).

(aha)[m e]va(ṃ)[nāmā] bhik[ṣ](u) asminn āvāse sānta[sī]me pūrvikāṃ trai-
māsī(ṃ) va[rṣām] (u)[paga]cchāmi evaṃnām[nā dānapa]tinā evaṃnāmnā
vai[y]ā[y]rtt[y]akareṇa amukena gocaragrā(*meṇa)²⁴ (Clarke 2014: plate 253,
fol. 42r8–42v1, cf. von Hinüber 1969: 127, no. XVI).

The *varṣopagamana* formulae of other schools contain no reference to this office.²⁵ Its secondary inclusion into the text of this *karmavācanā* formula might therefore indicate that the office of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*, like other important figures such as the *dānapati*,²⁶ had become more important in the administration of monastic institutions of the northwest – the main stronghold of the Mūlasarvāstivāda communities. A monastery was thus identified not only by the specification of its boundaries (*sīmā*) and begging ground (*gocara*), but equally by its main donor (*dānapati*) and administrator (*vaiyāpṛtyakara*).

This growing importance is clearly reflected in the increase in the number of duties which are ascribed to this office. Many of them bear a rather generic character – including usual monastic duties such as the distribution of food and lodging – but the administration of donations and possessions continues to play a significant role. Thus a story from the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya Uttaragrantha*, cited in Schopen 2001 and 2004 (= 2007),²⁷ tells of a *vaiyāpṛtyakara* who is said to have borrowed money from lay people on behalf of the community.²⁸

²⁴ I quote the text here according to my reading of the facsimile; () signifies the restoration of lost text, [] uncertain readings or incompletely preserved signs, and (*) the addition of omitted text. The beginning of the line is defective; its reconstruction follows the parallel phrases and von Hinüber.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. for the Sarvāstivādins, Härtel 1956: 126. A detailed analysis of this formula and its parallels is part of my forthcoming edition of Gandhāran Vinaya texts that also includes a specimen of the *varṣopagamana* formula.

²⁶ Contrary to the *varṣopagamana* formula in the Skt. *Varṣāvastu* cited above, the Tibetan translation as well as the references in the *Vārṣikavastu* of the *Vinayasūtra* confirm that the *dānapati* was regularly mentioned in this context (cf. for other *Varṣāvastu* passages Shōno 2010: 119, 120). The *dānapati* is also occasionally mentioned in the Sarvāstivāda version of the formula (cf. Härtel 1956: 126).

²⁷ See also Silk 2008: 56 and 84.

²⁸ Somewhat surprisingly, the continuation of the story refers to the office of the *navakarmika*. For a critical view on Silk's doubts concerning the financial responsibilities of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*, see Kieffer-Pülz 2010: 75 and n. 9. According to Kieffer-Pülz, the formulation of this passage indicates that the office of the (monastic) *vaiyāpṛtyakara* is younger than that of the *navakarmika*: "I, however, understand that the regulation of how

This large spectrum of duties is also reflected in Mahāyāna texts such as the *Ratnarāśi*, where we find a long description of the duties and qualities of a monk fulfilling this office (Silk 2008: 27–32; for the Tibetan and partial Skt. text see 227–236). As the passage makes clear, the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* had a number of diverse functions, including securing the personal welfare of the monks and providing them with personal belongings such as food, medicine, seat and bed, etc. Of special interest is the following passage:

From time to time the administrative monk shall distribute to the community of monks what is the property of the community, but he shall not hoard the community's property and conceal it. The property is to be given as it was received; it is to be given without being urged; it is to be given without objection ...

Whatsoever are the belongings of the local community (*sāṃghika*), the universal community (*cāturdiśasāṃghika*) or the stūpa (*stauṇḍika*), he should assign them accordingly, and they shall not mix those of the local community with those of the universal community. Neither shall he mix the possessions of the universal community with that of the local community. He shall not mix the possessions of the local community with that of the stūpa. Neither shall he mix the possessions of the stūpa with that of the local community and the universal community. If the universal community is destitute and the local community has plenty, the administrative monk shall summon the community of monks and make them agree unanimously, then he shall exchange from the local community's possessions to the universal community. (Trans. Silk 2008: 29–32; Skt. terms added by IS.)

Interestingly, the same kind of responsibilities are also described for the *navakarmika* in a *Cīvaravastu* passage cited by Silk (2008: 83). Here a case is referred to where the *navakarmika bhikṣu* did not act in accordance with the correct legal status of the various possessions (*stauṇḍika*, *sāṃghika*). This indicates that the *navakarmika* could also be responsible for the financial administration of the different funds attached to a monastery. As a passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* shows, the same kind of control could also be executed by the *ārāmika* (Silk 2008: 47–48). Thus we observe a rather diverse picture, where responsibilities shift from one

a *vaiyāpṛtyakara* has to handle such financial tasks is ruled on the base of the regulations already in force for the *navakarmika*" (2010: 75).

office to the other and the same duties are prescribed for different offices. Much of this diversity is no doubt due to different local or regional usages.

The vyāpāce/vyavace/viavace in inscriptions from Gandhāra

But how can we interpret this term in the context of inscriptions on water pots from Gandhāra? Besides the Haḍḍa bowl presented in this article, four other water-pots or inscribed fragments thereof contain references to this term. It occurs here in the following phrases and contexts:²⁹

1. *Pot 6 (“Water pot, gift of Dharmajaya, wife of Mahasreṭha”)*

In the text on this pot, the concluding meritorious formula of the donation is followed by the postscript *vyavace bhadataśa dharmāśīrasa*, “Under the administration of Venerable Dharmāśīra (Skt. Dharmāśīras).”

According to its donation formula, the pot was given to a Sarvāstivāda community (*[sa]rvast[i]vadina*).

2. *Pot 3 (“Water pot, gift by [the lady] Puśparana”)*

The reference to the *vyavace* is embedded in a larger postscript that is concluded by the writer’s name: *vyavace dha[rma]śreṭhasa likhite dharmabhad[r]ena*, “Under the administration of Dharmāśreṭha (Skt. Dharmāśreṭha). Written by Dharmabhadra.”

The donation formula of this text is unusual in referring to the *[a]caryana dha[rma]yana* “Dharmamuya (?) teachers.” The last term can be compared with an inscribed pot in the Schøyen collection that reads: *saghe caturtiśami [ra]danami acaryana dharmamuyana prati-grahe*, translated by Salomon as “[Gift] to the universal community, in the possession of the Dharmamuyana masters at Radana (?)” (Salomon 2002: 352). Salomon discusses the unclear etymology of this term, whose

²⁹ I quote this unpublished material according to the provisional sigla and designations given by me in the course of editing them. Some of the pots have already been introduced by me in my paper “Buddhistische Klöster und beschriebene Töpfe: neue Zeugnisse für die Geschichte und Geographie Gandhāras,” presented at the 31st *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, Marburg, Sept. 20–24, 2010.

relation to one of the usual Gāndhārī variants of Skt. *dharmaguptaka* remains unclear. But as he remarks, it is certainly “intended to represent, in some way, the familiar name Dharmaguptaka” (2002: 353). Since another pot from Radana contains the formula *dharmāūdaka p(r)adi-gha[h]e* (Strauch 2007, CKI no. 510), both terms were probably used side by side to designate the Buddhist Dharmaguptaka school. The text of our pot 3 seems to represent the same strange variant of this designation.³⁰

In the case of potsherds, it is more difficult to ascertain the exact position of the preserved phrase. However, the evidence seems at least not to contradict the picture cited above:

3. *Kurita Potsherd 9*

According to the visible space after the last word and the preceding term *pratigrahe* that concludes the donation formula, the *viavace* remark here can be considered a postscript: *viavace b(u)dhāmitrasa*, “Under the administration of Budhāmitra (Skt. Buddhāmitra).”

4. *Kurita Potsherd 10*

Less clear is the case of the potsherd Kurita 10 where such a position is at least possible: *v[y]ava[c]e bodhaśasya śamaṇerasya*, “(under the) administration of the novice Bodhaśa.”³¹

The latter two sherds do not preserve any reference to the school affiliation of the donations. Two of the four texts clearly point to the monastic status of the persons in charge. While the honorific title *bhadanta* in no. 1 indicates that a fully ordained monk served as administrator, no. 4 designates him as *śamaṇera* (BSkt. *śramaṇera*, P. *samaṇera*) “novice.”

As indicated above, all these texts probably share the formal feature of the Tape Šotor inscription, in which the *vyavace* is indicated in a

³⁰ We might, however, consider to regard the form *dharmamuyana* rather as a gen.pl. in apposition with *acaryana*. In this case the underlying stem would be *dharmamuya* (= °*mukha* > *muha* > *muya*?).

³¹ The meaning of this name is unclear. It is possible that the text is to be corrected either to *bodhayaśas* (Skt. Bodhayaśas or Buddhayaśas) or *bodhaśava* (Skt. Bodhaśavas or Buddhaśavas). For the last variant see CKI no. 392 (**b*)*udhaśavapu[tra]sya* (Salomon 1999: 236, pl. 34, fig. 57).

postscript to the donation formula. As Salomon points out above, this formal feature is also attested for another closely related office, namely that of the *navakarmika*. Unlike the term discussed here and the majority of other administrative designations, the office of the *navakarmika* is rather frequently referred to in Buddhist inscriptions (Silk 2008: 90). According to the texts examined by Silk, it seems to share a number of responsibilities with that of the *vaiyāpṛtyakara*, to such a degree that Silk is forced to conclude:

... the relation between the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* and the *navakarmika* has also yet to be clarified. Their proximity in the lists in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* suggested to us some sort of association, but other than to say that both are involved in monastic administration and supervisory functions, and that there are examples of both having fiduciary duties, on the basis of the presently known evidence we would be hard pressed to come up with any concrete conclusions about their connection. And yet, this may precisely be the point. It is quite possible that, rather than overlapping, their duties were complementary. It may be that both were administrators and have little more in common. (...) If the *vaiyāpṛtyakara* and *navakarmika* look so similar, and the nature of their similarity is somewhat unfocused, it would be premature to draw any conclusions at all from this “fact” (Silk 2008: 98–99).

If we look at the data from the Indian northwest the *navakarmika* is regularly mentioned in donations that are related to the establishment of monastic edifices such as *vihāras* and *stūpas* (cf. Salomon 2012: 195). Thus the Taxila Copper Plate of Patika (CKI no. 46) adds at the end the phrase *rohiṇimitreṇa ya ima[mi] saṃgharame navakamika* “With Rohiṇimitra, who is the superintendent of construction in this monastery” (Baums 2012: 211–212). Since the copper-plate refers to the rather costly donation of a monastery and the establishment of relics therein, the reference to the *navakarmika* could directly be connected with his responsibility in the management of this type of donations.

The same type of postscript is attested in the Māṇikiāla stone relic chamber inscription referring to the establishment of several Buddha relics (CKI no. 149). Its last line reads: *sadha budhilena navakarmigeṇa* “Together with Budhila, the superintendent of construction” (Baums 2012: 240–241). As was already suggested by Konow (1929: 24, 149), both of these additions were probably added to the original inscription

by the *navakarmikas* themselves. A comparable usage is attested in the reliquary inscription from Prahodi (CKI no. 359), that seems to contain an entire lineage of *navakarmikas* inserted after the actual donation formula (Baums 2012: 218).

In other cases, a *navakarmika* could act either as the principal donor (CKI no. 155, Haḍḍa pot, Baums 2012: 243) or be listed among the persons to be venerated by means of the gift (CKI no. 265, Utara reliquary inscription, Baums 2012: 208–209). In the last case, the inscription once more refers to the establishment of relics accompanied by the erection of an edifice, this time a stone pillar (*śilastambho*). Again, the *navakarmika*'s name concludes the record, being explicitly mentioned among those persons who share the merit of the mentioned gift. Thus Salomon's suggestion, noted above, that these postscripts and additions are primarily intended to include the mentioned officials among those who partake of the merit gained from the recorded meritorious act is highly probable, and can perhaps also be applied to the evidence cited with regard to *vyavace*.

However, it can be assumed that such a postscript could also fulfil an additional function, namely to give a clear indication of the actual administrative situation in the monastery concerned by naming the person who is responsible for the administration of the gift and its future correct management. It is equally possible that these postscripts indicated the principal administrator-in-charge of the monastery, who would have enjoyed a similar prominent position to that presented in the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya texts discussed above. Our short references cannot solve this question.

Comparing the evidence for inscriptions mentioning the *navakarmika* and the office called **vyavaca-*, it seems that the character of donations directly influenced the choice of the office that is mentioned. Thus the *navakarmika* inscriptions clearly point to a context of construction, including the establishment of relics that accompanied the erection of structures. *Vyavace*, on the other hand, is exclusively mentioned with regard to donations of water pots or other earthen vessels. If the actual monastic status is indicated at all, the administering person is designated either as *bhadaṃta* or as *ṣamaṇera*. Both the modest character of the objects (ceramic vessels) as well as the humble status of a novice suggest

that the office of *vyavace* ranked relatively low in the hierarchy of Gandhāran Buddhist monasticism.

This interpretation is however partially contradicted by a slightly later inscription on a large cooking vessel (*deg*) from the Punjab, probably datable to the beginning of the fifth century CE. This text, first published by Vogel (1921–1922: 15), was indeed the only epigraphic reference to this office that was available to Silk (2008: 63–64). According to the revised reading by Falk (2004: 142 = 2013: 355, plate IIIb), the inscription records the erection of this vessel by the [vaiy]y[ā]bṛtyakara-buddha-dāsa³² in a Sarvāstivāda monastery. A copper *deg* of this size is a considerable gift and must have been rather costly. The only other comparable piece was donated by a high military official, a *daṇḍanāyaka* (Falk 2004: 143 = 2013: 356). It therefore seems that the *vaiyābṛtyakara* in the context of Sarvāstivāda monasticism in the Punjab during the fifth century would have a considerably higher status than his colleague in earlier Gandhāra and would have possessed a fair amount of financial means that allowed him to command such a grant.

As Kieffer-Pülz (2010: 73–75) rightly points out, the terminological application of *vaiyābṛtya/vaiyābṛtyakara* which has been assumed above has to be strictly distinguished from more generic expressions such as Pali *veyyāvaccam karoti* “renders a service.” Such a generic usage is clearly attested in the following canonical verse:

*ya tattha anumodanti veyyāvaccam karonti vā
ne tesam dakkhiṇā unā, te pi puññassa bhāgino* (AN III 41)

Those who rejoice in such deeds or who provide [other] service
do not miss out on the offering; they too partake of the merit.

(Trans. Bodhi 2012: 661)

Although its Sanskrit parallel in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* replaces the phrase *veyyāvaccam karonti vā* by *vaiyābṛtyakarās ca ye*, Silk (2008: 47) is certainly right in putting the technical character of these expressions into doubt. Based on this evaluation, the recently published copper-plates of Helagupta (Falk 2014), whose donation formula is concluded by a

³² For the alternative reconstruction *vyābṛtyakara* suggested by von Hinüber (2012: 374, n. 2), cf. n. 21 above.

Gāndhārī version of this verse,³³ can hardly contribute to our discussion of the office designated as *vyavaca-/viavaca-* in the water pot inscriptions. In terms of its function, this verse can be compared with the regularly attested practice in later Indian copper-plate grants, which conclude with a varying number of verses, often attributed to Vyāsa and mostly related to the practice of gifts and merit production.³⁴ It seems that the practice of including such authoritative quotations in the text of donative documents entered the Indian epigraphical practice at a much earlier point than our previous evidence suggested. But as in the case of these later quotations, the generic character of this type of verses warns us against assuming that they reflect the actual historical context of the donation or specific technical usages.

Conclusion

As far as our limited evidence allows us to conclude, the term *vyavace/viavace/vyāpāce* in phrases on ceramic objects from Gandhāra probably refers to the monk-administrator who was in charge of the reception and administration of gifts, and in particular of those of water pots and related objects of minor value. Since the objects can be attributed to communities of different *nikāya* affiliation (*Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda), these references are evidently not restricted to a particular school.

On the basis of the texts discussed above, and in particular of the *varṣopagamana karmavācanā* formula of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, it can be suggested that this office was of some importance for the administration of monasteries, probably in particular in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. Whether this term already includes in early Gandhāra a wider range of functions such as those described by later texts cannot be decided on the basis of the evidence discussed here.

³³ The text in question reads: *ye tatra aṇumodaṃti viavaca kareti ya na teṣu dakṣiṇa oṃa te ve puṇasa bhaiṇa* (Falk 2014: 18).

³⁴ For a comprehensive collection of these verses see Sircar 1996 [1965]: 170–201.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|---|
| AIA | Archaeology Institute of Afghanistan. |
| AN | <i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i> . |
| BHSD | Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> . New Haven: Yale University. |
| CKI | Glass, Andrew and Stefan Baums. <i>Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions</i> . http://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php . |
| CRAI | <i>Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. |
| MDAFA | <i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i> . Paris: Éditions de Boccard. |
| MIA | Middle Indo-Aryan. |
| KTĒMA | <i>Ktēma: civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques</i> . Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg. |
| PTSD | Rhys Davids, T.W. and William Stede. 1986 [1921–1925]. <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> . London: Pali Text Society. |
| Pravr-v III | Vogel, Claus and Klaus Wille. “The Final Leaves of the Pravrajyāvastu Portion of the Vinayavastu Manuscript Found Near Gilgit, Part 1, Saṃgharakṣitāvadāna.” In <i>Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III</i> . Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 6. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 241–296. |
| T | Takakusu, J. and K. Watanabe, eds. 1924–1934. <i>Taishō Shinshū Daizokyo</i> . 100 vols. Tokyo. |
| THS. | Tape Shotor (= Tape Šotor) |

References

- Allon, Mark and Richard Salomon. 2000. “Kharoṣṭhī Fragments of a Gāndhāri Version of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra.” In Jens Braarvig, ed., *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection I: Buddhist Manuscripts I*. Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing: 243–273.
- Barthoux, J. 1930. *Les fouilles de Hadda. Vol. 3, Figures et figurines, album photographique*. MDAFA, 6. Paris: Van Oest.
- . 1933. *Les fouilles de Hadda. Vol. 1, Stupas et sites*. MDAFA, 4. Paris: Les Éditions d'art et d'histoire.
- Baums, Stefan. 2012. “Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions.” In David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon, and Stefan Baums, *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*. Gandharan Studies, 1. Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project: 200–251 (chapter 6).

- Bloch, T. 1905–1906. “Two Inscriptions on Buddhist Images.” *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 179–182.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu, trans. 2012. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha. A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Somerville MA: Wisdom Publications.
- Brough, John. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London Oriental Series, 7. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cambon, P. 2004. “Monuments de Hadda au Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet.” *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 83 (1): 131–184.
- Clarke, Shayne, ed. 2014. *Vinaya Texts*. Gilgit manuscripts in the National Archives of India facsimile edition, 1. New Delhi: The National Archives of India.
- Falk, Harry. 2004. “Six Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Gandhāra.” *Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale,” Annali* 64: 139–155.
- . 2008. “Two New Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī Seals from Gandhara.” *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* 12: 19–24.
- . 2013. *Hariśyenaekhapañcāsikā: Fifty Selected Papers on Indian Epigraphy and Chronology*. Bremen: Hempen Verlag.
- . 2014. “The First-Century Copper-Plates of Helaguṇḍa from Gandhāra Hailing Maitreya.” *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* 17: 3–26.
- and Seishi Karashima. 2012. “A First-Century *Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript from Gandhāra – *parivarta* 1 (Texts from the Split Collection 1).” *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* 15: 19–61.
- Foucher, A. and E. Basin-Foucher. 1947. *La Vieille Route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila*. Vol. 2. MDAFA, 1. Paris: Les Éditions d’Art et d’Histoire.
- Fussman, Gérard. 1969. “Une inscription kharoṣṭhī à Haḍḍa.” *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-orient* 56: 5–9.
- . 1974. “Ruines de la vallée de Wardak.” *Arts Asiatiques* 30: 5–130.
- . 2011. *Catalogue des inscriptions sur poteries. Monuments bouddhiques de Termez/Termez Buddhist Monuments I*. Paris: Édition-Diffusion de Boccard.
- Ghirshman, Roman. 1946. *Bégram: Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*. MDAFA, 12. Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Française d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Glass, Andrew. 2007. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Härtel, Herbert. 1956. *Karmavācanā. Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkestanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften*. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 3. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Higuchi, Takayasu, Seichi Mizuno, and Shōsin Kuwayama. 1970. *Chaqalaq Tepe: Fortified Village in the North Afghanistan Excavated in 1964–1967*.

- Publications of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Iranian Plateau and Hindukush. Kyoto: Kyoto University.
- Hinüber, Oskar von. 1969. "Eine Karmavācanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 119: 102–132.
- . 2012. "Buddhistische Mönche als Verwalter ihrer Klöster. Die Entstehung des Begriffs 'vārika' in der Tradition der Theravādins." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 162: 373–389.
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra. 2010. [Review of Silk 2008]. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 53: 71–88.
- Konow, Sten. 1929. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. 2, Part 1. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.
- Kruglikova, Irina Timofeevna and Galina Anatol'evna Pugačenkova. 1977. *Dil'berdzhin: Raskopki 1970–1973 gg.* Vol. 2. Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Arkheologii Afghanistana.
- Mizuno, Seiichi and Takayasu Higuchi. 1978. *Thareli: Buddhist Site in Pakistan Surveyed in 1963–1967*. Publications of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Iranian Plateau and Hindukush. Kyoto: Dohosha.
- Mizuno, Seiichi, ed. 1968. *Durman Tepe and Lalma: Buddhist Sites in Afghanistan Surveyed in 1963–1965*. Publications of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Iranian Plateau and Hindukush. Kyoto: Kyoto University.
- Mostamindi, Š. 1969. "Fouilles de Haḍḍa." CRAI 113^e année (1): 119–128.
- . 1971 [= a.H. 1350]. *Hofriyat jadid Haḍḍa (1966–1971), (1345–1350)*. Kabul: General Direction of Archaeology and Preservation of Historical Monuments (Ministry of Information and Culture).
- Nishikawa, Kōji. 1988. *Gandhara 2: Preliminary Report on the Comprehensive Survey of Buddhist Sites in Gandhara 1986*. Kyoto: Kyoto University.
- Rahman, Abdur. 1968–1969. "Excavation at Damkot." *Ancient Pakistan* 4: 103–250.
- Sadakata, Akira. 1996. "Inscriptions kharoṣṭhī provenant du marché aux antiquités de Peshawar." *Journal Asiatique* 284: 301–324.
- Salomon, Richard. 1985. "Calligraphy in Pre-Islamic India." In Frederick M. Asher and G.S. Gai, eds., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH/American Institute of Indian Studies: 3–6.
- . 1996. "Five Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10: 233–246.
- . 1998. *Indian Epigraphy. A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. South Asia Research Series. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*. Seattle/London: University of Washington Press/British Library.
- . 2002. "A Jar with a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription." In Jens Braarvig, ed., *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III: Buddhist Manuscripts II*. Oslo: Hermes Publishing: 351–355.

- . 2008. “Whatever Happened to Kharoṣṭhī? The Fate of a Forgotten Indic Script.” In John Baines, John Bennet, and Stephen Houston, eds., *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*. London and Oakville CT: Equinox Publishing: 139–155.
- . 2012. “Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions.” In David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon, and Stefan Baums, *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*. Gandharan Studies, 1. Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project: 164–199 (chapter 5).
- Sander, Lore. 1968. *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 8. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Schopen, Gregory. 2001. “Dead Monks and Bad Debts: Some Provisions of a Buddhist Monastic Inheritance Law.” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 44: 99–148.
- . 2004. “Art, Beauty, and the Business of Running a Buddhist Monastery in Early Northwest India.” In Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Studies in the Buddhist Traditions. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press: 19–44.
- . 2007. “Art, Beauty, and the Business of Running a Buddhist Monastery in Early Northwest India.” In Doris Meth Srinivasan, ed., *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*. Leiden/Boston: Brill: 287–317.
- Shōno, Masahiro. 2010. “A Re-edited Text of the *Varṣāvastu* in the *Vinayavastu* and a Tentative Re-edited Text of the *Vārṣikavastu* in the *Vinayasūtra*.” *Acta Tibetica et Buddhica* 3: 1–128.
- Silk, Jonathan. 2008. *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*. South Asia Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sircar, D.C. 1996 [1965]. *Indian Epigraphy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Strauch, Ingo. 2007. “Two Inscribed Pots from Afghanistan.” *Gandhāran Studies* 1: 77–88.
- . Forthcoming. “Early Mahāyāna in Gandhāra. New evidence from the Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra.” In Paul Harrison, ed., *Early Mahāyāna*. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing.
- Tarzi, Zemarylaï. 1976. “Hadda à la lumière des trois dernières campagnes de fouilles de Tapa-é-Shotor (1974–1976).” CRAI 120^e année (3): 381–410.
- . 1988. “Haḍḍa.” *Encyclopædia Universalis*, corpus 9. Paris: Société d’édition *Encyclopædia Universalis*: 64–66.
- . 1991. “Haḍḍa à la lumière des fouilles de Tapa-e-Shotor et Tapa-e-Top-e-Kalan.” Doctoral thesis, Université II de Strasbourg. 6 vols.
- . 2000. “Vajrapani-Heraclès de la niche V2 de Tape Shotor de Hadda (Afghanistan).” *KTEMA* 25 (*Volume de Mélanges offert à G. Siebert*): 163–170.
- . 2002. “Haḍḍa.” In *Afghanistan, une histoire millénaire*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux: 128–145.

- . 2005. “La céramique de Haḍḍa: étude préliminaire.” In Zemaryalāi Tarzi and Denyse Vaillancourt, eds., *Art et archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l’Inde et de l’Asie centrale. Actes du colloque international du Crpoga (Strasbourg, 17–18 mars 2000)*. Collection de l’Université Marc Bloch – Strasbourg, Études d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne. Paris: De Boccard: 209–317.
- . 2009. “Les représentations portraitistes des donateurs laïcs dans l’imagerie bouddhique.” *KTÈMA* 34 (*Recherches sur le portrait dans les civilisations de l’Antiquité. Représentations individuelles et individualisation de la représentation*): 287–306.
- Vogel, Jean Phillipe. 1921–1922. “Shorkot Inscription of the Year 83.” *Epigraphia Indica* 16: 15–17.
- Wilson, H. H. 1841. *Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan: With a Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes*, by C. Masson, Esq. London: The East India Company.



Fig. 1: Physical map of Afghanistan showing the location of Haḍḍa in relation to other important archaeological sites in the country.
Map adapted and presented by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

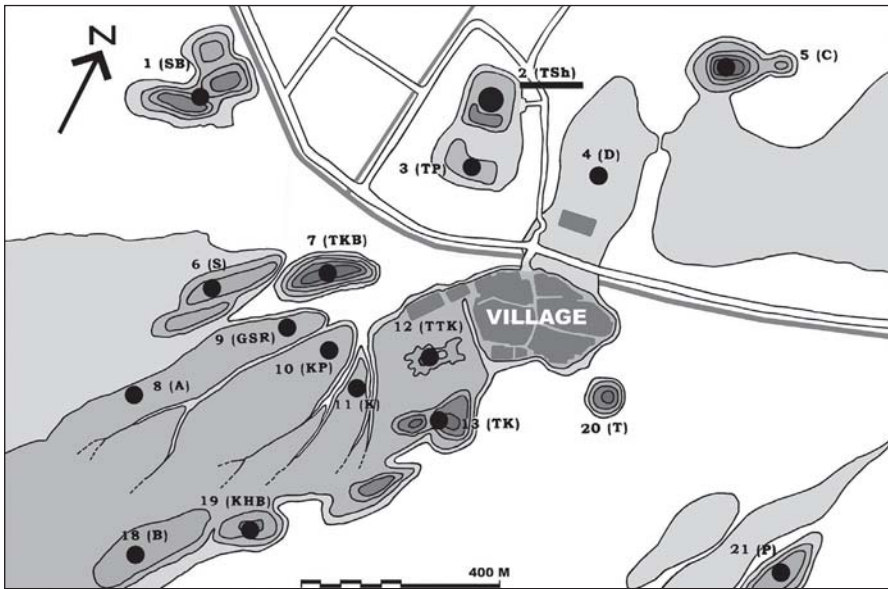


Fig. 2: The main Buddhist sites in the region of Haḍḍa: Somotch Bāzār (SB), 2. Tape Šotor (TSh), 3. Tape Payān (TP), 4. Deh Ghoundi (D), 5. Shakhili Ghoundi (C), 6. Silraw (S), 7. Tape Kābol (TKB), 8. Gāre Naw (A), 9. Great *stūpa*, ruined (GSR), 10. Kafarihāe Payān (KP), 12. Tape Tope Kalān (TTK), 13. Tape Kalān (TK), 14, 15, 16 and 17 (not shown on this map, located further to the west), 18. Baghgay (B), 19. Khord Badhgay (KHB), 20. Topak (T), 21. Pratès (P). Map designed and drawn by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

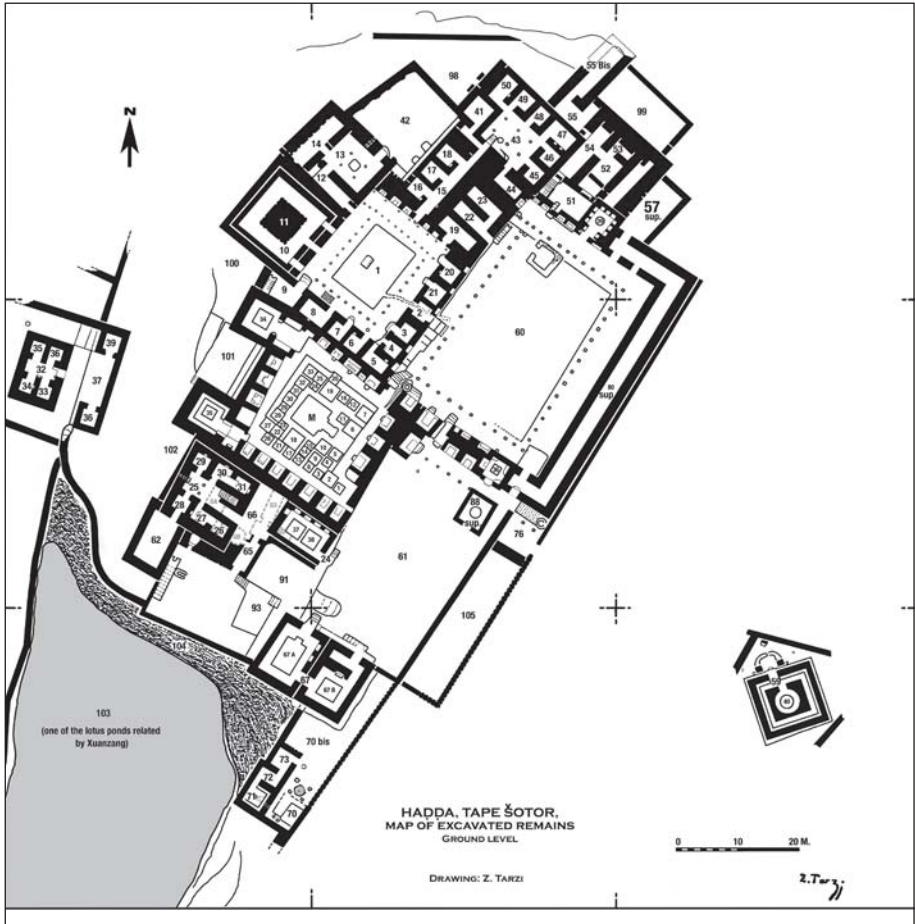


Fig. 3: Map of excavation at Tape Šotor, showing the location of terrace no. 57 at the northeast of the site.

Drawing by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

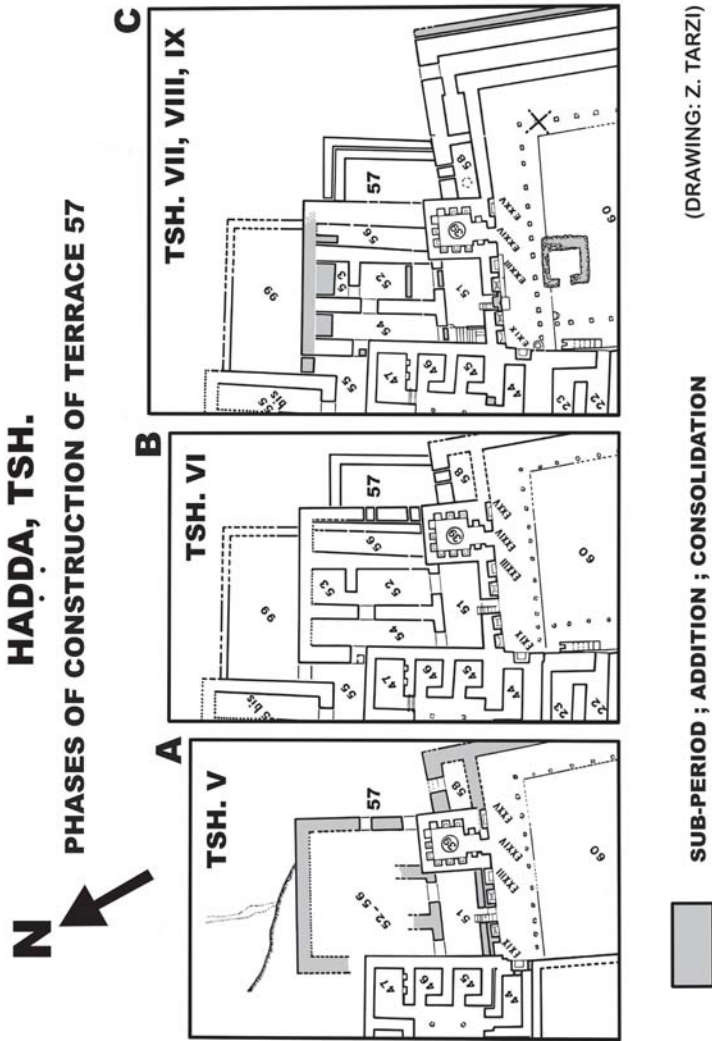


Fig. 4: Tape Šotor, three phases: the selection, construction and layout of the room and the terrace no. 57.
Drawing by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.



Fig. 5: Tape Šotor, room no. 57 and its door communicating with room no. 58 at ground level; view from north to south. Photograph by Z. Tarzi; negative: former archives of the AIA.



Fig. 6: Tape Šotor, room no. 57, view from east to west, showing the condition of the eastern wall of constructions 52–56, with the sealed windows against which terrace 57 was built.

Photograph by Z. Tarzi; negative: former archives of the AIA.



Fig. 7: Tape Šotor, view downward onto terrace no. 57 and its stucco-covered floor, which collapsed due to the infiltration of rain water. The position of the circular *stūpa* in terracotta is discernible. Photograph by Z. Tarzi, taken from the top of caitya EXXIV; negative: former archives of the AIA.

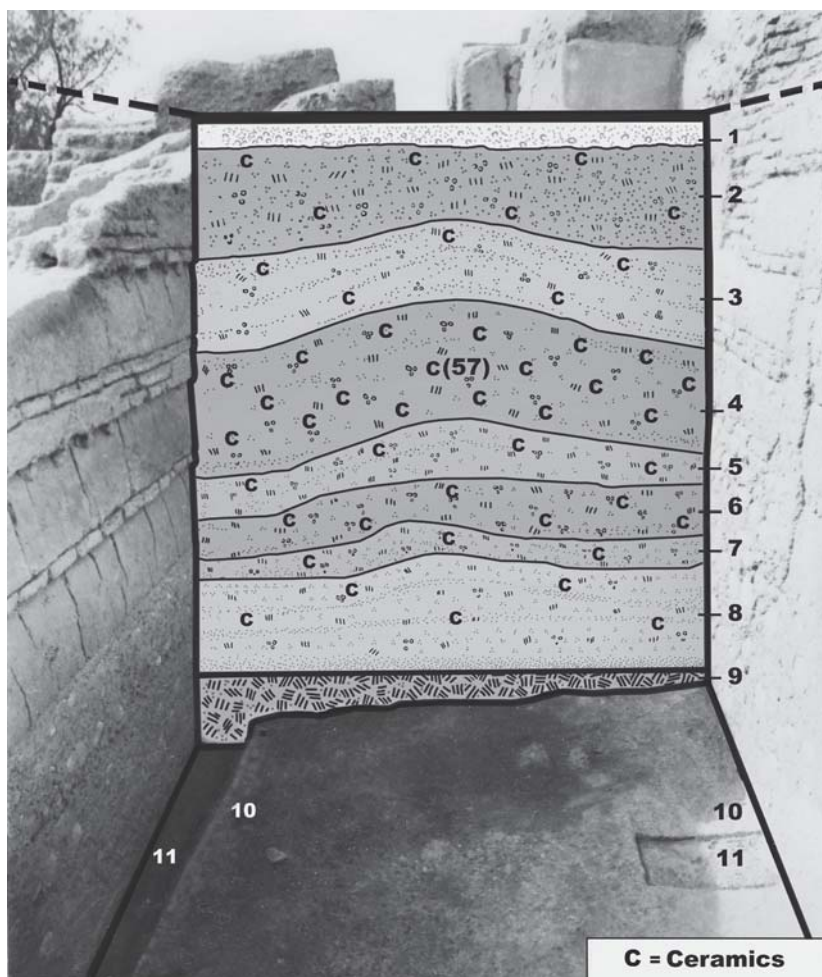


Fig. 8: Tape Šotor, photomontage showing a drawing of the various layers making up the embankment of terrace 57. Photograph and drawing by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

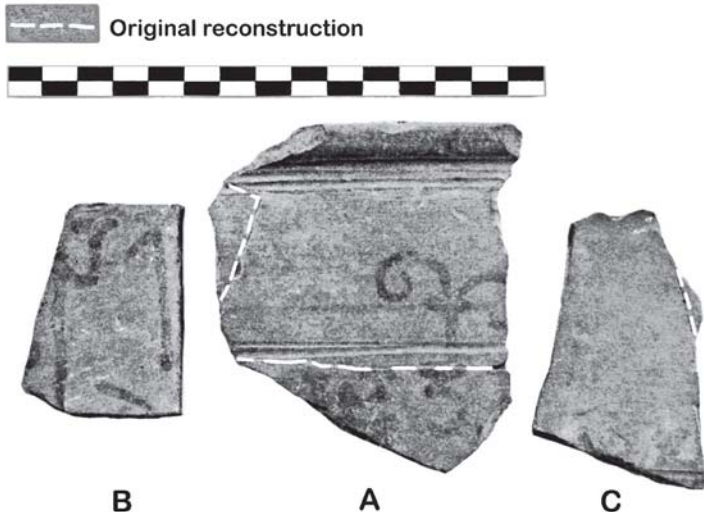


Fig. 9: Three inscribed sherds discovered during the salvage excavations in the ruins of the AIA in Dārul Amān, Kabul, in 2002. These sherds come from the vessel from terrace 57, which had previously been glued together and restored. Photograph by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.



Fig. 10: Placement of the three sherds in relationship to the inscription on the bowl from terrace 57. Drawing by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

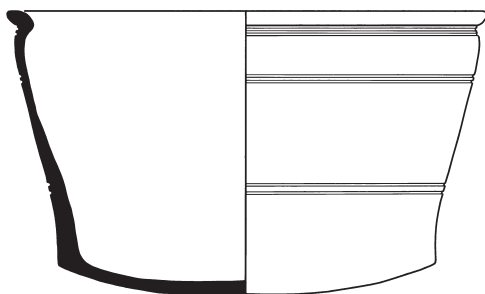


Fig. 11: Hađđa, Tape Šotor, bowl from terrace 57: drawing showing, at the left, section and interior-exterior view; at the right, profile and exterior view. Drawing by Z. Tarzi; archives of Z. Tarzi, Strasbourg.

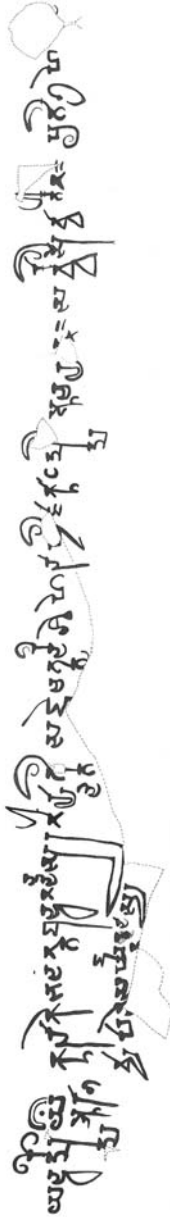


Fig. 12: The inscription on the bowl from terrace 57 at Tape Šotor.
 Digital image prepared by Timothy Lenz from the original hand-copy
 made by Z. Tarzi.