

A HOARD OF INSCRIBED GANDHARAN METALWARE

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ABSTRACT

The article describes a set of seven silver objects – three goblets, two ladles, a bowl and a cup – bearing short dedicatory inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī script datable to around the first century CE. The inscriptions record in the usual Gandharan fashion the donation of the utensils by a group of nuns and lay-persons, perhaps constituting a family association, to a Sarvāstivādin monastery called Utarode(v)a located at an otherwise unknown place, Koṇaśīli. Similar objects and inscriptions are cited in order to clarify the historical, sectarian, and social context of the objects and their donation.

I. Introduction

The seven objects described here were seen and examined by the author in Pakistan in 1996 together with Jason Neelis, who provided important contributions to the readings and interpretations presented in this article.¹ At the time they were in the custody of Aman ur Rahman, who kindly granted his permission to study and publish them. However, due to various distractions – especially the discoveries of Gandhari manuscripts that had begun to appear at about that time – their publication has been postponed until now. The objects in question are no longer with Aman ur Rahman, and their current whereabouts are not known to me. Unfortunately, it was not possible at the time to have them professionally photographed, so that the editions presented here are based primarily on notes taken from direct observation. The photographs accompanying the article were taken by the author and Neelis with the assistance of Aman ur Rahman under less-than-ideal circumstances, and the inscriptions are particularly difficult to photograph because of the very small size of the characters, ranging

¹ Thanks are also due to Harry Falk and to a second anonymous reader of this article, who suggested several significant improvements.

from 3 to 9 mm in height, and the corrosion that obscures many of them. Nevertheless, the readings are for the most part reasonably secure, in part because the similarity of the seven texts allows for cross-checking and reconstructing damaged or illegible portions in many cases.

The objects in question consist of three goblets, a small bowl, a cup, and two ladles, each bearing an inscription written in *pointillé* fashion in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gandhari language. The inscriptions record their dedication to a Sarvāstivādin congregation at the previously unknown Utarodeva *vihāra* located in an unidentified place named, apparently, Koṇaśīlī² (e.g., *saṃghami caūdiśami koṇaśīlie vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i]* in the inscription on the cup).³ Although no information is available as to the original provenance of the objects, I feel confident in describing them as a “hoard” in view of their similar inscriptions which show clearly that they constitute a unitary group, and by comparison with other archaeologically attested hoards with partially similar contents. Particularly notable is the hoard that was discovered in the course of the Taxila excavations at the Mahal site, near Sirkap. This consisted of “a group of more than sixty metal vessels and other articles which had been hidden and built up in a recess of the wall between the two small chambers, D7 and D8, at the south-west corner of court B” (Marshall 1951: 1.215).

The Mahal hoard included several objects similar to the ones presented here: several “standard beakers” resembling the three goblets, seven “open bowls” somewhat similar to our bowl, and ten ladles, including one with a dedicatory inscription (described below, part II.7) that is very similar to the ones on the new ladles.

Another hoard from Taxila, found in a house adjacent to the “temple court” in the central area of the Sirkap site, contained no less than six objects bearing Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions recording the names of their owners,

² Harry Falk points out that the first syllable of this name in its clearest instance (on the cup; see figs. 11 and 17) has a slight curl at the upper left tip, which makes it possible to read the *aḥsara* as the conjunct *spo* rather than *ko*. In this case, the name of the location of the monastery would rather be *Spoṇaśīli*.

³ The locative form *koṇaśīlie* cited here and in most of the other inscriptions (see the synoptic text in part III) implies a feminine stem *koṇaśīli-* or *koṇaśīli-*, but the apparent reading *[kuṇa](*śi)l[iami]* in Goblet A seems to suggest a masculine or neuter stem *koṇaśīlia-*. However, the reading there is quite uncertain, so that the existence of such an alternative stem is doubtful.



Figure 1. The Mahal hoard, “hidden in the heart of a thick wall at Mahal, lying as found” (Marshall 1951: 3.pl. 41b).

which led Marshall (1951: 1.156) to speculate “that the vessels may have been gifts to the temple.” This hoard included three “silver goblets with carinated and fluted sides” (Marshall 1951: 1.157, no. 19; 3.pl. 187, nos. 5a, 5b; pl. 188, nos. 5a, 5b) that are again very similar to the new ones presented here, although they were uninscribed. The hoard also contained two silver cups (also uninscribed) that are somewhat similar to the new cup presented here (Marshall 1951: 1.157, no. 22; 3.pl. 187, no. 9; pl. 188, no. 9). Another comparable Gandharan hoard of uncertain provenance included four inscribed ewers (now in the Matsudo Museum in Matsudo City, Japan) which, “would have been property of one single Buddhist monastery and it seems that monks working with metal had their collection in the cave” (Falk [2012] 2016: 37).⁴

⁴ See the further discussion of the inscribed materials from these hoards in part V.2–3 below.



Figure 2. An early photograph of the three goblets (from left to right: C, B, A), before restoration (photo courtesy of Aman ur Rahman).

None of the new inscriptions is dated, but their paleographic and orthographic features are consistent with a date in the Indo-Parthian period, perhaps around the earlier part of the first century CE. Such a dating is suggested by the sporadic appearance of the archaic form of preconsonantal (subscript) *r* as a curved horizontal stroke across the stem of the consonant, which alternates in these inscriptions with the later form in which the diacritic stroke takes the form of a loop beginning at the bottom of the consonant.⁵ This makes it likely that these inscriptions date from a transitional period between the archaic forms of Kharoṣṭhī which prevailed in the centuries before the Common Era and the more developed forms that prevailed after the first century.

Such a dating range is supported by Marshall's observation that copper ladles very similar to the ones presented here "are found only in the

⁵ See the further comments in the notes on *pa[r]ṇavaḍi[e]* in goblet A in part IV.1.

Śaka-Parthian strata at Sirkap” (1951: 2.594). Presumably our hoard had been buried for safekeeping at some point during the turbulent history of this period, probably in or near the precincts of the monastery to which they had been donated. However, there is one clue which suggests that the circumstances of deposition of the objects presented here may not have been exactly comparable to those of the Taxila hoards discussed above. The photograph reproduced in figure 2, which was taken by parties unknown to me before the goblets were cleaned and partially restored, shows the goblets as they appeared when originally found with heavy incrustation throughout their surface.

Here it is apparent that all three goblets, especially A, suffered the most damage at the bottom: goblet A has evidently lost its entire lower section and its base, while B and C have lost a significant part of their bottoms although their bases have survived. This gives the impression that the goblets had been interred in an upright position so that moisture collected at the bottoms and gradually caused them to disintegrate. This is quite unlike the randomly jumbled appearance of the Taxila hoards (fig. 1), and we can only speculate as to the reason for this difference. But it is possible to imagine that the goblets, and presumably the four other objects that accompanied them, were not thrown together in haste but rather had been stored in some orderly fashion before being abandoned or interred.

II. Description of the artifacts

1–3. *Goblets A, B, and C*

The three goblets (figs. 3–5) were said to be of silver, although this could not be confirmed due to the extensive tarnishing which made them look like copper or brass; unfortunately no technical examination was possible. The three goblets are of the familiar “Indo-Parthian” type (Marshall 1951: 2.607; Baratte 2001: 295), large numbers of which have been found, in various materials including silver, copper, and earthenware, at Taxila and other sites. A hoard of uncertain origin (Baratte 2001: 250, n. 5) but rumored to have come from the Bajaur District of Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (the former Bajaur Federally Administrated Tribal



Figure 3. Goblet A.
Text partially visible at center:
... *raṃmi u[ta]ro* ...

(This and all succeeding photos by R. Salomon
and J. Neelis unless otherwise noted.)



Figure 4. Goblet B.
Text partially visible at right and center:
(line 1) ... *vhemī[trae] bhikhuṇīe / sagha* ...
(line 2) ... *[pu]yāita*



Figure 5. Goblet C.
Text legible at center left:
... *caūdisami* ...

Area) included six silver goblets of a very similar type, two of which had Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions recording their owner's name and their weight (Baratte 2001: 292–297; Falk 2001: 316, nos. 17–18), this being the normal type of inscription found on objects of this class; none of the nine inscriptions on various objects in the aforementioned hoard, as presented in Falk 2001, have any donative content.

Another similar silver goblet (Salomon 1990) that also had an owner's-name-and-weight inscription may have originally been part of the same hoard (Falk 2001: 310). Also possibly originally associated with the same hoard⁶ is the remarkable reliquary of the Apraca prince Indravarma (Salomon 1996; Baratte 2001: 297–298). This object bore six inscriptions, three of which contained the name of its successive owners and its weight, while the two latest inscriptions recorded its repurposing as a container for relics of the Buddha.⁷ Donative inscriptions such as those on the three new examples presented here have not previously been observed on such objects, although the formula of the inscriptions themselves is abundantly attested in inscriptions on other classes of objects from Gandhara.

The three goblets are similar in size and shape. As noted above, all three, especially goblet A, are incomplete at the bottom, which seems to have been lost to corrosion. The maximum height of the surviving portions⁸ are 7.7 cm (goblet A) and 8.1 cm (B and C); the original height of the body of the goblets can be estimated for B and C as 8.8 and 9.5 cm respectively. The diameters at the rim are 9.4, 9.0, and 10 cm respectively. They are thus somewhat smaller than the three silver goblets from Taxila which were 5.25, 6.12, and 7 inches in height (= 13.3, 15.5, 17.8 cm; Marshall 1951: 1.157, 2.612). However, the difference is actually somewhat less than it would seem from these figures because the new goblets originally must have had separate bases. Two such feet have survived

⁶ Compare Baratte 2001: 302: “[O]n ne peut affirmer que l’inventaire du trésor, tel que nous l’avons établi, est complet: nous avons même déjà indiqué que d’autres pièces lui ont été attribuées.”

⁷ The remaining inscription was a single syllable on the bottom of the foot, perhaps the initial of the artisan who constructed the object (Salomon 1996: 428, n. 19).

⁸ These figures do not include the portions that were reconstructed by unknown persons with plastic resin.



Figure 6. Two feet, probably originally part of the goblets.

separately (fig. 6), measuring 3.0 and 3.2 cm in height and 3.7 and 3.8 cm in maximum diameter (at the bottom).

The feet would have been cast separately and soldered onto the bottoms of the goblets, so that, including the height of these or similar feet, around 3 cm, the full original height of the goblets can be estimated as in the neighborhood of 12 to 13 cm; this is closely comparable to the 13.2 cm height of the most complete goblet in the Bajaur (?) hoard (Baratte 2001: 293, n. 105). It is however not quite certain that these two feet actually belonged to goblets B and C as they are shown in figure 2, since they may have been incorrectly assembled by the party who took the photograph. In theory the feet could have belonged to other vessels, such as the cup or bowl; for example, the aforementioned silver cups from the Mahal hoard had a somewhat similar foot. But in any case, it can safely be assumed that the new goblets did have feet like these, if not these very ones.

Each of the goblets has a horizontal rim around its circumference at about the middle of its height. The diameter of this rim is approximately equal to that of the upper edge. Goblet A alone has a series of fluted lines below this rim, such as is frequently seen in objects of this type.

The inscription on goblet A consists of a single line measuring 23 cm, written around the circumference halfway between the lip and the central rim, in letters ranging in height from 5 to 7 mm. On goblet B the inscription is similarly written midway between the lip and the medial rim, but in two lines measuring 27 cm and 5.5 cm long respectively, with letters

6 to 9 mm high. At the end of the second line is engraved the figure of a seated animal, apparently a lion, executed like the inscription in *pointillé* (fig. 7).

The inscription on goblet C consists of a single line around the circumference just below the lip, covering 26.7 cm with letters ranging from 5 to 8 mm. At the end of the inscription there is a faintly incised outline of a horned animal, perhaps meant to represent an ibex or similar species (fig. 8).

4. *The silver bowl*

The round silver bowl (fig. 9) measures 5.8 cm in height with a diameter of 10.3 cm at the lip and a maximum diameter of 11.2 cm. The Bajaur (?) hoard included several quite similar silver bowls (Baratte 2001: 296–299, figs. 24–26), but none were inscribed. No directly comparable objects were found in the Taxila excavations (Baratte 2001: 299).

The inscription is written around the upper edge, covering about 30 cm with characters 3 to 6 mm high. Before the beginning of the inscription, there is an outlined figure similar to that on goblet B, but with longer horns (fig. 10).

The surface of the upper edge is particularly badly corroded so that several portions of the inscription are illegible, but these portions can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty from the parallels in the other inscriptions.

5. *The silver cup*

The cup (fig. 11) is 6.3 cm in height and 8.0 cm in diameter at the lip. At a height 3.7 cm from the bottom there is a protruding rim, 9.2 cm in diameter. The inscription consists of a single line covering 27 cm in letters 4 to 6 mm high. One additional word was secondarily inserted below the main line of writing. (See the text edition in part IV.5 for details.)



Figure 7. Figure of a lion (?) at the end of the inscription on goblet B.

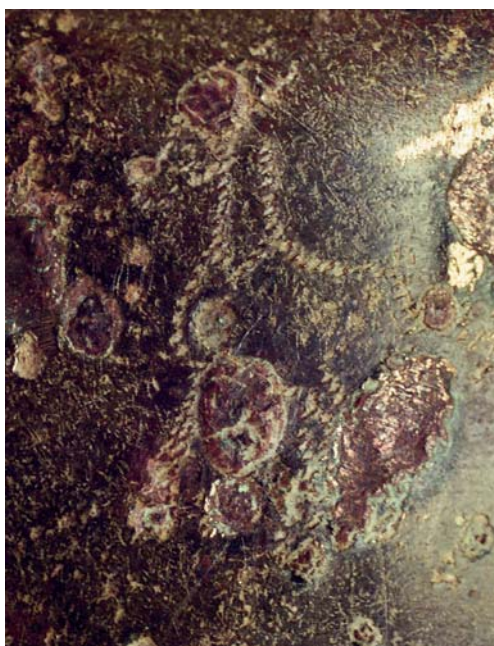


Figure 8. Figure of an ibex (?) at the end of the inscription on goblet C.



Figure 9. The silver bowl.



Figure 10. Figure of an ibex (?) at the beginning of the inscription on the bowl.



Figure 11. The silver cup. Text visible at left:
saṅghami caūdiśami koṇaśīli ...



Figure 12: The two ladles (photo courtesy of Harry Falk).

6. *Copper ladle A*



Figure 13. The large ladle A.

The large ladle A (figs. 12, 13) is 31.7 cm in total length, including a handle 19.7 cm long and a bowl 12 cm in diameter and 6 cm deep. The handle is attached to the bowl by a fluted boss 3.2 cm long and ends with a knob 1.6 cm wide and 1.2 cm long. The handle is parallel to the diameter of the bowl, in contrast to the smaller ladle B whose handle is perpendicular to the bowl. A very similar ladle described in Falk 2004: 140–141 and illustrated there in pl. II measures 29.7 cm in length with a bowl 12.8 in diameter and 6 cm deep, and has a dedicatory inscription in Brāhmī estimated by Falk to belong to “the middle of the 4th or 5th century” (p. 141).⁹ Another similar object, but without inscription, was found in the Taxila excavations (Marshall 1951: 2.594, no. 305; 3.pl. 175, no. 305). According to Marshall (p. 594), such objects are “manifestly copies of Greek or Graeco-Roman ladles” (compare the remarks on the following object).

The inscription is written around the outer edge of the bowl just below the rim, on the portion opposite to the handle. It measures 24.5 cm in length, covering about two-thirds of the diameter of the bowl. The letters, ranging from 5 to 8 mm in height, punched in very small dots, are perfectly preserved and legible (fig. 14).

⁹ For the details of this inscription see part V.3 below.



Figure 14. Detail of the inscription on large ladle A.
The visible text reads ... *rodeami viharami sarvastivadaṇa pari* ...

7. Copper ladle B

Unlike the larger ladle, in the smaller one (fig. 15) the handle is perpendicular to the bowl, matching closely the Roman *simpulum*, a ritual implement used for pouring libations. It is less clear what their function would have been in a Buddhist monastery, but however that may be, several examples of similar objects have been discovered at Taxila (Sirkap, Mahal) in silver (Marshall 1951: 2.613–614, no. 15; 3.pl. 187, no. 15) and

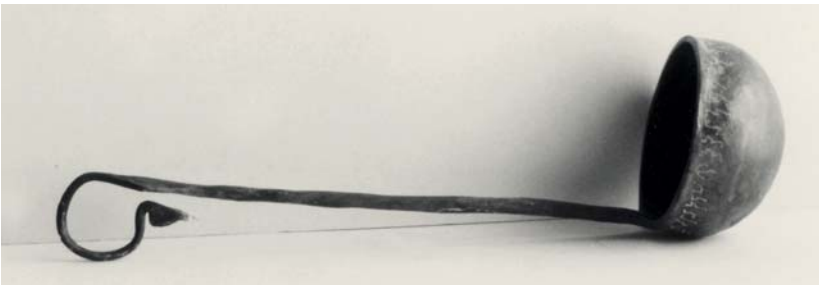


Figure 15. The small ladle B.

copper (Marshall 1951: 3.594, nos. 306–308; 3.pl. 175, nos. 306–308; pl. 184a, f, h), and elsewhere in Gandhara. Three such items have donative inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī: the copper ladles from Mahal (Sirkap, Taxila; CKI no. 68) and Bedadi (near Mansehra, Hazara District; CKI no. 67) and a silver ladle, also from Sirkap (Marshall 1951: 2.613–614, no. 15).¹⁰

The smaller ladle is 21.5 cm long with a bowl 5.9 cm in diameter. The end of the handle is curved back in a goose-neck shape, 3.8 cm long. Marshall described a similar item (1951: 2.594, no. 306) as “a pure Graeco-Roman type that might have come from Pompeii.” The inscription is written in letters 5 to 8 mm high around the outer edge of the bowl, beginning below the handle and covering the full circumference for a total length of 13 cm. The last three syllables, *p(*u)[yae]*, are written above the first two because the engraver ran out of room, and this is presumably why they are poorly written and only partially legible (fig. 16).



Figure 16. Detail of the end and beginning of the inscription on the small ladle B.

The visible text reads ... *ṣamanasa daṇamukha madapida**p(*u)[yae]* //
saghami caü ...

(photo courtesy of Harry Falk).

¹⁰ For these inscriptions, see part V.3.

III. Synoptic text of the inscriptions¹¹

Section 1:

Goblet A: *saghami [cadu]diśa[mi kuṇa](*)l[iami] viharaṃmi u[ta]-rode[a]mi*

Goblet B: [line 1] *sagha(*mi) caüdi(*śami) [utaro]de[vami vi]harami [k](*)oṇa)śilie*

Goblet C: *(*saghami) caüdiśami [u]tar[o]deva[mi ko]naśi[li]e (*viha)-[ra](*)mi*

Bowl: *[sa](*)ghami) caüdiśami [uta]rode[am]mi viha[ra](*)mi k(*oṇa)śilie*

Cup: *saṃghami caüdiśami koṇaśilie vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i] ⟨⟨utarodeami⟩⟩*

Ladle A: *saghami cadudiśami utarodeami viharami*

Ladle B: *saghami caüdiśami*

Section 2:

Goblet A: –

Goblet B: *[a]ca(*r)ya(*ṇa sar)va[sti]vada parigrahami*

Goblet C: *[a](*)car)yana sarva[stivadana] (*pa)[r](*)i)g(*rahami)*

Bowl: *sarvast(*iva)da[ṇa pa](*)ri)[graha](*)mi*

Cup: *(*sarvastivadaṇa parigrahami)*

Ladle A: *sarvastivadaṇa parigrahami*

Ladle B: *ayariaṇa sarvastivadaṇa parigrahami*

¹¹ Here and in the following section, the text is presented according to the standard conventions for Gandhari texts:

[] = incomplete or uncertain syllable(s)

(*) = syllable(s) or portions of syllable(s) missing from the actual text but securely reconstructed

. = illegible consonantal or vocalic portion of partially legible syllable (e.g., .i represents a syllable with the vowel diacritic *i* but whose consonantal portion is lost or illegible)

? = visible or partially visible but illegible syllable

⟨*⟩ = syllable inadvertently omitted by the scribe

⟨⟨⟩⟩ = syllable(s) secondarily inserted by the scribe interlinearly

Section 3:

- Goblet A: *pa[r]ṇavaḍi[e] dhama[ka]bharyae daṇamu[khe]*
 Goblet B: *[avhe]mi[trae] bhikhuṇie* [line 2] *[daṇa]mukhe*
 Goblet C: ? [i] ? (*bhi)kh(*u)ni[ye] (*da)ṇamu[khe]
 Bowl: *budharakṣidae bhikhu[ṇ]iye da[ṇa]mu[khe]*
 Cup: ?? *[pi]senasa bha[ḍa]ria[ṇe]a[sa] daṇamukhe*
 Ladle A: *budhapriasa dhame* [u]siasa daṇamukhe
 Ladle B: *budhadasasa ṣamanasa daṇamukha*

Section 4:

- Goblet A: *sarva satva puyāita* ?? [mavi] ??
 Goblet B: (*madapi)[da pu]yāita
 Goblet C: –
 Bowl: *madupida* (*puyāita mitrasalohida puyāita sarva) *b(*udha)*
*pu(*ya)ṛ(*ta)*
 Cup: *madap[i]da* [puyāita mitrasalohida] *puyāita sarva budha*
puyāita
 Ladle A: *saba sapa puyāita*
 Ladle B: *madapidap(*u)[yae]*

Combined translation 1, with portions contained in all versions in bold face:

“**To the universal community** in the Utarodeva monastery at Koṇaśiḷī, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters: **pious gift of xxx**, honoring mother and father/friends and relatives/all buddhas/all beings.”

Combined translation 2, with portions contained in all or nearly all versions in bold face:

“**To the universal community in the Utarodeva monastery** at Koṇaśiḷī, **in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda** masters: **pious gift of xxx**, honoring mother and father/friends and relatives/all buddhas/all beings.”

The combined texts show that all seven inscriptions record essentially the same information with differing degrees of detail, expressed in formulae

which follow the typical pattern of Buddhist donative inscriptions. The most complete versions provide the following six points of information:

1. The universal Buddhist community, *sa(m)ghami ca(d)udīśami*, which is the theoretical recipient of all such donations.
2. The name of the monastery¹² whose masters (*ācārya*) are the *de facto* recipients (*parigrahami*), namely Utarode(v)a.
3. The location of the monastery, namely Koṇaśilī/Kuṇaśilī.
4. Specification of the lineage (*nikāya*) of the recipient monks, namely the Sarvāstivādins ([*acaryaṇa*] *sarvastivadaṇa*).
5. The donor's name and title (e.g., *bhikkhuṇi* "nun," goblets B, C and bowl, or *ṣamana* "monk," ladle B) in the genitive, governed by the nominative subject, *daṇamukhaḷe* "pious gift."
6. The donor's blessings (*puyāita* or *puyae* = Skt *pūjayitvā* [or *pūjita-?*], *pūjāyai*), implying a sharing of the merit, invoked upon:
 - (a) the donor's parents (goblet B, ladle B; *madapida puyāita/puyae*)
 - (b) the donor's parents, friends and relatives, and all buddhas (bowl, cup; *madapida puyāita mitrasalohida puyāita sarva budha puyāita*)
 - (c) all beings (goblet A, ladle A; *sarva satvaḥsaba sapa puyāita*).

The inscriptions vary with regard to how many of these elements are actually included. Goblet B, the bowl, and the cup contain or originally contained all six elements, but goblet A leaves out the reference to the Sarvāstivādins who are mentioned in all the other versions as the recipient of the donations. The inscription on ladle B lacks both the name (*utarode(v)a*) and location (*koṇaśilī*) of the recipient monastery, while ladle A includes the name of the monastery but omits the location. Also, in section 1 the order of the elements varies considerably. In three versions (goblets B and C, bowl) the name of the monastic community is mentioned before the location, while in goblet A the order is reversed, and in another (cup) the name of monastery has been added secondarily below *viharaṃmi*. In the same part of the inscription the position of the word *vihara(m)mi* varies, usually (goblets A, B, bowl, cup) placed between the aforementioned terms, but twice after them (goblet C, ladle A). Section 3, presenting the names of the donors, is different in each inscription, confirming

¹² Because of the variation in the order of the words in the different texts of section 1, it is not immediately obvious which term, *utarode(v)a* or *koṇaśilī*, is the name of the monastery and which is its location. The rationale for taking *utarode(v)a* as the monastery's name is explained below in part V.2.

that we are dealing with separate donors in each case.¹³ In section 4, the donors, except in goblet C, each pay their respects (*puyāita*, *puyae*) to persons of their choice, as is regularly the practice in Buddhist donative inscriptions, but with different specifications as listed above (item 6).

There is no obvious rationale for the different formulations of the donative record other than, perhaps, limitations of space. For example, the briefer formulation of the donative formula on the small ladle B, which uniquely omits both the name and location of the recipient community, seems to be conditioned by the small amount of space available around the circumference of the upper edge of the bowl (13 cm). But there is no clear motivation for the somewhat surprising omission in goblet A of section 2 (the name of the recipient *nikāya*), since it is included in the two other goblets which are of similar dimensions and would be expected to be an important part of the record, certifying the *de facto* possession of the object on which it appears. The similar Bedadi and Sirkap ladle inscriptions, though brief, both record the name of the recipient *nikāya*, namely the Kāśyapīyas in both cases.¹⁴

Thus it would seem that the recording of these inscriptions was approached in a somewhat casual fashion, as is so often the case with Gandharan Buddhist inscriptions, which allowed for brief or more elaborate versions at the discretion of the donor or other concerned parties. However, in the inscription on the cup the specification of the location of the recipient congregation, *utarodeami*, has evidently been inserted secondarily below *-e vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i]* (fig. 17).

This gives the impression that at least this donor, or some other party involved in the donation process, had some sense of the desirability of providing the complete information. Perhaps the reason for the surprisingly casual approach to what would seem to be a formal donation

¹³ See the further discussion of this point in part V.1.

¹⁴ The contents of these two inscriptions, with reference to the six topic headings cited above, are: Bedadi: 1 – 3 – 4 – 5; Sirkap, 5 – 1 – 2 – 3 – 4. Thus they essentially match the contents of the inscriptions introduced here, except for lacking the blessings (6) of parents, relatives, etc. The formulation of the inscriptions on the set of donated metal wares described in Falk [2012] 2016: 38–39 is once again similar but differently ordered (1 – 4 – 3 – 2), except for the (somewhat surprising) absence of the donor's name (5). For further discussion of these inscriptions and the *nikāyas* involved, see part V.3.



Figure 17. The silver cup:
utarodeami inserted secondarily below the main text (-e vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i]).

document is that such inscriptional records were in effect merely duplicate display copies of the monastery's complete official record of donations received. Fragments of what seems to be such a document have in fact been recently discovered and identified by Mark Allon (2019).

IV. Detailed readings of the inscriptions

General comments: The inscriptions were originally quite clearly and carefully inscribed in *pointillé* fashion, apparently all by the same engraver, but they are often difficult to read because of the small size of the letters, the ambiguities occasionally caused by writing in *pointillé*,¹⁵ and especially because of the corrosion that has obscured the surface of several portions of the inscriptions. Nevertheless, the illegible portions can often be restored on the basis of the formulaic elements common to all of the inscriptions, except in the case of the names of the various donors which are different in each inscription and which therefore present the most significant problems in the readings.

¹⁵ Cf. Falk [2012] 2016: 39, in reference to *pointillé* writing: "One single dot can make the difference" (scil., in the reading of an *akṣara*).

1. *Goblet A*

*saghami [cadu]diśa[mi kuṇa>(*śi)l[iami] viharāmmi u[ta]rode[a]mi pa[r]-
ṇavaḍi[e] dhama[ka]bharyae daṇamu[khe] sarva satva puyāita ?? [mavi] ??*

“To the universal community at Kuṇaśīlia, in the Utarodea monastery:
pious gift of Paṇavaḍi, wife of Dhama[ka], honoring all beings ...”

u[ta]rode[a]mi: The fifth syllable, read as [a], is unclear, and could also be *va*.

pa[r]ṇavaḍi[e]: The reading is uncertain. The stroke across the lower part of the stem of the second syllable (see fig. 18) seems to be a slightly abnormally formed variant of the pre-consonantal *r* of the archaic type, without a loop attached to the bottom of the stem. This old-fashioned pre-consonantal *r* is clearly seen in *sarva satva* (fig. 19) and apparently also in *-bharyae* in this inscription, although elsewhere in this group, for example in *sarvasti-* in ladle A, the later looped type of the pre-consonantal *r* is used (see fig. 25).

Alternatively, but less likely, the stroke in question might be a misshapen *u* diacritic or conceivably even an *anusvāra*. If *r* is the correct reading, the donor’s name would contain the element *parṇa* “leaf,” which is not unfamiliar in Indian female names (e.g., *aparṇā*). The third



Figure 18. Name of the donor, *pa[r]ṇavaḍi[e]* (?) in goblet A.



Figure 19. Archaic preconsonantal *r* in *sarva satva* in goblet A.

syllable could be *vo* rather than *va*, the fourth *ri* instead of *di*, and the last *a* instead of *e*. After this word, a space equivalent to two or three syllables was apparently left blank.

?? [*mavi*] ?? : The final word or words are badly obscured by corrosion. We might expect *madapida puyāita* as in goblet B and ladle B or *sarva budha puyāita* as in the bowl and the cup, but there do not seem to be enough syllables for either of these. In any case, these would be expected to come before, not after *sarva satva puyāita*, which typically comes at the end of lists of honorees as in, for example, the reliquary of Loṇa (CKI no. 247, *sarva budha puyāita atita-aṇagata-pracupaṇa pracegabudha puyāita bhaga[va]to śavaḥa puyāita braṃa saha[ṇ]pati puyāita śakro de[va]ṇa idro puyāita catvaro ma[ha]raya puyāita sarva <*sa>tva puyāita*). Occasionally, as in the silver reliquary of Indravarma (CKI no. 241), the blessing of all beings is followed by a wish for their *nirvāṇa* (*sarva satva ya puyāita sarva satva pariṇivāito*), but this does not seem to be a possible reading here, so that no convincing reconstruction can be offered.

2. Goblet B

[line 1] *saḡha(*mi) caūdi(*śami) [utaro]de[vami vi]harami [k](*oṇa)śilie
[a]ca(*r)ya(*ṇa sar)va[sti]vada parigrahami [avhe]mi[trae] bhikhuṇie*

[line 2] *[daṇa]mukhe (*madapi)[da pu]yāita*



Figure 20. Detail of goblet B:

The visible text reads ... [e] *bhikhuṇie* [end of line 1] *sa* ... [beginning of line 1].

“To the universal community in the Utarodeva monastery at Koṇaṣīlī, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters: pious gift of the nun Avhemitra (= Abhayamitrā?), honoring (*mother and fa)ther.”

(**sar*)*va[sti]vada*: This is presumably to be corrected to (**sar*)*va[sti]-vada*{**ṇa*}.

[*avhe*]*mi[trae]*: This name seems to correspond to Sanskrit *abhayamitrā*, with intervocalic *bh* represented by *vh* and *-aya-* reduced to *e*.

3. Goblet C

(**saghami*) *caūdiśami* [*u*]*tar[o]deva[mi ko]naśi[li]e* (**viha*)*[ra](*)mi* [*a*]-(**car*)*yana sarva[stivadana]* (**pa*)*[r](*)i*g(**rahami*) ? [*i*] ? (**bhi*)*kh(*)u-ni[ye]* (**da*)*ṇamu[khe]*



Figure 21. Detail of goblet C:

The visible text reads ... *caūdiśami* [*u*]*tar[o]deva[mi]* ...

“To the universal community in the Utarodeva monastery at Konaśilī, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters: pious gift of the nun???”

? [i]? : Not enough is left of the donor’s name to propose a reconstruction. Most of the inscription is badly corroded.

4. Bowl



Figure 22. Detail of bowl
The visible text reads ... śīlie sarvast(i*) ...

[sa](*ghami) caūdiśami [uta]rode[aṃ]mi viha[ra](*mi) k(*oṇa)śīlie sar-
vast(*iva)da[ṇa pa](*ri)[graha](*mi) budharakṣīdae bhikhu[ṇi]ye da[ṇa]-
mu[khe] madupida (*puyāita mitrasalohida puyāita sarva) b(*udha)
pu(*ya)i(*ta)

“To the universal community in the Utarodeva monastery at Konaśilī, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters: pious gift of the nun Budharakṣīda (Buddharakṣitā), (*honoring) mother and father, (*honoring friends and relatives), honoring (*all) buddhas.”

The sixteen syllables that are completely lost to corrosion after *madupida* can be confidently reconstructed as **puyāita mitrasalohida puyāita sarva* by comparison with the intact text on the cup (following item).

5. Cup

(line 1) saṃghami caūdiśami koṇaśīlie vi[hara]ṇ(*m)[i] (*sarvastivadaṇa
parigrahami) ??[pi]senasa bha[ḍa]ria[ṇe]a[sa] daṇamukhe madap[i]da
[puyāita mitrasalohida] puyāita sarva budha puyāita

(line 2) «utarodeami»



Figure 23. Detail of cup
The visible text reads ... *udiśami koṇaśīlie* ...

“To the universal community at Koṇaśīlī in the Utarodeva monastery, (*in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters): pious gift of ??sena-Bhaḍari-aṇea, honoring mother and father, honoring friends and relatives, honoring all buddhas.”

The missing section after *vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i]* can be mostly reconstructed by comparison with the other inscriptions as **sarvastivadaṇa parigrahami*, but it is uncertain how many further syllables were lost at the beginning of the donor’s name; probably not more than two or three. The donor’s name, provisionally transcribed as ??[*pi*]senasa *bha[ḍa]ria[ṇe]-a[sa]*, evidently had two elements. The first ended in the familiar suffixal element *-sena*, but what preceded that cannot be reconstructed. Only its last syllable survives and the proposed reading *pi* is uncertain; it could also be *ga*. The second element of the name, *bha[ḍa]ria[ṇe]a[sa]*, is unfamiliar and the reading uncertain, especially in the second syllable which could also be *ṭa*, *tra*, or *dra*. If the correct reading is *dra*, the first element of the name would be the familiar Sanskrit *bhadra*; if *ṭa*, the name would presumably be related to the Sanskrit name/title *bhaṭṭāraka*, whose Gandhari equivalents and variants are well attested in inscriptions as *bhaṭarakasa* (Salomon 2020: 17–18 and n. 18) and *bhaṭarasa* (Falk 2010: 17), and abundantly in Central Asian documents as *bhaṭaraga* etc. (Rapson and Noble 1929: 360).

utarodeami: This word is written in a separate line below the rest of the inscription, under the syllables *-e vi[hara]ṃ(*m)[i]* (fig. 17). Apparently it was accidentally omitted by the engraver and added in afterwards; see the further comments on this point in section III.

6. *Ladle A*

Figure 24: Ladle A, detail of inscription.

The visible part of the text reads

... *grahami budhapriasa dhame [u]siasa daṇamukhe saba sapa puyāita*

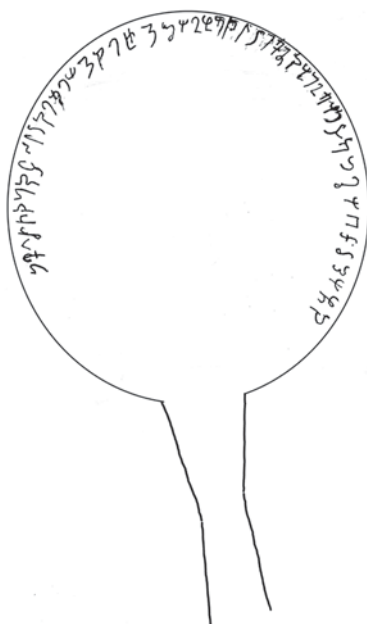


Figure 25. Eye copy of inscription on ladle A.

*saghami cadudiśami utarodeami viharami sarvastivadaṇa parigrahami
budhapriasa dhame [u]siasa daṇamukhe saba sapa puyāita*

“To the universal community in the Utarodeva monastery, in the possession of the Sarvāstivādins: pious gift of Budhapria (Buddhapriya), a lay follower (?) in the Dharma, honoring all beings.”

The title *[u]siasa* is apparently equivalent to Sanskrit *upāsakasya* “male lay-follower,” although the expected Gandhari forms of this title would be *uasa-* (e.g., *uasao*, Robert Senior scroll 20, line 10; Marino 2017: 151, 194) or *upasakasa* (as in the Sanghol reliquary lid inscription, CKI no. 239), or the like. It is conceivable that the syllable *u-* (= *ū*) here is a contracted form of the original prefix *upa-*, as is sporadically attested in Pali (Geiger 1994: 21, §28) and Prakrit (Pischel 1957: 121, §155); in the contraction of *upa-* to monosyllabic *va-* is attested in Gāndhārī, though apparently not to *u-* (= *ū*) (Salomon 2008: 129). But even if this is correct, in the second syllable *i* remains problematic, as this is distinctive to the feminine *uāṣia-* “female lay-follower” (= Skt *upāsikā*), as attested in the Kalawan copper plate inscription (CKI no. 172, line 1). The distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of this word is consistently and clearly maintained in Gandhari manuscripts, as in *uāṣea · uāṣia* in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sutra,¹⁶ in *uāṣeaṇa uāṣiaṇa* in the Bajaur *rakṣā* text,¹⁷ and in *uāṣaṇa uāṣiaṇa* in Senior fragment 4a.¹⁸ So it is surprising to find a seemingly feminine form in apposition with the name *budhapriasa*, whose inflection clearly shows it to be masculine. This peculiarity, along with the anomalous spelling of the apparently feminine form (i.e., *[u]siasa-* instead of the usual *uasia-*), makes it tempting to attribute the problem to a scribal error, although there is no obvious motivation or contributing factor for such an error. In any case, the reading of the first syllable is not quite certain. The apparent loop at the bottom of the graph representing *u* is unclear in the photos, so that the reading *[a]siasa* is also conceivable. If so, this might be associated with Sanskrit *adhikasya*, thus “superior in the Dharma,” but this expression

¹⁶ Bajaur fragment 2, line 354. Reconstructed version by Andrea Schlosser and Ingo Strauch (personal communication).

¹⁷ Strauch 2014: 74 (line 48).

¹⁸ Line A1 (unpublished).

is unfamiliar, and hence unlikely. Thus the interpretation of this word remains to be clarified.

saba sapa: Note that the same phrase is spelled as *sarva satva* in goblet A, and that the very inscription under discussion here elsewhere has *sarva* (in *sarvastivadaṇa*). The inconsistent orthography is typical of Kharoṣṭhī documents, and both spellings for both words are widely attested in Gandhari generally. *Sarva* and *satva* presumably represent an archaic orthography and/or more formal pronunciation, while *saba* and *sapa* reflect the contemporary or colloquial forms. In the absence of any authoritative rules for Gandhari orthography, scribes interchanged those pairs freely, even as here within the same document. Among the inscriptions in question here, we find the same kind of variation pattern between, for example, *ayariaṇa* in ladle B vs. *acaryana* in goblets B and C, and between *caduḍiṣami* in goblet A and ladle A vs. *caūḍiṣami* in the others. Other inconsistencies include variations, very common in Kharoṣṭhī generally, between *ṇ* and *n* and between *u* and *o*, as in [*kṇa*](**śi*)[*liami*] (goblet A) and [*ko*]*naśi*[*li*]*e* (goblet C).

7. Ladle B

*saghami caūḍiṣami ayariaṇa sarvastivadaṇa pariḡrahami budhadāsasa
ṣamanasa daṇamukha madapidap(*u)[yae]*

“To the universal community, in the possession of the Sarvāstivāda masters: pious gift of the monk Budhadāsa (Buddhadāsa), to honor mother and father.”

V. Observations on the hoard

1. *The donors and the donation*

Three of the donors, namely Avhemitra (Skt Abhayamitrā?; goblet B), Budharakṣidā (Buddharakṣitā; bowl), and another whose name is illegible (goblet C), were Buddhist nuns (*bhikhuṇi*- = Skt *bhikṣuṇī*-). Another donor, Budhadāsa (Buddhadāsa; ladle B), was a monk (*ṣamana*- = *śramaṇa*-), while a fifth, Budhapriya- (Buddhapriya-; ladle A) was apparently a “lay follower in the Dharma” (*dhame* [*u*]*siasa* = *dharme upāsakasya*?). Paṇvaḍi, the donor of goblet A, has no title, but the name of her husband,

Dhamaka (= Dharmaka?), seems to imply a Buddhist affiliation. Finally, the donor of the silver cup, ... [pi]sena Bhaḍarianea, bears no Buddhist title, but we can safely assume that he too was a Buddhist.

It is perhaps significant that three of the seven donors' names, namely Budhapria, Budharakṣida, and Budhadasa, have in common the prior element Bu(d)dha. Although this is of course an extremely common prior element in Buddhist names,¹⁹ the resemblance still suggests that the set of objects which were donated to the Utarodeva monastery as a group might have been a joint gift by members of the same family. The practice of naming siblings and other relatives with names having the same prior element is well attested in Gandharan inscriptions as in Indian custom generally; for example, Ariaśrava (CKI no. 358) had two sons called Dhramaruya and Dhamaūta (= Dharmaruca, Dharmagupta), and Helagupta (CKI no. 564) had sons named Adramitra and Adravharṇa. Joint family donations are very well attested in Gandharan and other inscriptions, for example in the Taxila vase (CKI no. 65) given by the brothers Sihila and Siharakṣita (*sihileṇa siharakṣiteṇa ca bhratarehi*). Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, especially well dedication records, frequently refer to groups of donors called *sahaya* or *sahayara*, presumably corresponding to Sanskrit *sahāya* and *sahacara* respectively; Konow (1929: 22) notes five examples, to which may be added (as noted in Falk 2009: 30) *saha{*ya}raṇa* in the Shakardarra inscription.²⁰ The exact nature of these groups is uncertain: Konow (1929: 22) translates these terms as “companions,” but concedes “I am unable to make any suggestion about the nature of such associations or fraternities,” while Falk also translates *sahayarana* as “companions” (2009: 24, 25, etc.) and refers to them in his comments as “business partners” (pp. 25, etc.), without further discussion. But it is at least clear that they indicate some kind of joint donation procedure.

¹⁹ Among these three names, Buddharakṣita/-tā and similar forms are particularly common. They are attested in many other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, for example at Jaulian (CKI no. 77), Loriyan Tangai (CKI no. 113), and Jamalgarhi (CKI no. 123), as well beyond Gandhara at Sanchi, Bharhut, Kanaganahalli, etc. Budhapriya is attested as the name of a *śamaṇa* in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a stone bowl dedicated to a Dharmaguptaka institution (CKI no. 404), but Buddhadāsa is not attested in Kharoṣṭhī, nor is Avhemitra = Abhayamitrā?

²⁰ Konow's (1929) no. LXXXIII, p. 160, lines 3–4 = CKI no. 156.

Such donations organized by pre-existing communities or organizations are also represented beyond Gandhara, for example at Sanchi in inscription 178, *barulamisāna goṭhiyā dāna vedisāto*, “The gift of the committee (*goṭhiyā = goṣṭhī-*) of the Barulamisas from Vedisa (*Vidiśā*)” (N.G. Majumdar in Marshall and Foucher 1940: 1.317). But more prominent in Gandhara and more relevant to the point at hand are familial joint donations, which are often indicated by the elements *sa-* or *sadha*, “together with” after the name of the principal donor, followed by lists of his/her relatives who are to be considered co-sponsors. For example, in the copper scroll from Kalawan (Taxila; CKI no. 172) the principal donor Caṃdrabhi dedicated a relic together with (*sadha*) her brother Naṃdivaḍhaṇa, her sons Śama and Saīta, her daughter Dhrama, her daughters-in-law Raja and Idra, and her grandson Jivaṇaṃḍi (*sadha bhraduṇa naṃdivaḍhaṇeṇa grahavatiṇa sadha putrehi śameṇa sāiteṇa ca dhituṇa ca dhramae sadha ṣuṣaehi rajae idrae ya sadha jivaṇaṃḍiṇa samaputr[e]ṇa*).

Of course, the situation of the hoard with which we are concerned here is not exactly parallel to the previously mentioned co-donations. In cases like Caṃdrabhi’s dedication, the person first named is clearly the primary donor, whereas the role of the co-donors is perhaps only an honorific one, intended to grant them a share of the merit generated by the act; we need not assume that they participated financially. In the case of our hoard, however, the several inscriptions state explicitly that each of the donors was individually responsible – presumably financially – for the donation of the separate items. I know of no exact parallels for this pattern in related epigraphic material, but one can propose a scenario to explain the situation. We could imagine, for example, a fund-raising campaign launched by one of the members of the group (perhaps in consultation with or at the suggestion of ranking members of the recipient institution) in which the instigator presented the other members of the family group with a list of objects which they could donate to the monastery. Such a strategy of cooperative fund-raising by stimulating a sense of obligation and competition, even by stirring up a bidding war among the prospective donors, will be familiar enough from contemporary religious or educational institutions, east and west. In this sort of institution, the laws of economics and human nature have their effects universally; there is nothing new under the sun here.

As to the social identity of the donors, we can make some educated guesses based on what we know from other inscriptions about the patterns of patronage of Gandharan monasteries in the early centuries of the Common Era. The names themselves tell us little, as they are mostly generic Buddhist names (Buddharakṣitā, etc.), but there are two exceptions. Paṃṇavaḍi (?), the donor of goblet A, bears what sounds like a non-Buddhist Indian name, but the reading is too uncertain to tell us much. More interesting is the double name of the donor of the cup, ?? [pi]senasa bha[ḍa]ria[ṇe]a[sa]. The reading of his name too is uncertain, but the first part is evidently purely Indian, with the element *senā*, paradigmatically characteristic of *kṣatriya* names. The second element of the name (or title), if the tentatively preferred reading *bhaḍariaṇea* is correct, is also evidently also Indic in origin, and its initial element *bhaḍa-* (or *bhaṭa-*?) is again suggestive of an elite military rank. In all likelihood, these patrons were members of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian elites who ruled Gandhara in and around the first century CE and who typically took on Indian names that marked either their Buddhist affiliation or their claimed status as legitimate *kṣatriya* nobility.²¹ These Indo-Scythians became enthusiastic adherents of Buddhism and generous patrons of its local institutions (Salomon 2018: 28–31), as attested by large numbers of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, including those on the elaborate reliquaries mentioned in the next section. Our hoard is thus very probably another manifestation of this phase of Buddhist history.

2. *The recipient monastery*

The hoard as we have it includes objects of silver of high quality workmanship and no doubt of significant price and value, implying a degree of luxury in the recipient monastery that is hardly in keeping with the idealized image of monastic asceticism. In this regard these inscriptions stand out from typical Gandharan donative inscriptions, the most common type being those on humble earthenware vessels (for a partial list, see Salomon 1999: 188). Donative inscriptions on objects of significant

²¹ Compare the case of Anantasena and his son Dhraasena, probably also Indo-Parthians or Indo-Scythians, attested in inscription 17 in the “Bajaur” hoard (Falk 2001: 309, 316).

value are more usually found on reliquaries rather than on utensils, as in the case of the aforementioned double silver goblet reliquary of Indra-varma (CKI no. 241) or the gold-inlaid reliquary of Uttarā (CKI no. 255; illustrated in Salomon 2012: 172). But this apparent pattern may be illusory, as utensils in precious metals would be less likely to have survived intact, since they would be prone to be melted down and reused (compare Falk [2012] 2016: 35) in antiquity and even in modern times; this in contrast to reliquaries, which would normally have been interred in *stūpas* and therefore have better chances of survival. Thus it is probably only because these objects were (presumably) interred for safekeeping at a time of upheaval and danger that they have survived.

Of course, there is no guarantee that the seven objects that Neelis and I saw actually constituted the entire hoard. Regrettably, and all too frequently with materials of this kind, these items came through the usual untraceable channels of unsanctioned excavations, antiquities dealers, and collectors, and it would be all too typical if the original group was broken up and sold separately to different parties. Therefore it is not at all out of the question that the original hoard was larger – conceivably even much larger – than the seven items described here. If so, we may hold out some faint hope that some other members of the group might eventually come to light.

For lack of any information about the original provenance of the hoard, we are left in the dark as to the location of the monastery in question, but we do at least know its name. Six of the seven inscriptions mention one (in one case, ladle A), or more often two proper names or toponyms in the introductory portion (section 1 in the synoptic text in part III), namely *koṇaśilī* (with several minor orthographic variants) and *utarodea/utarodeva*. As noted in part III, the order of these names varies in the several inscriptions as does their position in relation to the word *vihara(ṇ)mi*; in fact, no two inscriptions match exactly in this regard:

Goblet A: [kuṇa>(*śi)l[iami] viharaṇmi u[ta]rode[a]mi

Goblet B: [utarode[vami vi]harami [k>(*oṇa)śilie

Goblet C: [u]tar[o]deva[mi ko]ṇaśi[lī]e (*viha[ra])(*mi)

Bowl: [uta]rode[aṇ]mi viha[ra](*mi) k(*oṇa)śilie

Cup: koṇaśilie vi[hara]ṇ(*m)[i] «utarodeami» [secondarily inserted below the line]

Ladle A: utarodeami viharami

Ladle B: –

Thus it is not immediately obvious which of the two names, *koṇaśilī* or *utarode(v)a*, is to be understood as the name of the monastery and which that of its location. However, the inscription on ladle A has only *utarodeami viharami*, omitting *koṇaśilī*, which implies that *utarode(v)a* is the name of the monastery and *koṇaśilī* its geographical location. The reading in goblet C, [*u*]*tar[o]deva[mi ko]naśi[li]e* (**viha*)[*ra*](**mi*), by itself might seem to suggest otherwise, but this is overruled by the ladle inscription, and the interpretation of *koṇaśilī* as a toponym is also supported by related toponyms in the Gandhāra region such as Takṣaśilā (i.e., Taxila) and similar names, as will be mentioned below. It is however not out of the question that both terms were closely associated with the name of the monastery and could be used interchangeably.

As for the location of the places concerned, little can be said beyond some speculative observations. The suffix element in Koṇaśilī calls to mind not only Takṣaśilā/Taxila, but also the nearby Chaḍaśila mentioned in the Kalawan copper plate inscription²² (CKI no. 172, line 2), as well as Bhadraśilā mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (chapter 22; see Salomon 2005: 274). Since both of the latter names are associated with Taxila, it is conceivable that the similarly formed Koṇaśilī might also have been located in the Taxila region. It is even tempting to associate this toponym (if this is the correct reading; see footnote 2 above), particularly in its variant form *kuṇa(*śi)lia-* as seen in goblet A, with the name of Aśoka's son Kuṇāla who was memorialized at a large *stūpa* at Taxila (Marshall 1951: 1.348–353). But it seems unlikely, though not impossible, that the hoard in question was found at as relatively well-explored a site as Taxila.

As for the name of monastery itself, Utarodea or Utarodeva, it is interesting to note that the element *utaro-* resembles toponyms recorded in two similar inscriptions. The recipient monastery in the inscribed copper ladle from Sirkap is the *utararame* at Taxila (*takṣaśilae*), while the set of inscribed ewers published in Falk [2012] 2016 are dedicated to the Sarvāstivādins at *otarae* or *utarae*. Falk argues (p. 44) that this term is more likely to mean “a ‘crossing (of a river, a lake, etc.)’ from the root *ut-tī*” rather than “northern,” but the coincidence with the other two

²² The findspot of the Kalawan inscription was located “about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap,” according to Konow 1931–1932: 251.

toponyms cited here suggests something of a pattern. Perhaps all the names reflect some sort of geographical consciousness of the Gandhara region as part of “the north” (*uttara*, *uttarāpatha*), but beyond this they tell us nothing specific, and the vowel *o* in the third syllable of *utaro* remains unexplained. Also obscure is the suffix apparent element *-deva/-dea*; the obvious guess would be to relate it to *deva* “god,” but this leads nowhere.²³ As is so often the case with Gandharan inscriptions, the toponyms are opaque.

3. A few comparable inscribed objects

Among the few comparable examples of inscribed Gandharan metalware, most relevant to our concerns are the previously mentioned (part III.7) inscribed ladles from Taxila (Sirkap) and Bedadi, and the hoard of ewers from Swat published in Falk [2012] 2016. The inscriptions on the two ladles read:

Sirkap: *iṣparakasa daṇamukho saṃghe caduḍiṣe utararame takṣaṣilae kaṣaviyaṇa pariḡra[he]*

“Principal gift of Iṣparaka (Īṣvaraka) to the universal community, in the possession of the Kāśyapīyas at the Uttarārāma at Taxila.”

and:

Bedadi: *saṃghe caduḍiṣe uraṣaraje acarya[ne]na kaṣyaviyana saṃgharakṣi[dasa da]na²⁴*

²³ However, Harry Falk (in his comments on a prepublication version of this article) suggests a possible equation of Utarodea/Utarodeva with Skt *uttara-udaya*.

²⁴ Konow, and following him CKI no. 67, read the Bedadi inscription as *saṃgharakṣi-[dasa da]na saṃghe caduḍiṣe uraṣaraje acarya[ne]na kaṣyaviyana*, with the comment “It is not easy to decide where we should begin. Usually, however, where the name of the donor is mentioned, it comes first. It would also seem to be the natural thing to hold the handle in the left hand, when beginning to read the legend. I would therefore start with the words to the right of the handle, where we have *Saṃgharakṣi[dasa da]na*” (1929: 89). But in light of subsequent discoveries, it has become clear that this is incorrect: the inscription begins with *saṃghe caduḍiṣe*, as in all seven of the new inscriptions presented here and as in inscriptions of this type generally. Moreover, both of the new ladle inscriptions begin at the handle, and not “to the right of the handle” as Konow thought. However, the situation is less clear in the case of the Sirkap ladle. (Contrary to Konow’s reference to two ladles with “an identical Kharoshthī inscription” [1929: 87], there is in fact only

“To the universal community, for the Kāśyapīya masters at Uraśaraja:²⁵ gift of Saṃgharakṣita.”

It is striking that both of these inscriptions record gifts to monastic institutions affiliated with the Kāśyapīya *nikāya*, though this is perhaps just a coincidence. Besides these two inscriptions, the Kāśyapīyas are attested in Gandhara in several other records: the Pālāṭu Dherī jar inscription B (CKI no. 127), the reliquary of Śatruleka (CKI no. 257), the Kham Zargar sieve (CKI no. 233), and the great bowl from Chalagram (CKI no. 367). (The last three are relatively recent discoveries, so that whereas in Konow’s era it seemed that the Kāśyapīyas were a relatively minor presence in Gandhara, they are now seen to be more prominent.) The new inscriptions, on the other hand, were all dedicated to a Sarvāstivādin institution, and this is no surprise, as Gandharan inscriptions mentioning the Sarvāstivādins are quite numerous, rivaled only by the Dharmaguptakas (Salomon 1999: 175–177).²⁶

The third Kharoṣṭhī ladle inscription mentioned above (II.7), on a silver ladle from Sirkap, contained only six syllables, “of which three only are legible, viz.: *.ma ya. .sa*” (Marshall 1951: 2.613–614, no. 1). Judging from its brevity and from the concluding *-sa*, this was probably an ownership record rather than a donative inscription.

Also comparable in this connection is the Brāhmī ladle inscription (mentioned above in part II.6) published in Falk 2004: 140–141, reading *saghe cātudiṣe saghātavihāra dāna ratnayaśasya*, “To the universal

one such object, as pointed out in CKI no. 66 in the “comments” box.) Here is it difficult to judge the situation because there is no published image in which the position of the inscription vis-à-vis the body of the ladle is clear. The image in Marshall 1951: 3.pl. 175, no. 307 does not show the inscription clearly, and Konow’s illustration (1929: pl. XVII.3) shows only two “casts prepared for the Corpus” (p. 87). In these copies there does appear to be a blank space before the supposed initial word *īsparakasa*, and possibly also another one after *pariḡrahe*, although the images are unclear at the end. Thus in this case Konow’s reading, beginning with the donor’s name, seems to be correct, but this needs to be confirmed by a direct observation of the ladle.

²⁵ *Uraśaraje* was interpreted by Konow (1929: 89) as equivalent to a Skt **uraśārāḷye*, which he identified with the modern Hazara region.

²⁶ A complete study of the distribution of the Buddhist *nikāyas* in Gandhāra (and elsewhere) based on the now-abundant epigraphic sources is still an urgent desideratum. The data given in standard reference sources such as Lamotte 1958: 578–584 are now vastly out of date, for example not even mentioning the Dharmaguptakas.

community at the Saṃghāta monastery: gift of Ratnayaśa.” Here it is a little surprising that the *nikāya* affiliation of the receiving institution is left unmentioned, since it is normally specified in inscriptions of this type, as in six of the seven inscriptions in our group. Evidently, and not surprisingly, *nikāya* affiliation was a primary point of identification among the Buddhist monks of Gandhara, and no doubt in the rest of Buddhist India as well, such that it would normally be specified in all relevant documents. Its omission, somewhat surprising, in our goblet A and in the Brāhmī ladle inscription, can perhaps be attributed to the drift involved in the casual treatment of inscriptional texts, as mentioned above (part III).

A partially similar instance of a donation of a group of metalware is the aforementioned set of bronze and brass objects described in Falk [2012] 2016: 35–41. This group, reportedly found in a cave in an undisclosed location in the Swat Valley, included three objects, two ewers and one water pot, which bore a more or less identical inscription, read by Falk (p. 38) as *saghāmi cadudīśami acaryaṇa sarvastivaṇṇa parigrahāmi parvatīyae otarāe śpuṭhasaviharami* (= CKI no. 1109) and translated (p. 38, with slight variants on p. 39) as “In the Saṃgha of the four directions, into the care of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādas, at the rocky ford, at the Śpuṭhasa monastery.” The formulation of these inscriptions is quite similar to the ones in our group, containing the name of the monastery (*śpuṭhasaviharami*) plus a geographical specification (*parvatīyae otarāe*). But unfortunately – and untypically – they do not include the name of the donor, so that we cannot know whether they were given by a single individual or were part of a group effort, as in our case.

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