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A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses:
British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18

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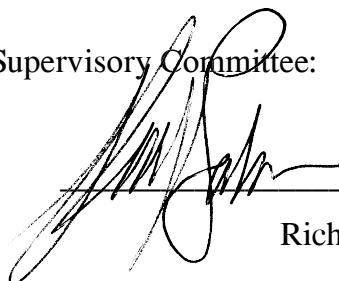
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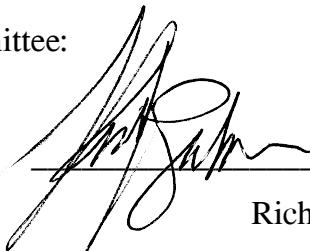
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Abstract

A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses:
British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18

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This dissertation contains the edition, translation and study of a Buddhist manuscript from ancient Gandhāra (modern Afghanistan and Pakistan), written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script on a set of birch-bark scrolls and dating from the first century BCE or CE. The manuscript contains a commentary on a selection of verses from the Kṣudraka section of an early Buddhist canon, taken from at least three different source collections: an Arthapada, a Pārāyaṇa and a Dharmapada or Udāna. The commentary is the first scholastic text from the Gāndhārī tradition that has been edited in its original language. It stands in a close relationship to two other verse commentaries and to the Saṅgītisūtra commentary in the British Library collection. One of its exegetical layers draws on the same tradition as the Pali Niddesa; another layer applies principles of categorial reduction that are systematized in the manuals Peṭakopadeda and Nettippakarāṇa, preserved in Pali but with Gandhāran antecedents. Chapter 1 explains the structure, principles, sources and historical connections of the commentary. Chapter 2 provides a catalog of the extant fragments of the manuscript. Chapter 3 is a paleographic description of their handwriting. Chapters 4 and 5 contain a detailed discussion of the orthography, phonology and morphology of the

text; the manuscript is the longest Gāndhārī text yet edited and uses two distinct registers of the language, providing a wealth of data for linguistic analysis. Chapter 6 presents the text in diplomatic transcription, reconstruction and translation. Chapter 7 is a line-by-line annotation of the text with structural descriptions of each section and detailed notes on individual words and phrases. Chapter 8 reconstructs the root verses of the text from their partial quotations in the commentary and compares them with their parallels in Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit and their translations into Chinese. Three appendices contain a first transcription of another Gāndhārī verse commentary; a transcription and reconstruction of a colophon written by the same scribe; and parallels for a notable simile used in the commentary. The dissertation concludes with a word index and contains twenty-eight color plates providing a visual reconstruction of the manuscript.

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Transcription and Citation System

- [] An unclear or partially preserved aksara whose reading is less than certain.
- (*) A lost or illegible aksara that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel texts, or other evidence.
- {* >} An aksara or a component thereof that was omitted by the scribe and has been conjecturally restored by the editor.
- « » An aksara or a component thereof that was omitted by the scribe and then added by him or by a subsequent hand as an interlinear insertion.
- { } A superfluous aksara that was written in error and should be ignored.
- . The missing portion (base sign or vowel mātrā) of a partially legible aksara.
- ? A visible or partially visible but illegible aksara.
- + A missing aksara that would have appeared on a lost or obscured portion of the scroll.
- /// Beginning or end of an incomplete line.

Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
	Abhidh-s-mhṭ Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī (ed. Saddhatissa 1989)
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
AG-G ^L	Gāndhārī Anavataptagāthā in London (ed. Salomon 2008)
AG-G ^S	Gāndhārī Anavataptagāthā in the Senior collection (ed. Salomon 2008)
AiGr	<i>Altindische Grammatik</i> (Wackernagel & Debrunner 1896–1957)
AKBh	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (ed. Pradhan 1975)
Amg	Ardhamāgadhī
AN	Āṅguttaranikāya (ed. Morris, Hardy & Hunt 1885–1910)
Ap	Apadāna (ed. Lilley 1925–27)
Arth-Chin	Chinese Arthapada translation by Zhī Qiān (T 4 no. 198 pp. 174b5–189c24)
Arth-G	Gāndhārī Arthapada
Arth-Skt ^K	Sanskrit Arthavarga from Khotan (ed. Hoernle 1916, 1917)
As	Atthasālinī (ed. Müller 1897)
AsPp	Aśṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Vaidya 1960a)
BBh	Bodhisattvabhūmi (ed. Ogiwara 1930–36)
BBh(D)	Bodhisattvabhūmi (ed. Dutt 1978)
BC	Bajaur Collection fragment (cf. Strauch 2008)
Be	Burmese edition
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953a)
BHSG	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i> (Edgerton 1953a)
BL	British Library fragment (cf. Salomon 1999)

Bv	Buddhavaṃsa (ed. Jayawickrama 1974)
caus.	causative
CDIAL	<i>Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> (Turner 1966–85)
Cp-a	Paramatthadīpanī on Cariyāpiṭaka (ed. Barua 1979)
CPD	Critical Pali Dictionary (Trenckner et al. 1924–)
Daśa-bh	Daśabhūmikasūtra (ed. Vaidya 1967)
dat.	dative
denom.	denominative
Dhp-G	Gāndhārī Dharmapada
Dhp-Chin ^{WQN}	Chinese Dharmapada translation by Wéiqínán (T 4 no. 210 pp. 559a1–575b10)
Dhp-Chin ^{FJFL}	Chinese Dharmapada translation by Fǎjù and Fǎlì (T 4 no. 211 pp. 575b11–609b21)
Dhp-G ^K	Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan (ed. Brough 1962)
Dhp-G ^L	Gāndhārī Dharmapada in London (ed. Lenz 2003)
Dhp-P	Pali Dhammapada (ed. von Hinüber & Norman 1995)
Dhp ^P	Dharmapada in Patna (ed. Cone 1989)
Dhs	Dhammasaṅganī (ed. Müller 1885)
dir.	direct case
Divy	Divyāvadāna (Cowell & Neil 1886)
DN	Dīghanikāya (ed. Rhys Davids & Carpenter 1890–1911)
DP	<i>Dictionary of Pāli</i> (Cone 2001–)
DPPN	<i>Dictionary of Pali Proper Names</i> (Malalasekera 1937–38)
EA-G	Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama sūtras (ed. Allon 2001)
EWA	<i>Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen</i> (Mayrhofer 1992–2001)
f.	feminine
fut.	future

gen.	genitive
G	Gāndhārī
GBT	Gandhāran Buddhist Texts
impv.	imperative
ind.	indeclinable
instr.	instrumental
IOL	India Office Library (in BL pressmarks)
It	Itivuttaka (ed. Windisch 1889)
It-a	Paramatthadīpanī on Itivuttaka (ed. Bose 1934–36)
It-G	Gāndhārī Ityuktaka
Ja	Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (ed. Fausbøll 1877–97)
KEWA	<i>Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen</i> (Mayrhofer 1953–80)
Khvs-G	Gāndhārī Khadgaviṣāṇasūtra (ed. Salomon 2000)
Kv	Kathāvatthu (ed. Taylor 1894–97)
Lal-Chin ^{ZFH}	Chinese Lalitavistara translation by Zhú Fǎhù (T 3 no. 186 pp. 483a17–538a7)
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
Māh.	Māhārāṣṭrī
Man.	Mansehra inscription of Aśoka (ed. Hultzsch 1925)
MBh	Mahābhārata (ed. Sukthankar, Belvalkar & Vaidya 1933–66)
Mil	Milindapañha (ed. Trenckner 1880)
MN	Majjhimanikāya (ed. Trenckner, Chalmers & Rhys Davids 1888–1925)
Mp	Manorathapūraṇī (ed. Walleser & Kopp 1924–56)
Mp-pt	Līnatthappakāsinī on Manorathapūraṇī (Be)
MPS-Skt	Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1950)
MŚāl	Śālistambasūtra (ed. Vaidya 1961–64)
MSV	Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (ed. Dutt 1939–59)

MVBh	<i>Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya</i> (ed. Nagao 1964)
Mvu	<i>Mahāvastu</i> (ed. Senart 1882–97)
MW	Monier-Williams 1899
n.	neuter
ND	Niya Documents (ed. Boyer, Rapson, Senart & Noble 1920–29)
Nett	<i>Nettippakaraṇa</i> (ed. Hardy 1902)
Nett-ṭ	<i>Nettivibhāvanī</i> (Be)
Nid-G ^{L2}	<i>Gāndhārī</i> Verse Nideśa 2 (BL framents 7, 9, 18 and 13 up to line 90)
Nid-G ^{L3}	<i>Gāndhārī</i> Verse Nideśa 3 (BL fragment 13 from line 91)
Nidd I	Niddesa (ed. de La Vallée Poussin & Thomas 1916–1917)
Nidd II	Niddesa (ed. Vipaśyanā Viśodhana Vinyāsa 1998)
Nidd-a	Niddesaṭṭhakathā (ed. Buddhadatta 1931–39)
nom.	nominative
ONWC	Old Northwest Chinese (Coblin 1994)
P	Pali
Pāṇ	Pāṇini's <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> (ed. Böhtlingk 1887)
Pār-G	<i>Gāndhārī Pārāyaṇa</i>
Pār-Skt ^Q	Sanskrit Pārāyaṇa from Qizil (SHT 1581)
pass.	passive
Paṭis-a	Saddhammappakāśinī (ed. Joshi 1933–47)
Pet	Petakopadesa (ed. Barua 1949)
Pj I	Paramatthajjotikā I (ed. Smith 1915)
Pj II	Paramatthajjotikā II (ed. Smith 1916–18)
pl.	plural
pp.	past participle
pres.	present
pres. part.	present participle
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i> (ed. Woods, Kosambi & Horner 1922–38)
Ps-pt	<i>Līnatthappakāśinī</i> on <i>Papañcasūdanī</i> (Be)

PTSD	<i>Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (ed. Rhys Davids & Stede 1921–25)
Pv-a	Paramatthadīpanī on Petavatthu (ed. Hardy 1894)
PY-G	Gāndhārī pūrvayogas (ed. Lenz 2003)
QYS	Qieyun system (Coblin 1994)
RS	Robert Senior fragment (cf. Allon 2007)
Saddhp	Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra (ed. Vaidya 1960b)
SĀ-G ⁵⁵	Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras (ed. Glass 2007)
SĀ-G ⁵⁹	Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras (ed. Lee 2009)
Śāl	Śālistambasūtra (ed. Vaidya 1961–64)
Samādh	Samādhirājasūtra (ed. Vaidya 1961)
SaṅgCm-G	Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary (BL 15)
Saṅg-Skt.	Sanskrit Saṅgītisūtra (ed. Stache-Rosen 1968)
Saund	Saundarananda (ed. Johnston 1928)
sg.	singular
Shah.	Shahbazgarhi inscription of Aśoka (ed. Hultzsch 1925)
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden (Waldschmidt et al. 1965–)
Śiks	Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 1897–1902)
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sn	Suttanipāta (ed. Andersen & Smith 1913)
SN	Saṃyuttanikāya (ed. Feer 1884–1904)
Spk	Sāratthappakāsinī (ed. Woodward 1929–37)
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (ed. Rhys Davids, Carpenter & Stede 1886–1932)
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (Bechert, Röhrborn & Hartmann 1994–)
T	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> (Takakusu & Watanabe 1924)
Th	Theragāthā (ed. Oldenberg, Pischel, Norman & Alsdorf 1966)
Th-a	Theragāthaṭṭhakathā (ed. Woodward 1940–59)

Ud-a	Udānaṭṭhakathā (ed. Woodward 1926)
Ud-Chin ^{ZFN}	Chinese Udāna translation by Zhú Fóniàn (T 4 no. 212 pp. 609b22–776a14)
Ud-Chin ^{TXZ}	Chinese Udāna translation by Tiān Xīzāi (T 4 no. 213 pp. 777a1–799c5)
Ud-G	Gāndhārī Udāna
Ud-P	Pali Udāna (ed. Steinthal 1885)
Ud-Skt	Sanskrit Udāna (ed. Bernhard 1965–68)
Ud-Skt ^s	Sanskrit Udāna from Subashi (ed. Nakatani 1988)
Ud-v	Udānavargavivaraṇa (ed. Balk 1984)
UW	University of Washington scroll (cf. Salomon & Baums 2007)
Vibh	Vibhaṅga (ed. Rhys Davids 1904)
Vism	Visuddhimagga (ed. Warren & Kosambi 1950)
Vmv	Vimativinodanī (B ^e)
voc.	vocative
YBh	Yogācārabhūmi (ed. Bhattacharya 1957)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Recent years have seen the recovery of a significant part of ancient Gāndhārī literature that previously had to be considered lost. The history of discovery is, in brief, as follows: Until recently, the only substantial Gāndhārī manuscript known to scholarship was the so-called ‘Gāndhārī Dharmapada’ (now referred to as the ‘Khotan Dharmapada’), discovered in 1892 near Khotan on the Southern Silk Road. This long birch-bark scroll apparently contained the complete text of a previously unknown version of the Dharmapada, but only two thirds of it survive and are now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg. After a long series of preliminary studies, the Khotan Dharmapada has been definitively edited in Brough 1962. Our only other sources for early Gandhāran Buddhism consisted of a limited number of Gāndhārī inscriptions (some containing literary and doctrinal references; Baums forthcoming a), archeological and art-historical evidence, and the reports and translations of early Chinese pilgrims.

The situation changed radically when in 1994 the British Library acquired a collection of 29 birch-bark scroll fragments, and in 1996 the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project was established at the University of Washington to study these earliest remains of Buddhist and South Asian written literature (Salomon 1999). Just after work had commenced on the British Library collection, the discovery of another deposit of 25 Gāndhārī scroll fragments – the Senior collection – was announced, and these new manuscripts likewise came under the purview of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project (Allon 2007). Soon after this, the discovery of a large Buddhist

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manuscript deposit in Bamiyan (Afghanistan) – most of it in Sanskrit, but also containing 200 palm-leaf fragments in Gāndhārī (Allon & Salomon 2000, Salomon forthcoming) – came to the attention of the scholarly world; the University of Washington Libraries acquired one Gāndhārī birch-bark scroll (Glass 2004: 141–142); and the Library of Congress acquired another (Salomon & Baums 2007). Most recently, another large collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts was discovered in Bajaur, Pakistan, and is now being studied at the Freie Universität Berlin (Strauch 2008). Five volumes of text editions and studies have so far resulted from the new manuscript material. The texts published in them are, in chronological order, a Gāndhārī version of the Khaḍgaviśāṇasūtra, three Ekottarikāgama sūtras, one Dharmapada fragment, a collection of avadānas, four Samyuktāgama sūtras, and two fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the Anavataptagāthā.

According to a recent count (Baums forthcoming b), the total number of Gāndhārī manuscripts now known lies between 75 and 80, and the number of individual texts in them is larger than 105. Four of these texts are commentaries on mainstream Buddhist texts, and another thirteen are scholastic texts that do not appear to be direct commentaries on another text. By any measure, the commentarial and scholastic works form one of the most important parts of the recently rediscovered corpus of Gāndhārī literature. They surpass the other represented genres in terms of sheer volume of preserved text, the two longest of them (one of them edited in this volume) amounting to over four hundred and five hundred lines respectively. They also represent one of the few categories of texts (some avadānas and Mahāyāna texts among them) that may represent original creations of early Gandhāran Buddhism rather than merely being translated into Gāndhārī from other languages of mainland India. But in spite of this great importance, only three of the commentarial and scholastic texts have so far been studied in any detail. The first of these is a treatise discussing the “nature of existence in the different times” (Salomon 1999: 29–30, Cox in progress) with possible relations to the Sarvāstivādins. The other two are the verse commentary edited and studied in the present volume and the British Library

Saṅgītisūtra commentary briefly described in § 1.6.

1.1. Organization of the Text

Our manuscript belongs to the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (Salomon 1999). Its original provenance is unknown, but in all likelihood it is either from the area of Hadda in modern-day Afghanistan (Salomon 1999: 20–22) or from Swat in modern-day Pakistan (Nasim Khan & Sohail Khan 2004: 9). Together with the rest of the British Library collection, it can be dated on paleographic and text-internal grounds to the first half of the first century CE or earlier.

The text covers all of three scroll fragments (BL 7, 9 and 18) and the greater part of a fourth (BL 13). Scroll fragments 9, 13 and 18 each represent different original scrolls, and it is likely but not certain that scroll fragment 7 connects to the upper part of scroll 18, either directly or with intervening lost material. Our text only covers the recto and the upper part of the verso (up to line 90) of scroll fragment 13, and is immediately followed by a different (though related; § 1.6) text in another hand. This makes it likely that scroll 13 was the last of the original set of scrolls containing our commentary. The change of writing style in line 46 on the recto of scroll 9 (§ 3.1) to an appearance that is consistent with all of the probable scroll 7 + 18 as well as the part of scroll 13 belonging to our text makes it likely that the original order of extant scrolls in the set was 9, then 7 + 18, then 13. It is impossible to say whether the original set consisted of more than three scrolls some of which have been lost.

The extant parts of our text comprise a total of 39 sections covering 43 root verses in 413 lines. Sections are not numbered, but the end of each section is marked by a large punctuation mark in the shape of a stylized lotus flower. Additionally, marks have been put in the right margin opposite each end-of-section sign, either by the original scribe of the text or by a later user, and at least on scrolls 9 and 18, but originally maybe also on scroll 13 and scroll fragment 7 (§ 3.7). The text is further structured by uddānas, two of which are preserved on scroll 9. Of the first uddāna (lines 9.20–21, after section 4) only the last entry is visible, but the completely

preserved second uddāna (lines 9:111–112, after section 14) contains the expected number of ten entries. If the same was true of the first, then at least seven sections must have been lost at the top of the scroll, and the equivalent amount of text at the bottom if the text continued all the way to the end of the verso. Since we do not know what the original length of the scroll was, it is also possible that seventeen sections are lost at the top of the scroll; a loss of twenty-seven or more sections cannot be ruled out either but seems unlikely. A third uddāna should occur in the preserved part of the scroll, after the section following section 23. This is evidently not the same as section 24 (which is immediately followed by section 25), and it appears to be the case that an entire section with following uddāna is obscured on the verso of fragments F and B, between the sequentially numbered preserved sections 23 and 24. No uddāna is preserved on scroll 13. This is surprising since, even though this scroll only contains nine sections of our text, an uddāna would still have been expected after the apparent end of the entire text in line 1390. There is also no uddāna on scroll 18 or scroll fragment 7, but since together these only contain six preserved sections, it is quite possible that an existing uddāna just happens not to be part of what we have of this likely scroll.

The British Library collection further contains a fragment with a colophon written in the same hand as our commentary, but it remains uncertain whether this colophon is in fact related to our text since neither of the two numbers of (presumably) textual units that it provides ('fifteen' and 'twenty-five') can be made to correlate with any clearly defined subpart of our verse commentary text. The text of the colophon is therefore presented separately in appendix 2.

1.2. Commentarial Method and Content

The commentary follows well-defined formal conventions and covers a broad range of topics, many of them recurring, in its discussion of the various root verses. Both aspects are described in the following.

1.2.1. Structure of Sections

Each section starts with a short lemma quotation that serves to identify the root verse (or root verses) covered in it. Most commonly, this is the first pāda of the (or the first) verse of the section. Sometimes the lemma quotation is abbreviated to just the beginning of the first pāda: section 13 uses the first two of three words in pāda a, section 14 the first two of four words, and section 36 all but the last word. In one case (section 19) it is pāda a of the second of two verses that forms the lemma quotation. In another case (section 33) pāda b of the verse is used. The beginnings of eight sections (nos. 2, 3, 21, 23, 24, 26, 35, 39) are too damaged to tell which pattern they follow. The use of the first pāda of a verse for identification purposes is widely attested in contemporary sources: the Bharhut inscriptions follow this practice (Lüders 1963: 132–133, Skilling 2009: 67–68, 70) and so does the Pali Jātaka collection (von Hinüber 1996: § 112). Significantly, the Pali Niddesa (§ 1.3) also belongs in this category. In modern printed editions, a full quotation of each verse both precedes and follows its section of the commentary, but one of these is clearly redundant and probably unoriginal. In all likelihood, it is the quotation preceding a section that is a later addition, since it is the general practice of the time for explanatory prose material to be followed by the verse it belongs to (so for instance in Ud-P, It-P and Ja). After subtraction of the unoriginal first full quotation, each section of the Pali Niddesa is introduced by the first pāda of the verse that it covers, just as in our Gāndhārī commentary.

The uddānas of our text in principle also refer to each verse by the beginning of its first pāda, just more briefly by its first word, its first two words (sections 8, 12 and 14), or the first member of an initial compound (section 9). Only in two cases is another word used (the second word for section 11 and the third word for section 13), presumably because it was more descriptive of the content of the verse than the first.

The lemma quotation is in every case followed by the expression *sutro tatra*

nideśo ‘(the preceding is) the (root) text, the explanation on it (follows),’ which significantly echoes both the proper title (*suttaniddesa-*; von Hinüber 1996: § 116) of the Pali Niddesa (§ 1.3) and the name (*suttaniddesa-*) applied to the sample commentaries embedded in the Hārasampāta of the Peṭakopadesa (§ 1.4). This introductory formula is not preserved in sections 2, 3, 21, 23, 24, 26, 35 and 39.

Within the bodies of sections, the parts of a verse that are to be explained are quoted without the use of any quotation particle (the single exception is *budho di* 9.29). They are usually preceded but not followed by a punctuation dot. If the root-verse part consists of more than one word, it is quoted exactly as in the original verse (e.g., *teṣa nivaṇa* 9.118, *e[va] edo janīadi* 9.174, *prañap[ra]sado [a]r(*u)s[a]* 13.72). If it consists of a single word, one of five different procedures can be followed: (1) Just like a multi-word phrase, the single word can be quoted in unadjusted form (e.g., *añego* 9.148, *prañava* 13.37 and *dhiro* 13.76). (2) The word can undergo syntactical adjustment to fit into the commentary sentence (e.g., the direct-case subjects *[sa](*)ti* and *[pa]do* 9.49–50 for the direct-case object *śatipado*, the ablative *visathigae* 9.57 for the direct-case object *visathiga*, and the direct-case subject *jiamāno* 9.75 for the instrumental *jiamanena*). (3) The word can be quoted in the instrumental case even when this is not conditioned by the syntax of the commentary sentence. The origin of this usage most probably lies in an implied construction of the sort ‘by X is meant Y,’ illustrated by the sentence *imena matrena [·] śalaprahaṇo* 9.127, but in effect the instrumental has become a conventional marker of quotation (e.g., *vasaṇ[e]ṇa* 9.38 for the direct-case object *vasano*, *baleṇa* 13.7 for the direct-case object *balo* and *śileṇa* 13.40 for the compound member *śila-* in *śilodaśaṇasapāṇo*). (4) The word can be quoted in a nominal paraphrase using the instrumental as quotation marker (e.g., *parivrayaṇae* 13.70 for the optative *parivayea*, *[sa](*)m[e](*)tve)[na]* 13.69–70 for the adverb *same* and *p(*u)ñaprāhaṇena* 9.68 for the compound members *puñ-a-* and *prahīṇa-* in *puñapavaprahiṇasa*). (5) Finally, a word from the root verse can be cited loosely or referred to by related word formations (e.g., *abhiñad[a]* 9.168 for *abhiano*, *[i]riavasa* 9.119 for *iria* and *savatrinā*

eṣa[ṇa] 9·15 for *kameṣaṇa*, *bhaveṣaṇa* and *bramaiyēṣaṇa*). (See below for indirect citation of a root-source word by back-reference to an earlier explanation of it.)

The usual order is for a root-verse quotation to be followed by its explanation, but this order is sometimes reversed using the linking expressions *ta vucadi* ‘that is why is said’ or *ta aha* ‘that is why he says’ (e.g., *ta vucadi nasti jagarado bhayo* 9·64, *ta vucadi parago* 9·151, and *ta aha śodh[i] a[śodhi ca]* 18·Kr4).

The body of a section can consist of more than one run of the commentary, i.e., more than one complete explanation covering the parts of the root verse from beginning to end. The beginning of a new run is almost always signalled by one of several function words. In about half of the sections of our commentary, the primary division is between a main run of the commentary providing general explanation, and a following subsection introduced by the function word *sakṣeva* ‘in brief’ and containing one or more runs performing succinct categorial reductions (see § 1.2.2; sections 4, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34 and 38). The most general function phrase is *asa va* ‘or otherwise.’ It can be used to subdivide the main run of a section as well as a *sakṣeva* subsection, and it can introduce either a complete new run of the commentary or an alternative explanation of just one part of the root verse after which the main run that was in process resumes (sections 5 [6×], 6, 7, 8 [4×], 9 [3×], 10, 11, 12 [2×], 13, 14, 15 [3×], 16 [4×], 17 [3×], 18 [2×], 19 [4×], 21, 22 [2×], 25 [2×], 26, 27, 28 [2×], 29 [2×], 30 [2×], 31, 32, 34, 36 [2×] and 38).

Eight sections introduce alternative interpretations that are labelled as the opinion of others using the words *ke yi* ‘some,’ sometimes followed by *puno / vanā* ‘on the other hand,’ a verb of expressing an opinion, or both (3 *ke [yi pu]ṇo [vija]ṭeti*, 6 *ke yi [p](*u)[ṇo aha]*, *ke yi vanā aha*, 7 *[ke yi] puno aha*, 9 *ke yi aha*, 13 *ke yi aha*, 14 *[ke] yi puno*, 19 *ke yi ḡiro[e]ti*, <*ke> *yi vanā ḡiroeti*, 20 *ke yi a[ha]*). A related expression is *avare / avaro* ‘others, another,’ once followed by a verb of speaking and

once by an emphatic particle (5 (*a)[vare], *avare*, 14 *avar[e aha]*, 17 [*avare*], 25 *a[var](*e)*, 30 *avarō*, 32 *avarō ho*). It is not clear whether all of the *avara-* cases can be taken as references to other people's opinions since the expression *avarō payao* is used regularly in SaṅgCm-G as the equivalent of our commentary's *asa va* (§ 1.6), and some of the *avarō* (or even *avare*) expressions in our text could have the same function. (See § 1.2.3 for the opinions occurring in the 'some' and 'other' passages.)

Direct quotations from external sources are introduced by one of the expressions *yasa vucadi* 'as is said' (1 [2×?], 5, 6, 11, 33, 37 [3×]), *ya vuto* 'wherefore it is said' (12) or *ya tatra vuto* 'what is said there is' (16 [3x]). The last of these is used for a special case of textual interweaving of a root verse with parts of the text of a sūtra. It is the pre-quotation equivalent of simple *vuto* following interwoven parts of the formula of Dependent Arising in section 25; this usage is thus parallel to the use of *ta vucadi* to reverse the unmarked order of root-verse quotation and explanation (see above). Citations of sources that do not involve a direct quotation are introduced by simple *yasa* (9: the Kaligaraña, 12: *Paraśaria, 26: Koalia, 30: an item in the Ekotaria collection). There is no clear distinction between this loose style of textual citation and more general references to well-known entities such as *yasa kaśava-[moga]lana[sad]i[śa]* 'such as those like Kaśava and Mogalāṇa' (section 17).

The following example (section 6, lines 937–46) illustrates the interaction of these various elements in one simple section of the commentary (typographical conventions: **root-verse quotation**, function word, general explanation, categorial reduction, external quotation).

ana va ladhva · vasāna va kale sutro tatra nideśo ana va ladhva piḍavada-
labho · vasaṇena civaro · matro so jañe · kariami · matra janidava · drokara-
ṭheṇa · ariavaśāṭhidi daśida · sodehi guto · s(*ode)h(*i) savaro · yadi cari
grame · tratra hi kileśapadastano · abhaso agacha + + + + di arañami · yasa
yucadi · yena magena · gramo pida(*e) p(*r)avekṣe · aya sa + + + + ? sa

p(*r)ahano · ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa · na bhasi · yadi va ruṣideṇa · na bhaṣidava · rukṣa vaya · asa va ruthena · vaya na bhaṣidava · aya padia-prahana · ke yi p(*u)no aha añanavaśeṇa · idria pragharati · spadido ariae · na pragharati · aya m(*o)haprahana · triṇa nidañana · prahano daśido · ke yi vana aha daśanapradīthidaṇa dhamadeśaṇa · t(*e) atra caramana · śalo na tada tada anupraüniśati ☺

1.2.2. Categorial Reduction and Paths to Liberation

A special commentarial service provided by our text is here referred to as categorial reduction. It is performed primarily but not exclusively in the part of each section marked by the function word *sakṣeva*. In its simplest form, this service consists in the juxtaposition of each part of the root verse with members of sets of doctrinal categories, in such a way that each member of the doctrinal set is associated with at least one part of the root verse and, ideally, that each part of the root verse is associated with exactly one member of the doctrinal set. In practice, part of a root verse (often one pāda) may be entirely left out of the procedure of categorial reduction; one or more members of the doctrinal set may not be used; and sometimes one part of the root verse is associated with more than one category from the same set. On the whole, however, categorial reduction is performed with great skill. The semantic connections between root-verse parts and their associated categories are rarely forced, and the general principles of the procedure are applied with consistency and provide interesting exegetical insights.

Limiting ourselves to those categories that are used more than once in our text and that occur in clear *sakṣeva* passages (the method's prototypical location), the following list of twelve core categories can be drawn up (arranged by frequency of occurrence): Three Categories (*kadha-*), Four Truths (*saca-*), Three Courses (*vata-* or *vataṇi-*), Two Paths (*maga-*), Two Roots (*mula-*), Two Outcomes or Liberations

(*nisada-* or *vimuti-*), Three Sources (*nidāna-*), Two Extinction Elements (*nivānadhadu-*), Four Floods (*oha-*), Three Barbs (*śala-*), Four Planes (*bhumi-*) and Five States. This core inventory then allows us to identify three additional sets of categories that are used in similar processes of reduction (although not, in the preserved portions of our text, in *sakṣeva* sections), and each of which is attested twice: fondness and resentment (*anuṇea-* and *padia-*), lust for sense-pleasure and malice (*kamaraga-* and *vavada-*) and Four Actions (*kama-*). Finally, the set of Three Painfulnesses (*dukhada-*) may be added. It occurs only once in the preserved part of the commentary, but there it is clearly used for categorial reduction, and this status is confirmed by its inclusion in the Peṭakopadesa's list of categories (§ 1.4). The following table summarizes the occurrence of these sixteen categories, arranging them for convenience (and on the parallel of the Peṭakopadesa texts and SaṅgCm-G; §§ 1.4, 1.8) under three of the Four Truths and indicating in which types of passage they are used.

Table 1. The sixteen root categories of Nid-G^{L2}

		non- <i>sakṣeva</i> passage	<i>sakṣeva</i> passage	unclear
Origin	Four Floods	7, 19	4, 27	
	Four Barbs	5, 16	34	
	Four Actions	9, 36		
	Three Sources	5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 34	27, 30, 34	32
	Three Painfulnesses	13		
	Two Roots	4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 21, 25, 27	4, 13, 21, 31	33
	lust for sense- pleasure and malice	9, 16		
	fondness and resentment	8, 9		
Path	Three Categories	5, 6, 9	26, 27, 29, 30, 38	36
	Two Paths	7, 21, 25	21, 26, 29, 31	33, 37
Cessation	Two Outcomes or Liberations	5, 7, 9, 11, 21	21, 29, 31	33
	Two Extinction Elements	10, 11	12, 26	32
Comprehensive	Four Truths	5, 11, 12, 25	10, 23, 26, 27, 28	3, 32
	Three Courses	5, 9, 11, 16, 25	10, 26, 27, 28	3, 32
	Four Planes	9, 25	29	37
	Five States	5, 7, 17	13	3

The **Four Floods** and **Four Barbs** are two closely related sets of categories. Our commentary has *kamoha-*, *bhavoha-*, *driṭhoha-* and *avijoha-* for the former, which agrees exactly with the information provided in the Pali Saṅgītisutta and Niddesa (*cattāro oghā, kāmogho bhavogho diṭṭhogho avijjogho DN III 230.11–12, vitareyya oghan ti kāmogham bhavogham diṭṭhogham avijjogham vitareyya uttareyya patareyya samatikkameyya vītivatteyya Nidd I 57.1–3 on Sn 779*). The situation is more complicated with the Four Barbs. Here our commentary has *ragaśala-*, *doṣaśala-*, *maṇaśala-* and *driṭhiśala-*. This category does not feature in the Pali Saṅgītisutta, but the Pali Niddesa provides a list of seven barbs (*abbūlhasallo caram appamatto ti, sallan ti satta sallāni, rāgasallam dosasallam mohasallam mānasallam diṭṭhisallam sokasallam kathamkathāsallam Nidd I 59.5–7 on Sn 779*) that is a superset of the Four Barbs of our commentary.

The Nayasamuṭṭhāna sections of the Peṭakopadesa and the Nettippakaraṇa (§ 1.4) both coordinate Four Floods and Four Barbs in the *sīhavikīlita-* procedure. The former text provides the following description:

te¹ cattāro āsavā vepullabhāvam gatā oghā honti, tena vuccanti oghā ti. tattha kāmāsavo kāmogho, bhavāsavo bhavogho, avijjāsavo avijjogho, diṭṭhāsavo diṭṭhogho. te cattaro oghā āsayam anupaviṭṭhā anusayasaḥagatā vuccanti sallāti, hadayaṁ āhacca tiṭṭhanthā. tattha kāmogho rāgasallam, bhavogho dosasallam, avijjogho mohasallam, diṭṭhogho diṭṭhisallam. (Peṭ 245.14–22)

and the latter the following formulation:

tassa ime cattāro āsavā vepullam gatā oghā bhavanti, iti āsavavepullā oghavepullam. tattha kāmāsavena kāmogho, bhavāsavena bhavogho, diṭṭhāsavena diṭṭhogho, avijjāsavena avijjogho. tassa ime cattāro oghā anusayasaḥagatā ajjhāsayam anupaviṭṭhā hadayaṁ āhacca tiṭṭhanti, tena vuccanti sallā iti. tattha kāmoghena rāgasallo, bhavoghenā dosasallo, diṭṭhoghenā mānasallo, avijjoghenā mohasallo. (Nett 116.23–30)

¹Ñāṇamoli for Barua's *to*.

In both expositions, the Four Barbs in turn condition the Four Steadinesses of Consciousness (§ 1.4; cf. section 18). It is of particular interest that while the set of Four Floods is codified in the Pali Saṅgītisutta and identical in the Pali Niddesa, our commentary, the Peṭakopadesa and the Nettippakaraṇa, the Four Barbs lack such standardization, and the latter three texts each independently appear to have made different selections from the set of Seven Barbs given in the Pali Niddesa (Nid-G^{L2}: *ragaśala-*, *doṣaśala-*, *māṇaśala-*, *driṭhiśala-*; Peṭ: *rāgasalla-*, *dosasalla-*, *mohasalla-*, *diṭṭhisalla-*; Nett: *rāgasalla-*, *dosasalla-*, *mānasalla-*, *mohasalla-*).

The **Four Actions** are those familiar from Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature (DN III 230.1–6): dark (*kriṣa-*), bright (*śukra-*), both dark and bright (*kriṣaśukra-*), and neither dark nor bright (*akriṣaśukra-*). According to our commentary all four types of action are to be abandoned. This stands in contrast to the ordinary Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda doctrine according to which the first three types should be abandoned in favor of the fourth.

The **Three Sources** of our commentary are usually specified as *raga-*, *doṣa-* and *moha-*, but a number of slightly different alternative formulations also occurs (5: *raga-*, *doṣa-*, *añña-*; 16: *śeha-*, *doṣa-*, *añña-*; 34: *śeha-*, *doṣa-*, *moha-* and *loha-*, *doṣa-*, *moha-*). None of the four alternative formulations carries a label for the group, but all of them are treated as equivalent to the main formulation (*raga-*, *doṣa-*, *moha-*), and we shall therefore refer to any of these variations as Three Sources. There are two entries for versions of this group in the Pali Saṅgītisutta: *tayo aggī*, *rāgaggi dosaggi mohaggi* DN III 217.19 and the common *tīṇi akusalamūlāni*, *lobho akusalamūlam*, *doso akusalamūlam*, *moho akusalamūlam* DN III 214.19–20. In the *tipukkhala-* procedure of the Peṭakopadesa's Nayasamuṭṭhāna chapter, the first of these is represented doubly under the names *saṅkilesa-* and *paridāgha-*, and the second once under its usual name: *tīṇi akusalamūlānī ti lobho akusalamūlam*, *doso akusalamūlam*, *moho akusalamūlam* Peṭ 250.5–6; *tayo saṅkilesā ti rāgo doso moho*

Pet 250.13; *tayo paridāghā ti rāgajo dosajo mohajo* Pet 250.16. The corresponding Nettippakaraṇa passage gives both groups under the same names as in the Saṅgītisutta: *tīṇi akusalamūlāni, lobho akusalamūlam, doso akusalamūlam, moho akusalamūlam* Nett 125.34–126.1; *tayo aggī, rāgaggī dosaggī mohaggī* Nett 126.8. One entry in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī confirms the relationship of the terms *saṅkilesa-* and *akusalamūla-*:

katame dhammā saṅkiliṭṭhasaṅkilesikā? tīṇi akusalamūlāni, lobho doso moho, tadekatṭhā ca kilesā. taṁsampayutto vedanākkhandho ... pe ... viññāna-kkhandho. taṁsamutṭhānam kāyakammam vacīkammam manokammam. ime dhammā saṅkiliṭṭhasaṅkilesikā. (Dhs 181.24–28)

and at the same time establishes *kilesa-* as a synonym for *akusalamūla-*, which has an echo in our commentary in the equation of the group *śeha-, doṣa-, añana-* with *kileśa-* as one of the Three Courses (section 16).

It is remarkable that the cover term used for this group and its variants in our commentary (*nidaṇa-*) is not employed in any of the texts cited above. In fact, there seems to be no attestation of the word *nidaṇa-* in this technical meaning in any Buddhist Sanskrit text, and only a single canonical Pali source for the usage. This is the Nidāna sutta, which occurs three times in the Ānguttaranikāya and contains the following passage:

tīṇimāni bhikkhave nidānāni kammānam samudayāya. katamāni tīṇi? lobho nidānam kammānam samudayāya, doso nidānam kammānam samudayāya, moho nidānam kammānam samudayāya. (AN I 134.14–17 = I 263.6–9 = III 338.19–23)

The Pali Niddesa in turn quotes this sutta in its explanation of the word *mūladassāvi-* after a synonym string involving *nidaṇa-*:

mūladassāvin ti bhagavā mūladassāvī hetudassāvī nidānadassāvī sambhava-dassāvī pabhavadassāvī samutṭhānadassāvī āhāradassāvī ārammaṇadassāvī

paccayadassāvī samudayadassāvī. tīṇi akusalamūlāni, lobho akusalamūlam, doso akusalamūlam, moho akusalamūlam. vuttañ hetam bhagavatā: tīṇimāni bhikkhave nidānāni kammānam samudayāya. katamāni tīṇi? lobho nidānam kammānam samudayāya, doso nidānam kammānam samudayāya, moho nidānam kammānam samudayāya. (Nidd II 41.20–42.3 on Sn 1043)

and is thus the only text that explicitly makes the connection between *akusalamūla-* and *nidāna-* as referring to this set of categories, establishing another important connection with our commentary.

The **Three Painfulnesses** are painfulness of pain (*dukhadukhada-*), painfulness of determination (*sakharadukhada-*) and painfulness of change (*vipariñama-dukhada-*); cf. *tisso dukkhatā, dukhadukkhatā saṃkhāradukkhatā vipariñama-dukkhatā* DN III 216.22–23.

The **Two Roots** are ignorance (*avija-*) and craving (*taṣa-*); cf. *avijjā ca bhavataṇhā ca* DN III 212.10. They form the heads of the two subdivisions of the chain of Dependent Arising (§ 1.2.3), and they are the negative root terms for the *nandiyāvatta-* procedure of the Peṭakopadesa (§ 1.4).

The last two sets of categories under our heading Origin of Suffering are not as well-defined as the preceding ones. **Lust for sense-pleasure** (*kamaraga-*) and **malice** (*vavada-*) occur in Pali literature as part of several larger sets of three that also involve *vihimsā-*; cf. *tayo akusalavitakkā, kāmavitakko vyāpādavitakko vihimsāvitakko* DN III 215.3–4; *tayo akusalasamkappā, kāmasamkappo vyāpādasamkappo vihimsāsamkappo* DN III 215.7–8; *tisso akusalā saññā, kāmasaññā vyāpādasaññā vihimsāsaññā* DN III 215.11–12; and *tisso akusalā dhātuyo, kāmadhātu vyāpādadadhātu vihimsādhātu* DN III 215.15–16. The pairing of **fondness** (*aṇuṇea-*) and **resentment** (*paḍia-*) as a set of categories to be avoided is not common in Pali literature, where it characterizes the Milindapañha in particular (e.g., Mil 44, 122 and 322), but very frequent in Buddhist Sanskrit literature (BHSD

s.v. *anunaya*).

Two sets of categories fall under the heading of Path. The **Three Categories** are virtue (*sīla*-), concentration (*samāsa*-) and understanding (*prañña*-). This very common set is often extended by *vimutti*- (so at DN III 229) and further by *vimuttiññānādassana*- (see Eimer 2006: 31–42 for details). The other set consists of **quiet** (*śamasa*-) and **insight** (*vivāśāna*-); cf. *samatho ca vipassanā ca* DN III 213.13. In the Peṭakopadesa's *nandiyāvatta*- procedure (§ 1.4) as well as in our text, quiet and insight lead from the Two Roots to the Two Outcomes or Liberations.

The two words translated as ‘**outcome**’ and ‘**liberation**’ (*nīsada*- and *vimuti*-) are not consistently distinguished in our commentary. The term *nīsada*- is primarily used in the singular for the outcome of cultivation of the Three Categories (5, 9), and *vimuti*- is always used in the plural for the two types of liberation (heart liberation and understanding liberation; not named in our text) that result from removal of the Two Roots by the Two Paths (11, 21, 31, 33). Once, however, the plural of *nīsada*- takes its place in combination with the Two Roots and Two Paths (7), and once the term *ragaviraga*-, which in the Peṭakopadesa is specifically associated with heart liberation (P *cetovimutti*-), is combined with the Three Categories (29).

The same vagueness of the employment of *nīssanda*- is apparent in most Pali texts. In the Nāgita sutta, e.g., it is used in a general meaning ‘outcome, result’ in the description of various types of meditation: *chasu kho nāgita phassāyatanesu aniccaṇupassino viharato phasse pāṭikkūlyatā sañthāti, eso tassa nīssando* AN III 32.6–8. The Peṭakopadesa appears to be the only text that attempted to give it a specific technical meaning as part of the set *hetu*- ‘(action as) cause,’ *nīssanda*- ‘outcome (in this life)’ and *phala*- ‘fruit (after rebirth)’ (mostly in the Suttādhīṭṭhāna chapter; Nāṇamoli 1964: xxix), cf. *tattha bhagavā ekam dhammam tividham niddisati, nīssandato hetuto phalato* Peṭ 61 and the illustration that follows, and note the application of this definition in subdividing the formula of Dependent Arising at Peṭ

100. The word *nissanda-* is, on the other hand, entirely absent from the *Nettippakaraṇa*, and the Milindapañha uses it in a way that is counter to the Peṭakopadesa's attempt at systematization, with clear reference to rebirth: *pubbe katassa pāpakammassa nissandena samanā sakyaputtiyā pabbajanti dhutaṅgāni ca parihaaranti* Mil 20. A parallel for the exceptional association of *ṇisada-* with the Two Paths (sections 7 and 13) is provided by the Pali commentarial passage discussed in the note on lines 9.104–105: *vipassanānissando maggo nāma, magganiśando phalam nāma*.

In Pali as in our commentary, the term *vimutti-* is used regularly to refer to the set of Two Liberations (*cetovimutti-* and *paññāvimutti-*), for instance in the formula *āsavānam khayā anāsavam cetovimuttim paññāvimuttim dittheva dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati* Ud-P 3.2. The Peṭakopadesa explicitly connects these Two Liberations with the Two Roots and Two Paths in one the three mapping procedures set out in its *Nayasamuṭṭhāna* chapter (§ 1.4): *nandiyāvattassa nayassa rāgavirāgā cetovimutti avijjāvirāgā ca paññāvimutti pariyośānam* Peṭ 258.12–13 and thus provides a perfect parallel to the way that the term *vimuti-* is used in our text.

The **Two Extinction Elements** are the extinction element with fuel remaining (*saiadiśeṣa-* *ṇivāṇadhadu-*) and the extinction element without fuel remaining (*anuadiśeṣa-* *ṇivāṇadhadu-*). See further Sharma 1978.

Among the comprehensive categories, the **Four Truths** are the central insight of the Buddha: pain (*dukhā-*), its origin (*saṃudea-*), its cessation (*nirosa-*) and the path leading to its cessation (*maga-*); cf. DN III 277.8–12, where the more common formulation of the fourth Truth as *paṭipadā-* rather than *maggā-* is used. See further Frauwallner 1953–56: 182–188.

The **Three Courses** are the course of defilement (*kileśavaṭa-* or *kileśavataṇi-*), the course of action (*kamavaṭa-* or *kamavatani-*) and the course of pain (*dukhavata-* or

dukhavatāni-). Both in our text and more generally, they are used to subdivide the chains of Dependent Arising into three segments. The names of the Three Courses differ in different Buddhist traditions. In Pali, they are commonly called *kilesavatṭa*-, *kammavatṭa*- and *vipākavatṭa*-, for instance in the following passage from the Visuddhimagga:

tivatṭam anavatṭhitam bhamatī ti ettha pana sankhārabhavā kammavatṭam, avijjātaṇhūpādānāni kilesavatṭam, viññāṇanāmarūpasalāyatanaṁ phassavedanā vipākavatṭan ti imehi tīhi vatṭehi **tivatṭam** idam bhavacakkam. yāva kilesavatṭam na upachijjati, tāva anupacchinnapaccayattā **anavatṭhitam** punapunam parivattanato **bhamati** yevā ti veditabbam. (Vism 581)

The only exception among Pali texts is the Nettippakaraṇa (the Courses are not used in the Peṭakopadesa) where they are called *kilesavatṭa*-, *kammavatṭa*- and *dukkhavatṭa*-, agreeing with our text:

sabbe sattā marissanti, maraṇantam hi jīvitam, yathākammam gamissanti, puññapāpaphalūpagā, nirayam pāpakammantā ti ayam saṃkileso. evam samsāram nibbattayati. **sabbe sattā marissanti ... pe ... nirayam pāpa-kammantā** ti ime tayo vatṭā: dukkhavatṭo kammavatṭo kilesavatṭo. apare ca maggam bhāvetvā parinibbantināsavā ti tiṇṇam vatṭānam vivatṭanā. (Nett 95.11–17)

Among Sanskrit Buddhist texts, the usual cover term for the Three Courses is *vartman*-, but later Yogācāra texts substitute *saṃkleśa*- (Ahn 2003: 41–50). The name of the third Course is variously given as *duḥkha*-, *vastu*- and *janman*-. The following text excerpts illustrate both of these points:

復次。此十二支緣起法。有二續三分。二續者。謂識與生能續生故。三分者。謂煩惱業事 (*kleśa*-, *karman*-, *vastu*-)。無明愛取是煩惱。行有是業。餘支是事。有餘 師說。二續者。謂行有續後有故。三分者。 謂三世。又十二支。攝為三聚。謂煩惱業苦 (*kleśa*-, *karman*-, *duḥkha*-) 如名三聚。亦名三集

(*samudaya-*) 三有 (*bhava-*) 三道 (*vartman-*) 。隨相應 知。 (*Mahāvibhāṣā, T 27 no. 1545 p. 122b11–17)

tasyaiva hy ete hetava iti sa punar eṣa dvādaśāṅgah pratītyasamutpādas trisvabhāvo veditavyah | kleśakarmavastūni | tatra kleśas trīṇi, trīṇy aṅgāni kleśasvabhāvāny, avidyātṛṣṇopādānāni | dvayam karma, aṅgadvayam karmasvabhāvam, saṃskārā bhavaś ca | sapta vastu, saptāṅgāni vastusvabhāvāni, vijñānanāmarūpaśadāyatanaśparśavedanājātijarāmaraṇāni | (AKBh 134)
 tatra avidyā tṛṣṇopādānam ca kleśavartmano 'vyavacchedah | saṃskārā bhavaś ca karmavartmano 'vyavacchedah | pariśeṣam duḥkhavartmano 'vyavacchedah | (Daśa-bh 33)

eṣām dvādaśānām aṅgānām katy aṅgāni kleśavartma | kati karmavartma | kati duḥkhavartma | trīṇi kleśavartma | dve karmavartma | avaśiṣṭāni duḥkhavartma | (YBh 218)

tredhā dvedhā ca samkleśah saptadhā 'bhūtakalpanāt || tredhā samkleśah |
 kleśasamkleśah karmmasamkleśah janmasamkleśaś ca | tatra kleśasamkleśo 'vidyātṛṣṇopādānāni | karmmasamkleśah saṃskārā bhavaś ca | janmasamkleśah śesāny aṅgāni | (MV Bh 21)

The following table summarizes how Northern Buddhist texts use the Three Courses to subdivide the chains of Dependent Arising.

Table 2. The Three Courses and the formula of Dependent Arising

kleśa-	avidyā- (1)
karman-	samskāra- (2)
duḥkha- / vastu- / janman-	vijñāna- (3) nāmarūpa- (4) ṣadāyatana- (5) sparśa- (6) vedanā- (7) jāti- (11) jarāmarana- (12)

A significant generalization emerges from this distribution: our Gāndhārī commentary, the Nettippakaraṇa, the Daśabhūmikasūtra and the Yogācārabhūmi all group together in having: (a) *vartman-* as cover term (vs. later Yogācāra *samkleśa-*), and (b) *duḥkha-* as name of the third element (vs. Pali *vipāka-*, Sarvāstivāda *vastu-* and later Yogācāra *janman-*), which confirms the close connection between our commentary and the Peṭakopadesa group of texts and points out possible further connections in later North Indian Buddhist literature.

Regarding the two different words used for Course in our text, *vata-* most probably derives from OIA *vartman-* and is cognate with P *vatta-*, while *vataṇi-* derives from OIA *vartani-* and is thus a lexical and presumably dialectal variant of *vata-*. Our commentary consistently uses the form *vata-* in sections that explain root verses from the Dharmapada-Udāna group, and the form *vataṇi-* in sections that explain root verses with parallels in the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta. This appears

to be an indication of the composite nature of our commentary, utilizing exegetical source material of different regional origins for these two types of root text.

Our commentary uses the **Four Planes** *daśaṇabhumī-*, *bhavaṇabhumī-*, *aṇataria-*
bhumī- and *kridavida-*. This particular system is not so far attested anywhere else (cf.
 Dayal 1932: 270–291, Obermiller 1933 and Eimer 2006: 98–103, 127–144 on
 Buddhist systems of Planes and Paths in general). At the end of section 14, our
 commentary briefly mentions that ‘others’ teach two further Planes (*bosisatvabhumi-*
 and *budhabhumi-*). The term *maṇoviñāṇabhumī-* (section 19) is not related to the
 system of four (or six) Planes and treated in the text note on line 9.194.

The Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary (§ 1.8) introduces two different systems
 of Planes in its section on the Four Purities (*viśudhi-*). The first of these (*śukra-*
vivaśaṇahumi-, *gotrahuhumi-*, *aṭhamaaahumi-*, *daśaṇahumi-*, *taṇubhumi-*, *bhavaṇa-*
humī-, *kidavibhumi-*) corresponds to the first seven Planes of the Śatasāhasrikā and
 Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (*śuklavidarśanabhūmi-*, *gotrabhūmi-*, *aṣṭamakabhūmi-*,
darśanabhūmi-, *taṇubhūmi-*, *vītarāgabhūmi-* and *kṛtāvibhūmi-*; Eimer 2006: 128), but
 with *bhavaṇahumi-* instead of *vītarāgabhūmi-* in sixth position. The second Plane
 system of SaṅgCm-G, cited as an alternative immediately after the preceding, has
 four Planes (*daśaṇabhumī-*, *taṇuabhumī-*, *bhavaṇabhumī-* and *kidavida-*) like our text
 and equates these with the four Fruits of Monkhood (cf. Eimer 2006: 83–94):

[a]varo payao śilaviśudhi daśaṇabhu[mi] soḍavatiḍa cita«viśudhi» [ta]ṇua-
 bhumi sayiḍaṅkamiḍa (*driṭhiviśudhi bha)vaṇabhumī aṇaṅkamiḍa aṇavhiniveṣe
 kamkṣavi[va]ra[ṇa]viśu[dhi k]i(*ḍav)[iḍa ara]hapo savakamkṣaṇa sam-
 adikramo

Yet another related four-Plane system is used in the Suttatthasamuccaya and
 Hārasampāta chapters of the Peṭakopadesa, where each of the Planes (*dassana-*
bhūmi-, *taṇubhūmi-*, *vītarāgabhūmi-* and *katāvībhūmi-*) is likewise equated with the
 Four Fruits of Monkhood (cf. Nāṇamoli 1962: 46). The first of two explicit equations

occurs in the following passage:

yadā ariyasāvako sotāpanno bhavati avinipātadhammo niyato yāva dukkhassantam karoti: ayam dassanabhūmi sotāpattiphalañ ca. sotāpattiphale ṭhito uttari samathavipassanañ bhāvento yuganandhā vattamānā kāmarāgabyāpādānam yebhuyyena pahānā ariyasāvako hoti sakadāgāmī parinīṭhitattā² sakid eva imam lokam āgantvā dukkhassantam karoti: ayam tanubhūmi sakadāgāmiphalañ ca. yo sakadāgāmiphale ṭhito vipassanañ bhāvento kāmarāgabyāpāde sānusaye anavasesam pajahati kāmarāgabyāpādesu anavasesam pahīnesu pañcorambhāgīyāni samyojanāni pahīnāni bhavanti sakkāyadiṭhi sīlabbataparāmāso vicikicchā kāmacchando byāpādo ca. imesam pañcannam orambhāgīyānam samyojanānam pahānāya ariyasāvako hoti anāgāmī tatthaparinibbāyī anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā: ayam vītarāgabhūmi anāgāmiphalañ ca. anāgāmiphale ṭhito uttari samathavipassanañ bhāvento pañca uddhambhāgīyāni samyojanāni pajahati rūparāgabhavarāgamānaüddhaccaavijañ ca. imesam pañcannam uddhambhāgīyānam samyojanānam pahānā ariyasāvako arahā bhavati khīṇāsavo ti vusitavā sam-pajañño vimutto parikkhīṇabhavasamyojano anuppattasadattho: ayam katā<*vī>bhūmi³ arahanto ca. (Peṭ 135.3–26)

and the second in this passage:⁴

tathāyam samāhito yathābhūtam pajānāti: ayam dassanabhūmi sotāpattiphalañ ca. yathābhūtam pajānanto nibbindatī ti: idam tanuttañ⁵ ca. kāmarāgabyāpādam sakadāgāmiphalañ ca yam nibbindati virajjati: ayam paṭhamā jhānabhāvanābhūmi ca rāgavirāgā cetovimutti anāgāmiphalañ ca. yam vimutti vimuccati: ayam avijjāvirāgā paññāvimutti arahattañ ca. (Peṭ 185.15–21)

²Ñāṇamoli 1964: 181 suggests emending this word to *parinibbānattham*.

³Emended by Ñāṇamoli 1964: 182.

⁴The terms *dassanabhūmi-* and *bhāvanābhūmi-* are also used more briefly at Peṭ 30, 130, 177, 178, 180 and 225.

⁵Emended by Ñāṇamoli 1964: 251; Barua reads *taduṭṭhanañ*. This sentence should probably be completed further to *idam tanuttañ ca <*sakadāgāmiphalañ ca>*.

The relationship of the Peṭakopadesa system and the Prajñāpāramitā system (both of which are reflected in the Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary) is summarized in the following table:

Table 3. Plane systems in the Peṭakopadesa, Prajñāpāramitās and SaṅgCm-G

Peṭakopadesa	SaṅgCm-G (2)	Prajñāpāramitā ⁶	SaṅgCm-G (1)
—	—	śuklavidarśana-	śukravivaśana-
—	—	gotra-	gotrahu-
—	—	aṣṭamaka-	athamaa-
dassana-	daśana-	darśana-	daśaṇa-
tanu-	tanua-	tanu-	tanu-
vītarāga-	bhavaṇa-	vītarāga-	bhavaṇa-
katāvī-	kidavida-	kṛtāvi-	kidavi-

The Prajñāpāramitā system thus appears to be an extension of the Peṭakopadesa system that adds three additional Planes before the original set of four that were equated with the Four Fruits of Monkhood (and one or three additional Planes after the new set of seven).

Returning to our commentary, we note that its four-Plane system differs from the two systems described above. There are two ways of interpreting this difference: either the *anatariabumi*- corresponds to the *tanubhumi*- of the other systems, or it is a new addition between the *bhavaṇabhumi*- and *kridavida*- and our system does not have an equivalent of the *tanubhumi*-. In both of those occurrences where our text names all Four Planes, the order is *daśanabhumi*-, *bhavaṇabhumi*-, *anatariabumi*-, *kridavida*-. This is circumstantial evidence since in principle the commentary could have rearranged the natural order of the Four Planes to suit the root verse, but for a set of graded categories like these this does not seem likely. Accepting the order of Planes as they are cited also results in a meaningful system that closely corresponds

⁶The table only lists the lower seven Planes of the Prajñāpāramitās. These are extended by one further Plane in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and by three further Planes in the Śatasāhasrikā.

to the gradation of the Four Fruits of Monkhood: on the Plane of Seeing, the goal of liberation is first caught sight of; on the Plane of Development, this first vision is repeated and through practice the way to it becomes every more direct; on the Plane of Immediacy then, the vision of liberation can be achieved immediately and without effort, leading to the final Plane, the State of One Who Has Accomplished. A further important connection is, however, suggested by the name of the third Plane which is echoed in the scheme set out in the Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharmaḥṛdaya where a Path of Seeing (*darśanamārga-*) is followed by a Path of Development (*bhāvanāmārga-*), but where a Path of Immediacy (*ānantaryamārga-*) somewhat puzzling represents the initial substage of the Path of Seeing (Dessein 2007: 28). It is conceivable that the Sarvāstivāda system of Paths represents a reorganization of the system of Planes used in our commentary along the lines of the dominant Peṭakopadesa and Prajñāpāramitā systems in which *bhāvanā-* immediately precedes liberation and is separated from *darśana-* by one step, but much research will be needed to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

The last comprehensive set of categories used for categorial reduction in our commentary, the **Five States**, does not appear to have parallels in any other known Buddhist traditions. It consists of the terms *uṭhaveda-*, *pradiṭhaveda-*, *ñanida-*, *vriṣavida-* and *kridavida-*, and represents a graded series of liberative achievement similar to the various systems of Planes. The first two terms of the series appear to be based on past active participles and to have the literal meanings ‘state of having raised oneself’ and ‘state of having established oneself.’ At the present state of our knowledge we can only surmise that they represent ideas similar to that of the Plane of Seeing and the Plane of Development. The meaning of the next term (*ñanida-*) appears to be a straightforward indication of the achievement of (a certain degree of) liberative knowlege. The fourth term (*vriṣavida-*) is Sanskritized as *vṛṣabhitā-*, but demonstrably based on the combination of OIA *viṣayin-* ‘one who has mastered’ with the abstract suffix. Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Saddharmaṇḍarīkasūtra, for instance, translates the equivalent of *tathāgatavṛṣabhitā-* as 世尊界 *shìzūn jiè* ‘sphere

of the world-honored one' (T 9 no. 263 p. 124b18), and the Pali Niddesa uses *visavitā-* in its explanation of the word *buddha-*:

buddho ti kenaṭṭhena buddho? bujjhitā saccānī ti buddho, bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho, sabbaññutāya buddho, sabbadassāvitāya buddho, abhiññeyyatāya buddho, visavitāya buddho, khīñāsavasañkhātena buddho [...]. (Nidd I 457)

The Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan sound change underlying the Gāndhārī and Pali forms of this word (von Hinüber 2001: § 214) is further illustrated in the Aśokan edicts at Kalsi (edict XIII, south face, lines 8–10: *hevam evā [hi]dā lā[ja]viśavaśi yonakambojeṣu nābhak[a]nābhapamtiṣu bhojapitinikye[ṣ]ju [adha]p[ā]lade[ṣ]ju [ṣa]vatā [d]evā[na]mpī[ya]ṣā dhammānu[ṣa]thi anuvatamti*; Hultzsch 1925: 46) and Sarnath (lines 10–11: *hem eva savesu koṭaviśavesu etena viyājanena vivāsāpayāthā*; Hultzsch 1925: 162). The intrusive *r* of G *vriṣavida-* and the further changes in Buddhist Sanskrit *vṛṣabhitā-* appear to be folk-etymological attempts to connect this word, whose origin was obscured by the unfamiliar sound change, with the word *vṛṣabha-* ‘bull.’ The fifth term of this set (*kridavida-*) is familiar from the Four Planes and requires no further comment.

In conclusion, two important formal properties of the method of categorial reduction need to be mentioned. Both of these are illustrated in the following chart (adapted from the charts for verse 32 in chapter 7). The first of these properties is the fact that sometimes, during the same run of the commentary, categorial reduction to one set of categories (usually only of part of a verse) serves as a stepping stone for another complete reduction to another set of categories. The link between the two reductions is usually provided by a relative pronoun (here *esa*) in a construction of the sort ‘categories of the first reduction: these are one category of the second reduction.’ The second special formal property consists in cross-reference between different runs of the commentary. In this procedure, a previously established equation (here with the Three Sources) is used to bundle several parts of the verse and equate all of them together with a category in the current run of the commentary. The link is provided by a key word in the instrumental (here *nidanakṣayena*, referring back from

run 3 to run 2, and *nidanaprahanena*, referring back from run 4 to run 2). In the following, this procedure will be called ‘back-reference.’

	2: 13-66–68		3: 13-68–69 (<i>asa va</i>)	4: 13-69–70 (<i>avaro</i>)
yo vadadi ma (*ti) ṇa unamea	<i>mohaprahaṇa-</i>		(<i>nidanakṣaya-</i>)	(<i>nidanaprahaṇa-</i>)
akrotho ca ṇa satrasea bhikhu	<i>doṣaprahaṇa-</i>	(<i>eṣa</i>) <i>saiūadiṣeṣa-</i>	↓ <i>kileśakṣaya-,</i> <i>kamakṣaya-</i>	↓ <i>saṃudeaprahaṇa-</i>
ladha parabhoyaṇa ṇa majea	<i>ragaprahaṇa-</i>			
same so loge		<i>aṇuadiṣeṣa-</i>	<i>dukhakṣaya-</i>	<i>dukhapariṇa-</i>
parivaya				<i>nirosa(*sa)kṣia-</i>

1.2.3. Other Doctrinal Concerns

Beyond the set of doctrinal categories used in the procedure of categorial reduction, the following main concerns can be identified: the causation of pain (analyzed by the formula of Dependent Arising starting with *taṣa-* and the Three Courses); two different meditation techniques (the Four Meditations, not themselves named in our commentary, with attainment of the Three Knowledges or Six Recognitions on the level of the Fourth Meditation; and meditation involving the complex of the Four Attainments of Formlessness, the Three Elements, and the Seven Steadinesses of Consciousness); the nature of the omniscience of a buddha or the Buddha as opposed to that of other liberated beings; and progress towards liberation in a system of Four Planes (§ 1.2.2) with reference to two additional planes that are recognized by a group that appears to belong to the Mahāyāna. It is noteworthy that none of the references to ‘some’ (*ke yi*) or ‘others’ (*avare / avaro*), with the single exception of the likely Mahāyāna reference just mentioned, appears to denote groups with significantly different doctrines. In most cases the opinion of ‘some’ and ‘others’ consists merely in a different alignment between parts of root verses and the same categories used by the main voice of the commentary.

1.3. Relationship to the Pali Niddesa

In its word explanations, Verse Commentary II shows clear similarities with the early commentary preserved in Pali under the title Niddesa (in most external references to it) or Suttaniddesā (in its own colophon). The Pali Niddesa explains a total of 369 verses corresponding to the Pali Atṭhakavagga, most of the Pārāyanavagga, and the Khaggavisāṇasutta, and thus overlaps in its coverage of root material with Gāndhārī Verse Commentary II. The main exegetical building blocks of the Pali Niddesa are stereotyped passages triggered by specific words or phrases in the verse to be explained and repeated in any other place where the word or phrase in question occurs. These stereotyped passages employ a variety of explanatory techniques including strings of synonyms and explanation by categorization. Two of the explanatory parallels between Verse Commentary II and the Pali Niddesa are illustrated in the following:

14 (l. 9.121): *mariṣa* · *garavaasivayaṇam edo*⁷ : Nidd II 31.26 *mārisā ti piyavacanam garuvacanam sagāravasappatissādhivacanam etam*; cf. Nidd II 22.20 et passim *bhagavā ti gāravādhivacanam*.

18 (ll. 9.182–183): *[e]labuyo* · *elo vucadi* · *subho* · *abuyo vucadi* · *pad[u](*m)[o]*⁸ : Nidd I 202.27–29 *elambujam* ... *elam vuccati udakam*. ‘ambu vuccati udakam’ (B^p S om.). *ambujam vuccati padumam*.

It is further possible, though difficult to prove, that there are connections between the explanatory structure of the Pali Niddesa and the particular selection of verses presented in our commentary. No less than 50 of the exegetical building blocks of the Niddesa in turn incorporate canonical verses in their explanation, resulting in a pattern of associations between verses containing a triggering word and verses used in its explanation. In two such cases, both verses of an associative pattern are contained as root material in our commentary. The word *bhāvitatto* triggers a Niddesa explanation containing a block of verses including Sn 516:

⁷“Dear sir: this is a respectful form of address.”

⁸“Water lotus (*elabuya*): Water is called *ela*. A lotus is called *abuya*.”

<i>bhāvitatto</i> (Sn 1049 = 13)	<i>dantam nayanti samitīm</i> (Dhp 321–323) <i>vidhāsu na vikappanti</i> (SN III 84) <i>yassindriyāni bhāvitāni</i> (Sn 516 = 12)
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and the word *bhikkhū* triggers an explanation containing the verse Sn 514:

<i>bhikkhū</i> (Sn 783, 1015, 1039 = 16, 1041)	<i>pajjena katena attanā</i> (Sn 514 = 37)
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The occurrence of parallels to Sn 1039 and Sn 514 as sections 16 and 37 of our commentary could easily be dismissed as coincidence, but it seems significant that the parallels to Sn 1049 and Sn 516 occur directly adjacent to each other as sections 13 and 12 of our commentary, and a further three of the verses explained in our commentary (21 = Ud-P 1.6, 25 = Sn 741, and 28 = Sn 740) are themselves used in the explanatory material of the Pali Niddesa. One further exegetical parallel is provided by a verse cited in explanation of Sn 516 = 12 in Paramatthajjotikā II:

<i>yassindriyāni bhāvitāni</i> (Sn 516 = 12)	<i>yassāha thero ... nābhikaṅkhāmi</i> <i>maraṇam nābhikaṅkhāmi jīvitam</i>
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The intended verse in Th 196, 606 etc. uses the verb *abhinandāmi* instead of *abhiṅkāhāmi*, and our commentary provides an exactly corresponding quotation:

<i>yas[a i]driṇ<*i> subhavidani</i> (11)	<i>ya vuto nabhinadami marano</i> <i>navinadami jīvido</i>
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1.4. Relationship to the Peṭakopadesa Group of Texts

The closest parallel to the Gāndhārī commentaries' system of categorial reduction is afforded by two exegetical manuals preserved in Pali, the Peṭakopadesa (edd. Fuchs 1908, Barua 1982, tr. Nāṇamoli 1964) and the Nettippakarāṇa (ed. Hardy 1902, tr. Nāṇamoli 1962; cf. Bond 1982). Detailed comparison between the Gāndhārī

commentaries and these manuals allows further conclusions about their historical relationship and provides a key towards understanding the purpose of the method of categorical reduction.

The Petakopadesa is by all appearances the older of the two Pali texts and will form the basis of the subsequent presentation, while the Nettippakaraṇa represents a later rearrangement of the same subject matter and the form in which it became productive in Theravāda Buddhism (Ñāṇamoli 1962: xiii–xxviii, pace von Hinüber 1996: § 168). Both texts are addressed to experts in the transmission of the Buddhist canon (P *piṭakadhara-*, Bharhut *peṭaki-*) and teach a method for determining the basic truths underlying any of the varied utterances of the Buddha and for establishing any utterance's place in the context of the Buddha's teaching as a whole. One function of this method is to verify the authenticity of a given text; this is in line with the Mahāpadesasutta's (DN II 123–126, AN II 167–170) prescript that teachings need to be 'confronted with the sūtra' (*sutte otāretabbāni*) and 'compared with the vinaya' (*vinaye sandassetabbāni*; cf. Lamotte 1947, Bond 1982: 22–31). Another function of the method is to establish the intended audience of a given utterance and to identify equivalent formulations suitable for other types of audience.

The Petakopadesa presents this method in four main chapters. The Sāsanapatiṭṭhāna (Pet 23–59; cf. Nett 127.25–193) contains a typology and classification of utterances of the Buddha; the Hārvibhaṅga (Pet 81–111; cf. Nett 5.9–84) introduces and illustrates sixteen 'kinds of deducing' (*hāra-*) the basic terms of a given utterance;⁹ the Hārasampāta (Pet 141–241; Nett 85–109.19) shows how the sixteen *hāra-* can be used in conjunction by applying all of them to each of sixteen sample utterances of the Buddha following the classification established in the Sāsanapatiṭṭhāna; the Nayasamuṭṭhāna (Pet 242–260; cf. Nett 109.20–127.24) teaches a set of 'guidelines' (*naya-*) or mappings between basic terms, and from basic terms to their meaning and purpose (namely the conveyance of different types of audience to liberation).

⁹In the translation of Ñāṇamoli 1962 and 1964, the *hāras* concern: teaching, investigation, construing, footings, characteristics, fourfold array, conversion, analysis, reversal, synonyms, descriptions, ways of entry, clearing up, terms of expression, and requisites.

The Nayasamuṭṭhāna and its system of mappings between terms and meanings is most relevant for the understanding of the Gāndhārī commentaries and their categorial reduction. Three *naya-* (*sīhavikīlita-*, *tipukkhala-* and *nandiyāvatta-*) provide overall frameworks for mappings that involve sets of four, three and two terms respectively. One *naya* (*disālocanā*) establishes the meaning equivalence of terms on the negative and positive side respectively¹⁰ and provides the connection with the intended audience on one hand and with the purpose of liberation on the other. The fifth and last *naya* (*aṅkusa*) performs the conversion between negative and positive terms. The three charts at the end of this section provide an overview of this mapping procedure as set out in the Peṭakopadesa (the Nettippakarāna differs significantly in its inventory of terms). *Sīhavikīlita*, *tipukkhala* and *nandiyāvatta* are illustrated by one chart each, and within the charts vertical arrows indicate the operation of *disālocanā*, horizontal arrows the operation of the *aṅkusa*.

It is immediately apparent that many (but not all) of the sets of terms set out in the Nayasamuṭṭhāna correspond to the overlapping sets of terms employed by our commentary, by the other Gāndhārī verse commentaries and by the Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary in their categorial mappings. Beyond the negative and positive terms of the Nayasamuṭṭhāna (representing the origin of pain and the path), two Nayasamuṭṭhāna sets of cessation terms (the four *śrāmanya-phalas* and the two *vimuktis*) are used in the Gāndhārī commentaries, and the basic subclassification of the audience into *taṇhācarita* and *dīṭṭhicarita* likewise occurs in our commentary and in the Saṅgītisūtra commentary. Several peculiar expressions in the Gāndhārī texts also find an explanation in the Peṭakopadesa method as set out above: our commentary and the Saṅgītisūtra commentary, for instance, repeatedly stress that ‘the truths that make a teacher are to be known’ (*śastugaraga ḡñada[va saca]* 9.53), a reference to the reduction of any given utterance to basic terms and meanings and, ultimately, the Four Truths; and the Saṅgītisūtra uses the word *haṭave* (Skt. *hartavyam*) in expressions such as *cadu[hi] padivadahi haṭave* ‘one should deduce by

¹⁰The positive side is called *śukrapakṣa-* in SaṅGm-G.

means of the Four Ways,’ i.e., ‘the Four Ways should be deduced as basic terms underlying the text,’ with likely reference to the Peṭakopadesa notion of *hāra*. A substantial number of other technical terms is also shared between Peṭakopadesa, Nettippakaraṇa and the Gāndhārī commentaries, such as for example the compound P *attabhāvavatthu-* = G *atvabhavavastu-* ‘ground for selfhood’ which in Pali is not attested outside the exegetical manuals.

Most telling, however, is a stylistic comparison between the Gāndhārī commentaries and an explicit application of the Peṭakopadesa method. The Pali Atṭhakathās and Tīkās appear to have been composed on the background of an acquaintance with the Peṭakopadesa (or rather Nettippakaraṇa) method (Ñāṇamoli 1962: liii–liv), and Dhammapāla in particular took a strong interest in it, composing a commentary on the Nettippakaraṇa itself and adding example applications of the method to the first sutta explanation of each of his three Nikāya subcommentaries.¹¹ Stylistically, however, the Pali Atṭhakathās and Tīkās are very different from the Gāndhārī commentaries and do not provide a convenient basis for literary comparison. Rescue comes in the form of a series of sixteen short sample commentaries embedded within the Hārasampāta chapter of the Peṭakopadesa itself, between each scriptural example and the explicit application of each *hāra* to it. These sample commentaries conclude with the words *ayam suttaniddeso* or equivalent expressions, recalling the formula *sutro tatra nideśo* at the beginning of each section of our commentary.

One such sample commentary is reproduced in the following, and it is worth pointing out one striking formal similarity between the two text: the words *dānena* and *sīlēna* in part [C] of the Pali text are used to establish a back-reference by way of *dānamayikapuññakiriyavatthu* and *sīlamayikapuññakiriyavatthu* in part [A] to the first and second pāda of the root verse, in a way precisely corresponding to the operation of back-references in our Gāndhārī commentary as illustrated above

¹¹The twelfth-century commentator Sāriputta imitated his famous predecessor in adding such a section to the first sutta explanation of his Aṅguttaranikāya subcommentary.

(§ 1.2.2):

*dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato veram na ciyati,
kusalo ca jahāti pāpakan, rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto*
(Ud-P 8.5)

[237.5] **dadato puññam pavaddhati** ti gāthā. [A] **dadato** dānamayikapuññakiriyavatthu vuttam. **samyamato veram na ciyatī** ti sīlamayikapuññakiriyavatthu vuttam. **kusalo ca jahati pāpakan** ti lobhassa ca mohassa ca byāpādassa ca pahānam āha. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti lobhassa ca mohassa ca byāpādassa ca chandarāgavinayam (Ee chandarāgam vinayaṁ) āhā ti. [B] **dadato puññam pavaddhatī** ti {gāthā} alobho kusalamūlam bhavati. **samyamato veram na ciyatī** ti adoso kusalamūlam bhavati (Ee bhavatī ti). <***kusalo ca jahati pāpakan** ti amoho kusalamulam bhavati. **rāgadosamohakkhayāsa nibbuto** ti maggaphalam anupādisesañ ca nibbānadhadhātum manteti. [C] dānena olārikānam kilesānam pahānam manteti. sīlena majjhimānam. paññāya sukhumakilesānam manteti. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti katāvībhūmi (Ee katācibhūmi). [D] dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato veram na ciyati, kusalo **ca jahati pāpakan** ti maggo vutto. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti maggaphalam (Ñā aggaphalam) āha. [E] **dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato** ti tīhi padehi lokikam kusalamūlam vuttam. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti lokuttaram kusalamūlam vuttam. [F] **dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato veram na ciyatī** ti puthujjanabhūmim manteti. **kusalo ca jahati pāpakan** ti sekkhabhūmim manteti. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti asekkhabhūmi vuttā. [235] [G] **dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato veram na ciyatī** ti saggagāminī (Ee magganiyā) patipadā vuttā. **kusalo ca jahati pāpakan** ti sekkhavimutti. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti asekkhavimutti. [H] **dadato puññam pavaddhati, samyamato veram na ciyatī** ti dānakatham sīlakatham saggakatham (Ee maggakatham) lokikānam dhammānam desanam āha. **kusalo ca**

jahati pāpakan ti loke ādīnavānupassanā. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti 'sāmukkāmsikā dhammadesanā' (Ee: sāmukkāmsikāya dhammadesanā ye pi paṭividdhā). [I] **dadato puññam pavaḍḍhatī** ti pāṇānam abhayadānena pāṇāti-pātā veramaṇi sattānam (Ee sattannaṁ) abhayaṁ deti. evam sabbāni sikkhā-padāni kātabbāni. **samȳamato veram na ciyatī** ti sīle patiṭṭhāya cittam samȳameti, tassa samȳamato pāripūriṁ gacchati. **rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto** ti dve vimuttiyo. ayaṁ suttaniddeso. (Pet 237.5–235.16, with emendations and rearrangement from Ñāṇamoli 1964)

Categorial mapping in the Petakopadesa, 1: *sīhavikīlita-*

tanhācarito mudindriyo	tanhācarito tikkhindriyo	dīthīcarito mudindriyo	dīthīcarito tikkhindriyo	vīñāñāhārō	⇒	cattaso pañipadā	dukkhā dandh- ābhīñā	sukhā dandh- ābhīñā	sukhā khipp- ābhīñā
cattāro āharā	kabatikāro	phasso	manosāñcetan- āhāro	↓	↓	cattāri jhānāni	pañhamāñ	dutiyāñ	catutthāñ
cattāro vīpallāñā	asubhe subham	dukkhe sukham	anicce niccam	↓	↓	cattāro sati- pañthāñā	kāye kāy- ānupassitā	vedanāsu vedan- ānupassitā	dhammesu dhamm- ānupassitā
cattāri upādāñā	kāmūpādāñam	śīlabbat- upādāñam	dīthūpādāñam	attavād- upādāñam	↓	cattāro vīhārā	dibbo	brahma	ariyo
cattāro yogā	<*kāmavayogo>	<*bhavayogo>	<*avijayogo>	<*dīthiyogo>	⇒	cattāro vīhārā	↓	↓	ānejio
cattāro ganthā	abhiññā	byapado	paramāso	idamsacc- ābhiveso	⇒	cattāro sammappna- dhanā	pañhamāñ	dutiyāñ	catutthāñ
cattāro dāvā	kāmāsavo	byāpādāsavo	bhāvāsavo	dīthāsavo	⇒	cattāro acchāriyā abbhuta- dhammā	pathamo	dutiyō	tañyo
cattāro oghā	kāmogho	bhavogho	avijogho	dīthogho	⇒	cattāro adīthīhāna	↓	↓	catuttho
cattāri scallā	rēgasallām	dosasallām	mohasallām	dīthisallām	⇒	cattāro samādhīno	chanda- samādhī	vīryasamādhī	cittasamādhī
cattaso vīñāñā- tthīñyo	rūpūpagā	vedanūpagā	saññūpagā	sankharūpagā	⇒	cattāro dhammā sukhabhūgīyā	indriya- sañvato	cattaro iddhipāda	bojjhangā
cattāri agati- gamānāni	chandā	dosā	mohā	bhayā	⇒	cattāri appamāñāñī	mettā	karunā	muditā
						sotāpatti- phalam	sakadāgami- phalam	anāgami- phalam	arahatta- phalam
						pariyosāñam	pariyosāñam	pariyosāñam	pariyosāñam

INTRODUCTION

Categorial mapping in the Peṭakopadesa, 2: *tipukkhala-*

Categorial mapping in the Petakopadesa, 3: *nandiyāvatta-*

1.5. Sources of the Root Verses

All root verses of our commentary (with the single exception of no. 23) have parallels in texts of the Kṣudraka division of the canons of various Buddhist schools (see the table at the end of chapter 8 for a detailed breakdown, and the body of chapter 8 for a discussion of the relationship of each individual verse to its parallels). It thus seems likely that the source texts on which our commentary or its immediate predecessors drew belonged to this division of a Gāndhārī Buddhist canon. While there is no certainty about the school affiliation of the monastic group that produced the manuscripts of the British Library collection, all indications are in favor of the Dharmaguptakas. The Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, preserved in Chinese translation (四分律 Sifēn lù, Fótúyēshè and Zhú Fóniàn, 405 or 408 CE), contains the following classification of Buddhist texts by genre (*anīga-*; cf. von Hinüber 1994):

契經 *sūtra-*, 祇夜經 *geya-*, 授記經 *vyākaraṇa-*, 喻經 *gāthā-*, 句經 *udāna-*, 因緣經 *nidāna-*, 本生經 *jātaka-*, 善道經 *itivṛttaka-*, 方等經 *vaipulya-*, 未曾有經 *adbhutadharma-*, 賜喻經 *avadāna-*, 優婆提舍經 *upadeśa-* (T 22 no. 1428 p. 569b)

and the following list of the contents of the Kṣudraka division of the Dharmaguptaka canon:

- (1) 生經 *Jātaka*, (2) 本經 *Itivṛttaka*, (3) 因緣經 *Nidāna*, (4) 方等經 *Vaipulya*,
- (5) 未曾有經 *Adbhutadharma*, (6) 賜喻經 *Avadāna*, (7) 優婆提舍經 *Upadeśa*;
- (8) 句義經 *Arthapada*, (9) 法句經 *Dharmapada*, (10) 波羅延經 *Pārāyaṇa*, (11) 雜難經 ?, (12) 聖偈經 (*Munigāthā / Sthaviragāthā*) (T 22 no. 1428 p. 968b)

These texts form the basis for our discussion of the possible canonical sources of our commentary. One question that needs to be addressed before embarking on this discussion is the degree of directness of our commentary's sourcing of the canon. First of all, there are several cases of copying mistakes in our manuscript (discussed individually in § 3.9 and in the text notes in chapter 7) that indicate that it had one or more written predecessors. We cannot be certain whether our commentary was

copied in its entirety from a single source manuscript containing the same text, or whether it compiled its sections from a variety of written (and maybe also oral) sources. The presence of two *uddānas* does not in itself prove that the text was previously established within its tradition since the *uddānas* could have been composed as part of the compilation of our manuscript, and in particular the presence of *uddānas* does not prove that the verse compilation underlying our text goes back to great antiquity or even the first Buddhist Council (cf. Skilling 2009: 64 for this notion within the Buddhist tradition and for a passage in the *Abhidharmadīpa* using the term *uddānagāthā-*,¹² corresponding to *udanagasa-* of our text). The discrepancy between the order of items in our second *uddāna* and the actual order of textual items does, however, indicate the previous existence of at least this building block of ten verses, whether or not they were already accompanied by a commentary. On the other hand, the linguistic details of this second *uddāna* suggest that it was originally composed in Gāndhārī, which indicates that the compilation of verses explained in our manuscript does not go back beyond the Gāndhārī tradition (see the detailed discussion of this *uddāna* in chapter 7, after section 14).

1.5.1. Arthapada

The most important source for the root verses of our commentary is the Arthapada. For this reason, and also because the Chinese translation of the Arthapada has a demonstrable Gāndhārī background and because a Gāndhārī fragment of what appears to be an Arthapada manuscript has been identified recently, this text will be discussed at somewhat greater length than the other sources.

The Pali tradition has preserved a version of this text under the title *Aṭṭhakavagga* as the fourth section of the larger *Suttanipāta* compilation (ed. Andersen & Smith 1913, tr. Norman 1992). An early Chinese translation called 佛說義足經 Fóshuō yìzú jīng (T 4 no. 198, made by Zhī Qiān 支謙 between 223 and 253 CE) was first brought

¹²According to Skilling 2009: 64, AKBh 122.23–25 also contains this word, but in “Pradhan’s edition it is misspelled as *udāna-*.“ The text of the sentence in question is, however, *ity etasyāyurdānagāthāyām*, and the intended word may in fact be *dānagāthā-* or *āyurdānagāthā-*.

to the notice of Western scholars in Anesaki 1906–07 (cf. further Anesaki 1908: 12–13) and was translated into English by Bapat 1945, 1950, 1951 who also argued (1950: 107) on the basis of the transcriptions of Indian words that the original must have been a Middle Indo-Aryan text.¹³

Parts of a Sanskrit version called *Arthavargīyāṇī Sūtrāṇī* are preserved in fragments of two paper manuscripts discovered in Central Asia by the British and German expeditions of the early twentieth century. The first of these (Arth-Skt^K) was found in Khadalik near Khotan on the southern Silk Road and is now kept in the British Library in London (IOL San 518–521 and one additional fragment,¹⁴ cf. Hartmann & Wille 1992, ed. Hoernle 1916, 1917); the second (Arth-Skt^Q) was discovered on the northern Silk Road, most likely in Qizil, and is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SHT I, IV, V 662). Most recently, a Gāndhārī birch-bark scroll has come to light in a private collection, showing parts of five verses on its outside that I was able to identify as belonging to a Gāndhārī version of the *Mahāvyūhasūtra*, corresponding to the thirteenth of the sixteen sūtras of the Pali *Āṭṭhakavagga* and to the twelfth of sixteen sūtras in the Chinese translation. It is possible, though not yet certain, that this new scroll originally contained a complete copy of the Gāndhārī Arthapada, of which two thirds or less would then be preserved.

The suttas of the Pali *Āṭṭhakavagga* consist exclusively of verses and, in the case of those suttas that are dialogs between the Buddha and an interlocutor, brief stage directions indicating the speakers. Background stories for each of the suttas are first preserved in Dhammapāla's fifth-century (or later) *Suttanipāta* commentary *Param-āthajjotikā*. In contrast, both the Chinese translation of the Arthapada and the Sanskrit version *Arthavargīyāṇī Sūtrāṇī* integrate background stories and the verses into one single text. The particular stories provided in each of these three traditions

¹³Lamotte 1956: 252, 1956/57: 347, apparently not aware of Bapat's argument, states that the original was in Sanskrit.

¹⁴IOL San 518 corresponds to Hoernle's Fragment IV, 519 to I, 520 to III and 521 to II. Images of these four fragments can be viewed at the International Dunhuang Project's website (<http://idp.bl.uk/>). The current location and pressmark of Hoernle's Fragment V are not known.

for any given sūtra sometimes differ from each other (Bapat 1950: 98–102 briefly compares the Pali and Chinese stories). In the sections of our commentary devoted to the Arthapada, only the verses are quoted and the discussion contains no reference to material from any of the three sets of background stories of the other traditions. Whether this implies that the Gāndhārī version of the Arthapada did not contain any integrated background stories or merely reflects a decision on the part of the commentary only to treat the canonical verse core of the Arthapada cannot yet be answered with certainty. But the introductory formula for each section (*sutro tatra nideśo*, where *sutro* appears to mean ‘canonical text’; § 1.2.1) gives support to the latter interpretation, as does the connection of the Gāndhārī commentary with the Petakopadesa method of reducing to its doctrinal core any uttering of the Buddha (i.e., canonical material by the usual Buddhist criterion; § 1.4). It will become possible to answer this question more definitively if and when the above-mentioned new manuscript containing at least part of the Mahāvyūhasūtra (and possibly a complete Arthapada) is unrolled and made available for study.

The titles of the Arthapada collection in its different language versions have been discussed many times (Rhys Davids 1894–96: 93, Anesaki 1906–07: 50, Lévi 1915: 412–414, de La Vallée Poussin 1932, Bapat 1950: 107–109, Lamotte 1958: 177–178, Jayawickrama 1976: 140–146, Norman 1983: 67–68, 1992: 296). The following provides a conspectus of the available data and reevaluates the earlier discussion in light of three new pieces of Gāndhārī evidence (in addition to the above, cf. Lamotte 1956, 1956/57, 1984 and Mizuno 1979 for references to relevant passages).

The transmitted Pali version is labelled *atṭhakavaggo* ‘collection of eights’ in its colophon, with the variant readings *athavaggo* and isolated *acelakavaggo* ‘collection on ascetics.’ References from other Pali collections use the phrase *atṭhakavaggikāni* (scil. *suttāni*) (Vin I 196, 197, Ud 59). Outside the Pali tradition, only one text gives a form of the title containing the number word ‘eight’ (as observed by Jayawickrama 1976: 145): the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (摩訶僧祇律 Móhē-sēngqí lù, tr. 416 CE, T 22 no. 1425) refers to the **asta(ka)vargīyāni sūtrāni* three

times, using both a partial phonetic transcription, 八跋耆經 *bā báqí jīng* = ONWC [pät batgi kēŋ]¹⁵ (p. 447c14; in 八跋祇經 *bā báqí jīng* on p. 416a3, 祇 is probably written in error for its modern homophone 耆), and a translation, 八群經 *bāqún jīng* (p. 337a1).

The majority of Indian traditions, however, refers to the text in question as the *arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi*. In the manuscript fragments found at Khadalik (Arth-Skt^K), the verse portions of two of the sūtras are introduced by the phrases *idam artthavargīyam sūtram bhāṣate sma* (IOL San 518 recto 4) and + + [*arthaka*](**vargī*) [*yām*] *gāth*(**ām*) [*bhaśīta*] ? (sic; IOL San 518 recto 2), and one of the fragments from the northern Silk Road (Arth-Skt^Q) contains the sequence *artthavarg*[*gī*] (SHT IV 662 c 8 A 5). The most likely school affiliation of the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments is the Sarvāstivāda, and it is therefore not surprising to see the same text title used in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu (*arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi* MSV III 4 १८८.९–१०). The Chinese translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事 Gēnběn shuōyīqièyōu bù pínàiyē yàoshì, tr. 700–711 CE, T 24 no. 1448) renders the title as 衆義經 *zhòngyì jīng* (p. 11b7), inverting the name elements corresponding to *varga* and *artha*, while the Tibetan translation has *don kyi tshoms* (v.l. *tshogs*) *kyi mdo*, corresponding exactly to the Sanskrit form. In two parallel passages, the Divyāvadāna shows the surprising though clearly related spelling *arthavadgīyāni sūtrāṇi* (Divy 20.24 and 35.1, so the manuscripts, emended by the editors to *arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi*). The Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivāda Saṃyuktāgama (雜阿含經 Zá āhán jīng, tr. 435–443 CE, T 2 no. 99) has an exact translation of *arthavarga* in 義品 *yìpǐn* (p. 362c12). Among post-canonical works associated with the Sarvāstivāda school, the Chinese translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (大智度論 Dà zhìdù lùn, tr. 402–406 CE, T 25 no. 1509) uses the transcription 阿他婆耆經 *ātāpóqí jīng* = ONWC [?athabagi kēŋ] (p. 63c13; Anesaki 1934: 291 has the variant spelling 阿他婆耆經 *āduōpóqí jīng* = ONWC

¹⁵ONWC [bat] is a regular transcription equivalent of Indian *var* and does not need to be connected with the problematic Divy manuscript spelling *arthavadgīyāni* (see below).

[?atabagi kēŋ]), which appears to reflect a Middle Indo-Aryan form of *arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi*; and the Abhidharmaśabhbāṣya likewise has the expected form in *tathā hy arthavargīyeśūktam* (AKBh 9.13). This version of the title is, moreover, not restricted to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda school: the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (彌沙塞部和醯五分律 Míshāsāi bù héxī wǔfēn lù, tr. 423 or 424 CE, T 22 no. 1421) refers to the 義品經 *yìpǐn jīng* (p. 144b17), another straightforward translation of *arthavargīyāni sūtrāṇi*.

This leaves the Dharmaguptaka school, in whose texts a third variant of the title is attested. The Chinese translation of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (四分律 Sìfēn lù, tr. 405 or 408 CE, T 22 no. 1428) refers to the 句義經 *jùyì jīng* (p. 968b25), which I take to reflect a form corresponding to G *arthapada-*, with reversal of the name elements in the course of translation (as in the form 衆義經 *zhòngyì jīng* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya discussed above).¹⁶ In addition to connecting the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (a text that for independent reasons is likely to have been translated from a Gāndhārī original) with the attested Gāndhārī form *arthapada-*, the assumption of reversal in the course of translation also helps make sense of the title form preserved in the Chinese translation of the Dharmaguptaka Vinayasūtra (毘尼母經 Pínímǔ jīng (Dharmaguptaka Vinayasūtra, tr. before 350–431 CE, T 24 no. 1463), 說義 *shuōyì* (p. 818a26), which would then seem to reflect a word like **arthavāda-* ‘speaking the meaning’ that can be understood as a misinterpretation of a Gāndhārī form **arthavāda-* < *arthapada-* (cf. § 4.3.1 on G *śativada-* for OIA **sāntivāda-*). Finally, the original Gāndhārī form *arthapada* itself may now be attested in a new fragmentary manuscript that is part of the same private collection as the presumed Arthapada (or *Mahavyūha) manuscript discussed above. This new manuscript contains a series of verses, possibly in the triṣṭubh meter, that are still poorly understood, but which contain one comparatively clear pāda: *ya ca [a]rthapado [pra]gaśido* ‘the arthapada

¹⁶It should be noted that in the second Chinese Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya passage discussed above, the usual (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda form is followed by the same characters 句義 *jùyì* twice in the succeeding sentences, where it is however likely not to be a text title, but to translate the dvandva appellative *padārtha-* ‘words and meaning’ (so Lévi 1915: 411, “les phrases et le sens”).

that has been explained.' While it cannot be ruled out at this stage that the word in question may here be used as an appellative meaning 'profitable saying, word of good sense' (PTSD s.v. *arthapada*) rather than as a reference to the specific text known as Arthapada, it does clearly illustrate the Gāndhārī form reflected in the title of the Chinese translation of this text as well as in the references to the text from the Chinese translations of the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya and Vinayasūtra.

In summary, it has become clear that there are three different forms of the title of this collection, and that their distribution follows lines of school affiliation as well as language tradition: it is called *aṭṭhakavagga-* / **aṣṭakavarga-* in the Theravāda Pali tradition and by the Mahāsāṃghikas; **arthavarga-* / *arthavargiyāni sūtrāṇi* in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Sanskrit tradition; and *arthapada-* [at^h:avaḍa] in the Dharmaguptaka and Gāndhārī tradition. Two different proposals have been made for a relative chronology of these variants. On the basis of the Pali form and the problematic Sanskrit form *arthavadgīyāni* preserved in the Divyāvadāna manuscripts, Rhys Davids 1894–96: 93 expressed the opinion (accepted in Norman 1992: 296) that *aṭṭhakavagga-* must preserve the original state of affairs, and that the name derives from those four out of the sixteen sūtras of the collection that actually contain eight verses each and are labelled as *aṭṭhaka-* in their titles (Guhaṭṭhakasutta, Duṭṭhaṭṭhakasutta, Suddhaṭṭhakasutta and Paramaṭṭhakasutta), implying that the other sūtras are later additions to the collection. This theory leaves unexplained, however, why such a small core of short sūtras should have attracted twelve additional and for the most part longer sūtras. Addressing this problem on the much broader background of the title variants that are preserved in Chinese translation, Lévi 1915: 413 suggested that on the contrary the forms based on *artha-* reflect the original title of the collection, and that the reinterpretation of MIA *aṭṭha-* as *aṣṭa-* (→ *aṭṭhaka-*) is secondary, an attractive theory lent some additional support by the newly attested Gāndhārī form *arthapada* which pushes the earliest attestation of an *artha* form back from the early fifth century CE (when the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya was translated into Chinese) to the first or second century CE (the likely date of the manuscript

containing the *arthapada* reference). Concerning the second element of the title, Lévi 1915: 415 favors the Dharmaguptaka variant *pada* over the other schools' *varga*, pointing out that this form establishes a parallelism with the title of the Dharmapada.¹⁷

Ultimately, however, it has to be conceded that the formative period of the Arthapada collection predates the earliest available evidence for its title, and that the span and distribution of title variants outlined above was already established when other texts started referring to its material as part of a collection. The only potential reference to Arthapada material that might be earlier than the existence of the collection is the term *upatisapasine* in Aśoka's Calcutta-Bairat edict (line 5; Hultzsch 1925: 173).

The following nine sections of our commentary explain verses from the Arthapada: 6, 8, 19, 20, 22, 27, 34, 36 and 38.

1.5.2. Pārāyaṇa

The Pārāyaṇa is preserved in Pali as part of the Suttanipāta (ed. Andersen & Smith 1913, tr. Norman 1992) and in Sanskrit fragments from Qizil (Pār-Skt^Q). Nothing indicates that this text was ever translated into Chinese. The following seven sections explain verses from the Pārāyaṇa: 7, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

1.5.3. Dharmapada-Udāna Group

Three Indian-language verse collections have been transmitted under the name Dharmapada: the Gāndhārī Dharmapada (Dhp-G^K, Dhp-G^L) the Pali Dhammapada (Dhp-P) and the so-called Patna Dhammapada (Dhp^P). There are two extant Chinese

¹⁷It is difficult, however, to follow him in his further speculation: "Le parallélisme s'étend même plus loin ; l'Arthapada et le Dharmapada se font pendant ; ils correspondent aux deux fins essentielles de l'activité humaine, l'intérêt pratique et l'idéal. Arthapada et Dharmapada apparaissent donc comme les vénérables prototypes des collections à la Bharṭhari ; Nītiśataka et Vairāgyaśataka procèdent plus ou moins directement de ces deux modèles." Surely the Arthapada collection is just as much oriented towards ideals of renunciation as the Dharmapada. – Lévi also cites the relationship of the Pali Dhammapada and Sanskrit 'Udānavarga' as another case of name shift from *pada* to *varga*, but this part of his argument can no longer be accepted as Bernhard 1969 has conclusively shown that the name of the text known in Western scholarship as 'Udānavarga' was in fact simply Udāna (§ 1.5.3).

Dharmapada compilations. The first (Dhp-Chin^{WQN}) was prepared by Wéiqínán 維祇難 in 224 CE on the basis of Dhp-P with thirteen additional chapters that draw on material from Ud, Arth, Pār and other sources (Willemen 1974: 5). The second (Dhp-Chin^{FJFL}) was prepared by Fǎjù 法炬 and Fǎlì 法立 in 290–306 CE and consists of a selection of verses from Dhp-Chin^{WQN} embedded in a framework of stories (for this procedure cf. the Chinese Arthatpada; § 1.5.1). See Brough 1962: 34–41 and Lenz 2003: 11–14 for further discussion of the various versions of the Dharmapada.

The Udāna has come down to us in Pali (Ud-P) and in Buddhist Sanskrit (Ud-Skt^S, Ud-Skt). The Pali Udāna collection shares formal characteristics with the Pali Itivuttaka, and both texts are always named together in the lists of nine *anigas* (Norman 1983: 60–61, von Hinüber 1996: § 91). Ud-Skt^S is a unique wood manuscript that shows clear traces of a Gāndhārī linguistic substrate (Nakatani 1987, 1988, and see the discussion of individual verses in chapter 8). Ud-Skt is preserved in the form of numerous manuscript fragments from Xinjiang that can be divided into an earlier and a later recension (Schmithausen 1970). Bernhard 1969 has shown that the true title of Ud-Skt was ‘Udāna’ (not ‘Udānavarga’), and that in origin it was a similar text to the Pali Udāna that has been gradually expanded by the addition of ever more verses, many from a Dharmapada source. There are two Chinese translations of the Udāna. The first (Ud-Chin^{ZFN}) was prepared by Zhú Fóniàn 竹佛念 in 374 CE and contains prose additions. The second (Ud-Chin^{TXZ}) was prepared by Tiān Xīzāi 天息災 in the tenth century CE and consists of verses only. There is also a Tibetan translation based on the earlier of the two Ud-Skt recensions.

The existence of a Gāndhārī version of the Udāna is demonstrated by the presence of a version of the Ud-Skt preamble verse on Niya Document 204:

sidhya me
 stinamita [vi]nok[e]tva sampr[e]śitva mānasa
 śrunota me pra[vi]kṣami ut. ? budhabhaṣita
 eva vukta bhagavata vi pra mu e

(text based on Boyer et al. 1920–29, with corrections from Bernhard 1965–68: 95 and

Schmithausen 1970: 77).¹⁸ The Gāndhārī literary tradition thus appears to have contained two separate comprehensive verse collections with a significant overlap of material. In view of the strong affiliation of the Sanskrit *Udāna* with the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda, it is possible that the Gāndhārī *Udāna* was also associated with this school, whereas the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* had become the corresponding canonical verse repository of another school, and possibly the Dharmaguptakas. In the following, we will refer to the material represented by *Dharmapada* and *Udāna* together as the *Dharmapada-Udāna* group.

The following fourteen sections explain verses from the *Dharmapada-Udāna* group: 1, 5, 9, 10, 14, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 33. It is not easy to determine whether a *Dharmapada* or an *Udāna* (or both) served as the immediate source for our commentary (or its commentarial sources). The following table summarizes the distribution of parallels for the fourteen verses of this group.

¹⁸These verses are parallel to *Ud-Skt* 1–2:

siddham €	
stīnamiddham vinodyeha sampraharṣya ca mānasam	
śṛṇutemam̄ pravakṣyāmi udānam̄ jinabhāṣitam	1.
evam uktam̄ bhagavatā sarvābhijñena tāyinā	
anukampakenarṣiṇā śarīrāntimadhdhāriṇā	2.

Table 4. Summary of sources for Dharmapada-Udāna-group root verses

	Dhp	Ud
1	✓	✓
5	—	✓
9	✓	✓
10	✓	—
14	—	✓
21	—	✓
25	✓	✓
26	✓	✓
28	—	✓
29	✓	—
30	✓	—
31	—	✓
33	✓	✓

In this table, a regular check mark (✓) indicates that the verse in question is attested in Dharmapada or Udāna texts of other Buddhist traditions and thus potentially also a part of the incompletely preserved Gāndhārī Dharmapada and Udāna versions. A bold check mark (✓) indicates that a Gāndhārī version of the verse is in fact attested in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada (Dhp-G^K). A horizontal line (—) indicates that a verse is not at all attested in one or the other collection. In reading the table one should keep in mind that a much smaller portion of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada is known than of the Gāndhārī Udāna (the latter via its Sanskritized versions in the Subashi manuscript and elsewhere).

It is immediately apparent that five of the fourteen verses (1, 9, 25, 26 and 33) are attested for both the Dharmapada and the Udāna collection, and in these cases no firm conclusions can be drawn about which of the two texts served as the immediate source for our commentary. The other nine verses fall into several distinct groups.

Verses 5, 21 and 31 are only attested for the *Udāna* and all belong to the *Bodhivagga* (*Ud-P*) and *Brāhmaṇavarga* (*Ud-Skt*). In the Khotan Dharmapada, the *Brammaṇa* chapter serves as the main repository for material from these *Udāna* chapters, and the fact that the *Brammaṇa* chapter is preserved in its entirety without containing any of these three verses suggests that they may not have been part of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada collection at all, but only belonged to the Gāndhārī *Udāna*. This in turn implies that a Gāndhārī *Udāna* is likely to have served as an immediate source for our commentary, whether or not a Dharmapada was also utilized. Verses 25 and 28 form a couplet that is attested for the *Udāna* and also attested for non-Gāndhārī versions of the Dharmapada. Since the end of the *Tasiṇa* chapter of the Khotan Dharmapada is lost, it is possible and indeed likely that these two verses belonged to this chapter of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada. Our commentary could consequently have drawn on either the Dharmapada or the *Udāna* for them. Verse 26 is attested both for the Dharmapada and for the *Udāna*. In the former it would most likely have been included in the *Pava* chapter, which is completely lost in the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript. Our commentary could thus have taken this verse from either the Dharmapada or the *Udāna*. Verse 29 is not attested for the *Udāna*, but based on its position in the Patna Dharmapada it would most likely have been included in the *Maga* chapter of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, the beginning of which is lost in the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript. The Dharmapada thus appears to be the only likely source from which our commentary could have taken this verse. Verse 14, finally, is only attested for the *Udāna*, but could have belonged to one of the lost chapters of the Khotan Dharmapada, and based on its content and position in the Sanskrit *Udāna* possibly to the *Araha* chapter.

In conclusion, there is a group of three verses (5, 21 and 31) that strongly indicate that an *Udāna* served as a direct source for our commentary, one verse (29) that suggests that a Dharmapada served as a source, and ten verses that do not allow a decision one way or the other.

1.5.4. Ityuktaka

Two sections of our commentary (3 and 4) explain verses that do not appear to belong to any of the preceding groups, but that have parallels in the Pali *Itivuttaka*. Since a version of the *Itivuttaka* is being referred to both in the list of *aṅga-* and in the list of Kṣudraka texts of the Dharmaguptakas (§ 1.5), it is possible that these two verses were taken from a Gāndhārī *Ityuktaka* collection. There is also an incomplete and late Chinese translation of the *Ityuktaka* whose original appears to have been in Sanskrit (Watanabe 1906–07: 45) and which does not contain parallels for any of our verses.

1.5.5. Possible Other Sources

Three sections of our commentary (12, 32 and 37) explain verses whose parallels are included in parts of the *Suttanipāta* outside the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and *Pārā�ana*. We have only limited information about how these texts were transmitted by other Buddhist schools, but at least the *Sabhikasūtra* (containing verses 12 and 37) was included in the *Mahāvastu* (cf. *sabhikasya vastu praśnā ca āśravakṣayā pravrajyā samāptam* Mvu III 401.18). Possible Gāndhārī sources for verses 11 and 23 remain entirely unclear.

1.6. Comparison with Other Gāndhārī Commentaries

The following table provides a conspectus of the root-verse content of our commentary, BL verse commentary 3 (transcribed in appendix 1) and BL verse commentary 1. (Pali titles are here used for convenience since the Gāndhārī titles of the large majority of these texts and collections remain unknown. An exception is made for chapters I to X of the Khotan Dharmapada, where the table follows the order and names of the Gāndhārī manuscript.)

Aṭṭhakavagga

IX.	Māgandiyasutta	19 [2×]
X.	Kalahavivādasutta	22 [2×]
XII.	Mahāviyūhasutta	36
XIV.	Sāriputtasutta	6
XV.	Purābhedasutta	8, 38
XVI.	Attadañḍasutta	20, 27, 34

Pārāyana

III.	Ajitaṁṇavapucchā	15, 16
V.	Mettagūmāṇavapucchā	13
XII.	Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā	7
XV.	Posālamāṇavapucchā	17, 18 [3×]

Other Verse Sūtras

Vaṅgisasutta	1-8
Sammāparibbājaniyasutta	32
Sabhiyasutra	12, 37
Kokāliyasutta	26
Duvāyatanupassanāsutta	25

Udāna

Brāhmaṇasutta	5	
Paccavekkhanasutta	14	
Mahākassapasutta	21	
Jaṭilasutta	31	
Lakuṇṭhakabhaddiyasutta		1-1

Itivuttaka

Lokasutta	3	
Second Esaṇāsutta	5	

Dhamapada

I.	Brammaṇa	1-9
V.	Araha	3-4
VII.	Apramada	1, 33
VIII.	Cita	3-6
X.	Jara	9
XVI.	Pakiṇṇakavagga	3-2
XVII.	Kodhavagga	1-5
?	Piyavagga	30
		1-13
		1-7

Three points are noteworthy: (1) Our own commentary only draws on the second half of the Arthapada. This may indicate that only this part of the root text was available to the person who prepared our manuscript or to the person who originally compiled the text of our manuscript. (2) Verse commentary 3, the additional text following our commentary on the verso of BL scroll 13, only draws on Dharmapada verses, which again may reflect a limited availability of source texts, or possibly a particular interest of the author of this commentary. (3) Verse commentary 1 is very similar to our commentary in the wide range of source texts that it uses.

Besides the verse commentaries and other scholastic texts, the British Library collection contains a Gāndhārī commentary on a version of the Saṅgītisūtra corresponding, with very minor deviations, to the Chinese translation contained in the 長阿含經 Cháng āhán jīng (T 1 no. 1) and attributed to the Dharmaguptakas. This Saṅgītisūtra commentary also employs categorial reduction as one of its exegetical methods, but differs from the verse commentaries in the precise inventory of categories that it employs and other details. The following categories are used where categorial reduction is carried out explicitly as illustrated above:

Four Perversions: perception of beauty in the body (*kaeśuhasamñā-*), perception of pleasure in feelings (*vedaṇasuhasamñā-*), perception of permanence in the heart (*citenicasamñā-*), perception of a self in the dharmas (*dhamesuapasamñā-*);

Four Bases for Supernormal Power: bravery concentration (*viriasamāsi-*), will concentration (*chāmdasamāsi-*), inquiry concentration (*vimamsasamāsi-*), heart concentration (*citasamāsi-*);

Four Bonds (*yoa-*): bond of sensual desires (*kamayoa-*), bond of existence (*bhavayoa-*), bond of views (*drithiyoa-*), bond of ignorance (*avijayoya-*);

Three Categories (*kaṇḍha-*): virtue category (*sīlakaṇḍha-*), understanding category (*pramñakaṇḍha-*), concentration category (*samasikaṇḍha-*);

Three Bad Roots (*akuśalamula-*): greed (*loha-*), hate (*doṣa-*), delusion (*moha-*);

Three Sources: lust (*raka-*), hate (*dosa-*), delusion (*moha-*);

Two Roots (*mula-*): craving (*taṣa-*) and ignorance (*avija-*);

Two Paths (*maga-*): quiet (*śamasa-*) and insight (*vivaśāna-*); and

shame (*hiri-*) and conscience (*otrapa-*).

One category with five members is used in the same way as the above:

Five Faculties (*idria-*): bravery faculty (*viridria-*), faith faculty (*śadhidria-*), understanding faculty (*pramñidria-*), mindfulness faculty (*śpadidria-*), concentration faculty (*samasidria-*).

As in our commentary, two groups representing stages on the path to liberation are used in the Saṅgītisūtra commentary. The now familiar Five States starting with *vimutida-* occurs in the following expression (Four Parts of Stream Entry):

ariha d[i] vimutida sammasambudho di ñanida puruṣadāmmasarasi di dharmmeṇa «vi» *uṭhav[i]da [sa]rasiṇa pradīṭhaved[i] budho bhaka(*va),¹⁹*

but in an interesting departure from our commentary, the Saṅgītisūtra commentary employs a group known from the Śatasāhasrikā and Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (§ 1.2.2):

Seven Planes (*bhumi-*): plane of insight into the bright (*śukravivāśānahumi-*), plane of the religious community (*gotrahuhumi-*), plane of the aṣṭamaka (*aṭhamaaahumi-*), plane of seeing (*daśānahumi-*), delicate plane (*taṇubhumi-*), plane of development (*bhavanahumi-*), plane of having accomplished (*kidavi-bhumi-*).

As pointed out above, the Four Truths by their nature occupy a special superordinate position in the system of categorial reduction, and this is made explicit by their employment in the Saṅgītisūtra commentary. Every group of ten items of the root text is bundled together by an *uddāna* (introduced by the expression *saṃkṣitamāntro* = Skt. *saṃkṣiptamantrah*) listing a key word or phrase for each item, but the *uddāna* itself is then subjected to categorial reduction converging on the Four Truths.

¹⁹“Worthy one: the state of liberation. Completely enlightened: the state of a knower. Driver of men who need to be tamed: the state of having raised oneself by the dharma; the Lord Buddha establishes as a driver.”

The following uddāna occurs after the tenth item of the Fours:

[*sam*]kṣitama[*mtr*]o ducari[*dehi*] anariehi voharehi ahare[*hi*] · d[uehi] sama[*dañehi*] · gratheli · śalehi uvadanehi · samu[*dao*] (*vuto · yonihī duho vuto su)[*ca*]rid[e]h[i] duehi [*ca*] samadanehi mago v[u]to · caduhi ariehi voharehi ḥiroso vuto °

Once only, the Three Courses (*kileśavata-*, *kammavaṭa-* and *dukhavata-*) are employed in this fashion in an uddāna, and they are not otherwise used in the Saṅgītisūtra commentary.

Among other peculiarities, the Saṅgītisūtra commentary frequently points out categories without actually carrying out the reduction in detail (e.g., in the thirty-seventh item of the Threes: *vistaro trihi vijahi*), and it differs from our commentary in the form (but not the system) of its function words (§ 1.2.1; *avarō payao* = Skt. *aparāḥ paryāyah* instead of *asa va*, *añña* = Skt. *anye* instead of *avare*, *saṃkṣitamam̄tro* = Skt. *saṃkṣiptamantrah* instead of *sakṣeva*). It is noteworthy that its categorial reductions are much less complex than those of our commentary, with hardly an example of multi-level coordination and back-reference. But since the Saṅgītisūtra root text itself consists of abstract categories, some of which are in turn used in categorial reduction, and since the special reductions within the uddāna sections provide an additional layer of relations, the overall complexity of the Saṅgītisūtra commentary may in fact be no less than that of our commentary.

Hardly anything is known yet about the other Gāndhārī scholastic treatises. Of the four such texts in the British Library collection (BL 10, 17, 20+23, 28), one (BL 17) mentions dependent origination (*paṭicasamupada-*; Salomon 1999: 49–50), another (BL 20+23) is concerned with meditational states (*ṭāṇa-*). The University of Washington scroll appears to discuss the dissolution of the empirical person at the moment of death. Among the eight scholastic texts in the Bajaur collection (BC 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18; Strauch 2008), one group (BC 4, 6, 11) refers to types of pleasure (*suha-*) and pain (*dukha-*) and to the perfection of wisdom (*prañāparamida-*), another text (BC 9) discusses the nature of the heart (*cita-*) and its

relation to the form element (*ruadhadu-*) and formless element (*arupadhadu-*), citing opinions of ‘some’ (*ke yi*) and ‘others’ (*apare*); and yet another (BC 12) concerns the perception of form (*ruasañā*) and the notion of purification (*śudha, śujadi*). Most of these concepts, with the notable exception of the perfection of wisdom, are quite generic, and much work will be needed to establish the precise intellectual background and arguments of these scholastic texts. It is conceivable, though currently speculative, that the interests and doctrinal content of the non-commentarial texts differed from those of the commentaries, since the primary concern of the latter appears to have been the elucidation of mainstream-canonical texts by crossreference to canon-internal material (see below), rather than an engagement with new intellectual currents. The three major known manuscript deposits thus differ markedly in the types of scholastic texts they include: the Senior collection – apparently a made-to-order set of sūtra copies (Allon 2007) – contains none; the British Library collection is the only one with commentaries on known root texts, in addition to other scholastic treatises; and while the Bajaur collection does not contain any clear commentaries, among its large number of scholastic text there is at least one with reference to a Mahāyāna feature (alongside at least one Mahāyāna sūtra).

1.7. Conclusions

Work has only just begun on the decipherment and edition of the Gāndhārī commentaries and on the tracing of their exegetical and literary connections. This introduction purposely restricted itself to a comparison with Indian-language material that is roughly contemporary with our Gāndhārī commentary. Once the historical background of the verse commentaries is more securely established, it will become necessary to compare them in greater detail to comparable later works, and here in particular the Śarīrārthagāthā in the Yogācārabhūmi and Vasubandhu’s Gāthārthasamgraha, both of them commentaries on selections of canonical verses like the Gāndhārī Verse Commentaries (Enomoto 1989), and to Vasubandhu’s Vyākhyāyukti, the first Buddhist exegetical manual preserved after the Peṭakopadesa

and Nettippakaraṇa (Skilling 2000).

The following preliminary picture emerges from the investigation summarized above: The Gāndhārī verse commentaries and Saṅgītisūtra commentary share a certain base stock of exegetical material with the Pali Niddesa on the one hand and an unknown source of the Paramatthajjotikā on the other. It may be presumed that this shared stock goes back to a very early period of Buddhist exegesis that predates all available commentaries and that was based in mainland India. The method of categorial reduction, on the other hand, is characteristic of the Gāndhārī commentaries investigated so far, and appears to have been a living tradition in first- to second-century-CE Gandhāra. There are several strong indications that the Gāndhārī method of categorial reduction implements exegetical principles and specific tools later set out in the family of manuals preserved for us in the Pali Peṭakopadesa and Nettippakaraṇa, as well as in the 隱持入經 Yīnchírù jīng (T 15 no. 603) which was recently identified as a treatise corresponding to chapter six of the Peṭakopadesa (Zacchetti 2002, 2007).²⁰ The Peṭakopadesa had already been suspected of non-Pali origin (von Hinüber 1996: § 167–171), and in view of the new Gāndhārī and Chinese evidence, it is not unlikely that the Pali Peṭakopadesa is a translation of a Northwest Indian and possibly Gāndhārī original, or at least a systematization drawing on the living Northwest Indian exegetical tradition.²¹

²⁰Nānamoli 1962: xx pointed out: “*Pe* ch. vi is a kind of ‘omnibus chapter’. Its position is unexplained, though it can be taken to introduce ch. vii. It is the only one which contains some exemplifying material definitely not found in the *Netti*.” In view of the discovery of a separate Chinese translation, it is possible that Peṭakopadesa chapter six was originally an independent text of the ‘Peṭakopadesa family’ that became part of the Peṭakopadesa as we have it at a later stage.

²¹Even its title appears to indicate this: Nānamoli’s rendering ‘Piṭaka-Disclosure’ leaves the guna/vṛddhi grade of *petaka* unexplained, and ‘disclosure’ is not the usual meaning of *upadesa*. Fuchs 1908: 6 already wondered whether the first member of the compound might not be *peṭaki* ‘piṭaka student’ (or rather ‘piṭaka master’), and our newfound knowledge of Gāndhārī grammar shows that the expected regular form of a compound *pedagi + uadeśa* would in fact precisely be *peḍagoadeśa* (cf. *spadoaṭhana* ← *spadi + uaṭhaṇa*), which on superficial phonetic transposition would explain the curious Pali form *peṭakopadesa* with unexpected *o* (if from *peṭaki + upadesa*) instead of regular *ū*.

CHAPTER 2

Physical Description of the Manuscript

2.1. Recovery, Unrolling and Preservation

When the twenty-nine birch-bark rolls in the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts reached London in September 1994, they had already been removed from the clay pot in which they were reported to have been found and had been repackaged in thirteen narrow modern glass jars. The conservation staff of the Oriental and India Office Collections (now the Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections) first moisturized the rolls to make them pliable and then unrolled them. In the process of unrolling, most of the scrolls separated horizontally into strips of varying height. These strips were laid out on sheets of glass in their original order, as far as this could be determined. They were then covered by other glass sheets and framed. The set of glass frames is now stored in a custom-made, shock-absorbing cabinet (Barnard in Salomon 1999: 15–17). The following table provides a concordance between the original jar numbers, frame numbers, and final Fragment numbers for our manuscript (Salomon 1999: 19):²²

²²Upper-case ‘Fragment’ is here used to refer to the 29 items catalogued in Salomon 1999: 42–55, corresponding to original scrolls, major parts of original scrolls or, in some cases, a group of parts of more than one original scroll rolled up together. Lower-case ‘fragment’ is used to refer to the individual physical fragments constituting the scrolls of our manuscript.

Table 5. Jar, frame and Fragment numbers for Nid-G^{L2}

Jar Numbers	Frame Numbers	Fragment Numbers
4 (frag. 3)	17	7
5 (frag. 1)	19–21	9
6 (frag. 2)	26–27	13
9 (frag. 2)	35	18

The British Library accession number for each frame is ‘Or. 14195’ followed by the frame number (e.g., Or. 14195.19 for frame no. 19).

2.2. Reconstruction of the Manuscript

2.2.1. Overview

The reconstruction of our manuscript presented here is based on two sets of digital images of the fragments as they are currently preserved in their glass frames. All of these images were prepared by staff of the Oriental and India Office Collections and the International Dunhuang Project at the British Library. The first set of images consists of color photographs capturing the natural appearance of the manuscript fragments, made between May 1998 and November 2001, at resolutions ranging from 357 dpi (dots per inch) to 754 dpi and under varying lighting conditions accounting for the apparent color differences of the birch bark in the reconstructed plates. The second set consists of infrared images made by Jonathan Jackson of the International Dunhuang Project in 2003, using a 950 µm wavelength filter and a PowerPhase FX CCD.

Table 6. Overview of images used in the reconstruction of Nid-G^{L2}

Fragment	Frame	Color Images		Infrared Images	
		date	dpi	date	dpi
7	17	5 May 2000	r: 754 v: 680	2003	456
9	19	5 May 2000	r: 637 v: 593	2003	456
	20	5 May 2000	r: 450 v: 445	2003	455
	21	6 Nov 2001	r: 446 v: 553	2003	457
13	26	6 May 1998	571	2003	462
	27	23 Jul 2001	357	2003	464
18	35	17 Aug 1999	425	2003	465

In the preparation of the plates that formed the basis for the readings presented here, first the outlines of all fragments were marked in the color images at their original resolution. The color images were then scaled to a uniform resolution of 600 dpi, and the individual fragments were copied onto new sheets in their proper position relative to each other. Overlapping fragments were separated and also moved into their proper position or, where this could not be determined, displayed in the right margin next to their place of origin. Areas of the manuscript hidden by overlying fragments have been colored a medium shade of grey, and a light shade of grey in those cases where the exact outline of the hidden area could not be determined because it was covered by other fragments on both sides. Because some of the original color images had a comparatively low resolution, rotation of fragments was avoided to prevent further degradation of image quality. (For some of the minor fragments, lossless rotations at a multiple of 90 degrees were, however, carried out to bring their orientation more in line with that of the surrounding fragments.)

The set of infrared images was only consulted on those rare occasions where the color images did not provide a clear reading. Similarly, only select passages of our manuscript were read directly from the original in the British Library. In general, neither of these procedures resulted in noticeable improvements over the readings arrived at from the color images, but inspections of the original manuscript did prove very valuable for disentangling the complicated disposition of multiple layers of fragments at the top of scroll 9.

2.2.2. Patterns of Damage

2.2.2.1. General

Overall and with the notable exception of scroll 18, the order of fragments in their glass frames corresponds to their original sequence in the manuscript. The tops of scrolls 9, 13 and 18 are, however affected by mistreatment before they reached the British Library (Barnard in Salomon 1999: 15–16):

At some stage, the outer surface of some of the scrolls had been crudely treated, probably with some kind of lacquer spray, no doubt in an attempt to overcome the brittleness, to consolidate the material and to prevent further shedding of fragments. The spray has not yet been identified but its adverse effect upon the scrolls is already apparent in the wrinkling or corrugation of the surfaces so treated.

The “wrinkling and corrugation” referred to by Barnard is apparent on the verso of scroll 9, fragments G and C; the verso of scroll 13, fragments D and F; and the verso of scroll 18, fragments L and A (the outside of these three rolls when they were found). It is not clear whether lacquer spray also caused the particularly bad state of preservation of scroll fragment 7, which appears to have consisted of a very thin stack of four layers when it was found. More serious damage than wrinkling and corrugation was caused by the fact that the lacquer seeped into the rolls it was applied to, penetrating one or two layers and causing the outermost two or three layers of the

affected rolls to stick together so tightly that they could not be separated in the unrolling process. As a result, the equivalent of seven half-loops of scroll 9, six half-loops of scroll 13 and two half-loops of scroll 18, containing a total of about 60 lines of text, are preserved but hidden from inspection. A further eight half-loops are hidden between fragments of scrolls 7, 9 and 13 that appear to stick together for reasons unrelated to the lacquer spray, bringing the total of preserved but hidden text in our manuscript to as much as 90 lines.

Apart from this damage, it has to be presumed that the original top parts of scrolls 7, 9 and 13 are not preserved. This clearly appears to be so in the case of scroll 13, where the reconstruction of the topmost preserved sheet only amounts to about half the likely length of an original sheet (§ 2.3). The reconstruction of the topmost preserved sheet of scroll 9, on the other hand, does have the expected length of an original sheet. The positions of the *uddānas* on this scroll (§ 1.1) show that a significant amount of text must have preceded the first preserved text, but it is at least conceivable that the missing text was on a separate scroll and that scroll 9 is physically complete as found. The preserved portions of scroll 18 do add up the full length of a sheet, but the top end of the topmost fragment (fragment A) cuts through the middle of a line, so it is possible that not only further fragments, but maybe even one or more additional sheets are missing at the top of scroll 18. (See § 2.2.2.2 and appendix 2 on the possible relationship of scroll fragment 7 to scroll 18 and scroll fragment 3B to scroll 13.). All scrolls lost most of their margins outside the perforation caused by sewing threads down both edges. In all other respects, the scrolls of our manuscript are well-preserved, and in particular the full length of most lines of scrolls 9 and 18 is extant.

2.2.2.2. Scroll Fragment 7

Fragment 7 separated into six major and five minor fragments during unrolling (§ 2.5.1). Fragments A and B, C and E, and D and F each stick together; fragments C and D appear to be the left and right half of one half-loop, and fragments E and F that

of another half-loop, so that overall Fragment 7 consists of the remains of four half-loops. Side b of fragments E + F contains writing, but side b of fragment B is empty, suggesting that the text of the scroll may have ended on fragments E + F and that the remainder of the verso, starting with side b of fragment B and continuing with side b of fragments C + D and of fragment A, may have remained empty. This together with the general appearance of the fragments and their height, which is just slightly greater than that of the topmost fragment (fragment A) of scroll 18 raises the possibility that Fragment 7 could be the upper part of the same scroll of which scroll 18 forms the bottom part. The visible surfaces of Fragment 7, particularly side b of fragment F, are in a very poor state of preservation that appears to be due to natural decay rather than the application of the lacquer spray that is in evidence on the other three Fragments.

2.2.2.3. Scroll 9

Fragment 9 separated into twenty-five major and fifty-one minor fragments during unrolling (§§ 2.5.2–2.5.4). The application of lacquer spray has caused the outermost three layers of the roll to stick together (going inwards, G, F and E on one side of the scroll, C, B and A on the other). Fragment D is the left part of the half-loop of which A is the right half, but was successfully detached during unrolling, so that on the left side of the C-B-and-A-composite only two layers (the left halves of C and B) stick together. The other major dislocation within Fragment 9 concerns fragment I which during unrolling remained stuck to the middle of the recto of fragment H; it has been restored to its proper place two half-loops down from the middle of fragment H. There is a general pattern in Fragment 9 of smaller fragments remaining stuck either to the recto of the next layer outwards (i.e., two half-loops upwards in terms of the unrolled recto; e.g., ccc to the recto of Q), or to the verso of the next layer inwards (i.e., two half-loops upwards in terms of the unrolled verso; e.g., jjj on the verso of T). The preserved part of Fragment 9 consists of six sheets glued together to form the scroll. The lowest two of these sheets remain attached to

each other; all other sheets have separated. In some places, the original margin is preserved and needle holes from the thread sewn down the edges of the manuscript are visible, but nothing remains of the thread itself.

2.2.2.4. Scroll 13

Fragment 13 separated into twenty-one major and three minor fragments during unrolling (§§ 2.5.5–2.5.6). The application of lacquer spray has caused the outermost layers of the roll to stick together. It is more difficult to discern than in the case of Fragment 9 how many these are, but the location and arrangement of the composite fragments in question suggest that three layers are glued together on one side of the scroll (goings inwards, fragments D, C and B) and two layers on the other (going inwards, fragments F and E). Fragment 13 suffered extensive damage to the right-hand third of its width, particularly throughout the upper portion of the manuscript, possibly because this end of the roll may have touched the wall of the buried clay pot and thus been exposed to moisture. The preserved part of Fragment 13 consists of three sheets glued together to form a scroll. All sheets have separated from each other. In some places along the left edge of the scroll, the original margin is preserved and needle holes from the thread sewn down the edges of the manuscript are visible, but the thread itself is not preserved.

2.2.2.5. Scroll 18

Fragment 18 separated into twelve major and twenty-four minor fragments during unrolling (§ 2.5.7). The application of lacquer spray has cause two of the major fragments (K and L) to stick together, and another pair of major fragments (F and G) stick together for unrelated reasons. The arrangement of the ten major fragments and fragment composites in their glass frame appears haphazard, and close investigation of their textual content confirms that they are out of order. Of the twenty major-fragment surfaces visible on both sides of the glass frame, fourteen contain text that can be confidently assigned to one of the four commentary sections

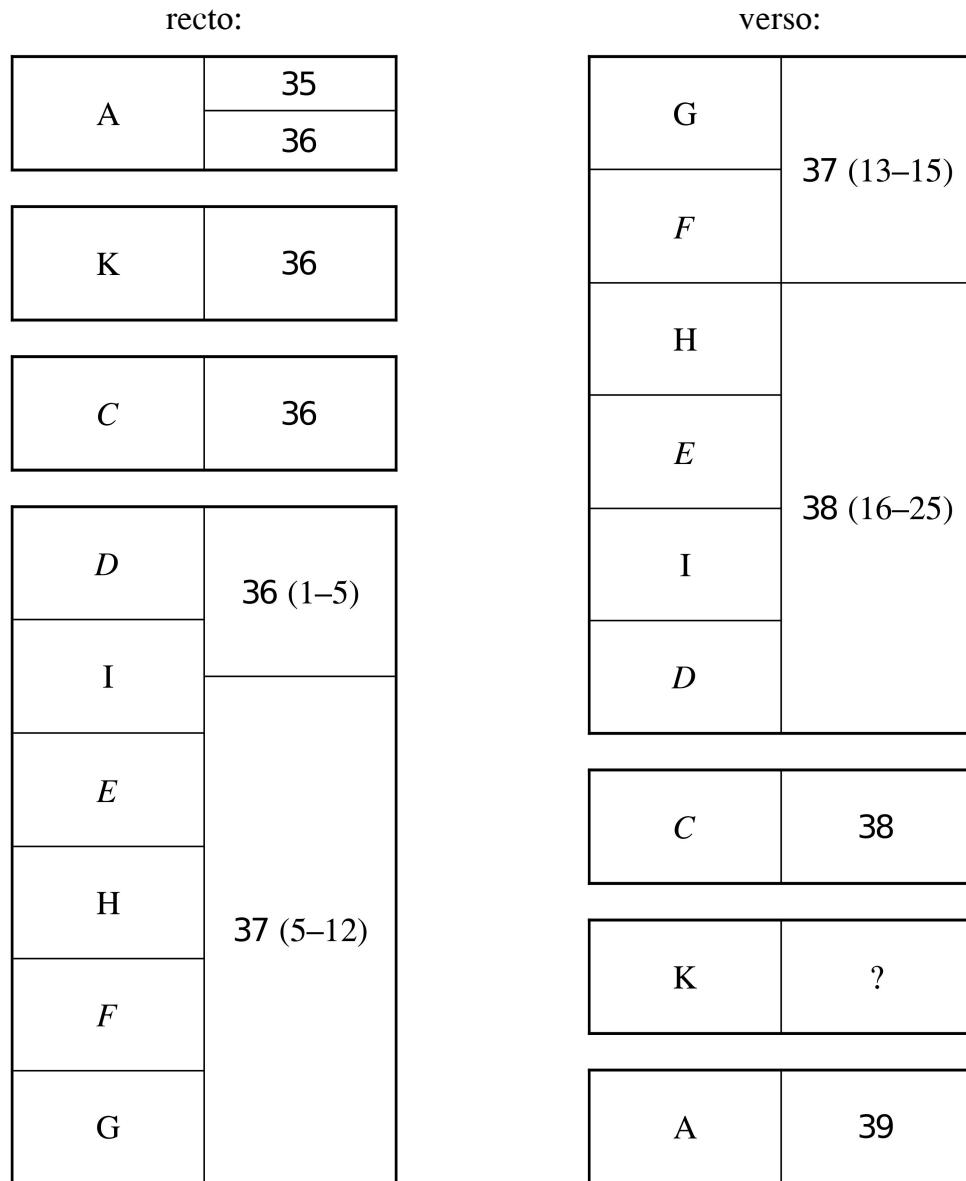
(35, 36, 37 and 38) preserved in Fragment 18 (see illustration 1), and five major-fragment surfaces each of side a and side b contain text blocks whose contents should be immediately contiguous with each other in the commentary (shown with line numbers in illustration 1). These content identifications allow us to restore to their original position six fragments (D, I, E, H, F and G) which together form the original bottom part of scroll 18 and contain a continuous block of twenty-five lines of text across the original recto and verso of the scroll. Three more fragments (A, K and C) can be assigned relative positions in the upper part of the scroll (see illustration 2). This leaves fragments B, J and L to be accounted for, and a clue to their original position is provided by two observations concerning the reconstituted continuous block of six fragments: first, the orientation of the first, third and fifth fragments of this block (D, E and F) in the glass frame is such that their verso faces upwards (indicated by italic fragment letters in illustration 2), whereas the orientation of the second, fourth and sixth fragments of this block (I, H and G) is such that their recto faces upwards; and second, the three fragment whose verso faces upwards (D, E and F) immediately follow each other in the glass frame in this order, whereas the three fragments whose recto faces upwards (I, H and G) immediately follow each other in the glass frame in inverse order. For this abstract pattern to continue further up in the arrangement shown in illustration 2, fragment J would have to be arranged between fragments C and D, and its recto would have to be facing upwards in the glass frame. Similarly, fragments L and B, in this order, would have to be arranged between fragments A and K.

Illustration 1. Fragment 18: arrangement in frame and textual content

side a:	side b:
A	35 36
B	?
C	38
D	38 (23–25)
E	38 (17–20)
F	37 (13–15)
H	37 (8–10)
I	36 (3–5) 37 (5)
J	?
K	36
	L
	?
	J
	?
	I
	38 (20–22)
	H
	37 (15) 38 (16–18)
	G
	37 (13)
	E
	37 (6–8)
	D
	36 (1–3)
	C
	36
	B
	?
	A
	?

Illustration 2. Fragment 18: textually reconstructed arrangement

(Italic letters indicate fragments whose verso faces upwards in the glass frame.)

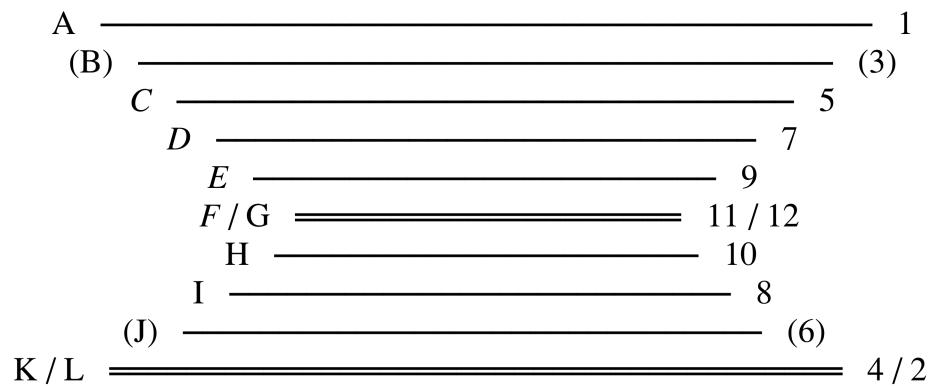


There is one scenario that fully accounts for the textually confirmed arrangement and orientation of the continuous block (*D, I, E, H, F, G*), for the textually confirmed relative arrangement and orientation of the upper part of the scroll (*A, K, C*), and for the conjectural complete arrangement of the upper part of the scroll (*A, L, B, K, C, J*). In this scenario, Fragment 18 was rolled up into a scroll and then flattened tightly,

either during use or on the occasion of its deposit. By the time it reached the British Library, the edges of the flattened scroll had decayed away so that it presented the appearance of a stack of small oblong sheets of birch bark (see illustration 3). Fragments F and G stuck together because they faced and touched each other in the core of the roll, and fragments L and K stuck together because they touched each other as the two outermost layers on the underside of the flattened scroll and were permeated by the lacquer spray applied to the outer side of fragment L. Unrolling commenced by removing the topmost layer (A) of the stack of half-loops and turning it over so that its inner side (the recto) faced upwards. It seems to have been the case that fragment B was stuck to the recto of fragment A (just as K stuck to L on the other side of the flattened scroll), and that B was removed subsequently to the removal and turning over of fragment A, breaking into two pieces that were presumably arranged in the same orientation as the turned-over fragment A, i.e., with their rectos facing upwards. After the removal of fragments A and B, the conservators at the British Library evidently adopted a different unravelling strategy than for the other scrolls in the collection: they chose not to turn over the scroll prior to the removal of each subsequent layer, but rather to leave it lying in place, with fragment L at the bottom, and to remove one layer after the other from the upper side of the stack, depositing each in exactly the orientation it had within the stack. The reasons for this procedure are unknown: either the conservators were in doubt whether Fragment 18 was in fact a scroll or rather a miniature pothi-style manuscript; or maybe Fragment 18 was recognized as a scroll but deemed too fragile to repeatedly turn over in the unrolling process. The result of this procedure is the observed pattern of arrangement and orientation of fragments within their frame.

Illustration 3. Side view of Fragment 18 prior to unrolling

(Letters indicate the order of removal and arrangement in the frame of fragments; numbers indicate the original sequence of fragments within the scroll. Italic: verso faces upwards in frame; parentheses: conjectural position.)



2.3. Scroll Construction and Dimensions

Kharoṣṭī birch-bark scrolls are of two basic types: long vertical scrolls made from several sheets attached to each other, and smaller single-sheet rectangular manuscripts (Baums forthcoming b). Among published manuscripts, the Khotan Dharmapada (Brough 1962), the British Library Ekottarikāgama-type collection (Allon 2001), the BL Anavataptagāthā (Salomon 2008) and, maybe, the BL partial Dharmapada (Lenz 2003)²³ belong to the long multi-sheet type, whereas the BL Rhinoceros Sūtra (Salomon 2000) and Senior scroll 5 (Glass 2007) belong to the short single-sheet type.

Scrolls 9 and 13 of our manuscript are both constructed from several sheets; five sheets are preserved in the case of scroll 9, and three sheets are preserved in the case of scroll 13. The preserved part of scroll 18 is one single sheet, but it cannot be ruled out that originally this was the bottom sheet of a multi-sheet scroll. Scroll fragment 7

²³The preserved fragments of this manuscript are all part of a single sheet. Lenz does discuss the putative construction of the complete scroll, but suggests (p. 7) that its total length may have been 130.5 cm, which means that more than one sheet would have been needed to construct the scroll.

may be an upper part belonging to scroll 18 (§ 2.2.2.2). If this is the case, then the empty space on side b of Fragment 7 (the verso of the hypothetical scroll 7+18) suggests that the text ended here, but even so the scroll could have consisted of more than one sheet (cf. scroll 13, which consisted of at least three extant sheets, but whose main text ends on the verso of the bottommost sheet of the scroll). Sheets were attached to each other by gluing their upper and lower margins together. In scroll 9, looking at the recto, the bottom of sheet no. 1 was glued onto the top of sheet no. 2, the bottom of sheet no. 2 onto the top of sheet no. 3, the bottom of sheet no. 3 onto the top of sheet no. 4, and the bottom of sheet no. 4 onto the top of sheet no. 5 (these two sheets still adhere to each other). In scroll 13, the relationship of sheet no. 1 and no. 2 remains unclear: the bottom fragment (C) of sheet no. 1 is obscured, and on both the recto and verso of the top fragment (A) of sheet no. 2, writing extends to the very edge of the sheet; the bottom of sheet no. 2 was glued under the top of sheet no. 3.

A thread ran down a series of needle holes along the left and right edges of all three scrolls, approximately 0.5 cm from the edge of the bark. The purpose of this stitched thread, observed also in other scrolls, remains somewhat unclear, but since among published manuscripts it only occurs in the multi-sheet type, it seems likely that it was meant to enhance the vertical cohesion of sheets rather than to reinforce the margin (which in fact it perforated and weakened). Additionally, single vertical lines of stitches, approximately 2.5 cm in length, run across glue lines in the horizontal center of the scroll to provide additional cohesion. The bottom four sheets of scroll 9 and the bottom two sheets of scroll 13 were connected by such middle stitches, but there is no indication of middle stitches between sheets no. 1 and no. 2 of either scroll 9 or scroll 13.

The width of all three scrolls as well as of scroll fragment 7 is approximately 14 cm with only minor variation, indicating that the set of scrolls constituting our manuscript was conceived as a unit and trimmed to a common format. The height of individual sheets, where this can be determined ranges from 19.8 to 20 cm (measured

across the horizontal middle, which was least subject to distortion subsequent to the scrolls' deposit); see table 7. The three bottom sheets of scroll 9 have exactly the same size, suggesting that they were prepared together and that the whole stack of three sheets was cut to size in one process. The smaller size of sheet no. 2 (and, apparently, the fragmentary sheet no. 1) may indicate that this sheet (or these two sheets) had a different origin from the other three, or possibly that a calculation of overall height preceded construction of the scroll, and that the top sheet (or sheets) were cut to their smaller size to make up the difference between the sum of the three bottom sheets (ca. 75 cm) and the desired total height of the scroll. The two bottom sheets of scroll 13 are also close in size to each other, but somewhat longer than the three bottom sheets of scroll 9.

Table 7. Overview of sheet sizes.

Scroll	Sheet	Length	Lines (recto)	Lines (verso)
9	2	19.8 cm	23 (6–28)	24 (213–236)
	3	25.2 cm	32 (29–60)	33 (180–212)
	4	25.2 cm	30 (61–90)	30 (150–179)
	5	25.0 cm	30 (91–120)	29 (121–149)
13	2	27.0 cm	33 (1–33)	
	3	29.0 cm	37 (34–70)	

The total height of the extant fragments of scroll 9 is 118.6 cm, that of scroll 13 is 70.3 cm, that of scroll 18 is 22.8 cm, and that of scroll fragment 7 is 12.3 cm. It is not possible to determine a reliable original height for any of the scrolls.

2.4. Text Layout

The total number of preserved lines in our manuscript (whether completely visible or partially or completely obscured by other fragments) is 413. There are between 35 and 40 akşaras in each line, and lines start and end at a distance of about 0.25 cm

from the stitched margins. Even though the scroll was assembled before it was written on, the glue lines were avoided in writing (except, apparently, at the top of the preserved part of scroll 13, where only some feet of akṣaras of line 13.1 are visible because the major part of this line was on the bottom of the preceding sheet). The preserved text is subdivided into 39 unnumbered sections (explaining a total of 43 root verses), each of which is marked by a large punctuation mark in the shape of a stylized lotus at its end. Either the original scribe or a later user of the manuscript added additional marks in the margin opposite each of the second-final marks inside the running text. The tops of each of the three original scrolls are lost, and it is not possible to reconstruct the total original length of any of the scrolls. The colophon on BL fragment 3B (appendix 2) cannot be shown to belong to our text.

2.5. Descriptive List of Fragments

2.5.1. Frame 17 (BL 7)

A: Strip with four lines of text on side a. This fragment adheres to fragment B. All of side b of fragment A is obscured by fragment B.

B: Strip without any text on side b. This fragment adheres to fragment A. All of side a of fragment B is obscured by fragment A.

C: Left half of a strip with three lines of text on side a. This fragment adheres to fragment E. All of side b of fragment C is obscured by fragment E. This fragment probably joins up with fragment D on the right.

D: Right half of a strip with three lines of text on side a. This fragment adheres to fragment F. All of side b of fragment C is obscured by fragment F. This fragment probably joins up with fragment C on the left.

E: Left half of a strip with two lines of text on side b. This fragment adheres to fragment C. All of side a of fragment E is obscured by fragment C. This fragment probably joins up with fragment F on the right.

F: Right half of a strip with two lines of text on side b. This fragment adheres to

fragment D. All of side a of fragment F is obscured by fragment D. This fragment probably joins up with fragment E on the left.

g: Unlocated chip adhering to side a of fragment A and covering the beginning of lines 1 and 2. Side a has one line of writing:

/// ? a cho [v]. ///

Side b is obscured by fragment A.

h: Cluster of small unlocated chips adhering to the top right-hand corner of fragment C. Side a has traces of ink. No image is preserved of side b, and it would appear that this cluster had disintegrated by the time side b of frame 17 was photographed.

i: Unlocated chip adhering to side a of fragment C and covering most of line 1 and part of line 2. Side a has two lines of text:

1. (*vijacaraṇasa)///paṇasa sugadaloga[vid]u[a]///(*ṇutarapuruṣadama-sarasi)
2. /// ? + + ? ? ? n. [gu] n. n. [do] ///

This is part of the same phrase as in 7Da1–2, but it remains unclear how fragments C, D and i relate to each other physically. Side b is obscured by fragment C.

j: Unlocated chip adhering to side a of fragment C and partly covered by fragment i. Side a has one line of writing:

/// ? ? ? ? ///

Side b is obscured by fragment C.

k+l: Unlocated chip wrapped around the top left corner of fragment E. Side a has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? s. ? l. ///
2. (*bho)///s[a] bhikṣ[a]///(*ve)

This appears to be the end of pāda a of the verse explained on side a of fragment A. Half of side b is obscured by fragment E; there is no writing on the visible part.

2.5.2. Frame 19 (BL 9, Part 1)

A: Right half of a strip with part of four lines of text on the recto. The middle of this fragment has been left empty due to a defect in the birch bark. Sharp creases of uncertain origin run along the left and bottom edge of the fragment. This fragment joins up with fragments z and D and on its left. It adheres to fragments B and C due to the application of an unknown substance to the verso of fragment C (part of the outermost layer of the roll) when it was found (§ 2.2.2.1). All of the verso of this fragment is obscured by fragment B. Fragments z+D+A together formed the bottom end of a sheet.

B: Strip with six lines of text on the recto. The right half of the recto of this fragment is obscured by fragment A adhering to it. The top left corner of the recto is obscured by fragment z. All of the verso of this fragment is obscured by fragment C adhering to it.

C: Strip with eight lines of text on the verso. The surface of the verso is darkened by the application of an adhesive substance (§ 2.2.2.1), but remains legible. All of the recto of this fragment is obscured by fragments B and A adhering to it.

D: Right half of a strip with part of five lines of text on the recto and part of four lines of text on the verso. This fragment joins up with fragment A on its right and fragment z on its left. Fragments z+D+A together formed the bottom end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed at the top of the verso of fragment D.

E: Strip with six lines of text on the recto. This fragment adheres to fragments F and G due to the application of an unknown substance to the verso of fragment G (part of the outermost layer of the roll) when it was found (§ 2.2.2.1). All of the verso of this fragment is obscured by fragments F and G. Fragments hh+E together formed the top of a sheet.

F: Strip adhering to fragment E on its recto and to fragment G on its verso. Except for parts of a small number of aksaras visible through cracks in and around the edges of E and G, the entire text of fragment F is obscured.

G: Strip with eight lines of text on the verso. The surface of the verso is darkened by the application of an adhesive substance (§ 2.2.2.1), but remains legible. All of the recto of this fragment is obscured by fragments F and E adhering to it.

z: Chip containing the end of lines 9·4 and 5, adhering to the recto of fragment B and covering the end of lines 9·Br3 and Br4. The verso of fragment z is obscured by fragment B.

aa: Small unlocated chip adhering to the recto of fragment A. Side a has one line of writing:

/// g. ? ///

Side b is obscured by fragment A.

bb: Small unlocated chip adhering to the recto of fragment A. Side a has part of one akṣara. Side b is obscured by fragment A.

cc: Cluster of two or three small unlocated chips adhering to the recto of fragment A. Side a of all fragments has traces of ink. Part of the topmost fragment is obscured by fragment bb. Side b of all fragments is obscured by fragment A.

dd: Small unlocated chip adhering to the recto of fragment A. Side a has part of one akṣara. Side b is obscured by fragment A.

ee: Small unlocated chip adhering to the recto of fragment A and covering part of line 9·Br4. Side a has traces of ink. Side b is obscured by fragment B.

ff: Cluster of two small unlocated fragments adhering to the recto of fragments A and B and covering part of lines 9·Br4 and 5. Side a has no writing. Side b is obscured by fragments A and B.

gg: Unlocated chip adhering to the recto of fragment B and covering part of line 9·Br6. Side a has one line of writing:

/// ? ? ? ? ? ? ///

hh: Chip adhering to the top edge of fragment E. The recto contains part of the end of line 9·6, the verso part of line 9·236. This fragment belongs to the top edge of a sheet and contains part of a glue margin.

ii: Unlocated chip adhering to the top edge of fragment E and to fragment hh. Side

a is empty. Half of side b is obscured by fragment E; the other half is empty.

jj: Unlocated chip adhering to the top edge of fragment H. Side a has parts of three akṣaras. Side b is empty, but the akṣaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

xxx: Unlocated chip adhering to the right side of the verso of fragment G, with no trace of writing.

2.5.3. Frame 20 (BL 9, Part 2)

H: Large fragment with seventeen lines of text on the recto and seventeen lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to three and a half half-loops of the scroll. The recto of the second half-loop from the top is obscured by fragment I adhering to it. Fragment H formed the bottom end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed at the top of the verso.

I: Strip with three lines of text on the recto. This fragment adheres to fragment H, possibly due to the application of the same substance that caused the adherence to each other of fragments A, B, C and E, F, G. Except for parts of a small number of akṣaras visible through cracks and around the edges, all of the verso of fragment I is obscured by fragment H adhering to it. Fragment I formed the top end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed at the top of the recto.

J: Large fragment with thirty lines of text on the recto and thirty lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to six half-loops of the scroll. It contains the bottom end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed at the top of the verso.

kk: Chip adhering to the recto of chip ll and, together with it, to the top edge of fragment H. The recto contains the end of line 9.1 and part of the end of line 9.2. The verso contains part of the end of line 9.240; its greater part is covered by fragment kk.

ll: Unlocated chip adhering to the top edge of fragment H. Side a is mostly covered by fragment kk and has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? ///

2. /// ? .u ? ? ? ///

Side b is apparently empty, but has two small chips adhering to it. The one at the top edge of fragment b has one akṣara:

/// d. ///

The other chip, at the bottom edge of fragment b, has:

/// ḥa · ///

mm: Unlocated chip adhering to the top edge of the recto of fragment H. Side a has part of two akṣaras. Side b is partially obscured by fragment H and has part of one akṣara.

nn: Cluster of unlocated fragments adhering to the top edge of fragment H. Side a of the main chip has one line of writing:

/// ? [d]o ? [sa a] + ? ///

Side b of the main chip has one line of writing:

/// [· ke de] ? ? ///

oo: Chip adhering to the left edge of fragment H. The recto contains the end of l. 9.16. The verso contains the end of line 9.224.

pp: Unlocated chip adhering to fragment H, in a horizontal crack between lines 9.21 and 22 on the recto and 9.218 and 219 on the verso. Boths sides of chip pp are empty.

qq: Unlocated cluster of chips adhering to the right edge of fragment H at the beginning of line 9.23 on the recto and 9.217 on the verso. Side a of all chips appears to be empty. Side b of several chips has parts of akṣaras.

rr: Unlocated chip adhering to the bottom right corner of fragment H. Side a has traces of ink. Side b is mostly covered by fragment H and shows part of at least one akṣara.

ss: Unlocated chip between and to the right of fragments I and J. Side b shows parts of at least two akṣaras that appear to belong to different lines. Side a is empty, but the akṣaras of side b shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

tt: Unlocated chip adhering to the left side of the recto of fragment J and covering part of lines 9.37 and 38. Side a has part of one akṣara. Side b is obscured by fragment J.

uu: Chip adhering to the left side of the recto of fragment J at line 9.39. The recto contains the end of lines 9.39 and 40. The verso contains the end of lines 9.199 to 201.

vv: Unlocated chip adhering to the right side of the recto of fragment J and covering part of line 9.42. The recto has parts of two or three akṣaras. The verso is obscured by fragment J.

ww: Unlocated chip adhering to the left edge of the recto of fragment J at line 9.49. Side a contains one akṣara:

/// ḥi ///

Side b is obscured by fragment J. The top left corner of fragment ww appears to be pierced by a needle hole, and it is likely that it formed part of the left margin of the scroll.

qqq: Unlocated chip adhering to the right side of the verso of fragment J at line 9.188. Side a contains part of two akṣaras. Side b is obscured by fragment J.

rrr: Unlocated chip adhering to the top edge of the verso of fragment uu. Side a has part of one akṣara. Half of side b is obscured by fragment uu; the other half has traces of ink.

sss: Unlocated chip adhering to the left edge of the verso of fragment J at line 9.201. Side a has parts of two akṣaras. Half of side b is obscured by fragment J; the other half is empty.

ttt: Unlocated chip adhering to the right side of the verso of fragment H at line 9.215. Side a has part of one akṣara. Side b is obscured by fragment H.

uuu: Unlocated chip adhering to the left edge of the verso of fragment H at line 9.221. Side a contains part of two akṣaras. Most of side b is obscured by fragment; the visible part appears to be empty.

vvv: Cluster of unlocated chips adhering to the right edge of the verso of fragment H at line 9.228. Both sides of most of the chips contain parts of akṣaras.

www: Unlocated chip adhering to the bottom edge of the verso of fragment H.
Side a has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? [l]o d[u] ş[a] pra[han]. ///
2. /// ? ? ? ş[a]l. ? ///

Side b is empty, but the akşaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

2.5.4. Frame 21 (BL 9, Part 3)

K: Large fragment with six lines of text on the recto and eight lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll. It contains the top end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed at the top of the recto.

L: Strip with five lines of text on the recto and six lines of text on the verso.

M: Large fragment with twelve lines of text on the recto and thirteen lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to three half-loops of the scroll.

N: Strip with five lines of text on the recto and five lines of text on the verso.

O: Strip with five lines of text on the recto and five lines of text on the verso.

P: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and five lines of text on the verso. This fragment consists of the bottom end of one sheet glued onto the top end of the next sheet.

Q: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

R: Large fragment with seven lines of text on the recto and six lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

S: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

T: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

U: Large fragment with six lines of text on the recto and seven lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

V: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

W: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and three lines of text on the verso.

X: Strip with three lines of text on the recto and two lines of text on the verso

Y: Strip with two lines of text on the recto and one line of text on the verso. This fragment contains the bottom end of a sheet and of the scroll.

xx: Cluster of two unlocated chips adhering to the top right corner of fragment L. Side a of the larger chip contains two lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? ? .[v]. ? ? ? ///
2. /// ? + ? ///

Side b of the larger chip is obscured by fragment L. Side a of the smaller chip has part of one akṣara. Side b of the smaller chip is obscured by fragment L.

yy: Folded part at the right edge of fragment M. The recto is obscured by fragment M. The verso contains part of the first three akṣaras of line 9.74.

zz: Chip at the left edge of fragment N. The recto contains the end of line 9.82. The verso contains the end of line 9.156.

aaa: Folded part at the upper edge of fragment Q. The recto is obscured by fragment Q. The verso contains part of line 9.147.

bbb: Folded part at the upper edge of fragment Q. The recto is obscured by fragment Q. The verso contains part of line 9.148.

ccc: Chip covering the bottom left corner of fragment Q. The recto contains the end of lines 9.99 and 100. Most of the verso is obscured by fragment C; the visible edge contains part of the end of line 9.139.

ddd: Chip between the right parts of fragments R and Q. The verso contains part of lines 9.93 and 94. The verso contains part of lines 9.145 and 146.

eee: Folded part at the upper left corner of fragment R. The recto is obscured by fragment R. The verso contains part of line 9.144.

fff: Unlocated chip adhering to the middle of the recto of fragment R. The recto contains part of two akṣaras. The verso is obscured by fragment R.

ggg: Chip adhering to the lower right corner of the recto of fragment R. The recto contains part of line 9.98. The verso contains part of lines 9.140 and 141.

hhh: Unlocated chip adhering to the upper left corner of the recto of fragment S. Side a has traces of ink. Side b has parts of three or four akṣaras.

iii: Cluster of three or four unlocated chips adhering to the upper edge of the recto of fragment S. Side a of the largest chip has parts of three akṣaras. Side a of the second-largest chip has traces of ink. Side b of all chips is almost entirely obscured by fragment S.

jjj: Chip adhering to the upper right corner of the verso of fragment T. The recto is obscured by fragment T. The verso contains part of lines 9.139 and 140.

kkk: Folded part at the upper left corner of the recto of fragment X. The recto is obscured by fragment X. The verso contains part of lines 9.123 and 124.

lll: Folded part at the upper right corner of the recto of fragment X. The recto is obscured by fragment X. The verso contains part of line 9.124.

mmm: Folded part at the upper left corner of the recto of fragment Y. The recto is obscured by fragment Y. The verso contains part of line 9.122.

nnn: Cluster of three unlocated chips adhering to the upper edge of the recto of fragment Y. Both sides of all three chips have traces of ink. Half of the verso of the cluster is obscured by fragment Y.

ooo: Unlocated chip adhering to the lower left corner of the verso of fragment Y. Side a has part of one akṣara. Half of side b is obscured by fragment Y; the other half is empty.

ppp: Unlocated chip adhering to the lower edge of the verso of fragment U and the upper edge of the verso of fragment T. Side b has part of two akṣaras. Half of side a is obscured by fragments U and T; the other half is empty, but the akṣaras of side b shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

2.5.5. Frame 26 (BL 13, Part 1)

A: Strip with five lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}. Due to the application of an unknown substance, the right-hand part of the verso has darkened smaller fragments adhering to it.

B: Strip with five lines of text on the recto. The verso is obscured by fragments C and D.

C: The recto of this strip is obscured by fragment B, the verso by fragment D.

D: The recto of this strip is obscured by fragments C and B. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

E: This strip is badly damaged by its adherence to fragment F, but the recto of fragment E appears to have been empty with the exception of a wavy line at the upper edge. The verso is obscured by fragment F.

F: The recto of this strip is obscured by fragment E. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

2.5.6. Frame 27 (BL 13, Part 2)

G: Strip with six lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

H: Strip with five lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

I: Strip with five lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

J: Strip with six lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

K: Strip with six lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

L: Strip with two lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

This fragment contains the bottom end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed in the lower part of the recto.

M: Strip with two lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

This fragment contains the top end of a sheet. The glue margin is exposed on the verso.

N: Strip with five lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

The glue margin is exposed on the lower part of the verso.

O: Strip with four lines of text on the recto. The verso contains part of Nid-G^{L3}.

P: Large fragment with eight lines of text on the recto. The verso contains the last five lines of Nid-G^{L2}. The next two lines are the beginning of Nid-G^{L3} (continued on fragments O–G, B, A, C, E, D and F). This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

Q: Large fragment with seven lines of text on the recto and six lines of text on the

verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

R: Large fragment with seven lines of text on the recto and six lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

S: Large fragment with five lines of text on the recto and six lines of text on the verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

T: Large fragment with five lines of text on the recto and one line of text on the verso. The upper part of the verso is empty. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll.

U: Large fragment with three lines of text on the recto and an empty verso. This fragment corresponds to two half-loops of the scroll. It contains the bottom end of the scroll.

v: Unlocated chip to the left of fragment P. Side b has traces of two akşaras. Side a is empty, but the akşaras of side b shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

w: Cluster of three or more unlocated chips. Side a of the largest chip has traces of ink; side b has part of two akşaras. Both sides of the medium-sized chip have traces of ink. Side a of the smallest fragment has faint parts of one or two akşaras that appear to shine through from side b (obscured by the largest fragment), indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

x: Unlocated chip to the right of fragment R. Side b has part of one akşara. Side a is empty, but the akşaras of side b shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

2.5.7. Frame 35 (BL 18)

A: Strip with three lines of text on the recto and three lines of text on the verso. Much of the surface of this fragment is darkened by application of an unknown substance before unrolling and therefore probably represents part of the verso of the outermost preserved loop of the scroll.

B: Unlocated cluster of chips between fragments A, C and o. At least two layers

are closely adhering to each other, and it remains unclear precisely where the edges of each fragment run. The main surface on side a of the cluster contains four lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? [c]. ? ///
2. /// duro · uṭhahi + [a] ? ///
3. /// ? tapragara · saceṇa kir[ti] .[r]. ///
4. /// ? ? [g]. ? ? + ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ///

The main surface on side b of the cluster contains three lines of writing:

1. /// ? + ? ? ? + [s]u ? so ? ? no · ? ///
2. /// g[a]r. · yasa drobalo a [ka] ? [a] s. ? ? ? ? ? ///
3. /// kṣi [vi] ///

C: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

D: Strip with four lines of text on the recto and three lines of text on the verso.

E: Strip with three lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

F: The recto of this strip is obscured by fragment G. The verso has three lines of text.

G: The recto of this strip is obscured by fragment F. The verso has one line of text. This fragment contains the bottom end of the scroll.

H: Strip with three lines of text on the recto and four lines of text on the verso.

I: Strip with two lines of text on the recto and three lines of text on the verso.

J: Unlocated chip between fragments I, K and cc. The recto contains three lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? ? ? ? ? [ve]di .[o] ? ///
2. /// .[o] sa chadasama[s]i · ? ? ///
3. /// [m]. ḷis[a]do ca · ///

The verso contains three lines of writing:

1. /// [d]i · sa para[y]i ? ? ? .[ro] ? ///
2. /// pr[o]cha di · ? ? .[o] ? ///
3. /// ? ? ? ///

K: Strip with three lines of text on the recto. The verso is obscured by fragment L.

L: Unlocated cluster of fragments below fragments J and ff. Side a of this cluster of fragments is obscured by fragment K. Much of the surface of side b is darkened by application of an unknown substance before unrolling and therefore probably represents part of the verso of the outermost preserved loop of the scroll. There appear to be three lines of text on this side of the cluster, but it remains unclear whether the beginning, middle and end of each line in fact are on the same surface:

1. [dro] ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ... sa e de c. ? ... [bal]. [dh]. ?
[labhadi praña] ? //
2. [vu]cadi śobha[ṇa] · carid[o] + [yi] suca ? ? ... [s]. · suca .[i] ...
vivaśaṇa · [e ṣ]. [dro ca] ? [d]. ? //
3. [śi] ? ? ? ? ? ... [śil].[n] ? ... //

m: Unlocated chip to the left of fragment B. Side a has part of one or two akṣaras. Side b is empty, but the akṣaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

n: Unlocated chip to the right of fragment B and touching fragment o. Side b contains one line of writing:

//? §. //

Side a is empty, but the akṣaras of side b shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

o: Unlocated chip to the right of fragment B. Side a has two lines of writing:

1. /// di ? ? ? //
2. /// [n]. [śe] ? //

Side b has three lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? + + ? //
2. /// [s]. ki yujad[i] k[a] a ? //
3. /// ? ? + ? ? //

p+q: Unlocated chips between fragments B and C. Side a has three lines of

writing:

1. /// ^{|q} ? ///
2. /// ^{|q} [ka sa ti a bhe] + ^{|p} ? di · a ? ? ///
3. /// ^{|q} ? ? ? + + ? ///

Side b has two lines of writing:

1. /// ^{|q} ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ^{|p} ? ? ? ? ? ///
2. /// ^{|q} [ki] g[a] v[a hi a ^{|p} y]. [n]. · ? ? ? //

r: Chip next to the middle of fragment C. The recto contains part of line 18-Cr3.

The verso contains part of line 18-Cv2.

s: Cluster of two chips next to the middle of fragment C. The recto of the larger chip contains part of line 18-Cr2; the verso contains part of line 18-Cv3. Side a of the smaller unlocated chip is empty; side b has part of one akṣara.

t: Unlocated chip adhering to the lower edge of the verso of fragment C. Half of side a is obscured by fragment C; the other half has part of three akṣaras. Side b has part of five akṣaras.

u: Chip adhering to the upper left corner of the verso of fragment D. The recto contains part of line 18-18. The verso contains part of lines 18-7 and 8.

v: Chip next to fragment D. The recto contains part of line 18-3. The verso contains part of line 18-23.

w: Chip adhering to the upper edge of the verso of fragment D. The recto contains part of line 18-3. The verso contains part of line 18-23.

x: Chip adhering to the upper right corner of the verso of fragment. The recto contains part of lines 18-2 and 3. The verso contains part of lines 18-22 and 23.

y: Chip adhering to the left side of the verso of fragment G. Most of the recto is obscured by fragment G; the visible edges contain part of lines 18-8 and 18-10. The

verso contains part of lines 18·15, 16 and 17.

z: Cluster of at least six unlocated chips next to fragment H. Both sides of the cluster have traces of ink.

aa: Chip close to the right of fragment H. The recto contains part of line 18·10. The verso contains part of lines 18·15 and 16.

bb: Unlocated chip adhering to the left part of the verso of fragment I. The recto is obscured by fragment I. Part of the verso is obscured by fragment ii; the visible portion has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? .[o] ? [pra] + ? ? .[o] ? + + + + + + + //
2. /// ? mani + + ? + + ? + + + + ? ? ? + ? ? //

If the beginning of the second line is to be reconstructed as (*ve)[ra]mani, then this fragment could be connected with 18·Cv2.

cc: Unlocated chip close to fragment J. Side a has two lines of writing:

1. /// [cad]u[hi sa]gr[aha]va[stu]///(*hi)
2. /// ? ? ? ? ? [§]. //

Side b has one line of writing:

/// a. l. [t]v[o] yo drobal[o] //

dd: Unlocated chip close to fragment J. Side a has one line of writing:

/// ś. [g]o· g.ɳ[a]dos[a] p. ? //

Side b is empty, but the akṣaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

ee: Cluster of two unlocated chips close to fragment J. Side a of the larger chip has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? ? · dha ? [ma a] ? //
2. /// ? [r]i bha[vi]śadi [s]. [d]. v. bh[a]vae du [pa] ? //

The middle bottom edge of the larger chip is obscured by fragment ff. Side b has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? d[i] · sa suş[u]do · sa sucarido · sa s[u] //
2. /// .[o] sucarido · şu[d]. //

Side a of the smaller chip has part of four akṣaras. Part of side b is obscured by the larger chip; the visible portion has part of four akṣaras.

ff: Unlocated chip close to fragment J. Side a has one line of writing:

/// [v]uto sa s[u] ? ///

Part of side b is obscured by the larger chip; the visible portion has one line of writing:

/// ? [d]. [s]. [so] ? ? ///

gg: Unlocated chip adhering to the upper left corner of the verso of fragment G.

Side a has part of three akṣaras. Side b is obscured by fragment G.

hh: Cluster of at least three unlocated chips attached the lower edge of the verso of fragment G. Side a of the largest chip has one line of writing:

/// ? [ṣ]. bh. ///

Half of side b is obscured by fragment G; the other half is empty. Part of side a of the medium-size chip is obscured by fragment hh; the other half is empty. Side b of the medium-size chip is obscured by fragment G. Part of side a of the smallest chip is obscured by fragment hh; the visible portion is empty. Side b of the smallest chip has part of one akṣara.

ii: Unlocated chip adhering to side b of fragment bb and, with it, to the verso of fragment I. Side a has two lines of writing:

1. /// ? [ya] v[a] ? ///
2. /// [ŋ]. · maṇi · [p]i [a] ? ///

Side b is obscured by fragment bb.

jj: Unlocated chip adhering to the verso of fragment I and side b of fragments bb and ii. Part of side a is obscured by a folded-over part of side b; the visible portion has part of one akṣara. Part of side b is obscured by fragments I, bb and ii; the visible portion of side b is empty, but the akṣara of side a shines through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

CHAPTER 3

Paleography

The British Library collection of Kharoṣṭī manuscripts contains the work of twenty-one different scribes. The handwriting of three of these has been studied in detail by Andrew Glass: scribe 1 (Allon 2001: 53–72, Lenz 2003: 30–38, Salomon 2008: 93–101), scribe 2 (Lenz 2003: 111–126) and scribe 9 (Salomon 1999: 53–78).²⁴ The handwriting of the present manuscript, the work of British Library scribe 4 (in the numbering of Salomon 1999: 54–55), has not previously been described.

3.1. The Writing Instrument

A very noticeable change of writing style occurs in line 9.46, between sections 5 and 6. While the preceding portion of scroll 9 has akṣaras with thick strokes (up to 0.9 mm in width) and a blocky shape, the following portion as well as all of scrolls 13 and 18 and scroll fragments 3B and 7 is written in a more delicate rounded hand (with a stroke width of up to 0.7 mm). Individual signs appear to be formed the same way in both portions, however, making a change of writing instrument (or possibly a recutting of the nib to a smaller width) a more likely explanation than a change of scribes. It does need to be noted that the first occurrence of dental *n* in scroll 9 is in line 9.47, right after the change of writing style (§ 4.2.2). But since dental *n* is entirely absent in scrolls 13 and 18, which otherwise clearly are by the same scribe as the second portion of scroll 9, this cannot be taken as an indication of the involvement of two different scribes.

The writing instruments used in the production of both portions of our manuscript

²⁴In addition to akṣara charts for these three scribes, Glass 2000: 172–174 also provides a chart for British Library scribe 21.

had a flat nib, as evidenced by variations in stroke width according to the direction of strokes. The first portion of the manuscript contains clear indications of a split nib in the form of blank streaks in the middle of broad strokes, where the two halves of the split nib separated under pressure and deposited ink independently (e.g., in the last akṣara of 9.43 *ruthena*; cf. Glass 2007: 86 on Senior manuscript 5). There are no instances of such split strokes in the second portion of the manuscript, and it is possible that the narrower nib of the writing instrument used for this second portion was not split. It seems likely that the pen with the split nib used in the first portion of the manuscript was made from a flexible material such as reed (as has been suggested for other Gāndhārī manuscripts, for instance in Glass 2007: 85), but a different material such as wood cannot be ruled out for the pen used in the second portion of our manuscript. Both writing instruments evidently contained some kind of reservoir since reinking, indicated by an abrupt switch from faint to dark strokes, only happened infrequently.

3.2. General Features of the Hand

The general appearance of the handwriting of most of our manuscript (except for the portion up to line 9.47 and the end of section 5) is rounded and easy-flowing. The manuscript is written carefully, with a very small number of corrections. Lines are almost perfectly horizontal; this contrasts with the strong slant of some single-sheet manuscripts such as Senior manuscript 5 (Glass 2007: 87) and may be due to the fact that multi-sheet scrolls such as ours (if assembled before writing) could not be rotated as easily as a single sheet. The size of akṣaras likewise remains constant throughout lines, with no attempts to squeeze in additional akṣaras when approaching the end of a line; instead, line breaks occur freely at any point within a phrase or word.

Two pairs of base signs, *t-* and *d-* (§§ 3.4.1.17, 3.4.1.19) and *a* and *va* (§§ 3.4.1.1, 3.4.1.30; cf. Strauch 2008: 16 no. 13), are only distinguished weakly, and particularly in the case of the former pair the distinction is so weak that the transliteration

presented in this book had to follow etymological principles rather than the shape of given instances of these base signs. There is no systematic employment of the anusvāra mark, and those instances of the shape that do occur are better considered a non-phonetic footmark (§ 3.3, type 2). There is likewise no clear example of subscript ya. In those cases where a ya-like shape is appended to the foot of G v < OIA vy, particularly in the gerundive suffix G -dava- < OIA -tavya- it should be interpreted as a word-final flourish, as indicated by the presence of this shape in word-final v < simple OIA v (e.g., 9.8 *tava*) and by its absence in word-initial G v < OIA vy (e.g., 9.67 *va[va]daprahana*). British Library scribe 4 makes very limited use of modified base signs: his complete repertoire consists of *j*, *fh*, *s̄* and *s̄* (for OIA *dhy*, *sth*, *ṣṇ* and *sn*). In this regard he forms a group with British Library scribe 1 (*k*, *j*, *fh*, *s̄*), scribe 2 (*j*, *s̄*, *s̄*, *s̄*) and scribe 9 (*j*, *s̄*, *s̄*, *s̄*) and stands in contrast with, e.g., British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe who use a large set of additional modified base signs (*k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *d*, *bh*, *ś*, *ś*), apparently modelled on *s̄*, to indicate weakened intervocalic consonants other than [z] < [s], as well as several other modified base characters to indicate either special pronunciations or the etymological value of specific OIA consonant clusters (*c̄* for OIA *śc*, *j̄* for OIA *dhy*, *m̄a* for OIA *hm* and *ś̄* for OIA *ṣṇ* in the work of British Library scribe 14; see further § 4.6).

British Library scribe 4 uses punctuation dots liberally and consistently to separate phrase units and, in some cases, component parts of long compounds. He tends to pause for reinking between words (e.g., 9.75 *anuadis[e]ṣa nivanadhadu*), and when the two words are separated by a punctuation dot he reinks before putting down the dot (e.g., *dhama · dukhavaṭachedo* 9.35, *vucadi · aṭjatvataṣae* 9.55 and *bhayo · pacakadhabha[yo]* 9.65).

3.3. Foot Marks

Kharoṣṭī base signs in the hands of various scribes often have small hooks or other graphical marks added at their lower end. These so-called foot marks do not carry any phonetic meaning (as opposed to genuine anusvāra signs, modifier strokes

indicating weakening of intervocalic consonants, long consonants or consonant clusters, and subscript *y*, *r* and *v*). The use of foot marks varies from scribe to scribe and thus provides valuable information for the identification of individual hands. Within one scribal hand, the same base sign can occur with more than one type of foot mark, and the same type of foot mark can be added to a large number of different base signs, but even so foot marks are useful in identifying partially preserved base signs whose upper portion is lost. British Library scribe 4 employs a limited range of footprint shapes that can be categorized into three distinct types:

Type 0: No particular footprint. Base signs that have a vertical stem terminate in a straight line; other base signs have the shapes distinctive to them. This type occurs with 44 simple, modified and combined base signs (see table 8).

Type 1: A movement of the pen from the lower end of the stem to the left, usually in the form of a horizontal line, but sometimes with an upward or downward slope. This type occurs with 23 simple, modified and combined base signs (see table 8).

Type 2: A movement of the pen from the lower end of the stem first slightly to the right, then to the left. The appearance of this foot mark can be that of an *anusvāra* sign. It is sometimes added as a separate stroke (e.g. 9.65.1 *ka*). This type occurs with 6 simple and modified base signs (see table 8).

There is a certain amount of overlap between foot-mark types 1 and 2 that can be seen, e.g., in *ba* 7.Aa1.21 (tending to type 1) when compared with *ba* 9.158.19 (more like type 2).

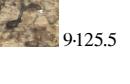
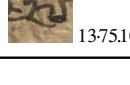
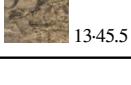
Table 8. Summary of foot-mark types

Type	Base signs with this mark
0	<i>a-, k-, kr-, gr-, gh-, c-, ch-, j-, rj-, ñ-, rñ-, t-, ñ-, rn-, t-, tr-, tv-, rt-, ts-, rth-, d-, dr-, dh-, dhr-, dhv-, rdh-, p-, pr-, br-, bh-, m-, y-, r-, v-, vr-, rv-, s̄-, śr-, s̄-, s̄-, sp-, h-, ks-</i>
1	<i>a-, g-, gh-, ch-, j-, ñ-, th-, ðh-, d-, dh-, ñ-, n-, ph-, b-, bh-, r-, l-, v-, sp-, s̄-, st-, str-</i>
2	<i>k-, ðh-, th-, p-, b-, s-</i>

3.4. Analysis of Individual Signs

The following description is based on the main reconstructed text of the manuscript as presented in chapter 6 and only draws selectively on the transliterations of unlocated fragments in chapter 2. Particular attention is paid to the number and order of strokes making up each individual sign since these can be characteristic properties of individual scribal hands, and over the course of time they influence the overall development of the shape of signs in the Kharoṣṭī writing system. Individual strokes and their pattern of overlapping stand out most clearly where the consistency of the ink was thin and soot particles concentrated along the outline of strokes (see, e.g., *kri* 9.159.2).

Table 9. Kharoṣṭī script as written by British Library scribe 4

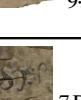
	<i>a</i> § 3.5.3.1	<i>i</i> § 3.5.3.2	<i>u</i> § 3.5.3.2	<i>e</i> § 3.5.3.3	<i>o</i> § 3.5.3.4
<i>a-</i> § 3.4.1.1	 7-Aa1.2	 9.84.3	 9.137.5	 9.174.1	 9.49.3
<i>k-</i> §§ 3.4.1.2, 3.4.3	 7-Eb1.8 <i>kra</i>  7-Aa2.33	 9.130.1 <i>kri</i>  9.159.2	 9.125.5	 9.65.1 <i>kre</i>  13.75.10	 9.191.9 <i>kro</i>  13.45.5

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<i>kh-</i> § 3.4.1.3	993.2		9124.2		979.4
<i>g-</i> §§ 3.4.1.4, 3.4.3, 3.4.5	7-Da1.3 <i>gra</i> 956.1	9166.4 <i>gri</i> 9190.13	955.3	9178.4 <i>gre</i> 925.17 <i>rge</i> 9120.8	9184.3 <i>gro</i> 92.18
<i>gh-</i> § 3.4.1.5	9104.7				9-Br4.8
<i>c-</i> § 3.4.1.6	7-Aa2.4	7-Aa2.8	9154.7	9-67.3	9-174.22
<i>ch-</i> § 3.4.1.7	9174.23	9159.8		936.4	1357.4
<i>j-</i> §§ 3.4.1.8, 3.4.5	7-Aa1.35 <i>rja</i> 189.12	9175.8 <i>rji</i> 188.31	1339.6	13-67.8	9-203.21
<i>Ṅ-</i> § 3.4.1.9	955.23				
<i>ñ-</i> §§ 3.4.1.10, 3.4.5	9168.2	9161.1	9145.5	933.27 <i>rñe</i> 9160.6	9-205.17
<i>t̄-</i> § 3.4.1.11	9-62.3	9168.4		9-4.6	
<i>th-</i> § 3.4.1.12	92.13	9216.2	13-82.16	9-43.14	9-202.13
<i>ṭh-</i> § 3.4.1.13	9126.6	9169.5		9195.8	13-74.32
<i>d̄-</i> § 3.4.1.14	938.15	970.1			

<i>dh-</i> § 3.4.1.15	 967.15	 9170.24			
<i>n-</i> §§ 3.4.1.16, 3.4.5	 7Eb2.3 <i>rna</i>  9225.16	 7Aa1.14	 9153.3	 9102.2	 94.1
<i>t-</i> §§ 3.4.1.17, 3.4.3, 3.4.4, 3.4.5, 3.4.2.1	 7Aa1.5 <i>tra</i>  7Aa1.13 <i>tva</i>  9197.3 <i>tsa</i>  9143.23 <i>rta</i>  9152.16	 915.3 <i>tri</i>  9162.14 <i>tvi</i>  992.11 <i>rti</i>  9120.5		 9-GCv3.7 <i>tre</i>  9111.3 <i>tve</i>  9154.34	 7Aa2.9 <i>tro</i>  7Aa1.11 <i>tvo</i>  925.21
<i>th-</i> §§ 3.4.1.18, 3.4.5	 956.2 <i>rtha</i>  9145.12	 957.4 <i>rthi</i>  9145.23			<i>rtho</i>  9146.18
<i>d-</i> §§ 3.4.1.19, 3.4.3	 7Aa2.7 <i>dra</i>  928.3	 7Aa1.7 <i>dri</i>  988.2	 993.1	 7Aa1.15 <i>dre</i>  9187.22	 7Da1.5 <i>dro</i>  939.11
<i>dh-</i> §§ 3.4.1.20, 3.4.3, 3.4.4	 7Eb1.3 <i>dhra</i>  9190.19 <i>dhva</i>  938.13	 989.14 <i>dhvi</i>  9198.10		 9151.14	 7Eb1.9 <i>dhro</i>  9190.14 <i>rdho</i>  9185.17
<i>n-</i> § 3.4.1.121	 7Aa2.10	 976.1		 979.32	 993.23

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<i>p-</i> §§ 3.4.1.22, 3.4.3, 3.4.5	 971.1 <i>pra</i>  7Aa3.11 <i>rpa</i> 	 938.14 <i>pri</i> 	 9138.3 <i>pre</i> 	 1824.13 <i>pro</i> 	 9217.15
<i>ph-</i> § 3.4.1.23	 942.12				
<i>b-</i> §§ 3.4.1.24, 3.4.3	 7Aa1.21 <i>bra</i> 		 7Da2.11		 9158.19 <i>bro</i> 
<i>bh-</i> §§ 3.4.1.25, 3.4.3	 7Da1.2	 9-GCv5.3	 7-Ca2.10	 9106.16	 <i>bhro</i> 
<i>m-</i> § 3.4.1.26	 7Aa1.4	 9147.1	 91.3	 9.6.4	 9108.2
<i>y-</i> § 3.4.1.27	 7-Aa3.34	 9.65.2	 9.125.2	 9.128.1	 9.141.1
<i>r-</i> § 3.4.1.28	 7-Aa2.24	 7-Aa3.3	 9.92.1	 9.151.3	 7-Aa1.25
<i>l-</i> § 3.4.1.29	 954.1	 9.131.3	 18-Cv3.7	 9.38.1	 9.178.3
<i>v-</i> §§ 3.4.1.30, 3.4.3, 3.4.5	 7Da1.4 <i>vra</i>  9.133.11 <i>rva</i> 	 7-Aa2.22 <i>vri</i> 	 7-Aa2.3		 <i>vro</i> 
<i>ś-</i> §§ 3.4.1.31, 3.4.3	 7Ca2.3 <i>śra</i> 	 9.28.4	 7-Aa2.32 <i>śru</i> 	 9.98.2 <i>śre</i> 	 <i>śro</i> 

<i>s-</i> § 3.4.1.32	 987.3	 943.1	 7-Aa1.30	 914.7	 9-GCv10.2
<i>ſ-</i> § 3.4.1.33	 9-GCv10.5				
<i>s-</i> §§ 3.4.1.34, 3.4.4.2	 7-Eb1.5 <i>spa</i>  9426.3	 7-Eb1.7 <i>spi</i>  9189.3	 7-Aa1.10	 988.24	 957.1
<i>ſ-</i> § 3.4.1.35	 1353.11			 9123.17	
<i>h-</i> § 3.4.1.36	 7-Aa2.23	 9121.2		 998.16	 7-Aa1.22
<i>ks-</i> § 3.4.1.37	 9121.1	 970.3	 9191.20	 9238.1	 9220.23
<i>st-</i> §§ 3.4.1.38, 3.4.3	 9144.1	 9122.1 <i>stri</i>  9161.12	 9123.5		 7-Da2.4
Number signs § 3.6	<i>I</i>  3B.3.15	<i>4</i>  3B.3.14	<i>20</i>  3B.3.13		
Punctuation § 3.7	.	 7-Aa3.9	 9.204.5	 9.59.25	 9.176.37

3.4.1. Simple and Modified Base Signs

3.4.1.1. *a-* (1074 Occurrences)

The base sign *a-* is made in one stroke and retains its basic round shape. The head is never more than moderately curled, and the stem is never wavy.

3.4.1.2. *k-* (245 Occurrences)

The base sign *k-* has its early form where the head and stem are drawn first in one stroke and the arm is added on the right as a second stroke. The head of *k-* is often rounded.

3.4.1.3. *kh-* (81 Occurrences)

The base sign *kh-* is made in one stroke. The head is usually rounded, but can be angular (e.g., 9.124.2). The lower part of the stem can be either wavy (turning left, right, and left again; e.g., 9.93.2) or straight (e.g., 9.79.4).

3.4.1.4. *g-* (235 Occurrences)

The base sign *g-* is made in one stroke. The tip of the left arm has a tendency to curl in, and in a few instances (e.g., 9.55.3) it touches the horizontal part of the sign.

3.4.1.5. *gh-* (5 Occurrences)

The base sign *gh-* is made in two strokes. Its usual shape is the same as *g-*, but with a downward-pointing right arm added as a separate stroke at the point where the main stroke crosses itself. In one peculiar instance (9.Br4.8), *gh-* is constructed differently: first the upper bowl-shaped portion of the letter and the right arm are drawn in a single stroke, then the stem is added as a second stroke.

3.4.1.6. *ca* (236 Occurrences)

The base character *c-* is made in one stroke and has a well-defined shape. There is some variation in the length of the neck of the sign and in the curve of its body.

3.4.1.7. *ch-* (37 Occurrences)

The base sign *ch-* is made in two strokes, in one of two ways. Usually the head and stem are drawn first in one stroke, then the half-circle intersecting the stem is added as a second stroke. In one peculiar instance (9.174.23), *ch-* appears to be constructed

differently: first a shape corresponding to *c-* is drawn in one stroke, then at the lower left a semicircle open to the lower left is added as a second stroke.

3.4.1.8. *j-* (107 Occurrences)

The base sign *j-* can be made in one or two strokes. In the two-stroke form (e.g., 7.Aa1.35), first the stem is drawn, then the arm is added as a second stroke. The construction of the one-stroke form begins with the arm and loops around into the stem. In the two stroke-form, the arm is almost horizontal, resulting in a very shallow head of the sign. The head of the one-stroke form can be similarly shallow, but is usually deeper.

3.4.1.9. *j̄-* (3 Occurrences)

The modified base sign *j̄-* corresponds to *j-*, but a horizontal line is added above the akṣara. The main part of this modified base sign is only attested in the one-stroke form.

3.4.1.10. *ñ-* (141 Occurrences)

The base sign *ñ-* is usually made in one stroke. The tip of the arm usually has a curl that sometimes forms a closed loop, but also occurs without curl (e.g., 9.145.5). The left side of the sign is straight, and sometimes an incidental loop occurs where the stroke reverses direction from the arm to the stem part (e.g., 9.145.5). In a few cases, the base sign *ñ-* is made in two strokes, with a straight stem and a wavy tip on the arm (e.g., 9.161.1).

3.4.1.11. *t-* (18 Occurrences)

The base sign *t-* is made in one stroke and always has a rightward extension from the base of the stem. In one instance (9.4.6), a short horizontal line occurs at the lower left of the main sign. This could be a free-floating type-1 foot mark, but is more likely to be an uncorrected wrong start made by the scribe.

3.4.1.12. *th-* (46 Occurrences)

The base sign *th-* is made in two strokes. First the head and stem are drawn in one stroke, then the horizontal line at the middle of the stem is added as another stroke.

3.4.1.13. *ṭh-* (22 Occurrences)

The modified base sign *ṭh-* is made in two strokes. First the head and stem are drawn in one stroke, then the left arm is added as another stroke. The arm extends further to the left than the head of the sign, and the vertical extension of the arm often extends above the head.

3.4.1.14. *d-* (41 Occurrences)

The base sign *d-* can be made in one or two strokes. In the two-stroke form (e.g., 9.38.15), first the arm is drawn, then the stem is added. In the one-stroke form (e.g., 9.70.1), the arm loops around into the stem.

3.4.1.15. *dh-* (2 Occurrences)

The base sign *dh-* is made in one stroke starting at the upper left.

3.4.1.16. *n-* (989 Occurrences)

The base sign *n-* is made in one stroke and has the usual pointed head.

3.4.1.17. *t-* (375 Occurrences)

The base sign *t-* is made in one stroke. Its upper left tip curves around, but rarely forms a closed loop. Apart from *te* and *de* (see § 3.4.1.19), no clear graphic distinction is maintained between the base signs *t-* and *d-*.

3.4.1.18. *th-* (8 Occurrences)

The base sign *th-* is made in two strokes. The horizontal bar is always straight.

3.4.1.19. *d-* (1038 Occurrences)

The base sign *d-* is made in one stroke. Its upper left tip sometimes curves around. The akṣara *de* is written as a special one-stroke ligature that looks like a pointy-headed *n-* with a short stem (representing the *d-*), the lower end of which turns at a sharp angle into a horizontal line (representing the vowel mark *e*). Apart from *te* and *de*, no clear graphic distinction is maintained between the base signs *t-* and *d-*.

3.4.1.20. *dh-* (126 Occurrences)

The base sign *dh-* is made in one stroke. It occurs with a small angular and a larger rounded head.

3.4.1.21. *n-* (32 Occurrences)

The base sign *n-* is made in one stroke. It has a well-rounded head.

3.4.1.22. *p-* (229 Occurrences)

The base sign *p-* is made in two strokes. First the stem is drawn in one stroke, then the arm is added in another stroke. The arm is usually rounded, but there are some instances of a pointed arm (e.g., 9.38.14).

3.4.1.23. *ph-* (6 Occurrences)

The base sign *ph-* is apparently made in three strokes, though the visual appearance is not quite conclusive. Under this three-stroke interpretation, first the stem and then the right arm are drawn, forming the shape of a *p-*, and then the left arm is added separately at the same height as the right arm.

3.4.1.24. *b-* (43 Occurrences)

The base sign *b-* is made in one stroke. It has a rounded head joined by a straight diagonal line to the stem.

3.4.1.25. *bh-* (158 Occurrences)

The base sign *bh-* is made in two strokes. First the head and stem are drawn in one stroke, then the arm is added in another stroke.

3.4.1.26. *m-* (445 Occurrences)

The base sign *m-* is made in one stroke. It has a round bottom and its two tips are at the same height. The akṣara *mu* is written as a special one-stroke ligature consisting of a semicircle opening downwards, turning at an acute angle from its right tip into a vertical line. In this ligature, the left half of the semicircle corresponds to the vowel mark *u*; the right half of the semicircle and the vertical line together correspond to the base sign *m-*.

3.4.1.27. *y-* (306 Occurrences)

The base sign *y-* is usually made in one stroke and has the shape of two sides of an equilateral triangle opening at the bottom. In some instances (e.g., 9.125.2), a separate stroke descends vertically from the left tip of the triangle, creating a two-stroke shape similar to, but considerably more pointed than, that of the base sign *s-*.

3.4.1.28. *r-* (311 Occurrences)

The base sign *r-* is made in one stroke. Its upper left tip is curled and in some instances (e.g., 9.151.3) forms a complete loop. The stem is usually straight but sometimes wavy.

3.4.1.29. *l-* (173 Occurrences)

The base sign *l-* is usually made in two strokes. First the left arm is drawn, then the stem. Sometimes this base sign is made in one stroke (e.g., 9.54.1), with the arm looping around to turn into the stem.

3.4.1.30. *v-* (784 Occurrences)

The base sign *v-* is made in one stroke. Its head is almost always rounded. The bulge is usually somewhat flatter than the head of the base sign *a-*, but sometimes it is just as round, and in such cases the two base signs cannot be distinguished graphically.

3.4.1.31. *ś-* (305 Occurrences)

The base sign *ś-* is made in two strokes. First the top part and right leg are drawn as one stroke, then the left leg is added as another. In one isolated instance of the akṣara *śro* (9·47.24), the portion consisting of the vowel mark *o* and everything to the right of it is drawn in one or two strokes, then the left leg and left part of the top of the akṣara are drawn in another stroke. The left portion of this akṣara has a much lower stroke width and ink saturation than either the right portion or the following akṣara, and it therefore seems likely that this is a scribal correction from *śra* to *śro* rather than a distinct way of forming the akṣara *śro*.

3.4.1.32. *ṣ-* (126 Occurrences)

The base sign *ṣ-* is made in two strokes. First the head is drawn as one stroke, then the stem is added as another. The head of this sign is well-rounded. The right tip of the head frequently touches the stem.

3.4.1.33. *Ṅ-* (38 Occurrences)

The modified base sign *Ṅ-* is constructed the same way as the unmodified base sign *ṣ-*, but a horizontal line or, in some instances (e.g., *taṄsa* 9·GCv3), a dot is added above the akṣara.

3.4.1.34. *s-* (656 Occurrences)

The base sign *s-* is formed interchangeably in one of two ways, both of which are made in one stroke. The older form consists of a head resembling the base sign *t-*,

perched on top of a long stem extending from the lower tip of the head. The younger form consists of a wavy line with two bulges to the left and two to the right, terminating in a diagonal stroke to the lower left. There is a tendency for the older form to be used in conjunction with vowel marks, in particular those that attach to the head of the base sign (a similar distribution has been noted in a text of the Bajaur collection for an older and younger style of the base sign *k-*; Strauch 2008: 13). This pattern is disrupted by numerous exceptions such as *sa sus[u]do* · *sa sucarido* 18·eeal and *sa s[ul]* 18·ffa (underlining indicates the older form of *s-*).

3.4.1.35. *ś-* (7 Occurrences)

The modified base sign *ś-* is constructed the same way as the older form of the unmodified base sign *s-*, but a horizontal line is added above the akṣara.

3.4.1.36. *h-* (335 Occurrences)

The base sign *h-* is made in one stroke. The lower left curve of the sign tends to be more angular than the upper right curve.

3.4.1.37. *kṣ-* (76 Occurrences)

The base sign *kṣ-* is usually made in two strokes. First the head is drawn as one stroke, then the stem is added as another. In one instance (9·70.3), this base sign is drawn in a single stroke starting from the upper right tip of the head. The stroke then goes to the upper left tip of the head and down to the base of the head left of the center of the sign. It then follows the base of the head rightwards until it reaches the center of the sign and turns downwards to form the stem. In both the two-stroke and the one-stroke form the bowl of the head is rather shallow.

3.4.1.38. *st-* (46 Occurrences)

The base sign *st-* is made in two strokes. First the head and stem are drawn in one stroke, then the horizontal crossbar is added in another.

3.4.2. Conjunct Base Signs

3.4.2.1. *ts-* (4 Occurrences)

The conjunct base sign *ts-* is made in two strokes. First the head (corresponding to *t-*) and left leg (corresponding to the stem of *s-*) are drawn in one stroke, then the right leg (corresponding to the head of *s-*) is added in another stroke. The top of the right leg touches the stem immediately below the head, making this conjunct base sign visually distinct from *sp-*. See Brough 1962: 73–74 for the analysis of this sign as *ts-* rather than *ts̄-*, to which it bears a more immediate visual resemblance.

3.4.2.2. *sp-* (31 Occurrences)

This conjunct base sign is made in two strokes. First the head (corresponding to the head of *s-*) and stem (corresponding simultaneously to the stem of *s-* and the stem of *p-*) are drawn in one stroke, then the arm (corresponding to the arm of *p-*) is added in another stroke. The top of the arm touches the stem some distance below the head, making this conjunct base sign visually distinct from *ts-*.

3.4.3. Postconsonantal *r* (484 Occurrences)

The mark for postconsonantal *r* is a rightward continuation of the lower tip of the stem or, in the case of two-legged or right-armed base signs, of the right leg or arm of the base sign. This continuation varies in length and can be almost horizontal (e.g., *dri* 9.88.2, *vro* 9.176.26) or bent steeply upwards (e.g., *dre* 9.187.22). It is almost always the continuation of an existing stroke, and where it is added separately (e.g., *tro* 7.Aa1.11, *stri* 9.161.12) this appears to be due its accidental omission and subsequent addition. This mark occurs in the combinations *kr-*, *gr-*, *tr-*, *dr-*, *dhr-*, *pr-*, *br-*, *bhr-*, *vr-*, *sr-* and *str-*.

3.4.4. Postconsonantal *v* (80 Occurrences)

The mark for postconsonantal *v* is very similar to that for postconsonantal *r*. Like

the latter, it is a rightward continuation of the lower tip of the stem of the base sign. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it is much longer and bent more steeply upwards than postconsonantal *r*. This mark occurs in the combinations *tv-* and *dhv-*.

3.4.5. Preconsonantal *r* (37 Occurrences)

The mark for preconsonantal *r* is a continuation of the lower tip of the stem of the base sign that first turns left, then loops around upwards and descends downwards on the other side of the stem in a semicircular arc open to the left. This mark occurs in the combinations *rg-*, *rj-*, *rñ-*, *rṇ-*, *rt-*, *rth-*, *rp-* and *rv-*.

3.5.3. Vowel Marks

3.5.3.1. *i* (1664 Occurrences)

The vowel mark *i* is usually a vertical line crossing the upper left or middle part of a base sign. In combination with the base signs *a-*, *ñ-*, *n-* and *h*, it is a horizontal line crossing the middle of the base sign.

3.5.3.2. *u* (650 Occurrences)

The vowel mark *u* is usually a continuation of the lower tip of the stem of the base sign, bending upward and touching the stem of the base sign to form a closed loop. In combination with the base sign *m-*, it forms a special ligature (see § 3.4.1.26).

3.5.3.3. *e* (766 Occurrences)

The vowel mark *e* is usually a vertical line extending upwards from the upper left or middle part of a base sign. In combination with the base signs *a-*, *ñ-*, *n-* and *h-*, it is a horizontal line extending rightwards from the middle of the base sign. (It retains its usual vertical shape in 9160.6 *rñe*, possibly to avoid conflict with the curve of preconsonantal *r*.) In combination with the base sign *d-*, it forms a special ligature (see § 3.4.1.19).

3.5.3.4 *o* (1187 Occurrences)

The vowel mark *o* is a diagonal or vertical line extending left and downwards from the lower left part of a base sign, or downwards from the middle of a base sign.

3.6. Number Signs

The sections of our commentary are not numbered, and the only number signs in the hand of British Library scribe 4 occur in the colophon on scroll fragment 3B. The number sign 1 (1 occurrence) consists of a vertical line with a bulge towards the right. The number sign 4 (1 occurrence) consist of two strokes forming a cross. The stroke going from the upper left to the lower right corner bulges towards the upper right and appears to have been drawn first, followed by a straight stroke going from the lower left to the upper right. The number sign 20 (1 occurrence) is made in one stroke forming two semicircles open to the left. The lower tip of the lower and larger semicircle extends to the left of the number sign.

3.7. Punctuation

British Library scribe 4 employs a two-level system of punctuation. Small dots in the middle of the line (1205 occurrences) are used to separate phrases or the component parts of long compounds. Large punctuation marks (30 occurrences) mark the end of each section and *uddāna* of the commentary. The usual shape of the large punctuation mark is that of a small circle surrounded by five or six other circles; in one instance (line 9.59), the large punctuation mark has the shape of two concentric circles. Both shapes of the large punctuation mark can be interpreted as stylized representations of a lotus flower. This interpretation is supported by the naturalistic drawing of a lotus flower added at the bottom of the recto of scroll 13, at the end of section 32.

Either British Library scribe 4 himself or a later user of the manuscript also inserted marks in the right margin indicating where sections and *uddānas* end and begin. Because the right margin of the manuscript is broken off in many places, only

twelve of these marks are preserved, nine in good condition (at lines 9.87, 105, 111, 112, 122, 139, 159–160, 176 and 18.Aa3) and three in traces (at lines 9.74, 81 and 97). No margin marks are preserved in scroll fragment 7 and scroll 13, but fragment 7 does not actually seem to contain the beginning or end of a section, and in scroll 13, in all places where margin marks would be expected, the right margin is missing. It thus remains possible that scroll 13 as well as the fragmentary sections in fragment 7 (whether this fragment belongs to scroll 18 or not; § 2.2.2.2) originally also carried margin marks. In practice, these margin marks are inserted at the same height as the corresponding punctuation mark within the text. When the latter occurs at the very end of a line and the next line starts with the next section (lines 9.139–140 and 176–177), the margin mark is still inserted next to the line that has the end of the preceding section concluded by a punctuation mark. On one occasion (lines 9.159–160), the margin mark was apparently first by accident inserted one line too high and by way of correction extended downwards to cover the next and correct line as well.

The usual shape of these margin marks is that of two concentric circles, different from the punctuation marks regularly used within the text, but similar to the exceptional punctuation mark in line 9.59. Both the beginning and the end of the *uddāna* in lines 9.111–112 are marked by special margin marks that are larger than usual and have the form of rectangles filled with patterns (circles in the first case, intersecting oblique lines in the second).

Table 10. Types of margin marks



3.9. Errors and Corrections

British Library scribe 4 is very careful and makes few mistakes. There are five verified instances of extraneous akṣaras in the whole of Nid-G^{L2}:

*śidi{na}bhav(*i)śati* 9.84, *vi{vi}bhud[a]rua[sa]ñisa* 160–161, *agaśaca[i]daṇa-*

[sa]ma{[ya]}dikramo 163, *cithat{[o].}ta[m]* 169–170, *aŋoa{va}ŋ[i]d[o]* 201, twenty-eight instances of omitted akṣaras (three of which were noticed and corrected by the scribe):

*dupraga<*ra>* 9·6, *<*i>[disaca]abhi[ma]ŋ[o]* 12, *same[p](*)asa<*na>p(*r)a-*
bh[avi]d[o] 48, *[a]k<*nu>neaprahaṇa*, *aŋ[u]a<*ha>dacitasa*, *padi[a]p[r]a-*
*[ha]<*na>* 61, *[vu]ca<*di>* 84, *vuca<*di>* 95, *<*ha>riśadi* 109, *[mo]hapra-*
*<*ha>[na]* 134, *chiṇaśā<*śa>go* 143, *agica[ñā]<*ya>dano·samavati* 167, *akica[ñ-*
a]jī<da>ŋami 175, *<*ke>y[i]* 179, *[a]naŋ[apo]<*śi>* 214, *vi[varnavada]ge<*hi>*
*225, a<*sa>[ta]paidehi* 225, *<*sa>bhavēṇa* GCv9, *śamasavi<*va>[śaṇa]e*
*GCv12, <*sa>madikramo* 13·22, *añadaraa<*ña>dariṇa*, *uadane<*ña>* 25, *tatra-*
*tatraüa<*va>tie* 31, *<*dha>mo* 43, *nirosa<*sa>kṣia* 70, *atva<a>rtha* 83, *asapra-*
*kha<*na>yadanado* 85, *<a>ñana* 86

and twenty-two instances of omitted vowel marks:

*[a]pr<*o>vacarimo*, *sarvañ<*u>da* 52, *[tri](*)ni[da]ŋa[p](*)r[aha]ŋ<*e>na* 58–
*59, p<*u>ñaprahaṇenā* 68, *savañ<*i>*, *sidi[na]bhav<*i>śati* 84, *kileśa-*
*prahan<*e>na* 86, *[i]driyan<*i>* 88, *ŋ<*u>* 101, *pra[c]<*u>[pana]* 142, *an<*u>-*
bhudo 155, *drīṭ<*i>e* 166–191, *ŋiv<*e>śanehi* 196, *proveni[va]s<*e>na* 199,
*caritv<*e>na* 200, *d<*u>[e]hi* 216, *satv<*e>ṣu* 221, *ten<*e>va* 13·26, *prah<*i>natva*
*76, niy[o]<*e>d[i]* 84, *[savajap](*)ahan<*e>na* 18·2, *atvan<*e>na* 6.

In six instances (excluding wrong historical spellings such as *samudag[o]* 9·GCv12), the scribe used a wrong akṣara or wrong order of akṣaras without correcting himself:

caduveharajada 9·3 (for **caduveśarajada*), *para[c]ariasa* 9·95 (for
**paraśariasa*), **[mu]lapakh[aya]ŋa* 9·116 (for **mulasakhayaṇa*), *samahadadi*
9·133 (for **samadahadi*), **cuadavada* 9·148 (for **cudoavada*), *pradivitavi-*
harisa 18·17 (for **pravivitaviharisa*).

In several other instances, he noticed his mistake and corrected it, either by smudging out the wrong akṣara and writing the correction next (*kṣiati* 9·110, e.g., is preceded by the erasure of an akṣara that may have been *mi*), or simply by writing the correction

over the mistake (in *[sa]rvāñ[e]jaśu* 9.150, e.g., erroneous *ñu* has been corrected by putting a vertical cancellation stroke through the *u* mātrā and adding the correct *e* mātrā in its proper place). The case of *akica[ñ]aji⟨da⟩nami* 9.175, already noted above under the category of omitted akṣaras, presents further complexity. Here the scribe apparently first wrote *ya* as the fourth akṣara (variants of the legitimate spelling *akicayadana-* occur in lines 9.166, 168 and 171), but then corrected this by turning *ya* into the right arm of an oversized *ñā* (variants of the spelling *akicañayadana-* occur in lines 9.166–167 and 173). Still confused, he then added the akṣaras *i* and *ña*, but omitted *da*, which he subsequently added above the line, marking the intended insertion point of *da* by a thick horizontal line at foot height of the neighboring akṣaras.

The overall incidence of mistakes is thus one per every six or seven lines. Individual mistakes and their likely causes are discussed further in the text commentary. It is noticeable that mistakes tend to cluster in some places (e.g., two in line 9.52, three in 9.61 and two in 13.25) where the scribe's attention may have drifted or his source material presented special difficulty. Some of the more technical vocabulary (such as the names of the spheres) appears to have been a particular source of confusion.

3.10. Paleographic Dating

Of the commonly used test letters for the paleographic dating of Kharoṣṭhī documents (*k-*, *c-*, *ch-*, *y-* and *s-*; cf. Glass 2007: 106), one retains its archaic shape (*k-*; see § 3.4.1.2, and cf. Glass 2000: 49–52); two are in an intermediate state of paleographic development (*c-* and *ch-*; see §§ 3.4.1.6 and 3.4.1.7, and cf. Glass 2000: 61–62, 63–64); and two occur both in older and younger forms (*y-* and *s-*; see §§ 3.4.1.27 and 3.4.1.34, and cf. Glass 2000: 93–94, 104–107). The shapes of *k-* and the older forms of *y-* and *s-* in particular are more archaic than those of the corresponding letters in the scribe of the Senior collection, which can be reliably dated to ca. 140 CE. The paleographic state of our manuscript thus points to a date in

the middle period of the Gāndhārī tradition (first century BCE to first century CE) and agrees with the general dating of the British Library collection to around 10–30 CE (Salomon 1999: 154).

CHAPTER 4

Orthography and Phonology

The orthographic and phonological systems underlying our scribe's Gāndhārī texts need to be reconstructed in tandem: the reconstruction of his pronunciation of the Gāndhārī language rests both on the known pronunciations of the Old Indo-Aryan etyma and Middle Indo-Aryan cognates of the words that he uses and on his spelling conventions and spelling mistakes. Conversely, his spelling regularities, variation and mistakes cannot be understood without a reconstruction of the connected phonological system. For this reason, orthography is treated together with phonology in the present chapter, rather than in combination with paleography as in earlier GBT volumes. Orthographic forms are presented in italic (e.g., *kamo*); reconstructed pronunciations are presented using the International Phonetic Alphabet (International Phonetic Association 1999) inside square brackets (e.g., [kam:o] and [ka:mo]). The following terminology is used: vowels are ‘short’ (e.g., [a]) or ‘long’ (e.g., [a:]). Consonants are ‘uncombined’ (i.e., both preceded and followed by a vowel or word boundary) or part of a consonant cluster, and can be ‘short’ (e.g., [g]) or ‘long’ (so-called geminates; e.g., [g:]). The terms ‘word-initial,’ ‘word-medial’ and ‘word-final’ refer to phonological (not morphological) words (cf. Hall & Kleinhenz 1999) and include combinations of morphological words with enclitic particles.

The principal earlier discussions of Gāndhārī orthography and phonology are Johansson 1892: 124–190 and Hultsch 1925: lxxxiv–xc, xcvi–xcix (Aśoka’s edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra); Konow 1929: xcv–cxi (the 95 later Gāndhārī inscriptions then known); Burrow 1937: 1–21 (the 764 administrative and literary documents from Niya and Endere then known); Brough 1962: 55–113 (the Gāndhārī

Dharmapada manuscript from Khotan); and Fussman 1989 (a synthesis on the basis of Konow's and Brough's descriptions). The numerous Gāndhārī manuscripts discovered since the mid-1990s have radically changed the amount and nature of the available evidence for the Gāndhārī language, and the overview volume and text editions produced so far each contain a catalog and discussion of the orthographical and phonological features of the texts in question (Salomon 1999: 120–130, Salomon 2000: 74–92, Allon & Salomon 2000: 266–269, Allon 2001: 67–102, Lenz 2003: 37–45, 125–133, Glass 2007: 106–125, Salomon 2008: 95–98, 102–131, 333–343).²⁵ A new synthesis of the available evidence is becoming ever more urgent, and while it is the main purpose of the present chapter to present and discuss features of the text edited in this volume, this is done with reference to the overall picture of the Gāndhārī language as currently understood and intended as a step towards this future synthesis. – Throughout this and the next chapter, written forms occurring in root verses are given in ***bold italic***, other forms in simple *italic*.

4.1. Orthographic System and Variation

The orthographic system of our text consists of five vowel signs (*a i u e o*), thirty-four basic consonant signs (*k kh g gh c ch j ñ t þh th d ðh n t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v ś s h kṣ st*) and three modified consonant signs (*ǰ ṣ ṟ*). This inventory is much smaller than that of certain other texts such as those written by British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe (Glass in Salomon 2008: 334–335; cf. § 3.2). Our text follows two basic orthographic rules of the Kharoṣṭhī script: the approximant [j] does not need to be written between the vowels [i] or [e] and another vowel (cf. Fussman 1989: 457 on *uasia-* and *śuṣaehi*; an example from our text is *pracea* [prafc̚eja]); and the approximant [v] does not need to be written between the vowels [u] or [o] and another vowel (cf. Fussman 1989: 457 on *kuo* and *kue*; an example from our text is *due* [duve]).

The number of true orthographic variants – alternative spellings for the same

²⁵Cf. also Salomon 1998: 133–135 for the Sanskritized language of the Pelliot fragments.

sound – in our text is limited. There are three variant groups among the vowel signs (*a ~o* for [a], *i ~e* for [e], *u ~o* for [o]) and six variant groups among the consonant signs (*br ~bhr* for [br], *kh ~h ~Ø* for [h], *g ~y ~Ø* for [j], *n ~n* for [n], *j ~j ~s* for [j] and *th ~th* for [th]).

4.2. Sound Change from Old Indo-Aryan to Gāndhārī

Gāndhārī is a conservative dialect in its preservation of three distinct sibilants and of consonant clusters involving occlusives followed by [r], but on the other hand the reduction of consonants between vowels and of vowels in closed syllables and at the end of words has progressed further in middle-period (first century BCE to first century CE) Gāndhārī than in contemporary Pali as reflected in its transmitted orthography (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 93–97 and the table in Fussman 1989: 463–464). The sound changes that occurred in the development from Old Indo-Aryan to Gāndhārī will be reconstructed in detail in the following sections. A general principle followed in this reconstruction is that in cases of orthographic variation, the more advanced variant is likely to indicate the actual state of the spoken language, while the more conservative variant may be a historical spelling (Fussman 1989: 453, 465, 484). This principle is moderated by the observation that in certain frequent Indo-Aryan words and morphemes, general sound changes manifest themselves at an earlier point than in other parts of the lexicon (Turner 1937). The chapter concludes with a summary presentation of the reconstructed sound system of Gāndhārī and discussions of two special issues in the interaction of Gāndhārī orthography and phonology.

4.2.1. Vowels and Syllabic [r]

Old Indo-Aryan had a system of five distinct vowel sounds. Three of these occur in short and long variants (*a* [a],²⁶ *ā* [a:], *i* [i], *ī* [i:], *u* [u], *ū* [u:]), and two are always

²⁶Short [a] was probably realized as [ə] (Allen 1953: 57–61), but is here transcribed [a] to reflect its phonemic relationship with long [a:].

long (*e* [e:], *o* [o:]). The short vowel [a] can combine with the approximants [j] and [v] to form falling diphthongs (*ai* [aj], *au* [av]).

Table 11. Old Indo-Aryan vowel sounds

	front	central	back
close	i		u
mid	e		o
open		a	

Old Indo-Aryan also had a pair of sounds written *r̥* and *ṛ̥* that served as morphophonemic equivalents of the alveolar consonant *r* [r] (§ 4.2.2) in the core of syllables. As such, the most likely original pronunciation of these sounds was as or alveolar trills ([r̥] and [ṛ̥]). This is confirmed by their description in the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*, but according to other *Prātiśākhyas* they were articulated at the root of the tongue with little or no vibration (Bloch 1951: 43–45, Allen 1953: 55, Hock 1992). Bloch interpreted this latter description as a development in which the tip of the tongue no longer approached the alveolar ridge closely enough for vibration, thus ceasing to be the primary articulator and leaving this role to the root of the tongue, and in effect turning the alveolar trill [r̥] into a syllabic velar approximant [ṛ̥] or close back unrounded vowel [u].²⁷

²⁷Hock 1992 interprets the description of *r̥* as a velar to indicate a pronunciation “[^ar^a]”, i.e., as a dental (or alveolar) trill that had begun to be vocalized at the edges. In essence, this agrees with the interpretation proposed by Bloch, but a vocalic stage [u] is preferable to [a] both in terms of the precise articulatory development and because it accounts more readily for the variety of MIA outcomes (§ 4.2.1.3).

Table 12. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan vowels in Nid-G^{L2}

OIA Vowels	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}		P Cognates
	In Open Syllables	In Closed Syllables and Word-Final	
<i>a</i> [a]	<i>a</i> [a], <i>i</i> [i], <i>e</i> [e]	<i>a</i> [a]	<i>a</i>
<i>ā</i> [a:]	<i>a</i> [a:]	<i>a</i> [a]	<i>ā a</i>
<i>i</i> [i]	<i>i</i> [i], <i>e</i> [e]	<i>i</i> [e]	<i>i</i>
<i>ī</i> [i:]	<i>i</i> [i:]	<i>i</i> [e]	<i>ī i</i>
<i>u</i> [u]	<i>u</i> [u], <i>o</i> [o]	<i>u o</i> [o]	<i>u</i>
<i>ū</i> [u:]	<i>u</i> [u:]	<i>u</i> [o]	<i>ū u</i>
<i>r</i> [ṛ]	<i>ri</i> <i>i</i> [ṛi i] <i>ro</i> <i>u</i> [ṛu u] (<i>a</i> [a])	<i>ri</i> <i>ir</i> <i>i</i> [ṛe eṛ e] <i>ro</i> <i>u</i> [ṛo o] (<i>a</i> [a])	<i>a i u</i>
<i>e</i> [e:]	<i>e</i> <i>i</i> [e:]	<i>e</i> [e]	<i>e</i>
<i>ai</i> [aj]	<i>e</i> [e:]	<i>e</i> [e]	—
<i>o</i> [o:]	<i>o</i> [o:]	<i>o</i> [o]	<i>o</i>
<i>au</i> [av]	<i>o</i> [o:]	—	—

4.2.1.1. Vowel Preservation

The OIA short and long vowels ([a], [i], [u], [a:], [i:], [u:], [e:], [o:]) are as a rule preserved unchanged in open syllables that are not word-final. It seems to have been the case, however, that the Gāndhārī vowel pairs [i] : [e], [i:] : [e:], [u] : [o] and [u:] : [o:] were close in pronunciation, which led to occasional orthographic confusion of *i* and *e* on the one hand and *u* and *o* on the other (cf. Fussman 1989: 465–466), doubtless aided by the similar graphic shape of the vowel mātrās in question (§§ 3.5.3.2, 3.5.3.4). The only clear examples of such confusion in our text are *peṣonehi*, *sosamahido* (with *o* for *u* [u]), *misavi*, *ragavaśina* (with *i* for *e* [e:]) and -*coda*, (with *o* for *u* [u:]). The spelling *tiṣa* (with *i* for *e* [e:]) probably also belongs in this category (but see the text commentary on line 976). The phonetic similarity of *u* [u:] and *o* [o:] further appears to have been exploited in *anoalito*, *anoanido* and *spadoaṭhana-* where *o* seems to function as an explicit indicator of secondary vowel

length in metrically heavy position (P parallels: *anūpalitta-*, *anūpanīto*) and in internal sandhi.²⁸ The spelling *-hodo*, *hodo* (apparently the regular Gāndhārī form of *bhūta-*) may have been influenced by the development *ava* > *o* in the present stem. It remains unclear whether the *o* of *bromi*, *bromi* has any phonetic reality: our scribe completely avoids the combination of postconsonantal *r* with an *u* mātrā. The only case where both occur in the same akṣara is *śrukrehi*, and there *r* is attached to the right leg of *s* while *u* is attached to the left. Akṣara-initial *ru*, on the other hand, is well-attested. Unless we are willing to assume a sound-change [ru] > [ro] only where it is preceded by another consonant, graphic constraints therefore seem the best explanation for this form.

4.2.1.2. Monophthongization of [aj], [av], [alu], [aja], [ava] and [ue:]

The common Middle Indo-Aryan sound change of *ai* [aj] to *e* [e:] and *au* [av] to *o* [o:] operated without exception and is illustrated in our text by *-veharaja-*, *trevijada*, *-nemitia-*, *peśonehi*, *odariāna*, *orabhiakokuḍiāna*, *kośala-*, *proḍhibhudo* and, with subsequent shortening of [e:] to [e] in closed syllable (§ 4.2.1.4), in *aśekhada*, *śekha*, *śekho*, *śekhada* and *pravekṣe* (if based on the Old Indo-Aryan *s* aorist; § 5.1.4.6) and the proper name *-mogalāna-*. The special contraction of OIA *khalu* to *khu* and *ho*, *ho* can be understood as an instance of [au] > [o:] > [o] after elision of [l] in this particle. The compounds of *eṣāṇa* (*kameṣāṇa*, *kameṣāṇa*, *bra*(**maīyesāṇa*), *bhavesāṇa*, *bhaveṣāṇa-*) and *oha* (*avijohasa*, *kamohasa*, *bhavohasa*) are more likely cases of recombination with Middle Indo-Aryan vowel sandhi (§ 4.3.1) than direct reflexes of OIA *-ai-* and *-au-*.

The corresponding contractions of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* (via [aji] and [avu]; von Hinüber 2001: § 138) had numerous exceptions, many of which seem designed to preserve transparency of word formation (von Hinüber 2001: § 140). The only

²⁸The form *spadoṭhanāna* in Senior manuscript 5 shows that the length of *o* was linguistically real. It is exactly parallel to the form *desama-* < OIA *deyadharma-* (CKI 60 I. 5): in both cases, a weak syllable consisting of a glide consonant and short [a] has been elided. It is not necessary to assume an otherwise unattested contraction *upa* > *o*, or a contraction *ava* > *o* based on hypothetical **smṛtyavasthāna* (Glass 2007: 112–113).

examples of contraction of *aya* in our text are *uṭavedi*, *ṇiharedi* and other tenth-class verbs, where *aya* is consistently contracted (with the apparent exception of the denominative *parikṣayadi*), as well as the present third person singular *avaśedi* (OIA *apāśrayati*) and second person plural imperative *nimesa* (OIA *nimayata*). OIA -aya- is preserved in the terminations of nouns, whether they occur as prior compound members (*aśaga-*, *samudaga-* and *-pracaa-*) or with case endings (e.g., nom. sg. *aśayo*, *samudayo*).

Contraction of *ava* only occurs in the prefix *ava-* (*oaso*, *osiradi*, *osirida*, *samo-sano*) and in the present stem *bhava-* and its compounds (***bhodi***, *bhodi*, *bhoti*, *prac-anubhodi*, ***sabhodi***, *sabhodi*). There is no contraction across compound boundary²⁹ (e.g., *añanavaśena*, *kamavata-*), between prefix and root (***añavaja-***), between stem and suffix (***balavata-***, *balavata-*, *asava-*, ***bhava***, *bhava-*, ***bhagava-***, *bhagava-*), or in *śanavadi*. The sequence *ava* is optionally preserved in ***añavasuda-***, *añavaśudo*, *ava-śītho*, *suavaṭida* and *vibhavadi*. Overall, the Gāndhārī pattern of preservation and contraction agrees with that in the corresponding Pali words, with the notable exception of the contractions in *nimesa* and the third-person plural form *bhoti*.

That the common Middle Indo-Aryan cases of preservation of *aya* and *ava* had linguistic reality and were not merely a matter of historical orthography is shown by the fact that such uncontracted *aya* and *ava* were affected by the later G sound changes of [aj] > [ej], [av] > [ov] and [ja] > [ji] (§ 4.2.1.7).

The problematic form *parihoita* appears to be an absolute of a causative with regular analogical replacement of the OIA termination -*ayitvā* (§ 5.1.4.8; but see also the text note on line 9.228). The root vowel *o* is unexpected since labialization before [v] otherwise only applies to short [a], making it likely that the root has been analogically reshaped under the influence of the presence stem, as previously observed in the past participle *hoda-* (§ 4.2.2.1.1). Alternatively and less likely, it could be a direct development from OIA *paribhāvayitvā*, with rare contraction of āva

²⁹Such contractions are attested elsewhere in the proper names *budhoruma-* (< OIA *buddha-varman-*, CKI 112, l. 1, and CKI 131, l. 1) and *saghoruma-* (< OIA *saṃghavarman-*, CKI 111, l. 2).

> *o* (von Hinüber 2001: § 145).

The sequence *ve* [ve:] is contracted to *o* [o:] in the word *dōṣa-* ‘hate’ (OIA *dveṣa-*) making it homonymous with *dōṣa-* ‘fault’ (OIA *dōṣa-*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 134).

4.2.1.3. Vocalization of Syllabic [r]

The change of OIA *r* from a syllabic trill [r] to a vowel [u] was already well underway by the time of the Prātiśākhyas (§ 4.2.1). In the further development of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, [u] was only an intermediate stage leading to one or other of the established short vowels [a], [i] and [u]. Our text has evidence of all three kinds of reflexes in the six different spellings *a*, *i*, *ri*, *ir*, *u* and *ro*. The spelling *a* appears in the words *taṣa-*, *taṣa-*, *spado*, *spadi-* and *spadivata*; the spellings *i*, *ri* and *ir* in the words *iṣi*, *iṣi*, *kideṇa*, **kidiṣae*, *kidiṣageṇa*, *tadiṣa*, *pragidia-*, -*sadiṣa*, *akriṣa-*, *agridhro*, *agridhro*, *agridhratva*, *anānugridho*, *aprihalu*, *kridena*, *krida-*, *kridago*, *kridavida*, *kriṣa-*, *gridhada*, *grīṇadi*, *drīṭhi-*, *drīṭhi-*, *d(*r)iṣati*, *vigrīṇadi*, *vigriṣo* and *idhvi-*; and the spellings *u* and *ro* in the words *apravuti*, *uja*, -*uju-*, -*nivuda*, *nivudi*, *pusujana-*, -*vudhi*, *vudhva*, *śastugaraga*, *procha-*, *prochido*, *prosu*, *vroṣidava* and *vroṣima*.

This distribution of palatal, labial and neutral vowels is in strong overall agreement with the vocalization of the same words in other Gāndhārī texts. The only counter-examples that have been noted are the following:³⁰ Dhp-G^K *kada-*, -*gada-* besides *kida-*; EĀ-G *vivaḍa-*,³¹ Shah. *vadhi-* ‘promotion’ besides *vudha-* ‘old’; MS 2179.8 and other Bamiyan fragments *triṣa-*; ND *pricha-*, *pṛcha-* besides *pruchati*,

³⁰The root vowel in EĀ-G fut. *dhrekṣatu* and in AG-G^L aor. *adhrekṣe* may be best understood as a Middle Indo-Aryan strong-grade form based on pres. **dhriṣadi* (cf. the gerundive Nid-G^L 9:187 *dr[e]ḥṭhaa*, SaṅgCm-G *dreθhava*), or possibly as due to conflation with *pra* + √*īkṣ* (Salomon 2008: 159), but not as an otherwise unattested sound change OIA *r* > G *re* (Allon 2001: 77). RS 5 *karita* is based on the present stem (like P *karitvā*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 498 on *passitvā*) rather than indicating a sound change *r* > *ar* (or even *r* > *ari*, Glass 2007: 112). Similarly, AG-G^L *ghrahi[tv]/(*a)* /*ṇ*/(**a*) is better treated as an analogical formation based on the pp. *grahida* than as an instance of OIA *r* > G *ra* (Salomon 2008: 106). AG-G^L 49a, 58a -*rdhi-* is the regular form *irdhi-* in vowel sandhi (*kh(*u)rdhimadu*, *edaṇīrdhi*) as required by the meter, not a case of “syllabic contraction in rhetorically colored syllables” (Salomon 2008: 106, 129). The interpretation of Dhp-G^K *vikaṣa*, Dhp-G^L *vighaṣa* remains unclear (*vigāhya*, *vigrhya* or even *vikṛṣya*, Lenz 2003: 67).

³¹The reconstruction AG-G^L *v[iv]/(*a)da* appears to be based on the EĀ-G word.

prochaṇti; and MS 2179.4 *vridha-*, Dhp-G^K *vridha-* besides *vrudha-*.

The first two of these variations (*kida-* : *kada-*, *nivuda-* : *vivada-*) have counterparts in Pali where *kata-* and *vivāta-* are the regular forms, but *kita-* also occurs in the specialized meanings ‘adorned’ and ‘soiled’ (PTSD s.v.). It seems likely that in the context of Gāndhārī, *kada* and *vivada* are intrusive forms from the unknown Middle Indo-Aryan dialects in which Buddhist canonical texts reached Gandhāra, just as Pali *kita* appears to be an Eastern form preserved in semantically isolated usages. The origin of the variation Shah. *vudha-* : *vadhi-* may ultimately either be due to dialect mixture or to analogical developments inside one dialect, but in either case it goes back further than Gāndhārī since the two words occur with the same semantic specialization in the other dialect versions of this rock edict as well as in Pali. The spread of *ri* and use of *r̥* in Dhp-G^K and ND, on the other hand, has to be considered a late Sanskritizing tendency. Hypercorrect spellings of *rr̥* for etymological *ri* and *r̥i* (e.g., *aśṛ̥ta-*, *kutaśṛ̥iae*; Burrow 1937: § 5) show clearly that the pronunciation of ND *r̥* was [ri] (also in the word *pr̥chadi*, cf. the spelling *prichati*, pace Burrow 1937: § 5). The spelling *r̥* was used interchangeably with *ri* and signalled Sanskrit learning graphically as well as by pronunciation. This process of Sanskritization can be observed closely in ND 146 oB2 and 585 co4 where the scribe or scribes first wrote *miga* ‘deer,’ but then caught themselves and added Sanskritic *r̥* as a second vowel mātrā to the first akṣara (without deleting *i*) to give an intended Sanskritic spelling *mr̥ga*.

The rules for the distribution of the Pali vowel reflexes of OIA *r̥* [r̥] have been established by Berger 1955: word-initially the default vowel is *i* [i], elsewhere it is *a* [a]; where a palatal stop preceded or a palatal vowel followed in the next syllable, the result is *i* [i]; and where *p* [p] or *v* [v] preceded as last part of a consonant cluster, or a labial vowel followed in the next syllable, the result is *u* [u]. These regular Pali sound changes are obscured by a large number of analogical levelings.

The proper distribution of the Gāndhārī reflexes of *r̥* [r̥] needs to be established on the basis of the early inscriptions and manuscripts, excluding the late Sanskritized

forms occurring in Dhp-G^K and the Niya Documents as described above. An initial survey of the early manuscripts published so far shows that (non-Sanskritic) *i* < *r* [ṛ] was much more wide-spread in Gāndhārī than in Pali, and in fact it appears to have been the default reflex in any position, not just word-initially. There are ten clear cases of G *i* where Pali has its default reflex *a*:³² *uasriṭha-* AG-G^L 40, 43 : *upasat̄ha-*; *krida-* AG-G^L 14, 80, *kida-*, *krida-* : *kata-*; *kitañata-* Khvs-G 38 : *kataññutā-*; *kriṣa-* PY-G 26, *kriṣa-* PY-G 26, *kriñña-* EĀ-G 23, *kriṣa-* : *kañha-*; *grinadi* : *gañhāti*; *tiṣida-* AG-G^L 46 : *tasita-*; *purañida-* AG-G^L 80 : *purakkhata-*; *pragidia-* : *pākatika-*; *prahiśati* Khvs-G 27 : *pahassati*; *hidaa-* AG-G^L 29, [*hid*](*aya)- SĀ-G^{S5} : *hadaya-*. In contrast to this, there is only one single, problematic case where Gāndhārī has *a* for a different vowel in Pali: *rmañdu-* SĀ-G^{S5} : *mudu-* (but *rmidu-* AG-G^L 21). This leaves only four currently attested early cases of G *a* for OIA *r*: *rayaghaha-* AG-G^L 71 and *vivada-* EĀ-G 23, both of which are likely to have been carried over from a non-Gāndhārī source text (note *ḍ* < Eastern *t* in *vivade*); *śpadi-* EĀ-G 64, *spadi-* SĀ-G^{S5}, *spadi-* which could either have been borrowed as a technical term from a non-Gāndhārī dialect or could be based on pres. **sparadi* (cf. P *sati* based on pp. *sata*; Berger 1955: 45); and *tañsa-* Khvs-G 35, *tarna-* Dhp-G^L 7, *tañsa-* which may well be a borrowed technical term ('craving,' in contrast with *tiṣida-* AG-G^L 46 'thirsty' and maybe *tiṣa* 9.76, cf. annotated text edition).

In addition to this difference in default vowel reflexes, Gāndhārī also shows a broader distribution of the conditioned vowel reflex *u* than Pali. In the examples currently available (again excluding problematic *rmañdo*, *rmidu*), *u* < *r* [ṛ] follows any labial sound, including *m* [m] and intervocalic *v* [v] unlike in Pali: [*armud*](**a*)- AG-G^L 44 : *amata-*, *uvativuta-* Khvs-G 30 : *upātivatta-*, *broka-* AG-G^L 29 : *vakka-*. Gāndhārī initial *u* in *uju-* (and hence *uja-*; § 4.2.1.6) will as in Pali (Berger 1955: 51) be due to a separate sound change of *a*, *i* > *u* preceding *u* in the following syllable (cf. Brough 1962: 83–84 on forms such *bhukṣu-* for *bhikṣu-* and *mumju-* for *mañju-*).

³²G *rmisigha-* AG-G^L 38 : P *mutiṅga-* : Skt. *mṛdarīga-* cannot be used to establish regular sound changes as the word is non-Indo-Aryan in origin and can have been borrowed independently and repeatedly into Indo-Aryan (Berger 1955: 25–27).

In summary, the genuine Gāndhārī distribution of vowel reflexes of OIA *r* [r̥] appears to have been *i* by default, but *u* after any labial consonant. This clearly differentiates Gāndhārī from Pali, but is a feature shared with Eastern MIA dialects (von Hinüber 2001: § 123).

In the written Gāndhārī reflexes of OIA *r* [r̥], sometimes but not always a *r* precedes the resulting vowel or, in the case of OIA initial *r* [r̥], follows it. Hultsch 1925: lxxxv regarded this *r* as merely orthographical, but Tedesco 1945: 91 pointed out that this was not plausible in view of alternations like Shah. *kriṭa-* : *kitra-* and provided examples for this spelling from Vedic texts (p. 87 fn. 35). We can now add one further indication that the occasional writing of *r* in the Gāndhārī reflexes of *r* [r̥] marks a linguistic reality: in those Gāndhārī texts that show a development of *vr* > *b(r)* (EĀ-G *[abaji]*, AG-G^L *prabaja, prabaesi*), words with *vro* < *vr* [vṛ] participate in this development (AG-G^L *broka* < *vṛkka*; cf. further Tedesco 1945: 88 on MIA *vr* > *br*).³³ While this does not necessarily mean that the *r* element in reflexes of *r* [r̥] was identical to full segmental [r] < OIA *r*, it was clearly similar enough to trigger the same sound change of preceding [v] > [b]. In the case of G *ir* < OIA initial *r* [r̥], the *r* element does in fact appear to have been somewhat weaker than full segmental [r]. Tedesco 1945: 87–88 predicted a then unattested intermediate stage “**ir, i̥r*” to account for the Pali evidence of words such as *iddhi-* and *usabha-*, and argued that this *r* “must always have been weaker than the original one, for it does not double the following consonant.” This means that we need to refine Bloch’s scenario for the vocalization of OIA [r] (§ 4.2.1) to allow for an intermediate stage in which the tip of the tongue had ceased to vibrate and given rise to a vowel sound for only part of the original [r] segment. On the evidence of Gāndhārī and the indirect evidence of Pali, a short [r̥] element preceded the vocalized part of the segment word-internally, but followed it word-initially: OIA *r* [r̥] > [ṛw], [uṛ] > G *i ri* [ṛi], *u ro* [ṛu], *i ir* [ṛf],

³³This simultaneously indicates that *vr* > *br* can be considered a genuine development in some variants of Gāndhārī rather than a feature of loan-words from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect similar to Pali (suggested in Salomon 2008: 121) which only has *vr* > *bb* word-internally (*pabbajā-*), but not word-initially (*vakka-*; cf. Tedesco 1945: 88).

u ur [uř].³⁴ This element was preserved in Gāndhārī of the historical period and could be optionally indicated in writing,³⁵ when the attested orthography of Pali emerged it was either lost or so weak that no need was felt to indicate it.

4.2.1.4. The Law of Two Moras

In most Middle Indo-Aryan dialects a rule operated at an early point in their history that required syllables to have no more than two moras of prosodic weight (Law of Two Moras; von Hinüber 2001: §§ 108–110). Old Indo-Aryan syllables with three moras (i.e., closed syllables containing a long vowel) were reshaped in one of two ways: either the vowel was shortened (e.g., OIA *tísvara-* > *P issara-*) or the syllable-closing consonant was removed. Word-finally after long vowel, some consonants (plosives, nasals and [h]) were removed outright (§ 4.2.2.1.3); word-internally, consonants were removed through cluster simplification (e.g., OIA *dīrgha-* > *P dīgha-*) or the independent process of epenthesis (von Hinüber 2001: § 153).

It has been suggested (Turner 1967, 1973) that some Middle and New Indo-Aryan dialects of the Northwest (such as Sindhi) were never subject to the Law of Two Moras. One of the words adduced in support is *P dātta-* ‘scythe’, a borrowing from an unknown language into the Milindapañha (von Hinüber 2001: §§ 35, 109). It can therefore not just be assumed that Gāndhārī was one of the dialects subject to the Law of Two Moras, but the question requires careful examination, made very difficult by the non-marking of vowel quantity in the Kharoṣṭhī script. All evidence regarding the shortening of vowels in closed syllables is circumstantial and based on observable changes of vowel quality and of the articulation of following consonants.

The following words of our text are reflexes of Old Indo-Aryan words with a long

³⁴The Gāndhārī and Pali evidence also supports Hock’s suggestions that the velar pronunciation of *r̥* indicated by most Prātiśākhyas referred to the partial vocalization of this segment, but evidently vocalization did not proceed evenly from both edges of the segment (Hock’s “[^ar̥^a]”), but from either the right edge ([ru]) or the left edge ([uř]) depending on whether the segment was word-initial or word-medial.

³⁵This makes it unnecessary to follow Konow 1929: xcvi in regarding the common Gāndhārī word *kriṣa-* ‘black’ a Sanskritism.

vowel in word-medial closed syllable:³⁶ *akroṭho*, *ajatva*, *ajatva-*, *aṭatva-*, *aṭatvia-*, *añado*, *anachejada*, *anatva*, *añasavo*, *atva-*, *apr<*o>va-*, *arupa-*, *avaradho*, *ava-**sedi*, *avekṣadi*, *asava-*, *asimatro*, *uaśato*, *uaśato*, *u(*a)śamati*, *utiṇo*, *ekaśena*, *kakṣadi*, *kaśava-*, *kirtiśe*, *jacadho*, *jiamaṇa-*, *ñatva*, <**sa>kṣia-*, (**ne*)*tra*, *tiṇo*, *tithiga*, *dato*, *dro-**karaṭheṇa*, *padicasamupado*, *payiṭhi-*, *parikṣadi*, *parikṣayadi*, *parita-*, *palikhaïda*, *paso*, *prata-*, *prove*, *prove-*, *bramaṇa-*, *bhuma-*, *bheśadi*, *maga-*, *maga-*, *margaṇa*, *majea*, *matra-*, *matra-*, *mogalaṇa-*, *arupa-*, *rukṣa*, *vata-*, *vitiṇa-*, *vimasa-*, *payiṭhi-*, *śati-*, *śati-*, *śata-*, *bhavamāṇa-*, *śastu-*, *śreṭha*, *sakṣi-*, *saspada-*, *sutro*, *suhomo* and *soda-*.

The etymon of G *payiṭhi-* must have been *paryeṣṭi* (OIA *parīṣṭi-* would have developed to G **pariṭhi-*), and the expected spelling would therefore have been G **payethi*. Since the Kharoṣṭhi sign *ṭh* in all likelihood writes the consonant cluster [ṣṭ] (§ 4.2.2.3.5), the spelling of this word with *i* is best explained as a case of the confusion of short [i] and [e] in closed syllable (§ 4.2.1.5), and thus indicates that the vowel preceding the cluster was in fact shortened to agree with the Law of Two Moras. Since it is a technical term, however, the possibility remains that shortening of [e:] to [e] occurred in another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect from which it was borrowed into Gāndhārī.

The spelling *prove* with *o* rather than *u*, on the other hand, cannot be taken as confusion of short [u] and [o] in closed syllable, since a spelling **pruve* is precluded by orthographic rule (§ 4.2.1.1). Spellings such as *arupa-*, *jacadho* and *palikhaïda* indicate that the consonants following the vowel in question remained long, and that the vowel therefore remained in a closed syllable, but they do not provide any evidence for the quantity of the vowel: *arupa-* can in principle be for [aru:p:a] as well as [arup:a].

Word-finally, the evidence indicates that as a rule all consonants following long vowels were dropped (§ 4.2.2.1.3), and the Law of Two Moras was thus fulfilled

³⁶Because of the possibility of Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition, the list excludes cases of long vowel in heavy syllable across compound boundary except where it is reasonably certain that the compound as a whole is inherited from Old Indo-Aryan (e.g., *jacadha-*).

without any need for the shortening of vowels. All word-final vowels subsequently appear to have been shortened by general rule (§ 4.2.1.6).

The second way in which Middle Indo-Aryan dialects conformed to the Law of Two Moras was by simplification of consonant clusters following a long vowel. Word-medial uncombined short consonants are subject to phonetic weakening in Gāndhārī (§ 4.2.2.1.2), and in the orthography of some scribes (such as British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe) this is indicated consistently by use of a subscript mark. The scribe of our text, however, only uses a base repertoire of Kharoṣṭhī signs (§ 4.1) and can therefore only express a small subset of consonant weakenings in writing.

The spelling *avaśedi* rather than **avaśedi* or **avaśredi* may indicate a simplification of the consonant cluster *śr* [çr] to [ç] > [j] after long [a:]. This simplification would then have occurred in a form of Middle Indo-Aryan different from the midland dialects (where the development would have been [çr] > [sr] > [s] > [z]) and possibly corresponding to early Gāndhārī, rendering this piece of evidence particularly valuable. The simplification in *avaśedi* is parallel to that in the word family of *asava-* (British Library scribe 14: *asava-*) where original OIA *sr* [sr] after long vowel has been reduced to MIA [s] > G [z], but in contrast to *avaśedi*, this form could have arisen not just in Gāndhārī but also in any of the midland dialects (cf. Pali *āsava-*) and subsequently been borrowed into Gāndhārī.

If the orthographic omission of *y* between *e* or *i* and an unlike vowel (§ 4.1) applies where *y* is for short [j], but not where it is for long [j:], then the spelling *jiamana-* could indicate a development of OIA *ry* [rj] > [j:] > [j] after long [i:]. Due to the rarity of [j:], however, the scope of the orthographic rule and consequently the phonetic interpretation of this word remain uncertain. In either case, the form may be borrowed from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect; Pali has both *jīyati* and *jiyyati*.

The treatment of the Old Indo-Aryan cluster *kṣm* in *suhomo* likewise indicates borrowing of a non-Gāndhārī form corresponding to P *sukhuma-*, with subsequent weakening of intervocalic *kh* [k^h] to *h* [h] (§§ 4.2.2.1.2.2, 4.2.2.3.9). Shortening of *ū*

[u:] to [u] in closed syllable must have occurred in the source dialect prior to borrowing and does not provide any information concerning the applicability of the Law of Two Moras in Gāndhārī.

One final piece of evidence is provided by the Gāndhārī masculine-*a*-declension and pronominal genitive singular ending. In the orthography of our text it is spelled *-asa* (§ 5.1.1.1), but British Library scribe 4 and all other scribes who distinguish between voiced and unvoiced sibilants write the ending *-asa*, indicating a reduction of OIA *sy* [sj] > MIA [s:] to [s] > *s s* [z], presumably with lengthening of the preceding vowel so that the ending was pronounced [a:za] (cf. the Brāhmī spelling *-āsa* in the second-century-BCE Bharhut inscriptions; § 4.2.2.3.9). Such processes of consonant shortening with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel are not uncommon in Middle Indo-Aryan and are probably based on the establishment of doublets like *diggha* : *dīgha* through operation of the Law of Two Moras and the two alternative ways to fulfill the constraint (von Hinüber 2001: §§ 109–110). Since the Gāndhārī genitive singular ending *-asa* [a:za] is unlikely to be the result of borrowing, it provides some indication that effects of the Law of Two Moras were established at that stage of Gāndhārī when the transformation from [as:a] to [a:za] occurred.

In summary, positive evidence for the operation of the Law of Two Moras in Gāndhārī remains scarce. The potentially most relevant lexical item is *avaśedi* with its apparent resolution of the two-mora constraint on Gāndhārī phonetic grounds, but pending further evidence of the same nature, this isolated occurrence of a single word does not provide a definitive answer to the question. The genitive ending *-asa* [a:za] provides stronger, though still circumstantial, evidence for the operation of the Law of Two Moras at one stage of Gāndhārī.

4.2.1.5. Opening of Short Vowels

In MIA in general, the vowels [e] and [o] (the result of shortening OIA *e* [e:] and *o* [o:] in closed syllable) were similar in pronunciation to [i] and [u] and could be

confused with them (von Hinüber 2001: § 114). The only clear examples of such confusion in our text involve the writing of *o* for OIA *u* before *ddh*: *śodhi*, *śodhi*, *aśodhi* and *bodhi-*. The last of these is confirmed by the Bactrian spelling βοδδο (a loan of G *bodho* [bod^h:o] < OIA *buddhāḥ*) on gold coins of Kaniṣka. Fussman 1989: 470 adds the inscriptional examples *danamokha-* (< OIA *dānamukha*) and *vaseṭha-* (< OIA *vāsiṣṭha-*). All of these cases seem to involve opening of the vowel in question (MIA [i] > *e* [e] and [o] > *o* [o]) before an aspirate consonant; the inverse writing of *i* for OIA *e* or *u* for OIA *o* is much more sparsely attested (the sole possible example from our text is the likely loanword *payiṭhi*; § 4.2.1.4). The overall evidence can thus be interpreted as a merger of MIA [u] and [o] in G [o] and of MIA [i] and [e] in G [e]. The precise context for this merger remains unclear, but it was evidently favored by closed syllables (all examples with the apparent exception of *danamokha-*), by following aspirate consonants (all examples except for *vaseṭha-* [eṣṭ]) and by following retroflex consonants (von Hinüber 2001: § 114).

Our text also has the words *akroṭho*, *krodho*, *drokara-* and *prove*, *prove* with *o* for OIA *u* or *ū* in closed syllables (cf. § 4.2.3 for *drokara-* and *prove*), but these have to be excluded from the present discussion because of our scribe's overriding avoidance of the combination of postconsonantal *r* with an *u* mātrā (§ 4.2.1.1).

4.2.1.6. Reduction of Vowels in Final Syllables

Based on inscriptional evidence and the Khotan Dharmapada, Fussman 1989: 472–479 proposed that in Gāndhārī all final vowels (from Old Indo-Aryan vowels in word-final syllable, with or without following consonant) had merged into one short neutral vowel [ə], with the exception of OIA *ā* in word-final syllable followed by a nasal, which in Gāndhārī is consistently written *a* and therefore taken to represent short [a]. Fussman consequently regards the observable spelling variation of Gāndhārī final vowels (apart from *a* < OIA *ām*, *ān*) as purely graphical and due to etymological considerations.³⁷

³⁷He presents this argument as part of a broader theory of Gāndhārī syllable structure (Fussman

The following table shows the overall distribution of word-final vowels in our text among distinct word forms and attests a broad range of spellings.

Table 13. Distribution of word-final vowels among word forms

final vowel	number	percentage
<i>a</i>	530	39.4
<i>am</i>	9	0.4
<i>i</i>	262	19.5
<i>u</i>	32	2.4
<i>e</i>	100	7.4
<i>o</i>	412	30.6

The cases in which the spelling of a word-final vowel in our text does not seem to agree with its Old Indo-Aryan etymology fall into a small number of clear categories. In the word forms *aho*, *aprihalo*, *ujo* and *paso*, OIA word-final *u* and *ū* (before lost consonant) are represented by G *o* instead of expected *u*; in the nominative plural *baho*, MIA analogical [u:] (cf. P *bahū*) is represented by G *o*. There is only one case of the inverse, G word-final *u* instead of expected *o* in two occurrences of the particle *khu*, irregularly contracted from OIA *khalu* (§ 4.2.1.2); but in the large majority of its occurrences, the same particle is spelled *ho* with the expected word-final vowel. The

1989: 477–479) that postulates three distinctive types of word-medial syllable: (1) long nasalized vowel in open syllable (< OIA long vowel or vowel followed by nasal); (2) short unnasalized vowel in closed syllable (< OIA short vowel in closed syllable not ending in nasal); (3) short unnasalized vowel in open syllable (< OIA short vowel in open syllable not followed by nasal). This theory is designed to explain the pervasive non-writing of *anusvāra* in Kharoṣṭhī documents by eliminating syllable-closing nasal segments and by making nasalization a non-distinctive incidental feature of long vowels. But spellings such as *sabara-* EĀ-G 50 < OIA *sañvara-* and *-a ba* Dhp-G^K < OIA *-am vā* indicate an occlusion of [v] to [b] that presupposes a segmental articulation of the preceding nasal ([sambara], [am ba]); the special developments in Dhp-G^K of OIA nasals followed by stops (e.g., *sānti-* > G *sādi-* and *vindati* > G *vinadi*) likewise indicate segmental articulation of the nasal ([çandi] and [vin:aði]); and among the recently discovered Gāndhārī manuscripts, some scribes (such as British Library scribe 14) do consistently write *anusvāra* where it is expected on etymological grounds. Contrary to Fussman's suggestion it therefore appears to be the case that Gāndhārī of the middle period (first century BCE to first century CE) had a more conservative system of at least three syllable types: (1) short vowel in open syllable, (2) long vowel in open syllable and (3) short vowel in closed syllable, and possibly (if the Law of Two Moras did not apply; § 4.2.1.4) also (4) long vowel in closed syllable.

evidence thus indicates a merger of MIA word-final [u] and [o] in G [o], parallel to the merger of these two sounds under not entirely clear conditions in word-medial syllables (§ 4.2.1.5). The linguistic reality of this merger is confirmed by the thematic instrumental singular form *ujeṇa* ‘straight,’ an analogical change which must be based on one form in the paradigm of OIA *uju-* that had become ambiguous as to its declensional class. The only possible candidate for this is the nominative singular *ujo* [udž:o], where OIA -*uh* [uh] > MIA [u] was lowered to G [o] and thus became homophonous with the nominative singular ending of the thematic declension, OIA -*o* [o:] (sandhi variant) → MIA [o:] (general ending) > G -*o* [o]. (The same development is attested in *baha-* AG-G^L 28, 43 = OIA *bahu-*; Salomon 2008: 105.)

There are no cases of OIA word-final *i* and *ī* (with or without lost following consonant) represented by G *e*, but evidence for a corresponding merger of MIA word-final [i] and [e] in G [e] is provided by the palatalization of [a] after [j] (§ 4.2.1.7). The outcome of this process is always spelled *i* word-medially, but almost always *e* word-finally (cf. already Fussman 1989: 473), indicating that [e] was the only palatal vowel available in this position. There are only two cases of the inverse, G word-final *i* instead of expected *e* in the optative forms *cari* and *bhaśi*, both occurring in phrases quoted from the same root verse within two lines from each other. It is thus possible that these two isolated forms reflect a peculiarity of the source from which the root verse was taken, and contextual confusion with the regular homophonous preterite forms **cari* and **bhaśi* (§ 5.1.4) can likewise not be ruled out. The general orthographic preservation of word-final *i* where it goes back to Old Indo-Aryan, especially in the nominative of *i*-stem nouns, was on the one hand convenient to avoid confusion with the thematic locative singular ending -*e*. On the other hand there was no established *e* declension that former *i*-stem nouns could have merged with, in the same way that former *u*-stem nouns could readily merge with the thematic declension.

The case of *ujo* in particular shows that OIA final *u* / *ū*, and by implication also *i* / *ī*, systematically underwent both shortening and opening in Gāndhārī, and that this

sound change therefore needs to be kept separate from occasional confusion of short and long *i* and *u* in word-medial open syllables (§ 4.2.1.1). There is no clear indication that word-final palatal and labial vowels were conflated either with each other or with the neutral vowel. The locative forms *ajatvaiūaśamo*, *bhavo* and *saro* are reminiscent of the various spellings of this ending in AG-G^L (Salomon 2008: 139–140), but remain isolated in our text. The forms *kamuṇo* and *maṇaso*, tentatively interpreted as instrumental singular on the strength of the textual parallels, may be under the influence of the genitive singular both phonetically and syntactically.

4.2.1.7. Palatalization and Labialization of [a] by [j] and [v]

OIA short *a* [a] could be palatalized in Gāndhārī by preceding or following [j],³⁸ whether original (§ 4.2.2.1.2.4) or the result of the earlier sound change of OIA intervocalic *k* [k], *g* [g], *c* [c] or *j* [ʃ] to [j] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.1). Where [a] preceded [j], the result of its palatalization is consistently written *e*, presumably indicating short [e] in open syllable; where [a] followed [j], the result of its palatalization is written *i* [i] word-medially, but regularly *e* [e] word-finally (§ 4.2.1.6), representing the pronunciations [i] and [e]. There are some indications that palatalization of [a] already occurred, at least as a sporadic phenomenon, at an earlier stage of Middle Indo-Aryan: the Gāndhārī forms *same* (in our text) and *śakimuṇi-* (CKI 176, line D2; Fussman 1989: 468) suggest that palatalization preceded the MIA assimilation [kj] > [k:], and G *aśisādi* [a:jiṄjaði] with [a] > [i] after [ç] is paralleled in P *āśimsati*.

Our text has the following examples of palatalization before [j]: *aṭhea-*, *anuṇea-*, *udea-*, *pracea-*, *samudea-*, *saviñanea-* and *praceati*. Palatalization after [j] occurs word-medially in *aīdaṇa-*, *taraīda*, *bra(*maiyeṣana)*, *moya(*i)da* and *śamaīda*. It occurs word-finally in *ariae*, *avijae*, *uadaī*, *uavatie*, *ekotariae*, *eṣanae*, *kamaniae*, **kidiśae*, *kodie*, *ñanidae*, *ṭhidie*, *tae*, *taśae*, *divae*, *dukhadae*, *drithie*, *pacakamaguniae*, *pariñae*, *parivrayanae*, *prahae*, *prahanae*, *bhumie*, *vatanie*, *viprahae*, *vimasae*,

³⁸Earlier discussions of Gāndhārī palatalizations include Lüders 1940: 30–31, Fussman 1989: 467–469, von Hinüber 2001: § 157 and Falk 2001: 310, 2003: 77.

*vi<*va>śaṇae, visae, visathigae, sakhae, sañae, same, sarvañudae, sie* and *spayae*. (The forms *dhadue* and *vastue* are due to analogy; § 5.1.1.6. The vowel sandhi of (**bha*)*vidiidrio* is discussed in § 4.3.1.)

The development of [a] where it preceded or followed [v] – original or the result of medial intervocalic *p* [p], *b* [b], or *bh* [bʱ] – appears to have been parallel to that of [a] before and after [j].³⁹ Where [a] preceded [v], the result of its labialization is written *o* [o]. The only example for this development in our text is *anoaṣuda-*. This sound change also explains the Gāndhārī doublets *bhodi* (our text) and *hovadi* (PY-G): *hodi* is derived from OIA *bhavati* by the optional common Middle Indo-Aryan monophthongization of *ava* (§ 4.2.1.2), whereas *hovadi* is the result of Gāndhārī labialization applied to the variant form of this word that escaped the earlier monophthongization.

The situation is somewhat less clear in the case of [a] following [v], but there is inscriptional evidence that in this position, too, it was labialized to [u]. The Latin title *caesar* [kajsar] is borrowed into Gāndhārī as *kaïsara-* [kajisara] in the Ara inscription (CKI 158; Konow 1929: 162–165), with G [aji] for the foreign diphthong [aj]. The Macedonian month name αὐδυναῖος [auðunajos] occurs in the dating formulas of three Gāndhārī inscriptions (CKI 153, 244, 245; Konow 1929: 152–155, Salomon 1981, Salomon 2003: 74–78), and on the parallel of *caesar*, we expect the foreign diphthong [av] to be represented by [avu] in Gāndhārī. The attested Gāndhārī spellings of the month name are *avaduṇaga-* and *avaduṇaka-*, and if labializaton did in fact occur then their pronunciation was [avuðunaja], corresponding as precisely to the Greek word as the sound system of Gāndhārī would allow. The historical spelling *ava-* (in contrast to phonetic *kaïsara-*) will then be an attempt to naturalize the name by association with the Indo-Aryan prefix *ava-*.

In summary, then, the following symmetrical set of sound changes operated on early Gāndhārī [a] in contact with [j] or [v]:

³⁹Cf. Fussman 1989: 470 with the example OIA *api* > G *ovi*.

Table 14. Gāndhārī palatalizations and labializations

Early Gāndhārī	Gāndhārī
[aj]	<i>e</i> [ej]
[ja]	<i>i</i> [ji], <i>e</i> [je]
[av]	<i>o</i> [ou]
[va]	<i>va</i> [vu]

A number of early Gāndhārī words contained the sound sequence [aja], which on the basis of the above rules could result either in [eja] or in [aji]. The decision for one or the other outcome appears to have been made along morphological and analogical lines. Early Gāndhārī [aja] regularly became [eja] at the end of nominal stems in composition: *aṇuṇea-*, *udea-*, *-pracea-*, *samudea-* (< OIA -aya-) and *-aṭhea-*, *saviññaṇea-* (< OIA -aka-) where it enjoyed analogical support from case forms such as abl. *-pracea*. It also occurs as [eja] in the verbal form *praceati*, where clarity of the personal ending must have been a consideration and the noun *pracea-* may have exerted an influence. Early Gāndhārī [aja] appears to have developed to [aji] where such restraints did not apply, such as in the gen. pl. of the pres. part. of caus. *taraïda*, *śamaïda*, *moya(*i)da* (< OIA -aya- and morphologically no less clear than **tareada* etc.) and in the fixed compound *bra(*maiya)-* (< OIA *brahmacarya-*). The sound change of [aja] > [aji] should therefore provisionally be treated as the default in these cases.

There are also several cases in which the spelling of words does not indicate operation of palatalization or labialization even though the phonetic environment would suggest it. At least some of these alternate with clearly palatalized forms and can thus be treated as historical spellings: *ayadāṇa-* and *samudaga-* (cf. *avadunaka-*). Other forms without visible palatalization are: *asivayaṇa-*, *taparayaṇa-*, *parayaṇia-*, **sakhayayaṇa-* (all with the suffix -*aya-*); *avijayadi* (probably pronounced [au^hij:e:di], see the remarks in chapter 8 on section 27); *śayadi*, *jayadi* (with the sequence -aya-[aja] straddling root and termination); and *kaya-*. In each of these palatalization

would have led to loss of morphological clarity and may therefore have been avoided (cf. the optional common Middle Indo-Aryan contraction of *aya* and *ava*; § 4.2.1.2).

Table 15. Palatalizations and labializations in Nid-G^{L2} by source sequence

Old Indo-Aryan	Early Gāndhārī	Nid-G ^{L2}	Pali equivalents
<i>akā</i>	[aja:]	<i>ea</i> [eja:]	<i>akā</i>
<i>aca</i>	[aja]	<i>aya aī</i> [aji]	<i>aca</i>
<i>aya</i>	[aja], [e:]	<i>aya aga aa aī</i> [aji], <i>e</i> [e:]	<i>aya, e</i>
(<i>ayah</i> , <i>yā</i> , <i>yāt</i> , <i>yām</i>)	([i:ja])	(<i>ie</i> [i:je])	(<i>iyo</i> , <i>iyā</i> , <i>iyam</i>)
<i>alu</i>	[o:]	<i>o u</i> [o]	<i>o</i>
<i>ava</i>	[ava], [o:]	<i>ava, oa</i> [ova], <i>o</i> [o:]	<i>ava, o</i>
<i>āya</i>	[a:ja]	<i>aya aī</i> [a:ji], <i>ae</i> [a:je]	<i>āya</i>
<i>myak</i>		<i>me</i> [m:e]	<i>mma</i>
(<i>ve</i>)	([vē:], [o:])	(<i>ve e</i> [vē:], <i>o</i> [o:])	(<i>ve, o</i>)

4.2.1.8. Labialization of [a] after [m]

OIA short [a] can be labialized to *u* [u] by preceding *m* [m]. This occasional sound change is also evident in other Middle Indo-Aryan languages (von Hinüber 2001: § 157). In Nid-G^{L2}, it occurs both in quoted verses: *kamuṇa* / *kamuṇo* (P parallel: *kammanā*), *mudiyo* (P parallel: *mutiyā*) and in the language of the commentary: *śamuso*, *samuṇagadasa* (cf. Fussman 1989: 469–470 on G *samuṇaharita-* and *samuṇagata-*). There are no clear cases of labialization after [m] in Khvs-G, EĀ-G, Dhp-G^L, PY-G, SĀ-G^{S5}, AG-G^L or AG-G^S.

4.2.2. Consonants

Old Indo-Aryan had a system of thirty-five distinct consonant sounds. Nineteen of these are plosives with four different phonation types (unvoiced, aspirated, voiced and voiced aspirated) at five different points of articulation (labial: *p* [p], *ph* [p^h], *b* [b], *bh* [b^h]; dental: *t* [t], *th* [t^h], *d* [d], *dh* [d^h]; retroflex: *ṭ* [ṭ], *ṭh* [ṭ^h], *ḍ* [ḍ], *ḍh* [ḍ^h];

palatal: *c* [c], *ch* [c^h], *j* [ʃ], *jh* [ʃ^f] and velar: *k* [k], *kh* [k^h], *g* [g], *gh* [g^f]). Five consonants are nasals at the same five points of articulation (*m* [m], *n* [n], *ɳ* [ɳ], *ɳ̥* [ɳ̥], *ɳ̡* [ɳ̡]), three are fricatives (*s* [s], *ʂ* [ʂ], *ʂ̥* [ʂ̥]), one is a tap (*r* [ɾ]), and five are approximants (*v* [v], *l* [l], *y* [j], *h* [h], *ɦ* [ɦ]).

The sound written *r* is described as a dental (or alveolar) in most Prātiśākhyas (agreeing with its pronunciation in the modern Indo-Aryan languages), but classified as a retroflex by later grammarians (Bloch 1951: 43–45, Allen 1953: 52–56). Bloch and Allen accept the Prātiśākhyas' account as a description of phonetic reality and attribute the grammarians' retroflex classification to a concern for its role in the phonological process of retroflexion of following sounds. Bloch further speculates that an older retroflex pronunciation (presumably a fricative [z̥] or a trill) might have preceded the dental one, and Allen is inclined to regard these two pronunciations as a dialect difference at the time of the Prātiśākhyas. Hock 1992: 72–73, however, argues that the pronunciation of *r* may have been alveolar all along, and that this slightly retracted articulation, intermediate between true dentals and true retroflexes, was sufficient to cause retroflexion of following sounds, which led the grammarians to group it with the retroflex *ʂ* [ʂ] for phonological purpose. Whether or not there was an early retroflex pronunciation of *r*, its pronunciation as a dental (or alveolar) in the immediate Old Indo-Aryan predecessor of Gāndhārī is vouched for by the Prātiśākhyas' description on the one hand and its modern pronunciation on the other. The Prātiśākhyas and grammarians further agree that it was pronounced with little vibration, and in the following it is therefore interpreted as the dental tap [ɾ] of the modern languages. Like the glottal phonations, it groups with the approximants in processes of assimilation. See § 4.2.1 for syllabic *r* [ɾ] and *ʈ* [ʈ:].

Table 16. Old Indo-Aryan consonant sounds
(coronals shaded)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p p ^h b b ^h	t t ^h d d ^h		t t ^h d d ^h	c c ^h ḍ ḍ ^h	k k ^h g g ^h	
Nasals	m	n		ɳ	ɲ	ɳ	
Fricatives		s		ʂ	ç		
Tap			r				
Approximants	v û	l		j		h h̄	

Most of the Old Indo-Aryan consonants occur in short and long variants. Two or more different consonants can enter into combinations with each other (consonant clusters). In general, the development of Old Indo-Aryan consonants in Middle Indo-Aryan and Gāndhārī depended on their length and on their position in the word, and most consonant combinations underwent processes of simplification.

The only unconditioned sound change affecting consonants in the transition from Old to Middle Indo-Aryan concerns the palatal plosives [c], [c^h], [ɟ] and (marginally) [ɟ^h]. From an early date these sounds were realized as affricates, as shown by Indian loanwords in Greek and Chinese as well as by their sandhi behavior (AiGr I § 119). It has been argued that the point of articulation of the new affricates was dental ([tʂ], [tʂ^h], [dʐ] and [dʐ^h]) in the midland dialects (Grierson 1913, von Hinüber 2001: § 193) and alveolo-palatal ([ʈʂ], [ʈʂ^h], [ɖʐ] and [ɖʐ^h]) in the Eastern and Northwestern dialects. Their modern Kashmiri articulation is, however, dental as in the midlands (e.g., OIA *cira-* > Kashmiri *cēr*, CDIAL s.v.), and the alveolo-palatal interpretation of the Eastern affricates is complicated by the fact that the Greek transcriptions τιαστάνης = OIA *caṣṭana-* and διαμούνα = MIA *jamuṇā-*, taken by Grierson 1913: 395 to represent the “pure palatal” (alveolo-palatal) articulation, agree precisely with the Eastern articulations [ʈj] and [ɖj] posited by Lüders 1954: 100 on the basis of the sound change *ji* > *di* in the Kalsi version of Aśoka’s tenth Rock Edict and in isolated Pali words such as the name *pasenadi-* and *vidita-* for *vijita-*.

There is little positive evidence for the Gāndhārī pronunciation of the reflexes of

the palatal plosives, but on the basis of the Prakrit grammarians' description of the Northwestern dialects Vrācāda and Śaurasenapaiśācikī (Grierson 1913: 392–393), and considering that the sound change from palatal plosives to dental affricates in Kashmiri and other dialects probably requires an alveolo-palatal intermediate stage, we will transcribe the Gāndhārī sounds as alveolo-palatals ([t̪e], [t̪eʰ] and [d̪z]). This interpretation receives support from the graphical (§ 3.4.2.1) and phonetic (§ 4.2.2.3.6) analysis of the conjunct base sign *ts-* as [ts]. The need for a conjunct base sign to represent this pronunciation would only arise if none of the existing simple base signs of Kharoṣṭhī already stood for [ts]. Further support comes from a Gāndhārī phonetic process: just as *ts* [ts] is used for [s] with excrescent [t] in OIA *samsāra-* > G *satsara-* [santsa:ra] (Dhp-G^K 125), so *c* [t̪e] is used for [ç] with excrescent [t] in OIA *saṃśaya-* > G *sacaya-* [san̪ceaja] (CKD 32). Finally, an alveolo-palatal interpretation of the Gāndhārī reflexes of the old palatal plosives enables us to understand the development OIA *kukṣi-* > G [koṭṣi] > *kuchi-* [kote:i] (AG-G^L 28a, SangCm-G) as a straightforward case of palatalization before *i*, reflected further in Kashmiri *kōch* (CDIAL s.v.).

An unconditioned sound change in the history of Gāndhārī affected the Middle Indo-Aryan nasals [n] and [ɳ]. Most manuscripts of the middle and late period use only either the consonant sign *n* (BL scribe 1: EĀ-G, Dhp-G^L, AG-G^L, BL scribe 9: Khv-G, Senior scribe) or the consonant sign *n* (BL scribe 2: PY-G), indicating a merger of [n] and [ɳ] into a single sound that can be transcribed as [n]. One notable exception is the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript, in which MIA word-initial [n] is represented by *n*, MIA word-medial uncombined short [n] and [ɳ] by *n*, MIA word-medial long [n:] by *n* and MIA word-medial long [ɳ:] by *n* (Brough 1962: 97–98), showing that [n] and [ɳ] remained distinct sounds either in the dialect of the Khotan Dharmapada scribe himself or at least in the source text from which he produced his manuscript.

The situation is more complicated in our text. While in the vast majority of cases, the consonant sign *n* is used, there are also 32 instances of the consonant sign *n*. It

occurs in the following words: *imena, kicano, janadi, janami, janavadapradeśa, jia-manena, ñanena, daśano, na, nabhinadami, navinadami, nasti* [2×], *nidanehi, nideśo, nimesa, nirosa* [2×], *nivanadhadue, nivāṇo, prayanati, prahanena, prahinatva, mana-śalasa, marano, sarvadhamana, savakamana, sunijatva, subhavidani* [2×]. The pattern of distribution is clearly not the same as in the Khotan Dharmapada, but also does not appear to have any other phonetic basis. It is true that all occurrences of *n* in our text indicate the short nasal, but since the overall incidence of *n* (rather than *ɳ*) is only 3.1 % (32 of 1021 occurrences) while at the same time only 2.2 % (22 of 1021 occurrences) of the consonant signs *n* or *ɳ* indicate a long nasal, this is not statistically significant, and of course *ɳ* is used freely for both the short and the long nasal throughout our text. We therefore assume that the nasals [n] and [ɳ] had indeed merged in the dialect of our scribe, as in that of most other known Gāndhārī manuscripts, and that the resulting single nasal [n] is represented both by *n* and by *ɳ*.

A separate question is whether the distribution of *n* within our text conveys any information about the linguistic state of one or several of its sources (§ 1.5 and chapter 8). The consonant sign *n* occurs once in scroll fragment 7 (line Aa2; section 1) and throughout scroll 9 (lines 47, 63–65, 74, 76–77, 79, 84–85, 88, 91, 93–95, 99, 114–115, 127, 205, 207, 215 and 228; sections 9–13, 15–16 and 20–22), both in root-verse quotations and in commentarial passages, but it does not occur at all in scrolls 13 or 18. The root texts corresponding to the sections in which it occurs are the Arthapada, the Pārāyaṇa, the Sabhikasūtra, and the Dharmapada-Udāna group. Thus there is just as little correlation between occurrences of the consonant sign *n* and the sources of individual passages as there is with the phonetic state of our text. We are left to surmise that our scribe intended to write *ɳ* everywhere, but was occasionally led astray by his own earlier training involving usage of *n* and maybe additionally by the occurrence of *n* in several of his written source texts. It is interesting to note that in one canonical quotation (*nabhinadami marano navinadami jivido* 9.93) the scribe uses *n* throughout, possibly encouraged by a written source for just this quotation that used *n* consistently, or maybe adding it himself from memory

using his personal *n* orthography. In any case he appears to have become more attentive to this matter by the time he reached scroll 13, apparently the last scroll of the set (§ 2.3), and thenceforth managed to avoid the consonant sign *n* entirely.

4.2.2.1. Uncombined Short Consonants

Except for the palatal plosives, Old Indo-Aryan uncombined short consonants are generally preserved unchanged in word-initial position. In medial position, uncombined short plosives are weakened to fricatives, taps or approximants; fricatives are voiced; and nasals, approximants and the alveolar tap are preserved unchanged (except for the merger of [n] and [ɳ]).

Table 17. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan uncombined short consonants

OIA Consonants	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}		P Cognates
	Initial	Medial	
k [k]	k [k]	g y Ø [j]	k
kh [k ^h]	kh [k ^h]	h Ø [h]	kh
g [g]	g [g]	g Ø [j]	g
gh [g ^h]	—	h kh Ø [h]	gh
c [c]	c [t̪e]	y g Ø [j]	c
ch [c ^h]	ch [t̪e ^h]	—	ch
j [ʃ]	j [d̪z]	y Ø [j]	j
t̪ [t̪]	—	d̪ t̪ [t̪]	t̪
d̪ [d̪]	—	d̪ [t̪]	l̪
dh [d̪ ^h]	—	d̪h [t̪ ^h]	—
ɳ [ɳ]	—	ɳ n [n]	ɳ
t̪ [t̪]	t̪ [t̪] (c [t̪e])	d̪ [ð], d̪ [t̪]	t̪, t̪
th [t̪ ^h]	—	s [z], dh [t̪ ^h]	th, th
d̪ [d̪]	d̪ [d̪]	d̪ [ð]	d̪
dh [d̪ ^h]	dh [d̪ ^h]	s [z]	dh
n [n]	n [n]	ɳ n [n]	n
p [p]	p [p], ph [p ^h]	v Ø [v]	p
b [b]	b [b], v [v]	v [v]	b
bh [b ^h]	bh [b ^h], h [h]	h [h], v [v]	bh
m [m]	m [m], v [v]	m [m]	m
y [j]	y [j]	y g Ø [j] (v [v])	y
r [r̪]	r [r̪]	r [r̪] (l̪ [l̪])	r̪
l̪ [l̪]	l̪ [l̪]	l̪ [l̪]	l̪
v [v]	v [v]	v [v]	v
ś [ç̄]	ś [ç̄], s̄ [s̄]	ś [j̄]	s̄
ʂ [ʂ̄]	ʂ [ʂ̄]	ʂ [z̄]	s̄
s̄ [s̄]	s̄ [s̄], ś̄ [ç̄]	s̄ [z̄]	s̄
h [h̄]	h [h̄]	h [h̄], ś̄ [j̄]	h̄

4.2.2.1.1. Word-Initial Uncombined Short Consonants

Old Indo-Aryan word-initial uncombined short consonants other than the palatal plosives are preserved. Only five exceptions occur in our text. Some of these are due to conditioned sound change, some are subject to lexical restrictions, and sometimes a combination of both factors applies.

In *citha{t[o]·}ta[m]*, OIA word-initial *t* [t] is represented by the Gāndhārī affricate *c* [t̪]. This sound change is well-known from other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, but limited to a small number of words and in particular the present stem OIA *tiṣṭha-* (Pischel 1981: § 216–217; Grierson 1925: 220; Geiger & Norman 1994: 130; von Hinüber 2001: § 167).⁴⁰ SangCm-G shows the same sound change in the forms *cīthadi*, *cīthea* and *samcīthadi*. All four attestations are in the two commentaries' root texts, and it is possible that they represent borrowings from a midlands or Eastern dialect rather than a genuine Gāndhārī feature.

The word-initial aspirate in *pharuṣa-* for OIA *paruṣa-* is a general but unexplained feature of the Middle Indo-Aryan forms of this word (Pischel 1981: § 208; Geiger & Norman 1994: § 40; von Hinüber 2001: § 185). This being the case, it cannot be decided whether the change from [p] to [pʰ] occurred on Gāndhārī soil or whether *pharuṣa-* is a loan word from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

The development of OIA word-initial [b̪] > [h] in *hoda-* anticipates a later general sound change in this special lexical item (Damsteegt 1988: 86, von Hinüber 2001: §§ 164; cf. Turner 1937) and reflects the general Gāndhārī development of word-medial uncombined [b̪] > [h] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.2). The word-initial change is not indicated in any of the other forms of *√bhū* in our text which are consistently spelled with *bh*, nor is it noted in any of the other edited Gāndhārī manuscript with the exception of PY-G, which has the finite forms *hovadi* and *hakṣe* in addition to *hoda-*.

The spelling *v* in *vimasa-* < OIA *mīmāṃsā-* indicates dissimilatory deocclusion of the initial nasal, a process common to the Middle Indo-Aryan forms of this word

⁴⁰According to Grierson, Kashmiri underwent a general sound change of OIA [t] to [ts] before [i] and [j].

(Pischel 1981: § 251; Berger 1955: 18). A word-medial instance is *apravamñā-SaṅgCm-G*, cf. [a]/(**pra*)*mañā-* AG-G^L 34 and P *appamaññā-*. The inverse of this process is the well-attested nasalization of word-medial uncombined short [v] in words that contain another nasal such as G *bhamañā-* Dhp-G^K 105 < OIA *bhāvanā-* (von Hinüber 2001: § 210), which suggests that [v] and [m] shared an allophone [v̑] in all these cases, and that a close transcription of our word *vimasa-* should be [v̑i:mañsa].

See § 4.2.5 for the processes of palatal assimilation and dissimilation leading to the forms *suyi-*, *suyia-*, *soyadi*, *saspada-*, *śasaga-* and *śasēa*.

Two further spelling irregularities in our text are probably not indicative of Gāndhārī phonetic reality. OIA *bhava-* is once spelled *bava-*, but a general weakening of the aspirated articulations (as suggested for Gāndhārī by Fussman 1989: 480–483) is certainly not evident in our text in word-initial position. Similarly, the single spelling of OIA *bodha-* as *vosa-* is more likely to be a scribal mistake based on the graphic similarity of Kharoṣṭhī *b-* and *v-* than indicative of a weakening of the distinction between word-initial [b] and [v] which on the evidence of the Prakrit grammarians remained stable in the Western dialects (Grierson 1925: 231–234; von Hinüber 2001: § 183). (The gerund *vahita*, corresponding to Pali *bāhitvā* and BHS *vāhetvā* and *bāhetvā*, is in light of this new attestation with G *v* [v] more likely to derive regularly from the causative of \sqrt{vah} than to be related to OIA *bahis*; cf. BHSD s.v. *bāhayati*.) The spelling of the initial of *vriṣavida-* < MIA [viṣajita:] is due to folk-etymological reinterpretation (§ 1.2.2).

4.2.2.1.2. Word-Medial Uncombined Short Consonants

Under the influence of the surrounding vowels, word-medial uncombined short consonants are first uniformly voiced, then further reduced in their phonetic prominence. Depending on the point and mode of articulation of the original sounds, the outcome of this reduction is a fricative, a tap or an approximant. In some cases, the reduction of these consonants results in their merger with pre-existing Old Indo-

Aryan sounds. In others, it creates new sounds that are specific to Middle Indo-Aryan or Gāndhārī.

4.2.2.1.2.1. Unaspirated Plosives

OIA [k] and [g] are represented by *g*, *y* or \emptyset , both root-initially (*agama-*, *agaśa-*, *agicaṇa-*, *avigapia-*, *asigachadi*, *oāśa-*, *pragara-*, *pragidia-*, *vagarohi*, *viada-*, *viyigitsa-*) and in the termination of words (*akuhaa-*, *akuhaya-*, *ajatvia-*, *athamaga-*, *anega-*, *artharthia-*, *aśoga-*, *udaga-*, *ekotaria-*, *ege*, *odaria-*, *orabhiakokudia-*, *kamaraga-*, *karadadatia-*, *kalaṇaga-*, *koalia-*, *kridaga-*, *caga-*, *ṭhidaga-*, *nijanaṭhea-*, *nivaa-*, *tithiga-*, *thidaga-*, *duagia-*, *dravayadia-*, *pacakamaguṇia-*, *paḍidaga-*, *parayaṇia-*, *pavaga-*, *purimaga-*, *pragidia-*, *pragidia-*, *prayoa-*, *bhavanemitia-*, *macaga-*, *yoa-*, *raga-*, *loga-*, *visathiga-*, *vedaga-*, *śastugaraga-*, *śiṭhaga-*, *śogi-*, *środoama-*, *savaga-*, *śodaśagia-*, *sameñuga-*, *saviñāṇea-*, *spaya-*). The distribution of the three spellings does not follow any discernible pattern, and it has to be assumed that the same pronunciation is intended everywhere. Two likely results of the weakening of velar plosives are the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] and the palatal approximant [j]. The participation of *nijan-aṭhea-* and *saviñāṇea-* in the process of palatalization of [a] before [j] (§ 4.2.1.7) indicates that at least in the termination of words the reflex of [k] and [g] was the palatal approximant, and we tentatively assume on the parallel of palatal plosives that this was also the case root-initially. The representation *y* is thus a phonetic spelling of the reflex of word-medial uncombined short [k] and [g], and *g* is a historical spelling evidently established at a stage when [k] and [g] had already merged into [g], but not yet been weakened further to [j]. The non-writing of [j] in words such as *yoa-* is comparable to the occasional non-writing of preserved OIA [j] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.4). British Library scribe 14 uses the modified sign *k* to indicate [j] derived from a velar, while the Senior scribe uses *g* for the same purpose.

OIA [č] and [ʃ] are likewise represented by *g*, *y* or \emptyset , both root-initially (*goyara-*, *dravayadia-*, *parianidava-*, *prayanati*, *bramaiyeṣaṇa-*, *viyigitsa-*) and in the termination of words (*aṇucavaga-*, *abuya-*, *nīyoṇa-*, *nīyoedi*, *parivayē*, *parivrayana-*,

parivraye, prayoeti, bhoyana-, moyaida, – ya, – yi, rayo, vaya-, sayoyana-, suyi-, suyia-, soyadi). The participation of *bramaiyesana-* in the process of palatalization of [a] after [j] indicates that here, too, the reflex was the palatal approximant. More evidence to the same effect is provided by *preanadi* Dhp-G^K 30 < OIA *prajānāti*. Since these two examples confirm the development of [c] and [ʃ] to [j] both in the beginning of a posterior compound member and root-initially, we can safely assume that the same weakening to [j] occurred in the termination of words. The representation *y* is thus a phonetic spelling of the reflex of word-medial uncombined short [c] and [ʃ], and non-writing of [j] in words such as *parianidava-* comparable to the occasional non-writing of preserved OIA [j] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.4). The word *anucavaga-[anučca:vaja]* < OIA *anuccāvaca-* is a case of wrong historical spelling.

OIA [t] and [d] are regularly represented by *d* (*ugadāna-*, *kokudia-*, *kodi-*, *coda-*, *piđa-*, *śadaviña-*, *śadiidria-*, *śodaśagia-*). Loanwords in Tocharian (e.g., *kor* ‘ten million’) and occasional confusion with [r] (such as *śadatammi* for *śaratammi* ND 574 ‘in the autumn’ and the prefix variation *padi-* and *pari-*; Emeneau 1931) indicate that this weakened reflex was a retroflex tap [ɾ] as in the modern languages (von Hinüber 2001: § 201, 2007b: 392–393). The technical term *vijateti* could be a historical spelling (cf. *guṭa-* ND 17 < OIA *gūḍha-*; Burrow 1937: § 18), but is equally likely to be a loanword with G long [t̪:] to represent word-medial uncombined short [t̪] of the donor language. British Library scribe 14 and the scribes of the Niya documents use the modified sign *d̪* to indicate the sound [ɾ].

OIA [t] and [d] are represented by *d* (*anuahada-*, *anuspadi-*, *anoaśuda-*, *avisa-bhuda-*, *uadāna-*, *udea-*, *padastāna-*, *palikhaida-*, *prasada-*, *śativada-*, *vavada-*, *sada*, *saduaṭida-*, *samudaga-*, *samudagada-*, *samudaya-*, *samudea-*, *samupada-*, *suuaṭhida-*) and by *d̪* (*padia*, *padicasamupada*, *padipraṣadhi*, *padiliṇo*, *pađivada*, *pađivadha*). Where our scribe has *d*, British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe use the modified base sign *d̪* to indicate the reflex of word-medial uncombined short [t̪] and [d̪]. The most likely result of the weakening of dental plosives is the voiced dental fricative [ð], and we assume that this is the sound represented by *d* and *d̪*. The variant

reflex *d* [ɾ] only occurs in the prefix *paḍi-* < OIA *prati-* where it developed under the influence of preceding [r] (cf. *padhama-*; § 4.2.2.1.2.2). The prefix *paḍi-* [paṛi] further has an allomorph *pradi-* [praḍi] when it precedes the root-initial retroflex cluster *ṭh* [ṣṭ] in derivatives of the verb *pradi* + √*sthā* (*pradiṭhahita*, *pradiṭhida-*, *pradiṭhaveda-*), a pattern that corresponds precisely to the situation in Pali (generally *paṭi-*, but *patiṭhahitvā* and *patiṭhita-*; Geiger & Norman 1994: § 42). We may assume that it goes back to an earlier stage of Middle Indo-Aryan from which both languages derive.⁴¹ At this stage, the development of OIA [prati] was retroflexion of [t] by preceding [r] except where a root-initial retroflex sound followed. The [r] segment either disappeared already at this common stage or independently in Gāndhārī and Pali. For Gāndhārī, preservation of [r] after plosives is the rule (§ 4.2.2.3.7), but the special environment [raṛ] may have favored the disappearance of the first tap segment.

OIA [p] and [b] are represented by *v* and *Ø*, both root-initially (*avadhana-*, *iria-*
vasa-, *uavajiadi*, *uavati-*, *uavada-*, *uavadiadi*, *janavada-*, *ṇivaa-*, *paḍivada-*, *parapadī-*
vadha-, *piḍavada-*, *prañavaraga-*, *vavada-*, *vivati-*, *vivaśāna-*, *samavati-*) and in prefixes and the termination of words (*aṇuagada-*, *aṇuanida-*, *aṇuadāna-*, *aṇuahada-*,
anoanida-, *anoalita-*, *avara-*, *avaradha-*, *avaśedi*, *uadai*, *uadāna-*, *uadiṭha-*, *uama-*,
uavajiśadi, *uavati-*, *uavada-*, *uavadiadi*, *uaśata-*, *uaśama-*, *uaśamati*, *uṭavedi*, *kavoda-*,
kṣevida-, *niroeti*, *pava-*, *pavaga-*, *prañaveti*, *rua-*, *lavāna-*, *sakṣeva*, *saṭhavedi*, *sadua-*
tida-, *suuaṭhida-*, *spadoaṭhāna-*, *spadoaṭhāna-*). The most likely result of the weakening of labial plosives is the voiced labial approximant [v], and the representation *v* is thus a phonetic spelling of the reflex of word-medial uncombined short [p] and [b]. Non-writing of [v] in words such as *uavati-* is fully accounted for by the orthographic rule that *v* can be omitted between the vowels [u] or [o] and another vowel (§ 4.1). It needs to be noted, however, that between this and the corresponding orthographic rule for the palatal vowels and approximants, the spelling *niroeti* is

⁴¹The new Gāndhārī evidence also rules out Michelson's suggestion (1908–09: 239–241) that P *pati-* is in origin a different prefix corresponding to Avestan *paiti-* and Old Persian *patiy-*.

ambiguous and can indicate either [niro:uenti] or [niro:jenti].

Most word-medial uncombined short plosives thus preserve their original point of articulation throughout the weakening process. Only the velar plosives [k] and [g] evidently change to a palatal point of articulation and merge with the palatal plosives in the palatal approximant [j]. The weakening results of the velar, palatal and labial plosives are the preexisting sounds [j] and [v], but the weakening of the retroflex and dental plosives introduces the new sounds [ʈ] and [ɖ] into the sound inventory of Gāndhārī.

Table 18. Developments of word-medial uncombined short unaspirated plosives

$k [k] > g y \emptyset [j]$ $g [g] > g \emptyset [j]$ $c [c] > g y \emptyset [j]$ $j [ʃ] > y \emptyset [j]$ $t [t] > d t [ʈ]$ $d [d] > d \emptyset [ɖ]$	$t [t] > d [ɖ], d [ʈ]$ $d [d] > d [ɖ]$ $p [p] > v \emptyset [v]$ $b [b] > v [v]$
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4.2.2.1.2.2. Aspirated Plosives

OIA [k^h] and [g^h] are represented by *h* (*oha-*, *-muhie-*, *_ ho*), \emptyset (*oa-*, *padia-*, *sua-*) and *kh* (*anikha-*). The spelling *h* indicates the voiced glottal phonation [h], and the same reflex is probably intended by \emptyset (even though preserved OIA [h] is never spelled \emptyset in our text). The representation *kh* in *anikha-* is a wrong historical spelling. There is little indication of a variant reflex [j^h] corresponding to [v^h] in the case of OIA [b^h] (see below). The form *makavha-* Dhp-G^K 120 < OIA *maghavan-* has a palatal reflex (with wrong historical spelling *k*) for OIA [g^h], but it also shows a transfer of aspiration in G [v^h] ← OIA [v]. A similar case is *gadhava-* Dhp-G^K 285, SaṅgCm-G < OIA *gardabha-* (Brough 1962: 97) with transfer of aspiration in G [d^h:] ← OIA [rd]. It remains unclear whether *k* in *makavha-* writes [j^h] or [j] and whether *v* in *gadhava-* writes [v^h] or [v]. If *makavha-* was pronounced [majau^ha] with a non-aspirate reflex of OIA [g^h], then it would still indirectly indicate the presence of [j^h]

in Gāndhārī if weakening of word-medial uncombined short plosives preceded the transfer of aspiration ([mag^hava:] > [maj^hava] > [majav^ha]), but not in the inverse chronology ([mag^hava:] > [magav^ha] > [majav^ha]). The other piece of evidence comes from the development of OIA [hj] > G ś j [j:] which presupposes an intermediate stage [j^h.] (§ 4.2.2.3.12), making it likely that the short equivalent [j^h] also existed in the sound system of Gāndhārī. It is tempting to take the textual confusion of *anikha-* and *anega-* [ane:ja] (wrong historical spellings for MIA *anigha-* and *aneja-*; lines 148–159 of our text) as evidence for a palatal reflex of OIA [g^h], but the folk-etymology connecting *anikha-* and *nihañadi* in lines 13·84–84 clearly shows that the pronunciation of the former must have been [anifha]. A reflex [j^h] thus remains somewhat conjectural, and [h] is the only clearly attested reflex of Old Indo-Aryan word-medial uncombined short [k^h] and [g^h].

OIA word-medial uncombined [c^h] only occurred as a long consonant and was therefore not subject to Middle Indo-Aryan reduction. OIA [ʃ^h] (or rather Sanskrit [dʒ^h]) was a peripheral sound that only existed in loan words from Middle Indo-Aryan, and it has therefore not itself left any descendants in Gāndhārī or other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects.

OIA [d^h] is represented by *dh* (*prodhibhuda-*). The modern languages have [t^h] in their reflexes (Hindi *paurhā* < OIA *praudha-* + *-ka-*), and on the parallel of unaspirated OIA [d] > G [t] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.1) we may safely assume that this pronunciation already applied in Gāndhārī.

OIA [t^h] and [d^h] are represented by *s* (*asa*, *asigachadi*, *asiṇa-*, *asimatra-*, *iria-vasa-*, **irdhivisa-*, *kamapasa-*, *krosa-*, *gasa-*, *nirosa-*, *tasa*, *tasavisa-*, *trivisa-*, *par-asiṇa-*, *pusujana-*, *prasāṇa-*, *bosa-*, *bosi-*, *bosisatva-*, *misavi-*, *yasa*, *vosapakṣia-*, *śamasa-*, *samasi-*, *samosana-*, *sumesu-*) and by *dh* (*padhama-*). Where our scribe has *s*, British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe use the modified base sign *_s* to indicate the reflex of word-medial uncombined short [t^h] and [d^h]. These three scribes also use *s* and *_s* to indicate the reflex of OIA word-medial uncombined short [s], but consistently *d* and *_d* to indicate G [ð] < OIA word-medial uncombined short [t] and

[d] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.5). There can thus be no doubt that in the language of these scribes, the Gāndhārī reflex of [t^h] and [d^h] was pronounced [z], not [ð], and this is supported further by Gāndhārī loanwords in Tocharian (*winasāre* ← G [vinejazara] = Skt. *vinayadhara-*; von Hinüber 2001: § 173) and Khotanese (*bhāgīrasau* ← G [bha:ji:razi] = Skt. *bhāgīrathī-*, *mäysilä* ← G [mizila] = Skt. *mithilā-*; Brough 1962: 94). The Khotan Dharmapada, however, uses not only *s* but also *th* and *dh* to represent OIA [t^h] and [d^h], and Brough 1962: 94 uses this variation to argue for an intermediate stage [ð] in the development from OIA [t^h] and [d^h] to G [z]. This intermediate stage would need to have ended at an early date in the history of Gāndhārī before the development of OIA [t] and [d] to [ð], since otherwise all four sounds would have merged in [z] whereas in fact the Old Indo-Aryan unaspirated and aspirated dental plosives are kept distinct in their Gāndhārī reflexes. One possible piece of evidence in this connection is the technical term *samugasa-* (SaṅgCm-G) < OIA *samudghāta-* with *s* [z] instead of expected *d* [ð]: if it had entered Gāndhārī in the form [samug^h:a:ða] as a loanword from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect when OIA [t^h] and [d^h] had developed to G [ð] but OIA [t] and [d] still remained stable, then it would participate in the further change of OIA [t^h] and [d^h] > [ð] to [z] before OIA [t] and [d] in their turn developed to [ð], explaining its attested form. If, however, G *samugasa-* has some other explanation, then it will be more economical to assume a direct change from OIA [t^h] and [d^h] > [z] and to treat *th* and *dh* in the Khotan Dharmapada as historical spellings based on the Old Indo-Aryan values of these sounds. The variant reflex *dh* [t^h] only occurs in *padhama-* where it developed from [t^h] under the influence of preceding [r], parallel to the change from *prati-* to *pađi-* (§ 4.2.2.1.2.1).

OIA [b^h] is represented by *v* (*avijayadi*, *sadaviña*, *avisabhuda*, *avinadami*), by *h* (*aho*, *uhaa-*, *trihi*, *parihoita*, *loha-*, *vimutihī*, *samavatihī*) and by *bh* (*abhiñada-*, *abhiñea-*, *abhinadidava-*, *abhiñadea*, *abhinadami*, *abhipreda-*, *idisacaabhimāṇa-*). The spelling *h* indicates the voiced glottal phonation [h]. Where our scribe uses *v*, other scribes such as the phonetically precise British Library scribe 14 and the scribe of the

Khotan Dharmapada employ the spelling *vh* (e.g., *avhija-*, *avhaśpara-* SaṅgCm-G, *pravha-* Dhp-G^K 197, *vivhuda-* Dhp-G^K 228; Brough 1962: 96), indicating pronunciation as an aspirated labial approximant [v^h] distinct from [v]. Brough 1962: 66 admitted that *v* and *vh* represent distinct sounds (in those orthographies that have both) and that the sound represented by *vh* was “felt to be the best equivalent available for rendering” the Iranian sound [f], but was hesitant to commit to a phonetic interpretation as [v^h]. The existence of a long variant [v^{h:}] is, however, independently indicated for Middle Indo-Aryan by Pali spellings such as *avhayati* [av^{h:}ajati] < OIA *āhvayati* and *jivhā-* [dživ^{h:}a:] < OIA *jihvā-* (von Hinüber 2001: § 245) and supports the presence of a short counterpart. A further development of [v^h] may then have been the labial fricative [v] (cf. Brough 1962: 67 on the close relationship of aspiration and fricativeness), making it a natural Gāndhārī replacement for its unvoiced counterpart [f] in Iranian loanwords. The aspirated labial approximant [v^h] appears to have been the default Gāndhārī reflex of OIA word-medial uncombined short [b^h], whereas the default reflex in other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects was [h] (von Hinüber 2001: §§ 190–191). The Gāndhārī instances of *h* may thus partly be due to loanwords from other dialects, and partly to a special anticipatory development in word terminations (*trihi*, *vimutihī* and *samavatihī*) where OIA [b^h] had become common MIA [h] prior to the Gāndhārī development of the remaining cases of [b^h] to [v^h] (von Hinüber 2001: §§ 189). Yet another factor is indicated by the particular prevalence of OIA [b^h] > [h] next to labial vowels (*aho*, *uhaa-*, *parihoita* and *loha-*), where reassociation of the labial approximant element of [v^h] with the labial vowel left the glottal phonation [h] as the sole representative of the original segment [b^h]. The same process (with compensatory lengthening of the preceding labial vowel) is attested in OIA *juhvataḥ* [juhvataḥ] > MIA [džuv^{h:}ato:] > P *jūhato* [džu:hato:] and in *prajūhitayvam* Girnar I 3 (Hultzsch 1925: 1, von Hinüber 2001: §§ 120, 245). On Gāndhārī grounds it is confirmed by contrasts such as *avhaśpara-* (SaṅgComm-G) < OIA *ābhāsvara-* but *oħasa-* (BC 2) < OIA *avabhāsa-*, with [v^h] after [a:], but further development to [h] after [o:]. The cases of *bh* for OIA

[b^h] in our text (all in the prefix *abhi-*) are historical spellings.

The word-medial uncombined short aspirated plosives thus follow three different paths of weakening. The labial plosive [b^h] is first reduced to the aspirated approximant [v^h]. In special environments [v^h] is further reduced to the glottal phonation [h], and there are indications that the remaining instances of [v^h] develop further into the labial fricative [v]. The velar plosives [k^h] and [g^h] may similarly have developed into the aspirated approximant [j^h], but the evidence for this remains circumstantial, and their only clearly attested reflex is the glottal phonation [h]. The labials and the velars undergo partial merger in [h]. The second path of weakening is that of the dentals [t^h] and [d^h] which are reduced to the fricative [z], either directly or through an early intermediate stage [ð]. The third path is that of the retroflex [ɖ^h] which is reduced to the retroflex tap [ʈ^h]. Of the several weakening results, only the glottal phonation [h] is a preexisting sound. The other weakenings introduce new sounds into the sound inventory of Gāndhārī: [v^h] and possibly [j^h] as aspirated counterparts of preexisting [v] and [j]; [ʈ^h] as an aspirated counterpart of new [ʈ]; and [z] as a voiced counterpart of preexisting [s].

Table 19. Developments of word-medial uncombined short aspirated plosives

$kh [k^h] > h \emptyset [h]$ $gh [g^h] > h kh \emptyset [h]$ $\dot{d}h [d^h] > \dot{d}h [\dot{\tau}^h]$	$th [t^h] > s [z], \dot{d}h [\dot{\tau}^h]$ $dh [d^h] > s [z]$ $bh [b^h] > v [v^h], h [h]$
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4.2.2.1.2.3. Nasals

OIA [ɳ] and OIA [n] are both regularly represented by *n̄*, and occasionally by *n*, indicating a merger of both sounds in a single nasal sound transcribed as [n] (§ 4.2.2). By all appearances, G word-medial uncombined short [n] remains stable.

OIA [m] is always represented by *m*, but evidence from other Gāndhārī texts indicates that word-medial uncombined short [m] could be reduced to a nasalized

labial approximant [v̑], particularly when another nasal sound was present in the same word (§ 4.2.2.1.1).

Table 20. Developments of word-medial uncombined short nasals

$\dot{n} [\eta] > \dot{n} n [n]$	$m [m] > m [m], m [v̑]$
$n [n] > \dot{n} n [n]$	

4.2.2.1.2.4. Tap and Approximants

OIA [j] is represented by *y* (*ayadāna-*, *kaya-*, *kṣaya-*, *samudaya-*, *śayadi*), by *g* (*añega-*, *asaga-*, *duracaga-*, *śaśaga-*, *samudaga-*) and by Ø (*aīdāna-*, *anūñea-*, *abhiñea-*, *aria-*, *ariae*, *avigapia-*, *avijae*, *idriāni*, *uadai*, *udea-*, *uhae*, *ekotariae*, *eṣaṇae*, *kidiśae*, *kria-*, *kṣiati*, *ñāñidae*, *tīdi·a*, *ṭhidie*, *tae*, *taraïda*, *taśae*, *trae*, *divae*, *pacakamaṇiae*, *pariñae*, *parivrayaṇae*, *parihoita*, *piḍae*, *praca-*, *pracea-*, *prahai*, *prahae*, *prahaṇae*, *varjae*, *viprahae*, *vimasae*, *vivaśaṇae*, *-visae*, *visathigae*, *vedaïda-*, *vosa-* *pakṣia-*, *śamaïda*, *śaśea*, *sañae*, *sarvañudae*, *savakamaṇiae*, *spayae*). The spelling *y* and the role that this Gāndhārī sound plays in the process of palatalization indicate that it is preserved unchanged as a palatal approximant [j]. The representation *g* is a historical spelling, and in all cases where OIA [j] is not written it is omitted by general orthographic rule next to a palatal vowel (§ 4.1). The only exception is the form *praca-*, and it may be best to regard this as a scribal mistake for the usual *pracea-*, by omission of an *e* mātrā. It is unclear whether this orthographic rule indicates a weakened pronunciation of [j]. In *vriṣavida-* < MIA [viṣajita:], [j] developed to [v] by an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan sound change before the word was borrowed into Gāndhārī (§ 1.2.2). In the word *iśa*, OIA [h] > [j] has been exceptionally strengthened to [j] (see below).

OIA [r] is represented by *r* (*amatsari-*, *aria-*, *iria-*, *osiradi*, *kamaraga-*, *karada-*, *-garaga-*, *jara-*, *nirosa-*, *drokara-*, *nirosa-*, *para-*, *paracaria-*, *puruṣa-*, *maraṇa-*, *rada-*, *vistara-*, *sakhara-*, *sara-*, *savara-*, *sasara-*, *spara-*) and by *l* (*palikhaiïda-*). We assume

that in the former representation it is preserved unchanged as a dental tap [r]. The form *palikhaïda-* ← OIA *parīkṣita-* is a borrowing from a Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, as also indicated by *kh* [kʰ:] for OIA [kʂ].

OIA [l] is always represented by *l* (*aprihalu-*, *koalia-*, *mula-*, *sīla-*, *sakala-*). We may assume that it was preserved unchanged as a dental approximant [l].

OIA [v] is always represented by *v* (*aṇavaṣuda-*, *aṇavasuda-*, *aṇasava-*, *avija-*, *asava-*, *tasavisa-*, *trivisa-*, *prabhavida-*, *provenivasa-*, *bhava-*, *bhavana-*, *bhavida-*, *misavi-*, *śativada-*, *vaśa-*, *vastu-*, *vija-*, *vivati-*, *vudhi-*, *śavaga-*, *sabhava-*, *saviñanea-*, *subhavida-*, *sevadi*), but evidence from other Gāndhārī texts indicates that word-medial uncombined short [v] could change to a nasalized labial approximant [v̑] when another nasal sound was present in the same word (§ 4.2.2.1).

OIA [h] is represented by *h* (*aṇuahada-*, *aprihalu-*, *prahaṇa-*, *prahiṇatva-*, *moha-*, *vahida-*, *sagraha-*, *samoha-*, *sahagada-*, *susamahida-*, *śeha-*, *sosamahida-*) and by *ś* (*iśa*). We assume that in the former representation it is preserved unchanged as a voiced glottal phonation [h]. In the word *iśa*, the spelling *ś* indicates a voiced palatal fricative [j] (cf. § 4.2.2.3.7). The sound change from [h] to [j] proceeded in two steps. First the glottal phonation inherited palatal color from the preceding vowel [i] and changed into the palatal approximant [j]. In a second step, [j] was exceptionally strengthened to the corresponding palatal fricative [j] (cf. Burrow 1937: § 17). This process of emphatic strengthening of [j] is parallel to the fricativization of OIA [hj] > [jh̑] to [j̑:] (§ 4.2.2.3.12).

Table 21. Developments of word-medial uncombined short tap and approximants

$y [j] = y \ g \ Ø [j]$ $r [r] = r [r]$ $l [l] = l [l]$ $v [v] > v [v], v [\tilde{v}]$	$h [h] > h [h], ś [j]$
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4.2.2.1.2.5. Fricatives

OIA [ç] is represented by ś (*agaśa-*, *aśukra-*, *uaśama-*, *kileśa-*, *vaśa-*, *śala-*, *śukra-*, *sakileśa-*, *suviśudhada-*) and by h (*caduveharajada-*). Where our scribe uses ś, British Library scribe 14 uses the modified sign ṣ, indicating a change from [ç] to the voiced palatal fricative [j]. Voicing is also indicated in our text by the use of ś to represent the voiced sounds [h] > [j] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.4) and [hj] > [j:] (§ 4.2.2.3.12). In the word *caduveharajada-*, the spelling h can stand for [j] ([h] with inherited palatal color from preceding [e:]) and may thus indicate an otherwise unexplained weakening of [j]. The use of c [j] for ś [j] in the name *paracaria-* is likely to be a spelling mistake based on graphic confusion of ś for y.

OIA [ʂ] is represented by ṣ (*kadheṣu*, *doṣa*, *-dhameṣu*, *puruṣa*, *vastuṣu*, *saceṣu*, *satveṣu*). Where our scribe uses ś, British Library scribe 14 uses the modified sign ṣ, indicating a change from [ʂ] to the voiced retroflex fricative [z]. Based on this and on the parallel of ś [j] and s [z], we assume that word-medial uncombined short [ʂ] also changed to [z] in our text.

OIA [s] is represented by s (-*cedasa*, *ṇivasa-*, *bosi-*, *mañaso*, *vasaṇa-*, *-saca-*, *-sañña*, *-satva-*, *-samadikrama-*, *-samavati-*, *-sayoyana-*). Where our scribe uses s, British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe use the modified sign ṣ, indicating a change from [s] to [z]. Voicing is also indicated in our text by the use of s to represent the weakening result of word-medial uncombined short [tʰ] and [dʰ].

Table 22. Developments of word-medial uncombined short fricatives

$\overset{\circ}{s} [\mathfrak{c}] > \overset{\circ}{s} [j]$ $\overset{\circ}{s} [\mathfrak{s}] > \overset{\circ}{s} [z]$ $s [s] > s [z]$

4.2.2.1.3. Final Consonants

Old Indo-Aryan word-final plosives are lost in Gāndhārī. In other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, the loss of final plosives is compensated for by substitution of [ū] for

the lost consonant or by lengthening of the remaining vowel (von Hinüber 2001: § 168). There are no indications of such compensatory measures in Gāndhārī. OIA word-final [k] is lost in *same*; OIA word-final [t] is lost in *agridhratva*, *acatari*, *añña[nap]r[ah](*iṇa)[tva]*, *asa*, *aho*, *(*uada)[ṇa]pracea*, *kuhidatva*, *cari*, *jañe*, *jadi(*pra)[ce]a*, *ta*, *tava*, *taṣapracea*, *taspa*, *parivaye*, *puridatva*, *prahiṇatva*, *phaṣida(*tva)*, *bhavapracea*, *bhavida[tva]*, *ya*, *_ yi*, *yavi*, *[va]rja[e]*, *śaśea*, *sakṣeva*, *[savaki]leśa·prah[i]ṇatva*, *sie* and *s[u]phaṣidatva*; and OIA word-final [h] is lost in *akicañayadañasa[majvati*, *agi*, *ajatvataṣae*, *anatariabhumi*, *anatva*, *anica*, *an[u]agada*, *(*anua)[hada]cedasa*, *a[p]ramata*, *apra[v]uti*, *aprihalu*, *abhiñad[a]*, *abhipreda*, *ariae*, *(*artha)[ko]śala[vi]vati*, *avijae*, *a<*sa>[ta]paidehi*, *u[a]dañakadha*, *uchedavada*, *ujo*, *utara*, *uha[e]hi*, *ekaca[khu]*, *eṣa*, *kadha*, *ka[dhehi]*, *kamavataṇi*, *kamehi*, *[ka]laṇagavivit[a]*, *(*kalaṇa)[v](*)i[rahida]*, *kalaṇavirahidehi*, *kavoda*, *kaśava[moga]laṇa[sad]i[śa]*, *kileṣaṇa*, *[ki]le[śava]taṇi*, *kudu*, *kṣiṇasayoyāṇa*, *kṣevida*, *gratha*, *cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da*, *caduhi*, *caramaṇa*, **cudoavada*, *jagaramaṇa*, *ñāṇidae*, *ñada*, *ñadava*, *ñirosa[ñña]ṇ[aviva]ti*, *ñiros[a]vi[va]ti*, *ñivaṇadhadu*, *ñivudi*, *ñiv<*e>śaṇehi*, *ñisada*, *tad[i]šehi*, *[ta]ṣa*, *[ta]ṣae*, *taṣae*, *tasa*, *t[i]thiga*, *tehi*, *tri-ka[dha]vivati*, *tr[i]hi*, *trihi*, *thidaga*, *daśaṇabhumī*, *duaṣṭhidṛiṭhiadehi*, *d<*u>[e]hi*, *dukha*, *dukhaapra[vu]t[i]*, *dukhañāṇ[a]vivati*, *dukhada*, *dukhavataṇi*, *dukha(*vataṇie)*, *dukhavudhi*, *[du]cakh[u]*, *dupragarae*, *dṛiṭhigadavirahida*, *dhama*, *dhama*, *dhama-kośalavivati*, *dhamavitra[ka]m*, *dhamasañae*, *dhamehi*, *ni[dan](*)e]hi*, *pacakama-guṇi[ae]*, *paḍia*, *p[a]dipraṣadhi*, *parapa[di]vadha*, *paramiprata*, *parian[i]dava*, *pa[li]kha[ida]*, *p[a]śidava*, *paso*, *pu[r]imaga*, *peṣon[e]hi*, *[pra]gidia*, *prañakadha-vivati*, *prañavi[vati]*, *prayoaviṇaśa*, *pravadaṭe*, *prahiṇ[a]*, *prahiṇa*, *p(*r)idia[ṇida]*, *prochaṇa*, *pr[o]veṇi[v]a[sa·a]ṇuspadi*, *[ba]la[va]tehi*, *bahidha[taṣae]*, *baho*, *[bosi]*, *bhavaṇabhumī*, *bhikhu*, *bhudakoḍi*, *maga*, *magañāṇavi[va](*ti)*, *maṇuśa*, *maheśi*, *muṇi*, *yehi*, *ragadoṣ[a]moha*, *raha[ta]*, *[r]paṣaḍa*, *loga*, *logavidu*, *v[a]stukama*, *vastu-kamehi*, *vija*, *viñāṇa[·]ka[ye]hi*, *vi[mu]tih*, *viyigitsa*, *viriamuh[i]e*, *vivati*, *vi[varna-vada]ge<*hi>*, *[viva]śaṇavivati*, *vi[vi]ta*, *visathigae*, *[v]utar[u]a*, *vedaīda[pa]yi[thi]*, *vedaīda·uaśamapayithi*, *vosapakṣia*, *[śa](*)ti*, *śatipadehi*, *śamasavi[vati]*, *śamasavi-*

*<*va>[śaṇa]e, śilakadhabivati, śukrehi, śekha, śreṭh[a], ṣada[vi]ñā, ṣaṇavadi, ṣavaga, ṣlava]ga·(*pra)[ce]asabudha, ṣoḍaśagiehi, saüadišeṣa, sakhaïda, sakharadukhada[e], saceh[i], satve[h]i, sadu[at]idaspadi, samavati, sama[v]a]ti[hi], samasi, samasi-kadha[vi]vati, samudagavudhi, sarvaguneh[i], sarvañudae, sava, savadhamehi, sumesu, suyi, sodehi, [stu]di, s[pa]divata, h[e]duasi[na]. OIA word-final -ah [ah] is, however, replaced by the generalized sandhi variant G -o [o] or, in Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan loanwords, -e [e]; see § 5.1.1.1 for lists of these forms.*

The orthography of those scribes who use anusvāra marks (such as British Library scribe 14) makes it likely that OIA word-final [m] and [n] after short vowel were in principle preserved in Gāndhārī as in the other Middle Indo-Aryan languages, either in the form of segmental [v̐] or in that of a nasalized articulation of the preceding vowel. In the direct case of the masculine *a* declension, however, the termination -o of the OIA masculine nominative singular replaced the phonetic continuant of OIA -am almost completely (§ 5.1.1.1). After OIA long vowels the Gāndhārī anusvāra sign is never used for original [m] or [n], and the morphological reconfiguration of the feminine *a*, *i* and *u* declensions (§§ 5.1.1.4–6) further suggests that in this position [m] and [n] were lost without trace (for loss of [n] in this position in Pali cf. Pisani 1952: 283, Berger 1956: 109, pace von Hinüber 2001: § 313). This loss after long vowel appears to have been an alternative way of satisfying the Law of Two Moras in word-final position. The following words contain reflexes ([v̐] and Ø) of OIA word-final [m]: *agica[ñna]K*ya>dano·samavati, ag(*r)[a], aja[tva], añ[e]ṣa, [a]>(*ña), ana, anañ[a]poṣi, an[u]neapadi[ana], [a]K*nu>neaprahanā, anumajana, anusahagadāna, anusodagami, ataviv[arji]da, ato[gadi]tva, atva<a>rtha, adida-vartaman[i], [aya], aya, aya, avijaprāhanā, aśukra[ña], a[śodhi], ida, [i]riavasa, uadaṇa, uadaṇaṇa, ugadāṇa, uhaiṇa, [e]kotariae, [e]ñā, eva², oda[r]ian[a], ora[bh]ia[k]okuḍiaṇa, [o]siridava, o[haṇa], kama[kil](*)śaṇa, k[a]madhadu, [ka]ma[pa]saṇa, kamaprāhanā, [ka]maragaprāha(*na), kaligara[ñna], ki, kileśana, kileśaprāhanā, kileśasamudaya, (*kuṣa)[laṇa], kuhaṇo, garavaasivayāṇam, grahi[da], gridhada, caduṇa, cario, citha{t[o]·}ta[m], janavadapradeṣa, jara[marana], ñadava,*

[*nija*]na̤heāna, *nidaṇaṇa*, *nivoaṇa*, *nirosa*(*sa)kṣia, *nivaṇa*, *n[i]vāṇa[dha]*(*duṇa), *ta*, *taraīda*, *taśaṇa*, *taśaprahaṇa*, *teṣa*, *teṣa*, *to*, *triṇa*, *tva*, *dajamaṇa*, *daṇi*, *daśaṇapradīthidaṇa*, *daśamana*, *duṇa*, *dukham*, [devamaṇu]śaṇa, *d[r]iṭhiṭaṇ[a]ṇa*, [*dharma*](*na), *paḍiaprahaṇa*, *paḍipakṣia*, *paḍivada*, *paraarthā*, *parabhoyaṇa*, *parama*, *paramida*, *paritabodhi*, *pareṣa*, *piḍa*, *prahinatva*, *procha*, *pharuṣa*, [*pha*]śida, *balavatam*, *b[udhabhum]*(*i), [*bo*]sisatvabhumī, *bh[ad]acod[a]*, *bhavaṇem[i]tio*, *bhavidatva*¹, [*bha*]vi[dava], *bh[oya]ṇa*, *ma*, *magam*, *maṇaśala*praḥaṇa, *matro*, [*maheśi*], *mulaṇa*, **mulasakhayaṇa*, [*moya*](*i)[da], *yasatacha*, *yutaṇa*, *ragaprahaṇa*, [*ra]ñna*, *rua*, *la[vana]*, [*l]ohaprahaṇa*, *va[tā]maṇi*, *vaya*, *va[vā]daprahaṇa*, *va[sa]ṇa*, [*v]igra[h]a*, *vibhava*, *vimutiṇa*, *vira*, [*v](*)i[vā]dam*, *śati*, *śamaīda*, *śalāṇa*, *śila-paḍipakṣiaṇa*, *śodhi*, *śavagapracaabudhaṇa*, *satvāṇa*, *sameñ[u]g[a]*, *sa[m](*)o[hap](*r)[aha]ṇa*, *savakamana*, *savakayaprahaṇa*, *sava[ki]leśaṇa*, *savañu[da]*, *savatriṇa*, *savadhamaṇa*, *suni[ja]tva*, [*sp]ara*, *hedu*. The following words contain reflexes of OIA word-final [n]: *ata*, [*i]maspi*, *kadha*, *kama*, *kuśala*, *dharma*, *pavaga*, *prañava*, [*bha*]gava, *bhagava*, *vastukama*. The first of these lists includes six feminine-*a*-declension direct-case (old accusative) singular endings *-o* corresponding to OIA *-ām*. These need to be understood together with instances of *-o* in the direct case (old nominative) singular of the feminine *a* declension (such as *aparamoṣado* in our text). Since in the large majority of cases OIA *-ām* is represented by *-a* and OIA final *-ān* is always represented by G *-a*, and since further we argue that the masculine-*a*-declension direct-case ending *-o* is based on analogical spread of the old masculine singular ending, there does not appear to be any phonetic basis for these feminine-*a*-declension *-o* forms. The most likely remaining explanation is sporadic analogical transfer of the corresponding masculine-*a*-declension ending.

4.2.2.2. Long Consonants

OIA [k:] is represented by *k* (*kokudia-*), OIA [c:] by *c* (*anucavaga-*), OIA [c^h:] by *ch* (*asigachadi*, *gachadi*, *gachami*, *prachadi*, *prachami*, *procha-*), OIA [t:] by *t* (*apramata-*, *apravuti-*, *uavati-*, *utama-*, *utara-*, *utiṇa-*, *ekotaria-*, *karadadatia-*, *cita-*,

bhavanemitia-, *rahapa-*, *vivati-*, *satva-*, *samavati-*), OIA [d̥̄:] by *dh* (*avaradha-*, *aśodhi-*, *irdhi-*, *krodha-*, *paṭivadha-*, *budha-*, *bodhi-*, *vudhi-*, *vudhva*, *śodhi*, *suvi-* *śudhada-*) and OIA [n:] by *n* (*aṇa-*, *chiṇa-*, *pracupana-*, *sapana-*).

Long consonants thus appear to have been preserved unchanged in Gāndhārī (except for the unconditioned change of the palatal stops to alveolo-palatal affricates), as in the other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects. Combinations of the Old Indo-Aryan prefix *ut-* with consonant-initial nouns and verbs do not directly preserve the historical clusters, but in a process of Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition form sequences of the vowel [u] followed by an unchanged root-initial cluster or a lengthened version of a root-initial uncombined consonant (Brough 1962: 106). Instances in our text are *ucheda-*, *uṭaveda-*, *uṭavedi*, *uṭhaveda-*, *uṇama-*, *uṇamea*, *utrasedi*, *udāna-*, *upāna-* and *samuśrevedi*. It is unclear whether the words *kamavaṭachedo*, *kil(*e)śavaṭachedo*, *trivaṭachedo*, *dukhavaṭachedo*, *ṣanavadi* contained long consonants (parallel to Pali) at compound boundary. Clusters of long consonants with other consonants are treated in their appropriate places below.

Table 23. Developments of long consonants

<i>kk</i> [k:] > <i>k</i> [k:]
<i>cc</i> [c:] > <i>c</i> [t̪c:]
<i>cch</i> [cʰ:] > <i>ch</i> [t̪cʰ:]
<i>tt</i> [t:] > <i>t</i> [t:]
<i>ddh</i> [d̥̄:] > <i>dh</i> [d̥̄:]
<i>nn</i> [n:] > <i>n</i> [n:]

4.2.2.3. Consonant Clusters

Old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters are preserved in Gāndhārī to a greater extent than in Pali or other Middle Indo-Aryan languages. This and the complex interactions in fully or partially assimilated clusters mean that the establishment of an overall hierarchy of phonetic strength (such as in von Hinüber 2001: § 226 for Pali) would be of limited use in the explanation of the Gāndhārī developments of consonant clusters.

The following sections therefore present a grouping of clusters by their original phonetic composition as well as the types of development that they undergo in Gāndhārī, and discusses each group separately. Two generalizations do emerge. Firstly, mutual assimilation of clusters occurs where all elements have similar points of articulation, in particular where all are coronols. Where the elements of a cluster have different points of articulation, assimilation tends to proceed one-sidedly from one to the other. Secondly, there are no clear cases of epenthesis that are not loanwords. Assimilation of clusters rather than their separation seems to have been the rule in Gāndhārī.

Table 24. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan consonant clusters in Nid-G^{L2}

Original OIA Clusters	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}	P Cognates
my	y [v̪j]	ny, ññ
mv	v [v̪v]	nv
ṁś	ś [v̪ç]	ns
ṁs	s [v̪s]	ns
ṁsk	kh [ŋkʰ]	ṅkh
ṁsth	ṭh [ntʰ]	ṅth
ṁh	h [v̪f]	nh
ḥkh	kh [kʰ:]	khh
hp	p [p:]	pp
kt	t [t:]	tt
kr	kr [kr]	kk
kl	kr [kr] (kil [kil])	kil, kk
kv	(ku [kuv̪])	kv
kś	kṣ [fʂ:]	khh
kṣ	kṣ [fʂ:] (kh [kʰ:])	khh
kṣm	(hom [hom])	khum
khy	kh [kʰ:]	khh
gn	g [g:]	gg
gr	gr [gr]	gg
[gz]	gh [gʱ:]	ggh
ṅk	k [ŋk]	ṅk

Original OIA Clusters	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}	P Cognates
<i>ṇkl</i>	(<i>kil</i> [ŋkil])	<i>ṅkil</i>
<i>ṇks</i>	<i>ks</i> [ŋks]	<i>ṅkh</i>
<i>ṇkhy</i>	<i>kh</i> [ŋkʰ]	<i>ṅkh</i>
<i>ṅg</i>	<i>g</i> [ng]	<i>ṅg</i>
<i>ṇgr</i>	<i>gr</i> [ngṛ]	<i>ṅg</i>
<i>cy</i>	<i>c</i> [t̪e:]	<i>cc</i>
<i>jñ</i>	<i>ñ</i> [jn:]	<i>ññ</i>
<i>ñc, mc</i>	<i>c</i> [n̪t̪e]	<i>ñc</i>
<i>ṇjñ</i>	<i>ñ</i> [jn:]	<i>ññ</i>
<i>ṇd</i>	<i>d</i> [ṇd]	<i>ṇd</i>
<i>ṇy</i>	<i>ñ</i> [jn:]	<i>ññ</i>
<i>tk</i>	<i>k</i> [k:]	<i>kk</i>
<i>tp</i>	<i>p</i> [p:]	<i>pp</i>
<i>tm</i>	<i>tv</i> [tv]	<i>tt</i>
<i>ty</i>	<i>c</i> [t̪e:]	<i>cc</i>
<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i> [tr]	<i>tt</i>
<i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i> [tv], <i>t</i> [t:]	<i>tt, tv</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i> [ts]	<i>cch</i>
<i>thy</i>	<i>c</i> [t̪eʰ:]	<i>cch</i>
<i>ddhv</i>	<i>dhv</i> [d̪hv]	—
<i>dg</i>	<i>g</i> [g:]	<i>gg</i>
<i>dgh</i>	<i>g</i> [g:]	<i>ggh</i>
<i>dm</i>	(<i>dum</i> [ðum])	<i>dum</i>
<i>dy</i>	<i>j</i> [d̪z:]	<i>jj</i>
<i>dr</i>	<i>dr</i> [dr]	<i>dd</i>
<i>dhy</i>	<i>jj</i> [j̪]	<i>jjh</i>
<i>dhr</i>	<i>dhr</i> [d̪hṛ] (<i>dh</i> [d̪:])	<i>ddh</i>
<i>nt, mt</i>	<i>t</i> [nt]	<i>nt</i>
<i>nty</i>	<i>c</i> [n̪t̪e]	<i>ñc</i>
<i>ntr</i>	<i>tr</i> [ntr]	<i>nt</i>
<i>nth</i>	<i>th</i> [n̪t̪h]	<i>nth</i>
<i>nd</i>	<i>d</i> [nd]	<i>nd</i>
<i>ndr</i>	<i>dr</i> [ndr]	<i>ndr</i>
<i>ndh</i>	<i>dh</i> [ndh]	<i>ndh</i>

Original OIA Clusters	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}	P Cognates
<i>nm</i>	<i>m</i> [m:]	<i>mm</i>
<i>ny</i>	<i>ñ</i> [ɲ:]	<i>ññ</i>
<i>nv</i>	<i>n</i> [nv]	<i>nn</i>
<i>pt</i>	<i>t</i> [t:]	<i>tt</i>
<i>py</i>	<i>p</i> [p:]	<i>pp</i>
<i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i> [pr], <i>p</i> [p:]	<i>pp</i>
<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i> [d̥:]	<i>ddh</i>
<i>bhv</i>	<i>dhv</i> [d̥v], <i>dh</i> [d̥:]	<i>ddh</i>
<i>br</i>	<i>br bhr</i> [br]	<i>bb</i>
<i>bhy</i>	<i>bh</i> [b̥:]	<i>bbh</i>
<i>bhr</i>	(<i>bh</i> [b̥:])	<i>bbh</i>
<i>mp, ḡp</i>	<i>p</i> [mp]	<i>mp</i>
<i>ṇpr</i>	<i>pr</i> [mpr]	<i>mp</i>
<i>mb</i>	<i>b</i> [mb]	<i>mb</i>
<i>ṇbh</i>	<i>bh</i> [mb̥]	<i>mbh</i>
<i>my</i>	<i>m</i> [mj]	<i>mm</i>
<i>rk</i>	<i>k</i> [k:]	<i>kk</i>
<i>rg</i>	<i>g</i> [g:]	<i>gg</i>
<i>rj</i>	(<i>rj</i> [rdz])	<i>jj</i>
<i>rṇ</i>	<i>ṇ</i> [n:]	<i>ṇṇ</i>
<i>rt</i>	<i>t</i> [t:]	<i>tt, ḡt</i>
<i>rtm</i>	(<i>t</i> [t:]l)	<i>ṭṭ</i>
<i>rty</i>	<i>c</i> [ṭe:]	<i>cc</i>
<i>rth</i>	<i>th, ḡh</i> [t̥:] (<i>rth</i> [rt̥])	<i>tth, ḡt̥h</i>
<i>rd</i>	<i>d</i> [d:]	<i>dd</i>
<i>rdh</i>	<i>dh</i> [d̥:]	<i>ddh</i>
<i>rp</i>	<i>rp</i> [p:]	<i>pp</i>
<i>rbh</i>	<i>bh</i> [b̥:], <i>h</i> [f̥]	<i>bbh, h</i>
<i>rm</i>	<i>m</i> [m:]	<i>mm</i>
<i>ry</i>	<i>y Ø</i> [j:]	<i>yy, riy</i>
<i>rv</i>	<i>v Ø</i> [v:] (<i>rv</i> [rv])	<i>bb</i>
<i>rś</i>	<i>ś</i> [ç:], <i>ʂ</i> [ʂ:]	<i>ss</i>
<i>rʂ</i>	<i>ʂ</i> [ʂ:]	<i>s</i>
<i>rh</i>	(<i>rah</i> [raħ])	<i>rah</i>

Original OIA Clusters	Reflexes in Nid-G ^{L2}	P Cognates
<i>lbh</i>	<i>bh</i> [b̥ː]	<i>bbh</i>
<i>ly</i>	<i>l</i> [l:]	<i>ll</i>
<i>vy</i>	<i>v</i> [vː]	<i>v, bb, viy</i>
<i>vr</i>	<i>v</i> [vː] (<i>vr</i> [vṛ])	<i>bb</i>
<i>śn</i>	<i>ś</i> [sn] (<i>rñ</i> [jñ̥ː])	<i>ñh</i>
<i>śy</i>	<i>ś</i> [ç]	<i>ss</i>
<i>śr</i>	<i>ś</i> [ʂ], <i>ś</i> [j] (<i>śr</i> [çṛ])	<i>ss</i>
<i>śv</i>	<i>sp</i> [sp]	<i>ss</i>
<i>ṣṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i> [ṣṭ]	<i>tṭh</i>
<i>ṣṭh</i>	<i>ṭh</i> [ṣṭ]	<i>tṭh</i>
<i>ṣṇ</i>	<i>ṣ</i> <i>s</i> [ṣṇ]	<i>ṇh</i>
<i>sy</i>	<i>ś</i> [ç]	<i>ss</i>
<i>sk</i>	<i>k</i> []	<i>kkh</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>st</i> [st]	<i>tth</i>
<i>str</i>	<i>str</i> [str]	<i>tth</i>
<i>sth</i>	<i>th, ṭh</i> [t̥ː] (<i>t</i> [t̥ː], <i>st</i> [st])	<i>tṭh</i>
<i>sn</i>	<i>ś</i> [sn]	<i>nh</i>
<i>sp</i>	<i>ph</i> [p̥ː]	<i>ph</i>
<i>sm</i>	<i>sp</i> [sp], <i>m</i> [m̥ː]	<i>ss, mh, sm</i>
<i>sy</i>	<i>s</i> [sː], <i>s</i> [:z]	<i>ss</i>
<i>sr</i>	<i>ś</i> [ʂ], <i>s</i> [sː], <i>s</i> [z]	<i>ss, s</i>
<i>sv</i>	<i>sp</i> [sp]	<i>ss</i>
<i>hn</i>	<i>n</i> [n̥ː]	<i>ṇh</i>
<i>hm</i>	<i>m</i> [m̥ː]	<i>hm</i>
<i>hy</i>	<i>j ś</i> [j̥ː]	<i>yh</i>

4.2.2.3.1. Nasal + Plosive

OIA [ŋk] is represented by *k* (*paka-*), OIA [ŋg] by *g* (*astagama-*, *kaliga-*, *duagia-*, *śodaśagia-*, *sagraha-*, *samagi-*), OIA [ŋc] by *c* (*akicaña-*, *agicaña-*, *kicano*, *ki ci*, *paca-*), OIA [ŋd] by *d* (*karadadatia-*, *paḍida-*, *paḍidaga-*, *piḍa-*, *piḍavada-*, *rpaṣada*), OIA [nt] by *t* (*añataria-*, *añupraiñiśati*, *ata-*, *atogaditva-*, *a<*sa>tapaïda-*, *uaśata-*,

*u(*a)śamati, kṣiati, carati, cīthatam, niroeti, nivateti, data-, dahati, d(*r)iśati, praghārati, praceati, prañaveti, prayanati, prayoeti, balavatam, bhagavato, bhoti, rahata-, vata-, vadati, vicarati, vijañeti, vijati, śata-, śati, śatipada-, śikṣati, śidibhav<*i>śati, spadivata-), OIA [nt^h] by *th* (*gratha-*), OIA [nd] by *d* (*abhinadami, abhiñadidava-, abhiñadea, chadaraga-, nadi-, nisada-, vadadi*), OIA [nd^h] by *dh* (*adha-, avadhāna-, kadha-, jacadha-*), OIA [mp] by *p* (*avigapia-, sapana-*), OIA [mb] by *b* (*abuya-*) and OIA [mb^h] by *bh* (*avisabhuda-, sabudha-, sabhava-, sabhodi*).*

There is no indication of voicing or any other weakening in plosives following nasals, and we may assume that OIA nasal + plosive cluster remained unchanged in the language of our text (apart from the independent unconditioned sound change and subsequent nasal adjustment in OIA [ŋc] > [n̄t̄]; § 4.2.2). This finding agrees with the language of most currently known Gāndhārī manuscripts, including the precise phonetic orthography of British Library scribe 14, and contrasts sharply with the language of the Khotan Dharmapada where following a nasal segment, voiced plosives are assimilated leading to a long nasal consonant (e.g., OIA [nd] > [n:]) and unvoiced plosives are voiced OIA (e.g., [nt] > [nd]; Brough 1962: 98–100); the Niya Documents show traces of such assimilation (Burrow 1937: § 46).⁴²

See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [ŋkʂ], [ŋkl], [ŋkʰj], [ŋʃŋ], [ntj], [ntr], [ndr] and [mpr].

⁴²It has been suggested (Lüders 1954: 125–126, with doubts Berger 1956: 103, 109) that the sound changes [nt] > [nd], [ŋʃ] > [n:] and [nd] > [n:], reported for Māgadī by the Prakrit grammarians and reflected in isolated Pali words, were a property of the Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan language of the earliest Buddhist tradition. In light of their apparently complete absence from the newly discovered corpus of Gāndhārī manuscripts, one should reconsider the possibility that they may not have been part of Gāndhārī language history proper at all, but that their presence in the Khotan Dharmapada at least might be due to faithful reproduction of its Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan source material (a possibility rejected by Brough 1962: 99–100 on the basis of the evidence available to him).

Table 25. Developments of nasal + plosive

$\dot{n}k$ [ŋk] > k [ŋk]	nt $\dot{m}t$ [nt] > t [nt]
$\dot{n}g$ [ŋg] > g [ŋg]	nth [nt ^h] > th [nt ^h]
$\tilde{n}c$ $\dot{m}c$ [nc] > c [n̄c̄]	nd [nd] > d [nd]
	ndh [nd ^h] > dh [nd ^h]
$\dot{n}d$ [nd] > d [nd]	mp $\dot{m}p$ [mp] > p [mp]
	mb [mb] > b [mb]
	mbh [mb ^h] > bh [mb ^h]

4.2.2.3.2. Nasalized Approximant + Fricative or Approximant

OIA [vç] is represented by *s* (*aśa-*, *vaśa-*, *śaśaga-*), OIA [vs] by *s* (*pasu-*, *vimasa-*, *sasara-*), OIA [vj] by *y* (*sayoyāna-*), OIA [vv] by *v* (*savara-*) and OIA [vh] by *h* (*sahariadi*).

Where our scribe has *s̄*, British Library scribe 14 uses *s̄*, not *ś* (*ariavaṁśa-*, SaṅGm-G), and where our scribe has *s*, British Library scribe 14 uses *s*, not *ś* (*vimāṇasasamasi-*, SaṅGm-G). This indicates that fricatives were not subject to voicing after OIA [v]. It also suggests that [v] remained a full segment in Gāndhārī rather than resulting in nasalized vowels, since the latter development would have left the fricatives uncombined between vowels and subject to unattested weakening (§ 4.2.2.1.2.5).

See § 4.2.5 for the unrelated process of sibilant assimilation in *śaśea*. In the OIA correspondent of *evalakṣaya-*, the consonant cluster [vl] occurs across compound boundary and may have been subject to Gāndhārī recomposition. See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [vsk] and [vsth].

Table 26. Developments of nasalized approximant + fricative or approximant

$\dot{m}s$ [vç] > <i>s̄</i> [vç]	$\dot{m}y$ [vj] > <i>y</i> [vj]
$\dot{m}s$ [vs] > <i>s</i> [vs]	$\dot{m}v$ [vv] > <i>v</i> [vv]

4.2.2.3.3. Plosive + Plosive and Nasal + Nasal

OIA [tk] is represented by *k* (*saka[y]Ja-*), OIA [dg] by *g* ([*moga*]lana-), OIA [dg^h] by *g* (*ugadāṇa-*, *ugadida-*), OIA [kt] by *t* (*niyuta-*, ***muta-***, ***yuta-***, *yuta-*, *vatava-*, *vimuta-*, *vimuti-*, *vimutida-*, ***vivita-***, *vivita-*, *vuta-*) and by *th* (*visathiga-*), OIA [pt] by *t* (***anoalita-***, *anoalita-*, ***guta-***, *prata-*, *sata-*, *satamaa-*) and by *tv* (*suni[ja]tva-*), OIA [tp] by *p* ([*upa*]jadi, *upana-*, *padicasamupada-*, *pracupana-*) and OIA [bd^h] by *dh* (*ladha-*, *p[a]dipraṣadhi-*).

In combinations of two plosives, the first plosive is assimilated to the second plosive. There is no indication of subsequent weakening, and we may assume that the Gāndhārī end result of this assimilation was a long version of the original second plosive. OIA [dg^h] further appears to have been subject to deaspiration, resulting in [g:], in the word family of *ugadāṇa-* and *ugaḍida-* (cf. also *saṅgasa-*, SaṅgCm-G); it remains unclear whether deaspiration was a general development in the cluster [dg^h]. On the other hand, it is likely that *th* in *visathiga-* (OIA viṣaktikā-) is an orthographical variant and represents the expected pronunciation [t:]. The spelling of *suni[ja]tva-* (OIA sunidhyapta-) indicates a deeper confusion that may be based on phonological characteristics of another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect (see the text note on line 9.114), and in particular reminds us of the spelling *pt* for OIA [tv] in Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Girnar (interpreted as a labialized dental [tʷ] by von Hinüber 2001: § 252).

In the OIA correspondents of [*ta*]parayana-, *tamaya-*, *pusujana-*, *sameñuga-*, *sametva-* and *sameprasana-*, the consonant clusters [tp], [nm], [gʃ], [gp], [ktv] and [kpr] occur across compound boundary and may have been subject to Gāndhārī recomposition. See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant cluster [bd^hv].

Table 27. Development of plosive + plosive and nasal + nasal

<i>tk</i> [tk] > <i>k</i> [k:]	<i>tp</i> [tp] > <i>p</i> [p:]
<i>dg</i> [dg] > <i>g</i> [g:]	
<i>kt</i> [kt] > <i>t</i> [t:]	<i>dgh</i> [dg ^h] > <i>g</i> [g:]
<i>pt</i> [pt] > <i>t</i> [t:]	<i>bh</i> [bd ^h] > <i>dh</i> [d ^h :]

4.2.2.3.4. [r] or [l] + Plosive, Nasal or Fricative

OIA [rk] is represented by *k* (*vitra[ka]-*), OIA [rg] by *g* (*maga-*), OIA [rʃ] by *rj* ([va]rja[e], *vivarjita*, *vivarj[i]da-*), OIA [rt] by *t* (*nivateti*, *vataṇi-*, *va[t]amaṇi*, *vatedi*) and by *rt* (*vartamani-*), OIA [rth] by *ṭh* (*aṭhea-*), by *th* (*t[i]thiga-*) and by *rth* (*artha-*, *artha-*, *arthia-*), OIA [rd] by *d* (*kadama-*, *nideśa-*, *nideśa-*), OIA [rd^h] by *dh* (*bahidha*, *bahidha-*), OIA [rp] by *p* (*a[*sa]ta]paīda-*), OIA [rb^h] by *h* (*caduhi*), OIA [lb^h] by *bh* ([*a][p](*r)ag[a]bha-), OIA [rŋ] by *ɳ* (*utina-*, *caduṇa*, *tina-*, *vana-*, *vitina-*), OIA [rm] by *m* (*ujuama-*, *kama-*, **kamuṇa**, **kamuṇo**, **dhama-**, *dhama-*, *nimala-*), OIA [rç] by *ś* (*daśana-*, *daśana-*, *daśida-*, *daśedi*, *draśida-*) and by *ʂ* ([pha]ʂ[i]a[di], [pha]ʂida-, *phasida*(*tva)-, *s[u]phasidatva-*) and OIA [rʂ] by *ʂ* (*caduʂu*).

The regular development of OIA [r] or [l] followed by any other consonant (see § 4.2.2.3.13 for [r] + approximant) appears to have been assimilation to the second consonant, and in most cases, the end result was a long version of the second consonant. This is confirmed by the modern Dardic languages, e.g., Kashmiri *kam* < OIA *karman-* (CDIAL s.v. *kárman*⁻¹). Proper names such as *budhavaruma-* (Fussman 1989: 469) with epenthetic resolution of the OIA cluster [rm] are quite possibly of non-Gāndhārī origin and cannot be used to determine regular sound developments. The form *caduhi* further confirms assimilation of [r] to following consonants: based on the Gāndhārī spelling and the Pali parallel form *catūhi*, the pronunciation of this word was [t̪caðu:hi], presupposing an intermediate step [t̪cadub^h:i] with assimilated consonant cluster. The evidence of *catūhi* further suggests that the pronunciation of *caduʂu* was [t̪caðu:ʐu], based on an intermediate step [t̪caduʂu]. The overall evidence

thus strongly suggests that word forms in which *r* precedes another consonant are best interpreted as historical spellings (*artha-*, *artha-*, *arthia-*, [va]rja[e], *vartamaṇi-*, *vivarjita*, *vivarji]da-*). It remains unclear whether the regular outcome of OIA [rç] was [ç:] (parallel to the development of [r] followed by other consonants) or [ʂ] since each of these two results is only attested in members of a single word family.

See § 4.2.2.3.5 for the phonetic interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhi modified sign ḫ. In the OIA correspondent of *punabhabava-*, the consonant cluster [rbʱ] occurs across compound boundary and may have been subject to Gāndhārī recomposition. It is not clear whether *s* in the problematic word [r]paṣada- goes back to OIA [rʂ] (cf. the text commentary on line 13-52). See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant cluster [rtm].

Table 28. Developments of [r] or [l] + plosive, nasal or fricative

<i>rk</i> [rk] > <i>k</i> [k:]	<i>rɳ</i> [rɳ] > <i>n</i> [n:]
<i>rg</i> [rg] > <i>g</i> [g:]	<i>rm</i> [rm] > <i>m</i> [m:]
<i>rt</i> [rt] > <i>t</i> [t:]	
<i>rd</i> [rd] > <i>d</i> [d:]	<i>rś</i> [rç] > <i>ś</i> [ç:], <i>s</i> [ʂ:]
<i>rp</i> [rp] > <i>p</i> [p:]	<i>rʂ</i> [rʂ] > <i>s</i> [ʂ:] (> <i>s</i> [z])
<i>rth</i> [rtʰ] > ḫ, <i>th</i> [tʰ:]	
<i>rdh</i> [rd̥] > <i>dh</i> [d̥:]	
<i>rbh</i> [rb̥] > [b̥:] (> <i>h</i> [f̥])	
<i>lbh</i> [lb̥] > <i>bh</i> [b̥:]	

4.2.2.3.5. Fricative or [h] + Plosive

OIA [ʂ] is represented by *th* (*akroṭha-*, *aṭhamaga-*, *avaśi[th]a-*, *drīthi-*, *drīthi-*, [pa]yī[thi]-, *praduṭha-*, *ruṭha-*, *śi[tha]ga-*), OIA [ʂʈʰ] by *ṭh* (*anīṭhuri-*, *uadi[th]a-*, *cīṭhata[m]*, *pradīṭhida-*, *pradīṭhida-*, *prāṭha-*, *śreṭha-*), OIA [sk] by *k* (*kadha-*, *kadha-*), OIA [st] by *st* (*astagama-*, *asti*, *asti*, *vastu-*, *vistara-*, *śastu-*), OIA [stʰ] by *ṭh* (*ṭhanā-*, *ṭhidaga-*, *ṭhida-*, *ṭhidi-*, *drok[ar]aṭha-*, *bhumāṭha-*, *suuaṭhida-*, *spadoa-ṭhanā-*), by *th* (*thidaga-*, *thida-*), by *rth* (*bhumartha-*), by *t* ([u]ṭa[vedi], *ṭida-*, *d[r]iṭhi-* *ṭhanā-*)

tāṇa-, *pravadaṭa-*, *viñāṇaṭidi-*, *sadu[at]ida-*, *suavaṭida-*, [*spado*]aṭāṇa-) and by *st* (*pada[sta]ṇa-*), OIA [sp] by *ph* ([*pha*]ṣ[i]a[di], [*pha*]ṣida-, *phaṣida*(*tva)-, *s[u]phaṣidatva-*) and OIA [hk^h] by *kh* (**dukha-**, *dukha-*, *dukhada-*).

There are thus two clearly distinct types of treatment, depending on whether the second member of the cluster has a coronal (dental, retroflex) or non-coronal (labial, velar) point of articulation. On the evidence of the modern Dardic languages, the Kharoṣṭhī signs *st* and *ṭh* represent the preserved pronunciations [st] (OIA *hasta-* > Pashai *hāst*, *hōst*, Khowar *host*) and [ṣṭ] (OIA *aṣṭan-* > Pashai *āṣṭa*, Khowar *oṣṭ*; Brough 1962: 77). In the case of [ṣṭ], this is further confirmed by the representation of non-Indian loanwords (Niya Gāndhārī *ṣoṭhamga-*, cf. Tocharian A *ṣoṣṭāṇk-*) and proper names (coin legends *cathana-*, cf. Greek τιαστανής and Uigur čṣt'ny) in Gāndhārī (Brough 1962: 76). OIA [ṣṭ^h] evidently merged with [ṣṭ] (or at least a possible difference in pronunciation between these two clusters was not considered significant enough to mark in writing).

The phonetic interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī modified sign *ṭh* (representing OIA [st^h] and [rt^h]; § 4.2.2.3.4) is more complicated. We have to assume that it marked a pronunciation sufficiently different from both [st] and [ṣṭ] to create a need to record it separately. The reflex of OIA [st^h] (and sometimes [rt^h]) in Pali and other Middle Indo-Aryan languages is [ṭh:] with (in the case of [st^h]) unexplained retroflexion. On the basis of this parallel, the distinctive feature marked by the Gāndhārī modified sign *ṭh* could be related either to aspiration or to retroflexion or to the assimilation of the cluster into a long consonant. Since aspiration is apparently not preserved in the retroflex sibilant + plosive cluster [ṣṭ] (< OIA [ṣṭ] and [ṣṭ^h]), the interpretation of *ṭh* as a sibilant + aspirated plosive cluster seems unlikely. The interpretation of *ṭh* as an aspirated long consonant [ṭh:] as in Pali is unlikely on systematic phonetic grounds since none of the three OIA clusters [st], [ṣṭ] and [ṣṭ^h] underwent such assimilation in Gāndhārī, and it would leave the occasional use of *t* for OIA [st^h] (see below) unexplained.

The third explanation suggested by the Middle Indo-Aryan parallels seems more

likely: the distinctive feature marked by *ṭh* could be related to the unexplained retroflexion of the corresponding long consonant in Pali. Important information for the phonetic interpretation of the Gāndhārī reflex is provided by two variant spellings. The Aśokan rock edicts at Shahbazgarhi write *aṭha-* for OIA *artha-*, and unpublished avadāna texts in the British Library collection contain the forms *[uva]ṭhayagasa* (OIA *upasthāyakasya*), *ṭhidaga-* (OIA *sthitaka-*) and *pr[ə]cathā-* (OIA *pratyartha-*),⁴³ with *ṭh* (usually [ʂ]) in place of *ṭh*. The other variant spelling occurs in the forms *thida-* and *thidaga-* in our own text, with *th* [tʰ] in place of regular *ṭh* (possibly also reflected in Kumārajīva's "South Indian" transcriptions 他那 *tānā* = QYS [thānā] for the arapacana keyword OIA *sthāna-*, G *ṭhāṇa-*, and 阿他 *ātā* = QYS [ṭhātā] for OIA *artha-*, G *aṭha-*; § 4.5).

If the distinctive feature represented by *ṭh* is related to the unexplained retroflexion in Pali, and if in Gāndhārī it can alternatively be represented by signs for dental ([tʰ]) and retroflex ([ʂ]) articulations, then we may suggest that this feature was an alveolar point of articulation, intermediate between the dental and the retroflex but, significantly, corresponding to the alveolar articulation of cluster-initial [r] (§ 4.2.2) in OIA [ṛtʰ] > G *ṭh*, *ṭh*, *rth*. The presence of a distinct alveolar point of articulation in the Indian linguistic area is most evident in the Dravidian languages, and also in Old Indo-Aryan and Gāndhārī the alveolar nature of [r] and [ṛ] played a role in several phonetic processes of assimilation (§ 4.2.2).

But unlike in the Dravidian languages, in Gāndhārī and, apparently, Pali the retraction of dental [stʰ] and alveolar-dental [ṛtʰ] to a purely alveolar articulation was not supported by an established series of alveolar plosives and therefore remained ephemeral, leading to mergers with the retroflex and dental series in Pali and, ultimately, with the dental series in Gāndhārī and the Dardic languages (cf. Kashmiri *path* < OIA *prastha-* and *sāth* < OIA *sārtha-*; CDIAL s.vv. *sārtha-*, *prastha-*²).

Within Gāndhārī, the earliest representation of this alveolar articulation would then be *ṭh* (primarily used for [ʂ]) in the Aśokan edicts and in the British Library

⁴³The avadāna forms were collected by Timothy Lenz.

avadānas, apparently doing duty both for an alveolar cluster [st] (< OIA [sth], parallel to G [st] and [ṣṭ]) and for an alveolar aspirated plosive [tʰ:] (< OIA [ṛtʰ], parallel to G [tʰ:]). The modified sign *ṭh* was then introduced to distinguish these two alveolar articulations clearly from the retroflex one. The rare Kharoṣṭhī sign *ṭ*, a modified form of *t* occurring in a recently discovered manuscript of arapacana verses (BC 5; Strauch 2008 and personal communication) and in the partial arapacana sign list on ND 512, is associated with the Gāndhārī word corresponding to OIA *artha-* (Brough 1977: 91–92) and thus appears to be an attempt to add a distinct sign for the alveolar plosive [tʰ:] and to reserve the previously ambiguous sign *ṭh* for the representation of the alveolar cluster [st]. Both of these signs are included in the arapacana sign list; see § 4.5 for the pronunciation evidence provided by their positions within the list.

But judging from the currently available evidence, the orthographic innovation represented by *ṭ* did not catch on in scribal practice, and a possible reason is suggested by the spelling *th* in our text (*thida-*, *thidaga-*) which marks the final merger of [st] (< OIA [sth]) and [tʰ] (< OIA [ṛtʰ]) in the dental aspirate plosive [tʰ] (also < OIA [tʰ]) as preserved in the modern Dardic languages. There was thus no longer any phonetic need for the distinctions marked by *ṭh* and *ṭ*, but in contrast to *ṭ* the better-established orthography *ṭh* continued to be used until the latest phase of Kharoṣṭhī writing due to its usefulness as a graphical marker for the OIA etymological values *sth* and *rth*.

The proposed phonetic interpretation of our text, with *st* as [st], *th* as [ṣṭ] and *ṭh* as [tʰ], simultaneously provides an explanation for the occasional spelling *t* [t̪] for OIA [sth] = P [tʰ:] ([u]ṭa[vedi], *tida-*, *d[r]iṭhiṭaṇa-*, *pravadate*, *viñāṇaṭidi-*, *sadu[at]ida-*, *suavaṭida-*, [*spado*]ṭaṇa-). These words are likely to have entered our text under the influence of a midlands or Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect that (like Pali) pronounced [t̪], which is further supported by the presence of the Eastern nominative singular ending *-e* in *pravadate* (for which our text otherwise consistently uses *-o* or *-a*; § 5.1.1.1). The reflection of this Eastern phonetic feature throughout our text further suggests that an oral component was involved in its composition. If the

passages in question had been copied from a midlands or Eastern Indian Brāhmī manuscript, then the Brāhmī sign *th* should have been consistently transposed to Kharoṣṭhī *th*, *ṭh* or *th*. If, however, a monk from Eastern India recited a text or passages from a text in his own dialect, and these passages were simultaneously written down by a Gāndhārī speaker in Kharoṣṭhī script, then these occurrences of *t* [t̪] are readily understood as the best available phonetic representation of the non-Gāndhārī sound [t̪ʰ] for which Kharoṣṭhī provided no separate sign. Similarly, the spelling *st* [st̪] of the technical term *pada[sta]na-* would reflect the Sanskrit pronunciation [st̪ʰ] for which Kharoṣṭhī provided no separate sign. Finally, the form *bhumartha-* with *rth* for expected *ṭh* (etymological) or *th* (phonetic) < OIA [st̪ʰ] is a wrong historical spelling of the kind that occurs throughout our text.

Turning our attention to the combination of fricatives or the glottal phonation [h] with a following labial or velar stop, we see that in contrast to the combinations with coronal stops assimilation is the rule. The usual end result of these assimilations is a long aspirated version of the original plosive in the Old Indo-Aryan cluster. This is the case in the word family of *phaṣida-* as well as in the word *dukha-* and its derivatives, and in the context of a three-consonant cluster it is attested in *sakhara-*. One exception to this rule is the word *kadha-*, but even here there are indications of a connection with the aspirate: in the orthography of other scribes, the word *kadha-* is regularly written with the modified sign *K*, and the word *sakhara-* similarly occurs as *saṄkara-* (AG-G^L). While the precise phonetic interpretation of *K* and, by implication, initial *k* of *kadha-* in our scribe's orthography remains uncertain, it is evidently used as a graphic marker for OIA etymological *sk*.

In the OIA correspondents of *ṇikama-*, *ṇikileśa-*, *punapuno*, the consonant clusters [ṣk] and [hp] occur across compound boundary and may have been subject to Gāndhārī recomposition. See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [vṣk], [vṣt̪ʰ] and [str]. The origin of the word *aprihalu-* is doubtful (see PTSD s.v. and note *ri* instead of expected *ro* < OIA [ṛ]; § 4.2.1.3); the spelling *p* in this word may not actually represent OIA *sp*. See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development

of the OIA three-consonant cluster [vsk].

Table 29. Development of fricative or [h] + plosive

$st [st] > st [st]$ $sth [st^h] > \dot{t}h, th [t^h:]$ $\dot{s}t [\dot{s}t] > \dot{t}h [\dot{s}t]$ $\dot{s}th [\dot{s}t^h] > \dot{t}h [\dot{s}t]$	$sk [sk] > k []$ $sp [sp] > ph [p^h:]$ $hkh [hk^h] > kh [k^h:]$
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4.2.2.3.6. Plosive + Fricative

OIA [kç] is represented by *kṣ* (*aikṣadi*, (**ai*)*kṣahi*), OIA [kʂ] by *kṣ* (*acakṣu-*, *kṣina-*, *cakṣu-*, *pakṣa-*, *padipakṣia-*, *[ya]kṣa-*, *yakṣa-*, *lakṣaṇa-*, *vosapakṣia-*, *sakṣi-*, (**sa*)*kṣia-*) and by *kh* (*[tr]ilakhana-*, *aśekhada-*, *bhikhu-*, *cakhu-*, *pa[li]kha[id]a-*, *śekha-*, *śekhada-*) and OIA [ts] by *ts* (*amatsari-*, *viyigitsa-*).

On the basis of Indian loanwords in other languages, it has been argued that the pronunciation of the Kharoṣṭhī sign *kṣ* was [tʂ] (Brough 1962: 72–73). This receives further support from the form *kuchi-* AG-G^L 28 < OIA *kukṣi-* (Salomon 2008: 124) in which [tʂ] appears to have palatalized to [tʃ] by the following palatal vowel; the spelling of *kṣatra-* < OIA *chattra-* AG-G^L 8, 9 also confirms the phonetic closeness of G *kṣ* [tʂ] to *ch* [tʃ^h] although the precise reasons for this confusion remain unclear (Salomon 2008: 111, 198). The phonetic development of the two plosive + fricative clusters attested in our text was thus entirely parallel: the point of articulation of the plosive was assimilated to that of the fricative.⁴⁴ Parallel to the assimilating behavior of [s] and [ʂ], we should have expected OIA [kç] to be represented by *c* [tç] instead of *kṣ* in *aikṣadi*, but the consonant clusters [kç] and [kʂ] evidently merged in [kʂ]

⁴⁴In the word *juho[śpi](*da)-, joho[śp](*ida)-* AG-G^L 30, 33 < OIA *jugupsita-*, metathesis of OIA [ps] to G [sp] preempted assimilation (Salomon 2008: 124). In the hand of British Library scribe 1, the only part that distinguishes the aksaras śp from ts from each other is their upper left corner (Salomon 2008: 94–95) which in both AG-G^L instances is damaged. The reading of the words in question therefore remained tentative, but is now confirmed by the word fragments *ajuhosp* and *{pa}r[i]ju-h/o}spie* in our text (line 1823) where *sp* and *ts* are clearly distinguished (§§ 3.4.2.1–2). (For the regular Pali development of this word family, cf. von Hinüber 2001: §§ 237–238 on P *jigucchatī* and its likely pronunciation [džigutsati].)

already in Old Indo-Aryan (KEWA s.v. *kśāti*, EWA s.v. *KŚĀ*).

The words *aśekhada-*, *cakhu-*, *[tr]ilakhaṇa-*, *pa[li]kha[id]a-*, *bhikhu-*, *śekha-*, *śekhada-* with [k^h:] for OIA [kʂ] (all of them technical terms or part of technical terms) are likely to be loanwords. The form *pragharati* also appears to be a loanword, derived from an Old Indo-Aryan dialect form corresponding to *prakṣaranti*, but with a voiced cluster [gz] instead of [kʂ] (cf. MIA *jharai*; von Hinüber 2001: § 236). The words *padipakṣia-*, *vosapakṣia-* and <*sa>*kṣia-* do not provide evidence for the Gāndhārī development of three-member clusters involving plosive + fricative since they derive from the Old Indo-Aryan forms [pakṣija] and *[sa:kṣija] (by Sievers-Edgerton's Law; von Hinüber 2001: § 152). See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [kʂm] and [ɳkʂ].

Table 30. Developments of fricative + plosive

<i>kʂ</i> [kʂ] > <i>kʂ</i> [ʈʂ]	<i>ts</i> [ts] > <i>ts</i> [ts]
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4.2.2.3.7. Plosive + Non-Labial Nasal, [r] or [j]

OIA [kr] is represented by *kr* (*akroṭha-*, *adikrama-*, *[kra]ma-*, *kria-*, *krodha-*, *krosa-*, *krosa-*, *samadikrama-*), OIA [kl] by *kr* (śukra-, *aśukra-*) and *kil* (*kileśa-*, *kileśa-*, *ṇikileśa-*, *sakileśa-*), OIA [gr] by *gr* (*agra-*, *agra-*, *gratha-*, *grama-*, *grama-*, *parigraha-*, *[v]Jigra[h]Ja-*), OIA [tr] by *tr* (*asimatra-*, *tri-*, *tr[e]-*, *matra-*, *matra-*), OIA [dr] by *dr* (*dra[va]-*), OIA [dṛ̥r] by *dhr* ((**a*)[*g*](**r*)[*idh*](**r*)*a-*, *agridhra-*, *agridhratva-*) and by *dh* (*aṇaṇugridha-*, *gridhada-*, *agrirdha-*), OIA [pr] by *pr* (*prañña-*, *prañña-*, *pratha-*, *pra[ś]ja-*) and by *p* (*padia-*, *padicasamupada-*, *p[al]dipraṣadhi-*, *paḍiliṇa-*, *paḍivada-*, *parapaḍividha-*, *paḍhama-*), OIA [br] by *br* (*bramana-*, *b[ro]Jmi*) and by *bhr* (*bhromi*) and OIA [bṛ̥r] by *bh* (*ora[bh]ja-*).

OIA [gn] is represented by *g* (*agi-*, *agi-*) and OIA [ɟŋ] by *ñ* (*añada-*, *añana-*, *abhiñada-*, *abhiñea-*, *a[vi]ñña-*, *ñatva*, *ñada-*, *ñadava-*, *ñaña-*, *ñana-*, *ñan[i]-*, *ñanida-*, *pariñña-*, *prañña-*, *prañava-*, *prañaveti*, *[mo]hañña-*, *viñña-*, *viñana-*, *saña-*, *sarvañuda-*,

savañuda-, *saviññaṇea-*).

OIA [k^{hj}] is represented by *kh* (*asaprakha***ṇa*-, *sakha*-, ***sakhada***-, *sakhada*-, *sakhaīda*-, **sakhayaṇa*-), OIA [pj] by *p* (*lipadi*, *ruarupa*) and OIA [b^{hj}] by *bh* (*abhasa*-).

OIA [cj] is represented by *c* (*cudoavada*-, *vimucadi*, *vucadi*), OIA [tj] by *c* (***acatari***, *anica*-, *caga*-, *jacadha*-, ***duracaga***-, *padicasamupada*-, *pracaṇubhodi*, *prac-upaṇa*-, ***pracedi***, ***praceadi***, *pracea[ti]*, *saca*-, *saca*-), OIA [t^{hj}] by *ch* (*yasatacha*), OIA [dj] by *j* (*anachejada*-, ***anavaja***-, *avija*-, *[upa]jadi*, *tr[e]vijada*-, ***paja***-, *vija*-, *vijadi*, *vijati*, *veharajada*-, *[savaja]-*) and OIA [d^{hj}] by *Ȣ* (*a[Ȣ]atvia*-, *aȢatva*-) and *j* (*ajatva*, *ajatva*-, *anumaja*-, *avijayadi*, *[nija]ṇa*-, *ma[j]ima*-, *suni[ja]tva*-).

The Old Indo-Aryan combinations of plosives with [r] are preserved unchanged. The form *śukra*- shows that OIA [kl] merged with OIA [kr] in G *kr* [kr], and this is confirmed for word-initial position by *[kr]umaa*- < OIA *kłomaka*- SĀ-G⁵⁵ 3 (Glass 2007: 157). Consequently the word family of *kileśa*- needs to be considered as borrowings from a midlands or Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, in the former case with restitution of historical ś [j]. Borrowing also provides the most likely explanation for the absence of postconsonantal *r* in *anañugridha*-, *gridhada*-, *agrirdha*- and *ora[bh]ia*-.

The forms *padi*- < OIA *prati*- and *padhama*- < OIA *prathama*- are based on MIA antecedents [pat̪i] and [pat̪hama] (cf. P *pat̪i*-, *pathama*-; §§ 4.2.2.1.2.1–2) and thus not indicative of a Gāndhārī loss of [r] after plosive.

The combination of a plosive with a following nasal leads to complete assimilation. Where coronal and non-coronal points of articulation are combined, the result of the assimilation is a long version of the plosive ([gn] > [g:]); in the case of OIA [ʃn], where the points of articulation of both consonants are coronal, the assimilation is mutual and results in a long version of the nasal at the shared point of articulation ([ŋ:]).

A similar difference of behavior can be observed in the combinations of plosives with a following palatal approximant [j]. If the plosive is non-coronal, the result of assimilation is a long version of the original stop ([k^{hj}] > [k^h:], [pj] > [p:], [b^{hj}] >

[b^{h:}]). Where the plosive is coronal, the assimilation was mutual and proceeded in parallel with the unconditioned sound change of Old Indo-Aryan palatal plosives to Middle Indo-Aryan alveolo-palatal affricates (§ 4.2.2). The point of articulation is in each case conditioned to be palatal by the palatal approximant [j], and voicing and aspiration of the resultant long affricate agree with the original plosive. In the case of unvoiced and of voiced unaspirated plosives, this leads to merger with long versions of the unconditioned reflexes of the Old Indo-Aryan palatal plosive series ([t̪c:], [t̪ch:] and [d̪z:]). In the case of the voiced aspirated plosive [d^h], the result of the assimilation is in our text written both with the consonant sign *j* and with the modified consonant sign *ȳ* (see § 4.6 for the orthographic convention employed here). The same two consonant signs are also used for the Gāndhārī reflex of OIA [fj] (*dajamana-*; *da᷍jamana-* Dhp-G^K 159) and a third orthography employed for the latter purpose is *s̪* (*daśamana-*; § 4.2.2.3.12), suggesting that the articulation indicated by *ȳ* (and by the equivalent orthography *jv* / *ȳ* in SaṅgCm-G; § 4.6) both in these examples and in the reflex of OIA [d^hj] was [j:].

The nature of this reflex as a palatal fricative is further confirmed by the eventual introduction of a new Kharoṣṭhī basic consonant sign *z* to represent it unambiguously (*zana-* CKI 249, 5 < OIA [d^hja:nə], *guza-* [guj:a] SĀ-G^{SS} < OIA [gufjə]). The graphical shape of this new consonant sign appears to be a horizontally mirrored *ñ*, indicating its palatal pedigree. Nonetheless, Burrow 1937: § 22 suggested that the pronunciation was [z] based on examples in the Niya Documents such as *tivaza-* < OIA *divasa-* and *daza-* < OIA *dāsa-* besides the more common spellings *divasa-* and *dasa-*. He also notes, however, that it occurs in the verb form *agazidati*, based on the past participle of *grah* where surely it must be a palatal reflex of either OIA [h] preceding [i] (cf. the development of *iśa* [ija] < OIA [iḥa]; § 4.2.2.1.2.4) or of a combination [fj] based on the passive present stem. It is also hard to justify why *z* for [z] should coexist in the same corpus of texts with an established and more widely used orthography for [z] (namely, *s̪*), while at the same time the orthography *ȳ* was not employed and the need for an unambiguous representation of the Gāndhārī sound [j]

not otherwise met. The orthography *z* is further used to represent the Iranian sound corresponding to OIA [j] in names such as *zadamitra-* BL 1 (Salomon 1999: 127–128). The precise pronunciation of this sound in the most relevant Iranian language, Bactrian, remains unclear, but the values suggested for the Bactrian letter ζ in Sims-Williams 1989: 233 include (besides dental “z” and “dz”) palatal “ž.” The reflex [z] < OIA [d^hj] in modern Dardic languages (e.g., Ashkun *māzuma* < OIA *madhyama-*; CDIAL s.v. *madhyamá-*) has likewise been used to argue for a dental articulation of Gāndhārī *z* (Glass 2000: 110–111), but in fact the Dardic dental reflex does allow for a Gāndhārī palatal pronunciation of *z* since in general the modern Dardic dental fricatives and aspirates are based on old palatals (Kashmiri *zan* < OIA *jana-*, Kashmiri *wuzun* < OIA *udyāti* or *ujjāyate*; CDIAL s.vv. *jána*, *údyāti*). Finally, the position of the new consonant sign *z* in the arapacana sign list also indicates that it was a close phonetic relation of *ch* [tč^h] (see § 4.5), which not only confirms the palatal interpretation of *z*, but additionally makes it likely that the development OIA [d^hj] > G [j:] involved a distinct intermediate step [dž^h:] with unstable plosive onset.

The form *mudiyo* is based on an inflectional merger with the Old Indo-Aryan *nadyā* [nadija:] type (§ 5.1.1.5) and does thus not contribute data for the development of [dj]. The same is true of the word *avigapia-*, which goes back to the OIA contextual variant [avikampija] (Sievers-Edgerton’s Law; von Hinüber 2001: § 152). The verb form *uavadiadi* (= OIA *upapadyate*) is based on the analogical transfer of the MIA passive suffix *-īya-* (§ 5.1.4.3) and thus likewise does not reflect OIA [dj]. The interpretation of the form *viriamuhie* remains unclear (see text commentary on line 9.48). See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [ŋkl], [ŋgr], [ntj], [ntr], [ndr], [mpr] and [rtj].

Table 31. Developments of plosive + [r] or non-labial nasal or approximant

<i>kr</i> [kr] > <i>kr</i> [kr]	<i>khy</i> [kʰj] > <i>kh</i> [kʰ:]
<i>kl</i> [kl] > <i>kr</i> [kr]	<i>py</i> [pj] > <i>p</i> [p:]
<i>gr</i> [gr] > <i>gr</i> [gr]	<i>bhy</i> [bʱj] > <i>bh</i> [bʱ:]
<i>tr</i> [tr] > <i>tr</i> [tr]	
<i>dr</i> [dr] > <i>dr</i> [dr]	<i>cy</i> [cj] > <i>c</i> [t̪e:]
<i>dhr</i> [dʱr] > <i>dhr</i> [dʱr]	<i>ty</i> [tj] > <i>c</i> [t̪e:]
<i>pr</i> [pr] > <i>pr</i> [pr]	<i>rty</i> [rtj] > <i>c</i> [t̪e:]
<i>br</i> [br] > <i>br</i> <i>bhr</i> [br]	<i>thy</i> [t̪j] > <i>ch</i> [t̪eʰ:]
<i>gn</i> [gn] > <i>g</i> [g:]	<i>dy</i> [dj] > <i>j</i> [d̪z:]
<i>jñ</i> [jŋ] > <i>ñ</i> [ŋ:]	<i>dhy</i> [dʱj] > [d̪zʱ:] > <i>j</i> [j:]

4.2.2.3.8. Fricative + Nasal or [v]

OIA [sn] is represented by *ś* (*śayadi*, *śeha-*), OIA [çn] by *ś* (*pra[ś]a-*) and *rñ* (*prarña-*) and OIA [ʂṇ] by *ʂ* (*akriṣa-*, *kriṣa-*, *taṣa-*, *taśa-*) and *ʂ* (*[vi]adatasa-*, *akriṣa-*).

The combinations of the OIA dental and retroflex fricatives with following non-labial nasals are preserved in some of the modern Dardic languages (Khowar *isnár*, Gawar-Bati *sinān*; Kalasha *krizṇa* (Rumbur), *krīñda* (Urtsun), Bashkarik *kiṣin*, Torwali *kəṣən*, Savi *kṣenī*, Phalura *kiṣīnu*, Shina *kiṇū* (Kohistani); Khowar *thruṣni*; CDIAL s.vv. *snātā*, *snāna*, *kṛṣṇā-*, *tṛṣṇā*), while others show the effects of assimilation to an aspirated nasal consonant as in Pali (Kashmiri *nörü*; Kashmiri *krēhonu*, Dameli *krinā*, Tirahi *kágən*; Ningalami *u-tuník*; CDIAL s.vv. *snāru*, *kṛṣṇā*, *tṛṣṇā*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: §§ 239–242). Both of these developments are attested in Gāndhārī: the spellings *ś* and *ʂ*, *ʂ* in our text indicate preservation of the Old Indo-Aryan clusters, while *rñ* in *krirña-* EĀ-G 23 and *tarna-* Dhp-G^L 7 is likely to represent the assimilation product [nʱ:] (§ 4.6). The combination of OIA palatal fricative and dental nasal in the word *praśna-* appears to have resulted in [sn], with assimilation of the sibilant's point of articulation but retention of a cluster, on the

strength of the spellings *praśa-* in our text and *prasva-* in BL 28 (§ 4.6).⁴⁵

OIA [çv] is represented by *sp* (*saspada-*), OIA [sv] by *sp* (*spaya-*, [*sp]ara-*) and OIA [sm] by *sp* ([*a]ṇuspadi-*, (**a])*[spi]maṇa-*, [*i]maṣpi*, *taspa*, [*lo]ga]spi*, *spada-*, *spadi-*) and by *m* (*akica[ñājī̄da]ñāmi*, [*arañā]mi*, *uavadayadāñāmi*, *kadamāmi*, *k[ari]ami*, *ṭhañ[a]mi*, *doṣaprayoami*, *dhamāmi*, [*bhava]grami*, *bha[va]codāmi*, _ *mi*, *ragaprayoami*, *loga[mi]*, *vastumi*, *viulami*, *śukrami*, *sasarami*).*

The six Old Indo-Aryan combinations of the three fricatives with the nasal [m] and the approximant [v] undergo changes that are both complex and difficult to trace. We need to distinguish between general developments and those that are restricted to their phonetically weak position in the locative termination OIA -*asmin*. The following table provides a conspectus of all relevant spellings in strong position that are currently attested in edited (and some unedited) manuscripts, as well as sample words showing the reflexes of these clusters in the modern Dardic languages.

⁴⁵A corresponding assimilation, and preservation of [sn], appear to have been a feature of the Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect of the earliest Buddhist tradition (Lüders 1954: 130–137, Berger 1956: 106–107).

Table 32. Gāndhārī reflexes of OIA fricative + [m] or [v] in strong position

	Dhp-G ^K	Khvs-G	EĀ-G Dhp-G ^L AG-G ^L	PY-G BL 4	SĀ-G ^{S5} AG-G ^S	Nid-G ^{L2}	LC	ND	Dardic languages
[sm]	sv, s, sm	sv, s	śp	śp	sp	sp	—	sm	Khowar <i>ispa</i> , Shina āsēi, āsō
[sv]	sv, s, sp	—	śp	śp	śp	sp	sv	sv, śp	Shina īspāvū, ūspāvū, īspā; Tirahi <i>spas</i>
[ṣm]	—	—	—	—	śp	—	—	(sm)	Khowar <i>grisp</i> ; Shina <i>baṣ</i> , <i>bhāṣ</i> , <i>bāṣ</i>
[ṣv]	—	—	—	—	—	—	(sm)	—	Khowar <i>prazgár</i>
[çm]	śm, sv	—	śp	sp	—	—	—	—	Shina <i>răš</i>
[çv]	śv, ś, śp	—	śp	—	—	sp	—	śv, śp	Kalasha <i>haṣ</i> , Shina <i>āṣpū</i> , āṣp, <i>āṣap</i> , āṣpō

(The form *aśpado* PY-G 48 is derived from MIA *āyasmant-* rather than from OIA *āyusmant-*, as shown by the contraction of initial [a:ja] to [a:]; cf. also *aīśpa* SĀ-G^{S19} with Gāndhārī palatalization of MIA [a:ja]. The form *sparga-* Dhp-G^K occurs in the additional verse on the outside of the manuscript and is the only instance in this text of OIA [sv] > G sp; Brough 1962: 103. All three examples for s in Khvs-G could also be read as s(*v) since the lower parts of these akṣaras are broken off; Salomon 1999: 91. The example used from BL 4 is *kaspira-* < OIA *kaśmīra-*; from LC *brama-s/vJara-* < OIA *brahmaśvara-* and *iṣmahu-* < OIA *ikṣvāku-*; and from *suṣmela-* CKD 702 < OIA *sūkṣmailā-*. The Old Indo-Aryan etyma for the cited Dardic words are *asmad-*, *svādu-*, *svaṣṭ-*, *grīṣma-*, **bhaṣma-*, **pruṣvākara*, *raśmi-* and *aśva-*; see CDIAL s.vv.)

The first observation to emerge from this overview is that the modern Dardic languages consistently preserve the three points of articulation of the Old Indo-Aryan

clusters. This makes it very likely that in Gāndhārī, too, this distinction was maintained, even though it is no longer observed in writing at the orthographical layer of *sp* and *śp* which are used indiscriminately for all three Old Indo-Aryan values, with some scribes (such as ours) preferring *sp* throughout and others (such as British Library scribe 1) preferring *śp*. If we argued for the alternative, i.e., that the three points of articulation merged in these Gāndhārī clusters, then this would make the spoken language underlying Gāndhārī the only member of the Dardic language family that had this property but left no modern descendants to confirm it. This seems improbable, and we therefore suggest that our word *saspada-* was pronounced with a cluster [çp] whereas *spaya-*, *[sp]ara-*, *spadi-* etc. were pronounced with a cluster [sp] (no examples for [śp] occur in our text).

While it is reasonably clear then that the six Old Indo-Aryan clusters of fricatives with [m] or [v] had merged into three clusters of fricatives with [p] by the late Gāndhārī period and are preserved as such in the modern languages, the interpretation of the intermediate stage – represented by spellings involving fricative signs in combination with *m*, *v* or on their own – brings further complexity. The spellings *sv* for OIA [sm] (Dhp-G^K, Khvs-G), *śv* for OIA [çm] (Dhp-G^K) and *ṣm* for OIA [kṣv] (LC) indicate a merger of the final members of the six clusters prior to their ultimate development into a labial stop [p], but conflict in their evidence for the direction of this merger: did [v] change to [m], or did [m] change to [v]? On general phonetic principles, the former development would seem more likely since the development [v] > [m] > [p] is a consistent increase in consonantal occlusion, whereas in a development [m] > [v] > [p] the consonant would at first undergo deocclusion but then in a reversal of the direction of sound change reocclude completely to a plosive. Historical support for a change from [m] to [p] without an intermediate step [v] comes from the Taittirīyaprātiśākhya citation of Plāksāyaṇa for the development of an epenthetic consonant in combinations of a sibilant with a following [m] (e.g., *grīṣma-* > *grīṣpma-*; Bloch 1935: 264–265).

Nonetheless, the phonetically difficult [m] > [v] scenario was assumed without

argument by Burrow 1937: 20 and Brough 1962: 102–103. Two main factors appear to have encouraged this interpretation: (1) the orthography *sv* / *śv* (besides *s* and *sm* / *śm*) with its apparent *v* element for OIA [m] clusters, and (2) the seemingly parallel sound change of OIA [tm] to G [tv] (§ 4.2.2.3.10). But both of these are open to objections: (1) because there was no established Kharoṣṭhī orthography for [sm] or [çm], *sv* and *śv* could well stand in as the best available approximate spelling, the more so since in the case of original [sv] and [çv] they would have become conventional for the words in question, and (2) the ultimate phonetic influence of the plosive [t] on following [m] and [v] is exactly opposite to that of the fricative [s]: the former reduces the prominence of the second member (assimilation to [t:] or [p:]; § 4.2.2.3.8), the latter increases it (occlusion to [sp], [śp], [çp]). Additionally, conversion of all six clusters to combinations with final [m] would also have resulted in symmetry with the fricative + non-labial nasal cluster (G [sn] and [śn]). On balance, the evidence appears to favor an intermediate merger in [sm], [śm], [çm] rather than [sv], [śv], [çv], which also offers an explanation for the shape of the postconsonantal *v* sign as a generalized cluster marker in Kharoṣṭhī (§ 4.6).⁴⁶

In weak position in the nominal locative singular termination *-ami* < OIA *-asmin* and in the new enclitic *mi* < OIA *asmi*, OIA [sm] is assimilated to *m* which, on the parallel of Pali *mh* in *-amhi*, is likely to represent a long aspirated nasal [m^{h:}] (von Hinüber 2001: §§ 239–242). The locative singular termination of pronouns receives the strong-position treatment (*[i]maspi*, *taspa*), and the form *[loga]spi* is most likely a univerbation with the pronoun *aspi* (§ 5.1.1.1).

Table 33. Developments of fricative + nasal or [v]

<i>sn</i> [sn] > <i>ś</i> [sn] <i>śn</i> [çn] > <i>ś</i> [sn] <i>śn</i> [śn] > <i>ś</i> [śn]	<i>sm</i> [sm] > <i>sp</i> [sp], <i>m</i> [m ^{h:}] <i>sv</i> [sv] > [sm] > <i>sp</i> [sp] <i>śv</i> [çv] > [çm] > <i>sp</i> [çp]
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⁴⁶The use of 巳 *jī* ← OIA **svayam* in Lal-Chin^{ZFH} to illustrate arapacana sign no. 31, as opposed to *smaranya-* PsPp 213, only indicates the merger of the two dental clusters, but does not provide evidence for the nature of the intermediate stage as either [sm] or [sv] (Brough 1977: 90–92; § 4.6).

4.2.2.3.9. Fricative + [j] or [r]

OIA [sj] is represented by *s* (*akriṣaś[u]krasa, añanasa, añasa, a[navas](*)u][da-c](*)ita][sa], *añoaś(*)u)dacita(*sa), an[u]a<*ha>dacitasa, avijohasa, a[sa], edasa, [kamara]gasa, kamohasa, kayasa, [ka]raḍadatiasa, kileśasa, koaliasa, kriṣaśukrasa, kriṣasa, cagasa, tasa, dukhasa, dukhasa, doṣaśalasa, driṭhiśalasa, driṭhoasa, dri[ṭh-ohā](*)sa, [dha]maña[na]sa, paḍipakṣiasa, para[c]ariasa, prañakadhasa, budhasa, bramanasa, bhavidamagasa, [bhavo]hasa, magasa, maṇaśalasa, m[o]ha[sa], [ya]kṣasa, yasa, ya[s]i, ragaśalasa, ragasa, logasa, logasa, [va](*)va[dasa], vahidapavadhamasa, [śilakadhasa], śi[lasa], śukrasa, samasikadhasa, samuṇagadasa, saviñāneasa), OIA [ṣj] by ś (*duśadi, bhaviśadi, bheśadi, bheśadi, maṇuśa-, <*ha>riśadi*) and OIA [çj] by ś ([d](*)r)iśati], *paśadi, paśadi, viṇaśadi, vivaśaṇa-*). The combinations of any of the fricatives with the palatal approximant [j] are assimilated to a long fricative. In the case of [sj], the palatal approximant [j] determines a palatal articulation for the resulting long fricative ś [ç:] which also applies to the original pure palatal cluster [çj] > ś [ç:]. The assimilation result of [sj], on the other hand, is dental, possibly because the original points of articulation of [s] and [j] were too far apart to allow full assimilation. The OIA combination [sj] mostly occurs in the masculine genitive singular ending, and on the evidence of other scribes (such as British Library scribe 14 and the Senior scribe) who write *s* in this ending, the assimilation result [as:a] was here subject to shortening of the consonant with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel to [a:sa] (attested in the Bharhut inscriptions: *thūpadāsāsa*; Turner 1937, Lüders 1963: 23–24, Damsteegt 1978: 97–98), with subsequent weakening of word-medial uncombined [s] to give [a:za] (pace von Hinüber 2001: §§ 222, 305). The word *nīṣada-* (with recombination from OIA *nīṣyanda-*) shows that the basic development [sj] > [s:] also applied outside the genitive ending. The optative forms *sie, [si]adi* and *si[e]adi* have no bearing on the development of OIA [sj] since they derive from the Old Indo-Aryan contextual variant (by Sievers-Edgerton's Law; von Hinüber 2001: § 152) [sija:t].**

OIA [sr] is represented by *s* (*aṇavaṣuda-*, *aṇoas(*u)da-*) and *s* (*an[avas](*)u*)*[d]a-*, *aṇasava-*, *asava-*, *kṣiṇasava-*, *chiṇasoda-*, *soda-*, *s[od]a-*) and OIA [çr] by *ʂ* (*p[a]dipraṣadhi-*, *śavaga-*, *ʂuda-*, *ʂutva*, *śutva*) and *śr* ([v]iśramida-, *śreṭh[a]-*, *środo-[am]a-*, *samuśrevedi*). Just as in the assimilation of OIA [sj] > [ç:], the palatal approximant [j] determined the final point of articulation, so in the case of OIA [sr] and [çr] a retroflex assimilation result [ʂ:] could be determined by the alveolar fricative [r]. This development is reflected in the Chinese loanword 沙門 *shāmén* (ONWC ʂämon) from G ʂamana- < OIA śramana- and is confirmed by the modern Dardic languages (Pashai *trimshihí*, Kalasha (Rumbur) *trōmiš* < OIA tamisrā-; CDIAL s.vv. *támisrā*). There are, however, several exceptions to this rule. The form *an[avas](*)u[d]a-* provides a variant with assimilation to a dental rather than retroflex cluster, the word families of *asava-* < OIA āsrava- (§ 4.2.1.4) and *soda-* consistently have a dental while the form *avaśedi* has a palatal, and in the words [v]iśramida-, *śreṭh[a]-*, *środo[am]a-*, *samuśrevedi*, the Old Indo-Aryan cluster appears to be preserved intact. A variety of factors will be at work. First of all, the alveolar point of articulation of [r] probably meant that it had less power to retract preceding consonants than a true retroflex, which would explain the variation between *aṇavaṣuda-* and *an[avas](*)u[d]a-*. In the case of *avaśedi* (in contrast to *samuśrevedi*) and *asava-*, the preceding long vowel may have caused loss of [r] due to the Law of Two Moras and prior to assimilation (§ 4.2.1.4). Additionally, the technical term *asava-* could be a loanword from a midland Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, and this does seem to be the case for *soda-*, a conflation of OIA *srotas-* ‘stream’ > MIA [so:ta] and OIA *śrotra-* ‘ear’ > MIA [sot:a]. Finally, the apparent preservation of [çr] at first glance looks like a historical spelling based on Sanskrit, but the Gāndhārī forms *sreṭhi-* AG-G^L 50 < OIA śreṣṭhin- (Salomon 2008: 125, 291) and *s[r]a[ʂ]a-* SaṅgCm-G < OIA ślakṣṇa- (Kashmiri śrōnu, srōnu; CDIAL s.v. ślakṣṇá-) suggest that partial assimilation of [çr] (and [çl]) to [sr] was one possible development within Gāndhārī, and maybe the forms with *śr* in our text are best regarded as historical spellings based on such [sr] rather than on the full assimilation [ʂ:].

Table 34. Developments of fricative + non-labial approximant

$sy [sj] > s [s:] (> s [z])$ $\dot{sy} [\dot{sj}] > \dot{s} [\dot{ç}:]$ $\acute{sy} [\dot{çj}] > \acute{s} [\dot{ç}:]$	$sr [sr] > \dot{s} [\dot{s}:], s [s:],$ $[\dot{s}] > s [z]$ $\acute{sr} [\dot{çr}] > [sr] > \acute{s} [\dot{s}:],$ $[\dot{ç}] > \acute{s} [\dot{ç}]$
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4.2.2.3.10. Plosive + [v] or [m]

OIA [tv] is represented by *tv* (*agridhratva-*, *ato[gadi]tva-*, *kuhidatva-*, *tva-*, *puridatva-*, *prahinatva-*, *prahinatva-*, *phaśida(*tva)-*, *[vahitva]*, *śutva*, *śutva*, *s[u]phaśidatva-*) and by *t* (*parihota*, *pradiṭhahita*, *vivarjita*, *vahita*), OIA [tv̥] by *p* (*[ra]jhapa-*), OIA [d̥hv] by *dhv* (*vudhva*), OIA [tm] by *tv* (*ajatva-*, *aṄyatva-*, *ajatva*, *aṄyatvia-*, *atva-*, *atva-*, *bhavidatva-*) and OIA [dm] by *dum* (*paduma-*).

The combinations of OIA plosives with following [v] are preserved unchanged in strong position. Secondary [tv] < OIA [tm] by nasal dissimilation in the word *atva-* and its derivatives and compounds (Sakamoto-Goto 1988: 98–97, von Hinüber 2001: § 244) is likewise preserved. In weak position in absolutive terminations, assimilation to *t* [t:] appears to be the rule, but in a minority of absolutive forms *v* is preserved. These are probably best treated as clarifying historical spellings. In OIA *arhattva-* [arhat:va] a syllable boundary fell within the first part of the consonant cluster, causing assimilation to [p:] rather than [t:] (von Hinüber 2001: § 244). It is possible but not certain that this happened in the context of another Middle Indo-Aryan language followed by borrowing into Gāndhārī. The form *prajutva* < OIA *pra* + √*dyut* + -*tvā*, on the other hand, involves Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition and does not directly continue a [tv̥] cluster. The word *paduma-* with its development [dm] > [ðum] appears to be a loanword from another form of Middle Indo-Aryan since the modern languages (Khwar *pom*, Kashmiri *pam-pōś*; CDIAL s.v. *pádma-*) indicate an assimilation [dm] > [m:]. The form *dua-*, *duva-* goes back to the Old Indo-Aryan contextual variant [duv̥a], and the form *kua* to the OIA variant [kuv̥a]

(Sievers-Edgerton's Law; von Hinüber 2001: § 152), so that neither of them provides evidence for the Gāndhārī development of OIA [dv] or [kv]. See § 4.2.2.3.14 for the development of the OIA three-consonant clusters [bd^hv] and [rtm].

Table 35. Developments of plosive + [v] or nasal

tv [tv] > tv [tv], t [t:], p [p:]	$ddhv$ [d ^h v] > dhv [d ^h v]
tm [tm] > tv [tv]	

4.2.2.3.11. Nasal + Approximant

OIA [mj] is represented by *m* (*[u](*a)[śama]ti*, **bhuma-**, **same**, *same-*, *[sa](*m)[e](*tva)-*), OIA [nv] by *n* (*samunagada-*), OIA [nj] by *ñ* (*akicaña-*, *akicaña-*, *agica[ñ]a-*, *añā-*, *añadaraañadara-*, *anañ[a]poṣi*, *nihañadi*) and OIA [nj] by *ñ* (*[ap]uña-*, *ara[ñ]a-*, **p[u]ñā-**, *p[u](*ñ)o*, *raña-*).

In those combinations where both members of the original cluster are coronal ([nj] and [nj]) assimilation is mutual and complete, resulting in a long palatal nasal *ñ* [ɲ:]. In the combinations of labial and coronal cluster members, on the other hand, there are indications that the spellings *m* and *n* may represent unassimilated clusters [mj] and [nv]. In the word *same* < OIA *samyak* and its compounds and derivatives, the original vowel [a] following the cluster consistently underwent palatalization to [e], showing that at least until the time of this comparatively late Gāndhārī sound change (§ 4.2.1.7) the palatal element [j] was present. This is confirmed by the spelling *samyapaṭipati* in Man. IX 4. In the case of OIA [nv], the spellings *amedi* Dhp-G^K < OIA *anveti* and *ammaa-* SaṅgCm-G < OIA *anvaya-* indicate that the real assimilation result was [m:]. Unless the labialization of the preceding vowel in *samunagada-* conditioned a special development, we may therefore also have to interpret *ñ* as a representation of preserved [nv].

Table 36. Developments of nasal + approximant

<i>my</i> [mj] > <i>m</i> [m]	<i>ny</i> [nj] > <i>ñ</i> [n:]
<i>nv</i> [nv] > <i>n</i> [nv]	<i>ṇy</i> [ṇj] > <i>ñ</i> [n:]

4.2.2.3.12. [h] + Nasal or Approximant

OIA [hn̥] is represented by *n̥* (*gri[n̥a]di*, *grin̥a[sa]*, *vigrin̥adi*), OIA [hm̥] by *m̥* (*brama-*, *bramana-*) and OIA [hj̥] by *s̥* ([a]r(*u)s̥[a], *daśamana-*, *vigri[s̥]a-*, *daśana-*) and *j̥* (*dajamana-*).

On the parallel of Pali, we assume that *n̥* and *m̥* as the assimilation results of OIA [hn̥] and [hm̥] represent long aspirated nasals [n̥ː] and [m̥ː] (von Hinüber 2001: § 245). Where our scribe has *m̥*, British Library scribe 14 uses *mv* / *m̄* (*bramva-* / *bramā-*; § 4.6), confirming not only that, as expected, the assimilation result of [hm̥] was a long consonant or cluster, but that this result differed from plain long [mː] which in the orthography of this scribe is spelled *ṇm* (e.g., *dhamma-*). Corresponding to the development of long aspirated nasals, Pali attests an aspirated approximant [j̥ː] as the assimilation result of OIA [hj̥] in spellings such as *aruhyā* (von Hinüber 2001: § 245). The Gāndhārī outcome of the same assimilation is variously spelled *s̥*, *j̥* and *z̥* (in *guza-* SĀ-G⁵⁵ 3), indicating strengthening of the aspirated approximant [j̥ː] to a palatal fricative [j̥]. The case of OIA [iha] > [ija] > G *iśa* [ija] (§ 4.2.2.1.2.4) shows that this strengthening did not require a further intermediate step [d̥z̥] (as in the assimilation of OIA [d̥j̥] > G [d̥z̥] > *ž* [j̥]; § 4.2.2.3.7).

Table 37. Developments of [h] + nasal or approximant

<i>hn̥</i> [hn̥] > <i>n̥</i> [n̥ː]	<i>hy</i> [hj̥] > [j̥ː] > <i>s̥j̥</i> [j̥]
<i>hm̥</i> [hm̥] > <i>m̥</i> [m̥ː]	

4.2.2.3.13. Approximant or [r̥] + Approximant or [r̥]

OIA [rv̥] is represented by *v̥* (*nivateti*, *nivana-*, *nivana-*, *nivudi-*, *parinivana-*,

pravada-, *prove*, *prove*, *proveni[v]as[a]-*, *sava-*, *sava-*, *savañu[d]a-*), OIA [vj] by v (*ñadava-*, [di]va-, *dra[v]a-*, *payeśida[v]a-*, *p[a]śidava-*, *bhavamaṇa-*, *bhaśidava-*, *vagarohi*, *vagarohi*, *vatava-*, *va[va]da-*), OIA [vr] by v (*parivaye*, *parivaya*, *ś[i]la-[va](*d)a-*) and vr (*parivraye*, *pari[vra]yaṇae*), OIA [lj] by l (*kośala-*, *kalana-*, *kalanaga-*, *śala-*) and OIA [rj] by y ([pa]yi[thi]-, *payeśadi*, *payeśidava-*, *bra(*maīya)-*, *jiamana-*). For OIA [fj] see § 4.2.2.3.12.

Combinations of the approximants [v] and [j] and the tap [r] undergo complete assimilation. The assimilation result follows the hierarchy of relative strength [v] > [j] > [r] (shared with Pali; von Hinüber 2001: § 226) irrespective of the order of the members of the original cluster. Since our scribe does not write postconsonantal y, it is unclear whether the clusters [lj] and [vj] underwent assimilation or were preserved (as the clusters [mj] and [nv] may have been; § 4.2.2.3.11). The OIA combination [rh] developed to [raf] in *edarahi*, *ederahi*, *rahata-* and *rahapa-*, but it is possible that this happened in the context of another Middle Indo-Aryan language with subsequent borrowing into Gāndhārī. The forms *niharadi* and *n[i]har[e]di* may be cases of Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition, and it is possible that they involve conflation of the Old Indo-Aryan prefixes *ni-* and *niṣ-*. The most likely interpretation of the spelling *nih* in these words will be [ni:f], as in the corresponding Pali form *nīharati*.

The forms *acalia-*, *aria-*, *iria-*, *karia-* and *viria-* go back to the OIA contextual variants [aca:lija], [a:rija], [i:rija:], [ka:rija] and [vi:rija] (Sievers-Edgerton's Law; von Hinüber 2001: § 152) and do not provide evidence for the Gāndhārī development of OIA [lj] and [rj]. The name *paracaria-* ← OIA *pārāśarya-* is a loanword and reflects non-Gāndhārī phonetic developments. The variant spellings *rv* for v in *sarva-*, *sarvañuda-* and *[sa]rvañ[e]asu* and *vr* for v in *parivraye*, *parivrayaṇae* are likely to be historical.

Table 38. Development of approximant + approximant

<i>rv</i> [rv] > <i>v</i> [v:]	<i>ly</i> [lj] > <i>l</i> [l:]
<i>vy</i> [vj] > <i>v</i> [v:]	<i>ry</i> [rj] > <i>y</i> [j:]
<i>vr</i> [vr] > <i>v</i> [v:]	

4.2.2.3.14. Three-Consonant Clusters

Clusters of three consonants undergo four different types of development.

(1) OIA [str] is represented by *str* (*istri-*). Here the three-consonant cluster is preserved. (2) OIA [vsk] is represented by *kh* (*sakhara-*), OIA [vsth] by *ṭh* (*saṭhāna-*, *saṭhavedi*), OIA [ŋkl] by *kil* (*sakiliśiadi*, *sakiliśeadi*, *sakileśa-*), OIA [ŋkʂ] by *kʂ* (*kakṣa-*, *kakṣadi*, *sakṣeva-*), OIA [ŋgr] by *gr* (*sagraha-*), OIA [ŋkhj] by *kh* (*sakha-*, *sakhaīda-*, *sakhada-*, **sakhayāna-*), OIA [ŋʃŋ] by *ñ* (*vibhudaruasañi-*, *saña-*), OIA [ntj] by *c* (*agaśaca-*, *viñāñaca-*), OIA [ntr] by *tr* (*matra-*, *matri*, *matredi*, *satrasea*), OIA [ndr] by *dr* (*idra-*, *idria-*) and OIA [mpr] by *pr* (*asaprakha<*na>-*). Where a nasal segment is the first member of a three-consonant cluster, the second and third members develop independently according to the general rules and subsequently the nasal is adjusted to agree with the second segment in point of articulation. (3) OIA [rtm] is represented by *t* (*vata-*) and OIA [rtj] by *c* (*macaga-*). In these clusters the first two members are grouped together in the coda of one syllable and combined independently. The result was then combined with the third member of the original cluster (in the onset of the following syllable) according to the general rules. The retroflex articulation of the assimilation result in *vata-* makes it likely that the word is borrowed from a midlands or Eastern dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan (§ 1.2.2). (4) OIA [kʂm] is represented by *hom* (*sakṣeva-*) and OIA [bdhv] by *dh* (*ladha*) and by *dhv* (*ladhva*). The development of [kʂm] to [fiom] in the word *suhoma-* < OIA *sūkṣma-* most likely occurred in another dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan and was then borrowed into Gāndhārī. The proper Gāndhārī development of the cluster [kʂm] is illustrated by *susmela-* CKD 702 < OIA *sūkṣmailā-*. (Cf. also *s[r]a[ṣ]ja-* SaṅgCm-G <

OIA *ślakṣṇa-* and *iṣmahu-* LC < OIA *ikṣvāku-*; Salomon & Baums 2007.) In these clusters the first member is in the coda of one syllable and the second and third members are grouped in the onset of the following syllable. As a consequence of this configuration, the second and third member combined independently and took precedence over the first member which leaves no trace in the overall assimilation result (von Hinüber 2001: § 261). In the case of OIA [bd̥v], the variation between *dh* and *dhv* corresponds to the general choice in the gerund termination between the weak-position assimilated form *-ta* [t:a] and the preserved clarifying spelling *-tva* (§ 4.2.2.3.10).

4.2.3. Copying of [r]

Our text contains seven cases where the presence of segmental [r] in a word has caused the appearance of *r* in a different position within the same word. The seven cases fall under three subheadings: (1) *r* is copied from the onset of one syllable to the coda of the preceding syllable: OIA [agr̥d̥ra] > [agṛid̥ra] > *agrirdha-*; (2) *r* is copied from the coda of a syllable to the onset of the same syllable: OIA [darçita] > *draśida-*, OIA [pu:rva] > *prova-*, OIA [dur] > *dro-* in *drokara-*; (3) *r* is copied from the onset of one syllable to the onset of the preceding syllable: OIA [tat̥ra] > *tratra* [tratra], OIA [çukla] > [çukra] > *śrukra-*.⁴⁷ These processes have two features in common: *r* is always copied to a position that is closer to the beginning of the word, and the original [r] segment remains in place. The second feature is obvious in *tratra* and *śukra-*. In *draśida-*, *prova-* and *drokara-*, the original [r] segment has been assimilated to the following consonant after it produced *r* in the syllable onset; this is suggested by the spelling *k* [k:] (not *g* [j]) in *drokara-*, and it is indicated clearly by British Library scribe 1's spelling *anidraśana-* with *s* [ç:] (not *ś* [j]). In *agrirdha-*, it is suggested by the spelling *dh* (not *s* [z]). The modern Dardic languages confirm the subtypes and nature of this Gāndhārī development (Morgenstierne 1947). The precise phonetic interpretation of the new *r* remains unclear, but the spellings *rdh* and *śr*

⁴⁷Possibly also [r/pasada]; see text commentary on line 1352.

make it likely that it was not a full segmental [r] since the consonant clusters [rd^h] and [çr] do not occur in native Gāndhārī word (having been assimilated to [d^h:] and [ʂ:]; §§ 4.2.2.3.4, 4.2.2.3.9). Further subtypes of the appearance of new *r* in Gāndhārī words (such as OIA [pravrajita] > *parvaïda*-) are discussed in Salomon 2008: 129–131. In words such as *prarñā-* (OIA *praśna-*) and *krirñā-* (OIA *kṛṣṇa-*; EĀ-G 23) where orthographic preconsontal *r* function as marker of a long consonant (§ 4.6) it is probably not related to the phenomenon described here.

4.2.4. Transfer of Length from Consonants to Vowels

As discussed in detail in § 4.2.1.4, the Law of Two Moras established a general equivalence of short vowels followed by long consonants and long vowels followed by short consonants. This equivalence could subsequently be applied to words that were not directly affected by the Law of Two Moras and lead to the replacement of a short-vowel-long-consonant sequence by a long-vowel-short-consonant one that could be subject to further weakening processes. Apart from the previously discussed genitive singular ending *-asa* [a:za] < [a:sa] < [as:a] and the cases of *asava-* and *avaśedi*, our text shows the effects of this process in the termination of *caduhi* [t̪eaðu:hi] with [u:h] < [u:b^h] < [ub^h:], and a corresponding process probably applied in *caduṣu* [t̪eaðu:z̪u] < [u:ʂ] < [uʂ:] (cf. P *catūhi* and *catūsu*). It has further been suggested that the same process applied in inscriptional *gaha-* < OIA *garbha-* (Falk 2003: 78, Baums forthcoming a). Whether the words *aruṣa* and *daśaṇa-* also fall into this category and were pronounced [a:ru:ja] and [da:jana] rather than [a:ruj:a] and [daj:jana] (cf. OIA *gūḍha-* < √*guh* + *-ta-*) cannot be decided from the evidence currently available, but the presence of long voiced fricatives in these words would certainly be anomalous within the overall system of Gāndhārī sounds.

4.2.5. Sibilant Assimilation and Dissimilation

Gāndhārī has two different kinds of interaction between multiple palatal sounds (involving at least one fricative) within the same word. The forms *suyi-* < OIA *śuci-*

and *suyia-* < OIA *śucika-* show dissimilation of OIA word-initial uncombined short *ś* [ç] to [s] before the OIA palatal plosive *c* [ç], which is reflected in modern Ashkun *sučā* ‘festival’ (Morgenstierne 1934: 105, CDIAL s.v. *śúci-*) with *č* [ts] from the Old Indo-Aryan palatal. Other Gāndhārī forms of this word are *suci-*, *śuci-* (CKD 511) and *śuyi-* (Dhp-G^K 222). The last of these occurs in a text that also has the initial dental, and all three forms are likely to be historical spellings for the by far most frequent phonetic spelling *suyi-* [suji]. Our text attests the corresponding verb with the spelling *soyadi* [so:jaði]; the Khotan Dharmapada has *śoyadi* (79, 131, 203, 205, 288, 289) and the preterite *śoyiṣu* (176) which on the strength of *suyi-* in the same text are likely to be historical spellings, even though they are used consistently. The word *saspada-* < early G [saçvata] < OIA *śāśvata-* illustrates the same process of dissimilation before the palatal fricative. Its variant *śásvada-* (Dhp-G^K 238) could be a historical spelling similar to *śuyi-* in the same text or, if palatal assimilation (see next) followed palatal dissimilation, it could even be an accidental restitution of the older form.

The second Gāndhārī interaction of palatals is an assimilation of OIA word-initial or word-medial uncombined short [s] to [ç] in words that contained another [ç]. Our text has the forms *śaśaga-* [çaūçaja] < OIA *saṃśaya-* and *śaśea* [çaūçe:ja] ← OIA *śamset*. The sound change in question was previously attested in *śaśana-* (AG-G^L 57, 23, 69, 77, Dhp-G^K 69, 70, 77, 123, 258; cf. Khotanese *śśāśana*) < OIA *śāśana-*, *praśājadi* [praçaūjandi] (Dhp-G^K 62, 120, 241, 242, 289) < [praçaūçanti] < OIA *praśamsanti*, *praśājida-* [praçaūjiða] (Dhp-G^K 240, 242) < [praçaūçita] < OIA *praśamsita-* and *viśpaśa-* (Dhp-G^K 66, 162, 325) < [viçva:ça] < OIA *viśvāsa-* (cf. Brough 1962: §§ 6b, 50). While in most of these examples the original dental [s] followed [ç], in the newly attested *śaśaga-* [s] preceded [ç], and assimilation thus appears to have operated in both directions within a word.

It is surprising that Gāndhārī should have two opposed processes of palatal dissimilation and assimilation. The explanation may be that their precise phonetic conditions differed (involving an OIA palatal plosive in the case of *suyi-* and an OIA

palatal fricative in the case of the assimilation), but it is equally likely that the two sound changes operated at different times in the transition from Old Indo-Aryan. Both evidently occurred at an early stage of the Gāndhārī language, the dissimilation before its palatal plosive trigger [c] had turned into the less suitable approximant [j], and the assimilation before the voicing of word-medial uncombined fricatives (as shown by *praśājadi*, *praśājida-* and *viśpaśa-*), but it is currently not possible to establish a relative chronology for these obviating sound changes, and consequently also not for the palatal dissimilation and assimilation.

4.2.6. Loss of Word-Initial [a]

The words *rahata-* < OIA *arhant-*, *rahapa-* < OIA *arhattva-* and *rañña-* < OIA *aranya-* have lost initial *a*. In the case of *rahata-* and *rahapa-*, this loss is consistent and may be a compensatory measure preserving the two-syllable length of the word after epenthesis of [a] in the cluster [rh]. The form *rañña-* is particularly associated with the meaning ‘hermitage, monastery’ and contrasts with *arañña-* ‘wilderness,’ suggesting that it has been extracted from compound names such as *purnagarañña-* CKI 361, 370 ‘Purnaga monastery.’

4.3. Sandhi

4.3.1. Internal Sandhi

When a stem-final meets a stem-initial vowel at compound boundary, the regular treatment is to let both vowels stand as they are. Our text has the following examples for [a] + [a]: *añadaraañadara-*, *atvaṄṄaṄrtha-*, *[idiśaca]abhi[majña-*, *garavaasi-vayaña-*, *cakṣuviñaña·avi[sa]bh[u]da-*, *dukhaapra[v]uti-*, *paraarththa-*, *pr[o]ve-ni[v]a[sa·a]ṇuspadi-*, *savaagara-*; for [a] + [u]: *tatratatratraüa[vat]i-*, *vedaüda·uaśama-payithi-*, *sakhara[d]ukhadaüaśama-*; for [i] + [a]: *pridian̄ida-*; for [i] + [u]: *driṭhiuju-ama-*; and for [u] + [a]: *duagia-*, *h[e]duasiña-*.

Alternatively, two like vowels can coalesce into a corresponding long vowel, and

of two unlike vowels the first can be elided, as illustrated by [a] + [a]: *akica[ñ-a]jīñdaña-*, *akicañayadaña-*, *akriṣaś[u]kra-*, *agaśacaïdaña-*, *[a]pr(*o)vacarima-*, *[a]rthar[thi]a-*, *asaprakha(*ña)yadaña-*, *uavadayadaña-*, *udeastagama-*, *ekaśeṇa*, *[e]labuya-*, *k[a]masava-*, *kaligara[ñ]a-*, *kṣiñasava-*, *[ñija]nañhea-*, *[ta]parayana-*, *pa[r]ayañia-*, *parasina-*, *pa[r]igraha[bha]va-*, *[bhava]gra-*, *bhavidatva-*, *ruarupa-*, *viñ[a]ñacayadaña-*, *vutartha-*, *śodaśagia-*; [a] + [u]: *sadu[at]idaspadi-*; [a] + [e]: *kameṣana-*, *bra(*maiyeṣana)-*, *bhaveṣana-*; [a] + [o]: *avijoha-*, *kamoha-*, *[bhavo]ha-*; [i] + [a]: *akicaya[da]ña-*; [i] + [u]: *cudoavada-*, *spadoañhana-*; and [i] + [o]: *drīth-o[h]a-*. It is likely that the spelling *o* in *cudoavada-* and *spadoañhana-* indicates lengthening of the sandhi vowel (as in Pali: von Hinüber 2001: § 266). The Gāndhārī manuscripts published so far contain no clear example where the second of two vowels is elided in internal sandhi, and G *spadoañhana-*, *cakṣidhri-* EA-G 42, 43 contrast directly with P *satipañthāna-*, *cakkhundriya-*.

A special type of vowel-sandhi indication is the spelling *ii* for [a] + [i] in *(*bha)vidiidria-*. The phonetic interpretation remains uncertain: it could either be considered a case of palatalization of [aji] to [iji] (rather than expected [eji]; § 4.2.1.7) or an indication of a long vowel corresponding to [e:] in Skt. *bhāvitendriya-*. In either case, the form *sa[di]jidria-* (instead of **ṣadidria-*) is a mistaken transposition of the pattern.

The only example of a compound with vowel sandhi apparently following Old Indo-Aryan rules (von Hinüber 2001: § 279) is *mahiṣi-*, but here the rules are applied to Middle Indo- Aryan material (*maha-* + *iṣi-*) suggesting that the sandhi of this compound might be better understood as regular Middle Indo-Aryan elision of the first vowel, with *e* indicating compensatory lengthening of [i] (parallel to *o* in *cudoavada-* and *spadoañhana-*; cf. also von Hinüber 2001: § 119).

When a stem-final vowel meets a stem-initial uncombined short consonant, the spelling frequently indicates that the latter was subject to the same kind of weakening as in other word-internal positions. There are, however, also several cases where the spelling does not indicate any weakening: OIA [k] is represented by *k* in *akicañña-*,

akuhaa-, *akuhaya-*, *vastukama-*, *sakala-*, *savakama-*, *savakamaṇia-* and *savakaya-*; OIA [c] by *c* in *añavasudacitasa*, *añuahadacitasa* and *añuahadacetasa*; OIA [j̪] by *j* in *jadijaramarāṇa-* and *sujāṇa-*; OIA [p] by *p* in *kamapasa-*, *kileśapadastaṇa-*, *pusu-* *janapakṣa-*, *vosapakṣia-*; and OIA [bh̄] by *bh* in *prabhavida-*, *pacakadhabhaya-*, *mahabhaya-*, *acakṣubhava-*, *acaliobhava-*, *ajaribhava-*, *ajaribhava-*, *atvabhava-*, *śamasavivaśaṇabhvamanarada-*, *daśaṇabhumī-*, *aṇatariabhumī-*, *budhabhumī-*, *bosi-* *satvabhumi-*, *bhavaṇabhumī-*, *maṇoviñaṇabhumī-*, *yasabhudo* and *subhavida-*. The special case of *śatipada-* which in line 9.177 clearly represents OIA *śāntivāda- but in line 9.185 is given a punning explanation using *pada-* (OIA *pada-*) makes it likely that in general the optional non-indication of stem-initial consonant weakening is a matter of orthography and that in most or all such cases the pronunciation of these compounds did involve weakening of the consonant (cf. further § 1.5.1 on the Chinese translation 說義 *shuōyì* for G *arthapada-*).

The consonant-consonant and consonant-vowel sandhi of *kṣiṇapuṇabhava-*, *tamaya-*, *puṇapuṇo*, *ṣada[vi]ñā-*, *ṣaṇavadi-* and *ṣodaśagia-* follows the Old Indo-Aryan precursors of these words. The compound *ato[gadi]tva-* is a Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition on the basis of adverbial [anto:] < OIA *antaḥ* and [gati] < OIA *gati-*. The words *nisada-* and *visathiga-* owe their root-initial [s] (instead of etymologically expected [ʂ]) either to Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition or to borrowing from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

4.3.2. External Sandhi

There are very few instances of external sandhi in close collocations of words that do not involve enclitics. Eight of these use the variant ending *-am* (with ‘sandhi consonant’) of the oblique-case singular of masculine-*a*-declension nouns (historically the m. acc. sg., n. nom. sg. and n. acc. sg.) preceding words beginning with a vowel: *garavaasivayaṇam edo*, ***dukham asa***, ***dukham edi*** [3×], ***magam asino*** [2×], ***[vJ(*i)[va]dam edi***. Twenty other cases are combinations of the negative particle *ṇa* with a following verb: *nabhinadami* [2×], ***ṇaho***, ***ṇaho***, ***ṇasti*** [6×], ***nasti***

[5×], *nabhinadea* [2×], *nabhinadidava*, *navijayadi* [2×]. With the exception of five *nasti* cases, all of these occur in root verses and their immediate paraphrases or in verses quoted within the commentary. Two remarkable indications of vowel sandhi with unclear phonetic interpretation are *yatro osirida* 9.78 (in a commentary passage) and *ya[s]i [i]d(*r)iani* 9.94 (in a root-verse passage). The forms *vuta-* and *vucadi* probably owe their origin to a combination of sandhi use and analogy with originally *v*-initial forms of \sqrt{vac} (von Hinüber 2001: § 270), but at the stage represented by our text (as well as in Pali) they have become completely lexicalized and can no longer be considered active sandhi variants. See § 5.1.1.1 for the nominal locative ending *-aspi* and its possible origin as a univerbation.

4.3.3. Enclitics

Seven Old Indo-Aryan enclitic (unaccented) words have descendants in our text: *iti* > G *di*, *iva* > G *va*, *ca* > G *ca* and *ya*, *cid* > G *yi* and *ci*, *vā* > G *va* and the pronouns *me* > G *me* and *enam* > G *ena*. Six additional words that were not enclitic in Old Indo-Aryan show consistent word-medial reduction of their first consonants and may therefore be considered new enclitics: *mi* (OIA *asmi*), *du* (OIA *tu*), *vana* (OIA *punah*, G non-enclitic variant *puno*; Brough 1962: 109–110), *vi* (OIA *api*), *si* (OIA *asi*) and *ho* (OIA *khalu*, G non-enclitic variant *khu*). The word *eva* (OIA *eva*) always occurs in close phonetic linkage with the preceding word (*_yeva*, *teṇeva*, *dhamavitra[ka]m eva*) and should be included among the new Gāndhārī enclitics.

The indefinite particle *yi* / *ci* only occurs after forms of the interrogative pronoun (*ko yi* [2×], *ke yi* [11×], *kasa yi* [4×], *ka yi* [2×], *ki ci* [2×]; § 5.1.2.4) and, in one case, after an interrogative adverb (*kua yi*). In the m. nom. sg., the OIA sandhi combination [kaç cit] would have resulted in G **ka ci* (where *c* represents a consonant cluster whose precise phonetic value remains unknown; § 4.6), but the actually attested form *ko yi* indicates generalization of word-medial uncombined OIA [c] > G [j] and of the general G m. nom. sg. form *ko*. In the n. nom. sg., preservation of the OIA sandhi combination [kijñ cit] is indicated by the form *ki ci* [kin t̪ei].

In contrast with the behavior of *yi* / *ci*, the regular written form of the conjunctive particle is *ca* throughout our text and regardless of phonetic environment. The written form *ya* occurs only ten times, all in section 14 (lines 9-106–110). Eight of these occurrences are part of the second half of the quoted root verse, repeated three times (*na [ya]ho na ya bheśadi · na c[a] ederah[i] vijadi, [na] yaho na ya bheśadi na ya edar[a]hi vijadi, na ya[ho] na ya bheśadi · na [ya] (*e)darahi vijadi*), where *y* is used as a phonetic spelling for word-medial uncombined short [j] < [c]. The interpretation of the other two occurrences, both in the same passage – *padipaksiasa ya* (9-107) and *padipakṣia [ya]* (9-109) – is difficult, and the possibility remains that these are not forms of the conjunctive particle at all (see text commentary).

The regular written form *ca* could in principle either be a purely orthographic restitution hiding the expected spoken variants [je] (after vowel) and [t̪ca] (after consonant), or it could mean that, in contrast both to *yi* / *ci* and to the new enclitics, the conjunctive particle had ceased to be enclitic in the language of the commentary and therefore carried word-initial [t̪c] throughout. The only available evidence is circumstantial and consists of the spellings of the nominative and accusative singular terminations of *o*-conjugation nouns preceding the particle *ca*. There is a total of 28 relevant cases, and in 14 of these the termination of the preceding word is spelled -*o* (*akroṭho ca* [2×], *ujo ca* [3×], *dhamo ca*, *pratho ca* [3×], *[b]udho ca*, *mago ca* [2×], *vimuto ca*, *samadikramo ca* [2×]). All of these 14 forms (with the possible exception of *vimuto*) are in the old nominative case and all of them are original masculines. Among the 14 cases with a termination spelled -*a*, ten are in the old nominative case (*nirosa ca* [3×], ***dhama ca***, *[bha]vi[dava] ca*, *maga ca*, *[m](*o)[hap](*)r[aha]na ca*, ***[sa]ca ca***, *samudagaprahāna ca*, *samudeaprahāna ca*) and four are in the old accusative case (***bhava ca*** [2×], ***vi[bhava] ca*** [2×]), with nine original masculines and five original neuters. Overall, the words preceding the conjunctive particle *ca* thus appear to adjust their terminations in a way that is consistent with a hidden phonetic variation [je] : [t̪ca] in the particle itself (-*o ca* = [o: je], -*a ca* = [an t̪ca]). Considering the small sample size, the number of exceptions to the pattern (old nom. *nirosa ca*

[3×], *dhama ca, maga ca*) is, however, significant, and the interpretation presented here remains tentative.

The particle *ho / khu* generally has the form *ho* (*aṇuan[i]do [ho]*, *avaro [ho]*, *eṣa ho, kama ho* [2×], *te ho, [na] du ho* [2×], *yo du ho*). One of the three instances of the form *khu* occurs after the masculine-*a*-declension direct-case singular ending [aN] < OIA -am (*akicayadaṇa kh[u]*) and the same may be true in a second case (*kama khu*; cf. Brough 1962: 108), but the third instance is clearly a nominative (*sa kha*). The two forms of *puno / vana* appear to be used indiscriminately (*ke yi puno* [4×], *ke yi vana* [2×], *paveṇa vana, yasa puno, sieati vana*; cf. Brough 1962: 109–110). The particle *eva* enters into a variety of close phonetic junctions with the preceding grammatical word, involving a glide [j] (*atra ye[va], iśa śeva, teṇa [yeva], ta[ś]a yeva, tasa yeva*), the variant ending -am on the preceding word (*ajatvam e[va], tam [e]va, dhamavitra[kaj]m eva, balavatam eva*) or vowel sandhi (*[t]eṇeva* [3×]); only two instances do not indicate close junction (*eva e[va], teṣu [iva]*).

4.4. The Sound Inventory of Gāndhārī

On the basis of the preceding discussion, we conclude that the overall sound inventory of Gāndhārī as used in our texts consists of five vowel sounds (occurring in short and long variants) and forty consonant sounds (in short and long variants and clusters). Notable differences from the Old Indo-Aryan sound inventory include the replacement of the palatal stops by alveolo-palatal affricates and the development of aspirated nasals as well as allophonic voiced fricatives and retroflex taps.

Table 39. Gāndhārī vowel sounds in Nid-G^{L2}

	front	central	back
close	i		u
mid	e		o
open		a	

Table 40. Gāndhārī consonant sounds in Nid-G^{L2}

(coronals shaded)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p p ^h b b ^h	t t ^h d d ^h		t̪ d̪ d̪ ^h	t̪c t̪e ^h d̪z	k k ^h g g ^h	
Nasals	m ^h		n ^h		ɳ	ɳ	ɳ
Fricatives		ð s z		ʂ ʐ	ç ɿ		
Tap			r	t̪ t̪ ^h			
Approximants	v v ^h û	l			j		ɦ

4.5. Phonetic Principles in the Arapacana Sign List

Forty-two signs of the Kharoṣṭhī script as used for the Gāndhārī language are traditionally arranged in a sign list called ‘arapacana’ after its first five entries (Salomon 1990, 2004). The arapacana sign list first became known in later versions preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, where each sign is associated with a keyword representing, for the most part, important concepts of Buddhist doctrine. In these later Sanskrit versions, the items of the sign list had undergone modification to agree with the Sanskrit (rather than original Gāndhārī) forms of their keywords, partly obscuring their original phonetic nature. Most of the original Gāndhārī version of the arapacana sign list has subsequently been recovered from fragmentary specimens uncovered by archeological exploration, most notably a wooden slip from Niya (CKD 512) containing signs no. 18 to 33 (Boyer et al. 1920–29: 187), a potsherd from Termez (CKI 512) containing signs 3 to 30 (Salomon 2004) and a birch-bark manuscript from Bajaur (BC 5) containing signs 2 to 42 in association with keywords incorporated in verses (Strauch 2008: 37–40). The following table presents the inventory of the arapacana sign list based on Salomon 2004: 47 (signs 36 to 42 are reconstructed on the basis of the later Sanskrit versions pending publication of manuscript BC 5).

Table 41. Overview of the arapacana sign list

No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sign	<i>a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>da</i>
No.	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Sign	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ṭha</i>
No.	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Sign	<i>ka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>śpa</i>
No.	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Sign	<i>dha</i>	<i>śa</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>kṣa</i>	<i>sta</i>	<i>ñā</i>	<i>ṭa</i>
No.	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Sign	<i>bha</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>spa</i>	<i>vha</i>	<i>tsa</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>ṭha</i>
No.	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
Sign	* <i>ṇa</i>	* <i>pha</i>	* <i>ka</i>	* <i>za</i>	* <i>ca</i>	* <i>ṭa</i>	* <i>ḍha</i>

The arapacana sign list does not in general follow phonetic principles (cf. Salomon 1990: 256), so it is all the more remarkable that what on independent grounds appear to be an alveolar-aspirate sign (no. 28) and an alveolar-cluster sign (no. 35; § 4.2.2.3.5) are each separated from their corresponding dental signs (nos. 19 and 26) by nine positions in the linear order of the list.

Table 42. Positions of dental and alveolar signs in the arapacana sign list

No.	19	26	28	35
Sign	<i>tha</i>	<i>sta</i>	<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭha</i>
Pronunciation	[tʰ]	[st]	[tʰ]	[st]

It is also tempting to take the assignation of sound no. 28 to “South India” (南竺 *nán tiānzhú*) in the 大智度論 *Dà zhì dù lùn*’s commentary on the arapacana (T 25

no. 1509 p. 409a6) as a reference to its alveolar pronunciation on the background of the Dravidian languages, but in two other places the author of the commentary appears to use the label “South India” with broader reference to MIA language features (no. 9 *da*: 茶闍他 *cháshétā* = QYS ḍažjathâ, cf. G *dažja-* [d̪až̪ha] > [d̪aj:a], and no. 36 *na*: 爪 *ná* = QYS ṇa), so the evidence of the “South India” label remains circumstantial.

The reality of a partial phonetic arrangement of the arapacana sign list and the significance of the number nine are confirmed by sign no. 39 *za* [d̪z̪h] > [j] (§ 4.2.2.3.7; cf. Salomon 1990: 269) which is also separated from the corresponding unvoiced sign no. 30 *ch* [t̪c̪h] (§ 4.2.2) by nine positions in the linear order of the list.

Table 43. Positions of aspirated alveolo-palatals in the arapacana sign list

No.	30	39
Sign	<i>cha</i>	<i>za</i>
Pronunciation	[t̪c̪h]	[d̪z̪h] > [j]

Further support appears to come from the arrangement of the sign for the dental cluster *spa* [spa] (no. 21) relative to the palatal *śpa* [çpa] (no. 31). While their distance in the full extant arapacana sign list is ten signs, it is nine in the Sanskrit Pañcavimśatisahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā version (Dutt 1934: 212–213) which lacks the sign *ṭa*.

Table 44. Positions of palatal and dental clusters in the arapacana sign list

No.	21	31
Sign	<i>śpa</i>	<i>spa</i>
Pronunciation	[çpa]	[spa]

It is possible that this linear distance of nine positions between four (or three) separate pairs of derived signs and the signs they appear to be based on reflects a specific two-dimensional arrangement of the arapacana inventory (maybe metrical in

origin) in which the new signs *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *za* and *spa* were added in positions adjacent to the existing signs *tha*, *sta*, *cha* and *śpa*. If this is true, then *ṭa* and *spa* were originally independent additions to a base arapacana sign list, and when the resulting variant sign lists were amalgamated in the common list of forty-two signs, intervening *ṭa* increased the distance between *śpa* and *spa* by one, partially obscuring the overall pattern.

4.6. Graphical Devices Marking Long Consonants and Consonant Clusters

Our text uses three different graphical devices to indicate long consonants, consonant clusters and other pronunciations that are not accommodated by the base inventory of the Kharoṣṭhī script: a superscript horizontal line for [ṣṇ] and [sn] in *kriṣa-*, *taṣa-*, *praṣa-*, *śatra-*, *śayadi-* and *śeha-*, and for [dž̥] > [j:] in *aṄatva-*, *aṄatvia-*; the preconsonantal *r* sign for [n̥̄:] in *prarña-*; and the postconsonantal *v* sign for [d̥̄:] in *idhvivisa-* and for [t:] in *suni[ja]tva-*. The superscript line became the standard device in later Kharoṣṭhī where it is also used in the combinations *č* (for OIA śc, e.g., *aṄaria-* LC) and *m̥̄* (for OIA hm, e.g., *braṃa-* BL 5A). The preconsonantal *r* sign has been previously noted in the combinations *rc* (for OIA śc, e.g., *parce* AG-G^L 60) and *rṇ* (for [n̥̄:] < OIA ṣṇ, e.g., *krirṇa-* EA-G 23; most recently Salomon 2008: 97). The postconsonantal *v* sign has not previously been recognized in this use,⁴⁸ but in addition to *idhvivisa-* and *suni[ja]tva-* in our text, several unpublished Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts contain clear cases of it, as summarized in the following overview table:

⁴⁸Glass in Salomon 1999: 72 and Glass 2000: 122, unaware of the further examples that have since come to light, interpreted clear *dhv* in *adhva* Khvs-G 27, *sadhwacara-* Khvs-G 25, 26 as an “anomalous form of the preconsonantal *r*.”

Table 45. Graphical devices marking consonant clusters

Preconsonantal <i>r</i>	Postconsonantal <i>v</i>	Superscript line
<i>parce</i> AG-G ^L 60 <i>parcima-</i> AG-G ^L 59	<i>acvaria-</i> , <i>ciricvāṇa-</i> SaṅgCm-G <i>ciricvana-</i> BC 1	<i>aṄcaria-</i> LC <i>ciriṄcana-</i> BC 1
<i>krīrṇa-</i> EĀ-G 23 <i>tarṇa-</i> Dhp-G ^L 7	(<i>kriṄṣa-</i> PY-G 26 <i>taṄṣa-</i> SaṅgCm-G)	<i>kriṄṣa-</i> , <i>taṄṣa-</i> Nid-G ^{L2}
<i>prarṇa-</i> Nid-G ^{L2}	<i>prasva-</i> BL 28	<i>praṄṣa-</i> Nid-G ^{L2}
—	<i>bramva-</i> SaṅgComm-G	<i>braṄṇa-</i> BL 5A
—	<i>ajvatva-</i> , <i>jvana-</i> SaṅgComm-G	<i>aṄjatva-</i> Nid-G ^{L2} <i>janā-</i> Khvs-G, BL 29
—	<i>adhva</i> Khv-G 25 <i>sadhvacara-</i> Khvs-G 27 <i>idhvivisa-</i> , <i>suni[j]tva-</i> Nid-G ^{L2}	—

The use of preconsonantal *r* and postconsonantal *v* as abstract orthographic markers presupposes specific points of phonetic dissociation where sound change removed the one-to-one phonetic correspondence between the spoken and conventional written form of a word. In the case of preconsonantal *r*, the point of phonetic dissociation is readily apparent: clusters such as [rṇ] in [tirṇa] *tirṇa-* and [rm] in [karma] *karma-* underwent assimilation, resulting in the new pairings of spoken and written forms [ti:n:a] *tirṇa-* and [ka:m:a] *karma-* where the preconsonantal *r* sign had assumed the abstract function of indicating the length of [n:] and [m:]. From these cases, the abstract marker *r* was transferred to words such as *parce*, *tarṇa-* and *prarṇa-* with long consonants that never contained an etymological [r].

A corresponding point of phonetic dissociation for postconsonantal *v* is provided by our proposed intermediate stage [sm], [ṣm], [çm] in the development from [sv], [ṣv], [çv] to [sp], [ṣp], [çp] (§ 4.2.2.3.8). In words such as *aśva-* and *svaya-*, the clusters had come to be pronounced [çm] and [sm], with postconsonantal *v* assuming the abstract function of indicating the presence of a consonant cluster. From these cases, the abstract marker *v* was first transferred to words such as *prasva-* (where the

consonant cluster in question also ended in a nasal), and then to words such as *acvaria-*, *adhva* and *idhvivisa-* with long consonants that never contained etymological [v]. In combination with *m* and *j* in the hand of British Library scribe 14, this postconsonantal consonant-cluster marker has assumed more abstract graphical shapes: a projection to the upper right from the right arm of *m* and a flat horizontal line pointing rightwards from the foot of *j*. Parallel to the conventional handling of the shape that signifies either postconsonantal *r* or the weakening of a word-medial uncombined consonant, one should consider restricting the transliteration of the postconsonantal *v* shape as *v* to those cases where this is etymologically justified (including those where etymological [v] has changed to [m]), and to use a special diacritic (such as a circumflex accent) in all other cases where the shape has the value of an abstract consonant cluster marker: *aṄcaria-*, *ciriṄcāna-*, *praṄsa-*, *bramṄa-*, *aṄyatva-*, *Ṅaya-*, *adṄha-*, *sadṄacara-* and *idṄivisa-*.

The orthographic marker identical in shape to postconsonantal *r* and indicating weakening of word-medial uncombined consonants is not used in our text (§ 4.2.2.1.2), but needs to be discussed briefly. Like the other two orthographic markers discussed so far, it originally had a phonetic function and we therefore need to identify a point of phonetic dissociation. Our suggestion is that its point of phonetic dissociation lay in words such as [a:srava] *asrava-* where due to the Law of Two Moras [r] disappeared and the remaining [s] underwent voicing to [z] (§ 4.2.1.4.), resulting in a pairing of spoken and written forms [a:zava] *asrava-* or, in the conventional transliteration, *asava-*. From here it was first transferred to cases of voiced [z] that did not involve original [r], in particular the thematic genitive singular ending [a:za], and subsequently it was applied to the weakening results of other consonants.

There is a certain overlap of graphical shapes between the orthographic markers based on postconsonantal *v* and *r*, and the modified *j* of British Library scribe 14 in particular could be interpreted either as *Ṅ* (marking a cluster in *aṄyatva-*) or as *j* (marking weakening to the fricative [j] in *ajatva-* and *jana-*). It will be partly due to

this potential for confusion, partly to the general redundancy of two separate systems for marking consonant clusters, that the superscript line was introduced to replace the markers based on preconsonantal *r* and postconsonantal *v*. Particularly telling is the shape of the modified consonant sign *ś* of British Library scribe 14 which even after the introduction of the superscript-line convention redundantly retains the subscript *v* marker that this scribe uses regularly and exclusively in connection with other consonant signs. Similarly, the conjunct sign *śp* of this scribe in words such as *śpadi-* retains a redundant subscript *v* marker (indicating the earlier pronunciation [sm]) even after the word had changed to [spaði].

CHAPTER 5

Morphology

Earlier discussions of Gāndhārī morphology are Hultzsch 1925: xc–xcvii, xcix (Aśoka's edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra); Konow 1929: cxi–cxv (Gāndhārī inscriptions); Burrow 1937: 22–56 (documents from Niya and Endere); Brough 1962: 113–118 (Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan); Fussman 1989: 484–485; and Salomon 1999: 130–133, Salomon 2000: 93–102, Allon & Salomon 2000: 269–270, Allon 2001: 106–119, Lenz 2003: 46–50, 134–142, Glass 2007: 126–134 and Salomon 2008: 95–98, 132–162, 344–348 (Gāndhārī manuscripts discovered in recent years).

5.1. Inflectional Morphology

5.1.1. Nouns and Adjectives

5.1.1.1. Masculine *a* Declension

The Old Indo-Aryan masculine and neuter thematic declensions merged into a single Gāndhārī declension which we will call the masculine *a* declension (parallel to the masculine *i* and *u* declensions, and in contrast with the feminine *a* declension; § 5.1.1.4). Already in Old Indo-Aryan, only the nominative singular (-*ah* vs. -*am*) and nominative and accusative plural forms (-*āh*, -*ān* vs. -*ā*) of the masculine and neuter differed from each other. In the phonetic development of Middle Indo-Aryan and Gāndhārī, the masculine plural forms lost their final consonants (§ 4.2.2.1.3) and became homophonous with the neuter plural ending ([a:] > [a]). In an independent development, the Old Indo-Aryan sandhi variant -*o* of the masculine nominative

singular ending spread analogically into the masculine accusative singular, the neuter nominative singular and the neuter accusative singular.

Dschi 1944 suggested that instead of an analogical process, the emergence of an ending *-o* (or *-u*) in place of Old Indo-Aryan *-am* was due to a phonetic development of deocclusion and contraction (cf. also von Hinüber 2001: § 297). Edgerton 1953s: §§ 1.97, 8.30 considered such an analogical development, but reluctantly accepted Dschi's phonetic explanation because in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit “*-u* is also found for any other final *-am*.” The only example he cites in support is, however, *ahu* for *aham* which, as a pronoun, would have been subject to the extended analogical influence of the corresponding nominal forms. The real test case are adverbial forms not related to the nominal declension, and among these (§ 5.3) G *-a* regularly occurs in place of OIA *-am* (e.g., G *eva* for OIA *evam*). The analogical nature of the spread of the direct-case ending *-o* is further illustrated by its relative prevalence vis-a-vis *-a* < OIA *-am* in the three different Old Indo-Aryan grammatical slots in which it occurs: it is significantly more prominent in the old masculine accusative (88 %) and neuter nominative (83 %), where it was only one morphological feature removed from its masculine nominative source, than in the neuter accusative (71 %), where it was two morphological features removed. (These figures are based on all those relevant forms in our text that are not followed by an enclitic, to rule out the influence of special word-internal phonetic developments; § 4.3.3. They also exclude the three isolated examples of *-e* that are probably due to borrowing from a midlands or Eastern dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan.)

Table 46. Direct-case singular endings of the masculine *a* declension in Nid-G^{L2}

	Old masculine	Old neuter
Old nominative	96 % (368/382) <i>-o</i> 4 % (14/382) <i>-a</i>	83 % (180/216) <i>-o</i> 17 % (36/216) <i>-a</i>
Old accusative	88 % (73/83) <i>-o</i> 12 % (10/83) <i>-a</i>	71 % (25/35) <i>-o</i> 29 % (10/35) <i>-a</i>

Corresponding raw data for the other Gāndhārī manuscripts published to date is presented in the following table (based on the tables in Salomon 2008: 135–137). Here, however, pre-enclitic endings are included, which creates a significant statistical bias towards the spellings *-a*, *-am̄* and *-am*. It will therefore be necessary, in a future project, to separate out only those endings that occur at the end of phonological words to derive statistics that are comparable to those computed for Nid-G^{L2} and to verify whether in the case of the other texts, too, the distribution of endings among the four original grammatical categories indicates an analogical spread of *-o*–*u*. It also needs to be noted that the total sample sizes for each text vary widely as follows: 716 (Nid-G^{L2}), 614 (Dhp-G^K), 225 (AG-G^L), 108 (EĀ-G), 100 (Khvs-G), 68 (SĀ-G^{S5}), 56 (PY-G), 35 (Dhp-G^L) and 17 (AG-G^S). While it will eventually become possible to calculate the overall distribution of the two endings in the currently edited Gāndhārī corpus when enclitics are accounted for, reliable individual profiles will still only be feasible for those texts (or scribes) for which a sizeable data set is available.

Table 47. Direct-case singular endings in other Gāndhārī texts

		Old masculine	Old neuter
Old nominative	AG-G ^L	109/124 -u -o 15/124 -a	20/26 -u -o 6/26 -a -am
	EĀ-G	29/33 -u -o 4/33 -a	23/25 -o -u 2/25 -a
	Dhp-G ^L	1/8 -o 7/8 -a	— —
	PY-G	27/32 -o 5/32 -a	12/14 -o 2/14 -a
	Dhp-G ^K	216/235 -o -u 19/235 -a	29/100 -u -o 71/100 -a
	Khvs-G	45/52 -o 7/52 -a	— 3/3 -a
	SĀ-G ^{ss}	2/14 -o 12/14 -a	6/28 -o 22/28 -a
	AG-G ^S	6/9 -o 3/9 -a	2/6 -o 4/6 -a -am
Old accusative	AG-G ^L	33/35 -u -o 2/35 -a -am	37/40 -u -o 3/40 -a -am
	EĀ-G	13/23 -u -o 10/23 -a -am	19/27 -u -o 8/27 -a -am
	Dhp-G ^L	1/3 -o 2/3 -a	10/24 -o 14/24 -a -am
	PY-G	3/5 -o 2/5 -a -am	3/5 -o 2/5 -a
	Dhp-G ^K	39/146 -u -o 107/146 -a	49/133 -o -u 84/133 -a
	Khvs-G	14/32 -o 18/32 -a -am	4/13 -o 9/13 -a -am
	SĀ-G ^{ss}	2/11 -o 9/11 -a	5/15 -o 10/15 -a
	AG-G ^S	1/2 -o 1/2 -a	— —

The endings of the direct-case singular are thus, in order of frequency, *-o*, *-a*, *-am* and *-e* and occur in the following word forms:

-o: (original masculine, subject use:) **akuhao** [3×], *akriṣa*[*s*]ukr[*o*], **akroṭho** [2×], **aga[do]** [2×], *agado* [3×], *agaśaca*[*i*]dāna[*sa*]ma{[*ya*]}dikramo, **agrirdho** [2×], *acalio*, **aṇa[da]ṇo** [4×], **aṇanugridho** [3×], *anartho*, *aṇava-**sudo*, *aṇavilo* [4×], *aṇasavo*, *aṇikho* [3×], **an[u]adano**, *aṇua*[*disēṣ*](**o*), **aṇua-*n[i]do* [4×], *an[u]ṇay*[*o*], *anego* [2×], *anoalito* [4×], *anoalito*, (**a*)[*p*](**r*)*a-**g[a]bho*, *aprama*[*to*], **apra[mado]** [3×], *abuyo*, *abhipredo*, *ariamago*, [*a*]rthar[*thio*], **artho** [2×], **a[v]adhaṇo** [4×], *avaradho*, *avaśi*[*tho*], **avigapio**, *aśagaviṇaśo*, *aśayo*, **aśogo**, *asavakṣayo*, **asiṇo** [2×], *asimattro*, (**a*)[*spi*]*mano*, [*i*]disaca]**abhi[ma]ṇ[o]** [2×], *uadāna*[*n*](**i*)*roso*, *uadi*[*ṭh*]*o*, **uaśato**, *uaśato*, (**ua*)[*śama*]*rado*, **uaśamo[rada]**, *uaśamo*, *utamo*, *utiṇo* [2×], [*u*]ṇamo, *upad[idav]o*, [*e*]labuyo, *kadamo*, *kamakṣayo* [3×], *kamavaṭachedo* [2×], *kavoda*, *kileśakṣayo* [3×], *ki[l](*e)[śavaṭa]chedo*, **kuśalo**, [*kra*]mo, *kriasavaro*, *kridago*, **krodho** [7×], **kro(*so)**, *kṣayo*, *kṣinapuṇabhavo*, *gado* [2×], **guto**, [*ca*]go, *chadarago* [3×], **chiṇaśaśago** [4×], **chiṇasodo** [4×], *chedo* [2×], *jacadho*, (**jadijarama*)[*ra*]ṇaṇi[*ro*]so, **jaṇo**, [*ja*]lapak[*a*]ṇi[*vu*]do, [*ñadav*](**o*), *ṭhidago*, *ṭhido* [6×], **[ta]parayaṇo**, *tamayo* [3×], **taṣadudio** [3×], *taṣaṇiroso*, **tasaviso**, *tiṇo* [2×], *tr[i]ṇidaṇakṣayo*, *trivaṭach[e]do*, *triviso*, [*da*]to, *daśido* [6×], *duagio*, *dukhakṣayo* [3×], *dukhavaṭachedo* [2×], *doṣo* [3×], *dra[va]ya[di]o*, **dhamo**, **dhiro**, *ṇago* [2×], *ṇikileśo*, *ṇideśo* [30×], *ṇimalo*, ***ṇiyo**, *ṇiroso* [5×], *ṇisado* [2×], [*pako*], *paḍicasamupado*, *paḍidago*, **paḍido** [2×], *paḍiliṇo* [3×], *padumo* [2×], *payeṣida*[*vo*], *parapaṭividha*(**ñā*)[*ñā*]gado, *pa[r]ayaṇio*, *pa[r]igraha*[*bha*]v[*o*], *parigraho* [2×], **pariṇivan[a]g[a]do** [3×], **pavago**, *piḍavadalabho*, **puruṣo** [2×], *puruṣo* [2×], *pusujaṇapa*[*kṣo*], *posalo*, *pragaro*, *pra[t]o*, *prañakadho* [5×], *prañavarago*, *pratho* [3×], **pramado**, *pra-**hiṇo* [2×], **prochido**, *balo*, *bahopragaro*, **budho** [3×], *budho* [3×], **bramano** [4×], *bha[vanī]r[*o*](**so*)*, *bhavidaka*[*yo*], *bhavidacito*, *bhavidapraño*,**

*bhavidamag[o], (*bha)vidiidrio, bhavo [2×], mago [9×], madimano, mami-karo [2×], muto [2×], [mo]haño, [mo]ho, yoakşemo, ragavi[rag](*)o, ra[go], rado, rahato, ruṣido, ladho, vaṇasañhaṇ[a]samadikramo, varo, [vi]ada-taṣo [4×], vigadarayo, vitiṇakakṣo [3×], vimuto [2×], vuto [2×], [vedai]daüaśamo, vedago [4×], śatipado [2×], [śato], [śa]masavivaśana-bhavamañarado, śamaso [4×], śa[sto](?), śidibhudo, [ś](*)i)di[ho]do, śila-kadho [5×], śilodaśaṇasa[pa]ṇo, śekho [3×], środo[amo], saka[yā]niroso, sakileśo [3×], sakhadadha[mo] [2×], sakharad]ukhadaüaśamo, sabhavo [4×], samadikramo [3×], samasikadho [7×], samudayo [3×], samo [2×], savaro, saspado, suasagrahasama[dikra]mo, suuañhidacito, [sujāno], subho, susam-ahido [3×], suhomo, spado [16×], hodo; (original masculine, object use:) akamo [2×], akicañasabhavo, agridhro, añado [2×], aṭhamago, ato [2×], adikramo, adiṇavo [4×], aṇoañ[i]o, abhaso, a[bhi]pr(*)e)[do], ariamago, artho [5×], uchedo [2×], oa[śo], o(*ha)[di](*go), [kamo], kalo, kṣin-asavo [2×], ga[do], goyaro, gramo, janō, taṣamuhie, duracag[o], dhamo [5×], nikamo [2×], parago [3×], prañap[ra]sado, [p](*r)[adi]ṭhido, proḍhibhudo, balo, bhavo [3×], bhumañho [2×], maṇuśabhudo, maṇo [5×], yakṣo, logo [2×], vatadoṣo [2×], vimuto, vedago, śogino, sakileśo, samayo, sasaro, saspadavado; (original neuter, subject use:) agaśacaïdāno, agicaya[da]ṇo [3×], agro, ajaro [2×], adho [3×], aṇubhudo [2×], [a]ṇulomo, anegaruo [2×], [ap]uñ[o], abhiñado, abhiñeo, [uda]go, [upa]ṇo, elo, [e]ṣido, [ka]mo, karaṇo [4×], kileśapada[sta]ṇo, kośalañāno, [ka]mo, kriṣakamo, gado, cit[o], civaro, cudoavadañāno, jadijaramaraṇo, jado, [jal](*)o, jiamaṇo [2×], ñaṇo, ñaṇo [3×], ṣhaṇo, [tr]ilakhaṇ[o], daśaṇo, daśido [2×], dukho [3×], dukho [4×], doṣaprahaṇ[o] [5×], driṭhiujuamo, ṇiyuto, ṇivāṇo [4×], paca-kadhabha[yo], [pa]do, [pa]do, payeṣidavo, pavo [4×], p[u](*)ño), purido [3×], pradiṭhido, prahaṇo [25×], bhayo [4×], bhayo [2×], bhavido, ma[ha]bhayo, mohaprahaṇo [5×], yuto, yuto [2×], [ra]hapo, [va]mo, viñ[a]nacayadaṇ[o], viñāno, virio, vutartho [2×], vuto [7×], śato, śalaprahaṇo, śilo, sa[di]idri[o],*

*saco, sac[a], saco, sa[mudagado] [2×], samudeaprahaṇo [6×], same[p](*r)a-sa<*ṇa>p(*r)abh[avi]d[o], sam[o]sano, sutro [31×], śehaprāhaṇo [2×]; (originial neuter, object use:) ajaro [2×], adido [5×], adido [2×], aṇagado, aṇavajo, [a]pr<*o>vacarimo, k[a]l[a]ṇ[o], [cito], jivido, paḍhamo, pracupaṇo, bhaṣido, marano, yasa[bhu]do, la[vāṇa], vigri[śo], vivito, [śalo], ś[i]la-[va](*d)[o] [2×].*

-a: (original masculine, subject use:) *kṣinasyayana* [5×], *cudoavada, *dhamā*, *dhama*, ḡirosa [4×], *padia*, *pu[r]imaga*, *prayovināśa*, *b[u]dh[a]*, *loga*, *śreṭh[a]*, *śamasa*; (original masculine, object use:) *atvā<a>rtha* {pi}, *[i]ria-vasa*, *uchedavada*, *kileśasamudaya*, *janavadapradeśa*, *padipakṣia*, *paraarthā*, *bh[ad]acod[a]?*, *bhava* [2×], *bhavidatva*¹ [2×], *[rada]*, *[v]igra[h]a*, *vibhava* [2×], *vira*, *[sp]ara*; (original neuter, subject use:) *ato[gadi]tva?*, *[a](*ṇa)*, *[a]<*ṇu>ṇeaprahaṇa*, *avijaprāhaṇa* [2×], *uadaṇa*, *ugaḍaṇa?*, *[o]siridava*, *kamaprāhaṇa*, *[ka]maragaprāha(*ṇa)*, *kileśaprāhaṇa*, *grahi[da]?*, *jara[maraṇa]*, *ñadava* [2×], *taśaprāhaṇa* [3×], *dajamaṇa*, *niyoṇa*, *nirosa<*sa>kṣia*, *paḍiaprāhaṇa* [2×], *prahinatva*, *[pha]ṣida?*, *[bha]vi[dava]*, *maṇaśalaprāhaṇa*, **mulaśakhayana*, *ragaprāhaṇa* [3×], *[l]ohaprāhaṇa*, *va[vā]daprāhaṇa*, *sameñ[u]g[a]*, *sa[m](*o)[hap](*r)[aha]ṇa*, *savakayaprāhaṇa*, *suni[ja]tva?*; (original neuter, object use:) *aṇa* [2×], *kaligara[ñā]*, *daśamaṇa*, *parabhoṇa* [2×], *bh[oya]ṇa*, *yasatača*, *[ra]ñā*, *rūa*, *va[sa]ṇa*.

-am: (original masculine, subject use:) *dhamavitra[ka]m*; (original masculine, object use:) *magam* [2×], *[v](*i)[va]dam*; (original neuter, subject use:) *garavaasivayanam*, *dukham*; (original neuter, object use:) *dukham* [3×].

-e: (original masculine, subject use:) *ṇisa[de]*, *pravade*; (original masculine, object use:) *kale*.

The ending of the instrumental singular is -eṇa < OIA -ena (spelled -ina once):

añanavašeṇa, *atvan<*e>ṇa*, *aṇavajaprāhaṇena*, *[ap]r[a]m[a]dena*, *ariayenena*, *ariena*, *arthapra[śe]ṇa*, *uadaṇena* [2×], *[u]j[e]ṇ[a]*, *udagena*,

udageṇa [2×], *ekaśeṇa*, *kamaragaprahaṇeṇa*, *k[i]diśageṇa*, *kileśaprahan<*e>ṇa*, *[ki]ll[e]śasa[mu]dayo·pari[kṣa]yeṇa*, *kriḍeṇa* [2×], *kriḍeṇa*, *krosavaśeṇa*, *kroṣeṇa*, *(*kṣīna)sayoyaṇeṇa*, *caritv<*e>ṇa*, *citeṇa*, *jaleṇa*, *ji[a]man[e]ṇa*, *ñaneṇa*, *ñaneṇa* [6×], *(*triṇida)n[a]kṣa[ye]ṇa*, *[tri]ṇidaṇapra[ha]neṇa* [2×], *daśaṇeṇa* [2×], *(*dukh[e])ṇa*, *drok[ar]aṭheṇa*, *nidaṇakṣayeṇa* [2×], *nidaṇaprahaṇeṇa*, *pakeṇa*, *pajēṇa* [3×], *parasiṇañāṇeṇa*, *pari[kṣa]yeṇa*, *p[ava]pra-haneṇa*, *paveṇa* [2×], *p<*u>ñaprahaṇeṇa*, *p(*u)ñeṇa* [2×], *purimageṇa*, *prāṇa-prasadeṇa*, *pratheṇa*, *praduṭheṇa*, *prahaṇeṇa* [3×], *proveni[va]s<*e>ṇa* [2×], *baleṇa* [2×], *budheṇa*, *budheṇa* [2×], *bos[e]ṇa*, *mageṇa* [3×], *macageṇa*, *matreṇa*, *ragavaśīṇa*, *rūṭheṇa*, *ruṣideṇa*, *vasan[e]ṇa*, *vistareṇa*, *śi[tha]gen[a]*, *śileṇa* [3×], *śileṇa* [2×], *[śukr](*)n[a]* [2×], *śudeṇa* [2×], *sakile[ś](*)n[a]*, *śatravateṇa*, *<*sa>bhaveneṇa*, *[sa](*m)[e](*tve)[n[a]*, *sareṇa*, *savaagareṇa*, *[savajap](*)ahaṇ<*e>ṇa*.

The ending of the dative singular is *-ae* < OIA *-āya*: *[piḍa](*)e*, *prahaṇa[e]*.

The endings of the ablative singular are *-ado*, based on the OIA adverbial suffix *-taḥ*, and *-a* < OIA *-āt*. The latter is only used in fixed formulaic expressions and in combination with the abstract suffix *-tva-* to express causal relationships:

-ado: *[a]cakṣ[u]bhavado*, *añānaprahaṇado*, *asaprakha<*ṇa>yadaṇado*, *udeasta-gamado* [3×], *evalakṣaṇado*, *ohasam[a]dikrama[do]*, *kamakileśado*, *k[a]m-asavado*, *kileśado*, *c[i]tado*, *dukhado*, *doṣaprahaṇado*, *prahaṇado* [2×], *śilado*.
-a: *agridhratva*, *aña[nap]r[ah](*)iṇa[tva]*, *(*uada)[ṇa]pracea* [2×], *kuhidatva*, *jadi(*pra)[ce]a*, *taṣapracea*, *puridatva* [5×], *prahiṇatva* [20×], *phaṣida(*tva)*, *bhavapracea*, *bhavida[tva]*, *sakṣeva* [16×], *[savaki]leśa·prah[i]ṇatva*, *s[u]phaṣidatva*.

The ending of the genitive singular is *-asa* < OIA *-asya*: *aṇ[av]a[s](*u)da-cita[sa]* [2×], *akriṣaś[u]krasa*, *añānasa* [3×], *aṇ[u]a<*ha>daciṣa*, *(*aṇua)[hada]-cedasa*, *avijohasa* [2×], *[kamara]gasa*, *kamoḥasa* [2×], *kayasa*, *[ka]radadatiṣa*, *kileśavaṭasa*, *kileśasa*, *koaliṣa*, *kriṣaśukrasa* [2×], *kriṣasa* [3×], *cagasa*, *tasagadasa*, *dukhasa* [4×], *dukhasa* [2×], *doṣaśalasa*, *drīhiṣ[a]l[a]sa*, *drīho[h]asa* [2×],

[dha]maña[ɳa]sa, padipakṣiasa, para[c]lariasa, prañakadhasa, budhasa [2×], **bramaṇasa**, bhavidamagasa, [bhavo]hasa [2×], magasa, maṇaśalasa, m[o]ha[sa], [ya]kṣasa, ragaśalasa, ragasa [2×], labhasa, **logasa** [2×], logasa, [va](*va)[dasa], vahidapavadhamasa, [śilakadhasa], śi[lasa], śukrasa [3×], samasikadhasa, samuṇagadasa, saviñaneasa.

The endings of the locative singular are *-e* < OIA *-e*, *-ami* and *-aspi*. The rules for the distribution of the monosyllabic and disyllabic endings are not clear. The form *-ami* (corresponding to P *-amhi*) is the regular Gāndhārī development of OIA *-asmin* in weak terminational position. In pronouns, however, the regular development of *-asmin* was *-aspi* (§ 5.1.2.2), and the nominal ending *-aspi* (corresponding to P *-asmin*) most likely results from univerbation of a nominal locative form in *-e* followed by the pronoun *aspi* in vowel sandhi (Schwarzschild 1977: 79–80, Caillat 1990: 16–17, von Hinüber 2001: § 308):

-e: acaliobhāve, ajaribhāve, ajare, adid[e], uavadayadaṇe, (*ua)[śam](*)e, **kale**, **grame**, cage, dhame, pragidi[e], prove [6×], rañ[e] [2×], **loge** [4×], loge, vi[pariname]. Three isolated cases of an apparent locative ending *-o* (**ajatvaiśamo**, bha[v]o, sa[r]o) may be wrong transpositions from Eastern MIA *-e* which was used both for the nominative (G *-o*) and the locative (G *-e*) singular ending.

-ami: akica[ɳa]i⟨da⟩ɳami, [araṇa]mi, uavadayadaṇami, kadamami, k[ari]ami, ḥan[a]mi, doṣaprayoami, dhamami, [bhava]grami, bha[v]codami, ragaprayoami, loga[mi], viulami [2×], śukrami, sasarami.

-aspi: **[loga]spi**.

The single vocative singular form in our text ends in *-a*: **marīṣa**.

The endings of the direct-case plural are *-a* < OIA *-āḥ*, *-ān* and *-ā*; *-āni* < OIA *-āni*; and *-ae*. The second of these occurs only where it corresponds to the old neuter plural in canonical quotations. The third form (*-ae*) occurs only in one word (*sakhada(*dha)ma[e]*) where the reading is reasonably, but not completely, certain. The same word occurs in the same metrical position as *sa[gh]asadhama[u]* Dhp-G^K

304 (cf. Brough 1962: 269–270) where the vowel mātrā on the final akṣara is completely lost. In light of the tentative reading of our text, one should therefore consider reading *sa[gh]asadhama[e]* in Dhp-G^K as well. In any case, the ending apparently corresponds to the Ardhamāgadhbī ending -āo (von Hinüber 2001: § 312), and if our reading -*a[e]* is correct, then it would be the true Eastern counterpart of the Ardhamāgadhbī form.

-*a*: (original masculine, subject use:) *anatva*, *anica*, *an[u]agada*, ***a[p]ramata***, *abhipreda* [2×], *u[a]dañakadha* [2×], *utara*, *kadha* [5×], *[ka]lañagavivit[a]*, (**kalana*)[v](*i)[*rahida*], *kaśava[moga]laña[sad]ji[śa]*, *kṣevida*, ***gratha***, *cakṣu-viñāna·avi[sa]bh[u]da*, *caramaṇa*, *jagaramaṇa*, *ñada*, *ñadava*, *t[i]thiga*, *thidaga*, *dukha*, *driñhigadavirahida*, *dhama*, *ṇisada*, *parapa[divadha]*, *parami-prata*, *parian[i]dava*, *pa[li]kha[ida]*, *p[a]śidava*, *[r]paşaḍa*, *[pra]gidia*, *pra-hin[a]*, *maga*, *maṇuśa* [2×], *ragadoṣ[a]moha* [2×], *raha[tā]*, *vatava*, *v[a]stu-kama*, *vi[vi]ta* [2×], *[v]utar[u]ja*, *vosapakṣia*, ***śekha***, *ṣaḍa[vi]ñā*, *ṣavaga*, *s[ava]ga·(*pra)[ce]asabudha*, *sakhaïda* [2×], *suyi[a](?)*, ***s[pa]divata***, *h[e]du-asi[na]*; (original masculine, object use:) *ata*, ***kadha***, ***kama*** [5×], *kama*, *kuśala*, ***dhama*** [7×], *dhama*, ***pavaga*** [7×], *vastukama*; (original neuter, subject use:) *a[j]atviabahira*, *a[ya]dana*, *idria* [2×], *ugaḍida*, *upaṇa*, *osirida*, *kam[a-p](*)[aha]ṇa*, *ñada[va]*, *thida[ga]*, *daśida*, *d[o]kha*, *ṇidana* [2×], *ṇ[i]veśāṇa*, (****ne***)[*tra*], *prah[i]ṇa*, *pha[la]*, *mula* [2×], *ruarupa*, *[veda]ji[da]*, *śastugaraga*, *[saca]*, *suavaṭida*, *sun[i]sevida*, ***s[u]bhavida***, *hada*; (original neuter, object use:) *ṇidana*.

-*ani*: ***[i]driani*** [2×], *vedaïdaṇi*, ***subhavidani*** [2×].

-*ae*: ***sakhada(*dha)ma[e]***.

The ending of the instrumental plural is -*ehi* < OIA -*ebhiḥ*: *a<*sa>[ta]paidehi*, *ka[dhehi]*, ***kamehi*** [2×], *kalañavirahidehi*, *tad[i]śehi*, *duaṣṭhidriñhiadehi*, *dhamehi* [3×], *ni[dan](*)ehi*, *ṇiv<*e>śaṇehi* [2×], ***peṣon[e]hi***, *vastukamehi* [3×], *viñāna[·]ka[ye]hi*, *vi[varnavada]ge<*hi>*, *śatipadehi*, *śukrehi* [3×], *ṣodaśagiehi*, *saceh[i]* [2×], *satve[h]i*, *sarvaguṇeh[i]*, ***savadhamehi*** [3×], ***sodehi*** [2×], *sodehi*.

The ending of the genitive plural is *-aṇa* < OIA *-ānām*: *aṇ[u]neapadi[ana]* [2×], *aṇumajāṇa*, *aṇusahagadāṇa*, *aśukra[ṇa]*, *uadaṇaṇa*, *oda[r]jīan[a]*, *ora[bh]jīa-[k]okudīṇaṇa*, *o[hāṇa]*, *kama[kil](*)śāṇa*, *[ka]ma[pa]ṣāṇa*, *kileśāṇa* [3×], *daśāṇa-pradiṭhīdāṇa*, *[devamāṇu]śāṇa*, *d[r]iṭhiṭāṇ[a]ṇa*, *[dhama](*)ṇa*, *[nija]ṇaṭheāṇa*, *nidaṇaṇa* [2×], *nīvaṇaṇa*, *mulāṇa* [5×], *yutāṇa*, *śalāṇa*, *śilapadipakṣīṇaṇa*, *śavaga-pracaabudhāṇa*, *satvāṇa* [3×], *savakamāṇa*, *sava[ki]leśāṇa*, *savadhamāṇa* [2×].

The ending of the locative plural is *-eṣu* < OIA *-eṣu*: *[kadhe]ṣu*, *[kame]ṣu*, *janeṣu*, *drīthigadeṣu*, *bhaveṣu*, *[vipa]rinamatesu*, *śa[st]uga[ra]ga·saceṣu*, *saceṣu*, *satv(*)>eṣu*, *savadhameṣu* [2×], *savadhameṣu*.

The following overall picture of the Gāndhārī masculine *a* declension emerges: The old nominative and accusative case have merged into a new direct case with the ending *-o* in the singular and *-a* in the plural. The old masculine and neuter gender have merged into a new masculine gender (with residual neuter direct-case plural forms only in inherited canonical verses). Among the oblique cases, the ablative singular and locative singular have developed new endings based on adverbial and pronominal elements, resulting in a rhythmical pattern where all oblique case endings consist of a heavy syllable followed by a light syllable. The vocative singular ending remains outside the main paradigm.

Table 48. Endings of the masculine *a* declension

	Singular	Plural
Direct	<i>-o (-a -am -e)</i>	<i>-a (-ani, -ani)</i>
Instrumental	<i>-ena (-iṇa)</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
Dative	<i>-ae</i>	—
Ablative	<i>-ado (-a)</i>	—
Genitive	<i>-asa</i>	<i>-aṇa</i>
Locative	<i>-e, -ami, -aspi (-o)</i>	<i>-eṣu</i>
Vocative	<i>-a</i>	—

The following tables provide a schematic overview of the phonetic and analogical development of the new core paradigm of the Gāndhārī masculine *a* declension. Forms in parentheses indicate sandhi variants before enclitics or in other close junction. The cover symbol S stands for the glottal phonation [h] or the fricative of the class appropriate to the following sound. The cover symbol N stands for the nasal segment [ñ] or the appropriate class nasal. Forms introduced by way of analogy are highlighted in bold face.

Table 49. Development of the masculine *a* declension, 1: Old Indo-Aryan

	Singular		Plural	
	m.	n.	m.	n.
Nominative	[aS] / [o:]	[am]	[a:h]	[a:]
Accusative	[am]		[a:n]	[a:]
Instrumental	[e:na]		[e:b̥ih]	
Dative	[a:ja]		[e:b̥jah]	
Ablative	[a:t]		[e:b̥jah]	
Genitive	[asja]		[a:na:m]	
Locative	[e:]		[e:ṣu]	

Table 50. Development of the masculine *a* declension, 2: Early Gāndhārī

	Singular		Plural
	m.	n.	
Nominative	[o:]	[aN]	[a:]
Accusative	[aN]		[a:] ([aN])
Instrumental	[e:na]		[e:hi]
Dative	[a:ja]		—
Ablative	[a:]		—
Genitive	[as:a]		[a:na:] ([a:naN])
Locative	[e:]		[e:ṣu]

Table 51. Development of the masculine *a* declension, 3: Gāndhārī

	Singular	Plural
Direct	[o] ([aN])	[a]
Instrumental	[e:na]	[e:hi]
Dative	[a:je]	—
Ablative	[a:ðo]	—
Genitive	[a:za]	[a:na] ([a:naN])
Locative	[am ^h i]	[e:zu]

5.1.1.2. Masculine *i* Declension

The masculine *i* declension represents the merger of the Old Indo-Aryan masculine and neuter *i* and *in* declensions.

The regular ending of the direct-case singular is *-i* < OIA *-ih*, *-im* and *-ī*; the residual accusative form *-ino*, corresponding to OIA *-inam*, occurs twice: (subject use:) *agi*, *ag[i]*, *anaga[mi]*, *anīthuri* [2×], *amatsari* [3×], *isi* [2×], *k[i]vali*, *kuśali* [4×], *[keval]li*, *ñan[i]* [2×], *maheśi*, *m[i]savi*, *muṇi* [4×], *śamidavi* [2×], *sadu[at]idaspadi*, *suyi* [3×], *spadoaṭhaṇasamagi* [3×]; (object use:) *anañ[a]posi* [2×], *anusodagami*, *kevalino* [2×], *paritabodhi*, *[maheśi]* [2×].

The regular ending of the genitive singular is *-isa*, corresponding to OIA *-eh* and *-inah*. The inherited form *-ino* < OIA *-inah* occurs once: **pravivitaviharisa*, *vi{vi}bhud[a]rua[sa]ñisa*, *vi[vi]t[avi]har[i](*)sa*, *spadoaṭhaṇasamagino*.

Table 52. Endings of the masculine *i* declension

	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>i</i> (- <i>iṇo</i>)	—
Instrumental	—	—
Dative	—	—
Ablative	—	—
Genitive	- <i>isa</i> (- <i>iṇo</i>)	—
Locative	—	—

The Gāndhārī word *samasi-* has shifted gender and follows the feminine *i* declension (§ 5.2.5.2; cf. BHSD s.v. *samādhi*).

5.1.1.3. Masculine *u* Declension

The Gāndhārī masculine *u* declension represents the merger of the OIA masculine and neuter *u* declensions.

The ending of the direct-case singular is -*u* or -*o* < OIA -*uh* and -*u*: (subject use:) *aprihalu* [2×], *ujō* [3×], *ekaca[khu]*, *[du]cakh[u]*, *paso*, *baho*, *bhikhu* [9×], *logavidu*, *sumesu*; (object use:) *hedu*.

The ending of the locative singular is -*umi*: *vastumi* [2×].

The ending of the direct-case plural is -*u* or -*o*, on analogy with the masculine *a* declension: (subject use:) *prosu*, *baho*.

Table 53. Endings of the masculine *u* declension

	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>u</i> , - <i>o</i>	- <i>u</i> , - <i>o</i>
Instrumental	—	—
Dative	—	—
Ablative	—	—
Genitive	—	—
Locative	- <i>umi</i>	—

The Gāndhārī word *uja-*, corresponding to OIA *uju-*, has been transferred to the masculine *a* declension. Apart from the form *vastumi*, the word *vastu-* has mostly shifted to the feminine gender (§ 5.2.5.2).

5.1.1.4. Feminine *a* Declension

The Old Indo-Aryan *ā* declension underwent phonetic erosion followed by significant analogical restructuring in Middle Indo-Aryan and Gāndhārī, leading to the merger of the old nominative and accusative in a direct case parallel to the direct case of the masculine *a* declension, and to the merger of all oblique-case singular endings in one single ending.

The ending of the direct-case singular is -*a* < OIA -*ā* and -*ām*. The occasional appearance of -*o* instead of -*a* in subject use (once) and in object use (five times) may be due to analogical influence from the masculine *a* declension, in the object-use cases possibly under the influence of a midlands or Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan source dialect with the ending -*am* for the accusative singular of both the thematic declension and the *ā* declension: (subject use:) *aśatvataśa*, *aśhaveda* [2×], *atavivarj[i]da*, *añachejada*, *anuadisēṣa* [4×], *anucava[ga]*, *aparamoṣado*, *abhi-nadidava*, *aśekhada*, *istrisaña*, *uama*, [*uṭaveda*], [*u]danagasa* [2×], *eṣaṇa*, *kameṣana* [2×], *kameṣaṇa*, *krida* [2×], *kridavida* [4×], *gāṇaṇa* [2×], *caduveharajada*, *janidava*, *ñadava* [2×], *ñanajagaria*, *ñanida* [2×], *taṣa* [2×], *taśa* [3×], *tr[e]vijada*,

daśan[o], daśabalada [2×], daśida [2×], dukhapariña [6×], dupragara [3×], [dha]dusaña, dhamadeśana, ḥudāna, padidasaña, [pa]ḍ[i]vada, paripura [2×], purida, puruṣasaña, prañā [2×], pradiṭha[ve]da [4×], prahiṇa [2×], [p]()idi-[a]ṇ[ida], bahidhataśa, bra(*maīyeṣaṇa), bha[v]aṇa, bhaveṣaṇa [2×], [bha]ṣidava [2×], ma[j]ima, matra, ru[kṣa], vaya [2×], vuta [2×], vidida, vima[sa], vimutida [5×], vivaśaṇa [5×], vivitaviharida, [v]iśramida, vriṣavida [4×], śilasuviśudhada, śekhada, saüadišeṣa [2×], sakalasaña, sakṣiñānavija [3×], sakha, [sakhar]dukh[a]da, sarvañuda [3×], s[ava](*)ka)maṇ[i]a; (object use:) ag(*r)[a], ataviv[arji]da, kuhano [2×], gridhada, cario, paḍivada, parama, paramida [2×], piḍa, procha, pharuṣa, bhavaṇem[i]tio, matro, vaya, savañu[da].*

The ending of the instrumental singular is *-ae*, corresponding to OIA *-ayā*. We assume that the Gāndhārī pronunciation of this ending was [a:je], with long penultimate on the analogy of the other oblique-case endings: *idhvivisae*, **kidiśae*, *taśae*, *[di]vae*, *du[śaṇa]e*, *pad[i]vadae*, *parivrayaṇae* [2×], *bhaveṣaṇae*, *vimasae*, *sakhae*, *[satamae]*, *sarvakamāṇia[e]*, *spayae*.

The ending of the ablative singular is *-ae* < OIA *-āyai*: *ariae*, *ñañidae* [2×], *[ta]ṣae*, *visathigae*, *sarvañudae* [2×].

The ending of the genitive singular is *-ae* < OIA *-āyāḥ*: *aṭatvataśae*, *avijae* [5×], *taśae* [6×], *dupragarae*, *dhamasañae*, *pacakamaguṇi[ae]*, *bahidha[taśae]*, *śamasavi-(*va)[śaṇa]e*, *sakharadukhada[e]*.

The ending of the locative singular is *-ae* < OIA *-āyām*: *[e]kotariae*.

The ending of the direct-case plural is *-a* < OIA *-āḥ*: *abhiñad[a]*, *[ta]ṣa*, *dukhada* [2×], *prahiṇa* [2×], *p(*)ridia[ṇida]*, *vija*, *viyigitsa*.

The ending of the genitive plural is *-aṇa* < OIA *-ānām*: *taśaṇa*, *prochaṇa* [2×].

The ending of the locative plural is *-aṣu*, corresponding to OIA *-āsu*. The retroflex fricative has been introduced by analogy with the masculine *a* declension: *[sa]rvañ[e]aṣu*.

The feminine *a* declension follows the same rhythmical pattern as the masculine *a* declension: all oblique case endings consist of a heavy syllable followed by a light

syllable.

Table 54. Endings of the feminine *a* declension

	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>a</i> (- <i>o</i>)	- <i>a</i>
Instrumental	- <i>ae</i>	—
Dative	—	—
Ablative	- <i>ae</i>	—
Genitive	- <i>ae</i>	- <i>ana</i>
Locative	- <i>ae</i>	- <i>asu</i>

The following tables provide a schematic overview of the phonological and analogical development of the new core paradigm of the Gāndhārī feminine *a* declension, using the same conventions as in the overview for the masculine *a* declension (§ 5.1.1.1).

Table 55. Development of the feminine *a* declension, 1: Old Indo-Aryan

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	[a:]	[a:h]
Accusative	[a:m]	[a:h]
Instrumental	[aja:]	[a:bʱih]
Dative	[a:jaj]	[a:bʱjah]
Ablative	[a:ja:h]	[a:bʱjah]
Genitive	[a:ja:h]	[a:na:m]
Locative	[aja:m]	[a:su]

Table 56. Development of the feminine *a* declension, 2: Early Gāndhārī

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	[a:]	[a:]
Accusative	[a:] ([aN])	[a:]
Instrumental	[aja:]	[aḥi]
Dative	[a:je:]	—
Ablative	[a:ja:]	—
Genitive	[a:ja:]	[a:na:] ([a:naN])
Locative	[a:ja:]	[a:zu]

Table 57. Development of the feminine *a* declension, 3: Early Gāndhārī

	Singular	Plural
Direct	[a]	[a]
Instrumental	[aja]	[aḥi]
Dative	[a:je]	—
Ablative	[a:ja]	—
Genitive	[a:ja]	[a:na] ([a:naN])
Locative	[a:ja]	[a:zu]

Table 58. Development of the feminine *a* declension, 4: Gāndhārī

	Singular	Plural
Direct	[a]	[a]
Instrumental	[a:je]	[aḥi]
Dative	[a:je]	—
Ablative	[a:je]	—
Genitive	[a:je]	[a:na] ([a:naN])
Locative	[a:je]	[a:z̄u]

5.1.1.5. Feminine *i* Declension

The feminine *i* declension represents the merger of the Old Indo-Aryan *-i* and *-ī* declensions.

The ending of the direct-case singular is *-i* < OIA *-ih*, *-im*, *-ī* and *-īm*: (subject use:) *akicañayadañasa[ma]vati*, *añatariabhumi* [2×], *apra[v]uti*, *ariavaśāñhidi*, (**artha*)[*ko*]śala[*vi*]vati, *kamavatañi* [3×], [*ki*]le[śava]tañi [3×], *trika[dha]vivati*, *daśañabhumī* [2×], *dukhaapra[vu]t[i]*, *dukhañāñ[a]vivati*, *dukhavatañi* [3×], *dukhavudhi*, *dhamakośalavivati*, *ṇadi*, *ṇirosa[ñā]ñ[aviva]ti*, *ṇiros[a]vi[va]ti*, *nīvudi* [2×], *p[a]dipraśadhi*, *prañakadhavivati*, *prañavi[vati]*, *pr[o]veni[v]a[sa-a]nuspadi*, [*bosi*], *bhavañabhumī* [3×], *bhudakodi*, *magañānavi[va](*ti)*, *vivati* [3×], [*viva*]śānavivati, *vedaïda·uaśamapayiñhi*, *vedaïda[pa]yi[ñhi]*, *[śa](*ti)*, *śamasa-vi[vati]*, *śilakadhavivati*, *samavati*, *samasikadha[vi]vati*, *samasi*, *samudagavudhi*, [*stu*]di; (object use:) *agica[ñā](>*ya)dano·samavati*, *adidavartamañ[i]*, *a[śodhi]*, *ṇiñhuri*, *b[udhabhum](*i)*, *[bo]sisatvabhumi*, *va[t]a]mañi*, *śati*, *śodhi*, *śodhi*.

The ending of the instrumental singular is *-ie*, *-ia* or *-iyo*: *driñhie* [4×], *drithie*, *mañoviñāñabhumie*, *mudiyō*, *viñāñāñhidie*, *samasie*.

The endings of the ablative singular are *-ie* and *-ido*: *viriamuh[i]e*, *spadido*.

The ending of the genitive singular is *-ie*: *[ka](*mavatañi)[e]*, *kileśavatañie*, *dukha(*vatañie)*, *[sa](*masie)*.

The ending of the locative singular is *-ie*, *-ia*: *ua[vati]a*, *tatratatraüa[va]tie* [2×], *[bh]judak[o]di[e]*.

The ending of the direct-case plural is *-ie*: *viñāñāñhidie* [2×], *vimutie* [3×].

The ending of the instrumental plural is *-ihi*: *vi[mu]tihī*, *sama[va]ti[hi]*.

The ending of the genitive plural is *-iña*: *vimutiña*.

Table 59. Endings of the feminine *i* declension (Nid-G^{L2})

	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>i</i>	- <i>ie</i>
Instrumental	- <i>ie</i> - <i>ia</i> - <i>ijo</i>	- <i>ihī</i>
Dative	—	—
Ablative	- <i>ie</i> , - <i>ido</i>	—
Genitive	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>ina</i>
Locative	- <i>ie</i>	—

5.1.1.6. Feminine *u* Declension

The ending of the direct-case singular is -*u*: (subject use:) *nivanadhadu*, *vastu*; (object use:) *k[a]madhadu*, *vastu*.

The ending of the instrumental singular is -*ue*: *vastu[e]*, *s[oda]{da}dhad[ue]*.

The ending of the genitive singular is -*ue*: *vastue*.

The ending of the direct-case plural is -*ue*: (subject use:) *nivanadhadue* [2×]; (object use:) *nivanadhadue* [2×].

The ending of the genitive plural is -*una*: *n[i]vana[dha](*)duna*.

The ending of the locative plural is -*uṣu*: *atvabh[a]vavastuṣu*, *vastuṣu*.

The word *vastu-* has undergone a gender shift and in general follows the feminine *u* declension. The form *vastumi*, however, shows its original neuter gender (see § 5.2.5.2).

Table 60. Endings of the feminine *u* declension

	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>u</i>	- <i>ue</i>
Instrumental	- <i>ue</i>	—
Dative	—	—
Ablative	—	—
Genitive	- <i>ue</i>	—
Locative	—	- <i>usu</i>

5.1.1.7. Inherited Consonant-Stem Forms

The Old Indo-Aryan consonant-stem declensions have merged with or otherwise been converted to Gāndhārī vowel-stem declensions. Forms belonging to these new vowel stems are treated in their proper places above. The present section collects the isolated preserved consonant-stem forms and provides references to the new formations derived from them.

From the OIA *an* stem *ātman-*, the nom. sg. *atva*, instr. sg. *atvana*, dat. sg. *atvano* [2×] and gen sg. *atvan[o]* preserve historical forms. The instr. sg. form *atvan<*e>na* is based on a new masculine *a*-declension stem *atvana-*. The dir. pl. form *anatva* is based on the masculine *a*-declension stem *anatva-* (corresponding to P *anatta-*). From the OIA *an* stem *karman-*, the instr. sg. *kamuna* [2×] preserves a historical form. The dir. sg. forms *[ka]mo*, *kriṣakamo*, *driṭhiujuamo* and the dir. pl. form *kama* are based on a new masculine-*a*-declension stem *kama-*.

From the OIA *in* stems *kevalin-* and *samaṅgin-*, acc. sg. *kevaliṇo* [2×] and gen. sg. *spadoaṭhaṇasamagīṇo* preserve historical forms, the former with analogical introduction of final *o* for expected *a*.

From among the OIA *nt* stems, nom. sg. *prañava* [3×], *[bha]gava*, *vrosidava*, *vrosiva*, acc. sg. *cītha{t[o].}ta[m]*, *balavatam*, *[bhagavato]*, instr. sg. *asada*, gen. sg. *jagarado* [4×], *janado*, *bhagavado*, *vrośimado*, *jahaṇado*, voc. sg. *bhagava*, instr. pl.

[ba]la[va]tehi and gen. pl. *taraïda*, [moya](**i*)[da], *śamaïda* preserve historical forms. The dir. sg. forms *cakhumo* and *mahato* are based on new masculine-*a*-declension stems *cakhuma-* and *mahata-*.

From the OIA *as* stems *tamas-* and *manas-*, nom. sg. *tamo* [3×] and instr. sg. *manaso* preserve historical forms.

From the OIA *tr* stem *śāstr-*, nom.(?) sg. *śa[sto]* appears to preserve a historical form, but with analogical introduction of final *o* for expected *a*.

5.1.2. Pronouns

5.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns

All first- and second-person singular personal pronouns attested in our text preserve historical forms: nom. *aho* [4×] (with analogical introduction of final *o* for *a*), acc. *ma* [2×], gen. *mama*, *me*, *me*; and nom. *tva*.

5.1.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

The forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ta-* are: m. nom. sg. *so* [4×], *so* [27×], *sa* [2×], *sa* [5×], m. acc. sg. *ta* [11×], *tam*, [to], m. instr. sg. *tena* [6×], *tena* [8×], m. abl. sg. *taspa*, *tado*, *tado* [5×], m. gen. sg. *tasa* [2×], *tasa*, m. nom. pl. *te* [4×], m. acc. pl. *te*, m. instr. pl. *tehi*, *tehi*, m. gen. pl. *teṣa*, *teṣa* [3×], m. loc. pl. *teṣu*, f. nom. sg. *sa* [2×], f. acc. sg. *to*, f. instr. sg. *tae*, f. gen. sg. *tasa* and f. nom. pl. [te]. In contrast to the nouns, a formal distinction between the old nominative and accusative case is thus preserved, but there is no indication of distinct masculine and neuter forms. The masculine nominative plural form is transferred to the feminine (cf. the closely related pronoun *eda-*).

Table 61. Forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ta-*

	Singular		Plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
Nominative	<i>so sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>
Accusative	<i>ta tam to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>te</i>	—
Instrumental	<i>tena</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>tehi</i>	—
Dative	—	—	—	—
Ablative	<i>tado,</i> <i>taspa</i>	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>tasa</i>	<i>tasa</i>	<i>tesa</i>	—
Locative	—	—	<i>tesu</i>	—

The forms of the demonstrative pronoun *eda-* are: m. nom. sg. *eṣa* [7×], *edo*, m. acc. sg. *edo* [4×], *edo*, m. instr. sg. *edena*, m. gen. sg. *edasa*, m. nom. pl. *ede*, *ede* [2×], f. nom. sg. *eṣa* [6×] and f. nom. pl. *ede*. The inherited neuter nominative singular form *edo* occurs only once (line 9.121), in a commentarial phrase with parallel in the Pali Niddesa.

Table 62. Forms of the demonstrative pronoun *eda-*

	Singular		Plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
Nominative	<i>eṣa (edo)</i>	<i>eṣa</i>	<i>ede</i>	<i>ede</i>
Accusative	<i>edo</i>	—	<i>ede</i>	—
Instrumental	<i>edena</i>	—	—	—
Dative	—	—	—	—
Ablative	—	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>edasa</i>	—	—	—
Locative	—	—	—	—

The demonstrative pronoun *ena-* occurs as m. acc. sg. *[e]na*.

The forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ima-* are: m. nom. sg. *aya* [16×], *aca*, *ida*, m. acc. sg. *[i]mo*, m. instr. sg. *imena*, m. gen. sg. *a[sa]*, m. loc. sg. *[i]maspi*, m. acc. pl. *[i]me*, f. nom. sg. *a[ya]* [2×]. The inherited neuter nominative singular form *ida* occurs only once (line 9.204) in a canonical verse. As in Pali, the masculine and feminine nominative singular forms have merged in a single form.

Table 63. Forms of the demonstrative pronoun *ima-*

	Singular		plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
Nominative	<i>aya (ida)</i>	<i>aya</i>	—	—
Accusative	<i>imo</i>	—	—	—
Instrumental	<i>imena</i>	—	—	—
Dative	—	—	—	—
Ablative	—	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>asa</i>	—	—	—
Locative	<i>imaspi</i>	—	—	—

5.1.2.3. Relative Pronoun

The forms of the relative pronoun *ya-* are: m. nom. sg. *yo* [4×], *yo* [18×], *ya* [3×], m. acc. sg. *ya* [3×], *yo*, *yo*, m. instr. sg. *yēna* [5×], m. abl. sg. *[ya]do*, m. gen. sg. *yasa* [3×], *yasa* [7×], m. nom. pl. *ye* [2×], *ye* [8×], m. instr. pl. *yehi* [3×].

Table 64. Forms of the relative pronoun *ya-*

	Singular		Plural	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
Nominative	<i>yo ya</i>	—	<i>ye</i>	—
Accusative	<i>ya yo</i>	—	—	—
Instrumental	<i>yena</i>	—	<i>yehi</i>	—
Dative	—	—	—	—
Ablative	<i>yado</i>	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>yasa</i>	—	—	—
Locative	—	—	—	—

5.1.2.4. Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun *ka-* occurs only in indefinite sense in combination with the enclitic particle *yi / ci*. Its forms are: m. nom. sg. *ko* [2×], n. nom. sg. *ki* [6×], m. gen. sg. *kasa* [4×], m. nom. pl. *ke* [11×] and f. nom. sg. *ka* [2×]. In contrast to the other pronouns, it maintains a clear formal distinction between the masculine and neuter in the nominative and accusative. The univerbation *kica[n]ja-* is derived from the combination of the interrogative pronoun with the enclitic particle *cana*.

Table 65. Forms of the interrogative pronoun *ka-*

	Singular			Plural	
	m.	n.	f.	m.	f.
Nominative	<i>ko</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ke</i>	—
Accusative	—	—	—	—	—
Instrumental	—	—	—	—	—
Dative	—	—	—	—	—
Ablative	—	—	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>kasa</i>		—	—	—
Locative	—	—	—	—	—

5.1.2.5. Pronominal Adjectives

The pronominal adjectives *añā-*, *avara-*, *uhaa-*, *para-* and *sava-* occur in the following forms: m. nom. sg. *avaro* [2×], m. acc. sg. *año*, ***paro***, m. abl. sg. ***savado*** [2×], m. gen. sg.: *añasa*, m. nom. pl. *avare* [5×], *uhae* [2×], *s[ava]*, *savan<*i>*, m. acc. pl. *avare*, *ubhae*, m. instr. pl.: *uha[e]hi*, m. gen. pl. *añ[e]ṣa*, *uhaīṇa* [2×], ***paresa***, m. loc. pl. *añeṣu* and f. nom. pl. ***sava***. The inherited neuter nominative plural form *savan<*i>* occurs in a quoted canonical phrase.

5.1.3. Numerals

The numeral ‘one’ occurs as m. nom. sg. *eko* and, in the meaning ‘some,’ as m. nom. pl. ***ege*** [2×]. The spelling *eka-* with *k* in the numeral proper indicates lengthening of the Old Indo-Aryan consonant [k] (von Hinüber 2001: § 391).

The numeral ‘two’ occurs as nom. *due* [12×], acc.(?) *due*, instr. *d<*u>[e]hi*, gen. *duīṇa* [6×]. There is no formal distinction of genders.

The numeral ‘three’ occurs as nom. *trae* [7×], instr. *trihi* [4×] and gen. ***triṇa***, *triṇa* [4×]. There is no formal distinction of genders. The form *trae* (instead of expected *trayo*) will be due to analogy with *due*.

The numeral ‘four’ occurs as m. nom. *[ca]tvari*, f. nom. *cadure*, instr. *caduhi* [2×], gen. *caduṇa*, loc. *caduṣu*. The continuant *cadure* of the OIA masculine accusative *caturah* happens to be used for a feminine referent in the one place where it occurs, but it seems preferable to regard it as a gender-neutral analogical replacement of the inherited nominative and accusative forms rather than as a new distinct feminine form.

The numeral ‘five’ occurs as nom. *paca*, *paca* [5×].

The numeral ‘seven’ occurs as nom. *sata*.

The numeral ‘ninety-six’ occurs as nom. *ṣanavadi*.

The ordinal numerals *padhama-*, *dudia-*, *[satama]-* inflect as regular masculine and feminine *a*-declension adjectives.

5.1.4. Verbs

Based on the observations of Pischel (1981: § 452), Geiger (Geiger & Norman 1994: § 120) and especially Jacobi (1886: § 52), Edgerton convincingly argued (1953a: § 24, 1953b, 1954) that in the synchronic analysis of Pali, the literary Prakrits and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit only two productive conjugation classes need to be distinguished. Verbs of class 1 have present stems ending in short *a* (including stems ending in uncontracted *aya*) and form a preterite that is derived from the present stem by subtraction of final *a* and addition of a set of *i* endings (derived from the terminations of the Old Indo-Aryan *is* aorist). Verbs of class 2 have present stems ending in long *ā*, *e* or *o* (including stems in *e* contracted from *aya*) and form a preterite that is derived from the present stem by addition of a set of *si* / *śi* endings (derived from the terminations of the Old Indo-Aryan *s* / *śis* aorists).

These basic conjugation classes can also be distinguished in Gāndhārī, and not surprisingly, since most Gāndhārī texts that have been studied to date are transposed from the same Buddhist Middle Indo-Aryan prototypes as the Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts. The following table illustrates the two conjugation classes in Gāndhārī by pairing all present-stem-based *i* and *si* / *śi* preterites occurring in our

own text and in GBT volumes 1 to 5 with corresponding forms of the present.⁴⁹

Table 66. Gāndhārī conjugation classes

Class 1	<i>abhinadami</i>	<i>abhiṇadi</i> EĀ-G 26, 37
	<i>[upa]jadi</i>	<i>uavajiṣu</i> AG-G ^L 55, 74, 75, <i>paḍivaji</i>
	<i>parakramati</i> Shāh. X 22	<i>abhikrami</i> EĀ-G 2, 6, <i>uasakrami</i> EĀ-G 9, <i>pra[kame]</i> AG-G ^L 31
	<i>bhavayadi</i> Dhp-G ^K 194	<i>bhavae</i> AG-G ^L 26, 32
	<i>bhaṣadi</i> Dhp-G ^K 114, 201, 202	<i>bhaṣiṣu</i> AG-G ^L 52, <i>paribhaṣiṣu</i> AG-G ^L 51
	<i>roy[e]a</i> Dhp-G ^K 121	<i>viroyiṣu</i> AG-G ^L 4, 17
	<i>vadadi</i>	(*) <i>dis[u]</i> AG-G ^S 13
Class 2	<i>viharadi</i> EĀ-G 42, 45, 48, 51, 55, 58	<i>[vi]hari</i> EĀ-G 3
	<i>deśedi</i> Dhp-G ^K	<i>dešeṣi</i> AG-G ^L 46

There is thus ample evidence for the existence of the Middle Indo-Aryan conjugation class 1 in literary Gāndhārī, and while only a single example for conjugation class 2 is attested at this point this is presumably due to the small sample size. The following description of the Gāndhārī verbal system is therefore provisionally based on the categorization established by Edgerton. (It should, however, be noted that there is also a pattern of class 2 presents such as *niro[e]ti* coexisting with preterites formed from class 1 present stems such as *aroae* AG-G^L 8, 83, *aroaīsu* AG-G^L 82.

5.1.4.1. Present Indicative

The following class 1 (short-vowel) present forms occur: 1st sg. *aiksadi* [3×],

⁴⁹Pairings that do not fit the regular pattern, but that have precise parallels in Pali, are: *gachadi* : *[a]g[ame]*, *aghāmi* AG-G^L 42, 45; *[u](*)vaga)[cha]si* PY-G 30 : *uaghāmi* AG-G^L 42, 45; *karodi* Dhp-G^K 111, 201, 202, 269 : *[vi]aghāri* 70 AG-G^L; and *karodi* Dhp-G^K : *sakarisu* AG-G^L 81 (cf. § 5.1.4.6).

abhinadami [2×], *[gacha]mi*, *[pracha]mi*; 3rd sg. *adiśadi* [5×], *adiśadi* [2×], *avijayadi* [3×], *ave[kṣ]adi*, *aśiśadi*, *as[i]g[a]ch[a]d[i]*, *uavadiadi* [2×], *[upa]jadi*, *osiradi*, *kakṣadi* [2×], *[gachadi]*, *jayadi* [2×], *duśadi* [2×], *ṇiharadi* [3×], *ṇu[da]di* [2×], *payeṣadi*, *parikṣadi*, *pari[kṣ]ayadi*, *paśadi* [6×], *paśadi* [2×], *poṣadi*, *prachadi* [2×], *prajahadi*, *ba[dha]di*, *ramadi* [2×], *la[bha]di*, *vadadi* [2×], *vasadi* [2×], *viṇaśadi*, *vibha[v]adi*, *viharadi*, *śayadi*, *samahadadi*, *[sa](*ha)[di]*, *se[va]d[i]*, *soyadi* [3×], *stavadi* [5×], *haṇadi*; and 3rd pl. *[u](*)a[śama]ti*, *kṣiati*, *carati* [2×], *dahati*, *pracea[ti]*, *pragharati* [2×], *vadati* [2×], *vicarati* [2×], *śi[kṣa]ti*. Most of these are derived from the Old Indo-Aryan thematic present classes (first, fourth, sixth and tenth class), but some are thematicizations of Old Indo-Aryan athematic verbs: *aikṣadi*, *pracea[ti]*, *stavadi*, *haṇadi* (all second class), *prajahadi*, *samahadadi* (both third class) and *ba[dha]di* (ninth class). *Prachadi* has a full-grade root in contrast to Old Indo-Aryan *pṛcchatī* and Pali *pucchatī*. In *uavadiadi*, the Old Indo-Aryan fourth-class stem *upapadya-* has been reshaped on analogy with the Middle Indo-Aryan passive type in *-ia-* (§ 5.1.4.3), even though there is no corresponding non-*ya* present stem **upapada-* (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 415 on passive forms with middle meaning). The etymology of *osiradi* remains unclear (see BHSD s.v. *avaśirati*).

The following class 2 (long-vowel) present forms occur: 1st sg. *janami*, *bromi* [2×]; 3rd sg. *avaśedi*, *[u]ta[vedi]*, *utra[s]edi*, *edi* [5×], *karodi* [5×], *gri[na]di*, *jaṇadi* [6×], *janadi* [2×], *daśedi* [2×], *ṇiy[o]K*e>d[i]*, *ṇ[i]har[e]di*, *pracanubhodi*, *p(*r)acedi*, *prañaveti*, *bhodi* [2×], *bhodi* [7×], *matredi* [2×], *vatedi*, *vigrinadi*, *sa[ṭha]vedi*, *sabhodi* [3×], *sabhodi*, *samuśrevedi*; and 3rd pl. *ṇiroeti* [2×], *ṇivateti*, *prayoeti*, *prayanati*, *bhoti*, *matret[i]*, *[vija]teti*. Most of these forms are derived from the Old Indo-Aryan thematic tenth class on the one hand and from the Old Indo-Aryan athematic second, eighth and ninth class on the other. The forms *bhodi* [2×], *bhodi* [7×], *bhoti*, *sabhodi* [3×] and *sabhodi* are contractions of original first-class forms.

Two verbs occur both in class 1 and in class 2 forms – *ṇiharadi* and *ṇ[i]har[e]di*, *pracea[ti]* and *p(*r)acedi* – illustrating general Middle Indo-Aryan tendencies of transfer to class 2 on the one hand and of thematicization of inherited athematic

forms on the other. The personal endings attested in our text are thus first person singular *-mi*, third person singular *-di* and third person plural *-ti*, with loss of the Old Indo-Aryan distinction between parasmaipada and ātmanepada endings. One special second-class verb has preserved its athematic forms: 3rd sg. *asti*, *asti* and enclitic 1st sg. *mi*, 2nd sg. *si*, *si*. Another inherited verb has perfect-tense forms in present-tense meaning: 3rd sg. *aha* [7×], 3rd pl. *aha* [8×].

5.1.4.2. Present Optative

The Old Indo-Aryan optative paradigm of thematic verbs gave rise to two different Middle Indo-Aryan paradigms, one based on the third-person singular ending and marked by *-e-*, the other based on the first-person singular and third-person plural endings and marked by *-eya-* (Bloch 1927, Nakatani 1985, von Hinüber 2001: § 435–445). Both of these are attested in our text: 3rd sg. *cari*, *parivaye* [8×], *bhaśi* and *[va]rja[e]* directly continue the OIA ending *-et*; 3rd sg. *abhiṇadea* [4×], *unamea* [2×], *karea*, *[paria]nea*, *parivayea* [2×], *ma[j]e[a]* [2×], *[va]dea*, *śāsea*, *satrasea* [2×] have the new ending *-ea*. One further step in the development of the Middle Indo-Aryan optative was the addition of the primary ending to the third person singular. This is illustrated in our text by *sakiliśeadi*, *sakiliśiadi* and, secondarily, by the originally athematic verbs *praceadi* [2×], *si[e]jadi*, *siadi* and *sieati* [2×] (but see the text commentary on lines 13·6 and 54 for possible alternative interpretations of *praceadi* as thematicized indicative and *siadi* as an orthographic variant for *siadi*).

The Old Indo-Aryan athematic optative likewise produced two different Middle Indo-Aryan paradigms. The form *sie* [2×] directly continues OIA *syāt*, *jañe* is formed on analogy with *dadyāt* (> P *dajjā*; cf. P *jaññā*) and *asa* is based on a full-grade form OIA **asyāt*. The forms *janiadi* and *[si]jadi* are formed by addition of the primary ending to the continuants of OIA *jānīyāt* and *syāt*.

5.1.4.3. Passive

The following inherited passive forms occur in our text: *[d](*r)[iśati]*, *nihañadi*, *lipadi* [4×], *vucadi* [22×], *vijadi* [3×], *vijati* and *vimucadi*. There are two examples of a Middle Indo-Aryan passive formed on the basis of the present indicative active stem with the suffix *-ia-* (Парібок 1995, von Hinüber 2001: § 458): *[pha]ṣ[i]a[di]* and *sahariadi* (see § 5.1.4.1 for the related form *uavadiadi*).

5.1.4.4. Imperative

The attested forms of the second-person singular imperative use the suffix *-hi* in combination with class 2 verbs: *karoh[i]*, *vagarohi*, *vagarohi*, and with one originally athematic class 1 verb: *(*ai)kṣahi*. Forms of the second-person plural imperative are *grīṇa[sa]* and, with contraction of the verb stem, *nimesa* [3×]. (Cf. further Schwarzschild 1965.)

5.1.4.5. Future

Forms of the future in our text are: 1st sg. *kirtiše* [3×]; 3rd sg. *uavajiśadi* [2×], *bhaviśadi*, *bheśadi* [3×], *bheśadi*, *(*ha)riśadi*; and 3rd pl. *aṇ[u]praiṇiśati*, *śidi{na}bhav(*i)śati*. The regular future stem is formed by using the suffix *-iś-* to replace the stem vowel in the case of both class 1 (e.g., *uavajiśadi*) and class 2 (e.g., *kirtiše*) verbs. The form *bheśadi*, *bheśadi* < Old Indo-Aryan *bhavisyati* is inherited. The first-person singular ending *-e* of *kirtiše* also occurs in *bhaviše* EA-G 10–15, *hakṣe* PY-G 36, *kariše* AG-G^L 66, 85, *bhujiše* AG-G^L 31 and *[vayiś]/(*e)* AG-G^L 31. SĀ-G^{S5} 6, on the other hand, has the long parasmaipada ending *-ami* in *javiśami*, *jiviśami* and *mariśami*, while *bh[e]śam* AG-G^L 66, 85 and probably also *karavi[ša]* PY-G 31 reflect the short parasmaipada ending seen in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *-aṇ*. Salomon 2008: 152–153 suggests that *-e* corresponds to the Old Indo-Aryan ātmanepada ending of the first person singular, and that its use in the future represents a characteristic dialectal feature of Gāndhārī. Considering further that it occurs alongside the third-person singular ending *-di*, one may suggest that this

dialect feature consisted in the use of the middle voice throughout the future, and that only with the loss of this grammatical category and the concurrent phonetic merger of the Old Indo-Aryan endings *-ti* and *-te* (and *-si* and *-se*), the parasmaipada endings *-ami* and *-am / -a* entered the Gāndhārī future paradigm alongside *-e*. (Cf. further Turner 1931, Smith 1952, Schwarzschild 1953 and von Hinüber 2001: § 463–474.)

5.1.4.6. Preterite

Our text has five preterite forms based on Old Indo-Aryan aorists. One of these directly continues a root aorist: 3rd sg. *aho* [8×], *aho*. Another is an inherited *sa* aorist reshaped on the model of the *s / iṣ* aorist: 1st sg. *[p](*r)[ave]kṣe* (cf. *prav[e]kṣe* AG-G^L 32; von Hinüber 2001: § 481). Two preterite forms are derived by the procedure described in § 6.1.4, with the ending *-i* (from the Old Indo-Aryan *s / iṣ* aorist) replacing the final vowel of a class 1 present stem: 3rd sg. *acatari* [4×] and *padi[vaji]*. The fifth preterite form is based on an inherited thematic aorist, but takes the regular Middle Indo-Aryan class 1 preterite ending in place of original *-am*: first person singular *[a]g[ame]* (cf. AG-G^L *aghāmi*; the damaged vowel mātrā in our text could also be read as *i*).

Two further endings of the class 1 preterite are attested in AG-G^L (Salomon 2008: 154–156): 1st and 3rd sg. *-iṣu*, and 3rd sg. and pl. *-isu* (with unexplained vowel *u* outside the 3rd pl.). Preterite forms such as *akapa[e]* AG-G^L 37 (= Pali *akappayim*) are treated in a separate section by Salomon 2008: 157–158, but are in fact further instances of the regular class 1 ending, in this case attached to short-vowel stems derived from uncontracted Old Indo-Aryan tenth-class verbs. The class 2 preterite ending *-ṣi* is attested in forms such as *aśavesi* AG-G^L 73 (Salomon 2008: 158).

The variant spelling *-e* besides *-i* of the class 1 preterite ending has previously been discussed as an instance of optative forms serving as past tense forms without any special modal meaning (Salomon 2008: 156–158). Preterite forms in *-e* also occur in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit where they are particularly common in the Apadāna (von Hinüber 2001: § 445) and the Mahāvastu (BHSG § 32.85–105).

Even though the Pali commentaries sometimes explain these rare forms as optatives, von Hinüber 1977 (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 445) questions this identification. He underlines the coexistence of *-e* with *-i* forms and the role of metrical considerations, and argues that the *-e* forms may be due to an analogical development whereby *e*-stem present forms had intruded into the preterite by way of negative commands with *mā* that in Pali can take the imperative or optative as well as the injunctive or aorist. One weakness of this argument is that it needs to invoke developments involving class 2 verbs in order to explain the characteristic class 1 ending *-e*. In the case of Gāndhārī, it seems preferable to understand this interchange of endings in terms of the now well-documented phonetic equivalence of *i* and *e* in word-final position (§ 4.2.1.6). It has independently become clear that the Apadāna (Salomon 2008: 28–29) and Mahāvastu (Salomon & Baums 2007: 202) stand in a special relationship to Gāndhārī literature, and the prevalence of the *-e* preterite ending in these texts in particular may therefore be no coincidence but rather an inheritance of a Gāndhārī phonetic feature. The very occasional use of undoubted optative forms such as *iyāt* in preterite contexts in Buddhist and Epic Sanskrit (Katre 1937, 1938–39, Salomon 1983: 105) needs to be considered separately and appears to convey a special sense of repeated action (von Hinüber 1977: 45, Pisani 1932).

5.1.4.7. Infinitive

The only infinitive in our text occurs as the prior member of the nominal compound *środoama-*.

5.1.4.8. Absolutives

Our text contains fifteen absolute forms. Of these, *[a]jr(*u)s[a]*, *uadaī*, *ñatva* [8×], *ladhva* [2×], *l[a]dha* [2×], *pariñae*, *prahae* [3×], *vahita* [8×], *viprahae*, *vudh[va]*, *sutva*, *sutva* are direct continuants of the corresponding Old Indo-Aryan forms (see § 4.2.2.3.10 for the different phonetic developments of the suffix). The forms *prajutva* and *vivarjita* show the general Middle Indo-Aryan spread of the suffix

-tvā into the category of prefixed verbs. The form *pradīthahita* [2×] illustrates a new Middle Indo-Aryan method of deriving absolutives from present stems (in this case **pradīthahadi*; von Hinüber 2001: § 498). The exact derivation of *parihoita* (apparently an absolute of the causative of *pari* + $\sqrt{bhū}$; § 4.2.1.2) remains unclear; see the annotated text edition on line 9.228. (Cf. further Schwarzschild 1956 and Sakamoto-Goto 1991.)

5.2. Derivational Morphology

5.2.1. Present Participles

Thirteen present participle forms occur in our text. Of these, *cītha{t[o]}ta[m]*, *janado*, *jiamaṇa-* [3×], *taraüda*, *dajamaṇa-*, *daśamaṇa-*, *bhavamana-*, [*moya*](**i*)[*da*] and *śamaïda* are direct continuants of the corresponding Old Indo-Aryan forms. The forms *caramaṇa* and *jagaramaṇa* show the Middle Indo-Aryan spread of the suffix *-maṇa-* into the category of original parasmaipada verbs, after the general loss of the parasmaipada-ātmanepada distinction. The form [*vipa*]rīṇamatesu illustrates the thematicization of the OIA suffix *-ant-* to G *-ata-* [*anta*] and attests further to the loss of the ātmanepada category. In *jagarado* [4×] and *jahanado*, the inherited genitive singular ending *-do* is combined with the new Middle Indo-Aryan present types *jagaradi* and, apparently, **jahaṇadi*. The words *rahata-* [2×] and *va[t]a]maṇi-* are lexicalized present participles (the latter with Middle Indo-Aryan introduction of the feminine suffix *-ī*). In *adidavartamani-* and [*śa]masavivaśana-* *bhavamaṇarado*, the lexicalized participle *vartamani-* and regular participle *bhavamaṇa-* form parts of compounds. The present participles follow the masculine *a* (§ 5.1.1.1), feminine *i* (§ 5.1.1.5) and inherited consonantal (§ 5.1.1.7) declensions. (Cf. further von Hinüber 2001: § 490.)

5.2.2. Past Participles

Most of the past participles in our text are direct continuants of Old Indo-Aryan

formations: *agada-* [2×], *agada-* [3×], *aṇubhuda-*, *abhiñada-* [2×], *abhipreda-* [4×], *uadi[th]a-*, *uaśata-*, *uaśata-*, *ugađida-*, *utiña-* [2×], *upana-* [2×], *[e]ṣida-*, *krida-*, *krida-* [2×], *krodha-* [7×], *kṣevida-*, *gada-* [4×], *guta-*, *grahi[d]a-*, *jada-*, *ñada-*, *ṭhida-* [2×], *niyuta-*, *tiña-* [2×], *[da]ta-*, *daśida-* [11×], *paḍilina-* [3×], *purida-* [4×], *pra[t]a-*, *[p](*r)[adi]ṭhida-*, *pradiṭhida-*, *praduṭha-*, *prahiṇa-* [8×], *[pha]ṣida-*, *bhavida-*, *bhaśida-*, *muta-*, *yuta-* [3×], *rada-*, *ruṭha-*, *ruṣida-*, *ruṣida-*, *ladha-*, *vidida-*, *vimuta-* [3×], *vivita-* [2×], *vivita-*, *vuta-* [10×], *śata-* [2×], *śidibhuda-*, *śuda-*, *samuṇagada-*, *sa[mudagad]a-* [2×], *hada-*. The denominative forms *pa[li]kha[īd]a-* and *vedaīda-* [2×], have extended the tenth-class present suffix OIA *-ay-* into the past participle. The forms *prochida-* and *sakhaīda-* [2×] are likewise based on Middle Indo-Aryan present stems, though significantly, at least in the case of the former, not on the Gāndhārī present stem (G *prachadi*, but P *pucchatī* and *saṅkhāyati*). In the form *hoda-* and its compound *[ś](*i)di[ho]da-*, the vowel *o* is probably also introduced from the present *hodi*. The origin of the verb *osiradi* remains unclear, but its past participle *osirida-* is derived regularly from the present stem. The words *ana-* [2×], *[a](*n)a-*, *adida-* [5×], *adida-* [3×], *cita-*, *jivida-*, *pracupana-* and *budha-* [2×] are lexicalized past participles. Past participles also occur in the following nominal compounds: *aṇagado*, *aṇ[av]a[s](*u)dacita[sa]* [2×], *aṇ[u]a-* *gada*, *aṇ[u]a<*ha>dacitasa*, *(*aṇua)[hada]cedasa*, *aṇusahagadāṇa*, *atavivarj[i]da-*, *a<*sa>[ta]paidehi*, *[ka]lanagavivit[a]*, *kalanavirahida-* [2×], *kṣinapunabhavo*, *kṣiṇa-* *sayoyaṇa-* [6×], *kṣiṇasavo* [2×], *chinaśaśago* [4×], *chināsodo* [4×], *daśanapradi-* *ṭhidāṇa*, *duaśathidriṭhiadehi*, *driṭhigadeṣu*, *driṭhigadavirahida*, *parapađivadha-* (*ñā)[ñā]gado, *parapa[đivadha]*, *paramiprata*, *pariṇivan[a]g[a]do* [3×], *p(*r)idian[ida]-* [2×], *proḍhibhudo*, *bhavidaka[yo]*, *bhavidacito*, *bhavidatva* [2×], *bhavidapraño*, *bhavidamaga-* [2×], *(*bha)vidiidrio*, *maṇuśabhudo*, *vatadoṣo* [2×], *vahidapavadhamasa*, *[vi]adataṣo* [4×], *vigadarayo*, *vitiṇakakṣo* [3×], *vivitaviharida*, *[vedai]daūaśamo*, *vedaīda[pa]yi[thi]*, *vedaīda·uaśamapayiṭhi*, *śidibhudo*, *[ś](*i)di-[ho]do*, *śilasuviśudhada*, *sakhada(*dha)ma[e]*, *sakhadadha[mo]* [2×], *suavaṭida*, *suuaṭhidacito*, *sun[i]sevida*, *subhavida-* [3×], *susamahido* [3×].

5.2.3. Future Participles (Gerundives)

The following gerundives directly continue Old Indo-Aryan formations: *abhiñea-*, *abhiñadidava-*, *ñadava-* [7×], **niya-*, *payeśidava-* [2×], *bhaśidava-* [2×], *vatava-*. In the causative gerundives *upad[idav]a-* and *[bha]vi[dav]a-*, the causative suffix OIA -ay- has in effect been omitted (though contracted forms such as P *bhāvetabba-* may have formed an intermediate stage). This change is opposite to the introduction of the suffix OIA -ay- in the causative past participles (§ 5.2.2). The gerundives *janidava-*, *parian[i]dava-* and *p[a]śidava-* are derived from Middle Indo-Aryan present stems. The origin of the verb *osiradi* is unclear, but its gerundive *[o]siridava-* is derived regularly from the present stem (like the past participle *osirida-*; § 5.2.2).

5.2.3. Nominal Compounds

Most nominal compounds of our text follow the usual Old and Middle Indo-Aryan rules and call for no particular comment. Special compositional behavior is shown by the pronominal adjective *sava-* in the phrases *s[ava](*)ka)man[i]a vastu* 9.122–123, *sarvakamania[e] ca · vastu[e]* 9.189 and especially *savatriṇa eṣa[na]* 9.15, *[savatriṇa] ḥi[da]nāṇa p(*)r)a[ha]ṇa* 9.31, *savatriṇa bhavida[tva]* 9.96. It thus appears to enter into particularly close union with the following member, even where this member is of a word class (such as the numerals) that would usually be resistant to composition with a preceding adjective. Another notable compound is *[śa]masa-vivaśāṇa·bhavamaṇarada-* where in effect a whole clause **śamasa ca vivaśāṇa ca bhaviati* has been nominalized to form the first member of a tatpuruṣa compound with *rada-*. It also illustrates our scribe's habit of indicating the main compound boundary of particularly long compounds by a punctuation dot. Additionally, he will often write the last vowel of a masculine-a-declension prior compound member as *o* rather than *a*. Further examples illustrating both of these traits are: *acaliobhava-*, *agicaña(*ya)dano·samavati-, vitiṇokakṣa-* and *śilodaśanasaṇapana-*.

5.2.4. Derived Verbs

Our text contains two types of derived verbs: causatives and denominatives. These need to be distinguished from other verbs inherited from the Old Indo-Aryan tenth present class into the Middle Indo-Aryan verbal class 2 and from Middle Indo-Aryan transfers from class 1 to class 2 without change of meaning. The verbs *utra[s]edi*, *upad[idav]a-*, ***taraïda***, *daśida-* [11×], *daśedi*, *[bha]vi[dav]a-*, *bhavida-*, ***[moya](*i)[da]***, *vatedi* and ***śamaïda*** are causatives inherited from Old Indo-Aryan and formed with the suffix *-aya-* > *-e-*. The verbs *[u]ta[vedi]*, *prañaveti* and *sa[ṛha]vedi* are causatives inherited from Old Indo-Aryan and formed with the suffix *-paya-* > *-ve-*, which became the regular productive causative marker in Middle Indo-Aryan (von Hinüber 2001: § 489). According to this new *-ve-* type, another group of causatives was formed that combined Middle Indo-Aryan class 2 present stems with the suffix *-ve-*: *samuśrevedi* ← *samuśre-* (OIA *samucchraya-*) + *-ve-* + *-di* and *kṣevida-* ← *kṣe-* (OIA *kṣaya-*) + *-vi-* + *-da-*, replacing the Old Indo-Aryan type *samucchrayate* : *samucchrāpayati*, *kṣīyate* : *kṣāpayati* (Insler 1987: 59–60, 62–63) whose relationship to the intransitive forms had become opaque (Pali has inherited *samussāpeti* and reformed *khepita-*).⁵⁰ The precise formation and meaning of *ṇiroeti* [2×] and *parihota* remain unclear, but they are probably best regarded as causatives. Five denominatives occur in our text: *avijayadi* ← *avija-*,⁵¹ *pari[kṣ]jayadi*, *pa[l-i]kha[ida]-* ← **parikṣa-*, Eastern MIA *palikhā-* (used in the same meaning as *parikṣadi*), *matredi* ← *matra-* *vedaīda-* [2×] ← *veda-* and *sakhaīda-* [2×] ← *sakha-*. The

⁵⁰Salomon 2008: 264, referring to BHSD s.v. *kṣepayati*, derives this verb in the phrase *kṣ[e]viṣu ciru* ‘I spent a long time’ AG-G^L 53 from OIA *√kṣip*. BHSD duly notes, however, that OIA *√kṣi* also has a claim to this verb. This is further supported by the common use of non-causative *√kṣi* in the corresponding meaning: “wane (as the moon) [...] RV. AV. ŠBr. &c.; to pass (said of the night) Kathās.” (MW s.v. *kṣi*⁴). Likewise, the form *ksapay-* in *rātrimdivāni ksapayāmi* Saddhp 3.8, *rātrimdivāni kṣapayet* AsPp 200 is shortened (BHSG § 38.52) from *kṣāpay-*, the regular Old Indo-Aryan causative of *√kṣi*. The Gāndhārī derivational process now established by the form *samuśrevedi* explains the previously unclear derivation of **kṣevedi* from *√kṣi*. To the extent that *√kṣip* did become confused with *√kṣi* in the meaning ‘to spend time,’ this must have been facilitated by their homonymous Gāndhārī causatives **kṣevedi*.

⁵¹The corresponding Pali and Sanskrit verbs *abhijjhāyati* and *abhidhyāyati* are derived directly from *abhi* + *√dhyai*, but the metrical contraction [au^hijj:e:ḍi] in verse 27 can only be based on denominative [au^hij:j:a:jaḍi], not on [au^hij:j:a:jaḍi] (§ 8.3).

following class 2 verbs are neither causatives nor denominatives: *ugadida-*, *niy[o] <*e>d[i]*, *ni[i]har[e]di* (used side by side with *niharadi*), *purida-* [4×], *prayoeti* and *[pha]ṣida-*. (Cf. further Edgerton 1946.)

5.2.5. Miscellaneous Notes

5.2.5.1. Feminine Action Nouns Based on Present Stems

In Middle Indo-Aryan in general, action nouns are derived from the present stems (rather than roots) of verbs, and they are feminines rather than neuters. The following words from our text belong in this category: *ugadana-*, *nudana-*, *daśana-*, *duśana-*, *vivaśana-* and *parivrayana-*. (G *paramoṣa-* ← *pa[ramuṣa]di* SaṅgCm-G, in contrast to P *parāmāsa-* ← *parāmasati*, is another example.)

5.2.5.2. Gender Shift

There is a general tendency for Old Indo-Aryan masculine and neuter *i-* and *u-* stem nouns to be assigned to the Gāndhārī feminine *i* and *u* declensions. Three cases in point are *samasi-* (*samasie* 9.72; cf. BHSD s.v. *samādhi*), *dhadu-* (cf. *[di]vae s[oda] {da}dhad[ue]* 9.201) and *vastu-* (cf. *sarvakamaṇia[e] ca · vastu[e]* 9.189, but *yena vastue* 13.10 and *[vastu]mi* 13.85).

5.2.5.3. Abstract Nouns in *-aveda*

The abstract nouns *[u]ṭhaveda-* and *pradiṭha[ve]da-* are probably derived from past active participles **uṭhavi-* and **pradiṭhavi-*, based on the Middle Indo-Aryan present type **uṭhahadi* and **pradiṭhahadi* (cf. *pradiṭhahita*, *uvaṭha]hadi* SaṅgCm-G and P *uṭhahati*, *patiṭhahati*). This derivation is supported by the spelling *uṭhav[i]da* in SaṅgCm-G. The derivational type itself (BHSG § 22.51, von Hinüber 2001: § 494) is attested in our text by the word *kridavida-*. In Pali, *dassāvitā-* is particularly frequent, and in the Niddesa it co-occurs with *visavitā-* = G *vriṣavida-* (part of the same terminological set as *[u]ṭhaveda-* and *pradiṭha[ve]da-*) in the definition of the

word *buddha-*.

5.3. Indeclinables

Our text contains the following indeclinable particles and adverbs: *aṭa[tva]*, *ajatvam*, *atra*, *atra* [7×], *ado* [8×], *asa* [56×], *[ido]* [4×], *iṣa*, *iṣa* [4×], *edarahi* [3×], *edavada*, *edavada*, *eva¹* [2×], *eva¹* [7×], *yeva¹* [5×], *eva²* [3×], *eva²* [13×], *kuayi*, *kudu* [3×], *khu* [3×], *ho* [4×], *ho* [10×], *ca* [16×], *ca* [73×], *ya* [8×], *ya* [4×], *tatra* [50×], *tada*, *tada* [2×], *tava*, *tasa* [3×], *dani* [3×], *di*, *du*, *du* [3×], *na* [44×], *na* [67×], *nu* [4×], *[no]*, *[no]*, *punapuno* [3×], *puno* [6×], *bahidha*, *bahidha*, *bhuyyo*, *yatra* [4×], *[yada]* [2×], *[yada]*, *yadi*, *yadi* [2×], *yavi* [2×], *yasa* [3×], *yasa* [25×], *yi* [23×], *va¹* [5×], *va* [75×], *va²* [2×], *vana* [5×], *vi* [2×], *vi* [5×], *sada* [8×], *same*, *hi* [4×], *hi* [7×]. Some of these are enclitic; their phonetic behaviour and interaction with preceding words are discussed in § 4.3.3.

CHAPTER 6

Transcribed Text, Reconstruction and Translation

In the transcription, superscript letters indicate fragment boundaries. In the reconstruction, those parts of the reconstructed text that cannot be established with sufficient certainty, and that are therefore excluded from the grammatical discussion in chapters 4 and 5 and from the word index, are indicated by grey shading in the textual reconstruction (§ 6.2) and by strings of the symbol + corresponding to the number of akṣaras involved in the translation (§ 6.3).

6.1. Transcribed Text

6.1.1. Scroll Fragment 7

Aa1. ^{|A} a[p]ramata s[pa]divata sutro tatra ḥideśo apramado bahopragaro [ñadav].

[kame]ṣu a [pa] .[o] va ja ṇa aprama /// +

Aa2. ^{|A} + + //? vuca[d]. ? + ? da cito na d[o] ? ri a [s]. ? [go] aprama[to] viharadi ·
apramoto aśukra[ṇa dhama] /// +

Aa3. ^{|A} + // a ri ca ṇa + + ? ? ṇa · apramoto vuc[a]d[i] ma g. ? ca · a ? da ga r[o] d[a] ·
apramoto · yasa vu[ca] /// +

Aa4. ^{|A} + + //? ? ? ? ? ? + + + + + + + + + + ? [t]. [do a]. [v]. [di] // + + + + + +
+ + + + +

Ca1. ^{|C} /// + + + + + + + + + + ? ? //

|C
Ca2. /// d[i] šá [no] ? ? ? [vo] · bhuda k. .[i] tasa ? ///

|c
Ca3. /// n. [ri] bh. [t]. ? ? ? ? //

Da1. //| D bhagavado tasagadasa ? ? ? ? [b]u[dha] ? ? //

|D
Da2. /// [sa] śa[sto devamanu]śana budh[o] ? ///

| D
Da3. /// ? ? ///

Eb1. //| E
n[u] dha [vo] samasikadho ? //

Eb2. /// + + + + + + + + + n. na ? ? ///

Fb1. /// ? [yo] ? ? ///

Fb2. /// ? ? ? ? ///

6.1.2. Scroll 9

| B
Br2. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + a [p].[ha]na [man]. · kamavatani [s]. ? ? //

+ + + + + +
| B
Br3. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [r]i [ca] · drīthicari ca ? ? [sa] drīhišari · ye
[vi] ? +

Br4. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .[i ɳ]. ? [bhava]ṇa drigho sasaro ?? ?
[n]. + +

[dia] pra[vi]θ[o]

1. no · muto [· sato · vi mu]tida · taraïda · [moya] + [da] ? ? ? // +

2.	? [sa ïda] · śamaïda · praditha	[ve da ·] agro	śreth[a] ·	varo
	A D	kk+D D	kk+D kk	kk+D kk

| kk
[isi]

3. [vr̥isa]vida · daśabalada ca · caduveharajada ca · ke

4. [yi pu]ño [vija]teti · sacešu tiño · kileša do [·]

5. aya samudeaprahaño · mu to dukhado · aya dukhapariña · due thida [ga]

6. + + + + + // [ka]mešaṇa [.] bhaveṣaṇa · sutro tatra ḥidešo kamešaṇa
 du | E+hh | E | E+hh E
 praga ḥña dava · [ya] sa [y].

7. + + + + + + // ? ekaca[khu du]cakh[u] ca · bhaveṣaṇa dupragara ūṇa[da]va ·
yasa janesu · ? // +

8. + + + + + + + | E // ga[r]. | E // [ca] · aňešu ? ta pragara hi · aya tava ·
vedaïda[pa]yi[thi] // + +

9. + + + + + + + + + + //| E ? [ka] ca · yasa puño vedaïda · uaśamapayiñhi · ta [a]ha
[bra] // + + +

24. [p]r[ah]. + [tva ·] sadu[at]idaspadi · caduṣu atvabh[a]vavastuṣu · avi ? ? ? .
kṣiṇ[a]sayo + ḥa
25. b[u]dh[a] + + ? ? da · ariṇa ḥaṇeṇa · agre ḥa ma sa[tvo] grahi[da] ·
v]utar[u]a ḥ[ava]ga·
26. + /// [ce]asabudha · bramaṇ[o] · [savaki]leśa·prah[i]ṇatva · sa [va] sa [ḥa] sa ·
kṣevida · vahita p[avaga]
27. + + /// [do] + prahaṇa · sada spad[o mo]haprahaṇ[a] · kṣiṇasayoyaṇa ·
ragaprahaṇa · budho maga ca
28. + + /// [sa ca] draśi[do ·] asa va ḥidāṇakṣa[ye]ḥa · vimutida · budheṇa · ḥaṇida
ca · vriṣavida [ca] +
29. + /// [vare vahi]ta pavaga dhama · ūlakadho · sada spado samasikadho · budho
di prañaka[dh]. +
30. + + /// sayoyaneṇa · ḥisado · asa va sada spado · samasi ca · praña ca · asa va
vahita pa[vā] /// +
31. + + /// [savatriṇa] ḥi[da]ḥaṇa p.[ha]ḥa · teṣa prahiṇatva · sada spa [do] ·
a vare vahita pa[vaga] /// + +
32. + + /// [pa]riṇa c[a] · samudagaprahaṇa ca · sada spado mago · kṣiṇasayoyaṇa ·
ḥiroso · ye
33. ḥa caduhi saceh[i] · ḥaṇo purido · so budho · yasa v[u]cadi · abhiñeo ·
abhiñado · [bha]vi[da]
34. [va] ca · bhavido · asa va · añasa ḥa[st]uga[ra]ga·saceṣu · [u]ṭha[ve]da ca ·
pradiṭha[ve]da ca · [a]

35. |^J
sa va va[hita] + [va]ga dhama · dukhavaṭachedo · sada spado ·
kamavaṭachedo · kṣīṇasayoyaṇa · ki[1].
36. |^J
[śavaṭa]chedo · asa va vahita pavaga dhama · doṣaśalasa prahaṇo · sada spado ·
drīṭhiś[a]l[a]
37. |^J
sa ca · maṇaśalasa ca · kṣīṇasayoyaṇa · ragaśalasa p[r]ahaṇa ☹ aṇa va ladhva ·
va[sa]ṇa va ka
38. |^J
le sutro tatra ḥideśo aṇa va ladhva piḍavadalabho · vasaṇ[e]ṇa civaro · matro
so jañe · k[ari]
39. |^J
ami · matra janidava · drok[ar]aṭheṇa · ariavaśāṭhidi daśida · so[de] |^{uu} hi guto [-
s]. +
40. |^J
[h]. savaro · yadi cari grame · traṭra hi kileśapada[sta]ṇo · abhaso
a ga[cha] //|^{uu+J} ++ +
41. |^J
+ + //|^{uu} [di araṇa]mi · [ya]sa vucadi [·] yeṇa mageṇa · gramo [piḍa] + [p].
[ve]kṣe · [a]ya [sa] //|^{uu} +
42. |^J
+ + + ? sa p.ha[ṇo] · ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa · ḥa bhaṣi · yadi va ruṣideṇa · [na
bha]
43. |^J
śidava · ru[kṣa] vaya · asa va ruṭheṇa · vaya ḥa bhaṣ[i]dava · aya
paḍiaprahaṇa · ke yi [p].
44. |^J
[ṇo aha] aṇaṇavašeṇa · idria pragharati · spadido ariae · [ṇa] pragharati · aya
45. |^J
[m].[ha]prahaṇ[a · tri]ṇa ḥidanaṇa · prahaṇo daśido [·] ke yi vaṇa aha daśaṇa-
pradīṭhidaṇa dhamadeṣaṇa ·
46. |^J
[t]. atra caramaṇa [· ūalo] ḥa [tada ta]da aṇ[u]prauṇiṣati ☹ ū[u]tva [a]ho vira

- agamo [a]g[ame]
- |^J
47. + [tro] tatra ḥideśo · akamo [ṅika]mo [·] savakamana adikramo środo[amo
gacha]mi [· va] ? ? /// +
- |^J
48. ? [· ke yi] puṇo aha · ṏañidae stavadi [·] viriamuh[i]e · same[p].sap.bh[avi]d[o]
virio [vuca]
- |^J
49. [di] · o + [di] + [·] ohasam[a]dikrama[do] stavadi · so ḥikamo budho pr.chaṇa
agado [· śa] + [ṅi]
- |^J
50. [va]ṇo · [pa]do mago · [ta]tra [pra]diṭha[hi]ta [pha]ṣ[i]a[di] · oa[śo] me
karoh[i] · ? // + +
- |^J
51. ? + + + + ? ? ? + ? ? ? + ? ? [so] ? [d]. · [asa va] ? [s]. ? [si] sa[rva]ñud[ae
stava] // +
- |^J
52. + // [tra bosi] + [uhae a]pravacarimo upaṇa · sarvañada ca · [b]udho ca
[vu]cadi · yasatacha bhaga
- |^J
53. va vagarohi · yasa[bhu]do vagarohi · śastugaraga ḥada[va saca] ca · due mu
- |^J
54. la · due maga · du[e] ḥisada ☺ ta b[ro]mi [u]aśato si sutro tatra ḥideśo · paca
- |^J
55. kamaguṇi[ae] · [ta]ṣae prah.ṅatva uaśato vucadi · ajatvataṣae prahiṇatva ·
- |^J
56. gratha ḥa vijati [·] saviñāṇeasa kayasa prahiṇatva [· ya]sa ede · uhae [ta]ṣa
prahiṇa +
- |^J
57. so visathigae [ta]ṣae utiṇo · kridago [kra]mo draśido · asa va d[u]iṇa [mu]
- |^J
58. [la]ṇa prahiṇatva · uti[n]. vucadi · asa va a[nu]ṅeapadi[aṇa] · p.hiṇatva · a[sa
va tri] +
- |^J
59. [da]ṇa[p].[ha]ṇaṇa · asa va ? c. dupragarae ta[ṣa]e prahiṇatva ☺ a[navas].[dac].

- +
- |J
60. [sa] + + + + [ṇide]śo · c[i]tado [k]. [l]. śa .o ? ? ? ? [me] + ? /// + + +
- |K
61. sakileśo va · aya [a]ṇeaprahaṇa · aṇ[u]adacitasa · paḍi[a]p[r]a[ha] · aya kile
- |K
62. śavaṭasa prahan[o] · p.ñeṇa · due kama daśida · paveṇa vaṇa kriṣakamo · aya ka
- |K
63. + [vatač].[do] + ke yi jagaramaṇa · janavadapradeśa dahati · yasa kaligara
- |K
64. [ña] · a sa pu ḡa · kileśaṇa · ḡa prayoeti · ta vucadi nasti jagarado bhayo ·
- |K
65. ke yi aha · ḡaṇajagaria eṣa · nasti bhayo · pacakadhabha[yo] + ? ? +
- |K
66. [kha]m a[sa] ma[ha]bhayo · aya dukhavaṭachedo · a[sa] va aṇ[o]a[ṣ].[da]c[i]ta
 + [· ka]ma ragapraha
- |K+L
67. + + + + //|L [hada]cedasa · va[va]daprahaṇa · paḍhamo daśedi · kriṣāśukrasa prahaṇa · p[a]
- |L
68. [va]prahaṇeṇa · kriṣasa prahaṇa [·] pañaprahaṇeṇa · śukrasa · jagarado akriṣaś[u]
- |L
69. krasa · aya kamaprahaṇa · kamaragaprahaṇeṇa · kileśaprahaṇa · asa va śilapa
- |L+M |L |L+M |L |L+M |L |L+M |L
70. dipaksiaṇa · aṇ[u]ṇ[e]ap[a]di[a]ṇa pra ha ḡena · śilakadh. ·
 p. ḡ.ṇa · a ḡ[u]ṇa y[o] ·
- |M
71. paveṇa paḍia · uhaṇa prahaṇeṇa · samasikadho · jagarado p[r]añakadho · ḡa
- |M
72. [sti] bhayo · ḡisado · asa va śileṇa daśaṇo · samasie bha[v]aṇa [·] jagarado

- anata
| M
73. riabhumi · nasti bhayo kridavida · due ḥīvaṇadhadue ḥīdava · u ti a [s]. [a].
[ga]
| M+yy | M
74. ? ? ? ? sa di da vo [·] .[oha]praha[n]o ? + ? ☹ ajaro ji[a]maṇ[e]na sutro
tatra ḥīdeśo
| M
75. ajaro aṇuadiś[e]ṣa ḥīvaṇadhadu · jiamaṇo · pacu u[ada]ṇakadha · te osiradi
| M
76. nivaṇo payeṣidavo · ajaribhave · daśamaṇa · tr[i]hi ni[dan].hi tiṣa kṣayo · paye
| M
77. śida[vo] · ya[tra] ḥā ka yi · daśan[o] eṣa ho so yoakṣemo · due nivanadhadue ·
ṅ[i]mes[a]
| M
78. parama śati [·] d[o]kha yatro osirida griṇa[sa] due ḥīvaṇadhadue [·] sakṣeva
jia
| M
79. maṇa dukho · ajare ḥi[vudi] · ḥiroso · dajamaṇa · samudayo [·] nimesa ·
ṅanena
| M
80. [o]siridava · aya mago [·] asa va ḥivudi kileṣa[kṣa]yo · ḥimesa
| M+N | N
81. ka makṣayo · ajaro dukhakṣayo ☹ pacu kadha pariñae sutro tatra ḥīdeśo pa
| N
82. [ca ua]daṇakadha · udeastagamado · parian[i]dava · aya [du]khpariñā [ca]
| M+zz | M+zz+N | zz
ma[go] ca [·]
| N
83. [ki]l[e]śasa[mu]dayo·pari[kṣa]yeṇa ḥiroso · [ś].di[ho]do · aṇuadiśeṣa · yasa
| N
84. [vu]ca iṣa śeva · savaṇa vedaīdaṇi · śidiṇabhavaśati [·] te prayanati · asa va ra
| O | N+O | O | N+O | O | N+O | N
85. gasa prahan[en]a śidi bhu do [v]u[ca] di · [aya] taṣa]p[r]ahaṇa ·

- | N+O | N | N+O | N
a ḡasa vo a vi jap.[ha]
- | O
86. ḡa · due vimutie ḡiroso kileśaprahaṇa · samudeaprahaṇa · a[ya] saüa
- | O
87. dišeṣa · agi va aŋ[u]adaño · aŋuadišeṣa · trivaṭach[e]do · ☩ yas[a]
- | O | O+P | O | O+P | O | O+P | O
88. [i]dria ḡa su bhavida ni su tro tatra ni deśo · s[u]bhavida ·
suŋ[i]sevida · suavaṭida · vro
- | P | O+P | P
89. ḡiva · bhavidamag[o] · p[a]ḍipraṣadhi · maga [sa] ? ? ? [da a]. [vi] + [g].
[ka mu]ḡa ·
- | P
90. vigadarayo · taṣaprahaṇa · vitiṇoka[kṣ]o · avijaprahaṇa · uhaehi sa
- | P | P+Q | P | P+Q | P | P+Q | P | P+!| P!
91. [m].[hap].[ha] ḡa ca · n.ro sa ca · [i] mo logo k[a]ma
dha du · pa ro logo
- | Q
92. ruarupa · asa va a[J]atviabahira · a[ya]daṇa · ? [s]. ? [ca]tvari pha[la] · aya
- | Q+ddd | Q | Q+ddd | Q
93. dukhapariña · kalo kakṣa di · ya vuto nabhinadami marano
navinadami jivido ·
- | ddd | ddd+R | ddd | ddd+R | ddd | ddd+R | ddd
94. [asa va] ya [s]i [i]d.ia ḡi subhavi [da] ni ·
ṣa[di] idri[o] ? ? + + ? ? + [n]. + + ? ? // + +
- | R
95. vidiidrio vuca · yasa para[c]ariasa · [a]ca nirosa · sa[kṣeva] yeṇa c[a]d[ahi sa]
- | R
96. [c]e[hi ḡa]no purido · so bhavidaka[yo ·] bhavidacito · bhavidapraño ·
savatriṇa bhavida[tva]
- | R
97. [sa da]to · so ca aŋua[dišeṣ](*)o [· ta v]ucadi kale ka[kṣadi] ☩ [pracha]ma[ho]

ke[vali] +

98. s.[tro tatra] | R+ggg | R
 ni de]śo k[i]vali taśaprahaṇa · maheśi · mahato ṭhaṇo [e]śido
 sarvañ[uda]
99. + + + + //| R | R+ccc | ccc
 ? [ho] · janami tva · vedago si prañavarago si · bhavida tva
 śamasa sa ?
100. | S | R+S | R | R+S | S | ccc+S
 ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? n[a]n[ada] · ? ? [ña]nada[śida pur]. ? + .u[d]. [n]u
 [ccc] | ccc+S | ccc | ccc+S | ccc
 [d]. [kho] sa [mu daga d]. [sakha]
101. | S
 [ra]dukh[a]da · aṇegaruo [d]u[e] dukhada · asa va kudu ḡa dukho ·
 [samudagado dukhasa] hedu prachadi [.]
102. | S
 [a]nегару[o tra]e dukhada · sa[kṣ]eva [.] kevaliṇo · vimutida [.] vedago
 bhavidatva · ña
103. | S | S+T | S | S+T | T | S+T | S | S+T | T
 [ni da mahe ši vriṣavida · ku] + [nu du]kho [· utave da] c[a
 pradiṭhav].[da ca] + ke yi aha ma[he]
104. | T
 [ši] avijae u gha [sa] ? · duṇa mulaṇa prahaṇado · vimutida · daśabalada ·
 sacaña[da] ? // +
105. | T
 ga sa ḡisa[de] ≈ aho prove sutro tatra ḡideśo aho p.ve sa kha ra[go] · sa
 [mo]ho · sa dośo
106. | U | T+U | U
 aho pro [v]. tr[i]nidaṇakṣayo · ḡa [ya]ho ḡa ya bheśadi · ḡa c[a] ederah[i]
 vijadi · trae ? ?
107. | U
 [y]. [s]. · ya ta padipakṣiasa ya kileśasa sam[o]saṇo [.] avar[e aha ah]o pro[v]e
 ragado
108. | U
 [sa]moha · tada ḡaho · vosapakṣia dhama [· ḡa] yaho ḡa ya bheśadi ḡa ya
 edar[a]hi vijadi · [ya ma]go ca [bh].

109. |U
śadi · ta pađipakṣia [ya] kileśasamudaya riśadi · asa [va] ḡa ya[ho] ḡa ya
bheśadi · ḡa [ya] +
110. |U
darahi vijadi · ya edasa [ca] magasa [·] ragados[a]moha · kṣiati [· ke] yi puṇo
savañu[da · a] sa ?
111. |U |U+V |U |U+V |U |U+V |U |U+V |U |V
? matredi [· bo] sisa tva bhumi [ca ·] b[udhabhu m]. [ca
- |U+V |U |U+V |U
matr]. d[i] §§ [u]dañagasa · [va hitva] · [a] /// +
112. |V
śu[tva] c[a] · ta bhromi aṇavasudo · ajara k[a]dha · yasa idra · ah[o] p.[ve] +
[kevali] §§ ye ca sakhana /// +
113. |V
ma[e] sutro tatra ḡideśo · sakha vucadi · praña · tae sakhae · [paca ka]dha
sakhaïda · pa[li]kha[ida]
114. |V |V+W |V |V+W |V |V+W |V
[ca] · anī ca · dukha · aṇatva · h[e]dua si [ṅa] ca ·
- |V+W |V |V+W |V |V+W |V
para pa[di] va dha ca] + + ? ? ma no suni[ja]tva bho[di ·]
115. |W
asa va · yehi sarvadhamana mula · sakhaïda bhoti · ugađida prah[i]ṅa · ye ca
śekha [·] y[e] sava[dha] /// +
116. |W
ṅa [· mu]lapakh[aya]ṅa śi[kṣa]ti · ugađaṇa ca [·] prosu baho · aṭhamago
uadaï // +
117. |X |W+X |W |W+X |W |W+X |W+X |X
+ ? ? ? ? [e paria] nea · [eva i] ma spi pr[a va] ? + ? + + + ?
+ + ? + + [ṅ]. [·] ? // +
118. |X
? vi da kileśaṇa · asa va teṣa ḡivaṇa yutaṇa · ḡ. [a] ? ? + + [ṅ]. paramaṇa ·
teṣa ta a ? // +
119. |X |X+Y |X |X+Y |X |X+Y |Y
[kṣa] ? ḡ[a] · ki rti ś[e i]riavasa goyaro ca + + + ? + + ? .[i] ·
[kirtiś]. ? [car]. ? // +

| Y

120. asa va kirtiše marg[e]ṇa · a ha ḥa ? [ṇa] ? ? ? ? + ? + + + + + + + + +

| Y

121. kṣahi · mariṣa · garavaasivayaṇam edo · [e]ṣ[a]ṇ[a] ḥa[sti] · kileṣaṇa
prahiṇatva [ṇa]

| X

122. sti bhayo · dhamasañae ca · puridatva ☷ kama ho ḥabhiṇade[a s].tro ta tra
ṇ[i]de ūo · s[ava] /// +

| X

123. maṇ[i]a vastu · ḥabhiṇadidava · yo du ho ūehaprahaṇo y[u]to [· aṇavi]lo
sie a sa · ka

| X+KKK

| X

| X+KKK

| X

124. ma khu [sava kil].[śa a]v[i]l[i] a ritraga · asimatro ? ḥa doṣo
[· ado do]ṣapraha[ṇo]

| W

125. ḥiyuto [·] kuśalo savadham[e]ṣu · añanasa prahiṇatva · savadhameṣu [·]
kośalañaṇo [u pa]

| W+V

| W

| W

126. ḥo · spado a ḥthanasa ma giṇo va · ede trae ḥidana ·
hadā tva · ha[da ha] da tva va · spadoaṭha ḥasa

| V

127. mag[i] · imena matreṇa [·] śalaprahaṇo ḥadava · [trae] thidaga · spado bhikhu
pari[va]

| V

128. ye · maṇaśalasa [·] pra ha ḥ. · asa va
[tri] ḥi da ḥa · pra [ha]ṇeṇa · kileṣakṣayo · kuśal[i] ka

| U

129. makṣayo spado pari[va]ye · dukhakṣayo · asa va kama ho · ḥabhiṇadea ·
oda[r]jan̄[a]

130. |^U
kilešaṇa prahaṇa · maṇaso aṇavilo si[e] · aṇumajaṇa ca · aṇusahagadaṇa ca
p. // + +
131. |^U
[kuśa]li savadhameṣu · ya tatra vu[to ·] dhamavitra[ka]m eva · avaśi[tho]
bhodi · spado bhikh[u]
132. |^U
[pa]rivaye · ya tatra vuto · dra[va]ya[di]o bhikhu · ajatvam e[va cito]
sa[tha]vedi // +
133. |^U
? [t]. samahadadi · parivraye · ya tratra vuto trae vija · asa va kam[a] hi ḡa
[abhi ḡa dea]
134. |^T |^{U+T} |^U
+ + .[r]. + ḡa · aṇavilo doṣaprahaṇa · kuśa li [mo]hapra[ṇa ·] spado bhikhu
[pa]ri[vaye] · yo [s].
135. |^T
. [o]a[tha]ṇasa[magi] · ede trae ḡidaṇa haṇadi · so śekho · yena hada [·] so sa-
khadadha[mo ·]
136. |^S |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^T
[asa va] k[a]m[a] ḡ[a] abhiṇadea + [kamara] gasa prahaṇa · a ḡavi[l]o
|^T |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S}
[va] + [da sa] · u bha yi ḡa .[ra]
137. |^S
haṇado [·] utamo ś[e]kho · yavi paripura śekhada vutarth[a] · kuśali
savadhamehi · [dha]maṇa
138. |^S
[ṇa]sa puridatva · paripu[r]a · aśekhada · spado bhikhu pari[vaye] · edeṇa
mage
139. |^{jjj} |^{S+jjj} |^{S+jjj+R} |^{S+R} |^S |^R |^{S+R} |^R |^{S+R} |^S |^{S+R}
[ṇa] yo ga cha di ·] so [śe kho · yo] gado · [so
|^S |^{S+R} |^S |^{S+ccc} |^S |^{S+ccc} |^S
sakha da dha mo ·] .[e] ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? // + +
140. |^{jjj} |^{jjj+ggg} |^R
yo adido [a]diśadi sutro tatra ḡideśo · posalo pa[r]ayaṇio

[bhagavato] ? ? ? ?

141. | ggg | ggg+R | R
yo adi do adiśadi · yo adido aikṣadi · adid[e va] · va[ta]maṇi ·
kapakodin[a]

142. | R
? .u ? ? [adiśadi] + [avare] adideṇagada [·] pra[capaṇa] ? + + [a]ga[ñā]ṇa .[e
ñ].

143. | R
d[o] · eva taṣa sa prahiṇa · chiṇaśago · cadure viyigitsa prahiṇa · añanapraha-
ṇado

144. | R
stavadi · asa va sarva[ñ]udae stavadi · parago sarvaguṇeh[i para]mido
ga [do]

145. | ddd | R+ddd+Q | ddd+Q | R
+ ? ? savañuda purida · a rtha pra[śe] ḥa · aga[d]. [mi] ·
[a]rthar[thio mi] pro

146. | ddd+Q | Q
[cha]ṇa agado mi · asa va yo sasarami · artho va · aṇartho va · to procha
agado

147. | Q
mi · aho [·] yo adido adiśadi · pr[o] ve ḥi [v]a [sa ·a]ṇu spadi
sakṣiñan[a]

148. | Q+P | Q+bbb+P | P | Q+P | Q | Q+aaa+P | Q | Q+P
vi ja [chi] ḥaśaśago · sa tva ḥa cuadavada · sakṣiñanavija · aṇego

149. | P
asavakṣayo sakṣiñanavija [· si]adi danī · añ[e]ṣa [vi] tr[e]

150. | P+O | P | P+O | O
vijada · ḥavagapra caabudhaṇa · [ḥa] du ho [sa]rvañ[e]aṣu vastuṣu ·
sava

151. | O
agareṇa ḥaṇo purido · yasa budheṇa · ta vucadi parago · savadhamehi · asa

152. | O
[va] yo adido adiśadi · yo adidavartaman[i] aikṣadi · y[a v]a [pra]gidi

153. a maṇuśa · y[a] ca utara maṇu śa [·] yo a pa va ta do · ? [vi]
 aṇubhuda · [y]. [a] pa [a] ? ?
154. [ñā ḥo va] satvaṇa cudoavadañaṇo · yasa [ya] atvaṇa ḥa aṇubhud[o] · y[e]hi
 ca yehi ca satve
155. [h]i aṇabhudo · [to a]ikṣadi · aṇego taṣae prahiṇatva · chiṇaśaśago · avijae
156. prahiṇatva · sieati vaṇa ṣavaga · ṣadā[vi] ñā · ya sa
 ka śa va[mo] ga] lana[sa d]i
157. [śa · ḥa du h]o pa ra mi prata yasa budho · sakṣeva · yo adido
 adiṣadi · yasa adido a
158. diṣad[i] · tasa aṇagado · tasa pracupaṇo · bos[eṇa] ñaṇeṇa + [a]do ñaṇ[i]dae
 [stu]
159. di krida · aṇ[i]kho chiṇaśaśago · vimutida · parago savadhamehi · vriṣa[vi]
160. da · ada prarñeṇa ag[ado u]ṭhaveda pradi[ṭhaveda ca] ? .[udi] §§
 vivibhud[a]rua[sa]
161. ñisa sutro tatra ḥideśo · istrisaña puruṣasaña · sakalasaña · [dha]dusaña ·
 vaṇasaṭhan[a]
162. samadikramo · daśido · [a]sa va triviso suasagrahasama[dikra]mo · e[v]a] eṣa
 aga
163. śacaïdaṇo · vuto · savakayaprahaṇa [·] agaśaca[i]dana[sa]ma[y]a]dikramo [·]
 daś[e]di ?
164. [e]ṣa vi ñ[a]ṇacayadan[o] vuto · aja[tva ·] yasa vucadi [ṇa]ho kuayi kasa

- yi · ki ci
 |
 165. asti · bahidha ca ḥ[a] y[a] mama · ko yi [kasa]yi · ki ci a[sti ·] eva e[va]
 pa[r]igraha[bha]
- v[o] · agicaya[da]ño · daśido at[r]a ṭi tasaviso · k[i]diśageṇa · so agica
 |
 166.
- [ña]daño · samavati la[bha]di · ḥaṇeṇa prañavida[ve] · asa va kiśidae
 pad[i]vadae
 | M+L | M | M+L | M | M+L | M
 167.
- viñāṇaṭidi[·a sa va sata viñā]ṇaṭhidie · budhe[ṇa] abhiñad[a] ·
 p.idia[ṇida · satama]
- | L
 169. [e] viñāṇaṭhidie · akicayadaño daśido · tatra viñāño pradīphido cīhat[o] ·
- | L
 170. ta[m e]ṇa [bha]gava · maṇuśabhudo jaṇadi · vimuto ca · proḍhibhudo
 ḥaṇ[e]ṇa · [ta]paraya
- | L
 171. ḥo esa bhaviṣadi · akicayadaṇa kh[u] · uavajiṣadi · akicañasabhavo ḥ[a]
- | L | L+K | L | L+K | L | L+K | L
 172. .[va akicaña] ? ? [mu] ? .[o] ? [h]. ṣa [tatra] ? ? [n]. [a]. ? ? ? [·]
 | L+K | L | L+K | L
 sabha va [ṇa ·] yasa
- | K
 173. akicañayadaṇasa[ma]vati · ḥadi sayo[yā]ṇa di [o · tatra] ? ? sama[va]ti[hi
 chada]rago
- | K
 174. e[va] edo janīadi [· asti] sa samavati · tad[o] si kico chadarag[o j]. ? [di] · tado
 ḥa ? // +
- | K
 175. [pa]śa[di ·] uavajiṣa[di] ekaśeṇa · akica[ñā]jīḍa»ṇami · eva atra budhasa ·
 tad[i]śehi
- | K
 176. ? ? ? [lehi] ḥ[a]ṇ[o] · b[udha]sa bramaṇasa · vahidapavadhamasa · vroṣimado ·
 bhavidamagasa ☷

177. |^K
na vedag[o] driñhie na mudiyo sutro tatra nideño ke yi niro[e]ti sñatipadehi · vivito vica
178. |^K
[ra]ti loge raha[ta] driñhigadeñu · [vivita] · driñhigadavirahida · ca[ra]ti loge
179. |^K
y[i] vaña niroeti · ye du vi[vi]ta · vicarati [·] loge t[i]thiga [· ka]lañagavivit[a] ·
180. |^J
+ + + [v].[rahida] · loga[mi] carati · na tehi vigri[šo] · karea nañago · na [g]. ? +
181. |^J
[sa] rahato abhipredo · a[sa] va [so a] ? [tia] pugala · ta tehi kalaña[vi]rahidehi [s]. [c]. [na vi] /// +
182. |^J
[hi] ? ? + + + ? + + [e]labuyo · elo vucadi · subho · abuyo vucadi · pad[u]
183. |^J
. [o] .[o] .[u] ? · kadamami · ca va [t]a [mi j]. ja [da] · jaleña pakeña · añoalito · [jal].
184. |^J
[uda]go [· pako] kadamo [· yasa so] tatra jado vudh[va] · teña ca na lipadi · esa ua
185. |^J
ma · eva muñi · na[ni] sñatipado · agrirdho · sato niaño · tatra pado · ariamago
186. |^J
? [d]. sa ho na karodi · teña [yeva a]. ri [a do ga]do · tatra ca añoalito · yasa so padumo
187. |^J
[ja]lapak[a]ni[vu]do · teña ca ni lipadi · eva atra vi dr[e]tha · asa va eva muñi · [sa]ti[pa]
188. |^J
+ + + [g].[idh]. + [· to] due niva[na]dh[a]due · ? [v]atedi · [te d].[išati ·] na ca tatra lipadi · [kame]
189. |^J
[h]. [loga]spi · + [n]. + [lit]o · vastukamehi ca · sarvakamañia[e] ca · vastu[e] año] +

190. |^J
[l]i[to] · ki karaṇo · [ya] aha agridhro · ta agridhratva ḡa lipadi · ḡa sa yu ? [t]. ·
ṅa sa [k]. + + +
191. |^J
ṅa vedago · ḡa bhudakoḍi vidida · drīṭhae · ye cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da
[s]. ? ? + +
192. |^J
[tri]hi viñāṇa[·]ka[ye]hi · ato[gadi]tva [· pha]śida · viñāṇo ? [ja]di · s[u] mu ḡa
mi di · ḡa tado [ma] // +
193. |^J
ṅ[i]h[a]radi · ḡa h[i ta]mayo [so · ḡa ta]tra te me [vatava] · [śe] ha [da] va · [g]i
da ge di [vo] · a ? ?
194. |^J
[ṅisara]ṅ[a]daśaṇado · ḡa kamuṇo · maṇoviñāṇabhumie · ki karaṇo · atra eṣa
p[u]
195. + //|^J
[ap]uñ[o ḡija]ṅaṭheṇa · [no] vi ṣu·deṇa ḡoyo · ḡa so sodaviñāṇabhudāṇa ·
aṇuan᷍[i]
196. |^J
do [ho] ḡivaśaṇehi · ḡ[i]veśaṇa iṣa · kadha abhipreda · te ho teṇa aṇ[u]agada ·
atvado
197. + //|^J
[a]tva ḡ[i] a ḡi a [do] va · [t]eṇa aha · aṇoan᷍[i]o · asa va ḡa [dri]ṭhie · ḡa
divacakh[u] pra ḡa [ge]
198. + + + + + //|^J
+ ta [va] g, ḡa hi va · idhviv[i]sae · pradis[e] ? + + + ? ḡ. · aṇ.
[aṇi] // +
199. + + + + + //|^J
[h]. · ḡa proveṇi[vā]sana · tado mano · ḡa ḡiharadi · ḡa hi
ta [ma] + [so] // + + +
200. |^J
v. · ḡa kamuṇa · ḡa śileṇa · caritvana [ma]ṅo ḡ[i]har[e]di · asa [va] ḡa
pro[ve] // + + +

ša[midavi ñatva] + ? ? ?

GCv2. + + + + + + + + // | G ? ? [v]. [do] ☷ [e]do adiñavo ñatva sutro tatra ɳidešo edo
adiña // + + + + +

GCv3. + + + + + + + + //? [ro] s[e] t[i] · teña a[ha] taṣa dukhasa sabhavo · asa [va]
e[dol] taṣae // + + + + + +

| G
GCv4. + + + + + + + + // + ? ? [d]ukha sabhod[i] · [vi]adatas[o] · bahidha[taṣae]
prahān[o] : ana[da]no ? // + +

GCv5. + + + + + + + + // [s].do bhikhu [pa]ri[va]ye · [spado]atañas[a·]agi ·
saka[valn]iroso : ? [s], ? // +

GCv6. + ? [ʂ]. ? + [kamava]taɳi · [ki]le[śava]ta[ni] ca dukhasa sabhavo ·
dukha[vata]ni · [via] +

|_G
GCv7. ta[ʂ]o · [ka] + + + [e] .[e] + + + + .[o] kilešavatanje chedo · spado bhikhu
pa[ri] ? ye dukha

6.1.3. Scroll 13

samuṇagadasa yo pavo upa

- |A
4. + + + + + // + + + + + + + .[i ya]sa koaliasa · [ka]raḍadatiasa ca · sakṣeva
tam [e]va balo
- |A
5. + + + + // .[e ḥ]. [kil].[śavata]ṇi · p.cedi pavo · dukhavataṇi · duśadi ·
kamavataṇi · asa va d[u]ś[a]ṇ[a] // +
- |B
6. + + + + + // ? ? ? ? + ? ? ? ? .[u] ? + pra[c].[adi pavo] · dukhavudhi ·
du[śaṇa]e śi[lasa ca sa]
- |B
7. + + + + // [vivati] · baleṇa prañavi[vati] + ? ? [ma]gavivati · praceadi pavo ·
ṇiros[a]vi[va]ti ·
- |B
8. + + + + + // [duśa]di · śamasavi[vati] + [baleṇa viva]śaṇavivati · pracedi
pavo · duiṇa ḥ[i]vaṇa[dha]
- |B
9. + + + + + + + + // ? ḥa [viva]ti [· a]ṇulomo paḍicasamupado · [va]mo pu-
sujaṇapa[kṣo] ☹ yo iśa
- |B
10. + + + // [ca] + + [sutro] ta[tra ḥ]. + [śo] · v[a]stukama abhipeda · yo acatari ·
yeṇa vastue · chadarago pra[h]. // +
- |G
11. + + + + + + + + + // ? + .[u] ? .[u] ? + + ? + + + ? ? ? [to] ? ?
[t]. ? ? ? // + +
- |G
12. + + + + + + + // [tehi] vastukamehi [· vipa]riṇamateṣu · ḥa pari ? ? di · ḥa
a[v].jaya // +
- |G
13. + + + + + + + + // [ki ka]raṇo [·] duiṇa taṣaṇa prahiṇatva · chiṇasodo ·
aṭyatvataṣa
- |G
14. + + + + + + // dhado · bahidhataṣa ? [prahi]ṇa · sakṣe[va] vastukama
jahaṇado · dukhaapra[vu]t[i] ·

15. + //|^G cata[ri] kama[kil].śaṇa apra[v]uti · ḡa soyadi [d]oṣasa prahiṇatva · ḡavijayadi m[o]ha[sa pra]
16. |^G [hi]ṅ[atva · chi] |^{G+H} ḡ[as]. |^G [do a |^{G+H} va |^G dha] |^{G+H} ḡ[o] [· |^G ragasa] + hiṇa[tva] + |^H |^{G+H} |^H
[asa va] ḡa soyadi · [śilaka dha sa p]uri
17. |^H datva · [ṅav]ijayadi prañakadhasa · chiṇa[s].[d]. [ava] + ḡo · samasikadhasa · puridatva · trihi ka
18. |^H [dhehi p].[ridatva] · ma[go] + + st[u]k[a]me[hi] · dukho acatari · samudeaprahaṇa ca · ḡirosa ca ·
19. |^H + + + + + + //? ? //? + //? ? [a] duracag[o] kamohasa samadikramo ca · dri[ṭhoha]
20. + + + + + + + //|^H [johasa] //|^{H+I} + //|^I madikramo ca · ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
21. |^I ? ? |^I
+ + + + + + //|^I [spi]maṇo prahiṇo [bh]odi · ? .[o] ? ? ? [pakṣa]sa · gaṇaṇa krida · ch[iṇa]sodo a
22. |^I
+ + + //|^I [bhavo]hasa madikramo ☹ taṣadudio pu[r]uṣo sutro tatra ḡideśo [·] taṣa[ca]rida
23. |^I
+ + + + //|^I deśaṇa · ye taṣamuhie sasaro ḡivateti · asa va yo sirio pracago ·
- dukha |^{I+J} sa
24. + + //|^I .[o] daśido · tado utra[s]edi · tatratatraü a[vatie ta].[ra tatra] |^{I+J} |^J
uavadayadaṇami · vastu gri
25. |^J [ṅa]di · caduṇa uadaṇaṇa · añadaraadariṇa · uadaṇe · uavajiadi · trihi [va]

bhaveṣu · aña

|J

26. daraañadaro · [bha]v[o] ua[va]diadi · teṇa teṇava sabhodi · tatra tatra uavadayadaṇe · bhavo

|J

27. + + + + + + + [m ed]. [p]u[ṇa]puṇo · bhavaṇem[i]tio · piḍa pracaṇubhodi sakṣe

|J

28. + + + + + + + + + //| + + + + [ta]ṇi · uadaṇeṇa · kamavata ḥṇi ·

|J+K

śi [tha]gen[a] d.kh[a]v[a] t[a]ṇ[i] ? ? ?

|K

29. + + + + + + + + + //| ? pr[aca]g[a] taṣa · ua[vati]a · taṣapracea uadaṇa · teṇa teṇeva sabho

|K

30. + + + + + + + //| [p].cea bhavo · dukham edi · puṇapuṇo · bhavapracea jadijaramaraṇo ·

|K

31. + + + + + + + //| + + [a]sa va · taṣadudiyo · samudagavudhi · tatrataṭraüatī · magañāñavi[va]

|K

32. + + + + + + + //| [t]en[a]t[e] ḥne va sabh. [d]i · ḥnirosa[ñna] ḥn[aviva]ti · du[kham e]di · puṇapuṇo · dukhañāñ[a]

|K |K+L |L

33. vivati [॥] śi[lodaṣa]ṇasa[pa]ṇo sutro tatra ḥideśo śileṇa kriasa[va]ro daśido · daśaṇeṇa · ḥnāna [u]pa

|M

34. + + + + + + + //| ? vucadi · a[ṇa]chejada va · aparamoṣado va · ḥna va śilavadam e +

|N

|M+N

|N

|M+N

|N

35. + + + + + + + //| ? ? ? ? ? sa kha ra[d]ju kha daūaśamo tasa yeva sakharadukhada[e]

|N

36. + + + + + + + //| [śam]. rado · asa va uaśamo · śamuso · rado vivaśaṇa · ramadi magam asiṇo

37. [śā]masavivaśaṇa·bhavamaṇarado · prañava · parasiṇañāṇeṇa · parapaḍivadha
38. + /// [ṇa]gado · sosamahido · suuaṭhidacito · sakṣeva śileṇa · śilasuviśudhada · da[śa]
39. [ŋ].[ṇa] · driṭhiujuamo · esa daśaṇabhumī · ajatvaüaśamo [rada] · bhavaṇabhu-
- mi · rama di [ma]
40. + + + + + + + // [ria]bh[u]mi · prañava susamahido · kridavida · asa va
śileṇa · śilakadho ·
41. + + + + + + + // + + samasikadho · prañava · prañakadho · susamahido ·
ragavi[rag].
42. + + + + + + + + + + + // [a].[th]. [ṇa] jaṇa] di · sutro tatra
- ni deśo praduṭheṇa citeṇa · aṇi[ca]ṭha dukhaṭhe
43. + + + + + + + // ? · atva⟨a⟩rtha pi · paraarthā pi · ṇa jaṇadi · krodho mo ṇa
paśad[i spa] ? ? ?
44. + + + + + + // ? [a] ṇivadhan[e]ṇa ba[dha]di · adho prayoaviṇaśa · tamo
aśagaviṇaśo · yo kro
45. + [sa] + [di ·] yo kroṣeṇa sahariadi sa[kṣe]va krodho artho ṇa jaṇadi ·
prañakadhavivati [·] kro
46. + + + + // [paśadi] + samasikadha[vi]vati · adho [ta] + [ta]mo bhodi
śilakadhavivati · trae
47. + + + + // [a]dho tamo trae ḥidaṇa · va [ṇa] ṇa draśi · trika[dha]vivati ca ·
asa va · krodho artho [ṇa ja]

48. + + + + // [laṇa] · [ka]ma[pa]saṇa · vivati · kroḍho dhamo ṇa paśadi · kuśala
dhama ṇa paśadi [·]
49. + + + + + // ? va · yasa [e]kotaria e · ṣoda śa gie hi gado a sa
va k.odh. a [r]tho ṇ[a ja]
50. + + + + // + [rtho] ṇ[i]vaṇo · dhamo ṇa paśadi · ariamago · ṇa vatedi · avaro
artho ṇa jaṇadi [·]
51. + + // [ko]śala[vi]vati · dhamo ṇa paśadi · dhamakośalavivati ☺ ṇa udageṇa
suyi bho
52. + + + [ta]tra ḥideśo ye i[d]o bah[i]dha ṣānavadi [r]paṣadā · ṣatrvateṇa śodhi
pracea[ti] // +
53. + + + + gavado bhaṣido · bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo · eko aha · yadi udageṇa su
54. + + + + + ? ṇa kasa yi sakileśo siiadi · ora[bh]ja[k]okuḍiaṇa · soari
55. + + + + // + ? .o · u[da]g[e]ṇa · suyi[a si]e[a]ti · ṇa [ka]s[ayi] va
[d]. ṇ. [s]. [a]. [a]. ?
56. + + + // [adi] · [s]. ? sakiliśeadi · ki karaṇo yo teṇa purimagenā · sakile
57. [ś].ṇa a g. cho rito si[e]adi teṇa pu[r]imaga sakiliśiadi · yasa lohidamale
58. + // ? a d[i] yasa · so paḍidago · işi [·] macageṇa · ṇa te ta ra t. · maho
sak[ili] ?
59. + + + // [sa]ca ca dhama ca · yasa avivaralasa · saco · so ḥimalo [·] so ca
bramaṇo · so ca

60. + + + + //|^R [sa]kṣeva · yasa saco vivaśaṇa · dhamo ca śamaso · suyi duīṇa mulaṇa prahi
61. + //|^S [tva · brama]ṇo · duīṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida ++ [a]s[a va] so s[uyi |^{R+S} taṣae prah].[na] .v[a]
62. |^S [brama]ṇo · avijae prahiṇatva ☹ yo vadadi ma ḡa uṇamea sutro tatra ḡideśo · yo ahivada[d].
63. + //|^S ? [va · u]ṇamo [va ·] madimano va · jayadi · akroṭho ca ḡa satrasea bhikhu · avasamo akrośama
64. + p[a]di[a]pracago so vaṇa jayadi · l[a]dha parabhoyaṇa · ḡa ma[j]e[a] · ? ? [d]. ? [g]. ? ?
65. + + + + //|^T ? [śeh]o upad[idav]o + |^{S+T} [sa] ? ? ? [bh]udak[o]di |^S [e] · [tr]ilakhan[o] · ḡ. ra da di
66. + //|^T d[a]di ma ḡa uṇamea + mohaprahaṇo [·] akroṭho ca · ḡa satrasea · doṣaprahaṇa · [ladha]
67. + rabho[y]aṇo · ḡa maje[a] · ragaprahaṇ[a] · eṣa saūadišeṣa · same so
68. + + pari |^{T+U} [vaye]a · aṇuadišeṣa · asa va ḡidaṇakṣayeṇa · kileśakṣayo [·]
69. |^U [kama]kṣayo · loge parivayaea dukhakṣayo · avaro [ho] ni |^{T+U} danaprahaṇeṇa sa- |^T |^{T+U} |^T |^{T+U} |^T |^{T+U} |^T mu de a pra han[o] · [sa] .[e]
70. + //|^U [ṅa] · dukhapariñā · parivrayaṇae · ḡirosakṣia ☹
71. + |^T [da |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^T |^{T+S} |^S |^{T+S} |^S ḡuda]di · pa[dido] · sutro tatra ḡideśo] · pra mado [vaca]ria · apra[mado] · śama ?

72. + [da] ḥu[dadi yada] prajahadi · pađi[do] m[i]savi · prañap[ra]sado [a]r.ś[a] ·
 yasa p[u]r[u]ṣ[o]
73. [viulami ṫhaṇa]mi ṫhido · [e]va sa · atra · viulami · śukrami dhamami · ṫhido · ?
 ?
74. + + + //? [·] aśogo · ḥikileśo · śogino · jaṇo · sakileśo · pravadaṭe va bhumaṭho
 yasa so
75. + + + + // [thido] · [eva] aya śukrehi dhamehi thido · bhumartho · yasa so
 pragidi[e] bha[v]o thi[d]o
76. + + + + + + //? [a]. ? [sujaṇo] · dha me ṫhidago ·
 |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R
 dhiro · a ḥna ḥna sa pra haṇa tva · sava kile
77. + + + + + //? · balo p[a]ritabodh[i] · susumabhodhi avekṣadi · ḥaṇeṇa
 paśadi · u
78. + + + + // [di ·] aṇusodagami · kamakileśado · pari[kṣ]ayadi · yasa vucadi ·
 ka[ma]
79. + + + // .o balo · [e]va cario parikṣadi · yasa cakhumo · puruṣo · jacadho rua
 paśadi [·]
80. + + + + + // [aprama]deṇa śamasa · prañaprasadeṇa · vivaśaṇa · [ya]tra
 ḥudāṇa · tatra [du]jña mulaṇa ·
81. + + + + + + //? [no d]. ve vi mu[t]ji go · va ma daśiṇo ·
 |R |R+Q |R |R+Q |R |R+Q |R |R+Q |R |R+Q
 vistareṇa ḥada[vo] §§ ?
82. + + + [a]ṇaṇugridho sutro tatra ḥideśo · aṇiṭhuri · krosavaśeṇa · ḥiṭhuri ca
 karodi

83. + + + + //|Q [ka]rodi · ado · doṣaprahaṇado · ḥiyoṇa · aṇaṇugridho · ragavaśiṇa · [v]. [v].
84. + + + + + //|Q s. ḥo c[a] · gridhada ca karodi · ado ṣehaprahaṇa · ḥiy[oa]d[i] · aṇikho · aṇaṇa[sa]
85. + + //|Q [ṇa · vastu]mi ḥihañadi · asaprakhayadaṇado vastumi · ado [mo]haprahaṇa mi ḥiyev[e]
86. + + + + + + + //|Q [me ḥa] vi sa |Q+P pra ha |Q+P ḥ[a] · ḥa bhuyo
|Q+P |Q |Q+P |Q
sa mu śreve di · ado «a»ṇaṇa sa mu [t]. ? [s]. [d]. [ni]
87. + + + + + + + //|P + [śi]da bhodi · prochido avigapio · eṣo [s]e go ḥu bhudo [·]
sa[va]
88. + + + //|P .[rah].[ṇatva] · acalio · śrukrehi dhamehi hodo · sakṣeva aṇīṭh[u]ri do-[ṣa]prahaṇa [·]
89. + //|P [ṇa].[ugridho l]ohaprahaṇa · aṇikho savado samo · mohaprahaṇa · asa [va t].[a]e [ka] + · a[do]
90. + + + //|P ḥ[a]ksa[y]eṇa · triṇa śalaṇa pra[ha]ṇa · savado samo · maṇaśalaprahaṇa ☷

6.1.4. Scroll 18

- Ar1. |A garo aṇaga[mi] abhaye ? ? [k]. [rago ra]hapo .[r]. .[u] ? [śa]di astiaṇa [·] aha astia [ś]. //|A + + + + +
- Ar2. ? [sa] balavato ? ? ? + ? lo .[o] iva [la g]. [y]. ḥi aya salagao akolag[o ta v]. //|A + + + + + +

Ar3. ha [ri pa ya ɳi] o + + + + + ? .[o] r[i] ta [v]. [ca di] ? + + + + + ? to §§
[sí]l[ava] /// + + + + + + +

Kr1. +/// ??++?+?+++++??++++++???.[r].[e]///+++
|K

Kr2. k.iſasa p.[haṇa] · [ś].[k].[ṇa] · k.i[ſa] + + [p]raha[i] s. ? ? ? .[u] ? [· aṇavaj]. ?
+ [· a]. [a]. // +

Kr4. |K
ṣasa · aṇavajo · śu[k]r[asa k]. sa da ḥi e ? · trae kam[ap].[ha]ṇa · ta aha śodh[i]
a[śodhi ca] // + +

|c
Cr1. tva ca loga ca · ? ? + ? ? ? + ? ? ? + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? + ? [s]. ? ? // +

Cr2. tatra a ? · ede uche do s. ? ? ? ? [da] · eva vahidaka[ma] p.jahaña a[tra
 albo [h] at[avivari] // + + +

Cr3. padivada padi[vaji] + + + + + [e ki prah].[ɳa] · [v]. [r]. [d]. c[a]ra [u]cheda
saspada ? [r]li ? /// + + + +

|C
Cr4. ++++++ //? ? [y], ??++? ?++? //+++++

1. + //? [t]. · atavivarj[i]da · ma[j]ima [pa]d[i]vada [·] akriša[ś]ukr[o ka]mo [va]
daś[i]do · asa ya · śilla[val] [o] ? // +

2. prahae samasjka + [savaiap].hanana : ś[illakadh[o] : anavaiaprahanena

prañaka[dh]. ? ? ?

14. + //|F vanabhumī · vibhava ca · bhava ca · viprahae · prove prahin̄[a] · puṇo [a] mag[a]tha · yasa vucadi ·

15. + //|F+aa sa eva jaṇado · k[a]ma |F+H |F sa vado cit[o] |F+H |F |F+H |F cadi ·
|F+H |F |F+H |F vroši da va · kṣiṇapuṇabha vo kridavi [da] ☷

16. |H |aa+H |H padī liṇo a kuhao sutro tatra ḥideśo padilin̄[o] vivitaviharida vuta · tasa
daṇi |H+y vi [vi]t[avi]har[i] /// +

17. |H |H+E [ya]do bhayo tado pradi ? [y]. ? d[i] · ta aha akuhayo · pradivitavihari sa hi
ad[i]ado /// + //|y ev[a]l[a]kṣ[a] /// +

18. |u |u+E |u |u+E bh[a]yo · evala kṣaṇa do [no upa]jadi · ṇa hi pra garo kuhaṇo
kar[o]di · [ki a] ? ? + + + + //|E + +

19. |E hagado · asa va · ṇa kuhidatva · año bhavo avaśedi · asa va ṇa kuhaṇa · ṇa
la[vana] ar[thae] ? ? //|E + +

20. |E+I |E |E+I |E |E+I |E |E+I ū ṇa sa bhaśadi · aprih[alo] · ṇa bh[a d]a cod[a] sa arth[a a].
[ra]ñā se [va] d[i] · [r]añ[e] vasadi · ḥ[a vi] ? //|E + +

21. |I śamaṇo · rañ[e] vasadi · amatsari dhama ladho labhasa vibha[v]adi · sameñ[u]-
g[a] śilo [bh].[d]i · [a] ? //|I + +

22. + + //|x ? //|I + + + + + + + + + + //|x [p].g[a]bho a [vi s]. + + + .o + + .r. + + ? +
+ + + //|I + +

23. |x |D |w+D |D |v+D ṇo · asti ajuhosp. + + ? śila do · avaradho · yeṇa [pa]r[i]juh[o] spie ? ?
+ ? //|v+D + + + + + +

- |^D
24. c[a]kṣadae · pareṇa jugati · peṣon[e]hi ca ṇa yuto bh[eda] ṇa yuto · sakṣeva ///
+ + + + +

|^D
25. + + + //? ? + + + + ? ? · [a]mat[sar]i [sa]ma[sikadho] · ḷ. ? .e tva [e]da
sama[si] // + + + + +

| | C | r | r+C | C |
|------|-------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Cv2. | ṇavayaveraman̥[i] + + + | p[raha] | ṇ[e] ṇa · śilakadho · ? ? u e a | [pa]d̥[iliṇ]. |
| | [a] // + + + + + | | | |

Cv3. kadho · aprihalu a matsa [ri] prañakadho · ñan.na bha[va]codami [.]
gusasaña ? // + + + +

Kv2: ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++

Ky3. ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++

6.2. Reconstruction of the Text

6.2.1. Scroll Fragment 7

1 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Dhp-G^K 124, DN II 120, Uv 4.36)

[Ca1] ... + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ... [Ca2] ... di ša nō ? ? ? vo · bhudak(*od)i tasa ? ...
[Ca3] ... n. ri bh. t. ? ? ? ? ...

[Da1] ... bhagavado tasagadasa ? ? ? ? budha ? ? ... [Da2] ... sa śasto devamaṇuśāna
budho ? ... [Da3] ... ? ? ...

[Eb1] ... nu dha yo samasikadho ? ... [Eb2] + + + + + + + + + n. na ? ? ...

[Fb1] ... ? yo ? ? ... [Fb2] ... ? ? ? ? ...

6.2.2. Scroll 9

2 (unknown source)

ev. a. + + d. th. .o + + +

3 (maybe It-G; It 123.13–16 = AN II 24)

(*ti)[1]ño · muto · šato · vimutida · taraïda · moya(*i)da ? ? ? + [2] ? saïda · šamaïda · pradithaveda · agro šreṭha · varo işi [3] vriṣavida · daśabalada ca · caduveharajada ca · ke [4] yi puṇo vijaṭeti · saceṣu tino · kilešado · [5] aya samudeaprahaṇo · muto dughado · aya dukhapariña · due thidaga [6] + + + (*⁸⁸)

4 (maybe It-G; It 55.1 = AN II 42)

(*udanagasa ·)

++ + + + + + + + (*.) ++ [21] + + + + + + (*.)

+ + + + + + ? (*.) + ? + ka(*me)sana ca ☹

5 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Ud I 5, Uv^S 33.15, Uv 33.12)

vah(*ita) pava(*ga) [22] (*dhama sutro tatra) nideśo sakileśo pavago asimatro ya na
 dośo pa ? ? ? i doṣaprayoami · sa ? [23] + + + ? a. saña krida na hi ragaprayoami ·
 sada spado · anucavaga viśramida daśida · añāna[24]prah(*iṇa)tva · saduatiḍaspadi ·
 caduṣu atvabhavavastuṣu · avi ? ? ? ? · kṣiṇasayo(*ya)na [25] budha + + ? ? ? da ·
 ariṇa ñaṇeṇa · agre na ma satvo grahida · vutarua ṣavaga·[26](*pra)ceasabudha ·
 bramaṇo · savakileśa·prahiṇatva · sa va sa na sa · ksevida · vahita pavaga
 [27] (*dhama) do(*ṣa)prahaṇa · sada spado mohaprahaṇa · kṣiṇasayoyana · raga-
 prahaṇa · budho maga ca [28] (*ñiro)sa ca draśido · asa va nidaṇakṣayeṇa · vimutida ·
 budheṇa · ñaṇida ca · vriṣavida ca (*..) [29] (*a)vare vahita pavaga dhama · śila-
 kadho · sada spado samasikadho · budho di prañakadh(*o ·) [30] (*kṣiṇa)-
 sayoyanena · nisado · asa va sada spado · samasi ca · praña ca · asa va vahita
 pava(*ga) [31] (*dhama) savatriṇa nidaṇaṇa p(*r)ahaṇa · teṣa prahiṇatva · sada
 spado · avare vahita pavaga (*dhama) [32] (*dukhapariṇa)ca · samudagaprahaṇa
 ca · sada spado mago · kṣiṇasayoyana · ñiroso · ye[33]na caduhi sacehi · ñaṇo
 purido · so budho · yasa vucadi · abhiñeo · abhiñado · bhavida[34]va ca · bhavido ·
 asa va · añasa śastugaraga·saceṣu · uṭhaveda ca · pradiṭhaveda ca · a[35]sa va vahita
 (*pa)vaga dhama · dukhavaṭachedo · sada spado · kamavaṭachedo · kṣiṇasayoyana ·
 kil(*e)[36]śavaṭachedo · asa va vahita pavaga dhama · doṣaśalasa prahaṇo · sada
 spado · drīṭhiśala[37]sa ca · maṇaśalasa ca · kṣiṇasayoyana · ragaśalasa prahaṇa ♪

6 (Arth-G; Sn 971, Arth-Chin 186c15–16)

aṇa va ladhva · vasaṇa va ka[38]le sutro tatra nideśo aṇa va ladhva piḍavadalabho ·
 vasaṇeṇa civaro · matro so jañe · kari[39]ami · matra janidava · drokaraṭheṇa · aria-
 vaśaṭhidi daśida · sodehi guto · s(*ode)[40]h(*i) savaro · yadi cari grame · tratra hi
 kileśapadastaṇo · abhaso agacha + + [41] + + di arañami · yasa vucadi · yena
 mageṇa · gramo piḍa(*e) p(*r)avekṣe · aya sa + [42] + + + ? sa p(*r)ahaṇo · ruṣido
 vi vaya pharuṣa · na bhaṣi · yadi va ruṣideṇa · na bha[43]ṣidava · rukṣa vaya · asa va
 ruṭheṇa · vaya na bhaṣidava · aya paḍiaprahaṇa · ke yi p(*u)[44]no aha añānavāṣeṇa ·

idria pragharati · spadido ariae · ḡa pragharati · aya [45] m(*o)haprahaṇa · triṇa ḡidaṇaṇa · prahaṇo daśido · ke yi vaṇa aha daśaṇapradīṭhidaṇa dhamadeṣaṇa · [46] t(*e) atra caramaṇa · śalo ḡa tada tada aṇupraüniṣati §§

7 (Pār-G; Sn 1096)

śutva aho vira agamo agame [47] (*su)tro tatra ḡideśo · **akamo** ḡikamo · sava-kamana adikramo środoamo gachami · va ? ? + [48] ? · ke yi puṇo aha · ḡaṇidae stavadi · viriamuhie · samep(*r)asa<*ṇa>p(*r)abhavido virio vuca[49]di · o(*h-a)di(*go) · ohasamadikramado stavadi · so ḡikamo budho pr(*o)chaṇa agado · **śa**(*ti) ḡi[50]vaṇo · **pado** mago · tatra pradīṭhahita phaṣiadi · oaśo me karohi · ? + + [51] ? + + + ? ? + ? ? + ? ? so ? d. · asa va ? s. ? si sarvañudae stava(*di) [52] (*ṇe)tra bosi (*..) uhae apr(*o)vacarimo upaṇa · sarvañ<*u>da ca · budho ca vucadi · **yasatacha bhaga**[53]va **vagarohi** · yasabhudo vagarohi · śastugaraga ḡadava saca ca · due mu[54]la · due maga · due ḡisada §§

8 (Arth-G; Sn 857, Arth-Chin 187c28–29)

ta bromi uaśato si sutro tatra ḡideśo · paca[55]kamaguṇiae · taṣae prah(*i)ṇatva uaśato vucadi · ajatvataṣae prahiṇatva · [56] **gratha** ḡa vijati · saviñāṇeasa kayasa prahiṇatva · yasa ede · uhae taṣa prahiṇa (*..) [57] so **visathigae** taṣae **utiṇo** · kridago kramo draśido · asa va duṇa mu[58]laṇa prahiṇatva · **utiṇ**(*o) vucadi · asa va aṇuṇeapaḍiaṇa · p(*r)ahiṇatva · asa va tri(*ṇi)[59]daṇap(*r)ahaṇ<*e>ṇa · asa va ? c. dupragarae taṣae prahiṇatva §§

9 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Dhp-G^K 137D, Dhp 39 = Ja I 400, Uv^S 28.6, Uv 28.6, Dhp-Chin 563a10–11)

aṇavas(*u)dac(*ita)[60]sa (*sutro tatra) ḡideśo · citado k. l. śa o ? ? ? ? me + ? + + + [61] sakileśo va · aya a<*ṇu>ṇeaprahaṇa · **aṇua<*ha>daciṣa** · padiapraha<*ṇa> · aya kile[62]śavatasa prahaṇo · p(*u)ṇeṇa · due kama daśida · **paveṇa** vaṇa kriṣakamo · aya ka[63](*ma)vaṭach(*e)do (*..) ke yi jagaramaṇa · janavadapradeśa dahati · yasa

kaligara[64]ña · a sa pu ḥa · kileśaṇa · ḥa prayoeti · ta vucadi **nasti jagarado bhayo** · [65] ke yi aha · ḥanajagaria eṣa · **nasti bhayo** · pacakadhabhayo + ? ? (*du)[66]kham asa mahabhayo · aya dukhavatachedo · asa va **anoaṣ(*u)dacita(*sa)** · kamaraga-praha[67](*ḥa · **aṇua)hadacedasa** · vavadaprahaṇa · paḍhamo daṣedi · kriṣaśukrasa prahaṇa · **pa[68]vaprahaṇeṇa** · kriṣasa prahaṇa · p<*u>ñaprahaṇeṇa · śukrasa · **jagarado** akriṣaśu[69]krasa · aya kamaprahaṇa · kamaragaprahaṇeṇa · kileśaprashaṇa · asa va śilapa[70]dipakṣiaṇa · aṇuṇeapaḍiaṇa prahaṇeṇa · śilakadh(*o) · p(*u)ñ(*e)ḥa · aṇuṇayo · [71] **paveṇa** paḍia · uhaṇa prahaṇeṇa · samasikadho · **jagarado** prañakadho · ḥa[72]sti **bhayo** · ḥisado · asa va śileṇa daśaṇo · samasie bhavaṇa · **jagarado** aṇata[73]riabhumī · **nasti bhayo** kridavida · due ḥivanadhadue ḥadava · u ti a s. a. ga [74] ? ? ? ? sa di da vo · .ohaprahaṇo ? + ? ☷

10 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Dhp-G^K 159, Th 32)

ajaro jiamañena sutro tatra ḥideśo [75] **ajaro** aṇuadišeṣa ḥivanadhadu · **jiamaṇo** · paca uadaṇakadha · te osiradi [76] nivaṇo payeṣidavo · ajaribhave · **daśamaṇa** · trihi nidan(*e)hi tiṣa kṣayo · paye[77]ṣidavo · yatra ḥa ka yi · daśano eṣa ho so **yoakṣemo** · due nivanadhadue · **ṇimesa** [78] **parama** śati · dokha yatro osirida griṇasa due ḥivanadhadue · sakṣeva **jia[79]maṇa** dukho · **ajare** **ṇivudi** · ḥiroso · **dajamaṇa** · samudayo · **nimesa** · ḥanena [80] osiridava · aya mago · asa va **ṇivudi** kileśakṣayo · **ṇimesa** [81] kamakṣayo · **ajaro** dukhakṣayo ☷

11 (unknown source; Th 369, MSV 297 [208v1])

paca kadha pariñae sutro tatra ḥideśo pa[82]ca uadaṇakadha · udeastagamado · pari-anidava · aya dukhapariṇa ca mago ca · [83] kileśasamudayo·parikṣayeṇa ḥiroso · ś(*i)dihodo · aṇuadišeṣa · yasa [84] vuca(*di) iṣa śeva · savan(*i) vedaīdaṇi · śidi{ḥa}bhav(*i)śati · te prayanati · asa va ra[85]gasa prahaṇena **śidibhudo** vucadi · aya taṣaprashaṇa · **aṇasavo** avijap(*r)aha[86]ḥa · due vimutie ḥiroso kileśa-prahaṇ(*e)ḥa · samudeaprahaṇa · aya saüa[87]dišeṣa · **agi** va aṇuadāṇo · aṇuadišeṣa · trivaṭachedo · ☷

12 (Sabhikasūtra-G; Sn 516, Mvu III 395–396)

yasa [88] **idriāñ<*i>** **subhavidani** sutro tatra nideśo · **subhavida** · suñisevida · suavatida · vro[89]śiva · bhavidamago · padiprasadhi · maga sa ? ? ? da a. vi + g. kamuṇa · [90] **vigadarayo** · taśaprahaṇa · **vitiñokakṣo** · avijaprahaṇa · uhaehi sa[91]m(*o)hap(*r)ahaṇa ca · n(*i)rosa ca · **imo logo** kamadhadu · **paro logo** [92] ruarupa · asa va aśatviabahira · ayadaṇa · ? s. ? catvari phala · aya [93] dukhapariṇa · **kalo kakṣadi** · ya vuto nabhinadami marano navinadami jivido · [94] asa va **yasi id(*r)iañi subhavidani** · ṣadiidrio ? ? + + ? ? + ḷ. + + ? ? + (*bha)[95]vidiidrio vuca<*di> · yasa paracariasa · aca nirosa · sakṣeva yena caduhi sa[96]cehi ḷaṇo purido · so bhavidakayo · bhavidacito · bhavidapraño · savatriṇa bhavidatva [97] **sa dato** · so ca aṇuadiśeṣ(*o) · ta vucadi **kale kakṣadi** §§

13 (Pār-G; Sn 1049)

prachamaho kevali(*ṇo) [98] s(*u)tro tatra ḷideśo **kivali** taśaprahaṇa · **maheśi** · mahato ḷaṇo eśido sarvañuda [99] + + + + + ? ho · **janami tva** · **vedago** si prañavarago si · **bhavidatva** śamasa sa ? [100] ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ñaṇada · ? ? ñaṇadaśida pur. ? (*. **k)ud(*u)** ḷu d(*u)kho samudagad(*o) sakha[101]radukhada · **añegaruo** due dukhada · asa va **kudu ḷ<*u>** **dukho** · **samudagado** dukhasa hedu prachadi · [102] **añegaruo** trae dukhada · sakṣeva · **kevaliṇo** · vimutida · **vedago bhavidatva** · ña[103]ṇida **maheśi** vriśavida · **ku(*du)** ḷu **dukho** · uṭaveda ca pradiṭhav(*e)da ca (*..) ke yi aha **mahe**[104]śi avijae u gha sa ? · duiṇa mulaṇa prahaṇado · vimutida · daśabalada · sacaṇada ? + [105] ga sa ḷisade §§

14 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Ud VI 3, Uv 26.13)

aho prove sutro tatra ḷideśo **aho p(*ro)ve** sa kha rago · sa moho · sa doṣo [106] **aho prov(*e)** triṇidaṇaksayo · ḷa yaho ḷa ya **bheśadi** · ḷa ca **ederahi vijadi** · trae ? ? [107] y. s. · ya ta paḍipakṣiasa ya kileśasa samosano · avare aha **aho prove** raga-do[108]śamoha · **tada ḷaho** · vosapakṣia dhama · ḷa yaho ḷa ya **bheśadi** ḷa ya

edarahi vijadi · ya mago ca bh(*e)[109]śadi · ta pađipakṣia ya kileśasamudaya
 <*ha>riśadi · asa va ḥa yaho ḥa ya bheśadi · ḥa ya (*e)[110]darahi vijadi · ya edasa
 ca magasa · ragadośamoha · kṣiati · ke yi puṇo savañuda · a sa ? [111] ? matredi ·
 bosisatvabhumi ca · budhabhum(*i) ca matr(*e)di §§

udañagasa ·

vahitva · a(*ḥa) [112] ḫutva ca · ta bhromi añavaśudo ·
 ajara kadha · yasa idra · aho p(*ro)ve (*.*) kevali §§

15 (Pār-G; Sn 1038 = SN II 47 [2×], 49, 50, SHT 1581 V 7)

ye ca sakhadā(*dha)[113]mae sutro tatra ḫideśo · sakha vucadi · prañā · tae sakhae ·
 paca kadha sakhaïda · palikhaïda [114] ca · anica · dukha · añatva · heduasiña ca ·
 parapađivadha ca + + ? ? mano sunijatva bhodi · [115] asa va · yehi sarvadhamana
 mula · sakhaïda bhoti · ugađida prahiṇa · ye ca śekha · ye savadha(*ma)[116]ḥa ·
 mulapakhayaṇa śikṣati · ugađaṇa ca · prosu baho · aṭhamago uadaī + [117] + ? ? ? ? e
 parianea · eva imaspi prava ? + ? + + ? + + ? + + ḫ. · ? + [118] ? vi da kileśaṇa · asa
 va teṣa ḫivaṇa yutaṇa · ḫ. a ? ? + + ḫ. paramaṇa · teṣa ta a. ? + [119] kṣa ? ḫa ·
 kirtiše iriavasa goyaro ca + + + ? + + ? .i · kirtiś(*e) ? car. ? + [120] asa va kirtiše
 margeṇa · a ha ḫa ? ḫa ? ? ? ? + ? + + + + + + + (*ai)[121]kṣahi · mariṣa · garava-
 asivayaṇam edo · eṣaṇa ḫasti · kileśaṇa prahiṇatva ḫa[122]sti bhayo · dhamasañae ca ·
 puridatva §§

16 (Pār-G; Sn 1039, Pār-Skt^Q R 1)

kama ho ḫabhiṇadea s(*u)tro tatra ḫideśo · sava(*ka)[123]mania vastu · ḫabhi-
 ḫadidava · yo du ho ūehaprahaṇo yuto · anavilo sie asa · ka[124]ma khu savakil(*e)śa
 avili a ritraga · asimatro ? ḫa doṣo · ado doṣaprahaṇo [125] ḫiyuto · kuśalo sava-
 dhameṣu · añañasa prahiṇatva · savadhameṣu · kośalañāṇo upa[126]ḥo · spadoaṭhaṇa-
 samagiṇo va · ede trae ḫidāṇa · hadatva · hadahadatva va · spadoaṭhaṇasa[127]magi ·
 imena matreṇa · ūalaprahaṇo ḫadava · trae thidaga · spado bhikhu pariva[128]ye ·

manaśalasa · prahan(*o) · asa va triṇidaṇa·prahaṇeṇa · kileśakṣayo · kuśali ka[129]makṣayo **spado parivaye** · dukhakṣayo · asa va **kama ho** · ḥabhiṇadea · odariaṇa [130] kileśaṇa prahaṇa · maṇaso aṇavilo sie · aṇumajaṇa ca · aṇusaha-gadaṇa ca p(*rahaṇa) [131] **kuśali savadhameṣu** · ya tatra vuto · dhamavitrakam eva · avaśīṭho bhodi · **spado bhikhu** [132] **parivaye** · ya tatra vuto · dravayadio bhikhu · ajatvam eva cito saṭhavedi + [133] ? t. samahadadi · **parivraye** · ya tratra vuto trae vija · asa va **kama hi ḥa abhiṇadea** [134] (*ragap)r(*aha)ṇa · aṇavilo doṣaprahaṇa · kuśali mohapra<*ha>ṇa · **spado bhikhu parivaye** · yo s(*p)a[135](*d)oṭhaṇasamagi · ede trae ḥidaṇa haṇadi · so śekho · yeṇa hada · so sakhadadhamo · [136] asa va **kama ḥa abhiṇadea** (*) kamaragasa prahaṇa · aṇavilo va(*va)dasa · ubhayiṇa (*p)ra-[137]haṇado · utamo śekho · yavi paripura śekhada vutartha · **kuśali savadhamehi** · dhamaṇa[138]ṇasa puridatva · paripura · aśekhada · **spado bhikhu parivaye** · edeṇa mage[139]ṇa yo gachadi · so śekho · yo gado · so sakhadadhamo · .e ? ? ? ? ? ? + (*⁸⁸)

17 (Pār-G; Sn 1112)

[140] **yo adido adiśadi** sutro tatra ḥideśo · posalo parayaṇio bhagavato ? ? ? ?
 [141] **yo adido adiśadi** · yo adido aikṣadi · adide va · vatamaṇi · kapakodiṇa
 [142] ? .u ? ? adiśadi (*) avare adideṇagada · prac<*u>pāṇa ? + + agaṇaṇa .e ḥ.
 [143] do · eva taṣa sa prahiṇa · **chiṇaśa(*śa)go** · cadure viyigtsa prahiṇa · aṇaṇapra-haṇado [144] stavadi · asa va sarvañudae stavadi · **parago** sarvaguṇehi paramido gado [145] + ? ? savañuda purida · **arthapraṣeṇa** · **agad(*o)** mi · artharthio mi pro[146]chaṇa agado mi · asa va yo sasarami · artho va · aṇartho va · to procha agado [147] mi · aho · **yo adido adiśadi** · proveṇivasa·aṇuspadi sakṣiṇaṇa[148]vija **chiṇaśaśago** · satvaṇa cuadavada · sakṣiṇaṇavija · aṇego [149] asavakṣayo sakṣiṇaṇavija · siadi daṇi · aṇeṣa vi tre[150]vijada · ṣavagapracaabudhaṇa · ḥa du ho sarvañeasu vastuṣu · sava[151]agareṇa ḥaṇo purido · yasa budheṇa · ta vucadi **parago** · **savadhamehi** · asa [152] va yo **adido adiśadi** · yo adidavartamaṇi aikṣadi · ya va pragidi[153]a maṇuṣa · ya ca utara maṇuṣa · yo a pa va ta do · ? vi aṇubhuda · y. a pa

a ? ? [154] nāñō va satvaṇa cudoavadañāñō · yasa ya atvaṇa ḥa añubhudo · yehi ca yehi ca satve[155]hi añ<*u>bhudo · to aikṣadi · añego tañae prahiñatva · chiñāśaśago · avijae [156] prahiñatva · sieati vaṇa ṣavaga · ṣadaviñā · yasa kaśavamogalañā-sadi[157]śa · ḥa du ho paramiprata yasa budho · sakṣeva · yo adido adiśadi · yasa adido a[158]diśadi · tasa anagado · tasa pracupañō · boseña nāñēna (*.) ado nāñidae stu[159]di krida · añikho chiñāśaśago · vimutida · parago savadhamehi · vriṣavi[160]da · ada prarñēna agado uñhaveda pradiñhaveda ca ? .udi §§

18 (Pār-G; Sn 1113–1115)

vi{vi}bhudaruasa[161]ñisa sutro tatra ḥideśo · istrisañā puruṣasañā · sakalasañā · dhadusañā · vañasañhañā[162]samadikramo · daśido · asa va triviso suasagrahasam-adikramo · eva eṣa aga[163]śacaïdañō · vuto · savakayaprahañā · agaśacaïdañā-sama{ya}dikramo · daśedi ? [164] eṣa viñāñacayadañō vuto · ajatva · yasa vucadi ḥaho kua yi kasa yi · ki ci [165] asti · bahidha ca ḥa ya mama · ko yi kasa yi · ki ci asti · eva eva parigrahabha[166]vo · agicayadañō · daśido atra ti tasaviso · kidiṣageñā · so agica[167]ña<*ya>dañō · samavati labhadi · nāñēna prañavidave · asa va kiśidae pañivadae [168] viñāñatidi · a sava sata viñāñāñhidie · budheñā abhiñada · p(*r)idiañida · satama[169]e viñāñāñhidie · akicayadañō daśido · tatra viñāñō pradiñhido ciñha{to · }[170]tam eñā bhagava · mañuśabhudo jañadi · vimuto ca · proñhi-bhudo nāñēna · taparaya[171]ño eṣa bhaviñadi · akicayadañā khu · uavajiñadi · akicaññasabhavo ña[172](*)va akicañña ? ? mu ? .o ? h. ṣa tatra ? ? ḥ. a. ? ? ? · sabhavañā · yasa [173] akicañyadañasamavati · ḥadi sayoyana di o · tatra ? ? samavatihi chadarago [174] eva edo jañiadi · asti sa samavati · tado si kico chadarago j. ? di · tado ḥa ? + [175] pañadi · uavajiñadi ekañeñā · akica[ñā]ñidañami · eva atra budhasa · tadiñehi [176] ? ? ? lehi nāñō · budhasa bramañasa · vahidapavadhamasa · vroñimado · bhavidamagasa §§

19 (Arth-G; Sn 845–846, Arth-Skt^K IV rev. 4–5, Arth-Chin 180b25–29)

[177] ḥa vedago driñhie ḥa mudiyo sutro tatra ḥideśo ke yi niroeti śatipadehi · vivito

vica[178]rati loge rahata drīthigadešu · vivita · drīthigadavirahida · carati loge [179] <*ke> yi vaṇa ḥiroeti · ye du vivita · vicarati · loge tithiga · kalaṇagavivita · [180] (*kalaṇa)v(*i)rahida · logami carati · ḥa tehi vigrišo · karea ḥago · ḥa g. ? + [181] ū rahato abhipredo · asa va so a ? tia pugala · ta tehi kalaṇavirahidehi s. c. ḥa vi + [182] hi ? ? + + + ? + + elabuyo · elo vucadi · subho · abuyo vucadi · padu[183] (*m)o .o .u ? · kadamami · ca va ta mi j. ja da · jaleṇa pakeṇa · aṇoalito · jal(*o) [184] udago · pako kadamo · yasa so tatra jado vudhva · teṇa ca ḥa lipadi · eṣa ua[185]ma · eva muṇi · ūnāṇi śatipado · agrirdho · ūtato ūnāṇo · tatra pado · ariamago [186] ? d. sa ho ḥa karodi · teṇa yeva a. ri a do gado · tatra ca aṇoalito · yasa so padumo [187] jalapakaṇivudo · teṇa ca ūnī lipadi · eva atra vi dreṭhaa · asa va eva muṇi · śatipa[188](*do · a)g(*r)idh(*ro) · to due ūnivaṇadhadue · ? vatedi · te d(*r)iṣati · ḥa ca tatra lipadi · kame[189]h(*i) logaspi · (*a)ṇ(*oa)lito · vastukamehi ca · sarvakamaṇiae ca · vastue aṇo(*a)[190]lito · ki karaṇo · ya aha agridhro · ta agridhratva ḥa lipadi · ḥa sa yu ? t. · ḥa sa k. + + + [191] ḥa vedago · ḥa bhudakodi vidida · drīth(*i)e · ye cakṣuviñaṇa·avisabhuda s. ? ? + + [192] trihi viñaṇa·kayehi · atogaditva · phaṣida · viñaṇo ? jadi · su mu ḥa mi di · ḥa tado ma(*ṇo) [193] ḥiharadi · ḥa hi tamayo so · ḥa tatra te me vatava · ūse ha da va · gi da ge di vo · a ? ? [194] ūsaraṇadaśaṇado · ḥa kamuṇo · maṇoviñaṇabhumie · ki karaṇo · atra eṣa pu[195](*ṇo) apuṇo ūjanaṭheṇa · ḥo vi ūdeṇa ḥoyo · ḥa so sodaviñaṇabhudāṇa · aṇuāṇi[196]do ho ūiv<*e>śaṇehi · ūiveṣaṇa iṣa · kadha abhipreda · te ho teṇa aṇuagada · atvado [197] + atva ūi a ūi a do va · teṇa aha · aṇoanio · asa va ḥa drīthie · ḥa divacakhu pra ḥa ge [198] + + + + + ta va g. ḥa hi va · idhvivisae · pradise ? + + + ? ḥ. · aṇ(*u)aṇi(*do) [199] (*ho ūiveṣaṇe)h(*i) · ḥa proveṇivas<*e>ṇa · tado maṇo · ḥa ḥiharadi · ḥa hi tama(*yo) so + + + + [200] v. · ḥa kamuṇa · ḥa ūileṇa · caritv<*e>ṇa maṇo ḥiharedi · asa va ḥa prove(<*ṇivase>)[201]ṇa ḥa ūudeṇa · divae soda{da}dhadue ḥa maṇo ḥiharadi · aṇoa{va}ṇido · vutartho ? + + [202] y. va ḥa vigraha vadea ḥago drīthoasa prahaṇa · kamehi aṇoalito · kamohasa pra-(*ha)[203]ṇa · ḥa vedago drīthie yavi sa maṇam edi · avijohasa · ḥa hi tamayo · aṇoanido · bha[204]vohasa p(*raha)ṇa §§

20 (Arth-G; Sn 951, Arth-Chin 189c11-12)

21 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Ud I 6, Uv 33.23)

22 (Arth-G; Sn 876–877, Arth-Chin 181c17–18)

edavadag(*r)a ᯾ vadati ege sutro tatra ᯿ideśo [219] + + + + yakṣasa + + + + ? ? n.
go · saspadavado prañaveti · edavada · si + + + [220] + + + + + ? · acaliobhave ṭido
bhodi · acakṣubhavado · yakṣo prachadi ? + + + [221] + + + + ? · iśa satvāṇa teṣa ·
pañdidasāṇa · asa va teṣu iva satv<*e>ṣu + + + + + [222] + + + .o re ege samayo
vadati · uchedavada · atvāṇo · abhipr(*e)do matreti · iśa ? + + + + [223] + + bhav-
agrami aśayo vinaśadi · a sa ta samaye · ca ro e · kamo śobhano · karida + + + +

23 (unknown source; AN II 49, 50 = SN I 62)

24 (unkown source)

[GCv1] + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? + ? ? ? ? ? ? ? dukhada ? ? ? ? m. n. s. + + + + +
+ + [GCv2] + + + + + + + + ? ? v. do ☹

25 (Dvayatānudarśanasūtra-G; Sn 741 = It 15.2, 105.2 = Ja IV 354, UvS 3.18, Uv 3.18, Dhp^P 142)

edo adinavo ñatva sutro tatra nidešo edo adina(**vo*) + + + + + [GCv3] + + + + + + +

6.2.3. Scroll 13

26 (Kokālikasūtra-G; Sn 662 = SN I 13, 164 = Ja III 203 = Dhp 125, Uv 28.9, Dhp^P 115)

+ + + + + ? ḥa vivati · aṇulomo paḍicasamupado · vamo pusujanapakṣo ☹

27 (Arth-G; Sn 948, Arth-Chin 189c5–6)

yo iśa [10] (*kama a)ca(*tari) sutro tatra ḥ(*ide)śo · vastukama abhip(*r)eda · yo acatari · yeṇa vastue · chadarago prah(*iṇo) [11] + + + + + + + + + + + ? + .u ? .u ? + + ? + + + ? ? ? to ? ? t. ? ? ? + + [12] + + + + + + + + + tehi vastukamehi · vipariṇamateṣu · ḥa pari ? ? di · ḥa av(*i)jaya(*di) [13] + + + + + + + + + ki karaṇo · duina taṣaṇa prahinatva · chiṇasodo · ājatvataṣa [14] + + + + + (*ava)dhado · bahidhataṣa ? prahiṇa · sakṣeva vastukama jahaṇado · dukhaapravuti · [15] (*a)catari kamakil(*e)śaṇa apravuti · ḥa soyadi doṣasa prahiṇatva · ḥavijayadi mohasa pra[16]hiṇatva · chiṇas(*o)do avadhaṇo ragasa (*pra)hiṇatva (*.*) asa va ḥa soyadi · śila-kadhasa puri[17]datva · ḥavijayadi prañakadhasa · chiṇas(*o)d(*o) ava(*dha)ṇo · samasikadhasa · puridatva · trihi ka[18]dhehi p(*u)ridatva · mago (*. va)stukamehi · dukho acatari · samudeaprahaṇa ca · ḥirosa ca · [19] + + + + + ? ? + ? ? a duracago kamohasa samadikramo ca · drīṭhoha[20](*sa ca ·) + + + + (*avi)johasa (*sa)madikramo ca · ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? [21] + + + + + (*a)spimaṇo prahiṇo bhodi · ? .o ? ? ? pakṣasa · gaṇaṇa krida · chiṇasodo a[22](*vadhaṇo) bhavohasa <*sa>madikramo ☹

28 (unknown source; Sn 740 = It 15, 105 = AN II 10)

taṣadudio puruṣo sutro tatra ḥideśo · taṣacarida [23] + + + + ? deṣaṇa · ye taṣamuhie sasaro ḥivateti · asa va yo sirio pracago · dukhasa [24] + + .o daśido · tado utrasedi · tatrataṭraüavatia ta(*t)ra tatra uavadayadaṇami · vastu gri[25]ṇadi · caduṇa uadaṇaṇa · añadaraa<*ñā>dariṇa · uadaṇe<*ṇa> · uavajiadi · trihi va bhaveṣu · aña[26]daraañadaro · bhavo uavadiadi · tēṇa tēṇ(*e)va sabhodi · tatra tatra uavadayadaṇe · bhavo [27] + + + + + (*duḥka)m ed(*i) puṇapuṇo · bhavaṇemetic · piḍa pracaṇubhodi sakṣe[28](*va taṣadudio puruṣo kileśava)tāṇi · uadaṇēṇa · kama-vataṇi · śiṭhagēṇa d(*u)khavataṇi ? ? ? [29] + + + + + + + + + ? pracaga taṣa · uavatia · taṣapracea uadaṇa · tēṇa tēṇeva sabho[30](*di · uadaṇa)p(*r)acea bhavo ·

dukham edi · puṇapuṇo · bhavapracea jadijaramaraṇo · [31] + + + + asa va · taśa-
dudiyo · samudagavudhi · **tatratatraüa**(*va)tie · magañañaviva[32](*ti .) teṇa teṇeva
sabh(*o)di · nirosaññaṇavivati · **dukh**am edi · puṇapuṇo · dukhañana[33]vivati ☺

29 (unknown source; Dhp^P 371)

30 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Dhp-G^K 282, AN IV 96)

(*krodho) a(*r)th(*o) ḡa jaṇadi · sutro tatra ḡideśo praduṭheṇa citema · anicāṭha
dukhāṭhe [43] + + + + + + + ? · atva<ā>rtha pi · paraarthā pi · ḡa jaṇadi · krodho
<*dha>mo ḡa paṣadi spa ? ? ? [44] + + + + + ? a ḡivadhaṇeṇa badhadi · adho pra-
yoaviṇaśa · tamo aśagaviṇaśo · yo kro[45](*so) sa(*ha)di · yo kroseṇa sahariadi
sakṣeva krodho artho ḡa jaṇadi · prañakadhavivati · kro[46](*dho dhamo ḡa)
paṣadi (*.*) samasikadhavivati · adho ta + tamo bhodi śilakadhavivati · trae [47] + +
+ + + adho tamo trae ḡidaṇa · va ḡa ḡa draśi · trikadadhavivati ca · asa va · krodho
artho ḡa ja[48](*ṇadi · kuśa)laṇa · kamapasaṇa · vivati · krodho dhamo ḡa paṣadi ·
kuśala dhama ḡa paṣadi · [49] + + + + + ? va · yasa ekotariae · ṣodaśagiehi gado asa
va k(*r)odh(*o) artho ḡa ja[50](*ṇadi) + + + (*a)rtho ḡivaṇo · dhamo ḡa paṣadi ·
ariamago · ḡa vatedi · avaro artho ḡa jaṇadi · [51] (*artha)kośalavivati · dhamo ḡa
paṣadi · dhamakośalavivati ☺

31 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Ud I 9, UvS 33.12, Uv 33.11)

na udageṇa suyi bho[52](*di sutro) tatra ḥideśo ye ido bahidha ṣaṇavadi rpaṣada · ṣatravateṇa śodhi praceati + [53] + + + + (*bha)gavado bhaṣido · **bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo** · eko aha · yadi udageṇa su[54](*yi) + + + + ? na kasa yi sakileśo siiadi · orabhiakokudiaṇa · soari [55] + + + + ? .o · udageṇa · suyia sieati · na kasa yi va d. ḥ. s. a. a. ? [56] + + + adi · s. ? sakiliṣeadi · ki karaṇo yo teṇa purimageṇa · sakile[57]ś(*e)na a g. cho rito sieadi teṇa purimaga sakiliṣiadi · yasa lohidamale [58] + ? a di yasa · so paḍidago · iṣi · macageṇa · na te ta ra t. · maho sakili ? [59] + (*yasa) **saca ca dhama ca** · yasa avivaralasa · saco · so ḥimalo · **so ca bramaṇo** · so ca [60] + + + + sakṣeva · **yasa saco** vivaṣaṇa · **dhamo ca** śamaso · suyi duṇa mulaṇa prahi[61](*na)tva · **bramaṇo** duṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida(*tva ·) asa va **so suyi** taṣae prah(*i)na(*t)va [62] **bramaṇo** · avijae prahiṇatva §§

32 (Samyakparivrajanyasūtra-G; Sn 366)

yo vadadi ma na uṇamea sutro tatra ḥideśo · yo ahividad. [63] + ? va · uṇamo va · madimaṇo va · jayadi · **akroṭho ca na satrasea bhikhu** · avasamo akrośama [64] + paḍiapracago so va na jayadi · **ladha parabhoyaṇa** · na majea · ? ? d. ? g. ? ? ? [65] + + + ? seho upadidavo (*..) sa ? ? ? bhudakodie · trilakhaṇo · ḥ. ra da di [66] (*va)dadi ma na uṇamea (*..) mohaprahaṇo · **akroṭho ca** · na satrasea · doṣa-prahaṇa · **ladha** [67] (*pa)rabhoyaṇo · na majea · ragaprahaṇa · esa saüadišeṣa · same so [68] (*loge) **parivayea** · anuadišeṣa · asa va ḥidaṇaprahaṇeṇa · kileśakṣayo · [69] kamakṣayo · **loge parivayea** dukhakṣayo · avaro ho ḥidaṇaprahaṇeṇa samudea-prahaṇa · sa(*m)e[70](*tve)na · dukhapariṇa · **parivrayaṇae** · nirosa<*sa>kṣia §§

33 (Dhp-G or Ud-G; Dhp-G^K 119, Dhp 28, Uv^S 4.4, Uv 4.4, Dhp^P 19, Dhp-Chin^{WQN} 562c6–8)

[71] (*ya)da ḥudadi · **paḍido** · sutro tatra ḥideśo · **pramado vacaria** · **aprāmado** · ūama ? [72] (*ya)da ḥudadi yada prajahadi · **paḍido** misavi · **prañaprasado ar(*u)śa** · yasa puruṣo [73] viulami ṭhaṇami ṭhido · eva sa · atra · viulami · ūukrami dhamami ·

ṭhido · ? ? [74] + + + ? · aśogo · ḥikileśo · śogino · jaṇo · sakileśo · pravadaṭe va
bhumāṭho yasa so [75] + + + thido · eva aya śukrehi dhamehi thido · **bhumartho** ·
yasa so pragidie bhavo thido [76] + + + + + ? a. ? sujaṇo · dhame ṭhidago · **dhiro** ·
añāṇasa prah*(*i)*ṇatva · savakile [77] + + + + + ? · **balo** paritabodhi · susumabhodhi
avekṣadi · ḥaṇeṇa paṣadi · u [78] + + + + di · aṇusodagami · kamakileśado ·
parikṣayadi · yasa vucadi · kama [79] + + + ? balo · eva cario parikṣadi · yasa
cakhumo · puruṣo · jacadho rua paṣadi · [80] + + + + **apramadeṇa** śamasa · **prañ-**
prasadeṇa · vivaśaṇa · yatra ḥudāṇa · tatra duiṇa mulaṇa · [81] + + + + + ? ḥo
d(**u*)ve vimutigo · **vamadaśiṇo** · vistareṇa ḥadavo ☷

34 (Arth-G; Sn 952, Arth-Chin 189c17–18)

? [82] (**niṭhuri*) **aṇaṇugridho** sutro tatra ḥideśo · **aniṭhuri** · krosavašeṇa · ḥiṭhuri ca
karodi [83] + + + + karodi · ado · doṣaprahaṇado · ḥiyoṇa · **aṇaṇugridho** · raga-
vaśiṇa · v. v. [84] + + + + + ḥ. ḥo ca · gridhada ca karodi · ado ṣehaprahaṇa ·
ḥiyo*(*e)*di · **anikho** · añāṇasa [85] + + ḥa · vastumi ḥihañadi · asaprakha*(*n-*
a)yadaṇado vastumi · ado mohaprahaṇa mi ḥiyeve [86] + + + + + + me ḥa vi sa
prahaṇa · ḥa bhuyo samuśrevedi · ado añāṇa sa mu t. ? s. d. ḥi [87] + + + + + + +
śida bhodi · **prochido** **avigapio** · eso se go ḥu bhudo · sava [88] + + + (**p*ra-
h*(*i)*ṇatva · acalio · śrukrehi dhamehi hodo · sakṣeva **aniṭhuri** doṣaprahaṇa ·
[89] (**a*)ṇa(**n*)ugridho lohaprahaṇa · **anikho** **savado samo** · mohaprahaṇa · asa va
t(**r*)ae ka + · ado [90] (**triṇida*)ṇakṣayeṇa · triṇa śalaṇa prahaṇa · **savado samo** ·
maṇaśalaprahaṇa ☷

6.2.4. Scroll 18

35 (unknown source)

[Ar1] garo aṇagami abhaye ? ? k. rago rahapo .r. .u ? ḥadi astiaṇa · aha astia ś. + + + +
+ [Ar2] ? sa balavato ? ? ? + ? lo .o iva la g. y. ḥi aya salagao akolago ta v. + + + + +
+ [Ar3] ha ri pa ya ḥi o + + + + ? .o ri ta v. ca di ? + + + + ? to ☷

36 (Arth-G; Sn 900, Arth-Chin 183a18–19)

śilava(*do) + + (*prahae sutro) ... [Kr1] + ? ? + + ? + ? + + + + + ? ? + + + + +
+ ? ? ? ? ? .r. e + + + + [Kr2] k(*r)iśasa p(*r)ahaṇa · ś(*u)k(*re)ṇa · k(*r)iśa(*sa ·)
prahaī̄ s. ? ? ? ? .u ? · aṇavaj. ? + · a. a. + + [Kr3] +
+ ? ? · ? ? ? ? geṇa avara h. s. do [Kr4] śasa · aṇavajo · śukrasa k. sa da ni e ? · trae
kamap(*r)ahaṇa · ta aha śodhi aśodhi ca + + ... [Cr1] tva ca loga ca · ? ? + ? ? ?
+ ? ? ? + + + + + + + + + + ? ? + ? s. ? ? + [Cr2] tatra a ? · ede uchedo s. ? ? ? ? ?
da · eva vahida kama p(*r)ajahaṇa atra aho h. atavivarj. + + + [Cr3] paḍivada paḍivaji
+ + + + + e ki prah.ṇa · v. r. d. cara ucheda saspada ? ri ? + + + + [Cr4] + + + + + + +
+ ? ? y. ? ? + + + ? ? + + ? + + + + + + + ... [0] + + + ? + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ [1] + ? t. · atavivarjida · majima
paḍivada · akriṣaśukro kamo va daśido · asa va · śilava(*d)o ? + [2] prahae samasi-
ka(*dho) savajap(*r)ahaṇ<*e>ṇa · śilakadho · aṇavajaprahaṇeṇa prañakadh(*o) ? ? ?
[3] ? + ? · m. ? + + + + ? [n]. ? ? tv. · asa va kriṣaśukra ? ṭha ? + + + + + + +
[4] (*k)r(*iśa)sa (*p)rahaṇa (*. ūukr(*e)ṇa (*. k)r(*i)śaśukrasa prahaṇa · akriṣ-
aśukrena · ūukrasa prahana · ta sa ? ? + [5] kasa a ya ya di · ta aha atavivarjida ☩

37 (Sabhikasūtra-G; Sn 514, Mvu III 395)

pajēna kideṇa · atvano · sutro tatra ḥideśo (*.) pajēna k(*r)i(*de)[6]na atvano · aha
prathēna krideṇa ujeṇa · atvan<*e>na · pariṇivanagado · yo danī pratho ca ujo ca · ? ?
+ [7] .i ḥi a i ? ? d. · vitinakakṣo yo so pratho ca · ujo ca śāsea vi so ksi po cha ? ?
vibha[8]va ca · uchedo bhava ca · + + + + yo so ujo ca · pratho ca · so ime ubhae ata
vivarjita · ? ? ? ? (*abhi)[9]pr(*e)do · yasa vucadi kavoda varjae spara · yasa ca
vucadi prajutva agi sasiea + + + [10] lo abhipredo · tatra pradiṭhahita ? va kalaṇo asi-
gachadi · pariṇivanagado · driṭh. + + + + [11] +
+ [12] +
+ [13] + pajēna daśaṇabhumi · pariṇivanagado
śamaso · vitinakakṣo · vivaśana · e ? ? + + + [14] (*bha)vanabhumi · vibhaya ca ·

bhava ca · viprahae · prove prahiṇa · puṇo a magaṭha · yasa vucadi · [15] (*ta)sa eva
janādo · kamasavado cito vimucadi · **vrosidava** · **kṣinapunabhavo** kridavida ☷

38 (Arth-G; Sn 852, Arth-Chin 187c18-19)

39 (unknown source)

[Av1] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + hi ka r. + + + + abhuda · ? ? ? + + + + + + +
[Av2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? paro loga · yatra uavajiśadi ? + + + + + + +
[Av3] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? c. ti · ? tatra a. ve a l. ? ? + + + + +

6.3 Translation of the Text

6.3.1. Scroll Fragment 7

1

[Ca3] ... + + + + + + +

[Da1] ... of the blessed one, the tathāgata + + + + + + + ... [Da2] ... + the teacher of gods and men, the enlightened one + ... [Da3] ... + + ...

[Fb1] ... + + + + ... [Fb2] ... + + + + ...

6.3.2. Scroll 9

3

[1] Crossed over, liberated, calm: the state of liberation. Among those who cross over, among those who liberate + + + [2] + + + among those who calm: the state of having established oneself. Top, best, choice, seer: [3] mastery and the state of possessing the ten powers and the state of possessing the four confidences. [4] Then again, some untangle according to the truths: Crossed over from defilement; [5]

this is abandoning of the origin. **Liberated** from pain; this is the diagnosis of pain.
The remaining two [6] + + + .

4

(*Bundling verse:)

+++ + + + + + + + [21] + + + + +
+++ + + + + + + + + + and searching for sense-pleasure

Warding off evil (***dharma**s is the text). The explanation (*on it): Defilement is evil. Excessive + + + + + + + + in the application of hate. + + [23] + + + + + + + + + + in the application of lust. **Always mindful**: an unvarying state of resting(?) is shown. [24] Because of unknowing being abandoned, his mindfulness is always present in regard to the four matters(?) of selfhood + + + + **With fetters exhausted**, [25] **enlightened**: by noble knowing + + + + + is taken. Those who have the form mentioned are disciple [26] and condition enlightened ones. **Brahman**: because of all defilements being abandoned + + + + + is made to be exhausted. **Warding off evil** [27] (***dharma**s): abandoning of hate. **Always mindful**: abandoning of delusion. **With fetters exhausted**: abandoning of lust. **Enlightened**: both the path [28] and cessation are shown. Or otherwise: by exhaustion of the sources (is meant) the state of liberation. By **enlightened** (is meant) both the state of a knower and mastery. [29] Others: **Warding off evil dharmas**: the virtue category. **Always mindful**: the concentration category. **Enlightened**: the understanding category. [30] **With fetters exhausted**: the outcome. Or otherwise: **Always mindful**: both concentration and understanding. Or otherwise: **Warding off evil** [31] **dharmas**: abandoning of all three sources. Because of them being abandoned **always mindful**. Others: **Warding off evil** (***dharma**s): [32] both the diagnosis (*of pain) and abandoning of the origin. **Always mindful**: the path. **With fetters exhausted**: cessation. [33] Who has filled knowing with the four truths, that one is **enlightened**. As is said: "What should be recognized is recognized [34] and what should be developed is developed." Or otherwise: both the state of having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself of somebody else in the truths that make a teacher. [35] Or otherwise: **Warding off evil dharmas**: severing of the course of pain. **Always mindful**: severing of the course of action. **With fetters exhausted**: [36] severing of the course of defilement. Or otherwise: **Warding off evil dharmas**: abandoning of the barb of hate. **Always mindful**: [37] both of the barb of view and of the barb of conceit. **With fetters exhausted**: abandoning of the barb of lust.

Receiving food or clothing [38] in time is the text. The explanation on it: **Receiving food**: receiving of alms. **Clothing**: the robe. **He should know the measure**: [39] in what should be done the measure should be known. **Undertaking what is difficult**: steadiness in the traditions of the noble is shown. **Guarded in respect to the ears**: [40] restraint in respect to the ears. **If he moves about in the village**: for there is footing for defilement there. The proximity + + + + + [41] + + + in the wilderness. As is said: “By which path he entered the village for alms.” This is [42] abandoning + + + + + + + **He should even when offended not speak a harsh word**: Whether one who is offended should not speak a hard word or whether one who is offended should not speak (any) word, this is abandoning of resentment. [44] Then again some say: By the power of unknowing the faculties flow forth. From noble mindfulness they do not flow forth. This is [45] abandoning of delusion. Abandoning of the three sources is shown. Then again some say (it is) a teaching of the dharma about those who are established in seeing(?). [46] Moving about here, they do not then and then (again) attain a barb.

roots, the two paths, the two outcomes.

8

To this one I say “you are calm” is the text. The explanation on it: Because of craving related to the five qualities of desire being abandoned he is called **calm**. Because of internal craving being abandoned [56] **there exist no knots**, because of the body together with consciousness being abandoned. Both cravings are abandoned. [57] **He has crossed beyond attachment**, craving. The accomplished(?) step is shown. Or otherwise: Because of the two [58] roots being abandoned it is said that **he has crossed beyond**. Or otherwise: Because of fondness and resentment being abandoned. Or otherwise: [59] by abandoning of the three sources. Or otherwise: + + because of craving that is of two kinds being abandoned.

9

[60] **For the one whose heart is not rotten** (*is the text). The explanation (*on it): from the heart + + + + + + + + + + + + + [61] or defilement. This is abandoning of fondness. **Whose heart is not impaired**: abandoning of resentment. This is [62] abandoning of the course of defilement. By **merit** the two (kinds of) action are shown. Then again by **evil** dark action. This is [63] severing of the course of action. Some who are awake burn a country district, like the [64] Kaliga wilderness. + + + they do not apply to defilements. That is why is said: **for the one who is awake there is no fear**. [65] Some say this is wakefulness of knowing. **There is no fear**: fear of the five categories. + + + [66] Pain is its great fear. This is severing of the course of pain. Or otherwise: **For the one whose heart is not rotten**: [67] abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure. **Whose heart is not impaired**: abandoning of malice. First he shows abandoning of dark and bright. [68] **Abandoning of evil**: abandoning of dark. **Abandoning of merit**: of bright. **For the one who is awake**: [69] of neither dark nor bright. This is abandoning of action. By abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure (is meant) abandoning of defilement. Or otherwise: [70] by abandoning of fondness and

10

For what ages what is without aging is the text. The explanation on it: [75] **Without aging**: the extinction element without fuel remaining. **What ages**: the five assuming categories. He rejects them. [76] Extinction should be searched for in being without aging. **What burns**: with the three sources. Their exhaustion [77] should be searched for. Where there is no burning, that indeed is that **rest from exertion**: the two extinction elements. **Exchange** [78] **the ultimate calmness**: where pain has been rejected take the two extinction elements. In brief: [79] **What ages**: pain. **Extinction in what is without aging**: the cessation. **What burns**: the origin. **Exchange**: [80] it should be rejected through knowing; this is the path. Or otherwise: **Extinction**: exhaustion of defilement. **Exchange**: [81] exhaustion of action. **Without aging**: exhaustion of pain.

11

Having diagnosed the five categories is the text. The explanation on it: [82] The five assuming categories should be diagnosed in regard to (their) rise and disappearance. This is both the diagnosis of pain and the path. [83] Through complete exhaustion of the origin of defilement the cessation. **Become cool:** the one without fuel remaining. As [84] is said: “Right here all that is felt becomes cool, they understand.” Or otherwise: [85] Because of abandoning of lust he is said to have

become cool; this is abandoning of craving. **Taintless:** [86] abandoning of ignorance. Two liberations, the cessation. Through abandoning of defilement abandoning of the origin. This is [87] the one with fuel remaining. **Like a fire without fuel:** the one without fuel remaining, severing of the three courses.

12

Whose [88] faculties are well-developed is the text. The explanation on it: **Well-developed**: well-practised, well-settled. **The perfected one(?)**: who has developed the path; allaying + + + + + + + + + + + + [90] **With dirt gone away**: abandoning of craving. **Having crossed over doubt**: abandoning of ignorance. By both (is meant) both [91] abandoning of confusion and the cessation. **This world**: the desire element. **The other world**: [92] form and formlessness. Or otherwise: Internal and external spheres + + + four fruits. This is [93] the diagnosis of pain. **Awaits (his) time**: wherefore it is said: "I do not look forward to death, I do not look forward to life." [94] Or otherwise: **Whose faculties are well-developed**: the six faculties + + + + + + + + + + [95] is called one whose faculties are developed, like (those) of *Paraśaria; this is the cessation. In brief: Who [96] has filled knowing with the four truths, that one has a developed body, a developed heart, developed understanding. Because of all three being developed [97] **he is tamed** and he is without fuel remaining. Therefore it is said that **he awaits (his) time**.

13

pain. [102] **Having many forms:** the three painfulnesses. In brief: **Accomplished one:** the state of liberation. **Wise and of developed self:** [103] the state of a knower. **Great seer:** mastery. **From where pain:** both the state of having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself. Some say: [104] **Great seer:** + + + of ignorance. From abandoning of the two roots the state of liberation, the state of possessing the ten powers + + + + + [105] + + the outcome.

14

Earlier it was is the text. The explanation on it: **Earlier it was:** indeed that lust, that delusion, that hate. [106] **Earlier it was:** exhaustion of the three sources. **It neither was nor will it be, nor does it exist now:** + + + + [107] + + + + and concurrence of opposed defilement. Others say: **Earlier it was:** [108] lust, hate and delusion. **Then it was not:** the dharmas on the side of enlightenment. **It neither was nor will it be, nor does it exist now:** and which path [109] there will be will also remove this opposed origin of defilement. Or otherwise: **It neither was nor will it be, nor** [110] **does it exist now:** and which lust, hate and delusion there are of this path, they are exhausted. Then again some: He speaks about omniscience + + + [111] + he speaks about both the plane of enlightenment beings and the plane of enlightened ones.

Bundling verse:

Warding off, food [112] and having heard, to this one I say, not rotten,
without aging, categories, whose faculties, earlier it was, accomplished.

15

Both those [113] **who have enumerated the dharmas** is the text. The explanation on it: Understanding is called enumeration. By this enumeration the five categories are enumerated [114] and observed: impermanent, painful, without self, both depending on a cause and tied to other things + + + + + becomes well-comprehending. [115] Or otherwise: by whom the roots of all dharmas are enumerated, opened(?),

abandoned. **And who are in training:** who [116] learn the enumeration of the roots of all dharmas and the opening(?). **Numerous:** many. Including the one on the eighth stage + [117] + + + + + one should diagnose + + in this + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [118] + + + + + + + Or otherwise: **Of these intelligent ones:** connected ones. + + + + + + + + + + + of these + + + + [119] + + + I will relate + + + + [120] Or otherwise: I will relate in respect to the path. + [121] show. **Dear sir** (*marisa-*): this is a respectful form of address; there is no searching (*eṣana-*). Because of defilements being abandoned [122] there is no fear and because of the perception of dharmas being filled.

16

Indeed he should not look forward to sense-pleasures is the text. The explanation on it: [123] All desirable matter should not be looked forward to, but the abandoning of affection that indeed there is should be connected. **He should be** (*sie*) undisturbed: should be (*asa*). [124] Sense-pleasures indeed + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + hate. Therefore abandoning of hate [125] is enjoined. **Skilled in respect to all dharmas:** because of unknowing being abandoned knowing of skillfulness in respect to all dharmas [126] has arisen, or of one endowed with the foundations of mindfulness these three sources + + + or + + + + [127] one endowed with the foundations of mindfulness. By this utterance abandoning of the barbs should be known. The three remaining ones; **a monk** [128] **should wander about mindful:** abandoning of the barb of conceit. Or otherwise: by abandoning of the three sources (is meant) the exhaustion of defilement. **Skilled:** [129] the exhaustion of action. **Should wander about mindful:** the exhaustion of pain. Or otherwise: **Indeed he should not look forward to sense-pleasures:** [130] abandoning of coarse defilements. **He should be undisturbed in respect to the mind:** abandoning of the midling and the residual ones. [131] **Skilled in respect to all dharmas:** what is said there is that only thinking about the dharma is remaining. **A monk** [132] **should wander about mindful:** what is said here is that a monk of good material internally

indeed composes the heart, [133] concentrates + + + **Should wander about:** what is talked about there is the three knowledges. Or otherwise: **For he should not look forward to sense-pleasures:** [134] abandoning of (*lust). **Undisturbed:** abandoning of hate. **Skilled:** abandoning of delusion. **A monk should wander about mindful:** who [135] endowed with the foundations of mindfulness destroys these three sources, that one is in training. By whom they are destroyed, that one has enumerated the dharmas. [136] Or otherwise: **He should not look forward to sense-pleasures:** abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure. **Undisturbed:** of malice. From abandoning of both, (one becomes) the highest one in training. Until the state of being in training is complete it has its meaning stated. **Skilled in respect to all dharmas:** [138] because of knowing of the dharmas being filled, the state of no longer being in training is complete. **A monk should wander about:** [139] who goes on this path, that one is in training; who has gone, that one has enumerated the dharmas. + + + + + + + +

17

[140] **Who points out the past** is the text. The explanation on it: Posala of the Parayaṇa + + + + the blessed one. [141] **Who points out the past:** who shows the past, or an occurrence in the past + + + + [142] + + + + points out. Others: + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [143] + Thus craving. It is abandoned. **Having severed doubt:** the four uncertainties are abandoned. [144] He praises him for abandoning of unknowing. Or otherwise he praises for omniscience. **Going to the further shore:** gone to perfection in respect to all qualities. [145] + + + omniscience is filled. **I have come with a question about meaning:** I am seeking for meaning, [146] I have come for questions. Or otherwise: Which profit or harm there is in the roundabout (of births), to that question [147] I have come. **Who points out the past:** [148] the knowledge that is manifest knowing: recollection of earlier lives. **Having severed doubt:** the knowledge that is manifest knowing: decease and reappearance of beings. **Unshakable:** [149] the knowledge that is manifest knowing: exhaustion of taints. Now other [150] disciple and condition enlightened ones may also have the state of

possessing the three knowledges, but not indeed is [151] (their) knowing in every way filled with matters related to an omniscient one(?) like by the enlightened one. Therefore is said **going to the further shore in respect to all dharmas**. [152] Or otherwise: **Who points out the past**: who shows a past occurrence. Both those who are [153] natural humans and those who are higher humans + [154] + + + decease and reappearance of beings. Both as it has not been experienced by himself and by whichever [155] beings it has been experienced, that he shows. **Unshakable**: because of craving having been abandoned. **Having severed doubt**: [156] because of ignorance having been abandoned. Then again disciples may have the six recognitions, such as [157] those like Kaśava and Mogalaṇa, but not indeed have they reached perfection like the enlightened one. In brief: **Who points out the past**: like he [158] points out the past, so the future, so the present, through enlightenment, through knowing. Therefore [159] praise is made of the state of a knower. **Without anger, having severed doubt**: the state of liberation. **Going to the further shore in respect to all dharmas**: [160] mastery. **I have come + + + +** the state of having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself + + +

18

[161] **Of the one whose perception of form has disappeared** is the text. The explanation on it: Perception of women, perception of men, all perception, perception of the element. [162] The surmounting of color and shape is shown, or otherwise the surmounting of pleasure and favor that is of three kinds. Thus that [164] sphere of nothing is talked about. **Who abandons all bodies**: he shows the surmounting of the sphere of the end of space + [164] that sphere of the end of consciousness is talked about. **Internally**: as is said: “The I is not anywhere, of anybody, anything.” **And externally**: “and the mine is not anybody, of anybody, anything.” Just that way is [166] the non-existence of appropriation. The sphere of nothing is shown. **Here + of such a kind**: by what sort of person [167] is this attainment of the sphere of nothing obtained. By **what he knows + + + +** Or otherwise: by what sort of way. [168] **All steadinesses of consciousness**: seven steadinesses of consciousness have been

recognized by the enlightened one that are brought about by happiness. [169] By the seventh steadiness of consciousness the sphere of nothing is shown. There consciousness is established. [170] The blessed one **knows this one standing**, become human, and **liberated**, become mighty through knowing. [171] He will be **one who has that as final aim**. The sphere of nothing indeed will appear. [172] Knowing the origin of nothing + like [173] the attainment of the sphere of nothing. **That relish is a fetter +**: there + + by attainments passion and lust. [174] **He should know this thus**: this attainment exists. Then + + + passion and lust + + + **Then he + + +** [175] + + +: he will definitely reappear in the sphere of nothing. That way is here [176] the **knowing** of the enlightened one with that sort of + + + + of the enlightened one, **of the brahman**: the one who has warded off evil dharmas, **of the perfected one**: the one who has developed the path.

19

[177] **He is not wise through view or opinion** is the text. The explanation on it: Some construe with those who speak of calmness. **Separated** [178] **they move about in the world**: worthy ones move about separated in respect to types of view, remote from types of view in the world. [179] Then again some construe (as follows): **but those who move about separated in the world**: heretics move about separated from the good, remote (*from the good) in the world. **The hero should not make a dispute with them**: + + + + [181] + a worthy one is intended. Or otherwise: + + + + + + + + with these people who are remote from the good + + + + + [182] + + + + + + + + **Water lotus** (*elabuya-*): Water is called *ela-*. [183] A lotus is called *abuya-*. + + + in mud + + + + + + **Unsmeared by water** (*jala-*) **and mud** (*paka-*): *jala-* [184] is water, *paka-* is mud. As it, born and having grown there, still is not smeared by it – this is [185] the simile – **so the sage**, the knower, **speaks** (*pada-*) **of calmness and is not greedy**: extinction is calm, the path of the noble is the track (*pada-*) there. [186] + + + does not do. By just it he has gone + + + and there he is **unsmeared** like

this lotus is surrounded by water and mud yet is not smeared by it. Thus here too + + + Or otherwise: **So the sage**, [188] speaking of calmness and not greedy: + two extinction elements + + + + They are seen, yet he is not smeared there. [189] **Unsmeared by desires in the world**: [190] unsmeared by desires as things and all desirable matter. What is the reason? As he calls him not greedy, so he is not smeared because of nongreediness. Not + + + + not + + + + [191] **Not wise**: the end of existence is not known. **By view**: those which are reached by eye consciousness + + + + [192] by three bodies of consciousness the state of turning inward is made contact with. Consciousness + + + + + + + He does not then [193] take out conceit. **For he is not like that**: not + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [194] + + + + + + + + **Not by action**: by the plane of mind consciousness. What is the reason? Here this is [195] merit and demerit for those seeking for understanding(?). **Nor to be led by what is heard**: he is not + + + + + + + **Not led** [196] **indeed by attachments**: attachments – here the categories are intended. They are indeed not undergone by him. + + + [197] + + + + + + + + Therefore he calls him not to be led into. Or otherwise: **Not by view**: not + + + + + + [198] + + + + + + + + + + + + by a kind of supernormal power + + + + + + + **Not led** [199] (***indeed**) **by attachments**: not by earlier life. Then he does not take out conceit. **For he is not like that**: + + + + [200] + **Not by action**: not by virtue, by practice does he take out conceit. Or otherwise: by [201] earlier life. **Not by what is heard**: by the divine ear element he does not take out conceit. It has its meaning stated. + + + [202] + + + **The hero should (*not) make a dispute**: abandoning of the flood of view. **Unsmeared by desires**: [203] abandoning of the flood of desire. **Not wise by view until he becomes conceited**: of the flood of ignorance. **For he is not like that, not led**: [204] abandoning of the flood of existence.

21

22

Some now say that to this extent the top is the text. The explanation on it: [219] +
+ + + + of the spirit + + + + + + + they teach the doctrine of the eternal. To this
extent + + + + [220] + + + + + he becomes steady in the immovable state(?). He
asks the spirit in respect to the eyeless state. + + + + [221] Here there is of these

23

6.3.3. Scroll 13

26

[1] + [2] +
 + Fine dust to even a powerful one + + + + + + +
 [3] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + to somebody attended by powerful bright
 dharmas + + + + [4] + + + + + + + + + + + + + like of Koalia and Karađadatia.
 In brief: **To that very fool** [5] + + + + + the course of defilement. **Evil comes:** the
 course of pain. Is hateful: the course of action. Or otherwise: + + + + [6] + + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + + + **Evil comes:** increase of pain. By **hatefulness** (is meant) [7]
 failure of virtue and concentration. By **fool** (is meant) failure of understanding. + + +
 + + + + + **Evil comes:** failure of the cessation. [8] + + + + + **Is hateful:** failure of
 concentration. By **fool** (is meant) failure of insight. **Evil comes:** of the two [9]
 extinction elements + + + + + + + + failure. In natural direction it is dependent
 arising, the reverse is the side of ordinary people.

27

Who [10] **passed** (*desires) **here** is the text. The explanation on it: Desires as things
 are intended. **Who passed:** by which thing passion and lust are abandoned. [11] + + +
 + [12] + + + + +
 + + + + + when desires as things change, he does not + + + + + **He does not covet:**
 [13] + + + + + + + + + + What is the reason? Because of the two cravings being
 abandoned. **Having severed the stream:** internal craving. [14] + + + + **Without**
bonds: external craving + is abandoned. In brief: For the person who abandons
 desires as things there is non-occurrence of pain. [15] **Passed:** non-occurrence of
 action and defilement. **He does not grieve:** because of hate being abandoned. **He**
does not covet: [16] because of delusion being abandoned. **Having severed the**
stream and being without bonds: because of lust being abandoned. Or otherwise:
He does not grieve: [17] because of the virtue category being filled. **He does not**
covet: the understanding category. **Having severed the stream and being without**

bonds: because of the concentration category being filled. [18] From the three categories being filled, there is the path. Through desires as things, there is pain.

Passed: both abandoning of the origin and cessation. [19] + + + + + + + + + + + + +

That is hard to pass: both surmounting of the flood of desire [20] (*and) of the flood of view + + + + and surmounting of the flood of ignorance + + + + + + + + + + + +

[21] + + + + + the I-am-conceit gets abandoned. Accounting + + + + + + + has

been done. **Having severed the stream [22] and being without bonds:** surmounting of the flood of existence.

28

The man who is accompanied by craving is the text. The explanation on it: + + + + [23] + + + + + + + which create the roundabout (of births) that has craving as its head. Or otherwise: + + + + + + of pain [24] + + + is shown. Thence it frightens.

In a reappearance here and there: here and there in the sphere of reappearance [25] he takes substance, because of one or the other assuming of the four assumings he reappears, or in the three existences he reappears into one or the other existence [27] + + + + + **He comes to pain again and again:** he experiences again the oppression that has existence as its cause. [28] In brief: (***The man who is accompanied by craving:**) the course (*of defilement). By **assuming** (is meant) the course of action. By the rest (is meant) the course of pain. + + + [29] + + + + + + + + + + + + + there is craving. **In a reappearance:** from the condition craving there is assuming. [30] **Is born for this and that reason:** from the condition (*assuming) there is existence. **He comes to pain again and again:** from the condition existence there is birth, aging and death. [31] + + + + Or otherwise: **Accompanied by craving:** increase of the origin. **In a reappearance here and there:** [32] failure of knowing of the path. **Is born for this and that reason:** failure of knowing of the cessation. **He comes to pain again and again:** [33] failure of knowledge of pain.

29

Endowed with virtue and seeing is the text. The explanation on it: By **virtue** is shown restraint in action. By **seeing** + + + [34] + + + + + is talked about, or the state of being unseverable, or the state of non-clinging, or not + + + + + [35] + + + + + + + + calm from the painfulness of determination. [36] He is **delighting in calm** of just this painfulness of determination. Or otherwise: **Calm**: quiet. **Delighting**: insight. **He takes delight depending on the path**: [37] delighting in quiet and insight being developed. **Understanding**: by knowing depending on others [38] arrived at knowing tied to others. **Well-concentrated**: one whose heart is well-founded. In brief: By **virtue** (is meant) complete purity of virtue. [39] By **seeing** (is meant) straight action concerning view. That is the plane of seeing. **Delighting in internal calm**: the plane of development. **He takes delight** [40] (*depending) on the path: the plane of immediacy. **Understanding and well-concentrated**: the state of one who has accomplished. Or otherwise: **by virtue** (is meant) the virtue category. [41] + + + + + + + + + the concentration category. **Understanding**: the understanding category. **Well-concentrated**: the fading of lust [42] + + + + + + + + +

30

(***The angry one**) does not know profit is the text. The explanation on it: With a hateful mind + + + + + + [43] + + + + + + + also profit for oneself, also profit for others he does not know. **The angry one does not see the dharma**: + + + + [44] + + + + + + + + + he ties. **Blind**: destruction of application. **Darkness**: destruction of inclination. **Whom** [45] **anger overcomes**: who is overcome by anger. In brief: **The angry one does not know profit**: failure of the understanding category. [46] **The angry one (*does not) see (*the dharma)**: failure of the concentration category. **There is blind darkness (*then)**: failure of the virtue category. + + [47] + + + + **blind darkness**: the three sources. + + + + and failure of the three categories. Or otherwise: **The angry one does not** [48] **know profit**: failure of the good courses of action. **The angry one does not see the dharma**: he does not see the good dharmas. [49] + + + + + + as in the Ekotaria; it is among (the items) that have

sixteen parts. Or otherwise: **The angry one does not** [50] **know profit:** + + + profit is extinction. **He does not see the dharma:** he does not pursue the path of the noble. Another one: **He does not know profit:** [51] failure of skillfulness (*in profit). **He does not see the dharma:** failure of skillfulness in the dharma.

31

One does not [52] **become pure by water** is the text. The explanation on it: The ninety-six sects that are outside from here go towards purity by the observance of bathing + [53] + + + + the utterance of the blessed one. **Many people take baths here:** one says that if by water + [54] + + + + + + there would be no defilement of anybody. Of sheep and chicken butchers + + + [55] + + + + + + + by water they would be clean, there + + + + + + of anybody [56] + + + + + + would be defiled. What is the reason? By the person who by this earlier [57] defilement would be + + + + + the earlier one would be defiled + + + + + + [58] + + + + + + that one is wise, a seer. By a mortal(?) + + + + + + + + + [59] + (*Who has) **both the truth and the dharma:** who + + + + + + the truth that one is unsullied, **and that one is a brahman,** and that one [60] + + + + + In brief: **Who has the truth:** insight. **And the dharma:** quiet. **Pure:** [61] because of the two roots being abandoned. **A brahman:** because of being in contact with the two liberations. Or otherwise: **That one is pure:** because of craving being abandoned. [62] **A brahman:** because of ignorance being abandoned.

32

Who does not rise (when he thinks) “someone honors me” is the text. The explanation on it: Who + + + + + [63] + + + or rise, or conceit of opinion(?) are born. **And who when reviled is not frightened, the monk:** + + + + + + + [64] + + + + + + + + + + born. **Receiving food from others does not exult:** + + + + + + + + [65] + + + + + + + should be given rise to. + + + + through the end of existence the three characteristics + + + + [66] **He does not rise (when he thinks)** “someone honors me”: abandoning of delusion. **And who when reviled is not frightened:** abandoning

of hate. **Receiving** [67] **food from others does not exult**: abandoning of lust. That one is with fuel remaining. **That one** [68] **wanders about right** (**in the world*): without fuel remaining. Or otherwise: by abandoning of the sources, there is exhaustion of defilement, [69] exhaustion of action. **Wanders about in the world**: exhaustion of pain. Another one indeed: By abandoning of the sources (is meant) abandoning of the origin. [70] **By rightness** (is meant) the diagnosis of pain. **By wandering about** (is meant) realization of the cessation.

33

[71] **When the wise one drives out** is the text. The explanation on it: **Negligence**: + + + + **Diligence**: + + + [72] **When he drives out**: when he abandons. **The wise one**: the intelligent one. **Having ascended the palace of understanding**: like a man [73] standing (*ṭhida-*) in a great place, so this one, steady (*ṭhida-*) in great, bright, dharma, + + [74] + + + + **Without sorrow**: without defilement. **The sorrowful people**: with defilement. **Like one standing on a mountain at one standing on the ground**: like that [75] + + + + steady, so this one is steady in respect to the bright dharmas. **One standing on the ground**: like that one is steady in the natural state [76] + + + + + + + + + good people are steady in the dharma. **The intelligent one**: because of unknowing being abandoned + + + + [77] + + + + + + + **At the fool**: one of limited intelligence + + + + **Looks at**: sees by understanding + [78] + + + + + He examines the one going with the stream in respect to action and defilement. As is said: “+ + [79] + + + + the fool thus examines practice; like a man having eyes, one who is blind from birth sees form.” [80] + + + + **By diligence** (is meant) quiet. **The palace of understanding**: insight. Where there is driving out, there [81] + + + + + + + + of the two roots, two liberations. + + + + + It should be known by the extensive treatment.

34

[82] **Not rough, not greedy** is the text. The explanation on it: **Not rough**: by the

power of anger, he both does roughness [83] + does + + + Therefore it is an injunction in respect of abandoning of hate. **Not greedy:** by the power of lust, he [84] does both + + + + + + + + and greediness. Therefore he enjoins abandoning of affection. **Without anger:** [85] + + + of unknowing, he is struck down in matter, matter in respect to the sphere of lack of clarity. Therefore + + + + + + + + [86] + He no more raises + + + + + + + + + + + Therefore + + + + + + + + + [87] + + + + + + + becomes + + **Unshakable when questioned:** that one + + + + + + + [88] + + + + + + + has become immovable in respect to the bright dharmas. In brief: **Not rough:** abandoning of hate. [89] **Not greedy:** abandoning of greed. **Without anger, constant in all respects:** abandoning of delusion. Or otherwise: The three + + Therefore [90] + + + + + + abandoning of the three barbs. **Constant in all respects:** abandoning of the barb of conceit.

6.3.4. Scroll 18

35

36

(*Having) + + (*abandoned) all virtue and observance (*is the text). ... [Kr1] + [Kr2] abandoning + + + By the bright of the dark. Having abandoned: + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [Kr3] + [Kr4] + + Irreproachable: of the bright + + + + + the three abandonings of action. That is why he says purity or impurity + + ... [Cr1] both + and the world + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [Cr2] there + + These (are?) annihilation + +

37

renewed existence is exhausted: the state of one who has accomplished.

[Av1] + [Av2] +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + where + + + + + + + + + + + [Av3] + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + there + + + + + + + + +

CHAPTER 7

Annotated Text Edition

This chapter is concerned with the establishment, interpretation and discussion of the text of the individual sections of our commentary. At the beginning of each section or subsection, the reconstruction of its root verse (justified and compared with parallels in chapter 8) is presented together with a translation. This is followed by an exposition of the structure of the section, in particular the number of runs of the commentary that are performed and the types of commentarial services that are provided. The more complex of these structures are additionally summarized in overview charts, and references are given to treatments of corresponding verses in other commentarial traditions preserved in Pali, Sanskrit and Tibetan. The text of our manuscript (in transcription, reconstruction and translation) is then subdivided and presented at the level of individual commentarial runs, followed by discussions of difficult words, textual parallels and any other noteworthy features.

7.1. Scroll Fragment 7

1 (Lines 7Aa1–4)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.1):

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| apramata spadivata | Be diligent, mindful, |
| (*suśila bhosa bhikṣave) | (*of good virtue, o monks,) |
| (*susamahidasakapa) | (*of well-concentrated purpose,) |
| (*spacito aṇurakṣasa) | (*protect your own heart.) |

Only the lemma quotation of the first pāda and the beginning of the first run of the commentary are preserved. It is not clear whether this was followed by additional runs. The Sanskrit Udāna parallel of this verse is explained in Ud-v 119, and pāda d (lost in our text) is explained in the context of another verse at Dhp-a IV 26.9–10. The Mahāparinibbānasutta parallel goes without comment in Sv.

Transcription:

Aa1. a[p]ramata s[pa]divata sutro tatra ḥideśo apramado bahopragaro
 [ñadav]. [kame]ṣu a [pa] .[o] va ja ḥa aprama // +
 Aa2. + + //? vuca[d]. ? + ? da cito na d[o] ? ri a [ṣ]. ? [go] aprama[to]
 viharadi · apramado aśukra[ṇa dhama] // +
 Aa3. + //? a ri ca ḥa + + ? ḥa · apramado vuc[a]d[i] ma g. ? ca · a ? da ga
 r[o] d[a] · apramado · yasa vu[ca] // +
 Aa4. + + //? ? ? ? ? ? + + + + + + + + + + ? [t]. [do a]. [v]. [di] // + + +
 + + + + + + + +

Reconstruction:

[Aa1] **apramata spadivata** sutro tatra ḥideśo apramado bahopragaro
 ñadav(*o) kameṣu a pa .o va ja ḥa aprama(*do) [Aa2] + + ? vucad(*i) ? + ?
 da cito na do ? ri a ḥ. ? go apramato viharadi · apramado aśukraṇa
 dhama(*ṇa) [Aa3] + a ri ca ḥa + + ? ḥa · apramado vucadi ma g. ? ca · a ?
 da ga ro da · apramado · yasa vuca(*di) [Aa4] + + ? ? ? ? ? ? + + + + +
 + + + + ? t. do a. v. di + + + + + + + + + + +

Translation:

[Aa1] **Diligent, mindful** is the text. The explanation on it: Diligence should be known as of many kinds: in respect to desires + + + + + + + + [Aa2] + + is said. + + + + + + + + + abides diligent. Diligence of the dharmas that are not bright [Aa3] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + is said + + +

+++++ + + + + + As is said [Aa4] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Line Aa1. *aprāmado bahopragaro [ñadav](*)o*: The main topic of this verse is diligence (*aprāmada*-). The commentary informs us that there are many kinds of diligence, but unfortunately the following lines are too damaged to say which those are held to be. The noun *aprāmada*- or the adjective *aprāmata*- are used five more times in the extant portion of this section. In only three of these cases is it clear what position the term occupies within its sentence. In line 9·Aa2, *aprāma[to]* together with following *viharadi* and possibly one or more preceding words forms part of a formula describing the ideal state of a monk or buddha that is attested in three variants in Pali: (1) simple *appamatto ātāpī pahitattā viharati* (or grammatical permutations thereof); (2) *sato sampajāno appamatto ātāpī pahitattā viharati*; and (3) *eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitattā viharati*. The third of these variants is used in the Pali Niddesa's stereotyped explanation of the word *eka*- occurring at Nidd I 455.12–17 (on Sn 956), II 192.4–7 (on Sn 1136), and II 210.19–21 (on Sn 35): *katham bhagavā (so pacceka-buddho) tanhāya pahānatthena eko? so evam eko adutiyo appamatto ātāpī pahitatto viharanto najjā nerañjarāya tīre bodhirukkhamūle mahāpadhānam padahanto māram sasenam kāñham namucim pamattabandhum vidhamitvā tanhājalinim visatam visattikam pajahi vinodesi byantākāsi anabhāvam gamesi*. Within this stereotyped passage, the *appamatta*- formula is immediately followed by a pair of verses that are also explained in our commentary: *tanhādutiyo puriso* (section 28 of our text) and *etam ādīnavam ñatvā* (section 24). The term binding all three textual building blocks together, and possibly also providing the aspect of *aprāmada*- discussed at this point in our commentary, is *tanhā*- ‘craving.’ The following occurrence of *aprāmada*- in our commentary starts its own sentence (beginning *aprāmado aśukra[na dhama](*)na*, line 9·Aa2) and concerns diligence with respect to non-bright dharmas. The second occurrence of *aprāmada*- in line 9·Aa3 concludes its sentence, but what the statement of this sentence was remains

unclear. The remaining two instances in this passage (at the end of line 9.Aa1 and near the beginning of line 9.Aa3) occur in unclear positions within their sentences.

Line Aa3. *yasa vu[ca](*di)*: This is the usual formula introducing a canonical quotation in our text (§ 1.2.1). Unfortunately, this quotation is lost.

Transcription:

Ca1. //|C| + + + + + + + + + + ? ? //|

Ca2. //|C| d[i] ūa [nō] ? ? ? [vo] · bhuda k. .[i] tasa ? //|

Ca3. //|C| n. [ri] bh. [t]. ? ? ? ? //|

Da1. //|D| bhagavado tasagadasa ? ? ? ? [b]u[dha] ? ? //|

Da2. //|D| [sa] ūa[sto devamanu] ūa budh[o] ? //|

Da3. //|D| ? ? //|

Reconstruction:

[Ca1] ... + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ... [Ca2] ... di ſa no ? ? ? vo · bhudak(*od)i
tasa ? ... [Ca3] ... n. ri bh. t. ? ? ? ? ...

[Da1] ... bhagavado tasagadasa ? ? ? ? budha ? ? ... [Da2] ... sa ſasto
devamanuſana budho ? ... [Da3] ... ? ? ...

Translation:

[Ca1] ... + + + + + + + + + + + + [Ca2] ... + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ ... [Ca3] ... + + + + + + +
[Da1] ... of the blessed one, the tathāgata + + + + + + + ... [Da2] ... + the
teacher of gods and men, the enlightened one + ... [Da3] ... + + ...

Text notes:

Line Ca2: *bhudak(*ođ)[i]*: This term also occurs in lines 9:191 (see the discussion there) and 13:65.

Lines Da1–2: *bhagavado tasagadasa ? ? ? ? [b]u[dha] ? ? ... [sa] śa[sto deva-manu]śāṇa budh[o] ?:* This string of epithets is reminiscent of the beginning of the Description of the Path formula that is drawn on elsewhere in our commentary (line 18.15): *idha tathāgato loke uppajjati arahāṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaranāsampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā* (e.g., MN I 178.37–179.3), but differs in two details: the string of epithets in our text starts off with *bhagavant-* which does not occur until the very end of the Pali formula, and the case in which the epithets are given appears to switch from the genitive in line 9.Da1 to the direct case in line 9.Da2. The space between these preserved portions does, however correspond quite neatly to the expected words *vijacaranāsapanaṇa sugatasa logavidusa anutarasa puruṣadamasarasa* (26 syllables, or less if the switch to the direct case occurs before this). It is possible that the beginning of the string of epithets represents a quotation which is then completed by the commentary based on the Description of the Path formula, explaining the switch of case.

Transcription:

Eb1. //|^E ḥ[u] dha [vo] samasikadho ?' ///

Eb2. //|^E + + + + + + + + + + ḥ. ḥa ? ? ///

Fb1. /// ? [yo] ? ? ///

Fb2. /// ? ? ? ? ///

Reconstruction:

[Eb1] ... ḥu dha vo samasikadho ? ... [Eb2] + + + + + + + + + + ḥ. ḥa ? ? ...

[Fb1] ... ? yo ? ? ... [Fb2] ... ? ? ? ? ...

Translation:

[Eb1] ... + + + the concentration category + ... [Eb2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ...

[Fb1] ... + + + + ... [Fb2] ... + + + + ...

Text notes:

Line Eb1. *samasikadho*: This is the only intelligible word on the verso of scroll fragment 7. It is possible but not certain that it formed part of a categorial reduction to the Three Categories (§ 1.2.2).

7.2. Scroll 9

2 (Lines 9.Br1–Br6)

The extant portion of this section is not substantial enough to establish its root verse, the number of runs it originally contained, or the number of runs that are preserved.

Transcription:

Br2. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + a [p].[ha]ṇa [maŋ]. · kamavataṇi
[s]. ? ? // + + + + +

| B
Br3. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [r]i [ca] · dṛiṭhicari ca ? ? [sa]
dṛiṭhiśari · ye [vi] ? +

| B
Br4. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .[i n̤]. ? [bhava]na drigho
sasaro ? ? ? [n̤]. + +

Br5. + ? so a[r]a bhado [u]calido
[pokh].[l].[dia] pra[vj]th[ø]

th. .o /// + + +

Reconstruction:

Text notes:

Line Br2. *[p](*)[aha]na [man]*. · *kamavatañi*: If the reading *[p](*)[aha]na* is correct, then it will form the second part of a compound and be part of an explanation. This is somewhat problematic because *kamavatañi* is quite certainly part of a categorial reduction (§ 1.2.2), which would leave the string *[man]*. as an exceptionally short quotation from the root verse.

Line Br3. (*taśaca)[r]ji [ca] · drīthicari ca: These forms are apparently used in place of the usual *taśacarida*- (line 13.22) and **drīthicarida*- (but cf. also *ditthīsārī* Sn 911). In Pali literature, the terms *tanhācarita*- and *ditthīcarita*- are peculiar to the Peṭakopadesa and Nettippakaraṇa and commentarial works based on them; in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, they are used frequently in the Abhidharmakośabhbāṣya, but *drsticarita*- also occurs at BBh 152.

Line Br3. *driθisari*: This is probably a misspelling based on misreading *driθiyari* (= *driθicāri*) in the orthography of a source manuscript. For the inverse misspelling, based on the same kind of source orthography, cf. *paracaria-* from *parayaria-* instead of *paraśaria-* (line 9.95).

Line Br4. [*bhava*]na: It is possible but by no means certain that this term formed part of a categorial reduction to the Four Planes (§ 1.2.2).

drigho sasaro: This is the most likely piece of root-verse quotation within the preserved portion of this section. It may represent an abbreviation of a pāda

coresponding to the second pāda of Sn 740ab *tañhādutiyo puriso dīgham addhāna saṃsaraṇ* (the partial Pali parallel of verse 28).

Line Br5. *[u]calido [pokh].[l].[dia] pra[vi]ṭh[o]*: The first word is probably the past participle of *u + √cal* ‘go out.’ The second word appears to be an unexpected reference to the Gandhāran city of Puṣkalāvatī. In principle, this could either be the locative singular of the name of the city itself, or the direct-case singular of *pokhaladia-* ‘inhabitant of Puṣkalāvatī.’ The verb *pra + √viś* ‘enter’ usually takes a direct-case object (not locative) of destination, so the latter interpretation as a direct-case subject referring to an inhabitant seems more likely. The phrase *(*po)[kh].l.dia p(*r)avīth.* occurs again in the following line.

Line Br6. *ev. a. + + d. th. .o*: This could tentatively be reconstructed as *ev[a e](*va) d(*re)ṭh[av]o* ‘just this way it should be seen.’

3 (Lines 9-1–6)

This section explains a verse from an uncertain immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|--|
| <i>(*dato damaïda)</i> | <i>'śreṭha'</i> | Tamed, best among those who tame. |
| <i>'tiṇo'</i> | <i>'taraïda'</i> | Crossed over, choice among those who cross |
| <i>'muto'</i> | <i>'moya(*i)da'</i> | over. |
| <i>'śato'</i> | <i>'śamaïda'</i> | Liberated, top among those who liberate. |
| | <i>'iṣi'</i> | Calm, seer among those who calm. |

The preserved portion of this section consists of two runs of the commentary. In a procedure that is unique for our commentary, the first run bundles the first, second and third words of each pāda into four groups that are then each equated with one of a set of categories. The analysis of the second run of the commentary is attributed to ‘some’ (*ke yi*) and performs categorial reduction of each pāda of the verse (referred to by their first words) to the Four Noble Truths by way of the Three Courses. The overall pattern of reductions in this section is thus as follows:

| | 1: 9:1–3 | 2: 9:3–6
(ke yi) | |
|------------|--|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (*dato) | ... | (*kamado) | (*nirosasaksia-,
magabhavaṇa-) |
| (*damaïda) | ... | | |
| śreṭha | vriṣavida-,
daśabalada-,
caduveharajada- | | |
| tiṇo | vimutida- | kileśado | samudeaprahaṇa- |
| taraïda | pradiṭhaveda- | | |
| varo | vriṣavida-,
daśabalada-,
caduveharajada- | | |
| muto | vimutida- | dukhado | dukhapariṇa- |
| moya(*i)da | pradiṭhaveda- | | |
| agro | vriṣavida-,
daśabalada-,
caduveharajada- | | |
| śato | vimutida | (*kamado) | (*nirosasakṣia-,
magabhavaṇa-) |
| śamaïda | pradiṭhaveda | | |
| iṣi | vriṣavida-,
daśabalada-,
caduveharajada- | | |

The Pali Itivuttaka and Aṅguttaranikāya parallels of this verse are explained in identical passages at It-a II 193.5–6 and Mp III 34.13–14.

Transcription:

1. |^A |^D
 no · muto [· śato · vimu]tida · taraïda · [moya] + [da] ? ? ? // +
2. A |^D
 ? [sa īda] · śamaïda · pradiṭha[veda ·] agro śreṭh[a] · varo [iṣi]
3. |^D
 [vriṣa]vida · daśabalada ca · caduveharajada ca · ...

Reconstruction:

(*ti)[1]no · muto · śato · vimutida · taraïda · moya(*i)da ? ? ? + [2] ? saïda ·
śamaïda · pradiṭhaveda · agro śreṭha · varo iṣi [3] vriṣavida · daśabalada ca ·

caduveharajada ca .

Translation:

[1] Crossed over, liberated, calm: the state of liberation. Among those who cross over, among those who liberate + + + [2] + + + + among those who calm: the state of having established oneself. Top, best, choice, seer: [3] mastery and the state of possessing the ten powers and the state of possessing the four confidences.

Text notes:

Line 1. [Vimū]tida: This word occurs only once in Pali, in the expression *yāva vimuttitam iti nāñadassanam bhavati* Pet 111. Cf. § 1.2.2.

Lines 1–2: ? ? ? + ? [saïda]: This portion should contain both the quotation *damaïda* and an equation with *uîhaveda*, but the preserved traces of akṣaras do not agree with this reading. Since the first word of pāda a is not preserved either, it is conceivable that the Gāndhārī version of this pāda differed from the Pali in its lexical choice, and just possibly it had *budho* and *bosaïda* in place of P *danto* and *damayatam*.

Transcription:

3. ... ke

4. [yi pu]ño [vija]teti · sacešu tiño · kilešado [·]

5. aya samudeaprahaño · mu to dkhado · aya dukhapariña · due
thida[ga]

6. + + + + // ...

Reconstruction:

ke [4] yi puño vijateti · sacešu **tiño** · kilešado · [5] aya samudeaprahaño ·
muto dukhado · aya dukhapariña · due thidaga [6] + + + + (*❀)

Translation:

[4] Then again, some untangle according to the truths: **Crossed over** from defilement; [5] this is abandoning of the origin. **Liberated** from pain; this is the diagnosis of pain. The remaining two [6] + + + .

Text notes:

Lines 3–4: *ke [yi pu]ño [vija]teti saceṣu*: For other references to *ke yi*, see § 1.2.2. The orthographic shape of *[vija]teti* (instead of expected **vijadeti*) indicates that this technical term is a loanword from another dialect that had preserved word-medial short uncombined plosives. The form *saceṣu* is an instance of a locative instead of an expected instrumental (*sacehi*), presumably due to a merger of these two forms in the source dialect.

Lines 4–5. *kileśado ... dukhado ... (*kamado)*: The announced categorial reduction to the Four Truths is here performed with the Three Courses as an intermediate step (§ 1.2.2).

Line 5. *due thida[ga]*: This refers to the remaining two pādas, i.e., pādas a and b. For this kind of reference cf. *[trae] thidaga* 9.127.

4 (Lines 9.6–20)

This section explains a verse with uncertain immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (see chapter § 8.2):

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>kameṣaṇa bhaveṣaṇa</i> | Searching for sense-pleasure, searching for |
| <i>bra(*maīyeṣaṇa saha)</i> | existence, |
| <i>idisacaabhimano</i> | (*together with) searching for religious practice |
| <i>driṭhiṭaṇ(*a samuśraya)</i> | is a conceit that such is the truth,
(*the accumulation of?) positions of view. |

The end of this section is obscured, and many passages in the middle are obscured or illegible, complicating the interpretation of the text. The visible portion contains two runs of the commentary, but it is possible that these were followed by a

third run. The first run enumerates two types each of searching for sense-pleasure (*kameśāna-*) and searching for existence (*bhaveśāna-*). It appears to be the case that searching for existence alone is equated with search for what is felt (*vedaīdapayithi-*). It is then contrasted with searching for religious practice, which is equated with search for calm of what is felt (*vedaīdaūśamapayithi-*) and which itself has two types. The conceit that such is the truth (*idisacaabhimāna-*) is related to searching for existence and consists in lack of proper understanding of the Five Categories. When the impermanence of the Five Categories is understood, this will result in calm of what is felt (and by implication in the cessation of rebirth). The three kinds of searching of the root verse are thus explained in a way that corresponds to the three kinds of craving (P *kāmatañhā-*, *bhavatañhā-* and, apparently, *vibhavatañhā-*; DN III 216.1–2, Frauwallner 1953–56: 195–196), while the explanation of the second half of the verse concerns ignorance (*avija-*). This interpretation is confirmed by the second run of the commentary, which explicitly equates the first half of the verse with craving (*taṣa-*) and the second half with the Floods (*oha-*; without enumerating them). Since two of the floods are the Flood of Desire and the Flood of Existence, there is a certain overlap in the assignments of the second run.

| | 1: 9.6–15 | 2: 9.15–? (sakṣeva) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| <i>kameśāna bhaveśāna</i> | | |
| <i>bra(*maīyeśāna saha)</i> | craving | <i>taṣae prahāṇa-</i> |
| <i>idisacaabhimāno</i> | | |
| <i>driṭhiṭā>(*a samuśraya)</i> | ignorance | <i>ohaṇa prahāṇa-</i> |

The Pali Itivuttaka parallel of this verse is explained at It-a II 16, and its Aṅguttaranikāya parallel at Mp III 81.12–22.

Transcription:

|
E
6. ... /// [ka]meśāna [·] bhaveśāna · sutro tatra ḥideśo kameśāna dupraga

ñadava · [ya]sa [y].

7. + + + + + + + |E //? ekaca[khu du]cakh[u] ca · bhaveṣaṇa dupragara
ñā[da]va · yasa jaṇeṣu · ? // +
8. + + + + + + + |E // ga[r]. // + // [ca] · añaṣu ? ta pragara hi · aya tava ·
vedaīda[pa]yi[ṭhi] // + +
9. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + |E //? [ka] ca · yasa puṇo
vedaīda·uaśamapayiṭhi · ta [a]ha [bra] // + + +
10. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + |E //? ? [ge] + + + + ? [vedai]daüaśamo [·
e]ṣa [vi] dupra[ga] // + +
11. + |E //? + ? + ? ? + + ?
+ ? ? // + + +
12. + + + + + + + |H //? ? [maṇ]. ? [n]. + [disaca]abhi[ma]ṇ[o] ? [s].
[kadeṇa · a s]. [v]. ? ? ? // + + + +
13. + + + + |H // parasta ga [se]k[a]deṇa · payeṣadi · t[e] atra ye[va] ·
bhaveṣaṇae vatava · ua[ga]
14. + + + + |H //? mula s[a] ma ṣ[e] ḡa · pacā kadha udeastagama[d]o
p[a]śidava eva [veda]i[da u] +
15. |H [śama]ti [·] tasa [aya ga]ṇaṇa · ...

Reconstruction:

kameṣaṇa · **bhaveṣaṇa** · sutro tatra ḡideśo **kameṣaṇa** dupraga<*ra> ñadava ·
yasa y. [7] + + + + + + ? ekacakhu ducakhu ca · **bhaveṣaṇa** dupragara
ñadava · yasa jaṇeṣu · ? + [8] + + + + + (*pra)gar. + ca · añaṣu ? ta pragara
hi · aya tava · vedaīdapayiṭhi + + [9] + + + + + + + + + + + ? ka ca · yasa
puṇo vedaīda·uaśamapayiṭhi · ta aha **bra**(*maïye)[10](*ṣaṇa) + + + + +

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 7: *ekaca[khu du]cakh[u] ca*: The Andha sutta (AN I 128–130; cf. Dietz 2002) is a teaching on these three types of beings: blind (*andha-*), one-eyed (*ekacakkhu-*) and two-eyed (*dvicakkhu-*). The Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary (SaṅgCm-G) also uses these types (or rather suggests using these types) in its explanation of the Three Classes (*raśi-*): *trihi pugaleh(*i) hatava amdhena eka[caku](*na ducakhuna)*.

Line 8. + (**pra*)*ga[r]*. + [ca]: This could be reconstructed further as (**dupra*)*ga[ra](*da)* [ca], but it is not clear whether the context calls for it.

añeṣu ? ta pragara hi: The akṣara *hi* seems to be corrected from *a* or *i*. A possible reconstruction for this string is *añeṣu [vi] d<*u>pragara hi* ‘because among other (items), too, there are those that are of two kinds’ (cf. [*e*]ṣa [vi] *dupra[ga](*ra)* 9.10).

Lines 9–10: *yasa ... ta [a]ha [bra](*maẏeṣāṇa)*: The end of this clause can either be reconstructed thus and translated as above, with direct quotation from pāda b of the root verse. Alternatively, *yasa* could be taken as the genitive singular of the relative pronoun correlating with accusative singular *ta* in *ta [a]ha [bra](*mayari)* ‘of whom there is ... that one they call a religious practitioner,’ with indirect reference to pāda b of the root verse.

Lines 10–11. [*e*]ṣa [vi] *dupra[ga](*ra)* + + +: A likely further reconstruction of this clause is [*e*]ṣa [vi] *dupra[ga](*ra)* + + + (cf. *kameṣāṇa dupraga<*ra>* ñadava 9.6 and *bhaveṣāṇa dupragara ña[da]va* 9.7).

Line 12. <**i*>[*disaca*]abhi[*ma*]ñ[o]: The Pali parallel of our root verse has *itisaccaparāmāso* in this place. A closely related term is listed as one of the Four Knots in the various versions of the Saṅgītisūtra (Gāndhārī *i-disacavhiniveśa-* SaṅgCm-G, Pali *idamsaccābhinivesa-* DN III 230.18–20, Sanskrit *idaṁsatyābhi-niveśaparāmarśa-* SWTF s.v.). The regular Pali form is also used in Peṭ and Nett, and the specific compound of our root text is not attested elsewhere. On the Pali equivalent and other syntactical compounds of this type see Norman 1991b.

[*a s*]. [*v*].: Possibly [*asa va*], introducing an alternative interpretation.

Line 13. *bhaveṣāṇae vatava*: Alternatively but less likely, this phrase could be segmented *bhaveṣāṇa eva tava* ‘only searching for existence (has) so far (been discussed).’

Line 14. *mula s[a] ma ṣ[e] ña*: Possibly *mulas[a]mas[e]ña* or *mulas[a]-m<*o>s[e]ña* ‘through confusion of the roots’ (cf. the note on *asaprakha<*n-a>yadañado* 13.85).

paca kadha udeastagama[d]o p[a]śidava: The akṣara *[d]o* has been corrected

from *no*. With this expression cf. *pa[ca ua]danakadha · udeastagamado · pari-an[i]dava* 9.81–82 and *[paca kadha udea]stagamado ñada* 9.215; cf. further *kin tv aham pañcasu upādānaskandhesu samudayāstamgamān paśyī viharisyam* Mvu III 53.

Line 15. *tasa* [*aya ga]nāṇa*]: The word *tasa* could in principle either be the adverb ‘thus’ (OIA *tathā*) or the genitive singular of the demonstrative pronoun (OIA *tasya*). With this expression compare ?[*o*] ? ? ? [*pakṣa]sa · ga]nāṇa krida* in line 13:21.

savatrina: See § 5.2.3 for the compounding of *sava-* and *tri-*.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

$\dots [20] \dots (*\circ\circ)$

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 15. *prahana[e] · sap[rayoa]*. ?: The most likely reconstruction is *prahana[e] · sap[rayoedi]* ‘he applies (the verse) to abandoning,’ cf. *a sa pu na · kilešana · na prayoeti* in line 9-64.

Uddāna (Lines 9.20–21)

Transcription:

20. ... + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Reconstruction:

(*udanagasa ·)

++ + + + + + + (*.) ++ [21] + + + + + + (*.)
+ + + + + + + ? (*.) + ? + ka(*me)sana ca ☹

Text notes:

Line 20–21. This is the first of two preserved uddānas for our manuscript; the other one occurs in line 9.111–112 (§ 1.5). Most of the text of this uddāna is obscured. The foot at the end of pāda c is not likely to belong to *dato* or *śato*, but it could belong to *tino* or, if the root verse differed from its Pali parallel (cf. note on

lines 1–2), to *budho*.

*[ka](*me)[ṣaṇa]*: The usual pattern is for the first word or phrase of a verse to be used for reference, suggesting this reconstruction. Part of the foot of an akṣara may be visible in second position, suggesting an alternative reconstruction *[bhavēṣaṇa]*, but it remains uncertain whether the shadow in question is in fact ink.

5 (Lines 9:21–37)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| vahita pavaga dhama | (*Who) warding off evil dharmas |
| (*yo caradi) sada spado | (*moves about) always mindful, |
| kṣiṇasayoyaṇa budho | with fetters exhausted, enlightened, |
| (*so ve logaspi) bramaṇo | (*that one indeed is in the world) a brahman. |

There are eight runs of the commentary. The first of these both provides general explanation and establishes a connection between pāda a and the Sources hate (*doṣa-*) and lust (*raga-*), and between pāda b and the Source delusion (expressed as *añāna-* ‘unknowing’). The second run performs a brief categorial reduction to the Three Sources, with a different assignment to pādas, and relates the word *budha-* in pāda c to the path (*maga-*) and to cessation (*nirosa-*). The third run performs categorial reduction to three of the Five States, and the fourth to the Three Categories (with two alternative pāda assignments), relating the word *kṣiṇasayoyaṇa-* in pāda c to the outcome (*nisada-*). The fifth run provides yet another alternative pāda assignment of the Three Sources. The sixth run performs categorial reduction to the Four Truths, apparently adding that the verse could also be applied to the truths of another teacher. The seventh run performs categorial reduction to the Three Courses, and the eighth to the Four Barbs.

| | 1: 9.21–26 | 2: 9.26–28 | 3: 9.28
(asa va) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| vahita pavaga dhama | <i>doṣa-</i> , <i>raga-</i> | <i>doṣaprahāṇa-</i> | <i>vimutida-</i> |
| (*yo caradi) sada spado | <i>añāṇa-</i> | <i>mohaprahāṇa-</i> | |
| kṣīṇasayoyaṇa | | <i>ragaprahāṇa-</i> | |
| budho | | <i>maga-</i> , <i>nirosa-</i> | <i>ñāṇida-</i> , <i>vriṣavida-</i> |
| (*so ve logaspi)
bramāṇo | | | |

| | 4: 9.29–30
(avare) | (asa va) | 5: 9.30–31
(asa va) |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| vahita pavaga dhama | <i>śilakadha-</i> | | <i>savatrinā niḍanāṇa prahāṇa-</i> |
| (*yo caradi) sada spado | <i>samasikadha-</i> | <i>samasi-</i> , <i>prañā-</i> | |
| kṣīṇasayoyaṇa | <i>niṣada-</i> | | |
| budho | <i>prañakadha-</i> | | |
| (*so ve logaspi)
bramāṇo | | | |

| | 6: 9.31–34
(avare) | 7: 9.34–36
(asa va) | 8: 9.36–37
(asa va) |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|
| vahita pavaga dhama | <i>dukhapariṇa-</i> ,
<i>samudagaprahāṇa-</i> | <i>dukhavaṭacheda-</i> | <i>doṣaśalasa prahāṇa-</i> |
| (*yo caradi) sada spado | <i>maga-</i> | <i>kamavaṭacheda-</i> | <i>driṭhiśalasa,</i>
<i>manaśalasa</i> |
| kṣīṇasayoyaṇa | <i>nirosa-</i> | <i>kileśavaṭacheda-</i> | <i>ragaśalasa prahāṇa-</i> |
| budho | | | |
| (*so ve logaspi)
bramāṇo | | | |

The uddāna entry for this verse is [*vahitva*] (line 9.111). – The Pali Udāna parallel of this verse is explained at Ud-a 58, and the Sanskrit Udāna parallel at Ud-v 967; parallels of pādas b–d are also explained at Ud-v 1019, and of pāda d at Ud-v 1018, 1021 and 1022. This verse is used for illustration in Nett 150.12–15.

Transcription:

- |^H
21. [vah]. + [pava] /// +
- |^H
22. + + + + + + // [nidešo] sakil[e]śo pavago asimatro [ya] ḡa dośo pa ? ?
? [i] doṣaprayoami · sa ?
- |^H
23. + + + // ? [a]. saña kri[da] ḡa [hi] ragaprayoami · sada spado ·
aṇucava[ga v]iśramida daśida [·] aña[ṅa]
- |^H
24. [p]r[ah]. + [tva ·] sadu[at]jidaspadi · caduśu atvabh[a]vavastuśu · avi ?
? ? ? · kṣin[a]sayo + ḡa
- |^H
25. b[u]dh[a] + + ? ? ? da · arieṇa āṇeṇa · agre ḡa ma sa[tvo] grahi[da] ·
v]utar[u]a ḡava]ga ·
- |^H
26. + // [ce]asabudha · bramaṇ[o] · [savaki]leśa·prah[i]ṇatva · sa [va] sa
[ṅa] sa · kṣevida · ...

Reconstruction:

vah(*ita) pava(*ga) [22] (***dharma** sutro tatra) nidešo sakileśo **pavago** asi-matro ya ḡa dośo pa ? ? ? i doṣaprayoami · sa ? [23] + + + ? a. saña krida ḡa hi ragaprayoami · **sada spado** · aṇucavaga viśramida daśida · aña[ṅa][24]prah(*īna)tva · saduaṭidaspadi · caduśu atvabhavavastuśu · avi ? ? ? · **kṣinā-sayo(*ya)ṅa** [25] **budha** + + ? ? ? da · arieṇa āṇeṇa · agre ḡa ma satvo grahida · vutarua ḡava]ga · [26](*pra)ceasabudha · **bramaṇo** · savakileśa·prahinatva · sa va sa ḡa sa · kṣevida ·

Translation:

Warding off evil (***dharma**s is the text). The explanation (*on it): Defilement is evil. Excessive + + + + + + + + in the application of hate. + + [23] + + + + + + + + + + in the application of lust. **Always mindful**: an unvarying state of resting(?) is shown. [24] Because of unknowing being abandoned, his mindfulness is always present in regard to the four matters(?)

of selfhood + + + + With fetters exhausted, [25] enlightened: by noble knowing + + + + + is taken. Those who have the form mentioned are disciple [26] and condition enlightened ones. **Brahman:** because of all defilements being abandoned + + + + is made to be exhausted.

Text notes:

Line 21. *[vah]/(*ita)*: The spelling of this word suggests that in Gāndhārī it was taken to be a form of the causative of *vah* (rather than a deadverbal from *bahi* as by the traditional Pali etymology), and it seems likely that this is in fact its historical origin. The Pali Niddesa lists seven dharmas warded off by a brahman: *sakkāyaditthi-*, *vicikicchā-*, *sīlabbataparāmāsa-*, *rāga-*, *dosa-*, *moha-* and *māna-* (Stede 1918: 214, 220).

*[pava]/(*ga)*: The akṣaras *[pa]* and *[va]* are separated by a knot hole in the bark.

Line 22. *asimattro [ya] na doṣo*: Cf. *asimattro ? na doṣo* in line 9.124.

Line 23: *[v]iśramida*: The interpretation of this word remains quite uncertain; a chip covers the lower part of *śra*.

Line 24. *sadu[at]idaspadi*: This term is attested twice in Pali (*sadāupaṭṭhitasatitā* It-a II 56.28, Kh-a 34.18) and once in Buddhist Sanskrit (*sadopasthitasmṛtitā* BBh(D) 279).

atvabh[a]vavastuṣu: This term also occurs in the Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary in the section on the Four Nutriments (*ahara-*): *ca(*du)na atvabhava-vastuṇa*. Outside the Gāndhārī tradition, it is only attested in the Peṭakopadesa and the Nettippakaraṇa, where it is explained in two slightly different ways. The Peṭakopadesa reduces the Five Categories to the Four Matters of Selfhood (listed as *kāya-*, *vedanā-*, *dhammā* and *citta-*) and these in turn give rise to the Four Perversions (*vipallāsa-*) which are removed by the Four Foundations of Mindfulness (*sati-paṭṭhāna-*).⁵² The Nettippakaraṇa likewise explains the Four Matters of Selfhood as

⁵²Pet 121: *tattha pañcakkhandhā cattāri attabhāvavatthūni bhavanti. yo rūpakkhandho so kāyo attabhāvavatthu, yo vedanakkhandho so vedanā attabhāvavatthu, yo saññākkhandho ca sañkhārakkhando ca* (following Nānamoli 1964: 166) *te dhammā attabhāvavatthu, yo viññānakkhandho so cittam attabhāvavatthu. iti pañcakkhandhā cattāri attabhāvavatthūni. tattha kāye asubhe subham iti vipallāso*

the topics of the Four Perversions, but lists them as *rūpa-*, *saññā-*, *sankhārā* and *viññāṇa-*.⁵³ Our text agrees with the Peṭakopadesa in drawing a connection from the Four Foundations of Mindfulness to the Four Matters of Selfhood.

avi ? ? ? ?: Considering the explanations of Peṭ and Nett, this is quite possibly a reference to absence of the Four Perversions (which are not otherwise mentioned in our text, but occur as *vivalasa-* in the above-mentioned Four Nutriments section of SaṅgCm-G). A likely reconstruction would be *avi[valasido]* ‘not subject to the Perversions.’

Line 25. *agre ḥa ma sa[tvo] grahi[da]:* It remains unclear how to divide and understand the words of this clause. The first word could be a locative *agre* (OIA *agre*) ‘in the beginning’ or an instrumental *agrena* (OIA *agrena*), in line with the preceding instrumental forms). The akṣara *ḥa* could also be the negative particle (OIA *na*) or part of the emphatic adverb *ḥama* (OIA *nāma*). The last word before the clear verb form appears to be the accusative *sa[tvo]* (OIA *sattvam*), unless it is part of an abstract-noun formation *masa[tvo]* (OIA *māṃsatvam*) ‘physicality.’

Line 25–26. *ś[ava]ga·(*pra)[ce]saabudha:* The Udānaṭṭhakathā’s explanation of this verse includes all three kinds of enlightened ones: *buddhā ti catusaccasambodhena buddhā, te ca pana sāvakabuddhā paccekabuddhā sammāsambuddhā ti tividhā* Ud-a 58.32–34. The Gāndhārī form *praceasabudha-* suggests an etymological connection with OIA *pratyaya-* rather than *pratyeka-* (the common Buddhist Sanskrit reinterpretation) or *prāpteya-* (von Hinüber 2001: § 248). The contrast would then be between those who achieve enlightenment by listening to others and those who achieve it due to other conditions (an interpretation that is semantically compatible with Norman and von Hinüber’s hypothetical **prāpteyabuddha-* “Buddha durch einen

bhavati. evam vedanācittadhammesu ca attavipallāso bhavati. tattha catunnām vipallāsānam samugghātanatthām bhagavā cattāro satipaṭṭhāne deseti paññapeti, kāye kāyānupassī viharato asubhe subham iti vipallāsam samugghāteti. evam vedanāsu citte dhammesu ca kātabbaṁ. (The Four Matters of Selfhood are mentioned again at Peṭ 224.)

⁵³Nett 85: *so kuhīṇ vipallāsayati? catūsu attabhāvavatthūsu. rūpaṇ attato samanupassati, rūpavantāṇ vā attānam, attani vā rūpaṇ, rūpasmiṇ vā attānam. evam vedanām | pe | saññām saṅkhāre viññāṇām attato samanupassati, viññāṇavantām vā attānam, attani vā viññāṇām, viññāṇasmiṇ vā attānam.*

glücklichen Zufall").

Line 26. *sa [va] sa [na] sa · kṣevida*: At this point, the function word *sakṣeva* would be expected to introduce the following run of categorial reductions, but in spite of the unclear string of akṣaras *sa [va] sa [na] sa* it does not seem possible to interpret *sa·kṣevida* as an alternative formulation for this.

Transcription:

26. vahita p[avaga]

27. + + //|^H [do] + prahaṇa · sada spad[o mo]haprahaṇ[a] · kṣināsayoyaṇa ·
ragaprahaṇa · budho maga ca

28. + + //|^H [sa ca] draśi[do ·] ...

Reconstruction:

vahita pavaga [27] (*dhama) do(*ṣa)prahaṇa · **sada spado** mohaprahaṇa ·
kṣināsayoyaṇa · ragaprahaṇa · **budho** maga ca [28] (*ñiro)sa ca draśido ·

Translation:

Warding off evil [27] (*dharmas): abandoning of hate. **Always mindful**: abandoning of delusion. **With fetters exhausted**: abandoning of lust. **Enlightened**: both the path [28] and cessation are shown.

Text notes:

See § 1.2.2 for categorial reduction to the Three Sources.

Transcription:

28. asa va ḥidaṇakṣa[ye]ṇa · vimutida · budheṇa · ḥanida ca · vriṣa-
vida [ca] +

Reconstruction:

asa va ḥidaṇakṣayeṇa · vimutida · **budheṇa** · ḥanida ca · vriṣavida ca (*.)

Translation:

Or otherwise: by exhaustion of the sources (is meant) the state of liberation.

By **enlightened** (is meant) both the state of a knower and mastery.

Text notes:

Line 28. *nidanakṣa[ye]na*: The akṣara *[ye]* is faintly visible in the infrared images. The parts of the verse are here reduced to the the higher three of the Five States (§ 1.2.2); the lower two States (*[u]ītha[ve]da-* and *pradītha[ve]da-*) are covered further on in an appendix to the sixth run in this section (line 9.34).

Transcription:

29. + //|
[vare vahi]ta pavaga dhama · śilakadho · sada spado
samasikadho · budho di prañaka[dh]. +

30. + + //|
sayoyanēna · ḡnisado · asa va sada spado · samasi ca · praña
ca · ...

Reconstruction:

[29] (*a)vare **vahita pavaga dhama** · śilakadho · **sada spado** samasikadho · **budho** di prañakadh(*o ·) [30] (***kṣīṇa**)sayoyanēna · ḡnisado · asa va **sada spado** · samasi ca · praña ca ·

Translation:

[29] Others: **Warding off evil dharmas**: the virtue category. **Always mindful**: the concentration category. **Enlightened**: the understanding category.

Text notes:

Line 29. *samasikadho*: An akṣara has been blotted out between the two parts of this compound. See § 1.2.2 for categorial reduction to the Three Categories.

budho di: This is the only place in our commentary that uses the particle *di* to mark quotation of part of a root verse.

Line 30. *ṅnisado*: The technical term *nissanda-* (also in lines 9.54, 72, 105) occurs

frequently in Peṭ as part of the set *hetu-*, *nissanda-* and *phala-*. In Mil it is used in reference to the outcomes of action, but is does not occur at all in Nett or Nidd.

Transcription:

30. asa va vahita pa[va] /// +
 31. + + /// [savatrinā] ḥi[da]ṇaṇa p.[ha]ṇa · teṣa prahinatva · sada
 spa [do] · ...
 |I |I+J

Reconstruction:

asa va **vahita pava(*ga)** [31] (*dhama) savatrinā ḥidaṇaṇa p(*r)ahaṇa · teṣa
 prahinatva · **sada spado** ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Warding off evil** [31] **dharmas**: abandoning of all three sources. Because of them being abandoned **always mindful**.

Text notes:

Line 31. *[savatrinā]*: See § 5.2.3 for the compounding of *sava-* and *tri-*.

Transcription:

31. a vare vahita pa[vaga] /// ++
 32. + + /// [pa]riñña c[a] · samudagaprahaṇa ca · sada spado mago ·
 kṣinasayoyaṇa · ḥiroso · ye
 33. ... ḥa caduhi saceh[i] · ḥaṇo purido · so budho · yasa v[u]cadi · abhiñeo ·
 abhiñado · [bha]vi[da]
 34. [va] ca · bhavido · ...
 |I+J |J |J

Reconstruction:

avare **vahita pavaga** (***dharma**) [32] (**dukha*)pariña ca · samudagaprahaṇa ca · **sada spado** mago · **kṣiṇasayoyāṇa** · ḥiroso · ye[33]na caduhi sacehi · ḥaṇo purido · so **budho** · yasa vucadi · abhiñeo · abhiñado · bhavida[34]va ca · bhavido · ...

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Warding off evil** [31] **dharmas**: abandoning of all three sources. Because of them being abandoned **always mindful**. Others: **Warding off evil** (***dharmas**): [32] both the diagnosis (*of pain) and abandoning of the origin. **Always mindful**: the path. **With fetters exhausted**: cessation. [33] Who has filled knowing with the four truths, that one is **enlightened**. As is said: “What should be recognized is recognized [34] and what should be developed is developed.”

Text notes:

Line 32. (**dukha*)[*pa*]riñā c[a]: The last akṣara looks almost like *[do]*. It is possible that contrary to the usual pattern the scribe wrote (**dukho*) [*pa*]riñā[*do*] · *samudagaprahaṇa* ca ‘pain has been diagnosed and the abandoning of its origin,’ but more likely that he just made a wrong start on *c[a]*. See § 1.2.2 for categorial reduction to the Four Truths.

Lines 33–34. *abhiñeo* · *abhiñado* · [*bha*]vi[dava] ca · *bhavido*: This quotation consists of pādas a and b of a well-known canonical verse that in Pali occurs in the Selasutta of the Suttanipāta (Sn 558), the Theragāthā (Th 828, attributed to the elder Sela) and the Brahmāyusutta and Selasutta of the Majjhimanikāya (MN II 143.29–30, 146): *abhiññeyyam abhiññātām bhāvetabbañ ca bhāvitām pahātabbam pahīnam metasmā buddhosmi brāhmaṇa*. It is evidently being quoted here in our commentary because it provides a well-known expression of what it means to be enlightened, the verbal connection being provided by *budho* of the root verse and the unquoted pāda d of the *abhiñeo* verse. It was the same combination of epitomizing enlightenment and details of wording that caused its inclusion in the Gāndhārī Dhoṇa sutra (EĀ-G 19–20) where it shares pāda d with the immediately preceding verse: *taśpi budho mi*

bramana (see Allon 2001: 183–189, also for an exhaustive list of Pali and Sanskrit parallels and quotations of this verse, and Skilling 1997: 126–129 for inscriptional occurrences).

Transcription:

|
34. ... asa va · añasa śa[st]uga[ra]ga·saceṣu · [u]ṭha[ve]da ca ·
pradiṭha[ve]da ca · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va · añasa śastugaraga·saceṣu · uṭhaveda ca · pradiṭhaveda ca ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: both the state of having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself of somebody else in the truths that make a teacher.

Text notes:

Line 34. *añasa śa[st]uga[ra]ga·saceṣu*: The first word could in principle also be interpreted as OIA *anyathā*, but the genitive of the pronominal adjective (OIA *anyasya*) seems more likely. The expression *śastugaragasa-* remains somewhat cryptic, but occurs again in section 7 (*śastugaraga nāda[va saca] ca* 953) in the explanation of a root-verse appeal to the Buddha to teach the truth (*yasatacha-*). Since knowledge of the Four Truths constitutes the essence of a buddha, it seems a good first approach to take *śastugaragasa-* in general as ‘truth that makes a teacher,’ and *añasa śa[st]uga[ra]ga·saca-* in this line as reference to the inferior truths of another teacher. There does not appear to be any direct connection with the Pali compound *satthusāsanakāraka-* ‘who practise the teaching of the teacher’ Pet 53.

Line 34. *[u]ṭha[ve]da ca · pradiṭha[ve]da ca*: In place of a regular *u* mātrā, the first akṣara of the first word has a short vertical line that is not otherwise attached to the base sign. – These are the lower two of the Five States (§ 1.2.2). The third run in this section (line 9.28) already performed reduction to the higher three of the Five States (*vimutida-*, *nānida-* and *vriṣavida-*). The implication may be that the two lower

States are also accessible to followers of other teachers, but the three higher States are reserved to those practising the Buddha's teaching.

Transcription:

34. ... [a]
35. |
sa va va[hita] + [va]ga dhama · dukhavaṭachedo · sada spado ·
kamavaṭachedo · kṣiṇasayoyāna · ki[l].
36. |
[śavaṭa]chedo · ...

Reconstruction:

a[35]sa va **vahita** (*pa)vaga **dhama** · dukhavaṭachedo · **sada spado** · kama-
vaṭachedo · **kṣiṇasayoyāna** · kil(*e)[36]śavaṭachedo ·

Translation:

[35] Or otherwise: **Warding off evil dharmas**: severing of the course of pain. **Always mindful**: severing of the course of action. **With fetters exhausted**: [36] severing of the course of defilement.

Text notes:

See § 1.2.2 for categorial reduction to the Three Courses.

Transcription:

36. |
... asa va vahita pavaga dhama · doṣaśalasa prahaṇo · sada spado ·
driṭhiś[a]l[a]
37. |
sa ca · maṇaśalasa ca · kṣiṇasayoyāna · ragaśalasa p[r]ahaṇa ☹ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va **vahita pavaga dhama** · doṣaśalasa prahaṇo · **sada spado** · driṭhi-
śala[37]sa ca · maṇaśalasa ca · **kṣiṇasayoyāna** · ragaśalasa prahaṇa ☹

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Warding off evil dharmas:** abandoning of the barb of hate.

Always mindful: [37] both of the barb of view and of the barb of conceit.

With fetters exhausted: abandoning of the barb of lust.

Text notes:

See § 1.2.2 for categorial reduction to the Four Barbs.

6 (Lines 9.37–46)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| aṇa va ladhva vasaṇa va kale | Receiving food or clothing in time |
| matro so jañe drokaraṭho | he should know the measure, engaged in |
| sodehi guto yadi cari grame | what is difficult. |
| ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa ṇa bhaṣi | If guarded in respect to the ears he
moves about in the village, |
| | he should even when offended not speak
a harsh word. |

The section contains one single run of the commentary providing general explanations related to restraining of the ear faculty (*sodehi savara-*) and to the traditions of the noble (*ariavaśa-*) related to contentment. While doing so it equates the second half of the verse to abandoning of the Three Sources. The wording used for the Source usually called *raga-* is not clear (lines 9.41–42), but there can be little doubt about its identity. The word *pādia-* is here used for the Source usually called *dosa-*, suggesting that *anuṇea-* might be (part of) the equivalent of *raga-*. In an unusual procedure, lust and delusion are connected with the same pāda (pāda c) by attributing the latter connection to unspecified ‘some’ (*ke yi*).

| | 9.37–46
(ke yi) |
|---------------------------------|---|
| aṇa va ladhva vasaṇa va ka | |
| matro so jañe drokaraṭho | |
| sodehi guto yadi cari grame | abandoning of lust |
| ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa ḡa bhaṣi | <i>mohaprahaṇa-</i>
<i>padiaprahaṇa-</i> |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *[a]/(*ṇa)* (line 9.111). – The Pali Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 495.7–498.22, Pj II 573 and Nidd-a II 460.

Transcription:

37. ... aṇa va ladhva · va[sa]ṇa va ka
38. |
le sutro tatra ḡideśo aṇa va ladhva piḍavadalabho · vasaṇ[e]ṇa civaro ·
matro so jañe · k[ari]
39. |
ami · matra janidava · drok[ar]aṭheṇa · ariavaśaṭhidi daśida · so[de]hi
guto [· s]. +
40. |
[h]. savaro · yadi cari grame · tratra hi kileśapada[sta]ṇo · abhaso
aga[cha] // + + +
41. |
+ + // [di araṇa]mi · [ya]sa vucadi [·] yena mageṇa · gramo [piḍa] +
[p]. [ve]kṣe · [a]ya [sa] // +
42. |
+ + + + ? sa p.ha[ṇo] · ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa · ḡa bhaṣi · yadi va
ruṣideṇa · [ṇa bha]
43. |
śidava · ru[kṣa] vaya · asa va rutheṇa · vaya ḡa bhaṣ[i]dava · aya
padiaprahaṇa · ...

Reconstruction:

aṇa va ladhva · vasaṇa va ka[38]le sutro tatra ḡideśo aṇa va ladhva piḍa-

vadalabho · **vasaṇeṇa** cиваро · **matro so jañe** · kari[39]ами · matra janidava ·
drokaraṭheṇa · ariavaśāṭhidi daśida · **sodehi guto** · s(*ode)[40]h(*i) savaro ·
yadi cari grame · tratra hi kileśapadastaño · abhaso agacha + + [41] + + di
arañami · yasa vucadi · yēna mageṇa · gramo piḍa(*e) p(*r)avekṣe · aya sa +
[42] + + + ? sa p(*r)ahaño · **ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa** · ḥa bhaṣi · yadi va
ruṣideṇa · ḥa bha[43]ṣidava · rukṣa vaya · asa va rutheṇa · vaya ḥa
bhaṣidava · aya paḍiaprahaṇa ·

Translation:

Receiving food or clothing [38] in time is the text. The explanation on it:
Receiving food: receiving of alms. **Clothing:** the robe. **He should know the measure:** [39] in what should be done the measure should be known. **Undertaking what is difficult:** steadiness in the traditions of the noble is shown. **Guarded in respect to the ears:** [40] restraint in respect to the ears. **If he moves about in the village:** for there is footing for defilement there. The proximity + + + + + [41] + + + in the wilderness. As is said: “By which path he entered the village for alms.” This is [42] abandoning + + + + + **He should even when offended not speak a harsh word:** Whether one who is offended should not speak a hard word or whether one who is offended should not speak (any) word, this is abandoning of resentment.

Text notes:

Lines 37–39. *ariavaśāṭhidi daśida*: Our commentary interprets the first half of the verse in light of the four traditions of the noble (*ariavaśa-*). The main canonical expositions of this term are the Saṅgītisūtra (DN III 224–225, Saṅg-Skt. 92–98, T 1 no. 1 p. 51a1–8; also preserved in SaṅgCm-G as *ariavamśa-*) and the Ariyavamśa sutta (AN II 27–29). The first three traditions of the noble are the monk’s contentment with his robe (*idhāvuso bhikkhu santuṭṭho hoti itarītarena cīvarena ... aladdhā ca cīvaram na paritassati laddhā ca cīvaram agadhito amucchito anajjhāpanno ādīnavadassāvī nissaranapañño paribhuñjati, ayam vuccatāvuso bhikkhu porāne agaññe ariyavamse* thito DN III 224.23–225.2, cf. AN II 27), with his alms

(*santuṭṭho hoti itarītarena piṇḍapātena* DN III 225.2–3, cf. AN II 27–28) and with his lodging (*santuṭṭho hoti itarītarena senāsanena* DN III 225.12, cf. AN II 28); the fourth tradition of the noble is delight in development and abandoning (*pahānārāmo hoti pahānarato bhāvanārāmo hoti bhāvanārato* DN III 225.21–22, cf. AN II 28). According to a later reformulation in Ps I 92, Mp II 248, 249 and Vmv I 92, the Ariyam̄asutta teaches contentment with the four requisites (*paccayasantosa-* = traditions of the noble one to three) and delight in development (*bhāvanārāma-* = tradition of the noble four). The importance of teachings on the traditions of the noble in early Buddhism is shown by their inclusion under the name *aliyavasāni* in the list of recommended texts in Aśoka's Calcutta-Bairat edict (Kosambi 1912: 37–39); cf. also Rāhula 1943 for literary and inscriptional sources on festivals concerning the traditions of the noble in early medieval Sri Lanka.

Line 38. *aṇa va ladhva piḍavadalabho · vasaṇ[e]ṇa civaro*: The explanations of food as alms and clothing as the robe are straightforward given the general context of a monk on his alms round, and they are also made by the Pali commentaries.

Lines 38–39. *k[ari]jami · matra janidava*: This comment can be understood as an oblique reference to the contentments that constitute the first three traditions of the noble: Nidd I 496 explains *mattam sa jaññā* with *dvīhi kāraṇehi mattam jāneyya patiggahanato vā paribhogato vā*, using the related word *kāraṇehi* where our commentary has *kariami*, and goes on to explain that the monk should show equanimity in receiving donations, be they large or small, and that he should enjoy them with due consideration (*paṭisankhā yoniso*).

Line 39. *drok[ar]aṭheṇa*: The last word of this half verse, *drokaraṭho* (quoted as *drokaraṭheṇa*), is ambiguous in that it could either be an adverb of purpose ending in OIA *-artha-*, or a predicative attribute ending in OIA *-āsthah* (rather than *-sthah*).⁵⁴ The latter interpretation has been preferred because it provides a clear lexical cue for *ṭhidi-* in the following gloss and a connection with P *ṭhito* in the canonical passages

⁵⁴Cf. *dukaracara/a* ‘the who undertake a difficult practice’ in CKI 249, line 8 (Seṇavarma’s reliquary inscription; Baums forthcoming a).

cited above, and also because the instrumental of quotation is only ever applied to nouns and adjectives in this commentary, never to adverbs. The first part of the compound, *drokara-* (Skt. *duṣkara-*, P *dukkara-*) ‘difficult to do, difficult task’ is commonly used of “feats of religious performance accomplished by a Bodhisattva” (BHSD s.v.), but here it appears to have a more general reference to the way of life of those observing the four traditions of the noble. The Pali version of the verse has a variant reading for this word (*tosanattham*) that explicitly refers to the goal of contentment and that in the Pali commentaries on this verse is explained with the definition of *ariyavaṁse thito* given in the Saṅgītisutta and the Ariyavaṁśasutta.

so[de]hi guto: Most of the middle akṣara of *so[de]hi* is covered by a loose chip of birch bark, but the tip of the bottom stroke of *de* is clearly visible. With the gloss [*s*](**ode*)[*h*](**i*) *savaro* compare *kriasa[va]ro* 13-33, itself a gloss on the word *śila-*. According to As 351, *saṃvaravinaya* ‘discipline of restraint’ is of five kinds: *sīlasaṃvara-*, *satisaṃvara-*, *ñāṇasaṃvara-*, *khantisaṃvara-* and *vīriyasamaṇvara-*. Of the two kinds of *saṃvara-* mentioned in our manuscript, *kriasa[va]ra-* thus clearly corresponds to *sīlasaṃvara-*, the first item in the Pali list of five, and [*s*](**ode*)[*h*](**i*) *savaro* most likely corresponds to *satisaṃvara-*, the second item in the list of five, an identification that is further supported by the fact that *spadi-* is later brought up in line 9-44 in the discussion of pāda d of the verse.

Line 40. *tratra hi kileśapada[sta]no:* Pali *padaṭṭhāna-* is a technical term denoting a proximate cause that is used extensively in Nett (cf. PTSD s.v.). The expected spelling in our scribe’s orthography would have been **padaṭṭhāno*, and the actual spelling *pada[sta]no* may indicate that this term was borrowed into Gāndhārī by a path that bypassed the usual sound development *sth* > *ṭh* in inherited words, and maybe from a Sanskrit source.

Lines 40–41. *abhaso:* This word for ‘proximity’ is not used in Pali, but attested in other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects (CDIAL s.v. *abhyāśa*). The spelling with medial *s* in our Gāndhārī text may either indicate that the Old Indo-Aryan variant *abhyāśa-* (rather than *abhyāśa-*, which is usually considered the more correct form) had an

earlier and wider currency than previously expected, or alternatively that it was borrowed into Gāndhārī (which like Pali may originally have lacked it) from a source dialect in which all sibilants had merged in [s]. It is not clear how the textual loss in the middle of this sentence should be repaired, but a tentative reconstruction along the lines of *abhaso aga[cha](*to eva maña)[di araña]mi* ‘even going into (the village’s) proximity he regards it as being in the forest’ may indicate the intended meaning.

Line 41. *yena magena · gramo [piḍa](*e) [p](*r)[ave]kṣe*: This canonical quotation is suggested by the image of a monk controlling his senses when he enters the village. For the reconstruction of *[p](*r)[ave]kṣe* compare the same word in a similar expression in *ghramu prav[e]kṣe bhuyanath[i]o* AG-G^L 32. The closest match for this quotation occurs in the Piṇḍapātapārisuddhisutta (MN III 293–297) which, like the verse under discussion here and maybe not coincidentally, is addressed to Sāriputta. In this sutta, the Buddha recommends that if a monk wishes to live in a state of emptiness, he should ask himself whether in his mind there is any lust, hate or delusion with regard to shapes perceived by the eye when he enters the village for alms, goes on his alms round, and leaves the village after the alms round: *yena cāham magena gāmam piṇḍāya pāvisim, yasmiñ ca padese piṇḍāya acarim, yena ca magena gāmato piṇḍāya paṭikkamim, atthi me tattha cakkhuviññeyyesu rūpesu chando vā rāgo vā doso vā moho vā paṭigham vā pi cetaso* (294). If this is the case he should strive to abandon these bad habits, and if it is not the case he should live happily in the good habits. The sutta then repeats this recommendation for mental affects with regard to the other five sense objects (*sota-* at 294.30–34), and for several other doctrinal categories that are to be abandoned or cultivated. A version of this sūtra has been translated into Chinese as part of a Saṃyuktāgama collection (雜阿含經 Zá āhán jīng, T 2 no. 99 p. 57b3–27), where the phrase quoted in our commentary is rendered 若入城時 ruò rù chéng shí ‘when I enter the town’ (p. 57b14).⁵⁵

⁵⁵The Ekottarikāgama sūtra at 增壹阿含經 Zēngyī āhán jīng (T 2 no. 125) p. 773b20–c19 is listed

[a]ya [sa] + + + + ? sa p(*r)aha[no]: The commentary now embarks on a sequence of categorial reduction to the Three Sources. Since *paṭia* and *moha* are covered in lines 9.44 and 45, and since line 9.45 states that the abandoning of all three Sources has been illustrated (*[tri]na ḥidanaṇa · prahāṇo daśido*), the damaged portion at the end of line 9.41 and the beginning of line 9.42 must have contained an expression that included at least the missing Source, but the number of lost akṣaras and the preserved beginning and end of the expression do not fit either of the two terms (*raga*, *loha*) used for this Source in our text. A possible solution is suggested by the fact that this first reduction is connected with pāda c (or possibly all of pādas a–c) of the verse by means of the scriptural quotation just discussed which, if the identification with the Piṇḍapātapārisuddhisutta is correct, refers to a list of no less than five terms for mental affects (*chando vā rāgo vā doso vā moho vā paṭigham vā pi*) that covers all three Sources (and that apparently names two of the Sources twice, if *chanda-* is used synonymously with *rāga-* and *dosa-* with *paṭigha-*). A term used to refer to all three Sources as a group is P *samkilesa-*, cf. *tayo samkilesā ti rāgo doso moho* Pet 250 and *tividhasamkilesā rāgadosamohā* va Vmv I 59 (§ 1.2.2). If it was also used in this passage of our commentary, then the preserved last akṣara (*sa*) would have to be taken as a genitive singular ending which, following the commentary's usual style, indicates that *p(*r)aha[no]* was preceded by more than one independent word since otherwise a compound for the whole would have been the preferred expression. One possible reconstruction of this first reduction would therefore be [a]ya [sa](**vasa sakile*)[śa]sa p(*r)aha[no] ‘this is the abandoning of all defilement.’

Lines 42. *ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa · ṇa bhaṣi*: According to the commentary, pāda d of the verse recommends either that one should not speak unkind words when angry, or that one should not speak any words when angry; the second option could have been expressed more clearly by *vaya ka yi ṇa bhaṣidava*, but even as it stands it would

by Anālayo and Bucknell 2006: 232 as a partial parallel for the Piṇḍapātapārisuddhisutta, but does not contain the passage quoted by our commentary.

be difficult to interpret the text any other way. While at first glance it is not clear how the verse can have the second meaning since it unambiguously speaks of *vaya pharuṣa* ‘unkind words,’ it does in fact allow either interpretation depending on whether one brings to it the notion that an angry person has a realistic choice of speaking kind or unkind words or not: if the latter, then an injunction to the angry not to speak unkind words in effect equals one to remain entirely silent. This latter procedure is in fact recommended in one closely related text: *kruddho vācam na bhāṣeta pariṣatsv atha vā mithah, krodhābhībhūtaḥ puruṣaḥ svam artham hi na budhyate* Ud-Skt 20.15, which also provides an interesting connection of topic and wording between the current section of our verse commentary and section 32 (*krodho artho na janadi*). The equation of this part of the verse with *padia-* (rather than with *raga-* or *moha-*) is straightforward.

Transcription:

43. ... ke yi [p].
44. [no aha] añañavaśena · idria pragharati · spadido ariae · [na]
pragharati · aya
45. [m].[ha]prahaṇ[a · tri]ṇa ḥidaṇa · prahaṇo daśido [·] ke yi vaṇa aha
daśanapradīhiḍaṇa dhamadeśaṇa ·
46. [t]. atra caramaṇa [· śalo] na [tada ta]da an[u]praüniśati §§ ...

Reconstruction:

ke yi p(*u)[44]ṇo aha añañavaśena · idria pragharati · spadido ariae · na
pragharati · aya [45] m(*o)haprahaṇa · triṇa ḥidaṇa · prahaṇo daśido · ke yi
vaṇa aha daśanapradīhiḍaṇa dhamadeśaṇa · [46] t(*e) atra caramaṇa · śalo
na tada tada anupraüniśati §§

Translation:

[44] Then again some say: By the power of unknowing the faculties flow forth. From noble mindfulness they do not flow forth. This is [45] abandoning of delusion. Abandoning of the three sources is shown. Then again some say (it is) a teaching of the dharma about those who are established in seeing(?). [46] Moving about here, they do not then and then (again) attain a barb.

Text notes:

Line 43–44. *ke yi [p]/(*u)[no aha]*: Having discussed each part of the verse separately, at the end of this section the commentary introduces two different interpretations of ‘some’ (*ke yi*) that it considers applicable to the understanding of the verse (see § 1.2.1 on the identity of ‘some’ and ‘others’ and on the way their opinions are used in the commentary). Whether these analyses were originally put forward in connection with the present verse or whether the connection was first established by our commentator remains an open question, but there is nothing in them that suggests an original connection.

Line 44. *añanavaśena · idria pragharati*: In the first analysis, the senses are said to ‘flow forth’ due to unknowing. This expression is not known from the Pali or Sanskrit traditions where *paggharati* is always used in a concrete sense, though the meaning seems clear enough: in the absence of knowledge of methods of restraint, the senses will reach out and establish contact with their objects in the world. The Gāndhārī form of this word, with medial *gh* rather than *kṣ*, lends further support to Edgerton’s suggestion (BHSD s.v. *pragharati*) that the Old Indo-Aryan root of this verb was *ghar*, not *kṣar* as commonly assumed (§ 4.2.2.3.6).

spadido ariae · [na] pragharati: The senses are prevented from flowing forth by the application of mindfulness. The use of the ablative suffix *-do* on *spadido*, rather than of the simple ablative or instrumental form *spadie*, is curious and leaves the impression that the author wanted to ensure that the word is understood as ablative rather than as instrumental (the adverbial instrumental *añanavaśena* in the preceding clause notwithstanding). *Spadi-* also appears to be described as the result of the

abandoning of *añana-* in lines 9.125–126 of the text.

Lines 44–45. *aya [m](*o)[ha]prahāṇ[a]:* Following this, the main voice of the commentary completes the Three Sources by making an equation with *moha-*. It is worth notice that in two of the three reductions in this verse the commentator had to use mediating levels of text to establish the association (the scriptural quotation in line 9.41 and here the analysis of the unnamed ‘some’), while most of the other verses lent themselves more easily to doctrinal reduction. The term *añana-* is similarly connected with *moha-* in lines 13.84–85 *añana[sa] + + [na · vastu]mi ḥiñāñadi ... ado [mo]haprahāṇa*. It further appears to be used as an equivalent of *moha-* in line 9.125 (cf. *śeha-* for *raga-* in line 9.123, *doṣa-* in line 9.124, and *ede trae ḥidāṇa* in line 9.126), and this is clearly the case in the synonym groups *aññāñam tamo avijjā moho* in Pet 207 and *aññāñam adassanam ... moho ... avijjā* in Nett 75.

Lines 45–46. *ke yi vāṇa aha:* The presence of *adassana* in the Nett synonym group just quoted and the separate pairing *aññāñam adassanam* at Pet 207 also help in understanding the connection of the second opinion of ‘some’ cited by the author, which apparently uses ‘teaching of the dharma about those who are established in seeing’ as a designation for the verse under discussion. The commentary goes on to say that those who move about ‘here’ (or ‘in it,’ if *atra* stands in for *imaspi*) will not constantly (*[tada ta]da* ‘then and then (again)’) incur the barb (*[śalo]*) of negative emotional affects. While this seems like the best possible interpretation of the sentence, it does present several difficulties, including the vague reference of *atra* and *[tada ta]da* and the combination of *[śalo]* with the verb *an[u]praūñiśati*, since the latter is otherwise only used of reaching physical places and of attaining positive abstract states. If the interpretation stands, however, then the meaning of this sentence connects harmoniously with the preceding exposition: we have seen that P *adassana-* ‘not seeing’ is used as a synonym of *moha-* ‘delusion,’ and unnegated G *daśāṇa-* ‘seeing’ may therefore well correspond to the opposite of *moha-* which was identified as *spadi-* ‘mindfulness’ in the preceding analysis. Those ‘established in seeing’ are thus those who are endowed with mindfulness, and it is this mindfulness that protects

them from incurring affectual ‘barbs,’ just as in the preceding analysis it is mindfulness that keeps the senses from establishing negative contact with the world.

7 (Lines 9.46–54)

This section explains a verse from the Pārāyaṇa that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ṣutva aho vira agamo agame | Having heard that the brave one is |
| o(*ha)di(*go) + + + + + + (+) | without desire I came |
| śa(*ti)pado (*brohi sahayaṇe)tra | + + the overcomer of the flood + + + + (+) |
| yasatacha bhagava vagarohi | (*Speak of) the state of calmness, you
with (*inborn) eyes(?),
explain it as it is, blessed one. |

In this section, too, there is only a single run of the commentary, providing general explanations that highlight the Buddha’s status as a knower (*ñanida-*), his surmounting of the floods (*ohasamadikrama-*) and his omniscience (*sarvañuda-*). The section concludes by listing the elements of his teaching as the truths that make a teacher (*śastugaraga- saca-*) and, without naming them, the two roots of the unliberated state (craving and ignorance), the two paths to liberation (quiet and insight) and the two outcomes (probably heart liberation and understanding liberation).

| | 9.46–54 |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ṣutva aho vira agamo agame | <i>ñanida-</i> |
| o(*ha)di(*go) + + + + + + (+) | <i>ohasamadikrama-</i> |
| śa(*ti)pado (*brohi sahayaṇe)tra | <i>sarvañuda-</i> |
| yasatacha bhagava vagarohi | <i>śastugaraga- saca-,</i>
<i>due mula,</i>
<i>due maga,</i>
<i>due niṣada</i> |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *su[tva]* (line 9.111). – The Pali Suttanipāta

parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 127–129, Pj II 598 and Nidd-a III 38.

Transcription:

46. ... ṣ[u]tva [a]ho vira agamo [a]g[ame]
47. + [tro] tatra ḷideśo · akamo [ṇika]mo [·] savakamana adikramo
środo[amo gacha]mi [· va] ? ? // +
48. ? [· ke yi] puṇo aha · ḷañidae stavadi [·] viriamuh[i]e ·
same[p].sap.bh[avi]d[o] virio [vuca]
49. [di] · o + [di] + [·] ohasam[a]dikrama[do] stavadi · so ḷikamo budho
pr.chaṇa agado [· śa] + [ṇi]
50. [va]ṇo · [pa]do mago · [ta]tra [pra]diṭha[hi]ta [pha]ṣ[i]a[di ·] oa[śo]
me karoh[i] · ? // + +
51. ? + + + + ? ? ? + ? + ? ? ? + ? ? ? + ? ? so ? [d]. · ...

Reconstruction:

ṣutva aho vira agamo agame [47] (*su)tro tatra ḷideśo · **akamo** ḷikamo · savakamana adikramo środoamo gachami · va ? ? + [48] ? · ke yi puṇo aha · ḷañidae stavadi · viriamuhie · samep(*r)asa<*ṇa>p(*r)abhavido virio vuca[49]di · o(*ha)di(*go) · ohasamadikramado stavadi · so ḷikamo budho pr(*o)chaṇa agado · śa(*ti) ḷi[50]vaṇo · **pado** mago · tatra pradiṭhahita phaṣiadi · oaśo me karohi · ? + + [51] ? + + + ? ? ? + ? ? ? + ? ? so ? d. ·

Translation:

Having heard that the brave one is without desire I came [47] is the text. The explanation on it: **Without desire** (*akama-*): without desire (*nikama-*). I go desiring to hear about the surmounting of all desires. + + + [48] + Then again some say he praises him for the state of a knower that has bravery as

Text notes:

Line 47. *[gacha]mi*: The first akṣara of this word is only partly visible and could also be read as *[a]*, and if this alternative reading is accepted, it would be tempting to emend to *[a]K^{*}ga>[cha]mi* on the basis of *[a]g[ame]* in the root text and *agado* in line 9.49.

akamo [ŋika]mo: The synonym string given for *akāmi-* in Nidd II 128 also begins with *akāmo nikkāmo*.

Line 48. ?: After this akṣara some space has been left empty.

viriamuh[i]e: With this formation cf. *taśamuhie* in line 13.23.

Line 49. *pr(*o)chana agado*: The genitive is used in dative sense; cf. *pro[cha]na agado mi* 9-145–146.

Lines 49–50. *[niva]no*: The chip bearing the aksara *[ni]* has detached from the manuscript, but is still close to its proper position as shown by the thread hole in it.

Line 50. The beginning of this line has been left empty to avoid a knot hole. The first aksaras in this line have unusual shapes because of the continuing roughness of the surface.

[*pha]ṣ[i]a[di]*: This form is in all likelihood a Middle Indo-Aryan passive (§ 5.1.4.3). The optative active form would be **phasae* (class 2; cf. *phasai* Dhp-G^K 114).

Line 51. The first akṣara of this line could be the *[bro]* of the expected verb form **brohi*.

Transcription:

51. ... [asa va] ? [s]. ? [si] sa[rva]ñud[ae stava] /// +
52. + /// [tra bosi] + [uhae a]pravacarimo upaña · sarvañada ca · [b]udho
ca [vu]cadi · yasatacha bhaga
53. |
va vagarohi · yasa[bhu]do vagarohi · śastugaraga ñada[va saca] ca ·
due mu
54. |
la · due maga · du[e] ḡisada ☹ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va ? s. ? si sarvañudae stava(*di) [52] (*ne)tra bosi (*..) uhae apr(*o)v-
acarimo upaña · sarvañ<*u>da ca · budho ca vucadi · **yasatacha bhaga**[53]va
vagarohi · yasabhudo vagarohi · śastugaraga ñadava saca ca · due mu[54]la ·
due maga · due ḡisada ☹

Translation:

Or otherwise: + + + + he praises (him) for omniscience. [52] **Eyes:**
enlightenment. Both are said to have arisen at the same time, both
omniscience and the enlightened one. **Explain it as it is** (*yasatacha*), blessed
one: explain it as it is (*yasabhudo*), and the truths that make a teacher. The
two [54] roots, the two paths, the two outcomes.

Text notes:

Line 51. *sa[rva]ñud[ae stava](*di)*: For this and the following explanation cf. the
close parallel in the Pali Niddesa: *sahajanettā ti nettam vuccati sabbaññutañānam.*
buddhassa bhagavato nettañ ca jinabhāvo ca bodhiyā mūle apubbam acarimam
ekasmīm khane uppanno, tasmā buddho sahajanetto ti Nidd II 128–129. Both
commentaries distinguish between omniscience and enlightenment, equate the former
with the first part of the root-verse compound (P *sahaja-*, lost or illegible in our
manuscript) and the latter with the second part (P *netta-*, G (*ne)tra-), and state in

similar words that both arose at the same time.

Line 53. *śastugaraga* *ñada[va saca] ca*: See the note on *śa[st]uga[ra]ga·saceṣu* in line 934.

Line 54. *nisada*: Cf. lines 930, 54, 72 and 105, and see the note on line 930 for this technical term.

8 (Lines 9.54–59)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ta bromi uaśato si | To this one I say “you are calm,” |
| (*kameṣu añavekṣiṇo) | the one who does not look at desires. |
| gratha (*tasa) ṇa vijati | There exist no knots for him, |
| utiṇo (*so) visathig(*a) | he has crossed beyond attachment. |

The section consists of one full and four suggested runs of the commentary. The full run correlates pāda a (and probably the unquoted pāda b) of the root verse with craving related to the five qualities of desire (*pacakamaguṇia-* *taṣa-*, i.e., P *kāmatanhā-*) and pāda c with internal craving (*aṭatvataṣa-*, i.e., P *bhavataṇhā-*). Abandoning of these two basic kinds of craving means liberation as expressed in pāda d of the the root verse. At the end of the main run, the commentary briefly mentions four alternative explanations of liberation that could be applied to this verse: abandoning of the Two Roots (craving and ignorance), abandoning of fondness and resentment, abandoning of the Three Sources, and abandoning of craving conceived in a different (unclear) way from that of the main explanation.

| | 1: 954–57
(asa va) | 2: 957–58
(asa va) | 3: 958
(asa va) |
|--|--|---|--|
| ta bromi uaśato si
(*kameśu aṇavekṣiṇo) | <i>pacakamaguṇiae</i>
<i>taśae prahinatva</i> | <i>duṇa mulaṇa</i>
<i>prahinatva</i> | <i>aṇuṇeapadiṇaṇa</i>
<i>prahinatva</i> |
| gratha (*tasa) ḥa vijati | <i>ajatvataśae</i>
<i>prahinatva</i> | | |
| utiṇo (*so) visathig(*a) | | | |

| | 4: 958–59
(asa va) | 5: 959
(asa va) |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| ta bromi uaśato si
(*kameśu aṇavekṣiṇo) | <i>triṇidāṇa-</i>
<i>prahaneṇa</i> | ?- <i>pragarae taśae</i>
<i>prahinatva</i> |
| gratha (*tasa) ḥa vijati | | |
| utiṇo (*so) visathig(*a) | | |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *ta bhromi* (line 9.112). – The Pali Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 246.7–247.24, Pj II 550 and Nidd-a II 349.

Transcription:

54. ... ta b[ro]mi [u]aśato si sutro tatra ḥideśo · paca
55. kamaguṇi[ae] · [taśae] prahinatva uaśato vucadi · ajatvataśae
prahinatva ·
56. gratha ḥa vijati [·] saviñāneasa kayasa prahinatva [· ya]sa ede · uhae
[ta]śa prahiṇa +
57. so visathigae [ta]śae utiṇo · kridago [kra]mo draśido · ...

Reconstruction:

ta bromi uaśato si sutro tatra ḥideśo · paca[55]kamaguṇiae · taśae prahinatva uaśato vucadi · ajatvataśae prahinatva · [56] **gratha ḥa vijati** · saviñāneasa kayasa prahinatva · yasa ede · uhae taśa prahiṇa (*..) [57] so

visathigae taṣae utiṇo · kridago kramo draśido · asa va duiṇa mu[58]lana
prahiṇatva · utiṇ(*o) vucadi ·

Translation:

To this one I say “you are calm” is the text. The explanation on it: Because of craving related to the five qualities of desire being abandoned he is called calm. Because of internal craving being abandoned [56] there exist no knots, because of the body together with consciousness being abandoned. Both cravings are abandoned. [57] He has crossed beyond attachment, craving. The accomplished(?) step is shown. Or otherwise: Because of the two [58] roots being abandoned it is said that he has crossed beyond.

Text notes:

Line 57. *visathigae*: This word is followed by a stretch of rough bark.

kridago: This word is tentatively translated as ‘accomplished’ on the basis of its immediate context and its relationship to *kridavida-* ‘state of one who has accomplished.’ The words *kṛtaka-* and *akṛtaka-* are used in the special senses ‘created’ and ‘uncreated, extinction’ in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (BHSD s.vv.), but those do not seem to apply in our text.

Transcription:

57. ... asa va d[u]iṇa [mu]
58. [la]ṇa prahiṇatva · uti[n]. vucadi · asa va a[nu]ṇeapadi[an̄a] ·
p.hiṇatva · a[sa va tri] +
59. [da]ṇa[p].[ha]ṇaṇa · asa va ? c. dupragarae ta[ṣa]e prahiṇatva §§ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va aṇuṇeapadiṇa · p(*r)ahiṇatva · asa va tri(*ṇi)[59]daṇap(*r)a-
haṇ(*e)ṇa · asa va ? c. dupragarae taṣae prahiṇatva §§

Translation

Or otherwise: Because of fondness and resentment being abandoned. Or otherwise: [59] by abandoning of the three sources. Or otherwise: + + because of craving that is of two kinds being abandoned.

Text notes:

Line 58. *a[nu]neapadi[ana]*: The akṣaras *[ana]* are a correction, possibly of original *gha*.

Line 59. ? c. *dupragarae ta[śa]e*: A twofold division of craving into internal (*aśatvataśa-*) and external (*bahidhataśa-*) kinds is used throughout our text, and it is on the strength of this that the present word is read as *dupragarae* and the preceding akṣaras are left unexplained. A fourfold division of craving, potentially supporting a reading *cadupragarae* that would still leave the first akṣara of the expression unexplained, does not seem to be attested in Buddhist literature. – The horizontal line on *[śa]* is faintly visible on inspection of the original manuscript, but not in the currently available digital images.

9 (Lines 959–74)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| aṇavas(*u)dacitasa | For the one whose heart is not rotten, |
| aṇuahadacedasa | whose heart is not impaired, |
| puñapava(*prahinasa) | who has abandoned merit and evil, |
| nasti jagarado bhayo | for the one who is awake there is no fear. |

The section contains four runs of the commentary, the first three of which have complex internal structures. In the first run, pāda a is equated with abandoning of fondness (*anuṇea-*) and pāda b with abandoning of resentment (*padia-*), after which both pādas together are further equated with the Course of defilement (*kileśavaṭa-*). The commentary then first equates the two halves of pāda c with three kinds of action

and, building on this, the whole of pāda c with the Course of action (*kamavaṭa-*). A reference to story of the Kaliṅga wilderness is inserted at this point. Finally, pāda c is explained as knowing (*ñāna-*) counteracting fear of the five categories (*pacakadhabhaya-*; a quotation from Ajita's questions in the Pārāyaṇa is inserted), and then further equated with severing of the Course of pain, which completes reduction to the Three Courses. The second run of the commentary starts by equating pāda a with abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure (*kamaraga-*) and pāda b with abandoning of hate (*vavada-*). Based on this, both pādas together are equated with abandoning of dark and bright action (*kriṣaśukra-*), then one half of pāda c with dark action (*kriṣa-*) and the other half with bright action (*sukra-*), followed by the equation of pāda d with neither dark nor bright action (*akriṣaśukra-*). Based on these individual equations with kinds of action that between them appear to cover all four pādas of the root verse, a general equation is made with abandoning of action (*kama-*), followed by a back-reference to pāda a (using *kamaragaprahaṇeṇa*) that makes an equation with abandoning of defilement. There thus appears to be an overlap between the scope of abandoning of action (all four pādas) and abandoning of defilement (pāda a) that runs counter to the commentary's usual procedure of complementary equations but is not easily resolved. It also remains unclear whether these two final equations of the second run are meant to refer to two of the Three Courses or have a more general meaning. The third run of the commentary uses a back-reference to pāda a (*anuṇeapadiṇa prahaṇeṇa*) to equate this pāda with the virtue Category. The two halves of pāda b are then first individually equated with fondness (*anuṇaya-*) and resentment (*paḍia-*), based on which the whole of pāda b is equated with the concentration Category. Finally, the second word of pāda d (*jagarado*) is equated with the understanding Category, completing the Three Categories, and the other two words of pāda d (*nasti bhayo*) with the outcome (*ṇisada-*) of practising these Categories. The fourth run of the commentary uses back-references to pāda a (*śileṇa*) and pāda b (*samasie*) to make equations with the planes of seeing (*daśana-*) and of development (*bhavaya-*), followed by direct equations of pāda c with the plane of

immediacy (*anatariabhumi-*) and of pāda d with the state of one who has accomplished (*kridavida-*), completing the Four Planes. The section concludes with a reference to the two extinction elements (*nivanadhadu-*, with and without fuel remaining) whose precise connection to the preceding remains unclear, followed by an illegible portion and a reference to abandoning either of one of the Sources or of the Floods.

| | 1: 9.61–66 | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| añavas(*u)dacitasa | <i>añuṇeaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>kileśavaṭasa</i> | |
| añuahadacetasa | <i>padiaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>prahaṇa-</i> | |
| puñña- | | <i>due kama</i> | |
| pava(*prahiṇasa) | | <i>kriṣakama-</i> | <i>kamavaṭacheda-</i> |
| ṇasti jagarado bhayo | | | <i>dukhavaṭacheda-</i> |

| | 2: 9.66–69
(asa va) | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| añavas(*u)dacitasa | <i>kamaragaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>kriṣaśukrasa</i> | <i>kileśa-</i> |
| añuahadacetasa | <i>vavadaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>prahaṇa-</i> | <i>prahaṇa-</i> |
| puñña- | | <i>śukrasa</i> | |
| pava(*prahiṇasa) | | <i>kriṣasa prahaṇa-</i> | <i>kamaprahaṇa-</i> |
| ṇasti jagarado bhayo | | <i>akriṣaśukrasa</i> | |

| | 3: 9.69–72
(asa va) | 4: 9.72–74
(asa va) |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| añavas(*u)dacitasa | <i>śilakadha-</i> | |
| añuahadacetasa | | <i>daśaṇa-</i> |
| puñña- | <i>añuṇaya-</i> | |
| pava(*prahiṇasa) | <i>padi-</i> | <i>samasikadha-</i> |
| jagarado | | <i>bhavaṇa-</i> |
| ṇasti — bhayo | | <i>prañakadha-</i> |
| | | <i>añatariabhumi-</i> |
| | | <i>kridavida-</i> |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *añavaṣudo* (line 9.112). – The Pali Dhammapada parallel of this verse is explained at Dhp-a I 309.12–310.7, and the Sanskrit

Udāna parallel at Ud-v 656; a parallel of pāda a is also explained at Ud-v 914, 915, and of pāda d at It-a I 174 and Ud-v 308. This verse is quoted in the Telapattajātaka commentary at Ja I 400.24–25.

Transcription:

59. ... a[ṇavas].[dac]. +
60. [sa] + + + [ṇide]śo · c[i]tado [k]. [l]. śa .o ? ? ? ? [me] + ? // + + +
61. sakileśo va · aya [a]ṇeaprahaṇa · aṇ[u]adacitasa · paḍi[a]p[r]a[ha] ·
aya kile
62. śavaṭasa prahan[o] · p.ñeṇa · due kama daśida · pavena vaṇa
kriṣakamo · aya ka
63. + [vaṭach].[do] + ke yi jagaramaṇa · janavadapradeśa dahati · yasa
kaligara
64. [ña] · a sa pu ḥa · kileśaṇa · ḥa prayoeti · ta vucadi nasti jagarado
bhayo ·
65. ke yi aha · ḥaṇajagaria eṣa · nasti bhayo · pacakadhabha[yo] + ? ? +
66. [kha]m a[sa] ma[ha]bhayo · aya dukhavaṭachedo · ...

Reconstruction:

aṇavas(*u)dac(*ita)[60]sa (*sutro tatra) ḥideśo · citado k. l. śa o ? ? ? ? ? me
+ ? + + [61] sakileśo va · aya a<*ṇu>ṇeaprahaṇa · aṇua<*ha>dacitasa ·
paḍiaphraha<*ṇa> · aya kile[62]śavaṭasa prahan[o] · p(*u)ñeṇa · due kama
daśida · pavena vaṇa kriṣakamo · aya ka[63](*ma)vaṭach(*e)do (*..) ke yi
jagaramaṇa · janavadapradeśa dahati · yasa kaligara[64]ña · a sa pu ḥa ·
kileśaṇa · ḥa prayoeti · ta vucadi nasti jagarado bhayo · [65] ke yi aha ·

ñāṇajagaria esa · nasti bhayo · pacakadhabhayo + ? ? (*du)[66]kham asa
mahabhayo · aya dukhavaṭachedo ·

Translation:

[60] **For the one whose heart is not rotten** (*is the text). The explanation (*on it): from the heart + + + + + + + + + + + [61] or defilement. This is abandoning of fondness. **Whose heart is not impaired**: abandoning of resentment. This is [62] abandoning of the course of defilement. By **merit** the two (kinds of) action are shown. Then again by **evil** dark action. This is [63] severing of the course of action. Some who are awake burn a country district, like the [64] Kaliga wilderness. + + + they do not apply to defilements. That is why is said: **for the one who is awake there is no fear**. [65] Some say this is wakefulness of knowing. **There is no fear**: fear of the five categories. + + [66] Pain is its great fear. This is severing of the course of pain.

Text notes:

Line 60. *[k]. [l]. śa .o*: An empty space between the akṣaras *k*. and *l*. avoids the central vertical stitch holding together the bottom of this sheet of the scroll and the top of the next sheet. This clearly indicates that the scroll was assembled before it was written on.

Line 61. *[a]⟨*nu⟩neaprahana*: The initial *[a]* of this word is a correction, possibly from original *ya*.

Line 63. *janavadapradeśa dahati*: For this expression in a different context cf. the Mahāhatthipadopamasutta: *hoti kho so āvuso samayo yaṁ bāhirā tejodhātu pakuppati. sā gāmam pi dahati nigamam pi dahati nagaram pi dahati janapadam pi dahati janapadapadesam pi dahati* MN I 188.

Lines 63–64. *kaligara[ña]*: This is a reference to the story of the origin of the Kaliṅga wilderness as told in the commentaries on the Upālisutta (Ps II 602) and on the Sarabhaṅgajātaka (Ja V 144): King Nālikīra of Kaliṅga mistreated a sage and, as a result, went to hell while his country was turned into a wilderness by the gods (cf.

Norman 1993: 159, von Hinüber 1998: 132–136). The commentary seems to be making the point that those who have dispelled ignorance and whose knowing is awake thereby gain as much power as the gods who burnt the country of Kaliṅga.

Line 64. *a sa pu ḥa · kileśāṇa · ḥa prayoeti*: The meaning of the first four akṣaras remains unclear; neither *asapuṇa-* (= OIA *asampūrṇa-*) nor *asa puna* (OIA *atha punah*, with irregular *a < ah*) fit the context very well. The form *kileśāṇa* is a genitive used in dative sense, cf. *prahaṇa[e] · sap[rayoa]*. ? in line 9.16.

nasti jagarado bhayo: Compare with pāda d of our root verse and the commentary's discussion of wakefulness the following verse from the Jāgariya sutta: *jāgarantā sunāthetam, ye suttā te pabujjhatha, suttā jāgaritam seyyo, natthi jāgarato bhayam* (It 41.15–18).

Line 65. + ? ?: These akṣaras probably represent an introductory formula for the following quotation. There does not seem to be enough room for the usual *yasa vucadi*, but either *yasa vuto* or *ya vuto* would fit the available space.

Lines 65–66. (*du)[*kha*]m *a[sa] ma[ha]bhayo*: This quotation is from a Gāndhārī version of the Ajitamāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyaṇa (from which the root verses 15 and 16 are also taken) and corresponds to the pāda Sn 1033d. This verse also occurs at SN I 37.16 (first Jana sutta) and is quoted in Pet 13.7 and Nett 11.11, 12.23 and 70.30. Our commentary uses this quotation to introduce the word *dukhā-* into the discussion of *bhaya-*, preparing the ground for the following reduction to *dukhavaṭacheda-*.

Transcription:

66. ... a[sa] va aŋ[o]a[ʂ].[da]c[i]ta + [· ka]ma ragapraha
67. + + + + // [had]cedasa · va[v]adaprahaṇa · paḍhamo daśedi ·
kriṣaśukrasa prahaṇa · p[a]
68. [va]prahaṇeṇa · kriṣasa prahaṇa [·] pañaprahaṇeṇa · śukrasa ·

jagarado akriṣaś[u]

|^L

69. krasa · aya kamaprahaṇa · kamaragaprahaṇeṇa · kileśaprahaṇa · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va **añoas**(*u)dacita(*sa) · kamaragapraha[67](*ṇa · **aṇua**)hadacedasa · vavadaprahaṇa · padhamo daśedi · kriṣaśukrasa prahaṇa · pa[68]va-prahaṇeṇa · kriṣasa prahaṇa · p<*u>ñaprahaṇeṇa · śukrasa · **jagarado** akriṣ-aśu[69]krasa · aya kamaprahaṇa · kamaragaprahaṇeṇa · kileśaprahaṇa ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **For the one whose heart is not rotten**: [67] abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure. **Whose heart is not impaired**: abanding of malice. First he shows abandoning of dark and bright. [68] **Abandoning of evil**: abandoning of dark. **Abandoning of merit**: of bright. **For the one who is awake**: [69] of neither dark nor bright. This is abandoning of action. By abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure (is meant) abandoning of defilement.

Text notes:

Line 66. *aṇ[o]a[ṣ](*)u][da]c[i]ta(*sa)*: The spelling of this quotation differs from those used in the lemma (*a[ṇavaṣ]u*(*)u)[dac](*)ita)[sa] 9.59–60) and in the uddāna entry for this verse (*aṇavaṣudo* 9.112). Like the uddāna version, it illustrates assimilation of OIA [sr] > G [ṣ:] (§ 4.2.2.3.9).

Lines 66–67. *[ka]maragapraha(*ṇa) ... va[v]adaprahaṇa*: For categorial reduction to fondness and resentment see § 1.2.2.

Line 67. (*aṇua)[had]cedasa: As in Pali, the form -cedasa (< OIA *cetasah*) here functions as metrically convenient variant for the proper genitive of *cita-* (< OIA *cittā-*; cf. PTSD s.v. *cetaso*). As such it should also have been used in line 9.61, but apparently the equivalence of the two forms was so well established, and metrical considerations so comparatively unimportant in short quotations within the commentary, that either one could be used freely.

Line 67: *kriṣaśukrasa*: For the Four Actions, see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

69. ... asa va śilapa
69. ... asa va śilapa
70. |L+M |L |L+M |L |L+M |L
dipakṣiaṇa · an[u]ṇ[e]ap[a]di[a ḥna] pra ha nena ·
- |L+M |L |L+M |L |L+M |L
śilakadh. · p. ḥn.ṇa · a ḥn[u]ṇa y[o] ·
71. |M
paveṇa padia · uhaīṇa prahaṇeṇa · samasikadho · jagarado
p[r]añakadho · ḥṇa
72. |M
[sti] bhayo · ḥnisado · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va śilapa[70]dipakṣiaṇa · anuṇeapadiaṇa prahaṇeṇa · śilakadh(*o) ·
p(*u)ñ(*e)ṇa · anuṇayo · [71] paveṇa padia · uhaīṇa prahaṇeṇa · samasi-
kadho · jagarado prañakadho · ḥṇa[72]sti bhayo · ḥnisado ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: [70] by abandoning of fondness and resentment, which are opposed to virtue, (is meant) the virtue category. By **merit** (is meant) fondness. [71] By **evil** (is meant) resentment. By abandoning of both (is meant) the concentration category. **For the one who is awake:** the understanding category. [72] **There is no fear:** the outcome.

Text notes:

Line 70. *an[u]ṇ[e]ap[a]di[a ḥna] prahaṇeṇa*: The [ṇa] of -*p[a]di[a ḥna]* is corrected from what looks like the right arm of a *pa*. This mistake may have occurred because *prahaṇa-* most frequently forms a compound with the object of abandoning (as, e.g., in line 9.69).

Line 72. *ṇisado*: Cf. lines 9.30, 54 and 105, and see the note on line 9.30 for this technical term.

Transcription:

- | M
72. ... asa va śileṇa daśaṇo · samasie bha[v]aṇa [·] jagarado aṇata

| M
73. riabhumi · ḡasti bhayo kridavida · due ḡivanāḍhadhadue ñadava · u ti a
[s]. [a]. [ga]

| M
74. ? ? ? ? sa di da vo [·] .[oha]praha[n]o ? + ? ☰ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va śileṇa daśaṇo · samasie bhavaṇa · **jagarado** añata[73]riabhumi · **nasti**
bhayo kridavida · due ḥivaṇadhadhue ñadava · u ti a s. a. ga [74] ? ? ? ? sa di
da vo · .ohaprahaṇo ? + ? ☺

Translation:

Or otherwise: By virtue (is meant) seeing. By concentration (is meant) development. **For the one who is awake:** [73] the plane of immediacy. **There is no fear:** the state of one who is accomplished. The two extinction elements should be known. + + + + + [74] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Lines 72. *daśano*: For the Four Planes see § 1.2.2.

Line 74. ? ? ? ? *sa di da vo*: The bark is torn and folded over at the beginning of this line. The word in question appears to be a gerundive, but its lexical identity is uncertain. Just possibly the form is [ni]sadidavo (cf. *nisada-* and P *sanditabba-*).

[oha]praha[n]o ? + ?: The first word could be one of (**l*)[*oha*]praha[n]o, (**m*)[*oha*]praha[n]o or [*oha*]praha[n]o, possibly followed by [nádavo].

10 (Lines 9.74–81)

This section explains a verse with unknown immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ajaro jiamaṇena | For what ages what is without aging, |
| daśaman̄(*eṇa) ḥivudi | for what burns extinction |
| ṅimesa parama śati | exchange, the ultimate calmness, |
| yoakṣemo (*anutaro) | (*the highest) rest from exertion. |

There are three runs of the commentary in this section. The first run provides general explanation, identifying the five assuming categories (*uadaṇakadha-*) and the Three Sources (*nidana-*) as obstacles to liberation, and identifying liberation as the two extinction elements (*nivanādhadu-*). The second run of the commentary provides equations of pādas a to c with the Four Truths, specifying knowing (*ñana-*) as the path leading to removal of the origin of pain. The third run equates pādas a to c with the Three Courses.

| | 1: 975–78 | 2: 978–80
(sakṣeva) | 3: 980–81
(asa va) |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|-----------------------|
| ajaro | <i>aṇuadišeṣa</i>
<i>nivanādhadu</i> | <i>nirosa-</i> | <i>dukhakṣaya-</i> |
| jiamaṇena | <i>paca uadaṇakadha</i> | <i>dukha-</i> | |
| dasáman̄(*eṇa) | <i>trihi nidanehi</i> | <i>samudaya-</i> | <i>kileśakṣaya-</i> |
| ṅivudi | | <i>nirosa-</i> | |
| ṅimesa parama śati | | <i>maga-</i> | <i>kamakṣaya-</i> |
| yoakṣemo (*anutaro) | <i>due nivanādhadue</i> | | |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *ajara* (line 9.112). – The Theragāthā parallel of this verse is explained at Th-a 98.7–99.2.

Transcription:

74. ... ajaro ji[a]man[e]na sutro tatra ṣideśo

75. ajaro aṇuadiś[e]ṣa ṣivanādhadu · jiamano · paca u[ada]ṇakadha · te
osiradi

- |^M
76. nivaṇo payeṣidavo · ajaribhave · daśamaṇa · tr[i]hi ni[dan].hi tiṣa
kṣayo · paye
- |^M
77. śida[vo] · ya[tra] ḥa ka yi · daśan[o] eṣa ho so yoakṣemo · due
nivanadhadue · ɳ[i]mes[a]
- |^M
78. parama śati [·] d[o]kha yatro osirida griṇa[sa] due ɳivaṇadhadue
[·] ...

Reconstruction:

ajaro jiamaṇena sutro tatra ɳideśo [75] **ajaro** aṇuadišeṣa ɳivaṇadhadu ·
jiamaṇo · paca uadaṇakadha · te osiradi [76] nivaṇo payeṣidavo · ajaribhave · **daśamaṇa** · trihi nidan(*e)hi tiṣa kṣayo · paye[77]śidavo · yatra ḥa ka yi · daśano eṣa ho so **yoakṣemo** · due nivanadhadue · **ṇimesa** [78] **parama śati** · dokha yatro osirida griṇasa due ɳivaṇadhadue ·

Translation:

For what ages what is without aging is the text. The explanation on it: [75] **Without aging**: the extinction element without fuel remaining. **What ages**: the five assuming categories. He rejects them. [76] Extinction should be searched for in being without aging. **What burns**: with the three sources. Their exhaustion [77] should be searched for. Where there is no burning, that indeed is that **rest from exertion**: the two extinction elements. **Exchange** [78] **the ultimate calmness**: where pain has been rejected take the two extinction elements.

Text notes:

Line 74. *ji[a]man[e]na*: For the graphical sequence *n* ... *n* in similar configuration cf. *prahan[en]Ja* 9.85. In general, however, the distribution of the two nasal signs does not appear to be governed by any phonological or morphological principles (§ 4.2.2).

Line 75. *osiradi*: The only occurrence of a member of this word family (cf. BHSD s.v. *avaśirati*) in Pali is *osirāṇā* Pet 68.23 (cf. Nāṇamoli 1964: 87) in a comment

referring to a root-verse word *avasajjī* (a metrically lengthened preterite form of *osajjati*), providing a further piece of evidence for a Northwest Indian background of the Peṭakopadesa.

Line 76. *ni[dan](*)hi*: This word was read *ni[ghe]hi* in Salomon 1999: 28. What looked like the right arm of [gh], however, turns out to be on a loose chip, and now that the general methodology and terminology of our commentary are better understood there can be no doubt that this is a reference to the Three Sources rather than an occurrence of the weakly attested word P *nigha-*, a back-formation from *anigha-* which is spelled *anikha-* elsewhere in our text (lines 9.159, 13.84, 89).

***tiṣa kṣayo*:** It is possible, but less likely than the adopted interpretation, that this should be understood as *tiṣakṣayo* ‘exhaustion of craving,’ with what appears to be the genuine Gāndhārī form of the word OIA *trṣṇā-* (cf. *tiṣida-* AG-G^L 46).

Line 77. *daśan[o]*: This is an action noun derived from the Middle Indo-Aryan present *daśadi* ‘burn’ < OIA *dahyate*. The spelling ś thus regularly represents the outcome of OIA *hy* rather than standing in for *h* (Salomon 1999: 29).

***n[i]mes[a]*:** This is a second-person plural imperative of OIA *ni* + √*me* ‘to exchange,’ regularly substituting the indicative ending and otherwise contracted from the thematic formation *nimayata* (cf. *nimayet pakvam āmena* MBh 12.79.7c) rather than based on the more common second- and third-class forms *nimīta* and *nimimīta*. The same form as in our manuscript is spelled *nimedha* in the Khotan Dharmapada parallel, while the Pali Theragāthā parallel has a first-person future *nimissam* in its place.

Line 78. *yatro osirida*: This is one of the occasional attempts to write vowel sandhi in our manuscript (cf. *ya[s]i [i]d(*r)iañi* 9.94).

***d[o]kha*:** Or maybe *d[u]kha* with broken *u* mātrā.

Transcription:

78. ... sakṣeva jia

79. maṇa dukho · ajare ḥ[i]vudi · ḥiroso · dajamaṇa · samudayo [·]
 nimesa · ḥanena
80. [o]siridava · aya mago [·] ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva jia[79]maṇa dukho · ajare ḥivudi · ḥiroso · dajamaṇa · samudayo ·
 nimesa · ḥanena [80] osiridava · aya mago ·

Translation:

In brief: [79] **What ages**: pain. **Extinction in what is without aging**: the cessation. **What burns**: the origin. **Exchange**: [80] it should be rejected through knowing; this is the path.

Text notes:

- Line 79. *dukho*: For reduction to the Four Truths see § 1.2.2.
- Line 80. The beginning of this line is empty due to a defect in the bark.
- mago [·]*: The punctuation was apparently first omitted, then secondarily added on top of *[go]*.

Transcription:

80. ... asa va ḥivudi kileśa[kṣa]yo · ḥimesa
81. | M+N | N
 ka makṣayo · ajaro dukhakṣayo ☹ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va ḥivudi kileśakṣayo · ḥimesa [81] kamakṣayo · ajaro dukhakṣayo ☹

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Extinction**: exhaustion of defilement. **Exchange**: [81] exhaustion of action. **Without aging**: exhaustion of pain.

Text note:

- Line 80. *kileśa[kṣa]yo*: For reduction to the Three Courses see § 1.2.2.

11 (Lines 981–87)

This section explains a verse with uncertain immediate source that can be partially reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| paca kadha pariñae | Having diagnosed the five categories, |
| + + + + + + + + | + + + + + + + + |
| agi va aṇuadāṇo | like a fire without fuel |
| ś(*i)dihodo aṇasavo | become cool and taintless. |

The remaining uncertainty about the wording of the unreconstructed pāda, as well as about the relative order of pādas b and d, complicate analysis of the structure of this section. It appears to consist of a single run of the commentary, starting from the explanation of the *kadha* of pāda a as assuming categories (*uadanakadha-*) and the equation of their diagnosis with two of the Four Truths, diagnosis of suffering (*dukhapariñā-*) and the path (*maga-*). The following word or words (*kileśasamudayo-parikṣayena*) probably contain a reference to the unreconstructed pāda (here ordered as pāda b) which is equated with another one of the Four Truths, cessation (*nirosa-*). At this point, the commentary jumps to what we tentatively take to be pāda d, explaining its first half as the extinction element without fuel remaining (*aṇuadiśeṣa-*) and adding a quotation of the Final Liberation formula. The commentary adds abandoning of lust (*raga-*) as an alternative interpretation of this half-pāda, and then makes an equation with abandoning of craving (*taṣa-*) that must encompass at least pādas a and c and the first half of pāda d, and possibly also the unreconstructed pāda b. This equation is contrasted with abandoning of ignorance, assigned to the second half of pāda d. The succinct statement that follows, *due vimutie*, will refer to the corresponding two kinds of liberation, heart liberation (*cedovimuti-*) and understanding liberation (*prañavimuti-*). It remains quite unclear how the following word *niroso* fits into the flow of the commentary. The next expression, *kileśaprahaṇena*, could be a reference to pāda b which had previously

been equated with *ṇirosa-*, but this would not fit the following word *samudeaprahaṇa*, a reference to the missing member of the Four Truths. The scope of the next equation, with the extinction element with fuel remaining (*saiadišeṣa-*), also remains unclear. The section concludes with a quotation of pāda c which is equated with the extinction element without fuel remaining (like the first half of pāda d earlier) and with severing of the Three Courses.

| | 9.81–85 | 9.85–86 | 9.86 |
|--------------------|--|----------------------|--------------------|
| paca kadha pariñae | <i>dukhapariñā-,
maga-</i> | | |
| + + + + + + + | <i>ṇirosa-</i> | | |
| agi va aṇuadaṇo | | <i>taṣaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>due vimutie</i> |
| ś(*i)dihodo | <i>aṇuadisēṣa-,
ragasa prahaṇena</i> | | |
| aṇasavo | | <i>avijaprahaṇa-</i> | |

| | 9.86–87 | 9.87 |
|--------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|
| paca kadha pariñae | | |
| + + + + + + + | | |
| agi va aṇuadaṇo | ? | <i>aṇuadisēṣa,
trivatacheda-</i> |
| ś(*i)dihodo | | |
| aṇasavo | | |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *k[a]dha* (line 9.112). – A parallel of pāda a of this verse is explained at Th-a II 156.32–36.

Transcription:

81. paca kadha pariñae sutro tatra ḥideṣo pa
 82. [ca ua]daṇakadha · udeastagamado · parian[i]dava · aya
 [du]khpariñā [ca] ma[go] ca [·]

83. [ki]l[e]śasa[mu]dayo·pari[kṣa]yenā niroso · [ś].di[ho]do · aṇuadišeṣa ·
yasa

84. [vu]ca iṣa śeva · savanā vedaīdanī · śidiñabhabavaśati [·] te prayanati ·
asa va ra

85. | O | N+O | O | N+O | O
gasa prahan̄[en]a śidi bhu do [v]u[ca] di · [aya]
| N+O | N | N+O | N | N+O | N
taṣa]p[r]ahaṇa · a ḥasa vo a vi jap.[ha]

86. | O
ṇa · due vimutie niroso kileśaprahaṇa · samudeaprahaṇa · a[ya]
saüa

87. | O
dišeṣa · agi va aṇ[u]adano · aṇuadišeṣa · trivaṭach[e]do · ☷ ...

Reconstruction:

pacakadha pariñae sutro tatra nideśo pa[82]ca uadañakadha · udeasta-
 gamado · pariañidava · aya dukhapariña ca mago ca ·
 [83] kileśasamudayo·parikṣayenā niroso · ś(*i)dihodo · anuadišeṣa · yasa
 [84] vuca<*di> iśa śeva · savan<*i> vedaïdaṇi · śidi{na}bhav<*i>śati · te
 prayanati · asa va ra[85]gasa prahañena śidibhudo vucadi · aya taṣaprahaṇa ·
anasavo avijap(*r)aha[86]na · due vimutie niroso kileśaprahaṇ<*e>na ·
 samudeaprahaṇa · aya saüa[87]dišeṣa · **agi** va **anuadano** · anuadišeṣa · tri-
 vaṭachedo · ☩

Translation:

Having diagnosed the five categories is the text. The explanation on it: [82] The five assuming categories should be diagnosed in regard to (their) rise and disappearance. This is both the diagnosis of pain and the path. [83] Through complete exhaustion of the origin of defilement the cessation. **Become cool:** the one without fuel remaining. As [84] is said: "Right here all that is felt becomes cool, they understand." Or otherwise: [85] Because of

abandoning of lust he is said to have become cool; this is abandoning of craving. **Taintless:** [86] abandoning of ignorance. Two liberations, the cessation. Through abandoning of defilement abandoning of the origin. This is [87] the one with fuel remaining. **Like a fire without fuel:** the one without fuel remaining, severing of the three courses.

Text notes:

Lines 81–82. *pa[ca ua]daṇakadha · udeastagamado · parian[i]dava*: With this expression cf. *paca kadha udeastagama[d]o p[a]śidava* 9.14 and *[paca kadha udea]stagamado nāda* 9.215.

Line 83. *[ki]l[e]śasa[mu]dayo·pari[kṣa]yena*: This should probably be interpreted as one word. Cf. Nāgārjuna's Yuktiśāstikākarikā, verse 47: *sa* (scil. *rāgadveśodbhavo*) *hetuh sarvadrṣṭinām kleśotpattir na tam vinā tasmāt tasmin pariññāte dṛṣṭikleśapari-kṣayah*.

aṇuadišeṣa: The word *nīvaṇadhādu* is probably implied here, although the adjective is occasionally applied to people (see line 997 and the Pali reference there). With the wording and overall structure of this passage, cf. *rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto ti dve nibbānadhadhātuyo desitā sopādisesā ca anupādisesā ca* Peṭ 235 and *rāgadosamohakkhayā sa nibbuto ti dve nibbānadhadhātuyo saüpādisesā ca anupādisesā ca. idam nissaraṇam* Nett 309.

Line 84. *iśa śeva*: Probably miscopied from *iśa yeva* under the influence of the first akṣara *śa*. The quotation is of a canonical formula that expresses the realization of final liberation and occurs in many suttas of the Majjhima-, Saṃyutta- and Aṅguttaranikāya, for instance in the Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta (MN III 245.2–4), the Parivimāṇsana sutta (SN II 4–6) and the Vappa sutta (AN II 198.33–34): *kāyassa bhedā uddham jīvitapariyādānā idheva sabbavedayitāni anabhinanditāni sūtibhavissantī ti pajānāti*. An extended formulation connecting it with the extinction element without fuel remaininig, as in our text, occurs in the Pali Itivuttaka (It 38.18–20): *katamā ca bhikkhave anupādisesā nibbānadhadhātu? idha bhikkhave bhikkhu araham hoti khīnāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇīyo ohitabhāro anuppattasadattho*

parikkhīṇabhaṣaṁyojano sammadaññāvimutto. tassa idheva bhikkhave sabbavedayitāni anabhinanditāni sītibhavissanti, ayam vuccati bhikkhave anupādisesā nibbānadhātu. The unpublished University of Washington scroll appears to contain a commentary on this Final Liberation formula.

*śidi{na}bhav<*i>śati [-] te:* On the strength of the Pali parallel, these words are probably miscopied from *śidibhaviśati di* with quotation particle.

Line 85. *prahaṇ[en]a*: For the graphical sequence *n* ... *n* in similar configuration cf. *ji[a]man[e]na* 9.74.

Line 87. The end of this section is indicated by a large punctuation mark in the right margin.

agi va an[u]adano: Similar similes involving fire and its fuel are used in the University of Washington scroll.

trivaṭach[e]do: What looks like an additional short leftward stroke at the upper tip of *ta* is probably just a smudged false start. For the Three Courses see § 1.2.2.

12 (Lines 9.87–97)

This section explains a verse from the Sabhikasutta that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| yasa idriāṇi subhavidani | Whose faculties are well-developed, |
| vroṣiva vigadarayo vitiṇokakṣo | the perfected one(?), with dirt gone away, |
| (*ṇivija) imo par(*a ca) logo | having crossed over doubt, |
| kalo kakṣadi bhavid(*o) sa dato | (*having pierced) this and the other world
this tamed one, developed, awaits (his)
time. |

The section contains three runs of the commentary. After providing general explanation of pāda a, the first run connects the first word of pāda b with the path (*maga-*) as one of the Four Truths, first in the explanatory compound *bhavidamaga-* and then apparently again in the partly legible second half of line 9.89; it is possible

but not certain that this portion also contains a reference to the origin (*samudea-*). The second word of pāda b is equated with abandoning of craving (*taṣa-*), and the third with abandoning of ignorance (*avija-*), and based on this the second and third words together are equated with abandoning of confusion (*samoha-*) and cessation (*nirosa-*) as another one of the Four Truths. The two halves of pāda c are then first equated with the desire element (*kamadhadu-*) and with the form and formless elements (*ruarupa-*), then with the internal and external sense spheres (*aṭatviabahirayadāna-*). This is followed by a damaged and unclear reference to what appears to be four fruits (*catvari phala*); there is, however, no good way to fit the four fruits of monastic life into this context, and it is possible that these akṣaras should be read differently. The following equation with the diagnosis of pain (*dukhapariñā-*) as another one of the Four Truths certainly points back directly to the sense spheres as the realm of craving, the cause of pain. This run of the commentary concludes with a canonical quotation to illustrate pāda d. The second run returns to the faculties of pāda a, first correlating them with the six sense faculties (*sadiidria-*), but then after an illegible portion apparently interpreting them as the different set of three faculties faith, concentration and understanding, shown by the illustrative reference to the elder *Paraśaria who was famous for having developed them. Consequently, this run equates pāda a with the Truth cessation (*nirosa-*), assigned to the second pāda in the first run of the commentary. The third run appears to sum up all previous references to the Four Truths in relation to pādas a–c, connecting them with the development of body, heart and understanding, and presenting pāda d as their result, the attainment of the extinction element without fuel remaining.

| 1: 987–93 | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|--|--|--|
| yasa idriāni subhavidani | | | <i>ajatviabahira</i>
<i>ayadana,</i>
<i>dukhapariñā-</i> | |
| vrośiva | <i>maga-</i> | | | |
| vigadarayo | <i>taśaprahāna-</i> | <i>samohaprahāna-,</i>
<i>ṇirosa-</i> | | |
| vitiṇokakṣo | <i>avijaprahāna-</i> | | | |
| (*ṇivija) imo | | <i>kamadhadu-</i> | | |
| par(*a ca) logo | | <i>ruarupa-</i> | | |
| kalo kakṣadi (*bhavido) sa dato | | | | |

| | 2: 994–95
(asa va) | 3: 995–97
(sakṣeva) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| yasa idriāni subhavidani | <i>ṇirosa-</i> | <i>bhavidakaya-,</i>
<i>bhavidacita-,</i>
<i>bhavidaprañā-</i> |
| vrośiva | | |
| vigadarayo | | |
| vitiṇokakṣo | | |
| (*ṇivija) imo | | |
| par(*a ca) logo | | |
| kalo kakṣadi (*bhavido) sa dato | | <i>anuadiśesa-</i> |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *yasa idra* (line 9.112). – The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Pj II 426. The verse is used for illustration in Pet 52.19–53.1 and Nett 170.2–14, and it serves as part of the Pali Niddesa's stereotyped explanations of the word *upekkhaka-* at Nidd I 244.1–4 (on Sn 855) and of the word *bhāvitatta-* at Nidd II 60.11–12 (on Sn 1049).

Transcription:

87. ... yas[a]
88. |O |O+P |O |O+P |O |O+P |O
[i]dria ṇa su bhavida ni su tro tatra ni deśo · s[u]bhavida ·
sun[i]sevida · suavaṭida · vro
89. |P
siva · bhavidamag[o] · p[a]ḍipraśadhi · maga [sa] ? ? ? [da a]. [vi] +

| O+P | P | O+P
 [g]. [ka mu]ṇa ·

90. | P
 vigadarayo · taṣaprahaṇa · vitiṇoka[kṣ]o · avijaprahaṇa · uhaehi sa
91. | P | P+Q | P | P+Q | P | P+Q | P
 [m].[hap].[ha] ḡa ca · n.ro sa ca · [i] mo logo
 k[a]ma dha du · pa ro logo
92. | Q
 ruarupa · asa va a[ṛ]atviabahira · a[yā]daṇa · ? [s]. ? [ca]tvari pha[la] ·
 aya
93. | Q
 dukhapariṇa · kalo kakṣadi · ya vuto nabhinadami marano
 navinadami jivido ·
94. | Q | Q+R | Q | Q+R | Q | Q+R | Q | Q+R
 [asa va] ya [s]i [i] d.ia ḡi subhavi [da] ni · ḡa[ṛ]idri[o]
 ? ? + + ? ? + [ṇ]. + + ? ? // + +
95. | R
 vidiidrio vuca · yasa para[c]ariasa · [a]ca nirosa · sa[kṣeva] yeṇa
 c[a]d[uhi sa]
96. | R
 [c]e[hi ḡa]ṇo purido · so bhavidaka[yo ·] bhavidacito · bhavidapraño ·
 savatriṇa bhavida[tva]
97. | R
 [sa da]to · so ca aṇua[diśeṣ](*)o [· ta v]ucadi kale ka[kṣadi] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

yasa [88] **idriṇi**/*i> subhavidani sutro tatra nideśo · **subhavida** · sunisevida ·
 suavaṭida · vro[89]ṣiva · bhavidamago · paḍipraṣadhi · maga sa ? ? ? da a. vi
 + g. kamuṇa · [90] **vigadarayo** · taṣaprahaṇa · vitiṇokakṣo · avijaprahaṇa ·
 uhaehi sa[91]m(*)hap(*)r)ahaṇa ca · n(*)irosa ca · **imo logo** kamadhadu ·
paro logo [92] ruarupa · asa va aṛatviabahira · ayadaṇa · ? s. ? catvari phala ·
 aya [93] dukhapariṇa · **kalo kakṣadi** · ya vuto nabhinadami marano navi-

nadami jivido · [94] asa va **yasi id(*r)ianī subhavidani** · ṣadiidrio ? ? + + ? ?
 + ḥ. + + ? ? + (*bha)[95]vidiidrio vuca<*di> · yasa paracariasa · aca nirosa ·
 sakṣeva yeṇa caduhi sa[96]cehi ḥaṇo purido · so bhavidakayo · bhavidacito ·
 bhavidapraṇo · savatṛṇa bhavidatva [97] **sa dato** · so ca aṇuadišeṣ(*o) · ta
 vucadi **kale kakṣadi** §§

Translation:

Whose [88] faculties are well-developed is the text. The explanation on it:
Well-developed: well-practised, well-settled. **The perfected one(?)**: who
 has developed the path; allaying + + + + + + + + + + + [90] **With dirt
 gone away**: abandoning of craving. **Having crossed over doubt**: abandoning
 of ignorance. By both (is meant) both [91] abandoning of confusion and the
 cessation. **This world**: the desire element. **The other world**: [92] form and
 formlessness. Or otherwise: Internal and external spheres + + four fruits.
 This is [93] the diagnosis of pain. **Awaits (his) time**: wherefore it is said: “I
 do not look forward to death, I do not look forward to life.” [94] Or
 otherwise: **Whose faculties are well-developed**: the six faculties + + + +
 + + + + + + [95] is called one whose faculties are developed, like (those)
 of Paracaria; this is the cessation. In brief: Who [96] has filled knowing with
 the four truths, that one has a developed body, a developed heart, developed
 understanding. Because of all three being developed [97] **he is tamed** and he
 is without fuel remaining. Therefore it is said that **he awaits (his) time**.

Text notes:

Line 88. *sun[i]sevida*: There is no direct Pali or Sanskrit parallel form for this word, but it is clearly an intensification of P *nisevita*- ‘frequented, practised.’

suavatida: The basis of this intensification, similar to the preceding, has a parallel in P *avat̄hita*- ‘settled.’ In combination with *cita*- (rather than *im̄dria*-), the Saṅgītisūtra commentary attests this word in the term *citavat̄ha*- ‘settlement of the heart’ that occurs in the section on the Four Meditations (*ṭāna*-). Cf., however, also the combination *suavat̄hidacito* 13.38 with a different prefix.

Lines 88–89. *vrosiva*: The etymology of this word, which is evidently related to P *vusūmant-*, remains unclear (see Caillat 1991b and Norman 1992: 382–383 for earlier attempts), but the newly attested Gāndhārī form suggests that the first syllable originally contained a syllabic *r*, so it may well be connected with √*vr̥ṣ* ‘to rain, to have manly power.’ It occurs in the genitive singular *vrosimado* in line 9.176 (followed by *bhavidamagasa*), and may further be related to *vrosidava* 18.15.

Line 89. [vi] + [g]. [kamu]na: This sequence should maybe be reconstructed as [vi](*)va[gakamu]na. The rare term *vipākakamma-* maybe also occurs in the Petakopadesa: *vipākakammam na vipākakammam nevavipākanavipākakammam* Pet 23 (even though Nānamoli 1964: 28 emends to *vipākadhamma-* in all three cases).

Line 90. *vigadarayo* ... *vitiṇoka[kṣ]o*: The wording of pāda b of the root verse, peculiar to the Gāndhārī version, has echoes in the immediate context of the Pali parallel (Sn 516): pāda c of the following verse (Sn 517) contains the word *vigatarajam*, and pāda b of a closely preceding verse (Sn 514) contains the word *vitiṇnakamkho*. (Maybe not coincidentally, a Gāndhārī version of Sn 514 is also discussed in section 37 of our commentary.)

Line 93. *ya vuto*: The word *ya* is used adverbially to express a reason and corresponds to Pali *yam* in this usage.

nabhinadami marano: This quotation corresponds to Th 606 and 607. In the explanation of our root verse given in Pj II 426, a six-pāda verse is quoted whose pādas c–f correspond to Th 606, but which has the variant *nābhikanikhāmi* instead of *nābhinandāmi*.

Line 94. *ya[s]ji [i]d(*r)ianī*: This is one of the occasional attempts to write vowel sandhi in our manuscript (cf. *yatro osirida* 9.78).

ṣa[di]idri[o]: This unexpected form, with vowel sandhi as if from *ṣada-* + *idria-* rather than historical *ṣad-* + *idria-*, was doubtless influenced by the vowel sandhi occurring earlier in the same line. The form *ṣadi-* developed some currency of its own in Buddhist Sanskrit, cf. BHSD s.v. *ṣadi* and BHSG § 19.24.

Line 94–95. (**bha*)*vidiidrio*: This continues the string of vowel sandhi indications

started by *ya[s]i [i]d(*r)ianī* and *śa[di]idri[o]*.

Line 95. *vuca(*di)*: The *ca* is surprisingly large, and one suspects vacillation between *vuto* and *vucadi* before the scribe settled on the latter.

yasa para[c]ariasa: This is a proper name, corresponding to P *pārāsariya* and *pārāpariya* (DPPN s.vv.). According to Th-a III 20, it is the gotra name of the person in question (*pārāpariyassā ti pārāparagottasa*). *Pārāsariya* thus appears to be the more original form, referring to a member of the Parāśara gotra (Brough 1953: 174–176). Norman 1969: 134, 288 discusses confusion of *s* and *p* in this and other words, attributing it to “the time when the texts were first written down.” While it appears unnecessary to assume such an early date for this confusion since even in the modern Sinhalese script the letters *s* and *p* are very similar (ස and ප; cf. Cone 2007: 96), it certainly goes back to the time of Dhammapāla (fifth century CE or later) who notes it in Th-a III 20 (*pārāpariyassā ti ... pārāsariyassā ti pi pathanti*). – Three groups of Th verses (116, 726–746, 920–948) are attributed to an elder Pārāsariya / Pārāpariya, and according to Th-a III 18 the Indriyabhāvanāsutta (MN III 297–302 – the last sutta of the Majjhimanikāya) was addressed to the author of the second group of verses. It appears to be this Pārāsariya that the Gāndhārī commentary is referring to, though it remains uncertain whether it has a particular text in mind (such as the second Th passage or the MN sutta) or mentions Pārāsariya in a general way as an elder whose name was associated with a method of developing the sense faculties. – The Gāndhārī form with medial *c* will most likely be a spelling for [j] based on a misreading of *s* in an exemplar whose hand did not clearly distinguish the signs *ya* and *śa*, such as that of the EĀ-G manuscript.⁵⁶

[a]ca: Strangely, the same wrong historical spelling of *c* for [j] that is part of the explanation for *para[c]ariasa* earlier in the line also occurs in this very common pronoun (usually spelled *aya*). But in light of the numerous parallel formulations in

⁵⁶ Interestingly, Th-a (Be) gives the passage quoted above as *pārāpariyassā ti ... pārācariyassā ti pi pathanti*, but it seems unnecessary to connect the Be *c* spelling with the historically remote one in the Gāndhārī commentary since the modern Burmese pronunciation of *c* is [s] (while that of *s* is [θ]) so that the Be *c* may well be due to a recent confusion within the Burmese manuscript tradition.

this and other sections of the commentary, there can be no doubt about the identity of the word, and this makes it rather more likely that *aca* and *aco* in the interlinear notations of the British Library avadāna manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 75–76, Lenz 2003: 148–149) also represent the pronoun rather than OIA *adya* (notwithstanding the single clear case of *aca* < OIA *adya* in RS 2, produced a hundred years later by a scribe with different orthographic peculiarities).

Line 96. *savatrinā*: See § 5.2.3 for the compounding of *sava-* and *tri-*.

Line 97. *anua[diśeṣa]*: This word can be used of persons as well as of one of the extinction elements (*ayam anupādiseso puggalo anupādisesā ca nibbānadhadhātu* Nett 109.13), and the former is the case here.

kale ka[kṣadi]: In Pali, *kaikhati* governs the locative when meaning ‘doubt,’ but the accusative when meaning ‘await.’ In view of this and of the earlier quotation of this word as *kalo* in line 9.93, the present form in all likelihood also represents the Gāndhārī direct case. If the unexpected vowel is connected with the Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan nominative singular ending *-e*, then the collapse of nominative and accusative into a single direct case in Gāndhārī must have played a role in the transfer of this ending to the accusative, and maybe such forms should be considered hyper-Easternisms.

13 (Lines 9.97–105)

This section explains a verse from the Pārā�ana that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| prachamaho kevalino mahesi | I ask the accomplished one, the great seer, |
| janami tva vedago bhavidatva | I know that you are wise and of developed |
| kudu ṇu dukho samudagado (*ida) | self: |
| (*ya ki ci logaspi) aṇegaruo | from where now does (*this) pain originate
(*whichever is in the world) having many
forms. |

The section contains three runs of the commentary. In the first run, the word *kevali-* from pāda a is equated with abandoning of craving (*taśaprahāṇa-*). A linguistic explanation is provided for the word *mahiṣi* and it is connected with omniscience (*sarvañuda-*), followed by a brief illegible section that may have contained a formal equation corresponding to that provided for *kevali-*. The word *vedaga-* ‘wise’ from pāda b is analyzed as a compound of *veda-* and √*gam* and paraphrased as ‘going to the further shore of understanding’ (*prañavaraga-*). The explanation of the remainder of pāda b is mostly illegible, but involves the word *ñāṇa-* ‘knowing.’ Pāda c is then equated with the painfulness of determination (*sakharadukhada-*), and pāda d with the other two kinds of painfulness (*due dukhada*, i.e., painfulness of pain and painfulness of change). As an alternative interpretation, the commentary suggests that pāda d relates to all three kinds of painfulness. The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas a–c to the Five States. The third run of the commentary assumes the first run’s equation of *kevali-* with abandoning of craving without repeating it, and states that some (*ke yi*) additionally equate *kevali-* with the removal of ignorance. From the abandoning of both of these roots, the state of liberation, the state of possessing the ten powers, the state of knowing the Truths, an illegible result and finally the outcome (*ñisada-*), i.e., liberation, are said to follow.

| | 1: 9.98–102
(asa va) | | 2: 9.102–103
(sakṣeva) |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| prachamaho kevali(*ño) | <i>taśaprahana-</i> | ? | <i>vimutida-</i> |
| mahiṣi | ? | | <i>vriṣavida-</i> |
| janami tva vedago bhavidatva | ? | | <i>ñanida-</i> |
| kudu ṣu dukho samudagado (*ida) | <i>sakharadukhada-</i> | | <i>uṭaveda-,
pradīthaveda-</i> |
| (*ya ki ci logaspi) aṅregaruo | <i>due dukhada</i> | <i>trae dukhada</i> | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| | 3: 9.103–105
(ke yi) | |
| prachamaho kevali(*ṇo) | abandoning of
craving | vimutida-,
daśabalada-,
sacañada-
...
nisada- |
| maheśi | avijae ... | |
| janami tva vedago bhavidatva | | |
| kudu ṇu dukho samudagado (*ida) | | |
| (*ya ki ci logaspi) aṇegaruo | | |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *[kevali]* (line 9.112). – The Suttanipāta parallel of the verse is explained at Nidd II 14, Pj II 590 and Nidd-a III 19.

Transcription:

97. ... [pracha]ma[ho] ke[vali] +
98. s.[tro tatra ḷide]śo k[i]vali taṣaprahaṇa · maheśi · mahato ḫaṇo
[e]ṣido sarvañ[uda]
99. + + + + //? [ho] · janami tva · vedago si prañavarago si ·
bhavidatva śamasa sa ?
100. ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? n[a]ṇ[ada] · ? ? [nā]ṇada[śida pur]. ? + .u[d].
[ṇ]u [d].[kho] sa[mudagad]. [sakha]
101. [ra]dukh[a]da · aṇegaruo [d]u[e] dukhada · asa va kudu ṇa dukho ·
[samudagado dukhasa] hedu prachadi [·]
102. [a]ṇegaru[o tra]e dukhada · ...

Reconstruction:

prachamaho kevali(*ṇo) [98] s(*u)tro tatra ḷideśo kivali taṣaprahaṇa ·
maheśi · mahato ḫaṇo eṣido sarvañuda [99] + + + + ? ho · janami tva ·

vedago si prañavarago si · **bhavidatva** śamasa sa ? [100] ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
 ñaṇada · ? ? ñaṇadaśida pur. ? (*· k)ud(*u) ḥu d(*u)kho samudagad(*o)
 sakha[101]radukhada · **aṇegaruo** due dukhada · asa va **kudu** ḥ<*u> dukho ·
samudagado dukhasa hedu prachadi · [102] **aṇegaruo** trae dukhada ·

Translation:

I ask the accomplished one [98] is the text. The explanation on it:
Accomplished one: abandoning of craving. **Great seer** (*maheśi-*): the great
(*mahata-*) place is searched for (*eṣida-*), omniscience [99] + + + + + I
know that you are wise: that you go to the further shore of understanding.
Of developed self: + + + + [100] +
+ + **From where now does pain originate**: [101] the painfulness of
determination. **Having many forms**: the two painfulnesses. Or otherwise:
From where now does pain originate: he asks about the cause of pain.
[102] **Having many forms**: the three painfulnesses.

Text notes:

Line 97. *ke[vali](*)no*: The akṣara *no* is reconstructed on the basis of its presence in *kevalino* 9.102 and in the Pali parallel, and because otherwise the line would have stopped somewhat short. The uddāna entry for this verse is *[keva]li*, but that may be the Gāndhārī direct-case form, used in an attempt to form an even anuṣṭubh pāda.

Line 98. *k[i]vali ... maheśi*: Both forms are cases of the Gāndhārī direct case being used for quotation where the root verse has inherited accusative forms.

mahato ṭhano [e]ṣido: The akṣara *[e]* has a peculiar bottom. – This phrase provides a linguistic explanation of *maheśi-*. There is no direct parallel in the Pali tradition, but a similar phrase used without connection to *maheśi-* is *mahantam ṭhānam patthitam* Mp I 164, 184, Th-a III 122. For another linguistic explanation involving the verb *√iṣ* see *mariṣa ... [e]ṣ[a]n[a] ḥa[sti]* in line 9.121.

Lines 98–99. *sarvañ[uda] + + + + ? [ho]*: Maybe reconstruct *sarvañ[uda](*)e stavadi ·) [aho]*.

Line 99. + + + + ? [ho] · *janami tva*: Alternatively, the preceding line could

end with direct-case *savañ[uda]*, and the present line could be reconstructed (*mañāmi tva ·) [aho] · janāmi tva, parallel to the explanation of this pāda given in Nidd II 57 (*maññāmi tam vedagū bhāvitattan ti. vedagū ti tam maññāmi, bhāvitatto ti tam maññāmi, evañ jānāmi, evañ ājānāmi, evañ pañjānāmi, evañ pativijjhāmi*) which explains *maññāmi* in the Pali root verse using a synonym string starting with *jānāmi*.

prañavarago: This gloss interprets *vedago* as a compound, explaining *veda-* as *prañā-* and *-go* as *-varago*. The actual origin of the word *vedaga-* may have been *vedaka-* ‘who has knowledge, wise’ (Norman 1992: 208), and the commentarial explanation does not rule out that the regular understanding of the Gāndhārī word was also simply ‘wise.’

Line 100. *ñ[a]ñ[ada]*: The beginning of this line is illegible and may have contained a prior member of a compound ending in *ñ[a]ñ[ada]*. We may thus either have a synonymous abstract-noun formation based on *ñāña-* or a compound from the whole of which an abstract noun has been formed. For both possibilities cf. BHSD s.v. *jñanatā*, which also quotes the word *jñānatāparipūrtyai* (cf. likely *[pur](*)ida* later in this line) from the Laṅkāvatārasūtra. It can, however, also not be ruled out that the correct reading of these akṣaras is *ñ[a]ñ[asa]*.

? ? *[ñ[a]ñada[śida pur]*. ?: A likely reconstruction for the last word of this phrase is *[pur](*)ida* (cf. also the previous note). It is preceded by an abstract noun based either on **ñāñadaśi-* (cf. Sn 478 *ñāñadassī*, paraphrased in Pj II 411 as *ñāñadassitāya*) or on a compound ending in this word. It is possible that a reference to the fifth of the extended set of Five Categories (Eimer 2006: 40) is intended. These Categories are listed in line 7 of Senavarma’s reliquary inscription (CKI 249) as follows: *śilaparibhavita samasiprañavimuti(*vimuti)ñānadraśa(*na)paribhavita* (emended as in Baums forthcoming a on the basis of the Pali list), with *vimuti-ñānadraśana-* as the fifth.

Lines 100–102: *[sakhara]dukh[a]da ... [d]u[e] dukhada ... [tra]e dukhada*: The three painfulnesses are the painfulness of pain, the painfulness of determination and

the painfulness of change (*tisso dukkhatā, dukkhadukkhatā saṅkhāradukkhatā vipariṇāmadukkhatā* DN III 216).

Line 102. [*a]ñegaru[o]*: There is an intrusive vertical line to the upper right of [*o*].

Transcription:

102. ... sa[kṣ]eva [·] kevaliṇo · vimutida [·] vedago bhavidatva · ña
103. [ni da mahe ṣi vriṣavida · ku] + [ñu du]kho [·]
uṭave da] c[a pradiṭhav].[da ca] + ke yi aha ma[he]
104. [ṣi] avijae u gha [sa] ? · duiṇa mulaṇa prahaṇado · vimutida ·
daśabalada · sacaña[da] ? // +
105. ga sa ḡisa[de] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva · **kevaliṇo** · vimutida · **vedago bhavidatva** · ña[103]ñida **maheṣi**
vriṣavida · **ku(*du)** **ñu dukho** · uṭaveda ca pradiṭhav(*e)da ca (*) ke yi aha
mahe[104]ṣi avijae u gha sa ? · duiṇa mulaṇa prahaṇado · vimutida · daśa-
balada · sacañada ? + [105] ga sa ḡisade §§

Translation:

In brief: **Accomplished one**: the state of liberation. **Wise and of developed self**: [103] the state of a knower. **Great seer**: mastery. **From where pain**: both the state of having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself. Some say: [104] **Great seer**: + + + + of ignorance. From abandoning of the two roots the state of liberation, the state of possessing the ten powers + + + + + [105] + + the outcome.

Text notes:

Lines 102–103. *vimutida* ... *ñā[nida]* ... *[vriṣavida]* ... *[uṭaveda]* *c[a pradi-*
*ṭhav](*e)[da ca]*: For the Five States see § 1.2.2.

Line 103. *aha*: A short vertical extension reaches down from the left side of *ha*.

Line 104. *u gha [sa] ?*: The akṣara *[sa]* appears to have been corrected from *[ta]*. This word is probably derived from *ud + √ghaṭ* ‘open, remove’ which assumes a number of different spellings in Gāndhārī. In *ugadida* 9.115 and *ugadāna* 9.116, the root-final consonant shows the expected Gāndhārī outcome *d*, but *samughasa-* CKI 249, line 11, and *samugasa-* SaṅgCm-G also clearly attest root-final [z] as, apparently, in the present line. ‘Removal of ignorance’ thus probably glosses *ma[heṣi]*, and further ‘abandoning of the two roots’ (craving and ignorance) is said to result in the following list of states.

Lines 104–105. *sacaña[da] ? + ga sa ḷisa[de]*: A likely reconstruction is *sacaña[da] ? [ma]gasa ḷisa[de]*. There can be little doubt that *sacaña[da]*, like the nouns that precede it, is in the direct case. The reading of the following akṣara remains uncertain, but one possibility would be the conjunctive particle *ca*. The remainder of this phrase would then indicate that the preceding three terms are the outcome of the path, an expression that is supported by the Pali commentarial passage *vipassanānissando maggo nāma, magganiṣando phalam nāma, sabbasaṅ-*
khārapaṭinissaggo nibbānam nāmā ti vadanti (Vibh-a 504, DN-a III 1031, MN-a II 68, AN-a III 325). – Cf. lines 9.30, 54, 72 and 105 and see the note on line 9.30 for the technical term *ṇisada-*.

Line 105. A punctuation mark in the right margin indicates the end of this section.

14 (Lines 9.105–111)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| aho prove tada ḡaho | Earlier it was, then it was not. |
| (*ḡaho prove tada aho) | Earlier it was not, then it was. |
| ṅa yaho ṙa ya bheśadi | It neither was nor will it be, |
| ṅa ya edarahi vijadi | nor does it exist now. |

The verse contains three runs of the commentary. The first run explains the first half of pāda a as the Three Sources and the second half of pāda b (erroneously quoting the first half again) as their exhaustion. Part of the explanation of pādas c–d is illegible, but it involves the concurrence (*samosana-*; in past, present and future?) of contrary defilement (*padipakṣia-* *kileśa-*). The second run, reporting the opinion of others (*avare*), again explains the first half of pāda a as the Three Sources (here exceptionally called *kileśa-* ‘defilements,’ cf. PTSD s.v. *kilesa* 4), but views the dharmas on the side of enlightenment (*vosapakṣia-* *dhama-*) as their counteragent. Pādas c–d are explained in two alternative ways: either it is the path (*maga-*) that will remove the defilements, or the defilements that (apparently) are part of the path will be exhausted. The third run of the commentary states that according to some (*ke yi*) the verse speaks of omniscience (*savañuda-*; cf. section 17, lines 9:149–151) and an illegible term, and (in a reference to Mahāyāna ideas) of the planes of enlightenment beings and of enlightened ones.

| | 1: 9:105–107 | 2: 9:107–110
(<i>avare</i>) | (<i>asa va</i>) |
|------------------------|--|---|---|
| aho prove | <i>raga-</i> , <i>doṣa-</i> , <i>moha-</i> | <i>ragadosamoha-</i> | |
| tada ḡaho | <i>triṇidānakṣaya-</i> | <i>vosapakṣia dhama</i> | |
| (*ḡaho prove tada aho) | | | |
| ṅa yaho ṙa ya bheśadi | ? | <i>mago</i>
<i>kileśasamudaya</i>
⟨*ha>riśadi | <i>magasa</i>
<i>ragadosamoha</i>
<i>kṣiati</i> |
| ṅa ya edarahi vijadi | | | |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| | 3: 9110–111
(ke yi) |
| aho prove | |
| tada ḡaho | |
| (*ṅaho prove tada aho) | |
| ṇa yaho ḣa ya bheśadi | <i>savañuda-</i>
... |
| ṇa ya edarahi vijadi | <i>bosisatvabhumi-,</i>
<i>budhabhumi-</i> |

The uddāna entry for this verse is *ah[o] p(*ro)[ve]* (line 9111). – The Pali Udāna parallel of the verse is explained at Ud-a 337.21–338.8, and the Sanskrit Udāna parallel at Ud-v 578; parallels for pādas c–d are also explained at Dhp-a III 329.4–5 and Th-a II 53.4–9.

Transcription:

- |T
105. ... aho prove sutro tatra ḡideśo aho p.ve sa kha ra[go] · sa [mo]ho · sa
doṣo
- |U |T+U |U
106. aho pro [v]. tr[i]ṇidānakṣayo · ḣa [ya]ho ḣa ya bheśadi · ḣa c[a]
ederah[i] vijadi · trae ? ?
- |U
107. [y]. [s]. · ya ta padipakṣiasa ya kileśasa sam[o]saṇo [·] ...

Reconstruction:

aho prove sutro tatra ḡideśo **aho p(*ro)ve** sa kha rago · sa moho · sa doṣo
 [106] **aho prov(*e)** triṇidānakṣayo · ḣa yaho ḣa ya bheśadi · ḣa ca ederahi
 vijadi · trae ? ? [107] y. s. · ya ta padipakṣiasa ya kileśasa samosao ·

Translation:

Earlier it was is the text. The explanation on it: **Earlier it was:** indeed that lust, that delusion, that hate. [106] **Earlier it was:** exhaustion of the three sources. **It neither was nor will it be, nor does it exist now:** + + + [107]

+++ and concurrence of opposed defilement.

Text notes:

Line 105. *sa kha rago · sa moho · sa doṣo*: This explanation has a verbal echo in a sutta of the Ānguttaranikāya spoken by the monk Nandaka (AN I 197.4–7): *so evam pajānāti ahu pubbe lobho tad ahu akusalam so etarahi natthi icc etam kusalam ahu pubbe doso ... pe ... ahu pubbe moho tad ahu akusalam so etarahi natthi icc etam kusalan ti*.⁵⁷ The passage is added at the end of a short version of the Path to Liberation formula. It is used in the Kathāvatthu (I 142.22–29) to argue against the (continued) existence of the past in a section that the Pañcappakaraṇatṭhakathā calls the Sabbamatthītvādakathā (Kv-a 44.4–50.22), thus apparently ascribing the opponent's position to the Sarvāstivādins.

Line 106. *aho pro[v](*e)*: This is a mistake for *tada naho* (the otherwise unquoted second half of pāda a).

Lines 106–107: *trae ... sam[o]sano*: Just as the Kathāvatthu uses Nandaka's sutta to take a position on the existence of the past, our commentary connects the related root verse of this section with the same question. Unfortunately, due to the damage to the end of line 9.106 and the beginning of line 9.107, it is quite unclear which position it takes in the debate. The akṣaras *trae* seem to represent the numeral 'three' and may refer to the three times past, present and future, but the expected word for 'time' (*adhva-*) does not seem to follow, so it cannot be ruled out that the reference of the numeral is the Three Sources or something else entirely. If it is the three times, then the statement of our commentary would seem to be quite simply that pādas c–d of the root verse refer to the three times and to the concurrence or simultaneity (*samosaṇa-*) of these with the defilements (*kilesa-*, i.e., the Three Sources). The commentary does not seem to take an explicit position on whether such concurrence holds between the defilements of more than one of the three times, but its immediately preceding statements concerning pāda a indicated that the Sources were formerly present, but are so no longer, and Nandaka at least used this as his starting point for arguing

⁵⁷My thanks to Mark Allon for supplying this reference.

against the (continued) existence of past. Our commentary's choice of terminology is noteworthy: *samosaṇa-* = Skt. *samavadhāna-* becomes an important term in Nyāya philosophy (cf. Jhaṅkīkar 1893 s.v. समवहितत्वम्: “एककालीनत्वम्”), and this would be its earliest attestation in this particular sense. Nāṇamoli 1962: lvii notes that Pali *samavadhāna-* in the meaning ‘concurrence’ only occurs in the *Nettippakaraṇa* (though it could be argued that the use of P *saṃodhāna-* in the *Jātakathavaṇṇanā* for the connection between the events of the past and the present is related). The Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā’s (45.1–23) term for ‘concurrence’ is *kālaśaṃsandana-*.

Line 107. [y]. [s]. · ya ta: The interpretation of these akṣaras remains problematic. It is possible that *ya* is the conjunctive particle following a noun, adjective or pronoun in the genitive singular, and that *ta* forms the prior member of a compound *tapadipakṣiṣa* ‘opposed to that’ (i.e., to the item expressed by the earlier genitive).

Transcription:

107. ... avar[e aha ah]o pro[v]e ragado
108. [ṣa]moha · tada ḥaho · vosapakṣia dhama [· ḥa] yaho ḥa ya bheśadi ḥa
ya edar[a]hi vijadi · [ya ma]go ca [bh].
109. śadi · ta paḍipakṣia [ya] kileśasamudaya riśadi · asa [va] ḥa ya[ho] ḥa
ya bheśadi · ḥa [ya] +
110. darahi vijadi · ya edasa [ca] magasa [·] ragados[a]moha · kṣiati [·] ...

Reconstruction:

avare aha aho prove ragado[108]ṣamoha · tada ḥaho · vosapakṣia dhama ·
ḥa yaho ḥa ya bheśadi ḥa ya edarahi vijadi · ya mago ca bh(*e)[109]śadi ·
ta paḍipakṣia ya kileśasamudaya <*ha>riśadi · asa va ḥa yaho ḥa ya bheśadi ·
ḥa ya (*e)[110]darahi vijadi · ya edasa ca magasa · ragadosamoha · kṣiati ·

Translation:

Others say: **Earlier it was**: [108] lust, hate and delusion. **Then it was not**: the dharmas on the side of enlightenment. **It neither was nor will it be, nor does it exist now**: and which path [109] there will be will also remove this opposed origin of defilement. Or otherwise: **It neither was nor will it be, nor** [110] **does it exist now**: and which lust, hate and delusion there are of this path, they are exhausted.

Text notes:

Line 108. *vosapakṣia dhama*: The uncommon form *bodhapakkhiya-* (instead of the usual *bodhipakkhiya-*) is attested in AN III 300, AN-a IV 111 and Pj II 164.

na ya bheśadi: The akṣara *ya* has an unusual loop at its upper side and appears to be a later addition. After *bheśadi*, a punctuation dot may have been added above the line.

Line 109. *paṭipakṣia [ya] kileśasamudaya <*ha>riśadi*: The emendation *<*ha>riśadi* is supported by two passages in the Pali commentaries that use this verb (in one case in combination with *paṭipakkha-*) to provide a linguistic explanation for the word *pāṭihāriya-*: *attano vā upakkilesesu catutthajjhānamaggehi haritesu pacchā harañam pāṭihāriyam* It-a I 21, Ud-a 10, and *sace pana mahākāruṇikassa bhagavato veneyyagatā ca kilesā paṭipakkhā, tesam harañato pāṭihāriyan ti vuttam* Ud-a 10.

Line 110. *kṣiati*: An akṣara, possibly *mi*, has been smudged out before *kṣi*.

Transcription:

110. ... [· ke] yi puṇo savañu[da · a] sa ?

111. ? matredi [· bo] sisa tva bhumi [ca ·] b[udhabhu m].
 [ca matr]. d[i] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

ke yi puṇo savañuda · a sa ? [111] ? matredi · bosisatvabhumi ca · budha-

bhum(*i) ca matr(*e)di §§

Translation:

Then again some: He speaks about omniscience + + + [111] + he speaks about both the plane of enlightenment beings and the plane of enlightened ones.

Text notes:

Lines 110–111. *[a] sa ? ?*: The reconstruction of these akṣaras remains uncertain, but one possibility would be the word *asa[vakṣayo]*.

Uddāna (Lines 9.111–112)

Transcription:

| | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|---|---------------|-------------|------------|
| 111. ... | ... [u]daṇagasa | · | [va hitva] | · [a] | /// + |
| | | | U+V | U | U |
| | | | | | |
| 112. ... | [v]u[tva] c[a] · ta bhromi aṇavaṣudo | · | ajara k[a]dha | · yasa idra | · ah[o] p. |
| | | | | | |
| | [ve] + [keva]li §§ ... | | | | |
| | | | | | |

Reconstruction:

udaṇagasa ·
vahitva · a(*ṇa) [112] ṣutva ca · ta bhromi aṇavaṣudo ·
ajara kadha · yasa idra · aho p(*ro)ve (*.*) kevali §§

Translation:

(*Bundling verse:)

Warding off, food [112] and having heard, to this one I say, not rotten,
without aging, categories, whose faculties, earlier it was, accomplished.

Text notes:

Lines 111–112. This is the second of two preserved uddānas for our manuscript; the other one occurs in line 9.20–21 (see § 1.5). This uddāna refers to the following verses: *[vah](*)ita* *[pava](*)ga dhama* (section 5, lines 9.21–37), *ana va ladhva · va[sa]ṇa va kale* (section 6, lines 9.37–46), *ṣ[u]tva [a]ho vira agamo [a]g[ame]*

(section 7, lines 9.46–54), *ta b[ro]mi [u]aśato si* (section 8, lines 9.54–59), *a[nava-s]/(*u)[dac]/(*ita)[sa]* (section 9, lines 9.59–74), *ajaro ji[a]maṇ[e]na* (section 10, 9.74–81), *paca kadha pariñae* (section 11, 9.81–87), *yas[a i]driṇ(*i) subhavidani* (section 12, 9.87–97), *aho prove* (section 14, 9.105–112) and *[pracha]ma[ho] ke[vali](*)no* (section 13, 9.97–105). In three cases (*ta bhromi*, *aṇavaśudo* and *yasa idra*) the spelling of the uddāna entries differs from the corresponding words in the body of the text. The special contraction *idra* (for *idria*) has a Pali parallel in the uddāna after Ud-P 6.10, which uses *titthā* for the referenced sūtra's *titthiyā*. The order of the last two entries of our uddāna (*ah[o] p(*ro)[ve]* and *[keva]li*) differs from their actual order in the text. As it stands, the metrical pattern of the uddāna is a fairly regular anuṣṭubh:

- - ∘ - | ∘ - - ∘ - - ∘ ∘ | ∘ - ∘ ×
 ◦ ∘ ∘ - | ∘ - - ∘ ◦ - - ∘ - - ∘ ×

To achieve this regularity, the word-final vowels in fifth position of pādas a and c (i.e., the final vowels of *[a]/(*ṇa)* and *k[a]dha*) need to be pronounced short as in the regular spoken language, not with preserved historical length as in the root verses. This property simultaneously indicates composition of the uddāna (and, by implication, the verse commentary as we have it) within the Gāndhārī tradition and preservation of general Indian prosody as a living form. One irregularity concerns pāda d of the uddāna which, as it stands, is hypometrical. Considering that the order of the last two items of the uddāna does not agree with the body of the text, there are two ways to rectify the situation. If the order of the main text is correct and the uddāna items have been accidentally reversed, then pāda b could be restored as *kevali* · *aho prove* (– ∘ ∘ - | ∘ - - ×), i.e., as an even anuṣṭubh pāda exceptionally used in odd position. If, on the other hand, we take commentary sections 13 and 14 to have been rearranged and the uddāna to reflect their original order, then pāda b could be restored as *aho prove ca · kevali* (– - - | ∘ - ∘ ×), giving a regular odd-pāda anuṣṭubh pattern.

15 (Lines 9.112–122)

This section explains a verse from the Pārāyaṇa that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| ye ca sakhada(*dha)mae | Both those who have enumerated the dharmas |
| ye ca śekha prosu (*iśa) | and the numerous ones who are in training here, |
| teṣa ḥivaṇa iri(*a) | the behavior of these intelligent ones |
| (*proṭho prabrohi) mariṣa | when asked declare, dear sir. |

The section consists of one main run of the commentary and does not contain any instances of categorial reduction. It provides a double explanation of pāda a, in terms of the observation of the nature of the five categories as impermanent, painful, without self, etc., and in terms of the abandonment of the roots of all dharmas. Parallel to this, those who are said to be in training in pāda b are engaged in these two activities. The second half of this section contains many lost and illegible portions, but it is clear that it continues in this mode of individual lexical explanations, including the listing of alternative interpretations. There are at least two references to defilements (*kileśa-*) and their abandoning, but it is not clear whether here as in the preceding section the term is used synonymously with *nidana-* to refer to the Three Sources. The Pārāyaṇa parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 30–32, Pj II 587.5–17 and Nidd-a III 7.16–33. It is quoted for illustration in Peṭ 85.4–20 and Nett 17.9–19. It is also quoted and discussed in Mp-ṭ 153–154 (on Mp I 128 *buddhavisaye pañham pucchi*) and, together with the rest of the Ajitapraśna, in the Śarīrārthagāthā of the Cintāmayī Bhūmi of the Yogācārabhūmi (Enomoto 1989: 34).

Transcription:

112. ... ye ca sakhada // +

113. ma[e] sutro tatra ḥideśo · sakha vucadi · praña · tae sakhae · [paca

- ka]dha sakhaïda · pa[li]kha[ida]
114. [ca] · an̄i ca · dukha · aṇatva · h[e]dua si [na] ca ·
 | v | v+w | v | v+w | v
 para pa[di] va dha ca] ++ ? ? ma no suni[ja]tva bho[di] ·
 | v+w | v | v+w | v | v+w | v
 115. asa va · yehi sarvadhamana mula · sakhaïda bhoti · ugaḍida
 | w
 prah[i]ṇa · ye ca śekha [·] y[e] sava[dha] // +
 | w
 116. ḥna [· mu]lapakh[aya]ṇa śi[kṣa]ti · ugaḍaṇa ca [·] prosu baho ·
 aṭhamago uadaï // +
 | x | w+x | w | w+x | w | w+x | w+x | x
 117. + ? ? ? [e paria] ḥneā · [eva i] ma spi pr[a] va] ? + ?
 + + + ? + + [n̄]. [·] ? // +
 | x
 118. ? vi da kileśaṇa · asa va teṣa ṇivaṇa yutaṇa · ḥn̄. [a] ? ? + + [n̄].
 paramaṇa · teṣa ta a ? // +
 | x | x+y | x | x+y | x | x+y | y
 119. [kṣa] ? ḥn̄[a] · ki rti ś[e] i]riavasa goyaro ca + + + ? +
 + ? .[i] · [kirtiś]. ? [car]. ? // +
 | y
 120. asa va kirtiśe marg[e]ṇa · a ha ḥna ? [n̄] ? ? ? ? + ? + + + + + +
 + +
 | y
 121. kṣahi · mariṣa · garavaasivayaṇam edo · [e]ś[a]ṇ[a] ḥna[sti] · kileśaṇa
 prahiṇatva [n̄a]
 | x
 122. sti bhayo · dhamasañae ca · puridatva ☺ ...

Reconstruction:

ye ca sakhadā(*dha)[113]mae sutro tatra ṇideśo · sakha vucadi · prañā · tae
 sakhae · paca kadha sakhaïda · palikhaïda [114] ca · an̄ica · dukha · aṇatva ·
 heduasiṇa ca · parapadivadha ca + + ? ? mano sunijatva bhodi · [115] asa va ·
 yehi sarvadhamana mula · sakhaïda bhoti · ugaḍida prahiṇa · **ye ca śekha** · ye

savadha(*ma)[116]ṇa · mulapakhayaṇa śikṣati · ugaḍaṇa ca · prosu baho ·
aṭhamago uadaī + [117] + ? ? ? ? e pariaṇea · eva imaspi prava ? + ? + + + ?
+ + ? + + ḥ. · ? + [118] ? vi da kileśaṇa · asa va **teṣa nivaāṇa** yutaṇa · ḥ. a ? ?
+ + ḥ. paramaṇa · teṣa ta a. ? + [119] kṣa ? ḣa · kirtiṣe **iriavasa** goyaro ca + +
+ ? + + ? .i · kirtiś(*e) ? car. ? + [120] asa va kirtiṣe margeṇa · a ha ḣa ?
ṇa ? ? ? ? + ? + + + + + + + (*aī)[121]kṣahi · **mariṣa** · garavaasivayaṇam
edo · eṣaṇa ḣasti · kileśaṇa prahīṇatva ḣa[122]sti bhayo · dhamasañae ca ·
puridatva ☷

Translation:

Text notes:

Lines 112–113. *sakhada(*dha)ma[e]*: See § 5.1.1.1 for this Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan form.

Line 113. *sakha vucadi · praña*: Cf. Nidd II 38.12–13 (on Sn 1041): *sankhā*

vuccati nāṇam. yā paññā pajānanā vicayo pavicayo ... pe ... amoho dhammavicayo sammāditthi. Our commentary thus in essence presents a contracted version of the Pali Niddesa's explanation of *saṅkhā-*.

palikhaïda: This is a denominative based on an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan form, cf. the Aśokan edicts (*palīkhāya* Nand. I 3, *palīkhāyā* Top. I 4). The word OIA *parīkṣā-* from which the denominative is derived occurs together with *udghaṭaka-* (cf. *ugadida* 9.115) in a Divyāvadāna cliché: *aṣṭāsu parīkṣāsu udghaṭako vācakah paṇḍitah paṭupracārah;* see BHSD s.v. *udghaṭaka*).

Line 114. *añica · dukha · anatva:* The explanation of *saṅkhā-* in the Pali Niddesa (see above) likewise goes on to make a connection with the understanding of the determinations as impermanent, painful and without self.

parapa[ḍivadha]: With this word cf. 13.37–38 *parasiṇañāneṇa · parapaḍivadha-(*ñā)[ṇa]gado.*

suni[ja]tva: This word appears to be an incorrect transposition to Gāndhārī of the form **sunijjhatta-* in another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. The base word thus corresponds to Pali *nijjhatta-* and Buddhist Sanskrit *nidhyapta-* and belongs to the same word family with *nijjana-* 9.194 < OIA *nidhyāna-*. For the combination with the prefix *su-* cf. *yeṣāṁ dharmasvabhāvu gocaraḥ sunidhyapto teṣāṁ datta ananta dakṣinā aparyantā* Samādh 31.11, and for the collocation with *mano* compare the compound *nidhyaptacittena* Śikṣ 130.13.

Line 115. *ugadida:* The word OIA *ud + ḡhaṭ* and its derivatives have two shades of meaning: ‘open’ and ‘remove’ (cf. BHSD s.v. *udghattayati*). In the present synonym string, it forms the transition from *sakhaïda* (related to its first shade meaning) to *prah[i]ṇa* (related to its second shade of meaning), whereas in line 9.116, *ugadana* cooccurs (and possibly contrasts) with **sakhayāna-* alone. The tentative translation ‘open’ in both of these contexts has been chosen because it best reflects the tension between understanding and removal that is being played on here.

Line 116. *[mu]lapakh[aya]ṇa:* In the context of the present passage, and particularly following the sequence *sakhaïda ... ugadida* in line 9.115, it is fairly

certain that this word form is a misspelling for **mulasakhayana*. Both in older styles of Kharoṣṭhī and in the Brāhmī script, the signs *sa* and *pa* are similar to each other and can be confused. (The only alternative connection of this word would be with *pra* + √*khyā* ‘be clearly visible,’ but under this interpretation the spelling *pa* – rather than *pra* – would still remain unexplained.)

ugadāna: See the note on *ugadida* in line 9.115. – There is an unexplained and possibly accidental trace of ink after this word.

prosu baho · aṭhamago uadaï: Nidd II 31.17–18 glosses similarly and explains: *puthū ti bahukā. ete sekhā sotāpannā ca paṭipannā ca sakadāgāmino ca paṭipannā ca anāgāmino ca paṭipannā ca arahanto ca paṭipannā ca*. The attempted etymology of P *aṭhamaka-* from *ā* + √*sthā* (Ñāṇamoli 1962: 32) is not confirmed by the Gāndhārī spelling of the word, and it appears to be derived from the numeral ‘eight’ after all.

Line 117. [i]maspi pr[ava] ? +: This should probably be reconstructed as [i]maspi pr[avaya](*ne) and understood as an explanation of (*iśa) in the root verse. Cf. the Pali Niddesa’s explanation: *idhā ti imissā diṭṭhiyā ... imasmiṃ dhamme imasmiṃ vinaye imasmiṃ dhammadvinaye imasmiṃ pāvacane imasmiṃ brahma-cariye ... imasmiṃ attabhāve imasmiṃ manussaloke ti* (Nidd II 31.19–21).

Line 118. ? vi da kileśāna: This appears to be the end of a bahuvrīhi compound whose first member is the past participle of a causative verb (unless the complete word is *vidakileśāna* ‘whose defilements have gone away.’)

yutāṇa: This is clearly OIA *yukta-* used to explain *ṇivaa-*. A suitable idiomatic translation would be ‘skillful’ or ‘clever’ (MV s.v.).

paramāṇa: If the explanation of *ṇivāṇa* continues, then this is likely to be the final member of a bahuvrīhi compound meaning ‘who are completely devoted to ...’ (MW s.v. *parama*).

Line 119. [kṣa] ? ḥ[a]: These akṣaras could possibly be reconstructed as [kṣaye]ḥ[a], but whether they further connect with the preceding to form *a[sa](*va)-[kṣaye]ḥ[a]* remains quite uncertain.

[i]riavasa goyaro ca + +: The commentary first specifies the word *iria-* from the

root verse by embedding it in the compound *[i]riavasa-* ‘behaviour,’ and then explains it further by providing the synonym *goyara-* ‘field of action.’ The latter is also part of the synonym string that the Pali Niddesa provides for this word in its explanation of the verse: *tesam saṅkhātadhammānañ ca sekkhānañ ca iriyāñ cariyāñ vutti pavatti ācaram gocaram vihāram paṭipadam* Nidd II 31.23–24. In our commentary, *goyaro* is further followed by the akṣara *ca*. It is unlikely that this is the conjunctive particle, since preservation of initial *c* in the Gāndhārī particle usually indicates survival of the older style of enclitic juncture in which the particle is preceded by a nasal segment (§ 4.3.3), and the expected spelling would then be *goyara ca*. More probably this is a case of the frequent combination of OIA *gocara-* with a form of the corresponding verb: *goyaro* √*car* ‘go about one’s field of action.’

Lines 120–121. (**aii*)*kṣahi*: This word is split across the two sides of the manuscript. The etymology given for it in PTSD s.v. (“Freq. of ā + khyā, i.e. akkhāti”) and DP is misleading: the Gāndhārī form shows that the root of this verb is √*kśā* (a variant of √*khyā*; EWA s.v.), and the formation is that of a second-class present rather than of an intensive (Michelson 1906). See also BHSD s.v. *ācikṣati* (which it tries to explain as a hyper-Sanskritism or as a blending of √*khyā* and √*cakṣ*) and Pischel 1981: § 492.

Line 121. *mariṣa · garavaasivayānam edo*: This explanation has a close parallel in the Pali Niddesa’s commentary on this verse: *mārisā ti piyavacanāñ garuvacanāñ sagāravasappatissādhivacanāñ etām*. – Berger 1955: 43 derives MIA *mārisa-* from OIA *mādr̥sa-* in a meaning ‘dear colleague.’ The retroflex sibilant of the Gāndhārī and Buddhist Sanskrit forms then needs to be considered a wrong restitution after borrowing from a dialect in which the sibilants had merged, maybe under the influence of etymologies such as the one given here.

[e]ṣ[a]ṇ[a] ḷa[sti]: The word *mariṣa-* is given a linguistic explanation as the combination of the negative particle *ma* (OIA *mā*) with the verbal root √*is*. For a related linguistic explanation cf. *maheṣi · mahato ḫhāno [e]ṣido* 9.98.

Lines 121–122. *[na]sti bhayo*: It is possible that this provides another linguistic

explanation of *mariṣa-* which in the Pali commentaries is twice explained in terms of the absence of pain (*mārisā ti piyavacanam etam, devatānam pātiyekko vohāro, niddukkhā ti pi vuttam hoti* Sv III 698.27–28, *mārisā ti piyavacanam etam, niddukkhā ti vuttam hoti* Nidd-a II 261.7–8 on Sn 814). The implicit connection of the Pali explanation will be the verb P *rissati* < OIA *riṣyati* ‘be hurt.’ Pain in turn is closely connected with fear (cf. (*du)[*kha*]m *a[sa] ma[ha]bhayo* 9.65–66), and in this way *mariṣa-* may here be taken to refer to the absence of fear.

Line 122. A punctuation mark in the right margin indicates the end of this section.

16 (Lines 9.122–139)

This section explains the next verse of the Pārā�ana, which can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| kama ho ḥabhiṇadea | Indeed he should not look forward to sense-pleasures, |
| maṇaso aṇavilo sie | he should be undisturbed in respect to the mind, |
| kuśalo savadhameṣu | skilled in all dharmas |
| spado bhikhu parivaye | a monk should wander about mindful. |

In contrast to the preceding section, the present section makes extensive use of categorial reduction and features a special case of textual interweaving between the root verse and a quoted sūtra. It consists of five runs of the commentary. The first run first performs categorial reduction of pādas a–c to the Three Sources (here called *śeha-*, *doṣa-* and *añāna-*), then equates abandoning of the Three Sources with abandoning of three of the Four Barbs (*śala-*) and pāda d with abandoning of the fourth, the Barb of conceit (*maṇaśala-*).

| | 1: 9.122–128 | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| kama ho ḥabhiṇadea | śehaprahaṇa- | |
| maṇaso aṇavilo sie | doṣaprahaṇa- | śalaprahano ...
trae thidaga |
| kuśalo savadhamēṣu | aññasa prahinatva | |
| spado bhikhu | | manaśalasa
prahana- |
| parivaye | | |

The second run uses the Three Sources (*triṇidāna·prahāṇēṇa*) to establish a connection between pādas a–c and the exhaustion of defilement (*kileśa-*; the equivalence of the terms *nidāna-* and *kileśa-* has become apparent in section 14). It then equates pāda c only with the exhaustion of action (*kamakṣaya-*), resulting in an overlap with the preceding equation. Finally, it equates pāda d with the exhaustion of pain (*dukhakṣaya-*), and thus completes coverage of the Three Courses. The third run establishes connections between the parts of the root verse and key phrases from a specific sūtra that has a Pali parallel in the Pamsudhovakasutta (AN I 253.17–256.28; see appendix 3) and compares the gradual removal of defilements (*kileśa-*) and the subsequent arising of the Three Knowledges with the purification of gold by a gold-washer and a gold-smith. Our commentary only refers to the defilement side of the comparison, equating pāda a with the abandoning of coarse (*odaria-*) defilements and pāda b with the abandoning of midling (*aṇumaja-*) and residual (*anusahagada-*) defilements. Pāda c corresponds to that stage of purification at which, in the words of the sūtra, only thinking about the dharma (*dhamavitraka-*) remains. The beginning of pāda d is equated with the monk’s composition and concentration of his mind (*cito saṭhavedi ... samahadadi*), and the end of pāda d with the arising of the Three Knowledges (*trae vija*). The simile was popular: the gold-smith side of it is also employed in Sn 962 and explained in the Pali Niddesa (Nidd I 478.10–479.25), and the poet Aśvaghoṣa uses it at the end of canto 15 of the Saundarananda (15.66–69; see appendix 3 for both of these passages). One difference between the Gāndhārī sūtra as it is quoted here and both its Pali equivalent and Aśvaghoṣa’s version is that

in the other two texts the attainments resulting from meditation are the Six Recognitions (P *abhiññā-*, Skt. *abhijñā-*) rather than simply the Three Knowledges, but since the three highest Recognitions correspond to the Three Knowledges this does not constitute any serious disagreement.

| | 2: 9:128–129
(asa va) | 3: 9:129–133
(asa va) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| kama ho
ṇabhiṇadea | | <i>odariana kileśana prahāna</i> |
| maṇaso aṇavilo sie | <i>kileśaksaya-</i> | <i>anumajāna ca
aṇusahagadāna ca prahāna</i> |
| kuśalo
savadhamesu | <i>kama-
kṣaya-</i> | <i>dhamavitrakam eva avaśītho
bhodi</i> |
| spado bhikhu | <i>dukhakṣaya-</i> | <i>dravayadio bhikhu ajatvam
eva cito saṅhavedi ...
samahadadi</i> |
| parivaye | | <i>trae vija</i> |

The fourth run equates pādas a–c with abandoning of the Three Sources, like the first but this time using the more common terminology of lust (*raga-*), hate (*doṣa-*) and delusion (*moha-*). Concerning pāda d, it remarks that one is in training while one removes these Sources, and one who has enumerated the dharmas (*sakhadadhama-*; i.e., an arhant) when they are removed. The fifth and last run of this section follows a similar pattern. It equates pādas a and b with abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure (*kamaraga-*) and of malice (*vavada-*). Based on this (*ubhayiṇa prahānado*), pādas a and b together are related to completion of the state of training (*śekhada-*). Pāda c is explained as completion of knowing the dharmas (*dhamaññasa puridatva*), based on which the state of no longer being in training (*aśekhada-*; i.e., arhantship) is completed. On pāda d, the fifth run remarks that one who walks on the path (*maga-*) is in training while one who has walked to the end of the path is an arhant (*sakhadadhama-*).

| | 4: 9.133–135
(asa va) | 5: 9.136–139
(asa va) | |
|--------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| kama ho ḥabhiṇadea | <i>ragaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>kamaragasa</i>
<i>prahaṇa-</i> | <i>paripura śekhada</i> |
| maṇaso aṇavilo sie | <i>doṣaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>vavadasa</i> | |
| kuśalo savadhamēṣu | <i>mohaprahaṇa-</i> | | <i>paripura aśekhada</i> |
| spado bhikhu | <i>yo ṇidāṇa hanādi</i>
<i>so śekho,</i>
<i>yena hada so</i>
<i>sakhadadhamo</i> | | <i>magenā yo gachadi</i>
<i>so śekho,</i>
<i>yo gado so</i>
<i>sakhadadhamo</i> |
| parivaye | | | |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 32.3–35.22, Pj II 587.17–28 and Nidd-a III 7.34–8.15. It is used for illustration in Peṭ 85.21–24 and Nett 17–21. Parallels of pāda d are also explained at Th-a II 30.10–12 and III 99.11–12.

Transcription:

122. ... kama ho ḥabhiṇade[a s].tro tatra ḥ[i]deśo · s[ava] /// +
123. |x maṇ[i]a vastu · ḥabhiṇadidava · yo du ho śehaprahaṇo y[u]to [· aṇavilo sie asa · ka
124. |w ma khu [savakil].[śa a]v[i]l[i] a ritraga · asimatro ? ḥa doṣo [· ado do]ṣapraha[ṇo]
125. |w ḥiyuto [·] kuśalo savadham[e]ṣu · añaṇasa prahinatva · savadhamēṣu [·] kośalañāṇo [u pa]
126. |W+V |W |W+V |W |W+V |W |W+V |W |W+V
126. ḥo · spado a ḥaṇasa ma giṇo va · ede trae
|W |W+V |W |W+V |W |W+V |W |W+V
ḥidaṇa · hada tva · ha[da ha] da tva va · spadoaṭha-
|V
nasa

127. |^v
mag[i] · imena matreṇa [·] śalaprahaṇo ñadava · [trae] thidaga · spado
bhikhu pari[va]
128. |^v |^{v+u} |^v |^{v+u} |^v
ye · maṇaśalasa [·] pra ha n. · ...

Reconstruction:

kama ho ḥabhiṇadea s(*u)tro tatra ḥideśo · sava(*ka)[123]maṇia vastu ·
ḥabhiṇadidava · yo du ho ṣehaprahaṇo yuto · aṇavilo sie asa · ka[124]ma khu
savakil(*e)ṣa avili a ritraga · asimatro ? ḥa doṣo · ado doṣaprahaṇo
[125] ḥiyuto · kuṣalo savadhameṣu · añaṇasa prahiṇatva · savadhameṣu ·
koṣalañāṇo upa[126]ño · spadoṭhaṇasamagiṇo va · ede trae ḥidaṇa ·
hadatva · hadahadatva va · spadoṭhaṇasa[127]magi · imena matreṇa · śala-
prahaṇo ñadava · trae thidaga · spado bhikhu pariva[128]ye · manaśalasa ·
prahaṇ(*o) ·

Translation:

Indeed he should not look forward to sense-pleasures is the text. The explanation on it: [123] All desirable matter should not be looked forward to, but the abandoning of affection that indeed there is should be connected. **He should be (sia)** undisturbed: should be (asa). [124] Sense-pleasures indeed + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + hate. Therefore abandoning of hate [125] is enjoined. **Skilled in respect to all dharmas:** because of unknowing being abandoned knowing of skillfulness in respect to all dharmas [126] has arisen, or of one endowed with the foundations of mindfulness these three sources + + + or + + + + [127] one endowed with the foundations of mindfulness. By this utterance abandoning of the barbs should be known. The three remaining ones; **a monk [128] should wander about mindful:** abandoning of the barb of conceit.

Text notes:

Lines 122–123. *s[ava](*)man[i]a vastu*: The Pali Niddesa provides a similar

explanation as part of its stereotyped definition of *kāma*-, specifying desire as things (*vatthu*-) as one of the two kinds of desire (*kāmā ti uddānato dve kāma, vatthukāmā ca kilesakāmā ca* Nidd II 32.5–6) and defining this kind of desire in terms of what is desirable (*kāmanīyatthena rājanīyatthena madanīyatthena rāmanīyatthena kāmā* Nidd II 32.15).

Line 123. *yo du ho śehaprahaṇo y[u]to*: With the combination of particles at the beginning of this clause cf. [*na*] *du ho* 9.150. The word *y[u]to* should maybe be emended to <*ni>*yuto* on the strength of the parallel formulation *ado śehaprahaṇa · niy[o]/[*e]d[i]* 13.84.

sie asa: The inherited Old Indo-Aryan optative form *sie* (< OIA *syāt*) is here paraphrased using the Middle Indo-Aryan form *asa* (Pali *assa*, adding the full grade of the root to the reflex of OIA *syāt*). This particular gloss does not seem to occur in the Pali commentaries.

Line 124. *[savakil](*)[śa a]v[i]l[i] a ritraga*: The grouping of these akṣaras into words remains uncertain, but one possible solution would be to read them as a single compound *[savakil](*)[śaa]v[i]l[i]jaritraga*. Within this compound, the connection between *[a]v[i]l[i]a* and the word *[aṇavi]lo* of the root verse is beyond reasonable doubt, and it is possible that *[a]v[i]l[i]a* is an otherwise unattested abstract formation corresponding to OIA *āvilya-. The implied development of the OIA cluster [lj] into [lij] is not typical for Gāndhārī (§ 4.2.2.3.13; cf. *kośala-* < *kauśalya-*) or Pali (von Hinüber 2001: § 259), but could reflect an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan source dialect. The suggested final compound member *ritraga-* is similarly problematic, but under the most likely interpretation it corresponds to OIA *riktaka-*, P *rittaka-* ‘empty, free from,’ with wrong transposition of assimilated *tt* of the source dialect into Gāndhārī *tr*. The whole word could then either mean ‘free from the disturbance of all defilements’ or ‘free from all disturbance by defilements.’ This solution is supported by part of the Pali Niddesa’s explanation of *anāvila-* (*āvilakarehi kilesehi ca ārato virato pativirato nikkhanto nissaṭo vippamutto visaññutto* Nidd II 33.14–15), and there is even closer agreement with two later Pali commentaries’ explanation in terms of

variants of a compound (*anāvilan ti kilesāvilantarahitam* *anāvilan ti kilesāvilattavirahitam* Pj II 469 on Sn 637, *anāvilan ti nikkilesam* *kilesāvilantarahitam* Dhp-a IV 192.6–7).

asimatro ? na doṣo: Cf. *asimatro [ya] na doṣo* in line 9.22. Here the fifth akṣara looks like an *a* or a rounded *va* rather than *ya*. Maybe *vana* (= P *pana*) should be read in both places.

Line 126–127. *spadoaṭhaṇasamagīno* ... *spadoaṭhaṇasamag[i]*: The individual words of this passage present few problems (discussed in the following notes), but it remains somewhat unclear what the overall syntax is. While the two occurrences of what appears to be the disjunctive particle *va* (OIA *vā*) suggest a division into two clauses as follows: (1) *spadoaṭhaṇasamagīno va · ede trae ḥidāṇa · hadatva* · (2) *ha[daha]datva va · spadoaṭhaṇasamag[i]*, this does not yield any satisfactory meaning. It therefore seems preferable to divide as follows: (1) *spadoaṭhaṇasamagīno va · ede trae ḥidāṇa* · (2) *hadatva · ha[daha]datva va · spadoaṭhaṇasamag[i]*. The akṣara *va* following the first word would then have to be interpreted either as a disjunctive particle that is unrelated to the one occurring later in the sentence, and the first particle would serve to connect this whole sentence with the preceding; or just possibly the first particle is not in fact the disjunctive particle but corresponds for instance to OIA *eva* with omission of its first vowel by sandhi. Leaving the problem of the first particle aside, the sentence can then be translated: ‘These Three Sources are those of one who is endowed with the foundations of mindfulness; through their destruction or gradual destruction he is one who is endowed with the foundations of mindfulness.’

Line 126. *spadoaṭhaṇasamagīno*: This word occurs again at the end of this line and in the misspelling [*spado*]*aṭhaṇas/a·Jagi* in line 9-GCv5. Other Gāndhāri forms of the word *spadoaṭhaṇa-* are discussed in Glass 2007: 202–203.

ede trae ḥidāṇa: The Three Sources have been covered under the names *śeha-* (line 9.123), *doṣa-* (line 9.124) and *añāṇa-* (line 9.125).

hadatva · ha[daha]datva va: In Pali literature, the word *hatatta-* is used in two

contexts. One is the linguistic explanation of the word *arahant-* in shorter (e.g., *arānam arānañ ca hatattā*, e.g., Pj II 441) or longer form (*kilesehi ārakattā, kilesārīnam hatattā, saṃsāracakkassa arānam hatattā, pāpakarane rahābhāvā, paccayādīnam arahattā ca araham*, e.g., Nidd-a I 36–37). The longer formula has a further connection to our text by its reference to destruction of the defilements (another term for the Sources) as constitutive of liberation. The other and most immediately relevant Pali context of *hatatta-* is the explanation of the word *sato* of our root verse in the Pali Niddesa: *satiparibandhānam dhammānam hatattā sato* Nidd II 34.15. There can thus be no doubt that *hatatva-* is the Gāndhārī equivalent of P *hatatta-*, and in the present context *hadahatava-* is interpreted as indicating gradual destruction of the Sources, rather than involving a negation (OIA *hatāhatatva-*) and reference to their destruction or absence thereof.

Line 127. [*trae*]: The akṣara [*tra*] appears to be a correction from original *ta*.

thidaga: For this word cf. *due thida[ga]* 95, and for the representation of its initial consonant the related word [*thido*] 13.75.

Transcription:

128. ... asa va [tri] ḥi da ḥa · pra [ha]neña · kileśakṣayo ·

kuśal[i] ka

129. makṣayo spado pari[valye] · dukhakṣayo · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va triṇidaṇa·prahaṇeṇa · kileśakṣayo · **kuśali** ka[129]makṣayo **spado**
parivaye · dukhakṣayo ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: by abandoning of the three sources (is meant) the exhaustion of defilement. **Skilled**: [129] the exhaustion of action. **Should wander about** **mindful**: the exhaustion of pain.

Text notes:

Line 128. *kuśal[i]*: This is a variant reading for the root verse that also occurs in lines 9-131 and 134.

Transcription:

129. ... asa va kama ho · ḡabhiṇadea · oda[r]ian[a]
 130. kileṣaṇa prahāṇa · maṇaso aṇavilo si[e] · aṇumajāṇa ca ·
 aṇusahagadaṇa ca p. // + +
 131. [kuśa]li savadhamēṣu · ya tatra vu[to ·] dhamavitra[ka]m eva ·
 avaśi[tho] bhodi · spado bhikh[u]
 132. [pa]rivaye · ya tatra vuto · dra[v]ya[di]o bhikhu · ajatvam e[va cito]
 sa[ṭha]vedi // +
 133. ? [t]. samahadadi · parivraye · ya tratra vuto trae vija · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va **kama ho** · **ṅabhiṇadea** · odariṇa [130] kileṣaṇa prahāṇa · **maṇaso**
aṇavilo **sie** · aṇumajāṇa ca · aṇusahagadaṇa ca p(*rahaṇa) [131] **kuśali** **sava-**
dhamēṣu · ya tatra vuto · dhamavitrakam eva · avaśi[tho] bhodi · **spado**
bhikhu [132] **parivaye** · ya tatra vuto · dravayadio bhikhu · ajatvam eva cito
 saṭhavedi + [133] ? t. samahadadi · **parivraye** · ya tratra vuto trae vija ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Indeed he should not look forward to sense-pleasures:** [130] abandoning of coarse defilements. **He should be undisturbed in respect to the mind:** abandoning of the midling and the residual ones. [131] **Skilled in respect to all dharmas:** what is said there is that only thinking about the dharma is remaining. **A monk [132] should wander about mindful:** what is said here is that a monk of good material internally indeed composes the

heart, [133] concentrates + + + **Should wander about:** what is talked about there is the three knowledges.

Text notes:

Line 129–130. *oda[r]jan[a] kileśāṇa prahāṇa*: In this run of the commentary, the parts of the root verse are interwoven with the key expressions of a sūtra corresponding to the Pamsudhovaka sutta (see above).

Line 130. *manaso*: It is syntactically more likely that this is a spelling variant for the instrumental singular of the noun than that it is a genitive form.

Line 131. *[kuśa]li*: This variant reading for the root verse also occurs in lines 9.128 and 134.

ya tatra vu[to]: This formula, used here and in the following lines to introduce quotations from the sūtra, probably corresponds to Pali *yam tatra vuttam*. As such it lacks the correlative that it always takes in the Pali examples and in effect functions as a shorter version of **yasa tatra vuto* (cf. the usual quotation formula *yasa vucadi*).

dhamavitra[ka]m eva: The noun *dhamavitra[ka]-* here shows the prevocalic sandhi form of the new masculine direct-case singular ending (extended analogically from the Old Indo-Aryan masculine accusative and neuter singular ending *-am*).

Lines 132–133. *ajatvam e[va] ... samahadadi*: The corresponding Pali form of this stereotyped passage is *ajjhatam eva cittam santhapeti sannisādeti ekodikaroti samādahati* (e.g., MN III 111.20–21). In the Pali Pamsudhovakasutta, *citta-* serves as the subject of the sentence: *hoti so bhikkhave samayo yam tam cittam ajjhattam yeva santiṭṭhati sannisīdati ekodihoti samādhīyati* AN I 154.31–32. The reading of our manuscript between the words *sa[ṭha]vedi* and *samahadadi* is not clear. Based on the parallels, we would expect either **sanisadedi* or **ekodikarodi* (or preferably both), but neither of these fits what is visible of the akṣaras. The form *samahadadi* (instead of expected **samadahadi*) shows metathesis of its two middle syllables, probably under the influence of the past participle *samahida-*. (Cf. maybe the perfect form *antardhaduh* in the Mahāparinirvāṇamahāsūtra; Habata 2007: 21.)

trae vija: Cf. *tr[e]vijada* 9.150, preceded by an enumeration of the individual

knowledges in lines 9.147–149.

Transcription:

133. ... asa va kam[a] hi ḥa [abhi ḥa dea]
134. + + .[r]. + ḥa · aṇavilo doṣaprahaṇa · kuśa li [mo]hapra[ḥa ·]
spado bhikhu [pa]ri[vaye] · yo [s].
135. .[o]a[ṭha]ḥasa[magi] · ede trae ḥidāṇa haṇadi · so śekho · yena hada
[·] so sakhadadha[mo ·]

Reconstruction:

asa va **kama** **hi ḥa abhiṇadea** [134] (*ragap)r(*aha)ḥa · **aṇavilo** doṣa-praḥaṇa · **kuśali** mohapra(*ha)ḥa · **spado bhikhu parivaye** · yo s(*p)a[135]
(*d)oāṭhaṇasamagi · ede trae ḥidāṇa haṇadi · so śekho · yena hada · so sakhadadhamo ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **For he should not look forward to sense-pleasures:** [134] abandoning of (*lust). **Undisturbed:** abandoning of hate. **Skilled:** abandoning of delusion. **A monk should wander about mindful:** who [135] endowed with the foundations of mindfulness destroys these three sources, that one is in training. By whom they are destroyed, that one has enumerated the dharmas.

Text notes:

- Line 133. *kam[a] hi*: This provides a variant reading for the root verse.
- Line 134. *kuśali*: This variant reading for the root verse also occurs in lines 9.128 and 131.

Transcription:

136. [asa va] k[a]m[a] ḥ[a] abhiṇadea + [kamara] gasa prahaṇa ·

- | T+S | T | T+S | T | T+S | T | T+S | T
 a ḥnavi[l]o [va] + [da sa] · u bha yi ḥna .[ra]
- | s
 137. haṇado [·] utamo ś[e]kho · yavi paripura śekhada vutartha[a] · kuśali
 savadhamehi · [dha]maña
- | s
 138. [ḥna]sa puridatva · paripu[r]a · aśekhada · spado bhikhu pari[vaye] ·
 edeṇa mage
- | s | S+R | s | R | S+R | R | S+R | s | S+R
 139. [ḥna] yo ga chadi ·] so [śe kho · yo] gado · [so
 | s | S+R | s | s
 sakha da dha mo ·] .[e] ? ? ? ? ? ? ? // + +

Reconstruction:

[136] asa va **kama ḥna abhiṇadea** (*.) kamaragasa prahaṇa · **aṇavilo**
 va(*va)dasa · ubhayiṇa (*p)ra[137]haṇado · utamo śekho · yavi paripura
 śekhada vutartha · **kuśali savadhamehi** · dhamaña[138]ḥna puridatva · pari-
 pura · aśekhada · **spado bhikhu parivaye** · edeṇa mage[139]ḥna yo gachadi ·
 so śekho · yo gado · so sakhadadhamo · e ? ? ? ? ? ? + (*⁸⁸)

Translation:

[136] Or otherwise: **He should not look forward to sense-pleasures:**
 abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure. **Undisturbed:** of malice. From
 abandoning of both, (one becomes) the highest one in training. Until the state
 of being in training is complete it has its meaning stated. **Skilled in respect**
to all dharmas: [138] because of knowing of the dharmas being filled, the
 state of no longer being in training is complete. **A monk should wander**
about: [139] who goes on this path, that one is in training; who has gone, that
 one has enumerated the dharmas. + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Line 135. *sakhadadha/mo*: This expression for one who is no longer in training,
 i.e., a worthy one (*rahata-*) who has achieved liberation, is part of the preceding root
 verse and explained in the commentary thereon.

Line 136. *[kamara]gasa ... [va](^{*}va)[dasa]*: See § 1.2.2 and cf. 9.66–67 *[ka]maragapraha(*ṇa) ... va[va]daprahaṇa*.

Line 137. *paripura śekhada*: What it means for the state of being in training to be complete is explained at AKBh 381.6–13 (*trividhā śaikṣasya paripūriḥ, phalataḥ indriyataḥ samāpattitaś ca*). Pali and Sanskrit texts use the abstract-noun formation *sekkhatta-* / *śaikṣatva-* (suffix OIA *-tva-*) instead of G *śekhada-* (suffix OIA *-tā-*).

vutarth[a]: For this expression cf. *vu[ta]rtho* 9.210.

savadhamehi: This provides a variant reading for this word from the root verse. The form *-ehi* probably represents an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan locative (Lüders 1954: 152–157, Berger 1956: 110).

Line 139. A punctuation mark in the right margin indicates the end of this section.

17 (Lines 9.140–160)

This section explains a verse from the Pārāyaṇa that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| yo adido adiśadi | Who points out the past, |
| añego chiṇaśāśago | unshakable, having severed doubt, |
| parago savadhamehi | going to the further shore in respect to all dharmas, |
| arthapraśeṇa agado | to that one I have come with a question about meaning. |

The section contains four runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanations that center on the idea of omniscience (*savañuda-*). The second run equates pāda a and the two halves of pāda c with the Three Knowledges (*trevijada-*). Concerning pāda c, it explains how the omniscience of a buddha (or the Buddha) is even greater than that of disciple and condition enlightened ones (*śavagapracaabudha-*). The third run provides general explanation of pāda a and equates the two halves of pāda b with the abandoning of craving (*taṣa-*) and ignorance (*avija-*). Concerning pāda c, it explains that while disciples may also acquire the six recognitions (*śadaviña-*), a buddha (or the Buddha) surpasses them in his attainment

of the perfections (*parami*-). The fourth and last run performs a straightforward categorial reduction of the four pādas to the Five States.

| | 2: 9.147–151 | 3: 9.151–157
(<i>asa va</i>) | 4: 9.157–160
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| yo adido adiśadi | <i>provenīvasa-</i>
<i>aṇuspadi-</i> | | <i>ñanida-</i> |
| añego | <i>asavakṣaya-</i> | <i>taṣae prahinatva</i> | <i>vimutida-</i> |
| chiṇaśaśago | <i>satvanā</i>
<i>cudoavada-</i> | <i>avijae prahinatva</i> | |
| parago savadhamēhi | <i>savaagareṇa ñāṇo</i>
<i>purido</i> | <i>paramiprata-</i> | <i>vriṣavida-</i> |
| arthapraṣeṇa agado | | | <i>uīhaveda-,</i>
<i>pradiūhaveda-</i> |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 40–41, Pj II 600 and Nidd-a III 52. A partial parallel of pāda d is also explained at Pj II 572.5–7.

Transcription:

- |R
140. yo adido [a]diśadi sutro tatra ḥideśo · posalo pa[r]ayano
[bhagavato] ? ? ? ?
- |R
141. yo adido adiśadi · yo adido aīkṣadi · adid[e va] · va[ta]mani ·
kapakođin[a]
- |R
142. ? .u ? ? [adiśadi] + [avare] adideṇagada [·] pra[capaṇa] ? + +
[a]ga[ñā]ṇa .[e ḥ].
- |R
143. d[o] · eva taṣa sa prahiṇa · chiṇaśago · cadure viyigitsa prahiṇa · aña-
ṇaprahaṇado
- |R
144. stavadi · asa va sarva[ñ]udae stavadi · parago sarvaguṇeh[i para]mido
ga[do]
- |Q
145. + ? ? savañuda purida · arthapra[śe]ṇa · aga[d]. [mi] · [a]rthar[thio

mi] pro

|Q

146. [cha]ṇa agado mi · asa va yo sasarami · artho va · añartho va · to
procha agado

|Q

147. mi · aho [·] yo adido adiśadi ·
pr[o] ve ḥi [v]a [sa ·a]ṇu spadi sakṣiñāṇ[a]

|Q+P

|Q

|Q+P

|Q

|Q+P

|P

148. vija [chi] ḥaśāśago · sa tva ḥa cuadavada · sakṣiñāṇavija · anego

|P

149. asavakṣayo sakṣiñāṇavija [· si]adi danī · añ[e]ṣa [vi] tr[e]

|P+O

|P

|P+O

|O

150. vijada · ḥavagapra caabudhaṇa · [na] du ho [sa]rvañ[e]asu
vastuṣu · sava

|O

151. agareṇa ḥaṇo purido · yasa budheṇa · ta vucadi parago ·
savadhamehi · ...

Reconstruction:

[140] **yo adido adiśadi** sutro tatra ḥideśo · posalo parayaṇio bhagavato ? ? ? [141] **yo adido adiśadi** · yo adido aikṣadi · adide va · vatamanī · kapakoḍīṇa [142] ? .u ? ? adiśadi (*.*) avare adideṇagada · prac<*u>paṇa ? + + agaṇaṇa .e ḥ. [143] do · eva taṣa sa prahiṇa · **chiṇaśa<*śa>go** · cadure viyigitsa prahiṇa · añaṇaprahaṇado [144] stavadi · asa va sarvañude stavadi · **parago** sarvaguṇehi paramido gado [145] + ? ? savañuda purida · **arthapraṣeṇa** · **agad(*o)** mi · artharthio mi pro[146]chaṇa agado mi · asa va yo sasarami · artho va · añartho va · to procha agado [147] mi · aho · **yo adido adiśadi** · provenivasa·aṇuspadi sakṣiñāṇa[148]vija **chiṇaśaśago** · satvaṇa cuadavada · sakṣiñāṇavija · **anegeo** [149] asavakṣayo sakṣiñāṇavija · siadi danī · añesa vi tre[150]vijada · ḥavagapracaabudhaṇa · ḥa du ho sarvañeaṣu vastuṣu · sava[151]agareṇa ḥaṇo purido · yasa budheṇa · ta vucadi **parago** · **savadhamehi** ·

Translation:

[140] **Who points out the past** is the text. The explanation on it: Posala of the Parayaṇa + + + + the blessed one. [141] **Who points out the past:** who shows the past, or an occurrence in the past + + + + + [142] + + + + points out. Others: + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [143] + Thus craving. It is abandoned. **Having severed doubt:** the four uncertainties are abandoned. [144] He praises him for abandoning of unknowing. Or otherwise he praises for omniscience. **Going to the further shore:** gone to perfection in respect to all qualities. [145] + + + omniscience is filled. **I have come with a question about meaning:** I am seeking for meaning, [146] I have come for questions. Or otherwise: Which profit or harm there is in the roundabout (of births), to that question [147] I have come. **Who points out the past:** [148] the knowledge that is manifest knowing: recollection of earlier lives. **Having severed doubt:** the knowledge that is manifest knowing: decease and reappearance of beings. **Unshakable:** [149] the knowledge that is manifest knowing: exhaustion of taints. Now other [150] disciple and condition enlightened ones may also have the state of possessing the three knowledges, but not indeed is [151] (their) knowing in every way filled with matters related to an omniscient one(?) like by the enlightened one. Therefore is said **going to the further shore in respect to all dharmas.**

Text notes:

Line 140. *posalo*: Also in the Pali Suttanipāta, this verse is attributed to the āyasmā *posālo*. The complete Posālamāṇavapucchā is commented on in this and the following sections of our commentary.

[bhagavato] ? ? ? ?: This is in all likelihood an indication of Posala's interlocutor followed by an illegible verb of speaking or asking.

Line 141. *aīkṣadi*: See the note on (**aī*)*kṣahi* 9:120–121.

va[tā]mani: Outside our text, this nominalized present participle (distinguished from the regular participle by following the feminine *i* rather than *a* declension) is so

far only attested in the Mahāvastu: *sārthavāho teṣāṁ vāñijakānāṁ vartamānāṁ sarvāṁ ācikṣati* Mvu III 74.

Line 142. *pra[c]/*u>[pana]* ?: The akṣara following *pra[c]/*u>[pana]* could be the expected conjunctive particle *ca* if, somehow, the long vertical line under it belongs to the preceding *[na]*.

Line 143. *cadure viyigitsa*: Four Uncertainties are not one of the common doctrinal sets, but the reference here is probably to doubt concerning the Four Truths, which a passage in the Petakopadesa enumerates following doubt concerning the enlightened one, the dharma and the community (*yāva buddhe vā dhamme vā saṅghe vā dukkhe vā samudaye vā nirodhe vā magge vā kañkhāyanā vimati vicikicchā dvedhā ... sā tassa pahīnā bhavanti ... āyatīm anuppādadhammā* Peṭ 132.10–15).

Line 145. *savañuda*: The akṣara *da* is a correction from an unidentifiable original akṣara.

arthapra[śe]ṇa: The horizontal line that probably marked the base sign *[-ś]*- as representing a consonant cluster is no longer visible. Cf. the corresponding form *praśa-* in British Library fragment 28 and the Sanskritized spelling *praśna-* in Hirayama fragment 18. The compounds *atthapucchā-* and *atthapucchana-* are attested in equivalent meaning in Pali.

Lines 145–146. *pro[cha]ṇa agado mi*: The genitive is used in dative sense; cf. *pr(*o)chana agado* 9.49.

Line 147–148. *pr[o]veṇi[v]a[sa·a]ṇuspadi sakṣiñan[a]vija*: This is the first of the Three Knowledges (*vija-*) leading to liberation (cf. Eimer 2006: 74–75). Also in Pali the designation *ñāṇa-* is appended to the name of each of the Three Knowledges. The further addition of *sakṣi-* is so far unique to our Gāndhārī text, but probably related to the Pali term *sakkhibabbatā-* that is used in connection with the Six Recognitions (for instance in the Paṃsudhovakasutta, see appendix 3 and cf. section 16). The Pali term is explained as *paccakkhabhāva-* at Mp III 411.7 (on the Sakkhibhabba sutta, AN III 426.27–427.20) and Ps IV 146.1–2.

Line 148. *cuadavada · sakṣiñanavija*: This is the second of the Three Knowledges.

The name is here misspelled, but *cudoavadañāṇo* 9.154 shows the correct Gāndhārī spelling of the word.

Line 149. *asavakṣayo sakṣiñāṇavija*: This is the third of the Three Knowledges. A gap has been left between *sakṣi* and *ñāṇa* for the length of thread sewed vertically across the glue line between two sheets at this point.

Line 150. *[na] du ho*: With this expression cf. 9.123 *yo du ho*.

[sa]rvāñ[e]jaśu: The akṣara *ñ[e]* has been corrected from *ñu*.

Line 151. *parago*: This word is a direct object in the root verse, but serves as subject in the commentary's syntax.

Transcription:

151. ... asa

152. [va] yo adido adiśadi · yo adidavartamañ[i] aikṣadi · y[a v]a [pra]gidi

153. a mañuśa · y[a] ca utara mañu śa [·] yo a pa va ta do · ?

[vi] aṇubhuda · [y]. [a] pa [a] ? ?

154. [ñā ḥo va] satvāṇa cudoavadañāṇo · yasa [ya] atvāṇa ḥa
aṇubhud[o] · y[e]hi ca yehi ca satve

155. [h]i aṇabhudo · [to a]ikṣadi · aṇego taṣae prahinatva · chiṇaśāśago ·
avijae

156. prahinatva · sieati vāṇa ṣavaga · ṣadā[vi] ñā · ya sa
ka śa va[moga] laṇa[sad]i

157. [śa · ḥa du h]o pa ra mi prata yasa budho · ...

Reconstruction:

asa [152] va yo **adido adiśadi** · yo adidavartamaṇi aīkṣadi · ya va pragidi[153]a maṇuśa · ya ca utara maṇuśa · yo a pa va ta do · ? vi aṇubhuda · y. a pa a ? ? [154] ḥaṇo va satvaṇa cudoavadaṇaṇo · yasa ya atvaṇa ḥa aṇubhudo · yehi ca yehi ca satve[155]hi aṇ<*u>bhudo · to aīkṣadi · **aṇego taṣae prahiṇatva** · **chinaśaśago** · avijae [156] prahiṇatva · sieati vaṇa ṣavaga · ṣaḍaviñā · yasa kaśavamogalaṇasadi[157]śa · ḥa du ho paramiprata yasa budho ·

Translation:

[152] Or otherwise: **Who points out the past**: who shows a past occurrence. Both those who are [153] natural humans and those who are higher humans + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [154] + + + decease and reappearance of beings. Both as it has not been experienced by himself and by whichever [155] beings it has been experienced, that he shows. **Unshakable**: because of craving having been abandoned. **Having severed doubt**: [156] because of ignorance having been abandoned. Then again disciples may have the six recognitions, such as [157] those like Kaśava and Mogalaṇa, but not indeed have they reached perfection like the enlightened one.

Text notes:

Line 152. *[va]*: This akṣara is preceded by a blob of ink that possibly indicates the smudging out of a mistake.

Lines 152–153. *[pra]gidia maṇuśa*: The word *pākatikamanussa-* is used as a gloss on *manussabhūta-* (which occurs as *maṇuśabhudo* in line 9.170 of our commentary) at Ps-pṭ II 294 and Mp-pṭ I 213 in apparently the same meaning as here.

Line 153. *yo a pa va ta do*: The meaning of these akṣaras remains uncertain. It is likely that the first of them is a relative pronoun, continuing the enumeration of things of the past that the Buddha teaches.

aṇubhuda: There is an unaccounted-for line above the akṣara *bhu*.

Lines 153–154. *[y]. [a] pa [a] ? ? [ḥaṇo va]*: This also appears to be part of the

enumeration of things of the past that the Buddha knows and teaches.

Line 154. *satvāna cudoavadañāno*: The second Knowledge (cf. *satvāna cuadavada · sakṣiñānavija* 9.148) is maybe named here (apparently in continuation of the preceding clause) because it is what makes it possible for the Buddha to know the past.

Line 158–160. *ñan[i]dae ... vimutida ... vriṣa[vi]da ... [u]ṭhaveda ... pradi-ṭhaveda*: For the Five States see § 1.2.2 and cf. 9.1–3, 9.28 and 9.102–104.

Transcription:

- | M
157. sakṣeva · yo adido adiśadi · yasa adido a
- | M
158. diśad[i] · tasa aṇagado · tasa pracupaṇo · bos[eṇa] ñaṇeṇa + [a]do
ñan[i]dae [stu]
- | M
159. di krida · aṇ[i]kho chiṇaśaśago · vimutida · parago savadhamehi ·
vriṣa[vi]
- | M
160. da · ataprarñeṇa ag[ado u]ṭhaveda pradi[ṭhaveda ca] ? .[udi] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva · **yo adido adiśadi** · yasa adido a[158]diśadi · tasa aṇagado · tasa
pracupaṇo · boṣeṇa ñaṇeṇa (*.) ado ñanidae stu[159]di krida · **aṇikho chiṇa-**
śaśago · vimutida · **parago savadhamehi** · vriṣavi[160]da · **ada-prarñeṇa**
agado uṭhaveda pradiṭhaveda ca ? .udi §§

Translation:

In brief: **Who points out the past**: like he [158] points out the past, so the future, so the present, through enlightenment, through knowing. Therefore [159] praise is made of the state of a knower. **Without anger, having severed doubt**: the state of liberation. **Going to the further shore in respect to all dharmas**: [160] mastery. **I have come + + + + + the state of**

having raised oneself and the state of having established oneself + + +

Text notes:

Line 159. *an[i]kho*: This provides a variant reading for this word from the root verse.

Line 160. *ada prarñeṇa*: This is clearly a variant reading for *arthapra[śe]ṇa* 9.145. In view of the different orthographic representation of OIA *praśna-* in both places it is possible that *ada*, too, goes back to OIA *artha-*. It is conceivable that *ada* is miscopied from *aṭa-*, a rare spelling for the alveolar aspirate (§ 4.5) that our scribe may not have been familiar with.

? *[udi]*: The interpretation of these akṣaras remains uncertain. On the parallel of *[stu]di* 9.158–159 it would be tempting to read *[studi]*, but the akṣara that precedes it and the syntactic connection with *[u]ṭhaveda pradi[ṭhaveda ca]* (which are not in the genitive case) present further problems.

18 (Lines 9.160–176)

This section explains the next three verses of the Pārāyaṇa, which can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| vibhudaruasañisa | Of the one whose perception of form has |
| savakayapraha(*iṇo) | disappeared, |
| ajatva (*ca) bahidha ca | who abandons all bodies |
| atra ṭi tasaviso | internally and externally |
| ñan>(*o śakaṇuprachami) | + + + + + + |
| | I (*ask) what he knows, o Śaka. |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 41–42, Pj II 600–601 and Nidd-a III 57–70. A parallel of pāda c is also explained at Nidd II 40, Pj I 252 and Nidd-a III 51.

viñāṇatidie sava All steadinesses of consciousness
 (*abhiṇo tasagado) (*recognizing, the tathāgata)
 cīhatam eṇa jaṇadi knows this one standing,
 vimuto taparayaṇo liberated, having that as final aim.

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 41–42, Pj II 600–601 and Nidd-a III 57–70.

akicaññasabhavo ḥa(*t)va Knowing the origin of nothing,
 ḥadi sayoyaṇa di o that relish is a fetter +
 eva edo jaṇiadi he should know this thus.
 tado ḥa ? + paśadi Then he + + + + +
 (*eda) ḥaṇo (*taso tasa) This is knowing as it is of that
 bramaṇasa vroṣimado perfected(?) brahman.

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd II 41–42, Pj II 600–601 and Nidd-a III 57–70. – The common theme of these three verses is their concern with the sphere of nothing (*akicañayadāna-*). Only the first of these verses performs a systematic equation, in addition to the general explanations that all three provide. Here pāda a is equated with what our text calls the sphere of the end of space (*agaśacaiḍāna-*), pāda b with the likewise surprisingly named sphere of the end of consciousness (*viñāṇacayadāna-*), and pāda c with the sphere of nothing by way of a sūtra quotation.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| | 9.160–167 |
| vibhudaruasāñisa | <i>agaśacaiḍāna-</i> |
| savakayapraha(*ino) | <i>viñāṇacayadāna-</i> |
| ajatva (*ca) bahidha ca | <i>agicayadāna-</i> |
| atra ṭi tasaviso | |
| ñan(*o śakaṇuprachami) | |

Transcription:

- | M
160. ... vivibhud[a]rua[sa]
- | M
161. ñisa sutro tatra ḥideśo · istrisaña puruṣasaña · sakalasaña ·
[dha]dusaña · vaṇasaṭhaṇ[a]
- | M
162. samadikramo · daśido · [a]sa va triviso suasagrahasama[dikra]mo ·
e[va] eṣa aga
- | M
163. śacaïdaṇo · vuto · savakayaprahaṇa [·] agaśaca[i]daṇa[sa]ma[ya]di-
kramo [·] daś[e]di ?
- | M
164. [e]ṣa viñ[a]ṇacayadaṇ[o] vuto · aja[tva ·] yasa vucadi [na]ho kuayi
kasa yi · ki ci
- | M
165. asti · bahidha ca ḥ[a] y[a] mama · ko yi [kasa] yi · ki ci a[sti ·] eva
e[va] pa[r]igraha[bha]
- | M
166. v[o] · agicaya[da]ṇo · daśido at[r]a ṭi tasaviso · k[i]diśageṇa · so agica
- | M
167. [na]daṇo·samavati la[bha]di · ñaṇeṇa prañavida[ve] · asa va kiśidae
paḍ[i]vadae

Reconstruction:

vi{vi}bhudaruasa[161]ñisa sutro tatra ḥideśo · istrisaña puruṣasaña · sakala-
saña · dhadusaña · vaṇasaṭhaṇa[162]samadikramo · daśido · asa va triviso
suasagrahasamadikramo · eva eṣa aga[163]śacaïdaṇo · vuto · savakaya-
prahaṇa · agaśacaïdaṇasama{ya}dikramo · daśedi ? [164] eṣa viñac-
ayadaṇo vuto · ajatva · yasa vucadi ḥaho kuayi kasa yi · ki ci [165] asti ·
bahidha ca ḥa ya mama · ko yi kasa yi · ki ci asti · eva eva parigrah-
abha[166]vo · agicayadaṇo · daśido atra ṭi tasaviso · kidiśageṇa · so
agica[167]ña<*ya>daṇo·samavati labhadi · ñaṇeṇa prañavidave · asa va
kiśidae paḍivadae

Translation:

[161] **Of the one whose perception of form has disappeared** is the text.

The explanation on it: Perception of women, perception of men, all perception, perception of the element. [162] The surmounting of color and shape is shown, or otherwise the surmounting of pleasure and favor that is of three kinds. Thus that [164] sphere of nothing is talked about. **Who abandons all bodies:** he shows the surmounting of the sphere of the end of space + [164] that sphere of the end of consciousness is talked about. **Internally:** as is said: “The I is not anywhere, of anybody, anything. **And externally:** and the mine is not anybody, of anybody, anything.” Just that way is [166] the non-existence of appropriation. The sphere of nothing is shown. **Here + of such a kind:** by what sort of person [167] is this attainment of the sphere of nothing obtained. By **what he knows + + + +**
Or otherwise: by what sort of way.

Text notes:

Line 160–161. *vi{vi}bhud[a]rua[sa]ñisa*: For the scholastic interpretation of *vibhūtarūpasamjña-* and its connection with the *ākāśānancyāyatana-* cf. AKBh 434.11–435.26.

Line 161. *istrisañā puruṣasañā · sakalasañā · [dha]dusañā*: The commentary starts this section with a list of four kinds of perception of form that disappear in the course of the fourth Meditation. The list is arranged in rising order and begins with the perception of women and men, i.e., the difference and characteristics of the sexes. After its disappearance, the perception of everything else disappears, and finally the perception of the element, i.e., the entire form element (*ruadhadu-*) disappears, giving way to the Four Attainments of Formlessness (*arupasamavati-*) that are the subject of the main part of this section. – There is a curl on the lower end of the akṣara *[dha]* that makes it look like *dhu*, but in context the reading *[dha]dusañā* is quite certain.

Lines 161–162. *vanasañhan[a]samadikramo ... suasagrahasama[dikra]mo*: Before

it proceeds, the commentary provides an alternative classification of the kinds of perception of form that disappear. This classification consists of two dvandva compounds, one of which characterizes form as external object by its properties of color and shape, and the other one of which appears to describe the effect that form has on the person who perceives it in terms of pleasant emotional response. This classification is of some interest because it correlates with the Nettippakaraṇa's characterization of the first two Perversions (one of the root terms of that text): the Perversion perception of beauty (*subhasaññā-*) has as its characteristic the apprehending of color, shape and features (*vannasan̄thānabyañjanagahañalakkhanā subhasaññā, tassā indriyāsamvaro padañthānam* Nett 27), and it is followed by the Perversion perception of pleasure (*sukhasaññā-*). This correlation is not necessarily indicative of the textual relationship between our commentary and the Nettippakaraṇa that can be established on independent grounds, but it does represent a similar approach to the classification of perception. – The posterior part of the two compounds in our commentary (*samadikrama-*) is an indirect gloss of the word *vibhuda-* of the root verse, and as such it has a direct parallel in the Pali Niddesa's explanation of this verse (*rūpasāññā vibhūtā honti vigatā atikkantā samatikkantā vītvattā* Nidd II 150.14–15).

Lines 162–163. *agaśacaiḍano*: The spelling of the first Attainment of Formlessness is unusual. It seems to represent OIA **ākāśāntyāyatana-* ‘sphere of the end of space’ rather than regular *ākāśānāntyāyatana-* ‘sphere of the endlessness of space.’ This is evidently more than a simple mistake because it correlates with the similarly unusual spelling of the next Attainment of Formlessness (*viñ[a]ñacayadan[o]* 9.164), and it appears to reflect the understanding that our text brought to these Attainments. More importantly, this divergent understanding appears to be representative of greater parts of the Gāndhārī tradition: the section of the British Library Saṅgītisūtra commentary (SaṅGm-G) on the Four Attainments of Formlessness (*arupasamavati-*) gives their names as *akaśamcaadāna-*, *viñāñamcaadāna-*, *akicaññaadāna-* and *nevasamñanevasamññaadāna-*, and a text in the Senior

collection (RS 12) likewise presupposes a form without negation in its garbled spelling *agaśacañaiḍana-* (a conflation of the names of the first and third Attainments).

Line 163. *agaśaca[i]ḍana[sa]ma/[ya]}dikramo*: The akṣara [sa] looks like it was first omitted and then squeezed in after the next akṣaras were written. The intrusive letter that has been transcribed as [ya] might also be a dittographed *di*.

Lines 163–164. ? [e]ṣa: This expression should presumably be read as [eva e]ṣa, on the parallel of *e[va] eṣa* 9162.

Line 164. *viñ[a]ṇacayadañ[o]*: This form corresponds to OIA *vijñānāntyāyatana- ‘sphere of the end of consciousness,’ reflecting the special understanding discussed in the note on *agaśacaīḍaño* 9.162–163. It is of particular interest because in this case the regular Pali form of the term (*viññāṇañcāyatana-*) directly corresponds to it and likewise lacks the negation expected on the basis of the later Sanskrit form (*vijñānānāntyāyatana-*). The peculiarity of the Pali form is not noted by the dictionaries, and it is usually translated without further comment as though it did contain a negation. The only discussion of this form that has come to my notice is that of Warder 1967: 38, who considers it a simple haplology that became conventional. The complete consistency of such a generalization would be surprising on its own, and now the new Gāndhārī evidence indicates that the Pali form *viññāṇañcāyatana-* may actually reflect an older state of affairs. That awareness of such a state was not yet entirely lost in the fifth century CE is suggested by the explanation *viññāṇābhāvavipassanena natthi kiñ cī ti passato ākiñcaññāyatana-lābhino* Pj II 601 of pāda d of our root verse.

Lines 164–165: [*na]ho kua yi kasa yi · ki ci asti ... n[a] y[a] mama · ko yi [kasa] yi · ki ci a[sti]*: At this point our commentary interweaves a canonical quotation with parts of the root verse. Pali parallels of this quotation (each with slight differences of detail) occur in the Āṇañjasappāyasutta (*nāham kva cani kassa ci kiñcana tasmiñ na ca mama kva cani kismiñ ci kiñcanam natthi* MN II 263.34–264.1) and in the Uposathasutta (*nāham kva ci kassa ci kiñcanam tasmiñ na ca mama kva ci kassa ci*

kiñcanam natthi AN I 206.18–20). The way in which the two parts of the quotation are combined with the two parts of our root-verse pāda is paralleled in the Petakopadesa: *tattha ahan ti ajjhattam maman ti bahiddhā* Pet 160. – In the second part of the quotation, we expect *kua yi* instead of *ko yi*. This could be a case of misinterpretation of the Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan pronominal locative *ke* ‘where’ as a direct-case singular form, and consequent transposition into G *ko* rather than *kua*; the same misunderstanding is attested in Pali (Lüders 1954: 24–27, Berger 1956: 97–98).

eva e[va]: This apparently corresponds to OIA *evam eva*, but a reading *eva e[ṣa]* (parallel to *e[va] esa* 9.162 and maybe ? *[e]ṣa* 9.163–164) cannot be ruled out.

Line 166. *agicaya[da]ño:* The first member of this compound appears to be *agici-* (OIA *akiṁcid-*) rather than *agicaña-* (OIA *ākiṁcanya-*). In Sanskrit the term is always *ākiṁcanyāyatana*, but there are indications in Pali that a formation based on *akiṁcid-* may have been a valid variant or at least a common spelling mistake (e.g., *ākiñc-āyatanañpagā devā* MN III 103.12 and *natthi kiñ cī ti ākiñcāyatanañ upasampajja viharati, sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanañ samatikkamma nevasaññānāsaññāyatanañ upasampajja viharati* Vibh 245). Cf. also line 9.175 where the scribe apparently first intended to write *akicañdanami* and then corrected himself to *akicañnajiññānam*.

at[r]a ti tasaviso: This is evidently a quotation corresponding to pāda f of the Pali parallel, but with a variant reading. As it stands, the pāda is hypometric and does not give satisfactory sense. It should maybe be emended to *atra ti<*do> tasaviso*, with an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan spelling of the second word instead of regular *thido*.

k[i]diśageṇa: The direct Pali equivalent of this word is only attested once (*buddho ayam kīdisako naruttamo* Bv 1), but its identity is secured by the Pali commentaries’ paraphrase of the preceding pāda (*ñāṇam sakkānu

ucchāmi*) as *tassa puggalassa ñāṇam pucchāmi kīdisam icchitabbañ* Pj II 601 = Nidd-a III 57.

Lines 166–167: *agicañnaJ<*ya>dano·samavati:* An alternative emendation of this word would be *agicañnaJ<*i>dano·samavati*, with phonetic rather than historical spelling of the first member.

Line 167. *la[bha]di*: For this verb cf. the Pali Niddesa's glossing of *tathāvidha-* as *yo so ākiñcaññāyatanasamāpattilābhī* Nidd II 41.

prañavida[ve]: The akṣara *va* is strangely broad and the final *e* vowel is unexpected, but nonetheless the most likely interpretation of this word is OIA *prajñāpitavyam* 'is to be made understood.'

kiśidae: This must be a scribal mistake for *kidiśae* (cf. *k[i]diśagena* 9.166), with accidental transposition of the two middle akṣaras.

Transcription:

168. | M+L viñāṇaṭidi[·a sa va | M sata viñā]ṇaṭhidie | M · budhe[ṇa]
 |M abhiñad[a] · p.idia[ṇida · satama]
169. | L [e] viñāṇaṭhidie · akicayadaṇo daśido · tatra viñāṇo pradiṭhido
 ciṭhat[o] ·
170. | L ta[m e]ṇa [bha]gava · maṇuśabhudo jaṇadi · vimuto ca · proḍhibhudo
 ñan[e]ṇa · [ta]paraya
171. | L ḥno eṣa bhaviṣadi · akicayadaṇa kh[u] · uavajiṣadi · ...

Reconstruction:

[168] **viñāṇaṭidi·a sava** sata viñāṇaṭhidie · budheṇa abhiñada · p(*r)idi-anida · satama[169]e viñāṇaṭhidie · akicayadaṇo daśido · tatra viñāṇo pradiṭhido **ciṭha{to · }**[170]**taṁ eṇa** bhagava · maṇuśabhudo **jaṇadi** · **vimuto** ca · proḍhibhudo **ñanēṇa** · **taparaya**[171]**ḥno eṣa** bhaviṣadi · akicayadaṇa khu · uavajiṣadi ·

Translation:

[168] All steadinesses of consciousness: seven steadinesses of consciousness have been recognized by the enlightened one that are brought about by happiness. [169] By the seventh steadiness of consciousness the

sphere of nothing is shown. There consciousness is established. [170] The blessed one **knows this one standing**, become human, and **liberated**, become mighty through knowing. [171] He will be **one who has that as final aim**. The sphere of nothing indeed will appear.

Text notes:

Line 168. *viñāṇatidi[·a sava]*: The expected reading is *viñāṇatidie sava*. This is presumably what the scribe of our manuscript had in his exemplar, but he appears to have misread the sequence *e sava* as the common function phrase *asa va*, taking the *e* mātrā as a punctuation dot.

[sata viñāṇaṭhidie]: The Seven Steadinesses of Consciousness are listed in the Pali Niddesa's explanation of this verse, in a passage that agrees with and may be a direct quotation from DN III 253.9–26:

santi bhikkhave sattā nānattakāyā nānattasaññino seyyathā pi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā. ayam paṭhamā viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā nānattakāyā ekattasaññino, seyyathā pi devā brahmakāyikā paṭhamābhinibbattā. ayam dutiyā viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā ekattakāyā nānattasaññino, seyyathā pi devā ābhassarā. ayam tatiyā viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā ekattakāyā ekattasaññino, seyyathā pi devā subhakiṇhā. ayam catutthī viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā sabbaso rūpasaññānam samatikkamā paṭighasaññānam atthaṅgamā nānattasaññānam amanasikārā ananto ākāso ti ākāsānañcāyatānūpagā. ayam pañcamī viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā sabbaso ākāsānañcāyatānam samatikkamma anantam viññāṇan ti viññāṇañcāyatānūpagā. ayam chaṭṭhī viññāṇaṭṭhitī. santi bhikkhave sattā sabbaso viññāṇañcāyatānam samatikkamma natthi kiñcī ti ākiñcaññāyatānūpagā. ayam sattamī viññāṇaṭṭhitī. (Nidd II 141.22–142.14 on Sn 1114)

In contrast to our commentary, however, the Pali Niddesa does not commit to this interpretation of *viññāṇaṭṭhitīyo sabbā*, but also gives the different list of Four Steadinesses of Consciousness (*rūpupayam vā bhikkhave viññāṇam tiṭṭhamānam titṭheyya [...] vedanupayam vā [...] saññupayam vā [...] saṅkhārupayam vā* Nidd II

141.16–18; see § 1.2.2 for the connection of the Four Floods and Four Barbs with these Four Steadinesses of Consciousness in Peṭ and Nett). Cf. further Collins 1982: 213–218 and Norman 1991a: 3 on the Steadinesses of Consciousness.

*p(*r)idia[ṇida]:* For this word cf. [*p*](*r)idi[a]ṇ[ida] 9.229. The Old Indo-Aryan equivalent of the form could be *prītyānīta-* (cf. *yathā ca pītiyā sukham ānitam ... idam tatiyam jhānam caturaṅgasamannāgataṁ* Peṭ 143), but a more likely interpretation of the second compound member may be the Gāndhārī past participle *janida-* (with orthographic omission of word-medial [j]) of *janadi* ‘he knows,’ used as a gloss on *abhiñad[a]*. For the connection between liberation and joy cf. *yā kho bhikkhave khīṇāsavassa bhikkhuno rāgā cittam vimuttam paccavekkhato, dosā cittam vimuttam paccavekkhato, mohā cittam vimuttam paccavekkhato uppajjati pīti, ayam vuccati bhikkhave nirāmisā nirāmisatarā pīti* SN IV 236.

tatra viñāno pradiṭhido: For the combination of *viñāna-* with *pradiṭhida-*, cf. *yattha patiṭhitam viññānam virūḍham atthi tattha nāmarūpassa avakkanti* SN II 101–103, *viññānam patiṭhitam* AN I 223–224 and *patiṭhā viññānassa na hoti* SN III 53–54 (the last two also quoted at Nidd I 25–26 and Nett 57–58).

Line 169–170. *cīthat{[o]}-ta[m]:* The palatal initial of this word may represent a midlands or Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan feature; see § 4.2.2.1.1.

Line 170. *manuśabhudo:* See the note on [*pra*]idia *manuśa* 9.152–153 for an explanation of *manussabhūta-* in the Pali commentaries.

Lines 170–171. *[ta]parayāno:* For this word Pj II 601 reads *tamparāyana-*, and the most likely phonetic interpretation of the Gāndhārī spelling is likewise [tampara:jano], with Middle Indo-Aryan recomposition based on *tam* rather than OIA *tad-*.

Transcription:

171. ... akicaññasabhavo ñ[a]

172. [va akicaña] ? ? [mu] ? .[o] ? [h]. şa [tatra] ? ? [n].

[L+K] | L | L+K | L | L+K | L
[a]. ? ? ? [·] sabha va [na ·] yasa

173. akicañayadañaşa[mə]vati · ɳadi sayo[yə]ɳa di [o · tatra] ? ?
sama[və]ti[hi chada]rago

174. e[və] edo jaɳiadi [· asti] sa samavati · tad[o] si kico chadarag[o j]. ?
[di] · tado ɳa ? // +

175. [pa]şa[di ·] uavajişa[di] ekašeɳa · akica[ɳa]i⟨da⟩ɳami · eva atra
budhasa · tad[i]şehi

176. ? ? ? [lehi] ɳ[a]ɳ[o] · b[udha]sa bramaɳasa · vahidapavadhamasa ·
vrosimado · bhavidamagasa ☷

Reconstruction:

akicañasabhavo **ña**[172](*t)va akicaña ? ? mu ? .o ? h. şa tatra ? ? n.
a. ? ? ? · sabhavaṇa · yasa [173] akicañayadañasamavati · **nadi sayoyana** di
o · tatra ? ? samavatih chadarago [174] **eva edo janjadi** · asti sa samavati ·
tado si kico chadarago j. ? di · **tado na** ? + [175] **paśadi** · uavajiśadi ekašeṇa ·
akicañāidañami · eva atra budhasa · tadiśehi [176] ? ? ? lehi **ñano** · budhasa
bramanasa · vahidapavadhamasa · **vrosimado** · bhavidamagasa ☺

Translation:

dharmas, **of the perfected one**: the one who has developed the path.

Text notes:

Line 171. *akicañasabhavo*: This reading does not support Norman's 1992: 125, 383 conjectural emendation of the Pali parallel to *ākiñcanasambhavam*.

Line 172. *sabhava[na]*: A likely but still tentative interpretation of this word is as P *sambhavana-* ‘coming into existence’ (PTSD s.v.), ‘having actual existence’ (Ñāṇamoli 1962); cf. *nāmakāyarūpakāyasambhavanalakkhaṇo bhavo* Nett 28. Alternatively one could read two words *sa bhavaṇa* ‘this is (the Plane of) development,’ but there are no other Plane names nearby to support such an interpretation.

Line 173. *nadi sayo[y]a]ṇa di [o]*: The last akṣara of this string looks like [o], but is positioned much lower in the line than would be expected. It is possible that it is not in fact [o], but the lower part of a different and otherwise lost akṣara. – The ten fetters are listed at Nidd II 271, where the first is given as *kāmarāgasāññojana-*. Nett 14 provides a partially different list in which the corresponding term is *kāmacchanda-*. Pet 150 has a list of four fetters with *kāmarāga-*, Pet 135 a list of two times five with *kāmacchanda-*. The last of these may be the most relevant here on the strength of its further occurrence in DN III 234 and in the Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary (as *kamachamda-*).

? ? *sama[v]ati[hi]*: It is unclear whether this should be taken as a compound, or as the word *samavati-* preceded by a numeral or pronoun.

[*chada]rago*: This term occurs fourteen times in the Peṭakopadesa, but not at all in the Nettippakaraṇa. Pet 136 defines *kāmacchanda-* (one of the fetters) in the context of the five hindrances (*nīvarana-*) as: *yo pañcasu kāmaguṇesu chandarāgo pemaṇ nikanti ajjhosānam icchā mucchā patthanā apariccāgo anusayo pariyuṭṭhānam ayam kāmacchandanīvaranām*. It is conceivable that this term originated as a short form of the dvandva compound *kāmacchanda-rūparāga-* (two of the ten fetters).

Line 174. [*j*]. ? [*di*]: One should probably read either [*janadi*] or [*jayadi*].

Line 175. *akica[ñ]a]jiṄdaṄnami*: The scribe appears to have struggled particularly

with this instance of the word. The right half of the exceptionally large [ña] seems to have started out as a *ya*, indicating that the originally intended spelling was *akicayadañami* (cf. the note on line 9.166 above). The aksara *da* was originally omitted, maybe as a consequence of the scribe's earlier change of mind, and has been added above the line. The thick horizontal line between *i* and *na* probably marks the insertion point for the supralinear *da*.

Line 176. ? ? ? [*lehi*]. This sequence should maybe be read as [*akuśalehi*] or ? [*kuśalehi*].

vrośimado: For this word cf. *vrośiva · bhavidamag/o* 9.88–89 (including the note on this line) and *vrośidava* 18.15.

19 (Lines 9.177–204)

This section explains two verses from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (*yehi) vivito vicaradi loge | Separated from whom he moves about in the |
| ṇa tehi vigriśo karea ḡago | world, |
| elabuyo (*kaṭago variyo yasa) | the hero should not make a dispute with these. |
| jaleṇa pakeṇa aṇoalito | As the water lotus, (*thorny and water-born,) |
| eva muṇi śatipado agridhro | is unsmeared by water and mud, |
| kamehi logaspi aṇoalito | so the sage, speaking of calmness and not
greedy, |
| | is unsmeared by desires in the world. |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| ṇa vedago dṛiṭhie na mudiyo | He is not wise because of view and opinion, |
| su mu ḡa mi di ḡa hi tamayo so | + + + + for he is not like that; |
| ṇa kamuṇo ḡo vi śudeṇa ḡoyo | he should not be led by action nor by what |
| aṇuaṇido ho ḡiv(*e)śanehi | is heard,
not led indeed by attachments. |

For unknown reasons, it is pāda a of the second verse rather than of the first that supplies the lemma for this section. The commentary covers both verses in the order given above and, judging from the parallels, that was also the order in which they followed each other in the source text. The first of these verses is treated in a single run that does not perform any systematic reduction, but focuses on linguistic explanations. The only equations with doctrinal categories appear in an appendix to the main explanation of this verse introduced by *asa va* (lines 9.187–190) which connects pāda e with the Two Extinction Elements (*nivāradhadu-*) and explains the word *kama-* in pāda e as desire as things (*vastukama-*; as opposed to desire as defilement). The second verse is treated in two runs. Before the beginning of the first run, the end of existence (*bhudakoṭi-*) is identified as the thing that is not known by the subject of pāda a (*na vedago*). The first run lists the distractions of three kinds of consciousness (*viñāṇa-*) as the cause of this lack of knowledge and equates them with parts of pādas a and c. Pāda d is interpreted as a reference to the five categories (*kadha-*) that should not be misperceived as a self (*atva-*). The explanation of pāda b remains unclear. The second run of this verse lists at least four of the five or six recognitions (*aviñā-*) as distractions that prevent knowledge of the end of existence, equating them with parts of pādas a, c and d. The first half of pāda c is equated with virtue (*śila-*) or practice (*caritva-*) as a distraction, and the recollection of earlier lives (*provenīvasa-*) is given as an alternative equation. It remains unclear whether the kinds of supernatural power (*idhvivisa-*) are in fact assigned to the first half of pāda b, and the explanation of the second half of this pāda is lost.

| | 1: 9.191–197 | 2: 9.197–201
(<i>asa va</i>) | <i>(asa va)</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| na vedago drīṭhie na mudiyo | <i>cakṣuviviñāṇa-</i> | <i>divacakhu-</i> | |
| su mu na mi di | ? | <i>idhvivisa-(?)</i> | |
| na hi tamayo so | ? | ? | |
| na kamuno | <i>manoviñāṇa-</i> | <i>śila-</i> | <i>provenīvasa-</i> |
| no vi śudeṇa noyo | <i>sodaviñāṇa-</i> | <i>diva- sodadhadu-</i> | |
| anuanido ho ḥiv(*e)śānehi | <i>kadha-</i> | <i>provenīvasa-</i> | |

The end of this section provides a combined run of both verses, equating their parts with the Four Floods.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | 9.202–204 |
| (*yehi) vivito vicarati loge | |
| ṇa tehi vigraha vada ṇago | <i>driṭhoasa
prahāṇa-</i> |
| elabuyo (*kaṭago variyo yasa) | |
| jaleṇa pakeṇa aṇoalito | |
| eva muṇi śatipado agridhro | |
| kamehi logaspi aṇoalito | <i>kamohasa
prahāṇa-</i> |
| ṇa vedago driṭhie na mudiyo | |
| sa maṇam edi | <i>avijohasa</i> |
| ṇa hi tamayo so | |
| ṇa kamuṇo ḥo vi ṣudeṇa ḥoyo | |
| aṇoanido ho ḥiv<*e>śanehi | <i>bhavohasa
prahāṇa-</i> |

The Suttanipāta parallels of these verses are explained at Nidd I 204.23–207.5, Pj II 547.18–31 and Nidd-a II 312.23–313.9.

Transcription:

177. ^{|K} ṇa vedag[o] driṭhie ṇa mudiyo sutro tatra ḥideśo ke yi ḥiro[e]ti
śatipadehi · ...

Reconstruction:

[177] **ṇa vedago driṭhie ṇa mudiyo** sutro tatra ḥideśo ke yi ḥiroeti śati-
padehi ·

Translation:

[177] **He is not wise through view or opinion** is the text. The explanation
on it: Some construe with those who speak of calmness.

Text notes:

Line 177. *ḥiro[e]ti*: A likely, but by no means certain, etymology for this word is

OIA *niropayanti*, cf. P *abhiniropeti* ‘implant, fix into (one’s mind), inculcate’ (PTSD s.v.) and *abhisāñkharoti niropeti nibbatteti* SN-ṭ Be II 237.

śatipadehi: This is probably a wrong historical spelling for *śativadehi* under the influence of the punning explanation through *śati-* and *pada-* in lines 9.185 (§ 4.3.1). The spelling of this word with *p* recurs in lines 9.185 and 187.

Transcription:

177. ... vivito vica
178. [ra]ti loge raha[ta] driṭhigadeṣu · [vivita] · driṭhigadavirahida · ca[ra]ti
loge
179. y[i] vaṇa ḥiroeti · ye du vi[vi]ta · vicarati [·] loge t[i]thiga [·]
ka]laṇagavivit[a] ·
180. + + + [v].[rahida] · loga[mi] carati · ḥa tehi vigri[śo] · karea ḥago · ḥa
[g]. ? +
181. [śa] rahato abhipredo · a[sa] va [so a] ? [tia] pugala · ta tehi
kalaṇa[vi]rahidehi [s]. [c]. [ḥa vi] /// +
182. [hi] ? ? + + + ? + + [e]labuyo · elo vucadi · subho · abuyo vucadi ·
pad[u]
183. .[o] .[o] .[u] ? · kadamami · ca va [t]a [mi j]. ja [da] · jaleṇa pakeṇa ·
anoalito · [jal].
184. [uda]go [· pako] kadamo [· yasa so] tatra jado vudh[va] · teṇa ca ḥa
lipadi · eṣa ua
185. ma · eva muṇi · ḥa[ṇi] śatipado · agrirdho · śato ḥiaṇo · tatra pado ·
ariamago

186. |^J ? [d]. sa ho ḡa karodi · teṇa [yeva a]. ri [a do ga]do · tatra ca aŋoalito · yasa so padumo
187. |^J [ja]lapak[a]ŋi[vu]do · teṇa ca ḡi lipadi · eva atra vi dr[e]tha · asa va eva muṇi · [śa]ti[pa]
188. |^J + + + [g].[idh]. + [· to] due ḡiva[ŋa]dh[a]due · ? [v]atedi · [te d].[išati] ·] ḡa ca tatra lipadi · [kame]
189. |^J [h]. [loga]spi · + [ŋ]. + [lit]o · vastukamehi ca · sarvakamaṇia[e] ca · vastu[e aŋo] +
190. |^J [l]i[to] · ki karaṇo · [ya] aha agridhro · ta agridhratva ḡa lipadi · ḡa sa yu ? [t]. · ḡa sa [k]. + + +

Reconstruction:

vivito vica[178]rati loge rahata driṭhigadeṣu · vivita · driṭhigadavirahida · carati loge [179] <*ke> yi vaṇa ḡiroeti · **ye du vivita · vicarati · loge** tithiga · kalaṇagavivita · [180] (*kalaṇa)v(*i)rahida · logami carati · **ṅa tehi vigrišo · karea ḡago** · ḡa g. ? + [181] śa rahato abhipredo · asa va so a ? tia pugala · ta tehi kalaṇavirahidehi s. c. ḡa vi + [182] hi ? ? + + ? + + **elabuyo** · elo vucadi · subho · abuyo vucadi · padu[183](*m)o .o .u ? · kadamami · ca va ta mi j. ja da · **jaleṇa pakena · aŋoalito** · jal(*o) [184] udago · pako kadamo · yasa so tatra jado vudhva · teṇa ca ḡa lipadi · eṣa ua[185]ma · **eva muṇi** · ḡaṇi **śatipado · agrirdho** · śato ḡiaṇo · tatra pado · ariamago [186] ? d. sa ho ḡa karodi · teṇa yeva a. ri a do gado · tatra ca **aŋoalito** · yasa so padumo [187] jalapakanivudo · teṇa ca ḡi lipadi · eva atra vi dreṭhaa · asa va **eva muṇi · śatipa**[188](*do · a)g(*r)idh(*ro) · to due ḡivāḍhadhadue · ? vatedi · te d(*r)išati · ḡa ca tatra lipadi · **kame**[189]h(*i) logaspi · (*a)ŋ(*oa)lito · vastukamehi ca · sarvakamaṇiae ca · vastue aŋo(*a)[190]lito · ki karaṇo · ya aha agridhro · ta agridhratva ḡa lipadi · ḡa sa yu ? t. · ḡa sa k. + + +

Translation:

Separated [178] **they move about in the world**: worthy ones move about separated in respect to types of view, remote from types of view in the world. [179] Then again some construe (as follows): **but those who move about separated in the world**: heretics move about separated from the good, remote (*from the good) in the world. **The hero should not make a dispute with them**: + + + + [181] + a worthy one is intended. Or otherwise: + + + + + + + + with these people who are remote from the good + + + + + [182] + + + + + + + + **Water lotus** (*elabuya-*): Water is called *ela-*. [183] A lotus is called *abuya-*. + + + in mud + + + + + + **Unsmeared by water** (*jala-*) **and mud** (*paka-*): *jala-* [184] is water, *paka-* is mud. As it, born and having grown there, still is not smeared by it – this is [185] the simile – **so the sage**, the knower, **speaks** (*pada-*) **of calmness and is not greedy**: extinction is calm, the path of the noble is the track (*pada-*) there. [186] + + + does not do. By just it he has gone + + + and there he is **unsmeared** like this lotus is surrounded by water and mud yet is not smeared by it. Thus here too + + + Or otherwise: **So the sage**, [188] **speaking of calmness and not greedy**: + two extinction elements + + + They are seen, yet he is not smeared there. [189] **Unsmeared by desires in the world**: [190] unsmeared by desires as things and all desirable matter. What is the reason? As he calls him not greedy, so he is not smeared because of nongreediness. Not + + + + not + + + + +

Text notes:

Line 177. *vivito*: For metrical reasons (supported by the commentary's explanation), the verb of this clause (*ca[ra]ti*) must be a plural form. This means that *vivito* is here either used as an adverb or to give the direction of movement (a solitary place).

Line 178. *raha[tā]*: This appears to be a correction, with *ta* written on top of original (and presumably dittographical) *ha*.

driθigadeṣu: This explanation has a parallel in *yehī ti yehi ditθigatehi* Pj II on Sn 845a.

Line 180. *vigri[śo]*: This noun corresponds to OIA *vigrhya-* ‘dispute, quarrel.’ A corresponding formation is not attested in Pali (which uses *viggaha-* instead), unless the apparent gerund *uggayha* goes in fact back to a noun *uggayha-*.

Lines 180–181. *na [g]. ? + [śa]*: It is possible that this provides an etymology of *naga-*. The Pali Niddesa uses *āgum na karoti*, *na gacchati* and *nāgacchati* for this purpose, but none of these possibilities appear to fit the visible akṣaras. The shadow after *na [g].* might be *[cha]*, but the vowel mātrā on *[g].* looks rather like *o*. It is possible that the word *nago* is repeated in the beginning of this expression.

Line 181. *[a] ? [tia]*: The interpretation of these akṣaras is quite uncertain, and the only possibility that comes to mind is P *āpattika* ‘guilty of an offence.’

tehi: The second akṣara of this word is very small and appears to have been added as an afterthought.

Line 182. *[e]labuyo*: This word is preceded by empty space avoiding a knot hole.

subho: This word is tentatively interpreted as OIA *subha-* ‘clear; water’ (MW s.v. *subha*: “m. water L.” and s.v. *subha*: “often w.r. for śubha”). Alternatively but less likely, it could represent an equivalent of P *sobbha-* < OIA *śvabhra-* ‘hole, pit, water-pool’ without proper phonetic transposition to Gāndhārī.

Lines 182–183. *pad[u](*)m[o]*: The explanation provided here has a direct parallel in the Pali Niddesa: *elam vuccati udakam*. ‘ambu vuccati udakam.’ (om. B^{PS}) *ambujam vuccati padumam* Nid I 202.

Line 183. *ca va [t]a [mi j]. ja [da]*: It is possible that this unclear string of akṣaras represents another word for ‘mud’ followed by *jada-* ‘born.’

anoalito: In this word, the spelling *o* corresponds to Pali *ū* for the metrically lengthened vowel.

Line 184. *Pako kadamo*: For this order of root word and explanation cf. also *artho ṣivaṇo* 1350.

Line 185. *śatipado*: See the note on line 9.177.

muṇi · ṇa[ṇi]: For this explanation cf. *muṇi · ṇan[i]* 9.226.

Line 186. [a]. *ri [a do]:* The following verb [*ga*]do indicates that this is probably an abstract noun in OIA -tā- used as direct-case object, and in view of *ariamago* 9.185 it is possible that the word is *ariada-* ‘state of the noble.’

Line 187. *ni lipadi:* The usual form of this simile makes it likely that *ni* is a mistake for the negation *ṇa*. Otherwise it would be possible to interpret the word as OIA **nirlipyate*, which would imply that the lotus is in fact smeared.

dr[e]thaa: This is a Middle Indo-Aryan guṇa formation based on the present stem *driśadi*.

Line 188. ? [*vjatedi*: The interpretation of this phrase remains uncertain, but it would be possible to read [*te vjatedi* or [*te v]ateti*, cf. *ariamago · ṇa vatedi* 13.50. Alternatively, the correct reading might be *ṇivatedi* or *ṇivateti* (corresponding to P *nibbatteti, nibbattenti*)

[*te*]: If this agrees with *ṇiva[ṇa]dh[a]due*, then it would indicate occasional preservation of the original masculine gender of *dhadu-* (cf. the general transfer of *vastu-* to the feminine gender, but the masculine forms *yena vastue* 13.10 and [*vastu]mi* 13.85).

Line 189. *vastukamehi:* For this term cf. *v[a]stukama* 13.10.

Line 190. *ṇa sa yu ? [t].:* It is tempting to read *ṇa sayu[jad](*)i*, cf. *lepo ... na limpati ... visamyutto* Nidd I 204, even though the unclear akṣara looks more like *sa* or *pa* than *ja*.

Transcription:

191. ^{|J} ḡa vedago · ḡa bhudakodi vidida · driṭhae · ye
cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da [s]. ? ? + +
192. ^{|J} [tri]hi viñāṇa[.]ka[ye]hi · ato[gadi]tva [· pha]ṣida · viñāṇo ? [ja]di ·
s[u] mu ḡa mi di · ḡa tado [ma] // +

193. |^J ɳ[i]h[a]radi · ɳa h[i ta]mayo [so · ɳa ta]tra te me [vatava] · [se] ha [da] va · [g]i da ge di [vo] · a ? ?
194. |^J [nisara]ɳ[a]daśanado · ɳa kamuṇo · maṇoviñāṇabhumie · ki karaṇo · atra eṣa p[u]
195. |^J + /// [ap]uñ[o ɳija]ɳaṭheanā · [no] vi ṣu·deṇa ɳoyo · ɳa so sodaviñāṇabhudāṇa · aṇuan[i]
196. |^J do [ho] ɳivaśaṇehi · ɳ[i]veśaṇa iśa · kadha abhipreda · te ho teṇa aṇ[u]agada · atvado
197. |^J + /// [a]tva ɳ[i] a ɳi a [do] va · [t]eṇa aha · aṇoan[i]o · asa va ɳa [dri]thie · ɳa divacakh[u] pra ɳa [ge]
198. |^J + + + + + /// + ta [va] g. ɳa hi va · idhviv[i]sae · pradis[e] ? + + + ? ɳ. · aṇ.[aṇi] /// +
199. |^J + + + + + /// [h]. · ɳa proveni[va]saṇa · tado maṇo · ɳa ɳiharadi · ɳa hi ta[ma] + [so] /// + + + +
200. |^J v. · ɳa kamuṇa · ɳa śileṇa · caritvaṇa [ma]ɳo ɳ[i]har[e]di · asa [va] ɳa pro[ve] /// + + +
201. |^J ɳa ɳa ṣudeṇa · [di]vae s[oda]dadhad[ue ɳa] maṇo ɳiharadi · aṇoavan[i]d[o] · vu[ta]rtho ? /// + +
202. |^J [y]. [va] ɳa [v]ligrā[ha va]dea ɳago driṭhoasa prahaṇa [.] kamehi aṇoalito · kamohasa pra /// +
203. |^J ɳa · ɳa vedago driṭhie [yavi] sa maṇam edi · avijohasa · ɳa hi tamayo · aṇo[aṇido · bha]
204. |^J [vohasa p]. + [ɳa] ☷ ...

Reconstruction:

[191] **na** vedago · na bhudakodi vidida · **driθ<*i>e** · ye cakṣuviñāṇa
avisabhuda s. ? ? + [192] trihi viñāṇa·kayehi · atogaditva · phaṣida · viñāṇo
? jadi · **su mu na mi di** · na tado ma(*ño) [193] niharadi · **na hi tamayo so** ·
na tatra te me vatava · ū̄se ha da va · gi da ge di vo · a ? ? [194] nisaraṇa-
daśaṇado · **na kamuno** · maṇoviñāṇabhumie · ki karaṇo · atra esa pu[195]
(*ño) apuño nijaṇaṭheanā · **no vi ū̄deṇa noyo** · na so sodaviñāṇabhudāṇa ·
aṇuanī[196]do ho **niv<*e>śanehi** · niveśaṇa iśa · kadha abhipreda · te ho teṇa
aṇuagada · atvado [197] + atva nī a nī a do va · teṇa aha · aṇoanīo · asa va **na**
driθie · na divacakhu pra na ge [198] + + + + + + ta va g. na hi va ·
idhvivise · pradise ? + + ? n. · **an(*u)ani(*do)** [199] (*ho **niveśane**)h(*i) ·
na provenivas(*e)na · tado maṇo · na niharadi · **na hi tama(*yo) so** + + +
[200] v. · **na kamuna** · na śileṇa · caritv<*e>na maṇo niharedi · asa va na
prove(*nivase)[201]na **na ū̄deṇa** · divae soda{da}dhadue na maṇo
niharedi · **aṇoa{va}nido** · vutartho ? + + [202] y. va na **vigraha vadea nago**
driθoasa prahaṇa · **kamehi aṇoalito** · kamohasa pra(*ha)[203]na · **na**
vedago driθie yavi sa maṇam edi · avijohasa · **na hi tamayo** · **aṇoanido** ·
bha[204]vohasa p(*raha)na ☸

Translation:

[191] **Not wise:** the end of existence is not known. **By view:** those which are reached by eye consciousness + + + + [192] by three bodies of consciousness the state of turning inward is made contact with. Consciousness + + + + + + + + He does not then [193] take out conceit. **For he is not like that:** not + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [194] + + + + + + + + + **Not by action:** by the plane of mind consciousness. What is the reason? Here this is [195] merit and demerit for those seeking for understanding(?). **Nor to be led by what is heard:** he is not + + + + + + + + + **Not led [196] indeed by attachments:** attachments – here the categories are intended. They are indeed not undergone by him. + + + [197] + + + + + + +

++ Therefore he calls him not to be led into. Or otherwise: **Not by view:** not + + + + + [198] + + + + + + + + + + + by a kind of supernormal power + + + + + + + + **Not led** [199] (*indeed) by **attachments:** not by earlier life. Then he does not take out conceit. **For he is not like that:** + + + [200] + **Not by action:** not by virtue, by practice does he take out conceit. Or otherwise: by [201] earlier life. **Not by what is heard:** by the divine ear element conceit he does not take out conceit. It has its meaning stated. + + + [202] + + + **The hero should (*not) make a dispute:** abandoning of the flood of view. **Unsmeared by desires:** [203] abandoning of the flood of desire. **Not wise by view until he becomes conceited:** of the flood of ignorance. **For he is not like that, not led:** [204] abandoning of the flood of existence.

Text notes:

Line 191. *na vedago · na bhudakodi vidida*: The term *bhudakodi-* (Skt. *bhūtakoṭi-*) is not used in Pali texts, but occurs frequently in the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Two principal interpretations have been proposed for this difficult word. The first of them analyzes the compound as a karmadhāraya and translates “true goal” (BHSD s.v., supported by the standard Tibetan translation *yang dag pa'i mtha'*), the second takes it as a tatpuruṣa and translates “reality limit” (Conze 1967: 308). The explanation given for our root term *vedaga-* (P *vedagu-*) in the Pali Niddesa (*tehi vedehi jātijarāmarañassa antagato antappatto koṭigato koṭipatto pariyanagato pariyanappatto vosānagato vosānappatto [...] nibbānagato nibbānappatto* Nidd I 205.2–8) shows that here *koṭi-* meant ‘end’ in the literal sense of ‘cessation’ rather than implying either ‘goal’ or ‘summit,’⁵⁸ and suggests that in our context the compound *bhudakodi-* should therefore be analyzed as a tatpuruṣa meaning ‘end of existence’ (with G *bhud-* standing in for P *jātijarāmarañassa*). It is also the case, however, that the Pali Niddesa at one end and the standard Tibetan translation at the other indicate a

⁵⁸Conze 1962: 225 explains his translation as follows: “The ‘Reality-limit’ is that which reaches up to the summit of truth, to the utmost limit of what can be cognized, and is quite free from error or perversion.”

reinterpretation within the tradition from ‘end of existence’ to ‘real end,’ and based on the varying usage of the word in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Streng 1982 suggested that this reinterpretation was connected with the Mahāyāna rejection of mere pratyekabuddha and śrāvaka liberation in favor of that of a bodhisattva. The contrast between the liberated states of pratyekabuddhas and śrāvakas on one hand and a buddha (or the Buddha) on the other is one of the concerns of our commentary (section 17), and the new bodhisattva ideal is acknowledged (section 14), but the brevity of the references to *bhudakodi-* (also in lines 7.Ca2 and 13.65) makes it impossible to decide whether the debate had already affected the interpretation of this word. It is, however, clearly not used in a derogatory sense of ‘(mere) end of existence,’ nor is it qualified by *parama-* to specify ‘ultimate end of existence’ (as in some of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā passages).

cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da: For this expression cf. *diṭṭhā pi sutā pi te janā ti. diṭṭhā ti ye cakkhuviññāṇābhisaṁbhūtā* Nidd I 127.

Line 192. *[tri]hi viñāṇa[·]ka[ye]hi:* The akṣara *[tri]* sticks out into the margin. – It is unclear which three out of the six bodies of consciousness (one for each sense) this expression refers to.

ato[gadi]tva: There is no direct Pali equivalent for this word, but the past participle *antogata-* is attested.

[pha]ṣida: With this word cf. *s[u]phasiḍatva* 9.216 and *phaṣida(*tva)* 13.61.

viñāṇo ? [ja]di: If the next-to-last akṣara is interpreted as a miswritten *[tha]*, then this phrase could be read as *viñāṇo [citha]di*.

193. *ṇ[i]h[a]radi:* There seems to have been a little more space in the beginning of this line than in the neighboring ones, unless the akṣara *ṇo* of preceding *maṇo* should be reconstructed at the beginning of this rather than at the end of the preceding line. – With this expression compare *tado maṇo · ḡa ḡiharadi* 9.199. The verb evidently corresponds to P *nīharati* ‘take out, throw out, drive out.’ It is possible that the meaning in context is that of the mind being distracted.

[śe] ha [da] va: Unless the first akṣara of this sequence is a *se* corrected to *sa* by

crossing out of the vowel mātrā, it seems unavoidable to connect it with the root √*snih*. The phrase could then either contain the noun *śeha-* followed by *tava* (OIA *tāvad*) or, somewhat more likely, the gerundive [*śeJh*(**i*)*[da]va*.

*a ? ?: A possible reading would be *a[cata]-* (P *accanta-*), forming a compound with the following. In Pali, the adverb *accantato* is used in connection with *nissaranadassana-*.*

Line 194. *manoviñāñabhumie*: The term *manovijñāñabhuñi-* only appears to be attested once, at AKBh 315.13: *samānasiddhā drggheyā manovijñāñabhuñikāḥ*. The component *bhumi-* does not indicate any connection with the system of Four Planes (§ 1.2.2), but rather has a general sense of domain of operation (de La Vallée Poussin 1923–31: IV 94 translates accordingly as “domaine du *manovijñāna*”). It is this general usage of the term that explains its juxtaposition in the present section with *sodaviñāñabhuda-* 9.195, and a corresponding form *manoviñāñabhuñta-* is in fact attested in Pali as a description of *citta-*.

Lines 194–195. *p[u](*ño) [ap]uñ[o]*: A possible alternative reconstruction would be *pu(*ño va) [ap]uñ[o va]*, cf. *puññābhisañkhārena vā apuññābhisañkhārena vā āneñjābhisañkhārena vā na yāyati na nīyati na vuyhati na samharīyati* Nidd I 206.

Line 195. *[nija]ṇaṭheana*: With the noun *[nija]ṇa-* cf. the past participle *sunijatva* 9.114.

sodaviñāñabhudana: Since this word explains *su-deṇa*, it should probably be emended to the instrumental form *sodaviñāñabhud(*e)ṇa*.

Line 196. *an[u]agada*: The *u* mātrā of the second akṣara has been added seconarily. The word *anupagata-* is also used in the Pali Niddesa’s explanation of this verse.

Line 197. *[a]tva ḷ[i] a*: The interpretation of this sequence is uncertain. It could correspond to P *attaniya* ‘belonging to the self,’ or it could be carelessly written for the genitive *atvaṇo*, with *a* belonging to the following sequence of unclear akṣaras.

ānoan[i]lo: The word *anupaneyya-* is not attested independently in Pali, but cf. *anupaneyyatāya* Mp III 117.

divacakh[u]: This words begins an enumeration of some of the Six Recognitions, and corresponds to the first Recognition.

Line 198. *g. na hi*: A possible reconstruction of this word would be *g(*u)ñ<*e>hi*.

idhviv[i]sae: This is the fifth Recognition.

Line 199. *(*ho ñiveśāne)[h](*i)*: The reconstruction of this part of the root verse in this position is supported by *anoa{va}ñido · vutartha* 9.201, which occurs in the expected position for this pāda but indicates that it has already been explained earlier.

*proveni[va]s<*e>ña*: This is the fourth Recognition.

Lines 199–200. + + v: It is likely that this portion contained one of the Recognitions that are not mentioned elsewhere, and probably the Gāndhārī equivalent of either *paracittajñāna-* or *āsravakṣayajñāna-*.

*carity<*e>ña*: Cf. the common Pali compound *cārittasīla-*.

Lines 200–201. *ña pro[ve](*ñivase)ña*: The juxtaposition of this term with *carity<*e>ña* suggests that the discussion in this part of the commentary may concern moral conduct in this life as opposed to previous lives.

Line 201. *vu[tar]rtho*: See the note on line 9.199: this part of the verse has already been covered out of proper sequence. – For the expression cf. *vutartha[a]* 9.137.

Lines 201–202. + [y]. [va] *ña*: A likely reconstruction of this sequence would be *(*ke)[y](*i) [va]ña*, introducing an alternative explanation of the verse as the opinion of ‘some.’ If this is correct, then the required initial negation of the following quotation would, however, be absent, and we would be compelled to emend further to *(*ke)[y](*i) [va]ña <*ña>*.

Line 202. *[v]igra[ha]*: This provides a variant reading for the earlier quotation *vigri[śo]* 9.180.

driṭhoasa: For the Four Floods see § 1.2.2.

20 (Lines 9.204–210)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| yasa ḡasti ida me va | Who does not think “this belongs to me” |
| pareṣa va ḡa kicano | or “anything belongs to others,” |
| mama(*two so asavida) | not finding mineness he |
| asada ca na soyadi | also does not grieve over what does not exist. |

The section contains at least two runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation and, in the first half of the verse, is concerned with types of views (*driṭhiada-*) such as the doctrine of the eternal (*saspadavada-*) and the doctrine of annihilation (*uchedavada-*). It explains the second half of the verse with the misperception of the five categories (*kadha-*) as a self, resulting in mine-making (*mamikara-*) and appropriation (*parigraha-*). The concern of this section is thus related to that of section 18. The second run of the commentary is entirely obscured but probably performs categorial reduction of the kind that is typical for passages introduced by *sakṣeva*. The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 435.5–440.18, Pj II 568 and Nidd-a II 435.

Transcription:

204. ... yas[a] ḡasti ida me va sutro tatra ḡideśo · yasa ḡa bhodi saspado
atva ca lo
205. ? + + + + ? sa[co] · pareṣa va ḡa kica[n]o · [mo]hañō · [e]va sa
duaṣṭhidriṭhiadehi · mama
206. + + /// ? ? ? ḡ. · ke yi a[ha · kadhe]ṣu [ḡasti] · mamikaro · [k]. ? r[u]o
mi atva [·] yi viñaṇo ·
207. + /// ? ? ta[ṣ]ae prah[i]ḡatva · ḡasti ko yi mami[karo] · parigraho va ·
asada ca na soyadi · pa[r]i
208. + + + /// ? · yasa vi[pariṇame] · [pari d]. ? ? ? · [s]. [y]. [ṅ]. [v]. [j].

Reconstruction:

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 204. *saspado*: This refers to the doctrine of the eternal (*saspadavada-*) as opposed to the doctrine of annihilation (*uchedavada-*), one of the wrong views (*driṭhi-*). The term occurs again in line 9.219.

Sassato attā ca loko ca is a common phrase in Pali (e.g., *sassatam attānam ca lokañ ca paññāpenti* DN I 13.7), often followed by *idam eva saccam mogham aññam* (cf. ... *sac[o]* and *mohaño* in the next line). – Cf. 9.219 *saspadavado*.

Lines 204–205. *lo ? +*: The doctrines of the eternal and of annihilation are each commonly subdivided as referring to the self and to the world, making a reconstruction of this phrase as *lo[go] (*ca)* very likely.

Line 205. *[mo]haño*: This has very tentatively been interpreted as OIA *mohajña-*. If one is willing to emend the text, however, a more likely reading would be *[mo]ha<*m a>ño*. The phrase P *idam eva saccam mogham aññam* ‘only this is the truth, everything else is delusion’ is associated with the wrong views, and the word *sa[co]* apparently occurs earlier in this line, supporting such an emendation.

duaṣaṭhidriṭhiadehi: The sixty-two types of wrong view are set out in detail in the Brahmajālasutta and its commentaries (cf. Bodhi 1978).

Lines 205–206. *mama +*: It is likely that this is part of a quotation from the root verse and that it should be reconstructed as *mama(*tvo)*.

Line 206. *[k]. ? r[u]o mi*: This may be an explanation of *mamikaro* involving the enclitic first-person verb form *mi* (OIA *asmi*).

Line 207. *+ ? ?*: There are at least two possible reconstructions for this sequence. An alternative explanation could here be introduced by *(*a)[sa va]*, or it could be joined asyndetically, its first word being *(*a)[jatva]ta[ś]ae*.

Lines 207–208. *pa[r]i + + + ?*: A likely reconstruction would be *pa[r]i(*grah-abha)[ve]* ‘in the absence of appropriation.’

Line 208. *yasa*: The available context does not allow us to decide whether this Gāndhārī form corresponds to OIA *yathā* or *yasya*.

[v]. [j].[ea]di: The reading is very uncertain, but it could correspond to

[vaj][*e][a]di from uncontracted OIA *varjayati*; cf. [va]rja[e] 18.7.

+ + + ?: Here we expect the quotation *ida me va*. The last akṣara could be a *me*, but the spacing of the phrase would be very tight then. It is also possible that only *yasa nasti* is quoted, followed directly by an explanation.

21 (Lines 9.211–218)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| aṇañapoṣi añado | Not feeding on others, understood(?) |
| (*dato) saro p(*r)adiṭhido | (*tamed,) established in(?) the essence, |
| kṣīṇasavo vatadoṣo | whose taints are exhausted, who has ousted hate, |
| (*tam aho bromi bramaṇo) | (*that one I call a brahman.) |

The section contains at least two runs of the commentary. The first run equates the two halves of pāda a with quiet (*śamasa-*) and insight (*vivasāna-*). Summing them up as abandoning of all defilements (*kileṣa-*), it explains pāda b as being well in contact with the two liberations (*cedovimuti-* and *prañavimuti-*, not named). The first half of pāda c is equated with abandoning of ignorance (*avija-*), and the second half with what appears to be a special kind of ignorance (rather than the expected category craving). The second run of the commentary summarizes the classifications of the first run, equating pāda a with the path that has two parts (*duagio mago*), pāda b with the two liberations (*vimuti-*), and pāda c with abandoning of the two roots (*mula-*).

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | 1: 9.211–217 | | 2: 9.217–218
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) |
| añañaposi | śamasa- | savakileśāṇa | |
| añado | vivaśāṇa- | prahīṇatva- | <i>duagio mago</i> |
| (*dato) saro p(*r)adīthido | | duehi vimutihī
suphaśidatva- | <i>due vimutio</i> |
| kṣinasavo | | avijae prahāṇa- | |
| vatadoṣo | | ... avijae prahāṇa- | <i>duina mulaṇa
prahāṇa-</i> |
| (*tam aho bromi bramaṇo) | | | |

The Pali *Udāna* parallel of this verse is explained at *Ud-a* 62, and the Sanskrit *Udāna* parallel at *Ud-v* 978.

Transcription:

mago [.] sareṇa · du[e] vimutio ·

Reconstruction:

[211] +
 + + + [212] +
 + + + + + [213] +
 + + esa śamaso [214] (*pa)r(*i)graho ṇasti · asa va **aṇañapo**(*śi) ṇa bhoyaṇa
 aśīṣadi · tasa ya ṇa poṣadi · kamo ṇa uṭavedi [215] **añad**(*o) pacā kadha ude-
 astagamado ṇada · esa vivaśaṇa · tado savakileśaṇa · prahinatva · saro
 [216] **p(*r)adiṭhido** · d(*u)e hi vimutihi · suphaśidatva · **kṣiṇasavo** · avijae
 prahaṇa · **vatadoṣo** · sa paḍipa [217] + + + (*a)vijae prahaṇa ·

Translation:

[211] +
 + + + [212] +
 + + + + + [213] +
 + + This is quiet. [214] There is not appropriation. Or otherwise: **Not feeding on others**: he does not desire food and likewise he does not feed. He does not raise desire. [215] **Understood(?)**: the five categories are known in regard to (their) rise and disappearance. This is insight. Then because of all defilements being abandoned he is [216] **established in(?) the essence**: because of being well in contact with the two liberations. **Whose taints are exhausted**: abandoning of ignorance. **Whose flaws are ousted**: + [217] abandoning of + + + + + ignorance.

Text notes:

Line 213. The beginning of this line is empty. This was evidently the beginning of a new sheet of the scroll that was glued under the preceding sheet. When writing was applied after the construction of the scroll, this line straddled the two sheets, with its beginning on the preceding sheet.

Line 214. *aśīṣadi*: This word most likely corresponds to P *āsiṃsati* ‘hope for, desire,’ with the usual Gāndhārī sibilant assimilation (§ 4.2.5); cf. also the form

praśīśānti corresponding to P *pasāṃsanti* in an unpublished Gāndhārī scroll.

poṣadi: The double interpretation of *anāñapoṣi* in a passive as well as an active sense is also carried out in the Ud-a explanation of this verse.

[*u]ṭa[vedi]*]: This form corresponds to OIA *utthāpayati*, with midland or Eastern MIA *t* for regular G *ṭh*.

Line 215. [*paca kadha udea]stagamado* ñada]: In the third word, the [a] seems to overlap with the [de], and both are partially covered by a chip. – For this expression cf. *paca kadha udeastagama[d]o p[a]śidava* 9.14 and *pa[ca ua]daṇakadha · udeasta-gamado · parian[i]dava* 9.81–82.

sa[ro]: This could be a case of the irregular spelling of the locative ending as -o, but it is also conceivable that the commentary reconfigured the syntax of this phrase to ‘the essence is established.’

Line 216. *d(*u)[e]hi vi[mu]tihi · s[u]phaṣidatva*: For this expression cf. *duiṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida(*tva)* 13.61. It is possible that the *u* mātrā of this word is not actually omitted, but just obscured.

Lines 216–217. [*padipa*] + + +: A possible reconstruction of this word is [*padipa*](**kṣiae*), agreeing with following (**a*)*vijae*; cf. *paññāya pariggahitam cittam paṭipakkhāya avijjāya na iñjati* Nett-ṭ 231. The word would then clearly be an adjective meaning ‘contrary’ rather than a noun meaning ‘antidote’ (so Seyfort Ruegg 1967: 159). Cf. *śilapadipakṣiana* 9.69–70.

Transcription:

217. + + + + //|^H [vijae pra]haṇa · sakṣeva · anañ[a]poṣi añado · duagio
mago [·] sareṇa · du[e] vimutio ·

218. + + + + [va]tadoṣo · du[i]ṇa mulaṇa praha[ṇa] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva · anañapoṣi añado · duagio mago · sareṇa · due vimutio ·

[218] (**kṣinasavo*) *vatadoso* · *duṇa mulaṇa prahana* ☸

Translation:

In brief: Not feeding on others, understood(?): the path that has two parts.

By essence (are meant) the two liberations. [218] (*Whose taints are exhausted), whose flaws are ousted: abandoning of the two roots.

Text notes:

Line 217. *duagio mago*: There is a large footmark under *ma*. – For the Two Paths (quiet and insight) see § 1.2.2.

du[e] vimutio: For the two liberations (heart liberation and mind liberation) see § 1.2.2.

Line 218. *du[i]na mulana*: For the two roots (craving and ignorance) see § 1.2.2.

The preceding text, however, only appears to refer to ignorance twice.

22 (Lines 9.218–232)

This section explains two verses from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

edavadag(*r)a ḥnu vadati ege Some now say that to this extent the top
yakṣasa (*śodhi iśa) + + + + is (*the purity) of the spirit (*here) + + + +
(*teṣa pun̄)ege samayo vadati (*Of these again,) some speak of conclusion,
(*anuadīṣeṣe kuśala vadāṇa) (*saying that they are skilled in what has no
fuel left).

ede (*ya ñatva) upa ? ? da (*di) (*And knowing) “these are + + + + ,”

ñatva muni + + + (*so) vimas(*i) knowing + + + , the inquiring sage,

(*ñā)tva vimuto (*ñā) vivadam edi knowing, the liberated one does not go

(*bhavabhavae na samedi dhiro) into dispute,

the intelligent one does not meet with
existence and non-existence.

Several portions of this section are lost or illegible. The preserved part consists of a single run of the commentary covering first the one verse and then the other, but it is possible that one or more short additional runs followed at the very end of the section. The commentary provides only general explanations in terms of a debate with followers of non-Buddhist beliefs and in particular the adherents of the doctrines of the eternal (*saspadavada*-) and of annihilation (*uchedavada*-). The Suttanipāta parallels of these verses are explained at Nidd I 282.9–284.25, Pj II 553–554 and Nidd-a II 358–359.

Transcription:

218. ... edavadag.[a] ḥ[u] va[da]ti eg[e] s[u]tro tatra ḥide[śo]
219. + + + + // [ya]kṣasa + + + ? ? ḥ. go · saspadavado prañaveti [·
edava]da · si // + + +
220. + + + + // ? · acaliobhave ḥido bhodi · [a]cakṣ[u]bhavado · yakṣo
pra[chad]i ? // + + +
221. + + + // + ? · [i]śa satvaṇa teṣa · pañdasañā · [a]sa va teṣu [iva]
satvaṣu + + + // +
222. + + + // .[o re] ege samayo vadati · uchedavada · atvan[o] · a[bhi]pr.
[do] matret[i] · iśa ? + + + // +
223. + + // [bhava]grami aśayo viṇaśadi · a sa ? samaye · ? [ro] e · kamo
śo[bha]ḥno · kar[i]da + + + +

Reconstruction:

edavadag(*ṛ)a ḥu vadati ege sutro tatra ḥideśo [219] + + + + **yakṣasa + +**
+ + ? ? ḥ. go · saspadavado prañaveti · edavada · si + + + [220] + + + + ? ·
acaliobhave ḥido bhodi · acakṣubhavado · yakṣo prachadi ? + + + [221] + + +
+ ? · iśa satvaṇa teṣa · pañdasañā · asa va teṣu iva satv(*e)ṣu + + + +

[222] + + + .o re **ege samayo vadati** · uchedavada · atvāṇo · abhipr(*e)do
matreti · iśa ? + + + [223] + + bhavagrami aśayo viṇāśadi · a sa ta samaye ·
ca ro e · kamo śobhano · karida + + + +

Translation:

Some now say that to this extent the top is the text. The explanation on it:
[219] + + + + + of the spirit + + + + + + + they teach the doctrine of the eternal. To this extent + + + [220] + + + + + he becomes steady in the immovable state(?). He asks the spirit in respect to the eyeless state. + + + [221] Here there is of these beings the designation ‘wise.’ Or otherwise: among just these beings + + + + [222] + + + + + **Some speak of conclusion:** that they speak about the doctrine of annihilation of the self is intended. Here + + + + [223] + + At the top of existence, inclination is destroyed. +

Text notes:

Line 218. *n[u]*: For the variant *nu* instead of *pi* in the Pali parallel cf. the pāda *ettāvataggaṃ no vadanti heke* Sn 875c.

Line 219. *n. go*: It would in principle be possible that this is a variant for P *panditāse*, but *paññadasañā* 9.221 makes it likely that the Gāndhārī version did agree with the Pali in its lexical choice. It is therefore more likely that these akṣaras are not part of a root-verse quotation, and that the Gāndhārī equivalent of *panditāse* was quoted in a lost portion later in this section.

saspadavado: The Pali Niddesa and Paramatthajotikā also interpret this part of the verse in terms of the doctrine of the eternal. Cf. further *saspado* in line 9.204.

[*edava*]da: This transliteration assumes that the Gāndhārī word is derived from *eda-* rather than from P *etta* = *ettha* (so PTSD s.v.).

si: There is an empty space after this akṣara, apparently due to a knot hole. It is not clear whether the line contained any writing after the knot hole. If it did, then it is possible that this word was one of the several optative forms of \sqrt{as} (such as *sieadi*) used in concessive sense.

Line 220. *acaliobhave*: The literal meaning of this word is beyond doubt, but it does not have any direct parallels in Pali (which has *acalabhbāva-* and *acalanābhāva-*) or Sanskrit (where one should note in particular *acala-* ‘name of a concentration’ and *acalā-* ‘name of the eighth bodhisattva plane,’ BHSD s.vv.)

yakṣo: The term *yakṣa-* is here used to refer to the Buddha (Norman 1992: 238, 329).

Line 221. *[i]śa satvāna teṣa · padidasañā*: For a possible alternative interpretation of the compound *padidasañā-* cf. *rājā pi tasmīm paññitasaññī hutvā* Cp-a 59 ‘having wise perception.’

Line 222. + .[o re]: The interpretation of these akṣaras remains uncertain, but it is not unlikely that they contain the beginning of the current root-verse quotation, which would then have differed from its Pali parallel.

*uchedavada · atvan[o] · a[bhi]pr(*e)[do] matret[i]*: Under the interpretation reflected in the translation, the word order of this sentence is awkward. Maybe *uchedavada* should rather be interpreted as the subject and translated as ‘those who speak of annihilation.’

Line 223. *[bhava]grami*: The word *bhavagra-* is a “commentarial term for the 4th āruppa (formless state)” (Ñāṇamoli 1964: 150, with reference to *evam eva bhavagga-paramā pi samāpatti na anurūpassa samugghatāya saṃvattati* Pet 109), and as such it corresponds to Skt. *naivasamjnānāsaṃjnāyatana-*.

asayo: Phonetically, the word *asāya-* [a:jaja] can derive from OIA *āśraya-* (cf. G *āśava-* < OIA *āsrava-* and *avasédi* < OIA *apāśrayati*; § 4.2.14) as well as from OIA *āśaya-*. The regular meanings of the two Old Indo-Aryan words overlap to a large extent in ‘basis, resort,’ and both words developed similar technical meanings: ‘basis of consciousness; the six sense faculties’ (BHSD s.v. *āśraya*) and ‘fruits of previous action stored in the mind’ (in Yoga philosophy; MW s.v. *āśaya*). (In addition to these, *āśraya-* developed the meaning ‘body’ that does not appear to be relevant in our text.) It is the collocation of *asaga-* ‘inclination’ with *prayoga-* ‘application’ in line 13.44 (see also there) that tips the balance in favor of deriving the word, as far as our text is

concerned, from OIA *āśaya*-.

– In Buddhist Sanskrit there is further confusion of *āśraya*- with *āsrava*-, see BHSD s.v. *āśraya* at the end, and cf. with our text's *āśayo* *vinaśadi* and *āśagaviṇāśo* 13.44 the explanation of P *āsavānam khayañāñāya* as *arahattamaggañāñatthāya*, *arahattamaggo hi āsavavināsanato āsavānam khayo ti* *vuccati* Sp I 167.30–33, Ps I 126.35–127.2, Mp II 263.9–10.

kamo śo[bha]ṇo · kar[i]da: The word *kama-* evidently corresponds to OIA *karman-*, and the whole expression would appear to mean either ‘action is made good’ or ‘good action is performed.’ Cf. *iminā nāmarūpena kammam karoti sobhanam vā pāpakam vā* Mil 46, 47, a usage that is not otherwise attested.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

Translation:

++++++ [231] ++++++

+++++ [232] ++++++

+++++

Text notes:

Line 225. *[ido]*: This may correspond to OIA *itaḥ* ‘here, in this world.’

*vi[varnavada]ge<*hi>*: It is likely that this represents OIA *vivarnavādaka-* ‘speaking disparaging words,’ used by our commentary in a linguistic explanation of *vivada-*. The word *vivanṇa-* itself is not attested in this meaning in Pali, but cf. *vivanneti* and *vivannaka-*.

*a<*sa>[ta]paidehi*: Here as in the previous word the interpretation remains tentative. Cf. P *santappita* ‘satisfied, pleased.’

[ca]: The appearance of this akṣara is unusual; it looks almost like *dha*.

Line 226. + + g.: The commentary appears to jump back from pāda c to pāda a at this point. This would have us expect *asa va* or another function phrase, but the partially legible last akṣara does not fit any of the phrases that our commentary uses. Alternatively, one might speculate that the pāda order of the Gāndhārī verse was different from the Pali, but the later recurrence of the equivalent of Pali pāda c after b indicates that this was not the case.

[upa] ? ? da: The third akṣara could be *ni* with unexpected dental *n*, and the fourth akṣara could conceivably be *śi* but is far from clear. An even greater problem for equating this word with P *upanissitā* is the presence of *p* in the second syllable since the Gāndhārī form of the prefix would be *ua-* or possibly *uva-*, but not *upa-*. On the other hand, the following explanation would seem to be based on something similar to *uaniśida-* as its basis. This problem remains unsolved.

ata niś[i]di: This would seem to explain *upaniśida-* as from *upa + ni + √sad* rather than from *upa + ni + √śri*. It remains unclear whether the Gāndhārī expression really corresponds to the Pali formula *ekam antam nisīdi* (which also never seems to occur without *ekam*).

apara[pat]jadea: This word (or these words) present serious interpretative

problems. The sequence of akṣaras itself is clear, with the caveat that *[t]i* could also be read as *[r]i*. Given the context, with *spayae vimasae* in the next line, it seems most promising to make a connection with P *aparapattiya-* ‘independent of another,’ itself an equivalent of P *aparapaccaya-* (BHS *aparapratyaya-*); cf. *sayaṁ abhiññā sacchikatvā ti attano yeva paññāya paccakkham̄ katvā aparapaccayena ñatvā ti attho* Ps I 165. The second part of the sequence remains unclear under this interpretation, unless it be interpreted as the equivalent of OIA *-ādayah*, or OIA *-udaya-* with omitted *u mātrā*.

muni · ñan[i]: For this explanation cf. *muṇi · ña[ni]* 9.185.

Line 227. *ta[tra]:* A possible alternative reading would be *ta[sa]*, corresponding either to OIA *tasya* or to OIA *tathā*.

Line 228. *parihota:* Judging from the overall syntax of the sentence, this form is most likely an absolute, and it could derive either from the equivalent of P *paribhāveti* ‘pervade, consider, treat’ or from the equivalent of P *paribhavati* ‘neglect, despise.’ Semantically, the former seems a better fit and has therefore been adopted, but formally the derivation from the second would be more straightforward, with *parihota* standing in the same relation to **parihodi* as *pradīthahita* to **pradīthahadi*.

e[v]a vimuto: It cannot be ruled out entirely that *e[va]* is part of the root-verse quotation, since the presence of otherwise expected *ñatva* is somewhat uncertain (see next note).

Line 229. (**ñ*a)[*tva*]: This reading is not quite certain. What looks like the upward stroke of subscript *v* in *tva* might also be an added serif on the foot of *sa* in the preceding line.

[p]()idi[a]ñ[ida]:* For the interpretation of this word cf. *p(*)idiñ[nida]* 9.168.

[p]. ? hitva: It is more likely that this sequence represents the ablative singular of an abstract noun in OIA *-tva-* than an absolute, since the ending of the latter tends to be *-ta* in forms of more than two syllables.

cedo ? + +: This is almost certainly *cedo[vi](*muti)* ‘heart liberation,’ even

though this reading of the third akṣara has to assume that the large horizontal shape in its middle is not ink.

23 (Lines 9.233–240)

This section explains a verse with uncertain immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| taspa muṇi logavidu sumesu | Therefore the sage, knowing the world, of good |
| (*logatago vroṣidabramaīyo) | intelligence, |
| logasa ato śamidavi ñatva | (*going to the end of the world, having |
| (*ñaśiśadi logo imo para ca) | perfected(?) religious practice,) knowing the end of the world, the one who has made quiet, |
| | (*does not desire this world and the other.) |

The section contains at least two runs of the commentary. Very little is preserved of the first run, and it is not clear whether it performed any categorial reductions. The second run performs a reduction to the Four Truths.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| | 1: 9.233–238 | 2: 9.238–240
(<i>sakşevara</i>) |
| taspa muṇi logavidu sumesu | ? | <i>dukhapariñā-</i> |
| (*logatago vrośidabramaīyo) | ? | ? |
| logasa ato śamidavi ñatva | ? | <i>samudagaprahana-</i> |
| (*ñaśiśadi logo imo para ca) | ? | ? |

The Āṅguttaranikāya and Samyuttanikāya parallels of this verse are explained at Mp III 89.7–8 = Spk I 118.3. The verse is quoted at Nidd-a III 40 (on Sn 1096, the Pali parallel of verse 7), Bv-a 94 and Sp I 118.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

[233] +
+ + + + + [234] +
+ + + + + + + + + [235] +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + [236] + + + + + + + + + + + + + go ·
bhavida + go · logasa ato · śamidavi ñatva + ? ? [237] + + + + + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + ? ? · logasa · paramida prato · paramida + [238] + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Translation:

world + + + + [238] +

Text notes:

Line 236. *bha[vida] + [go]*: It is almost certain that this should be reconstructed as *bha[vida](^{*}ma)[go]*, for which cf. *bhavidamag[o]* 9.89 and *bhavidamagasa* 9.176.

Line 237. *pra[t]o*: The foot of *[t]o* has an unusual bend to the right, but this may have no deeper significance than trying to avoid the knot hole next to the aksara.

Transcription:

| D
238. ... + /// kṣeva · taspa muṇi logavidu sumesu · dukhapari /// +

Reconstruction:

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 238. *dukhapari*(*ñā): For the Four Truths see {{ }}.

The extant portion of this section is not substantial enough to establish its root verse or to determine how many runs of the commentary are represented.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

[GCv1] + + + + + + + + + + + + ? + ? ? ? ? ? ? ? dukhada ? ? ? ? m. n. s. +
+ + + + + [GCv2] + + + + + + + + ? ? v. do ☺

Translation:

Text notes:

Line GCv1: The middle of this and the following lines leaves a gap for the central vertical sewing that connects this sheet with the preceding.

*m. n. [ś]. +: It is possible that this should be read *m[a]n[ása](**lo*); see § 1.2.2 for the Four Barbs.**

Line GCv2: [v]. [do]: The most likely readings for these two akṣaras are [vuto] (although there is no clear trace of an *u* matrā) or -[vado]).

25 (Lines 9.GCv2–GCv15)

This section explains a verse with uncertain immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.2):

edo adiñavo ñatva Knowing this misery
 taṣa dukhasa sabhavo that craving is the origin of pain,
 viadataṣo añadaṇo with craving gone away, without assuming,
 spado bhikhu parivaye a monk should wander about mindful.

The section contains at least five runs of the commentary. Several portions of the first run are lost or illegible, but the first half of pāda c is equated with abandoning of external craving (*bahidhataṣa-*), suggesting that the second half is equated with abandoning of internal craving (*aṭjavataṣa-*). Pāda c is equated with cessation of embodiment (*sakayañirosa-*). The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas c–d to the Three Courses (pāda b) and their severing (pādas c–d). The third run interweaves the parts of the root verse with the second chain of the formula of Dependent Arising in ascending order (pāda b) and descending order (pādas c–d).

| | 1: GCv2–5 | 2: GCv5–8 | 3: GCv8–11 |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| edo adiñavo ñatva | ? | ? | ? |
| taṣa | ? | <i>kamavataṇi-</i> ,
<i>kileśavataṇi-</i> | <i>taṣa-</i> |
| dukhasa | ? | <i>dukhavataṇi-</i> | <i>uadaṇapracea</i>
<i>bava</i> |
| sabhavo | | | <i>jadipracea</i>
<i>jaramarana</i> |
| viadataṣo | <i>bahidhataṣae</i>
<i>prahaṇa-</i> | <i>kamavataṇie</i>
<i>cheda-</i> | <i>taṣañirosa-</i> |
| añadaṇo | <i>aṭjavataṣae</i>
<i>prahaṇa-(?)</i> | <i>kileśavataṇie</i>
<i>cheda-</i> | <i>uadaṇañirosa-</i> |
| spado bhikhu parivaye | <i>sakayañirosa-</i> | <i>dukhavataṇie</i>
<i>cheda-</i> | <i>bhavañirosa-,</i>
<i>jadijara-</i>
<i>maraṇañirosa-</i> |

The fourth run performs categorial reduction of pādas a–c to the Four Truths. The fifth run is attributed to ‘others’ (avare) and performs categorial reduction of pādas a–b, probably c, and d to apparently only three of the Four Planes.

| | 4: GCv11–13
(asa va) | 5: GCv13–15
(avare) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| edo adiṇavo ñatva | śamasavivaśāñae
maga- | |
| taṣa | samudaga- | daśañabhumī- |
| dukhasa | | |
| sabhavo | dukha- | |
| viadataṣo | | bhavañabhumī- |
| añadaño | ñirosa- | |
| spado bhikhu parivaye | | kridavida- |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Pj II 507, the Jātaka parallel at Ja IV 354 and the Itivuttaka parallels at It-a 60 and 157.

Transcription:

|G

GCv2. [e]do adiṇavo ñatva sutro tatra ḥideśo edo adiṇa // + + + + +
+

|G

GCv3. + + + + + + + //? [ro] s[e] t[i] · teṇa a[ha] taṣa dukhasa sabhavo ·
asa [va] e[do] taṣae // + + + + + +

|G

GCv4. + + + + + + + // + ? ? [d]ukha sabhod[i] · [vi]adataṣ[o] ·
bahidha[taṣae] prahaṇ[o] · aña[da]ño ? // + +

|G

GCv5. + + + + + + + // [s].do bhikhu [pa]ri[va]ye · [spado]aṭaṇas[a·]agi ·
saka[ya]ñiroso · ...

Reconstruction:

edo adiṇavo ñatva sutro tatra ḥideśo **edo adiṇa**(*vo) + + + + [GCv3] + +
+ + + + + + ? ro se ti · teṇa aha **taṣa dukhasa sabhavo** · asa va edo taṣae + +
+ + + + + [GCv4] + + + + + + + ? ? dukha sabhodi · **viadataṣo** · bahidha-
taṣae prahaṇo · **añadaño** ? + + [GCv5] + + + + + + s(*p)ado **bhikhu**
parivaye · spadoaṭaṇasa·agi · sakayañiroso ·

Translation:

Knowing this misery is the text. The explanation on it: **This misery + + + +** + [GCv3] + + + + + + + + + + Therefore he says: **craving is the origin of pain.** Or otherwise: + + of craving + + + + + + [GCv4] + + + + + + + + + originates. **With craving gone away:** abandoning of external craving. **Without assuming:** + + + [GCv5] + + + + + + **A monk should wander about mindful:** endowed with the foundations of mindfulness. Cessation of embodiment.

Text notes:

Line GCv2. *ñatva*: The akṣara *tva* has been corrected from a different but unidentifiable original akṣara.

Line GCv3. ? [ro] s[e] t[i]: A possible but far from certain reconstruction would be [niro]s[e]t[i] ‘they bring to cessation.’

taśa: There is a dot instead of the usual horizontal line on top of this akṣara.

Line GCv4. [d]ukha sabhod[i]: Cf. P *sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti* as the last link of the formula of Dependent Arising.

[vi]adatas[o]: There is apparently no horizontal line above the akṣara *s/o*. The light shadow of ink that is visible may be a smudge from the preceding line. The horizontal line is also missing in (*viada)[ta]ṣo 9·GCv10.

bahidha[taśae]: In Pali literature, the term *bahiddhātanhā* is only used in the Peṭakopadesa.

Lines GCv4–5: ? + + + + + + +: A likely reconstruction for this portion is (*aṄjatvataśae prahaṇo ·).

Line GCv5. [spado]aṭaṇas[a·]agi: This will be either a copying mistake for or a misinterpretation of *spadoaṭaṇasamagi*; cf. *spadoaṭhanasamagīṇo* 9·126 and *spadoaṭhanasamag[i] 9·126–127*.

Transcription:

|_G

GCv5. ? [ṣ]. ? // +

|_G

GCv6. + ? [ṣ]. ? + [kamava]taṇi · [ki]le[śava]ta[ṇi] ca dukhasa sabhavo ·
dukha[vata]ṇi · [via] +

|_G

GCv7. ta[ṣ]o · [ka] + + + + [e] .[e] + + + + + .[o] kileśavatanie chedo ·
spado bhikhu pa[ri] ? ye dukha

GCv8. + + + + + + ...

Reconstruction:

? ṣ. ? + [GCv6] + ? ṣ. ? + kamavataṇi · kileśavatanī ca **dukhasa sabhavo** ·
dukhavatanī · **via(*da)**[GCv7]**taṣo** · ka(*mavatani)e (*ch)e(*do · **aṇadaṇo**)
kileśavatanie chedo · **spado bhikhu pari** ? ye dukha[GCv8](*vatanie
chedo ·)

Translation:

+ + + + [GCv6] + + + + + the course of action and the course of defilement.

The origin of pain: the course of pain. [GCv7] **With craving gone away:** severing of the course of action. **Without assuming:** severing of the course of defilement. **A monk + + + mindful:** [GCv8] (*severing of the course) of pain.

Text notes:

Line GCv6. ? [ṣ]. ?: A possible but uncertain reconstruction would be *[taṣae]*. The top of the last akṣara looks like that of a *ṇ*, but the total height of the akṣara is not sufficient to support this reading.

[kamava]taṇi: For the Three Courses see § 1.2.2.

It seems that the end of this line after *[via](*da)* was intentionally left empty, presumably in order to avoid writing on the knot hole that is faintly visible.

GCv7. *pa[ri]* ? *ye*: This word can hardly be interpreted as anything else than either *pa[rival]ye* or *pa[rivra]ye*, but the third akṣara looks more like *pa* or *ti* than the

expected *va* or *vra*.

Transcription:

|C |G+C |C |G

GCv8. ... + + + + + + + //? + da · ta [ṣ]a ye va vuta + ? a. ? ? ? ? ? + ?

|C

GCv9. + + + + + // ḥna + + + [ṅa]pr[a]cea · ba[vo] vuto · bhavēṇa jadi + [ce]a
[·] jara[maraṇa] vuto] · [a] ?

|C

GCv10. + + + + + // [ta]ṣo · taṣāniroso a[ṅada]ṅo · uadāṇa[ṅ].rosso vu[to ·] +
[do bhikhu] pariva[ye] bha[van̄i]r[o] +

|C

GCv11. + + + + + + // [ra]ṅaṇi[ro]so [·] ...

Reconstruction:

+ + + + + + ? + da · taṣa yeva vuta (*.) ? a. ? ? ? ? ? + ? [GCv9] + +
(*dukhe)ṅa (*uada)ṅapracea · bavo vuto · <*sa>bhavēṇa jadi(*pra)cea · jara-
maraṇa vuto · a ? [GCv10] (*viada)taṣo · taṣāniroso aṅadāṅo · uadāṇa-
ṅ(*i)rosso vuto · (*spa)do bhikhu parivaye bhavaṇiro(*so) [GCv11] (*jadi-
jarama)raṇaṇiroso ·

Translation:

+ + + + + + + + + craving indeed is talked about. + + + + + + + + +
[GCv9] + + By **pain** is said that from the condition assuming there is
existence. By **origin** is said that from the condition birth there is aging and
death + + [GCv10] **With craving gone away:** the cessation of craving.
Without assuming: the cessation of assuming is talked about. **A monk**
should wander about mindful: the cessation of existence, [GCv11] the
cessation of (*birth, aging and) death.

Text notes:

Line GCv8. + + + + + + ? + da: It is very likely that the beginning of this line
contained a quotation. This could have been (*edo adīna)[vo] (*ṅa)t(*v)a, leaving

two or three akṣaras in the very beginning for a short function phrase such as *asa va* or *avare*. On the other hand, the following explanation would have us expect a quotation that contains *taṣa-*.

Line GCv11. (*jadijarama)[ra]ṇaṇi[ro]so [·]: The space following this (corresponding to approximately fifteen akṣaras in width) was by all appearances intentionally left empty. There are some shadows in the space, but they appear to be from letters on the other side or the next layer down.

Transcription:

|C

GCv11. asa va edo a[di]ṇavo ḡatva [· vi]va ? // +

|C

GCv12. + + + + + //? [kh]. [śa]maso · [eva] śamasavi[śaṇa]e [ma]go ·
taṣae samudag[o] · dukha[sa sa] // + +

|C

GCv13. + + + + + // [taṣ]. [· a]ṇ[ada]ṇo · ḡiroso [·] ...

Reconstruction:

asa va **edo adiṇavo ḡatva** · viva ? + [GCv12] + + + + + ? kh. śamaso · eva
śamasavi<*va>śaṇae mago · taṣae samudago · **dukhasa** **sa(*bhavo)**
[GCv13] (*dukho · **viada**)taṣ(*o) · aṇadāṇo · ḡiroso ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Knowing this misery**: + + + + [GCv12] + + + + + + + + +
Thus the path of quiet and insight. By **craving** (is meant) the origin. **The origin of pain**: [GCv13] (*pain). **With craving gone away, without assuming**: the cessation.

Text notes:

Line GCv11. /vi/va ? +: It is very likely that this word is /vi]va[śa](*ṇa).

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

Translation:

Text notes:

pari[vra]yanæ: There is an unexplained gap between [vra] and ya.

7.3. Scroll 13

26 (Lines 13·1–9)

This section explains a verse with uncertain immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (*yo apraduṭhasa ḡarasa) duśadi | Who is hateful to a man that has not been |
| (*śodhasa poṣasa aṇaganasa) | hateful, |
| tam eva balo pracedi pavo | a pure man without blemish, |
| suhomo paso balavatam eva | to that very fool evil comes,
fine dust to even a powerful one. |

The section contains at least five runs of the commentary. Most of the first run is lost or illegible, but it contains a reference to bright dharmas (*śukra- dhama-*) and to the story of Kokālika. The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas a and c to the Three Courses, the third run to (apparently) the Four Truths, the fourth run to two of the Four Truths by way of the Three Categories, and the fifth run to quiet, insight and the two extinction elements.

| | 2: 13·4–5
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | 3: 13·5–6
(<i>asa va</i>) |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (*yo apraduṭhasa ḡarasa) duśadi | <i>kamavataṇi-</i> | ? |
| (*śodhasa poṣasa aṇaganasa) | | |
| tam eva balo | <i>kileśavataṇi-</i> | ? |
| pracedi pavo | <i>dukhavataṇi-</i> | <i>dukhavudhi-</i> |
| suhomo paso balavatam eva | | |

| | 4: 13·6-7 | 5: 13·8-9 |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| (*yo apraduṭhasa ḡarasa) duśadi | <i>śilasa ca samasie
ca vivati</i> | |
| (*śodhasa poṣasa anagaṇasa) | | <i>magavivati-</i> |
| tam eva balo | <i>prañavivati-</i> | <i>vivaśaṇavivati-</i> |
| pracedi pavo | | <i>ṇirosavivati-</i> <i>duiṇa ḡivaṇa-
dhaduṇa vivati</i> |
| suhomo paso balavatam eva | | |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Pj II 478, the Jātaka parallel at Ja III 203, the Pali Dhammapada parallel at Dhp-a III 34.1–11, the Suttanipāta parallel at Spk I 49 and the Sanskrit Udāna parallel at Ud-v 659.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 2. *suhomo*: The form of this word shows it to be a borrowing from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect that underwent the same development as reflected in P *sukhuma-* (cf. von Hinüber 1981: 68). The genuine Gāndhāri form of the word is attested in the compound *suṣmela-* CKD 702 (§ 4.2.2.3.14). Cf. further *susuma-* 13-77 which appears to be yet another loanword form of this word.

paso: This quotation provides a variant reading for *rajo* in the Pali parallel. Note that the verse preceding our verse in the Pali Jātaka has *pamsu*.

balavatam eva: These two words appear to correspond to OIA *balavantam eva* and have been translated accordingly. The meaning that they provide is, however, not quite satisfactory, and one suspects a confusion involving *bala-* from the preceding pāda and *vāta-* in the Pali parallel.

tami kṣi[ti]: The interpretation of this sequence is also unclear. The proper Gāndhārī equivalent of the most likely Old Indo-Aryan correspondence (*tasmiṇ kṣiptah*) would be *taspi kṣito*, but the alternative segmentation as OIA *tam iksita-* is even less satisfactory.

Line 3. *samunagadasa*: For this form compare *samunaharita* in Senavarma's reliquary inscription (CKI 249), line 3, and *samunagada-* in the unpublished manuscripts RS 2 and 13.

Lines 3–4. *upa* + +: A possible but uncertain reconstruction of this sequence would be *upa(*jadi)*.

Line 4. *koaliasa*: The Pali parallel of the root verse of this section belongs to the Kokāliyasutta. Kokālika (G *koalia-*) was one of the four companions of Devadatta;

the names of the other three are Kaṭamorakatissa / Kaṭamodakatissa(ka) / Kata-morakatissa, Khaṇḍadeviyāputta and Samuddadatta in Pali (PTSD, DP and CPD s.vv.) and Khaṇḍadravya, Karoṭatiṣya / Kaṭamorakatiṣya and Samudradatta in Buddhist Sanskrit (BHSD and SWTF s.vv.).

[ka]radadatasa: This appears to be the proper name of one of Koalia's associates, and it most likely belongs to Karoṭatiṣya. The Gāndhārī form is not an exact equivalent of the Pali or Sanskrit forms of his name. Some bark in the middle of the word is obscured, so the name could conceivably also be reconstructed as *kar(*o)dā-datasa*, bringing it closer to the Sanskrit form. The second element of the Gāndhārī name appears to correspond to OIA *-dattika-* (for the use of *datta-* in personal names cf. Samudradatta and, for instance, the elder Maggadatta, DPPN s.v.). Cf. further Lüders 1938.

Transcription:

- | A
4. sakṣeva tam [e]va balo
- | A
5. + + + + // .[e ḷ]. [kil].[śavata]ṇi · p.cedi pavo · dukhavataṇi · duśadi ·
kamavataṇi · ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva **tam eva balo** [5] + + + + .e ḷ. kil(*e)śavataṇi · p(*r)acedi pavo ·
dukhavataṇi · **duśadi** · kamavataṇi ·

Translation:

In brief: **To that very fool** [5] + + + + + the course of defilement. **Evil comes:** the course of pain. **Is hateful:** the course of action.

Text notes:

Line 5. + .[e ḷ]: This could be reconstructed as (*bal)[ena]. The word has been quoted previously, but since all equations with the Three Courses follow it is possible that after a complete quotation of the pāda, each word is introduced individually

before it is explained. A tentative complete reconstruction along these lines, filling the gap between the end of line 13·4 and the beginning of line 13·5, would be *sakṣeva tam [e]va balo (*pracedi pavo · bal)en[a]*.

Transcription:

5. ... asa va d[u]ś[a]ñ[a] /// +
6. + + + + + + + |^B //? ? ? ? + ? ? ? .[u] ? + pra[c].[adi pavo] ·
dukhavudhi · du[śaṇa]e śi[lasa ca sa]
7. + + + + |^B // [vivati] · baleṇa prañavi[vati] + ? ? [ma]gavivati · praceadi
pavo · ḥiros[a]vi[va]ti ·

Reconstruction:

asa va duśaṇa + [6] + + + + + ? ? ? + ? ? ? .u ? (*.) **prac(*e)adi pavo** ·
dukhavudhi · **duśaṇae** śilasa ca sa[7](*masie ca) vivati · **baleṇa** prañavivati +
? ? magavivati · **praceadi pavo** · ḥirosavivati ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: + + + + [6] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + **Evil comes**:
increase of pain. By **hatefulness** (is meant) [7] failure of virtue and
concentration. By **fool** (is meant) failure of understanding. + + + + + + + +
Evil comes: failure of the cessation.

Text notes:

Line 5. *d[u]ś[a]ñ[a] +*: The first akṣara looks rather more like *d[a]*, but in view of *duśaṇae* 13·6 a reconstruction *d[u]ś[a]ñ[a]/(*e)* is likely.

Line 6. ? ? ? ? + ? ? ? ? .[u] ?: Considering the further context, this illegible portion most likely contains an explanation involving the term *vudhi-*. The relevant item that is missing from the following is *samudeavudhi-* (cf. *samudagavudhi* 13·31). This in turn would have been preceded by a root-verse quotation (possibly *baleṇa*) and maybe one or both of the terms *magavivati-* and *nirosavivati-*.

*pra[c](*e)[adi]*: This form has been tentatively interpreted as an optative

(corresponding to the clear instances of a Pali optative *pacceyyāti* at Nett 93, Dhp-a III 481; cf. Insler 1994: 75), but could in principle also be a thematicized indicative (for which cf. *pracea[ti]* 1352).

Lines 6–7. *śi[lasa ca sa](*masie ca) [vivati]*: For this reconstruction cf. 13·45–46 *prañakadhavivati ... samasikadha[vi]vati ... śilakadhavivati*.

+ ? ? *[ma]gavivati*: Two possible reconstructions are (**a*)*[riama]gavivati* and (*.) *[aya ma]gavivati*.

Transcription:

8. + + + + + //|^B [duśa]di · śamasavi[vati] + [baleṇa viva]śaṇavivati ·
pracedi pavo · duīṇa ḥ[i]vaṇa[dha]
9. + + + + + + + + + //|^B ? ḥa [viva]ti [· a]ṇulomo paḍicasamupado ·
[va]mo pusujaṇapa[kṣo] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

[8] + + + + + **duśadi** · śamasavivati (*.) **baleṇa** vivaśaṇavivati · **pracedi**
pavo · duīṇa ḥivaṇadha[9](*duṇa) + + + + + + + ? ḥa vivati · aṇulomo
paḍicasamupado · vamo pusujaṇapakṣo §§

Translation:

Is hateful: failure of concentration. By **fool** (is meant) failure of insight.

Evil comes: of the two [9] extinction elements + + + + + + + + failure.

In natural direction it is dependent arising, the reverse is the side of ordinary people.

Text notes:

Line 8. + + + + +: It is possible that the beginning of this line, like that of the following, was intentionally left empty in order to avoid writing on a rough spot in the bark. If this was the case, then */duśa/di* was the first word written in this line.

[baleṇa]: This word is nearly illegible in the color images and on the original, but clearer in the infrared images.

Lines 8–9. *duiṇa n[i]vana[dha](*duṇa)*: This reconstruction is tentative. It is possible that the beginning of line 13.9, like that of the preceding line, was intentionally left empty. If this was the case, then the end of line 13.8 and the beginning of line 13.9 can be reconstructed together as *duiṇa n[i]vana[dhadu]ṇa [viva]ti*.

Line 9. *[va]mo*: The first akṣara of this word is not quite clear and could also be read as *śa* or maybe *pa*. According to PTSD (with reference to Pv-a 87) the term P *vāma-* can be used for *vilomato*, and based on this we assume that in our passage it stands in for *paḍiloma-*, contrasting with preceding *anulomā-*. The reference of these terms appears to be to the order in which the pādas of this verse are analyzed.

pusujanapa[kṣo]: The akṣara *[kṣa]* is very cursive, but the identity of the word is secured by P *puthujjanapakkha-* which is attested together with *bāhira-* ‘outside (the Buddhist community)’: *yassa kho bhikkhave imāni pañcindriyāni sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam natthi tam aham bāhiro puthujjanapakkhe thito ti vadāmī ti* SN V 202 = Kv 251, *yassa kho nandiya cattāri sotāpattiyaṅgāni sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam natthi tam aham bāhiro puthujjanapakkhe thito ti vadāmi* SN V 397, *aṭṭhamako puggalo bāhiro puthujjanapakkhe thito ti* Kv 251. The term also occurs once in a sūtra quotation in the Abhidharmaśabhbāṣya: *tam adhikṛtyāha bāhyam prthagjanapakṣāvasthitam vadāmīti* AKBh 43.2.

27 (Lines 13.9–22)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| yo iśa (*kama) acatari | Who passed desires here, |
| (*sago loge) duracago | the clinging to the world that is hard to pass, |
| ṇa soyadi ṇavijayadi | he does not grieve and does not covet, |
| chināsodo avadhaṇo | having severed the stream and being without bonds. |

The section contains four runs of the commentary. The first run has several

illegible portions, but it clearly connects the word *kama* of pāda a with desire as things (*vastukama-*) and continues using this term in its further discussion up to the first half of pāda c. The explanation of the second half of pāda c is not preserved, but in the light of the following it is likely that it referred to the opposite of desire as things, namely desire as defilement (*kileśakama-*). The first half of pāda d is explained as abandoning of internal craving, the second half as abandoning of external craving, corresponding to the two kinds of desire. The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas a and b to non-occurrence of the Three Courses (using *vastukama jahanado* as a back-reference to the first run), and of pādas c and d to abandoning of the Three Sources.

| | 1: 13.9–14 | 2: 13.14–16
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| yo iśa (*kama) | | <i>dukhaapratyuti-</i> |
| acatari | | |
| (*sago loge) duracago | <i>vastukama-</i> | <i>kamakileśaṇa
apratyuti</i> |
| ṇa soyadi | | <i>doṣasa
prahinatva</i> |
| ṇavijayadi | <i>kileśakama-(?)</i> | <i>mohasa
prahinatva</i> |
| chiṇasodo | <i>ajatvataṣa prahīṇa</i> | |
| avadhaṇo | <i>bahidhataṣa
prahīṇa</i> | <i>ragasa
prahinatva</i> |

The third run performs categorial reduction to the Four Truths by way of fulfillment of the Three Categories and using *vastukamehi* as a back-reference to the first run. The fourth run performs categorial reduction to surmounting of the Four Floods.

| | 3: 13·16–18 (<i>asa va</i>) | 4: 13·19–22 |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| yo iśa (*kama) | | <i>dukha-</i> |
| acatari | | <i>samudeaprahaṇa-,</i>
<i>nirosa-</i> |
| (*sago loge) duracago | | <i>kamohasa</i>
<i>samadikrama-,</i>
<i>driṭhohasa</i> |
| ṇa soyadi | <i>śilakadhasa</i>
<i>puridatva</i> | |
| ṇavijayadi | <i>prañakadhasa</i> | <i>maga-</i> |
| chiṇasodo | <i>samasikadhasa</i>
<i>puridatva</i> | |
| avadhaṇo | | <i>avijohasa</i>
<i>samadikrama-</i> |
| | | <i>bhavohasa</i>
<i>samadikrama-</i> |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 432.15–433.27, Pj II 568.18–20 and Nidd-a II 435.1–3.

Transcription:

9. ... |^B ... yo iśa
10. + + + //|^B [ca] + + [sutro] ta[tra ḷ]. + [śo] · v[a]stukama abhip.eda · yo
acatari · yeṇa vastue · chadarago prah[h]. //| +
11. + + + + + + + + + + //|^G ? + .[u] ? .[u] ? + + ? + + + ? ? ? [to] ? ?
[t]. ? ? ? //| + +
12. + + + + + + + + //|^G [tehi] vastukamehi [·] vipa]riṇamateṣu · ḷa
pari ? ? di · ḷa a[v].jaya //| +
13. + + + + + + + + + + //|^G [ki ka]raṇo [·] duiṇa taṣaṇa prahiṇatva ·
chiṇasodo · aṄjatvataṣa
14. + + + + + + //|^G dhado · bahidhataṣa ? [prahi]ṇa · ...

Reconstruction:

yo iśa [10] (*kama a)ca(*tari) sutro tatra ḷ(*ide)śo · vastukama abhi-
p(*r)eda · yo acatari · yeṇa vastue · chadarago prah(*iṇo) [11] + + + + +

+ + + + + ? + .u ? .u ? + + ? + + + ? ? ? to ? ? t. ? ? ? + + [12] + + + + + + +
+ + tehi vastukamehi · vipariṇamateṣu · ḥa pari ? ? di · ḥa av(*i)jaya(*di)
[13] + + + + + + + + + ki karaṇo · duṇa taṣaṇa prahiṇatva · chināsodo ·
ajatvataṣa [14] + + + + + (*ava)dhado · bahidhataṣa ? prahiṇa ·

Translation:

Text notes:

Line 10. (**kama a*)[*ca*](**tari*): This reading is very tentative. All that is relatively clear is the [*ca*] of (**a*)[*ca*](**tari*) which is surrounded by various small patches of ink that may not belong to the main writing surface, and not all of which fit the proposed reading.

v[ə]stukama: For this term cf. *vastukamehi* 9.189. Here the akṣara *va* has a large loop and looks almost like *vu*.

Line 12. *[vipa]rinamatesu*: The interpretation of this form as a present participle corresponding to a class 1 intransitive verb **vipariṇamadi* is likely but not completely certain. The existence of an intransitive verb (besides P *vipariṇāmeti*) is confirmed by the past participles in *vipariṇatam* *vā* *vatthum* *na* *socati*, *vipariṇatasmīm* *vā* *vatthusmīm* *na* *socati* Nidd I 433. Cf. further *vi[pariname]* 9.208.

pari ? ? *di*: In light of the Pali Niddesa passage quoted in the preceding note, it is tempting to read this word as *pari[soya]di*, but what is visible of the third and fourth akṣaras does not quite fit this interpretation. It is possible that the correct reading is *pari[deva]di*, which is used in the Pali Niddesa's standard explanation of *socati*.

*na a[v](*i)jaya(*di):* The Paramatthajjotikā explains *nājjheti* in the Pali parallel of this verse as *nābhijjhati*. The Gāndhārī form represents yet another formation, a denominative from *avija-* (OIA *abhidhyā-*). It is possible that the last letter of this word was in the beginning of the next line rather than the end of this one.

Line 13. [ka]rano: The [ka] of [ka]rano has an unusual shape, but there is no serious doubt about the reading.

Line 14. + + + +: A possible but speculative reconstruction of the first akṣaras of this line would be (*ya prahiṇa ·).

(*ava)dhado: The last letter of this word will be a copying mistake for expected *no*.

bahidhataṣa ?: The mostly illegible akṣara in this sequence could be a *ya*, supporting the hypothetical reconstruction of the beginning of this line.

dukhaapra[vu]t[i]: For the combination of *dukha-* and *apra[vu]t[i]-* cf. *dukkha-kkhandhassā ti vaṭṭadukkharāsissa nirodho hotī ti appavatti hoti* Mp II 283.

Transcription:

14. sakṣe[va] vastukama jahaṇado · dukhaapra[vu]t[i] ·

15. + /// cata[ri] kama[kil].śaṇa apra[v]uti · ḡa soyadi [d]oṣasa
prahiṇatva · ḡavijayadi m[o]ha[sa pra]

16. [hi]ṅ[atva · chi] ḡ[as]. [do a va dha] ḡo [· ragasa] +
hiṇa[tva] + ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva vastukama jahaṇado · dukhaapravuti · [15] (*a)catari kama-kil(*e)śaṇa apravuti · ḡa soyadi doṣasa prahiṇatva · ḡavijayadi mohasa pra-[16]hiṇatva · chinās(*o)do avadhaṇo ragasa (*pra)hiṇatva (*.)

Translation:

In brief: For the person who abandons desires as things there is non-

occurrence of pain. [15] **Passed:** non-occurrence of action and defilement.

He does not grieve: because of hate being abandoned. **He does not covet:**

[16] because of delusion being abandoned.

Text notes:

kama[kil]()śāṇa:* For the Three Courses see § 1.2.2, and cf. *kamakileśado* 13-78.

Transcription:

16. ... [asa va] ḥa soyadi · [śilaka dha sa p]uri

17. |H
datva · [ḥav]ijayadi prañakadhasa · chiṇa[s].[d]. [ava] + ḥo ·
samasikadhasa · puridatva · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va ḥa soyadi · śilakadhasa puri[17]datva · ḥavijayadi prañakadhasa ·
chiṇas(*o)d(*o) ava(*dha)ḥo · samasikadhasa · puridatva ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **He does not grieve:** [17] because of the virtue category being filled. **He does not covet:** the understanding category. **Having severed the stream and being without bonds:** because of the concentration category being filled.

Text notes:

Line 17. *[ḥav]ijayadi:* The akṣara *[ḥa]* is slightly curved, giving the initial impression of *[a]*, but the negation is certainly required and decides the reading.

Transcription:

17. ... trihi ka

18. |H
[dhehi p].[ridatva] · ma[go] + + st[u]k[a]me[hi] · dukho acatari ·
samudeaprahaṇa ca · ḥirosa ca ·

Reconstruction:

trihi ka[18]dhehi p(*u)ridatva · mago (*· va)stukamehi · dukho acatari ·
samudeaprahaṇa ca · ḥirosa ca ·

Translation:

[18] From the three categories being filled, there is the path. Through desires as things, there is pain. **Passed:** both abandoning of the origin and cessation.

Text notes:

Lines 17–18. *trihi ka[dhehi]*: For the Three Categories see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

19. + + + + + + + |H //? ? //+ //? ? [a] duracag[o] kamohasa
samadikramo ca · dri[thoha]
20. + + + + + + + |H // [johasa] //+ // madikramo ca · ? ? ? ? ? ?
21. + + + + + + |I // [spi]maṇo prahiṇo [bh]odi · ? .[o] ? ? ? [pakṣa]sa ·
gaṇaṇa krida · ch[inā]sodo a
22. + + + |I // [bhavo]hasa madikramo §§ ...

Reconstruction:

[19] + + + + + + ? ? + ? ? a duracago kamohasa samadikramo ca · driṭh-
oha[20](*sa ca ·) + + + + + (*avi)johasa (*sa)madikramo
ca · ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? [21] + + + + + (*a)spimaṇo prahiṇo bhodi · ?
.o ? ? ? pakṣasa · gaṇaṇa krida · chināsodo a[22](*vadhaṇo) bhavohasa
(*sa)madikramo §§

Translation:

+ + + + + + + + + + + + + **That is hard to pass:** both surmounting of the flood of desire [20] (*and) of the flood of view + + + + and surmounting of

the flood of ignorance + + + + + + + + + [21] + + + + + the I-am-conceit gets abandoned. Accounting + + + + + + has been done. **Having severed the stream** [22] **and being without bonds:** surmounting of the flood of existence.

Text notes:

Line 19. + + + + + + ? ? + ? ? [a] *duracag[o]*: It is possible that the beginning of this line contained a quotation of all of pādas a and b.

kamohasa: For the Four Floods see § 1.2.2.

Lines 19–20. *dri[thoha](sa ca ·) + + +*: A likely fuller reconstruction would involve a quotation from pāda c of the root verse, and one possible solution is *dri[thoha](sa ca · na soyadi)*. This interpretation has been adopted in the overview table for the categorial reduction of this run of the commentary. An alternative reconstruction *dri[thoha](sa samadikramo ·)* would also account for the available space, but a repetition of *samadikrama-* is stylistically not expected.

(*avi)[*johasa*] (*sa)*madikramo*: Another possible reading would be the compound (*avi)[*joha-sa*]*madikramo*. Cf. *bhavohasa* <*sa>*madikramo* in line 13.22 for a similar ambiguity.

ca ·: This word and punctuation mark are followed by an empty space to avoid writing over a knot hole.

? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?: The last five akṣaras of this mostly illegible string could correspond to [*nabhijayadi*], but only [*nabhi*] and [*di*] are reasonably clear, and the word was previously spelled *navijayadi*.

? .[o] ? ? ? [*pakṣa*]sa · *gaṇaṇa krida*: The first two akṣaras could be reconstructed as [a](*d)[o]. With this expression as a whole cf. *tasa* [aya ga]ṇaṇa in line 9.15. It is not clear which side is being referred to here. What little is visible of the beginning of the word would allow reading [*aṇaṇapakṣa*]sa ‘side of unknowing,’ but cf. also the expression *pusujanapa[kṣo]* in line 13.9.

This section explains a verse with unknown immediate source that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| taśadudio puruṣo | The man who is accompanied by craving |
| tatratatraüavatie | is born for this and that reason |
| teṇa teṇeva sabhodi | in a reappearance here and there; |
| dukham edi puṇapuṇo | he comes to pain again and again. |

The section contains four runs of the commentary. The first run provides a general explanation of the verse in terms of a person of craving temperament who keeps being reborn into suffering in various lifeforms. The second run performs categorial reduction to the Three Courses. The third run interweaves the parts of the root verse with (at least) the second chain of the formula of Dependent Arising in ascending order. The fourth run performs categorial reduction to the Four Truths.

| | 2: 1327–28
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | 3: 1328–31 | 4: 1331–33
(<i>asa va</i>) |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| taśadudio puruṣo | <i>kileśavataṇi-</i> | ... <i>taśa</i> | <i>samudagavudhi-</i> |
| tatratatraüavatie | <i>kamavataṇi-</i> | <i>taśapracea uadāna</i> | <i>magañāṇavivati-</i> |
| teṇa teṇeva sabhodi | | <i>uadāṇapracea bhavo</i> | <i>ṇirosañāṇavivati-</i> |
| dukham edi puṇapuṇo | <i>dukhavataṇi-</i> | <i>bhavapracea jadijaramarāṇo</i> | <i>dukhañāṇavivati-</i> |

Verse 25 = Sn 741 forms a couplet with this verse. Parallels of pāda a of this verse are explained at It-a I 59 and II 156, parallels of pādas a and d at Ud-v 77.

Transcription:

- | I
22. ... taśadudio pu[r]uṣo sutro tatra ḥideśo [.] taśa[ca]rida
- | I
23. + + + + //? deśaṇa · ye taśamuhie sasaro ḥivateti · asa va yo sirio

| I+J

pracago · dukha sa

24. + + /// .[o] daśido · tado utra[s]edi · tatratatraü a[vatie ta].[ra tatra]
uavadayadañami · vastu gri

| J

25. [na]di · caduña uadañana · añadaraadarina · uadane · uavajiadi · trihi
[va] bhaveşu · aña

| J

26. daraañadaro · [bha]v[o] ua[va]diadi · teña teñava sabhodi · tatra tatra
uavadayadañe · bhavo

| J

27. + + + + + + + + [m ed]. [p]u[na]puño · bhavañem[i]tio · piða
pracañubhodi ...

Reconstruction:

taśadudio puruso sutro tatra ḥideśo · taśacarida [23] + + + + ? deśaṇa · ye
taśamuhie sasaro ḥivateti · asa va yo sirio pracago · dukhasa [24] + + .o
daśido · tado utrasedi · **tatrataraüavatie** ta(*t)ra tatra uavadayadaṇami ·
vastu gri[25]ḥadi · caduṇa uadaṇa · añadaraa<*ñā>dariṇa · uadaṇe<*ñā> ·
uavajiadi · trihi va bhaveṣu · aña[26]daraañadaro · bhavo uavadiadi · **teṇa**
ten<*e>va sabhodi · tatra tatra uavadayadaṇe · bhavo [27] + + + + +
(*duḥkha)m ed(*i) punapuno · bhavanemitio · pida pracaṇubhodi

Translation:

The man who is accompanied by craving is the text. The explanation on it: + + + + + [23] + + + + + + + + which create the roundabout (of births) that has craving as its head. Or otherwise: + + + + + + of pain [24] + + + is shown. Thence it frightens. **In a reappearance here and there:** here and there in the sphere of reappearance [25] he takes substance, because of one or the other assuming of the four assumings he reappears, or in the three existences he reappears into one or the other existence [27] + + + + + **He comes to pain again and again:** he experiences again the oppression that

has existence as its cause.

Text notes:

Line 22. *taśa[ca]rida*: The term *taṇhācarita-* ‘motivated by craving’ is used for one of the two types of person that form the object of the Peṭakopadesa’s *nandiyāvatta-* procedure (the other type being *dīṭṭhicarita-* ‘motivated by views’). With this word cf. (**taśaca*)[*rji*] in line 9.Br3.

Line 23. + ? *deśāṇa*: A possible reconstruction would be (**dha*)[*ma*]*deśāṇa*. For the combination of this word with a particular type of person cf. *daśanapradīṭhidana dhamadeśāṇa* in line 9.45.

taśamuhie: With this somewhat unclear formation cf. *viriamuh[i]e* in line 9.48.

nivateti: This form can in principle correspond either to OIA *nir* + √*vṛt* (P *nibbatteti*) ‘create’ or to OIA *ni* + √*vṛt* (P *nivatteti*) ‘lead back, turn from.’ The former interpretation is adopted because it is better suited to the syntax of the sentence, and on the strength of the parallel *evam samsāram nibbattayati* Nett 95.13–14.

asa va: The overall meaning of this sentence is unclear, leaving us in doubt whether to read the first three akṣaras as *asa va* (OIA *atha vā*) or *asava-* (OIA *āsrava-*).

sirio: It is likely that this forms a separate word from preceding *yo*, and thus that there is no relation to the word family of *osiradi* 9.75.

Line 23–24. *dukhasa* + + .[*o*]: Given the context, the most likely reconstruction of this sequence is *dukhasa(*muday)[o]* ‘the origin of pain.’

Line 24. *tado*: There is a short horizontal line above *do* that crosses the foot of *na* in the line above. It probably serves to avoid confusion by visually separating the two lines where these two akṣaras overlap.

tatrataṭraüia[vatīe]: This word does not occur in Pali, but in the form *tatrataṭrapapatti-* it is attested twice in Buddhist Sanskrit: in the prose passage *evam eva karmakleśajanitaṁ vijñānabījāṁ tatrataṭrapapattyā āyatanapratisamdhau mātuḥ kukṣau nāmarūpāṅkuram abhinirvartayati* MŚāl 113 (cf. Śāl 104, 105), and in the verse *mārābhībhūtā duṣprajñāḥ samklistena hi karmanā anubhonti jātimaranam*

tatrataropapattiṣu Samādh 32.56. The use of *abhinirvartayati* in the first passage can be compared with *nivateti* 13.23.

uavadayadaṇami: This word corresponds to OIA **upapādāyatana-* or **upapāt-**āyatana-* and evidently refers to the totality of the three elements *kāmadhātu-*, *rūpadhātu-* and *ārūpyadhātu-*; cf. P *kamūpapatti-* (DN III 218.10–18), *rūpūpapatti-* (Vibh 171.29) and *arūpūpapatti* (Vibh 172.9).

Lines 24–25. *vastu gri[ṇa]di*: The precise implication of this expression, provisionally translated as ‘he takes substance,’ remains unclear, but it obviously refers to the process of rebirth in one of its aspects.

Line 25. *caduṇa uadaṇaya*: The Four Assumings are P *kāma-*, *dīṭṭhi-*, *sīla-* and *attavāda-* (DN III 230.21–22; also in SaṅgCm-G).

*añadaraa<*ñā>dariṇa*: The omission of the second *ñā* of this word may have been caused by the visual similarity of *ñā* and *dari*.

uavajiadi: This form appears to be a blend of *uavajadi* (the regular development of OIA *upapadyate*) and *ua[vā]diadi* (so in the next line; based on a transfer of the Middle Indo-Aryan passive ending *-iadi* to a fourth-class verb).

trihi va bhaveṣu: The three existences are P *kāmabhava-*, *rūpabhava-* and *arūpa-**bhava-* (DN III 216.10–11; not in SaṅgCm-G).

Line 26. *ua[vā]diadi*: For this form see the note on *uavajiadi* 13.25.

Line 27. *bhavaṇem[i]tio*: For this formation cf. P *guṇanemittika-* and similar compounds.

pīḍa: For the combination of *bhava-* and $\sqrt{pīḍ}$ cf. *bhavadukkhaṭipīḍitā sattā* Mil 98.25.

Transcription:

27. sakṣे

28. + + + + + + + + //| J + + + + [ta]ṇi · uadaṇeṇa · kamavata | J + K | J

| J+K | K
 śi [tha]gen[a] d.kh[a]v[a] t[a]ṇ[i] ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣe[28](*va taśadudio puruṣo kileśava)tāṇi · uadaṇēṇa · kamavataṇi ·
 śīṭhageṇa d(*u)khavataṇi

Translation:

[28] In brief: (*The man who is accompanied by craving:) the course (*of defilement). By assuming (is meant) the course of action. By the rest (is meant) the course of pain.

Text notes:

Line 28. (**taśadudio puruṣo*): In principle, pāda a of this root verse could also have been quoted as *taśadudiyo* or even just *taśae*, but the amount of available space suggests full quotation of this pāda.

uadaṇēṇa: This back-reference to pāda b is based on the explanation *uadane* in line 13·25.

śi[tha]gen[a]: Besides *thidaga-* and *avaśīṭha-*, this is the third word used by our commentary to mean ‘remaining, rest,’ which may be a sign of compilation of its material from different sources. For a similar use of Skt. *avaśiṣṭa-* in the assignment of parts of the formula of Dependent Arising to the Three Courses cf. *trīṇi kleśavartma | dve karmavartma | avaśiṣṭāni duḥkhavartma* YBh 218.10–12 (Ahn 2003: 46). Cf. further *śīṭhakehi* and *śīṭhikehi* in the reliquary inscription of Azes year 98 (CKI 358; Baums forthcoming a).

Transcription:

| K
 28. ? ? ?

| K
 29. + + + + + + + + + + //? pr[aca]g[a] taśa · ua[vati]a · taśapracea
 uadaṇa · teṇa teṇeva sabho

30. + + + + + //|^K [p].cea bhavo · dukham edi · puṇapuṇo · bhavapracea
jadijaramaraṇo ·
31. + + //|^K + + ...

Reconstruction:

? ? ? [29] + + + + + + + + + ? pracaga taṣa · uavatia · taṣapracea uadaṇa ·
teṇa teṇeva sabho[30](*di · uadaṇa)p(*r)acea bhavo · dukham edi · puṇa-
puṇo · bhavapracea jadijaramaraṇo · [31] + + + +

Translation:

In brief: (*The man who is accompanied by craving:) the course (*of defilement). By assuming (is meant) the course of action. By the rest (is meant) the course of pain. + + + [29] + + + + + + + + + + there is craving. In a reappearance: from the condition craving there is assuming. [30] Is born for this and that reason: from the condition (*assuming) there is existence. He comes to pain again and again: from the condition existence there is birth, aging and death. [31] + + + +

Text notes:

Line 28. ? ? ?: The last three akṣaras of this line could be *[asa va]*, introducing a new run of the commentary.

Line 29. + + + + + + + + ? *pr[aca]g[a]*: A possible reconstruction would be (*taṣadudio puruṣo veda)[na]pr[aca]g[a], which fits the pattern of the rest of this passage whereby the second item (the subject) of each link of the chain refers to the preceding quotation. One should also consider the alternative reconstruction (*taṣadudio puruṣo avi)[ja]pr[aca]g[a] which would telescope the composite twelve-part formula of Dependent Arising into this categorial reduction.

ua[vati]a: This reading is tentative but likely. Either the upper part of the *i* mātrā is missing, or the akṣara *[ti]* is made in one cursive stroke.

Line 31. + + + + : It is possible that this should be reconstructed as (*vuto ·), cf.

jara[maraṇa vuto] in line 9-GCv9.

[*a*]sa va: This expression is expected at beginning of the following new run of the commentary, but the reading remains tentative since the shape of [*a*] and the apparent punctuation dot after *va* are unusual.

tatratatraüia(*va)tie: For this reconstruction cf. *tatratatraüia[vatie]* 13.24 and *ua[vati]a* 13.29.

Transcription:

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------------|-------|------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 31. | ... | ... | [a]sa | va · | taṣadudiyo · | samudagavudhi · | tatratatraüie · | |
| | | | | | | | | K |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 32. | + + // | [t]eñ[a t]e | ñe | va | sabh. | [d]i · | ñirosa[ñña] | ñ[aviva]ti · |
| | | | | | | | | L |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 33. | vivati | [§§] | ... | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

Reconstruction:

asa va · taṣadudiyo · samudagavudhi · **tatratatraüia(*va)tie** · magañānavi-va[32](*)ti · teñā teñeva sabh(*o)di · ñirosañānavivati · dukham edi · puñapuñō · dukhañāna[33]vivati §§

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Accompanied by craving:** increase of the origin. **In a reappearance here and there:** [32] failure of knowing of the path. **Is born for this and that reason:** failure of knowing of the cessation. **He comes to pain again and again:** [33] failure of knowledge of pain.

Text notes:

Line 31. *samudagavudhi*: For the Four Truths see § 1.2.2.

29 (Lines 13.33–42)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be

reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| śilodaśaṇasapaṇo | Endowed with virtue and seeing, |
| ajatvaüaśamo rado | delighting in internal calm, |
| ramadi magam asiṇo | he takes delight depending on the path, |
| prañava susamahido | understanding and well-concentrated. |

The section contains three runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation and equates pādas b and c with quiet (*śamasa-*), insight (*vivaśaṇa-*) and their development, i.e., development of the path. The second run performs categorial reduction to the Four Planes by way of the equation of pāda a with complete purity of virtue (*śilasuviśudhada-*) and straight action concerning view (*driṭhiujuama-*). The third run performs categorial reduction to the Three Categories and fading of lust (*ragaviraga-*).

| | 1: 13-33–38 | 2: 13-38–40 (<i>sakṣeva</i>) | | 3: 13-40–42
(<i>asa va</i>) |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| śilo- | śilodaśaṇasapaṇo | śilasuviśudhada- | <i>daśaṇabhumi-</i> | śilakadha- |
| rado | | <i>driṭhiujuama-</i> | | <i>samasikadha-</i> |
| ajatvaüaśamo | śamasa- | | <i>bhavaṇabhumi-</i> | |
| rado | vivaśaṇa- | | <i>anatariabhumī-</i> | |
| ramadi magam asiṇo | śamasavivaśaṇa-
bhavamanarado | | <i>kridavida-</i> | <i>prañakadha-</i> |
| prañava | | | | <i>ragaviraga-</i> |
| susamahido | | | | |

A parallel of pāda a is explained at Dhp-a III 288.1–3.

Transcription:

33. ... śi[lodaśa]ṇasa[pa]ṇo sutro tatra ḥideśo śileṇa kriasa[va]ro daśido ·
daśaṇeṇa · ḥaṇa [u]pa

34. + + + + //? vucadi · a[na]chejada va · aparamoṣado va · ḥa va

śilavadam e +

35. + + + + + //? ? ? ? sa kha ra[d]u kha daüaśamo tasa yeva
sakharadukhada[e]
36. + + // [śam]. rado · ...
 | N

Reconstruction:

śilodaśaṇasapano sutro tatra ḥideśo **śileṇa** kriasavaro daśido · **daśaṇena** ·
ñāṇa upa [34] + + + + ? vucadi · aṇachejada va · aparamoṣado va · ḥa va
śilavadam e + [35] + + + + + ? ? ? sakharadukhadaüaśamo tasa yeva
sakharadukhadae [36] (*ua)śam(*e) rado ·

Translation:

Endowed with virtue and seeing is the text. The explanation on it: By **virtue** is shown restraint in action. By **seeing** + + + [34] + + + + + is talked about, or the state of being unseverable, or the state of non-clinging, or not + + + + + [35] + + + + + + + + calm from the painfulness of determination. [36] He is **delighting in calm** of just this painfulness of determination.

Text notes:

Line 33. *kriasa[va]ro*: With this word cf. 9.39–40 *s(*ode)h(*i) savaro*.

ñāṇa [u]pa + +: This could correspond to either one of the nouns P *ñāṇuppāda-* and *ñāṇuppatti-*, or it could be a verbal expression such as *ñāṇa [u]pa(*jadi)*.

Line 34. + ? *vucadi*: It would be possible to reconstruct this as (*ya)[sa] *vucadi*, but it is not clear whether the following is in fact a quotation.

a[na]chejada: This word is used to refer to special powers of a bodhisattva, cf. *yā sarvaparapravādimārasaṅghair mārgānāccchedyatā, iyam asya balapāramitā* Daśab. 57.12.

aparamoṣado: This is a negated abstract formation based on *paramoṣa-*, itself a Middle Indo-Aryan derivation from the Gāndhārī present stem **paramuṣadi* (cf.

paramoṣo and *pa[ramuṣa]di* in SaṅgCm-G). Together with *śilavada-* (following separately later in this line), it forms the frequent compound *śilavradaparamoṣa-* (SaṅgCm-G) ‘clinging to virtue and observance.’

śilavadam e +: It is not quite clear how this should be reconstructed, but one possibility is *śilavadam e(*va)* ‘just virtue and observance.’ This line seems to end a little earlier than the following lines, probably because it is the first line of this sheet.

Transcription:

- | N
36. asa va uaśamo · śamuso · rado vivaśaṇa · ramadi magam asiṇo
- | N
37. [śa]masavivaśaṇa·bhavamaṇarado · prañava · parasiṇaññaṇeṇa ·
parapadīvadha
- | N
38. + /// [na]gado · sosamahido · suuaṭhidacito · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va **uaśamo** · śamuso · **rado vivaśaṇa** · **ramadi magam asiṇo** [37] śamasa-vivaśaṇa·bhavamaṇarado · **prañava** · parasiṇaññaṇeṇa · parapadīvadha- [38](*ña)ṇagado · **sosamahido** · suuaṭhidacito ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **Calm**: quiet. **Delighting**: insight. **He takes delight depending on the path**: [37] delighting in quiet and insight being developed. **Understanding**: by knowing depending on others [38] arrived at knowing tied to others. **Well-concentrated**: one whose heart is well-founded.

Text notes:

Line 36. *śamuso*: The spelling of this word with what looks like *mu* may be a graphical mishap due to the fact that it comes right before a crease in the birch bark. Alternatively, it could be a sporadic case of labialization of [a] after [m].

Line 37. *[śa]masavivaśaṇa·bhavamaṇarado*: This interesting syntactic compound

is a nominalization of a clause *śamaso vivaśāṇa ya bhaviati (BHS *śamatho vipaśyanā ca bhāvyante). For this expression cf. Nett 42 *ime dve dhammā bhāvanāpāripūriṃ gacchanti samatho ca vipassanā ca, imesu dvīsu dhammesu bhāviyamānesu dve dhammā pahīyanti tañhā ca avijjā ca.*

parasiṇañanēṇa: With this compound involving *asiṇa-* cf. the phrase *magam asiṇo* in the preceding line.

Lines 37–38. *parapadivadha(*ñā)[na]gado*: For the first part of this compound, cf. *parapa[di]vadha* 9.114. The combination with \sqrt{gam} has a parallel in *na parapaṭi-baddhagū ti na aññesam paṭibaddhañānagamano* Nidd-a II 136.

Line 38. *suuaṭṭhidacito*: For this compound cf. *te catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supaṭṭhitacittā viharanti* MN I 339.33–34 and *catūsu satipaṭṭhānesu supaṭṭhitacitto* (v.l. *supaṭṭhitacitto*) hoti AN III 155.12–13, and further *sadu[at]daspadi* 9.24.

Transcription:

38. sakṣeva śileṇa · śilasuviśudhada · da[śa]
 39. [ŋ].[ṇa] · drīhiujuamo · esa daśaṇabumi · ajatvaüaśamo [rada] · bha-
 vaṇabumi · rama di [ma]
 40. + + + + + + + // [ria]bh[u]mi · prañava susamahido · kridavida · ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva śileṇa · śilasuviśudhada · daśa[39]ṇ(*e)ṇa · drīhiujuamo · esa
 daśaṇabumi · ajatvaüaśamo rada · bhavaṇabumi · ramadi ma[40](*)gam
 asiṇo · añata)riabhumi · prañava susamahido · kridavida ·

Translation:

In brief: By **virtue** (is meant) complete purity of virtue. [39] By **seeing** (is meant) straight action concerning view. That is the plane of seeing.
Delighting in internal calm: the plane of development. **He takes delight**

[40] (*depending) on the path: the plane of immediacy. **Understanding and well-concentrated:** the state of one who has accomplished.

Text notes:

Line 38. *śilasuviśudhada*: With this word cf. *sīlavisuddhi ca dīṭhivisuddhi ca* DN III 214.1 and, for its formation, P *suvisuddhatā-*.

Line 39. *dīṭhiujuamo*: Note the different operation of internal sandhi as compared to P *dīṭhijukamma-*. This term is explained as a tatpuruṣa compound with instrumental structure in *dīṭhiyā ujukaranām dīṭhijukammam* Abhidh-s-mht 135.16, 136.12–13.

ajatvāśāmo [rada]: The importance of internal calm is further expanded upon in the Tuvaṭakasutta: *ajjhattam eva upasame nāññato bhikkhu santim eseyya ajjhattam upasantassa natthi attā kuto nirattam vā* Sn 919.

Lines 39–40. *[ma](*gam)*: The syllable *(*gam)* could in principle also be reconstructed on line 13.39.

Line 40. *(*anata)[ria]bh[u]mi*: For the Four Planes see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

40. asa va śileṇa · śilakadho ·
 |o

41. + + + + + + + + // + + samasikadho · prañava · prañakadho ·
susamahido · ragavi[rag].
 |o

42. + + + + + + + + +

Reconstruction:

asa va śileṇa · śilakadho · [41] + + + + + + + + + + samasikadho ·
prañava · prañakadho · susamahido · ragavirag(*o) [42] + + + + + + +
+ (*॥)

Translation:

Or otherwise: **by virtue** (is meant) the virtue category. [41] + + + + + + +

+ + the concentration category. **Understanding:** the understanding category.

Well-concentrated: the fading of lust [42] + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Line 41: The lost portion at the beginning of this line must have contained a quotation from the root verse that is equated with the concentration Category. Since for semantic reasons it is likely that the preceding equation with the virtue Category is meant to involve the first half of pāda a of the root verse only, and since the following equation with the understanding Category involves the beginning of pāda d, the missing Category should have encompassed the second half of pāda a and all of pādas b–c. The available space allows for a quotation involving the abbreviation device *yavi* (for which cf. *na vedago drīthie [yavi] sa manam edi · avijohasa* 9.203, quoting pāda a and the first half of pāda b of verse 19), and two out of several possible reconstructions would be (**daśaṇasapāṇo yavi asiṇo*) or, if the quotation did not in fact involve the second half of pāda a, (**ajatvaiūśamo yavi asiṇo*). Alternatively, the beginning of this line could have been originally empty (cf. the notes on the next two lines), and the quotation would then have been brief and maybe consisted of the single word (**daśaṇena*) only.

Lines 41–42. *ragavi[rag]/(*o)* + + + + + + + +: This reconstruction is tentative, and in particular it remains uncertain how to interpret the space at the beginning of line 13.42. If it was not originally empty, then one tempting but speculative possibility would be the reconstruction an equivalent of the Peṭakopadesa's expression for the liberation of the *dīṭhicarita-* type of person in the *nandiyāvatta-* procedure (§ 1.4): *ragavi[raga]* (**cedovimuti payosāṇo*). This would then contrast with *prañakadha-*, properly belonging to the Peṭakopadesa's *tipukkhala-* procedure, but here used as equivalent to the *nandiyāvatta-* procedure's complementary type of liberation: *Pavijjāvirāgā paññāvimutti paryosānam*.

30 (Lines 13.42–51)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be

reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| krodho artho ṇa jaṇadi | The angry one does not know profit, |
| krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi | the angry one does not see the dharma. |
| adho ta(*da) tamo bhodi | There is blind darkness (*then) |
| yo kro(*so) sa(*ha)di (*ṇaro) | when anger overcomes a man. |

This verse contains five runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation and equates the two halves of pāda c with destruction of application (*prayoavīnaśa-*) and destruction of inclination (*aśagavīnaśa-*). The second run performs categorial reduction to failure of the Three Categories, and suggests an alternative reduction to the Three Sources.

| | 1: 13.42–45 | 2: 13.45–47
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| krodho artho ṇa jaṇadi | | <i>prañakadha-</i>
<i>vivati-</i> | |
| krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi | | <i>samasikadha-</i>
<i>vivati-</i> | |
| adho ta(*da) | <i>prayoavīnaśa-</i> | <i>śilakadha-</i>
<i>vivati-</i> | <i>trae ḥidāya,</i>
<i>trikadhabivati-</i> |
| tamo bhodi | <i>aśagavīnaśa-</i> | | |
| yo kro(*so) sa(*ha)di (*ṇaro) | | | |

The third run provides general explanation of pādas a and b involving the good courses of action (*kamapasa-*) and the good dharmas. The fourth run explains the same pādas in terms of extinction (*ṇivāṇa-*) and the path of the noble (*ariamaga-*). The fifth run equates these pādas with failure of skillfulness in profit (*arthakośala-*) and of skillfulness in dharma (*dhamakośala-*).

| | 3: 13-47–49
(asa va) | 4: 13-47–50
(asa va) | 5: 13-50–51
(avaro) |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| krodho artho ṇa jaṇadi | <i>kuśalaṇa
kamapasāṇa vivati</i> | <i>artho nīvaṇo</i> | <i>arthakośalavivati-</i> |
| krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi | <i>kuśala dhama ṇa
paśadi</i> | <i>ariamago ṇa vatedi</i> | <i>dhamakośalavivati-</i> |
| adho ta(*da) tamo bhodi | | | |
| yo kro(*so) sa(*ha)di (*naro) | | | |

The Aṅguttaranikāya parallel of this verse is explained at Mp 48, the partial Itivuttaka parallel at It-a II 97–98. A partial parallel of this verse is used for illustration at Nett 12.2–10. It is also quoted at Nidd I 15.27–28 in the stereotyped explanation of *parissaya*-.

Transcription:

42. ... + + //| O [a].[th]. | O+P | O | O+P | O | O+P | O
 ... + + // [a].[th]. [na jana] di · sutro tatra ni dešo
 praduṭheṇa citeṇa · anī[ca]ṭha dukhaṭhe

43. + + + + + + + //| P ? · atva⟨a⟩rtha pi · paraartha pi · na jaṇadi · krodho
 mo na paśad[i spa] ? ? ? ?

44. + + + + + + //| P ? [a] nivadhaṇ[e]na ba[dha]di · adho prayoaviniṣṭa ·
 tamo aśagaviṇaśo · yo kro

45. + [sa] + [di ·] | P yo krosena sahariadi ...

Reconstruction:

(*krodho) a(*r)th(*o) ṇa jaṇadi · sutro tatra ḥideśo praduṭheṇa citeṇa ·
 anicaṭha dukhaṭhe [43] + + + + + + + ? · atvaarthā pi · paraarthā pi · ṇa
 jaṇadi · krodho <*dha>mo ṇa paśadi spa ? ? ? ? [44] + + + + + ? a
 nivadhanēṇa badhadi · adho prayoavināśa · tamo aśagaviṇāśo · yo kro[45]
 (*so) sa(*ha)di · yo krosena sahariadi

Translation:

(*The angry one) does not know profit is the text. The explanation on it: With a hateful mind + + + + + [43] + + + + + + + also profit for oneself, also profit for others he does not know. **The angry one does not see the dharma:** + + + + [44] + + + + + + + + + + he ties. **Blind:** destruction of application. **Darkness:** destruction of inclination. **Whom [45] anger overcomes:** who is overcome by anger.

Text notes:

Line 42. *praduṭhena*: This word provides an echo of the partial parallel of this verse with P *dūṭho* instead of *kuddho* (see chapter 8), and inside our commentary it is a verbal and thematic continuation from section 26 whose root verse begins with the pāda (**yo apraduṭhasa nara*) *dusadi*.

Line 43. + + + + + + ?: The beginning of this line can almost certainly be reconstructed as (**anatvāthe*). It is possible that in this line as well as in the two preceding lines the rightmost space was intentionally left empty to avoid a rough spot in the writing surface.

atva⟨⟨*a*⟩⟩*rtha pi · paraartha pi*: For the relationship of profit for oneself and profit for others, cf. the partially parallel verses *apañatha parathena na kudayino havaī atvatha paramu ñatva svakathaparamu sia* Dhp-G^K 265 and *attadattham paratthena bahunā pi na hāpaye attadattham abhiññāya sadatthapasuto siyā* Dhp-P 166. Note incidentally how the metrically required number of syllables in pāda a, made up awkwardly by using the stem *apañā-* in Dhp-G^K and by inserting the sandhi consonant *-d-* in Dhp-P, would be provided naturally by the form *atvaartha-* to which our scribe corrected his original spelling *atvartha-*. (Another interlinear insertion of *a* occurs a few lines down in ⟨⟨*a*⟩⟩ñāna 13·86.)

Line 44. ? [a] *ñivadhan[e]ñā*: It is possible that this should be reconstructed further to [ua]*ñivadhan[e]ñā*, cf. P *upanibandhana* ‘tie, fetter.’

aśagaviñāśo: On the derivation of the word *aśaga-*, see the note at 9·223. – The terms *āsaya-* and *payoga-* form a pair in Pali commentarial literature, at the chronological layer of the *atthakathās* on some Khuddakanikāya texts and the *tīkās* on

the four main Nikāyas and the Vinaya; cf., e.g., *suvisuddhāsayapayogo ca hutvā catūhi balehi samannāgato* Cp-a 288.20–21.

Line 45. *sahariadi*: The term *saṃhariyati* is used frequently in the Pali Niddesa (e.g., Nidd I 4.10–11) as part of the synonym string *yāyati niyyati vuyhati saṃhariyati*.

Transcription:

- |P
45. sa[kṣe]va kroḍho artho ṇa jaṇadi · prañakadhavivati [·] kro
- |P
46. + + + + // [paśadi] + samasikadha[vi]vati · adho [ta] + [ta]mo bhodi
śilakadhavivati · trae
- |P
47. + + + + + // [a]dho tamo trae ḥidaṇa · va [ṇa] ṇa draśi ·
trika[dha]vivati ca · ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva **kroḍho artho ṇa jaṇadi** · prañakadhavivati · **kro**[46](***dho dhamo ṇa**) **paśadi** (*.) samasikadhavivati · **adho ta** + **tamo bhodi** śilakadhavivati · trae [47] + + + + **adho tamo** trae ḥidaṇa · va ṇa ṇa draśi · trikadhavivati ca ·

Translation:

In brief: **The angry one does not know profit**: failure of the understanding category. [46] **The angry one (*does not) see (*the dharma)**: failure of the concentration category. **There is blind darkness (*then)**: failure of the virtue category. + + [47] + + + + **blind darkness**: the three sources. + + + + and failure of the three categories.

Text notes:

Line 46. *[ta]* +: The expected reading is *[ta](*da)*.

Lines 46–47. *trae + + + +*: Two possible reconstructions are *trae (*kadha · asa va)*, introducing an alternative interpretation of pāda c, or *trae (*kadha drasida)*, supplemented by the following.

trae nidaṇa · va [na] na draśi: The second akṣara has been corrected from an uncertain original spelling. – One possible emendation of this sequence is as *trae nidaṇa · vaṇa na draśi*(*da) ‘the Three Sources, on the other hand, are not shown.’

Transcription:

47. asa va · krodho artho [ṇa ja]
48. + + + + + //|P [laṇa] · [ka]ma[pa]saṇa · vivati · krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi · kuśala dhama ṇa paśadi [·]
49. + + + + + //|P ? va · yasa [e]kotaria |P+Q e · |P+Q ṣoda śa |P+Q gie |P hi gado
a |P+Q sa |P+Q va |P+Q k.odh. a |P+Q [r]tho |P ṇ[a ja]
50. + + + + + //|Q + [rtho] ṇ[i]vaṇo · dhamo ṇa paśadi · ariamago · ṇa vatedi · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va · **krodho artho ṇa ja**[48](*)**nadi** · kuśalaṇa · kamapasāṇa · vivati · **krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi** · kuśala dhama ṇa paśadi · [49] + + + + + + ? va · yasa ekotariae · ṣodaśagiehi gado asa va **k(*r)odh(*o) artho ṇa ja**[50](*)**nadi** + + + (*a)rtho ṇivaṇo · **dhamo ṇa paśadi** · ariamago · ṇa vatedi ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: **The angry one does not** [48] **know profit**: failure of the good courses of action. **The angry one does not see the dharma**: he does not see the good dharmas. [49] + + + + + + as in the Ekotaria; it is among (the items) that have sixteen parts. Or otherwise: **The angry one does not** [50] **know profit**: + + + profit is extinction. **He does not see the dharma**: he does not pursue the path of the noble.

Text notes:

Line 49. + + + + + + ? va: This sequence consists of eight akṣaras, and it is

therefore tempting to see in it a quotation of one pāda, presumably pāda c, of the root verse. The last akṣara is quite certainly a *va*, however, ruling out this possibility and keeping to the general commentarial pattern wherein a citation introduced by *yasa* cannot be the only comment on part of a verse.

yasa [e]kotariae · ṣodaśagiehi gado: This reference to the Ekottarikā confirms both the existence of a Gāndhārī version of this sūtra collection and the specific Gāndhārī form of its title postulated in Allon 2001: 11–12, 24–25. (One of several title parallels noted by Allon occurs in *ayam tāvat khustikayā ekottarikayā dharmam deśayati* Divy 329.2–3.) The reference here is evidently to a section within the Ekottarikā that covers items with sixteen parts, but the precise connection made with the root verse remains unclear because the preceding portion of our commentary is missing, and the identity of the Ekottarikā item is correspondingly obscure.

Line 50. *ariamago · ṇa vatedi*: With this usage cf. *sasaro ṇivateti* in line 13.23.

Transcription:

50. avaro artho ṇa jaṇadi [·]
 51. + + //|Q [ko]śala[vi]vati · dhamo ṇa paśadi · dhamakośalavivati §§ ...

Reconstruction:

avaro **artho ṇa jaṇadi** · [51] (**artha*)kośalavivati · **dhamo ṇa paśadi** · dhamakośalavivati §§

Translation:

Another one: **He does not know profit**: [51] failure of skillfulness (*in profit). **He does not see the dharma**: failure of skillfulness in the dharma.

Text notes:

Line 51. (**artha*)[*ko*]śala[*vi*]vati: Analyses in terms of *vivati* (and its opposite *vudhi*) are also used in section 27 (for the Three Categories, the Four Truths, the Two Paths, and the Two Extinction Elements), and in the preceding run of the current

section (for the good courses of action).

31 (Lines 1351–62)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| ṇa udageṇa suyi bho(*di) | One does not become pure by water; |
| bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo | many people take baths here. |
| yasa saca ca dhama ca | Who has both the truth and the dharma, |
| so suyi so ca bramaṇo | that one is pure and that one is a brahman. |

The section contains one full and two partial runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation concerning physical purity and purity from defilements (*sakileśa-*). The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas c and d to insight (*vivaśana-*) and quiet (*śamasa-*), abandoning of the two roots (i.e., craving and ignorance) and contact with the two liberations (i.e., heart liberation and understanding liberation).

| | 2: 13·60–61
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | 3: 13·61–62
(<i>asa va</i>) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ṇa udageṇa suyi bho(*di) | | |
| bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo | | |
| yasa saca ca | <i>vivaśana-</i> | |
| dhama ca | <i>śamasa-</i> | |
| so suyi | <i>duiṇa mulaṇa
prahinatva</i> | <i>taṣae prahinatva</i> |
| so ca bramaṇo | <i>duiṇa vimutiṇa
phaśidatva</i> | <i>avijae
prahinatva</i> |

The Pali Udāna parallel of this verse is explained at Ud-a 76, and the Sanskrit Udāna parallel at Ud-v 966. The verse is used for illustration at Nett 151.1–3.

Transcription:

51. ... |Q ... ḡa udageṇa suyi bho
52. + + + |Q [ta]tra ḡideśo ye i[d]o bah[i]dha ṣaṇavadi [r]paṣada ·
śatravateṇa śodhi pracea[ti] /// +
53. + + + + |Q gavado bhaṣido · bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo · eko aha · yadi
udageṇa su
54. + + + + + |Q ? ḡa kasa yi sakileśo siiadi · ora[bh]ia[k]okuḍiaṇa · soari
55. + + + + |R /// + ? ? .o · u[da]g[e]ṇa · |Q+R suyi[a si]e[a]ti · ḡa
|Q+R |Q |Q+R |R
[ka]s[ayi] va [d]. ḡ. [s]. [a]. [a]. ?
56. + + + |R /// [adi] · [s]. ? sakiliṣeadi · ki karaṇo yo teṇa purimageṇa ·
sakile
57. |R [ś].ṅa a g. cho rito si[e]adi teṇa pu[r]imaga sakiliṣiadi · yasa
lohidamale
58. + |R /// ? a d[i] yasa · so paḍidago · işi [·] macageṇa · ḡa te ta ra t. · maho
sak[ili] ?
59. + + + |R /// [sa]ca ca dhama ca · yasa avivaralasa · saco · so ḡimalo [·] so
ca bramaṇo · so ca
60. + + + + ...

Reconstruction:

ṅa udageṇa suyi bho[52](*di sutro) tatra ḡideśo ye ido bahidha ṣaṇavadi
rpaṣada · śatravateṇa śodhi pracea + [53] + + + (*bha)gavado bhaṣido ·
bahotra ṣayadi jaṇo · eko aha · yadi udageṇa su[54](*yi) + + + + ? ḡa kasa
yi sakileśo siiadi · orabhiakokudiaṇa · soari [55] + + + + ? ? .o · udageṇa ·
suyia sieati · ḡa kasa yi va d. ḡ. s. a. a. ? [56] + + + adi · s. ? sakiliṣeadi · ki

karaṇo yo teṇa purimageṇa · sakile[57]ś(*e)ṇa a g. cho rito sieadi teṇa purimaga sakiliśiadi · yasa lohidamale [58] + ? a di yasa · so padidago · iṣi · macageṇa · ṇa te ta ra t. · maho sakili ? [59] + (*yasa) **saca ca dhama ca** · yasa avivaralasa · saco · so ḥimalo · **so ca bramāṇo** · so ca [60] + + + +

Translation:

One does not [52] become pure by water is the text. The explanation on it: The ninety-six sects that are outside from here go towards purity by the observance of bathing + [53] + + + + the utterance of the blessed one. **Many people take baths here**: one says that if by water + [54] + + + + + + there would be no defilement of anybody. Of sheep and chicken butchers + + + [55] + + + + + + + by water they would be clean, there + + + + + + of anybody [56] + + + + + + would be defiled. What is the reason? By the person who by this earlier [57] defilement would be + + + + + the earlier one would be defiled + + + + + + [58] + + + + + + that one is wise, a seer. By a mortal(?) + + + + + + + + + [59] + (*Who has) **both the truth and the dharma**: who + + + + + + the truth that one is unsullied, **and that one is a brahman**, and that one [60] + + + +

Text notes:

Line 52. *i[d]o bah[i]dha*: This designation of non-Buddhist ascetics is also used in the Peṭakopadesa: *ito bahidhā te pabbajitā* Peṭ 242.19–20, and the connection with excessive attention to ritual is also made in *ito bahiddhā samanabrāhmaṇānam sīlēna suddhi vatena suddhī ti evamādisu āgatām gosīlakukkurasīlādikām sīlam govatakkuravatādikāñ ca vatañ sīlabbatan ti vuccati* Pj I 188.26–189.3.

saṇavadi [r]paṣada: This phrase refers to the standard notion of ninety-six non-Buddhist sects (cf. *chanavutipāsaṇḍino* Spk II 401.10). The spelling of the second word is peculiar: on the basis of Skt. *pāṣanda-* and P *pāṣanda-*, one should expect a Gāndhārī form **paṣada*. Aśokan G *praṣada-* (e.g., Shah. XII 5, Man. XII, 3) confirms the presence of an *r* in this word and suggests that the spelling *rp* of our manuscript should be taken as a graphic equivalent (or possibly as a phonetic variant) of *pr* (cf.

the spelling *rś* for *śr* in the texts of BL scribe 1; Allon 2001: 92–93, Salomon 2008: 130–131).⁵⁹ These Gāndhārī spellings with *r* further support the connection of Skt. *pāṣaṇḍa-* with *pāṛṣada-* ← *parṣad-* < *pariṣad-* (cf. KEWA s.v. *pāṣaṇḍah*, EWA s.v. *parṣad-*): G *praṣa°* = *rpaṣa°* ([praṣ:a] or possibly [pra:ṣa]) would be the regular outcome, by ‘Dardic metathesis,’ of OIA *pāṛṣa°*. Skt. *pāṣaṇḍa-*, first attested in the Mānavadharmaśāstra, needs to be regarded as a borrowing from an unknown non-G Middle Indo-Aryan dialect form [pa:ṣaṇḍa] < [paṣ:aṇḍa], or possibly from a form with palatal or dental *s* such as P *pāṣaṇḍa-*. The termination *-ṇda-* remains unexplained.

śatrvatena: The Pali equivalent of this word is *nahānavatta-*, with double *t* due to conflation of OIA *vrata-* and *vṛtta-* (PTSD s.v. *vatta*¹). The Gāndhārī spelling *te* (*t-* with regular vowel mark *e*) rather than *de* (the special ligature of *d-* and *e*) reflects the same development and contrasts with *vada-* in *śilavada-*.

pracea[ti]: This form is interpreted as an indicative on the strength of *idha bhante saṅgāravo nāma brāhmaṇo sāvatthiyam paṭivasati, udakasuddhiko udakena suddhim paceti* SN I 183 (and in contrast with the optative *praceadi* 13·6, 7). It owes its origin to a Middle Indo-Aryan remodelling of *eti* and its compounds on the basis of *neti*, which gave rise to the wrong historical form *ayati* (Geiger & Norman 1994: § 140.3). The Middle Indo-Aryan third-person plural form *ayanti* has undergone Gāndhārī palatalization of [a] before [j] (§ 4.2.1.7).

Line 53. + + + + (**bha*)*gavado bhaṣido*: It is not clear how this phrase should be reconstructed further, but in any case it appears to refer to the immediately following quotation from the root verse.

bahotra: This external sandhi is based on the Gāndhārī forms *baho* and *atra* (in contrast to the Sanskritized sandhi of the Pali parallel: *bahv ettha*).

Lines 53–54. *yadi udagena su(*yi) + + + + ? na kasa yi sakileśo siiadi*: A likely further reconstruction is *yadi udagena su(*yio sieadi) [·] na kasa yi sakileśo siiadi* ‘if

⁵⁹Alternatively, apparent /*r/paṣaṇḍa* could be miscopied from original **pamṣada*, with an anusvāra as long-consonant marker, but this seems unlikely in view of the Aśokan evidence.

by water (*they would be) clean, there would be no defilement of anybody,' cf. *u[da]g[e]ṇa · suyi[a si]e[a]ti · ḷa [ka]s[a yi] va [d]. ḷ. [s]. [a]. [a]. ? + + + [adi]* 1355–56. The clear spelling *siidi* is most likely for *sieadi*, with confusion of *e* and *i* based on the similar pronunciation of the long vowels [e:] and [i:] (§ 4.2.1.1).

Lines 54–55: *ora[bh]ia[k]okudiaṇa · soari + + +*: This phrase can be further reconstructed as *ora[bh]ia[k]okudiaṇa · soari(*aṇa ca ·)*. See BHSD s.v. *kaukuṭika* for the association of these three words and for a possible but contextually less likely alternative interpretation as 'dealers in the meat of sheep, poultry and pigs.' An extension of the list (and interpretation in terms of hunting) occurs in the Dharmaskandha: *aurabhrikāḥ kaukuṭikasaukarikamātsikamṛgalubdhakāś* (SWTF s.v. *aurabhrika*), but the available space in our manuscript does not allow for more than the first three terms. The spelling *ora[bh]ia-* rather than expected **orabhria-* indicates borrowing of this term from another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

Line 55: *suyi[a si]e[a]ti*: For the thematic formation *suyia-* (not attested in Pali) cf. *suyiasa* SaṅgCm-G and BHSD s.v. *śucika*.

Lines 55–56. *ṇa [ka]s[a yi] va [d]. ḷ. [s]. [a]. [a]. ? + + + [adi]*: It is very likely that the clause beginning with *ṇa [ka]s[a yi]* ends with the verb form *sieadi*, cf. *ṇa kasa yi sakileśo siidi* 13·54. The location of the verb remains, however, uncertain, and two possible further reconstructions are *ṇa [ka]s[a yi] va [d]. ḷ. [s](*)i[eadi] + + + [adi]* and *ṇa [ka]s[a yi] va [d]. ḷ. [s]. [a]. [a]. ? + (*sie)[adi]*. The first of these is less likely since no *i* mātrā is visible on the otherwise well-preserved first akṣara of what would be *sieadi*.

Lines 56–57. *yo teṇa purimageṇa · sakile[ś](*e)ṇa a g. cho rito si[e]adi teṇa pu[r]imaga sakiliśiadi*: This passage appears to be based on the notion of the concurrency (*samosaṇa-*) of defilements that is discussed explicitly in section 14 (cf. line 9·107).

Lines 57–58. *lohidamale +*: A likely reconstruction is *lohida-male(*ṇa)*.

Line 58. *macageṇa*: With this formation cf. Amg *macciya-* (Berger 1955: 32). Pali only has the unextended stem *macca-*.

Line 58–59. *sak[ili] ? +:* The apparent spelling with *li* suggests that this is the third-person singular passive verb form *sakiliśiadi*, but the available space makes a reconstruction *sak[ili](*śo)* (with *i* for expected *e*, cf. the note on lines 1353–54) more likely. The form *maho* could then conceivably be a thematicization of OIA *mahant-* (but cf. the different expected thematicization *mahata-* in line 998).

Line 59. *avivaralasa*: This unclear word may be a compound containing P *vivara-* ‘fault, defect.’

Transcription:

60. ... [sa]kṣeva · yasa saco vivaśaṇa · dhamo ca śamaso · suyi duīṇa
mulaṇa prahi
61. + //| [tva · brama]ṇo · duīṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida ++ [a]s[a va] so s[uyi
taṣae prah].[na] .v[a]
62. | [brama]ṇo · avijae prahiṇatva §§ ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva · **yasa** saco vivaśaṇa · **dhamo** ca śamaso · suyi duīṇa mulaṇa prahi[61](*na)tva · **bramaṇo** duīṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida(*tva ·) asa va **so** suyi taṣae prah(*i)na(*t)va [62] **bramaṇo** · avijae prahiṇatva §§

Translation:

In brief: **Who has the truth:** insight. **And the dharma:** quiet. **Pure:** [61] because of the two roots being abandoned. **A brahman:** because of being in contact with the two liberations. Or otherwise: **That one is pure:** because of craving being abandoned. [62] **A brahman:** because of ignorance being abandoned.

Text notes:

Line 61. *[brama]ṇo*: This word is illegible in the color photographs and on the

original manuscript, but clearer in the infrared images.

*duiṇa vimutiṇa · phaṣida(*tva):* For this reconstruction cf. *d<*u>[e]hi vi[mu]tihī · s[u]phaṣidatva* 9.216.

32 (Lines 13.62–70)

This section explains a verse from the Samyakparivrajanyasūtra that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| yo vadadi ma (*ti) ḥa uṇamea | Who does not rise (when he thinks) “someone |
| akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu | honors me,” |
| ladha parabhoyaṇa ḥa majea | and who when reviled is not frightened, the monk, |
| same so loge parivayea | (who) receiving food from others does not exult,
that one wanders about right in the world. |

The section contains four runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation, but much of it is lost or illegible and the details remain unclear. The second run performs categorial reduction to the two extinction elements by way of the Three Sources. The third run performs categorial reduction to the Three Courses (using *ṇidānakṣayena* for back-reference to the second run), and the third run to three of the Four Truths (using *ṇidānaphrahanenā* for back-reference).

| 2: 9.66–68 | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| yo vadadi ma (*ti) ḥa uṇamea | <i>mohaprahaṇa-</i> | |
| akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu | <i>doṣaprahaṇa-</i> | <i>saiūadiśeṣa-</i> |
| ladha parabhoyaṇa ḥa majea | <i>ragaprahaṇa-</i> | |
| same so loge | | <i>anuadiśeṣa-</i> |
| parivayea | | |

| | 3: 9.68–69 (<i>asa va</i>) | 4: 9.69–70 (<i>avaro</i>) |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| yo vadadi ma (*ti) ḥa uṇamea | | |
| akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu | <i>kileśakṣaya-, kamakṣaya-</i> | <i>samudeaprahaṇa-</i> |
| ladha parabhoyaṇa ḥa majea | | |
| same so loge | | <i>dukhapariñā-</i> |
| parivayea | <i>dukhakṣaya-</i> | <i>ṇirosa<*sa>kṣia-</i> |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Pj II 364.

Transcription:

62. ... yo vadadi ma ḥa uṇamea sutro tatra ḥideśo · yo ahivada[d].
63. + //? [va · u]ṇamo [va ·] madimaṇo va · jayadi · akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu · avasamo akrośama
64. + p[a]di[a]pracago so va ḥa jayadi · l[a]dha parabhoyaṇa · ḥa ma[j]e[a] · ? ? [d]. ? [g]. ? ? ?
65. + + + //? [seh]o upad[idav]o + [sa] ? ? ? [bh]udak[o]di [e] · [tr]ilakhaṇ[o] · ḥ. ra da di

Reconstruction:

yo vadadi ma ḥa uṇamea sutro tatra ḥideśo · yo ahivadad. [63] + ? va · uṇamo va · madimaṇo va · jayadi · **akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu** · avasamo akrośama [64] + paḍiapracago so va ḥa jayadi · **ladha parabhoyaṇa** · ḥa **majea** · ? ? d. ? g. ? ? ? [65] + + + ? seho upadidavo (*. sa ? ? ? bhudakođie · trilakhaṇo · ḥ. ra da di

Translation:

Who does not rise (when he thinks) “someone honors me” is the text. The explanation on it: Who + + + + + [63] + + + or rise, or conceit of opinion(?) are born. **And who when reviled is not frightened, the monk:** + + + + + + + [64] + + + + + + + + + born. **Receiving food from others does not exult:** + + + + + + + [65] + + + + + + + should be given rise to. + + + + through the end of existence the three characteristics + + +

Text notes:

Line 62. *ahivada[d]*.: A likely reconstruction is *ahivada[d](*)i* (= OIA *abhi-vandate*). The Old Indo-Aryan prefix *abhi-* is otherwise consistently represented by

abhi- in our text, but cf. for instance *ahivadāna-* Dhp-G^K 321 (= OIA *abhivādāna-*) and see the discussion of the Gāndhārī reflexes of word-medial uncombined short [b̥] in § 4.2.2.1.2.2.

Lines 63–64. *avasamo akrośama* +: This expression appears to be a gloss on *akrotho* in the root verse. The second word of this expression should probably be reconstructed as *akrośama(*no)* ‘reviling.’ The interpretation of the first word is more difficult, but it is possibly the present participle of rare *ava + √dham* ‘to stir up.’ The reference of both words would thus appear to be the person reviling the monk rather than the monk who is being reviled, which complicates their interpretation as a gloss and makes their connection with the immediately following words obscure.

Line 64. *so va ṇa jayadi*: The syllables *va ṇa* are likely to be the disjunctive particle (OIA *vā*) followed by the negative particle (OIA *na*), echoing *ca ṇa* of the root verse, rather than the adversative particle *vāṇa* (OIA *punah*).

[bh]udak[o]di[e]: Cf. the note on line 9.191.

Transcription:

66. + //|^T d[a]di ma ṇa uṇamea + mohaprahaṇo [·] akroṭho ca · ṇa
satrasea · doṣaprahaṇa · [ladha]
67. + |^T rabho[ya]ṇo · ṇa maje[a] · ragaprahaṇ[a] · eṣa saüadišeṣa · same so
68. + + |^{T+U} pari |^T [vaye]a · aṇuadišeṣa · ...

Reconstruction:

[66] (*va)dadi ma ṇa uṇamea (*.) mohaprahaṇo · akroṭho ca · ṇa satrasea ·
doṣaprahaṇa · ladha [67] (*pa)rabhoyāṇo · ṇa majea · ragaprahaṇa · eṣa
saüadišeṣa · same so [68] (*loge) parivaya · aṇuadišeṣa ·

Translation:

[66] He does not rise (when he thinks) “someone honors me”: abandoning

of delusion. **And who when reviled is not frightened:** abandoning of hate. **Receiving [67] food from others does not exult:** abandoning of lust. That one is with fuel remaining. **That one [68] wanders about right (*in the world):** without fuel remaining.

Text notes:

Line 66. *[ladha]*: The akṣaras of this word are written very close to each other, but the reading is not in doubt.

Lines 67–68. The right edges of these lines have been left empty to avoid a defect in the bark (cf. lines 13.71–73 on the verso of the scroll).

Transcription:

68. asa va ɳidaɳakṣayeṇa · kileśakṣayo [·]
 69. [kama]kṣayo · loge parivaya dukhakṣayo · ...

Reconstruction:

asa va ɳidaɳakṣayeṇa · kileśakṣayo · [69] kamakṣayo · **loge parivaya** dukha-kṣayo ·

Translation:

Or otherwise: by abandoning of the sources, there is exhaustion of defilement, [69] exhaustion of action. **Wanders about in the world:** exhaustion of pain.

Text notes:

Line 68. *kileśakṣayo*: For the Three Courses see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

69. ... avaro [ho] ɳi danaprahaṇeṇa sa mu de a pra haṇ[a] ·
 [sa] .[e]

70. + //^{|U} [na] · dukhapariñā · parivrayaṇae · ḥirosakṣia ☹

Reconstruction:

avaroho ḥidanaprahanē samudeaprahanā · sa(*m)e[70](*)tve)na · dukha-pariñā · parivrayaṇae · ḥirosa<sa>kṣia ☹

Translation:

Another one indeed: By abandoning of the sources (is meant) abandoning of the origin. [70] By **rightness** (is meant) the diagnosis of pain. By **wandering about** (is meant) realization of the cessation.

Text notes:

Line 70. *ḥirosa<sa>kṣia*: For this reconstruction cf. *ḥirosasakṣia* SaṅgCm-G and *nir[o]sa<sa>kṣ[i](*a)e* CKI 251, l. 14 (Baums forthcoming a).

33 (Lines 13.71–81)

This section explains a verse from the Dharmapada-Udāna group that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| pramado apramad(*eṇa) | When the wise one drives out |
| (*ya)da ḥudadi padido | negligence with diligence, |
| prañaprasado ar(*u)śa | (then) having ascended the palace of understanding |
| aśogo śogino jaṇo | the intelligent one looks at the fool |
| pravadaṭe va bhumaṭho | (like) one without sorrow at the sorrowful people, |
| dhiro balo avekṣadi | like one standing on a mountain at one standing on
the ground. |

The section contains two runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation involving the notions of defilement (*kileśa-*) and ignorance (*añāna-*) and their abandonment, and quoting a full unidentified verse in support. The second run performs categorial reduction of pādas a–d to quiet (*śamasa-*) and insight (*vivaśana-*) as the means of abandoning the two roots (i.e., craving and ignorance) and of

achieving the two liberations (i.e., heart liberation and understanding liberation).

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 2: 13-80–81 |
| pramado apramad(*ena) | śamasa- |
| (*ya)da ḥudadi pañido | duīṇa mulāṇa ... |
| prañaprasado ar(*u)śa | vivāśāna- |
| aśogo śogino jaṇo | duve vimutigo |
| pravadaṭe va bhumaṭho | |
| dhiro balo avekṣadi | |

The Pali Dhammapada parallel of this verse is explained at Dhp-a I 259.11–260.5, and the Sanskrit Udāna parallel at Ud-v 87.

Transcription:

71. + [da ḥuda]di · pa[ñido] · sutro tatra ḥideśo] ·
 |T+S |S
 pra mado [vaca]ria · apra[mado] · śama ?
72. + [da ḥu[dadi yada] prajahadi · pañi[do] m[i]savi · prañap[ra]sado
 |S
 [a].ś[a] · yasa p[u]r[u]ṣ[o]
73. [viulami ṭhaṇa]mi ṭhido · [e]va sa · atra · viulami · śukrami dhamami ·
 |S
 ṭhido · ? ?
74. + + + //? [·] aśogo · ḥikileśo · śogino · jaṇo · sakileśo · pravadaṭe va
 bhumaṭho yasa so
 |S
75. + + + + // [thido] · [eva] aya śukrehi dhamehi thido · bhumartho ·
 yasa so pragidi[e] bha[v]o thi[d]o
 |S
76. + + + + + //? [a]. ? [sujaṇo] · dha me ṭhidago ·
 |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R |R |S+R |S+R |S
 dhiro · a ḥna ḥna sa pra haṇa tva · sava kile

77. + + + + + |^R //? · balo p[a]ritabodh[i] · susumabhodhi avekṣadi ·
ñāṇeṇa paśadi · u
78. + + + + |^R // [di ·] anusodagami · kamakileśado · pari[ks]ayadi · yasa
vucadi · ka[ma]
79. + + + |^R // .o balo · [e]va cario parikṣadi · yasa cakhumo · puruṣo ·
jacadho rua paśadi [·]

Reconstruction:

[71] (*ya)da ḥudadi · pađido · sutro tatra ḥideśo · pramado vacaria ·
apramado · śama ? [72] (*ya)da ḥudadi yada prajahadi · pađido misavi ·
prañaprasado ar(*u)śa · yasa puruṣo [73] viulami ṭhaṇami ṭhido · eva sa ·
atra · viulami · śukrami dhamami · ṭhido · ? ? [74] + + + ? · aśogo · ḥikileśo ·
śogino · jaṇo · sakileśo · pravadaṭe va bhumaṭho yasa so [75] + + + thido ·
eva aya śukrehi dhamehi thido · bhumartho · yasa so pragidie bhavo thido
[76] + + + + + + ? a. ? sujaṇo · dhame ṭhidago · dhiro · añaṇasa pra-
h<*i>ṇatva · savakile [77] + + + + + ? · balo paritabodhi · susumabhodhi
avekṣadi · ñāṇeṇa paśadi · u [78] + + + di · anusodagami · kamakileśado ·
parikṣayadi · yasa vucadi · kama [79] + + + ? balo · eva cario parikṣadi · yasa
cakhumo · puruṣo · jacadho rua paśadi ·

Translation:

[71] **When the wise one drives out** is the text. The explanation on it:
Negligence: + + + + **Diligence:** + + + [72] **When he drives out:** when he
abandons. **The wise one:** the intelligent one. **Having ascended the palace of**
understanding: like a man [73] standing (*ṭhida-*) in a great place, so this
one, steady (*ṭhida-*) in great, bright, dharma, + + [74] + + + + **Without**
sorrow: without defilement. **The sorrowful people:** with defilement. **Like**
one standing on a mountain at one standing on the ground: like that [75]
+ + + steady, so this one is steady in respect to the bright dharmas. **One**

standing on the ground: like that one is steady in the natural state [76] + + + + + + + + good people are steady in the dharma. **The intelligent one:** because of unknowing being abandoned + + + + [77] + + + + + + **At the fool:** one of limited intelligence + + + + **Looks at:** sees by understanding + [78] + + + + He examines the one going with the stream in respect to action and defilement. As is said: “+ + [79] + + + the fool thus examines practice; like a man having eyes, one who is blind from birth sees form.”

Text notes:

Line 71–73. The right edges of these lines have been left empty to avoid a defect in the bark (cf. lines 13.67–68 on the recto of the scroll).

Line 71. *[vaca]ria*: This word is evidently a gloss on *pramado* of the root verse, but its interpretation remains uncertain. The following explanation of *apra[mado]* suggests that semantically it should express the opposite of calmness.

śama ?: The partially preserved akṣara following *ma* contains an *i* or *e* vowel mark, ruling out a reading *śamaso*. A possible interpretation would be as the third-person singular passive form *śama[di]* ‘he is calm,’ looking ahead towards the third-person singular forms *nu[dadi]* and *prajahadi*.

Line 72. *m[i]savi*: It is possible that *me* was the intended spelling, but that the stroke crossed the body of the akṣara by accident.

Line 74. *aśogo*: An extraneous horizontal line crosses the left arm of *śo*.

ṇikileśo: An extraneous line hangs down from the left side of *śo*.

Line 75. + + + +: A likely reconstruction is (**pravadami*) ‘on a mountain.’

bhumartho: See § 4.6 for preconsonantal *r* as a marker of long consonants.

Line 76. + + ? *[a]*. ?: This can probably be reconstructed as (**eva*) *[sa atra]* or a variation thereof, cf. *[e]va sa · atra* 9.73 and *[eva] aya* 9.75.

Lines 76–77. *savakile* + + + + + ?: Two possible partial reconstructions are *savakile*(**śapraha*)*[ño]* and *savakile*(**śa prahi*)*[ña]*. It remains unclear whether three additional akṣaras need to be reconstructed, or whether part of the beginning of line 9.77 was left empty.

Line 77. *p[a]ritabodh[i]*: This compound is attested in Buddhist Sanskrit in the form *parītabuddhi-*, in particular in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* where it is used twice (AsPp 123–124, 124) in a synonym string with *alpabuddhi-*, *mandabuddhi-* and *viparyastabuddhi-*. It does not occur in Pali, but *parittapañña-* is used together with *bāla-* in the *Mātaṅgajātaka*: *mandavya bālo si parittapañño* Ja IV 5.

susumabhodhi: The first part of this compound is most likely a reflex of OIA *sūkṣma-* borrowed into Gāndhārī from an unknown Middle Indo-Aryan dialect in which the cluster [kṣm] was simplified by omission of [k] as in Gāndhārī *suṣma-* (§ 4.2.2.3.14), but which differed from Gāndhārī in the subsequent insertion of [u] and in the apparent merger of the three Old Indo-Aryan fricatives in [s]. Cf. *suḥomo* 13.2 for another borrowed form of this word. – The position of the word at first suggests that it is used as a second gloss on *balo*, but in the Pali commentaries *sukhumabuddhi-* is used in a clearly positive sense in combination with *sanha-*, glossing *nipuna-* at Sv I 117, Ps II 197, Nidd-a II 301 and Paṭis-a III 648. It is therefore preferable to interpret it as the subject of this explanatory phrase and as referring back to the root-verse quotation *dhiro*.

Line 78. *anusodagami*: A stray dot of ink follows the akṣara *ga*. For the term *anusotagāmin-* cf. the Anusota sutta (AN II 5–6) which is used in Pet 28, 227–231, Nett 157–158 and Mil 113. In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, the word is attested in *anusrotogāminīnāṁ hi prajānāṁ duṣkaram pratisrotonayanam* AKBh 183.24.

kamakileśado: This compound is likely to be a dvandva and to refer to two of the Three Courses (§ 1.2.2), cf. *kama[kil](*)śāṇa* 13.15.

Line 78–79. *ka[ma] ... paśadi*: These four anuṣṭubh pādas appear to be a full quotation of an unidentified verse.

Transcription:

|^R
80. + + + + + // [aprama]deṇa śamasa · prañaprasadeṇa · vivaśaṇa ·

[ya]tra ḡudāṇa · tatra [du]iṇa mulaṇa ·
 81. + + + + + + + //? [no d]. |R |R+Q |R |R+Q |R |R+Q |R
 va ma daśīṇo · vistareṇa ñada[vo] §§ ...

Reconstruction:

[80] + + + + + **apramadeṇa** śamasa · **prañaprasadeṇa** · vivaśāṇa · yatra
 ḡudāṇa · tatra duiṇa mulaṇa · [81] + + + + + + ? ḡo d(*u)ve vimutigo ·
 vamadaśīṇo · vistareṇa ñadavo §§

Translation:

[80] + + + + + By **diligence** (is meant) quiet. **The palace of understanding:**
 insight. Where there is driving out, there [81] + + + + + + + of the two
 roots, two liberations. + + + + + It should be known by the extensive
 treatment.

Text notes:

Line 80. + + + + +: Following the usual pattern, the beginning of this line will have contained a function phrase introducing the new run of the commentary. One possible reconstruction fitting the number of missing akṣaras is *ke yi vana aha*.

prañaprasadeṇa: The akṣara *de* is exceptionally not written as a special ligature, but with a regular *e* mātrā added to the base sign *d*-.

Line 81. *vamadaśīṇo*: The meaning of this term remains obscure. It appears to be a compound, and its first part *vama-* may have a parallel in *[va]jmo* 13.9 where it seems to denote the reverse order of categorial reduction. In line 13.9, *[va]jmo* contrasts with *[a]nulomo*. In the present compound, it is tempting to regard *daśīṇa-* as a misspelling of *dakṣīṇa-* ‘right,’ but if the attested spelling is accepted then a semantically unclear derivation from OIA *darśin-* would be indicated.

34 (Lines 13.81–90)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as

follows (§ 8.3):

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| aṇīṭhuri aṇaṇugridho | Not rough, not greedy, |
| aṇikho savado samo | without anger, constant in all respects |
| + + + + + + + | + + + + + + + |
| prochido avigapio | unshakable when questioned. |

The section contains three runs of the commentary. The first run provides general explanation and performs categorial reduction to abandoning of the Three Sources (each expressed in two steps involving the less common terminology *krosa-*, *śeha-* and *añana-*). The second run again performs categorial reduction to abandoning of the Three Sources (using the terms *doṣa-*, less common *loha-* and *moha-*). The third run appears to briefly suggest categorial reduction to the Three Categories (*t(*r)ae ka* +), but then carries out reduction to the Four Barbs (using (**triṇida*)*nakṣayena* for back-reference to the first run).

| | 1: 13.81–88 | 2: 13.88–89
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | 3: 13.89–90
(<i>asa va</i>) |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| aṇīṭhuri | krosavaśeṇa-
...
doṣaprahaṇa- | doṣaprahaṇa- | |
| aṇaṇugridho | ragavaśina
...
śehaprahaṇa- | lohaprahaṇa- | triṇa śalaṇa
prahaṇa |
| aṇikho | añanasa
...
mohaprahaṇa- | mohaprahaṇa- | |
| savado samo | ? | | maṇaśalaprahaṇa- |
| (*to aṇiśāśo prabromi) | | | |
| prochido avigapio | ? | | |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 440.19–441.33, Pj II 569 and Nidd-a II 436.

Transcription:

81. ... |^R ... ?
82. + + + |^Q [a]ṇaṇugridho sutro tatra ḥideśo · ḥiṭhuri · krosavašeṇa · ḥiṭhuri ca karodi
83. + + + //|^Q [ka]rodi · ado · doṣaprahaṇado · ḥiyoaṇa · aṇaṇugridho · ragavaśīṇa · [v]. [v].
84. + + + + //|^Q s. ḥo c[a] · gridhada ca karodi · ado ṣehaprahaṇa · ḥiy[oa]d[i] · aṇikho · añaṇa[sa]
85. + + //|^Q [na · vastu]mi ḥihañadi · asaprakhayadaṇado vastumi · ado [mo]haprahaṇa mi ḥiyev[e]
86. + + + + + + //|^Q [me na] vi sa |^{|Q+P} pra ha |^{|Q} ḥ[a] · na bhuyo
|^{|Q+P} |^Q |^{|Q+P} |^Q
sa mu śreve di · ado «a»ṇaṇa sa mu [t]. ? [s]. [d]. [ṇi]
87. + + + + + + //|^P [śi]da bhodi · prochido avigapio · eṣo [s]e go ḥu
bhudo [·] sa[va]
88. + + //|^P .[rah].[ṇatva] · acalio · śrukrehi dhamehi hodo · ...

Reconstruction:

? [82] (*ḥiṭhuri) aṇaṇugridho sutro tatra ḥideśo · ḥiṭhuri · krosavašeṇa · ḥiṭhuri ca karodi [83] + + + + karodi · ado · doṣaprahaṇado · ḥiyoaṇa · aṇaṇugridho · ragavaśīṇa · v. v. [84] + + + + s. ḥo ca · gridhada ca karodi · ado ṣehaprahaṇa · ḥiyo<*e>di · aṇikho · añaṇasa [85] + + na · vastumi ḥihañadi · asaprakha<*na>yadaṇado vastumi · ado mohaprahaṇa mi ḥiyeve [86] + + + + + me na vi sa prahaṇa · na bhuyo samuśrevedi · ado añaṇa sa mu t. ? s. d. ḥi [87] + + + + + + śida bhodi · prochido avigapio · eṣo se go ḥu bhudo · sava [88] + + + (*p)rah(*i)ṇatva · acalio · śrukrehi dhamehi hodo ·

Translation:

[82] **Not rough, not greedy** is the text. The explanation on it: **Not rough**: by the power of anger, he both does roughness [83] + does + + + Therefore it is an injunction in respect of abandoning of hate. **Not greedy**: by the power of lust, he [84] does both + + + + + + + and greediness. Therefore he enjoins abandoning of affection. **Without anger**: [85] + + + of unknowing, he is struck down in matter, matter in respect to the sphere of lack of clarity. Therefore + + + + + + + [86] + He no more raises + + + + + + + + + + + + + + Therefore + + + + + + + + [87] + + + + + + + becomes + + **Unshakable when questioned**: that one + + + + + + [88] + + + + + + has become immovable in respect to the bright dharmas.

Text notes:

Lines 81–82. ? (**nīthuri*): The partially visible first akṣara of this sequence (and last akṣara in line 13·81) does not resemble the expected *a*, but it is also highly unlikely that it is not the beginning of the lemma quotation of section 34. One possible solution to this conundrum would be a misspelling of the first akṣara of the word, with or without subsequent correction. Another possibility is suggested by the spacing of the beginning of line 13·82 which would allow for two more akṣaras than currently reconstructed. Unless this spacing is due to a defect in the bark it is therefore at least conceivable that the beginning of the line should be reconstructed as + (**anīthuri*), and that an additional two-akṣara word intervened between the end of the preceding section and the lemma quotation of the present.

nīthuri: Context suggests an interpretation of this word as the equivalent of OIA *niśṭhūrika-* and P *nītthuriya-*, with Gāndhārī contraction of [ija] to [i:].

Line 84. *śehaprahaṇa* · *nīy[o]k*ēd[i]*: The emendation of this word is suggested by P *niyojeti*, but in principle a transfer of the verb to class 1 would also be possible and receives support from the parallel formulation *śehaprahaṇo y[u]to* (maybe to be emended to <**nīy[u]to*) in line 9·123.

Line 84–85. *anikho* · *añāna[sa]* + + *[na* · *vastu]mi nīhañadi*: This provides a

linguistic explanation of the word *añikha-* in which the negation *a-* is related to *añāna-* and the perceived stem *nikha-* (cf. the Pali Niddesa's analysis *a-nikha-*) is connected with *ni* + \sqrt{han} . It is noteworthy that this linguistic explanation presupposes that the key words were pronounced as in Gāndhārī ([aniho] and [niḥaṇ:aḍi]), and the explanation thus appears to have originated either in Gandhāra or in an Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect with similarly advanced phonetic development. – On the basis of *krosavaśena* 13.82 and *ragavaśina* 13.83, a reconstruction of the second and third words as *añāna[sa]* (*vaśe)[na] suggests itself; cf. further *añānavavaśena* ... *aya[m](*)[ha]prahan[a]* 9.44–45.

*asaprakha(*na)yadana*: The term *asamprakhyāna-* is used by Vasubandhu (AKBh 3.29; cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1923–31: II 92–93 and Solomon 1969: 132 on the discussion in Yaśomitra's Vyākhyā) to explain the nature of ignorance (*avidyā-*). It was not previously attested in any earlier author. The Mahāvyutpatti equates its opposite (*samprakhyāna-*) with *asammoṣa-*, implying an equivalence of *asamprakhyāna-* and *sammoṣa-* (P *sammosa-*) ‘confusion’ (BHSD s.v. *asamprakhyāna*). The combination of *asaprakha(*na)-* with *ayadana-* has not so far been observed outside our text.

Line 87. + [*śi*]da: One possible reconstruction would be (*da)[*śi*]da.

bhodi: The right arm of *bh* has a peculiar kink, presumably in an attempt to avoid the foot of preceding *da*.

Lines 87–88: *sa[va] + + + (*p)[rah](*i)[natva]*: This sequence should probably be reconstructed further as *sa[va](*nidaṇap)[rah](*i)[natva]*, but an alternative reconstruction as *sa[va](*kileśap)[rah](*i)[natva]* cannot be ruled out.

Line 88. *acalio*: The Pali Niddesa uses the related formation *acalita-* as a synonym of *akampita-* (CPD s.v. *acalita*).

Transcription:

| P
88. sakṣeva añīṭh[u]ri do[ṣa]prahaṇa [·]

89. + //|^P [na].[ugridho l]ohaprahaṇa · anikho savado samo ·
mohaprahaṇa · ...

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva anīṭhuri doṣaprahaṇa · [89] (*a)na(*n)ugridho lohaprahaṇa ·
anīkho savado samo · mohaprahaṇa ·

Translation:

In brief: **Not rough**: abandoning of hate. [89] **Not greedy**: abandoning of greed. **Without anger, constant in all respects**: abandoning of delusion.

Text notes:

Line 88. *do[sa]prahana*: For the Three Sources see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

89. asa [va t].[a]e [ka] + · a[do]
90. + + + //|^P ḥ[a]kṣa[ye]ṇa · triṇa śalaṇa pra[ha]ṇa · savado samo ·
maṇaśalaprahaṇa §§

Reconstruction:

asa va t(*r)ae ka + · ado [90] (*triṇida)ṇakṣayeṇa · triṇa śalaṇa prahaṇa ·
savado samo · maṇaśalaprahaṇa §§

Translation:

Or otherwise: The three + + Therefore [90] + + + + + abandoning of the
three barbs. **Constant in all respects**: abandoning of the barb of conceit.

Text notes:

Line 89. *[t](*)[a]e [ka]* +: The first word could also be read as *[d](*)[u]e*, but
overall a reconstruction as *[t](*)[a]e [ka](*)dha* seems most likely (§ 1.2.2).

7.4. Scroll 18

35 (Lines 18·Ar1–Ar3)

The extant portion of this section is not substantial enough to establish its root verse or to determine how many runs of the commentary are represented in it.

Transcription:

| A
Ar1. garo aŋaga[mi] abhaye ? ? [k]. [rəgo ra]hapo .[r]. .[u] ? [ʃá]di astianə
[:] aha astia [ʃ]. /// + + + +

| A
Ar2. ? [sa] balavato ? ? ? + ? lo .[o] iva [la g]. [y]. ni aya salagao akolag[o
ta v]. // + + + + + +

| A
Ar3. ha [ri pa ya ɳi] o + + + + + ? .[o] r[i] ta [v]. [ca di] ? + + + + + ?
to §§ ...

Reconstruction:

[Ar1] garo aŋagami abhaye ? ? k. rago rahapo .r. .u ? ſadi astiaŋa · aha astia ſ. + + + + [Ar2] ? sa balavato ? ? ? + ? lo .o iva la g. y. ni aya salagao akolago ta v. + + + + + + [Ar3] ha ri pa ya ni o + + + + ? .o ri ta v. ca di ? + + + + ? to ☺

Translation:

Text notes

Line Ar1: *[r]. [u] ? [sa]di*: A likely reconstruction would be (**p*)*[raiñiša]di*.
astiana: With this unclear sequence cf. *astia* *[š]*, later in this line. In *asti ajuhosp*.
1823, *asti* corresponds to OIA *asti*.

Line Ar2. *salagao akolag[o]*: The second word appears to be a reference to the elder Āñkolaka (DPPN s.v.), but may also correspond to the common noun *Pāñkolaka-*, the name of a particular kind of tree. If the former interpretation is correct, then the first word might be a misspelling for a short version of the name of the elder Salalapupphiya (DPPN s.v.). Both of these monks distinguished themselves by giving flowers to buddhas.

Line Ar3. *[v]. [ca di]*: A likely reconstruction of this word is *[v]/(*u)[cadi]*.

? *to*: One possible reconstruction would be *[vu]to*, but in view of the apparent use of the finite form of this verb earlier in the line a different identity of this word seems likely.

36 (Lines 18·Ar3, Kr1–Kr4, Cr1–Cr4, 0–5)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.4):

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| śilava(*d)o ? + prahae (*savo) | Having ++ abandoned all virtue and observance |
| (*kama ca) savajañavajo (*edo) | and this reproachable and irreproachable action, |
| śodhi aśodhi ca (*aprā̄theaṇo) | and not seeking for purity or impurity, |
| (*virado care śati añugrahae) | abstaining he should move about, having |
| | taken up calmness. |

The section contains two runs of the commentary. The majority of the first run is either lost or obscured, but judging from the words that are legible it concerns the four kinds of action, the doctrines of the eternal and of annihilation, and the middle way taught by the Buddha. The second run performs categorial reduction to the Three Categories. It is followed by an unclear appendix (lines 183–5) that resume the topic of the four kinds of action, but apparently without quoting any part of the root verse.

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | 2: 181–5 (<i>asa va</i>) |
| śilava(*d)o ? + prahae (*savo) | <i>samasikadha-</i> |
| (*kama ca) savaj- | <i>śilakadha-</i> |
| añavajo (*edo) | <i>prañakadha-</i> |
| śodhi aśodhi ca (*aprāṭhayano) | ? |
| (*virado care śati añugrahae) | ? |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 313.6–314.20, Pj II 558 and Nidd-a II 366–367.

Transcription:

Ar3. ... [ší]l[ava] // + + + + + + +

Reconstruction:

śilava(*do) + + (*prahae sutro)

Translation:

(*Having) + + (*abandoned) all virtue and observance (*is the text).

Text notes:

Line Ar3. The right margin of this line appears to contain remnants of a punctuation mark indicating the end and beginning of two sections.

Transcription:

Kr1. + /// ? ? + + ? + ? + + + + + ? ? + + + + + + ? ? ? ? ? .[r]. [e] /// + + +
+ |K

Kr2. k.işasa p.[haŋa] · [ś].[k].[ŋa] · k.i[ʂa] + + [p]raha[i] s. ? ? ? .[u] ? [· anavai]. ? + [: a] [a] // + +

Kr4. |K
 Kr4. ṣasa · aṇavajo · śu[k]r[asa k]. sa da n̄i e ? · trae kam[ap].[ha]ṇa · ta
 aha śodh[i] a[śodhi ca] /// + +

Reconstruction:

[Kr1] + ? ? + + ? + ? + + + + + ? ? + + + + + + ? ? ? ? .r. e + + + +
 [Kr2] k(*r)iṣasa p(*r)ahaṇa · ś(*u)k(*re)ṇa · k(*r)iṣa(*sa ·) prahāī s. ? ? ? .u
 ? · aṇavaj. ? + · a. a. + + [Kr3] +
 + ? ? · ? ? ? gena avara h. s. do [Kr4] ṣasa · aṇavajo · śukrasa k. sa da n̄i
 e ? · trae kamap(*r)ahaṇa · ta aha śodhi aśodhi ca + +

Translation:

[Kr1] + [Kr2]
 abandoning + + + By the bright of the dark. **Having abandoned:** + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + + [Kr3] +
 + + + + + + + + + + [Kr4] + + **Irreproachable:** of the bright + + + + + the
 three abandonings of action. That is why he says **purity or impurity** + +

Text notes:

Line Kr2. *k(*r)iṣasa*: For the Four Actions see § 1.2.2.

trae kam[ap]()[aha]ṇa*: Since it immediately follows *śu[k]r[asa]* this expression probably refers to the three remaining actions: dark, dark and bright, and neither dark nor bright.

Transcription:

|c
 Cr1. tva ca loga ca · ? ? + ? ? + ? ? + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? + ? [s]. ? ?
 /// +

|c
 Cr2. tatra a ? · ede uchedo s. ? ? ? ? [da] · eva vahidaka[ma] p.jahāṇa
 a[tra a]ho [h]. at[avivarj]. /// + + +

|c
 Cr3. paḍivada paḍi[vaji] + + + + + [ki prah].[ṇa] · [v]. [r]. [d]. c[a]ra
 [u]cheda saspada ? [r]i ? /// + + + +

Cr4. + + + + + + + |^C //? ? [y]. ? ? + + + ? ? + + ? // + + + + + +

Reconstruction:

[Cr1] tva ca loga ca · ? ? + ? ? + ? ? + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? + ? s. ? ? +
 [Cr2] tatra a ? · ede uchedo s. ? ? ? ? da · eva vahida kama p(*r)ajahaṇa atra
 aho h. atavivarj. + + + [Cr3] paḍivada paḍivaji + + + + + ki prah.ṇa · v. r.
 d. cara ucheda saspada ? ri ? + + + + [Cr4] + + + + + + + ? ? y. ? ? + + + ? ?
 + + ? + + + + + + +

Translation:

[Cr1] both + and the world +
 + + + + + [Cr2] there + + These (are?) annihilation + + + + + + Thus + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [Cr3] entered on the way + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [Cr4] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Line Cr1. *tva*: In view of following *loga*, the reconstruction of this word as (**a*)*tva* is virtually certain.

Line Cr2. *p(*r)[a]jahaṇa*: This word is probably derived from *pra* + √*hā*, and on the parallel of *jahaṇado* 13·14 it is likely to be the direct-case singular of the present participle. Cf. further *pajahāṇam* Pet̄ 189, called “meaningless” by Ŋāṇamoli 1964: 257, but apparently the same word and formation as G *p(*r)[a]jahaṇa*.

Lines Cr2–3. *at[avivarj]. + + + paḍivada paḍi[vaji]*: A possible further reconstruction is *at[a vivarj]/(*ita majima) paḍivada paḍi[vaji]* ‘avoiding the extremes he entered on the middle way’ (or a variant with a different verb form such as *paḍivajiśadi* or *paḍivajidava*), but cf. also 18·1 *atavivarj[i]da · ma[j]ima [pa]d[i]vada*.

uchedo s. ? ?: A likely reading is *uchedo s[aspado]*; cf. *[u]cheda saspada* 18·Cr3.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

[0] + + + ? +
+ + + + [1] + ? t. · atavivarjida · majima pađivada · akrišašukro kamo va
dašido :

Translation:

[0] +
+ + + + [1] + + + the middle way, avoided at the extremes, or the action
that is neither dark nor bright has been shown.

Text notes:

Line 1. *atavivarj[i]da*: For the application of this word to the Buddhist path cf. *ujumaggānusārino ti ujumaggo vuccati ariyamaggo, antadvayavajjitattā tassa anussaranato ujumaggānusārino* It-a II 29.19–20. The thematic connection between the root verse of this section and that of the next is reinforced by the use of the word *uju-* in the Pali commentary.

akriśa[ś]ukr[o]: For the Four Actions see § 1.2.2.

Transcription:

1. ... asa va · ś[i]la[va].[o] ? // +

2. prahae samasika + [savajap].haṇaṇa · ś[i]lakadh[o] ·
anavajaprahaṇeṇa prañaka[dh]. ? ? ?

3. ? + ? [· m]. ? + + + + + + ? tv. [· asa] va k[riṣa]ś[u]k. ? ? ? // + + +
+ + + + +

4. |^I .[r]. + [sa] .[rahaṇa] + [śukr].[ṇa] + .[r].[śaśukra]sa prahaṇa · akriṣaśukreṇa · śukrasa prahaṇa · [ta] sa ? ? // +
5. |^I kasa a ya ya di [·] ta aha ataviv[arjī]da §§ ...

Reconstruction:

asa va · śilava(*d)o ? + [2] **prahae** samasika(*dho) savajap(*r)ahan<*e>ṇa · śilakadho · **añavajaprahanēṇa** prañakadh(*o) ? ? ? [3] ? + ? · m. ? + + + + + + ? tv. · asa va kriṣaśuk(*r). ? ? ? + + + + + + + [4] (*k)r(*iṣa)sa (*p)rahaṇa (*..) śukr(*e)ṇa (*..) k)r(*i)śaśukrasa prahaṇa · akriṣaśukreṇa · śukrasa prahaṇa · ta sa ? ? + [5] kasa a ya ya di · ta aha atavivarjida §§

Translation:

Or otherwise: [2] **Having + + abandoned virtue and observance**: the concentration category. By abandoning of **what is reproachable** (is meant) the virtue category. By abandoning of **what is irreproachable** (is meant) is meant the understanding category. + + + [3] + Or otherwise: + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [4] abandoning of the dark. By the bright abandoning of what is dark and bright. By what is neither dark nor bright abandoning of the bright. + + + + + [5] + + + + + That is why they call it avoided at the extremes.

Text notes:

Line 2: *samasika(*dho)*: For the Three Categories see § 1.2.2.

37 (Lines 185–15)

This section explains a verse from the *Sabhikasūtra* that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.4):

paję̄a k(*r)ideṇa atvaṇo Who by a path made of the self
pariṇīvaṇagado vitiṇakakṣo has gone to complete extinction,
vibhava ca bhava ca viprahae having crossed over doubt,
vrośidava kṣiṇapuṇabhavo (*sa bhikhu) having abandoned non-existence
and existence,
the perfected one(?) whose renewed
existence is exhausted, he is a
monk.

The section contains two runs of the commentary. The first run provides linguistic and general explanations involving among other topics the doctrines of annihilation and the eternal and the middle way and quoting two verse pādas in support. The second run performs categorial reduction to the Four Planes, interrupted by a general remark and a supporting quotation concerning pāda c.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | 2: 18:12-15 |
| pajēna k(*r)ideṇa atvaṇo | <i>daśaṇabhumī-</i> |
| parinīvanāgado | <i>śamasa-</i> |
| vitiṇakakṣo | <i>vivāśaṇa-,
bhavaṇabhumī-</i> |
| vibhava ca bhava ca viprahae | |
| vroṣidava kṣiṇapuṇabhavo (*sa bhikhu) | <i>kridavida-</i> |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Pj II 425. The verse is used for illustration at Pet 18.21–19.12.

Transcription:

- | I
5. ... pajēna kideņa · atvaņo · sutro tatra n[i]dešo + paj[e]n[a] k.[i] /// +

| E
6. na atvan[o] · aha prātheņa krīden[a u]j[e]n[a] · atvaņaņa ·
parin[iva]n[a]g[a]do · yo dāni prātho [ca] ujo ca · ? ? +

Reconstruction:

Translation:

Who by a path made of the self is the text. The explanation on it: **By a path [6] made of the self:** he says: by the self made excellent, straight. **Gone to**

Text notes:

Line 6. · *aha*: The punctuation mark is unusually shaped, and an possible alternative reading would be *<*ke> [yi] aha* ‘some say.’

*atvan<*e>na*: This thematicized form makes it clear that the commentary interprets *atvano* in the root verse as an instrumental.

prathēṇa kriden[a u]j[e]n[a]: The Gāndhārī spelling of *pratha-* confirms the unusual Sanskrit form of this word (*praṣṭho 'gragāmini* Pāṇi 8.3.92; “प्रष्ठ in der Bedeutung „vorangehend“ ist unregelmäßig,” Böhtlingk 1887: 464). It may represent a genuine variant reading for *pajena* in the root verse, but the combination of *pratha-* (first syllable) and *uja-* (second syllable) additionally serves as a linguistic explanation of *paja-*. As far as the first syllable of the word is concerned, this explanation works better on a non-Gāndhārī dialectal basis (cf. P *paṭṭha-*, *ujju-*, *pajja-*), but the thematicization of *uja-* also contributes to the explanation and appears to be characteristic for Gāndhārī.

Line 7. $a \ i \ ? \ ? \ d$: One possible reconstruction of this sequence would be $a[iksa]d(*i)$.

Line 9. *kavoda* [va]rja[e sp]ara: The notion that pigeons avoid sound has not otherwise been found attested in Indian literature. The sounds produced by pigeons

are considered beautiful (e.g., *kauśināgarā mallāḥ kapotavalgusvarā dīrgham u*(*cchvasya) MPS-Skt 31.71, and cf. SWTF s.v. *kapotavalgusvara*).

prajutva ag[i sa]si[ea]: The loss of word-medial uncombined short [d] is not otherwise attested in the language of our manuscript, but it is possible that it reflects a feature of the source of this quotation.

Transcription:

12. ... + +
13. + //| G+F | G | G+F | G | G+F
[pa]jena da śaṇabhumi [· pa]riṇ[i]va[ṇagad]o
- | F | G+F | F
śamaso · vitinakakṣo [v]ivaśaṇa [· e] ? ? + + +
14. + //| F vanabhumī · vibhava ca · bhava ca · viprahae · prove prahiṇ[a] ·
puṇo [a] mag[a]ṭha · yasa vucadi ·
15. + //| F sa eva jaṇado · k[a]ma sa vado cit[o] vi mu cadi ·
| F+H | F | F+H | F | F+H | F | F
vroṣi da va · kṣiṇapuṇabha vo kridavi[da] §§

Reconstruction:

+ + [13] + **pajena** daśaṇabhumi · **pariṇiṇavaṇagado** śamaso · **vitinakakṣo** ·
vivaśaṇa · e ? ? + + + [14] (*bha)vanabhumī · **vibhava ca** · **bhava ca** ·
viprahae · prove prahiṇa · puṇo a magaṭha · yasa vucadi · [15] (*ta)sa eva
jaṇado · kamasavado cito vimucadi · **vroṣidava** · **kṣiṇapuṇabha**
kridavida §§

Translation:

+ + [13] + **By a path**: the plane of vision. **Gone to complete extinction**: quiet. **Having crossed over doubt**: insight. + + + + + [14] the plane of development. **Having abandoned both non-existence and existence**: they have been abandoned earlier. Again + + + As is said: [15] The heart of this

one who knows thus is liberated from the taint of desire. **The perfected one(?) whose renewed existence is exhausted:** the state of one who has accomplished.

Text notes:

Line 15. (*ta)sa eva jañado · k[a]masavado cit[o] vimucadi: This quotation is part of a frequently used canonical formula, here called the Description of Path formula (Frauwaller 1953–56: I 162–173, Schmithausen 1978; 101–102, 1981: 203– 207, Eimer 2006: 10–16). The Pali equivalent of the quoted part is *tassa evam jānato evam passato kāmāsavā pi cittam vimuccati*. Schmithausen 1981: 204 fn. 15 notes that the formula occurs in all divisions of the Pali canon with the exception of the Saṃyuttanikāya, indicating a doctrinal specialization of the Saṃyutta bhāṇakas. An expanded version of the formula (the ‘tathāgata sermon’) occurs at the end of the Pali Sāmaññaphalasutta. A Gāndhārī version of this sutta is preserved in the Senior collection, but the manuscript in question (RS 2; Allon 2007: 8) stops short of the tathāgata sermon and it remains unclear whether this passage was part of the sūtra in the Gāndhārī tradition. – The beginning of the Description of Path formula seems to occur on scroll fragment 7, which may indicate that this scroll fragment originally formed part of scroll 18.

38 (Lines 18:16–25, Cv1–Cv4, Kv1–Kv4)

This section explains a verse from the Arthapada that can be reconstructed as follows (§ 8.4):

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| paḍilino akuhao | Withdrawn, not deceitful, |
| aprihalu amatsari | not longing, not avaricious, |
| (*a)p(*r)agabho ajuhosp(*o) | not reckless, not disgusting, |
| peśonehi ca ḥa yuto | and not joined with slanders. |

The section contains at least three runs of the commentary (most of the end is obscured). The first run provides general explanation concerning the solitary life of

the monk and various aspects of his restraint in speech. The second run performs categorial reduction to the Three Categories, and the third run provides an alternative reduction to the Three Categories with a different assignment to parts of the root verse.

| | 2: 18.24–25
(<i>sakṣeva</i>) | 3: 18.Cv2–3 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| paḍiliṇo akuhao | ? | <i>samasikadha-</i> |
| aprihalu amatsari | <i>samasikadha-</i> | <i>prañakadha-</i> |
| (*a)p(*r)agabho ajuhosp(*o) | <i>śilakadha-</i> | ? |
| peśonehi ca ḡa yuto | | |

The Suttanipāta parallel of this verse is explained at Nidd I 224.3–233.7, Pj II 549 and Nidd-a II 334–339.

Transcription:

16. |H paḍiliṇo akuhao sutro tatra ḡideśo paḍiliṇ[o] vivitaviharida vuta · tasa
daṇi vi[vi]t[avi]har[i] /// +
17. |H [ya]do bhayo tado pradi ? [y]. ? d[i] · ta aha akuhayo ·
pradivitavhari sa hi ad[i]ado /// + /// ev[a]l[a]kṣ[a] /// +
18. |E bh[a]yo · evala kṣaṇado [ño upal]jadi · ḡa hi pra garo kuhaṇo
kar[o]di · [ki a] ? ? + + + + // + +
19. |E hagado · asa va · ḡa kuhidatva · aña bhavo avaśedi · asa va ḡa
kuhaṇa · ḡa la[van̄a] ar[thae] ? ? // + +
20. |E+i śe ḡa sa bhaśadi · aprih[alo] · ḡa bh[a d]a cod[a] sa arth[a
a]. [ra]ñā se [va] d[i] · [r]añ[e] vasadi · ḡ[a vi] ? // + +

21. śamaṇo · rañ[e] vasadi · amatsari dhama ladho labhasa vibha[v]adi ·
sameñ[u]g[a] śilo [bh].[d]i · [a] ? // + +

22. + + //? // + + + + + + + + + + + + // [p].g[a]bho a [vi s]. + + + .o + + .r.
+ + ? + + + + // + +

23. ḥno · asti ajuhosp. + + ? śilado · avaradho · yeña [pa]r[i]juh[o]spie ? ?
+ ? // + + + + + +

24. c[a]ksadae · parena jugati · peṣon[e]hi ca na yuto bh[eda] na yuto · ...

Reconstruction:

[16] **padilino akuhao** sutro tatra nidešo **padilino** vivitaviharida vuta · tasa
daňi vivitavihari(*sa) [17] yado bhayo tado pradi ? y. ? di · ta aha **akuhayo** ·
pradivitaviharisa hi adiado + evalakṣa(*ṇo) [18] bhayo · evalakṣaṇado ḡo
upajadi · ḡa hi pragaro kuhaṇo karodi · ki a ? ? + + + + + [19] hagado · asa
va · ḡa kuhidatva · aṇo bhavo avaśedi · asa va ḡa kuhaṇa · ḡa lavaṇa
arthae ? ? + + [20] śe ḡa sa bhaśadi · **aprihalo** · ḡa bhadacoda sa artha a. raña
sevadi · rañe vasadi · ḡa vi ? + + [21] śamaṇo · rañe vasadi · **amatsari** dhama
ladho labhasa vibhavadi · sameñuga śilo bh(*o)di · a ? + + [22] + + ? + + + +
+ + + + + (*a)p(*r)agabho a vi s. + + + .o + + .r. + + ? + + + + + [23] ḣo ·
asti ajuhosp. + + ? śilado · avaradho · yena parijuhospie ? ? + ? + + + + +
[24] caksadae · pareṇa jugati · **peṣonehi ca ḡa yuto** · bheda na yuto ·

Translation:

[16] **Withdrawn, not deceitful** is the text. The explanation on it:
Withdrawn: the state of having a separate abode is talked about. Now for this one who has a separate abode [17] from where there is fear, from there + + + + That is why he says **not deceitful**. Because for the person who has a separate abode + + + + + + + + + [18] Fear does not arise from something that has such a characteristic, because it is not the kind that makes deceit. + + + + + + + + + [19] + + + Or otherwise: He does not because of having

been deceived resort to another existence. Or otherwise: not deceit, not prattling + + + + + [20] + + + + + **Not longing:** not the crest of existence + + + he resorts to the wilderness, lives in the wilderness. + + + [21] + + + lives in the wilderness. **Not avaricious:** the dharma has been received, it suffices for receiving. It(?) becomes virtue belonging to the right-knowing one. + + + [22] + + + + + + + + + + + **Not reckless:** + + + + + + + + + + + + + [23] + There is + + + + + having offended in respect to virtue + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [24] + + + + + + + **And not joined with slanders:** + + + joined.

Text notes:

Line 17. *pradivitaviharisa*: This word is almost certainly miscopied from **pravivitaviharisa* (Skt. *praviviktavihārin-*, P *pavivittavihārin-*); cf. *bh[ad]acod[a]* 1820 for *bhavacoda* in this section.

Lines 18–19. + *hagado*: A likely reconstruction is (*sa)*hagado*, presumably as posterior member of a compound.

Line 20. *še ḡa sa bhaśadi*: The interpretation of this sequence remains uncertain, but there can be little doubt that it ends in a verb. One possible interpretation of this verb would be as equivalent of P *bhassati* and Skt. *bhraśyate* ‘falls down,’ but the absence of expected *r* in the root would go unexplained. On balance it seems more likely that the verb should be reconstructed as *sabha<*vi>śadi* ‘will come into being,’ and if this is correct then the preceding akṣaras could be reconstructed as (*va)śena, forming the posterior part of a compound giving the reason for coming into being.

bh[ad]acod[a]: This word is almost certainly miscopied from *bhavacoda*; cf. *bha[va]codami* 18-Cv3, and *pradivitaviharisa* 18:17 for *pravivitaviharisa* in this section. A possible further reconstruction of this clause is *ṅa bh[ad]acod[a]sa arth[ae ra]ṅa se[va]d[i]* ‘he does not resort to the wilderness for the sake of the crest of existence.’ An alternative but less likely emendation of the word would be *bh<*u>[d]acod[a]* (cf. BHSD s.v. *bhūtacoda*).

Line 21. *śamano*: Two possible interpretations of this sequence are as *śamana-*

(OIA *śamana*-) ‘calming’ or as (**vi*)*paśamāna*- (P *vipassamāna*-) ‘have insight.’

Line 23. *asti ajuhosp*: For this formulation cf. the Pali Niddesa on this verse: *ajeguccho ti atthi puggalo jeguccho atthi ajeguccho* Nidd I 231.16–17 and *katamo ca puggalo ajeguccho? idha bhikkhu sīlavā hoti* Nidd I 233.32–33.

yena [pa]r[i]juh[o]spie ?: A likely reconstruction of this sequence is yena [pa]r[i]juh[o]spie[ṇa].

Line 24. *jugati*: The reading of this apparent verb is not in doubt, but its interpretation remains unclear. It most closely resembles OIA *jāgarti*, but the expected form of the third person singular present of this verb would be **jagaradi* (cf. *jagarado, jagaramana*).

Transcription:

24. ... sakṣeva // + + + +

25. + + + // ? ? + + + + ? ? · [a]mat[sar]i [sa]ma[sikadho] · ḷ. ? .e tva
[e]da sama[si] // + + + +

Reconstruction:

sakṣeva + + + + [25] + + + ? ? + + + + ? ? · amatsari samasikadho · ḷ. ? .e
tva eda samasi + + + +

Translation:

In brief: + + + + [25] + + + + + + + + + + + + Not avaricious: the concentration category. + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

Text notes:

Lines 24–25. *sakṣeva* + + + + + + + ? ? + +: The beginning of this sequence is almost certainly *sakṣeva* (**padilino akuhao*). The semantically most likely equation for this part of the root would be *śilakadho*.

Line 25. + + ? ? · [a]mat[sar]i: A possible reconstruction of these words is *apri(*halo) · [a]mat[sar]i*.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

[Cv1] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? + + + + + + + + ? + + + + + + + +
[Cv2] ḡavayaveramaṇi + + + prahaṇeṇa · śilakadho · ? ? u e a **paḍilin**(*o)
a(*kuhao samasi)[Cv3]kadho · **aprihalu amatsari** prañakadho · ñan>(*e)na
bhavacodami · gusasaña ? + + + + [Cv4] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ ? ? ? + + + ? vivati · puñakriavyu ? + + +

Translation:

Text notes:

Lines Cv1–2. + + *navayaveraman*[*i*]: A likely reconstruction of this sequence is (**piśu*)*navayaveraman*[*i*], even though the usual formulation in Pali consists of three separate words (*pisunāya vācāya veramani*).

Line Cv3. *bha[va]codami*: For this word cf. *bh[ad]acod[a]* 18:20.

Transcription:

Reconstruction:

[Kv1] ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++

Translation:

[Kv1] ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++ ++++++

Text notes:

Lines Kv1–4. The end of this section is completely obscured.

39 (Lines 18·Av1–Av3)

The extant portion of this section is not substantial enough to establish its root verse or to determine the number of runs of the commentary represented in it.

Transcription:

Av2. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + // ? pa[ro lo]ga · yatra uavajiśa[di] ? // +

Reconstruction:

[Av1] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + hi ka r. + + + + abhuda · ? ? ? + + + + + +
+ + [Av2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? paro loga · yatra uavajiśadi ? + + +
+ + + + [Av3] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ? ? ? ? c. ti · ? tatra a. ve a l. ? ?
+ + + + +

Translation:

[Av1] +
[Av2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + where + + + + + + + +
+ + [Av3] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + there + + + + + +
+ + +

Text notes:

Lines Av1–3: The discussion in these mostly illegible lines appears to concern the existence of another world as a destination for rebirth.

CHAPTER 8

Reconstruction and Parallels of the Root Verses

Our commentary does not quote any of its root verses as one coherent whole. It presumes either that its reader is already familiar with the verses or that he had easy access to one or more independent manuscripts containing the complete root verses (§ 1.5), and consequently only gives the beginning of each verse for identification purposes and quotes individual phrases from each verse inside the commentary as needed. These phrases are not set off in any graphical way from the rest of the text, and they are not marked by any quotation particle (such as *di* < OIA *iti*). Complicating matters further, sometimes the quotation of part of the root verse takes the form of a nominal paraphrase (§ 1.2.1), and in many cases not all parts of the root verse are quoted. As a first step in the reading and study of the manuscript, the separate parts of each root verse therefore had to be recognized and reassembled, and the verses identified on the basis of parallels in other texts. Only some of these parallel texts (principally Dhp-G^K) themselves belong to the Gāndhārī literary tradition, and more often texts of other Buddhist traditions preserved in Pali, Sanskrit or Chinese are the only available basis for identifying the Gāndhārī verses of our commentary. Following this procedure and laying out all relevant evidence, the present chapter provides a reconstruction of the root verses of all but the most damaged sections of our commentary.

The root verses fall into six distinct groups: (1) verses from texts of the Arthapada collection (§ 1.5.1), (2) verses from texts of the Pārā�ana collection (§ 1.5.2), (3) verses from other texts included along with the Arthapada and the Pārā�ana in the Pali Suttanipāta (§ 1.5.5), (4) verses from the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3), (5)

verses whose immediate source is not clear (including those with parallels in the Pali *Itivuttaka*, § 1.5.4), and (6) unidentified verses. For verses of groups (1) to (3) all available parallels in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese are presented alongside the reconstructed Gāndhārī verse. Verses in group (4) sometimes have parallels in the preserved portions of Dhp-G^K (one of their two most likely direct sources, § 1.5.3; there is no overlap with Dhp-G^L) which are always presented first. A Pali parallel is given from either the *Dhammapada* or *Udāna* (or sometimes another source). Parallels from Wéiqínán’s Chinese *Dharmapada* compilation of 224 CE are always given since, depending on the section of his text, they serve as an independent early witness for the Pali *Dhammapada* or preserve material from Wéiqínán’s unknown other sources. The Northwest Indian *Udāna* is quoted from the Subashi manuscript (third or fourth century CE, representing the earliest accessible recension of this text) where available, and otherwise from the text established in Bernhard 1965–68 (representing the later Recensions 1 and 2; Schmithausen 1970). Parallels from Zhú Fóniàn’s Chinese *Udāna* compilation (compiled in 374 CE) are given where available since they are an independent witness for the early version of the Northwest Indian *Udāna*. Finally, parallels from the Patna *Dharmapada* and the *Dharmapada* fragments in the *Mahāvastu* are presented wherever available. For verses in groups (5) and (6) all available parallels and partial parallels are presented and discussed. – The overview table at the end of this chapter includes parallels for all verses in Gāndhārī, Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese canonical texts, but not quotations or other uses of these verses in postcanonical commentarial and scholastic works (such as in the Pali *Niddesa*, the *Petakopada* or the *Nettippakarana*).

8.1. Scroll Fragment 7

Verse 1 belongs to the *Dharmapada-Udāna* group (§ 1.5.3). Only the lemma quotation of the first pāda is preserved, but this pāda is specific enough for a secure identification of the verse. Its primary parallels belong to the Apramada chapter of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* and the Apramādavarga of the Sanskrit *Udāna* (the

relevant portion of the *Udāna* manuscript from Subashi is not preserved), and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn and Tiān Xīzāi's *Udāna* translations.⁶⁰ It is also included in the Pali *Mahāparinibbānasutta* as an exhortation of the Buddha when announcing his departure, but is not present in other versions of this text. The Pali version agrees with the Gāndhārī text (both in Dhp-G^K and Nid-G^{L2}), but the Sanskrit *Udāna* text differs in pāda a. This rephrasing may have been part of the Sanskritization process of the text, but it was not metrically required (*apramattāḥ smṛtimantah* would have worked as well in this odd *anuṣṭubh* pāda).

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 'apramata spadivata' | apramata svadivada | appamattā satīmanto |
| (*suśila bhosa bhikṣave) | suśila bhodu bhikṣavi | susīlā hotha bhikkhavo |
| (*susamahidasakapa) | susamahidasagapa | susamāhitasamkappā |
| (*spacito aṇurakṣasa) | sacita aṇurakṣadha | sacittā anurakkatha |
| | (Dhp-G ^K 124) | (DN II 120.21–22) |
| | apramādaratā bhavata | 思惟不放逸 為仁學仁跡 |
| | suśīlā bhavata bhikṣavah | 從是無有憂 當念自滅意 |
| | susamāhitasamkalpāḥ | (Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 648b25–26) |
| | svacittam anurakṣata | |
| | (Ud-Skt 4.36) | |

8.2. Scroll 9

Section 2, at the very beginning of the preserved part of scroll 9, is too damaged to determine any part of the root verse that it covers.

The immediate source of verse 3 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). The lemma quotation of this verse is not preserved. The extant part of this section contains two runs of the commentary. In the first of these, the parts of the verse are quoted in a way that is unique in our commentary: first the initial words of each pāda are grouped together as one quotation (only three words are preserved) and provided with a common explanation, then the second words of each pāda are grouped together (only three are legible) and explained, and finally the last words of each pāda are grouped together

⁶⁰Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 779c16–17: 茲芻懷謹慎 持戒勿破壞 善守護自心 今世及後世.

(all four are preserved) and explained. This procedure was evidently encouraged by the strong parallelism of the four pādas of the root verse. The second run of the commentary only quotes two of the four pāda-final words of the verse and explains each of them separately. This verse has a Pali parallel in the Loka sutta, which is included both in the Catukkanipāta of the Pali Itivuttaka and in the Uruvelavagga of the Catukkanipāta of the Aṅguttaranikāya. It may also have been included in Xuánzàng’s translation of a Sanskrit Ityuktaka, but the relevant portion of this translation is not preserved (Watanabe 1906–07: 45–46). The order in which words are quoted in our commentary differs from the order in which they occur in the Pali version. The reconstruction of the Gāndhārī verse presented here tentatively follows the order given by the commentary’s quotations of the first (and, less clearly, second) words of each pāda, constituting a reversal of pādas b and d as compared to the Pali version. At the same time we assume that the internal structure of each pāda was the same in the two version and that the deviating quotation order of the last words of each pāda in line 9.2 (*agro śreṭha[a] · varo [iṣi]*) is imposed by our commentary, possibly in an attempt to establish a linguistic relationship (*nirvacana*) between the following gloss *[vriṣa]vida* and the initial sounds of at least the last three quoted words: *śreṭha* (= *setha*; § 4.2.2.3.9) + *varo* + *iṣi* = *vriṣavida* (cf. the text commentary on 18.6 for the explanation of *paja-* as *pratha-* + *uja-*). The meter of the constituted verse as well as its Pali counterpart is anuṣṭubh.

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (*dato damaïda) | 'śreṭha' | danto damayatam̄ set̄tho | |
| 'tiṇo' | 'taraïda' | 'varo' | santo samayatam̄ isi |
| 'muto' | 'moya(*i)da' | 'agro' | mutto mocayatam̄ aggo |
| 'śato' | 'śamaïda' | 'iṣi' | tiṇo tārayatam̄ varo |
| | | | (It 123.13–16
= AN II 24.24–25) |

The immediate source of verse 4 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains at least two runs of the commentary. In the first, pādas a to c are quoted and explained in

turn; it is not clear whether the illegible portion of lines 9.12–14 contains a quotation of pāda d. In the second run, pādas a and b are cited indirectly as *savatrīna eṣāṇa*, followed by a quotation of pāda c and a syntactically adjusted quotation of pāda d. It is possible that the obscured passage in lines 9.17–20 contained a third run of the commentary. The first pāda of this verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.21. The verse has Pali parallels in the second Esanā sutta of the Tikanipāta of the Itivuttaka and in the Patilīna sutta of the Cakkavagga of the Catukkanipāta of the Ānguttaranikāya. It is not included in Xuánzàng’s translation of a Sanskrit Ityuktaka which lacks equivalents for the first nine verses of the Pali Tikanipāta (Watanabe 1906–07: 46). The Pali verse differs from the Gāndhārī in pāda c where the former has *itisaccaparāmāso* ‘misapprehension that such is the truth’ in place of *idisacaabhimāṇo* ‘conceit that such is the truth.’ The effect is avoidance of vowel hiatus between compound members, and it is possible but currently unprovable that the Gāndhārī variant is more original and the Pali variant the result of redactional smoothing. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ‘kameṣāṇa bhaveṣāṇa’ | kāmesanā bhavesanā |
| ‘bra(*maïyeṣāṇa)’ (*saha) | brahmaçariyesanā saha |
| ‘idisacaabhimāṇo’ | itisaccaparāmāso |
| ‘driṭhiṭan(*a)’ (*samuśraya) | dīṭhiṭṭhānā samussayā |
| | (It 48.20–23
= AN II 42.1–2) |

Verse 5 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains eight full runs of the commentary. Including the lemma quotation, pāda a of the verse is quoted a total of seven times. Only the last two words of pāda b are quoted, for a total of eight times. Pāda c is quoted a total of seven times: in full at its first occurrence, then three times using its first word and three times using its second word. Pāda d is quoted only once, during the first run of the commentary, and only using its last word. The first word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna

in l. 9.111. This verse has parallels in the Therautta of the Bodhivagga of the Pali Udāna and in the Brāhmaṇavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna. It is not included in either of the Chinese translations of the Udāna. Both the Pali and the Sanskrit parallels use the plural for the subjects of the verse where the Gāndhārī version uses the singular (assuming that the pronoun *ye* is more indicative of the Subashi construction than the form *brāhmaṇah* which may be due to omission of an ā mātrā; cf. also verses 13 and 33). Beyond this, the Pali and the Sanskrit version from Subashi agree completely with the Gāndhārī, but the later Sanskrit Udāna shows two Sanskritizing adjustments: in pāda a, the Middle Indo-Aryan verb *bāhitvā* is replaced by *pravāhya* with a consequent change of word order; and pāda d is rephrased as *brāhmaṇās te prakīrtitāḥ*, apparently in order to avoid the Middle Indo-Aryan locative form *lokasmin*.⁶¹ The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 'vahita pavaga dhama' | bāhitvā pāpake dhamme | b(*ā)hitva pāpakam |
| (*yo caradi) 'sada spado' | ye caranti sadā satā | dharmaṁ |
| 'kṣīṇasayoyaṇa budho' | khīṇasamyojanā buddhā | ye c(*a)r(*a)nti s(*adā) |
| (*so ve logaspi) 'bramaṇo' | te ve lokasmim brāhmaṇā | ++ |
| | (Ud-P 1.5) | (*k)ṣ(*īṇa) + + + + + |
| | | + + + + + brāhmaṇah |
| | | (Ud-Skt ^S 33.15) |

Verse 6 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section consists of a single run of the commentary. The pādas of the verse are quoted in their original order, pādas a and d in full and pādas b and c in two parts each, the former with omission of the metrically required adverb *iśa*. After the lemma quotation, the first four words of pāda a are repeated in two separate installments. The words *vasana* and *drokaraīho* are quoted in syntactically adjusted form. The first word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.111. This verse has parallels in the Sāriputtasutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 蓮花色比丘尼經 Liánhuā bīqiūnǐ jīng

⁶¹Uv-Skt 33.12: *pravāhya pāpakam dharmām ye caranti sadā smṛtāḥ kṣīṇasamyojanā buddhā brāhmaṇās te prakīrtitāḥ*.

(‘sūtra about the nun Utpalā’) of Zhī Qiān’s Arthapada translation. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī in using the particle *ca* instead of *va* in pāda a; in the word *tosanattham* ‘for the sake of satisfaction’ in place of *drokaraṭho* in pāda b; in the locative form *sotesu* ‘in respect to the ears’ in place of the formal instrumental *sodehi* in pāda c; in the word *yatacāri* ‘living in a restrained way’ instead of *yadi cari* in pāda c; and in the word *vajjā* ‘should utter’ instead of *bhaṣi* in pāda d. The Chinese translation has a different pāda a; in pāda b, 取可止 *qǔ kě zhǐ* ‘take enough then stop’ supports P *tosanattham* over G *drokaraṭho*; and in pāda c, 縣國行 *xiàn guó xíng* ‘while you move through the country’ supports G *yadi cari* over P *yatacāri*. In addition, Nidd I 498.1–4 gives two variant interpretations of the beginning of pāda c as either *sotesu* or *so tesu* (namely robes, food, etc.). Bapat 1951: 146 noted already that the Chinese translation’s 閨關閉 *wén guānbì* ‘with ears closed and shut’ supports the interpretation *sotesu*, and this is further confirmed by the Gāndhārī which in *sodehi* writes *de* (using the special conjunct; § 3.4.1.19) with word-internal voicing rather than word-initial *te*. The meter of this verse it triṣṭubh. Norman 1992: 357 notes that the third syllable of pāda b (*so*) needs to be light (which in Gāndhārī it is by default due to shortening of word-final vowels: [so]) and that the initial heavy syllable of pāda b has been resolved into two light syllables (*ruṣi* [ruṣi]). In the latter connection it is interesting to note that the commentary paraphrases *ruṣido* as *ruṣha-* (line 9.43), maybe aware of the metrical irregularity of the root verse in this position and possibly quoting an existing textual variant.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| ‘aṇa va ladhva vasaṇa va kale’ | annañ ca laddhā vasanañ ca kāle |
| ‘matro so jañe’ (*iśa) ‘drokaraṭho’ | mattam so jaññā idha tosanattham |
| ‘sodehi guto’ ‘yadi cari grame’ | sotesu gutto yatacāri gāme |
| ‘ruṣido vi vaya pharuṣa ṇa bhaṣi’ | rusito pi vācam pharusam na vajjā
(Sn 971) |

有未有苦樂苦 知其度取可止
聞關閉縣國行 麗惡聲應莫願
(Arth-Chin 186c15–16)

Verse 7 is from the Pārāyaṇa (§ 1.5.2). This section consists of a single run of the commentary. After the quotation lemma, only the next to last word of pāda a is quoted. Only the first word of pāda b is quoted, followed by separate syntactically adjusted quotations of the two halves of the compound *śatipado* in pāda c. The next legible quotation is the second half of the compound *sahayanetra*, but it is likely that the first part of this compound, and maybe part of end of pāda b, is quoted in the illegible portion of lines 9.50–51. Pāda d is quoted in full. The first word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has a parallel in the Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyanavagga of the Suttanipāta. In pāda a, the Pali version avoids vowel hiatus by using *sutvānaham* in place of *śutva aho*. The last part of pāda a receives a completely different interpretation in Pali as *akāmakāmīm* ‘who does not desire sense-pleasures’ in place of *agamo agame* ‘(having heard that the brave one is) without desire I came.’ In pāda d, Pali has the words *brūhi me tam* instead of *vagarohi*. The meter of this verse is a mixture of jagatī (pāda a) and triṣṭubh (pādas c and d). The metrical pronunciation of pāda a can be reconstructed as [śutva: aho: vi:raū aja:mo a:jame], illustrating preservation of word-final long vowels that were shortened in unbound speech (§ 4.2.1.6) and tolerance of vowel hiatus. Pāda b is a jagatī pāda in the Pali parallel, but since the Gāndhārī verse evidently concludes pāda a with the words that come at the end of the Pali pāda b, we can neither confidently reconstruct the unquoted end of the Gāndhārī pāda b nor determine whether it was triṣṭubh or jagatī. Pāda c calls for metrical lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable ([çanti:vādo:]) and pāda d for shortening of the long consonant following the third syllable ([jaza:ðatcāv]; both noted by Norman 1992: 380).

| | |
|---|--|
| 'śutva aho vira agamo agame' | sutvānaham vīram akāmakāmīm |
| 'o(*ha)di(*go)' + + + + + + (+) | oghātigam̄ putthum̄ akāmam̄ āgamam̄ |
| 'śa(*ti)' 'pado' (*brohi sahaya)' (*ne)tra' | santipadam̄ brūhi sahājanetta |
| 'yasatacha bhagava vagarohi' | yathātaccham̄ bhagavā brūhi me tam̄
(Sn 1096) |

Verse 8 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section consists of one full run of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, only the word *uaśato* is quoted from pāda a, and pāda b is not quoted at all. Pāda c is given in slightly abbreviated form as *gratha na vijati*. From pāda d, two words are quoted, first its last word in syntactically adjusted form, then its first word. The first two words of the verse are also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9·12. This verse has parallels in the Purābheda-sutta of the Āṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 子父共會經 Zǐ fù gònghuì jīng ('sūtra about the meeting of son and father') of Zhī Qiān's Arthapada translation. The Pali version differs in two places from the Gāndhārī. It has the quotation particle *ti* instead of the enclitic verb form *si* at the end of pāda a; and it has the aorist *atāri* 'he crossed' in place of the past participle *utiṇo* in pāda d. The Chinese translation of this verse is very loose, but contains no positive indication of a different Indian text. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'ta bromi uaśato si' | tam brūmi upasanto ti | 愛已滅乃已息 三界空無樂意 |
| (*kameśu aṇavekṣiṇo) | kāmesu anapekkhinam | 悉解離何從得 多從海度無憂 |
| 'gratha' (*tasa) 'na vijati' | ganthā tassa na vijjanti | (Arth-Chin 187c28–29) |
| 'utiṇo' (*so) 'visathig(*a)' | atāri so visattikam | |
| | | (Sn 857) |

Verse 9 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (1.5.3). This section contains four runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, pāda a is quoted once (and possibly one more time in the illegible portion of line 9·60). The phonetic spelling in l. 9·66, *aŋ/o/a/ʂ](*u)/də/c/i]ta(*sa)*, differs from the spelling in the lemma quotation adopted in our reconstruction of the verse. Pāda b is quoted and explained twice. The first two members of the compound in pāda c are quoted separately, twice with syntactic adjustment and once in paraphrasing composition with *prahāna-*; the last member of the compound in pāda c is not quoted directly. Pāda d is quoted twice, once in its entirety, and once in two separate parts (*jagarado* and *nasti bhayo*). The

first member of the initial compound of the verse is also used for reference in the *uddāna* in l. 9112. This verse has parallels in the Cita chapter of the Khotan Dharmapada, the Cittavagga of the Pali Dhammapada and the Pāpavarga of the Sanskrit *Udāna*, and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn’s and Tiān Xīzāi’s *Udāna* translations.⁶² The Khotan Dharmapada differs from our text in pāda a (unless its *anuvaśudacita[sa]* is considered a spelling variant of our text’s *añ[o]a[s](*)u][da]-c[i]ta(*sa)*, and both are derived from OIA *anavasruta-*). The Pali version agrees with the Subashi *Udāna* against our Gāndhārī text in the second pāda where it has *anavāhataacetaso* in place of *anuahadacedasa*. Contrary to the usual pattern, the later Sanskrit *Udāna* may preserve a Gāndhārī form that was lost in the Subashi *Udāna* and is different from the one in our text, if its *anunnahanacetasah* derives from OIA *anavāhataacetasah* by the same process as G *samuṇagada-* < OIA *samanvāgata-* (in this case a labialization of [a] to [u] conditioned by following [v] rather than by preceding [m]; § 4.2.1.8). The meter of this verse is *anuṣṭubh*.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 'anavas(*u)dacitasa' | añuvaśudacita[sa] | anavassutacittassa |
| 'anuahadacedasa' | + + + + + + + | anavāhataacetaso |
| 'puña' 'pava' (*prahinasa) | + + + + + + + | puññapāpahīnassa |
| 'nasti jagarado bhayo' | + + + + + + + | natti jāgarato bhayam |
| | (Dhp-G ^K 137D) | (Dhp-P 39) |
| 念無適止 不絕無邊 | a(*na)v(*as)r(*uta)- | 人不損其心 亦不毀其意 |
| 福能遏惡 覺者為賢 | c(*i)tt(*as)y(*a) | 以善永滅惡 不憂墮惡道 |
| (Dhp-Chin ^{WQN} 563a10–11) | a(*nan)v(*āhata)cet(*asah) | (Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 743a2–3) |
| | + + + + + + + | |
| | + + + + + + + | |
| | (Ud-Skt ^S 28.6) | |

The immediate source of verse 10 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, the first word of pāda a is

⁶²Ud-Skt 28.6: *anavasrutacittasya tv anunnahanacetasah punyapāpaprāhīnasya nāsti durgatito bhayam*; Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 792a27–28: 人不損其心 亦不毀其意 以善永滅惡 不憂墮惡道.

quoted twice, once with syntactic adjustment, and the second word twice with syntactic adjustment. The first word of pāda b is quoted twice with syntactic adjustment, on one of these occasions grouped together with the first word of pāda a for a single explanation (cf. section 3). Pāda c is quoted in full at its first occurrence, and abbreviated to *nimesa* in two further occurrences. Only the first word of pāda d is quoted, preceding the quotations from pāda c in the first run of the commentary. The first word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has parallels in the Jara chapter of the Khotan Dharmapada and in the Ekanipāta of the Theragāthā, where it is attributed to the elder Suppiya. The two Gāndhārī versions agree against the Pali version in their choice of verb in pāda b, and in their use of a present imperative form against the Pali future indicative in pāda c.⁶³ On the other hand, our text agrees with the Pali version against the Khotan Dharmapada in having *śati* rather than *śodhi* ‘purity’ in pāda c. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 'ajaro jiamaṇena' | ayara jiyamaṇena | ajaram jīramānena |
| 'daśamaṇ(*eṇa)' 'ṇivudi' | da᷍jamaṇeṇa nivrudi | tappamānena nibbutim |
| 'nimesa parama śati' | nimedha parama śodhi | nimissam paramam santim |
| 'yoakṣemo' (*anutaro) | yogakṣemu anuttara | yogakkhemam anuttaram |
| | (Dhp-G ^K 159) | (Th 32) |

The immediate source of verse 11 is likewise not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section consists of a single run of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, at least two more pādas can be recognized. One of these (*ś(*i)dihodo anasavo*) is quoted in two parts, the first occurring twice (as [*ś*](*i)di[*ho*]do and *śidibhudo*) and the second once. The other pāda (*agi va anuadano*) follows in the order of the commentary, but must be an even anuṣṭubh pāda, whereas *ś(*i)dihodo anasavo* is attested as final pāda of other verses (e.g., Ja III 411.8: *sūtibhūte anāsave*). We therefore reverse the order of these two pādas and consider them as pādas c and d of the original verse. It is possible that the expression [*ki*][*e*]śasa[*mu*]dayo·pari[*kṣa*]yena indirectly cites the

⁶³Norman emends Oldenberg and Pischel's reading *nimmisam* to *nimissam* in Oldenberg, Pischel, Norman & Alsdorf 1966: 224.

otherwise missing pāda b of our verse. But if this is the case it still remains unclear what the exact wording of this pāda was, and we refrain from reconstructing it. The second word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has partial parallels in the Pañcanipāta of the Theragāthā, where it is attributed to the elder Soṇa Kuṭikāṇṇa, and in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya. The overlap with these partial parallels is, however, slight (one-and-a-half pādas in the one case, one pāda in the other), and our verse as a whole remains unidentified.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'paca kadha pariñae' | pañcakkhandhe pariññāya | + + + + + śreṣṭhī |
| + + + + + + + | bhāvayitvāna añjasam | avadhīd ya imam munim |
| 'agi va aṇuadaṇo' | pappuya paramam santim | pratyekabuddham + + |
| 'ś(*i)dihodo' 'aṇasavo' | parinibbissaty anāsavō | śītībhūtam anāsravam |
| (Th 369) | | (MSV 297 [208v1]) |

Verse 12 is from the Sabhikasūtra (§ 1.5.5). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, only the first word of pāda a is repeated in the first run, then the complete pāda is repeated in the second run. Pāda b, unique to the Gāndhārī version of this verse but recognizable by its use in the commentary and its metrical properties, is quoted in the first run only in three separate parts for its three words. Pāda c is likewise only quoted in the first run, with omission of its first word and rearrangement of the rest of the pāda into two items (*[i]mo logo* and *paro logo*). The first two words of pāda d are quoted in the first run of the commentary. Its middle word (*bhavido*) is cited in modified form as part of several commentary items of the third run (line 9.96), followed by the last two and then the first two words of this pāda. The first two word of the verse (in the specially shortened form *yasa idra*) are also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has parallels in the Sabhiyasutta of the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta and in the Sabhika chapter of the Mahāvastu. The Pali and Mahāvastu versions have a different pāda b from the Gāndhārī, and the Gāndhārī and Pali versions agree against the Mahāvastu version in their choice of verb in pāda d. The meter of this verse is aupacchandasika. For pāda a

of the Pali version, Norman 1992: 246 suggests that the second vowel of *indriyāni* was metrically lengthened ([indri:ja:ni]), giving the pāda pattern – – – | – ~ – ~ – ×. Lengthening of this suffix element would, however, be quite unnatural, and in fact the meter of the Pali pāda a is regular already if one does not take the orthography *yassindriyāni* literally, but rather pronounces the first two words without vowel sandhi ([jas:a indrija:ni]), as also indicated by the Gāndhārī spelling *yasa idriani*, giving the pāda pattern – ~ – ~ | – ~ – ~ – ×. The Gāndhārī version of this verse presents a genuine complication in the additional syllable of *subhavidani*. Our commentary evidently considered the prefix *su-* an important part of the verse, paraphrasing *subhavida-* as *sun[i]sevida-* and *suavaṭida-* (line 9.88), so one hesitates to suggest ignoring this prefix for metrical purposes. An alternative metrical interpretation is, however, possible if the suffix of *idriani* is a secondary modification and the metrical pronunciation of pāda a of this verse was [ja:za indrija: sub^fa:viḍa:ni], giving a pattern – ~ – ~ | – ~ – ~ – × which is identical to that of the Pali version without the prefix *su-*. It is likely that the Pali variant (*indriyāni bhāvitāni*) is closer to the original Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan form of this pāda (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 315 on the Eastern prevalence of the masculine and neuter ending *-āni*), but the validity of a Northwestern local variant *idria subhavidāni* (echoing the Vedic type *vīśvā bhūvanāni*; AiGr III § 51, Caillat 1994: 40) with *su-* is confirmed by the quotations of this verse in Nett 170.3–6. For pāda b of the Pali version, Norman 1992: 246 proposes that the consonant following the fifth syllable was metrically shortened (bafid^fa:), giving – – – ~ | – ~ – ~ – ×, and no other adjustment of the Pali text suggests itself. The Gāndhārī version, on the other hand, has the entirely different and otherwise unattested pāda b *vroṣiva vigadarayo vitiṇokakṣo* [vṛoṣīva: vijaḍarajo: viḍin:akanṭṣo] (again with metrical preservation of word-final long vowels), giving the completely regular pattern ~ – ~ – ~ – ~ | – ~ – ~ – ×. The overall pattern of this aupacchandasika stanza is thus:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| - ~ - ~ - ~ - ~ - x | |
| ~ ~ - ~ ~ ~ - ~ - ~ - x | |
| - - ~ ~ - ~ - ~ - x | |
| - - - ~ ~ - ~ - ~ - x | |
| 'yasa idriāni subhavidani' | yassindriyāni bhāvitāni |
| 'vrosiva' 'vigadarayo' 'vitinokakṣo' | ajjhattam bahiddhā ca sabbaloke |
| (*nivija) 'imo' 'par(*a ca) logo' | nibbijha ⁶⁴ imam parañ ca lokam |
| 'kalo kakṣadi' 'bhavid(*o)' 'sa dato' | kālam kamkhati bhāvito sa danto
(Sn 516) |
| | yasyendriyāni bhāvitāni |
| | adhyātmañ bahirdhā ca loke |
| | nirvidhya imam param ca lokam |
| | kālam rakṣati bhāvito sa dānto
(Mvu III 395–396) |

Verse 13 is from the Pārāyaṇa (§ 1.5.2). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, which only contains the first three words of pāda a, the third and fourth words of pāda a are quoted separately in the first run and again in the second run; the fourth word of pāda a is repeated and explained one more time in the third run. The first three and the fourth word of pāda b are quoted separately in the first run, and the third and fourth word are quoted together in the second run. All but the last word of pāda c is quoted together in the first run, and the first three words of this pāda in the second run. Only the last word is quoted of pāda c, at the end of the first run only. The second (rather than the first) word of the verse is also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has a parallel in the Mettagūmānavapucchā of the Pārayanavagga of the Suttanipāta. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī in four points. Instead of the subject first-person pronoun in *prachamaho* it has an object second-person pronoun in *pucchāmi tam* ‘I ask you.’

⁶⁴With the variant readings *nibbijja* and *nipajja*.

In place of the phrase *kevaliṇo maheśi* (which also occurs in Sn 82a and other places) it uses the expression *bhagavā brūhi me tam* ‘blessed one, tell me this’. For the Gāndhārī verb *janami*, Pali has *maññāmi* ‘I consider.’ And finally, instead of the singular in *dukho* and its dependent words Pali uses the plural (cf. verses 5 and 33). The meter of this verse is a mixture of triṣṭhubh (pādas a, b and d) and jagatī (pāda c, if our reconstruction of the end of this pāda on the basis of the Pali parallel is accurate). Norman 1992: 370 notes that in pāda d, the third syllable of *lokasmim anekarūpā* needs to be pronounced light ([lo:kasmim ane:karu:pa:]); the corresponding Gāndhārī pronunciation could be either [lo:jaspiṁ ane:jaru:o] with preserved nasal segment or [lo:jaspi ane:jaru:o] with regular shortening of word-final vowel and hiatus.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ‘prachamaho kevaliṇo’ ‘maheśi’ | pucchāmi tam bhagavā brūhi me tam |
| ‘janami tva vedago bhavidatva’ | maññāmi tam vedagum bhāvitattam |
| ‘kudu nu dukho samudagado’ (*ida) | kuto nu dukkhā samudāgatā ime |
| (*ya ki ci logaspi) ‘añegaruo’ | ye ke ci lokasmim anekarūpā |

(Sn 1049)

Verse 14 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation (which only contains the first two words of the verse), pāda a is quoted in two parts each in the first and the second run. In the first run, the second half of pāda a is erroneously quoted as *aho pro[v](*)e* (line 9.106) instead of *tada naho*; in the second run, the quotations of both halves are correct. Pāda b, the inverse formulation of pāda a, is not quoted at all. Pādas c and d are quoted together, in their entirety, once in each run of the commentary. The first two words of the verse are also used for reference in the uddāna in l. 9.112. This verse has parallels in the Āhuutta of the Jaccandhavagga of the Pali Udāna and Nirvāṇavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna (the relevant portion of the Udāna manuscript from Subashi is not preserved), and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn’s

and Tiān Xīzāi's *Udāna* translations.⁶⁵ The Pali version agrees with the Gāndhārī. The Sanskrit version replaces *tada* by *tato*, in pādas a and b, and *ya* by *vā* in pāda d. In order to preserve the meter, it adds the fillers *hy* and *apy* in pādas b and d, and it drops the second *ya* in pāda c to accommodate trisyllabic *bhaviṣyati* in place of disyllabic *bheśadi*. The two identical Chinese translations are free, but do not betray any significant difference in the underlying Indian verse. The meter of this verse is *anuṣṭubh*. The intended metrical pronunciation of pāda d is presumably [na jeऽarafi vidž:aði], corresponding to that of the Pali version.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 'aho prove' | 'tada ḥaho' | ahu pubbe tadā nāhu | abhūt pūrve tato nābhūn |
| (*ḥaho prove tada aho) | | nāhu pubbe tadā ahu | nābhūt pūrve tato hy abhūt |
| 'ḥa yaho ḥa ya bheśadi' | | na cāhu na ca bhavissati | na cābhūn na bhaviṣyati |
| 'ḥa ya edarahi vijadi' | | na cetarahi vijjati | na vāpy etarhi vidyate |
| (Ud-P 6.3) | | | (Ud-Skt 26.13) |
| 我有本以無 本有我今無
非無亦非有 如今不可獲 | | | |
| (Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 733c16–17) | | | |

Verse 15 is from the Pārāyaṇa (§ 1.5.2). This section consists of one main run of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, pāda a is cited indirectly using the words *sakhae* (line 9.113) and again *sakhaida* (line 9.115). The first three words and the fourth word of pāda b are quoted separately, omitting the last word of this pāda. The first legible quotation of the first two words of pāda c is *teṣa nivaāṇa* in line 9.118, but it is possible that an earlier citation of this pāda occurred in the illegible portion of lines 9.117–118. The last word of pāda c is cited indirectly as part of */i/riavasa* in line 9.119. It is likely that the second (and maybe also the first) word of pāda d are quoted in the obscured portion of line 9.120, followed by the explanation (**aī*)*kṣahi* and the last word of the pāda. This verse has direct parallels in the Ajitamāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyanavagga of the Suttanipāta and in a Sanskrit Pārāyaṇa fragment from Qizil.

⁶⁵Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 790c15–16 has same text as in Ud-Chin^{ZFN}.

The Pali version replaces the Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan nominative plural ending *-ae* (cf. § 5.1.15) in pāda a with *-āse*. In pāda c, the Pali verse included the first-person enclitic pronoun *me* followed by the nominative (used as vocative) *nipako*, where the Gāndhārī has just *nivaāṇa*, agreeing with *teṣa*. The Sanskrit version from Qizil replaces the disyllabic nominative plural ending of pāda a with *-ā* followed by the filler particle *vai*. Most of the rest of this Sanskrit fragment is not preserved, but the verse is quoted in the Śarīrārthagāthā of the Cintāmayī Bhūmi of the Yogācārabhūmi (Enomoto 1989: 34) as *ye ca saṃkhyātadharmaṇo ye ca śaikṣāḥ pr<*tha>gvidhāḥ teṣāṁ me nipakasyeryāṁ prṣṭāḥ prabṛūhi mārṣa* (sic). Here the disyllabic nominative ending is Sanskritized differently as the nominative plural ending of the *an* stems, attached irregularly to the *a*-stem noun *saṃkhyātadharma-*. The words *prosu iśa* with their Middle Indo-Aryan ending and vowel sandhi are replaced by the compound *pr<*tha>gvidhāḥ*. Pāda c presents a third variation, containing the pronoun *me* of the Pali version, but construing *nipakasya* with it as a genitive singular and performing vowel sandhi with the following word. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh. The metrical pronunciation of pāda c evidently involves vowel hiatus and a disyllabic pronunciation of *iria*, as does the different Pali version. It apparently also presupposes shortening of the word-final vowel in the sixth syllable (instead of the usual metrical preservation of length), [te:ja: nivaja:na ij:a], giving the following *ra* vipulā pattern: – – ~ ~ | – ~ – ×. (Alternatively but more speculatively, this pāda could have involved unquoted *me*, as in Pali, and vowel sandhi between the last two words, [te:ja: me: nivaja:nij:a], resulting in a regular odd anuṣṭubh pāda.)

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 'ye ca sakhada(*dha)mae' | ye ca saṃkhātadhammāse | [y]e ca saṃkhyātadharma |
| 'ye ca śekha' | 'prosu' (*iśa) | ye ca sekhā puthū idha vai |
| 'teṣa nivaāṇa' | 'iri(*a)' | tesāṁ me nipako iriyāṁ [y]e ? .ai + + + + + |
| (*proṭho prabrohi) | 'marisa' | putṭho pabrūhi mārisa + + + + + + + |
| | (Sn 1038 = SN II | + + + + + + + |
| | 47.10–11, 20–21, | (Pār-Skt ^Q V 7) |
| | 49.4–5, 50.6–7) | |

Verse 16 is from the Pārāyaṇa (§ 1.5.2) where it immediately follows verse 15. This section contains five runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, pāda a is quoted three more times in the third to fifth run. Between these four occurrences, the pāda is given in three slightly different forms. The lemma quotation and the quotation in the third run (line 9.129) have *kama ho nabhinadea* (the variant chosen in our main reconstruction below); the fourth run (line 9.133) has *kam[a] hi na [abhinadea]*; and the fifth run *k[a]m[a] n[a] abhinadea*. Only the second and third words of pāda b are quoted in the first run, and like pāda a it is not directly quoted at all in the second run, but the third run gives the pāda in full, after which the fourth and fifth run refer to it by quotation of the second word only. Pāda c is quoted in full, but in three different forms, in runs one (line 9.125: *kuśalo savadham[e]ṣu*; chosen in our main reconstruction), three (line 9.131: *[kuśa]li savadhameṣu*) and five (line 9.137: *kuśali savadhamehi*); it is quoted by its first word only in runs two and four (both times as *kuśali*). Pāda d is quoted in full in runs one, three, four and five, and abbreviated to its first and last word in run two. This verse has direct parallels in the Ajitamāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyanavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the Sanskrit Pārāyaṇa fragment from Qizil. The Pali version of pāda a differs from all three Gāndhārī variants by using another verb with dependent locative rather than accusative. It agrees with the Gāndhārī in pāda b (if G *mañaso* is taken as an orthographic irregularity for the instrumental form). In pāda c, the first word of the Pali agrees with the form quoted in the first run of our commentary, but it is combined with a following genitive rather than locative (cf. verse 17). The fourth pāda is identical in both versions. Only the last syllable of the Sanskrit verse from Qizil survives (and agrees with the Gāndhārī), but this verse, as the preceding, is quoted in the Yogācārabhūmi (Enomoto 1989: 34): *kāmeṣu nābhigṛdhyeta manasānāvilo bhavet kuśalah sarvadharmeṣu smṛto bhikṣuh parivrajet*. Here the Sanskrit version agrees with the Gāndhārī (runs one and three) against the Pali in the locative in pāda c, but with the Pali against the Gāndhārī in the choice of verb and

dependent locative in pāda a. Two more variants are clear efforts to preserve the meter under Sanskritization: the disyllabic Middle Indo-Aryan optative ending in pāda a is replaced by the disyllabic ātmanepada optative ending, and disyllabic *sie* by *bhavet*. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh. The first and second variants of pāda a present no metrical problems, assuming that negation and verb were in both cases contracted to [na:u^ñinande:ja]. The third variant (*k[a]m[a] n[a] abhiñadea*) could either be an abridged quotation of one of the other two, or it could indicate actual absence of a particle *ho* or *hi* and metrical pronunciation with vowel hiatus as [na a^ñinande:ja].

| | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 'kama ho ḥabhiñadea' | kāmesu nābhigijjheyya | + + + + + + + |
| 'maṇaso aṇavilo sie' | manasānāvilo siyā | + + + + + + + |
| 'kuśalo savadhamēṣu' | kusalo sabbadhammānam | + + + + + + + |
| 'spado bhikhu parivaye' | sato bhikkhu paribbaje | + + + + + + [j](*)t |
| (Sn 1039) | (Pār-Skt ^Q R 1) | |

Verse 17 is from the Pārāyanā (§ 1.5.2). This section contains four runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation and a brief remark on the speaker of the verse, pāda a is quoted in full at the beginning of each of the four runs. Pāda b is quoted once in each run. At its first occurrence, only the quotation of its second word is clear, but it is possible that the first word was quoted in the illegible portion of line 9.142. In the second and third runs, the two words of pāda b are quoted separately, and in inverted order in the case of the former. In the fourth run, pāda b is quoted as a whole, but with the variant *añ[i]kho* (line 9.159) for *añego*. Pāda c is quoted by its first word only in the first run (unless the illegible akṣaras at the beginning of line 9.145 contain a reference to the second word), as a whole in runs two and four, and not at all in run three. Pāda d is quoted as a whole in the first run, not at all in runs two and three, and apparently as a whole, but with an unclear variant *ada prarñēṇa* (line 9.160), in the fourth run. This verse has a parallel in the Posālamāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyanavagga of the Suttanipāta. Pāda a of the Pali version agrees with the

Gāndhārī, and pāda b agrees with the Gāndhārī main variant in runs two and three. In pāda c, the Pali version has a genitive *sabbadhammānañ* in place of the Gāndhārī instrumental (cf. P *sabbadhammānañ* for G *savadhameṣu* and *savadhamehi* in verse 16). The Pali pāda d has emphatic *atthi* ‘it is the case that’ in place of G *artha-* and uses the finite preterite form *āgamam* (cf. G *agame* in verse 7) instead of the participle *agado*. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh, with *bha* *vipulā* and special opening in pāda a (– ~ – – | – ~ ~ ×).

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 'yo adido adiśadi' | yo atītam ādisati |
| 'anego chiṇaśaśago' | anejo chinnasamsayo |
| 'parago savadhamehi' | pāragum sabbadhammānam |
| 'arthapraśeṇa agado' | atthi pañhena āgamam
(Sn 1112) |

The three verses of section 18 are from the Pārāyanā (§ 1.5.2). They have parallels in the Posālamāṇavapucchā of the Pārāyanavagga of the Suttanipāta, where they immediately follow the parallel of verse 17. Each of the three verses is explained in a single run of the commentary and will be discussed in turn. After the lemma quotation of the first verse (containing all of pāda a), pāda b is quoted in syntactically adjusted form as *savakayaprahāṇa* (line 9.163). Pāda c is quoted in two parts, first the first word, then the third and fourth words together. The interpretation of what appears to be a garbled version of pāda d (line 9.166 *at[r]a ti tasaviso*) remains unclear. The Pali parallel of this verse suggests that the first word of a pāda e is quoted in syntactically adjusted form as *ñanēṇa* (line 9.167). If a pāda f existed, it is not quoted in the commentary. With the exception of the problematic pāda d, the Pali version of the verse agrees with the Gāndhārī. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 'vibhudaruasañisa' | vibhūtarūpasaññissa |
| 'savakayapraha(*iṇo)' | sabbakāyapahāyino |
| 'ajatva' (*ca) 'bahidha ca' | ajjhattam ca bahiddhā ca |
| 'atra ti tasaviso' | natthi kiñcīti passato |
| 'ñan>(*o)' (*śaka aṇuprachami) | ñāṇam sakkānupucchāmi
katham neyyo tathāvidho |

(Sn 1113)

The second verse of this section consists of four pādas. After pāda a is quoted in full, pāda b appears to be referred to indirectly by use of the word *abhiñad[a]* (line 9.168). Pāda c is quoted in two parts consisting of the first two words and the third word respectively, and the same is true of pāda d, being quoted in two parts of one word each. The Pali version of the verse agrees with the Gāndhārī. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 'viññaṇaṭidie sava' | viññāṇaṭhitiyo sabbā |
| (*abhiṇo tasagado) | abhijānam tathāgato |
| 'ciṭhatam eṇa' 'jaṇadi' | tiṭṭhantam enam jānāti |
| 'vimuto' 'taparayano' | vimuttam tapparāyaṇam |

(Sn 1114)

The third verse of this section, as probably the first, consists of six pādas. Pādas a, b (with unclear interpretation), c and d (with unclear reading) are each quoted as a whole. Pāda e is quoted by the single word *ñ[a]ñ[o]* (line 9.176), and pāda f is quoted in two parts consisting of its first and second words. The Pali version of this verse differs from the Gāndhārī in the last part of the latter's unclear pāda b; it is possible that G *sayoyāna di* corresponds to P *saṃyojanam iti*, and that the unclear syllable *o* (possibly for the particle *ho*) was added to make up the requisite syllable count of the meter (but without giving a correct syllable-weight pattern). In pāda c, the Pali text has the absolute *abhiññāya* in place of the Middle Indo-Aryan optative *jaṇiadi*, regularizing the meter. A Pali pāda opening *evam etam*, corresponding to G *eva edo*,

is attested as a variant reading in Andersen & Smith 1913. The first and probably also last word of the Pali pāda d appear to agree with the Gāndhāri, but in place of Pali *tattha*, the Gāndhārī version has an illegible word beginning with the akṣara *na*. Most of the Gāndhārī pāda e is not quoted, but the one word that is does agree with the Pali, as does all of pāda f. The meter of this verse is *anuṣṭubh*, with *ma* *vipulā* in pāda c (— — — | — — — ×).

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 'akicaññasabhavo ña(*t)va' | ākiñcaññāsambhavam ñatvā |
| 'ñadi sayoyaṇa di o' | nandī samyojanam iti |
| 'eva edo jaṇiadi' | evam evam abhiññāya |
| 'tado na ? + paśadi' | tato tattha vipassati |
| (*eda) 'ñāṇo' (*taso tasa) | etam ñāṇam tatham tassa |
| 'bramaṇasa' 'vroṣimado' | brāhmaṇassa vusimato |
| | (Sn 1115) |

The two verses of section 19 are from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). They have parallels in the Māgandiyasutta of the Atthakavagga of the Suttanipāta, in a Sanskrit Arthavarga fragment from Khotan and in the 摩因提女經 Móyīntí nǚ jīng ('sūtra about Mākandika's daughter'). After a lemma quotation using pāda a of the second verse, the first verse is explained in a single run of the commentary, then the second verse is covered in two runs of the commentary, and finally both verses are treated together in a final run of the commentary. We will discuss each of the verses in turn. Pāda a of the first verse is quoted with omission of the first word, but on the basis of the Pali parallel and the commentary's explanation *dṛiṭigadeśu*, this can confidently be reconstructed as *yehi*. A variant form of pāda a is then quoted as *ye du vi[vi]ta · vicarati [·] loge*. Pāda b, a possible syntactic continuation of either variant of pāda a, is then quoted as a whole. From pāda c, only the first word *[e]labuyo* is quoted, followed by a complete quotation of pādas d and e (the latter interrupted by the gloss *ñā[ñi]* after its second word). Only the last word of pāda f is quoted at first, but an appendix to this first run of the commentary quotes pādas e and f one more

time, each of them in their entirety. In its final combined discussion of both verses, the commentary quotes pāda b of the first verse with omission of its second word and in the variant reading *ṇa [v]igra[ha va]dea nago*; and it quotes pāda d by its first and last word. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī in pāda a by the singular optative form *vicareyya* in place of the plural indicative *vicarati*, and by using masculine nominative *vivitto* to agree with *nāgo* in pāda b instead of the direct-case object (or adverb) *vivito*. It would be tempting to construe the Gāndhārī in parallel with the Pali, with *vivito* as a direct-case subject agreeing with *nago* and *vicaradi* as a singular indicative, but the latter is ruled out by the meter, and the commentary explicitly states that the subject of this pāda under the present interpretation are ‘those who speak of calmness’ (in the plural). In pāda b, in place of *ṇa tehi vigriśo karea* ‘he should not make a dispute about those,’ the Pali verse has *na tāni uggayha vadeyya* ‘he should not take up and dispute about those.’ In pāda d, the Pali version uses the particle *ca* where the Gāndhārī has an asyndetic construction and tolerates vowel sandhi. The wrong historical spelling *p* in *śatipado*, due to confusion with *śatipada-* ‘state of calmness,’ suggests that the third syllable of the word was pronounced short and supports Norman’s 1992: 321 suggestion (following the Pali Niddesa) to emend Pali *santivādo* to *santivado*. In pāda c, Pali has *kāme ca loke ca* in place of more plausible Gāndhārī *kamehi logaspi*. The Sanskrit fragment of this verse shows replacement of the Middle Indo-Aryan optative form P *vicareyya* by the optative ātmanepada *[vicareta]* in order to preserve the metrical pattern under Sanskritization. The string *vigrhya* at the beginning of pāda b could be an absolute or a noun in the accusative singular (followed by a vowel), and in either case it constitutes a lexical agreement with the Gāndhārī. The meter of this verse is a mixture of triṣṭubh (pādas a, b, d, e, f) and jagatī (pāda c). The second vowel of *anoalito* in pāda f is pronounced long for metrical reasons, and this is indicated orthographically by the spelling *o* instead of *u*.

(*yehi) 'vivito vicarati loge'
 'na tehi vigriśo karea ḥago'
 'elabuyo' (*kaṭago variyo yasa)
 'jaleṇa pakeṇa aṇoalito'
 'eva muṇi śatipado agridhro'
 'kamehi logaspi aṇoalito'
 + + + + [vicareta] loke
 vigṛhya + + + ai + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + +
 + + + + + + + + + +
 (Arth-Skt^K IV rev. 4)

yehi vivitto vicareyya loke
 na tāni uggayha vadeyya nāgo
 elambujam kaṇṭakam vārijam yathā
 jalena paṇkena canūpalittam
 evam munī santivādo agiddho
 kāme ca loke ca anūpalitto
 (Sn 845)
 悉遠世求敗苦 尊言離莫與俱
 如水華淨無泥 重塵土不為萎
 尊安爾無所貪 於世俗無所著
 (Arth-Chin 180b25–27)

After the lemma quotation of pāda a of the second verse and the explanation of the first verse, the independent treatment of the second verse begins with separate quotations of the first two and the third word from pāda a. This is followed by a quotation of the beginning of pāda b in the unexplained reading *s[u] mu na mi di*, and then the end of pāda b. Pāda c is likewise quoted in two parts consisting of the first two and last four words. The second run concludes with a complete quotation of pāda d. The third run begins with a quotation of pāda a by its first and third words. It is possible that further material from pāda a was quoted in the unintelligible portions of lines 9:197–198. The commentary skips forward to a complete quotation of pāda d, then back again to a quotation of the last four words of pāda b. This is followed by a quotation of the first two words of pāda c (in the variant reading *na kamuṇa*), and the remainder of this pāda by the two words *na śudena*. The third run concludes with a one-word quotation from pāda d followed by the note *vu[t]aJrtho* ‘its meaning has (already) been stated’ (out of the original order of pādas, as we have seen). In the final combined run of the commentary, pāda a and the first part of pāda b are quoted

by the first three and the last two words of this passage, linked by the abbreviator *yavi* ‘as far as’; the beginning of pāda b is here given in the variant reading *sa manam edi*. After this, the second half of pāda b is quoted as *na hi tamayo* (omitting *so*), together with the first word of pāda d. The Pali version of this verse agrees with the Gāndhārī in pāda a, in pāda b (here with the variant beginning given by the commentary) and in pāda c. In pāda d, the Pali verse has the pronoun *so* in place of the particle *ho*, and the locative form *nivesanesu* instead of the formal instrumental *niv^eśānehi*. The Sanskrit fragment of the verse only preserves the beginning of the first and last words of pāda b, agreeing with both the Gāndhārī and Pali. Zhī Qiān’s translation of this verse is very free and does not agree more closely with any of the Indian versions than any other. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh. Pāda a is irregular in the Pali version, and Norman 1992: 322 suggested resolving this by pronouncing *ditṭhiyā* with two long vowels, assuming collapse of a short sixth and seventh syllable into the lengthened middle syllable of *ditṭhiyā*, and ignoring the middle vowel of *mutiyā*, giving a pāda [na ve:dagu: dit^hi:ja: na mutja:] with the pattern ~ - ~ - | - - | - ~ - ×. This procedure suffers from the fact that it proposes no less than three modifications to arrive at a pāda that is still metrically irregular, and that it subjects the endings of the morphologically parallel words *ditṭhiyā* and *mutiyā* to exactly opposite treatments: exceptional lengthening in the one case, exceptional shortening in the other. We propose an alternative solution that starts from the fact that the preservation of the light-heavy pattern in the feminine singular instrumental endings of Pali is exceptional within Middle Indo-Aryan (cf. Insler 1994). In other languages such as Gāndhārī and Māhārāṣṭrī, the old instrumental ending *-iyā* was analogically replaced by G *-ie*, Māh. *-īe* [i:je], and if we assume this different syllable-weight pattern for *drīthie* and *mudiyo* in our verse, then the only metrical adjustment that needs to be made is lengthening of the second negation in pāda a, or rather use of the heavy negation particle *no* that occurs in a similar configuration in pāda c. The metrical pronunciation of the pāda was then [na ve:ḍajo: dṛiṣṭi:je no: muḍi:je], with an entirely regular pattern ~ - ~ - | - - ~ | - ~ - ×. It is likely that a corresponding

pronunciation obtained in the original Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan dialect form of this verse, and that it only lost its metrical regularity on transposition into Pali.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 'na vedago drīthie na mudiyo' | na vedagū dit̄thiyā na mutiyā |
| 'su mu ḥa mi di' 'na hi tamayo so' | sa mānam eti na hi tammayo so |
| 'na kamuno' 'no vi ṣudena ḥoyo' | na kammanā no pi sutena neyyo |
| 'anuaṇido ho ḥiv(*e)śānehi' | anūpanīto so nivesanesu |
| | (Sn 846) |
| + + + + + + + + + + | 亦不轉所念想 行如度不隨識 |
| + + + + + + + + + + | 三不作墮行去 捨不教三世事 |
| + + + + + + + + + + | (Arth-Chin 180b28–29) |
| a[nūpa] + + [nive] + + + | |
| (Arth-Skt ^K IV rev. 5) | |

Verse 20 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section contains at least two runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation (corresponding to pāda a of the verse), pāda b is quoted as a whole. The first word of pāda c is quoted in lines 9.205–206, and it is followed by the requisite number of illegible akṣaras to make up a complete pāda, but what is visible does not seem to correspond to the expected reading, and it is at least as likely that the akṣaras in question represent a short gloss on just the first word of pāda c. Pāda d is quoted as a whole. The second run of the commentary starts with a quotation of pāda a, but only the first two words are visible and the rest of the section is obscured. This verse has parallels in the Attadaṇḍasutta of the Atṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 維樓勒王經 Wéilóulè wáng jīng ('sūtra about King Virūḍhaka') of Zhī Qiān's Arthapada translation. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī in concluding pāda a with the quotation particle *ti* rather than the disjunctive particle *va*. In pāda b, the Pali verse has *pi* in place of G *na* (which creates a double negation). The Gāndhārī version's pāda d is entirely different from that of the Pali, but corresponds to pāda c of Sn 950 (*asatā ca na socati*, = Sn 861b), the verse that immediately precedes our verse in the Pali collection, and to Arth-Chin

189c16 已無有亦無處, which follows our verse after the equivalent of Sn 949 in the Chinese translation. Since pāda d of the Chinese translation of our verse corresponds to the Pali version, and since the source verse of the variant Gāndhārī pāda d is not adjacent to our verse in the Chinese translation, the Gāndhārī version and the Chinese translation appear to derive independently from a source that had the reading and ordering of the Pali collection. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 'yasa ṇasti ida me va' | yassa natthi idam me ti |
| 'pareṣa va ṇa kicano' | paresaṁ vā pi kiñcanāṁ |
| 'mama(*two)' (*so asavida) | mamattam so asamvindam |
| 'asada ca na soyadi' | natthi me ti na socati |
| (Sn 951) | |
| 自不計是少身 彼無有當何計 | |
| 以不可亦不在 非我有當何憂 | |
| (Arth-Chin 189c11–12) | |

Verse 21 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains at least two runs of the commentary. The lemma quotation is lost, but the first preserved quotation of what appears to be the first run is of the first half of pāda a. It provides an alternative explanation (line 9.214, *asa [va]*) and is therefore probably the second quotation of this half-pāda within the same run. The second half of pāda a is quoted next, followed by the last two words of pāda b together, and pāda c in two parts. The second run quotes pāda a as a whole, only the second word of pāda b in syntactically adjusted form, and pāda c as a while (of which, however, the first half is lost). This verse has parallels in the Kassapa sutta of the Bodhivagga of the Pali Udāna and in the Brāhmaṇavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna (the relevant portion of the Udāna manuscript from Subashi is not preserved), and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn's Udāna translation. The Pali version agrees precisely with the quoted portions of the Gāndhārī verse (if we assume that *saro* is a slip for *sare*, based on the transposition of a superficially confusing Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan prototype **dante sare*

patit̄thite). The Sanskrit version presents the topic of the verse in the nominative instead of the Pali accusative, and it consequently has to add the filler *hy* in pāda a to avoid vowel hiatus. In the absence of pāda d of the Gāndhārī version, it is impossible to say whether its direct-case forms are used as subjects as in the Sanskrit or as objects as in the Pali. The Chinese translation is free and does not show which of these constructions its Indian original used. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh, with *ra* *vipulā* in pāda c (– – ~ – | – ~ – ×).

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 'anañapoṣi añado' | anaññaposiñ aññātam |
| (*dato) 'saro p(*r)adiñhido' | dantam sāre patiññhitam |
| 'kṣināsavo vatadoṣo' | khīñāsavam vantadosam |
| (*tam aho bromi bramaño) | tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam |
| | (Ud-P 1.6) |
| ananyapoṣī hy ājñātā | 以斷恩愛 離家無欲 |
| dāntah sāre pratiñhitah | 愛有已盡 是謂梵志 |
| kṣīñāsravo vāntadoṣo | (Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 771a15–16) |
| yah sa vai brāhmaṇah smṛtah | |
| (Ud-Skt 33.23) | |

The two verses of section 22 are from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). They have parallels in the Kalahavivādasutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 異學角飛經 Yíxué jiǎofēi jīng ('sūtra about the heretics' quarrel and fight') of Zhī Qiān's Arthapada translation. In both of these versions they directly follow each other. We will discuss each verse in turn. After the lemma quotation, which introduces the pair of verses by quoting pāda a of the first verse in full, the first word of pāda b is visible in an otherwise illegible portion of line 9.219. This word is followed by the requisite number of akṣaras to make up a complete pāda, but to the extent that this akṣaras can be identified, they do not agree with the reading expected on the basis of the parallels. Similarly, the last three words of pāda c are quoted in line 9.222 and preceded by a number of illegible akṣaras that do not seem to correspond to the

expected beginning of this pāda. It is not clear whether pāda d is quoted in the long illegible stretch in lines 9.223–224 or whether it was omitted. The Pali version mostly agrees with what is preserved of the Gāndhārī, but uses the particle *pi* instead of *nu* in pāda a and apparently inserts a filler particle *hi* to avoid vowel hiatus between the last two words of this pāda. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh. The Chinese translation corresponds only loosely to the Indian versions of this verse.

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 'edavadag(*r)a ḥu vadati ege' | ettāvataggam pi vadanti heke |
| 'yakṣasa' (*śodhi iśa) + + + | yakkhassa suddhim idha paṇḍitāse |
| (*teṣa puṇ) 'ege samayo vadati' | tesam puneke samayam vadanti |
| (*aṇuadišeṣe kuśala vadāṇa) | anupādisese kusalā vadānā |
| | (Sn 876) |
| | 是極正有何邪 向徑神得果慧 |
| | 尊行定樹林間 無有餘最善說 |
| | (Arth-Chin 181c17–18) |

The first legible apparent quotation from the second verse (line 9.225: *[v](*i)[va]dam edi*) corresponds to the end of pāda c. This is followed, within an otherwise only partially legible portion of lines 9.225–226, by one quotation consisting of the first and apparently the fourth word of pāda a, and then two separate quotations of the first and second word of pāda b as well as probable references (*vimasae* 9.227 and *vima[sa]* 9.228) to the last word of pāda b. The visible portion of this section concludes with a quotation of the first two words of pāda c. In spite of the confusing general picture, there is no clear indication of more than one run of the commentary, and the end of pāda c appears to be intentionally quoted out of sequence. The Pali version agrees with what we have of the Gāndhārī, with the possible exception of the partially illegible Gāndhārī correspondence of *P upanissitā* in pāda a. The Chinese translation agrees only very loosely with the Indian versions and may in part or whole reflect a different original. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh.

'ede' (*ya ñatva) 'upa ? ? da' (*di) ete ca ñatvā upanissitā ti
 'ñatva' 'muñi' + + + (*so) 'vimas(*i)' ñatvā munī nissaye so vimamṣī
 '(*ñā)tva vimuto' (*ñā) 'vivadam edi' ñatvā vimutto na vivādam eti
 (*bhavabhavae ña samedi dhiro)
 (Sn 877)
 知如是一心向 尊已著不戒行
 疾行間度世間 斷世捨是彼身
 (Arth-Chin 181c19–20)

The immediate source of verse 23 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains at least two runs of the commentary. The lemma quotation and most of the beginning of the section are obscured, and the first legible quotation, in line 9.236, is of pāda c as a whole. It is possible that this was followed by a quotation of pāda d in the obscured part of line 9.238. The next run of the commentary begins with a full quotation of pāda a, followed by an obscured portion, a full quotation of pāda c, and another obscured portion before the manuscript breaks off. This verse has a parallel in the first and second Rohitassa sutta of the Rohitassavagga in the Catukkanipāta of the Aṅguttaranikāya and in the Rohita sutta of the Nānātitthiyavagga in the Devaputtasamyutta of the Sagāthavagga of the Suttanipāta. The Pali versions of this verse mostly agree with what is preserved of the Gāndhārī, except in pāda a where they have the variants *ha ve* (two affirmative particles) and *bhave* (a third-person singular optative) in place of Gāndhārī *muñi*. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh. Pāda b is metrically regular in Pali (and would be so in its lost Gāndhārī version if there were no lexical or grammatical differences from the Pali) in spite of the apparent introduction of an additional syllable in the spelling *brahmacariya-*: in Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan, the sound group [arja] developed by epenthesis into [arija], but the oldest Buddhist verses (such as the present one) were evidently composed when this epenthesis was only beginning to be applied (von Hinüber 2001: § 154). In the dialectal basis of Pali, on the other hand, OIA [arja] appears to have developed by

umlaut and transfer of length to [ɛ:ra] (von Hinüber 2001: § 147). If this interpretation holds, then the Pali spelling *brahmacariya-* represents the regular Eastern Indo-Aryan pronunciation at the time when Buddhist literature reached Western India. The genuine Pali pronunciation of the word, however, happened to coincide in its rhythmical structure with the older Eastern Indo-Aryan pronunciation based on which the verse was composed, so that no metrical adjustment was required. In Gāndhārī the sound combination [arja] regularly developed by assimilation into [aj:a] (§ 4.2.2.3.13), also coinciding with the rhythmical structure of the older Eastern Indo-Aryan pronunciation, and our word *bramaiya-* (reconstructed on the basis of *bramayia-* SaṅgCm-G, *bramayirya-* Dhp-G^K 8, 77, *brammayiyava* Dhp-G^K 68) reflects this pronunciation in its spelling. The metrical pronunciation of our reconstructed pāda b would therefore have been [lo:jantajo: vṛožiðabram:ajij:o], giving a regular triṣṭubh pattern – – ˘ – | ˘ ˘ – | – ˘ – ×. One real metrical irregularity occurs in pāda c of the Pali version, where the ninth syllable should be light but is clearly heavy (and spelled thus: *samitāvī*). It is not clear how to resolve this Pali problem, but in the Gāndhārī version one easy solution would have been to pronounce the word with regular shortening of its final vowel ([çamiða:vī]).

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 'taspa muṇi logavidu sumesu' | tasmā ha ve lokavidū sumedhu |
| (*logatago vroṣidabramaïyo) | lokantagū vusitabrahmacariyo |
| 'logasa ato śamidavi ñatva' | lokassa antam samitāvī ñatvā |
| (*naśiśadi logo imo para ca) | nāsimṣati lokam imam parañ ca
(AN II 49.3–6, 50.18–21
= SN I 62.25–28) |

The extant portion of section 24 is not substantial enough to allow identification of its root verse.

The immediate source of verse 25 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains at least five runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation (consisting of the whole of pāda a), at least the first two words (and possibly all) of pāda a are quoted at the

beginning of the first run. It is not clear whether pāda a is cited in the second and third runs, but it is cited in full at the beginning of the fourth and (together with pāda b) the fifth run. Pāda b is quoted as a whole in the first run. Its second and third words are quoted together in the second run, and this is probably preceded by a quotation of its first word. Similarly, in the third run the second and third words of pāda b are cited separately, probably preceded by a quotation of the first word. The fourth run does quote first the first word separately and then the second and third words together. The fifth run quotes all of pāda b together with pāda a. Pāda c consists of two words that are quoted separately in runs one to three, together in run four, and probably together in an obscured portion of run five. Pāda d is quoted as a whole in runs one to three. It is not quoted in run four, and in run five it is quoted indirectly as a nominal paraphrase. This verse has parallels in the Dvayatānupassanāsutta in the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta, in the Kāma sutta of the Ekanipāta and the Taṇhā sutta of the Catukkanipāta of the Itivuttaka, in the Mahāvāṇijajātaka of the Pakiṇṇakanipāta of the Jātaka, in the Taṇhā sutta of the Bhaṇḍagāmavagga in the Catukkanipāta of the Aṅguttaranikāya, in the Trṣṇāvarga of the Sanskrit Udāna⁶⁶ and in the Tahna chapter of the Patna Dharmapada. It is also included in Wéiqínán Dharmapada translation and in Zhú Fóniàn and Tiān Xīzāi's Udāna translations.⁶⁷ The Pali version of this verse only differs from the Gāndhārī in the beginning of pāda c, where it has *vītataṇho* (corresponding to OIA *vīta-*) in place of Gāndhārī *viadataṣo* (corresponding to OIA *vigata-*). The Sanskrit version inserts the filler *hy* in pāda c to avoid vowel hiatus and preserve the meter. The Patna Dharmapada version agrees completely with the Gāndhārī. The meter of this verse is regular anuṣṭubh. The initial syllable of pāda c is resolved into two light syllables.

⁶⁶Ud-Skt 3.18: *etad ādīnavāñ jñātvā trṣṇā duḥkhasya sambhavāñ vītatrṣṇo hy anādānah smṛto bhikṣuh parivrajet.*

⁶⁷Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 778c27–28: 能覺知是者 愛苦共生有 無欲無有想 莎芻真度世.

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| 'edo adiṇavo ñatva' | etam ādīnavam̄ ñatvā | 離欲滅愛跡 出網無所弊 |
| 'taṣa dukhasa sabhavo' | tañhā dukkhassa | 盡道除獄縛 一切此彼解 |
| 'viadataśo añadaño' | sambhavam̄ | (Dhp-Chin ^{WQN} 571b1–2) |
| 'spado bhikhu parivaye' | vītatañho anādāno
sato bhikkhu paribbaje | |
| | (Sn 741 = It 9.5–8,
109.16–19 = Ja IV
354.13–14 = AN II
10.11–12) | |
| (*e)t(*a)d (*ādīnavam̄
jñ)ātv(*ā)
tr̄ṣṇā d(*uḥkha)s(*ya)
s(*ambhava)m̄
vītat(*ṛ)ṣ(*ṇ)o hy
a(*nādānah) | 能覺知是者 愛苦共生有
無欲無有想 比丘專念度
(Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 636b5–6) | etam ādīnavam̄ nyāttā
tahnā dukkhassa
sambhavam̄
vītatahno anādāno
sato bhikkhū parivraje
(Dhp ^P 142) |
| ++++++
(Ud-Skt ^S 3.18) | | |

8.3. Scroll 13

The immediate source of verse 26 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains at least five full runs of the commentary. Most of the first run is obscured and the only quotation that is visible (in line 13:2) is of the whole of pāda d. The second run provides a summary explanation, quoting pāda c in two parts (using the verb form *p(*r)acedi*) and then pāda a by its last word. The third run begins with a nominal paraphrase of the last word of pāda a, followed by an illegible portion that probably contained a reference to the first half of pāda c, and then by a quotation of the second half of pāda c (using the verb form *pra[c](*e)[adi]*). The fourth run likewise begins with a nominal paraphrase of the last word of pāda a, followed by a quotation of the third word of pāda c in the instrumental and then a quotation of the second half of

pāda c (using the verb form *praceadi*). The fifth run begins with a quotation of (at least) the last word of pāda a, then quotes the first half of pāda c by its third word in the instrumental, and then the second half of pāda c (using the verb form *pracedi*). The first three words of pāda a are not quoted anywhere in the preserved and legible portions of this section, nor is any part of pāda b. This verse has parallels in the Kokāliyasutta in the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta, in the Pāpavagga of the Pali Dhammapada, in the Phusati sutta of the Sattivagga of the Devatāsaṃyutta of the Sagāthavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya and in the Bilaṅgika sutta of the Arahantavagga of the Brāhmaṇasamyutta of the Sagāthavagga of the Saṃyuttanikāya, in the Sāliyajātaka of the Vaṇṇārohavagga of the Pañcanipāta of the Jātaka, in the Pāpavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna and in the Kalyāṇī chapter of the Patna Dharmapada. It is also included in Wéiqínán Dharmapada translation and in Zhú Fóniàn's and Tiān Xīzāi's Udāna translations.⁶⁸ The Pali version of this verse differs from the Gāndhārī in pāda d, where in place of *paso balavatam eva* it has *rajo paṭivātam va khitto* ‘like dust thrown against the wind.’ The Sanskrit version inserts the filler *hy* in pāda a to avoid vowel hiatus, introduces *nityam* in pāda b and rephrases the last word as *vigatāṅganasya* to avoid the Middle Indo-Aryan word *posassa*. It has *pratiyāti* in place of Gāndhārī *pracedi* in pāda c and rearranges the words of pāda d, introducing *yathaiva* in place of Gāndhārī *eva* and Pali *va*. The Patna Dharmapada version mostly agrees with the Pali, but turns *naro* in pāda a into the subject of the relative clause and adds the prefix *pra-* to the verb. The meter of this verse is a mixture of jāgatī (pāda a) and triṣṭubh (pādas b, c and d). Pādas a and b are regular. Pāda c has only ten syllables in the Pali, Patna Dharmapda and main Gāndhārī versions. Norman 1992: 269 considers this an acceptable metrical replacement of light sixth and seventh syllables by one heavy syllable, but while the wide spread of this form of the pāda does make it likely that it is original, there are three different attempts within later Indian tradition to regularize the meter. The Sanskrit Udāna replaces *pracedi* by synonymous *pratiyāti* (derived from *prati* + √*yā*),

⁶⁸Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 792b5–6 has same text as in Ud-Chin^{ZFN}.

and the Paramatthajotikā commentary suggests undoing the internal sandhi of *pacceti* and reading *paṭiyeti* (Pj II 720). A third solution is represented by the alternative optative form *praceadi* quoted in the third run of our commentary, giving a pāda [taū eva ba:lo: prāt̄e:ja:ḍī pa:vo] with the requisite number of syllables but an irregular series of three heavy syllables in fifth, sixth and seventh position: ~ - ~ - | - - - | - ~ - ×. The Pali pāda d involves resolution of the first syllable into two light syllables, resulting in a total of twelve syllables (Norman 1992: 269). The different Gāndhārī pāda d gives the regular eleven-syllable triṣṭubh pattern ~ ~ - - | - ~ ~ | - ~ - ×.

(*yo apraduṭhasa ḡarasa) 'duśadi' yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati

(*śodhasa poṣasa aṅgaṇasa) suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassa

'tam eva balo' 'pracedi pavo'

'suhomo paso balavatam eva'

(Sn 662 = Dhp-P 125 = SN I

13.10–13, 164.15–18 = Ja III

203.15–18)

加惡誣罔人 清白猶不汚

愚殃反自及 如塵逆風坌

(Dhp-Chin^{WQN} 565a16–17)

yo hy apraduṭṭasya narasya duṣyate

śuddhasya nityam vigatāṅgaṇasya

tam eva bālam pratiyāti pāpam

kṣiptam rajah prativātam yathaiva

(Ud-Skt 28.9)

無故畏彼人 謗毀清淨者

尋惡獲其力 煙雲風所吹

(Ud-Chin^{ZFN} 743b18–19)

yo apraduṭṭassa naro praduṣyati

śuddhassa poṣassa anamganassa

tam eva bālam pracceti pāpam

sukhumo rajo paṭivātam va khitto

(Dhp^P 115)

Verse 27 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section contains four runs of the commentary. After the lemma quotation, pāda a is quoted by the combination of its first and last word in the first run, and it is quoted in two parts by the indirect reference *vastukama-* (established in line 13·10) and the direct quotation *acatari* in

runs two and three. The beginning of run four is lost but may have contained a further quotation of pāda a. Pāda b may have been quoted in the obscured portions of the first run in lines 13-11 and 12. It is not quoted in runs two or three, but it is quoted by at least its last word (possibly preceded by more material) immediately after the lost beginning of run four. Pāda c is quoted in two parts in runs two and three. Only a quotation of the second part is preserved in the first run, but this may have been preceded by a quotation of the first parts of the pāda. A quotation of one or both parts of pāda c may also have been contained in the lost or illegible portions of run four. Pāda d is quoted as a whole in runs two to four, and in two parts in the first run. This verse has parallels in the Attadaṇḍasutta of the Āṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 維樓勒王經 Wéilóulè wáng jīng ('sūtra about King Virūḍhaka') of Zhī Qiān's Arthatpada translation. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī in its choice of verb in pāda c, *ajheti* (*ajjh* + √*i*) in place of the denominative *avijayadi* (← *avija-* < OIA *abhidhyā-*). The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh. The metrical pronunciation of pāda a involves vowel sandhi between the first two words ([jo:ja ka:ma: aṭe:atari]), giving a *bha* *vipulā* pattern with special opening: - ~ - - | - ~ ~ ×. In the pronunciation of pāda c, the denominative takes its optional contracted form ([na so:jaḍi na:v̥i:j:e:ḍi]), resulting in a *ra* *vipulā* pattern ~ - ~ ~ | - ~ - ×.

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 'yo iśa' (*kama) | 'acatari' | yodha kāme accatari | 捨欲力其輩寡 悉數世其終少 |
| (*sago loge) | 'duracago' | samgām loke duraccayam | 捨不沒亦不走 流已斷無縛結 |
| 'ṇa soyadi' | 'navijayadi' | na so socati nājjheti | (Arth-Chin 189c5-6) |
| 'chiṇasodo avadhaṇo' | | chinnasoto abandhano | |

(Sn 948)

The immediate source of verse 28 is not clear (§ 1.5.4). This section contains four runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is quoted in full in the second run and by its first word in the fourth run. The beginning of the third run is not preserved, but in all probability also contained a quotation of pāda a. Pāda b is quoted in full in the first and fourth runs, the back-reference *uadanena* is used for it

in the second run, and it is quoted as *ua[vati]a* in the third run. Pādas c and d are quoted in full in the first, third and fourth runs. This verse has partial parallels in the Dvayatānupassanāsutta of the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta, in the Kāma sutta of the Ekanipāta and the Taṇhā sutta of the Catukkanipāta of the Itivuttaka, in the Taṇhā sutta of the Bhaṇḍagāmavagga in the Catukkanipāta of the Ānguttaranikāya and in the Trṣṇāvarga of the Sanskrit Udāna⁶⁹ (but not in Zhú Fóniàn’s or Tiān Xīzāi’s Udāna translations). The Pali verse agrees with the Gāndhārī in pāda a only. The Sanskrit verse agrees with the Gāndhārī in pādas a and d, but has *garbbham* in place of *dukham*. Pādas b and c of the Gāndhārī verse have no known parallels. The meter of this verse is *anuṣṭubh*. Following Norman 1992: 291 (with reference to Pj II 699), we assume that the fourth syllable of pāda a was pronounced with a long vowel ([taṣṇa:duḍi:jo: puruṣo]), giving the *bha* *vipulā* pattern ~ - ~ - | - ~ ~ ×. The metrical pronunciation of pāda b involved internal vowel sandhi that is not indicated in writing, and it is worth noting that here (in contrast to the case of *driṭhie* and *mudiyo* in pāda a of the second verse of section 19) the meter indicates a light penultimate in the oblique singular ending of the feminine *i*-stem noun *uavati*: [tatratatro:uavat:i]. In combination with the facts that the two unparalleled pādas both involve obligatory vowel sandhi and that the only other attestation of the word *tatratatropapatti*- is in a Buddhist Sanskrit text, and considering the complete absence of Middle Indo-Aryan parallels for the verse as a whole, it seems likely that this verse was originally composed in a form of Buddhist Sanskrit.

⁶⁹Ud-Skt 3.12: *trṣṇādvitīyah puruṣo dīrgham adhvānam āśayā punah punah saṃsarate garbham eti punah punah itthambhāvānyathībhāvah saṃsāre tv āgatim gatim.*

| | | |
|------------------------|--|--|
| 'taśadudio puruṣo' | tañhādutiyo puriso | (*trṣṇādv)i(*t)īyah puru(*ṣ)o |
| 'tatratatratraüavatie' | dīgham addhāna samsaram | (*dī)r(*ggham) + + + + + |
| 'teṇa teṇeva sabhodi' | itthabhāvaññathābhāvam | punaḥ punar upādetvā |
| 'dukham edi puṇapuṇo' | samsāram nātivattati | garbbham eti punaḥ pun(*a)ḥ |
| | (Sn 740 = It 9.1–4,
109.12–15 = AN II
10.9–10) | itthabhāvonny(*a)thībhāva(*h)
satvanām āgatim gatim
(Ud-Skt ^S 3.12) |

Verse 29 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is quoted in two parts in the first and second run. The first half of pāda a is quoted at the beginning of the third run, and this may have been followed by quotation of the second half in the lost portion at the beginning of line 13.41. The first quotation of pāda b in the first run may have been in the lost and illegible portion at the beginning of line 13.35; it is then quoted in line 13.36 by the second part of its first word and by its second word; it is quoted as a whole in the second run and may also have been quoted in the lost portion at the beginning of line 13.41. Pāda c is quoted in full in the first and second runs; it is not clear whether it was also quoted in the third run. Pāda d is quoted in two parts in the first and third runs, and as a whole in the second run. This verse has a parallel in the Māgga chapter of the Patna Dharmapada. It has partial parallels in the Hemavatasutta of the Uragavagga of the Suttanipāta (*sabbadā sīlasampanno paññavā susamāhito* Sn 174ab) and in the Piyavagga of the Pali Dhammapada (*sīladassanasampannam* Dhp-P 217a). The Patna Dharmapada version has śraddho śīlena saṃpanno in place of Gāndhārī śīlodaśaṇasapano in pāda a, and it has āsevam instead of asino in pāda c. It also presents pādas b and d in reverse order compared to the Gāndhārī. The meter of this verse is regular anuṣṭubh. In the metrical pronunciation of pāda b, *ajatvaiiaśamo* was contracted to [aj:atvo:vajamo:] (cf. *tatratatratraüavatie* [tatratatratra:vavatije] in verse 28), and *asino* had a long vowel in its initial syllable ([a:zi:no]; cf. *yam khalu dhammad ādhīnam* Ja V 350.16 in identical

position).

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 'śilodaśaṇasapano' | śraddho śīlena saṃpanno |
| 'ajatvaüaśamo rado' | pramñavā susamāhito |
| 'ramadi magam asiṇo' | ramate māggam āsevam |
| 'prañava susamahido' | ajjhattopasame rato |

(Dhp^P 371)

Verse 30 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains five runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is quoted in full in the second, third and fourth runs; it is quoted by its last three words in the fifth run. Pāda b is quoted in full in the first, second and third runs; it is quoted by its last three words in the fourth and fifth runs. The first and third words of pāda c are quoted separately in the first run; the pāda is quoted as a whole in the second run; it is not quoted in the third, fourth or fifth runs. Pāda d is quoted by its first three words in the first run; it is not quoted in the remaining runs. This verse has parallels in the *Kodha chapter of the Khotan Dharmapada and in the Kodhana sutta of the Avyākatavagga of the Sattakanipāta of the Aṅguttaranikāya. It is also included in fragments of a Gāndhārī verse anthology from Bamiyan (Salomon forthcoming). Partial parallels of this verse, with other terms in place of *krodho* and *kroso*, occur in the Mala sutta of the Tikanipāta of the Pali Itivuttaka (It 84.1–4: *luddho*, 13–16: *duṭṭho*, 25–28: *mūḍho*) and in the Mahāvastu (Mvu I 244.3–4, III 296.13–14: *rakto*). The two Gāndhārī versions of this verse agree against the Pali in having *adho tada tamo* as three separate words in this order in pāda c rather than *andhatamāṇ tadā*. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh. The metrical pronunciation of pāda d involves a long final vowel on *sa(*ha)di* ([saḥaði:]), a relic of the original ātmanepada ending that is preserved in the Pali version, but lost as part of the general merger of the parasmaipada and ātmanepada formal categories in Gāndhārī.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| 'krodho artho ḡa jaṇadi' | kudhu atha ḡa jaṇadi | kuddho attham̄ na jānāti |
| 'krodho dhamo ḡa paśadi' | kudhu dhamu na paśadi | kuddho dhammaṁ na |
| 'adho ta(*da) tamo bhodi' | anu tada tamu bhodi | passati |
| 'yo kro(*so) sa(*ha)di' (*ṇaro) | ya kodhu sahadī naru
(Dhp-G ^K 282) | andhatamam̄ tadā hoti
yam̄ kodho sahate naram̄ |
| | | (AN IV 96.22–23) |

Verse 31 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains one full and two partial runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is not quoted again. Pāda b is likewise quoted in full in the first run, but not in the second and third runs. Pāda c is quoted in full in the first run, in two parts in the second run, and not at all in the third run. Pāda d is quoted by its last three words in the first run, by its second and fifth words separately in the second run, and by its first two words and its fifth word separately in the third run. This verse has parallels in the Jaṭila sutta of the Bodhivagga of the Pāli Udāna and in the Brāhmaṇavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna,⁷⁰ and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn’s Udāna translation. The Pali version of this verse uses the distinct lexical item *ettha* in place of Gāndhārī *atra* in pāda b, and it has the locative *yamhi* in place of Gāndhārī *yasa*. The Subashi Udāna manuscript sides with the Gāndhārī in having *atra* and, more significantly, (*yas)y(*a); it is also closer to the Gāndhārī version than the later Sanskrit Udāna which rearranges the words of pāda d. The later Udāna further Sanskritizes Gāndhārī *śayadi* to *snāti vai*; it is unclear whether this step was already taken in the Subashi Udāna where the end of the pāda is lost and (*s)n(*āyate) represents Nakatani’s reconstruction on the basis of the Gāndhārī. Pādas a and b of the Chinese translation agree closely with the Indian versions, pādas c and d more loosely. The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh. The metrical pronunciation of the beginning of pāda a involved either vowel sandhi ([noḍaje:na]) or vowel hiatus licensed by metrical resolution of the first syllable ([na uḍaje:na]), and *suyi* was pronounced with a regularly short final

⁷⁰Ud-Skt 33.11: *nodakena śucir bhavati bahv atra snāti vai janah yasya satyam ca dharmam ca sa śucir brāhmaṇah sa ca.*

vowel. The pronunciation of pāda b involved lengthening of the final vowel of *śayadi* ([sna:jaði:]), presumably on the basis of cases such as *sa(*ha)di* [sahaði:] in verse 30 (even though OIA *snāyati* in contrast to *sahate* regularly takes parasmaipada endings).

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 'ṇa udageṇa suyi bho(*di)' | na udakena suci hoti |
| 'bahotra śayadi jaṇo' | bahv ettha nhāyatī jano |
| 'yasa saca ca dhama ca' | yamhi saccañ ca dhammo ca |
| 'so suyi' 'so ca bramaṇo' | so suci so ca brāhmaṇo |
| | (Ud-P 1.9) |
| (*noda)k(*ena śucir bhavati) | 不以水清淨 多有人沐浴 |
| (*bah)v (*at)r(*a s)n(*āyate janah) | 能除弊惡法 是謂為梵志 |
| (*yas)y(*a sat)y(*am ca dharmaś ca) | (Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} 770a10–11) |
| (*sa śuci sa ca) brāhmaṇa(*ḥ) | |
| (Ud-Skt ^S 33.12) | |

Verse 32 is from the Samyakparivrajanyasūtra (§ 1.5.5). This section contains four runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is apparently quoted with omission of its first word at the beginning of the second run. Pāda b is quoted in full in the first run and with omission of its last word in the second run. Pāda c is quoted in full in the first and in the second run. None of these three pādas is directly quoted in the third and fourth runs; instead, they are referred back to by the terms *nidanakṣayena* (line 13.68) and *nidanaprahanenā* (line 13.69) whose connection with the first three pādas been established in the second run. Pāda d is apparently not quoted in the first run, quoted in full in the second run, quoted by its last two words in the third run, and referred to by nominal paraphrases of its first and last words in the fourth run. This verse has a parallel in the Sammāparibbājaniyasutta of the Cūlavagga of the Suttanipāta. The Pali version of this verse differs from the Gāndhārī in pāda b, where it uses the particle *pi* in place of *ca* and the optative ātmanepada verb form *sandhiyetha* ‘should resent’ (regularly based on the passive

sandhiyate, pace Norman 1992: 216) in place of the optative *satrasea*. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh. The quotation of pāda a omits the metrically required particle *ti* attested in the Pali parallel. Once it is supplied, this pāda is regular with vowel hiatus between its last two words (it is unclear why Norman 1992: 216 suggests contraction of *na uṇnameyya*). Pāda d is hypometric in both available versions and it remains unclear how to rectify or explain this.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 'yo vadadi ma (*ti) ḥa uṇamea' | yo vandati man ti na uṇnameyya |
| 'akroṭho ca ḥa satrasea bhikhu' | akuṭṭho pi na sandhiyetha bhikkhu |
| 'ladha parabhoyaṇo ḥa majea' | laddhā parabhojanam na majje |
| 'same so loge parivayea' | sammā so loke paribbajeyya |

(Sn 366)

Verse 33 belongs to the Dharmapada-Udāna group (§ 1.5.3). This section contains two runs of the commentary. Pāda a is quoted in two parts separately in the first run, and probably by its second word only in the second run. Pāda b (not as usual pāda a) is quoted in full in the lemma of this section, and referred to by a nominal paraphrase of its second word in the second run. Pāda c is quoted in full in the first run and by its first word in the second run. Pāda d is quoted in two parts separately in the first run, and may have been quoted in the second run in the lost portion at the beginning of line 13·81. Pāda e is quoted in full in the first run and is not quoted in the second run. Pāda f is quoted in three parts in the first run and is also not quoted in the second run. This verse has parallels in the Apramada chapter of the Khotan Dharmapada, in the Appamādavagga of the Pali Dhammapada, in the Apramādavarga of the Sanskrit Udāna⁷¹ and in the Apramāda chapter of the Patna Dharmapada, and it is included in Zhú Fóniàn's and Tiān Xīzāi's Udāna translations.⁷² The Pali and later Sanskrit Udāna versions differ from the Gāndhārī and Subashi Udāna versions of this verse by

⁷¹Ud-Skt 4.4: *pramādam apramādena yadā nudati paññitah prajñāprāsādam āruhya tv aśokah śokinīm prajām parvatasthaiva bhūmisthān dhīro bālān avekṣate.*

⁷²Ud-Chin^{TXZ} 779a7–9: 迷醉如自禁 能去之為賢 已昇智慧堂 去危乃獲安 智者觀愚人 謐如山與地.

having *pajam* / *prajam* in place of *janō* / (*ja)na. The Pali version further differs from the Gāndhārī (at least the version in our manuscript) by its use of a plural object in pādas e and f in place of singular *bhumāṭho* and *balo* (cf. verses 5 and 13). The later Sanskrit Udāna adds the filler *tv* to avoid vowel hiatus between pādas c and d, and it has *parvatasthaiva* (as if from *parvatasthah eva* by double application of sandhi) in place of *pravadaṭe va*. The meter of this verse is regular anuṣṭubh.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 'pramado' | 'apramad(*eṇa)' | pramadu apramadeṇa | pamāḍam appamādena |
| '(*ya)da ṇudadi paḍido' | | yadha nudadi paṇḍidu | yadā nudati paṇḍito |
| 'prañaprasado ar(*u)śa' | | prañaprasada aruśu | paññāpāsādām āruyha |
| 'aśogo' | 'śogino janō' | aśoka śoṇo jaṇa | asoko sokinim pajam |
| 'pravadaṭe va bhumaṭho' | | pravadaṭho va bhumaṭha | pabbataṭṭho va |
| 'dhiro' | 'balo' | dhiru bala avekṣidi | bhummaṭṭhe |
| 'avekṣadi' | | (Dhp-G ^K 119) | dhīro bāle avekkhati |
| + + + + + + + + | | | (Dhp-P 28) |
| + + + + + + + + | | pramāḍam apramādena | 放逸如自禁 能卻之為賢 |
| + + + + + + + + | | yadā nudati paṇḍito | 已昇智慧閣 去危為即安 |
| + + + + + + + + | | pramñāprāsādām āruyha | 明智觀於愚 譬如山與地 |
| + + + + + + (*ja)na | | aśoko śokinim prajam | (Dhp-Chin ^{WQN} 562c6–8) |
| parvv(*a)tasth(*o) va | | parvvataṭṭho va | |
| bhūmy(*a)sth(*ām) | | bhomattthe | |
| dh(*ī)r(*o) b(*ālān avekṣa)t(*i) | | dhīro bāle avecchati | |
| (Ud-Skt ^S 4.4) | | (Dhp ^P 19) | |

Verse 34 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section contains three runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is quoted in two parts in the first and second runs. The first word of pāda b is quoted in the first run, and it is possible that the rest of pāda b is also quoted in the lost or illegible portions of lines 1385–87; pāda b is quoted in full in the second run, and its last two words are quoted together in the third run. The two parts of pāda a and the first word of pāda b are referred back to in the third run by the term (*trinida)n[a]kṣa[ye]ṇa (line 13.90)

whose connection with these textual items has been established in the second run. Pāda c was possibly quoted in the lost or illegible portions of the first run in lines 1385–87, but it is not quoted in the second or third runs. Pāda d is quoted in full in the first run, but is likewise not quoted in the second or third runs. This verse has parallels in the Attadañdasutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 維樓勒王經 Wéilóulè wáng jīng ('sūtra about King Virūḍhaka') of Zhī Qiān's Arthapada translation. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī by having *anejo* in place of its frequent lexical variant *anikho* (cf. verse 17) and *sabbadhī* in place of *savado* in pāda b, and the morphological variant *avikampinam* in place of *avigapio* in pāda d. The meter of this verse is *anuṣṭubh*, with resolution of the sixth syllable in pāda a and *ma* *vipulā* in pāda c.

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'aṇīṭhuri aṇaṇugridho' | aniṭhuri ananugiddho | 悉已斷無想色 一切善悉與等 |
| 'aṇikho savado samo' | anejo sabbadhī samo | 已從學說其教所來間不恐對 |
| + + + + + + + | tam ānisamṣam̄ pabrūmi | (Arth-Chin 189c17–18) |
| 'prochido avigapio' | pucchito avikampinam̄ | |
| | (Sn 952) | |

8.4. Scroll 18

The extant portion of section 35 at the top of scroll 18 is not substantial enough to allow identification of its root verse.

Verse 36 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section contains two runs of the commentary. After quotation of all except the last word of pāda a in the lemma of this section, pāda a is again quoted with omission of its last word at the beginning of the second run; it is also quoted by the word [*p*]raha[*i*] in the first run in line 18·Kr2, and it is possible that further material from pāda a was quoted in the preceding lost or illegible portions. The word *aṇavaja-* from pāda b is quoted at least twice in the first run, and further material from pāda b may have been quoted in the lost or illegible portions of lines 18·Kr2–4; the words [*savaja-*] and *aṇavaja-* from this pāda are

quoted in the second run. The first three words of pāda c are quoted in the first run, and it is possible that further material from this pāda was quoted in the lost or illegible portions of this run between lines 18·Kr4 and 18·1 and of the second run in lines 18·2–3. Pāda d is not quoted anywhere in the preserved and legible portions of the first run, and it is not quoted in the second run. This verse has parallels in the Mahāviyūhasutta of the Atṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 法觀梵志經 Fǎguān fànzì jīng ('sūtra about the brahman Dharmadarśin') of Zhī Qiān's Arthatpada translation. The Pali version differs from the Gāndhārī by having *vāpi* in place of the latter's unclear but apparently different reading in pāda a. In pāda c, the Pali version uses the nominatives and quotation particle *suddhī asuddhī ti* where Gāndhārī has the more straightforward conjunction of direct-case objects *śodhi aśodhi ca*. The meter of this verse is triṣṭubh with resolution of the initial syllable of pāda d.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 'śilava(*d)o ? + prahae' (*savo) | sīlabbatam vāpi pahāya sabbam |
| (*kama ca) 'savaj' 'aṇavajo' (*edo) | kammañ ca sāvajjanavajjam etam |
| 'śodhi aśodhi ca' (*apraṭheano) | suddhī asuddhī ti apatthayāno |
| (*virado care śati aṇugrahae) | virato care santim anuggahāya |
| | (Sn 900) |
| | 戒彼行一切捨 罪亦福捨遠去 |
| | 淨亦垢不念覺 無沾污淨哀受 |
| | (Arth-Chin 183a18–19) |

Verse 37 is from the Sabhikasūtra (§ 1.5.5). This section contains two runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, pāda a is quoted in full at the beginning of the first run and by its first word at the beginning of the second run. Pāda b is quoted in two parts in the first and second runs, and at least its first word is quoted separately towards the end of the first run. Pāda c is quoted in two halves separately in the first run (maybe with omission of its last word), and as a whole in the second run. Pāda d may have been quoted in the obscured portion at the end of

the first run, and it is quoted with omission of its last two words in the second run. This verse has parallels in the Sabhiyasutta of the Mahāvagga of the Suttanipāta and in the Sabhika chapter of the Mahāvastu. A corrupt version with different pāda a is quoted in Pet 19.1–3: *sayamkatena saccena tena attanā abhinibbānagato vitinṇakaṅkho vibhavañ ca <*bhavan ca> ñatvā lokasmīm tāva khīṇapunabbhavo sa bhikkhu*. The Gāndhārī form *atvāno* in pāda a could in principle be taken as a variant spelling for *atvana*, agreeing with the Pali instrumental *attanā*, but the interpretation adopted in this edition is as a genitive used in dative meaning. In all other respects, the Pali version agrees with the Gāndhārī. The spelling of the second word of pāda a in the Mahāvastu is corrupt and should probably be emended to *kṛt<*e>na*, agreeing with the Gāndhārī and Pali versions. In pāda b, the Mahāvastu version has *abhinirvāṇagato* in place of *parinivāṇagado* and *vitīṇakāṅkṣī* in place of *vitiṇakakṣo*, and in pāda c it has *jñātvā loke* in place of *viprahae*. The meter of this verse is a mixture of vaitālīya (pāda a) and aupacchandasika (pādas b, c and d). Pāda d is hypermetric, and Norman 1992: 245 suggests that the final vowel of the first word was metrically shortened. If this remedy is accepted, the overall metrical pattern of this verse is:

- - ~ ~ | - ~ - ~ x
 ~ ~ - - ~ ~ | - ~ - ~ - x
 ~ ~ - ~ ~ | - ~ - ~ - x
 ~ ~ ~ - ~ ~ | - ~ - ~ - x

One should, however, also consider whether the original form of pāda d had synonymous *vrośiva* (~ ~ -; cf. pāda b of verse 12) in place of *vrośidava*, fulfilling metrical constraints that way.

| | |
|--|--|
| 'pajena k(*r)ideṇa atvaṇo' | pajjena katena attanā |
| 'pariṇīvaṇagado' 'vitinakakṣo' | parinibbānagato vitiṇṇakām̄kho |
| 'vibhava ca bhava ca viprahae' | vibhavañ ca bhavañ ca vippahāya |
| 'vrośidava kṣiṇapuṇabhbavo' (*sa bhikhu) | vusitavā khīṇapunabbhavo sa bhikkhu
(Sn 514) |
| | padyena kṛtana ātmanā |
| | abhinirvāṇagato vitīrṇakām̄kṣī |
| | vibhavam ca bhavam ca jñātvā loke |
| | uśitavān kṣiṇapunarbhavo sa bhikṣuḥ
(Mvu III 395) |

Verse 38 is from the Arthapada (§ 1.5.1). This section contains at least three runs of the commentary. After full quotation in the lemma, the two parts of pāda a are quoted separately in the first run; this pāda was probably quoted in the lost portion at the beginning of the second run, and it is quoted as a whole at the beginning of the third run (line 18-Cv2). Pāda b is quoted in two parts separately in the first run; its second part is quoted in the second run where it was probably preceded, either immediately or at a distance, by a quotation of the first part in a lost portion of this run; and pāda b is quoted as a whole in the third run. Pāda c is quoted in two parts separately in the first run; possible quotations from pāda c are not preserved in the second or third runs. Pāda d is quoted in full in the first run; possible quotations from pāda d are likewise not preserved in the second and third runs. This verse has parallels in the Purābhedasutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta and in the 子父共會經 Zǐ fù gōnghuì jīng ('sūtra about the meeting of son and father') of Zhī Qiān's Arthapada translation. In pāda d, the Pali version has the singular locative *pesuṇeyye* in place of the Gāndhārī instrumental plural *peṣonehi* (from a lexical variant), and the metrically required negation *no* in place of Gāndhārī *na* (which should probably be emended to *n<*o>*; cf. pāda a of the second verse of section 19). The meter of this verse is anuṣṭubh, with *na* *vipulā* and special opening ~ ~ - - in pāda a and *sa* *vipulā*

(if the second syllable of *ajuhosp(*o)* was light) in pāda c.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 'padilino akuhao' | patilino akuhako | 能自守不多望 自多得慧無嫉 |
| 'aprihalu amatsari' | apihālu amaccharī | 不惡醜不嫫冶 不兩舌捨戲疑 |
| '(*a)p(*r)agabho' 'ajuhosp(*o)' | appagabbho | (Arth-Chin 187c18–19) |
| 'peśonehi ca ḥa yuto' | ajeguccho | |
| | pesuneyye ca no yuto | |
| | (Sn 852) | |

The extant portion of section 39 is not substantial enough to allow identification of its root verse.

Table 67. Overview of Root Verse Parallels.

| | | Arthapada | | | Pārāyaṇa | | Dharmapada | | |
|-----------|----|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | | Sn | Arth-Skt ^K | Arth-Chin | Sn | Pār-Skt ^Q | Dhp-G ^K | Dhp-P | Dhp-Chin ^{WN} |
| 7 | 1 | | | | | | 124 | | |
| | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | |
| | 6 | 971 | | 186c15–16 | | | | | |
| | 7 | | | | 1096 | | | | |
| | 8 | 857 | | 187c28–29 | | | | | |
| | 9 | | | | | | 137D | 39 | 563a10–11 |
| | 10 | | | | | | 159 | | |
| | 11 | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | | | | | | | | |
| | 13 | | | | 1049 | | | | |
| | 14 | | | | | | | | |
| | 15 | | | | 1038 | V 7 | | | |
| | 16 | | | | 1039 | R 1 | | | |
| | 17 | | | | 1112 | | | | |
| | 18 | | | | 1113–1115 | | | | |
| | 19 | 845–846 | IV rev. 4–5 | 180b25–29 | | | | | |
| | 20 | 951 | | 189c11–12 | | | | | |
| | 21 | | | | | | | | |
| | 22 | 876–877 | | 181c17–20 | | | | | |
| | 23 | | | | | | | | |
| | 24 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 25 | | | | | | | | |
| Scroll 13 | 26 | | | | | | | 125 | 565a16–17 |
| | 27 | 948 | | 189c5–6 | | | | | |
| | 28 | | | | | | | | |
| | 29 | | | | | | | | |
| | 30 | | | | | | 282 | | |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|------------|------------------------|
| Scroll 13 (cont.) | 31 | | | | | | | |
| | 32 | | | | | | | |
| | 33 | | | | | 119 | 28 | 562c6–8 |
| | 34 | 952 | | 189c17–18 | | | | |
| | 35 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 36 | 900 | | 183a18–19 | | | | |
| | 37 | | | | | | | |
| | 38 | 852 | | 187c18–19 | | | | |
| | 39 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | Sn | Arth-Skt ^K | Arth-Chin | Sn | Pār-Skt ^Q | Dhp-G ^K | Dhp-P | Dhp-Chin ^{WN} |
| Arthapada | | | | Pārāyaṇa | | | Dharmapada | |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|------|-----------|---------------------|
| | 33.12 | 770a10–11 | 33.11 | | 1.9 | | |
| | | | | | | | Sn 366 |
| 19 | 4.4 | | 4.4 | 779a7–9 | | | |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | Sn 514, Mvu III 395 |
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dhp ^P | Ud-Skt ^S | Ud-Chin ^{ZFN} | Ud-Skt | Ud-Chin ^{TXZ} | Ud-P | It-P | Other |
| | Udāna | | | | | Ityuktaka | |

APPENDIX 1

Preliminary Transcription of Nid-G^{L3}

91. [a]. [krosana a]g[r]idañā ṣaṭha katava kroṣana agridañā ya sutro · kroṣana doṣa
[sa] da tve ///
92. ? ? ? ? ja ? di · añanavaśena · [dro]hi .i raga usadatvena [spamiño dro] ? ? ? ? ?
? ? ///
93. ? o care · bramaio iše p[rava]yano ahipredo · ke yi dani pravayeati · te ido ? ///
94. gra ado ṣaṣane prava[j]a sieadi ta aha samasabudhaṣaṣane · avare bramayi[o] ///
95. [d]u ? r. ? mane · kua yi me su[ra]veramani sieadi · s[o] du ho uavati sa k[e]ṁ
de na ya ? ? ///
96. [g.] ? ? ? · ta aha samasabudhaṣaṣane · sakṣeva trina t. n. a [rba ma tri da na] °
pra[ḍ]ia [ra]haś[o] ?
97. ? ? na ° bramayio samaṣikadhasa · samasabudhaṣaṣane prañakadhasa niyoana ☺
98. /// [citasa] sutro · anavaṭhido cito ragaüsadatvena · a[ra]ban[e] cito na ava-
ṭhahati ·
99. /// ? n. bh[u]dakođi [na] vianađi · tena aha sadhamu avi[y]anado ·
100. /// ? ? + [cala]calasadha bhoti · tena aha pariprao pra[sadasa] · p.aña na
101. /// ? ? pra ? [l]iada bhoti · sakṣeva ° anavaṭhidacitasa samaṣikadhha[vi]
102. /// ? ? ? prañakadhasa ° pariprao prasadasa · śilakadhavivadana · prañ[a]
103. /// [na] parivajađi ° eko aha daśanapradīṭhidana dhamadeśana · [trae] kadha
bhavanabhumie ° va[d]aman.
104. /// ? ? [na] la ? ? [vu]r[dhi di] ? [lo] trina nidanana vur[dh]i ? [° ya]sa ṣ[adha ya]
praña ya [s].[tro] ° ṣadha o
105. /// p. na analo ? acitasa · prasadoogapanalakṣana ṣadha ° prasadap.acuāṭhana °

asa va sa paria ?

106. /// ? ? ta · an[a] ? la pracuañhana · praña paraśinañano ° virio chadasa pragraho · kuśalešu
107. /// ka ? ? yaśio ° hiri mana [a]made pađisaharo ° so ho mahadhano loge °
108. /// ? ? ? ? .i ? ? ? ? [g]. [do] dhana ° asa va edo dhano savatrina ° ? ? ? [a]ha
109. /// + + + + ba[h]. dhana visabadaoaña dhano ° sakṣeva ° ṣadhae hiri ? ? ? ? //
110. /// [śa] ? ? ? ? ? na aha ? ? [n]. samasikadho · praña[e] prañakadho yeva ° avare ṣadha[e] ṣa[dh]i
111. /// ? ? prañae prañ[edri]o · viriena viri ? ° [hirie] samasidrio ° otrapena spadidrio °
112. /// [ava]re ṣadha[e] ṣadhadhano · ya ? ? + [dhana]ya ? ? prañae prañadhan[a] ° viriena ṣudidhano ° hiri
113. /// hiridhano ° o[tra]pena o[tr]apadhano ° aśaga[u]aveśena śiladhano ° yasa ede sata dhana
114. /// ? daridro hanadi ☺ [u]yuja[ti] sva]div[a]ta sutra ° ke yi aha daśanapradīthidana dhamade[śa]na
115. /// ? ? raga[na uy].jati [v]irio aravhati ° spadivata yehi ca duhi a[tr]a ? vaśa ?
116. /// ? ? ? + + ? ? + ? ? + ? [ś. r. a. ś]ava phoṭhava [ahi]preda · ? //
117. /// vi n[i]vadho hi grahavaḍi viñano · nigeda dharidi .u ? ?
118. + + + + // ? ? aha ? ? ? ? [sa]v[a] triloṭo ° aṭhitao paśamana ° na kuayi [a]di-ja[yadī]
119. /// hasa [vi] palaro [hitva] palara .u [ca] ? .u g. ra [da] · pa[d]mini · yasa te hasa ta[tva] jada tasa vudha
120. /// ? draśaga ? ? ? ? ? ti · a ? [na tva sasare] ja[ta] + + + + + [sa]raśaga · sasaro jahita va ? ti
121. /// [tro] iśa · ? + + ? · na ḥidio avhipreda ° eva hi sutro ruadhadu graha [atvo] viñanasa [o] ? //
122. /// ? ? [kh.] + + + + + + + [vi]ñanaḥhidie · tatra hi drigaratro satva seha-vaśena pra[mu]chi ? //

123. /// [o]gam [u]go ja[ha]ti te · avare ogro aṄatiaaidano
 124. /// [sa]kṣeva · uyujati spadivata mogo ° na nige ramati te samuda
 125. /// [ava]re [u]y.jati śamaso °

Av1. /// ? e · kuhana la[vana] ? ? g. ? di naro ? asīthana [dhama] · a ? ? ? ? ?
 .u ? ? ? ? ///

Av2. /// [ch]. [di] + + + + + + na egatvo due vimutie · trivaṭachedo ☹ uṭhanamado
 sutro ///

Av3. /// s. śi a ma sa pa ri śa dha vi mi s[a] · ni[ś]amacarin[i] ? [tva]

Av4. /// ? ra mu[l]o śilasa · kriasabare ? + ? · dhamacarin[a] ///

Av5. /// ? [so] ku ? /// ? ? aṭhidado rita · ya śiśa[va] ///

APPENDIX 2

The Colophon on British Library Fragment 3B

The British Library collection of Kharoṣṭī manuscripts contains one fragment of a colophon written in the same hand as our verse commentary (part of jar number 2, frame number 7 and Fragment number 3B). The colophon fragment has previously been described and discussed in Salomon 1999: 40–42, 87. My reading and reconstruction of this fragment are based on color images prepared on 4 April 1998 at a resolution of 661 dpi. The original width of this fragment was ca. 14 cm, and its current height is 4.2 cm. The colophon fragment itself has been assigned the fragment letter A. It is preserved together with eight clusters of small chips that have been assigned fragment numbers b to i. Side b of the colophon fragment contains part of an unidentified text in a different hand ('hand no. 2') from Nid-G^{L2} ('hand no. 1'). The writing on the minor fragments of frame 7 (b–i) is in these two and at least two additional hands ('hand no. 3' and 'hand no. 4').

A: Strip with three lines of text on side a and four lines of text on side b. A third of the fragment is missing on the right-hand side. Fragment A formed the bottom part of a sheet. Needle holes run down the original middle of the fragment, and it appears to be the case that the glue margin of the next sheet still adheres to side b of this fragment. Side a contains the colophon (hand no. 1):

[1] +
 + + + [2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [t]. a i di ḥavodaśā ☹ [3] + + + + +
 + + + + + + .[e] postag. gasa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa ḥamaṇasa
 [1] +
 + + + [2] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + nineteen. ☹ [3] + + + + +
 + + + + + + .[e] book ... twenty-five – 25 – verses of the monk Saghaśrava.

Side b contains the following text (hand no. 2):

1. /// .[i] prayanana · i [śa] ? ṭha [da] c. na ca praga ? ? na · maṁ[tr]o ? [·] si ///
2. /// sa sa di d[a] va · asa va manuśeṣu prayanana · prayanana[e] mag[o] ///
3. /// ? ? ? na niroso · vipramuto prayo[aviṇa] ? saṁhara · visa ///
4. /// [g]. [n]. ? ? // + + + + // ? ? ///

b: Unlocated chip with one line of writing (hand no. 1) on side a:

/// prahana asi ? ? ///

Side b is empty, but the akṣaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

c: Unlocated chip with one line of writing (hand no. 1) on side a:

/// ? [d]. no · aya samude[a] ///

Side b is empty, but the akṣaras of side a shine through, indicating that this is a single delaminated layer of birch bark.

d: Unlocated chip with two lines of writing (hand no. 3) on side a:

1. /// ? ///
2. /// [bh]. [di] ? ///

and two lines of writing (hand no. 3) on side b:

1. /// ? ///
2. /// [p]. s. [b]. ? ///

e: Three unlocated chips. The middle chip is empty on both sides. The left-hand chip is empty on side a and has two lines of writing (hand no. 2) on side b:

1. /// ? ? ? [d]ukho ? ///
2. /// ? ? ? .[i] .[e] ? ///

The right-hand chip chip has two lines of writing (undetermined hand) on side a:

1. /// ? [d]o ///

2. /// ? ///

and two lines of writing (undetermined hand) on side b:

1. /// ? ? ? ///

2. /// ? ? ///

f: Two small unlocated chips. The larger one has faint traces of two akşaras (undetermined hand).

g: Unlocated chip without writing on side a and with one line of writing (maybe hand no. 3) on side b:

/// yu ha ///

h: Unlocated chip with one line of writing (maybe hand no. 2) on side a:

/// ? şe ɳa ɳa [p]. ///

and one line of writing (hand no. 4) on side b:

/// ? [s]. ///

i: Three unlocated chips. The topmost chip has one line of writing (undetermined hand) on side a:

/// ? ? ///

and no writing on side b. The middle chip has one line of writing (undetermined hand) on side a:

/// ? ? ///

and one line of writing (undetermined hand) on side b:

/// ? ///

The bottom chip has one line of writing (undetermined hand) on side a:

/// ? ? ? ///

and one line of writing (undetermined hand) on side b:

/// ? ? ? ///

APPENDIX 3

The Simile of the Gold-Washer and the Gold-Smith

Section 16 of our commentary interweaves quotations from a Gāndhārī version of the Pamsudhovaka sutta with the parts of the verse that it explains. In the following texts using the gold-washer simile, the words corresponding to the quotations in our commentary are underlined.

1. Pamsudhovaka Sutta (AN I 253.17–256.28)

santi bhikkhave jātarūpassa olārikā upakkilesā pamsuvālikā sakkharakathalā. tam enam pamsudhovako vā pamsudhovakantevāsī vā doniyam ākiritvā dhovati sandhovati niddhovati. tasmiṁ pahīne tasmiṁ vyantikate santi jātarūpassa majjhimasahagatā upakkilesā sukhumasakkharā thūlavālikā. tam enam pamsudhovako vā pamsudhovakantevāsī vā dhovati sandhovati niddhovati. tasmiṁ pahīne tasmiṁ vyantikate santi jātarūpassa sukhumasahagatā upakkilesā sukhumavālikā kālijallikā. tam enam pamsudhovako vā pamsudhovakantevāsī vā dhovati sandhovati niddhovati. tasmiṁ pahīne tasmiṁ vyantikate athāparam suvaṇṇasikatāvasissanti.

tam enam suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā tam jātarūpam musāyam pakhipitvā dhamati sandhamati {na} [254] niddhamati. tam hoti jātarūpam dhantam sandhantam aniddhantam anihitam aninnītakasāvam na ceva mudum hoti na ca kammanīyam na ca pabhassaram pabhaṅgu ca na ca sammā upeti kammāya. hoti so bhikkhave samayo yam so suvaṇṇakāro vā suvaṇṇakārantevāsī vā tam jātarūpam dhantam sandhantam niddhantam nihitam ninnītakasāvam muduñ ca hoti kammanīyañ ca pabhassarañ ca na ca pabhaṅgu sammā upeti kammāya. yassā yassā ca pilandhanavikatiyā ākaṅkhati yadi paṭṭakāya yadi kuṇḍalāya yadi gīveyyake yadi

suvaṇṇamālāya tañ cassa attham anubhoti.

evam eva kho bhikkhave santi adhicittam anuyuttassa bhikkhuno olārikā upakkilesā kāyaduccaritam vacīduccaritam manoduccaritam. tam enam sacetaso bhikkhu dabbajātiko pajahati vinodeti vyantikaroti anabhāvam gameti. tasmim pahīne tasmim vyantikate santi adhicittam anuyuttassa bhikkhuno majjhimasahagatā upakkilesā kāmavitakko vyāpādavita^k vihiṁsāvitakko. tam enam sacetaso bhikkhu dabbajātiko pajahati vinodeti vyantikaroti anabhāvam gameti. tasmim pahīne tasmim vyantikate santi adhicittam anuyuttassa bhikkhuno sukhumasahagatā upakkilesā jātitakko janapadavitakko anavaññattipaṭisamyutto vitakko. tam enam sacetaso bhikkhu dabbajātiko pajahati vinodeti vyantikaroti anabhāvam gameti. tasmim pahīne tasmim vyantikate athāparam dhammavitakkāvasissanti.

so hoti samādhi na ceva santo nappañito nappaṭipassaddhaladdho na ekodibhāvādhigato sasaṅkhāraniggayhavāritavato. hoti so bhikkhave samayo yam tam cittam ajjhattam yeva santiṭhati sannisīdati ekodihoti samādhiyatī. so hoti samādhi santo paññito paṭipassaddhaladdho ekodibhāvādhigato na sasaṅkhāraniggayhavāritavato, yassa yassa ca abhiññāsacchikaraṇīyassa dhammassa cittam abhi[255]ninnāmeti abhiññāsacchikiriyāya tatra tatreva sakkhibabbataṁ pāpuṇāti sati sati āyatane.

so sace ākaṅkhati anekavihitam iddhividham paccanubhavyeyam eko pi hutvā bahudhā assam, bahudhā pi hutvā eko assam, āvibhāvam tirobhāvam tirokuḍḍam tiropākāram tiropabbataṁ asajjamāno gaccheyyam seyyathā pi ākāse, paṭhaviyā pi ummuṭjanimujam kareyyam seyyathā pi udate, udate pi abhijjamāno gaccheyyam seyyathā pi paṭhaviyam, ākāse pi pallaṅkena kameyyam seyyathā pi pakkhī sakuṇo, ime pi candimasuriye evam mahiddhike evam mahānubhāve pāñinā parimaseyyam parimajjeyyam, yāva brahmalokā pi kāyena vasam vatteyyan ti, tatra tatreva sakkhibabbataṁ pāpuṇāti sati sati āyatane.

so sace ākaṅkhati dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya atikkantamānusikāya ubho sadde suṇeyyam dibbe ca mānuse ca ye dūre vā santike vā ti tatra tatreva sakkhibabbataṁ pāpuṇāti sati sati āyatane.

so sace ākaṅkhati parasattānam parapuggalānam cetasā ceto paricca pajāneyyam,

sarāgam vā cittam̄ sarāgam̄ cittañ ti pajāneyyam̄, vītarāgam̄ vā cittam̄ vītarāgam̄ cittañ ti pajāneyyam̄, sadosam̄ vā cittam̄ ... pe ... vītadosam̄ vā cittam̄ ... pe ... samoham̄ vā cittam̄ ... vītamoham̄ vā cittam̄ ... sañkhittam̄ vā cittam̄ ... vikkhittam̄ vā cittam̄ ... mahaggatam̄ vā cittam̄ ... amahaggatam̄ vā cittam̄ ... samāhitam̄ vā cittam̄ ... asamāhitam̄ vā cittam̄ ... avimuttam̄ vā cittam̄ avimuttam̄ cittañ ti pajāneyyam̄, vimuttam̄ vā cittam̄ vimuttam̄ cittañ ti pajāneyyan ti tatra tatreva sakkhibabbatañ pāpuññati sati sati āyatane.

so sace ākañkhati: anekavihitam̄ pubbenivāsam̄ anussareyyam̄ seyyathīdam̄ ekañ pi jātim̄ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo ... pe ... jātisatam̄ pi jātisahassam̄ pi jātisatasahassam̄ pi aneke pi samvattakappe aneke pi vivattakappe aneke pi samvattavivattakappe⁷³ amutrāsim̄ [256] evamñāmo evamgutto evamvanñō evamāhāro evam̄sukhadukkhapañisañvedī evamāyupariyanto, so tato cuto amutra uppādim̄, tatrāpāsim̄ evamñāmo evamgutto evamvanñō evamāhāro evam̄sukhadukkhapañisañvedī evamāyupariyanto, so tato cuto idhupapanno ti, iti sākāram̄ saüddesam̄ anekavihitam̄ pubbenivāsam̄ anussareyyan ti tatra tatreva sakkhibabbatañ pāpuññati sati sati āyatane.

so sace ākañkhati dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena satte passeyyam̄ cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paññite suvaññe dubbaññe sugate duggate yathākammūpage satte pajāneyyam̄, ime vata bhonto sattā kāyaduccaritena samannāgatā, vacīduccaritena samannāgatā, manoduccaritena samannāgatā, ariyānam̄ upavādakā micchādiññikā micchādiññikammasamādānā, te kāyassa bhedā param marañā apāyam̄ duggatim̄ vinipātam̄ nirayam̄ upapannā, ime vā pana bhonto sattā kāyasucaritena samannāgatā vacīsucaritena samannāgatā manosucaritena samannāgatā ariyānam̄ anupavādakā sammādiññikā sammādiññikammasamādānā, te kāyassa bhedā param marañā sugatim̄ saggam̄ lokam̄ upapannā ti. iti dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena abhikkantamānusakena satte passeyyam̄ cavamāne upapajjamāne hīne paññite suvaññe dubbaññe sugate duggate yathākammūpage satte pajāneyyan ti, tatra tatreva sakkhibabbatañ pāpuññati sati sati āyatane.

⁷³De La Vallée Poussin & Thomas: *samvattavivattakappe*.

so sace ākañkhati āsavānam khayā anāsavam cetovimuttim paññāvimuttim dīttheva dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihareyyan ti, tatra tatreva sakkhibabbataṁ pāpuṇāti sati sati āyatane ti.

2. Pali Niddesa (Nidd I 478.10–479.25 on Sn 962)

kam so **sikkham** **samādāyā** ti kam so sikkham adāya samādāya adiyitvā ganhitvā parāmasitvā abhinivisitvā ti kam so sikkham samādāya. **ekodi** **nipako** **sato** ti **ekodī** ti ekaggacitto avikkhittacitto avisāhaṭamānaso ti ekodi. **nipako** ti nipako pañdito paññavā buddhimā ñāṇī vibhāvī medhāvī. **sato** ti catūhi kāraṇehi sato, kāye kāyānu-passanāsatipatṭhānam bhāvento sato, vedanāsu citte dhammesu dhammānupassanā-satipatṭhānam bhāvento sato, so vuccati sato ti sato. **kam** so **sikkham** **samādāyā** ti adhisīlasikkham pucchat. **ekodī** ti adhicittasikkham pucchat. **nipako** ti adhipaññām pucchat. **sato** ti satipārisuddhim pucchatī ti kam so sikkham samādāya ekodi nipako sato. **kammāro** **rajatasseva** **niddhame** **malam** **attano** ti. kammāro vuccati suvaṇṇakāro, rajatam vuccati jātarūpaṁ. yathā suvaṇṇakāro jātarūpassa olārikam pi malam dhamati sandhamati niddhamati, majjhimakam pi malam dhamati sandhamati niddhamati, sukhumakam pi malam dhamati sandhamati niddhamati, evam eva bhikkhu attano olārike pi kilese dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti, majjhimake pi kilese dha[479]mati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti, sukhumake pi kilese dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti. atha vā bhikkhu attano rāgamalam dosamalam mohamalam mānamalam dītthimalam kilesalam duccaritalam andhakaraṇam acakkhukaraṇam aññānakaraṇam paññānirodhikam vighātapakkhikam anibbānasamvattanikam dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti. atha vā sammādiṭṭhiyā micchādiṭṭhim dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti sammāsaṅkappena micchāsaṅkappaṁ sammāvācāya micchāvācam sammākammantena micchākammantam sammāājīvena micchāājīvam sammā-vāyāmena micchāvāyāmam sammāsatiyā micchāsatim sammāsamādhinā micchāsam-

ādhiṃ sammāñāṇena micchāñāṇam sammāvimuttiyā micchāvimuttiṃ dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgameti. atha vā ariyena atṭhaṅgikena maggena sabbe kilese sabbe duccarite sabbe darathe sabbe pariḷāhe sabbe santāpe sabbākusalābhisaṅkhāre dhamati sandhamati niddhamati pajahati vinodeti byantīkaroti anabhāvaṅgametī ti kammāro rajatasseva niddhame malam attano. tenāha sāriputtathero: kam so sikkham samādāya ekodi nipako sato kammāro rajatasseva niddhame malam attano ti.

3. Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda (Saund 15.66–69)

suvarṇahetor api pāṃsudhāvako vihāya pāṃsūn bṛhato yathāditah |
 jahāti sūkṣmān api tadviśuddhaye viśodhya hemāvayavān niyacchatī || 66 ||
 vimokṣahetor api yuktamānaso vihāya doṣān bṛhatas tathāditah |
 jahāti sūkṣmān api tadviśuddhaye viśodhya dharmāvayavān⁷⁴ niyacchatī || 67 ||
 krameñādbhiḥ śuddham kanakam iha pāṃsuvyavahitam
 yathāgnau karmāraḥ pacati bhṛśam āvartayati ca |
 tathā yogācāro nipiṇam iha doṣavyavahitam
 viśodhya kleśebhyah śamayati manah saṃkṣipati ca || 68 ||
 yathā ca svacchandād upanayati karmāśrayasukham
 suvarṇam karmāro bahuvidham alaṃkāravidhiṣu |
 manahśuddho bhikṣur vaśagatam abhijñāsv api tathā
 yathēccham yatreccham śamayati manah prerayati ca || 69 ||

⁷⁴Johnston: *dharmāvayān*.

WORD INDEX

This index lists all words that can be securely identified in terms of both their lexical identity and the specific forms in which they occur. Where more than one form of a noun is attested, they are grouped in an entry for the stem form; verb forms are always given in an entry for the prefix + root sequence. Cross-references are given from non-first members of compounds (unless they are bound morphemes) and from verb-forms where these have a distinct shape from the prefix + root sequence. In order to minimize the need for cross-references to verb entries and to keep verbs adjacent to related nouns and adjectives, prefixes are given in their Gāndhārī form (*a*, *adi*, *asi*, *añu*, *ava / o*, *abhi / avi*, *u*, *ua*, *ni*, *pari*, *pra*, *padi*, *sa*) and in the sandhi shape that they assume in the verb in question. Sanskrit and Pali equivalents are given wherever possible, with * signalling that the equivalent (usually a particular combination of compound members) is unattested, and * indicating that it is not a direct phonetic correspondent of the Gāndhārī form (ignoring differences of sandhi). In the entries for nouns, masculine and neuter gender and nominative and accusative case are distinguished along historical lines, to provide the raw data based on which chapter 5 argues that these categories had in fact merged into a new masculine gender and a direct case in Gāndhārī. Grammatical indications of verb forms are given in abridged form as follows: pres. = indicative present active, opt. = optative present active, pass. = indicative present passive. The word index follows the usual Indian alphabetical order with the one exception that *n* and *ñ* are treated as equivalent and ordered between *dh* and *p*.

- aīdana-*: “sphere,” n. nom. pl. 992.
a[ya]dana: *āyatanāni, āyatana; in *akica[ñña]jīda>nami*, *akicañ-*

- ayadañasamavati-*, *agaśac-* *akuhayo*, Cv2 [a](**kuhao*).
a[i]daña[sa]ma{[ya]}dikramo, *akriṣaśukra-*: “neither dark nor bright.”
agaśacaīdaño, *agicaya[da]ṇo*, *a-*
*saprakha(*na)yadañado*, *uavad-*
ayadaña-, *viñ[a]ṇacayadaṇ[o]*. *akriṣa[ś]ukr[o]:* **akṛṣṇāśuklah*,
akamo: *akāmam*, *akāmam*; “without
desire,” m. acc. sg. 9·46 *agamo*, 47.
akica[ñ]a]i⟨da⟩ṇami: **ākiñcanyāyatane*,
**ākiñcaññāyatane*; “sphere of
nothing,” n. loc. sg. 9·175.
akicañayadañasamavati: “attainment of
the sphere of nothing,” f.
akicañayadañasa[maj]vati: *ākiñ-*
canyāyatanaśamāpattih, *ākiñ-*
caññāyatanaśamāpatti; nom. sg.
9·173.
*agica[ñ]a](*ya)dano·samavati*: *ākiñ-*
canyāyatanaśamāpattim, *ākiñ-*
caññāyatanaśamāpattim; acc. sg.
9·166–167.
akicañasabhavo: **ākiñcanyasam-*
bhavam, *ākiñcaññasambhavam*;
“origin of nothing,” m. acc. sg. 9·171.
akicayadaño: **ākiñcanyāyatanam*, **ākiñ-*
caññāyatanam; “sphere of nothing,” n.
nom. sg. 9·166 *agicaya[da]ṇo*, 168,
171 *akicayadaña*.
akuhao: *akuhakah*, *akuhako*; “not
deceitful,” m. nom. sg. 18·16, 17
- akuhayo, Cv2 [a](**kuhao*).
akriṣaśukra-: “neither dark nor bright.”
akriṣa[ś]ukr[o]: **akṛṣṇāśuklah*,
akañhaasukko; m. nom. sg. 18·1.
akriṣa[ū]krasa: **akṛṣṇāśuklasya*,
akañhaasukkassa; n. gen. sg.
9·68–69.
a + √kruś: “revile.”
akrotho: *ākruṣṭah*, *akkuṭho*; m. nom.
sg. 13·63, 66.
a + √kṣā: “show.”
aikṣadi: ***ākṣāti*, *ācikkhati*; 3rd sg.
pres. 9·141, 152, 155 [a]*jikṣadi*.
(**aī*)*kṣahi*: ***ākṣāhi*, *ācikkhāhi*; 2nd
sg. impv. 9·120–121.
aga-: in *duagio*, *śodaśagiehi*.
a + √gam: “come.”
agado: *āgataḥ*, *āgato*; pp. m. nom. sg.
9·49, 145 *aga[d](*o)*, 146 [2×],
160 *ag[ado]*.
agamo: see *akamo*.
agara-: in *savaagareṇa*.
agaśaca[i]daña[sa]ma{[ya]}dikramo:
**ākāśāntyāyatanaśamatikramah*, **ā-*
kāsañcāyatanaśamatikkamo; “sur-
mounting of the sphere of the end of
space,” m. nom. sg. 9·163.
agaśacaīdaño: **ākāśāntyāyatanaṁ*,
**ākāsañcāyatanaṁ*; “sphere of the end

- of space,” n. nom. sg. 9.162–163.
- agi:** *agnih*, *aggi*; “fire,” m. nom. sg. 9.87, 18.9 *ag[i]*.
- agicaya[da]ño:** see *akicayadano*.
- agica[ña]<*ya>dano·samavati-:** see *akicañayadañasamavati-*.
- agra-:** “top.”
- ag(*r)[a]:** *agrām*, *aggam*; f. acc. sg. 9.218 *edavadag(*r)[a]*.
- agro:** *agram*, *aggam*; n. nom. sg. 9.2. in [*bhava*]*grami*.
- agridhratva:** **agṛdhṛatvāt*, **agiddhattā*; “nongreediness,” n. abl. sg. 9.190.
- agridhra-:** “not greedy.”
- agrirdho:** *agṛdhraḥ*, *agiddho*; m. nom. sg. 9.185, 188 (**a*)[*g*](**r*)[*idh*](**ro*).
- agridhro:** *agṛdhram*, *agiddham*; m. acc. sg. 9.190.
- [a]cakṣ[u]bhavado:** ***acakṣurbhāvataḥ*, **acakkhubhāvato*; “eyeless state,” m. abl. sg. 9.220.
- acarima-:** in [*a*]*pr<*o>vacarimo*.
- acalio:** *acālyah*, **acāliyo*; “immovable,” m. nom. sg. 13.88.
- acaliobhave:** **acālyabhāve*, **acāliyabhaṭṭe*; “immovable state(?)”, m. loc. sg. 9.220.
- ajatva:** *adhyātmam*, *ajjhattam*;
- “internally,” ind. 9.132 *ajatvam*, 164 *aja[tva]*.
- ajatvaiiaśamo:** **adhyātmopaśame*, **ajjhattopasame*; “internal calm,” m. loc. sg. 13.39.
- ajatvataśa-:** “internal craving,” f.
- ajatvataśa:** **adhyātmatrṣṇā*, **ajjhattatañhā*; nom. sg. 13.13.
- ajatvataśae:** **adhyātmatrṣṇāyāḥ*, **ajjhattatañhāya*; gen. sg. 9.55.
- a[j]atviabahira:** ***ādhyātmikabāhirāṇi*, *ajjhattikabāhirā*; “internal and external,” n. nom. pl. 9.92.
- ajara-:** “without aging,” n.
- ajaro:** *ajaram*, *ajaram*; nom. sg. 9.81, 112 *ajara*.
- ajaro:** *ajaram*, *ajaram*; acc. sg. 9.74, 75.
- ajare:** *ajare*, *ajare*; loc. sg. 9.79.
- ajaribhave:** **ajarībhāve*, **ajarībhāve*; “being without aging,” m. loc. sg. 9.76.
- a + √jñā:** “understand.”
- añado:** *ājñātam*, *aññātam*; m. acc. sg. 9.215 [*añad*](**o*), 217.
- aña-:** “other, somebody else.”
- año:** *anyam*, *aññam*; m. acc. sg. 18.19.
- añasa:** *anyasya*, *aññassa*; m. gen. sg. 9.34.
- añ[e]sa:** *anyesām*, *aññesām*; m. gen.

- pl. 9.149. *ata-*: “end, extreme,” m.
- añesu*: *anyeṣu, aññesu*; m.(?) loc. pl. 9.8. *ato*: *antam, antam*; acc. sg. 9.236, 239.
- in *añ~poṣi*. *ata*: **antān, *ante*; acc. pl. 18.8.
- añadara-*: in *añadara~*.
- añadaraañadara-*: “one or the other.”
- añadaraañadaro*: *anyatarānyataram, aññataraññataram*; m. acc. sg. 13.25–26. *atavivarj[i]da-*: “avoided at the extremes.”
- añadaraa(*ñ)a)dar[i]ṇa*: *anyatarānyatareṇa, aññataraññatarena*; n. instr. sg. 13.25. *atavivarj[i]da*: **antavivarjitā, *antavivajitā*; f. nom. sg.(?) 18.1.
- añanaprahaṇado*: *ajñānaprahāṇataḥ, *aññāṇappahāṇato*; “abandoning of unknowing,” n. abl. sg. 9.143. *ataviv[arji]da*: **antavivarjitām, *antavivajitām*; f. acc. sg.(?) 18.5.
- aña[ṇap]r[ah](*ina)[tva]*: *ajñāna-prahīṇatvāt, aññāṇappahīnattā*; “state of unknowing having been abandonend,” n. abl. sg. 9.23–24. *ato[gadi]tva*: **antargatatvam, *antogatattam*; “state of turning inward,” n. nom.(?) sg. 9.192.
- añanavaśena*: **ajñānavasena, aññāṇava-* *vasena*; “power of unknowing,” m. instr. sg. 9.44. *atra*: *atra, atra*; “here,” ind. 9.13, 46, 166 at[r]a, 175, 187, 194, 13.53 *bahotra*, 73.
- añanasa*: *ajñānasya, aññāṇassa*; “unknowing,” n. gen. sg. 9.125, 13.76, 84 *añana[sa]*. *atva-*: “self,” m.
- aṭhamago*: *aṣṭamakam, aṭṭhamakam*; “on the eighth stage,” m. acc. sg. 9.116. *atva*: *ātmā, attā*; nom. sg. 9.204.
- aṭheā-*: in *[nija]ṇaṭheāṇa*. *atvana*: *ātmanā, attanā*; instr. sg. 9.154.
- atvan<*e>ṇa*: **ātmanā, *attanā*; instr. sg. 18.6.
- atvanō*: **ātmane, attano*; dat. sg. 18.5, 6 *atvan[o]*.
- atvan[o]*: *ātmanah, attano*; gen. sg. 9.222.

- | | |
|---|---|
| in <i>bhavidatva</i> ¹ . | <i>ado</i> : <i>atah</i> , <i>ato</i> ; “therefore,” ind. 9.124 |
| <i>atva</i> ⟨ <i>a</i> ⟩ <i>rtha</i> : <i>ātmārtham</i> , <i>attattham</i> ;
“profit for oneself,” m. acc. sg. 13.43. | [<i>ado</i>], 158 [<i>a</i>] <i>do</i> , 229, 13.83, 84, 85,
86, 89 <i>a</i> [<i>do</i>]. |
| <i>atvabh[a]vavastuṣu</i> : * <i>ātmabhāvavastuṣu</i> ,
<i>attabhāvavatthūṣu</i> ; “matter(?) of
selfhood,” f. loc. pl. 9.24. | <i>adha</i> -: “blind.” |
| <i>adi</i> + √ <i>i</i> : “pass.” | <i>adho</i> : <i>andham</i> , <i>andham</i> ; n. nom. sg.
13.44, 46, 47 [<i>a</i>] <i>dho</i> .
in <i>jacadho</i> . |
| <i>adido</i> : <i>atītam</i> , <i>atītam</i> ; pp. n. acc. sg.
9.140, 141 [2×], 147, 152, 157
[2×]. | <i>ana</i> -: “food,” n. |
| <i>adid[e]</i> : <i>atīte</i> , <i>atīte</i> ; pp. n. loc.(?) sg.
9.141. | [<i>a</i>](* <i>na</i>): <i>annam</i> , <i>annam</i> ; nom. sg.
9.111. |
| <i>adikramo</i> : <i>atikramam</i> , <i>atikkamam</i> ;
“surmounting,” m. acc. sg. 9.47. | <i>ana</i> : <i>annam</i> , <i>annam</i> ; acc. sg. 9.37, 38. |
| <i>adi</i> + √ <i>tr</i> : “cross.” | <i>anagado</i> : <i>anāgatam</i> , <i>anāgatam</i> ; “future,”
n. acc. sg. 9.158. |
| <i>acatari</i> : ** <i>atyatārīt</i> , <i>accatari</i> ; 3rd sg.
pret. 13.10 (* <i>a</i>)[<i>ca</i>](* <i>tari</i>),
<i>acatari</i> , 15 (* <i>a</i>) <i>cata[ri]</i> , 18. | <i>anaga</i> [<i>mi</i>]: <i>anāgāmī</i> , <i>anāgāmi</i> ; “non-
returner,” m. nom.(?) sg. 18.Ar1. |
| <i>adidavartaman[i]</i> : * <i>atītavartamānīm</i> ,
* <i>atītavattamānīm</i> ; “past occurrence,”
f. acc. sg. 9.152. | <i>anachejada</i> : <i>anāchedyatā</i> , * <i>anacchejjatā</i> ;
“state of being unseverable,” f.
nom.(?) sg. 13.34. |
| <i>adināvo</i> : <i>ādīnavam</i> , <i>ādīnavam</i> ; “misery,”
m. acc. sg. 9.GCv2 <i>adināvo</i> ,
<i>adina</i> (* <i>vo</i>), GCv11 <i>a</i> [<i>di</i>] <i>nāvo</i> , GCv13. | <i>anañ[a]poṣi</i> : * <i>ananyapoṣiṇam</i> , <i>anañña-</i>
<i>posim</i> ; “not feeding on others,” m. acc.
sg. 9.214 [<i>ana</i>] <i>ñ[apo]</i> * <i>ṣi</i> , 217. |
| <i>a</i> + √ <i>dis</i> : “point out.” | <i>anatariabhumi</i> : * <i>ānantaryabhūmih</i> ,
* <i>ānantariyabhūmi</i> ; “plane of
immediacy,” f. nom. sg. 9.72–73, 13.40
(* <i>anata</i>)[<i>ria</i>] <i>bh[u]mi</i> . |
| <i>adisādi</i> : <i>ādiśati</i> , <i>ādisati</i> ; 3rd sg. pres.
9.140 [<i>a</i>] <i>diśadi</i> , 141, 142
[<i>adiśadi</i>], 147, 152, 157, 157–158
<i>adiśad[i]</i> . | <i>anatva</i> : * <i>anātmānah</i> , <i>anattā</i> ; “without
self,” m. nom. pl. 9.114. |
| | <i>ana</i> [<i>da</i>] <i>no</i> : <i>anādānah</i> , <i>anādāno</i> ;
“without assuming,” m. nom. sg. |

- 9·GCv4, GCv7 (**añadan*)[*o*], GCv10
a[nada]no, GCv13 [*a*]_ñ[*ada*]_{ño}. anger(?)” m. nom. sg. 9·159
añikho: **ananugṛdhrāḥ*, *anānu-*
giddho; “not greedy after,” m. nom.
 sg. 13·82 [*a*]_ñ*anānugṛdhrāḥ*, 83, 89
 (**a*)[*na*](**ñ*)[*ugṛdhrāḥ*]. *añica*: *anityāḥ*, *aniccā*; “impermanent,”
añiṭhuri: **aniṣṭhūrī*, *aniṭhuri*; “not
 rough,” m. nom. sg. 13·82, 88
añiṭh[u]ri. *añ[u]agada*: *anupagatāḥ*, *anupagatā*;
añavajaprahañena: **anavadyapra-*
hāñena, **anavajjappahāñena*;
 “abandoning of what is
 irreproachable,” n. instr. sg. 18·2.
añavajo: *anavadyam*, *anavajjam*;
 “irreproachable,” n. acc. sg. 18·Kr4.
añavaśudo: *anavasrūtāḥ*, *anavassuto*;
 “not rotten,” m. nom. sg. 9·112.
añ[av]a[s]()u)dacita[sa]*: *anavasrūta-*
cittasya, *anavassutacittassa*; “whose
 heart is not rotten,” m. gen. sg. 9·59–
 60 *a[navas](*u)[dac](*ita)[sa]*, 66
*añoaś(*u)dacita(*sa)*. *añuan[i]do*: *anupanītāḥ*, *anupanīto*; “not
 guided,” m. nom. sg. 9·195–196, 198
*añ(*u)[añi](*do)*, 201 *añoa{va}-*
ñ[i]d[o], 203 *añoa[añido]*.
añavilo: *anāvilāḥ*, *anāvilo*;
 “undisturbed,” m. nom. sg. 9·123
[añavi]lo, 130, 134, 136 *añavi[l]o*. *añ[u]a<*ha>dacitasa*: *anupahatacittasya*,
 **anupahatacitassa*; “whose heart is
 not impaired,” m. gen. sg. 9·61.
añasavo: *anāsravāḥ*, *anāsavo*; “taintless,”
 m. nom. sg. 9·85.
a + √nī: “bring about.”
 in *priḍianñida-*. *(*añua)[hada]cedasa*: **anupahata-*
cetasah, **anupahatacetaso*; “whose
 heart is not impaired,” m. gen. sg.
 9·67.
anikho: *anighāḥ*, *anīgho*; “without
añucava[ga]: *anuccāvacā*, *anuccāvacā*;

- “unvarying,” f. nom. sg. 9-23. *[a]ṇuspadi-*: in *pr[o]veni[v]a[sa.]~*.
- an[u]ṇay[o]*: *anunayah*, *anunayo*; *anegaruo*: *anekarūpam*, *anekarupam*;
“fondness,” m. nom. sg. 9-70. “having many forms,” n. nom. sg.
- an[u]ṇeapadi[ana]*: *anunaya-*
pratighānām, *anunayapaṭīghānām*;
“fondness and resentment,” m. gen.
pl. 9-58 *a[ṇu]ṇeapadi[ana]*, 70 *an[u]ṇ[e]ap[a]di[ana]*. *anego*: *aneyah*, *anejo*; “unshakable,” m.
nom. sg. 9-148, 155.
- [a]ṇ[*nu]ṇeaprahaṇa*: *anunayaprahāṇam*,
**anunayappahāṇam*; “abandoning of
fondness,” n. nom. sg. 9-61. *anoan[i]o*: **anupaneyah*, **anupaneyyo*;
“not to be led into,” m. acc. sg. 9-197.
- anu + pra + √āp*: “attain.” *anoan[i]da-*: see *anuan[i]do*.
- an[u]prāṇiśati*: **anuprāpsyanti*,
anupāpuṇiśanti; 3rd pl. fut. 9-46. *anoaṣ(*u)dacita-*: see *a[ṇavas](*)u][da-*
c]()ita)[sa]*.
- anu + √bhū*: “experience.” *aparamoṣado*: ***aparāmarśatā*, ***aparā-*
māsatā; “state of non-clinging,” f.
nom.(?) sg. 13-34.
- anumajaṇa*: **anumadhyānām*, *anu-*
majjhānām; “midling,” m. gen. pl.
9-130. *[ap]Juñ[o]*: *apuṇyam*, *apuññām*;
“demerit,” n. nom. sg. 9-195.
- [a]ṇulomo*: *anulomam*, *anulomām*; “in
natural direction,” n.(?) nom. sg. 13-9.
- anusaḥagadāṇa*: *anusaḥagatānām*, *anu-*
sahagatānām; “residual,” m. gen. pl.
9-130.
- anusodagami*: **anusrotogāminam*, *anu-*
sotagāmin; “going with the stream,”
m. acc. sg. 13-78.
- (*a)[p](*)r)ag[a]bho*: *apragalbhah*,
appagabbho; “not reckless,” m. nom.
sg. 18-22.
- apramata-*: “diligent.” *aprama[to]*: *apramattah*, *appamatto*;
m. nom. sg. 7-Aa2.
- a[p]ramata*: *apramattāh*, *appamattā*;
m. nom. pl. 7-Aa1.

apr amada-: “diligence,” m.

apr amado: *apr amādah*, *appamādo*; nom. sg. 7·Aa1, Aa2, 13·71 *apr a-* [mado].

[*ap*]r[a]m[a]dena: *apr amādena*, *a-* *ppamādena*; instr. sg. 13·80.

apr a[v]uti-: “non-occurrence,” f.

apr a[v]uti: *apravṛttih*, *appavatti*; nom. sg. 13·15.
in *du kha~*.

apr ihalu: **aspṛhāluh*, *apihālu*; “not longing,” m. nom. sg. 18·20
apr ih[alo], Cv3.

[*a*]pr<*o>*vacarimo*: **apūrvācaramam*, *apubbācarimam*; “not earlier and not later, at the same time,” n. acc. sg. 9·52.

abuya-: “lotus,” m.

abuyo: *ambujah*, *ambujo*; nom. sg. 9·182.

in [*e*]l*abuyo*.

a[bha]va-: in *pa[r]igraha[bha]v[o]*.

abhaso: *abhyāsam*, — ; “proximity,” m. acc. sg. 9·40.

abhi + √jñā: “recognize.”

abhiñad[a]: *abhijñātāh*, *abhiñātā*; pp. f. nom. pl. 9·168.

abhiñado: *abhijñātam*, *abhiñātam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9·33.

abhiñeo: *abhijñeyam*, *abhiññeyyam*; gdv. n. nom. sg. 9·33.

abhi + √nand: “look forward to.”

abhinadami: *abhinandāmi*, *abhi-* *nandāmi*; 1st sg. pres. 9·93
nabhinadami, *navinadami*.

abhiñadea: **abhinandet*, *abhi-* *nandeyya*; 1st sg. opt. 9·122
nabhiñade[a], 129 *nabhiñadea*, 133 [*abhiñadea*], 136.

abhiñadidava: **abhinanditavyāni*, *abhinanditabbā*; gdv. f. nom. sg. 9·123 *nabhiñadidava*.

abhi + pra + √i: “intend.”

abhipredo: *abhipretah*, **adhippeto*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9·181.

abhipreda: *abhipretāh*, **adhippetā*; pp. m. nom. pl. 9·196, 13·10
*abhip(*r)eda*.

*a[bhi]pr(*e)[do]*: *abhipretam*, **adhippetam*; m. acc. sg. 9·222.

abhi[m]na-: in [*idisaca*]~.

amatśari: *amatsarī*, *amaccharī*; “not avaricious,” m. nom. sg. 18·21, 25
[a]matśar[i], Cv3 *amatśa[ri]*.

ayadana-, *a[y]dana-*: see *aīdana-*.

ayaña-: in [*ta*]parayaño.

araña-: “wilderness,” n.

[*araña]mi*: **aranye*, **aranñe*; loc. sg.

- 9.41. 13.50 (**a*)[*rtho*].
- [ra]ñā*: *arañyam*, *araññam*; acc. sg. 18.20.
- rañ[e]*: *arañye*, *araññe*; loc. sg. 18.20 [r]añ[e], 21.
- in *kaligara[ñā]*.
- aria-*: “noble.”
- ariena*: *āryeṇa*, *ariyena*; n. instr. sg. 9.25.
- ariae*: *āryāyāḥ*, *ariyāya*; f. abl. sg. 9.44.
- arianayena*: *āryanayena*, *ariyanayena*; “guide-line of the noble,” m. instr. sg. 9.228.
- ariamaga-*: “path of the noble,” m.
- ariamago*: *āryamārgah*, *ariyamaggo*; nom. sg. 9.185.
- ariamago*: *āryamārgam*, *ariyamaggam*; acc. sg. 13.50.
- ariavaśāthidi*: **āryavamśasthiti*, **ariyavamśatthiti*; “steadiness in the traditions of the noble,” f. nom. sg. 9.39.
- arupa-*: in *ruarupa*.
- a + √ruh*: “ascend.”
- [a]r(*u)ś[a]*: *āruhya*, *āruyha*; abs. 13.72.
- artha-*: “meaning; profit,” m.
- artho*: *arthah*, *attho*; nom. sg. 9.146,
- artho*: *artham*, *attham*; acc. sg. 13.42 [a](**r*)[*th*](**o*), 45, 47, 49 *a[r]tho*, 50.
- in *atva~, para~, vutartho*.
- (**artha*)[*ko*]śala[*vi*]vati: **artha-*kauśalyavipattiḥ, **atthakosallavipatti*; “failure of skillfulness in profit,” f. nom. sg. 13.51.
- arthapra[se]ṇa*: *arthapraśnena*, **attha-*pañhena; “question about meaning,” m. instr. sg. 9.145.
- [*a*]rthar[*thio*]: **arthārthikah*, *atthathiko*; “seeking for meaning,” m. nom. sg. 9.145.
- ar[thia]-*: in [*a*]rthar[*thio*].
- ava + a + √śri*: “resort to.”
- avaśedi*: *apāśrayati*, *apasseti*; 3rd sg. pres. 18.19.
- ava + √īkṣ*: “look at.”
- ave[kṣ]adi*: **avekṣate*, *avekkhati*; “observe,” 3rd sg. pres. 13.77.
- a[vad]hano*: *abandhanah*, *abandhano*; “without ties,” m. nom. sg. 13.14 (**ava*)*dhado*, 16 [*avadha*]no, 17 [*ava*](**dha*)no, 21 *a*(**vadha*)no.
- avara-*: “other.”
- avaro*: *aparo*, *aparo*; m. nom. sg. 13.50, 69.

- avare*: *apare, apare*; m. nom. pl. 9.29 *avi + sa + √bhū*: “reach.”
 (*a)[*vare*], 31, 107 *avar[e]*, 142 in *cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da*.
[avare], GCv13 *a[var](*)e*. *aśa-*: in *ekaśeṇa*.
- avare*: **aparān, apare*; m. acc. pl. 9.228. *a + √śams*: “desire.”
- ava + √rādh*: “offend.” *aśiśadi*: **āśaṁsati, āsiṁsati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.214.
- avaradho*: *aparāddhah, aparaddho*; m. nom. sg. 18.23. *aśagaviṇaśo*: **āśayavināśah, āśayavi-nāśo*; “destruction of inclination,” m. nom. sg. 13.44.
- avaśi[tho]*: *avaśiṣṭah, avasiṭṭho*; “remaining,” m. nom. sg. 9.131. *aśayo*: *āśayah, āsayo*; “inclination,” m. nom. sg. 9.223.
- avigapio*: **avikampyah, avikampiyo*; “unshakable,” m. nom. sg. 13.87.
- avijae*: *avidyāyāh, avijjāya*; “ignorance,” f. gen. sg. 9.104(?), 155, 216, 217 (*a)[*vijae*], 13.62.
- avijaprahaṇa*: *avidyāprahāṇam, avijjā-pahāṇam*; “abandoning of ignorance,” n. nom. sg. 9.85–86 *avijap(*r)a[ha]ṇa*, 90.
- avijaya-*: “covet.” *aś[ū]kra-*: “not bright.”
- avijayadi*: **abhidhyāyati, abhi-jjhāyati*; denom. 3rd sg. pres. 13.12 *a[v](*i)jaya(*di)*, 15 *ṇavi-jayadi*, 17 [*ṇav]ijayadi*.
- avijohasa*: *avidyaughasya, avijjhōhassa*; “flood of ignorance,” m. gen. sg. 9.203, 13.20 (**avi*)[*johasa*].
- a[vi]ñña-*: in *ṣada[vi]ñña*.
- avi + sa + √bhū*: “reach.”
 in *cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da*.
aśa-: in *ekaśeṇa*.
- a + √śams*: “desire.”
- aśiśadi*: **āśaṁsati, āsiṁsati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.214.
- aśagaviṇaśo*: **āśayavināśah, āśayavi-nāśo*; “destruction of inclination,” m. nom. sg. 13.44.
- aśayo*: *āśayah, āsayo*; “inclination,” m. nom. sg. 9.223.
- aś[ū]kra-*: “not bright.”
- aśukra[na]*: *asūklānām, asukkānām*; m. gen. pl. 7.Aa2.
 in *akriṣaś[ū]krasa*.
- aśekhada*: *aśaikṣatā, asekhatā*; “state of no longer being in training,” f. nom. sg. 9.138.
- aśogo*: *āśokah, asoko*; “without sorrow,” m. nom. sg. 13.74.
- a[śodhi]*: *asūddhim, asuddhim*; “impurity,” f. acc. sg. 18.Kr4.
- √as*: “be, exist.”
- mi*: *asmī, amhi*; 1st sg. pres. 9.145 [*mi*] [2×], 146, 147.
- si*: *asi, asi*; 2nd sg. pres. 9.54, 99 [2×].
- asti*: *asti, atthī*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.64 *nasti*, 65 *nasti*, 72–73 *na[sti]*, 73

- nasti*, 121 *na[sti]*, 121–122
[na]sti, 165 *asti*, *a[sti]*, 174
[asti], 204 *nasti*, 206 *[nasti]*, 208
nasti, 214 *na[st]i*, 1823.
- sie:** *syāt*, *siyā*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.123, 130
si[e].
- [si]adi:** **syāt*, **siyā*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.149.
- si[e]adi:** **syāt*, **siyā*; 3rd sg. opt. 13.54 *siiadi*, 57.
- asa:** **syāt*, *assa*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.123.
- sieati:** **syuh*, **siyum*; 3rd pl. opt. 9.156, 13.55 *[si]e[a]ti*.
- asa:** *atha*, *atha*; “now, then,” ind. 9.28, 30 [2x], 34, 34–35 *[a]sa*, 36, 43, 51 *[asa]*, 57, 58 *asa*, *a[sa]*, 59, 66 *a[sa]*, 69, 72, 80, 84, 92, 94 *[asa]*, 101, 109, 115, 118, 120, 128, 129, 133, 136 *[asa]*, 144, 146, 151, 162 *[a]sa*, 167, 181 *a[sa]*, 187, 197, 200, 214, 221 *[a]sa*, 227, GCv3, GCv11, 13.5, 16 *[asa]*, 23, 31 *[a]sa*, 36, 40, 47, 49, 61 *[a]s[a]*, 68, 89, 18.1, 3 *[asa]*, 19.
- a(*sa)ta]paidehi:** ***asamtarpitaih*, ***a-* *santappitehi*; “not satisfied(?)” m. instr. pl. 9.225.
- asada:** *asatā*, *asatā*; “non-existing,” n. instr. sg. 9.207.
- asaprakha(*na)yadanado:** **asampra-*
- khyānāyatanaṭah*, **asampakkhan-* *āyatanaṭo*; “sphere of lack of clarity,” n. abl. sg. 13.85.
- asava-:** in *k[a]masavado*, *kṣināsavo*.
- asavakṣayo:** *āsravakṣayah*, *āsavakkhayo*; “exhaustion of taints,” m. nom. sg. 9.149.
- asi + √gam:** “attain.”
- as[i]g[a]ch[a]d[i]:** *adhigacchati*, *adhigacchati*; 3rd sg. pres. 18.10.
- asiṇa-:** “depending.”
- asiṇo:** *adhīnah*, *adhīno*; m. nom. sg. 13.36, 40 (**asiṇo*).
 in *parasiṇañanena*, *h[e]du~*.
- asimattro:** *adhimātram*, *adhimattam*; “excessive,” m. nom. sg. 9.22.
- asivayaṇa-:** in *garavaasivayaṇam*.
- astagama-:** in *udeastagama[d]jo*.
- (*a)[spi]mano:** *asmimānah*, *asmimāno*; “I-am-conceit,” m. nom. sg. 13.21.
- √ah:** “say, call.”
- aha:** *āha*, *āha*; 3rd sg. pret. 9.9 *[a]ha*, 190, 197, GCv3 *a[ha]*, 18.Kr4, 6, 17.
- aha:** **āhuḥ*, **āhu*; 3rd pl. pret. 9.44 *[aha]*, 45, 48, 65, 103, 107 *[aha]*, 206 *a[ha]*, 18.5.

✓i: “go, come to.”

edi: *eti, eti*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.203, 225, 13.27 [*ed*](**i*), 30, 32 [*e*]*di*.
[idisaca]abhi[ma]n[o]: **itisyābhi-mānah*, ***itisaccādhimāno*; “conceit that such is the truth,” m. nom. sg. 9.12 <**i*[*disaca]abhi[ma]n[o]*, 9.16 [*i*](**di*)*[sa](*)caabhima[n](*)o*.
[ido]: *itah, ito*; “from here,” ind. 9.225, 226 [*i*]*do*, 227, 13.52 *i[d]o*.

idria-: “faculty,” n.

[i]driani: *indriyāni, indriyāni*; nom. pl. 9.88 [*i*]*driyan*(**i*), 94 [*i*]*d(*r)iani*.
idria: **indriyāni, indriyā*; nom. pl. 9.44, 112 *idra*.
in (**bha*)*vidiidrio, ṣa[di]idri[o]*.

idhvivisae: **rddhividhayā, iddhividhāya*; “kind of supernormal power,” f. instr. sg.(?) 9.198 *idhviv[i]sae*.

ima-: “this.”

aya: *ayam, ayam*; m. nom. sg. 13.75.
[i]mo: *imam, imam*; m. acc. sg. 9.91.
[i]me: *imān, ime*; m. acc. pl. 18.8.
imena: **anena, imena*; m. instr. sg. 9.127.
a[sa]: *asya, assa*; m. gen. sg. 9.66.
a[ya]: **iyam, ayam*; f. nom. sg. 9.15 [*aya*], 86 *a[ya]*.

ida: *idam, idam*; n. nom. sg. 9.204.

aya: **idam, idam*; n. nom. sg. 9.5 [2×], 9.8, 41 [*a*]*ya*, 43, 44, 61 [2×], 62, 66, 69, 80, 82, 85 [*aya*], 92, 95 [*a*]*ca*.

[i]maspi: **asmin, imasmīm*; n.(?) loc. sg. 9.117.

[i]riavasa: *īryāpatham, iriyāpatham*; “behavior,” m. acc. sg. 9.119.

iśa: *iha, iha*; “here,” ind. 9.84, 196, 221 [*i*]*śa*, 222, 13.9.

✓iś: “seek.”

[e]śido: *eśitam, esitam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.98.

iśi-: “seer,” m.
iśi: *rṣi, isi*; nom. sg. 9.2, 13.58.
in *maheśi*.

istrisañā: *strīsamjñā, itthisaññā*; “perception of women,” f. nom. sg. 9.161.

ua + a + ✓dā: “include.”

uadaī: *upādāya, upādāya*; abs. 9.116.

u[a]t]ida-: in *sadu[a]t]idaspati*.

uafhaṇa-: in *spadoaṭhaṇasamagi-*.
uadana-: “assuming; fuel,” n.

uadana: *upādānam, upādānam*; nom. sg. 13.29.

uadanena: *upādānena, upādānena*;

- instr. sg. 13·25 *uadane*(**na*), 28. *ua[vati]-*: “reappearance,” f.
- uadanaṇa*: *upādānānām*, *upā-*
dānānam; gen. pl. 13·25.
- u[a]daṇakadha*: *upādānaskandhāḥ*,
upādānakkhandhā; “assuming
 category,” m. nom. pl. 9·75
- u[ada]ṇakadha*, 82 [i]*daṇakadha*.
- uadāṇa[n](*)i]roso*: *upādānanirodhah*,
upādānanirodho; “cessation of
 assuming,” m. nom. sg. 9·GCv10.
- (**uada*)*[ṇa]pracea*: *upādānapratyayāt*,
upādānappaccayā; “condition
 assuming,” m. abl. sg. 9·GCv9 (**ua-*
da)*[ṇa]pr[a]cea*, 13·30 (**uadāṇa*)-
[p]()r)acea*.
- uadi-*: in *añ~śeṣa*, *sa~śeṣa*.
- ua + √diś*: “instruct.”
- uadi[ṭh]o*: *upadiṣṭah*, *upadiṭṭho*; pp.
 m. nom. sg. 9·227.
- ua + √pad*: “reappear.”
- uavadiadi*: **upapadyate*, *upapajjati*;
 3rd sg. pres. 13·25 *uavajiadi*, 26
- ua[va]diadi*.
- uavajiśadi*: **upapatsyate*,
upapajjissati; 3rd sg. fut. 9·171,
 175 *uavajiśa[di]*.
- uama*: *upamā*, *upamā*; “simile,” f. nom.
 sg. 9·184–185.
- “*ua[vati]a*: *upapattyām*, *upapattiyaṁ*;
 loc. sg. 13·29.
- in *tatratatra~*.
- uavada-*: in **cudoavada*, *cud-*
oavadañāṇo.
- uavadayadāṇa-*: “sphere of
 reappearance,” n.
- uavadayadāṇe*: **upapādāyatane*,
**upapādāyatane*; loc. sg. 13·26.
- uavadayadāṇami*: **upapādāyatane*,
**upapādāyatane*; loc. sg. 13·24.
- ua + √śam*: “grow calm.”
- [*u*](**a*)[*śama*]*ti*: *upaśāmyanti*, *upa-*
sammanti; 3rd pl. pres. 9·14–15.
- uaśato*: *upaśāntah*, *upasanto*; pp. m.
 nom. sg. 9·54 [*u*]*jaśato*, 55.
- uaśama-*: “calm,” m.
- uaśamo*: *upaśamah*, *upasamo*; nom.
 sg. 13·36.
- (**ua*)[*śam*](**e*): *upaśame*, *upasame*;
 loc. sg. 13·36.
- in *ajatva~*, *vedaīda~payiṭhi*,
sakhara[d]Jukhada~.
- ugaḍāṇa*: *udghāṭanam*, *ugghāṭanam*;
 “opening(?)”, n. nom. sg. 9·116.
- u + √ghat*: “open(?)”
- ugaḍida*: **udghāṭitāni*, *ugghāṭitā*; pp.
 n. nom. pl. 9·115.

- uchedavada:** *ucchedavādah*, *ucchedavādo*; “doctrine of annihilation,” m. acc. sg. 9.222. *gāthā*; “bundling verse,” f. nom. sg. 9.20 (**udanagasa*), 111 [*u*]*danagasa*.
- uchedo:** *ucchedam*, *ucchedam*; “annihilation,” m. acc. sg. 18.Cr2, 8.
- uja-:** “straight.”
- ujo:** *rjuh*, *ujju*; m. nom. sg. 18.6, 7, 8.
- [u]j[e]n[a]:** **rjunā*, **ujjunā*; m. instr. sg. 18.6.
- uju-:** in *drīthi~amo*.
- [u]faveda:** —, —; “state of having raised oneself,” f. nom. sg. 9.34
- [u]fha[ve]da,** 103 [*uṭaveda*], 160.
- utamo:** *uttamah*, *uttamo*; “highest,” m. nom. sg. 9.137.
- utara:** *uttarāh*, *uttarā*; “higher,” m. nom. pl. 9.153.
- u + √tṛ:** “cross beyond.”
- utiṇo:** *uttīrṇah*, *uttiṇno*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.57, 58 *uti[n]/(*o)*.
- u + √tras:** “(caus.) frighten.”
- utra[s]edi:** *uttrāsayati*, *uttāseti*; caus. 3rd sg. pres. 13.24.
- udaga-:** “water,” n.
- [uda]go:** *udakam*, *udakam*; nom. sg. 9.184.
- udageṇa:** *udakena*, *udakena*; instr. sg. 13.51, 53, 55 *u[da]g[e]ṇa*.
- [u]danagasa:** *uddānagāthā*, *uddāna-*
- udeastagamado:** **udayāstamgamatah*, **udayatthaṅgamato*; “rise and disappearance,” m. abl. sg. 9.14 *udeastagama[d]o*, 82, 215 [*udea]stagamado*.
- u + √nam:** “rise.”
- uṇamea:** **unnamet*, *unnameyya*; 3rd sg. opt. 13.62, 66.
- [u]ṇamo:** *unnāmah*, *unnāmo*; “rise,” m. nom. sg. 13.63.
- u + √pad:** “arise.”
- [upa]jadi:** **utpadyate*, *uppajjati*; 3rd sg. pres. 18.18.
- [upa]ṇo:** *utpannam*, *uppannam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.125–126.
- upana:** **utpannāni*, *uppannā*; pp. n. nom. pl. 9.52.
- upad[idav]o:** **utpādayitavyah*, **up-pādetabbo*; caus. gdv. m. nom. sg. 13.65.
- u + √sthā:** “arise.”
- [u]ṭa[vedi]:** *utthāpayati*, *uṭhāpeti*; caus. 3rd sg. pres. 9.214.
- uhaa-:** “both.”
- ubhae:** **ubhayān*, *ubhaye*; m. acc. pl. 18.8.
- uhaiṇa:** **ubhayesām*, **ubhinnam*; m.

- gen.* pl. 9.71, 136 *ubhayiṇa*.
uhae: *ubhaye*, *ubhaye*; n. nom. pl. 9.52 [*uhae*], 56.
uha[e]hi: **ubhayaih*, *ubhayehi*; n. instr. pl. 9.90.
- eka-**: “one, some.”
eko: *ekah*, *eko*; m. nom. sg. 13.53.
ege: *eke*, *eke*; m. nom. pl. 9.218
eg[e], 222.
ekaca[khu]: *ekacaksuh*, *ekacakkhu*;
“one-eyed,” m. nom. sg.(?) 9.7.
- ekaśena**: *ekāṁśena*, *ekāṁsenā*; “definitely,” m. instr. sg. 9.175.
[e]kotariae: **ekottarikāyām*, ***ek-*
ottarikāyām; “containing what is higher by one,” f. loc. sg. 13.49.
- ege**: see *eka*-.
eda-: “this, that.”
esa: *esah*, *esa*; m. nom. sg. 9.77, 171, 213 *es[a]*, 1387(?).
ede: *ete*, *ete*; m. nom. pl. 9.226(?) [*e]de*, 18.Cr2.
edo: *etam*, *etam*; m. acc. sg. 9.GCv2 [*e]do*, *edo*, GCv11, GCv13 [*e]do*.
edena: *etena*, *etena*; m. instr. sg. 9.138.
edasa: *etasya*, *etassa*; m. gen. sg. 9.110.
- esa**: *esā*, *esā*; f. nom. sg. 9.10 [*e]sa*, 65, 184, 215, 1339, 67.
ede: **etā*, **etāh*; f. nom. pl. 9.56.
edo: **etat*, *etam*; n. nom. sg. 9.121.
esa: **etat*, **etam*; n.(?) nom. sg. 9.162, 164 [*e]sa*, 194.
ede: **etāni*, **etāni*; n. nom. pl. 9.126.
edo: **etat*, *etam*; n. acc. sg. 9.174.
ede: **etāni*, **etāni*; n. acc. pl. 9.135.
edarahi: *etarhi*, *etarahi*; “now,” ind. 9.106
ederah[i], 108 *edar[a]hi*, 109–110 (**e)darahi*.
edavada: *etāvatā*, *ettāvatā*; “to this extent,” ind. 9.218 *edavadag(*r)[a]*, 219.
[e]na: *enam*, *enam*; “this,” m. acc. sg. 9.170.
[e]labuyo: —, *elambujam*; “water lotus,” m. nom. sg. 9.182.
elo: —, *elam*; “water,” n. nom. sg. 9.182.
eva¹: *eva*, *eva*; “indeed, only, very, even, right,” ind. 9.13 *ye[va]*, 84 *śeva*, 131, 132 *e[va]*, 165 *e[va]*, 186 [*yeva*], 205(?) [*e]va*, 221(?) [*iva*], GCv8 *yeva*, 13.2(?), 4 [*e]va*, 26 *ten(*e)va*, 29 *teñeva*, 32 [*t]eñeva*, 35 *yeva*.
eva²: *evam*, *evam*; “thus, that way,” ind. 9.14, 143, 162 *e[va]*, 165, 174 *e[va]*, 175, 185, 187 [2x], 228(?) *e[v]a*,

- GCv12 [*eva*], 13.73 [*e*]va, 75 [*eva*], in *avijohasa*, *kamohasa*, *driṭh-o*[*h*]*asa*, [*bhavo*]*hasa*.
 79 [*e*]va, 18.Cr2, 15.
- evalakṣaṇado:** evam-lakṣaṇataḥ, evam-lakkhaṇato; “having such a characteristic,” n. abl. sg. 18.18.
- eṣaṇa-**: “searching,” f.
- eṣaṇa:** eṣaṇā, esanā; nom. sg. 9.15
eṣa[*na*], 121 [*e*]ṣ[*a*]ṇ[*a*].
- in *kameṣaṇa*, *bra*(*maïyeṣaṇa), *bhaveṣaṇa-*.
- oa[śo]:** avakāśam, okāśam; “opportunity,” m. acc. sg. 9.50.
- oda[r]jiaṇ[a]:** audārikānām, olārikā-nām; “coarse,” m. gen. pl. 9.129.
- ora[bh]ja[k]okudīḍāṇa:** aurabhrikakauk-kuṭikānām, *orabbhikakokkuṭikānām; “sheep and chicken butchers,” m. gen. pl. 13.54.
- osir-:** “reject.”
- osiradi:** avasirati, — ; 3rd sg. pres. 9.75.
- osirida:** **avasiritāni, — ; pp. n. nom. pl. 9.78.
- [o]siridava:** ośiritavyam, — ; gdv. n. nom. sg. 9.80.
- oha-:** “flood,” m.
- o[haṇa]:** oghānām, oghānam; gen. pl. 9.16.
- o(*ha)[di](*)go:** *oghātigam, oghātigam; “overcomer of the flood,” m. acc. sg. 9.49.
- oḥasam[a]dikrama[do]:** *oghasamati-kramataḥ, *oghasamatikkamato; “surmounting of the floods,” m. abl. sg. 9.49.
- kakṣa-:** in *vitiṇakakṣo*.
- ✓kāṅkṣ:** “await.”
- kakṣadi:** kāṅkṣati, kaṅkhati; 3rd sg. pres. 9.93, 97 *ka*[*kṣadi*].
- kadama-:** “mud,” m.
- kadamo:** kardamah, kaddamo; nom. sg. 9.184.
- kadamami:** *kardame, *kaddame; loc. sg. 9.183.
- kadha-:** “category,” m.
- kadha:** skandhāḥ, khandhā; nom. pl. 9.14, 112 *k*[*a*]dha, 113 *[ka]*dha, 196, 215.
- kadha:** *skandhān, *khandhe; acc. pl. 9.81.
- ka[dhehi]:** *skandhaiḥ, khandhehi; instr. pl. 13.17–18.
- [kadhe]ṣu:** skandheṣu, khandhesu; loc. pl. 9.206.

- in *u[ada]ṇa~*, *tri~vivati*, *paca~bhā[yo]*, *prañā~*, *prañā~vivati*, *śila~vivati*, *śila~*, *samasi~*, *samasi~[vi]vati*.
- kama**-¹: “action,” n.
- [*ka]mo*: **karma*, *kammam*; nom. sg. 18.1.
- kama**: **karmāni*, *kammā*; nom. pl. 9.62.
- kamuṇa**: *karmanā*, *kammanā*; instr. sg. 9.194 *kamuṇo*, 200.
- in *driṭhiujuamo*.
- kama**-²: “desire, sense-pleasure,” m.
- [*kamo*]: *kāmam*, *kāmam*; acc. sg. 9.214.
- kama**: **kāmān*, **kāme*; acc. pl. 9.122, 123–124, 129, 133 *kam[a]*, 136 *k[a]m[a]*, 13.10 (**kama*).
- kamehi**: **kāmaiḥ*, *kāmehi*; instr. pl. 9.188–189 [*kameh*](**i*), 202.
- [*kame]ṣu*: *kāmeṣu*, *kāmesu*; m. loc. pl. 7.Aa1.
- in *środo[amo]*, *sava~*, *paca~guṇi[ae]*, *vastu~*.
- kamakileśa**-: “action and defilement,” m.
- kamakileśado**: *karmakleśataḥ*, *kammakilesato*; abl. sg. 13.78.
- kama[kil](*)śaṇa**: *karmakleśānām*, *kammakilesānām*; gen. pl. 13.15.
- kamakṣayo**: *karmakṣayah*, *kamma-kkhayo*; “exhaustion of action,” m. nom. sg. 9.81, 128–129, 13.69 [*kama]kṣayo*.
- kamaguṇa**-: in *pacakamaguṇi[ae]*.
- [*ka]madhadu*: *kāmadhātum*, *kāma-dhātum*; “desire element,” f. acc. sg. 9.91.
- [*ka]ma[pa]ṣana*: *karmapathānām*, *kammopathānām*; “course of action,” m. gen. pl. 13.48.
- kamaprahaṇa**-: “abandoning of action,” n.
- kamaprahaṇa**: **karmaprahāṇam*, *kammappahāṇam*; nom. sg. 9.69.
- [*ka]ap[(*r)]aha]ṇa*: ***karmapra-hāṇāni*, *kammappahāṇā*; nom. pl. 18.Kr4.
- kamaragaprahaṇa**-: “abandoning of lust for sense-pleasure,” n.
- [*ka]maragapraha(*na)*: *kāmarāga-prahāṇam*, *kāmarāgappahāṇam*; nom. sg. 9.66–67.
- kamaragaprahaṇēṇa**: *kāmarāga-prahāṇena*, *kāmarāgappahāṇena*; instr. sg. 9.69.
- [*kamara]gasa*: *kāmarāgasya*, *kāmarāgassa*; “lust for sense-pleasure,” m. gen. sg. 9.136.

- kamavaṭachedo:** *karmavartmacchedah, *kammavaṭacchedo; “severing of the course of action,” m. nom. sg. 9.35, 62–63 *ka(*ma)[vatač](*e)[do]*.
- kamavatani-**: “course of action,” f.
- kamavatani:** *karmavartanih, *kammavattanī; nom. sg. 9.GCv6 *[kamava]tāni*, 13.5, 28.
- [ka](*mavatani)[e]:** **karma-vartanyāh, **kammavattaniyā; gen. sg. 9.GCv7.
- k[a]masavado:** kāmāsravataḥ, kām-āsavato; “taint of desire,” m. abl. sg. 18.15.
- kameṣana:** kāmaiṣaṇā, kāmesanā; “searching for sense-pleasure,” f. nom. sg. 9.6 *[ka]meṣana*, *kameṣana*, 21 *[ka](*me)[ṣana]*.
- kamohasa:** kāmaughasya, kāmoghassa; “flood of desire,” m. gen. sg. 9.202, 13.19.
- kaya-:** “body,” m.
- kayasa:** kāyasya, kāyassa; gen. sg. 9.56. in *bhavidaka[yo]*, *viñāna[·J]~*, *sava-~prahaṇa*.
- kara-:** in *mami~*.
- *karaga-:** in *śastugaraga*, śa[st]ju-ga[ra]ga-saceṣu.
- [ka]raḍadatiasa:** *karāṇḍadattikasya, *karāṇḍadattikassa(?); proper name, m. gen. sg. 13.4.
- karaṇo:** kāraṇam, kāraṇam; “reason,” n. nom. sg. 9.190, 194, 13.13 *[ka]rano*, 56.
- k[ari]jami:** *kārye, *kāriye; “what should be done,” n. loc. sg. 9.38.
- kala-:** “time,” m.
- kalo:** kālam, kālam; acc. sg. 9.93, 97 *kale*.
- kale:** kāle, kāle; loc. sg. 9.37–38.
- [ka]laṇagavivit[a]:** *kalyāṇakaviviktāḥ, *kalyāṇakavivittā; “separated from the good,” m. nom. pl. 9.179.
- kalaṇavirahida-:** “remote from the good.”
- (*kalaṇa)[v](*)[rahida]:** *kalyāṇa-virahitāḥ, *kalyāṇavirahitā; m. nom. pl. 9.180.
- kalaṇavirahidehi:** **kalyāṇa-virahitaiḥ, *kalyāṇavirahitehi; m. instr. pl. 9.181.
- k[a]l[a]ṇ[o]:** kalyāṇam, kalyāṇam; “good,” n. acc. sg. 18.10.
- kaligara[ñā]:** kāliṅgāraṇyam, kāliṅgāraññam; “Kaliga wilderness,” n. acc. sg. 9.63–64.
- kavoda:** kapotah, kapoto; “pigeon,” m.

- nom. sg. 18·9.
- kaśava[moga]laṇa[sad]i[śa]:** *kāśyapa-maudgalyāyanasadrśāḥ, *kassapa-moggallānasadisā; “like Kaśava and Mogalaṇa,” m. nom. pl. 9·156–157.
- ki-:** “who, what.”
- ko:** kah, ko; m. nom. sg. 9·165(?), 207.
- ke:** ke, ke; m. nom. pl. 9·3, 43, 45, 48 [ke], 63, 65, 103, 110 [ke], 177, 179 <*ke>, 206.
- kasa:** kasya, kassa; m. gen. sg. 9·164, 165 [kasa], 13·54, 55 [ka]s[a].
- ka:** kā, kā; f. nom. sg. 9·77, 228.
- ki:** kim, kiṁ; n. nom. sg. 9·164, 165, 190, 194, 13·13 [ki], 56.
- kica[n]jo:** *kimcana, kiñcanam; “anything,” n. nom. sg. 9·205.
- *kidiśae:** kīdrśayā, kīdisāya; “what like, what sort of,” f. instr. sg. 9·167 kiśidiae.
- k[i]diśageṇa:** *kīdrśena, kīdisakena; “what like, what sort of,” n. instr. sg. 9·166.
- ✓kīrt:** “relate.”
- kirtiśe:** *kīrtayiṣyāmi, *kittessam; 1st sg. fut. 9·119 kirtiś[e], [kirtiś](*e), 120.
- kileśa-:** “defilement,” m.
- kileśado:** kleśataḥ, kilesato; abl. sg. 9·4.
- kileśasa:** kleśasya, kilesassa; gen. sg. 9·107.
- kileśana:** kleśānām, kilesānām; gen. pl. 9·64, 121, 130.
- in **kama~, sava~, [sava]~·prah[i]natva.**
- kileśakṣayo:** kleśakṣayah, kilesakkhayo; “exhaustion of defilement,” m. nom. sg. 9·80 kileśa[kṣa]yo, 128, 13·68.
- kileśapada[sta]ño:** *kleśapadasthāna, *kilesapadaṭṭhāna; “footing for defilement,” n. nom. sg. 9·40.
- kileśaprahaṇa-:** “abandoning of defilement,” n.
- kileśaprahaṇa:** kleśaprahāṇam, kilesappahāṇam; nom. sg. 9·69.
- kileśaprahan(*e)ṇa:** kleśaprahāṇēṇa, kilesappahāṇēṇa; instr. sg. 9·86.
- ki[l](*e)[śavaṭa]chedo:** *kleśavartmacchedah, *kilesavaṭṭacchedo; “severing of the course of defilement,” m. nom. sg. 9·35–36.
- kileśavaṭasa:** *kleśavartmanah, kilesavatṭassa; “course of defilement,” n. gen. sg. 9·61–62.
- kileśavatani-:** “course of defilement,” f.

- [*ki]le[śava]taṇi:* *kleśavartanīh, *kuhaṇo:* kuhanām, kuhanam; “deceit,”
kilesavattanī; nom. sg. 9-GCv6 f.(?) acc. sg. 18-18, 19.
- [*ki]le[śava]ta[ṇi],* 135 *kuhitatva:* *kuhitatvāt, kuhittattā; “state
[kil]()e][śavata]ṇi,* 28 (*kileśa-
va)[ta]ṇi. 18-19.
- kileśavataṇie:* *kleśavartanyāh, ✓ *kr̥:* “do.”
- *kilesavattaniyā; gen. sg. 9-GCv7.
- kileśasamudaya:* *kleśasamudayam,
**kilesasamudayam;* “origin of
 defilement,” m. acc. sg. 9-109.
- [*ki]l[e]śasa[mu]dayo·pari[kṣa]yeṇa:*
 *kleśasamudayaparikṣayena, *kilesa-
 samudayaparikkhayena; “complete
 exhaustion of the origin of
 defilement,” m. instr. sg. 9-83.
- kiśidae:* see **kidiśae*.
- kua:* kva, kva; “where,” ind. 9-164.
- kudu:* kutah, kuto; “where from,” ind.
 9-100 (*k)u[d](*u), 101, 103 [ku](*)du).
- kuśala-*: “skilled, good.”
- kuśalo:* kuśalah, kusalo; m. nom. sg.
 9-125.
- kuśala:* *kuśalān, *kusale; m. acc. pl.
 13-48.
- (*kuśa)[laṇa]: kuśalānām,
 kusalānam; m. gen. pl. 13-48.
- kuśali:* kuśalī, kusalī; “skilled,” m. nom.
 sg. 9-128 kuśal[i], 131 [kuśa]li, 134,
 137.
- kuhaṇo:* kuhanām, kuhanam; “deceit,”
 f.(?) acc. sg. 18-18, 19.
- kuhitatva:* *kuhitatvāt, kuhittattā; “state
 of having been deceived,” n. abl. sg.
 18-19.
- karodi:* karoti, karoti; 3rd sg. pres.
 9-186, 13-82, 83 [ka]rodi, 84, 18-18
 kar[o]di.
- karea:* *kuryāt, kareyya; 3rd sg. opt.
 9-180.
- karoh[i]:* karohi, karohi; 2nd sg.
 impv. 9-50.
- kriḍena:* kr̥tena, katena; pp. m. instr.
 sg. 18-5 kideṇa, 5-6
 k(*r)[i](*)deṇa, 6 kriḍen[a].
- krida:* kr̥tā, katā; pp. f. nom. sg.
 9-159, 13-21.
- kevali-*: “accomplished,” m.
- k[e]vali:* kevalī, kevalī; nom. sg. 9-98
 k[i]vali, 112 [keva]li.
- kevaliṇo:* kevalinam, kevalinam; acc.
 sg. 9-97 ke[vali](*)ṇo, 102.
- koaliasa:* kokālikasya, kokālikassa;
 proper name, m. gen. sg. 13-4.
- [*k]okudia-*: in ora[bh]ia~.
- kodi-*: in bhuda~.
- kośala-*: in (*artha)~[vi]vati, dhama~
 vivati.

- kośalañāṇo:** *kauśalyajñānam, kosalla-*
ñīñāṇam; “knowing of skillfulness,” n.
 nom. sg. 9-125.
- [kra]mo:** *kramah, kamo;* “step,” m. nom.
 sg. 9-57.
- kriasavaro:** *kriyāsaṁvaraḥ, kriyāsaṁ-*
varo; “restraint in action,” m. nom. sg.
 13-33.
- kridago:** *kṛtakah,—;* “accomplished(?)”
 m. nom. sg. 9-57.
- kridavida:** *kṛtāvitā, *katāvitā;* “state of
 one who has accomplished,” f. nom.
 sg. 9-73, GCv14, 13-40, 18-15
kridavi[da].
- kriṣakamo:** **kṛṣṇakarma, kanha-*
kammaṇi; “dark action,” n. nom. sg.
 9-62.
- kriṣaśukrasa:** *kṛṣṇaśuklasya, kanha-*
sukkasa; “dark and bright,” n. gen. sg.
 9-67, 18-4 (*k)[r](*)[*i][śaśukra]sa.
- kriṣasa:** *kṛṣṇasya, kanhassa;* “dark,” n.
 gen. sg. 9-68, 18-Kr2 *k(*r)i[śa]J(*sa), 4*
*(*k)[r](*)i[śa])[sa].*
- ✓krudh:** “be angry.”
- krodho:** *kruddhah, kuddho;* pp. m.
 nom. sg. 13-42 (*krodho), 43, 45,
 45-46 *kro(*dho), 47, 48, 49*
*k(*r)odh(*o).*
- krosa-:** “anger,” m.
- kro(*so):** *krodhah, kodho;* nom. sg.
 13-44-45.
- kroṣena:** *krodhena, kodhena;* instr.
 sg. 13-45.
- krosavaśena:** *krodhavaśena, kodha-*
vasena; “power of anger,” m. instr.
 sg. 13-82.
- kṣaya-:** “exhaustion,” m.
- kṣayo:** *kṣayah, khayo;* nom. sg. 9-76.
- kṣaya-:** in *asava~, kama~, kileśa~,*
ṇidana~, tr[i]ṇidana~, dukha~.
- ✓kṣi:** “be exhausted.”
- kṣiati:** **kṣīyante, khīyanti;* 3rd pl.
 pres. 9-110.
- kṣevida:** *kṣepitāḥ, khepitā;* caus. pp.
 m. nom. pl.(?) 9-26.
- kṣinapuṇabhavo:** *kṣīnapunarbhavah,*
khīnapunabbhavo; “whose renewed
 existence is exhausted,” m. nom. sg.
 18-15.
- kṣināsayoyana-:** “with fetters
 exhausted,” m.
- kṣināsayoyana:** *kṣīnasamyojanāḥ,*
khīnasamyojanā; nom. sg. 9-24
*kṣīn[a]sayo(*ya)ṇa, 27, 32, 35, 37.*
- (*kṣīna)sayoyanena:** *kṣīna-*
saṁyojanena, khīnasamyojanena;
 instr. sg. 9-30.
- kṣinasavo:** *kṣīnāsravah, khīnāsavo;*

- “whose taints are exhausted,” m. acc. sg. 9.121.
 sg. 9.216, 218 (**kṣinasavo*). *gasa-*: in [*u*]*dana*~.
- kṣema-*: in *yoa*~. √*gup*: “to guard.”
- khu*: see *ho*.
guto: *guptah*, *gutto*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.39.
- guṇa-*: in *pacakamaguṇi[ae]*, *sarva*~.
- gadi-*: in *ato[gadi]tva*. √*gr*: “to be awake.”
- gaṇaṇa*: *gaṇanā*, *gaṇanā*; “accounting,” f. nom. sg. 9.15 [*gaṇaṇa*, 13.21]. *jagarado*: **jāgrataḥ*, *jāgarato*; pres. part. m. gen. sg. 9.64, 68, 71, 72.
- √*gam*: “go.” *jagaramaṇa*: **jāgrantah*,
jāgaramānā; pres. part. m. nom. pl. 9.63.
- [*gacha*]*mi*: *gacchāmi*, *gacchāmi*; 1st sg. pres. 9.47.
- [*gachadi*]: *gacchati*, *gacchati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.139. *goyaro*: *gocaram*, *gocaram*; “field,” m. acc. sg. 9.119.
- [*a*]*g[ame]*: *agamam*, *agamīm*; 1st sg. pret. 9.46. *gratha*: *granthāḥ*, *ganthā*; “knot,” m. nom. pl. 9.56.
- gado*: *gataḥ*, *gato*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.139, 186 [*ga*]*do*. *grama-*: “village,” m.
- ga[do]*: *gatam*, *gatam*; pp. m. acc. sg. 9.144. *gramo*: *grāmam*, *gāmam*; acc. sg. 9.41.
- gado*: *gatam*, *gatam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 13.49. *grame*: *grāme*, *gāme*; loc. sg. 9.40.
- in *duaśaṭhidriṭhiadehi*, *driṭhigadeśu*, √*grah*: “take.”
- parapaṭividha(*ñā)[ñā]gado*, *parinīvan[a]g[a]do*. *gri[ñā]di*: *grhṇāti*, *ganhāti*; 3rd sg. pres. 13.24.
- gami-*: in *anusoda*~.
- garavaasivayañam*: ***gauravādhi-* vacanam, *gāravādhivacanam*; “respectful form of address,” n. nom. nom. sg.(?) 9.25.
- gridhada*: *grdhratām*, **giddhataṁ*; “greediness,” f. acc. sg. 13.84.

- ca:** *ca, ca;* “and, also,” ind. 93 [2x], 7, 21
[ca], 27, 28 *[ca]* [2x], *ca,* 30 [2x], 32
c[a], ca, 34 [2x], 37 [2x], 52 [2x], 53,
82 *[ca], ca,* 91 [2x], 97, 103 *c[a], ca,*
106 *[ya]ho, ya, c[a],* 107 *ya, 108 yaho,*
ya [2x], *ca,* 109 *[ya]* [2x], *ya[ho], ya,*
110 *[ca], 111 [ca]* [2x], 112 *c[a], ca,*
114 *[ca]* [2x], *ca,* 115, 116, 122, 153
ca, 154 *[ya], ca* [2x], 160 *[ca], 165*
ca, y[a], 170, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189
[2x], 204, 207, 225 *[ca], GCv6,* 13·4,
6 *[ca], 7 (*ca), 18 [2x], 20 (*ca), ca,*
47, 59 [4x], 60, 63, 66, 82, 84 [2x],
18·Kr4 *[ca], Cr1* [2x], 6 *[ca], ca, 7 ca*
[2x], 8 *ca* [3x], *[ca], 9, 14 [2x], 24.*
- cakṣuviñāṇa·avi[sa]bh[u]da:** **cakṣur-*
vijñanābhisaṁbhūtāḥ, cakkhuviññāṇ-
ābhisaṁbhūtā; “reached by eye
consciousness,” m. nom. pl. 9·191.
- cakh[u]-:** in *ekaca[khu], [du]cakh[u].*
- cakhumo:** **cakṣuṣmān, cakkhumā;*
“having eyes,” m. nom. sg. 13·79.
- caga-:** “generosity(?)” m.
[ca]go: *tyāgah, cāgo;* nom. sg. 9·227.
- cagasa:** *tyāgasya, cāgassa;* gen. sg.
9·225.
- cage:** *tyāge, cāge;* loc. sg.(?) 9·226.
- cadu-:** “four.”
- cadure:** **catasrah, catasso;* f. nom.
9·143.
- [ca]tvāri:** *catvāri, cattāri;* n. nom.
9·92.
- caduhi:** *caturbhiḥ, catūhi;* n. instr.
9·33, 95 *c[a]d[uhi].*
- caduṇa:** *caturṇām, catunnaṁ;* n. gen.
13·25.
- caduṣu:** *caturṣu, catūsu;* n. loc. 9·24.
- caduveharajada:** **caturvaiśāradyatā,*
i^{}catuvesārajatā; “state of possessing
the four confidences,” f. nom. sg. 9·3.
- ✓car:** “move about.”
- carati:** *caranti, caranti;* 3rd pl. pres.
9·178 *ca[ra]ti,* 180.
- cari:** *caret, care;* 3rd sg. opt. 9·40.
- caramāṇa:** *caramāṇāḥ, caramāṇā;*
pres. part. m. nom. pl. 9·46.
- *cara-:** in *goyaro.*
- cario:** *caryām, cariyam;* “practice,” f.
acc. sg. 13·79.
- carity(*e)ṇa:** *cārītvena, cārīttena;*
“practice,” n. instr. sg. 9·200.
- cita-:** “heart,” n.
- cit[o]:** *cittam, cittam;* nom. sg. 18·15.
- [cito]:** *cittam, cittam;* acc. sg. 9·132.
- citeṇa:** *cittena, cittena;* instr. sg.
13·42.
- c[i]tado:** *cittataḥ, cittato;* abl. sg.

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| 9-60. | | 9-GCv7 (*ch)[e](*do), <i>chedo</i> . |
| in <i>aṇ[av]a[s](*)u]dacita[sa]</i> , <i>aṇ-[u]a<(*ha)dacitasa</i> , <i>bhavidacito</i> , <i>suuaṭhidacito</i> . | | in <i>kamavaṭa~</i> , <i>ki[l](*)e][śavaṭa]~</i> , <i>trivaṭa~</i> , <i>dukhavaṭa~</i> . |
| <i>civaro</i> : <i>cīvaram</i> , <i>cīvaram</i> ; “robe,” n. nom. sg. 938. | | <i>jagaria-</i> : in <i>ñāna~</i> . |
| * <i>cudoavada</i> : <i>cyutopapādah</i> , <i>cutūpapāto</i> ; “decease and reappearance,” m. nom. sg. 9-148 <i>cuadavada</i> . | | <i>jacadho</i> : <i>jātyandhah</i> , <i>jaccandho</i> ; “blind from birth,” m. nom. sg. 13-79. |
| <i>cudoavadañāṇo</i> : <i>cyutopapādajñānam</i> , <i>cutūpapātaññāṇam</i> ; “knowing of decease and reappearance,” n. nom. sg. 9154. | | * <i>ja[di]-</i> : in <i>dra[va]ya[di]jo</i> .
(* <i>jadijarama)[ra]ñāṇi[ro]so</i> : * <i>jātijarā-</i> |
| <i>cedo</i> -: in (* <i>anua)[had]cedasa</i> . | | <i>maraṇanirodhah</i> , * <i>jātijarāmarāṇa-</i> |
| <i>coda</i> -: in <i>bhava~</i> . | | <i>nirodho</i> ; “cessation of birth, aging and death,” m. nom. sg. 9-GCv11. |
| <i>chadarago</i> : <i>chandarāgah</i> , <i>chandarāgo</i> ; “passion and lust,” m. nom. sg. 9-173 [<i>chada]rago</i> , 174 <i>chadarag[o]</i> , 13-10. | | <i>jadijaramaraṇo</i> : * <i>jātijarāmarāṇam</i> , <i>jāti-</i> |
| <i>chinaśaśago</i> : <i>chinnaśamśayah</i> , <i>chinna-</i>
<i>samsayo</i> ; “having severed doubt,” m. nom. sg. 9-143 <i>chinaśa<(*śa)go</i> , 148 [<i>chi]ñaśaśago</i> , 155, 159. | | <i>jarāmarāṇam</i> ; “birth, aging and death,” n. nom. sg. 13-30. |
| <i>chinasodo</i> : <i>chinnasrotah</i> , <i>chinnasoto</i> ; “having severed the stream,” m. nom. sg. 13-13, 16 [<i>chi]n[as](*)o][do</i>], 17 <i>chiṇa[s](*)o][d](*)o</i> , 21 <i>ch[iṇa]sodo</i> . | | <i>jadi(*pra)[ce]ja</i> : <i>jātipratyayāt</i> , <i>jāti-</i> |
| <i>cheda</i> -: “severing,” m. | | <i>ppaccayā</i> ; “condition birth,” m. abl. sg. 9-GCv9. |
| <i>chedo</i> : <i>chedah</i> , <i>chedo</i> ; nom. sg. | | ✓ <i>jan</i> : “be born.” |
| | | <i>jayadi</i> : * <i>jāyate</i> , <i>jāyati</i> ; 3rd sg. pres. 13-63, 64. |
| | | <i>jado</i> : <i>jātam</i> , <i>jātam</i> ; pp. n. nom. sg. 9-184. |
| | | <i>jana</i> -: “people,” m. |
| | | <i>jano</i> : <i>janah</i> , <i>jano</i> ; nom. sg. 13-53. |
| | | <i>jano</i> : <i>janam</i> , <i>janam</i> ; acc. sg. 13-74. |
| | | <i>janeṣu</i> : <i>janeṣu</i> , <i>janesu</i> ; loc. pl. 9-7. |
| | | in <i>pusu~pa[kṣo]</i> . |
| | | <i>janavadapradeśa</i> : <i>janapadapradeśam</i> , |

- janapadapadesam*; “country district,” m. acc. sg. 9.63.
- jara-*: in *jadi~marano*, (**jadi*)~-*(*ma)[ra]nañi[ro]so*.
- jara[marana]*: *jarāmaraṇam*, *jarā-maraṇam*; “aging and death,” n. nom. sg. 9.GCv9.
- jala-*: “water,” n.
- [*jal*](*o): *jalam*, *jalāñ*; nom. sg. 9.183.
- jaleñā*: *jalena*, *jalena*; instr. sg. 9.183.
- [*ja]lapak[a]ni[vu]do*: **jalapañka-nivṛtah*, **jalapañkanivuto*; “surrounded by water and mud,” m. nom. sg. 9.187.
- jivido*: *jīvitam*, *jīvitam*; “life,” n. acc. sg. 9.93.
- ✓ *jīr̥*: “age.”
- jiamaño*: *jīryamāñam*, *jīyyamāñam*; pres. part. n. nom. sg. 9.75, 78–79
jiamaṇa.
- ji[a]man[e]na*: *jīryamāñena*, *jīyya-māñena*; pres. part. n. instr. sg. 9.74.
- ✓ *jīnā*: “know.”
- janami*: *jānāmi*, *jānāmi*; 1st sg. pres. 9.99.
- janadi*: *jānāti*, *jānāti*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.170, 228 *janadi*, 13.42 [*jāñādi*, 43, 45, 47–48 [*ja](*)nādi*], 49–50 [*jaJ](*)nādi*], 50.
- jañe*: **jāñīyāt*, *jaññā*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.38.
- janidi*: **jāñīyāt*, *jāneyyāti*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.174.
- janado*: *jānataḥ*, *jānato*; pres. part. m. gen. sg. 18.15.
- ñada*: *jñātāḥ*, *ñātā*; pp. m. nom. pl. 9.215.
- ñatva*: *jñātvā*, *ñatvā*; abs. 9.171–172
ñ[a](*t)[va], 226, 229 (**ñā*)[*tva*], 236 [*ñatva*], 239, GCv2, GCv11, GCv13.
- [*ñadav*](*o): *jñātavyāḥ*, *ñātabbo*; m. nom. sg. 7.Aa1.
- ñadava*: *jñātavyāḥ*, *ñātabbā*; gdv. m. nom. pl. 9.73.
- ñadava*: *jñātavyā*, *ñātabbā*; gdv. f. nom. sg. 9.6, 7 *ñā[da]va*.
- ñadava*: *jñātavyam*, *ñātabbāñ*; gdv. n. nom. sg. 9.127, 13.81 *ñada[vo]*.
- ñada[va]*: **jñātavyāni*, *ñātabbā*; gdv. n. nom. pl. 9.53.
- janidava*: **jñātavyā*, *jānitabbā*; gdv. f. nom. sg. 9.39.
- ñāna-*: “knowing,” n.
- ñāno*: *jñānam*, *ñāñam*; nom. sg. 9.33,

- 96 [ñ]no, 151, 176 ñ[a]ñ[o].
- ñāñena:** jñāñena, ñāñena; instr. sg. 9.25, 79 ñanena, 158, 167, 170
 ñañ[e]ña, 1377, 18·Cv3
 ñañ(*e)ña.
 in *kośala-*, *cudoavada-*, *ñirosa-*
[viva]ti, *dukha-*vivati, *[dha]ma-*
*~, parapadividha-*gado, *par-*
asiñā-, *maga-*vi[va](**ti*), *saksi-*
vija.
- ñāñajagaria:** *jñāñajāgaryā, *ñāñā-
 jāgariyā; f. nom. sg. “wakefulness of
 knowing,” 9.65.
- ñāñ[i]:** jñāñī, ñāñi; “knower,” m. nom.
 sg. 9.185 ña[ñi], 226.
- ñāñida-:** “state of a knower,” f.
ñāñida: *jñāñitā, *ñāñitā; nom. sg.
 9.28, 102–103 ña[ñida].
- ñāñidae:** *jñāñitāyāh, *ñāñitāya; abl.
 sg. 9.48, 158 ñañ[i]dae.
- ñhana-:** “place,” n.
- ñhano:** sthānam, thānam; nom. sg.
 9.98.
- ñhan[a]mi:** sthāne, thāne; loc. sg.
 13.73.
 in *kileśapada[sta]ño*, *d[r]iñhi-*
tañ[a]ña.
- ñhidaga-:** “steady; remaining.”
- ñhidago:** sthitakah, thitako; m. nom.
 sg. 13.76.
- ñhidaga:** sthitakāh, thitakā; m.(?)
 nom. pl. 9.127.
- ñhida[ga]:** *sthitakāni, thitakā; n.
 nom. pl. 9.5.
- ñhidi-:** in *ariavaśa-*, *viñana-*.
- ñta-:** “he, she, it; that.”
- so:** sah, so; m. nom. sg. 9.33, 38, 49,
 57, 77, 96, 97 [sa], so, 105 sa [3×],
 135 [2×], 139 so, [so], 166, 184
 [so], 186, 193 [so], 195, 199 [so],
 203 sa, 205 sa, 227, 13.58, 59
 [3×], 61, 64, 67, 73 sa, 74, 75, 18.7
 s[o], so, 8 [2×].
- te:** te, te; m. nom. pl. 9.13 t[e], 46
 [t](**e*), 84, 196.
- ta:** tam, tam; m. acc. sg. 9.54, 109,
 112, 13.4 tam.
- te:** *tān, te; m. acc. pl. 9.75.
- tena:** tena, tena; m. instr. sg. 9.184,
 186, 196, 13.56, 57.
- tehi:** *taih, tehi; m. instr. pl. 9.180,
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- tasa:** tasya, tassa; m. gen. sg. 18.15
 (*ta)sa, 16.
- teṣa:** teṣām, tesam; m. gen. pl. 9.221.
- tesu:** teṣu, tesu; m. loc. pl. 9.221.

- sa:** *sā, sā;* f. nom. sg. 9.143, 174.
- [te]:** **tāh, *tā;* f. nom. pl.(?) 9.188.
- to:** *tām, tam;* f. acc. sg.(?) 9.146.
- tae:** *tayā, tāya;* f. instr. sg. 9.113.
- tasa:** *tasyāh, tassā;* f. gen. sg. 13.35.
- ta:** **tat, tam;* n. acc. sg. 9.9, 64, 97
[ta], 151, 155 [to], 190, 18.Kr4,
5(?), 17.
- tena:** *tena, tena;* n. instr. sg. 9.187,
197 [t]eṇa, GCv3, 13.26 *tena,*
ten(*e)va, 29 *tena, teneva,* 32
[t]eṇ[a], [t]eṇeva.
- taspa:** *tasmāt, tasmā;* n. abl. sg.
9.238.
- tado:** *tatah, tato;* n. abl. sg. 9.174
tad[o], 192, 199, 215 [ta]do,
13.24, 18.17.
- tasa:** *tasya, tassa;* n. gen. sg. 9.15.
- tesa:** *teṣām, tesam;* n. gen. pl. 9.31,
76 *tiṣa,* 118.
- tacha-:** in *yasatacha.*
- tatra:** *tatra, tatra;* “there,” ind. 7.Aa1, 9.6,
21 (*tatra), 38, 40 *tratra,* 47, 50
[ta]tra, 54, 60 (*tatra), 74, 81, 88, 98
[tatra], 105, 113, 122, 131, 132, 133
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184, 185, 186, 188, 204, 218, 227
ta[tra], GCv2, 13.10 *ta[tra],* 22, 24
[ta](*)[ra], [tatra], 26 *tatra* [2×], 33,
42, 52, 62, 71 *tat[ra],* 80, 82, 18.Cr2,
5, 10, 16, 18.Av3.
in *tatra~ua[va]ti-.*
- tatratatraüa[va]ti-:** “reappearance here and there,” f.
- tatratatraüa[va]tie:** *tatrataropa-*
pattyām, **tatrataropapattiyaṁ;*
loc. sg. 13.24 *tatratatraüa[vatie],*
31 *tatratatraüa(*va)tie.*
- tada:** *tadā, tadā;* “then,” ind. 9.46 [2×],
108.
- tad[i]šehi:** **tādrśaiḥ, tādisehi;* “such like, that sort of,” n.(?) instr. pl. 9.175.
- [ta]parayano:** *tatparāyanah,* *tap-*
pārāyaṇo; “having that as final aim,”
m. nom. sg. 9.170–171.
- tamayo:** *tanmayah, tamayo;* “like that,”
m. nom. sg. 9.193 [ta]maya, 199 *ta-*
[ma](*yo), 203.
- tamo:** *tamah, tamo;* “darkness,” n. nom.
sg. 13.44, 46, 47.
- tava:** *tāvat, tāva;* “so far,” ind. 9.8.
- taṣa-:** “craving,” f.
- taṣa:** *trṣṇā, tanhā;* nom. sg. 9.143,
GCv3, GCv8 *ta[ṣ]a,* GCv13
ta[ṣ]a], 13.29.
- taṣae:** *trṣṇayā, tanhāya;* instr. sg.
9.GCv12.
- [ta]ṣae:** *trṣṇāyāh, tanhāya;* abl. sg.

9.57.

- taśae:** *trṣṇāyāḥ, taṇhāya;* gen. sg. 9.16 (**ta*)[**sae*], 55 [*taśae*], 59 *ta[ś]a]e*, 155, GCv3, 13.61 [*taśae*].
- taśana:** *trṣṇānām, taṇhānām;* gen. pl. 13.13.
- [ta]śa:** *trṣṇāḥ, taṇhā;* nom. pl. 9.56. in *aṭatva~, bahidha~, [vi]adataso*.
- taśadudio:** **trṣṇādvitīyah, taṇhādutiyo;* “accompanied by craving,” m. nom. sg. 13.22, 28 (**taśadudio*), 31 *taśadudiyo*.
- taśaniroso:** *trṣṇānirodhah, taṇhānirodho;* “cessation of craving,” m. nom. sg. 9.GCv10.
- taśapracea:** *trṣṇāpratyayāt, taṇhā-paccayā;* “condition craving,” m. abl. sg. 13.29.
- taśaprahanā:** *trṣṇāprahānam, taṇhā-pahānam;* “abandoning of craving,” n. nom. sg. 9.85 [*taśa]p[r]ahana*, 90, 98.
- taśamuhie:** **trṣṇāmukhyam, *taṇhā-mokkham;* “having craving as head(?)” m. acc. sg. (?) 13.23.
- tasa:** *tathā, tathā;* “so, likewise,” ind. 9.158 [2×], 214.
- tasagadasa:** *tathāgatasya, tathāgatassa;* “tathāgata,” m. gen. sg. 7.Da1.
- tasaviso:** *tathāvidhah, tathāvidho;* “of such a kind,” m. nom. sg. 9.166.
- t[i]thiga:** *tīrthikāḥ, titthiyā;* “heretic,” m. nom. pl. 9.178.
- ✓ **tiṭṭi:** “cross over.”
- taraīda:** *tārayatām, tārayatam;* caus. pres. part. m. gen. pl. 9.1.
- tiṇo:** *tīrṇah, tiṇno;* pp. m. nom. sg. 9.1 (**ti*)ṇo, 4 *tiṇo*.
- tratra:** see **tatra**.
- tri-**: “three.”
- [tra]e:** *trayah, tayo;* m. nom. 9.127(?), 13.89 [*t](*)r)[a]e*.
- trihi:** *tribhiḥ, tīhi;* m. instr. 9.192 [*tri]hi*, 13.17, 25.
- trae:** **tisrah, *tisso;* f. nom. 9.102 [*tra]e*, 133.
- trae:** **trīni, *tīni;* n. nom. 9.126, 13.47, 18.Kr4 *trae*.
- tr[i]hi:** *tribhiḥ, tīhi;* n. instr. 9.76.
- triṇa:** **trayānām, tiṇṇām;* n. gen. 9.45, 13.90.
- in *sava~*.
- trika[dha]vivati:** *triskandhavipattiḥ, ti-kkhandhavipatti;* “failure of the three categories,” f. nom. sg. 13.47.
- tr[i]ṇidānakṣaya-:** “exhaustion of the three sources,” m.
- tr[i]ṇidānakṣayo:** *trinidānakṣayah, tinidānakkhayo;* nom. sg. 9.106.

- (**trinida*)*n[a]kṣa[ye]ṇa*: *trinidāna-*
kṣayena, *tinidānakkhayena*; instr.
 sg. 13-90. *daśa-*: in *ṣodaśagiehi*.
- [*tri]ṇidaṇapra[ha]ṇena*: **trinidāna-*
prahānena, **tinidānappahānena*;
 “abandoning of the three sources,” n.
 instr. sg. 9-58-59 [*tri](*ni)[da]ṇa-*
 [*p](*r)[aha]ṇ<*e>ṇa, 128 [*tri]ṇidaṇa-*
pra[ha]ṇena. *daśana-*: “seeing,” n.*
- [*tr]ilakhaṇ[o]*: *trilakṣaṇaḥ*, *tilakkhaṇo*;
 “the three characteristics,” n. nom.
 sg.(?) 13-65. *daśanapradīḍhidaṇa*: **darśanapratidi-*
ṣṭhitānām, **dassanappatiṭhitānām*;
 “established in seeing,” m. gen. pl.
 9-45.
- trivaṭach[e]do*: *trivartmacchedaḥ*, *tri-*
vatṭachedo; “severing of the three
 courses,” m. nom. sg. 9-87. *daśanabhumi*: **darśanabhūmih*,
dassanabhūmi; “plane of seeing,” f.
 nom. sg. 13-39, 18-13.
- triviso*: *trividhaḥ*, *tividho*; “of three
 kinds,” m. nom. sg. 9-162. *daśan[o]*: — , **dayhanā*; “burning,” f.
 nom. sg. 9-77.
- tr[e]vijada*: *traividyatā*, *tevijjatā*; “state
 of possessing the three knowledges,”
 f. nom. sg. 9-149-150. *daśabalada*: **daśabalatā*, **dasabalatā*;
 “state of possessing the ten powers,” f.
 nom. sg. 9-3, 104.
- tva*: *tvam*, *taṁ*; “you,” nom. 9-99. ✓*dah*: “burn.”
- thidaga-*: see *thidaga-*.
- danī*: *idānīm*, *dāni*; “now,” ind. 9-149,
 18-6, 16. *dahati*: *dahanti*, *dahanti*; 3rd pl.
 pres. 9-63.
- dam*: “tame.” *dajamana*: *dahyamānam*, *dayha-*
mānam; pres. part. n. nom. sg. 9-79.
- [*da]to*: *dāntaḥ*, *danto*; pp. m. nom.
 sg. 9-97. *daśamana*: *dahyamānam*, *dayha-*
mānam; pres. part. n. acc. sg. 9-76.
- ✓*di*: *iti*, *ti*; “thus,” ind. 9-29.

- [di]vae:** *divyayā, dibbāya;* “divine,” f. instr. sg. 9·201.
- du-:** “two.”
- due:** **dvau, duve*; m. nom. 9·54 *du[e], du[e]*, 73, 77, 78.
- due:** **dvau, duve*; m. acc.(?) 9·188.
- due:** *dve, duve*; f. nom. 9·86, 101 *[d]u[e], 217 du[e], 13·81 [d](*)u)ve.*
- d<*u>[e]hi:** **dvābhȳām, dvīhi*; f. instr. 9·216.
- duiṇa:** **dvayoh, dvinnam*; f. gen. 13·8, 13, 61.
- due:** *dve, duve*; n. nom. 9·5, 53, 62.
- duiṇa:** **dvayoh, dvinnam*; n. gen. 9·57 *d[u]iṇa, 104, 218 du[i]ṇa, 13·60, 80 [du]iṇa.*
- du:** *tu, tu*; “but,” ind. 9·123, 150, 157 *[du], 179.*
- duagio:** **dvyaṅgikah, duvaṅgiko*; “having two parts,” m. nom. sg. 9·217.
- duaśat̄hidriṭhiadehi:** **dvāśaṭidṛṣṭigataih, dvāśaṭhidit̄higatehi*; “sixty-two types of view,” n. instr. pl. 9·205.
- dukha-:** “painful.”
- dukha:** *duḥkhāh, dukkhā*; m. nom. pl. 9·114.
- dukho:** *duḥkham, dukkham*; n. nom. sg. 9·65–66 (**du)[kha]m*, 79, 100 *[d](*)u)[kho], 101, 103 [du]kho, GCv13 (**dukho*), 13·18.*
- dukham:** *duḥkham, dukkham*; n. acc. sg. 13·27 (**dukha)m, 30, 32 *du[kham].**
- (*dukhe)na:** *duḥkhena, dukkhena*; n. instr. sg. 9·GCv9.
- dukhasa:** *duḥkhasya, dukkhassa*; n. gen. sg. 9·101 *[dukhasa], GCv3, GCv6, GCv12 *dukha[sa], GCv13 [dukhasa], 13·23.**
- d[o]kha:** **duḥkhāni, dukkhā*; n. nom. pl. 9·78.
- dukhado:** *duḥkhataḥ, dukkhato*; n. abl. sg. 9·5.
- dukhaapra[vu]t[i]:** **duḥkhāpravṛttiḥ, dukkhāpavatti*; “non-occurrence of pain,” f. nom. sg. 13·14.
- dukhakṣayo:** *duḥkhakṣayah, dukkha-kkhayo*; “exhaustion of pain,” m. nom. sg. 9·81, 129, 13·69.
- dukhañan[a]vivati:** **duḥkhajñāna-vipattiḥ, *dukkhaññānavipatti*; “failure of the knowing of pain,” f. nom. sg. 13·32–33.
- dukhada-:** “painfulness,” f.
- dukhada:** *duḥkhataḥ, dukkhataḥ*; nom. pl. 9·101, 102. in *sakhara~, sakharā~uaśamo*.

- dukhapariñā*: *duḥkhaparijñā*, *dukkha-pariññā*; “diagnosis of pain,” f. nom. sg. 95, 32 (**dukha*)*[pa]riñā*, 82 [*du]khapariñā*, 93, 238 *dukha-pari*(*ñā), 13·70.
- dukhavaṭachedo*: **duḥkhavartma-cchedah*, **dukkhavaṭṭacchedo*; “severing of the course of pain,” m. nom. sg. 935, 66.
- dukhavatani*-: “course of pain,” f.
- dukhavatani*: **duḥkhavartaniḥ*, **dukkhavattanī*; nom. sg. 9·GCv6 *dukha[vata]ṇi*, 13·5, 28 *d(*u)kh[a]v[a]t[a]ṇi[i]*.
- dukha(*vatanie)*: **duḥkhavartanyāḥ*, **dukkhavattaniyā*; gen. sg. 9·GCv7–8.
- dukhavudhi*: **duḥkhavṛddhiḥ*, *dukkha-vuddhi*; “increase of pain,” f. nom. sg. 13·6.
- [du]cakh[u]*: **dvicakṣuḥ*, *ducakkhu*; “two-eyed,” m. nom. sg.(?) 9·7.
- dudia*-: in *taṣa*~.
- dupragara*: “of two kinds.”
- dupragara*: **dviprakārā*, **dvippakārā*; f. nom. sg. 9·6 *dupraga*(*ra), 7, 10 *dupra[ga](*ra)*.
- dupragarae*: **dviprakārāyāḥ*, **dvippakārāya*; f. gen. sg. 9·59.
- duracag[o]*: *duratyayam*, *duraccayam*; “difficult to pass,” m. acc. sg. 13·19.
- du[śaṇa]e*: **dūṣaṇena*, *dussanāya*; “hatefulness,” f. instr. sg. 13·6.
- ✓*duṣ*: “be hateful.”
- duṣadi*: *duṣyati*, *dussati*; 3rd sg. pres. 13·5, 8 [*duṣa]di*.
- ✓*drś*: “see.”
- [*d](*)[iśati]*: **drśyante*, *dissanti*; 3rd pl. pass. 9·188.
- daṣedi*: *darśayati*, *dasseti*; caus. 3rd sg. pres. 9·67, 163 *daś[e]di*.
- daśido*: *darśitah*, *dassito*; caus. pp. m. nom. sg. 9·28 *draśi[do]*, 57 *draśido*, 162, 13·24(?), 33, 18·1 *daś[i]do*.
- daśida*: *darśitā*, *dassitā*; caus. pp. f. nom. sg. 9·23, 39.
- daśido*: *darśitam*, *dassitam*; caus. pp. n. nom. sg. 9·166, 168.
- daśida*: **darśitāni*, *dassitā*; caus. pp. n. nom. pl. 9·62.
- [*devamanu]śaṇa*: *devamanuṣyānām*, *devamanussānām*; m. gen. pl. 7·Da2.
- deṣana*-: in *dhama*~.
- doṣa*⁻¹: “hate,” m.
- doṣo*: **dveṣah*, *doso*; nom. sg. 9·105, 124, 13·15.
- in *raga*~*moha*.

doṣa-²: in *vatadoṣo*.

doṣaprayoami: *^{*}*dveṣaprayoge*, *^{*}*dosa-*
ppayoge; “application of hate,” m. loc.
sg. 9.22.

doṣaprahaṇa-: “abandoning of hate,” n.

doṣaprahan[o]: *^{*}*dveṣaprahānam*,
dosappahānam; nom. sg. 9.27
[*do*](**ṣa*)*prahaṇa*, 124 [*do*]*ṣa-*
praha[ṇo], 134 *doṣaprahaṇa*,
13.66 *doṣaprahaṇa*, 88 *do[ṣa]-*
prahaṇa.

doṣaprahaṇado: *^{*}*dveṣaprahānataḥ*,
dosappahānato; abl. sg. 13.83.

doṣaśalasa: *^{*}*dveṣaśalyasya*, *dosa-*
sallassa; “barb of hate,” n. gen. sg.
9.36.

dra[va]ya[di]Jo: **dravyajātikah*, *dabba-*
jātiko; “of good material,” m. nom. sg.
9.132.

drīhi-: “view,” f.

drīthie: *dr̥ṣṭyā*, *diṭṭhiyā*; instr. sg.
9.177, 191 *drīth<*i>e*, 197
[*drī*]*thie*, 203, 227.

in *duaṣaṭhi~adehi*.

drīthiujuamo: *^{*}*dr̥ṣṭyṛjukarma*, *diṭṭhiju-*
kamman; “straight action concerning
view,” n. nom. sg. 13.39.

drīthigadavirahida: **dr̥ṣṭigatavirahitāḥ*,
**diṭṭhigatavirahitā*; “remote from

types of view,” m. nom. pl. 9.178.

drīthigadeṣu: *dr̥ṣṭigateṣu*, *diṭṭhigatesu*;
“type of view,” n. loc. pl. 9.178.

d[r]iṭhiṭiṭaṇ[a]na: *dr̥ṣṭisthānānām*, *diṭṭhi-*
ṭṭhānānām; “position of view,” n. gen.
pl. 9.16.

drīthiś[a]l[a]sa: *dr̥ṣtiśalyasya*, *diṭṭhi-*
sallassa; “barb of view,” n. gen. sg.
9.36–37.

drītho[h]asa: *^{*}*dr̥ṣtyoghasya*, *diṭṭh-*
oghassa; “flood of view,” m. gen. sg.
9.202 *drīthoasa*, 13.19–20 *dri[ṭh-*
*oha](*sa)*.

drok[ar]Jaṭhena: *^{*}*duṣkarāsthena*, **duk-*
karaṭhena; “undertaking what is
difficult,” m. instr. sg. 9.39.

dhadu-: in *k[a]ma~*, *nivāna~*,
s[oda]{da}~.

[dha]dusañā: *dhātusamjñā*, *dhātusaññā*;
“perception of elements,” f. nom. sg.
9.161.

dhama-: “dharma,” m.

dhama: *dharmah*, *dhammo*; nom. sg.
13.59, 60 *dhamo*, 18.21.

dhama: *dharmāḥ*, *dhammā*; nom. pl.
9.108.

dhamo: *dharmam*, *dhammām*; acc.
sg. 13.43 <**dha*>*mo*, 46 (**dhamo*),

- 48, 50, 51.
- dhama:** **dharmañān*, **dhamme*; acc. pl. 9.22 (**dharma*), 27 (**dharma*), 29, 31 (**dharma*) [2×], 35, 36, 13.48.
- dhamehi:** **dharmaih*, *dhammehi*; instr. pl. 13.3, 75, 88.
- dhame:** *darme*, *dhamme*; loc. sg. 13.76.
- [dharma](*na):** *dharmañām*, *dhammānam*; gen. pl. 7.Aa2.
- dhamami:** **darme*, **dhamme*; loc. sg. 13.73.
in *vahidapavadhamasa*, *sakhada-dhama-*, *sava~*.
- dhamakośalavivati:** **dharmaśalya-vipattiḥ*, **dhammakosallavipatti*; “failure of skillfulness in dharma,” f. nom. sg. 13.51.
- [dha]mañā[na]sa:** *dharmajñānasya*, *dhammaññāṇassa*; “knowing of the dharmas,” n. gen. sg. 9.137–138.
- dhamadeśana:** *dharmaśanā*, *dhamma-desanā*; “teaching of the dharma,” f. nom. sg. 9.45.
- dhamavitra[kam]:** ***dharmavitarkah*, **dhammaditakko*; “thinking about the dharma,” m. nom. sg. 9.131.
- dhamasañae:** *dharmaśaṁjñāyāḥ*, *dhammasaññāya*; “perception of
- dharmas,” f. gen. sg. 9.122.
- dhiro:** *dhīrah*, *dhīro*; “intelligent,” m. nom. sg. 13.76.
- na:** *na*, *na*; “not,” ind. 9.42 *na*, [*na*], 43, 44 [*na*], 46, 56, 64 *na*, *nasti*, 65 *nasti*, 72–73 *na[sti]*, 73 *nasti*, 77, 93 *nabhinadami*, *navinadami*, 106 [3×], 108 *na*_{ho}, [*na*], *na* [2×], 109 [3×], 121 *na[sti]*, 121–122 [*na*]_{sti}, 122 *nabhiṇade[a]*, 123 *nabhiṇadidava*, 129 *nabhiṇadea*, 133, 136 *na[a]*, 150 [*na*], 154, 157 [*na*], 164 [*na*]_{ho}, 165 *na[a]*, 177 [2×], 180, 184, 186, 187 *ni*, 188, 190 [2×], 191 [2×], 192, 193 *na*, [*na*], 194, 195, 197, 199 *na* [3×], 200 [3×], 201 *na*, [*na*], 203 [2×], 204 *nasti*, *na*, 205, 206 [*nasti*], 207 *nasti*, *na*, 208 *nasti*, 214 *na[st]i*, *na[a]*, *na* [2×], 225, 13.12 [2×], 15 *na*, *navijayadi*, 16, 17 [*nav*]ijayadi, 34, 42 [*na*], 43 [2×], 45, 46 (**na*), 47 [*na*], 48 [2×], 49 *na[a]*, 50 [3×], 51 [2×], 54, 55, 62, 63, 64, 66 [2×], 67, 86, 18.18, 19 [3×], 20, 24.
- nago:** *nāgah*, *nāgo*; “hero,” m. nom. sg. 9.180, 202.
- nadi:** *nandi*, *nandī*; “relish,” f. nom. sg.(?) 9.173.

- nabhinadami, nabhiṇadidava, nabhi-* in *tr[i]~kṣayo, [tri]~pra[ha]ṇeṇa*.
nade[a]: see *ṇa, abhi* + √*nand*.
- naya-:* in *aria~*.
- navadi-:* in *śa~*.
- nasti, nasti:* see *ṇa, √as*.
- [*ṇa]ho*¹: see *ṇa, ma-*.
- ṇaho*²: see *ṇa, √bhū*.
- √*nī*: “lead.”
- **ṇiyo:* *neyah, neyyo;* gdv. m. nom. sg. 9.195 *noyo.*
- ṇi: see *ṇa*.
- ṇikamo:* **niṣkāmam, nikkāmam;* “without desire,” m. acc. sg. 9.47 [*ṇika]mo*, 49.
- ṇikileśo:* **niṣkleśah, nikkileso;* “without defilement,” m. nom. sg. 13.74.
- [*ṇija]naṭheṇa:* **nidhyānārthakānām, nijjhānatthakānām;* “seeking for understanding(?)” m. gen. pl. 9.195.
- ṇithuri:* **niṣṭhūrikam, niṭṭhuriyam;* “roughness,” f.(?) acc. sg. 13.82.
- ṇidana-:* “source,” n.
- ṇidāna:* **nidānāni, nidānā;* nom. pl. 9.126, 13.47.
- ṇidāna:* **nidānāni, nidānā;* acc. pl. 9.135.
- ni[dan](*)hi:* **nidānaih, nidānehi;* instr. pl. 9.76.
- ṇidānaṇa:* *nidānānām, nidānānam;* gen. pl. 9.31 *ṇi[da]ṇana, 45.*
- ṇidānakṣayena:* *nidānakṣayena, *nidāna-* *kkhayena;* “exhaustion of the sources,” m. instr. sg. 9.28 *ṇidaṇakṣal[ye]na,* 13.68.
- ṇidaṇaprahaṇena:* **nidānaprahāṇena, *nidānappahāṇena;* “abandoning of the sources,” n. instr. sg. 13.69.
- ṇideśo:* *nirdeśah, niddeso;* “explanation,” m. nom. sg. 7.Aa1, 9.6, 22 [*ṇideśo*], 38, 46, 54, 60 [*ṇide]śo*, 74, 81, 88 *nideśo*, 98 [*ṇide]śo*, 105, 113, 122 *ṇ[i]deśo*, 140, 161, 177, 204, 218 *ṇide[śo]*, GCv2, 13.10 [*ṇ](*)ide)[śo], 22, 33, 42, 52, 62, 71 *ṇ[i]de]śo, 82, 185, 16.**
- ṇimalo:* *nirmalah, nimmalo;* “unsullied,” m. nom. sg. 13.59.
- ṇimita-:* in *bhavanem[i]tio*.
- ṇi + √*me:* “exchange.”
- ṇimesa:* **nimayata, *nimetha;* 2nd pl. impv. 9.77 *ṇ[i]mes[a]*, 79 *nimesa*, 80.
- ṇi + √*yuj:* “enjoin.”
- ṇiyuto:* *niyuktam, niyuttam;* pp. n. nom. sg. 9.125.
- niy[o](*e)d[i]:* *niyojayati, niyojeti;* 3rd sg. pres. 13.84.
- ṇiyoṇa:* *niyojanam, *niyojanam;* “injunction,” n. nom. sg. 13.83.

- ni + √ruh:** “(caus.?) to construe(?)”
- niroeti:** *niropayanti*, *niropenti*; caus.(?) 3rd pl. pres. 9.177
niro[ē]ti, 179.
- nirosa-**: “cessation,” m.
- niroso:** *nirodhah*, *nirodho*; nom. sg. 9.28 (**niro*)[sa], 32, 79, 83, 86, 91
*n(*i)rosa*, 95 *nirosa*, GCv13, 13.18
nirosa.
in *uadāna*~, (**jadijarama*)[ra]ñā~, *taśa*~, *bha[va]*~, *saka[ya]*~.
- nirosa[ñā]ñ[aviva]ti:** **nirodhajñāna-vipattih*, **nirodhaññāñavipatti*; “failure of the knowing of cessation,” f. nom. sg. 13.32.
- niros[a]vi[va]ti:** **nirodhavipattih*, **nirodhavipatti*; “failure of cessation,” f. nom. sg. 13.7.
- nirosa(*sa)ksia:** **nirodhasākṣyam*, — ; “realization of the cessation,” n. nom. sg. 13.70.
- nivaāna:** *nipakānām*, *nipakānam*; “intelligent,” m. gen. pl. 9.118.
- nivanadhadu-:** “extinction element,” f.
- nivanadhadu:** *nirvāñadhātuh*, *nibbāñadhātu*; nom. sg. 9.75.
- nivanadhadue:** **nirvāñadhātavah*, *nibbāñadhātuyo*; nom. pl. 9.73, 77
nivanadhadue.
- nivanadhadue:** **nirvāñadhātavah*, *nibbāñadhātuyo*; acc. pl. 9.78, 188(?) *ṇiva[ñ]dh[a]due*.
- ñ[i]vana[dhā](*duṇa):** *nirvāñā-dhātūnām*, *nibbāñadhātūnām*; gen. pl. 13.8–9.
- nivano:** *nirvāñam*, *nibbāñam*; “extinction,” n. nom. sg. 9.49–50
[ñiva]ñō, 76 *nivano*, 185 *ñiano*, 13.50
ñ[i]vano.
- ñi[v]a[sa]-:** in *prove*~, *pr[o]ve~[-a]ñu-spadi*.
- ñivudi:** *nirvṛtih*, *nibbuti*; “extinction,” f. nom. sg. 9.79 *ñ[i]vudi*, 80.
- ni + √vr̥:** “surround.”
- in *[ja]lapak[a]ñi[vu]do*.
- ñi + √vṛt:** “(caus.) create.”
- nivateti:** *nirvartayanti*, *nibbattenti*; 3rd pl. pres. 13.23.
- niveśana-:** “attachment,” n.
- ñ[i]veśana:** **niveśanāni*, *nivesanā*; nom. pl. 9.196.
- ñiv(*e)śanehi:** **niveśanaih*, *niveśanehi*; instr. pl. 9.196, 199
(**niveśane*)[hJ](*)i).
- nisada-:** “outcome,” m.
- nisado:** **nisyandah*, *nissando*; nom. sg. 9.30, 72, 105 *ñisa[de]*.
- nisada:** **nisyandāh*, *nissandā*; nom.

- pl. 9.54.
- ni** + **✓han**: “strike down.”
- nihañadi**: *nihanyate, nihaññati; 3rd sg. pass. 13.85.
- ni** + **✓hr̥**: “take out.”
- niharadi**: nirharati, nīharati; 3rd sg. pres. 9.193 *n[i]h[a]radi*, 199, 201.
- n[i]har[e]di**: nirhārayati, *nī-*harāpeti*; caus.(?) 3rd sg. pres. 9.200.
- nu**: *nu*, *nu*; “now,” ind. 9.100 *[n]u*, 101 *n<*u>*, 103 *[nu]*, 218 *n[u]*.
- ✓nud**: “drive out.”
- nu[da]di**: *nudati*, *nudati*; 3rd sg. pres. 13.71 *[n]u[da]di*, 72 *n[u]dadi*.
- nudana**: *nodanam, — ; “driving out,” f. nom. sg. 13.80.
- (*ne)[tra]: *netrāni, nettā; “eye,” n. nom. pl. 9.52.
- [no]**: *no*, *no*; “not,” ind. 9.195, 18.18.
- noyo**: see **✓nī**.
- paka-**: “mud,” m.
- [pako]**: *pañkah*, *pañko*; nom. sg. 9.184.
- pakeṇa**: *pañkena*, *pañkena*; instr. sg. 9.183.
- in *[ja]lla~ni[vu]do*.
- pakṣa-**: in *pusujana~, vosapakṣia*.
- paca**: *pañca*, *pañca*; “five,” nom. 9.14, 75, 81, 81–82 *pa[ca]*, 113 *[paca]*, 215 *[paca]*.
- pacakadhabha[yo]**: *pañcaskandha-bhayam*, *pañcakkhandhabhayaṁ*; “fear of the five categories,” n. nom. sg. 9.65.
- pacakamaguṇi[ae]**: **pañcakāma-guṇikāyāḥ*, *pañcakāmaguṇikāya*; “related to the five qualities of desire,” f. gen. sg. 9.54–55.
- pajena**: *padyena*, *pajjena*; “path,” m. instr. sg. 185 *pajena*, *paj[e]ṇ[a]*, 13 *[pa]jena*.
- padia-**: “resentment,” m.
- padia**: *pratighah*, *paṭigho*; nom. sg. 9.71.
- in *a[nu]nea~*.
- padiaprahaṇa**: **pratighaprahāṇam*, *paṭi-ghappahāṇam*; “abandoning of resentment,” n. nom. sg. 9.43, 61 *paḍi[a]p[r]a[ha]<*ṇa>*.
- padicasamupado**: *pratīyasamutpādah*, *paṭiccasamuppādo*; “dependent arising,” m. nom. sg. 13.9.
- padidago**: *panditakah*, *panditako*; “wise,” m. nom. sg. 13.58.
- padidasāña**: *panditasamjñā*, *pandita-*

- saññā*; “the designation ‘wise’(?)” f. nom. sg. 9.221.
- padido*: *panditah*, *pañdito*; “wise,” m. nom. sg. 13.71, 72.
- padipakṣia-*: “opposed.”
- padipakṣia*: **pratipakṣakam*, **paṭi-pakkhakam*; m. acc. sg. 9.109.
- padipakṣiasa*: **pratipakṣakasya*, **paṭipakkhakassa*; m. gen. sg. 9.106.
- in *śila-*.
- paṭi* + √*pad*: “enter on.”
- paṭi[vaji]*: ***pratipādi*, *paṭipajji*; 3rd sg. pret. 18.Cr3.
- p[ə]dipraśadhi*: *pratipraśrabdhīḥ*, *paṭi-passaddhi*; “allaying,” f. nom. sg. 9.89.
- paṭi* + √*bandh*: “tie to.”
- in *parapa[di]vadha*, *parapadi-vadha(*ñā)[na]gado*.
- paṭi* + √*lī*: “withdraw.”
- padiliño*: *pratilīnah*, *paṭilīno*; pp. m. nom. sg. 18.16 *padiliño*, *paṭiliñ[o]*, Cv2 [*pa]d[iliñ](*)o*].
- padivada-*: “way,” f.
- [*pa]d[i]vada*: **pratipat*, *paṭipadā*; nom. sg. 18.1.
- padivada*: **pratipadam*, *paṭipadam*; acc. sg. 18.Cr3.
- paṭ[i]vadae*: **pratipadā*, *paṭipadāya*; instr. sg. 9.167.
- paṭhamo*: *prathamam*, *paṭhamam*; “first,” n. acc. sg. 9.67.
- pada-*: “foot, track, state,” n.
- [*pa]do*: *padam*, *padam*; nom. sg. 9.50, 185.
- in *kileśa~[sta]ṇo*, *janavada-pradeśa*.
- padumo*: *padmāḥ*, *padumo*; “lotus,” m. nom. sg. 9.182–183 *pad[u](*)m[o]*, 186.
- [*pa]yi[ṭhi]-*: in *vedaīda~*, *vedaīda-uaśama~*.
- pay* + √*iṣ*: “search for.”
- payeṣadi*: *paryeṣati*, *pariyeṣati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.13.
- payeṣida[vo]*: *paryeṣitavyah*, *pariy-esitabbo*; gdv. m. nom. sg. 9.76–77.
- payeṣidavo*: *paryeṣitavyam*, *pariy-esitabbam*; gdv. n. nom. sg. 9.76.
- para-*: “other; final.”
- paro*: *param*, *param*; m. acc. sg. 9.91.
- paresa*: *paresām*, *paresam*; m. gen. pl. 9.205.
- in [*ta]parayano*.
- paraarthā*: *parārtham*, *parattham*; “profit for others,” m. acc. sg. 13.43.
- paraga-*: “going to the further shore.”
- parago*: *pāragam*, *pāragum*; m. acc.

- sg. 9.144, 151, 159.
in *prañavarago*. depending on others," n. instr. sg. 13.37.
- para[c]ariasa*: *pārāśaryasya*, *pari* + $\sqrt{īkṣ}$: "observe."
- pārāśariyassa*; proper name, m. gen. sg. 9.95.
- parapa[divadha]*: *parapratibaddhāḥ*, *parapati**baddhāḥ***; "tied to other things," m. nom. pl. 9.114.
- parapa(*ñā)[na]gado*: **parapratibaddhajñānagataḥ*, **parapati**baddhaññāñagato***; "arrived at knowing tied to others," m. nom. sg. 13.37–38.
- parabhoyaṇa*: *parabhojanam*, *parabhojanam*; "food from others," n. acc. sg. 13.64, 67 (**pa*)*rabho[ya]ño*.
- parama*: *paramām*, *paramam*; "ultimate," f. acc. sg. 9.78.
- paramida*: *pāramitām*, *pāramitam*; "perfection, transcendence," f. acc. sg. 9.144 *paramido*, 237.
- paramiprata*: *pāramiprāptāḥ*, *pāramiprāptāḥ*; "having reached perfection, having reached transcendence," m. nom. pl. 9.157.
- pa[r]ayaṇio*: *pārāyaṇikah*, *pārāyaniko*; "of the Parayaṇa," m. nom. sg. 9.140.
- parasiṇañanena*: **parādhīnajñānena*, **parādhīnaññāñenena*; "knowing
- depending on others," n. instr. sg. 13.37.
- parikṣadi*: **parikṣate*, *parikkhati*; 3rd sg. pres. 13.79.
- parikṣaya-*: "observe."
- pari[kṣ]ayadi*: *parikṣayati*, **parikṣayati*; denom. 3rd sg. pres. 13.78.
- pa[li]kha[ida]*: *parikṣitāḥ*, **parikṣitāḥ*; denom. pp. m. nom. pl. 9.113.
- pari[kṣa]ya-*: in *[ki]l[e]śasa[mu]dayo* ~.
- pa[r]igraha[bha]v[o]*: *parigrahābhāvah*, *pariggahābhāvo*; "non-existence of appropriation," m. nom. sg. 9.165–166.
- parigraho*: *parigrahaḥ*, *pariggaho*; "appropriation," m. nom. sg. 9.207, 214 (**pa*)[*r*](**i*)*gra[ho]*.
- pari + √jñā*: "diagnose."
- [paria]ñea*: **parijānīyāt*, *parijāneyya*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.117.
- pariñae*: *parijñāya*, *pariññāya*; abs. 9.81.
- pariañ[i]dava*: *parijñātavyāḥ*, *parijñātavyāḥ*; *jānitabbā*; gdv. m. nom. pl. 9.82.
- pariñā-*: in *dukha~*.

paritabodhi: *parīttabuddhim*, **paritta-*
buddhim; “of limited intelligence,” m.
acc. sg. 13·77.

parinivāṇ[a]g[a]do: *parinirvāṇagataḥ*,
parinibbānagato; “gone to complete
extinction,” m. nom. sg. 18·6 *parin[i-*
va]ṇ[a]g[a]do, 10 *pariniv[a]ṇ[a]-*
g[a]do, 13 *[pa]rin[i]va[nagad]o*.

paripura: **paripūrṇā*, *paripūrā*;
“complete,” f. nom. sg. 9·137, 138
paripu[r]a.

pari + √bhū: “(caus.) consider(?)”

parihoita: *paribhāvayitvā*, *pari-*
bhāvetvā; caus.(?) abs. 9·228.

pari + √vraj: “wander about.”

parivaye: *parivrajet*, *paribbaje*; 3rd
sg. opt. 9·127–128 *pari[v]aye*, 129
pari[v]aye, 132 *[pa]rivaye*, 133
parivraye, 134 *[pa]ri[v]aye*, 138
pari[v]aye, GCv5 *[pa]ri[v]aye*,
GCv10 *pariva[ye]*.

parivayea: **parivrajet*, *paribbajeyya*;
3rd sg. opt. 13·68 *pari[v]aya*, 69.

parivrayaṇae: **parivrajanayā*, **pari-*
bbajanāya; “wandering about,” f.
instr. sg. 9·GCv14 *pari[vra]yaṇae*,
13·70.

pa[li]kha[id]a:- see *pari + √ikṣ*.

pava:- “evil.”

pavo: *pāpam*, *pāpam*; n. nom. sg.
13·5, 6 *[pavo]*, 7, 8.

pavena: *pāpena*, *pāpena*; n. instr. sg.
9·62, 71.

in *vahida~dhamasa*.

pavaga-: “evil.”

pavago: *pāpakah*, *pāpako*; m. nom.
sg. 9·22.

pavaga: **pāpakān*, **pāpake*; m. acc.
pl. 9·21 *[pava](*)ga*, 26 *p[avaga]*,
29, 30 *pa[v]a](*)ga*, 31 *pa[vaga]*,
35 (**pa*)*[va]ga*, 36.

p[ava]prahāṇēna: **pāpaprahāṇena*,
pāpappahāṇena; n. instr. sg.
“abandoning of evil,” 9·67–68.

√paś: “see.”

paśadi: *paśyati*, *passati*; 3rd sg. pres.
13·43 *paśad[i]*, 46 *[paśadi]*, 48
[2×], 50, 51, 77, 79.

p[ā]śidava: **paśitavyāh*, **pasitabbā*;
gdv. m. nom. pl. 9·14.

pāśada: *pāśandāh*, *pāśandā*; “sect,” m.
nom. pl. 13·52.

[pa]jsa-: in *[ka]ma~*.

paso: *pāmsuh*, *pamsu*; “dust,” m. nom.
sg. 13·2.

pi: see *vi*.

pida: *pīḍām*, *pīḍam*; “oppression,” f. acc.
sg. 13·27.

- piḍavadalabho*: *piṇḍapātalābhah, *piṇḍapātalābhō; “receiving of alms,” m. nom. sg. 9.38.
- [*piḍa*](*e): *piṇḍāya*, *piṇḍāya*; “alms,” m. dat. sg. 9.41.
- puñā-*: “merit,” n.
- p[u](*ño)*: *puñyam*, *puññam*; nom. sg. 9.194–195.
- p(*u)ñēna*: *puñyena*, *puññena*; instr. sg. 9.62 *p(*u)ñēna*, 70 *p(*u)ñ(*e)ña*.
- p<*u>ñaprahañēna*: **puñyaprahāñena*, **puññappahāñena*; “abandoning of merit,” n. instr. sg. 9.68.
- puñapuno*: *punaḥpunah*, *punappuno*; “again and again,” ind. 13.27 *[p]u[ñ]a]puño*, 30, 32.
- puño*: *punah*, *puno*; “again, then again,” ind. 9.4 *[p]uñno*, 9, 43–44 *[p](*)u][ño]*, 45 *vana*, 48, 62 *vana*, 110, 156 *vana*, 179 *vana*.
in *kṣinapuñabhavo*, *puñapuno*.
- puridatva*: **pūritatvāt*, *pūritattā*; “state of being filled,” n. abl. sg. 9.122, 138, 16–17 *[p]uridatva*, 17, 18 *[p](*)u][ridatva]*.
- purimaga-*: “earlier.”
- pu[r]imaga*: *purimakah*, *purimako*; m. nom. sg.(?) 1357.
- purimageṇa*: *purimakeṇa*, *purimake-na*; m. instr. sg. 13.56.
- puruṣasañā*: *puruṣasamjñā*, *purisasaññā*; “perception of men,” f. nom. sg. 9.161.
- puruṣo*: *puruṣah*, *puriso*; “man,” m. nom. sg. 13.22, 28 (**puruṣo*), 72 *p[u]r[u]ṣ[o]*, 79.
- ✓*puṣ*: “feed.”
- poṣadi*: *poṣati*, *posati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.214.
- pusujanapa[kṣo]*: *pr̥thagjanapakṣah*, *puthujjanapakkho*; “side of ordinary people,” m. nom. sg. 13.9.
- peṣon[eJhi*: **paiśunaih*, *pesuṇehi*; “slander,” n. instr. pl. 18.24.
- poṣi-*: in *anañ[a]~*.
- posalo*: — , *posālo*; proper name, m. nom. sg. 9.140.
- ✓*pṛ*: “fill.”
- purida*: *pūritā*, *pūritā*; pp. f. nom. sg. 9.145.
- purido*: *pūritam*, *pūritam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.33, 96, 151.
- pra + √āp*: “reach.”
- pra[t]o*: *prāptah*, *patto*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.237.
- in *paramiprata*.
- pra + √kṣar*: “flow forth.”
- praghārati*: *praksaranti*, *paggħaranti*;

- 3rd pl. pres. 9.44 [2x]. pres. 9.101, 220 *pra[chad]i*.
- pragara-*: “kind,” m.
- pragaro*: *prakārah*, *pakāro*; nom. sg. nom. sg. 13.87.
- 18.18. *pra + √jñā*: “understand.”
- in *dupragara*, *bahopragaro*.
- pragidia-*: “natural.”
- [*pra]gidia*: *prākṛtikāḥ*, *pākatikā*; m. pl. pres. 9.84.
- nom. pl. 9.152–153. *prañaveti*: *prajñapayanti*, *pa-*
- pragidi[e]*: *prākṛtike*, *pākatike*; m. *prañā-*: “understanding,” f.
- loc. sg. 13.75. *prañā*: *prajñā*, *paññā*; nom. sg. 9.30,
- prac + aṇu + √bhū*: “experience again.” 113.
- pracaṇubhodi*: *pratyānubhavati*, in *bhavidapraño*.
- paccanubhoti*; 3rd sg. pres. 13.27.
- prac + √i*: “come back; go towards.” *prañakadha-*: “understanding category,” m.
- pracedi*: *pratyeti*, *pacceti*; 3rd sg. *prañakadho*: *prajñāskandhah*,
- pres. 13.5 *p(*r)acedi*, 8. *paññākkhandho*; nom. sg. 9.29
- praceadi*: **pratīyāt*, *pacceyyāti*; 3rd sg. opt. 13.6 *pra[c](*)e[adi]*, 7. *prañaka[dh](*)o*, 71 *p[r]aña-*
- pracea[ti]*: **pratiyanti*, **paccenti*; *kadho*, 13.41, 18.2 *prañā-*
- 3rd pl. pres. 13.52. *ka[dh](*)o*, Cv3.
- pracupano*: *pratyutpannam*, *paccup-* *prañakadhasa*: *prajñāskandhasya*,
- pannam*; “present,” n. acc. sg. 9.158. *paññākkhandassa*; gen. sg. 13.17.
- pracea-*: in (**uada*)*[ṇa]~, jadi~*, *taṣa~*, *prañakadhabivati*: *prajñāskandha-*
- bhava~*, *śavaga~budhāṇa*, *ś[ava]ga-* *vipattiḥ*, *paññākkhandhabipatti*;
- ~sabudha*. “failure of the understanding category,” f. nom. sg. 13.45.
- √prach*: “ask, ask about, question.” *prañaprasada-*: “palace of
- [*pracha]mi*: **pṛcchāmi*, **pucchāmi*; understanding,” m.
- 1st sg. pres. 9.97 [*pracha]ma[ho*]. *prañap[ra]sado*: *prajñāprāsādam*,
- prachadi*: **pṛcchati*, **pucchati*; 3rd sg. *paññāpāsādam*; acc. sg. 13.72.

- prañaprasadena:* *prajñāprāsādena*,
paññāpāsādena; instr. sg. 13·80.
- prañava:* *prajñāvān*, *paññavā*; “one with
 understanding,” m. nom. sg. 1337, 40,
 41.
- prañavarago:* **prajñāpāragaḥ*, **paññā-*
pāragū; “going to the further shore of
 understanding,” m. nom. sg. 9·99.
- prañavi[vati]:* **prajñāvipattiḥ*, **paññā-*
vipatti; “failure of understanding,” f.
 nom. sg. 13·7.
- praṭha-:* “excellent.”
- praṭho:* *praṣṭhah*, *paṭṭho*; m. nom. sg.
 18·6, 7, 8 *p[r]aṭho*.
- praṭhena:* *praṣṭhena*, *paṭṭhena*; m.
 instr. sg. 18·6.
- pradiṭha[ve]da:* —, —; “state of having
 established oneself,” f. nom. sg. 9·2
pradiṭha[veda], 34, 103 [*pradi-*
thav]()[da]*, 160 *pradi[thaveda]*.
- pradivitaviharisa:* see **pravivitaviharisa*.
- pradi + √sthā:* “establish oneself.”
- [*p*](*r)[*adi*]ṭhido: *pratiṣṭhitam*, *pati-*
ṭṭhitam; pp. m. acc. sg. 9·216.
- pradiṭhido:* *pratiṣṭhitam*, *patiṭṭhitam*;
 pp. n. nom. sg. 9·169.
- pradiṭhahita:* **pratiṣṭhāya*, *pati-*
ṭṭhahitvā; abs. 9·50 [*pra]di-*
tha[hi]ta, 18·10 *prad[i]thahit[a]*.
- in *daśaṇapradīṭhidāṇa*.
- pra + √dus:* “be hateful.”
- praduṭhena:* *praduṣṭena*, *paduṭṭhena*;
 pp. n. instr. sg. 13·42.
- pradeśa-:* in *janavada~*.
- pra + √dyut:* “blaze forth.”
- prajutva:* **pradyutya*, **pajjutvā*; abs.
 18·9.
- pra + √bhū:* “(caus.) develop.”
- in *same[p](*r)asa<*ṇa>p(*r)a-*
bh[avi]d[o].
- pramado:* *pramādah*, *pamādo*;
 “negligence,” m. nom. sg. 13·71.
- pra + √yuj:* “apply.”
- prayoeti:* *prayojayanti*, *payojenti*; 3rd
 pl. pres. 9·64.
- prayoa-:* in *doṣa~, raga~*.
- prayoavīṇāśa:* **prayogavināśah*, **pa-*
yogavināso; “destruction of
 application,” m. nom. sg. 13·44.
- pravadaṭe:* *parvatasthah*, *pabbataṭṭho*;
 “standing on a mountain,” m. nom. sg.
 13·74.
- **pravivitaviharisa:* **praviviktavihāriṇah*,
 **pavivittavihārino*; “having a separate
 abode,” m. gen. sg. 18·17 *pradivita-*
viharisa.
- pra + √viś:* “enter.”
- [*p*](*r)[*ave*]kṣe: **prāvaikṣam*, *pā-*

- vekkhiṇ;* 1st sg. pret. 9-41.
- p[ra]sada-*: in *prañā-*.
- [p](*)r)asa<*na>-*: in *same~p(*r)a-*
- bh[avi]d[o].*
- pra[ś]a-*: in *arthā-*.
- pra + √ hā*: “abandon.”
- prajahadi*: *prajahāti*, *pajahati*; 3rd sg. pres. 13-72.
- prahiṇo*: *prahīṇah*, *pahīno*; pp. m. nom. sg. 13-10 *pra[h](*)iṇo*, 21.
- prahiṇ[a]*: *prahīṇāḥ*, *pahīnā*; pp. m. nom. pl.(?) 18-14.
- prahiṇa*: *prahīṇā*, *pahīnā*; pp. f. nom. sg. 9-143, 13-14 *[prahi]ṇa*.
- prahīṇa*: *prahīṇāḥ*, *pahīnā*; pp. f. nom. pl. 9-56, 143.
- prah[i]ṇa*: **prahīṇāni*, *pahīnā*; pp. n. nom. pl. 9-115.
- prahae*: *prahāya*, *pahāya*; abs. 18-Ar3 (**prahae*), Kr2 *[p]raha[i]*, 2.
- prahaṇa-*: “abandoning,” n.
- prahaṇo*: *prahīṇam*, *pahīnam*; nom. sg. 9-16 *p(*)r)ahaṇa*, 16-17 *p(*)rahaṇo*, 31 *p(*)r)[aha]ṇa*, 36, 37 *p[r]ahaṇa*, 42 *p(*)r)aha[ṇo]*, 45, 62 *prahaṇ[o]*, 68 *prahaṇa*, 128 *prahaṇ(*o)*, 130 *prahaṇa*, *p(*)rahaṇa*, 136 *prahaṇa*, 202 *prahaṇa*,
- 202-203 *pra(*ha)ṇa*, 204 *[p](*)rahaṇ[na]*, 216 *prahaṇ[a]*, 217 *[pra]jhaṇa*, 218 *praha[ṇa]*, GCv4 *prahaṇ[o]*, 13-90 *pra[ha]ṇa*, 18-Kr2 *p(*)r)[ahaṇa]*, 4 (**p)[rahaṇa]*, *prahaṇa* [2×].
- prahāṇena*: *prahāṇena*, *pahāṇena*; instr. sg. 9-70, 71, 85 *prahaṇ[en]a*.
- prahaṇā[e]*: *prahāṇāya*, *pahāṇāya*; dat. sg. 9-15.
- prahaṇado*: *prahāṇataḥ*, *pahāṇato*; abl. sg. 9-104, 136-137 (**p)[ra]-haṇado*.
- in *añāṇa-*, *aṇavaja-*, *[a]<*nu>ṇea-*, *avija-*, *kama-*, *[ka]maraga-*, *kileṣa-*, *ṇidaṇa-*, *taṣa-*, *[tri]-ṇidaṇa-*, *doṣa-*, *padia-*, *p[ava]-*, *maṇaśala-*, *moha-*, *raga-*, *[l]oha-*, *va[v]a]da-*, *śala-*, *samudea-*, *sa[m](*o)[ha]-*, *sava-kaya-*, *[savaja]-*.
- prahiṇatva-*: “state of having been abandoned,” n.
- prahinatva*: *prahīṇatvam*, *pahīnattam*; nom. sg. 9-215.
- prahinatva*: *prahīṇatvāt*, *pahīnattā*; abl. sg. 9-31, 55 *prah(*i)natva*, *prahiṇatva*, 56, 58 *prahiṇatva*, *p(*)r)[a]hiṇatva*, 59, 121, 125, 155,

- 156, 207 *prah[i]ṇatva*, 13·13, 15, sg. 9·199, 200 *pro[ve](*)ṇivase)ṇa*.
 15–16 *[prahi]ṇ[atva]*, (*pra)-
hiṇa[tva], 60–61 *prahi(*ṇa)[tva]*, *prosu*: *pr̥thavaḥ, puthū; “numerous,” m.
 61 *[prah](*)i[ṇa](*)v[a]*, 62, 76
*prah<*i>ṇatva*. nom. pl. 9·116.
 in *añña[ṇa]~, [savaki]leśa~*. *pharuṣa*: paruṣām, pharusam; “harsh,” f.
 acc. sg. 9·42.
- p(*r)idian[ida]-*: “brought about by happiness.” *pha[la]*: *phalāni, phalā; “fruit,” n. nom. pl. 9·92.
- [p](*)idi[a]n[ida]*: *prītyānītā*, *phaśida(*tva)*: *sparśitatvāt, *phassi-
 *pītiānītā; f. nom. sg. 9·229. tattā; “state of being in contact,” n.
*p(*r)idia[ṇida]*: *prītyānītāḥ*, abl. sg. 13·61.
 *pītiānītā; f. nom. pl. 9·168.
- procha-*: “question,” f. √*bandh*: “tie.”
- procha*: *pr̥cchām*, *pucchām*; acc. sg. 9·146. *ba[dha]di*: *badhnāti, bandhati; 3rd sg. pres. 13·44.
- prochaṇa*: *pr̥cchānām*, *pucchānām*; gen. pl. 9·49 *pr(*o)chaṇa*, 145–146 *pro[cha]ṇa*. *bala*-¹: “fool,” m.
- prodhibhudo*: *prauḍhībhūtam, — ; “become mighty,” m. acc. sg. 9·170.
- prove*: *pūrve*, *pubbe*; “earlier,” n. loc. sg. 9·105 *prove*, *p(*ro)ve*, 106 *pro[v](*)e*, 107 *pro[v]e*, 112 *p(*ro)[ve]*, 18·14.
- pr[o]veni[v]a[sa-a]ṇuspadi*: *pūrvenivāsānusmṛtiḥ*, *pubbenivāsānussati*; “recollection of earlier lives,” f. nom. sg. 9·147.
- proveni[v]a]s<*e>ṇa*: *pūrvenivāsenā*, *ba[vo]*: see *bhava*-¹.
- pubbenivāsenā*; “earlier life,” m. instr. *bahidha*: *bahirdhā*, *bahiddhā*;

- “externally, outside,” ind. 9.165, 13.52. **[*bosi*]:** *bodhiḥ, bodhi*; “enlightenment,” ***bahidhataśa-***: “external craving,” f. f. nom. sg. 9.52.
- bahidhataśa:*** **bahirdhātṛṣṇā,* **[*bo]sisatvabhumi:*** *bodhisattvabhūmim,* *bahiddhātañhā;* nom. sg. 13.14. *bodhisattvabhūmīm;* “plane of
- bahidha[taśae]:*** **bahirdhātṛṣṇāyāḥ,* *bodhisattvabhūmīm;* “plane of enlightenment beings,” f. acc. sg. *bahiddhātañhāya;* gen. sg. 9.111.
- 9.GCv4. ***bosa-:*** “enlightenment,” m.
- bahira-:*** in *a[j]atvia~.* ***bos[ena]:*** *bodhena, bodhena; instr.*
- bahu-:*** “much, many.” sg. 9.158.
- baho:*** *bahuḥ, bahu;* m. nom. sg. 13.53 see *vosapakṣia.*
- bahotra.*
- baho:*** **bahavah, bahū;* m. nom. pl. 9.116. ***bra(*maīyeṣāna):*** *brahmacaryaiṣanā,* *brahmacariyesanā;* “searching for religious practice,” f. nom. sg. 9.9.
- bahopragaro:*** *bahuprakārah, bahu-* ***bramaṇa-:*** “brahman,” m.
- ppakāro;* “of many kinds,” m. nom. sg. 7.Aa1. ***bramano:*** *brāhmaṇah, brāhmaṇo;* nom. sg. 9.26 *braman[o],* 13.59, 61, 62 [*brama]no.*
- budha-:*** “enlightened one,” m. ***bramanasa:*** *brāhmaṇasya,* *brāhmaṇassa;* gen. sg. 9.176.
- budho:*** *buddhah, buddho;* nom. sg. 7.Da2 *budh[o],* 9.25 *b[u]dh[a],* 27, 29, 33, 52 [*b]udho,* 157. **✓*brū:*** “call, speak of.”
- budheṇa:*** *buddhena, buddhena; instr.* sg. 9.28, 151, 168 *budhe[ṇa].* ***bromi:*** *brūmi, brūmi;* 1st sg. pres. 9.54 *b[ro]mi,* 112 *bhromi.*
- budhasa:*** *buddhasya, buddhassa;* gen. sg. 9.175, 176 *b[udha]sa.* ***bhagava-:*** “blessed one,” m.
- in *śavagapracaā~.* **[*bha]gava:*** **bhagavān, bhagavā;* nom. sg. 9.170.
- b[udhabhūm](*)i:*** *buddhabhūmim,* *buddhabhūmīm;* “plane of enlightened ones,” f. acc. sg. 9.111. **[*bhagavato]:*** *bhagavantam, bhaga-* *vantam;* acc. sg. 9.140.
- bodhi-:*** in *paritabodhi.* ***bhagavado:*** *bhagavataḥ, bhagavato;*

| | |
|--|---|
| gen. sg. 7·Da1, 13·53 (* <i>bha</i>) <i>ga-</i> | ** <i>bhavacūle</i> ; loc. sg. 18·Cv3. |
| <i>vado</i> . | <i>bha[v]aṇa:</i> <i>bhāvanā</i> , <i>bhāvanā</i> ; |
| <i>bhagava</i>: * <i>bhagavan</i> , <i>bhagavā</i> ; voc.
sg. 952–53. | “development,” f. nom. sg. 9·72. |
| <i>bhaya</i>-: “fear,” n. | <i>bhavaṇabhumi</i>: * <i>bhāvanābhūmiḥ</i> , |
| <i>bhayo</i>: <i>bhayam</i> , <i>bhayam</i> ; nom. sg.
9·64, 65, 73, 122, 1817, 18
<i>bh[a]yo</i> . | <i>bhāvanābhūmi</i> ; “plane of
development,” f. nom. sg. 9·GCv14(?)
[<i>bhavaṇabhumi</i> , 13·39, 18·14
(* <i>bha</i>) <i>vāṇabhumi</i> . |
| in <i>pacakadha~</i> , <i>ma[ha]~</i> . | <i>bha[vani]r[o](*)so</i>: <i>bhavanirodhah</i> , |
| <i>bhava</i>-1: “existence,” m. | <i>bhavanirodho</i> ; “cessation of
existence,” m. nom. sg. 9·GCv10. |
| <i>bhavo</i>: <i>bhavah</i> , <i>bhavo</i> ; nom. sg.
9·GCv9 <i>ba[vo]</i> , 13·30. | <i>bhavaṇem[i]tio</i>: * <i>bhavanaimittikām</i> ,
* <i>bhavanemittikām</i> ; “having existence
as its cause,” f. acc. sg. 13·27. |
| <i>bhavo</i>: <i>bhavam</i> , <i>bhavam</i> ; acc. sg.
13·26 [<i>bha]v[o]</i> , (?) <i>bhavo</i> , 18·8
<i>bhava</i> , 14 <i>bhava</i> , 19. | <i>bhavapracea</i>: <i>bhavapratyayāt</i> , <i>bhava-</i>
<i>ppaccayāt</i> ; “condition existence,” m.
abl. sg. 13·30. |
| <i>bhaveṣu</i>: <i>bhaveṣu</i> , <i>bhavesu</i> ; loc. pl.
13·25. | <i>bhavidaka[yo]</i>: <i>bhāvitakāyah</i> , <i>bhāvita-</i>
<i>kāyo</i> ; “whose body is developed,” m.
nom. sg. 9·96. |
| in <i>kṣinapuṇabhavo</i> . | <i>bhavidacito</i>: <i>bhāvitacittah</i> , <i>bhāvitacitto</i> ;
“whose heart is developed,” m. nom.
sg. 9·96. |
| <i>bhava</i>-2: “state,” m. | <i>bhavidatva</i>1: * <i>bhāvitātmānam</i> , <i>bhāvit-</i>
<i>attam</i> ; “whose self is developed,” m.
acc. sg. 9·99, 102. |
| <i>bha[v]o</i>: <i>bhāve</i> , <i>bhāve</i> ; loc. sg.
13·75. | <i>bhavida[tva]2</i>: <i>bhāvitativāt</i> , <i>bhāvitattā</i> ;
“state of being developed,” n. abl. sg.
9·96. |
| in [<i>a]cakṣ[u]~</i> , <i>acalio~</i> , <i>ajari~</i> ,
<i>atva~vastuṣu</i> . | |
| [<i>bhava</i>]grami: * <i>bhavāgre</i> , * <i>bhavagge</i> ; | |
| “top of existence,” n. loc. sg. 9·223. | |
| <i>bhavacoda</i>-: “crest of existence,” m. | |
| <i>bh[ad]jacod[a]</i>: * <i>bhavacūdam</i> ,
* <i>bhavacūlam</i> ; acc. sg.(?) 18·20. | |
| <i>bha[va]codami</i>: ** <i>bhavacūde</i> , | |

- bhavidapraño:** *bhāvitaprajñāḥ*, *bhāvita-*
pañño; “whose understanding is developed,” m. nom. sg. 996.
- bhavidamaga-:** “having developed the path.”
- bhavidamag[o]:** **bhāvitamārgaḥ*,
bhāvitamaggo; m. nom. sg. 9.89.
- bhavidamagasa:** **bhāvitamārgasya*,
bhāvitamaggassa; m. gen. sg. 9.176.
- (*bha)vidiüdrio:** *bhāvitendriyah*, *bhāvite-*
ndriyo; “whose senses are developed,” m. nom. sg. 994–95.
- bhaveṣaṇa-:** “searching for existence,” f.
- bhaveṣaṇa:** *bhavaiṣaṇā*, *bhavesanā*;
 nom. sg. 9.6, 7.
- bhaveṣaṇae:** *bhavaiṣanayā*, *bhavesa-*
nāya; instr. sg. 9.13.
- [bhavo]hasa:** *bhavaughasya*, *bhav-*
oghassa; “flood of existence,” m. gen. sg. 9.203–204 [*bhavohasa*], 13.22
[bhavo]hasa.
- ✓bhāṣ:** “speak.”
- bhaṣi:** **bhāṣeta*, *bhāse*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.42.
- bhaṣido:** *bhāṣitam*, *bhāsitaṁ*; pp. n. acc.(?) sg. 13.53.
- bhaṣidava:** *bhāṣitavyā*, *bhāsitabbā*;
 gdv. f. nom. sg. 9.42–43
- [bha]ṣidava,** 43 *bhaṣ[i]dava*.
- bhikhu:** *bhikṣuh*, *bhikkhu*; “monk,” m. nom. sg. 9.127, 131 *bhikh[u]*, 132, 134, 138, GCv5, GCv7, GCv10 [*bhikhu*], 13.63.
- ✓bhū:** “be, become, get.”
- bhodi:** *bhavati*, *bhavati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.114 *bho[di]*, 131, 204, 200, 13.21, 46, 51–52 *bho(*di)*, 87, 18.21 [*bh](*)o)[d]i*.
- bhoti:** *bhavanti*, *bhavanti*; 3rd pl. pres. 9.115.
- bhaviṣadi:** *bhaviṣyati*, *bhavissati*; 3rd sg. fut. 9.171.
- bheśadi:** *bheṣyati*, *bhavissati*; 3rd sg. fut. 9.106, 108, 108–109 [*bh](*)eśadi*, 109.
- aho:** *abhūt*, *ahu*; 3rd sg. pret. 9.105 [2×], 106 *aho*, [*yaJho*, 107 [*ahjo*, 108 *ṇaho*, 108 *yaho*, 109 *ya[ho]*, 112 *ah[o]*].
- hodo:** *bhūtaḥ*, *bhūto*; pp. m. nom. sg. 13.88.
- bhavido:** *bhāvitam*, *bhāvitam*; caus. pp. n. nom. sg. 9.34.
- [bha]vi[dava]:** **bhāvayitavyam*,
 **bhāvetabbam*; caus. gdv. n. nom. sg. 9.33–34.
- in *prohibhudo*, *maṇuśabhudo*,

- yasa[bhu]do, [śa]masavivaśāṇa-* *maga*, 32, 50, 80, 82 *ma[go]*, 108
bhavamaṇarado, śidi + ~. *[ma]go*, 217, GCv12 *[ma]go*,
bhudakodi-: “end of existence,” f. 13·18 *ma[go]*.
bhudakodi: *bhūtakoṭīḥ*, **bhūtakoṭī*; *maga*: *mārgāḥ*, *maggā*; nom. pl. 9·54.
 nom. sg. 9·191. *magam*: *mārgam*, *maggam*; acc. sg. 13·36, 39–40 *[ma](*gam)*.
[bh]udak[o]di[e]: *bhūtakotyām*, *magenā*: *mārgeṇa*, *maggena*; instr. sg. 13·36, 39–40 *[ma](*gam)*.
 **bhūtakotiyām*; instr. sg.(?) 13·65. *magasa*: *mārgasya*, *maggassa*; gen.
bhumāṭho: **bhūmyastham*, *bhumma-* 9·41, 120 *marg[e]ṇa*, 138–139
tṭham; “standing on the ground,” m. *mage[ṇa]*.
 acc. sg. 13·74, 75 *bhumartho*.
bumi-: in *anataria~*, *daśāṇa~*, *magañāṇavi[va](*ti)*: **mārgajñāna-*
b[udha]~, *[bo]sisatva~*, *bhavaṇa~*, *vipattih*, **maggaññāṇavipatti*; “failure
maṇoviñāṇa~. of knowing of the path,” f. nom. sg. 13·31–32.
bhuyo: *bhūyah*, *bhiyyo*; “more,” ind. *macageṇā*: *martyakena*, **maccakena*;
 13·86. “mortal(?)” m. instr. sg. 13·58.
bhoyana-: “food,” n. *ma[j]ima*: **madhyamā*, *majjhimā*;
bh[oya]ṇa: *bhojanam*, *bhojanām*; “middle,” f. nom.(?) sg. 18·1.
 acc. sg. 9·214. *matra-*: “measure,” f.
 in *para~*. *matra*: *mātrā*, *mattā*; nom. sg. 9·39.
ma-: “I.” *matro*: *mātrām*, *mattam*; acc. sg. 9·38.
aho: *aham*, *aham*; nom. 9·46 *[a]ho*, *matre-*: “say, speak about.”
 97 *[pracha]ma[ho]*, 147, 164 *matredi*: **mantrayate*, *manteti*;
[na]ho. denom. 3rd sg. pres. 9·111
ma: *mām*, *mām*; acc. 13·62, 66. *matredi*, *[matr](*e)d[i]*.
mama: *mama*, *mama*; gen. 9·165. *matret[i]*: **mantrayante*, *mantenti*;
me: *me*, *me*; gen. 9·50, 204. denom. 3rd pl. pres. 9·222.
maga-: “path,” m. *mago*: *mārgah*, *maggo*; nom. sg. 9·27

- matreṇa:** *mantreṇa, mantena;* **maṇoviñāṇabhumie:** *manovijñāna-*
 “utterance,” m. instr. sg. 9.127. *bhūmyā, manoviññāṇabhūmiyā;*
✓mad: “exult.” “plane of mind consciousness,” f.
ma[j]e[a]: **mādyet, majjeyya;* 3rd instr. sg. 9.194.
- madimaṇo:** **matimānah, matimāno;* “conceit of opinion(?),” m. nom. sg. 13.63.
- mana-:** “conceit,” m.
- mano:** *mānam, mānam;* acc. sg. 9.192
*[ma](*no), 199, 200 [ma]ño, 201,* 203 *maṇam.*
- in (*a)[*spi*]~, *madi*~.
- maṇaśalaprahaṇa:** **mānaśalya-prahāṇam, mānasallappahāṇam;* “abandoning of the barb of conceit,” n. nom. sg. 13.90.
- maṇaśalaṣa:** *mānaśalyasya, māna-sallassa;* “barb of conceit,” n. gen. sg. 9.37, 128.
- manaso:** *manasā, manasā;* “mind,” n. instr.(?) sg. 9.130.
- maṇuśa-:** “human,” m.
- maṇuśa:** *manuṣyāḥ, manussā;* nom. pl. 9.153 [2x].
- in [*deva*]~.
- maṇuśabhudo:** *manuṣyabhūtam, manussabhūtam;* “become human,” m. acc. sg. 9.170.
- mamikaro:** **mamakārah, mamiṅkāro;* “mine-making,” m. nom. sg. 9.206, 207 *mami[karo].*
- maya-:** in *tamayo.*
- marana-:** “death,” n.
- marano:** *maranam, maranam;* acc. sg. 9.93.
- in *jadijara~, (*jadijara)~ṇi[ro]so, jara~.*
- mariṣa:** *māriṣa, mārisa;* “dear sir,” m. voc. sg. 9.121.
- mahato:** **mahat, mahantam;* “great,” n. nom. sg. 9.98.
- ma[ha]bhayo:** *mahābhayam, mahab-*
bhayam; “great fear,” n. nom. sg. 9.66.
- maheṣi-:** “great seer,” m.
- maheṣi:** **maharṣih, mahesi;* nom. sg. 9.98.
- [maheṣi]:** **maharṣim, mahesim;* acc. sg. 9.103, 103–104.
- m[i]savi:** *medhāvī, medhāvī;* “intelligent,” m. nom. sg. 13.72.
- ✓muc:** “liberate.”
- muto:** *muktah, mutto;* pp. m. nom. sg. 9.1, 5.

- [*moya*](*i)[*da*]: *mocayatām*, *ppahānam*; “abandoning of delusion,”
mocayatañ; caus. pres. part. m. n. nom. sg. 9.27 [*moJhaprahan*[*a*], 45
 gen. pl. 9.1. [*m*](*o)[*ha*]*praha*[*na*], 13.4 [*moJha-*
muni: *muniḥ*, *muni*; “sage,” m. nom. sg. *pra*(**ha*)*[na*], 13.66, 89 *mohaprahaṇa*.
 9.185, 187, 226, 238.
- mudiyo*: **matyā*, *mutiyā*; “opinion,” f. *ya*-: “which,” pron.
 instr. sg. 9.177.
- mula*-: “root,” n.
- mula*: **mūlāni*, *mūlā*; nom. pl. 9.53–
 54, 115.
- mulaṇa*: *mūlānām*, *mūlānam*; gen. pl.
 9.57–58 [*mula*]*ṇa*, 104, 218,
 13.60, 80.
- **mulasakhayana*-: **mūlasaṅkhyāyanam*,
 **mūlasaṅkhāyanam*; “enumeration of
 the roots,” n. nom. sg. 9.116 [*muJla-*
pakh[*aya*]*ṇa*.
- muha*-: in *viriamuh*[*i*]*e*.
- [*moga*]*lana*-: in *kaśava*~[*sad*]*Ji*[*śa*].
- moha*-: “delusion,” m.
- [*moJho*]: *mohah*, *moho*; nom. sg.
 9.105.
- m[o]ha[sa]*: *mohasya*, *mohassa*;
 gen. sg. 13.15.
 in *ragadoṣ*[*a*]~.
- [*moJhaño*: **mohajñah*, **mohañño*;
 “knowing delusion,” m. nom. sg.
 9.205.
- mohaprahano*: *mohaprahānam*, *moha-*
- yo*: *yah*, *yo*; m. nom. sg. 9.108 [*ya*],
 134, 139 [*yo*] [2×], 140, 141 [2×],
 146, 147, 152 [2×], 157, 227, 13.9,
 10, 45, 56, 62 [2×], 18.6, 7, 8 [*yo*].
- ye*: *ye*, *ye*; m. nom. pl. 9.110 *ya*(?),
 112, 115 *ye*, *y[e]*, 152 *y[a]*, 153
y[a], 179, 191, 13.23, 52.
- yo*: *yam*, *yam*; m. acc. sg. 13.44.
- yena*: *yena*, *yena*; m. instr. sg. 9.32–
 33, 41, 95, 135, 13.10.
- yehi*: **yaih*, *yehi*; m. instr. pl. 9.115,
 154 *y[e]hi*, *yehi*.
- yasa*: *yasya*, *yassa*; m. gen. sg. 9.56
[ya]sa, 87 *yas[a]*, 94 *ya[s]ji*, 112,
 204 *yas[a]*, *yasa*, 208, 13.59
 (**yasa*), *yasa*, 60.
- ya*: **yat*, *yam*; n. nom. sg. 9.131, 132,
 133.
- ya*: **yat*, *yam*; n. acc. sg. 9.93, 123 *yo*,
 190 [*ya*], 214(?).
- [*yaJdo*]: *yatah*, *yato*; n. abl. sg. 18.17.
- ya*: see *ca*.
- yakṣa*-: “spirit,” m.

- yakṣo:** *yakṣam, yakṣam;* acc.(?) sg. 9.220.
- [ya]kṣasa:** *yakṣasya, yakkhassa;* gen. sg. 9.218.
- yatra:** *yatra, yatra;* “where; because,” ind. 9.77 *ya[tra]*, 78 *yatro*, 13.80, 18·Av.2.
- [yada]:** *yadā, yadā;* “when,” ind. 13.71, 72 (**ya*)[*da*], [*yada*].
- yadi:** *yadi, yadi;* “if, whether,” ind. 9.40, 42, 13.53.
- yavi:** *yāvat, yāva;* “until,” ind. 9.137, 203 [*yavi*].
- yasa:** *yathā, yathā;* “like, as, such as,” ind. 7·Aa3, 9·6 *[ya]sa*, 7, 9, 33, 41 *[ya]sa*, 63, 83, 95, 151, 154, 156, 157 [2×], 164, 172(?), 184 *[yasa]*, 186, 13·4 *[ya]sa*, 49, 72 *yas[a]*, 74, 75, 78, 79, 18·9 [2×], 14.
- yasatacha:** *yathātathyam, yathātaccham;* “as it is,” n. acc. sg. 9.52.
- yasa[bhu]do:** *yathābhūtam, yathā-bhūtam;* “as it is,” n. acc. sg. 9.53.
- yaho:** see *ca*, √*bhū*.
- yi:** “any,” ind. 9.3 *[yi]*, 43, 45, 48 *[yi]*, 63, 65, 77, 103, 110, 164 *yi* [2×], *ci*, 165 *yi* [2×], *ci*, 177, 179 *y[i]*, 206, 207, 228, 13.54, 55 *[yi]*.
- √yuj:** “connect.”
- yuto:** *yuktam, yuttam;* pp. n. nom. sg. 9.123 *y[u]to*, 18·24 [2×].
- yutana:** *yuktānām, yuttānām;* pp. m. gen. pl. 9.118.
- yoakṣemo:** *yogakṣemam, yogakkhemam;* “rest from exertion,” m. nom. sg. 9.77.
- raga-:** “lust,” m.
- ra[go]:** *rāgah, rāgo;* nom. sg. 9.105.
- ragasa:** *rāgasya, rāgassa;* gen. sg. 9.84–85, 13.16 *[ragasa]*. in *[ka]ma~praha(*ṇa), chada~.*
- ragados[a]moha:** **rāgadveśamohāḥ, rāgadosamohā;* “lust, hate and delusion,” m. nom. pl. 9.107–108 *ragado[ṣa]moha*, 110.
- ragaprayoami:** ***rāgaprayoge, *rāgapayoge;* “application of lust,” m. loc. sg. 9.23.
- ragaprahana:** *rāgaprahāṇam, rāgappa-hāṇam;* “abandoning of lust,” n. nom. sg. 9.27, 134 (**ragap*)[*r*](**aha*)ṇa, 13·67 *ragaprahan̄[a]*.
- ragavaśīna:** *rāgavaśena, rāgavasena;* “power of lust,” m. instr. sg. 13·83.
- ragavi[rag](*o):** *rāgavirāgah, rāgavirāgo;* “fading of lust,” m. nom. sg. 13·41.
- ragaśalasa:** *rāgaśalyasya, rāgasallassa;* “barb of lust,” n. gen. sg. 9.37.
- rañā-:** see *arañā-*.

✓*ram*: “delight.”

ramadi: **ramate*, *ramati*; 3rd sg. pres.

1336, 39.

rado: *rataḥ*, *rato*; pp. m. nom. sg. 1336, 39 [*rada*].

in [*śa]masavivaśāna-bhavamaṇa-*
rado.

rayo-: in *vigadarayo*.

rahata-: “worthy one,” m.

rahato: **arhan*, **araham*; nom. sg. 9.181.

raha[ta]: **arhantah*, **arahanto*; nom. pl. 9.178.

[*ra]hapo*: *arhattvam*, *arahattam*; “state of a worthy one,” n. nom. sg. 18·Ar1.

rua-: “form,” n.

rua: *rūpam*, *rūpaṁ*; acc. sg. 13·79.
in *añegaruo*, *vi{vi}bhud[a]~-[sa]ñisa*, [*v]utar[u]a*.

ruarupa: **rūpārūpyāñi*, *rūpārūppā*; “form and formlessness,” n. nom. pl. 9.92.

ru[kṣa]: *rūkṣā*, *lūkhā*; “hard,” f. nom. sg. 9.43.

✓*rus*: “offend.”

ruṭhena: *ruṣṭena*, *ruṭṭhena*; pp. m. instr. sg. 9.43.

ruṣido: *ruṣitah*, *rusito*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.42.

ruṣidena: *ruṣitenā*, *rusitena*; pp. m.

instr. sg. 9.42.

lakṣaṇa-: in *evalakṣanado*, [tr]i-
lakhaṇ[o].

✓*labh*: “receive, obtain.”

la[bha]di: **labhate*, *labhati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.167.

ladho: *labdhah*, *laddho*; pp. m. nom. sg. 18.21.

ladhva: *labdhvā*, *laddhā*; abs. 9.37, 38, 13·64 *l[a]dha*, 66 [*ladha*].

labha-: “receiving,” m.

labhasa: *lābhasya*, *lābhassa*; gen. sg. 18.21.

in *pidavada~*.

la[vana]: *lapanam*, *apanam*; “prattling,” n.(?) acc. sg. 18.19.

✓*lip*: “smear.”

lipadi: **lipyate*, *lippati*; 3rd sg. pass. 9.184, 187, 188, 190.

loga-: “world,” m.

loga: *lokaḥ*, *loko*; nom. sg. 18·Cr1.

logo: *lokam*, *lokam*; acc. sg. 9.91 [2×].

logasa: *lokasya*, *lokassa*; gen. sg. 9.236, 237, 239 (**lo*)*gasa*.

loge: *loke*, *loke*; loc. sg. 9.178 [2×], 179, 13·68 (**loge*), 69.

- [loga]spi*: **loke*, ^*loke*; loc. sg. 9.189.
- loga[mi]*: ^*loke*, ^*loke*; loc. sg. 9.180.
- logavidu*: *lokaviduh*, *lokavidū*; “knowing the world,” m. nom. sg. 9.238.
- [l]ohaprahana*: **lobhaprahānam*, *lobha-ppahānam*; “abandoning of greed,” n. nom. sg. 13.89.
- va¹*: *vā*, *vā*; “or,” ind. 9.28, 30 [2×], 34, 35, 36, 37 [2×], 38, 42, 43, 51 [va], 57, 58 *va*, [va], 59, 61, 66, 69, 72, 80, 84, 92, 94 [va], 101, 109 [va], 115, 118, 120, 126 [2×], 128, 129, 133, 136 [va], 141 [va], 144, 146 [3×], 152 [va], [v]a, 162, 167, 181, 187, 197, 200 [va], 204, 205, 207, 214 [va], 221, 227, GCv3 [va], GCv11, 13.5, 16 [va], 23, 25 [va], 31, 34 [3×], 36, 40, 47, 49, 61 [va], 63 [va], *va*, 68, 89 [va], 18.1 [va], *va*, 3, 19.
- va²*: *iva*, *va*; “like,” ind. 9.87, 13.74.
- ✓*vac*: “say, call, talk about.”
- vucadi*: **ucyate*, *vuccati*; 3rd sg. pass. 7.Aa2 *vuca[d](*)i*, 7.Aa3
vuc[a]d[i], *vu[ca](*)di*, 9.33
v[u]cadi, 41, 48–49 [vucadi], 52
[vu]cadi, 55, 58, 64, 84
*[vu]ca<*di>*, 85 [v]u[ca]di, 95
*vuca<*di>*, 97 [v]ucadi, 113, 151,
- 164, 182 [2×], 13.34, 78, 189 [2×], 14.
- vuto*: *uktah*, *vutto*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.GCv9, GCv10 *vu[to]*.
- vuta*: *uktā*, *vuttā*; pp. f. nom. sg. 9.GCv8, 18.16.
- vuto*: *uktam*, *vuttam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.93, 131 *vu[to]*, 132, 133, 163, 164, GCv9 [*vuto*].
- vatava*: *vaktavyā*, *vattabbā*; gdv. m. nom. pl. 9.13.
- vaṭa-*: in *kama~chedo*, *kileśa~*, *ki[l](*)[śa]~chedo*, *tri~ch[e]do*, *dukha~chedo*.
- vata-*: in *śatra~*.
- vatadoṣo*: *vāntadoṣam*, *vantadosam*; “whose flaws are ousted,” m. acc. sg. 9.216, 218 [va]tadoṣo.
- vatani-*: in *kama~*, *kileśa~*, *dukha~*.
- vatamani-*: “occurrence,” f.
- va[t]a]mani*: **vartamānīm*, **vatta-mānīm*; acc. sg. 9.141.
- in *adida~*.
- ✓*vad*: “speak, say.”
- vadati*: *vadanti*, *vadanti*; 3rd pl. pres. 9.218 *va[da]ti*, 222.
- [va]dea*: **vadet*, *vadeyya*; 3rd sg. opt. 9.202.
- vada⁻¹*: in *ucheda~*, *saspada~*.

vada-²: in *s[i]la~*.

[*vadaJga*-: in *vi[varaṇa]~*.

vana: see *pūṇo*.

vanasaṭhaṇ[a]samadikramo: **varaṇa-*
samsthānasamatikramah, **vannasaṇ-*
ṭhānasamatikkamo; “surmounting of
color and shape,” m. nom. sg. 9.161–
162.

✓*vand*: “honor.”

vadadi: **vandate*, *vandati*; 3rd sg.
pres. 13.62, 66 (**va)d[a]di*.

[*va]mo*: *vāmam*, *vāmam*; “reverse,” n.(?)
nom. sg. 13.9.

vaya-: “word,” f.

vaya: **vāk*, *vācā*; nom. sg. 9.43 [2×].

vaya: *vācam*, *vācam*; acc. sg. 9.42.

varo: *varah*, *varo*; “choice,” m. nom. sg.
9.2.

va[va]daprahaṇa: *vyāpādaprahāṇam*,
**vyāpādappahāṇam*; “abandoning of
malice,” n. nom. sg. 9.67.

[*va](*)va][dasa]*: *vyāpādasya*, *vyā-*
pādassa; “malice,” m. gen. sg. 9.136.

vaśa-¹: in *añña~*, *krosa~*, *raga~*.

vaśa-²: in *aria~ṭhidi*.

✓*vas*: “live.”

vasadi: *vasati*, *vasati*; 3rd sg. pres.
18.20, 21.

vasa-: in *[i]ria~*.

vasaṇa-: “clothing,” n.

va[sa]na: *vasanam*, *vasanam*; acc.
sg. 9.37.

vasaṇ[e]na: *vasanena*, *vasanena*;
instr. sg. 9.38.

vastu-: “thing, matter, substance,” f.

vastu: *vastu*, *vatthu*; nom. sg. 9.123.

vastu: *vastu*, *vatthum*; acc. sg. 13.24.

vastu[e]: **vastunā*, **vatthunā*; instr.
sg. 9.189.

vastue: **vastunāḥ*, **vatthussa*; gen. sg.
13.10.

vastumi: **vastuni*, *vatthusmīṁ*; loc.
sg. 13.85 [*vastu]mi*, *vastumi*.

vastuṣu: *vastuṣu*, *vatthūṣu*; loc. pl.
9.150.

in *atvabh[a]va~*.

vastukama-: “desire as things,” m.

v[a]stukama: *vastukāmāḥ*, *vatthu-*
kāmā; nom. pl. 13.10.

vastukama: **vastukāmān*, **vatthu-*
kāme; acc. pl. 13.10.

vastukamehi: **vastukāmaiḥ*, *vatthu-*
kāmehi; instr. pl. 9.189, 13.12, 18
(**va)st[u]k[a]me[hi]*.

vahita: —, *bāhitvā*; “ward off,” abs. 9.21
[*vah](*)ita], 26, 29 [*vahi]ta*, 30, 31, 35
va[hita], 36, 111 [*vahitva*].*

vahidapavadhamasa: **bāhitapāpa-*

- dharma*syā, bāhitapāpadhammassa; “who has warded off evil dharmas,” m. gen. sg. 9.176.
- vi*: *api*, *pi*; “also; even,” ind. 9.10 [*vi*], 42, 149, 187, 195, 13.43 *pi* [2×].
- vi + a + √kr*: “explain.”
- vagarohi*: *vyākarohi*, *viyākarohi*; 2nd sg. impv. 9.53 [2×].
- [*vi*]adataso: **vigatatrṣṇah*, *vigatatañho*; “with craving gone away,” m. nom. sg. 9.GCv4 [*vi*]adatas[*o*], GCv6–7 [*via*](*da)ta[*ṣ*]o, GCv10 (**viada*)-[*ta*]ṣo, GCv13 (**viada*)[*taṣ*](**o*). *viulami*: **vipule*, **vipule*; “great,” n. loc. sg. 13.73 [*viula*]mi, *viulami*.
- vigadarayo*: *vigatarajah*, *vigatarajo*; “with dirt gone away,” m. nom. sg. 9.90.
- vi + √grah*: “dispute.”
- vigrinadi*: *vigr̥nāti*, **viggan̥hāti*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.225.
- [*v*]igra[*h*]a: *vigraham*, *viggaham*; “dispute,” m. acc. sg. 9.202.
- vigri[śo]*: *vigr̥hyam*, — ; “dispute,” n. acc. sg. 9.180.
- vi + √car*: “move about.”
- vicarati*: *vicaranti*, *vicaranti*; 3rd pl. pres. 9.177–178 *vica[ra]ti*, 179.
- vija*-: “knowledge,” f.
- vija*: *vidyāḥ*, *vijjā*; nom. pl. 9.133. in *sakṣiñāna*~.
- [*vija*]ṭeti: *vijaṭayanti*, *vijaṭenti*; “untangle,” 3rd pl. pres. 9.4.
- viñāna*-: “consciousness,” n.
- viñāno*: *vijñānam*, *viññānam*; nom.(?) sg. 9.192.
- in *cakṣu*~*avi[sa]bh[u]da*, *mano*~*bhumie*.
- viñāna*[.]*ka[ye]hi*: **vijñānakāyaiḥ*, *viññānakāyehi*; “body of consciousness,” m. instr. pl. 9.192.
- viñ[a]ṇacayadan[o]*: **vijñānānty-āyatanaṁ*, *viññāṇañcāyatanaṁ*; “sphere of the end of consciousness,” n. nom. sg. 9.164.
- viñānaṭhidi*-: “steadiness of consciousness,” f.
- viñānaṭhidie*: **vijñānasthitayah*, *viññānaṭṭhitihīyo*; nom. pl. 9.168 *viñānaṭidi*[·*a*], [*viña*]naṭhidie.
- viñānaṭhidie*: **vijñānasthityā*, *viññānaṭṭhitiyā*; instr. sg. 9.169.
- vitiṇakakṣo*: *vittṛṇakāmksah*, *vitiṇna-kaṅkho*; “having crossed over doubt,” m. nom. sg. 9.90 *vitiṇoka[ks]o*, 18.7 [*vi*]t[i]ṇakakṣ[*o*], 13.
- vitra[ka]-*: in *dharma*~.
- √*vid*¹: “know.”

- vidida:** *viditā, vidiṭā;* pp. f. nom. sg. 9.191. “whose perception of form has disappeared,” m. gen. sg. 9.160–161.
- ✓vid²:** “(pass.) exist.”
- vijadi:** **vidyate, vijjati;* 3rd sg. pass. 9.106, 108, 110.
- vijati:** **vidyante, vijjanti;* 3rd pl. pass. 9.56.
- vidu-:** in *loga~.*
- vi + ✓naś:** “be destroyed.”
- vinaśadi:** *vinaśyati, vinassati;* 3rd sg. pres. 9.223.
- vinaśa-:** in *praya~a~, aśaga~.*
- vi + pari + ✓nam:** “change.”
- [vipa]riṇamatesu:** **vipariṇama-*
māneṣu, vipariṇamantesu; pres. part. m. loc. pl. 13.12.
- vi[pariname]:** *vipariṇāme, vipariṇāme;* “change,” m. loc. sg. 9.208.
- vi + pra + ✓hā:** “abandon.”
- viprahae:** *viprahāya, vippahāya;* abs. 18.14.
- vibhava:** *vibhavam, vibhavam;* “non-existence,” m. acc. sg. 18.7–8
vi[bhava], 14.
- vi + ✓bhū:** “suffice.”
- vibha[v]adi:** *vibhavati, vibhavati;* 3rd sg. pres. 18.21.
- vi{vi}bhud[a]rua[sa]ñisa:** **vibhūta-*
rūpasamjñinah, vibhūtarūpasāñissa;
- “whose perception of form has disappeared,” m. gen. sg. 9.160–161.
- vimasa-:** “inquiry,” f.
- vima[sa]:** *mīmāṃsā, vīmaṃsā;* nom. sg. 9.228.
- vimasae:** *mīmāṃsayā, vīmaṃsāya;* instr. sg. 9.227.
- vi + ✓muc:** “liberate.”
- vimucadi:** **vimucyate, vimuccati;* 3rd sg. pass. 18.15.
- vimuto:** *vimuktah, vimutto;* pp. m. nom. sg. 9.228, 229 [*vi]mu[to]*].
- vimuto:** *vimuktam, vimuttam;* pp. m. acc. sg. 9.170.
- vimuti-:** “liberation,” f.
- vimutie:** **vimuktayah, vimuttiyo;* nom. pl. 9.86, 217 *vimutio,* 13.81
vimutigo.
- vi[mu]tih:** *vimuktibhiḥ, vimuttīhi;* instr. pl. 9.216.
- vimutina:** *vimuktīnām, vimuttīnām;* gen. pl. 13.61.
- vimutida:** **vimuktitā, vimuttitā;* “state of liberation,” f. nom. sg. 9.1 [*vimu]tida,* 28, 102, 104, 159.
- viyigitsa:** *vicikitsāḥ, vicikicchā;* “uncertainty,” f. nom. pl. 9.143.
- vira:** *vīram, vīram;* “brave one,” m. acc. sg. 9.46.

- viraga-*: in *raga~*. *rado.*
- vi + √rah*: “be remote.” [*viva]śaṇavivati*: **vipaśyanāvipattih*,
- in *kalaṇavirahida-*, *driṭhigadavi-* **vipassanāvipatti*; “failure of insight,”
- rahida*. f. nom. sg. 13·8.
- viriamuh[i]e*: **vīryamukhyāh*, **viriyamukhiyā*; “having bravery as head(?)” *vi + √vic*: “separate.”
- f. abl. sg. 9·48. [*vi]ta*: *viviktāh*, *vivittā*; pp. m.
- virio*: *vīryam*, *viriyam*; “bravery,” n. nom. nom. pl. 9·178 [*vivita*], 179.
- sg. 9·48. *vivito*: *viviktam*, *vivittam*; pp. n. acc.
- vivati-*: “failure,” f. sg. 9·177.
- vivati*: *vipattih*, *vipatti*; nom. sg. 13·7 in [*ka]laṇagavivit[a]*.
- [*vivati*], 9 [*viva]ti*, 48. *vivitaviharida*: **viviktavihāritā*, **vivitta-*
- in (**artha*)[*ko]śala~*, *dhamakośala~*, *niros[a]~*, *nirosa[ña]n[a]~*, *triča[dha]~*, *dukhañan[a]~*, *prañā~*, *prañakadha~*, *maga-* *vihāritā*; “state of having a separate
- ñana~*, [*viva]śaṇa~*, *śamasa~*, *śilakadha~*, *samasikadha~*. abode,” f. nom. sg. 18·16.
- [*v](*)[va]dam*: *vivādam*, *vivādām*; *vi[vi]t[avi]har[i](*sa)*: **viviktavi-*
- “dispute,” m. acc. sg. 9·225. *hāriṇah*, **vivittavihārino*; “having a
- vi[varnavada]ge(*hi)*: **vivarna-* separate abode,” m. gen. sg. 18·16.
- vādakaih*, **vivāñnavādakehi*; *vi + √vṛj*: “(caus.) avoid.”
- “speaking dispraise,” m. instr. pl. *vivarjita*: **vivarjayitvā*, **vivajjetvā*;
- 9·225. abs. 18·8.
- vivaśana-*: “insight,” f. in *atavivarj[i]da-*.
- vivaśana*: *vipaśyanā*, *vipassanā*; [*v]iśramida*: — , — ; “state of
- nom. sg. 9·215, 13·36, 60, 80, 18·13 resting(?)” f. nom. sg. 9·23.
- [*v]ivaśana*. *visa-*: in **irdhi~*.
- in *śamasa~*, [*śa]masa~bhavamana-* *visathigae*: **viṣaktikāyāh*, *visattikāya*;
- 13·81. “attachment,” f. abl. sg. 9·57.
- visi-*: in *tasaviso*, *triviso*. *vistareṇa*: *vistareṇa*, *vitthārena*;
- vistareṇa*: *vistareṇa*, *vitthārena*; “extensive treatment,” m. instr. sg.
- “extensive treatment,” m. instr. sg. 13·81.

- vihara-*: in **pravivitaviharisa*, *vivita-*
viharida, *vi[vi]t[avi]har[i](*sa)*. **vedayitapariyit̄hi*; “search for what is
 felt,” f. nom. sg. 9.8.
- vi + √hr̄*: “abide.” *vedaga-*: “wise,” m.
- viharadi*: *viharati*, *viharati*; 3rd sg.
 pres. 7·Aa2. *vedago*: *vedakaḥ*, *vedagū*; nom. sg.
 9.99, 177 *vedag[o]*, 191, 203.
- [*v]utar[u]Ja*: *uktarūpāḥ*, *vuttarūpā*;
 “having the form mentioned(?)” m.
 nom. pl. 9.25. *vedago*: *vedakam*, *vedagum*; acc. sg.
 9.102.
- vutartho*: *uktārtham*, *vuttattham*; “having
 its meaning stated,” n. nom. sg. 9.137
vutarth[a], 201 *vu[ta]rtho*.
- vudhi-*: in *dukha~*, *samudaga~*.
- √vṛj*: “(caus.) avoid.” *vedaya-*: “feel.”
- [*va]rja[e]*: *varjayet*, *vajjaye*; 3rd sg.
 opt. 18.9. [*veda]ji[da]*: **vedayitāni*, *vedayitā*;
 denom. pp. n. nom. pl. 9.14.
- √vṛt*: “(caus.) practice, pursue.” *vedaīdāni*: *vedayitāni*, *vedayitāni*;
 denom. pp. n. nom. pl. 9.84.
- vatedi*: *vartayati*, *vatteti*; caus. 3rd sg.
 pres. 13.50. *veharaja-*: in *cadu~da*.
- √vṛdh*: “to grow.” *vosapakṣia*: *bodhapakṣyāḥ*, *bodha-*
pakkhiyā; “on the side of
 enlightenment,” m. nom. pl. 9.108.
- vudh[vā]*: **vṛddhvā*, **vudhvā*; abs.
 9.184. *vriśavida*: **vṛśabhitā*, **visavitā*;
 “mastery,” f. nom. sg. 9.3 [*vriśa]vida*,
 28, 103 [*vriśavida*], 159–160
vriśa[vi]da.
- vedaīda·uaśamapayiṭhi*: **vedayitopaśa-*
maparyeṣṭih, **vedayitavūpasamapari-*
yit̄hi; “search for calm of what is
 felt,” f. nom. sg. 9.9.
- [*vedaī]daiuaśamo*: *vedayitopaśamah*,
vedayitavūpasamo; “calm of what is
 felt,” m. nom. sg. 9.10.
- vedaīda[pa]yi[thi]*: **vedayitaparyestih*, *vrośidava*: —, *vusitavā*; “perfected(?)”
 √*śams*: “praise.” m. nom. sg. 18.15.
- vrośima-*: “perfected(?)”
- vrośiva*: —, **vusīmā*; m. nom. sg.
 9.88–89.
- vrośimado*: —, *vusīmato*; m. gen. sg.
 9.176.

- śāśea:** *śamset, samseyya*; 3rd sg. opt. developed,” m. nom. sg. 13-37.
187.
- śati-**: “calmness,” f.
- [śa](*ti):** *śāntih, santi*; nom. sg. 9.49.
- śati:** *śāntim, santim*; acc. sg. 9.78.
- śatipada-**: “speaking of calmness.”
- śatipado:** **śāntivādah, santivādo*; m. nom. sg. 9.185, 187–188 *[śa]ti-[pa](*do)*.
- śatipadehi:** **śāntivādaih, santi-vādehi*; m. instr. pl. 9.177.
- ✓ **śam:** “be calm.”
- śamaīda:** *śamayatām, samayatam*; caus. pres. part. m. gen. pl. 9.2.
- [śato]:** *śāntah, santo*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.1.
- śato:** *śāntam, santam*; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.185.
- śamasavi[vati]:** **śamathavipattih, samathavipatti*; “failure of quiet,” f. nom. sg. 13.8.
- śamasavi(*va)[śaṇa]e:** *śamatha-vipaśyanāyāh, samathavipassanāya*; “quiet and insight,” f. gen. sg. 9-GCv12.
- [śa]masavivaśaṇa·bhavamaṇarado:** **śamathavipaśyanābhāvyamānaratah, samathavipassanābhāviyamānarato*; “delighting in quiet and insight being
- developed,” m. nom. sg. 13-37.
- śamaso:** *śamathah, samatho*; “quiet,” m. nom. sg. 9.213, 13-36 *śamuso*, 60, 80 *śamasa*, 18-13.
- śamidavi:** —, *samitāvi*; “having made quiet,” m. nom. sg. 9.236 *śa[midavi]*, 239.
- śala-**: “barb,” n.
- [śalo]:** *śalyam, sallam*; acc. sg. 9.46.
- śalana:** *śalyānām, sallānam*; gen. pl. 13.90.
- in *dosa~, driṭhi~, mana~, mana~-prahāṇa, raga~*.
- śalaprahāno:** *śalyaprahāṇam, sallappa-hāṇam*; “abandoning of the barbs,” n. nom. sg. 9.127.
- śaśaga-:** in *chinaśaśago*.
- śastugaraga:** ***śāstṛkārakāñi, satthu-kārakā*; “making a teacher,” n. nom. pl. 9.53.
- śa[st]juga[ra]ga·saceṣu:** **śāstṛkāraka-satyeṣu, satthukārakasaccesu*; “truth that makes a teacher,” n. loc. pl. 9.34.
- śa[sto]:** **śāstā, satthā*; m. nom.(?) sg. 7-Da2.
- ✓ **śikṣ:** “learn.”
- śi[kṣa]ti:** *śikṣanti, sikkhanti*; 3rd pl. pres. 9.116.
- śi[tha]gen[a]:** *śiṣṭakena, sitthakena*;

- “remaining,” n. instr. sg. 13·28.
- śidi + √bhū:** “become cool.”
- śidi{ṇa}bhav(*i)śati:** *śītibhaviṣyanti*, *śītibhavissanti*; 3rd pl. fut. 9·84.
- śidibhudo:** *śītibhūtaḥ*, *śītibhūto*; “become cool,” pp. m. nom. sg. 9·85.
- [ś](*i)di[ho]do:** *śītibhūtaḥ*, *śītibhūto*; “become cool,” pp. m. nom. sg. 9·83.
- śila-:** “virtue,” n.
- śilo:** *śīlam*, *śīlam*; nom. sg. 18·21.
- śileṇa:** *śīlena*, *śīlena*; instr. sg. 9·72, 200, 13·33, 38, 40.
- śilado:** *śīlataḥ*, *śīlato*; abl. sg. 18·23.
- śi[lasa]:** *śīlasya*, *śīlassa*; gen. sg. 13·6.
- śilakadha-:** “virtue category,” m.
- śilakadho:** *śīlaskandhāḥ*, *śīla-kkhandho*; nom. sg. 9·29, 70 *śila-kadh(*o)*, 40, 18·2 *ś[i]lakadh[o]*, Cv2.
- [śilakadhasa]:** *śīlaskandhasya*, *śīla-kkhandhassa*; gen. sg. 13·16.
- śilakadhavivati:** **śīlaskandhavipattih*, **śīlakkhandhavipatti*; “failure of the virtue category,” f. nom. sg. 13·46.
- śilapadipakṣiana:** ***śīlaprati-pakṣakānām*, ***śīlapati-pakkhakānām*;
- “opposed to virtue,” m. gen. pl. 9·69–70.
- ś[i]la[va](*)d)[o]:** *śīlavratam*, *śīla-bbatam*; “virtue and observance,” n. acc. sg. 18·Ar3 *[śi]l[ava](*)do*, 18·1.
- śilasuviśudhada:** **śīlasuviśuddhatā*, **śīlasuvisuddhatā*; “complete purity of virtue,” f. nom. sg. 13·38.
- śilodaśaṇasa[pa]ño:** **śīladarśaṇasampannah*, *śīladassanasampanno*; “endowed with virtue and seeing,” m. nom. sg. 13·33.
- śukra-:** “bright.”
- śukrehi:** **śuklaiḥ*, *sukkehi*; m. instr. pl. 13·3 *śu[kre]hi*, 75, 88 *śrukrehi*.
- śukrami:** **śukle*, **sukke*; m. loc. sg. 13·73.
- [śukr](*)[na]:** *śuklena*, *sukkena*; n. instr. sg. 18·Kr2 *[ś](*)[u]k[re](*re)[na]*, 4.
- śukrasa:** *śuklasya*, *sukkassa*; n. gen. sg. 9·68, 18·Kr4(?) *śu[k]r[asa]*, 4. in *kriṣa~*.
- √śuc:** “grieve.”
- soyadi:** *śocati*, *socati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9·207, 13·15, 16.
- sekha-:** “in training.”
- śekho:** *śaikṣāḥ*, *sekkhā*; m. nom. sg. 9·135, 137 *ś[e]kho*, 139 *[śekho]*.

- śekha:** śaikṣāḥ, sekkhā; m. nom. pl. 9.115. nom. pl. 9.156.
- śekhada:** *śaikṣatā, *sekkhatā; “state of being in training,” f. nom. sg. 9.137.
- śeṣa-**: in *aṇuadišeṣa*, *saüadišeṣa*.
- śogino:** *śokinam, sokinam; “sorrowful,” m. acc. sg. 13.74.
- śodhi:** śuddhim, suddhim; “purity,” f. acc. sg. 13.52, 18.Kr4 śodh[i].
- ✓ śru:** “hear.”
- śudena:** śrutena, sutena; pp. n. instr. sg. 9.195 śu·deṇa, 201.
- śutva:** śrutvā, sutvā; abs. 9.46 ś[u]tva, 112 śu[tva].
- śreṭh[a]:** śreṣṭhah, setṭho; “best,” m. nom. sg. 9.2.
- środo[amo]:** śrotukāmah, sotukāmo; “desiring to hear,” m. nom. sg. 9.47.
- śathi-:** in *dua~driθiadehi*.
- śada[vi]ñā:** śadabhijñāḥ, chaṭabhiññā; “having the six recognitions,” m. nom. pl. 9.156.
- śa[di]jidi[r]i[o]:** śaḍindriyam, chaṭ-indriyam; “the six faculties,” n. nom. sg. 9.94.
- śanavadi:** śaṇnavatih, channavuti; “ninety-six,” f. nom. sg. 13.52
- śavaga:** śrāvakāḥ, sāvakā; “disciple,” m. nom. sg. 9.156.
- śavagapraaabudhaṇa:** *śrāvakapratyayabuddhānām, *sāvakappaccaya-buddhānām; “disciple and condition enlightened ones,” m. gen. pl. 9.150.
- ś[ava]ga·(*pra)[ce]śabudha:** *śrāvaka-pratyayasambuddhāḥ, *sāvakappaccayasambuddhā; “disciple and condition enlightened ones,” m. nom. pl. 9.25–26.
- śodaśagiehi:** *śodaśāṅgikaiḥ, solas-āṅgikehi; “having sixteen parts,” n. instr. pl. 13.49.
- śaüadišeṣa:** *sopadhišeṣā, saüpādisesā; “with fuel remaining,” f. nom. sg. 9.86–87, 13.67.
- saka[y]a]ñiroso:** *satkāyanirodhah, sakkāyanirodho; “cessation of embodiment,” m. nom. sg. 9.GCv5.
- sakalasañā:** *sakalasañjñā, *sakala-saññā; “all perception,” f. nom. sg. 9.161.
- sakileṣa-:** “defilement,” m.
- sakileśo:** saṃkleśah, saṅkileso; nom. sg. 9.22 sakil[e]śo, 61, 13.54.
- sakile[ś](*e)ñ[a]:** saṃkleśena, saṅkilesena; instr. sg. 13.56–57.
- sakileśo:** sakleśam, sakilesam; “with

- defilement," m. acc. sg. 13·74.
- sa + √*kliś*:** "defile."
- sakiliśeadi:** *saṃkliśyeta, sañ-kilisseyyāti; 3rd sg. opt. pass. 1356, 57 *sakiliśiadi*.
- (*sa)kṣia-:** in *nirosa~*.
- sakṣiñānavija:** *saṃkṣijñānavidyā, *sakkhiññānavijjā; "knowledge that is manifest knowing," f. nom. sg. 9·147–148 *sakṣiñān[a]vija*, 148, 149.
- sakṣeva:** saṃkṣepāt, saṅkhepā; "brief treatment," m. abl. sg. 9·15, 78, 95 *sa[kṣeva]*, 102 *sa[kṣ]eva*, 157, 208, 217, 238 (*sa)kṣeva, 13·4, 14 *sakṣe[va]*, 27–28 *sakṣe(*va)*, 38, 45 *sa[kṣe]va*, 60 *[sa]kṣeva*, 88, 18·24.
- sakha-:** "enumeration," f.
- sakha:** saṃkhyā, saṅkhā; nom. sg. 9·113.
- sakhae:** saṃkhyayā, saṅkhāya; instr. sg. 9·113.
- sakhadadhama-:** "having enumerated the dharmas."
- sakhadadhā[mo]:** saṃkhyāta-dharmah, saṅkhātadhammo; m. nom. sg. 9·135, 138 *[sakhada-dhamo]*.
- sakhada(*dha)ma[e]:** *saṃkhyāta-dharmāḥ, *saṅkhātadhammā; m. nom. pl. 9·112–113.
- sakhaya-:** "enumerate."
- sakhaīda:** *saṃkhyāyitāḥ, *sañ-khāyitā; denom. pp. m. nom. pl. 9·113, 115.
- *sakhayaṇa-:** in *mula~.
- sakharadukhada-:** "painfulness of determination," f.
- [sakhara]dukh[a]da:** saṃskāra-duḥkhatā, saṅkhāradukkhatā; nom. sg. 9·100–101.
- sakharadukhada[e]:** saṃskāra-duḥkhatāyāḥ, saṅkhāra-dukkhatāya; gen. sg. 13·35.
- sakharadukhadaūśamo:** saṃskāra-duḥkhatopaśamah, saṅkhāradukkhatopasamo; "calm from the painfulness of determination," m. nom. sg. 13·35.
- sagraha-:** in *sua~sama[dikra]mo*.
- saca-:** "truth," n.
- saco:** satyam, saccam; nom. sg. 13·59 *[sa]ca, saco*, 60.
- [saca]:** *satyāni, saccā; nom. pl. 9·53.
- saceh[i]:** *satyaiḥ, saccehi; instr. pl. 9·33, 95–96 *[sac]e[hi]*.
- saceşu:** satyeşu, saccesu; loc. pl. 9·4. in *[idi]~abhi[ma]n[o], śa[st]ju-ga[ra]ga~*.
- sañña-:** in *istri~, [dha]du~, dhama~*,

- paḍida~, puruṣa~, vi{vi}bhud[a]rua-* *sabhava-*: “origin,” m.
[sa]ñisa, sakala~.
- saṭhan[a]-*: in *vana~samadikramo*.
- sata*: *sapta, satta*; “seven,” nom. 9.168.
- [satamae]*: **saptamyā, sattamāya*;
 “seventh,” f. instr. sg. 9.168.
- śatravatena*: **snānavratena, nahāna-*
vattena; “observance of bathing,” n.
 instr. sg. 13.52.
- sa + √tras*: “be frightened.”
- satrasea*: **samtraset, santaseyya*; 3rd
 sg. pres. 13.63, 66.
- satva-*: “being,” m.
- satve[h]i*: **satvaiḥ, sattehi*; instr. pl.
 9.154–155.
- satvana*: *sattvānām, sattānam*; gen.
 pl. 9.148, 154, 221.
- satv(*e)ṣu*: *sattveṣu, sattesu*; loc. pl.
 9.221.
 in *[bo]si~bhumi*.
- sada*: *sadā, sadā*; “always,” ind. 9.23, 27,
 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36.
- [sad]i[śa]-*: in *kaśava[moga]laṇa~.*
- sadu[at]idaspadi*: **sadopasthitasmṛtiḥ, -*
**sadāupat̄hitassati*; “whose
 mindfulness is always present,” m.
 nom. sg. 9.24.
- sa[pa]ṇa-*: in *śilodaśaṇa~.*
- sabudha-*: in *s[ava]ga>(*pra)[ce]a~.*
- sabhavo*: *sambhavah, sambhavo*;
 nom. sg. 9.GCv3, GCv6 GCv12
[sa]()bhavo*, GCv13 *[sa]-*
*(*bhavo)*.
- <*sa>bhavēna*: *sambhavēna, sam-*
bhavēna; instr. sg. 9.GCv9.
 in *akicaña~.*
- sa + √bhū*: “originate, come into being.”
- sabhodi*: *sambhavati, sambhavati*;
 3rd sg. pres. 9.GCv4 *sabho(*di)*, 32
*sabh(*o)[d]i*.
- samagi-*: in *spadoaṭhaṇa~.*
- samadikramo*-: “surmounting,” m.
- samatikramah, sam-*
atikkamo; nom. sg. 13.19, 20
*(*sa)madikramo*, 22 <*sa>madi-
kramo.
 in *agaśaca[i]daṇa[sa]ma{[ya]}di-*
kramo, oha~, vanasaṭhan[a]~,
suasagraha~.
- sam + a + √dhā*: “concentrate.”
- samahadadi*: **samādadhati, samā-*
dahati; 3rd sg. pres. 9.133.
- samayo*: *samayam, samayaṁ*;
 “conclusion,” m. acc. sg. 9.222.
- samavati*-: “attainment,” f.
- samavati*: *samāpattiḥ, samāpatti*;

- nom. sg. 9.174. [sa]mudagado].
- sama[va]ti[hi]: samāpattibhiḥ, sam-āpattīhi; instr. pl. 9.173(?). in akicāñayadana~.*
- samasi-*: “concentration,” f. nom. sg. 9.30. [sa]mādhiḥ, samādhi; nom. sg. 9.30.
- samasie*: *samādhinā, *samādhinā; instr. sg. 9.72.
- [sa](*masie): *samādheḥ, *samā-dhissa; gen. sg. 13.6–7.
- samasikadha-*: “concentration category,” m.
- samasikadho*: samādhiskandhah, sa-mādhikkhandho; nom. sg. 7.Eb1, 9.29, 71, 13.41, 18.2 samasi-ka(*dho), 25 [sa]ma[sikadho], Cv2–3 (*samasi)kadho.
- samasikadhasa*: samādhi-skandhasya, samādhikkhandassa; gen. sg. 13.17.
- samasikadha[vi]vati*: *samādhiskandha-vipattih, *samādhikkhandhavipatti; “failure of the concentration category,” f. nom. sg. 13.46.
- sa + ud + a + √gam*: “originate.”
- sa[mudagado]*: samudāgatam, samudāgatam; pp. n. nom. sg. 9.100 sa[mudagad](*)o, 101
- samudagavudhi*: *samudayavṛddhiḥ, *samudayavuddhi; “increase of the origin,” f. nom. sg. 13.31.
- samudaya-*: “origin,” m. nom. sg. 9.79, GCv12 samudag[o].
- in kileśa~, [ki]l[e]śa~·pari-[kṣa]yeṇa.
- samudeaprahaṇo*: *samudayaprahāṇam, samudayappahāṇam; “abandoning of the origin,” n. nom. sg. 9.5, 32 samudagaprahāṇa, 86 samudea-prahāṇa, 239 samud[a]gaprahāṇ[a], 13.18 samudeaprahāṇa, 69 samudea-prahāṇ[a].
- sa + un + a + √gam*: “attend.”
- sa[mu]nagadasa*: samanvāgatasya, samannāgatassa; pp. m. gen. sg. 13.3.
- samupada-*: in padica~.
- sa + u + √śri*: “raise.”
- sa[mu]śrevedi*: **samucchṛāpayati, *samussāpeti; caus. 3rd sg. pres. 13.86.
- same*: samyak, sammā; “right,” ind. 13.67.
- sameñ[u]g[a]*: **samyagjñakam, *sammaññukam; “belonging to the

- right-knowing one," n. nom. sg. 18.21.
- [sa](*)[m][e](*)[tve][na]:** ¹samyaktvena, sammattena; "rightness," n. instr. sg. 13.69–70.
- same[p](*)[r]asa(*[na])p(*[r])abh[avi]d[o]:** *samyakpradhānaprabhāvitam, *sammappadhānappabhāvitam; "developed by right endeavor," n. nom. sg. 9.48.
- samo:** samah, samo; "constant," m. nom. sg. 13.89, 90.
- sam[o]sano:** samavadhānam, samo-dhānam; "concurrence," n. nom. sg. 9.107.
- sa[m](*)[o][hap](*)[r][aha]na:** *sammo-haprahānam, *sammo-happahānam; "abandoning of confusion," n. nom. sg. 9.90–91.
- sayoyaṇa-:** in kṣinasyayoyaṇa-.
- sara-:** "essence," m.
- sareṇa:** sāreṇa, sārena; instr. sg. 9.217.
- sa[ro]:** sāre, sāre; loc.(?) sg. 9.215.
- sarvaguṇeh[i]:** ¹sarvaguṇaiḥ, sabba-guṇehi; "all qualities," m. instr. pl. 9.144.
- sarvañuda-:** "omniscience," f.
- sarvañuda:** ¹sarvajñatā, sabbaññutā; nom. sg. 9.52 sarvañ<*[u>da>, 98 sarvañ[uda], 145 savañuda.
- savañu[da]:** ¹sarvajñatām, sabba-ññutam; acc. sg. 9.110.
- sarvañudae:** ¹sarvajñatāyāḥ, sabba-ññutāya; abl. sg. 9.51 sa[rva]-ñud[ae], 144 sarva[ñ]udae.
- [sa]rvañ[e]Jaṣu:** ¹sarvajñeyāsu, ¹sabba-ññeyyāsu; "related to an omniscient one(?)," f. loc. pl. 9.150.
- sava-:** "all, every."
- sava:** sarvāḥ, sabbā; f. nom. pl. 9.168.
- s[ava]:** ¹sarvāṇi, sabbā; n. nom. pl. 9.122.
- savañ(*i):** sarvāṇi, sabbāṇi; n. nom. pl. 9.84.
- savado:** sarvataḥ, sabbato; n. abl. sg. 13.89, 90.
- savaagareṇa:** sarvākāreṇa, sabbākārena; "every way," m. instr. sg. 9.150–151.
- savakamana:** sarvakāmānām, sabba-kāmānām; "all desires," m. gen. pl. 9.47.
- savakamania-:** "all desirable."
- s[ava](*)[ka]man[i]a:** ¹sarva-kamānīyā, ¹sabbakamānīyā; f. nom. sg. 9.122–123.
- savakamania[e]:** ¹sarva-kamānīyayā, ¹sabbakamānīyayā; f. instr. sg. 9.189.

- savakayaprahaṇa:** *sarvakāyaprahāṇam, sabbakāyappahāṇam;* “abandoning of all bodies,” n. nom. sg. 9.163.
- sava[ki]leśaṇa:** *sarvakleśānām, sabba-kilesānām;* “all defilements,” m. gen. pl. 9.215.
- [savaki]leśa·prah[i]ṇatva:** **sarvakleśa-prahīṇatvāt, *sabbakilesappahīṇattā;* “state of all defilements having been abandoned,” n. abl. sg. 9.26.
- [savajap](*)r)ahan<*e>ṇa:** *sāvadyapra-hāṇena, sāvajjappahāṇena;* “abandoning of what is reproachable,” n. instr. sg. 18.2.
- savatriṇa:** — , — ; “all three,” n. gen. 9.15, 31 [*savatriṇa*], 96.
- savadhama-:** “all dharmas,” m.
- savadhamehi:** **sarvadharmaih, sabbadhammehi;* instr. pl. 9.137, 151, 159.
- savadhamana:** *sarvadharmānām, sabbadhammānām;* gen. pl. 9.115 *sarvadhamana,* 115–116 *sava-[dha](*)maṇa.*
- savadhameṣu:** *sarvadharmaṣu, sabbadhammesu;* loc. pl. 9.125 *savadham[e]ṣu,* *savadhameṣu,* 130.
- savara-:** “restraint,” m.
- savaro:** *saṃvarah, saṃvaro;* nom. sg. 9.40. in *kriā~.*
- saviññaṇeasa:** *savijñānakasya, sa-viññaṇakassa;* “together with consciousness,” m. gen. sg. 9.56.
- sasara-:** “roundabout (of births),” m.
- sasaro:** *samsāram, samsāram;* acc. sg. 13.23.
- sasarami:** **samsāre, *samsāre;* loc. sg. 9.146.
- sa + √sthā:** “be composed.”
- sa[ṭha]ṛvedi:** *saṃsthāpayati, saṇ-thapeti;* caus. 3rd sg. pres. 9.132.
- saspadavado:** **sāśvatavādam, sassata-vādaṁ;* “doctrine of the eternal,” m. acc. sg. 9.219.
- saspado:** *śāśvataḥ, sassato;* “eternal,” m. nom. sg. 9.204.
- √sah:** “overcome.”
- [sa](*)ha)[di]:** **sahate, sahati;* 3rd sg. pres. 13.45.
- sahagada-:** in *anū~.*
- sa + √hṛ:** “take.”
- sahariadi:** **saṃhriyate, saṃhariyati;* 3rd sg. pass. 13.45.
- suavaṭida:** ***svavasthitāni, *suavaṭhitā;* “well-settled,” n. nom. pl. 9.88.
- suasagrahasama[dikra]mo:** **sukha-*

- samgrahasamatikramah*, **sukha-* *s[u]bhavida*: **subhāvitāni*, su-
saṅgahasamatikkamo; “surmounting *bhāvitā*; n. nom. pl. 9.88.
- of pleasure and favor,” m. nom. sg. *subho*: ***śubhah*, **subho*; “water,” m.(?)
 9.162. nom. sg. 9.182.
- suuāṭhidacito*: **sūpasthitacittah*, *sūpa-* *sumesu*: *sumedhah*, *sumedho*; “having
tīhitacitto; “whose heart is well- good intelligence,” m. nom. sg. 9.238.
- founded,” m. nom. sg. 13.38. *suyi-*: “pure.”
- [*sujano*]: *sujanah*, *sujano*; “good *suyi*: *śuciḥ*, *suci*; m. nom. sg. 13.51,
 people,” m. nom. sg. 13.76. 60, 61 *s[uyi]*.
- sutro*: *sūtram*, *suttam*; “text,” n. nom. sg. *suyi[a]*: *śucikāḥ*, *sucikā*; “pure,” m.(?)
 7.Aa1, 9.6, 21 (**sutro*), 38, 47 (**su* nom. pl. 13.55.
[tro], 54, 60 (**sutro*), 74, 81, 88, 98
 s(**u*)[*tro*], 105, 113, 122 [*s*](**u*)*tro*, GCv2,
 140, 161, 177, 204, 218 *s[u]tro*, 13.10 [*sutro*], 22, 33, 42, 52 (**sutro*),
 62, 71 [*sju[tro]*, 82, 18.Ar3 (**sutro*),
 5, 16.
- suni[ja]tva*: *sunidhyaptam*, **su-* *✓sev*: “resort to.”
- nijjhattam*; “well-comprehending,” n. *se[vad]i*: **sevate*, *sevati*; 3rd sg.
 nom. sg.(?) 9.114. pres. 18.20.
- sun[i]sevida*: ***suniṣevitāni*, **sunisevitā*; *śehaprahano*: *snehaprahāṇam*, *sineha-*
 “well-practised,” n. nom. pl. 9.88. *ppahāṇam*; “abandoning of affection,”

s[u]phasidatva: **susparśitatvāt*, **su-* n. nom. sg. 9.123, 13.84 *śehaprahanā*.

phassitattā; “state of being well in *soda-*: in *chiṇasodo*.

contact,” n. abl. sg. 9.216. *s[oda]{da}dhad[ue]*: **śrotradhātunā*,

subhavida-: “well-developed.” *sotadhātuyā*; “ear element,” f. instr.

subhavidani: *subhāvitāni*, su- sg. 9.201.

bhāvitāni; n. nom. pl. 9.88, 94 *sodehi*: **śrotraiḥ*, *sotehi*; “ear,” n. instr.
subhavi[da]ni. pl. 9.39 *so[de]hi*, [*s*](**ode*)[*h*](**i*).

✓ *stu*: “praise.”

stavadi: **stauti, thavati*; 3rd sg. pres.

9.48, 49, 51 [*stava*](**di*), 144 [2×].

[*stu*]*di*: *stutih, thuti*; “praise,” f. nom. sg. 9.158–159.

✓ *sthā*: “stand.”

cītha{t[o]·}ta[m]: *tiṣṭhantam, tiṭṭhantam*; pres. part. m. acc. sg. 9.169–170.

thido: *sthitah, thito*; pp. m. nom. sg. 9.220 *tido*, 13.73 [2×], 75 [*thi*]*do, thido, thi[d]o*.

✓ *snā*: “take a bath.”

śayadi: *snāyati, nahāyati*; 3rd sg. pres. 13.53.

spadi-: “mindfulness,” f.

spadido: *smṛtitah, satito*; abl. sg. 9.44.

in *sadu[at]ida~*.

s[pa]divata: **smṛtimantah, satimantā*; m. nom. pl. 7.Aa1.

spado: *smṛtah, sato*; “mindful,” m. nom. sg. 9.23, 27 *spad[o], 29, 30, 31 spa[do], 32, 35, 36, 127, 129, 131, 134, 138, GCv5 [s](*p)[a]do, GCv7, GCv10 (*spa)[do]*.

spadoaṭhanasamagi-: “endowed with the foundations of mindfulness.”

spadoaṭhanasamagi: ***smṛtyupa-*

*sthānasamaṅgī, *satipaṭṭhāna-samaṅgi*; m. nom. sg. 9.126–127 *spadoaṭhaṇasamag[i], 134–135 [s](*p)a(*d)[o]a[ṭha]ṇasa[magi], GCv5 [spado]aṭaṇas[a·]Jagi.*

spadoaṭhaṇasamagiṇo: ***smṛtyupa-thānasamaṅginaḥ, *satipaṭṭhānasamaṅgino*; m. gen. sg. 9.126.

spayae: *svakayā, sakāya*; “own,” f. instr. sg. 9.226.

[*sp]ara*: *svaram, saram*; “sound,” m. acc. sg. 18.9.

✓ *spṛś*: “make contact.”

[*pha]ṣ[i]a[di]*: ***sparsyate, phassīyatī*; 3rd sg. pass. 9.50.

[*pha]ṣida*: *sparsitam, phassitam*; pp. n. nom. sg.(?) 9.192.

✓ *hā*: “abandon.”

jahanado: **jahataḥ, *jahato*; pres. part. m. gen. sg. 13.14.

✓ *han*: “destroy.”

hanadi: **hanti, hanati*; 3rd sg. pres. 9.135.

hada: **hatāni, hatā*; pp. n. nom. pl. 9.135.

hi: *hi, hi*; “because, for,” ind. 9.40, 133, 193 *h[i], 199, 203, 1817, 18*.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>✓ hr</i> : “remove.” | <i>adhīnā</i> ; “depending on a cause,” m. |
| <i><*ha>riśadi</i> : <i>hariṣyati, harissati</i> ; 3rd
sg. fut. 9.109. | nom. pl. 9.114. |
| <i>hedu</i> : <i>hetum, hetum</i> ; “cause,” m. acc. sg.
9.101. | <i>ho</i> : <i>khalu, kho</i> ; “indeed,” ind. 9.77, 105
<i>kha</i> , 122, 123, 124 <i>khu</i> , 129, 150, 157
<i>[h]o</i> , 171 <i>kh[u]</i> , 196 <i>[ho]</i> , <i>ho</i> , 199 |
| <i>h[e]duasi[na]</i> : <i>hetvadhīnāh</i> , * <i>hetu-</i> | (* <i>ho</i>), 13-69 <i>[ho]</i> . |

INDEX OF ROOT VERSES

This index lists the first pāda of each root verse of our text, followed by the commentary section in which it is explained.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|----|
| akicañasabhavo ña(*t)va | 18 | paca kadha pariñae | 11 |
| ajaro jiamañena | 10 | pajeña k(*r)ideña atvano | 37 |
| añañapoši añado | 21 | padiliño akuhao | 38 |
| aña va ladhva vasaña va kale | 6 | prachamaho kevaliño maheśi | 13 |
| anavas(*u)dacitasa | 9 | pramado apramad(*eṇa) | 33 |
| aniṭhuri añañugridho | 34 | yasa idriaṇi subhavidani | 12 |
| apramata spadivata | 1 | yasa nasti ida me va | 20 |
| aho prove tada ḡaho | 14 | ye ca sakħada(*dha)mae | 15 |
| edavadag(*r)a ḡu vadati ege | 22 | (*yehi) vivito vicarati loge | 19 |
| ede (*ya ñatva) upa ? ? da (*di) | 22 | yo adido adiśadi | 17 |
| edo adinavo ñatva | 25 | (*yo apraduṭhasa ḡarasa) duśadi | 26 |
| kama ho ḡabhiṇadea | 16 | yo iṣa (*kama) acatari | 27 |
| kameṣaṇa bhaveṣaṇa | 4 | yo vadadi ma (*ti) ḡa uṇamea | 32 |
| krodho artho ḡa jaṇadi | 30 | vahita pavaga dhama | 5 |
| ta bromi uaśato si | 8 | viñāṇaṭidie sava | 18 |
| taśadudio puruṣo | 28 | vibhudaruasañisa | 18 |
| taspa muṇi logavidu sumesu | 23 | śilava(*d)o ? + prahae (*savo) | 36 |
| (*dato damaïda) śreṭha | 3 | śilodaśaṇasapaṇo | 29 |
| ṅa udageṇa suyi bho(*di) | 31 | ṣutva aho vira agamo agame | 7 |
| ṅa vedago drīṭhie na mudiyo | 19 | | |

INDEX OF PARALLELS

This index lists Gāndhārī, Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese parallels for the root verses of our commentary and for other canonical texts that are quoted as part of its explanations. Three such quotations remain unidentified: *ka[m]a + + + .o balo · [e]va cario parikṣadi · yasa cakhumo · puruṣo · jacadho rúa paśadi* (13.78–79); *kavoda [va]rja[e sp]ara* (18.9) and *prajutva ag[i sa]si[ea]* (18.9). For these and for the allusions to the origin of the Kaliṅga wilderness (9.63–64), the accomplishments of the elder *Paraśaria (9.95) and an Ekottarikā section on anger (13.49), see § 1.2.1.

1. Gāndhārī

Ekottarikāgama sūtras in London

| | | |
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| 19 | 9.33–34 | |
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| Dharmapada from Khotan | |
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| 119 | 33 | |
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| 124 | 1 | |
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| 137D | 9 | |
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| 159 | 10 | |
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| 282 | 30 | |
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| Bamiyan fragment (MS 2179/9A) | |
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| b1 | 30 | |
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|--------------------------|--|
| Final Liberation formula | |
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| UW scroll | 9.84 | |
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2. Pali

Dīghanikāya

| | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| II 120.21–22 | 1 | |
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Majjhimanikāya

| | | |
|--------------|---------|--|
| II 143.29–30 | 9.33–34 | |
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| II 146 | 9.33–34 | |
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| II 263.34–264.1 | 9.164–165 | |
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| III 294.30–34 | 9.41 | |
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Samyuttanikāya

| | | |
|------------|----|--|
| I 13.10–13 | 26 | |
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| | | |
|---------|---------|--|
| I 37.16 | 9.65–66 | |
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| I 62.25–28 | 23 | |
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| I 164.15–18 | 26 | |
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| II 47.10–11 | 15 | |
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| II 47.20–21 | 15 | |
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|-----------------|-----------|-------------|---------|
| II 49.4–5 | 15 | Suttanipāta | |
| II 50.6–7 | 15 | 366 | 31 |
| Aṅguttaranikāya | | 514 | 37 |
| I 206.18–20 | 9.164–165 | 516 | 12 |
| I 253.17–258.20 | 9.129–133 | 558 | 9.33–34 |
| II 10.9–10 | 28 | 662 | 26 |
| II 10.11–12 | 25 | 740 | 28 |
| II 24.24–25 | 3 | 741 | 25 |
| II 42.1–2 | 4 | 845 | 19 |
| II 49.3–6 | 23 | 846 | 19 |
| II 50.18–21 | 23 | 852 | 38 |
| II 177.11–13 | 9.164–165 | 857 | 8 |
| IV 96.22–23 | 30 | 876 | 22 |
| Dhammapada | | 877 | 22 |
| 28 | 33 | 948 | 27 |
| 39 | 9 | 900 | 36 |
| 125 | 26 | 951 | 20 |
| Udāna | | 952 | 34 |
| 1.5 | 5 | 971 | 6 |
| 1.6 | 21 | 1033 | 9.65–66 |
| 1.9 | 31 | 1038 | 15 |
| 6.3 | 14 | 1039 | 16 |
| Itivuttaka | | 1049 | 13 |
| 9.1–4 | 28 | 1096 | 7 |
| 9.5–8 | 25 | 1112 | 17 |
| 48.20–23 | 4 | 1113 | 18 |
| 109.12–15 | 28 | 1114 | 18 |
| 109.16–19 | 25 | 1115 | 18 |
| 123.13–16 | 3 | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-------|------------------------|
| Theragāthā | | 26.13 | 14 |
| 32 | 10 | 28.6 | 9 |
| 369 | 11 | 28.9 | 26 |
| 828 | 933–34 | 33.11 | 31 |
| Jātaka | | 33.12 | 5 |
| III 203.15–18 | 26 | 33.23 | 21 |
| IV 354.13–14 | 25 | | Udāna from Subashi |
| Description of Path formula | | 3.12 | 28 |
| e.g. DN I 84.8–9, | | 3.18 | 25 |
| MN I 183.37–184.1, | | 4.4 | 33 |
| AN I 165.16–17 1815 | | 28.6 | 9 |
| Final Liberation formula | | 33.12 | 31 |
| e.g. MN III 245.2–4, | | 33.15 | 5 |
| SN II 4–6, | | | Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya |
| AN II 198.33–34, | | I 268 | 9.33–34 |
| It 38.18–20 9.84 | | | Mahāvastu |
| | | | III 395.11–14 37 |
| 3. Sanskrit | | | III 395.19–396.3 13 |
| Arthavarga (Hoernle 1916, 1917) | | | |
| IV rev. 4 | 19 | | 3. Patna Dharmapada |
| IV rev. 5 | 19 | 19 | 33 |
| Pārāyaṇa (SHT 1581) | | 115 | 26 |
| V 7 | 15 | 142 | 25 |
| R 1 | 16 | 371 | 29 |
| Udāna | | | 4. Chinese |
| 3.12 | 28 | | 義足經 (T 4 no. 198) |
| 3.18 | 25 | | 180b25–27 19 |
| 4.4 | 33 | | 180b28–29 19 |
| 4.36 | 1 | | |

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|-------------------|----|---------------------|----|
| 181c17–18 | 22 | 出曜經 (T 4 no. 212) | |
| 181c19–20 | 22 | 636b5–6 | 25 |
| 183a18–19 | 36 | 648b25–26 | 1 |
| 186c15–16 | 6 | 733c16–17 | 14 |
| 187c18–19 | 38 | 743a2–3 | 9 |
| 187c28–29 | 8 | 743b18–19 | 26 |
| 189c5–6 | 27 | 770a10–11 | 31 |
| 189c11–12 | 20 | 771a15–16 | 21 |
| 189c17–18 | 34 | 法集要頌經 (T 4 no. 213) | |
| 法句經 (T 4 no. 210) | | 778c27–28 | 25 |
| 562c6–8 | 33 | 779a7–9 | 33 |
| 563a10–11 | 9 | 779c16–17 | 1 |
| 565a16–17 | 26 | 790c15–16 | 14 |
| 571b1–2 | 25 | 792a27–28 | 9 |
| | | 792b5–6 | 26 |

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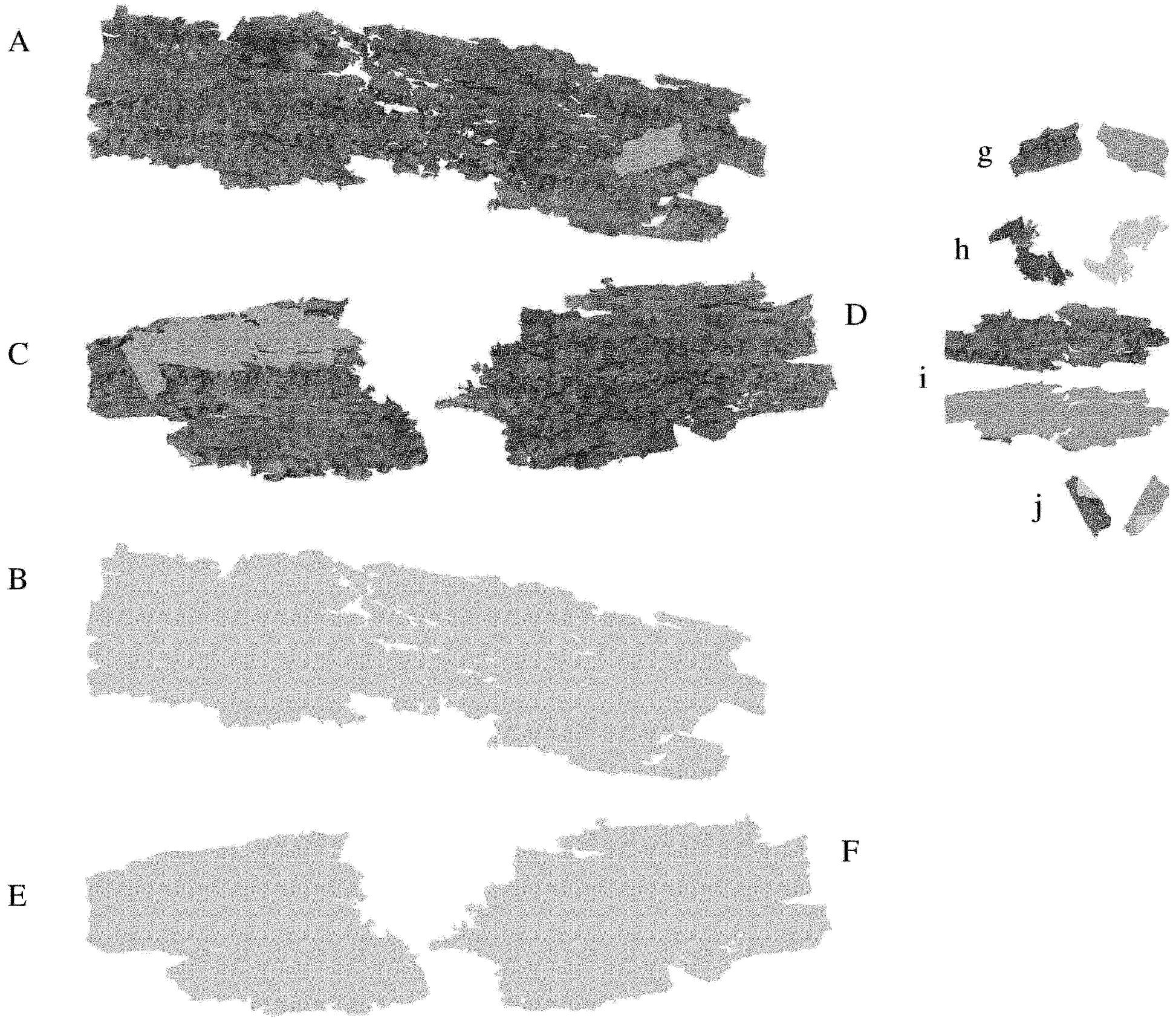
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VITA

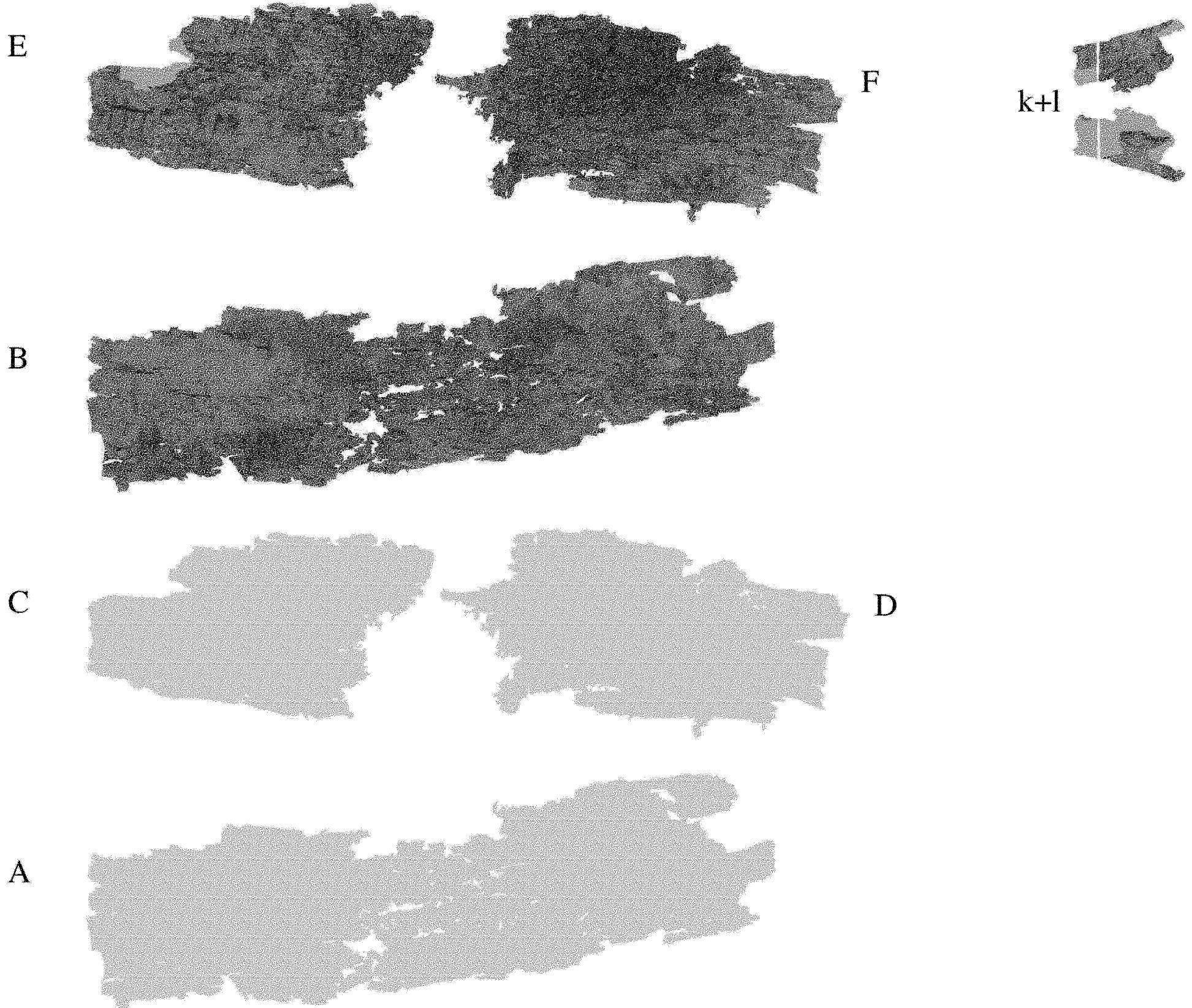
Stefan Baums was born in Bochum, Germany, in 1974. He studied Indology, Tibetology and Linguistics at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen from 1994 to 1998 and received a Master of Arts in Sanskrit Literature, Nepali Language and History of Buddhism from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1999. From 2000 to 2002, he taught Sanskrit and Indian History at the Asia Institute, University of Copenhagen. He contributes to the Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection project, and since 2002 he has been working with the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project in Seattle. He is co-editor of the Dictionary of Gāndhārī. His publications include:

- 2002 *Corpori Inscriptionum Indicarum supplementum Danicum*. In: Adam Hyllested et al., eds., **B^hrg^hnīáh₂ai: R^upnānL, ৰেহন্তি, brigi: festschrift til Birgit Anette Olsen på 50-årsdagen den 2. april 2002*, København: Editiones Olander, pp. 13–20.
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- 2006 A Pali ghost word: *dattu* and related issues. In: Gerd Carling, ed., *GIŚ.HURgul-za-at-ta-ra: Festschrift for Folke Josephson*, Göteborg: Meijerbergs institut vid Göteborgs universitet (Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning, 32), pp. 20–31.
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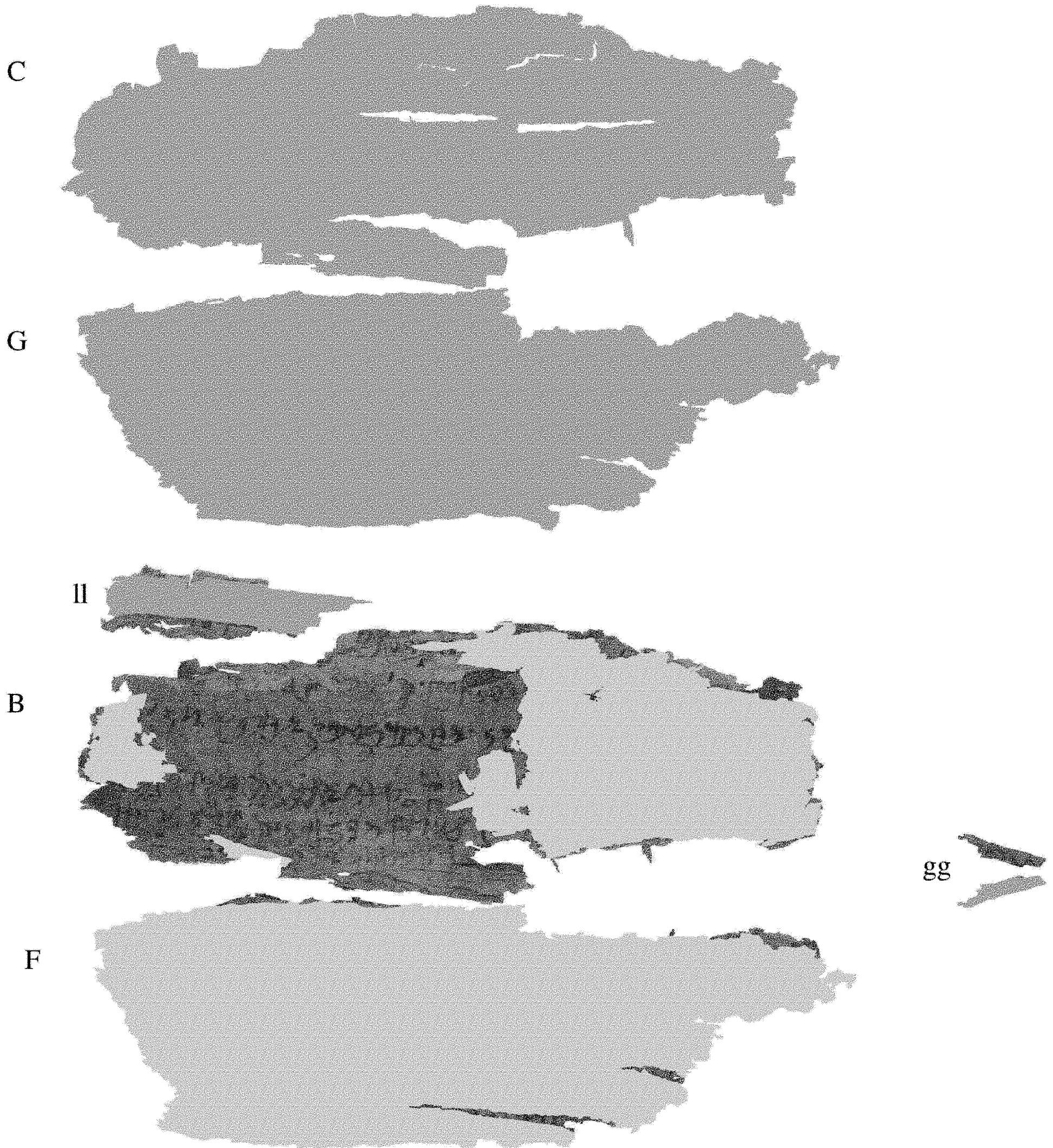
- (*Indica et Tibetica: Monographien zu den Sprachen und Literaturen des indo-tibetischen Kulturraumes*, Band 47), pp. 33–44.
- Towards a computer encoding for Brāhmī. In: Adalbert J. Gail, Gerd J. R. Mevissen & Richard Salomon, eds., *Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, vol. 11.1), pp. 111–143.
- 2007 (with Richard Salomon:) Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho*. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29: 201–227.
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- Truth and scripture in early Buddhism: categorial reduction as exegetical method in ancient Gandhāra and beyond. *Buddhism Across Asia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.



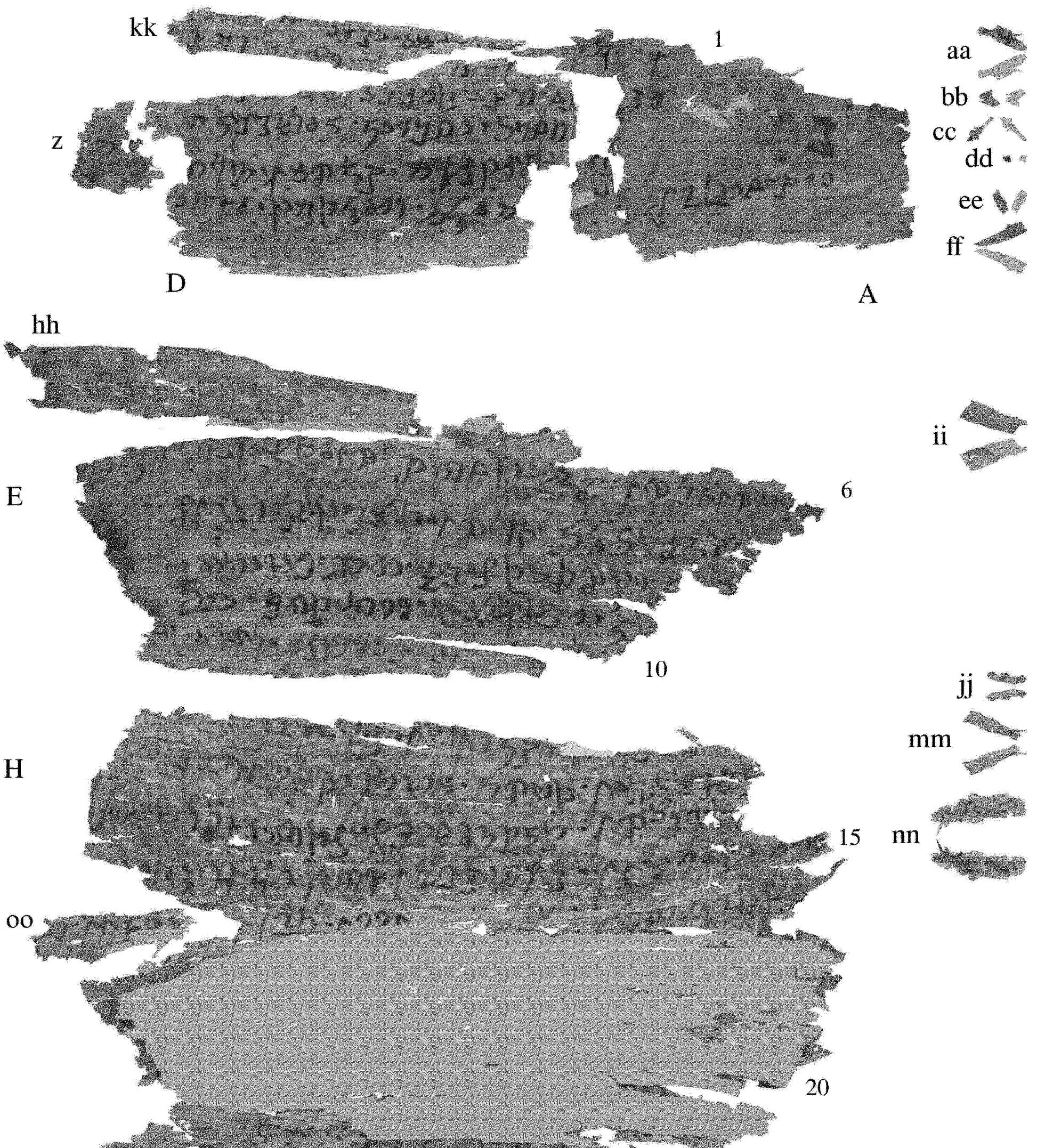
Pl. 1. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 7, side a (commentary section 1). Actual size. (Grey areas represent portions of the original surface of the scroll concealed by overlying fragments.)



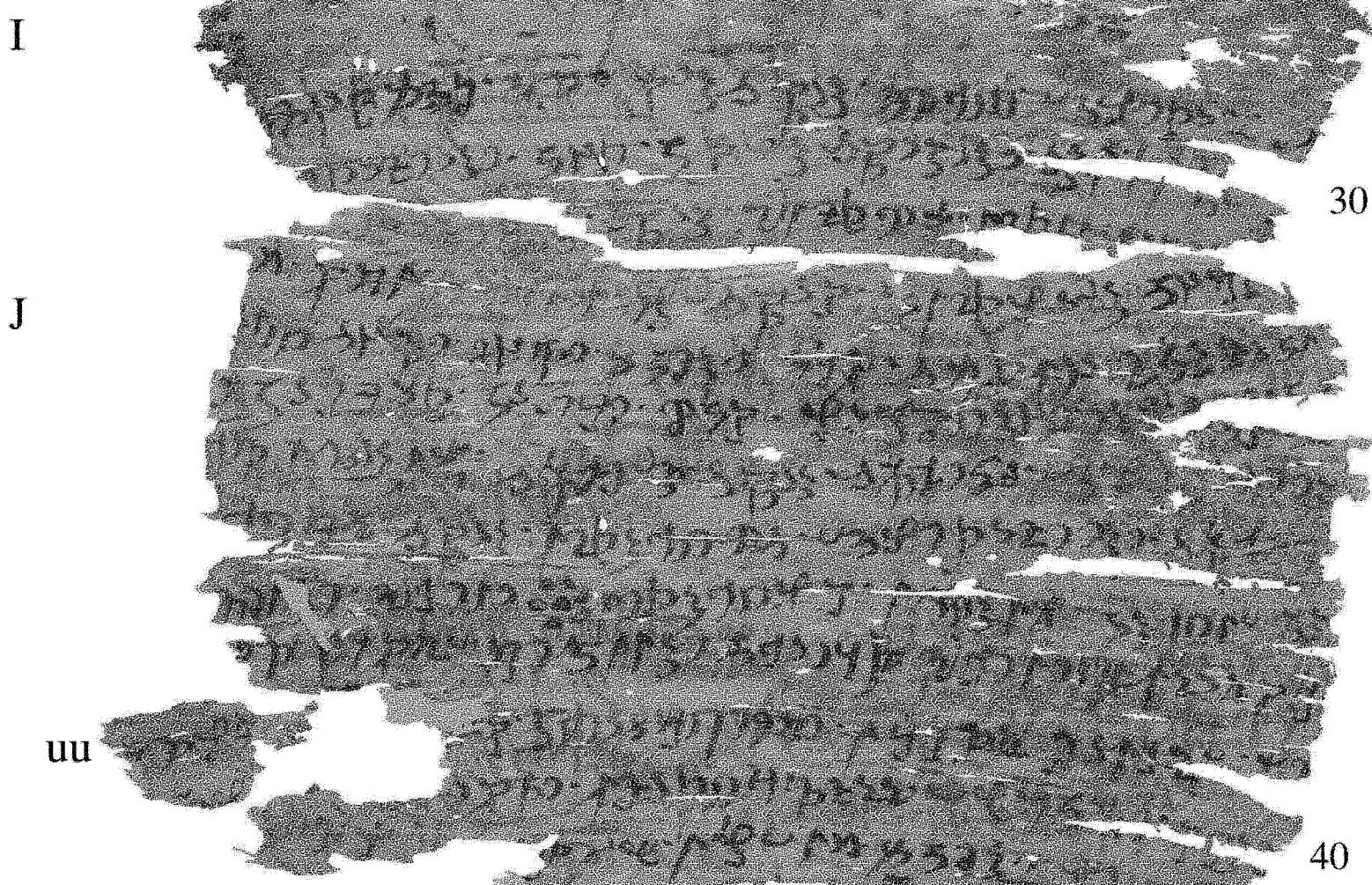
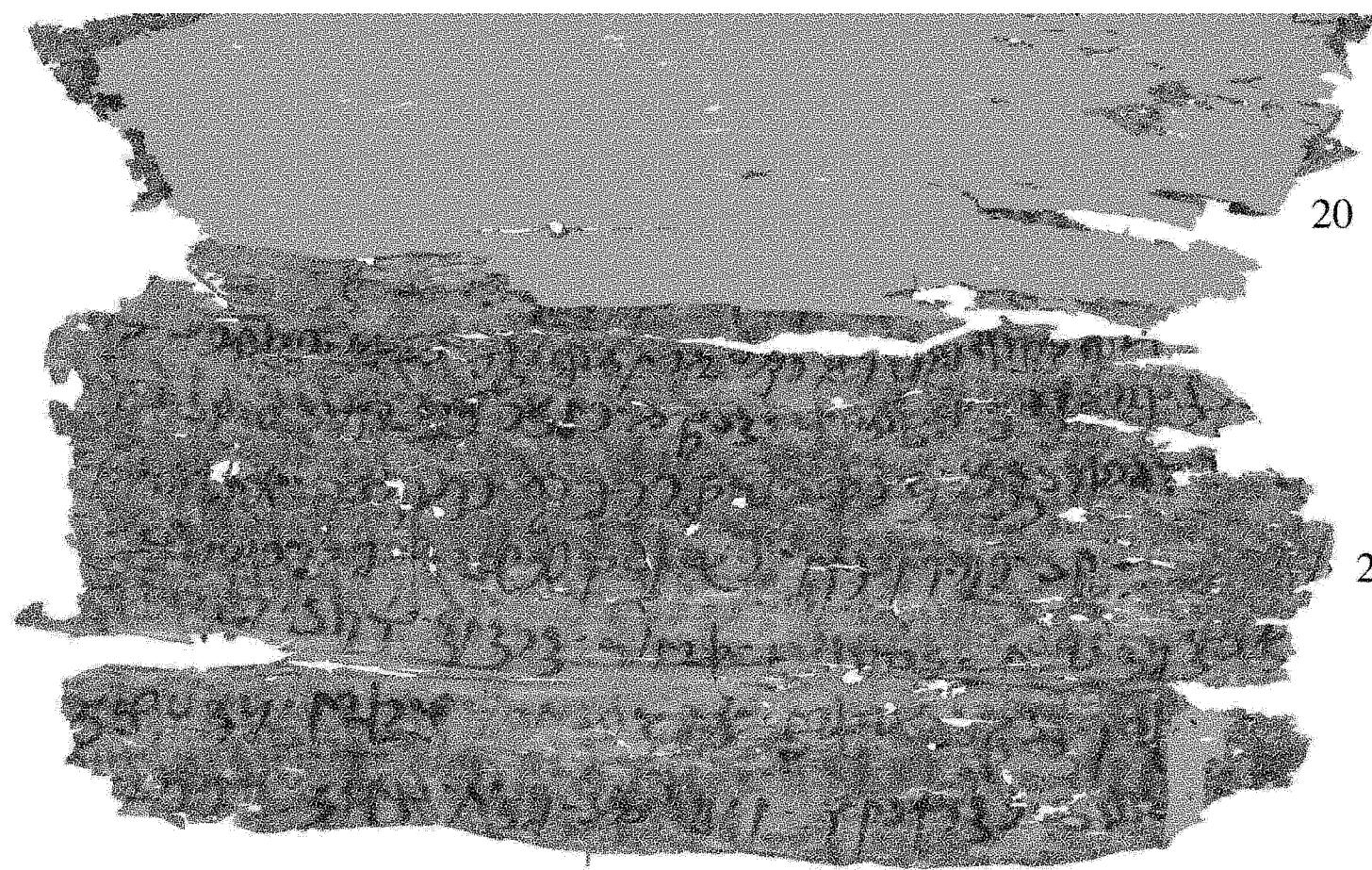
Pl. 2. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 7, side b. Actual size.



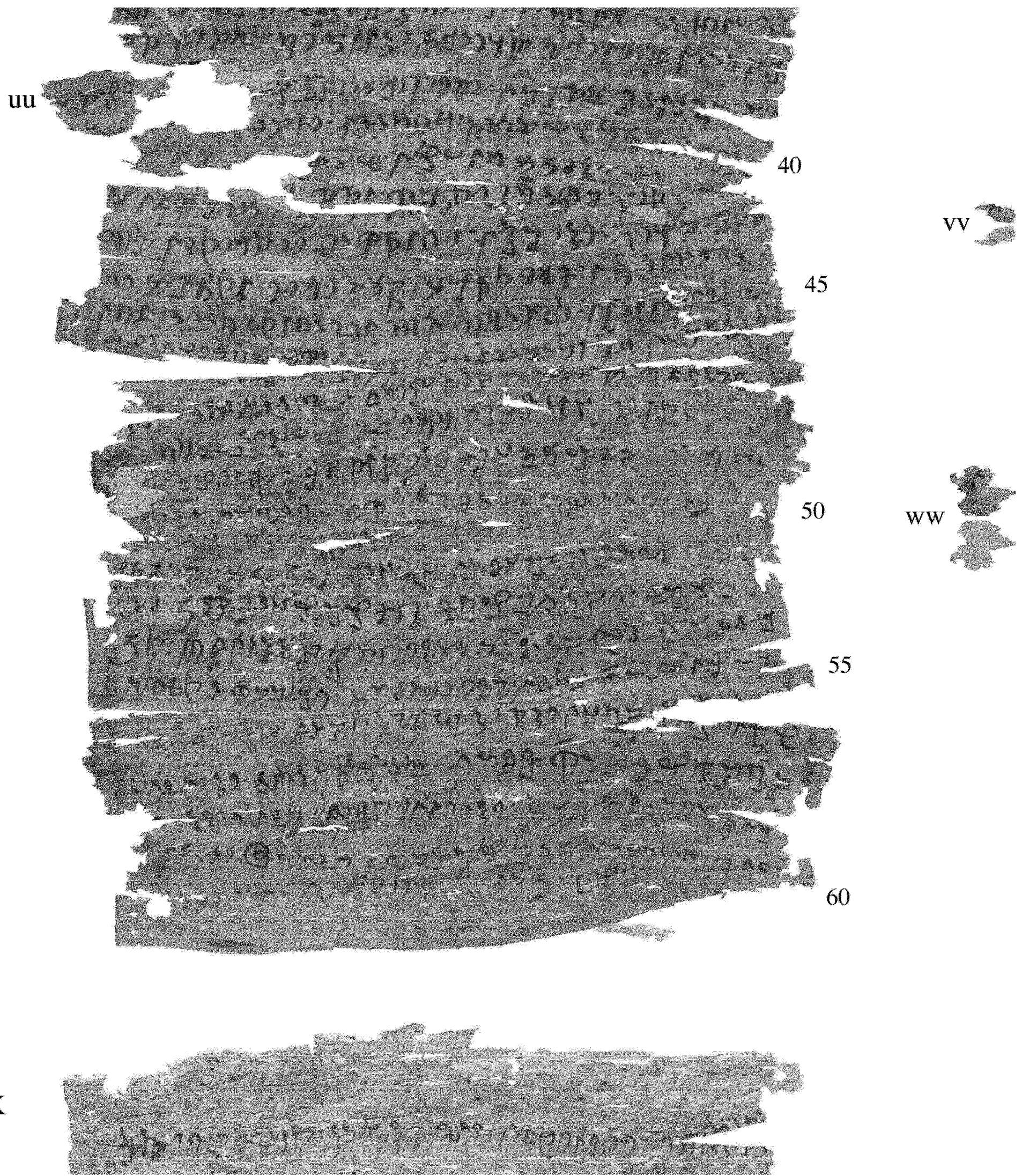
Pl. 3. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, top (commentary section 2). Actual size.



Pl. 4. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 1–21 (commentary sections 3 and 4). Actual size.

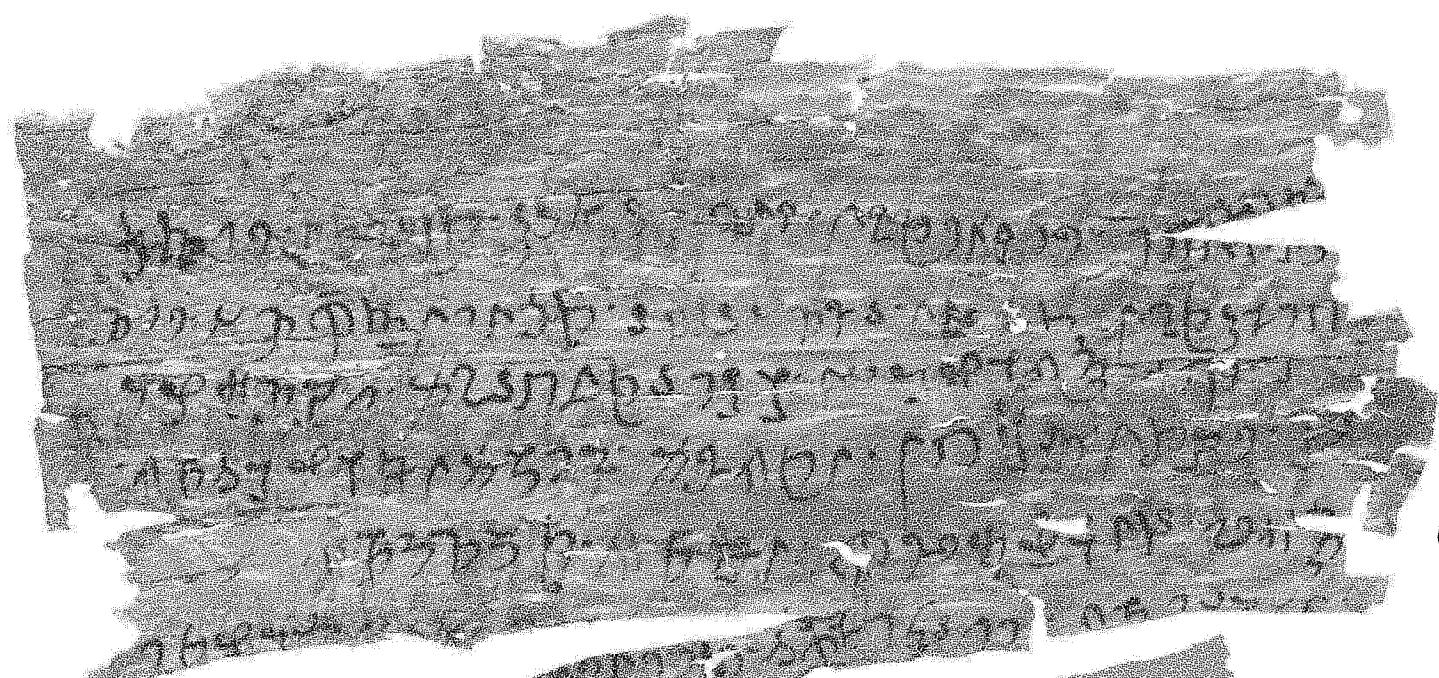


Pl. 5. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 18–40 (commentary sections 4, 5 and 6). Actual size.



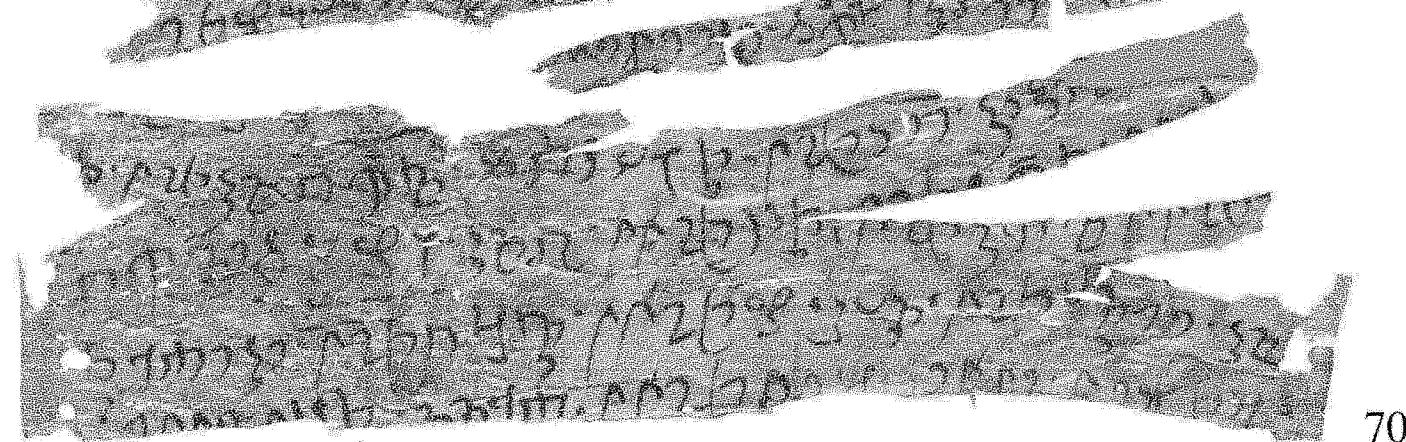
Pl. 6. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 37–61 (commentary sections 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). Actual size.

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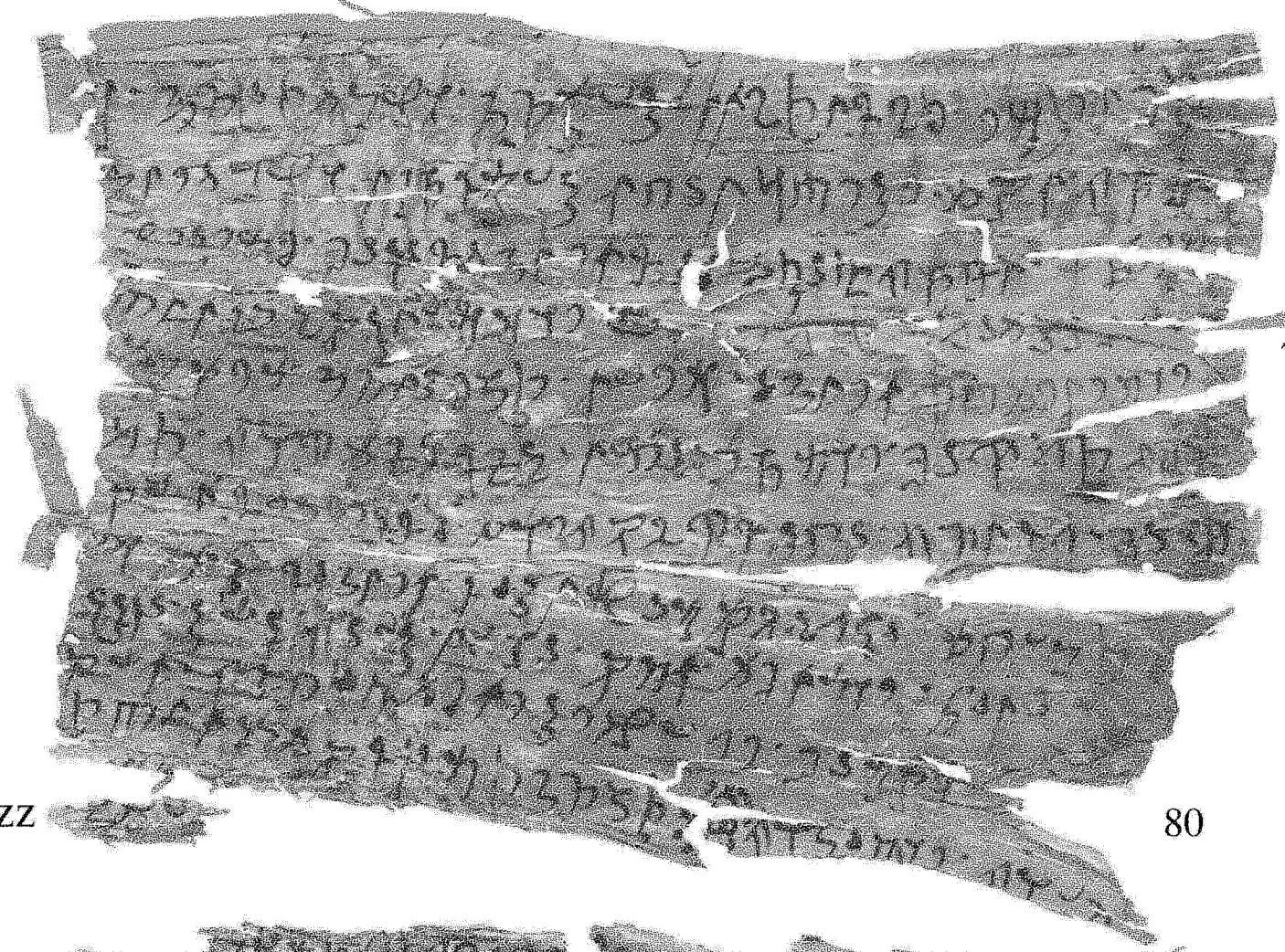
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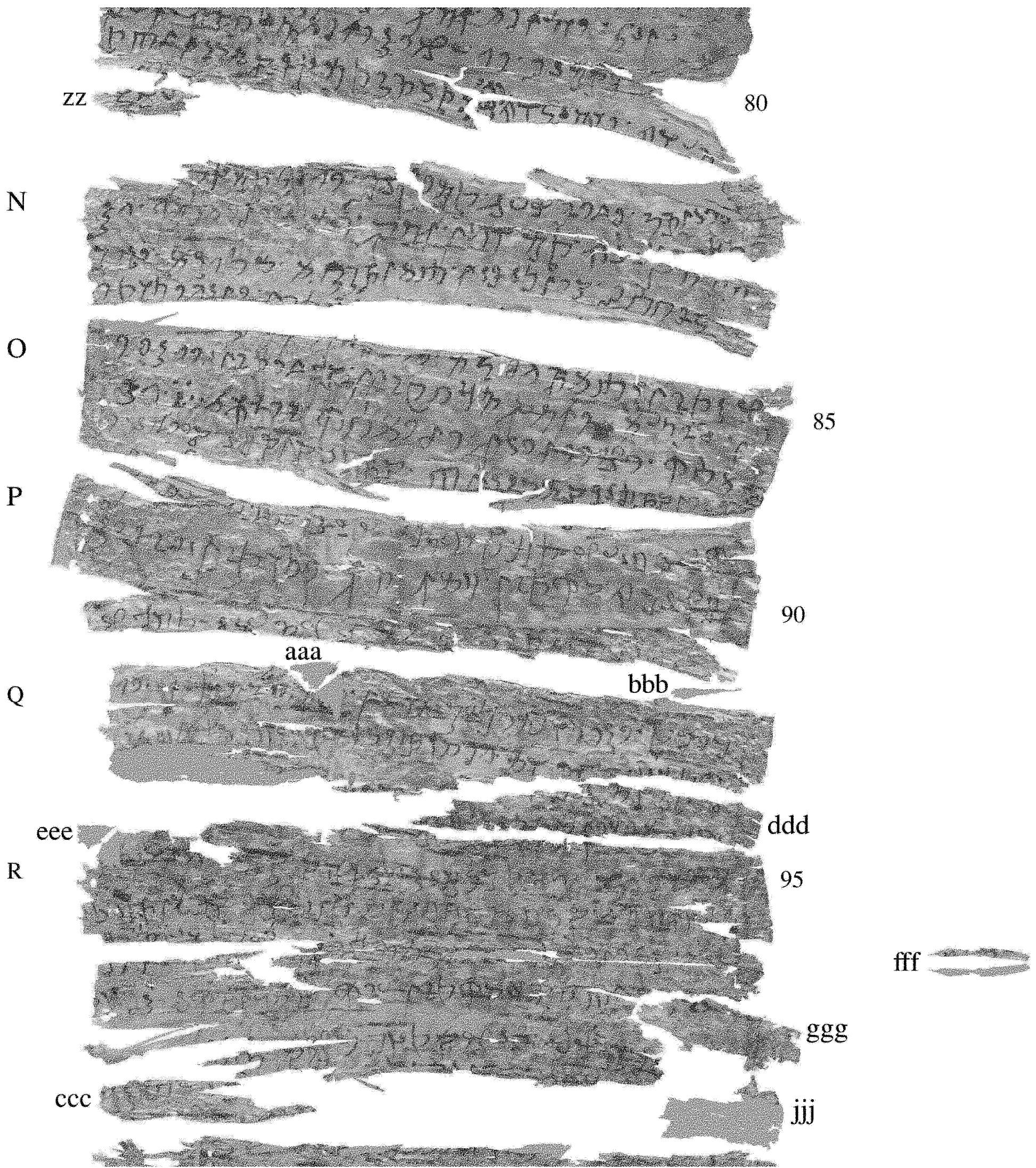
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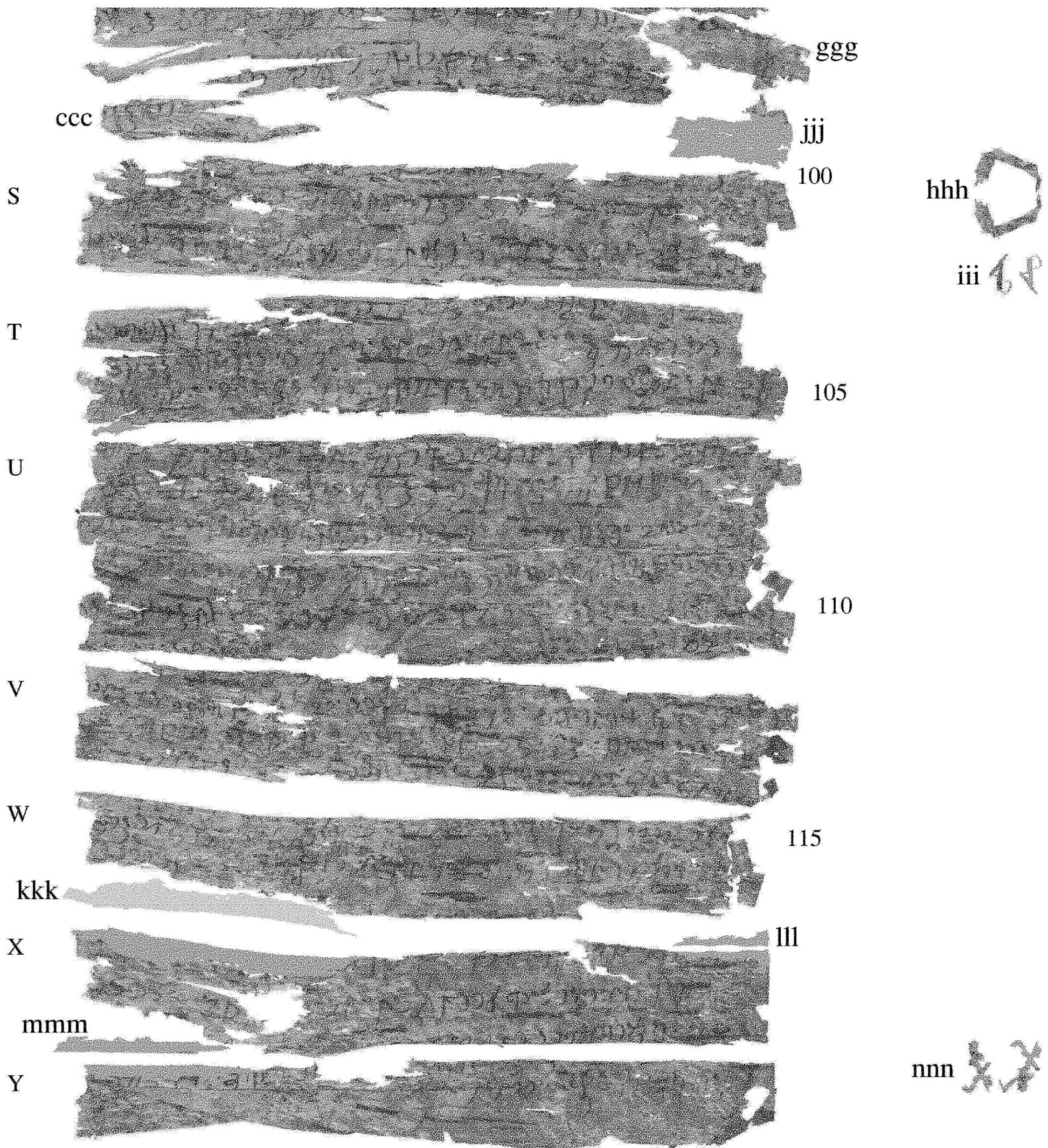
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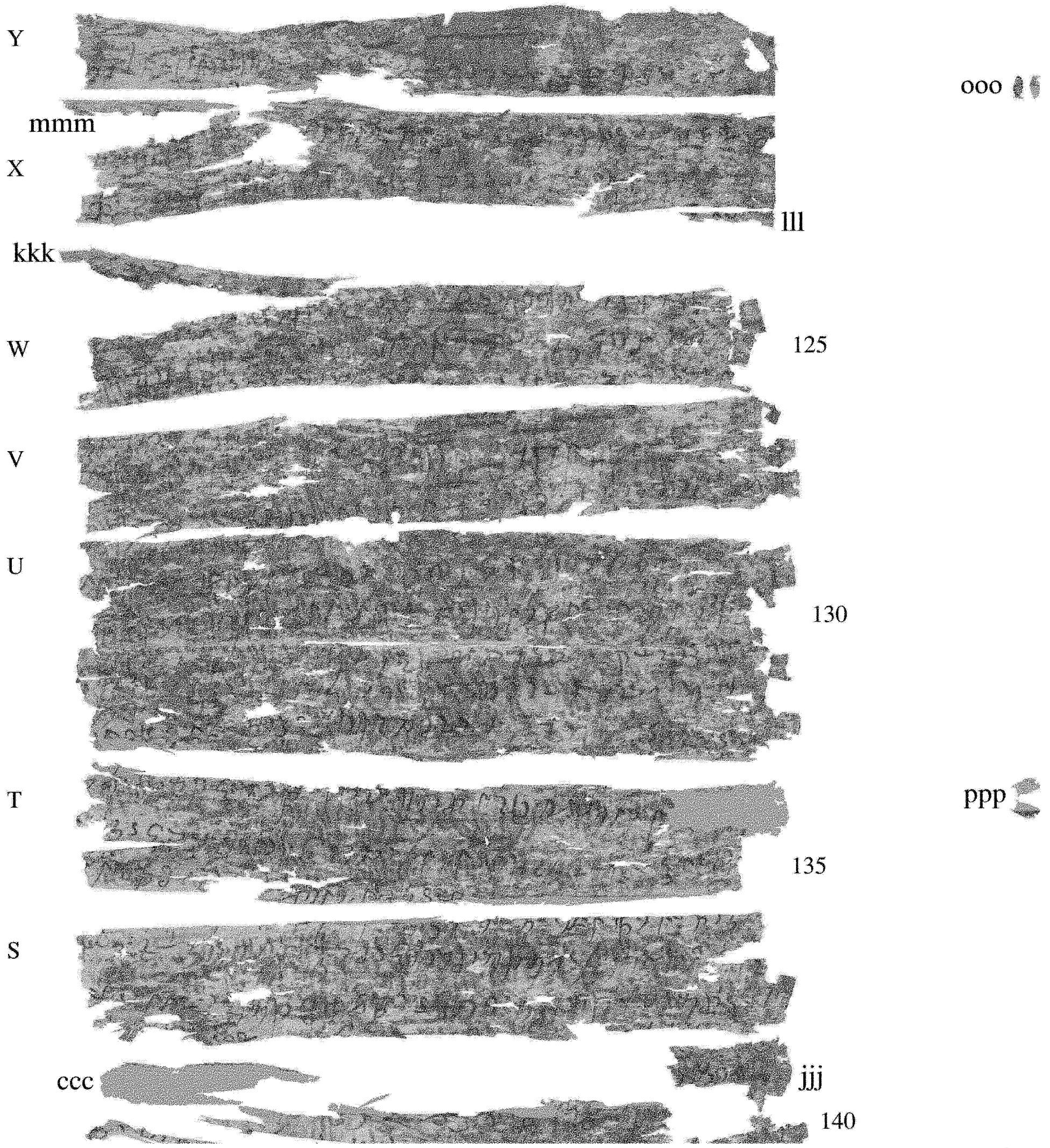
Pl. 7. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 61–81 (commentary sections 9, 10 and 11). Actual size.



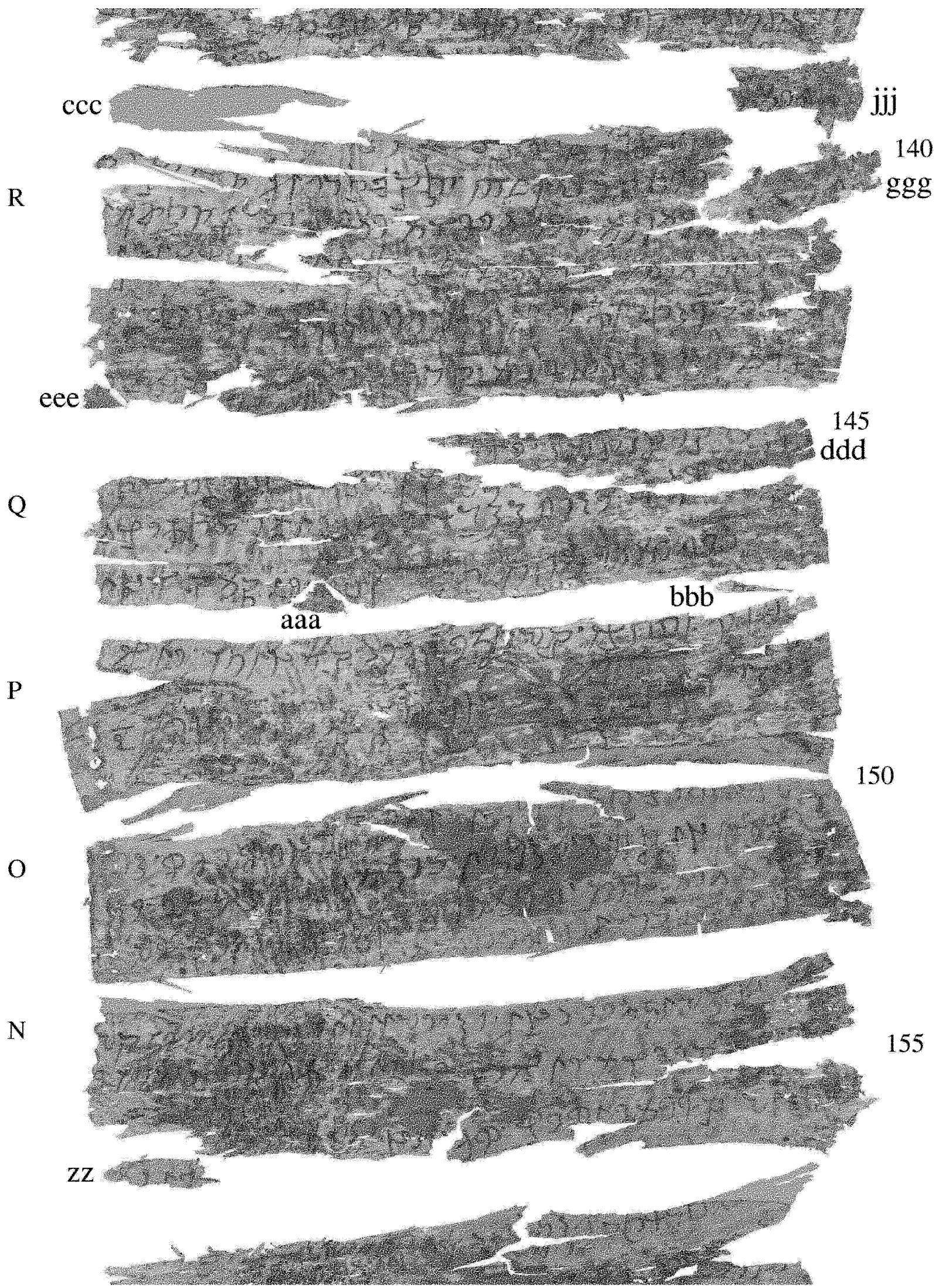
Pl. 8. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 80–100 (commentary sections 10, 11, 12 and 13). Actual size.



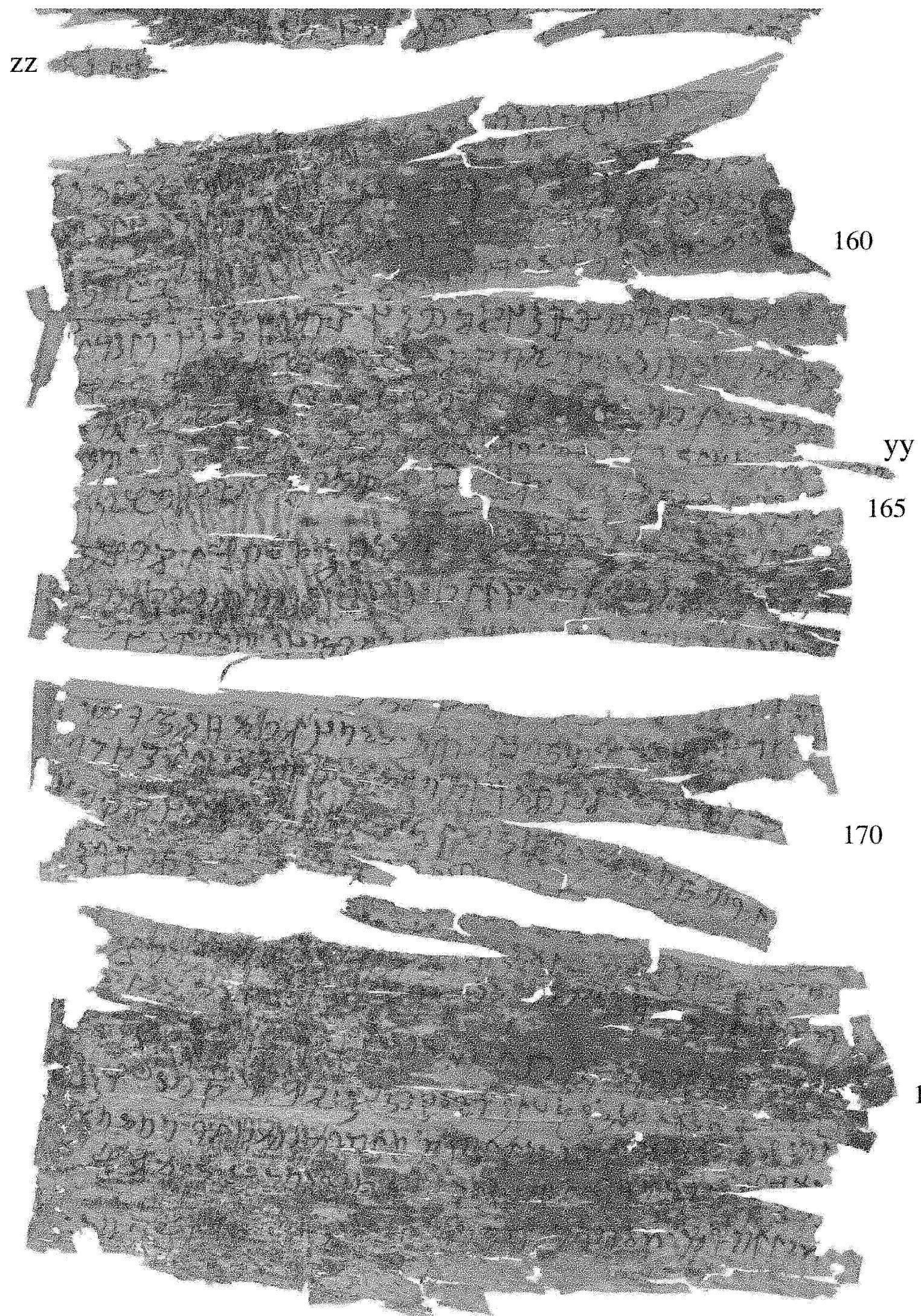
Pl. 9. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, recto, lines 97–120 (commentary sections 12, 13, 14 and 15). Actual size.



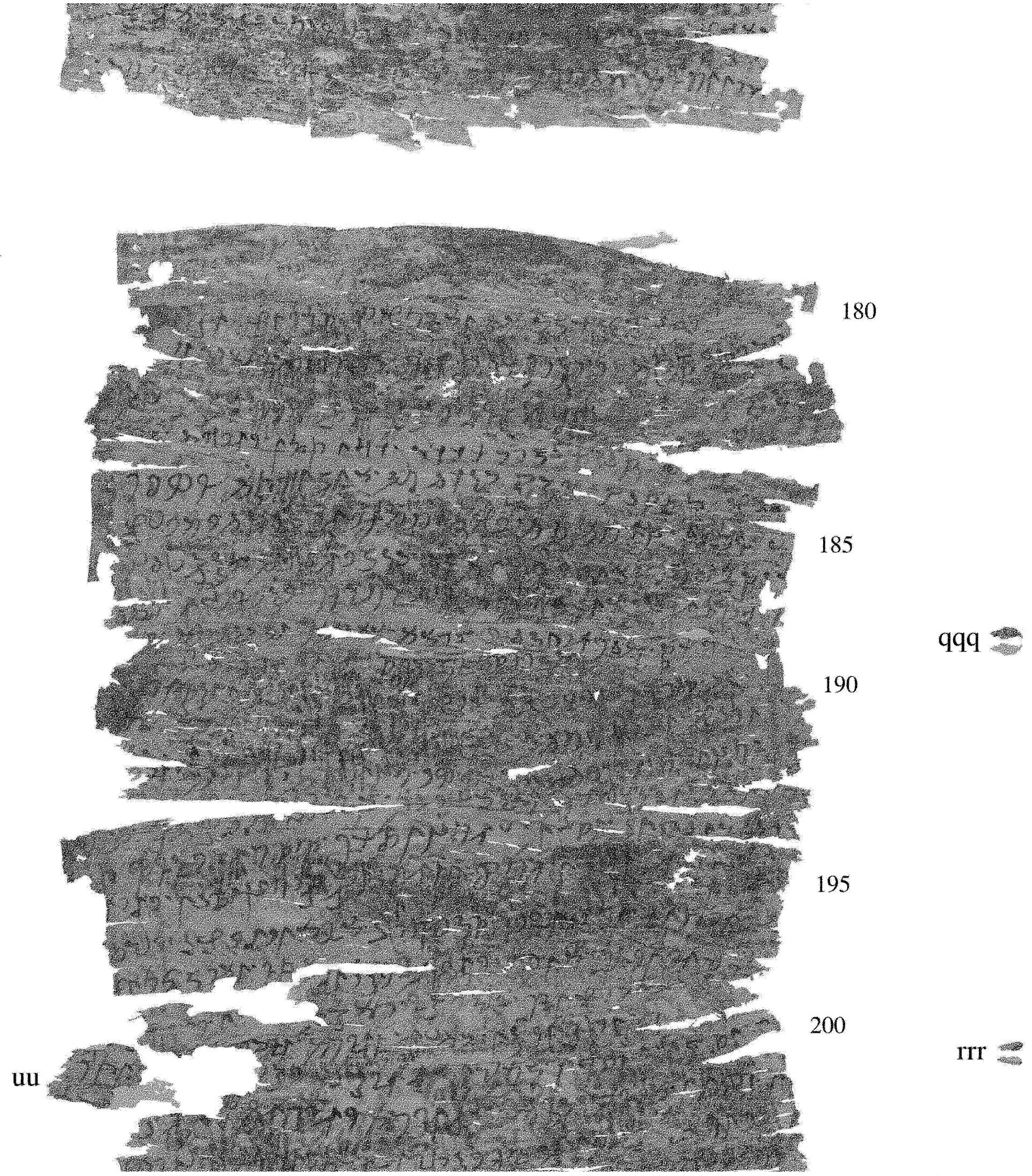
Pl. 10. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 121–140 (commentary sections 15, 16 and 17). Actual size.



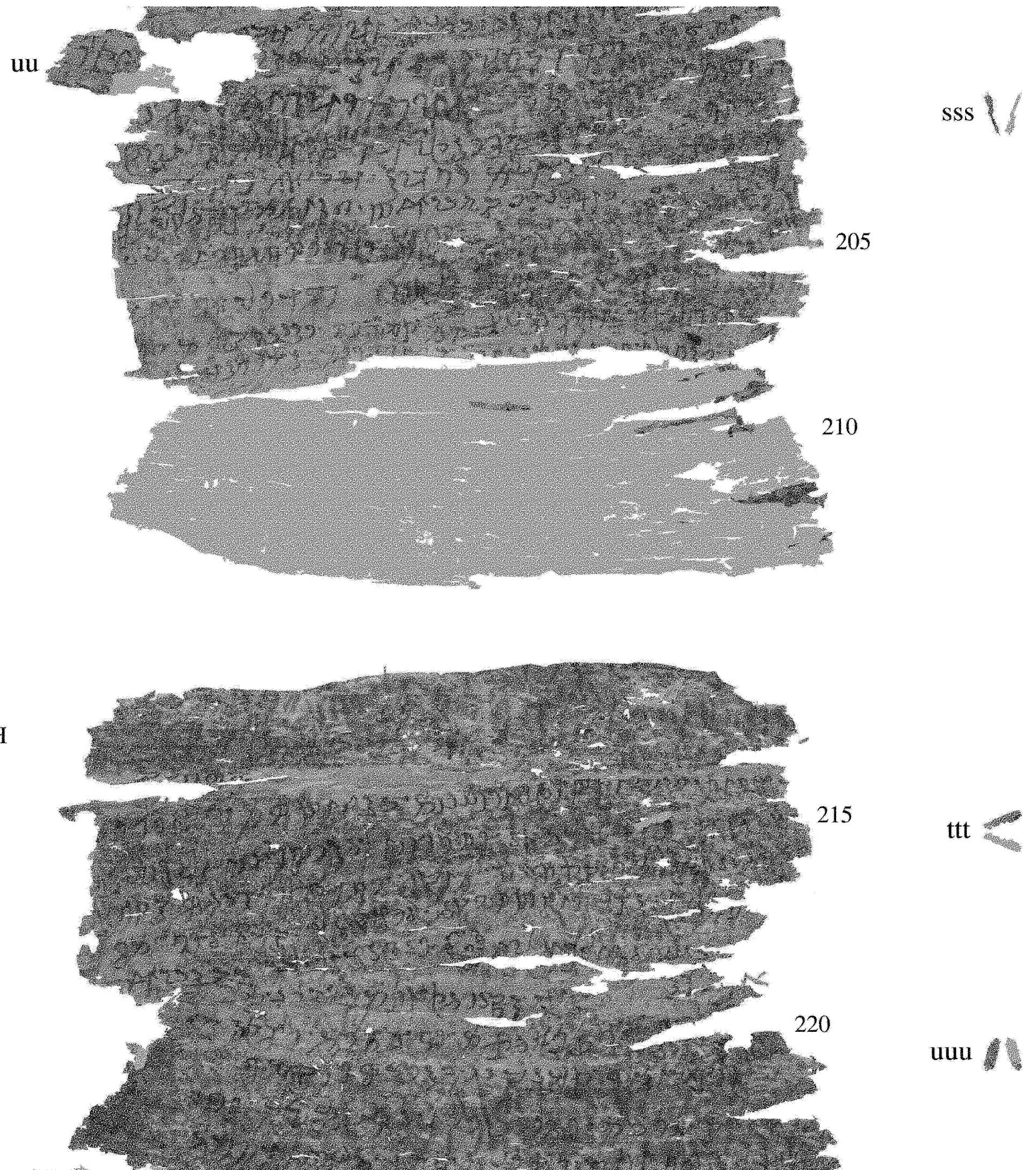
Pl. 11. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 138–158 (commentary sections 16 and 17). Actual size.



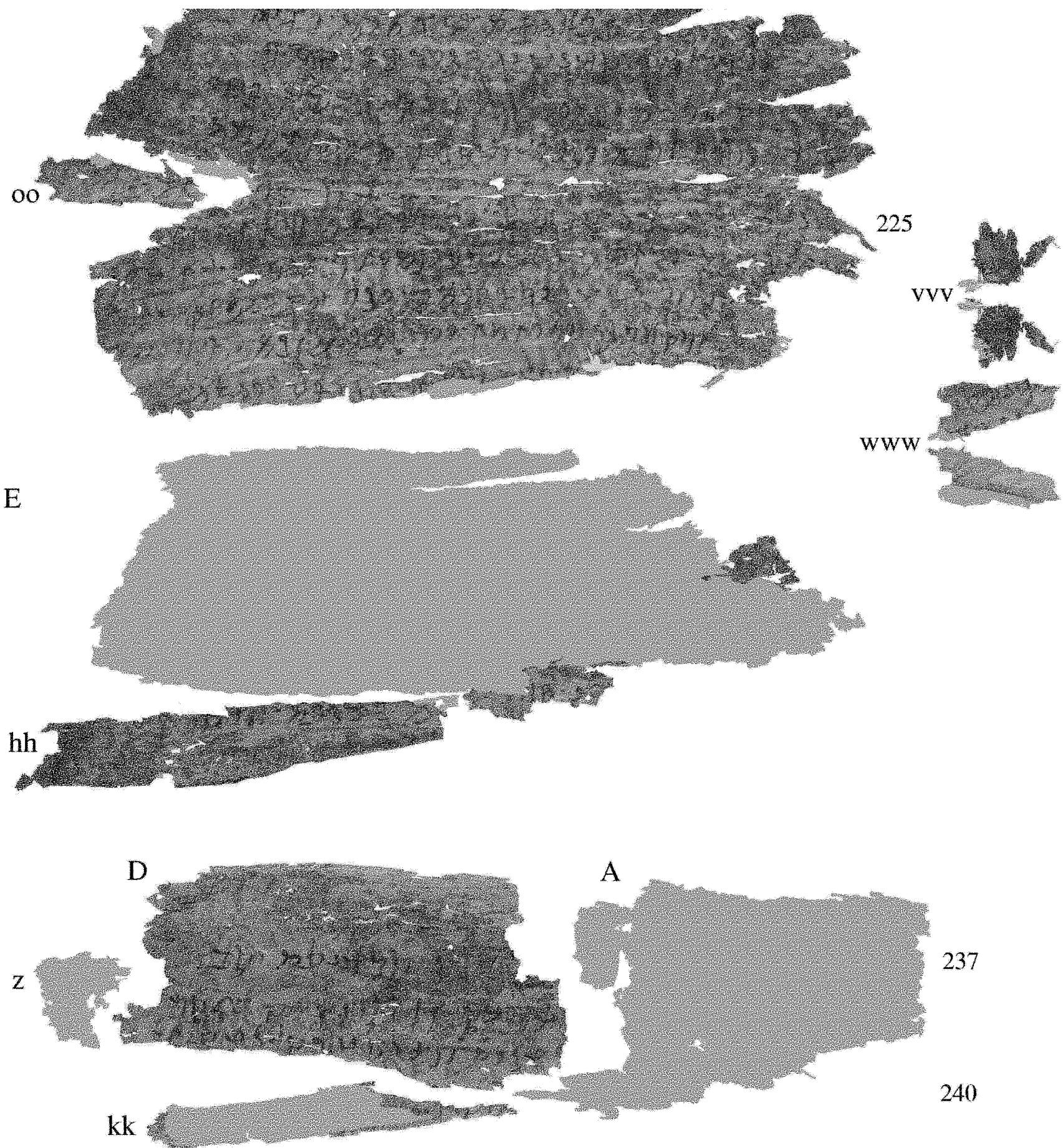
Pl. 12. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 157–179 (commentary sections 17, 18 and 19). Actual size.



Pl. 13. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 178–202 (commentary section 19). Actual size.

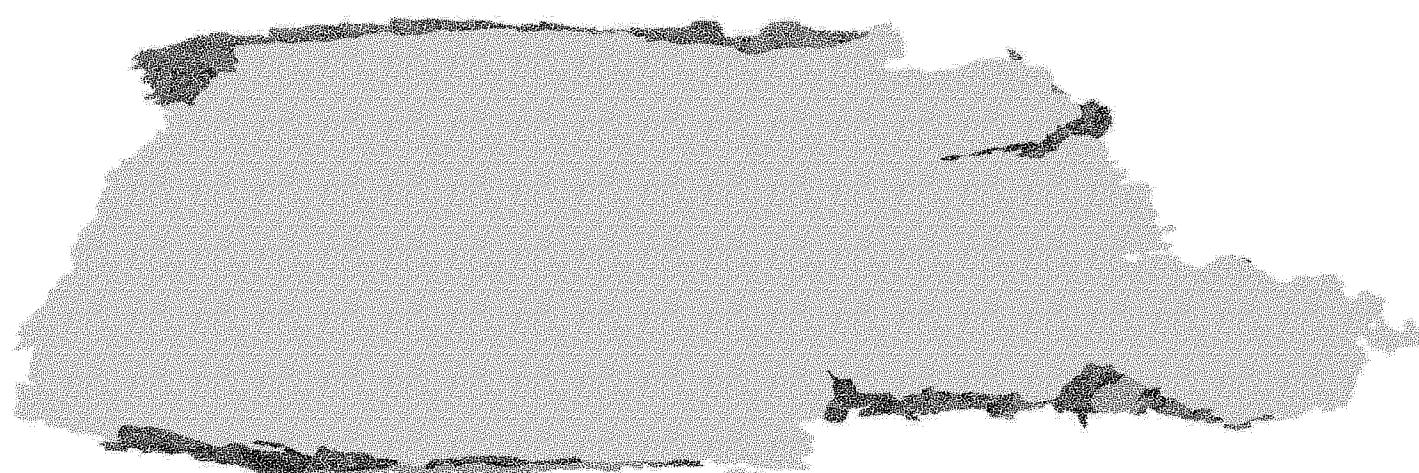


Pl. 14. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 200–223 (commentary sections 19, 20, 21 and 22). Actual size.

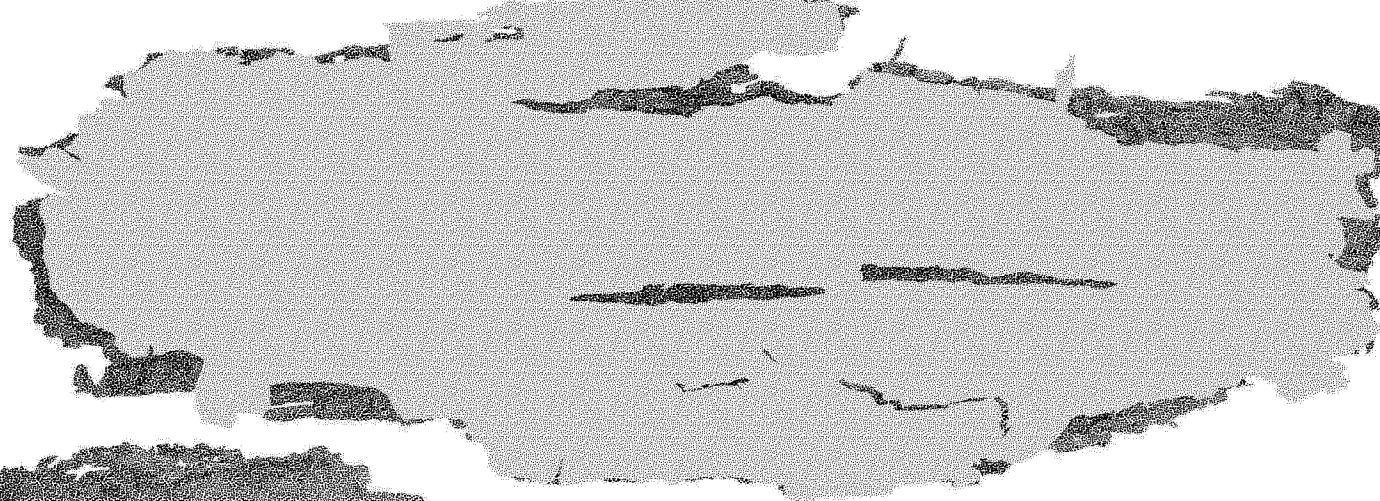


Pl. 15. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, lines 220–240 (commentary sections 22 and 23). Actual size.

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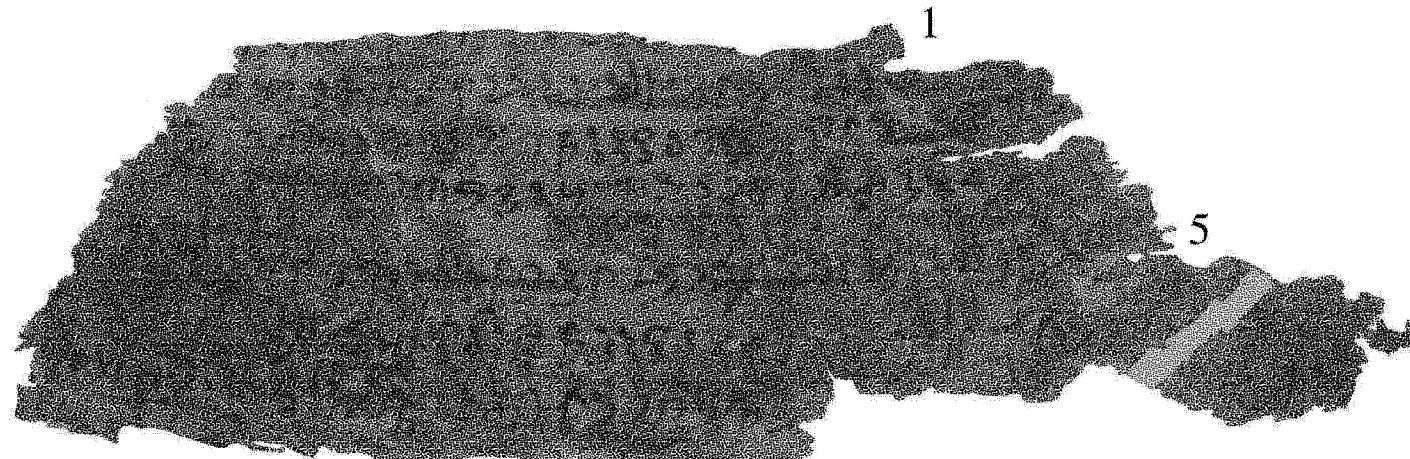


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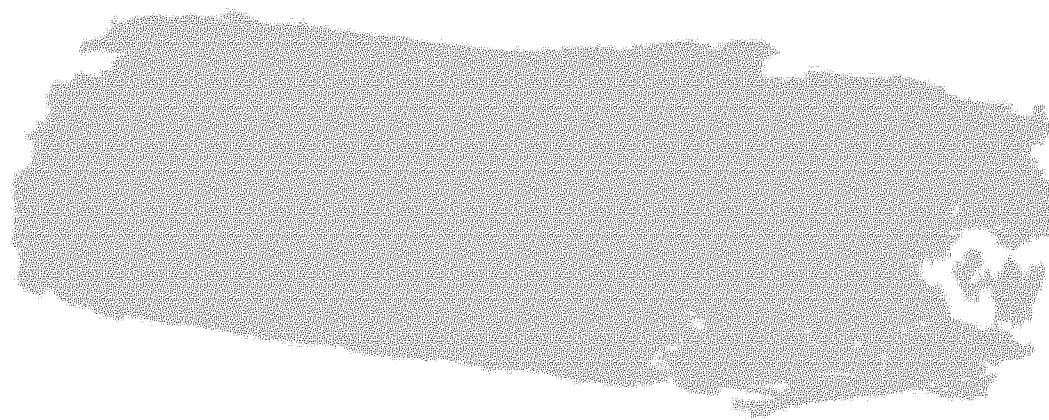


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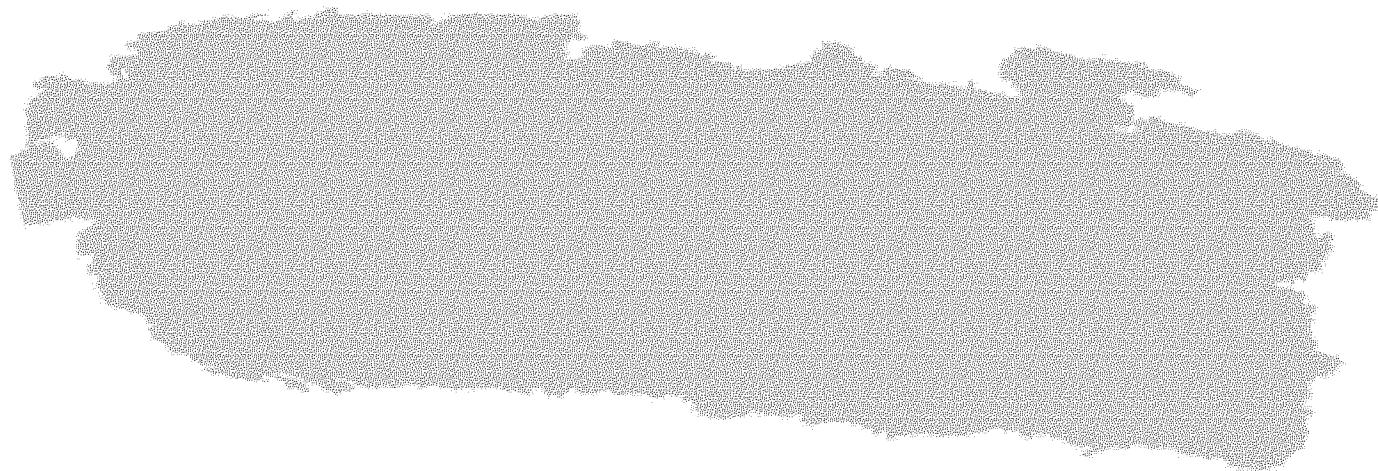


Pl. 16. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 9, verso, bottom (commentary sections 24 and 25). Actual size.

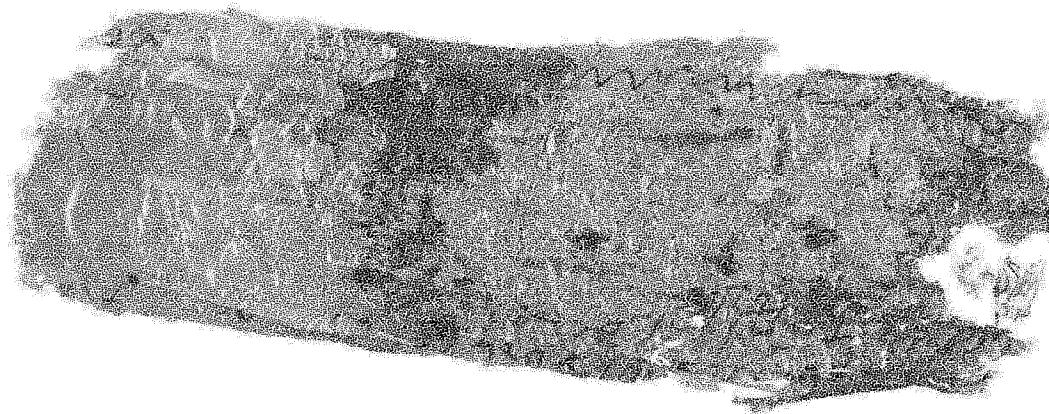
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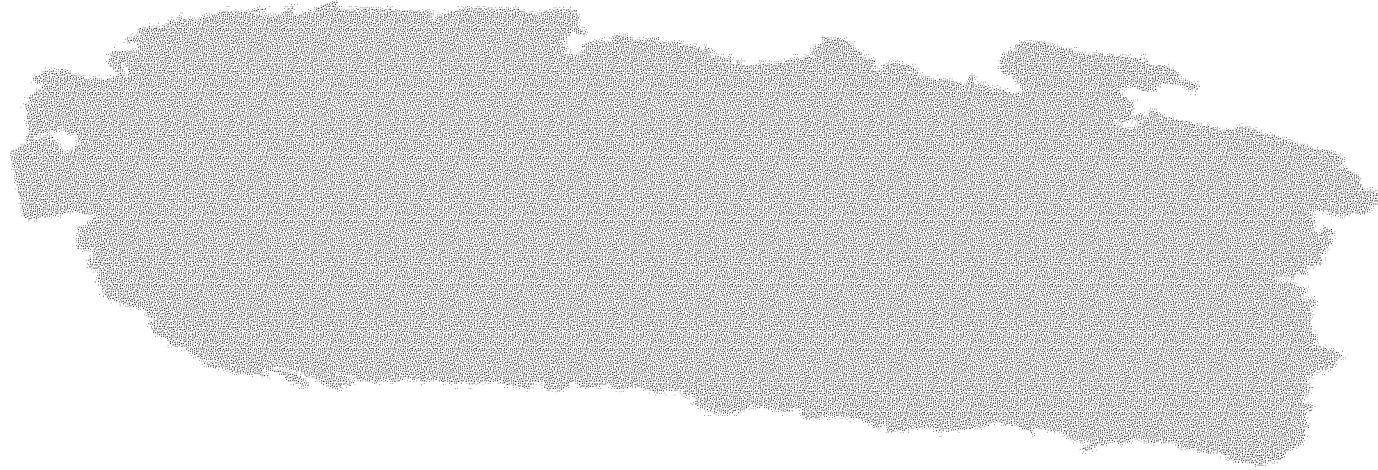
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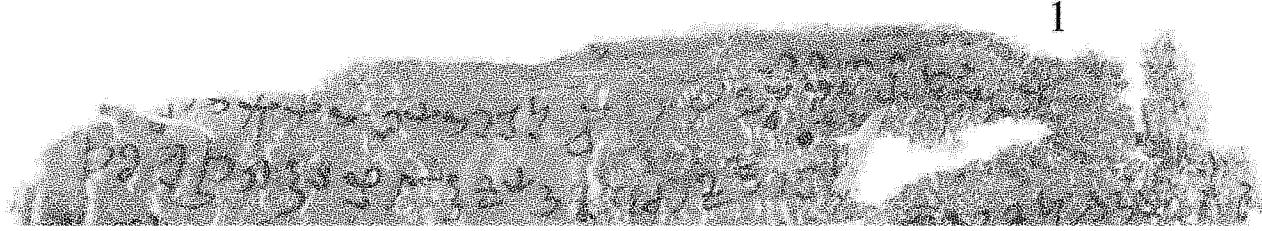
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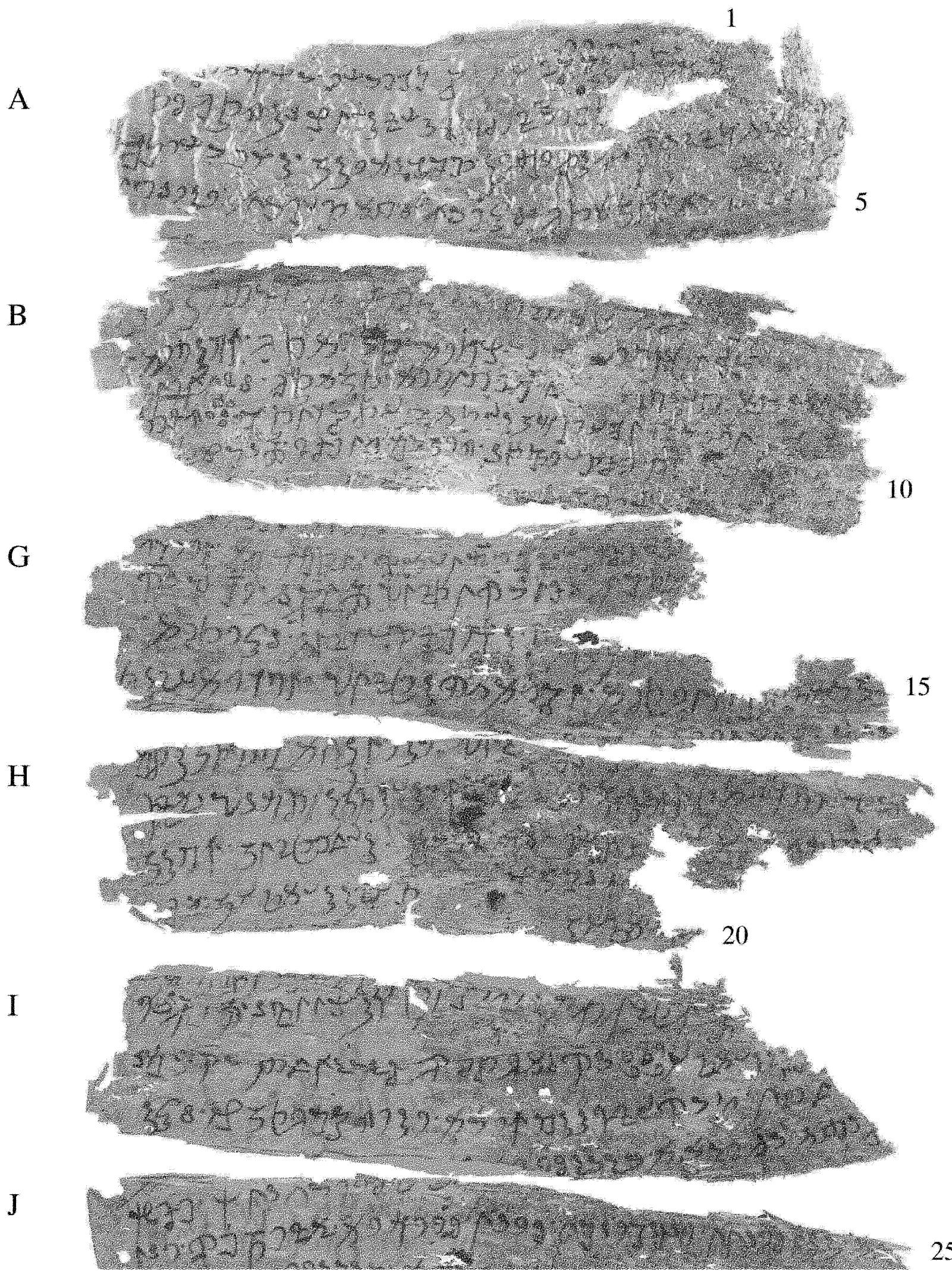


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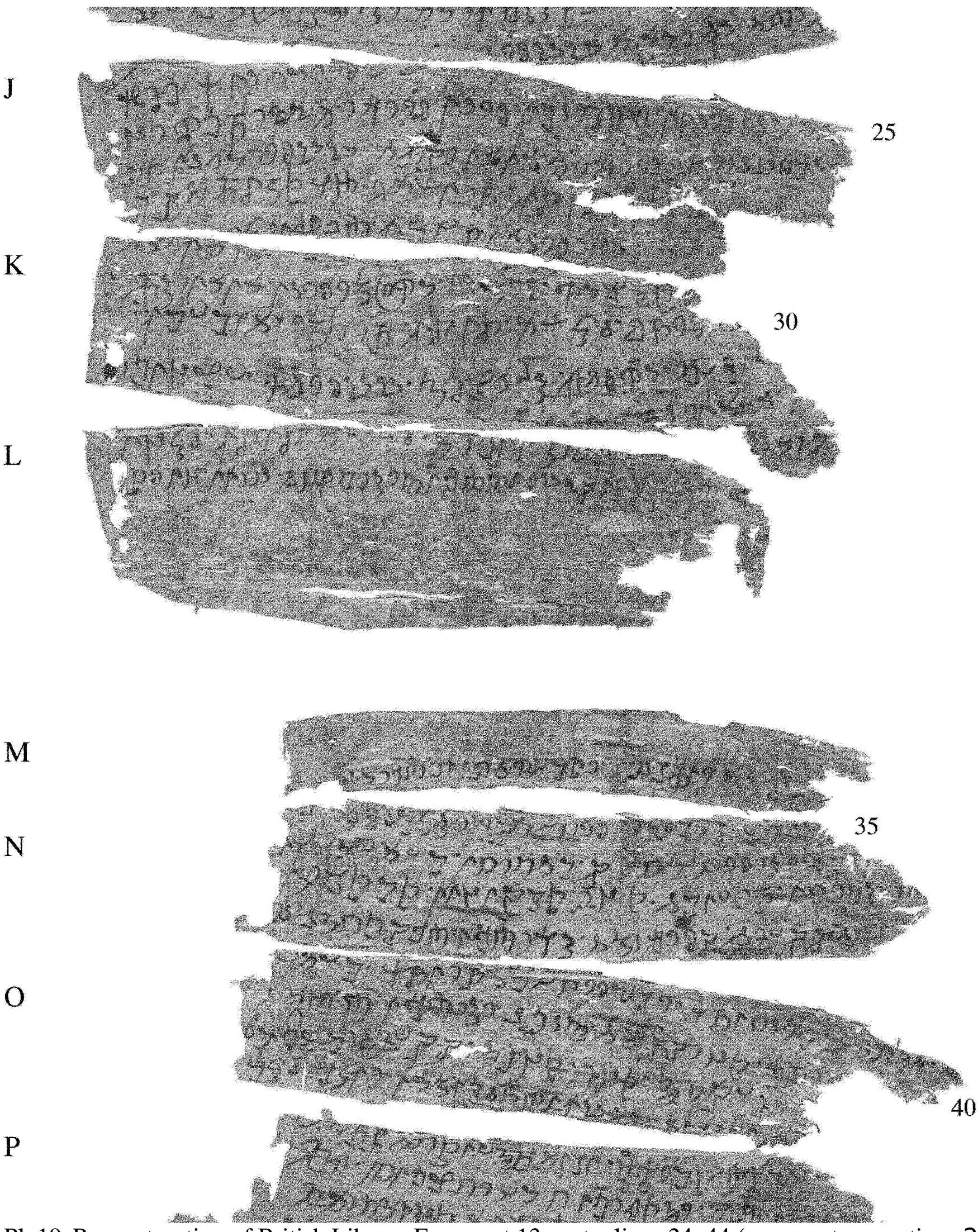


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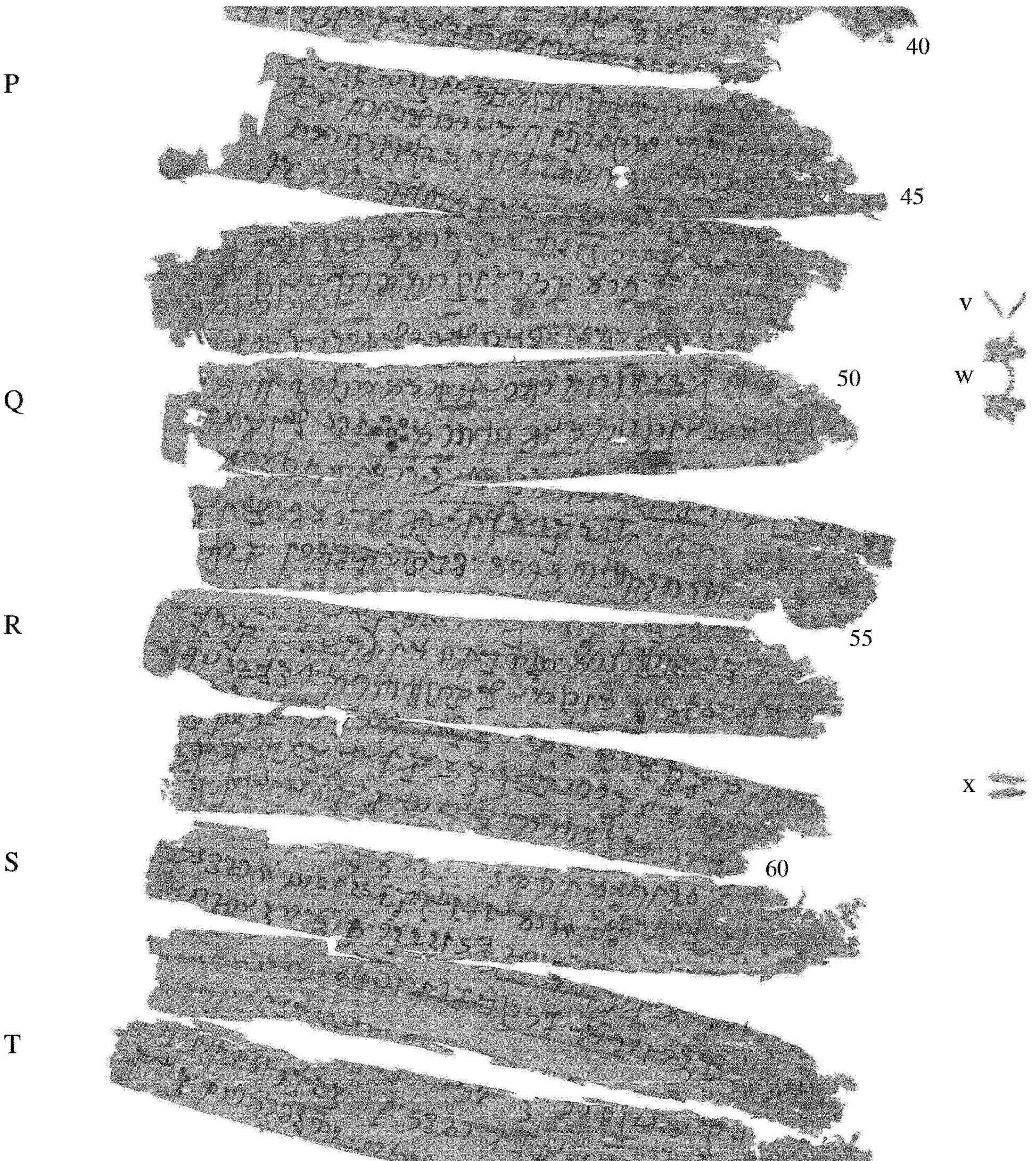
Pl. 17. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, recto, top (commentary section 26). Actual size.



Pl. 18. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, recto, lines 1–25 (commentary sections 26, 27 and 28). Actual size.

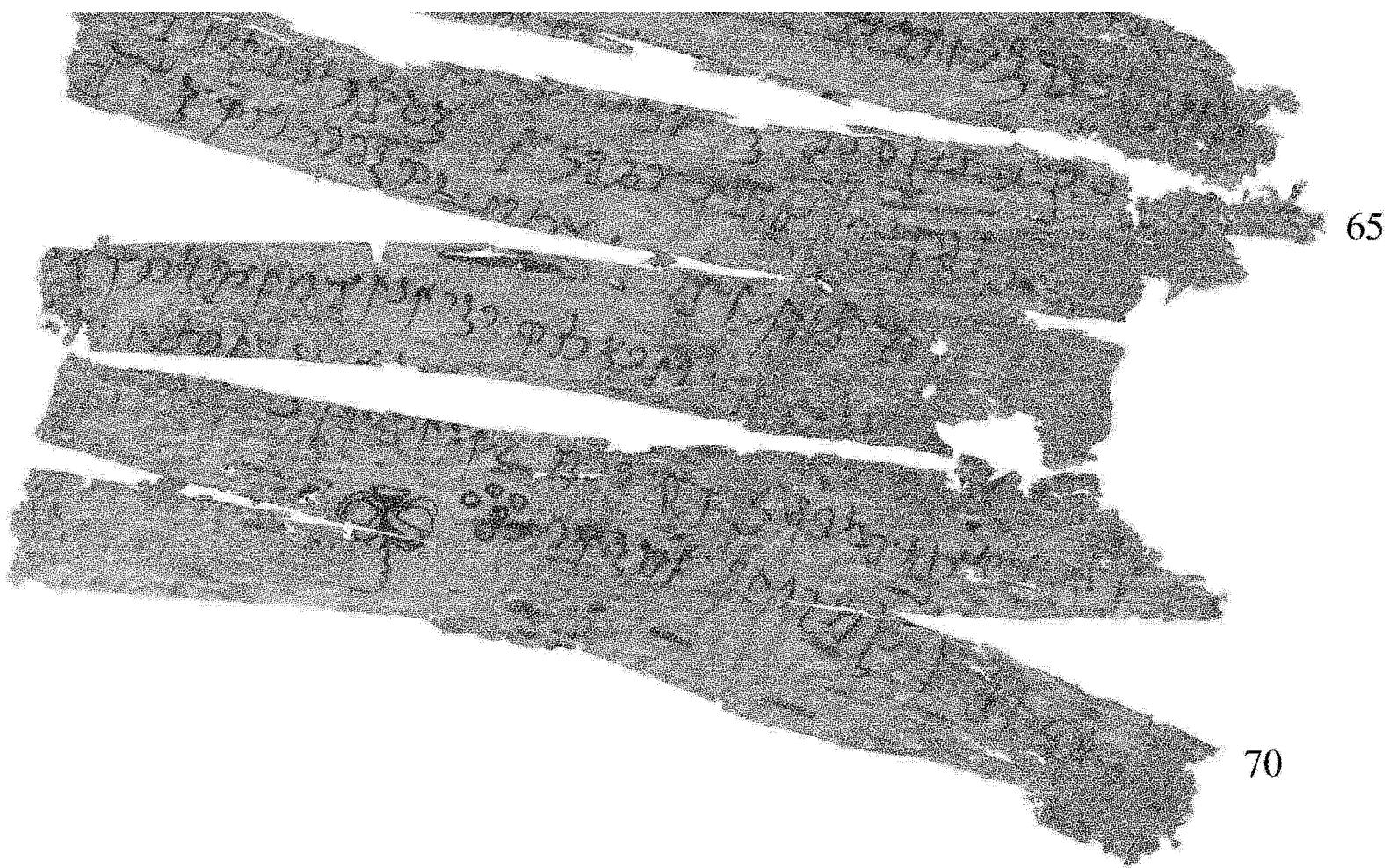


Pl. 19. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, recto, lines 24–44 (commentary sections 28, 29 and 30). Actual size.

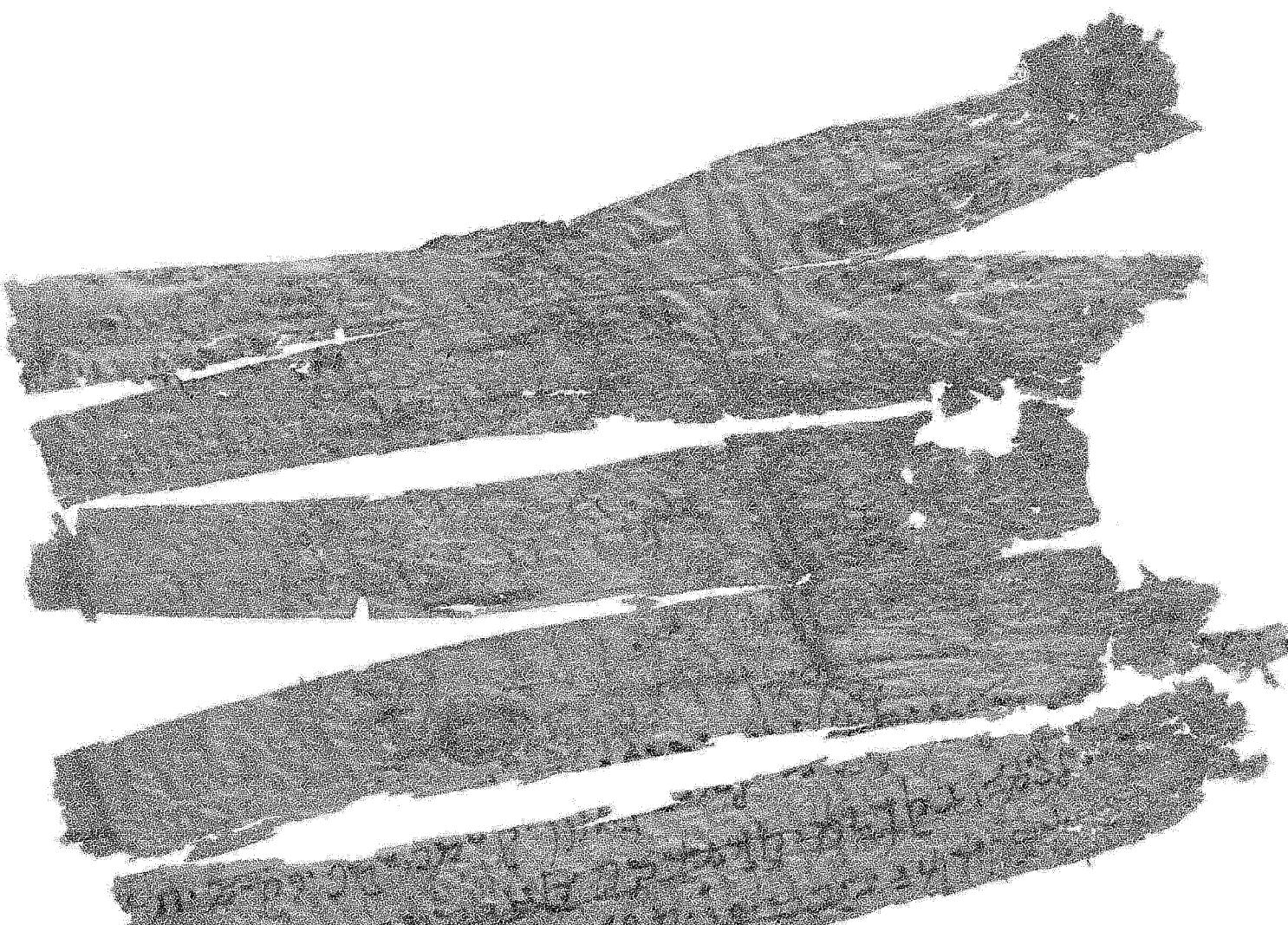


Pl. 20. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, recto, lines 40–65 (commentary sections 29, 30, 31 and 32). Actual size.

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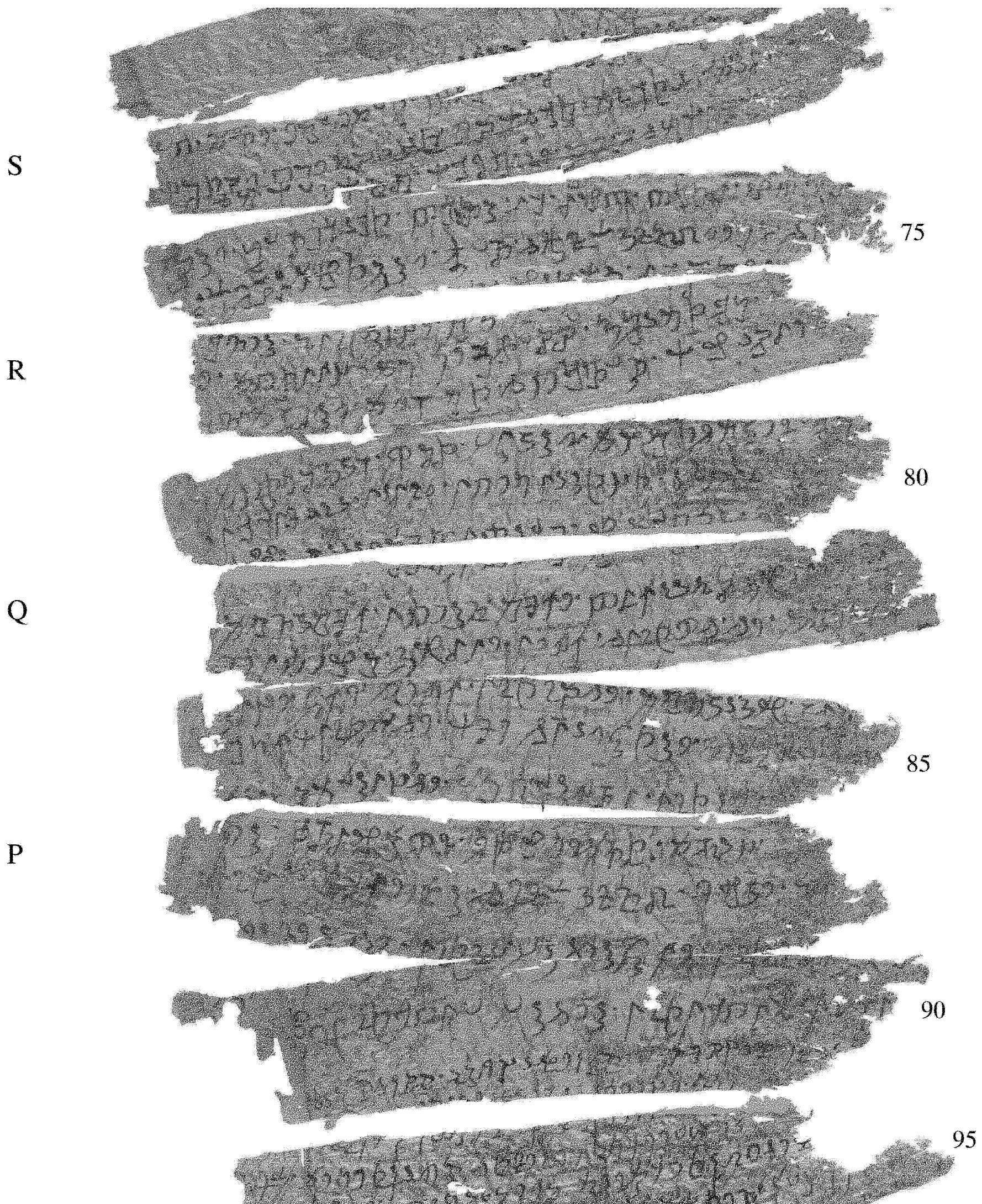


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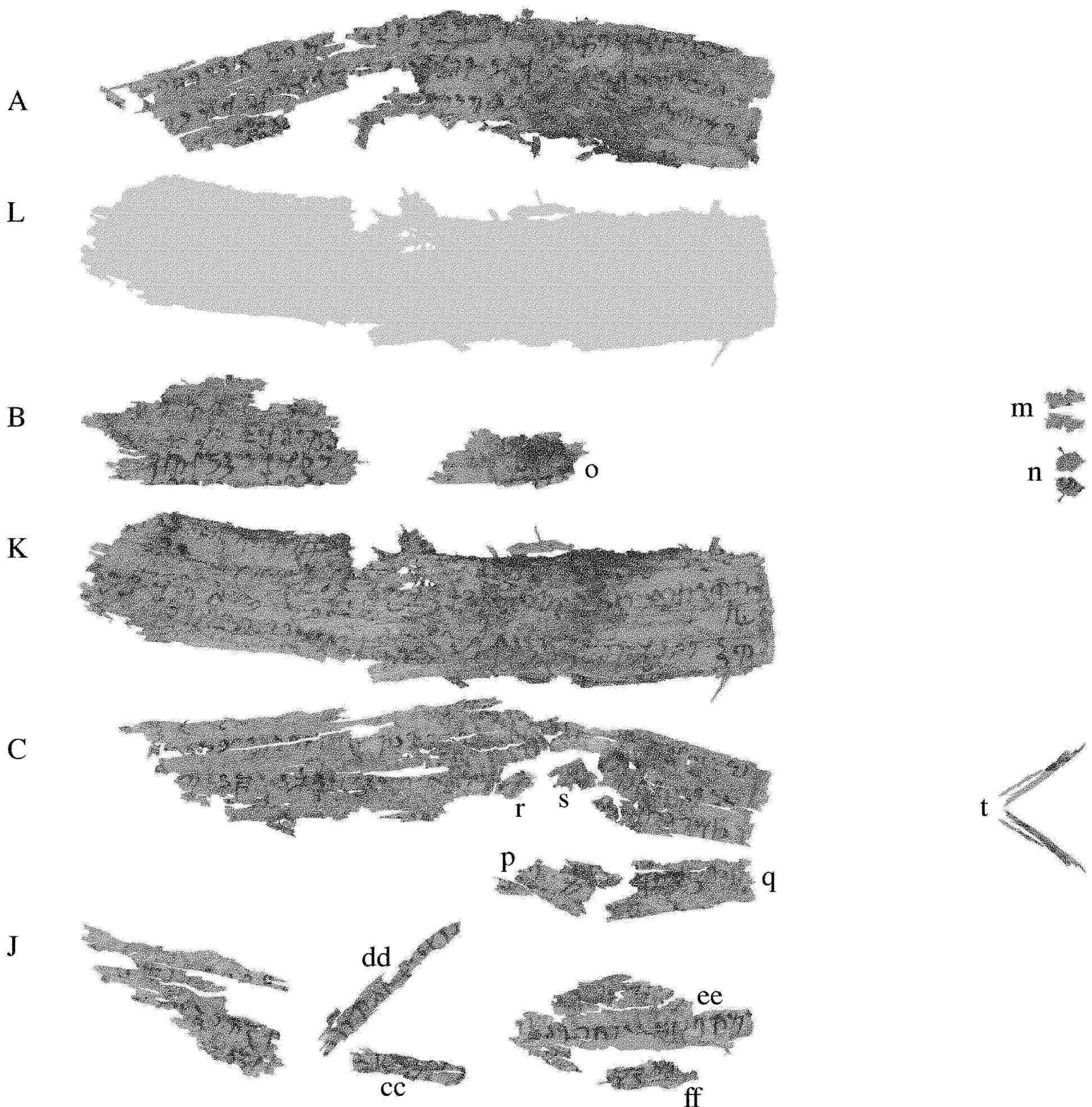


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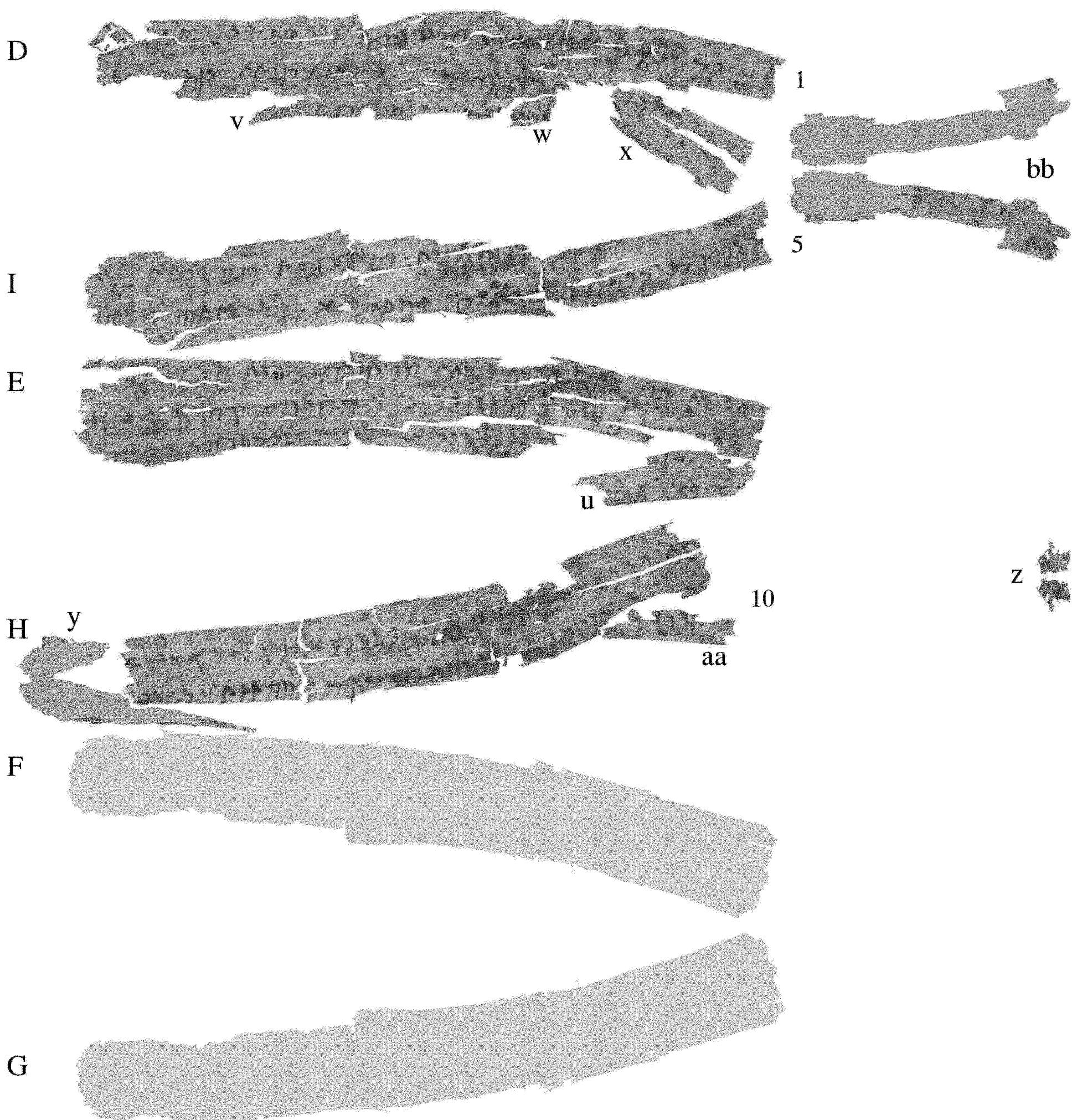
Pl. 21. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, recto and verso, lines 64–73 (commentary sections 32 and 33). Actual size.



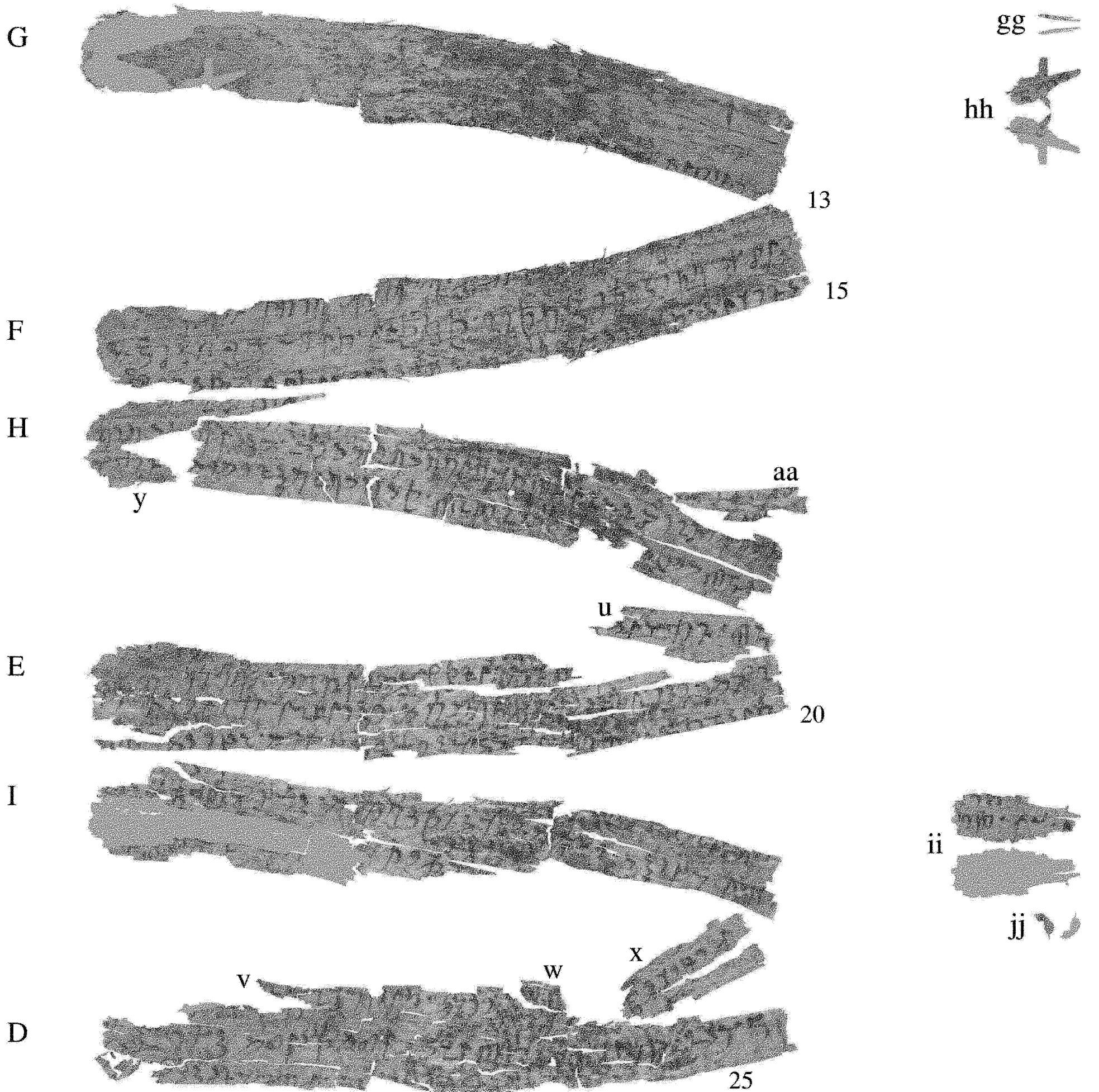
Pl. 22. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 13, verso, lines 71–95 (commentary sections 33 and 34 and beginning of Nid-G^{L3}). Actual size.



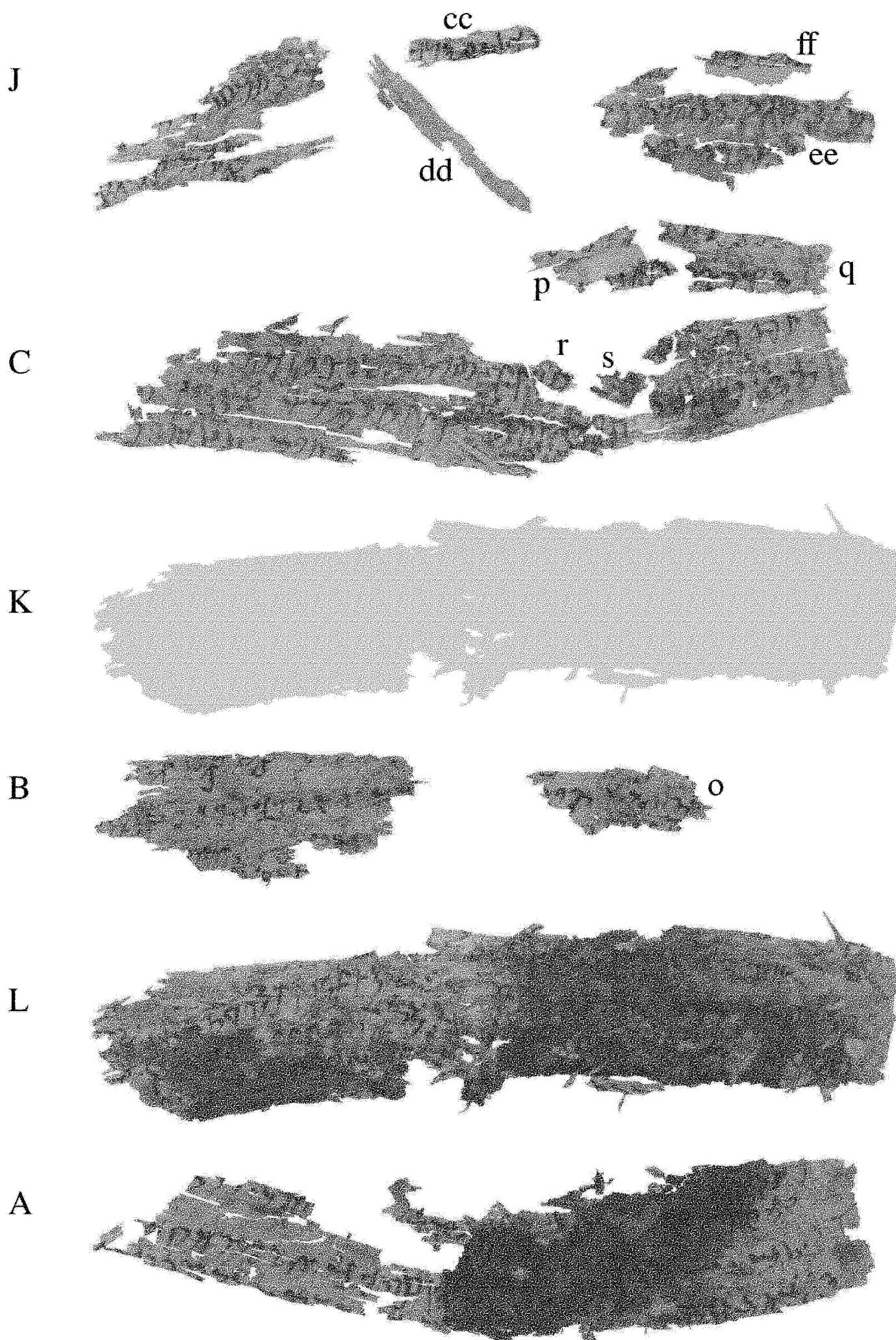
Pl. 23. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 18, recto, top (commentary sections 35 and 36). Actual size.



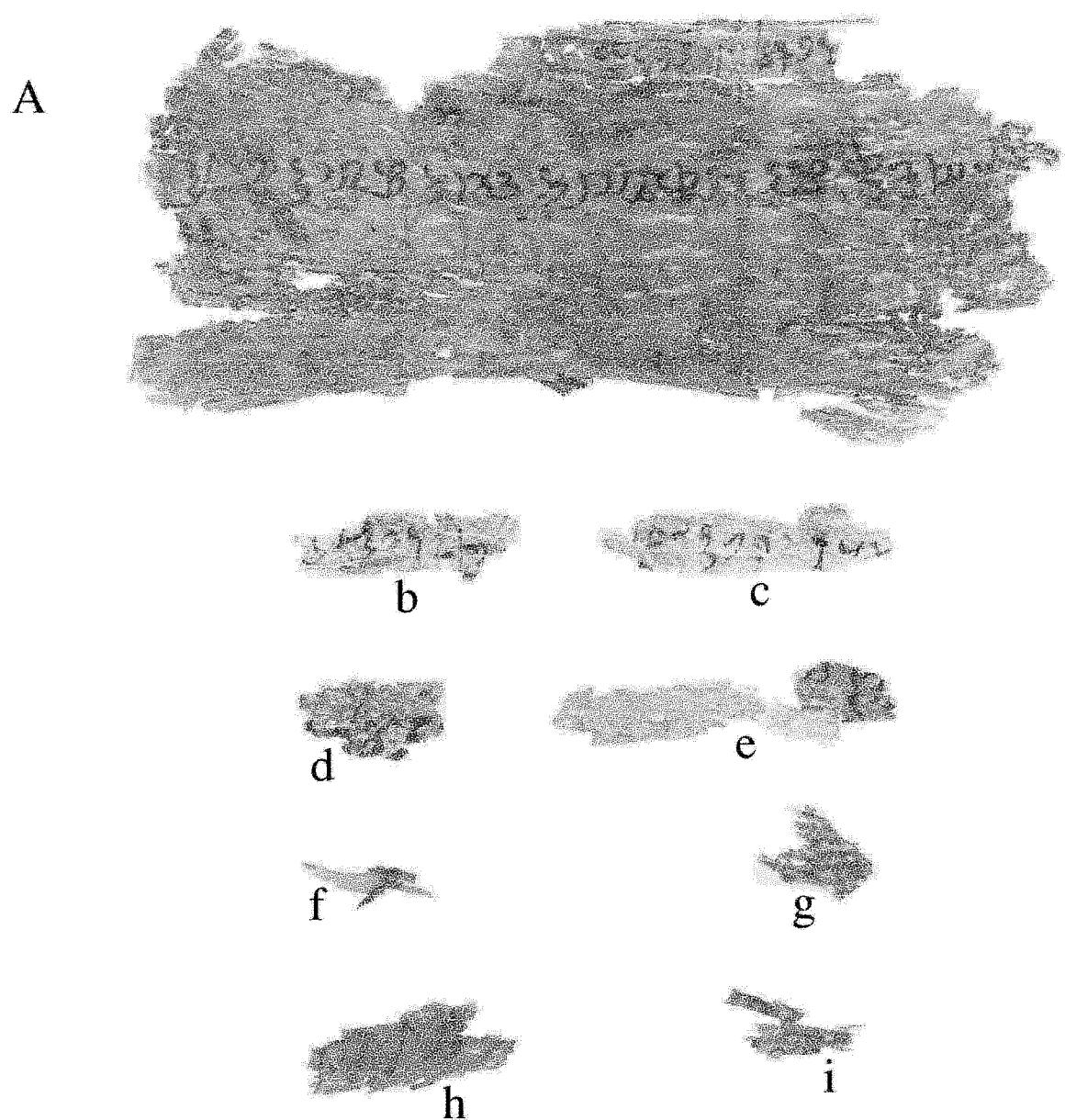
Pl. 24. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 18, recto, lines 1–12 (commentary sections 36 and 37). Actual size.



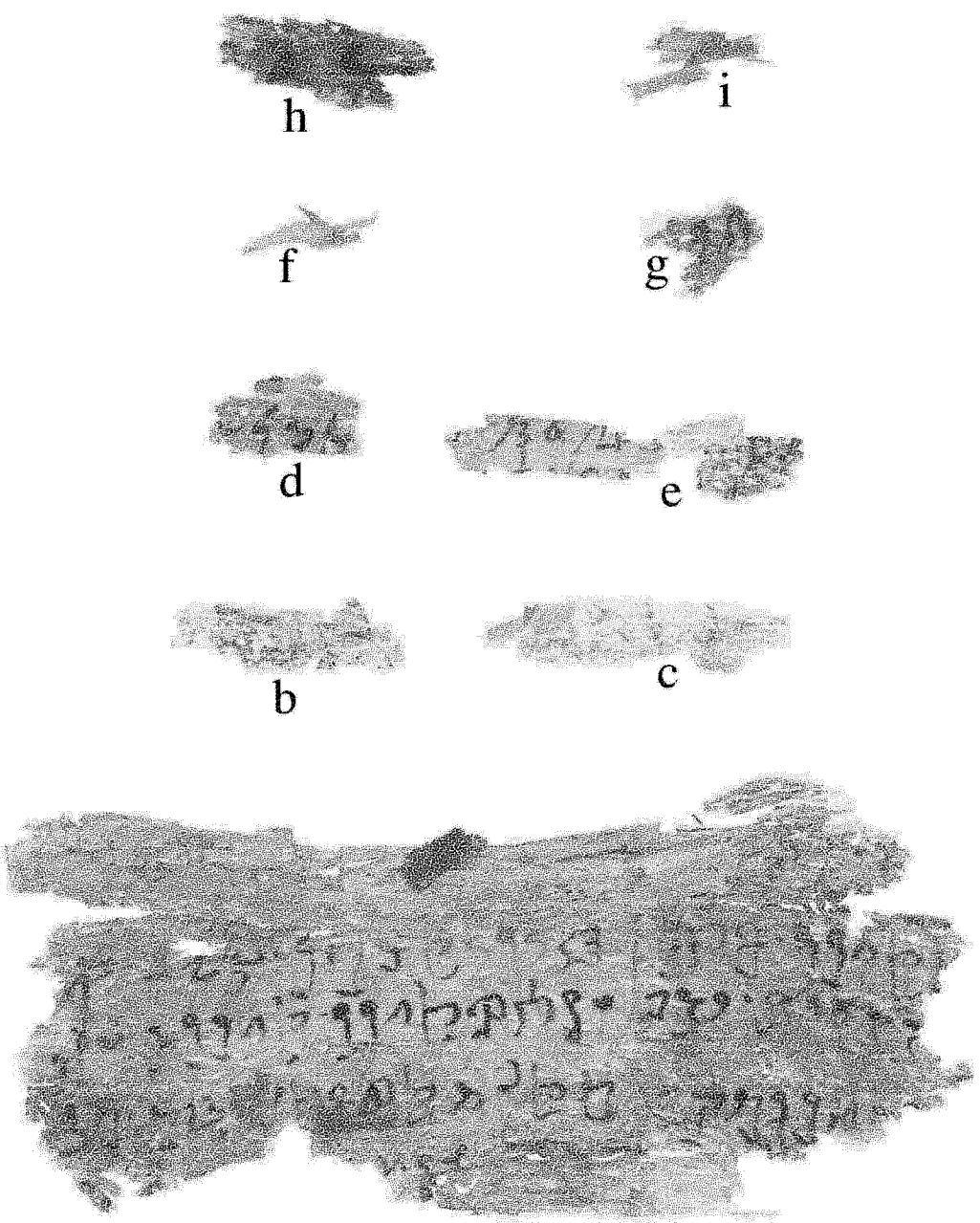
Pl. 25. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 18, verso, lines 13–25 (commentary sections 37 and 38). Actual size.



Pl. 26. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 18, verso, bottom (commentary sections 38 and 39). Actual size.



Pl. 27. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 3B, recto (colophon). Actual size.



Pl. 28. Reconstruction of British Library Fragment 3B, verso. Actual size.