# An Arapacana Acrostic Poem in Gandhari

Bajaur Collection Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5

Gudrun Melzer

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- 1. BC 5 recto (digital reconstruction by the author).
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- 6. Fragments 35b–g of BC 5 verso (frame 35, original scan).

### Preface

This book provides an introduction, transliteration, edition, translation and a word index to one scroll of the Bajaur Collection (BC) that is referred to in this series as fragment 5 (BC 5). In order to place the text and its genre within the Indian and Buddhist literature in general, I studied other alphabetic acrostic passages in ancient Indian literature for comparison, in particular those contained in Buddhist texts of a mainly Mahāyāna environment. Regardless that a collection and analysis of such passages can never be complete, it leads further away from the questions, which ensued from the edition of BC 5, to mainly revealing lineages of text families and countless problems in the transmission. For this reason, the edition and observations on these passages and other sources for comparison will be presented in another, separate volume, which will show only a few overlapping topics to BC 5. This hopefully contributes in determining further the thus-far unique character of the Gandhari poem and sheds indirectly some light on certain short-lived aspects of the Buddhist literature in Gandhāra that can only be understood in the light of a multicultural environment with inherited borrowings from Mediterranean antiquity. The present volume is confined to the text edition and all those questions that are immediately connected to it.

During the time of preparing this study, I received numerous helpful comments from friends and colleagues, and I want to thank all of them. Especially, I am indebted to Andrea Schlosser (Munich), Richard Salomon (Seattle), Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Munich), and Johannes Schneider (Munich), who read parts of the draft and provided numerous helpful comments. Furthermore, I am indebted to Stefan Baums (Munich) for additional valuable suggestions. With concern to the Chinese texts, Hiromi Habata (Tokyo) lend an invaluable helping hand. The inspiring discussions with her eventually led to the identification of a hitherto unidentified Sanskrit fragment of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*, which contains an alphabetic passage. Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek kindly corrected (and will correct) my English.

### Conventions

In order to present the quoted texts in a uniform manner, as well as for the sake of convenience for the reader, the different systems of transliteration utilized in various editions (such as *m* for *m* etc.) have been silently standardized. Furthermore, additional marks (such as a circumflex and the like), hyphens, and capitalizations have been disregarded, and different editorial marks, such as a differing use of brackets, have been silently adjusted.

Chinese sūtra titles are quoted in Pinyin with tonal marks according to Christian Wittern's *WWW Database of Chinese Buddhist texts*, http://www.kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~wittern/can/can4/ind/canwww.htm. Since scholars of Chinese Buddhist texts hardly agree on one interpretation with concern to which syllables belong to one unit in the transcription, each syllable has been written separately as in the transliterations from Tibetan.

References to Tibetan editions follow the established sigla D(erge), F (for Phug brag), L(ondon), N(arthang), Q (for Peking), and S(Tog).

Those Gandhari words in BC 5, which occur at the beginnings of a pāda and illustrate a letter of the alphabet, are indicated in blue color when the context requires it, while emendations have been shown in orange.

- [...] Uncertain or damaged but partially still legible akṣaras or akṣara parts.
- (...) Restorations of akṣaras or parts of akṣaras that are either illegible or not preserved.
- Restorations of akṣaras or parts of akṣaras that were omitted by the scribe without leaving a gap in the manuscript.
- {...} Superfluous akṣara or akṣara part.
- {{...}} Akṣara or akṣara part that has been deleted by the scribe.
- + Lost aksara that has not been preserved.
- .. Illegible akṣara.
- . Lost or illegible part of an akṣara.
- Portions of text preserved on detached fragments, which had become displaced. This information is only contained in the transliteration of the manuscript.
- A space left empty in the manuscript due to a knot in the bark. This symbol is only utilized in the transliteration.
- Symbol marking the beginning of a new pāda, which has been inserted in quoted stanzas as a reading aid.
- / Or.
- /// Beginning or end of an incompletely preserved line in the manuscript.
- \*... Unattested word or text title.

CONVENTIONS xiii

- ...? Uncertain reading or identification.
- O Circular, middle-sized punctuation mark between pādas in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.
- Circular, small-size punctuation mark in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.
- A small dot or filled circle as punctuation mark in Brāhmī manuscripts.
- Daṇḍa.
- Metrically light syllable.
- Metrically heavy syllable.
- × Metrically neutral (light or heavy) syllable (anceps).
- Metrically heavy syllable that is represented by two light syllables.

### **Abbreviations**

1st first person
2nd second person

3rd

Abhidh-k-bh(P) Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (ed. Pradhan/Haldar 1975) Abhidh-k-vy Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. Wogihara 1932–1936)

Abhis-Dh(K) Abhisamācārikā Dharmāh of the Mahāsāmghika-Lokottaravādins (ed. Karashi-

ma 2012)

third person

abl. ablativeabs. absolutiveacc. accusativeadj. adjective

AdsP II so-called Astādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (based on LP<sup>G</sup>, ed. Conze 1974)

adv. adverb

ĀJM Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (ed. Kern 1891)

Akṣ Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra (ed. Braarvig 1993)

AN Anguttaranikāya (ed. Hardy/Morris/Warder 1885–1900)

Anav<sup>L</sup> Gandhari *Anavataptagāthā*s (London ms., ed. Salomon 2008)

Anav<sup>S</sup> Gandhari *Anavataptagāthā*s (Senior ms., ed. Salomon 2008)

Ap Apadāna (ed. Lilley 2000)

AsP Astasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (in some manuscripts and most modern publi-

cations spelled Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. Rájendralála Mitra 1888)

AsP<sup>Sp</sup> Gandhari (*Aṣṭasahasrikā*) *Prajñāpāramitā* (Split manuscript, ed. Falk/Karashi-

ma 2012 and 2013)

Avś Avadānaśataka (ed. Speyer 1902–09)

BBh Bodhisattvabhūmi (ed. Wogihara 1930–1936)

BC manuscript from the Bajaur Collection

BCE Before the Common Era

Bca-p(VP) Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1901–14)
Bhaiṣ-v *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinayavastvāgama* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya
BhīVin(Mā-L) *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (ed. Roth 1970)

BHS Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

BHSD Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (Edgerton 1953, vol. 2)
BHSG Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (Edgerton 1953, vol. 1)

BL British Library fragment

BLSF The British Library Sanskrit Fragments. (Vol. I: ed. Karashima/Wille 2006.

Vol. II: ed. Karashima/Wille 2009. Vol. III: ed. Karashima/Nagashima/Wille

2015)

Buddhac Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (ed. Johnston 1935–36)

ca. circa
caus. causative
CE Common Era

CEToM A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts (2011–, https://www.

univie.ac.at/tocharian/)

cf. confer

CKI Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts, Part II: Gāndhārī Inscriptions (Baums/Glass

2002-)

cm centimeter(s) cpd compound

CPD A Critical Pāli Dictionary (Trenckner et al. 1924–2001)

Daśo Daśottarasūtra (ed. Schlingloff 1962)

dat. dative

DbSū(1) Daśabalasūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1932) DbSū(2) Daśabalasūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1958)

DbSū(3–4) Daśabalasūtra (ed. Chung 2009)

DG A Dictionary of Gāndhārī (Baums/Glass 2002–)

Dhp Dhammapada (ed. von Hinüber/Norman 1994 [2003])

Dhp-a Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (ed. Norman 1906–14)

Dhp<sup>L</sup> Gandhari *Dharmapada* (Khotan ms., ed. Brough 1962)
Dhp<sup>L</sup> Gandhari *Dharmapada* (London ms., ed. Lenz 2003)

Dhp<sup>Patna</sup> Dharmapada (based on photographs by Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana in Patna, ed.

Cone 1989)

Dhp<sup>Sp</sup> Gandhari *Dharmapada* (Split Collection ms., ed. Falk 2015)

Dhsgr Dharmasamgraha (ed. Kasawara/Müller/Wenzel 1885)

dir. direct case

Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell/Neil 1886)

xvi ABBREVIATIONS

DN Dīghanikāya (ed. Rhys Davids/Carpenter 1890–1911)

DP A Dictionary of Pāli (Cone 2001–)

e.g. exempli gratia

EĀ Ekottarikāgama (Ekottarāgama) of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins (ed. Tripathi

1995)

EĀ<sup>B</sup> Gandhari sūtras of the *Ekottarikāgama* (Bamiyan ms., ed. Jantrasrisalai/Lenz/

Qian/Salomon 2016)

EĀ<sup>L</sup> Gandhari sūtras with parallels in the *Ekottarikāgama* (London ms., ed. Allon

2001)

ed. edited by / editor

f. feminine
fig. figure
fut. future
G Gandhari
gen. genitive

Gv Gandavyūha (ed. Suzuki/Idzumi 1949)

i.e. *id est* ("that is to say")

ibid. ibidem

ifc. *in fine compositi* ("at the end of a compound")

imp. imperativeind. indeclinableinstr. instrumental

IOL (former) India Office Library, now part of the British Library

It Itivuttaka (ed. Windisch 1889) Jā Jātaka (ed. Fausbøll 1877–96)

KEWA Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (Mayrhofer 1956-

80)

Khvs<sup>L</sup> Gandhari *Khaḍgaviṣāṇasūtra* (London ms., ed. Salomon 2000)

KN Khuddakanikāya

Kp (Mahā-)Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. Yamada 1968)

Lalitavistara (ed. Hokazono 1994–2017 in one book and twenty-seven

articles; the numbers, e.g., LH5 refer to the respective articles)

loc. locative

LP(AsṭāK) Larger Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Konow 1942)

LP<sup>G</sup> Larger Prajñāpāramitā (Gilgit ms. I)

ABBREVIATIONS xvii

M Aśokan edict(s) in Mānsehrā

M<sup>S</sup> Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra (Sanskrit version)

m. masculine m.c. *metri causa* 

Maitreyavy(Zh) Maitreyavyākaraṇa (Gilgit ms., ed. Zhen 2019)

MAv(F) Mahāvadānasūtra (ed. Fukita 2003)

MhMVR(T) Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī (ed. Takubo 1972)

Mil Milindapañha (ed. Trenckner 1880)

MN Majjhimanikāya (ed. Trenckner/Chalmers 1898–1899)
MPS Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1950–51)

MS fragment from the Martin Schøyen Collection

ms. manuscript

MSV(D) I Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya (ed. Dutt 1947)

Mvu(M) Mahāvastu (ed. Marciniak 2019)

Mvu(S) Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1882–1897)

Mvy(I) *Mahāvyutpatti* (ed. Ishihama/Fukuda 1989)

 $\begin{array}{ll} \text{n.} & \text{neuter} \\ \\ \text{n.} & \text{note(s)} \end{array}$ 

NagSū Nagaropamasūtra (ed. Bongard-Levin/Boucher/Fukita/Wille 1996)

NidSa Nidānasamyukta (ed. Tripāṭhī 1962)

Nird<sup>L2</sup> Gandhari *Nirdeśa* (London ms., ed. Baums 2009)

no. number
nom. nominative
Npr. proper name

P Pali

P<sup>K</sup> 1-2 *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajňāpāramitā* (ed. Kimura 2009)
P<sup>K</sup> VI–VIII *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajňāpāramitā* (ed. Kimura 2006)

p. page(s)pass. passive

Pj II Paramatthajotikā (commentary to the Suttanipāta, ed. Smith 1916–18)

Pkt. Prakrit pl. plate pl. plural

pp. past participle

xviii Abbreviations

Pras Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* (ed. de La Vallée Poussin 1903–13)

Pravr III Pravrajyāvastu of the Vinayavastvāgama in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya (ed.

Näther/Vogel/Wille 1996)

pres. present

pres. part. present participle

pret. preterite pron. pronoun

PSM Pāia-Sadda-Mahannavo (Sheth <sup>2</sup>1963)

PTSD The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary (Rhys Davids / Stede 1921–

25)

r recto

Rgs(Y) Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthāḥ (ed. Yuyama 1976)

Rkp(K) Ratnaketuparivarta (ed. Kurumiya 1978) RP Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā (ed. Finot 1901)

RS fragment from the Robert Senior Collection

Ś Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā

s.v. sub voce / sub verbo

Saddhp Saddharmapundarīkasūtra (ed. Kern/Nanjio 1908–1912)

Samādh(D) Samādhirājasūtra (ed. Dutt 1941–54)
Samādh(Sk) Samādhirājasūtra (ed. Skilton 2002)
Saṃghāṭa(C) Saṃghāṭasūtra (ed. Canevascini 1993)
Saṅg Saṅgītisūtra (ed. Stache-Rosen 1968)

Saṅghabh Saṅghabhedavastu of the Vinayavastvāgama in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya

(ed. Gnoli 1977–78)

SĀ<sup>S1</sup> Gandhari sūtras with parallels in the *Saṃyuktāgama* (Senior ms., ed. Glass

2007)

SĀ<sup>S5</sup> Gandhari sūtra with a parallel in the *Saṃyuktāgama* (Senior ms., ed. Lee 2009)

Saund Aśvaghosa's Saundarananda (ed. Johnston 1928)

ŚBh I–II Śrāvakabhūmi (ed. Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group 1998 [vol. I] and 2007 [vol. II])

SC Gandhari fragment from the "Split Collection"

sg. singular

Sh Aśokan edict(s) in Shāhbāzgarhī

SHT Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden (ed. Waldschmidt/Clawiter/San-

der/Wille/Bechert 1965-)

Śiks Śāntideva's Śiksāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 1902)

Skt. Sanskrit

SN Samyuttanikāya (ed. Feer 1884–98)

Sn Suttanipāta (ed. Andersen/Smith 1913)

Sum-av(I) Sumāgadhāvadana (ed. Iwamoto 1968)

Sūtral Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (ed. Lévi 1907)

Suv Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra (ed. Nobel 1937) Suv-av(Raj) Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna (ed. Rajapatirana 1974)

SWTF Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden (ed.

Waldschmidt/Bechert/Röhrborn/Hartmann 1994–2018)

T. Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經 (ed. Takakusu/Watanabe 1924–34)

Th Theragāthās (ed. Oldenberg/Pischel/Norman/Alsdorf 1966)

THT Tocharische Handschrift(en) aus den Turfanfunden: Tocharian manuscripts

from the Prussian Turfan expeditions, mainly kept in the State Library

(Staatsbibliothek) in Berlin

Tib. Tibetan

Ug<sup>G</sup> Gandhari *Ugrapariprcchā* (Bamiyan ms., ed. ... in preparation)

Uv *Udānavarga* (ed. Bernhard 1965–68)

v verso v. verb

VAV Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* (ed. Hartmann 1987) VinSū Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (ed. Bapat/Gokhale 1982)

Vkn Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (ed. Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006)

voc. vocative

Vv Vimānavatthu (ed. Jayawickrama 1977) YBhū Yogācārabhūmi (ed. Bhattacharya 1957)

## Introduction

The fragmentary Gandhari manuscript, written in Kharoṣṭhī script on a birch-bark scroll, dates to the first or second century. It consists of a unique acrostic poem or hymn (stotra) to the Buddha, composed in stanzas in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita meter. The stanzas are each dedicated to one character (akṣara) of the so-called Arapacana alphabet and follow its order, with the four quarters (pāda) of each stanza starting with the same akṣara. The alphabetical order, named after its first five akṣaras, was used everywhere where Kharoṣṭhī was written. The sequence of akṣaras in this alphabet is completely different from that of the Sanskrit alphabet and it also has no similarities with any other known alphabet with the exception of the first letter, which is—unsurprisingly—the vowel A. The alphabet's sequence is as follows:



### The Bajaur collection

The birch-bark sheet BC 5 is part of a collection consisting of a single find of about 19 birch-bark scrolls written in Kharoṣṭhī script by different scribes, which was made in the Bajaur area of Pakistan. They were reportedly discovered in 1999 in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near the village of Mian Kili, on the border of today's Dir and Bajaur districts in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former Northwest Frontier Province) in Northern Pakistan, at the edge of the Swat valley. It is an area that archaeologists have hardly explored. Over the next six years, the scrolls were carefully unrolled, restored and preserved in 35 glass frames by a team directed by M. Nasim Khan, professor in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar. According to the latest information that is available, the privately owned manuscripts are kept at the Department of Archaeology. On the basis of high-resolution scans made from 2005 to 2007, they are being studied and gradually published by scholars in Munich and Lausanne.<sup>1</sup>

These scans were prepared by Pakistani partners during the first phase of the Bajaur Collection Project, which was based at the Freie Universität Berlin, directed by Harry Falk and financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).—For more details about the find, as well as research that has been

2 Introduction

The Bajaur find includes a sūtra with a parallel in the Pali canon, parts of the Vinaya, scholastic texts or commentaries, stotras, a rakṣā, Mahāyāna texts, a loan contract and other texts in the Gandhari language. It also contains a *rājanīti* text in Sanskrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script. These texts may originally have been part of a monastic library.<sup>2</sup> The reason that sets of manuscripts such as the Bajaur find have survived until today is because they were securely stored in airtight containers. Most Gandhari finds have been discovered in clay pots. Objects were stored in clay pots for various reasons: preservation, safekeeping, hiding, ritual interment of relics or the belongings of scholar-monks, or for disposing of sacred items.<sup>3</sup> Although it is not clear whether the Bajaur scrolls were also preserved in a clay pot—allegedly they were discovered in a small square chamber made of stone slabs within a monastery cell—one of these categories is probably applicable. Because several of the Bajaur scrolls are quite fragmentary, it seems as if they were discarded. However, as will be shown below, it is unclear when this damage occurred. It may well be that parts of the scrolls disappeared between their discovery and their arrival in Peshawar.

Based on a paleographic analysis, the collection was dated "from the second half of the 1st into the first half of the 2nd centuries AD with a tendency towards the later part of this period." It thus belongs, with the other known Gandhari scrolls, to the earliest written examples of Buddhist texts and Indic manuscripts in general.

#### Earlier studies on BC 5

The text of BC 5 was introduced to a larger audience by Ingo Strauch in 2007/2008 and 2012. He identified it as a collection of Buddhist verses arranged according to the Arapacana alphabet, and as the only Gandhari text known today that preserves a nearly complete example of this alphabet. Strauch published short descriptions, an introduction to the contents including brief quotations (in particular, stanza 7), sample images, sample akṣaras ("scribe 6"), and a comparison with several keywords from alphabetical lists found in other Buddhist texts, as well as some thoughts on the

conducted on it until now and the contents of the collection, see Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2006; Nasim Khan 2008: 2; Strauch 2008a and 2008b; Falk/Strauch 2014; Schlosser 2016: 15–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Strauch 2008a: 66.

Various ideas have been put forward regarding the intention of the ritual burial of Buddhist manuscripts in Indic languages, such as storage or their use as relics. See Salomon 1999: 69–86; Salomon 2009; Allon 2014: 23–24; Salomon 2014: 2; Strauch 2014: 801–811. There has been a similar discussion concerning the reason why the famous manuscript cave near Dunhuang was sealed. Cf., e.g., van Schaik/Galambos (2012: 18–24), where a multiple function model for the cave is proposed.—Unfortunately, at present we still know nothing about how such scrolls were normally transported or stored when they were still in use. Placing precious objects such as coins, bronze images or Buddhist relics in ordinary clay pots and then burying them was a normal traditional method for hiding and preserving objects. The method was quite successful, as the many discoveries over the past two hundred years have demonstrated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Strauch 2008a: 18; Strauch 2008b: 111 (1st/2nd centuries "with a preference to the later half of this period").

Arapacana alphabet in general. He grouped the text under the category "miscellaneous texts" or "miscellaneous/not determined texts."

Strauch also prepared preliminary transliterations in 2006, which he generously made available to other scholars. These were then reproduced by Nasim Khan (who numbered the fragments differently and did not mention Strauch's name) together with color reproductions of the original scans.<sup>6</sup>

See especially Strauch 2008a: 9–10, 15, 37–40, 66. See also Strauch 2008b: 121–123; Strauch 2012: 138, 141–142; and Falk/Strauch 2014: 68. For another short introduction, see also Melzer 2015.

Nasim Khan 2008: 21–28, "fragment 3," figs. 9–11; 92–93, "fragment 7," figs. 44–45 (small fragments without transliterations). On these scans, see above, n. 1.

## Physical Description

### Format, fold lines and state of preservation

The text of BC 5 was written on a single sheet of birch bark. Despite heavy damage—the left half of the sheet is almost entirely lost—the original size can be estimated quite precisely since all of the verses in the text were composed in the same meter (Figs. 1, 5, Pls. 1–6). When complete, the sheet would have been at least 40.5 cm long and 21.5 to 22 cm wide.

Based on the presently known finds of Gandhāran manuscripts, two scroll formats were used in Gandhāra, one consisting of single sheets of birch bark measuring from ca. 21 to 31 cm in width, and a narrower format measuring up to ca. 16 cm in width composed of several sheets of birch bark glued together. In the latter format, scrolls could reach a length of several meters. There is one famous exception to these usually clearly distinct types, the *Dharmapada* from Khotan, an area outside the Greater Gandhāra region. This very long scroll is up to 21 cm wide, a width closer to the wide Gandhāran scrolls.<sup>7</sup>

The width of BC 5 corresponds to the wide format and is similar to at least three other scroll fragments in the Bajaur collection: a short Buddha praise of two stanzas in the same Śārdūla-vikrīḍita meter (BC 8), the loan contract (BC 15), and another fragment supposedly measuring 22.5 x 17 cm with five lines of an unknown text and a drawing of a seated Buddha on a lotus flanked by two standing attendants. Other collections also contain verse text manuscripts with similar widths. In the Bajaur collection, the scrolls of the wide format bearing scholastic texts seem slightly wider, measuring between 24 and 30 cm. 10

The light-colored outer side of the birch bark serves as the recto, as is standard for Kharoṣṭhī scrolls and Brāhmī manuscripts in general. When the sheet of BC 5 was still complete, it was rolled upwards, with the recto to the inside, from the bottom to the top about 20 times and then folded vertically near the centre, the scroll thereby becoming flattened. This seems to have been a common procedure for scrolls of the wide format, at least for those that have been discovered.

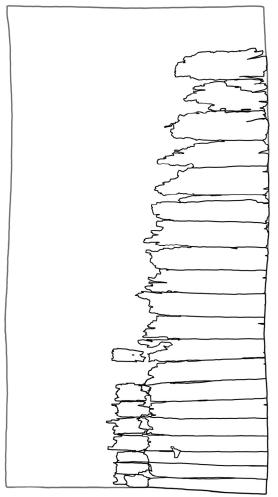
For the formats and layouts of Gandhāran manuscripts in general, see Salomon 1999: 87–106 and Baums 2014. Because the exact measurements of original sizes can only be assessed after the texts on the scrolls have been studied and fully restored, the published information on the size of the not yet edited scrolls is subject to change. For example, the most recent lists containing provisional measurements of the Bajaur collection are in Falk/Strauch 2014 and Schlosser 2016; they supersede the earlier lists by Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2006 and Strauch 2008a.

Not yet published and only referred to as fragment no. 27 in Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2006: 10–11, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ca. 20 cm (Anav<sup>S</sup>, Salomon 2008: 330), up to 21 cm (Dhp<sup>K</sup>, Brough 1962: 18), or 23 cm (Dhp<sup>L</sup>, Lenz 2003: 4). Such sizes, however, are not limited to metrical texts.

Measurements according to Falk/Strauch: 2014: 73–74.

See, e.g., Salomon 2008: 85. Longer scrolls were narrower; because of their length, in their rolled up form they were too stiff to be folded, although there may have been exceptions (see Strauch 2008a: 8 on BC 1).



**Fig. 1** Outlines of the preserved portions of the recto in relation to the original folio size showing the horizontal breaks along the creases.

We do not know exactly why the scrolls were folded. Perhaps it was because they were being disposed of, or to make them fit into a container or pot of a certain size. Since such scrolls become brittle over time, when the attempt was made to open BC 5 after its recent discovery—as carefully as this may have been done—the manuscript broke into many oblong pieces along the creases. The lowermost strips are the shortest with the first ca. 1.2 cm high. They gradually increase in height, with the strips at the upper end 2.6 cm high (Fig. 1). Since the upper end of the rolled-up scroll had nothing to protect it, it has been destroyed. As a result, the first three lines of the text have been lost and the next lines are severely damaged.

The vertical crease was probably not exactly in the middle of the sheet, so that when folded, the left side may have been wider than the right side. <sup>14</sup> Most of the left side seems to have been decayed, or it might be lost. Only a very few rather small fragments belonging to the lower left part could be found in the glass frame 35 (fragment nos. 35b–g, **Pls. 5–6**). They are no more than 3 cm wide. However, since the Bajaur collection is currently not easily accessible, it cannot be entirely excluded that a few, perhaps even smaller fragments still

Concerning the scrolls of the Senior Collection, Allon (2014: 24 [cf. also the different opinion of Andrew Glass, quoted *ibid.*, n. 15]) observed: "many of the manuscripts were rolled up and then folded in half before being deposited in the pot. This shows that they were not manuscripts that were in regular use that happened to be kept in a pot, since it would have been unacceptable to fold birch bark manuscripts in this way that were in regular use because of the damage that results from this action".—Despite this, the real damage occurred most likely much later, because fresh birch bark is robust and flexible, not unlike paper. It is difficult to imagine that manuscripts would be stored knowing that they were damaged, if indeed they "were commissioned for ritual burial, most probably in a stūpa, for meritorious purposes, and as such must have been regarded as being similar to or the same as bodily relics of the Buddha" (*ibid.*: 23).

The upper parts of the scrolls in the British Library (Salomon 1999: 22) as well as many others have been lost for the same reason. By way of comparison for the height of the horizontal strips, in the long-format scroll BL 9, they measure 1.7 cm at the bottom and 4.2 cm at the top (Baums 2014: 209).

That the crease was not always exactly in the middle of such manuscripts has already been observed for other scrolls (Schlosser 2016: 27). A photo of a similarly folded scroll from the Bajaur collection before restoration has been published in Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2006: fig. 5 (also reproduced in Glass 2007: fig. 2; Baums 2014: fig. 10). For a folded scroll of the Senior collection, see Lenz 2003: fig. 1.

survive that were not available for this study.<sup>15</sup> Altogether, only slightly more than 40 per cent of the original text is preserved.

It is usually thought that the vertical folding in half of the wide format scrolls and their storage in clay pots are the two main reasons for their damaged condition today. But not every scroll in the Bajaur collection was affected the same way. There are a few with a middle crease that are otherwise surprisingly intact. Salomon (1999: 105; 2008: 83) surmised for the British Library fragments that if the end of a scroll touched the inner surface of the pot, it absorbed moisture from the ground and deteriorated for that reason. The scrolls at the top of a pile in a clay pot thus would be better preserved.

Several minute fragments broke off when BC 5 was unrolled. They now adhere in the wrong places,



**Fig. 2** A separated, single-layer fragment that was flipped around has been mirrored and shifted from its wrong place on the verso (lines 27–29) where it covers a few akṣaras to its correct position on the recto (lines 10–11). Now, the akṣaras of the recto are legible as shadows, while the mirror image of the akṣaras from the verso shows through as well.

covering a few small bits of the scroll. Since the birch bark of most of them is only one layer thick, they are slightly transparent. Thus not only can shadows of the akṣaras on the back be seen, but also faintly the text which they cover (Fig. 2). Re-enacting the original folding (Fig. 1) was crucial for restoring these fragments to their correct places in the digitally reconstructed image (Pls. 1–2). Almost all of them could be allocated. <sup>18</sup> In the transliteration, the text of these misplaced separate fragments has been set in rectangular boxes, and in the reconstructed image, these fragments are shown with a whitish overlay in the places they do not belong. Since the digital reconstruction does not represent the actual physical state of the scroll, the original scans have also been included for comparison (Pls. 3–6).

#### The layout of the text

A black, approximately straight line, composed of several uneven strokes, separates the right margin from the main text area (Fig. 3). This was probably also the case for the now lost left margin. This line imitates the stitched seam that is often found along the margins of long scrolls; such stitching is rarely found on the wide format scrolls made of a single sheet. In BC 5, the

In support of the assumption that more Kharoṣṭhī fragments and scrolls than the ones already known might be kept in Peshawar, Nasim Khan (2008: 1) wrote in the introduction to his publication of the facsimiles of the Bajaur Collection, based on the original scans together with the transliterations by Ingo Strauch: "Actually several different fragments were discovered but only nineteen are included in the present volume, which may at the best be considered as a preliminary study."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Since Salomon 1999: 105–106.

E.g., BC 8 and perhaps also BC 15.

The fragments which could not be assigned are shown to the left of those lines where they were found in the digital reconstruction (Pls. 1–2).



Fig. 3 The right margin line and beginnings of pādas with continuously written text without spaces.



**Fig. 4** Circular punctuation marks and spaces between aligned pādas.

pseudo-stitching line was drawn in ink at a distance of 7-8 mm from the edge, similar to the stitched seams on long scrolls, which are usually 5-10 mm from the edge.<sup>19</sup>

The text consists entirely of verses, written in 84 lines. Originally, there were 42 stanzas, each written in two lines, 22 on the recto and 20 on the verso (Fig. 5). Each half stanza, consisting of two padas, starts a new line. Between each pada there is a prominent circular punctuation mark, which is set apart from the text by little spaces to either side (Fig. 4). None of the punctuation marks that presumably would have stood after the even padas at the end of the lines have been preserved. It is also not known whether the stanzas were numbered, as is found on many other Kharosthī scrolls, although there would have been no need for this in this text, since it is arranged in alphabetical order. The scribe of BC 5 avoided spaces, for example between words or word groups, such as are sometimes found in other Kharosthī manuscripts. The beginnings of the padas, the circular punctuation marks and the spaces next to them are vertically aligned, as in some other Gandharan verse texts (Fig. 4). 20 This is in contrast to the majority of Brāhmī manuscripts, where the pādas are usually written as a continuous text.21

In some cases, it appears as if the first akṣara of new lines was slightly larger than the others. Each line once consisted of exactly 38 akṣaras plus, probably, two circular punctuation marks. The larger akṣaras are on average 6–7 mm high without

Salomon 2008: 86. For stitched margins in general, see Salomon 1999: 94. Other manuscripts showing similar drawn margins are, e.g., BC 3 (\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra, a rakṣā text), SC 2 (verses on the miracle at Śrāvastī, Falk 2011: pl. 7, fig. 3; Falk/Steinbrückner 2020: pls. 1–2).

This varies: punctuation marks are sometimes written after each pāda, only at the end, or not at all. The two Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas of BC 8 are arranged like BC 5 in two aligned pādas per line, but without punctuation marks. Pādas and stanzas are by and largely aligned (BC 5, BC 8, BC 17, Dhp<sup>K</sup>, Khvs<sup>L</sup>, and SC 2); in other manuscripts only the pādas are (more or less) aligned but not the stanzas (BC 9 and partly Anav<sup>S</sup> and Dhp<sup>Sp</sup>); in still others, the pādas are not aligned at all (Anav<sup>L</sup>, Dhp<sup>L</sup>, Niya documents nos. 510 and 511). The verse portions of BC 2 are inconsistent, but it can be ascertained that the intention was at least to start each new stanza with a new line.

Exceptions of early Sanskrit manucripts from Central Asia and Afghanistan are, e.g., (1.) SHT 24w (Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*), (2.) SHT 27 (Mātṛceṭa's *Prasādapratibhodbhava*), (3.) SHT 812 (unidentified verses), (4.) a folio from Charkhlik (a Buddha hymn imitating Mātṛceṭa's *Prasādapratibhodbhava*; see Hartmann 1988: 88–89, n. 146, and Maggi 2004: 189, n. 32), (5.) MS 2377/198 (Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*), and (6.) fagments from Shahr-i Zohal (unidentified medical verses; Pauly 1967: fragments. A–D, pls. I–III). (7.) Several manuscripts of the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*, dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries, are also arranged in a similar way (see Maggi 2004, especially p. 186).

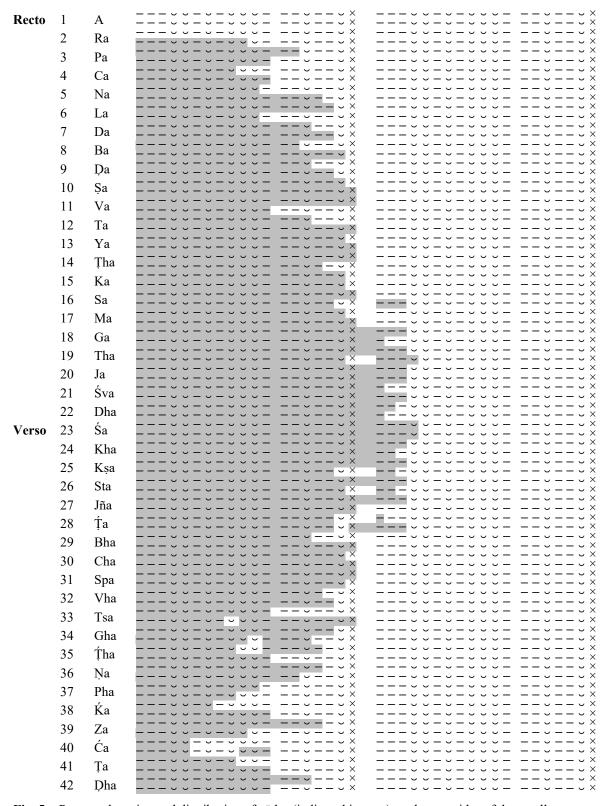


Fig. 5 Preserved portion and distribution of pādas (indicated in grey) on the two sides of the scroll.

preserved akṣaras are clearly legible except when they are too close to a knot in the bark or the damaged left edge. In some cases, however, the ink has faded, leaving extremely faint strokes that are hardly visible.

It is unknown whether there was a colophon or scribal remark at the end of the text on the verso, since that end of the scroll, containing the first three lines on the recto and the corresponding area of the verso, has been lost. As described above, this is because of how it was rolled up and stored.



Fig. 6 Examples of italic forms of letters, written without interruption.



Fig. 7 Italic forms and stroke order.

## Paleography

#### General features of the hand

The scribe used only the shape for na(f) throughout the whole manuscript in order to represent equivalents for Sanskrit na and na.

The script appears very fluid and occasionally almost elegant, due to the interplay of different widths of strokes, the long tapering finals of vowel markers and stems, as well as the slant. There is a strong tendency to write the akṣaras in one stroke without interruption and to join them, just as in a truly cursive script (Figs. 6–7).<sup>22</sup> The ink is slightly transparent and darker on the edges of the strokes. Sometimes it becomes extremely faint, or almost black, when the nib was newly inked. Re-inking occurred except for very few instances almost exclusively with the beginning of a new pāda, after the caesura, or with a new word within a pāda, normally every four to eleventh akṣaras.<sup>23</sup> That the scribes knew what they wrote and did not copy akṣara-wise as seen in some later Brāhmī manuscripts, has been observed for other manuscripts as well, although the intervals between re-inking are often much larger.<sup>24</sup>

In the following, the individual characteristics of the script are described in order to provide a comparative basis for the identification of scribes and further study of the paleography of the Bajaur collection and other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> The akṣaras are discussed in the order of the Arapacana alphabet. In case of many preserved specimen, the most typical examples are illustrated.

<sup>22</sup> Strauch (2008a: 15) described the script of BC 5 as: "Large, bold and flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity, sometimes letters are connected. The shape of ⟨the⟩ letter *ka* alters between the older and younger form".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Re-inking after the caesura is clearly visible in, e.g., lines r5, r11, r15, r16, r19, r21, r23, r24, r27, r28, r29, r30, r31, r33, r35, r36, r41, r42, v1, v2, v3, v4, v6, v11, v12, v14, v16, v17, v20, v23, v25, v27, and v33. At the beginning of a new word, it can be observed in, e.g., the fourth akṣara in lines r6 and r8; the fifth in r35, v2, and v22; the sixth in r43, r44, v10, v15, v26, and v36; the seventh in r20, r21, r25, r26, r27, r32, r37, v6, v21, and v25; the eighth in r10, r14, r15, r23, r24, r28, r36, r40, v5, v20, v27, v28, v30, v39, and v40; the ninth in r11, r39, v3, v8, v19, v23, v24, v33, and v38; the tenth in r13, r17, r18, r34, v9, v14, and v34; and the eleventh in r5, r38, and v32.

Concerning the manuscript RS 5 with sūtras from the *Saṃyuktāgama*, Glass (2007: 88) wrote: "Normally, however, the scribe seems to have been able to write about twenty akṣaras between dips. In all but a few cases, he has refreshed the ink at a word break." On RS 12, Silverlock (2015: 158) noticed: "In the better-preserved section of the manuscript, between lines 4 and 75, there are 22 lines where no re-inking event is visible, which confirms the scribe was often able to write about 20 akṣaras before recharging his pen with ink. [...] Of 51 detectable re-inking events across the scroll, 34 (67%) occur at either a word (17/51) or clause/sentence boundary (17/51)." The British Library scribe 4 "tends to pause for reinking between words" (Baums 2009: 89). In BC 4, Schlosser (2020: 49) detected re-inking every 15 aksaras, in BC 6 every 16 to 20 aksaras, and in BC 11 every 12 to 14 aksaras.

The script of BC 5 shows many similarities to that of BC 8, which also contains verses in the Śārdūla-vikrīḍita meter. Although this requires further study, some hints such as the scarceness of a flourish at the foot of the stem in BC 8 and the pointed shape of *ya* seem to speak against the possibility of the

79 p31135899999999999999999999

ra ra pa ca ṇa ṇa da da da da ba ba ba da va ta ta ta ya ya ṭha ka sa ma ga ga

śpa dha dha dha śa śa śa kha kha kha kha kṣa sta ña cha spa spa vha tsa tsa ṭha za

#### Variously-shaped head-marks

Most akṣaras start at the top with a small **head-mark** in various uneven shapes as seen in the following examples, such as a curve or a small circle or a triangular shape. This head-mark can be joined with the preceding akṣara as illustrated in **Fig. 6**. A **va-like shape** ( $\mathcal{I}$ ) is part of several akṣaras in the alphabet. In all these examples, it can be written with a head-mark ( $\mathcal{I}$ ), for example, pa  $\mathcal{I}$ , tha  $\mathcal{I}$ , sa  $\mathcal{I}$ , vha  $\mathcal{I}$ , and tha  $\mathcal{I}$ . The upper right ends of certain akṣaras can sometimes be hooked.

# o e 1 2 8 8 8 1 1 1

ma ma mu mu tva tva sva śva kṣa vha vha

#### Hooked upper akşara ends

The akṣaras are arranged beneath an assumed head line, similar to the Brāhmī script, but it is not nearly as straight. The vertical stems of pa, la, tha, ta, tha, ta, tha, tha, tha, and theoretically ta (which is not clearly visible), mu, the upper curves of tha, tha, tha, tha, superscript strokes as well as the vowel markers -e and -i extend beyond that line. The size of the akṣaras varies. tha, tha,

In general, all akṣaras end in a curve at the bottom (e.g., a 9) that can be joined with the following letter. Only for na, when it is the last syllable in a word, a straight stem (f) was an equal option besides the curved form (f). In other akṣaras, the straight stem occurs only exceptionally. In such cases, it may, however, be possible that the ink is too faint or not well enough preserved in order to be recognized (e.g., la 7).

Additionally to the regular curve, a small **flourish** can be added at stem finals, which takes mostly the form of a weak indentation. It is less frequently found than the usual curve, but nevertheless, it seems to be typical to the scribe:

19934941117113333554777554

a a a a ca ba ba ya ya tha ka ka śpa śpa dha dha dha kha kha kṣa sta sta sta ña ña ća ṭa

#### Flourish at the bottom of akşaras

same scribe. Strauch (2008a: 15) described the script of BC 8 as: "Clear, flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity. The shape of the letter *ca* is reminiscent of that of the Wardak vase and several Schøyen fragments."

#### Vowel markers and anusvāras

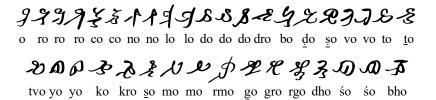
The e-vowel marker is drawn horizontally from the right side of the stem in case of the initial e, as it is expected, and in all other preserved examples, it is added at the top, starting from the top. It usually slants, except for ye, where it written almost vertically.

224 + 445 6 5 3 5 5 6 h 3 5 3 5 6 6 4 9 8 8 5 6 kşe bhe tse phe

The *i*-vowel marker is drawn horizontally through the stem in case of the initial *i* and *hi*. In most other examples, it can start high above the head line, it slants, and since it is added as the last step of completing the akṣara, it may be joined with the following letter. Accordingly, its tapering end can be curved upwards. In a few cases (e.g., *pi*, *li*, *thi*), the horizontal part of the consonant sign has slightly been lengthened in order to provide sufficient space for the vowel marker. This convention is as old as the Aśokan inscriptions. In case of *yi*, the *i*-vowel marker is vertical, as it was already noticed for *ye*. In *khi*, the vowel marker has been added at different places, in one case starting at the top, and in another one near the middle of the stem. In the alleged *kli*, the *-i*-vowel marker is an error for *-e*, probably due to a slip of the pen.



**The o-vowel marker** can also be joined with the following letter, resulting in an upwards curve (*lo*  $\mathcal{I}$ ). In a very few cases ( $ro \mathcal{I}$ ,  $no \mathcal{I}$ ,  $so \mathcal{D}$ ) it has not been attached directly to the stem, and sometimes, it was added without lifting the pen ( $do \mathcal{I}$ ,  $vo \mathcal{I}$ ,  $to \mathcal{L}$ ). In case of  $yo (\mathcal{O})$  it has to be carefully differentiated from the outwards-looped -u-vowel marker ( $\mathcal{I}$ ).



immediately before the -u-curve slightly to the right  $(ru \mathcal{J}, bu \mathcal{J}, gu \mathcal{F}, ghu \mathcal{F})$ . The most extreme of such cases is  $\mathcal{F}$ , which has only cautiously been read as k s u.

u u ru pu pu ṇu ṇu du du bu vru vru yu ku ku su su su

su su su mu mu gu gu kṣu? ñu bhu ghru phu hu hu hu hu

**Possible indicators of long vowels (-ai, -au):** There is often an uncertainty left, when markers of long vowels are identified. Except for the Niya documents, their occurrence is so rare, that one can never be entirely sure if they were read correctly. Usually, a slanting rightwards stroke extending from the lower end of the stem is supposed to indicate the long vowel. In the Niya documents, long vowels have the following appearance according to Rapson (pl. XIV in Boyer et al. 1920–29):  $\bar{a}$  3,  $p\bar{u}$  8,  $v\bar{t}$  5,  $vy\bar{a}$  3, tai 5,  $t\bar{t}$  6,  $k\bar{a}$  7,  $s\bar{u}$  5,  $th\bar{a}$  5,  $th\bar{a}$  5,  $th\bar{a}$  5,  $th\bar{a}$  6,  $th\bar{a}$  7,  $th\bar{a}$  7,  $th\bar{a}$  7,  $th\bar{a}$  8 Based on these shapes, Brough (1962: 79, 258) identified one isolated example of a "short subscript stroke" in Dhp<sup>K</sup> 269, line 325 ( $\bar{a}$  **q**). A not entirely certain  $bh\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{k}$ ) was read in an inscription at Spinwam (North Waziristan, Pakistan; dated in the (Kusāna) year 39 (2nd century); see Salomon 1981: 12), but the engraving of the supposed long vowel marker appears to be rather shallow on the published image. Another possible example  $(p\bar{a}, b)$  has been described by Salomon (1999: 199) in the second inscription on the British Library pot A as "a short, slanting, almost vertical line near, but not touching, the foot of the consonant p." In the avadāna texts of the British Library scrolls, Lenz (2010: 17, 20, table 4) discovered several instances of an initial  $\bar{a}$  ( $\hat{\lambda}$ ), which are written like a mirrored -o.<sup>26</sup> Three more possible candidates for long vowels were recently identified in fragments written by Bamiyan scribe 1 ( $t\bar{a}$   $\Rightarrow$ ,  $k\bar{a}$   $\neq$ , and tām 3; Jantrasrisalai et al. 2016: 112–114, fragments III.1v2, III.2A1 and B2). In these, the otherwise straight stroke is drawn in a semicircular shape towards the left side and thus,  $t\bar{a}$ resembles a *ta* in the Bajaur manuscripts.<sup>27</sup>

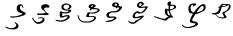
A few irregular shapes in BC 5 raised initially the suspicion that maybe they represent long vowels. However, as for some of the rare examples mentioned above, this interpretation is highly uncertain. As far as the language of BC 5 is concerned, their presence would not be surprising, but their indication is not as distinct as it would be required for justifying their identification. Moreover, some of the akṣaras in question occur in an uncertain and unintelligible context. The shape would be a small dot beneath the relevant akṣara, which could easily also represent an inkblot, or a semicircular shape similar to the quoted examples by Bamiyan scribe 1.

There is also supposedly a  $bh\bar{a}$  in BL 4 (mentioned but not illustrated in Lenz 2010: 17, n. 3) and a  $r\bar{a}$  (Lenz 2010: 17, 20, table 4), but this is very uncertain.

The paleographic study by Glass (2000: 36, 41) contains additional illustrations of  $\bar{a}$  and  $s\bar{\imath}$  by the "Schøyen scribe 2". In both examples, the long-vowel marker is similar to the Niya documents.

h  $\boldsymbol{\phi}$ Z rve/rvai? in r31 (16a) ye/yai? in r44 (22c) me/mai? in r43 (22a) sarve/sarvai kame/kamai ya/yai Probable Sanskrit equivalent sarvair yair kāmaih

Anusvāras are only sparsely used. Most cases can be found in the prefix sam and otherwise in words at the beginning of padas. The anusvara is either placed beneath the main sign or it is joined:

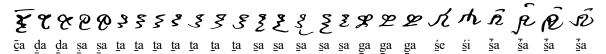


dam dam sam sam sam sam gam sam

#### Modified akşaras

Gandhari word

**Underbars** for the single intervocalic consonants ca, da/ta, da, sa, sa, ga and śa are written at the bottom of the stem or at the right side in case of śa. They consist of a rightwards stroke in an acute angle in ga, of a rightwards curve in  $\bar{c}a$ , da, sa,  $\underline{s}a$ ,  $\underline{s}a$ ,  $\underline{s}a$ , and of a leftwards curve in  $\underline{t}a$ , which could also be transliterated as da. Since this sign represents intervocalic ta and da as well, it has been examined whether there is a small difference discernible despite all similarities. But even though the lowermost curve of the sign representing intervocalic -d- turns less frequently upwards (e.g., 33383) as when it stands for intervocalic -t- (e.g., 3333333335), there are also examples that contradict, and for this reason, the distinction is not clear. Underbars can also be combined with superscript strokes in  $\underline{c}a$  and  $\underline{s}a$ . There appears to be no phonetic difference between  $\underline{s}a$ , which is only found when vowel markers were added, and  $\underline{s}a$ . The akṣara ha, which is not included in the regular Arapacana alphabet, looks exactly like an initial a with an underbar (e.g., 2222).



**Superscript strokes** occur above the consonants ca, sa, ja, śa, and ksa. They can be added high above. In case of ca and śa, they are usually combined with underbars. It is noteworthy that the akṣara  $\delta a$  represents two very different things. On the one hand, it stands for intervocalic  $\delta a$ , but on the other hand, it stands for Sanskrit hya and in this case the preceding syllable is always metrically heavy. In fact, it is written like a ha combined with a second downwards-stroke added on the left side, and a superscript stroke above (hya). If a scribe would want to write hya in Kharosthī, he would face the problem that the traditional method to add the -y- diacritic results in shapes, which closely resemble vya or dha. The alleged  $\frac{1}{5}a$ -shape may therefore be seen as an attempt to avoid this. The problem is, however, that there is no graphic difference, whether the letter represents intervocalic śa or Sanskrit hya. Hence, it will not be differentiated in the transliteration.

#### **Combinations with semivowels**

Consonant clusters are all part of the regular Arapacana alphabet except for combinations with semivowels.

**Preconsonantal** r- is indicated by an extension of the lower stem, that forms a loop and is curved to the left (e.g.,  $rva \ 3$ ), sometimes also including a small flourish (e.g.,  $rga \ 3$ ). Originally, as shown in the inscriptions of Aśoka, it was a separate horizontal stroke through the stem as it is later still preserved in rma, but with the time it has merged with the stem forming a loop. In case of rya, the r- diacritic is added at the right leg ( $\mathfrak{S}$ ). For rma, two forms seem to exist, an archaic one (type A) with a second, separate stroke ( $\mathfrak{S}$ ), and another shape written in one stroke only with a curved upper part (type B), but omitting the second stroke ( $\mathfrak{S}$ ). It is, however, not entirely clear whether the second stroke was only forgotten, or too faint to be recognized, or whether it was indeed not required. This form shares also some similarities with kha ( $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{S}$ ). In other publications, this shape has been differentiated and read as mra. The distribution of both types in in BC 5 as follows:

| ṇi(r)masa        | Skt. nirmāmsa     | 15a (r29) | incompletely preserved |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| du[rma]di        | Skt. durmati      | 24a (v3). | type B                 |
| durmadi          | Skt. durmati      | 8c (r16). | type A                 |
| durma <u>t</u> i | Skt. durmati      | 9a (r17). | type B                 |
| varadharmo       | Skt. varadharma   | 11c (r22) | type A                 |
| [karma]          | Skt. karman       | 38c (v32) | incompletely preserved |
| [karm]aphalo     | Skt. karmaphala   | 31c (v18) | incompletely preserved |
| dharmaviṇa[ye]   | Skt. dharmavinaya | 35c (v26) | type A                 |



rpa rpa rpa rṇa rṇa rṣi rṣi rva rva rva rva rma rma rma rma rmo rga rgo rgo rtha rtha rthi rdha

On Gandhari forms of the words *mṛga* and *mṛṭyu* in Dhp<sup>K</sup>, Brough (1962: 72, §15) observed: "Since the words in which the sign is written, *mruya* 184, *mrucu* 188, *mruca* 195, appear elsewhere in the manuscript as *muya*, *mucu*, the forms with -*r* are presumably only spelling archaisms." Lenz (2003: 117, table 5, p. 123) regarded "the difference between the clusters *rm* and *mr*" in the word dharma as "merely graphic," but later corrected his reading of the incompletely preserved akṣara to only *rma* (Lenz 2010: 19, n. 4, and p. 84). Glass (2007: 102, 112–113) mentioned that the scribe of his manuscript wrote only *rma*, even at those places where one would expect *mra*, and that the difference is "almost certainly graphic only." In Khvs<sup>L</sup>, *mra* und *mri* occur in *mrigo/mriam* (Skt. *mṛga*) and [*mra*]kṣa (Skt. *mrakṣa*), while *rma* seems unatttested (Salomon 2000: 62, table 2, p. 72). One example of *mra* is found in BC 6 in the word *mradua* (Skt. *mṛduka*; Schlosser 2020: 58, 65, table 7).

**Postconsonantal** -r- is usually indicated by a rightwards curve at the end of the stem. It resembles an underbar, but it cannot be confused with it, since on the one hand, the main consonant signs like pa, ba, va and ka, would not be combined with an underbar in this manuscript, and on the other hand, in those cases, where a postconsonantal -r- as well as an underbar would be possible, the sign containing the underbar has been modified that it cannot be misread. Thus, in case of  $tri \not z$  and  $ti \not z$ , the lower curve of the underbar exceptionally turns to the left, and in case of  $tri \not z$  and  $ti \not z$ , the underbar is exceptionally drawn in an acute angle. In tri times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times tri times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times tri times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times times times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times times times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times times times times the postconsonantal -<math>tri times times

**Postconsonantal** -v- occurs in tva, thva, sva, dhva, and śva. It is indicated by a rightwards curve of the stem, which is drawn up to the same height as the main consonant sign or even slightly higher. On its end may be a hooklet.

tva tva tva tva thva sva sva dhva sva

**Postconsonantal** -y- is found only four times, in one case in the combination ly- and three times in vy-. It consists of a sinuous line at the bottom or as an extension of the stem.



#### **Details of selected basic signs**

A and ha: The head of a is round, closed (99) or slightly less frequently open (99), while the head of the similar ha is mostly closed (29).

**Pa:** The round part at the right side is written first, starting at the top with a head-mark (b) in a very similar shape as va. Occasionally its lower end is placed at the same level as the lower curve of the stem (b).

Ca may  $(\mathcal{Y}_{\mathcal{S}})$  or may not  $(\mathcal{S})$  start with a headmark in the form of a loop.

Na (representing Skt. na and na) starts at the top with a hook (ff) or a triangular shape (ff). It ends in a curve or in a straight line.

**La:** The loop at the left side can be open  $(\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I})$  or closed  $(\mathcal{I}\mathcal{I})$ . The stem ends usually in a curve, but there is also one exception ending in a straight line  $(\mathcal{I})$ .

**Da** is distinguished from ta by the slant of the vertical part that is in case of ta almost horizontal (ta: 9935). Da often starts with a head-mark and either ends in a straight horizontal line  $(\mathfrak{S})$ , especially when an anusvāra is added  $(\mathfrak{S})$ , or in a curve  $(\mathfrak{S}, \mathfrak{G})$ .

**Ya** is written in two strokes. The first right part can resemble an a or a va, including a head-mark. Ya can be open at the bottom ( $\mathcal{P}$ ) or closed ( $\mathcal{P}$ ).

Ka can be written in different ways, mostly in two strokes but occasionally also in one (3). The upper part can be more round (3) 3) or more angular with a straight horizontal stroke (3). Like pa, the bottom of the right loop may be at the same height as the lower curve of the stem in several cases (3). The upper horizontal part can be written first or the right loop comes at first and only then the second va-like part is added (P-A-A).

**Ga:** The upper left loop may be open  $(\mathscr{F}\mathscr{Y})$  or closed  $(\mathscr{F}\mathscr{Y})$ .

**Śpa:** In difference to pa, the stem is written first, starting with a semicircle at the top, while the left part that reminds of pa is written afterwards (222).

Dha: The top can be round, including a head-mark (33333), or straight (3333).

 $\dot{S}a$  is written with two strokes similarly to ya. The first one resembles a va, mostly starting with a head-mark  $(\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{D})$ . The horizontal top is more or less flat with few exceptions  $(\mathfrak{D})$ .

**Kha** can be written with a prominent loop-like head-mark  $(\mathcal{G}\mathcal{F}\mathcal{S})$ . Sometimes, it shares similarities with rma (type B:  $\mathcal{E}$ ), when the horizontal stroke is omitted.

**Kṣa:** The upper part is written like a *ma* with its ends curved inwards (ダ少). It is always written in two strokes unlike *ga*. Nevertheless, the scribe confused both aksaras at least once.

Sta: The horizontal stroke ( $\nearrow$ ) sometimes hooks at the right end ( $\nearrow$  $\nearrow$ ).

 $\tilde{N}a$  ( $\mathcal{S}$ ) is mostly written in one stroke, often forming a loop at the intersecting part ( $\mathcal{S}$ ).

**Bha**  $(\mathcal{F})$  can be written similarly to ka in two strokes, starting with the horizontal. Like pa and ka, the bottom of the right loop can be at the same level as the stem  $(\mathcal{F}_{\mathcal{F}})$ .

**Cha** can be written in one stroke and the middle leftwards extension  $(\mathcal{S})$  can have the form of a loop  $(\mathcal{S})$ .

**Spa** is written in three strokes, first the upper part of sa, then the loop of pa and finally the stem (3,3).

**Vha:** The first, curved right part of the two strokes of *vha* can start like a ma  $(\mathcal{PP})$ .

**Tsa** is a combination of ta and sa, but the lower closed part that originates from sa can have a shape that resembles  $\dot{s}a$  or a part of pa ( $\dot{\mathcal{S}}_{\mathcal{B}}, \dot{\mathcal{B}}$ ). The aksara is written in one or two strokes ( $\mathcal{S}$ ).

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**Gha** can be written in one stroke, starting with the left loop and a small head-mark, then continuing to the right loop, which extends downwards into the lower right loop, and which is directly joined with the stem, written at last ( $\mathcal{S}\mathcal{S}$ ). The pen may also be lifted between the third loop and the addition of the stem ( $\mathcal{S}$ ).

**Tha** is written in two strokes, but it is not clear, which one comes first. The va-like right part can start with a small head-mark, and the left part, starting with a projecting vertical, has a round ( $\mathbf{9}$ ) or a more angular shape ( $\mathbf{9}$ ).

**Pha**  $(\mathcal{P}\mathcal{P}\mathcal{P})$  can probably be written in two strokes or in three. In the latter version, the valike loop comes first, the left part of the horizontal stroke follows, and finally, the stem is drawn.

 $\dot{K}a$  ( $\dot{D}\dot{D}\dot{D}$ ) can be written like ka in different ways: in two strokes with the ka-like part first and then the long vertical, or in probably three strokes with the right loop first, followed by the upper part of the vertical stem, and finally, the remaining va-like shape.

 $\acute{C}a$  has exactly the same shape of ca plus an additional leftwards stoke ( $\ref{2}$ ).

**Ta:** When ta is written in two  $(\not \not \not \not )$  instead of three strokes  $(\not \not \not \not )$ , the upper projecting part of the stem is shortened.

**Dha:** The right side of the horizontal stroke can have different lengths (TITT).

# List of the most common variants of the basic signs of the alphabet

# Confusable akşaras

As in other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, the akṣaras a and va can easily be misread, for example in the prefix uva or ua. Dra and tra, or dri and tri (etc.) cannot be distinguished. Additionally, the following akṣaras may have similar appearances: rma (type B: or mra) and kha, nu and du, da und kha (r43), vru and hu, vya and dha, tva and sva, va and sva, va and va (r25), va und va (r40). On the problem of the ambiguity of the syllables va and va and va see above (p. 15–16).

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### **Punctuation**

The only punctuation mark found in BC 5 consists of a circle of slightly varying sizes at the end of odd pādas. Even pāda ends are not preserved:

# 000000000000000

## The akṣaras of BC 5 and the inscriptions of Aśoka

Instead of a discussion of a possible paleographic dating, <sup>29</sup> sample akṣaras of BC 5 have been illustrated opposite to much earlier examples from inscriptions of Aśoka in the following table **(Table 1)**. This clearly shows how few differences only developed within the Kharoṣṭhī script, even after several hundred years of use. <sup>30</sup> The table includes the plainest signs of BC 5 while ignoring the more italic forms that are shown in **Figs. 6–7**. Many of these come from the beginnings of pādas (indicated in blue). The scribe appears to have written some of them in a slightly larger size than usual, and possibly also slower than the other akṣaras, including lifting the pen between the strokes. Thus, the slower and more careful writing process may explain the seemingly more archaic shape of some letters in this manuscript. However, there remains also the possibility that the scribe copied the letters of the alphabet from a more archaic "abecedary."

Since the time of Aśoka, there existed two scribal habits, one ending the stem of a letter without embellishment (type A) and one ending in a curve (type B), the latter of which is found especially in several edicts from Shāhbāzgarhī. Therefore the curved foot can never be a criterion for dating. It is also clear that the inscriptions are chiselled in stone, which necessarily led to a different appearance than the script in birch-bark manuscripts written with ink. Nevertheless, the curved foot in the inscriptions seems to suggest that writing with a pen on other materials than stone was already common.

Besides the resemblance between the shapes of the scripts from the two periods, especially, when the more archaic letters from the openings of the pādas are isolated, there becomes also a striking difference visible, namely the abundant use of modifying marks such as underbars and superscript strokes in BC 5 that cannot be found in Aśoka's time with the possible exception of  $\bar{j}a$  ( $\mathring{Y}$ ), the reading of which is far from certain. For further discussion on the signs for *tha*, *tha*, *sta*, *fa*, *fha* and *ta* see below (p. 31–35).

For a suggested date of BC 5, see p. 2 with n. 4.—The list of the Aśokan signs, especially those concerning examples of type B, is incomplete, since only clearly legible portions from the reproductions in Hultzsch 1925 were consulted.

The situation is not unsimilar to the Brāhmī script, in which changes are hardly discernible until the beginning of the first century CE.

Many letters of type B are clearly legible in, e.g., Sh4 (lines 7, 10), Sh5 (lines 11–13), Sh6 (lines 14–16), Sh8 (line 17), and Sh9 (lines 18, 20). However, the slant of the carved letters is difficult to determine from the reproductions, because of the uneven stone and the not very straight lines.

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| No. |     | BC 5       | Aśoka A        | Aśoka B    |
|-----|-----|------------|----------------|------------|
| 1   | a   | <b>9</b> 9 | 7              | J          |
| 2   | ra  | y          | ገ              | ጋ          |
| 3   | pa  | d d        | r              | þ          |
| 4   | ca  | <u> </u>   | 17             | J          |
| 5   | na  | (cf. ṇa)   | <b>5</b> 5     | S          |
| 6   | la  | 11         | 77             |            |
| 7   | da  | 5          | 555            | 5 5        |
| 8   | ba  | 49         | 77             | ጎነ         |
| 9   | фa  | 4          | 44             |            |
| 10  | șa  | 9          | $ \uparrow $   | T          |
| 11  | va  | <b>7</b>   | 7              | 77         |
| 12  | ta  | 95         | ללל            | ک          |
| 13  | ya  | No         | $\wedge\wedge$ | $\wedge$   |
| 14  | ṭha | 7          | (cf. tha)      |            |
| 15  | ka  | <b>₹</b>   | <i>ጉ</i> ጉ ጉ   | ንЪ         |
| 16  | sa  | 5          | 777            | 又又         |
| 17  | ma  | U          | U              |            |
| 18  | ga  | <b>4</b> 9 | 49             | <b>ዓ</b> ዓ |
| 19  | tha | 11         | ++             |            |
| 20  | ja  | yy         | λÀ             | y          |
| 21  | śpa | 33         |                |            |
|     |     |            |                |            |

| No.  |     | BC 5          | Aśoka A      | Aśoka B           |
|------|-----|---------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 22   | dha | <i>33</i> 3   | 33           | 33                |
| 23   | śa  | aa            | $U \bigcup$  | UV                |
| 24   | kha | $\mathcal{S}$ | 45           | 4                 |
| 25   | kṣa | 8             | Y            |                   |
| 26   | sta | チデ            | 77           |                   |
| 27   | ña  | યુષ           | JY 4         |                   |
| 28   | ţ́а | 1             | 47           |                   |
| 29   | bha | <b>ZZ</b>     | 不不           |                   |
| 30   | cha | <b>3</b>      | <b>Y</b> YY  |                   |
| 31   | spa | 33            | }            | 55                |
| 32   | vha | 1120          |              |                   |
| 33   | tsa | BB            | _            |                   |
| 34   | gha | <b>%</b>      | <b>F</b> gho |                   |
| 35   | ťμα | 4             | 7            | J                 |
| 36   | ņa  | 11            | 1277         |                   |
| 37   | pha | $\not$ $D$    | †            | ታ                 |
| 38   | ќа  | <b>\$</b> \$  | _            |                   |
| 39   | za  | 3             |              |                   |
| 40   | ća  | 33            |              |                   |
| 41   | ţa  | 77            | <b>+++</b>   | 7                 |
| 42   | ḍha | ァ             | Т            | $	au_{	ext{dhi}}$ |
| (43) | ha  | 22            | 22           |                   |

 Table 1
 The alphabet in BC 5 and in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

# A Brief Note on the Sequence of the Arapacana Alphabet

The alphabet (Skt.  $m\bar{a}tr_ik\bar{a}$ ) is not a systematic list of phonemes. Instead, it represents the standard list of all signs (akṣara) of the Kharoṣṭhī script in a fixed order. Its forty-two signs<sup>32</sup> also include all ligatures that existed in a certain time or region, while modified signs by means of vowel markers, underbars or superscript strokes as well as combinations with semivowels are not contained. Moreover, the consonant Ha is conspicuously and unexplainably missing, which, for the time being, may be regarded as a modification of A. The individual vowels other than A are excluded from the alphabet because they are modifications of A. They would be ordered as in the western alphabets, as A E I O U.<sup>33</sup>

The Arapacana alphabet was most probably for the larger part a product of a spontaneous effort (Falk 1993a: 103; 1993b: 80 [2007: 46]; 2018: 53), with possibly a few additional signs or writing variants that were added slightly later. It appears to be difficult to speculate about its earliest shape. Although it is certainly true that not all akṣaras occur in Aśokan inscriptions (**Tables 1–3**), this may not necessarily mean that they were entirely unknown or not already in development in this time. Unlike the order of the Brāhmī alphabet, which was arranged according to phonological principles, the reason behind the sequence of the Kharoṣṭhī akṣaras remains by and largely obscure.<sup>34</sup> This may seem strange for those who are acquainted with Sanskrit culture, but in comparison with other alphabets current in the period, the Brāhmī alphabet is rather an exception.

The sequence of akṣaras was learnt together with the script, and as such, it became a device for sorting and possibly counting, which is evidenced in its widespread use throughout the period of Gandhāran art as mason's marks.<sup>35</sup> The first akṣaras of the alphabet are also included on some

Apart from the well-known keyword lists arranged in alphabetical sequence, references to the exact number of forty-two akṣaras do not occur frequently in Buddhist texts from that area. Cf., e.g., AdsP II 53.30–54.5 = P<sup>K</sup> VI–VIII: 67.28–68.6.

This has been shown by Salomon (2006: 206, 214, 216), based on his analysis of mason's marks.

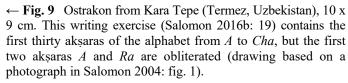
When one arranges groups of five, seven, nine, ten or twenty-one (etc.) akṣaras in horizontal rows, even with the possible adjustments based on the inscriptions of Aśoka, or if one separates the vowel A, a few patterns become seemingly visible in vertical rows (cf., e.g., **tables 1–3**). Baums (2009: 194–197) suggested that the "new signs" *fa*, *tha*, *za*, *spa* were later inserted at positions vertically adjacent to the existing signs *tha*, *sta*, *cha* and *śpa*. For introductions and some interesting observations on the alphabet and the Kharoṣṭhī script, see especially Falk 1993a: 236–239; Strauch 2012: 133–149; Salomon 2013: 8, 15–16; Falk 2018: 49–55.

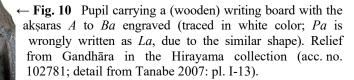
Early evidences seem to include signs found at the basis of balusters from the Eastern *toraṇa* of the stūpa in Bharhut in Central India (Cunningham 1879: 8, 70, pl. VIII; Lüders et al. 1963: XXXI; Falk 2014: 107). This resulted in some speculations about the northwestern origin of some of the artisans. However, apart from drawings, no photograph appears to have been published, and if the drawings ( \$\mathbf{h} \gamma \gamma \gamma \gamma a, sa)\$ are rotated, some Brāhmī akṣaras become legible ( \$\mathbf{h} \barba \barba \barba \gamma \gamma a, sa)\$ are rotated, some Brāhmī akṣaras become legible ( \$\mathbf{h} \barba \barba \barba \gamma \gamma a)\$.—The akṣaras attested as mason's marks as studied in Salomon 2006 (also Faccenna/Salomon 2007) are the following: \$A \subseteq \barba \gamma \text{ (nos. 1-10)}\$, \$Ta - Sa (nos. 12-16), \$Ga - Tha (no. 18-19), \$\subseteq a? - Kha (nos. 23-24), \$Sta - Bha (nos. 26-29); for \$\tau a\$, Salomon read





↑ **Fig. 8** Oblong wooden writing board from Niya (Xinjiang, China), possibly from an ancient scriptorium (Salomon 2016b: 18), now in the British Library (Or.8211/1390), 3.3 x 16.2 cm. The original length was probably ca. 32 cm (*ibid*.: 17). The akṣaras *Ma* to *Gha* are (partly) legible (drawing based on a photograph on the website of the International Dunhuang Project).





Gandhāran depictions of the Bodhisattva in school. They are shown as being drawn on the (probably wooden) oblong writing board (Skt. *phalaka*) in the hands of the Bodhisattva and his fellow students (**Fig. 10**).<sup>36</sup> Discoveries of "abecedaries" from Kara-tepe in Uzbekistan (**Fig. 9**)<sup>37</sup> and Niya in Xinjiang, China (**Fig. 8**),<sup>38</sup> show that the same alphabetical sequence was used over

Pha, but it is not clear on the photograph) as well as Re-Ri-Ro, Pa-Pe-Pi-P[o], Ro-Ru-Pa). Most sequences come from the first part of the alphabet. The system on the stair risers in Jamālgaṛhī (He-Ho) may deviate (for the different interpretations, see Salomon 2006: 209–210). Lauren Morris (München) drew my attention to a few akṣaras that may be found on the rear faces of ivory and bone carvings from Begram (Hackin 1939: 23–24, 69, 74, 87, 105; Simpson 2014: 16–17), namely Da [or read Va?], Ba, Tra? [or read Sta?], Ya, Sa, Ma, Ja and Kṣa, but since there occur Brāhmī akṣaras as well, and other signs, the interpretation is uncertain. From finds in Zar Dheri, the akṣaras A–Ma (nos. 1–17) are attested (Koizumi 2007, 2008). Other examples on parts of a small well decorated with nāga reliefs are briefly mentioned in Zin 2009: 9. Additionally, the akṣaras A–Ba (nos. 1–8) are written vertically on the backside of a relief from Takht-i-Bāhī in the British Museum (1900.4-14.13) along with possibly abbreviated references to corresponding reliefs (Salomon 1990: 258–262; Salomon 2006: 214–215).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Salomon 1990: 262–265; 1993; 2016b: 14–16. The akṣara sequences extend from *A* to *Da* (nos. 1–9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Salomon 2004; Fussman 2011: 87, no. 107; Salomon 2016b: 18–19.

Boyer et al. 1920–29: document no. 512; Thomas 1950; Salomon 1990: 265–268; Strauch 2012: 138; Salomon 2016b: 16–18. On the Niya document 511, Thomas (1950: 205, n. 1) detected the first five akṣaras of the alphabet *A Ra La* (correct to *Pa*) *Ca Na* (*JJJ*); drawn after a photograph on the website of the International Dunhuang Project) written upside down, and like Brāhmī from left to right, in the margin without connection to the main text.

several centuries and in different areas. Unfortunately, none of the "abecedaries" shows the last aksaras of the alphabet so that the number of forty-two cannot be verified.<sup>39</sup>

Falk (1993: 103, 238; 2018: 51) observed that especially several of the first aksaras between A and Ya have graphical similarities to certain Aramaic signs (that have, however, partially a different phonetic value). 40 The aksaras A to Bha (1–29) and perhaps also Cha (no. 30) as well as the last akṣara Dha (no. 42) have basically unique shapes, even though Da and Na are similar in Aśokan inscriptions and Ya and Sa can resemble each other in later times. The aksaras Na and Cha appear to have been modelled on the basis of Ja, and Ca or Ksa, but their shapes are still different. The remaining akṣaras Spa to Ta (31-41) are either ligatures (Spa and Tsa)<sup>41</sup> or obvious modifications of aksaras from the first part of the alphabet  $(Va \triangleright Vha, Ga \triangleright Gha)$ ; for *Tha* and *Tha*, see below, p. 32; Na > Na, Pa > Pha, Ka > Ka, Ca > Ca, Ta > Ta. The aksara Za that is mostly used for foreign words seems to be a new creation. 42 Thus, the aksaras for foreign sounds and several aspirated consonants that were created in correspondence to their unaspirated versions as well as consonant clusters (except for Śpa, Ksa and Sta, which are already found in the preceding sequence of the alphabet) are concentrated in the last section of the alphabet. With regard to Dha as the last aksara, it can be observed that it normally does not occur at the beginning of a word (as well as some of the preceding aksaras), and it can be speculated whether it may have been so firmly established as the last akṣara that all possibly slightly newer inclusions in the alphabet (Ka, Za,  $(\acute{c}a?)$  were inserted before it.

The following tables (**Tables 2–3**) show one hypothetical speculation on how the alphabet could have been devised. When the akṣara *A* is set apart (**Table 2**) and the remaining akṣaras of the Aśokan period are written in (six) horizontal rows containing each seven akṣaras, certain patterns become visible in the vertical columns with regard to the shape and, interestingly, also partially to the phonetic value.<sup>43</sup>

Concerning the phonetic value of the first akṣaras Ra to Bha (no. 2–29), especially conspicuous are for example the alignments of Ra and Da as well as the two sibilants Sa and Sa in column A, Ta, Tha and Sa in column D, and Sa in column E. Vertically adjacent signs mostly inspired the shapes from the third row onwards.

In Niya, more consonant clusters are attested, but it remains unclear, if they were included in the final part of the alphabet. It is also possible that the number of forty-two akṣaras was so well established that they existed outside the standard alphabet.

<sup>&</sup>quot;als hätte der Schöpfer der Kharosthī zu Beginn vorwiegend die gut im Gedächtnis bewahrten Formen verwendet, und wäre erst mit fortschreitendem Alphabet mehr und mehr auf das Erfinden neuer Grapheme angewiesen gewesen" (Falk 1993a: 238).

In contrast to later forms of *spa* and *śpa*, the shape of the Aśokan *spa* cannot easily be explained as a combination with *sa*. It mainly represents Skt. *sva*, and in the loc. sg. ending, it corresponds to Skt. *-smin*.

For the different methods of additions and development of an alphabet in general, cf. Daniels 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Similar results can also be achieved when A is included in the first row of consonants. See **Table 3**.

Column A: The upper parts or first strokes of Ra, Da and Sa start with a similar, almost rectangular curve.

Column B: The akṣaras include a more or less semicircular shape.

Column C: The first variant of *Ca* starts exactly like the *Va* in the following row, but this variant did not prevail. The second form as well as *Ga*, *Kṣa* and *Gha* show a semicircular shape above the stem.

Column D: First, the shapes of *Na* and *Ta* are similar, and secondly, the shapes of *Tha* and *Sta* consisting of two crossing lines resemble each other.

Column E: The graphic similarity of the open triangular shapes is obvious.

Column F: The unifying characteristic from the third row onwards could perhaps be described as stem with branching strokes to the right or to the left (or to both sides).

Column G: Most akṣaras start with a horizontally drawn line at the top.

Similarities in the shape seem especially obvious in akṣaras placed immediately above each other (e.g., Pa/Ṣa, Ma/Kha, Ca/Va, Ga/Kṣa, Na/Ta, Tha/Sta, La/Ya,  $Ja/\~Na$ ). The distribution of the last akṣaras of the early alphabet in the sixth row appears to be more casual, but it is interesting that Spa (no. 31) is found in the same column like Pa and Ma (spa can correspond to Skt. sma), <sup>44</sup> Gha in the column of Ga, Na in the column of Na and Ta in the column of Ta.

The akṣaras that may have been added later or as an afterthought, namely those that are not found in the oldest inscriptions, seem to have been inserted into the sixth row. Thus, *Vha* may have been placed near column C where *Va* is found etc., but it is not clear if there was a particular reason in each case. With these new additions, the supposed structure of the last row became obscured.

This whole speculation works only under two premises, namely that the akṣaras for no. 14 and no. 21 (indicated in red color in the tables) existed from the beginning. In case of *Tha* (no. 14), it can be assumed that the sign  $\Im$  was in that position, and that it was only afterwards split into two separate signs ( $\Im$  *Tha* and  $\Im$  *Tha*). Perhaps the case of  $\Im$  (no. 21) and  $\Im$  (no. 31) is comparable. It seems presently not entirely sure to which of both signs the Aśokan letter  $\Im$  (see **Table 1**) that is traditionally transliterated as  $\Im$  should be assigned or if signs for both akṣaras,  $\Im$  and  $\Im$  and  $\Im$  were intended in the alphabet from the beginning. Needless to say, a better photographic documentation of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Aśoka would be required for further study.

On the difficult interpretation of the phonetic value of *Spa* and *Śpa* in different places in a word see Baums 2009: 174–177.

For these see below, pp. 31–34, tables 7–8.

|     | A     |             | В             |          | С               |         | D   |        | Е          |        | F           |                          | G |        |
|-----|-------|-------------|---------------|----------|-----------------|---------|-----|--------|------------|--------|-------------|--------------------------|---|--------|
| 1   | 7     | 1 A         |               |          |                 |         |     |        |            |        |             |                          |   |        |
|     | 2     | (43) Ha     |               |          |                 |         |     |        |            |        |             |                          |   |        |
| 2   | ገ     | 2 Ra        | r             | 3 Pa     | 17              | 4 Ca    | 5   | 5 Na   | 7          | 6 La   | 5           | 7 Da                     | 7 | 8 Ba   |
| 3   | 4     | 9 Ņa        | $ \uparrow $  | 10 Ṣa    | 7               | 11 Va   | ን   | 12 Ta  | ^          | 13 Ya  | <u>J</u> /2 | <b>7*</b> 14<br>Tha/Ítha | ጉ | 15 Ka  |
| 4   | P     | 16 Sa       | U             | 17 Ma    | 4               | 18 Ga   | †   | 19 Tha | Y          | 20 Ja  | 4/2         | *21 Śpa                  | 3 | 22 Dha |
| 5   | C     | 23 Śa       | ζ             | 24 Kha   | Y               | 25 Kṣa  | 7   | 26 Sta | 4          | 27 Ña  | 4           | 28 <u>Ť</u> a            | ス | 29 Bha |
| 6   | Ť     | 30 Cha      | لم / <u>ع</u> | * 31 Spa | <u> </u>        | 34 Gha  | ^*  | 36 Ņa  |            | 37 Pha | 1           | 41 Ța                    | Т | 42 Dha |
|     |       |             |               |          | \ <b>7</b> 1°   | *32 Vha | 14* | 35 Ťha | <i>‡</i> * | 38 Ka  |             |                          |   |        |
|     |       |             |               |          | $\mathcal{S}^*$ | 33 Tsa  |     |        | 2/*        | 39 Za  |             |                          |   |        |
|     |       |             |               |          |                 |         |     |        | <b>*</b> * | 40 Ća  |             |                          |   |        |
| * Y | ounge | r forms tal | cen fro       | om BC 5. |                 |         |     |        |            |        |             |                          |   |        |

**Table 2** One hypothetical speculation (A) on how the alphabet could have been devised.

|     | A     |                    | В            |          | С          |         | D          |         | Е  |          | F          |         | G   |                          |
|-----|-------|--------------------|--------------|----------|------------|---------|------------|---------|----|----------|------------|---------|-----|--------------------------|
| 1   | 7/2   | 2 1 A /<br>(43) Ha | 7            | 2 Ra     | r          | 3 Pa    | 17         | 4 Ca    | 5  | 5 Na     | 7          | 6 La    | 5   | 7 Da                     |
| 2   | 7     | 8 Ba               | 4            | 9 Ņa     | $\uparrow$ | 10 Şa   | 7          | 11 Va   | 5  | 12 Ta    | ^          | 13 Ya   | ٦/- | <b>7*</b> 14<br>Tha/Ítha |
| 3   | ጉ     | 15 Ka              | 7            | 16 Sa    | U          | 17 Ma   | 4          | 18 Ga   | †  | 19 Tha   | Y          | 20 Ja   | 4/2 | <b>3*</b> 21 Śpa         |
| 4   | 3     | 22 Dha             | C            | 23 Śa    | ζ          | 24 Kha  | Y          | 25 Kṣa  | 7  | 26 Sta   | 4          | 27 Ña   | 4/  | 28 Ța /<br>41 Ța         |
| 5   | ス     | 29 Bha             | <del>Y</del> | 30 Cha   | 4/3        | *31 Spa | <b>%</b> _ | 34 Gha  | 1  | 36 Ņa    | ャ          | 37 Pha  | Ť   | 42 Dha                   |
|     |       |                    |              |          |            |         | 1/2/       | *32 Vha | 19 | * 35 Țha | <i>‡</i> * | 38 Ka 🏿 | Α.  |                          |
|     |       |                    |              |          |            |         | <b>Š</b> * | 33 Tsa  |    |          | 3/*        | 39 Za   |     |                          |
|     |       |                    |              |          |            |         |            |         |    |          | <b>*</b>   | 40 Ća   |     |                          |
| * Y | ounge | r forms tal        | cen fro      | om BC 5. |            |         |            |         | •  |          |            |         |     |                          |

**Table 3** One hypothetical speculation (B) on how the alphabet could have been devised.

# Phonology and Orthography

## Vowels

Noteworthy are only the reflexes of Sanskrit -r, which develops into:

```
-a- skṛ: saṃkhata; tṛ: taṣ̄a; uncertain: mṛ: amaa,
-i- dṛ: sadiṣ̄a/satiṣ̄a,
-u- pṛ?: [ph]u[da]; spṛ: phuṣitva; very uncertain: mṛ: mutidria?,
-ri kṛ: kritsa, krida, k(r)itva; ghriṣ̄a/(-u)ghriṣ̄a; tṛ: triṇa, atrita; dṛ: driṭha, driṭhva/drisva;
rvṛ: ṇivritౖ⟨i⟩; uncertain: gṛ: griṇi?; hṛ: hriṭha,
-ru bṛ/vṛ: vruhae, savruhi; uncertain: gḥṛ: ghru(tha).
```

Rukşa (Skt. vṛkşa) is a parallel formation to Pali rukkha, but its phonetic details remain uncertain. Svarabhakti vowels appear in (a)giṇi, eṣeamaṇa, caria and  $kile\bar{s}a$ .

## Single consonants

As will be explained below, the actual sound inventory of the text was much smaller than the alphabet suggests. The use of different akṣaras for the same sound is not a spelling inconsistency, but is rather a pattern of intentional variations to provide the needed words for pāda beginnings. The choices of one form over another were sometimes also motivated by the meter (e.g., *duhadi* and *dukhadi*, *kileśa* and *kleśa*).

Single initial consonants of words or members within a compound are usually retained as in Sanskrit without changes. There are very few exceptions where word-initial consonants are treated as intervocalic when they appear as following members of compounds, e.g.:

```
agiṣama Skt. agnisama, uvaṣakramadi BHS upasaṃkramati,
ṇaṇakritsagaṭa Skt. *nānākṛcchragata, boṣiṣatva Skt. bodhisat(t)va.
```

When the initial consonant of the first word in a pāda does not correspond normally to its Sanskrit equivalent, it was most likely chosen in order to fit the Arapacana sequence:

| ćarima | BHS carima,        | tsala?          | Skt. uncertain, cf. Skt. $\sqrt{cal}$ , |
|--------|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| zara   | Skt. <i>jarā</i> , | zari <u>t</u> a | Skt. jarita (cf. also jvarita),         |
| dhaśa  | Skt. damśa,        | vharita         | Skt. bharita.                           |

Other deviations, which are linguistically real, are already known from other Gandhari sources:

```
<u>c̄a</u> Skt. ca,

<u>kṣ̄atra (kṣatra in Anav<sup>L</sup>)</u> Skt. chattra,

<u>suci (suci in the Sanskrit Kharoṣṭhī document no. 511 from Niya; suyi in Dhp<sup>K</sup>, Dhp<sup>Sp</sup> and Nird<sup>L2</sup>): Skt. śuci,

<u>chada (chada in Anav<sup>L</sup>, EĀ<sup>L</sup>, Dhp<sup>K</sup> and BC 11)</u> Skt. śabda.</u>
```

The significance of the superscript stroke in  $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{c}a$ ,  $\overline{\xi}$   $\sqrt{k}\overline{s}atra$ , and  $\sqrt[6]{7}$   $\overline{j}ima$  (Skt. jihma) is not yet fully understood. Scribes seem to utilize it for different things. The superscript stroke in  $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{c}a$ , for example, can be found in equivalents for Skt.  $\underline{s}ca$  in other manuscripts (see especially Schlosser 2020: 53–54), but this does not seem to be the case in BC 5.

| Chan  | ged init             | ial consonants              |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--|------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| Skt.  | BC 5                 | examples                    | Skt.               | BC 5      | examples                  | Skt.   | BC 5       | examples                                      |  |  |  |  |
| c-    | <u>c</u> -           | <u>c</u> a                  | j-                 | Ī-        | īima                      | Ś-   | S-         | suci  |  |  |  |  |
|       | ć-                   | ćarima                      |                    | z-        | zara, zari <u>t</u> a     |  | ch-        | chada   |  |  |  |  |
| c-?   | ts-                  | tsala (uncertain)           | d-                 | dh-       | dhaśa                     |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| ch-   | kṣ-                  | kṣatra                      | bh-                | vh-       | vhari <u>t</u> a          |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| Medi  | al unas <sub>l</sub> | pirated consonants          |                    | l.        |                           | <u>I</u> .   | 11         | -   |  |  |  |  |
| -k-   | Ø                    | arthia, kṣania              |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | -g-                  |                             | a), nay            | aga, loga | a, sapragaśi, mai         | nusaga, gi   | ıšaga, śo  | ga, bhayagara, cigitsaga                      |  |  |  |  |
| -g-   | -g-                  | raga, caga/ćaga, tu         |                    |           |                           |  | <u>- U</u> | <u>, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , </u> |  |  |  |  |
| -c-   | -c-                  | suci                        | <u> </u>           | <u> </u>  | <u> </u>                  | <u> </u>   |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | - <u>ē</u> -?        | ac(ari) or acc(ari)         |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | -y-                  | ņamuyi, vaya, mai           | iv(i)              |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -j-   | Ø                    | cae                         | J ( )              |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| 3     | -y-                  | gayaraya, pariyi <u>t</u> a | parvay             | i, prava  | . manuva, virava          | a  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -ţ-   | -d-                  | jadila, ghada(t), ka        |                    | 71 7      | , , <u>,</u> , <u>,</u>   |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -d-   | -d-                  | agudi, praśpedit(a          |                    | bosivad   | a                         |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -t-   | -d-                  |                             |                    |           |                           | hida, durn   | nadi, nar  | nida, pridimaņa, bhaņa-                       |  |  |  |  |
|       |                      | di, bhramadi, mud           |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | - <u>t</u> -         |                             |                    |           |                           |  |            | a, praśpedit(a), bharita,                     |  |  |  |  |
|       | _                    | bhavita, bhuta, mu          |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -d-   | -d-                  | pradaņa, sada, śad          |                    |           |                           |  |            | <u> </u>                                      |  |  |  |  |
|       | - <u>t</u> -         | ita, pata, natasi, va       |                    |           | _                         |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | -h-?                 | śpahu (Skt. svādu)          |                    | - (-      | // <b>-</b> -             |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -p-   | -p-                  | mayopama                    |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| 1     | -V-                  | pava, alavi, vavaņ          | a, kaśav           | a, uvay   | a, uva <u>s</u> akrami, u | ıva <u>s</u> akram   | itva       |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | Ø                    | uaya                        |                    |           |                           | _  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -b-   | -b-                  | drobalya                    |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| Medi  | al semiv             | vowels and <i>ha</i>        |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -y-   | Ø                    | apria?, -idria, pras        | staa, vri          | ıhae, sar | njaṇiaṇa?                 |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| •     | -y-                  |                             |                    |           |                           | ya, vyaya  | ma(t), sa  | maya, kṣaya, bhayaga-                         |  |  |  |  |
|       |                      | ra, bhuya                   |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -aya- | -e-                  | jaņeti, sparedi             |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -r-   | -r-                  | parama, vara etc.           |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -V-   | -v-                  | pravara, eva, deva          | ı, vivi <u>s</u> a | ı, etc.   |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| ava-  | 0-                   | o(k)r(a)mi                  |                    |           |                           |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -l-   | -1-                  | atula, mala, kušal          | a, bala,           | kala etc. | •                         |  |            |   |  |  |  |  |
| -h-   | -h-                  |                             |                    |           |                           | , vihara, ı  | noha       |   |  |  |  |  |
|       | 1                    | ,                           |                    |           |                           | sahasa, dahaṇa, bahu, grahaṇa, ṇihatva, savahaṇa, vihara, moha |            |   |  |  |  |  |

Table 4

| Medial | Medial aspirates             |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|--------|------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Skt.   | BC 5                         | Examples in BC 5                              |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṭh-   | -ṭh-/-ḍ-?                    | śaṭha <i>or read</i> śaḍa <i>or</i> śara      |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ḍh-   | -ḍh-                         | miḍha   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -th-   | - <u>s</u> -                 | asa, rasa, ṇasa, tasa, yasa,                  |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | -yuṣa, śamaṣa                                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| -dh-   | - <u>s</u> -                 | bahuvisa, vivisa, krosa,                      |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | vya <u>s</u> i, <i>cf. also</i> ḍa <u>s</u> u |  |  |  |  |  |
| -bh-   | -bh-                         | abhibhu <u>t</u> a                            |  |  |  |  |  |
|        | -vh-                         | avharaṇa                                      |  |  |  |  |  |
|        | -h-                          | dukhah(i), yehi, śadehi                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| Medial | sibilants                    |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ś-    | - <u>ś</u> -                 | akuśala, vaśa, sapragaśi                      |  |  |  |  |  |
|        | - <u>ś</u> -<br>- <u>š</u> - | kušala, sadiša, vaša, kile-                   |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | ś̃a, kleś̃a                                   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ș-    | - <u>ṣ</u> -                 | eseamaņa, parisa, ņisaņa,                     |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | viṣ(aya), toṣida, maṇuṣa-                     |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | ga, jadis(u), bhasa(t), bhe-                  |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | s(aja), *phasu, phusitva                      |  |  |  |  |  |
| -S-    | - <u>s</u> -                 | agisama, uvasakrami,                          |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | uvasakramitva, rasa, pu-                      |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | rimasu, prasaņamaņasa,                        |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | ņatasi, bosi, vyasi, ghra-                    |  |  |  |  |  |
|        |                              | sida, kusuma                                  |  |  |  |  |  |
|        | - <u>š</u> -                 | śa <u>ś</u> aṇ(a)                             |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 5

Single, unvoiced consonants between vowels become voiced and are usually written with underbars (e.g., 29) ga,  $\mathcal{C}$  da). For -d-, however, the underbar is optional (transliterated as -t-). In fact, it is not entirely sure whether the underbar ( $\mathcal{I}$ ) denotes -t- (- $\underline{t}$ -) or -d- (- $\underline{d}$ -), because there is no graphical difference, as also in the case of dr- and tr- which cannot be differentiated by their shape. The original voiced medial consonants -gand -d- are always written with an underbar, but not -b- or -d-, although, for -d-, sometimes -t- can be written. The underbar may not necessarily change the pronunciation, but it facilitates the reading of the text immensely, especially since there are no spaces between words. Thus, -k- and -g- become -g- except for the ending in -ika, which becomes -ia. Medial -cand -j- usually become -y-, except in suci (Skt. śuci), where it is retained, and in cae, where the -ydisappeared into the -e. Medial -t- and -d- become -d-, medial -t- and -d- can appear as -t- or -d- (except Skt. svādu, which occurs as śpahu), medial -p- is written as -v- (except in upama, where for some reason it remains unchanged, and in uaya = -, which occurs next to the regular uvaya ~ - ~, probably metri causa).

The nasals -n- and -m- usually remain unchanged, as do the semivowels and ha. In a few exceptional cases, -y- is dropped. -Aya- in verbs and the prefix ava- are normally reduced to -e- and o-.

**Medial aspirates**: -dha- is retained; -th- and -dh- always become - $\underline{s}$ -; -bh- remains or becomes -vh-, except for plural case endings, where it appears as -h-. In one case, -th- seems to be represented as -th-, but the reading is uncertain ( $\frac{\dot{s}atha}{\dot{s}ada}$ ).

**Medial sibilants** are all found with underbars, but in the case of  $-\dot{s}$ -, there are several examples of an additional superscript stroke being added. In those cases where it is missing, it may have been forgotten, especially when a vowel sign is attached. Originally, the superscript stroke was most probably intended for differenciating y- and  $\dot{s}$ -, which can be written in similar shapes (Glass 2000: 99); but here it became redundant, since an underbar is added that does not seem to exist for y-. The -s- in Sanskrit  $\dot{s}\bar{a}sana$  becomes  $-\bar{s}$ - (however, cf. Skt.  $\sqrt{s}ams$ ), <sup>46</sup> for which one may also compare  $dha\dot{s}a$  (P damsa, Skt. damsa).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> On this phenomenon, cf., e.g., Schlosser 2020: 84.

## Different aksaras representing the same phoneme in Sanskrit

The manuscript contains a few unique spellings that are due to the nature of the text, in which each stanza is dedicated to one syllable (aksara) of the alphabet. Each word at the beginning of a pāda (quarter stanza; when necessary, indicated in blue) starts with the same aksara. In some cases this involves modified versions of the same aksara with a superscript stroke ( $\bar{t}a$  and  $k\bar{s}a$ ), which presumably indicated a special pronunciation. These pada-initial words are sometimes different (stanzas 18, 19, 23, 24, 25), sometimes partly the same (stanzas 20, 21, 22, 26, 27), and sometimes all the same (stanza 28?). However, not all of the aksaras of the Arapacana alphabet occur at the beginning of a word in the Gandhari language. Moreover, while a few aksaras at the end of the alphabet seem to have been devised especially to represent foreign phonemes, it appears that the author of the text did not resort to using foreign words. We do not know whether he was unable to do so because of his cultural background, or if he simply chose not to use any foreign words. In order to succeed in his plan, he seems to have fabricated a few new spellings of otherwise well-known words. This leads to the curious situation that some words appear twice at the beginning of different padas but are spelled differently. There are also a few that occur at the beginning only once, but with an unusual initial letter. Altogether, the alphabet as contained in the manuscript shows at least eight such pairs or groups of aksaras that represent, at least in some words, the same phoneme in Sanskrit. Unfortunately this does not tell us much about the pronunciation of these aksaras in Gandhari.

|    | Akṣara    | <b>Duplicate word</b>             | New spelling                | Sanskrit equivalent            |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
|    | 4. ca     | caga (4a)                         |                             | tyāga                          |
| 1. | 33. tsa?  | -                                 | tsala (33ac)                | cf. √cal?                      |
|    | 40. ća    | ćaga (40a)                        | ćaga, ćarima (40c)          | tyāga, BHS carima              |
| 2. | 5. na     | ṇaṇa (5c)                         |                             | nānā                           |
| ۷. | 36. ņa    | ņаņа (36c)                        |                             | nānā                           |
| 3. | 9. ḍa     |                                   |                             |                                |
| 3. | 42. ḍha?  |                                   | dhadhala (42a), dhasa (42c) | ?, daṃśa, P ḍaṃsa,             |
|    | 14. ṭha   | țhaṇa (14c)                       |                             | sthāna                         |
| 4. | 19. tha   | thaṇa (19b)                       |                             | sthāna                         |
|    | 35. į́ha? |                                   |                             |                                |
| 5. | 20. ja    | jara (20a)                        |                             | jarā                           |
| ٥. | 39. za    | zara (39c), zari <u>t</u> a (39a) | zara, zari <u>t</u> a       | jarā, jarita (or cf. jvarita?) |
| 6. | 24. kha   | khalida (24a)                     |                             | skhalita                       |
| 0. | 38. ka    | ќаli <u>t</u> a (38a)             |                             | skhalita                       |
| 7. | 28. ţa    |                                   |                             |                                |
| /. | 41. ţa    |                                   | ţaţa (41ac)                 | *tartṛ?, cf. trātṛ             |
| 8. | 29. bha   |                                   |                             |                                |
| ٥. | 32. vha   | vharita (32a), bharita (32c)      | vhari <u>t</u> a            | bharita                        |

**Table 6** Cases of duplicate words and newly created spellings.

The akṣaras  $ca(\mathcal{F})$  and  $\acute{ca}(\mathcal{F})$  as well as  $\acute{ta}(\mathcal{T})$  and  $ta(\mathcal{F})$  are graphically so close it is possible that, at the time of the composition of the text, they were regarded as variant shapes of the same akṣara, and that their original phonetic values, if they ever had one, had been lost. In certain contexts, the same can be said for the akṣaras  $tha(\mathcal{F})$  and  $\acute{tha}(\mathcal{F})$ , which probably originated from

the same archetype (Aśokan  $\Im$ ; note that the Aśokan *sta* was also written with a vertical bend in the middle horizontal stroke:  $\Upsilon 7$ , BC 5:  $\Im$ ).

Since no words begin with  $\dot{t}a$ , the author used a word in which it forms the second syllable ( $a\dot{t}a$ , Skt.  $\bar{a}rta$ ) for all four pādas. It seems, however, that this dissatisfied him. Thus, in other similar cases, he created artificial spellings, such as vharita, zara, and  $dha\dot{s}a$ . It is clear that he knew the correct pronunciation of these letters, since in two of these verses correctly spelled words containing the letters vha and dha can also be found, namely avharana (32a) and  $m\bar{t}dha$  (42a). At the beginning of verse 32c, he forgot to alter the spelling of bharita to vharita.

# The akṣaras tha, tha, sta, ta, tha and ta and their phonetic values

Leaving the dental unaspirated *ta* aside, the allocation of a group of signs from the alphabet to different "ta"-sounds along with their derivations varies greatly between different manuscripts. This is often rather confusing. These akṣaras seem to have been applied differently in different regions and/or periods or scribal traditions, but usually they do not appear all together. Since this is the first manuscript that has been discovered which includes all six akṣaras, there was initially some hope that it would shed further light on this matter. But for the reasons shown above, it was in fact of little help.<sup>47</sup>

The signs fall into two groups, each distinguished by similar shapes. The first group (tha, tha, sta, tha) etymologically stands in general for a combination of a sibilant and a retroflex or dental aspirated or unaspirated "ta"-sound. The second group (ta, ta) etymologically stands for combinations of t- and an unaspirated t-, but the difference between these two signs is not clear. It seems that at least by the time this manuscript was written, the two akṣaras were merely two graphic variants for the same phoneme.

As for the first group, the akṣara th- in the middle of a word is a reflex of Sanskrit -ṣṭ- or -ṣṭh-. At the beginning of a word starting a new pāda, however, dental equivalents occur. This could indicate an attempt by the author to create spellings starting with the relevant akṣara in order to suit his purpose. However, such spellings are occasionally also found in other Gandhari texts.

On the other hand, the akṣara th- reflects only Sanskrit (not Pali) equivalents of dental (-)sth-. The akṣara th-, however, stands for the same combination as well as including -tth-. The akṣara st- usually represents the same phoneme as in Sanskrit, but there may be exceptions. Thus, the akṣaras th- and th- overlap, as do th- and th- in some cases.

# The akṣaras tha, sta, fa, fha and ta in Asokan inscriptions

In order to understand the development better, it might be worthwhile to take a closer look at the oldest sources for the Kharoṣṭhī script, namely the rock inscriptions of Aśoka, although the underlying language is different from that of BC 5. Unfortunately, the published images and rubbings of these inscriptions are generally poor, possibly due to their original size having been highly

For earlier research on the problem, see, e.g., Brough 1962: 75–77 and Baums 2009: 163–168.

| No. |          | BC 5 | Aśoka    | Aśokan exampl  | es  | Exampl              | es in BC 5  |
|-----|----------|------|----------|--|---|---------------------|---|
| 14  | ṭha      | 7    | cf. į́ha |  |   | Skt. st             | P tt: ghrutha P tth: yatha, datha, dritha P tth: jetha P th: thadha P th: thana |
| 19  | tha      | 7    | †        | Skt. nth P nth:<br>Skt. rth P tth:<br>Skt. sth P tth:  | a(ṃ)ñatha, atha,<br>anatha, tatha, yatha<br>gratha<br>athra, nirathriya   | SKt. Stil           | 1 in grana  |
| 35  | ťμα      | ģ    | 99       | Skt. sth P tth:  Skt. tth P tth: Skt. rth P tth: Skt. str P tth:   | thitika, gehatha,<br>grahatha<br>uthana<br>atha, athra, nirathiya   | Skt. sth            | P th: thaṇa P th: thaara, thala, thama P tth: samuthida                         |
|     |          |      |          | Skt. sth P tth:  |   |                     | P tth: athi P th: thi(ta), thahia, thasamti                                     |
| 26  | sta      | 3    | 7        | Skt. st P th:  | (n)asti, asti(n), anuśasti,<br>striyaka/istri, vistriţa<br>sa(m)stuta, saṃstava<br>nipista  | Skt. st<br>Skt. st  | P tth: śpasti, nasti P th: stava, stavadi, stavia, stabha                       |
|     |          | _    | -        |  |   | Skt. st<br>Skt. sth | P st: utrasta P tth: prastaa  |
|     | ,        |      |          | Slet t D to  | otovi   |                     |   |
| 41  | ţa<br>ţa | 1    | +;       | Skt. t       P t:         Skt. t       P t:         Skt. t       P t/t:         Skt. (r)t       P t:         Skt. rt       P tt:         Skt. t       P t:         Skt. t       P t: | aṭavi<br>paṭilveśiya<br>kirṭalñata (rṭa: 戊)<br>maṭal, vapuṭal<br>nivuṭa, nivuṭi<br>kiṭi, kirṭi (rṭi: 牨), kriṭri/<br>krirṭi, nivaṭeṭi, -yal<br>aṭavil, gaṭita,<br>bhaṭamaya, bhaṭaka<br>paṭilpati, °vidhana,<br>°vedana, -daka, -detu, pa- | Skt. rt             | P tt: ata   |
|     |          |      |          | Skt. t P t/t:<br>Skt. (r)t P t:<br>Skt. (r)tt P tt:<br>Skt. rt P tt:   | tibhoga, °pajeyati, praţi- vedetava kiţa/kaţa/kaṭra/kiţra usaṭa, vistriṭa, bhuṭi, muṭa, v(iy)apaṭa/ °puṭa /°praṭa nivuṭa, nivuṭi, vuṭa kaṭava, °viya, anuvaṭaṃ- ti, °ţiśaṃti, nivaṭeti, -yati   | ţaţa (Skt           | *tartṛ?, cf. Skt. trātṛ)  |

**Table 7** The akṣaras *tha*, *tha*, *tha*, *tha*, *sta*, *ta* and *ta* and their Pali and Sanskrit equivalents.

| Edict | th                                      | į́h                       | ŧ                                   | ţ   | t                   |
|-------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| M1    | athra                                   |                           |                                     | kaṭaviya  |                     |
| Sh1   |   | aṭ́ha                     |                                     | kaṭava  |                     |
| M2    | atha                                    |                           |                                     | kaṭa, paṭi  |                     |
| Sh2   | yatha                                   |                           |                                     |   | prati               |
| M3    | athra, yatha                            |                           |                                     |   |                     |
| Sh3   | yatha                                   |                           |                                     |   |                     |
| M4    | athra                                   | cithitu, sretha           |                                     | paṭipati  |                     |
| Sh4   | athra                                   | tiṭhati, sreṭha, aṭha     |                                     | paṭipati  |                     |
| M5    | tatha, adhithana,<br>anatha, athra      | ṭhitika                   |                                     | kaṭa/kaṭra, anuvaṭ-,<br>vapuṭa, viya°, vi-<br>yapraṭa, paṭi |                     |
| Sh5   | tatha, adhithana,<br>anatha, thitika    | raṭhika?, aṭha            |                                     | kiṭa/kaṭa, anuvaṭ-,<br>vapaṭa, viya°, bha-<br>ṭamaya?, paṭi |                     |
| M6    | athra, tatha                            | uṭhana, ṭhitika           |                                     | kiṭa, kaṭaviya, pa-<br>ṭi                                   |                     |
| Sh6   | uthana, thitika, tatha                  | aṭ́ha, uṭ́hana            |                                     | kiṭa, paṭi/praṭi  |                     |
| M7    |   |                           |                                     | kiṭanata  |                     |
| Sh7   |   |                           | kirtañata (rta: 大)                  |   |                     |
| M8    |   |                           |                                     | paṭi  |                     |
| Sh8   |   |                           |                                     | prați   |                     |
| M9    | nirathriya, athra,<br>atha              |                           | pativeśiya, nivuti,<br>°vuta, °vat- | bhaṭaka, -paṭipati?,<br>kaṭaviya?                           |                     |
| Sh9   | atha                                    | niraťhiya, aťha,<br>aťhra |                                     | kaṭava, bhaṭaka, pa-<br>ṭipati, nivuṭa, nivaṭ-              | prati               |
| M10   | athra                                   |                           | kiţi                                | usața   |                     |
| Sh10  |   | aṭha                      | kirți (rți: ҍ), krițri<br>or krirți | usața   |                     |
| M11   | saṃthava, tatha                         |                           |                                     | bhaṭaka, -paṭipati,<br>kaṭaviya?                            |                     |
| Sh11  | tatha                                   |                           |                                     | bhaṭaka?, paṭipati,<br>kaṭava                               | prati               |
| M12   | gehatha, tatha, atha,<br>aṃñatha, athra |                           | vapuťa                              |   |                     |
| Sh12  | grahatha, tatha,<br>yatha, añatha       | aṭha                      |                                     | vapaṭa  |                     |
| M13   | athra                                   |                           | maṭa, aṭavi                         |   |                     |
| Sh13  | grahatha,<br>apagratha                  | aṭha                      |                                     | agrabhuţi?, bhaţa-<br>ka, muţa, aţavi,<br>anuvaţ-, vuţa     | pratipati,<br>prati |
| M14   | athra, tatha                            |                           |                                     |   |                     |
| Sh14  | tatha                                   | aťha                      |                                     | vistrița, gațita,<br>pați                                   |                     |

M: Mānsehrā; Sh: Shāhbāzgarhī. Only words which are mostly legible are included. Uncertain readings are indicated with ?. Verb endings are abbreviated with -. The symbol ° abbreviates parts of the preceding word.

**Table 8** Words containing the akṣaras *tha*, *tha*, *ta* and *ta* in Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

reduced and the uneven stone surfaces. <sup>48</sup> The words containing the akṣaras th-, th-, th-, th-, th-, as far as they can be deciphered, are listed in **tables 7 and 8**. The words are quoted without case endings or square brackets. The rectangular boxes contain those words, which occur in different spellings, e.g., th- th

The reflexes of the akṣaras th- and th- overlap, but a closer look at the individual edicts reveals a much more complex picture (Table 8). Their usage varies from scribe to scribe and from edict to edict. This is shown in the examples in rectangular boxes (Table 7), showing the same words with different spellings. Intervocalic -th- ( $\uparrow$ ) always stands for Sanskrit -th-, which was later written as -s- ( $\mathcal{Z}$ ), as for example in BC 5. In Asokan inscriptions, -th- is also found in the word athra (Skt. artha), but only in Mānsehrā, plus one isolated exception in Shāhbāzgarhī (Sh4, line 10); elsewhere in this latter edict, the spelling atha is preferred. The same word is spelled atha (rarely athra) in all the edicts of Shāhbāzgarhī (cf. P attha and attha). The akṣara th- (4 7) is found in only three edicts from Mānsehrā, while it is quite common in Shāhbāzgarhī. Among other words, in Mānsehrā, th- is used in thitika and uthana, but these are spelled with (-)th- in Shāhbāzgarhī. Only the words cithitu/tithati and sretha are written with th- in both places in edicts 4 and 6. However, the word uthana is also written with th- in Sh6. Thus, th- and th- are by no means interchangeable, but the usage of th- depends on the scribes (or their dialect). This shows that very early, while the Kharosthī script was still developing, there were already different scribal traditions with different orthographies, and this diversity seems to have continued. Within the first group of aksaras, only the usage of st- was clear from the beginning.

On the sites as well as for secondary literature, see Falk 2006: 127–129, 132–135.

Not because of the phonetic value but due to the graphic similarity to the later th. The rubbings can be easily misread where the surface of the stone is not even. This observation is not new. See Brough (1962: 76), who, however, in a very few cases does accept the existence of th.

The upwards-bent curve did not disappear completely, as it is occasionally found in manuscripts from Afghanistan and in Niya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> By Hultzsch 1925; cf. Bühler 1896: 26, § 11.6, Tafel 1.

M13. Both shapes occur in the same edict only in M9, M10 and Sh10. These cases are particularly interesting.

In edict 12 and 13 we find a pattern similar to the distribution of th- and th-. The word vaputa in M12 is spelled vapata in Sh12. Likewise, mata and atavi in M13 appear as muta and atavi in Sh13. Pativesiya, nivuti, nivuta and forms of nivat- occur in M9, while in Sh9 we find katava, bhataka, patipati, nivuta and nivat-. However, in M9 bhataka and possibly -patipati and kataviya are also found. This is not a contradiction if one assumes that the energy variant graphic forms for the same akṣara, but ti is not proven by this example either.

In conclusion it can be observed that from the earliest attested use of Kharoṣṭhī script, it seems that preferences in the usage of one or the other akṣara were dependent on the scribes. The akṣaras th- (perhaps shortly after Aśoka) and th-, as well as t- and t- are similar in shape and were probably developed from each other for different reflexes of Sanskrit words, but their usage is rather erratic and any distinctions are easily blurred. It is possible to see the akṣara t- in a similar light, that is to say, it originally developed from t- for a purpose that is still not known, but its significance was soon forgotten. Its earliest and only occurrence is in BC 5, where it appears to be merely a graphic variant for t-.

| Precons   | Preconsonantal -r-                |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| -rg-  | -rg-                              | marga   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rņ-  | -ņ-                               | vaṇa  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rņ-  | -rṇ-                              | cirņa, jirņa  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rt-  | -ţ-                               | aṭa   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rt-?   | -ţ-                               | ṭaṭa?   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rth-   | -rth-                             | artha   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rdh-   | -rdh-                             | ardha   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rm-  | -rm-                              | ni(r)masa, karma, durma-<br>di/durmati, dharma  |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | -ry-                              | virya, bharya   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ry-  | -ri-                              | caria   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 407.7   |                                   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rv-  | -rv-                              | sarva   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rvṛ-   | -vri-                             | nivrit(i)   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rṣ-  | -rṣ-                              | hiterși, dharșitva, harșida   |  |  |  |  |  |
| -rś-  | -ș-                               | phaṣita   |  |  |  |  |  |
| daur-   | dro                               | drobalya  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Postconsonantal -r-   |                                   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Postcon   | sonantal                          | -r-   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Postcon:<br>(-)kr-/<br>-mkr-  | -kr-                              | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami,<br>uvasakramitva, kritsa,   |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-ṃkr-  | -kr-                              | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami,<br>uvasakramitva, kritsa,<br>krida, k(r)itva, krosa   |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/   |                                   | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami,<br>uvasakramitva, kritsa,<br>krida, k(r)itva, krosa<br>agra, grahaṇa<br>ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida),  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-  | -kr-<br>-gr-                      | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami,<br>uvasakramitva, kritsa,<br>krida, k(r)itva, krosa<br>agra, grahaṇa<br>ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida),<br>taṣaghrasida<br>atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra,   |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-<br>-gr-<br>(-)tr-                              | -kr-<br>-gr-<br>-ghr-             | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami,<br>uvasakramitva, kritsa,<br>krida, k(r)itva, krosa<br>agra, grahaņa<br>ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida),<br>tasaghrasida  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-<br>-gr-<br>(-)tr-                              | -kr-<br>-gr-<br>-ghr-<br>-tr-     | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-<br>-gr-<br>(-)tr-                              | -krgrghrtr-                       | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-<br>-gr-<br>(-)tr-<br>-try-                     | -krgrghrtrtr-                     | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/<br>-mkr-<br>-gr-<br>-gr-<br>(-)tr-<br>-try-<br>-ttr-<br>-(m)dr- | -krgrghrtrtrtrtr-                 | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta mutidria, gutedri(y). praya, praśpedit(a), prastaa, vipramuta,   |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/ -mkrgrgr- (-)trtryttr(m)dr-                                     | -krgrghrtrtrtrdr- pr-             | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta mutidria, gutedri(y). praya, praśpedit(a), prastaa, vipramuta, sapragaśi padirakṣaṇa or padi-                    |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/ -mkrgrgr- (-)trtryttr(m)dr- (-)pr-                              | -krgrghrtrtrtrdr- pr-             | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahana ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), tasaghrasida atrana, atrita, putra, tatra, trana, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta mutidria, gutedri(y). praya, praspedit(a), prastaa, vipramuta, sapragasi padiraksana or padijagana               |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/ -mkrgrgr- (-)trtryttr(m)dr- (-)pr- prati- br-                   | -krgrghrtrtrtrdr- pr- padi- br-   | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta mutidria, gutedri(y). praya, praśpedit(a), prastaa, vipramuta, sapragaśi padirakṣaṇa or padijagaṇa brama         |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)kr-/ -mkrgrgr- (-)trtryttr(m)dr- (-)pr- prati- brvr-                 | -krgrghrtrtrtrdr- pr- padi- brrv- | o(k)r(a)mi, uvasakrami, uvasakramitva, kritsa, krida, k(r)itva, krosa agra, grahaṇa ghrasiti, vyasighras(ida), taṣaghrasida atraṇa, atrita, putra, tatra, traṇa, tri, yatra, metra metra utrasta mutidria, gutedri(y). praya, praśpedit(a), prastaa, vipramuta, sapragaśi padirakṣaṇa or padijagaṇa brama parvayi |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 9

#### **Consonant clusters**

- **1.** The syllable before original consonant clusters within a word—in whatever form they appear—remains in all cases metrically heavy.
- **2. Three combined consonants** are reduced to two, but various rules apply (-k s v s p -, -c c h r s t s -, -b d h v - t h v -, -s t v - t h v / s v -, -m k r - k r -, -m j n - m n -, m t s - t s -, -m d r - d r -, -m p r - p r -, -m v r - v r -, -m s k - m k h -). An exception is the word <math>d h a k a (Skt.  $d h v \bar{a} n k s a$ ), which may be derived from a Middle-Indic form like Pali d h a n k a.

In clusters with nasal initial the nasal is usually not graphically represented (-mkr->-kr-, -\*mts->-ts-, -mdr->-dr-, -mpr->-pr-, -mvr->-vr-) with the exception of the the words  $sam\tilde{n}a$  (interpretation uncertain; Skt.  $samj\tilde{n}a$ ;  $-mj\tilde{n}->-m\tilde{n}-$ ),  $samkha\underline{t}a$  (Skt.  $samsk\bar{t}a$ ) and samkhara (Skt.  $samsk\bar{t}a$ ; -msk->-mkh-).

- **3.** Consonant clusters of two parts, including anusvāras, but excepting semivowels and sibilants, usually retain their second consonant. Thus, the initial consonants m, k, c, j, n, t, d, p, b and h are dropped or assimilated, and the second consonants kh, c, ch,  $\tilde{n}$ , th, n, t, d, and dh are retained. One exception is the word agi (-gn->-g-, Skt. agni, P aggi), another seems to be  $duhida/duhi\underline{t}a$ , which exists side by side with dukha and dukhida, but the former is rather a case of deocclusion of -kh-. The spelling  $sam\underline{s}uk\underline{s}i\underline{t}a$  instead of  $samdhuk\underline{s}i\underline{t}a$  is noteworthy, unless it is a scribal error. For nasals in combination with palatals, see below.
- **4. Anusvāras** are mainly preserved in the prefix *saṃ* in combination with only one consonant. Remarkably, the other examples are from pāda beginnings. This

suggests that the intention was to write the most important words in the verses as correctly or unambiguously as possible. It also shows that anusvāras were generally perceived, but left unwritten. Examples with anusvāra are: ahusamña, kṣaṃti, gaṃdha, daṃta, fhasaṃti, śaṃta, saṃkhaṭa, saṃkhara, saṃgha, saṃjaṇiaṇa, saṃñaṇaṇa, saṃbhajaṇa, saṃsukṣiṭa. Anusvāras or nasals were left unwritten in aguḍi, achabi, ajali, adhagara, idria, uvaṣakrami, uvaṣakramitva, garisu, ḍhaśa, data, dhaka, paḍara, phada(t), badhaṇa, masa, mucati, muci, sapragaśi, savruhi and stabha.

**5. Semivowels:** The following outcomes of -y- as the second part of a cluster occur: -cy- >-c-, -jy- >-j-, dhy->j-, -ty->-c-. In combination with other semivowels, it has sometimes been retained (dro-balya, vyayama(t),  $vya\underline{s}i$ ), and in other places, lost (diva, vavana). In combination with sibilants, the sibilant remains and is not modified with an underbar ( $pa\acute{s}ia$ ,  $ka\acute{s}ava$ , tasa, thasamti). Intervocalic -hy- is written as or like -s- (ghris-sa/(-u)ghris-sa,  $gu\bar{s}aga$ ), but contrary to intervocalic -s-, the preceding syllable is always metrically heavy.  $^{52}$ 

Preconsonantal -r- is preserved except in two words. In vaṇa (Skt. varṇa) it is not clear if it was intentionally left out by the scribe for metrical reasons, as the first syllable must be light. In phaṣita, -rś- became -ṣ-, according to a normal Gandhari development. The original cluster -rt- is represented by -f- or -t-. The prefix dur- or daur-becomes dro- (drobalya), and -rvṛ- becomes -vri-(nivriti⟨i), BHS nirvṛti).

**Postconsonantal** -r- is usually preserved except in  $pa\underline{d}i$  (Skt. prati), parvayi (Skt. pravraj-), sahasa (Skt. sahasra), and sadha (Skt.  $sraddh\bar{a}$ ). The exact derivation of sada is uncertain (see Schlosser 2020: 84, 184). Sanskrit grasta ( $\sqrt{gras}$ ) appears as  $ghra\underline{s}ida$ , but the aspiration may perhaps be influenced by Sanskrit  $\sqrt{ghas}$ . However, gr- or (-d)gr- also becomes aspirated in  $ghri\underline{s}a/(-u)-ghri\underline{s}a$  (BHS/Skt. grhya/udgrhya). For some scribes, there was a tendency in Gandhari toward g>gh, but in the preserved part of this manuscript, there are no other unambiguous examples.

**Postconsonantal** -v- remains (-tv- >-tv-, -bdhv->- dhv-, - $\dot{s}v$ -> $\dot{s}v$ -> $\dot{s}v$ -> $\dot{s}v$ -> and  $\dot{s}v$ - become - $\dot{s}p$ -.

**Postconsonantal** -*l*- is either preserved  $(kle\bar{s}a)$  or a *svarabhakti* vowel is inserted  $(kile\bar{s}a)$ .

| Consonant    | clusters o | excluding -r-  |
|--------------|------------|--|
| Skt.         | BC 5       | Examples in BC 5   |
| -kkh-        | -kh-       | kakhaḍa  |
| -kt-         | -t-        | cata, vipramuta, muta  |
| 1.1          | kil-       | kile <u>ś</u> a  |
| kl-          | kl-        | kli <u>š</u> aņa ( <i>read</i> kl <mark>e</mark> <u>š</u> aņa) |
|              |            | rukṣutam(a), saṃsukṣita,                                       |
|              | ( )1       | mogarthia ( <i>read</i> moksar-                                |
| (-)kṣ-       | (-)kṣ-     | thia), kṣaya, kṣema, kṣa-                                      |
|              |            | ņia, kṣaṃti  |
|              | -ch-       | kuchi  |
| -kṣv-        | -śp-       | praśpedi <u>t</u> (a)  |
| -ṅkṣ-        | -k-        | dhaka (P dhaṅka)   |
| 1.1.1.       | -kh-       | dukha, dukhida   |
| -ḥkh-        | -h-        | duhita, duhida   |
| -gn-         | -g-        | agi  |
| -ṅg-/-ṃg-    | -g-        | aguḍi  |
| -ṅgh-/-ṃgh-  | -ṃgh-      | saṃgha   |
| -cch-?       | -ch-       | achabi   |
| -cch-/-*nts- | -ts-       | gatsata (or read gatsat(i)?)                                   |
| Pkt. *-cch-/ | -ts-/      |  |
| -mc-, Skt.   |            | khatsa/khaspa (uncertain)                                      |
| -śc-/-*ṣp-   | -sp-       |  |
| -cchr-       | -ts-       | kritsa (P kiccha)  |
| -cy-         | -c-        | mucati   |
| -mc-/-ñc-    | -c-        | muci   |
| (-)jñ-       | (-)ñ-      | ñaṇa, satañu, viñavi or  |
|              |            | soviña, maṇuña, ñatva  |
| -jy-         | -j-        | logajetha  |
|              | -ṃñ-       | saṃñaṇaṇa, saṃñaṇita?  |
| -ṃj-/-ñj-    | -ñ-        | bhaña(t)   |
| . 3          | -ṃj-       | saṃjaṇiaṇa   |
| .~           | -j-        | saṃbhajaṇa, ajali  |
| -ṃjñ-        | -ṃñ-       | ahusaṃña? (uncertain)  |
| -dg-         | -rg-       | kharga   |
| -mth-/-nth-  | -ṭh-?      | kaṭha? (uncertain)   |
| -md-/-nd-    | -d-        | paḍara<br>·  |
| -ùù-         | -ņ-        | ņi <u>s</u> aņa  |
| -tt-         | -t-        | anutara, utam(a), cita, pati                                   |
| -tt-/-tv-    | -t-        | ita(ra) or itva(ra)  |
| -tth-        | -ṭh-       | samuṭhida  |
| -tm-         | -tv-       | atva   |
| -ty-         | -c-        | nica, cae, saca  |
|              |            | uvasakramitva, satva, ņi-                                      |
| -tv-         | -tv-       | hatva, tva, tvaya, k(r)itva,                                   |
|              |            | gatva, jaṇitva, dharṣitva,                                     |
|              |            | ñatva, bhutva, phusitva  |

For the shape, cf. also p. 15–16, and on other examples of hy>s, cf. Brough 1962: §61.

| Consonant clusters excluding -r- |        |                             |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Skt.                             | BC 5   | 5 Examples in BC 5          |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ts-                             | -ts-   | cigitsagaņa                 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -(d)gṛ-                          | -ghri- | ghriśa or (-u)ghriśa        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ddh-                            | -dh-   | budha, şadha                |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| dv-                              | du-    | duhi                        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| dhy-                             | ī-     | - Jane                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -dhv-                            | -dh-   | dhaka (P dhaṅka)            |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -t-    | mucati, dhavata, bhasata,   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mt / nt                          |        | data                        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṃt-/-nt-                        | -ṃt-   | kṣaṃti, daṃta, thasaṃti,    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  |        | śaṃta                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -md-/-nd-                        | -d-    | phada(t)                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -dh-   | badhaṇa, adhagara           |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṃdh-/-ndh-                      |        | saṃsukṣita (read saṃdhu-    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -ṃdh-  | kṣit̪a?), gaṃdha, badhaṇa   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -nn-                             | _n_    | prasaṇamaṇasa, vavaṇa,      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -1111-                           | -ņ-    | khiṇa, chaṇa                |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -pt-                             | -t-    | atrita, guta, prata, satañu |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -bd-                             | -d-    | chada                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -bdh-                            | -dh-   | ladha, ṭhadha               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -bdhv-                           | -dhv-  | ladhva                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -mp-                             | -b-    | achabi                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.1.                             | -bh-   | stabha                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṃbh-                            | -ṃbh-  | saṃbhajaṇa                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -lk-                             | -k-    | uka                         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -lp-                             | -rp-   | karpa                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ly-                             | -ly-   | drobalya                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ( ),,,,,                         | (-)v-  | diva, vavaņa                |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)vy-                           | vy-    | vyayama(t), vya <u>s</u> i  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -śc-/-*ṣp-,                      | to /   |                             |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pkt. *-cch-/                     | -ts-/  | khatsa/khaspa (uncertain)   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṁc-                             | -sp-   |                             |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -śy-                             | -ś-    | paśia, kaśava               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -śv-                             | -śv-   | logiśva(ra)                 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṣk-/-sk-                        | -k-    | dukara                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -șţ-                             | -ṭh-   | ghruṭha, daṭha, driṭha,     |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  |        | yaṭha                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṣṭh-                            | -ṭh-   | logajetha, katha            |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṣṭv-                            | -ṭhv-  | drithva/drithvaṇa           |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -sv-   | drisva/drisvaņa             |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṣṇ-                             | -ṣ-    | taṣ̄aghrasida               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -*nts-/-cch-                     | -ts-?  | gatsata (or read gatsat(i)) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -sk-/-ṣk-                        | -k-    | dukara                      |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṃs-                             | -ś-    | ḍhaśa                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -S-    | masa, garisu                |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -ṃsk-                            | -ṃkh-  | saṃkhara, saṃkha <u>t</u> a |  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Preconsonantal** *-l-* can be assimilated (-lk->-k-), but it becomes -r- in the word karpa (-lp->-rp-). This may be compared to **the cluster** -dg-, which turns into -rg- in the word kharga (Skt. khadga; for other occurances than in BC 5, see also Khvs<sup>L</sup>).

- 6. Nasals in combination with palatals: The cluster  $j\tilde{n}$  becomes  $\tilde{n}$ -, and  $-mj\tilde{n}$  becomes perhaps  $-m\tilde{n}$ -, but the cluster  $-\tilde{n}j$ -/-mj- can also become  $-\tilde{n}$  ( $bha\tilde{n}a(t)$ , Skt.  $bha\tilde{n}jant$ ) as well as  $-m\tilde{n}$ -( $sam\tilde{n}anana$ , Skt. samjanana;  $sam\tilde{n}anita$ ?, BHS  $samjanayitv\bar{a}$ ), -j- (sambhajana, Skt.  $sambha\tilde{n}jana$ ; ajali, Skt.  $a\tilde{n}jali$ ) and -mj- (samjaniana, cf. Skt. samjanya). This can occasionally be confusing.  $^{53}$
- 7. Preconsonantal -m- becomes -m- in the combination -hm- (brama, jima); the cluster -tm-, however, becomes -tv- in atva (Skt. ātman).
- 8. Consonant clusters involving sibilants: (-)Ksis mostly preserved (ruksutam(a), samsuksita, mogarthia [read mokṣarthia], kṣaya, kṣema, kṣaṇia, kṣamti), but kukṣi, as known from other texts (Anav<sup>L</sup>, SangCm), becomes kuchi (P kucchi, see Baums 2009: 134). This may possibly reflect the language of another text that inspired this verse (18a). - $S_n$ - is represented as - $\bar{s}$ - ( $ta\bar{s}a$ , Skt.  $trsn\bar{a}$ ); -sk- or -sk- and skh- become -k-, but -sk- and skhis also found written as -kh-; -st- and -sth- become -th-; -stv- becomes -thv-; (-)st- is mostly preserved, but in one case it becomes the (thadha); (-)sth- normally becomes (-)th- or th-, but is also found as -st- (prastaa) and th- (thana); sp- and sph- become ph-; -sm- becomes -sp- (taspi, sparedi); \*-mts- may become -ts- ( $gatsata/gatsat\langle i \rangle$ ); -ms- becomes -ś- in dhaśa (P damsa, Skt. damsa; cf. also  $\pm sasan(a)$ , Skt.  $\pm sasan(a)$  and -s- in masa (Skt. māmsa) and (a)garisu.

A similar example, namely kuñaru (Skt. kuñjara), occurs in the Dhp<sup>K</sup> (Brough 1962: §46).

Thus, the Kharoṣṭhī akṣara śp- (no. 21) represents Sanskrit -kṣv- (praśpedita) or sv- (śpasti, śpahu); sp- (no. 31) corresponds to Sanskrit sm-(sparedi, taspi); ka (no. 38) is Sanskrit -sk- or -ṣk-(dukara) as well as skh- (kalamaṇa, kalita); and kṣ- (no. 25) stands for Sanskrit kṣ-. Ts- (no. 33) is found in the place of various Sanskrit phonemes: Pkt. \*-cch-/-mc- and Skt. -śc-/-\*ṣp-, or something else (khatsa or khaspa); -cch- or -ms-/-\*nts- (gatsata); -cch- (kritsa, P kiccha); -ts- (cigitsaga, P tikicchaka); c-? (tsala, uncertain).

### Vowel sandhi

A few unusual cases of sandhi in the manuscript are noteworthy. In several instances the meter is responsible for these special forms.

The initial vowel *a* can be elided after other vowels such as -*a* (dir. pl.), -*i* (dir. pl. or cpd) and -*o*, as can be observed in the following examples:

| Consonant clusters excluding -r- |          |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------------------|----------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Skt.                             | BC 5     | Examples in BC 5                               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| skh-                             | Ŕ-       | kalamaṇa, kaliṯa                               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | kh-      | khalida  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)st-                           | (-)st-   | ņasti, utrasta, śpasti, sta-                   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  |          | va, stavadi, stavia, stabha                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | ţh-      | ṭhadha   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)sth-                          | -ťh-     | aṭhi, ṭhi(ta), ṭhahia,                         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -in-     | thasamti                                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | -st-     | prastaa  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | ṭh-      | ṭhaṇa  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | th-      | thaṇa, thaara, thala, thama                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| sp-                              | ph-      | phada(t), *phasu, phasita,                     |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | pii-     | phusitva                                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| sph-                             | ph-      | phuda  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (-)sm-                           | -sp-     | taspi, sparedi                                 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -sy-                             | -S-      | tasa, taseva, į́hasaṃti                        |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| sv-                              | śp-      | śpasti, śpahu                                  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -hm-                             | -m-      | brama, jima                                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| -hy-                             | 7        | ghri <u>š</u> a <i>or</i> (-u)ghri <u>š</u> a, |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                                  | <u>š</u> | guṣ̃aga  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 10

'nega instead of aṇeka (dukara ṇega, 4c; jadi ṇegasahasa, 20c; ṇaṇakakhadadhaka ṇega, 36c). 55 'ṇaṭi, if it stands for aṇaṭi, which is uncertain (ñaṇabalo ṇaṭi, 6a).

'giṇi instead of agiṇi (pravaro giṇukadahaṇa, 11a).

'garisu instead of agarisu (deva garisu, 30c).56

Such cases are already known from Pali (Oberlies 2001: §27). Less common is the elision of the initial u in khargo ' $ghri\bar{s}a$  (24c, Skt.  $khadgam\ udgrhya$ ). <sup>57</sup>

Final vowels are also occasionally lost within compounds. There are examples for -a and -i:

-a:  $trin'ukasadi\bar{s}a$  (15a), satv'idro (16d, uncertain), ruks'utam(e) (17c),  $mu\underline{t}'idrio$  or mut'imdria (23c, uncertain), perhaps also tas'eva (12c, 13c?), which can also be explained as a regular sandhi:  $tas\hat{e}va.^{58}$ 

-i: 'giṇ 'ukadahaṇa (11a).

On this possible future form, see von Hinüber 2001: § 474; Salomon 2008: 352, 360, 362, as well as Lee 2009: 69 and *passim*.

Some cases are not clear, since *neka* can also stand for Skt. *naika*. Cf., e.g., *māya nekavividhā* in the *Lalitavistara* (L<sup>H</sup>, pāda 14.18c), but also *yajñā naikavidhāh* (L<sup>H</sup>, pāda 19.39).

The augment is not required, but the spelling with *g*- hints at its presence.

The word  $ghri\underline{s}a$  can also be understood as without a prefix. On the other hand, the elision of an initial u in verses is not unusual, since it occurs a number of times in the *Lalitavistara* (L<sup>H</sup>).

The same form occurs also in Anav<sup>S</sup> (Salomon 2008: 395, 397).

Regular vowel sandhi agreeing with the rules of Sanskrit is also found within compounds. In all examples, the corresponding syllable must be read as heavy to fit the meter:

```
nâsti (13c), jarâbhibhuṯa (19c), mohâdhaḡare (19c), mokṣârthio (ms. mogarthio, 20c), raฐâgra-pravara (21a), ñaṇâgi (27c), citavaฐ̄âṇu- (38a), gutêdri(y). (34c), mayôpama (15c), and probably hiṯêrṣi (19a).
```

In one case it seems that it was easier to construct an expression within the framework of the meter by means of a hiatus within a compound:

```
ni(r)masaathis(ame) (15a).
```

The ending -m of the accusative or nominative singular neuter is attested in two probable cases:

```
a(r)th(a)m ac(ari) or a(r)th(a)m a\bar{c}(ari) (5a) and sarvasamkha\underline{t}am i\underline{t}a (25c).
```

In one case, original final -s seems to be retained before t-, as in Sanskrit, namely, in śogas tasê-vâpria or -priya (ms. śogastase apria/apriya, 13c), but this is based on a very uncertain reading of the relevant akṣara and therefore may not be valid.

## **Scribal errors**

Every scribe makes errors, but very few real mistakes can be identified with certainty here, such as mogarthio instead of mokṣarthio (20c), resulting from the similar shape of the akṣaras ga (cf.  $\mathcal{G}$ ) and  $k \neq a$  ( $\mathcal{G}$ );  $mariy\langle i \rangle$  (15c) and  $kil\langle e \rangle \overline{s}a$  (33c), where the i- and e-vowel marks were omitted; and klišaņa instead of klešaņa (11a), or superfluous vowel marks (vyisi for vyasi, 13c). In a few places, an akṣara is not written clearly, resulting in several possible readings (e.g., śaṭho or śado or śaro, 9a). Towards the end of the manuscript, unintelligible phrases seem more frequent, which may be explained by an increase of errors. In many cases, however, it is not entirely clear whether a correction is needed or not. Thus, suci (pāda 18a), corresponding to Skt. śuci, might perhaps be better corrected to suci or suyi; soga ghrasiti (20a) might also be emended to śogaghrasita, phasita (21c) to phasit(v)a, satañu (22c) to sataña; mutidrio (23c), which is metrically problematic (---), may perhaps also be read as *mutimatio*, but the corresponding Sanskrit terms muktendriya or muktīndriya are not well-attested; for ita (25c), one may also attempt to read it(i); for stavadi (26a), the meaning of staradi might better fit; pava vi vare, or pava vivare, or pavavivare (26c), which is not clear, seems to become easily intelligible if one emends it to padavavare; samkhataprata (27a) might be emended to samkadaprata, gatsata (28a) to  $gatsat\langle i \rangle$ , dritha (30c) to  $drith\langle v \rangle a$  or (better) hritha, bharita (32c) to vharita, nivritapata (34a) to nivrit(i)pata, and yuşa (42a) to guşa. The poem contains also a number of other difficult words, which might become clearer if one detects errors.

Additionally, there is one metrical irregularity in the word padaravano ( $- \cdot \cdot \cdot -$ ; Skt.  $p\bar{a}n$ -daravana) "white-colored." The penultimate syllable must be read as a light syllable in the meter, but this renders the word incorrectly. However, if it were correctly spelled as padaravano, the heavy syllable would violate the meter.

There are no discernible cases of corrections by the scribe.

# Morphology and Syntax

The language of the text shows occasional Sanskrit influence, especially when it serves the meter. This can be seen in examples such as *metra* (instr. sg., = Skt. *maitryā*), instead of the usual Gandhari form *metrae*, and the occasional use of the -*e* ending for the instrumental plural (Skt. -*aiḥ*). In some respects, there appears to be greater uniformity than in other Gandhari texts. In addition to an apparently more standardized orthography, this is also seen in the smaller number of alternative endings for the nominative and accusative ("direct case")<sup>59</sup> in the singular. On the other hand, there are cases where the same word is found in a number of variants and grammatical forms. This may be for metrical reasons, or due to the personal taste of the author. A few examples, out of many, are the absolutive "having seen" (Skt. *dṛṣṭvā*), which occurs at least in three different forms (*driṭhva*, *drisva* and *drisvaṇa*), the alternation between *duhida* ( $\sim \simeq$ ) and *dukhida* ( $\sim \simeq$ ) "pained," and the choice of different instrumental plural endings in -*e* or -*ai* ( $\simeq$ ) and -*ehi* ( $\sim \simeq$ ) as well as -*ahi* ( $\sim \simeq$ ). Several characteristics of the language in this text can also be seen in other Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts that originated from Gandhari sources, as for example in many passages of the *Lalitavistara*.

Despite all this, one should bear in mind that a large part of the manuscript is probably lost and thus not available for study. For this reason the context of various word groups and phrases is often not clear. Thus, the segmenting of some words or the identification of certain grammatical forms may be questionable. For example, the preterite forms in the singular can belong to the first, second or third person, and it is not always possible to determine which one is meant on the basis of the surrounding words. Distinguishing between vocatives and nominative forms is equally difficult.

## Gender

The indication of gender in the following text and in the index is based on Sanskrit equivalents only. One isolated neuter plural ending occurs in *bahuṇi karpaṇayuta* (acc. pl., 23a), which may be conditioned by the meter. Such examples of inconsistencies between modifiers and nouns or numerals are also known from other Gandhari and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts (BHSG §6.11 ff., especially §6.13).

### **Nominal forms**

The picture we gain from the preserved part of the text is too incomplete to make any generalized statements. With regard to masculine singular endings of the so-called direct case, the

This term is used in Baums 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> For similar observations for other metrical texts in Gandhari, see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 140, 160.

overwhelming majority ends in -o; -a and -am are much rarer. It appears as if -o and -a in this text were not fully interchangeable, although there seem to be no clear rules. In most cases of nouns ending in -a, there are several possible interpretations: it may be vocative rather than nominative; it may be plural rather than singular; it may be part of a compound; the reading may be uncertain; or, the present participle ending in -maṇa (eṣeamaṇa) may be uninflected. It may also be asked whether the position immediately before the caesura or at the end of a pāda had an influence, or whether another uncommon sandhi rule may have inconsistently been applied, e.g., -a before other vowels, before  $\bar{c}a$ , vi (Skt. api) or before t-. Nevertheless, it seems, with all due caution, that in this text endings in -a, and rarely in -am, stand more frequently for an accusative than for the nominative, with some exceptions for the nominative neuter.

Stems corresponding to Skt. -an occur in the nominative (bramo, 35a; perhaps gayarayo, 18a) and accusative singular (thamo, 19a), as well as in the nominative or accusative plural (bahupavakarma, 38c), with no difference in form from stems in -a. The treatment of stems corresponding to Skt. -as is similar (pridimano, m. nom. sg., 30a). However, possibly due to the meter, the longer form prasanamanaso is also attested (m. nom. sg., 23c).

From Skt.  $\bar{a}tman$ , the form atvana ( $- \sim \sim$ , acc. sg., 20c, Skt.  $\bar{a}tm\bar{a}nam$ ; not included in the following table) is attested. The short penultimate syllable may be  $metri\ causa$ , but similar forms are also known from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts (BHSG § 17.26).

| gender   | m./n.                              | m./n.                 | m./n.                       | m./n.               | m./n./f.                     | m./n. | m./n.           | f.                | f.                               |  |  |  |
|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Skt.     | -a                                 | <i>-a</i> (pron.)     | -ant                        | -vant               | -u                           | -i    | -in             | - <i>i/-ī</i>     | -ā                               |  |  |  |
| G        | -a                                 | -a                    | -a(nta)                     | -va(nta)            | -u                           | -i    | -i              | -i                | -a                               |  |  |  |
| singular |                                    |                       |                             |                     |                              |       |                 |                   |                                  |  |  |  |
| dir.     | -o, -a,<br>-am                     | -a, -o                | -a<br>-ado? ∨ ≃<br>-ata – – | -va, -vo,<br>-vado? | <i>-u</i>                    | -i    | -i              | -i                | <i>-a</i>                        |  |  |  |
| instr.   | <i>-eṇa</i> − ≃                    | —                     | —                           |                     | _                            | _     |                 | <b>-</b> a        | —                                |  |  |  |
| dat.     |                                    |                       | —                           |                     | _                            | —     |                 | _                 | -ae? − <i>⊆</i>                  |  |  |  |
| abl.     | -a <u>t</u> o ∨ ≃                  |                       |                             | _                   | _                            |       |                 |                   |                                  |  |  |  |
| gen.     | -asa - ≥                           | -asa -=               | _                           |                     | _                            | _     |                 | -ie?              | <i>-ae</i> ? − <i>×</i>          |  |  |  |
| loc.     | -e                                 | -aspi −≃              | —                           |                     | _                            | _     | _               | -ie?              | _                                |  |  |  |
| voc.     | -a?                                |                       |                             | _                   | _                            | -i?   |                 | _                 |                                  |  |  |  |
| plural   |                                    |                       |                             |                     |                              |       |                 |                   |                                  |  |  |  |
| dir.     | -a                                 | -e, -a                | -ata? −=                    | _                   | -u,<br>-uṇi - ≃,<br>-ava ~ ≃ | -i?   | _               | -i?               | <i>-a</i>                        |  |  |  |
| instr.   | -e, -ai?,<br>-ehi − ≃,<br>-ahi ~ ≃ | -e, -ai?,<br>-ehi – ≌ | _                           | _                   | -uhi                         | _     | _               | _                 | _                                |  |  |  |
| gen.     | <i>-aṇa</i> − ≃                    | —                     | —                           |                     | —                            | —     | <i>-iṇa</i> − ≃ | —                 | —                                |  |  |  |
| loc.     |                                    | _                     | —                           | _                   | _                            |       |                 | - <i>i</i> șu − ≃ | - <i>a</i> <u>s</u> <i>u</i> − ≃ |  |  |  |

- Skt. -a m./n., sg. dir. (nom. and acc.): -o: many examples; -a/-am: nom.: agra (before p-, or in cpd) 21c, atula (or acc., before the caesura) 19a, apria/apriya (n.?, pāda end) 13c, eseamana 17a, 24a, ginukadahana (or acc. or in cpd, before the caesura) 11a, damta (before caesura) 7c, dritha (before t-) 22c, bala (sg. or pl.) 8c, śoga or śogas- (uncertain) 13c, śoga (or in cpd) 20a; sambhajana (or acc., reading uncertain) 11a, soviña (or segment differently as so viñavi) 29c, acc.: a(r)th(a)m- (before a-) 5a, artha (before c-) 23a, phasosamñananartha (before s-) 37c, atula (or nom., before the caesura) 19a, khalida (before e-) 24a, kṣaṇia paśia sarvasamkhaṭam iṭa (all n.) 25c, ghaṇa (or ghanata, uncertain) 34a, cago 4a and ćaga 40a, chada 30c, nivrit(i)pata 34a, pava (before vi or in cpd, or emend to pada-) 26c, mara (before t-) 17c, marga (before e-) 17a, virya (or in cpd) 19a, śiva 21c (pāda end); sg. instr.: dhaśeṇa 42c, ragavaśeṇa 28a, mohavaśeṇa 28c, jaravyaṣimaraṇeṇa 20a, kroseņa 14a, ñaņeņa 27b; sg. abl.: agrato 35a; sg. gen.: ņasavarasa 12a; sg. loc.: mohadhagare 19c, logajethe (uncertain) 35a, (prava)re (uncertain) 35a, ćarime 40c, namagrahane 12a, sarvaloge 29c, dame 23c, dharmavinaye 35c, tribhave 29c, thane (uncertain) 19b, kale 40c, kathe (uncertain) 8c, kaśave 31a, samaye 8c, thale 19d, jane (uncertain) 20d, śame 23c, kşeme 19d, rukşuta[m](e) 17c, padavavare (emended from pavavivare) 26c; sg. voc.?: nayaga 22c, nasa 35c; pl. dir.: -a: many examples; pl. instr.: badhane 16a, kame (or kamai) 22a, dukhah(i) 20a, avharanehi 32a, dukhaśadehi 39a; pl. gen.: kritsagatana 3c, cigitsagana 3a, nanakritsagatana 5c, klisana (read klesana) 11a, satvana 20c, 23a, sarvarasana 21c, afana (uncertain) 28d. Skt. -a demonstrative and relative pronouns and pronominal declension: aneka/neka, sarva, para(?) and sama(?): m./n., sg. nom.: s(a) 7c, so (uncertain) 29c; m./n., sg. acc.: ta 17c, 26a (28c?, 34a?); sg. gen.: tasa 12a, tasêva 12c; sg. loc.: taspi 8c; pl. dir.: anega 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a, 33a; anega 7a, 13a, 14a, 33a; nega 4c (or f.?), 36c; te (uncertain) 7a?, 9c? 41c?, sarve 9c, sagarasame (uncertain, or sg.?) 12c, agisame 15a, phenasama 15c, para or par(e) (very uncertain) 41c; pl. instr.: ye (uncertain) 22c, yehi 18c, 21a, sarvai or sarve 16a. m./n., sg. dir.: bhaña 26c; ghadado 34c (or gen. or 2rd pl. imp.?), vyayamado 34c (or gen. or 2rd pl. imp.?), bhaşata 29c; **pl. dir.**: gatsata (or read gatsat(i)?). Skt. -vat m./n., sg. dir.: bhagava 11c, 16a, balava 27c, balavo 7c, balavado (perhaps m.c.) 24c. m./n., sg. dir.: śpahu 21c; pl. dir.: śpahu 21a, satañu (uncertain) 22c, bahuṇi 23a, bahava 4c, 32a, Skt. -u
- namuyi 17c, kuchi 18a; **sg. voc.?:** muṇi (uncertain) 24c; **pl. dir.:** durmadi (uncertain) 8c. Skt. -in **m., sg. dir.:** achabi 8a, 29a, hiterṣi 19a; **pl. gen.:** vatiṇa 11a.

39a; dual/pl. instr.: duhi 20a.

Skt. -i

Skt. -i/-ī **f., sg. dir.**: bosi 10c, 13a, 27c, med(i)n(i) 18c, gavi 42c, kṣaṃti 25a; **sg. instr.**: metra 9c, 24c; **sg. gen. or loc.**: raṭie 2c; **pl. dir.**: jadi (or in cpd) 20c; **pl. loc.**: jadiş(u) 17a.

m./n., sg. dir.: ñaṇagi 27c, durmati/durmadi 9a, 24a, suci 18a, muṇi 18a, 24c?, 26c, -ajali 12c,

Skt. -ā f., sg./pl. dir.: -a: many examples; sg. dat. or gen.: sarvaprayae 5a; pl. loc.: purimasu 17a.

 Table 11
 Conspectus of nominal inflections.

No cases of endings in -e for the nominative or accusative singular as are known from other Gandhari texts have been identified with certainty in this manuscript. But given the fragmentary state of preservation, this might perhaps also not entirely be ruled out.

Interesting but not unparalleled examples of the force of the locative are *kaśave* (reading uncertain, 31a), "under [the Buddha] Kāśyapa" and *rukṣutam(e)* (reading uncertain, 17c), "under the best of trees" or "near the best of trees." For both expressions, parallels can be found in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts.<sup>61</sup>

The ending -ado is found in three instances in the equivalents of words ending in -vant or -ant in Sanskrit, in balavado (24c) and in the present participles ghadado and vyayamado (34c). This

For a possibly comparable example for the locative having the meaning "under" in another Gandhari text (Anav<sup>L</sup>), see Salomon 2008: 163.

has been interpreted as an alternative form for the nominative singular. <sup>62</sup> Unfortunately, the ending -ado cannot be differentiated from genitive or ablative singular endings, and this adds considerably to the uncertainty in interpreting the fragmentary verses.

The penultimate syllable of all preserved genitive and locative plural forms appears to be long, but this may be a coincidence, since there are only a few such examples.

A few forms are not clear, such as *ṭaṭa* (cf. Skt. \**tartr*, nom. sg.?, 41ac) and *pariṣa* (Skt. *parṣad/pariṣad*, 8a), for which a locative singular (Skt. *parṣadi/pariṣadi*) or accusative would be expected. An -*e* could easily be restored at the end of *pariṣa*, but it is not certain whether such a form existed in Gandhari.<sup>63</sup>

## **Pronouns**

**First-person pronoun:** The nominative *ahu* "I" appears only once, if this is not understood as a noun that is part of the compound *ahusaṃña* (27c), "[wrong] idea of 'I'." The enclitic form *me* for the instrumental singular (Skt.  $may\bar{a}$ , BHSG §20.19) seems to be attested in 6c. Whether ma in 8c also belongs to this category is uncertain, because it could also stand for the privative particle (Skt.  $m\bar{a}$ ).

**Second-person pronoun:** In a stotra text, the pronoun of the second person would be expected to occur several times, but in fact only a few examples are preserved here or have been recognized:

```
tva nom. sg (or enclitic for instr. sg.; 22c)
tvaya instr. sg. (35c)
te uncertain (enclitic for instr. sg., or 3rd person m. nom. pl., or part of another word; 7a, 9c).
```

**Third-person or demonstrative pronoun:** The following examples are found, although some cases are not certain.

```
s(a), sa m. nom. sg. (7c; uncertain case: 2c)
so m. nom. sg. (or part of another word; 29c)
ta m. acc. sg. (17c, 26a; uncertain cases: 28c and 34a)
tasa m. gen. sg. (12a), tasêva (12c)
taspi m. loc. sg. (8c)
te m. nom. pl. (uncertain cases: 7a, 9c; cf. the second-person pronoun).
```

In BHS, the endings -anta as well as -ata (corresponding to G -ada/-ado) are attested as nominative or accusative for stems ending in -ant (BHSG §18.1, 18.33–35). A few examples of this have been recorded for Gandhari: In Av<sup>L1</sup>, [ra]hado occurs as m. nom. sg. (Lenz 2010: 42), and in EĀ<sup>L</sup> bhayavadu as m. nom./acc. sg. (Allon 2001: 113). In addition to the normal occurrences of bhayava, an isolated bhayavado as nom. sg. is found in SĀ<sup>SS</sup> (line 3). It is uncertain whether this should be explained as a scribal error or as a significant variant. See Lee 2009: 92–93.

That would be *paris(e)*. Compare, however, the several occurrences of *jage* (loc. sg. of Skt. *jagat*) in the verses of the *Lalitavistara* and other texts (BHSG §15.2).

**Demonstrative base** *ida-*: The accusative singular (neuter) appears in the (famous) phrase *kṣaṇia* ... *sarvasaṃkhaṯam iṯa* (25c), "everything conditioned is momentary," if *iṯa* is not emended to *it⟨i*).

**Relative pronoun:** The relative pronoun appears three times in the instrumental plural (*ye* in 22c; *yehi* in 18c and 21a). The different forms were probably chosen to fit the meter. The construction of the relative sentences seems slightly unusual. There is never a correlative demonstrative pronoun, at least not in the same pāda. The first part to which the relative pronoun relates seems to be a nominal sentence, while the second part, starting after the caesura with the relative pronoun, functions as a finite sentence, but the finite verb form is represented by a past participle:

"The scents [were] heavenly, [and] lovely [were] the yehi phuda med(i)n(i) (18c) scattered flowers by which the earth was filled."

spahu manuṣaga raṣagrapravara "Sweet are the best [and] most excellent of tastes of yehi praya toṣida (21a) humans by which the people are gratified."

dhaṇa satañu aṇutara bahuviṣa "The riches are [of] seven [kinds](?), unsurpassed [and] ye dritha tva ṇayaga (22c) manifold, with which, oh leader, you are perceived."

Alternatively, one could probably also translate these as: "[There are] ... (heavenly scents / sweet [and] most excellent tastes ... / unsurpassed [and] manifold riches [of] seven [kinds]), by which ..."

It is possible that the sentence continues in the following pāda. Somewhat similar examples can also be found in the *Lalitavistara* and elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

**Pronominal declension** is attested for the words *sarva* and perhaps *para* (reading uncertain). The word *anega* or *nega* always ends in -a in the nominative and accusative plural, possibly for metrical reasons. It usually occurs in the same position in the meter (7a, 10a, 13a, 14a, 33a, 36c, all followed by *vivisa*) except for one case (4c), and everywhere a short syllable is required at the end. <sup>66</sup> It is also not impossible that the two words *anega vivisa*, "many various," form a compound.

Or with an emendation to *sataña*: "There are seven different riches, unsurpassed [and] manifold, with which, oh leader, you are seen." Alternatively, if *ye* does not represent an instrumental plural, but stands instead for an accusative plural, and if *tva* is somehow understood as a shortened form of the second person in instrumental singular, the second part of the sentence might also be translated as "which are seen by you, oh leader." This interpretation, however, is very uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> According to BHSG §21.27 this ending is quite common in verses.

The word *sama* represents a curious case. Its nominative or accusative plural ending in *-e* (12c, 15a, and in at least one other text of the Bajaur collection) seems to suggests that this word was also inflected according to the pronominal declension.<sup>67</sup> But there is some inconsistency, since in one case the word ends in the metrically heavy syllable *-a* (15c). However, the *-e* ending would otherwise be difficult to explain, unless one considers the possibility that the word has somehow been confused with Sanskrit *samyak*, which appears quite frequently as *same* in Gandhari. But the meanings of these two words are clearly different.

**Interrogative pronoun:** Because of the uncertain reading and interpretation, the possible equivalent for "how?" (Skt. *katham*, G *kase*?, 13c) can be cited only with extreme caution.

## **Numerals**

The word for "one" (Skt. *eka*) occurs only in the form *nega* or *anega* (Skt. *aneka* or *naika*, "many") in the plural, usually in combination with *vivisa* (Skt. *vividha*, 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a, 33a, 36c). In one case, it is part of a compound (*negasahasa*, 20c), in another it stands without *vivisa* (4c).

The word for "two" may be represented in the instrumental dual or plural (P  $dv\bar{t}hi$ , Skt.  $dv\bar{a}bhy\bar{a}m$ ) in the expression  $duhi\ dukhah(i)\ (20a)$ , "with two [kinds of] pain," but it is to be noted that the first syllable is light (cf. BHS dvihi [also duhi], BHSG §19.4).

The word "three" is found only once as the first member of the compound *tribhava* (29c), "the three[fold] existence, the triple world."

The word "seven" (G sata, Skt. sapta) is attested at least once in satañu (or emend to sataña?, n. nom. pl., 22c), "seven," "[of] seven [kinds]," or "seven different [riches]." The final part is not quite clear.

The words for "hundred" (Skt. śata), "thousand" (Skt. sahasra), and "a very high number" or "myriad" (Skt. koţi, nayuta/niyuta) 68 always form the last members of compounds with a presumably plural ending (nom., acc., or instr.). Their gender is generally masculine in Gandhari, but it seems that their original neuter gender was known, which provided a metrically useful alternative, e.g. in bahuṇi karpaṇayuṭa (23a; see above, under "Gender"), "for many myriads of eons."

Skt. śata: in karpaśata (10a), yagaśata (13a), satvaśada (14a, 33a), dukhaśadehi (39a);

Skt. sahasra: in negasahasa (or in an unusual cpd as jadinegasahasa, 20c);

Skt. koṭi and nayuta/niyuta: in karpaṇayuta (23a), karpakodiṇayuta (25a), bahusatvakodiṇayuta (31c).

On the other Bajaur collection text (BC 4), see Schlosser 2016: 92 and 2020: 162. In Pali and other Prakrits, the acc. pl. of -a stems ends in -e (von Hinüber 2001: §314; Oberlies 2001: §30.7).

It is assumed that an exact value for these numbers was not intended in the text. They merely convey the idea of "countless."

### Verb forms

**Finite forms:** Only a few forms are attested, and some of them have by no means been identified with certainty. Amongst the finite forms, the preterite clearly predominates.

**Present indicative:** Only a few forms have been identified, mainly third person singular, all from unprefixed roots.

```
2nd sg.? Skt. \sqrt{nad}: natasi (or emend to natati?, 3rd sg.; 8a).
```

3rd sg. √as: nasti (na + asti, Skt. nāsti, 13c); √gras: ghrasiti (or emend to ghrasita as a past participle; 20a), ghrasa(di) (or read in cpd as vyasighras(ida); 39c); √jan caus.: janeti (25c); √bhaṇ: bhaṇadi (29a); √bhram: bhramadi (42c); √stu: stavadi (26a); √smr caus.: sparedi (31a, 31c).

3rd pl.? \( \sqrt{gam}: \text{ gatsata} \) or read \( gatsata\) (or fut. [see below], or pres. part., m. nom. pl.?; 28a).

**Present passive:** Evidence for the passive is scanty:

```
3rd pl. √dah: dasute (or read dasamte, dasam te or dasu te, very uncertain; 9c); √muc: mucati (12a).<sup>69</sup>
```

**Future:** Likewise, there is very little evidence for the future:

```
3rd pl. \sqrt{gam}: gatsata (or read gatsat\langle i \rangle?, or present indicative 3rd pl., or pres. part., m. nom. pl.?, 28a); \sqrt{sth\bar{a}}: \frac{1}{2} thas amti (35c).
```

**Preterite:** Preterite forms for the first, second and third person in the singular as well as for the third person in the plural cannot be differentiated (cf. also BHSG §32.17). Thus, the identification of possible second person forms depends largely on the context and the identification of possible vocatives. But herein lies the problem, as for example:

```
varadharmo sadaA: "The excellent dharma always became manifest, oh Blessed One ..."sapragaśi bhagavaB: "The Blessed One always revealed the excellent dharma ..."... (11c)C: "[You] always revealed the excellent dharma, oh Blessed One, ..."
```

It does hardly seem possible to decide for one version over another. This case is further complicated by the fact that the verb shows no sign of the causative form, which is normally required for the meaning "to reveal, explain" (variants B and C). Thus, the translations B and C are only assumptions based on the incomplete context.

In one case, the augment has been preserved  $(-ac(ari)/-a\bar{c}(ari))$  and in another, the orthography may hint at the presence of one  $(\underline{garisu})$ . The ending is usually -i, but also -e is found. Occasionally, these forms cannot be differentiated from the nominative singular of present participles, especially when they derive from causatives. In theory, they also cannot be differentiated from optative forms of the third person singular.

For the passive of  $\sqrt{muc}$ , cf. also BHSG § 37.16.

For the future form *gatsati*, see Lee 2009: 69 and *passim*. The form *gatsa[ma]* is found in Anav<sup>S</sup> 3 and has been plausibly explained as future. See Salomon 2008: 352, 360, 362.

sg. Skt.  $\sqrt{k\bar{a}}$ 's sapragaśi (with caus. sense?; 11c);  $\sqrt{kr}$ : kare? (highly uncertain; 6a, 41c);  $\sqrt{kram}$ : o(k)r(a)mi (18a), uvasakrami (24a);  $\sqrt{grah}$ : grini (uncertain, may be part of another word; 8c);  $\sqrt{car}$ :  $-ac(ari)/-a\bar{c}(ari)$  (5a), care (23a);  $\sqrt{j}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ :  $vi\tilde{n}avi$  (uncertain; 29c);  $\sqrt{tyaj}$ : cae (20c);  $\sqrt{nad}$ :  $na\underline{t}i$  (uncertain; 6a);  $\sqrt{brh}/\sqrt{vrdh}$ : vruhae (caus.; 4a, 40a), savruhi (with caus. sense?; 10a);  $\sqrt{muc}$ : muci (19a);  $\sqrt{vr}$ : vare (or vivare, very uncertain, perhaps an error of the scribe; 26c);  $\sqrt{vraj}$ : parvayi (31a);  $\sqrt{lap}$ : alavi (30a).

3rd pl.  $\sqrt{kr}$ : garisu (30c).3rd pret.

**Absolutives (gerunds):** The last syllable can either be read as heavy or light as required by the meter. The most common forms end in -tva (also -thva, -sva, -dhva), -itva or -tvaṇa (-thvaṇa, -svaṇa), regardless whether there is a prefix or not (uvaṣakramitva, ṇihatva). The Occasionally, there are also forms in -(y)a (only -ghriṣa, prastaa) or -ia (paśia? [cf. Salomon 2008: 159], stavia, thahia) and perhaps -ana/-iana (samjaniana).

There are very few examples, if any, of the elsewhere common ending in -(t)ta or -i(t)ta. In most cases, such forms cannot be unambiguously identified in this text because they resemble the past participle. The uncertain examples are:  $\sqrt{a}p$ : prata (10c);  $\sqrt{tyaj}$ : cata (32c);  $\sqrt{dr}$ : dritha? (if not to be corrected to drith(v)a or dritha; 30c); and dritha (13a).

Attested forms: Skt.  $\sqrt{kr}$ : k(r)itva (12c);  $\sqrt{kram}$ :  $uva\underline{s}akramitva$  (26a);  $\sqrt{gam}$ : gatva (18b);  $\sqrt{grah}$ :  $ghri\underline{s}a$  or  $(-u)ghri\underline{s}a$  (24c);  $\sqrt{jan}$  caus.: janitva (19a), sann anita (27c), sann anita (if not a present pariciple; 34a);  $\sqrt{jna}$ : natva (27a);  $\sqrt{dr}s$ : drithva (25a, 37a), dritha? (probably to be emended to  $drith\langle v\rangle a$  or hritha; 30c), d(r)ithva or d(r)ithvana (or read s(r)ithva or s(r)ithvana; 9a), drisva (22a), drisvana (16c);  $\sqrt{dhr}s$  caus.: dharsitva (7a, 17c);  $\sqrt{n}$ . nita (very uncertain; 27c);  $\sqrt{pas}$ ?: pasia (25c);  $\sqrt{bh}$ .: bhutva (18a);  $\sqrt{labh}$ : ladhva (6a);  $\sqrt{sr}$ ?: s(r)ithva or s(r)ithvana (or read d(r)ithva or d(r)ithvana; 9a);  $\sqrt{stu}$ : stavia (cf. also  $\sqrt{str}$  and  $\sqrt{sth}$ ; 26c);  $\sqrt{sth}$ . thahia (35a), thahia (or cf. forms of P thahia); thahia (18a); thahia); thahia (18a); thahia); thahia0 (27c), thahia0 (18a); thahia1 (18a); thahia2 (18b); thahia3 (18b); thahia4 (18a); thahia5 (18b); thahia6 (

**Present participles:** A possible correspondent to the Sanskrit present participle in  $-\bar{a}na$  is samjaniana from  $\sqrt{j}an$  (34a), unless it is an absolutive (see above and n. 72).

There are only two equivalents for the present participle in  $-m\bar{a}na$ :  $\sqrt{skhal}$ :  $k\acute{a}lamaṇa$  (nom. pl.?; 38c), and  $\sqrt{i}$ ς: eṣeamaṇa (m. nom. sg.; 17a, 24a). It is not entirely certain whether the stem has been inflected or not.<sup>74</sup>

On drisva and drisvana, see von Hinüber 2001: §499.

See BHSG §35.37–48; von Hinüber 2001: §499 (p. 317); Oberlies 2001: §56 (6), if the latter example is not a present participle (cf., e.g., Oberlies 2001: §54 [p. 257] for Pali forms ending in -iyāna; for possible Gandhari forms, see Schlosser 2016: 98).

They are frequent in, e.g., BC 4 and BC 11 (Schlosser 2016: 98 and 2020: 106) and in the Senior Collection (Silverlock 2015: 362 and n. 953).

Inflected forms are found in verses (Salomon 2008: 160). Otherwise it seems as if the forms ending in G-mana/-mana were not declined (Salomon 2000: 94; Schlosser 2016: 98 and 2020: 107).

The following equivalents for the present participle in -ant are attested:

```
√gam:
        gatsata
                     m. nom. pl. (or emend to gatsat(i)?: 3rd pl. or 3rd pl. fut.), 28a, Skt. gacchantal
√ghat:
                     m. nom.? sg., 34c, Skt. ghatan (cf. also 2rd pl. imp., Skt. ghatata)
        ghadado
√dhāv:
        dhavata
                     f. acc. pl., 22a, Skt. dhāvatīḥ
√bhañj: bhaña
                     m. nom. sg., 26c, Skt. bhañjan
√bhāş:
        bhaşata
                     m. nom. sg., 29c, Skt. bhāşan
√yam:
         vyayamado m. nom.? sg. 34c, Skt. vyāyacchan (cf. also 2rd pl. imp., Skt. vyāyamata)
√spand: phadata
                     f. acc. pl. (if the reading is not phada sa), 37a, Skt. spandatīh
```

*Dhavata* and *phadata* are examples of rare feminine forms of the present participle in  $-\bar{a}$  (BHS \*dhāvantā and \*spandantā, BHSG §18.1, 18.9, 18.11). The differing endings for the nominative singular masculine may be due to the meter.

In theory, some nominative singular forms may be difficult to differentiate from singular preterites, for example *vruhae* (4a, 40a), which has been identified above as a preterite. It could also stand for Skt. *bṛṃhayan* or *vardhayan*. Both forms make sense, but since the verse is incomplete, there is no basis for choosing.<sup>75</sup>

There is one example of the present participle ending in -u, namely dasu (Skt. dahant, m. nom./acc. sg.; 9a and possibly 9c), if the reading is not dasam. Dahu in Dhp<sup>K</sup> 74d has been identified as a present participle by Brough, but without explanation.<sup>76</sup>

The verbal adjective or past participle: The Gandhari forms correspond to the Sanskrit endings in -ta and -ita, as well as in -na. As already mentioned above, in a very few cases it is not clear whether the forms represent a past participle or an absolutive ending in -ta, which would otherwise be hardly attested in this manuscript. The past participle can stand in place of a finite verb.

Attested forms without case endings:  $\sqrt{ard}$ :  $a\acute{t}a$  (28abc);  $\sqrt{ap}$ : prata (8a, 10c, 27a);  $\sqrt{kp}$ : krida (10c), samkhata (25c, 27a [or emend to  $samka\underline{d}a$ ]);  $\sqrt{ksvid}$ :  $pra\acute{s}pe\underline{d}i\underline{t}(a)$  (30c);  $\sqrt{khid}$ : khina (24d);  $\sqrt{gam}$ : -gata (3c, 5c, 37a?);  $\sqrt{gup}$ : guta (34c);  $\sqrt{gras}$ :  $-ghra\underline{s}i\underline{t}a$  (20a?),  $-ghra\underline{s}ida$  (28c, 39c?);  $\sqrt{ghrs}$ : -ghru(tha) (or emend to -ghra(sta)?; 33c);  $\sqrt{car}$ : cirna (4c);  $\sqrt{ji}$ : -pariyita (39c);  $\sqrt{jp}$ : jirna (19c),  $zari\underline{t}a$  (or cf. Skt. jvarita?; 39a);  $\sqrt{tus}$  caus:  $to\underline{s}ida$  (21a);  $\sqrt{tp}$ : atrita (22a);  $\sqrt{tyaj}$ : cata (or abs.?; 32c);  $\sqrt{tras}$ : utrasta- (34a);  $\sqrt{dam}$ : damta (7a, 7c twice), data (23a);  $\sqrt{dam\acute{s}}$ : datha (42c);  $\sqrt{duh\acute{k}h}$ : duhita (19c, 27a, 33c), duhida (28a), dukhida (22a);  $\sqrt{dr\acute{s}}$ : dritha (22c, 30c [or to be corrected to  $drith\langle v\rangle a$  or hritha]);  $\sqrt{dhuk\dot{s}}$ :  $sam\underline{s}uk\dot{s}i\underline{t}a$  (14a);  $\sqrt{nam}$ : namida (36a);  $\sqrt{pad}$ : vavana (25a);  $\sqrt{prc/pp}/sphur/sphut}$ : phuda (18c);  $\sqrt{budh}$ : -budha- (6c);  $\sqrt{bh\bar{u}}$ : -bhuta (5c, 27a, 33c, 39a), -abhibhuta (19c); caus: bhavita (25a);  $\sqrt{bhr}$  caus: vharita (32a);  $\sqrt{muc}$ : muta- (18c, 23c?),

There are also absolutives ending in -ae (Skt. -āya, cf. prastaa in verse 13a of this manuscript) in other Gandhari texts (for examples see, e.1g., Baums 2009: 233; Lee 2009: 70; Silverlock 2015: 361 and n. 947), but the meter excludes this possibility.

Cf. above for a possible but uncertain interpretation as a passive. For enumerations of "participles" in -u/-o, see Brough 1962: § 77. In Pali and Gandhari, forms in -(t)u can be absolutives: von Hinüber 2001: 315, § 498; Oberlies 2001: 266, 269, § 58 (3); Salomon 2008: 159, 160. With regard to one example in Gandhari, Salomon writes: "... probably results from the original absolutive form having come to be perceived as an adverb, to which the common accusative singular neuter ending -u was attached" (ibid., p. 160).

vipramuta (16a);  $\sqrt{nud}$ : mudida (30a),  $mu\underline{t}(\underline{t}a)$  (30c);  $\sqrt{yaj}$ : yaṭha (13a);  $\sqrt{ram}$ : rada (23c);  $\sqrt{labh}$ : ladha (6c);  $\sqrt{vr}$ : nivrita- (or emend to nivrit(i)-, 34a);  $\sqrt{sam}$ : śaṃta (23a);  $\sqrt{sad}$ : praṣaṇa- (12c?, 23c), niṣaṇa (26c);  $\sqrt{skhal}$ : kaliṭa (38a), khalida (24a, probably as a noun);  $\sqrt{stambh}$ : thadha (14a);  $\sqrt{stha}$ : thi(ta) (19c), samuṭhida (24c);  $\sqrt{han}$ : -haṭa (16c);  $\sqrt{hrṣ}$ : hriṭha (emended from driṭha, or correct to driṭh(v)a?; 30c), harṣida (26a, 30a).

If  $sada (-\sim, 10c)^{77}$  is a past participle, it is not entirely clear from which root it is derived.

### Indeclinables and adverbs

Equivalents for Skt. *api* and *ca* do not occur in multiple variants, as they do in other Gandhari verse texts.<sup>78</sup>

Indeclinables: Skt. *atha*: *asa* (13c [very uncertain], 32a); Skt. *api*: *avi* (uncertain; 28a), *vi* (26c, 29c; both very uncertain); Skt. *iti*: *it*⟨*i*⟩ (uncertain; 25c); Skt. *eva*: *taseva* (12c, cf. also 13c); Skt. *ca*: *c̄a* (7c, 34c), *ca* (very unvertain; 23b); Skt. *na*: *na* (13c), *nasti* (13c); Skt. *nānā*: *naṇa* (5c, 36c); Skt. *mā*?: *ma* (uncertain; 8c); Skt. *yad*: *ya* (10c, 31a); Skt. *saced*: *saye* (very uncertain; 2c).

Adverbs: Skt. agratah: agrato (35a); Skt. tatra: tatra (26c); Skt. tathā: \*tasa (very uncertain; 13c); Skt. nityam: nico (23c); Skt. bahu: bahu (22a, 32c); Skt. bhūyah: bhuya (uncertain; 25c); Skt. yatra: yatra (13c); Skt. yathā: yasa (42a, 42c); Skt. sadā: sada (11c), sata (22a, 27a, 33c, 39a?, 41c); Skt. satatam: satata (perhaps to be read always as satatam; 3c, 5c, 24a).<sup>79</sup>

On this word, see Schlosser 2020: 84, 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> E.g., in the Anav (Salomon 2008: 150) or in the Dhp<sup>K</sup> (Brough 1962: § 70).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> In no instance is the lower part of the final consonant sign completely preserved or clearly legible.

# Meter and Style

```
śārdūlavikrīḍitaṃ msau jsau tau gāditya-ṛṣayaḥ || Piṅgala's Chandaḥśāstra 7.22 dvādaśabhiḥ saptabhiś ca yatiḥ | Commentary, ibid., p. 164 msau jsau tau gurukaṃ ca sūryaturagaiḥ śārdūlavikrīḍitam || Jayadeva's Jayadevachandas 7.21 (Jayadāman) arkāśvair yadi maḥ sajau sutatavāḥ śārdūlavikrīḍitam || Ratnākaraśānti's Chandoratnākara 2.71 sūryāśvair masajastatāḥ saguravaḥ śārdūlavikrīḍitam || Gaṅgādāsa's Chandomañjarī 2.198 (ed. 1935); Kedāra's Vṛttaratnākara 3.93 (Jayadāman: masajāḥ statāḥ) (Notation system: ma: – – –, sa: ~ ~ –, ja: ~ – ~, sa, ta: – – ~, ta, ga: –; Arka/Āditya/Sūrya: 12, [Sūrya's] horses or ṛṣis: 7)
```

Amongst other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, the meter also occurs in BC 8 (two stanzas) and possibly in the fragments written by Bamiyan scribe 7.80 The following metrical "rules" can be observed in the poem of BC 5, and they are also valid for BC 8:

1. The last syllable of any word may be read as heavy or light as required by the meter. <sup>81</sup> Thus, the vowels -a, -e, -i, -o, and -u can be pronounced heavy or light. Even the nominative/accusative plural endings (m./f.) are no exceptions.

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e.g.: paramo agro cigitsagaṇa kušalo (3a), cago vruhae (4a), dharṣitva (7a), ṇihatva (24c), sparedi jiṇo gušago (31a), satva bahava (39a).
```

**1.1.** The same rule also applies to the end of first members of compounds, but not to prefixes including the privative prefix a-, which are scanned as in Sanskrit, e.g.,  $atrita -- \sim (22a)$  and  $vipramuto - \sim - \sim (16a)$ .

```
e.g.: sarvaprayae (5a), balaprato (8a), ṇamagrahaṇe (12a), satvapravaro (17a, 29a),

jaravyasimaraṇeṇa (20a), raṣâgrapravara (21a), bosivado (26a), saṃkadaprata (ms. -khata-) (27a),

taṣaghrasida (28c), pridimaṇo (30a), karmaphalo (31c), logajeṭhe (35a), sarvapraya (36a).
```

For BC 8, a short Buddha praise similar to *mangala* verses, see Strauch 2008a: 10, 15, 36; Strauch 2008b: 121; Nasim Khan 2008: 29–30, fragment 4. For the fragments of one or two possible stanzas in the fragments written by Bamiyan scribe 7, see Salomon 2016a: 378.

Endings in consonants do not exist with the exception of -*m* before a vowel; but this does not lengthen the syllable.

**1.2.** The metrical weight of the final syllable of a word, including members of compounds, is not influenced by the following word, which may or may not start with a consonant cluster.<sup>82</sup>

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e.g.: sarvaloge tribhave (29c)
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- **1.3.** In many cases the natural length of the word-ending vowel is retained. Frequently, a long vowel is shortened. Only occasionally, a short vowel is lengthened **(table 14)**, 83 which seems to indicate that this option was not considered as especially elegant. However, nothing of this is visible in the Kharoṣṭhī script.
- **1.4.** The cases described above do usually not apply to the sixth (with one exception, see **table 14**), eighth, eleventh, twelfth (the syllable before the caesura; with two exceptions) and eighteenth syllable in a pāda that are normally not metrically altered. Thus, for example, an *-e* or *-o* would always be heavy. In most cases, the sixth, eighth, eleventh and eighteenth syllable occur within a word and less frequently at a word boundary. Metrical adjustments of the tenth syllable are also very rare (only three cases).
- **2.** Initial and medial syllables are usually pronounced as heavy or light as in their Sanskrit equivalents. Short and long vowels in open syllables remain short or long, <sup>84</sup> while consonant clusters result in the lengthening of the preceding syllable, even then, when they are not written in the script. In many cases, the orthography hints to a consonant cluster, for example, medial *-k*-always requires a heavy preceding syllable.

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e.g.: aguḍimalo (7c), sapragaśi (11c), agi (15a), kuchi (18a), anutara (22c), nico (23c).
```

**2.1.** Exceptions to this rule can be found for the penultimate syllable in grammatical endings, but no such example is encountered for the genitive plural, which always ends in - =. Other exceptions must be explained otherwise. 85

Or, in other words, the rules for scansion of consonant clusters that are usually established at the beginning of Sanskrit treatises on prosody apply here only to the entity of a word. Cf., e.g., dīrgham saṃyogaparaṃ tathā plutaṃ vyañjanāntam ūṣmāntam | sānusvāraṃ ca guruṃ kvacid avasāne 'pi laghvantyam || (Pingala [p. 1], cf. Pingala 1.9–14), "Als schwer (...) erkenne man: 1) einen (von Natur) langen (Vokal [...]), 2) einen solchen, dem eine Consonantengruppe folgt, 3) (...) einen gedehnten (Vokal), 4) einen (Vokal), der auf einen Consonanten ausgeht, 5) einen (Vokal, der auf einen) Fauchlaut (ausgeht [...]), 6) einen (Vokal) mit anusvâra: 7) hie und da auch beim Absatz eine (Silbe), die auf einen leichten (Vokal) ausgeht" (Weber 1863: 211). This passage is regarded as a later addition (ibid., p. 215, cf. also the comments on pp. 211–213, 219–227).

For the preterite ending in -i (or -e), a short vowel ending has been considered as normal in this book.

Under certain conditions, the medial vowels -e and -o can also be pronounced as short in the middle of a word. Cf.  $e\underline{s}\underline{e}ama\underline{n}a - \cdot \cdot - \cdot$  (occurring twice in 17a and 24a).

E.g., by orthographic inconsistencies or by uncertain readings. Thus, the medial -c- in the word suci 
\( \circ (18a)\) would normally indicate a consonant cluster resulting in a heavy preceding syllable, but here it may be regarded as a sanskritism or simply as a scribal error for -\(\bar{c}\)-. Similarly, -\(\bar{t}h\)- in the word \(\sample a\)/ho 
\( \circ (9a)\) does not presuppose a heavy syllable, but its reading is uncertain. It could also be \(\sample a\)/do or \(\sample a\) ro.

There is an error in p\(\bar{a}\)da 2a of BC 8 (\(\bar{j}\)adamatrena - \(\circ \circ -\)\(\circ \), Skt. \(\bar{j}\)atam\(\bar{a}\)trena) that seems to indicate that the author was not well experienced. Perhaps the final \(na\) would also be better left out. In BC 5, something similar is noticeable in the choice of the word \(\var{van}\)o (\(\circ -\); P \(vanna\), Skt. \(varna\)) in \(pa\)dara-

**3.** A heavy syllable may be replaced by two light syllables ==, though this is not everywhere possible. The majority of the examples is found at the beginning of a pāda ("Auftakt" or opening: 3ac, 8a, 9ac, 11c, 18a, 18d?, 19cd, 20a, 22bc, 23bcd, 24a, 25cd, 26acd, 29a, 32ac, 34ac, 35a, 36a, 38ac, 39ac, 40c), and some occur immediately after the caesura. Only rarely can such examples be noticed at other places, and the reading and interpretation of those is very uncertain: <sup>86</sup>

```
e.g. sixth syllable: zaradrobalyapariyita (39c), eighth: ṭhaṇo metraviharo uayakuṣalo (14c),

first syllable after the caesura: purimaṣu jadiṣ(u) × (17a), uvaṣakrami durmadi (24a),

forth?: logo amaada(r)śig(o) (uncertain; 16a), fifth?: daṃta caṃta caṇta caṇ
```

- **3.1.** Since the final syllable of a word can always be shortened, a two-syllabled word can even then stand for one heavy syllable (at the beginning of a pāda) when the Sanskrit equivalent ends in a long vowel, for example  $jara/zara \simeq (Skt. jar\bar{a}, 20a, 39c)$ . However, a problematic case like in BC 8, where two apparently heavy syllables seem to be counted as one (**oha**sida  $\simeq \sim$ , Skt. **avabhā**sitā; BC 8: pāda 2a, cf. also notes 85–86), cannot be found in BC 5.
- **3.2.** Sometimes, the same words or endings can be scanned differently when they stand in different positions in the verse. The most astonishing case is  $uayaku\underline{\xi}alo$  (read ' $vayaku\underline{\xi}alo$ ?)  $\simeq \sim -(14c)$  besides the regular  $uvayaku\underline{\xi}alo \sim \sim \sim -(36a)$ . However, such forced examples of metrical license are not common and they may possibly not have been much approved by the audience. On the other hand, it is quite usual to find the same word in different, but existing forms as required by the meter, for example the Sanskrit word  $kle\dot{s}a$ , which appears as  $kile\underline{\xi}a$  (BHS  $kile\dot{s}a$ ) in the part before the caesura and  $kle\underline{\xi}a$  in the part thereafter. <sup>88</sup>
- **4.** Due to the relatively large number of syllables per pāda in this specific meter as well as to the genre of the text that requires the same letter at the beginning of all pādas within a stanza, many pādas in BC 5 seem to contain a closed statement that may not directly be continued in the following odd pādas, which, however, are not preserved. By way of contrast, the thus far most

vano ( $- \circ \circ \circ -$ ; Skt.  $p\bar{a}ndaravarna$ -, normally and correctly  $- \circ \circ - -$ ) "white-colored," which precedes the caesura in  $p\bar{a}$ da 18a and seems wrong in this part of the meter. This extreme case of "metrical license" seems to indicate the author's preference of a particular word, whereas the metrical framework had only a secondary importance. However, it might also simply represent an error due to the author's inexperience. It may be assumed that the audience did not approve such cases.

On equivalents of the Skt. prefix  $upa^{\circ}$  in Gandhari verses, cf. also Salomon 2008: 129.

complete stanzas in this meter are attested in BC 8.<sup>89</sup> Here, two stanzas exhibit the same structure consisting of one or two relative sentences: Each half verse or odd pāda starts with *yeṇa* "by whom." While pāda b continues or completes the idea of pāda a, and pāda c shows a parallel structure to pāda a, the last pāda d that is only preserved in the second of the two stanzas in BC 8, concludes the whole relative sentence with a demonstrative pronoun (*ta[sa]*) and a finite verb form. It also names the person that was referred to in the beginnings with *yeṇa* as Śakamuṇi (Śākyamuni). Similarly constructed Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas are found in the *Lalitavistara* (e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 11.4, 19.34, 20.4, 20.6, 23.24), although in these, the relative pronoun can be different (*yā*, *yasya*, *yena*, *yad*) and stand at different places, and it also can be repeated in all of the first three pādas.

The *Lalitavistara* evidences a few cases of refrain-like patterns in stanzas of various meters, <sup>90</sup> but it seems doubtful whether this has been the case in BC 5.

**5.** The "soul" of this specific meter appears to be the caesura after the twelfth syllable that is always observed. It can mark a syntactic break and influence the syntax of the whole sentence, thereby revealing the very particular character or rhythm of this meter. In several cases a verb form (including participles or absolutives) is placed immediately after it (7ac, 9a, 10a, 12ac, 13a, 16c, 17c, 19a, 21c, 22a, 24a, 28ac, 32c), or a relative pronoun followed by a verb form (10c, 18c, 21a, 22c, 31a).

The caesura usually follows a three-syllabled word(-part) ( $\sim$  –), or much less frequently a combination of three syllables plus two ( $-\sim$  +  $\sim$  –: 12c, 18a, 20c, 22a, 25c, 34ac, 37a?), or two plus two syllables ( $\sim$  +  $\sim$  –: 9c, 22c, 24c, 31a, 41c?). Other variations are rare. Due to these repeated patterns that are also responsible for the characteristic rhythm in the meter and that may easily be attached to a melody, the same words were chosen more than once in the same position. This results in a certain monotony, which seems to be characteristic to at least some verse compositions of that time and area. It appears as if the author combined some new creations with a limited number of previously learnt combinations of words, like ready-made spare parts, which can be inserted when needed at any fitting place in a pāda. Thus, we find the following examples:

The first stanza describes the frequently praised practice of the six *pāramitā*s during incalculable lifetimes. The second stanza refers to events in the life of the Bodhisattva connected to his birth and renunciation.

For examples in Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas, see L<sup>H</sup> 19.35, 38, 19.36–37, 23.22–23. Examples of such patterns in the last part of stanzas in other meters feature in L<sup>H</sup> 5.19–23, 6.15–17, 11.1–2, 11.5–9, 13.133–139, 15.79–80, 82, 22.32–35, 24.59–64, 24.66–68, 24.103–106, 24.115, 117–118, 124, 126–127, 133, 135–136, 142, 144–145, and 26.20, 23–26. Examples of repeated or similar phrases in the first parts of stanzas are L<sup>H</sup> 13.121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 14.28–35, 20.11–29, and 26.4–6. The verses in the *Lalitavistara* contain a number of poetical figures, which would deserve a closer study.

On one unclear case, cf. pāda 11a.

## Before the caesura:

# vivisa in seven pādas

7a damta te jadila anega vivisa
10a sadha karpasata anega vivisa
13a yatha yagasata anega vivisa
14a thadha satvasada anega vivisa
33a tsala satvasada anega vivisa
36c nanakakhadadhaka nega vivisa
38c kalamana bahupavakarma vivisa

### pravara in six pādas

17a marga esĕamaṇa satvapravaro
21a śpahu maṇuṣaga raṣâgrapravara
21c śpahu sarvaraṣaṇa agra pravaro
29a bhaṇadi vaya achabi satvapravaro
35a ṭhahia agratŏ logajeṭhĕ (prava)re
40c ċarime kalĕ bha — ~ — ~ pravaro

## kušala/kuśala in five pādas

3a paramo agrŏ cigitsagaṇa kuฐalo 6a ladhva ñaṇabalo ṇati sukuฐalo 9a ḍasu maro śaṭhŏ durmati akuśalo 14c ṭhaṇo metraviharŏ uayakuฐalo 36a ṇamido sarvapraya uvayakuฐalo

### duhida/duhita in four pādas

19c thaara (*or*: thaïra) jirna jarâbhibhuta **duhita**27a ñatva samkadaprata **satva duhita**28a afa ragavaśena **satva duhida**33c tsala sarvakil(e) saghru(tha) **duh(i)ta** 

#### satata in three pādas

3c paramo kritsagatana naso satata
5c nanakritsagatana naso satata
24a khalida eseamana maro satata

### sadiša/satiša in three pādas

15a kama agisame triņ'uka**sadiša** 15c kama pheņasama mariy(i)**satiša** 42a dhadhala yasa midhayusa**satiša** 

### ņayuta in three pādas

23a śaṃto datŏ bahuṇi karpaṇayuta 25a kṣaṃti bhavita karpakodiṇayuta 31c sparedi bahusatvakodiṇayuta

### bahava in three pādas

4c caria dukara nega cirna **bahava** 32a vhari<u>t</u>a avharanehi putra **bahava** 39a zari<u>t</u>a dukhasadehi satva **bahava** 

# ghrasita/ghrasiti in three pādas

20a jaravyasimaraņeņa šoga **ghrasiti** 28c ata mohavaseņa tasa**ghrasida** 39c zaradrobalyapariyita vyasi**ghras(ida)** 

## bhagava in two pādas

11c varadharmo sada sapragaśi **bhagava**16a sarvai badhanĕ vipramutŏ **bhagava** 

# balava in two pādas

7c damto agudimalo coro balavo27c ñanâgi ahusamña nita balava

# bhayagara in two pādas

9c dasu(-)te sarvě savahana **bhayagara** 31a sparedi jinŏ gusago **bhayagaro** 

# After the caesura and at the end of pādas:

atranabhu(tana) × 5c atranabhuta sata 27a atranabhuta sata 33c atranabh(uta sata) 39a ya prata bosi śiv(a) 10c prastaa bosi śi(va) 13a phașit(v)a ñaņo śiva 21c bosi phusitva siv(a) 27c ye dritha tva **nayaga** 22c soviña vi **ņayag(a/o)** 29c karmaphalo nay(ago) 31c metra nihatva ~ × 9c metra nihatva muni 24c dharşitva – –  $\sim \times$  7a dharşitva rukş'utam(e) 17c margo śivo –  $\sim \times 14c$ margo śivo –  $\sim \times 36a$ 

**Table 12** Patterns of repetitions in the same position in the meter.

| L <sup>H</sup>   | BC 5   | BC 8                  |  |  |
|--|--|-----------------------|--|--|
| 94 stanzas   | 94 stanzas 42 stanzas  |                       |  |  |
| 379 pādas  | ca. 81 preserved pādas   | ca. 7 preserved pādas |  |  |
| Parallels to words in two (or 2+2) syllables before the caesura ( ~ - or ~ ~ ~ -)  |  |                       |  |  |
| -am idam 1   | -am i <u>t</u> a 1   | _                     |  |  |
| pada 1   | pa <u>t</u> a 1  | _                     |  |  |
| balavatī 1   | balavado 1   | _                     |  |  |
| bahuvidham 1   | bahuvi <u>s</u> a 1  | _                     |  |  |
| vara <b>30</b><br>(puravara 4, ṛṣivara 3, (-)sārathivara 4)  | (va)ro 1, pravar- <b>6</b><br>(śa <u>ś</u> aṇ(ava)ro 1)  | _                     |  |  |
| Parallels to words in  | n three syllables before the caesura (~ ~  | -)                    |  |  |
| atula 1  | atula 1  | atulia 1, a(tu)lo 1   |  |  |
| kuśala 2   | ku <u>š</u> alo/-ku <u>ś</u> alo 5   | _                     |  |  |
| tribhave 4   | tribhave 1   | _                     |  |  |
| nayuta/niyuta 12 (koţisahasra'nekanayutā 3, -koţiniyutāḥ 1, -sahasrakoţinayutā 3, bahusattvakoţinayutā 1, bahuprāṇikoţinayutā 1) | ņayu <u>t</u> a 3<br>(karpaņayu <u>t</u> a 1,<br>karpako <u>d</u> iņayu <u>t</u> a 1,<br>bahusatvakodiņayu <u>t</u> a 1) | _                     |  |  |
| pariṣā 1   | pariṣa 1   | _                     |  |  |
| balavant 5   | balavo 1, balava 1   | _                     |  |  |
| -bahuśaḥ/-bahusaḥ 2  | bahava 3, bahula 1   | _                     |  |  |
| bhagavant 3  | bhagava 2  | _                     |  |  |
| manas <b>21</b> (udagramanas 1, udagrahṛṣṭamanas 3, prahṛṣṭamanas 1, hṛṣṭamanasas 5)   | maṇaso 1<br>(prasaṇamaṇaso 1)  | _                     |  |  |
| manuja 3 (samanuja 1, devamanuja 1, trisahasradevamanuja 1)  | maṇuyo 1<br>(sadevamaṇuyo 1)   | _                     |  |  |
| (-)mudita <b>9</b>   | mudido 1, mu <u>t</u> i( <u>t</u> a) 1   | _                     |  |  |
| vimala <b>6</b>  | virayo 1   | _                     |  |  |
| vividha 2<br>(nekavividha 1)   | vivi <u>s</u> a <b>7</b><br>(aņega vivi <u>s</u> a 5, ņega vivi <u>s</u> a 1, vivi <u>s</u> a 1)                         | _                     |  |  |
| viṣaya 1   | vi <u>s</u> (ayo) 1  | _                     |  |  |
| satataṃ 1  | sa <u>t</u> ata 3  | _                     |  |  |
| sadṛśa 4   | sadi <u>š</u> a/sa <u>t</u> i <u>š</u> a 3   | sadi <u>š</u> a 1     |  |  |
| samaye 2<br>(ardharātrasamaye 2)   | samaye 2<br>(ardhabhagas(amaye) 1)   | _                     |  |  |
| sukhita 3, asukhita 1  | duhi <u>t</u> a 3, duhida 1  | _                     |  |  |

| Parallels to words immediately after the caesura $()$ |                               |                 |  |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| pronouns 38   | pronouns 4                    | _               |  |
| kṛtvā 2   | k(r)itva 1                    | _               |  |
| gaccha 1, gacchanti 3, -āma 1, -ema 1                 | gatsata (or read gatsat(i)) 1 | _               |  |
| dṛṣṭ- 4 (dṛṣṭvā 1, dṛṣṭa 3)                           | d(r)iṭhva 1, drisvaṇa 1       | _               |  |
| prīti 5   | pridi- 1                      | _               |  |
| bodhāya 1   | bo <u>s</u> i 1               | _               |  |
| bodhidruma 4  | bo <u>s</u> iva <u>d</u> o 1  | _               |  |
| brahmā 5  | bramo 1                       | _               |  |
| bhūyaḥ 1  | bhuya 1                       | _               |  |
| mucyem' 1   | mucati 1, muci 1              | moyiśa 1        |  |
| loka 5  | logo 1                        | _               |  |
| sarva 14  | sarva 2                       | [sarva] 1       |  |
| Parallels to words at the end of pādas (− ∨ ×)        |                               |                 |  |
| uttama 12   | -utam(e) 1                    | _               |  |
| kampitum 1, samkampitam 1                             | _                             | kapida 1        |  |
| kāśyapa 1   | kaśave 1                      | _               |  |
| durmanas 1  | durmadi 1                     | _               |  |
| nāyaka 4  | ṇayag- 3                      | _               |  |
| prakramet 1   | o(k)r(a)mi 1                  | _               |  |
| prajā 1   | praya 1                       | _               |  |
| bhāvita 1   | _                             | bhavida 1       |  |
| muni 4  | muņi 2                        | _               |  |
| medinī 1  | med(i)n(i) 1                  | _               |  |
| śiva 1  | śiva 4                        | _               |  |
| sadā 1  | sa <u>t</u> a 4               | sa <u>t</u> a 1 |  |
| sama 1  | <u>s</u> (ame) 1              | _               |  |
| sūrata 4  | surado 1                      |                 |  |
| sthita 4, prasthita 2, saṃsthita 1                    | ťhi( <u>t</u> a) 1            | _               |  |

Table 13 Parallels and repetitions of words in Śārdūlavikrīdita verses in LH, BC 5, and BC 8.

There may have been more examples of repetitions in the final part of the pādas, but many pāda ends are not preserved. Considering that only half of the text from the 42 stanzas survived, the number of repetitions is astonishingly high.

Similar features as those described above, albeit in a lesser frequency, can also be observed in metrical Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts that have a likely Gandhari origin, for example in the *Lalitavistara* (L<sup>H</sup>), in stanzas that were composed in the same meter. **Table 13** lists two- or three syllabled words from L<sup>H</sup>, which occur in the same position in the meter as in BC 5 and BC 8, along with the number of their repetitions. <sup>92</sup> Examples of six or more repetitions are printed **in** 

Hokazono helpfully added the names of the meters in his edition of the *Lalitavistara* (L<sup>H</sup>). There, the following Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzes can be found that served as the basis for the comparison: 7.54–73, 8.4–5, 11.3–4, 14.16–27, 15.28–29, 15.64–75, 18.23–30, 19.1–6, 19.27–41, 20.1–2, 20.4, 20.6–7,

**bold**. The word endings in the Gandhari texts were retained, whereas in the *Lalitavistara* quotations, they have been ignored, because there can be many variants.

Other mostly three-syllabled words from before the caesura, which are at least three times repeated in  $L^H$ , include the following words:

amṛta 3, gata 5, caraṇa 3, carita 5, nayana 4, nilaya 4, nṛpati 3, patita 3, puruṣa 3, praṇidhi 4, bhavana 3, matimant 3, (-)rucira **8**, viṭapa 3, (-)vipula **6**, salila 4, hitakara 4.

Parallel words at other positions within a pāda can also be found in BC 5 and in the *Lalitavistara*, but they have not been collected.

Apart from the characteristics related to the specific Śārdūlavikrīdita meter, many of the above described elements have also been observed elsewhere, e.g., for the old Āryās in the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text with a probable Gandhari origin. <sup>93</sup> The most important deviation from classical Sanskrit poetry is the handling of word-ends and initial consonant clusters, which is similarly also attested in Pali verses. <sup>94</sup> Due to the frequency in which word-final syllables are adjusted to the meter, it may be worth considering this as a regular method in early Buddhist verse composition rather than as examples for "metrical licence." <sup>95</sup> In fact, a number of peculiarities can easily be explained with it, for example the wide-spread *mavipulā* of the Anuṣṭubh meter in Buddhist Sanskrit(ized) texts, which can then be read like a common *pathyā*. <sup>96</sup> However, it seems that the Kharoṣṭhī script with no differentiation of long and short vowels was much better suitable for representing this than the Brāhmī script that usually indicates long vowels and anusvāras. In Brāhmī, a choice has to be made that may not always have facilitated an easy understanding. It frequently has the appearance of a not very satisfactory compromise between the actual pronunciation and the "metrical correctness." Moreover, Brāhmī manuscripts are usually witnesses of a certain stage within the sanskritization process.

Many of the characteristics that are mentioned here, were already described by Edgerton (1946), but one of his main conclusions, namely that initial consonant clusters after a metrically short syllable are only graphic, a mere "conventionalized orthography" and have to be pronounced as single consonants, 97 seems untenable when it comes to original Gandhari texts or sanskritized

<sup>21.163–164, 21.178, 23.21–25, 25.35–36.</sup> For an overview and study of the different meters, see also Hokazono 2017.

Klaus (2008: 203) observed that a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word mostly does not make position, which is also frequently the case for compound members; but prefixes in compounds and verbal compounds are scanned as in Sanskrit. Their metrical weight is influenced by a following consonant cluster.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. especially Warder 1967: §§ 33–34, 49–51, 86, 102–104.

Of., e.g., Lang 2001 for an explanation of such features as metrical license in the Dodhaka stanzas in the Mahāyāna version of the *Vinayaviniścaya-upāliparipṛcchā* as quoted by Candrakīrti. But the interpretation of quoted texts with no early manuscripts available is certainly difficult.

Only in the late *Chandoratnākara* by the Buddhist Ratnākaraśānti (probably first half of the 11th century), the *ma-vipulā* was admitted as an accepted *vipulā*. See Steiner 1996: 229–230.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In so far as such schemes apply, they apply rigidly. [...] Seeming exceptions are due either (1) to orthographic habits which misrepresent the actual pronunciation (somewhat as in the tradition of Vedic verses), or (2) to corruptions in the tradition as found in our mss. and editions. [...] By far the most important of these is the writing, as in Sanskrit, with initial consonant clusters of words which were evidently pronounced in Middle Indic fashion, with single initial consonants. [...] It must be under-

texts with a Gandhari origin.<sup>98</sup> However, it is easily forgotten that editions of Gandhari manuscripts were published only after Edgerton's article.

Some later Sanskrit and Pali treatises on prosody or their commentaries not only accept short syllables at the end of a pāda but also in some cases at the end of a word.<sup>99</sup>

Concerning the style of the poem, the fragmentary state of the manuscript does not allow a general appraisal. It can be assumed that the text was composed in Gandhāra by a single author, possibly the scribe of the manuscript. But it cannot be ascertained whether the text could not also have been dictated, or copied from another manuscript. Since much of the appearance of the poem is dictated by the meter, the genre and contemporary fashions, the individual style of the author can only be described in comparison with similar texts. Unfortunately, thus far no other such text from this period is known to have survived with the exception of a passage somewhat similar to the first five stanzas of BC 5 in the Lalitavistara (see p. 67-71). For this reason, not much can be deduced. In comparison with the repetition of words at the same position in the meter in the Lalitavistara (Table 12), different preferences in the choice of words are clearly noticeable and give testimony to the author's tastes. For example, the author of the Lalitavistara preferred the word vara (29 times) in different combinations before the caesura, while the author of the poem of BC 5 preferred pravara (vara only once, pravara at least six times). The vocabulary of the preserved portions appears to be relatively simple and repetitive, much more repetitive than the Lalitavistara stanzas. Rare words or rare grammatical formations are generally avoided. Nevertheless, due to the lack of other similar manuscripts or texts for comparison, it cannot be decided with certainty whether this indicates that the poem was a mere exercise in composing stanzas or the composition of a student, even when certain observations on the paleography, such as the special care in writing the first letters and words in a pada and the short intervals for reinking, 100 seem to support such an assumption. The same could be said for BC 8, which comprises

stood that the rules about to be stated relate to actual pronunciation, not necessarily to conventional orthography" (Edgerton 1946: 198). "Usually initial consonant clusters are written as in Skt. But this is merely conventionalized orthography, in imitation of Skt. This is proved by the meter. If the preceding syllable ends in a short vowel, that syllable is metrically short, regardless of the number of consonants written at the beginning of the following word." (Edgerton 1946: 200); "In short, metrical shortening and lengthening of final vowels takes place before initial (written) clusters exactly as before initial single consonants. This must mean that the clusters are graphic only; a single consonant was pronounced" (Edgerton 1946: 201).

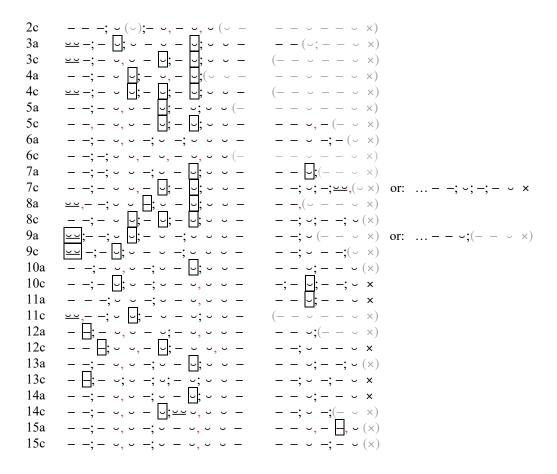
There were probaby different dialects and Prakrits. For example, there must have been Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (SP). But the language of the text shows some characteristics that are not typical for Gandhari, e.g. the assumption of the word \*jāna (G ñaṇa) in the original text leading to different interpretations in Sanskrit, namely jñāna and yāna (cf. Karashima 2016: 195). Hence, universally valid statements with regard to texts that were transmitted in the Greater Gandhāra region are difficult. However, cf. also ibid.: "As Edgerton (1936) clearly demonstrated, the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī verses in the SP had originally been composed in accordance with Prakrit pronunciation and were "corrected" by later redactors so as to comply with Classical Sanskrit. Hence, initial consonant combinations like jñ, st, sth, pr, br, etc., which, in Prakrit, would be simplified to single consonants, are in those verses counted as single consonants. In other words, they do not make 'position'" (Karashima 2016: 195).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Weber 1863: 224–226.

See above, p. 11, n. 23, p. 15 (on anusvāras) and 20 (on the akṣaras of BC 5 and the inscriptions of Aśoka).

of only two stanzas and which shows in the second stanza considerable metrical inconsistencies. It cannot be proven that it served only as a student's exercise or a draft for whatever purpose, albeit this explanation seems convenient.

Most probably, the choice of Śārdūlavikrīḍita as the meter in BC 5, and also in BC 8, was a deliberate one. This meter is popular in stotras, praśastis and solemn declarations. <sup>101</sup> Unfortunately, however, a thorough study on the usage of different meters in respect of their contents in Buddhist literature remains thus far a *desideratum*.



In the *Lalitavistara*, the Śārdūlavikrīḍita ("sports of a tiger") meter has been utilized for the speech or thoughts of the Bodhisattva or the Buddha, of *ṛṣis* and deities, especially for praises. It also occurs in the narration of key moments in the life of the Bodhisattva, but never in the speech of an evil-minded Māra or his sons. Similar observations can also be made for the meter Mālinī ("the garlanding one"), which is spoken by Śuddhodana, Māyā, various deities, the bodhisattva, and also occurring in solemn utterances, but never by Māra, whereas the Vasantatilakā ("the spring ornament") meter is frequently spoken by Māra or his sons, and it also appears in verses on a wedding or (romantic) feelings. However, that does not mean that this frequently used meter is not also found in many other occasions, including the ones referred to above for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita meter. Another meter, called Bhujanga-prayāta "advancing of (a) snake(s)," is found only once, namely spoken by the wife of the *nāgarāja* Kālika (L<sup>H</sup> 19.42–46), which is probably no coincidence here. Such observations, however, cannot be generalized, since in many cases the choice of a particular meter may have had other reasons than the content or the speaker.

```
--;--
                                                                                                                                 - -; ∨<u>∪∪</u>,- ∨ x
16a
16c
                     - -; - 0, 0 -; 0 - 0, 0 0 -
                                                                                                                                 -- \smile; --; (\smile \times)
                     - - \circ - - \circ \times)
16d
                     17a
                                                                                                                               \underline{\smile} - \underline{\smile}; - - \underline{\smile};(x)
                     - -; -; ∪ <u>∪</u> -; <u>∪</u> - <u>∪</u>; ∪ ∪
                                                                                                                                 -- □;-- ×
17c
                   <u>~~</u>,- -; ~ □; - □; - <del>~</del> ~, □ -
                                                                                                                                 - -; ∨ <u>-</u>; - ∨ ×
18a
                    - - - - ×)
18b
                                                                                                                                - ∏; ~ -; - ~ ×
18c
18d
                    <u>vv</u>(- - v v - v - v v v -
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
                     _ -; - 0, 0 -; 0 - 0; 0 0 -
                                                                                                                                 - F; ∨ - -; ∨ ×
19a
19b
                      _ -: - ( - - - - - - - - - - - -
                                                                                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times)
                    19c
                                                                                                                                 ---; \sim (×) or: \simeq \sim-; ...
                    19d
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
                   \square,-\square, \vee \vee -\vee;-\square; \vee \vee
20a
                                                                                                                                 - -; - -; - - ×
20b
                     --;-,-,-,--;;- --;;-
                                                                                                                                 -- □;-- ×
20c
20d
                     -- \circ -- \circ \times)
                     - F; - -; - - ×
21a
21b
                     _ -:(- - - - - - - - - - - - -
                                                                                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times)
                     - -; - ∪, ∪ - <del>□</del>; - <del>□</del>, ∪ ∪ -
21c
                                                                                                                                 - - <u>□</u>; - -; - ×
                     -- \circ -- \circ \times)
21d
                     - \stackrel{\cdot}{-} \stackrel{\cdot}{-} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cup} \stackrel{\cdot}{-} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cup} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cdot} \stackrel{\cdot}{-} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cdot} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cdot} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cdot} \stackrel{\cdot}{\cdot}
                                                                                                                                 - - □; - -; - ×
22a
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
22b
                    22c
                    -; - |-|; -; - - ×
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
22d
                    <u>~~</u>(-- ~ ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ - ~ -
                     _ -; - \bigcup; \cup - \cup; - \cup, \cup \cup -
                                                                                                                                - - [□; - -; ∨ ×
23a
23b
                    <u>~~</u>; □; ~ (~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ ~ -
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
                   23c
                                                                                                                                 - - - -; - - x
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - \circ \times)
23d
                                                                                                                               <u>~~</u> - ~ ⊟; - ~ ×
24a
24b
                     - -; \underline{\cup}\underline{\cup} ( \cup - \cup - \cup \cup - -
                                                                                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times) or: --; -\circ (-\circ -\circ \circ \circ -) \dots
24c
                     --;--;---;----
                                                                                                                                 - -; · - -; · ×
                     24d
                                                                                                                                 -- \smile -- \smile \times)
                     _ -; - \ \ \ \ \ \ ; - \ \ \ \ , - \ \ \ \ \ \ -
                                                                                                                                 - - □; - -; - ×
25a
                                                                                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times)
25b
                     25c
                    - -; - - -;(- ×)
25d
                    <u>~~;</u>-(- ~ ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ ~ -
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - \circ \times)
                    <u>~~</u>[];−; ~ ~ − ~ − [□]; ~ ~ −
                                                                                                                                - ∃, ~ -; - ~ ×
26a
                     -- \circ -- \circ \times)
26b
                    \underline{\smile} \Box; \underline{\smile}; \overline{\smile}; \underline{\smile}; 
                                                                                                                                -- \bigcirc; - ; \vee x or: \underline{\vee}\underline{\vee} \bigcirc; - \bigcirc; - \bigcirc; - \bigcirc; - \bigcirc, - ...
26c
26d
                    <u>~~:</u>-(- ~ ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ - ~ -
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
                    --;\underline{-} \smile \smile, - \bigcirc; - \bigcirc; \smile \smile -
27a
                                                                                                                                 - - ⋅, - -; ⋅ ×
                     - - <del>-</del>;(~ ~ - ~ - ~ ~ ~ ~ -
27b
                                                                                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times)
                    --\stackrel{\square}{-;} \circ \circ; -\stackrel{\square}{\square} -\stackrel{\square}{\square}; \circ \circ -
                                                                                                                                 --; \circ --; \circ \times \text{ or: } ---; \circ \circ, - \square; - \square; - \square; \circ \circ - \dots
27c
                     - -; - 0, 0 - 0; - 0; 0 0 -
28a
                                                                                                                                 - - | -; <u>--</u> -( - x)
28b
                     -- \circ -- \circ \times)
                                                                                                                                - ☐; ~; - - (~) ×
                     - -; - ∪, ∪ - ∪; - □, ∪ ∪ -
28c
                     - - -;(- - - - - - - - - -
28d
                                                                                                                                 - - \circ - - \circ \times)
                    \underline{\smile} \underline{\Box}; \underline{\smile} \underline{\smile}, \underline{\smile} \underline{\smile}
                                                                                                                                 - -; • (-; - ∨ ×)
29a
                    29c
30a
30c
```

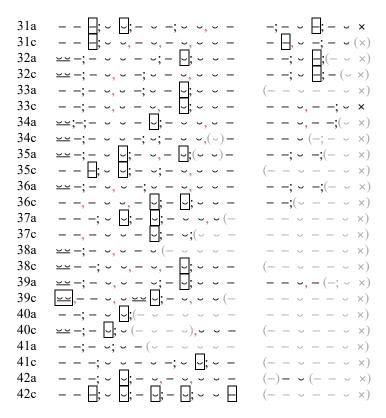


Table 14 Metrical scheme of preserved  $p\bar{a}da$ s in BC 5 showing the seams of words as semicolons, of first members of compounds as purple commas, and shortening or lengthening of word-final syllables in rectangular boxes. Such metrical adjustments indicated with rectangular boxes are not found in the sixth (with one exception), eighth, eleventh, twelfth (before the caesura, with two exceptions) and eighteenth syllable. The distinctions between words or members of compound are not always certain. In case of several possibilities of understanding, the alternatives were only in a few exceptions included.

# The Topics of the Poem and its General Characteristics

The surviving fragments of the poem praise the achievements and qualities of the Buddha in simple and often repetitive vocabulary. Occasionally, references to events in the life of the Bodhisattva or Buddha are made, or to previous lifetimes. The verses referring to previous lifetimes do not explicitly mention certain *jātakas*, although pāda 25a might perhaps by understood as an allusion to the Kṣāntivādi-jātaka. Rather they relate general ideals of the behavior of the Bodhisattva, such as the practice of one of the six perfections (*pāramitā*), namely generosity (*dāna* [= tyāga]; cf. 4a, 20c, 32ac, 40a), 102 moral behavior (*śīla*, not named in the preserved portion of the text; cf. 23ac), and forbearance (*kṣānti*; 25a). Energy (*vīrya*) is mentioned in pāda 19a, albeit not nessesarily in connection to former lifetimes, meditation (*dhyāna*) occurs in pāda 20d, and [discriminative] understanding (*prajñā*) is not named in the preserved portion of the text, but it is tempting to read pāda 25c in that context, for which a parallel can be found in BC 8. 103 Pādas 4a and 30a mention the term *bodhisattva*. The hinted events from the life of the Bodhisattva or Buddha presuppose a knowing audience, and thus, they follow no chronological sequence. They include most probably the following topics:

- 1. Entering into the womb of Māyā in the shape of a white elephant (18a).
- 2. The birth and related events, perhaps including the seven steps (18bcd, 19a?; 29ac). 104
- 3. The Bodhisattva speaks to Chandaka (G Chana), most probably in connection to the renunciation (30a).
- 4. The renunciation (30abcd?), <sup>105</sup> at midnight (2c), and the cheering of the gods (30c).
- 5. Ascetic or difficult practices (*duṣkara-caryā*, but it might also refer to former lifetimes; 4c).
- 6. The Bodhisattva approaches and praises the Bodhi tree or scatters grass tufts under it (26ab) and sits down (26c).
- 7. Overcoming Māra (7a?, 9ac, 17c, 24abcd, 31a?) with loving kindness (9c, 24c).
- 8. Brahmā requests the Buddha to preach the doctrine (35ac).
- 9. Conversion or taming of many Jațila ascetics (7a).

For the sake of convenience for the reader, Sanskrit renderings are added in parenthesizes in this chapter instead of the original Gandhari words with the usual spelling variants.

The six *pāramitā*s are also the topic of the first Śārdūlavikrīdita stanza in BC 8. They represent in general a popular topic, for example, in many stanzas of various meters in the *Lalitavistara*.

Events related to the birth are also described in the first half of the second Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza in BC 8, but in different words.

The topic, albeit in different words, is also addressed the second Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza in BC 8, pāda c.

- 10. Conversion or taming of the thief and murderer Angulimāla (7c).
- 11. Taming of the elephant (or, of an unnamed *guhyaka* [= yakṣa]; 7c?).

Details concerning the previous (17a), countless (10a, 20c, 23a, 25a) lifetimes include:

- 1. Perhaps the encounter with the past buddha Dīpaṃkara (uncertain; 6a).
- 2. Becoming a monk under the past buddha Kāśyapa, possibly referring to the *māṇava* Uttara (uncertain; 31a). Alternatively, the pāda might also narrate an episode about the Buddha reminding an unidentified *guhyaka* (= yakṣa), who was a monk in a former lifetime under the buddha Kāśyapa.
- 3. The practice of generosity (*tyāga*; 4a, 25b?, 40a) including giving away himself (20c), or his belongings including sons, wives and royal retinue (32ac). Generosity is also referred to as "sacrificed sacrifices" (*yaṣṭa yāga*; 13a).
- 4. Ascetic or difficult practices (*duṣkara-caryā*, but it might also denote the practice of generosity (no. 3), or refer to the six years of ascetic practices during the last lifetime of the Bodhisattva; 4c).
- 5. Faith or trust (śraddhā; 10a).
- 6. Forbearance (kṣānti; 25a)
- 7. Pursuing the path [to liberation] (mārga; 17a).
- 8. Being calm and restrained (śānta/śama and dānta/dama; 23abc).
- 9. Seeing momentariness (kṣaṇika; 25c).

The Buddha is said to have striven for and gained insight or awakening (jñāna: 6ac, 21c; bodhi: 10c, 13a, 27c), which is described as blissful or beneficial (śiva; 10c, 13a, 21c, 27c). He has destroyed defilements (kleśa; 11a) and the conditions [for future rebirth] (samskāra; 26c), is powerful (8a, 19a, 27c?), fearless (achambhin; 8a, 29a) and roars (6a?, 8a) (like a lion). He is the best of proclaimers (vādīnām pravara; 11a), teaches the dharma (11c), and raises his voice or speaks (19a, 29ac). He reminds of the retribution of actions (karmaphala; 31c). He is also said to be delivered from all bonds (bandhanaiḥ vipramukta; 16a), and he made the world content (G ṣada, BHS śāta, P sāta; 10c).

The Buddha is the best (agra: 3a; vara: 12a; pravara: 11a, 17a, 29a, 35a?, 40c?; parama: 3ac), the lord of the world (lokeśvara; 10a), the lord of beings (sattvendra, but the interpretation is uncertain; 16d), the eldest (or best) of the world (lokajyeṣtha, possibly also referring to Brahmā; 35a), and without equal (atula, if this word describes the Buddha and not his strength; 19a). He is the "the Blessed One" (bhagavant; 11c, 16a), a victor (jina; 31a, 35a), a leader (nāyaka; 22c, 29c, 31c), and a sage (muni; 18a, 24c, 26c). He is further characterized by seven riches (sapta dhanāni; 22c). There are references to his saṅgha (12c, cf. perhaps also 34ac and 35c) that is like an ocean (12c), descriptions of the Buddhist path (mārga) and attitude (14c, 36a), and descriptions of nirvāṇa or salvation (13c, 19d, cf. perhaps also 34a). The dharma or nirvāṇa (the word is not preserved) is compared to sweet tastes or juices (svādu rasa, cf. amṛta; 21c).

The epithets used to describe the Buddha mainly emphasize his superiority and represent him as a great benefactor, a medicine providing physician (agra cikitsakānām; 3a), a protector (nātha; 3c, 5ac, 12a, 35c) and savior (\*tartr; 41ac?) of helpless people. He is skilled (kuśala; 3a, 6a), or skillful in means (upāyakuśala; 14c, 36a), and he is, or offers, a refuge and shelter (śaraṇa and trāṇa; 23c). Calling his name rescues (12a). Stanza 12 seems to allude to three recollections or visualizations (anusmṛti), of the Buddha (12a), perhaps the dharma (now lost; 12b), and the saṅgha (12c).

The helpless beings (prajā: 5a, 21a, 22a, 25a, 36a, 37a; sattva: 14a, 16c, 20ac, 23a, 27a, 28a, 31c, 33a, 37c, 39a) are always miserable (kṛcchragata: 3c, 5c), have run into trouble (saṃkaṭaprāpta?: 27a), have no shelter (atrāṇabhūta: 5c, 27a, 33c, 39a), are pained (duḥkhita: 19c, 22a, 27a, 28a, 33c; jarita/jvarita duḥkhaśataiḥ: 39a), tormented (ārta; 28abcd), consumed by sorrow (śoka: 20a) with twofold pain (duḥkha: 20a), overpowered by age, illness, and death (jarābhibhūta: 19c; jarāvyādhimaraṇena: 20a; jarādaurbalyaparijita: 39c; vyādhigrasta: 39c). Besides, they are deluded (mohāndhakāre sthita: 19c; mohavaśena: 28c), arrogant (stabdha: 14a), evil (vyāpanna: 25a; bahupāpakarma: 38c), struck by desire (rāgahata: 16c; rāgavaśena: 28a), consumed by wrath (krodhena saṃdhukṣita 14a), devoured by craving (tṛṣṇāgrasta: 28c), never satisfied with sense pleasures (atṛpta kāmaiḥ: 22a), and full of defilements (kleśabahula: 16c; sarvakleśaghṛṣṭa or -grasta: 33c). They are agitated (?, G tsala, cf. Skt. cāla/cālya; 33ac), twitching (spandant: 37a) and running (dhāvant: 22a). Being followers of the wishes of their own mind (cittavaśānu(vartaka?): 38a), they stumble (skhalita: 38a; skhalamāna: 38c), and they whirl around like a cow when stung by a gadfly (42c).

A few verses contain general statements expressing the Buddhist worldview: The sense pleasures ( $k\bar{a}ma$ ) are like fire etc. and not real (15ab). Everything (sarvasamskrta) is momentary ( $k\bar{s}anika$ ; 25c). The sense pleasures or the physical body (the actual word is not preserved) is likened to impure and disgusting things (42a). Perhaps, the wrong notion of "I" (BHS  $ahusamj\tilde{n}\bar{a}/ahasamj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ , Skt.  $\bar{a}tmasamj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ ; 27c) is also briefly mentioned, but this interpretation is uncertain.

The poem belongs to a find of manuscripts that includes several texts containing distinct Mahāyāna elements (BC 2, 4, 6, and 11). It appears therefore possible that it originated in a similar intellectual background. However, due to the content of this work concerning the life and importance of the Buddha for the people in the eye of a strong believer, no specific indication of Mahāyāna ideas is discernible. Nor can it be perceived from the surviving text portions, that the life of the Buddha was only seen as enacted in conformity with conventional beliefs (*lokānuvartanā*), but does not reveal the real nature of the Buddha.

The poem reads partially like a stotra, but this term does not accurately describe its genre. It seems as if the author switched from narrating about the Buddha in the third person to addressing him directly in the second person (8a, 10a?, 22c), and backwards. Unfortunately, this is often not very clear in the preserved fragments. The pronoun of the second person in pāda 35c, for example, can easily be explained because it occurs within the speech of Brahmā who addresses the Buddha as part of a miniature narration of an episode from his life. Occasionally, the Buddha speaks also in direct speech in the first person (6a, 27c?), which might also be embedded within brief narrations of episodes from his life. However, these observations are naturally overshadowed by the incompleteness of the stanzas, leaving generally some doubts on the interpretation. In any case, certain topics that are typically contained in buddha hymns are conspicuously missing, such

as the description of the beauty of the Buddha's appearance or any reference to the marks of a great person (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*). On the other hand, doctrinal issues do clearly not play an important role in the poem, indicating that its main purpose lays outside the presentation of Buddhist doctrinal terms. Only very few verses refer to them (15ab, 25c, 27c?, 42a). Thus, the poem praises the Buddha and reminds the reader on episodes from his life, but without being a classical stotra.

The words chosen at the beginning of pādas, which illustrate each letter of the Arapacana alphabet, are not generally fraught with meaning, as they also include common words and pronouns, like "his" (G tasa, Skt. tasya), "manifold" (G nana, Skt. nānā), "where" (G/Skt. yatra), or "all" (G/Skt. sarva), and other words that do not convey a specifically Buddhist meaning. In all likelihood, the poem was no didactic device for memorizing Buddhist doctrinal ideas, and it shares hardly anything with other alphabetical text passages, such as for example the one in chapter 10 of the Lalitavistara. It may, however represent a personal devotional work, where the author may occasionally also have drawn some inspiration from well-known verses similar to those in the Suttanipāta and the Dhammapada or other canonical text passages. He hardy deviates from well-known or conventional topics, or surprises his readers with entirely new metaphors (with perhaps the exception of pāda 42c, and those that could not be properly understood).

Alternatively, the work might also have served, though not necessarily, as an exercise for writing and composing stanzas. Finally, it can neither be fully ruled out that it might have been merely composed for pleasure, since achieving a meaningful text under the given condition that each pada starts with the same letter of the alphabet, certainly represents a challenge.

# Five Comparable Stanzas from the Lalitavistara

Chapter 23 (*Abhistavaparivarta*) of the *Lalitavistara* consists of various hymns (*stotras*) from different gods, who eulogize the Buddha after his awakening. The larger part of this chapter is most interestingly absent in the corresponding chapter of the oldest Chinese translation of a version of the text, which was conducted under Dharmarakṣa. To conclude from this fact, however, that all those passages that are not contained in Dharmarakṣa's version must be considerable younger, appears to be an over-simplified approach, which most probably does not accurately describe the situation of a much more complicated and ramified textual history. <sup>106</sup>

These hymns are composed in various meters, and they differ from each other also in other respects. Amongst them is one that consists of five stanzas in the meter Śaśikalā, which has fifteen syllables per pāda, of which all but the last one are characteristically supposed to be light. This short stotra belongs to those that have no correspondence in Dharmarakṣa's translation, while a free rendering of it can be found in Divākara's Chinese translation. Its most obvious poetical figure consists in alliterations, but conspicuously, in contrast to many other stanzas from the *Lalitavistara* containing alliterations or the same syllable or word in consecutive pādas, most pādas of the five stanzas seem to prefer words starting with one of the first five letters of the Arapacana alphabet (*A Ra Pa Ca Na*). That becomes less obvious in the last two stanzas, but it may nevertheless still be discernible if one is open to this suggestion, especially when one assumes that the original text may have been in Gandhari, where the syllable *tya* is represented by *ca*.

To properly understand this hymn in all details appears to be difficult, and the following translation is only a cautious attempt, which hardly will solve all problems. The text has already been translated several times with partially divergent proposals. <sup>107</sup> The difficulty lies in the ambiguity of several words and perhaps also in the possible transition from a Gandhari origin or a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript to a hybrid Sanskrit text that is written in Brāhmī. Even if one assumes a Gandhari original, it nevertheless remains unknown whether the same meter was employed or whether the order or division of the words was the same. Since in Gandhari long vowels are not written, there easily arise possibilities for misinterpretation. The stotra as it has survived today shows also metrical inconsistencies.

The hymn is certainly no direct parallel to the poem of BC 5, but it comes thus far closest to its genre. It is well possible that once several alphabetical poems like that of BC 5 existed, and they might theoretically have served as a source of inspiration for the one or other hymn. As far as we know, however, the short passage in chapter 23 of the *Lalitavistara* is the only one that possesses a remote resemblance. <sup>108</sup> On the other hand, however, it will be difficult, if not

The *Lalitavistara* will be further discussed in another volume on different alphabetic text passages.

For translations from Tibetan, see Foucaux 1848: 342–343, Bays 1983, vol. 2: 543–544; Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013 (2019): stanzas 23.30–35; and for a translation from Sanskrit, see, e.g., Goswami 2001: 328–329.

The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* contains a few stanzas of praise (Kp 197, 199, 204), which remotely remind of this passage in the *Lalitavistara*. Perhaps it cannot entirely be excluded, that there was some

impossible, to discover traces for the existence of such alphabetical poems in the many texts that survive only in translation.

# Sanskrit text<sup>109</sup>

atha khalu paranirmitavaśavartī devaputro 'nekair devaputraśatasahasraiḥ parivṛtaḥ puraskṛtaḥ, jāmbūnadasuvarṇavarṇaiḥ padmais tathāgatam abhyavakīrya saṃmukham ābhir gāthābhir abhyastāvīt.

- (A) anivṛta<sup>110</sup> aluḍita avitathavacanā apagatatamaraja amṛtagatigatā, arahasi divi bhuvi śriyakriyam atulām atidyuti smṛtimati praṇipati śirasā. (23.26)
- (Ra) ratikara raṇajaha rajamalamathanā ramayasi suranara suvisadavacanaiḥ, 111 vikasita suvipula varatanu kiraṇaiḥ suranarapatir iva jayasi jagad idam. (23.27)
- (Pa) paragaṇi pramathana paracarikuśalā priyu bhava naramaru paramatidhunatā, paracari vibhajasi sunipuna<sup>112</sup> matimān pathi iha vicaratu daśabalagamane. (23.28)
- (Ca) tyaji pṛthu bhavagraha vitathadu {ḥ}kha {mahā} grahā<sup>113</sup> vinayasi suranara yatha mativinaye, vicarasi catudiśa śaśir iva gagane cakṣu bhava parāyaṇa iha bhuvi tribhave. (23.29)
- (Na) priyu bhava **nara**maru **na** ca skhali vişaye ramayasi śubharati kāmarativirato, vi**nadasi** pariṣadi **na** ti sama tribhave **nāthu** trāti parāyaṇu<sup>114</sup> tvam iha hi jagataḥ. (23.30)

kind of indirect dependency between them. This may be indicated by the same meter of one of these stanzas (Kp 197), some similar words, for example *aludita*, which occurs otherwise not frequently, and the phrase *na hi anyu sattva vidyati tvayi samu tṛbhave* that slightly resembles pāda 23.30c in *Lalitavistara*. Except for one stanza, however, where three pādas start with the letter *Ka* (Kp 204), no alphabetical traces are discernible here.

The text is quoted from L<sup>H20</sup> 242.15–246.2, but for all variant readings, see Hokazono's edition. The word boundaries may also be differently understood, as shown in the translation.

Emended by Hokazono in L<sup>H20</sup> 245, n. 1. According to this edition, the manuscripts read *avṛṭita*, *avṛḍi-ta*, *anivarṭtita*, *anivarṭtita*, anivarṭtita, anivarṭtita.

Read suviśada-? Tib. śin tu dga' ba.

<sup>112</sup> Read sunipuna.

Emended by Hokazono according to the Tibetan translation. Cf. the manuscript readings quoted in Hokazono (p. 245, n. 32).

### **Translation**

Thereupon, a Paranirmitavaśavartin god, surrounded by and heading many hundred thousands of gods, showered the tathāgata with lotus flowers that were colored like gold from the Jambu river and eulogized him in his presence with the following stanzas:

- (A) [You are] one whose speech is not held back(?), unperturbed and not false.
   [You are] free of darkness and stain [and you] realized deathlessness.
   [Thus] you are worthy in heaven [and] on earth of unequalled glorification.
   Highly splendid one, who is [fully] aware, I bow down with [my] head.
- (Ra) As one who causes **delight**, 115 abandons **passion**, 116 destroys **stain** and impurities, You **delight** gods and men with brilliant words.

  Shining 117 abundantly with the rays from your excellent body, 118

  You conquer this world like the lord of gods and men.
- (Pa) Being an expert in the supreme course <sup>119</sup> [you are] the destruction to other religious leaders. <sup>120</sup>
   Be beloved of men and gods, because you shake off the opinions or [your] opponents; You break other believers, <sup>121</sup> very clever and wise [as you are].

May you walk, here on this **path**, in the way of those with ten powers!

With regard to the words *trāti parāyaṇu*, Hokazono (p. 247, n. 6) writes: "Acc. to Tib.[skyabs dan dpun gñen] we read 'trāti (= trātṛ) parāyaṇu' though no ms. supports it and 'trāti' is unmetrical."

Some Tibetan editions (DLS) read here *dka'* ba mdzad pa "one who practices austerities" instead of dga' ba mdzad pa (FNQ) "one who causes delight." The latter is supported by the Sanskrit text.

Apart from "passion" and the like (Tib. *ñon mons*), *raṇa* means also "battle." Hence, the Sanskrit compound can simultaneously be understood as "victorious in battle." Cf. BHSD, s.v. *raṇaṃjaha*.

Skt. *vikasita*, but the Tibetan translation differs with *dri ma śin tu mi mna' bas* "not possessing stain or smell" with reference to the body.

Alternatively, "shining abundantly with the rays, you, who possesses an excellent body ...." Pādas be might be understood behind the background that showing one's teeth (when one speaks or laughs) is frequently compared to light and whiteness that dispels darkness in Indian poetry.

The Tibetan translation of *paracarikuśala* is different: "being an expert in **other** beliefs" (*gźan gyi spyod mkhas pa*). The word *paracari* occurs twice in this stanza and it may possibly be assumed that it is employed in two different meanings, once as "supreme course," and once in a similar sense as *anyatīrthaka* (adherents of other beliefs). The word *para*, which can also mean "other [shore]," and the term *paracari* leave much room for interpretation. A similar expression (*paracari kuśalo*), which most probably has to be read as a compound, occurs in a Mālinī verse of the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* (RP 46.7–8; Tib. *de bźin spyod mkhas*), as well as the words *paracarim anukūlā* (RP 47.7–8, Tib. *gźan gyi spyod dan 'thun pa*). Boucher translated these as "skilled in the highest course" (2008: 155, also referring to "course for others" as another meaning in n. 122) and "in conformity with the highest course" (*ibid.*: 156). Both stanzas are already part of the old Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa from about 270 CE (*Dé guāng taì zǐ jīng* 惠光太子經, T. no. 170), which is supposedly based on a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript (*ibid.*: 107).

paragani pramathana has been translated as a compound.

Or "you distribute the **supreme course**" (Tib. *gźan gyi spyod pa rnam par phye*), depending on the exact interpretation of the words *paracari vibhajasi*.

- You got rid of grasping manifold<sup>122</sup> [new] existences<sup>123</sup> [and] grasping false pain.<sup>124</sup>
   You guide gods and men according to your intention<sup>125</sup> and discipline.
   You roam in the four directions like the moon in the sky.
   Be the eye<sup>126</sup> [and] last refuge on this earth [and] in the triple world.
- (Na) Be beloved of **men** and gods, you may<sup>127</sup> **not** waver in the area [of senses].

  You rejoice in delight in goodness, having renounced the lust for sense pleasures.<sup>128</sup>

  You **roar** in the assembly [like a lion];<sup>129</sup> there is **no** one like you in the triple world.

  You are the **protector**, savior [and] last refuge of the people in this world.

# Tibetan Translation<sup>130</sup>

de nas lha'i bu gźan 'phrul dban byed¹ lha'i bu brgya² ston du mas yons su bskor te | mdun du bdar nas | de bźin gśegs pa la ³'dzam bu klun³ gi gser gyi padma dag gis⁴ mnon par gtor te | ⁵spyan sna nas⁵ tshigs su bcad pa 'di dag gis⁴ mnon par bstod³ do ||

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gsuṅ ni dpyas<sup>9</sup> ma mchis śiṅ ma 'khrul<sup>10</sup> rnam par ma <sup>11</sup>'khrugs pa<sup>11</sup> || mun rdul bral źiṅ 'chi<sup>12</sup> med rtogs par thugs su chud par gyur || lha yul mi yul <sup>13</sup>pa yi<sup>13</sup> dpal daṅ <sup>14</sup>bgyi ba gźal med 'os<sup>14</sup> || rab tu 'bar ba'i blo gros ldan la mgo bos phyag 'tshal lo || dga'<sup>15</sup> ba mdzad pa ñon moṅs spoṅ ba rdul daṅ dri ma sel || śin tu<sup>16</sup> dga' ba'i gsuṅ gis lha daṅ mi rnams dga' bar mdzod || sku mchog 'od zer rgyas pa dri ma śin tu<sup>17</sup> mi mṅa' bas<sup>18</sup> || lha daṅ mi yi bdag po bźin<sup>19</sup> du 'gro ba 'di las rgyal ||
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Pṛthu might mean "extensive, manifold" (Tib. rgya chen), or, it represents Skt. pṛthak "different." A noun pṛthagbhāva "separate state, difference, individuality" also exists.

The term *bhavagraha* (Tib. *srid pa 'dzin*) can be understood in several ways, especially, if it goes back to *bhāvagraha* or *bhāvagrāha*, which would be spelled alike in Kharoṣṭhī. Here, it has been translated in the context of the narrative in the *Lalitavistara*, in which the Buddha has recently awakened. Other interpretations may include "[wrong] view of existence," or "[wrong] view on matter."

The expression is not fully clear and the correct Sanskrit text is also uncertain. Hokazono based his emendation (p. 245, n. 32) on the Tibetan translation. It may also be translated as "the false view [that there exists] pain."

The word *mati* (Tib. *blo gros*) was possibly chosen in order to fit in the meter at a place, where Skt. *dharma* is expected. Alternatively, one might perhaps also read *yathamati vinaye* "according to your intention into the discipline."

Namely, the sun.

Or "did," depending on whether one assumes an optative or a preterite for *skhali*.

This is a wordplay with *rati*. Cf., e.g., the explanation for the letter *Ra* in some versions of the *Lalita-vistara* (L<sup>H</sup>, the Tibetan translation, and Divākara's Chinese translation): *ratyarati-paramārtharati-*.

On this phrase, cf. BC 5, pāda 8a (for the syllable Ba): *balaprato ṇatasi achabi pariṣa*, "with strength attained [and] without fear, you roar [like a lion] to the assembly."

The Tibetan text is based on the following editions of the Kanjur: **D** no. 95, *mDo sde* Kha 173b1–7, **F** no. 82, *mDo sde* Kha 276a8–277a2, **L** no. 11, *mDo sde* Kha 216a1–b2, **N** no. 83, *mDo* Kha 262a4–b6, **Q** no. 763, *mDo sna tshogs* Ku 196b1–8, and **S** no. 35, *mDo sde* Kha 257b5–258a6.

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pha rol tshogs rnams rab tu 'joms<sup>20</sup> pa gźan gyi spyod mkhas pa || lha daṅ mi yi srid par dga' ba gźan gyi blo <sup>21</sup>sel ba<sup>21</sup> || śin tu<sup>22</sup> mkhas pa blo<sup>23</sup> ldan gźan gyi spyod pa rnam<sup>24</sup> par phye || stobs bcu mṅa' ba gśegs pa'i lam 'dir rnam par rgyu ba mdzod<sup>25</sup> || srid pa 'dzin daṅ sdug bsṅal log 'dzin <sup>26</sup>rgya chen<sup>26</sup> 'dor<sup>27</sup> sel te || lha mi blo gros<sup>28</sup> 'dul ba ji lta <sup>29</sup>bźin du<sup>29</sup> 'dul ba<sup>30</sup> mdzod || zla ba bźin du mkha' las phyogs bźi dag tu rnam<sup>31</sup> rgyu ba || srid pa gsum 'dir rmad byuṅ mig daṅ dpuṅ gñen gyur<sup>32</sup> par śog | lha daṅ <sup>33</sup>mi yi<sup>33</sup> srid pa<sup>34</sup> dga'<sup>35</sup> yaṅ yul la 'khrul mi mṅa' || 'dod pa'i dga' daṅ bral źiṅ dge ba'i dga' la dgyes pa po<sup>36</sup> || 'khor la<sup>37</sup> sgrogs pa 'jig rten gsum na khyod daṅ mtshuṅs ma mchis || khyod 'dir 'gro ba rnams kyi<sup>38</sup> mgon daṅ<sup>39</sup> skyabs daṅ <sup>40</sup> dpuṅ gñen lags ||
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1 byed FLS] byed kyi DNQ. 2 brgya] brgyad L. 3 'dzam bu klun D, dzambu klun N] 'dzam bu glin QS, 'dzam bu'i glin FL. 4 gis] gi F, om. L. 5 spyan sna nas] slar F. 6 gis] om. L. 7 mnon par] om. F. 8 bstod] 'stod Q. 9 dpyas] dpyod F. 10 'khrul] 'khrug S. 11 'khrugs pa] 'khrul ba F. 12 'chi] mchi LQ. 13 pa yi] pa'i L. 14 bgyi ba gźal med 'os] bgyis pa gźan med thos F. 15 dga' FNQ] dka' DLS. 16 tu] du Q. 17 tu] du FL. 18 bas] ba F. 19 bźin] gźin L. 20 'joms] 'dzoms F, 'jom S. 21 sel ba] sems pa F. 22 tu] du Q. 23 blo] glo N. 24 rnam] rnams F. 25 mdzod] mdzad S. 26 rgya chen] om. S. 27 'dor] 'dir F. 28 gros] grol N. 29 bźin du] ba bźin F. 30 ba] bar FL. 31 rnam] rnams F. 32 gyur] 'gyur F. 33 mi yi] mi'i F. 34 pa] par LS. 35 dga'] 'ga' Q. 36 po] de F. 37 la] lo F. 38 kyi] kyis FQ. 39 dan] om. L. 40 dan] dan ni L.

# Chinese translation by Divākara<sup>131</sup>

是時復有他化自在天王。與無數天子恭敬圍遶來至佛所。將妙閻浮檀金天花散如來上。以偈讃曰

如來所說皆眞實 無有覆藏無雜亂 遠離癡冥及罪垢 證得甘露大菩提 光明遍照於十方 是故我今稽首禮 世尊慈悲於一切 善別諸根摧外道 智慧殊勝十力者 能顯衆生微妙行身處虚空現神變 絕如履地無罣礙見彼生死廣大愛 知惟妄苦而棄之 當隨天人諸意業 教化皆令得解脱 利益十方如日光 復於三界猶如眼 為諸世間作依止 其心曾不生負等 遊戲神通得自在 而於世間無與等

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Text quoted from T. no. 187, vol. 3: 597c23–598a8.

# Transliteration

The calculated length of a line indicated by the number of missing akṣaras (+) is based on the assumption of nineteen syllables per pāda plus two punctuation marks. In reality, there may occasionally have been one or two additional syllables, and it is also unknown whether the stanzas were numbered or not. If a word could not be identified, the syllables have been separated with spaces. In a number of cases there are several possible readings. These are mentioned in the footnotes, especially when there are more than two. Portions of the text preserved on detached fragments which had become displaced have been placed inside rectangular boxes. They appear in the digital reconstruction of the scroll (Pls. 1–2) at their correct position, while their original location is described in the footnotes and can also be seen in the original scans (Pls. 3–6).

A small circle, similar to the punctuation mark at the end of pādas, is written in the right margin before the beginning of lines r21 (verse 11a, starting with va), r31 (verse 16a, starting with sa) and v27 (verse 36a, starting with na). The significance of this mark is difficult to determine, considering that the left margin has not survived, which might show whether the punctuation at the end of the stanza is missing.

### recto

The one or two unclear akṣaras might be *me* (normally & & & ) or *ma [h]*., but the reading is uncertain and the word cannot be safely identified. A tiny separate fragment lies under the supposed *ma*. The space between *ma* and *ardha*- is unusually small for a complete akṣara like [h]., unless it was inserted afterwards. Alternatively, one might read *sa[ye]* instead of *sama [h]*. in comparison with the *ye* (b) in line r16, but this is all very speculative.

The text is partially hidden underneath a small fragment belonging to line v34. The first uncertain letter .. might be [m]., showing faintly through the fragment that hides it, but this is only one possible way to read it. The third uncertain letter .. could perhaps be understood as [ta] or [sam], and the fourth one could be read either as .r., [h]., or [s].

The superscript stroke of the  $\underline{s}a$  is only faintly visible.

The lower parts of the akṣaras na[so] sa[tata] are not preserved.

<sup>136</sup> The -r- of vru is only faintly visible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> The last syllable looks like *tva*, but perhaps an *-o-*vowel marker was added which is now lost.

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Beneath the ra is a dot or a stroke that is probably nothing but an inkblot, since an anusvāra would violate the meter.

Parts of -ga ci[r]na [ba]- are preserved on a separate one-layered fragment next to line v36 in the original scan. The remaining akṣaras [bahava] ... can only be seen as shadows showing through another separate fragment at the end of lines r7/v37 of the scan. It consists of two separate layers folded together in such a way that the writing is only preserved on the inside. However, both sides can still be partially read as faint mirror-writing showing through it.

The -r- of -pra- is only faintly visible.

<sup>141</sup> It is not clear whether there was an anusvāra beneath the final *ta*.

This portion is legible as shadows on a separate one-layered fragment lying flipped over on lines v27–29. The visible writing preserves traces of both, the mirror-image of the akṣaras of this fragment as well as the regular akṣaras of v27–29.

See the preceding note. The lower part of s. is not fully preserved, and there remain a number of possibilities for interpretation, including [sp]. Beneath the va lies a small separate fragment that might be covering an anusvāra.

A small fragment covers the upper part of the last akṣara. The lower parts of -[nav]i[s]. .. are not preserved.

Only parts of [tva] remain.

Faint, but still visible.

Since the lower parts of the s. g. y./ś. [g]/[g] are not preserved, different readings are possible: s(a), s(am) or s(u) for s:, g(a), g(u), g(o) or g(a) for g:, g(u) for g:, g(u) for g(u) fo

A small twisted strip with the remains of two akṣaras lies above -laprato ṇatas[i]. At least a part of it seems to belong to line v29, but the correct position of the small semicircular part of an akṣara is more difficult to ascertain. It has tentatively been shifted leftwards to a distance of two akṣaras, restoring the upper part of the a in a[cha]bi. But it could also fit in v29 as the lower part of [thva], which would then be further to the left.

As the upper part of [sa] is obliterated, the vowel of this syllable could have been (e) rather than a.

The small hook at the lower end of *the* \$\frac{1}{2}\$ represents probably only a flourish, but its shape appears to be slightly unusual.

Theoretically the vowel could have been .o, but the meter requires a short syllable.

- r21 vatiņa pravaro giņukadahaņa kli $\S$ aņa sa[m]bha[jaņa sa[m]bha[jaņa sa[m]bha[jaņa sa[m]bha[jaṇa sa[m]bha[ja] sa[m]bha[jaṇa sa[m]bha[ja] sa[m]bha[jaṇa sa[m]bha[ja] sa

The akṣara [tho] 7 has not been clearly written. Other possible readings are sa[do] and sa[ro].

<sup>153</sup> The shape of the aksaras also resembles *dukhati*.

The lower part of [na] is not preserved. The word can also be read as [d].[i thvana], [s].[i thvana], or [s].i thvana].

<sup>155</sup> Or dasu te.

A tiny fragment covers a part of -[i], which could perhaps also be read as -[e].

Parts of kri and n[u] are very faint, but still visible.

The expected reading is  $kle\bar{\underline{s}}ana$  instead of  $kli\bar{\underline{s}}ana$ . The kli might be explained on analogy with the less sanskritized  $kile\bar{\underline{s}}a$ - (r38); however, it is also possible that the scribe wrote the -e-vowel marker in one stroke in continuation with the following letter  $\underline{\underline{s}}a$ , giving the false impression of an -i.

Sa[m]bha[jana] is very difficult to read because of the faded ink, the partial damage of the upper parts of -[jana], and several loose birch-bark particles obscuring the reading of the first two aksaras. The remains of -[ja]- also resemble an a.

The lower ends of -[ga] i bha[ga]- are not clearly visible, so that one could theoretically also read ga for [ga] in both cases. This would, however, be inconsistent with the usual orthography of this manuscript.

This could be [ka], among other possibilities.

A small one-layered chip above this uncertain akṣara shows the mirror image from its inverted back that belongs to v18. Parts of a few akṣaras may be preserved on a small fragment that is folded back on this line, but nothing is visible.

The space is due to a knot in the birch bark. Because of the surrounding creases, the two akṣaras [ca] and [ti] are not very clear. Instead of [ti] one could also read [t]o, [r]o, or [r]i.

Due to a small defect in the birch bark the reading -samgh(o) is also possible.

If the alleged -e is nothing but the unintentional prolongation of the na from the line above, the reading would be -sama.

The reading *p[r]adaṇa[jali]* is strongly influenced by the meter and to a lesser extent by the shapes of the letters, which also allow for other interpretations. The lower parts of the last four akṣaras are lost. The *da* might also be an incomplete [sa] or [sa], and the remnants of the last two akṣaras could equally be read as *ma*.. or *ma* [th]. instead of [jali].

The shape of *tha* can hardly be differentiated from *vo*.

The akṣara a has been written with more than one stroke. It also resembles ra, but the flourish at the lower end of the stem rather suggests a.

The upper half of the faint -[i] is not clearly discernible.

Only the left half of the aksara remains, so that other readings are possible.

A fragment belonging to v17–18 lies partly beneath and partly covering the lower parts of the akṣa-ras -sti jara na v[y]i[si] ma-. The upper parts of the two -i-vowel markers are extremely faint.

The reading is uncertain. The first akṣara either represents [ka] with a part of the right arm covered or damaged, or [sta] with the lower horizontal left arm hidden beneath a tiny fragment, or [i], if the head is regarded as round and not straight. It could also be read as e, or a if the rightward projection is ignored. The -[e]-vowel marker of the second akṣara is very faint.

The alleged [a] could also represent [e] or part of a [va].

A small fragment of v18 is folded over the upper part of  $\underline{s}a$ .

The aksaras sam and [su], especially the -u-vowel marker of the latter, are only faintly visible.

The upper part of the -e-vowel marker in *me* remains only as a faint shadow.

The upper stroke of  $\underline{\delta}a$  is very faint.

Perhaps *e*, *i* or *hi*, but the surviving part is too small to permit a certain reading.

The left leg of  $\underline{\underline{s}}a$  ( $\underline{\underline{p}}$ ) is unusually long. It is not clear if this represents an intention to depict an anusvāra. The superscript stroke is written high above, reaching the lower part of ku in the preceding line.

Only the lower part of  $\lceil \underline{s} \rceil$ , remains. The akṣara could alternatively be read as r.

The two akṣaras of *kama* are overwritten, perhaps as a correction by the scribe. On the upper part of *ka* lies a tiny fragment that could not be located.

The faint left arm of  $\underline{\bar{s}}a$  reaches far down (cf. n. 179). The superscript stroke of  $\underline{\bar{s}}a$  touches the  $\underline{\bar{s}}a$  in the line above.

Or *mayopame*. The last aksara is not entirely clear due to damage in the scroll.

An alternative reading i[tva] can not be excluded.

The additional curved stroke at the lower end of  $rve \mathcal{J}$  might indicate a long vowel ( $-\bar{e}$  or -ai). If this possibility is discarded, the reading would be rve, and significance of this additional mark remains unclear.

The [va] is so faint that it is hardly visible.

The reading -m[aa]da. [sig]. is highly uncertain since the lower parts are missing.

The reading *dri[svaṇa] sa[ca]* is only tentative because of the many creases surrounding the knot in the preceding line as well as the loss at the lower parts of the akṣaras.

The last syllable might also be read as <u>to</u>. The placement of this separate fragment from frame no. 35 with the text [o] satvi[dro] or similar is not absolutely certain. If it belongs to the following line, the first akṣara would be [ma] instead of a punctuation mark. The space before the sa may be due to the apparent punctuation mark, or rather to a small hole in the manuscript. The akṣara [dro] or <u>to</u> was probably misspelled and corrected, but its reading is not certain.

The reading [s]. is uncertain. The separate fragment from frame no. 35, now tentatively placed at the end of r32, might belong here instead; cf. the preceding note.

Or rukṣamta[va]? The rightward curve of the stem of kṣ- ( $\chi$ ) is unusual. The ru also resembles a bu.

If the sharp lower curve of the stem of pa ( $\rlap/p$ ) is more than a mere flourish, the alternative reading pamdaravano might be possible. But cf. the similar curve of la ( $\rlap/z$ ) in r37.

Parts of *[ch]*- are very faint.

The upper part of the vertical of [ph]u is so faint that it is hardly visible. Since the lower part of [da] is not preserved, the reading  $[\underline{t}a]$  is also possible.

Perhaps [i], [e], [hi], or something else.

The upper part of -i is so faint that it is hardly visible.

There is a break in the manuscript at exactly the position where an -*i*-vowel marker would have been attached, if the intended reading was *thaïra*. However, it would have been very thin, and nothing is clearly visible.

The ink in -/re thi/- is very faint, and the -e-vowel marker is not certain.

Parts of the akṣaras -[t]i [satva du]- can be traced as mirrored shadows on a loose one-layered fragment that now lies on top of the following line.

The shape of [h]. could also be read as [e], or [i].

Perhaps [s]., [t]., or something else.

Two akṣaras are hidden behind the back of the one-layered fragment belonging to the preceding line.

#### verso

The upper part of [ra] is unclear because of the many small creases around the following knot.

<sup>204</sup> Only traces of the aksaras remain.

The possible vowels, besides inherent -a, are -u and -o.

Underneath the akṣara me is a small dot ( $^{\circ}$ ). If it is no inkblot, it might be an attempt to indicate the long vowel -ai.

The akṣara [sa] (5) has been written with two separate strokes. It appears to have been corrected from

The small dot underneath the akṣara ye ( $\mathcal{A}$ ) could be meant to indicate the long vowel -ai, unless it is an inkblot.

The lower end of  $[\underline{t}a]$  is not clearly visible, so that it could also be read as da. The [r]pa is quite similar to a lpa.

The remains of this aksara somewhat resemble [t], [p], or [th], but no positive reading is possible.

A loose one-layered fragment containing most parts of -sanamanaso has slipped slightly to the left. It has been replaced to its proper place in the digital reconstruction.

In the original scan, the aforementioned fragment covers a tiny bit of the lower end of the apparent mu. The word might possibly also be read as mutimdrio.

The lower part of the second *ta* is very faint because of the many creases around the following knot.

The akṣara [va] could also be read as [a]. The ambigious shape results from the reduced space due to the knot in the bark.

The akṣara read as *rma* resembles a *kha*, but contrasts with the other examples of *kha* in the same line.

The akṣara [ts]e could also be read as [sp]e. The gap in the bark makes it difficult to decide. If the prominent head mark is seen as an e-vowel marker, a reading as khe[ts]e or khe[sp]e might also be possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Or [ru], or [bu]?

To the right of the upper part of *do* there is a dot, which may be meaningless.

The anusvāra is uncertain, but there is a small dot beneath k s a, and the rest of the anusvāra may be obscured by the horizontal crease between the oblong segments of the scroll.

The reading of [na] is not certain. A da would be expected, but this is not a possible reading.

The remains of the circle, similar to the following punctuation mark, are very faint and its purpose is not clear. Perhaps the scribe remembered his original intention to align the even pādas and added a second punctuation mark at the correct position.

The superscript stroke of  $k\bar{s}a$  is thin and placed higher than usual.

The remains of a long vertical stroke may suggest a possible reading [1].

It appears that an akṣara was added to the upper left of *bhu*, but it is not clear what it is or where it belongs.

The akṣara looks like *tri* or *dri*, but since the edge of the next oblong segment of the scroll covers the lower part, [t]i would also be possible.

Perhaps [me], or something else.

Perhaps the upper part of a ba.

The upper part of the apparent -i-vowel sign is not clearly visible.

Other possible readings are [ha], [ho], or [o].

Other possible readings for [pu] are [ph]u or [sp]u.

The lower part of t- is not clear and an inkblot obscures the reading. It may also be read as t[u] or [r]t[a].

Above the a are two dots that are probably inkblots.

Or *va* and another akṣara with a long vertical.

Beneath the [ra] is a faint stroke that is probably insignificant.

The upper sections of *bha[ṣa]ta gi[ra sa]rvaloge* are partly obscured by a horizontal crease.

| v15 chaņo alavi bo <u>s</u> isatvo mudido pridimaņo $^{237}$ ha .[i] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +  |
|---|
| v16 chada deva garisu dri[tha $^{238}$ muti] hakarapraśpedi[t]. $^{239}$ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +  |
| v17 sparedi jiṇo gu<br>śago bhayagaro 240 ya parvayi kaśa[v]e [o] +++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++   |
| v<br>18 sparedi bahusatvakodiṇayuta [karm]aphalo<br>^241 ṇa[y] +++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++  |
| v<br>19 vhari <u>t</u> a avharaṇehi putra bahava bharya a<br>[ <u>s</u> a] .[i] $^{242}$ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +  |
| v20 bhari <u>t</u> a patira <u>s</u> a ka peruturaga 243 cata bahu ya 244 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +   |
| v21 tsala satva sada anega vivi $[\underline{s}a]^{245}$ $[e]^{246}$ $+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++$  |
| v22 tsala sa $rvakila\bar{\underline{s}}$ aghru $^{247}$ $^{248}$ [duh]. $^{249}$ [ $\underline{t}$ a atraṇabhu $\underline{t}$ a sa] $\underline{t}$ a $\circ$ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +   |
| v23 ghaṇa ta saṃjaṇiaṇa ṇivritapat $a^{250}$ utrastacita + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +  |
| $v24 \;\; gha \underline{\dot{q}} ado \; vyayamado \; \underline{\ddot{c}} a \; \underbrace{\dot{s}} \underline{a\underline{\ddot{s}}} \underline{a}[\underline{n}].^{251} + [ro] \; gu[t] e[d] r[i]^{252} + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +$ |

The lower end of the stem of so  $(\frac{1}{2})$  is somewhat unsusually curved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> A small fragment seems to be lying on top of *pri*.

Or read [h]ri[tha]?

The lower rightward curve in ha is shorter than usual.

Above *ya* and *ro* is a faint -*e*-like stroke that might be an ink transfer.

The reading of [karm]a- is tentative. A small one-layered fragment containing part of these two aksaras lies on line r22, but it is flipped over, so that the writing on it is not very clear. The faint upper end of -[rm]a- appears to be visible above the break. An alternative reading would be [ka]ya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Or .e.

A one-layered fragment of the scroll containing parts of *patirasa ka*- was displaced and lies on lines v21–22 in the original scan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Or *śa*, [pa], or [ka].

Parts of śada a- are preserved on a one-layered separate fragment that lies to the left of v17–18 in the original scan. Anega vivi- belongs to the same shifted fragment as the one mentioned in reference to the preceding line. The [sa] is not clearly legible due to the many creases around the following knot.

These akṣaras are hardly legible due to the many creases surrounding the knot and to the loss of their lower parts. The first akṣara, noted above as .., could perhaps be ka.

The upper parts of *-rvakilasaghru*- are on the one-layered separate fragment that lies to the left of v17–18 in the scan.

There are several possible readings, including [sta], [tha], [tha], or [ta].

The [du] is uncertain, but the small size of the akṣara makes this reading likely. Besides [h]., other akṣaras with subscript postconsonantal -r- might also be possible, but this would be against the meter.

The lower parts of *pata* are preserved on a one-layered fragment lying next to v26–27 in the scan.

A small part of  $\dot{s}a$  and the remains of  $-\underline{\dot{s}}a[n]$ . are preserved on the one-layered fragment lying next to v26–27 in the scan. Only the upper rightward stroke of [n], is discernible.

The reading of -[t]e[d]r[i]- is tentative.

The surviving round shape of the upper part might suggest [v], [g], [a], [h], or the right side of [pa].

Parts of  $-\frac{5}{6}al/o$  can be read as mirror writing on a small one-layered fragment adhering to line r12.

The -r- of  $-\frac{r}{go}$  is legible beneath the one-layered fragment which lies flipped over on lines v27–19.

On top of  $\dot{s}/i/vo$  lies a small fragment that may belong to line v32.

Perhaps [pr], sp, or other possibilities.

Since dha is usually more round at the top, the akṣara read as dha could also represent a vya. The ka is also written slightly irregularly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> -[sa sarva] is faintly visible from beneath the one-layered fragment lying flipped over on lines v27–19.

A part of the da is visible on the fragment which is folded under between lines r14–15. A possible alternative reading for f(ta) is f(sa). The syllable f(ta) may also be read as f(sa), or even f(sa) (m) or f(sa)(m).

Only the upper parts of [ta p]. [ya d].[i thva] are preserved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Or *pal[v]a[rag]*.?

The remnants of these akṣaras are hidden behind the one-layered fragment lying flipped-over on v27–19.

This akṣara is partially concealed by a small one-layered fragment with writing on its back. Its original position has not been determined.

Perhaps [va] or [a], among other possibilities.

Above the second [vi] lies a small separate fragment that could belong to line r6, but it does not clarify the reading.

About three aksaras are covered by a small unlocated fragment.

According to the folding of the scroll, it is possible that the remnants of the akṣaras on a small fragment on v27 belong to this line, but this is uncertain, and the akṣaras cannot unambiguously be read. The last two akṣaras seem to be .u [k]. or .u [p].

Only tiny bits of -[nabh]. are preserved.

Beneath *yi* two shadowy strokes are visible, perhaps belonging to r4.

Parts of *vyasighra[s]*... are legible as faint mirror-images on a small fragment lying on r3. The last two uncertain akṣaras have either a long vertical or the vowel -*e* or -*i* attached.

<sup>[</sup>pravaro] is legible as rather distinct mirror writing on two layers of birch bark folded in such a way that the text is preserved only on the inside. In the scan, it is stuck to the end of line r7 (v37). Its proposed but uncertain original position was ascertained with the help of the text belonging to r8.

This akṣara might be [a], [y]., or [s].

The akṣara is written in an unusual fashion with a small semicircle at the lower end (5). Perhaps, one might also read simply [te] with an unintentional flourish at the bottom.

Or  $pa\underline{d}ira[ksa]n[e]$ . If the reading is -n[e], the vowel marker would be extremely faint. Another alternative reading of the word is padija[ga]n[e].

Or [kar]., [par]., [para], or something else.

The lower part of  $|\vec{s}a|$  is damaged so that it is not clear whether this akṣara had an anusvāra.

To judge by the shape, this could be  $\lceil du \rceil$ , u, or ha.

Possibly a or ma.

# **Edition and Translation**

In the following edition, square brackets that indicate uncertain readings in the transliteration have been excluded. It contains several alternative readings and consequently alternative translations due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript. These are given at the bottom of the page together with a prose  $ch\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ , which has been provided for the sake of convenience. The  $ch\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  was inspired by the wish of readers who are not fluent in Gandhari. It is meant to give an approximate idea about the text, its vocabulary and word order in Sanskrit, but neither does it attempt to imitate Middle Indic word forms in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, nor does it include all possible alternatives of interpretations, such as nominatives as accusatives and the like. The frequent preterite of the Gandhari text has been preferably rendered as imperfect.

All the numbers of the stanzas as well as the names of the respective letters were added, as they are not part of the original manuscript. The headwords illustrating each respective letter of the Arapacana alphabet are printed in blue throughout the edition and in the translation as well.

Translations of reconstructed words that are not preserved in the manuscripts are presented within the same square brackets as additions of those words that have no correspondence in the original texts but serve as a reading aid, such as "[his] generosity." This has been done after some consideration, because it remains in many cases unclear, whether a word was in fact there, but is not preserved, or whether not. It would not be possible to represent ambiguous or unclear cases accurately with a differing use of brackets.

As another reading aid, the following diacritics have been inserted, but only here and not in the other parts of the book (with very few exceptions), especially not in the annotations and the glossary: a circumflex for vowel sandhi, breves for syllables containing the vowels e and o, when they are to be pronounced as light syllables in the meter, and apostrophes for elided vowels.

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```
2
1
                                                                     -- \cdot - \cdot \times (\circ)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (r2)
     J
2
             (r3)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                    ratie sa - ardhabhagas(amaye)
                                                                     -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (r4)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
3
            (r5)
                    paramo agrŏ cigitsagaņa kušalo
                                                                     bheṣ(aj). - - \sim \times (\circ)
                    -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                    paramo kritsagatana nasŏ satata
                                                                     -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (r6)
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                     -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                    cago vruhaĕ bosisatv(ŏ) - -
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                    caria dukara nega cirna bahava
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
            (r8)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
5
            (r9)
                    naso sarvaprayaĕ a(r)th(a)m ac(ari)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                     -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (r10) nanakritsagatana naso satata
                                                                     atranabhu(\underline{t}ana) × (\circ)
                                                                     -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
     4
            (r11) ladhva ñanabalo nati sukušalo
6
                                                                     divakare s. \sim \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (r12) ladho me varabudhañanavis(ayo)
                                                                     -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
                                                                     -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
Alternative readings
             2c
                    ratie sayĕ ardhabhagas(amaye) ...
             4c
                    caria dukara 'nega cirna bahava ...
             5a
                    ... a(r)th(a)m a\bar{c}(ari) ...
             6a
                    ... diva kare ...; or: ... diva(m) kare ...; or: ... diva(m)kare sp. ...
```

<sup>2</sup>c rātrau ... ardhabhāgas(amaye) ... 3a paramo 'graś cikitsakānām kuśalo bhaiṣ(ajya-) ... 3c paramaḥ kṛcchragatānām nāthaḥ satatam ... 4a tyāgam abṛmhayad (or: bṛmhayan) bodhisattvaḥ ... 4c caryā duṣkarā anekāś (or: naikāś) cīrṇā bahavaḥ ... 5a nāthaḥ sarvaprajāyai (or: sarvaprajāyā) artham ac(arat) ... 5c nānākṛcchragatānām nāthaḥ satatam atrāṇabhū(tānām) ... 6a labdhvā jñānabalam anadat (or: anatiḥ?) sukuśalo dīpaṃkare (or: dvīpam/dīpam akarot) ... 6c labdho mayā varabuddhajñānaviṣ(ayaḥ) ...

TRANSLATION 85

```
1
    A
2
    Ra
           At midnight ...
3
           The highest, best of the physicians, skilled, [an expert in or offers?] medicine ...
     Pa
           The highest, protector of those fallen into misery, constantly ...
4
    Ca
           The Bodhisattva increased [his] generosity ...
           Numerous, difficult practices were practiced [by him], many ...
           The protector acted for the advantage of all people ...
5
    Na
  (=Na)
           Constantly the protector of those fallen into manifold miseries, of those who are with-
           out shelter ...
           Having gained the power of knowledge, the very competent one roared [the lion's
6
    La
           roar] ...
           "I attained the range of the excellent knowledge of a buddha ..."
Alternative translations
     2c
           If at midnight ...
     4a
           The Bodhisattva, increasing [his] renunciation ...
           Having gained the power of knowledge, the unsurpassed(?), the very competent one ...
     6a
           Having gained the power of knowledge, the very competent one roared [with the voice of a
     or:
```

lion]: "Under Dīpamkara ..."

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11a

```
2
7
            (r13) damta te jadila anega vivisa
                                                                  dharsitva - - \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                  -- · - · × (o)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  damta ca s(a) g(a)y(a)g(iri o)
            (r14) damto agudimalŏ corŏ balavo
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
8
            (r15) balaprato natasi achabi parisa
                                                                  sarva \sim - - \sim \times (\circ)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (r16) bala durmadi jima taspi samaye
                                                                  kathe ma grini .i \times (\circ)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
     4
9
            (r17) dasu maro śathŏ durmati akuśalo
                                                                  d(r)iṭhva ṇa - - \sim \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (r18) dasute sarvě savahana bhayagara
                                                                  metra nihatva \sim \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
10 \mathcal{P}
            (r19) sadha karpaśata anega vivisa
                                                                  savruhi logiśva(ra o)
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (r20) sado logŏ krido sadevamaņuyo
                                                                  ya prata bosi śiv(a ○)
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
11 9
                                                                 klešana (ms. klišana) sambhajana o
            (r21) vatina pravaro 'gin'ukadahana
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (r22) varadharmo sada sapragaśi bhagava
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
Alternative readings
            7c
                    ... daṃta \bar{c}a s(a) g(u) \bar{s}(a) g(o)
                                                                  8a
                                                                         ... ņatati (ms. ņatasi) ... paris(e) ...
                   dasu maro śado ... d(r)ithvana; or: dasam maro śaro ... s(r)ithva na; or: ... s(r)ithvana
            9a
            9c
                    dagu te ...; or: dagamte ...; or: dagam te ...
                                                                  10a
                                                                         ... logiśva(ro)
```

7a dāntās te (*or*: tvayā) jaṭilā aṇekā vividhā dharṣitvā ... 7c dānto 'ṅgulimālaś coro balavān dāntaś ca s(a) g(a)-j(a)- (*or*: g(a)j(a)g(iriḥ?) *or*: g(u)hy(a)k(aḥ)) ... 8a balaprāpto nadasy (*or*: nadaty) achambhī pariṣadaṃ (*or*: pariṣadi?) sarva- ... 8c bālā durmatayo jihmās tasmin samaye ... (*perhaps*: kāṣṭha- *or* kaṇṭhe √grah) ... 9a dahan māraḥ śaṭho durmatir akuśalo dṛṣṭvā ... (*or*: dahan/dahantaṃ māraḥ śaraṃ durmatir akuśalaḥ ṣṛṣṭvā ...) 9c dahyante (*or*: dahantas te) sarve savāhanā bhayakarā maitryā nihatya ... 10a śraddhā kalpaśatāny ane-kāni vividhāni samavardhata lokeśva(ra) (*or*: samabṛṃhayal lokeśva(raḥ)) 10c śrānto(?) (*cf. BHS śāta or P sāta*) loko kṛto sadevamanujo yat prāptā bodhiḥ śiv(ā) 11a vādīnāṃ pravaro 'ġnyulkādahanaḥ kleśānāṃ saṃbhañjanaḥ (*or*: 'ġnyulkādahanakleśānāṃ saṃbhañjanaṃ) 11c varadharmaṃ sadā saṃprākāśayad bhagavān (*for other interpretations, cf. also p. 47 under "Preterite"*) ...

... 'gin'ukadahanaklesana (ms. klisana) sambhajana

Translation 87

7 Da Tamed are the many various matted-haired ascetics, having overcome ...

. . .

Tamed is the mighty thief Angulimala, and tamed is this mountain(?) of an elephant.

• • •

8 Ba With strength attained [and] without fear, you roar [like a lion] to the assembly, all ...

. . .

At that time, the fool(s), weak-minded [and] dull, ...

. . .

9 **Pa** Māra was burning [with rage], the wicked, ill-disposed [and] evil one, after he saw ...

. . .

They were all burning [with grief], along with their retinues, the frightening ones, after [the Buddha] had struck [them] down with loving kindness.

...

10 Şa For many different hundreds of eons, [your] faith grew, oh lord of the world.

. . .

The world, with [its] gods and men, was made content, because blissful awakening was attained.

...

11 Va The foremost of proclaimers [is] a blazing fire, the destroyer of defilements,

. . .

The Blessed One always revealed the excellent dharma ...

. . .

### Alternative translations

- 7a Many various matted-haired ascetics [were] tamed by you, having overcome ...
- 7c Tamed is the mighty thief Angulimāla, and tamed is this *guhyaka*.
- 8a ... he roars [like a lion] in the assembly ...
- **8c** At that time, the child/children, weak-minded [and] sad, ...
- 9a Māra, the ill-disposed [and] evil one, after he shot a burning arrow ...
- 9c They were all burnt [with grief], along with their mounts, the frightening ones, ...
- 10a For many different hundreds of eons, the lord of the world strengthened [his] faith.
- 11ab The foremost of proclaimers [taught] the destruction of defilements, [which are] a blazing fire
- The excellent dharma always became manifest, oh Blessed One, ... (cf. also p. 47 under "Preterite")

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| 12                   | 9  | (r23) | tasa ṇasavarasa ṇamagrahaṇe                 | $mucati \sim \times (\circ)$           |  |
|----------------------|----|-------|---|--|--|
|                      |    |       |   | $ \circ \circ \times (\circ)$          |  |
|                      |    | (r24) | tasêva gaṇasaṃgha sagarasame                | k(r)itva pradaņâjali (○)               |  |
|                      |    |       | 0 0 _ 0 _ 0 0 0 0 _                         | · · · · × (o)                          |  |
| 13                   | ß  | (r25) | yaṭha yagaśaṯa aṇega vivisa                 | prastaa bo <u>s</u> i śi(va ○)         |  |
|                      |    |       |   | ∪ ∪ × (○)                              |  |
|                      |    | (r26) | yatra nâsti jara na vyasi (ms. vyisi) maran | no śoga ka <u>s</u> e apria (0)        |  |
|                      |    |       |   | _                                      |  |
|                      |    |       |   |  |  |
| 14                   | ヲ  | (r27) | thadha satvaśada anega vivisa               | kroseņa samsuksita o                   |  |
|                      |    |       |   | ∪ ∪ × (○)                              |  |
|                      |    | (r28) | thaņo metraviharŏ uayakusalo                | margo śivo − ∨ × (○)                   |  |
|                      |    |       |   | ∨ ∨ × (○)                              |  |
| 15                   | 7, | (r29) | kama agisame triņ'ukasadisa                 |  |  |
| 10                   |    | (12)) |   | × (o)                                  |  |
|                      |    | (r30) | kama pheṇasama mariy(i)satisa               | mayôpama ita(ra o)                     |  |
|                      |    | (130) |   | ∨ ∨ × (○)                              |  |
|                      |    |       |   | 0 0 / (0)                              |  |
| Alternative readings |    |       |   |  |  |
|                      |    | 12c   | tasêva gaṇasaṃgh(o) k(r)itva prasaṇâjali;   | or: prasana 'jali; or: prasan(o) 'jali |  |
|                      |    |       |   |  |  |

tasêva gaṇasaṃgh(o) ... k(r)itva praṣaṇâjali; or: ... praṣaṇa 'jali; or: ... praṣaṇ(o) 'jali
m ṇa vyaṣimaraṇo śoga aṣa apriya; or: ... śogas taṣêvâpriya; or: ... (ms. śoga kaṣe / śoga aṣe / śogastaṣe apria/apriya)
kroṣeṇa saṃdhukṣiṭa (ms. saṃṣukṣiṭa)
mayôpama itva(ra)

<sup>12</sup>a tasya nāthavarasya nāmagrahaņe mucyante ... 12c tasyaiva gaņasaṅghāḥ sāgarasamāḥ kṛtvā pradānāñ-jaliṃ (*or*: tasyaiva gaṇasaṅghaḥ sāgarasamaḥ kṛtvā prasanno 'ñjaliṃ) 13a iṣṭāni yāgaśatāny aṇekāni vividhāni prasthāya (*cf. also*: prārthayan) bodhiṃ śi(vāṃ) 13c yatra nāsti jarā na vyādhir maraṇaḥ (*or*: vyādhir maraṇau) śokaḥ katham apriyaṃ (*or*: śoko 'thāpriyaṃ; *or*: śokas tathaivāpriyaṃ) 14a stabdhāni sattvaśatāny anekāni vividhāni krodhena saṃdhukṣitāni 14c sthānaṃ maitrāvihāram upāyakuśalo margaṃ śivaṃ ... 15a kāmā agnisamās tṛṇolkāsadṛśā ni(r)māṃsāsthis(amāḥ) 15c kāmāḥ phenasamā marīc(i)sadṛśā māyopamā itva(rāḥ)

12 Ta By calling the name of this best of protectors [all people] ... are liberated.

. . .

His assemblies of followers [are vast] as the ocean, having prepared gifts [and] folded [their] hands,

...

13 Ya Hundreds of sacrifices were sacrificed, many, various, after [he] set out for the blissful awakening.

. . .

[The state of nirvāṇa is reached], where there is no aging, no illness [or] death [or] sorrow; how [could there be] something unpleasant?

..

14 Tha Hundreds of arrogant beings, many, various, [are] inflamed with rage.

. . .

Abiding in loving kindness is [his] place. [He who is] skillful in means ... the beneficial path.

. . .

15 Ka The sense pleasures [are] like fire, resembling a [short-lived] straw fire, like bones without flesh.

. . .

The sense pleasures are like foam, resembling a mirage, [they] equal illusions [and they are] transient.

• • •

# Alternative translations

- 12c His assembly of followers [is vast] as the ocean, having trustfully folded [the] hands,
- 13a (Uncertain) ... many, various, striving for the blissful awakening.
- 13c ... [or] sorrow as well as [anything] unpleasant.
- 14c ... [He who is] skillful in means [shows] the beneficial path.

90 EDITION

19a

thamo viryabalo ...

```
16 P
           (r31) sarvai badhaně vipramutŏ bhagava
                                                               logo amaada(r)śig(o? o)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (r32) satva ragahata kilesabahula
                                                               drisvana saca - × 0
                  satv'idro - - - - - - - - -
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
17 U
           (r33) marga eșĕamaņa satvapravaro
                                                               purimasu jadis(u) \times (\circ)
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                               dharşitva rukş'utam(e ○)
           (r34) mara ta sabalo sasenŏ namuyi
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
           (r35) gayarayo suci bhutva padaravăno
                                                              kuchi muni o(k)r(a)mi o
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                  gatva m. - - - - - - - - - - -
           (r36) gaṃdha diva maṇuña mutakusuma
                                                              yehi phuda med(i)n(i) o
                  gati - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (r37) thamo virya balo janitva atula
                                                              muci hitêrsi gira o
                  thane a \circ \circ - \circ - \circ \circ \circ -
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (r38) thaara jirna jarâbhibhuta duhita
                                                              mohâdhagare thi(ta) o
                  thalĕ kṣeme - - - - - - - - - -
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
Alternative readings
                  sarve badhaně ...
            16a
                                                               16d
                                                                      sa tv idro ...; or not preserved
            17a
                  ... purimasu jadis(u) ~ ×
                                                               17b
                                                                     masa tvidrŏ/tŏ ...
            17c
                  ... dharşitva rukş'utam(a/o); or: ... dharşitva rukşamtava
            18a
                  gayarayo suci (ms. suci) ...
```

16a sarvair bandhanair vipramukto bhagavāṃl lokam amṛtada(r)śa(kaḥ?) 16c sattvā rāgahatāḥ kleśabahulā dṛṣṭvā satyaṃ (or: satyāni; or: sattvān rāgahatān kleśabahulān dṛṣṭvā satyaṃ/satyāni) ... 16d sattvendraḥ (or something else) 17a mārgam eṣamāṇaḥ sattvapravaraḥ pūrvāsu (BHS: purimāsu) jātiṣ(u) ... 17b ... (or: māṃsa-?) ... 17c māraṃ taṃ sabalaṃ sasainyaṃ namuciṃ dharṣitvā vṛkṣottam(e) (or: rūkṣottamaṃ; or: rūkṣaṃtapaḥ) 18a gajarājaḥ śucir bhūtva pāṇḍaravarṇaḥ kukṣiṃ munir avā(k)r(a)mat 18b gatvā ... 18c gandhā divyā manojñāni muktakusumāni yaiḥ sphuṭā (or: pūrṇā) med(i)n(ī) 18d gati-(?) ... 19a sthāmaṃ vīryaṃ balaṃ (or: vīryabalaṃ) janayitvā atulam amuñcad (or: atulo 'muñcad) dhitaiṣī girāṃ 19b sthāṇe ... 19c sthāvarā (or: sthav(i)rā) jīrṇā jarābhibhūtā duḥkhitā mohāndhakāre sthi(tāḥ) 19d sthale kṣeme ...

19c

tha(ï)ra jirṇa ...

Translation 91

16 Sa The Blessed One is delivered from all bonds; [he] shows the people [the path to] immortality (i.e., nirvāṇa).

. . .

The beings, struck by desire [and] full of defilements, after seeing the truth(s) ...

The lord of sentient beings ...

17 Ma While pursuing the path [to liberation], the most excellent of beings in former lifetimes

• • • •

. . .

Having overcome this Māra, the Namuci, along with his forces, along with his army, under the best of trees,

. . .

**18** Ga After becoming a shining, white-colored elephant king, the sage entered the womb [of his mother].

Having gone ...

The scents [were] heavenly, [and] lovely [were] the scattered flowers by which the earth was filled.

The gait(?) ...

19 Tha Having generated unequalled strength, energy [and] power, [he], wishing the benefit [of all beings], raised [his] voice.

In a stage ...

[Those who are] immovable, elderly, overpowered by age [and] pained, staying in the darkness of delusion,

In a tranquil place ... [they will be released].

#### **Alternative translations**

- 16c Having seen [that] the beings [are] struck by desire [and] full of defilements, [the Buddha taught] the truth(s).
- 17b Flesh(?) ...
- 17c ... along with his army, the most evil one (i.e., Māra, Skt. \*rūkṣottama); or: the rigorous ascetic (i.e., the Buddha, Skt. \*rūksamtapa)
- 19a Having generated strength [and] the power of energy, the unequalled one, wishing the benefit [of all beings], raised [his] voice.
- 19c [Those who are] old, elderly, overpowered by age [and] pained, staying in the darkness of delusion.

92 EDITION

```
20
           (r39) jaravyasimaranena śoga ghrasiti
                                                               satva duhi dukhah(i) o
                  jadi sa v v – v – v v v –
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (r40) jadi ņegasahasa atvaņa cae
                                                               (satva)ņa moksarthio (ms. mogarthio) o
                   jane pra v v - v - v v v -
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
21 2
           (r41) śpahu manusaga rasâgrapravara
                                                               yehi praya toşida o
                   spah(u) - \circ \circ - \circ - \circ \circ - \circ
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
           (r42) śpahu sarvarasana agrapravaro
                                                               phasit(v)a ñano siva o
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   śpasti n. \sim \sim - \sim - \sim \sim -
22 3
           (r43) dhavata praya drisva dukhida bahu
                                                               atrita kame sata o
                   dhanadha(\tilde{n}a) \sim \sim - \sim - \sim \sim -
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (r44) dhana satañu anutara bahuvisa
                                                               ye dritha tva nayaga o
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   dhara — — — — — — — — — —
23 N
           (v1) śamto datŏ bahuni karpanayuta
                                                               satvana artha care o
                                                               - - - - - × (○)
                   śamasa ca dri - - - - - - - - -
           (v2) śamě damě nicŏ rado prasanamanaso
                                                               mut'idrio surado o
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                   śarano tranŏ - - - - - - - - -
24 S
           (v3) khalida eṣĕamaṇa marŏ satata
                                                               uvasakrami durmadi o
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   khatse ua \sim - \sim - \sim \sim -
           (v4) khargo 'ghrisa samuthido balavado
                                                               metra nihatva muni o
                   khine - - - - - - - - - - - -
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
Alternative readings
            20a
                   ... śogaghra<u>s</u>i<u>t</u>a (ms. -<u>s</u>i<u>t</u>i) ...
                                                               20c
                                                                      jadi 'negasahasa atvana cae ...
            21a
                   śpahu maņuṣaga rasagra pravara ...
                                                               21c
                                                                      ... agra pravaro phasita ñano ...
            22c
                   ... satâña (ms. satañu) ...
                                                                            23c ... mut'imdrio surado
                                                23b
                                                       śamasa ca tri ...
            24b
                  ... uva/ruva ...; or: khaspe ...
                                                               24c
                                                                      khargo ghri<u>š</u>a ...
```

20a jarāvyādhimaraņena śoko grasati sattvān (or: śokagrastāḥ/śokagrasitāḥ sattvāḥ) dvābhyāṃ duḥkhābhyāṃ 20b jāti- ... 20c jātayo 'nekasahasrān (or: naikasahasrān) ātmānam atyajat (sattvā)nāṃ mokṣārthikaḥ 20d dhyāne (or: dhyānaiḥ) pra- ... 21a svādavo mānuṣakā rasāgrapravarā (or: rasāgrāḥ pravarā) yaiḥ pra- jās toṣitāḥ 21b svād(u-) ... 21c svāduḥ sarvarasāṇām agrapravaraḥ (or: agraḥ pravaraḥ) spṛṣṭvā jñānaṃ śi-vam 21d svasti- ... 22a dhāvatīḥ prajā dṛṣṭvā duḥkhitā bahu atṛptāḥ kāmaiḥ sadā 22b dhanadhā(nya-) ... 22c dhanāni sapta(?) (or: saptānyāni?) anuttarāni bahuvidhāni yair dṛṣṭas tvaṃ nāyaka 22d dhara-/dhāra- ... 23a śānto dānto bahūni kalpanayutāni sattvānām artham acarat 23b śamatha- ... 23c śame dame nityaṃ rataḥ prasannamanā (or: prasannamānaso) muktendriyaḥ(?) (or: muktīndriyaḥ; or: mṛdvindriyaḥ?) sūrataḥ 23d śaranaṃ trāṇaṃ ... 24a skhalitam iṣyamāṇo māraḥ satatam upasamakramad durmatiḥ 24c khaḍgam udgṛhya (or: gṛhītvā) samutthito balavān; maitryā nihatya muniḥ 24d khinna- ...

Translation 93

20 Ja With old age, illness and death, sorrow consumes the beings with two kinds of pain.

Lifetimes ...

During many thousand lifetimes [he] gave himself away [as a gift], intending liberation for [all] beings.

In(?) meditation ...

21 Śpa Sweet are the best [and] most excellent of tastes of humans by which the people are gratified.

Sweet ...

Sweet is the best [and] most excellent of all tastes, having attained blissful knowledge. Well-being ...

22 Dha Having seen the people running, greatly pained, always unsatiated with sense pleasures,

Money [and] grain ...

The riches are [of] seven [kinds](?), unsurpassed [and] manifold, with which, oh leader, you are perceived.

...

23 Sa Calm [and] restrained for many myriads of eons, [he] acted for the sake of beings.

Tranquility ...

[He] always took pleasure in calmness [and] self-restraint, having a serene mind, released(?) senses, [and being] gentle.

A refuge, a shelter ...

24 Kha Constantly seeking a mistake, Māra, the evil-minded one, approached.

. . .

Having raised [his] sword, accompanied by [his] army, [he] (i.e., Māra) arose [for an attack], [but] the sage struck [him] down with loving kindness.

Depressed ...

#### Alternative translations

- 20a With old age, illness and death, the beings are consumed by sorrow with two kinds of pain.
- There are seven different riches, unsurpassed [and] manifold, with which, oh leader, you are seen.
- or: ... unsurpassed [and] manifold, which are seen by you, oh leader.
- 24a Seeking a mistake, Māra, the evil-minded one, constantly approached.
- 24c Having taken [his] sword, ...

94 EDITION

28a

... gatsat(i) ...

```
25
           (v5) ksamti bhavita karpakodinayuta
                                                               vavana drithva praya {0} 0
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   k\bar{s}atra ma \sim \sim - \sim - \sim \sim -
           (v6) kṣaṇia paśia sarvasamkhatam ita
                                                               bhuya janeti - x o
                   ksaya v. – • • – • – • • • –
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
26 子
           (v7) stavadi ta uvasakramitva virayo
                                                               bosivado harsido o
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   stabha ne 🗸 🗸 – 🗸 – 🗸 – 🗸 –
           (v8) stavia tatra nisano pava vi vare
                                                               samkhara bhaña mu(n)i o
                   stava i - - - - - - - - - - - -
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
    (v9) <u>natva samkhataprata satva duhita</u>
                                                               atranabhuta sata (0)
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                  ñanena - - - - - - - - - - -
           (v10) ñanâgi ahu samñanita balava
                                                               bosi phusitva śiv(a o)
                     _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                               -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
28 7
           (v11) ata ragavasena satva duhida
                                                              gatsata avi a/ya \sim \times (0)
                  (a)\dot{t}(a) - \circ \circ - \circ - \circ \circ - \circ
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (v12) ata mohavasena taşaghrasida
                                                               puri ta a va/a .i ~ e o
                                                               -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   atana - - - - - - - - - -
Alternative readings
            25b
                   kṣatra mal(a) ...; or: kṣatramal(a) ...; or: ... mal(ya) ...
                   stabha ne(ga-) \dots ; or \dots ne(ge) \dots
            26b
            26c
                   ... pava vivare ...; or: ... pavavivare ...; or: ... padavavare (ms. pavavivare) ...
            27a
                   ñatva samkadaprata (ms. samkhata-) satva duhita ...; or: ... samkadaprata ...
                   ñaṇâgi ahusaṃña ṇita balava ...
            27c
```

25a kṣāntir bhāvitā kalpakoṭinayutāni vyāpannā dṛṣṭvā prajāḥ 25b chattra- ... (or: chattramālā-; or: chattrāṇi mālyāni ...) 25c kṣaṇikaṃ dṛṣṭvā sarvasaṃkṛtam idaṃ bhūyo janayati ... 25d kṣaya- ... 26a stauti (cf. stṛṇoti) tam upasaṃkramya virajaṃ (or: virajo) bodhivaṭaṃ harṣitaḥ 26b stambhā ... (or: stambhān ane(kān) ...) 26c stutvā (or: sthāpayitvā) tatra niṣaṇṇaḥ pāpam apy avarat(?) (or: pāpaṃ vyavarat; or: pāpavivare; or: pādapavare) saṃskārān bhañjan(?) mu(n)iḥ 26d stava- ... 27a jñātvā saṃskṛta-prāptān (or: saṃkaṭaprāptān) sattvān duḥkhitān atrāṇabhūtān sadā 27b jñānena ... 27c jñānāgnim ahaṃ saṃjanayya (or: jñānāgnim ahaṃsaṃjñāṃ nītvā) balavantaṃ (or: balavān) bodhiṃ spṛṣṭvā śivāṃ 28a ārtā rāgavaśena sattvā duḥkhitā gamiṣyantaḥ (or: gamiṣyanti; or: gacchantaḥ) ... 28b (ā)rt(ā dveṣavaśena) ... 28c ārtā mohavaśena tṛṣṇāgrastāḥ ... 28d ārtānāṃ ...

ata na ...

28d

Translation 95

25 Kşa [He] practiced forbearance for myriads of eons, seeing [that] the people are evil.

A parasol(?) ...

Noticing [that] everything conditioned is momentary, he generates [even] more ...

Perishing ...

26 Sta Having approached it, [he] joyfully praises the spotless Bodhi tree.

Pillars(?) ...

Having praised [it?], the ascetic sat there down, [and he] stopped the evil, destroying the conditions [for future rebirth].

[This?] hymn ...

27 Ña Knowing [that] the sentient beings, living in the mortal world, are in pain [and are] always without shelter,

Due to [this] knowledge ...

"I, having generated the powerful fire of knowledge after attaining blissful awakening, ..."

**28 Ta** Tormented by the power of passion, sentient beings [are] in pain [and] will go [to bad destinies] ...,

Tormented [by the power of hatred] ...,

Tormented by the power of delusion, [they are] devoured by craving ...,

To [those] tormented [beings] ...

#### **Alternative translations**

25b Parasols, garlands, ...

**26a** Having approached it, the spotless one joyfully praises the Bodhi tree.

or: Having approached, the spotless Bodhi-tree [deity] joyfully praises him.

26ab After approaching this Bodhi tree, the spotless one joyfully scattered(?) numerous grass tufts ...

26c ... the ascetic sat there down [and] revealed the evil, ...

or: ... the ascetic sat down there, on the sore point of the evil one (i.e., the diamond seat), ...

*or*: Having placed [the grass] there, the ascetic sat down under the best of trees, destroying the conditions [for future rebirth].

**27a** Knowing [that] the sentient beings have fallen into *saṃsāra*, are in pain ...

or: Knowing [that] the sentient beings have run into trouble, are in pain ...

27b With [this] knowledge ...

27c "I, the powerful one, having generated the fire of knowledge ..."

*or*: The powerful one directed the wrong idea of "I" into the fire of knowledge, having attained blissful awakening.

96 EDITION

```
29
    歹
           (v13) bhanadi vaya achabi satvapravaro
                                                              sata p(ada) - \sim \times (\circ)
                                                              -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
           (v14) bhaṣata gira sarvalogĕ tribhave
                                                              so viñavi nayag(o o)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
30
           (v15) chano alavi bosisatvŏ mudido
                                                              pridimano ha(rs)i(do o)
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
           (v16) chada deva garisu drith(v)a muti(ta)
                                                              hakarapraśpedit(a o)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
31
           (v17) sparedi jiņŏ gušago bhayagaro
                                                              ya parvayi kaśave o
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
           (v18) sparedi bahusatvakodinayuta
                                                              karmaphalo nay(ago o)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (v19) vharita avharanehi putra bahava
                                                              bharya asa (dh)i(tara o)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
           (v20) bharita patirasa kaneruturaga
                                                              cata bahu ya \sim \times (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
33 B (v21) tsala satvaśada aņega vivi<u>s</u>a
                                                              -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
                                                            -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
           (v22) tsala sarvakil(e) saghru(tha) duh(i) ta
                                                            atranabhuta sata o
                                                              -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                  Alternative readings
            29a
                  ... sata p(ata) ...; or: ... sata p(adaṇi) ...; or: ... p(ataṇi) ...
```

```
29a ... sata p(ata) ...; or: ... sata p(adaṇi) ...; or: ... p(ataṇi) ...
29c ... soviña vi ṇayag(o)
30c chada deva garisu hritha (ms. dritha or hritha) muti(ta) ...
32a ... (dh)i(tare); or: ... (dh)i(dara); or: ... (dh)i(dare)
32c bharita pati raṣa kaṇeru turaga ...; or: bharita patiraṣakaṇeruturaga
33c tsala sarvakil⟨e⟩saghra(sta) (ms. sarvakilaṣaghru-) duh(i)ta ...
```

<sup>29</sup>a bhanati vācam acchambhī sattvapravaraḥ sapta p(adāni) ... 29c bhāṣanto giraṃ sarvaloke tribhave so vyajñāpayan nāyak(aḥ) (or: suvijño 'pi nāyak(aḥ)) 30a channam ālapad bodhisattvo muditaḥ prītimanā harṣi(taḥ) 30c śabdaṃ devā akurvan dṛṣṭvā (or: hṛṣṭā) mudi(tā) hāhākāraprakṣveḍitam 31a smārayati jino guhyakaṃ bhayaṅkaraṃ yat prāvrajat kāśyape 31c smārayati bahusattvakoṭinayutāni karmaphalaṃ nāy(a-kaḥ) 32a bharitā ābharaṇaiḥ putrā bahavo bhāryā atha duh)i(taraḥ) 32c bhṛṭyāḥ (or: bharitāḥ) pattirathāḥ kareṇuturagās tyaktā (or: bharitān ... putrān etc. ... pattīn rathān kareṇūn turagān tyaktvā) bahu ... 33a cālāḥ/cālyāḥ sattvaśatāny anekāni vividhāni ... 33c cālāḥ/cālyāḥ sarvakleśaghṛ(ṣṭā) (or: -gra(stā)) duḥkhitā atrāṇabhūtāḥ sadā

Translation 97

29 Bha The most excellent of beings speaks the words without fear, [having taken] seven steps,

. . .

Speaking [this] speech to all people in the triple world, he, the leader, made known:

. . .

30 Cha To Channa spoke to the Bodhisattva, glad, delighted [and] thrilled.

. . .

Having gladly seen, the gods made a [joyful] noise [consisting of] shouted exclamations.

...

31 Spa The victor reminds the terrible *guhyaka* that [previously] he became a monk under [the buddha] Kāśyapa.

...

The leader reminds the many myriads of sentient beings of the result of [their] actions.

. . .

32 Vha Many sons, wife(s) and [daughters?], decked with ornaments,

. . . ,

Servants, foot-soldiers [and] chariots, elephants [and] horses were often given up [in former lifetimes by the Bodhisattva] ...

. .

33 Tsa Agitated(?) [are] many different hundreds of beings ...

. . .

[They are] agitated(?), crushed by all defilements, pained [and] always without shelter.

. .

#### **Alternative translations**

29c ... the triple world; [so] wise [is] the leader.

or: ... the triple world: "[I will be] a wise leader."

**30c** The gods made a [joyful] noise, excited [and] glad, [consisting of] shouted exclamations.

32c The maintained foot-soldiers [and] chariots, ...

33c [They are] agitated(?), consumed by all defilements, ...

98 Edition

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B
34
            (v23) ghana ta samjaniana nivrit(i)pata
                                                                 utrastacita \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                  -- · - · × (o)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
            (v24) ghadado vyayamado ca śaśan(ava)ro
                                                                  gutêdri(y). - \sim \times (\circ)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
35 4
            (v25) thahia agrato logajethe (prava)re
                                                                  bramo jino - \sim \times (\circ)
                    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (v26) thasamti tvaya nasa dharmavinaye
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \cdot - \cdot \times (\circ)
36 ↑
            (v27) namido sarvapraya uvayakušalo
                                                                 margo śivo – \checkmark × (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
            (v28) nanakakhadadhaka nega vivisa
                                                                  sarva \sim - - \sim \times (\circ)
                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
37 b (v29) phadata p(ra)ya d(r)ithva palarag(ata)
                   _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
                                                                  -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (v30) phasosam̃nananartha satva - - -
                                                                 -- \cdot - \cdot \times (\circ)
                                                                  -- \cdot - \cdot \times (\circ)
38 (v31) kalita citava\frac{1}{5}âņu – \sim \sim –
                                                                 -- \smile -- \smile \times (\circ)
                                                                 -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
            (v32) kalamana bahupavakarma vivisa
                                                                 -- \sim -- \sim \times (\circ)
                                                                 -- \circ -- \circ \times (\circ)
Alternative readings
            36a
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36a ... sarvapraya⟨e⟩/sarvapraya⟨na⟩ ...
36c nanakakhadadhaka 'nega vivisa ...
37a ... palvarag(ata) ...

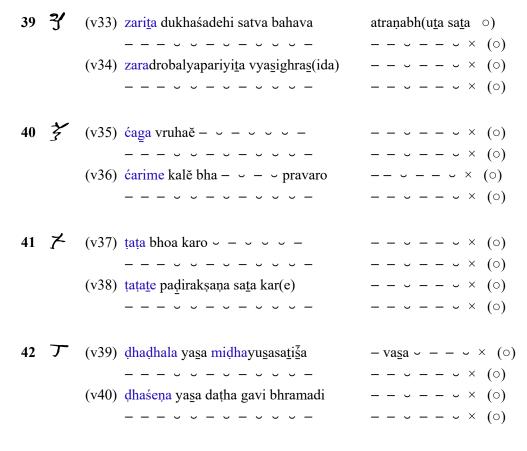
<sup>34</sup>a ghanam(?) tam samjanayitvā nirvṛtipadam uttrastacitta- ... 34c ghaṭan vyāyacchañ (or: ghaṭata vyāyamata) ca śāsan(ava)ram guptendri(ya-) ... 35a sthitvāgrato lokajyeṣṭhe (prava)re (or: lokajyeṣṭhaiḥ (prava)rair) brahmā jinam ... 35c sthāsyante tvayā nātha dharmavinaye ... 36a namitaḥ sarvaprajā upāyakuśalo mārgaṃ śivaṃ ... 36c nānākakhaṭadhvāṅkṣā anekā (or: naikā) vividhāḥ sarva- ... 37a spandatīḥ p(ra)jāḥ dṛṣṭvā palvalag(atāḥ) ... 37c sparśasamjananārthaṃ sattva- ... 38a skhalitāś cittavaśānu(vartakāḥ?) ... 38c skhalamānā bahupāpakarmāni vividhāni ...

TRANSLATION 99

34 Gha Having created this dense mass(?), the place of happiness (nirvāna), with a frightened mind ... Exerting [oneself] and endeavoring [in] the best of teachings, with guarded senses ... 35 Tha Standing in front before the most excellent first one of the world, Brahmā [said] to the victor: **"**… [They] will stand [firmly] because of you, oh protector, in [your] doctrine and discipline ..." . . . 36 Na [Favorably] inclined towards all beings, the one who is skillful in means [presented] (=Na)the beneficial path. Different deceitful scoundrels, many, various, all ... Having seen the people twitching [like fish] in a pond ... 37 Pha In order to bring about comfort, ... beings ... 38 Ka The followers of the wishes of their [own] mind [are] stumbling ... Stumbling, many evil deeds, manifold, [are executed] ... Alternative translations Standing in front [of the Buddha], together with the most excellent first ones of the world, 35a

- Brahmā [said] to the victor:
- 36c Different violent crows, many, various, all ...
- The followers of the wishes of their [own] mind make mistakes ... 38a
- Making mistakes, the doers of many evil deeds, manifold, ... 38c

100 Edition



#### Alternative readings

39c zaradrobalyapariyita vyasi ghrasa(di) ...

41c taṭa te paḍirakṣaṇe ...; or: ... paḍijagaṇa saṭa para

<sup>39</sup>a jaritāḥ duḥkhaśataiḥ sattvā bahavo 'trāṇabh(ūtāḥ sadā) 39c jarādaurbalyaparijitā vyādhigras(tā) (or: jarādaurbalyaparijitān vyādhir grasa(ti)) ... 40a tyāgam abṛṃhayat (or: tyāgaṃ bṛṃhayan) ... 40c carame kāle ... pravaraḥ ... 41a trātā(?) ... 41c trātā(?) ... pratirakṣaṇa- (or: \*pratijāgrana-) sadākarot(?) ... 42a ... yathā mīḍhagūthasadṛśaḥ (or: -āḥ) ... 42c daṃśena yathā daṣṭā gāvī bhramati ...

Translation 101

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39 Za
           Many beings afflicted by hundred[fold] pains [are always] without shelter ...
           Overpowered by the weakness of old age, consumed by illness ...
40 Ća
           [He] increased [his] generosity ...
           During [his] last [life]time, ..., the excellent one ...
41 Ta
           The savior(?) ...
           The savior(?) always provided protection(?) ...
42 Dha Like a dhadhala, resembling urine and feces ...
           Like a cow whirls around [when] stung by a gadfly ...
           ...
Alternative translations
           Illness devours [those who are] overpowered by the weakness of old age ...
     40a
           Increasing [his] renunciation ...
     40c
           At the last hour ..., the excellent one ...
     41c
           The savior(?) always looked after them(?) ...
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## Preliminary remarks

Due to the incompleteness of the text, many uncertainties remain with regard to the syntax (the subject cannot always be clearly differentiated from the object), word boundaries, word endings (cases, singular or plural, first, second, or third person) and the meaning of words. Two pādas might form a syntactical unit that cannot any more be recognized due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript. The translation becomes difficult when a word, which stands without context near the margin to the lost portions of the manuscript, has multiple meanings. All this leads in many cases to possible alternative readings, translations and interpretations, despite that the author most probably intended only one meaning. In order to reduce redundancy, the following section does not repeat everything that has been said in the chapters on the physical aspects of the manuscripts, phonology and orthography, morphology and syntax, in the notes to the transliteration and in the glossary. A metrical analysis of all stanzas was already presented in **table 14**. For the sake of convenience, not all possible ambiguities will be discussed, but in many cases, the alternatives could not be excluded with final certainty.

As a convention in the annotations, Gandhari words are usually quoted with their endings as they appear in the manuscript, while the corresponding Sanskrit terms are added without endings, except for very few cases. The corresponding metrical symbols are always included after the quotation of a Gandhari word, because they justify the proposed interpretation of a word, or show occasionally problems. In fact, the fixed metrical structure provided an immense help for the interpretation of the poem that has no direct parallel in other Buddhist texts, since long vowels are generally left unwritten in Gandhari manuscript.

With concern to parallels for word groups, phrases, or words in a similar context, a special attention has been given to the *Lalitavistara*. Although there is certainly no direct dependence on this text discernible, the many resemblances in single word groups or topics seem to indicate a similar cultural or literary background. The complicated textual history of the text, however, has not been the focus of this part of the book and will not be discussed in this place. It became evident that a text passage in the Sanskrit text, which is not contained in the earliest Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa must not necessarily be much younger or not from Gandhāra. It might have been inserted or inspired from another ancient source from the area.

The quotations from the Lalitavistara are all taken from the most recent edition by Hokazono (1994–2017), published in one book (L<sup>H</sup>) and twenty-seven fascicles (L<sup>H1</sup>–L<sup>H27</sup>). This edition, which conveniently identifies all meters, <sup>280</sup> being based on mainly the Japanese manuscripts, is far from perfect as it includes several inconsistencies, the one or other typing error, and the one or other case, where the words or compounds may have been differently divided.<sup>281</sup> By and largely,

This information has also been taken over in the quotations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Cf. de Jong 1997–98 for remarks on the first published book (Hokazono 1994).

however, it presents the best text that is available for the time being, and a careful reader is advised to read quoted texts critically. In order not to overburden the notes, the many variant readings were ignored for their most part. They may be looked up in Hokazono's edition. Several somewhat problematic readings were not corrected, because the situation is often quite complex and would require careful considerations based on more detailed studies.

As a reading aid, a square symbol ( $\square$ ) has been inserted at pāda boundaries in the quotations, except for the Anuṣtubh meter, where it has been utilized only after half stanzas. In case of Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses, the caesura has been additionally indicated with a larger space. When the edition contains dandas, the square symbol is not required.

For the most part, this section excludes a discussion or quotation of alphabetic text passages from other Buddhist texts for comparison, since these are the topic of a different volume.

# 1. (r1-2) A

There is no way of knowing, which words may have represented the letter A. The poem does not depend on any other alphabetic passage that has survived in Buddhist texts. Apart from the figurative meaning of "beginning" (G adi, Skt.  $\bar{a}di$ ), most of these transmitted passages on this letter present words starting with the privative prefix -a or -an, such as Skt. anutpanna "unarisen" or anitya "not lasting," but this does not need to be the case here. In order to give an idea of possibilities, a stanza from the Lalitavistara may be cited here, which belongs to a short stotra that represents a close parallel to the genre of the text in this manuscript:  $^{282}$ 

anivṛta<sup>283</sup> aluḍita avitathavacanā apagatatamaraja amṛtagatigatā, arahasi divi bhuvi śriyakriyam atulām atidyuti smṛtimati praṇipati śirasā.

[You are] one whose speech is not false, unperturbed and not held back(?).

[You are] free of darkness and stain [and you] realized deathlessness.

[Thus] you are worthy in heaven [and] on earth of unequalled glorification.

Highly splendid one, who is [fully] aware, I bow down with [my] head.

### 2. (r3-4) Ra

**2c)** In the light of other known alphabetic passages, it seems at the first glimpse tempting to understand the first word *ratie* as a form of Skt. *rati* ( $\leq \leq -$ ) "lust." However, the only other legible word in this pāda, which is *ardhabhaga* (- < - <; Skt. *ardhabhāga*), supports for *ratie* a different interpretation, namely as genitive or locative singular of *rati* (- - =; Skt. *rātri*) "night."

LH20 244, stanza 23.26, meter Śaśikalā. For further textual notes as well as for the remaining four stanzas with words containing the syllables *Ra*, *Pa*, *Ca*, and *Na*, see p. 67–71.

Emended by Hokazono in L<sup>H20</sup> 245, n. 1. According to this edition, the manuscripts read *avṛṭṭṭa, anivarṭṭṭa, anivarṭṭṭta, anivarṭṭṭta, anivarṭṭṭta, anivarṭṭṭta, anivarṭṭṭa, anivarṭṭa, anivarṭa, anivarṭa,* 

The word is well attested in Gandhari texts under the usual spelling *radi* (see Salomon 2008: 257). Two Śārdūlavikrīdita stanzas from two subsequent chapters in the *Lalitavistara* offer a possible hint to the restoration of the last word before the caesura as s(amaye) ( $\sim -$ ):

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ekasmim śayane sthite sthitam abhūd gopā tathā pārthivo gopā rātriyi ardharātrasamaye svapnān imām paśyati, sarveyam pṛthivī prakampitam abhūc chailā sakūṭāvaṭī vṛkṣā māruta-eritā kṣiti patī utpāṭya mūloddhṛtāḥ. (LH 686, stanza 14.22) so ca brahmaruto manojñavacanaḥ kalaviṅkaghoṣasvaro rātrau nirgatu ardharātrasamaye tam chandakam abravīt, sādhū chandaka dehi kaṇṭhaku mama svālamkṛtam śobhanam mā vighnam kuru me dadāhi capalam yadi me priyam manyase. (LH5 36, stanza 15.66)
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Literally, the preserved and suggested words in this pāda mean "in the night, ..., at the time of [its] middle part," i.e., "at midnight." The word *samaye* (loc. sg.) is also attested in pāda 8c, likewise directly before the caesura. Such parallels in the choice of the same or similar words in the same position in the meter occur many times in this poem (see p. 54–58), and this convention can also be observed in the stanzas of the *Lalitavistara* in the same meter, although less frequently. With the quoted two parallels, and with other narrations of the main events from the life of the Buddha, the episode that could be meant here is probably the nocturnal abandonment of his home by the Bodhisattva (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), which is a topic that is also addressed in stanza 30 on the syllable *Cha*, mentioning Siddhārtha's groom Chaṇa (Chandaka in the above-quoted stanza from the *Lalitavistara*).

Between the words *ratie* and *ardhabhagas(amaye)* two light syllables are expected, the first one of which is *sa*, but the remaining one is unclear, especially since it almost looks as if there were two letters written (see p. 72, n. 132). *Sa* could be a pronoun in this context, or the beginning of *saye* ( $\sim \sim$ ; Skt. *sacet*) "if." This is, however, speculative, since the similar, albeit narrower shape of *ye* as found in line r16 (**Fig. 11**) is only one variant to write this letter



r4 r16 **Fig. 11** *Ye*?

(for another shape for comparision, cf. the list on p. 13 with various forms of the e-vowel marker), and this may not exclude other possible readings of this incompletely preserved akṣara (or two akṣaras). If, however, the reading of ye, and thus the word saye "if" is seriously taken into account, the content of this pāda might be the prediction by Asita instead of the brief narration of the nocturnal event, <sup>284</sup> and this, once again, may open new possibilities for speculating about words starting with the letter A.

Traces of the first syllables after the caesura are also preserved in the manuscript but not clearly identifiable (see p. 72, n. 133).

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 480.11–22, prose: iti hy asito maharşir bodhisattvam avalokya [...]. so 'drākşīd bodhi-sattvasya dvātriṃśanmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇāni yaiḥ samanvāgatasya puruṣapudgalasya dve gatī bhavato nānyā. saced agāram adhyāvasati, rājā bhavati caturantaś cakravartī [...]. sacet punar agārād anagārikāṃ pravrajati tathāgato bhavati vighuṣṭaśabdaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ.

### 3. (r5-6) Pa

The word parama "highest, supreme," especially in the Sanskrit compound paramārtha, is the most common keyword for Pa in the other alphabetical text passages. In this poem, paramo  $(\simeq \sim -)$  is an epithet of the Buddha.

The comparison of the Buddha with a physician (e.g., cikitsaka, vaidya, bhiṣak, śalyahartṛ) is well known from Buddhist literature. He is the best of physicians (agro cigitsagaṇa; - - - - - - Skt. agraś cikitsakānāṃ), because he knows the cure against the ultimate disease which is old age, death and rebirth. In apotropaic texts, this aspect includes the curing of common diseases. The metaphor of the physician in close neighborhood with other here-occurring terms such as ṇaṣo (- -; Skt. nātha) "protector," kuṣalo (- -; Skt. kuṣala) "skilled," and kritsa- (- -; Skt. kṛcchra) "misery," or their synonyms, occurs frequently in stotra-like verses in Buddhist texts. The word kritsa can represent hardships or difficulties in general, but also suffering in the Buddhist world-view, as, for instance, in an often-quoted thought of the Buddha in connection to the pratītvasamutpāda. 286

It has been assumed that the epithets of the Buddha in this stanza are in nominative singular. However, since the nominative cannot be clearly differentiated from the accusative by its ending in Gandhari, there remains always some uncertainty as long as the stanzas are incomplete.

**3c)** This pāda closely resembles pāda 5c. The word satata ( $\sim \sim$  -; Skt. satatam) "constantly" is in this manuscript altogether three times preserved (3c, 5c, and 24a), always in the same position in the meter. Unfortunately, the lower part of the last letter is nowhere entirely clear, and therefore, the reading satata(m) would also be possible in each instance (see p. 72–73, and 77, n. 135, 141, and 213).

See, e.g., *kṛcchraṃ* vatāyaṃ loka āpanno yad uta jāyate 'pi jīryate 'pi mriyate 'pi cyavate 'py upapadyate 'pi | atha ca punar ime satvā jarāmaraṇasyottare niḥsaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na prajānanti || "Alas, this world has got into trouble, namely, (man) is born, grows old, dies, falls (to an inferior existence), and is reborn; on the other hand, these beings do not really know escape beyond old age and death" (Pravr III 258.3–5, folio 44v8, transl. p. 281; cf. also BBh 252.12–15, LH19 146.1–4, MAv(F) 9b.2, NagSū 76.6–8, NidSa 3.2, 4.2, 5.3).

See, e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 292, stanza 2.14, meter Āryā: tvaṃ vaidyadhātu**kuśalaś** □ cirāturān sattva vaidyasaṃtvakt(av)ān, □ trivimoksāgadavogair □ nirvānasukhe sthapava śīghram; 666, stanza 13.152: tvam vaidya dhātu**kuśalaś** □ cirāturām sattva rogasamspṛṣṭām, □ **bhaiṣajya**dharmayogaiḥ □ nirvāṇasukhe sthapaya śīghram; L<sup>H20</sup> 236, stanza 23.13, meter Upajāti: trātāsi dīpo 'si parāyano 'si □ **nātho** 'si loke kṛpamaitracittah, □ vaidyottamas tvaṃ khalu śalyahartā □ cikitsakas tvaṃ paramaṃ hitaṃkaraḥ; L<sup>H20</sup> 246, stanza 23.32, a kind of Atyaşti: tvam vaidyo kuśalah cikitsako hy amṛtasukhadado □ dṛṣṭikleśam-avidyasamcayam purimam anuśayam, 🗆 sarvavyādhy apanesi dehinām purimajinapathe 🗆 tasmād vaidvatamo 'si nāvakā vicarasi dharanīm; LH26 62, stanza 26.71, meter Anustubh: mahāvaidvo mahājñānī mahākleśa**cikitsakaḥ**, □ sattvānām kleśaviddhānāṃ śalyahartā niruttaraḥ; Mvu(S) I 191.10–11, meter Anuştubh: aham marumanuşyāṇām nātho netā cikitsakaḥ | aham samśayāntakaraḥ sambuddho devavanditah ||; Narakoddharastava (ed. Lindtner 1979), stanza 15, meter Anuştubh: vaidyānām vaidyarājāms tvam sarvavyādhicikitsakah | lokanātha bhava trātā trailokye sacarācare ||; Saddhp 326, stanza XV.21, meter Upajāti: emeva ham lokapitā svavambhūh  $\Box$  cikitsakah sarvaprajāna nāthah | viparītamūḍhāṃś ca viditva bālān\* □ anirvrto nirvrta darśayāmi ||; Saṃghāṭa(C) 108 §253, stanza 44, meter Anuştubh: drakşyāma śīghram sambuddham sarvavyādhipramocakam | vaidyarājam mahāvaidyam duḥkhitānām cikitsakam ||.

## 4. (r7-8) Ca

This stanza refers to the behavior and deeds of the Bodhisattva in previous lifetimes and before his awakening. This topic is also contained in other stanzas (see p. 63–64).

**4a)** The beginning of this pāda with *cago vruhae* (--- ) is almost identical with pāda 40a reading *ćaga vruhae*. The combination of Skt. *tyāga* (G *caga/ćaga*, P *cāga*) "generosity, renunciation" and Skt. *bṛṃhayati* (G \**vruhedi*; P *brūheti*) "increases, enlarges" occurs also elsewhere. Theoretically, *vruhae* could either be a present participle (Skt. *bṛṃhayan*) or a preterite, which can presently not be decided unless more evidence of these forms becomes known. In the *Dharmapada* from Khotan, the imperative *brohaï* (Dhp<sup>K</sup> 299c; Skt. *bṛṃhaya*, P *brūhaya*) of this verb is attested.

**4c)** Dukara ( $- \sim \sim$ ; P dukkara, BHS also spelled duskara, Skt. duskara) "difficult practices, difficult to perform, difficult" can denote ascetic practices as well as extreme displays of generosity or abandonment, which would then be in continuation of the topic presented in the first pāda of this stanza. Buddhist Sanskrit texts abound in examples of either the noun  $duskaracary\bar{a}$  or similar forms, mostly with a singular ending (but this is not always so clear because of the feminine gender), or duskara alone, with a singular or plural ending. These terms are frequently combined with forms of the verb  $\sqrt{car}$  like Skt.  $c\bar{i}rna$  (cirna,  $- \sim$ ) as in this case. By way of contrast, however, dukara (Skt. duskara) seems here to be an adjective to caria ( $\simeq -$ ; BHS/Skt. cari,  $car\bar{i}$ ,  $car\bar{i}$ ,  $cari\bar{j}$ ,  $cariy\bar{a}$ ,  $cariy\bar{a}$ ) in plural.

Several examples in various Buddhist texts add details referring to the length of the time period or to the good purpose of the "difficult practices," or "tasks difficult to perform," something, which might also here be expected in the now lost part of the pāda, or perhaps already starting with **bahava** ( $\sim \sim -$ ) "many."

The word nega ( $-\sim$ ), which likewise occurs in pada 36c, might either represent a plural form of Skt. *naika*, or *aneka*, with an elided initial a-.

For *tyāga* with *bṛṃhayati*, cf., e.g., ĀJM stanza V.14, meter Upajāti: *mātsaryadoṣopacayāya yaḥ syān* ¬ *na tyāgacittam paribṛṃhayed vā | sa tyāgam evārhati madvidhebhyaḥ* ¬ *parigrahacchadmama-yo vighātaḥ ||*; Samādh(Sk) 128.23–24, 38, chapter 26: *tyāgānuvṛṃhitaṃ cā[s]ya cittaṃ, tyāgacittaṃ ca bṛṃhitaṃ/vṛṃhitaṃ*; Śikṣ 336.14: *bṛṃhita tyāga*; ŚBh I 30.9: *na tyāgam bṛṃhayati*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Cf., e.g., L<sup>H20</sup> 252, pāda 23.43b: *bahu cīrņa duskarāḥ*; Rkp(K) 92.14, pāda IV.24a: *cīrṇāny anaṃtāni ca duṣkarāṇi*.

For six years or for a very long period, and for the sake of the people or liberation: e.g., Divy 294.18, prose: bahūnāṃ me sattvānām arthāya duṣkarāṇi cīrṇāni; LH14 336, pādas 19.46ab, meter Bhujaṅgaprayāta: tvayā yasya arthe bahūkalpakoṭyaḥ kṛtā duṣkarāṇī jagan mocanārthaṃ; LH14 340, pāda 19.54b, meter: a kind of Atyaṣṭi: acaritvā bahukalpa duṣkarī vratatapa vividhāṃ; LH16 246, pāda 21.6c, meter Vasantatilakā: ṣaḍvarṣa duṣkaravratāni caritvā ghorāṃ; Mvu(S) II 241.4, prose: ṣaḍ varṣāṇi bodhisatvasya duṣkaracaryāṃ carantasya; Mvu(S) II 241.11, prose: mokṣābhiprāyena duṣkaraṃ cīrṇaṃ; Mvu(S) III.254.15–16, prose: ṣaḍ varṣāṇi duṣkaraṃ cīrṇaṃ (Mvu[M] 327.9 reads ṣaṭvarṣāṇi; cf. also Divy 392.5); Mvu(S) III 311.7 = Mvu(M) III 396.4, prose: ṣaḍ varṣāṇi duṣkaraṃ tapaṃ cīrṇaṃ; Rkp(K) 95.8–9, pādas IV.35ab, meter Upajāti: tvayā pracīrṇāni hi duṣkarāṇi atīva lokārtham ito bahūni; Saṃghāṭa(C) § 190, prose: -nekāni kalpakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi duṣkaracaryā cīrnā.

### 5. (r9-10) Na = Na

- **5a)** The proposal of a(r)th(a)m ac(ari) or  $a\underline{c}(ari)$  ( $\cdot \cdot \cdot -$ ) "[he] acted for the advantage" with the atypical preterite containing an augment, probably due to metrical reasons, is based on the shape of a small remnant of the alleged akṣara c. or  $\underline{c}$ . in the manuscript, but this is by no means sure. However, combinations of Skt. artha and carati or  $cary\bar{a}$  are known in Buddhist texts, <sup>290</sup> and pāda 23a contains a similar phrase (satvaṇa artha care;  $\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$ ).
- **5c)** This pāda closely resembles 3c. The restoration to  $atraṇabhu(\underline{taṇa})$  (-----; Skt.  $atr\bar{a}$ - $nabh\bar{u}t\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ ) "of those who are without shelter" is only a proposal since there are also other possibilities, such as a compound with  $atraṇabhu(\underline{t}a)$  as its first member. The equivalent to Sanskrit  $atr\bar{a}ṇabh\bar{u}ta$  in the preserved portion of this manuscript (pādas 5c, 27a, 33c, 39a) appears no less then four times, always immediately after the caesura, whereas it is not frequent in other Buddhist texts, while  $tr\bar{a}ṇabh\bar{u}ta$ , which can mean "a true protection," is more common. <sup>291</sup>

## 6. (r11-12) La

The stanza is not fully clear. It speaks of the knowledge (G ñaṇa; Skt. jñāna) gained by the Buddha, and depending on one's understanding, it also might refer to the past buddha Dīpaṃkara, but this is far from certain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Cf., e.g., BBh 225.8: sattvānām artham carati; Mvu(S) I 43.3, 54.1, 242.17, 337.7: artham careyam/careva loke/lokasva.

Atrāṇabhūta occurs once in Rgs(Y) VII.6d, meter Vasantatilakā: sa kṣipitva yāsyati avīci atrāṇabhūto, and once in a thus-far unpublished manuscript of the Bodhisattvapiṭaka (folio 6r7, meter Puṣpitāgrā: sarvajagad anāthakṛcchraprāptaṃ □ bhavasarasī patitam\* atrāṇabhūtaṃ; I gratefully owe this reference to Fredrik Liland and Jens Braarvig). A variant, nistrāṇabhūta, is once found in Suv 38.9–10, pādas III.77ab, meter Upajāti: ye vyādhitā durbala kṣīṇagātrā □ nistrāṇabhūtāś ca daśadiśāsu (read metrically daśādiśāsu; also quoted in Śikṣ 217.11: ye vyādhitā durbalakṣīṇagātrā □ nistrāṇabhūtāḥ śayitā diśāsu). For trāṇabhūta, cf. Akṣ II 90.1–2: \*durbalasattvāvekṣas trāṇabhūtatvāt and \*trāṇabhūtaḥ śaraṇabhūtatvāt (recontructed from the Tibetan); Bca-p(VP) 63.17: puṇyaṃ trāṇabhūtaṃ; Dharmasaṃgītisūtra as quoted in Śikṣ 322.6: buddhā [...] mahāsatvarāśeḥ trāṇabhūtā mahābhaiṣajyaśalyahartāraḥ; Gv 226.11: sattvānāṃ trāṇabhūtā bhavāmi, 327.2–3: sattvānām atrāṇānāṃ trāṇabhūtā bhaviṣyāmo, 496.7: trāṇabhūtaṃ śaraṇagatāparityāgitayā; LP(AṣṭāK), folio 109v1–2: [sarvbasa]tvānāṃ trāṇabhūtam (however, sarvasatvānāṃ trāṇatā in LPG folio 71v10 and IOL San 1492/16, folio 140v5 [BLSF III/2: 644, 545], as well as sarvasattvānāṃ paritrāṇatā in PK 1-2: 29.29); RP 16.10, meter Puṣpitāgrā: aham api jagato 'sya trāṇabhūto □ yadi kuśaleṣu careyam apramattaḥ.

- **6a)** Although seemingly legible, this pāda exhibits apart from *ladhva ñaṇabalo* (-----; Skt. *labdhvā jñānabalaṃ*) "having gained the power of knowledge" several difficulties. Different possibilities for interpreting G *naţi* (--) include:
- (A) A preterite of Skt.  $\sqrt{nad}$  "to roar [the lion's roar]" in the figurative meaning "to teach" or "to speak." The subject would then be a buddha (cf. also pāda 8a), but there seems to be no fitting object, unless one assumes that a direct speech follows.
- (B) An equivalent for Sanskrit \*anati with elided a- in a similar meaning as Skt. anuttara or anuttama "highest, supreme." Thus far, however, this word does not seem to be known as one that can stand alone (cf. BHSD s.v. anativara and anatisadṛśa).
- (C) An equivalent for Sanskrit *nadī* "river," perhaps also to be differently segmented as locative plural *natisu kušalo* (Skt. *nadīṣu kuśalo*). In such a case, the spelling with *ta* instead of a regular *da* would be tolerable, but how this might relate to the remainder of the pāda is uncertain.
- (D) Natisu ( $\sim \sim$ ; BHS/P nadimsu) could theoretically also represent a plural preterite or aorist form of Sanskrit  $\sqrt{nad}$ .

Considering G nati as preterite of the third person of Skt.  $\sqrt{nad}$  appears presently to be the best option, since it is found in immediate vicinity to  $\tilde{n}anabalo$ , and these words could have been remotely inspired by a particular stock-phrase that occurs in the context of descriptions of the ten powers of a tathāgata  $(daśa\ balāni\ /\ tathāgatabalāni)$ . These powers represent more precisely knowledges according to the wording of these passages:

dasa kho pan' imāni (*vocative*) tathāgatassa tathāgatabalāni yehi balehi samannāgato tathāgato āsabhaṇ ṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti, katamāni dasa: idha (*vocative*) tathāgato [...] yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. yam pi [...] yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, idam pi (*vocative*) tathāgatassa tathāgatabalaṃ hoti yaṃ balaṃ āgamma tathāgato āsabhaṇ ṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti (etc.; e.g., MN I 69.31–71.3, AN V 33.7–36.19).<sup>292</sup>

daśemāni (vocative) (ta)thāgatasya balāni yaiḥ samanvāgatas tathāgato 'rhaṃ samyaksaṃbuddha udāram ā(rṣabhaṃ) sthānaṃ pratijānāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati pariṣadi samyak siṃhanādaṃ na(dati |) katamāni daśa | iha tathāgataḥ [...] yathābh(ū)taṃ prajānāty [...] yat tathāgataḥ [...] yath(ā)bhūtaṃ p(r)aj(ā)nāty [...] | idaṃ prathamaṃ tathāgatabalaṃ yena balena samanvāgatas tathāgato 'rhaṃ samyaksaṃbuddha udāram ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati pariṣadi samya(k siṃ)hanādaṃ nadati | (etc.; DbSū(1); partially similar phrases also in DbSū(3), DbSū(4), and in the latter's abbreviated quotation in Abhidh-k-vy 641.15–642.26).<sup>293</sup>

In Pali texts, the same formula containing [...] *imāni* [...] *tathāgatassa* [...] *yehi* [...] *samannāgato tathāgato āsabhan ṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti, katamāni* [...] (etc.) can also be found in descriptions of the four confidences or fearlessnesses (P *vesārajja*, Skt. *vaiśāradya*) in the same *Mahāsīhanādasutta* in the *Majjhimanikāya* etc., and in lists of the five and six powers of a tathāgata in a few suttas in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. The four confidences follow also in many Sanskrit texts after descriptions of the ten powers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> For more versions, see, e.g., Chung 2008: 165–166; Daśo X.9; Fan/Peng/Wang 2018: 290–293 (as part of a *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*); Hartmann/Wille 2010: 367 n. 9, 369–374. For a versified enumeration of the powers, cf. also Mvu(S) I 159.10–160.5.

Texts containing such passages were widely known, because they could be recited for apotropaic reasons. Some texts from mainly outside the Pali tradition, such as, for example, the fourth  $Da\acute{s}abalas\bar{u}tra$  (DbSū[4]), the apotropaic Central Asian "lion scroll" that depicts a lion under each description of a power of a tathāgata (Hartmann/Wille 2010), the  $Abhidharmako\acute{s}avy\bar{u}khy\bar{u}$ , a prose section in the Lalitavistara, the  $Saddharmapun\dot{q}ar\bar{u}kas\bar{u}tra$ , the  $Bodhisattvabh\bar{u}mi$ , and others, expand the term bala "power(s)" to  $j\bar{n}\bar{u}nabala$  "power(s) from/of knowledge," and therefore, from a certain time onwards,  $tath\bar{u}gatabala$  and  $tath\bar{u}gatabala$  could be utilized as synonyms. <sup>294</sup> In the  $tath\bar{u}gatabala$ , the traditional text of the above-quoted passages has been modified, and the slightly newer term  $tath\bar{u}gatabala$  was inserted:

daśamāni(!) śāriputra tathāgatasya tathāgatabalāni yair balais samanvāgatas tathāgata ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānīte brāhmaṃ cakraṃ pravarttayati apravarttitaṃ śramaṇena (ms. śravaṇena) vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā māreṇa vā brahmaṇā vā kenacid vā punar loke smiṃ sahadharmeṇa 'katamāni daśa | yad idaṃ sthānāsthānajñānabalaṃ 'karmavipākajñānabalaṃ | anekādhātunānādhātujñānabalaṃ | anekādhimuktinānādhimuktijñānabalaṃ | indriyavīryavimātratājñānabalaṃ | sarvatrānugāminīpratipa {jñā}jjñānabalaṃ | dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattisaṃkleśavyavadānajñānabalaṃ | pūrvanivāsānusmṛtisākṣātkriyājñānabalaṃ | cyutyupapattisākṣātkriyājñānabalaṃ | āsravakṣayasākṣātkriyājñānabalaṃ imāni śāriputra tathāgatasya daśa tathāgatabalāni yair balaiḥ samanvāgataḥ tathāgataḥ pariṣadgataḥ samyak siṅhanādaṃ nadati ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānīte brāhmaṃ cakraṃ pravarttayati yāvat kenacid vā punar loke sahadharmeṇa || tatra katamat tathāgatasya sthānāsthānajñānabalaṃ | [...]<sup>295</sup>

In comparison with these parallels, the beginning of this pāda *ladhva ñaṇabalo ṇaṭi*  $(--- \circ \circ - \circ -)$ , as well as another similar phrase that occurs soon after, in pāda 8a, starting with *balaprato ṇaṭaṣi achabi pariṣa*  $(\simeq \simeq -- \circ \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ -)$ , seems to show some kind of distant reliance on such text passages. In the second case of pāda 8a, this connection is even stronger conceivable, because it contains the word *achabi* (Skt. *acchambhin*, cf. also *vaiśāradya*) "without fear," which perfectly illustrates the idea of a lion together with having strength (*bala*). For a visual image of these ideas, see the comments to pāda 8a.

The expression *divakare* or *diva(m)kare* (---) after the caesura was not translated, because it may be understood in different ways, be it regarded as one word or two (*diva kare* or

For enumerations of the powers containing the term <code>jñānabala</code>, see, e.g., Abhidh-k-vy 641.10–14, BBh 384.18–25 (with a reference to a <code>Daśabalasūtra</code>), and DbSū(4) 6.1–7.10. For the terms in a different sequence, see also Dhsgr 16, §LXXVI and Mvy(I) 117–127, and for some variants, see, e.g., LH26 50.4–52.2. Still other lists are mentioned in Lamotte 1970 (Le traité III): 1509–1510. There is a long discussion in the \*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa (translation and comments in Lamotte 1970 [Le traité III]: 1505–1566). According to the Abhidh-k-vy and DbSū(4), the names of the powers are as follows: 1. sthānāsthānajñānabala, 2. karmavipākajñānabala / karmasvakajñānabala, 3. dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattijñānabala, 4. indriyaparāparajñānabala / parasatvānām indriyaparāvaratām jñānabala, 5. nānādhimuktijñānabala / parasatvānām nānādhimuktijñānabala, 6. nānādhātujñānabala, 7. sarvatragāminīpratipajjñānabala, 8. pūrvenivāsānusmṛtijñānabala, 9. cyutyupapattijñānabala / cyutyupapādajñānabala, and 10. āsravaksayajñānabala.

Folio 29b4ff. of the unpublished manuscript, as transliterated by Fredrik Liland and Jens Braarvig. Small fragments of this passage are also preserved in the much earlier, newly identified fragment MS 2381/234a in the Martin Schøyen collection.

diva(m) kare). Excepting Skt. diva "day" and divākara "day-maker, sun" for metrical reasons, G diva (--) could theoretically represent Skt. (A) divya "heavenly," (B) dīpa "lamp," or (C) dvīpa "island," and it is not even sure whether a double entendre may have been intended. 296 Thus, "[he] made / made (in)to" (kare may be metri causa for the preterite kari) "a heavenly [place]," or "a lamp or light," or "an island," or, the whole expression is a compound, such as the name corresponding to Skt. Dīpaṃkara. 297

If the whole pāda refers to the past buddha Dīpamkara, divakare might be locative singular "under Dīpamkara," or "at the presence of Dīpamkara," but how this would relate to the first part of the pada remains somewhat puzzling, especially since the above-quoted text passages have no connection with the Dīpamkara narrative. Some versions inform us that the Bodhisattva, who can be named differently as Sumedha (Theravada tradition), Megha, or Sumati, reached some level of understanding after the encounter with this buddha. This is called ksānti, namely the "acceptance" that all things perish and are without a self.<sup>298</sup> In the *Lalitavistara*, the Bodhisattva is additionally said to have attained five supernatural powers.<sup>299</sup> However, this can hardly be compared with the knowledge-power of a buddha that enables him to roar the lion's roar. If, therefore, the Dīpamkara interpretation is further pursued, the whole phrase might either somehow refer to the past buddha Dīpamkara, or to the Buddha Śākyamuni, who remembers his vow under Dīpamkara and the latter's prediction, perhaps in the sense of "Having gained the power of knowledge, the very competent one roared [with the voice of a lion]: "Under Dīpaṃkara ...." One might also speculate, whether the following word that starts with s-  $(- \sim \times)$  can possibly represent some causative form of Skt.  $\sqrt{smr}$  (cf. G sparedi in stanza 31), since the lower part of the aksara is not clear, so that a reading as sp-cannot be excluded. There is also evidence in the Lalitavistara for references to Dīpaṃkara occurring in close vicinity to forms of  $\sqrt{smr}$  "to remember," but how

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Cf., e.g., Karashima 2015: 176–177 on *dīpa* and *dvīpa*.

For the idea of an island (Skt. dvīpa) cf., e.g., one verse in the different versions of the Dharmapada (meter Anuṣṭubh), translated from the Pali as: "By exertion, by carefulness, by restraint and self-control, a wise man would make an island, which a flood does not overwhelm" (Norman 1997a: 4); Dhp 25: uṭṭhānen' appamādena saññamena damena ca □ dīpaṃ kayirātha medhāvī yaṃ ogho nābhikīrati; Dhp<sup>K</sup> 111: uṭṭhaṇeṇa apramadeṇa sañameṇa dameṇa ca □ divu karodi medhavi ya jara nabhimardadi; Dhp<sup>Patna</sup> 29: uṭṭhāṇenā 'pramādena saṃyyamena damena ca | dīpaṃ kayirātha medhāvī yam ogho nādhipūrati ||; Uv IV.5: uttānenāpramādena saṃyamena damena ca | dvīpaṃ karoti medhāvī tam ogho nābhimardati ||; For the simile in this stanza, cf. also Lüders 1954: 76, §86.

Cf., e.g., Matsumura 2011: 96, 135 (*Dīpaṃkaravyākaraṇa*, Derge Kanjur no. 188) and Matsumura 2012: (86): text 3c (*Guò qù xiàn zaì yīn guŏ jīng* 過去現在因果經, T. no. 189). Cf. also L<sup>H23</sup> 100−102, stanzas 25.5−6, meter Aupacchandasika: *kalpaśatasahasra aprameyā* □ *ahu caritaḥ purime jinaḥsakāśe,* □ na ca maya pratilabdha eṣa kṣāntī □ yatra na ātma na sattva naiva jīvaḥ. □ yada maya **pratilabdha eṣa kṣāntī** □ mriyati na ceha ⟨na⟩ kaści jāyate vā, □ prakṛti imi nirātma sarvadharmāḥ □ tada māṃ vyākari buddha dīpanāmā.

See L<sup>H</sup> 630, stanza 13.65, meter Pañcacāmara: dīpaṃkare ti dṛṣṭamātri labdha kṣānti uttamā □ abhijña pañca acyutā ti labdha ānulomikā(ḥ), □ tatottareṇa ekameka buddha pūja 'cintiyā □ pravartitā asaṃkhyakalpa sarvalokadhātuṣū.

Cf. L<sup>H</sup> 288, stanza 2.1, meter Āryā: **smara** vipulapuṇyanicaya □ smṛtimatigati-m-ananta (unmetrical) prajñāprabhākārin, □ atulabala vipulavikrama □ vyākaraṇaṃ **dīpasahanāmni**; 668, stanza 13.160, meter Āryā: mañjuruta mañjughoṣā □ **smarāhi dīpaṃkarasya vyākaraṇaṃ**, □ bhūtaṃ tathā avitathā □ jinaghoṣarutam udīrehi.

this would have been syntactically constructed in the stanza of this poem is another question, let alone that the whole interpretation of G *diva(-)* is highly ambiguous.

**6c)** The possibly shortened pronoun of the first person me (-), representing an instrumental singular, suggests that the Buddha speaks here for himself. This would seem unusual for a stotralike text, unless it is included within a miniature narration of an episode from his life. An alternative approach would be to regard me as a shortened form of the pronoun ime with an elided initial i, but then, a plural is expected, while ladho (--; Skt. labdha) "attained" seems to be singular. An interpretation in the light of the  $D\bar{t}$ pamkara story would probably require some kind of an optative or future form ("may I attain," "when I attained," or "you will attain") instead of only ladho, which rather expresses a result.

The term  $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}navi$ , avai can frequently be found in Buddhist texts. Beyond it, the *Lalitavistara* also attests very few instances of formations similar to the compound  $varabudha\tilde{n}anavi$ , avai (avai) (avai) "range of the excellent knowledge of a buddha." Skt. \*varabuddha, avai and ava

## 7. (r13-14) Da

The main topic of this stanza is an enumeration of beings who are difficult to convert, but who were nevertheless converted (damta; --; Skt.  $d\bar{a}nta$ , "tamed") by the Buddha after his awakening and victory over Māra, usually with the help of his supernatural powers. Clearly preserved are only the references to the Brahmanical ascetics (jadila;  $\sim$  -; Skt. jatila)<sup>303</sup> and the robber and

LH 360, stanza 5.26, meter Pramitākṣarā: atha vā 'pi yasya manujeṣu matir □ varacakravartiviṣaye vipule, □ ratnākaram abhayasaukhyadadaṃ □ anubandhatāṃ vipulapuṇyadharaṃ; LHI8 84, stanzas 21.202—203, meter Vasantatilakā: atraiva cāsanavare labhase 'dya bodhiṃ □ āveṇikāṃ daśabalāṃ pratisaṃvidaś ca, □ sarvaṃ ca buddhaviṣayaṃ labhase 'dya śūra □ maitrā (emend to maitr⟨y⟩ā?) vijitya vipulāṃ śaṭhamārapakṣāṃ. □ iha māradharṣaṇakṛte ca raṇe pravṛtte □ saṃbodhisattvabalavikrama yebhi dṛṣṭaṃ, □ ṣaṭtriṃśakoṭi nayutā-cature ca viṃśā(ḥ) □ tebhir manaḥ praṇihitaṃ varabuddhabodhāv, □ iti.

The term *jațila* is used in the *Catuṣpariṣaṭsūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* and its parallels, which is the perhaps best-known text for the detailed narration of the miracles displayed by the Buddha in order to convert Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā together with his brothers and their large retinues of followers. An early inscriptional reference to *jaṭilas* (*jaṭilasabhā* "assembly of the *jaṭilas*") was discovered in Bharhut, but

For comparison, all remaining references to Dīpaṃkara in the *Lalitavistara* may be quoted here. Apart from very brief hints, this text does not contain a complete narration of the story. See L<sup>H</sup> 628, pāda 13.63d, meter Pañcacāmara: *vicitrapuṣpi dharmaketu dīpakāri utpalaiḥ*; 646, stanza 13.118, meter Vaitālīya: *iya īdṛśa dharmalakṣaṇā* □ *buddha dīpaṃkaradarśane tvayā*, □ *anubuddha svayaṃ yathātmanā* □ *tatha bodhehi sadevamānuṣāṃ*; L<sup>H11</sup> 186, prose: *asitanirdeśaṃ ca vyaktaṃ kariṣyāmi, dīpaṃkarasya vyākaraṇaṃ vyaktīkariṣyāmi (ca)*; L<sup>H20</sup> 234–236, stanzas 23.12–14, meter Upajāti: *gambhīrabuddhe madhurasvarā mune* □ *brahmasvarā munivara gītasusvarā*, □ *varāgrabodhiḥ-paramāgraprāptā* □ *sarvasvare-pāragate namas te*. □ *trātāsi dīpo 'si parāyaṇo 'si* □ *nātho 'si loke kṛpamaitracittaḥ*, □ *vaidyottamas tvaṃ khalu śalyahartā* □ *cikitsakas tvaṃ paramaṃ hitaṃkaraḥ*. □ *dīpaṃkarasya sahadarśanaṃ tvayā* □ *samudānitaṃ maitrakṛpābhrajālaṃ*, □ *pramuñca nāthā amṛtasya dhārāṃ* □ *śamehi tāpaṃ suramānuṣāṇāṃ*; L<sup>H25</sup> 256, stanza 26.27, meter Vasantatilakā: *dīpaṃkareṇa yada vyākṛtu śuddhasattvo* □ *(buddho) bhaviṣyasi hi tvaṃ narasiṃhasiṃhaḥ*, □ *tasmin mamāsi praṇidhī iyam evarūpā{ḥ}* □ *saṃbodhiprāptu ahu dharmu adhyeṣayeyaṃ*.

murderer Aṅgulimāla ( $agu\underline{q}imalo$ ;  $- \circ \circ - \circ$ ). There may also be a reference to the dangerous elephant Nālāgiri or Dhanapāla(ka), but this is uncertain. All these themes were popular subjects in early Indian art including the art of Gandhāra. To these topics also belong the conversion of the children-devouring yakṣa Āṭavika and of the evil  $n\bar{a}ga$  Apalāla, artistic representations of both were widespread in Gandhāra, which makes it probable that at least one of them was mentioned in the gaps of this stanza.  $^{304}$ 

There seems to be neither a reference to Angulimāla in the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara*, nor to the yakşa Āṭavika or the  $n\bar{a}ga$  Apalāla, or anticipations to other conversions. This is not entirely surprising because the events described are all situated before the conversions.

**7a)** The absolutive *dharṣitva* (---) "having overcome" most probably refers to the victory over Māra. It also occurs in pāda 17c (*mara ta sabalo saseṇo ṇamuyi dharṣitva rukṣutam(e)*), and apart from adjectives such as *duṣpradharṣa* and *dudharṣa*, the verb  $\sqrt{dhr}$ ; refers in the *Lalitavistara* almost exclusively to the destruction of Māra, 305 or ideas connected to him, such as the *kleśas*. 306

Te(-) can either be understood as a demonstrative pronoun, referring to the jatilas, or as the second person's pronoun (cf. Skt.  $tvay\bar{a}$ ).

7c) The end of the pāda is badly preserved. Due the resemblance of the akṣara fragment following g(a)y(a)— with an uncertain g. or g., it has provisionally been completed to g(a)y(a)g(iri) ( $\simeq \sim \times$ ), however, it might also be a part of some other word. Metrically, this also appears to be slightly irregular (cf. p. 53), and there is no substantial evidence supporting this proposal. If one instead reads and restores  $g(u)\bar{g}(a)g(o)$  ( $-\sim \times$ ; for further reading possibilities, see p. 73, n. 147) for example, the meter would tally with the regular pattern. This would then indicate the taming of a guhyaka, which can be a synonym for yakṣa, rather than the taming of the elephant. In the comments to pāda 31a, the term  $gu\bar{g}ago$  has been tentatively ascribed to Māra, but since here Māra is most probably already included in pāda 7a, this might refer to another yakṣa, such as Āṭavika. In this likewise uncertain interpretation, some doubt about the alternative reading ga still remains, since its shape seems closer to a ga.

the depicted episode remains unidentified (Coomaraswamy 1956: 95, pl. L, fig. 243; Lüders et al. 1963: 161, no. B 65, pl. XXI, XLV).

For the literary sources and depictions of all the above-mentioned conversations, cf. especially Zin 2006. For the Nālāgiri or Dhanapāla(ka) episode, cf. also Lamotte 1976 (*Le traité* IV): 1767–1773, n. 4; Schlingloff 2000/2013, vol. 1: 435–441, no. 77, vol. 2: 85–88; Deeg 2005: 411–412.

LH 280, stanza 1.11d, meter Jagatī: param-pravādān namuciñ ca dharşayan; 600.16–17, prose: sabalam māram dharşayitvā; 610, stanza 13.15c, meter unknown: dharşitvā namuci śaṭha sasainyam; LH13 204.3, prose: mārasainyapradharṣaṇārtham; LH18 84, stanza 21.203a, meter Vasantatilakā: iha māradharṣaṇakṛte ca raṇe pravṛtte; LH19 162, stanza 22.4b, meter Vasantatilakā: sādho mahāpuruṣa dharṣita mārasenā; LH24 198, stanza 26.20a, meter unknown: tvaya dharṣitu māru sasainyu drumendri sthihitva mune.—One exception refers to age that destroys youth (LH 676, stanza 14.4b, meter Vasantatilakā: sarva⟨j⟩jagasya jara yauvanu dharṣayāti), and another one describes the army of Māra, which subdues the world (LH12 106, stanza 18.21, Anuṣṭubh: yā te senā (pra)dharṣayati lokam enam sadevakam, □ bhetsyāmi prajñayā tām te āmapātram ivāmbunā).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> L<sup>H</sup> 380, stanza 5.70b, meter Rathoddhatā: *dhyāna dhyāyita kilesadharṣaṇāt* (read *kileśadharṣaṇāt*); 650, stanza 13.128a, meter Vaitālīya: *tvaya dhyāna kilesadharṣaṇā* (read *kileśadharṣaṇā*).



**Fig. 12** Golden token from grave IV of Til(l)ya-tepe (ancient Bactria, Jowzjan province in northern Afghanistan), 1.6 cm in diameter (photographs after Hiebert/Cambon 2008: 267, pl. 119).

If the word damta(--) is emended to damt(o), the pāda might be easier to read, but on the other hand, apart from the uncertain interpretation of this word group, word-final vowels vary in Gandhari.

## 8. (r15-16) Ba

The one with strength (*balaprato*;  $\simeq -$ ; P *balappatta*, Skt. *balaprāpta*) in pāda 8a, namely the Buddha who is compared to a lion, is juxtaposed to a fool or a child (*bala*; --; P/Skt. *bāla*; in singular or plural) in  $p\bar{a}da$  8c, while the details of the comparison are unclear.

**8a)** The first pāda refers to the well-known comparison of the Buddha teaching the law like a strong and fearlessly roaring lion, the king of animals. The words *bala* "power, strength" and a form of  $\sqrt{nad}$  "to roar (like a lion)" occurred most probably already in pāda 6a. However, the word denoting the lion is not preserved in these two pādas, nor in pāda 29a that also presents a similar idea, including the word *achabi* ( $\sim - \sim$ ; P *acchambhi(n)*, BHS *acchambhin*) "fearless." <sup>307</sup>

There are many examples for this common metaphor in Buddhist literature, and some were already quoted in the comments to pāda 6a. To name just a few additional ones, cf. for the words parṣad/pariṣad and √nad, e.g., the different versions of the Daśabalasūtra: brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati pariṣadi samyaksiṃhanādaṃ nadati (DbSū 1–4, several occurrences); MPS 40.34: evam (atra parṣadi samyaksiṃhanādaṃ nadā)mi; M<sup>S</sup> § 587 (Habata 2015: 538): tvaṃ manyuśrī sarvvaparṣabhyo dharmaṃ deśaya mahāsiṃhanādaṃ nada.

Other passages speak of the fearlessness of the lion-like Buddha (etc.), but without referring to the assembly (parṣad/pariṣad). For passages containing the words acchambhita/acchambhin and √nad, see, e.g., Gv 452.24–25 (chapter 49: Muktāsāra): kim mayā śakyam bodhisattvānām acchambhitasim-hanādanādinām mahāpuṇyajñānapratiṣṭhitānām caryā jñātum guṇā vā vaktum; Rgs(Y) XII.7, meter Vasantatilakā: siṃho yathaiva girikandari niśrayitvā □ nadate achambhi mṛga kṣudraka trāsayanto | tatha prajñapāramitu niśrya narāṇa siṃho □ nadate achambhi pṛthu tīrthika trāsayanto | f. Śailagāthās

As suggested for pāda 6a, the word *bala* might here also hint at the ten powers, which characterize a tathāgata. The idea of teaching in combination with the metaphor of the fearless lion has for example been expressed in Gandhari words (*dharmacakraṃ pravatati* and *siho vigadabhayo*) and images on a golden token from Til(l)ya-tepe in northern Afghanistan, dating from around the beginning of the first century.<sup>308</sup>

One might speculate about the possibility that  $\underline{natasi}$  ( $\sim \sim$  -; Skt. nadasi; 2nd sg.; containing the Kharoṣṭhī akṣara  $\underline{s}i$ : e.g.,  $\mathscr{Z}$ ) is misspelled for  $\underline{natati}$  (Skt. nadati; 3rd sg.; spelled in Kharoṣṭhī with  $\underline{t}i$ : e.g.,  $\mathscr{Z}$ ), but this cannot be decided as long as the stanza is incomplete.

Instead of parisa ( $\sim \sim -$ ) "to the assembly" as an accusative and the object of the sentence, a locative would possibly be easier to understand, and since the upper part of the akṣara  $\underline{s}a$  is damaged, a hypothetical parise(e) "in the assembly" might be another possibility, but only then, when such an irregular form of parisa really exists. 309

8c) Despite the clear akṣaras, the meaning of the pāda end is obscure. The chosen words possess different meanings starting with bala (-; P/Skt.  $b\bar{a}la$ ), "fool(s)" or "boy(s)," durmadi (-  $\sim$ ; Skt. durmati) "weak-minded, evil-minded" or "sad," jihma "dull," "depressed," or "false (not real)." The word kathe (-) could either derive from Skt. kantha "throat, neck," or from  $k\bar{a}stha$  "(a piece of) wood," or perhaps also from kasta "evil, severe, misery, hardship." If ma ( $\sim$ ) is interpreted as Skt.  $m\bar{a}m$  "me" or  $m\bar{a}$  "not," it might indicate a direct speech, but this is all speculative. The word grini(-) (- or -  $\sim$   $\times$ ) might be a form of Skt.  $\sqrt{grah}$  (cf. GD s.v. gimnadi and gimnedi), which would correspond to the meter. A few Buddhist Sanskrit texts contain the expression  $kanthe \sqrt{grh}$  "to embrace, fling one's arms round someone's neck," but similarly to

(Bhaiṣ-v, Gilgit ms. 783v5, meter Anuṣṭubh): siṃhavan nadate ⟨'⟩cchambhī kesarī gandhamādane • vanāntareṣv asantrastaṃ buddhaṃ drakṣyasi brāhmaṇa • (cf. also MSV[D] I 270.1–2). There exist also other possibilities to express the same idea, but in different words, e.g., in L<sup>H</sup> 294, stanza 2.15, meter Āryā: aśrutva siṃhanādaṃ □ kroṣṭuka nādaṃ nadanty anu⟨t⟩traṣṭāḥ (read anuttrastāḥ), □ nada buddhasimhanādam □ trāsaya paratīrthikaśrgālān; and elsewhere.

On the comparison of the lion examining the four directions and frightening with his roars all other animals to the Buddha, who frightens the gods with his teaching on impermanence, cf., e.g., AN II 33–34 (same as SN III 84–85) and Lamotte 1970 (*Le traité* III): 1594–1595, n. 1.

- The object, which has been discovered in 1978–79 and is being controversially discussed by art historians, is preserved in the National Museum of Afghanistan in Kabul (inv. no. 04.40.392). See, e.g., Fussman 1987: 71–72, fig. 2 (c. 50 BCE to 50 CE); Brown 2000; Miyaji 2008: 25–26 (beginning of the first century CE); Tanabe 2008.
- The DG records presently only the form *pariṣaye* as a locative singular, and *pariṣae* is trice attested in BC 2 (information kindly provided by Andrea Schlosser), while it is trice written as *pariṣae* in SC 2. One might perhaps compare the frequent locative *jage* of *jagat*, occurring in the *Lalitavistara* (Hokazono ed.) at least seventeen times. However, *pariṣad* is normally female, which should require a different ending.
- Cf. Mvu(M) III 182.5–6: tena ca me ṛṣikumāreṇa sārdhaṃ prīti saṃjātā kanthe ca so grhya mama prakāśaṃ jaṭehi gṛhya-n-avanāmya vaktraṃ praṇidhāya śabdaṃ karoti; Saṅghabh II 34.5–7 (several occurrences) about a previous lifetime of the Bodhisattva and Rāhula as thieves: na nāma mayā mātulaṃ kanthe gṛhītvā roditavyaṃ; sa unmattakaveṣam ātmānaṃ kṛtvā striyam api kanthe gṛhnāti [...]; Somendradeva's Jīmūtavāhanāvadāna (ed. Bosch 1914) pādas 116cd, meter Upajāti: uktveti sā kanthagṛhītaputrā □ tatskandhavinyastamukhī mumoha.

the possibility of  $k\bar{a}stha$  or kasta, it cannot be explained how this might fit into the context. Perhaps those, who are threatened by the roaring of the buddha-lion, are fools or compared to frightened children. Without a proper understanding, the segmentation of words after the caesura remains also uncertain.

### 9. (r17-18) *Da*

The whole stanza describes the encounter with and victory over Māra. Depending on how exactly one understands and reads the words, it might remind of the myth of Kāmadeva who was burned by Śiva when he shot an arrow at him. Such an allusion would not be surprising since Māra can be identified with Kāmadeva, and he is also depicted as such in Buddhist art and literature. <sup>312</sup> Unfortunately, this hinges only on uncertain alternative readings in pāda 9a and remains therefore speculative.

The words dasu ( $\simeq$ ) and dasute ( $\simeq$ ) or separated as dasu te, cannot be fully explained, although it seems certain that they represent a form of Skt.  $\sqrt{dah}$  "to burn" (cf. dahu in Dhp<sup>K</sup> 74d; see above, p. 49, n. 76), possibly present participles (cf. P daha(t)/daha(t), dahanta/dahanta/dayhanta, pass. dayhanta/dayhanta, Skt. dahant, and G dahu in Dhp<sup>K</sup> 74d), or in the case of dasute, perhaps also a passive form (3rd pl., Skt. dahyante). One might also ask whether the words could alternatively be read as dasam and dasamte or dasam te. In this manuscript, however, no case of the akṣara sam has been discovered for comparison, and securely read examples seem to be wanting in other manuscripts as well, as far as they are available, while the other similar shapes in this manuscript can clearly be read as su (the akṣara in the words of question: sam; the akṣara in the words samsuksita, purimasu, and samsuma:

**9a)** With the missing end of this pāda, the syntax is not entirely certain. Māra appears to be the subject of the sentence, but theoretically, he could also be the object, who is seen (d(r)ithva or d(r)ithvaņa; -- or --) by the Buddha. Three adjectives with related meanings describe his evilness (śaṭho durmaṭi akuśalo; -- "the wicked, ill-disposed [and] evil one"), and that is completely the opposite of the loving kindness of the Buddha (metra; --; instr.



r17: *†ho/do/ro* **Fig. 13** 

of BHS/Skt. maitrī), which destroys him in pādas 9c and 24c. The first adjective is unusually spelled, since instead of śatho, which rather reminds of the Sanskrit form śatha, the spelling śatho would be expected in a Gandhari text, as it is found, for example, in Khvs<sup>L</sup> 38b (śatha),

Kāṣṭha "(a piece of) wood" can be thought as something inanimate or unconscious and worthless like the human body, and thus it may be likened to a fool. Cf. stanza 7 of the Narakoddharastava (ed. Lindtner), meter Anuṣṭubh: dharmādharmam na vijñātam gamyāgamyam na veditam | acetanam idam kāṣṭham trāhi māṃ he tathāgata ||. Kāṣṭha is also frequently synonymous with something that is easily inflammable, and therefore comparable to a fool who may be consumed by anger. Cf. Jā IV 26, stanzas 43–45 (jātaka no. 443), and Avalokitasiṃha's Dharmasamuccaya, stanza 33.62ab, meter Anuṣṭubh: na sukhais tṛpyate bālas tathā kāṣṭhair yathānalaḥ. Unfortunately, these examples do not really help to clarify the content of the Gandhari verse.

On that aspect, showing Māra with a bow or a *makara* standard (*makaradhvaja*/*jhaṣadhvaja*), see, e.g., Windisch 1895: 184, 205, 308; Stache-Rosen 1975: 10–12; Malandra 1981: 124–125; Agrawala 1995; Bautze-Picron 1998; Norman 1998; Schlingloff 2000/2013, vol. 1: 453–471, nos. 80–81, vol. 2: 90–94.

Dhp<sup>K</sup> 186d and 272f ( $\acute{sadhu}$  and  $\acute{sadha}$ ). On the other hand, the imperfectly written and at the lower part incomplete akṣara that seems to read  $\acute{tho}$  could perhaps also be read as  $\acute{do}$  ( $\acute{sado}$ , then a slightly irregular spelling of  $\acute{sadho}$ ), or even as an uncertain ro, if one assumes that the scribe corrected the akṣara that he miswrote at first. In the latter case, the word in question would be  $\acute{saro}$  "arrow," which would change the meaning of the pāda. One also would then have to read  $\emph{s(r)ithva}$  or  $\emph{s(r)ithvana}$  "having shot" instead of  $\emph{d(r)ithva}$  or  $\emph{d(r)ithvana}$ , all variants of which seem possible due to the damage of the first akṣara in this word. As tempting as this interpretation might be, the Sanskrit word  $\acute{satha}$  occurs frequently in the Lalitavistara (see p. 116, n. 313) in the same context as in this stanza. Therefore, the critical reader may make his own choice.

**9c)** The topos of Māra being slain by loving kindness, or friendliness (*metra nihatva*;  $-- \circ --$ ; Skt. *maitryā nihatya*) is also found in pāda 24c (*metra nihatva muṇi*;  $-- \circ -- \circ \times$ ) and in other Buddhist texts. Due to the many repetitions in this poem, it seems possible, albeit not certain, that *muṇi* "the sage" stood here too at the end of the sentence. The form *metra* as instrumental singular is surprisingly close to the Sanskrit. There exist many parallels for the idea and the words employed in this stanza, except for the motif of "burning."  $^{313}$ 

If *dasute* (or *dasamte*) at the beginning of the pāda is separated into two words, *te* could be, similarly as in pāda 7a, either a pronoun of the second person, or a demonstrative pronoun in plural referring to the troops of Māra. If *(muṇi)* is restored at the end of the pāda, based on pāda 24c, this might be a vocative, or otherwise it could also somehow connect to the following pāda.

Instead of maitrā or maitrī, Māra (kleśaripu) is slain by arrows called "empty [and] without a self," which are released from the bow "tranquility" (śamatha) in L<sup>H</sup> 590, stanza 12.33 (meter Mālinī): eṣa dharaṇimaṇḍe pūrvabuddhāsanasthaḥ  $\Box$  samathadhanu (read śamathadhanu) gṛhītvā śūnyanairāt-myabāṇaiḥ,  $\Box$  kleśaripu nihatvā dṛṣṭijālaṃ ca bhittvā  $\Box$  śivavirajam aśokāṃ prāpsyate bodhim agryāṃ.

For Lalitavistara parallels, see LH 586, stanza 12.31, meter Vasantatilakā: eso drumendraprayare mahadustamallam 🗆 māram sasainvu sabalam sahayam dhvajāgre, 🗆 maitrībalena vinihatva hi krsnabandhūn □ yāvat pṛsiṣyati (read pṛśiṣyati) anuttarabodhi śāntaṃ; 610, stanza 13.15, meter unknown: vīryam te dṛḍham acalam akampyam □ pūrvānte pṛthu sugata abhūvan, □ dharṣitvā namuci śaṭha sasainyam □ sosisye (read śosisye) traya sakala-apāyān; L<sup>H14</sup> 340, stanza 19.47, meter Vegavatī: tṛṇu dehi mi svastika śīghram 🗆 adya mamārthu tṛṇaih sumahānto, 🗆 sabalam namucim nihanitvā 🗆 bodhim anuttara śānta (ed. anuttaraśānti) spṛśiṣye; LH16 268, stanza 21.24, meter Dodhaka: śākyasutas tu svabhāvam abhāvam □ dharma pratītya samutthita buddh⟨v⟩ā, □ ⟨so⟩ gaganopamacitta suyukto □ na bhramate sabalam śaṭha dṛṣṭvā; 274, stanza 21.31, meter Upajāti: maitrīvatas tasya muneh śarīram 🗆 vişam na sastram kramate na cāgniḥ, 🗆 kṣiptāni sastrāni vrajanti puṣp{at}ām 🗆 maitrīha lokottara bhāvi tasya; LH17 420, stanza 21.89, meter Vasantatilakā: tam śrutva mediniravam sa śaṭhaḥ sasainyaḥ □ uttrasta bhinnahṛdayo prapalāna sarve, □ śrutveva siṃhanaditaṃ hi vane śṛgālāḥ □ kākeva loṣtupatane sahasā pranastāh; LH18 84, stanza 21.202: atraiva cāsanavare labhase 'dva bodhim □ āvenikām daśabalām pratisamvidaś ca, □ sarvam ca buddhavişayam labhase 'dya śūra □ maitrā (emend to maitr(y)ā?) vijitya vipulām śathamārapakṣām; L<sup>H20</sup> 238–240, stanza 23.20, meter: a kind of Pramitākṣarā: balavīrya āgatu ihā namuci 🗆 prajñāya vīrya tava maitrya jito, 🗆 prāptam ca te padavaram amṛtam u vandāmi te śaṭhacamūmathanā; 252, stanza 23.43, meter Vaitālīya: na mudhāya bhavān samudgato □ vasva arthe bahu cīrna duskarāh (one ms. duskarāh) □ vijito hi śathah sasainvakah □ prāptā bodhi anuttarā tvayā; L<sup>H21</sup> 350, stanza 24.39, meter Āryā: iha sā dhvajāgradhārī □ hastyaśvarathocchritā vikrtarūpā, □ namucibalavīryasenā □ maitrīm āgamya vidhvastā⟨ḥ⟩; 356, stanza 24.60: yasyārthāya daśabalā □ maitrī(m) bhāventi sarvasattveṣu, □ maitrībalena jitvā □ pīto me 'sminn amṛtamandah; L<sup>H24</sup> 192, stanza 26.10, meter Āryā: sabalaṃ nihatya māraṃ □ bodhiprāpto hitāya lokasya. □ vārāṇasīm upagato □ dharmacakram pravartayitā.

The word vahaṇa in savahaṇa ( $\sim - \sim -$ ; Skt.  $sav\bar{a}hana$ ) can have different meanings: "mount" including horses and elephants, or chariots, or it is a more general term for "retinue," especially, when it refers to an army as in this case.

## 10. (r19-20) Şa

The stanza names the Bodhisattva or Buddha in the first pāda logiśva(ra) ( $-- \times$ ; Skt. lokeśva-ra) "lord of the world," while the third pāda describes the effect he has on the world (logo;  $- \times$ ; Skt. loka) including gods and men, seemingly explaining, why he is called "lord of the world," which normally implies some kind of deity.

10a) This pāda refers, once again, to the career of a Bodhisattva, which lasts countless lifetimes. In this case, *ṣadha* (——; Skt. *śraddhā*) "faith, trust," is emphasized, which is included in several well-known lists of terms, for example amongst four powers (*catvāri balāni: śraddhā*, *vīrya* "energy, heroism," *samādhi* "concentration," and *prajñā* "[discriminative] understanding," or five faculties or powers (*pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca balāni*: the same list plus *smṛti* "mindfulness"), one of the seven riches (*sapta dhanāni: śraddhā*, *śīla* "moral behavior", *hrī* "shame, bashfulness," *avatrāpya* "fear [of doing something wrong]," *śruta* "learning," *tyāga* "generosity, renunciation", and *prajñā*), one of the seven powers (*sapta balāni*: the same list of the five powers plus *hrī* and *vyavatrāpya*), and one of the seven good qualities, which is a variation of the same list (*sapta saddharmāḥ*: *śrāddha* "faithful," *hrīmant* "bashful," *avatrāpin* "modest," *ārabdhavīrya* "with energy," *upasthitasmṛti* "mindful," *samāhita* "concentrated," and *prajñāvān* "possessing [discriminative] understanding").<sup>314</sup>

The words  $anega \ vivisa \ (\sim - \sim \sim -)$  "many different" occur also in pādas 7a, 13a, 14a, 33a, and 36c before the caesura.

The last word of the pāda logiśva(ra), or perhaps also to be restored to logiśva(ro), has been interpreted as a vocative, because otherwise it would be difficult to understand the simplex savruhi (--; 3rd sg. pret.). A similar case of a simplex (from  $sampra\sqrt{k\bar{a}}\acute{s}$ ) occurring in a context that usually requires a causative can be observed in the following stanza, pāda 11c. While in both cases, an understanding of the simplex is possible and was accordingly translated as such, one might ask whether the verb forms are nevertheless meant for the expected causative meaning, such as "For many different hundreds of eons, the lord of the world strengthened [his] faith," only that the causative is not clearly indicated, probably for reasons of the meter. Only few instances for the combination of  $\acute{s}raddh\bar{a}$  and a form of  $\surd{v}rdh$  can be found in Buddhist Sanskrit texts. 315

For these lists, see, e.g., Sang IV.15, V.20, V.21, VII.4, VII.5, and VII.7.

Cf. L<sup>H</sup> 382, stanza 5.76, meter Rathoddhatā: lābha teṣa paramā acintiyā □ yeṣa darśana śravaṃ ca eṣyate, □ kiṃ punaḥ śṛṇiya yo ti dharmatāṃ □ **śraddha** prīti vipulā **janeṣyase**; L<sup>HI5</sup> 32, stanza 20.8, meter Candravartman: yena buddhanayutā stavita **pūrve** □ gauraveṇa mahatā **janiya śraddhāṃ**, □ brahmaghoṣavacanaṃ madhuravāṇiṃ □ bodhimaṇḍ 'upagataṃ (ed. bodhimaṇḍu 'pagataṃ) śirasi vande; Saund XII.41, meter Anuṣṭubh: **śraddhāṅkuram** imaṃ tasmāt **saṃvardhayitum** arhasi | tad **vṛddhau** vardhate dharmo mūlavṛddhau yathā drumaḥ ||; L<sup>HI9</sup> 160−162, prose: spharitvā dharmadhātubhavane varṣiṣyati dharmavarṣaṃ vineyajanabhaiṣaja⟨ṃ⟩ aṅkuraprarohaṇaṃ sarvakuśalamūlavījānāṃ **vivardhanaṃ śraddhāṅkurāṇāṃ** dātā vimuktiphalānām.

**10c)** The syntax of this pāda is not entirely sure. It seems not indicated by whom the "world [...] was made content," although it is clear from the context that this is the Buddha. If the word ya (-) after the caesura is understood as a relative pronoun, it is difficult to connect it with the rest of the sentence. It also would not fit into the content and intellectual background of the poem when one considers the possibility that the world, "which attained awakening," is made content. Rather, the world celebrates, "because" (ya as a conjunction, Skt. yad) the Buddha attained awakening. However, without the following pāda being preserved, there remains some doubt.

The Gandhari word *ṣado* (--; P *sāta*) "content, pleased" has no direct Sanskrit counterpart (cf. BHS *sāta/śāta* and Skt. *śānta* and *śrānta*), but is well attested in the Niya documents (Burrow 1937: 126) and other manuscripts from Bajaur (Schlosser 2020: 84, 184).

## 11. (r21-22) Va

The stanza refers to the preaching of the Buddha who is called "the foremost of proclaimers" (*vatina pravaro*; --- - - -; Skt. *vādīnāṃ pravaraḥ*; cf. also Skt. *vadatāṃ varaḥ*, which occurs frequently in Sanskrit texts).

11a) The last akṣaras of the pāda are vey faint and partially damaged. The reading of the last word is therefore not entirely sure. The scribe wrote *kliṣ̄aṇa* instead of a correct *kleṣ̄aṇa* (-- ~; Skt. *kleṣ̄aṇāṃa*) "of defilements," but this minor inconsistency might only be a slip of the pen. The meaning of this pāda is not fully clear. Is it really the Buddha, "the foremost of proclaimers," who is "a blazing fire, the destroyer of defilements," or are rather the defilements (*kleṣ̄a*) likened to a fire, hut then, the endings or the meter would not correspond (*giṇukadahaṇa*; ~-~~~; Skt. \*agnyulkādahana). Or form giṇukadahaṇa and kleṣ̄aṇa a compound over the caesura, which is otherwise unattested in this manuscript? Perhaps, "the foremost of proclaimers [taught] the destruction of the defilements, [which are] a blazing fire." One might also attempt to read *kleṣ̄aṇa* instead of *kleṣ̄aṇa*, and the hardly legible *saṃbhajaṇa* (- - ~ ×; Skt. *saṃbhañjana*) "breaking, destroyer(?)" represents in fact something else. Due to the absence of a finite verb and the second pāda, no definite solution could be achieved.

11c) The simplex  $sapraga \le i$  (- - - :; a preterite of Skt.  $sampra \sqrt{ka} \le i$ ) instead of the causative is unexpected. The preserved part of the pada seems thus to read "The excellent dharma always

Kleśas are frequently combined with the idea of "fire" or "heat," which is naturally extinguished by the cool water of the dharma. The metaphor would perfectly fit into the context of this stanza; it is only unclear how this could be realized from the preserved words. Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 292, stanza 2.13, meter Āryā: kleśāgninā pradīpte □ loke tvaṃ vīra meghavad vyāpya, □ abhivarṣāmṛtavarṣaṃ □ śamaya kleśān naramarūṇāṃ; 504, stanza 7.90, meter Vasantatilakā: ādīpta sarvatribhavaṃ tribhir agnitaptaṃ □ saṃ-kalparāgaviṣayāraṇi-ucchritena, □ tvaṃ dharmamegha trisahasri pharitva dhīrā □ amṛtodakena pra-śameṣyasi kleśatāpaṃ; 538, stanza 11.5, meter Anuṣṭubh: loke kleśāgnisaṃtapte prādurbhūto hy ayaṃ hradaḥ, □ ayaṃ taṃ prāpsyate dharmaṃ yaj jagad hlādayiṣyati; 666, stanza 13.151, meter Āryā: ādīpta kleśatāpair □ ani{h}śaraṇair gāḍhabandhanaiḥ baddhā{nā}ṃ, □ śīghraṃ pramokṣamārge □ sthāpaya śānte asami vīrā; L<sup>H23</sup> 106, stanza 25.12, meter Upajāti: pravarṣa vai dharmajalaṃ pradhānaṃ □ pratārayemāṃ bhavasāgarasthāṃ, □ pramocayemāṃ mahavyādhikliṣṭāṃ □ kleśāgnitapte praśamaṃ kuruṣva.

became manifest, oh Blessed One," while one expects from the context that "The Blessed One always revealed the excellent dharma" (cf. also p. 47 under "Preterite"). The situation seems comparable with pāda 10a of the preceding stanza, which likewise contains a simplex form (savruhi) for an expected causative meaning.

#### 12. (r23-24) Ta

This stanza might refer to possibly three recollections (*anusmṛti*), of the Buddha in pāda 12a, the dharma in the lost pāda 12b, and the saṅgha in pāda 12c.

**12a)** The pāda reveals the belief that the pronunciation or calling of a divine name (G *ṇamagra-haṇa*; Skt. *nāmagrahaṇa*) can protect and deliver from misery. The content reminds of stories about people, in particular merchants, who were saved from mortal danger by calling out to the Buddha. A good example for these consists in the tale on the monster fish Timingila. It is not clear whether this pāda was originally intended to refer to it, or whether it was rather meant to convey more generally the idea of "calling the name [of the Buddha]" (*nāmagrahaṇa* or *buddhānusmṛti*).

The events are narrated in the eighteenth avadāna of the *Divyāvadāna* within the tale of Dharmaruci: A group of merchants boarded a boat in order to sail on the sea and collect treasures from the treasure island (*ratnadvīpa*). After successfully reaching their destination, they encountered on their way back the all-devouring monster fish Timingila (also called Timitimingila). The merchants prayed to the four guardians of the world, namely Śiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Indra, as well as to Upendra (Viṣṇu), but nothing could safe them. One of the merchants, however, was a Buddhist and he suggested that all should concentrate on the Buddha and speak at once "praise to the Buddha" (*namo buddhāya*). As they followed this advice with folded hands, the Buddha, while staying far away at Śrāvastī, heard them with his divine hearing and made the monster fish also hearing it. The fish realized that a Buddha had risen in the world and let the merchants go, who were thus saved from his jaws.<sup>317</sup> Saying, "By speaking the name of the Blessed One, we escaped from the mortal danger," the merchants offered their treasures to the Buddha.<sup>318</sup> While he

Divy 232.28–233.7: te tāni ratnāni saṃgṛḥya bhagavataḥ sakāśam upagatā anupūrveṇa bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā bhagavataḥ kathayanti | bhagavann asmākaṃ samudre yānapātreṇāvatīrṇānāṃ timingilagrāheṇa tasmin yānapātre 'pahriyamāṇe jīvitavināśe pratyupasthite bhagavataḥ smaraṇa-parāyaṇānāṃ nāmagrahaṇaṃ tasmān mahāgrāhamukhād vinirmuktam, tato vayaṃ bhagavan saṃ-

For a translation of the whole story, see Rotman 2017: 3–8. The relevant passage reads in Divy 232.4–22: tatra copāsako 'bhirūḍhaḥ | tenoktaṃ | bhavanto nāsmākam asmān maraṇabhayān mokṣaḥ kaścit sarvair evāsmābhir martavyaṃ kiṃtu sarva evaikaraveṇa namo buddhāyeti vadāmaḥ | sati maraṇe buddhāvalambanayā smṛtyā kālaṃ kariṣyāmaḥ sugatigamanaṃ bhaviṣyati | yatas tair baṇigbhir ekaraveṇa namo buddhāyeti praṇāmaḥ kṛtaḥ sarvair eva | bhagavatā ca jetavanasthena sa vādaḥ śruto divyena śrotreṇa viśuddhenātikrāntamānuṣeṇa śrutvā ca punar bhagavatā sa nādas tathādhiṣṭhito yathā tena timiṅgilena śrutam | tasya taṃ namo buddhāyeti rāvaṃ śrutvā manaso marṣa utpanno viklavībhūtaś ca buddho bata loka utpanno na mama pratirūpaṃ syāt yad ahaṃ buddhasya bhagavato nāmodghoṣaṃ śrutvā āhāram āhareyam | sa cintayituṃ pravṛttaḥ | yady aham idanīṃ sahasaiva mukhadvāraṃ pidhāsyāmi salilavegapratyāhatasya vahanasya vināśo bhaviṣyati eteṣāṃ cānekānāṃ jīvitavināśaḥ | yannv ahaṃ mṛdunopakrameṇa svairaṃ svairaṃ suṃraṃ saṃpidadhyāṃ | tatas tena timiṅgilenātmīyaṃ mukhadvāraṃ mṛdunopakrameṇa svairaṃ svairaṃ pihitam | paścāt tad vahanaṃ tasmān mahāgrāhamukhād vinirmuktam anuguṇaṃ vāyum āsādya tīram anuprāptam | [...].

had no need for jewels, the merchants distributed them to people in need and became finally monks and arhats. Thereafter, the story is continued into another one. After hearing the name of the Buddha, the fish died voluntarily by declining any food and was reborn in Śrāvastī as Brahmin Dharmaruci.

The tale existed in several versions, <sup>319</sup> and as an ancient and unparalleled depiction in a medallion on the stone fence around the stūpa in Bharhut (Central India) shows, which dates to around the second century BCE, not all versions have today survived in texts. <sup>320</sup> The key element of the story, namely that an invocation of the Buddha safes from mortal danger, can also be found in other tales. <sup>321</sup>

For the -e ending in **namagrahane**  $(- \circ \circ \circ -)$ , a locative singular has been assumed in absence of a better explanation, but there might also be other ways for understanding it, since

siddhayānapātrāḥ kṣemasvastinā ihāgatāḥ | dharmatā caiṣā yasya nāmnā vahanaṃ saṃsiddhayānapātrā āgacchanti tasya tad gamyaṃ bhavati tad **vayaṃ bhagavato nāmagrahaṇena maraṇabhayād ūttīrṇās** tad asmākam etāni ratnāni bhagavān gṛḥṇātu |.

For the other versions and more details, see, e.g., Ap II 430, stanzas 15–17ab (no. 486: Dhammaruci), Mvu(S) I 245.2–20, Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (ed. Dás/Vidyábhúshana 1888–1913), vol. II: 773–779, stanzas 1–27 (no. 89: Dharmarucyavadāna), the version narrated in the \*Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa as an explanation of the term \*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi, and other versions in Chinese translation as translated and described in Lamotte 1944 (*Le traité* I): 410–414 with detailed notes. For a study on these versions, see also Silk 2009: 116–124, 264–267 (notes).

In the *Apadāna*, the fish reacts after hearing the name Gotama. In the *Mahāvastu*, the Arhant Pūrņa flew to the merchants through the air and advised them to call to the Buddha after they tried it with Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skandha (read Skanda), Varuṇa, Yama, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa, Indra, Brahmā, and the deities of the ocean (*sumudradevatā*).

The accompanying inscription reads: timitimimgilakuchimh[ā] vasu[g]ut[o] m[o]cito mahādevenam, "Vasuguta (Skt. Vasugupta) rescued by Mahādeva from the belly of the sea-monster (timitimimgila)" (Lüders/Waldschmidt/Mehendale 1963: viiic [corrected reading] and 155–158, no. B 62, pls. XXI [eyecopy of the inscription] and XLVIII [impression]). The names are not found in the other versions of the tale. While in the Divyāvadāna and Apadāna, the Buddhist merchant has no name, he is called Thapakarṇi or Sthapakarṇika in the Mahāvastu. On Mahādeva see in particular Silk 2009: 121–124, 265–267 (notes).

The Bharhut medallion depicts a whale-like fish that contrary to the remarks in Silk (2009: 265–266, n. 26) differs from other representations of *makaras* on the same railing, especially in the shape of the eye, the missing ear-like shape, the missing forelegs, the missing elephant-trunk-like volute at the end of the gaping upper jar, and the remarkable presence of two water fountains issuing from the creature's upper jaw, on the latter of which cf. a description of the *timi* fish in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (quoted in Lamotte 1944 [*Le traité* I]: 412 n. 1). The depiction of the boats in this relief has been studied in Schlingloff 1982: 55–57 and 1988: 199–200.

E.g., in the commentary to Dhp 296–301 (Dhp-a III 455–460), where the call of *namo buddhassa* from a boy who was taken captive by two non-humans (*amanussa*) converted the evil one of them immediately into a friendly being. The commentary further explains that apart from the concentration on the Buddha, the concentration on the dharma, sangha, the body, non-injury (*ahimsā*), and mental practice (*bhāvanā*), as enumerated in Dhp 296–301, can protect one better than anything else.

Another tale found in the *Karmaśataka* and the Merv avadāna manuscript (Karashima/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015: 200–203) narrates how a man-eating demon ( $r\bar{a}k\bar{s}asa$ ) threatened five hundred merchants in the Vindhya mountains with a storm, but the merchants were rescued after they called out that they go to the Buddha for refuge.

sometimes an *e*-ending can represent normal nominative or accusative-singular endings, albeit this seems not typical for this manuscript.

12c) The comparison of the sangha with the ocean is well known from other texts. 322 The compound ganasangha ( $\sim \sim - \sim$ ) "assemblies of followers" might alternatively have ended in an o-vowel that then indicates a singular and would have to be pronounced as a light syllable in the meter. A small damage in the manuscript prevents the exact reading. Similarly as in the previous pāda, the significance of the -e ending in sagarasane ( $- \sim - \sim -$ ) is not absolutely certain (see p. 74, n. 165). Depending on one's understanding of the whole pāda, it might represent singular or plural. In the compound pradanajali ( $\sim - - \sim \times$ ), the last two akṣaras are uncertainly read and consists only of an attempt to make some sense out of the remnants (see p. 74, n. 166). The translation is likewise uncertain. "Gifts" and "folded hands" fit well together, but being combined in the same compound seems unusual, even though one might imagine that gifts are presented with folded hands. Since the lower ends of the akṣaras are incomplete, a tentative alternative reading might also be suggested, namely as k(r)itva prasanajali (Skt.  $krtv\bar{a} prasanna\bar{n}jalim$ ), or, if differently segmented, k(r)itva prasana 'jali or k(r)itva prasan(o) 'jali (Skt.  $krtv\bar{a} prasanna\bar{n}jalim$ ), or, if differently segmented, k(r)itva prasana 'jali or k(r)itva prasan(o) 'jali (Skt.  $krtv\bar{a} prasanna\bar{n}jalim$ ) "having trustfully folded [the/their] hands." The sentence probably continues into the next pāda that is unfortunately lost.

## 13. (r25-26) Ya

After mentioning the necessary deeds for gaining awakening, the remaining preserved portion of the stanza describes the yearned-for qualities of the state of nirvāṇa, although the word itself is not contained or preserved.

13a) The phrase "sacrifices were sacrificed" ( $yatha\ yaga-; ----$ ) goes back to an original equation of the Buddhist values of generosity and renunciation to Brahmanical concepts of sacrifice, as, for example, discussed in the  $K\bar{u}tadantasutta$  of the  $D\bar{t}ghanik\bar{a}ya$  ( $K\bar{u}tat\bar{a}ndyas\bar{u}tra$  of the  $D\bar{t}rghagama$ ). Frequently isolated from a distinct Brahmanical background, the expression is often found in the figurative sense in the context of former lifetimes of the Bodhisattva, especially when referring to his willingness to give away everything, including his family members, and it becomes thus synonymous with  $d\bar{a}na$  "giving" and  $ty\bar{a}ga$  "generosity" or "renunciation," on the latter of which see also pādas 4a, 32ac, and 40a. Various examples with yasta "sacrifice" and yajna "sacrifice" can be found in texts like the Lalitavistara. The term

<sup>322</sup> Cf., e.g., KN, Vv 64, stanza 44.24, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: eso hi saṅgho vipulo mahaggato □ es' appameyyo uddhīva sāgaro □ ete hi seṭṭhā naravīrasāvakā □ pabhaṅkarā dhammam udīrayanti; Mvu(S) II 41.11, meter Āryā: saṃghaṃ guṇasāgaram ahaṃ □ na drakṣyan tena rodāmi ||; Sum-av(I) 11.11-14, § 30, meter Vasantatilakā: sarvajña kāruṇika bho khalu sāṃprataṃ me □ saṃdarśanaṃ svayam ihāgamanaṃ kurusva | saṃghena sāgarasamena samaṃ jitāre □ āgāminīṃ prativasasva niśām atulyam ||. Cf. also Ratnākaraśānti's extensive commentary to Candragomin's Śiṣyalekha, stanza 8 (Hahn 1999: 145-146).

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 624, stanza 13.52, meter Pañcacāmara: *tyaktu pūrvi ratnakośa svarnarūpyabhūṣaṇā* 🗆 *yaṣ-tā ti yajña naikarūpa tāsu tāsu jātiṣū*, 🗆 *tyaktā ti bhāryaputradhīta kāyu rāj(y)u jīvitaṃ* 🗆 *bodhihetur aprameya tyaktu dustyajās tvayā*; L<sup>H6</sup> 70, stanza 15.88, meter Aṣṭijātīyā?: *eṣa sada kṣāntivādī chidyan-*

 $y\bar{a}ga$ , however, is comparably rare in such passages. <sup>324</sup> The word group **anega vivisa** ( $\sim - \sim -$ ; Skt. **aneka vividha**) also occurs in pādas 7a, 10a, 14a, 33a, and 36c in the same position.

For *prastaa* (---), two explanations may be considered. The word reminds of two similar forms in the Anavataptagāthās (Anav<sup>L</sup>), namely prast(e)si in pāda 3a, corresponding to Skt. aprārtthayam as found in a Turfan manuscript, and prastae in pāda 6b. Both forms have convincingly been explained as preterite of the first person, deriving from Skt. pra\arthay (BHS prārthayi and P patthesim, "I prayed;" Salomon 2008: 120). However, the noteworthy orthography with -st- for Skt. -rth- seems thus far peculiar to the scribe of that manuscript. Salomon (2008: 190-191) also refers to a study by Karashima (2001: 212-213), who suggested that in the two different readings in some Saddharmapundarīkasūtra manuscripts, namely sarve bodhāya prasthitāh and sarve bodhāya prārthitā as well as te prasthita agrabodhaye and prārthent' iha agrabodhim, originally Pkt. (p)paṭṭhenti was intended, which some scribes later "correctly" sanskritized to prārthita and prārthenti "longing for, striving for," while others interpreted them wrongly as prasthita "set out." Whether Karashima's interpretation really applies may still be a matter to decide, since, as Salomon already pointed out, both meanings would fit into the context, and when Karashima wrote his article, not so many digitized Buddhist Sanskrit texts were available, which would have supported the reading prasthita. For prastaa in BC 5, the meter seems to suggest a derivation from Skt. pra\sth\bar{a}, corresponding with

ta anga-m-ango □ na ca krodha naiva roşah sattvaparitrāyaṇārthaṃ, □ eşa sada vīryavanto avikhinna kalpakotyah □ samudānitā 'sya bodhir yastāś ca yajñakoṭīḥ; LH14 332, stanza 19.39, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: mārāḥ koṭisahasra'nekanayutā gangā yathā vālikā⟨ḥ⟩ □ te tubhyam na samartha bodhiviṭapāc cāletu kampetu vā, 🗆 yajñā naikavidhāḥ sahasranayutā gangā yathā vālikāḥ 🗆 yaṣṭās te caratā hitāya jagatas teneha vibhrājase; LH17 414.13-416.1, prose: atha bodhisattvo dhīragambhīrodāraślakṣṇamadhurayā vācā māram pāpīyāmsam etad avocat. tvayā tāvat pāpīyann ekena nirargadena yajñena kāmeśvaratvam prāptam. mayā tv anekāni yajñakoţīniyutaśatasahasrāni nirargaḍāni yastāni. karacarananavanottamāṇgāni ca {nikrtva} nikrtvārthibhyo dattāni. grhadhanadhānvaśavanavasanam caṇkramodyānāni cānekaśo yācanakebhyo nisṛṣṭāni sattvānām mokṣārthinā{m}; 416, stanza 21.87, meter Upajāti, referring to Māra's former deed: *yajāo mi yaṣṭas tvam ihātra sākṣī* □ *nirargaḍaḥ pūrvabhave* 'navadyaḥ, □ taveha sākṣī tu na kaścid asti □ kiṃcit pralāpena parājitas tvaṃ; L<sup>H18</sup> 78, stanza 21.188, meter Vasantatilakā: bāhuṃ prasārya yatha vidyud ivā nabhasthād □ ābhāṣate vasumatī-n-iya mahya sākṣī, □ citrā mi **yajñanayutān** api **yaṣṭa** pūrve □ na mi jātu yācanaka vandhya kṛtā na dāsye; stanza 21.191: yāvanti sattva nikhilā daśasū diśāsu 🗆 yas teşu puṇya bala śīla tathaiva jñānam, 🗆 **yajñā** nirargada (ya) yasta chatākalābhis □ te mahya roma śatimām kala nopayānti; L<sup>H20</sup> 240, stanza 23.22, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: mārā(h) koṭisahasra'nekanayutā gaṅgāṇubhih saṃmitāh □ te tubhyaṃ na samarthu bodhisuvaţā samcālitum kampitum, 🗆 yajñā koţisahasra'nekanayutā gangā yathā vālikā 🗆 yaşṭā bodhivaţāsritena (read bodhivaṭāśritena) bhavatā tenādya vibhrājase; LH23 128, stanza 25.35, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: şaşţi(r) yajñasahasrakoţinayutā ye tatra yaşţā mayā 🗆 şaşţir buddhasahasrakoţinayutā ye tatra saṃpūjitāḥ, □ paurāṇā-m-ṛṣiṇām ihālaya varo vārāṇasī nāma 'sau □ devānāga-m-abhistuto mahitalo dharmābhinimnah sadā; L<sup>H26</sup> 60, stanza 26.68, meter Anustubh: dharmadānapatih śāstā dharmasvāmī niruttaraḥ, □ su**yaṣṭayajña** siddhārthaḥ pūrṇāśaḥ siddhamangalaḥ.

In a passage of the *Itivuttaka* (Skt. *Itivrttaka*) two kinds of *yāga* are enumerated, "the sacrifice of material things" (P āmisayāga, Skt. āmiṣayāga, Chin. 財洞祀) and "the sacrifice of dharma" (P dhamma-yāga, Skt. dharmayāga, Chin. 法祠祀). These are synonymous with the more frequent terms "the gift of material things" (P āmisadāna, Skt. āmiṣadāna) and "the gift of dharma" (P dhammadāna, Skt. dharmadāna). See It 102.8–15, T. no. 765, vol. 17: 683c29, and Demoto 2016: 139–140 for the Sanskrit version that was discovered in the Bamiyan area, together with its parallels.

Skt.  $prasth\bar{a}ya$  "having set out," an absolutive that occurs only rarely in Sanskrit texts, <sup>325</sup> while the resemblance with the two forms in the London manuscript of the  $Anavataptag\bar{a}th\bar{a}s$  (Anav<sup>L</sup>) may be ignored due to the idiosyncrasy of its scribe. There are various examples for the verbal adjective prasthita with bodhi or the Bodhi tree in Buddhist texts. <sup>326</sup> On the other hand, combinations of  $pra\sqrt{arthay}$  with bodhi can likewise be found, although not always in the same texts, <sup>327</sup> and the meaning would similarly fit at this place in the poem of BC 5. When one favors a

For bodhi with saṃpra√sthā, cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 464, pāda 7.42d, meter Nārāca: bodhivara aśoka saṃprasthitāḥ kṣipra bhomo jināḥ; L<sup>H13</sup> 198.7–8, prose: īdṛṣyā gatyā bodhisattvo bodhimaṇḍaṃ saṃprasthito 'bhūt; L<sup>H20</sup> 256, pādas 23.48cd, meter Nārāca: eti balam anantatulyā bhavaṃ bodhisaṃprasthite □ daśabala baladhāri adyā punar bodhimaṇḍe bhuto; L<sup>H25</sup> 272, pāda 26.51b, meter Nārāca: maitrabala janitva saṃprasthitā agrabodhiṃ śivāṃ; Samādh(D) 506.11, pāda 35.33d, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: taṃ bhikṣuṃ abhichādayitva muditā bodhāya saṃprasthitāḥ.

Additionally, many examples for *samyaksaṃbodhi* or *pratyekabodhi* (-bodhau, -bodhaye, -bodhiṃ) with *saṃprasthita* can be found, e.g., in the AsP (e.g., AsP<sup>Sp</sup>, lines v5.38 and v5.48: *saṃmasaṃbosae prathida*-), *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, Gv, Saddhp, Saṃghāṭa(C), *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (AdsP, P<sup>K</sup>, Ś etc.), and Vkn. Especially noteworthy are the few occurrences of the absolutive *saṃprasthāya* in AsP 166.22–167.1 chapter VI: *sarvvasatvā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisamprasthitāḥ anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhim a(bh)isamprasthāya*-; 167.5–6: *sarvve 'nuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau samprasthitā bhaveyuḥ anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau samprasthāya*, and similarly with minor variations also in 168.6–7 and 168.11–12, as well as the Harivarman manuscript of the *Mahatī Prajñāpāramitā* (also named *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*), folio 456r2: *sa sarvasatvaparitrāṇārtham anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃmbodhau saṃprasthāyānupūrvakriyām ārabhate* (however, *sa khalu punar bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'nuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau saṃpratiṣṭhet sarvasattvānāṃ parinirvāṇārthāya so 'nupūrvakriyām ārabheta*- in P<sup>K</sup> VI–VIII: 1.29–31).

Cf., e.g., BC 2 (information kindly provided by Andrea Schlosser), line 438, pāda 3.5c, meter Jagatī: 
prarthata bosi vihola (read vihula) aņutara; Bodhisattvapiṭaka (transliterated by Fredrik Liland and 
Jens Braarvig), folio 14v2, meter Anuṣṭubh: prārthenta uttamaṃ bodhiṃ hitāya sarvaprāṇinām\*; 
14v4: prārthenta uttamāṃ bodhiṃ hitāya sarvaprāṇināṃ; 96v5: bodhi agra na prārthayā anyatra hīnadṛṣṭibhiḥ; 108r1, prose: sa tatra yāvad āyuḥ brahmacaryam acarad bodhiṃ prārthayamāṇaḥ; Gv 
58.6, pādas 10cd, meter Ārya: ye bodhi prārthayante □ samantabhadreṇa jñānena; 384.12, pādas 
15ab, meter Rathoddhatā: paśyami kvaci ca kṣetri nāyakān □ prārthayanta varabodhim uttamāṃ; LPG 
folio 276b13−14, prose: ye pratyekabodhiṃ prārthayaṃti tāṃ pratyekabodhau pratiṣṭhāpayati • ye 
⟨'⟩nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhiṃ prārthayaṃti teṣāṃ bodhimārgam ācaṣṭe upadiśati [...] (cf. also the 
edition in AdsP II 37.2−4; however, the corresponding passage in PK VI−VIII: 46.15−17 reads: ye pratyekabodhau sthāsyanti tān pratyekabodhau pratiṣṭhāpayati, ye 'nuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau sthāsyanti, teṣāṃ satpuruṣāṇāṃ bodhimārgam ākhyāti [...]); Mvu(S) I 58.5−6, prose: yatra mayā brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇaṃ āyatiṃ bodhiṃ prārthayamānena ca me te buddhā bhagavanto vyākarensuḥ; Mvu(M)

The corresponding Pali form *paṭṭḥāya* is by and largely confined to the use as an indeclinable following an ablative, with the meaning of "from, onward" etc.

For bodhi with pra√sthā; cf., e.g., L<sup>H12</sup> 128, pāda 18.30d, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: siṃhā haṃsagatir gajendragamano bodhidrumaṃ prasthitaḥ; L<sup>H13</sup> 204, pāda 19.1c, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: so 'yaṃ kalpasahasracīrṇacarito bodhidruma⟨m⟩ prasthitaḥ; L<sup>H22</sup> 50, pāda 24.106b, meter Jagatī: pūrvāśa-yaṃ jñātva ca bodhiprasthitau; Rgs(Y) X.6a, meter Vasantatilakā: em eva bodhivaraprasthitu veditavyo; XV.1b: adhyāśayena vara prasthita buddhabodhiṃ; XXII.2a: buddhā ya bodhivaraprasthita bodhisattvāḥ; XXII.12a: em eva bodhivaraprasthita ratnatulyo; XXIX.13a: em eva bodhivaraprasthitu bodhisattvo; Samādh(D) 257.8, pāda 17.147d, meter Jagatī: pañcaśatā bodhivarāya prasthitāḥ; 317.2, pādas 24.20ab, meter Anuṣtubh: kecid evaṃ pravakṣyanti vayaṃ bodhāya prasthitāḥ; 422.1, pādas 32.116ab: bahū evaṃ pravakṣyanti vayaṃ bodhāya prasthitāḥ; 466.14, pādas 33.37cd: prasthitā agrabodhīye yathā gaṅgāya vālikāḥ; 525.3, pāda 35.78c, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: dvāv etau vijahitvanā matidharā bodhāya ye prasthitāḥ.

derivation from  $pra\sqrt{arthay}$  in the light of these parallels, and some of them are indeed close to the context of this pāda, there remains the form prastaa (---) to be properly explained.

For the overall understanding of the stanza, it seems not really to matter, whether the verb  $pra\sqrt{arthay}$  "to long for, to strive for" or  $pra\sqrt{sth\bar{a}}$  "to set out" was utilized, but since the mental images these words evoke are different, it probably had a reason, why the one or other expression was preferred in the various text passages.

13c) This pāda contains an error (vyiṣi for vyaṣi; — ~; Skt. vyādhi "illness") and one word that is difficult to read. The difficult word might either be (A) kaṣe (~ -; Skt. kathaṃ), or (B) aṣe (Skt. atha), but only when the rightward projection of the first uncertain akṣara is ignored, or (C), together with another emendation of the first akṣara in the following word (apria to -vapria), -s taṣevapria (Skt. tathaiva-). In the first two interpretations, the presence of the faint e-vowel marker is difficult to explain, but on the other hand, -e endings occur sometimes in Gandhari manuscripts sporadically. If kaṣe represents Skt. kathaṃ "how?," a similar construction in the Dharmapada or Udānavarga comes to mind. If however, the first syllable reads sta, and the following word corresponds to Skt. tathā, or including another emendation, Skt. tathaiva "likewise," this would be indeed a remarkable case of a Sanskrit sandhi in this text, which is otherwise not attested in the preserved portion of the manuscript, and therefore doubtful. The word vyaṣi might also belong to a compound together with the following word maraṇo (~ ~ -; Skt. maraṇa) "death."

The pāda describes the ideal stage or place of nirvāṇa, which is characterized by the absence of all those things that consist of the first noble truth describing universal suffering, such as "aging" (jara;  $\sim$  -; Skt.  $jar\bar{a}$ ), "illness" ( $vya\bar{s}i$ ;  $-\sim$ ; Skt.  $vy\bar{a}dhi$ ), "death" (maraṇo;  $\sim$  -; Skt. maraṇa), "sorrow, sadness" (śoga; - -; Skt. śoka), and "something unpleasant" (apria, or to be

III 172.9, pāda b, meter Dodhaka: bodhim anuttara prārthayamānā; 308.9, pādas ab, meter Āryā: bodhim abhiprārthayatā prārthayamānena acyutam sthānam; 317.11, 13, 318.1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 319.2, 4, 6, pādas d, meter: mixture of Vaitālīya and Anuṣṭubh: bodhim prārthayatā anuttarām; Ratnolkādhāraṇī as quoted in Śikṣ 335.10, pādas cd, meter Dodhaka: dānu dadanti vicitram anekam prārthayamānu anuttaru bodhim; Samādh(D) 477.5–6, pādas 34.12cd, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: tyaktvāpi cātmānu na bhoti durmanāḥ pe bodhi prārthenti śivām aśokām; Saṅghabh II 133.15, pādas ab, meter Anuṣṭubh: bodhim prārthayamānena dānam deyam viśārada (Gilgit ms. folio 471v9: bodhi(m) prārthayamānena dānam deyam viśāradam\*); Vkn 82, 83, VII § 6, pādas 35cd, meter Anuṣṭubh: sarvamānasamudghātām podhim prārthenti uttamām (also quoted in Śikṣ 326.8: sarvamānasamudghātam bodhim prārthenti uttamām (also quoted in Śikṣ 326.8: sarvamānasamudghātam bodhim prārthenti uttamām); 42ab: bodhim na prārthayet ko 'gryām srutvā dharmān imān budhah.

Examples with *saṃbodhiṃ* or *saṃyaksaṃbodhiṃ* and *pra√arthay* can also be found, e.g., in the AdsP, AsP (once), *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, Mvu, and the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya.

The shape of the first akṣara can also be read as *e*. However, which word this might be, remains unclear. See also p. 75, n. 172 for these and more reading possibilities.

The stanzas (meter Anuṣṭubh) have, however, a different content. Cf., e.g.: Dhp 212: piyato jāyatī soko piyato jāyatī bhayam, 

piyato vippamuttassa n' atthi soko kuto bhayam; Dhp Patna 72: priyāto jāyate dukkham priyā śokā priyā bhayam | priyāto vipramuttassa nāsti śokā kato bhayam ||; Uv V.1: priyebhyo jāyate śokah priyebhyo jāyate bhayam | priyebhyo vipramuktānām nāsti śokah kuto bhayam ||. The same stanza is also found in Dhp 213, where piya "something pleasant" is replaced with pema "love," in Dhp 214 (Uv II.3) with rati "delight, lust," in Dhp 215 (Uv II.2) with kāma "sensual pleasure," and in Dhp 216 (cf. also Dhp Patna 140c–e and Uv III.11c–f) with taṇhā "craving, thirst."

read as apriya;  $- \sim \times$ ; Skt. apriya), which reminds of terms like "contact with unpleasant people or things" (Skt. apriyasamprayoga) from the first noble truth. "Birth" (Skt.  $j\bar{a}ti$ ) is here lacking in this enumeration, while "sorrow, sadness" (Skt. śoka) is normally absent from the wording of the first truth. Similar descriptions of nirvāṇa can also be found elsewhere. 330

### 14. (r27-28) Tha

The preserved pādas juxtapose common people, the destiny of whose, being "arrogant" and "inflamed with rage" ( $kroseṇa saṃsukṣita; -- - - - \times$ ; Skt. krodhena saṃdhukṣita) cannot be promising, to possibilities of salvation offered by the Buddha. Perhaps, the Buddha notices these people and then teaches the path, but no finite verb is preserved.

**14a)** The exact meaning of the word *thadha* (--; P *thaddha*; Skt. *stabdha*; BHS [*Lalitavistara*] *tabdha*) is not entirely clear since it comprises a range of different meanings including "paralyzed, immovable, obstructed, stubborn, stiff," and "proud." The word group *anega vivisa* is repeated several times in this poem (pādas 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a, 33a, and 36c), always in the same position before the caesura. For *saṃsukṣiṭa* ( $---\times$ ; Skt. *saṃdhukṣiṭa*) "inflamed," one might expect *saṃdhukṣiṭa*, but this is not what the scribe has written. Appearently, the pronunciation was not so clear.

**14c)** The interpretation of this pāda is only tentative, since its syntax is unclear, and as far as it is preserved, it lacks a verb, which may have stood at the end. Pāda 36a provides with *uvayakuṣalo margo śivo* ( $\sim - \sim \sim - - - \sim -$ ) a close parallel to *uvayakuṣalo margo śivo* ( $\simeq \sim \sim - - - - \sim -$ ; Skt. perhaps *upāyakuśalo mārgam śivaṃ*) in this pāda, <sup>331</sup> but unfortunately, it is likewise not entirely clear. The word *thaṇo* (- -; Skt. *sthāna*) "place, state, stage" can have several meanings (cf. BHSD s.v.), but for deducing its exact significance the missing words of the pāda or half stanza would be required. Perhaps it was meant as a synonym for *-viharo* ( $\sim - \sim$ ; Skt. *vihāra*).

Some texts mention  $maitr\bar{a}$  (or  $maitr\bar{i}$ ) "loving kindness" in close vicinity to  $up\bar{a}ya$  "means, expedients," but both terms are not part of a standard list of terms or stock phrase. <sup>332</sup> The path is

Cf. L<sup>H21</sup> 354, stanzas 24.51–52, meter Āryā: iha tan mayānubuddham 

¬ sarvaparapravādibhir yad aprāptam, 

¬ amṛtam lokahitārtham 

¬ jarāmaraṇaśokaduḥkhāntam. 

¬ yatra skandhair duḥkham 

¬ āyatanaih tṛṣṇasambhavam duḥkham, 

¬ bhūyo na codbhaviṣyaty 

¬ abhayapuram ihābhyupagato 'smi; 

RP 7.17–18, meter Rathoddhatā: yatra jātimaraṇā na vidyate 

¬ viprayoga na ca duḥkhasambhavaḥ | tam śivam padavaram hy asamskṛtam 

¬ deśitāsi karuṇām upetya hi ||; Sn 445, meter Anuṣṭubh: te appamattā pahitattā mama sāsanakārakā 

¬ akāmassa te gamissanti, yattha gantvā na socare (For pāda d, cf. also Uv VII.7–10d: yatra gatvā na śocati).

For the metrical representation of *uvaya* (≃ ~), cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 380, stanza 5.75, meter Rathoddhatā: *sar-va'pāyavara'bhijñakovidā* □ *darśayāsi cyuti-m-acyutiṃ cyutiṃ*, □ *lokadharmabhavanānuvartase* □ *no ca loki kvaci opalipyase*.

Gf. AsP 373.10–13 (chapter 20), prose: evam eva subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsatvaḥ sarvvasatvahitānukampī maitrīvihārī karuṇāvihārī muditāvihārī upekṣāvihārī upāyakauśalyena prajñāpāramitayā ca parigrhītaḥ [...]; L<sup>H14</sup> 340, stanza 19.50, meter Dodhaka: prajñabalam ca upāyabalam ca □ rddhis (?, so edition) asaṃgatamaitrabalaṃ ca, □ pratisaṃvida satyabalaṃ ca □ teṣa mi niṣpadi bheṣyati adya; L<sup>H20</sup> 256, stanza 23.48, meter Nārāca: bodhicarī (read metrically bodhicarī?) anantatulyā abhūd vīrya-

also elsewhere characterized as *śiva* "beneficial," or "blissful," <sup>333</sup> whereas otherwise, this word frequently describes awakening and nirvāṇa.

## 15. (r29-30) Ka

This stanza with its comparisons presents a well-known topic that can be found in many texts. All contained metaphors refer to something that is not real, not lasting, and lacking an essence. Depending on the topic of the respective text passage, these metaphors can refer to several things, most frequently, however, to sensual pleasures (kama; --; Skt.  $k\bar{a}ma$ ,  $k\bar{a}maguna$ ) as in this stanza, or to the body (e.g.,  $k\bar{a}ya$ ), or to all things that are generally believed to exist (dharma). Within the originally much longer list, the preserved comparisons are the following:

| agi              | _ 0   | Skt. <i>agni</i>    | "fire"               | 15a |
|------------------|-------|---------------------|----------------------|-----|
| triņuka          | J — J | Skt. <i>tṛṇolka</i> | "straw fire"         | 15a |
| ṇi(r)masaathi    |       | Skt. *nirmāṃsāsthi  | "bone without flesh" | 15a |
| pheṇa            | _ ~   | Skt. phena          | "foam"               | 15c |
| mariy(i)         | J — J | Skt. marīci         | "mirage"             | 15c |
| maya             |       | Skt. <i>māyā</i>    | "illusion"           | 15c |
| ita(ra)/itva(ra) | - ∨ × | Skt. itvara         | "transient"          | 15c |

For these metaphors, many parallels can be found in Buddhist texts, so that they do not need to be enumerated here.

**15a)** The syllable *thi* in ni(r) masaathis(ame) has to be read as heavy as required by the meter. Despite that this is found in the middle of a compound, it is also the end of a word and therefore conforms to the generally accepted metrical rules. Naturally, the ending in the reconstruction to s(ame) ( $\sim \times$ ; Skt. sama) "like" is uncertain.

sthāmodgatā 🗆 prajñābala **upāyamaitrā**balam brāhmapunyam balam, 🗆 eti balam anantatulyā bhavam bodhisamprasthite \( \precause da\( a\) da\( baladh\( a\) ri (read metrically \( baladh\( a\) ri?) ady\( \alpha \) punar bodhimande bhuto. Cf., e.g., Buddhac XI.50ab, meter Upajāti: tan nāsmi kāmān prati sampratāryah 🗆 kṣemam śivam mārgam anuprapannah; MAv(F) 9c.38, stanza 25ab, meter Jagatī/Upajāti: yam āha duḥkhopanayam sukhāvaham 🗆 mārgam sivam yātum ananyaneya(m); Mvu(S) II 319.17–10, meter Upajāti: athāpi buddho bhave dharmasvāmī □ sūnyā (read śūnyā) vimānā bhave devatānām □ deśeta mārgam śivaśāntikşemam □ na bhūya mahyam bhave īśvaratvam; Samādh(D) 558.5–8, stanza 57, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: te te matta pramatta sattva satatam drstvā pramāde sthitān 🗆 drstvā caiva pranasta-utpathagatān saṃsāramārge sthitān | teṣū **maitra janit**vudāra karuṇā muditāpy upekṣā sthitā 🗆 teṣāṃ **mārga**varam pradarśayi śivam astāngikam durdrśam; 559.5–8, stanza 61: te te 'dhipati sārthavāha vipadaḥ sattvāna trāṇārthikāḥ 🗆 dṛṣṭvā **sattva pramūḍha** mārgaratane sada mārapāśe sthitāḥ | teṣām mārgavaram prakāśayi śivam kṣemam sadā nirvṛtī □ yena jñānapathena nenti kuśalān bahu sattvako*ţīśatān*; Th 421, meter Anuṣṭubh: *mahāraso sugambhīro jarāmaccunivāraņo* □ *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* dukkhūpasamano sivo; 520, meter Jagatī: yadā sivam dvecaturangagāminam □ magguttamam sabbakilesasodhanam □ paññāya passitvā sato 'va jhāyati □ tato ratim paramataram na vindati; Uv XII.20cd, meter Jagatī: ya āryam astāngikam āñjasam śivam 🗆 bhāvayati mārgam hy amṛtasya prāptaye; XXXIII.56, meter Anuştubh: yeşām ca bhāvito mārgaḥ āryo hy aşṭāngikaḥ śivaḥ | sarvaduḥkhaprahānāya lokeşu brāhmaṇā hi te.

**15b)** In  $mariy\langle i \rangle$ , the scribe forgot the *i*-vowel marker. Due to the damage in the manuscript, the exact spelling of ita(ra) is not sure; an equally possible reading would be itva(ra). The terms phena,  $mar\bar{i}ci$ , and  $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  are often found in close vicinity to each other.<sup>334</sup>

# 16. (r31-32) Sa

The beginning of the stanza might express the idea that the Buddha, who himself is liberated, can liberate others. This motif if frequently found in Buddhist verses, mostly using verb forms of  $\sqrt{muc}$  "to free [oneself or others]," and  $\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$  "to cross over."<sup>335</sup> The stanza also contains, however, several uncertainties. Interestingly, two of the here-occurring expressions, namely *badhaṇe vipramute* ( $- \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ$ ; Skt. *bandhanair vipramukta*) "delivered from bonds" and *ragahaṭa kileṣ̄abahula* ( $- \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ - \circ$ ; Skt. *rāgahaṭa kleṣ́abahula*) "struck by desire [and] full of defilements" remind of terms representing the letters *Ba* and *Ha* in the alphabetic passage in the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara* (*bandhanamokṣa* "liberation from bonds" and *hatakleṣ́a-virāga* "without passion [due to] destroyed defilements").

16a) What has been read as *sarvai* (or *sarve*; —; Skt. *sarvaiḥ*), is characterized by an unusually shaped, additional flourish at the end of the second syllable *rve* (②). It is, however, far from certain that this really represents the vowel -ai, which would be rather remarkable in Kharoṣṭhī, and might alternatively be read as an -e with an unusual or unintentional flourish, perhaps due to a slip of the pen (see also p. 14–15 on the shape of long vowel markers in Kharoṣṭhī, and p. 75, n. 185). The manuscript of BC 5 contains a few examples, where an *e*-ending represents the instrumental plural, equivalent to Skt. -aiḥ (cf., e.g., the following word *badhaṇe* and *kame* in pāda 22a). The second word *badhaṇe* (— ~ ~) is usually ambiguous in Gandhari, since it can be

For Lalitavistara passages, see., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 338, stanza 4.5, meter Āryā: sarvam anitya kāmā adhruvam (read ~ ~ -) na ca śāśvatā supina kalpāḥ, amāyāmarīcisadṛśā vidyutphenopamā capalāḥ; 634, stanza 13.78, meter Toṭaka: kṣaṇikā vasikā (read vaśikā) imi kāmaguṇāḥ atatha māyamarīcisamā aliko, adakabudbudaphenasamā vitathā parikalpasamutthita buddha budhaih.

E.g., L<sup>H</sup> 380, stanza 5.74, meter Rathoddhatā: rddhipādavara'bhijñakovidā □ satyadarśi paramārthaśikṣitā, □ tīrṇa tārayasi anyaprāṇino □ dāśabhūta sugatā namo 'stu te; L<sup>H16</sup> 246, stanza 21.2, meter
Vasantatilakā: so 'ttīrṇa ātmana parān api tārayeyā(ṃ) □ moceṣyate sa ca parāṃ svayam eva muktaḥ, □ āśvāsaprāpta sa parān api cāśvaseyā □ nirvāpayiṣyati parāṃ api nirvṛtaś ca; L<sup>H18</sup> 66, pādas
21.163cd, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: eṣottīrṇa svayaṃ mamāpi viṣayāt tāreṣyate cāparāṃ □ nānyaṃ
mokṣa vademi kiṃci śramaṇe utthāya yat prakramet; L<sup>H20</sup> 232, stanza 23.3, meter Anuṣṭubh: uttīrṇapanko hy anighaḥ sthale tiṣṭhati gautamaḥ, □ anyāṃ sattvāṃ mahaughena prohyatas tārayiṣyasi; 234,
stanza 23.10: mokṣyante ca laghuṃ sarve chittvā vai kleśabandhanaṃ, □ yāsyanti nirupādānāḥ phalaprāptivaraṃ śubhaṃ; L<sup>H23</sup> 120–122, stanza 25.32, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: abhūc ca te pūrvabhaveṣv
iyaṃ matis □ tīrṇaḥ svayaṃ tārayitā bhaveyaṃ, □ asaṃśayaṃ pāragato 'si sāṃprataṃ □ satyām pratijñāṃ kuru satyavikrama(ḥ); L<sup>H26</sup> 62, stanza 26.69, meter Anuṣṭubh: āśvāsakaḥ kṣemadarśī śūro mahāraṇaṃjahaḥ, □ uttīrṇasarvasaṃgrāmo mukto mocayitā prajāḥ; RP 7.15–16, meter Rathoddhatā: tīrṇa
tārayasi satvakoṭiyo □ mukta mocayasi bandhanāj jagat | mārga darśayasi kṣema nirjvaraṃ □ yena
yānti sugatāḥ śivaṃ padam ||.

interpreted as Skt.  $b\bar{a}dhana$  "affliction," and bandhana "bond." <sup>336</sup> The latter, however, is frequently combined with a form of  $\sqrt{muc}$  (here *vipramuto*;  $- \sim - \sim$ ; Skt. *vipramukta* "delivered from") and is therefore most probably meant here.

The reading of the final syllables in this pāda is uncertain, because there is a knot beneath the line and some loss of the lower akṣara parts. The suggestion of  $amaada(r) \dot{sig}(o)$  ( $\sim \simeq \sim \sim \times$ ) is based on an attempt to arrive at a meaningful sentence, but it is metrically slightly irregular, and to explain amaa ( $\sim \simeq \sim$ ) as Skt. amrta "immortality" is phonetically also not unproblematic, apart from that one rather expects a finite verb than a compound. It is therefore possible that these syllables with their lost lower parts represent something entirely different. In this case, the meter could also be differently scanned, and instead of  $da(r)\dot{sig}(o \circ)$  ( $\sim \times$ ), one might read  $d(r)a\dot{si}$   $\circ$ ,  $t(r)ayi \circ$ ,  $-dayi \circ$ , or something else, the last sign, which has cautiously been read as g(o), could also be a punctuation mark.<sup>337</sup>

**16c)** Since the end of the pāda is not preserved, the tentative interpretation of saca (--) as Skt. satya "truth" remains uncertain. It is also not entirely clear whether the "beings" (satva; --; Skt. sattva) are the subject of the sentence (nom. pl.) or rather the object (acc. pl.) for  $drisvaṇa (-- \cdot;$  Skt.  $drstv\bar{a}$ ) "having seen, after seeing."

**16d)** It is not fully certain whether the small separate fragment really belongs at this place. In case it does, the pāda seems to start with *satvidro* (---; Skt. *sattvendra*) "the lord of sentient beings," which might refer to the Buddha. Theoretically, other interpretations are also possible, such as the name Indra, either as *sa tv idro* "he, Indra," or *satvidro* (Skt. *sattvendra*) as an abbreviation of *sattvānām indra* "lord of beings." However, the context does not point toward such a possibility. The



**Fig. 14** Separate fragment from glass frame 35, probably belonging to r32 (or r33).

reading of the akṣara dro is not entirely certain (see fig. 14 and p. 75, n. 189).

Without help from the meter, Skt. *baddhānāṃ* "of those who are bound" would also be an option. For Skt. *bādhana*, one would normally expect G \*basaṇa/\*baṣaṇa, but this does not exclude other possibilities.

For occurrences of the words bandhana, kleśa/kileśa, amṛta, rāga, sarva or tri in close vicinity to each other in the Lalitavistara, cf. LH13 206, stanza 19.5, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: yeṣām vā mati brahma-śakrabhavane dhyāne sukha(m) kṣepitum athavā sarvakileśabandhanalatām chettum hi tām jālinīm, aśrutvā paratah spṛśeyam amṛtam pratyekabodhim śivām buddhatvam yadi vepsitam tribhuvane pūjetu so nāyakam; LH15 30, stanza 20.7, meter Śārdūlavikrīdita: dharmāmegha sphuritva sarvatribhave vidyāvimuktiprabhah saddharmam ca virāga varṣi amṛtam nirvāṇasaṃprāpakam, sarvā rāgakileśabandhanalatām sāvāsanām chetsyate dhyānarddhībala-indriyaih kusumitah śraddhākaram dāsyate; LH21 352, stanza 24.44, meter Āryā: sarvabhavabandhanāni ca muktāni mayeha tāni sarvāṇi, prajñābalena nikhilās trividham iha vimokṣam āgamya.

#### 17. (r33–34) *Ma*

The first half of the stanza mentions the activities of the Bodhisattva in former lifetimes (for other pādas on this topic, cf. p. 63–64) with the details of it lost in the second pāda. The third pāda relates the victory over Māra, which is the condition for that, what the fourth pāda was about, possibly something related to teaching the dharma, or to nirvāṇa.

**17a)** Eseamaņa ( $- \circ \circ - \circ$ ; BHS eṣamāṇa, Skt. iṣyamāṇa) "pursuing" also occurs in pāda 24a in the same position of the meter, albeit in another context, and satvapravaro ( $- \circ \circ - \circ$ ; Skt. sattvapravara) "the most excellent of beings" is also found in pāda 29a at this place. If the last two syllables of jadiṣ(u) ( $- - \circ \circ - \circ \circ = \circ$ ; Skt. jātiṣu) "in lifetimes" are read as one heavy syllable, the missing word at the end of the pāda would consist of two instead of one syllable.

17b) There is a small possibility that the separate fragment that was tentatively assigned to line r32 (pāda 16d, **fig. 14**), actually might belong here instead. In this case, the akṣara that has been read as a punctuation mark, may be ma, with the first word being masa (-; Skt.  $m\bar{a}msa$ ) "flesh," possibly referring to the gift of the Bodhisattva's own body parts. Many parallels can be found for this topic, <sup>338</sup> but what makes this assumption less likely, is the large space between the alleged akṣaras ma and sa that is usually inserted after a punctuation mark, unless one assumes that the little hole in the bark was already there from the beginning and the scribe spared it by leaving a large space. Unfortunately, the few unambiguous akṣaras on the verso neither clearly support the one or the other placement of the fragment since they seem to fit at both places (lines v11 or v12, pādas 18b or 28c), and thus, the whole question cannot finally be solved.

17c) The name Namuyi ( $\sim$  -; P/Skt. Namuci; Tib., e.g., Grol med, Na mu tsi) is frequently found for Māra, especially in verses as Edgerton noticed (BHSD s.v. Namuci). Originally, Namuci is the name of a demon (asura) who is already known in Vedic texts, although the details around this figure are somewhat unclear in the oldest text passages. He is slain by Indra with the foam of water (e.g., Hillebrandt 1902/III: 255–259; Fowler 1942). The name, referring to somebody who "does not release or let go" ( $na \sqrt{muc}$ ) is symbolic, as interpreted most probably from a very early period onwards.<sup>339</sup>

**Dharşitva** (---; BHS *dharşitvā* in the *Lalitavistara*, Skt. *dharşayitvā*) "having overcome" also occurs in pāda 7a in the same position in the meter.<sup>340</sup>

In rukşutam(e) (----x; Skt. vrkşottama) "at" or "under the best of trees," namely the Bodhi tree, the akṣara kṣu has been written in a slightly unusual shape (see p. 13–14 on the shapes of the u-vowel marker, and p. 76, n. 191) and the alleged m. is seriously damaged. Therefore, alternative options may also be considered



**Fig. 15** *Rukşutam(e)* or *rukşamtava* (r34).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 378, stanza 5.66, meter Rathoddhatā: ātma**māṃsa** tulayitva te vibho □ so 'bhidattu priya-pakṣikāraṇāt, □ tasya dānacaritasya tat phalaṃ □ pretaloki labhi pānabhojanaṃ; L<sup>H21</sup> 354, stanza 24.54, meter Āryā: iha tan mayānubuddhaṃ □ yasyārthe kalpakoṭinayutāni, □ tyaktā ''tma**māṃsa**na-yanā □ ratnāni bahūny amṛtahetoḥ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Cf. Fowler 1942: 36, n. 4; and for Buddhist commentaries, see, e.g., Pj II, vol. 2: 386.23–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> For *Lalitavistara* parallels to *dharṣitvā* and other words in this pāda, see the notes to pāda 7a and 9c.

for reading and understanding it, such as *rukṣaṃtava* (Skt. \**rūkṣantapa*) "one whose austerities are severe" or "rigorous ascetic," which would, if this word really exists, refer to the Buddha. Depending on the exact meaning, the reconstructed ending of the compound might have been different. *Rukṣutam(e)* could perhaps also be interpreted as referring to Māra, "the most cruel" or "evil one" (Skt. \**rūkṣottama*, cf. also BHSD s.v. *rukṣa*), but this is not a commonly found epithet and for this reason this interpretation remains questionable. From the context in the pāda and some parallels with similar vocabulary, *rukṣutam(e)* (Skt. *vṛkṣottama*) "under the best of trees," written with a slightly unusual curve in *kṣu*, seems to be the best solution. <sup>341</sup>

#### 18. (r35–36) *Ga*

Events around the descent of the Bodhisattva from Tuṣita heaven in the shape of a white elephant and his birth are the topics of this stanza.

**18a)** The elephant is called "elephant king" (gayaraya;  $\simeq --$ ; Skt.  $gajar\bar{a}ja$ ), used here in a more general sense for an excellent elephant, and the Bodhisattva is already referred to as muni ( $\sim$  -; Skt. muni) "sage." The white color of the elephant is frequently mentioned in this context, but there is no mention of its six teeth or tusks (Skt. saddanta), nor of the red head or the right or left side of the mother, through which the elephant enters into her womb. In many texts, these details are described within a dream of Māyā.  $^{342}$ 

Gf. especially L<sup>H</sup> 586, stanza 12.31, meter Vasantatilakā: eṣo drumendrapravare mahaduṣṭamallaṃ □ māraṃ sasainyu sabalaṃ sahayaṃ dhvajāgre, □ maitrībalena vinihatya hi kṛṣṇabandhūn □ yāvat pṛṣiṣyati (read pṛṣiṣyati) anuttarabodhi śāntaṃ; L<sup>H20</sup> 254, stanza 23.46, meter Nārāca: askhalitā anavadyā sadā susthitā merukalpā mune □ daśadiśi suvighuṣṭa jñānaprabhā puṇyatejānvitā, □ buddha{ḥ}-śata ananta saṃpūjitā pūrvi tubhyaṃ mune □ tasya viśeṣu yena bodhidrume mārasenā jitā; L<sup>H24</sup> 198, stanza 26.20, meter unknown: tvaya dharṣitu māru sasainyu drumendri sthihitva mune □ varabodhi vibuddha suśānti nipātita kleśadrumāḥ, □ abhiprāya ⟨prapūrṇa⟩ aśeṣa ya cintita kalpaśatāḥ □ janatāṃ prasamīkṣya anāyika vartaya cakravaraṃ.

Cf., e.g., Abhidh-k-bh(P) 124.3-4, prose: yat tarhi mātā bodhisattvasya svapne gajapotam pāndaram kukşim praviśantam adrākşīt |; 124.9–10 (citing a poetical work called Dharmasūtravibhāsya, Tib. Chos Idan rab 'byor, apparently the name of the author; \*Dhārmikasubhūti?]), meter Rathoddhatā: vāraṇa tvam upagamya pāṇḍaraṃ 🗆 ṣaḍviṣāṇaruciraṃ catuṣkramam | mātṛgarbhaśayanaṃ viśeṣasaṃ 🗆 prajānan rṣir āśramam yathā- ||; Buddhac I.4 (Derge Tanjur no. 4156, sKyes rabs Ge 2a1-2; original Sanskrit not preserved): mnal dan ñe bar ldan pa ñid kyi snon rol du || de ni gñid son glan po'i dban po dkar po źig | ran ñid la ni rab tu źugs sogs mthon gyur la || de yi mtshan ma ñam thag pa nas thob ma yin ||; Saund II.50, meter Anuştubh: svapne 'tha samaye garbham āviśantam dadarśa sā | saddantam vāraņam śvetam airāvatam ivaujasā //; Mvu(S) I 205.2–3 and II 8.17–18, meter Puspitāgrā: himarajatanibho se/me sadvisāņo 🗆 sucaraṇacārubhujo suraktaśīrṣo | udaram upagato gajapradhāno 🗆 lalitagatih anavadyagātrasandhih || (similar in LH 386.10-13); I 207.7-8 and II 11.18-12.2, meter Āryā with irregularities: so yam mahānubhāvo 🗆 smṛtimām tuṣitabhavanāc/tuṣitabhavanā cyavitvāna | pāṇdaravarāhakanibho □ bhavitva gajarūpi saddanto || vīraśayane śayantiye □ poṣadhikāye viśuddhavasanāye | smṛto saṃprajāno (or: smṛtasaṃprajāna-) kuśalo 🗆 mātuḥ **kukṣismiṃ okrāntaḥ/okrānto** || sā ca rajanīprabhāte 🗆 ākhyāsi bhartuno manāpasya | rājavara pāṇḍaro me 🗆 gajarājā/gajarājo kukşim okrānto ||; II 12.15–16: [supinaṃ pi śākiyānī □ ākhyāsi bhartuno manāpasya | śveto gajanātho me □ kukşim bhettvāna okrānto ||]; II 298.6-7, meter unknown: tuṣite bhavane divya otaritvā □ himasamo nāgo bhavitva ṣadviṣāṇo | rājño agramahiṣīṃ praviṣṭo kukṣiṃ □ tato trisāhasra prakampe loka-

The pada contains two irregularities or errors. The first one concerns the spelling suci (~ ~; Skt. śuci), which, when it is translated as "shining" or "glowing" might be compared with those visual depictions from Gandhāra that show the elephant in front of a round disk symbolizing the halo. The word can, however, also simply mean "pure" or be a synonym for "white." Skt. śuci is usually represented as suyi in Gandhari (e.g., in DhpK, DhpSp and NirdL2), while suci is found in the Sanskrit Kharosthī document no. 511 from Niya (Boyer/Rapson/Senart/Noble 1920-29, vol. II: 185–187, pāda 2c). Since in BC 5 the expected spelling would rather be suēi, the form suci might be a scribal error, unless one assumes that a Sanskrit spelling was intended. Even though a stronger Sanskrit influence is noticeable in BC 5 than in other manuscripts from the Bajaur collection, such an orthography seems nevertheless atypical for the poem. The second inconsistency in this pada concerns the word vano (~ -; P vanna, Skt. varna) in padaravano (~ ~ ~ ~ −; Skt. pāṇḍaravarṇa) "white-colored." Although it hardly leaves any doubts about the meaning due to the many existing parallels for this topic, it is simply wrong in this part of the meter, as it would scan correctly  $- \circ \circ - -$ . This seems to be a rather extreme case of "metrical license" and was probably not much approved by the audience. A similar kind of error is also found in a Śārdūlavikrīdita pāda in BC 8 (see p. 52–53, n. 85–86). In these rare cases, the metrical framework appears to have less priority than the author's fixation on particular words. One might wonder whether this hints at the author's inexperience that might also be indicated by the many repetitions of certain word patterns.

dhātu ||; L<sup>H</sup> 348, stanza 5.1, meter Āryā: gajavaramahāpramāṇah □ saddanto hemajālasaṃchannah, □ surucira suraktaśīrṣaḥ □ sphaṭikagalitarūpavān śrīmān; 386.5–13 (chapter 6), prose: [...] mātuḥ puṣyanakşatrayogena bodhisattvas tuşitavarabhavanāc cyutvā smṛtah saṃprajānan pāṇḍuro gajapoto bhūtvā saddanta indragopakaśirāh suvarņarājīdantah sarvāngapratyango 'hīnendriyo jananyā dakṣināyām kuksāv avakrāmad, avakrāntas ca sa daksināvacaro 'bhūn na jātu vāmāvacarah. māyā ca devī sukhaśavanaprasuptā imam svapnam apaśvat; stanza 6.1, meter Puspitāgrā: himarajatanibhaś ca sadviṣāṇah 🗆 sucaraṇa cārubhujaḥ suraktaśīrṣaḥ, 🗅 udaram upagato gajapradhāno 🗅 lalitagatir dṛḍhavajragātrasamdhih (similar in Mvu(S) I 205.2-3 and II 8.17-18); LH 388-390, stanzas 6.6 and 6.10, meter Mālinī: himarajatanikāśaś candrasūryātirekah u sucaraņa suvibhaktah sadvisāņo mahātmā, u gajavaru drdhasamdhir vajrakalpah surūpah 🗆 udari mama pravistas tasya hetum śrnusva/śrnotha; Sanghabhedavastu, Gilgit manuscript, folio 362r8–9, prose: tathā hi mahāmāyā catura(h) svapnān paśyati (|) saddanto me śveto hastināgah kukṣi (m) bhitvā praviṣṭah (|) upari (vi)hāyasā gacch(ā)mi (/) mahāśailaparvatam abhiruhāmi (/) mahājanakāyo me praṇāmaṃ karotīti / (cf. also Saṅghabh I 40.15–18); Śākyasiṃhajātaka 151.15–21 (ed. Hahn 2007), stanza 2 (meter Vasantatilakā) and prose: kṛtvā himādridhavalam guruṣadviṣāṇam 🗆 dānādhivāsitamukham dviradasya rūpam | śuddhodanasya vasudhādhipater mahişyāḥ 🗆 kukṣim viveśa sa jagadvyasanakṣayāya || atha devī mahāmāyā rājñe tam svapnam nivedavāmāsa | deva svapne kila mamādva **śaradambudharāvadātah** saddanto **gajendro** dakşinam kukşim bhittvodaram pravişta iti |.

Ideas that the term *ṣaḍdanta* might originally have meant something else than "six-tusked," such as "someone who has tamed the six [senses including the mind]" (Speyer 1903), or "possessing two tusks and four teeth" (Janert 1977) are not generally accepted (see Schlingloff 2000/2013, vol. 1: 135). Be it as it might be, while depictions of the *Ṣaḍdantajātaka* show the six tusks from an early date onwards, e.g., in Bharhut, the earliest representations of the Bodhisattva's descent from the Tuṣita heaven in the shape of an elephant clearly lack this characteristic mark. On an inscription from Bharhut reading *bhagavato ūkraṃti*, as well as on the right side of the mother, see, e.g., Lüders/Waldschmidt/Mehendale 1963: 88–92, and Schlingloff 2000/2013, vol. 1: 311–312.



**Fig. 16** The nocturnal descent of the Bodhisattva from Tuṣita heaven in the shape of a white elephant has been frequently depicted in Gandhāra. Most reliefs show a halo-like disc behind the elephant. Detail from a relief slab of a small stūpa from Loriyan Tangai (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Indian Museum, Kolkata. The right female attendant, portions of the right pillar next to the bed, and of the adjacent roof structure including the bird were originally lost, as it is revealed on old photographs. These parts have here been reconstructed (courtesy of the Indian Museum, Kolkata; photograph by the author).

**18b)** The context of the word *gatva* (--; Skt. *gatvā*) "having gone" is not clear, whether it refers to the Bodhisattva and his seven steps, or to his mother, who went to the garden in Lumbinī.

**18c)** The syntax of this relative sentence is dictated by the meter. There are a few somewhat similar examples found in other Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas in the *Lalitavistara* and in stanzas of other meters in other works (see p. 45 and n. 65). Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear whether or how the pāda is linked to the fourth pāda. Usually, the gods celebrate the event and scatter flowers or wave garments; the earth quakes and is full of light; heavenly music can be heard and heavenly scent is scattered. A white parasol and precious flywhisks (Skt. *cāmara*) appear in the air. All this can be found in the *Lalitavistara* and other texts (cf. also BC 8, pāda 2a).

Not much remains of the word med(i)n(i) ( $- \sim \times$ ; Skt.  $medin\bar{\imath}$ ) "earth" at the end of this pāda, the reading of which is not sure. It occurs, however, many times in a similar context in other Sanskrit texts.

**18d)** Similarly to pāda 18b, the context is not known, but it is tempting to see in one of them a reference to the first seven steps (*sapta padāni*) of the Bodhisattva and his first words. <sup>343</sup>

For passages on the seven steps containing gati or forms of √gam, cf., e.g., Buddhac I.14–15, meter Upajāti: anākulāny ubjasamudgatāni □ niṣpeṣavadvyāyatavikramāṇi | tathaiva dhīrāṇi padāni sapta □ saptarṣitārāsadṛśo jagāma || bodhāya jāto 'smi jagaddhitārtham □ antyā bhavotpattir iyaṃ mameti |

Otherwise, the word **gaţi** ( $\simeq \simeq$ ; Skt. gati) can have different meanings, including "gait," e.g., like a lion (siṃha) or a wild goose (haṃsa), "the manner of going," e.g., proceeding like the buddhas of the past, "destiny," in the sense of a path to a state of existence or a possible form of rebirth, or "understanding," especially in the compound gatiṃgata (BHSD s.v.).

#### 19. (r37-38) Tha

When the preceding stanza really refers to the first seven steps, it is quite possible to see a connection to this one. According to the usual course of events, the Bodhisattva speaks his first words, vowing that he will reach his goal and rescue other living beings from suffering. It is thus not surprising that parallels for the expression muci [...] gira (-- [...]  $\sim \times$ ) "raised [his] voice" in pāda 19a occurred already in the examples quoted in note 343 above. However, this stanza contains none of the standard phrases or a direct parallel to the first sentences spoken by the Bodhisattva. It nonetheless seems to present the basic idea, but in different words. <sup>344</sup> It cannot finally be decided, whether it was really meant as a continuing narration, or whether it was only inspired by the parallels of the preceding stanza, but was in fact intended to be more general. Similar phrases can, for example, also be found in another passage in the *Lalitavistara* from within the speech of the Bodhisattva to Chandaka in the episode on the renunciation (abhiniṣkra-mana). <sup>345</sup>

caturdiśam simhagatir vilokya □ vāṇīṃ ca bhavyārthakarīm uvāca ||; L<sup>H</sup> 460, pādas 7.32ab, meter Anuṣṭubh: yadā saptapadām gatvā brahmasvaram udāhari(ṃ); L<sup>H24</sup> 192, stanza 26.8, meter Āryā: yo simhavikramagatiḥ □ saptapadām vikramī asaṃmūḍhaḥ, □ brahmasvarām atha giraṃ □ pramumoca jagaty ahaṃ śreṣṭhaḥ; RP 55.3–4, meter Śakvarī (--- □ □ □ □ □ □ □ ×; on this meter, cf. Hokazono 2017: 192, no. 21): jātiṃ saṃdarśayase kvacid bhavān diśatāsu □ gacchan sapta padāni dṛśyase kvacid urvyām | jyeṣṭho 'haṃ sanarāmare jage atidevo □ mociṣye jaga duḥkhasāgarād gira muñcan ||; Śākyasiṃhajātaka (ed. Hahn 2007: 152), stanza 6, meter Vasantatilakā: saṃsthāpito balabhidā jagadekanātho □ dhīraḥ krameṇa bhuvi saptapadāni gatvā | atyadbhutāṃ giram imāṃ nijagāda śāntāṃ □ janmedam antyam iti me tamasām abhāvāt ||.—On the words girāṃ muñcati, cf. the following stanza of BC 5.

Cf. the preceding note 343, and, e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 460, stanzas 7.30–33, meter Anuṣṭubh: kṣipanti marutaḥ puṣpaṃ jāte 'smin naranāyake, □ krama saptapadāṃ vīraḥ kramate balavīryavān. □ pādau nikṣipate yatra
bhūmau padmavarāḥ śubhāḥ, □ abhyudgacchan tato mahyāṃ sarvaratnavibhūṣitāḥ. □ yadā saptapadāṃ gatvā brahmasvaram udāhari(ṃ), □ jarāmaraṇanirghātī bhiṣagvara ivodgataḥ. Meter: irregular
Upajāti/Jagatī: vyavalokayitvā ca viśārado diśāṃ □ tato girāṃ muñcati arthayuktāṃ, □ jyeṣṭho 'haṃ
sarvalokasya śreṣṭho lokavināyakaḥ □ iyaṃ ca jātir mama paścimā iti.

For other passages on the first words of the Bodhisattva, see below, n. 397 and 399.

LH4 70, stanza 15.47, meter Daṇḍaka: api ca imu jagam apekṣāmy aham chandakā duḥkhitam śoka-kāntārasaṃsāramadhye sthitam kleśavyāḍākule uhyamānam sadā, □ aśaraṇam aparāyaṇam moha-vidyāndhakāre jarāvyādhimṛtyor bhayaiḥ pīḍitam janmaduḥkhaiḥ samabhyāhatam vyāhatam śatru-bhiḥ, □ aham iha samudāniyā dharmanāvam mahātyāgaśīlavratakṣāntivīryābalān dārusambhāra saṃ-ghātitām sāra-m-adhyāśayair vajrakaiḥ saṃgṛhītā⟨m⟩ dṛḍhā⟨m⟩, □ svayam aham abhiruhya nāvām imām ātmānottīrya saṃsāra-oghād ahaṃ tārayiṣye anantam jagat śokasaṃsārakāntāraroṣormirāga-grahāvartavairākule dustare, eva cittaṃ mama; stanza 15.48, meter Vaṃśastha: tad ātmanottīrya idaṃ bhavārṇavaṃ □ savairadṛṣṭigrahakleśarākṣasaṃ, □ svayaṃ taritvā ca anantakaṃ jagat □ sthale sthapeṣye ajarāmare śive.

19a) Even though it is not explicitly mentioned, the emphasis on strength (*thamo viryabalo*; Skt. *sthāman* and *vīryabala*) in vicinity to raising one's voice evokes the image of a lion, which is frequently compared with the Buddha or Bodhisattva, proclaiming the dharma. The idea is also expressed in pādas 6a, 8a and 29a in this poem, and it is omnipresent in other Buddhist texts as well. Either this pāda alludes to the teaching of the dharma in general, possibly serving as the condition for the content related in the other pādas, or, it represents the introduction to the first words of the Bodhisattva (cf., e.g., *vīraḥ kramate balavīryavān* in pādas 7.30cd of the *Lalitavistara*, as quoted in note 344).

**19b)** Thane (--) might be locative singular (Skt.  $sth\bar{a}ne$ ) "in a stage," or instrumental plural (Skt.  $sth\bar{a}naih$ ). Its exact meaning is indeterminate due to the incompleteness of the pāda.

**19c)** The endings of all the words in this pāda may be understood as nominative or accusative plural. The sentence probably continues in the next pāda. Instead of **thaara** (- = :: Skt. **sthāvara**) "stationary, immovable," one might perhaps better read **tha(i)ra** (= :: Skt. **sthavira**) "old," since the *a* or *i* has been damaged in the middle part, and a small piece of a layer belonging to the verso of the folio covers exactly that part, where theoretically an *i*-vowel marker could have been attached. The word probably represents another synonym for "old," fitting into the list of related

The quasi-synonymous words sthāman, vīrya, and bala occur frequently together, and in all kinds of combinations. Cf., e.g., Mvu(S) II 91.5–8, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: śrnotha vīryam purusottamasya u balam ca sthāmam ca parākramam ca | vam mānavo pi purimāsu jātisu □ etasva arthe avatīrno sāgaram //; Mvu(M) III 43.5–6, prose: tato so vīryavanto, tena dāni mahābalasthāma samjanitvā tam dāruskandham nadīve gamgāve ovuhvantam sthalam okaddhitam; Saddhp 211.15–312.4, prose: ime ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvā [...] tathāgatadharmāṇām āścaryādbhutā lokasya mahā**vīryabalasthāma**prāptāḥ; Sāgaramatisūtra as quoted in Śiks 184.9–185.4, prose: iha sāgaramate bodhisatvo mahāsatvah [...] balam upadarśayati | sthāma samjanayati | vīryam ārabhate | parākramam parākramate | utsāham janayati [...]; Samādh(D) 401, stanza 31.25, meter unknown: smṛtimantah gatimantah prajñāvān dhṛtimāṃś ca 🗆 **sthāmnā vīryabalena** so sadā samupetah | dharmapārami prāptu bheṣyati mahatejā □ yaḥ śrutvā [imu] sūtra dhārayet kṣayakāle ||; Sanghabh II 7.18–20 (Gilgit manuscript 426v9): atha kāśisundaraḥ kumāraḥ maṇḍānupūrvīṃ (ms. kumāra maṇḍanānupūrvīṃ) kṛtvā kāyasya **sthāma** ca **balam** ca **vīryam** ca **sañjanya** vārānasyā<mark>h</mark> (ms. vārānasyām) ca nişkramya ṛṣīṇām madhye pravrajitah; II 222.5–8 (Gilgit manuscript 505r4–5): nāsti balam; nāsti vīrvam; nāsti balavīrvam; nāsti purusakārah (ms. purusakāro); nāsti parākramah (ms. parākrama); nāsti purusakāraparākramah; nāsty ātmakārah (ms. ātmakāro); na parakārah; anātmakāraparakārāh (ms. anātmakārāparakārām sarve kāraparaparakārāḥ); sarve bhūtāḥ (ms. bhūtā) asthāmā abalā avaśā avīryā aparākramāḥ [...] (similar, but with a few variants, also in the *Pravrajyāvastu* [folios 9v10–10r1, ed. Vogel/Wille 1984: 306] and in the Rājasūtra [no. 44] of the Dīrghāgama manuscript belonging to the [Mūla-]Sārvāstivādins, folio 438r7-8).

In some Pali commentaries (see, e.g., Norman 1997b: 163 [2006: 214–215]), *thāvara* "unmoving, inanimate, standing still" is interpreted as denoting the arhants without cravings in contrast to all other "moving" beings (P *tasa*, Skt. *trasa*), but this has most probably no significance for this pāda.

adjectives *jirṇa jarabhibhuṭa duhiṭa*  $(- \circ \circ - \circ - \circ \circ \circ -)$  "elderly, overpowered by age [and] pained." On the phrase *mohadhagare ṭhi(ṭa)*  $(- - \circ - - \circ \times)$  "[they] stay" or "staying in the darkness of delusion," a parallel from the *Lalitavistara* may be compared (see n. 345).

**19d)** Thale kṣeme ( $\simeq --$ ) "in a tranquil place" refers to nirvāṇa or liberation, like a safe haven, presented here as the opposite of the painful existence described in the preceding pāda. 348

# 20. (r39-40) Ja

**20a)** There is a slight possibility that śoga ghrasiţi  $(- \circ \circ \circ -; Skt. śoko grasati)$  "sorrow consumes" should be emended to śogaghrasiţa (Skt. śokagrasta or śokagrasta) "consumed by sorrow" in comparison to taṣ̄aghrasida (Skt. tṛṣṇāgrasta) in pāda 28c and possibly vyasighrasida) (Skt. vyādhigrasta; or read vyasi ghrasa(di)?) in pāda 39c, ghrasita/ghrasida being always at the same position in the meter. Without the remaining part of the second pāda, however, which would reveal whether or how the sentence continues, this cannot be decided. According to some texts, the "two kinds of pain" (duhi dukhah(i);  $\circ -- \circ \times$ ; instr. pl.; Skt. dvābhyāṃ duḥkhābhyāṃ) are those concerning the body and those concerning the mind. The \*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa, for example, refers additionally to inner and outer sufferings. The \*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa, for example, refers additionally to inner and outer sufferings.

In *jaravyasimaranena* ( $\simeq \sim - \sim \sim - \sim$ ; Skt. *jarāvyādhimaranena*) "with old age, illness and death," the syllable *si* has to be read as metrically heavy.

Cf., e.g., Abhis-Dh(K) §62.1: bhagavān samyaksambuddho [...] prāṇikoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi amṛtam anuprāpayanto, anavarāgrajātijarāmaraṇasaṃsārakāntāranarakavidurggān\* mahāprapātato abhyuddharitvā kṣeme same śive sthale abhaye nirvvāṇe pratiṣṭhāpayamāno, [...] (almost the same also in BhīVin[Mā-L] §1); Mvu(S) I 34.1–9, prose: bhagavān samyaksaṃbuddho [...] prāṇasahasrāṇi amṛtam anuprāpayanto anavarāgrajātijarāmaraṇasaṃsārakāntāranarakādidurgasaṃsārakāntāragrahaṇadāruṇāto mahāprapātāto uddharitvā kṣeme sthale śame śive abhaye nirvāṇe pratiṣṭhāpayanto [...]; Mvu(M) III 450.1–4, prose: bhagavatā pañcakā bhadravargīyā (')nyatīrthikasaṃśritā dāruṇe dṛṣṭioghe vuhyamānā, tato dṛṣṭigateṣu vinivartayitvā bhayabhairavāto sansārasāgarāto uddharitvā kṣeme sthale śive śame abhaye nirvāṇe pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ.

The two kinds of suffering are usually physical and mental. Cf., e.g. G *due dukha* in BC 11, part 2r, line 11r6 (Schlosser 2020: 122–123, 191), or Saund VIII.3, meter Viyoginī: *dvividhā* samudeti **vedanā** □ niyatam **cetasi deha** eva ca | śrutavidhyupacārakovidā □ dvividhā eva tayoś cikitsakāħ ||.

Lamotte 1970 (*Le traité* III): 1174: "Il y a deux sortes de douleurs (*duḥkha*) : la douleur interne et la douleur externe.

a. La douleur interne (ādhyātmika duḥkha) est de deux sortes : douleur corporelle (kāyika duḥkha) et douleur mentale (caitasika duḥkha). — La douleur corporelle, ce sont les quatre cent quatre maladies (vyādhi), maux corporels (kāyavyādhi), maux de tête (śirovyādhi), etc. : c'est cela la douleur corporelle. — La douleur mentale, c'est le chagrin (daurmanasya), la tristesse (śoka), la haine (dveṣa), la crainte (bhaya), la jalousie (īrṣyā), le doute (vicikitsā), etc. : c'est cela la douleur mentale. Ces deux douleurs réunies sont la douleur interne.

b. La douleur externe (bāhyaduḥkha) est de deux sortes : 1. Le roi (rājan), l'ennemi victorieux (vijetṛ), le méchant voleur (caura), le lion (siṃha), le tigre (vyāghra), le loup (vṛka), le serpent (sarpa) et autres nuisances (viheṭhana); 2. Le vent (vāta), la pluie (vṛṣṭi), le froid (śīta), le chaud (uṣṇa), le tonnerre (meghagarjita), l'eclair (vidyut), les coups de foudre, etc. : ces deux sortes de douleurs sont la douleur externe."

**20b)** The syllable after sa is still partially preserved, but without more context, it cannot be read with certainty (see p. 76, n. 210), nor is it clear, whether or not the word starting with sa is joined with jadi (-; Skt.  $j\bar{a}ti$ ) "lifetime, birth" in a compound.

**20d)** Theoretically,  $dhy\bar{a}na$  (G  $\bar{j}ana$ ) "meditation," represents one of the six perfections ( $p\bar{a}ramit\bar{a}$ ) a bodhisattva practices in his countless lifetimes, the most important one of which is  $d\bar{a}na$  "generosity," which was referred to in the preceding pāda. Whether the word was really meant to be understood in the context of these perfections, is unclear, unless more fragments of the damaged portion of the scroll surface. The form  $\bar{j}ane$  (--) seems to be a locative singular, but it also might represent an instrumental plural (Skt.  $dhy\bar{a}naih$ ), similarly to thane (--) in pāda 19b. The following word starting with pra is unknown.

# 21. (r41–43) *Śpa*

The initial word of the first three pādas is  $\acute{spahu}$  (--), supposedly representing Skt.  $sv\bar{a}du$  (P  $s\bar{a}du$ ) "sweet," although the change of -d- to -h- cannot easily be explained. In other texts from the Bajaur collection, a word spelled  $\acute{spahu}$  or  $\acute{spaho}$  has been explained as Skt. svayam "oneself," but this does not seem to make sense here, nor would it correspond to the meter. The verses speak of rasa (P/Skt. rasa), which can either mean "taste," or "juice" (e.g., ambrosia). It might

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 628, pāda 13.63c, meter Pañcacāmara: mahāpradīpa **ātmatyāgi** bhūṣaṇe padmottaro (Ātmatyāgin and Padmottara as names of past buddhas); Mil 280.26–30: evam eva kho mahārāja vessantaro dānapati adhano buddhadhanena sabbaññutaratanapaṭilābhāya yācakānaṃ dhanadhaññaṃ dāsidāsaṃ yānavāhanaṃ sakalaṃ sāpateyyaṃ sakaṃ puttadāraṃ attānañ ca cajitvā sammāsambodhiṃ yeva pariyesati; Mvu(M) III 452.5–6, meter: a kind of Āryā with irrregularities: yaṃ nūnāhaṃ tyajeyaṃ □ ātmānaṃ mā vāṇijakā sāgare vinasyante (read vinaśyante) | iti dṛḍhamatisya buddhi □ cittacaritapāramigatasya ||; 452.9–10: so avaca vāṇijagaṇaṃ □ ātmānaṃ tyajiṣyāmi śliṣyatha mamāṃge | na hi lavaṇasaliladevata □ dhareti rajaniṃ mṛtaśarīraṃ ||.—Cf. also terms like ātmaparityāga.

On (satva)ņa mokṣarthio, cf. a prose passage in the Lalitavistara (LH17 414.14—416.1), where it occurs in a similar context. Here, the Buddha contrasts the one sacrifice by Māra with his own countless sacrifices (= gifts): tvayā tāvat pāpīyann ekena nirargadena yajñena kāmeśvaratvam prāptam. mayā tv anekāni yajñakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi nirargadāni yaṣṭāni. karacaraṇanayanottamāṅgāni ca {nikṛtya} nikṛtyārthibhyo dattāni. gṛhadhanadhānyaśayanavasanam caṅkramodyānāni cānekaśo yācanakebhyo nisṛṣṭāni sattvānām mokṣārthinā{m}.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> In BC 11, lines 11r1, 11r3, and 11r12. See Schlosser 2020: 187.

well be possible that the meaning is not the same in each pāda, but this cannot be decided with certainty. Probably, the first or first two pādas refer to the sweet mundane "tastes" or "juices," which common people highly enjoy, while the second half of the stanza juxtaposes the utmost sweetness of all "tastes" or "juices," once awakening is attained. The word  $ra\underline{s}a$  (Skt. rasa) might denote the taste or juice of liberation in pāda 21c, like  $am\underline{r}ta$ , the ambrosia "deathlessness." However, it frequently also refers to the liberating and true speech of the Buddha, or to truth in general. 355

- **21a)** The compound rasagrapravara ( $\circ \circ \circ -$ ; Skt.  $ras\bar{a}grapravara$ ) "best [and] most excellent of tastes" may perhaps also be read as two words rasagrapravara. The same holds true for the expression agrapravaro ( $\circ \circ -$ ) in pāda 21c, which might also be read as agrapravaro. Altogether, six pādas in the preserved portion of the manuscript (17a, 21a, 21c, 29a, 35a, 40c), seem to contain the word pravara in this position in the meter.
- **21c)** The absolutive *phaṣita* (---), or to be emended to *phaṣit(v)a* (cf. P *phassita*, Skt. \*spar-sitvā/sparsayitvā (m.c. for spṛṣṭvā?) "having attained, having touched," as an alternative form of  $\sqrt{spr}$ s with the same meaning as *phuṣitva* (---; P phusitvā, BHS sprṣtvā, Skt. spṛṣṭvā) occurring in pāda 27c, was probably chosen for metrical reasons.
- 21d) Due to the incompleteness, the segmentation of words remains uncertain.

#### 22. (r43-44) Dha

Similarly to the preceding stanza and others, the first half stanza elaborates the Buddhist cliché of how common people appear, how they behave and suffer, while the second half stanza juxtaposes the appearance of the Buddha. The word *dhaṇa* in pāda 22b is probably *dhaṇadha(ña)* ( $\simeq \sim -$ ; Skt. *dhanadhānya*) "money [and] grain" refers certainly to the possessions common people crave, whereas in pāda 22c, it denotes the seven riches (saptāryāṇi dhanāni, sapta dhanāni) of a buddha and his disciples (P ariyasāvaka, Skt.  $\bar{a}ryaśrāvaka$ ). These are: 1. "faith, trust" (P  $saddh\bar{a}$ ,

Cf., e.g., Kaineyagāthās (Bhaiṣ-v, Gilgit manuscript, folio 237r7), meter Anuṣṭubh: ahaṃ vadāmi bhadraṃ te śrāvakatvam upāgataḥ □ aho dharmmarasaṃ pītvā bhaviṣyāmi sunirvṛtaḥ (cf. also MSV[D] I 278.13–14); Sanghabhedavastu, Gilgit manuscript, folio 419r8–9, meter Upajāti: agraṃ hi me dharmarasena bhojyaṃ □ naiṣkramyayuktasya samāhitasya || āhāra{s}tṛṣṇāṃ hi vihāya sar-vā⟨m⟩ □ lokānukaṃpārtham ahaṃ carāmi || (cf. Saṅghabh I 192.4–7); folio 419r9, meter Anuṣṭubh: ahaṃ dharmarasaṃ sukhyaṃ pibāmi manujādhipa • yaṃ pītvā sarvapānāni (ms. sarvapāpāni) viṣavat pratibhānti me || (cf. Saṅghabh I 192.12–13); Th 103, meter Vaitālīya: nāhaṃ etena atthiko □ sukhito dhammarasena tappito, □ pītvāna rasaggam uttamaṃ □ na ca kāhāmi visena santhavan.—On the sweetness of the Buddha's speech, cf. also e.g., VAV XI.11, meter Anuṣṭubh: ata eva sravati tan nikāmamadhuraṃ madhu | yasyāsi jina saurasyān madhuvādīti viśrutaḥ ||.

E.g., Sn 182 (Āļavakasutta), meter Upajāti: saddh' īdha vittam purisassa seṭṭham, □ dhammo sucinno sukham āvahāti, □ saccam have sādutaram rasānam, □ paññājīvim jīvitam āhu seṭṭham. A Sanskrit version can be found in Uv X.3: śraddhā hi vittam puruṣasya śreṣṭham □ dharmaḥ sucīrṇaḥ sukham ādadhāti | satyam hi vai svādutamam rasānām □ prajñājīvī jīvinām śreṣṭha uktaḥ ||.

The expression *agrapravara* seems unattested in Sanskrit texts, but the compound *pravarāgra* is known, albeit only a few times.

Skt. śraddhā), 2. "moral behavior" (P sīla, Skt. śīla), 3. "shame, bashfulness" (P hiri, Skt. hrī), 4. "fear [of doing something wrong]" (P ottappa, Skt. apatrāpya/avatrāpya), 5. "learning" (P suta, Skt. śruta), 6. "generosity, renunciation" (P cāga, Skt. tyāga), and 7. "[discriminative] understanding" (P paññā, Skt. prajñā).<sup>357</sup>

The stanza somewhat reminds of a passage in the *Lakkhaṇasuttanta*,<sup>358</sup> and it may be possible that it was inspired by a text like this. The *suttanta* explains the origin of each mark of a great man (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*) based on deeds in former lifetimes, and the significance of each mark for a universal ruler (*cakkavatti[n]*) in comparison to a buddha. For example, having bodily proportions like a Banyan tree (*nigrodhaparimaṇḍala*) and long arms (*thitako ca anonamanto ubhohi pāṇitalehi jannukāṇi parimaṣati parimaṣjati*) promises great wealth for a universal ruler, while a buddha is also rich, possessing the seven riches (*dhanāni*). Interestingly, the passage also contains the expression *dhanadhañña* and other words occurring in stanza 22. The Pali stanza that concludes this passage states that the ruler of the earth possesses many (P *bahu*) sense pleasures (P *kāmabhoga*), but when he abandons them all, he gains the supreme, unsurpassed wealth (P *anuttaram uttamam dhanaggan*).

There is a tiny dot visible in the manuscript beneath the syllable -me in 22a and beneath ye in 22c as well. These are probably insignificant inkblots, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that both syllables represent the Skt. ending -ai (on the representation of long vowels in Kharoṣṭhī, cf. p. 14–15).

**22a)** In a stanza quoted from the *Udayanavatsarājaparipṛcchā* in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, a form of  $\sqrt{dh\bar{a}v}$  "to run" occurs in a similar context.<sup>361</sup>

**22c)** The syntax of the relative sentence might be compared with a stock phrase that describes the two possible destinies for someone who possesses the thirty-two marks of a great man (mahāpuruṣa), and similar phrases.<sup>362</sup>

See, e.g., AN IV 4.27–7.17 (for a German translation of the Chinese *Saṅgītiparyāya* containing a parallel to AN IV: 5–6, see Stache Rosen 1968: 178–179); DN III 163.6–8, 251.20–22 (*Saṅgītisuttanta*); Mvy(I) 1569–1576; Saṅg VII.4; EĀ §25.2; YBhū 96.8–9. These riches should not be confused with the seven treasures of a Cakravartin (*sapta ratnāni*, rarely also *dhanāni*), e.g., in L<sup>H3</sup> 50, stanza 15.34, meter Upajāti/Jagatī, with reference to the prediction of Asita: *ayaṃ kumāraḥ śatapuṇyalakṣa-no* □ *jāto tavā ātmaja puṇyatejitaḥ*, □ *ca cakravartī catu{r}dvīpa īśvaro* □ *bhaviṣyate saptadhanair upetah*.

DN III 162.10–164.4 (no. 30). This portion is not contained in sūtra no. 59 (*Sān shí èr xiàng jīng* 三十二相經) in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* (T. no. 26, vol. 1: 493a24–494b8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> DN III 162.21–163.8: rājā samāno kiṃ labhati? aḍḍho hoti mahaddhano mahābhogo pahūtajātarūparajato pahūtavittupakaraṇo pahūta**dhanadhañño** paripuṇṇako sakoṭṭhāgāro. [...] buddho samāno kiṃ labhati? aḍḍho hoti mahaddhano mahābhogo. tass' imāni **dhanāni** honti, seyyathīdaṃ saddhādhanaṃ sīladhanaṃ hiridhanaṃ ottappadhanaṃ sutadhanaṃ cāgadhanaṃ paññādhanaṃ.

Norman 1987–88: 288, stanza 12, meter Puṣpitāgrā: *idha ca mahipatissa kāmabhogā* □ *gihipatirūpa-k⟨ar⟩ā bahū bhavanti*, □ *yadi ca jahati sabbakāmabhogaṃ*, □ *labhati anuttaram uttamaṃ dhan'aggaṃ* (for the old edition, cf. DN III 164.1–4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Śikṣ 80.14–17, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: dṛṣṭvā vraṇaṃ dhāvati makṣikā yathā | dṛṣṭvāśuciṃ dhāvati gar-dabho yathā | śvānaś ca śūnā iva māṃsakāraṇāt | tathaiva dhāvanty abudhāḥ striye ratāḥ ||.

This is also included in the *Lakkhaṇasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. See, e.g., DN III 142.6–8: *dvattiṃs' imāni bhikkhave mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni yehi* samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dve gatiyo bhavanti anaññā; L<sup>H</sup> 296.14–15: sa dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ samanvāgato bhavati, yaiḥ

The syllable  $\tilde{n}u$  in  $sata\tilde{n}u$  (---) is difficult to explain. Compounds ending in  $-\tilde{n}u$  (G),  $-\tilde{n}\tilde{n}u$  (P) or  $-j\tilde{n}u$  (BHS) are usually adjectives describing a person as "knowing" (cf. P  $kata\tilde{n}\tilde{n}u$  "grateful,"  $vi\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{u}$  "wise," Skt.  $krtaj\tilde{n}a$ ,  $vij\tilde{n}a$ ) but this does not seem to make sense in this place. The suggested translation of  $sata\tilde{n}u$  as "[of] seven [kinds]," or "known as seven," is tentative. One might also consider the possibility that the -u vowel is erroneous. There is, in fact, a superfluous dot at the bottom



r44 **Fig. 17** *Ñu* 

of the akṣara  $\tilde{n}u$ , that might perhaps be understood as a correction, or *vice versa* (**Fig. 17**). With -  $\tilde{n}a$ , theoretically new possibilities of understanding arise, such as: "There are seven different (Skt. *anya*) riches, unsurpassed [and] manifold, with which, oh leader, you are seen," but this is very speculative. "Perceived" in the translation is a free rendering of *dritha* ( $- \sim$ ; Skt. *dṛṣṭa*) "seen," which seems to fit to the context better.

**22d)** The word starting with *dhara* ( $\simeq \circ$  or --) is unknown. Compare, for example, Skt. *dhārā* "current, fountain," *dharaṇī* "earth", or other words deriving from  $\sqrt{dhr}$  "to hold."

# 23. (v1-2) Śa

**23a)** The last word of the pāda,  $care (\sim \times)$  "acted," has been understood as a preterite of  $\sqrt{car}$ , but in several of these cases, which end in -e instead of the usual -i (cf. Baums 2009: 132–233), there are theoretically also other possibilities, for example an optative, although this does not seem meaningful here. For  $satvaṇa \ artha \ care (-----)$  "[he] acted for the sake of beings," one may compare  $a(r)th(a)m \ ac(ari)$  or  $a(r)th(a)m \ ac(ari) \ (----)$  in pāda 5a.

**23b)** The words after  $\pm samasa$  ( $\pm 20$ ) "tranquility" are not clear. The word  $\pm ca$  ( $\pm 20$ ) as a conjunction is spelled  $\pm ca$  ( $\pm 20$ ) in padas 7c and 34c, but this would not necessarily speak against such an interpretation. The following syllable  $\pm tri$  or  $\pm tri$  o

samanvāgatasya dve gatī bhavato na tṛtīyā; MAv(F) 6a1: (kaścid bhavantaḥ samanvāgataḥ) kumāro dvā(tr)iṃ(śa)dbhir mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇair yaiḥ samanvā(gatasya mahā)puruṣasya dve gatī bhavato 'nanyathā. Cf. also DbSū(1) 209: daśemāni bhikṣava(s ta)thāgatasya balāni yaiḥ samanvāgatas tathāgato 'rhaṃ samyaksaṃbuddha udāram ā(rṣabhaṃ) sthānaṃ pratijānāti brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati pariṣadi samyaksiṃhanādam na(dati |).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> For comparison, cf. a "mindfulness-and-tranquility sun" in L<sup>H21</sup> 350, stanza 24.35, meter Āryā: *iha dhātubhūtacaturo*□*madamakaraviloḍitā vipulatṛṣṇā⟨ḥ⟩*, □ *smṛtisamathabhāskarāmśau* (read *smṛtiśa*-

The second problem lays in the meaning of the word. There is not really a term called *muktendriya* in Buddhist and other Sanskrit texts, but perhaps this can nevertheless be understood as something positive, namely as somebody with "released," "detached" or "calm senses." Alternatively, *mutimdrio* might represent Skt. *muktīndriya*;



BL 5B, Khvs<sup>L</sup>, r28: gutimdrio



BC 2, 543, v.5.2b: ji**di**drio



BC 5, v2: mutidrio/mutimdrio Fig. 18 Examples of ti/di/tim.

which could be understood as referring to somebody who has the capability (*indriya*) of liberation (*mukti*), but this term does neither seem to exist. Another attempt for an explanation may be Skt. *mṛdvindriya* "[someone] with soft senses." This however, is more difficult, since for once, the scribe would have been able to write the syllable *dvi*, and secondly, the term has an exclusively negative meaning describing somebody with "weak" or "slow senses." When the word *mṛdu* refers to the mind (Skt. *citta*, *manas*, or *-mānasa*), it may have a positive meaning, for example in G *mraduamaṇaṣa* "having a pliant mind" in BC 6 (v2, §4; Skt. \**mṛdukamānasa*; Schlosser 2020: 246), or in *cito* [...] *rmaḍo karita* "[...] his mind [...] and having made it pliant [...]" in SĀ<sup>S1</sup> (r11; Glass 2007: 171), but this is here not the case. Existing terms that would have a suitable meaning in this context include *guptendriya* (cf. the badly preserved *gutedri(y)*. in pāda 34c) "[someone] with guarded senses," *śāntendriya* "with calm senses," *jitendriya* "with subdued senses," and *yatendriya* or *samyatendriya* "with controlled senses."

Most of the words employed in this pāda occur frequently together in Buddhist verses and stock phrases describing the appearance of a buddha and other sages. 364

 $mathabh\bar{a}skar\bar{a}m\acute{s}au)$   $\square$   $vi\acute{s}o\acute{s}it\bar{a}$  me  $bhavasamudr\bar{a}h$ .—The moon, on the other hand, as a metaphor for coolness seems fitting as a comparison to  $\acute{s}amath\bar{a}$ , but it is not easy to find examples that contain exactly this word. Cf., e.g., L<sup>H20</sup> 258, stanza 23.51, meter Puṣpitāgrā:  $sumadhuravacan\bar{a}$   $manoj\~naghos\~a$   $\square$   $\acute{s}a\acute{s}i$  'va  $pra\'s\~antikar\~a$  prasannacittah  $\square$   $prahasitavadan\~a$   $prabh\~utajihv\~a$   $\square$   $paramasupr\~tikar\~a$  mune namas te.

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 494, stanza 7.63, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita, referring to Asita: jaya bhoḥ pārthiva ity uvāca muditaś cāyum ciram pālaya □ vṛddhim kṛtva niṣaṇṇa dāntamanasaḥ śāntendriyaḥ sūrataḥ, □ rājā vai abhivādya caiva nibhṛtam provāca kim kāraṇam □ āgāmas tava pārthivendranilaye tad brūhi śīghram mune; L<sup>H20</sup> 248, stanza 23.34, meter: a kind of Atyaṣṭi: satyāsatyakathī vināyakā sumadhuravacanā □ dāntāśāntamanā jitendriyaḥ praśamitamanasā, □ śāstā śāsaniyām praśāsase naramarupariṣā⟨m⟩ □ vande śākyamuniṃ nararṣabhaṃ suranaramahitaṃ.

For stock phrases, occurring in various variants, cf., e.g., Śrīmatībrāhmaṇīparipṛcchā as quoted in a copper scroll inscription from Greater Gandhāra, lines 8–12 (ed. and a few parallels in Melzer 2006:

**23d)** The words śaraṇo ( $\simeq -$ ; Skt. śaraṇa) and traṇo ( $- \sim$ ; Skt. trāṇa), which can describe the dharma or the Buddha (or a bodhisattva), are frequently combined, in many cases together with more quasi-synonyms. In several texts, these terms occur in the context of resolutions (praṇi-dhāna). 365

#### 24. (v3-4) Kha

The stanza describes the Bodhisattva's encounters with Māra. Māra searches for opportunities to gain access to him, wields a sword, <sup>366</sup> is accompanied by his army, but is then slain with loving kindness, <sup>367</sup> and becomes afterwards distressed. <sup>368</sup> Pāda 24b remains unclear.

268–269, 272): adrākṣīc chrīmatī{r} brāhmaṇī bhagavaṃtaṃ dūrata eva prāsādikaṃ pras⟨ā⟩danīyaṃ śāntendriyaṃ śāntamānasaṃ śamadamapāramiprāptam uttamaśamathapāramigataṃ śāntaṃ dānta(m) guptaṃ nāgaṃ jitendriyaṃ paramayā śubhavarṇapuṣkalatayā samanvāgataṃ hradam ivācchaṃ vi(p)r(asa)nnam anāvilaṃ suvarṇayūpam ivābhyudgataṃ niṣprakaṃpam āniṃjyaprāptaṃ śriyā jval(antaṃ bhāsamānaṃ rā)jamānaṃ virocam(āna)ṃ. Several versions in Gandhari have also survived. See, e.g., BL 12, \*Dhoṇasutra, r3–8 (E¹ and Allon 2013: 16, n. 22): (adhrekṣi) [...] (prasadiu prasada)ṇi śatidhri śatamaṇas(a) · utamadamasaśamasapratu · p(a)r(a)m(adamasaśamasapratu) ghutu vudidhrio ṇasu rada ṇam iva · achu aṇavela vip(ra)s(a)ṇ(a) ·; RS 2, Ekottarikāgama (ed. Allon 2013: 16, n. 22), lines v58–60: drekṣaṣi ta bhagavata raha ṣama(ṣabudha praṣaḍio praṣa)ḍaṇio śatidrio śatamaṇase utamadamaṣaśamaṣaprate paramadama(ṣaśamaṣaprate); v67–69: praṣaḍio praṣaḍaṇio śatihio (śatamaṇase u)t(a)m(a)damaṣaśamaṣaprate paramadamaṣaśamaṣaprate guta jiḍidrio ///. [u] ḍa acha vipraṣaṇa aṇavilo; RS 24, episode of the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika (G Trivuṣa and Valia), lines v9–11 (ed, Allon 2013: 12): paṣaḍi[o] paṣaḍaṇia śa(ti)h(io) śatamaṇaṣ(e utamadamaṣa)śamaṣaprate(e) paramadamaṣaśamaṣaprata guta jiḍi(drio) ṇ(aga raḍa iva acha) vipraṣaṇo ⟨aṇavilo⟩.

E.g., Mvu(S) I 257.3–5, prose: eṣa buddho bhagavān asaṃkhyeye dharmānubhāvena hi samudāgato sadevakasya lokasya leno trāṇo śaraṇo parāyaṇo devātidevo śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ nāgānām asurāṇāṃ yakṣāṇāṃ rākṣasānāṃ piśācānāṃ kumbhāṇḍānāṃ ||; Mvu(S) II 328.11–14, meter unknown: eṣo hi lenaṃ bhaviṣyati sarvaloke u trāṇaṃ ca dvīpaṃ śaraṇaṃ parāyaṇaṃ | akaritvā naramaru ca prasādaṃ u ghoraṃ vrajanti nirayaṃ avīcim ||; Rgs(Y) XV.4, meter Vasantatilakā: evaṃ carantu guṇasāgara vādicandrās u trāṇā bhavanti jagatī śaraṇāś ca lenāḥ | gatibuddhidīpapariṇāyaka arthakāmāḥ u pradyota-ulkavaradharmakathī akṣobhyāḥ ||; Saddhp 453, stanza 24.25, meter Vaitālīya: smarathā smarathā mākānkṣathā u śuddhasattvaṃ avalokiteśvaram | maraṇe vyasane upadrave u trāṇu bhoti śaraṇaṃ parāyaṇam ||.

For praṇidhāna formulas, cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 604, stanza 13.2, meter Bhramaravilasita: pūrvaṃ tubhyaṃ ayu kṛtu praṇidhī □ dṛṣṭvā sattvāṃ du{h}khaśatabharitāṃ, □ lenaṃ trāṇaṃ jagati ca śaraṇe □ bheṣye nātho hitakaru paramaḥ; RP 14.11–12, meter Vasantatilakā: na trāṇam anyaśaraṇaṃ hi parāyaṇaṃ vā □ lokasya saṃskṛtagatau bhramato 'sti kaścit | mayi sarva eva parimocayitavya satvā □ ity artham eva praṇidhir mama agrabodhau ||; Śikṣ 29.15–16 prose: sarvasatvānāṃ trāṇaṃ bhaveyaṃ sarvakle-śaparimocanatayā • sarvasatvānāṃ śaraṇaṃ bhaveyaṃ sarvabhayārakṣaṇatayā •.

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H18</sup> 72, stanza 21.177, meter Vasantatilakā: yuga-m-antarasmi sthita māra praduṣṭacitto □ niṣkośa pāṇina-m-asiṃ pragṛhītva tīkṣṇaṃ, □ uttiṣṭha śīghra śramaṇāsmamatena gaccha □ mā veṇu-yaṣṭi haritāṃ va chinadmi te 'dya.

For several parallels on this frequently mentioned idea, see n. 313 above.

The motive of Māra being distressed after his defeat is frequently depicted in early Buddhist art. For example, he puts his face in its hand and draws with a piece of wood or an arrow meaningless lines in the earth. For textual references to this in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the *Nidānakathā*, and the *Mahāvastu*, see Lüders/Waldschmidt/Mehendale 1963: 175, and for the topic of scratching into the earth in Indian

**24a)** The word *khalida* ( $\leq \leq -$ ; Skt. *skhalita*) "mistake, slip, stumbling" is represented by *kalita* in pāda 38a. *Eṣeamaṇa* (- < - < >; BHS *eṣamāṇa*, Skt. *iṣyamāṇa*) "seeking" also occurs in pāda 17a in the same position in the meter, and *satata* (< < - >; Skt. *satataṃ*) in pādas 3c and 5c. The idea presented here is well known. Māra constantly follows and closely observes the Buddha in order to discover a weak point or an opportunity to influence him. A term frequently found in this connection is Skt. *avatāra* (e.g., *avatāraṃ*  $\sqrt{gaveṣ}$ , *avatāraprekṣin*; P *otāra*). 369

**24b)** The first word beginning with the letter *Kha* is either is *khatse*, or *khaspe* (--). Even a reading as *khetse* or *khespe* cannot entirely be ruled out, when the prominent head mark, which is occasionally present in *kha*, is seen as an *e*-vowel marker. What this word means, is doubtful. As one possibility, one might assume that *khaspe* is a locative singular of *kha* "sky," corresponding to BHS \**khasmin*, although one would rather expect *khe*. <sup>370</sup> Alternatively, the word



Fig. 19 The beginning of pāda 24b (line v3).

might be compared with \*khaṣpa, listed in the PW with the meaning of violence or anger, but this word does not seem to really exist. However, in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of the eleventh century as well as in the late work *Lekhapaddhati*, which was compiled during the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries in Gujarat, the word khaścā occurs, which may be a variant of the word \*khaṣpa in the PW. The editor of this text Ingo Strauch (2002: 276, 452) discussed the word and glossed it as "difficulty, objection, hindrance." In Prakrit, forms like khaṃca occur (PSM s.v.). This meaning would fit well into the context of Māra, albeit there lies almost one millennium between the Gandhari text and these attestations.

The following word might begin with ua or uva ( $\simeq \simeq$ ; Skt. upa), but other readings such as vu or bu would also be possible for the first syllable, and the second one could likewise be something else ( $\simeq \simeq$  or  $-\sim$ ).

literature and art in general, see Syed 1993. For *Lalitavistara* passages, see L<sup>H19</sup> 174, stanza 22.35, meter Mālinī: *karatalaspṛśanenā kampitā corvi ṣaḍdhā* □ *yena namucisenā kṣobhitā tūlabhūtā*, □ *namuci iṣu gṛhītvā medinī vyālikhe{d}ya* □ *idam api narasiṃhasyāsane krīḍitaṃ bhūd*; L<sup>H21</sup> 360.17−19, prose: *atha khalu māraḥ pāpīyān idaṃ vacanaṃ śrutvā ekānte prakrāmya sthito 'bhūt duḥkhī durmanā vipratisārī adhomukhaḥ kāṣṭhena mahīṃ vilikhan viṣayaṃ me 'tikrānta iti.* 

The word *khinna* does not occur in these passages, but many other synonyms. The *Sanghabhedavastu* does not mention scratching of the earth, but indicates Māra's feelings as follows: Sanghabh I 115.6–8: *evam ukte māraḥ pāpīyāms tūṣṇīṃbhūto madgubhūtas srastaskandho 'dho-mukho niṣpratibhaḥ pradhyānaparamo vyavasthitaḥ. sa duḥkhī durmanāḥ saṃlakṣayati [...]; 115.15–16: <i>māras tās tathāvidhā dṛṣṭvā viṣaṇṇaḥ kare kapolaṃ dattvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ*; 119.9–11: *tato māraḥ pāpīyān ṣaṭtriṃśadbhūtakoṭiparivāro duḥkhī, durmanā, vipratīsārī, tatraivāntarhitaḥ*. Cf. also RP 18.9–10, meter Upajāti, but occurring in a different context: *parasya pūjārtham iherṣya jā-tā avasthānu cittasya ca teṣu nāsti | avatāraprekṣī skhalitāṃ gaveṣī ko 'syāparādho 'stiha codayiṣye ||.* Cf. also P *kacchā*, BHS *kaccha*, Skt. *kakṣā*, "arm-pit" or "hem of (lower) garment" and other meanings, but without more context, any attempt for explanation seems futile.

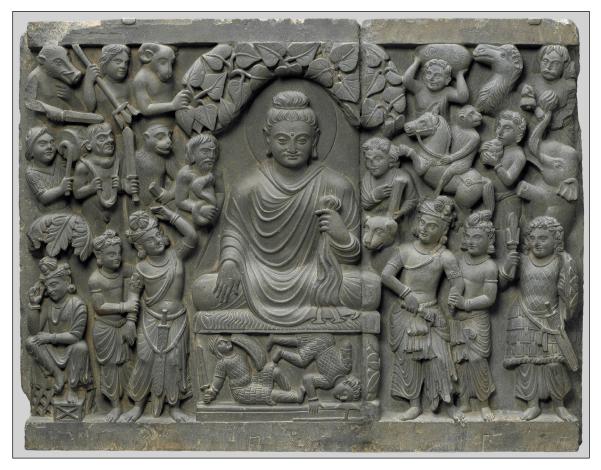


Fig. 20 Many reliefs from Gandhāra show Māra drawing his sword. This famous and often-published example of unknown origin depicts additionally twice the defeated and distressed Māra at the left side. At the pedestal, the Kharoṣṭhī letter Pa is unchiseled twice, indicating the sequence, in which the relief was attached on a stūpa. The preceding panel, which is marked with the akṣaras R[e], Ri, and Ro shows the birth of the Bodhisattva, and the following one containing twice the letter Ca, represents the first sermon. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Charles Lang Freer Endowment, acc. no. F1949.9a–d).

The syntax of this pāda is not absolutely clear. At first Māra seems to be the subject, but then it is the sage (*muṇi*; ~ ×; Skt. *muni*), if this is not a vocative, but there is only an absolutive in this pāda, and no finite verb form. The sentence might also somehow continue in the next pāda, but it is too incomplete to understand it properly. When one translates the second part of the pāda more exactly as "the sage, having struck him down with loving kindness," it remains unclear how this can be constructed with the following pāda.

The expression *metra nihatva* (----) referring to Māra occurs also in pāda 9c in the same position of the meter. As unusual as this might seem for the Gandhari language, in both cases, *metra* (P *mettā*, BHS/Skt. *maitrī/maitrā*) "loving kindness, benevolence" seems to be an instrumental singular, similar to Skt. *maitryā*.

**24d)** The word *khiṇe* (--; cf. Skt. *khinna* "depressed") is probably the only word illustrating a letter of the alphabet that has another vowel than an -a (Skt. -a or  $-\bar{a}$ ) in its first syllable, provided, the uncertain reading *khetse* or *khespe* in pāda 24b can be neglected. What the -e ending stands for, or whether the word is complete, is indeterminate. Theoretically, *khiṇe* might also be explained as deriving from different words, for instance  $k\bar{s}\bar{i}na$  "exhausted, disappeared," but this is speculative without more context. Normally, Skt.  $k\bar{s}\bar{i}na$  would still be  $k\bar{s}ina$  in Gandhari (cf.  $k\bar{s}aya$  in the next stanza). On the other hand, one might argue that the author of the poem altered at other places the orthography as well in order to fit a desired word within the respective stanza. The *i*-vowel marker in *khi* (f) appears to be irregularly written. There is only one other example for *khi* preserved in this manuscript (f in line r43) for comparison, and this also resembles the one illustrated in Schlosser 2020 (p. 63, table 7).

# 25. (v5-6) Kşa

**25a)** This pāda seems to vaguely allude to the tale of Kṣāntivādin (P Khantivādi[n]), which demonstrates the perfection ( $p\bar{a}ramit\bar{a}$ ) of forbearance ( $kṣ\bar{a}nti$ ) par excellence. Although nothing specific is mentioned here, with which such an identification could be justified, the combination of the word kṣaṃti (--; Skt.  $kṣ\bar{a}nti$ ) "forbearance" with the idea of "evil" (vavaṇa;  $-- \sim$ ; Skt.  $vy\bar{a}panna$ ) evokes the picture. <sup>371</sup> The word  $vy\bar{a}panna$  is usually found in combination with citta "mind," which is here, however, absent.

For *karpakodiṇayuta* (- - - - - -; BHS *kalpakoṭinayuta*; Skt. *kalpakoṭiniyuta*) "myriads of eons," one may compare *bahuṇi karpaṇayuta* in pāda 23a, and *bahusatvakodiṇayuta* in pāda 31c, *ṇayuta* being always at the same position in the meter. It has not been attempted to translate the terms *kodi* and *ṇayuta* as separate numbers for stylistic reasons.

**25b)**  $K\bar{s}atra$  (--) probably represents Skt. *chattra* "parasol." After the following syllable ma, a tiny akṣara remnant with a long stem is still visible. There is some likelihood that this shows a part of the akṣara l-. If so, the word might be mal(a) or mal(ya) (- $\sim$ ; Skt.  $m\bar{a}la$  or  $m\bar{a}lya$ ) "garland," and this could well be a part of a longer list of items given away by the Bodhisattva, be it either enumerated separately, or in a compound. However, when it comes to the extent of the Bodhisattva's generosity, parasols and garlands are certainly not amongst the greatest gifts, unlike those meant in pādas 4a, 4c?, 13a, 20c, 32ac, and 40a. Such enumerated gifts may possibly refer

On the *Kṣāntivādijātaka*, cf., e.g., Pali jātaka no. 313, Mvu(M) III: 455–459, Saṅghabh II: 4–11, and ĀJM no. 28. On visual depictions, see, e.g., Schlingloff 2000/2013, vol. I: 154–158, vol. II: 30. The gist of the tale concerns a Brahmin ascetic named "Preacher of forbearance," who taught the wives and female attendants of a king about forbearance, while the king was asleep. When the awoken king saw this, he furiously cut body parts from the ascetic in order to test his forbearance. However, despite of this cruelty, he felt no anger towards the king.

to a set of episodes, which narrate moments, when the Bodhisattva received predictions ( $vy\bar{a}kara$ -na) from the huge number of past buddhas, while resolving to gain awakening ( $pranidh\bar{a}na$ ). These occasions are usually marked with a gift or deed of some sort, the size of which does not matter so much, because the focus lies in the intention.<sup>372</sup>

The pāda might also be understood in a very different light. Since the parasol is a royal insignia, it could also list items, which were given up by the Bodhisattva as a (future) king.

**25c)** The absolutive *paśia* ( $- \sim \circ$ ; P *passiya*, BHS *paśyiya* [BHSG §35.42], Skt. *dṛṣṭvā*) "having seen, noticing" is already known from Anav<sup>L</sup> 63b, and 83b (Salomon 2008: 159). The exact phrase *kṣaṇia* [...] *sarvasaṃkhaṭam* ( $\simeq \sim -$  [...]  $- \sim \sim \circ$ ; Skt. *kṣaṇikaṃ sarvasaṃskṛtaṃ*) is familiar from only a few Buddhist texts,<sup>373</sup> but its idea has been frequently expressed, and it also reminds of the last words of the Buddha.<sup>374</sup> The reading of the word *paśia* is not entirely certain. Due to the graphic similarity, it could theoretically also represent *payia*, which could be compared with P *apāyi(n)*, Skt. *apāyin* "going/passing away, perishable" with an elided initial *a*-. Although this meaning would fit into the context, this word does not seem to be attested in it thus far. Besides, one might ask, whether the similarity of the word *paśia* with Skt. *vaśika* "empty" (G *vaśia*) is only a coincidence, because it occurs next to *kṣaṇika* in the *Lalitavistara*.<sup>375</sup> Whereas the

Enumerations of past buddhas and the respective gifts or deeds of the Bodhisattva can also be found in, e.g., the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, and the *Nidānakathā*.

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 626, stanza 13.58, meter Pañcacāmara: purapraveśi reņu dṛṣṭa kṣiptu svarṇacūrṇamuṣṭi-kā □ dharmeśvarāya sādhukāru dattu dharmabhāsatā □ namo namaḥ samantadarśi dṛṣṭa vāca bhāṣi-tā □ mahārciskandhi svarṇamāla kṣipta harṣitena te; 628, stanzas 13.62–63: nāgābhibhū maṇipradāni puṣya dūṣyasaṃstare □ bhaiṣajyarāju ratnachattri siṃhaketu āsane, □ guṇāgradhāri ratnajāli sarva-vādi kāśyapo □ gandhāgri cūrṇa mukta arciketu puṣpacaityake. □ akṣobhyarāja kūṭāgāri mālya loka-pūjito □ tagaraśikhiñ ca rāj⟨y⟩atyāgi sarvagandhi durjayo □ mahāpradīpa ātmatyāgi bhūṣaṇe padmottaro □ vicitrapuṣpi dharmaketu dīpakāri utpalaiḥ; L<sup>H15</sup> 24, stanza 20.2 meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: yena cchattrasahasrakoṭinayutā gandhāna ratnāna ca □ dattā apratimeṣu maitramanasā tiṣṭhanti ke nir-vṛte, □ so eṣo varalakṣaṇo hitakaro nārāyaṇasthāmavān □ bodher mūlam upāgato guṇadharaḥ tas-yaiṣa pūjā kṛtā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 638, stanza 13.94, meter Vaitālīya: laghu bhajjati sarvasaṃskṛtaṃ □ acirasthāyi nabhe 'va vidyataḥ, □ ayu kālu tavā upasthitaḥ □ samaye niṣkramaṇāya suvrataḥ; VAV VI.1, meter Anuṣṭubh: (sarva)[dh](a)rmā anātmānaḥ kṣaṇikaṃ sarvasaṃskṛta(m) | śāntaṃ nirvā[ṇa]m i[ty] eṣā [dha]rmamudrā trilakṣaṇā ||; Sūtral XVIII.88, meter Anuṣṭubh: gatyabhāvāt sthitāyogāc caramatva asaṃbhavāt | anuvṛtteś ca cittasya kṣaṇikaṃ sarvasaṃskṛtaṃ ||.

See MPS 14.20 (cf. also 44.13, 45.8): kuta etal labhy(am yat taj jātam bhūtam kṛtam saṃskṛtam veda-yi)tam pratītyasamutpannam kṣayadharmam vyayadharmam vi(rodhadharmam pralokadharmam na prarujya)te | nedam sthānam vidyate |; 42.11–12: vyayadharmāh sarvasaṃskārāh | iyam tatra tathā-gatasya paścimā (vācā |); 44.5, meter Anuṣṭubh: (anityā vata saṃskārā utpādavyayadharmiṇah | utpadya hi nirudhyante teṣām vyupaśamas) sukham || (= Uv I.3, and in many other texts; see Lamotte 1949 [Le traité II]: 688 n. 4, and Dhp<sup>K</sup> 181: aṇica va[da] saghara upadavayadharmiṇo □ upajiti niru-jadi teṣa uvaśamo suho). Clearly influenced by this is a stanza of the Kaineyagāthās (Bhaiṣ-v, Gilgit manuscript, folio 235r10), meter Anuṣṭubh: dṛṣṭaṃ hy atītaṃ buddhena tathā dṛṣṭam anāgatam\* □ pratyutpannam atho dṛṣṭaṃ saṃskārā (v)y(ayadhar)mm(i)ṇaḥ (cf. also MSV[D] I 268.15–16).

<sup>375</sup> LH 634, stanza 13.78, meter Toṭaka: kṣaṇikā vasikā (read vaśikā) imi kāmaguṇāḥ □ tatha māyamarīcisamā aliko, □ 'dakabudbudaphenasamā vitathā □ parikalpasamutthita buddha budhaiḥ (also cited in
Śikṣ 205.1–2; reading kṣaṇikāvasikā instead of kṣaṇikā vaśikā); 644, stanza 13.113, meter Vaitālīya:
utpādavyayaṃ vipaśyato □ vācarutaghoṣasvarasya paṇḍitaḥ, □ kṣaṇikāṃ vaśikāṃ tadādṛśī(ṃ) □ sarvāṃ vāca pratiśrūtakopamāṃ (also cited in Śikṣ 240.11–12: utpādavyayaṃ vipaśyato □ vācarutagho-

meter excludes the possibility to understand the word in this way, unless one assumes an error of the poet,<sup>376</sup> the similarity is nevertheless noteworthy. *Ita* ( $\sim$  –) corresponds to Skt. *idam*, but it cannot entirely be ruled out that the scribe only forgot an *i*-vowel marker, which would change the word into  $it\langle i \rangle$  (Skt. *iti*) "so, thus." This, however, appears only then plausible, when *paśia* does not mean "having seen, noticing."

It is unfortunate that the traces of the last word in this pāda are illegible. With forbearance (Skt.  $k \c s \c anti$ ) in the first pāda and a possible, albeit far from certain, reference to giving (Skt.  $d \c antit anti-$ ) in the second pāda, it is thinkable that more of the six perfections are mentioned. As tempting as a reconstruction to  $(pra \c naima a)$  (Skt.  $praj \c naima a)$  "[discriminative] understanding" as the last word might be, it would not correspond to the meter. However, something similar is expressed in the first  $\c s \c anti \c s \c anti \c anti-$ 

**25d)** Whether  $k \bar{s} a y a$  ( $\simeq \simeq$ ) "perishing, exhaustion" stands alone or was part of a compound, remains unclear. It might either continue the idea presented in pāda 25c, or refer to salvation from the  $sams\bar{a}ra$ .

# 26. (v7-8) Sta

The stanza contains at least two uncertain words. It seems to describe events from the life of the Buddha from around the awakening. In pāda 26a, he approaches the Bodhi tree, and in pāda 26b, he receives grass tufts from a grass cutter if the suggested interpretation of the words goes into the right direction. In pāda 26c, he sits down, either under the tree, or warding off Māra or preventing evil (influences), depending on the respective interpretation of the words, and he destroys the saṃskāras, i.e., the conditions for future rebirth. In pāda 26d, one or several hymns might be mentioned, but this is uncertain.

The difficulty lies partially in the interpretation of the letter *Sta* in the first words of the pādas, since *Sta* represents normally Skt. *sta*, but can sometimes also stand for *stha*.

**26a)** The first word *stavadi* ( $\simeq -$ ) can be understood as "[he] praises," deriving from Skt.  $\sqrt{stu}$  (BHS *stavati*, Skt. *stauti*). Theoretically, the words can also be differently segmented, e.g., *stava* and *dita*, but no better explanations come to mind. *Stavadi* might also represent a different verb, if the first syllable stands for Skt. *stha*, as, for example, in the palm-leaf manuscript written by the

şasvarasya paṇḍitāḥ | kṣaṇikāṃ vaśikāṃ tadīdṛśīṃ □ sarvavācaḥ pratiśrutakopamāḥ ||, and in Pras 408.5–8: utpādavyayaṃ vipaśyato □ vācarutaghoṣasvarasya paṇḍitaḥ | kṣaṇikāṃ vaśikāṃ tadā dṛśī □ sarva vāca⟨m⟩ pratiśrutakopamāṃ ||).

Metrical errors seem rare in this manuscript. Cf. p. 52–53, n. 85–86.

<sup>377</sup> Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 630, stanzas 13.66–67, meter Pañcacāmara: kṣīṇā ti kalpa aprameya te ca buddha nirvṛtās □ tavāpi sarvi ātmabhāva te ca nāma kva gatāḥ, □ kṣayāntadharmi sarvi bhāvu nāsti nityu saṃs-kṛte □ anitya kāma rājyabhoga niṣkramā purottamāt. □ jarā ca vyādhi mṛtyu enti dāruṇo mahābhayā □ hutāśano 'va ugrateja bhīma kalpasaṃkṣaye, □ kṣayāntadharma sarvi bhāvu nāsti nitya saṃskṛte □ sukṛcchraprāpta sattva ⟨dṛṣṭvā?⟩ niṣkramā guṇaṃdharā.

Bamiyan scribe 7, where the words *stavido me* were translated as "I have established" (Salomon 2016a: 379–380, 387, fragment 1–4, line v3). If the meaning "[he] praises" is taken into consideration, the question remains whom he praises, or who actually praises whom. The most logical object appears to be the Bodhi tree, but at least in the *Lalitavistara* no such reference can be found. In the *Sanghabhedavastu* (Sanghabh I 111–113), the cobra king (*nāgarāja*) Kālika praises the Bodhisattva immediately before he meets the grass cutter-and-seller (*yāvasika*) and approaches the Bodhi tree. The sentence that combines the two episodes reads (Gilgit manuscript, folio 384r5): *tato bodhisatvaḥ kālikena nāgarājena saṃstūyamāno vajrāsanābhimukhaḥ saṃprasthitaḥ*.<sup>378</sup> The *Lalitavistara* (LH14 326–336) narrates the episode on how Kālika and his wife praise the Bodhisattva likewise immediately before meeting the grass cutter. The *Mahāvastu*, on the other hand, describes at one place the praise by the *nāga* Kāla after acquiring the grass from Svastika (Mvu[S] II 265.7–267.15), and at another place before and after referring to the grass cutter (Mvu[S] II 397.8–398.16 and 400.10–404.16).<sup>379</sup>

In all three texts, the grass cutter's name is Svastika, but in the *Sanghabhedavastu*, it is Indra, who assumed his shape. The terms for the grass in these texts are *tṛṇa* "grass" and *tṛṇasaṃstara* "layer of grass," while for spreading the grass on the seat, different formations of *sam√stṛ* "to spread, to strew" are found. It cannot finally be settled what this pāda really is about, but perhaps it is possible that the scribe wrote unintentionally something else than what he intended. Thus, the verb \**staradi* (P *tharati*, Skt. *stṛṇoti* etc.) "he spreads, he strews" after approaching the Bodhi tree, and *stabha* (P *thamba/thambha*; Skt. *stamba/stambha*) as "grass tufts" as object in pāda 26b would make perfect sense. 381

The term denoting the Bodhi tree (usually bodhidruma, bodhivṛkṣa, etc., in the Mahāvatu also bodhiyaṣṭi) is here bosivaḍo (-- - -), which corresponds to bodhivaṭa in Sanskrit. This designation does not appear frequently in Buddhist texts except for verse passages in the Lalitavistara, which probably originated with its several layers in (Greater) Gandhāra. The Sanskrit

The other terms used for the Bodhi tree in the *Lalitavistara* are *bodhidruma* and *bodhivṛksa*, the latter one of which occurs more frequently in prose passages. The word *bodhivaṭa* occurs seemingly also once in Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (VinSū 36 §291: *bodhivaṭapatrasya pāṇitalakasya vā*), but the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Sanghabh I 113.7–8 reads instead: *tato bodhisattvaḥ kālikanāgarājena saṃstūyamāno vajrāsanābhi-mukhaḥ saṃprasthitaḥ*.

The meeting with Kāla occurs a third time in the *Mahāvāstu* (Mvu(S) II 302.14–309.4), but this passage does not mention Svastika.

The Svastika episode is narrated or mentioned in, e.g. L<sup>H14</sup> 336–344; Mvu(S) II 131.12–13, 264.5–8, 398.21–399.6, 401.11–12; Sanghabh I 113. Cf. also MAv(F) 9a.1–2.

It seems that  $\sqrt{str}$  is usually combined with a prefix in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali texts. However, the genre of the poem with the requirement that the word should start with the letter *Sta* might explain an exception.

The word occurs five times in the Lalitavistara: LH15 40, stanza 20.19, meter Vasantatilakā: ke cāgatā marutaśakra ivā yathaiva \( \) devai\( \) sahasranayutai\( \) ca purākrtās te, \( \) upagamya bodhivatu prahva kṛtā\( \) jalībhi\( \) \( \) śakrābhilagnamaṇiratna kṣipanti citrām; \( \) LH16 266, stanza 21.19, meter Dodhaka: vāta pravāyati varṣiya varṣam \( \) vidyusahasraśatāni patanti, \( \) deva gulāyati vṛkṣa luḍanti \( \) bodhivatasya na iryati pattram; \( \) LH20 240, stanza 23.22, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: mārā(\( \) h) koṭisahasra'nekanayutā gaṅgāṇubhih saṃmitā\( \) \( \) te tubhyam na samarthu bodhisuvaṭā saṃcālitum kampitum, \( \) yaj\( \) yāj\( \) koṭisahasra'nekanayutā gaṅgā yathā vālikā \( \) yaṣṭā bodhivaṭāsritena (read bodhivaṭāśritena) bhavatā tenādya vibhrājase; 250, stanza 23.38, meter Vegavatī: tuṣitālaya yac cavitas tvaṃ \( \) śoṣita akṣaṇa sarvi tadā te, \( \) yada bodhivaṭe upaviṣṭah \( \) sarvajagasya kileśa praśāntā(\( h \)).

name Vata is according to its normal usage the name for another tree, namely the Banyan tree (Skt. Vata or Nyagrodha, Ficus benghalensis, Ficus indica), and thus seems misleading. 383 It is well known that the Bodhi tree of Śākyamuni is an Aśvattha (Ficus religiosa), although this is surprisingly almost never explicitly mentioned in the Buddha biographies, at least not in those passages that describe the events around the awakening.<sup>384</sup> Although its depictions can mostly be clearly identified in Gandharan art, there exist nevertheless several reliefs showing the Buddha amidst Māra'a demons under a tree that shows no easily discernible similarity in its leaves with that of an Aśvattha. Possibly, some sculptors found it sufficient to depict just the generic features of a tree, or left the details uncompleted while the context of the scene would unambiguously identify it. One might also wonder whether the depicted Buddha was not always meant to represent Śākyamuni, since, for example, the Mahāpadānasuttanta/Mahāvadānasūtra describes the life of the past buddha Vipaśyin, and a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit fragment from the Martin Schøyen Collection describes the life of Śikhin (MS 2379/37). On the other hand, however, these texts do not contain references to Māra. Perhaps, the lack of specific tree names in texts like the Lalitavistara and terms like bosivado played also a minor role for such depictions. The Nyagrodha or Vaţa tree is usually regarded as the Bodhi tree of the past Buddha Kāśyapa. 385

The adjective *virayo* ( $\sim \sim$  -; Skt. *virajas*) "spotless" that seems to describe the Bodhi tree, may possibly also refer to the Bodhisattva. 386

**26b)** The word *stabha* (--) seems to correspond with P *thambha*, Skt. *stambha*, "pillar," and could be understood as referring to the trunk of the Bodhi tree, so to speak, the central pillar of the world. Such an idea, however, is at least not found within the narration of the respective events in the *Lalitavistara*, but this does not necessarily mean that it was unknown. In this regard, the term *bodhiyaṣṭi* "Bodhi pillar" for the Bodhi tree occurring only in the *Mahāvastu*, and there several times, is noteworthy. The Sanskrit word *stambha* has also other meanings, including "stiffness" and "arrogance," but one would require more text of this pāda in order to fully exclude these.

Tibetan translation in the Derge Tanjur shows that this was understood as two tree names, albeit different ones, the Bodhi tree and the Pāṭala. See Derge Tanjur no. 4117, 'Dul ba Vu 7a4: byan chub dan pa ta la'i lo ma'am lag mthil gyi rnam pa lta bu'o ||.

On the Banyan tree in Indian literature and art, see, e.g., Syed 1990: 389–419.

There might be one exception, namely *aśvatthayaṣṭi* in Mvu(S) II 23.11, and in the same context also in L<sup>H</sup> 464.20. However, since this is mentioned within a description of events occurring simultaneously to the birth of the Bodhisattva, it is not entirely certain that this indeed refers to the Bodhi tree.

According to a depiction from Bharhut, labelled in the inscription as *bhagavato kasapasa bodhi* (Lüders/Waldschmidt/Mehendale 1963: 86, no. B17), and according to the *Mahāpadānasuttanta/Mahāvadānasūtra* and other texts. See, e.g., DN II: 4.14–15; MAv(F) 3a1 (the Central Asian Sanskrit text not preserved, but fragments can be found in the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript from the larger Gilgit area, folio 90v2–7); a *Prātimokṣasūtra* of a Mahāsāṃghika branch (Karashima 2013: 84, folio 115v2); MhMVR(T) 13.22. These texts also include lists the Bodhi trees of all seven Buddhas.

The word describes in the *Lalitavistara* about six times the Buddha or Bodhisattva (L<sup>H</sup> 290: 2.5b; 606: 13.7b; L<sup>H1</sup> 100: 15.18d; L<sup>H14</sup> 342: 19.54d; 344: 19.55d; L<sup>H23</sup> 102 25.8c [or referring to the dharma?]), three times awakening (L<sup>H</sup> 590: 12.33d; L<sup>H8</sup> 34: 15.136c; L<sup>H18</sup> 68: 21.170a), twice [discriminative] understanding (*prajñā*; L<sup>H</sup> 338: 4.6d; 666: 13.149d); once the dharma eye (*dharmacakṣus*; L<sup>H</sup> 336.24), once the gait (*gati*; L<sup>H13</sup> 198.6), once the dharma (L<sup>H23</sup> 98: 25.1a), and once the (dharma) wheel (L<sup>H25</sup> 270: 26.44a).

Another suggestion for the word might perhaps fit even better into the context, but it is likewise by no way sure. A very similar word is Skt. *stamba* (also spelled *stambha*) "grass tuft," and the following word starting with *ne* might perhaps be restored to *ne(ga-)* or *ne(ge)* (— ; Skt. *aneka* or *naika*) "many." With this interpretation, the episode of receiving grass from the grass cutter Svastika could be hinted at here, which would nicely fit into the sequence of the events mentioned in this stanza. Theoretically, even more possible interpretations for the very few preserved akṣaras of this pāda might be offered, such as reading *stabhaṇe* (cf. Skt. *stambhana*) "stiffness, stopping, supporting," whatever this would mean here.

**26c)** After the Bodhisattva had done what the absolutive *stavia* ( $\simeq -$ ) denotes, he sat down at this place (*tatra niṣaṇo*;  $- \circ \circ - \circ$ ; Skt. *tatra niṣaṇṇa*), which probably refers to the Bodhi tree or the seat under it. The form *stavia* can be explained as deriving from  $\sqrt{stu}$  (P *thavitvā*, *thavitvāna*, *thunitvā*; Skt. *stutvā*) "having praised," but as already mentioned, the praise of the Bodhi tree is not generally known to be an important event in the course of the events the stanza seems to describe. A much better understanding could be achieved when this is also seen in connection to the grass-cutter episode, in the sense of, "After [the grass] was spread out on [the seat, the Bodhisattva] sat down." But since *stavia* can thus far hardly be explained as representing a form of Skt.  $\sqrt{str}$ , unless one assumes once again a scribal error, it might perhaps alternatively also be understood as an irregular absolutive of Skt.  $\sqrt{stha}$  (usually P *thapetvā[na]*, *thapayitvā[na]*; BHS according to BHSG p. 237: *sthapetvā*, *sthapitvā[nā]*, but cf. also *pratiṣthapiya*; Skt. *sthāpayitvā*), leading to the translation of "having placed [the grass] there, [he] sat down."

The reading of the following expression is certain, but its segmentation as pava vi vare, or pava vivare, or pavavivare (- - - -) as well as its meaning remain unclear. The following attempts for an explanation are only suggestions. Perhaps this somehow refers to Māra, but perhaps also not. The word vivare might (A) be a locative singular or an instrumental plural of P/Skt. vivara "sore point, vulnerable point," but it seems difficult to construct it within a meaningful sentence. Besides (B), the words vare or vivare could be preterite forms from  $\sqrt{vr}$  "to cover, to obstruct, to prevent" or (C)  $vi\sqrt{vr}$  "to open, to reveal," the first possibility of which appears to make more sense here. The word pāpa "evil deed" is also frequently found as the object of a form from  $\sqrt{vrj}$  and  $vi\sqrt{vrj}$  "to avoid." But even then, if one assumes the scribe confused accidentally the aksaras  $re(\mathcal{G})$  and  $je(\mathcal{G})$ , the correct preterite would still require a heavy medial syllable (G vivaji/vivaje, or better vivarji/vivarje; ~ - -), which would violate the meter. Perhaps this is nevertheless no coincidence, and, provided that the understanding of the words is possible, the author chose a form of  $\sqrt{r}$  exactly because of the similarity with the more familiar expression, but for metrical reasons. Another interpretation (D) can be gained by assuming errors of the scribe. Emending the expression to padavavare (Skt. pādapavare) "under the best of trees," would solve all problems. With this expression, the pāda becomes easily intelligible. Based on the shape of the aksaras (E), especially the similarity of va (7) with dha (TT), one might also consider *padhavivare* (Skt. *prthivīvare*) "at the best of [place of] earth," but this leaves a metrical inconsistency, because the first syllable has to be heavy.<sup>387</sup>

For the expression  $samkhara\ bhaña\ (----; Skt.\ samskārān\ bhañjan\ or\ something similar?)$  no direct parallels could be detected. It probably refers to the awakening. With gaining

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> I am very grateful to Richard Salomon who suggested the interpretations D and E.

the needed insight, all conditions for future rebirth, based on previously performed actions (*karman*), are destroyed. <sup>388</sup> Synonyms would include, e.g., *kṣīṇāḥ āsravāḥ* "[karman-related] influences [are] exhausted," or some term that refers to the destruction of defilements (*kleśa*).

**26d)** The first word *stava* (==) probably represents P/Skt. *stava* "praise." This might refer to events after awakening. The *Lalitavistara* contains for example a whole chapter with various hymns after the awakening, named *Abhistavaparivarta* (chapter 23). The earth goddess called Sthāvarā in the *Lalitavistara* (LH17 418.8) also comes to mind, but here, it seems that after *stava* a new word starts beginning with *i*-. Although the tiny traces of the following akṣara would allow an uncertain reading of the word as *ime* "these," there are also other possibilities, and without more preserved text, this remains rather speculative.

# 27. (v9–10) *Ña*

Since  $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$  "knowledge, insight" can be a synonym to *bodhi* "awakening," this stanza might be seen in continuation of the topics addressed in the previous stanza, albeit not necessarily.

**27a)** The manuscript reads clearly *saṃkhataprata* ( $- \circ - \circ$ ), which one could perhaps also read as two words *saṃkhata* and *prata*, but it seems easier to assume a compound in this context. Two interpretations may be suggested. (A) The word *saṃkhata* (Skt. *saṃskṛta*) already occurred in pāda 25c in *sarvasaṃkhatam ita* ( $- \circ - \circ \circ \circ -$ ) "everything conditioned," and it could here generally denote the transitory existence, or mortal world. 389 Thus, the whole pāda might freely be

The word saṃskāra can mean different things, including a designation for all conditioned things (= dharma or saṃskṛta). The Lalitavistara stanza starting with laghu bhajjati sarvasaṃskṛtaṃ (L<sup>H</sup> 638, stanza 13.94), which is quoted above in n. 373, has probably nothing to do with the context of pāda 26c. On the other hand, the stanzas 24.66−67 in L<sup>H21</sup> 356 (meter Āryā) offer a wordplay with forms of √bhañj in a comparable context: bhinnā mayā hy avidyā □ dīptena jñānakaṭhinavajre-ṇa, □ prāptaṃ ca daśabalatvaṃ □ tasmāt prabhinadmi paryaṅkaṃ. □ prāptaṃ mayārahatvaṃ □ kṣīṇā me āśravā (read āṣravā) niravaśeṣāḥ, □ bhagnā ca namucisenā □ bhinadmi tasmād dhi paryaṅkaṃ. Cf. also, e.g., Sn 731, meter Anuṣṭubh: yaṃ kiñci dukkhaṃ sambhoti, sabbaṃ saṃkhāra-paccayā, □ saṃkhārānaṃ nirodhena n'atthi dukkhassa sambhavo.

For this usage of saṃskṛta, cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 544, stanza 11.18, meter Vasantatilakā: tasmiṃś ca pārthivavarasya kṛṣāṇagrāme ¬ jambudrumo 'bhavad anekaviśālaśākhaḥ, ¬ dṛṣṭvā kumāra pratividdha dukhena cārto ¬ dhik saṃskṛteti bahuduḥkha kṛpāṃ karoti; 630, stanzas 13.66–67, meter Pañcacāmara: kṣīṇā ti kalpa aprameya te ca buddha nirvṛtās ¬ tavāpi sarvi ātmabhāva te ca nāma kva gatāḥ, ¬ kṣayāntadharmi sarvi bhāvu nāsti nityu saṃskṛte ¬ anitya kāma rājyabhoga niṣkramā purottamāt. ¬ jarā ca vyādhi mṛtyu enti dāruṇo mahābhayā ¬ hutāśano 'va ugrateja bhīma kalpasaṃkṣaye, ¬ kṣayāntadharma sarvi bhāvu nāsti nitya saṃskṛte ¬ sukṛcchraprāpta sattva ⟨dṛṣṭvā?⟩ niṣkramā guṇaṃdharā; 638, stanza 13.94, meter Vaitālīya: laghu bhajjati sarvasaṃskṛtaṃ ¬ acirasthāyi nabhe 'va vidyataḥ, ¬ ayu kālu tavā upasthitaḥ ¬ samaye niṣkramaṇāya suvrataḥ; 690, stanza 14.29, meter Śālinī: yat te dṛṣṭv\ðā vṛkṣamūloddhṛtānī ¬ keśā(ṃ) lūnā(ṃ) dakṣiṇenādṛśāsi, ¬ kṣipraṃ gope kleśajālaṃ chinitvā ¬ dṛṣṭījālaṃ uddharī saṃskṛtātaḥ; 692, stanza 14.35: yat te dṛṣṭaṃ muktahāraṃ prabhagnaṃ ¬ chinnaṃ caiva svarṇasūtraṃ vicitraṃ, ¬ kṣipraṃ gope kleśajālaṃ chinitvā ¬ saṃjñā sūtraṃ uddharī saṃskṛtātaḥ; RP 14.11–12, meter Vasantatilakā: na trāṇam anyaśaraṇaṃ hi parāyaṇaṃ vā ¬ lokasya saṃskṛtagatau bhramato 'sti kaścit | mayi sarva eva parimocayitavya satvā ¬ ity artham eva praṇidhir mama agrabodhau ||.

rendered as "Knowing [that] the sentient beings, living in the mortal world (or: have fallen into saṃsāra), are in pain [and are] always without shelter." However, the compound saṃkhataprata, especially in combination with the word prata (Skt. prāpta) "attained" seems slightly unusual, and it might be asked whether it is correct at all. (B) When one alternatively emends once again two syllables and assumes another word that sounded similar, like saṃkaḍaprata or saṃkaḍaprata (Skt. saṃkaṭaprāpta) "run into trouble," a slightly better meaning may be achieved. This would additionally have the advantage that such a compound can actually be found in other Buddhist texts. 390

Duhida or duhita ( $\sim \sim$  -; Skt. duḥkhita) "being in pain" is also found in pādas 19c, 28a, and 33c in the same position in the meter. In pāda 28a, satva ( $- \sim$ ; Skt. sattva) is also included. Atraṇabhuṭa or atraṇabhuṭa saṭa ( $- \sim \sim - \sim \times$ ; Skt. atrāṇabhūtāḥ [or -tān] sadā) "always without shelter" occurs in the same position in the meter in pādas 5c, 33c, and 39a.

**27b)** After realizing that the beings suffer, this pāda would probably have mentioned some kind of a countermeasure on behalf of the Buddha, that is either achieved "due to [this knowledge]" or "with [his] knowledge" ( $\tilde{n}anena$ ; --; Skt.  $j\tilde{n}anena$ ).

**27c)** The third pāda is fairly well preserved, but some details remain uncertain in the interpretation, mainly depending on how the word(s) *saṃñaṇita* or *saṃña ṇita* are understood.

In the second interpretation (B), **ahusaṃña** ( $\sim \sim - \sim$ ; BHS ahusaṃjñā/ahasaṃjñā; Skt. ātma-saṃjñā) has been taken as a compound in the meaning "the wrong idea of 'I'," partially influenced by the occurrence of a similar compound in the *Ratnaguṇasañcayagāthās*. <sup>391</sup> This,

The compound is not rare. Cf., e.g., Kp 211: saṅkaṭaprāptān sattvān; Kp 232: mayā saṅkaṭaprāptāḥ prathamam anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau samādāpitā niveśitāḥ pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ; a birch-bark manuscript of the Sarvagatipariśodhana-uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī, written in Gilgit/Bamiyan Type 1, and preserved in the Miho Museum, folio 4v2: sarvasamkaṭaprāptānām duḥkhārṇavapatitānām satvānām arthāya. It is also contained in stock phrases occurring in texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, e.g., in Avś I 16.16 (kaḥ kṛcchraprāptaḥ ⟨kaḥ saṃkaṭaprāptaḥ) kaḥ saṃbādhaprāptaḥ kaḥ kṛcchrasaṃkaṭasaṃbādhaprāptaḥ), and many other places; Divy 95.26, 124.22, 265.7; Saṅghabh II 157.9–11.

Rgs(Y) XXXI.6, meter Vasantatilakā: rakṣantu śīla pariṇāmayi agrabodhau □ na ca tena manyati na cātma ukarṣayeyā | ahasaṃjñatā ca paravarjita sattvasaṃjñā □ sthitu śīlapāramita vuccati bodhisattvo ||; XXXI.11: ahasaṃjña vastumamatā bhavate ca rāgo □ kutu tyāgabuddhi bhaviṣyāti hi momuhānāṃ | mātsarya preta bhavate upapadyayātī □ athavā manuṣyi tada bhoti daridrabhūto ||. The usual

however leaves the difficulty that neither nita ( $- \circ$ ; cf. Skt.  $n\bar{\imath}tv\bar{a}$ , abs. of  $\sqrt{n\bar{\imath}}$ ) is really clear, nor how this exactly relates to "the fire of knowledge" ( $\tilde{n}anagi$ ), which one would expect to burn or destroy the "wrong idea of 'I'." An attempt for a provisional translation would be: "The powerful one directed the wrong idea of "I" into the fire of knowledge, having attained blissful awakening," and it can be assumed that similar to the first interpretation (A), the sentence would somehow continue in the concluding pāda.

# 28. (v11-12) *Ťa*

The structure of the stanza might have been as follows, although the details are pure speculation:

Tormented by the power of passion  $(r\bar{a}gava\acute{s}a)$ , sentient beings suffer and go (to bad destinies),

(Tormented by the power of hatred [dveṣavaśa or doṣavaśa], they suffer other bad consequences),

Tormented by the power of delusion (mohavaśa), they are devoured by craving, ...,

To (those) tormented (beings, you / the Buddha / the savior shows a way out of the misery).

One may also compare the difficult stanza 41 on the letter Ta. Both letters most probably can represent equivalents to Skt. -rta, and words originating from  $\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$  (caus.) "to rescue, save" appear to be likely candidates for illustrating these letters. Despite that it remains uncertain whether any similar word was contained here, and all pādas start with  $a\dot{t}a$  (--; Skt.  $\bar{a}rta$ ) "tormented," the hope of rescue seems nevertheless somehow alluded to. A stanza from the  $Sam\bar{a}dhir\bar{a}jas\bar{u}tra$  contains a few similar words. <sup>393</sup>

**28a)** The exact form of *gatsata*  $(-- \sim)$  is not entirely clear, except for that is comes from  $\sqrt{gam}$ . First, a medial *-ts-* sometimes corresponds to Skt. *-cchr-* in this manuscript, but it can also represent Skt. *-ts-* and *-nts-/-mts-*. Depending on this, the word can either be derived from *gacch*-(presence stem) or \**gants-* (future stem). It is also not fully clear whether or not the scribe might have forgotten to add a vowel marker at the end. Thus, the word either represents a present

Sanskrit term is  $\bar{a}tmasamj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ , which occurs rather frequently. In Gandhari texts  $atvasa\tilde{n}a$  is attested thus far (BC 6, line r10, Schlosser 2020: 138, §3).

As comparison for this idea, cf., e.g., ĀJM 19.15–16, prose: jñānāgninirdagdhasarvakleśendhanaḥ; Avalokitasiṃha's Dharmasamuccaya stanza 14.37: jñānena muktir bhavati na ca kleśair ihocyate | jñānāgninā hi dahyante kleśakāṣṭhān aśeṣataḥ; LH21 346, stanza 24.14, meter Āryā: iha sā akāryakartrī □ bhavatṛṣṇācāriṇī tathāvidyā, □ sānuśayamūlajālā □ paṭunā jñānāgninā dagdhā(ḥ); 348, stanza 24.30: iha maya kileśagahanāḥ □ saṃkalpanirūḍhamūla bhavavṛṣṣāḥ, □ smṛtiparaśunā aśeṣā □ chinnā jñānāgninā dagdhā(ḥ); 350, stanza 24.32: iha jālinī aśeṣā □ ṣaṭṭriṃśaticāriṇī dharaṇimaṇḍe, □ pra-jñāsinā balavatā □ chittvā jñānāgninā dagdhā; Mvu(S) I 177.3–4, meter Anuṣṭubh: dṛṣṭiviṣaṃ taṃ ghoraṃ ca dagdhvā jñānāgninā prabhūḥ | anuttrāsitāsantrastā paraṃ pradanti prāṇināṃ ||; VAV VIII.8: te 'py upakleśaduṣṭatvāt sāmānyākāratāḍitāḥ | saṃtarjanolmukānīva jñānāgnāv eva te hutāḥ ||.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> Samādh(D) 581, stanza 37.74, meter Dodhaka: *māramatena ca mohita sattvā* □ *rāgavaśānugatābhini-viṣṭāḥ | mohavaśena tu mohita bālā* □ *yeṣa na rocati śūnyata śāntaḥ ||.* 

participle (m. nom. pl.; *gatsata* "going"), or, if it is emended to *gatsat(i)*, a normal present (3rd pl.; "[they] go"), or, perhaps the best guess, a future ("[they] will go").

The question then arises where these beings will go, but this is unfortunately not clearly legible. The syllables *avi* are either the beginning of a word with two heavy syllables (--) or with only one heavy syllable  $(\cong)$ , or they might represent the word *avi* (Skt. *api*) in one heavy syllable  $(\cong)$ . The rest would be speculation.<sup>394</sup>

**28b)** It is tempting to imagine that this pāda contained something like \*doṣavaśeṇa (Skt. dveṣavaśeṇa or doṣavaśeṇa) "the influence of hatred" in analogy to ragavaśeṇa (Skt. rāgavaśeṇa) and mohavaśeṇa (Skt. mohavaśeṇa) in the other two pādas, but there is no way of knowing.

**28c)** For *ghrasida* ( $\sim \sim$  -; Skt. *grasta*, in BHS or m.c. also *grasita*) "consumed, devoured," *vyasighrasida* (Skt. *vyādhigrasta*) "consumed by illness" (or read *vyasi ghrasa(di)*) in pāda 39c, and *śoga ghrasiti* (or emend to *śogaghrasita* "consumed by sorrow") in pāda 20a, may be compared, always in the same position in the meter. Similar compounds or usages of this word occur also in several other Buddhist and medical texts. <sup>395</sup> Of the syllables after the caesura, much is still preserved and legible, but what it may mean remains unclear (see the transliteration of line v12 on p. 78).

**28d)** Since nothing more is visible than the first three syllables, it seems that understanding  $a\dot{q}ana$  (--; Skt.  $\bar{a}rt\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ ) as genitive plural makes the best sense, but the reading is not entirely certain (see p. 78, n. 231), and naturally, the word might also be segmented differently as  $a\dot{q}a$  and another word beginning with na.

At several places, grasta occurs in the sense of being afflicted by diseases, whereas the physician, e.g., the Buddha, provides, if possible, a remedy. Cf., e.g., BBh 283.17–284.1, prose: ye vyādhitapuruṣa iva kleśagrastā mahāvaidyasya tathāgatasyottarād uttaratarām uttaratamām uttānād uttānatarām gambhīrād gambhīratarām gambhīratamām hīnād udārām udāratarām udāratamām dharmadeśanām samyagvyapadeśam avavādānuśāsanīm nāvataramti nādhimucyamte na pratipadyante dharmasyānudharmam; Mvu(S) I 352.17: kuṣṭhavyādhinā grastā; Suv-av(Raj) 46.12–14, § 46, prose: tathā kleśavyādhigrastānām sattvānām dharmadeśanābhaiṣajyapradānena vicikitsam karoti suvaidyavat.

In Dhp<sup>K</sup> 256a, the word *aviaṇada* (Skt. *avijānataḥ*) "not understanding" is found, which sounds similarly, but its meaning does not seem to ideally fit into this pāda.

For grasta and grasati, cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 618, stanza 13.36, meter: a kind of Atyaṣṭi: tava praṇidhī purime bahukalpām lokapradīpā ¬ jaramaraṇagrasite ahu loke trāṇu bhaviṣye, ¬ smara purimapraṇidhim narasiṃhā yā ti abhūṣīd ¬ ayu samayo tvam ihā dvipadendrā niṣkramaṇāya; 638, stanza 13.91, meter Toṭaka: maraṇaṃ grasate bahuprāṇiśataṃ ¬ makareva jalāhari bhūtagaṇaṃ, ¬ garuḍo uragaṃ mṛgarā-ja gajaṃ ¬ jvalaneva tṛṇoṣadhibhūtagaṇaṃ; Mvu(S) I 305.13–14, meter Anuṣṭubh: tam enaṃ brāhmaṇā dṛśya mālinīm apsaropamām | rāgagrasitacittāś ca ullapanti punar punaḥ ||; Mvu(M) III 399.10–11, meter Anuṣṭubh: kṛcchreṇa me adhigato alaṃ dāni prakāśituṃ | anuśrotaṃ hi vuhyanti kāmeṣu grasitā narā ||; Śākyasiṃhajātaka 153.9 (ed. Hahn 2007), prose: jarāmaraṇagrastān dehino 'valokya; Saṃghāṭa(C) § 243.22, meter Anuṣṭubh: udārai ramito bhogair manasaṃbṛhaṇair api | sparśaṃ ca su-kumāraṃ me tṛṣṇāgrastena sevitaṃ; § 253.41: vrajanti narakaṃ satvās tiryakpreteṣu vai tathā | dveṣa-grastā ime bālās teṣāṃ śāntiḥ kathaṃ bhavet; § 253.65: viśvāsaṃ hi mayājñātaṃ lobhagrastena ceta-sā | śāntaṃ dharmaṃ nopalabdhaṃ maraṇaṃ nābhinanditaṃ; Suv-av(Raj) 68.9–10, § 67, stanza 8, meter Anuṣṭubh: na chinnaḥ śokanistriṃśair na prāptaḥ śokaśatrubhiḥ | na grastaḥ śokamakarair na dagdhaḥ śokavahninā ||; VAV VII.11, meter Anuṣṭubh: ku[d]ṛṣṭivimatigrasto brāhmaṇaḥ kiṃ bhaviṣyati | na ceme granthayo 'nyatra cchidyante tvanmatād ṛte ||.

#### 29. (v13–14) Bha

The stanza possibly refers to the first words of the Bodhisattva spoken immediately after he was born. This interpretation depends on the first syllables after the caesura in the first pāda reading sata p.  $(-- \sim)$ . This can represent in this context sata p(ada), sata  $p(a\underline{t}a)$ , or sata  $p(ada\underline{n}i)/p(a\underline{t}a\underline{n}i)$   $(-- \sim -[-]$ ; Skt. sapta  $pad\bar{a}ni$ ) "seven steps." However, when segmented differently, this could also be something else. As an alternative understanding, the stanza might refer to the Buddha teaching the dharma in general.

**29a)** For the word *achabi* ( $\sim - \sim$ ; Skt. *acchambhin*) "without fear," which also occurs in pāda 8a and hints at the comparison of the Buddha with a lion, the comments to pādas 6a and 8a may be compared. The Bodhisattva usually strides seven steps, according to some texts, like a lion, and into each direction, saying one, four, or more sentences, as a vow or promise. <sup>396</sup>

On text passages mentioning the first seven steps and what the Bodhisattva said, see n. 343 (containing the word *gati* or form of  $\sqrt{gam}$ ), and n. 344 (containing *balavīrya* and *girāṃ*  $\sqrt{muñc}$ ).

Passages containing  $\sqrt{v\bar{a}c}$  and  $\sqrt{bh\bar{a}s}$  include, e.g., Divy 389.19–22, meter Anustubh: idam hi prathamam caityam buddhasyottamacakşuşah | jātamātreha sa munih prakrāntah saptapadam bhuvi || caturdiśam avalokya **vācam bhāsitavān** purā | ivam me paścimā jātir garbhāvāsaś ca paścimah ||: DN II 15.7-13: dhammatā esā bhikkhave. sampatijāto bodhisatto samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho **sattapada**vītihārena gacchati, setamhi chatte anuhīramāne sabbā ca disā viloketi āsabhiñ ca **vā**cam bhāsati: aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, n'atthi 'dāni punabbhavo ti; Maitreyavy(Zh) stanzas 35–37, meter Anuştubh: padāni jātamātraś ca saptāsau prakamişyati | pade pade nidhānam ca padmam padmam bhavişyati || diśaś catasraś codvīkṣya **vācaṃ** pravyāhariṣyati | iyaṃ me paścimā jātir nāham bhūyah punarbhava(h) | na punar abhyāgamisyāmi nirvāsyāmi nirāsravah || saṃsārārṇavamagnānām satvānām duḥkhabhāginām | tṛṣṇābandhanabaddhānām kariṣyāmi vimocanam | f; MAv(F) 5d.1–3: dharmatā khalu sāṃpratajāto vipaś(y)ī (bodhi)satvaḥ sapt(a padāni prakrāntaḥ parigṛhīto na kasmim)ś(c)ic catu(rdiśa)ñ ca vyavalokayati **vācañ** ca **bhāṣate** iyaṃ me bhave(t paśc)imā jā(tiḥ) [...] (meter: Jagatī with irregularities:) jāto hy (e)sa sapta padāni prakramad  $\Box$  di  $- \lor - lo(k)y(a)$  v(ācaṃ) ca bhāṣ(at)e (•)  $\dot{s}(r)e - \cdots - \cdots - \cdots \times \Box = - \cdots - nti$  deva (||); MN III 123.18–23: sampatijāto, ānanda, bodhisatto samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho sattapadavītihāre gacchati, setamhi chatte anubhīramāne sabbā ca disā viloketi, āsabhiñ ca vācam bhāsati: aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā jāti, na 'tthi dāni punabbhavo ti; Sanghabh I 45.9–14: dharmatā khalu sāmpratajāto bodhisattvah saptapadāni prakrāntah parigrhīto na kenacit; caturdiśam ca vyavalokayati; **vācam** ca **bhāṣate**: iyam pūrvā dik pūrvamgamo bhavişyāmi nirvāṇāya; iyam dakṣiñā (read dakṣiṇā) dakṣiṇīyo bhaviṣyāmi kṛtsnasya (jagataḥ; iyaṃ paścimā dik, mama paścimam janma bhavişyati; iyam uttarā dik, bhavasamsārād utttarişyāmi iti\ (The Gilgit manuscript, folio 363v5-6 contains several errors and omissions. It reads without corrections: dharmatā khalu sāmpratajāto bodhisatvah sapta padāni prakrāntah {{a}}parigṛhīto na kenacit\* caturdiśam ca vyavalokayati vācam ca bhāṣate | iyam pūrvā dik\* pūrvaṃgamo bhaviṣyāmi nirvāṇā iyaṃ dakṣiṇau daksinīvo bhavisvāmi krtsnasva).

For Lalitavistara passages, see, L<sup>H</sup> 442.22–444.17, prose: atha tasmin samaye bodhisattvaḥ **siṃha** iva vigatabhayabhairavo 'saṃtrastaḥ **astambhī** sucintitaṃ smṛtvā cintayitvā (tulayitvā) sarvasattvā-nāṃ cittacaritāni jñātvā aparigṛhīto bodhisattvaḥ pūrvāṃ diśam abhimukhaḥ **saptapadāni** prakrāmati sma. pūrvaṃgamo bhaviṣyāmi sarveṣāṃ kuśal(amūl)ānāṃ dharmāṇām. yatra yatra ca bodhisattvaḥ padam utkṣipati sma, tatra tatra padmāni prādurbhavanti sma. dakṣiṇāṃ diśam abhimukhaḥ saptapadāni prakrāmati sma. dakṣiṇīyo bhaviṣyāmi devamanuṣyāṇām. paścimāṃ diśam abhimukhaḥ saptapadāni prakāntaḥ, saptame pade sthitvā siṃha iva hlādanātmikāṃ vācaṃ bhāṣate sma. ahaṃ loke jyeṣṭho 'haṃ loke śreṣṭhaḥ. iyaṃ me paścimā jātiḥ. kariṣyāmi jātijarāmaraṇasyāntam. uttarāṃ diśam abhimukhaḥ saptapadāni prakrāntaḥ, anuttaro bhaviṣyāmi sarvasattvānām. adhastād diśam abhimukhaḥ

29b) The second pada might have contained a summary or paraphrase of these first words.

**29c)** This pāda might introduce another key sentence of the first words of the Bodhisattva, starting with **bhaṣata gira** (----) "speaking [this] speech" parallel to **bhaṇadi vaya**  $(\simeq ---)$  "speaks the words" in pāda 29a. <sup>397</sup> As another approach, a completely different sentence may also start here, referring to other events when the Bodhisattva or Buddha speaks or teaches.

The interpretation of the words after the caesura is not fully certain; there may be more than one possibility. (A) If the words are segmented as **so viñavi ṇayag(o)** (------), viñavi represents a preterite of the causative of  $vi\sqrt{j\tilde{n}\tilde{a}}$  and the phrase means "he, the leader, made known." What he spoke would then be said in the last pāda, which is now lost.<sup>398</sup>

(B) When the words are read as **soviña vi ṇayag(o)**  $(-- - - - - \times)$ , they may be understood as "[so] wise [is] the leader," or "[I will be] a wise leader." However, the word **soviña** 

saptapadāni prakrāntaḥ, nihansyāmi māraṃ ca mārasenāṃ ca, sarvanairayikāṇāṃ ca nirayāgnipratighātāya mahādharmameghavṛṣṭiṃ varṣiṣyāmi, yena te sukhasamarpitā bhaviṣyanti. upariṣṭād diśam abhimukhaḥ saptapadāni prakrānta ūrdhaṃ cāvalokayati sma, ullokanīyo bhaviṣyāmi sarvasattvānām. samanantarabhāṣitā ceyaṃ vāg bodhisattvena, atha tasmin samaye ayaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ svareṇābhivijñāpto 'bhūt. iyaṃ bodhisattvasya karmavipākajā abhijñādharmatā; L<sup>H11</sup> 184, stanzas 17.3−4, meter Anuṣṭubh: yadā jāto 'si me putra vane lumbinisāhvaye, □ siṃhavac cāgṛhītas tvaṃ prakrāntaḥ saptapadā(n) svayaṃ. □ diśāṃ cālokya caturo vācā te pravyāḥṛtā śubhā, □ iyaṃ me paścimā jātiḥ sā te na paripūritā; L<sup>H24</sup> 198, pādas 26.19cd, meter unknown: smara pūrvapratijña mahāmuni yā tvaya vāca kṛtā □ ahu jyeṣṭhu viśiṣṭu prajāya du{h}khasya kariṣyi kṣayaṃ.

A summarized content of the first words is also found in the Śārdūlavikrīdita pāda 2c in BC 8. Unfortunately, it is not entirely preserved. The easier legible portions read: vaya [bh](a)[sido] [...] aho moyiśa satva duhe  $(--- \circ \circ [...] \circ --- \circ -- \circ \times$ ; Skt.  $v\bar{a}cam$  bhāṣitā [...] aham mocayiṣyāmi/mocayiṣye satvān duḥkhaiḥ).

Cf. also Mvu(S) I 99.15–100.3, meter Bhujangavijṛṃbhita: hṛṣṭā tuṣṭā devā sarve tridaśaprabhṛti-bhavanacyutā pratisthihiṣur vanaṃ □ ikṣvākūnāṃ vaṃśodbhūto dharaṇitalam avatari yaśasthito aca-lādhṛti | vikramāṃś ca sapta pūrṇaṃ mṛgavṛṣarājāmatir iva rasamānīkaṃ □ jyeṣṭho śreṣṭho lokāgro haṃ na ca mama puna jaramaraṇā hato bhavupadravaḥ ||, and other occurrences in Mvu(S) I 218.17–219.4 (cf. also II 20.18–21.6), 220.9–10 (cf. also II 22.10–11), 221.18–21 (cf. also II 24.5–9), II 38.19–20, 208.12–14, 298.18–299.1, III 112.12–15 (Mvu[M] III 136.9–12), 380.9–10 (Mvu[M] III 485.11–12). For more passages, see Lamotte 1944 (Le traité I): 6–10, n. 3.

For bhaṇadi vaya, cf., e.g.: L<sup>H9</sup> 40, stanza 16.9, meter Puṣpitāgrā?: keci puna bhaṇanti candrasūryau u tatha api rāhu baliś ca vemacitrī, u keci puna bhaṇanti vācam evam u ayu so pāṇḍavaśailarājavāsī. The expression occurs also in other Pali and Sanskrit texts, albeit only few examples can be found in Sanskrit texts. The Sanskrit text with the most frequent occurrences seems to be the Samādhirājasūtra.

In the Lalitavistara passage quoted above (n. 397), the word abhivijñāpta occurs in the larger context of the seven steps. The preterite vijñapi is also attested in a similar context in the Samādhirājasūtra and the Bodhisattvapiṭaka. See Samādh(D) 91, stanzas 1–3, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: (smarāmy ahaṃ pūrvam atītam adhvani \( \) acintiye) kalpi narāṇam uttamam | utpannu lokārthakaro maharṣir \( \) nāmnā hi so 'bhāvasamudgato 'bhūt || sa jātamātro gagane (sthihitvā \( \) sarveṣa dharmāṇa abhāvu deśayī | tadānurūpaṃ kṛtu) nāmadheyaṃ \( \) śabdena sarvaṃ trisahasra vijñapī || devāpi sarve pramumoca śabdaṃ \( \) abhāvu nāmneti jino bhaviṣyati | yo jāta(mātraḥ padasapta prakramann \( \) abhāvu dharmāṇa) bravīti nāyakaḥ ||; Bodhisattvapiṭaka (transliterated by Fredrik Liland and Jens Braarvig) folio 73r5–6, meter: Anuṣṭubh with irregularities: cittaṃ sarvvaṃ prajānāti sarvasatvān asau naraḥ ' sapta padāni gacchitvā svareṇa lokaṃ ca vijñapi || jñāno sya uttamo bhoti prajñā bhavati uttamā ' vimuktir uttamā bhoti sarvasatvāna uttamaḥ ||.

(BHS  $suvij\tilde{n}a$ ) "very wise" is not frequently found, and it is uncertain whether this is really meant here. The first syllable so, standing for su, may be explained with metrical reasons. <sup>399</sup>

#### 30. (v15-16) Cha

The topic of this stanza is the renunciation of the Bodhisattva (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), which is possibly also mentioned in pāda 2a. In pāda 30a, the groom of the Bodhisattva named **Chaṇa** (P Channa, Skt. usually Chandaka, but in verses also Chanda), 400 is addressed by the Bodhisattva. What he says, or what happens next, is lost in the second pāda. Expected may be a request to saddle and bring the horse Kaṇṭhaka. In the third pāda, the gods rejoice. 401 As an alternative attempt for understanding this stanza, the four encounters of the Bodhisattva with a sick, old, and dead man, as well as with a peaceful monk may be taken into consideration. 402 In this episode, however, the most well-known texts neither mention Chandaka, while only a nameless charioteer (*sārathi*) is addressed, nor seem the gods especially moved by the events, in contrast to the description in pāda 30c.

**30a)** From the syntax, it is not entirely clear who speaks (*alavi*;  $- \circ \circ$ ; preterite of  $\bar{a} \sqrt{lap}$ ) to whom, but from the usual course of events, it is probably the Bodhisattva who talks to Chandaka, although the textual parallels do not emphasize that the Bodhisattva was especially glad (*mudido pridimaņo ha(rṣ)i(do)*;  $\circ \circ - - - \circ - \circ \circ \times$ ; Skt. *muditaḥ prītimanā harṣitaḥ*) "glad, delighted [and] thrilled." The second syllable in *pridimaṇo*  $(--\circ -)$  has to be pronounced as heavy due to the meter. Amongst the great many expressions for "to speak," forms of  $\bar{a}\sqrt{lap}$  are not very frequent in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, where they occur only a few times. Remarkably, however, these include those occurrences that are found within the episode narrated in this pāda. 403

**30c)** The phrase śabdam (**chada**; --; sg. or pl.?)  $\sqrt{kr}$  "to make (a) noise" is not frequently found for festive and joyful noises in Buddhist texts, unless it is combined with other, more positive

In one stanza of the *Udānavarga*, the word pair *suvijñeyaṃ subhāṣitam* "what has been well-said is well-comprehensible" is found, but the context is different. See Uv XXXI.27, meter Anuṣṭubh: *na pra-tyanīkasāreṇa suvijñeyaṃ subhāṣitam | upakliṣṭena cittena saṃrambhabahulena vā ||.* 

Besides Chandaka, Chanda occurs in L<sup>H</sup> 544, pāda 11.16a, L<sup>H7</sup> 38–44, pādas 15.105cd, 107ad, 108a, 109a, 113a, 114ad, 118a. The *Mahāvastu* attests only the name Chandaka.

On the events during the renunciation, involving Chandaka, cf., e.g., L<sup>H3</sup> 46–L<sup>H6</sup> 74; Mvu(S) I 154–157, II 159–166, III 262.4–11 (Mvu[M] III 336.3–10); Sanghabh I 84–91.

<sup>402</sup> On the four encounters, see, e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 672–682; Mvu(S) II 150–157; Sanghabh I 67–75.

See L<sup>H5</sup> 40, stanza 15.72, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita (Chandaka speaks to the horse Kaṇṭhaka): śrutvā chandaku devatāna vacanam tam kaṇṭhakam **ālapī** □ eṣv ā gacchati sattvasārathivarah tvam tāva heṣiṣyase, □ so tam varṣikavarṇa kāñcanakhuram svālaṃkṛtam kṛtvanā □ upanetī guṇasāgarasya vahanam rodantako durmanā; L<sup>H8</sup> 34, stanza 15.138, meter Rathoddhatā (the Bodhisattva speaks to Chandaka): rātriye rahasi yāmi madhyame □ sarvanārigaṇa saṃprasuptake, □ so tadā ca śatapuṇya-udgato □ **ālapāti** mama dehi kaṇṭhakaṃ; Mvu(S) II 159.16 (Chandaka speaks to the Bodhisattva): chandako **ālapāti**.

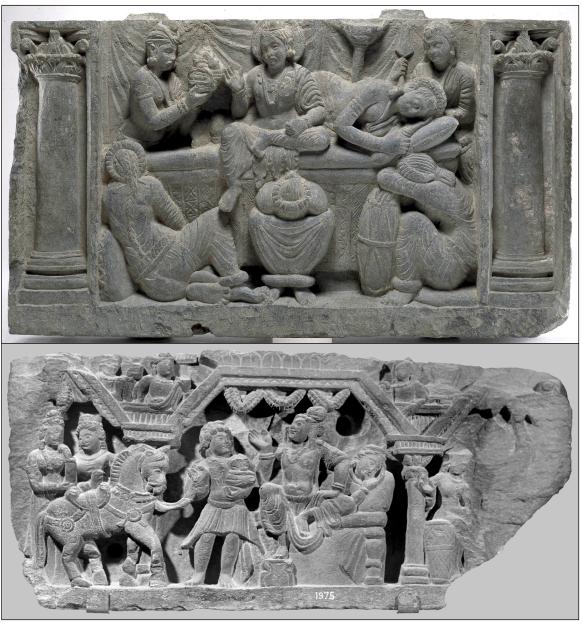


Fig. 21 The moment before the departure of the Bodhisattva from his life in the palace can be represented prominently in reliefs on stūpas and inside false gables on the front of a stūpa or over a doorway. The Bodhisattva, who has just observed the repulsive sight of the sleeping women around him, talks to Chandaka, who hands him over his turban or the reins of his horse. The conversation is indicated by the head of the Bodhisattva turned towards his groom, and by his raised hand, which sometimes also points towards him. Above: From Takht-i-Bāhī, British Museum, London (OA 1900.4–14.1; ©Trustees of the British Museum). Below: Find spot unknown, Peshawar Museum (acc. no. PM-2752 [old: 1975]; photograph from the Huntington Archive, scan no. 10326).

sounding synonyms. 404 The spelling of the preterite of  $\sqrt{kr}$  garisu ( $\sim - \sim$ ) instead of karisu (P/BHS karimsu; 3rd pl.) seems not entirely accurate, or perhaps the elided a-augment of the preterite was somehow perceived. The word dritha ( $- \sim$ ; Skt. drṣṭa) "seen" was emended to drith(v)a (Skt. drṣṭvā) "having seen" for an easier understanding. However, the shape of the akṣara dri closely resembles a hri, and perhaps the scribe even intended to write one. Therefore, the word might also represent hritha (Skt. hṛṣṭa) "excited," which would fit nicely into the context. For hakarapraśpedit(a) ( $- - \sim - - \sim \times$ ; Skt. hā[hā]kāraprakṣvedita; BHS -prakṣedita) "[consisting of] shouted exclamations," similar expressions can only at a few places be found elsewhere in Buddhist literature, but it is certainly no coincidence that the Lalitavistara contains most examples. 405 In the light of these parallels it is possible to understand hakarapraśpedit(a) as a specification of the noise (chada; Skt. śabda).

A major event in the biography of a buddha, such as the renunciation of the household life evokes usually a larger reaction on the part of the gods. They might scatter flowers, sing praises, throw or brandish garments in the air, produce earthquakes, and the like. It seems not impossible that the remaining pāda contained some information about this.

## 31. (v17-18) Spa

Both preserved pādas begin with **sparedi**  $(---; Skt. sm\bar{a}rayati)$  "[he] causes to remember" or "reminds," apparently starting new sentences, the second one of which might generalize the statement of the first one.

For a positive context, cf., e.g., L<sup>H6</sup> 76.17–78.1, prose: yadā ca bodhisattvena cūdām chittvā kāṣāyāṇi vastrāṇi prāvṛtāni tasmin samaye devaputraśatasahasrāḥ hṛṣṭās tuṣṭā udagrā āttamanasaḥ ⟨parama⟩-pramuditāḥ prītisaumanasyajātā hīhīkārakilikilāprakṣeḍitanirnādanirghoṣaśabdam akārṣuḥ.

Gods and men celebrate, when various deities (Śiva, Skanda, Kuvera, Candra Sūrya, Vaiśramaṇa, Śakra, Brahmā, the Lokapālas etc.) bow down to the newly born Bodhisattva at the family shrine of the Śākyas (devakula; in other texts than the Lalitavistara, the Śākyavardhana shrine): LH 512.13–14: tatra devamanuṣyaśatasahasrāṇi hīhīkārakilikilāprakheditaśatasahasrāṇi prāmuñcan. cailavikṣepāṇi cā-kārṣuḥ;

when the Bodhisattva throws the carcass of an elephant, which was killed by Devadatta, to the outside of the city during the contests before his marriage: L<sup>H</sup> 566.11–12: tatra devamanujāśatasa-hasrāṇi hāhākārakilikilā**prakṣeḍita**śatasahasrāṇi prāmuñcaṃś cailavikṣepāṃś cākārṣuḥ;

when the Bodhisattva wins the counting contest: L<sup>H</sup> 582.1–2: *tatra devamanujaśatasahasrāṇi hā-hākārakilikilāprakṣeḍi(ta)śatasahasrāṇi prāmuñcan*;

when the Bodhisattva wins the wrestling contest: L<sup>H</sup> 584.21: *tatra marunmanujaśatasahasrāṇi hī-hīkārakilikilāprakṣeḍāśatasahasrāṇi akārṣuḥ*;

when the Bodhisattva only is able to bend the bow of Simhahanu and wins the archery contests: L<sup>H</sup> 588.18–19: tatra devamanujaśatasahasrāṇi hāhākārakilikilāprakṣeḍitaśatasahasrāṇi prāmuñcan; L<sup>H</sup> 590.8–9: tatra devamanuṣyaśatasahasrāṇi hīhīkārakilikilāprakṣeḍāśatasahasrāṇi prāmuñcan;

when the Bodhisattva cuts his hair and puts on the garments of a monk: L<sup>H6</sup> 76.18–78.1: tasmin samaye devaputraśatasahasrāḥ hṛṣṭās tuṣṭā udagrā āttamanasaḥ ⟨parama⟩pramuditāḥ prītisaumanasyajātā hīhīkārakilikilāprakṣeḍitanirnādanirghoṣaśabdam akārṣuḥ;

and finally, the word is also found once in the description of the noisy, demonic army of Māra: L<sup>H16</sup> 260.9–10: kecid bhinnavikṛtabhairavarūkṣasvarāḥ huṃhuṃkārapicukārahuluhulu**prakṣeḍitāni** kurvanti sma.

A non-causative imperative of *smṛ* with references to actions or resolutions done in former lifetimes is frequently found in exhortation verses (Skt., e.g., *saṃcodana*) reminding for example the Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven to become one last time born as a human, or, to renounce the life in the palace (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), or, to teach the dharma and the like. 406

**31a)** Without the second pāda, the exact meaning of the first pāda is difficult to ascertain. It may be assumed that jino ( $\sim$ ; Skt. jina) "the victor" is the subject, and  $gu\bar{s}ago$  ( $-\sim$ -; Skt. guhyaka) is the object and that person who is reminded. However, from the word endings and the syntax, it is not unambiguously clear whether the Buddha or the guhyaka became a monk (parvayi;  $-\sim$ -; preterite of  $pra\sqrt{vraj}$ ) in a former lifetime under the Buddha Kāśyapa (kaśave;  $-\sim\times$ ). The word ya (-; Skt. yad) can theoretically either represent an indeclinable ("that") or a relative pronoun referring to the guhyaka.

As the first possibility for understanding (A), the pāda may be translated as "The victor reminds the terrible *guhyaka* that [previously] he became a monk under [the buddha] Kāśyapa." Kāśyapa probably refers to the most recent one of the past buddhas before Śākyamuni. This would, however, make only then good sense, when more deeds or events, such as donations (*dāna*) or the practice of other perfections (*pāramitā*), resolutions (*praṇidhāna*), or predictions (*vyākaraṇa*) under other past buddhas were mentioned in the following pāda. A suitable episode, which might provide the background for this pāda, is briefly narrated in the *Jātakanidāna* or *Nidānakathā* that has survived in Pali (Jā I 43) and in a Tibetan translation of the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century. According to this version, the Bodhisattva was a Brahmin youth (*māṇava*, *bram ze'i khye'u*) named Jotipāla (Skt. Jyotiṣpāla, Tib. 'Od bskyor[!]) and befriended with the potter (*kumbhakāra*) named "Potter" (P Ghaṭīkāra, Tib. Bum pa byed pa). After listening to the dharma

Exhortation to renounce the household life: L<sup>H</sup> 604, stanzas 13.3, meter Bhramaravilasita: sādho vīro smara carī purimām \( \pi \) yā te āsīj jagahitapranidhiḥ, \( \pi \) kālo velā ayu tava samayo \( \pi \) niṣkramyāhī rṣivarapravarā{h}; 612, stanza 13.22, meter Śaśikalā: kṛta tvayi hitakara bahuguṇa janatā \( \pi \) nijinitu jinaguṇa vicarati gatiṣū, \( \pi \) smara smara purimaka vratatapacaraṇā \( \pi \) laghu vraja drumavaru spṛśa padam amṛtaṃ; 618, stanza 13.36, meter: a kind of Atyaṣṭi: tava praṇidhī purime bahukalpāṃ lokapradīpā \( \pi \) jaramaraṇagrasite ahu loke trāṇu bhaviṣye, \( \pi \) smara purimapraṇidhiṃ narasiṃhā yā ti abhūṣīd \( \pi \) ayu samayo tvam ihā dvipadendrā niṣkramaṇāya; 628, stanza 13.64, meter Pañcacāmara: eti cānyi sattvasāra ye ti pūrvapūjitā \( \pi \) nānārūpa vicitra \( \pi \)ūja\( \rangle \) anyam anya kurvatā, \( \pi \) smarāhi te atītabuddha tāñ ca pūja śāstunā(m) \( \pi \) anāthasattva śokapūrṇa mā upekṣi niṣkramā {purottamā(t)}; 638, stanza 13.92, meter Toṭaka: ima īdṛśakair bahudoṣaśataih \( \pi \) jagu mocayitum kṛta yā praṇidhī, \( \pi \) smara tāṃ purimāṃ praṇidhānacarīṃ \( \pi \) ayu kālu tavā abhiniṣkramituṃ; 668, stanza 13.160, meter Āryā: mañjuruta mañjughoṣā \( \pi \) smarāhi dīpaṃkarasya vyākaraṇaṃ, \( \pi \) bhūtaṃ tathā avitathā \( \pi \) jinaghoṣarutaṃ udīrehi.

Exhortation to teach the dharma: L<sup>H24</sup> 196–198, stanza 26.19, meter unknown: *trisahasra ito bahu brahma sureśvara pāla tathā*  $\square$  *upagamya jinasya krame 'bhinipatya udāhariṣu*,  $\square$  *smara pūrvapratijīna mahāmuni yā tvaya vāca kṛtā*  $\square$  *ahu jyeṣṭhu viśiṣṭu prajāya du{h}khasya kariṣyi kṣayaṃ*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> In the Tuṣita heaven: L<sup>H</sup> 288–290, stanzas 2.1–4, meter Āryā: smara vipulapuṇyanicaya □ smṛtimati-gati-m-ananta prajñāprabhākarin, □ atulabala vipulavikrama □ vyākaraṇaṃ dīpasahanāmni; smara vipulanirmalamanas □ trimalamalaprahīṇa śāntamadadoṣa{m}, □ śubhavimalaśuddhacittā □ dānacarī yādṛśā 'ti pure; smara kulakulīna śamathaṃ □ śīlavrataṃ kṣamādamaṃ caiva, □ vīryabaladhyāna-prajñā □ niṣevitā kalpa(koṭi)nayutāni; smara smara anantakīrte □ saṃpūjitā ye ti buddha(koṭi)nayutāni, □ sattvān karuṇāyamānaḥ □ kālo 'yaṃ mā upekṣasva.

sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gźi, translated by Ñi ma rgyal mtshan, Derge Kanjur no. 32, Śer phyin Ka 213a—b; critically edited in Gaffney 2018: 77.

preached by the buddha Kassapa (Skt. Kāśyapa, Tib. 'Od sruns), he became a monk (*dhamma-katham sutvā pabbajitvā*), and received the prediction that he will become a buddha in the future.

This episode is also briefly mentioned in a stanza in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, namely in a similar context as in the *Jātakanidāna*. A Sanskrit version of this stanza survived in an inscription on a (now lost) wall painting from Bezeklik. Here, the  $m\bar{a}nava$  is called Uttara, while the potter is Nandipāla. 408

uttaro māṇavo 〈'〉bhūvaṃ kāśyapo (*read* kāśyape) dvipadottame na(nd)ipālavaca śrutvā **pravrajyāyā** kṛtā matiḥ

bram ze'i khye'u ni<sup>1</sup> bla ma'i tshe || dga' skyon gi<sup>2</sup> ni tshig thos nas || 'od srun<sup>3</sup> rkan<sup>4</sup> gñis mchog<sup>5</sup> las ni || rab tu 'byun<sup>6</sup> ba'i blo bskyed do ||

When I was the Brahmin youth Uttara, and after I heard what [the potter] Nandipāla said, I made up my mind to become a monk under the best of bipeds [named] Kāśyapa.

昔爲梵志名最勝 於兩足尊迦葉佛 由聞喜護所説語 乃得出家修淨意

1 ni LNQS] *om.* DF. 2 gi] gis F. 2 sruń DLNQ] sruńs S bsruń F. 4 rkań] rkań pa F. 5 mchog] *om.* F. 6 'byuń] byuń F.

A longer version of the tale is included in the *Majjhimanikāya* (no. 81: *Ghaṭīkarasutta*), the *Madhyamāgama* (no. 63), the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Saṅghabh II 22–30), and in other texts. 409 In some of these (*Saṅghabhedavastu* and *Anavataptagāthās*), it is explained that the Bodhisattva had to practice austerities for six years in his last lifetime, because he said as *māṇava* Uttara some harsh words about the buddha Kāśyapa, questioning his awakening, and calling him baldhead (Skt. *muṇḍaka*). This is also briefly mentioned at the very end of the seventeenth chapter of the *Lalitavistara*, which describes the ascetic practices of the Bodhisattva (*Duṣkaracaryāparivarta*), however, without revealing any other name than that of the past buddha Kāśyapa. 410 This episode is a perfect illustration of the idea of fruition of one's actions (*karmavipāka* or *karmaphala*) and it almost seems as if herein lies a possible connection to pāda 31c. However, it is rather questionable whether anything negative about the Bodhisattva was really intended to be expressed in the now lost second pāda. At least, this would not go well with the presence of the terrible *guhyaka*.

Assuming that the identification of a narrative from a former lifetime of the Bodhisattva, which occurs in the context of resolutions (pranidhāna) and predictions (vyākaraṇa) under the

The Sanskrit text has been read from old photographs. See also Lüders 1913: 865, 883, stanza no. 10. For the Tibetan text, see the Kanjur versions D: 'Dul ba Kha 279r1; F: 'Dul ba Kha 366v6–7; L: 'Dul ba Ña 112r3–4; N: 'Dul ba Kha 501v2–3; Q: 'Dul ba Ge 258r1–2; S: 'Dul ba Kha 373v4; the Chinese translation is found at T. no 1448, vol. 24: 75b21–22, translated by Huber 1914: 12 as follows: "Jadis je fus un étudiant appelé 'Suprême': auprès de Kāçyapa, le meilleur des bipèdes, ayant entendu les paroles de Nandipāla ('réjoui-protéger'), j'obtins de me faire moine et de pratiquer des pensées pures." Cf. also CEToM: s.v. THT 401.

For the various versions, see, e.g., Bechert 1961: 238–239, 247, Anavataptagāthās XXXVII, no. 10 (Tib. 710–712); Lamotte 1976 (Le traité IV): 1778–1780, n. 2; Chung/Fukita 2011: 79–81; Anālayo 2012: 155–174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> L<sup>H11</sup> 204, stanzas 39–40, meter Āryā: nihatāḥ parapravādā(ḥ) □ dhyāmīkṛta tīrthikā mativihīnāḥ, □ karmakriyā ca darśita □ yā proktā **kāśyape** vācā. □ ku nu muṇḍakasya bodhi □ bodhir iha sudurlabhā bahubhi kalpaiḥ, □ janatāyās tuṣṭyarthaṃ □ dhyāyaty āsphānakaṃ dhyānaṃ.

past buddhas, is possible, the terrible *guhyaka* (G *guṣ̃ago*) who is reminded in pāda 31a, might be Māra, who usually accuses the Bodhisattva of having no witness for his former sacrifices and therefore no right for awakening. When seen in this light, the choice of the term *jina* (G *jiṇo*) "victor" for the Buddha attains a special significance.

*Guhyaka* can be a synonym for *yakṣa* or demonic beings in general. It is sometimes found in epithets of Vajrapāṇi, who is otherwise also known as yakṣa. Additionally, it is a more specific designation for a certain group of yakṣa-like beings, especially used for the attendants of Kubera. In narratives, *guhyaka* can also be found as a form of address for yakṣas. As an epithet of Māra, however, this term seems thus far unattested, and neither is yakṣa a usual epithet, albeit it is not fully unknown.

The akṣara transliterated as  $\underline{sa}$  in  $\underline{gusago}$  represents here Skt. hya. Perhaps, this is also what it should represent in Kharoṣṭhī; however, by its shape it is indistinguishable from a normal intervocalic -sa- that would be written in this manuscript as -sa-, or, when a vowel marker is added, as -sa- (on this problem, see p. 15–16).

(B) Alternatively to the interpretation above, the story alluded to in this pāda might be another and unidentified episode from the life of the Buddha, in which he encounters a yakṣa (= guhyaka), who is reminded that he was once a monk under the past buddha Kāṣyapa. In order to make the story meaningful, one may imagine that a bad deed in that lifetime led to a (lower) rebirth as yakṣa, who is now, in the present time, converted. Amongst the narratives on famous conversions, however, no such tale could be found.  $^{415}$ 

One also has to keep in mind that there exists a great many tales situated during the time of the past buddha Kāśyapa, in which someone became a monk. This someone, however, is in the rarest case the Bodhisattva, and therefore these stories might not be relevant for the poem.

**31c)** The term  $-ko\underline{din}ayu\underline{t}a$  ( $- \cdot \cdot \cdot -$ ; Skt. kotinayuta) as part of a compound, freely translated as "myriads," occurs also in pada 25a in the same position before the caesura. The second syllable

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H5</sup> 32, stanza 15.58, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: sa cāpi guhyādhipatir mahātmā □ pradīptavajro nabhasi pratisthitaḥ (read pratisthitaḥ), □ saṃnaddhagātro balavīryavikramaḥ □ kareṇa grhya jvalamāna vajraṃ. The epithet guhyakādhipati occurs for Vajrapāṇi in the Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrā nāma aparājitā mahāpratyaṅgirā and similar texts. See, e.g., Wille 2004: 382, n. 36.

See, e.g., SHT 187 (vol. IV), folio 14r2. On the topic of *guhyaka*s in general, see Raven 1988 and Raven 1990.

In avadāna 35 (Surūpa) of the *Avadānaśataka*, Śakra assumes the shape of a yakṣa (Avś I 189.4–5: yakṣarūpam ātmānam abhinirmāya vikṛtakaracaraṇanayano) and requests the king, who was the Bodhisattva, for the blood and flesh of his own son, wife, and finally his own body, in order to receive in return a stanza on the dharma. In the dialogue, the king adresses the yakṣa as guhyaka, and the words guhyaka and yakṣa alternate in the subsequent narration of the tale.

In avadāna 38 (Dharmagaveṣin), Śakra assumes here the shape of a terrible *guhyaka* (Avś I 220.7: *guhyakarūpadhārī bhūtvā vikṛtakaracaraṇanayano*) and requests that the king, who is the Bodhisattva, burns himself in return for receiving a well-spoken (*subhāṣita*) stanza. In this tale, the synonym *yakṣa* occurs only once in the end.

As epithets for Māra occur in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, and the *Suttanipāta*, e.g., Pāpīyāṃs/Pāpīmant (P Pāpimant; L, Mvu, Sn), Namuci (L, Mvu, Sn), Pramattabandhu (Sn, L), Pramattabuddhi (Mvu), Kaṇha (Sn), Kṛṣṇabandhu (L, Mvu), and Antaka (Mvu). In the *Suttanipāta*, *yakkha* (Sn 449c), and in the corresponding pāda in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu[S] II 240.17), *yakṣa* is once attested.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> Cf. Zin 2006, where only the conversion of the yakṣa Āṭavika is discussed.

in karmaphalo (-- - -) "result of actions" has to be read as heavy due to the meter. The ending of  $nay(ago) (-- \times : Skt. nayaka)$  "leader" is only tentative, since theoretically it might also end in -a.

# 32. (v19-20) Vha

This stanza is connected to the content of the preceding one, inasmuch as it seems to refer also to deeds performed in former lifetimes, which are necessary for a bodhisattva striving for awakening. In this one, the perfection of generosity (Skt.  $d\bar{a}na$  or  $ty\bar{a}ga$ ) is most probably illustrated by enumerating living beings and perhaps other items the Bodhisattva gave up or away, possibly throughout at least three pādas. The topic is often repeated in Buddhist texts. 416

The letter Vha does generally not occur at the beginning of a word with the exception of foreign names. A genuine word would be avharaṇehi ( $- \cdot \cdot - \cdot$ ) "with ornaments" in pāda 32a, corresponding to Skt.  $\bar{a}bharaṇaih$ , while the spelling vharita ( $\simeq - \cdot$ ; Skt. bharita) "decked" as the first word of this pāda is artificial. This can be compared to pāda 42a illustrating the letter Dha, where the genuine word  $m\bar{\iota}dha$  is found in the middle part, whereas in its beginning a probably newly created spelling of a similar word can be found. By way of contrast, the spelling of the word bharita as the opening of pāda 32c stands out in this poem. Nowhere else the author or the scribe wrote a correct initial consonant of the first word in a pāda when it violates the alphabetic order. Therefore, this might be an unintended error. On the other hand, the author might also have

The content of these examples closely resembles a prose passage in the Lalitavistara and the Sanghabhedavastu, which describes the occasion, when Māra challenged the Buddha of having no witness for his former deeds. Cf. LH17 414.13–416.1: atha bodhisattvo dhīragambhīrodāraślakṣṇamadhurayā vācā māraṃ pāpīyāṃsam etad avocat. tvayā tāvat pāpīyann ekena nirargaḍena yajñena kāmeśvaratvaṃ prāptam. mayā tv anekāni yajñakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi nirargaḍāni yaṣṭāni. karacaraṇanayanottamāngāni ca {nikṛtya} nikṛtyārthibhyo dattāni. gṛhadhanadhānyaśayanavasanaṃ caṅkramodyānāni cānekaśo yācanakebhyo nisṛṣṭāni sattvānāṃ mokṣārthinā{m}; Saṅghabh I 114.20–25: bodhisattvaḥ kathayati tava tāvat pāpīyan ekaṃ yajñam iṣṭvā kāmadhātvīśvaratvaṃ saṃpannam; prāg eva yena mayā triṣu kalpāsaṅkhyeyeṣv anekāni yajñakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇīṣṭāni (ed. -koṭīni yuta-); sattvānāṃ cārthāya śiraḥkaracaraṇanayanamāṃsarudhirasutadārahiraṇyasuvarṇādi parityaktam anuttarajñānādhigamāya.

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 378, stanza 5.65, meter Rathoddhatā: pūrvi tubhya bahukalpakoṭiyo □ dānu dattu priyaputradhītarāḥ, □ tasya dānacaritasya tat phalam □ yena divyakusumāḥ pravarṣitāḥ; 624, stanza 13.52, meter Pañcacāmara: tyaktu pūrvi ratnakośa svarnarūpyabhūṣaṇā □ yaṣṭā ti yajña naikarūpa tāsu tāsu jātiṣū, □ tyaktā ti bhāryaputradhīta kāyu rāj(y)u jīvitam □ bodhihetur aprameya tyaktu dustyajās tvayā; L<sup>H3</sup> 48−50, stanza 15.33, meter unknown: chandaka yasya arthi mama pūrvi (read pūrvaṃ?) □ tyakta karacaraṇanayanā tatha uttamānga tanayā bhāryā, □ priyāś ca rājyadhanakanakavasana (read -vasanā?) □ ratha ratnapūrṇa gajaturaga anilajavavega vikramavarāḥ, □ śīla mi rakṣi kṣānti paribhāvi (read -bhāvī?) □ vīryabaladhyānaprajñanirataś ca āsi bahukalpakoṭinayutāṃ, □ kim tu spṛśitva bodhiśivaśānti(m) □ jaramaraṇapañjaranirastasattvaparimocanasya samayo hy upasthitu mamā; L<sup>H20</sup> 242, stanza 23.23, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: bhāryā ceṣṭatamā{m} sutāś ca dayitā{m} dāsyaś ca dasās tathā □ udyānā nagarāṇi rāṣṭranigamā rājyāni āntaḥpurāḥ, □ hastā pāda śirottamāngam api cā cakṣūṃṣi jihvās tathā □ tyaktās te varabodhicaryacaratā tenādya vibhrājase; L<sup>H24</sup> 200, stanza 26.25, meter unknown: dhanadhānya hiraṇyasuvarṇa tathaiva ca vastra śubhā(ḥ) □ varapuṣpavilepanadhūpanacūrṇa gṛhāś ca varāḥ, □ antaḥpura rājya priyātmaja tyakta praharṣayato □ jinabodhigaveṣata so 'bhivibuddha pravartaya cakravaraṃ.

wanted to differentiate the spellings of the words from each other, since they probably differ in their meaning.

- **32a)** In case the assumption that this pāda is part of a larger enumeration with the verb being either not preserved or to be found in pāda 32c with cata (-; Skt. tyakta or perhaps also  $tyaktv\bar{a}$ ) "(having) given away" or "abandoned," is not accepted, this pāda might alternatively also be translated as "Many sons, wife(s) and (daughters?) [are/were] decked with ornaments." The akṣara after  $a\underline{s}a$  ( $\sim$  -; Skt. probably atha) is mostly lost, but a tiny remnant of an e- or possibly i-vowel marker can still be seen. A tentative suggestion for a reconstruction of the final word in this pāda might therefore be  $(dh)i(\underline{t}ara) / (dh)i(\underline{t}are)$ , or (dh)i(dara) / (dh)i(dare) ( $-\sim \times$ ; P  $dh\bar{t}ta(r)$ ,  $dh\bar{t}t\bar{t}a$ ; BHS  $dh\bar{t}tr$  etc., Skt. duhitr) "daughters."
- **32b)** Since nothing is preserved, every guess about the content remains speculative, but in many similar enumerations, for instance those quoted for comparison in note 416, a number of body parts including the own life are included, which the Bodhisattva gave freely away to petitioners.
- 32c) The word **bharita** ( $\simeq \sim$ ) has here been taken to mean "servant" due to the context, although this meaning is only known from similar words (cf. Skt.  $\sqrt{bhr}$ , bhrta, bhrtaka, and bhrtya[ka]). Many comparable lists of possessions include a term for "servant," so that it would make good sense in this place. Another, probably less likely option to understand this word would be "maintained," referring to the following four groups consisting of an army. The words for these four (all in plural) corresponding to Skt. patti "foot-soldier," ratha "chariot," karenu (P kaneru) "elephant," and turaga "horse," have been provisionally segmented into two compounds due to the meter, but it cannot be decided with certainty whether they might not also be all enumerated individually, since the word endings are not really telling. Therefore, one might read patiraga kaneruturaga, or pati raga kaneru turaga, or even patiragakaneruturaga with the second syllable of raga pronounced as heavy ( $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$ ). Giving away or abandoning the four-fold army means renouncing one's kingdom ( $r\bar{a}stra$ ,  $r\bar{a}jya$ ). In this regard, this pāda might also be seen in the context of the last lifetime of the Bodhisattva. The reading of ya ( $\sim$ ) at the end of the damaged line, and with it the word it represents or starts, remains uncertain.

### 33. (v21–22) *Tsa*

No word exists that starts with the letter *Tsa* except for foreign names and terms. The author had thus either to make one up by altering its traditional spelling, or to chose a foreign word, for which, however, no examples were identified in this poem. Medial *-ts-* can be found in words corresponding to Skt. *-cch-* or \*-nts- (G gatsata), *-cchr-* (G kritsa, P kiccha), and *-ts-* (G cigitsaga, P tikicchaka) in this manuscript. However, even with this information, it is not fully clear what the word tsala (--) that opens both preserved pādas really represents. From the surrounding words, it might be surmised that it is an adjective with a meaning similar to phadata "twitching, trembling" in pāda 37a, and kalita as well as kalamaṇa "stumbling" in pādas 38ac, perhaps

connected to Skt. cāla or cālya "agitated," "wavering," or "fickle," 417 but some uncertainty remains.

33c) The scribe wrote  $kila\bar{s}a$ , omitting the e-vowel marker in the word  $kil\langle e\rangle\bar{s}a$  ( $\sim -\sim$ ) "defilements." The syllable tha in ghru(tha) ( $-\sim$ ; P ghatta, Skt. ghrsta) "crushed" was restored in the absence of better guesses. The compound the word is contained in certainly resembles expressions like  $ta\bar{s}aghrasida$  "devoured by craving" in pāda 28c, and possibly vyasighras(ida) ( $-\sim -\sim -$ ) "consumed by illness" in 39c. In analogy to these parallels, one might alternatively suggest reading  $sarvakil\langle e\rangle\bar{s}aghra(sta)$  ( $-\sim -\sim -\sim$ ; Skt.  $sarvakle\dot{s}agrasta$ ) "consumed by all defilements" instead. Then, one would have to ignore or to emend the visible parts of the u-vowel marker. Of the word duh(i)ta ( $-\sim -$ ) "pained, distressed," only few remains are preserved in the manuscript, but the reading seems nevertheless possible. For atranabhuta and atranabhuta sata ( $-\sim -\sim -\sim \times$ ) "always without shelter," occurring each instance in the same position of the meter, see also pādas 5c, 27a, and 39a.

#### 34. (v23-24) Gha

The interpretation of the first pāda is difficult, and it is not apparent how the two preserved pādas relate. The letter Gha can sometimes be ambiguous, since in Gandhari orthography the initial consonant gh- can also be found in words that usually start with g-. Scribes or scribal workshops had different preferences in this regard. As far as it can be ascertained, words starting with g- are usually also written with g- in this manuscript, but there are two exceptions when they are joined with the semivowel -r-:

- 1. G ghrasida/ghrasita and ghrasiti, corresponding to P ghasta and ghasati, BHS or m.c. grasita, Skt. grasta and grasati (cf. also √ghas), "consumed, devoured" and "consumes, devours," in pādas 20a, 28c, and 39c. Cf. also pāda 33c.
- 2. G ughriṣ̄a or ghriṣ̄a, corresponding to P uggayha/uggaṇhetvā, BHS/Skt. udgṛhya, or gṛhya, "having raised" or "having taken," in pāda 24c.

While the interpretation of the first word in the third pāda seems relatively certain from the context deducible from the neighboring words, it remains to be determined whether the opening word of the first pāda is related to Skt. *ghana* or *gaṇa*, and what exactly this means in this context.

The scribe would have been able to write *lya*, which is attested once in the word *drobalya* in pāda 39c. However, this is the only other example of a word containing an equivalent for Skt. *lya* in this manuscript. The Sanskrit term *chala* "deceit" can be excluded as a possibility due to metrical reasons.

34a) Not only the meaning, but also the segmentation of the words in this pāda remains uncertain. Without knowing the context, one might also read ghanata samjania na nivritapata instead of ghana ta samjaniana nivritapata ( $\simeq -- \circ \circ -\circ -\circ \circ -\circ$ ), or something similar. Ghana (==; Skt. ghana) means, for example, "dense, dark, solid; compact mass" and can occasionally also describe darkness. If instead Skt. gana "group, multitude" is be taken into consideration, its connection with the following words remains obscure. This word occured already in pāda 12c, where it is correctly spelled as gana. Samjaniana (- - - - ) may be an absolutive or present participle from sam jan (cf. BHS/Skt. samjanya, samjaniya [in L<sup>H5</sup> 46, pāda 15.84c], and samjanayya, "having created," see also BHSG §35.45-48). It might be possibile that the scribe omitted an *i*-vowel marker in *nivrit(i)*. The word *nivrita* or *nivrit(i)* (- - - ) can unfortunately be explained in several ways, either as referring to (A) happiness or nirvāṇa (P nibbuda/nibbuti, Skt. nirvṛta/nirvṛti), or (B) something quite contrary, if one connects it with P nibbidā, BHS nirvida, and Skt. nirvid (cf. also nirvinna) "disgust" or "despair," or (C), if one understands it as BHS nivrta (P nivuta; cf. also Skt. nivarana/nīvarana) "obscured" with the first syllable pronounced as heavy. However, since the term nirvṛtipada "place of happiness" exists in a few texts, it has been tentatively assumed that this is meant with *nivritapata*  $(- \circ \circ \circ -)$ . The only word that can immediately be understood is *utrastacita* (---) "having a frightened mind," but depending on what it is, which through the mind is frightened, or whom it refers to, this can either convey a positive or a negative meaning.

**34c)** The meaning of the words in this pāda seems fairly certain, although the akṣaras of śaṣ̄aṇ(a-va)ro ( $- \sim \sim -$ ; Skt. śāsanavara) "best of teachings" and gutedri(y). ( $- - \sim -$ ; Skt. guptendri-ya) "with guarded senses" are badly preserved and the restoration to (va)ro was only surmised from the context. The pāda might describe members of the saṅgha, if the first two words ghaḍado vyayamado ( $\simeq \sim - \sim \sim -$ ) represent present participles (nom. or gen. sg.). There may be also other possibilities, since endings in -ado can also represent ablatives (sg.) or even imperatives (2nd pers. pl.; Skt. ghaṭata and vyāyamata). In the latter case, this pāda or half stanza could be an exhortation. The two verbs  $\sqrt{ghat}$  and  $vy\bar{a}\sqrt{yam}$ , "to exert [oneself]" and "endeavor," are frequently combined in Buddhist texts, so that there is no need to quote examples. In the Lalitavistara, however, they are not contained. As for the possibility of imperatives, a few very popular verses come to mind that may have even served as a source of inspiration, especially since the term dharmavinaye has an exact parallel in the following stanza, in pāda 35c. 418

# 35. (v25–26) *Íha*

The stanza most probably refers to the famous moment in the life of the Buddha, where Brahmā encourages him to preach his doctrine to others. 419 This interpretation would also explain the

In the *Sanghabhedavastu* (Sanghabh I 128–130), the Buddha decides to keep the dharma to himself since it is difficult to understand. Brahmā Sabhāpati appears in front of the Buddha (129.5–6: *bhagava*-

<sup>418</sup> Cf., e.g., Avś 5.6–9 (meter Anustubh) amongst countless occurrences: ārabhadhvam niṣkrāmata yuj-yadhvam buddhaśāsane | dhunīta mṛtyunaḥ sainyam naḍāgāram iva kuñjaraḥ || yo hy asmin dharma-vinaye apramattaś cariṣyati || prahāya jātisaṃsāraṃ duḥkhasyāntaṃ kariṣyati ||. Cf. also Uv IV.33: uttiṣṭhata vyāyamata dṛḍhaṃ śikṣata śāntaye | asmṛtiś ca pramādaś caivānutthānam asaṃyamaḥ ||.

occurrence of the pronoun of the second person in pāda 35c since it probably contains the speech of Brahmā. Moreover, the topic might possibly be read in connection to the preceding and the following stanzas, but this depends on their exact interpretation. In pāda 36a, the beneficial path for all people is mentioned, indicating the teaching of the dharma, and the word *ṇamido* occurs, which recalls expressions like *cittam abhinatam*, *cittaṃ nataṃ*, *cittam abhināmayati*, or *cittaṃ namati* "make up one's mind, being inclined to [not to teach]" in this very section on Brahmā's request to teach the dharma in the *Lalitavistara*.<sup>420</sup>

**35a)** For the expression *thahia agrato* (= -  $\sim$   $\sim$ ; Skt. *sthitvāgrataḥ*) "standing in front," many parallels can be found in Buddhist texts. <sup>421</sup> It is not entirely certain, what the -*e* endings in *logajethe (prava)re* (-  $\sim$  -  $\sim$   $\sim$  ) stand for, perhaps indicating locatives. Thus Brahmā, who is generally known as "the first one" or "eldest of the world" (Skt. *lokajyeṣṭha*), stood in front of the "most excellent first one of the world" (*logajeṭhe (prava)re*), namely the Buddha, and says something, the words and content of which are not preserved, to the victor (*jiṇo*;  $\sim$  -; Skt. *jina*). The word "victor," denoting the Buddha in general, might here perhaps be intentionally chosen, because this episode happened after the victory over Māra's army.

An alternative attempt for explaining the *e*-endings might be to assume an instrumental plural. In this case, Brahmā stood "together with the most excellent first ones of the world," namely other Brahmā gods, in front of the Buddha.

taḥ purastād pratyasthāt) and requests him to teach. After the Buddha examined the world with his buddha eye (buddhacakṣus), he consented.

The *Mahāvastu* (Mvu[M] III 398–407) narrates that when the Buddha decided to stay alone, Mahābrahmā informed Indra, and both went together with many other gods to the Buddha, stood at one side (400.17: *eka-m-ante asthāṃsu*), approached the Buddha and requested him to teach. But in that time, the Buddha did not yet agree, nor a second or third time, when Mahābrahmā asked. Only then, after carefully examining the world with his buddha eye (*buddhacakṣus*), the Buddha finally made up his mind, and the gods rejoiced. Even though this version involves Indra and other gods, it is only Mahābrahmā who persuaded the Buddha to teach.

In the *Lalitavistara* (LH23 98–126), the Buddha decided to teach only then the dharma, when Brahmā, who is trusted by the world, requests him. Thereupon, Mahābrahmā Śikhin came with many *brāhmaṇa*s to the Buddha, requested him to teach, and the Buddha consented. However, new doubts arose, when he thought that the dharma would be difficult to understand. Mahābrahmā Śikhin informed therefore Indra, and both went together with many other gods to the Buddha and stood at one side (LH23 112.7: *caikānte tasthuḥ*). The Buddha, however did not listen to Indra's request. Only after Mahābrahmā Śikhin asked repeatedly, more than three times, and the Buddha carefully examined the world with his buddha eye (*buddhacakṣus*), he consented, and the gods rejoiced. This version is very similar to that of the *Mahāvastu*.

- The respective section in Mvu(M) contains only once *cittaṃ namati*, while the *Saṅghabhedavastu* has *cittaṃ krāmati*.
- Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 278, stanza 1.9, meter Upajāti: praņamya pādau pratidakṣiṇañ ca □ kṛtvaiva māṃ tasthur ihāgrato me, □ pragṛhya caivāñjalim aṅgulībhiḥ □ sagauravā mām iha te yayācuḥ; L<sup>H5</sup> 32, stanza 15.60: puṣyaś ca nakṣatra sapāriṣadyo □ audārikaṃ nirmiṇi ātmabhāvaṃ, □ sthitvāgratas tasya narottamasya □ manojñaghoṣābhirutaṃ pramuñcat; L<sup>H14</sup> 328, stanza 19.32, meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita: saṃ-hṛṣṭaḥ sa hi nāgarāṭ sumuditaś cābhyarcya lokottamaṃ □ vanditvā caraṇau ca gauravakṛtas tasthau muner agrataḥ, □ nāgākanya udagra hṛṣṭamanasaḥ kurvanti pūjāṃ muneḥ □ puṣpāṃ gandhavilepanāṃś ca kṣipiṣus tūryāṇi nirnādayan.



**Fig. 22** Brahmā, standing to the right of the Buddha, entreats him to preach his doctrine. Most representations of this topic also include Indra, who stands on the opposite side. Sometimes, other gods surround them. The Buddha holds either his hands in meditation gesture, as it is shown in this relief from an unknown find spot in Gandhāra, or has his right hand raised. The Art Institute of Chicago (acc. no. 1995.263).

There is not much preserved in the manuscript of the word (prava)re, but the restoration seems probable, since there remains a portion of the first akṣara that could be read as a part of p-, although there are naturally many other possibilities for reading it. Most importantly, however, there are no less than five other cases in the preserved portion of the text, where the word pravara is found in the same position in the meter (pādas 17a, 21ac, 29a, and 40c).

**35c)** This pāda comprises of the speech of Brahmā, assuring the Buddha of his success. There seems to be no direct parallel for this in the above-mentioned passages in the  $Mah\bar{a}vastu$ , Lalitavistara and Sanghabhedavastu. The future  $\acute{t}hasanti$  (---; Skt.  $sth\bar{a}syanti$ ) can either be translated as "[they] will stand," or "[they] will remain."

36. 
$$(v27-28) Na = Na$$

Many Gandhāran scribes did not clearly distinguish the letters Na (no. 5) and Na (no. 36), although they were originally both included into the alphabet and stand in the rock inscriptions of Aśoka for different phonemes. Whether a scribe would chose Na or Na for writing the nasals in his works, depended probably on his training and habit. Regardless that there are originally no existing words beginning with the retroflex Na, the question did not arise for the scribe or author of BC 5, since the letter Na was the only shape he knew of. It is therefore not surprising to find in pādas 5c and 36c the same term for both letters, namely nana (-; Skt.  $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ ) "various."

The connection between the two preserved pādas in this stanza remains unclear, and the interpretation is uncertain. The content of the stanza seems to be somewhat similar to stanza 14.

**36a)** This pāda is partially identical with pāda 14c, which is, as it is also incompletely preserved, not easily intelligible either.

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14c thano metraviharo uayakuśalo margo śivo – × × 36a namido sarvapraya uvayakuśalo margo śivo – ×
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The difficulty lies in the missing last word, the unclear syntax and the unclear meaning of the word namido. The word endings do not indicate what the subject is, and what the object. Namido ( $\simeq -$ ) might represent Skt. namita or  $n\bar{a}mita$  ( $-\simeq -$ ) "made bent, inclined, turned towards, bent down." The verb  $\sqrt{nam}$  is frequently combined with citta as object, meaning "bending [one's] mind, being inclined to, intend." The expression occurred in the parallels to the preceding stanza in the context of "intending [not] to teach." Without a term for citta "mind," however, this is more difficult to understand. When one reads the pāda in the context of the preceding stanza, "the one, who is skillful in means" ( $uvayaku\bar{s}alo$ ; Skt.  $up\bar{a}yaku\dot{s}ala$ ), namely the Buddha, is favorably "inclined" or "turned towards" (namido) "all beings" (sarvapraya, Skt.  $sarvapraj\bar{a}h$ ; acc. pl.) and most probably presented "the beneficial path" ( $margo \dot{s}ivo$ ; Skt.  $m\bar{a}rgam \dot{s}ivam$ ; acc. sg.).

**36c)** This pāda is difficult to understand, and it is well possible that something eluded detecting. The word *kakhaḍa* (- ~ ~) seems to correspond to P *kakkhaḷa/kakkara* and BHS/Skt. *kakkhaṭa/khakkhaṭa*, or Skt. *karkara*, "violent, deceitful, harsh, rough, hard." Other similarly sounding words, for example, BHS *khakkhara* etc., which is the term for the monk's (rattling) staff and P *kakkaṭa(ka)*, Skt. *karkaṭa(ka)*, "crab," do probably not contribute to a better understanding. The following word that might belong to a compound with the previous one, is *dhaka* (- ~), provided that it has been read correctly, since the first akṣara *dha* (3, elsewhere written, e.g., 3333)

See DP s.v. namati<sup>1</sup>. Cf. also, e.g., VAV I.18, meter Anustubh: tvayaiva tu mahāsāla **nāmitābhyo** 'nukam[p]ayā | jano 'yam [g]u(na**śā)khābhyaḥ** kim cid evāvalambate ||.

closely resembles vya (3.2), and that it is no error for an entirely different word like satva or something similar. The word seems to correspond to P dhanka, Skt. dhvanksa, "crow," which can also be used in a figurative sense, usually denoting impertinent and bad people (cf. SWTF s.v. dhvanksa and dhvanksa). Depending on the exact context, the compound might thus be translated either as "different deceitful scoundrels, or, as "different violent crows." Which one makes better sense here, cannot finally be decided, whether this describes people, for which one might compare pāda 14a, reading thadha satvasada anega vivisa krosena samsuksita "hundreds of arrogant beings, many, various, [are] inflamed with rage" with thadha corresponding to takhaada, or actual crows, which might allude to a cremation ground or hells, or to the decay of corpses. As long as the meaning is not fully certain, the segmentation of words may also not be beyond doubts.

The words  $\underline{nega}$  vivisa or  $\underline{anega}$  vivisa ([ $\sim$ ]  $- \sim \sim -$ ; Skt.  $\underline{naika/aneka}$  vividha) can also be found in the same position in the meter in pādas 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a, and 33a.

### 37. (v29-30) Pha

37a) The whole line is incompletely preserved with most of the lower parts of the akṣaras missing, and therefore the reading and interpretation are doubtful. Phadata (---) has been understood as present participle (f. acc. pl.) deriving from Skt.  $\sqrt{spand}$  to twitch, but the uncertain ta-syllable could also represent the akṣara sa or something else. Likewise, it is not clear whether palara or palvara (---); P pallara, BHS palvara, Skt. palvala) pond was written, since there is a shadow that could be viewed as a trace of -v-, but it also might be nothing than a darker spot in the bark. The restoration to -g(ata) or -g(ata) (--; Skt. gata) is uncertain. If the preserved words are correctly understood, this pāda compares beings to helpless fish twitching in the face of death in a pond that has been dried out, 424 but neither a term for "fish," nor of "dried out" or "drought" has survived. There exists also a jātaka tale, in which the Bodhisattva, born as a fish, forced Indra by proclaiming the truth to rain when the pond dried out, which may perhaps not be relevant here.

37c) Phasosamñananartha (-----) has been interpreted as a compound containing the word phasa, phasu, or phaso (P phassa/phāsu, BHS phāsa/phāsa/phāsu [cf. also SWTF, and

For possible alternative readings, see p. 80, n. 260–263.

Cf., e.g., Sn 776–777, meter Upajāti: passāmi loke pariphandamānam □ pajam imam taṇhāgatam bhavesu, □ hīnā narā maccumukhe lapanti □ avītataṇhāse bhavābhavesu. □ mamāyite passatha phandamāne □ macche va appodake khīṇasote, □ etam pi disvā amamo careyya □ bhavesu āsattim akubbamāno. A fragmentary Sanskrit parallel can be found in SHT 1615a+b (vol. VII: 18; VIII: 209): (Bc) /// ... nā narā mṛty[u]m[ukh]e (Bd) /// ... ā... ... ... ś careta [bha] .[e]. Cf. also Sn 936, meter Anuṣṭubh: phandamānaṃ pajaṃ disvā macche appodake yathā □ aññamaññehi vyāruddhe disvā maṃ bhayam āvisi; and Sn 587: aññe pi passa gamine yathākammūpage nare □ maccuno vasam āgamma phandante v'idha pāṇine; but in the latter stanza, neither fish nor a pond are mentioned.

Cf., e.g., Pali jātaka no. 75 (Macchajātaka) and ĀJM no. 15 (Matsyajātaka). This topic is also referred to in stanza 15 of the Dharmagaṇḍīstava by a certain Śīlapāramitā (Bauddhastotraratnākaraḥ p. 98, meter Sragdharā): matsyatve bandhuvarjam sarasi ravikaraiḥ śoṣite vartamānaḥ □ kākādyaiḥ pakṣi-saṅghaiḥ sarabhasamabhito bhakṣaṇāyekṣamāṇam | satyādhiṣṭhānatoyaṃ sapadi surapatir varṣayitvā-'nuyāsīt\* □ tasya prāṇipriyasya praśamamayadhiyo vādyate dharmagaṇḍī ||.

BHSD s.v.  $sparśavih\bar{a}rat\bar{a}$ ], Skt. sparśa) with the positive meaning of "comfort, comfortable," samñaṇaṇa (Skt. samjanana) "to bring about," and artha "in order to." The general idea might be that the pitiful beings refered to in pāda 37a are somehow relieved, perhaps by the "best of beings," if one assumes that the unknown word that follows after satva might be the same as in pādas 17a and 29a, reading satvapravaro ( $- \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot -$ ).

This pāda, however, could also be differently understood, when *phaṣo* is seen in a negative light. In this alternative interpretation, it could refer to "beings" (*satva*), who would do anything (bad) "in order to bring about comfort" or "contact." The assumption that *saṃñaṇaṇartha* is based on a word deriving from  $sam\sqrt{jan}$  and not from  $sam\sqrt{j\tilde{n}a}$ , is mainly influenced by the meter.

## 38. (v31-32) *Ka*

Apart from  $\acute{kalita}$  ( $\simeq \sim$  -; Skt. skhalita) and  $\acute{kalamaṇa}$  ( $\simeq \sim$  -; Skt. skhalamāna) in this stanza and some rare spellings of personal names from the Niya documents, words starting with  $\acute{K}a$  are presently not yet recorded in Gandhari, except for some equivalents to Skt. skandha ( $G\acute{kamdha}$ ,  $\acute{kadha}$ ), which might indicate a stronger Sanskrit influence. Amongst other words containing this akṣara in the middle part are:

| Skt. <i>-tk-</i>    | sakaro/sakaru | Skt. satkāra                | $Anav^L$                     |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
|                     | sakaro        | Skt. satkāra                | SC 2                         |
|                     | sakara        | Skt. satkāra                | BC 2                         |
|                     | sa[k͡]arita   | Skt. satkṛta/satkārita      | BC 2                         |
|                     | sakarea       | Skt. satkuryāt              | BC 2                         |
|                     | sakarisu      | preterite of Skt. satkaroti | $\mathrm{Anav}^{\mathrm{L}}$ |
| Skt <i>şk-/-sk-</i> | dukara        | BHS/Skt. duskara/duṣkara    | BC 5, pāda 4c                |
| Skt. <i>-sk-</i>    | namakaro      | Skt. namaskāra              | Niya documents               |
|                     | purakidu      | Skt. puraskṛta              | $Anav^L$                     |
|                     | purakitaṃ     | Skt. puraskṛta              | MS 2179/43                   |
| Skt. <i>-ṃsk-</i>   | saṃkara       | Skt. saṃskāra               | CKI 153, line 2              |
|                     | sakṛto        | Skt. saṃskṛta               | EĀ <sup>B</sup> II.9         |

These examples not only show different scribal habits. They also seem to indicate either some uncertainties regarding to which phoneme the akṣara ka actually stands for, or an undifferentiated pronunciation of the syllables corresponding to Skt. -tk- and -sk-, at least in some dialects of the scribes. Given the infrequence of words beginning with this akṣara, it becomes questionable if the spellings kalita and kalamana were the usual ones, or not rather artificially incorporated here from

<sup>426</sup> Cf., e.g., e.g., bramapumñakamdhena (Skt. brahmapunyaskandhena; briefly mentioned in Jantrasrisalai/Lenz/Qian/Salomon 2016: 21) and -kamdhasya (Skt. -skandhasya) in MS 2179/20; kadheşu (Skt. skandheşu) in Ug<sup>G</sup> Bv1; śilakadhapariśudhi and śilakadhapariśudhiyo (Skt. śīlaskandhapariśuddhayah) in Ug<sup>G</sup> Br2, Bv1, Bv2, Bv3; (vimuti)ñanadarśanakadhasya (Skt. vimuktijñānaskandhasya) in Ug<sup>G</sup> Av1; dukhakamdhasa (Skt. duhkhaskandhasya) in a reliquary inscription from Kurram Valley (CKI 153, line 3) that records a donation to the Sarvāstivādins and describes the pratītyasamutpāda.

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Sanskrit, especially since the first word is already attested in the manuscript as *khalita* or *khalida* in pāda 24a.

The word group kalita citavasanu-( $\simeq \sim - \sim \sim - \sim$ ) may possibly be completed to citavasanu(vataga), citavasanu(vataga) ( $\sim \sim - \sim - \sim \sim$ ), or citavasanu(ga) ... "[those] following the wishes of their [own] mind," describing those who are egoistic and do not consider the consequences of their deeds. 427 Thus, they "slip," "make errors," or "stumble" (kalita), and "stumbling" (kalamana;  $\simeq \sim - \sim$ ; Skt. skhalamana), they perform or accumulate "many evil deeds" (sanu) and certainly go to hell.

### 39. (v33-44) Za

The letter Za has most probably been devised for representing the foreign voiced sibilant in the alphabet. It never occurs at the beginning of a word with the exception of foreign proper names or words. In order to illustrate this letter, the author chose words starting regularly with the letter Ja (G \*jarida or \*jarita and jara; Skt. jarita and jarā), which sounded and looked slightly similar to Za, and he wrote them with Za (zarita and zara).

**39a)** The word *zarita* ( $\simeq -$ ) represents probably Skt. *jarita* "withered, aged," although Skt. *jvarita* "feverish" might also fit here. <sup>428</sup> It has been translated in the context of this pāda more generally as "afflicted." Both words are not very frequent in Buddhist literature. In one passage containing *jarita*, it is combined with *jarā* "age," which is absent in this pāda. <sup>429</sup> The term *atraṇabh(uṭa)* ( $-- \sim --$ ) "without shelter, defenseless" also occurs in pādas 5c, 27a and 33c, always in the same position immediately after the caesura, and in two cases, the word *saṭa* ( $\sim \times$ ; Skt. *sadā*) "always" follows, which might also here have been the case.

**39c)** This pāda contains a metrical peculiarity. Twice, a heavy syllable is represented as two light syllables in *zaradrobalyapariyita vyasighras(ida)* ( $\simeq \sim - \sim \sim \simeq \sim - \sim \sim \sim -$ ; Skt. *jarādaur*-

For cittavaśānuvartaka or cittavaśānuga, see, e.g., Jā II 228, stanza 165, meter Upajāti: evam pi lokāmisam opatanto □ vihaññatī cittavasānuvattī, □ so haññati ñātisakhāna majjhe □ macchānugo so-r-iva suṃsumāro; Uv XXXI.30 with Or.15009/569+Or.15009/574, BLSF III/I: 397, meter Aparavaktra/Viyoginī: ratim anusṛtam indriyānugaṃ □ puruṣaṃ cittavaśānuvartakam | yaśa iha hi jahāti sarvadā □ drumam iva śīrṇaphalaṃ yathāṇḍajaḥ ||; Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā stanza 51 (ed. Lang 2001: 237), meter Dodhaka: bhāva-abhāva vibhāvayi jñānaṃ □ sarvam acintiya sarvam abhūtaṃ □ ye puna cittavaśānuga bālās □ te dukhitā bhavakoṭiśateṣu (also quoted in Pras 429.8–11 with minor variants).

In published Gandhari sources is Skt. *jvara* according to the GD only as part of the words *vikadadvara* (Dhp<sup>K</sup> 35c; Skt. *vigatajvara*), *vidvara* (Dhp<sup>K</sup> 157b; Skt. *vijvara*), and *advara* (CKI 249 [Senavarman inscription] 12a; Skt. *ajvara*) attested.

Cf., e.g., LH 634, stanza 13.79, meter Totaka: prathame vayase vararūpadharaḥ □ priya iṣṭa mato iya bālacarī, □ jaravyādhidu{ḥ}khair hatatejavapum □ vijahanti mṛgā iva śuṣkanadī⟨m⟩; stanza 13.82: prabhu dravyabalī vararūpadharaḥ □ priyasaṃgamanendriyaprītikaro, □ jaravyādhidu{ḥ}khārditu kṣīṇadhano □ bhavate tada apriya mṛtyusamaḥ; 636, stanza 13.83: jarayā jaritaḥ samatītavayo □ druma vidyuhato 'va yathā bhavati, □ jarajīrṇa agāru yathā sabhayo □ jaraniḥśaraṇaṃ (read jaraniḥsaraṇaṃ) laghu brūhi mune; stanza 13.86: bahurogaśataiḥ ghaṇavyādhidu{ḥ}khaiḥ □ upasṛṣṭa jagaj jvalateva mṛgāḥ, □ jaravyādhigataṃ prasamīkṣa jagat □ du{ḥ}khaniḥśaraṇaṃ (read -niḥsaraṇaṃ) laghu deśayahī. This is also quoted in Śikṣ 205.2–3, 9–12, 17–18 with minor variants.

balyaparijita vyādhigrasta) "overpowered by the weakness of old age, consumed by illness." While the first instance with zara is a normal variation, the second one in parivita (Skt. parijita) "overpowered" is less common, but the reading is certain. There are no other such examples for the sixth syllable in this meter in BC 5.430 Otherwise, one may read metrically pariyita ( $\sim - \sim -$ ; Skt. \*parījita, metri causa or scribal error for parājita), which would then present us with the new problem that the following word vyagi (~~) cannot stand any more for Sanskrit vyādhi "illness," because the first syllable must be light. Theoretically, vyasi might be a preterite of Skt. vyathate "[he/they] trembled" or "are hurt," but this would be more than doubtful. Problematic is also the reading and restoration of ghras(ida), because the s- syllable is written with an unnecessary quantity of ink, besides the damage of the manuscript, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether there was a vowel sign added, although it does not really look like an -i. In any case, it is tempting to understand the expression in analogy with śoga ghrasiti, or to be emended to śogaghrasita "consumed by sorrow," in pāda 20a, and taṣaghrasida "devoured by craving" in pāda 28c, both placed at exactly the same position before the caesura. Perhaps an alternative reading as *vyasi ghrasa(di)* (- · · · -) can also not entirely be excluded, which would, however, change the whole translation of this pada to "illness devours [those who are] overpowered by the weakness of old age."

### 40. (v35-36) Ća

The letter  $\acute{C}a$  is only graphically different from Ca, but the words would be the same. Whether it was originally meant to represent a foreign sound as the preceding letter, is unknown.

**40a)** For the expression  $\acute{c}aga$  vruhae (----); Skt.  $ty\bar{a}gam$  abrmhayat/brmhayan or similar) "[he] increased [his] generosity," one might compare cago vruhae bosisatv(o) (-------) in pāda 4a. The different endings in -a and -o of  $\acute{c}aga$  (acc. sg.) are probably only graphic, since this word is usually found in the singular. The scribe may have easily forgotten to add the vowel marker. This pāda provides another good example for the many repetitions of word groups in the same position in the meter within this short poem.

**40c)** The phrase *ćarime kale* ( $\simeq \sim - \sim$ ; Skt. *paścime kāle*) recalls the idea of the final time of the Buddhist doctrine (e.g., *paścimakāle paścimasamaye*) found in many Mahāyāna-sūtras as referring to the dark present or a future time where the Buddhist religion is heavily declining and disappearing. The expression *carimakāle* occurs also occasionally in this context.<sup>431</sup> In this stanza, however, especially with pāda 40a describing most probably the career of the Bodhisattva over many lifetimes, it seems more plausible that this refers to the last lifetime of the Bodhisattva in which he became a buddha. The *Lalitavistara*, for example, contains the adjective *caramabhavika* to *bodhisattva* many times, while the much lesser known spelling *carimabhavika* is also found in a few texts.<sup>432</sup> Alternatively, *ćarime kale* can be understood as the hour of death of the Buddha. If

For similar variations in other places of a pāda, see p. 53.

On various ideas about this topic, see, e.g., Nattier 1991.

See the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛṭyavinodanasūtra* (Harrison/Hartmann 2002: 46 and 47, fragment no. 6), and in an unidentified Prajñāpāramitā text (Or.15010/202 Be, Seishi Karashima in BLSF II: 531–532).

this is the case here, the last pāda of the stanza might have mentioned something about the last words of the Buddha to the monks, although no important term starting with the letter Ca (=  $\acute{C}a$ ) is usually contained in these. <sup>433</sup>

The localization of the fragment containing most probably the word *pravaro* ( $\sim \sim$  ) "the excellent one" is likely but not certain (see p. 80, n. 272). The word *pravara* stands also in pādas 17a, 21ac, 29a, and 35a in the same position in the meter.

### 41. (v37–38) *Ta*

**41a)** None of the words can be clearly identified, and therefore a meaningful translation seems impossible. The different hypothetically possible interpretations of the words would lead into different directions, all being extremely speculative. <sup>435</sup>

**41c)** The reading of the syllable  $\underline{te}$  (-) is not fully certain because it has been unusually written with a small semicircle at the bottom ( $\mathcal{S}'$ ) in contrast to the usual shape for which one may compare the corresponding akṣara  $\mathcal{S}'$  in  $hi\underline{ter}$ ; in pāda 19a (line r37). In case the akṣara really reads  $\underline{te}$ , it might be understood as an ablative ending in  $-ade/-a\underline{te}$  (see, e.g., Schlosser 2020: 100, table 12), but it is otherwise not attested in this manuscript. Perhaps the akṣara can also be simply read as  $\underline{te}$ , with an unintended flourish at the bottom, a slip of the pen.

The following word can be read in more than one way. It ends in -na or -ne, and either represents the noun *padirakṣaṇa* or *padirakṣaṇa* ( $\sim \sim - \sim -$ ; Skt. *pratirakṣaṇa*) "protection," which hardly exists in Sanskrit texts,<sup>436</sup> or *padijagaṇa* or *padijagaṇa* ( $\sim \sim - \sim -$ ) "caring, fostering, attention," or in other possible meanings as known for P *patijagana* and BHS *pratijāgarti*.

For the last words of the Buddha, cf., e.g., [...] vyayadharmāḥ sarvasaṃskārāḥ | iyaṃ tatra tathāgatasya paścimā (vācā |) in MPS 42.11–12.

One may also compare other words with some similarities, such as, e.g., P taṭṭa or taṭṭaka (BHS taṭṭa, taṭṭu, taṭṭuka) "dish, platter, flattish bowl;" or P taṭṭikā "(straw) mat", and P taṭataṭāyati "makes a crackling or sputtering noise," as well as BHS taṭṭa taṭṭa (see DP, BHSD, and Karashima 2012, vol. III: s.v.).

For *bhoa*, cf. the entry in the word index, and for *karo*, cf., e.g., Skt. *kara* with various meanings, *karoti* "makes," or even *karota* "a (drinking) vessel."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup> A rare example is *saddharmapratirakṣaṇatayā* in L<sup>H27</sup> 140.15.

While the following word  $sa\underline{t}a$  ( $\sim \sim$ ; Skt.  $sad\bar{a}$ ) seems clear except that the upper parts of the akṣaras are damaged, the last word before the caesura seems to read either kara or kar(e) ( $\sim -$ ; perhaps a preterite of  $\sqrt{kr}$ ), or para or par(e) "other(s)," unless the segmentation of the words is not differently understood. Thus (A), the savior (if tata has anything to do with such a meaning) always (sata) provided (kar(e)) protection (padirakṣaṇa) for them (te, Skt.  $t\bar{a}n$ ), or (B), the savior always looked after (padijagaṇa [...] kar(e)) them, or finally (C), everything is different but unclear.

### 42. (v39-40) Dha

The two words, which open the preserved pādas (*ḍhaḍhala* and *ḍhaśeṇa*), show most probably a slightly adjusted spelling in order to fit the purpose. In reality, there is no evidence for words starting with the letter *Dha* in Gandhari, and the DG lists presently only three proper names from the Niya documents starting with *Dha*. A good example of a genuinely existing word would be *miḍha* (Skt. *mīḍha*) "feces" in the middle of pāda 42a, and interestingly this word is also found in the alphabetic passage of the later *Lalitavistara* versions as an example illustrating the letter *Dha*.

- **42a)** This pāda describes something repulsive or very unpleasant that should probably be avoided. From similar comparisons in Buddhist literature it can be assumed that this either refers to sense pleasures ( $k\bar{a}ma$ ,  $k\bar{a}maguna$ ), or to the body (e.g.,  $k\bar{a}ya$ ), or even to one's home along with one's family ties. Ideas about sense pleasures ( $k\bar{a}ma$ ) were already presented in stanza 15 illustrating the letter Ka. It states that they are like fire and insubstantial. Unfortunately, the first word in this pāda, namely **dhadhala** (---), is difficult to explain. None of the following tentative attempts seems fully certain.
- (A) Dhadhala refers to something burning or burnt and derives from Skt. dagdha, P daddha "burnt, consumed," or daddalhati "flames/shines brightly" (cf. P daddallati in DP, with daddallati  $m\bar{a}na/daddalham\bar{a}na$ , Skt.  $j\bar{a}jvalati$ ). However, contrary to the content of pāda 42a, the verb  $j\bar{a}jvalati$  seems to occur more frequently in positive meanings. Assuming behind dhadhala yaga (----) something like Skt.  $dagdh\bar{a}laya$  "burnt house" with a different word segmentation seems also hardly possible due to the meter. Be it as it may, terms denoting fire or something burning are frequently used as comparison for those things that could be meant here. 437
- (B) <code>Dhadhala</code> somehow originates from Skt. <code>dṛdha</code>, P <code>dalha</code>, "firm, strong, solid" (cf. also the noun Skt. <code>dārdhya</code>), and remotely reminds of a similarly sounding word meaning "gravel" (<code>kathalya/kathalla/kadhalya</code>; see BHSD s.v. <code>kathala</code>, P <code>kathala</code>). That word occurs in descriptions of an unpleasant ground along with <code>aśuci</code> "filth" (similar to the meaning of <code>mīdha</code>), <code>pāṣāṇa</code>

To quote just two examples for this wide-spread metaphor, cf. e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 632, pādas 13.75ab, meter Toṭaka: yatha agnikhadā jvalitāḥ sabhayāḥ □ tatha kāma ime viditāryajanaiḥ (also quoted in Śikṣ 204.11 with a minor variant); RP 19.10–11, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: adhyoṣitā (ed. apyoṣitā) āmiṣa pātra-cīvare □ kulasaṃstave caiva sadābhiyuktāḥ | kurvīta sārdhaṃ na hi teṣu saṃstavaṃ □ tān varjayed agnikhadhāṃ (ms. agnikhadāṃ) yathaiva ||.

"stone," and śarkara "pebble" (for references to texts see BHSD), and lifeless, dead things are usually found as comparison for sense pleasures, or the body. 438

(C) <u>Dhadhala</u> can possibly be connected with Prakrit <u>dhamdha</u> "mud." Perhaps P <u>alla</u>, "wet, fresh" may also be compared. As improbable as this might seem, "mud" is also a common comparison for sense pleasures and it would fit in this context. <sup>439</sup> In Prakrit, other words with similar spellings can also be found, especially <u>dhamdhalla/dhumdhulla</u>, pp. <u>dhamdhallia</u> (cf. PSM, referring to Skt.  $\sqrt{bhram}$ ), but this might not be relevant here.

For people who discard the dharma, cf., e.g., RP 19.8–9, meter Upajāti: *kṣipanti ye dharma na-rottamānāṃ* \(\sigma\) *śāntaṃ virāgam amṛtānukūlam | tān varjayen mīḍhaghaṭāṃ* (ed. *mīḍhaghatāṃ*) *yathai-va* \(\sup ya icchate budhyitum agrabodhim ||.

For sense pleasures, cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 632, stanza 13.73, meter Toṭaka: sabhayāḥ saraṇāḥ sada vairakarāḥ □ bahuśoka-upadrava kāmaguṇāḥ, □ asidhārasamāḥ viṣapattranibhāḥ, □ jahitāryajanair yatha mīḍhaghaṭaḥ (also quoted in Śikṣ 204.7–8 with a minor variant); pādas 13.76ab, meter Toṭaka: yatha sarpiśiro yatha mīḍhaghaṭāḥ □ tatha kāma ime viditā viduṣāṃ (also quoted in Śikṣ 204.13 with minor variants); L<sup>H3</sup> 56, stanza 15.37, meter Jagatī: vivarjitā sarpaśiro yathā budhaiḥ □ vigarhitā mīḍhaghaṭo yathāśuciḥ, □ vināśakā(ḥ) sarvaśubhasya chandaka(ḥ) □ jñātvā hi kāmān na mi jāyate ratiḥ; Mvu(S) II 377.21, pāda d, meter Upajāti/Jagatī with irregularities: varjeti kāmāṃ yatha mīḍhakumbhaṃ; Udayanavatsarājaparipṛcchā as quoted in Śikṣ 81.3–6: mārasya gocaro hy eṣa prasthitā yena durgatiḥ | āsvādasaṃjñino gṛddhā mīṭasthāne yathā krimiḥ || kīṭakumbho yathā citro yatra yatraiva dṛśyate | pūrṇo mūtrapurīṣeṇa dṛtir vā vātapūritā ||.

With reference to the body, cf., e.g., Vkn 18, II §11.3: jado 'yam kāyas tṛṇakāṣṭhakuḍyaloṣṭaprati-bhāsasadṛśah.

With concern to sense pleasures (kāma), cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 632, pādas 13.75cd, meter Toṭaka: mahapanka-samāḥ asisūndhasamāḥ □ madhudigdha iva kṣuradhāra yathā (also quoted in Śikṣ 204.12 with a few variants); AN III 311.17–18, meter Anuṣṭubh: bhayaṃ dukkhaṃ rogo gaṇḍaṃ saṅgo panko ca ubha-yaṃ: □ ete kāmā pavuccanti, yattha satto puthujjano; Jā III 241 (jātaka no. 378: Darīmukhajātaka), stanza 14, meter Upajāti/Jagatī: paṃko ca kāmā palipā ca kāmā □ bhayañ ca m-etaṃ timūlaṃ pa-vuttaṃ, □ rajo ca dhūmo ca mayā pakāsitā, □ hitvā tuvam pabbaja brahmadattā.

Other explanations seem less satisfying. Cf. P yūsa (PTSD "juice, soup") and Skt. yūṣa (KEWA s.v. yūḥ: "Brühe" with reference to Middle Low German "Jauche," "urine?;" otherwise unattested); or P/Skt. yūtha "herd of animals" or "large quantity."

For the body (kāya), cf., e.g., Th 1151, meter Anuṣṭubh: gūthabhaste taconaddhe uragaṇḍapisācini □ nava sotāni te kāye yāni sandanti sabbadā; Th 1152 (app. II, p. 237), meter Āryā: tava sarīraṃ navasotaṃ □ duggandhakaraṃ karīsaparibandhaṃ □ bhikkhū parivajjayate □ taṃ mīṭhaṃ va yatha sucikāmo; Th 1153, meter Anuṣṭubh: evañ ce taṃ jano jaññā yathā jānāmi taṃ ahaṃ, □ ārakā parivajjeyya gūthaṭṭhāṇaṃ va pāvuse; Vkn 18, II § 11.5: rikto 'yaṃ kāyo 'śucipūtisamcayaḥ.



pāda 42a (v39)

Fig. 23 The word after the caesura.

The word after the caesura is not clear (.. vasa). The shape of the first letter has similarities with a, and a word like avasa ( $--\sim$ ; Skt.  $\bar{a}v\bar{a}sa$ ) "home," would fit very well into the sentence, especially, when one takes passages such as the one found in the  $Ugrapariprech\bar{a}$  into consideration. This passage describes the "house" or "home" as a bad place with many faults. Most interestingly, the same passage compared "living at home" to a "stinging insect," which recalls the text of pāda 42c, albeit its exact context is different. However, the shape of the first akṣara of the

supposed avasa is possibly a little bit too round at the bottom, which almost looks like a loop. Therefore, another reading of this letter as u (cf. words starting with uva, Skt. upa;  $\simeq \simeq$ ), or perhaps also as du or ha may be also convincing, or, in other words, the whole word remains unknown.

**42c)** A simile of a cow stung by a gadfly or another stinging insect (G *qhaśa*; P *damsa*; Skt. *daṃśa*) seems unknown from other texts. The verb *bhramadi* ( $\sim \sim$  -; cf. Skt.  $\sqrt{bhram}$ ), on the other hand, evokes particular images. It is frequently included in metaphors of the *saṃsāra*, where a mechanism with pots fastened to a wheel that is normally used for supplying water from a well, whirls the beings endlessly around from one existence into another, driven by a larger force. The verb also occurs in other well-known metaphors for the *saṃsāra*, such as disoriented bees or flies roaming around in a pot, unable to find an exit, or rotating like the potter's wheel, 446 or the wheel of a carriage, 447 or any unspecified wheel. In many cases, the verb can

<sup>442</sup> Nattier 2003: 237–240, § 9A–F.

Nattier 2003: 239, § 9E. The Tibetan term is *kha khab tsam gyi srog chags*, which is different from Skt. *daṃśa*. In the *Ugrapariprcchā*, the comparison is made, because "one does not tire of thinking about unvirtuous things" (*ibid.*), while in BC 5, most probably normal people are compared to a cow, which is distracted and probably led astray by the biting gadflies.

The Sanskrit terms for the mechanism, as listed in Schlingloff/Zin 2007: 5, are *ghaṭiyantra* or *ghaṭī-yantra* "pot mechanism," *vāriyantra* "water mechanism," *kūpayantra* "well mechanism," *jalayantra-cakra* "water mechanism wheel," and *araghaṭṭaghaṭiyantra* "pot mechanism driven by spokes(?)." See in particular Schlingloff/Zin 2007: 1–16.

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 630, stanza 13.69, meter Totaka: *jvalitam tribhavam jaravyādhidu{h}khaih* □ *maraṇāgni-pradīptam anātham idaṃ*, □ *bhavaniḥśaraṇe sada mūḍha jagat* □ *bhramatī bhramaro yatha kumbhagato* (also cited in Śiks 203.15–16 with minor variants).

Cf., e.g., L<sup>H</sup> 632, stanza 13.71, meter Toṭaka: bhuvi devapure tri-apāyapathe □ bhavatṛṣṇa-avidyavaśā janatā, □ parivartiṣu pañcagatiṣv abudhāḥ □ yatha kumbhakarasya hi cakrabhramī (also cited in Śikṣ 204.3–4 with minor variants).

<sup>447</sup> Cf., e.g., RP 52.5–6, meter Pramitākṣarā: rathacakravad bhramati sarvajagat □ tiryakṣu pretaniraye sugatau (Pras: pretanirayeṣu gatāḥ) | mūḍhā adeśika anāthagatāḥ □ teṣāṃ pradarśayasi mārga⟨vara⟩m || (also cited in Pras 446.1–4 and Śikṣ 320.5–6 with variants).

<sup>448</sup> Cf., e.g., Kp 205–206; meter Śārdūlavikrīḍita with irregularities: ye sattvā jarāvyādhimṛtyubhir bha-yā tṛṣṇā nadī patitā | prakṣiptā bhavacārake pratibhayam skandhe niviṣṭā narāḥ | pītvā kleśaviṣam parasparavadham duḥkhārṇave saṃsthitā | mohe andhe praṇaṣṭamārge aśubha-saṃsārayantre bhraman || duḥkhena jālitabhūta sarvatribhaveya mithyāya dṛṣṭi sthitāḥ | sarvaprāṇa bhramanti pañcagatibhiś cakraṃ yathā vartate | dharmā cakṣu vihīna pañcagatibhir atrāṇa sattvān smarī | bhāve prajña jahitvā kaṅkṣavimati bodhāya candaṃ jane ||; Rgs(Y) VIII.3, meter Vasantatilakā: kāme ca rūpi jagatī ayu paṅkasaktā □ saṃsāracakri bhramate 'nilacakratulye | jānitva bhrānti jagatī mṛgavāgure vā □ ākāśapakṣisadṛśā vicaranti prajñāḥ ||.

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also refer to the  $sams\bar{a}ra$  without specific comparisons.<sup>449</sup> In the quoted examples, the beings rotating in the  $sams\bar{a}ra$  are typically described as dull, blind, ignorant, and deluded. In a stanza of an unidentified work that is fragmentarily preserved amongst the Turfan fragments, people who are deluded by youth are compared to rutting elephants who got loose from the control of the mahout and run around.<sup>450</sup> Thus, it would not be surprising if the now lost portion of the stanza contained another word with the letter Dha, namely an equivalent for Skt.  $m\bar{u}dha$  "deluded," which would fit excellently into the context of the pāda. Apart from allusions to the  $sams\bar{a}ra$ , the verb  $\sqrt{bhram}$  can also characterize an unconcentrated mind.<sup>451</sup>

Cf., e.g., Abhidharmakośa, e.g., in Abhidh-k-bh(P) 2, pāda 3c, meter Praharṣiṇī: kleśaiś ca bhramati bhavārṇave 'tra lokas; Abhidh-k-vy 721.23-24, prose: andhās tu bhramanty eva saṃsārārṇave nairātmyam apaśyantaḥ; Rkp(K) 94–95, stanza IV.38, meter Upajāti: gatyāṭavīmadhyagatā bhramaṃti □ saṃsārakāntāravinaṣṭamārgāḥ ⟨|⟩ teṣāṃ sumārgaṃ pratideśayasva □ pramokṣayāryottamadharmavāg-bhiḥ ⟨||⟩.

SHT 837d (vol. III: 64), verse 33 meter Anuştubh: yau(van). - - - - (yauvana)svādamohitāḥ □ bhramanti kāmasammattā ga[jā i](va) niranguśāḥ (read nirankuśāḥ). Unsurprisingly, this resembles a stanza from Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda. Cf. Saund I.34: tataḥ kadācit te vīrās tasmin pratigate munau | babhramur yauvanoddāmā gajā iva nirankuśāḥ ||.

Cf., e.g., the *Ratnameghasūtra* as quoted in Śikṣ 121.16–122.1: *cittaṃ bhramate 'lātavat | cittaṃ bhramate turangavat | cittaṃ dahate devāgnivat | cittaṃ harate mahāmbuvat ||*.

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### Word Index

The glossary follows the Arapacana alphabetical order for the consonants with the following adjustments. Since the two consonants Na and Na are not distinguished in the manuscript, all occurrences are listed under the fifth letter of the alphabet, regardless of their Sanskrit equivalents. The letter Ha, which is not included in the regular alphabet, has been placed at the end as in the Sanskrit alphabet, for the sake of convenience. The vowels follow the usual order A E I O U (see Salomon 2006), and modified signs have been listed under the respective standard sign, e.g., -g-under -g-.

The metrical notation of syllables has also been included in this glossary, because it provides the rare opportunity to identify heavy syllables with certainty, even though long vowels are usually not written in Kharoṣṭhī script. Words at the beginning of pādas are indicated in blue. This is necessary as the spelling of a given word may stray from the norm, as seen in the cases of the unambiguously written anusvāras which is not typically found, or in the choice of an initial consonant, which artificially corresponds with a consonant of the Arapacana alphabet, but would normally be either rare or uncommon in the beginning of a word. In the entries, masculine and neuter gender as well as nominative and accusative case are distinguished on the basis of Pali or Sanskrit equivalents. Absolutives are listed here under separate lemmata with their Pali and Sanskrit equivalents, since they can be variable and their intepretation is not always certain. Finite present verb-forms are also rather rare in this manuscript and would often require reconstruction. The translations are intended to give the general idea, but they do not always match up with the meanings in specific verses because the context and style require adjustments.

Indications of metrically light syllables, e.g., -ŏ, as well as the apostrophes which signify elided vowels at the beginning or end of words, e.g. 'gin'ukadahana, have been removed from this word index.

Emendations that are not indicated by different brackets are marked in orange.

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artha m./n., P attha/aṭṭha, Skt. artha, "advantage," ifc., "for the sake of, in order to."

[a](r)th(a)m-- acc. sg. 5a (r9).

artha - acc. sg. 23a (v1).

See phaṣosaṃñaṇaṇartha.

arthia adj., P atthika/atthiya, Skt. arthika, "intending, aiming."

See mokṣarthia.

ardhabhaga m., P addhabhāga/aḍḍhabhāga, Skt. ardhabhāga, "half part."
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ya, lit. "time after the [first] half [of the night]" i.e. "midnight" ardha[bha]gas(amaye) - - - - - - m. loc. sg. 2c (r4).

apria or apriya adj., P appiya, Skt. apriya, "unpleasant." apri[a] or apri[ya] (or emend to -vapria) - - × m./n. nom. sg. 13c (r26).

acari/acari See *caradi.
anega/nega adj., P aneka/neka, Skt. aneka/naika, "many, numerous."
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ardhabhagasamaya m., Skt. \*ardhabhāgasama-

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anega \sim - \sim m. nom. pl. 7a (r13); n. nom. pl. 13a (r25), 14a (r27); n. nom./acc. pl. 33a (v21); n. acc. pl. 10a (r19). 

nega - \sim f./n. nom. pl. 4c (r8); m. nom./acc. pl. 36c (v28). 

n[e] (ga)- (interpretation and ending uncertain) - \sim 26b (v7).
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- \*anegasahasa/negasahasa m./n., P anekasahassa, Skt. anekasahasra, "many thousands." negasahasa - - - m./n. acc. pl. 20c (r40).
- aņu- adj., cf. P anuga/anuvatti(n), Skt. cittavaśānu√ga/vṛt, "following."
   See citavašanu-.
- anutara adj, PSkt. anuttara, "unsurpassed." anutara - n. nom. pl. 22c (r44).
- \*alavadi v., PSkt. ālapati, "speaks (to)." alavi ~ 3rd sg. pret. 30a (v15).
- avi or vi ind., G also avi, P api/pi, Skt. api, "even, also" (or pleonastic).
  avi ≃ (interpretation uncertain, maybe beginning of another word) 28a (v11).
  vi ~ (uncertain) 26c (v8). Cf. also padavavara and \*varadi or \*vivaradi?.
  vi − (or part of viñavi) 29c (v14). Cf. \*viñavedi.
- atula adj., PSkt. atula, "unequalled." atula ~ ~ m./n. nom./acc. sg. 19a (r37).
- atraṇabhuta adj., P cf. attāṇa, Skt. atrāṇabhūta (cf. also trāṇabhūta), "being without shelter, defenseless, without protection."

  [atraṇabhuta] - - nom. pl. 33c (v22).

  atra[ṇabh](uta) - - m./n. nom. pl. 39a (v33).

  atraṇabhuta - - m./n. acc. pl. 27a (v9).

  a[traṇabhu](taṇa) - - m. gen. pl.? (or in cpd) 5c (r10).
- atrita adj., P atitta, Skt. atrpta, "unsatiated." atrita - v f. acc. pl. 22a (r43).
- atva m., P atta(n), Skt. ātman, "self, oneself." atvana < acc. sg. 20c (r40).
- akuśala adj., P akusala, Skt. akuśala, "evil."  $aku[\underline{\acute{s}}a]l[o] \sim \sim -$  m. nom. sg. 9a (r17). See also  $ku\overline{\acute{s}}ala$ .
- asa ind., PSkt. atha, "and."  $a[\underline{s}a] \sim -32a$  (v19). as[e] (one of several uncertain readings; emend to asa?; cf. tasa/taseva and kasa)  $\sim -13c$  (r26).

amaadarsiga? m., Skt. \*amṛtadarsaka?, "[one who] shows [the path to] immortality."

am[aa]da(r)[śig](o) (reading uncertain) ~ ≃ ~ × m. nom. sg. 16a (r31).

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- agi/giṇi m., P aggi/gini/aggini, Skt. agni, "fire." See ñaṇagi.
- \*agiṇukadahaṇa/giṇukadahaṇa m., Skt. \*agnyulkādahana, "a blazing fire." giṇukadahaṇa - - - - - m. nom./acc. sg. or part of a cpd 11a (r21).
- agiṣama adj., P aggisama, Skt. agnisama, "like fire."agiṣame ∨ ∨ m. nom. pl. 15a (r29).
- agudimala Npr. m., PSkt. aṅgulimāla, "Aṅgulimāla."

  agudimalo - - nom. sg. 7c (r14).
- agra adj., P agga, Skt. agra, "best."

  agro ∨ m. nom. sg. 3a (r5).

  agra or in cpd as agrapravaro ∨ (∨ ∨ -) m.

  nom. sg. 21c (r42).

See rasagra or rasagrapravara.

- agrapravara adj., Skt. agrapravara, "best [and] most excellent."
  agrapravaro (or read agra pravaro) - - m. nom. sg. 21c (r42).
  See rasagra or rasagrapravara.
- agrato adv., P aggato, Skt. agratah, "in front." agrato ~ ~ 35a (v25).
- ajali m., PSkt. añjali, "folded hands, salutation."
   [jali] (reading and segmentation uncertain, see pradaṇajali, praṣaṇa and praṣaṇajali) ~ x m. acc. sg. or part of a cpd 12c (r24).
- adhagara m./n., PSkt. andhakāra, "darkness." moha[dha]ga[re] - - - - loc. sg. 19c (r38).
- *asti* v. 3rd sg. pres., P *atthi*, Skt. *asti*, "(there) is." *nasti* - ~ (Skt. *nāsti*, "[there] is not") 13c (r26).
- aña adj., P añña, Skt. anya, "other, different." satañu (or emend to sataña?; interpretation pf "seven others" uncertain) - - v n. nom. pl. 22c (r44).
- afa adj., P aṭṭa, Skt. āṛṭa, "tormented."
   aṭa - m. nom. pl. 28a (v11), 28c (v12).
   aṭ[a]ṇa or read aṭa ṇa - m. gen. pl. or ending uncertain 28d (v12).
   (a)[ṭ](a) (ending uncertain) - 28b (v11).
- abhibhuta adj., PSkt. abhibhūta, "overpowered." See jarabhibhuta.

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achabi adj., P acchambhi(n), BHS acchambhin, Skt. cf. √skambh/stambh, "fearless." a[cha]bi ~ - ~ m. nom. sg. 8a (r15). achabi ~ - ~ m. nom. sg. 29a (v13).
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avharaṇa n., PSkt. ābharaṇa, "ornament, jewellery."

avharanehi - - - instr. pl. 32a (v19).

athi n., P atthi, Skt. asthi, "bone." See nirmasaathisama.

ahu pron. 1st pers., PSkt. aham, BHS also ahu
(BHSG §20.7) amongst other forms, "I."
ahu ~ nom. sg. 27c (v10). Or read ahusamña.
me - enclitic for instr. sg. (PSkt. me, cf. Skt. mayā) 6c (r12).
See also ma.

ahusaṃña f., BHS ahusaṃjñā/ahasaṃjñā, Skt. ātmasaṃjñā, "[wrong] idea of 'I'." ahusaṃña - - - acc. sg. 27c (v10). Or read ahu saṃña-. Cf. ahu and saṃñaṇita.

erși/irși? adj., cf. P esi(n), Skt. eșin, "seeking." See hiţerși.

eṣeamaṇa adj., cf. P issamāna, Skt. iṣyamāṇa; cf. BHS eṣamāṇa and iṣyate/iṣyati, "pursuing, seeking." Cf. also erṣi.
eṣeamaṇa - - - m. nom. sg. 17a (r33), 24a (v3).

eva ind., P eva/yeva/va, Skt. eva, "indeed" (or pleonastic).

taseva - - (Skt. tasyaiva) 12c (r24).  $śoga[s ta]\underline{s}[e]apri[a/ya]$  (one of several uncertain readings; emend to  $śogas ta\underline{s}evapria/ya = Skt. śokas tathaivāpriyah, or see <math>a\underline{s}a$ , and ka-sa)  $- - - - - \times 13c$  (r26).

irși? See hiterși.

idra? See satvidra.

*idria/idriya* n., PSkt. *indriya*, "senses, sense organ." See *mutidria*?, *gutedriya*.

ita pron., PSkt. idam, "this." sarvasamkhatam ita  $- \circ - \circ \circ - n$ . acc. sg. (or emend to it(i)?) 25c (v6).

iţi ind., PSkt. iti, "thus, so."
 sarvasaṃkhaṭam it⟨i⟩ - - - - - (or read ita) 25c (v6).

*itara/itvara* adj., P *ittara*, BHS/Skt. *itvara*, "transient, momentary, fleeting."

i[ta](ra) or  $i[tva](ra) - \sim \times$  m. nom. pl. 15c (r30).

iśvara m., G also iśpara, P issara, Skt. īśvara, "lord."

See logiśvara.

\*okramadi v., P okkamati, Skt. avakramati/avakrāmati, "comes down, enters." [o](k)r(a)[mi] - ~ × 3rd sg. pret. 18a (r35).

uaya/uvaya m., PSkt. upāya, "way, means, method, expedient."

upama f., G also uama/uvama, PSkt. upamā, "simile, resemblance;" ifc. "like." See mayopama.

uvaya See uaya.

uvasa- uncertain.

[u]vasa- (maybe incomplete; reading and meaning uncertain)  $\simeq \sim - \text{ or } - \sim 42 \text{ a (v39)}.$ 

\*uvasakramadi v., P upasankamati, BHS upasankramati, Skt. upasankrāmati/upasankramate, "approaches."

u[va]sakrami == - - 3rd sg. pret. 24a (v3).

uvasakramitva abs., P upasankamitvā/upasankamma, BHS upasankramitvā, Skt. upasankramya, "having approached."
uvasakramitva ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 26a (v7).

utara See anutara.

utama adj., PSkt. uttama, "best, most." See rukṣaṃtava?, rukṣutama.

utrasta adj., P utrasta, Skt. uttrasta, "terrified, frightened."

utrastacita adj., P utrastacitta, Skt. uttrastacitta, "with a frightened mind."
utrastacita (ending uncertain) -- - - pl.?
34a (v23).

uka f., P ukkā, Skt. ulkā, "fire(brand)." See \*agiņukadahaṇa/giņukadahaṇa, triņukasadiša.

ughrisa or ghrisa abs., Puggayha/ugganhetvā, Skt. udgrhya (or BHS grhya), "having raised" or "having taken."

 $ghri\underline{\tilde{s}}a - \sim 24c \text{ (v4)}.$ 

- rada adj., PSkt. rata, "taking pleasure." rado ~ − m. nom. sg. 23c (v2).
- raţi f., G radi, P ratti, Skt. rātrī, "night." raţie - - - gen./loc. sg. 2c (r4).
- *raya* m., P *rāja(n)*, Skt. *rājan*, "king." See *gayaraya*.
- <sup>1</sup>rasa m., PSkt. rasa, "taste, juice." See sarvarasa.
- $^2$ rasa m., PSkt. ratha, "chariot." rasa or in cpd as patirasa or patirasakaneruturaga  $(- \circ) \circ (\circ \circ \circ -)$  nom./acc. pl. 32c (v20).
- rasagra or rasagrapravara m., Skt. \*rasāgrapravara, "best [and] most excellent of tastes." rasagraprava[ra] (or read rasagra prava[ra]) --- --- m. nom. pl. 21a (r41).
- raga m., PSkt. rāga, "passion, desire."
- ragavaśa/\*ragavaša m., P rāgavasa, Skt. rāgavaśa, "by the power of passion."
   ragavaśena - m. instr. sg. 28a (v11).
- ragahata adj., P rāgahata, Skt. \*rāgahata, "struck by desire."
  - $ragaha\underline{t}a \sim \text{m./n. nom./acc. pl. 16c (r32)}.$
- rukṣa m./adj., P rukkha, Skt. vṛkṣa, "tree;" or P lūkha, Skt. rūkṣa, "cruel, evil, harsh, severe."
- rukṣaṃtava? adj., Skt. \*rūkṣantapa, "one whose austerities are severe, rigorous ascetic."
   rukṣaṃta[va] - × m. nom./voc. sg. (less certain alternative for rukṣuta[m](e)) 17c (r34).
- rukṣutama adj., Skt. vṛkṣottama, "best of trees," or (less likely) Skt. \*rūkṣottama, "most evil one."
  rukṣuta[m](e) (ending uncertain) -- v x m.
  - acc./loc. sg. (for a less certain alternative reading cf. *rukṣaṃtava*?) 17c (r34).
- para adj., PSkt. para, "other" (meaning uncertain).
  [para] or [par](e), or read [kara] or [kar](e) (uncertain) ~ perhaps acc. pl. 41c (v38). Cf.
  \*karodi.
- parama adj., PSkt. parama, "highest."

  paramo ≃ m. nom. sg. 3a (r5), 3c (r6).
- pariṣa f., P parisā, Skt. parṣad/pariṣad, "assembly."

 $pari[\underline{s}a]$  or  $pari[\underline{s}](e) \sim -$  acc. or loc. sg. 8a (r15).

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- pariyita adj., PSkt. parijita, "overpowered."
  See zaradrobalyapariyita.
- \*parvayadi v., P pabbajati, Skt. pravrajadi, "goes forth [as monk]."

  parvayi - 3rd sg. pret. 31a (v17).
- palara/palvara or palaragata/palvaragata n., P pallara, BHS palvara, Skt. palvala, "pond," or Skt. \*palvalagata, "[staying] in a pond." pala[rag](ata) or pal[v]a[rag](ata) - - - f. acc. pl. 37a (v29).
- pada or pata n., PSkt. pada, "step, place."
  [p](ada) or [p](ata) or [p](adani)/[p](atani)
   (-) (interpretation and ending uncertain) n. acc. pl. 29a (v13).
  See nivritapata.
- padava m., Skt. pādapa, "tree."
- padavavara m., Skt. pādapavara, "best of trees."
  padavavare (emended from pavavivare) - loc. sg. (or read pava vi vare / pava vivare / pavavivare)
  26c (v8). Cf. also pava and \*varadi or \*vivaradi?.
- paḍara adj., P paṇḍara, Skt. pāṇḍara, "white."
- paḍaravaṇa adj., P paṇḍaravaṇṇa, Skt. pāṇḍaravaṇa, "white-colored."
   paḍaravaṇo - (metrically irregular)
   m. nom. sg. 18a (r35).
- padirakṣaṇa? n., cf. Skt. \*pratirakṣaṇa, "protection." Cf. padijagaṇa.
  padira[kṣa]ṇa (or -n[e] or padija[ga]ṇa or

-n/e; uncertain)  $\sim \sim - \sim -41c$  (v38).

- padijagaņa? n., cf. P paṭijaggana, "caring, fostering, attention." Cf. also BHSD s.v. pratijāgarti for various other meanings. Cf. padinaksana.
  - $pa\underline{d}ija[ga]\underline{n}a$  (or  $-\underline{n}[e]$  or  $pa\underline{d}ira[k\underline{s}a]\underline{n}a$  or  $-\underline{n}[e]$ ; uncertain)  $\sim -\sim -41c$  (v38).
- pava adj./n., PSkt. pāpa, "evil."
   pava ~ acc. sg. (or in cpd as pavavivare ~
   ~ m./n. loc. sg.; or emend to padavavare)
   26c (v8).
- pavakarma See bahupavakarma.
- pata See pada or pata.
- pati or patirasa or patirasakaneruturasa m., PSkt. patti or Skt. pattiratha or \*pattirathakarenuturasa, "foot-soldier" or "foot-soldiers [and]

See sarvapraya.

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chariots," or "foot-soldiers, or "foot-soldiers,
                                                           prasana adj., P pasanna, Skt. prasanna, "serene,
   chariots, elephants [and] horses."
                                                               clear, trustful."
   pati or in cpd as patirasa or patirasakanerutu-
                                                              p[r]a[\underline{s}a]\underline{n}a or p[r]a[\underline{s}a]\underline{n}(o) (reading and seg-
   mentation uncertain, see also pradaņajali and
   (v\bar{2}0).
                                                              prasanajali) \sim -- m. nom. sg./pl. or part of a
                                                               cpd 12c (r24).
paśia (or payia?) abs. from \sqrt{pa} or adj., (A) cf.
   G paśia (Anav<sup>L</sup>), P passiya, BHS paśyiya
                                                           prasanamanasa adj., P pasannamana(sa), Skt.
   (BHSG §35.42), Skt. drstvā; (B) cf. P apā-
                                                              prasannamanas(a) or prasannamānasa, "hav-
   yi(n), Skt. apāyin "going or passing away, per-
                                                               ing a serene mind."
   ishable."
                                                              prasanamanaso - - - - m. nom. sg. 23c
   paśia – v (or payia n. nom./acc. sg.) 25c
                                                               (v2).
   (v6).
                                                           prasaņajali m., Skt. *prasannāñjali, "trustfully
puri-? uncertain.
                                                               folded hands."
   [pu]ri\ ta\ ...\ (uncertain) -- \sim ...\ 28c\ (v12).
                                                              p[r]a[\underline{s}a]\underline{n}a[jali] (reading and segmentation
                                                               uncertain, see also pradanajali and prasana)
purima adj., P/BHS purima, Skt. cf. puras/purā,
                                                               \sim - - \sim \times acc. sg. 12c (r24).
   "former."
   purimasu \simeq - \sim f. loc. pl. 17a (r33).
                                                           praśpedita adj., BHS praksedita, Skt. praksvedi-
                                                               ta, "shouted, shouting."
putra m., P putta, Skt. putra, "son."
                                                               See hakarapraśpedita.
   putra − ~ nom./acc. pl. 32a (v19).
                                                           prastaa abs., P paṭṭhāya, Skt. prasthāya, "having
pradaņa n., P padāna, Skt. pradāna, "gift, dona-
                                                               set out, proceeding;" cf. also forms of P patthe-
                                                               ti, Skt. pra√arthay.
pradaņajali m., Skt. *pradānāñjali, "gifts [and
                                                              p[r]astaa - - \sim 13a (r25).
   respectfully] folded hands."
                                                           pria See apria.
   p[r]adana[jali] (reading and segmentation un-
   certain, see also prasana and prasanajali) ~ -
                                                           pridi f., P pīti, Skt. prīti, "pleasure, delight."
   - \sim \times acc. sg. 12c (r24).
                                                           pridimana P pītimana(s), Skt. prītimanas, "delight-
pravara adj., PSkt. pravara, "most excellent,
                                                               ed."
   foremost.'
                                                              pridimano -- -- m. nom. sg. 30a (v15).
   pravaro \sim -m. nom. sg. 11a (r21).
   pravaro or in cpd as agrapravaro (- \(-\) \(-\) \(-\)
                                                           ca- Cf. ća-.
   m. nom. sg. 21c (r42).
                                                           ca/ca? ind., PSkt. ca, "and."
   [pravaro] ~ ~ - m. nom. sg. (possibly second
                                                               [\underline{\bar{c}}a] \sim 7c \text{ (r14)}.
   member of a cpd) 40c (v36).
                                                               \bar{c}a \sim 34c \text{ (v24)}.
   (prava)[re] \sim -m. loc. sg. (or instr. pl.) 35a
                                                               ca? – (uncertain; maybe part of another word
                                                               starting with cadri/tri) 23b (v1).
   pravara or in cpd as rasagrapravara ( - - -) -
                                                           *caradi v., PSkt. carati, "acts, performs."

→ m. nom. pl. 21a (r41).

                                                               -a[c](ari)/-a[\bar{c}](ari) \sim -3rd \text{ sg. pret. 5a (r9)}.
   See rasagra or rasagrapravara, satvapravara.
                                                               care \sim \times 3rd \text{ sg. pret. } 23a \text{ (v1)}.
prata adj. or abs., P patta, Skt. prāpta, "attained,
                                                           caria f./n., G also carya, P cariya/cariyā, Skt.
   reached."
                                                               caryā, BHS cari/carī, "practice, observance."
   prata - \sim f. nom. sg. 10c (r20).
                                                               caria \simeq - nom. pl. 4c (r8).
   See balaprata, *saṃkaḍaprata or saṃkhata-
                                                           *carima/ćarima adj., P/BHS carima, Skt. cara-
                                                               ma (cf. paścima), "last."
praya f., P pajā, Skt. prajā, "people."
                                                               ćarime \simeq \sim - m. loc. sg. 40c (v36).
   praya ∨ − nom. pl. 21a (r41).
   pra[ya] \sim \times acc. pl. 25a (v5).
                                                           cata adj. or abs., P catta or cajitvā(na), Skt. tyakta
   praya ~ ~ acc. pl. 22a (r43).
                                                               or tyaktvā, "(having) given up, given away."
   [p](ra)[ya] \sim acc. pl. 37a (v29).
                                                               cata - - m. nom. pl. or ind. 32c (v20).
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"the place of happiness, nirvāṇa."

"having directed."

 $\underline{nivrit}\langle i\rangle pata - \cdot \cdot \cdot - acc. sg. 34a (v23).$ 

**nita?** abs. or unclear, P netvā/netvāna, Skt. nītvā,

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*cayadi v., P cajadi, Skt. tyajati, "gives up, re-
                                                               na[v](ago) - \sim \times \text{ nom. sg. 31c (v18)}.
   nounces."
                                                               nayaga - \sim \times \text{ voc. sg. } 22c \text{ (r44)}.
   cae \sim -3 \text{rd sg. pret. } 20c \text{ (r40)}.
                                                               naya[g](o) - \sim \times m. nom. sg. 29c (v14).
caga/ćaga m., P cāga, Skt. tyāga, "generosity, re-
                                                           nayuta m./n., P nahuta, BHS nayuta, Skt. niyuta,
   nunciation."
                                                               "a myriad."
   cago - - acc. sg. 4a (r7).
                                                               See bahusatvakodinayuta, karpanayuta, kar-
   \dot{c}aga - - acc. sg. 40a (v35).
                                                               pakoḍiṇayu<u>t</u>a.
cirna adj., P cinna, Skt. cīrna, "practiced."
                                                           nasa m., PSkt. nātha, "protector."
   ci[r]na - \sim f./n. nom. pl. 4c (r8).
                                                               na[\underline{so}] - \sim \text{nom. sg. 3c (r6)}.
                                                               naso - - nom. sg. 5a (r9), 5c (r10).
cita n., PSkt. citta, "mind."
                                                               nasa - \sim voc. sg. 35c (v26).
   See utrastacita.
                                                           nasavara m., PSkt. *nāthavara, "best of protec-
citavašaņu- adj., cf. P cittavasānuga or cittavasā-
                                                               tors."
   nuvatti(n), Skt. cittavaśānu√ga or cittavaśānu-
                                                               nasavarasa - \sim \sim - \sim \text{gen. sg. } 12a \text{ (r23)}.
   \sqrt{vrt}), "follower of the wishes of one's mind."
   citava\underline{\bar{s}}aņ[u]- - \sim \sim nom./acc. pl.? 38a
                                                           nama n., P nāma, Skt. nāman, "name."
                                                           ņamagrahaņa n., P nāma(g)gahaņa, Skt. nāma-
cigitsaga m., P tikicchaka, Skt. cikitsaka, "physi-
                                                               grahana, "calling the name, remembering the
                                                               name, naming."
   cigitsagaṇa - - - - gen. pl. 3a (r5).
                                                               namagrahane - \sim \sim - loc.? sg. 12a (r23).
cora m., P cora, Skt. cora/caura, "thief."
                                                           namida adj., PSkt. namita or nāmita, "made bent,
                                                               bent down, inclined, turned towards."
   coro - \sim nom. sg. 7c (r14).
                                                               namido \simeq \sim - m. nom. sg. 36a (v27).
na ind., PSkt. na, "not."
                                                           namuyi Npr. m., PSkt. namuci, "Namuci, name
   na \sim 13c (r26).
                                                               of Māra."
   nasti - \sim 13c (r26). See asti.
                                                               namuyi \sim -acc. sg. 17c (r34).
nana ind., PSkt. nānā, "manifold, various."
                                                           ņasti See asti.
nanakakhadadhaka m., Skt. *nānākakkhata-
                                                           nega See anega.
   dhvānkṣa, "different deceitful scoundrels," or
                                                           nirmasa adj.,
                                                                             P nimmaṃsa, Skt.
                                                                                                    nirmāṃsa,
   "different violent crows" (meaning uncertain;
                                                               "fleshless."
   cf., e.g., SWTF s.v. dhvānkṣa and dhvānkṣin).
                                                           nirmasaathisama adj., Skt. *nirmāmsāsthisama,
   nanakakhadadhaka −−− · · · m. nom./
                                                               "like bones without flesh."
   acc. pl. 36c (v28).
                                                               ni(r) masaathi[\underline{s}] (ame) ----\times m. nom.
                         Skt.
                                 *nānākrcchragata,
ṇaṇakritsagata adj.,
                                                               pl. 15a (r29).
   "fallen into manifold miseries."
                                                           nica adj., P niccam, Skt. nityam, "always."
   <u>nanakritsagatana</u> ---- m. gen. pl. 5c
                                                               nico - \sim acc. sg./adv. 23c (v2).
   (r10).
                                                           niṣaṇa adj., P nisinna, Skt. niṣaṇṇa, "seated."
*nadadi v., PSkt. nadati, "sounds, roars."
                                                               niṣaṇo ~ - ~ nom. sg. 26c (v8).
   natas[i] \sim -2nd sg. pres. (or emend to nata-
   ti?, 3rd sg. pres.) 8a (r15).
                                                           nivrita or nivriti adj. or f., P nibbuta, Skt. nirvr-
                                                               ta, "happy, released," or P nibbuti, Skt. nirvṛti,
   \underline{nati} \sim -3 \text{ rd sg. pret. (uncertain; cf. also } \underline{nati}
                                                               "happiness, nirvāṇa." Cf. also P nibbidā, BHS
   and the annotations to this pada) 6a (r11).
                                                               nirvidā, Skt. nirvid, "disgust" or "despair," or
nati not entirely clear, perhaps Skt. *anati (see
                                                               P nivuta, BHS nivṛta, "obscured."
   BHSD s.v. anativara), "best." Cf. also G nadi,
   PSkt. nadī, "river" and G *nadadi, PSkt. nada-
                                                           nivritipata n., P nibbutipada, Skt. nirvrtipada,
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ti, "sounds, roars."

*nayaga* m., PSkt. *nāyaka*, "leader."

 $\underline{n}\underline{a}\underline{t}i \sim -\text{ m. sg. nom.}$ ? (or 3rd sg. pret. of G \* $\underline{n}a$ -

dadi; see also the notes to this pāda) 6a (r11).

diva adj., P dibba/dibya/divya, Skt. divya, "heav-

enly."

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nita (segmentation and interpretation uncer-
                                                                diva - \sim m. nom. pl. 18c (r36).
   tain) - \sim 27c (v10).
                                                            diva or divakara or diva(m)kare m. or adj.,
nihatva abs., P nihacca/nihantvā/nihanitvā, BHS
                                                                P divya/dibba or dīpa, Skt. divya or dīpa or
   nihatvā, Skt. nihatya, "having struck down,
                                                                dvīpa, "heavenly" or "light, lamp" or "island"
                                                                (meaning uncertain). Cf. also P dīpankara, Skt.
   having slain."
   [ni]ha[tva] \sim --9c (r18).
                                                                dīpamkara, "illuminating, light-maker" as a
   nihatva \sim -24c (v4).
                                                                name of a past buddha.
                                                                diva kare or divakare or diva(m) kare or di-
                                                                va(m)kare -- -- (uncertain; cf. also *karodi
ladha adj., P laddha, Skt. labdha, "attained, ob-
                                                                and the comments to this pada) 6a (r11).
   tained."
                                                             durmadi/durmati adj., P dummati, Skt. durmati,
   ladho - - m. nom. sg. 6c (r12).
                                                                "weak-minded, evil-minded, ill-disposed, sad."
ladhva abs., G also ladha, P laddhā/laddhāna/la-
                                                                durma\underline{t}i - \sim - \text{ m. nom. sg. 9a (r17)}.
   bhitvā, Skt. labdhvā, "having gained, having
                                                                du[rma]di - \sim \times \text{ m. nom. sg. } 24a \text{ (v3)}.
   obtained."
                                                                durmadi - \sim \sim m. nom. pl. (or sg.?) 8c (r16).
   ladhva - - 6a (r11).
                                                             dukha n., P dukkha, Skt. duhkha, "pain, suffer-
loga m., PSkt. loka, "world, people."
    logo - \sim nom. sg. 10c (r20).
                                                                dukha[h](i) - \sim \times \text{ instr. pl./dual } 20a \text{ (r39)}.
   logo - - acc. sg. 16a (r31).
   See sarvaloga.
                                                             dukhaśada n., P dukkhasata, Skt. duḥkhaśata,
                                                                "hundred[fold] pains."
logajetha m., P lokajettha, Skt. lokajyestha, "first
                                                                dukhaśadehi - ~ ~ - ~ instr. pl. 39a (v33).
   one of the world."
   logajethe - - - loc. sg. (or instr. pl.) 35a
                                                            dukhida See duhida/duhita/dukhida.
   (v25).
                                                             dukara adj./n., P dukkara, BHS also spelt duska-
logiśvara m., P lokissara, Skt. lokeśvara, "lord of
                                                                ra, Skt. duşkara, "difficult practices, difficult
   the world."
                                                                to perform."
   logiśva(ra/ro) - - \sim \times m. nom./voc. sg. 10a
                                                                dukara - \sim c f./n. nom. pl. 4c (r8).
   (r19).
                                                            duhi num., P dvīhi, BHS dvihi, Skt. dvābhyām,
                                                                "two."
darśiga? adj./m., Skt. darśika?, "one who shows,
                                                                [du]hi \sim - \text{instr. } 20a \text{ (r39)}.
   showing."
                                                             duhida/duhita/dukhida adj., P dukkhita, Skt. duh-
   See amaadarsiga?
                                                                khita, "pained, suffering, distressed."
data/damta adj., P danta, Skt. danta, "tamed, con-
                                                                duhi\underline{t}a \sim -m. nom. pl. 19c (r38); m./n. acc.
   trolled."
                                                                pl. 27a (v9).
   damta - - m. nom. sg. 7c (r14)
                                                                duhida \sim \sim - \text{m./n.} nom. pl. 28a (v11).
                                                                dukhida − ∨ ∨ f. acc. pl. 22a (r43).
   da[m]to - - m. nom. sg. 7c (r14).
   dato - \sim m. nom. sg. 23a (v1).
                                                                [duh](i)[\underline{t}a] \sim - \text{nom. pl. } 33c \text{ (v22)}.
   damta - - m. nom. pl. 7a (r13).
                                                            dritha adj., P dittha, Skt. drsta, "seen, appear-
datha adj., P dattha, Skt. dasta, "bitten."
                                                                ing."
   datha - \sim f. nom. sg. 42c (v40).
                                                                dritha - \sim m. nom. sg. 22c (r44).
                                                                dri[tha] (probably to be emended to drith\langle v \rangle a
dama m., PSkt. dama, "self-restraint."
                                                                or read hritha, m. nom. pl.) - \sim 30c (v16).
   dame \simeq loc. sg. 23c (v2).
                                                            drithva/drithvana/drisva/drisvana abs., P disvā/
dahana m., P dahana/dahana, Skt. dahana, "fire."
                                                                disvāna/diṭṭhā/daṭṭhā/daṭṭhu, Skt. dṛṣṭvā, "hav-
    See *aginukadahana/ginukadahana.
                                                                ing seen."
deva m., PSkt. deva, "god, deity."
                                                                [d](r)[ithva] or [d](r)[ithvaṇa] (or read or
   deva - \sim \text{nom. pl. } 30c \text{ (v16)}.
                                                                \lceil s \rceil (r) \lceil ithva \rceil or \lceil s \rceil (r) \lceil ithvana \rceil \rangle - - (\sim) 9a (r17).
   See sadevamaņuya.
                                                                dri[th]va - -25a (v5).
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 $[d](r)[ithva] - \sim 37a \text{ (v29)}.$ 

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dri[tha] (probably to be emended to drith\langle v \rangle a or read hritha, m. nom. pl.) - \sim 30c (v16). drisva - \sim 22a (r43). dri[svana] - - \sim 16c (r32).
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drobalya n., P dubbalya/dubballa, Skt. daurbal-ya, "weakness."

See zaradrobalyapariyita.

<sup>1</sup>bala n., PSkt. bala, "strength, power, force, army."

balo or in cpd as viryabalo  $(- \circ) \circ -$  acc. sg. 19a (r37).

See sabala, ñaṇabala.

<sup>2</sup>bala adj., PSkt. bāla, "fool, child, boy, young." bala − − m. nom. sg./pl. 8c (r16).

balaprata adj., P balappatta, Skt. balaprāpta, "one who has attained strength or powers." balaprato ≃ - - m. nom. sg. 8a (r15).

<sup>1</sup>balava adj., P balava(nt), Skt. balavant, "strong, powerful."

 $balavo \sim -m$ . nom. sg. 7c (r14).  $balava \sim -m$ . nom.? sg. 27c (v10).

<sup>2</sup>balava adj., P balava(nt), Skt. balavant, "having an army."

balavado - - - m. nom./acc. sg. 24c (v4).

badhaṇa n., PSkt. bandhana, "bond." badhaṇe - ∨ v instr. pl. 16a (r31).

<sup>1</sup>bahu adj., PSkt. bahu, "many."

[bahava] - - f./n. nom. pl. 4c (r8).

bahava - - m. nom./acc. pl. 32a (v19); m./n.

nom. pl. 39a (v33).

bahuni - - n. acc. pl. 23a (v1).

<sup>2</sup>bahu adv., PSkt. bahu, "highly, often." bahu ~ − 22a (r43), 32c (v20).

bahupavakarma adj./n., P bahupāpakamma, Skt. \*bahupāpakarma, "many evil deeds" or "doers of many evil deeds." bahupava[karma] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nom./acc. pl. 38c (v32).

bahula adj., PSkt. bahula, "full of." See kile§abahula.

*bahuvisa* adj., PSkt. *bahuvidha*, "manifold." *bahuvi[sa]* ~ ~ ~ n. nom. pl. 22c (r44).

bahusatvakodinayuta n., Skt. bahusa(t)tvakotinayuta, "many myriads of beings." bahusatvakodinayuta - - - - - - - - acc. pl. 31c (v18).

**bosi** f., G also bodhi, PSkt. bodhi, "awakening." bosi - nom. sg. 10c (r20).  $bo[\underline{s}i] - acc. sg. 13a (r25).$  $b[o]\underline{s}[i] - acc. sg. 27c (v10).$ 

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bosivada m. BHS bodhivata (cf. Skt. bodhidruma), "tree of awakening, Bodhi tree." (In this context, vata does not denote the banyan tree.) bosivado -- - m. nom./acc. sg. 26a (v7) (-gi- is heavy m.c).

bosisatva m., G also bodhisatva, P bodhisatta, BHS bodhisatva, Skt. bodhisattva, "the Bodhisattva, a bodhisattva."

 $bosisatv(o) - \sim - \sim \text{nom. sg. 4a (r7)}.$  $bosisatvo - \sim - \sim \text{nom. sg. 30a (v15)}.$ 

budha adj./m., PSkt. buddha, "the Buddha, a buddha."

See varabudhañanavişaya.

brama Npr. m., P brahma(n), Skt. brahman,"Brahmā."b[r]amo - - nom. sg. 35a (v25).

da- Cf. dha-.

hadi) 9c (r18).

dasu or dasa adj., G cf. dahu (Dhp<sup>K</sup>), P cf. daha(t)/daha(t), dahanta/dahanta/dayhanta, pass. dayhanta/dayhanta, Skt. cf. dahant, "burning." dasu or dasam ≃ m. nom. (or acc.?) sg. 9a (r17).
dasu or dasam ≃ m. nom. pl. (or read dasute/dasamte, 3rd pl. pres. pass.? of \*dahadi/\*da-

\*dahadi/\*dahadi v., P dahati/dahati, Skt. dahati, "burns."

dasute or dasamte == − 3rd pl. pres. pass.?

(Skt. dahyante, or read dasu/dasam te, see dasu or dasa) 9c (r18).

şada adj./n., P sāta, Skt. not entirely clear (cf. BHS sāta/śāta and Skt. śānta or śrānta), "content, pleased." For G şada cf. Burrow 1937: 126; Schlosser 2020: 84, 184.
şado - - m. nom. sg. 10c (r20).

**şadha** f., P saddhā, Skt. śraddhā, "faith, trust." **şadha** – acc. sg. 10a (r19).

vara adj., PSkt. vara, "excellent, best." See nasavara, śasanavara.

\*varadi or \*vivaradi? v., Skt. vṛṇoti/varate/varati, "stops, keeps away" or "reveals."

vi vare (or vivare)  $\sim -3$ rd sg. pret. (theoretically also m./n. loc. sg. of vivara or pavavivara) 26c (v8). Cf. also **padavavara**.

varabudhañaṇaviṣaya m., Skt. \*varabuddhajñānaviṣaya, "range of the excellent knowledge of a buddha."

varadharma m., P varadhamma, Skt. varadharma, "the excellent Buddhist doctrine, the excellent dharma."

 $varadharmo \simeq --$  acc. sg. 11c (r22).

vaṇa m., G also varṇa, P vaṇṇa, Skt. varṇa, "color."

See padaravana.

vada m., PSkt. vata, normally "banyan tree (Ficus benghalensis)," here probably only "tree."
See bosivada.

vavaņa adj., P vyāpanna/byāpanna, Skt. vyāpanna (usually in the cpd vyāpannacitta), "evil, malicious."

vava[na] - - - f. acc. pl. 25a (v5).

vati adj., PSkt. vādin, "proclaimer." vatina — — m. gen. pl. 11a (r21).

vaya f., P vācā, Skt. vāc/vācā, "speech, words." vaya - ~ acc. sg. 29a (v13).

vaśa/vaśa m., P vasa, Skt. vaśa, "control, power." See ragavaśa/\*ragavaśa, citavaśaņu-, mohavaśa/\*mohavaśa.

vahaṇa n., PSkt. vāhana, "chariot, riding animal, retinue, army."See savahaṇa.

vi See avi or vi.

*viraya* adj., PSkt. *viraja(s)*, "spotless, stainless." *virayo* ~ ~ − m. nom./acc. sg. 26a (v7).

virya or viryabala n., P viriya or viriyabala, Skt. vīrya or vīryabala, "energy, heroism" or "power of energy."

*virya* or *viryabalo*  $- \sim (\sim -)$  n. acc. sg. 19a (r37).

vipramuta adj., P vippamutta, Skt. vipramukta,
"delivered." See also muta.
vipramuto - - - m. nom. sg. 16a (r31).

*viṇaya* m., PSkt. *vinaya*, "(monastic) discipline." See *dharmaviṇaya*.

viṣaya m., P visaya, Skt. viṣaya, "range, field, area."

See varabudhañaṇavişaya.

\*vivaradi/vivara See \*varadi or \*vivaradi?.

vivisa adj., PSkt. vividha, "various, different."

vivisa ~ ~ ~ m. nom. pl. 7a (r13); n. acc. pl. 10a (r19); n. nom. pl. 13a (r25), 14a (r27).

vivi[sa] ~ ~ ~ n. nom./acc. pl. 33a (v21); m. nom./acc. pl. 36c (v28).

[vivi]sa ~ ~ ~ n. nom./acc. pl. 38c (v32).

-visa See bahuvisa, vivisa.

viña See soviña.

\*viñavedi v., P viññāpeti, Skt. vijñapayati, vijñāpayati, "makes known, informs." viñavi - - 3rd sg. pret. 29c (v14). For an alternative reading, cf. soviña.

vihara m., PSkt. vihāra, "place, state." See metravihara.

\*vruhedi v., G cf. brohaï (Skt. bṛṃhaya; Dhp<sup>K</sup>), P brūheti (cf. also vaḍḍhati), Skt. bṛṃhayati (cf. also vardhayati), "increases, enlarges." See also \*savruhadi or \*savruhedi. vruhae – ~ 3rd sg. pret. (or pres.part., m., nom. sg.) 4a (r7), 40a (v35).

vyayama(t) adj., P cf. vāyama(nt), Skt. vyāyac-chant, "endeavoring."
vyayamado - ~ ~ - m. nom./gen.? sg. (cf. also 2rd pl. imp., Skt. vyāyamata) 34c (v24).

vyaşi m., P vyādhi/byādhi, Skt. vyādhi, "illness."
v[y]i[s]i (read vyasi or in cpd as vyasimarano)
- ( ( ) - ) nom. sg. 13c (r26).
vyaşi (or read in cpd as vyasighra[s](ida)) - ( )
- nom. sg. 39c (v34).

vyasimaraṇa n., P vyādhimaraṇa/byādhimaraṇa, Skt. vyādhimaraṇa, "illness and death."

v[y]i[si]maraṇo (read vyasimaraṇo) - - - - - - nom. sg./dual (or to be read as two words as vyasi maraṇo) 13c (r26).

See jaravyasimaraṇa.

vyasighrasida adj., Skt. vyādhigrasta, "consumed by illness."
vyasighra[s](ida) (or read vyasi ghra[sa](di))
- - - - nom./acc. pl. 39c (v34).

ta pron., P ta(d), Skt. tad, "this, he."
 sa ~ (uncertain; maybe part of another word)
 2c (r4). See also saye.
 s(a) - m. nom. sg. 7c (r14).
 so - m. nom. sg. (or part of soviña) 29c (v14).
 ta - m. acc. sg. 17c (r34), 26a (v7).

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ta - \text{m./n.} acc. sg. (or part of ghaṇata \simeq \sim -, uncertain) 34a (v23).

ta? \sim (uncertain; maybe part of another word) 28c (v12).

tasa - - \text{m.} gen. sg. 12a (r23).

taseva - - - \text{m.} gen. sg. (Skt. tasyaiva) 12c (r24).

taspi - \sim \text{m.} loc. sg. 8c (r16).

te - \text{m.} nom. pl. (or instr. sg. of tva) 7a (r13).

te - \text{m.} nom. pl. (or instr. sg. of tva; or part of dasute/dasamte, see *dahadi/*dahadi) 9c (r18).

[te] (or read -[te]; uncertain) - 41c (v38). Cf. tata.
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- taṣa f., P taṇhā/tasiṇā/tasinā, Skt. tṛṣṇā, "thirst, desire, craving."
- taṣ̄aghrasida adj., Skt. tṛṣṇāgrasta, "devoured by craving."
  taṣ̄aghrasida - m./n. nom. pl. 28c (v12).
- tava? adj., P tapa(s), Skt. tapas, "austerities." See rukṣaṃtava?.
- *tatra* adv., PSkt. *tatra*, "there." tatra 26c (v8).
- tasa/taseva adv., PSkt. tathā / P tasseva, Skt. tathaiva, "as well as" (meaning uncertain).

  śoga[s ta]s[e]apri[a/ya] (one of several uncertain readings; emend to śogas tasevapria/ya = Skt. śokas tathaivāpriyaḥ; cf. also asa and kasa) - - × 13c (r26).
- tosita adj., P tosita, Skt. tosita, "content, satisfied."

 $[tosida] - \sim \times f.$  nom. pl. 21a (r41).

- turaga m., PSkt. turaga, "horse."

  turaga or in cpd as kaneruturaga or patirasakaneruturaga (- - - ) - nom./acc.
  pl. 32c (v20).
- trana n., P tāṇa, Skt. trāṇa, "shelter, protection."
  traṇ[o] ~ n. nom./acc. sg. 23d (v2).
  See also atraṇabhuṭa.

tri num., P ti, Skt. tri, "three."

- triņa m./n., P tiņa, Skt. tṛṇa, "straw, grass."
- triņukasadiša adj., P tiņukkāsadisa, Skt. trņolkāsadrsa, "resembling a straw fire." triņukasadiša --- m. nom. pl. 15a (r29).
- tribhava m., P tibhava, Skt. tribhava, "the three spheres of existence, triple world."
  tribhave ~ ~ m. loc. sg. 29c (v14).

tva pron., P tvam/tuvam, Skt. tvam, "you."

tva – nom. sg. (or enclitic for instr. sg.) 22c (r44).

tvaya ~ ~ instr. sg. 35c (v26).

te – instr. sg. (or m. nom. pl. of ta) 7a (r13).

te – instr. sg. (or m. nom. pl. of ta; or part of dasute/dasamte, see \*dahadi/\*dahadi) 9c (r18).

[te] (or read -[te]; uncertain) – 41c (v38). Cf. tata.

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    1ya pron., P ya, Skt. yad, "who, which, what."
    ye - n. instr. pl. (or n. nom. pl.) 22c (r44).
    yeh[i] - - m./n. instr. pl. 18c (r36).
    yeh[i] - - m. instr. pl. 21a (r41).
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 $^{2}ya$  ind., P ya, Skt. yad, "that, since." ya - 10c (r20), 31a (v17).

**yatra** adv., PSkt. *yatra*, "where." yatra - - 13c (r26).

yatha adj. or abs., P yittha, BHS yaṣṭa (BHSG §34.13), Skt. iṣṭa, "sacrificed."
yaṭha - - n. nom. pl. 13a (r25).

**yasa** adv., PSkt.  $yath\bar{a}$ , "as, like."  $yasa \sim 42a (v39), 42c (v40)$ .

- yaga m., PSkt. yāga, "offering, sacrifice, donation."
- yagaśata n., Skt. \*yāgaśata, "a hundred sacrifices."
  yagaśata ~ ~ nom. pl. 13a (r25).

yuṣa m./n., (A) scribal error for G guṣa/guṣa, PSkt. gūtha, "feces, excrement" (in the same meaning as miḍha); (B) cf. P yūsa (PTSD: "juice, soup") and Skt. yūṣa (KEWA s.v. yūḥ: "Brühe" with reference to Middle Low German "Jauche", "urine?"; otherwise unattested); Cf. also PSkt. yūtha, "herd of animals" or "large

See *miḍhayusasatisa*.

quantity."

thaṇa/thaṇa n., G also thaṇa, P thāna, Skt. sthāna, "place, state, stage," etc. thaṇo — acc. sg. 14c (r28). thaṇe — loc. sg. (or instr. pl.) 19b (r37).

*thadha* adj., P *thaddha*, BHS *tabdha* (*Lalitavista-ra*), Skt. *stabdha*, "arrogant, stubborn." *thadha* – n. nom. pl. 14a (r27).

<sup>1</sup>-kara/-gara See diva or divakara, bhayagara. <sup>2\*</sup>-kara/-gara See mohadhagara.

\*karodi v., PSkt. karoti, "makes."

ka[ro] (uncertain; maybe another word or incomplete)  $\sim -41a$  (v37).

kare in diva kare or diva(m) kare or diva(m)kare (uncertain) (--)  $\sim$  - perhaps 3rd sg. pret. or part of a cpd 6a (r11).

[kara] or [kar](e), or read [para] or [par](e) (uncertain) ~ - perhaps 3rd sg. pret. 41c (v38). garisu ~ - ~ 3rd pl. pret. 30c (v16).

karpa m./n., P kappa, Skt. kalpa, "eon, kalpa."

karpaṇayuta m./n., P kappanahuta, BHS kalpanayuta, Skt. kalpaniyuta, "myriads of eons." ka[r]paṇayu[ta] - - - - acc. pl. 23a (v1).

karpakodinayuta m./n., BHS kalpakotinayuta, Skt. kalpakotiniyuta, "myriads of eons." karpakodinayuta - - - - - - - acc. pl. 25a (v5).

*karpaśata* n., Skt. *kalpaśata*, "a hundred eons."  $karpaśata - \sim -$  acc. pl. 10a (r19).

karma n., P kamma, Skt. karman, "deed." See bahupavakarma.

**karmaphala** n., P kammaphala, Skt. karmaphala, "result of actions."

[karm] aphalo --- acc. sg. 31c (v18) (the last syllable of [karm] a- is heavy m.c).

kaṇeru or kaṇeruturaga m., P kaṇeru, Skt. kaṇeru/kareṇu, "elephant."

kaṇeru or in cpd as kaṇeruturaga or patirasa-kaṇeruturaga  $(- \circ \circ -) \circ - \circ (\circ \circ -)$  nom./ acc. pl. 32c (v20).

*kala* m., PSkt. *kāla*, "time." *kale* − ∨ loc. sg. 40c (v36).

katha m./n., P kattha or kantha, Skt. kāṣtha or kantha, "(a piece of) wood" or "neck." Cf. also P kattha and Skt. kaṣṭa, "evil, severe, misery, hardship."

kathe - - loc. sg.? 8c (r16).

*kasa* adv., PSkt. *katham*, "how" (meaning uncertain).

 $[ka]\underline{s}[e]$  (or read  $a\underline{s}[e]$  or  $[sta]\underline{s}[e]$ ; cf.  $a\underline{s}a$  and  $ta\underline{s}a/ta\underline{s}eva$ )  $\sim -13c$  (r26).

**kama** m., PSkt. *kāma*, "sense pleasure, desire." *kama* – nom. pl. 15a (r29), 15c (r30). *kame* (or *kamai*) – instr. pl. 22a (r43).

kaśava Npr. m., P kassapa, Skt. kāśyapa, "Kāśyapa."
kaśa/v/e - ~ × loc. sg. 31a (v17).

kakhada adj., P kakkhala/kakkara (see DP s.v. kakkara² and kakkhala), BHS/Skt. kakkhata/khakkhata and Skt. karkara "violent, deceitful, harsh, rough, hard." Cf. also BHS khakkhara etc. and P kakkata(ka), Skt. karkata(ka), "crab." See nanakakhadadhaka.

kileša/kleša m., P kilesa/klesa, Skt. kleša, "defilement."

klišaņa (read klešaņa) — — — gen. pl.? 11a (r21). See sarvakilešaghrasta or sarvakilešaghrutha.

kilešabahula adj., P kilesabahula, Skt. kleśabahula, "full of defilements."
kilešabahula - - - - m./n. nom./acc. pl. 16c (r32).

**kodi** f., P koți, Skt. koți/koțī, "a very high number; ten million."

See bahusatvakoḍiṇayuta, karpakoḍiṇayuta.

kusuma n., PSkt. kusuma, "flower, blossom." See mutakusuma.

kušala adj., P kusala, Skt. kuśala, "skilled."
 kušalo ~ ~ - m. nom. sg. 3a (r5).
 See akuśala, uayakušalo/uvayakušala, sukušala.

**kuchi** m., P *kucchi*, Skt. *kukşi*, "belly, womb." *ku[ch]i* – acc. sg. 18a (r35).

*krida* adj., P *kata*, Skt. *kṛta*, "made, caused." *krido* ~ – m. nom. sg. 10c (r20).

kritva abs., G also kitva, P katvā/katvāna, Skt. kṛtvā, "having made."k(r)it/v/a - - 12c (r24).

kritsagaţa adj., cf. G kichakada (DhpK), P kicchagata, Skt. krcchragata, "fallen into misery."
 kritsagaţaṇa - ~ ~ - ~ m. gen. pl. 3c (r6).
 See nanakritsagaţa.

krosa m., G also kodha/krodha, P kodha, Skt. krodha, "rage, anger."krosena - - - instr. sg. 14a (r27).

kliša/kleša See kileša/kleša.

<sup>1</sup>sa See ta.

<sup>2</sup>sa- See sadevamaņuya, sabala, savahaņa, sasena.

sarva adj., P sabba, Skt. sarva, "all."
sar[va] (ending uncertain, perhaps first member of a cpd) - - 8a (r15).
[sarva] (ending uncertain, perhaps first member of a cpd) - - 36c (v28).

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sarve − ~ m. nom. pl. 9c (r18).
   sarv[ai] or sarve - - n. instr. pl. 16a (r31).
sarvarasa m., P sabbarasa, Skt. sarvarasa, "all
   tastes."
   sarvarasana - \sim \sim - \sim gen. pl. 21c (r42).
sarvapraya f., P sabbapajā, Skt. sarvaprajā, "all
   people, the whole world."
   sarvaprayae - \sim \sim - \sim dat./gen. sg. 5a (r9).
   sarvapraya - \sim \sim - acc. pl. 36a (v27).
sarvaloga m., P sabbaloka, Skt. sarvaloka, "all
   people, the whole world."
   [sa]rvaloge - \sim - \sim m. loc. sg. 29c (v14).
sarvakilešaghrasta or sarvakilešaghrutha adj., Skt.
    *sarvakleśagrasta, "consumed by all defile-
   ments," or Skt. *sarvakleśaghṛṣṭa, "crushed by
   all defilements."
   sarvakil(e) saghra(sta) (emended from sarvaki-
   laśaghru-) or sarvakil⟨e⟩śaghru(ṭha) – ~ ~ – ~
   - \sim \text{nom. pl. } 33c \text{ (v22)}.
sarvasankhata adj., P sabbasankhata, Skt. sar-
   vasaṃskṛta, "everything conditioned."
   25c (v6).
*sapragaśadi/*sapragaśedi v., P sampakāsati/sam-
   pakāseti,
                Skt. samprakāśati/samprakāśayati,
   caus.: "reveals, explains."
   sapra[ga]\underline{\acute{s}i} - \sim - \sim 3rd \text{ sg. pret. (with proba-
   bly caus. sense) 11c (r22).
saca n., P sacca, Skt. satya, "truth."
   sa[ca] (segmentation and interpretation uncer-
   tain) - - acc. pl.? 16c (r32).
sada/sata adv., PSkt. sadā, "always."
   sada - - 11c (r22).
   sata \sim \times 22a \text{ (r43)}, 27a \text{ (v9)}.
   [sa]\underline{t}a \sim \times 33c \text{ (v22)}.
   (sa\underline{t}a) \sim \times 39a \text{ (v33)}.
   sa<u>t</u>a ~ ~ 41c (v38).
sadevamaņuya adj., PSkt. sadevamanuja, "with
   gods and men."
   sadevaman[u]yo \sim - \sim \sim - m. nom. sg. 10c
sadiša/satiša adj., P sadisa, Skt. sadrś/sadrśa,
   "similar, resembling."
   See triņukasadiša, mariyisatiša, midhayusasa-
   <u>tiš</u>a.
sabala adj., PSkt. sabala, "with [his] army."
   sabalo ~ ~ − m. acc. sg. 17c (r34).
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savahaṇa adj., PSkt. savāhana, "with a retinue."

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savahana \sim - \sim - m. nom. pl. 9c (r18).
*savruhadi or *savruhedi v., P cf. samvaddhati,
   Skt. *sambṛ(m)hati, sambṛmhayati (cf. also sam-
   vardhate/samvardhati), "grows" or with caus.
   sense, "increases, strengthens." See also *vru-
   savruh[i] - - \sim 3rd sg. pret. 10a (r19).
sata see sada/sata.
satata adv., PSkt. satatam, "constantly." The read-
    ing satata(m) is also possible in all cases.
   sa[\underline{t}a\underline{t}a] \sim -3c (r6).
   satata \sim -5c (r10), 24a (v3).
sata num., P satta, Skt. saptan, "seven."
   sata- -- (uncertain) 22c (r44). See aña and
   satañu?.
   sata - -29a (v13).
satañu? adj.?, cf. P *sattaññu, Skt. *saptajña,
   "knowing seven (kinds)." The expected mean-
   ing is "sevenfold," "seven" or "seven other
   [riches]." See aña.
   sata\tilde{n}u (or emend to sata\tilde{n}a?) -- \sim n. nom. pl.
   22c (r44).
satva m./n., P satta, BHS satva, Skt. sattva, "be-
   ing."
   satva – – nom./acc. pl. 16c (r32).
   [satva] — nom. pl. 20a (r39).
   satva - \sim \text{nom. pl. } 28a \text{ (v11)}, 39a \text{ (v33)}.
   satva − ~ acc. pl. 27a (v9).
   sa[tva] (ending uncertain, perhaps in cpd) - ~
   37c (v30).
   (satva)na – – \sim gen. pl. 20c (r40).
   satvana - - - gen. pl. 23a (v1).
   See bahusatvakoḍiṇayuta, bosisatva.
satvapravara m., BHS satvapravara, Skt. sattva-
   pravara, "most excellent of beings."
   satvapravaro - \sim \sim - m. nom. sg. 17a (r33),
   29a (v13).
satvaśada n., P sattasata, BHS satvaśata, Skt.
   sattvaśata, "a hundred beings."
   satvaśada - \sim \sim - nom. pl. 14a (r27).
   satvaśada - \sim \sim - nom./acc. pl. 33a (v21).
satvidra m., Skt. sattvendra, "lord of sentient
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satvi[dro] (reading, segmentation and place-

ment of the fragment uncertain; cf. masa) --

sa[ye] - (reading and interpretation un-

- 16d (r32).

save ind., P sace, Skt. saced, "if."

certain) 2c (r4). See also ta.

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- \*samkadaprata or samkhataprata adj., Skt. samkataprāpta, "run into trouble, came into a difficult situation," or "living in the mortal world, fallen into samsāra, having acquired a conditioned state of life."

  samkhataprata (or emend to samkadaprata or samkadaprata) - m./n. acc. pl. 27a (v9).
- sasena adj., P sasena, Skt. sasena/sasainya, "with an army."
  saseno ~ ~ m. acc. sg. 17c (r34).
- saṃsukṣiṭa adj., Skt. saṃdhukṣiṭa, "inflamed." saṃ[su]kṣiṭa (emend to saṃdhukṣiṭa?) - - - × n. nom. pl. 14a (r27).
- sama/-sama adj., PSkt. sama, "like."
  See agisama, nirmasaafhisama, sagarasama, phenasama.
- samaya m., PSkt. samaya, "time." samaye - - loc. sg. 8c (r16). See ardhabhagasamaya.
- samufhida adj., P samutthita, Skt. samutthita, "arisen, prepared, ready [for attack]." samufhido ~ ~ nom./acc. sg. 24c (v4).
- sagara m., PSkt. sāgara, "ocean."
- sagaraṣama adj., PSkt. sāgarasama, "[vast] as the ocean."
  sagaraṣam[e] - m. nom. sg./pl. 12c (r24).
- samjaniana abs. or pres.part., cf. BHS/Skt. samjanya, samjaniya (Lalitavistara), and samjanayya, "having created."
  samjaniana ~ ~ ~ ~ 34a (v23).

See also samñanita, janeti, and janitva.

- saṃkhara m., P sankhāra, Skt. saṃskāra, "conditions (for future rebirth)." saṃkhara — — acc. pl. 26c (v8).
- saṃkhaṭa adj., P saṅkhata, Skt. saṃskṛta, "conditioned."

See sarvasamkhata.

- saṃkhataprata See \*saṃkadaprata or saṃkha-taprata.
- saṃña f., P saññā, Skt. saṃjñā, "idea, conception."

See ahusamña.

- saṃñaṇaṇa n., P sañjanana, Skt. saṃjanana, "production, creation."
- saṃñaṇaṇartha See phașosaṃñaṇaṇartha.

- samñanita abs., BHS/Skt. samjanya, samjaniya (Lalitavistara), samjanayya, and samjanayitvā, "having created, having generated."
  samñanita - 27c (v10).
  See also janeţi, janitva, and samjaniana.
- saṃbhajaṇa m./n. Skt. saṃbhañjana, "breaking, destruction, breaker(?), destroyer(?)." sa[m]bha[jaṇa] (reading uncertain) - \(\times\) m. nom./acc. sg.? 11a (r21).
- saṃgha m., PSkt. saṅgha, "assembly." See gaṇasaṃgha.
- sahasa m./n., P sahassa, Skt. sahasra, "one thousand."

See \*anegasahasa/negasahasa.

- seņa f., PSkt. senā, Skt. also m. sainya, "army." See sasena.
- soviña adj., P cf. viññū, BHS suvijña, "very wise." soviña - - - m. nom. sg./pl. 29c (v14). For the alternative reading so viñavi, cf. ta and \*viñavedi.
- su-/so- See soviña, sukušala.
- surada adj., P/BHS/Skt. sūrata, "gentle." surado ~ x m. nom. sg. 23c (v2).
- suci adj., G also suyi/śuyi, P suci, Skt. śuci, "pure."
  suci ~ m. nom. sg. (or emend to suci?) 18a (r35).
- sukušala adj., P sukusala, Skt. sukušala, "very competent, very skilled."

  sukušalo ~ ~ ~ − m. nom. sg. (or read -su kušalo?) 6a (r11).
- srithva/srithvaṇa abs., Skt. sṛṣṭvā, "having released, hurled, shot."
  [s](r)[iṭhva] or [s](r)[iṭhvaṇa] or read [d](r)[iṭhva] or [d](r)[iṭhvaṇa], see driṭhva/driṭhvaṇa/drisva/drisvaṇa) - (~) 9a (r17).
- ma unclear. Perhaps 1st person pron. acc., Skt. mām/mā, "to me," or ind., PSkt. mā, "not."
  ma ~ in: kaṭhe ma grin[i] .[i] (uncertain) 8c (r16).
- mara Npr. m., PSkt. māra, "Māra." maro - ~ nom. sg. 24a (v3). maro - − nom. (or acc.?) sg. 9a (r17). mara - − acc. sg. 17c (r34).
- maraṇa n., PSkt. maraṇa, "death."

  maraṇo or in cpd as vyaṣimaraṇo (- -) 
  nom. sg. 13c (r26).

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See jaravyasimarana.
                                                             metravihara m., P mettāvihāra, BHS/Skt. maitrā-
                                                                 vihāra, maitrīvihāra, "abiding in loving kind-
mariyi f., PSkt. marīci, "mirage."
                                                                 ness or friendliness."
mariyisatiša adj., P marīcisadisa, Skt. marīcisa-
                                                                 metraviharo - \sim \sim - \sim acc. sg. 14c (r28).
    dṛśa, "resembling a mirage."
   mariy\langle i \rangle sa\underline{i}\underline{\tilde{s}}a \sim - \sim \sim - \text{ m. nom. pl. } 15c
                                                                 ment."
   (r30).
marga m., G also maga, P magga, Skt. mārga,
    "path."
                                                                 cussion, see vusa.
   margo - - acc. sg. 14c (r28).
                                                                 midhayu\underline{s}asa\underline{t}i[\underline{\bar{s}}a] - - - - - - - nom. pl.?
    marga - - acc. sg. 17a (r33).
                                                                 42a (v39).
   ma/r/go - - acc. sg. 36a (v27).
                                                              mokşa m., P mokkha, Skt. mokşa, "liberation."
maṇa n., P mana(s), Skt. manas, "mind."
   See pridimaņa, maņuña.
                                                                 eration."
maṇasa adj., P manasa,
                                Skt. manasa,
    mind(ed)."
                                                                 nom. sg. 20c (r40).
   See prasaņamaņasa.
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- maņuşaga adj., P mānusaka, Skt. mānuṣa(ka), "human, worldly."  $manusaga - \sim \sim - \text{ m. nom. pl. } 21a \text{ (r41)}.$
- manuya m., PSkt. manuja, "man, human being." See sadevamanuya.
- maņuña adj., P manuñña, Skt. manojña, "lovely."  $manu\tilde{n}a \sim - \sim \text{n. nom. pl. } 18c \text{ (r36)}.$
- mala or malya f. or n., PSkt. mālā or mālya, "garland." ma[l](a) or ma[l](ya) or in cpd as kṣatrama-[l](a-) or  $k\bar{s}atrama[l](ya-)(--) - \sim \text{nom./acc.}$ sg./pl. 25b (v5) See agudimala.
- maya f., PSkt. māyā, "illusion."
- mayopama adj., PSkt. māyopama, "like an illusion." mayopama - - - m. nom. pl. 15c (r30).
- masa n., P mamsa, Skt. māmsa, "flesh." [ma]sa (reading, segmentation and placement of the fragment uncertain) -17b (r33). See *nirmasaathisama* and cf. *satvidra*.
- me See ahu.
- mediņi f., PSkt. medinī, "earth."  $me[d](i)[n](i) - \sim \times \text{ nom. sg. } 18c \text{ (r36)}.$
- metra/metri f., P mettā, BHS/Skt. maitrī/maitrā, "loving kindness, benevolence, friendliness." me[t]ra – instr. sg. 9c (r18). metra – – instr. sg. 24c (v4).

midha m., P mīļha, Skt. mīdha, "feces, excre-

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midhayusasatiša adj., Skt. \*mīdhagūthasadrsa, "resembling urine and feces." For further dis-

- mokṣarthia adj., Skt. mokṣārthika, "intending libmogar[th]io (emend to moksarthio)  $-- \sim \times m$ .
- moha m., PSkt. moha, "delusion."
- mohavaśa/\*mohavaša m., P mohavasa, Skt. mohavaśa, "by the power of delusion."  $mohava\underline{s}ena - \sim \sim - \sim instr. sg. 28c (v12).$
- mohadhagara m./n., P mohandhakāra, Skt. mohāndhakāra, "darkness of delusion." moha[dha]ga[re] - - - - loc. sg. 19c (r38).
- \*mucadi v., P muñcati (pass. muccati), Skt. muñcati (pass. mucyate), "releases, raises (one's voice)," pass.: "becomes free, liberated."  $mu[cati] - - \sim 3rd$  pl. pres. pass. 12a (r23). muci - 3rd sg. pret. 19a (r37).
- muni m., PSkt. muni, "sage, ascetic."  $muni \sim -$  nom. sg. 18a (r35).  $muni \sim \times$  nom. sg. (or voc.?) 24c (v4), cf. also  $mu(n)[i] \sim \times \text{ nom. sg. } 26c \text{ (v8)}.$
- mudida/\*mutita adj., PSkt. mudita, "glad."  $mudido \sim \sim - \text{ m. nom. sg. } 30a \text{ (v15)}.$  $[muti](ta) \sim -m$ . nom. pl. 30c (v16).
- muta adj., P mutta, Skt. mukta, "picked, scattered." See also vipramuta.
- mutakusuma Skt. muktakusuma, "picked flowers, scattered flowers."  $mutakuguma - \sim \sim \sim - \text{ n. nom. pl. } 18c \text{ (r36)}.$
- \*mutu? adj., P mudu, Skt. mrdu, "soft, gentle, weak."
- mutidria or mutimdria adj., cf. Skt. \*muktendriya, \*muktīndriya, or P mudvindriya, Skt. mṛdvindriya, "one who has released senses," "one who has the capability of liberation," or "one

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who has soft (or weak) senses" (meaning un-
    mutidrio or mutimdria -- - - m. nom. sg. 23c
    (v2).
<sup>1</sup>-gara/-kara See diva or divakara, bhayagara.
<sup>2</sup>-gara/*-kara See mohadhagara.
gana m., PSkt. gana, "followers."
gaṇasaṇgha m., PSkt. gaṇasaṅgha, "assembly of
    followers."
   ganasamgha or ganasamgh(o) \sim \sim - \sim nom.
    sg./pl. 12c (r24).
gavi f., PSkt. gāvī, "cow."
   gavi - \sim \text{nom. sg. } 42c \text{ (v40)}.
gata adj., PSkt. gata, "gone, attained."
    See palara/palvara or palaragata/palvaragata,
    ņaņakritsaga<u>t</u>a, kritsaga<u>t</u>a.
gati f., PSkt. gati, "gait, march, state of exist-
   ga[ti] (ending uncertain) \simeq 18d (r36).
gatva abs., P gantvā, Skt. gatvā, "being gone."
   gatva - -18b (r35).
gaya or gayagiri m., PSkt. gaja or *gajagiri, "el-
    ephant" or "mountain of an elephant"
   g(a)y(a) \simeq \text{ or } g(a)y(a)[g](iri) \simeq \sim \times \text{ nom.}
    sg. or in cpd (or read g(u)[\overline{\underline{s}}](a)[g](o)? - \sim \times,
    see gu§aga) 7c (r14).
gayaraya m., PSkt. gajarāja, "king of elephants."
    gayarayo \simeq -- nom. sg. 18a (r35).
gamdha m., PSkt. gandha, "scent."
    gaṃdha — nom. pl. 18c (r36).
gatsa(t) or *gatsadi adj. or v., P gaccha(t)/gac-
    chanta or gacchati, Skt. gacchant or gacchati
    or gamisyati, "going", "goes" or "will go."
   gatsata or emend to gatsat\langle i \rangle – – \sim m. nom. pl.
    or 3rd pl. pres. or 3rd pl. fut. 28a (v11).
gira f., P/BHS girā, Skt. gir, "speech, words."
   gira \sim \times acc. sg. 19a (r37).
   gi[ra] \sim - acc. sg. 29c (v14).
giņi See agi.
ginukadahana See *aginukadahana.
guta adj., P gutta, Skt. gupta, "guarded."
gutedriya m., P guttindriya, Skt. guptendriya,
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"one whose senses are guarded."

tain) - - - 34c (v24).

gu[t]e[d]r[i](y). (reading and ending uncer-

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*gusa See yusa.
guṣ̄aga m., G cf. guza (Skt. guhya), P guyhaka,
    Skt. guhyaka, "guhyaka" (a generic name for
    demonic beings, partly synonymous with yakşa
    or in particular the attendents of Kubera/Kuve-
   g(u)[\overline{s}](a)g(o) (uncertain alternative reading for
   g(a)y(a)-) - \sim x nom. sg. 7c (r14).
   gu\bar{s}ago - \sim - acc. sg. 31a (v17).
grahaṇa n., P gahaṇa, Skt. grahaṇa, "holding [in
    mind], giving or calling [a name]."
    See namagrahana.
*griņadi or *gri(m) ņadi v., P gaņhāti/gaņhati,
    Skt. grhnāti, "takes, seizes" (uncertain).
   grin[i] -- perhaps 3rd sg. pret. or (part of)
    another word 8c (r16).
thaara or thaïra adj./m. P thāvara or thera, Skt.
   sthāvara or sthavira, "stationary, immovable"
   thaara - \simeq or tha(i)ra \simeq - adv. or m. nom.
    pl. 19c (r38).
thana See thana.
thala m./n., P thala, Skt. sthala, "place, spot."
    thale \simeq loc. sg. 19d (r38).
thama n., P thāma, Skt. sthāman, "strength."
    thamo - - acc. sg. 19a (r37).
ja- Cf. za-.
jara f., PSkt. jarā, "old age, aging." See also zara.
   jara \sim - nom. sg. 13c (r26).
jaravyasimaraņa n., P jarābyādhimaraņa, Skt. ja-
   rāvyādhimaraṇa, "old age, illness and death."
   jaravyasimaraņeņa == -- - - instr. sg.
   20a (r39).
jarabhibhuta adj., PSkt. jarābhibhūta, "over-
   powered by age."
   jarabhibhu\underline{t}a \sim - \sim - \sim \text{m. nom. pl. } 19c \text{ (r38)}.
*jarita See zarita.
Jaṇa n., G also jaṇa, P jhāna, Skt. dhyāna, "med-
   itation."
   \underline{\textit{jane}} – loc. sg. or instr. pl. 20d (r40).
janeti v., PSkt. janedi, Skt. janayati, "produces,
   generates."
   jane[\underline{t}]i \sim -3rd \text{ sg. pres. } 25c \text{ (v6)}.
janitva abs., P janetvā/janayitvā, Skt. janitvā, ja-
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nayitvā, "having generated."

 $\dot{s}oga$  or  $\dot{s}ogas$ - – nom. sg. 13c (r26).

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janitva \sim - \sim 19a (r37).
                                                                 *dhava(t) adj., P dhāva(t), Skt. dhāvant, "running,
    See also samjaniana.
                                                                    hurrying."
                                                                    dhavata - - f. acc. pl. 22a (r43).
jadi f., PSkt. jāti, "birth, life, lifetime."
                                                                dhaka m., P dhanka, Skt. dhvānkşa, "crow."
   jadi[s](u) - - \sim \text{ or } - \simeq \text{ loc. pl. } 17a \text{ (r33)}.
                                                                                                                                   0
   jadi (form uncertain) – – 20b (r39).
                                                                    See nanakakhadadhaka.
                                                                                                                                   11
   jadi - - acc. pl. 20c (r40).
                                                                dhaña See dhanadhaña.
                                                                                                                                   ra
jadila m., PSkt. jatila, "matted-haired ascetic."
                                                                                                                                   pa
                                                                dhidara or dhitara f., P dhīta(r), dhītā; BHS dhī-
    jadila \sim \sim - nom. pl. 7a (r13).
                                                                                                                                   ca
                                                                    tr etc., Skt. duhitr, "daughter."
jetha adj., P jettha, Skt. jyestha, "first, eldest,
                                                                                                                                  na
                                                                    (dh)[i](dara) or (dh)[i](dare) or (dh)[i](\underline{t}ara) or
    best."
                                                                    (dh)[i](\underline{t}are) - \sim \times \text{ nom./acc. pl. } 32a \text{ (v19)}.
    See logajețha.
                                                                                                                                  ba
jirņa adj., G also jiņa, P jiņņa, Skt. jīrņa, "elder-
                                                                śara m., P sara, Skt. śara, "arrow."
    ly, aged."
                                                                    \dot{s}a[ro] \sim acc. sg. (or read \dot{s}a[\dot{t}ho] or \dot{s}a[\dot{q}o],
   jirna - \sim m. \text{ nom. pl. } 19c \text{ (r38)}.
                                                                    see śatha or śada) 9a (r17).
                                                                                                                                   şа
                                                                                                                                   va
jina m., PSkt. jina, "victor."
                                                                śarana n., P sarana, Skt. śarana, "refuge, pro-
                                                                                                                                   ta
   jino \sim \sim \text{nom. sg. 31a (v17)}.
                                                                    tection."
   jino \sim - acc. sg. 35a (v25).
                                                                    \dot{s}arano \simeq - nom./acc. sg. 23d (v2).
                                                                                                                                  ya
                                                                                                                                  tha
jima adj., G cf. also ajihima, P jimha/jima, Skt.
                                                                śada/śata n., P sata, Skt. śata, "a hundred."
                                                                                                                                  ka
    jihma, "dull, depressed, false (not real)."
                                                                    See dukhaśada, yagaśata, karpaśata, satva-
   \overline{jima} - \sim \text{m. nom. pl. (or sg.?) 8c (r16)}.
                                                                    śada.
                                                                                                                                  ma
                                                                śada See śatha.
                                                                                                                                  ga
śpasti f., P sotthi/suvatthi, Skt. svasti, "well-
                                                                śamta adj., P santa, Skt. śānta, "calm."
                                                                                                                                  tha
    being."
                                                                    \dot{s}amto - - m. nom. sg. 23a (v1).
                                                                                                                                  ja
    śpasti (form unccertain) – – 21d (r42).
                                                                śama m., P sama, Skt. śama, "calmness."
                                                                                                                                  śpa
śpahu adj., P sādu, Skt. svādu, "sweet."
                                                                    \underline{same} \simeq loc. sg. 23c (v2).
                                                                                                                                  dha
    śpahu – – m. nom. pl. 21a (r41).
                                                                śamasa m., G also śamatha, P samatha, Skt. śa-
                                                                                                                                  śa
    spa[h](u) (form uncertain) -21b (r41).
                                                                    matha, "tranquility."
                                                                                                                                  kha
    spahu - - m. nom. sg. 21c (r42).
                                                                    \underline{samasa} \simeq - sg. or in cpd 23b (v1).
                                                                                                                                  ksa
                                                                śaśaṇa n., P sāsana, Skt. śāsana, "teaching, the
                                                                                                                                  sta
dhara- unclear.
                                                                    Buddhist doctrine."
                                                                                                                                  ña
    dhara- (incomplete) \simeq? 22d (r44).
                                                                                                                                   ta
                                                                śaśanavara n., P sāsanavara, Skt. śāsanavara,
dharşitva abs., BHS dharşitvā (Lalitavistara), Skt.
                                                                                                                                  bha
                                                                     "the best of teachings."
    dharsayitvā, "having overcome."
                                                                    \dot{s}a\bar{\dot{s}}a[\eta](ava)[ro] (reconstruction uncertain)
                                                                                                                                  cha
    dhar s[itva] - - \sim 7a (r13).
                                                                    - \circ \circ \circ - acc. sg. 34c (v24).
                                                                                                                                  spa
    dharşitva — — \sim 17c (r34).
                                                                                                                                  vha
                                                                śatha or śada adj./m., G also śadha (Khvs,
dharma m., G also dhama, P dhamma, Skt. dhar-
                                                                    DhpK), P satha, Skt. śatha, "wicked, deceitful."
                                                                                                                                  tsa
    ma, "the Buddhist doctrine, the dharma."
                                                                    \dot{s}a[\dot{t}ho] or \dot{s}a[\dot{q}o] \sim m. nom. (or acc.?) sg.
                                                                                                                                  gha
    See varadharma.
                                                                    (or read \pm sa[ro], see \pm sara) 9a (r17).
                                                                                                                                  tha
dharmavinaya m., P dhammavinaya, Skt. dhar-
                                                                                                                                  na
                                                                śiva adj., P siva, Skt. śiva, "blissful, beneficial."
    mavinaya, "doctrine and discipline."
                                                                                                                                  pha
                                                                    \dot{s}ivo \sim - m. acc. sg. 14c (r28).
    dharmavina[ye] - \sim \sim - loc. sg. 35c (v26).
                                                                    \dot{s}[i]vo \sim - \text{ m. acc. sg. 36a (v27)}.
                                                                                                                                  ka
dhana n., PSkt. dhana, "riches, wealth, money."
                                                                    \dot{siva} \sim \times n. acc. sg. 21c (r42).
                                                                                                                                  za
    dhana \simeq  nom. pl. 22c (r44).
                                                                    f \sin f(a) \sim \times f. nom. sg. 10c (r20).
                                                                                                                                  ća
                                                                    \int \dot{s}i/(va) \sim \times \text{ f. acc. sg. } 13a \text{ (r25)}.
dhaṇadhaña n., P dhanadhañña, Skt. dhanadhān-
                                                                                                                                   ta
    ya, "money and grain"
                                                                    \dot{s}i[v](a) \sim \times \text{ f. acc. sg. } 27\text{c } (\text{v}10).
    dhanadha(\tilde{n}a) (ending uncertain) \simeq -22b
                                                                śoga m., P soka, Skt. śoka, "sorrow, sadness."
                                                                                                                                  ha
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(r43).

 $\dot{s}oga - \sim m$ . nom. sg. or in cpd 20a (r39).

śogaghrasita adj., Skt. śokagrasta, "consumed by sorrow."

śogaghrasiti) – - - m./n. nom. pl. 20a (r39).

kha- Cf. ka-.

*kharga* m., P *khagga*, Skt. *khadga*, "sword." *khargo* – acc. sg. 24c (v4).

khalida See kalita.

khatsa or khaspa derivation and meaning uncertain. Cf., e.g., PSkt. kha, "sky," or P kacchā, BHS kaccha, Skt. kakṣā, "arm-pit" or "hem of (lower) garment" and other meanings. A suitable meaning may be found with Skt. \*khaspa (only in the PW), "violence, anger," Pkt. khamca (PSM s.v.), and late Gujarati Sanskrit khaścā, "difficulty, objection, hindrance" (Strauch 2002: 452). The first syllable may perhaps also be read as khe.

kha[ts]e (or kha[sp]e) — — loc. sg. or instr. pl.? 24b (v3).

*khina* adj., PSkt. *khinna*, "depressed." *khine* (ending uncertain) – 24d (v4).

**kṣaṇia** adj., P *khaṇika*, Skt. *kṣaṇika*. "momentary."  $kṣaṇia \simeq - n$ . acc. sg. 25c (v6).

**kşaṃti** f., P khanti/khantī, Skt. kṣānti, "forbearance."

k sa[m]ti – nom. sg. 25a (v5).

kṣatra n., P chatta, Skt. chattra, "parasol." kṣatra or in cpd as kṣatrama[l](a-) or kṣatrama[l](ya-) - - (- ~) nom./acc. sg./pl. 25b (v5).

kşaya m., P khaya, Skt. kşaya, "perishing." kşaya (ending uncertain) ≃ 25d (v6).

kṣema adj., P khema, Skt. kṣema, "tranquil, secure." kṣſeme] - - m./n. loc. sg. 19d (r38).

stava m., P thava, Skt. stava, "eulogy." stava (ending uncertain) ≃ 26d (v8).

stavadi v., P thavati, BHS stavati, Skt. stauti, "praises." Cf. also the meaning of G \*staradi, P tharati, Skt. stṛṇoti, "spreads, strews."
stavadi ≃ - 3rd sg. pres. 26a (v7).

stavia abs., P thavitvā, thavitvāna, thunitvā, Skt. stutvā, "having praised." Cf. also the meaning of P tharati, Skt. stṛṇoti, "spreads, strews," and P thapetvā(na), thapayitvā(na), BHS sthapetvā, sthapitvā(nā) and cf. pratiṣṭhapiya (BHSG p. 237), Skt. sthāpayitvā, "having placed." stavia == -26c (v8).

stabha m., (A) P thambha, Skt. stambha, "pillar, arrogance, suppression" (context undetermined).
(B) P thamba/thambha, Skt. stamba/stambha, "grass tufts." (C) Cf. also Skt. stambhana, "stiffness, stopping, supporting,"
stabha (ending uncertain) - 26b (v7).

-ña/-ñu See manuña, satañu?.

ñaṇa n., P ñāṇa, Skt. jñāna, "knowledge, insight."
ñaṇo - - acc. sg. 21c (r42).
ñaṇeṇa - - - instr. sg. 27b (v9).
See varabudhañaṇaviṣaya.

ñaṇabala n., P ñāṇabala, Skt. jñānabala, "power of knowledge, power of insight."
ñanabalo - - - acc. sg. 6a (r11).

ñaṇagi m., Skt. jñānāgni, "fire of knowledge."
ñaṇagi - - - acc. sg. 27c (v10).

 $\tilde{n}atva$  abs., P  $\tilde{n}atv\bar{a}$ , Skt.  $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}tv\bar{a}$ , "knowing."  $\tilde{n}atva - 27a$  (v9).

-ñu See -ña.

ta- Cf. ata and ta-.

¹\*bharita/vharita adj., PSkt. bharita, "decked (with ornaments), full of."
vharita ≃ - m. nom./acc. pl. 32a (v19).

<sup>2</sup>bharita/\*vharita adj./m., PSkt. bharita, but cf. Skt. √bhṛ, bhṛta, bhṛtaka, and bhṛtya(ka), "servant."

bharita  $\simeq -$  m. nom./acc. pl. 32c (v20).

bharya f., P bhariyā, Skt. bhāryā, "wife." bharya — f. nom./acc. sg./pl. 32a (v19).

bhaṇadi v., PSkt. bhaṇati, "speaks." bhaṇadi ≃ - 3rd sg. pres. 29a (v13).

bhaṣa(t) adj., P bhāsanta, Skt. bhāṣant, "speaking."

bha[sa]ta - - - m. nom. sg. 29c (v14).

bhava m., PSkt. bhava, "existence." See tribhava.

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bhavita adj., PSkt. bhāvita, "practiced, culti-
   bhavita - \sim - f. nom. sg. 25a (v5).
bhaya n., PSkt. bhaya, "fear."
bhayagara adj., P bhayakara, Skt. bhaya(n)kara,
   "frightening."
   bhayagara \sim \sim \sim - m. nom. pl. 9c (r18).
   bhayagaro \sim \sim - \text{ m. acc. sg. 31a (v17)}.
bhaga See ardhabhagasamaya.
bhagava m., P bhagava(nt), Skt. bhagavant, "the
   Blessed One" (term for a buddha).
   bha[ga]va \sim - \text{nom. sg. } 11c \text{ (r22)}.
   bhaga[va] \sim - \text{nom. sg. 16a (r31)}.
bhaña(t) adj., Skt. *bhañjant, "destroying, break-
   ing."
   bha\tilde{n}a – – m. nom. sg. 26c (v8).
bheşaja n., P bhesajja, Skt. bhaisajya, "medicine."
   bheṣ(aj). (ending uncertain) - - \sim sg.? 3a (r5).
bhoa m.?, cf. G bhoa (Dhp<sup>K</sup> 261b), according to
   Brough 1962: 256 "an otherwise unrecorded
   local expression for 'father' (*bhavaka?)," or
   "bhoja, with the meaning 'dependent," or
   "simply bhoga 'enjoyment (of worldly posses-
   sions)'."
   bhoa (uncertain ending, meaning, and context)
   - \sim 41a \text{ (v37)}.
bhuta adj., PSkt. bhūta, "being, true, real."
   See atranabhuta, abhibhuta.
bhutva abs., Phutvā, Skt. bhūtvā, "having be-
   come."
   bhutva - \sim 18a \text{ (r35)}.
bhuva adv., P bhivvo/bhuvva, Skt. bhūvas, "more."
   bhuya - - 25c (v6).
bhramadi v., P bhamati, Skt. bhramati, "whirls
   around, moves around."
   [bhramad]i \sim \sim -3rd \text{ sg. pres. } 42c \text{ (v40)}.
chaṇa Npr. m., P channa, Skt. channa/chan-
   da/chandaka, "Channa."
   chano – – acc. sg. 30a (v15).
                                                           thita adj., G also thida/thida, P thita, Skt. sthita,
chada m./n., P sadda, Skt. śabda, "sound, word,
                                                               "staying."
   noise."
                                                              [thi](\underline{t}a) \sim \times \text{ m. nom. pl. 19c (r38)}.
   chada - - acc. sg. 30c (v16).
                                                           phala n., PSkt. phala, "fruit, result."
sparedi v., P sāreti, Skt. smārayati, "reminds."
                                                              See karmaphala.
   sparedi -- 3rd sg. pres. 31a (v17), 31c
                                                           phada(t) adj., P cf. phanda(t), Skt. spandant,
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(v18).

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vharita See bharita.
tsala uncertain. Possibly from Skt. \sqrt{cal} (cf. c\bar{a}la,
   cālya), "agitated, trembling, wavering, fickle."
   (Cf. also Skt. √chal and chala, "fraud, deceit,"
   but the first syllable has to be heavy.)
   tsala - - n. nom. pl. 33a (v21), 33c (v22).
ghana adj./m., PSkt. ghana, "dense, dark, solid;
   compact mass" (meaning uncertain, cf. also Skt.
   gana).
   ghaṇa \simeq (or read ghanata \simeq -?) acc. sg. 34a
   (v23).
ghada(t) adj., P ghata(t)/ghatanta, Skt. cf. gha-
   tant, "exerting [oneself]."
   ghadado ≃ - m. nom./gen.? sg. (cf. also 2rd
   pl. imp., Skt. ghatata) 34c (v24).
ghrasida/ghrasita/ghrasta adj., P ghasta, BHS or
   m.c. grasita, Skt. grasta (cf. also √ghas), "con-
   sumed, devoured."
   See vyasighrasida, taşaghrasida, sarvakilesa-
   ghrasta or sarvakilešaghrutha, šogaghrasita.
ghrasadi or ghrasiti v., P ghasati, Skt. grasati/
    *grasti?, "consumes, devours."
   ghra\underline{s}i[\underline{t}]i (or emend to -ghra\underline{s}i\underline{t}a) \sim \sim -3rd
   sg. pres. 20a (r39).
   ghra[sa](di) (or read in cpd as vyasighra[s](i-
   da) \sim -3rd sg. pres. 39c (v34).
ghriša See ughriša.
ghrutha adj., P ghatta, Skt. ghṛṣṭa, "crushed."
    See sarvakilesaghrasta or sarvakilesaghrutha.
*thahadi/*tithadi v., P titthati, -thahati, Skt. tis-
   thati, "stands, stays."
   thasamti --3rd pl. fut. 35c (v26).
thahia abs., cf. P thatvā/thatvāna, utthahitvā/ut-
   thahitvāna, upatthahiyamāna, BHS utthahitvā,
   Skt. sthitvā, "standing."
   thahia \simeq \sim -35a (v25).
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"twitching, trembling."

Cf. also Skt. jvarita, "afflicted."

 $zarita \simeq - m./n.$  nom. pl. 39a (v33).

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pha[data] (or read pha[da sa]?) --- f. acc.
   pl. 37a (v29).
                                                           ća- Cf. ca-.
phaşa/phaşu/phaşo m./adj./adv., P phassa/phāsu,
                                                           ćarima See carima.
   BHS (cf. also SWTF) phāṣa/phāsa/phāsu, Skt.
                                                           ćaga See caga.
   sparśa, "contact, touch, comfort, comfortable."
   See phaşosamñananartha.
                                                           ta- cf. ťa-.
phașita or phașitva abs., P phassita, Skt. *sparśi-
   tvā/sparśayitvā (m.c. for spṛṣṭvā?), "having
                                                           tața uncertain. Skt. cf. \sqrt{t\bar{r}}, *tartr, "savior, protec-
   attained, having (caused to) touch." See also
                                                               tor," possibly with a meaning similar to Skt.
   phuşitva.
                                                               trātṛ/trāta. Cf. also PSkt. tāta, "father."
   phașita (or read phașit\langle v \rangle a?) — — \sim 21c (r42).
                                                               tata - - nom. sg.? 41a (v37).
phaşosamñananartha m./n., Skt. *sparśasamja-
                                                               tata[te] (or tata[te]/tata te; ending
                                                               segmentation uncertain) --41c (v38).
   nanārtha, "in order to bring about comfort."
   phasosamñananartha (phaso may be m.c. for
   phaşu) --- \sim acc. sg. 37c (v30).
                                                           dha- Cf. da-.
phena m., P phena, Skt. phena, "foam."
                                                           dhaśa m., P damsa, Skt. damśa, "stinging insect,
phenasama adj., Skt. phenasama, "like foam."
                                                               gadfly."
                                                               dha\acute{s}ena - - instr. sg. 42c (v40).
   phenasama - \sim - \text{m. nom. pl. } 15c \text{ (r30)}.
phuda adj., P cf. phunati, Skt. √prc (prnakti etc.),
                                                           dhadhala not entirely clear, possibly denoting
    \sqrt{p\bar{r}} (pp. prkta), \sqrt{sphur/sphut} (pp. sphuta,
                                                               something disgusting or to be avoided. Cf. (A)
   P phuta), "filled, diffused."
                                                               P daḍḍha, "burnt," and daddaḷhati, "flames
   [ph]u[da] \sim - f. nom. sg. 18c (r36).
                                                               brightly" (Skt. jājvalati); (B) P daļha, Skt. dr-
                                                               dha, "firm, solid;" or (C) Pkt. dhamdha (PSM),
phușitva abs., P phusitvā, BHS spṛśitvā, Skt.
                                                               "mud" and Palla, "wet, fresh." Cf. also Pkt.
   spṛṣṭvā, "having touched, having attained." See
                                                               dhamdhalla/dhumdhulla (PSM), "move/go
   also phașita or phașitva.
                                                               around" (Skt. \sqrt{bhram} or \sqrt{gaves}), dhamdhallia
   phușitva \sim -27c (v10).
                                                               (Skt. bhrānta).
                                                               dhadhala − − nom. pl.? 42a (v39).
ka- Cf. kha-.
kalamana adj., BHS khalamana, Skt. skhala-
                                                           harşida adj., P hasita?, Skt. hṛṣita/harşita, "joy-
   māna, "stumbling" or "making mistakes."
                                                               fully, thrilled."
   kalamana \simeq -- nom./acc. pl.? 38c (v32).
                                                               ha(rs)i(do) - \sim \times \text{ m. nom. sg. } 30a \text{ (v15)}.
kalita/khalida adj./n., P/BHS khalita, Skt. skhali-
                                                               har sido - \sim \times m. \text{ nom./acc. sg. } 26a \text{ (v7)}.
   ta, "mistake, slip, stumbling."
                                                               See also hritha.
   kalita \simeq - nom./acc. pl.? 38a (v31).
                                                           hata adj., PSkt. hata, "struck."
   khalida \simeq \sim - acc. sg. 24a (v3).
                                                               See ragahata.
                                                           hakara m., Skt. h\bar{a}(h\bar{a})k\bar{a}ra, "exclamation (of
za- Cf. ja-.
                                                               wailing or joy)."
zara f.., PSkt. jarā, "old age." Cf. also P dara/ja-
                                                           hakarapraśpedita adj., BHS hā(hā)kāraprakṣedi-
   ra, Skt. jvara, "fever."
                                                               ta, Skt. h\bar{a}(h\bar{a})k\bar{a}rapraksvedita, "shouting h\bar{a},
                                                               [consisting of] shouted exclamations (of wail-
zaradrobalyapariyita adj., Skt. *jvaradaurbalya-
                                                               ing or joy)."
   parijita, "overpowered by the weakness of old
                                                               hakarapraśpedi[\underline{t}](a) - - - - \times m./n., acc.
   age."
                                                               sg. 30c (v16).
   zaradrobalyapariyi<u>t</u>a ≃≃ − − ∨ ∨ ≃ ∨ nom./
                                                           hita n., PSkt. hita, "benefit, welfare."
   acc. pl. 39c (v34).
zarita adj., P jarita, Skt. jarita, "withered, aged."
                                                           hiterși adj., P hitesi(n), Skt. hitaișin, cf. also \sqrt{i}r,
```

"wishing the benefit."

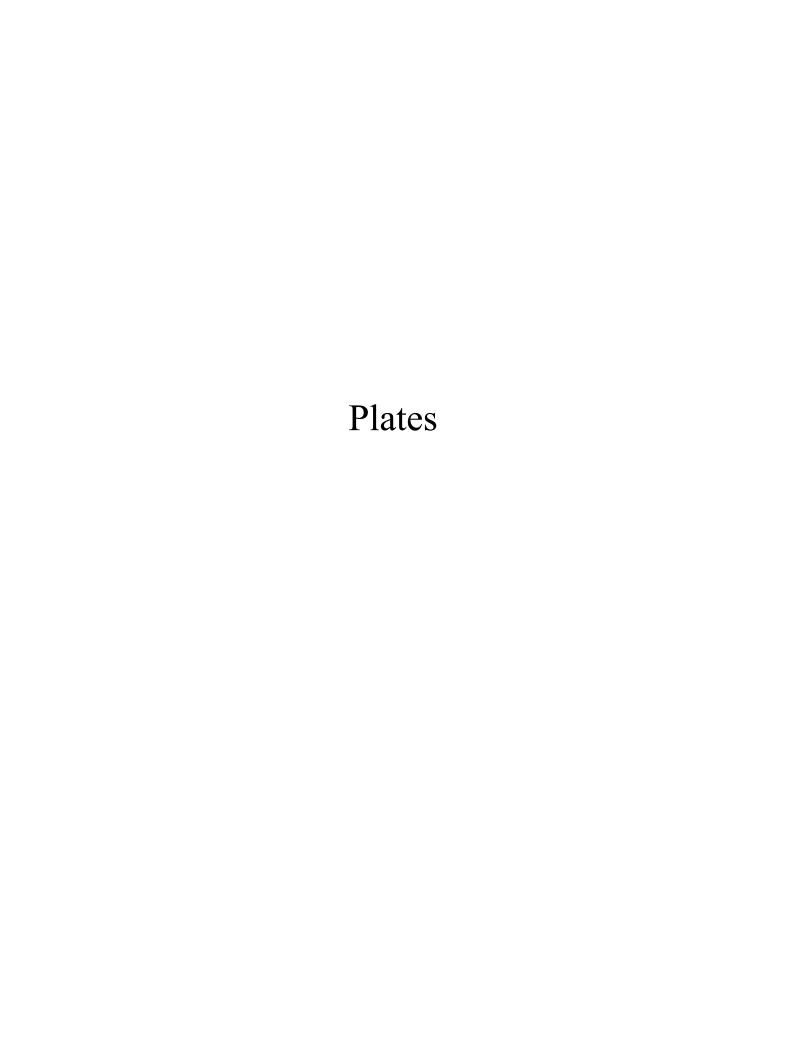
 $hi\underline{t}er\underline{s}i \sim --\text{ m. nom. sg. }19a \text{ (r37)}.$ 

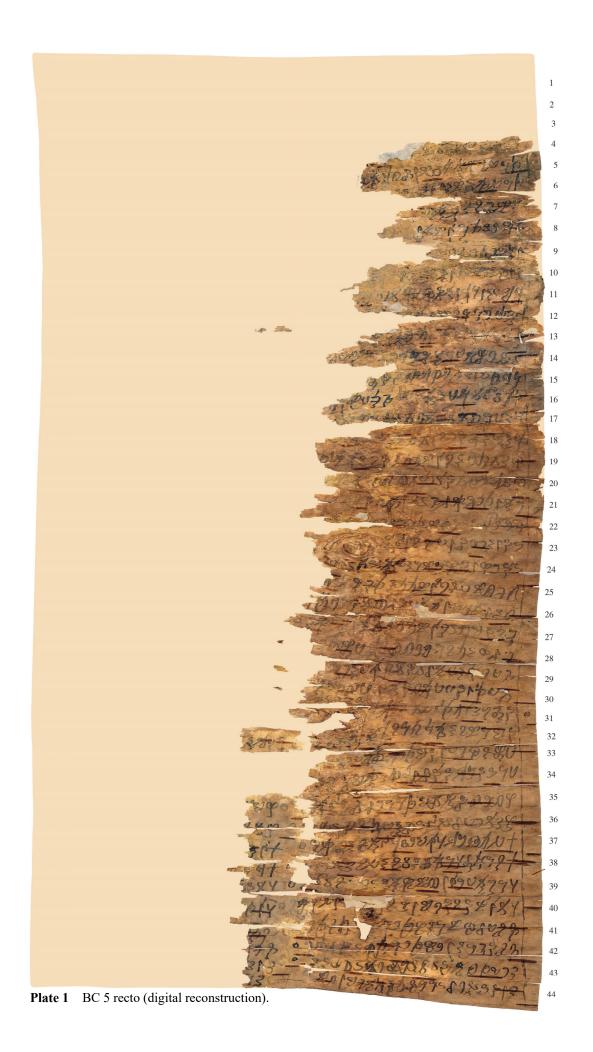
hritha adj., Skt. hṛṣṭa, "excited, glad."
hriṭha - → (emended from or read instead of dri[ṭha] (driṭh⟨v⟩a) m. nom. pl. 30c (v16).

See also harşida.

е i 0 u ra pa ca na la da ba фa şа va ta ya ţha ka sa ma ga tha ja śpa dha śa kha kṣa sta ña ţ́а bha cha spa vha tsa gha į́ha ņa pha ќа za ća ţa dha ha

a





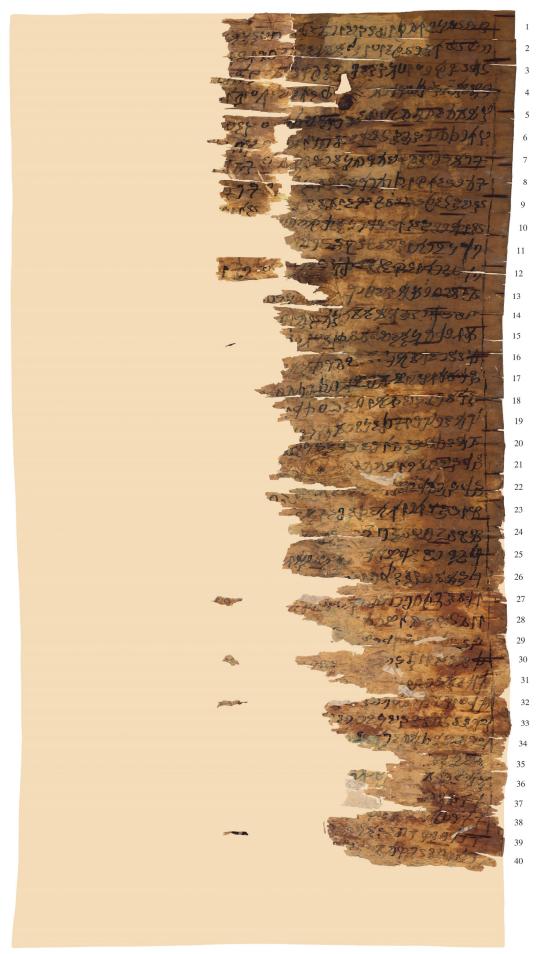


Plate 2 BC 5 verso (digital reconstruction).

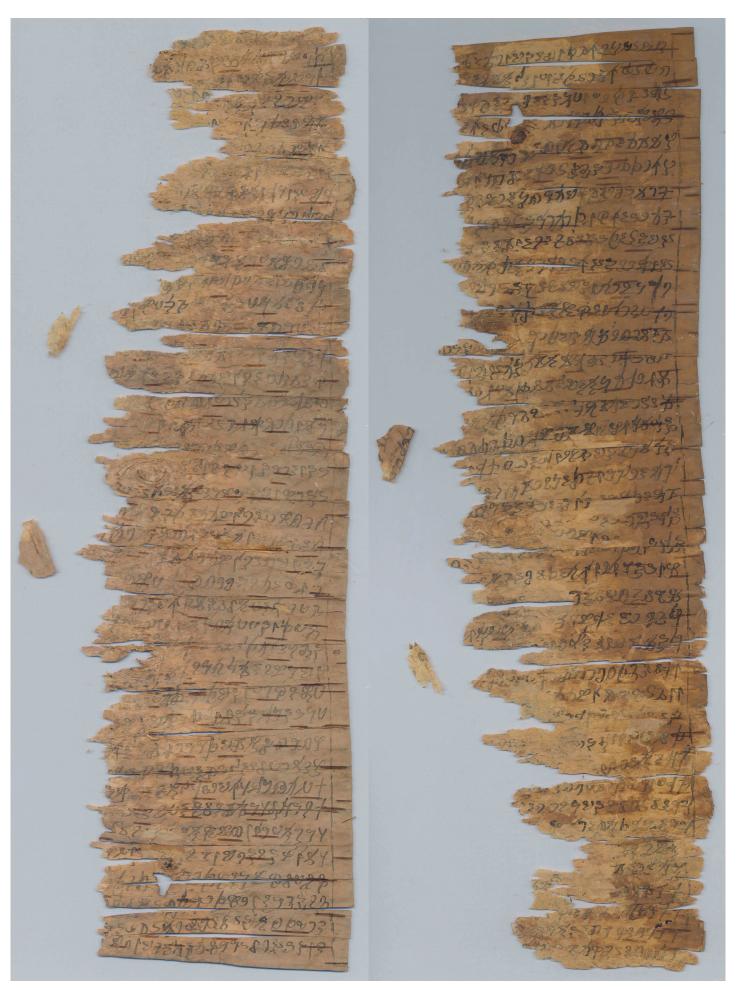


Plate 3 BC 5 recto (frame 11, original scan).

Plate 4 BC 5 verso (frame 11, original scan).



Plate 5 Fragments 35b-g of BC 5 recto (frame 35, original scan).

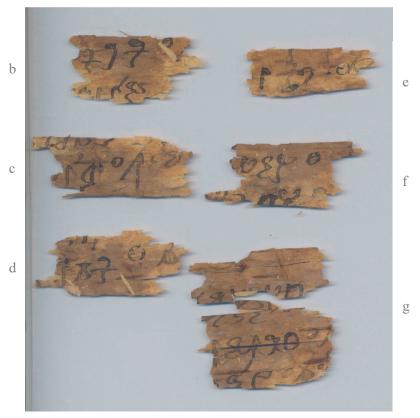


Plate 6 Fragments 35b–g of BC 5 verso (frame 35, original scan).