

On the Bodhisattva Path in Gandhāra
Edition of Fragment 4 and 11 from the Bajaur Collection
of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts

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I am happy to finally present these unparalleled Buddhist texts to a wider public in high hopes that any remaining problems will be solved in the future. I am sure that, over time, more and more sense and beauty will crystallize out of these sheets of brittle birch bark, which survived almost 2000 years.

The present work is a revised version of my thesis submitted in December 2013.

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Transliteration and citation system

Transliterations of unpublished Gāndhārī manuscripts are based on their entries in the ‘Dictionary of Gāndhārī’ database (www.gandhari.org), with the exception of BC2. Citations from dictionaries like the PTSD, BHSD and CPD, are formatted according to the overall standard in this thesis, i.e. passages in Sanskrit/Pali/etc. are italicised. Historical transliterations (e.g. *sh* for *ṣ*) have been updated without indicating. In general, Sanskrit words are set in italics without any indication of the language; whereas if an italic word is preceded by G/P/Tib., it is in Gāndhārī, Pali, Tibetan. The sign ~ after an italic word indicates that it appears in the stem form, respective case endings are to be supplied. A hyphen indicates morpheme boundaries within compounds. The symbol ° before or after a sequence of letters means that, except for the letters following/preceding, the word is the same as the preceding one.

The conventions of transliteration in the text editions are based on those adopted in the GBT series with a few additions (◊ ◡). The following symbols are used:

- [] unclear/damaged akṣara(s)
- (*) akṣara(s) missing due to lacuna, restored by the editor
- <* > akṣara(s) erroneously omitted, restored by the editor
- « » akṣara(s) interlinearly inserted
- { } superfluous akṣara(s)
- . illegible part of an akṣara
- ? illegible akṣara(s)
- + lost akṣara(s)
- /// lacuna or gap (extent of lost akṣaras unknown)
- small dot used in the manuscript (minor unit division)
- small circle used in the manuscript (unit division)
- large or medium-sized circle used in the manuscript (conclusion of a section)
- ◊ space left intentionally empty
- ◡ space left empty due to the surface of the birch bark (e.g. knot hole)

Abbreviations

For complete citations to text editions, see References. For PTS editions see Bechert 1990.

AA	Abhisamayālaṅkāra (ed. Wogihara 1932–35)
AAA	Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā of Haribhadra (ed. Wogihara 1932–35)
AAV	Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti Sphuṭārthā of Haribhadra (ed. Tripathi 1977)
Abhidh-av	Abhidhammāvatāra of Buddhadatta (PTS ed.)
Abhidh-k-bh	Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu (ed. Pradhan 1975)
Abhidh-k-vy	Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra (ed. Wogihara 1932–36)
Abhidh-s	Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha of Anuruddha (ed. Saddhatissa 1989)
Abhidh-sam	Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga (ed. Pradhan 1950)
Abhidh-sam-bh	Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣyam of Asaṅga (ed. Tatia 1976)
abl.	ablative
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AG	Anavataptagāthā
AG-G ^L	Gāndhārī Anavataptagāthā (BL1, ed. Salomon 2008a)
AG-G ^S	Gāndhārī Anavataptagāthā (RS14, ed. Salomon 2008a)
AH	Abhidharmahṛdaya [T 1550] (ed. Willemen 2006)
AN	Aṅguttara-nikāya (PTS ed.)
Av-G ^L	Gāndhārī avadāna (BL4, edition in progress)
AvI-G ^L	Gāndhārī avadāna (BL1.2, ed. Lenz 2010: 33)
Arthav	Arthaviniścaya (ed. Samtani 1971)
ASP	Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Vaidya 1960a)
AśP	Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Tomabechi 2009)
Avś	Avadānaśataka (ed. Speyer 1906–1909; Vaidya 1958b)
BC	Bajaur Collection
Bca	Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva (ed. Vaidya 1960d)
Bca-p	Bodhicaryāvatārapañjika of Prajñākaramati (ed. Vaidya 1960d)
BCE	Before Common/Christian Era
B ^e	Burmese edition (in citations from CSCD)
Bhks	Bhadrakalpika-sūtra
Bhks-G	Gāndhārī Bhadrakalpika-sūtra (from Bamiyan)
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (Edgerton 1953)
BHSG	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i> (Edgerton 1953)
BL	British Library [Collection]
Bps	Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra

Buddhac	Buddhacarita of Aśvaghōṣa (ed. Johnston 1935)
bv.	<i>bahuvrīhi</i>
c.	century
ca.	circa
Ch.	Chinese
CDIAL	<i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> (Turner 1966–85)
CE	Common/Christian Era
Cone	<i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> (Cone 2001–)
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (Trenckner et al. 1924–)
CSCD	<i>Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM</i> . Pali Tipiṭaka in 216 volumes with Aṭṭhakathā, Tīkā, Anuṭīkā and other works; published by the Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, India (www.vri.dhamma.org and www.tipitaka.org)
CKD	Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Documents [from Niya] (www.gandhari.org)
CKI	Catalog of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (www.gandhari.org)
CT	<i>Von Ceylon bis Turfan</i> (Waldschmidt 1967)
DĀ	Dīrghāgama
dat.	dative
DDB	Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb)
dem. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
denom.	denominative
Dh-sam	Dharmasamuccaya (ed. Lin 1973)
Dhg	Dharmaguptaka
Dhp	Pali Dhammapada (ed. von Hinüber/Norman 1995)
Dhp-a	Dhammapada Commentary (PTS ed.)
Dhp-G ^K	Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan (ed. Brough 1962)
Dhp-G ^L	Gāndhārī Dharmapada in London (ed. Lenz 2003)
Dhs	Dhammasaṅgaṇī (PTS ed.)
Dhsgr	Dharmasaṃgraha of Nāgārjuna (Müller/Wenzel 1885)
Divy	Divyāvadāna (ed. Vaidya 1959)
DN	Dīgha-nikāya (PTS ed.)
EĀ	Ekottarikāgama
EĀ-G	three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras (BL12+14, line 1–73, ed. Allon 2001)
ed.	edited by
E ^e	European [usually the PTS] edition (in citations from CSCD)
f.	feminine
fut.	future
G	Gāndhārī
GBT	Gandhāran Buddhist Texts (series)
gdv.	gerundive
gen.	genitive
Gv	Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra (ed. Vaidya 1960b)
ibid.	ibidem (“the same place”)
impv.	imperative
ind.	indeclinable
instr.	instrumental
It	Itivuttaka (PTS ed.)
Jā	Jātaka, together with Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (ed. Fausbøll 1877–1896)

Khvs-G	Gāndhārī *Khargaviṣaṇa-sūtra (ed. Salomon 2000)
KĀ	Kṣudrakāgama
KpS	Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. Yamada 1968)
KP-VD	Kāśyapaparivarta (ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002)
Kv	Kathāvatthu (PTS ed.)
Lal	Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann 1902–08)
Laṅkāv	Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Nanjio 1923)
LC	Library of Congress scroll
loc.	locative
LPG	Larger Prajñāpāramitā from Gilgit (ed. Conze 1962, 1974, cf. Zacchetti 2005)
m.	masculine
MĀ	Madhyamāgama
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Mil	Milindapañha (PTS ed.)
MN	Majjhima-nikāya (PTS ed.)
MPPŚ	Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra (ed. Lamotte 1944–1980)
MPS	Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
MPS-G	Gāndhārī Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (ed. Allon/Salomon 2000)
mss.	manuscripts
MS	Martin Schøyen [Collection]
Msa	Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra of Asaṅga (ed. Limaye 1992)
Mvu	Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1882–97)
Mvy	Mahāvvyutpatti (ed. Sakaki 1926)
MW	M. Monier-Williams, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1899)
n.	neuter
NC	New Collection
N ^e	Nālandā edition of Pali texts (in citations from CSCD)
neg.	negative
Nett	Nettipakaraṇa (ed. Hardy 1902)
Nid-G ¹ 1	Gāndhārī Verse Nirdeśa (BL4)
Nid-G ¹ 2	Gāndhārī Verse Nirdeśa (BL7, 9, 18 and 13 up to line 90)
Nid-G ¹ 3	Gāndhārī Verse Nirdeśa (BL13 from line 91)
Nidd I	Mahāniddeśa (ed. de La Vallée Poussin/Thomas 1916–1917)
Nidd II	Cullaniddeśa (ed. Stede 1918)
Niya#	Niya Document, no. (ed. Boyer et. al 1920–29)
nom.	nominative
NP	Naiḥsargika Pācittiya
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
opt.	optative
P	Pali
part.	participle
pass.	passive
PC	Pelliot Collection
perf.	perfect
pers.	person
Peṭ	Peṭakopadesa (ed. Barua 1982)

pl.	plural
PP	Prajñāpāramitā
PP-G	Gāndhārī Prajñāpāramitā manuscript (ed. Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013)
Pras	Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti (ed. Vaidya 1960c)
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pron.	pronoun
PTS	Pali Text Society
PTSD	<i>Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (Rhys Davids/Stede 1921–25)
PvsP	Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Kimura 1986–2009)
PY-G	Gāndhārī pūrvayoga texts (BL16+25, line 15–61, ed. Lenz 2003, part II)
r	recto
RĀ	Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna (ed. Hahn 1982)
RĀC	Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna, Chinese tr. Paramārtha (ed. Okada 2006)
RS	Robert Senior [Collection]
RSt	Sāratamā of Ratnākaraśānti (ed. Jaini 1979)
Saddhp	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. Vaidya 1960e)
Saddhp(W)	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. Wogihara/Tsuchida 1958)
SĀ	Samyuktāgama
Samādh	Samādhirāja-sūtra (ed. Vaidya 1961a)
SaṅgCm	Gāndhārī Saṅgīti-sūtra commentary (BL 15)
Saund	Saundarananda (ed. Johnston 1928)
Śrāv-bh	Śrāvabhūmi (ed. Shukla 1973)
SC	Split Collection
sg.	singular
SHT	Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden (ed. Waldschmidt et al. 1965–)
Śikṣ	Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 1897–1902)
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sn	Suttanipāta (PTS ed.)
SN	Samyutta-nikāya (PTS ed.)
Spss	Sarvaṇyāsamuccayasamādhī-sūtra
Sukh	Sukhāvāṭīvyūha
SV	Sarvāstivāda
s.v.	sub verbo
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> (ed. Bechert/Röhrborn/Hartmann 1994–)
T	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō (ed. Takakusu/Watanabe 1924–32)
Th	Theragāthā (PTS ed.)
Tib.	Tibetan
tr.	translated by
Ud-a	Paramatthadīpanī nāma Udānāṭṭhakathā (PTS ed.)
Uv	Udānavarga (ed. Bernhard 1965–68)
UW	University of Washington scroll
v	verso
v.l.	varia lectio
Vism	Visuddhimagga (PTS ed.)

Vism(W)	Visuddhimagga (ed. Warren/Kosambi 1950)
Vkn	Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (ed. Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006)
YL	Yogalehrbuch (ed. Schlingloff 1964)

1

Introduction

Our current knowledge of early Indic Buddhist literature is based on what has been passed on from generation to generation, whether orally or by copying old manuscripts before they were destroyed by nature or men. As in its original homeland, India, Buddhism died out around the thirteenth century CE, very few Buddhist manuscripts did survive there, because the lineage of textual transmission was interrupted. In Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, the Theravāda tradition has remained alive since former times, and the manuscripts which record the so-called Pali canon have been copied again and again and in large numbers.¹ Also in Nepal, many Buddhist manuscripts did survive, but the majority are not very old, and only a few date back to more than one thousand years ago (Salomon 1999a: 8). Thus, the manuscripts found in ‘Greater Gandhāra’² and also Central Asia around the Tarim Basin are the earliest testimonies to the (local) Buddhist tradition in regard to their textual and doctrinal corpora, and they give us a direct impression of the ideas that prevailed at the time. Among them, the manuscripts from Central Asia, written in Brāhmī script and Sanskrit or other local languages, are mostly dated to the 7th century or later, although the earliest specimens are from the 2nd or 3rd century.³ The manuscripts found in Bamiyan range from the 2nd to 7th/8th centuries, and the ones found in Gilgit are from the 5th to 8th centuries. Finally, the Gāndhārī manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī script are mostly dated to the first two centuries CE, but in a few cases radiocarbon testing even points to the first centuries BCE.

- 1 The oldest extant Buddhist manuscript from Sri Lanka is dated to the 13th c., while most are from the 18th/19th c. (cf. Berkwitz 2009: 38 and 49 fn. 3 as well as Nandadeva 2009: 170 fn. 3).
- 2 The term ‘Greater Gandhāra’ denotes not only the Peshawar valley region (‘Gandhāra proper’) but also includes several neighbouring regions which came under the influence of Gandhāran culture (art, language, literature), namely “the Swat and other river valleys to the north, the region around the great city of Taxila to the east, and the eastern edge of Afghanistan to the west” (Salomon 1999a: 3, cf. also Glass 2004: 131, Allon 2008: 154).
- 3 SHT 16 (Aśvaghōṣa, 2nd c. CE), SHT 810 (“Spitzer-Manuskript”, 2nd/3rd c. CE), dated paleographically but approved by radiocarbon dating (Sander 2005, Allon et al. 2006: 280).

Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts

Material

The Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts so far discovered have almost exclusively been written on birch bark (*bhūrja-pattra*).⁴ Bark as a writing material was already mentioned by the Greek historian of Alexander the Great, Quintus Curtius Rufus, referring to observations made in the middle of the 4th c. BCE.⁵ In the course of time manuscripts on birch bark seem to have gradually fallen out of use and became replaced by palm leaves imported from other parts of India by the 2nd/3rd c. CE, probably along with the introduction of Brāhmī and Sanskrit (cf. Strauch 2012). The transition period is best exemplified by the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments on palm leaves, which show a Sanskritized form of Gāndhārī.⁶ From the 4th c. CE onwards paper was used in Central Asia, but only very few fragments written in Kharoṣṭhī are extant.

Regarding their preparation, “[t]he literature states that the inner bark of the birch tree was used for writing. After being peeled off the tree, the bark was dried. Oil was then applied over it, and it was polished. Layers were joined together by a natural gum” (Batton 2000, regarding the conservation of the Los Angeles manuscript from Bamiyan written in Brāhmī on birch bark, purportedly from the 5th c. CE). “The ink used for writing on birch bark was Indian black, a carbon ink. It was prepared by burning almond shells to charcoal, which was then boiled with cows’ urine. This ink is said to have a special brilliance and is fast to washing” (ibid.).

Format

There are two different formats of Kharoṣṭhī birch bark manuscripts:

- Wide/short format: width ca. 20–30 cm, length up to 48 cm; one piece of birch bark.

4 The exception is the Bamiyan fragments on palm leaves. Not included here are the administrative documents on wooden tablets from the kingdom of Kroraina (Shan-shan) in the southeastern Tarim Basin, most of them found in Niya (precisely ‘Niya Site’ or Caḍota, cf. Brough 1965: 592, also Hansen 2004: 287), additionally some from Endere, about 40 from Lou-lan and a few from Dun-huang (Bernhard 1970: 55). They are dated to the 3rd or 4th century (Atwood 1991: 163; 235–325 CE according to Brough 1965: 601f.), although “[t]he use of Kharoṣṭhī [...] appears to have continued in Kucha and neighbouring areas along the Northern Silk Road until the fifth or sixth century A.D. (Sander 1999: 72; Schmidt 2001: 9–12; Lin 2003: 1)” (Glass 2004: 131). For their edition and study see Boyer et al. 1920–29, Burrow 1937, Burrow 1940.

5 Hist. Alex., VIII, 9: “Tender bark of trees takes the signs of letters just like paper (sheets of papyrus)” – *libri arborum teneri, haud secus quam chartae, litterarum notas capiunt*, cited after Filliozat 1947: 103 (cf. also Janert 1955: 68, Falk 1993: 296).

6 There also some Kharoṣṭhī fragments in more or less standard Sanskrit (BC9 – a *rājanīti* text, Pelliot fragment 1 and probably 7, two Ōtani fragments, in which the verse numbering is in Brāhmī, as well as Niya #523).

- Narrow/long format: width ca. 10–20 cm, length up to 500 cm; several pieces glued and/or sewn together.

The texts on them are written from top to bottom. When reaching the lower end of the material, the bark is turned bottom up and the writing continues on the other side. Sometimes, if there was more text than space remaining, the writer chose to add the text in the margin. In their outer appearance, intriguing similarities to Aramaic manuscripts can be observed (cf. Baums 2014: 214–220). Furthermore, both formats were rolled up and folded twice or thrice afterwards (cf. Porten 1980: 41f. and fig. 1).

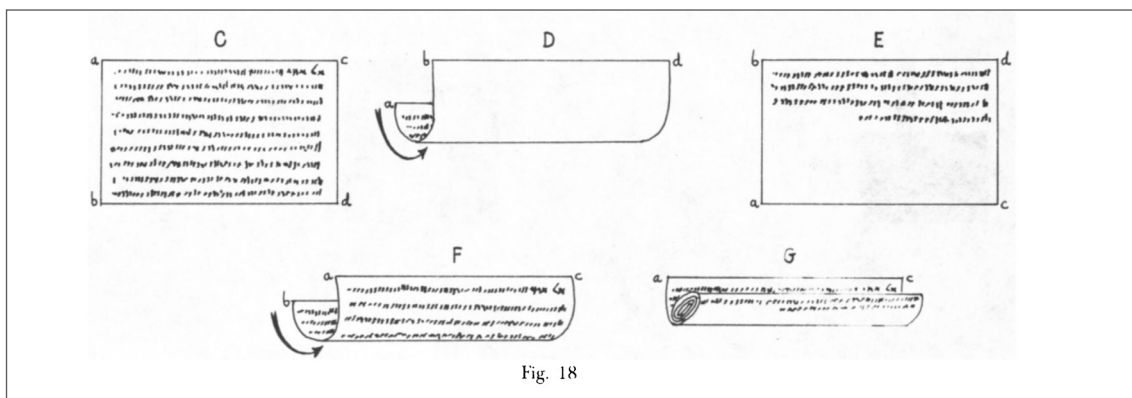


Fig. 1. Writing text on Aramaic papyrus letters of Elephantine, dated to the 5th c. BCE (Porten 1980: 67, fig. 18).

There seems to be no relation of the one or other format to a certain text genre, as even corresponding texts like the Dharmapada are once written on short format and once on long format scrolls. The same with avadānas, sūtra anthologies or canonical verse texts (see table 1).

Another explanation could be based on temporal factors, assuming that first the short formatted manuscripts were used and later, additionally, the longer scrolls.⁷ Due to lack of evidence, such a development is however impossible to prove, since at the time of the earliest manuscripts known to date both formats had already been in use and applied independently from the content.⁸ The choice of one format or the other was maybe simply based on the amount of text to be written or the available size of birch bark (cf. Salomon 1999a: 99, Salomon 2008a: 85).

7 The short formats, also used in the Achaemenid administration, could have been the starting point for the Gandhāran manuscript tradition. The introduction of the long format might have been due to the need to record longer (Buddhist) texts (cf. Baums 2014: 218–220).

8 Since both formats were also used by one and the same scribe (e.g. BL scribe 2 ‘Big Hand’ wrote on long (BL 1–4, 12+14, 21) and short (BL 16+25) formatted scrolls, cf. Salomon 1999a: 54, Lenz 2003: 104, Lenz 2010: 6), geographical reasons can also be excluded.

Table 1. Short and long format scrolls in the Split, British Library, Bajaur and Robert Senior Collection incl. the Dhp-G^k.

	wide/short format (ca. 20–30 cm wide)			narrow/long format (ca. 10–20 cm wide)		
	manuscript	width	height	manuscript	width	height
SC				SC1 (Sn/Aṭṭhakavagga) SC2 (metrical text) SC3 (Dhp) SC4 (avadāna) SC5 (PP)	<u>11</u> 16 [21] 14 [<u>16.5</u>] [15] <u>15</u>	1.8 26 50 ? 80
BL	BL5B (Khvs-G)	27	44.4	BL1 (AG-G ^l + avadāna), sewn	ca. <u>15</u>	[137] [220–250]
	BL16+25* (Dhp-G ^l + pūrvayoga) BL16: 10.5 x 40.5, BL25: 9.7 x 29.3	[23]	40.5 [130.5 ?]	BL2 (avadāna)	11.2	23
				BL4 (avadāna / Av-G ^l + Nid-G ^l 1)	16.3	213.4 [230–250]
				BL12+14, sewn (sūtra anthology / EĀ-G + avadāna)	14.5 [15.5]	76
				BL15 (SaṅgCm)	17.5	115
				BL7 (Nid-G ^l 2) BL9 (Nid-G ^l 2), sewn BL13 (Nid-G ^l 2+Nid-G ^l 3), sewn BL18 (Nid-G ^l 2)	14 14 14 14	12.3 118.6 70.3 22.8
				BL21 (avadāna)	16.8	26
				BL28 (Abhidharma)	12	65
BC	BC4* (scholastic, MY)	24	17–23	BC1 (canonical sūtra, MĀ) cp., sewn	<u>17.5</u>	70.5
	BC6* (scholastic, MY)	30.5	7.5 – 9.5	BC2 (Mahāyāna sūtra) cp., sewn	<u>18.5</u>	224
	BC7* (Karmavācānā)	16 [18]	6 [7.50]	BC3 (rakṣā) comp., lined	<u>17</u>	39
	BC8* (stotra, verse)	<u>21.5</u>	19	BC5 (arapacana) sg., lined	11 [21]	37 [40]
	BC15 (secular, contract)	21	19	BC9 (nīti; scholastic), cp., sewn	<u>16</u>	52
	BC16* (scholastic)	24	10	BC10 (stotra, prose), sg.	<u>16</u>	23
	BC17* (verse)	<u>23</u>	16	BC11 (scholastic, MY), sg. (?)	<u>15.5</u>	37.5
				BC12 (scholastic)	15.5	14
				BC13 (Vinaya: Prātimokṣa), sg.	<u>16</u>	23
				BC14 (scholastic), sg. (?), indicated	<u>10</u>	7
				BC18 (scholastic), sg.	17	19
				BC19 (unident.), sg.	16.5	9.5
	RS	RS 5 (sūtra anthology, SĀ)	26.8	27.6		
RS 12 (sūtra, MĀ)		11.5 [23]	48.5			
RS 14 (AG-G ^s)		[20]	[30]			
RS 19 (sūtra, SĀ)		20.9	17.2			
			Dhp-G ^k , sewn	21	294.7 [500]	

The underlining marks the original total width or length. If this is only estimated it is put in square brackets; * marks folded manuscripts, cp. = composite; sg. = single sheet.

The measurements are taken from: SC1–5 (Falk 2011); BL1 (Salomon 2008a: 83–85, Lenz 2010: 51), BL2 (Lenz 2010: 95), BL4 (Salomon 1999a: 44f.), BL5B (Salomon 2000: 23), BL12+14 (Allon 2001: 41), BL15 (Salomon 1999a: 49), BL7, 9, 13 and 18 (Baums 2009: 68f., cf. also p. 3 for their relation), BL16+25 (Lenz 2003: 3, 7), BL21 (Lenz 2010: 117), BL28 (Salomon 1999a: 52); BC1–19 (Strauch 2007/2008); RS5 (Glass 2007: 73), RS14 (Salomon 2008a: 329f.), RS19 (Baums 2014: 190, based on Lee 2009: 3), Dhp-G^k (Brough 1962: 18–19, Salomon 1999a: 97, cf. Baums 2014: 190).

Script

Considering the corresponding format and the fact that Aramaic was in use in the Achaemenid empire during the 6th to 4th century BCE in Gandhāra,⁹ in addition to which Kharoṣṭhī resembles the Aramaic script used at that time in the eastern parts of the empire, it would seem almost certain that the Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī writing tradition was based on the Aramaic one.¹⁰ The first scriptural evidence for Kharoṣṭhī, however, are two rock inscriptions of Aśoka (edicts in Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, ca. 250 BCE) and the gap between 336 BCE (end of the Achaemenid empire) and 250 BCE is yet to be filled by further evidence – if they exist at all.¹¹ Most scholars assume that writing was introduced into the Indian culture by Aśoka (cf. e.g. Falk 1993), and perhaps simultaneously into the Buddhist tradition.

Finds

Since 1892, when the first Buddhist literary text in Gāndhārī was discovered, many more fragments of Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts have come to light. They are listed in the following table (in order of their appearance) along with their most important publications (• marks editions).¹²

-
- 9 Herodotus, *historiai* (3.91, cf. also 7.66). Control of Gandhāra by the Achaemenid empire: 559–336 BCE according to Lamotte 1958: 111, cited after Glass 2004: 131. In the Behistun Inscription of Darius I. (550–486 BCE), documenting his battles waged around 520 BCE, Gandhāra [Gadāra] is mentioned in the list of his subject countries (Barua 1971: 310, cf. King/Thompson 1907).
- 10 Cf. Glass 2004: 131, Salomon 2008b. This does not imply a gradual or direct transition process from Aramaic to Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī, and indeed different sound value assignments for similar characters speak against this (cf. Falk 1996). It merely shows the similarity of the graphemes used in both scripts.
- 11 Cf. Salomon (1995: 278): “Kharoṣṭhī [...] probably dates back at least to the late fourth century, and quite possibly even before then”. Falk (2010: 6) confines the use of Kharoṣṭhī to Taxila and Gandhāra proper, while to the west thereof, Aramaic was used under Aśoka: “The new script spread in Taxila and Gandhara in the late 4th century BC, but not in Nangahar where Kharoṣṭhī was introduced only much later”. Historical western accounts are not unambiguous regarding written material in Gandhāra: in respect to ca. 327 BCE Quintus reports of letters on tree bark (cf. Falk 1993: 296); regarding ca. 325 BCE Nearchos says that “[t]hey write [...] letters upon cloth, smoothed by being well beaten” (Strabo 15.1.67 with the addition: “although other authors affirm that they have no knowledge of writing”, tr. Falconer in Falconer/Hamilton 1903, cited via ‘The Perseus Catalog’, cf. Falk 1993: 290). Neither account reveals if the script is Aramaic or Kharoṣṭhī. For the time around 300 BCE Megasthenes states that the Indians “have no written laws” and “are ignorant even of writing, and regulate everything by memory” (Strabo 15.1.53, tr. Falconer *ibid.*, cf. Falk 1993: 291ff.), although this most probably refers only to Māgadha, where he resided.
- 12 General overviews: Salomon 1999a (esp. pp. 59–68, 77, 80, 85–86), Sander 2000a, Glass 2004, Salomon 2006a, Salomon 2006b, Allon 2008; most recent summaries are given in Harrison/Hartmann 2014: 1–17 (Salomon), 19–33 (Allon), 51–78 (Falk/Strauch). The data of the Bamiyan fragments are based on gandhari.org (6.11.2013). At this preliminary status of examination, the exact amount of scrolls that once belonged together as well as the number of distinct texts they contained is difficult to determine because one manuscript might be comprised of several different texts, or

Table 2. Discovered Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (collections) known to date, arranged in order of their appearance.

Discovery/ first notice	Storage today	Given name	Scrolls / fragments	Main publications
1892	[1/3] Paris, FR, Bibliothèque nationale [1/3] St. Petersburg, RU, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Khotan Dharmapada (Dhp-G ^k)	1	Brough 1962 •
1907 (?)	Paris, FR, Bibliothèque nationale	Pelliot Collection (PC)	8 (fragm.)	Salomon 1998 •
1994	London, UK, British Library	British Library Collection (BL)	28	Salomon 1999a, 2014 Salomon 2000 (GBT 1) • Allon 2001 (GBT 2) • Lenz 2003 (GBT 3) • Salomon 2008a (GBT 5) • Baums 2009 • Lenz 2010 (GBT 6) •
1994	Norway, Japan, Pakistan	Bamiyan fragments - Schøyen Collection (MS) (217) - Hirayama Collection (26) - Hayashidera Collection (18) - Ryūkoku University (3)	264	Braarvig 2000 Allon/Salomon 2000 • Salomon 2001 Salomon 2002 • Braarvig/Pagel 2006 • Allon/Salomon 2010 Salomon 2010 Hartmann 2010
~ 1996	Butleigh, Glaston- bury, UK, private collection	Robert Senior Collection (RS)	24	Salomon 2003, Allon 2014 Glass 2007 (GBT 4) • Salomon 2008a (GBT 5) • Allon 2007a • Lee 2009 • Silverlock forthcoming •
1999	Peshawar, PK, private collection	Bajaur Collection (BC)	19	Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2004 Strauch 2007/2008 Falk/Strauch 2014 Strauch 2008, 2012, 2014a, b • Strauch/Schlosser forthcoming •
2002	Seattle, USA, University of Washington	University of Washington Scroll (UW) (8 fragments)	1	Glass 2004: 141f. Allon 2008: 167f.
2004	Peshawar, PK, private collection	Split Collection (SC)	5	Falk 2011 Falk/Strauch 2014 Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013 • Falk 2015 •
~ 2008	Washington, USA, Library of Congress	Library of Congress Scroll (LC)	1	Salomon/Baums 2007 Salomon forthcoming •
2010 (?)	London (?), UK, private collection	New private collection (NC) (15 fragments)	1	Allon/Salomon 2010: 11

.....

one text might span over more than one scroll. – When referring to Gāndhārī manuscripts throughout my thesis, this implies the manuscripts in the collections listed here. The transliterations of already published texts may be considered final (BL 1–3, 5B, 7, 9, 13, 12+14, 16+25, 18, 21, suppl. A–C; RS 5, 14; BC 1.1, 3, 7, 13, although not yet published), while those of others, taken from *gandhari.org*, should be regarded with reservations.

There are also a few single fragments in other collections which are not listed here, mainly because nothing specific is known about them, or because they have not been published yet.¹³ Moreover, there are even more manuscript finds mentioned in archeological reports, but those seem to have been destroyed in the course of their discovery (cf. Salomon 1997: 357). It also appears “that manuscript fragments [...] perished when museums were destroyed or looted during the recent decades of war in Afghanistan” (Allon 2008: 156 fn. 8).

Findspots, date and purpose

The exact origin and archeological context of these manuscripts is in most cases uncertain. While the Khotan Dharmapada allegedly was discovered at Kohmari Mazar near Khotan on the southern silk route,¹⁴ the Pelliot fragments were among the rare specimens which came from the northern part. They are reported to have come from Subashi and Khitai Bazar near Kuca, but no further details are available.¹⁵ The BL and RS Collection are both “in all likelihood either from the area of Hadda in modern-day Afghanistan (Salomon 1999a: 20–22) or from Swat in modern-day Pakistan (Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2004: 9)” (Baums 2009: 3).¹⁶ The Bajaur and the Split Collection are said to have been found in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area in the Bajaur or, in the case of the Split Collection, possibly also in the adjoining Mohmand Agency.¹⁷ The Bamiyan fragments are – as the name implies – from the area of Bamiyan in Afghanistan (see fig. 2). The provenance of the others is unknown.

When the manuscripts of the BL Collection first came to notice, they were stored in a clay pot bearing a dedicatory inscription to the Dharmaguptakas (fig. 3).¹⁸ The pot itself was probably originally interred in a *stūpa* or in the precincts of a Buddhist

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13 Cf. Salomon 1999a: 59–65 and Glass 2004: 142.

14 There are doubts about this account (Stein 1907: 185–8 according to Glass 2004: 139). Furthermore, it is not clear “whether the Khotan Dharmapada was written in Central Asia or rather imported thence from somewhere in the Indian subcontinent” (Salomon 2006a: 360).

15 Glass 2004: 141. But cf. Salomon (1998: 124): “It could not be confirmed whether some of these fragments might have been among the ‘feuilletts de manuscrits religieux’ which the Pelliot mission found in the ‘Maison aus manuscrits’ at Khitai Bazar (Chao et al. 1987: 10 and pl. VIII, b).”

16 Cf. also Salomon 1999a: 59–65, Glass 2004: 139f. and Salomon 2006b: 136.

17 Strauch 2008: 103–105 (cf. fig. 1 and 2), Falk 2011: 13.

18 Pot D *sāghami caudiśami dhamauteaṇa [p]arig[r]ahami*, “given to the universal community, in the possession of the Dharmaguptakas” (Salomon 1999a: 214). It is however not certain if the manuscripts were indeed found in this pot (cf. Salomon 2009: 20). One should also keep in mind, that two of other similar pots, now part of the BL Collection (pot B and C, cf. Salomon 1999a: 199–213) were dedicated to the Sarvāstivādins. Nevertheless, some of the texts of the BL Collection do confirm a close relationship to the Dharmaguptakas.



Fig. 2. Findspots of material written in Kharoṣṭhī, including inscriptions, coin legends, Buddhist manuscripts, and secular documents, marked by light grey areas (Glass 2004: 130) with additional information of the provenance of the bigger collections of Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.

monastery (Salomon 2006b: 136). Since the BL Collection is very diverse in terms of contents and is written by different scribes, it is assumed that it is a random selection of old manuscripts “that had been recopied and discarded from a monastery library” (Salomon 2006b: 138). They may have been buried ritually in the same manner as human bones which have also been found in similar jars at Hadda. Or, alternatively, they have been interred *together* with human remains, “perhaps those of their owners or scribes” (Salomon 2006b: 136).¹⁹

Like the BL Collection, the RS Collection was found inside a clay jar bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription (fig. 4), reportedly discovered “in an underground chamber” (Allon 2014: 21). However, this one does not mention a school but rather a date, namely the year 12 of an unspecified era. Its formulation suggests that it refers to the era of Kanīṣka, resulting in a year around 140 CE.²⁰ This is confirmed by radiocarbon tests with an “effective range of ca. 130–250 CE” (Allon 2008: 164). The inscription (on the pot and once again on the lid in abbreviated form) tells us that it was a gift of Rohaṇa, son of Maṣumatra, and was established in a *stūpa*.²¹ Since the formulation of the inscription resembles those on reliquaries (in respect of the date and the formula-

19 Cf. also Salomon 1999a: 81–84, Lenz 2003: 109–110, Salomon 2003: 78–79, Salomon 2009.

20 The expressions *sastehi* and *iśa kṣuṇami* point to an Iranian rather than Indic origin and also the use of Macedonian month names is characteristic of dates from the Kanīṣka era (Salomon 2003: 76f.). The more precise date is 138/9 CE (127+12-1).

21 Pot: [sa]ba[tsa]ra [ba](**ḍa*)[śa](**mi*) ma[se] A[vadu]nake sa[ste]hi (**paca*)hi i[śa] (**kṣuṇa*)mi [prati]tha[vi]? [matrapi]trap[uya]e sarva[śatva]na [p]lu(**ya*)[e], R(**o*)haṇasa Maṣumatraputrasa. Lid: [sa]batsara 10 [2] maś[u] A[vadu] saste 4 1 ? ? ? ? Rohaṇa Maṣumatraputrena thu[ba] m[i] sava[śatva]na pu(**ya*) (Salomon 2003: 74–8).



Fig. 3. Pot D with the fragments of the British Library Collection inside (see also Salomon 1999a, plate 5, following p. 76).



Fig. 4. Pot in which the Robert Senior Collection was found/stored, see also Salomon 2003: 75, fig. 1–2.

tion ‘*pratiṣṭhāpita*’), it is presumed that the manuscripts were interred together with the pot in the *stūpa* at that time. The collection is generally in a better condition than the BL and it is therefore speculated that they were intentionally written for interment as a *dharmasārīra* (Salomon 2009: 23, cf. fig. 5). This is further justified by the fact that it is a unitary collection consisting mostly of *sūtras*, all of which have been written by the same scribe. Additionally, two of the scrolls contain some kind of index of contents (listing 55 texts) “referring to some, though not all, of the *sūtras* written on the other scrolls” (Salomon 2006b: 140, cf. Allon 2014: 26–28). Therefore, the RS Collection represents some sort of anthology or personal collection (Glass 2002: 12).

The Bamiyan fragments were reportedly found “in a cave near the smaller of the two giant Buddha statues” (Glass 2004: 140f.) and seem to be part of a library that contained Sanskrit and Gāndhārī texts.²² The majority of the several thousand fragments are written in Brāhmī ranging from the 2nd to 7th c. CE, but the Kharoṣṭhī fragments “presumably belong to the earlier phase of the group as a whole, representing an old Gandhāran tradition before the Brāhmī script gradually displaced Kharoṣṭhī” (Salomon 2006b: 141).²³ A few fragments contain folio numbers in the hundreds (e.g. fragment 1 bears the number 187 or even 287), which shows that at least some of the manuscripts were very long, probably also containing various texts in one volume

22 Note that the two Buddha statues were built later than most of the manuscripts of the collection are dated: the smaller / eastern one 544–592, the bigger / western one 591–644 (Hartmann 2013: 35).

23 The dating of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts is based “on the grounds of comparisons of their linguistic and paleographic characteristics with those of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of known date, and these point to a date during or after the time of Kaniṣka” (Salomon 2006a: 372).

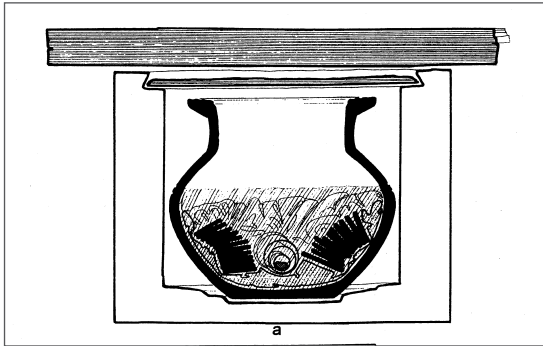


Fig. 5. Placement of a reliquary pot inside a cubic chamber of limestone under two slides of schist; Hadda, Tape Shotor, *stūpa* 19 (Tarzi 2005: 284 fig. 15).



Fig. 6. Stone chamber (Kurita 2003: 349, fig. 33).

(Glass 2004: 141, Salomon 2006b: 141). In contrast to the BL and RS sūtras, which seem to be abridged texts only, the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra of the Schøyen Collection, for example, was written out in full since fragments from every part – from beginning to end – have been found (Salomon 2006a: 371).

The only two collections which can be attributed to a more specific find spot are the Bajaur and the Split Collection. The Bajaur Collection is said to have been found *in situ* in a “square chamber of stone slabs of about half a meter of diameter” (Nasim Khan/Sohail Khan 2004: 10) in one of the cells of the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the vicinity of the village Miān Kili²⁴ (see fig. 6 for a possibly comparable stone chamber). Also the Split Collection was “[a]ccording to usually reliable informants [...] found in a stone case in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area, comprising the Mohmand Agency and Bajaur” (Falk 2011: 13). At least regarding the Bajaur Collection it is assumed that it was not an intentional collection placed in the relic chamber of a *stūpa* but “rather a (part of a) monastic library” (Strauch 2007/2008: 66, cf. 2008: 105).²⁵

Text genres

All genres of (pre-tantric) Buddhist literature are represented among the Gāndhārī manuscripts known to date. The distribution of text genres throughout the collections is as follows, sorted according to their estimated age:

24 34° 49' 24" North, 71° 40' 17" East (Strauch 2008: 103, cf. fig. 1 and 2).

25 “Since, practically, all of the manuscripts are more or less fragmentary, the comparison to a Jewish genizah brought forward by Salomon with regard to the British Library fragments (1999: 81–84) could be equally valid for the new Bajaur collection. It seems that old and wornout manuscripts were sorted out and stored in one place, outside the regular library (for which a stone casket would be rather uncomfortable) but still in reach of the monks in case of urgent need. Probably, not all of the texts were partially destroyed. Some of them might have been sorted out for other reasons” (Strauch 2007/2008: 66).

Table 3. Contents of Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts known to date.

Date, ca.	Name	Scribes	Texts
1. c. BCE –1. c. CE ? ⁽¹⁾	Library of Congress	1	list of buddhas, similar to portions of the Bahubuddha-sūtra (Mvu)
1. c. BCE –1./2. c. CE ⁽²⁾	Split Collection	various	- Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta (stanzas 841–844 / 966, 968) - Dharmapada (89 stanzas) - avadāna collection - metrical text on the life of the Buddha - (Aṣṭasāhasrikā) Prajñāpāramitā (ch. 1 and 5)
1–50 ⁽³⁾	British Library Collection	various	- sūtras (like the Rhinoceros sūtra or a group of short sūtras arranged on a numerical basis like the AN/EĀ) - para-canonical texts like Dharmapada and Anavataptagāthā - legends (avadāna, pūrvayoga) - commentaries on groups of verses (similar to Suttanipāta, Dhammapada and Theragāthā) - scholastic and Abhidharma texts - stotras
50–150 ⁽⁴⁾	Bajaur Collection	various	- Vinaya (Prātimokṣa in two versions, Karmavācanā) - Sūtra (MN) - Abhidharma - stotra - verse collection (Arapacana) - rakṣā (apotropaic/magical formula) - Mahāyāna (pure land, prajñāpāramitā) - secular (arthaśāstra/rājanīti [Skt.], contract)
1./2. c. ⁽⁵⁾	UW Scroll	1	commentary on a text similar to the Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta (MN III 237–47) (Glass 2004: 142, cf. Allon 2008: 168)
1./2. c. ⁽⁶⁾	New Collection	1	- Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta (stanzas 863–909) - Mahāyāna (*Succitti-sūtra T477–479)
1./2. c. ⁽⁷⁾	Khotan Dharmapada	1	Dharmapada [two verses added by a different scribe at the end; property of a monk called Buddhavarma]
140 ⁽⁸⁾	Robert Senior Collection	1	- sūtras, mostly SN, but also MN and DN - para-canonical Anavataptagāthā - index list [only beginnings of sūtras or anthologies]
2./3. c. ⁽⁹⁾	Pelliot Collection	various	- narrative (avadāna/jātaka or Vinaya text) in Sanskrit / Hybrid Sanskrit - doctrinal/scholastic (Sūtra, Abhidharma, commentary?) in Gāndhārī
2./3./4. c. ⁽¹⁰⁾	Bamiyan fragments	various	very fragmentary, many not identified, so far: - Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra - Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra most appear to be sūtras, Abhidharma or other technical treatises, and poetic compositions (Salomon 2006b: 143)

⁽¹⁾ ¹⁴C [radiocarbon dating]: 206 BCE–59 CE (Allon/Salomon 2010: 10 fn. 39). Paleographically dated to ca. 2nd c. CE (Salomon/Baums 2007: 202).

⁽²⁾ ¹⁴C: SC4 avadāna: 184–46 BCE (two sigma range “cal BC[E] 184–46” with a probability of 95.4 %, the youngest peak is placed around 70 BCE); SC5 (PP-G): ~ 74 CE (calibrated age won though two-sigma ranges from 25–43 CE (probability 14.3%) and 47–147 CE (probability 81.1%). Cf. Falk 2011. Paleographic and linguistic characteristics: later 1st or early 2nd c. CE (Allon/Salomon 2010: 10).

⁽³⁾ Paleographic dating: 10–30 CE (Salomon 1999a: 154), 25–40 CE (Glass 2007: 106).

⁽⁴⁾ Paleographic dating (Strauch 2007/2008: 18, Strauch 2008: 111).

⁽⁵⁾ Sengul 2002.

⁽⁶⁾ Due to general, linguistic and paleographic features (Allon/Salomon 2010: 11).

⁽⁷⁾ Dated roughly to the first two centuries CE on paleographic grounds, based on comparison to Kurram und Wardak, i.e. 127 CE or 178 CE (Brough 1962: 55f.).

⁽⁸⁾ Dating of the inscription on the pot; ¹⁴C: 130–250 CE (Allon 2008: 164).

⁽⁹⁾ Due to linguistic and paleographic features (Sanskritization).

⁽¹⁰⁾ ¹⁴C (cf. Allon et al. 2006): Bhks-G (MS 2179/116): 210–417 CE (2-sigma, with 95.4 percent probability, Allon/Salomon 2010: 9), MPS-G (MS 2179/65) 53–234 CE (2 sigma, Allon 2008: 170), an unidentified scholastic text (MS 2179/42): 72–245 CE (Allon 2008: 170); paleographic dating: 2nd/3rd c. CE (Allon/Salomon 2000: 267, cf. Strauch 2008: 109 fn. 5).

Classified into the different genres of Buddhist literature, the picture is as follows (updated and slightly modified version of the table given in Strauch 2008: 113):

Table 4. Text genres represented in Buddhist Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts known to date.

Collection	LC	SC	BL	BC	UW	NC	Dhp-G ^K	RS	PC	MS
Scribes	1	various	various	various	1	1	1	1	various	various
Dated ~	1. c. BCE?	1. c. BCE –1./2. c. CE	1–50	50–150	1./2. c.	1./2. c.	1./2. c.	140	2./3. c.	2./3./4 c.

Vinaya				7, 13						
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Sūtra, DĀ								2		MPS
Sūtra, MĀ			26+29?	1,1				12		
Sūtra, SĀ								5, 13, 19, 20, 22 (r.31–56)		
Sūtra, EĀ			12+14.1							
Sūtra, KĀ		1, 3	1,1, 5B, 16+25.1			3	Dhp	14		

Avadāna		4	1,2, 27, 3A.27, 4.1, 12+14.2, 16+25.2, 21.27						1	
Scholastic, commentary *			3B, 4.2, 7, 9, 13.1, 13.2, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20+23, 28	(6), 9.2, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19					8	
Stotra			5C	8, 10						
Misc. / unknown	(Bbs)		3A.1, 5A, 8, 11, 19, 21.1, 22, 24, 27	5, 17					2–7	
Rakṣā / Dhāraṇī				1,2, 3						
Mahāyāna		2?, 5		2, 4, 11		2				Bhks, Bps, Spss

Secular				9.1, 15						
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Already edited and published manuscripts are set in bold, those currently under study are underlined. When there are no signatures, the short title is given (likewise with the Bamiyan fragments as the fragment numbers would be too cumbersome here). Dhp and AG are assigned to the KĀ, although they are sometimes designated as para-canonical. Also the designation ‘Mahāyāna’ for the Bhks is doubtful. The MPS has sometimes also been characterized as Mahāyāna.

* In future, if possible, the differentiation should be made between scholastic and commentarial texts (non-commentaries are, according to Baums 2009: 53: BL 10, 17, 20+23, 28 and UW; according to Strauch 2007/2008: BC 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18).

Although presented here as such, it is far from certain to what extent the Gāndhārī texts could be considered as part of a fixed canon. Most of the manuscripts are individual texts, metric or in prose (such as narratives, praises, commentaries or other scholastic treatises), but some scrolls also contain anthologies like a collection of *saṃyukta*-like sūtras (RS5) or *ekottarika*-type sūtras (BL12+14).²⁶ Most of the texts

26 Salomon (2006: 365): “perhaps analogous to those represented in Aśoka’s Calcutta-Bairat edict (see, e.g., Schopen 1985: 12) or in the early Chinese translations of small sets of *Ekottarikā*- and *Saṃyukta*-type sūtras (as discussed in Harrison 1997 and 2002).” In the Calcutta-Bairāt in-

or anthologies appear to be “rather a random [and personally chosen] sampling of texts that were actively used for study and recitation” (Salomon 1999a: 12). On the other hand, there is a reference to a collection named *ekottarikā* (**āgama*) in one of the commentaries of the British Library (BL13 / Nid-G^L2, *yasa [e]kottariae*, cf. Baums 2009: 513) indicating that this structuring principle was known. Thus, “while it may not be possible to speak of a Gāndhārī canon in sense of a defined corpus”, the Senior and BL manuscripts “show that organizing and anthologizing texts was taking place, and thus that at least the preliminary processes of canonization was underway” (Glass 2004: 147). Possibly, the *piṭakas*, so familiar to us today, already existed in those days, but only orally and only selections had been put down to writing (cf. Salomon 2006a: 368).²⁷ According to a Theravāda tradition the first writing down of Buddhist texts took place in Sri Lanka in the 1st c. BCE.²⁸ Therefore, it would not be impossible that also in the north they were first written down at that time.

In this regard, Salomon (2006: 373) points to the report of Xuanzang, who mentioned that Kaniṣka convened a council in Kashmir, in the course of which the *tri-piṭaka* was standardized, commented upon, and set down in written form. It is told that Kaniṣka was unsatisfied with the many “different views of the schools” (Beal 1884: 151) and therefore gathered a group of arhats who composed commentaries on the three baskets. The result was engraved on copper plates and placed inside a *stūpa* (Beal 1884: 156). Albeit these copper plates have never been found, it seems likely, that there was indeed a process of standardization and scriptural fixation during the time of Kaniṣka (Salomon 2006a: 373f., also Steinkellner 2012). Prior to that time, we may have to imagine a living oral tradition, together with some randomly written down excerpts, written for different reasons, whether educational, ritual or personal (cf. Salomon 2006a: 369).

With this in mind, the complex interrelationship of different versions of certain sūtras (G, P, Skt., Ch., Tib.) is no surprise. It seems that there was a huge corpus of

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 scription (3rd c. BCE), also called rock edict from Bhābrā (Steinkellner 2012), several texts were recommended: Vinaya-samukasa, Aliya-vasāni, Anāgata-bhayāni, Muni-gāthā, Moneya-sūta, Upatisa-pasina, Lāghulovāda (cf. Thomas 1951: 156).

27 The Gāndhārī avadānas had only been memory aids, supplements rather than substitutes for the traditional method of oral/aural transmission (Salomon 1999a: 166; cf. Bechert 1980: 28 and Collins 1992: 121 for the written/oral co-existence).

28 Under Vaṭṭagāmaṇi presumably in the Aluvihāra due to the fact that the transmission was endangered by the death of people (*hāniṃ ... sattānaṃ*), i.e. monks who memorized the texts (source: Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa, cf. Bechert 1992: 45, Falk 1993: 284–288). It is presumed that these scriptures have still been extended by texts coming from India, so that the Pali canon we know today is not identical with the one written down in the first century BCE.

orally transmitted texts, a common fund of textual material so to say, but every community had its own local tradition with their canons differing in wording, selection and arrangement (cf. Salomon 2006a: 375).²⁹ The similar structures we have in all of them are due to roughly the same content and, in case of the sūtras, due to their length. But even here, different judgments could result in them being sorted into different groups (a Pali MN sūtra can be found in the Chinese DĀ and the like). Furthermore, with regard to parallels one has to keep in mind, that even among one school tradition there exist slightly different versions (Allon 2007b: 6). The strongest differences, however, are *between* the various Buddhist schools. In regard to these traditional affiliations, most of the Gāndhārī material has been attributed to the Dharmaguptakas, which was one of the predominant schools in Gandhāra in the first centuries alongside the Sarvāstivādins (Salomon 2003: 90).³⁰ An argument for this attribution was based on the similarity of some texts to parallels in the Chinese DĀ, which is associated with this school.³¹ This has led Richard Salomon to “hypothesize a previously unknown phase in the earlier history of Gandhāran Buddhism, in which the Dharmaguptakas were a dominant school enjoying the patronage of the Śāka (or Indo-Scythian) kings and satraps, only to be overshadowed later on by the Sarvāstivādins under the auspices of the Kuṣāṇa kings, particularly Kanīṣka” (Salomon 2006b: 139., cf. also Salomon 1999a: 176–81 and Fussman 1994: 32).³²

29 The ‘Pali’ canon of the Theravādas is the only complete one. Cf. hereto Steinkellner 2012: “Texte der anderen Schulen sind, wenn überhaupt, nur in Form ihrer chinesischen Übersetzungen [...] oder auch ihrer Übertragungen in das Sanskrit erhalten geblieben. Den Funden in Zentralasien und in Gilgit (Nordpakistan) in der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts sind große Teile kanonischer Sammlungen in Sanskrit zu verdanken. Der Vergleich dieser Texte und der chinesischen Übersetzungen mit dem Pāli-Kanon hat gezeigt, daß die kanonischen Überlieferungen in der so erreichbaren Periode bereits stark differenziert sind. Daher kann man auch für den Pāli-Kanon nicht beanspruchen, daß er das Buddhawort am getreuesten repräsentiert.”

30 Donation inscriptions mention five different schools: Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṅghika (Glass 2004: 135ff., cf. Cox 2014: 45).

31 BL15 SaṅgCm = Chinese DĀ (Salomon 1999a: 171–173), RS2 Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra = Chinese DĀ (Allon 2007b: 5), RS(15+)18 = Chinese DĀ (T22 no. 1428, Allon 2007b: 5), RS24.1 = Dhg Vinaya (Allon 2007b: 5); Schøyen MPS = ~ Chinese DĀ (Allon/Salomon 2000: 272), whereby ‘=’ in each case means ‘closest’ and not ‘identical’. Cf. also Salomon 2006a: 358–364. A connection to the Dharmaguptakas is also suggested for some of the fragments of the Bajaur Collection but this is by no means certain, cf. Strauch 2007/2008: 4 and also 2008: 114.

32 For the dissemination and establishment for the different sects of Buddhism cf. Sujato 2006, for the Dhg and SV esp. Sujato 2007. There he affiliates the foundation of the Dhg to the Yonaka Dhammarakkhita supported by reports in the Sudassanavinayavibhāsā (T1462) where the phonological transcription even suggests Dhammagutta rather than Dhammarakkhita. He is said to be one of the missionaries sent by Aśoka and Moggaliputtatissa after the ‘Third Council’ convened to unify the *saṅgha* after the expulsion of corrupt monks. Dhammarakkhita/gutta had the mission to go to the Greek occupied areas in the west. Majjhantika, Mahinda’s ordination teacher, was simultaneously sent “to Kaśmir and established the school later known as the Sarvāstivāda”.

Bajaur Collection

General

In 1999, the manuscripts had been brought to Prof. M. Nasim Khan, Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Social Anthropology at the University of Peshawar, Pakistan, in a big cardboard box. They had been restored there until 2005, resulting in 35 glass frames between which the fragments are preserved. These had been scanned as high resolution images, which are the basis of my study and reconstruction.

Since 2005 the texts had been studied at the Freie Universität Berlin sponsored by the DFG (project: ‘Cataloguing and Edition of the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts’). After the closing down of the ‘Institut für die Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens’ in 2012 the work is continued in the scope of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities project ‘Early Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhāra: religious literature at the interface of India, Central Asia and China’ (short-titled ‘Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhāra’) at the ‘Institut für Indologie und Tibetologie’ of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich in close cooperation with the members of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts project at the University of Washington and the University of Sydney.

Texts and genres

The Bajaur Collection comprises 19 different scrolls.³³ These contain presumably 21 texts, written in 19 hands. The length of the scrolls is diverging with the longest measuring over 2 meters (BC2) and the shortest only 6 cm (BC7). The texts of the Bajaur Collection belong to a wide range of different genres, including both canonical and non-canonical Buddhist texts, as well as two non-Buddhist secular documents (cf. table 5). So far, only a preliminary catalogue of the collection has been published (Strauch 2007/2008, 2008). The study has further concentrated on the three canonical manuscripts for which parallels could be found, as well as one *rakṣā* text: BC1.1, BC3, BC7, BC13. They are in preparation for publication (Strauch forthcoming). Subsequently, the focus has been on BC2, which due to its scale and content (a Mahāyāna sūtra with reference to Akṣobhya and his realm Abhirati) is of primary importance for study on the development of early Mahāyāna.

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 33 In 2008, Strauch assumed “ca. 18 different” scrolls (2008: 8). During the study of the manuscripts, part 3 of fragment 6 had been labeled separately as BC19 (cf. Strauch 2008).

Table 5. Content of the Bajaur Collection, based on Strauch 2007/2008 and 2008.

Category	title	fragment no.	scribe
Vinaya	Karmavācanā (<i>śayyāsana-grāhaka; varṣopagamana</i>)	7	7
	Prātimokṣa-sūtra NP.1–8; NP.1–9 (two versions)	13	13 (r), 14 (v) *
Sūtra	Madhyamāgama text (Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta / Gautamī-sūtra)	1.1	1
Scholastic / commentaries	Commentary	9v	10
	Scholastic (A) with Mahāyāna keywords and focus on <i>sukha / duḥkha</i> > 4, 11 now to be shifted to Mahāyāna	(4, 11) 6	(5) 19 *
	Scholastic (B) meditating about life / <i>dharmas</i>	14, 16, 18	18, 18, 5
	Scholastic (?) keywords: <i>ūpasamjñā, ātmajīvasamjñā</i> > <i>śuddha / śudhyati</i>	12	12
	Scholastic, probably belonging to (B)	19	19 *
Miscellaneous Buddha praises / stotra	Four verses praising the Buddha Śākyamuni	8	8
	Text about <i>prāśamsyasthānas</i>	10	11
	Buddhist verses (?)	17	16 (r), 17 (v)
	‘Arapacana verses’	5	6
Rakṣā / Dhāraṇī	*Manasvi-nāgarāja-vidyā/-sūtra	3	4
	Unidentified <i>rakṣā / dhāraṇī</i> -like text	1.2	2
Mahāyāna / Bodhisattvayāna	so-called “Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra”	2	3
	<i>prajñāpāramitā</i> related treatise	4, 11	5
Secular	Nīti-/Arthaśāstra	9r	9
	Business document	15	15

* In the course of Strauch’s study, scribe 14 has been considered identical with scribe 13 (i.e. r/v of BC13), and scribe 19 has been renamed 14. Thus, there are maybe only 18 scribes altogether.

Selected manuscripts

Next to the canonical sūtra and Vinaya texts and the manuscripts praising the Buddha, the scholastic treatises form another big group within the collection. In the beginning, BC11 was provided for translation, because it is one of the longest and best preserved manuscripts among the scholastic ones. These had been subdivided into two groups according to their topic/subject matter by Ingo Strauch (2008: 34). BC11 belongs to Group A which encompasses the fragments BC4, 6 and 11.³⁴ They all have

34 Not much can be said at this point of time about BC19 (previously part 3 of BC6) since the script is hardly legible. So far, none of the typical keywords occurring in the other three scrolls has been detected.

in common that they deal with *sukha*, *duḥkha* and *prīti*.³⁵ Fragments 4 and 11 are written by the same scribe. Fragment 6 is closely linked to the fragments 4 and 11, but apparently written in another hand.³⁶

In the course of time it became clear that the reconstruction of fragment 4 would be enormously helpful for the interpretation of fragment 11. Fortunately, the re-assembling of the fragments resulted in a coherent manuscript, into which almost every single piece could be reassigned. Both manuscripts are treated in this thesis with a focus on BC4 which appears to be the basic text, on which BC11 is some kind of commentary dealing with certain topics or passages of BC4. Fragment 6 is not included due to its bad state of preservation.

35 Group B of the scholastic texts comprises the fragments 14, 16 and 18, which are all in a bad state of conservation. According to Strauch (2007/2008: 35), BC14 and 16 are written by the same scribe, but in “differing formats and pens”. BC18 most likely is from the same scribe (5) as BC4 and 11 of group A. The group affiliation is based on passages like *yadi jive bhavedi* “if he is meditating upon life” and *yadi dhama bhavedi* “if he is meditating upon dharma” as well as shared technical terms (Strauch 2007/2008: 35).

36 Or maybe it only looks like that due to the different surface of the birch bark? See chapter on paleography.

2

Physical description

BC4

Description of the manuscript

After unrolling, the fragments of BC4 were stored in two parts in frame 10 and 18. The manuscript was heavily damaged and split into several pieces of medium and small size (fig. 7–8). The surviving portions measure about 25 x 19 cm and 26 x 17 cm according to the preliminary catalogue of Ingo Strauch (2008: 9). Both sides are written by the same hand (scribe 5) and contain a single text.

Reconstruction of the scroll

Fortunately most of the fragments could be rearranged to their original locations. The connection between the right and left halves of the manuscript is ensured in lines 4r.11, 4r.20, 4r.21 and 4r.26:

- line 11: *trae kuśala hakṣa[ti trae] (*a)(r.11.2)(*ku)śala ṇa hakṣati*
- line 20: *sarve dukha u[ad]i[ṇae a]śivaśidae ha[kṣa](r.20.2)[di u]ekṣidae hakṣa[di]*
- line 21: *[b](*u)[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o] (r.21.2) puyamaṇa*
- line 26: *triṇa aku[śa](r.26.2)laṇa aharāe*

Of slight uncertainty are the upper loose fragments from 4r.01 up to 4r.10. However, the transition from line 4r.10 to 4r.11 is more than likely: *[kaia]-ce(r.11.1)daśia*. Which makes lines 4r.07f. safe (cf. fig. 11). Moreover, the unwritten reverse side of those fragments leaves almost no other choice regarding their arrangement. It is however uncertain how 4r.06 and 4r.07 exactly belong to each other, or whether even one or more lines are missing here – which is, however, unlikely. Furthermore, a few fragments are placed with a little uncertainty, but form and/or content make it highly probable that they belong to where they are located in the current reconstruction. These are fragment 4.2 C+P (r.05.2), S (r.08.1) and X (r.14.1), cf. fig. 9. Fragment 4.1 Q consists of four layers of birch bark, of which one (labeled Q) is not easy to allocate



Fig. 7. BC4. Unreconstructed preservation status of the manuscript after unrolling (scale 50%). Part 1 (frame 10) and part 2 (frame 18), recto.

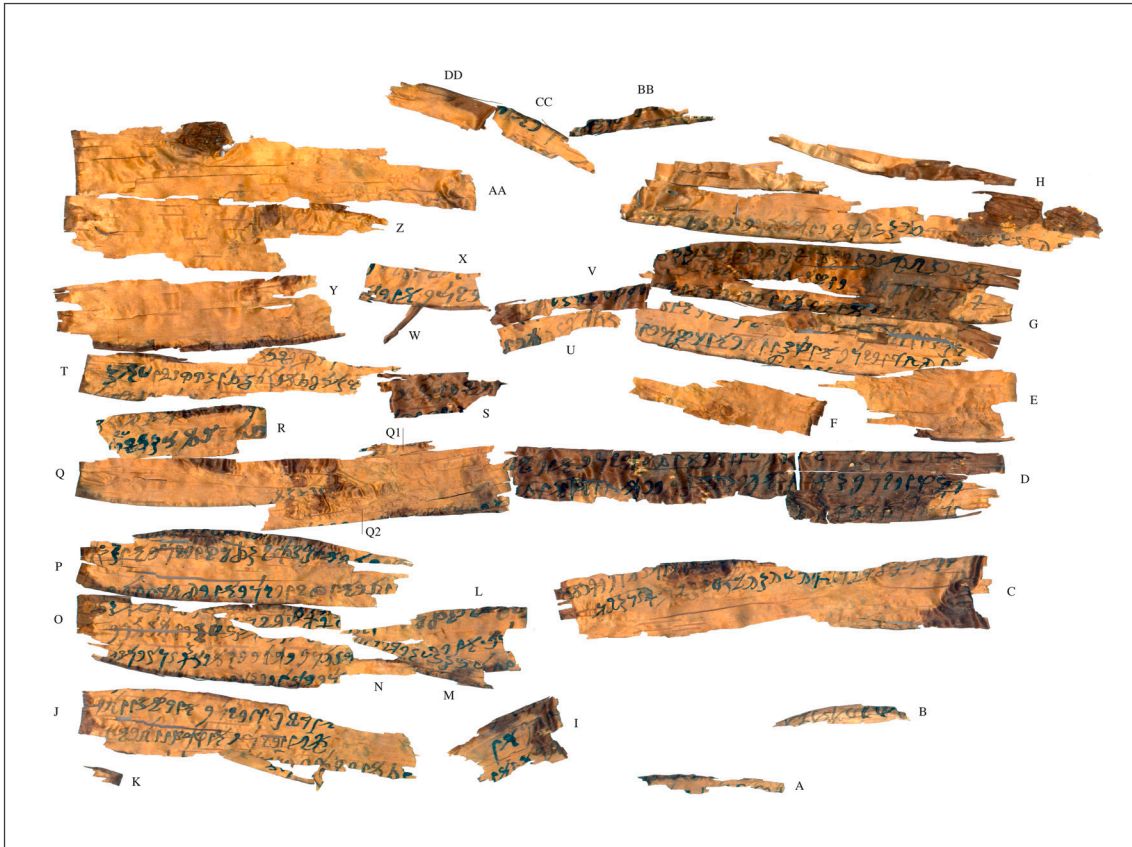


Fig. 8. BC4. Unreconstructed preservation status of the manuscript after unrolling (scale 50%). Part 1 (frame 10) and part 2 (frame 18), verso.

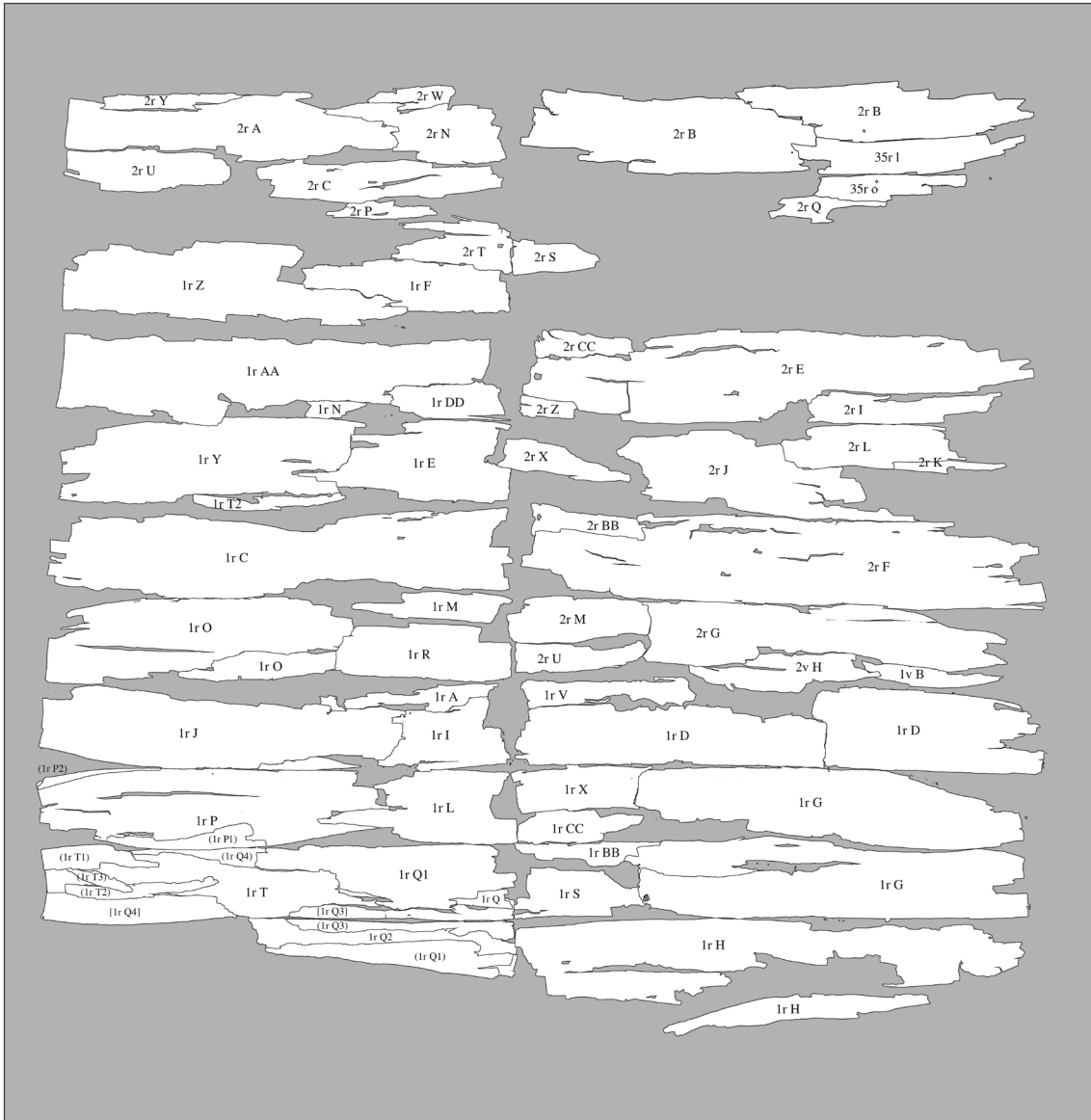


Fig. 9. BC4. Key to the reconstructed manuscript, recto (scale 55%). 1r = BC4, part 1, recto (frame 10), 2r = BC4, part 2, recto (frame 18), 35r = frame 35, recto. Designations in round brackets signify overlying fragments. Designations in square brackets label the reverse sides of fragments of which only one side was visible in the scan.



Fig. 10. BC4. Key to the reconstructed manuscript, verso (scale 55%). 1v = BC4, part 1, verso (frame 10), 2v = BC4, part 2, verso (frame 18), 35v = frame 35, verso. Designations in round brackets signify overlying fragments. Designations in square brackets label the reverse sides of fragments of which only one side was visible in the scan.



Fig. 11. BC4. Reconstructed manuscript, recto (scale 55%). Dark grey areas represent overlying fragments. Light grey areas represent the reverse sides of reconstructed fragments of which only one side is visible (in the scanned image).



Fig. 11a. Reconstructed fragments of part 1 (frame 10), recto.

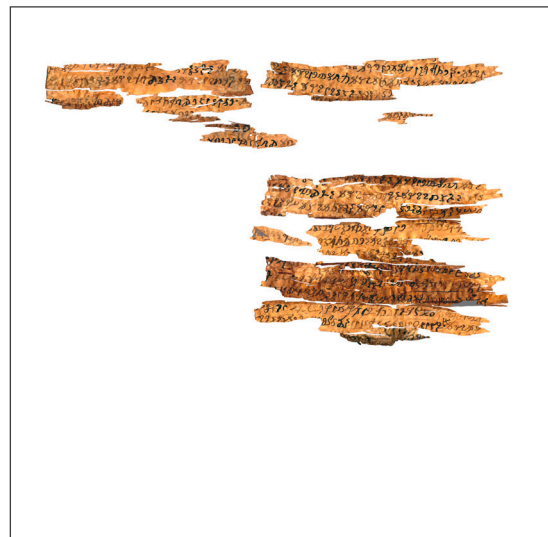


Fig. 11b. Reconstructed fragments of part 2 (frame 18), recto.



Fig. 12. BC4. Reconstructed manuscript, recto (scale 55%). Dark grey areas represent overlying fragments. Light grey areas represent the reverse sides of reconstructed fragments of which only one side is visible (in the scanned image).

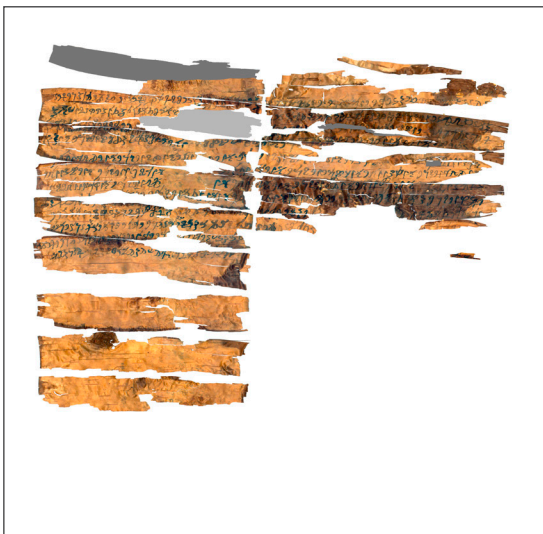


Fig. 12a. Reconstructed fragments of part 1 (frame 10), recto.

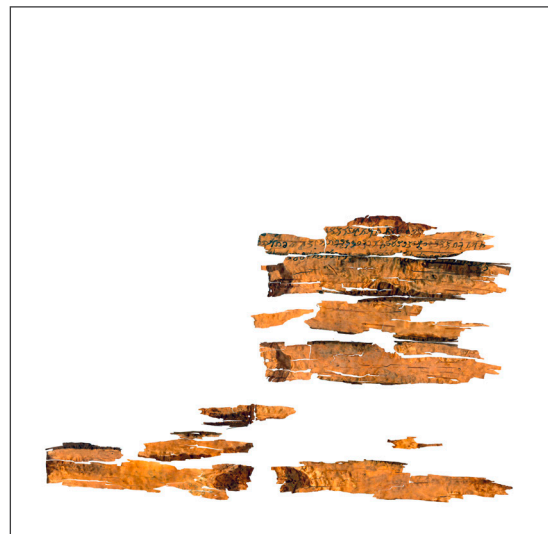


Fig. 12b. Reconstructed fragments of part 2 (frame 18), recto.

because the four incomplete akṣaras written on it do not connect to any adjoining fragment. It is reconstructed due to its physical form only and the transliteration is given in a footnote.

After the reconstruction of BC4 it was evident, that it did not belong to BC11 physically as it was presumed by Ingo Strauch in 2008 (p. 9). BC4 is a ‘short format’ scroll that was once folded in the middle. BC11 on the other hand is a ‘long format’ scroll folded twice.

Format and layout

The reconstruction process of BC4 resulted in a scroll of about 24 cm width and ca. 23 cm height (the safely reconstructed part of the scroll is 24 x 17 cm with an upper part of at least 6 cm).¹ Unfortunately, the beginning of the manuscript is – as usual – lost and we do not know how much is missing exactly. Luckily under the circumstances, the first paragraph is repeated twice, so that we could simply count the missing lines before the second repetition. But the manuscript is very fragmentary at this point, which is why it is not certain where the second paragraph begins. There are, ultimately, two alternatives:

1. It starts after the small dot in 4r.05.2 and begins with:
 - *vado ṇidaṇa* (orange bar in fig. 13) > ca. three lines would be missing.
2. It starts after the bigger circle in 4r.07.2 beginning with:
 - [*ki hakṣadi*] (red bar in fig. 13) > ca. one line would be missing.

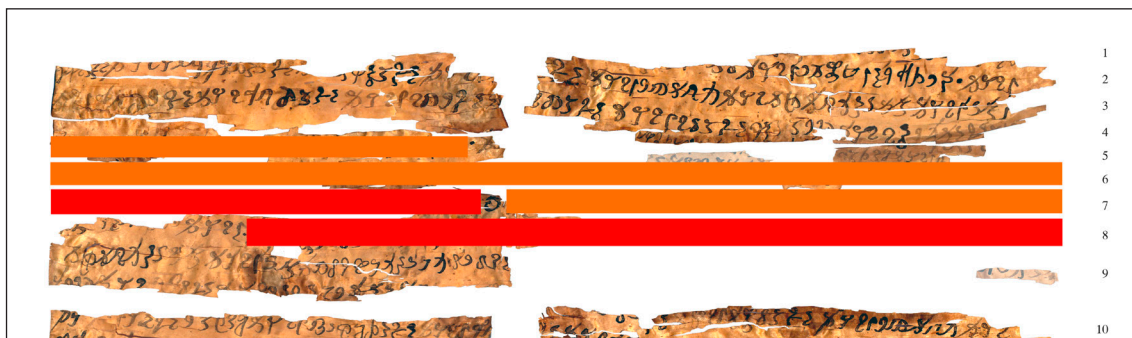


Fig. 13. Illustration for the reconstruction of the missing lines at the beginning of BC4.

1 It is not possible to give the exact dimensions with absolute accuracy as the scans did not include any scale for orientation (likewise, no colour scale was applied). The size was calculated on the basis of the informations Ingo Strauch gave in his catalogue after measuring the fragments in Pakistan. However, the fragments were scanned with 600 dpi and 100% scale, so that the rulers in the graphics editing program should give quite exact data.

In option (1) the second paragraph («1B») as well as the text itself would begin with *vado nidāna*. Since this would be repeated, *nidāna* cannot refer here to some kind of introduction (although it is still possible that there was a textual variation in the beginning and not the same wording as in the repetition). The small dot before *vado* could indicate a new train of thought. In option (2) the second paragraph as well as the text would begin with *ki hakṣadi* or something similar. In light of bigger circles serving principally as punctuation marks, especially preceding a new paragraph, this seems more likely. Thus, a bit more than one line should be missing, corresponding to ca. 1 cm and an original scroll of 24 x 25 cm, a margin of 1 cm inclusive. It is also conceivable that the original measurements were 24 x 24 cm since in the digital reconstruction not every fragment could be gaplessly joined to the next vertically due to the sometimes strongly warped birch bark strips.

In the following graphic I tried to illustrate the original manuscript with the intended writing zone (grey), the broken off/now missing part (red) and the lines actually written on it.

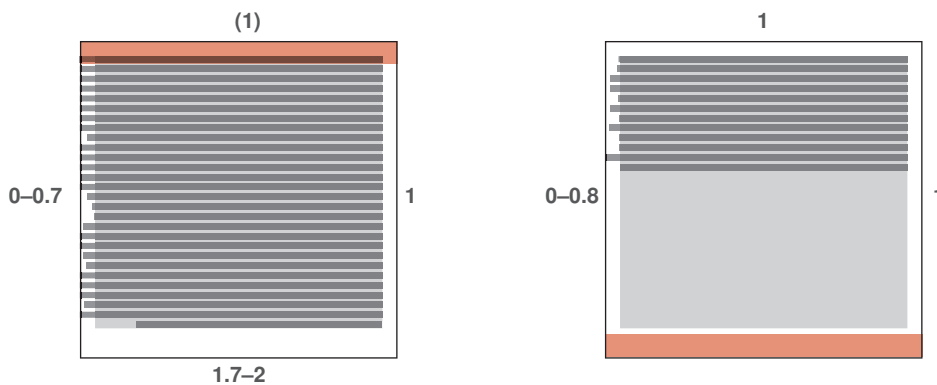


Fig. 14. Illustration of the original manuscript BC4 and its prevalent conservation status. The numbers give the height/width of the margins (in cm).

Due to the measurements and the format, the scroll can be defined as a ‘short format’. It was once folded in the middle at a ratio of approximately 11.50 : 12.50 cm – thus not exactly in the middle of the manuscript, which made it easy to allocate single strips to one side or the other. As it is to be expected within short formats, there is no evidence of any overlapping parts which have been glued together (as is the case with longer scrolls that were produced out of shorter strips). Likewise, there are no signs of needle holes indicating stitching along the margins.

On the recto, there were presumably 28 lines of writing. On the verso, definitely only 12 lines had been written. The margins are ca. 1 cm at the top (to be seen on the verso, corresponding to the height of one line), 1 cm at the right, i.e. the beginning of

the line (corresponding to three akṣaras), 0–0.7 cm at the left end of a line, and 1.7–2 cm at the bottom (to be seen on the recto, the lower half of the verso being left blank). It can be assumed that on the recto the same upper margin was adhered to. Also on the left end of a line a margin of 1 cm might have been intended, but the scribe mostly wrote till the very end of the birch bark. Each line contains about 67 akṣaras on average (making 2680 akṣaras mathematically, 40×67) of which 2379 akṣaras = ca. 89% survived.

Additional / unlocated fragments

In addition to the fragments in frame 10 and 18, some pieces which have been collected in the ‘debris’ frame (no. 35) of the Bajaur Collection could be matched to the scroll (35r l > 4r.04, 35r o > 4r.05). Judging from the content and the script, also other fragments, namely 35r m and 35r n, belong to BC4 (or BC11), but I was unable to relocate them with certainty (cf. fig. 24 on p. 38 where all the unlocated fragments, presumably belonging to BC4 or 11, have been gathered).

On the other hand, a few fragments from BC4 still await their relocation (4.2 D, O, R, AA, DD). However, their “type face” and the words contained suggest that they belong to the same manuscript. More precisely, to the top right of the reconstructed manuscript, since the verso is blank in each case and all the other fragments of the same frame 18 (part 2) have exclusively been placed there (cf. fig. 11b). In part 1 (frame 10) only two very small fragments resisted relocation. These are 4.1 W and 4.1 K, but nothing is written on them.

Fragment V in frame 18 clearly belongs to another scroll, since the surface of the birch bark and the content are different and both script and format are slightly bigger (fig. 15).



Fig. 15. Fragment V stored in frame 18 together with the fragments of BC4 (scale 100%).

The transliteration of fragment V is:

V.1 ///

V.2 /// *bhagavado pada śiraṣa vadita egadamate aḥha[e] ///*

V.3 /// ? [ma] sa trisahasae mahasahasae lo///(*gadhadue)

V.4 /// ? t[r]i ? ? ? + ? ? ? ////

The same wording occurs in BC2r. 6C.22: *yavado imasvi triṣaḥaṣ{e}e maḥaṣaḥaṣae logadhadue* and BC2r. 6C.24: *(*bha)[gavato] pada śiraṣa vadita ekamaṃte aḥhaṣa · aṣa yavada imasvi maḥaṣaḥaṣae logadhadue*. However, the script of fragment 4.2 V is different to the one applied in BC2. Further, the orthography is dissimilar (*egadamate* vs. *ekamaṃte*), although this is not sufficient enough a criterion since even in one and the same manuscript several spelling variations can occur. Also in BC3 a similar phrase can be traced (r.4 *(*bhagava)[do śiraṣa] pada vadadi bhagavado śiraṣa pada vad[i](*ta)*), but the script and the birch bark do not allow a placement of the fragment here either.

BC11

Description of the manuscript

The preservation status of the manuscript is relatively good. Only at some isolated spots along the right margin parts of the birch bark are broken off, presumably due to the folding of the manuscript, which was folded twice in equal intervals after having been rolled up. The manuscript was conserved in two frames (frames 20 and 21, cf. fig. 18–19), which were labeled part 1 and 2 during the reconstruction progress. Part 1 is a little smaller and better preserved than part 2. There are only a few small fragments alongside the bigger parts. Unfortunately, the bigger sections were not placed in the correct sequence. Both sides contain a single text written by the same scribe (5), the handwriting is rather “carelessly done” (Strauch 2007/2008: 11).

Reconstruction of the scroll

During the restoration process, different parts of the manuscript have been relocated to other positions, while they also had to be inverted sometimes. Currently, there are five sections with no discernible physical connection to each other. Although the reconstruction status of the manuscript looks satisfying, this arrangement is not the only one possible. The content does not allow any definitive sequential arrangement, since there are similar keywords in different parts which is why, theoret-

ically any individual section could be linked to any other. Because sections 1–3 are blank on the verso, their placement may be fixed (still section 1 and 2 could be interchanged but the first is shorter and more destroyed, thus most probably to be placed at the beginning), leaving only sections 4 and 5 to be interchangeable. Judging only from the content, a sequence 3r–5r–4r–4v–5v–3v might be preferred, but the physical form of the fragments, as well as the surface of the birch bark, is in favour of the current reconstruction. Furthermore, this arrangement keeps those fragments together that had been enclosed in the same frame, which suggests that they once belonged to each other.

Format and layout

The measurements of the reconstructed fragment BC11 are 15.5 x 37.5 cm according to Ingo Strauch (2008: 11). The width is in accordance with the original format as there is at least one line where the left and the right edges are preserved completely. The manuscript therefore belongs to the so-called ‘long-format’ scrolls.

In its present condition the manuscript contains 81 lines altogether – 51 on the recto, 30 on the verso² – with approximately 40 akṣaras per line (making 3240 akṣaras mathematically, 81 x 40) of which 2726 survived = ca. 84% of the presumed total amount of text. There is no evidence of any notations indicating a pre-planned layout, and repeatedly the end of a line is left blank purposely. Additionally, the text ends in the middle of the reverse side, the remainder of the side being left blank.

The margin at the start of each line corresponds to about two akṣaras. At the end of each line this surely was also intended, but the space here varies between a width of one to four akṣaras. There is no vertical line for the text boundaries, or rather the line which in other manuscripts seems to be reminiscent of a thread running from top to bottom to keep the strips of birch bark together. For example, in the long formatted scrolls BC3 and BC5 this line of ink is applied without showing any trace

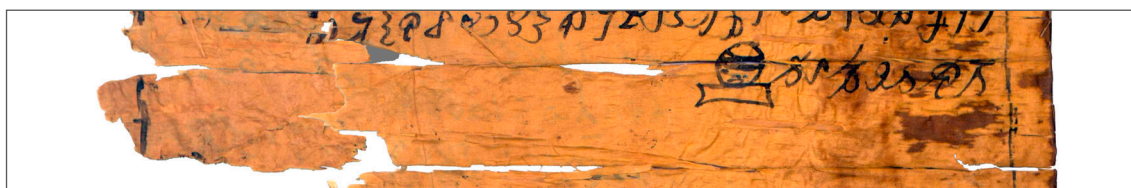


Fig. 16. Extract of BC3. The vertical line of ink at the left and right margin is reminiscent of a thread running from top to bottom in order to keep several strips of birch bark together.

2 Strauch 2007/2008: 11: “61 lines on r, 37 lines on v”.

of needle holes (cf. e.g. fig. 16), whereas these are visible in other scrolls. Vertical stitches at the margins are discernable in the Dhp-G^K scroll and also in BL1, 3A, 9, 13 and 12+14 (Salomon 1999a: 96, Allon 2001: 44, Salomon 2008a: 86, Baums 2009: 62, 68, 609); horizontal ones at the overlapping joins of two birch bark parts can be seen (at least) in BL9 and 13 (Baums 2009: 68), although in this situation the component sheets normally would have only been glued together. In BC11 at least three separate strips of birch bark had been joined together, while – seen from the recto – each upper strip of bark overlapped the respectively following piece, because sometimes the upper margin of a strip is left blank. The gaps can be seen at 11r.22/v.28 and 11r.40/v.12.

In the right margin at the middle of the reserve side (at the end of the text), the scribe added some letters vertically. It is unclear, if this is an addendum or some kind of summary.

Internally, the text is structured by smaller and bigger circles, which subdivide it into units of meaning. At the end, after the diagonal cross (resembling a saltire) which usually denotes the cipher 4, the author added another dot and a horizontal line, similar to a hyphen (○ x –). This raises the question if the cross indeed stands for “4” or whether it is used simply as another punctuation mark (cf. chapter on paleography).

Additional / unlocated fragments

From the ‘debris’ frame two fragments (two layers of birch bark which belong to each other) have been added: 35 dd + ee > 11r.33–34 / v.15–16.

There are only a few loose unlocated fragments left in frame 20 (part 1). Two of them, fragments i and k, appear to belong to BC11 but could not be allocated with certainty (cf. fig. 26). Four more fragments (f, g, h, j) most probably belong to BC2 based on the hand and the content (fig. 17).



Fig. 17. Unlocated fragments from BC11, probably belonging to BC2 (scale 100%).

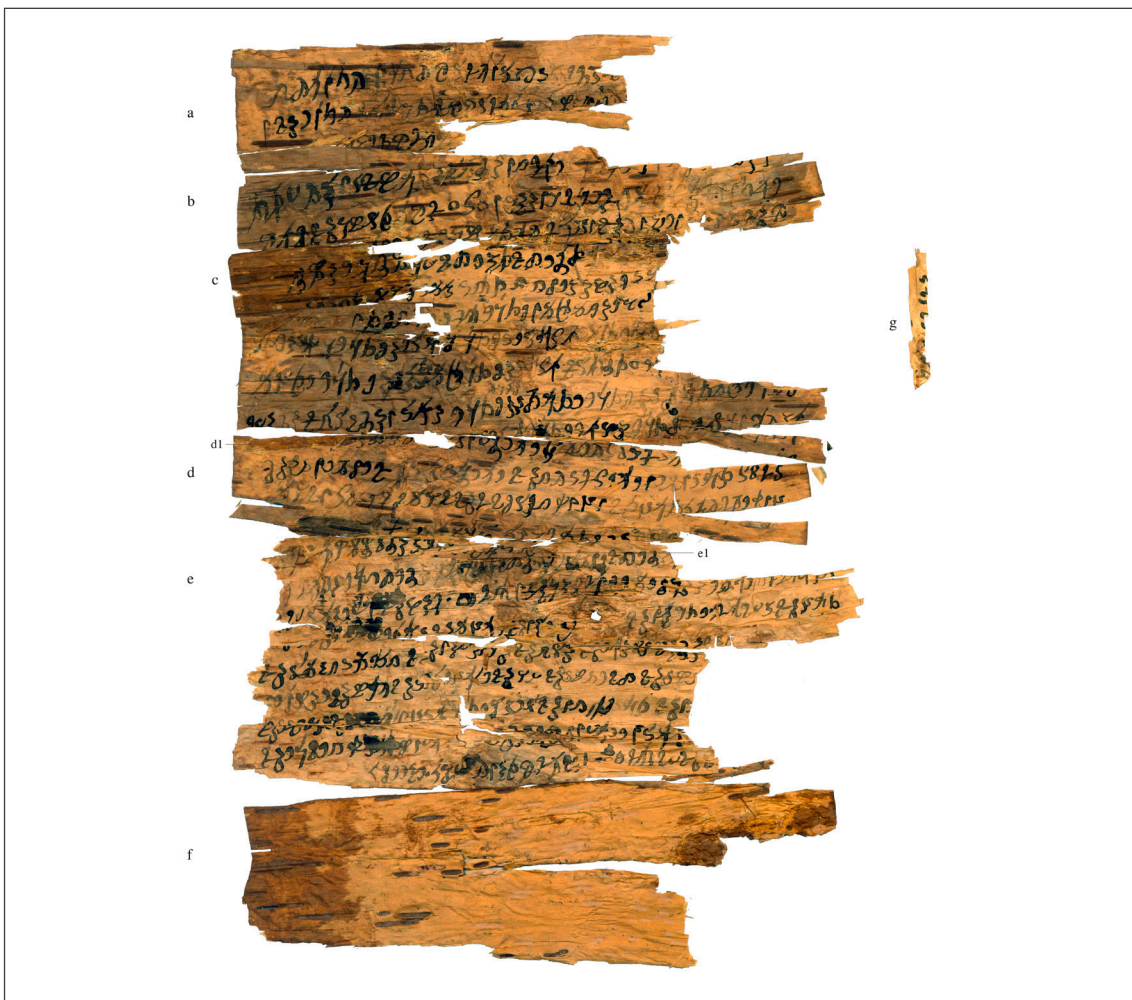
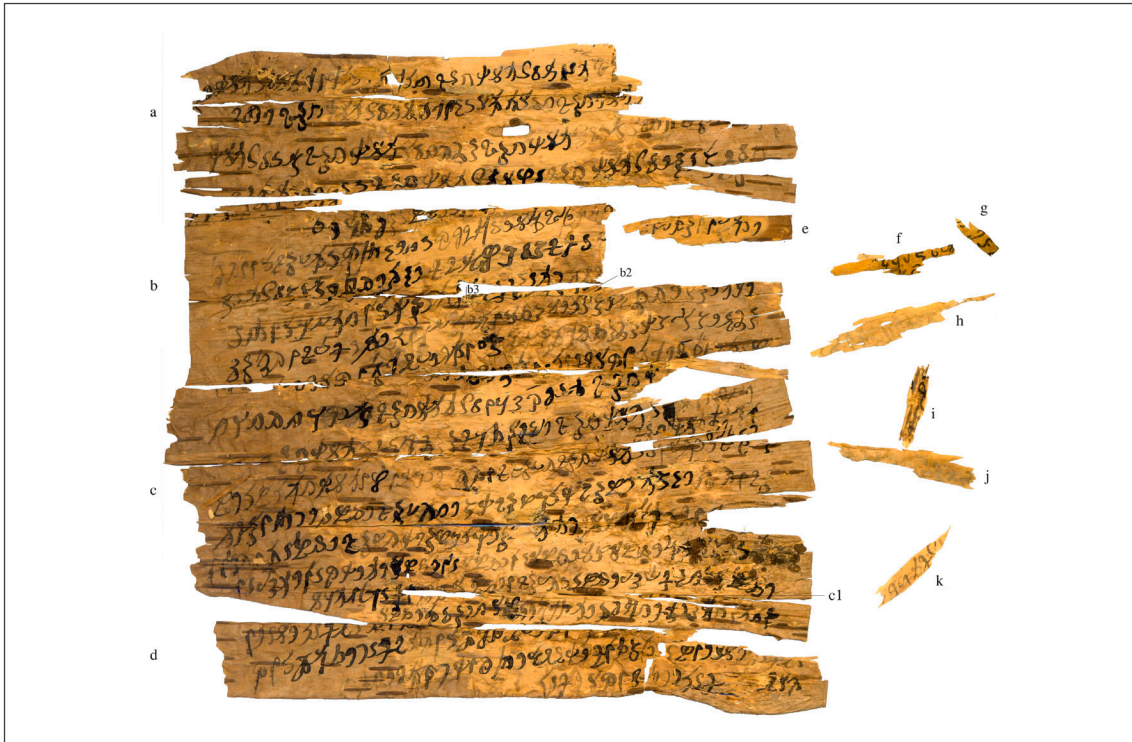


Fig. 18. BC11. Unreconstructed preservation status of the manuscript after unrolling (scale 55%). Part 1 (frame 20) and part 2 (frame 21), recto.

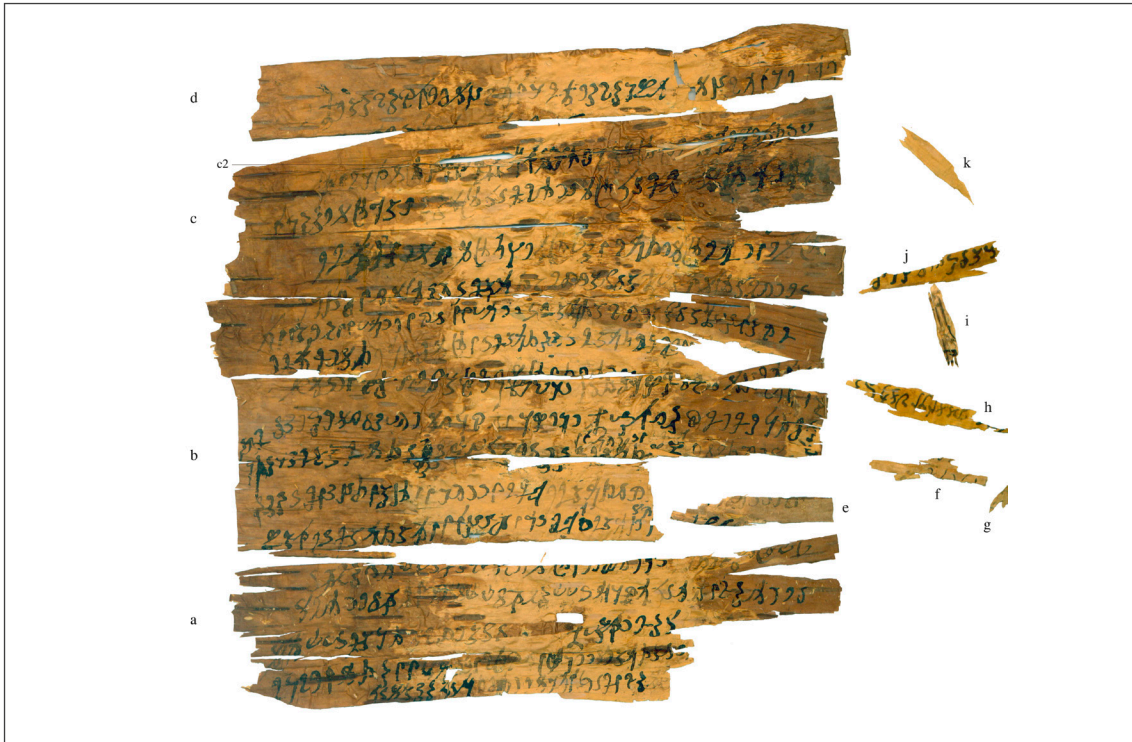


Fig. 19. BC11. Unreconstructed preservation status of the manuscript after unrolling (scale 55%). Part 1 (frame 20) and part 2 (frame 21), verso.

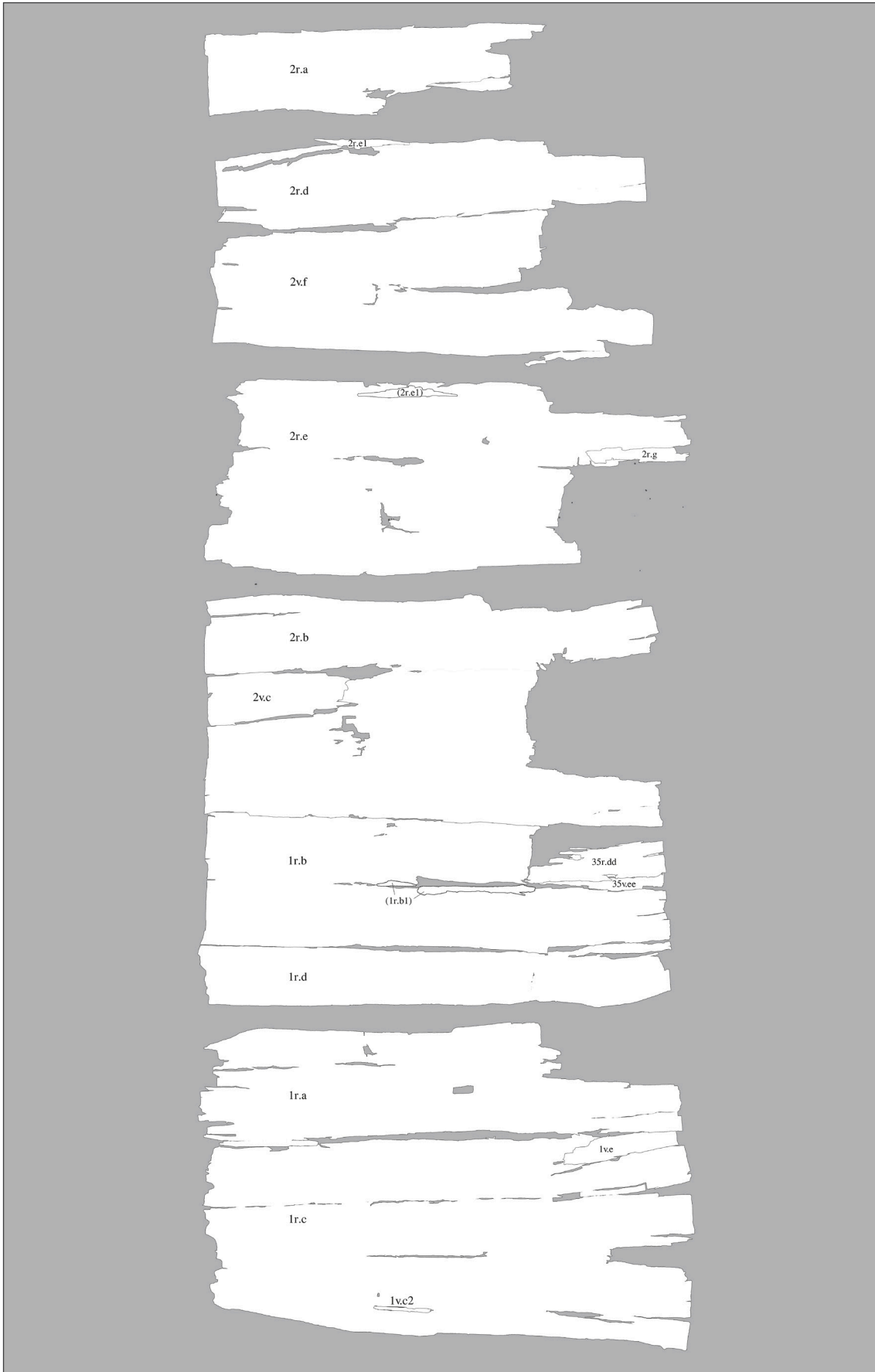


Fig. 20. BC11. Key to the reconstructed manuscript, recto (scale 55%).

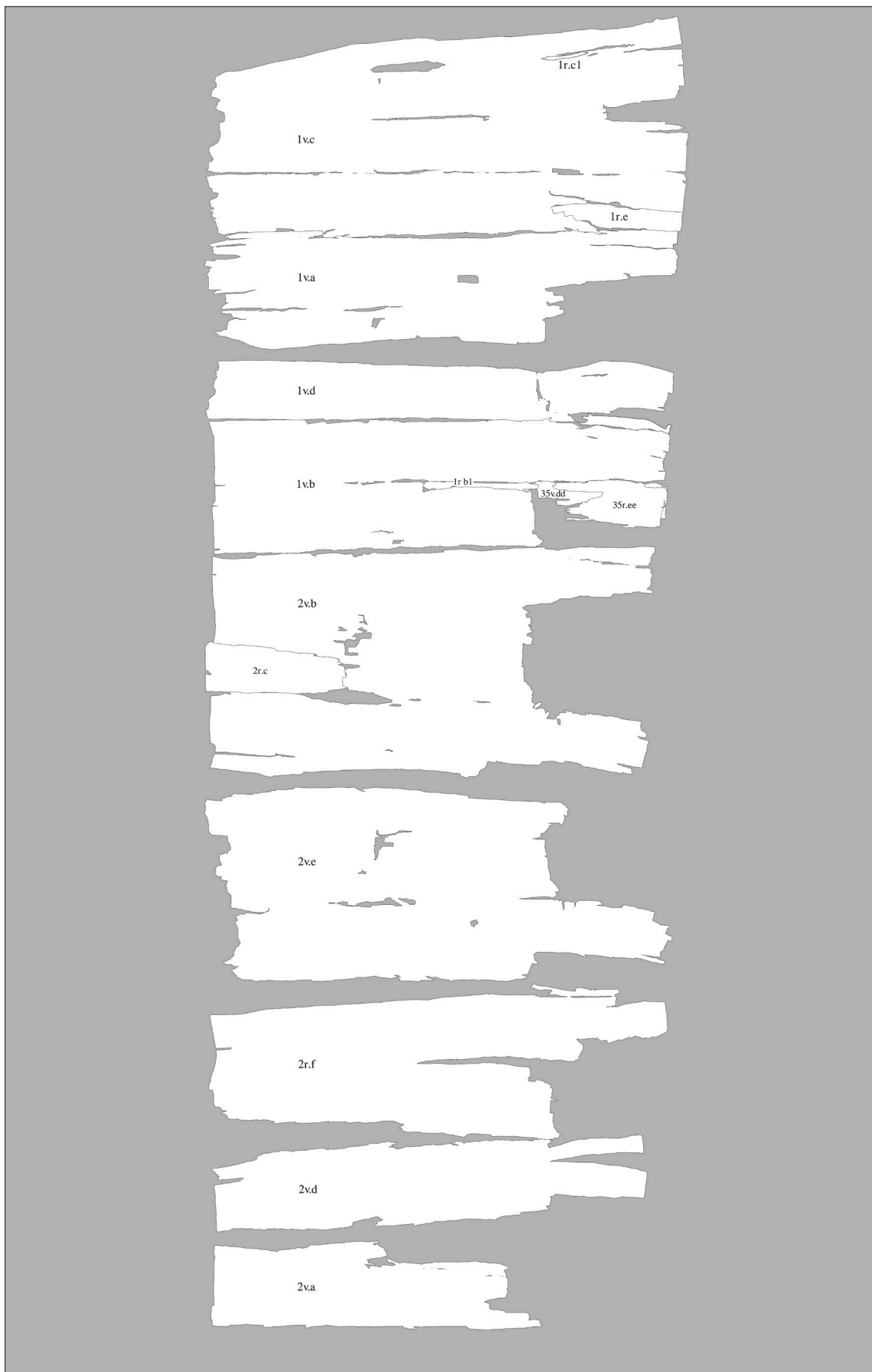


Fig. 21. BC11. Key to the reconstructed manuscript, verso (scale 55%).

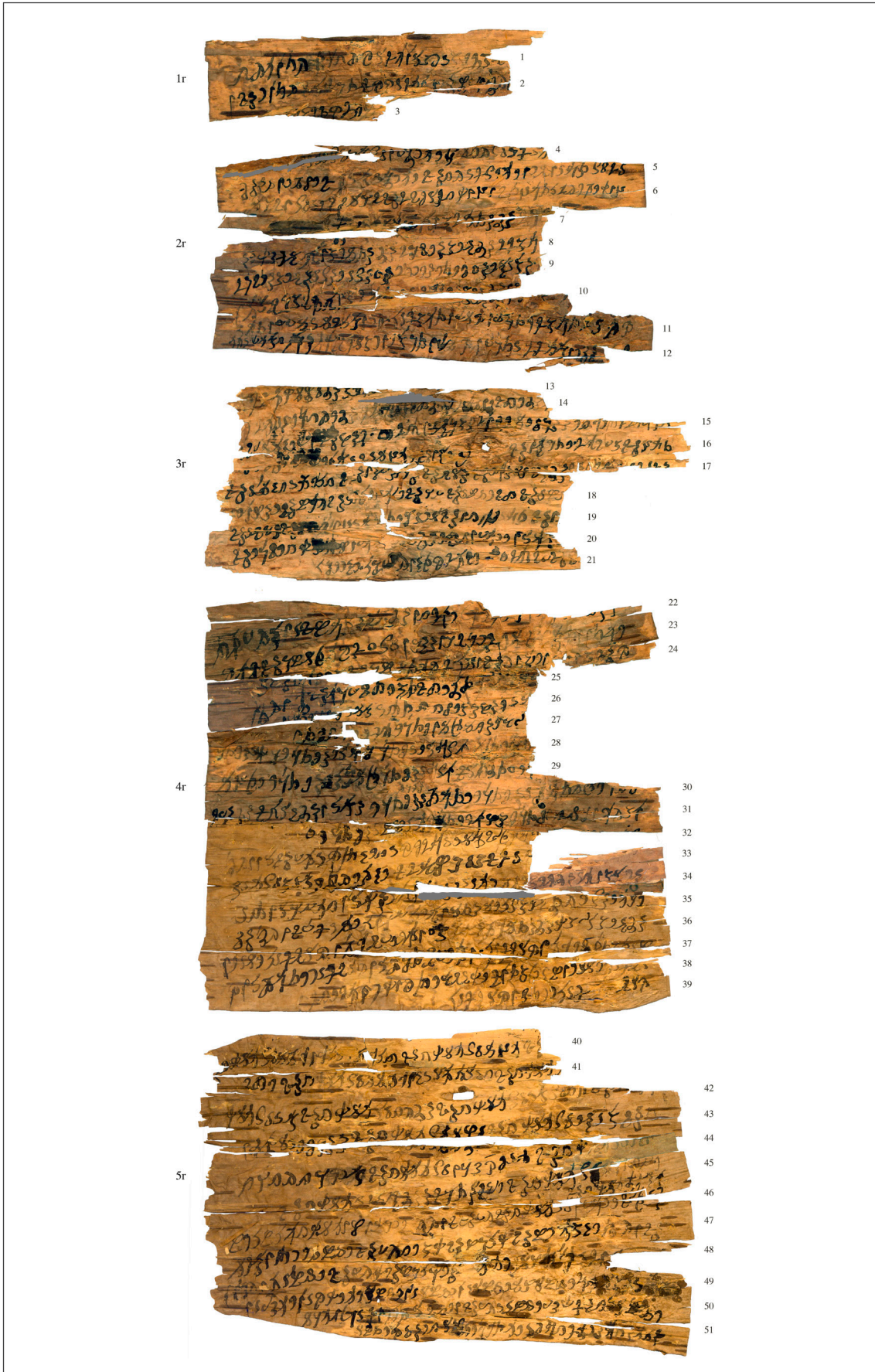


Fig. 22. BC11. Reconstructed manuscript with line and section numbers, recto (scale 55%). Dark grey areas represent overlying fragments.

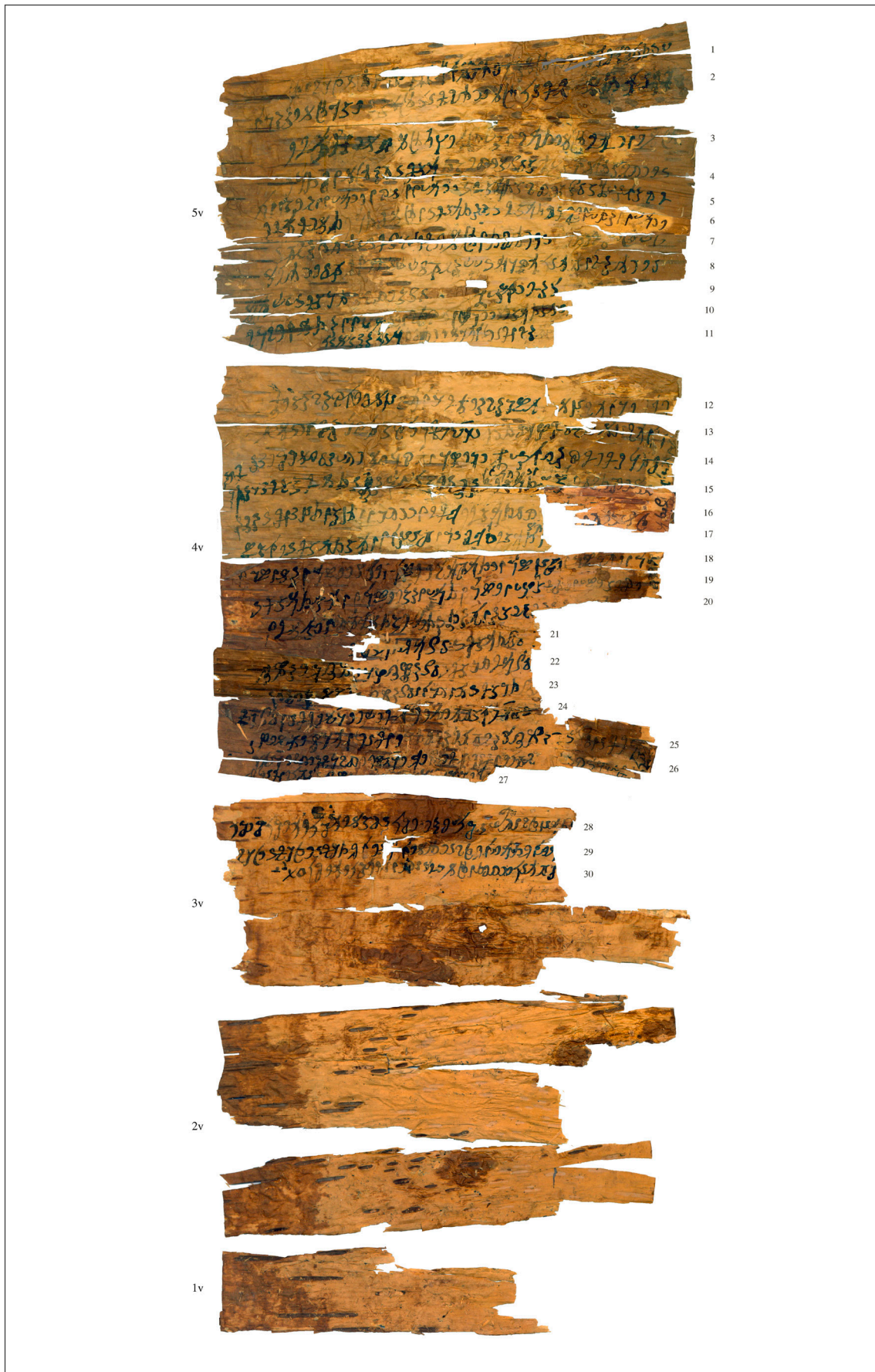
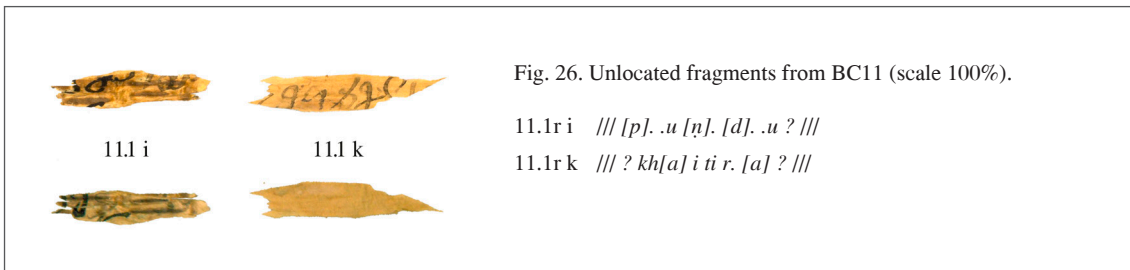
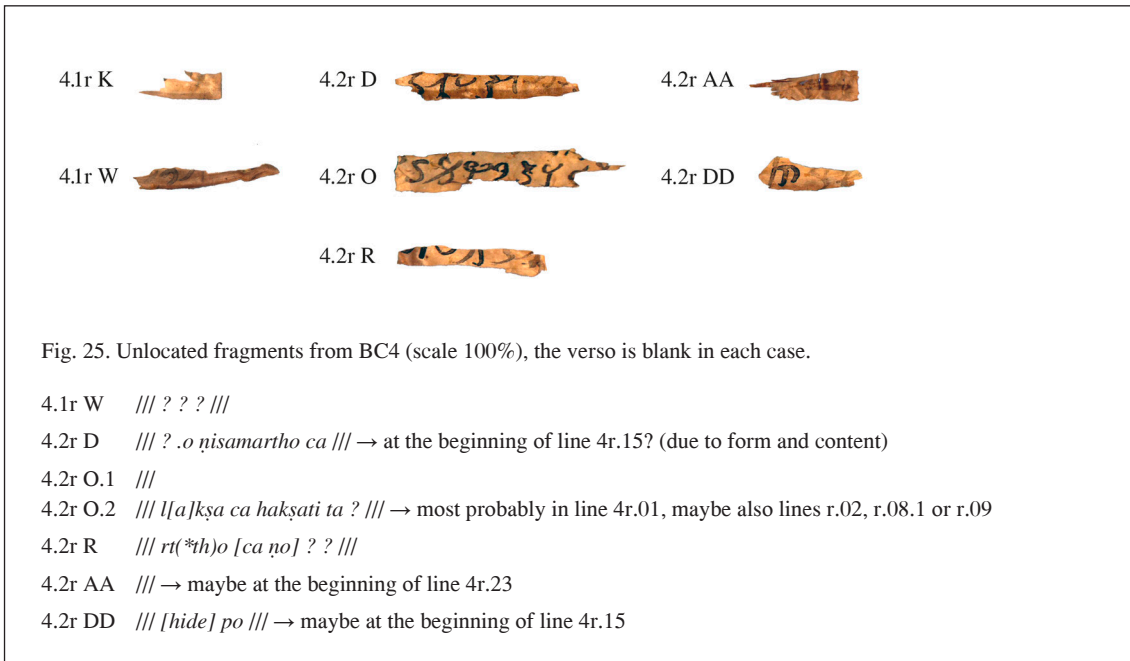
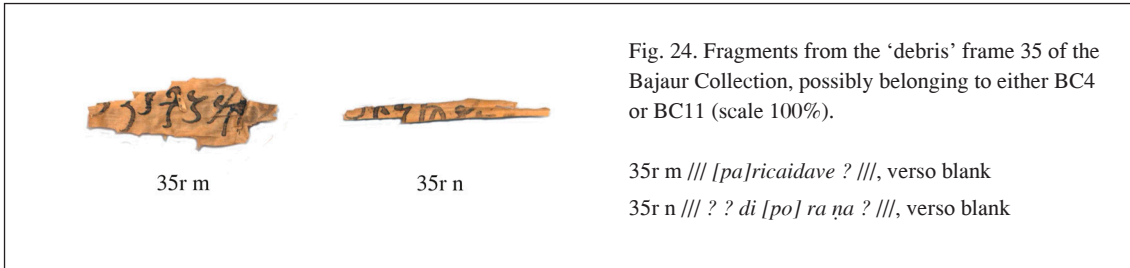


Fig. 23. BC11. Reconstructed manuscript with line and section numbers, verso (scale 55%). Dark grey areas represent overlying fragments.



3

Paleography

Writing instrument

The common writing tool in Gandhāra was probably something like a reed pen (*calamus*, cf. Bühler 1896: 92, Glass 2000: 28f.). Two pens made of copper from the 1st/2nd c. CE had been discovered in Sirkap (Taxila) and it is assumed that they were modeled on contemporary pens made out of more perishable material (Marshall 1951, II: 598, pl. 173, no. 340 and 341; for the dating cf. Erdosy 1990). When pressed onto the document such a pen leaves a small linear indentation within the stroke of ink. In BC4 and 11 this indentation is not exactly in the middle but to the left side of the stroke (see fig. 27).

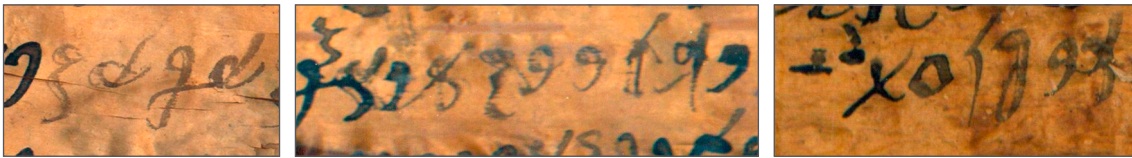


Fig. 27: Split letter strokes as examples for the use of a reed-like pen as writing instrument, (a, b) BC4 and (c) BC11.

A further indication of the use of such a writing utensil can be seen in the scribe's need to re-ink every few characters. This results in a decrease of ink intensity at regular intervals (BC4: every 15 akṣaras, BC11: every 12–14 akṣaras, see fig. 28). In BC4 the darkness of the ink is much more uniform, and hence the places where the pen has been recharged with ink are not so easily discernible. In general, BC4 is more carefully written, whereas in BC11 several ink blots spoil the manuscript (see fig. 29).

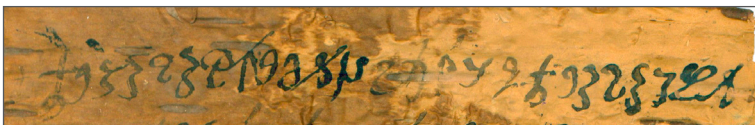


Fig. 28: Decrease of ink intensity, BC11.



Fig. 29: Ink blots, BC11.

Every now and then the pen seems to have been re-sharpened, because some individual letters have variable stroke widths (indicative of a sharpened pen), while others

have relatively equal strokes with rounded edges (indicative of a softer nib), see fig. 29. It is remarkable that the direction of the strokes is not always the same. There are indications of upward strokes, which would hardly be possible with a sharpened pen, and most likely only possible with a softened nib, with an edge similar to a brush (cf. Glass 2007: 85).



Fig. 29: Ductus of BC11, once with varying stroke width and once with constant wide one.

General features of the hand

In his preliminary catalogue (2008) Ingo Strauch characterized the script of BC4 and BC11 as a “small, flowing hand with a tendency towards cursivity, sometimes letters are connected” (scribe 5). The same scribe is believed to have also written BC18 (Strauch 2007/2008: 13). But the letter forms of scribe 5 are also similar to those of other scribes/manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection, listed in the following overview:

Table 6. Similar scribes to scribe 5 of BC4 and BC11.

scribe	5	5	5	8	12	13	14	18	18	19	19
BC	4	11	18	8	12	13r	13v	14	16	6	19

All of these manuscripts are scholastic texts, with the exception of the Prātimokṣasūtra in two versions (BC13) and the four verses praising Śākyamuni (BC8). Although these scripts are similar, they are not identical with scribe 5 (marked in light grey in table 6).¹ Regarding the others, observable differences are less remarkable, and it might be asked whether in fact only one scribe was responsible for all of these manuscripts.² The letters in BC12 (scribe 12) are written more carefully and upright compared to BC4/11, which alone does not necessarily imply a different scribe, but could have been the result of a different writing material. Nevertheless, the form of *ka* is rather different and thus this manuscript is not taken into further consideration (despite its resemblance to BC14, 16). The scripts of BC6, 18 and 19 however look very similar to BC4/11. The glyphs in BC14 and 16 are also similar, but a little more elongated than the others (one side of BC14 looks like BC4/11, the other side looks more like

-
- 1 The script of BC8 is similar but clearer and much more carefully done. The individual letters of BC13r are written more separately and show clearer forms with a downturn at the bottom. The glyphs of BC13v are likewise more separate and carefully written, and the downturns are straighter than in BC13r.
 - 2 According to Strauch 2007/2008: 14, the short descriptions are: Scribe 12 (BC12): Flowing, slanting hand with a developed tendency towards cursivity, very similar and possibly identical with scribe 4 [BC3]. Scribe 18 (BC14, 16): Flowing hand with relatively high, prolonged letters and a tendency towards cursivity. Very similar to, but obviously different from scribe 5. Scribe 19 (BC6, 19): Bold, upright and flowing hand, similar to, but obviously different from scribe 12.

BC16). Still, all fragments could have been written by the same scribe, if we take into consideration that the writing surface and implement also has an impact on the appearance of a hand. Furthermore, an individual's handwriting is not necessarily the same from one day to the next. The future study of the remaining scholastic texts (BC6, 14, 16, 18, 19) will elucidate this matter further and help to sort these fragments more reliably according to their content.³

In general, the script of scribe 5 (BC4/11) has a “somewhat ragged” appearance due to slightly inconsistent letter dimensions, interlinear insertions and a varying amount of ink. Despite this, the writing is mostly legible, even though some letters, or rather ligatures, are difficult to differentiate. Uncertain readings remain only where the manuscript itself is no longer intact.

The whole scroll BC4 seems to have been written rather quickly (judging by the cursive and combined letters). After which, in a revision process, the same scribe likely added some of the numbers 1–6 (namely: 1, 3, 5) and the interlinear notes. The lines are relatively horizontal, the slant of verticals is ca. -20° , and the pen angle (i.e. the angle the broad stroke makes to the writing line) ca. $10\text{--}22^\circ$. The natural pen angle for a right handed person using a square nib is normally $30\text{--}45^\circ$, but since the manuscript itself may have been rotated, the angle would be about $10\text{--}20^\circ$ softer (Glass 2007: 87). This in total corresponds to our manuscript, and therefore an angled cutting of the nib is not to be expected here (as in the case of the scribe of RS5 studied by Andrew Glass), which was a later scribal practice in India (see Lambert 1953: 5 and Johnston 1971: 71f. according to Glass 2007: 87).

In BC11, the lines of writing arc downwards as they progress leftwards – especially on the recto side, where the difference between the start and end level is almost two lines. According to Andrew Glass (2006: 90) this shows that the scribe wrote with his right hand, “which would presumably have been the case for all Kharoṣṭhī scribes, given cultural taboos on writing with the left hand”. The slant of verticals is here ca. -20° or rather -15° . Together with the downwards slanting orientation of lines this suggests that the manuscript might have been slightly rotated to the left for comfort. The pen angle is ca. $15\text{--}30^\circ$ and rather than assuming a further angled cutting of the nib when compared to BC4, this might also be assumed to be due to the rotation of the manuscript.

.....
 3 The distribution might be: BC4, 6, 11 and BC 14, 16, 18, 19 belonging together (there are similar words in BC18 and BC19), and BC12 being separate, as also BC9v as the last scroll of the final of the Bajaur Collection scrolls containing a scholastic text.




Foot marks




In general, there are no ‘footmarks’ as commonly observed in the British Library Collection (cf. table 12 in Glass 2007: 89),⁴ although in one or two writings of the initial letter *e* a survival of it can be seen. Normally, the downstroke stem ends straight or has a slight curve to the left, in the writing direction. When the letter is written with a curve to the right, this is marked with an underbar in the transliteration, e.g. *ḡ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ̣*, *ṣ̣̣*, *ṣ̣̣̣*. Phonetically, this additional diacritic marks an intervocalic consonant which supposedly was pronounced differently. Additionally, there are a few instances of unusual footmarks in glyphs for *ṇ*- without any apparent phonetic significance.

Notation of selected akṣaras

For an overall survey of the hand of scribe 5 see table 8 at the end of this chapter. In the following, only those letters with various, ambiguous or unusual notations will be described. They are ordered according to the traditional (Sanskrit) *varṇamālā*.

Vowel marks

-*e*. This vowel mark is normally written as a straight or slightly bent downstroke above a base sign. In some cases (initial *e*, *ñe*, *he*), however, it can be attached horizontally to the stem of the downstroke instead of diagonally at the top. The only clear occurrence of *ñe* can be found in BC4 (4r.18.2 *añe*) ; another incomplete one in 4r.18.1 *śuñe*. Within the Bajaur Collection the other variant does also occur (BC2 (2rA7)  , BC7 (r02) ). The *ñe* with the horizontal stroke is known as well from BL5B (cf. Salomon 2000: 58, table 2) or BL9 (cf. Baums 2009: 92 and 104) and similarly (but written with only one stroke) from Niya #310.

-*u*. In BC11 the word *sudhu* is written three times, twice with the *-u* in the normal form (11r.12, 11r.12 ) and once with an additional semicircle below (11v1.11 ). This could be interpreted as an anusvāra, but since the other two are clearly written as *°dhu* and the scribe does not use an anusvāra very often, this has been transcribed as *sudh[u]*. In combination with *ṇ*- there is one unusual vowel marker in 11r.14  (*a[ṇu]bhaviea*).

4 “The use of footmarks seems to be restricted to scribes of group A” (Strauch 2007/2008: 13). Group A refers here to the division of the scripts “depending on their relationship to cursivity”: A “prefers the older, archaic *ka*”; B “use[s] the younger shape of the *ka*”.

Basic signs

a. The head of the initial *a* mostly forms a curve. This can be open or closed. When it is open, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether an *a* or a *va* was intended. Ideally, the *a* is rather round at the top and curved downwards, and the *va* is more straight. The difference can be seen in the writing of *valia* in BC4 (4r.12.2, 4r.13.2).



e. Throughout both manuscripts different “stages” of writing the initial *e* are applied, ranging from archaic (both with or without ‘footmark’) to cursive: $\text{𐭪} / \text{𐭫} > \text{𐭬} / \text{𐭭} > \text{𐭮}$. No difference in meaning, relationship to the content or position within a word can be observed. The single-stroke version tends to be used more often. The first documented occurrence of this is from Takht-i Bahi (CKI 53, [Azes] 103 = 56/57 CE) according to Glass 2000: 46.

o. Initial *o* is written with two strokes or only one (see table 11). The single-stroke-version is already known from the BL fragments.

k-. This akṣara is written in the cursive way being relatively round at the top 𐭯 , similar to 𐭰 , which makes it sometimes difficult to differentiate between the two. Especially in the case of *śaki* 𐭱 (4r.13.1, 4r.13.2, 4r.14.1) it was uncertain to read *ki* or *ṣi* at first sight, however especially with the addition of an *i*-vowel marker the head of the 𐭰 - would have been closed, as observed elsewhere in both manuscripts.

g/g-. Three forms of *ga/ga* are applied: (1) with a straight downstroke 𐭲 , (2) with a curved downstroke, open to the left 𐭳 , or (3) with a additional stroke at the bottom to the right, attached at an acute angle 𐭴 .

(1) The *ga* with a straight downstroke is used very rarely, namely only twice in BC11 (*ga[d]a* 11v.25 𐭲 and *gachae* 11r.13 𐭲 , although already slightly bent) and probably once in BC4 (*gaga* 4r.12.2 – if at all, as the ink here might just be blurred, and it may also have had a curved downstroke). This rather archaic form is furthermore used when vowel markers for *-i*, *-e* and *-o* are added. The only exception is *agicaṇa* (4v.06.2) which is written in the third variant.

(2) The *ga* with a curved downstroke is normally used at the beginning of words (BC11 *ga[d]a*, *gachae*, *gamaṇa*) or compound elements (BC11 *a-sa-gaṇa*, *sa-gaṇa*,

B04 *su-gadiṇa*). However there are exceptions where it is written with *g* after a morpheme boundary: *a-gamaṇa*, *aṅ-a-gada* or *a-gicaṇa*. Based on these examples, it can be said that *g* is written after *-ṃ* or vowels except *-ā* and *g* in all other cases. Further this form is applied when going back to an OIA cluster *ṅg* (BC4 *gaga*) or *gn* (BC4 *ṇagao*).

(3) The *ga* with the attached rightward stroke at the bottom denotes a voiced velar in intervocalic position. The spellings are: BC4 *-l(*o)ga-*, *[bha]gado*, *aṇagada*, *aṇagad[e]*, *jaḡariana*, *agicaṇa*. BC11 *atogada~*, *[a]didaaṇagadapracupanehi*, *agamana*, *pradiḡarasuhe*, *-agareṇa*. Once in *vera[gr]a* (11r.46) the *[gr]* is a mixture between *gra* and *ga*, looking very similar to the preceding *vivega-*, but since the other instances of *veragra* (11r.47, 11r.48) are more clearly written with *gra*, it is consistently transliterated here as such.

gh-. The *gh* is written in the cursive way, i.e. the first stroke forms the upper loop and the right arm. The second stroke builds the stem.




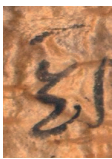






c̄-. The modified *ca* in *paḡca = paścāt* is written with a horizontal line above it and with a stroke at the bottom bent to the right. In BC4r.28.1 the superscript line is not visible since the manuscript is broken off above , but I assume it was also there. For reasons of consistency it has been transcribed as *c̄* as in BC11r.25 . According to Glass (2000: 62) “[t]his modified form of *ca* has been observed only in later materials, such [as] the Niya documents and the Schøyen collection”. In the meantime, however, several attestations in earlier material have been found, including the BL Collection.⁵ Also in the Bajaur Collection it is abundantly used for OIA *śc* but also for normal *c*. The foot at the bottom is thereby sometimes distinctively extended to the right, sometimes applied only as a small hook or not written at all.

Table 7. Forms of *c̄a* in the Bajaur Collection.

with rightward extension ('underbarred')				with small hook		without footmark	
							
BC11	BC8	BC5	BC9	BC9	BC9	BC2	BC9

5 It seems to be written in BL4 (*paḡamukho*), BL15 (*a[ḡari]a*) as well as in the Senior Collection (*aḡaria* RS4A, *sapaḡliḡa* RS20) and the Library of Congress scroll (*aḡaria*) (all according to gandhari.org and not yet published).

In BC2 and BC9 we have the superscript form (𑀓 BC2) as familiar from the Niya documents and the Schøyen Collection (cf. Glass 2000: 62). Within BC4, 5, 8, 11 we have the superscript + underbarred form (𑀓 BC5, 𑀓 BC8).⁶ BC9 has both (𑀓 𑀓 𑀓) but in its application *ca* and *cā* are interchangeable here. As in an earlier document, namely BL1, preconsonantal *r* is written in cases where later on the superscript line is being used (*parce* = *paścāt*), it seems plausible that the underbarred form may have developed graphically from this preconsonantal *r*.⁷ Later in time, this would have been replaced by a general superscript line which could be applied to other signs universally (cf. Baums 2009: 200). Thus, the forms with both – superscript line and underbar – would be reminiscent of an only underbarred character after the introduction of the universal superscript stroke.

j-. This character is written without lifting the pen, sometimes resulting in a loop at the top 𑀓. The down stroke is sometimes straight, sometimes bent to the left 𑀓. The difference between *ja* and *da* 𑀓 is occasionally hard to tell, and also *kṣ* can look very similar when it is written in one stroke 𑀓 (see examples below).



j̄-. The glyph with superscript line is only used for *-dhy-* / P *-jjh-* in *aṅatvia* (BC11), but *maje* (= *madhya*~ / P *majjha*~) is written with normal *j*.

t̄-. Originally, this letter was constructed out of three strokes (cf. the forms in BC7 𑀓 and BC5 𑀓). In BC4/11 (and likewise in BC2, 16, 17) it is written with one stroke resulting in two acute angles at the top and bottom: 𑀓 4v.12.2, 𑀓 11r.2.6.

6 The underbarred *ca* (without superscript line) seems so far to be attested only in the Senior Collection in position of initial singular *c-* (e.g. *cito* RS10, *cedaṣa* RS24, *caḍoṇa* RS7, gandhari.org). However, it could be that this variant also exists in other manuscripts, but is not currently transliterated as such (rather *cā*, or simply *ca*).

7 There is, however, one instance in the texts written by this scribe (BL scribe 1) where he already uses the superscript line: *viojīta* = **vibudhyitvā* (Salomon 2008a: 97). Cf. also Baums 2009: 197f. regarding graphical devices marking long consonants and consonant clusters. The superscript line is, for example, used for *c̄* < *śc*, *j̄* < *dhy*, *ṣ̄* < *ṣṇ* or *ṣ̄* < *sn*. Other markers for consonant clusters include preconsonantal *r* (*rñ* < *jñ* in *prarñā* < *prajñā*, *rc* < *śc* and *rṇ* < *ṣṇ*, BL scribe 1 of BL1, cf. Salomon 2008a: 97) or postconsonantal *v* [i.e. an ‘underbarred’ form, marked here additionally underlined] (*idhvivisa* < *ṛddhividhā*, *prasva* < *praśna*, *adhva* (Baums) / *ardha* (Salomon) < *addhā*).

ṭh- / ḥh-. This character is written in the usual way: *ṭh* for OIA *ṣṭ(h)*, and *ḥh* for OIA *sth*.⁸ There is one exception where *ḥha* is written for original retroflex: BC4 *p[aḍitiḥha]* = *pratiṣṭhā*, but apparently derivatives of $\sqrt{sthā}$ could be written with *ḥha* as well (cf. *vaḥhasa* = BHS *upatiṣṭhatha*, BL1 / AG-G^L 60, Salomon 2008a: 126).

ḍ / ḍ̣-. There are three variants. The first two (*ḍ*) only differ in a straight or slightly bent downstroke 𑀓 𑀔 . Both are used for the same phoneme going back to OIA / MIA *ṇḍ* or *ṭ*.⁹ The third variant (*ḍ̣*) has the bottom bent to the right 𑀕 , corresponding to Skt. *prati-* / P *paṭi-*, *ḍ(ḍ)*, *ḍh* / P *ḷh* (?) and probably also *l*.¹⁰

ḍh-. This character, 𑀖 , looks similar to *ṭ* 𑀗 or also *ḍ(i)* 𑀘 but the bottom is clearly rounded and the top stroke rather horizontal than slanted. The same form can be seen in BC13 corresponding to Skt. *kaṭhina* or *ūḍha*. In bending the foot rightwards it further delineates from its original form which can still be seen in BC9 𑀙 . There the stem is attached to the middle of the top stroke and the bottom is slightly bent to the left. In BC5 the bottom is still open to the left 𑀚 , but the top is already in the cursive form, where the downstroke starts at the right of the top-stroke.

t / d-. Often the glyphs for *ta* and *da* are difficult to differentiate, especially when an *i*-diacritic is added. In uncertain cases the transliterations were based on etymological grounds rather than by their mere outward appearance. Nevertheless, they tend to be interchangeable and their phonetic value may have merged already. Once, in BC4, a modified *t* is written (𑀛 *hakṣaṭi* 4r.12.2 = *bhaviṣyanti*). Also in BC11 there is a similar modified form 𑀜 in *aparibhu[t]asa* (11r.30) = *paribhuktasya*, possibly also in the preceding *paribhu[t]asa* (11r.30) but the ink is faded here. In other editions (e.g. Salomon 2000: 66) where the same ‘footmark’ (type 7 according to Glass 2000: 22) is occasionally applied, no distinction has been made in the transliteration. Nevertheless, it might be helpful for further studies to mark those occurrences, maybe by *t̃* (‘acute accent below’) in the case of *hakṣaṭi* (< OIA *nt*) and *ṭ* (‘grave accent below’) in the case of *paribhuṭasa* (< OIA *kt*).

8 G *ṭh* for OIA *ṣṭ*: *dr̥ṣṭha-* < *dr̥ṣṭa-*, *paribhaṭha* < *paribhāṣṭa-*, *śiṭha* < *śiṣṭa-*; G *ḥh* for OIA *ṣṭh*: *praṭiṭha[vamaṇa]* < *pratiṣṭhā-*, *suṭhu* < *suṣṭhu*; G *ḥh* for OIA *sth*: *lahuḥhaṇaṇa* < *laghusthāna-*, *ḥhaṇa* < *sthāna-*.

9 BC4 *boṣimaḍa* / *moṣimaḍa*, *tri[koḍ]i*; BC11 *ga[ḍ]a*, *pa[m]ḍidaṇa*, *pa[m]ḍita*.

10 BC4 *ḍacite* < ?, *paḍiladha* < *prati-* / P *paṭi-*, *praodidave* < *-ḍ(ḍ)-*; BC11 *amuḍa-* < *ḍh* / P *ḷh* (?), *caduraguḍiēhi* < *l* (or *ḍ* ?), *-hoḍe-* < *ḍh*, *muḍeasa* < *ḍh* / P *ḷh* (?).

d-. The diacritic vowel *-e* is normally attached rather to the top of the basic sign **ꣳ**. In BC11 there is a bigger variety ranging from top to bottom: **ꣳ ꣳ ꣳ**.

ṇ-. As in most other Gāndhārī manuscripts no distinction is made between original retroflex and dental nasals. In BC4/11 only the glyph which originally denoted retroflex *ṇ* is used (presumably “because it is quicker to write”, Glass 2007: 97). There are a few peculiar ‘footmarks’ added to *ṇa*: **ꣳ** [*pa*][*i*]**oṣe** · *ṇa hakṣati* 4r.03.2, **ꣳ** *triṇa* 4v.06.2, **ꣳ** [*ṣpri*]**ṣaṇaṇa** (last akṣara) 4v.07.2.

bh-. Generally, the glyph for *bh* is written with two strokes, whereby the first one consists of a straight horizontal line which then goes down in a curve. The second stroke builds the stem (e.g. **ꣳ** 11r.37). In 11r.30 it is written differently insofar that the first stroke goes to the right and then down as the stem. Afterwards, a semicircle was attached to the right **ꣳ** (*bhu*).

y-. This character is written with two strokes. In most cases it is rather round at the top **ꣳ**, but there are also few instances where it shows an acute angle **ꣳ**. In comparison with test letters from other manuscripts (table 15, Glass 2007: 106) it is to be placed between the BL and the RS manuscripts, being nearer to the latter. The *terminus post quem* for this form is the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa era.

r-. The *ra* can be written either flat at the top **ꣳ** or slightly curved **ꣳ**. The latter may be confused with *ḍa* if the context is not clear (e.g. **ꣳ** in *-saṣaraṇa-* 11r.23, **ꣳ** in *-dha[r]aṇa-* 11r.44). When vowel markers like *-i* or *-e* are added, the flat form is being used, *ru* is written with both variants.

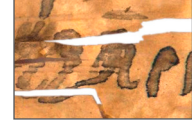
ś/ṣ-. There are two forms, one with a straight or slightly left-bent right leg **ꣳ** and one with a slightly right-bent right leg **ꣳ**. The distribution is as follows (words with both spellings are marked bold):

ś-: BC4: *aṇuśaśa~*, ***aṇuśaśidava***, ***(a)kuśala~***, *deśidavo*, *śaki*, *śeṣae*, *śuṇa~*,
(a)śuha, *śoa*; + future forms: *a[t]araṣaiśati*, *upajiśa[ti]*, *cariśe*,
bhikṣiśe, *vaiśadi*

BC11: *aṇuśaśa*, *avaśi/avaśa*, ***akuśale***, *ṇaśadi*, ***ṇaśida***, *paśita*, *bhaviśadi*,
maha[ś]ie, *vidimiśa*, *śali*, *śiṭha*, *śida*, *śile*, *śuṇagareṇa*, *(a)śuha~*

- ś-: BC4: *iśemi, (a)kuśalāna, deśa~, deśamaṇa, ṇa[śae], ṇaśā[e], ṇaśe, ṇaśea, ṇaśee, viśadi, śaśidava, (a)[śpri]śaṇaṇa*
 BC11: *-aś[r]ea-, kuśale[ṇa], [su]deśa-, de[ś]e, deśehi, ṇaśie[a], ṇaśida, ṇaśe, ṇaśeati, mahaśie*

Once (4r.25.2) *ṇaśae* is written with an additional horizontal stroke above it (cf. Lenz 2010: 55f.), leading to a complicated but consequent transliteration *ṇaś̄[ae]*.



ṣ/ṣ̄-. There are two types of this character, similar to ś/ś̄ and g/ḡ. The first is written with a straight or slightly left-bent stem \mathcal{D} , the second with a kind of footmark where the tip of the stem is bent to the right \mathcal{P} . The distribution is as follows:





- ṣ- BC4: *miṣo, śaśadaeṇa, śaha*
 BC11: *piṣita, śadimeṇa, śade/śado, śa[śa]dae*
 ṣ̄- BC4: *(a)sapurusa~, -niśaṇa, paribhaśidava~, su-paribhaśidavo, paribhaśehi, miṣo, śaśidava, śeśae*
 BC11: *amiśa, uaniśa, uśata, eśa, edeśa, tuśe, teśa, dośa, pośaṇa, bheśaje, viśija[ji]ta, śahi*

A theoretically reasonable rule “ṣ in the beginning, ṣ̄ in intervocalic position” is proved wrong by the writings *miṣo, śaśadae(ṇa), piṣita* and *śahi*.














ṣ̄-. A superscript line is used to denote OIA *ṣṇ* in *śida-uśa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-* (BC11r1.13).




s/s̄/s̄̄-. Both types of *s* are used (the ‘normal’ \mathcal{S} and the ‘corkscrew’ \mathcal{Z}). A third ‘underbarred’ variety \mathcal{S} appears in BC4 *[a]śivaśidae* (for more details see chapter on phonology). Another unusual extension applied to *śa* can be seen in 11v.15 *-saparaia[śa]* \mathcal{S} . In two instances it is uncertain if *sa* is a scribal mistake for *ta*, and if it perhaps should be transcribed as \underline{t} (*yava[s]a* 11r.51 \mathcal{S} , *śpabhavasa* 4v.11.1 \mathcal{S}). However, both forms are similarly formed to other certain instances of *sa*, and the *yava[s]a* could in fact correspond to *yavasa/sya* (see text notes), leaving only *śpabhavasa* to be either transcribed \underline{t} or explained as a misspelling.¹¹





11 For the irregular development $t > s$ cf. Glass 2007: 116. For $t > s$ (being a scribal mistake) in the Senavarman and Indravarman inscription cf. Falk 2003a: 577 (*solite = tolitaḥ, -samughaso = -samudghāto, pratiḥhavisā = pratiṣṭhāpita, śiasi = śiati*) and Falk 2014: 17.


h-. The glyphs for *hu* or *ho* are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Originally, *hu* has a small circle/semicircle  and *ho* a straight short line , but sometimes this line is shaped in between like a slightly bent stroke ( *bahu* 11r.23,  *sahoro* 4v.12.2). Both, *hu* and *ho*, are used for the same words, e.g. *śpaho/śpahu*, *amaho/amahu*, indicating that also in pronunciation the two were very similar.

Conjunct consonants

-ṃ (anusvāra). In the case of *sapati* it is sometimes difficult to tell with certainty if the scribe intended to write an anusvāra or not. Where it would be possible to read one:  *sapati* 4r.14.2,  *sapati* 4r.17.1 and also  *sahoro* 4v.12.2. However, the *sa* in other words where no nasal is to be expected is also written similarly:  *sata* 4v.01.1,  *sarva* 4r.12.1,  *sarva* 4r.13.2,  *sapuruṣaṇa* 4v.04.2. A clearly written anusvāra can only be observed in *asamkhe[dehi]*  4r.15.1, *saṃsa[ra]*  4v.04.2, *sasamra*  11r.15, and *paṃca*  4r.23.1 (presumably also in *pa[m]ḍidaṇa*  11r.05 and *pa[m]ḍi[d]a*  11r.19). In comparison to these notations it does therefore seem that no distinctive anusvāra was intended in writing *sapati*.

















kṣ-. Principally, this ligature consists of two strokes with or without a slight bend of the downstroke to the left . Rarely the scribe wrote it in one step ( 4r.25.2); in 4v.11.1  it is written very similar to *g-*.



rC- (preconsonantal *r-*). Once, in  *rva* 4r.20.2, the curve of the marker for preconsonantal *-r-* is elongated making it similar to *rya* in other documents, but the circle is still open to the left and also the meaning is clear, so that the reading *paraṇirvah~* is free from doubt. In *karpa* it is written for double consonance: *kappa* < *kalpa* (*ka[rp]e[h]i* 4r.15.1 , *ka[r]pa* 11r.33 , *karpa* 11r.35 ).

Cr- (postconsonantal *-r*). Regarding *tr/dr* it is almost impossible to tell only on paleographic grounds which was intended. Due to context, words which go back to OIA *dur-/daur-* have been transliterated as *dr-* consistently (*droaca-*, *drogadi-*, *dru-[ga]ṇa-*), words which correspond to OIA *tri-/tra-* as *tr* (BC4 *añatra*, *trae*, *triṇa*, *matra*, *sarvatra*; BC11 *atra*, *yatra*, *tatra*, *sarvatra*). BC4r.17.2 *dh[a]re[tr]ami*  is the only case where I am not able to decide if it is either *tr* or *dr*.

Cv- (postconsonantal -v). What is transcribed as *tva* goes either back to OIA *tva* or *tma*. In the latter it might also have been understood as *tma*, and should therefore perhaps be transliterated as such. However, there is no graphical distinction discernible, whether the Kharoṣṭhī sign refers to OIA *tva* or *tma* (see following table).

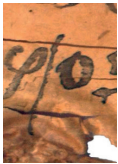

Table 8. Writings of *tv < tv* and *tv < tm* in BC4 and BC11.



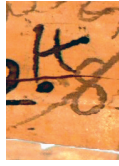
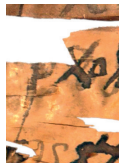
<i>tv < tv</i>								
	4r.17.1 <i>boṣiṣatva</i>	4r.21.2 <i>satvaṇ[a]</i>	4r.22.1 <i>satva</i>	4r.22.2 <i>ṣatva</i>	11r.17 <i>-ṣatvaṇa</i>	11r.19 <i>[satva]-</i>	11r.22 <i>-ṣatvehi</i>	11r.45 <i>-ṣatvahisa</i>
<i>tv < tm</i>								
	4r.22.2 <i>atva</i>	11r.24 <i>atve</i>	11r.45 <i>atva-</i>	11v.18 <i>aṇatva-</i>	11v.13 <i>aṇatva-</i>	11v.24 <i>aṇatvia</i>	11v.26 (1) <i>aṇatvia</i>	11v.26 (2) <i>aṇatvia</i>

śp-. In BC4/11 this sign is written where OIA has *sp*, *sm*, or *sv* (cf. chapter on phonology). It is written with one single stroke resulting in a small loop at the bottom where the pen turns upwards again . In cases where a postconsonantal *r* is attached to it (*śpr*), it is written with two strokes, first the stem with the *r*-curve and then the curve to the right  (*śpri*).

Numbers

Table 9. Writings of numbers in BC4.

	#	line	Remarks										
	1	4r.12.2	–										
	2	4r.14.2	<p>The first stroke is very short but not distinctively connected to the second one. In Aśokan times and also e.g. in BL2 the two strokes are parallel and equally long. In the Dhṛp-G^k the first stroke is already shortened. In the Niya documents, finally, the formerly separate strokes are connected.</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Aśokan</th> <th>BL 2</th> <th>KDhp</th> <th>Niya</th> <th>Schøyen</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>//</td> <td>//</td> <td>卍</td> <td>卍, =</td> <td>卍, ≈</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>(Glass 2000: 139)</p>	Aśokan	BL 2	KDhp	Niya	Schøyen	//	//	卍	卍, =	卍, ≈
Aśokan	BL 2	KDhp	Niya	Schøyen									
//	//	卍	卍, =	卍, ≈									

	#	line	Remarks								
	3	4r.17.1	<p>Here, the strokes are almost connected to the final long stroke. Therefore, indicating a slightly later date. Compared to the survey of Andrew Glass, the form lies between the Dhp-G^K and the Niya documents.</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="572 412 900 483"> <thead> <tr> <th>BL 2</th> <th>KDhp</th> <th>Niya</th> <th>Schøyen</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> </td> <td>卍</td> <td>卍, 卍</td> <td>卍, 卍</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>(Glass 2000: 140)</p>	BL 2	KDhp	Niya	Schøyen		卍	卍, 卍	卍, 卍
BL 2	KDhp	Niya	Schøyen								
	卍	卍, 卍	卍, 卍								
	4	4r.19.1	<p>Only in Aśokan inscriptions the number four is written with four vertical strokes. Later on it is generally written as a cross rotated 45°.</p>								
	5	4r.20.1	<p>In Aśokan inscriptions the number five is written with five strokes. In all later documents it is indicated by a combination of a cross and a bar, 4 [+]¹ = 5 (interestingly, BL scribe 2 writes the combined numbers from left to right, cf. Lenz 2010: 18).</p>								
	6	4r.22.2	<p>The number six is written as 4 [+]². In contrast to the notation of the single number 2, the two strokes are connected here, which brings us closer to the Niya documents.</p>								

Looking at the numbers, BC4 is similar to the Dhp-G^K (1st/2nd century) and also the Niya documents (3rd/4rd century). In the BL fragments published so far the numbers 2 and 3 are written with two separate single strokes showing no connection to one another (BL1 and BL2, cf. Lenz 2010: 18) making the first half of the first century a *terminus post quem* for BC4, if we exclude possible geographical factors, which also could have played a role in different writing habits.¹²

Punctuation

In BC4 sometimes – very seldom – a small dot is placed at the end of a sentence. After each bigger paragraph a circle of varying sizes is written, sometimes followed by a number. In BC11 the punctuation, consisting of dots and circles, is applied very irregularly. In cases where one is added, it is (almost always) put in the correct position, but it is also written in locations where it is not expected. There is one example where a small circle (°) indicates only a break (“Sprechpause”) within a sentence, making its application similar to a dash nowadays: *pariñāpahaṇa karmo ca · ruve ° aṣa va · aruve* (BC11v2.11). Instead of writing a dot to mark the end of a paragraph sometimes the rest of a line is left blank on purpose.

.....
 12 The fragments of the Senior Collection (ca. 140 CE) apparently contain no numbers.

At the very end of the text in BC11 ‘○ x · –’ is written. The diagonal cross normally denotes the cipher 4, but on pot inscriptions this sign is also used to signify the end of the inscription.¹³ Since it is placed at the end of the written text and there is no strong indication of its referring to a fourth chapter or paragraph,¹⁴ it could have the same meaning here even though no ambiguity regarding the end of the text is to be expected. Similarly, in some Bamiyan fragments the cross appears juxtaposed to bigger circles or the ‘€-sign’ in order to mark the end of a section.¹⁵

Paleographic dating

All manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection are written in a ‘late’ form of Kharoṣṭhī (i.e. after year 1 CE). Based on their degree of cursivity – especially noticeable in the writing of the letter *k* – they were divided into two groups by Ingo Strauch (2008: 13). Among these, BC4 and 11 clearly belong to the younger, ‘cursive’ group B, even though every now and then traces of older, ‘archaic’ letter forms can be discerned (cf. *e* and *k*-). In general, the Bajaur Collection has been provisionally dated to the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd centuries CE “with a tendency towards the later part of this period” (Strauch 2007/2008: 18, Strauch 2008: 111). Based on the shape of the letter *k* and especially due to the similarity of the hand to that of the scribe of the Senior Collection this is confirmed for BC4 and BC11.¹⁶

.....
13 Two inscriptions on water pots from Gandhāra (to be published by Ingo Strauch, cf. Strauch 2010b).

14 Near the end the text (11v.17), a vertical line was inserted above a big circle, probably denoting the cipher 1. The other ciphers, 2 and 3, are missing, probably due to lost parts of the birch bark, which is why they would have been written at the beginning of 11v.20 or 11v.28.

15 R. Salomon, presentation at the Gāndhārī workshop in Munich, July 2013 (“Fragments of a manuscript of the Ekottarikāgama in Gāndhārī from Bamiyan”). Examples are: X €, ○ X, but also ○ |||, ○ X |, X || €.

16 Regarding other test letters like *c*-, *ch*-, *y*-, and *s*- the differences are often not so easily discernible and the signs are in general also similar to the graphemes presented by Allon (2001: 67) or Glass (2007: 106 table 15), which would mean assigning BC4/11 to an earlier period, i.e. the first half of the first century CE, like the BL manuscripts. However, the writing of the letter *k* speaks against this.

Table 10. Kharoṣṭhī script as written by scribe 5 of the Bajaur Collection (BC4 and BC11). If a sign is only occurring in one of the two manuscripts, '4' or '11' has been added.

	a	i	u	e	o
-	𑀀 𑀁	𑀂	𑀃	𑀄 𑀅 𑀆	𑀇 𑀈
k-	𑀉 𑀊	𑀋	𑀌	𑀍	𑀎 ₄
kh-	𑀏		𑀐 ₄	𑀑	𑀒
g-	𑀓 𑀔 _{rga}	𑀕 𑀖 ₁₁	𑀗 ₁₁	𑀘 ₄	
ḡ-	𑀙	𑀚 ₄			
gh-	𑀛 𑀜 _{rgha}				
c-	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡 ₄
c̄-	𑀢 ₍₁₁₎				
ch-	𑀣	𑀤			
j-	𑀥 𑀦	𑀧 𑀨 _{rji 4}	𑀩	𑀪	
j̄-	𑀫				
jh-					
ñ-	𑀬			𑀭 ₄	
t-	𑀮	𑀯			
th-	𑀰	𑀱 ₄	𑀲		
tñ-	𑀳				
d-	𑀴	𑀵			
ḍ-	𑀶	𑀷		𑀸	
ḍh-	𑀹				

	a	i	u	e	o
n-					
t-					
th-					
d-					
dh-					
n-					
p-					
ph-					
b-					
bh-					
m-					
y-					
r-					
l-					

	a	i	u	e	o
v-					
ś-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
ṣ-					
h-					
kṣ-					
vh-					
śp-					
st-					
					
	 <small>1 2 3 4 5 6</small>				

4

Orthography

By definition, orthography is concerned with correct writing. This includes matters of spelling but also the correspondence between graphemes and phonemes. Since standardization in Gāndhārī seems to have been a rather fluid and flexible system at the time under consideration (and might perhaps more suitably be characterized as an ensemble of several idiolects), this chapter is mainly about different spellings within the texts edited here.

The relationship between phonemes and graphemes will be discussed in the following chapter on phonology. In both chapters, orthography and phonology, references to line numbers are mostly omitted to increase readability (cf. the indices if necessary). The Gāndhārī words are given as they appear in the text, in cases of several occurrences the most complete reading is taken.

Anusvāra

Anusvāra is mostly left unwritten.¹ The few occurrences where it is applied are: BC4 *asaṃkhe[dehi]*, *-paṃca-*, *saṃsa[ra]-*; BC11 *aṣakema ka[r]pa* (besides *asakhea karpā*), *pa[m]ḍidaṇa*, *sasaṃra* / *[saṃsa]ra*. In the case of *sasaṃra*, the scribe added the anusvāra in a second step but in the wrong place. In the second occurrence of this word it is uncertain where or if at all an anusvāra was intended, since the birch bark is broken off here. It has been transliterated as *[saṃsa]ra*, but in analogy to the preceding, *[sasaṃ]ra* might also be possible. Since *sa* is often written with a curved lower part this is difficult to tell.

1 It is never written in the Senior Collection and only rarely in the British Library Collection, e.g. in the Khvs-G/BL5B (cf. Salomon 2000: 76f.), and apparently by BL scribe 14 (Baums 2009: 125 fn. 37), that is, the second hand observable in BL13, ll. 90–150 / Nid-G³ (edition in progress by Stefan Baums). Within the Bajaur Collection it is definitely written in several manuscripts (BC 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9), but at this preliminary point of study nothing can be said about the systematic application of anusvāra in general. It is normally not written in the Dhp-G^K (Brough 1962: 70 § 14) and inconsistently/irregularly in the Niya documents (cf. Burrow 1937: 17f.).

An anusvāra would have been expected etymologically in BC4 *aṇuśaśa* and *aṇuśaśidava*, although the development *ṃs* > *ś* may account for that; similarly *śaśidava* (*ṃs* > *ś*) and *viśadi* (here the anusvāra may have been reproduced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel as in P *vīṣati*)². The remaining cases are all G *sa-* for OIA *saṃ-* preceding consonants: BC4 *sakṣiteṇa*, *sagha*, *sadriṭhia*, *sapati*, and probably *sahoro*, where the anusvāra is replaced by a homorganic nasal before a stop, represented by the stop alone in Kharoṣṭhī writing. Reasons for the occurrences where it is still written are: *asaṃkhe[dehi]* etc., where it may be retained due to the cluster *-ṃkhy-*; *paṃca*, *saṃsara*, and *pa[ṃ]ḍida*, which may be special (numeric or technical) terms.

Distribution of n/ṇ

As in many other Gāndhārī documents *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished any more, and *ṇ-* is written for every nasal. This is common for many inscriptions of the first century CE as well as for most of the Gāndhārī manuscripts examined so far.³

Distribution of t/d

Both characters are sometimes difficult to differentiate. Still there are some clear examples of etymologically unjustifiable writings of *-ti* for the 3rd sg. ending *-di* (*hakṣati* instead of *hakṣadi*). Similar observations had been made by Andrew Glass with regard to RS5, in which essentially no distinction is made between *t* and *d*. He suggests “that the shapes of these letters were merging, perhaps under the influence of a phonetic merger” (Glass 2007: 107).

Distribution of s/ś

Next to *s*, the modified character *ś* and in BC4 also once *ṣ* (third variety with a subscript line) is applied. The etymological distinctiveness of *ś* is fairly consistent, in that it represents original intervocalic *-th-/-dh-* throughout the text (compound boundaries are treated as the beginning of a new word, e.g. *loadhadu*). It does not occur in gen. sg. endings (*-sya* / P *-ssa*) but quite often replaces normal *-s-* in the middle of a

2 Also in other documents (Niya, Senavarman inscription, MS28 and a ‘Copper Manuscript in Five Sheets’, cf. Falk 2010: 17–9) normally *viśati* is written, but cf. *viṃśati* 20 (with a clear horizontal stroke above the *ś*, i.e. *ṣ*) in the ‘Shahi Kot Relic Slab’ (cf. Falk 2003b: 71–4, also Baums 2012: 242).

3 After the Aśokan period the distinction between these two sounds was leveled (Konow 1929: civ, Salomon 1999a: 121, Salomon 2000: 75, Glass 2007: 107) and the use of the retroflex or the dental sign consequently did not indicate phonetic values anymore. The use of one or the other became a scribal preference (e.g. Salomon 1999a: 121, 124).

word or at the beginning of a compound element (e.g. BC4 *alaṣia*, *cedaṣia*, *aṣapuraṣa*, *valiaṣama*, *boṣiṣatva*, *sarvaṣatva*), and sometimes *s/ṣ* are interchangeably applied: BC4 *ṇiṣamartha* besides *ṇisamartha*, BC11 *sarva-ṣatva*^o but *sarva-sapati*^o, *ṇiṣamartha*[~] besides *ṇisamartha*[~], *aṣakema ka[r]pa* besides *asakhea karpa*, and *kaṣa* besides *[ka]sa*. In BC11 *saya[visa]* for *sayaṣavi* (= *sayyathāpi*) *sa* is written where etymologically *ṣa* is expected. Probably *driṭhadhami*⟨*a⟩-*saparaia[ṣa]* (11v.15) contains a gen. sg. ending otherwise written with normal *-sa*. However, the meaning is uncertain here as the *ṣa* is also written with an unusual extension at the bottom; cf. also the section about ‘Clusters with sibilants’ (*ps > ṣ*) in the chapter on phonology, pp. 86–89.

Other modified consonants

The most common diacritic addition is a small rightward extension at the bottom of a character, in some editions categorized as a ‘footmark’. The scribe of this manuscript preferred to write such an extension in intervocalic medial letters. The most prominent is *g*, also used in many other manuscripts. Similarly, a small hook to the right at the bottom of certain letters is prevalent for this scribe: *ṣ*, *ś*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, but also the “non-hooked” forms exist (cf. ‘Scribal inconsistencies’ below). Other modified forms of some consonants like *t* or *d* with a rightward extension of the foot are usually not used in BC4 or 11.⁴ There are only a few examples written with a modified form of *t*, namely *hakṣati* for *bhaviṣyanti* in BC4 and *(a)paribhu[t]asa* for *(a)paribhuktasya* in BC11, which however is different to the sign normally transcribed as *t* (cf. chapter on paleography, p. 46).

Diacritic additions to consonant signs

Horizontal lines placed above some consonants to indicate consonantal clusters or a modified pronunciation can be seen in BC11: *ṣ̄* = *ṣṇ* / P *ṇh*, *ḥ̄* = *dh* / P *(j)jh*, and *c̄* = *śc* / P *cch*.⁵ In BC4 there is only one instance of such a superscript line, but the letter underneath is broken off. Similarly in *paḥa* the space above the sign is broken off, so that we cannot be sure if it indeed existed here, although the stroke at the bottom is bent to the right, as seen in the example in BC 11 with the superscript line. In the case of *siha* (= *sneha* / P *sineha*) it is definitely not written, thus *si*⟨*ne⟩*ha* is probably

4 These (transcribed as *k*, *g*, and *d*) have been used in other Gāndhārī manuscripts “to indicate a variant pronunciation of these consonants in intervocalic position” (Salomon 2008a: 333).

5 The underlying rule seems to be: MIA aspiration of a consonant (cluster) is indicated by a superscript line above a single consonant in Gāndhārī.

to be reconstructed (cf. p. 136). In both manuscripts, *maja* or *maje* (= *madhya*~ / P *majjha*~) is written without the superscript line (the only other occurrence for OIA -*dhy*- is BC11 *aṅatvia* = *adhyātmika*~).

Notation of geminate consonants

Geminates are principally not written but represented by a singular consonant only (e.g. BC4 -*ṅiṣaṇa*, *pracu[pa]ṅae*). An indirect notation may be the reason for the writing of *karpa* = *kalpa* / P *kappa* (for this peculiarity among the BL scrolls in general cf. Salomon 1999a: 122 and 2000: 77).

Scribal inconsistencies

There are several inconsistent spellings throughout BC4:

- alternation of -*kh/h*- in: *duha*~ (2x) besides *dukha*~ (11x)
- alternation of -*g/ḡ*- in: -*loadhadu* (3x) opposed to -*l[o]ga*(**dhadu*) (1x) (elision is quite prevalent, cf. *śoa*)
- alternation of -*k/g*- in: *a[kicaṇa]* (1x) / *agicaṇa* (1x)
- alternation of -*ḍ/ḍ̣*- in: *praodidave* (3x) / [*pra*]oḍidave (1x)
- alternation of -*ś/ṣ*- in: (*a*)*kuśala*~ (2x) / (*a*)*kuṣala*~ (6x)
- alternation of -*s/ś*- in: *ṅisamartha*~ (7x) / *ṅisamartha*~ (5x)
- confusion⁶ of -*s/ś/ṣ*- in: [*a*]ṣivaśidae (1x) / *aśivasidae* (1x)
- writing of -*ti* instead of -*di* for singular endings (*hakṣati*)
- other confusion of consonants: *praca-[pa]rami[do]* for *praṅa-[pa]rami[do]* (if this interpretation is correct)
- alternation of *ca* / *ya*
- general inconsistent spellings in: *arida* / *aride* / *arede* and *kerea* / *keraa* / *karai* / *karae* / *karao* / *ko* as well as *aharea* / *aharae* and *ṅaśe* / *ṅaśee* / *ṅaśae* / *ṅaśea*
- *durgadi* besides *drogadi* (< *dur*-), also *drugana* (< *dur*-) and *droaca*~ (< *daur*-)
- *moṣimaḍa*- seems to be a scribal error for *boṣimaḍa*-

6 This is called ‘confusion’ merely for convenience to indicate where the scribe based his spelling apparently rather on pronunciation than on the (expected) historic spelling.

In BC11 the inconsistencies are:

- alternation of *-h/-*: *-suami* (1x) besides otherwise *-suhami* (3x)
- alternation of *-kh/k-*: *aṣakema ka[r]pa* besides *asakhea karpa*
- alternation of *-s/s̄*: *ṇiṣamartha-* (1x) besides *ṇisamartha~* (7x)
- confusion of consonants: *achat[v]ia* for *aṣatvia*, *ga[d]a* for *ga[ḍ]a*, *chata* besides *chade* (3x), *ṇaśida* (2x) besides *ṇaśida* (1x), *sarpa-sapatie* for *sarva-sapatie*⁷
- sometimes omissions of post- or pre-consonantal *-r-*: *pa-* besides *pra-* (*pajahidava*), and probably also *kaye* for *karye*. OIA *prati-* is written as *pradi-*, *padi-* or *paḍi-* (*padilabhe*, *pradigara-suhe*, *pradibh[ava]*, *paḍiladha*, *p[ḍitiḥa]*)
- other inconsistent spellings are: *sa{r}gharya* instead of prevalent *sagharya~*, *[gro]* and *roa* (for OIA *roga~*)
- inconsistencies regarding vowels (see ‘Confusion of vowels’ below)
- wrongly placed anusvāras (*sasaṃra*, *aṣakema ka[r]pa*, see ‘Anusvāra’)
- metathesis of two consonants: *saya[visa]* for *sayaṣavi* (interestingly, it is also once written *sayaṣaviṣa* in BC2)

Confusion of vowels

Some “vowel confusions” can be explained by simply forgetting the vowel marker. These are: BC4 *ṣaha* → *ṣahi*, *paraṇirvah[ido]* presumably → *pariṇirvah[ido]* (cf. text notes), *maha* → *mahi*. BC11 *abhae* and *uhaa* → *u(b)hae*, *paracea* → *paricea*, *sudiṇagaraṇa* → *sudiṇagareṇa*, *paracaita* → *paricaita*. The alternation of *i/u* is explained by linguistic reasons: BC11 *parubhuteṇa* < *pari*^o (next to *aparibhuteṇa*) and *bhio* < *bhuyah* (cf. chapter on phonology). Other confusions are: BC11 *meme* → *mame*, *avaramiṇa* (2x) → *avarimaṇa*, *yidi* → *yadi*, *paricaeta* (2x) → *paricaita*.

Inconsistencies regarding pre- and postconsonantal r

In BC11 *aṣakema ka[r]pa* seems to have been written with *kra* first before being amended to *karpa* (in the following another correction of *va* to *a* points to a temporary inattentiveness of the scribe; additionally, the anusvāra in *aṣakema* has been applied to the wrong letter). In a few instances, pre-consonantal *r* has been omitted, but these are uncertain or can be explained otherwise. In 11r.01–02 it is written *kaye* twice, presumably for *karye*, since *kaye* = *kāya* is unlikely due to the context. How-

7 This might be an example for the usual development of intervocalic *p > v* but not seen before in combination with pre-consonantal *r* where the *v* is normally retained. It could however also be explained by influence of the following *pa* in *-sapatie*, in that the sound or written word is anticipated, cf. *sa{r}gharya* instead of *sagharya* in the same text.

ever, the scribe was able to write *karye* elsewhere. Perhaps one (*karye*) is the historic spelling (with respect to the scribe), and the other (*kaye*) indicates the scribe's own pronunciation. Likewise, the writing of *pajahidava* for *prajahidava* may be considered as indicative of MIA, as *pa-* for *pra-* is a common observation in other Gāndhārī manuscripts (cf. e.g. Salomon 2008a: 121).

Oral/aural features

Most of the given examples are best explained by orality / pronunciation and not due to graphical letter forms. They indicate the scribe's tendency to represent the pronunciation familiar to him (close to his own vernacular), compared to giving historic spellings. Others, like the wrong *anusvāras*, indicate that the writing was rather carelessly done or that the correct historic spelling was not known very well.

Thus, some orthographical features could point to the listening to an oral presentation, or they reflect the simultaneous uttering of the text (audible or silent) while writing the text down. These following examples, to some extent, work against the idea of the scribe relying (solely) on a written template:

- alternation of consonants that are graphically not similar. For example, *achat[v]ia* instead of *aṅatvia* and *ga[d]a* instead of *gaḍa*⁸ (other examples given above).
- deaspiration. The graphemes of an aspirated or non-aspirated akṣara are most often clearly different (e.g. *kh* vs. *k*), not so much their pronunciation, as there is an apparent levelling of the phonetic distinction between aspirate/non-aspirate consonants in Gāndhārī and MIA in general.
- confusion of vowels (e.g. *avara[mi]ṇa* for *avarimaṇa*). I suppose that the confusion of (two following) vowels rather happens without a written template, which one simply has to copy.⁹ In the case of the metathesis of consonants (*saya[visa]* for *sayaṣavi*), both (a written or an audible source) is imaginable.
- occasional omissions of post- or pre-consonantal *-r-* rather point to the scribe's pronunciation than to a written template.

8 The former is an example for a phonetic merger of *-c(h)j-* (see Glass 2007: 108), the latter a loss of retroflexion, both commonly observed processes in Gāndhārī (Blair Silverlock, personal communication).

9 Due to the often connecting strokes (between basic sign and vowel marker and also between two distinct letters) I exclude a writing process in which the diacritics had been added in a second step and during which they could have been forgotten or attached to the wrong basic sign.

Haplography (omissions)

BC4: [gaga]-⟨*ṇadi⟩-[valia-ṣama]-loadhadu, yo praṇide ⟨*?ka⟩rae, ya⟨*ṣa⟩-bhudehi, ahiva⟨*di⟩da[va], aṣatia al[o]ṇe[a]⟨*de⟩. The omissions are predominantly in the middle of a word and may simply have been forgotten in the process of writing. It is not like in RS5, where the omissions are at the end of a word, which lead Andrew Glass to the conclusion, “that the scribe’s attention had already moved on to the next term. As such, some phonetic weakening might also be involved” (Glass 2007: 104).

In BC11 there are only few omissions of single letters: [u]⟨*a⟩ṇiṣa{ṣa}suhe, driṭhadhami⟨*a⟩-saparaia[ṣa] and prajaha[ṇa-pri]⟨*di⟩, all near the end of the line. Once, *bhio* is written only *bhi*, probably simply an omission of *-o*, but it might also be considered as a different spelling (or weakening of the final ending).

Dittography (erroneous insertion/repeating)

BC4: *saṃsa[ra](v.5.1){[ra]}-badhaṇaṇa* (cf. text notes).

BC11: [u]⟨*a⟩ṇiṣa(r.24){ṣa}suhe, labhadi {di}, dukha sa{r}gharya.

The first two are easily explained by the beginning of a new line. For *labhadi* there is no other reason but erroneous duplication. In *sa{r}gharya* the scribe may already have been moved on to the next akṣara (cf. Allon 2001: 98 for other examples of anticipatory *r*).

Interlinear insertions

BC4 has several interlinear additions, mostly *maje ṇiṣamarthe* etc. At first sight, one would assume a systematic process during which only certain remarks or categorizations had been made, resulting in two planes of text. But there are other insertions as well, which add forgotten words that can be found in other places in a normal line of text. It seems that the scribe himself went through the text in a second revision process. Where he had forgotten something, he added it to make the text complete or more comprehensible. The same can be observed with regard to the numbers, which are sometimes placed within the line and sometimes added above it. The same holds true for BC11. The insertions in BC4 are:

- r.05.1 « (*trae sapuruṣa)-[da]rṣaṇa hakṣati budha-pracea (*trae drugāṇa ṇa hakṣati) »
- r.05.1 « ? ? ? ? ma [purva]gama /// »
- r.13.1 « ṇiṣamartha »
- r.13.2 ta « [ra] » ṇu[ia]

- r.23.2 «*ede uhae miṣo*»
- r.25.1 «*maje niṣamarthe · budhaṇa*»
- r.25.1 «*ma[j](*e)*»
- r.28.1f. «*maje ca ṇ(*i)ṣamarth(*e) purv[e] dukhe paṅca dukhe [ma](*je ca ṇi)[sa] marthe purve aśuha [pa](*cā a)śuh[a] maja niṣamartha sarvatra i[thu] kaṭave*»
- v.04.1 «*maj(*e) ca niṣa(*marthe)*»
- v.09.2 «*[codidave varjidave]*»
- v.10.2 «*matra*»
- v.10.2 «*ca*»

The phrase *maje* or *maje niṣamarthe* etc. appears only in interlinear insertions. It is probably some kind of comment upon what is “ineffectual” as it is inserted in the vicinity of *sapuruṣaṇa ṇa[śae]*, *aṣapur[uṣ]aṇa [a](*hara)[e]* (both r.25.1) and *[kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapuru[śa]ṇa* (v.04.1f.) as well as *gaga-ṇadi-valia-sama-l[o]ga (*dhadu) [ta]raṇia [śaki] uadiaṇa* (r.12.2f.). In one passage (r.28.1f.) seemingly an explanation is given of what it means, namely to apply the following formula: “in the middle ineffectual, before painful, afterwards painful, in the middle ineffectual, before unpleasant, afterwards unpleasant” (cf. text notes, p. 174).

In BC11, the interlinear insertions are:

- r.30 «*suverao*»
- r.46 «*niṣamartha-vidimiśa suhe*»
- v.15 «*loi[e]ṇa tava karaṇeṇa*»
- v.17 «*ṣade*» ... «*I*»

In the margin (beginning on the same level as ...):

- v.13 *[t]eṇa [ka]r[an]e(*ṇa) [du]kho pari(*caita) sagharya ///*
- v.25 ? *di bhava[a]* (line 1), *(*pa)[ricaida]* (line 2)

It is not clear, if these two glosses are essentially one, since the margin is disconnected in between, and it is also unclear at which point the supplementary text is to be inserted.

Corrections

In BC4 at the end of line r.14 and r.15 some letters have been overwritten. The second layer of writing includes the same letters as well as corrected ones:

[1] 4r.14.2 *mokṣa-śapati* → *mokṣa-sapati*

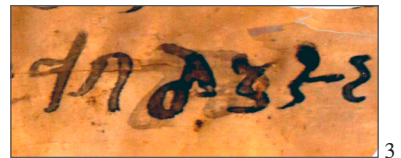
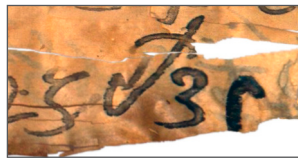
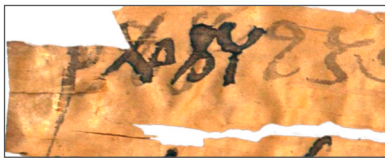
[2] 4r.15.2 *paḍhama-citupa[de]* → *paḍhama-c[i]tupa[de]* (without rewriting the *i*-vowel)

Other corrections are:

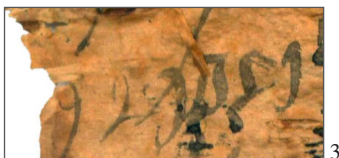
[3] 4r.04.2 *trae kuśa* → *trae ca kuśa*

[4] 4r.21.2 *dharmo* → *dharm[e]*

[5] 4r.22.2 *hacadi ?* → *hakṣadi ° 4 2*



BC11: In the sequence *sarv[a]aśuhe aṅubhavi[[da]]ea sarv[e]śuhe [ṅabhavi]{{[da]]}ea sarva akuśale a[ṅu]bhaviea* the first two occurrences of the same verb are very difficult to read (see figures below). Since in the following parallel phrase the word *a[ṅu]bhaviea* is clearly written, it is assumed that the scribe wrote *aṅubhaviaea* at first, then he or maybe another one corrected it (erroneously) into *(aṅu)bhavidaea*, after which the *da* had been deleted again.



Other corrections, where a letter has not been inserted but another one overwritten, involve the addition of vowel marks (e.g. *aadiea* > *[u]adiea* 11r.15), the emendation of similar graphemes (*vacida* > *[a]cida* 11r.33) or simply the rewriting of a wrong letter (*yasade* > *ya[va]de* 11r.06). In 11v.10 the scribe began to write *avarari* before amending it to *avaramiṇa* for *avarimaṇa*.



Non-phonetic traces of ink

BC4 is relatively clean and void of dropped ink.

BC11 on the other hand, is full of stray and smudged drips of ink, especially on the recto-side.

5

Phonology

In the following, the phonetic features of BC4 and BC11 are summarized. Both belong to the middle period of Gāndhārī with the typical features observed also in other Gāndhārī manuscripts.¹ Due to their application of *s/ś* they may be placed near to the RS collection. Due to their use of the reflex *śp* they are similar to the Niya documents but also to the BL fragments.

Vowels

Alternations

ā > o. A change from *ā* to *o* is maybe seen in BC4 *sahoro* = *saṃ(b)hāra~*, but the equivalence is not without doubt. Nevertheless, the alternation is theoretically possible and documented elsewhere regarding the nominal ending *-ā = -o* (Brough 1962: 80f. § 22, Salomon 2000: 80) but also in medial position (von Hinüber 2001: 125 § 121, e.g. Dhp-G^k 161 *-[mo]ṇa[so]* = *-mānaso* or Dhp-G^k 184 *samokadu* = *samāgata~*).

i > e. An example for this alternation might be BC4 *siha* for *sneha* (in other manuscripts written G *śeha*), but it is more likely to be G *si(⟨*ṇe⟩)ha*. In BC11 *paricaeta* seems to be written twice instead of *paricaita*.

i > u and *u > i*. In *parubhuteṇa* (next to *aparibhuteṇa*) = *paribhukteṇa* the change *i > u* is the result of labialization (von Hinüber 2001: 143 § 157); in *bhio* = *bhūyaḥ* (cf.

1 Cf. Salomon 2008b: “Gāndhārī developed in three stages. Early Gāndhārī is best attested in the sets of Aśoka’s major rock edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā. At this stage, intervocalic consonants were mostly retained as in the original Old Indo-Aryan form; for example, *siyati* (later *siyadi*) = Sanskrit *syāt* ‘would be’ (Shāhbāzgarhī XII.8). In the middle stage, found in inscriptions and manuscripts from the first century BCE to the middle of the second century CE, intervocalic consonants are voiced, elided, or modified to fricatives (Fussman [1989], pp. 455–65). But in late Gāndhārī of the later second and early third centuries CE, the natural phonological developments are masked by extensive re-Sanskritization of the written language, whereby many consonants which had changed or disappeared in the spoken language were restored to their underlying Old Indo-Aryan form; for example, *sapta* ‘seven’ = Sanskrit *sapta* instead of earlier *sat/t)a* (Salomon 2001, p. 245).”

P *bhiyyo*) the *u* is palatalized to *i* in the vicinity of palatal sounds (Oberlies 2001: 42), the *y* is dropped: *bhūyaḥ* > **bhiyaḥ* / P *bhiyyo* > *bhiyo* > *bhio*.

u > *a*. BC11: *abhae* = *ubhaye*. Immediately afterwards it is twice written *uhae* as usual. Therefore it may be only a scribal error for *ubhae* due to negligence and forgetting the curve at the foot of the *a*-grapheme. Elsewhere an *u*-vowel sign is added in a second step (*aadiea* > [*u*]*adiea*) indicating a similar case.

-*am* > -*u*. BC4 *ithu* = *ittham*, BC11 *ahu* = *aham*, *śpahu/śpah[o]* = *svayam*. This would seem to be the normal reflex -*o* for OIA -*am*, only sometimes written with -*u* being phonetically similar to -*o* (see below).

u/o. Generally, in Gāndhārī texts *u* and *o* alternate frequently (Allon 2001: 76, Salomon 2008a: 104f.). Besides distinctive habits of some scribes (e.g. ‘hand 1 of the BL’ used to write *aṇo-* instead of *aṇu-*), mostly the variation seems to be “a more or less arbitrary graphic alternation” (Salomon 2008a: 105). In the Dhp-G^K, it is usually -*o* instead of -*u* after *h* and *pr*, e.g. *amaho* (Burrow 1937: 2 §4).² Burrow remarks that the signs for post-consonantic -*u/o* are very similar, so that probably generally -*u* is intended. Since both the graphemes for *h* and *pr* are open to the right and have a closed curve where the *u*-vowel marker normally is attached to, the reason for this vowel change could indeed be merely graphical.

In BC4 there are two occurrences of an unambiguous *hu* (*hurahu*) and several writings of *ho* that have a bent stroke to the left, which without comparison could also be transliterated as *hu*: *ohoro*, (**o*)*h[o]r[o]*, [*o*](**ho*)*ro*. This term should be related to P *hura*, although the prefix *o-* remains problematic (cf. text notes).

Developments of OIA ṛ

In Gāndhārī the default reflex seems to be *ṛ* > *i* (with only few exceptions³) and *ṛ* > *u* after labial consonants (Baums 2009: 119). Occasionally, the resulting vowel is preceded or (in case of initial *ṛ-*) followed by *r* (cf. Baums 2009: 120). The reflexes in BC4 and 11 are:

2 Cf. also Brough 1962: 80 §21, who likewise gives several examples for *hu* written as *ho* in Gāndhārī in medial position (regularly G *baho-*) and both -*hu/-ho* in word-final syllables. The Gāndhārī ending -*o* is explained by Baums (2009: 127) as a merger of MIA word-final -*u* and -*o*.

3 E.g. *taṣa* = *ṛṣṇā*, which might also be an archaic technical term (cf. Baums 2009: 119).

- $r > i$: BC4 *a[kicaṇa]*, *agicaṇa*, *[k]icaṇa < (a)kr̥tya~ / P (a)kicca~*.
- $r > ri$: BC4 *a[śpri]śa[ṇaṇa]* < BHS *aspr̥śana~ / P aṇṇasana~*; BC4/11 *dr̥ṣṭa-* < *dr̥ṣṭa-* / P *dr̥ṣṭha-*.
- $r > ru$ (?): BC4 *vrude* = *vṛtam* (the word and reading are uncertain, cf. text notes); BC11 *matupa[ye]aṣi* (< *mātr̥°* ?) is unclear.
- $r/\bar{r} > a$ (?): BC11 *uṣata*, uncertain.

Reductions (monophthongization)

Vowels

There are no long vowels written. Among the diphthongs, *ai* and *au* are regularly reduced to *e* or *o*. Few examples for *ai > e* are BC4 *cedaṣia* = *caitasika~* or BC11 *bheṣaje* = *bhaiṣajya~*, for *au > o* BC4/11 *droaca* = *daurgatya~* or BC11 *(a)loieṇa* = *(a)laukikena*.

Vowels in combination with y and v

Combinations with *-y-* (*yā/āy*, *ye/ey*, *yi/īy*) are usually reduced to *e* or *i* ('palatalization', cf. Brough 1962: 90 §37, Salomon 2000: 79, 86), see Table 11. The reduction of *yi > i* etc. has elsewhere been explained as elision of *y* (e.g. Salomon 2008a: 116). In BC4 *alaṣia~* = *ālasya~ / P ālassa* and *jagaraia~* = *jāgaryā~ / P jāgariyā~*, the *y* alone seems to be reduced to *i* – or the *i* is a glide vowel (*svarabhakti*) standing alone after the elision of *y* (cf. Allon 2001: 98 referring to Fussman 1989 §26.2, Salomon 2008a: 131, Lenz 2010: 33). BC11 has *siadi* = *syāt / P siyā*, *bhio* = *bhūyah / P bhiyyo*. The Gāndhārī rendering *asa[khe]akarpa* = *asaṃkhyeyakalpa / P asaṃkheyakappa* may reflect the same development as evident in the optative ending (marked by *-ea* in Gāndhārī = P *-eyya*). Thus it would be *-khyeya > (ye > e) kheyā > (ey > e) kea* (or from the MIA point of view *-eyya > ea*), which can either be described as reduction of *ye/ey* to *e* or elision of *y*. Likewise, the development of BC11 *āyatana > aidana* can be discussed as *ā-ya-ta-na > a-i-da-ṇa* (reduction *ya > i*) or as *āya > ayi > ai* (elision of *y*).

The sequence *-aya-/-ayi-* in word medial position is reduced to *e* or *i*. Most frequently, this occurs in causative (or class X) verbal forms, e.g. *codidava* = *codayitavya~* etc. In the case of BC4 *varjidavo* it is uncertain if it is a simplex (**varjitavya~* = *varjanīya~ / P vajjitabba~* = *vajjanīya~*) or causative (*varjayitavya~ / P vajjetabba~*).

G optative endings *-ea* correspond to MIA *-eyya*. In case of causatives it can result in endings *-iea* (BC11 *aṇubhaviaea* = *anubhāvayet*).

The reduction *ava-* to *o-* is common also in other MIA dialects. Across compound boundaries (including prefixes and the negative particle) there is no reduction. Thus BC11 *avaśi* is stable because of OIA *a-vaśvyam*, *aṇavaṭie* because of OIA *an-ā-vartika~*.

In the following chart the occurrences in BC4 and BC11 documenting vowel change are summarized:

Table 11. Gāndhārī reflexes of vowels.

OIA	Gāndhārī	examples G (= Skt.)
ay	i	BC4: io = ayam BC11: citia[d]i = cintayati (?)
	e	BC4: -pracea = -pratya~ BC11: avayea~ = apacaya~, uayea~ = upacaya~
ya	e	BC4: kṣae = kṣaya~
	i	BC11: aidaṇa = āyatana~
yā	e	BC4: asaṃkhe[dehi] = asaṃkhyāta~
ey	e [or: y > ∅]	BC11: aś[r]ea = aśreya~ (?)
ye	e [or: y > ∅]	BC4: vivaryaṇa = viparyayena BC11: aṣake[m]aka[r]pa, asa[khe]laka[r]pa = asaṃkhyeyakalpa~
iy / īy	i [or: y > ∅]	BC4: [pial]o (including e > i) = BHS peyālam / P peyālam, bhio (including ū > i) = bhūyah, [ta]raṇa = taraṇiya~ (?) BC11: pialo, siadi (< siyadi) = syāt / P siyati
yī	i [or: y > ∅]	BC4: [kai]a = kāyika~, saparaia = sāmparāyika~ BC11: dhaṇaita = dhanāyitvā (?), akhaita = akhyāyitvā (?)
aya	e	BC4: vareḍi = vārayati or varayati
ayi	i	BC4: codidava = codayitavya~ BC11: hoidava = bhāvayitavya~
	e	BC4 dh[a]re[tr]ami = dhārayitryām
ava	o	BC11: osagra = avasarga; ola[ia] = avalag(ay)ita / avalambita (?)
āv(a)	o	BC4: hoita = bhāvayitvā/bhāvetvā (caus. ?) BC11: hoidava = bhāvayitavya~

The rendering Skt. *khalu* > P *kho* > G *ho* “reflects an MIA source dialect, as related forms occur in other MIA dialects, especially Pali (see Pischel 1965: §§ 94, 148; Geiger 1994: § 20)” (Glass 2007: 113). According to Baums (2009: 115) it “can be understood as an instance of [av] > [o:] > [o] after elision of [l]”.

Consonants

Deaspiration

Before the time of the importation of Prakrit into Central Asia the majority of intervocalic aspirates had become *h* (Burrow 1937: 10 §27).⁴ Examples in BC11 are: *uhae*, *pramuha*, *(a)śuha*, *suha*⁵, *hakṣati*. According to Burrow “[t]he change is regular in the case of terminational elements, the unaccented *hoti*, *huda*, and in the case of intervocalic *kh*”. Burrow’s statement is in accordance with BC4 and BC11 (see detailed notes to ‘bh’).

A further reduction is *duḥkha* > *dukkha* > *dukha* > *duha*. The writing of *dukha* is more prevalent, but *duha* is as well documented in other manuscripts like the Saṅg-Cm (BL15) or the Dhp-G^K. BC4 has both, *dukha* and *duha*, side by side, although *dukha* is more frequent. BC11 only uses *dukha*. Again, in a next step the *h* can be elided as for example in RS5 (Glass 2007: 117: *aśua* = *aśubhā*). A similar development is noted in BC11 in the variation *sua* for *sukha* (*avaśi* [vi](*ve)[g]suami veragasuhami *kamasuhe atogade*) or probably in BC4 *akṣati* for otherwise *hakṣati* = *bhaviṣyanti* (cf. Burrow 1937: 10 §28). Further deaspirations occurring in BC4/11 are: BC11 *aśakeṃa ka[r]pa* in contrast to *asakhea karpa* (BC4 *asamkhe[dehi] ka[r]p[e[h]i*), *hoḍha*~ > *hoḍe* and maybe *mūḍha*~ (?) > *muḍeasa*, [*a*]muḍa. In BC4 *uadi* is related to Skt. *upadhi* but may phonologically be developed from P *upādi* rather than being an occurrence of deaspiration.

Single consonants

In initial position single consonants usually do not change. Parts of compounds are mostly treated as word-initial.⁶ Word-initial exceptions to this rule are: *hakṣadi* / *hakṣati* = *bhaviṣya(n)ti*, *ho* = *khalu* / P *kho*⁷, and *vāṇa* = *punar* / P *paṇa*.

Single consonants in medial position are generally voiced (e.g. *k* > *g*, *t* > *d*, *ṭ* > *ḍ*), *p* becomes *v* (maybe via *b*). The following chart summarizes the reflexes of OIA single intervocalic consonants as encountered in the manuscripts BC4 and BC11. Consonants that are not changing are not listed.

4 Cf. also Glass 2007: 108 (“deocclusion”, Lenz 2010: 28).

5 *sukha* > *suha* e.g. also in Pājā, Kaniṣka casket, but not in Sui Vihār (cf. Konow 1929: xcix). In the Dhp-G^K both, *sukha* and *suha*, occur (Konow 1929: xcix).

6 E.g. BC4 *praṇa-paramida*. Counter examples: BC4 *agicaṇa* besides *akicaṇa*. The general pattern in Gāndhārī is the non-voicing across a word boundary, but variations are not uncommon (cf. Salomon 2000: 82, referring to Konow 1929: xcvi and Brough 1962: 91, 106f.).

7 The initial *kh* should be stable but it is treated as intervocalic in an enclitic word here (Salomon 2008a: 109 and 150f. as well as Brough 1962: 100 §48, 108f. §68).

Table 12. Gāndhārī reflexes of single consonants.

OIA	Gāndhārī	Examples, G (= Skt.)
kh	k	BC11: aṣake[m]jaka[r]pa besides asa[khe]akarpa
	h	BC4: pramuha-, suha~ BC11: suha~, pramuha~; ho vaṇa = khalu punar / P kho paṇa
	∅	BC11: suami = sukhe besides otherwise suha~
k	ḡ	BC4: agicaṇa besides a[kica](*ṇa), + + [gar]e[ṇa] = ākāreṇa (?), [ahi]ga[kṣidave], [lo]gado, l(*o)ga(*dhadu) besides loadhadu BC11: vivega~, pradigara~, *agareṇa
	∅	BC4: aloa~, kavalaeṇa = kapālakena, [kai]a-, khaḍaeṇa = khaṇḍakena, valia = vālikā, loadhadu, śoa BC11: aṇavaṭie = anāvartika~, aveḍea, ceḍaṣia = caitasika~, aṭatvia = adhyātmika~, (a)loieṇa = (a)laukikena, loutareṇa = lokuttareṇa, saceā
g	ḡ	BC4: aṇagada~ (3x), jagāriṇa, -l[o]ga(*dhadu), viraga BC11: aḡamaṇa-, -agareṇa, atogada, vivegagadasa, aṇagada, veraga- = vairāga-
	y	BC11: kamabhoyi
	∅	BC4: [a]palioṣeṇa = paligodhena, [pa]l[i]oṣ[e] BC11: (a)roa = (a)roga~, paricae = parityāga~, suverao = suvairāga
gh	h	BC4: lahuḥḥaṇa~ = laḡhūtthāna~
c	y	BC4: ca = ya (besides ca); moyea BC11: amo[yana] = amocana~ (?), avayea~ = apacaya~, uayea~ = upacaya~
j	y	BC11: parvayidehi, pariyaṇeo
	∅	BC4: paricaita, paricea[ṇa] BC11: parica[i]ta, paricaidave, -bio/e = -bīja~
ṭ	ḍ	BC4: [koḍ]i
ḍh (?)	ḍ	BC11: muḍeasa ?= mūdha~, [a]muḍa khaita, hoḍe = hoḍha~
t	d	BC4: aṇagada, adide, asaṃkhe[dehi], idara, eda, cadura, citidasa, ceḍaṣia, jadi, durgadi, -dhadu~, paramida, praṇide (?), pridi, yaṣa-bhuda~, viṣadi, [ṣpadi]mo, ṣadasa (?), ṣaṣadaeṇa (?), satī[dehi], sugadi~, hida BC11: adidaaṇagada, eḍeṣa, jado, -dhadu, padilabhe, pradigarasuhe, pradibh[ava], pridi, etc. generally: verbal endings in 3rd sg. (-di = -ti), gdv. (-dava = tavya~)
	ḍ	BC4: paḍi- = prati-
	s	BC4: śpabhavasa = svabhāvatā~ (?) BC11: yava[s]a = yāvātā (?) or rather yavasa/yavasya
	∅	BC4: praiṭha[vamaṇa] = pratiṣṭhāpyamāna~, BC11: acitieṇa = acintitena (?)
th	ṣ	BC4: yaṣa BC11: aṣa va, kaṣa
	ḍh	BC4: paḍhama = prathama~ (special case in combination with pra-)
dh	ṣ	BC4: a[t]araṣaiṣati, aṣivasidae, [a]palioṣeṇa, bhoṣa, boṣimaḍa~, boṣiṣatva BC11: boṣi, aparāṣiṇa~, bahujaṇasaṣaraṇadukha, asaṣaraṇe, sva[a]ṣiṇasuhe, [dha](*r)mo[ṣa]ṇasuhe
	ṣ	BC4: [a]ṣivaṣidae
p	v	BC4: anu[va]dāna, [ava]rimaṇaṇa, kavalaeṇa, paveṇa, vi = api/pi, vivaryaṇa BC11: (a)ruva~, avayeaṣa = apacaya~, avi/vi = api, a[ja]v[i] = adyāpi, avaṇao = apanaya~, avarimaṇa, uava[t]i, ḥhavaṇia, saya[visa] => sayaṣavi = BHS sayyathāpi
	d	BC4: sudīṇo = svapna~ BC11: sudiṇa-
	∅	BC4: uadi, u[ad]i[ṇae], uadiṇa, [u]leḡṣidae BC11: uayea~, uaiṇa, uavati

OIA	Gāndhārī	Examples, G (= Skt.)
bh	bh	BC4: paribhaṣidava~, paribhaṣehi, paribhujidave, margabhavaṇe, śpabhavaṣa BC11: aṇubhavaṇa, a[ṇu]bhaviea, abhae (for ubhaye), padilabhe, parubhuteṇa/aparibhuteṇa, aparibhujī[tv]e[a], paribhuda, labheṇa
	vh	BC4: lavheti = labhanti/te (?), lavha = lābha~ BC11: avhiṇa = abhijñā~
	h	BC4: [ahi]ga[kṣidave], ahivadidava, aśuha~, uhae, śuha~ BC11: uhae, aśuha, śuha, śahi = ṣaḍbhiḥ
	∅	BC4: aivadida
l (?)	ḷ (?)	BC11: caduraguḍiehi = caturaṅgulibhiḥ (?)
ś	ṣ	BC4: akuśala~ (5x) besides aku[śa][o] (1x), kuśala~ (3x) besides kuśala~ (3x), a[śpri]śa[ṇaṇa] / [śpri]śaṇaṇa, deśa, ṇaṣe
ś (?)	ṣ	BC4: ṣada = ś(r)ānta / śāta (?) BC11: ṣade/o, ṣadimeṇa
s	ṣ	BC4: sarvaṣatvehi, aṣake[m]aka[r]pa, cedaṣia, gaga-ṇadi-valia-ṣama, ṇiṣamartha~ (besides ṇiṣamartha~), boṣiṣatva, [a]ṣivaṣidae, aṣapur[uṣ]aṇa, aṣatia(de) BC11: cedaṣia(sa), sarvaṣatvaṇa, sarvaṣatvehi, aṣake[m]aka[r]pa, sarvaṣatvahisa, ṇiṣamartha (uncertain: [ṇa]meaṣadidī, matupa[ye]aṣi)
h	ṣ	exception: BC4: iṣemi = iha
h	ṣ	exception: BC11: praṣaṇa-ka[rmo] = prahāṇa-karma~ (confusion with pradhāṇa~)

Notes

k. Adjective endings in *-aka* are regularly rendered as *-ea* in Gāndhārī (*aka* > *aya* > *ea*). In BC4 supposedly *alonea~* is to be explained by this process. Similarly, *vitrea* may have developed out of **vitrika* < *vitarka*. The suffix *-ika* becomes *-ia* (BC4: *aṣatia~* < *āsapitika~* (?), *valia* < *vālikā*) – the *k* is simply elided or it may first be voiced to *-y-* and then dropped.⁸ In the cardinal number *eka* the *-k-* is retained.⁹

g/g. In the beginning of the study of Gāndhārī manuscripts, *g* and *ḡ* were not differentiated consistently by every editor because the two signs did not imply a difference in meaning. Since they, however, reflect a phonological difference, a distinction has been maintained in the transliteration of BC4 and 11. Here, the normal *g* is used at the beginning of words or compound parts after *-ṃ* and *-u* or *-o*: BC4 *sugadiṇa*, *drogadiṇa*, *dru[ga]ṇa*, *purvagama* < *pūrvamaṅgama*; BC11 *[s]u[gada]*, *sagaṇia* < *saṃgaṇikā*. The *ḡ* with the rightward extension at the base of the stem is written in all other cases in intervocalic position (e.g. BC4/11 *aṇagada*, BC11 *agamaṇa*). Others,

8 Probably once, *-ika* is transformed to *-ua* (*dvi-padika* > *du-[padua]*, BC11v1.13).

9 “The tendency to preserve *k* in *eka-* is widespread in MIA, including Gāndhārī, where it was presumably pronounced *ekka* (Konow 1929: xcvi; Burrow 1937: 6). The same alternation in the forms of the word for ‘one’ is also attested in the Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents (Stein 1935–7: 763; Norman 1992b: 200) and is reflected among modern Dardic and Nuristani languages (Berger 1992: 246)” (Salomon 2000: 82).

written with normal *g*, like BC4 *arogaṇa*, *gaga-* (second) and *nagao* go back to consonant clusters.

gh. The only attestation for the reflex of singular *gh* is *lahuḥhaṇa* = *laghūtthāna* in BC4, thus confirming the development observed in other manuscripts, for example BL1, where it is principally written as *h* (Salomon 2008a: 107, 110). In BC11 *sagharya* may be based on an underlying cluster *ṅgh* > *ṃh* (**saṅghārya* = *saṃhārya*). Alternatively, *G* *sagharya* might be connected to *saṃskārya* supported by the equivalence *saghara*~ = *saṃskāra*~ / *P* *saṅkhāra* in the Dhp-G^K, but the context in BC11 does not support this option.

c. In initial position, OIA *c-* is retained (and not changed to *j* as for example in RS5). In a few instances in BC4, in enclitic *ca* the consonant is treated as intervocalic and rendered to *y*. Word-internally, the only example for *-c-* > *-y-* in BC4 seems to be *moyea*, although it is not sure to what exactly it corresponds, namely *mocakaḥ*, *mocayet* / *P* *moceyya* or *mocāya* (cf. text notes). The remaining occurrences of intervocalic *c* are explainable by clusters: *vucadi* = *ucyate*; others go back to *-ty-*. In BC11, *amo[yaṇa]* may equate to *amocana*; more certain are *avayea*~ < *apacaya*~ and *uayea*~ < *upacaya*~.

j. Intervocalic *j* is regularly represented by *y*. This is confirmed by BC11 *parvayidehi* and *pariyaṇeo*. In BC4 *puyamaṇa*, OIA *jy* has first been assimilated to *jj*, then reduced to *j* and changed to *y*. It is retained when combined with *r* (e.g. BC4 *varjidava*~, *varjida*; BC11 *varjita*). BC11 *prajaha[ṇa]*, *pajahidava* and *prajahita* are likely to be treated as initial after a prefix. Of uncertainty is the exact OIA correspondence to *viṣaja[ji]ta* in BC11. Because of *j* = *d(h)y* / *jy* / *ñj* it would appear to be based on *vi*√*sañj*. The past participle should be *G* *viṣajida* = *vi-ṣajjita* (MW). The *-jaji-* could be explained either as a intensive/frequentive by reduplication (although it should rather be *vi-ṣa-ṣañj* > *viṣaṣajida*), or it is a scribal error and *ja* is to be deleted.

t. Normally, *t* in medial position gets voiced in Gāndhārī: *t* > *d*. The OIA prefix *prati-* is regularly rendered to *paḍi-* (once in BC11 also *padi-* in *padilabhe*), but twice to *pradi-* (BC11 *pradigara*, *pradibh[ava]*) and once it is elided resulting in *prai-* (BC4 *praiṭha[vamaṇa]*). Both forms, *paḍi-* and *pradi-*, occur also side by side in the same

text in the BL EĀ-type fragments (Allon 2001: 82) and as well as in the Dhp-G^k and the Niya documents (*paḍi-* and *prati-*).

Another case of elision of intervocalic *-t-* appears to be BC11 *acitieṇa* = *acinti-tena*. Original *t* is retained in clusters with *tr*, although it is sometimes difficult to tell if not indeed *dr* was written (cf. chapter on paleography, p. 49). In BC11 there is one clear writing of *yati* (= *yadi*), a phenomenon which is known from the Niya documents (cf. Burrow 1937: 64 § 129). Regarding *ya [ti]* in BC4r.19.1 cf. text notes. Moreover, *t* is retained in the cluster *tva* = *tma* and in other clusters of which only *t* has been left in Kharoṣṭhī: *kt*, *tt*, *nt*, *pt*.

Other endings in G *-ita* are absolutives (*-itvā* / P *-itta*): BC4 *paricaita*, *hoita*; BC11 (*a*)*khaita*, *varjita*, *paśita*, *citi[t]a*, *chidita*, *uṣata* (?), *piṣita*, *paricaita*, *paricaeta* = *paricaita*, *khaita*, *viṣajajita*, *dhaṇaita*, *prajahita*. Irregular is the ending *-ti* as the 3rd sg. (instead of *-di*) in both manuscripts: BC4 *hakṣati*; BC11 *dro[a]c[e] khaveati sapatī ṇaṣeati mokṣo ṇaṣeati* (the first two could be plural, too, but *mokṣo* leaves no other option than being singular).

In BC11, G *eta* is analogous to *ta* (= *tad*) and treated as initial (as in many documents from Central Asia).

d. Original single intervocalic *d* is stable (e.g. BC11 *yadi*). In both manuscripts most occurrences of G *d* are initial or go back to OIA *t*.

th. Original intervocalic *th* invariably becomes *ṣ*. The only exception are clusters with the semivowel *r* before *th* (e.g. *artha*~). In BC4, OIA *prathama* becomes *paḍhama* similar to P *paṭhama*.

dh. Original intervocalic *dh* as a rule becomes *ṣ*. There is apparently one exception: BC11 *sudhu*. This may be an equivalent to *sudha* which is (according to Burrow 1937: 40 § 91) an indeclinable with the meaning of “only”. It is documented only in the Niya documents and the etymology is not clear (Burrow 1937: 131). The *dh* could be retained because of being treated as word initial (*su-dhu*) or stemming from *suddha*~.

p. Intervocalic *p* is most frequently represented by *v*. In BC4, the rendering *svapna* > *sudiṇa* is explained by the further development *p* > *v* > *d* (cf. text notes). Elision is common in the case of the OIA prefix *upa-*: BC4 *u[a]daṇa*, *uadi* = P *upādi* (Skt.

upadhi), *u[ad]i[ṇae]* = BHS *upādinna~*, *uadiaṇa* = *upādiyāna~*; *[u]ekṣidae* = *upekṣita~*. If prefixed by a negative particle *upa* is treated as medial: *aṇu[va]daṇa* = *anupādāna*. BC11 documents *uayeasa*, *uaṇiṣa* and *uava[t]i*. Interesting to note is the scribal error *sarpa-sapatie* for *sarva-sampatti~* in BC11.

In cases where *p* is written, it goes back to a cluster (*mp* > *p*, *tp* > *p*). A negative prefix is often “ignored” and the following *p* treated as initial: BC4 *[a]palioṣeṇa*, but: *avarimaṇa* = *a-parimāṇa~*; BC11 *aprañati*, *aparaṣiṇasuhe*, *aparihaṇadhama*, *aparibhuji[tv]e[a]*. In BC11 within two words *ava-* as a prefix seems to be retained, but the reading and interpretation is not certain: *[avakra]* ? + + .

bh. Intervocalic *bh* is retained, mainly after prefixes or at the beginning of a new compound part, which is why it is probably treated as word initial. In BC11 *abhae* seems to equate to *ubhaye* otherwise written *uhae*.

Original *bh* becomes *h* in *uhae* = *ubhaya* and *(a)śuha~*. The development *bh* > *h* is familiar from the nominal word endings in the instr. pl. m./n. *-hi* (OIA *-bhiḥ*). Also *ṣaḍbhiḥ* is reflected by BC4 *ṣah<~i>* / BC11 *ṣahi* and thus twice reduced (cf. G *sabhi* in the Dhp-G^K).

At the beginning of words both reflexes, *bh* and *h*, occur in derivations of $\sqrt{bhū}$: BC4 *[bhavid].[d].*, *hoita*, *hakṣad/ti*; BC11 *bhaviae*, *bhave*, *bhavea*, *bhavidave*, *bhaviśadi*, *bhodu*, but also *hoidava/hoidave*, *[ho]du*, *hode*, *hakṣati*. Moreover, *hakṣati* is apparently once further reduced to *a[kṣ]ati* in BC4. As also documented in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, intervocalic *bh* must have been pronounced as *h* in course of time, so that it could also have been elided occasionally.

In a few instances intervocalic *bh* changes to *vh*: BC4: *lavheti* = *labhanti/te* (?), *lavha* = *lābha~*¹⁰; BC11 *avhiṇa* = *abhijñā~* but *labheṇa* = *lābhena* and *padilabhe* = *pratilābha~*. Cf. von Hinüber 2001: 161 § 191: *-bh-* > *-β-* > *-v/vh-*.

y. In combination with vowels, original *y* is reduced to *i* or is elided (cf. ‘Vowels in combination with *y* and *v*’). In clusters with consonants it is assimilated (cf. ‘Clusters with semivowel’). Sometimes a glide vowel is inserted before the *y* is dropped or *iy* is reduced to *i* (cf. ‘Anaptyxis’). Intervocalic *y* is retained in: BC4 *bhuyo* (maybe due to double consonants in MIA), *svaya-* (maybe rather from *svaka-* than *svaya-*); BC11 *aya*, *kaya* = *kāya~*, *(a)kṣaya~*, *śriyaṇa* (besides similarly *aś[r]ea*); and regularly

10 Cf. *spalavha* = OIA *svalābha*, documented in the Dhp-G^K 61 and 62 (*salavhu*).

in original clusters with *r*: BC4 *vivaryaṇa*; BC11 *karye*, *sagharya*. In the reverse, *y* is written for original *g/j/c*: *y < g* (BC11 *kamabhoyi*), *y < j* (BC11 *parvayidehi*, *pariyaṇeo*), *y < c* (BC11 *amo[yaṇa]*).

1. Normally *l* is stable. The only anomalous case in BC4 would be *palaśpidava* and *palaśpada* if this is a derivative from OIA *pari √smṛ*. These words, however, are currently understood as derivations from $\sqrt{pāl}$, although this is uncertain.

v. Original *v* is most commonly retained, both word initially and medially. It is never – as frequently in Gāndhārī – represented as *b* (see e.g. Allon 2001: 78 or Salomon 2008a: 116).

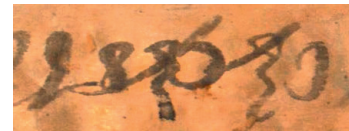
ś/ṣ/s/h. Intervocalic *ś* is mostly written with a small rightward extension at the base transliterated as $\underline{ś}$. This is once even used in word-initial position: $\underline{ś}$ *aśidava* (BC4). In BC4 it stays *ś* after prefixes (treated as initial, e.g. *aṇuśaśa*, *aśuha*); due to graphical reasons nothing can be said about the *ś* following *r* (e.g. *[d]arśana*), for convenience it has been transliterated as normal *ś*. Furthermore, normal *ś* is once retained in combination with an *i*-vowel: BC4 *deśidavo*, although $\underline{śi}$ is not excluded in this context: BC11 *ṇaśie[a]*. In the uncertain case of *śada/e/o/imeṇa* (BC4 and 11) $\underline{ś}$ might reflect OIA *ś*, although this is not common to Gāndhārī, as initial $\underline{ś}$ normally goes back to *śr*. Nevertheless there are counter examples: *śade* = *sāta* in Niya (Burrow 1937: 126 referring to N.Pers. *śad* etc.), *śiṣa-* = BHS *śīrṣa-* in BL1 (AvI-G^L, Lenz 2010: 27), and *aśaga* = *aśokam* / P *asokaṃ* in Dhp-G^K 46.¹¹

An anomalous shift *s > ś* (once $\underline{ś}$) is found in BC4/11 *aṇuśaśa*~ = *anuśaṃsa*~, BC4 *aṇuśaśidava* = *anuśaṃsitavya*~, $\underline{ś}$ *aśidava* = *śaṃsitavya*~, but in every case the nasal + sibilant combination *ṃs* may account for this. A similar sporadic sound change is G *śaśana*~ = *sāsana*~ (Dhp-G^K 258, cf. Brough 1962: 101 § 50; Niya #510; AG-G^L 23, 57, 69, 77 = BL1 r33, 81, 97–8, 110, cf. Salomon 2008a: 117), *viśpaśa* / *vaśpaśa* = *viśvāsa*~ (Dhp-G^K 66, 162, 325, cf. Brough 1962: 101 § 50) or *śaśaga*~ = *saṃśaya* (Nid-G^L2 / BL9 v143, 148, 155, 159) and *śaśea* = *śaṃset* (Nid-G^L2 / BL18r7), for which palatal assimilation can be provided as the explanation (cf. Baums 2009: 187f.).

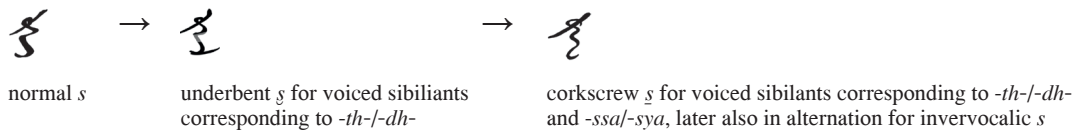
11 Similar anomalous development of *ś < s* is attested in: *śaga* = *saṅgam* / P *saṅgaṃ* (Dhp-G^K 46) and *aśajamaṇa* = P *asajjamaṇaṃ* (Dhp-G^K 274), cf. Brough 1962 §§ 50, 57.

s/ṣ/ś. The modified *śa* is not used for the gen. sg. ending (*-sya* / P *-ssa*) as usual in many Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, but only for OIA *-th/dh-* or for *-s-*, – hereby mostly at the beginning of a new compound part, but also in the middle of a word (for examples cf. ‘Distribution of *s/ṣ* in the chapter on orthography, p. 58). The text therefore seems to have been written in a transitory stage of shifting from *ś* to generally *s*. The difference between *s* and *ś* must have been very little and/or not well known, and the notation of *ś* seems to depend merely on the (presumed) voiced pronunciation (cf. Glass 2007: 107).

In the unique writing of *[a]śivaśidae* a third kind of *s* can be seen, which resembles a normal *s* with a rightward extension as a footmark or rather an additionally added more or less horizontal stroke at the bottom. For want of an established special character for this modified form (the *ś* being occupied by the “corkscrew” *s*), I have transcribed this as *ṣ* (*s* with breve, U+032E).¹²

BC4 *[a]śivaśidae*BC4 *aśivasidae*

The easiest explanation for this sign would be the development of *s* to *ś* as follows:



Hitherto only the first and the last form have been distinguished in transliterations. According to Glass (2000: 107) “This form [i.e. *ś*] first appears in the Bajaur casket inscription”. However, the sign in question is rather the underbent *śa* than the corkscrew *śa* (although used to indicate a gen. sg. ending, besides otherwise *-sa*).¹³ I would like to differentiate both, *śa* and *ṣa* systematically in order to see if there had been different usages of it (since both appear side by side in the manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection), and secondly to prove (if possible) that the *śa* did not develop graphically from a right-curving *-sya* as assumed by Senart (1914: 570–2) and Brough (1962: 68)¹⁴ but from the addition of a ‘cauda’ like in *g* and *d* as already sug-

12 This notation was agreed upon with Andrew Glass during the Gāndhārī Workshop in Munich, July 2013, against *śa*, proposed by Harry Falk (2011: 14), since combinable characters are preferred at this point in time.

13 B *Viyakamitraśa apracarajasa*, ‘Shinkot reliquary inscription’, CKI 176 (cf. Falk 2005 and Baums 2012: 202f. regarding the question of genuineness of the inscriptions. If genuine, inscription B would fall in the reign of Vijayamitra, 8/7 BCE [cf. Baums 2012: 202 fn. 2 referring to Salomon 2005: 382] or 4/5 CE according to the ‘Index of dated objects and inscriptions’ by Britta Schneider in Falk forthcoming).

14 “[... T]he regular inversion of the conjunct *-y* on the Wardak vase, and the appearance on the silver objects [...] of *sa*, *sya*, and *sya* with inverted *-y*, seem to make it certain that the Dharma-pada and Niya *śa* is a direct descendant of the inverted *sya* appearing on the two silver cups from Sirkap” (Brough 1962: 68).

gested by Glass (2000: 108). To a certain extent, the manuscripts that have survived until till today may reflect a phase in which the differentiation of the three signs and there usage was already quite blurred, that we will not be able to prove their original application. Still, a comprehensive examination of the different graphemes will help us to consider the use of *s/s̄/ṣ* around the time these manuscripts were written. In such a study inscriptions would have to be included, too, of course.

To my knowledge, Harry Falk was the first to differentiate three types of *sa* (regarding a fragment of the ‘Split’ Collection containing parts of the Aṭṭhakavagga: “one of the corkscrew type, usually transcribed as *ṣa*, either corresponding to an initial *sa* or wherever it stands for Skt. gen. *-sya*. The third variety is again ‘under-bent’, transcribed here with a *ṣa* (Unicode *ṣ*, U+023F). It occurs where Skt. would have a *dha*, as in



sa/ṣa/ṣa

viṣasu <≈ *vidhāsu*, *aṣivasaeḥa* <≈ *adhivāsayeyya*; *kuṣaya* <≈ *kudhayā*, *bahuṣa* <≈ *bahudhā*. Unfortunately, this application is not the only one; the under-bent *ṣa* also occurs where a *saṃ* is expected, as in *pratiṣajanena* <≈ *paṭisaṃyujeyya*, and *aviṣabhunea* <≈ *abhisamḥaveyya*. There is no common logic apparent behind these two uses” (Falk 2011: 14). – It would indeed be encouraging to find out if nevertheless a system is discernible, that once stood at the beginning of a development which ended in an apparently chaotic system of personal preferences of different scribes.¹⁵

There is one case in BC11 where *ṣ* seems to stand for original *h*: *praṣaṇa* (besides *G prahaṇa*) = *prahāṇa*, but the confusion with *dh* (*pradhāna*) is an old one.

(11v.28) ... *pariṇa-prahaṇa karmo ca · ruve °aṣa va · aruve*

(11r.21) *a[ha] ki eṣa praṣaṇa-ka[rmo] ruve · aṣa va aruve*

The first one suggests OIA *prahāṇa*, the second one OIA *pradhāna*. If one assumes that both occurrences mean the same, they either stand for *prahāṇa* (then: *praṣaṇa* < *prahāṇa*) or they stand for *pradhāna* (then: *prahaṇa* < *pradhāna*). The development *ṣ* < *h* is attested in RS5 (Glass 2007: 119)¹⁶ and in the SaṅgCm (Baums forthcoming);

15 It seems as if at the time of the writing the ‘Split’ fragment (SC1, Aṭṭhakavagga) two signs (1. *saṃ*, in Aśokan inscriptions written as a halfmoon placed in the middle at the base of the stem, and 2. *ṣa* later to become *ṣa*, written as a horizontal stroke attached to the base of the stem) have been combined into one (*ṣa*). In a metal plate from Buner (Falk 2006: 395, dated to Azes 9 = 39/38 BCE) and also in a paleographically similar reliquary inscription from Buner (Falk 2012 [2007]: 139) the *saṃ* is still written with this halfmoon similar to the grapheme for *sma* (*saṃ* is written with a half-circle open to the left at least from 16/17 CE on, e.g. Indravarman casket Azes 63)). In the Gomitra slab, which is to be dated to the 2nd or 1st c. BCE (Salomon 2009, cf. Sadakata 2003) the grapheme corresponding to OIA *-th-* is written with a clear horizontal stroke at the base of the *s* (i.e. *ṣ*).

16 “Medial *h* has become *ṣ* twice, *samepaṣaṇaṇa* = Skt. *samyakprahāṇānām* (34, 38). According to Mark Allon, this is likely due to confusion with Skt. *pradhāna-* / P *padhāna-*, which commonly

h < dh is, as far as I know, not yet attested elsewhere. There are however examples of *h < s*, which could have been a second development from *h < s/s̄ < dh*.¹⁷ Thus, theoretically, both options are possible, *prahaṇa < praṣaṇa < OIA pradhāna* or *praṣaṇa < prahāṇa < OIA prahāṇa*. I expect *prahāṇa* to be intended in both cases, as it is supported by the general topic of the text.

In the adverb *iṣemi = iha* likewise the development *ś < h* seems to have taken place. The writing *īsa/e* is well attested in inscriptions (Fussman 1989: 472), Niya documents (Burrow 1937: 40) and also in the other manuscripts (Lenz 2003: 168, Glass 2007: 119). As it is written sometimes with a superscript line above indicating an underlying cluster, this may be *hy*, because the development *ś > hy* is attested elsewhere (*vighaśa = vigāhya* or *vigr̥hya*, DhP-G^L 8, Lenz 2003: 44; *[a]r(*u)ś[a]* = *āruhya*, *daśamaṇa = dahyamānam*, *vigri[śo] = vigr̥hyam*, *daśaṇ[o] = *dayhanā*, Nid-G^L2, cf. Baums 2009: 171, 182). Cf. also *guhya > guza* in RS5 (“[a] derivation of *guza* from *guhya* assumes *hy > ś (> ž) > z*”, Glass 2007: 161; cf. also Baums 2009: 149, 171, 182).¹⁸ The explanation by Burrow (1937: 7 § 17) is: *iha > (Aś. Shah) ia*, i.e. *iya > iyya > īsa, ija (= *iža)*.

Consonant clusters

As in all Gāndhārī texts, original geminates are written as the corresponding single consonant, e.g. *citta > cita*. Clusters of nonaspirates and aspirate reflex to the simple aspirate, e.g. *buddh° > budh°*. These are not listed in the table below.

Anusvāra is written only sporadically (cf. orthography), most often it is represented by (non-written) nasal before homorganic stop (*m̐C > NC > C*). Where it is used, it is in some cases applied to the wrong consonant (*sasaṃra, aśake[m̐]aka[r]pa*).

There are two words where the Sanskrit includes a visarga: *duḥkha* and *niḥsāmarthya*. In both cases, the visarga has been dropped, resulting in *dukha/duha* or *ṇisamartha/ṇiṣamartha*. Similarly, in BC11: *ṇikhalida = *niṣ-khalita*.

.....
occurs with it in the P compound *pahānapadhāna* (= G *prasaṇa-prasaṇo*; see Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.8, pp. 256–60; BHSD s.v. *pradhāna*; and text note on *samepaṣaṇaṇa*, ch. 11, l. 34).”

17 Examples for *h < s* can be found in the DhP-G^L. According to Lenz (2003: 43) “[s]uch a phonetic development is found in Iranian languages, as well as in the P future tense (e.g., *padāhisi* for P *padassati*, -ss- > -h-; see Geiger 1994: 146), but is generally marginal in IA dialects. The appearance of this development in the DhP-G^L is apparently part of a general tendency toward the weakening of *s* and *ś* to *h*.”

18 A parallel development the other way around (*ś > h*, sometimes also *> Ø*) is exemplified by: *-yoniho < yoniśaḥ*, *baihoda / baihodu < vaśībhūtaḥ* and *baki[a] < *vañkīśaḥ* (AG-G^L, Salomon 2008a: 117) or *caduveharajada-* (Baums 2009: 150).

Table 13. Gāndhārī reflexes of consonant clusters.

OIA	Gāndhārī	examples, G (= Skt.)
ṃkṣ	kṣ	BC4: sakṣiteṇa BC11: sakṣiteṇa
ṃkhy	ṃkh, k	BC4: asaṃkhe[dehi] BC11: aṣake[ṃ]aka[r]pa
ṃgh	gh	BC4: sagha
ṃc = ṃc	ṃc	BC4: -paṃca-/-pa[ṃca]-
ṃḍ	d	BC11: pa[ṃ]ḍidaṇa / pa[ṃ]ḍita
ṃd	d	BC4: sadriṭhia
ṃp	p	BC4: sapatī BC11: sapatī
ṃ(b)h	h	BC4: sahora (?)
ṃś	ś	BC4: viśadi
ṃs	ṃs, ś, ṣ	BC4: saṃsa[ra]-, aṇuśaśa, aṇuśaśidava, śaśidava BC11: sasamra / [saṃsa]ra (or [sasam]ra as well?)
ḥkh	kh [or: ḥ > Ø]	BC4: dukha~ BC11: dukha
	h	BC4: duhe (besides usual dukha~)
ḥs	s [or: ḥ > Ø]	BC4: ṇisamartha~/ṇiṣamartha~ = niḥsamarthya~
kt	t	BC4: [vata]ve, viratasa BC11: aparibhuteṇa, parubhuteṇa, (a)paribhu[t]asa
khy	kh	BC11: akhaita = ākhyāyivā
gn	g	BC4: ṇagao = nagnaka~
gy	g	BC4: arogaṇa = ārogyānām
ṅg	g	BC4: gaga BC11: jugidea, jugida
cch	ch	BC11: ichiea, gachae
cy	c	BC4: vucadi = ucyate/P vuccati BC11: vucadi
jñ	ñ	BC4: ṇaṇa~, [pariṇa](*e), praṇa- BC11: apraṇāti, pariṇa, ṇaṇami, -ṇaṇeṇa, [a]viṇāti, avhiṇa
jy	j	BC4: varj[a]maṇa = varjyamāna~ BC11: bheṣaje = bhaiṣajya~
	y	BC4: puyamaṇa = pūjyamāna~
ṇc	ṃc	BC4: -paṃca-/-pa[ṃca]-
	c	BC11: mucami = muṇcāmi
ṇj	j	BC4: paribhujidave = paribhuṇjayitavya~ BC11: aparibhujī[tv]e[a] (?), viṣaja[ji]ta (?)
ḍbh	h	BC4 ṣah(*i) = ṣaḍbhiḥ (ḍbh > bh > h) BC11 ṣahi
ṇḍ	[ṃ]ḍ	BC11: pa[ṃ]ḍidaṇa, pa[ṃ]ḍi[d]a-
	ḍ	BC4: khaḍaṇa = khaṇḍaka~, boṣimaḍami/moṣimaḍa- BC11: ga[ḍ]a~

ny	ñ	BC4: puña- BC11: puña
tp	p	BC4: aṣapuru[ṣa]~, upadidave, upajiśa[ti], citupa[de], sapuruṣa~ BC11: upaṇa, upajea
tm	tv	BC4: atva- BC11: atva-, aṇatva-, aṇatvia = adhyātmika~
ty	c	BC4: [a]cata = atyanta~, paricaita, paricea[ṇa], picara = pratyarha~, -pracea = -pratyaya~ BC11: (a)ṇica~, parica° = parityaj°, droaca~ = daurgatya, saca, sacea
ttv	tv	BC4: satva/-ṣatva- BC11: satva
tv	t	absolutives in general
dy	j	BC11: upajea, vijadi = vidyate, a[ja]v[i] = adyāpi
dv	du	BC4: [dum](°e), -du- BC11: [du]e = dve, duehi
ddh	dh	BC4: budha~, midha~, BC11: budhe[hi]; sudhu = P suddha~ (?)
dhy	j	BC4: maja/e = madhya~ BC11: maja/e
	ḷ	BC11: aṇatva-, aṇatvia = adhyātmika
	ch	BC11: achat[v]ia (scribal error)
nt	t	BC4: citaṇe, citidasa BC11: acitiṇa, atogada, kṣati
nd	d	BC11: chade = chanda~
ndh	dh	BC4: badhaṇa~
ny	ñ	BC4: aña, aṇatra, gelaña = BHS glānya~ / P gelañña~, śuña~ BC11: śuña, vihañadi = vihanyate
pt	t	BC4: sata = sapta, aṣatia = āsaptika (?) BC11: sakṣiteṇa = samkṣiptena, viñati = vijñapti, tati = tṛpti (?)
py	p	BC11: arupadhadu = ārūpyadhātu~
ps	ṣ	BC4: [j]luhoṣidave = *jugupsitavya~ / P *jigucchitabba~
bdh	dh	BC4: paḍiladha = pratilabdha~, [pra]la[dhe], ladhe, suladh[a]
bhy	bh	BC4: la[bhati] = labhyate (?)
mp	p	BC4: saparaia = sāmparāyika~ BC11: sapati~ = sampatti~, -sapara(*ia)
rg	rg	BC4: durgadi~ (but also with metathesis: drogadi~, dru[ga]ṇa~ and droaca~)
rt	ṭ	BC4: kaṭave = kartavyam BC11: kaṭave, aṇavaṭie = anāvartika~
rthy	rth	BC4: ṇisamartha~/ṇiṣamartha~ = niṣāmarthya~
ry	r (?)	BC4: ka[rama]ṇa = kāryamāna~ (?)
	ry	BC11: karye, sagharya
	ri	BC4: jagaria = jāgariyā / P jāgariyā
	∅	BC11: kaye = karye (?)
rś	rś	BC4: [d]arśaṇa
lp	rp	BC4: ka[rp]e[h]i BC11: asa[khe]akarpa

vy	v	BC4: -dava~ = -tavya~ BC11: paricaidave, divaca[kṣ]u
	vi	BC11: vidimiśa = vyatimiśra
śc	ċ	BC4: paċa = paścāt BC11: [pa]ċa
śy	ś/ṣ	BC4: deśamaṇa = deśyamāna~ BC11: avaśi/avaśa = avaśyam, ṇaśadi, paśita = paśyitvā for dṛṣtvā (?)
śr	ś	BC11: vidimiśa
	ṣ/ṣ	BC4: miṣo/miṣo
ṣṭ	ṭh	BC4: driṭhadhamio = dṛṣṭa~/P diṭṭha~, paribhaṭha = paribhāṣṭa~/P °bhaṭṭa~, sadriṭhia = sāṃdṛṣṭika~/P sandiṭṭhika~ BC11: driṭha-, śiṭha = śiṣṭa~
ṣṭh	ṭh (ḥh)	BC4: praiṭha[vamaṇa] = pratiṣṭhāpyamāna~, p[āḍiṭi]ṭha] = pratitiṣṭhā / P patitiṭṭha BC11: suṭhu = suṣṭhu
ṣṇ	ṣ̄	BC11: uṣā = ūṣṇa
ṣy	ś	BC4: cariśe, bhikṣiśe, vaiśadi BC11: bhaviśadi
sth	ṭh	BC4: lahuṭhaṇa = laghūtthāna BC11: ḥhavaṇia, (a)ḥhaṇo
sp	śp	BC4: a[śpri]śa[ṇaṇa] = BHS a-sprṣana, [śpr]iṣaṇaṇa
sm	sv	BC4: tasva = tasmāt
	śp	BC4: palaśpidava (?), palaśpada (?), [śpati]mo = smṛṭiman (?)
-sya	-sa	BC4: citidasa, viratasa BC11: driṭhadhamiasa, droacasa, etc.
sv	śp	BC4: śpabhavasa = svabhāvatā BC11: śpa[ho] = svakam/svayam

Stop + stop

As in any MIA dialect, clusters of the type stop + stop undergo assimilation. The latter member predominates over the former, for example: *kt* > *tt* > *t*; *tk* > *kk* > *k*.

Clusters with nasal

Anusvāra is written very irregularly and not without doubt (see above). It is once used to substitute a nasal: *paṃca* = *pañca* (BC4).

Clusters with nasal are mostly nasal + consonant, which are represented by the respective homorganic consonant alone (the only exception is the mentioned *ñc* > *ṃc*): *ṅg* > *g*, *ṅgh* > *gh*, *ñc* > *ṃc*, *ñj* > *j*, *ṅḍ* > *ḍ*, *nt* > *t*, *nd* > *d*, *ndh* > *dh*, *ṃś* > *ś*.

If it is the other way around (consonant + nasal) it changes: *jñ* > *ñ*; exception: *gn* > *g*. In combinations *n/ṇ* + *y* it is palatized to *ñ*; *ṣ* + *ṇ* is written as *ṣ̄*; *sm* is represented by *sv* or *śp* (maybe *sv* is used in word-medial position and *śp* in word- or compound part-initial position).

The OIA conjunct *tm / sm* becomes *tv / sv*: e.g. *atva-*, *aṅatvia*; *tasva* (cf. e.g. Brough 1962: 102 § 53.). According to von Hinüber 2001: 190 § 244, the development is *tm ... n > *tv ... n > tt ... n* (corresponding to *sm ... n > *sv ... n > ss ... n*), e.g. Skt. *ātman* > **ātvan* > P *attan*. However, the graphical sign transcribed as *tv* could also stand for *tm*, but there is no clear differentiation in writing *tv* for *-ttv* and *tv* for *ma* (see chapter on paleography).

Clusters with semivowel

Clusters with y. In clusters (including nasal) with *y* as a second member, the *y* is assimilated to the preceding consonant (geminated and then reduced), and if the consonant is a dental, it is palatized (e.g. Glass 2007: 121, Salomon 2008a: 119). Addendum: if the consonant is dental – and not preceded by *r* – it is palatized.¹⁹ The developments documented in BC4 or 11 are as follows. Assimilation: *khy* > *kh*; *gy* > *g*; *cy* > *c*; *jy* > *j / y*; *py* > *p*; *bhy* > *bh*; *rthy* > *rth*; *vy* > *v*; *śy* > *ś*, *sy* > *s*. Assimilation + palatization: *ṅy / ny* > *ṅ̃*; *ty* > *c*; *dy* > *j*; *dhy* > *j / ĵ* (once *ch*²⁰); *śy* > *ś*. Sometimes the consonant cluster is also resolved by the insertion of the glide *i*, cf. ‘Anaptyxis (*svarabhakti*)’.

Clusters with r. Clusters with *r* as the latter member are usually preserved in Gāndhārī. In BC11 they most frequently occur in the combination *pra*. Once the prefix *pra* is “metathized” to *par-* in *parvayidehi*.²¹ A regular exception to this rule is *prati-* which becomes *paḍi-* in Gāndhārī in analogy to Pali *paṭi*. In BC11 this is once further simplified to *padi-* (*padilabhe*; cf. *pajahidava* for *prajahidava*); in BC4 it is written only with the modified *ḍ*: *paḍiladha*, *p[ḍitiḥa]*. Exceptions to this exception are: BC4 *praṭṭha[vamaṇa]* = *pratiṣṭhāpyamāna*²² and BC11 *pradigara-suhe* and *pradibh[ava]*. A special case seems to be BC4 *picara* = *pratyarha*~ (cf. text

19 For instance, *rthy* > *rth*, but *mithyā* > *micha* (Salomon 2008a: 259, 436) and **kvathya* > *kvachia* (Salomon 2008a: 119), as clusters with *r* are usually retained in Gāndhārī.

20 *G achat[v]ia* for *aṅatvia*, cf. chapter on orthography.

21 In the Khvs-G it is written *p[r]av.[y.d.]*, thus apparently *vr* > *vv* > *v*, but as Salomon pointed out, this word as a technical term of Buddhist monasticism is likely to be preserved in its source dialect form (Salomon 2000: 89, referring to section 6.2.2.4). Also *parvaidu* = *pravrajitam* in BL1 (AG-G^L, Salomon 2008a: 130). Or *parvahai* and *parvaido*, probably from *pra* + *√vah*, in Dhp-G^K 16 (according to Allon 2001: 98).

22 The elision of original intervocalic dentals is “a characteristic feature of later stages of Gāndhārī (Fussman 1989: esp. 462–4), as of other MIA languages” (Salomon 2000: 81), that is “from approximately the second century A.D. onward” (Salomon 2000: 85, see Salomon 1999a: 126, 152). This phenomenon is however already attested in the Dhp-G^L (Lenz 2003: 42).

notes). Other clusters with *r* include *kr* (e.g. *avakra*] ? + +), *gr* (e.g. *parigrahida*), *tr* or *dr* (e.g. *atra*, *añatra*, *matra*, *sarvatra*, *dh[a]re[tr]ami*). Regarding *śr* in BC11 it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the postconsonantal *r* is retained or not, since here the Kharoṣṭhī sign for OIA *ś* is frequently written with a rightward ‘footmark’ (transcribed as *ṣ́*) mostly standing for *ś* in intervocalic position. Especially in the word *mahaśīe* it should denote *śrī̄*, (similarly *aś[r]ea* = *aśreya~*), but I do not think the footmark can be interpreted as postconsonantal *r* because this is marked clearly and differently with the foot rising high above the top of the *śi* in *śriyaṇa* (cf. chapter on paleography). Glass (2007: 124) explains this as assimilation *śr* > *śś* > *ś*, which in our case would be mostly *ṣ́*, but *śr* can also reflex to *ś* (BC11 *vidimiśa*) without showing any sign of footmark or postconsonantal *r*. On the other hand, in BC4 *miśra* is written as *miṣo/miṣo*, which is the usual development in Gāndhārī (but according to Salomon 2008a: 125, *śr* can furthermore be presented as *rś*, *sr*, or *śir*).

Clusters with *r* preceding the consonant are often subject to metathesis: *dur-/daur-* > *dru/dro-* in BC4 *dru[ga]ṇa*, *droaca*, *drogadi~* (but also *durgadi~*); BC11 *avasarga* > *osagra-*, *utsarga~* > *usagra*, *daurgatya~* > *droaca~*.

The cluster *r* + C is as usual preserved in: BC4 *a[r]tho*²³, *karma*, *ṇisamartha~*, *durgadi~*, *dharmā~* (besides twice *-dhamia~*); BC11 *karye* (besides *kaye*?), *dharmā-* besides *dhama*, *[ṇi]rvaṇa* besides *ṇ[iva]ṇ[u]*, *ṇisamartha~*, *durgadi*, *purve*, *marga*, *varjamaṇa*, *varjita*, *sagharya*, *sarva*. Thus, the following clusters are usually stable: *rg* (with exceptions of metathesis), *rj*, *rth*, *rm*, *ry*, *rv*. Regarding *dharmā/dhama*: Possibly these words have been written differently with intention, since *dharmā~* is applied when “the Dharma” is meant and *dhama~/-dhamia~* in case it refers to “elements”.²⁴

The reflex *rt* > *ṭ* is documented in BC4/11 *kaṭave* = *kartavyam* and BC11 *aṇavaṭīe* = *anāvartikam*. In other published Gāndhārī documents *kartavya~* is mostly written *kartav(y)a~*, once without preconsonantal *r* (*kata[v]i* DhP-G^K 293) and once with retroflex like in our manuscripts (*kaṭavo* Niya #11). Among the unpublished (preliminarily transliterated) ones it is found as a dental in *katava~* in BL11, BL15, BL20, BL28, BC2 and retroflex as *kaṭava~* in BC3, BC6, BC16. Thus the development *rt* > *ṭ* seems to be confined to one of the Niya documents and the Bajaur Collection.

23 In other Gāndhārī documents (e.g. BL1, Salomon 2008a: 122) *rth* becomes *tth* > *th* (“In general, the retention or assimilation of predental *r* seems to be an area of inconsistency in Gāndhārī phonology and orthography” (Salomon 2008a: 122).

24 The “Dharma”: *dharm[e]* 4r.21.2, *[b](*)[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o]* 4r.21.1; *dharmā-dane* 11r.49, *[s]ul[gada]-[dha](*)mo[ṣa]ṇa-suhe* 11r.17. “Elements”: *driṭhadhamio* 4r.25.2, *[driṭhadhamia]* 4v.05.1; *aparihaṇa-dhama* 11v.03, *dhama* 11r.50, *driṭhadhamiasa* 11r.08, *driṭhadhami(*)a-* 11v.15.

Clusters with l. OIA *kalpa* is written as *karpa* in BC4 and 11 (BC4 *asaṃkhe[dehi] ka[rp]e[h]i*, BC11 *asakhea karpa / aṣakema ka[r]pa*) like elsewhere in the Bajaur Collection (e.g. BC5, BC18). In other manuscripts *kalpa* is either written as *kapa~* in AG-G^L (BL1, Salomon 2008a) and Dhp-G^K (Brough 1962) or as *karpa* (*sakarpa* in AvI-G^L (BL1, Lenz 2010: 33)). The preconsonantal *r* thus functions here as a diacritic indicating a geminate: *lp* > *pp*, where *pp* is represented by *rp* in Kharoṣṭhī. The only problem is, that there are no other occurrences of preconsonantal *r* for double consonants in BC4 or BC11, although it could still be a survival of an older orthography and especially retained for the writing of original *lp*. Another solution could be that the *r* in *karpa* indeed replaces *l* as it is done in *śukla* > *śukra* (*kriṣa-śukrasa prahaṇa* = *kṛṣṇaśuklasya prahāṇam/kaṇhasukkasa pahāṇam* in BL9r67 (Nid-G^L 2). According to MW (s.v. *śukla*) *śukla* is a later form of *śukra*.

In BC4 *gelaṇa~* the cluster with *l* is dissolved by an epenthetic vowel as it is done in Pali (Skt. *glāna* / BHS *glānya* / P *gelaṇṇa* or *gilāna*). Other Gāndhārī documents have: G *gilanago* = *glānakaḥ* (BL16v36, Lenz 2003: 132) or *[ghil](*)ṇo* (BL1r111 / AG-G^L 78, cf. Salomon 2008a for more examples).

Clusters with v. Clusters with *v* as the latter member are retained only in *sattva* > *satva*. Absolutes ending in *-(i)tvā* change to *(i)tta* > *(i)ta*. There are no absolutes in *-(i)tvāna* in these manuscripts.

The cardinal number *dva/dvi* appears as *-du-* (which conforms with Pali where *du* is likewise possible within compounds) and *[dum](*)e* = *duve* in BC4 or as *[du]e* = *dve* in BC11. The latter is also attested in many other Gāndhārī manuscripts, but written as *duve* in BL1 and BL16+25 (cf. Lenz 2003: 132 and Lenz 2010: 32). The change of intervocalic *v* to *m* is well attested in the Dhp-G^K and also in EĀ-G, here mostly within *ema* for *evam* (Allon 2001: 86). The change of semivowel to vowel (*va* > *u*, *saṃprasāraṇa*) is similar to *svapna* > *sudiṇa* (cf. text notes, p. 145).

Clusters with sibilants

The clusters *kṣ* and *st* are retained as normal (e.g. BC4 *mokṣa*, BC11 *kṣaya*, *dakṣiṇe*; *asti*). In the combination sibilant + labial (*v*, *p* or *m*) the reflex is *śp*:

BC4:

- *śp* < *sp* *a[śpri]śa[ṇaṇa]*, *[śpr]iśaṇa~* = BHS *(a)sprśana* / P *(a)phusana*
- *śp* < *sm* *palaśpidava~* = *smṛtavya~* (?), *palaśpada* = *smṛta~* (?),
[śpadi]mo = *smṛtiman* / P *satimā*

- $\acute{s}p < sv$ $\acute{s}pa\text{-}bhavasa = sva\text{-}bhāvatā$
($sv < sv$ $sva\text{-}doṣehi, sva\text{-}droacehi, sva\text{-}sapatihī, svaya\text{-}aṇuśāśehi$)

BC11:

- $\acute{s}p < sv$ $\acute{s}pah[o] = svayam / P sayam$

Comparing all published Gāndhārī manuscripts, this development is a matter of inconsistency – or utmost flexibility if we want to put it that way. The Gāndhārī reflexes of OIA sibilant + m/v in strong position are summarized in Baums 2009: 175. According to this, as in BC4 and 11, the developments (relevant to BC4/11) are:

- $\acute{s}p < sv$ in Niya, BL and RS manuscripts (EĀ-G, Dhp-G^L, AG-G^L, PY-G, BL4, SĀ-G^{SS}; AG-G^S). Otherwise: s, sp, sv ($sv < sv$ also in Dhp-G^K, Niya, LC).
- $\acute{s}p < sm$ in BL manuscripts (EĀ-G, Dhp-G^L, AG-G^L, PY-G, BL4). Otherwise: s, sv, sm, sp .
- $\acute{s}p < sp$ no other attestations.²⁵ Otherwise: $ph < sp(h)$ (word-initial, Dhp-G^K, Khvs-G; cf. Salomon 2000: 90, Allon 2001: 77; AG-G^L, cf. Salomon 2008a: 125) or $p < sp$ (word-initial, cf. Allon 2001: 90 and 94f. for $\sqrt{sprś}$). But cp. $\acute{s}p < pph$ in RS5 (Glass 2007: 158) and text notes on p. 174. Thus, OIA sp occurring in derivations from $\sqrt{sprś}$ are “irregularly” rendered to ph in BL5B, BL12 and the Dhp-G^K, similar to MIA, whereby the scribe in BC4 seems to be more consistent in itself and nearer to OIA.

The mixed rendering $sv/\acute{s}v > \acute{s}p$ in BC4 is also (and only) found in the Niya documents. But there sm is stable, which is rendered to $\acute{s}p$ in BC4; $sm > \acute{s}p$ occurs only in BL fragments; $sp > \acute{s}p$ is unique to BC4. Again, BC4 is somewhere between BL and Niya, but shows no special relationship to the Senior Collection here. As all manuscripts of these collections are dated more or less to the middle/late period of Gāndhārī, there may have been several systems overlapping each other, and if not related to time then probably to space. Or – worst case from a linguistic perspective – every scribe chose his own system (idelect) according to his personal preferences. Anyhow, for comparison, I tried to collect all the occurrences of G $\acute{s}p$ in so far published editions in the following chart.

25 But cf. $ps > \acute{s}p$ in $juho[\acute{s}pi](\ast da) / joh[\acute{s}p](\ast ida)$ “apparently by way of metathesis” according to Salomon 2008a: 124.

Table 14. The Gāndhārī reflex *śp* and its OIA equivalents.

<i>śp</i> =	G	Skt.	Reference
<i>śp</i>	<i>aśpavarmano</i>	<i>aśvavarmaṇā</i> (Old Iranian <i>aśpa-</i>)	Lenz 2010: 40
	<i>[a]śpavarmo / āśpava[r]ma</i>	<i>aśvavarmā</i>	Lenz 2010: 32
<i>śv</i>	<i>aśpamutreṇa</i>	<i>aśvamūtireṇa</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 138
	<i>iśpare</i>	<i>īśvaraḥ</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 136
	Dhp-G ^k generally		Allon 2001: 96
<i>*śv / sv</i>	<i>dhriśpa</i>	<i>dṛṣtvā</i>	Salomon 2008a: 125, 159
	<i>[dh]r[iśpa]ṇa</i>	<i>dṛṣtvā, P divāna</i>	Allon 2001: 77, 117
	<i>dhriśpaṇa</i>	<i>*dṛṣtvāna</i>	Salomon 2008a: 106, 125, 159f.
<i>sv</i>	<i>śpaśariru</i>	<i>svaśarīre</i>	Salomon 2008a: 125, 139
	<i>śpai / śpae / śpaya</i>	<i>svayam</i>	Salomon 2008a: 102, 125, 151
	<i>śpagam</i>	<i>svakam</i>	Lenz 2003: 128, 140
	<i>śpagho</i>	<i>svakam</i>	Salomon 2008a: 108, 125, 137
	<i>śpara</i>	<i>svara</i> (impv.)	Salomon 2008a: 152
	<i>prabh(*a)[śp](*a)ra</i>	BHS <i>prabhāsvarāṇi</i>	Allon 2001: 96
	<i>viśparo</i>	<i>visvaram</i>	Salomon 2008a: 125
	<i>[śp](*ay)i[ta]</i>	BHS <i>svādayitvā (āsvādyā)</i>	Allon 2001: 83n4, 91, 96
	<i>śpeḍa</i>	<i>svedaḥ</i>	Glass 2007: 127; 123
	<i>pariśpeidaṇa</i>	<i>parisvedāni</i>	Glass 2007: 128, 134; 123
	<i>(*śpa)[r](*ṇa)[v](*a)[d] (*a)[ṇo]</i>	<i>svarṇavadanaḥ</i>	Salomon 2008a: 114, 134
	<i>śpa⟨ṇa⟩vaṇo</i>	<i>svarṇavarṇaḥ</i>	Salomon 2008a: 122, 134
	Niya documents generally		Burrow 1937: 21 § 49
	<i>śm</i>	<i>śpaśaṇa-saṇa</i>	<i>śmaśāna-saṃjñā</i>
<i>śm / sm</i>	<i>aśpado</i>	<i>āyusmataḥ, P āyasmato</i>	Lenz 2003: 127
	<i>aśpataṇa</i>	<i>P āyasmantāṇaṃ</i>	Lenz 2003: 127 (referring to RS12)
<i>sm</i>	<i>śpi</i>	<i>asmī</i>	Allon 2001: 116; Salomon 2008a: 124, 151
	<i>-śpi</i> (loc. or abl. sg.)	<i>-asmīn, -asmāt</i>	Allon 2001; Salomon 2008a: 133
	<i>taśpa, taśpi</i>	<i>tasmāt</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 147
	<i>taśpi</i> (abl. sg.)	<i>tasmīn</i>	Allon 2001: 190 fn. 108 (cf. Salomon 2008a: 147 fn. 15)
	<i>imaśpi</i>	<i>asmīn</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 147, 424
	<i>uḡha[daśpi]</i>	<i>*udgatasmin (udgate)</i>	Salomon 2008a: 112, 124, 139
	<i>kayaśpi</i>	<i>*kāyasmīn</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 139
	<i>[lo]ḡha[śpi]</i>	<i>lokasmīn</i>	Allon 2001: 95
	<i>samasiśpi</i>	<i>*samādhismīn</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 139
	<i>thuvaśpi</i>	<i>*stūpasmīn</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 139
	<i>śpadi</i>	<i>smṛti</i>	Allon 2001: 77
	<i>śpave[dr.] III (?)</i>	<i>smṛtīndriyaḥ</i>	Lenz 2010: 35
	<i>spadoḡhaṇaṇa</i>	<i>smṛtyupasthānānām</i>	Glass 2007: 112
	<i>śpara</i>	<i>smara</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124
	<i>[śpa]rami</i>	<i>smarāmi</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124

<i>śp</i> =	G	Skt.	Reference
<i>śp</i>	<i>puśpu</i>	<i>puṣpam</i>	Salomon 2008a: 124, 137
<i>p̥ph</i>	<i>pa[śpru]ṣa</i>	<i>phupphusa</i> ; P <i>papphāsaṃ</i>	Glass 2007: 158
<i>ps</i>	<i>juho[śpi](*da) / joho[śpi](*da)</i>	<i>jugupsitam</i>	Salomon 2008a: 104, 161

Related to this, a short summary of the Gāndhārī reflex *sp* is given:

sp < *sv* *sparga-* = *svarga-* Dh̥p-G^K (cp. Allon 2001: 96); *spaya-* = *[sp]ara-* Baums 2009: 158, 174; maybe also *sparna* = *suvarna* Niya#169.

sp < *sm* (sometimes also *m* < *sm*, cf. Baums 2009: 174) *spi* = *asmi* Salomon 2008a: 347; *-spa* = *smāt* Glass 2007: 115; *-aspi* = *-smin* Baums 2009: 209, Lenz 2003: 133; *[i]maspi* Baums 2009: 174; *himaspi* Glass 2007: 123/132(?); *taspi* Salomon 2008a: 347; *taspi* Glass 2007: 132; *[loga]spi* Baums 2009: 174; *aḱaraspa* and *dukhaspa* = *-smāt* (abl. sg.) Glass 2007: 128; *ki[spi]* (abl. sg.) Glass 2007: 132; *taspa* Baums 2009: 174; *aspe* = *asmān* / P *amhe*. Glass 2007: 131; $\sqrt{smṛ}$ => *spada-* Baums 2009: 174; *spadi-* Baums 2009: 174; *spado* Baums 2009: 206; *spadoaḥhaṇa-* Baums 2009: 200; *spadoḥhaṇaṇa* Glass 2007: 129; *spadi[idriḡo]* Lenz 2010: 35; *[a]ṇuspadi-* Baums 2009: 174; *(*a)[spi]maṇa-* Baums 2009: 174.

sp < *ṣm* *tuspahu* = *yuṣmākaṃ* / P *tumhākaṃ*. Glass 2007: 123.

sp < *ph* (word initial) Salomon 2000: 88; Allon 2001: 88.

sp < *ṣṭv* *drispa* = *drṣṭvā* Glass 2007: 123.

sp < *śm* *[kaspīr.]* = *kaśmīra* Lenz 2010: 34.

sp < *śv* *saspada-* Baums 2009: 158, 174, *saspadavado* Baums 2009: 206.

All other clusters involving sibilants as the first member show assimilation and can be found in the chart summarizing the consonant clusters (*śc* > *cc* > *ĉ*, *ṣṭ*/*ṣṭh* > *ṭṭh* > *ṭh*, *sth* > *ḥh*, *śy* > *śś* > *ś*, *ṣṇ* > *ṣ̄*, *śy* > *ś*, *śy* > *ṣ*). The exception *ṣṭh* > *ḥh* in *pratitiṣṭhā* > *p[aditiḥha]* seems to be based on $\sqrt{sthā}$ (cf. chapter on paleography, p. 46).

For the combination with postconsonantal *r* and *y* see ‘Clusters with semivowel’.

In BC4, apparently *-ps-* / P-*cch-* is reflected as *ṣ* in G (**jugupsitavya~* / P **jigucchitabba~* > *[j]juhoṣidave*), but the orthography of this word seems to have varied also in Pali (cf. text notes).

Metathesis

The so-called ‘dardic’ metathesis with the liquid *r*, shifting to an adjoining segment, is a common feature of languages of the northwest (Morgenstierne 1947 according to Salomon 2000: 92), cf. ‘Clusters with *r*’. Additional to that, the G *[gro]* seems to correspond to *roga* (BC11). Also in *veragra-*, *-vera[gr]a-* BC11 the *r* has spread to the adjoining *g* indicating a pronunciation *gr* in vicinity of *r*.

Permutations occur in BC11 *sasaṃra* (besides [*saṃsa*]*ra*) = *saṃsāra*~. Although this might rather be an application of the anusvāra at a wrong consonant. Similarly: *aṣakema ka[r]pa*. A clear permutation of two consonants is BC11 *saya[visa]* instead of *sayaṣavi* (BHS *sayyathāpi* / P *seyyathāpi*; Skt. *tadyathā*).

Anaptyxis (svarabhakti)

The resolution of consonant clusters by insertion of an epenthetic vowel can be seen in the following examples: BC4: *gelaña*, probably *jagara*~ and *alaṣia*~ (cf. ‘Reductions’); probably *si<*ne>ha*. BC11: *siadi* = *syāt* / P *siyati*.

Sandhi

Generally “Gāndhārī [...] tends to elide the prior vowel, while Pali tends to elide the latter vowel” (Allon 2001: 201, Salomon 2008a: 127). The examples in BC4 and BC11 however agree with the Pali: BC4 *citupada* = BHS *cittotpāda* / P *cittuppāda*. BC11 *loutara* = *lokottara* / P *lokuttara*; *ṇevi* or *ṇeva* = *naiva* / P *neva* (*na* + *eva*). In *aṇicagareṇa*, *aṇatvagarāṇa* and *śuṇāgareṇa* and as well in *ruvaruva* the sandhi *a* + *a* = *ā* > *a* is implied.

Regarding *vucadi* (= *ucyate* / P *vuccati*) it has been stated that “[t]he initial *v* [...] may represent a fossilized sandhi form (Geiger 1994: § 66.1) [i.e. *-v-ucadi*, author’s note]. However, others take P *vuccati* to be derived from the guṇa grade of the root (see Norman’s n. 5 to Geiger 1994: § 66.1; and von Hinüber 1986: § 270)” (Allon 2001: 101, cf. also Baums 2009: 191). I prefer to understand it as a *saṃprasāraṇa* phenomenon *vu/u* in derivations of \sqrt{vac} in accordance with Norman.

Original final *m*, which is normally weakened/dropped, is retained when preceding a word that begins with a vowel: BC4 *ekam ekasa*, *edam io*, BC11 *apoṣaṇam iva*, *evam eva*, *kim asuhe*.

6

Morphology

In the following, I will summarize the nominal endings and verbal forms occurring in the texts edited without much further comments. Since Gāndhārī morphology (to the time under consideration) is “more flexible und less standardized” than other MIA languages (Salomon 2008b), it is not always easy to present a clear picture and still uncertainties / ambiguities exist, e.g. regarding the gender of a noun or a precise verbal form.¹ Some of the (phonological and morphographical) features of BC4/11 give the impression of some form of ‘Niya-ism’ in that they encompass features up-to-now only seen in documents stemming from there. This is seen, for example, in a kind of ‘compound future tense’ (e.g. BC4 *aṣivasidae hakṣadi*) comparable to the ‘compound past tense’ known from Niya (cf. Burrow 1937: 55 § 114) as well as certain spellings common to Niya documents: *amahu/amaho* (= *asmabhyam*, BC11)², *ithu* (Niya *iṃthu* or *iṃthuami*)³, *iṣemi* (= *iha*, BC4, otherwise G *īsa* or *īse*), *picara* (= *pratyarha*, BC4), *yati* (= *yadi*, BC4), *ya[hi]* / *[ya]hi* (BC11, “when, if”, cp. Burrow 1937: 65 § 131), *hakṣati* (otherwise G *bhaviśadi* and the like)⁴. Of course, most of these examples may not have as yet any parallel in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, as the words have not occurred in those texts, based on pure coincidence. Still, BC4 and 11 share some peculiarities with the Niya documents and also with some RS fragments and some avadānas from the BL Collection that are suspicious. Instead of designating such features as ‘Niya-ism’, which might mislead, it should be noted that the language

1 Regarding the “nonstandardization” of Gāndhārī see Salomon 1999a: 136–138.

2 Another example may be G *mahi* (= *mahyam* / P *mahyam*, BC4), which is very frequently used in the Niya documents, but documented as well in RS14 (AG-G^s, ed. Salomon 2008a, *mahia*), the Senavarman inscription (*mahia*), the two Wardak vase inscriptions (*mahiya*), and one Fayoztepa potsherd (*mahiya*), all dated from ca. 140 CE onwards.

3 Also in RS22 (*ithuami*), BC7 and BC18 (*ithumi*).

4 This spelling is also attested in the Senavarman inscription (*hakṣati*) and the Shahbazgarhi Rock Edict 13 (*akṣati*). The only other Gāndhārī manuscript is an avadāna (BL16+25, ed. Lenz 2010, *hakṣe*, *hakṣadi*).

or dialect reflected in BC4 and 11 shows some features common to other manuscripts supposedly written directly in Gāndhārī (cf. Salomon 1999a: 139–140).

Nominal forms

In Gāndhārī, the distinction between masculine and neuter gender has become weakened, or both have even merged into one single Gāndhārī declension (Baums 2009: 211ff.). Gender assignments are thus based on Sanskrit or Pali equivalents.⁵ Additionally, the old nominative and accusative case have combined into a new ‘direct case’ according to Baums (2009: 201, 211, 215). In the following table, I have listed them separately for historical reasons.

Table 15. Nominal endings occurring in BC4 and BC11 (arranged in order of frequency, Ⓜ = masculine etc.).

OIA stem		-a / -an		-ā	-i			-in	-u			-ī
gender		Ⓜ	Ⓝ	Ⓣ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	Ⓣ	Ⓜ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	Ⓣ	Ⓣ
Singular	nom.	o e	e a o	a e o (?)	i		i	i iṇa (?)			u (?)	
	acc.	a	o a	o (?)			i					
	instr.	eṇa		ae (?)								
	dat.	ae										
	abl.	ade ado										
	gen.	asa					ie					
	loc.	e, ami					i (?)				u (?)	ami
Plural	nom.	a	a				i					
	acc.	a	a							u (?)		
	instr.	ehi		ehi			ihi					
	dat.											
	abl.											
	gen.	aṇa		aṇa			iṇa					
	loc.										u (?)	

BC4: In the case of *idara/o* (nom. sg.) and *idara* nom./acc. (?) sg. it is not clear, which gender is entailed. The forms *same/samo* (4r.17.2–18.2) are uncertain and not taken into consideration in the above table; probably *same* = m. nom. pl. and *samo* = n. nom. sg. The ending *-o* mostly occurs in adverbially used adjectives or nouns (acc. sg. m./n.),

5 For the shifting of gender in Gāndhārī, and especially the distinction between m./n. cf. Salomon 2000: 93; von Hinüber 2001: 220 §291–293; Allon 2001: 106 and 115; Lenz 2003: 46; Salomon 2008a: 134 and 138; Baums 2009: 238 (m./n. *i*- and *u*-stems > f.); Lenz 2010: 43.

e.g. *miṣo*, [*pial*]*o* or [*sa*]*dakalo* (BC4). In general, the nom. sg. -endings *-e* and *-o* are interchangeably used. A good example is the two writings of the same phrases *ṇa ida ḥhaṇe vijadi* and *ṇa ida ḥhaṇo vijadi* in BC11. According to Brough (1962: 115 §76) the nom. sg. in *-e* is characteristic of (Ardha-) Māgadhī in the later period of Middle Indian (therefore such occurrences in Pali have been labeled ‘Magadhisms’). The Aśokan inscriptions, except for Girnar and Shahbazgarhi, regularly have *-e* forms. Post-Aśokan inscriptions have both nominatives in *-e* and *-o*, that “it seems likely that [e.g.] the Mansehra *-e* is a real Gāndhārī form rather than a Māgadhism”. The later inscriptions attest *-e* to the west of the Indus, and *-o* to the east, with only sporadic exceptions (Konow 1929: cxii). Konow (1929: cxiii) states that the *e*-forms cannot “be considered as Māgadhisms, but rather as links connecting the northwestern Prākṛit with Iranian forms such as we find in Sakish *ā*, *i*, and comparable with the pronominal *e*-forms in modern Dardic”. Another possible explanation for the different endings of nominals is, according to Fussman (1989: 460, confirmed with further examples by Salomon 1999a: 130), that “the final vowels were no doubt pronounced very weakly, to the point that they were no longer differentiated”. Around the beginning of the common era the distinction between *e/o* would not have been audible any more (Fussman 1989: 480).

The nom. pl. of words ending in *-i* is *-i* instead of the expected *-ie* (cf. Baums 2009: 220), since in G *viṣadi pridi* and in *trae durgadi* etc. the respective noun should be congruent to G *trae* (= *trayaḥ*) as it is in the second list in G *triṇa sugadiṇa* etc.

Pronouns

The following table summarizes all personal, demonstrative and relative pronouns occurring in BC4 or BC11. As is the case with nouns, there is the levelling of the distinction between m./n. forms. Thus, for example, the nom. sg. n. of the pronoun *idam* appears as *io*, *imo*, *ida* and *aya* – and probably also once as *ime* (11r.35). Only G *ida* is the expected historical form, but Pali has *imaṃ* as well and the extension of *ayam* to other genders is parallel in Ardhamāgadhī (n./f., Pischel 1900 §429) and Pali (m./f., von Hinüber 2001: 257 § 382, cf. Salomon 2008a: 148), likewise the attribution of *sa* as neuter (cf. Pischel 1900: 298 §423; Hinüber 2001: 255 §375, according to Lenz 2010: 44). For the use of G *maha/mahi* = *mahyam* / P *mahyam* cf. text notes on p. 145.

Among the relative pronouns, G *yo* in BC4 (r.23.1f.) can be both, m. or n., more likely n., but since the context is not yet clear, this remains ambiguous. In BC11, *yo* /

ya relate to G *vela* = *velā*, which is originally f., but in the phrase *yaṃ velam ... taṃ velam* the ending is usually shortened (cf. text notes on p. 218).

Table 16. Pronoun forms occurring in BC4 and BC11 (small superscript numbers 4 or 11 = BC4 or BC11).

		1st pers. <i>ma-</i>	3rd pers. <i>ta-</i>			3rd pers. <i>eda-</i>			3rd pers. <i>ima-</i>			3rd pers. (relative) <i>ya-</i>		
		Ⓜ Ⓝ ⓔ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	ⓔ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	ⓔ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	ⓔ	Ⓜ	Ⓝ	ⓔ
Singular	nom.	ahu ¹¹	so ^{4,11} se (?) ¹¹	ta ^{4,11} sa (?) ⁴	se ⁴ sa (?) ¹¹	eṣa ¹¹	edam ⁴ eṣa ¹¹				io ⁴ imo ⁴ ida ¹¹ aya ¹¹ ime ¹¹	yo (?) ⁴ ya (?) ¹¹	yo (?) ⁴ ya ⁴	
	acc.				ta (?) ¹¹		eṣa (?) ¹¹						yo ⁴	ya (?) ¹¹ yo (?) ¹¹
	instr.	me ⁴ maha ⁴ mahi ⁴	teṇa ¹¹		tae ¹¹	edeṇa ⁴						yeṇa ¹¹		
	dat.													
	abl.		tasva ^{4,11}											
	gen.	mama ^{4,11} mame ¹¹ meme ¹¹ me ⁴				edeṣa ¹¹								
	loc.													
Plural	nom.	mio (?) ¹¹	te ^{4(?)} , ¹¹		te ⁴	ede ⓂⓃ? ⁴			ime ^{4,11}					
	acc.				te (?) ⁴									
	instr.													
	dat.													
	abl.													
	gen.	amahu ¹¹ amaho ¹¹	teṣa ¹¹											
	loc.													

Not contained in table 16 are the interrogative and indefinite pronouns. These are: BC4 *ko* (m. nom. sg.) and *ki* (n. nom. sg.). In combination with the enclitic particle *-ci* (= *-cid*) the indefinite pronouns are: BC11 *ṇa kica* / *ṇa kici* “nothing” (n. nom. sg.), *akuhica* = *akutracid* “nowhere”. In BC11, [*ku ṇa*] is uncertain but *ku* could denote *kū* (= *kva*) / P *ku* “how? where? when? whither? whence?” (cf. text notes).

The pronominal adjectives and adverbs are: BC4 *uhae* (m./n. nom. pl.), *añā* (m. nom. pl.), in compounds: *atva-*, *para-*, *svaya-*, *sva-*. BC11: *uhae* (n. nom. pl.), also written *uhaa* = *uhae* or *abhae* = *ubhae*, and *śpahu* / *śpah[o]* / [*śpaho*] = *svayam* / P *svayaṃ*.

In both manuscripts, *sarva* is sometimes taken as an adjective, sometimes as the first part of a compound. Since the endings in Gāndhārī are often ambiguous, the compounds could also have been dissolved in adjective + noun.

Numbers

Cardinal numbers

Table 17. Cardinal numbers occurring in BC4 and BC11 (small superscript numbers 4 or 11 = BC4 or BC11).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	20
stem	eka ⁴	du ⁴	tra ⁴ tri ⁴	cadura ^{4,11} cadure ⁴	paṃca ⁴	ṣa ⁴	sata ⁴	viṣadi ⁴
nom.		[du]me ⁴ due ¹¹	trae ⁴			ṣa ⁴ (nom./acc. ?)	sata ⁴ (nom./acc. ?)	viṣadi ⁴
instr.		duehi ¹¹				ṣahi ⁴	satahi ⁴	
gen.			triṇa ⁴					

There is no difference in gender (e.g. *trae* = mfn. nom. pl., opposed to Skt. *trayaḥ/ tisraḥ/ trīṇi* m/f/n. or P *tayo/ tisso/ tīṇi*; likewise *triṇa* = mfn. gen. pl. opposed to Skt. *trayāṇām* mn. / *tisṛṇām* or P *tiṇṇannaṃ* mn. / *tissannaṃ* f.), cf. Salomon 2008a: 149 with reference to Norman 1992: 202.⁶

The numeral “four” is used in BC4 in *eka-du-tra-cadure-paṃca-ṣaha yava satahi aloehi* and *[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[ṃca]-ṣa yava sata aloa* and in BC11 in */// ? duehi caduraguḍiehi*. In other Gāndhārī manuscripts *cadure* is the f. form opposed to *[ca]tvari* m. nom. (cf. Baums 2009: 227). However, all other forms (instr. *caduhi*, gen. *caduṇa*, loc. *caduṣu*) are based on the assumed stem *cadura* which is not unattested in other documents, even though not as frequent as *catvari*.

Ordinal numbers

The only ordinal number appears in BC4 as *paḍhama-* “first”.

Case usage

Instr. pl. for loc. pl. BC4 *añatra-deṣehi* and BC11 *sarvatra-deṣehi*. Cf. BHS §7.30: “In BHS, historic instr. forms are extensively used in loc. function [...] This is especially true of plural forms, particularly of *a*-stems”. See also von Hinüber 2001: 233 § 321.

Instr. pl. *yaṣa-bhudehi*... The instrumental usually designates the means by which something is done. It can furthermore denote the reason “on account of” which something happens (cp. Durioselle 1977 §599). Especially in regard to G *yaṣa-bhuda-picara* = *yathā-bhūta-pratyarham* in a similar position where elsewhere an instrumental is used, the latter option is applied in these cases.

6 “The form *trae* (instead of expected *trayo*) will be due to analogy with *due*” (Baums 2009: 227).

Verbal forms

In general, the 3rd sg. and pl. endings *-di* and *-ti* are not easy to differentiate paleographically, but there are also clear examples of *-ti* where only singular is possible.

Present indicative

BC4: 3rd sg.: $\sqrt{\text{labh}} > \text{lavheti}$ (caus.?), $\sqrt{\text{vr}} > \text{varedi}$ (caus.), $\sqrt{\text{hā}} > \text{pra-jahati}$.

BC11: 1st sg.: $\sqrt{\text{muc}} > \text{mucami}$; 3rd sg.: $\sqrt{\text{as}} > \text{asti}$, $\sqrt{\text{bhū}} > \text{hode}$.

Present passive

BC4: 3rd sg.: $\sqrt{\text{labh}} > \text{la[bhadi]}$, $\sqrt{\text{vac}} > \text{vucadi}$.

BC11: 3rd sg.: $\sqrt{\text{cint}} > \text{citia[d]i}$ (?), $\sqrt{\text{naś}} > \text{ṇaśadi}$, $\sqrt{\text{pad}} > [\text{u}]\text{pa[ja]di}$, $\sqrt{\text{labh}} > \text{labhadi}$, $\sqrt{\text{vac}} > \text{vucadi}$ (once *vacadi* = *vucadi* (?)), $\sqrt{\text{vid}} > \text{vijadi}$, $\sqrt{\text{han}} > \text{vi-hañadi}$.

Present optative

BC4: *ṇaśea* seems to be an usual optative form, 3rd sg., but several different spellings (*ṇaś[ae]*/*ṇaśe*/*ṇaśee*) makes this uncertain. Similarly, the parallel used *aharea* together with *aharae*, which gives rise to the question whether or not in both cases a noun in the dat. sg. was intended (cf. p. 170). In BC11 it is constantly *aharae* and *ṇaśe*, hence pointing to a noun.

The verbal optative forms occurring in BC11 are (all 3rd sg.): $\sqrt{\text{as}} > \text{siadi}$, $\sqrt{\text{iṣ}} > \text{ichiea}$, $\sqrt{\text{kṣi}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{khav}} > \text{khaveati}$, $\sqrt{\text{khal}} > \text{ṇikhalidea}$, $\sqrt{\text{gam}} > \text{gach[iea]}$, $\sqrt{\text{juṅg}} > \text{jugidea}$, $\sqrt{\text{tyaj}} > \text{par[*i]cea}$, $\sqrt{\text{dā}} > [\text{u}]\text{adidea}$, $\sqrt{\text{naś}} > \text{ṇaśie[a]}$ and *ṇaśeati*, $\sqrt{\text{pad}} > \text{upajea}$, $\sqrt{\text{bhū}} > [\text{bhavi}]\{\text{[da]}\}\text{ea}$ (1x), *bhave* (1x), *bhavea* (4x), *a[ṇu]bhaviea*.

Imperative

BC4: only *p[aditiḥa]* as 2nd sg.; BC11: *bhodu* 3rd sg. with an optative sense, expressing a wish (“may be, let be”). For *bhodu* = *bhavatu* cf. Burrow 1937: 45 § 98, Konow 1929: cxv.

Future

BC4: 1st sg. ātmanepada: *bhikṣiśe*, *cariśe*. 3rd sg.: *vaiśadi*, *hakṣadi*, probably also *kahati* (cf. text notes, p. 170). 3rd pl.: *hakṣati* (once probably *a[kṣ]ati*⁷), *a[t]araśaiśati*, *upajiśa[ti]*. BC11: 3rd sg. *bhaviśadi*, 3rd pl. *hakṣati*, *hakṣa[d]i*. The unique use of

7 For *ākṣeti* as an origin for P *acchati* “to be” cf. Turner 1936. On p. 802 he refers to *akṣamti* in Shahbazgarhi (Hultsch 1925: *vraṣamti*).

bhaviśadi (in v.24 ... *ṇica bhaviśadi aṅhaṇo*) could be due to it being used in an idiomatic expression, or ‘cited’ as part of the argumentation, as it is written as *hakṣad/ti* throughout both manuscripts. On the other hand, *hakṣad/ti* could also be understood as an optative (as observed by Burrow regarding the Niya documents)⁸ and *bhaviśadi* rather as a ‘real’ future form. This would correspond well with the abundant use of optatives in BC4.

So far, the future form *hakṣad/ti = bhaviṣya(n)ti* was only known from the Senavarman inscription (*hakṣati*), the Shahbazgarhi Rock Edict 13 (*akṣati*), the Niya documents and the Gāndhārī pūrvayoga and avadāna texts (*hakṣe*, BL16+25, PY-G, ed. Lenz 2003; *hakṣadi*, BL1, ed. Lenz 2010). According to Lenz (2003: 141) it can be assumed that the future form *hakṣe* “is a colloquial form and that *bhaviṣe* was borrowed from the source dialect of the text from which it was ultimately derived”. His conclusion is based upon the fact that *hakṣe* appears in a text which is written in a “colloquial form of Gāndhārī” (PY-G) and *bhaviṣe* in a text which seems to be a “translation or transposition of a text originally written in a MIA dialect other than Gāndhārī” (BL12+14 / EĀ-G, ed. Allon 2001).⁹ The Central Asian documents have the same future form and they too were originally composed in Gāndhārī, although in a provincial spoken form which is “overlain with stereotyped legal and bureaucratic jargon” (Salomon 1999a: 139f.). Therefore, we might expect the fragments (BC4 and 11) to be written directly in Gāndhārī and not to be translated from some other source. This might also help to explain the reason that as yet no other parallel in any Indian language has been found.

Preterite

BC4/11: The only finite preterite verb (perfect tense) form is *aha* = OIA *āha*, which however could also be translated in a present meaning (in Niya the old perfect *āha* receives the terminations of the present: G *ahati* “says”; cf. also Baums 2009: 230 for *aha* as 3rd sg./pl. in present-tense meaning in the Nid-G^{L2}).¹⁰

8 Burrow 1937: 46 §§99–100 and 64 § 127 (“used for both *siyati* and *bhaviṣyati*. The optative sense is the more usual”, Burrow 1937: 133).

9 Salomon (1999: 138–140) classifies the stylistic varieties of Gāndhārī into two main forms: (A) colloquial Gāndhārī and (B) translated Gāndhārī. The latter being subdivided into (B1) scholastic/commentarial style and (B2) narrative/poetic style. According to him, generally the avadāna type texts are written in this more informal Gāndhārī “in its original form” (Salomon 1999a: 114) and they are supposed to be “Gāndhāran lore” (Salomon 1999a: 139).

10 Salomon 2008a: 158: “Other than the frozen forms *aha* and *ahu* = Skt. *āha*, *āhuḥ* in the Dhṛp-G^K, there seem not to be any other clear cases of old perfects surviving in Gāndhārī”.

Absolutives (gerunds)

Given the wide range of absolute endings evident in OIA and Pali,¹¹ in BC4 and BC11 the majority have the ending *-ita* = *-itvā*: BC4 $\sqrt{tyaj} > paricaita$, $\sqrt{bhū} > hoita$; BC11 $\sqrt{khyā} > akhaita$ and $khaita$, $\sqrt{chid} > chidita$, $\sqrt{cint} > citi[t]a$, $\sqrt{tyaj} > paricaita$, $dhañaita$ (denom.?), $\sqrt{paś} > paśita$, $\sqrt{piṣ} > piṣita$, $\sqrt{vrj} > varjita$, $\sqrt{sa(ñ)j} > viṣajajita$, $\sqrt{hā} > prajahita$ (or 2nd pl. impv. ?). It is not always evident, if a simplex or causative form is intended, and mostly they are not to be taken as causatives. *Ghoita*, for instance, could be interpreted as an absolute of the causative of $\sqrt{bhū}$, i.e. *bhāvayitvā* / *P bhāvetvā*,¹² but since *P bhavitvā* is a simplex (Sn 56, next to *hutvā* Sn 43, and *hutvāna* Sn 281; cf. PTSD s.v. *bhavati*), it may as well simply correspond to *bhūtivā* / *P bhavitvā*.

Absolutives in *-ya*: BC11 $\sqrt{tyaj} > paricae$ (?), $\sqrt{pad} > upaje$, $\sqrt{lag} / lamb$ (?) $> ola[ia]$. In BC4 the only example might be *[pariñā]* ? + to be reconstructed to *pariñāe*.

Participles

Present participles

The following rare occurrences have been explained as corresponding to the OIA present participle *ātmanepada* ending *-āna*: *[pariceaṇa]* / *paricea[ṇa]* and *uadiaṇa* / *(*u)[a]diaṇa*. The most frequently attested present participle *ātmanepada* is represented in passive voice (caus.) corresponding to OIA *-ya-māna*~: BC4 *deśamaṇa*, *puyamaṇa*, *praiṭha[vamaṇa]*, *varj[a]maṇa*, *[karamaṇa]* / *ka[rama]ṇa*; BC11 *varjamaṇa*. In general, the present participles seemingly have not been declined – or the nom. sg. may have been ending in *-a* (cf. Salomon 2000: 94). Likewise, in Niya “[t]here is a tendency to generalise the middle forms in *-māna*, as in later Ardha-Magadhi” (Burrow 1937: 47 §101).

11 That is: *-(i)tvā*, *-ya*, *-tvāna*, *-tu* / *P -tvā*. For the last two cf. Allon 2001: 117.

12 Cf. Baums (2009: 116): “The problematic form *parihoita* appears to be an absolute of a causative with regular analogical replacement of the OIA termination *-ayitvā* (§ 5.1.4.8; but see also the text note on line 9-228). The root vowel *o* is unexpected since labialization before *[v]* otherwise only applies to short *[a]*, making it likely that the root has been analogically reshaped under the influence of the presence stem, as previously observed in the past participle *hoda-* (§ 4.2.2.1.1). Alternatively and less likely, it could be a direct development from OIA *paribhāvayitvā*, with rare contraction of *āva* $>$ *o* (von Hinüber 2001: § 145).” Also Baums 2009: 234: “The exact derivation of *parihoita* (apparently an absolute of the causative of *pari* + $\sqrt{bhū}$; § 4.2.1.2) remains unclear; see the annotated text edition on line 9-228. (Cf. further Schwarzschild 1956 and Sakamoto-Goto 1991.)”

Past participles

The past participles occurring in the text corresponding to OIA endings *-(i)ta* or *-na* are: BC4 $\sqrt{cud} > codid[a]$ and $c[o]dida$, $\sqrt{pāl} / \sqrt{smṛ} (?) > palaśpada$, $\sqrt{bhāṣ} > paribhaṭha$, $\sqrt{bhū} > [bhavid].[d]$. (caus.), $\sqrt{rañj} > viratasa$, $\sqrt{labh} > ladhe$ and $su-ladh[a]$, $[pra]la[dhe]$, $paḍiladha$, $\sqrt{va(n)d} > aivadida$, $\sqrt{vah} > paraṇirvah[ido]$, $\sqrt{vrj} > varjida$, $\sqrt{sad} > -ṇiṣaṇa$. BC11 $\sqrt{āp} > dukhavidā$, $\sqrt{i} > adida\sim$, $\sqrt{khal} > ṇikhalida$, $\sqrt{gam} > aṇagada$, $vivegagada\sim$, $\sqrt{grah} > parigrahida$, $\sqrt{ci} > [a]cida$, $\sqrt{chand} > chata$ and $chade$, $\sqrt{juṅg} > jugida$ (or abs.?), $\sqrt{naś} > ṇaśida$, $\sqrt{pad} > upaṇa$, $pracupaṇa\sim$, $\sqrt{budh} > budh\langle *a \rangle\sim$, $\sqrt{bhuj} > paribhu[t]asa$ and $parubhuteṇa$ (neg.: $aparibhu[t]asa$ and $aparibhuteṇa$), $\sqrt{bhū} > [aṇu]bhavavida$, $\sqrt{vac} > vu[t]o$, $\sqrt{vraj} > parvayida\sim$. Some of them have been nominalized and translated as nouns: $adida$ - $aṇagada$ - $pracupaṇa\sim$, $parvayida\sim$, $budh\langle *a \rangle\sim$, $vivegagada\sim$.

In BC4 r.20.1f. certain past participle forms ($u[ad]i[ṇae]$, $[a]ṣivaśidae / aśivasidae$, $[u]jekṣidae$ and $paricatae$) are used in combination with $hakṣadi$, probably forming some kind of ‘compound future tense’ comparable to the ‘compound past tense’ labeled by Burrow 1937: 55 § 114 in regard to the Niya documents for the construction *-dae* in combination with an auxiliary verb like G *siyati* (cf. text notes, p. 155).

Future passive participles (gerundives)

In both manuscripts the gerundive suffix *-idava* (OIA *-itavya*) is prevalent, and in a few instances *-ṇeo/-ṇia* (OIA *-nīya*) occurs. The endings of G *-idava\sim* are quite regularly: m. nom. sg. *-o*, nom. pl. *-a*; n. nom. sg. *-e*, n. pl. *-a*; only $[vata]ve$ related to $[du]me uhae$ seems to be pl. although appearing as singular. From the mere Gāndhārī form it is often not discernible if a gerundive is based on the simplex or causative form (cf. Baums 2009: 236).

BC4: $\sqrt{choḍ} > praodidave$, $\sqrt{kāṅkṣ} > ahigakṣidave$, $\sqrt{kṛ} > kaṭave$, $\sqrt{cud} > codidave$, \sqrt{jugups} (desid. of *gups*) $> juhośidave$, $\sqrt{diś} > deśidavo$, $\sqrt{nand} > abhiṇadidave$, $\sqrt{pad} > upadidave$, $\sqrt{bhāṣ} > paribhaśidava/e/o$, $\sqrt{bhuj} > paribhujidave$, $\sqrt{vac} > vatave$, $\sqrt{va(n)d} > ahivadidava/e$, $\sqrt{vrj} > varjidava/o$, $\sqrt{śams} > śaśidava$, $aṇuśaśidava$; uncertain: $palaśpidava/e$. BC11: $\sqrt{kṛ} > kaṭave$, $\sqrt{cint} > citidave$, $\sqrt{jñā} > pariyaṇeo$, $\sqrt{tyaj} > paricaidave$, $\sqrt{pad} > upajidave$, $\sqrt{bhū} > bhavidave$, $(*)[ṇ]ubhavidave$, $hoidava/e$, $\sqrt{sthā} > śhavaṇia$, $\sqrt{hā} > pajahidava$ and $prahadava$; uncertain: $[pidi]vṇeo$.

7

Text Edition

For both editions, BC4 and BC11, first the text is presented line by line and akṣara per akṣara as it appears in the reconstructed manuscript. Regarding the transcription system I follow the GBT series (see p. xi). The fragments on which each portion of the text is written are indicated by small superscript labels. The first number refers to part 1 or 2 (corresponding to the two frames in which each scroll is conserved) or to frame 35 where the debris have been collected; 'r.' or 'v.' refers to recto or verso. The following letter indicates the respective fragment.

Second, in the reconstruction, the text is given with the addition of missing passages and structured by paragraphs (in BC4 indicated by « »). These are not given in the original manuscripts.

Third, a translation based on the reconstructed text is provided (grey shading indicates uncertain or untranslated passages). Passages in square brackets [] are additions by me for a better understanding of the text. Sometimes Sanskrit words in their stem form are added in round brackets () to indicate to which term the English translation refers.

- (4r.12.1) ^{2I+E} ya ma ma ta sa kṣi te ṇa sa rva dro a ca ṇa ha kṣa ti sa rva sa pa ti ha kṣa ti mo kṣa su ha ca ha (4r.12.2) ^{1AA+DD} + .[i] i me a ṇu śa śa ha kṣa ti sa rv[a] si ha pa ri ca i ta o 1 ga ga ṇa di va li a ṣa ma l[o] ga
- (4r.13.1) ^{2I+L+J+Z} + + [ta] ra ṇi a « ṇi sa ma rtha » [śa] [ki] u a di a ṇa [ga] [ga] [ṇa] di va li a ṣa ma lo a dha du .[u] + + + [a] [śa] [ki] + ? (4r.13.2) ^{1AA+DD+E+N} di a ṇa [k]o va re di [pa] ? [pe] ga ga ṇa ? [va] li a [ṣa] [ma] l[o] a dha du ta « [ra] » ṇu [i] [a] śa [ki]
- (4r.14.1) ^{2K+L+J+X} ? .i .e [a] [ṇa] [ga] [ga] [va] li [a] [ṣa] [ma] lo a dha du s[u] ha vi tre a śa [ki] pa ri ce a [ṇa] [ga] ko va re di ta [a] [r]o [pa] (4r.14.2) ^{1E+Y} ? ca ta ṇa u a di ṇa u [va] da ṇa [te] [sa] rve du he a ṇu [va] da ṇa te sa rva sa pa ti mo kṣa sa pa ti ca · 2
- (4r.15.1) ^{2L+J} + + + + + ? + ? t[r]i bo ṣa [e] ta a saṃ khe [de] [hi] ka [rp]e [h]i [pra] ṇa + + + + + ?⁴ (4r.15.2) ^{1E+Y} [t]. ṇi sa ma rtho ya du kho ya su di ṇo a mo ca pra ja ha ti ca se ma ha i ṣe mi ja di pa dha ma c[i] tu pa [de]⁵
- (4r.16.1) ^{2J+F+BB} [ca] [vr]u d[e] pra ṇa pa ra mi da ca pa di la dha ṇi ṣa ma rtho ca du kho ca [su] di [ṇo] [a] mo [ca] [pa] [ri] ṇ[a] ? + (4r.16.2) ^{1C+E+Y+T2} ? [hi] mo + ? [pra] l .[e] ? + + ? [ti] ṇi [p]a do [ṇa] [pra] o di da ve ? ? ? [ca] + ? ? ?
- (4r.17.1) ^{2F} va rji da vo ca de śi da vo ca ° 3 yo a ṇa bo ṣi ṣa tva bo ṣi ma ḍa mi la vhe ti sa ma hi i + (4r.17.2) ^{1C} ? dh[a] re [t]ra mi la dhe ṇa ṇe ta ṇa su la dh[a] me la vha ṇa ca pra o di da ve a ha ta ki sa mo bo ṣi ma ḍa mi
- (4r.18.1) ^{2F} la [bha] [di] sa mo a ṇa tra de ṣe hi ta vu ca di sa mo mo ṣi ma ḍa ṇi ṣa ṇa so so ya bo si ma d[e] śu ṇ[e] [i] .[e] [c]. + (4r.18.2) ^{1C} ṇa ca de śa śu ṇa · sa mo bo ṣi ma ḍa du khe ca ṇi sa ma rthe ca sa me i me ca a ṇe ca de śa ta sva sa me
- (4r.19.1) ^{2G} ya [ti] [ṇa] pra o di da ve ° 4 kha ḍa e ṇa ka va la e ṇa bhi kṣi śe ṇa ga o ca ho i ta ṇa va ṇa i mo (4r.19.2) ^{2M+C+O} + [ṇo] [pra] [o] .[i] ? .[e] + .[o] [ṇa] [ṇo] [ca] + [ṣa] [ma] r[tha] ṇa ṇo ca pra ca [pa] ra mi [do] [ca] pa r[i] ? ? [pra] ? ? [+]
- (4r.20.1) ^{2G+H+IU} ta [ki] ha kṣa ti ° 4 1 e de ṇa du kha ṇa ṇa ṇi sa ma rtha ṇa ṇe ṇa sa rve du kha u [a] [d]i [ṇa] [e] [a] ṣi va ṣi da e ha [kṣa] (4r.20.2) ^{1R+O} [di] [u] e kṣi da e ha kṣa [di] sa rve su he pa ri ca ta e a ṣi va si da e ha kṣa di ta pa ra ṇi rva h[i] [do]
- (4r.21.1) ^{1B+2G+H+IU} [lo] ga do ca ri śe a ku [śa] l[o] va rj[a] ma ṇa ku śa lo [ka] [ra] [ma] [ṇa] + + [ga] [r]e [ṇa] [b]. [dha] dha rm[a] sa gh[o] (4r.21.2) ^{1R+O} pu ya ma ṇa sa tva ṇ[a] ca a [r]tho ka [ra] [ma] ṇa dha rm[e] ca e da mi o ṇi ṣa ma .[tha] du kha ṇa ṇo de śa ma ṇa
- (4r.22.1) ^{1D+V} sa tva ya bo ṣa pra i ṭha [va] [ma] [ṇa] ṇa ci ri [v]e + r[va] sa pa ti ca me ? (4r.22.2) ^{1A+I+J} + [di] sa rva dro a [ca] [ca] [ṇa] ha kṣa di a tva hi da ca pa ra hi da ca sa rva ṣa tva hi da ca ha kṣa di ° 4 2
- (4r.23.1) ^{1D+V} e ka du tra ca du re paṃ ca ṣa ha ya va sa ta hi a lo e hi yo a ri [da] ka ra e a ṣa ti a de ca (4r.23.2) ^{1I+J} + lo ṇe a de ca yo pra ṇi de ra e « e de u ha e mi ṣo » su pa ri bha ṣi da vo ca ya bhu de hi pa ri bha ṣe hi co di da v[a] [ca]

4 A character with horizontal stroke above.

5 du?

- (4r.24.1) ^{1G+X} [ya] [ša] [bhu] [de] hi sva do še hi sva dro a ce hi va rji da va ca [su] du [ro] a di de vi [j]u ho ši da ve pra cu [pa] ṇa e ṇa [a] + + (4r.24.2) ^{1J+L+P} di da ve a ṇa ga da ṇa [a] .[i] ? ? da ve tri [ko] [ḍ]i ka ha ti pa ri bha ši da ve co di da ve ca [va] [ta] ve [du] [m]. [u] [ha]e
- (4r.25.1) ^{1G+X+CC} ta [va] tri ṇa su ga di ṇa ṇa še tri ṇa dro ga di ṇa [a] [ha] [ra] [e] tri ṇa « ma je ṇi sa ma rthe · » sa pu ru sa ṇa « bu dha ṇa » ṇa [ša] [e] tri ṇa a sa pu r[u] [ṣ]a ṇa « ma ? » [a] (4r.25.2) ^{1L+P} + + [e] tri ṇa mo kṣa ṇa ṇa ś[a] [e] tri ṇa ba dha ṇa ṇa a ha ra e dri ṭha dha mi o tri ṇa su ha ṇa ṇa śa [e] tri ṇa d. kh[a] ?
- (4r.26.1) ^{1G+CC} a ha ra e [tr]i ṇa śu ha ṇa ṇa še tri ṇa a śu ha ṇa ? + + + + + [la] + ṇa še e tri ṇa a ku [ša] (4r.26.2) ^{1L+P} la ṇa a ha ra e tri ṇa + + + + + [a] tri ṇa mi + + [a ha re a] tri ṇa la [h]. + + + + .e [a]
- (4r.27.1) ^{1D+S+BB} tri ṇa a la ši a ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa [k]i ca ṇa ṇa še a tri ṇa a [ki] [ca] [ṇa] + [ha] [r]. [a] tri ṇ. [k]. rm. ṇ. + .[e] + (4r.27.2) ^{1L+QI+T} .[i] ṇa a ka rma ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa [śpr]i śa ṇa ṇa ṇa še a + + + ? ? [ṇa] [ṇa] a ha re a ? [ṇa] ? ? ? [ṇa]
- (4r.28.1) ^{1D+S} ṇa še a [tri] [ṇa] ge la ṇa ṇa a ha re a « ma je ca ṇ. sa ma rth. pu rv[e] du khe pa cā du khe ? + + + ? ma rthe pu rve a śu ha [pa] + + (4r.28.2) ^{1QI+T} śu h[a] ma ja ṇi sa ma rtha sa rva tra i [thu] ka ṭa ve » ^{1D+S} še sa e pa ta de hi vi va rya e ṇa ma tra ca i da [ra] ca a [hi] (4r.28.2) ^{1QI+T} + [d]. [da] [va] [ca] ya sa bhu da a ṇu śa ś[e] [ṇa] ca a ṇu śa śi da va pa la śpi da va ca

BC4 verso

- (4v.01.1) ^{1H} ? [ka] [du] [tra] ca du ra pa[m̃] [ca] sa ya va sa ta a lo a a ṇa ri de ke re a · a sa ti a ca a [lo] [ṇe] ? (4v.01.2) ^{1Q+T} ca a ṇa ri [de] [ke] ra o [e] de ta va u ha e mi so a hi va di da va ya sa bhu da pi ca ra a hi va da ?
- (4v.02.1) ^{1G+S} co di da va ca śa ši da va ca ya sa bhu de hi sva ya a ṇu śa še hi sva sa pa ti hi pa la śpi da va + + (4v.02.2) ^{1T+Q} ? + + + + + + + + + ḍa ci te u pa di da ve pra cu pa ṇe ca sa sa da e ṇa ma tro ca
- (4v.03.1) ^{1G+S+BB} i da ro ca pa ri bhu ji da ve a ṇa ga d[e] ca [śpa] [di] mo [a] [hi] ga [kṣi] [da] [ve] ? ? + + [ka] [ra] [ṣ]. [d]. [ṣ]. [m]. + (4v.03.2) ^{1T+P} + + + + + + + + + + + ? [ca] ka ha ti a hi va di da ve ka ha ti co di da ve
- (4v.04.1) ^{1G+S+X+CC+BB} [va] [ta] ve [du] me u ha e · tri ṇa dro ga di ṇa ṇa še a mo ye a tri ṇa su ga di ṇa [a] [ha] re a « ma j. ca ṇi sa » tri ṇa [ka] (4v.04.2) ^{1L+P} [ma] pra [mu] [ha] a sa pu ru [ṣa] ṇa ṇa še a t[r]i ṇa bu dha pra mu ha sa pu ru sa ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa saṃ sa [ra]
- (4v.05.1) ^{1G+CC} [ra] ba dha ṇa ṇa ṇa še a tri ṇa mo kṣa ṇa [a] [ha] [re] [a] · [dri] [ṭha] [dha] [mi] [a] tri ṇa d[u] + [ṇa] ṇa še a tri ṇa su ha ṇa [a] (4v.05.2) ^{1P+L+J} + [re] a · tri ṇa a [ś]. + ? ṇa še a tri ṇa śu ha ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa a ku śa la ṇa ṇa še a
- (4v.06.1) ^{1G+CC} [tri] ṇa ku śa la ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa mi dha ṇa ṇa še a tri ṇa ja ga ri a ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa a l[a] .i + (4v.06.2) ^{1L+I+J+P} ṇa ṇa še [a] _ _ _ _ _ tri ṇa la hu ṭha ṇa ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa a ḡi ca ṇa ṇa še a

- (4v.07.1) ^{1G+D} tri ṇa [ki] ca ṇa [a] [ha] [re] [a] tri ṇa [a] ka rma ṇa ṇa śe a tri ṇa ka rma ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa a [śpri] śa ? (4v.07.2) ^{11+J} [ṇa] ṇa śe a tri ṇa _ _ _ _ _ [śpri] śa ṇa ṇa a ha re a tri ṇa ge la ña ṇa ṇa śe a tri ṇa
- (4v.08.1) ^{1G+D} a ro ga ṇa a ha re a sa kṣi te [ṇa] sa dri ṭhi a sa pa ra i a a va ri ma ṇa ṇa tri ṇa tri ṇa do ? (4v.08.2) ^{1A+1+J} + + ś[e] a tri ṇa tri ṇa sa pa ti ṇa a ha [re] [a] ? ? ? ? ? + ? [i] [thu] [mi] o ho ro sa ta hi
- (4v.09.1) ^{1G+D+V} a re de [k]e re a pa ri bha [ṣi] da [va] _ _ _ _ _ ? h. r. a śa ti a a l[o] ṇe [a] (4v.09.2) ^{1A+R+O+G} [a] [ri] de [ka] ra i [pa] ri bha ṣi da ve « ? ? ? ? ? ? ? » [○] i thu mi o ho ro sa ta ma tra a ṇa ri de ke ra a
- (4v.10.1) ^{1B+2G+1U} [a] [śa] ti a a lo ṇ[e] o ca ? + ro a ṇa ri de [ko] pa ri bha ṣi da ve co di da [ve] pa la śpi da ve [ki] a ṇu (4v.10.2) ^{1R+O+G} śa [śe] ha kṣa di te sa ta hi « ma tra » a r[i] da ke ra a a lo ṇe a a śa ti a de « ca » i da ra de a ri da [ke] .e
- (4v.11.1) ^{2G+M} pa ri bha ṭha ya co di d[a] ca va rji da ca a [kṣ]a ti te śpa bha va sa a [t]a ra śa i śa ti ṇa ca bhū yo u pa ji śa [ti] (4v.11.2) ^{1M+O+C} [○] te sa ta ma tra a lo [a] ? ? ? ? ? re a a lo ṇe a a śa ti a i da ra a ṇa ri d[a] k[e] re a a i va di da ca
- (4v.12.1) ^{2G+F} c[o] di da ca pa la śpa da ca [sa] da ka lo p[a] [ḍi] [ti] [ṭha] sa ti [de hi] śa da sa a ṇa ga de ca to mi [u] [ju] [ca] .e [a] p. [ci] + (4v.12.2) ^{1C} [va] ? [pi] [a] [l]o i [th]u [mi] hu [ra] hu e ka me ka sa ka ṭa ve [ma] tra sa ho ro · i da ra sa ho ro

Translation

«1»

«1A1»

...

... will not exist ...

By being free from desire the cultivation of the path will exist.

Suffering ...

For one who is dispassionate regarding the triple world, there will be the contemplation about the benefit of [this] freedom from all passions.

«1A2»

Based on [this] reflection, twenty joys (*prīti*) will exist,

twenty sorrows (*śoka*) will not exist,

three bad births (*durgati*) will not exist,

three good births (*sugati*) will exist,

three liberations (*mokṣa*) relating to future life will exist,

three ... relating to present life (?) ...,

three happy [conditions] (*sukha*) relating to present life will exist, relating to body and mind,

three painful [conditions] (*duḥkha*) will not exist,

three beautiful [conditions] (*śubha*) will exist,

three unattractive [conditions] (*aśubha*) will not exist,

three wholesome [conditions] (*kuśala*) will exist,

three unwholesome [conditions] (*akuśala*) will not exist,

three meetings with worthy men will exist, [i.e. those] dependent on the Buddha¹,

three bad companies will not exist, [i.e.] unworthy men preceded by Kāma (?)².

«1A3»

There will not be any misery

[but] every fortune will exist.

... will exist.

The statement and [underlying] theme is: [There will be] unwholesome [conditions] on account of bad [deeds] (*pāpa*); in the case of wholesome [deeds] (*kuśala*), there will be no decay of merit (*punya-kṣaya*).

... will speak of ... [as a] cause (?) ... developed (?) ...

... ○

.....

1 In 4r.24.2 («7A2») it is written *sapuruṣaṇa* «*budhaṇa*», thus perhaps also “on buddhas” in general.

2 “Kāma” is based on a parallel passage in 4v.04.1–2. However, in 4r.05.1 the remaining traces of ink preceding [*ma*] do not suggest to be *ka*, but rather two distinct letters.

«1B1»

What will happen?

... will speak of ...³, and will speak of wholesome [deeds as a] cause.

... there will be no desire [for] ...

By being free from desire the cultivation of the path will exist.

Suffering ...

For one who is dispassionate regarding the triple world, there will be the contemplation about the benefit of [this] freedom from all passions.

«1B2»

Based on [this] reflection, twenty joys will exist,

twenty sorrows will not exist,

three bad births will not exist,

three good births will exist,

three,

relating to present life, three happy [conditions] will exist,

three painful [conditions] will not exist, relating to body and mind,

three beautiful [conditions] will exist,

three unattractive [conditions] will not exist,

three wholesome [conditions] will exist,

three unwholesome [conditions] will not exist,

three meetings with worthy men will exist, [i.e. those] dependent on the Buddha,

three bad companies will not exist.

«1B3»

What [will be] mine, this in brief is:

There will not be any misery

[but] every fortune will exist,

and the bliss of liberation will exist.

These benefits will exist

having let go of every affection o 1

.....

3 Probably: "will speak of unwholesome [deeds as a] cause".

«2»

gaga-ṇadi-valia-ṣama-l[o]ga (4r.13.1) (*dhadu) [ta]raṇia « ṇisamartha » [śaki] uadiaṇa
 [gaga-ṇa]di-valia-ṣama-loadhadu-(*d)[u](*ha⁸ vitre)[a śaki] (*u)[a] (4r.13.2) diaṇa
 [k]o varedi [pa] ? [pe]

gaga-ṇa[di-va]lia-[ṣama-lo]adhadu ta « [ra] » ṇu[ia] śa[ki] (4r.14.1) [pariceaṇa
 gaga]-(*ṇadi)-[valia-ṣama]-loadhadu-s[u]ha vitrea śa[ki] paricea[ṇa {ga}]
 ko varedi ta [a r]o

[pari]cata (4r.14.2) ṇa uadi ṇa u[a]daṇa
 [te sa]rve duhe aṇu[va]daṇa
 te sarva sapatī mokṣa-sapatī ca · 2

«3»

(4r.15.1) + + + + + ? + ? t[r]i-boṣa[e] ta asaṃkhe[dehi] ka[rp]e[h]i [pra]ṇā⁹ + + + + + ?¹⁰
 (4r.15.2) [t]. ṇisamartho ya dukho ya sudiṇoamo ca prajāhātī **ca**
 se mahā¹¹ iṣemi jādī paḍhama-c[i]tupa[de] (4r.16.1) [ca vr]ud[e] praṇa-paramida ca paḍiladha
 ṇiṣamartho ca dukho ca [su]di[ṇo]amo [ca pariṇa] ? +
 (4r.16.2) ? [hi] **mo** + ? [pra]l[adhe] ? + + ? [ti] ṇi [p]a do [ṇa pra]oḍidave ? ? ? ?¹² **ca** + ? + ? ?
 (4r.17.1) varjīdavo ca deśīdavo ca ° 3

«4»

yo aṇa boṣiṣatva boṣiṣadāmi lavheti
 sa mahi i(*śe) (4r.17.2) [mi] dh[a]re[tr]ami ladhe ṇaṇe
 ta ṇa su-ladh[a] me lavha ṇa ca praḍidave

aha ta ki samo boṣiṣadāmi (4r.18.1) la[bhadi] samo aṇatra-deśehi
 ta vucadi samo moṣiṣadā¹³-ṇiṣaṇa
 so so ya boṣiṣad[e] śuṇ[e i](*m)[e ca] (*a) (4r.18.2) ṇa ca deśa śuṇa ·
 samo boṣiṣadā¹⁴ dukhe ca ṇisamarthe ca same ime ca aṇe ca deśa
 tasva same (4r.19.1) ya [ti ṇa] praḍidave ° 4

8 Possibly also (*s)u(*ha), but in section «6» duha is connected to upa-ā√dā and suha to pari√tyaj.

9 [pra]ṇā (*-paramida)?

10 A character with horizontal stroke above.

11 Read: mahi.

12 Maybe: codidave.

13 Read: boṣiṣadā-.

14 Read: boṣiṣadē (?).

«2»

One could cross world systems as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, [while] clinging «ineffectual»; one could go through (?) [all kinds of] suffering in [these] world systems as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, [while] clinging.

Who prevents / chooses (?) ... ?

One could cross world systems as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, [while] letting go; one could go through (?) [all kinds of] happiness in [these] world systems as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, [while] letting go.

Who prevents / chooses (?) ... ?

Having let go (?), there [will be] no more attachment to worldly possessions (*upadhi*) and no more clinging [to existence] (*upādāna*). Thus every suffering [will be] without clinging [to it] (*anupādāna*), thus [there will be] every fortune and [especially] the fortune of liberation · 2

«3»

... for the sake of the three kinds of awakening ... for innumerable eons (the perfection of ?) insight ... one abandons [what is] ineffectual, causing suffering, and like a dream.

Here by me in this lifetime the first resolve [to strive for perfect awakening] (*prathamacittotpāda*) is performed (? *vṛta*) and also the perfection of insight is obtained (*prajñāpāramitā pratilabdā*), (having) fully understood [what is] ineffectual, causing suffering, and like a dream,

... is seized ... ⁴ is not to be rejected should be avoided and should be shown ° 3

«4»

The knowledge, which other bodhisattvas obtain on the seat of awakening, this was obtained by me here on this [spot on the] ground.

The gain was not easily obtained by me, and it should not be rejected.

Someone says: Is it the same [that] is obtained on the seat of awakening, [and is it] the same [that is obtained] in other places?

It is said: It is the same [as] ‘sitting on the seat of awakening’.

But that very seat of awakening is empty, and these and other places are empty.

The same seat of awakening causes suffering and is ineffectual, [and it is] the same [in the case of] these and other places.

Therefore [that], which I say is the same, should not be rejected ° 4

4 In «4» and «5» it is the *jñāna* (*G ñaṇa*), which is not to be rejected, but the remaining traces of ink on the manuscript do not suggest such a reading.

«5»

khāḍaṇa kavalaṇa bhikṣiṣe ṇagao ca hoita
 ṇa vaṇa imo (4r.19.2) (*ñā)[ṇo praodidave]
 (*dukh)[o]-[ñāṇo ca] (*ṇi)[sama]r[tha]-ñāṇo ca
 pra[ca-pa]rami[do ca] par[i] ? ? [pra] ? ? [+]
 (4r.20.1) ta [ki] hakṣati¹⁵ ° 4 1

«6»

edeṇa dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇaṇa
 sarve dukha u[ad]i[ṇae a]ṣivaṣidae ha[kṣa] (4r.20.2) [di u]ekṣidae hakṣa[di]
 sarve suhe paricatae aṣivasidae hakṣadi
 ta paraṇirvah[ido] (4r.21.1) [lo]gado cariṣe
 aku[śa]l[o] varj[a]maṇa kuśalo [karamaṇa] + + [gar]e[ṇa]
 [b>(*u)[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o] (4r.21.2) puyamaṇa
 satvaṇ[a] ca a[r]tho ka[rama]ṇa
 dharm[e] ca edam io ṇiṣama(*r)[tha]-dukha-ñāṇo deśamaṇa (4r.22.1)
 satva ya boṣa praiṭha[vamaṇa] [///]
 ṇa ciri [v]e (*sa)r[va]-sapati ca me [ha] (4r.22.2) (*kṣa)[di] sarva-droa[ca ca ṇa] hakṣadi
 atva-hida ca para-hida ca sarva-ṣatva-hida ca hakṣadi ° 4 2

«7»

«7A1»

(4r.23.1) eka-du-tra-cadure-paṃca-ṣaha¹⁶ yava satahi aloehi yo ari[da] karae
 aṣatiade ca (4r.23.2) (*a)loṇeade ca yo praṇide <?*ka>rae
 « ede uhae miṣo » su-paribhaṣidavo ca
 ya<*śa>¹⁷-bhudehi paribhaṣehi codidav[a ca] (4r.24.1)
 [yaṣa-bhude]hi sva-doṣehi sva-droacehi varjidava ca
 [su]du[ro] adide vi [j]uhoṣidave
 pracu[pa]ṇae¹⁸ ṇa [a>(*hiva) (4r.24.2) didave
 aṇagada¹⁹ ṇa [a] .[i] ? ? dave²⁰
 tri-[koḍ]i kahati paribhaṣidave codidave ca
 [vata]ve [dum>(*e) [uha]e²¹
 (4r.25.1) ta[va]

15 Cf. 4v.10.1–2 («7C2.1»): [ki] aṇuśa[śe] hakṣadi.

16 Read: -ṣahi.

17 Cf. 4r.24.1 as well as 4v.01.2 and 4v.02.1.

18 Read: *pracupaṇe* (cf. 4v.02.2).

19 Read: *aṇagade* (cf. 4v.03.1).

20 Reconstruct: *abhiṇadidave?*

21 Cf. 4v.04.1.

«5»

[And even if] I would [have to] beg with a broken bowl and having become a naked [mendicant]; certainly this knowledge should not be rejected.

The knowledge of [what causes] suffering as well as the knowledge of [what is] ineffectual and the perfection of insight (?) is fully understood and should not be rejected (?).

Then, what will happen? ° 5

«6»

By this knowledge of [what causes] suffering and this knowledge of [what is] ineffectual all suffering will be accepted [as being something that is] clung to [and] will be looked at with an even mind, all happiness will be accepted [as being something that is] let go.

Having thus reached complete extinction, I will leave this world.

While the unwholesome is being avoided, [and] the wholesome is being done in (every) respect (?).

while Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are being honored,

and while the profit of living beings is being produced,

and while this Dharma, which is the knowledge of [what causes] suffering and the knowledge of [what is] ineffectual, is being shown,

and while [all] beings are being established in [the path to] awakening,

[then] certainly before long for me every fortune will exist, and every misery will not exist,

[there] will be the welfare for myself, the welfare for others, and the welfare for every living being ° 6

«7»

«7A1»

Who (?) *arida karae* by one, two, three, four, five, six up to seven *aloea*,

and who (?) *pranide* <?*ka>*rae* from up to (?) seven and from *aloea*;

they, both together, should be admonished.

And on account of admonitions, which accord with the truth, [they] should be exhorted,

and on account of [their] own faults [and consequent] miseries, which accord with the truth, [they] should be avoided.

Even with regard to the distant past [they] should be abhorred,

with regard to the present [they] should not be saluted respectfully,

with regard to the future [they] should not be (rejoiced at ?);

[with regard (?) to] [all] the three points of time one should do [what] is to be admonished and exhorted.

[With reference to] both these two [it] should be spoken.

Then:

«7A2a»

- || BC11r.7 triṇa sugadiṇa ṇaṣe
 || BC11r.13 triṇa drogaḍiṇa [aharae]
 triṇa « maje ṇiṣamarthe · » sapuruṣaṇa « budhaṇa »²² ṇa[ṣae]
 triṇa aṣapur[uṣ]aṇa « ma[j](*)e » [a] (4r.25.2) (*hara)[e]
 triṇa mokṣaṇa ṇaṣ[ae]
 triṇa badhaṇaṇa aharae
 driṭhadhamio
 triṇa suhaṇa ṇaṣa[e]
 triṇa d(*u)kh[aṇa] (4r.26.1) aharae
 || BC11r.13 [tr]iṇa śuhaṇa ṇaṣe
 triṇa aśuhaṇa [a](*)harae
 || BC11r.13 triṇa kuṣa[la](*)ṇa ṇaṣee
 triṇa aku[ṣa] (4r.26.2) laṇa aharae

«7A2b»

- triṇa (*jagariṇa²³ ṇaṣe)[a]
 triṇa mi(*dhaṇa)²⁴ [aharea]
 triṇa lah(*uṭhaṇaṇa ṇaṣ)e[a] (4r.27.1)
 triṇa alaṣiaṇa aharea
 triṇa [k]icaṇa ṇaṣea
 triṇa a[k]icaṇa [a](*)[har](*)e[a]
 [triṇa karmaṇa] (*ṇa)[ṣe](*)a (4r.27.2)
 (*tr)[i]ṇa akarmaṇa aharea
 triṇa [ṣpr]iṣaṇaṇa ṇaṣea
 (*triṇa aṣpriṣa)²⁵[ṇaṇa] aharea
 [triṇa arogaṇa] (4r.28.1) ṇaṣea
 [triṇa] gelaṇaṇa aharea

«7A3»

- || BC11r.25 « maje ca ṇ(*i)ṣamarth(*)e purv[e] dukhe paṇa dukhe
 [ma](*)je ca ṇi)[sa]marthe purve aśuḥa [pa](*)cā a) (4r.28.2) śuh[a]
 maja ṇiṣamartha sarvatra i[thu] kaṭave »

ṣeṣae patade hi vivaryaṇa matra ca ida[ra] ca a[hi] (4r.28.2) (*va)[d](*)i[dava ca]
 yaṣa-bhuda-aṇuṣaṣ[eṇa] ca aṇuṣaṣidava palaṣpidava ca

22 The first interlinear addition starts shortly after *triṇa*, thus referring to this word. The second insertion starts above the last *ṇa* of *sapuruṣaṇa*, presumably because the first insertion already took up the space up to *sapuru*; hence the dot after the first insertion is indicating its end here.

23 Cf. 4v.06.1.

24 Cf. 4v.06.1.

25 Cf. 4v.07.1–2.

«7A2a»

[This would lead] to the destruction of three good births,
 to the support of three bad births,
 to the « in the middle ineffectual » destruction of three worthy men, [such as] buddhas,
 to the support of three unworthy men « in the middle »⁵,
 to the destruction of three liberations,
 to the support of three fetters;
 relating to present world
 [this would lead] to the destruction of three happy [conditions],
 to the support of three painful [conditions],
 to the destruction of three beautiful [conditions],
 to the support of three unattractive [conditions],
 to the destruction of three wholesome [conditions],
 to the support of three unwholesome [conditions].

«7A2b»

[This would lead] to the destruction of three wakefulnesses,
 to the support of three sleepinesses,
 to the destruction of three physical alternesses,
 to the support of three idlenesses,
 to the destruction of three duties,
 to the support of three non-duties,
 to the destruction of three activities,
 to the support of three non-activities,
 to the destruction of three comforts,
 to the support of three discomforts,
 to the destruction of three healths,
 to the support of three sicknesses.

«7A3»

« In the middle ineffectual, before painful, afterwards painful;
 in the middle ineffectual, before unpleasant, afterwards unpleasant.
 ‘[In the] middle ineffectual’ – [when this is written ?] in every case it should be done thus. »

For the remainder, on the reverse [side of the scroll] the quantity [of seven] as well as the others should be saluted respectfully by the [respective] opposite case; and on account of the benefit, which accords with the truth, [they] should be praised and maintained (?).

5 The first insertion seems to refer to the “destruction” of worthy men, the second insertion seems to refer to the unworthy men. In the repetition of the list («7B2a») the inserted gloss is placed above the *triṇa* preceding the *aṣapuru[ṣa]ṇa*-compound, thus obviously referring to the unworthy men.

BC4 verso

«7B1»

(4v.01.1) [eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-şa yava sata aloa aṇaride kerea ·
 aṣatia ca a[lone](^{*}a) (4v.01.2) ca aṇari[de ke]rao

[e]de tava uhae miṣo ahivadidava

yaşa-bhuda-picara ahiva(^{*}di)da[va] (4v.02.1) codidava ca ṣaṣidava ca
 yaşa-bhudehi svaya-aṇuśaśehi sva-sapatihī palaśpidava

²⁶ + + (4v.02.2) ? + + + + + + + + + + da cite upadidave

pracupaṇe ca ṣaṣadaṇa matro ca (4v.03.1) idaro ca paribhujidave

aṇagad[e] ca [śpadi]mo [ahi]ga[kṣidave]

? ? + + [kara ṣ. d. ṣ. m.] + (4v.03.2) + + + + + + + + + + ²⁷ + + + + ? [ca]

kahati ahivadidave

kahati codidave (4v.04.1)

[vata]ve [du]me uhae ·

«7B2a»

triṇa drogadiṇa ṇaṣea moyea

triṇa sugadiṇa [aha]rea

triṇa « maj(^{*}e) ca ṇiṣa(^{*}marthe) »²⁸ [ka] (4v.04.2) [ma]-pra[muha]-aṣapuru[ṣa]ṇa ṇaṣea

t[r]iṇa budha-pramuha-sapuruṣaṇa aharea

triṇa saṃsa[ra] (4v.05.1) {[ra]}-badhaṇaṇa ṇaṣea

triṇa mokṣaṇa [aharea] ·

driṭhadhamia]

triṇa d[u](^{*}kha)[ṇa] ṇaṣea

triṇa suhaṇa [a] (4v.05.2) (^{*}ha)[re]a ·

triṇa a[ś](^{*}uhana) ṇaṣea

triṇa śuhaṇa aharea

triṇa akuṣalaṇa ṇaṣea (4v.06.1)

[tri]ṇa kuṣalaṇa aharea

.....
 26 *adide* ... (cf. 4r.24.1).

27 Physically, fragment 4.1v Q should be placed here, but the exact position and reading is uncertain:
d. v. c. [cu] di.

28 The insertion is actually placed above / before the *triṇa*.

BC4 verso

«7B1»

aṅaride kerea the one, two, three, four, five, six up to seven *aloa*,

and *aṅari[de ke]rao* the up to (?) seven and the *aloṇea*;

these indeed, both together, should be saluted respectfully.

On account of [their] merit, which accords with the truth, [they] should be saluted respectfully and exhorted and commended;

on account of [their] own benefits [and consequent] fortunes, which accord with the truth, [they] should be maintained (?).

(With regard to the past) ... one should arouse the thought ...,

with regard to the present constantly the quantity [of seven] as well as the other should be enjoyed,

with regard to the future [they] should be expected mindfully.

...

One should do [what] is to be saluted respectfully,

one should do [what] is to be exhorted.

[With reference to] both these two [it] should be spoken .

«7B2a»

[This would lead] to the destruction of three bad births [and] to liberation (?),

to the support of three good births,

to the destruction of three « in the middle ineffectual » unworthy men headed by Kāma (?),

to the support of three worthy men headed by the Buddha⁶,

to the destruction of three fetters to the cycle of existence,

to the support of three liberations;

relating to the present world

[this would lead] to the destruction of three painful [conditions],

to the support of three happy [conditions],

to the destruction of three unattractive [conditions],

to the support of three beautiful [conditions],

to the destruction of three unwholesome [conditions],

to the support of three wholesome [conditions].

.....
6 Or “by buddhas”, cf. «7A2a».

«7B2b»

triṇa midhaṇa ṇaṣ̄ea

triṇa jagariṇa aharea

triṇa al[asi>(*a)(4v.06.2)ṇa ṇaṣ̄e[a]

triṇa lahuṭṭhaṇa aharea

triṇa agicaṇa ṇaṣ̄ea (4v.07.1)

triṇa [ki]caṇa [aharea]

triṇa [a]karmaṇa ṇaṣ̄ea

triṇa karmaṇa aharea

triṇa a[śpri]śa[ṇa] (4v.07.2) [ṇa] ṇaṣ̄ea

triṇa [śpri]śaṇa aharea

triṇa gelaṇa ṇaṣ̄ea

triṇa (4v.08.1) arogaṇa aharea

«7B3»

sakṣite[ṇa] sadriṭṭha saparaia avarimaṇa

|| BC11v.05–06, v.20 triṇa triṇa do(*ṣa)(4v.08.2)(*ṇa ṇa)ś[e]a

triṇa triṇa sapatīṇa aha[rea]

«7B2b»

[This would lead] to the destruction of three sleepinesses,
to the support of three wakefulnesses,
to the destruction of three idlenesses,
to the support of three physical alertnesses,
to the destruction of three non-duties,
to the support of three duties,
to the destruction of three non-activities,
to the support of three activities,
to the destruction of three discomforts,
to the support of three comforts,
to the destruction of three sicknesses,
to the support of three healths.

«7B3»

In brief: [this would lead] to the destruction of each of the immeasurable threefold malices
and the support of each of the [immeasurable] threefold fortunes relating to this life and the next.

«7C»

«7C1.1»

? ? ? ? + ? [ithumi] ohoro satahi (4v.09.1) arede kerea paribha[ši]da[v](^{*}e)

(^{*}o)h[o]r[o] aṣatia al[o]ṇe[a](<^{*}de) (4v.09.2) [ari]de [ka]rai [pa]ribhaṣidave «[codidave varjidave]» [○]

«7C1.2»

ithumi ohoro sata matra aṇaride keraa (4v.10.1)

[aṣa]tia alon[e]o [ca] [o](^{*}ho)ro aṇaride [ko]

paribhaṣidave²⁹ codida[ve] palaśpidave

«7C2.1»

[ki] aṇu (4v.10.2) śa[śe] hakṣadi

te satahi « matra » ar[i]da keraa

alonea aṣatiade « ca » idarade arida [kere](^{*}a) (4v.11.1)

paribhaṭha ya codid[a] ca varjida ca a[kṣ]ati

te śpabhavasa a[t]araśaiṣati ṇa ca bhuyo upajiśa[ti] (4v.11.2) [○]

«7C2.2»

te sata matra alo[a] aṇari(<^{*}da) [ke]rea

alonea aṣatia idara aṇarid[a] k[e]rea

aivadida ca (4v.12.1) c[o]dida ca palaśpada ca

«7C3»

[sa]dakalo p[aḍiti]ḥa sati[dehi]

|| BC11r.36

ṣadasa aṇagade ca to mi [u ju ca] .e [a] p. [ci] + (4v.12.2) [va] ? [pial]o

i[th]u[mi] hu[ra]hu³⁰ ekam ekasa kaṭave

[ma]tra-sahoro · idara-sahoro

29 Apparently wrong for *ahivadidave*, cf. 4v.11.2 («7C.2.2»).

30 Read *hu[ra]hu*(^{*}ro)?

«7C»

«7C1.1»

... in this life and the next (?) *arede kerea* by the seven are to be admonished;
in the next life (?) *[ari]de [ka]rai* from up to (?) seven *aloṇea* are to be admonished, exhorted, avoided.

«7C1.2»

In this life and in the next (?) *aṇaride keraa* the quantity of seven
and in the next life (?) *aṇaride [ko]* the up to (?) seven *aloṇea*
are to be admonished [= saluted respectfully], exhorted, maintained (?).

«7C2.1»

What benefit will there be?

Thus/Those (?) *ar[i]da keraa* by the quantity [of] seven
and *arida [kere](*a)* from the other up to (?) seven *aloṇea*
will be admonished, exhorted, avoided.

Thus (?) the states of intrinsic nature will disappear and not rise anew.

«7C2.2»

Thus/Those (?) *[aṇari](*da) [ke]rea* the quantity of seven *aloa*
[and] *aṇarid[a] k[e]rea* the other up to (?) seven *aloṇea*,
[will be] saluted respectfully and exhorted and maintained (?).

«7C3»

Always establish [yourself] by the sevenness (!)

For one who is content the future ... etc., in short:

In this life and from existence to existence one by one has to be done:
the collection of the quantity [of seven] as well as the collection of the other.

Text notes

4r.02.1 *s[e a]palioṣeṇa*. This can be read as (A) *seva-palioṣeṇa* with G *seva* = *sevā* “service, practice”, as (B) *seva palioṣeṇa* with G *seva* = *sā eva*¹ or as (C) *se apalioṣeṇa*. Thus the translation would either be (A) “by devotion to practice (*sevā*) the cultivation of the path will exist” or (B) “thus (*eva*) by devotion the (*sā*) cultivation of the path will exist”. It is interpreted here as (C) *se apalioṣeṇa*, especially in comparison to section «1B», where it seems to be written as *apalioṣeṇa* without discernible evidence of a preceding word. The stroke above the *sa*, read as an *e*-vowel, could also belong to the line above, although this is improbable because lines are usually clearly set apart from each other in this manuscript.

The presumed Gāndhārī word *apalioṣa* occurs as *apalig[o]dha~* in the fifth Aśokan rock edict in Shahbazgarhi and as *apar[i]godha~* in Girnar, while other inscriptions (Mansehra, Kalsi, Dhauri) only have *apalibodha~* in nearly the same meaning:

Table 18. Comparison of passages containing the words *apaligodha~/aparigodha~/apalibodha~* in rock edict V of Aśoka, sections (K) and (L), at Shahbazgarhi, Girnar, Mansehra, Kalsi, and Dhauri, ed. Hultzsch 1925.

	ed., page	K	L
Shah	55	... [dhran]ma-yutasa apalig[o]dha vap[a]ṭa te Bühler, Thomas: <i>apalib[odhe]</i> Hultzsch: Read <i>ḡodhaye</i> Senart: <i>aparigadha[ya]</i> (later: <i>apalibodham</i> according to Thomas 1915: 100) “they are occupied ... in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life)”	<i>badhana-badhasa paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mokhaye] ... viyapaṭa [t]e</i> “they are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, ...”
Gir	9	... [dhan]ma-yutānaṁ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te “they are occupied ... in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life)”	<i>ba[m]dhana-badhasa paṭividhānāya ///</i> –
Man	75	... dhrama-yuta-apalibodhaye viya[p]ṭa te	<i>badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye mokhaye] ... viyapaṭa</i>
Kal	32	... dhan]ma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā te Bühler: <i>viyāpaṭā</i> “they are occupied ... in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life)”	<i>baṁdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye ... viy[ā]paṭā te</i> “they are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free...”
Dhau	87	... dhan]ma-yutāye a[pa]libodhāye viyā[pa]ṭā se	<i>baṁdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye ... viyāpatā se</i>

Hultzsch (1925: 57 fn. 1) explains *paligodha* as a Māgadhan form of *parigodha* with the development *pari* √*gr̥dh* → *parigr̥ddha* > *paliguddha* → BHS *pali-godha* besides *parigr̥ddha* > *paligiddha* → P *paligedha*.² Regarding the usage of

1 Cf. e.g. the sandhi in BC2 [7D'.21]: *yaṣeva dharmā sa ṇa jadi vijati*.

2 Cf. Thomas 1915: 102, as well as BHS s.v. *paligodha*, *paliguddha*, BHS § 3.68. For the sound

apalibodha (Man, Kal, Dhau) instead of *apali-/aparigodha* (Shah, Gir), it should be noted that originally both words were differentiated in Pali texts, whereby *apalibodha* = “without fetters, obstacles” and P *apaligedha* = “without desire/greed”³. But they had been confused quite early, and Thomas (1915: 105) ascribed the confusion to writers / speakers of a dialect that changes *ṛ* to *u*, which excludes Māgadhī and points to the language evident in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions. Interestingly, in all edicts that contain *apaligodha/aparigodha/apalibodha* the reference is made to the northwest, namely to the Yonas, Kambojans, and Gandhārans, thus pointing to the same region.⁴

According to the BHSD, *paligodha* mostly refers to worldly and thus unworthy objects, but not generally. In the Śikṣ 50.15, for example, *vaiyāpṛtya-paligodhe* (ms.) means “attachment (devotion) to duties” – which would be close to *sevā-paligodha*, cf. option (A) above. Likewise Śikṣ 100.3–4 *buddhadharmābhīyuktena bhavitavyaṃ rātriṃ divaṃ dharmapaliguddhamānasenēti* (“day and night he must have a longing desire for service to the Law” (Bendall 1971: 102 [ed. 100]). Nonetheless, the negative sense is more prevalent.⁵ Also in Pali texts the term is used while referring to

change *r/l* cp. G *palikhaida* (BL9 / Nid-G¹2), *palikṣea*, *palikṣiṇa* (BL2), *palikṣiviva*, *palikṣivīsati* ? (Hirayama Fragment 8).

- 3 Similarly P *paligiddha* / BHS *paligṛddha* = “desirous” (cf. Thomas 1915 for examples, also Weller 1965: 127f. fn. 19). BL5B (Salomon 2000: 227) documents *agridham* = *agrddham* / P *agedham* “not greedy”.
- 4 Shah. V, 12: Yona-Kamboya-Gandharanam Raṭhikanam Pitinikanam (Hultzsch 1925: 55), Man. V, 22: Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana Raṭhika-Pitinikana (Hultzsch 1925: 75), Kal. V, 15: Yona-Kamb[o]ja-Gandhālānam (Hultzsch 1925: 32), Gir. V, 5: Yoṇa-K[a]mbo[ja]-Gandhārānam Riṣṭika-P[e]teṇikānam (Hultzsch 1925: 9), Dhau. V, 4: Yona-Kambocha-Gandhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu (Hultzsch 1925: 87). The translated text of the whole passage is (e.g. in Shah.): “(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years. (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, [the Raṭhikas and Pitinikas,] and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are)” (Hultzsch 1925: 56). The Yōnas etc. are “the Greeks, Kābulis, and northwestern Panjābīs” (Hultzsch 1925: 10 fn. 1). The Riṣṭikas and Pētēnikas (which are missing in the Kalsi edict) are less clear, cf. Hultzsch 1925: 10 fn. 2, 56 fn. 21.
- 5 References in the Śikṣ for *paligodha/-guddha* in a negative sense are: *bahupaligodhapaliguddho* Śikṣ 105.12 (“it [this greed; *lābhasatkāraḥ*] is full of longings and cravings”, Bendall 1999: 107 [ed. 105]); *paligodhamantreṣu ratiṃ janitvā* (“having conceived an affection for talk about worldly desires”; Bendall 1999: 109 [ed. 109]); *ayuktayogānām etat karma saṃsārābhiratānām yad uta vaiyāpṛtyaṃ laukikakṛtyapaligodhaḥ* (“...longing desire for worldly objects”, Bendall 1999: 112 [ed. 114]); *tad grhasukhapaliguddham adhikṛtyoktam* Śikṣ 146.20 (ms.: *palisuddham*; “this is said with reference to one eager for household-joys”, BHSD s.v. *paliguddha*; “It is said with reference to the purifying of the happiness of this house”, Bendall 1999: 145 [ed. 146]). Cf. also Thomas 1915: 99ff. Another reference to *paligodha* with the negative meaning is for example: Kāśyapaparivarta (KP-VD 111.1, ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002: 39): *dvāv imau kāśyapa pravrajitasyākāśa-*

the “adherence to lust for sensual pleasures / views, bondage [to it], fixation [on it], obsession [by it], holding firmly [to it]” (Bodhi 2012: 158) which is to overcome: *kāma-* and *diṭṭhi-rāgavinivesavinibandhapaligedhapariyuṭṭhānājhosānaṃ* (AN I 66–67). Similarly, someone who is greedy for a dwelling-place (*āvāsamaccharī hoti āvāsapaligedhī*, AN III 265) or a family (*kulamaccharī hoti kulapaligedhī*, *ibid.*) destroys the gift of faith (*saddhādeyyaṃ vinipāteṭi*, *ibid.*).

To conclude: Although *seva-palioṣeṇa* in a positive meaning “devotion to practice” is attested, the subject-matter of BC4 is the overcoming of passion for worldly things, and therefore I reconstruct it as *s[e a]palioṣeṇa marga-bhavaṇe hakṣadi*, “by being free from desire the cultivation of the path will exist”.

4r.02.1 *marga-bhavaṇe*.⁶ The path (*mārga*) is traditionally the eightfold path (also *pratipad*) leading to awakening, known as the last of the four noble truths. As such the *mārga-bhāvanā* is referred to e.g. in the Prasannapadā and the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra.⁷ In another passage of the Prasannapadā it is differentiated between *laukikamārga-bhāvanā* und *lokottarāryāṣṭāṅgamārga-bhāvanā*. The first aims at reaching “heaven” (*svarga*, characteristic: *dhyānārūpyasamādhisamāpatti*, i.e. the four *dhyānas* and the four *arūpya-samādhis*), the latter aims at cessation (*nirvāṇa*, characteristic: *mokṣa*, i.e. liberation).⁸ These two are also included in an enumeration

.....
paligodhau / katamau dvau / lokāyatamantraparyeṣṭitā ca / utsadapātracīvaradhāraṇatā [mss.: *ṭayā*, probably scribal error] *ca*. Weller 1965: 127f. “Zwei sind, Kāśyapa, diese gegenstandslosen Verlangen (fn. 19: “*ākāśapaligodha* “weil das zu nichts nutzt ist, gleicht es dem Verlangen nach dem [leeren] Raume). [Das eine] besteht darin, daß man nach Sprüchen über diesseitigen Lebensgenuß sucht. [Das andere] wird dadurch gegeben, daß man überschüssige Almosentöpfe und Gewänder bei sich bewahrt. [...] Diese zwei gelten als gegenstandslose Verlangen. Sie sind beide von den Bodhisattvas zu vermeiden.”

- 6 *Bhāvanā*: “development” (Willemen 2006, Boin-Webb 2001), “cultivation” (Boin-Webb 2001), “familiarization” (Brunnhölzl 2010, 2011). Usually f., but according to MW s.v. *bhāvana*, n. is also possible, although rather in the meaning “imagination” (cf. also CDIAL).
- 7 Pras 24.14 (ed. Vaidya 1960c: 218): *tataśca duḥkhaparijñānaṃ samudayaprahāṇaṃ nirodhasākṣātkaraṇaṃ mārgabhāvanā ca yujyate*. Cf. Vkn 5.3 (ed. Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006): *punar aparaṃ bhadanta śāriputra yo dharmārthikaḥ, nāsau duḥkhaparijñānārthiko na samudayaprahāṇārthiko na nirodhasākṣātkriyārthiko na mārgabhāvanārthiko bhavati / tat kasmād dhetoḥ / aprapañco hi dharmo nirakṣaraḥ / tatra yaḥ prapañcayatiḥ duḥkhaṃ pariñāsyāmi samudayaṃ prahāsyāmi nirodhaṃ sākṣātkariṣyāmi mārgaṃ bhāvayisyāmi, nāsau dharmārthikaḥ, prapañcārthiko 'sau* (“Reverend Sariputra, he who is interested in the Dharma is not interested in recognizing suffering, abandoning its origination, realizing its cessation, or practicing the path. Why? The Dharma is ultimately without formulation and without verbalization. Who verbalizes: ‘Suffering should be recognized, origination should be eliminated, cessation should be realized, the path should be practiced,’ is not interested in the Dharma but is interested in verbalization” (Thurman 1976).
- 8 Pras 8.5 (ed. Vaidya 1960c: 77): *yadi hi phalam iṣṭāniṣṭaṃ syāta, syāl laukikasya mārgasya dhyānārūpyasamādhisamāpattilakṣaṇaṃ svargaḥ, tadānīm tadarthaṃ laukikamārgabhāvanā*

of eleven ways of cultivation in the Śrāvakabhūmi: *samatha-bhāvanā*, *vipaśyanā-bhāvanā*, [*pūrvavad eva tatra*] *laukikamārga-bhāvanā*, *lokottaramārga-bhāvanā*, *mṛdumadyādhimātra-bhāvanā*, *prayogamārga-bhāvanā*, *ānantaryavimuktiviśeṣa-mārga-bhāvanā* (ed. Shukla 1973: 505). As stated, there is also a set of nine *bhāvanās* starting with *laukikamārga*⁹ (Abhidh-sam, ed. Pradhan 1950: 68, tr. Boin-Webb 2001: 149ff.). Here the *lokottaramārga* corresponds to the four noble truths in that it is the knowledge of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to cessation. A little further in the text Asaṅga gives another definition of the *mārga-bhāvanā* as being the cultivation (meditation) with a view to acquisition (*pratilamba*), practice (*niṣevana*), emancipation/purification (*nirdhāvana*), and counteractive (*pratipakṣa*) (tr. Boin-Webb 2001: 155–7). This means in principle the arousal of favorable qualities (*kuśala*), keeping them stable and expanding them, destroying the unfavorable qualities (*akuśala*) and preventing them from arising anew.⁹ – In the Samādhirāja-sūtra the *mārga-bhāvanā* is explained in short as *sarva-dharmāṅām anupalabdhibhāvanā*, the “cultivation of non-grasping all *dharmas*”.¹⁰

These are only a few different definitions of the *mārga-bhāvanā*, and there may have been many more.¹¹ Thus it is not clear which definition the author of BC4 had in mind. The only thing that can be said is that the focus is on emancipation from greed for worldly objects.

4r.02.2f. (**tredhaduade viratasa viraga-aṅuśa*)/[ś]/(**e*). The reconstruction is based on the parallel passage in the next section «1B» (r.09.2), which is an only slightly varied repetition of the first. What is meant is the benefit of being without passion or lust for the three realms of existence: *kāma*, *rūpa* and *ārūpya*.

(1) The *kāma-dhātu*, the world of desire or of the five senses, comprising the destinies of the hell-born, animals, ghosts, human beings and some of the gods: the six classes of the gods of the world of desire.

(2) The *rūpa-dhātu*, the world of (subtle) form, containing celestial beings who have been reborn in the Brahmā world and are dispersed throughout the realms of the four absorptions (*dhyāna*).

.....
jyāyasī syāt, kugatigamanakarmapathaviratisāphalyaṃ ca syāt | yadi ca mokṣalakṣaṇaṃ nirvāṇaṃ phalaṃ syāt, tadartha lokottarāryāṣṭāṅgamārgabhāvanāsāphalyaṃ syāt.

9 Cf. Abhidh-sam-bh (ed. Tatia 1976: 83): *caturvidhā mārgabhāvanā samyak prahāṅānadhikṛtya yathāyogam | tatra pratilambhāya bhāvanā pratilambhabhāvanā, tayālabdhakuśaladharmapratilambhāt | niṣevanaṃ eva bhāvanā niṣevanabhāvanā, labdhakuśaladharmābhyasanāt | nirdhāvanāya bhāvanā nirdhāvanabhāvanā, samudācārāvasthākuśaladharmanirvāsanāt | pratipakṣasya bhāvanā pratipakṣabhāvanā, anāgatākuśaladharmānutpattidharmatāpādanāt.*

10 Samādh 39 Padatṛisatanirdeśaparivartah (ed. Vaidya 1961a: 296).

11 See e.g. Buswell/Gimello 1992 *passim* and pp. 7–9.

The first *dhyāna* is in two or three stages, the second and third *dhyānas* each have three stages and the fourth has eight. Although invisible to the human eye, these worlds are still made of form, being terraces or mansions inhabited by beings of subtle form.

(3) The *ārūpya-dhātu*, the formless world, containing celestial beings who have been reborn in the form of a ‘mental series’ in the stages of the four attainments (*samāpatti*). These stages are: 1. the sphere of the infinity of space (*ākāśānāntyāyatana*), 2. the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (*viññānānāntyāyatana*), 3. the sphere of nothingness (*ākīñcanyāyatana*), and 4. the sphere of neither perception nor nonperception (*naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana*), also known as the Summit of Existence (*bhavāgra*).

(Lamotte/Boin-Webb 2003: 13f., italics adjusted)¹²

Instead of *vi-rakta* in other texts *a-rakta* or *a-sakta* is being used (e.g. AH 114; Willemen 2006: 133 fn. 158 “without attachment [...] meaning delivered (loose from): an old rendering of an equivalent of Sanskrit *arhat*”).

G *anuśaśa* (BHS *ānuśaṃsa* / P *ānisaṃsa*) is in general the benefit or profit “as derived from virtuous actions” (BHSD s.v. *anuśaṃsa*). The PTSD lists five: *bhogakkhandha*, *kittisadda*, *visārada*, *asammūlho kālaṃ karoti*, *saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati* (“great wealth, good report, self-confidence, an untroubled death, a happy state after death”).¹³ According to Conze (1978: 98) the *anuśaṃsa* are especially “[t]he advantages gained from perfect wisdom.”¹⁴ In his preliminary dictionary of the *prajñāpāramitā* literature (Conze 1973a) he translated *anuśaṃsā-citta* with “thought of the advantages” and *anuśaṃsā-cittam utpādayati* with “appears advantageous to him”. The corresponding text passage in the LPG (fol. 215, parivarta 55, ed. Conze 1962: 3, tr. Conze 1975: 431) reads:¹⁵

sacet punaḥ subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ svapnāntaragato 'pi śrāvakabhūmaye vā pratyekabuddhabhūmaye vā traidhātukāya vā na sprhayate, na anuśaṃsācittam utpādayati, svapnopamān eva sarvadharmān vyavalokayati, pratiśrutkopamān yāvan nirmītopamān eva sarvadharmān vyavalokayati, na ca sāksātkaroti.

Moreover, Subhūti, for the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva even in his dreams the level of a Disciple or Pratyekabuddha, or anything that belongs to the triple world, does not become an object of his longing, or appears advantageous to him. He beholds all dharmas as like a dream, like an echo, etc. to : like a magical creation [, ...] he does not realize [them]¹⁶.

12 Cf. also Brunnhölzl 2010: 634.

13 Five also in MPS, KaVā according to the SWTF (s.v. *ānuśaṃsa*). There are, however, other lists of 4, 7, 8 or 11 items (cf. PTSD s.v. *ānisaṃsa*).

14 Also in the YL (147V5–6) the eleven *ānuśaṃsa* are the blessings (“Segnungen”) gained from meditation (cf. Schlingloff 1964: 118f. and 133).

15 Cf. ASP (ed. Vaidya 1960a: 188): *punar aparaṃ subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ svapnāntaragato 'pi śrāvakabhūmau vā pratyekabuddhabhūmau vā traidhātukāya ca sprhām anuśaṃsācittam notpādayati, idam api subhūte avinivartanīyasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya avinivartanīya-lakṣaṇaṃ veditavyam.*

16 Conze 1975: 431: “But he does not realize (his escape from this illusory world)”.

Here, as in BC4, one does not long for anything that belongs to the triple world (*trai-dhātukāya na sprhayate*), because one understands that its elements are void and unreal and therefore they do not appear advantageous to hold on to.

4r.03.1 *citane* is phonologically equated with *cintana* (n.) = *cintā* (f.), which, however, has generally a rather negative connotation in the sense of “anxious thought”. Here it is applied in the neutral meaning “thinking upon, consideration” as it is used in the manuscripts from Central Asia (translated as “Überdenken” in the SWTF).

4r.03.1 *citidasa*. This should correspond to *cintitasya*. The following passage lists what comes into existence for one who thinks about the advantages of being dispassioned towards the world. Logically, G *citidasa* should be a gen. sg. of a person: “[= for] one who thinks [about the advantages] twenty joys [etc.] will exist”. Grammatically, it is a pp. “thought” or an abstract noun “thought, reflection” (n.).

4r.03.1 *viṣadi pridi ... viṣadi śoa*. Astonishingly, I could not find these terms in Pali or Sanskrit Buddhist text sources. The only text mentioning twenty kinds of joys seems to be a Chinese translation extant in the Taisho and named “The Sūtra of the Garland of a Bodhisattva’s Primary Karmas” (T1485, 1014 菩薩瓔珞本業經, *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, cf. commentary on p. 264). The corresponding passage in chapter 3 about the training of sages¹⁷ is translated by Rulu (2013: 52) as follows:

First, on the Joyful Ground, he abides in the highest truth in the Middle Way, cultivates **twenty joyful minds** [二十歡喜心], and makes ten endless vows. He manifests a hundred bodies to teach sentient beings in Buddha Lands in the ten directions, displays the five transcendental powers, enters the Illusion Samādhi, manifests as a Buddha, and accumulates immeasurable merit. Moreover, he no longer receives karmic requitals as he did while an ordinary being in the Three Realms of Existence. ...

The twenty joyful minds to be cultivated are apparently not explained here either.¹⁸

17 At the beginning of the section “Mind Training on the Ten Grounds”. In the system of 42 “doors” on six levels of training for buddhahood, the “Ten Grounds” are the doors 31–40 on the fourth level after the levels of abiding, action and transference of merit. At this point the bodhisattva (BS) is of the holy character-type. The whole training consists of (the jewels refer to the respective garland by which the BS is decorated on this level):

- (1) ten levels of abiding, BS of the learning character-type, garland of copper jewels;
- (2) ten levels of action, BS of the nature character-type, silver jewels;
- (3) ten levels of transference of merit, BS of the bodhi character-type, gold jewels;
- (4) “Ten Grounds”, BS of the holy character-type, aquamarine jewels;
- (5) eleventh ground, BS of virtually perfect awakening nature, extraordinary jewels;
- (6) twelfth ground, buddhas of perfect awakening nature, crystal jewels.

18 There are two commentaries, both by unknown authors. “Of the first commentary, only the first

Nevertheless they belong to the practice of a bodhisattva at the beginning of his career together with making vows and accumulating merit.

As the twenty joys are opposed to twenty sorrows in BC4, they might also be synonym to *viṃśatiḥ guṇāḥ* and *viṃśatiḥ kalaṅkāḥ*. These terms occur in *śāstras* or commentaries on the (Aṣṭasāhasrikā) Prajñāpāramitā¹⁹ in the description of the ten *bhūmis* that a bodhisattva has to attain. In the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (AA 1.59–65) the twenty flaws (*kalaṅkāḥ*) are to be removed and relinquished in order to attain the seventh *bhūmi* (the sixth *bhūmi* is characterized by practising the six *pāramitās*). The other twenty *dharmas* should be fulfilled on the seventh level, which is characterized by *śūnyatā* and non-attachment (cf. Brunnhölzl 2010: 322f.). The passage reads as follows with the translation of Sparham 2006: 120–121:²⁰

*ātmasattvagraho jīvapudgalocchedaśāsvataḥ | nimittahetoḥ skandheṣu dhātuṣv āyatanēṣu ca ||
traidhātuke pratiṣṭhānaṃ saktir ālīnacittatā | ratnatritayaśīleṣu taddrṣṭyabhiniveśitā ||
śūnyatāyāṃ vivādaś ca tadvirodhaś ca viṃśatiḥ | kalaṅkā yasya vicchinnāḥ saptamīm ety asau bhuvam ||*

The twenty blemishes are when they seize on self, being, soul, person, annihilation, and permanence, are established in, have attachment to, and let their thoughts sink down onto a mark, cause, skandhas, elements, sense fields, and the three realms, when they settle down in views about the Three Jewels and morality, and when they argue about emptiness and refute it. Those who have removed these proceed to the seventh level.

*trivimokṣamukhajñānaṃ trimaṇḍalaviśuddhatā | karuṇā ’mananā dharmasamataikanayaññatā ||
anutpādakṣamājñānaṃ dharmāṅgāṃ ekadheraṇā | kalpanāyāḥ samudghātaḥ saṃjñādrṅkleśavarjanaṃ ||
śamathasya ca nidhyapṭiḥ kauśalam ca vidarśane | cittasya dāntatā jñānaṃ sarvatrapratighātī ca ||
sakter abhūmir yatrecchaṃ kṣetrāntaragatiḥ samaṃ | sarvatrasvātmabhāvasya darśanaṃ ceti viṃśatiḥ ||*

fascicle is extant, which is collected into the Chinese Canon, the Taishō Tripiṭaka, as text 2798 (T85n2798). With some missing words, it explains chapters 1–3 of text 1485. Of the second commentary, only the second fascicle is extant, which is collected into the Extension of the Chinese Canon, the Shinsan Zokuzōkyō, as text 705 (X39n0705). It explains chapters 4–8 and part of chapter 3 of text 1485” (Rulu 2013: 33). T2798 gives no explanation as well (according to Hiromi Habata, personal communication, August 2013); I have not checked the other commentary.

- 19 Abhisamayālaṅkāra nāma-prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra attributed to Maitreya-nātha; Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti Sphuṭārthā of Haribhadra (ca. 8th century, explicit: *iti prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstre ācāryaharibhadrakṛtā abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtṭiḥ samāptā*); Sāratama of Ratnākaraśānti (ca. 11th century, incipit: *ratnākaraśāntiviracitā āryaṣṭasāhasrikāyāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ sāratamākhyā pañjikā*).
- 20 Other translations: Brunnhölzl 2010: 323–324 or Conze 1954: 25–27. Cf. also the explanatory passage in the Sāratama (ed. Jaini 1979: 8): *tatra kalaṅkanirdeśānām ā(a)rthaḥ | ātmagrāhaḥ | sattvagrāhaḥ | jīvagrāhaḥ | pudgalagrāhaḥ | ucchedagrāhaḥ | śāsvatagrāhaḥ | nimittagrāhaḥ | hetugrāhaḥ | skandhagrāhaḥ | dhātugrāhaḥ | āyatanagrāhaḥ | traidhātuke adhyavasānam | traidhātuke ālayaḥ | buddhidṛṣṭiṅīśrayaḥ | dharmadrṣṭiṅīśrayaḥ | saṅghadrṣṭiṅīśrayaḥ | śīladṛṣṭiṅīśrayaḥ | śūnyā dharmā iti viśāḍhaḥ | śūnyatāvirodhaś ceti || guṇānirdeśānām arthaḥ | śūnyatāparipūrṭiḥ | ānimittasākṣātkriyā | apraṇihitajñānam | [trimaṇḍalaviśuddhitā | karuṇā | mananā] | sarvadharmasamatādarśanam | bhūtanayaprativedhaḥ | anutpādakṣāntijñānam | ekanayanirdeśaḥ | sarvadharmāṅgāṃ kalpanāsamuddhātaḥ | saṃjñādrṣṭivivartaḥ | kleśavivartaḥ | śamathanidhyapṭiḥ | vipaśyanākauśalyam | dātucittatā | anunayasyābhūmiḥ | yathecchakṣetra-gamanam | tatra ca buddhaparṣanmaṇḍe[svātmabhāva]darśanam iti.*

And the twenty [seventh level preparations] are: They have knowledge that is the three doors to deliverance, have purified [the stain of taking] the three circles [as a basis], have compassion, and are not conceited. Dharmas are the same for them and they know the one principle. They know non-production and forbearance, and for them dharmas move as one. They destroy projection, reject discrimination, views, and cankers, meditate calm abiding and are skilled in insight, have calmed thoughts, and have totally unobstructed knowledge. For them there is no ground for attachment, they go equally to other fields as they wish, and they show themselves everywhere.

In the commentary of Ratnākaraśānti (ed. Jaini 1979: 8) the *kalāṅkas* are explained as *doṣa* but unfortunately not explicitly as *śoka*.

The Larger Prajñāpāramitā from Gilgit, fol. 213–214 (tr. Conze 1975: 162), lists twenty advantages (the numbering provided by Conze) that a bodhisattva achieves after having heard the “seal of the entrances into the letters A, etc.” (that is the *arapacana* syllabary). But even though the *arapacana* suggests a close connection to the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gandhāra, there are not twenty *śokas* mentioned in this passage.

4r.03.1ff. *trae*. This is an adjective in the nom. pl. congruent with the following noun respectively, which is obvious in 4r.25.1ff. *triṇa sugadīṇa* etc. (cf. chapter on morphology regarding the gender shift in the case of cardinal numbers). It is not defined what exactly is meant by “three”. If we look at the text, two triads are mentioned. The first is *maje, purve, paṇā* («7A3», 4r.28.1). The other is *adide, pracupaṇa, aṇagada* («7A1», 4r.24.1; «7B1», 4v.02.2). Although named differently, both should refer to the same, as it is common in the Pali canon to use *pubbe, majjhe, pacchā* for pointing to the past, present and future.²¹ The sequence is furthermore used to express the universal aspect of something, abbreviated by *trividha* / P *tividha* in Sn 509, which is explained by Buddhaghosa as “before, during, and after”, thus complete.²² Also the triads included in PP texts (analyzed in Conze 1973a) are most frequently referring to “three periods of time” (*tri-y-adhva*), i.e. past, present, future (cf. also *tri-kālam* “always”).²³ Thus, *trae*

21 PTSD s.v. *majjha*: “[...] in special dogmatic sense ‘in the present state of existence,’ contrasted with past & future existences [...]. The expln of *majjhe* in this sense is at Nd1 434: *majjhaṃ vuccati paccuppannā rūpā* etc. (similarly at Nd2 490)”. Cf. e.g. Sn 949 *yaṃ pubbe taṃ virosehi, pacchā te māhu kiñcanaṃ; majjhe ce no gahessasi, upasanto carissasi* (“Make what (existed) previously wither away. May there be nothing for you afterwards. If you do not grasp anything in between, you will wander calmed”, Norman 1992). In the Dīrghāgama manuscript from Gilgit (DĀ 19 und 33, Melzer 2010: 140) the terms *ādau, madhye, paryavasāne* are used. Cf. also BC2: *ṇa aṣi prañayati · ṇa maje prañayati · ṇa p(*r)ayoṣaṇo prañayati*.

22 Sn 509: *yo yajati tividhaṃ yaññasampadaṃ, māghā ti bhagavā ārādhaye dakkhiṇeyyehi tādi, evaṃ yajītvā sammā yācayogo upapajjati brahmalokan ti brūmi ti*. Cf. Nyanaponika 1955: “Dreifach vollkommene Opfer; d.i. ‘das zu den drei Zeiten erfreuende’, wozu K [i.e. Buddhaghosa] den folgenden Vers zitiert: ‘Vor dem Geben schon froh, während des Gebens beglückt, Nach dem Geben erfreut, – dies ist des Opfers Vollkommenheit.’”

23 Other triads according to Conze 1973a are: *tri-apāya/triyapaya* (three places/states of woe), *tri-*

should be understood as threefold (“relating to the three times”): in the beginning, in the middle, in the end, i.e. in the past, present, and future, or in other words “completely, always”.²⁴ I have translated only “three” to stay close to the Gāndhārī.

4r.03.2 (**durga*)[*di*] ... *su*[*gadi*]. Traditionally, there are five destinies/states of existence. The bad existences or woeful courses are: purgatory (P *niraya*), brute creation (P *tiracchānayani*), ghost world (P *pittivisaya*). The happy existences or wholesomes courses are: humans (P *manussā*) and gods (P *devā*). In later sources the *gatis* are sixfold adding the rebirth as an *asura* to the bad existences.

4r.03.2 *saparaia mokṣa*. It is to be assumed that these are two words, adjective and noun, even though a compound G *saparaia-mokṣa* would equally be possible. Likewise with the following G *sadriṭhia*. The term itself (*samparāyika* / P *sāmparāyika* in combination with *mokṣa* / P *mokkha*) could not be found, neither in Buddhist Sanskrit texts nor in the Pali canon, although this has the feeling of a common expression.

4r.03.2f. *trae ca saparaia mokṣa hakṣati trae [sadriṭhia] ? ?*. At the end of this sentence we should expect *ṇa hakṣati*. The last two letters, i.e. the first two in 4r.04.1, are not complete enough to assure this reading (°*kṣati*), but it is not impossible. The negation *ṇa* and *ha°* would have to be added, since no traces of ink are discernible and according to the lines preceding and following, no akṣara should be missing. However, G [*sadriṭhia*] does not make sense here, since it is repeated immediately afterwards in 4r.04.1 referring to *suha/duha* as in all other internal parallels (4r.10.2; in 4r.25.2 and 4v.05.1 this corresponds to *driṭhadhamia/o*). The usual counterpart of (*saparaia-*) *mokṣa* is (*saṃsara-*) *badhaṇa* (4r.25.2, 4v.04.2f.) but the remnants at the end of line 4r.03.2 do not allow the reconstruction of *badhaṇa* or even *saṃsara-*

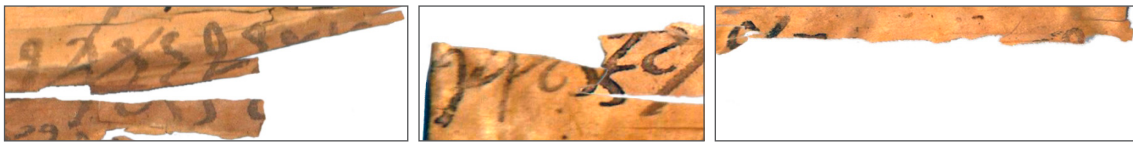
.....
dhātu (triple world), *tri-parivarta* (with its three revolutions), *tri-bhava/tri-loka* (triple world), *tri-maṇḍala-pariśuddhi* (threefold perfect purity), *tri-mārga* (triple path), *trai-vidya* (one with the three knowledges).

24 Cf. Baums (2009: 398) in the commentary on lines 9-106–107: *ṇa yaho ṇa ya bheśadi · ṇa ca ederahi vijadi · trae ? ? [107] y. s. · ya ta paḍipakṣiasa ya kileśasa samosaṇo* (It neither was nor will it be, nor does it exist now: [...]): “The akṣaras *trae* seem to represent the numeral ‘three’ and may refer to the three times past, present and future, but the expected word for ‘time’ (*adhva-*) does not seem to follow, so it cannot be ruled out that the reference of the numeral is the Three Sources or something else entirely. If it is the three times, then the statement of our commentary would seem to be quite simply that pādas c–d of the root verse refer to the three times and to the concurrence or simultaneity (*samosaṇa-*) of these with the defilements (*kileśa-*, i.e., the Three Sources).”

badhaṇa. Matters have been complicated further by the fact that in the repetition of the list («1B», 4r.10.2) this passage is entirely missing.

- 4r.03.2f. *trae ca saparaia-mokṣa hakṣati*
 trae [sadriṭhia] (4r.04.1) ? ?
- 4r.10.2 *(*tra)[e] ? + + + ? [t]i*

- 4r.25.2 *triṇa mokṣaṇa ṇaś[ae]*
 triṇa badhaṇaṇa aharae
- 4v.04.2f. *triṇa saṃsa[ra] (4v.05.1) {[ra]}-badhaṇaṇa ṇaśea*
 triṇa mokṣaṇa [aharea]



← 4r.04.1

← 4r.03.2

← 4r.10.2

Thus, the uncertain reading *[sadriṭhia]* in 4r.03.2 seems to be a scribal error to me, anticipating the following *sadriṭhia suha* etc. What is to be expected, is (*saṃsara-*) *badhaṇa ṇa hakṣati*. However, this cannot be reconstructed in 4r.10.2, which remains an unsolvable problem, since *(*tra)[e] ? + + + ? [t]i* should correspond to the much longer *trae ca saparaia-mokṣa hakṣati traē (saṃsara-) badhaṇa ṇa hakṣati* and the last akṣara before *[t]i* does not look like a *kṣa*.

4r.04.1 *[kai]a-c[e]d[a]ṣia* / 4r.10.2f. *[kaia]-cedaṣia*. The syntactical position of this compound is unusual because it stands in apposition to *sukha* / *duḥkha* at the end of the (*ṇa*) *hakṣati*-string. It seems to be synonymous to *sadriṭhia* or *driṭhadhamia*, which is likewise placed in a similar apposition in section «7» (7A2a and 7B2a).

- 4r.04.1 *trae sadriṭhia suha hakṣati [kai]a-c[e]d[a]ṣia*
 trae ca duha ṇa hakṣati
- 4r.10.2f. *sad[r]iṭhia ca [trae suha] hakṣati*
 trae dukha [ṇa] hakṣati [kaia]-cedaṣia

4r.05.1 *(*sapuruṣa)-[da]rśaṇa ... (*drugāṇa)*. Cf. section «7» where the G *sapuruṣa* are associated with (lit. “headed by”) the Buddha and the G *aṣapuruṣa* (= *drugāṇa*) with G *kama* (cf. text notes on p. 178).

- «7A2a» 4r.25.1f. *triṇa « maje ṇiṣamarthe · » sapuruṣaṇa « budhaṇa » ṇaś[ae]*
 *triṇa aṣapur[uṣ]aṇa « maj[*e] » [a>(*hara)[e]*
- «7B2a» 4v.04.1f. *triṇa « maj[*e] [...] » [kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapuru[ṣa]ṇa ṇaśea*
 t[r]iṇa budha-pramuha-sapuruṣaṇa aharea

In Pali texts, *pamukha* frequently occurs in the phrase *buddhapamukha~ bhikkhusaṅgha~* (PTSD s.v. *pamukha*), which would specify the *satpuruṣa* (P *sappurisa*) as being ordained disciples of the Buddha. As stated in the BHSD, the *satpuruṣas* are

[...] evidently a lay category, and are mentioned immediately after a list of Bodhisattvas. According to Professor Paul Mus (oral communication, May, 1949), they are a kind of lay equivalent of the Bodhisattvas, who live the life of *gṛhapatis* [...]. The term *satpuruṣa* may include monks [...].

Lenz (2010: 88f.), too, suggests a ‘worthy man’ to be a “layman who supports the Buddhist saṅgha” while referring to Mv III 148.8–15, where *satpuruṣas* give [alms] to beggars (*yācanaka*) and thereby go to a heavenly abode (*svargam upenti sthānaṃ*).

Another reference is the Samādhirāja-sūtra, which is more explicit:

||... *satpuruṣāśrayaḥ ? yad idaṃ buddhāviraḥitatā*
 ||... *satpuruṣasamavadhānam ? yad idaṃ buddhabodhisattvapratyekabuddhaśrāvakasevanatā*
 ||... *asatpuruṣavarjanatā ? yad idaṃ upalambhikānāṃ kusīdānāṃ ca vivarjanatā*

(Vaidya 1961a: 299)

||... *satpuruṣasaṃsevanā ? yad idaṃ buddhābhiniṣevitā*
 ||... *asatpuruṣavivarjanatā ? yad idaṃ tīrthikānāṃ upalambhadṛṣṭikānāṃ vivarjanatā*

(Vaidya 1961a: 300)

In this passage it is clearly said that the *satpuruṣas* are buddhas, bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas, or śrāvakas; and that the *asatpuruṣas* are heretics (*upalambhikāḥ kusīdānāḥ; tīrthikā upalambhadṛṣṭikāḥ*).²⁵ These *asatpuruṣas* should be shunned; an association with them is, in other words, “bad company” (*durgāṇa*).²⁶ The use of the term *gaṇa* may be an allusion to the Jainas,²⁷ or simply a reference to people with “wrong” spiritual views and goals. In BC4, the *asatpuruṣas* are headed by Kāma (? , G [*kama*]), an expression, which I have not found anywhere else. Regarding this, there is however a particularly interesting paragraph in a Gāndhārī manuscript from the British Library Collection (BL10) that contrasts “worthy” and “unworthy persons” (Cox 2014: 41).²⁸ Among others, the unworthy person is characterized as having sensual and cruel thoughts (*kāma-vitarka, vyāpāda-vitarka*).²⁹ Hence, also in BC4 the expression might allude to persons being dependent on sensuality (or sensual percep-

25 BHSD: *opa-/aupa-lambhika* is characterized by the heresy of *upalambha* (cf. s.v. *upalambhadṛṣṭika* “one who holds the heretical view of reliance on mental perception or imagination”).

26 Cf. P *ariya-gaṇa* “troupe of worthies” (PTSD). Generally, *sappurisa* is synonym to *ariya-purisa*. Likewise, *asappurisa* is characterized as *anariya* in Sn-a 479 according to the PTSD.

27 MW s.v. *gaṇa* “a company, any assemblage or association of men formed for the attainment of the same aims Mn. Yājñ. Hit.; the 9 assemblies of Ṛṣhis under the Arhat Mahā-vīra Jain.”

28 There are also several other Gāndhārī references to *sapuruṣa/aṣapuruṣa*, but none with further definitions of the term.

29 Cf. PTSD s.v. *vitakka*: “*kāma*°, *vihimsā*°, *vyāpāda*° (sensual, malign, cruel thought) [...]”.

tion in general). Good persons on the other hand are described in BL10 for example as the ones endowed with the “good law” (*saddharma-samanvāgata*~) and undertaking the “virtuous courses of action” (*kuśala-karmapatha*), thus being followers of the doctrine of the Buddha, just as in BC4.

4r.05.1 « *budha-pracea ... ? ? [ma-]p[u]rvagama ...* ». At the end of compounds *-pratyayā* (for *°yāt*) / P *-paccayā* generally means “due to, based upon, because of” and is first of all known from the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula, wherein each of the twelve links is the basis for the next (from *avidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ* up to *jarāmarāṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ*³⁰). This list is a naturally conditioned sequence, and analogically it may appear “natural” and inevitable that by faith in the Buddha and his doctrine (lit. “having the Buddha as condition”) the situation follows that one only meets “good persons” and has nothing to do with the “bulk of the bad and the wicked”. Grammatically, it is however more likely that it is a *bahuvrīhi* in the meaning of “being dependent on the Buddha” or “relying on the Buddha”, synonym to *pramukha* (cf. v.04.1–2 *[kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapuru[ṣa]~ ... budha-pramuha-sapuruṣa*~) or the following *pūrva(m)gama* (r.05.1 « ? ? [ma-]p[u]rvagama »).³¹

The placement of *[maje ·] ? ? [ma-]p[u]rvagama (*aṣapuruṣa)* is not entirely certain, especially since nothing is missing after (**trae drugāṇa ṇa hakṣati ·*) according to the repetition in «1B1» (r.11.2 *trae sapuruṣa-[d]arśaṇa hakṣati budha-prac(*e)a traedru[ga]ṇa (*ṇa) [hakṣati]*). However, since it starts with *maje*, it seems to be another gloss on *drugāṇa*, parallel to *[kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapuru[ṣa]* in list 2 (v.04.1–2).

4r.05.1 / r.12.1 *sarva-droaca ... sarva-sapati*. The term *daurgatya* (“adversity, distress, misery, woe”) is opposed to *sampatti* (“prosperity, welfare, good fortune”, rather than “attainment, accomplishment”) and is used to include “everything which is good” and “everything which is bad” referring to situations or conditions (cf. chart on p. 248). The paramount “good condition” finally is the happiness resulting from liberation (*mokṣa-sukha*, 4r.12.1).³² In Pali (according to the PTSD) *sampatti* (“fortune”)

30 E.g. *Pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅganirdeśa-sūtra* (ed. Vaidya 1961b: 117–118, tr. Ānandajoti 2010).

31 Cf. BC2 [7C'.29]: *ñāṇaṇuvarivato ñāṇapurvagamo* “accompanied by knowledge and preceded by knowledge (*jñānānuparivartam jñānapūrvamgamam*)”.

32 The happiness of liberation is also called P *vimutti-sukha* in Pali, designating the state of bliss experienced after awakening.

is normally opposed to *vipatti* (“misfortune”), but an analogous pairing of terms is not evident in the Gāndhārī text. In AG-G^L 21 and 36 (BL1), *sapati* (*parami*) is used to designate the (highest) fortune which occurs in the last rebirth as a human being before the final attainment of awakening (in verse 21 the Gilgit parallel has *saṃpadā*). Soon after, one becomes free from passion (verse 22, cf. *viadaragha/e* verse 34, 44) which is succeeded by the attainment of permanent bliss (*ayalu suho* verse 22, also 12) and finally the state of calming (*ṇibudi*), which is *nirvāṇa* (verse 16, 48, 87).

4r.05.2 *vado nidaṇa ca akuśala paveṇa kara(*ṇeṇa ka)raṇe kuśale puñña-kṣae ṇa hakṣa[d]i*. G *karana* could be equivalent to either *karaṇa* “doing, acting” or *kāraṇa* “reason, cause”. I’ve chosen the latter, because also in BC11 it corresponds to *kāraṇa* “reason” without exception.

The general statement of this sentence, as well as of the whole text, is quite clear: Bad (evil/unrighteous) actions are the cause for unwholesome conditions, good actions are the cause for wholesome conditions and the growth – or at least not the decline – of merit. The term *kuśala* designates any good deeds, which are conducive to progress on the spiritual path. The term is applied in a moral sense and thus synonymous with *puṇya*, whereas *akuśala* is “practically equivalent to *pāpa*” (PTSD s.v. *kusala*).

The decay of merit (G *puñña-kṣae* = *puṇya-kṣaya*~) is elsewhere explained as a premature death e.g. in the Abhidharmasamuccaya, and also in the Visuddhimagga.³³ Likewise, the formulation “When merit is lost, everything is lost” (*yadā puññakkhayo hoti sabbametam vinassatīti*) is popular in the Pali canon.

33 Abhidh-sam (ed. Pradhan 1950: 39): *puṇyakṣayaḥ katamaḥ / akāle maraṇam apuṇyamaraṇam / yena sattvā āsvādasamāpattiyāṃ rajyante / puṇyakṣayāc ca hetoḥ te jīvitāc cyavante*. Cf. tr. by Boon-Webb (2001: 88): “What is the expiration of merit? It is premature death (*akālamaraṇa*), death due to a lack of merit, because beings are attached to a delicious attainment (*āsvādasamāpatti*). They therefore die due to the expiration of merit.”

Vism 229, Vism(W)189: *tattha kālamaraṇaṃ puññakkhayena vā āyukkayena vā ubhayakkhayena vā hoti. akālamaraṇaṃ kammupacchedakammavasena. tattha yaṃ vijjānāya pi āyusantānaka-paccayasampattiyā kevalaṃ paṭisandhijanakassa kammaṃ vipakkavipākattā maraṇaṃ hoti, idaṃ puññakkhayena maraṇaṃ nāma*. “As intended here it is of two kinds, that is to say, timely death and untimely death. Herein, timely death comes about with the exhaustion of merit or with the exhaustion of a life span or with both. Untimely death comes about through *kamma* that interrupts [other, life-producing] *kamma*. Herein, death through exhaustion of merit is a term for the kind of death that comes about owing to the result of [former] rebirth-producing *kamma*’s having finished ripening although favourable conditions for prolonging the continuity of a life span may be still present” (Ñāṇamoli 2011: 225). Or Vism 502, Vism(W) 427: *jātipaccayā maraṇaṃ, upakkamamaraṇaṃ, sarasamaraṇaṃ, āyukkayamarāṇaṃ, puññakkhayamarāṇaṃ ti pi tass’eva nāmaṃ*. “Death with birth as its condition, death by violence, death by natural causes, death from exhaustion of the life span, death from exhaustion of merit, are names for it” (Ñāṇamoli 2011: 514).

4r.06.2 *vaiśa[di]* / r.08.1 (**va*)[*i*]*śadi* / r.08.2 *vaiśadi*. Most likely, this should be a future form of \sqrt{vac} , corresponding to Skt. *vakṣyati* (or caus. *vācayiṣyati*?), expressing that someone will speak of, describe, or explain something, namely the reasons (*kāraṇa*) for wholesome / unwholesome effects of (wholesome / unwholesome) deeds.

4r.06.2. [*bhavid*]. [*d*]. The first has to be a form of *bhavida*~ (*bhāvita*~ / P *bhāvita*~; caus. pp. of $\sqrt{bhū}$, “developed”).³⁴ Since the following akṣara does not look like *ve*, a caus. gdv. *bhavidava*~ (*bhāvayitavya*~ / P *bhāvetabba*~) is excluded.

4r.10.2 (**tra*)[*e*] ? + + + ? [*t*]*i*. Cf. text notes on ‘4r.03.2f. *trae*...’ (p. 131).

4r.12.1 *sakṣiteṇa*. In other Gāndhārī texts different varieties of expressing “in short, in brief” for subsequent summaries are used:

- BL9 (Nid-G¹1 and 2): *sakṣeve/a* = *saṃkṣepāt* (Baums 2009)
- BL10: *sakṣeva*
- BL15 (SaṅgCm): *sakṣita-ṇideśo*, *saṃkṣita-maṃtro* (also *sakṣito maṃtro*) = *saṃkṣipta-nirdeśah/-mantraḥ*

Exactly the same spelling as in BC4 (*sakṣiteṇa*) is given in the Senavarma Inscription, in RS19 (r.2 (**sakṣi*)[*t*](**e*)*ṇa*), BC6, BC11, and similarly in BL4 (*sakṣiteno*).

4r.12.2 *siha* = *sneha* / P *sineha*. In other Gāndhārī documents this is written as *seha* (\bar{s} = OIA *sn*) or *siṇeha*. The question is whether we have to deal with a (relatively common) vowel change (*e* to *i*) in combination with the loss of the diacritic superscript stroke above the *s* or simply with the omission of *ṇe*. Both varieties are attested:

seha:

- *se[haṃva]yaṃ*. Khvs-G 2 = *snehānvaya* / P *snehanvaya* (“(as a) consequence of affection”, Salomon 2000).
- *sehaprahaṇa*. BL13v.84 (Nid-G¹2), *sehaprahaṇo* BL9v.123 (Nid-G¹2) = *snehaprahāṇam* / P *sinehappahāna* (“abandoning of affection”, Baums 2009).

34 Cf. BL9 / Baums 2009: 662f.: *bhavidaka[yo]* “whose body is developed”, *bhavidacito* “whose heart is developed”, *bhavidatva*¹ “whose self is developed”, *bhavida[tva]*² “state of being developed”, *bhavidapraṇo* “whose understanding is developed”, *bhavidamaga*- “having developed the path”, (**bha*)*vidiidrio* “whose senses are developed”.

siha/siṇeha:

- *[si]ho aviprahino*. Shahbazgarhi Rock Edict 13 (H). Hultsch (1925: 67 fn. 18): “Read *sineho*; *[ne]ho* Bühler”, gandhari.org: *[si]⟨*ne⟩ho aviprahino*.
- *si[ne]he avipahin[e]*. Mansehra Rock Edict 13 (H).
- *uchina siṇeha atvaṇo*. DhP-G^k 299.

Although BC4 is principally closer to the manuscripts of the BL in which generally *seha* is applied, I tend to the second explanation, in which the *ne* has been forgotten like in the Shahbazgarhi rock edict.

4r.12.2 *gaga-ṇadi-valia-ṣama*. This expression is common in Mahāyāna texts to indicate an incalculable number (the phrase is not used in the Pali canon³⁵).³⁶ There are two possibilities for the last member of the compound: It is either *-sama* or *-upama*.³⁷ The combination with *upama* is more frequent (*gaṅgānadīvālukopama*), especially in *pāramitā* texts.³⁸ Furthermore, it is either *vālikā* or *vālukā*. In Pali and BHS both forms occur,³⁹ but *vālukā* is the more common variant; manuscripts often vary between °*ikā* and °*ukā* (BHSD). In Gāndhārī texts (SC5 / PP-G⁴⁰, BC2⁴¹) it is always G *-valia-s/ṣama* and it may be asked if *-vālikā-sama* is an earlier form. The following Sanskrit

35 The only reference to the “sands in the Ganges” is SN IV 376 and 378 (Avyākata-saṃyuttam) where it is used in response to the question, if the Tathāgata exists after death or not. It is said that there is no “accountant or calculator or mathematician who can count the grains of sand in the river Ganges” (*atthi te koci gaṇako va muddiko vā saṅkhāyako vā yo pahoti gaṅgāya vālukam gaṇetum ettakā vālukā iti vā ettakāni vālukasatāni iti vā ettakāni vālukasahasāni iti vā ettakāni vālukasatasahasāni vā ti || no hetam ayye*). Likewise, one cannot count the water in the great ocean, because it is “deep, immeasurable, hard to fathom”. Just as that, the Tathāgata is hard to fathom because he is liberated from reckoning in terms of form and consciousness (credits go to Vincent Tournier for the reference). It is also not known from Jaina texts according to Christine Chojnacki (both personal communication during the Gāndhārī workshop at Lausanne in June 2013). In the Turfan manuscripts once *gaṅgāvāluka* is used in relation to *puṇya* (MPS 31 = CT 37, Waldschmidt 1967: 148).

36 Cf. MPPŚ I 449–452 for the discussion of why this simile is used.

37 Similarly also *gaṅgāvālu/ik°* is used in: Bodhipathapradīpa, Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Ratnagotravibhāga, Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra, Lalitavistara, Ratnaketurparivarta, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra.

38 Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā PP; Sāratamā of Ratnākaraśānti; Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā PP; Śatasāhasrikā PP; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra; Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha.

39 See Johnston 1950: ix and Hoernle 1916: 209 according to Bailey 1961: 69.

40 PP-G (5-30:) *gaganati[sic]-valia-sa* (5-31:) + + + + + (Falk/Karashima 2013: 122). Later in the manuscript, the last part of the compound is extant, but the first missing: (5-47:) + + + + + *samesu logadhaduṣu* (Falk/Karashima 2013: 154). For the former the Sanskrit parallel (ASP, ed. Vaidya 1960a: 58) is: *gaṅgānadīvālukopameṣu*. But “Cf. the Brāhmī ms (Sander 2000b: 9, 38) *-vālikāsāmāḥ /-vālikāsamāḥ kalpaḥ tiṣṭatā /tiṣṭamto*” (Falk/Karashima 2013: 122 fn. 27).

41 In BC2 °*valia-ṣama* is used in reference to “innumerable” *lokadhātus* that are filled with pratyekabuddhas, who are to be venerated for “innumerable” *kalpas*. On other occasions a high number is expressed by *triśaṣa-maṣaṣa-logadhadu*.

texts use *vālikā* in combination with *sama* (the underlining marks those which have both *vālikā* and *vālukā*, the superscript ^(L) marks those, in which the phrase refers to *lokadhātus*):

gaṅgānadīvālikāsama~: Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya^(L), Daśabhūmika-sūtra^(L), Gandavyūha-sūtra, Karunāpundarīka-sūtra^(L), Lalitavistara, Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra^(L), Vinayaviniścaya Upālipariṣcchā, Āryasarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālamkāra, “Fragments of *prajñāpāramitā* texts”^{42 (L)}, Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sukhāvatīvyūha, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa^(L).⁴³

Besides *lokadhātus* other nouns that are specified by being “countless like the sand of the Ganges” are places like *buddhakṣetra* etc., beings like *buddha*, *tathāgata*, *sattva*, *bodhisattva*, *ātmabhāva* etc., time periods like *(mahā)kalpa*, objects like *stūpa*, *puṣpa-puṭa* etc. Most frequently, it is about filling countless *lokadhātus* with valuable objects in order to accumulate merit. Unfortunately, in BC4 the words which specify what is happening in or with the *lokadhātus* are hardly legible and the only kind of parallel so far, T 1485, merely contains the Chinese word for *gaṅgānadīvālikā* without a reference to *lokadhātus*. Therefore, the context can only be speculated on here. Hence, the G *lo(g)adhadu* might simply be a localization (loc. sg. should be *-dhadue*),⁴⁴ but only in the first occurrence an *-e*-ending might be reconstructed. In the second, the remaining traces do not match to an *e*, and in the third and fourth the ending is clearly *-dhadu*. Most probably the G *lo(g)adhadu* are either world systems to be crossed (in the acc. sg./pl. *-dhadu*⁴⁵, cf. text notes on *[ta]raṇia / ta⟨⟨[ra]⟩⟩ṇu[ia]*), or they are used as a reference to *sukha / duḥkha* in innumerable *lokadhātus*.

42 Two Fragments of *prajñāpāramitā* texts: (1) Aṣṭāk, A fol. 97 = Konow 1942, Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā PP; (2) Praj(U1), D fol. 748 = Konow 1942, unidentified text.

43 Those using *gaṅgānadīvālukāsama~* are: Adhyardhaśatikā PP, Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bhaiṣajyaguruvidūryaprabharāja-sūtra, Ekādaśamukha, Gandavyūha-sūtra, Karunāpundarīka-sūtra, Kāraṇḍavyūha, Kāśyapaparivarta^(L), Saddharmalaṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Ratnaketuparivarta, Sukhāvatīvyūha, Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra^(L), Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra^(L), Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha-sūtra, Vajracchedikā^(L), Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, Satyasiddhiśāstra, Mahāśītavatī Vidyarājñī, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā PP^(L), Śāntideva: Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha.

44 Cf. e.g. BC2 [6C.22]: *imasvi triṣahas[fe] mahasahasae logadhadue*. However, in the PP-G the ending is once simply *-dhadu* for Skt. *-dhātau* (5-30), then again *-dhadue* (5-42 for Skt. *-dhātuṣu*). In the same manuscript the loc. pl. is *-dhaduṣu* (5-31, 5-47); cf. Falk/Karashima 2013: 122, 154).

45 Cf. BC2 [7Fv.54–55]: *ya ca bhate bhagava bosisatva mahasatva ima triṣa(*hasamahasa)[ha]ṣa logadhadu* ◇ *sarvaradaṇaparīpuro daṇo dadea* “If, venerable Blessed One, a bodhisattva mahāsattva, would give away as a gift this three-thousandfold, many thousandfold world system filled with all kinds of jewels ...”.

4r.13.1 [ta]raṇia / r.13.2 ta⟨[ra]⟩ṇu[ia]. Because the first two sentences in section «2» are composed similarly, these words should be identical and thus the reading of [ta] in the first occurrence is based on the second occurrence. G *tarāṇia* could be *tarāṇīya*~ in Sanskrit (“to be crossed”, i.e. “lived through, passed, traversed”, similar to *atīkrānta*~ / P *atikkanta*~ = *abhikkanta*~). Parallel to that, G *vitrea* might be corresponding to **vitārya*~ “to be gone through”.⁴⁶ Since all these occurrences are followed by G *śaki*, they could also be some kind of infinitives, though this is phonologically doubtful, see below.

4r.13.1f. [śaki] (4x). G *śaki* corresponds to *śakyā* (Vedic *śakyāt*) / P *sakkā* (cf. Pischel 1900: 328 §465) “it is possible, one can/could (with inf.)” or *śakya* / P *sakka* “able, possible, capable of”.⁴⁷ In the Niya documents *śaki* is regularly combined with an infinitive ending in *-tum*: *na ~ kartu* #91, *na ~* #368, *na ~ kartu* #399, although the infinitive more frequently used is *-āṇāya* (cf. Burrow 1937 §103). This infinitive is also attested in Shahbazgarhi XIII [L] *śako kṣamanaye*, parallel to Girnar XIII *sakaṃ chamitave* and Erragudi *khamitave*. Although these examples suggest that the corresponding infinitive has to follow *śaki*, it can also precede it. Thus, in BC4 it might be understood as “being capable of crossing / going through” (G *tarāṇia* / *tarāṇiia*, *vitrea*) rather than “being capable of clinging / letting go” (G *uadiaṇa*, *pariceaṇa*). Among the several possible infinitive endings in Pali or Gāndhārī, such as *-(i)tum*, *-(i)tave*, *-(tum)je/ye*, *-āye/āyā*, or *-āṇāya* (cf. von Hinüber 2001 §497), the Gāndhārī words could also correspond to **tar-aṇāya* and **vitara-āya* respectively, instead of being gerundives.

4r.13.1 *uadiaṇa* / r.14.1 *paricea[ṇa]*. Although both words could be taken as nouns in the gen. pl. (*uadiaṇa* = *upādikānām* for *upadhikānam* “having a substrate of being, showing attachment / leading to rebirth”; and *pariceaṇa* = *parityāgānām*⁴⁸), a more likely etymological reconstruction is *uadiaṇa* < *upādiyāna* as a pres. part. ātmanepada

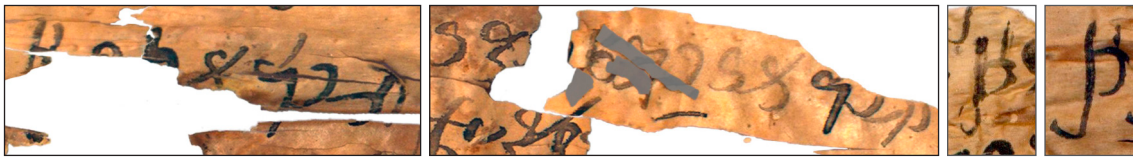
46 It has also been suggested that *vitrea* derives from *vitark* “consider” (*vitarkya* > **vitarka* > **vitarka* > *vitrea* (?)). In other attestations, however, the *-k-* is retained, as for example in BL10 *kamavitrakaṃ pi vitraket[i]* or BL15 *vi[tr]jaka vi[tr]jakaya śi*.

47 For the phonological development of *śaki* < *śakyā* cf. e.g. G *śakimuṇi* besides G *śakamuni* < *śākyamuni* and analogously G *avaśi* < *avaśyam* in BC11.

48 In other Gāndhārī documents *parityāga* is spelled *paricai* (Dhp-G^k 178) or *paricago* (‘Taxila Silver Scroll’).

ending in *-āna*, meaning “grasping/clinging [to the world/to rebirth]”.⁴⁹ Based on that, G *pariceaṇa* would be *parityajāna* (“letting go/abandoning”). The single akṣara after the second occurrence of *paricea[ṇa]* now transliterated as *[ga]* (it could also be an *e*) is obscure.

4r.13.2 *[k]o varedi [pa] ? [pe] / r.14.1 ko varedi ta [a r]o*. In the first occurrence maybe *ko varedi paṇa* can be reconstructed, but the following character is unclear. Most likely it resembles *pe* (cf. the examples from BC2 in the figures below). Since the subsequent repetition of *ko varedi ...* (r.14.1) is not identical, it is of no help here.

BC4r.13.2 *[k]o varedi [pa] ? [pe]*BC4r.14.1f. *ko varedi ta [va/a] [r]o [pa>(*ri)cata*Examples of *pe* in BC2.

Concerning G *varedi*, it can have two different meanings: (1) \sqrt{vr} “cover, restrain, keep back”, caus. *vārayati*, or (2) \sqrt{vr} “choose”, caus. *varayati* (“ep. also *vārayati*” MW).⁵⁰ Edgerton (BHSD) lists *vārayati* with *vareti*, *varayati* as v.1. (My 11.442.2, prose) and translates as “shares, hands out in turn (as gifts), distributes” although uncertain. In other Buddhist texts it is most often *vārayati*, thus probably rather “who restrains” (also in the Niya documents it is used in this meaning, e.g. #399 “prevent”). In BC4, “choose” in the sense of “who would choose clinging / who would choose something other than letting go?” would make sense, but since the context is not clear, both options are given in the translation.

4r.14.1 *[pa>(*ri)cata*. Presumably only one character after *[pa]* has to be added, leading to *paricata* = *parityakta*~. Since an absolute would be more common, perhaps *paricaita* should be read (“having let go”). Alternatively, *[a]cata* might be taken into consideration. This word also occurs in the Senavarman inscription, and O. v. Hinüber (2003: 37) translates G *acata*~ = *atyanta*~ as “gänzlich, vollkommen, schließlich”. Likewise, in BC4 it could express that the grasping and clinging to existence has “finally” and “completely” come to an end.

49 Cf. Geiger/Norman 2000: 183 §192 and Pischel 1900: 383 §562. PTSD s.v. *upādiyati* lists *upādiyamāna*, S III 73 and Sn-a 409, and *upādiyāna* (°*ādiyāno*), Sn 470 and Dhṛ 20. The latter corresponds to G *aṇuvad[i]ṇu* in the Dhṛ-G^k (Dhṛ 20 *anupādiyāno idha vā huraṇi vā*).

50 E.g. Bca-p 6.32 ... *kaḥ kiṃ vārayatīti cet ... ko vārayati ...* (“Who would restrain what?”, Geshe Kelsang Gyatso 2002: 74, “Who is there to restrain what (anger)?”, Batchelor 1979: 58).

4r.14.2 *uadi / u[a]daṇa / aṇu[va]daṇa*. Several words in this section, namely *uadiyaṇa* (*upādiyāna*), *uadi* (*upādi*), *u[a]dana* (*upādāna*), *anu[va]daṇa* (*anupādāna*), all go back to the root *upa-ā √ dā* “to grasp at, to cling to”. In Pali, *upādi* is normally only used in compounds for *upādāna* or synonymous to *upadhi*, esp. in the P compound *sa-/an-upādi-sesa = sa-/an-upadhi-śeṣa* “with(out) fuel remaining” (G *aṇ-uadi-śeṣa*, cf. Nid-G^L2, Baums 2009).⁵¹ P *upadhi* is thus rather the “substrate or foundation [for rebirth]”, but also translated as a synonym to *upādāna* as “attachment, clinging [to rebirth]”.⁵² The basis (*upadhi*) of clinging to existence (*upādāna*) is most often explained as the group of five aggregates (*skandhas / P kkhandhas*), but also as defilements, sensual pleasures, or volitional formations.⁵³ All of which are origins of suffering.⁵⁴ In BC4, the suffering is “without clinging [to it]” (*anupādāna*) and thus it is without foundation for new suffering. In summary, this paragraph states that there is no fuel left, no foundation for rebirth and nothing by which one experiences a next birth, if one had let go of the clinging to the elements of the *lokadhātu*. Or more precisely, if one had let go of the desire (*trṣṇā*) for them, which is the cause for the grasping to existence, in turn causing new births. Doing so, every misery or distress will be without a cause for another one, and liberation will be attained. Exactly this is the mechanism of *vipassanā* meditation, where one practices to just “see” without reacting to sensations, because it is the reactions that add fuel to the fire of body and mind. When one stops reacting, the fire will burn out, and one reaches the *nirvāṇa*.

4r.14.2 *mokṣa-sapati*. Translated as “fortune of liberation” in accordance with the general translation of G *sapati*. Standing alone I would prefer “the attainment of liberation”. However, the expected delighted status of being liberated seems to be

51 BHS s.v. *upadhi*: “Acc. to Childers *upādi* means the *khandhas* alone, while *upadhi* includes also *kilesa* (with which PTSD makes it ‘almost synonymous’), *kāma*, and *kamma*; [...] [b]ut it seems that even in Pali, *upadhi* and *upādi* are not always clearly distinguished.”

52 But cf. also the SWTF s.v. *upadhi*, where it is differentiated from *upādāna* in the compound *upadhy-upādāna* “Besitz-Beanspruchten und Ergreifen” (elsewhere *upadhi* is translated as “Daseinssubstrat/Grundlage irdischer Existenz” besides “Hängen an Besitz”, obviously following Schmithausen, e.g. 1969, “Grundlagen [irdischer Existenz]”; in 1987: 270 n. 130 he translates *nirupadhiśeṣa / P anupādiseṣa* as “where no possessions [i.e. *skandhas*] remain”). In my translation I am following Cone 2001–, s.v. *upadhi*: “BHS worldly possessions or belongings [...]; attachment to such possessions (forming a basis for rebirth)”.

53 According to the CPD *upadhi* is equated with “*taṇhā*, *ādāna*, *upādāna*, *āsava*, *kamma*, in later systematization particularly with *kāmā*, *khandhā*, *kilesā*, *abhisankhārā*”.

54 Cf. e.g. SN II 108: *yaṃ kho idaṃ anekavidhaṃ nānāppakārakaṃ dukkhaṃ loke uppajjati jarāmaraṇaṃ || idaṃ kho dukkhaṃ upadhinidānaṃ upadhisaṃmudayaṃ upadhijātikaṃ upadhi-pabhavaṃ || upadhismiṃ sati jarāmaraṇaṃ hoti upadhismiṃ asati jarāmaraṇaṃ na hotīti ||* For a translation and comments cf. Bodhi 2000: 604, 780.

stressed. The *mokṣa-sampatti* / P *mokkha-sampatti* may be equivalent to P *brahma-/nibbāna-sampatti* since a commentary to the Aṅguttara-nikāya gives *manussa-deva-brahma-sampattiyo* as a synonym to *manussa-deva-mokkha-sampattiyo*⁵⁵ and the PTSD (s.v. *sampatti*) lists another threefold explanation for *sampatti* as *manussa*°, *devaloka*°, *nibbāna*° (Jā I 105; Mil 96; Dh-a III 183).⁵⁶

4r.15.1 *t[r]i-boṣa[e] ta asaṅkhe[dehi] ka[rp]e[h]i [pra]ñā///*. The usage of *bodha* instead of *bodhi* is not unfamiliar in Buddhist texts (most of all in BHS and Pali) and especially in the dat. sg. In Gāndhārī texts *boṣa* seems to be equally common as *boṣi*, as for example the PP-G has *boṣa* as well as *boṣi* (e.g. in 5-54; Falk/Karashima 2013: 162) and in BC2 *boṣae/bosae* is mentioned besides *bosie*. In BC4, the akṣara before *boṣae* looks like *tri*. The term *tri-bodhi* is also mentioned in other Buddhist texts, where it is often not explicitly explained, but instead its meaning is presupposed and taken for granted.⁵⁷ Maybe the earliest written evidence is extant in a fragment from Šorčuq on the northern silk road containing Buddhist stotras:

prajñāvimuktās traividyāḥ ṣaḍabhijñā maharddhikāḥ |
*tribodhiprasthitās cāryā iha saṅghe vasanti te || 20/21*⁵⁸

Die durch Einsicht Befreiten, die des dreifachen Wissens Kundigen⁵⁹, die die sechs (übernatürlichen) Fähigkeiten besitzen, die großen Zaubermächtigen und die Edlen⁶⁰, die auf dem Weg zu der dreifachen Erleuchtung sind, die befinden sich hier im Orden.

Fn. to *tribodhi*: “Der Ausdruck *tribodhi* scheint im Pāli nicht vorzukommen; vgl. aber die chin. Überlieferung (Fa-hsien) bei Waldschmidt, a. a. O. S. 32. Inhaltlich muß es sich um die drei Dinge handeln, die dem Buddha bei der Erleuchtung bewußt werden; die Bedeutung ist also von der des Wortes *traividyā* kaum unterschieden.”

- 55 *tissannaṃ sampattīna ’nti anussavavasena manussadevamokkhasampattiyo sandhāya vadati, manussadevabrahmasampattiyo vā, aṅguttaranikāye ekakanipāta-ṭīkā* (N° I 149 or B° I 163 according to CSCD).
- 56 There are other lists which subdivide *sampatti* as *sīla*°, *samādhi*°, *paññā*° or fourfold as *gati*°, *upadhi*°, *kāla*°, *payoga*° or sixfold or ninefold, cf. PTSD s.v. *sampatti*.
- 57 Also in the Dharmasamuccaya the *tribodhis* are mentioned without giving an explanation of what is meant: Dha-sam 14.11 *triratne (na) pramādyanti tribodhivaśagās ca ye / tridṛṣṭivarjakā ye tu teṣāṃ duḥkhaṃ na vidyate* (“Those who enjoy the three *ratnas*, who are in the power of the three enlightenments, who are avoiding the three (wrong) views, for those there is no suffering.”). Cf. Lin (1973: 66ff.) for a different Sanskrit text with more variant readings in another manuscript.
- 58 SHT 434/1, 1.3 (the reading is based on GRETEL, input by Jens-Uwe Hartmann, August 2002). The transliteration by Schlingloff (1955: 94) is slightly different in reading *cānyā* instead of *cāryā*.
- 59 Fn. to *traividyāḥ*: “Das dreifache Wissen der Buddhisten, Wissen um frühere Daseinsformen, um die Schicksale der Wesen, um die Erlösung, wird in Aṅg. Nik. I, 163–166 (P.T.S.) bewußt dem dreifachen Wissen der Brahmanen, den drei Veden, entgegengesetzt.”
- 60 Corresponding to *cāryā* instead of *canyā* (“andere”) in the translation by Schlingloff (1955: 94).

Instead of referring to three knowledges, as assumed by Schlingloff, the term *tribodhi* might be interpreted as relating to the three different ways to/ levels of awakening, namely that of a śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, or samyaksambuddha, although sometimes slightly different terms are used and the “fully awakened buddha” is later replaced by a (Mahāyāna) bodhisattva.⁶¹ In other so far known Gāndhārī texts the term *tribodhi* itself is not contained. However, the three ways to different kinds of awakening are indirectly mentioned in BC2 by *ṣavaga-/praceabudha-/samabudha-yaṇia* “beings on the ... path” or also *-yaṇeṇa* “by the ... path”.⁶² The three groups are also referred to in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the early first centuries, almost exclusively with reference to the Apracas and Oḍis.⁶³

The context of these words in BC4 could be that for the sake of the three forms of awakening (*tribodhi*) the *prajñāpāramitā* – G [pra]ñā/// to be reconstructed to [pra]ñā(*paramida) – should be practiced for innumerable eons. Regarding the long time of practice cf. for example the “Treatise on Pāramīs From the Commentary on the Cariyapitaka” (Bodhi 1996): “(xiv) How much time is required to accomplish them [the *pāramīs*]? As a minimum, four incalculables (*asaṅkheyya*) and a hundred thousand great aeons (*mahākappa*); as a middle figure, eight incalculables and a hundred thousand great aeons; and as a maximum, sixteen incalculables and a hundred

61 E.g. Saptasatikā, ASP, PvsP, Śata, Suvikrānta, Pras: śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, samyaksambuddha. Saddhp(W) according to Rawlinson (1977: 12): śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, bodhisattva. In the translation of Kumārajīva (Kubo/Yuyama 2007) both triads are contained, i.e. buddha (e.g. Kubo/Yuyama 2007: 60) or bodhisattva as third category (sometimes also all four are named). Vasubandhu in Abhidh-k-bh 383: *puḍgalabhedena tisro bodhaya utpadyante | śrāvakabodhiḥ pratyekabodhīr anuttarā samyaksambodhīr iti*, but in his Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtropadeśa: *śrāvakayāna, pratyekabuddhayāna* and *bodhisattvayāna* – besides *mahāyāna, buddhayāna*, and next to general *ekayāna/ekamahāyāna* (Abott 1985). Thus, the term bodhisattva instead of samyaksambuddha might have been introduced during the 3rd c. CE without replacing the other threefold division entirely (cf. e.g. Nor-bu o-rgyan 2009: śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, or samyaksambuddha citing Mngon pa, Khu pa, sha 235 ba 7, i.e. Abhidharmakośaśāstrakārikābhāṣya of Vinītabhadra, i.e. relating to the early 6th century (thanks to Johannes Schneider for the reference)). But a more detailed study is needed here. Cf. Rawlinson 1977: 11f. for the three *yānas* and their interpretation.

62 Cf. also another passage in BC2 [2D'.5–7]: (*ṣava)[ga]dharma · praceabudhadharma · bosisatvdharma · tasagadadharma · so ya pragaśea ṣavagayaṇo praceabudha(*yaṇo) samabudhayaṇo so ya ṣavagayaṇo ṣavagaya(*ṇe)ṇa ovadea viṇea pradīḥavea · praceabudhayaṇo (*pracea) budhayaṇeṇa ovadea viṇea pradīḥavea · samabudhayaṇo samabudhayaṇeṇa [ovadea] (*viṇe)[a] pradīḥavea. For *yāna* as path or vehicle cf. Walser 2007 (2009). According to Skilling (2004: 142f. fn. 7) the term *yāna* is only used by the advocates of the bodhisattva path, the others “refer rather to *śrāvaka-bodhi, pratyeka-bodhi, and samyak-sambodhi*”.

63 CKI 247, 257, 334, 401 (to be dated ca. 30–60 CE). Other inscriptions with reference to the Apracas or Oḍis name arhats, pratyekabuddhas and samyaksambuddhas (e.g. CKI 265, 255, 257, 358). CKI 257 (Śatruleka Casket, Azes 77) combines arhats and śrāvakas: *sarvabudha puḍayita sarvapracesabudharahaṃtaṣavaka puḍayita*. In the inscriptions of the Kuṣānas this phrase is often missing and replaced by *sarvasatvaṇa*, although two inscriptions name arhats, pratyekabuddhas and samyaksambuddhas besides the usual ‘*sarvasatvaṇa*’ (CKI 60, 178).

thousand great aeons.”⁶⁴ For the connection of the attainment of the *prajñāpāramitā* with the three forms of awakening cf. the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā (PvsP) and the Prasannapadā with reference to the Aṣṭasāhasrikā.⁶⁵ In every case the *prajñāpāramitā* has to be learnt in order to arrive at the three kinds of *bodhi*. However, the subject (agens) of the sentence in BC4 is missing. Thus instead of including everyone on the path to his respective awakening, it could also refer to “other bodhisattvas” mentioned later on in section «4» to the effect that those have to train themselves for a very long time until they finally obtain the *prajñāpāramitā* (i.e. the *anuttarajñāna* = *bodhi*) which marks the end of the spiritual path. Opposed to this, the practitioner of the way proposed in this manuscript would reap the fruits of his efforts much more quickly, from the first intention to awakening till the attainment of it in only one lifetime.⁶⁶ Of course, one should keep in mind that the accumulation of merit which finally leads to the readiness for buddhahood (the attainment of the *prajñāpāramitā*) extends over a long period of many incalculable *kalpas*.

64 Bodhi (1996) explains in a footnote: “The duration of a great aeon is indicated in the texts only by means of similes; e.g., if there were a mountain crag of solid granite a *yojana* (7 miles) high and a *yojana* round, and a man passing it once every hundred years were to stroke it once with a silk handkerchief, by this means it would take less time for him to wear away the mountain than it takes for an aeon to elapse. An ‘incalculable’ means an incalculable number of great aeons; it must be distinguished from the four incalculables which make up each great aeon, the four periods of expansion, evolution, contraction, and dissolution.”

65 PvsP (Kimura 1986: 97f.): *ye 'pi te daśadiśi loke 'saṃkhyeyeṣu lokadhātuṣu śrāvakā, ye ca pratyekabuddhās tiṣṭhanti dhriyante yāpayanti te 'pimām eva prajñāpāramitām āgamyā śrāvaka-bodhipratyekabodhiprāptās. tat kasya hetos? tathā hy atra prajñāpāramitāyāṃ trīṇi yānāni vistareṇopadiṣṭāni, tāni punar animittayogenānutpādānirodhayogenāsaṃkleśāvyavadānāyogenā nābhisamṣkārayogenānāyūhāniryūhayogenānutkṣepāprakṣepayogenānudgrahānūtsargayogena.* Cf. also the LPG (fol. 12v1–2, Zacchetti 2005: 185f. and 304 fn. 465): *punar aparaṃ śāradvatī-putra yāvanto daśadigloke sarvalokadhātuṣu satvās tān sarvāṃ śrāvakapratyekabuddhayānena ca parinirvāpayitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitavyam*.*

Pras (ed. Vaidya 1960c: 151): *ata evoktaṃ bhagavatā āryāṣṭasāhasrikāyāṃ bhagavatīyām śrāvakabodhim abhisamboddhukrāmena subhūte asyām eva prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitavyam | pratyekabodhim abhisamboddhukāmena subhūte asyām eva prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitavyam | anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisamboddhukāmena subhūte bodhisattvena mahāsattvena asyām eva prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitavyam ity ādi.*

Sparham (2006: 199f.), translating the Abhisamayālaṅkāra of Haribhadra, apparently also referring to the ASP: “...[when the Lord says to Subhūti: ‘Make clear the perfection of wisdom’], you know it is all three. But it is not only [the perfection of wisdom] of those [Bodhisattvas], otherwise she would not govern the three enlightenments [of Listeners, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas], because [the first two enlightenments] would not be included with her. Therefore it will say right here [Eight Thousand 6], whether one wants to train on the level of a Listener, ... one should listen to this Perfection of Wisdom because she teaches the total sequence of attainments that brings people to their ultimate goal.”

66 Cf. Groner 1992 in respect to the Japanese Tendai (T’ien-t’ai) school about the “Shortening of the Path” (*passim*, but especially pp. 448–452, p. 450 with reference to the [Da cheng] *qi xin lun* ([大乘]起信論, “The Awakening of Faith According to the Mahāyāna”).

4r.15.2 *sudiṇoamo* = Skt. *svapnopama*~. The equivalence of G *sudiṇo* to Skt. *svapna* is confirmed by a similar writing in BC2 where parallels support the translation. There, G *puruṣo sudiṇataragada* corresponds to “a person in his dream” (*puruṣaḥ svapnāntaragataḥ*, Cruijssen 2012). For the phonological development of *svapna*~ / P *supina*~ > G *sudiṇo* (*p* > **v* > *d*) compare *vihaṅgama*~ / P *vihaṅgama*~ > G *diha-ghama*~ with a similar development *v* > *d* (Allon 2001: 78, 330). Another example would be *chavi* / P *chavi* > G *chadi* (cf. Glass 2007: 118, 155f.). Thus probably: *svapna* > *supina* > *suviṇa* > *sudiṇa*. The form *supina* occurs for example in the Gilgit manuscript of the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Schopen 1989: 107, but cf. also BSHD). In Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī) *sumiṇa* is attested along with *suviṇa* or even *siviṇa* (cf. Pischel 1900: §§ 133, 177, 248).⁶⁷

Regarding content, *svapna* is common in Buddhist texts dealing with *śūnyatā* and is used to express the dreamlike character of all entities (cf. e.g. Samādh 22.6, MPPŚ IV 1968f., or ASP 20⁶⁸). To understand reality as it really is, i.e. empty, is to wake up (*√budh*). Interestingly, there is a distinction between *soppa* and *supina* in Pali (both *svapna* in Sanskrit). Whilst *soppa* denotes a dream while sleeping, *supina* stands for a dreamlike, oneiric vision (Pinault 2009: 243, cf. also Hanneder 2009: 66–67).

4r.15.2 *maha* = *mahi* (?), cf. 4r.17.1 *mahi i(*ṣe)[mi]*. In the Niya documents *mahi* is, according to Burrow 1937: 32 §78, equivalent to *mahyam* and used as gen. or dat. sg. of the first person. The usage of the personal pronouns seems not to have been very strict in the Niya documents, since for example *mama* is used as nom. or acc. and the instr. *maya* is once used as a gen. (see Burrow 1937: 13 §37 for references). Likewise, in the AG-G^s (RS14) *mahi[a]* is to be understood as gen.,⁶⁹ although normally represented by *me* which at the same time can be an instr. sg. (Salomon 2008a: 346). Therefore, it may be reasonable to interpret *maha/mahi* here as instr. sg. (“received

67 In the Niya document #157 *sumiṇna* is written (*ahu sumiṇna triṭhemi* “I saw a dream”, and *puna arikungeya sumiṇna triṭha* “Again the *ari* Kungeya saw a dream ...”, Burrow 1940). Cf. Brough 1962: 88f. § 36 (also Allon 2001: 85) for the alternation of *m/v* (*m* for original *v* seems to be preferred in the DhP-G^k, which might apply here as well).

68 “Like a magical illusion are those beings, like a dream. [...] All objective facts also are like a magical illusion, like a dream. The various classes of saints, from Streamwinner to Buddhahood, also are like a magical illusion, like a dream. [...] Even Nirvana, I say, is like a magical illusion, is like a dream”. Cf. also: “For all dharmas are situated in emptiness, and from that situation they do not depart. They are situated in the signless, the wishless, the ineffective, in non-production, no-birth, in the absence of positivity, in dream and self, in the boundless, in the calm quiet, in Nirvana, in the Unrecoverable; they have not come, nor gone, situated in immobility” (Conze 1973b).

69 Also *mahiya* as gen. sg. in the ‘Wardak inscriptions’ (CKI 159, CKI 509).

by me”) although it is not otherwise attested and should rather be dat. sg. according to its mere form.⁷⁰

4r.15.2 *iṣemi* (“here”, adv.) is so far only known from the Niya documents where it is frequently used (cf. Burrow 1937 §91). Other edited Gāndhārī manuscripts use *iha* or *iṣe*. Similar cases of “double inflection” can also be observed in the Senior manuscripts (e.g. *tatraspi*, SR20).⁷¹

4r.15.2 *jadi*. Maybe loc. sg. (= *jātyām* / *P jātiyā*, *-yam*) congruent with *iṣemi*, although in other Gāndhārī documents this is usually rendered *-ie* (e.g. *śavastie*, Allon 2001: 111; cf. also Baums 2009: 219f. for examples ending in *-ie* and also *-ia*). Alternatively, it could be taken as acc. sg. (= *jātim* / *P jātiṃ*) whether used for loc. (cf. e.g. Duroiselle 1997: 156 §598 or BHS §7.23), or to express a duration of time (“during this lifetime”).

4r.15.2 *paḍhama-c[i]tupa[de ca vr]ud[e] prañā-paramida ca paḍiladha*. The *prathamacittotpāda* is the “first arousing of the thought / aspiration / intention [to attain awakening]” or the “initial resolve / resolution [to strive for perfect awakening]”.⁷² Cf. BC2: *aṇutarae samasabosae · cito upadema; cito upadido; PP-G: aṇutarae samasambosae cito upadeamsu* (Falk/Karashima 2013: 150ff.). This resolve marks the beginning of the bodhisattva career, the end of which is achieved with awakening – for the sake of other beings –, expressed by “the attainment of the *prajñāpāramitā*” or “sitting on the seat of awakening”. In Sanskrit PP texts the duration of progressing on the bodhisattva path is paraphrased as *prathamacittotpādam upādāya yāvad bodhimaṇḍaṇiṣaṇṇa°* (“from the arising of the first resolution till the sitting on the seat of awakening”).⁷³

70 Cf. also the use of *mama kṛtam* for *mayā kṛtam* in the Aśokan edicts due to “different shades of meaning” (Caillat 1986: 489 = Caillat 2011: 211).

71 Thanks to Joe Marino for pointing this out.

72 For different kinds of *cittotpāda* cf. Wangchuk 2007: 149ff.

73 E.g. LPG, fol. 239a (ed. Conze 1962: 96), fol. 240a (ed. Conze 1962: 98, 99), fol. 249b (ed. Conze 1962: 135). Similarly: *prathamacittotpādam upādāya yāvad bodhimaṇḍaṇiṣadanāt* (PvsP, ed. Kimura 1992: 97, and LPG, fol. 274a, parivarta 72, ed. Conze 1974: 27). Also Kāśyapa-parivarta (KP-SI P/2, fol. 21r.3f., ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002): *prathamacittotpādiko bodhisatvo yāvad bodhimaṇḍaṇiṣadanā tāvat sarvasatvopajīvyo nirvikāro (ni)ṣpratikāro bhavati*. For reaching the buddhahood on the seat of awakening cf. LPG, fol. 239b, parivarta 62 (ed. Conze 1962: 97f., tr. Conze 1975: 496: “[...] he [the Bodhisattva] does not realise that Dharma-hood until he is seated on the terrace of enlightenment, and there wins the knowledge of all modes, immediately thereafter to turn the wheel of Dharma.”

The attainment of the *prajñāpāramitā* (or synonymous the *anuttarasamyakṣambodhi*, the *sarvākārajñatā*, the *anuttarajñāna*, i.e. the realization of emptiness)⁷⁴ on the seat of awakening is often expressed with the verb *prati√labh*, e.g.:⁷⁵

LPG, fol. 17r (ed. Zacchetti 2005: 387):

kecit puna(h) śāradvatīputra bodhisatvā mahāsattvā gambhīrā prajñāpāramitāpratīlabdhā

Gv (ed. Vaidya 1960b: 220):

duṣprajñānām sattvānām prajñāpāramitāpratīlabhāya dharmam deśayāmi

KpS (ed. Yamada 1968: 400):

*evaṃrūpaṃ tasya tathāgatasya pūrvaṃ prathamacittotpādītānuttarajñānapratīlabhāya
prañidhānaṃ babhūva*

After the first resolve to attain perfect awakening, a bodhisattva courses in/practices the six *pāramitās*⁷⁶ and develops other qualities.⁷⁷

Regarding [*ca vr]ud[e]* in BC4, it is not entirely clear what is put between the “first thought of awakening” (*cittotpāda*) and the “attainment of the *prajñāpāramitā*” (see fig.). It is certainly not *upādāya* which would be expected according to the aforementioned phrases. Based on a suggestion by Vincent Tournier⁷⁸ the obscure word could refer to the verbal uttering of a



74 For *anuttarāṃ samyakṣambodhim* cf. e.g. LPG, fol. 297a, parivarta 77 (ed. Conze 1962: 102, tr. Conze 1975: 618). Also cf. Zacchetti 2005: 339–354 §3.20–57, for the practice of *prajñāpāramitā* equated to the practice of emptiness.

75 Cf. also LPG, fol. 296b, parivarta 77 (ed. Conze 1974: 100f., VIII 5,13): *tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi mayā prathamacittotpādam upādāya nānyaṃ cittaṃ pratīlabdham anyatra anuttarasyā samyakṣambodheḥ*. Likewise, PvsP (ed. Kimura 2006: 122): *tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi tena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prathamacittotpādam upādāya nānyatra cittaṃ pratīlabdham anyatrānuttarāyāḥ samyakṣambodheḥ*.

76 Cf. LPG, fol. 260b–261a, parivarta 69 (ed. Conze 1962: 183, tr. Conze 1975: 541) *bodhisattvo mahāsattvo prathamacittotpādam upādāya ṣaṣṭsu pāramitāsu carann aṣṭau bhūmīn jñānena ca darśanena ca atīkrāmati...* (“the Bodhisattva [...] beginning with the first thought of enlightenment, coursing in the six perfections, transcends the eight stages (of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas) with his cognition and vision.”). And also LPG, fol. 293b, parivarta 72 (ed. Conze 1962: 91, tr. Conze 1975: 610): “(VIII 5,12) What is the enlightenment-path of a Bodhisattva, coursing in which he should mature beings and purify the Buddha-field? The Lord: Here the Bodhisattva, from the first thought of enlightenment onwards, courses in the six perfections, etc. *to* : in the eighteen special Buddhadharmas, and both matures beings and purified the Buddha-field.” For “practising the six *pāramitās* from the time of his initial production of the thought [of awakening] until he seats at Bodhi-tree” cf. Zacchetti 2005: 336 §3.17.

77 For the things he has to learn on his way regarding the teaching of the Buddhas, i.e. Sūtra, Geya, Vyākaraṇa etc. cf. LPG, fol. 258a, end of parivarta 65 (ed. Conze 1962: 171–172, tr. Conze 1975: 532). When he fulfils all wholesome dharmas from the thought of enlightenment onward until he is seated on the terrace of enlightenment, “he reaches the knowledge of all modes and will forsake the last residues of defilements” (LPG, fol. 299a, parivarta 78, ed. Conze 1962: 108f., tr. Conze 1975: 622).

78 Workshop Lausanne, June 2013.

*prañidhāna*⁷⁹ (G *vrude* = *vṛtam*).⁸⁰ This seems indeed likely, since similar derivations of $\sqrt{vṛt}$ are combined with *cittotpāda* in other texts, such as: ASP 234 *cittotpādā divasam anuvarteran*, Gv 414 *cittotpāde vartamāna*, KpS 94 *kṛtacittotpādānām parivṛtaḥ*, SukhL *cittotpādaparivartaiḥ*. Additionally, *triskandhaka* is combined with *pravṛt* in the Śikṣāsamuccaya (Śikṣ 171 *triskandhakadharmaparyāyapravartanena* [Bendall “engaging in the recitation ...”], 209 *triskandhakapravartanam*), thus *vṛta* in BC4 might involve some (oral) performance as well.

4r.16.1 [*pariṇā*] ? +. What has been written after *ṇā* cannot be safely identified. Additionally, a little chip is lying on top making it even more impossible to reconstruct anything with the help of the remaining ink traces. Strictly following the parallel construction, we would expect G *parijaṇati* as 3rd sg. pres. analogously to G *prajahati* above. This is ruled out due to the clearly written *ṇā*. If we restrain ourselves to verbal forms (leaving aside *parijñā(na)* / P *pariññā(na)* “thorough knowledge”), there are two options: (A) *parijñāta* / P *pariññāta* pp. “well understood, thoroughly known” or (B) *parijñāya* / P *pariññāya* abs. “having fully understood”.⁸¹ The remnants of the following letter are not unambiguous. They could be part of a *da* (G *pariṇāda*, (A)), or perhaps a short form G *pariṇā*, like P *pariññā*⁸² (for *parijñāya*, (B)), might be taken into consideration.

4r.17.1 *varjidavo*. Normally, in Skt./P the gerundive is *varjanīya~* / P *vajjanīya~*. As *varjītavya~* / P *vajjītabba~* it mostly occurs when prefixed with *pari-*, *vi-*, or *ā-*. It might as well be interpreted as caus. (= *varjayitavya~* / P *vajjetabba~*) since both forms look alike in Gāndhārī (cf. Baums 2009: 236). Also the next gerundive, G *deśīdavo* (4r.17.1), would be derived from a caus. stem (*deśayitavya~* / P *desetabba~*).

4r.17.1f. *boṣimada~*. In 4r.18.1 *boṣimada* is written as *moṣimada* (*ta vucadi samo moṣimada-niṣaṇa*). Most probably, this is merely a scribal error where *mo* is written

79 In the Bodhisattvabhūmi the *cittotpāda* is the first of five *prañidhānas* (vow, earnest wish). Ed. Dutt (1966: 186): [...] *tatra katamad bodhisattvasya bodhisattvaprañidhānam / tat samāsataḥ pañcavidhaṃ draṣṭavyam / cittotpādaprañidhānam upapattiprañidhānam gocaraprañidhānam samyakprañidhānam mahāprañidhānaṅca / tatra prathamacittotpādo bodhisattvasyānuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittotpādaprañidhānam ity ucyate*.

80 Since the third grapheme does not look like a *t*., G *vuta* = *ukta~* is excluded.

81 Cf. G *pariṇāe* = *parijñāya* / P *pariññāya*, abs., in BL9r.81 (Nid-G¹2, ed. Baums 2009).

82 PTSD s.v *pariññā* ⁽²⁾: “having full knowledge or understanding of” with reference to Sn 779.

twice instead of proceeding with *bo°*. Another possibility is that this was indeed a different variety of pronunciation or orthography. But since it is not explained or referred to any further, and the emphasis seems to be put on the difference between *boṣimaḍami la[bhadi]* and *moṣimaḍa-niṣaṇa*, I tend to attribute the unfamiliar spelling to the inattention of the scribe. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in the Lalitavistara (Lal 21.82–83) the seat of awakening was named *mahīmaṇḍa*.⁸³ Likewise in the Mahāvastu (*mahīmaṇḍagato* Mvu 1.161 or *mahīmaṇḍaṃ* Mvu 2.401) where it has been translated as “high ideal” (Mvu 1.161⁸⁴) or “best place” (Mvu 1.161⁸⁵) or as “bodhi throne” (Mvu 2.401⁸⁶).

In the examples above the *bodhimaṇḍa/mahīmaṇḍa* is equivalent to the time and space where one attains awakening and thereby becomes a buddha. Although it was indeed a certain spot on earth where Siddhārtha Gautama realized the ultimate truth, it more and more denoted an intellectual, abstract state of mind. In this sense, the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa gives a detailed explanation of what is meant by *bodhimaṇḍa* (Vkn 3.54–60, tr. Thurman 1976). Among others,

It is the seat of generosity [*dāna*], because it has no expectation of reward.

It is the seat of morality [*śīla*], because it fulfills all commitments.

It is the seat of tolerance [*kṣānti*], because it is free of anger toward any living being.

It is the seat of effort [*vīrya*], because it does not turn back.

It is the seat of meditation [*dhyāna*], because it generates fitness of mind.

It is the seat of wisdom [*prajñā*], because it sees everything directly.

83 First noted by Ingo Strauch. The passage reads: *yatha merucakravālās candrāsūryaś ca śakra-brahmāṇaḥ / vṛkṣāś ca parvatavarāḥ praṇate sarve mahīmaṇḍam // niḥsaṃśayu puṇyabalī prajñābalavāṃś ca jñānabalavāṃś ca / kṣāntibalavāṃś ca vīryabalavān abalaṃkartā namuci-pakṣāṃ* “As Mount Meru and the surrounding ranges, the moon and the sun, Śakra and Brahma, the trees and the best of mountains all bow down to the seat of awakening (*mahīmaṇḍa*), certainly someone with the power of merit (*puṇya*), understanding (*prajñā*) and knowledge (*jñāna*), of endurance (*kṣānti*) and vigor (*vīrya*) will render the wings of Māra powerless.” Cf. also the translation given in DTC 2013: 241f.

84 Mvu 1.161 [...] *tato priyaṃ budhyati jñānam uttamaṃ / svayaṃ mahīmaṇḍagato tathāgato* “That is why the Tathāgata, reaching his high ideal, awakens to that unsurpassed knowledge which is dear to him” (Jones 1949: 128).

85 “infolge davon erwacht er zum erwünschten höchsten Wissen, (er) der selbst zum besten Ort auf der Erde gelangte Tathāgata” (Leumann/Shiraishi in Shiraishi 1988: 244f.).

The *bodhimaṇḍa* is rendered as *byang chub snying po* in Tibetan (“supreme/essence of enlightenment”, cf. BHSD s.v. *bodhimaṇḍa*) taking *maṇḍa* as a synonym for *sāra*, which is further justified by the commentary *bodher maṇḍaḥ sāro `treti bhūpradeśaḥ paryaṅkākrānto bodhimaṇḍaḥ* (Abhisamayālaṅkāralokā, ed. Wogihara 1932–35: 206,7, cf. Lamotte 1962, 198–200 fn. 105 for further references). Cf. also PTSD s.v. *maṇḍa*.

86 Mvu 2.401 [...] *yathā tṛṇāni grhṇāsi yathā yācasi svastikaṃ / yathopesi mahīmaṇḍaṃ adya buddho bhaviṣyasi* [Kāla, the nāga king, saying to the Buddha sitting at the river Nairāñjanā before his final defeat of Māra, i.e. his awakening:] “From the way thou holdest the grass, from the way thou dost ask Svastika for it, from the way thou dost approach the bodhi throne, to-day thou wilt become Buddha” (Jones 1952: 357; no translation by Leumann/Shiraishi).

The passages concludes with the statement, that

when Bodhisattvas are thus endowed with the transcendences [*pāramitā*], the roots of virtue, the ability to develop living beings, and the incorporation of the holy Dharma, whether they lift up their feet or put them down, they all come from the seat of enlightenment. They come from the qualities of the Buddha, and stand on the qualities of the Buddha.

As in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, also in other Buddhist works, especially of course those concerning the PP, the *bodhimaṇḍa* is explicitly connected with the *pāramitās*, because they are to be practiced as long as and in order to attain the perfect awakening.⁸⁷

In a short phrase this moment of awakening is often expressed as “sitting on the seat of awakening” (*bodhimaṇḍa + niṣad°/niṣanna°*).⁸⁸ However, I have not found it in close combination with a form of $\sqrt{\text{labh}}$, only:

evaṃ caran suvikrāntavikrāmin bodhisattvaḥ kṣīpraṃ sarvajñadharmān paripūrayati, āsannaś ca evaṃ caran suvikrāntavikrāmin bodhisattvaḥ kṣīpraṃ sarvajñadharmān paripūrayati, āsannaś ca bhavaty anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau, kṣīpraṃ ca bodhimaṇḍam upasaṃkrāmati, kṣīpraṃ ca sarvajñajñānam pratilabhate, kṣīpraṃ ca atītānāgatapratyutpannajñānaparipūrim adhiḡacchati, kṣīpraṃ ca sarvasattvacittacaritavispanditānām pāraṃ gacchati

When he courses thus the Bodhisattva quickly fulfils the dharmas of all-knowledge, and comes near to the supreme enlightenment, he quickly approaches the terrace of enlightenment, acquires the cognition of the all-knowing, arrives at the fulfilment of past, future and present cognitions and goes to the Beyond of the quivering thoughts and doings of all beings. (Suvikrāntavikrāmaparipṛcchā, ed. Vaidya 1961b: 1–74, tr. Conze 1973b: 92)

4r.17.1 *lavheti*. Due to the context, this should be a 3rd pl. pres. active form $\sqrt{\text{labh}}$ “obtain” (= *labhanti/te*). In BC4, the Kharoṣṭhī sign transcribed as *vh* stands for OIA *-bh-* (as in *lavha = lābha~*), while G *-bh-* reflects OIA *-bhy-* (G *labhadi = labhyate*).

4r.17.2 *dh[a]re[tr]ami*. In concordance with *boṣimaḍami*, this is taken as a loc. sg. of *dhārayitṛ* (also *dharitrī*) (f.) “earth” in the meaning “on this very spot on the ground”. Another option was suggested by Stefan Baums (personal communication, April 2013) in that it comes from *dhārayitr* / P *dhāretar* “holder, bearer” for some kind of “teacher” who keeps the traditional doctrine handed down from generation to gener-

87 Abhidh-sam-bh (ed. Tatia 1976: 107): *yad bodhisattvas tāṃ śīlapāramitābhāvanāparaṃparāṃ yāvat prajñāpāramitābhāvanāparaṃparamā bodhimaṇḍaniṣadanān na bhraṃśayati na vicchinattīti*; cf. AśP 5, AśP 8 (ed. Tomabechei 2009); LPG, fol. 222b (ed. Conze 1962: 29f., tr. Conze 1975: 448) and fol. 237a (ed. Conze 1962: 86f., tr. Conze 1975: 490f.).

88 Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya, LPG, Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, Bodhisattvabhūmi, Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa-sūtra, Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra, Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra, Lalitavistara, Samādhirāja-sūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Saṃghāṭa-sūtra, ASP, Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā, Satyasiddhiśāstra, Mahāvastu, PvsP (ed. Kimura), Ratnaketuparivarta, Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sarvatathāgatattvasaṅgraha, Śrāvakabhūmi.

ation in remembrance. But the loc. instead of an instr. would be unusual, although it may be justified due to the parallel construction.

4r.17.2 *ṇa suladh[a] me lavha ṇa ca praoḍidave*. The phrase “recalls the common *labdhā me sulabdhā lābhā, sulabdhā me lābhā* (and other variants)”⁸⁹ (ASP, LPG, PvsP, Mvu, Gv). In Pali texts it is *lābhā ... suladdhaṃ* or *lābhā ... suladdhalābhā*, most often in the phrase *lābhā vata me suladdhaṃ vata me*.⁹⁰

The *ta* at the beginning is currently taken as dem. pronoun, n. nom. sg. (“it, this”), but it may also be used in an adverbial sense (“thus”, leading to “because I have not easily obtained this, it should not be rejected”).

4r.17.2 *praoḍidave*. Cf. Burrow 1937: 81: *oḍeti* = “let go, send away, allow”. According to him the etymology is not clear: “It may be connected with Pali *oḍḍeti* ‘throw away, reject’ (Pv. A. 256 *oḍḍayāmi = chaḍḍayāmi*) and *oḍḍeti* ‘to set or lay a snare’ (*pāsa*)”. Based on the meaning in the Niya documents, it is understood here as “to be thrown away, rejected, relinquished” synonymous with BHS **pra-chorayitavya~ / *pra-chod(ḍ)ayitavya~ / *pra-chaḍḍayitavya~ / P *pa-chaḍḍetabba~*.⁹¹

4r.17.2 *aha ... ta vucadi*. The overall structure of this short paragraph reveals the scholastic background of the text. First, a statement is made: What is obtained on the *bodhi-maṇḍa* can also be obtained everywhere else, for example “here on this spot on the ground”. Then, with *aha* = Skt. *āha* an objection or possible question is introduced in the sense of “someone might say / ask” or “an objector says”. Finally, *vucadi* = Skt. *ucyate* introduces the author’s reply to this objection (cf. Tubb / Boose 2007: 245f.). Also in BC11 *aha* sometimes introduces the questions of others (preserved at r.21), and the answers or explanations are usually introduced by *ta vucadi* (r.01, r.11 (?), v.23, v.28).

89 Paul Harrison (personal communication per mail, 8.07.2012). He continues: “Then one could [...] translate (roughly) “I have won something worth winning, and it should not be given up”. However, the preceding *G ta ṇa* are not translated hereby and also cannot be taken as belonging to the previous sentence.

90 E.g. Vism 223, Vism(W) 184: *‘lābhā vata me’ ti mayhaṃ vata lābhā [...] ‘suladdhaṃ vata me’ ti yaṃ mayā idaṃ sāsanaṃ manussattaṃ vā laddhaṃ, taṃ suladdhaṃ vata me*.

91 PTSD s.v. *chaḍḍeti*: “Vedic *chardayati* & *chṛṇatti* to vomit; [...] to throw away; abandon, leave, reject; [...] grd. *chaḍḍetabba* [...]”. BHS s.v. *chaḍḍeti*: “(= Pali id.) abandons: *oti* Mv ii.170.18; iii.291.14; mss. corrupt in both, but context makes Senart’s em. seem certain; in iii.291.14 the only ms. *choḍḍeti* (lacuna in other ms.)”. Cf. also PTSD s.v. *pachaḍḍana* “vomiting, throwing out Sdhp 137”. On a related note, BL4 documents *chorid[o]* from *chorayati* (“rarely, (Mv iii.20.2) *choḍḍe*”, BHS s.v. *chorayati*) in the meaning “let go, release, abandon; throw away; cast off” etc.).

4r.17.2f. *samo* / r.18.2 *same*. G *samo*/*same* seems to correlate to Skt./P *sama* (“the same”), but phonologically, *samyak* / P *sammā* (“properly”) is also possible.⁹² However, *samyak* is not known in direct connection to *bodhimaṇḍa* (normally it is only *samyaksambuddho bodhimaṇḍavarāgragataḥ* as e.g. in the Saddhp) and although the syntactical construction in BC4 is not totally obvious, I think we can nevertheless exclude *samyak* due to context and translate *sama*.⁹³ What is meant with ‘the same’ is that the “traditional” awakening (*bodhi*) is identical with the “new” knowledge (*jñāna*), which is further explained as the realization that everything, i.e. all *dharma*s – and this also includes the *bodhimaṇḍa* (cf. r.18.1f.) – are devoid of inherent existence (*śūnya*) and are therefore causing suffering (*duḥkha*) and are ineffectual (*niḥsāmarthya*). This is the core statement of the *prajñāpāramitā*, and this seems to be meant by “the knowledge of [what is causing] suffering and the knowledge of [what is] ineffectual” (G *dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇa*~) in the following paragraphs «5»and «6» in BC4.⁹⁴

In regard to *Prajñāpāramitā* texts two passages may be mentioned here. One is a statement in the *Vajracchedikā* from Gilgit that says that every place (*pr̥thivīpradeśa*), where the *prajñāpāramitā* is proclaimed, becomes a place to be worshipped, similar to a *bodhimaṇḍa*. Mostly, however, the term *caitya* is used instead of *bodhimaṇḍa* (cf. Schopen 1975). In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, both *caitya* and *bodhimaṇḍa* are named: *yasmimś ca kulaputrāḥ pr̥thivīpradeśe ayaṃ dharmaparyāyo vācyeta [...]* *tasmin pr̥thivīpradeśe tathāgatam udiśya caityaṃ kartavyam | tat kasya hetoḥ? sarva-tathāgatānāṃ hi sa pr̥thivīpradeśo bodhimaṇḍo veditavyaḥ* (ed. Vaidya 231).

92 In the Senavarman inscription Oskar von Hinüber translates *same* as “vollständig” interpreting it as *samyak*. Also Stefan Baums translates *same* in BL13 r67 (Nid-G¹2, ed. Baums 2009) with “right” and in the subsequent commentary *same* is explained by *[sa](*m)[e](*ive)[ṇa]* · *duḥkhapariṇa* “[b]y rightness (is meant) the diagnosis of pain” (Baums 2009: 315). There is an interesting wordplay on *samyak* and *sama* in the Gilgit *Vajracchedikā* (fol. 10): “However, Subhūti, that dharma is the same as any other (*sama*), and there is nothing at all different (*viśama*) about it. That is why it is called ‘supreme and perfect (*samyak*) awakening.’ By virtue of being devoid of a soul, being devoid of a living being and being devoid of a person, that supreme and perfect awakening [*samyaksambodhi*] is fully awakened to as being the same [*sama*] as all wholesome dharmas” (tr. Harrison/Watanabe 2006: 155, cf. also their fn. 106).

93 In the translation, *sama* is given as an adjective referring to “knowledge” in the preceding passage, but it could also be translated as an adverb “in the same way”.

94 Cf. e.g. *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* (8) in the translation of Conze 1973b: “What is this wisdom, whose and whence, he queries, And then he finds that all these dharmas are entirely empty. Uncowed and fearless in the face of that discovery, Not far from Bodhi is that Bodhi-being then” and “Coursing thus he courses in the wisdom of the Sugatas, And yet he does not apprehend the dharmas in which he courses. This coursing he wisely knows as a no-coursing, That is his practice of wisdom, the highest perfection.”

Further, in the ASP it is emphasized that “all dharmas have neither place nor locality“, this is how a bodhisattva should approach the *prajñāpāramitā* (*sarva-dharmādeśāpradeśataḥ prajñāpāramitā anugantavyā*, ASP 235, cf. also ASP 196, 476).

4r.18.2–19.1 *tasva same ya [ti ṇa] praodidave*. Within *ya [ti ṇa]* the second akṣara is broken off at the top, but the remaining strokes rather resemble *ti* than *di*. G *yati* for *yadi* “if” is no uncommon variant, even though it is restricted to the Niya documents – and apparently to BC2 and BC11 (whereas both documents also have the alternative *yadi*). Another reason for this may be that the editors of other manuscripts or inscriptions, when in doubt, preferred to transcribe *yadi* as it is etymologically expected. Other solutions than *ya [ti]* = (A) *yadi* are: (B) *ca iti*; (C) *yad iti*; (D) *yati* “(m.) an ascetic, one who has restrained his passions and abandoned the world” (MW, PTSD). The translations would be as follows:

- (A) “therefore it is the same, if (*yadi*) it is not rejected”.
- (B) “therefore, [because] it is the same, I say (*ca iti*) it should not be rejected”.
- (C) “therefore [that], which one calls the same (*yad iti*), is not to be rejected”.⁹⁵
- (D) “therefore the same should be rejected by an ascetic (*yatinā*)”.

Among these variations, (B) or (C) are the most likely ones regarding the overall context, stating that the knowledge that one has obtained is not to be rejected (cf. section «5»).

4r.19.1 *khaḍaṇa kavalaṇa ... ṇagao*. Phonologically, the first should correspond to *khaṇḍaka*, either meaning “fragment, piece” or “evil, false, mischievous” (= *khala*, BHSD).⁹⁶ The latter, G *kavalaṇa*, most likely correlates to *kapālaka* “bowl (formed like a skull)”. The second meaning for *khaṇḍaka* would lead to the translation “even if I would beg with a false bowl and having become a naked mendicant” with G *ṇagao* (= *nagnaka*~) referring to non-Buddhist Kāpālika ascetics (*khaṇḍa-kāpālika* is documented as a name for an inferior Kāpālika ascetic, cf. MW). The first meaning as “broken” (as it is currently translated) is supported by *khaṇḍena pātreṇa* as a term for a broken begging bowl in the Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya⁹⁷. A *nagnaka* then is simply

95 Based on a suggestion of Harry Falk, workshop in Lausanne, June 2013.

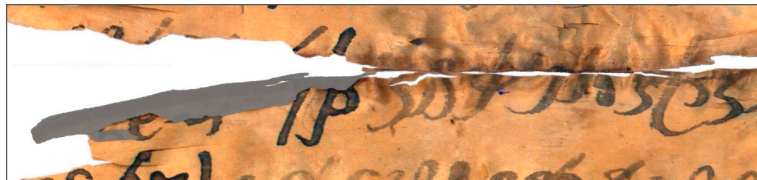
96 According to the BHSD (s.v. *khaṇḍaka*), with reference to Mmk 73.13, it seems to be some kind of synonym to *kusīda* or *aśraddha*; another reference is Gv 116.22 with the translation “a rascal of a Bodhisattva, or a false, fake B.”.

97 Niḥsargika-Pācattika-Dharma 12, ed. Roth 1970: 169 § 174a (*sthūlanandān nāma bhikṣuṇī omlinamalinehi cīvarehī pāṭitavipāṭitehi khaṇḍena pātreṇa chidravichidreṇa piṇḍapātam aṇvati*).

a monk who has lost all his clothes, and the entire passage would intend to express that a monk would give up or throw away everything he owns (food – or a proper means to get the food – and clothes) but not this very precious knowledge, by which he attains liberation.

4r.19.1f. *imo* (*ñā)[*ṇo praoḍidave*]. G *imo* is nom. sg. n. corresponding to *idaṃ* (*jñānam*), but also in Pali *imaṃ* besides *idaṃ* as nom./acc. sg. n. is known (cf. e.g. Duroiselle 1997: 72 § 307 or Pischel 1900: 304f. § 429). Other Gāndhārī manuscripts have *ai* or *ea* for *idaṃ* and also *aya* for *ime* (BL6B, ed. Salomon 2000, and BL16+25, ed. Lenz 2003), cf. chapter on morphology (‘Pronouns’).

4r.19.2 *praca*-[*pa*]rami[*do*]. This is tentatively read as *prajñā-pāramitā*, even though it is clearly written *praca* in the beginning (see fig.). Firstly, this could be an scribal error. Secondly, it could be an indication for an oral transmission assuming that *prajñā* would have been articulated as *praca*.⁹⁸ The following akṣaras *par*[*i*] ? ? [*pra*] ? ? [+] are unfortunately hidden by a small turned down fragment (see fig.). With access to the originals, the birch bark might be carefully turned again, so that we find out what has to be done with the *prajñā* (?)*-pāramitā* and what happens then. Until then we can only guess that the first was *pariñae* and the second *prahaṇae* or, more probably, *praoḍidave*.



4r.20.1 *duḥka-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇeṇa*. As indicated before (p. 152) this knowledge of what causes suffering and of what is ineffectual most likely corresponds to the knowledge that one obtains on the seat of awakening referring to the realization of emptiness, the core element of *prajñāpāramitā* doctrine. In one of the ‘Fragments of *prajñāpāramitā* texts’ from Central Asia and similarly in the PvsP the definition of *duḥkha-jñāna* is “the knowledge of the non-production of suffering” (*duḥkhasyānutpāda-jñānam*).⁹⁹ The *duḥkha-jñāna* is also one of ten *jñānas* listed in Nāgārjuna’s

98 See Pischel 1900: 190f. § 276 for the reflex *jñ* > *jj* (among others Hc. 2, 83 *pajjā* < *prajñā*). In the Senior Collection dialect *c* and *j* have merged and are effectively interchangeable (Blair Silverlock, personal communication).

99 AṣṭāB, Pl. III, 3/4 (Bidyabinod 1927: 1–11) *katamaṃ duḥkhajñānaṃ yad duḥkhasyānutpāda-jñānam idaṃ ucyate duḥkhajñānaṃ*. PvsP (ed. Kimura 2009: 82): *tatra katamad duḥkhajñānam? yad duḥkhasyānutpādajñānam idaṃ duḥkhajñānam*.

Dharmasaṃgraha (Dhsgr 93) as follows:

*duḥkhajñānam, samudayajñānam, nirodhajñānam, mārgajñānam,
dharmajñānam, anvayajñānam, saṃvṛtijñānam,
paracittajñānam, kṣayajñānam, anutpādayajñānam ceti*

knowledge of suffering, knowledge of origin, knowledge of cessation, knowledge of the path;
knowledge of the dharma, the subsequent knowledge, the conventional knowledge;
knowledge of the thoughts of others, knowledge of extinction, knowledge of non-production.

Here, the *duḥkha-jñāna* is not the same *duḥkha-jñāna* as in the PP texts, because the *duḥkha-jñāna* of Nāgārjuna merely seems to be the notification of suffering like “this is [causing] suffering” and the *duḥkha-jñāna* of the PP rather corresponds to the last of his ten *jñānas* – the *anutpāda-jñāna*. In BC4 it may simply refer to the knowledge of suffering in the sense of Nāgārjuna’s first *jñāna*, where it is the first of the four noble truths.¹⁰⁰ – I have not found *duḥkha-jñāna* or P *dukkha-ñāṇa* in juxtaposition with *niḥsāmarthyajñāna* / P **nirattha-ñāṇa* or even the latter alone. According to the PTSD, *nirattha* “useless” is applied in the *Sīlakkhandhavagga-ṭīkā* regarding useless prattle, by which happiness and welfare (*sukha* and *hita*) are being destroyed. In the ASP the term occurs in the compound *niḥsāmarthyakriyā*, translated as “ineffectual action” by E. Conze (ed. Vaidya 257–258). The context is that the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita offers his own body to the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata. This breaking up of his body is for the sake of “gaining the good law” (*saddharma-parigrahasya kṛtaśaḥ*) and for the accumulation of wholesome roots (*kuśalamūla*), in opposition to “ineffectual actions” done in many lifetimes before that were for the sake of sense-pleasures (*kāma*). Analogously, in the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna sāmānyā* is linked to *punya* [= *kuśala*] (*punyaṇāṃ sāmānyā* “efficacy of meritorious actions”, ed. Roy 1971: 344, tr. Rajapatirana 1974). Thus, in BC4 the *niḥsāmarthyajñāna* might best be understood in the sense of knowing what is unwholesome (*akuśala*) and hence “ineffectual” or “useless” in regard to liberation, since it is insufficient to produce the desired result.

4r.20.1f. *u[ad]i[ṇae a]śivaśīdae ... [u]ekṣīdae ... paricatae*. These forms seem to be dat. sg. from past participles (*upādinnāya, adhvāsītāya, upekṣītāya, parityaktāya*) and the passage might then be translated as “every suffering will come into exist-

100 This suffering/pain (*duḥkha*) is equally mental and physical as stated in BC4 and also BC11. In other Buddhist texts the *duḥkha* is sometimes in particular characterized as belonging to the body (*kāyika*) opposed to mental pain/distress (cf. e.g. Nett 12 *duvidhaṃ dukkhaṃ: kāyikaṃ ca cetasikaṃ ca. yaṃ kāyikaṃ idaṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ cetasikaṃ idaṃ domanassaṃ*).

ence to be clung to, to be accepted/endured and to be neglected; every happiness will come into existence to be given up and to be accepted/endured”.¹⁰¹ The current translation is, however, based on the ‘compound past tense’ common to the Niya documents. It is formed by the ending *-taka/taga* or *-tae/dae* usually in combination with an auxiliary verb like G *siyati*, although this may occasionally be omitted (Burrow 1937: 55 § 114). If we accept G *hakṣati* in place of *siyati* within some kind of periphrastic future (cf. Burrow *ibid.*), then we could translate the phrase as “every suffering will be clung to, [then] accepted/endured, [and finally] looked at with an even mind; every happiness will be given up [and] accepted/endured”. Since *u[ad]i[nae]* and *[paricatae]* are not followed by a finite verb form in the future tense, the current translation is: “all suffering will be accepted [as being something that is] clung to [and] will be looked at with an even mind, all happiness will be accepted [as something that is] given up / let go”. The whole statement appears to be that suffering occurs when holding on to things and that happiness to the contrary will arise as soon as one has let go of attachment to these entities. The same is said in section «2».

4r.20.2 *paraṇirvah[ido]*. The last two akṣaras cannot be read with certainty due to the broken off birch bark. An alternative reading would be *-hedi*. The current reconstruction is supported by *sarvasatva pariṇivaito* in the Indravarma Reliquary inscription (CKI 241), translated as “all beings are caused to attain *nirvāṇa*” by Richard Salomon (1996: 428f.). Salomon (1996: 429 fn.23) points to *sarvasatva [para]ṇivaiti* in the ‘Aśoraya’ inscription (on the halo of a standing Buddha, CKI 256) translated as “all beings are brought to *nirvāṇa*” (= *parinirvāpita*~) by Bailey (1982: 149f.). In addition to these inscriptions, the word occurs in the following manuscripts:¹⁰²

- ‘New Collection’ Fragment 3, v.24 *paraṇirva[to]*
- Senior Fragment 4A, v.P11 *paraṇivae*
- Senior Fragment 22 r.47f. *pa[raṇivāṇi]o*, r.51ff. *pa[raṇ]ivāṇio*
- BC2 v.2A’.26Af. *paraṇivaiśati ... /// ? ? ṇivataita ... pariṇivaiśati*

Interestingly, the spelling *para-* is more common than *pari-* (occurring only in the Indravarman vessel inscription and once in BC2). And if we do not assume a scribal

101 Another possibility is that they are *nomina abstracta* (*upādītā*, *adhivāsītā*, *upekṣītā*, *parityaktā*) in the instr. sg. (*upādītayā* etc.) as suggested by Ingo Strauch (personal communication, April 2013). The crucial point is whether to reconstruct *uadidae* or *uadiṇae* where the manuscript is broken off. I tend to prefer *ṇa* and exclude *da*, thus ending up with past participles.

102 In their current transcription on gandhari.org, last retrieved 17.05.2013.

error from our current point of view (*para-* instead of *pari-*), the reading in BC4 could as well be *para nīrvah[edi] = parān nīrvāhayati* “he leads out other (beings)”, i.e. he helps others to reach *nīrvāṇa*.¹⁰³ With regard to the ending, G *-nīrvahido* suggests *-nīrvāhita~*, but I have not found anything corresponding to this (*parinīrvāhita~* / P *°nībbāhita~*) or to *parinīrvāhayati* / P *parinībbāheti*.¹⁰⁴ Instead, *parinīrvāpita~* is frequently met in PP texts (ASP, Vajracchedikā, PvsP) and the Sukhāvativyūha. The BHSD translates *parinīrvāti* as “enters complete enlightenment”, caus. *-vāpayati* as “brings to...” (see also BHSG §2.47).¹⁰⁵ A commentary to the Mokṣopāya (2,17.43) explains *nīrvāhita* as “gone (*nīta*) to stopping/cessation (*avasāna*)”. Hence, **parinīrvāhita* would be “completely gone to cessation”. If we now likewise say G *parinīva(h)ito* corresponds to *°nīrvāhita~* instead of *°nīrvāpita~*, we would have to translate as such – and not as “brought to *nīrvāṇa*” as in the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions published so far. The *h* could as well be interpreted as a prothetic or glide *-h-* which has been inserted after another consonant or semivowel has been dropped (see Allon 2007b: 247f. for examples and references). Mostly, this glide *-h-* replaces *-y-*, which then would lead to **parinīrvāyita~* / P **parinībbāyita~*. The complete extinction referred to here (*parinīrvāṇa/parinībbāna*) is the complete release or emancipation from all cravings and worldly desires.¹⁰⁶

4r.21.1 [*lo*]gado cariṣe. The ending *-do* instead of *-de* for the abl. sg. is unusual within the manuscript. It is however not unusual within MIA dialects in general, as stated by von Hinüber (2001: 223 §300): “Die Aśoka-Inschriften haben im Osten und im

103 Cf. Book of Zambasta, verses 13.131–132: “... ‘He is “*paranārvāta-*”, so it is said in the *sūtra*. There is another meaning of this expression. ‘Another’ being is said to be ‘*para-*’. A ‘*nārvṛta-*’ is one who extinguishes *kleśas*. ‘He extinguishes the *kleśas* of others’ – this is the meaning of that expression” (tr. Emmerick 1968).

104 Only MPS: (*tasmād aham e*)vaṃ vadāmi *parinīrvāhi bhagavan parinīrvāṇasamayaḥ sugatasya*. There are few other parallels with *nīrvāhayati* without prefix, but they have nothing in common with BC4.

105 The causative seems also to be used in the simplex meaning, e.g. “*yathāyaṃ bhagavān ... °vāsyati evam aham api ... °vāpayeyam* Divy 90.10, ... may I also enter complete *nīrvāṇa*” (BHSD s.v. *parinīrvāti*).

106 For the etymology of *nībbāna* cf. Norman 1994. Regarding *parinībbāna* he states (1994: 217): “I prefer to follow the view of Thomas, who more than once reminded us that the difference between *nībbāna* and *parinībbāna* is a grammatical one. [...] He states, “*Nīrvāṇa* is the state of release; *parinīrvāṇa* is the attaining of that state. The monk *parinīrvāti* ‘attains *nīrvāṇa*’ at the time of enlightenment as well as at death”. [...] “He *parinībbāyati*, attains the state, and then *nībbāyati*, is in the state expressed by *nībbāna*” (cf. Norman for references and footnotes). On page 222 he concludes that *nībbāna* “extinction” was only an explanation to *nībbūti* (Skt. *nīrvṛti*) meaning “happiness, bliss, rest, ceasing” which should be the original meaning.

Nordwesten die Endung *-ato, -ate* verallgemeinert: Skt. *mukhāt > mukhato* [...]”. The only occurrence of this ending in a so far published Gāndhārī manuscript is *gomodo = grāmataḥ* (BL1v.179, ed. Lenz 2010: 40).

As regards to the meaning, it is unclear to me if the speaker (“I”) refers to the distant future in which he will finally leave the world, i.e. when he will die and not come back again having lead all beings to the state of nirvāṇa, or, if his leaving the world should be taken metaphorically in the sense that he has brought all desires to extinction and thereby cut off the fetters of existence and the causes for rebirth, thus being “in this world, but not of this world”. In regards to the latter possibility, cp. AN II 37–39, where Doṇa asks the Buddha if he is a god, a *gandharva*, a *yakṣa*, or human. The Buddha denies this very premise, saying that he has abandoned all defilements that could identify him as any of them: “Just as a blue, red, or white lotus flower, though born in the water and grown up in the water, rises above the water and stands unsoiled by the water, even so, though born in the world and grown up in the world, I have overcome the world and dwell unsoiled by the world. Remember me, brahmin, as a Buddha” (tr. Bodhi 2012). This story is also preserved in a Gāndhārī manuscript (BL, see Allon 2001: 124–125).

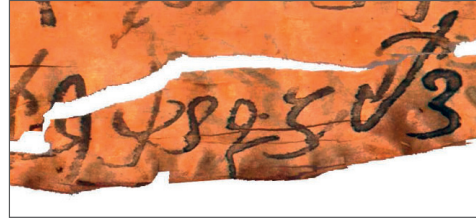
4r.21.1 + + *[gar]e[ṇa]*. A possible reconstruction is (**sarva*)*[gar]e[ṇa]* = *sarvākāreṇa* “by all means, in every respect”.

4r.21.1f. *varj[a]maṇa ... [karamaṇa] ... puyamaṇa ... deśamaṇa ... praiṭha[vamaṇa]*. These are several participles in the nom. sg. m. ātmanepada (cf. chapter on morphology). They all seem to be caus. passive forms. With the exception of G *karamaṇa*, which should be rendered to G *karyamaṇa* (if causative passive) since *rya* is normally retained, the other forms match the usual development from OIA to G. In the case of G *varj[a]maṇa* there is a gap of one akṣara between *varj[a]* and *maṇa*, which seems to be due to the surface of the birch bark.¹⁰⁷

G *puyamaṇa* (“worshipping, honoring”) incorporates paying homage, making offering, service, and sometimes meditative remembrance and/or petitionary prayer according to Nattier (2003: 158f.). In respect to Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, especially the remembrance, i.e. the “act of bearing [them] in mind” (*anusmṛti*) respectfully may apply – or more basically, not doing anything bad in their name.

107 Alternatively, G *varj[ita]maṇa* may be read, cf. G *vartamana* in the Niya documents or *varjita-māna* as e.g. in the MMK.

4r.21.2 *dharm[e] ca edam io ṇiṣama(*r)[tha]-dukha-ñāṇo*. The scribe seems to have written *dharmo* first and then emended it to *dharme*, which points to *dharmā* being understood as n. instead of the more common m. (although n. is documented occasionally in Skt. and Pali texts). The first pronoun *edam* (*etad* / P *etaṃ*) is similar to *idam* / P *idaṃ* in the same meaning (“this”), but it is quite safely equated with *etad*, moreover since “*etad* generally refers to what precedes, esp. when connected with *idam*, the latter then referring to what follows (cf. MW s.v. *etad*).



4r.22.1 *satva ya boṣa praiṭha[vamaṇa]*. In analogy to the preceding statements, *ya* is an equivalent to *ca* which is not unusual in Gāndhārī texts generally. The last *ṇa* is faded. For *praiṭhavamaṇa* cf. PP-G 5-22 *jaṃbudive satva te sarve sadavatiphale p(r)adiṭhavea* = ASP *jambūdvīpa sattvāh tān sarvān ... srotaāpattiphale pratiṣṭhāpayet* (Falk/Karashima 2013: 118, tr. of the Chinese parallel: “makes the people in *Jambūdvīpa* all attain the Path of *srotaāpannas*”). Hence “making living beings attain awakening” or more literally “establishing living beings in [the path to] awakening”. A loc. sg. *boṣe* would be expected then, if we do not assume a compound *boṣa-praiṭhavamaṇa*, which is rare but not unattested, e.g.: *bodhipratiṣṭhāpanārtha* (Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. Dutt 1966: 234) or *abhiṣekadharmabodhipratiṣṭhāpanīm* (Ratnaketuparivarta, ed. Kurumiya 1978: 114).

There is a gap of about eight akṣaras, most probably due to the condition of the birch bark. Because there are no traces of ink on the remaining fragments, and because the text does not call for a wanting word, I assume that nothing was written here. On the contrary it is rather uncertain if not only one *ṇa* has to be read (i.e. *praiṭha[vama] _ _ _ _ _ ṇa ciri [v]e*). The last *ṇa* before the knothole is quite blurred and would have been written in a rather high position. But since *ṇa ciri ve* instead of *ciri ve* makes much more sense in this context here, I assume that *ṇa* has been written twice.



4r.22.1 *ṇa ciri [v]e*. This corresponds to *na cirād vai* “indeed/certainly after a short time, very soon”, although the ending *-i* is better explained by a sandhi *cirā(d) + iva* or *eva*, comparable to P *na cirass’ eva* “after a short time, shortly”. In other Gāndhārī manuscripts like BL1 (AG-G^L 53, 74) or BC2 (r.5B.41) *cira(m)* is written G (*ṇa*) *ciro / ciru*. The formulation in BC4 reminds of a similar saying in the Lalitavistara (Lal 17.10, tr. DTC 2013: 191):

*candrārkatārāgaṇa bhū pateta pṛthagjano naiva ahaṃ mriyeyam /
yasmān na śoko tvayi atra kāryo na vai cirād drakṣyasi buddhabodhim //*

The sun, the moon, and the stars may fall to the ground. Yet although I am an ordinary person, I will not die. Therefore do not bring misery on yourself. Before long you shall behold the awakening of a buddha.

4r.23.1 *satahi aloehi yo ari[da] karae* etc. The equivalents to both G *aloea* and *aloeṇa* are uncertain, as is the meaning of *aride / praṇide kerea* and *aṇaride kerea*. They are central to the last section «7» and occur several times. The general structure of this section is as follows:

- 7A1: (Who ?) *arida karae* by the one-to-seven *aloea*, or (who ?) *praṇide karae* from the *aṣatia*¹⁰⁸ and the *aloeṇa*, they, both together, should be admonished/exhorted/avoided.

With respect to all three times, they both should be spoken [out loud].

- 7A2: The result would be negative (*durgati, asatpuruṣa, bandhana, duḥkha, aśubha, akuśala; middha, ālasya, akṛtya, akarman, asprśana, glānya*) – this is why it should be avoided.
- 7B1: (Who ?) *aṇaride kerea* the one-to-seven *aloea*, or (who ?) *aṇaride kerao* the *aṣatia* and the *aloeṇa*, they, both together, should be saluted respectfully/exhorted/commended/maintained.
Both should be spoken [out loud].
- 7B2: The result would be positive (*sugati* etc.).

108 G *aṣatia* most probably is *āsaptika* “up to seven”, because *sata* is the last member of the enumeration one, two, three, four, five, six, seven. Alternatively, G *aṣatia* could also correspond to *asaptika* “not seven”, if *aloeṇa* is opposite to *aloea* and not only a derivate of it.

- *sata aloa* is likely to be positive («7C3»: “establish yourself by the sevenness”), probably also *aṣatia aloṇea* (in «7C3» they are put side by side, treated equally: *matra-sahoro* [= *aloea*] · *idara-sahoro* [= *aloṇea*]).

For all uncertain words there are several possibilities, none of which seemed satisfying, which is why no final translation has been given. Nothing in the text itself points to a group of seven items. According to the usual phonological development, *aloea* could correspond to: *āloka*, *āloga*, *ālopa*, *ālavaka*.¹¹¹ Of these, *āloka* in the meaning of “[inner] light”, “illumination” or “insight” seems the most probable. In the Nikāyas of the Theravāda canon P *āloka-sañña* (“perception of light”) is a meditation technique to avoid drowsiness (P *thīna-middha*).¹¹² It is intriguing that in BC4, in «7A2b» and «7B2b», the terms *jāgarikā* and *middha* point to beneficial conditions during meditation practice. In the Śrāvaka bhūmi there are four kinds of *āloka-samjñā* mentioned: *dharmāloka*, *arthāloka*, *śamathāloka*, *vipaśyanāloka*.¹¹³ In the Lalitavistara (ed. Vaidya 1958: 23) 108 *dharmāloka mukhas* (“gateways to the light of the Dharma”) are listed, beginning with *śraddhā*, *prasāda*, *prāmodya*, *prīti*, *kāya saṃvara*, *vāksaṃvara*, *manaḥsaṃvara*.¹¹⁴ In the Daśabhūmika-sūtra (ed. Vaidya 1967: 24), ten *dharmāloka praveśas* (“entries into the light of the Dharma”) are mentioned and said to provide the entry to the fourth “blazing” stage for one who has “purified vision” (*supariśuddhāloka*). They are explained as contemplations (*vicāraṇa*) on the realms

111 If one includes the possibility of a sound change *r/l*, then a derivation from *ā√ruc* “to announce, declare” might fit the context. In the Niya documents it is used as *aroceṃti* (“approve”), in the rock edicts of Shahbazgarhi and Manselra the same base is attested as *loceṣu* Sh RE4 / *alocayisu* Man RE4, and *aloceti* Sh RE14. Thus, a spelling *l* for *r* would not be unlikely.

112 It is mentioned in descriptions of the third *jhāna* and/or regarding the development of concentration that leads to the attainment of knowledge and vision (P *nāṇa-dassana-paṭilābha*); e.g. DN III 223 (tr. Walshe 1987: 488) or AN II 44 (tr. Bodhi 2012: 431, cf. Ṭhānissaro 2010: 207). Likewise, the Visuddhimagga uses *āloka* relating to concentration techniques (among others: *āloka-kasiṇa*) similar to the *āloka-sañña*. A more detailed passage occurs in the Arthaviniścaya, where *āloka* is compared to the “daylight at high noon” (Samtani 2002: 142). The commentary gives the explanation “‘perception of daylight’, meaning ‘perception of illumination’: ‘evenly luminous’ [mind]” (Samtani 2002: 143). Samtani (2002: 143 fn.132) adds: “The idea of evenly luminous mind is close to the idea of very bright, resplendent (*pabhassaracitta*) mind in the early Pali Tradition, AN I, p. 10. Compare the later Teachings of the Mahāyāna Yogācāra school, based on the theory of ‘mind only’ (*citta-mātratā*).” The *āloka* may first have been a means in meditation in order to keep awake and/or reach a clearer state of mind, and furtheron became a synonym for the understanding gained after having reached that clear state of mind. The Nettippakaraṇa, for example, names *āloka* as a synonym of understanding (§294, Nāṇamoli 1962: 81, with reference to §440, Nāṇamoli 1962: 106). Cf. also Dhs 292, Pe 15 (where it is the four truths plus *āloka*), 494, 503, 541.

113 Śrāv-bh II 136, Śrāvaka bhūmi Study Group edition.

114 The last three are, for example, also included in a long list of *samādhis* in the Samādhirāja-sūtra (ed. Vaidya 1961: 4), however not called *āloka*.

of *sattva*, *loka*, *dharma*, *ākāśa*, *viññāna*, *kāma*, *rūpa*, *ārūpya*, *udārāśayādhimukti*, *māhātmyāśayādhimukti*. Although none of these listings agree with the Bajaur text in comprising seven items, and although none of the first listed items is mentioned in the Bajaur text (except *prīti*), *āloka* might still point to the same context of contemplation and consideration (*āloka*; *ālocana(ka)*, *ālokanīya*, *ālocanīya*).

I have not found any Buddhist text preserved in an Indic language in which particularly seven “lights” (*sapta āloka*~, P *satta āloka*~) are mentioned.¹¹⁵ When looking for groups of seven, what immediately comes to mind, are the *satta bojjhaṅgas*, the seven factors of awakening.¹¹⁶ But there are no references to them in the rest of the Gāndhārī manuscript. Sets of seven found in T1485 (cf. p. 264) or akin texts (Rulu 2013) are: seven features of purity¹¹⁷, seven bodhi factors¹¹⁸, seven stages of the bodhisattva way¹¹⁹, seven grounds¹²⁰, seven noble treasures¹²¹, seven guiding instructions from all buddhas¹²². Likewise, none of these show a clear connection to the content of BC4.

Besides referring to seven items of a group, the number could also refer to some kind of seven-limbed poem or prayer to be uttered in a ritual, similar to the seven-limb prayer of Śāntideva in the Bodhicaryāvātara, which lists seven verses about the rejoicing in the awakening mind and finally dedicates the accumulated virtue to the complete removal of the pain of every living creature.¹²³

115 In Chinese the term should be rendered to 七光明 but I have not found anything in the DDB.

116 Mindfulness (*sati*), investigation of the dhamma (*dhammavicaya*), energy (*virīya*), joy/ rapture (*prīti*), tranquility [of body and mind] (*passaddhi*), concentration (*samādhi*), equanimity (*upekkha*); cf. e.g. Bhikkhu-sutta, SN 46.5, tr. Bodhi 2000: 1574, or also SN, Bojjhaṅgasammutta, tr. Bodhi 2000: 1499.

117 For seven general features of purity in a bodhisattva’s practice of the *pāramitās* cf. Rulu 2013: 101f. (“Sūtra of the Profound Secret Unraveled”, fascicle 4). Regarding the *prajñāpāramitā* there are furthermore “seven kinds of true suchness (*tathātā*)” that are to be known (Rulu 2013: 108 fn. 12). The seven purities in T1485 are: “(1) observance of precepts, (2) mind in meditation, (3) the right views, (4) resolution of doubts, (5) differentiation between the right and wrong paths, (6) knowledge of the right path, and (7) knowledge to end the wrong ways” (Rulu 2013: 85, T1485, fascicle 2).

118 Rulu 2013: 49, T1485, fascicle 1; similarly Rulu 2013: 162, “Mahāvaipulya Sūtra of Buddha Adornment” = T0279, fascicle 36, and Rulu 2013: 275 glossary.

119 Seven stages: “(1) ten faithful minds, (2) ten levels of abiding, (3) ten levels of action, (4) ten levels of transference of merit, (5) Ten Grounds, (6) virtually perfect enlightenment, and (7) perfect enlightenment” (Rulu 2013: 276).

120 Seven grounds: “the first seven grounds are called the effortful grounds. On the seventh ground, he completes the training that requires effort” (Rulu 2013: 26).

121 Seven noble treasures: “(1) faith, (2) almsgiving, (3) observing the precepts, (4) having a sense of shame, (5) having a sense of dishonor, (6) hearing the Dharma, and (7) wisdom” (Rulu 2013: 74, T1485, fascicle 2).

122 Rulu 2013: 199f.

123 E.g. <http://bodhicaryavatara.wordpress.com/2011/11/24/limbs-5-7> (last retrieved 16.08.2013).

Or, as another possibility, especially if *āloka* is interpreted as a kind of contemplation, the number seven could refer to seven days of a week. Hence, there would be seven light[ful contemplation]s and up to seven (*āsaptika*) minor (?) light[ful contemplation]s. This, however, would include an understanding of G *aloṇea* as *āloka-ka*, which should be rendered by G *alooa* or *aloea* but not *aloṇea*. Alternatively, G *aloṇea* could be correspondent to *alāvaṇya* “graceless, lustreless”, being the opposite of *āloka*.

Theoretically, G *alooa* = *ālavaka* in the meaning “(not) cutting off” and G *aloṇea* = *ālavanīya* “(not) to be cut off” or *ālūnaka* “(not) cut off” are possibilities, but they do not seem to match the context. Something that would fit is *ālayanaka* as a derivation from *ālaya* in the meaning “attachment, clinging”¹²⁴, but the phonological development *aya* > *o* is not attested elsewhere. Interestingly, in the PTSD and the CPD *āluka* is given as “longing for, affected by” with uncertain etymology, however only as the last part of a compound. The only vague reference to seven kinds of attachments is evident in It 94 (tr. Bhikkhu Ṭhānissaro [Geoffrey DeGraff]):

*sattasaṅgappahīnassa netticchinnassa bhikkhuno
vikkhūṇo jātisaṅsāro natthi tassa punabbhavo ti*

For a monk who has abandoned seven attachments and cut the guide:
the wandering-on in birth is finished; there is, for him, no further becoming.

The “seven attachments”¹²⁵ are passion, aversion, delusion, views, conceit, defilement, and misconduct.¹²⁶ Since these are also not listed in BC4 we have no proof that G *alooa* = *ālaya* is indeed a synonym to P *saṅga*.

Both terms, G *sata aloa* and *aṣatia aloṇea*, are combined with the equally uncertain words G *aride kerea* and *aṇaride kerea* in variant spellings:

<i>arida karae</i> (1x) = <i>pranide</i> ⟨*?ka⟩ <i>rae</i> (1x)	<i>aṇ-aride kerea</i> (3x)
<i>arede kerea</i> (1x)	<i>aṇ-aride kerao</i> (1x)
<i>aride kerai</i> (1x)	<i>aṇ-aride keraa</i> (1x)
<i>arida keraa</i> (1x)	<i>aṇ-aride ko</i> (1x)
<i>arida kere(*a)</i> (1x)	

124 For *ālaya* as “abode” cf. T1485 (Rulu 2013: 51). Here there are seven levels of abiding, during the first six a bodhisattva practices the *pāramitās*. At the sixth level he practices the *prajñā-pāramitā*, realizes emptiness and enters the seventh level, whence he will never regress.

125 Cf. also the translation “seven bonds” by Masfield (2000: 80f., although with no further explanation).

126 Ṭhānissaro *ibid.*; this group of seven *saṅgas* is also mentioned in Nidd I 91, 432; Nidd II 620 according to the PTSD (s.v. *saṅga* “cleaving, clinging, attachment, bond”).

Syntactically, *arida*~ demands an instr. or abl. and *aṇarida*~ a nom. or acc. Furthermore, in combination with *sata aloa*, *arida*~ apparently has a negative connotation and *aṇarida*~ a positive one. In BC4, *aride karae* is once replaced by *praṇide* <?*ka> *rae* according to the analogously constructed text passage. This may be the same as G *praṇido* in Dhp-G^k 177, which has no exact equivalent in all other extant versions but is replaced by *bahuśruta* / P *bahussuta* “the learned”.¹²⁷ It most probably corresponds to BHS *praṇīta* “superior”.¹²⁸ The more frequently used G *arida* could then be equated to *āryatas* “honorable, excellent”, *āryatā* “state of being honorable”¹²⁹ or *ārita* “praised”. Because these words have positive connotations, this is doubtful (see above). Other translations for *praṇīta* are “brought into, inflicted” and in this respect, G *arida* may be equated to *ārta* “fallen into [misery]; afflicted” (from *ā*√*ṛ*). Possibly, there is also a connection to √*ṛt* / *ṛti* (e.g. *ṛtiṃkara* “causing pain” MW), cf. BHSD s.v. *art(t)iyati* “being disgusted / distressed by / feeling aversion from” (being interpreted as a denominative from *ārta* / *arti* “pain”). As a last option, *aritā* “emnity” as opposed to *anaritā* / *anaritas* “without emnity / enemies” may be given, whereby the enemies are the “spiritual enemies”, the defilements.¹³⁰ However, G *praṇida* remains unexplained then.

Unfortunately, none of the several proposed options seems convincing without doubt. Due to context, the perhaps most reasonable solution so far is G *aloea* = *ālaya* / *āluka* (“attachment” despite its doubtful etymology). G (*aṇ*)*aride kerea* then is open to question but with regard to the other two terms it could be derived from *ṛt* / *ṛti* / *ārta* / *arti* denoting something like “causing pain, being distressed” etc. (or the opposite). In the scheme presented above, this would lead to the following statement:

(1) Being distressed / afflicted (*aridakarae*, *praṇidekarae*; *aredekerea*, *aridekarai* = *ārta*°) by the seven attachments (*aloea* = *ālaya*) and from the up-to-seven (*aṣatīa*) minor (?) attachments (*aloṇea* = *ālayanaka*) is to be avoided/reviled/exhorted. Not being distressed, i.e. avoiding (*aṇaridekerea*, *aṇaridekerao* = *anārta*°) the seven

127 Dhp 208 (tr. Müller 1881: 208), cf. Shukla 1979: 71 (BHS *bahuśśuta*), Uv 25.25 (*bahuśruta*).

128 G *luha-pranido* in the SaṅgCm (BL15, frame 32 v.8) corresponds to *rūkṣa-praṇīta* / P *lūkha-paṇīta*, “roughly/poorly made”, related to the fabrication of a *cīvara* (Stefan Baums, personal communication, April 2013).

129 Skt. *ārya* is usually written *aria* in Gāndhārī. Nevertheless, in the Niya documents, *ari* is sometimes used as a title before personal names, most probably denoting *ārya* (see Burrow 1937: 76).

130 Cf. e.g. Arthav 242 (“the enemies are the defilements, for they destroy wholesome dharmas”, tr. Samtani 2002: 175).

attachments and the up-to-seven minor (?) attachments is to be saluted respectfully/ approved/exhorted. Then the [impression of a] state of inherent existence would disappear.

Another possibility is to understand *aloo* as *āloka*, *aloṇea* as *alāvanya*, and *arida* as *aritā*; *aṣatia* could also be taken as *asaptika* here, as against *āsaptika* in option (1). Then the statement would be as follows:

(2) Those who are hostile (*aridakarae*, *praṇidekarae*; *aredekerea*, *aridekarai* = *aritā*^o) to the one-to-seven lights (*aloo* = *āloka*) or the (non-)seven (*aṣatia*) (and) lightless (*aloṇea* = *alāvanya*), they are to be avoided/reviled/exhorted; those who are non-hostile (*aṇaridekerea*, *aṇaridekerao* = *anaritā*^o) to the seven lights or the (non-) seven (and) lightless, they are to be saluted respectfully/approved/exhorted. Then the states of inherent existence would disappear and not rise anew.¹³¹

4r.23.2 *su-paribhaṣidavo ... paribhaṣehi*. Although the verb *pari-bhāṣ* has also a neutral meaning (“to address; to declare”) it is more often, especially in Buddhist texts, used in a negative sense.¹³² In the PvsP (and other PP texts, cf. Conze 1973a) *paribhāṣ* means “to revile”, synonym to *vivad* (“dispute”) and *ākruś* (“curse”).¹³³ Also in the Saddhp (8.40) *paribhāṣ* has been translated e.g. as “reprimand” (Kern 1884), “rebuke” (Watson 1993) or “reproach” (Kubo/Yuyama 2007). In the Niya documents it is known as *parihaṣa* = *paribhāṣā* (“claim”, Burrow 1937: 10) and the verb *paribhaṣati* = *paribhāṣate* (“revile, abuse”, Burrow ibid. with the note: “The meaning is obviously something like ‘complains’.”). I decided to translate as “admonish” as long as the context (G *aloo*, *aloṇea* etc.) is not clear, since “revile” would rather point to a person (as it is, by the way, also the case with the antonymously used G *ahivadidave*).

4r.23.2 *ya(*ṣa)-bhudehi*. For the translation “on account of...” cp. chapter on morphology, p. 96, and the commentary on G *picara*, p. 176.

4r.23.2 *codidav[a]*. For other translations cf. Conze 1973a: *codayati* “exhort, warn against” and *saṃcodita* “impelled”. The Niya documents record *codeyati* (##592,

131 This interpretation was favored by H. Falk and I. Strauch (personal communication).

132 In Sanskrit both meanings are known, in Pali and BHS only the negative one. Cf. also Bhattacharya/Nilanjana 2004 (EDSL): 1035.

133 Cf. e.g. PvsP (ed. Kimura 1992: 26): ...*yāvad vivaded vā ākrośed vā paribhāṣed vā kalahayitvā vā bhaṇḍayitvā vā vīgrahayitvā vā vivādayitvā vā ākroṣayitvā vā paribhāṣayitvā vā ...*

654, 715) / *coteyati* (##71, 572, 579, 580, 581, 586, 587, 590, 591) / *coteyāti* “to bring sth. up” (##571, 572, 587), “dispute” (##592, 579, 580, 586, 591), “disagree” (##582, 590), “fault with” (##564, 715); *cotaṃna* (##345, 572, 582) = *codama* (cf. §13) / *cotaṃti* (#592) “bringing up” (tr. Burrow 1940).

4r.23.2 *sva-doṣehi*. G *doṣa* is later used as an antonym to *aṇuśāśa* (“benefit, advantage”) next to *droaca/sapati*:

- «7A1» *ya(ṣa)-bhudehi paribhaṣehi codidav[a ca]*
[yaṣa-bhude]hi sva-doṣehi sva-droacehi varjidava ca
 «7B1» *yaṣa-bhuda-picara ahiva(ḍi)da[va] codidava ca ṣaṣidava ca*
yaṣa-bhudehi svaya-aṇuśāśehi sva-sapatihi palaśpidava

4r.24.1 [*su*]*du*[*ro*]. The top of the first akṣara looks like a *tra* at first sight, but the lower half is only blurred like in the following letter *du*. The last akṣara seems to be *ro*, because the sign for *ṭha* is normally curved at the top (like a *va* with an additional stroke to the left). Therefore a transliteration as *ro* may be justified, although it is written unusually big and sprawling. For a similar form of *ra/ro* cf. e.g. *aharea* in r.27.1 or *ohoro* (v.08.2), see figures. Against the alternative G [*su*]*du*[*ṭha*] = *su-duṣṭa*~ / P *duṭṭha*~ (“very wrong/bad” or “a bad/wicked one”), rather the interpretation *su-dūram* “very far away/very long ago” is preferred, qualifying the following G *adide* as something that has “gone very long ago” = “the distant past”.



(a) 4r.24.1 [*su*]*du*[*ro*];
 (b)–(c) example letters *re/ro*.

4r.24.1 *adide* ... *pracu[pa]ṇae* ... *aṇagada* / v.02.2f. ... *pracupaṇe* ... *aṇagad[e]*. Originally adjectives, literally translated as “what has past ... what is existing at the moment ... what has not yet come”, these are to be taken as nouns (n.) “the past, the present, and the future”. In P texts, the order is usually *atītā-anāgata-paccuppanna*, “but also occasionally *atīta paccuppanna anāgata*” (cf. PTSD s.v. *atīta*).

4r.24.1 [*j*]*juhoṣidave*. This is equivalent to **jugupsitavyam* (“to be abhorred / disgusted”), supported by evidence in other Gāndhārī manuscripts like BL1 (AG-G^L 33):

<i>sarvo aya roa[gha]da</i>	All this which consists of
[46] <i>yasa su kuṇavu tasa °</i>	physical form is like that
<i>atepudi ayokṣa ca</i>	corpse, putrid within and
<i>sarvam edu juho[śpi](*da °)</i>	filthy; all of this is repulsive.

G *juho[śpi](*da)* is also written *joho[śp](*ida)*¹³⁴ in BL1r.42 (AG-G^L 30), both referring to OIA *jugupsita*, “repulsive” (as proven by the parallel in the Gilgit manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, cf. Salomon 2008a: 234). The readings in BL1 are, however, uncertain (discussed by Salomon 2008a: 229, also 124): In the first instance [*śpi*] is only retained on a separated chip and has not necessarily to be placed here. In the second occurrence it is hardly legible since half of the akṣara is broken off. Still, what remains does not resemble a *śi* as in BC4, but indeed rather a *śp*. Other occurrences of obviously the same word are documented in BC2, where it is written as *juhosvi*¹³⁵. Thus, we would have the following developments: OIA *ps* > G *śp* (BL1) / *sv* (BC2) / *ś* (BC4) besides P *cch* and an unhistorical hyper-sanskritised form BHS *st* (cf. BHSG § 2.19).¹³⁶ Thus, for the spelling in BC4 the development is: G [*j*]*juhosidave* = **jugupsitavya*~ for *jugupsanīya*~ / P *jigucchitabba*~ (P *jugucchitabba*~ is not documented, but cf. Śāraṣenī *juguch*^o according to von Hinüber 2001: 185 § 238).

4r.24.1f. [*a*](**hiva*)*didave* / v.03.2 *ahivadidave*. G *vadidave* can be derived from OIA √*vad* (“say”) or √*vand* (“salute, venerate”), which in the end go back to the same meaning “to salute respectfully”, especially with the prefix *abhi*^o (cf. PTSD s.v. *vandati*: “**vand**, originally identical with **vad**; the defⁿ at DhP (135 & 588) is ‘*abhivādana & thuti*’] to greet respectfully, salute, to pay homage, to honor, respect, to revere, venerate, adore”).¹³⁷ Although P *thuti* means “praise”, and *abhi* √*va(n)d* could be translated as such, I have maintained the more technical translation “salute (respectfully)”, saving “to praise” for G *aṇuśaśidava* (r.28.2).¹³⁸ G *ahivadidave* = **abhivādītavya*~ for *abhi-vādya*~ is used analogously to *paribhaśidave* (4r.24.2: *kahati paribhaśidave codidave ca* vs. 4v.03.2: *kahati ahivadidave kahati codidave*). In P texts *abhivadati* in the sense of “salute, greet” is always used in combination

134 The glyph (in BL1r.42) looks like a combination of *ju* and *jo* having both, a circle at the bottom and a diagonal stroke to the left.

135 BC2 6C'.24a: [...] *juhosvia kamaḡaṇa* [...]; 5C'B'.2: [...] *kamaṇi juhosviani* [...].

136 Cf. BHSD s.v. *jugupsana*, PTSD s.v. *jigucchati*.

137 Cf. DhP-G^k 321: *ahivadaṇa* = *abhivādana* (DhP 108 “respectful salutation, reverence”).

138 A more neutral translation of *abhi* √*vad* is “to declare” (MW, PTSD).

with *abhinandati*,¹³⁹ which may have been written in respect to the succeeding *aṅagada*.

4r.24.2 *aṅagada ṅa [a] .[i] ? ? dave* = *aṅagada ṅa [abhi](*ṅadi)dave*. Due to the distortion of different parts of the manuscript, fragment 1r.L could not be rearranged perfectly in the general reconstruction in such a way that both sides were able to be attached to the fragments next to it. In the fig. below fragment L is now located a little further to the left to demonstrate how the remaining traces of ink on the surrounding fragments have been rearranged relative to each other. Still, the gap and remnants of the letters do not make it easy to tell which verb is meant here. Due to the context, G *abhiṅadi-dave* = *abhinanditavya*~ (“to be rejoiced at, be delighted with (acc.), welcome, praise, applaud, approve”) may be possible to reconstruct (cf. Nid-G¹2/BL9 “look forward to” and EĀ-G/BL12 “rejoice”), although the expected form of *ṅa* does not match the remaining traces perfectly. Furthermore, G *ahi*° should be expected as in other spellings of OIA *abhi-* throughout BC4, but *hi* is definitely excluded due to the still visible parts of the akṣara. The parallel sentence on the verso (4v.03.1, see fig.) is not very well preserved either, but can quite safely be transcribed as *aṅagad[e] ca [śpadi]mo [ahi]ga[kṣidave]*. It clearly uses another verb, even though in a similar meaning (√*abhikāṅkṣ* / P *abhikankhati* “to long for, desire after, wish for”, cf. text notes on p. 177).



4r.24.2 *aṅagada ṅa [a] .[i] ? ? dave*
= *aṅagada ṅa [abhi](*ṅadi)dave*

4v.03.1 *aṅagad[e] ca [śpadi]mo [ahi]ga[kṣidave]*

4r.24.2 *tri-[koḍ]i*. In the BHSD s.v. *trikoṭi* this term is, among others, listed as “three alternatives” or more generally as “three points”. According to the PTSD *koṭi* is also known as a “division of time, with reference either to the past or the future”. Although it seems to be limited to two points/ends of time there, i.e. the past and the future, it may not be too farfetched to translate *trikoṭi* here as “three points of time”, referring to the aforementioned past, present, and future¹⁴⁰ – or probably also to “three times a day/at night” (cf. the ‘General discussion’ on p. 270).

139 Cf. PTSD s.v. *abhivadati*.

140 Cf. RĀC 1.70, where the Chinese translation of Paramārtha renders *ādimadhyāvasānāni* as 三際, lit. meaning “three ends”, but the characters are also translated as “three time periods”, “before, between and after” or “past, present and future” according to the DDB (cf. Okada 2006: 61).

4r.24.2 *kahati*. This most likely correspond to BHS *kāhiti* as 3rd sg. future of \sqrt{kr} (cf. BHS § 31.18, Geiger/Norman 2000: 148 §153 (*kāhiti/kāhati*), Pischel 1900 §§ 520, 533, von Hinüber 2001: 299f. §§ 469–470, Oberlies 2001: 244– § 49 (*kāhiti/kāhati*)).¹⁴¹ The future form is translated here in a technical sense as an instruction to the reader or practitioner meaning “one should do (G *kahati*) what is to be admonished/exhorted/saluted”. Thus it would be used similarly to G *kaṭave* in 4r.28.2, in the sense of “apply the formula with regard to ‘*paribhaṣidave/codidave/ahivadi-dave*’”.¹⁴²

r.24.2 [*dum*](**e*) / 4v.04.1 [*du*]*me* = *duve*. For the interchange of *m/v* see p. 145.

4r.25.1 *ṇaṣe / aharae* etc. The spellings of *ṇaṣe* and *aharae* are inconsistent at the beginning of the list («7A2a»): *ṇaṣe*, *ṇa[ṣae]*, *ṇaś[ae]*, *naś[ae]*, *ṇaṣe*, *ṇaṣee* and [*aharae*], [*a*](**hara*)[*e*], *aharae*, *aharae*, (**aharae*), *aharae*. Subsequently («7A2b», «7B1–2»), the ending is consistently *-ea* indicating a 3rd sg. optative (P *-eyya*).¹⁴³ The syntactical construction in combining this with a noun in the genitive is, however, puzzling.¹⁴⁴ In this respect, the endings in «7A2a» would be better understandable as substantives in the dat. sg. (*-āya*) meaning “for (the sake of)”, freely translated as “leading to.../this would lead to...”. To interpret the ending *-ea* analogously is not totally excluded though,¹⁴⁵ and based on this assumption I paraphrased it consistently as “[this would lead to] the destruction/support ...” having in mind the alternative translation “[by this] one would destroy/support ...”. The former is more likely though, since in BC11 this phrase is consistently written as *aharae* and *ṇaṣe* in combination with a genitive, while the 3rd sg. opt. of $\sqrt{naś}$ is written *ṇaṣie[a]* or *ṇaṣeati*. Once (11v.10) *ṇaṣe* is replaced by *prahaṇa*, and once (11v.20) *aharae* is replaced by *padilabhe*, again indicating nouns rather than verbs. Another problem in BC11 is that G *aharae*

141 Cf. also Caillat (1977–78: 103 = 2011: 127) for the discussion of *kariṣyati*.

142 Another alternative translation for G *kahati* was tentatively suggested by Ingo Strauch (June 2013): *kathyate* “the three *koṭis* are told/explained ...”. Or possibly also: “with reference to the three points of time, it has been explained [that they] should be admonished and exhorted” (Blair Silverlock, December 2013).

143 Although G *-ea* can also be 1st sg. opt. (P *-eyyam*), but predominantly *-ea* is 3rd sg. opt, and *-ae* 1st sg. opt, cf. e.g. Salomon 2008a: 151f.

144 For the unexpected use of genitives with miscellaneous verbs cf. BHS § 7.65 and also Salomon 2008a: 282 with reference to Mvu I 376. But none of the given examples is applicable.

145 Cf. Lenz 2003: 74 for the unusual *bhave[a]* = *bhavāya* (as confirmed by parallels). There are no attestations in other Gāndhārī manuscripts edited so far.

appears to be in the same case as G *ṇaṣe* (nom. sg. (?)), suggesting a noun **āhāraya* or maybe also *āhāraka* “taking, seizing, fetching”, which is uncommon. Thus, I am not sure about the exact equivalent and its grammatical status. Possibly both are to be interpreted as dat. sg. In any case, G *aharāe* is opposite to *ṇaṣe* = *nāśa* and thus means “bringing near” or even “nurturing” in so far as the process of “causing something to grow or develop” is denoted.

4r.26.2 (**jagariṇa*) / v.06.1 *jagariṇa*. According to the PTSD *jāgariyā* is especially used in the sense of being cautious of the dangers that are likely to befall one who strives after perfection.

4r.26.2 *mi(*dhaṇa)* / v.06.1 *midhaṇa*. This is one of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) in the Pali Nikāyas, which should be abandoned in order to enter *samādhi* and reach the *jhānas*: *kāmarāga*, *byāpāda*, *thīna-middha*, *uddhacca-kukkucca*, *vicikicchā* (“sense-desire, aversion, sloth and torpor, restlessness, doubt”, cf. e.g. Guistarini 2005: 157). In the Śūramgamasamādhi-sūtra the hindrances to meditation are: *abhidhyā*, *vyāpāda*, *styāna-middha*, *auddhatya-kaukrtya*, *vicikitsā* (“covetousness, animosity, torpor-languor, frivolity-regret, doubt”, cf. Lamotte/Boin Webb 2003: 13). Furthermore, AH 92 states that “[s]leepiness [*middha*] exists only in a desirous mind”.¹⁴⁶

4r.26.2 *lah(*uḥhaṇaṇa)* / v.06.2 *lahuḥhaṇaṇa*. In Pali texts this term only occurs in phrases like *appābādhaṃ appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ* and not in combination with P *ālassa* / *ālasīya* (Skt. *ālasya*), e.g. Visuddhimagga.¹⁴⁷

*ayaṃ pana ānisaṃso appābādhatā appātaṅkatā lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāro
anātirittapaccayā anāpatti rasataṅhāvinodanaṃ appicchatādīnaṃ anulomavuttitāti*

The benefits are these. He has little affliction and little sickness; he has lightness, strength, and a happy life; there is no contravening [rules] about food that is not what is left over from a meal; craving for tastes is eliminated; his life conforms to the [principles of] fewness of wishes, and so on (Ñāṇamoli 2011: 65).

146 Willemsen 2006: 106f.: “because a sleepy mind is closed, sleepiness exists only in the realm of desire in the mental stage. It is associated with all afflictions of the realm of desire. All afflictions proceed at the moment of sleepiness” (fn. 162 to “closed”: “*abhisamkṣipta*? This would be a view held by the masters in Gandhāra. Kośa VII 18”).

147 Vism 69, Vism(W) 56 (Dhutaṅganiddeso, Ekāsanikaṅgākathā). The commentary (Paramatthamañjūsā) annotates *lahuṭṭhāna* as being especially the lightness and flexibility of the body: *appābādhatā ti arogatā. appātaṅkatā ti akicchajīvītā sarīradukakhābhāvo. lahuṭṭhānaṃ ti kāyassa lahuparivattitā. balaṃ ti sarīrabalaṃ. phāsuvihāro ti sukhavihāro.*

Likewise in Sanskrit texts the formulation is as follows:¹⁴⁸

... *bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā alpābādhatāṃ pṛcchanti, alpātāṅkatāṃ ca laghūthānatāṃ ca yātrāṃ ca balaṃ ca sukhaṃ cānavadyatāṃ ca sparśavihāratāṃ ca*

Cf. also de La Vallée Poussin 1909: 345, where he discusses the term briefly (with reference to the Saddhp, Divy, and Mvy). In the commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra it is explained as being physically alert, so that one is able to get up quickly even during the night (ed. Vaidya 1960d: 75, referring to Bca 5.96 *laghutthānaḥ śīghram evottiṣṭhet*).

4r.27.1 [*k]içaṇa ... a[k]içaṇa] / v.06.2f. [*ki]çaṇa ... aḡiçaṇa*. Very basically, this encompasses everything which “ought to be done” and what “ought not to be done” as it is stated e.g. in the Dhp 292 (tr. Müller 1881):¹⁴⁹*

*yaṃ hi kiccaṃ tadapaviddhaṃ akiccaṃ pana kayirati
unnalānaṃ pamattānaṃ teṣaṃ vaḍḍhanti āsavā.*

What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done;
the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing

In Sn 715 *kiccākicca* is glossed as *kusalākusala* in the commentary (cf. Nyanaponika 1955: 301). But it has to be added, that here both *kicca* and *akicca* are something one should generally give up in order to abandon every desire in the shape of hope or expectation.¹⁵⁰

In the Mahāyāna context, the *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna* (“the knowledge of the carrying out of duty”) is one of the five knowledges of a tathāgata. These are:

*ādarśanañānam, samatājñānam, pratyavekṣaṇājñānam,
kṛtyānuṣṭhānañānam, suviśuddhadharmadhātuñānaṃ ceti*¹⁵¹

mirror-like knowledge, knowledge of equality, knowledge of discernment,
knowledge of the carrying out of duty, knowledge of the perfectly pure *dharmadhātu*.

148 Avadānaśataka (Avś 57, ed. Speyer 1906–1909, vol. I; ed. Vaidya 1958b: 145). Similarly Vinayavastu, Saṅghabhedavastu, abbr. in Divyāvadāna. Kāraṇḍavyūha: *pṛcchaty alpābādhatāṃ ca alpātāṅkatāṃ ca laghūthānatāṃ ca sukhasparśavihāratāṃ ca*. Moreover: Bodhicaryāvatāra or similarly Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra: *nāthanirvāṇaśāyāvachchayītepsitayā diśā / samprajānaṃ llaghūthānaḥ prāgavaśyaṃ niyogataḥ* (Bca 5.96).

149 Dhp-G^K 339 (Brough 1962): *ya kica ta a ... [ki]yadi / unaḍaṇa prama(*taṇa) ... asava teṣa vaḍḍhadi ara te asavaḡsa(*ya)*.

150 Sn 715, tr. by Norman (1992: 81): “In whom there is no craving, in the bhikkhu who has cut across the stream, (and) has given up what is to be done and what is not to be done, no fever is found.”

151 Dhsg 94. Cf. also RSt 175: *tathā coktam ārya buddhabhūmisūtre- “pañcabhir ākārāiḥ susamudītabuddhabhūmeḥ saṅgraho veditavyaḥ / katamāiḥ pañcabhiḥ? dharmadhātuviśuddhayā ādarśajñānena samatājñānena pratyavekṣaṇājñānena kṛtyānuṣṭhānañānena ca” iti*, and in the same sequence Mvy 110–114.

The first four are listed in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra regarding the knowledges of a buddha (*buddhajñāna*), where it is translated as “accomplishment of action”.¹⁵²

9.67 “Ideal knowledge of the mirror is immobile; three knowledges have it as their support: equality of thought, of accomplishment and of action.” Commentary: “The Buddha have four-fold knowledges: of mirror, of equality, of accomplishment, of action. The knowledge of the mirror is immobile; the three others are founded on it are mobile.”

9.74 “In all the *dhātus*, the knowledge of accomplishment of action, the metamorphosis which is amazing, beyond limit and beyond reflection, is the *artha* of all the creatures.” Commentary: “The knowledge of accomplishment of actions is by the metamorphosis in different ways, beyond measure and beyond reflection, in all the *dhātus*, is for the *artha* of beings.”

The *kṛtya* are hence the actions which are to be performed for the benefit of all beings. Altogether, a buddha has to understand the Dharma / the ultimate truth (*ādarśa*), regard everyone as equal to oneself (*samatā*), consider everything thoroughly and without doubt (*pratyavekṣā*), and teach it to other beings according to their needs (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna*) (cf. Msa 9.76). That means, the *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna* is the (all-accomplishing) wisdom, by which a tathāgata knows how to benefit all beings in order to help them on their way to awakening.

4r.27.1 [*karmaṇa*] / v.07.1 *karmaṇa*. On the one hand, *karman* is the execution of an action (activity). On the other hand, it is the result or consequence of this action. In a sequence with G *kica* it might denote the actual activities done with one’s body, voice, or mind.¹⁵³ The *karman* as an action of a bodhisattva recalls the title of T1485, “The Sūtra of the Garland of a Bodhisattva’s Primary Karmas”, which exclusively deals with the bodhisattva-*śīla*.

152 Msa 9.67: *ādarśajñānam acalaṃ trayajñānaṃ tadāśritam | samatāpratyavekṣāyāṃ kṛtyānuṣṭhāna eva ca || caturvidhaṃ buddhānāṃ jñānam ādarśajñānaṃ samatājñānaṃ pratyavekṣājñānaṃ kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānaṃ ca | ādarśajñānam acalaṃ trīṇi jñānāni tadāśritāni calāni |*
Msa 9.74: *kṛtyānuṣṭhānatājñānaṃ nirmāṇaiḥ sarvadhātuṣu | citrāprameyācintyaiś ca sarvasattvārthakārakam || kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānaṃ sarvalokadhātuṣu nirmāṇair nānāprakārair aprameyair acintyaiś ca sarvasattvārthakam |* (ed. and tr. Limaye 1992: 139, 142).

153 Cf. DDB s.v. 三業 (“three activities”): “The three karmas, or three modes of activities of word 口業, thought 意業, and deed 身業. Also written 身語心. (Skt. *trīṇi-karmāṇi*, *trividha-dvāra*)”. But cf. also DDB s.v. 五業 (“five kinds of karma”): “There are various lists throughout the canon. One, given in the *Liang Translation of the Compendium of the Great Vehicle* is: Taking the salvation of sentient beings from calamities [...], from the evil destinies [...], from unskillful means [...], from reified views [...], and through the various vehicles as one’s occupation [攝大乘論釋 T 1595.31.264b18]”. And DDB s.v. 三時業 (“three times of karma”): “The three stages of karma — in the present life because of present deeds [...]; in the next life because of present actions [...]; and in future lives because of present actions [...] (Skt. *trīṇikarmāṇi*; Tib. *las gsum*). [瑜伽論 T 1579.30.323a20]”.

4r.27.2 [*śpr*]iṣaṇaṇa / v.07.2 [*śpri*]ṣaṇaṇa. This is equivalent to *sparśana*~ / BHS *spṛśa*-*na*~ / P *phusana*~ “touch, contact”. In other Gāndhārī documents initial *spṛ*- appears as *ph*-: *phuṣita* = *spṛṣtvā*/BHS *spṛṣitvā*/P *phusitvā* (BL12r.54 / EĀ-G, Allon 2001: 94) and *phaṣea* = *spṛṣeyam* (**śp*arseyam) (BL1r.21 / AG-G^L 16, Salomon 2008a: 123 and 125).¹⁵⁴ The Gāndhārī reflex *śpr* is attested once in RS5: *pa[śpru]ṣa*, although in medial position, corresponding to *phupphusa* / BHS *phuṣphasa* = P *papphāsa* “lungs” (cf. Glass 2007: 158 for variant forms).¹⁵⁵

In BC4, the emphasis should be laid on “touch” as a “pleasant/unpleasant feeling” or “comfort/discomfort” similar to “health and sickness”,¹⁵⁶ which are the next items in the list.¹⁵⁷

4r.28.2 *maja ṇisamartha sarvatra i[thu] kaṭave*. This signifies an exegetical instruction to the reader that in every case it has to be done/executed “thus”. What exactly *sarvatra* refers to is open to discussion. It could be (A) missing terms like *dukhe/aśuha* (e.g. *akuśala*) resulting in *maja ṇisamartha purve*___ *paṅcā* ____. In this it would be similar to other instructions like *pialo*, whereby *pialo* is the abbreviation of textual material and *kaṭave* the abbreviation of a procedure (such as a list).¹⁵⁸ Or it could be (B) an explanation of the abbreviation *maja ṇisamartha* within the text that should be extended in this manner (i.e. “each time you come across this read: *maje ca ṇisamarthe purve dukhe paṅcā dukhe, maje ca ṇisamarthe purve aśuha paṅcā aśuha*”).

G *ithu* here is an indeclinable (*ittham* / vedic *itthā* / P *ittham*¹⁵⁹) in the meaning “thus”, while G *ithumi* later on seems to refer to “here, in this world” (vedic *ittha*; cf. BHS *ittha-tva*; P *ittha-tta* / *bhāva*¹⁶⁰ → *iha(loka)* / P *idha(loka)*). Hence, the confusion between P *ittha* and *ittham* (cf. PTSD s.v. *itthatta*) seems to be avoided in our text by having different endings (cf. the text notes on 4v.08.2 *ithumi* on p. 180).

154 Cf. also G *phaṭiṣ[u]* = **asphaṭṭū* (BL1r.37 / AG-G^L 27, Salomon 2008a: 125).

155 BHSD s.v. *phuṣphasa* gives the spellings: *phaphasa*, *phuṣphuṣa*, *phuṣphuṣa* (Skt. and Pkt. *phupphusa*).

156 Cf. MW s.v. *sparśa*. Also BSHD s.v. *sparśavihāratā* “state of comfort, agreeable condition” and s.v. *asparśavihāra* “discomfort” with reference to “AsP 253.9 *na cāsyā asparśavihāra amanaāpaḥ kaye utpadyeta*”.

157 Esp. in combination with *-vihāra* it means the state of “comfort” or “ease” (according to the PTSD s.v. *phāsu*) synonym to *sukha* (*-vihāra*), e.g. *yathāsukhaṃ yathāphāsu* (cf. BHSD s.v. *phāsu*).

158 Thanks to Stefan Baums for pointing this out.

159 Also P *ittham-nāṃa*. In the Niya documents it is written *iṃthu* besides 3x *iṃthuami* (“so”, Burrow 1937: 41 §91). BC7: *ithuami* (“in this way”, Strauch, publication in progress).

160 Interestingly, we have the scribal error *iṃthā-bh(āva)* for *ittham-bhāva* (“das Sosein; Existenz in dieser Form”, opp. of *anyathā-bhāva*) in the Turfan fragments (cf. SWTF s.v. *iṃthā-bh(āva)*).

4r.28.2 *śeṣae patade hi*. The first could be a dat. or loc. sg. of *śeṣa* / P *sesa* (m./n., “remainder”). In the case of a locative we would expect the Gāndhārī form *śeṣe*, but the loc. sg. ending *-ae* for words ending in *a* is prevalent, at least in epigraphic sources (Falk, personal communication). The following *patade* seems to go back to **patta-* (“back, behind, after”), which is peculiar to the northwest of India (cf. CDIAL s.v. **patta*⁽²⁾). In Niya similarly *patama* is used (adv., “back”, Burrow 1937: 103 §91).¹⁶¹ The same combination with *śeṣa* is documented in BC6: *śeṣapatade likhidae*. Ingo Strauch seems to have taken *-patade* as some kind of reference to a manuscript (*pattra*),¹⁶² but it most probably means the same as in BC4, since both these phrases are written in the last line of the recto side of the scroll. In BC6 nothing is written afterwards, in BC4 an injunction about what is to be done with the rest (*vi-varyaena matra ca ida[ra] ca a[hi](*va)[d](*i)[dava ca] yaṣa-bhuda-aṇuśaś[ena] ca aṇuśaśidava palaśpidava ca*) is added as an additional insertion exactly before *śeṣae patade hi*. Both samples can be translated as “for the remainder ... on the reverse [side of the scroll] ...”.

4r.28.2 *vivaryaena*. Literally, this means “by the opposite”, akin to *viparyāye*, *-yena* and *-yāt* (ind.) “in the opposite case, otherwise”. In combination with a gerundive it is often used in Pali commentaries to express that the opposite of the situations/conditions just expressed should be known. Often the “white half”, i.e. the good alternative, is implied here, e.g.: *vuttavipariyāyena sukkapakkho veditabbo*.¹⁶³ In combination with P *sesa*, the formulation is for example: *sesaṃ vuttavipariyāyena veditabbaṃ*.¹⁶⁴

4r.28.2 *matra ca ida[ra] ca*. This is repeated several times, whereby G *matra* is referring to *sata aloa*, and *idara* to *aṣatia* and *aloṇea*. With *mātra* in the meaning of “consisting of, measuring, numbering...” or “the full or simple measure of anything” (MW) it is understood as “the quantity [of seven *aloe*] and the other [*aṣatia aloṇea*]”.

161 Unlikely, it may also be derived from *prānta* (“edge, border”, *prāntatas* “along the border”), but the postconsonantal *r* should be retained.

162 Strauch (2008: 10): “It reads: *śeṣapatade likhidae* ‘This was written from the remaining manuscript’. Possibly, fr. 6 is a copy of another scroll. Cf. below 4.2.2.”

163 Vism 427, Vism(W) 361.

164 Ganthārambhakathā (khuddakanikāye itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā) or Sammohavinodanī (abhidhamma-piṭake vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā). Likewise: *sesaṃ yonisomanasikāre vuttavipariyāyena veditabba* (Ganthārambhakathāvaṇṇanā, majjhimanikāye mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā), *sesaṃ vipattiyāṃ vuttavipariyāyena veditabbaṃ* (dīghanikāye sīlakkhandhavaggaabhinavaṭīkā), *sesagāthādvayassa vuttavipariyāyena attho veditabbo* (Paramatthadīpanī, khuddakanikāye theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā).

4r.28.2 *palaśpidava*. The Kharoṣṭhī sign which is transcribed as *śp* is written for OIA *śp*, *śm*, *śv*, *śp*, *śm*, *sm*, *sv*, *pph* or *ps* in different Gāndhārī manuscripts, in BC4/11 *sv(a)*, *sp(r)* and *sm(r)* are documented (cf. chapter on phonology). G *pala-* should correspond to *pālā-*, since *r* and *l* remain usually unchanged (Salomon 2000: 86, Allon 2001: 86).¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, G *pali-* for *pari-* is attested in some Gāndhārī textual sources, if we take into consideration that the vowel was “forgotten”.¹⁶⁶ Since it is always written *pala°* in BC4 (*palaśpidava* (2x), *palaśpidave*, *palaśpada*), this is not likely. Also, there is yet no case of G *pala-* = *pārā-* in any text. Thus, most probably it should be a derivation from Skt. $\sqrt{pāl}$, maybe in combination with $\sqrt{smṛ}$, in the sense of “to be guarded, protected, maintained”, as it is opposed to G *varjīdava*, “to be avoided”, in 4r.24.1 / 4v.02.1. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of *śp* = *y*, and also the letter as such cannot be mistaken for *y*, which makes *palaśpidava* = *pālayi-tavya~* unjustified.

4v.01.2 *picara* = *pratyarham*. Hitherto this Gāndhārī word was only known from the Niya documents¹⁶⁷ and tentatively equated to *pratyarha* “worthy” occurring in Buddhist texts within the compound *yathā-pratyarha* “according to deserts, according to merit” (*yathārha*, cf. BHSD s.v. *pratyarha*, MW s.v. *yathā-pratyarham*). Since in BC4 *yaśa-bhuda-picara* is written, the suggestion made by Thomas is highly likely to be correct, and it can be translated as “according to merit, which accords with the truth”. Because all other instances of G *yaśa-bhuda* are in the instr. sg., translated as “on account of”, a consistent translation as “on account of merit, which accords with the truth” has been chosen.

165 One exception is G *saleloa* = Skt. / P *saroruha* (BL16, Lenz 2003: 42).

166 The examples are: BL9 *palikhāida* = *parīkṣita~* / P *parikkhita~*, Hirayama fragment 8 *palikṣivīśa-ti* (*palikṣivīva*) = fut. of *parikṣipati* / P *parikkhipa*, Mathura Lion Capital *palichina* = *paricchinna* / P *paricchinna*).

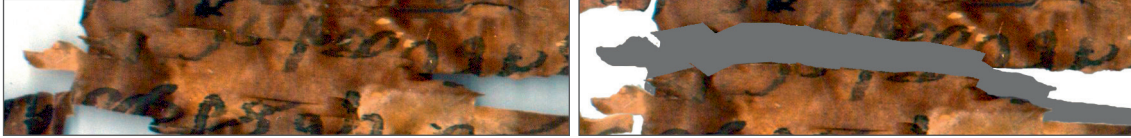
167 Niya #288: *tehi picara syati* “will be worthy of you”, also #107. Thomas (1934: 66): “*picara* = *pratyarha*. As regards the form, cf. *picavidavo* = *pratyarpitavya*; [...] compare Mahāvastu (Senart), I, 143.5, *pratyaraha-saukhya*, “qui a un bonheur proportionné à son mérite.” Thomas 1936: 792f.: “*pratyarha-saukhya* ‘happiness according to desert’. But the loss of *r* seen in *pic(c)ara* < *pric(c)ara* requires consideration. [...] in the case of *pic(c)ara* it seems reasonable to admit a dissimulative influence of the following *r* [...]” Burrow 1937: 104 (referring to Thomas 1934: 66 and 1936: 792): “There are considerable phonetic difficulties in the way of this etymology. *prati-* in this dialect is represented by *paḍi-* [= *paḍi-*] or *prati-* but never by *pati-*. Nor is there any reason why the *a* of the first syllable should be changed to *i*.” For the loss of *-r-* cf. the contracted P form *pacca-* instead of *paṭi-* before *a°*, thus *prati+arha* > P **pacca+araha* → **paccāraha* and G **pica+araha* → *picara*, while either the final *-ha* has been dropped or *arha* has been rendered to *ara* instead of inserting an epenthetic vowel.

4v.02.2 *ṣaṣadaeṇa*. This might allude to a group of six, a “six-ness” (**ṣaṣatā*). The only group of six which comes to mind are the six *pāramitās*, but it is not clear if this makes sense in this context (*pracupaṇe ca ṣaṣadaeṇa matro ca idaro ca paribhujidave*), to the extent that the Gāndhārī terms *aloa* and *aloṇea* to which *matro* and *idaro* refer, are not satisfyingly defined. Furthermore, “six-ness” should be rendered *ṣaṭ-tā* in Sanskrit¹⁶⁸ and **ṣaṭa* in Gāndhārī, but maybe a glide-vowel (**ṣaṣa-tā* > **ṣaṣada*) was inserted. Alternatively, Stefan Baums (April 2013) has suggested *śāśvata* / P *sassata* or *śāśvatika* “eternal, permanent” as equivalents, but this would still presume an unusual development *ś-* > *ṣ-*. In other Gāndhārī manuscripts, *śāśvata* is written as *śaśvata* (BL20, BL29), *śaśvada* (Dhp-G^K), *-śa[śada]* (BL20), *[śa]śada-* (BL4), or *saspada-* / *saspado* = *śāśvataḥ* (BL9). In the two ‘Wardak vases’ G *śaśvetiga* / *śaśvatiga* stands for *saṃsvedika* / P *saṃsedika* “sweat-born” but, according to Harry Falk, G *śaśvatiga* must have been a misconception “deriving *saṃsedika* from *śaśvat*, ‘eternal’, with a derivative *śāśvatika*, ‘eternal creature’, with an ‘erratic’ *e* preserved in W1 and dropped in W2” (Falk 2008: 73). In BC2 *ṣa[ṣa]to* is documented, but the context is yet unclear. So, for the time being, I assume an unusual *śāśvatikena* in BC4, and correspondingly in BC11 (r.11) G *ṣaṣadae* = *śāśvatāya* / P *sassatāya* (dat. sg.), both in the meaning “forever, incessant(ly), eternal(ly), constant(ly)”. In view of this parallel, we might also have to separate *ṣaṣadae ṇa* in BC4 resulting in *ṣaṣadae ṇa matro ca idaro ca* “for evermore not only the quantity [of seven] but also the other is to be enjoyed”. But cf. r.28.1f. *śeṣae patade hi vivaryaṇa matra ca ida[ra] ca a[hi](*va)[d](*i)[dava ca]* where the *ṇa* before *matra* more likely belongs to the preceding word.

4v.03.1 *[ahi]ga[kṣidave]*. This should correspond to *abhikāṅkṣitavya~* / P *abhikankhitabba~* from *abhi* √ *kāṅkṣ* “to long for, desire”, or in a more neutral translation “to hope for, expect, await”, especially based on the reconstruction of G *abhiṇadidave* in the parallel section in «7A1». So far, *abhighakṣadu*, *[abhi]ghakṣada*, *agakṣaṇa*, *agakṣamaṇa*°, *agakṣami*, *asu[ga]kṣi.u*, and *[paḍigakṣi]dava* / (**pa*)[ḍi]gākṣida[vo] are attested in other Gāndhārī documents. Despite this satisfying reconstruction, it should be mentioned that the first letter slightly looks like an initial *u*, the second could as well be an *a* and *kṣi* could also be *ji*, resulting in an alternative reading *uagajidave*, which might be derived from *upa* √ *gam* “approach” → **upagacchitavya~* for

168 Cf. also *ṣaṭṭaya* “in six ways” (MW).

upagamitavya~ (cf. PP-G *gacheśati* for *gamiṣyati*, Falk/Karashima 2013: 148). But the strips of the birch bark are overlapping here and the graphical reconstruction is difficult.



4v.03.1 [*śpati*]mo [*ahi*]ga[*kṣidave*] (in the original scan and in the reconstructed state).

4v.04.1 *moyea*. In analogy to the consistent translation of *ṇaśea* and *aharea* as dat. sg. (cf. p. 170), this is translated like *mocāya* from the root-noun *moca*, “delivery, release, setting free”, as a less frequent synonym to *mocana* (cf. PTSD s.v. *moca*).¹⁶⁹ Merely phonologically, *mocayet* / P *moceyya* (caus. 3rd sg. opt.)¹⁷⁰ “to let loose, free one’s self, escape from (rarely with gen.)” is more convincing though.¹⁷¹ It is assumed that also the scribe of the manuscript might have been confused in regard to *ṇaśea* and *aharea* either to be understood as nouns or as verbal forms. Or, more probably, these orthographic variants point to the weakening of final vowels, representing a levelling in pronunciation. Luckily, all these variations essentially mean the same and it is rather a matter of style.

4v.04.1f. *triṇa* [*kama*]-*pra*[*muha*]-*aśapuru*[*śa*]ṇa. The reconstruction of G *kama* is uncertain, but highly likely. It stands in contrast to G *triṇa* *budha*-*pramuha*-*sapuruśaṇa*. If we assume a person opposed to the Buddha, we would think of Māra, for whom an epithet like P *kaṇha* would be suitable. But normally, P *kaṇha* does not correspond to G **kaha* but to G *kriṣa* (= *kṛṣṇa*) which cannot be reconstructed here. Since Māra is more or less a personification of desire, passion and longing (*kāma*), which is one of the central topics in this text, the reading as [*kama*] may be justified.¹⁷²



169 Cf. also PTSD s.v. *mocaya* “(adj.) [quāsi grd. formation fr. *moceti*] to be freed, able to escape”.

170 Cf. *mujea*, 3rd sg. opt., DhP-G^k 11 (DhP 389: *mūñcetha*, Shukla 1979: *mucceya*).

171 Additionally, if *ṇaśea* / *aharea* are to be taken as verbal forms, another possible equivalent for G *moyea* is *mocakaḥ* “one who has abandoned all worldly passions and desires would ...”.

172 Cf. Buddhac 13.2 *yaṃ kāmadevaṃ pravadaṅti loke citrāyudhaṃ puṣpaśaraṃ tathaiva / kāmapracārādhipatiṃ tam eva mokṣadviṣaṃ māraṃ udāharanti* (“He whom they call in the world Kāmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the lord of the course of desire, – it is he whom they also style Māra the enemy of liberation.”, tr. Cowell 1894: 138).

4v.04.2f. *saṃsa[ra] {[ra]}-badhaṇaṇa*. The last akṣara in v.04.2 has to be *ra*. However, the first akṣara in v.05.1 also looks like a *ra*. Hence, the writer would have repeated the same letter erroneously (dittography). If we dissolve the compound (*saṃsara-badhana*) as a gen.-
tatpuruṣa one could expect G
saṃsarasa badhaṇa. Since the
 upper half of the letters *sa/ra*



can look very similar, this is not as such excluded, but on average the letter in question is more likely to be a *ra*, as the upper stroke is rather horizontal, and therefore it is transcribed as such here.

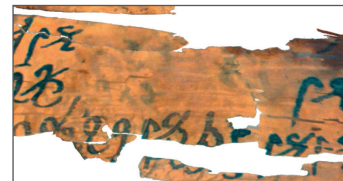
Some parallels to the term *saṃsāra-bandhana* are:¹⁷³

*saṃsārabandhanaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ laukikaṃ viśavad vacaḥ /
 tṛṣṇārataḥ sadā puṇyānmucyateṭi suniścitaṃ // Dh-sam 12.55*

*jātijarāmaranaduḥkhakṣaye saṃsārabandhana vimokṣayitum /
 caritum viśuddhagamāntasamaṃ so śuddhasattvamanubandhayatām // Lal 5.32*

The fetters are the *kleśas* / P *kilesas* (“defilements”) as explained e.g. by Ud-a 372: *sabba-kilesābhisankhāra-bandhanā*, “the fetters due to accumulation of all defilements”. They are the (origin of the) cause for *saṃsāra* (e.g. Nett 113 *kammaṃ kilesā hetu saṃsārassa*, “with action and defilements [as] the roundabout’s cause”, cf. Nett 191 “cause is twofold as action and as defilements; defilements are origin”, tr. Ñāṇamoli 1962).

4v.06.2 In line v.06.2 and v.07.2 the scribe left a gap of about seven akṣaras, presumably due to the condition of the surface of the birch bark. There is no knothole though, and it is not clear why he did not continue the line.



173 Cf. also *bandhanā-mokkha* in M I 276: *evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhu yathā iṇaṃ yathā rogaṃ yathā bandhanāgāraṃ yathā dāsavyaṃ yathā kantāraddhānamaggaṃ ime pañca nīvaraṇe appahīne attani samanupassati. seyyathā pi, bhikkhave, ānaṃyaṃ yathā ārogyaṃ yathā bandhanā-mokkhaṃ yathā bhujissaṃ yathā khemanta-bhūmiṃ (= D I 73, cf. PTSD s.v. mokkha), “So, too, bhikkhus, when these five hindrances are unabandoned in himself, a bhikkhu sees them respectively as a debt, a disease, a prison house, slavery, and a road across a desert. But when these five hindrances have been abandoned in himself, he sees that as freedom from debt, healthiness, release from prison, freedom from slavery, and a land of safety” (Bodhi 2005: 367).*

4v.08.1f. *do*(*ṣaṇa). This stands in opposition to G *sapati*. Normally (in this text) we would expect G *droaca* as the counterpart to *sapati*. Once (4r.14.2) it is also G *duhe*. The first letter here is, however, clearly *do*, and what is left of the next akṣara matches more to a ṣa than an *a*. Further arguments supporting this interpretation are evident in the closeness of the two words in the following phrases elsewhere in the text: BC4 *sva-doṣehi sva-droacehi* (r.24.1); BC11 *avarimaṇaṇa doṣaṇa avarimaṇaṇa droacaṇa ṇaṣe* (v.05). Therefore *doṣaṇa* is more probable than the assumption of a scribal mistake, even though the expected counterpart would be *aṇuśaśe* and not *sapati*, since the pairs are *doṣa* and *aṇuśaśa* and *droaca* and *sapati* (cf. p. 167 for the evidence in BC4, cf. also v.05 in BC11).

4v.08.1 *do*(*ṣa) 4v.08.2 (*ṇa ṇa)ṣ[e]ṇa4r.24.1 *sva-doṣehi* ...

4v.08.2–09.1 [*ithumi*] *ohoro* ... (**o*)*h[o]r[o]* / v.09.2–10.1 *ithumi ohoro* ... [*o*](**ho*)*ro* / v.12.2 [*ithu*]*[mi]* *hu[ra]hu*. For *ithumi* there are similar spellings in other (not yet published) Gāndhārī manuscripts. Thus, in BC7 (Karmavācanā formulae) it is written *ithuami* (loc. sg.), corresponding to *ittham* “in this way”, or also *ithuṇamo* = *itthaṇnāma* “N.N.”. It also seems to stand for “thus” in RS22 (*ithuami*); in BC18 it is written *ithumi* like in BC4, but the context is not yet clear. There is, however, a second meaning to *ittha* denoting “here, in this world, in this existence” (Vedic *ittha*), more often written *idha* in Pali or Buddhist Sanskrit texts in the phrase *idha vā huram vā* “here or there; in this world or the next”. As such it is documented in DhPK 191 = DhP 20 (*idha va horo va* = BHS, ed. Shukla 1979: *iha vā hure vā*); and similarly in DhPK 91 = DhP 334 (**hora*)*[h]oru* stands for BHS/P *hurāhuraṃ* “from existence to existence”.¹⁷⁴ In BC4 now, *ithumi* occurs twice side by side with *ohoro*, twice alone (though in a sentence with *ithumi* at the beginning), and once together with *hu[ra]hu*. It seems therefore highly likely that it is to be understood as “here (in this life)”,

174 According to the PTSD the adverb *huraṃ* is of uncertain origin. For attempted explanations cf. Norman 1969: 42 and 189, where he discusses *hurāhuraṃ* in Th 1.399 = DhP 334. One commentary, DhP-a IV 44, gives *bhave bhava* for *hurāhuraṃ*; a commentary on Ud 37, Ud-a 237, circumscribes it with *aparāparaṃ* or *idha-loka-paralokato*. The commentary on Th 1.10 *idha vā huraṃ vā* explains: *idhā ti, imasmim loke attabhāve vā. huraṇ ti, parasmim anāgate attabhāve vā. idhā ti vā ajjhattikesu āyatanesu. huraṇ ti, bāhiresu* (cf. Norman 1969: 121). Thus *hura* principally means anything “over there (outside)”, i.e. “not here (inside)”, which can be translated as “there” or “in next life” depending on the context. In this respect Th 1.399 is a nice play on words, describing a monkey jumping “here and there / hither and yon” from limb to limb searching for tasty fruits just like a human jumping from existence to existence searchig in vain for satisfaction.

while *ohoro* stands for “there, in the next life” and *hu[ra]hu* for “from existence to existence” (thus probably *-ro* is to be added: *hu[ra]hu(*ro)*). The precise phonological development, however, is difficult to explain; perhaps G *ohoro* stands for *vā huram̐* (*vā*), or the prefix *o-* has to remain unexplained.¹⁷⁵ It might also be considered whether G *ohoro* corresponds to *hurāhuraṃ* and not only *huraṃ*, even though it is written *ohoro* four times and only once *hurahu* (and even then we have to reconstruct the last akṣara). A possible explanation then could be a development *hurahu* > **oroho* (equivalence of *u/o* and *ā/o* together with the elision/dropping of initial *h* [cf. *atha khalu* > *asa ho* > *asa o* in RS5]) > *ohoro* (metathesis). While the first step might be accepted, the combination with the second one seems implausible. However, a similar kind of metathesis can be observed in BC11 in the spelling *saya[visa]* instead of *sayaṣavi*. Moreover, especially the metathesis involving the switching of a liquid *r* and an adjacent syllable is a widely attested phenomenon in MIA languages (cf. Geiger/Norman 2000: 38 § 47.2). Examples in Gāndhārī are: *maduru* = *mārutah*, *aparado* = *alpataram*, *jabodaṇaseva* = *jāmbūnadaṣya iva* (Dhp-G^k, Brough 1962: 105); *uraḍo* = *uḷāro* (Khvs-G 32), *koviraḍo* = *kovidāraḥ* (Khvs-G 19; Salomon 2000: 92); *paladiputr(*e)* = *pāṭaliputre* (BL 16+25, Lenz 2003: 133). If we choose to accept that G *hurahu* and *ohoro* mean the same (“from existence to existence”, BHS/P *hurāhuraṃ*), we would again have to consider translating *ithumi* as “in this manner” instead of “in this life”.

As regards the context, the phrases *idha vā huram̐ vā* (e.g. SN I.12, Sn 224, 468, 470, 496, 801, Th 1.10, Dhp 20) or *hurāhuraṃ* (e.g. Dhp 334 = Th 1.399, Vism 107) mostly occur in verses about letting go, about the non-grasping either “here” or “there”, the being without desire for treasures “here or there”, “in this world or the next”.¹⁷⁶ Hence quite similar to the overall subject in BC4.

In respect to the occurrence of these phrases in the last paragraph of BC4 that describes the things to be done, it is also tempting to think of *ahorātra* “day and night”

175 Several other suggestions for *ohoro*, like *avahāra* / *ohāra* or *vohāra* for *vyavahāra* appear improbable in terms of the content. Cp. *ohara* in *goṭhaohara* Niya #160: “Perhaps the ‘produce of a farm’, which can be removed (*ava-hṛ*) annually at harvest time” (Brough 1962); *oharaṇaseva* (Dhp-GK 149) / *ohariṇa* (Dhp-GK 170 and also Khvs-G udd2) / *(*o)[ha]rana* (Pelliot 2), which is only tentatively related to *avaharaṇa* / *ohārin* in case of the Dhp-GK (there are no parallel versions to this passage) and to *ohārayitvā* in the case of the Khvs-G.

176 Sn 224: Norman 1992 “here or elsewhere”; Sn 468, 801 “here or in the next world” (alternative tr. for 468 “here or hereafter”); Sn 496 “in this world or the next”; Nyanaponika 1955 “hier und im Jenseits”; Sn 468 Nyanaponika “Hier und Drüben”. Cf. also e.g. Dhp 20 *anupādiyaṇo idha vā huram̐ vā*, tr. by Kaviratna 1994: “jetzt und später an keinen irdischen Besitztümern hängen”.

in relation to the *triskandhaka* ritual (cf. p. 269), which has to be performed three times at day and night. Unfortunately, G *ohoro* = *ahorātram* / P *ahorattaṃ* is even less likely, since it is also written *ahoratra* in DhPK 50. Also, reference is made to “this life and the next” (v.08.1 *sadriṭhia saparaia*) immediately preceding the last section with *ohoro* and *hu[ra]hu*, speaking in favor of the given translation.

4v.11.1 *śpabhavasa* = *svabhāvatā*, “state of intrinsic nature / inherent existence / own-being”.¹⁷⁷ As a matter of fact, something which is / has a *svabhāva*, should have a permanent core, instead of attributes that emerge and disappear as it is suggested here. This intrinsic nature of things is denied by the *prajñāpāramitā* literature, or Mahāyāna adherents in general, but first of all by Nāgārjuna in his Madhyamaka doctrine, which extends the “selflessness” not only to human beings (as in the Śrāvakayāna literature) but to all phenomena (*dharma-nairātmya*). According to that, everything is devoid or empty (*śūnya*) of any kind of *svabhāva*.¹⁷⁸ “This is seen through *prajñā*, analytic understanding” (Williams 2009: 70) and, for the Mādhyamikas, “*śūnyatā* is an exact equivalent of *niḥsvabhāvatā*, absence of *svabhāva*” (Williams 2009: 70 fn. 31). Interestingly, Edgerton (BHSD s.v. *svabhāva*) mentions that *svabhāva* was used in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra “in several peculiar ways”, that is, it is specified by being sevenfold:

(1) *saptavidho bhāva-svabhāvo bhavati, yad uta, samudaya-svabhāvo bhava-sv° lakṣaṇa-sv° mahā-bhūta-sv° hetu-sv° pratyaya-sv° niṣpatti-sv°* Laṅk 39.9–11¹⁷⁹; these are not explained here or elsewhere, and Suzuki has no explanation; (2) three *svabhāva*, mentioned Laṅk 132.4; 227.10; 348.10; and listed 67.2ff. as *parikalpita*, *paratantra*, and *pariniṣpanna* (qq.v.) *sva*^o¹⁸⁰; cf. Suzuki, Studies, 158f. [i.e. Suzuki 1930]; in Mvy 1662-5 and Sūtrāl. xi.38–41 the term is *lakṣana* (3) instead of *svabhāva*; Lévi renders ‘indice’ (‘imaginaire’, ‘du relatif’, and ‘absolu’). For other uses of the term in Laṅk see Suzuki *ibid.* 455ff.”.

Unfortunately, this does not help us to understand the group of seven in BC4. Seven *svabhāvas* are also given in the AAV as the “seven trainings in the knowledge of all

177 Cf. Ronkin 2013 with reference esp. to Gethin 2004: 533 and Cox 2004.

178 Cf. Keown 2004 s.v. *svabhāva*. Also: Williams 2009 (p. 52 for *svabhāva* in PP texts and esp. fn. 18 (on p. 285) regarding *svabhāva* in context of letting-go of everything, p. 63, p. 67–8 for Mādhyamika, p. 93 for Yogācāra, p. 108 for the relation to the Tathāgatagarbha).

179 Suzuki 1932: 35 “there are seven kinds of self-nature: collection (*samudaya*), being (*bhāva*), characteristic marks (*lakṣaṇa*), elements (*mahābhūta*), causality (*hetu*), conditionality (*pratyaya*), and perfection (*niṣpatti*).” Fn. 1: “What is exactly meant by these concepts regarded as self-nature (*svabhāva*) is difficult to define as far as the Laṅkāvatāra is concerned.”. Cf. also Suzuki 1930: 456.

180 Suzuki 1932: 59 “false discrimination, knowledge of relativity, perfect knowledge”; Suzuki 1932: 197 “false imagination, dependence on another, perfect knowledge”.

aspects” (*sarvākārajñātāyāḥ sapta svabhāvāḥ*, commentary on AA 4.31, tr. Brunnhölzl 2011: 56f.). Together with the four trainings in the all-knowledge and the five trainings in the knowledge of the path they constitute the sixteen *svabhāvas*, the “facets of the subject that is the wisdom devoid of reference points” (Brunnhölzl 2011: 57). In this list they are the last seven points, which refer to the “suchness” (*tathatā*; also “groundlessness/emptiness”) as the nature of this training of a bodhisattva.¹⁸¹ This nature of the training is again the last part of a fourfold group of defining characteristics of the training according to the AA (1. knowledge, 2. distinction, 3. activities, 4. nature; Brunnhölzl 2011: 48f., AA 4.13, cf. also Brunnhölzl 2011: 18f. and 308 for an overview of the complete training in all aspects). In this system it is the path of accumulation.¹⁸² Although the context is somewhat the same as in BC4 – defining the training of a bodhisattva with special emphasis on *śūnyatā* as the essential teaching of the *prajñāpāramitā* –, this does not seem to be a direct parallel helping to clarify the meaning of the seven *G aloa/alonea*, which are nonetheless somehow connected with the realization of the non-existence of a *svabhāva*.

4v.12.1 *sati[dehi]*. If we assume **saptitā* (f.), it should be *G satidahi* regularly, though the general shifting to masculine forms in case of cardinal numbers (cf. morphology) may have also affected derivations of them.

4v.12.1 *ṣadasa*. In the Niya documents *ṣada* is used to express “being pleased” (e.g. #157 *ahu suṭha ṣada hudemi* “I am very pleased”, #305 *ṣada bhavidavo* “you will be pleased”, #247 *ṣadosmi* “I am pleased”, #399 *ṣadama* “we are pleased”, #399 *ṣada bhavitavya* “you should be pleased”). The etymology is uncertain, however, (besides showing some Iranian influence)¹⁸³ it could be derived from *śānta* (“appeased,

181 One point (15) in the JNS [the commentary of the Eight Karmapa on the AA] is given as “devoid of arising – coming into existence newly” (Brunnhölzl 2011: 57 fn. 78 on p. 570) which is akin to the statement *te śpabhavaṣa a[t]araṣaiṣati na ca bhuyo upajiṣa[ti]* “the states of inherent existence will disappear and not rise anew” in BC4.

182 “The first temporary result of such training is the mahāyāna path of accumulation, which is called ‘the factors conducive to liberation’ (IV 32–34).” The next path is the path of preparation, followed by the culmination training etc. (cf. Brunnhölzl 2011: 19ff.).

183 Burrow 1937: 126: “*ṣada*: See *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514. There are two alternatives: (1) that it = N.Pers. *šād*, etc. ‘pleased’. If so it is interesting, because the Khotanese Saka is excluded as the dialect from which it was borrowed. They have *tsāta-*; (2) that it is Indian Pali *sāta* ‘pleasant’, *assāta-* ‘unpleasant’, out of *śrāta-*, ‘cooked’, hence ‘sweet’. In view of the prevalence of Iranian influence in the language, the first alternative is probably to be preferred, as being less complicated.” Although phonologically *śṛta* or *śrāta* (“boiled”) would be the expected Sanskrit equivalent for *G ṣada*, this is excluded due to the context.

pacified”) or *śrānta* (“calmed, tranquil”), the second at least being a lexicographically documented variant of *śānta* (cf. MW s.v. *śrānta*), although in its usual sense this word is negatively connotated (“weariest”).¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, *śr-* would explain the retroflex *ṣ-* in *Gāndhārī* (Burrow 1937: 14 §38). Then again, *-nt-* should be written *-t-* in *Kharoṣṭhī*, which is not the case in any of the occurrences. This is why I consider BHS *śāta* / P *sāta* (“pleasant, agreeable; n. pleasantness, pleasure”) as another possibility.

While in BC4 only *ṣadasa* is used, in BC11 it is written as *ṣade/o* nine times and twice as *ṣadimeṇa*, being the instr. sg. from *ṣadima* = **śāntimant* / **śrāntimant* or **śātimant*. Among these choices, *śānti* is of course the most common term denoting tranquillity, peace or calmness of mind. Thus, even though the etymology is not yet entirely clear, the context in BC4/11 is much in line with the translation “pleased” in the *Niya* documents, and I therefore suggest to understand *ṣada* as “pleased” or better “content” in the sense of “satisfied, appeased, tranquil” (if necessary nominalised as “one who is content / pleased / satisfied” in 4v.12.1). G *ṣadima* then can be translated as “possessing contentment / satisfaction” in the absence of passion and desire. Both describe a state of mind abiding in a neutral, satisfied, wishless state of peaceful happiness.¹⁸⁵

4v.12.2 [*pial*]o. BHS *peyālam* / P *peyyālaṃ*, a “repetition, formula”, commonly used adverbially in the meaning of “etc.”, literally “here (follows) the formula (*pariyāya*)” (PTSD). It is also “used where the passage has not occurred before in the text in question, but where presumably its sense is regarded as well-known or obvious, like Eng. ‘et cetera’, SP 424.8, perhaps with connotation ‘in short, in a word’; so in LV 295.21 (vs), the opening words of a series of stanzas, *peyālam eṣa*, ‘this is the story in brief’; similarly LV 314.21 (prose), beginning a résumé of a prec. series of stanzas, *peyālam, evaṃ*, ‘in brief, thus...’” (BHSD s.v. *peyāla*).

4v.12.2 *hu[ra]hu*. Cf. text notes on *ithumi ohoro*, p. 180.

184 Similarly, P *samaṇa* (BHS *śramaṇa*) is said to be derived from \sqrt{sram} (“to be weary, exhausted”) but was often mixed in meaning with $\sqrt{śam}$ (“to be quiet, calm, satisfied, contented”) according to the PTSD s.v. *samaṇa*.

185 Cf. also Cousins 1973: 124 where he translates *sāta* as “delight” in connection to *samādhi* (next to *upekkhā*).

4v.12.2 *sahoro*. Currently translated as “collection” based on Skt./P *saṃhāra* “collection, abridgment, compendium, manual”. *Saṃhāra* is also often interchanged with *sambhāra* in the same meaning plus the additional translation as “completeness; multitude, number, quantity” (MW). In Buddhist contexts *saṃhāra/sambhāra* denote the requisites or equipment for (those destined for) awakening (cf. MW, BHSD, PTSD).¹⁸⁶ It has to be admitted though that the development *-ā-* > *-o-* is uncommon but it is still occasionally attested in the Dhṛp-G^k and the Niya documents (cf. chapter on phonology).

.....
 186 The Bodhisambhāra-śāstra is translated as “provisions for enlightenment” by Dharmamitra (2009). The commentary explains ‘provisions’ as “that which preserves, that which raises and nurtures, that which forms the causal basis for *bodhi* and that which represents the complete adequacy of the essential component parts of *bodhi*” (Dharmamitra 2009: 76).

BC11
Transliteration

Recto

|1r

- (11r.01) ^{2r.a} + + + + + + + + + + [ho] ca śpa h[o] ca ta vu ca di ñe vi e de śa ku śa le ña
ka ye ñe vi ku śa
- (11r.02) ^{2r.a} + + + + + + + + + + [ṇa] ka rye ṇa ma rga [su] [he] ṇa ñe vi e de śa śa hi
pa ra mi de hi ka ye ñe va su he ṇa
- (11r.03) ^{2r.a} + ? ti ya e śa [śpa] [ho] [c].
[b]. + + [+ + +]

|2r

- (11r.04) ^{2r.d} + + + + + + + + [vi] [kha] i ta du kha ka ya du khe a vi va rja ma ṇa du [khe]
[ci] [ta] [du] [khe] ? ? ? ?
- (11r.05) ^{2r.d} [du] e du kha pa[m̐] ði da ṇa ho va ṇa a vi a kha i ta ka ya su he a vi va rji ta
ci ta su he a ṇu bha va ṇa [ta] [sva] su thu
- (11r.06) ^{2r.d} ña ṇa mi a bha e ka ta ve pa ri ña pra ha ṇa ña ṇa mi ya [va]¹ de u ha e su ha
ha kṣa [d]i u ha a ca du kha ṇa ha kṣa ti
- (11r.07) ^{2r.d+2v.f} + + + + + + + [ha] [ra] e sa rva sa pa ti e ca ṇa śe [ma] [je] c[a] [ṇi] [sa]
[ma] [rthe] ◇
- (11r.08) ^{2v.f} + + + + + + + + + ri ca a e sa rva dro a ca sa a ha ra e sa rva sa pa ti e ca ṇa
[śe] dri ṭha dha mi a sa
- (11r.09) ^{2v.f} + + + + + + + + [a] sa ce da śi a sa o u a ye a sa a va ye a sa o sa kha da a sa
kha da sa dro a ca sa a ha ra e
- (11r.10) ^{2v.f} + + + + + ? + ? + ? ṇa sa rva dro a ca sa [a] [ha] [ra] [e] [sa] + + [pa] [t]i [e]
[ca] [ṇa] śe śpa hu ca [ba] hu ca [ke] ṇa
- (11r.11) ^{2v.f} śa [śa] da e pa ri ca e a pa ra me ṇa śa di me ṇa pa ri ca i da ve · [ṇa] [va] ṇa
ci ti a [d]i ta ti ma [ma] ṇa pa ri ca
- (11r.12) ^{2v.f} ? + .[e] su dhu va ṇa [c]i ti [a] e ta pa ra me ṇa śa di me ṇa pa ra ce a ṇa va ca
di a hu mi o sa [kṣ]i ? ci [r]i m[e] [t]a [ś]a [do]

.....
1 Corrected from *sa*.

- (11r.28) ^{2r.b} + + + + + + + + pa je a pri di ñi kha li de a ta u pa je ju gi de a sa u pa je a ju gi da sa u pa j[e]
- (11r.29) ^{2r.b} + + + + + + + + [je] a ° pa rva yi de hi ñi kha li da sa u pa je pri di bu dhe {{[hi]}} sa u pa je a a pra ña ti
- (11r.30) ^{2r.b+1r.b} [u] [pa] [j]. a pri di pa ri bhu [t]a sa u pa je a a pa ri bhu [t]a sa « su ve ra o » u pa je a sa kṣi te ña sa rva tra de śe hi sa rva [t]ra [de] [a]
- (11r.31) ^{2r.b+1r.b} ñi ca ka lo ña ja do [ya] ña u pa je a sa ga ñi a u pa je a vi ve ga ga da sa u pa je a ○ ◇
- (11r.32) ^{2r.b+1r.b} ? ? + ? ? + + + + [a] [ji] [bha] pra mu ha chi di ta tu li e u śa ta [ya] a tra pi ṣi ta ki ma su he te ña ña ka rye
- (11r.33) ^{1r.b+35r.dd} ? ? ? + + + + + ? du e hi ca du ra gu đī e hi a śa kem a ka [r]pa [a]⁴ ci da ca du kha vi da ca
- (11r.34) ^{1r.b+35r.dd+35v.ee} [su] [ha] [de] ca ña śi da sa rva dro a c[a] [a] [ṇu] bha va vi da [sa] [rva] [sa] ? .[i] ña śi da sa kṣi te ña ya vi mo kṣa de ña śi da
- (11r.35) ^{1r.b+35v.ee} a ja vi a sa khe a ka rpa dro [a] c[e] kha ve a ti sa pa ti ña śe a ti mo kṣo ña śe a ti ta i me hi ña ka rye su dhu
- (11r.36) ^{1r.b+d} sa rva dro a ca de mu ca mi sa rva sa pa ti la bha di mo kṣa ca ° ña bhi o a ma ho la bhe ña śa de ho i da ve a di da a ña
- (11r.37) ^{1r.b+d} [ga] [da] [p]. [c]. [p]. ñe [hi] a la bhe ña śa de ho i da ve · ña bhi a ma hu pa ru bhu te ña śa de ho i da va a pa ri bhu te ña śa
- (11r.38) ^{1r.b+d} [d]. ho i da va a di da a ña ga da pra cu pa ñe hi a mi dra ho đe a po śa ña mi va [ṇa] bhi u [va] ya e ña
- (11r.39) ^{1r.b+d} śa de ho i da ve a va [ye] [de] ña śa de ho i da ve

|5r

- (11r.40) ^{1r.a} + + + + + + + + [su] he vi ña ti du kha vi di mi śa s[u] he yo ve la [cha] [d]. [ta] ve la ña la bha di [du] kha vi di mi ś[a] [s]u +
- (11r.41) ^{1r.a} + + + + + + + + [.o] vi di mi śa su he ya tra de [ś]e ch[a] de ta tra ña la bha di di du kha vi di mi śa su he a śu ha
- (11r.42) ^{1r.a} ? ? ? ? [su] [he] ka ya du kha ci ta du kha vi di mi śa su h[e] sa rva ka ya du kha vi di mi śa su he ci ta du kha vi di mi
- (11r.43) ^{1r.a+c} śa su he ce da śi a du kha vi di mi śa su he du rga di du kha vi di mi śa su he [saṃ] [sa]⁵ ra u a va [t]i [ṇi] rva ña

4 Corrected from *va*.

5 Or rather *[saṃ]*?

- (11r.44) ^{1r.c} [ṇa] [ṣa] [du] [kha] [vi] ? mi śa mi śa su he śi da u ṣa dha [r]a ṇa du kha vi di mi śa su he ci va ra kṣa y[a] ka ya kṣa ya
- (11r.45) ^{1r.c} a mo [ya] [ṇa] [kṣa] [ya] [du] kha vi di mi śa su he a tva hi s[a] pa ra hi sa sa rva ṣa tva hi sa vi di mi śa su he
- (11r.46) ^{1r.c} « ṇi ṣa ma rtha vi di mi śa su he » [e] [da] pra mu he a va ri ma ṇa [du] [kha] vi di mi śa su he ka ma su he hi ṇa ka ya a va ra mi ṇa gu ṇa vi di mi śa vi ve ga ve ra [gr]a
- (11r.47) ^{1r.c} su he ṇa ka rye a tra ca vi ve ga su ha mi ve ra [gra] su ha mi ca a ya ka ma su he a to ga do a va śi ṇa si a di
- (11r.48) ^{1r.c} + + + ? ṇa [i] [da] [ḥa] [ṇe] vi ja di a va śi [vi] + [ga] su a mi ve ra gra su ha mi ka ma su he a to ga de ke ṇa ka ra ṇe ṇa
- (11r.49) ^{1r.c} ८ ८⁶ ta [vu] ca di [śi] [le] a to ga de kṣa ti a to ga de da ṇe a to ga de da ṇe a to ga de a vi a mi ṣa da ṇe a vi dha rma da ṇe
- (11r.50) ^{1r.c+1v.c2} a to ga de t[e] ya tra i me dha ma a to ga da ta ka ma su he ṇa a to ga de bha ve a ṇa i da ḥa ṇo vi ja di
- (11r.51) ^{1r.c} sa ya [vi] [sa] śa li sa [rva] rtha e śa li vu [t]o a vi pa la [le] a to ga de ya va [s]a tu ṣe a to ga de ◇ |

Verso

5v

- (11v.01) ^{1v.c+1r.c1} ma tu pa [ye] a śi o la [i] [a] [e] [ṣa] pri di su [he] [u] pa [ja] di ṇi [li] [ṇi] .o .e [pa] [ri] [ña] pri di pra ja ha [ṇa] [pri]
- (11v.02) ^{1v.c} h[o] i da ve pri di ho i da ve pri di a va śi ho i da ve pri di su ha a ca la pri di a sa ṣa ra ṇe
- (11v.03) ^{1v.c} pri di a ṇa va ṭi e pri di a pa ri ha ṇa dha ma pri di a kṣa ye pri di ya di va ṇa [i] [chi] e a
- (11v.04) ^{1v.c} ta a va śa ho de pri di ṇi sa ma rtha ca du kho ca a śu ho ca pa ri ca i ta ka ṣa pri di ṇa u pa je a
- (11v.05) ^{1v.c} e ṣa ca ṇi sa ma rthe ca du khe ca a śu he ca pa ri ca [e] ta a va ri ma ṇa ṇa do ṣa ṇa a va ri ma ṇa ṇa dro a ca ṇa ṇa ṣe
- (11v.06) ^{1v.c+1r.e} a va ri ma ṇa ṇa sa pa ti ṇa a ha ra e pa ri ca e ta [ka] sa pa ri ca i ta ṇa pri di u pa je a yi di va i chi e a
- (11v.07) ^{1v.c+a} ma me [pri] [di] [su] he u pa je a ta a va śi u pa ṇa pri di ya [hi] [a] mu ḍa kha i ta ma me ka y[e] su ho bho d[u]

.....
6 Space for two akṣaras, but apparently nothing was written here.

- (11v.08) ^{1v.a} [ta] a va śi su he ṇa bha vi da ve vi ṣa ja ji ta ma me su ho bho du me me du
kha [a] [va] [ṇa] [o] bho du a va śi [ho] de
- (11v.09) ^{1v.a} + + + + [a] [va] [śi] [ho] de su e va ṇi sa ma rtha du kha ca a śu ha ca
pa ra ca i ta ma me pri di
- (11v.10) ^{1v.a} + + + + + + + ? [va] do ca pa ri ca a de a va ra [mi] ṇa do ṣa pra ha ṇa a va
ri ma ṇa ṇa sa pa ti ṇa a ha ra e
- (11v.11) ^{1v.a} + + + + + + + pri di su he ṇa i da ḥa ṇe vi ja di a va śi u pa ji da ve su dh[u]
ci ti da ve ◇

|4v

- (11v.12) ^{1v.d} o l[a] [i] [a] ja ṇe vi ha ña di + di ga ra su ha sa a rtha e ja ṇe vi ha ña di u a ṇi
ṣa su ha sa ca a rtha [e]
- (11v.13)* ^{1v.d+b} ja ṇe vi ha ña di [ya] hi [du] e ga [ḍ]a du [pa] [du] [a] a ja tva ba hi ra te ṣa
ca bhe ṣa je su h[e] ṇa śa di [gro]
- (11v.14) ^{1v.b} u pa je a i va e ṣa so ya ṇi sa ma rtho a ro a ga [ḍ]a ṇa bhe ṣa je ya di va ka ma
dha du ya di va ru va dha du
- (11v.15) ^{1v.b+35r.dd+ee+1r.bl} ya di va a ru pa dha du o « lo i [e] ṇa ta va ka ra ṇe ṇa » [ca] [cha]
pa ri ca [i] ta sa rva dro a ca de mo [kṣ]e sa rva [sa] pa ti e ca dri ḥa dha [mi] sa
pa ra i a [ṣa]⁷
- (11v.16) ^{1v.b+35r.ee} pra di bh[a] [va] k[u] ṇ[a] + + + ṣa do pa ri ca e a lo i e ṇa ta va ka ra ṇ[e]
ṇa pi cu ṇa pu ña dha ṇa i ta sa rva sa
- (11v.17) ^{1v.b} + + + + + + + [ṇ]. « ṣa de » pa ri ca e o « 1 » lo u ta re ṇa bhu da ña ṇe ṇa
ṇa ki ca pa ri ca i ta a ṇi ca ga
- (11v.18) ^{2v.b} re ṇa a ṇa tva ga ra ṇa śu ña ga re ṇa a pa ri bhu ji [tv]e [a] a ga re ṇa
a ve de a a ga re ṇa su di ṇa ga ra ṇa
- (11v.19) ^{2v.b} a ku hi ca a ga ma ṇa a ku hi ca ga ma ṇa a ga re ṇa pa ri ma ṇa sa ce a a ga re
ṇa ṇa ki ci pa ri ca i ta
- (11v.20) ^{2v.b} + + + + + + + ? ? [sa] [rva] dro a ca sa ṇa ṣe sa rpa sa pa ti e ca pa di la bhe
[ku] [ṇa] a ci ti e ṇa
- (11v.21) ^{2v.b} + + + + + + + + + ? [d]u kho pa ri ca i ta du kha bi o pa ri [ca] [i] [ta] ◇
- (11v.22) ^{2v.b+2r.c} + + + + + + + + + du kha bi e pa ra ca i ta du kha sa rgha rya ga [ḍ]a ?
[gha] rya ro a sa gha rya
- (11v.23) ^{2v.b+2r.c} + + + + + + + + + ? rya pa ra ca i ta ke ṇa ka ra ṇe ṇa du kha sa gha
[rye] [t]. [v]. c[a] di ? [a] [tra] [ye] [ṇa]

.....
7 The last three characters are written above the line due to lack of space.

(11v.24) ^{2v.b} + + + + + + + + + + [ta] ? [ja] e ñi ca bha vi śa di a řha ño e va me va a ja tvi
a a i da ña du kha ba hi

(11v.25) * ^{2v.b} ra a i da ña du kha te ? sa gha rya de su ho bha ve a su ho u pa je a ña i da řha
ño vi ja di a cha t[v]i a ga [d]a

(11v.26) ^{2v.b} + hi [ra] ga [d]a te [s]a [s]. + + + + ho bha ve a ña i da [řha] [ño] i [va] pi a lo
a ja tvi a a śu ha ba hi ra a śu ha a ja tvi a

(11v.27) ^{2v.b} + + + + + + + + + + + [a] l. [a] [ja] [tvi] [a] [ga] [đa] + + + + + + + +
+ + [su] [ho] bha ve a ña i da řha ño

|3v

(11v.28) ^{2v.e} + + + + + + + + ? pa ri ña pra ha ña ka rmo ca · ru ve ° a řa va · a ru ve ta vu
ca di a vi ru ve a vi a ru ve ru va ru va

(11v.29) ^{2v.e} + + + + + + + + + [ri] ya ñe o pa ri ya ñe o pra ha da va pi di va ñe [pi]
[di] va ñe o pa ja hi da va pra ja hi ta pra ja ha

(11v.30) ^{2v.e} + + + + + + + + + [ñ]u bha vi da ve a va śa u pa ña pri di ta e te ña ka ra
ñe ña a vi ru ve a vi a ru ve ○ x · –⁸

* Gloss(es)⁹ on the margin, beginning at the level of line ...

(11v.13) [t]e ña [ka] r[a] [ñ]e + [du] kho pa ri + + + sa gha rya ///

(11v.25), 1 /// ? di bha ve [a] ///

(11v.25), 2 /// [ri] ca i [da] ///

8 The cross may not denote the cipher 4 but simply the termination of the paragraph or text (cf. chapter on paleography).

9 Since in the middle the birch bark is broken off, it is uncertain if this was one gloss or two. If it was one, approximately 15 akṣaras are missing in between.

Reconstruction

|1r

BC4 r.22.2 ?
(«6»)

(11r.01) + + + + + + + + + + [ho]¹ ca śpah[o] ca
 ta vucadi
 ṇevi edeṣa kuśaleṇa kaye
 ṇevi kuśa (11r.02) (*leṇa) + + + + + + + + + [ṇa] karye ṇa marga-[suhe]ṇa
 ṇevi edeṣa śahi paramidehi kaye
 ṇeva suheṇa (11r.03) + ? ti
 ya eṣa [śpahō ca ba](*hu ca)²

|2r

(11r.04) + + + + + + + (*a)[vi kha]ita dukha kaya-dukhe
 avi varjamaṇa du[khe cita-dukhe] ? ? ? ?³ (11r.05)
 [du]e dukha
 pa[m]ḍidaṇa ho vaṇa avi akhaita kaya-suhe avi varjita cita-suhe aṇubhavaṇa
 [tasva] suṭhu (11r.06) ṇāṇami abhae⁴ kaṭave pariṇa-prahaṇa
 ṇāṇami ya[va]de uhae suha haḥṣa[d]i uhaa⁵ ca dukha ṇa haḥṣati

BC4r.25–28
(«7A»)

(11r.07) (*sarva-droacasa a)[hara]e sarva-sapatie ca ṇaṣe
 [maje] c[a ṇisamarthe] ◊ (11r.08) + + + + + + + + + (*pa)ricaae
 sarva-droacasa aharae sarva-sapatie ca ṇa[ṣe]
 driṭhadhamiasa (11r.09) (*sapaṛaiasa o kai)[a]sa cedaṣiasa o uayeasa avayeasa o sakhada-asakhadasa
 droacasa aharae (11r.10) (*sapatie ca ṇaṣe)
 ? + ? ṇa⁶ sarva-droacasa [aharae sa](*rva-sa)[pat]i[e ca ṇa]ṣe
 śpahu ca [ba]hu ca

BC4 v.02.2
(«7B1»);
BC4 v.12.1
(«7C3»)

[ke]ṇa (11r.11) ṣa[ṣa]dae paricaea parameṇa ṣadimeṇa paricaidave ·
 [ṇa va]ṇa citia[d]i tati ma[ma] ṇa parica (11r.12) [i](*dav)[e]
 sudhu vaṇa [c]iti[a]e ta parameṇa ṣadimeṇa paracea⁷
 ṇa vacadi ahu mio sa[kṣ]i ? ci[r]im [et]a [ṣ]a[do]

1 (*ba)/ho] ? Cf. 11r.03 and 11r.10.

2 Cf. 11r.10. Three more akṣaras could have been written in this line, but apparently nothing followed.

3 tatedam. ?

4 Read: ubhae.

5 Read: uhae.

6 Probably [sa](*kṣi)[t](*e)ṇa.

7 Read: paricea. Uncertain if: paricea ṇa vacadi ... or: pariceaṇa vacadi

Translation

|1r

[QUESTION:] ..., (for many ?) and for oneself ?

[ANSWER:] It is said:

Neither by their wholesome [deed] should it be done (*kāryam* ?),
neither by wholesome [deed] ... [] should it be done (?), nor (?) by the happiness of the path,
neither by their six perfections should it be done (?);
neither by the happiness ...;
this [is] for oneself and for many.

|2r

...¹ even though the suffering is well known, there is suffering of the body;
even though th[is] suffering is being avoided, there is suffering of the mind.

[These are] the two kinds of suffering.

But for the wise, even though [the suffering is] well known, there is [experience of] happiness of
the body; and even though [the suffering of the body is being] avoided, there is experience of
happiness of the mind.

Therefore, in knowledge both has to be done well (*suṣṭhu*): the understanding [of the suffering] and
the abandoning [of its origin].

As long as [one is abiding] in this knowledge, both kinds of happiness will exist and both kinds of
suffering will not exist.

[Otherwise (?), it would lead to ?] the support of every misery and the destruction of every fortune;
in the middle ineffectual; ... for the relinquishment (*parityāga*) ...

[it would lead to ?] the support of every misery and the destruction of every fortune,

[it would lead to ?] the support of [any] misery and the destruction of [any] fortune, relating to this
world or the next, relating to body or mind, increasing or decreasing, enumerated or not-enumerated;
(in short ?) [it would lead to ?] the support of every misery and the destruction of every fortune;
for oneself and for many.

[Q:] For the sake of permanent relinquishment, how should someone who is highly content let go?

[A:] One does not think: “I should not let go of satisfaction (*tr̥pti*)”,

only by thinking: “this [is done] by someone who is highly content”, one should let go;

one does not say: “I, we (are observing / seeing with the eyes (?))²”,

[thus/then] for a long time (*ciram*) [there will be] this contentment.

.....
1 Here the opponent to the pandit seems to be missing, presumably an ordinary being, thus theoretically *G pusujaṇaṇa* (as in BL13, cf. Baums 2009) or *prudhajaṇaṇa* / *prudhijaṇaṇa* (as in Dhp-G^K, cf. Brough 1962) = *prthagjanānām* “for ordinary beings, ...”.

2 Uncertain, maybe only “I, we”. Then the *sakṣi* could be reconstructed to *sakṣito* = *saṅkṣiptam*, “in brief”, although this text uses only *sakṣiteṇa*.

[3r

[Q:] ...

[A:] ... every bad birth one would have to pass,

(every good birth one would not pass, etc. up to : ?)

every unattractive [condition] one would experience,

every beautiful [condition] one would not experience,

every unwholesome [condition] one would experience,

(every wholesome [condition] one would not experience ?) etc. up to : one would hold on to the cycle of existence (*samsāra*) and one would destroy extinction (*nirvāṇa*) and awakening (*bodhi*) ◦ ·

The happiness of release (*avasarga*) is called / is indeed (?) the great fortune (*mahāśrī*), and [also] the happiness of thorough understanding [is] the great fortune ·

[It is] the happiness, which is not depending on anything else, the happiness which is only dependent on oneself, the happiness due to non-cognition (*avijñapti*), the happiness ... , the happiness ... , the happiness ... of all beings, the happiness ... of all beings, the happiness due to a good instruction (*su-uddeśa*), the happiness due to the concentration on the Dharma of the ‘Sugata’ (*sugata-dharmāvadhāna*).

When it is wished for, wherever it is wished for, [this kind of] happiness (is obtained / will come into existence ?³).

... the inner happiness is pleasant (*śubha*), the inner happiness [– this is] the happiness of liberation, the happiness of final emancipation (*aśreyas*) coming along with supernatural knowledges (*abhijñā*), the happiness of detachment/seclusion (*viveka*), the happiness of being without company (*asaṃgaṇikā*), ..., the happiness of ... , the happiness of [all] prosperities (*śriyā*) of the wise, the happiness of prosperities [like] supernatural eyesight or the knowledge of others’ thoughts, the happiness of the welfare of [all] beings ...

in short: having overcome (*avakramya* ?) immeasurable malices (*doṣa*), ... mixed with immeasurable [low?]⁴ qualities (*guṇa*), the happiness (of release ?) [is the] great fortune ◦

[Q:] [Someone] says: Of what kind is this act of abandoning (*prahāṇa*)? [Is it related to] form or also [to the] formless?

3 Cf. 11r.40 for “obtained” and 11v.04ff. for “arise / come into existence”.

4 Cf. 11r.46 *hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa vivega-vera[gr]a-suhe*.

|4r

(11r.22) ? ? ? + ? ? ? ?¹²? ? [ita] ḥavaṇāia
 ya ṇa sarva-ṣatvehi pariḡrahida ṇa se kama-bhoyi (11r.23) asti
 ye ṇaṇa-pariḡrah[i]di[a] eva bahu-jaṇa-saṣaraṇa-dukha °

eṣa vi pradigāra-suhe [u]/*a)ṇiṣa- (11r.24) {ṣa} suhe ca
 ṇa ṇi[ca ṇa] atve ṇa [ka] suhiṇa bhava
 [e]ṣa vi p[r]a[di]gā[ra-suhe ca ua]ṇi[ṣa]-suhe ca (11r.25)¹³ + + + + + + +

BC4 «7A3»

[maja ṇisamar]tha¹⁴ purve aṣuhe [pa]cā aṣuhe
 maja ṇisamartha ṇa karye (11r.26) + + + + + + + [r]ita

BC4 «1»

osagrāsa ca aṇuṣāṣa paṣita citi[t]a .[u] ? [da ṇa] ? [avarimaṇa]
 (11r.27)¹⁵ + + + + + + + muḍeasa

yati pridi ṇa upajea śiṭha [ava]śa u[pa]ṇa ◇
 (11r.28) + + + + + + (*u)pajea pridi ṇikhalidea
 ta upaje jugidea sa upajea jugida
 sa upaj[e] (11r.29) + + + + + + (*upa)[je]a °

parvayidehi ṇikhalidasa upaje
 pridi budhesa¹⁶ upajea apraṇāti (11r.30) [upaj](*e)a
 pridi paribhu[t]asa upajea
 aparibhu[t]asa « suverao » upajea
 sakṣiteṇa sarvatra-deṣehi sarva[t]ra[dea] (11r.31) ṇica-kalo ṇa jado [ya]ṇa upajea saḡaṇia upajea
 vivega-gadāsa upajea ○ ◇

12 In the following: *ṭhavaita* ?

13 Maybe reconstruct: *ṇisamartha ca dukha ca* (?), cf. 11v.25 and similarly 11v.09 (*ṇisamartha ca dukho ca aṣuho ca*). Or: (« *maje ṇisamarthe* ») *purve dukhe paḡa dukhe*, cf. 4r.28.1 («7A3»), where it is put before *maje ca ṇisamarthe purve aṣuho paḡa aṣuho*.

14 Probably deleted by the scribe as it is very faded. Cf. BC4 «7A3».

15 Usually *avarimaṇa* is followed by *doṣa/droaca ... avarimaṇa-sapati/-guṇa...*, cf. 11r.20, 11v.05, 11v.10 and 4v.8.1.

16 Read: *budhasa*. First written *budhehi*, but the *hi* seems to have been deleted by the scribe adding *sa*. However, without deleting the now superfluous *e*-vowel mark above the *dha*.

|4r

[A:] ... to be established.

Who is not surrounded (? *parigrhīta*) by all beings, not is he someone who enjoys sensual pleasures, but who is surrounded (? *parigrhītika*) by various [beings], [he partakes of the] suffering common to many people ◦

Moreover, the happiness resulting from a remedy or the happiness resulting from a cause is not permanent, has no self, is not at all a continuous state of possessing happiness.

Moreover, the happiness resulting from a remedy as well as the happiness resulting from a cause ...

[In the] middle ineffectual, before unpleasant, afterwards unpleasant;

[in the] middle ineffectual, it should not be done ...

And having seen the benefit of release, having thought/contemplated about it immeasurable ...

[Even] if joy should not arise, the remaining has certainly arisen;

[if ?] ... should arise, one should remove joy;

if it has arisen, one should exclude it; it should arise [again after being] excluded;

it should arise/ having arisen (*G upaje* or *upajea* ?) ... should arise ◦

Although removed by mendicants, [but] having arisen [again],

for an awakened one [this] joy would arise, [but along with it also] non-designation (*aprajñapti*) would arise.

Joy would arise in case something is enjoyed (*paribhukta*),

complete absence of passion (*suvairāga*) would arise in case something is not enjoyed (*aparibhukta*).

In short: nowhere, in no way, never, [and] not at all would a vehicle (*yāna* ?) arise, would company

(*saṃgaṇikā*) arise, would [this] arise for someone who has gone into solitude (*viveka-gata*) ◦

(11r.32) ? ? + ? ? + + + + [a jibha] pramuha chidita **tulie uṣata [ya]** atra piṣita
kim asuhe teṇa ṇa karye

(11r.33) + + + + + + + + ? **duehi** caduraguḍiehi aṣakema ka[r]pa [a]cida ca
dukhavida ca (11r.34) [suhade] ca ṇaśida

BC4 «7A» sarva-droac[a aṇu]bhavavida [sarva-sapati] ṇaśida sakṣiteṇa yavi mokṣa{de} ṇaśida

BC4 «3», «6» (11r.35) ajavi asakhea karpa dro[a]c[e] khaveati sapati ṇaśeati mokṣo ṇaśeati
ta imehi ṇa karye sudhu (11r.36) sarva-droacade mucami sarva-sapati labhadi mokṣa ca °

BC4r.24,
v.02.2–03.2 ṇa bhio amaho labheṇa ṣade hoidave
adida-aṇa (11r.37) [gāda-p>(*r)[ac>(*u)[pa]ṇe[hi] alabheṇa ṣade hoidave ·

ṇa bhi¹⁷ amahu parubhuteṇa ṣade hoidava

BC4r.24,
v.02.2–03.2 aparibhuteṇa ṣa (11r.38) [d>(*e) hoidava
adida-aṇagada-pracupaṇehi amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva
[ṇa] bhiu [va]yaṇa (11r.39) ṣade hoidave
ava[yede]ṇa ṣade hoidave

.....
17 Read: *bhio*.

... having the tongue cut out first (?), ..., having the intestine crushed –
 what unhappiness would not to be done [= experienced] by him?
 ... and having been covered / filled with (*ācīta*) with ... four fingers long (?) for innumerable eons,
 and having been afflicted, and having been excluded from happiness;
 having experienced every misery, having destroyed every fortune, in short: having destroyed
 [everything] up to liberation⁵;
 down to the present time (*adyāpi*), for innumerable eons one would have spent time in misery,
 would have destroyed [any] fortune and would have destroyed liberation .
 Thus, by these it should not be done [= experienced] [any more]. Only [by thinking:]
 “I liberate [myself] from every misery”, one attains every fortune and [also] liberation ◦

No further should we become content by gains (*lābha*),
 in past, future, present should we become content by the absence of gains (*alābha*).
 No further should we become content by something enjoyed (*paribhukta*),
 we should become content by something not enjoyed (*aparibhukta*);
 just like in past, future, present the non-nourishing on goods stolen from enemies.
 No further should we become content as a consumer (? *vyayaka*),
 we should become content by not consuming (? *avyayita*).

.....
 5 If the reading should be *yavi mokṣade ṇāsīda* (without the editorial deletion of the final *de*), the translation could be: “... in short up to : having been excluded from liberation”.

|5r

(11r.40) + + + + + + + + [su]he

viñati-dukha-vidimiśa-s[u]he

yo vela [chade ta] vela ṇa labhadi

[du]kha-vidimiś[a-s]u(*he)

(11r.41) + + + + + + + + [.o]-vidimiśa-suhe

yatra de[ś]e ch[a]de tatra ṇa labhadi { di }

dukha-vidimiśa-suhe aśuha

(11r.42) [vidimiśa-suhe]

kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suh[e]

sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe

cita-dukha-vidimi (11r.43) śa-suhe

cedaśia-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe

durgadi-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe

[saṃsa]¹⁸ra-uava[t]i-[ṇi]rvaṇa- (11r.44) [ṇaśa-dukha-vidi]miśa-suhe

śida-uśa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe

civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya- (11r.45) amo[yaṇa-kṣaya-du]kha-vidimiśa-suhe

atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-śatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe

(11r.46) « ṇiṣamartha-vidimiśa-suhe » [eda]-pramuhe avarimaṇa-[dukha]-vidimiśa-suhe

kama-suhe

hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa¹⁹-guṇa-vidimiśa vivega-vera[gr]a- (11r.47) suhe ṇa karye

atra ca vivega-suhami vera[gr]a-suhami ca aya kama-suhe atogado avaśi ṇa siadi

(11r.48) + + + ? ṇa [ida ḥhaṇe] vijadi

avaśi [vi>(*ve)[g]a]-suami veragra-suhami kama-suhe atogade

keṇa karaṇeṇa

(11r.49) ta [vu]cadi [śile] atogade kṣati atogade daṇe atogade daṇe atogade avi amiśa-daṇe avi

dharma-daṇe (11r.50) atogade

t[e] yatra ime dhama atogada ta kama-suhe ṇa atogade bhavae ṇa ida ḥhaṇo vijadi

(11r.51) saya[visa]²⁰ śali sa[rva]rthae śali vu[t]o avi pala[le] atogade yava[s]a tuṣe atogade ◇

.....
18 Or rather *[sasam]ra* as in the previous writing (11r.15)?

19 Read: *avarimaṇa*.

20 Read: *sayaṣavi*.

|5r

Happiness ...,

happiness intermingled with suffering due to cognition (*viññapti*);

when it is wished for, it is not obtained.

Happiness intermingled with suffering,

happiness intermingled with ...;

where[ever] it is wished for, it is not obtained.

Happiness intermingled with suffering is unpleasant (*aśubha*).

Intermingled happiness [is]:

happiness intermingled with suffering of the body and suffering of the mind;

happiness intermingled with suffering of the whole body;

happiness intermingled with suffering of the mind;

happiness intermingled with suffering of the mind factors;

happiness intermingled with suffering due to bad births;

happiness intermingled with suffering due to transmigration (*saṃsāra*), rebirth (*upapatti*), and the destruction of *nirvāṇa*;

happiness intermingled with suffering due to the bearing of cold and hot [hells];

happiness intermingled with suffering due to loss of the dress, loss of the body, or loss of ... ;

happiness intermingled with suffering due to harm to oneself, harm to others, or harm to all beings.

Headed by this [kind of] happiness being intermingled with the ineffectual, the happiness, which is intermingled with immeasurable suffering, [is known as] happiness resulting from sensual pleasures.

The happiness resulting from detachment (*viveka*) and absence of passion (*vairāga*) should not be intermingled with the immeasurable qualities of the wretched body.

Here, in [respect of] the happiness resulting from detachment and the happiness resulting from absence of passion, the happiness resulting from sensual pleasures should not necessarily be included This is not possible.

Certainly, in [respect of] the happiness resulting from detachment and the happiness resulting from absence of passion, the happiness resulting from sensual pleasures is included.

[Q:] Why?

[A:] It is said: Morality is included, endurance is included, giving is included – whereas “giving is included” [means that] the giving of material sources as well as the giving of Dharma is included.

Thus, where these entities (*dharma*) are included, the happiness resulting from sensual pleasures should not be included. This is not possible.

Just like grain (*śali*) is called grain in all matters, even if the straw (*palāla*) is included [or] the husk (*tuṣa*) of corn (*yava*) is included.

|5v

(11v.01) matupa[ye]aṣi ola[ia eṣa] pridi-su[he u]pa[ja]di

ṇi[liṇi].o.e [pariṇa]-pridi prajaha[ṇa-pri](*di) (11v.02) h[o]idave

pridi hoidave

pridi avaṣi hoidave

pridi-suha acala

pridi asaṣaraṇe (11v.03)

pridi aṇavaṭie

pridi aparahaṇa-dhama

pridi akṣaye

pridi yadi va ṇa [ichi]ea (11v.04) ta avaṣa hode pridi

ṇisamartha ca dukho ca aṣuho ca paricaita kaṣa pridi ṇa upajea (11v.05)

eṣa ca ṇisamarthe ca dukhe ca aṣuhe ca parica[e]ta²¹

BC4 «7B»

avarimaṇaṇa doṣaṇa avarimaṇaṇa droacaṇa ṇaṣe (11v.06) avarimaṇaṇa sapaṭiṇa aharae paricaeta²²

[ka]sa paricaita ṇa pridi upajea

yidi²³ va ichiea (11v.07) mame [pridi-su]he upajea ta avaṣi upaṇa pridi

ya[hi a]muḍa khaita mame kay[e]-suhod[u] (11v.08) [ta] avaṣi suhe ṇa bhavidave

viṣajajita mame suho bhodu meme²⁴ dukha-[avaṇao] bhodu avaṣi [ho]de (11v.09) (*pridi va) [avaṣi

ho]de sue va

ṇisamartha dukha ca aṣuho ca paracaita²⁵ mame pridi (11v.10) ²⁶ + + + + + + + ? [va]do ca

paricaade

avara[mi]ṇa²⁷-doṣa-prahaṇa avarimaṇaṇa sapaṭiṇa aharae (11v.11) + + + + + + + pridi-suhe

ṇa ida ṭhaṇe vijadi avaṣi upajidave sudh[u] citidave ◇

.....
21 Read: *paricaita*.

22 Read: *paricaita*.

23 Read: *yadi*.

24 Read: *mame*.

25 Read: *paricaita*.

26 (**bhodu*)?

27 Read: *avarimaṇa*.

|5v

Depending upon (?) ..., the happiness of joy arises;

... the joy of thoroughly understanding [suffering and] the joy of abandoning [its origin] should be cultivated;

joy should be cultivated,

joy should certainly be cultivated.

The happiness of joy is immovable (*acala*),

joy is extraordinary (*asādhāraṇa*),

joy is not leading to rebirth (*anāvartika*),

joy is not leading to decline (*aparihāṇa*),

joy is not decaying (*akṣaya*).

Joy – [even] if it is not wished for, certainly there is joy.

Having let go of [everything that is] ineffectual, causing suffering, and unpleasant, how should joy not arise?

And having let go of [what is] ineffectual, causing suffering, and unpleasant,

having let go for the destruction of immeasurable malices [and] immeasurable miseries [and] for the support of immeasurable fortunes;

having let go, how should joy not arise?

If it is wished: “may the happiness of joy arise for me”, then certainly the joy is arisen.

If non-perplexed (?) having declared: “may bodily happiness be for me”, then certainly this happiness should not come into existence.

Having (repeatedly ?) adhered to: “may happiness be for me, may the removal (*apanaya*) of suffering be for me”, [then] certainly there is (joy ?), or certainly there is happiness.

Having let go of [what is] ineffectual, causing suffering, and unpleasant, [thinking:]

“(may there be) joy for me” ... from the relinquishment ...

[for] the abandoning of immeasurable malices, for the support of immeasurable fortunes ...

happiness of joy ... (will not arise ?). This is not possible. Certainly it has to arise, it only has to be thought of.

|4v

(11v.12) ol[ai] jaṇe vihañadi

(*pra)digara²⁸-suhasa arthae jaṇe vihañadiuaṇiṣa-suhasa ca artha[e] (11v.13)²⁹ jaṇe vihañadi

[ya]hi [du]e ga[ḍ]a du-[padua] aṅatva-bahira

teṣa ca bheṣaje-suh[e] ṇāsadi [gro] (11v.14) upajea

iva eṣa so ya ṇisamartho aroa ga[ḍ]aṇa bheṣaje

yadi va kama-dhadu yadi va ruva-dhadu (11v.15) yadi va arupa-dhadu ○

« loi[e]ṇa tava karaṇeṇa » [ca cha] parica[i]ta sarva-droacade mo[kṣ]e sarva-[sa]patie ca
 driṭhadhami(*a)-sapaia[sa] (11v.16) pradibh[ava] k[u] ṇ[a] + + + ṣado paricae

aloieṇa tava karaṇ[e]ṇa picu ṇa puṇa dhaṇaita sarva-sa (11v.17) + + + + + + + [ṇ]. « ṣade »
 paricae ○ « 1 »

loutareṇa bhuda-ñāṇeṇa ṇa kica paricaita

aṇicaga (11v.18) reṇa

aṇatvagaraṇa³⁰

śuṇagareṇa

aparibhuji[tv]e[a]-agareṇa

avedea-agareṇa

sudiṇagaraṇa³¹ (11v.19)

akuhica-agamaṇa-akuhica-gamaṇa-agareṇa

parimaṇa-sacea-agareṇa

ṇa kici paricaita

BC4 «7B» (11v.20) + + + + + + ? ? [sarva]-droacasa ṇaṣe sarpa³²-sapatie ca padilabhe

[ku ṇa] acitieṇa

(11v.21) + + + + + + + + ? [d]ukho paricaita dukha-bio pari[caita] ◇

(11v.22) + + + + + + + + dukha-bie paracaita³³

dukha-sa[r]gharya ga[ḍ]a-[sagha]rya roa-sagharya (11v.23) + + + + + + + + (*sa)[gha]rya

paracaita³⁴

.....
 28 Cf. 11r.23.

29 Gloss on the margin: [t]eṇa [ka]r[an]e(*ṇa) [du]kho pari(*caita) sagharya ///.

30 Read: aṇatvagaraṇa.

31 Read: sudiṇagaraṇa.

32 Read: sarva°.

33 Read: paricaita.

34 Read: paricaita.

|4v

Depending upon [something else] (?) mankind suffers.

For the sake of happiness resulting from a remedy mankind suffers;

for the sake of happiness resulting from a cause mankind suffers.

If [there were] two ulcers, consisting of two parts (*dvi-padika*), inner and outer, and the happiness resulting from the medicine [against them] perishes, the disease (*roga*) would arise [again]; [thus] equally useless (*niḥsāmarthya*) as this freedom from disease (*aroga*) is a medicine against ulcers. [This applies for] the desire realm, [for] the form realm, and also [for] the formless realm ○

As to reasons relating to this world (*laukika*), having let go ..., [there is] liberation from every misery and [there is] every fortune of (?) the present life and the next, for this and all future births (*pratibhavam* ?). Why then ... let go of (?) contentment?

As to reasons not relating to this world (*alaukika*), not having desired (*dhanāyitvā*) merit after death (*pretya*), every ... (Why then) let go of (?) contentment? ○ 1 (?)

By means of superworldly (*lokottara*) true knowledge nothing is given up; under the aspect of impermanence (*anitya*), under the aspect of selflessness, under the aspect of voidness, under the aspect of “having the nature of non-enjoying”, under the aspect of “there is no one who experiences” (*avedaka*), under the aspect of [life being like a] dream (*svapna*), under the aspect of “coming from nowhere, going nowhere”, [and] under the aspect of truth being the measure, nothing is given up.

... destruction of every misery and obtainment of every fortune.

[Q:] Why then [is it] without thinking / reflection (?) ...

[A:] ... having let go of suffering, having let go of the seed (*bīja*) of suffering,

... having let go of the seed of suffering,

having let go of the accumulation of suffering, the accumulation of ulcers, the accumulation of disease (*roga*), ... the accumulation ...

keṇa karaṇeṇa dukha-sagha[rye]

[ta v>(*u)c[a]di ? [atra yeṇa] (11v.24) + + + + + + + + + + [ta] ? [ja]e ṇica bhaviśadi aṭhaṇo

evam eva aṭatvia-aidaṇa dukha bahi (11v.25)³⁵ ra-aidaṇa dukha

te[ṣa] sagharyade suho bhavea suho upajea ṇa ida ṭhaṇo vijadi

achat[v]ia ga[d]a (11v.26) (*ba)hi[ra] ga[d]a

te[ṣa] [sa](*gharyade su)ho bhavea ṇa ida [ṭhaṇo]

i[va] pialo aṭatvia aśuḥa bahira aśuḥa

aṭatvia (11v.27) ³⁶+ + + + + + + + + +

(*iva pi)[a]l(*o) [aṭatvia gaḍa] (*bahira gaḍa

teṣa sagharyade) [suho] bhavea ṇa ida ṭhaṇo

|3v

(11v.28) + + + + + + + + ? pariṇa-prahaṇa-karmo ca · ruve ° aṣa va · aruve

ta vucadi avi ruve avi aruve ruvaruva

(11v.29) + + + + + + + + + + (*pa)[ri]yaṇeo pariyaṇeo prahadava pidivaṇe [pidi]vaṇeo

pajahidava prajahita prajaha³⁷ (11v.30) + + + + + + + + + + (*a)[ṇ]ubhavidave

avaśa upaṇa pridi

tae teṇa karaṇeṇa avi ruve avi aruve ○ 4 · –³⁸

35 Gloss on the margin: ? *di bhave[a]* (line 1), (*pa)[*ricaida*] (line 2).

36 Usually, the sequence is *ṇisamartha*, *dukha*, *aśuḥa*, of which the only missing term is *ṇisamartha*. Regarding the amount of presumably missing akṣaras the following reconstruction would match perfectly: *ṇisamartha bahira ṇisamartha*.

37 Reconstruct *prajaha(*di)* or *prajaha(*dava)* reading *prajahi(*dava)*.

38 The diagonal cross may denote the cipher 4 or serve as punctuation mark signifying the end of the paragraph or text (cf. chapter on paleography).

[Q:] Why [is there] accumulation of suffering?

[A:] It is said: Here, by ... will be permanent. [This is] not possible.

In the exact same manner the inner sense bases are [causing] suffering, the outer sense bases are [causing] suffering;

from their accumulation happiness should develop, happiness should arise? This is not possible.

The inner are [like] ulcers, the outer are [like] ulcers;

from their accumulation happiness should develop? This is not possible.

So once more (*iva peyālam*): the inner are unpleasant, the outer are unpleasant;

the inner ... (the outer ... ?).

So once more: the inner are [like] ulcers, the outer are [like] ulcers;

from their accumulation happiness should develop? This is not possible.

|3v

[Q:] ... is the act of understanding and abandoning [related to] form or also [to the] formless?

[A:] It is said: [It is related to] form as well as [to the] formless, form and formless.

... one should understand (*parijānīya*), one should understand; one should abandon (*prahātavya*), ..., one should abandon (*prajahitavya*); having abandoned (*prajahitvā*), one abandons (*prajahāti* ?),⁶ ..., one should experience ...⁷

[Then] certainly joy is arisen.

Thus, for that reason: form as well as formless o 4 (?)

6 Or: “should abandon” (*prajahitavya*~).

7 Most probably joy should be experienced, cf. 11v.01–02.

Text notes

11r.01 *śpah[o]* / r.03 [*śpaho*] / r.10 *śpahu* = *svakam* or *svayam* / P *sakam*. Several other spellings in Gāndhārī manuscripts are: *śpaya*, *śpagho*¹, *śpae*, *śpai* in BL1 (AG-G^L 24, 82, 83, 89, cf. Salomon 2008a: 175ff.), but the most expected development is documented in BL16+25 / PY-G (Allon 2001: 132) by G *śpagam* < *svakam*. Word-final G *-hu* for *-kam* is attested in G *tuspahu* = *yuṣmākam* / P *tumhākaṃ* in RS5 (Glass 2007: 179). The preserved /// [*ho*] *ca śpah[o]* *ca* in 11r.01 may be reconstructed to (**ba*)[*ho*] *ca śpah[o]* *ca* parallel to *śpahu ca [ba]hu ca* in r.10, similar to the phrase *appaṃ vā bahuṃ vā* in Pali.

11r.01 *kuśaleṇa*. Skt. *kuśala* / P *kusala* can be both, “wholesome [deed]” or the result of it, i.e. “merit”. If the following G *kaye* is *kāryam*, “wholesome [deed]” is more likely.

11r.01 *kaye* / r.02 *karye* / r.02 *kaye*. Twice in this passage it is written G *kaye*, only once *karye*. Still, G *kaye* = *kāyam* seems not appropriate here, which is why the obviously omitted preconsonantal *r* has been tentatively reconstructed, despite the fact that the writer clearly writes *karye* in other places (11r.25, r.32, r.35, r.47).

11r.02 /// [*ṇa*] *karye ṇa marga-[suhe]ṇa*. The current translation is uncertain in respect to the second *ṇa*. If it is to be translated as “neither by the happiness of the path” one should expect G *ṇevi* instead of simply *ṇa* and also *karye* should have been added after *-[suhe]ṇa* once more. Alternatively, a different separation would be G *karyeṇa marga-suheṇa* “by the happiness of the path which is to be done”, although it is not understood what should be meant by this, since I have found no similar expression in other Buddhist texts. Without knowing what precedes this text passage, it is impossible to translate it properly. And hence the whole passage remains somewhat obscure. The first /// [*ṇa*] should be the rest of an instr. sg. ending in *-eṇa*.

11r.02 *marga-[suhe]ṇa*. There are three kinds of happiness or bliss known in commentaries to the Pali canon: *jhāna-sukha*, *magga-sukha* und *phala-sukha*.² But superior

1 The scribe of this manuscript regularly uses aspirates for non-aspirates.

2 E.g. DN-aṭṭhakathā, Tividhaokāsādhigamavaṇṇanā: E^e II 643 / B^e II 236 / N^e II 211 *sukhassādhi-gamāyāti jhānasukhassa maggasukhassa phalasukhassa ca adhi-gamāya* or E^e II 269 / B^e II 211 / N^e II 193–4: ‘*sukhassā’ ti idaṃ tiṇṇampi sukhānaṃ sādharmaṇavacananti āha ‘jhānasukhassa maggasukhassa phalasukhassā’ ti*.

to all is the *nibbāna* (-*sukha*), the highest bliss.³ According to commentaries on the AN⁴ the mind (*citta*) leads to bliss in the following sequence: *māṇusaka-*, *dibba-*, *jhāna-*, *vipassanā-*, *magga-*, *phala-*, *nibbāna-sukha*. Having accomplished the *magga-sukha*, one reaches the *phala-* and *nibbāna-sukha*.⁵ Still, in other passages the *magga-sukha* is synonym to *sambodhi-sukha*.⁶

11r.02 *śahi paramidehi* = *śaḍbhiḥ pāramitābhiḥ*. This is one indication of a Mahāyāna background. Cf. e.g. the Ugraparipṛcchā, where in chapter 7, §22A, the practice of the six *pāramitās* is presented as the essential characteristic of Mahāyāna practice: “[...] the practice of giving, morality, endurance, exertion, concentration, and insight – in other words, the practice of the Mahāyāna”.⁷ Also in other Gāndhārī manuscripts attributed to early Mahāyāna literature, the set of *pāramitās* consists of six items.⁸ They are not explicitly enumerated but applied as if commonly known.

Based on the list of six, different *pāramitās* were stressed in different texts. Thus, in the *prajñāpāramitā* text of the ‘Split’ Collection (PP-G) naturally the *prajñāpāramitā* was emphasised, as in BC4. On the contrary, in the Ugraparipṛcchā, the *dāna-pāramitā* was stressed. At the same time, in other “early Mahāyāna” texts preserved in Gāndhārī, namely BC2, there is no mention at all of any *pāramitā* (cf. Strauch 2010a: 27). According to Strauch (referring to Vetter 1994) the introduction of the *prajñāpāramitā* literature was a later, or at least not original process within the Mahāyāna movement, which developed simultaneously to a “de-arhatization” and

3 E.g. MN-aṭṭhakathā, Māgaṇḍiyasuttavaṇṇanā: *yaṅkiñci jhānasukhaṃ vā maggasukhaṃ vā phala-sukhaṃ vā atthi, nibbānaṃ tattha paramaṃ, natthi tato uttaritaraṃ sukhanti nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhanti*.

4 AN-aṭṭhakathā, e.g. Akammaniyavaggavaṇṇanā, Anubuddhasuttavaṇṇanā, or Papatitasuttavaṇṇanā.

5 KN-aṭṭhakathā, Vakkalitttheragāthāvaṇṇanā: *viharissāmīti yathāvutte bodhipakkhiyadhamme bhāvento maggasukhena tadadhigamasiddhena phalasukhena nibbānasukhena ca viharissāmī*. In the Bhaddaji-sutta (AN V 170), Ananda asks Bhaddaji, what the highest bliss is (*kiṃ sukhānaṃ aggamaṃ*); Bhaddaji answers, that it is the happiness of gods (*te santamyeva tusitā sukhaṃ paṭivedenti, idaṃ sukhānaṃ aggamaṃ*). Ananda on the contrary says that, when pleasantness is without an interval, desires get destroyed; that is the foremost pleasantness (*yathā sukhitassa anantarā āsavānaṃ khayō hoti, idaṃ sukhānaṃ aggamaṃ*). In the commentary (AN-aṭṭhakathā, Bhaddajisuttavaṇṇanā) the ‘*yathā sukhitassa*’ is glossed as ‘*yena maggasukhena sukhitassa*’.

6 KN-aṭṭhakathā, Khaggavisāṇasuttaniddesavaṇṇanā, Paṭhamavaggavaṇṇanā, Dasamagāthāniddesavaṇṇanā, Dutiyavaggavaṇṇanā: *sambodhisukhanti maggasukhaṃ*.

7 This passage only occurs in the earliest versions of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao (AY, 180–190 CE, T322) as well as of Dharmarakṣa (Dh, 3rd/4th c. CE, T323) (Nattier 2003: 280 fn. 472). For the explanations of each *pāramitā* see Ugra, chapter 8, § 25L, Nattier 2003: 304 ff.

8 (1) Schøyen fragment 116 (line b2) containing the Bhadrakalpika, roughly dated to the 3rd/4th c. CE (Allon 2008: 170): */// paramida ṣo · [...] ///* (gandhari.org, but cf. also Allon/Salomon 2010: 6). (2) PP-G: *śah[i] [p-] ///* = *śaṭpāramitāsu śikṣante* (cf. Falk/Karashima 2013: 168f.).

the establishment of “easy” devotional practices. BC2 hence would be a witness to a stage before the introduction of the ideal of *prajñāpāramitā*, and the Akṣobhyavyūha would mark a slightly later stage (possibly influenced by other Mahāyāna groups or texts), because it includes a mention of the concept *prajñāpāramitā*. However, instead of being explained chronologically, this inclusion or non-inclusion could also be due to geographical or ideological reasons. In any case, BC2 indicates that, even without the emphasis on *prajñāpāramitā*, there would have been the conceptions of bodhisattvas and buddha fields (*buddhakṣetra*) like Abhirati or Sukhāvātī, where buddhas such as Akṣobhya or Amitābha resided. Williams (2009: 47ff.) takes both phenomena as two separate but equal strands: one philosophical (*prajñāpāramitā*) and one religious (*buddhakṣetra*), which were mixed later on.

To my knowledge, it is not known when the set of six or the *pāramitās* in general were introduced into Buddhism. But one passage in the Vibhāṣā (Kātyāyanīputra, 1st c. BCE, tr. by Xuan Zang in the 7th c., T1545, 892a24) claims that the quantity of six *pāramitās* have been distinctive of Gandhāra.⁹ As indicated, there are also other sets consisting of four or – in Pali literature – of ten perfections.¹⁰ However, the most prevalent set in Mahāyāna literature is that of six,¹¹ and in most texts the traditional

9 In this passage, the bodhisattva practices for an immeasurable time the four *pāramitās*, gaining the four kinds *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya*, *prajñā*. But the Vibhāṣā also mentions, that there are other traditions, namely the “Foreign Masters”, who claim that there are six *pāramitās* adding *kṣānti* and *dhyāna*. All Śāstra masters in Kashmir would say that these two are already included in the four (T1545, 892b23 according to Qing 2001: 23). Those “Foreign Masters” (CBE 2216b according to Qing) are also called “Western Masters” referring to Abhidharma teachers from Gandhāra to the west of Kashmir (Qing 2001: 23 fn. 72).

10 In Pali texts these are: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *paññā*, *virīya*, *khanti*, *sacca*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *mettā/ metti*, *upekkhā* (generosity/giving, virtue/morality, renunciation, wisdom/understanding, energy/vigour, patience/endurance, truthfulness, resolution/determination, loving-kindness, equanimity). This group is not found in texts of the older Pali literature, but only in two apocryphal texts, the Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka of the KN (cf. Nyanatiloka 1952), as well as in later added jātakas or avadānas. In the Visuddhimagga IX it is said that by developing the four *brahmvihāras* the ten *pāramitās* are obtained (Nyanatiloka, *ibid.*). Cf. Skilling 2004: 151f. for more details to the ten perfections. – In some texts the list of six and ten are combined, or at least it is tried to do so. So for example in the “Treatise on the Pāramīs”, originally composed by Ācariya Dhammapāla and existant in “at least two places in the Pāli exegetical literature, in a complete version in the Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā, and in an abridged version in the *ṭīkā* or subcommentary to the Brahmajāla Sutta” (Bodhi 1996). In this text, ten *pāramitās* are listed, although it is mentioned immediately afterwards that “some say there are six. This is said by way of their synthesis [...]”, (cf. Bodhi 1996 for more details).

11 But cf. Bodhi 1996: “Later Mahāyāna texts add four more – resolution, skillful means, power, and knowledge – in order to co-ordinate on a one-to-one basis the list of perfections with the account of the ten stages of the bodhisattva’s ascent to Buddhahood. The Pāli works, including those composed before the rise of Mahāyāna, give a different though partly overlapping list of ten [...]. Unlike the Mahāyāna, the Theravāda never developed a theory of stages, though such may be implicit in the grading of the *pāramīs* into three degrees as basic, intermediate, and ultimate (section xi). [...] The set of ten *pāramīs* itself comes from the Buddhavaṃsa, as does the discussion of

sequence is: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna*, *prajñā* (generosity/giving, virtue/morality, patience/endurance, energy/vigour, concentration/contemplation, wisdom/insight). The sequence in BC11, which lists only three exemplarily (11r.49), is *śīla*, *kṣānti* and *dāna* (G *śīle*, *kṣati*, *daṇe*). Against the “normal” order, *dāna* is probably put at the end because it is needed as a topic of argumentation, being referred to in more detail in the following text passage. There is, to my knowledge, no other text that has the sequence *śīla*, *kṣānti* and *dāna*.

11r.04f. *kaya-dukhe ... cita-dukhe ... kaya-suhe... cita-suhe*. Both, *kāya-* and *citta-duḥkha* or *-sukha* are feelings. They are situated “in the body and the mind. The corporeal feeling is that which arises on the support of five senses, and the mental is that which arises on the support of the sixth sense” (Satyasiddhiśāstra, *duḥkha-satya-skandha*, 82, tr. Sastri 1978: 169).¹² Cf. for example also a passage in the Dukanipāta of the Aṅguttara-nikāya (Sukhavagga, AN I 81.15–19), where both are named, but the mental happiness is said to be the better:

dve ’māni bhikkhave sukhāni. katamāni dve? kāyikaṅ ca sukhaṃ cetasikaṅ ca sukhaṃ. imāni kho bhikkhave dve sukhāni. etadaggaṃ bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnaṃ sukhānaṃ yadidaṃ cetasikaṃ sukhaṃ ti.

11r.05 *pa[m]ḍidaṇa*. It is interesting to note that the foremost person mentioned in BC11 is not a bhikṣu or śrāvaka, but a pandit, a learned/wise man, thus maybe indicating a scholastic background. Pandits are also mentioned in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, both with or without Abhidharma or Mahāyāna affiliation (with: BL28, Abhidharma text, *paṃḍi*; NC2, Arthapada (?), *paṃḍida*; ‘Takhti-shaped tablet’ from Niya, #510, *paṃḍito*; without: RS22, *paḍidaṇa*; BL1 / AG-G^L, *paḍidu*; BL12 / EĀ-G^L *paḍideṇa*; Dhṃ-G^K, *paṇida*~, probably rather = *praṇīta*~, although the Pali parallels have *paṇḍita*~).

11r.05 *suṭhu* = *suṣṭhu* / P *suṭṭhu*. This is taken as an adverb following Burrow 1937: 40 §91 who translates G *suṭha* = *suṣṭhu* < **suṣṭham* “well” (Niya #399), but he also gives the translation “very” (Burrow 1937: 131). Alternatively, it could be interpreted

the great aspiration (*abhinīhāra*) with its eight qualifications.” Another example is a passage in the EĀ (T125, 550a; 645b, cf. Qing 2001: 20) where, besides the ten *pāramitās*, a set of six *pāramitās* is mentioned. While the *bodhisattva mahāsattva* practices the foundations of four *dharma*s [all *dharma*s are impermanent, *duḥkha*, and no-self, *nirvāṇa* and permanent calmness] he will accomplish the six *pāramitās* and quickly gain the supreme perfect awakening.

12 For other interpretations in the Pali canon cf. Guistarini 2005: 173–176.

as a synonym to *anuttara* (cf. BHSD s.v. *suṣṭhu*) in the meaning “excellent” and as such as be the first part of a compound (“highest knowledge”). Due to the ending *-u* the former is more probable.

11r.06 *pariṇa-prahaṇa*. By “understanding and abandoning” is meant the diagnosis/ understanding of the suffering (*duḥkhasya pariṇāna*) and the abandoning of its origin (*samudayasya prahāṇa*).¹³ Thus one should understand and eliminate those factors that cause suffering and repeated birth. In the G *Ṇatuspahu-sūtra* (RS5 r.21, Glass 2007: 183) these causes are the *skhandas*: It shall be given up what is not belonging to self (G *ya ṇa tuspahu ta pacahaṣa*), i.e. G *ruo, vedāna, saṇa, ṣakhara, viṇaṇa* (“form, feelings, conception, conditioned forces, perceptual consciousness”). By fully understanding (G *pariyaṇo*) form etc. one is therefore also released (G *parimucadi*) from birth, aging, sickness, and death, grief, lamentations, suffering, despair, and frustration (G *jadi-jaraviaṣi-[mar](*)[ṇ](*)s(*pa) śoka-paridev(*a-dukha-domaṇasta [u]ayaṣa = jāti-jarāvyādhi-maraṇa* śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasya upāyāsa*). Cf. also BL9r.4–5 (Baums 2009: 329f., text 3): *tiṇo · kileśado · [5] aya samudea-prahaṇo · muto dukhado · aya dukhpariṇa* (“crossed over from defilements; [5] this is abandoning of the origin. Liberated from pain; this is diagnosis of pain.”). Or BL9r.31f. (Baums 2009: 278, text 5): *avare vahita pavaga (*dhama) [32] (*dukha) pariṇa ca · samudagaprahaṇa ca* (“Others: Warding off evil (*dharmas): [32] both the diagnosis (*of pain) and abandoning of the origin.”).

11r.07 *(*)[hara]e ... ṇaṣe*. Cf. text notes on BC4, p. 170.

11r.09 *uayeasa* and *avayeasa* are understood as characterizing the items of list 1 in BC4 (cp. p. 248); thus, referring respectively to the increase or decrease of the good or bad things/conditions, for example, the increase of *kuśala* and *śubha*, etc. Although, the combination of these terms could also be used in the more existential meaning of “prosperity and decay” or “rise and fall” (cf. MW s.v. *upacayāpacaya*).

11r.09 *sakhada-asakhadasa*. Probably the first gen. sg. ending *-sa* should be reconstructed by analogy with the preceding pairs: *sakhada*⟨**sa*⟩ *asakhadasa*. There are

13 Cf. e.g. Pras (ed. Vaidya 1960c: 210) or Abhidh-k-vy: *pariṇā duḥkhasya prahāṇaṃ samudayasya* (Abhidh-k-vy 37) or *tadyathā duḥkhasya pariṇānaṃ. samudayasya prahāṇaṃ* (Abhidh-k-vy 542).

two possible equivalents for G *sakhada*: (1) *saṃskṛta* / P *saṅkhata* “constructed, conditioned”¹⁴; or (2) *saṃkhyāta* / P *saṅkhāta* “named, considered, enumerated”. Since the preceding pairs are about the characterization of the items of list 1 in BC4 and there is no non-constructed item mentioned in that list (which would be *nirvāṇa*), the second option, “enumerated or not-enumerated”, seems more likely in order to conclude the circumscription of the list by saying that everything that was “mentioned” is meant, but also everything else that has “not been mentioned”.

11r.11 *ṣa[ṣa]dae*. Cf. BC4 *ṣaṣadaeṇa*, text notes on p. 177.

11r.11 *parameṇa ṣadimeṇa*. Although similar, I tend to exclude *smṛtimant* / P *satimant* (cf. e.g. P *paramena sati-nepakkena samannāgato* “possessing supreme mindfulness and alertness”, tr. Bodhi 2012: 999), most of all because it is normally spelled *ṣpadi*°, *spadi*° or *svadi*°¹⁵ and the references to G *ṣade* in BC11 and *ṣadasa* in BC4 have been tentatively equated to *śāta* / P *sāta* “pleased, content” (cf. text notes, p. 183).

11r.11 *citia[d]i* should correspond to *cintayati* (pres. active) or to *cintyate* (pres. passive). The G *vacadi* in the following sentence could analogously be **vacati* (active, for *vakti* / P *vatti* similar to *vadati*) or a misspelling for G *vucadi* = *ucyate* / P *vuccati* (passive). The translations would then be “is not (to be) thought” and “is not (to be) said” in the same meaning as the (active) translation now.

G *[c]iti[a]e* in 11r.12 might be equated with *cintitāya*, dat. for instr. sg. of *cintita* “by/with the thought”, i.e. “by thinking” (cf. Mil 92 *ekacintitāya* “by thinking of one thing (only)”, tr. Horner 1963, I: 128).

11r.12 *sudhu* “only, solely”. Cf. Burrow 1937: 40 §91 *sudha* = “only” referring to Niya #272, but the etymology is not clear (Burrow 1937: 131). It might be connected to P *suddha*, “clean, pure”, but also “simple, mere, nothing but” (PTSD s.v. *suddha*).

11r.12 *mio*. Next to G *ahu* (*aham* / P *aho*), there is here the 1st pl. form equivalent to P *mayam*, which occurs alongside P *vayam* = Skt. *vayam*. Cf. G *io* = *ayam*.

14 Cf. G *sakhara* = *saṃskāra*~ / P *saṅkhāra*~ “composition” (RS5 / Glass 2007, BL9 / Baums 2009), PP-G: *saṃkhare* = *saṃskāre* (Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013). In other Gāndhārī manuscripts *sk* develops to *k* (Baums 2009: 158). For *saṃskṛta* / P *saṅkhata* cf. Ronkin 2005: 43 and 47.

15 In BC4v.03.1 it seems to be spelled *[ṣpati]mo*.

11r.13ff. *gach[iea] ... a[ṇu]bhaviea ... [u]adiea ... ṇaṣie[a]*. Possibly, the Gāndhārī ending *-iea* does not correspond to P *-eyya* (3rd sg. opt.) but to P *-eyyaṃ* (1st sg. opt.).

11r.15 *osagra-suh[e]*. As G *osagra-sukha* is juxtaposed with G *pariṇa-sukha*, G *osagra* (= *avasarga* / P *vossagga* “letting loose, relinquishing, abandonment”) corresponds synonymously to G *prahaṇa* (cf. 11r.06 *pariṇa-prahaṇa*).

11r.15 *[ṇa]meṣadidi*. The exact correspondent to this G form is uncertain. Logically, it should correspond to *nāmadheyati* “is called”, however, this would be spelled *ṇamaṣeadi* in Gāndhārī. Perhaps the akṣaras have to be separated differently, for example *ṇame aṣa di* = *nāmam atha (i)ti*, “(what is called) *avasargasukha* is indeed / certainly a great fortune ...”. In both cases the second *di* seems superfluous.

11r.15 *mah[a-ś](*)ie* / r.16 *mahaṣie* / r.21 *maha[ś]ie*, tentatively equated to *mahāśrī*, which is an epithet, also a Buddhist name, for Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and good fortune.

11r.16 *aparaṣiṇa-suhe*. The only textual evidence for *(a)parādhīna-sukha* I could find is a passage in a commentary to the Nimi-jātaka (Jā VI 99.19–22):

*ye ve adutiyā na ramanti ekikā
vivekajaṃ ye na labhanti pitīṃ
kiñcāpi te indasamānabhogā
te ve parādhīnasukhā varākā ti.*

Those who do not rejoice themselves alone
those who do not obtain the joy born from detachment
those have [only] the same enjoyments as Indra
those have [only] the impure pleasures that depend on something else.

The *indra-samāna-bhoga* are worldly pleasures, as for example explained in the Lalitavistara: *sarvalokahitasukhānupālaka ity ucyate / indrasama ity ucyate* (ed. Vaidya 1958a: 309).

11r.16 *[a]viṇāti-[s](*)u[he]*. The term *avijñapti* / P *aviññatti* means basically “non-information” or anything “unmanifest”.¹⁶ Contrary to *vijñapti*, which is the act

16 According to the Abhidh-k-bh the *avijñapti* belongs to the *dharmāyatana* in contrast to *rūpāyatana* (de La Vallée Poussin/Pruden 1988–1990, I: 35). Vasubandhu gives several other opinions (de La Vallée Poussin/Pruden 1988–1990, I: 47): “Dharmaśrī [...] Action of the *manas* is solely *avijñapti* [...] because this action is not visible”; “Upasānta [...] Mental action is called *avijñapti* because it does not inform others”; “Dharmatrāta [...] replaces the terms *vijñapti* and *avijñapti* with ‘doing’

of “making known”, of cognizing and perceiving an object by its external/material appearance,¹⁷ *avijñapti* is free from limited or exoteric knowledge. In *prajñāpāramitā* contexts a translation as “non-perception/cognition” (based on Schmithausen 1987, Index) seems to be the most appropriate.

11r.16f. *-suhe*. Several kinds of happiness listed here cannot be identified at this point of time – or maybe never since the preservation status of the birch bark is very poor in addition to the somewhat careless style of the scribe. A passage in the Kathāvattu lists several kinds of bliss akin to the passage in BC11, but apparently none of the so far illegible ones is included. The discussion is between the Gokulikas who claim that everything is ill (“all is on fire”) and the Theravādins who try to convince them of the opposite:¹⁸

sabbe saṃkhārā anodhikatvā kukkuḷā ti? āmantā.

nanu atthi sukhā vedanā, kāyikaṃ sukhaṃ, cetasikaṃ sukhaṃ, dibbaṃ sukhaṃ, mānusaṃ sukhaṃ, lābhasukhaṃ, sakkārasukhaṃ, yānasukhaṃ, sayanasukhaṃ, issariyasukhaṃ, adhipaccasukhaṃ, gihīsukhaṃ, sāmāññasukhaṃ, sāsavaṃ sukhaṃ, anāsavaṃ sukhaṃ, upadhisukhaṃ, nirupadhisukhaṃ, sāmisaṃ sukhaṃ, nirāmiṣaṃ sukhaṃ, sappītikaṃ sukhaṃ, nippītikaṃ sukhaṃ, jhānasukhaṃ, vimuttisukhaṃ, kāmasukhaṃ, nekkhammasukhaṃ, pavivekasukhaṃ, upasamasukhaṃ, sambodhisukhaṃ ti?

Controverted Point. – That all conditioned things are absolutely [*anodhikatvā* “without distinction”] cinderheaps.

Th. – You affirm this; but is there not such a thing as pleasurable feeling, bodily pleasure, mental pleasure, celestial happiness, human happiness, the pleasures of gain, of being honoured, of riding-and-driving [*yāna-sukha*, lit. vehicle-pleasure], of resting, the pleasures of ruling, of administering, of domestic-and-secular life, of the religious life, pleasures involved in the intoxicants [*asava*] and pleasures that are not, the happiness [of *nibbāna*], both while stuff of life remains and when none remains [*upadhisukhaṃ nirupadhisukhaṃ*], worldly and spiritual pleasures, happiness with zest and without zest, *jhāna*-happiness, the bliss of liberty, pleasures of sense-desires, and the happiness of renunciation, the bliss of solitude, of peace, of enlightenment?

In the following debate several sayings of the Buddha are cited and brought against each other, while the Gokulikas refer to the sorrowfulness of everything connected to

and ‘not doing’”. Cf. also de La Vallée Poussin/Pruden 1988–1990, I: 73f.: “*vedanāskandha, saṃjñāskandha, saṃskāraskandha*, plus *avijñapti* and the three unconditioned things, are seven things which are called *dharmāyatana*s or *dharmadhātu*.”

According to the Abhidharmahṛdaya and also the Satyasiddhiśāstra, *avijñapti* is mainly characterized by being unmanifest or invisible. Cf. Willemen 2006: 60; Sastri 1978: 191f. (*avijñapti* = unmanifest action; *viñapti* = manifest action), Sastri 1978: 245 (“The action done by the body and speech is *viñapti*.”).

17 Cf. Schmithausen 1987: 85, 97, 203.

18 Kukkuḷakathā, Dutiyavagga (Kv 208f., tr. Aung/Davids 1915: 127f., their footnotes are given abbreviated in brackets).

the field of senses and mind (the six fields of contact) – and the Theravādins counter with similar passages giving evidence that there are still pleasing things. In reply to the Gokulikas’ reference to the impermanence of everything conditioned, which inevitably involves suffering, the Theravādins bring forward giving and virtue as examples of something which does cause the opposite of sorrow and which is not undesired, unpleasant or disagreeable (note that also in BC11r.51 *dāna* is brought forward as an argument for the existence of *kāma-sukha*). They finish with the following citation (Udāna II.1¹⁹) which remains without reply, hence winning the debate:

*sukho viveko tuṭṭhassa
sutadhammassa passato,
abyāpajjaṃ sukhaṃ loke
pāṇabhūtesu saṃyamo.*

Happy is solitude who, glad at heart,
Hath learnt the norm and doth the vision see!
Happy is that benignity towards
the world which on no creature worketh harm.

*sukhā virāgatā loke
kāmaṇaṃ samatikkamo,
asmimānassa yo vinayo
etaṃ ve paramaṃ sukhaṃ*

Happy the freedom from all lust, th’ ascent
Past and beyond the needs of sense-desires.
He who doth crush the great ‘I am’-conceit:
This, even this, is happiness supreme.

*taṃ sukkena sukhaṃ pattaṃ
accantasukhameva taṃ,
tisso vijjā anuppattā
etaṃ ve paramaṃ sukhanti*

This happiness by happiness is won,
Unending happiness is this alone.
The Threefold Wisdom hath he made his own.
This, even this, is happiness supreme.

Also here the *viveka-* and *vairāga-sukha* are considered as the foremost happinesses, although the *paramaṃ sukhaṃ* might also refer to *nirvāṇa* itself which is stated to be supreme bliss in the Atthasālini (and elsewhere). But, in the words of Nārada (1987: 172): “This does not mean that there is a pleasurable feeling in Nibbāna although the term *sukha* is used. Nibbāna is a bliss of relief. The release from suffering is itself Nibbānic bliss.”

11r.17 *sarva-ṣatvaṇama[sa]ṇi[va]-suhe*. Either this is to be separated as *sarva-ṣatva-ṇama*°, *sarva-ṣatvaṇa ma*° or even *sarva-ṣatvaṇam a*°. Thus we are left with three possibilities: (1) *ṇama[sa]ṇi[va]-suhe*, (2) *ma[sa]ṇi[va]-suhe*, or (3) *a[sa]ṇi[va]-suhe* “of all beings”. The reading of *[sa]* is uncertain and it could also be transliterated as *[su]* or *[taṃ]* (however, anusvāra is rarely used by this scribe). The reading of *[va]* – as opposed to *[ma]* – is based on how the letter is written; namely, beginning at the top right (instead on the left). Since the top is slightly angular, it should rather be *[va]* than *[a]*, although the latter should not be excluded. Based on the following *su-uddeśa-sukha* and *sugata-dharma-avadhāna-sukha*, maybe (2)

19 Cf. Aung/Davids 1915: 129 for further parallels.

ma⟨*ha⟩[*sa*]ṇi[*va*]⟨*ta⟩ = *mahāsaṃnipāta-sukha* “the happiness due to a great assembly of all beings” (in which one listens to the instruction of the Sugata) could be meant, although two akṣaras would have to be reconstructed. Based on the overall content and the other kinds of happiness, (3) *a*[*sa*]ṇi[*a*]-*suhe* = **āsannika-sukha* “the happiness of being near [to a tathāgata or to awakening / allknowledge]” might be taken into consideration.

11r.17 *ya vela chata ya*[*tr*]*a chade*. Skt./P *velā* “(point of) time” is used in adverbial phrases attested in the Mahāvastu with shortening of the ending to *-aṃ*: *yaṃ velam ... taṃ velam* “when ... then” (BHSD s.v. *velā* and also BHSG §7.18). In the Niya documents the phrase is *vela velaya* “from time to time” (##358, 371) or *yaṃ vela veyā atra agachiṣyama taṃ vela ...* “When we come there, at that time, ...” (#231, tr. Burrow 1940: 44).

11r.18 *atogada-*. Although later in the text G *atogada* has to be translated as “included”, here “turned inwards” in relation to the mind being withdrawn from the senses makes more sense (cf. Mv 1.237 *antogatehi indriyehi avahirgatamānasena* or 1.301 *antargatehi indrayehi abahirgatena mānasena*).

11r.18 *avhiṇṇa-* = *abhiṇṇā* / P *abhiṇṇā*. According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, only someone who has gained the fifth *jhāna* can develop the higher supernormal or supernatural knowledges.²⁰ They are the final attainments within the method of

20 Abhidh-s, ch. 9 §21 (Bodhi 2007: 343, Nārada 1987: 439f. and 454): *abhiṇṇāvāsena pavattamānam pana rūpāvacarapañcamajjhānam abhiṇṇāpādaka pañcamajjhāna vutthahitvā adhittheyyādikam āvajjītvā parikammam karontassa rūpādisu ālambanesu yathāraham appeti. abhiṇṇā ca nāma: iddhividham dibbasotam paracittaviṇṇānā. pubbenivāsānussati dibbacakkhū’ti pañcadhā*. “Emerging from the fifth *jhāna* (serving as a) basis for supernormal knowledge, and reflecting on the ‘resolution’ and so forth, when one practices concentration on physical objects, etc., there arises according to circumstances, the fifth *rūpa-jhāna* induced in the way of developing supernormal knowledge. The five kinds of supernormal knowledge are: Various Psychic Powers, Celestial Ear, Discerning other’ thoughts, Reminiscence of past births, and Celestial Eye” (tr. Nārada). These supernormal (or “direct”) knowledges are said to be mundane. Sometimes a sixth supra-mundane knowledge is mentioned, which is the knowledge of the destruction of the taints (P *āsavakkhaya*) arisen through insight (cf. Bodhi 2007: 344, Nyanatiloka 1952, PTSD, BSHD, Abhidh-k-bh, ed. de La Vallée Poussin/Pruden 1988–1990, IV: 1157–1180). The Sanskrit terms are (e.g. according to the BHSD s.v. *abhiṇṇā* referring to Dhsg 20: *divyacakṣus*, *divyaśrotra*, *paracittajñāna*, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*, *ṛddhi*. Cf. also DĀ (Melzer 2010: 18f.): *ṛddhi-ṣṣaya*, *divyaśrotrajñāna*, *cetaḥparyāyajñāna*, *pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*, *cyutyupapādajñāna*, *āsravakṣayajñāna* (*cyutyupapādajñāna* = *divyacakṣus*°, cf. Bodhi 2007: 344 stating that ‘the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings’ is included in the ‘divine eye’).

meditation for developing calm (P *samatha*).²¹ BC11 (r.19) only names two of them, namely *diva-ca[kṣ]u* or *p[ara]-cita-ñāṇa*, by example. In *prajñāpāramitā* literature, the five *abhijñās* are one of the rewards gained through the development of the six *pāramitās*, esp. the *dhyāna-pāramitā*. Cf. e.g. a verse of the Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā (chapter XXXII, tr. Conze 1973b: 71):

Through trance he casts off the sense-qualities in disgust,
He acquires the “lore,” the superknowledges and concentrations.

Among others, they are a mark of a fully awakened being, cf. ASP (ed. Vaidya 1960a: 499, tr. Conze 1973b: 285):

[...] after I have known full enlightenment, I shall acquire a body of golden colour, the thirty-two marks of the superman, the eighty accessory marks, the splendor of a halo the rays of which extend in infinitude, the great friendliness, the great compassion, the great sympathetic joy, the great impartiality, the four grounds of self-confidence, the four analytical knowledges, the eighteen special dharmas of a Buddha, and I shall acquire the **five superknowledges**, an unthinkable purity of conduct, and unthinkable purity of concentration, an unthinkable purity of wisdom, and the ten powers of a Tathagata.

11r.18 *-aś[r]ea-*, occurring in the compound *avhiṇa-aś[r]ea-suh[e]*, could be translated as “the happiness of supernatural knowledges without superior (*aśreyas*)”. But maybe G *aś[r]ea* is related to *naiḥśreyasa* in Ratnāvalī 1.3, 1.4 or 1.75 (= Liebl 2006, verses 3, 4, 75), which is translated as “Erlösung” by Okada (2006: 36f.) reflecting Paramārtha’s explanation of *naiḥśreyasa* as “Dahinschwinden der Befleckungen, Leidenschaftslosigkeit” (**kleśakṣaya*, **niḥkleśatva* according to Okada 2006: 36) which equals *mokṣa*. Thus, another probably better fitting translation for G *avhiṇa-aś[r]ea-suh[e]*, especially in sequence after G *mokṣa-suhe*, could be “happiness of final emancipation coming along with supernatural powers” (cf. MW s.v. *niḥśreyasa* and BHSD s.v. *niḥśreya(s)*). In the following line two *abhijñās* are apparently enumerated as examples for *śriyā* (= *śrī*, “prosperity, wealth, power”): r.19 *pa[m]ḍi[d]a-[śri]yaṇa suhe diva-ca[kṣ]u [va] p[ara]-cita-ñāṇa [śriyaṇa su]he*.

11r.21 *praṣaṇa-ka[rmo]*. In accordance with normal phonological development G *praṣaṇa* should go back to *pradhāna*. Since in 11v.28 it is written G *pariṇa-prahaṇa-karmo* in a syntactically parallel construction, this is doubtful and I take both as *prahāṇa* “abandoning” (cf. p. 80).²² Nevertheless, in BHS both *pradhāna* and (more

21 Abhidh-s, ch. 9 §21, for more detailed explanations cf. Bodhi 2007: 344.

22 Alternatively, MW lists *pradhāna-karman* / P *padhāna-kamma* as “chief or principal action”. Since the general topic of BC4/11 is abandonment, I do not think this applies here.

often!) *prahāṇa* is used for *pradhāna* “effort, endeavor”. The regular development *G praṣaṇa* = *pradhāna* “effort” is documented in: BL12+14, BL15 and RS5.²³ *G praṣ/saṇa* = *prahāṇa* “abandoning” is apparently attested only once in BL15 as a unique exemption besides otherwise *G prahaṇa*.²⁴ Probably the best example for a confusion is *G [pra]saṇa-prasa[ṇo]* = *prahāṇa-prahāṇaṃ* / *P pahāna-ppadhānaṃ* “effort of abandoning” in BL12+14r.39f. (cf. Allon 2001: 258f.). Another piece of evidence for the confusion of both meanings can be seen in the inconsistent Chinese translations for *pradhāna* (cf. BHSD s.v. *pradhāna*). According to Jan Nattier, translators (1) before Kumārajīva used “abandon/cut-off”, (2) those contemporary to Kumārajīva used “exertion”, and (3) those contemporary to Xuanzang used “cutting off” again (cf. Allon 2001: 259).

11r.22f. *yaṇa sarva-ṣatvehi parigrahidaṇa sekama-bhoyi asti ye ṇaṇa-parigrah[i]di[a] eva bahu-jaṇa-saṣaraṇa-dukha*. This passage is still unclear after considering several possible separations of *ya ṇa* (1. *yad/yo na*, 2. *yāna*²⁵, 3. *yena*) and *ye ṇa ṇa* (1. *yena na*, 2. *ye/yo/yaṃ/yad nānā-*) as well as different meanings of *parigrhīta*. I’ve chosen the current translation (*yo na ...*, *yo nānā-...*), because it agrees with other statements in the texts, wherein detachment and solitude are recommended. For the combination *G parigrahida* with *-ṣatvehi* cf. for example *sattva-parigrhīta* in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, translated as “surrounded by beings”, these beings are those who reject the Mahāyāna (Fujita 2009: 104 fn. 11).²⁶ In BC4, this sentence could stress the necessity for a bodhisattva, following the instruction of the text, to live alone in solitude, not

23 BL12+14 (EĀ-G)r.39ff.: *catvarime bhikṣave pra[sa]ṇa °sat[u] savijamaṇa [lo]gha[śpi °] (*kadara/kadama catvari/catvaro °) sabaraprasaṇe aṇorakṣaṇaprasa[ṇe] bhavaṇaprasaṇ[o ° pra]saṇa-prasa[ṇo]* ° “Monks, these four efforts are found existing in the world. (*What four?) The effort of restraint, the effort of protecting, the effort of development, the effort of abandoning” (Allon 2001: 256–60, cf. also § 5.2.2.8). BL15 (SaṅgCm), frame 32, r.34: *saṇṇamepraṣaṇa* = *samyakpradhāna* / *P sammappadhāna* (gandhari.org). RS5 v.34 (Glass 2007: 203): *samepaṣaṇaṇa* = *samyakprahāṇa* [sic] “right striving”.

24 In the commentary to the *catvāry āryavaṃśāḥ*, *G paṣaṇaramo* is once written besides otherwise *G [p]r[aha]ṇaramo* (= *prahāna-rāma*), source: gandhari.org.

25 However, *yāna* “vehicle” does not match the *kāma-bhogin* relating to a person.

26 It may be noted that *pari √grah* can also have the meaning “to help [others]” (cf. MW s.v. *parigraha* and *pari-grahīṭṭ* and for instance RĀC 3.44, ed. Okada 2006: 137). Another translation was suggested by Blair Silverlock (personal communication), interpreting *pari-grah* as “to understand, comprehend”: “He, who understands [the conditions] regarding all beings,* [for him] there is not this crasping/indulging of desire; he, who doesn’t comprehend [those conditions], there is thus this suffering of the round of existence of everyone” (*lit. “by which one it is comprehended with reference to all beings”). Finally, *aparigrhīta* is a common term in Prajñāpāramitā literature for the “non-grasping” to form etc. (*aparigrhīta-samādhi*), so maybe there is also a wordplay involved here.

surrounded by others, since the company with others would not be conducive to the abandonment of pleasures and desires. This is the main issue here because these pleasures (*kāma*) are the origin of suffering. In the texts of the Pali canon, this stands in contrast to a layperson who may enjoy sensual pleasures (*kāmabhogin*, cf. e.g. AN II 69, tr. Bodhi 2012: 452, or also SN I 78); someone who has gone forth into homelessness should not pursue happiness in sensual pleasures (see SN IV 330ff. [~ AN V 176ff.], tr. Bodhi 2000: 1350ff.).

11r.23f. *pradigara-suhe*. For the happiness resulting from a remedy (*pratīkāra-sukha*) cf. a passage in the Saundarananda of Aśvaghōṣa (Saund 11.28, tr. Covill 2007: 219):

*ākāṅkṣec ca yathā rogaṃ pratīkārasukhepsayā /
duḥkham anvicchati bhavāṃs tathā viṣayatṛṣṇayā //*

You are seeking out suffering with your thirst for sensory experience,
as though someone would want to be ill just to enjoy the pleasure of a remedy.

That this happiness is only temporary is explained in 11v.12, and similarly in a passage of the Satyasiddhiśāstra (chapter on *vedanā*, 78, ed. Sastri 1975: 187, tr. Sastri 1978: 157) it is said that there is no pleasant feeling in the absolute sense, when the happiness is caused by an antidote:

When there is a factor for stopping the suffering, on that occasion the happiness is felt. When a man, e.g. is oppressed by a severe cold, a touch of the fire causes pleasure to him. Q. The pleasant feeling is not existent; for, the hot touch being intensive, causes suffering. A. It exists in the empirical sense but not in the absolute sense. The hot touch causes pleasure to one who is desirous of it. That is when the touch serves as remedy of one's previous suffering, it causes pleasure. When the suffering has already been removed, the hot touch causes no more pleasure. Therefore there is no pleasant feeling in the absolute sense.

In the following text it is discussed whether happiness does exist in a nominal sense, in other words, if there is “even in the realm of desire a pleasant feeling”. In the end this is denied, stating that “when the misery is less intensive the people wrongly conceive of it as happiness”. Cf. hereto also Ratnāvalī 4.48 or 4.62 (= Liebl 2006, verse 348 or 362).

11r.23f. [*u*]{*a}ṇiṣa-suhe / r.24 [*ua*]ṇi[ṣa]-suhe. The equivalents to G [*ua*]ṇi[ṣa] are BHS *upaniṣad* = *upaniṣā* / P *upaniṣā* in the meaning of “cause, basis” as a synonym for *hetu*, *pratyaḃaya*, *nidāna*, *kāraṇa*, *nimitta*, *liṅga*. Cf. Wogihara (1908: 20) regarding *upaniṣad*:

[...] in ZDMG 58 p. 454 hat Professor Leumann drei Verwendungen dieses Wortes unterschieden. Zur zweiten stellt sich folgender Zusammenhang (Abhidharmak.-vy. Calc.-MS fol. 48b):

duḥkhôpaniṣac chraddhā, duḥkham upaniṣad asyāḥ, sēyaṃ śraddhā duḥkhôpaniṣat, duḥkha-hetukēty arthaḥ. Hiuenthsang übersetzt hier *upaniṣad* mit ‘Stütze, Anhaltspunkt’, was ich erwähne, weil Prof. Leumann (wie in ZDMG. 62 p. 101(2) kurz angedeutet ist) jetzt ein altbuddhistisches Wort **upaniśrā* (im Dialekt **upaniśā*) mit den Bedeutungen ‘Grundlage, Stütze, Nähe’ voraussetzt, welches man bei Vereinfachung des *ss* von *upaniśā* für das brahmanische Wort *upaniṣad* gehalten und dementsprechend umgestaltet habe. [...] Das Substantiv finde sich außer in der bei Childer verzeichneten Dhammapada-Stelle in Saṃyutta-nikāya II p. 30–32, wo *-upaniśa* in einer dem Pratītyasamutpāda ähnlichen Reihe genau so wie sonst *-paccaya* gebraucht sei.

I could not find a direct parallel to *upaniṣa(t)-* or *upaniṣā-* or *upaniśā-sukha*, but probably *hetu-sukha* denotes the same. This is named in the Bodhisattvabhūmi (Svapārārtha-pāṭalam, chapter 1.3, ed. Dutt 1966: 17–18) as one of five kinds of bliss: *hetusukhaṃ veditasukhaṃ duḥkhaprātipakṣikaṃ sukhaṃ veditopacchedasukham avyābādhyāṃ ca pañcam sukham.* Those are explained in the following.²⁷

- *hetu-sukha* (“causative bliss”). There are two components of this *sukha*: the senses and their objects. The cause of the feeling of bliss is touch which leads to a result (*phala*) in this life or the next.²⁸
- *vedita-sukha* (“perceptual pleasure”). The pacifying (*praśamana*) sensation of bodily and mental satisfaction caused by sense, object, and the contact of these (similar the *hetusukha*).²⁹
- *duḥkhaprātipakṣika-sukha* (“bliss antithetical to pain”, probably synonym to *pratikāra-sukha*). The notion of bliss (*sukha-buddhi*) comes into existence when suffering is appeased (*upaśama*). The suffering can be due to different reasons such as the endurance of cold and hot, hunger and thirst etc., and the bliss is felt by the respective remedy.³⁰
- *veditopaccheda-sukha* (“pleasure of the suspension of pain”). This is caused by the achievement (*samāpatti*) of the destruction of feelings and perception, experienced during advanced absorption.³¹
- *avyābādhyā-sukha* (“indestructible pleasure”). The bliss characterized as being “inviolable” is fourfold: (1) *naiṣkramya*° (bliss of renunciation), (2) *praviveka*°

27 Cf. Bendall/de La Vallée Poussin 1906: 215f.

28 *tatra sukhapakṣyadvayam indriyaṃ viṣayaś ca | taddhetukaś ca yaḥ sparśaḥ sukhavedanīyaḥ yac-ca kiñcid iṣṭaphalam karma drṣṭe dharme abhisamparāye vā tatsarvam aikadhyam abhisamkṣipyā hetusukham ity ucyate.*

29 *duḥkhapraśamanāpekṣaḥ ebhir eva hetusukhasaṃgrhūtais tribhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saṃbhūtaḥ kāya-cittānugrahakaro ’nubhavo veditasukham ity ucyate.* It is furthermore twofold: *sāsrava* and *anāsrava*.

30 *śītoṣṇakṣutpipāsādikanām anekavidhānām duḥkhānām bahunānāprakārāṇām utpannotpannānām śītoṣṇakṣutpipāsādiduḥkhapratikāreṇa praśamāt tasminn eva duḥkhopaśamamātrake yā sukha-buddhir utpadyate idam ucyate duḥkhaprātipakṣikaṃ sukham.*

31 *saṃjñāveditanirodhasamāpattir veditopacchedasukham ity ucyate.*

(bliss of seclusion = *prīti-sukha* experienced in the first *dhyāna* due to the cessation of *kāma*, *pāpaka* and *akuśaladharmā*), (3) *upaśama*^o (bliss due to calmness achieved through the cessation of *vitarka* and *vicāra* in the second *dhyāna*), (4) *saṃbodhi*^o (bliss of perfect awakening due to the total liberation from worldly fetters (*kleśa*) and the perfect comprehension of the reality as it really is (*yathābhūta*).³²

11r.24 *ṇa ṇi[ca ṇa] atve ṇa [ka] suhiṇa bhava*. This phrase is reminiscent of the three marks of conditioned phenomena (*trilakṣaṇa* / P *tilakkhana*): they are impermanent (*anitya* / P *anicca*), without self (*anātman* / P *anattā*) and causing suffering (*duḥkha* / P *dukkha*). G *ṇa [ka] suhiṇa bhava* should correspond to Skt. *na kaṃ sukhinaḥ* (= *sukhitasya*) *bhāvaḥ*, “not at all [is it / is there] a continuous state of possessing happiness / being happy”. For G *suhiṇa* ~ Skt. *sukhitasya* cf. SaṅgCm *suhiṇa cite* ~ *sukhitasya cittam* (Stache-Rosen 1968: 149).

11r.26 *paśita* = *paśyitvā* “having seen”. Cf. Silk (2013: 183) examining the verses of the Kāśyapaparivarta: “Looking more directly at morphology, we find the non-Sanskritic gerunds *paśyitva*” (other occurrences of this form can be found in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra, Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, and Mahāvastu-Avādana). Cf. also Lenz 2003: 48 (PY-G): *paśi[do] = dr̥ṣṭaḥ* / P *diṭṭho* “seen” pp. $\sqrt{dr̥ś/paś}$ (nom. sg. m.).

11r.27 /// *muḍeasa*. Probably related to *mūḍha* “stupefied, bewildered, perplexed, confused”. Cf. 11v.07 *[a]muḍa khaita* = “non-perplexed (?) [it is] declared”.

11r.27 *pridi*. The mental factor *prīti* / P *pīti* (“joy”) arises in concentration during the first two *dhyānas*. In consequence of this mental happiness, the meditator becomes tranquil and *sukha* arises in him. Cf. Vism 212 (tr. Ñāṇamoli 2011: 208):

So when he has thus suppressed the hindrances by preventing obsession by greed, etc., and his mind faces the meditation subject with rectitude, then his applied thought and sustained thought occur with a tendency toward the Enlightened One’s special qualities. As he continues to exercise applied thought and sustained thought upon the Enlightened One’s special qualities, happi-

32 *avyābādhyasukhaṃ punaḥ samāsaś caturākāraṃ veditavyam / naiṣkramyasukhaṃ pravīveka-sukhaṃ upaśamasukhaṃ saṃbodhisukhaṃ ca / samyag eva śraddhayā agārād anāgārikāṃ pravrajitasya āgārikavicitravyāsaṅgaduḥkhanirmokṣān naiṣkramyasukham ity ucyate / kāma-pāpakākuśaladharmaprahāṇavivekāṭ prathame dhyāne vivekajaṃ prītisukhaṃ pravīveka-sukham ity ucyate / dvitīyādiṣu dhyāneṣu vitarkavicāropaśamād upaśamasukham ity ucyate / sarvakleśāntavisaṃyogāj jñeyavastuyathābhūtābhisaṃbodhāc ca yat sukham idam ucyate saṃbodhisukham.*

ness [*pīti*] arises in him. With his mind happy, with happiness as a proximate cause, his bodily and mental disturbances are tranquilized by tranquillity. When the disturbances have been tranquilized, bodily and mental bliss [*sukha*] arise in him.

Furthermore, *prīti* is one of the seven factors of awakening (*P bojjhanga*).³³

11r.28 *nikhalidea* / r.29 *nikhalida*, pp. from *niṣ√khal°* “to remove, expel, take out, send back”. Cf. G *nikhalita* Niya #331 “he took (her) up (from the ground)”; G *nikhalitaṃti* Niya #63 “they took out”; G *nikhalidavo* #64 “are to be sent back” (Burrow 1937: 41 §92), #272 “to be taken”, #714 “to be removed”, G *nikaliṣyati* [sic!] #188 “to remove” (Burrow 1937: 9 §24).

11r.28 *jugidea* ... *jugida*, pp. from *√juṅg* “to exclude”, cf. *√yuiṅ* “to desert, relinquish, abandon”; both Dhātupāṭha (according to MW s.v. *juṅg*).

11r.29 *parvayidehi*, instr. pl. from *pravrajita~* / *P pabbajita~* “mendicant”. The *pravrajita* appears to be placed in opposition to a buddha, an awakened one, a few words later, and it might be asked whether the *pravrajita* is a synonym for a śrāvaka, since a buddha is likewise opposed (or juxtaposed) to a śrāvaka in BL10: *avi budhaviharo avi śra[paka]vihar[o]*.

11r.29 *aprañati*. The term *aprajñapti* stands for “non-designation”, which circumscribes the state of being without any (verbal) notion of things, without cognizing things by way of designation. In combination with the emergence of *prīti*, it refers to a state in meditation, during which one experiences joy but is without any kind of conceptual thinking, similar (or identical) with the second *dhyāna*, which is without *vitarka* and *vicāra* (noticing and investigating an object, that is, roughly and in more detail).

11r.30 *paribhu[t]a~* is understood as *paribhukta~* / *P paribhutta~* “enjoyed, possessed, consumed”, pp. from *pari√bhuj*, since also in other passages of BC11 this meaning is more appropriate than e.g. *paribhūta~*, which moreover should have been written G **paribhuda*. The derivation from *√bhuj* is further justified by G *aparibhujj[iv]e[a]* (11v.18) or G *paribhujidava* (4v.03.1).

.....
33 *P sati, dhammavicaya, viriya, pīti, passaddhi, samādhi, upekkhā.*

11r.30 *sarva[t]ra[dea]*. Cf. BHS s.v. *sarvatratāye*: “adv. (app. instr. of **sarvatratā*; = Pali *sabbattatāya* or *sabbatthatāya*), altogether, in every way”. If correct, the Gāndhārī form should be *sarvatradae*, but this may not be reason enough to dismiss the equivalence. Instead it would be another argument for interpreting the ending *-ea* in BC4 as dat. sg. *-āya* (cf. text notes on p. 170 and p. 178).

11r.31 *vivega-gadasa* is currently taken as *vivekagatasya* (gen. sg.). The last repeated G *upajea* seems superfluous, but the alternative *vivekagatatā* “state of having gone into seclusion” involves an unusual change of *t > s*³⁴ and causes also difficulties in translation as it is contrary to *saṃgaṇikā*, which could only be solved by adding a “but” to the translation (“... but the state of having gone into seclusion would arise”). This solitude can refer to physical or mental isolation, and although elsewhere in this text generally the mental detachment is meant, in this context – in juxtaposition to *yāna* and *saṃgaṇikā* – the physical seclusion might be intended. The same is the case in 11r.18: *vi[ve]ga-suhe asagaṇia-[suhe]* “the happiness of detachment / seclusion (*viveka*), the happiness of being without company (*asaṃgaṇikā*)”. Cf. hereto ASP 194, tr. Conze:

Furthermore, Mara the Evil One may come to the Bodhisattva and exhort and inform him in connection with the quality of detachment that the Tathagata has praised detachment, and that that means that one should dwell in remote forest, in a jungle, in mountain clefts, burial grounds, or on heaps of straw, etc. But that is not what I teach as the detachment of a Bodhisattva, that he should live in a forest, remote, lonely and isolated, or in jungle, mountain clefts, burial grounds, on heaps of straw, etc. Subhuti: If that is not the detachment of the Bodhisattva, what then is it? The Lord: A Bodhisattva dwells detached when he becomes detached from the mental activities associated with the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas.

11r.29–31 *-sa / sa*. In the whole paragraph the interpretation of G *sa* either as gen. sg. ending or as personal pronoun as well as its translation is a matter of uncertainty. Currently, all occurrences are interpreted as a gen. sg. ending, whether in the meaning of “for” (r.29 *pridi budhesa [=budhasa] upajea* “for an awakened one [i.e. in the mind of a buddha] joy would arise” or r.31 *vivegagadasa upajea* “would [this] arise for someone who has gone into seclusion”) or in the meaning of “if” as a kind of genitive absolute, although without an antecedent (r.30 *pridi paribhu[t]asa upajea* “joy would arise, in case something is consumed” etc.). In my understanding, the message is that the joy, which is excluded with relation to the “former” meditation practice of

34 But cf. the discussion of *s/t* in the chapter on paleography under *s/s/s-* on p. 48.

pravrajitas (as a synonym of *śrāvakas*?), is not excluded in the case of a fully awakened one, who realizes emptiness, and is without “conception” (*aprajñapti*). In his mind, the experience of joy may arise, since it is not the same joy as for an ordinary being and he has no attachment to it.

11r.32 *tulie uṣata [ya]*. The *[ya]* is written in two separate parts, thus it could also be two letters (*a* and *ṇa/da*) written very small. In the case of *ya = ca*, the syntactical position would be odd. G *tulie* should be equivalent to Skt. *tulā*, “balance”, or more basically a “beam” or “pole” for lifting something. G *uṣata* then could mean “hanging (*ava√śṛ*, cf. CDIAL s.v. *avaśrayati*) from a beam” or “being fixed on a pole” (cf. MV s.v. *√śri*). Or it could refer to something being “raised” (*ut√śṛ*, BHS rarely *utsṛta* for Skt. *ucchrita*) on to a balance in order to be weighed, as it is often seen in hell depictions.

Even though the exact wording is not yet clear, this short passage represents a description of hell, in which one has to spend as much time as is needed in order that all “evil action has exhausted its result”. This is stated for example in the Devadūtasutta (MN III 178–187) or in the “letter to a friend” (*suhṛllekha*) attributed to Nāgārjuna (verses 77–82), in which various painful situations in hell are described, demonstrating that one is reborn as a consequence of one’s own ill-conduct and evil deeds.

11r.33 *caduraguḍiehi*. Most probably this is an instr. pl. of *caturaṅgulika*~ “four fingers long/broad” (i.e. four inches). Cf. AG-G^L 21 (Salomon 2008a: 429) *caduraghulu = caturaṅgulāḥ / caturaṅgulam* “four fingers long” referring to soft hair on the soles of the feet. The context in BC11 is not clear, but also in *Suvikrāntavikrāmaparipṛcchā* a similar term is mentioned apparently quite out of context: “Just as in space no one has ever seen the full reality of (an object) five fingers broad, just so no one has ever seen the own-being of the full reality of the perfection of wisdom” (tr. Conze 1973b: 46).³⁵ Thus the word might simply refer to any object that can be measured in such dimensions (that is, which is graspable with the hand). The length/width of four fingers could also refer to a cloth with which the sexual organs of a naked monk should be covered, while he is “repeatedly [sustaining] these and other various painful feelings” as described in the *Ākāraṅga-sūtra* of the Jainas, a scripture describing

35 *tadyathāpi nāma śāradvatīputra ākāṣe na jātu kenacit pañcāṅgulipariniṣpattir dṛṣṭapūrvā, śāradvatīputra na jātu kenacit prajñāpāramitāpariniṣpattisvabhāvo dṛṣṭapūrvah.*

“the progress of the faithful towards the highest perfection” (Jacobi 1884: xlviii).³⁶ Although the context does indeed fit, the plural of *caturaṅgulika* does not and it is still open to question which noun it classifies. Another possibility, and especially in relation to the descriptions of hell previously mentioned, the term could be equivalent to *caturguḍaka*~ “four [hot iron] balls”. Or yet even another possibility could be to connect the term to the immeasurably long time during which one would have experienced suffering. A similar formulation, for example, is used to express this notion in the Saṃyutta-nikāya (SN II 178). Here a man cuts all the trees, branches, etc. in Jambudvīpa, piles them, makes them into four inch square pieces (*caturaṅgulaṃ ghaṭikam*) and counts them (cf. Lamotte 1944–1980, IV: 2099–2100).

11r.33 [*a*]*cida*. Apparently first written *va*, the initial letter was corrected to *a* resulting in *acida*, which most probably corresponds to Skt./P *ācita* (pp. of *ā* √*ci*), “accumulated”, with instr. “loaded, covered, filled with”. Since the beginning of the sentence is missing, the syntax is not clear, and thus it could either describe a state of “being covered or filled with something that is four fingers long” or “being filled with four [hot] balls” or “having accumulated [something] for innumerable eons”.

11r.35 *khaveati* is most probably derived from √*kṣip* (*kṣāpayati*, BHS *kṣepayati*, P *khepeti*) in the meaning “to spend time” → “would have spent innumerable *kalpas* in misery (*daurgatya*)”.³⁷ In this, it would be very close to a statement in AG-G^L 53 *ṇiraghehi kṣ[e]viṣu ciru / 74 ṇiraghehi kṣeviṣu ciro* “I spent a long time in hells” (Salomon 2008a: 181, 184, text notes 264).³⁸ Which again is paralleled in the Divy 367.8: *narakavedanīyāni karmāṇi kṣepayitvā* “having spent (exhausted) their deeds

36 Cf. Jacobi 1884: 73, footnotes given in square brackets and according to current transliteration conventions: “(5) Seventh Lesson: To a naked [fn.: *acela*] monk the thought occurs: I can bear the pricking of grass, the influence of cold and heat, the stinging of flies and mosquitos; these and other various painful feelings I can sustain, but I cannot leave off the covering of the privities. Then he may cover his privities with a piece of cloth [fn.: This is the *kaṭibandhana* or *colapaṭṭaka*; it should be four fingers broad and one *hasta* long]. A naked monk who perseveres in this conduct, sustains repeatedly these and other various painful feelings: the grass pricks him, heat and cold attack him, flies and mosquitos sting him. A naked monk (should be) aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it.”

37 As an alternative a derivation from √*khav* as a variant reading for √*khac* “to fasten, bind” (MW s.v. *khac / khav*) has been taken into consideration, by analogy with *aharea*, given in opposition to *naṣea* elsewhere in the text.

38 Suggested by S. Baums referring to G *kṣ[e]viṣu ciru* “I spent a long time” AG-G^L 53, where the verb seems to be derived from √*kṣi* rather than from √*kṣip* (Salomon 2008a: 264), cf. Baums 2009: 237 fn. 50 with reference to Insler 1987: 59–60, 62–63.

that had to be suffered-for in hells” (BHSD s.v. *kṣepayati*). Similarly, in BC11 *khaveati* would indicate that one has spent a long time under miserable conditions due to bad karma which is now exhausted.

11r.36 *ṇa bhio* / r.37 *ṇa bhi* / r.38 [*ṇa*] *bhiu* = *na bhūyaḥ* / P *na bhiiyo* “not at all, no more”. In BC4 it was written G *bhuyo*. In the Niya documents it occurs as *bhuya*, *bhui*, *buo* (Burrow 1937: 40 §91). According to Konow (1929: xcvi) *bhui* is normal.

11r.36 *amaho* / r.37 *amahu*. The form suggests a dat. (*asmabhyam*), but it is used as gen. pl.; also in Pali the dat. and gen. pl. are both *amhākaṃ/asmākaṃ/amhaṃ*). This form only occurs in the Niya documents, *amahu* being more frequent. Cf. Burrow 1937: 32 §78, where it is likewise applied as a gen. pl.

11r.36f. *ṣade*. Cf. BC4 text notes on *ṣadasa*, p. 230.

11r.38 *amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva*. The current translation “like the non-nourishing on goods stolen from enemies” is based on the following considerations: G *apoṣaṇa* might be synonym to G *aparibhuta* = *aparibhukta*~, thus G *apoṣaṇa* as negation of *poṣaṇa* / P *posana* “nourishing, feeding, support” is reasonable. G *hoḍe* corresponds to *hoḍha* “stolen (goods)”.³⁹ G *amidra* is of course *amitra*, probably synonym to *ari*, which again is a synonym for *kleśa*. Thus in a metaphorical sense, this phrase expresses that, just as one should not support/feed oneself by something stolen from enemies, just so one does not produce joy or pleasure by *kleśas* (various kinds of passion or lust causing clinging to existence), since they do not belong to oneself, are impermanent, and cause suffering in the end.

11r.38f. [*va*]*yaeṇa* ... *ava*[*yede*]*ṇa*. Based on the preceding contrastive pairs G *labheṇa* – *alabheṇa* and G *parubhuteṇa* – *aparibhuteṇa*, these two words should be antonyms. Most probably they refer to *vyayaka* “(someone) making payments, spending”⁴⁰ → “consumer, spender” and *avyayita* “(sth.) not spent” → “not spending,

39 Cf. also *hoḍṛ*, MW: “(?) m. a robber, highway-robber”, and PTSD s.v. *oḍḍha*: “[better spelling *oḍḍha*, pp. of *ā + vah*] carried away, appropriated”, apparently only in the compound *sahoḍhā corā* “thieves with their plunder” (Vism 180), cp. *sahoḍha* “one who has the stolen property with him” (MW). Also pp. *ūḍha*, or *uṛha*

40 Cf. P *vyaya* [*vi+aya*] or *vaya* [*vi+i*] “expense, loss” or also *veyyāyika* “(nt.) [fr. *vyaya*] money to defray expenses, means” (PTSD).

not consuming”, which correspond well to the aforementioned *lābha* “obtainment, gain(ings), possession, [material] profit” and *paribhukta* “enjoyed, used, employed”.⁴¹

11r.40 *vidimiśa* = *vyatimiśra* / P *vītimissa* “mixed with, intermingled with, tainted by”. Cf. a passage in the Dharmasamuccaya (Dh-sam 5.166–168):

sukhasya duḥkhamiśritatvam
vināśaṃ naiva budhyanti kāmiṇāś cittavañcitāḥ /
duḥkhamiśraṃ sukham idaṃ pracchannam iva vidyate //
padmamālāparicchinno viṣapūrṇo yathā ghaṭaḥ /
odanaṃ viṣasammiśraṃ maraṇāntaṃ (hi) tat tathā //
tathā saukhyam idaṃ sarva tasmāt tat parivarjayet /
ādau madhye tathā cānte narakāya bhaviṣyati //

About the mixture of suffering with happiness:

the destruction is not at all recognized by those desirous ones with deceived minds.

As if hidden the happiness is mixed with suffering,

like a water jar confined by a wreath of lotus flowers but filled with poison,

thus rice mixed with poison is leading to death;

the same with this and every comfort, therefore it has to be avoided;

because in the beginning, in the middle, and likewise at the end it will be similar to hell.

In BC4, the two main categories are mental (tainted) happiness, indicated by G *viñati-dukha-vidimiśa-s[uh]e*, and physical (tainted) happiness, indicated by G *[du]kha-vidimiś[a-s]u(*he)*. Both are unpleasant and ineffectual.

11r.45 *-amo[yaṇa-kṣaya-]*. G *amoyaṇa* can correspond to *amocana* “not loosening or letting go” or to *āmocana*, “undressing, letting go” or quite contrary “putting on (a garment or ornament)”. In the sequence with *cīvara* (“dress, robe”) and *kāya* (“body”) one would expect something that is usually considered to be “unlosable”. In this respect, it might be related to *nirmocaka*, “the cast-off skin of a snake” (MW).

11r.45 *atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-śatva-hisa-* with G *hisa* = *hiṃsā* / P *hiṃsā* “violence, harm”. I have not found this triad in combination with *hiṃsā*, but *para-hiṃsā* or *sattva-hiṃsā* occur for instance in hell descriptions (e.g. 108 Buddhastotras, Narakodhārastotra), thus being adequate to the preceding G *śīda-uṣa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha* (= *śīta-uṣṇa-dhāraṇa-duḥkha*) which is referring to the suffering experienced in cold

41 Alternatives to the proposed interpretation had been *vrajakena* “as a wandering mendicant” and *avrajitena* “non-roaming” or *vyāyatena* “separated” and *avyāyatena* “not separated” (probably referring to duality and non-duality, cf. PTSD *avyāyata* “without discrimination”).

and hot hells. In its syntactical composition the phrase is parallel, but a contrasting sense, to *atva-hida ca para-hida ca sarva-ṣatva-hida* in BC4 (r.22.2).

11r.46 *kama-suhe* = *kāma-sukha* “happiness resulting from sensual pleasure”, also “worldly happiness” or “pleasures of desire” (Cowell, Buddhaca 1.81 (1.76)). According to Kalupahana (1992: 95) the “worldly or material happiness (*āmisa-sukha*) becomes identical with whatever happiness is derived from following one’s desires (*kāma-sukha*)” – in contrast to *nir-āmisa-sukha*, i.e. mental or spiritual happiness. In the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (MPPŚ IV 1967)⁴² the *kāma-sukha* is described as impure (*aśuci-sukha*) relating to the objects of the five senses (*pañca-kāma-guṇa*) in comparison to the intense feeling of bliss gained through deeper meditation and trances (*dhyāna* and *samāpatti*). Additionally, in the commentaries in the Pali canon *kāma* is the desire, the thirst (*taṇhā*) for sense objects including the happiness produced by the five senses (Varma 2002: 32).⁴³ Among the so far edited Gāndhārī manuscripts, the term *kāma-sukha* also occurs in the Dhp-G^K 170–171, however translated as “desires and pleasures” by Müller.⁴⁴

11r.47 *vivega*. Nyanatiloka 1952 (s.v. *viveka*) translates the *viveka-sukha* as “Glück durch innere Loslösung und Abgeschiedenheit” and explains that this detachment can be related to the body as well as to the mind:

Körperliche Abgeschiedenheit (*kāya-viveka*), d.i. das Verweilen in der von lusterregenden sinnlichen Dingen freien Einsamkeit. Geistige Abgeschiedenheit (*citta-viveka*), d.i. das innere Abgewandtsein und Losgelöstsein von den sinnlichen Dingen.

According to the Mahāniddeśa there are three kinds of detachment: *kāya*^o, *citta*^o und *upadhi*^o, whereby the last is the detachment from “foundations” which lead to rebirth

42 Cf. also MPPŚ I 443; II 711, 1021, 1044 according to the Index.

43 Cf. AG-G^L 11: *aṇathio kamaguṇehi pacah[i]*, being “indifferent [*anarthika*] to the types of five sensory pleasures” (Salomon 2008a: 353, 381).

44 Dhp-G^K 170 *eda driḍha baṇaṇam aha dhira oharīṇa sīṣila drupamokṣu / eda bi chitvaṇa parivrayadi aṇavehiṇo kamasuhu prahai* (Dhp 346: *etaṃ dalhaṃ bandhanam āhu dhīrā oharīṇaṃ sithīlaṃ duppamuñcaṃ / etaṃ pi chetvāna paribbajanti anapekkhino kamasukhaṃ pahāya* “That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving **desires and pleasures** behind.”). Dhp-G^K 171 *ye rakarata aṇuvadadi sodu saigada (*ma)[kaḍa]o [jala] / eda b[i] chitvaṇa parivrayadi aṇavehiṇo kamasuha prahai* (Dhp 347: *ye rāgarattānupatanti sotaṃ sayāṃ kataṃ makkatāko ’va jālaṃ / etaṃ pi chetvāna vajanti dhīrā anapekkhino sabbadukkhāṃ pahāya* “Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world free from cares, leaving **all affection** behind”).

(i.e. P *kilesa*, *khandha*, *abhisankhāra*). Such detachments are ultimately equal to P *nibbāna*.⁴⁵ The Saccavibhaṅga-sutta (MN III 248) indicates that the seclusion is relative to sense desires and unwholesome states (P *vivicca kāmehi*, *vivicca akusalehi dhammehi*) and attributes the happiness and rapture born of seclusion (P *vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ*) to the first *jhāna* (cf. Ānandajoti 2008). In BC11 it rather refers to the *citta-viveka*, even though this may imply a physical seclusion for meditation (cf. *vivega-gadasa*, p. 225).

11r.47 *vera[gr]a = vairāga*⁴⁶ / P *virāga* “absence of (worldly) desire or passion, renouncement of desire” (Skorupski 2002), “without attachment” (Dessein 2009: 50). In the Buddhacarita (tr. Cowell) *vairāgya* (also *virāga*) is praised as the highest happiness (*paraṃ śivaṃ*). It is synonym to *nirāmiṣaṃ sukhaṃ* “detached/desinterested happiness, free from sense-pleasures, as opposite to physical pleasure” (Anderson 2001: 38 referring to the Pañcattaya-sutta, MN II 228–238).

11r.48 *ṇa [ida ḥhaṇe] = nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate / P netam ṭhānaṃ vijjati* “this possibility cannot exist, that is an impossibility, this is impossible”. According to Strauch 2007/2008: 34, “[t]his formula is met with frequently in the canonical sūtras and was incorporated into the later non-canonical literature as well (cf. BHSD s.v. *sthāna* 5, PTSD s.v. *ṭhāna* IVb)”.

11r.49f. *daṇe atogade avi amiṣa-daṇe avi dharma-daṇe atogade*. The *āmiṣa* / P *āmiṣa dāna* comprises material resources, the *dharma* / P *dhamma dāna* religious or spiritual teachings, whereby the *dharma-dāna* is superior, of course.⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. AN I 91 (Dukanipāta, Dānavagga):⁴⁸

*dvemāni, bhikkhave, dānāni. katamāni dve? āmisadānañ ca dhammadānañ ca.
imāni kho, bhikkhave, dve dānāni. etadaggaṃ, bhikkhave, imesaṃ dvinnaṃ dānānaṃ
yad idaṃ dhammadānaṃ ti.*

45 Cf. Nyanaponika 1955: “Die Sinnen-Eindrücke sind ‘abgesondert’ (im Sinne von *suññā*, ‘leer’) von einem Ich und einem Ich Angehörigen, von etwas Beständigem, Ewigem, Unveränderlichem. [...] Die Sinnen-Eindrücke des Heiligen sind ‘abgesondert’ (frei) von Gier, Haß und Wahn.”

46 In Sanskrit, also *virāga* or *vairāgya* are possible, but *vairāgya* should be G *veraga* with normal non-modified *g*, open to the left (cf. BC4 *aroga = ārogya* besides otherwise intervocalic *g*).

47 An early commentary preserved in MS 2373/1/1 of the Schøyen Collection (palm leaf, Sanskrit, Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī, ca. 2nd c. CE) also “deals with the concepts of ‘material gift’ (*āmiṣadāna*) and ‘gift of doctrine’ (*dhammadāna*)”, see Schmithausen 2002: 249–252.

48 Likewise, Dh 354: *sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti, sabbarasaṃ dhammaraso jināti; sabba-ratiṃ dhammarati jināti, taṇhakkhayaṃ sabbadukkhaṃ jināti.*

According to Findly (2003: 195)⁴⁹, the P *dhamma-dāna* is an action of “renunciants”, the P *āmiṣa-dāna* an action of “non-renunciants”. The P *āmiṣa-dāna* is in general the giving of food or clothes from lay followers to monks. The P *dhamma-dāna* on the contrary is the giving of teachings by the monks to the lay followers. In a perfect world, the lay follower gives out of pure generosity, and the monks teaches out of pure compassion (*anukampā*). In reality, on the one hand obtaining merit (*puṇya*) by giving was certainly an issue, and on the other hand teachings would have taken place “in return for material support”, whether before or after (e.g. Vin I 247–29 according to Findly 2003: 361).

A passage in the LPG from Gilgit (fol. 278b, parivarta 73, ed. Conze 1974: 42ff., tr. Conze 1974: 170f.) lists the *dāna* as one of “four means of conversion” by which a bodhisattva helps other beings.⁵⁰ The category of *dāna* is divided into *āmiṣa-* and *dharma-*. While the *āmiṣa-dāna* is the giving of material things like gold, silver, elephants, the *dharma-dāna* is again subdivided into *laukika-* (worldly Dharma/teaching) and *lokottara-* (supramundane Dharma).⁵¹

A threefold division is given for example in the Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā in a section about the instruction to the practice of the *pāramīs* (tr. Bodhi 1996):

The perfection of giving, firstly, is to be practiced by benefiting beings in many ways — by relinquishing one’s own happiness, belongings, body, and life to others, by dispelling their fear, and by instructing them in the Dhamma. Herein, giving is threefold by way of the object to be given: the giving of material things (*āmiṣadāna*), the giving of fearlessness (*abhaya-dāna*), and the giving of the Dhamma (*dhammadāna*). Among these, the object to be given can be twofold: internal and external.⁵²

The same triad of *dāna* is documented in a commentary to the Vajracchedikā-sūtra of Master Fu (497–569): *āmiṣa*, *dharma* and *abhaya* (“wealth alms, dharma alms,

49 For *āmiṣa-dāna* cf. pp. 195f., 259; for *dhamma-dāna* pp. 59, 113, 142, 184f. (ref. to AN IV 364), 195, 361, 389.

50 These are: gifts (*dāna*), kind words (*priyavadyatā*), actions for their benefit (*arthacaryā*), conciseness between words and deeds (*samanārthatā*).

51 (I) *kathaṃ ca subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattva dānena sattvān saṃgrhṇāti? iha subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo dvābhyāṃ dānābhyāṃ sattvān saṃgrhṇāti. katamābhyāṃ dvābhyāṃ? yad uta (Ia) āmiṣadānenaca (Ib) dharmadānenaca. (Ia) kathaṃ ca subhūte bodhisattvomahāsattvaḥ āmiṣadānena sattvān saṃgrhṇāti? [...] (Ib) kathaṃ ca subhūte bodhisattvomahāsattvaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caran sattvān dharmadānena anugrṇāti? dve ime subhūte dharmadāne (Iba) laukikaṃ ca (Ibb) lokottaraṃ ca [...]*, “And how does the Bodhisattva help beings with gifts? He helps them with two kinds of gifts, i.e. material gifts and the gift of Dharma. And how does he help beings with material gifts? [...] And how does the Bodhisattva who courses in perfect wisdom help beings with the gift of Dharma? There are two kinds of the gift of Dharma – the worldly and the supramundane. [...]”. Cf. Conze 1975: 198f. Regarding *dāna* as part of the perfections cf. Findly 2003: 185 or Amore 1971: 94. Regarding *dharma-dāna* cf. Skorupski 2002: 8 (and *passim*).

52 For more details on the method of practicing the perfection of giving, see Bodhi 1996 or 1978.

fearless mind alms”, Yakup 2010: 125). The reason why in BC11 *dāna* is subdivided in *āmiṣa-* and *dharmā-dāna* seems to be that the author is in need of an argument that *kāma-sukha* is also included together with *viveka-* and *vairāga-sukha*; hence in the method of practice recommended in this manuscript. Since this method is based on the *pāramitās*, he lists three of them ending with *dāna*, which also pertains to the world of senses by the giving of material gifts and thus gives rise to *kāma-sukha*.

11r.51 *saya[visa] śali sa[rva]rthae śali vu[t]o avi pala[le] atogade yava[s]a tuṣe atogade*. This simile is given to illustrate that *kāma-sukha* is inevitably included in all kinds of *sukha*, as long as one abides on earth in a human form. Hence, *śali* may denote every kind of happiness, while the kernel or essence of a grain may point to *viveka-* and *vairāga-sukha* and the husk on the other hand to the *kāma-sukha*.⁵³ In order to reach the kernel of the grain, we have to pass over and remove the husk. Likewise, in order to reach the inner bliss, we have to pass over and remove the pleasure acquired by senses. Thus, sensual pleasure might be considered a necessary evil, for, just as one cannot hold water without a vessel, so too the Buddha’s doctrine relies on a form. That is, in this life to transport the message of the Buddha, one has to deal with the medium of a human sensory body and mind. Another fascinating aspects of this simile is the fact, that by removal of husk the corn is no more capable to sprout. Thus, if you separate yourself from the husk of *kāma-sukha*, it will no longer spring forth and there will be no more rebirth. Cf. Frauwallner 1973: 332f.:⁵⁴

So long as these taints (*kleśāḥ*) are present, the actions (*karmāṇi*) are able to bring about fruit. Their relation is like that of a rice-corn which, so long as it carries husks, is able to put forth sprouts, but no more when the husks are removed.

This simile is given and explained in Vyāsa’s commentary on Patañjali’s *Yogasūtra* 2.13 (see Bryant 2009: 198–202). In general the commentary on this and the following verses of the *Yogasūtra* refer very much to the same issue as discussed in BC11. Namely, that the happiness, which is based on sense-experience, is only temporary and ultimately causes suffering (see Bryant 2009: 202–212). The same statement is made in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (*Abhidh-k-bh* III 36–37), where it “is explained that defilement is like a seed, a Nāga, a root, a tree, a husk of grain [...] Grain, even though intact, does not germinate when it is stripped of its husk. [...] Action is like grain with its husk” (Pruden 1988–1990, II: 437–438). Also in a Central Asian manu-

53 For the association of the husk being impure, cf. e.g. *Vism* 346 or *DN* III 199.

54 Thanks to Elisabeth Steinbrückner for giving me the hint to this passage.

script, the husk (*tuṣa*) is equated with defilements (*kleśa*), while *karma* is equated with the corn of rice (*taṇḍula*): SHT VIII 1840 *tuṣasthānīyaḥ kleśaḥ taṇḍulasthānīyaṃ karma*. A similar comparison can be found in the AN I 242, where a monk abandons all taints and thus attains or is established in the core (i.e. the core of *sīla*, or of *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*, according to the commentary of Buddhaghosa), just like a farmer, who, having cut his (rice) plants (*sāli*), would remove the straw (*palāla*) and chaff (*bhusika*) and winnow it. Then he would pound it and remove the husk (*thusa*), thus reaching the pure core (*sāra*).

In BC11, G *yava[s]a* could probably be transliterated as *yavaṣa* or even *yavaṭa*, but the lower part of the Kharoṣṭhī sign is slightly broken off leaving several options. One would be that it corresponds to *yāvatā*, but normally this develops to G *yavada*. In BL15 (SaṅgCm) we have G *yavaḍa*. Nonetheless, G *yavasa* for *yāvatā* would be unique to BC11, and since it is written *yavade* in 11r.06 the second option seems more likely here, namely that G *yavasa* corresponds to *yavasya* “corn, barley” or perhaps also *yavāsa* designating some kind of grass.

Based on the parallels I could find, G *palala* is taken as corresponding to *palāla* “straw” and not *palala* “ground sesamum” in the meaning of “kernel or essence of a grain”. In addition to the ones given above, we may also refer to Patañjali’s Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya on P[āṇini] 1,2.39 (*adhyāya* 1, *pāda* 2, *sūtra* 39), where *sāli*, *palāla*, and *tuṣa* are put next to each other: *kaḥ cit annārthī śālikalāpam sapalālam satuṣam āharati nāntayīyakatvāt. saḥ yāvat ādeyam tāvat ādāya tuṣapalālāni utsrjati* (ed. Kielhorn/Abhyankar 1880–1885/1972–196, I: 211.19–212.17; ed. Rohatak 1961–1963, II: 57–59). Here also *tuṣa* and *palāla* are part of *sāli*, but are to be removed.

11v.01 *matupa[ye]jaṣi*. Although the characters are relatively easily legible, leaving not too many choices, it is not clear what is meant. Besides G *matu* = *mātr* “a knower, one who has true knowledge”, I have no suggestions. Since relying on it, joy and happiness (or the “bliss of joy”, *prīti-sukha*) would arise (assuming G *ola[ia]* = “depending upon” is correct), it could refer to some kind of *samādhi*.

11v.01 *ola[ia]* / 11v.12 *ol[aia]*. This could be taken as *avalambya* (abs.) “depending upon” due to the context. In view of the syntactically parallel G *arthae* = *arthāya* in 11v.12 perhaps *avalambāya* (dat. sg. m.) or even *avalambāyāḥ* (abl. sg. f.) “due to the dependance upon ...” are alternatives. Phonologically, the extended reduction *mb*

> *b* > \emptyset is unusual, which is why another etymological derivation is offered. Thus, it could also correspond to *avalag(ay)ita~* / P *olag(g)ita~* from *ava* \sqrt{lag} (P *olaggeti*) “to fasten, attach” in nearly the same meaning (cf. Cone s.v. *olaggeti* for references where *olaggita~* is apparently synonym to *olambita~* or likewise *olaggetvā = olambitvā*). In this case it would be an adjective “attached, clinging to (something)” or also “depending upon”.

11v.01 *prīdi-su[he]*. The *prīti-sukha* is the experience of joy and bliss during the first and especially the second *dhyāna*. It arises having left behind sensual pleasures (*kāma-sukha*) produced by the five sensual strands (*pañca kāmagaṇā*) while entering the first stage (cf. Choong 2000: 123).⁵⁵ In other words, *prīti* is a first indication of *sukha* born from meditation (*samādhi-ja*) and gained through detachment/seclusion (*viveka*) and the perfection of concentration.⁵⁶ The difference between *prīti* and *sukha* is that *prīti* is a mental state (P *cetasika*) and belongs to the groups of mental factors (P *saṅkhāra-kkhandha*), while *sukha* belongs to feelings (P *vedanā-kkhandha*). For the difference between *prīti* / P *pīti* and *sukha* cf. e.g. Vism 145:⁵⁷

And wherever the two are associated, happiness [*pīti*] is the contentedness at getting a desirable object, and bliss [*sukha*] is the actual experiencing of it when got. Where there is happiness there is bliss (pleasure); but where there is bliss there is not necessarily happiness. Happiness is included in the formations aggregate [*saṅkhāra*]; bliss is included in the feeling aggregate [*vedanā*]. If a man, exhausted in a desert, saw or heard about a pond on the edge of a wood, he would have happiness; if he went into the wood’s shade and used the water, he would have bliss. And it should be understood that this is said because they are obvious on such occasions. (tr. Ñāṇamoli 2011: 139, terms in square brackets by the author).

Thus, *pīti* is the joy/thrill in expectation of the fulfillment of a wish and *sukha* the pleasure after the fulfilling of the wish having the character of experiencing a desirable object of the senses.

55 Sāratamā (ed. Jaini 1979: 50): (*prathamam dhyānam*) *kāmavivekājjātam* / *prītisukham iti*. Or: Abhidh-k-bh (ed. Pradhan 1975: 178 ll. 12–13): (*prathamam dhyānam*) *vivekajam prītisukham sāntam vata vivekajam prītisukham iti*.

56 The difference between the joy in the first and the second stage is: (1) non-destruction of (mental) despair (*daurmanasya = vyupaśamāt*) which makes the *prīti* impure (*aviśuddhaprīti = virodhitayā*), and (2) non-destruction of (physical) suffering (*duḥkha = vyupaśamāt*); both are caused by thirst (*trṣṇāpratyaye*): Satyasiddhiśāstra (ed. Sastri 1975: 410): *samādhiyam prītisukham iti* | *prathamadhyāne vivekāṭ prītiṃ labhate* | *atra tu samādhipariniṣpattiyā prītiṃ labhate* | *ata āha samādhiyam iti* | (*pr*) *prathamadhyānagataprīteḥ dvitīyadhyānagataprīteś ca ko bhedaḥ* | (*u*) *prathamadhyāne daurmanasyavyupaśamāt prītiḥ* | *dvitīyadhyāne duḥkhavyupaśamāt prītiḥ* | *prathamadhyāne prītir aviśuddhaprītivorodhitayā labhyate* | *yady ubhe api prīti trṣṇāpratyaye* | *tathāpi prathamadhyāne sātipeśalā* |.

57 Also: Dhammasaṅgani (tr. Müller 1885: 10f. fn. 3), Atthasālinī (tr. Maung Tin 1920–21: 153–56), or Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha (tr. Wijeratne/Gethin 2002: 34f.).

In Mahāyāna texts *prīti-sukha* seems to be used in reference to a peculiar kind of meditation concentrating on joy and happiness. Cf. for example the Book of Zambasta, verse 3.103: “All the *kleśas* of beings are completely calmed for them. Their minds are calmed. They sit in *prītisukha*-meditation alone” (Emmerick 1968: 68–69).

For *acalaṃ sukhaṃ* (G *prīdi-suha acala* v.01) cf. Therīgāthā 350 (ed. Oldenberg/Pischel 1966: 157, tr. Norman 1971: 36):

*vantā mahesinā kāmā ye dibbā ye ca mānūsā
khematthāne vimuttā te pattā te acalaṃ sukhaṃ.*

Sensual pleasures, those which are divine and those which are human,
have been rejected by the great seers.
They (the seers) are completely released in the place of security;
they have arrived at unshakable happiness.

11v.01 *ṇi[liṇi].o.e.* What is preserved of the letters cannot be safely reconstructed, most probably it is *ṇilīniohe*, but the meaning is unclear.

11v.03 *aṇavaṭṭie*. Phonologically, this should correspond to *anāvartika*, attested in the BHSD within the compound *anāvartika-dharma* (~ P *anavatti-dhamma*, “characterized by no more returning [to rebirth]”), but also written (BHS) *anivartika* / P *anivattika*, *anivartiya* / P *anivattiya* “not liable to turning back”. In Peṭ 193 *anāvattika*~ occurs in the statement: *sukhaṃ āpannassa anāvattikan*, which is translated by Ñāṇamoli (1964: 262 §788) as “The pleasure that one who has entered upon [the attainment of cessation of perception and feeling] has does not belong to the [actual] occasion”.⁵⁸ In this footnotes Ñāṇamoli comments on *anāvattika*, thus deriving it from *ava √sthā* (→ *anāvasthika*), and interpreting it as “[w]hat is meant is the pleasant feeling [...] only either anticipatory or retrospective”.⁵⁹ Although the overall context is very similar to BC11 in that it is about the experience of *sukha* in medita-

58 The whole paragraph reads: *parivattanā ti: kuto naṃ dukkhaṃ essatī ti yaṃ cetasikaṃ sukhaṃ anupādisesā ayaṃ n’atthi sopādisesā ayaṃ atthi puna evaṃ āhaṃsu taṃ khaṇaṃ taṃ muhuttaṃ ubhayaṃ eva avedayitaṃ sopādisesaṃ yaṃ ca anupādisesaṃ yaṃ ca taṃ khaṇaṃ taṃ muhuttaṃ anupādisesaṃ yaṃ ca sopādisesaṃ ca avedayitaṃ. sukhaṃ āpannassa anāvattikan ti ayaṃ ettha viseso parivattanā* (“Reversal? as to ‘How shall suffering come to thim?’, there is no mental pleasure in the [case of the extinction element] without trace left, [but] there is in the [case of that] with trace left. Again [at the same time, however.] they have said thus: ‘At that moment, at that period, in both cases it is not felt in [that] with trace left nor in [that] without trace left. The pleasure that one who has entered upon [the attainment of cessation of perception and feeling] has does not belong to the [actual] occasion.’ This distinction is the Reversal here.”).

59 He thinks that “[w]hat is meant is the pleasant feeling connected with it is only either anticipatory or retrospective”, referring to MN III 28 etc. as well as to Vism-a 478 (*āvatta*, “occasion”) and Vism 209 (*āvattika*). Cf. also Cone 2001 s.v. *āvattika*.

tion without perception, P *anāvattika* should probably rather be understood as “not leading to rebirth” just like in BC11, meaning that someone who does not perceive or feel anything any more is not accumulating karma that keeps one bound to the cycle of rebirths.

11v.03 *aparahaṇa-dhama*. The *parihāṇa-dharma* are those things which are unwholesome related to the spiritual progress or make a person “liable to decline” in the words of Nyanatiloka (1980, s.v. *parihāṇa-dhamma*). He further cites a passage in the Puggala-Paññatti (paragraph 5):

Now, someone reaches the attainments (absorptions: *jhāna*, q.v.) of the fine-material or immaterial sphere (s. *avacara*). But he does not reach them according to his wish, and not without trouble and exertion; and not according to his wish with regard to place, object and duration, does he enter them, or rise therefrom. Therefore it is well possible that such a monk, through negligence, may lose these attainments. Such a person is said to be liable to decline.

Thus, the P *aparihāṇa-dhamma* are those states incapable of causing relapse or falling away: “As such all Noble Disciples are called, i.e. all those who have attained any of the 4 Noble Paths to holiness (s. *ariyapuggala*). With regard to the absorptions (*jhāna*, q.v.), anyone is called ‘unrelapsable’ who has attained full mastery over the absorptions” (Nyanatiloka 1980 s.v. *aparihāṇa-dhamma*).⁶⁰

11v.07 *ya[hi]*. Cf. Burrow 1937: 65 § 131: “*yahi* is used with the future in the sense of “when, as”. The form is probably to be compared with the Avestan *yezi* [...] It sometimes means ‘if’, being indistinguishable from *yadi* with the future”.⁶¹

60 Some examples for *parihāṇa*- or *aparihāṇa-dhamma* within the Pali canon are:

AN III 309 Sāmaka Sutta: “Diese drei Dinge gereichen dem Mönche zum Schaden: Gefallen an körperlicher Beschäftigung, Gefallen am Plaudern und Gefallen am Schlafen” (*tayo dhammā parihāṇāya saṃvattanti: kammā-/bhassā-/niddā-rāmatā*), “Drei schädlichen Dinge: Gefallen an Geselligkeit, Unbelehrbarkeit und schlechter Umgang” (*tayo parihāṇiṇi dhammā: saṅgaṇikārāmatā, dovaccassatā, pāpamittatā*).

AN III 310 Aparihāṇiṇi-sutta: “Sechs förderliche Dinge (*aparihāṇiṇi dhammā*): Kein Gefallen haben an körperlicher Beschäftigung, kein Gefallen am Plaudern, kein Gefallen am Schlafen, kein Gefallen an Geselligkeit, Zugänglichkeit für Belehrung und edle Freundschaft (*na kammārāmatā, na bhassārāmatā, na niddārāmatā, na saṅgaṇikārāmatā, sovacassatā, kalyāṇamittatā*)”.

AN V 103 Parihāṇa-sutta, concerning the *parihāṇadhammo puggalo* (“dem Rückschritt verfallen”): “Da, ihr Brüder, bekommt der Mönch eine noch nicht vernommene Lehre nicht zu hören; die bereits vernommenen Lehren entfallen ihm; die früher im Geiste erwogenen Lehren sind ihm nicht mehr gegenwärtig; und das Unverstandene lernt er nicht verstehen”. And concerning the *aparihāṇadhammo puggalo* (“dem Rückschritt nicht verfallen”): “Da, ihr Brüder, bekommt der Mönch eine bisher nicht vernommene Lehre zu hören; die vernommenen Lehren entfallen ihm nicht; die früher im Geiste erwogenen Lehren bleiben ihm gegenwärtig; das bisher Unverstandene lernt er verstehen”.

61 The glyphs for *hi* and *di* could also be mixed up graphically (mirroring), cf. Falk 2012 (2007): 139, where in an inscription on a reliquary from Buner *he* and *di* had been interchanged.

11v.08 *viṣajajita* “(repeatedly ?) adhering to”. This appears to be derived from *vi√ṣañj* → *vi-ṣajati* / P *visajjati* “to hang on, hang to, attach” with *vi-ṣajjita* / P *visatta* (!) as pp. “clinging or sticking or adhering to”. A Gāndhārī absolutive form should be *viṣajit(v)a*, a pp. *viṣajida*. The inserted *-ja-* might be an indication for a frequentative form, therefore the translation “repeatedly (?)”.

11v.12 *vihañadi* (= *vihanyate* / P *vihaññati*), “to be frustrated or disappointed, to suffer”, esp. in the sense that one “exert one’s self in vain” (MW s.v. *vi-han*).

11v.13 *ga[d]a* refers to Skt./P *gaṇḍa* “ulcer”, which according to the PTSD is frequently used in similes with reference to *kāma* and *kāya*. In regard to content, cf. Ratnāvalī 2.69 (= Liebl 2006, verse 169): “There is pleasure when a sore is scratched, but to be without sores is more pleasurable still; There are pleasures in worldly desires, but to be without desires is more pleasurable still” (Hopkins et al. 1975: 42).

11v.15 *loi[e]ṇa* / v.16 *aloieṇa* / v.17 *loutareṇa*. The three categories (*laukika*, *alaukika*, *lokottara* / P *lokuttara*) correspond to the three realms of the triple world referred to in 11v.14f., i.e. *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu*, *ārūpyadhātu*:

- *laukika* = ordinary / normal⁶² = *kāma*
- *alaukika* = extraordinary / supernormal = *rūpa*, *ārūpya*
- *lokottara* = transcendental / supramundane (= *nirvāṇa*)

They are furthermore attributed to different levels of consciousness gained through meditation⁶³ insofar as the four absorptions (*dhyāna*) are associated with the *rūpadhātu* and the four immaterial or formless absorptions / attainments (*samāpatti*) are associated with the *ārūpyadhātu*. This meditation process produces supernormal knowledges (*abhiññā* / P *abhiñña*), of which two are named in BC11 (cf. p. 218). All of this is implied in the mundane path (*laukika-mārga*), which is co-existent with the supramundane path (*lokottara-mārga*), distinguishable in that they are said to use the same methods but in different ways. According to Deleanu (2006: 20) referring to the Śrāvaka bhūmi “[t]he yogi practising the mundane path attains a series of ever deeper and more refined states of tranquillity, but these altered states of consciousness, to

62 The designations *laukika* and *alaukika* as ordinary and extra-ordinary perception are also known from the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Epistemology (Roshan 2012). For *laukika/alaukika* cf. also Bäumer/Vatsyayan 2003: 122ff.

63 Sinha 1934: 356 with reference to the Abhidh-s (tr. Aung 1910: 10 and 12).

use a modern term, as well as the rebirth realms which they entail are temporary and cannot lead to the final Liberation. It is only the supramundane path which is conducive to Nirvana.” The difference is mainly that on the supramundane path the mind is accompanied by insight while experiencing *nibbāna*.⁶⁴ The practitioner concentrates likewise on the four noble truths and especially the truth of suffering in respect to all conditioned things, but under certain aspects, namely impermanence (*anityākāra*), suffering (*duḥkhākāra*), emptiness (*śūnyākāra*), and non-self (*anātmākāra*).⁶⁵ Cf. also Dessein 2009: 42 with reference to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra (Sbc, T2031, 2032, 2033) of the Bahuśrutīyas, who names three points regarding their doctrine: supramundane teachings, mundane teachings and the five points of Mahādeva (on the status of an arhat). The supramundane teachings (*lokottara-śāsana*) lead to the “attainment of the path of emancipation”, they are teachings on: *anityatā, duḥkha, śūnyatā, anātmatā, śānta*, i.e. “impermanence, suffering, emptiness, selflessness, peace [of *nirvāṇa*]”.

11v.16 *k[u] ṇ[a] + + +* is hardly legible, but it occurs again in v.20 [*ku ṇa*] *acitiyeṇa* ///. It could refer to *kū* (= *kva*) / P *ku*, “how? (Vedic), where? when? whither? whence?”, in combination with *na* “why then”, as it is currently translated in the second instance.

11v.16 *picu*. Presumably, this corresponds to *pretya* / P *pecca* “after having gone past”, i.e. “having died, after death” based on AMg. *pēccā, piccā* = **pretyā* = *pretya* besides = *pītvā* (Pischel 1900: 397 § 587). The less-expected reflex *p-* for original *pr-* is also observed in G *picara* (= *pratyarha* / P **paccāraha*), while *-u* for *-ā* in word-final position is attested in BL1 (AG-G¹), especially in adverbs (*kṣip[u]* = *kṣipā, divasu* = *divasā, sadu* = *sadā*, but also *abhighakṣadu* = *abhikāṅkṣatā*, cf. Salomon 2008a: 103f.). The *pretya-bhāva* is the state after death, “hereafter”, as opposed to this world, the *iha-loka* (cf. MW s.v. *pretya* and *pretya-bhāva* and also Pischel 1900: 246 § 361 *pēccabhava ihabhave ya*).

64 This is also the main difference of higher levels of absorption in Brahminic and in Buddhist meditation practice: In Buddhism the emphasis was laid on *prajñā* even while not perceiving anything anymore, in Brahmanism the aim was to dissolve everything and be “without any mental activity at all, ‘like a log of wood’” (Wynne 2007: 109 with reference to Bronkhorst 1985 and 1993 among others).

65 Śrāv-bh 470, 13–15 *caturbhir ākārair duḥkhasatyasya lakṣaṇaṃ pratisaṃvedayate | tadyathā ’nityākāreṇa duḥkhakāreṇa, śūnyākāreṇa anātmākāreṇa ca*. Cf. Deleanu 2006: 21f. and 31f.

11v.17 *loutareṇa bhuda-ñāṇeṇa ṇa kica paricaīta*. By G *bhuda-ñāṇa* probably *yathā-bhūta-jñāna* “the knowledge of the true reality” is meant, cf. e.g. Ratnāvalī 1.57:

*nāstiko durgatiṃ yāti sugatiṃ yāti cāstikaḥ |
yathābhūtaparijñānān mokṣam advayaniśritaḥ ||*

[Derjenige,] der an ein Nichtsein glaubt, gerät in eine schlechte Existenzform.

[Derjenige,] der an ein Sein glaubt, wird in einer guten Existenzform wiedergeboren.

Wenn man [aber] weiß, wie es sich in Wirklichkeit verhält,

[dann] stützt man sich nicht auf [diese] beiden [Ansichten und] gelangt zur Erlösung.

(tr. from Paramārtha’s Chinese version, Okada 2006: 57)

The *lokottara-jñāna* is the perfect realization of reality, “when the mind rests on itself being completely suppressed” and when there is neither an object nor perception (Bhattacharya 1943: 196 commenting upon verses 4.87–88 of the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda).⁶⁶ According to that, there are three kinds of knowledges: *laukika*, *śuddha laukika*, and *lokottara*. In the Lāṅkāvatāra-sūtra (Laṅkā 156) these knowledges are named *laukika*, *lokottara*, and *lokottaratama*, while the first is related to ordinary beings (*prthagjana*), the second to śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas and the third to buddhas and bodhisattvas (cf. Bhattacharya 1943: 197).

11v.17 *ṇa kica paricaīta*. Regarding this phrase cf. a passage in the PvsP (Kimura 2009: 169; Dutt 1934: 265, tr. Conze 1975: 199f.) about the difference between mundane and supramundane *prajñāpāramitā*:

*śāriputra āha: katamāyūṣman subhūte prajñāpāramitā laukikī, katamā lokottarā?
subhūtir āha: laukikī āyūṣman śāriputra prajñāpāramitā, iha bodhisattvo mahāsattvo dānaṃ
dadāti upalambhaniśrito mātsaryacittaṃ mayā nigrāhītavyam iti, tac cātmasattvadāna-
saṃjñāniśritaḥ sarvasvaṃ parityajati bāhyaṃ vā adhyātmikaṃ vā vastu upāttaṃ vā anupāttaṃ
vā nāsti kiṃcid yaṃ na parityajati, ...*

Śāriputra: What is the worldly, and what the supramundane perfection of wisdom?

Subhūti: This is the worldly perfection of wisdom: Here a Bodhisattva gives a gift, leaning on a basis, i.e. he thinks that “I should suppress all niggardly thought in myself”. Leaning on the notions of self, being, and gift, he renounces all that he has, all inner and outer things, appropriated and unappropriated, and there is nothing that he does not renounce.

Even though the message is contrary to the one in BC11, the wording is similar.⁶⁷

66 The *lokottara-bhūta-jñāna* denotes a direct realization of the unconditioned. Who has realized this is called a “noble” (*ārya* / *P ariya*) and the four grades of saint (stream-enterer, once-returner, never-returner and arhat) are the result of different degrees of clarity in this realization (cf. e.g. ‘A New Dictionary of Religions’ [Hinnells 1995], s.v. *lokuttara*).

67 Cf. also MPPŚ IV 1950f. (chapitre XLVI): “Enfin le Bodhisattva ne donne rien que ce soit (*na kiṃcid tyajati*), mais il me en œuvre le moyens salvifiques (*upāya*) pour que le êtres obtiennent vêtement, nourriture et autres avantages.”

11v.18f. *-agareṇa* = *-ākāreṇa* “in respect to..., under the aspect of...” (for *ākāra* see Skorupski 2002: XVIIIff.). In *prajñāpāramitā* texts this refers to the contemplation of the limbs of trances under several aspects, which forms an essential part of the bodhisattva vehicle and/or the practice of the six *pāramitās*. For example, in the LPG (tr. Conze 1975: 132f.) it is said:

If, with his attentions centred on the knowledge of all modes, he enters into the trances, Unlimited and formless attainments and emerges from them, and contemplates them under the aspects of impermanence, ill, not-self, of quietude, emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness, but does not go forward to the way of salvation of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas—then this is the perfection of wisdom of a Bodhisattva who courses in the Unlimited. This is the great vehicle of the Bodhisattva, the great being.

The aspects are the same as in the PvsP (Kimura 2009: 41ff.; Dutt 1934: 181f.): *anitya*, *duḥkha*, *anātma*, *śānta*, *śūnya*, *animitta*, *apraṇihita*. The Śīkṣāsamuccaya names “eighty ways [*ākāra*] of entering into hearing the word” citing the Akṣayamati-sūtra as an example for a description of the learning in the *bodhisattva-vinaya* (tr. Bendall 1971: 185). Among them *anitya*, *duḥkha*, *anātma*, *śānta*, *śūnyatā*, *animitta*, *apraṇihita* match with the aspects contained in PP literature. In the Suvikrāntavikrāmaparipṛcchā (ed. Vaidya 1961b: 54) the aspects are only: *śūnya*, *śānta*, *anātma*.

According to the MPPŚ the term “aspect” (*ākāra*) denotes the gateways leading to all wisdom (*prajñāmukha*). Among the Buddha’s disciples there are eight kinds of consideration. For them, everything is 1. impermanent (*anitya*), 2. painful (*duḥkha*), 3. empty (*śūnya*), 4. without self (*anātmaka*), similar to 5. an illness (*roga*), 6. an ulcer (*gaṇḍa*), 7. an arrow (*śalya*) stuck in the body, and 8. a torment (*agha*).⁶⁸ Interestingly, *roga* and *gaṇḍa* also occur in BC11 in the next passage (v.22–27) related to G *aḥatva-bahira* but not in the list of aspects. Here the sequence is: G *aṇica*, *aṇatva*, *śuṇa*, *aparibhuji[tv]e[a]*, *avedea*, *sudiṇa*, *akuhica-agamaṇa-akuhica-gamaṇa*, *parimaṇa-sacea*. While the first three (*anitya*, *anātma*, *śūnya*) are rather general characterizations also occurring in other lists of aspects,⁶⁹ the latter all refer

68 These eight kinds of consideration, when applied to the four noble truths (*āryasatya*) make up sixteen aspects (*ākāra*) grouped in sets of four: (1 concerning suffering): *anitya*, *duḥkha*, *śūnya*, *anātmaka*; (2 concerning its origin): *samudaya*, *hetu*, *pratyaya* (condition), *prabhava* (production); (3 concerning its suppression): *nirodha*, *śānta* (calm), *praṇīta* (excellence), *niḥsaraṇa* (deliverance); (4 concerning the path): *mārga*, *nyāya* (method), *pratipad* (progress), *nairyānika* (definite release). The same sequence occurs in Dharmasaṃgraha (ed. Vaidya 1961b: 336) and in the Abhidharmahrdaya 100f. (Willemsen 2006: 120f.): four characteristics, and sixteen aspects of a “factor called warmth” which is produced in the mind while contemplating [the characteristics of the factors] and which “intuitively realizes the four truths”.

69 E.g. Abhidh-k-vy 535: *anityākāreṇa vā duḥkhākāreṇa vā śūnyākāreṇa vā anātmākāreṇa*.

to the *sūnyatā* doctrine presented in the *prajñāpāramitā* texts.⁷⁰ But as shown above, those lists are not identical with the one in BC11, for which I have not found a parallel.⁷¹ Also in the Śrāvakahūmi the supramundane path is characterized by investigating the truth of suffering under several aspects, and along with the well-known set of four aspects it adds another group of ten aspects, but none of them coincide with the additional ones in BC11.⁷²

11v.18 *aparibhuji[tv]e[a]* might be derived from *aparibhuñjīyātmaka* “having a self that is not be enjoyed, consisting of something which is not be enjoyed” or more likely from *aparibhujātmaka* “having the nature of non-enjoying/non-consuming”. Though the compound is somewhat strange, it fits well to the overall message that there is nothing to be enjoyed / consumed or no enjoyment / consumption at all.

11v.18 *avedea* = *avedaka*, probably in the sense of “announcing; restoring to consciousness” thus not perceiving consciously. Cf. BHS s.v. *vedaka*: “(2) [...] one who experiences, feels (the results of action): °kaḥ Mvy 421; 4679; *na ca kāraṅko ’sti tatha naiva ca vedako ’sti* LV 419.11 (vs), there is no actor, and no experiencer either (= normal Skt. *bhoktar*, contrasting with *kartar*) [...]”.

11v.20 *sudīṅagaraṇa*. For *sudīṅa* = *svapna* cf. text notes to BC4, p. 145.

11v.20 *acitiṅa* is an instr. sg. either of *acintaka* “one who does not think or reflect upon” or of *acintita* (n.) “without thought or reflection”. Since ignoring the *i*-vowel

70 For example, the expression “coming from nowhere, going nowhere” has a parallel in the Ratnāvalī 2.9–14 (= Liebl 2006, verses 109–114), where it is said that the world is like an illusion, like a magically created elephant that comes from nowhere, goes to nowhere and stays nowhere (2.12). Also in Rāhulabhadra’s Prajñāpāramitāstotra (Hahn 1988: 68) a similar phrase is found: *nāgacchasi kutaś cit tvaṃ na ca kva cana gacchasi / sthāneṣv api ca sarveṣu vidvadbhir nopalabhyase || 13 ||*.

71 A similar categorization/formulation occurs in BL28 where – among others like *ātma*, *atīta* and *anāgata* – the following aspects (*ākāra*) are mentioned: *sūnya*, *sānta*, *satya*, *duḥkha*, *anātma* (the formulation is: G [ś]uṅgareṇa · śatagare asti etc., source: gandhari.org).

72 Cf. Deleanu 2006: 31f. The group of ten aspects (*daśākāraḥ*), which are peculiar to the Śrāv-bh, is “distributed over the four aspects in the following way. All conditioned things (*sarvasaṃskārāḥ*) are impermanent (*anitya*) because they are subject to change-and-decay (*vipariṅama*), annihilation (*vināśa*), and separation (*viyoga*); these three aspects are imminent (*sannihita*), and this is the nature (*dharmatā*) of things. The conditioned things are characterised by suffering (*duḥkha*) because they are unpleasant (*aniṣṭa*), represent fetters and bondage (*samyojanabandhana*), and are not [conducive to] security (*ayogakṣema*). They are empty (*sūnya*) because no substantial self can be observed (*anupalambha*) as being the subject of the cognitive processes or the agent of rebirth. Finally, they are non-self (*anātman*) because they are not autonomous (*asvatantva*), i.e., they depend upon conditions.”

appears more problematic than assuming an elision of invervocalic *-t-*, which is rare but attested, especially from the 2nd c. CE onwards,⁷³ *acintitena* “without reflection” is preferred.

11v.22 *sagharya*. Although the meaning of this word is quite clear, its direct equivalent in Sanskrit and Pali is not. It is either **saṅghārya* for *saṃhārya* “accumulation”⁷⁴ as an abstract noun⁷⁵ – in analogy to P *saṅgharaṇa* (n.) [= *saṃharaṇa*] “accumulation” (PTSD) – or it might be connected to P (*abhi*)*saṅkhāra* in the same meaning and especially the accumulation of *kamma*, merit or demerit (PTSD s.v. *abhisāṅkhāra*).⁷⁶ Since P *saṅkhāra* is derived from *saṃ*√*kr*, the direct equivalent to G *sagharya* would be *saṃskārya* with a parallel development G *saghara* < OIA *saṃskāra* / P *saṅkhāra* in the Dhp-G^K 10, 70, 106, 107, 163, 181.

11v.24 [*ja*]e. Since *j* represents OIA *dhy* / MIA *j(j)h*, there are not many possible equivalents, one of them being *dhyāyin* / P *jhāyin* “self-concentrated, engaged in *jhāna*-practice” as also documented in Dhp-G^K 50 (G *jai* = P *jhāyī* in Dhp 387). G [*ja*]e could correspond to *dhyāyam* “(repeated) meditating on (acc.)”, *dhyāyat* “meditating” (MW) or *dhyāyi* “in meditation” (BHSD). Unfortunately, unless the missing piece of birch bark preceding this is found, nothing more can be said, as the akṣaras here might indeed be the end of a word or compound.

11v.24f. *aṅatvia-aiḍaṇa* ... *bāhira-aiḍaṇa*. The inner and outer “sense spheres” or “doors” (*āyatana*) are the six sense organs and their respective objects.⁷⁷ The inner (*ādhyātmika-* / P *ajjhātika-*) are: *cakṣus*, *srotra*, *ghrāṇa*, *jihvā*, *kāya*, *manas*; the outer (*bāhira-* or *bāhya-* / P *bāhira-*) are their respective objects: *rūpa*, *śabda*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *spraṣṭavya*, *dharma*. Sometimes the inner and outer *āyatanas* are not related to sense organs and sense objects, but to faculties of oneself in contrast to others

73 Salomon 1999a: 126, 152, Allon 2001: 82f., Lenz 2003: 42, Glass 2007: 116, Salomon 2008a: 113.

74 Suggested by Ingo Strauch.

75 It has to be a substantive due to the abl. sg. ending *-de* in 11v.25.

76 Cf. e.g. Ud-a 372: *sabba-kilesābhisāṅkhāra-bandhanā* “the fetters due to accumulation of all defilements”.

77 Nattier (2003: 303 fn. 645). In the Ugra §27D “to conceive of the sense doors as an empty city” is one of the “four items of pure morality” (Nattier 2003: 311 fn. 713: “Since the Sanskrit word also means ‘house, dwelling place’, the application of the idea of no-self yields the image of the *āyatanas* as empty houses (i.e. houses with no resident) and by extension as an empty city.”).

(Ronkin 2005: 37 and 44 while referring to the Vibhaṅga⁷⁸ but also to the Suttapiṭaka in the context of meditation⁷⁹).

11v.26 *i[va] pialo*. In contrast to *[pial]o* in BC4v.12.2 “etc., in short”, *G pialo* is here – in combination with *iva* – translated as “so once more” based on MW s.v. *peyālam*, although only lexicographically attested. The text passage which follows is a partial repetition and thus it is very well “signifying a phrase to be repeated over and over again” (PTSD s.v. *peyyāla*). In addition, it may also refer to the usual pattern *G ṇi-samartha ca dukho ca aśuho ca* (e.g. 11v.04), and be thus some kind of abbreviation, with the meaning “repeat [what was previously / is usually said]”.

11v.29 *pariyaṇeo prahadava* etc. Cf. e.g. SN V 52 (Mahāvagga, Āgantuka-sutta), where it is described what a monk should do in order to practice the eightfold path:

ye dhammā abhiññā pariññeyya te dhamme abhiññā parijānāti,
ye dhammā abhiññā pahātabbā te dhamme abhiññā pajahati,
ye dhammā abhiññā sacchikātabbā te dhamme abhiññā sacchikaroti,
ye dhammā abhiññā bhāvetabbā te dhamme abhiññā bhāveti.

According to the following text passage the things (1) to be thoroughly understood (*pariññeyyā*) are the five aggregates subject to clinging (*pañcupādānakkhandā*), (2) the things to be abandoned (*pahātabbā*) are ignorance and thirst for existence (*avijjā* and *bhavataṇhā*), (3) the things to be realized (*sacchikātabbā*) are true knowledge and liberation (*viññā* and *vimutti*), (4) the things to be developed (*bhāvetabbā*) are serenity and insight (*samatho* and *vipassanā*). All of this is done by developing the right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) and the right concentration (*sammāsamādhi*), which is based on seclusion (*viveka-nissitaṃ*), dispassion (*virāga-nissitaṃ*) and destruction (*nirodha-nissitaṃ*) maturing in release (*vossaggapariṇāmiṃ*).⁸⁰

78 For more information about *āyatanas* see Ronkin 2005: 44f. and 101f. Also in a definition given in the Mahāniddeśa (and similarly in the Cullaniḍḍesa) the inner and outer *āyatanas* are listed as one example for paraphrasing *idhā* and *hurā*, which can refer to “oneself” and “others” as well as to “this world of humans” and “the other world of gods” etc. (Nidd I 109: *idhā ti sakattabhāva, hurā ti parattabhāvo; idhā ti sakarūpavedanāsaññāsamaṅkhāraviññāṇaṃ, hurā ti parakarūpaveda nāsaññāsamaṅkhāraviññāṇaṃ; idhā ti cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni, hurā ti cha bāhirāni āyatanāni; idhā ti manussaloko; hurā ti devaloke; idhā ti kāmādhātu, hurā ti rūpadhātu arūpadhātu; idhā ti kāmādhātu rūpadhātu, hurā ti arūpadhātu*).

79 Ronkin 2005: 102. In the commentaries, *ajjhataṃ* is explained as *attano* and *bahiddhā* as *parassa* (cf. Ronkin 2005: 127 fn. 82, referring to Hamilton 1996: xxvi and Gethin 1992a: 53f.).

80 Cf. Ronkin 2005: 37. Regarding the wording of the Gāndhārī text cf. BL9r.33–34 (Baums 2009: 297): *abhiṇēo · abhiñādo · [bha]vi[dava] ca · bhavido* “‘What should be recognized is recognized [34] and what should be developed is developed.’”.

Unfortunately, in this passage the unclear Gāndhārī word [*pidi*]vāṇeo (with the preceding pp. *pidivāṇe*) is not included, but it should be synonym to P *sacchikātabba* “to be realized”. A suggestion is **piṇḍīpanna* (*piṇḍa-āpanna*) “having gained concentration, union” and analogously **pīṇḍīpanīya* “to be concentrated, united”, i.e. “one should concentrate”.

11v.30 *tae* = *tayā* / P *tāya*, instr. sg. f., lit. “by that” (?), probably relating to G *pridi*, translated as “thus”. Cf. Allon 2001: 288 for a similar case in the EĀ-G (BL12+14).

8

General discussion

Summary

Both manuscripts deal with the same topic, namely the abandoning of attachment to sense-experience and the five aggregates of existence – a process which will finally lead to the bliss of liberation (*mokṣa-sukha*). In BC4 this is expressed by being “dispassionate regarding the triple world” or the “benefit of freedom from all passions” (*vairāga-ānuśaṃsa*). In BC11 the same is called *avasarga-ānuśaṃsa* (“benefit of release”). The theme and background is essentially the *sūnyatā/prajñāpāramitā* doctrine, because of which one realises that in ultimate reality everything is void of inherent existence and one is encouraged to not have attachment to it. Thus in short, the message of the texts and the proposed practice of the bodhisattva path is: understanding (*parijñā*) the origins of suffering, abandoning (*prahāṇa*) these origins and attaining sustained joy and happiness by realising the emptiness of all dharmas (*lokottara-bhūta-jñāna*). While being on the path only good conditions will be gained and one will establish other beings in awakening.

As the physical reconstruction revealed, both manuscripts were written on separate scrolls. And also regarding their internal structure and style, they are somewhat different: BC4 is a coherent text structured by numbered sections dealing with the path of a bodhisattva or being itself a part of it. BC11 seems more like a scholastic comment on certain passages of BC4, although not directly citing them but discussing several aspects of the same issue, especially the bliss experienced.¹ BC4 thus appears to be the basic text. At the beginning («1») it advertises detachment and holds out the prospect of every kind of fortune in contrast to its opposite (*G sarva-droacana hakṣati, sarva-sapati hakṣati, mokṣa-suha ca ha(*kṣa)[di], ime aṇuśaśa hakṣati,*

1 The interrelationship of BC4 and BC11 has been marked in the edition by cross-references in the margin. Besides dealing with the same topic, both correspond to each other in the wording of certain passages: *droaca... sapati ... mokṣa; ṇaśea/aharea; maje ṇisamartha ... purve... paca...*

Table 19. Summary of all “miseries” and “fortunes” enumerated in BC4: *sarva-droaca (doṣa) – sarva-sapati (aṇuśaśa)*.

	sarva-droaca (doṣa)	sarva-sapati (aṇuśaśe)
list 1	drogadi durgati/duggati	sugadi sugati/sugati
«1A2» «1B2» «7A2a» «7B2a»	aṣapuruṣa / drugāṇa = [kama] etc. aṣatpuruṣa/asappurisa	sapuruṣa (darśana) = budha etc. satpuruṣa/sappurisa
	(saṃsāra) badhaṇa (saṃsāra) bandhana/bandhana	(saparāia) mokṣa (sāmpārāyika) mokṣa/mokkha
	(kaia-cedaṣia) dukha (kāyika-caitāsika) duḥkha/dukkha	(sadriṭhia) suha sukha/sukha
	aśuha aśubha/aśubha	śuha śubha/subha
	akuśala akuśala/akusala	kuśala kuśala/kusala
list 2	midha middha/middha	jāgaria jāgariyā/jāgariyā
«7A2b» «7B2b»	ālaṣia ālaṣya/ālaṣsa (ālaṣiya/ālaṣya)	lahuḥhaṇa laghūthāna /lahuṭṭhāna
	akica akṛtya/akicca	kica kṛtya/kicca
	akarma akarman/akamma	karma karman/kamma
	a[śpr]iṣṇa BHS aṣprśana = aṣparśana/aphusana, aṣṣanā	[śpr]iṣṇa BHS sprśana = sparśana/phusana, phassanā
	gelaṇṇa BHS glānya = glāna/gilāna, gelaṇṇa	aroga ārogya/aroga

sarv[a]-siha paricaita ○ 1, BC4r.12). These profits are exemplified and enumerated in two lists, of which the first is related to conditions and experiences in this life and the next (*sāṃdrṣṭika/drṣṭadhārmika* and *sāmpārāyika*), and the second refers to meditation or physical issues during the cultivation of the path (cf. table 20).² Thus the prospects are a good rebirth (*sugati*), good company (*satpuruṣa-darśana*) and finally liberation (*mokṣa*). While being reborn as a human, one would experience only good things: physical ease and mental happiness (*sukha*) as well as beautiful (*śubha*) and wholesome (*kuśala*) conditions.³ During practice one would be mentally and physically alert (*jāgariyā, laghūthāna*), one would know what is to do and would do it with word, thought and deed (*kṛtya, karman*), and one would achieve states of comfort and health (BHS *sprśana, ārogya*). By relinquishing attachment

2 I have not found akin listings with the same items in other Buddhist texts in either Pali or Sanskrit.

3 In BC11 the stereotypic G *hakṣati* (“will exist”) is replaced by G *anubhaviēa* (“would/will experience”) in the case of *śubha* and *kuśala* and G *gach[iea]* (“will pass”) in case of the *gatis* (11r.13). In general, the items of the lists are characterized by G *driṭhadhamiāsa* (**saparāiāsa* ○ *kai*)[*a*]*sa cedaṣiāsa* ○ (11r.08), i.e. relating to this and the next life, relating to body and mind.

to the *skandhas* that constitute existence one would finally gain liberation from re-birth (BC4 «2»). The knowledge leading or helping to let go of everything [relating to the triple world] is the knowledge of what is ineffectual [in regard to liberation] and what is causing suffering (G *dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇa~*). This is indirectly equated to the *prajñāpāramitā* («3»–«6»), the realization of the emptiness of all dharmas,⁴ that is obtained in this lifetime (G *iṣemi jādī*) after having formed the intention to attain awakening for the first time (*prathama-cittotpāda*). Thus, an end is set to all suffering, that was otherwise to be endured for a long time (G *ajavi asakhea karpa dro[a]c[e] khaveati sapati ṇaṣeati mokṣo ṇaṣeati ta ime hi ṇa karye sudhu sarva-droacade mucami sarva-sapati labhadi mokṣa ca*, BC11r.35–36).⁵

One of the most important sections in BC4 is the passage labeled by the number «6», as it can be compared with a *praṇidhāna*, i.e. the resolution of a bodhisattva to strive for awakening for the sake of others, due to its contextual and structural elements.⁶ This indeed makes the manuscript a part of the bodhisattva path.⁷ If we compare it to other *praṇidhānas* (cf. Binz 1980: 88ff.), all essential parts are included:

- (A) the intention to become a buddha,
- (B) the duties of a bodhisattva (*kuśala-mūla* “wholesome roots”),
- (C) the dedication.

- BC4 (A) edeṇa dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇeṇa
sarve dukha u[ad]i[ṇae a]ṣivaṣidae ha[kṣadi u]lekṣidae ha[kṣa[di]
sarve suhe paricatae aṣivasidae ha[kṣadi
ta paraṇirvah[ido lo]gado cariṣe
- (B) aku[śa][o] varj[a]maṇa kuśalo [karamaṇa] + + [gar]e[ṇa]
[b>(*u)[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o] puyamaṇa
satvaṇ[a] ca a[r]tho ka[rama]ṇa
dharm[e] ca edam io ṇiṣama(*r)[tha]-dukha-ñāṇo deṣamaṇa
satva ya boṣa praīṭha[vamaṇa] [///]
- (C) ṇa-ciri [v]e (*sa)r[va]-sapati ca me [ha>(*kṣa)[di] sarva-droa[ca ca ṇa] ha[kṣadi
atva-hida ca para-hida ca sarva-ṣatva-hida ca ha[kṣadi ◦ 4 2

4 In section «3» even the *bodhimaṇḍa* is said to be void, thus indicating an understanding of emptiness that is not only related to the *ātman* as in Śrāvakayāna circles but to everything as common in *prajñāpāramitā* literature and Madhyamaka philosophy.

5 That the *prajñāpāramitā* was esteemed as a short cut to awakening is indicated in the ASP in a passage also (partly) preserved in PP-G, cf. Falk/Karashima 2013: 162–163, PP-G (5-55).

6 *Praṇidhānas* as such are mainly occurring in Mahāyāna contexts, even though they are not totally unknown in ‘Hīnayāna’ texts (cf. Binz 1980: 1, 78, 161). One of the few is the vow of the bodhisattva Sumedha (later to become Buddha Śākyamuni) in the presence of Dīpaṃkāra, even though this is called *adhikāra* or *abhinīhāra* (Binz 1980: 79f.). The identification of section «6» in BC4 with a *praṇidhāna* was suggested by V. Tournier during a workshop in Lausanne (2013).

7 Cf. e.g. RĀC 4.90 (Okada 2006: 199).

The intention (A) is expressed by “... I will leave this world”; the duties of a bodhisattva (B) are: doing good, honoring Buddha, Dharma and Sangha (i.e. the founder, the doctrine, and the community in the name of the Buddha), acting for the sake of other beings, teaching the Dharma (which is the knowledge of what is ineffectual and causing suffering), leading other beings to awakening; the dedication or aim (C) is the wish to achieve good conditions for oneself as well as the welfare for oneself and others.⁸ Although all elements are contained, the literal differences from other Buddhist sources are immense, and none of the standard formulations mentioned by Binz (1980: 91) occur in BC4.⁹ An interesting difference is also that it is a ‘resolution’ rather than an ‘earnest wish’, indicated by the use of the future instead of the usual optative,¹⁰ and accordingly, there is no prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) by a presiding buddha.¹¹ Another difference to the usual *praṇidhāna* passages (cf. Binz 1980: 4) is that in BC4 the term itself is not mentioned anywhere, but this could also be due to the fact that the *praṇidhānas* examined by Binz are always embedded in a narrative, and in BC4 it rather seems to represent some kind of an ‘invocative recitation’ during ritual or meditation.¹²

Considering the position of a *praṇidhāna* within a bodhisattva career, it is principally placed at the very beginning of it, together with the *cittotpāda*. This is followed by a long time of practising the *pāramitās* until one finally reaches buddhahood. In view of the concepts of a bodhisattva career in other Mahāyāna texts, BC4 comes closest to the system presented in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra, where the *bodhisattvacaryā* begins with the resolve to attain awakening (*bodhicittotpāda*) and not give up on it. From that time on the adept has to practice the *pāramitās* while he is ascending the ten stages to buddhahood.¹³ However, in BC4 apparently no concept of ten stages is

8 In the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra one part of the *praṇidhāna* of Ruciraketu is the wish that all beings may attain well-being into the future, so that they too can become a buddha later.

9 Hence, it may be assumed that BC4 is to be dated to a time before the formulation of stereotypes, that means before the fixation of wording evident in such texts as the Mhv, Dvy, etc. as they have come down to us (cf. Binz 1980: 91 and 96–120 in general for the development of *praṇidhānas*). Parts of the *praṇidhāna* of the future Buddha Dīpaṃkara sound similar to passages in BC4, though they are by no means identical: “Oh, that I, in virtue of the merit I have acquired, may during my future births from age to age, escape being born in the inferior paths” (Beal 1873: 380f., cited after Binz 1980: 116).

10 Even though one could argue that the future is to be interpreted as carrying an optative sense, other *praṇidhānas* unambiguously use an optative verb (cf. Binz 1980: 5).

11 Nonetheless, a slight difference in style may be justified. Similarly, in the Sukhāvāṭīvyūha the *praṇidhānas* are not expressed as wishes but as demands (cf. Binz 1980: 131 for references).

12 This is the reason that such a resolution might also be called a “self proficiency of a bodhisattva”.

13 Likewise at the beginning of the bodhisattva career it is named in the AAA (1. *bodhipraṇidhicitta*,

referred to and nothing more is said about the career of a bodhisattva.¹⁴ The main issue concerns the performance of good and the avoidance of bad things. The duration of such practice seems to be considered joyful and pleasant. In this respect, similar statements can be found for example in the *Ratnāvalī*, where the fruits of following the Mahāyāna are not only future awakening, but all kinds of comfort or happiness during the journey, in this life and the next (tr. Hopkins et al. 1975 / Liebl 2006, verses 126–127, 222, 285, 398). One of the duties is also quite simply avoiding unwholesome actions and striving for wholesome ones (verses 22, 222, 227, 230) as well as practising non-attachment (verse 290) due to realizing the truth as it really is (verse 230). Likewise, in the *Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*, happiness is the concomitant of the realization of the truth, i.e. that all dharmas are in fact unproduced and empty (cf. Harrison 1998: 103, T418, 919b6).

The happiness referred to (in BC4/11) is the *avasarga-sukha* (happiness resulting from letting go)¹⁵ as well as the *parijñā-sukha* (happiness resulting from thorough understanding). Elsewhere also *viveka-* or *vairāga-sukha* (happiness resulting from detachment and absence of desire) are named as the foremost. Thus it is any kind of bliss resulting from not depending on anything, neither in the realm of desire, form or the formless. This comes along with supernatural knowledges (*abhijñā*) like the heavenly eye (*divya-cakṣu*) or the knowledge of the mind of others' (*paracitta-jñāna*).

Opposed to that, there is the happiness which is intermingled with suffering due to sensuality (summarized as *kāma-sukha*) as well as the happiness due to a remedy (*pratikāra-sukha*) and the happiness due to a cause (*upanisat-sukha*). However, as long as one abides in *saṃsāra* it seems impossible to experience the *viveka-/virāga-sukha* without traces of happiness arising from sensual pleasure.¹⁶ Only the *lokottara-*

2. *bodhiprasthānacitta*). Cf. Binz 1980: 123–127, 148 for other examples. In the earliest Chinese translations of Mahāyāna texts by Lokakṣema at the end of the 2nd c. CE, the *cittotpāda* is followed by three key stages: (1) the *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* (the realization of the fact that dharmas are not produced); (2) the attainment of the stage of non-regression, whereupon a bodhisattva is assured of reaching his or her goal (*avaivartika*); and (3) the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*), cf. Harrison 1993: 171 and also Strauch 2010a: 43.

14 Likewise, in the *Ugra* there is no association of the *pāramitās* with particular stages (Nattier 2003: 154).

15 Also: *aparādhīna-sukha*, *avijñāpti-sukha*, [*indriya-*] *antargata-sukha*, *mokṣa-sukha*.

16 Drewes (2009.1: 8): “The *Śūraṅgasamādhi Sūtra* also repeatedly makes the point that avoidance of sensual pleasures is not important for bodhisattvas” (cf. also Drewes 2011: 356) with reference to a passage in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, where the listener is instructed that “we should not be surprised if a dharmabhāṅga turns out to be devoted to the pursuit of wealth and sensual pleasures [...] Given that Buddhist monks are traditionally not supposed to engage in the pursuit of sensual

bhūta-jñāna (the superworldly true knowledge, i.e. knowing the phenomena as they really are) enables the experience of sustained happiness or contentment, and given this perspective the attained joy does not then lead to decay or rebirth, and it therefore does not need to be relinquished. Thus, it is important to abide in knowledge while experiencing *sukha*. The *lokottara-bhūta-jñāna* is not explicitly equated to the realization of *śūnyatā*, but it is circumscribed as a way to look upon the world in terms of the aspects of *anitya*, *anātma*, *śūnya*, being like a dream, ‘coming from nowhere / going nowhere’ etc., the last of which are common expressions to describe the illusionary character of the perceived world, which is nothing else than *śūnyatā*.

In general, a change in aiming not at total extinction of feelings but at achieving or maintaining a state of bliss (comparable to that of an “arhat monk who, free from the fever of desire has entered the third stage of contemplation”¹⁷) is discernible. This might be a first shift from a rather negative/neutral to a more positive aim with concentration on *sukha*, finally leading to the imagination of pure lands like Sukhāvātī or Abhirati, where only happiness prevails and where one is reborn in order to strive for buddhahood under best circumstances (cf. e.g. Gomez 1999: 74, 90). This ideal / ideology is similar to the future prospects for all kinds of prosperities made in BC4. It may be noted, however, that aiming for bliss does not contradict the principles of Śrāvakayāna affiliated texts, where *nirvāṇa* has also been described as a place of bliss or supreme joy.¹⁸ Hence, BC4/11 seems to stand somewhere in the middle, being grounded in Śrāvaka tradition but incorporating (later) Mahāyāna ideas.

Genre of the texts

Elements of Mahāyāna

Based on the *prañidhāna* section, the *cittotpāda* and most of all the *prajñāpāramitā* as the foremost of the six *pāramitās*,¹⁹ this text can be classified as Mahāyāna, or more

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 pleasure, it seems that this advice can only be an attempt to justify behavior that actual followers of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*'s dharmabhāṅakas were likely to encounter.”

17 Larger Sukh §28(38), tr. Gomez 1999: 74. Similarly: “comparable to that of a monk who in meditation has attained the state of cessation”, Larger Sukh §82, tr. Gomez 1999: 90.

18 Cf. e.g. Guistarini 2006: 170.

19 Cf. e.g. Skilling (2004: 151) for the distinctive indications for Mahāyāna, which are essentially the reading of (or listening to) Mahāyāna sūtras and the practice of the six (or ten) perfections within the Mahāyāna doctrine. According to Lethcoe (1977: 265 referring to *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) the coursing in the *prajñāpāramitā* is a necessary condition for being on the bodhisattva path/vehicle. Cf. also Murakami 2004: 8. However, as the evidence of BC2 shows, the term *prajñāpāramitā* does not need to be included to make a text Mahāyāna. More important is the common basic understanding and calm acceptance of the fact that all dharmas are without arising (*anutpattika-dharmakṣānti*). It

cautiously as proto-Mahāyāna, since the designation ‘Mahāyāna’ is not mentioned in the text itself.²⁰ The *prajñāpāramitā* is nothing other than the concept of *śūnyatā* and the denial of any *svabhāva*, also expressed as “superworldly true knowledge”. Further, an altruistic orientation is indicated (“establish other beings in awakening”, “for oneself and for many”), but not stressed as such. Additionally, the author uses typical exaggerations like “world systems as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges”, which are so familiar from Mahāyāna texts.

The mention of a bodhisattva (BC4) is no conclusive evidence for a Mahāyāna orientation, since this term was already used in non-Mahāyāna texts as an epithet of the Buddha, and “there is evidence that the term ‘bodhisattva’ originally meant only ‘a śrāvaka who truly understands the Dharma’ rather than [someone] of a separate group” (Rawlinson 1977: 8f.). In fact, there seem to have been two ‘true bodhisattvas’ in the early first centuries, both claiming that they would represent the true prototype of a being striving for awakening (cf. Fujita 2009: 144 who differentiates the two by the designations ‘Nikāya bodhisattva’ and ‘Mahāyāna bodhisattva’ in respect to the texts they are based on). Thus, the ‘Nikāya bodhisattva’ relies only on the *tripiṭaka* and the *avadānas* (also called the *śrāvakadharmā*) while the ‘Mahāyāna bodhisattva’ adds the *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras claiming the *tripiṭaka* is not enough.²¹ The latter would designate themselves as *bodhisattva mahāsattva* in due course of time to make their position clear (cf. Williams 2009: 55).

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seems that only in a second stage of its development the term *prajñāpāramitā* (as the foremost of the six *pāramitās*) became equivalent to this realization of emptiness.

- 20 The earliest written evidences in Indic languages are from the 3rd/4th c. onwards: (1) a Schøyen fragment, ca. 4th c. CE (Gupta Brāhmī), mentioning the king Huviṣka having “set out on the Mahāyāna path”, G (*mahā)yānasamprasthito huveṣko nā(*ma rājā), Salomon 2002: 256). (2) Correspondingly, the Mathurā/Govindnagar pedestal inscription documents the ritual establishment of an image of Amitābha in the year 26 [of Kaniṣka I] during the reign of Huviṣka, i.e. 153 CE (cf. Schopen 1987). (3) Further, the Endere site stone inscription characterizes the king of Shan-shan/Kroraina, who is most likely Aṃgoka of the middle of the 3rd c. CE, as one who had “set out on the Mahāyāna path”, G mahāyāna-[saṃ]prasti[da]ṣa, cf. Brough 1965: 602 and Salomon 1999b. (4) Another secular document on a wooden tablet from Niya (#390) with the epithet *mahāyāna-saṃprastitasa* is dated to the 3rd/4th c. CE (cf. Salomon 1999b: 6, 10). For all see Allon/Salomon 2010: 3–4. One of or the earliest evidence in Chinese is the translation of the Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra by Lokakṣema, 179 CE (see Harrison 1998: 12 for one example). Deleanu (2000: 66) dated the proto-Mahāyāna to ca. 100 BCE – 100 CE and early Mahāyāna to between the 1st c. BCE and the 5th c. CE.
- 21 In this context a passage in the MPPŚ (cf. Fujita 2009: 102) is of particular interest, where “some other bodhisattvas” ask what is lacking in the *śrāvakadharmā* and they equate each part of their *śrāvakadharmā* to the six *pāramitās*. Since the Abhidharma is described as “six-limbed” it is assumed that reference is made to the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma (Fujita 2009: 102 fn. 7). Furthermore, this Abhidharma is equated to *prajñā* and *dhyāna*, thus providing a connection between scholasticism and insight/meditation.

Elements of Abhidharma

In addition to these Mahāyāna features, scholastic elements are evident in the texts, such as, for example, the lists (of contrastive pairs) as well as the summaries and categories in BC4.²² These are obviously merely rhetoric elements having been applied to another (meditation) purpose and are hence “not exegetical but rather prescriptive”.²³ A more scholastic approach in general can be observed in BC11, where logical conclusions are drawn in the process of argumentation (*G yadi ... ta avaśi ... , keṇa karaṇeṇa ... ṇa ida tḥaṇo vijadi ...*) and instructions are given. In both texts, *G aha* introduces objections or possible questions from an objector, while *ta vucadi* introduces the answers or explanations of the author/speaker.

Possibly another scholastic feature is the term *traidhātuka* (BC4) corresponding to *kāma-/rūpa-/ārūpya-dhātu* (BC11) and likewise the categorizations *laukika/alaukika/lokottara* (BC11). Similarly, the concept of *svabhāva* (BC4) was a development of Abhidharma scholars (Williams 2009: 68). As J. Bronkhorst has pointed out (2013), the emphasis on the non-existence of dharmas (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) in – *prajñāpāramitā* related – Mahāyāna texts only makes sense in the case where the conviction of the existence of [all] dharmas prevailed simultaneously. This was the case in the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, which is supposed to have originated in Gandhāra and Kashmir (Willemen et al. 1998: 57, 70, 73). According to J. Bronkhorst (2013) a scholastic “intellectual revolution” (“new Abhidharma”) took place around 150 BCE, possibly “inspired by the interaction between Buddhist and Indo-Greeks” that gave rise to a new perspective on the doctrinal material and ontological background, resulting in the concept of the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of all dharmas,²⁴ a keyterm for (at least one group of) Mahāyāna literature.²⁵

It is indeed striking that early Mahāyāna texts show such a strong influence of scholasticism.²⁶ In the case of BC4/11 this is observed in its style and application of

22 A typical feature for (early) Abhidharma texts are listings or summaries called *mātrkā* / *P mātikā*. Normally, these texts begin with a certain list which is explained further on. In the *Pātimokkhasutta* repeatedly the sequence *dharmadhara, vinayadhara, mātikādhara* is mentioned, making the *mātikā* equivalent to the Abhidharma category (cf. Gethin 1992b).

23 Collett Cox, commenting on BC4 (workshop in Munich, 2013).

24 Bronkhorst 2013: “Indeed, these scholiasts may have been the first to call themselves *śūnyavādins*.”

25 There could, however, also be other reasons for the development of new aspects or methods, such as, for example, influence from Brahmanical institutions that were restored by Puṣyamitra in the middle of the second c. BCE (cf. Willemen et al. 1998: 102f.).

26 Skilling (2004: 148): “Mahāyāna sūtras may be read as records of debates and negotiations, as attempts to resolve contradictions and tensions in Buddhist doctrine and practice. Debates about dharmas and the path are reflected in the *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras.” Cf. Deleau 2000: 69

terms, which is quite obvious elsewhere, such as in BC2, where there are long passages filled with listings of categories and terms, which revolve around the idea of the non-perception of dharmas, and thereby circumscribe the *śūnyatā* doctrine (however without referring to the *prajñāpāramitā*, cf. Strauch 2010a: 61). This indeed suggests that (Sarvāstivāda) Abhidharma was one essential precondition for the emergence of Mahāyāna.²⁷ In this early (proto-) Mahāyāna literature this may be more visible than in later texts where other features became prevalent.

Context

Prajñāpāramitā and Mahāyāna

Besides some clear indications of what later came to be labeled Mahāyāna, the general appearance and wording of the text is nevertheless very similar to those associated with basic Nikāya or ‘mainstream’ Buddhism, suggesting a gradual reform within the traditional *saṅgha* that “can explain the doctrinal continuities between the two movements” (Deleanu 2000: 81).²⁸ What seems to be the crucial distinguishing element is often the practice of the teaching of *prajñāpāramitā*, “characterized by emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and essencelessness or nonsubstantiality (*niḥsvabhāvatā*)” (Fujita 2009: 100). This is realized in meditation, which in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, for example, is indicated by the *samādhi* called ‘*sarva-dharma-apariḡṛhīta*’ or ‘*dharma-anupādāna*’, the non-appropriation of /non-grasping at dharmas. Also BC4/11 indicate that the proto-Mahāyāna bodhisattva path in the early first centuries – at least in that place in Gandhāra where the texts were produced – was primarily concerned with meditation and withdrawal from senses. The path, as illustrated in these two scrolls, is merely the practice of *prajñāpāramitā* as a means to let go of all attachments to the triple world.²⁹ Within the ubiquitous system of *śīla* / *samādhi* / *prajñā* as constituents of the Buddhist path, *śīla* and *samādhi* are said to “clear the path of its obstacles but it is insight ([P] *vipassanā paññā*) alone which enables one to see things as they truly

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for the “new hermeneutic approach” in *prajñāpāramitā* literature, or also Gómez 1999: 117.

27 Cf. von Rospatt 1977: 165, Willemen 1998 et al. 1998: 278.

28 Cf. also Rawlinson 1977: 15. Most scholars agree that early Mahāyāna, in principle, was not distinct from ‘mainstream’ Buddhism (Yamada 1957, 1959, Bechert e.g. 1973, Silk 2002, Murakami 2004, Sasaki 2009, Fujita 2009).

29 Cf. Deleanu (2000: 88): “Becoming a Buddha oneself means the transcendence of all attachments whatsoever, [...] The early *arhat* ideal is not so different from this but what gives Mahāyāna its distinctive flavour is pushing the non-attachment, emotional and cognitive, to its utmost logical consequences. [...] A discursive mode of thinking can no longer serve the basic purpose of attainment without attainment. It is here that meditative states, super-normal powers, and Buddha’s inspiration come to play a crucial role.”

are” (Nārada 1995). In early (proto-) Mahāyāna practice through *vipaśyanā*³⁰ it is observed that nothing really exists. In BC2 it is repeatedly stated that nothing can or should be perceived (*G ṇa samanūpaśati*) or conceived (*G prañayadi*), no *ātman*, no *sattva*, etc.³¹ Because of this non-perception of or non-attachment to any dharma the practitioner would attain the *dharmakṣānti* and become non-retrogressive. In BC4 this analytic process is not described (since it is not the topic of the text) but included in terms like *prajñāpāramitā* or *śūnya* or the disappearance of *svabhāvatā*.

Based on some of the insights gained from BC4/11 and also from BC2, I would like to argue that the starting point for Mahāyāna in Gandhāra was the concept of *śūnyatā*, an understanding that all dharmas are essentially unoriginated and without inherent existence, which is gained through mental analysis and (physical) experience during absorptive states in meditation (*vipaśyanā*). At some point the *prajñāpāramitā* became a key term for this insight. But early Mahāyāna texts, as rightly observed by John Thompson (2008: 53f.), “offer little step-by-step instruction on how to perfect *prajñā*”, but rather treat it in a theoretical/philosophical manner. “Perhaps the most common description of *prajñā* in the *prajñāpāramitās* is non-attachment to objects and ideas” (Thompson 2008: 53f., cf. e.g. ASP 235), thus implementing *śūnyatā* into the practice of the Buddhist path as a means to an end.³²

Mahāyāna in the earliest Chinese translations

Many of the earliest translations of Mahāyāna texts into Chinese made by the Yuezhi Lokakṣema at the end of the 2nd c. CE³³ show an emphasis on meditation and absorption (*samādhi*), as well as ascetic practices and forest dwelling (Williams 2009: 30,

30 This practice is said to be similar to Theravāda *vipassanā*, but not identical. *Vipassanā* is a rather direct mindfulness based insight into the three marks of existence (*anicca, dukkha, anatta*) in contrast to Mahāyāna where the insight is based on analysis (cf. Gruber 2008: 50). Nevertheless, the principle is the same. In both techniques the aim is the clear view of things as they really are.

31 This is reminiscent of *P passan na passati* in the teaching of Uddaka Rāmaputta (Wynne 2007: 46). Furthermore, the non-perception of elements (earth, water, fire, air, space) in BC2 suggests the relation of this kind of meditation to the element meditation of early Brahmanism (cf. Wynne 2007: 29–31).

32 Williams (2009: 52): “The principal ontological message [...] of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is an extension of the Buddhist teaching of not-Self to equal no essential unchanging core, therefore no fundamentally real existence, as applied to all things without exception.” A link combining both view/attitudes (Śrāvākayāna/Mahāyāna) seems to be T125 (增一阿含經, *Zeng yi a han jing*, EĀ) according to Qing 2001: 31f. The difference of both has been claimed to be that the early Mahāyāna meditation practice “deconstructs not only the person, but also the phenomena which make up that person” (Skilton 2002: 56).

33 Active ca. 168–189 CE (Harrison 1987: 68). Zürcher (1991: 283): ca. 170–190 CE, Nattier (2008: 73): 178–189 CE.

based on Harrison 1995: 65f.). Lokakṣema stayed in Luoyang between 168 or 178 and 189 CE, meanwhile he translated most prominently the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, known as the ‘Practice of the Path’ (道行般若經, *Daoxing banruo jing*, T224).³⁴ While An Shigao, a native from Parthia, was the first Buddhist translator named in Chinese sources (having arrived in Luoyang in 148/9 CE), he did not translate any Mahāyāna affiliated texts.³⁵ His compatriot An Xuan came to Luoyang in 181 CE and translated the Ugraparipṛcchā (T322),³⁶ a Mahāyāna sūtra that was especially concerned with the bodhisattva path. Another Yuezhi monk and one of Lokakṣema’s students was Zhi Yao who like his teacher is said to have translated a Mahāyāna text, the ‘Sutra on the Completion of Brightness’ (成具光明經, *Chengju guangming jing*, T630) that was quite popular even 200 years later as an authority on the philosophy of *prajñā*, together with the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā (T211, tr. by *Mokṣala) and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā (T224, tr. by Lokakṣema) (according to Thompson 2008: 96).³⁷ Thus, it appears that while the Ugraparipṛcchā that was translated by a Parthian (An Xuan) focused on the bodhisattva path (and on the *dāna-pāramitā* as the foremost of the six *pāramitās*), other texts that have been translated by Yuezhi (Lokakṣema, Zhi Yao) focused on *prajñā/samādhi* (cf. Thompson 2008: 61–81). So, not (only) temporal but (also) geographical or ideological reasons might have played a role in the co-existence of different strands of the bodhisattva path with either emphasis on the bodhisattva ideal or on *sūnyatā/prajñā*. Bronkhorst (2013) considered that first there was the bodhisattva path, and later on the *prajñāpāramitā* philosophy was added in Gandhāra.

Mahāyāna in manuscripts written in Gāndhārī

It is assumed that the earliest Chinese translations of Mahāyāna texts were made on the basis of manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī and composed in Gāndhārī or another

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 34 Lokakṣema is reported to have translated 14 texts, but not all have come down to us. The ones accepted as genuine by Harrison (1987, 1995: 53, 1993: 137) and Zürcher (1991) are: T224 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), T280 (a part of the Avataṃsaka), T313 (*Aksobhya-tathāgatasya-vyūha-sūtra*), T350 (*Kāśyapa-parivarta*), T418 (*Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*), T458 (*Wenshushili wen pusa shu jing* with affinity to Vkn), T626 (*Ajātaśatru-kauṛṭya-vinodanā-sūtra*), T807 (*Lokānuvartanā-sūtra*). Another one, T624 (*Druma-kinnararāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*) is accepted only by Harrison (1993: 141). Cf. Nattier 2008: 76–89 for discussion. (For the underlined ones so far parallels in Gāndhārī manuscripts have been identified.)

35 An Shigao has translated 16 texts according to Zürcher 1991, all of them between ca. 150–170 CE (T 13, 14, 31, 32, 36, 48, 57, 98, 112, 150, 602, 603, 605, 607, 792, 1508). The last is not without doubt, cf. Nattier 2008, also in regard to additional uncertain text attributions.

36 181 CE according to Zürcher (1959: 34). Nattier (2003: 44) dated the Ugra between 180 and 190 CE.

37 Zhi Yao (active in the late 2nd c.) is also listed by Harrison in 1987, but cf. Nattier 2008: 94–102.

similar Prakrit dialect other than pure Sanskrit,³⁸ suggesting an origin of Mahāyāna in the northwest, although this is not proven.³⁹ The so far earliest undisputed testimonies to Mahāyāna Buddhism among the Gāndhārī manuscripts are SC1 (PP-G, similar to the ASP⁴⁰) and BC2 (“Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra” with parallels to the Akṣobhyavyūha) dated to the first or second century CE. Two other unpublished fragmentary Gāndhārī scrolls contain the *Sucitti-sūtra (NC2, similar to the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra) with parallels to three Chinese translations (T477–479) and the Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra, both similarly dated to the 1st or 2nd c. CE (Allon/Salomon 2010: 11, Harrison/Hartmann 2014: xvi fn. 19). Furthermore, there are several small palm leaf fragments from Bamiyan with text passages familiar from the Bodhisattvapīṭaka-sūtra, the Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra and the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra,⁴¹ all dated to the 3rd/4th c. CE.⁴²

The earliest ones are all supposed to come from Gandhāra, more precisely the Bajaur district or its neighborhood (BC, SC, NC), and they all lay stress or are based on the *sūnyatā* doctrine. Additionally, in some of them visualization techniques like

38 For the Gāndhārī hypothesis see Boucher 1998 and cf. Allon 2008: 170, 177; Salomon 2006b: 144; Salomon 2008b; Salomon (2010: xxxiii). The designation of a manuscript as 胡本 *huben* apposed to 梵書 *fanshu/fanwen* (Brāhmī) could indicate that it was written in Kharoṣṭhī (e.g. the manuscripts from which Dharmarakṣa translated the Lalitavistara (with its Arapacana formulary) were labeled *huben* (cf. Boucher 1998: 499–502).

39 Cf. Glass (2004: 138), also Salomon (2010: xxxiii). Already Lamotte (1954: 392) and Conze (1978: 4) observed, that the *prajñāpāramitā* “had a great success in the North-West at the Kushāna period, and that [...] that region may well be the ‘fortress and heart’, though not necessarily the ‘cradle’ of the Mahāyānistic movement. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (LIII v. 575 says that under Kaniṣka the *Prajñāpāramitā* was ‘established’ (*pratiṣṭhitā*) in the North-West, but not that it originated there” (Conze 1978: 4). Cf. hereto Dessein (2009: 53) who says: “As the Bahuśrutīyas were the only Mahāsāṃghika subgroup that resided both in the north and in the south, it is not unlikely that they served as an intermediary in a general process in which Mahayanistic ideas that were developed and matured in the north were transmitted to the south and vice versa. More precisely, it appears that it was in the north that early Mahayanistic ideas were fitted into the framework of Sarvāstivāda abhidharmic developments.”

40 The Aṣṭasāhasrikā *Prajñāpāramitā* is also the earliest preserved Mahāyāna manuscript in Brāhmī, composed in (Buddhist Hybrid) Sanskrit. It is written on several palm leaf fragments found in Bamiyan and dated to the second half of the third century CE due to paleography (late Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī, cf. Sander 2000b: 1 and Hartmann 2011: 31). The language and orthography point to a northwestern origin of the manuscript with Gāndhārī influence (Sander 2000a: 97).

41 “The Tibetan and Chinese traditions regard the Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra as a Mahāyāna text. Therefore these fragments may be part of the oldest known manuscript of a Mahāyāna sūtra. However, some care must be taken before making this connection, as it is not certain that this text would have been considered a Mahāyāna work at this time” (Glass 2004: 141, cf. also Allon/Salomon 2010: 7). The same holds true for the Bahubuddha-sūtra documented in the Library of Congress Scroll, radio-carbon dated between 206 BCE and 59 CE, as it is as well similar to passages in the Mahāvastu, and thus not necessarily to be considered Mahāyāna (cf. Neelis 2011: 242).

42 Fragments are distributed among the Schøyen, Hayashidera and Hirayama Collection, cf. Allon/Salomon 2010: 6ff.; regarding the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra see Baums et al. forthcoming.

the imagination of a buddha field were included. The group of six *pāramitās* is mentioned in SC1, BC4, BC11, as well as in the fragments of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra from Bamiyan. The notion of the group of six *pāramitās* does not coincide with the emphasis on *śūnyatā*, but rather represents a universal concept for any bodhisattva path (cf. Nattier 2003: 153).⁴³

Prajñāpāramitā and Bodhisattvayāna

The *prajñāpāramitā* teaching/practice and the ideal of a bodhisattva path are not necessarily linked to each other, as for instance was shown by T. Vetter on the example of passages from the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, where the bodhisattva path is not recommended but only the *prajñāpāramitā*, “albeit not under this name”, as a kind of absorption method to “experience [...] *nirvāṇa* here and now” (Vetter 2001: 82 with reference to MMK 24.10).⁴⁴ Moreover, “the method for buddhahood called *prajñāpāramitā* is likely to have been formed after a new method of monks for a direct experience of release” (Vetter 1994: 1259) emphasizing a speedy attainment of awakening in contrast to a more difficult bodhisattva way that was “probably regarded as taking too much time”.⁴⁵ Thus, it appears as if the meditation on *śūnyatā* was voluntary among bodhisattvas,⁴⁶ which explains/enables the co-existence of Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna, sometimes also in one and the same monastery.⁴⁷ Hence, a Mahāyāna adherent could and most probably had to be “enrolled” in a ‘mainstream’ monastery/Vinaya tradition, while being free to accept the teaching on *śūnyatā* or not.⁴⁸ In other words, whoever was interested in the practice that later was specific to

43 A passage in the Vibhāṣā (T1545, 892a-24) claims that the group of six *pāramitās* were peculiar to the west of Kashmir (cf. Qing 2001: 23).

44 Cf. Fujita (2009: 114): “This means that at least in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* the notion of ‘Mahāyāna’ was not equivalent to that of ‘bodhisattva vehicle’”.

45 Vetter 1994: 1257 referring to a paragraph in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, represented in the first Chinese translation: “Aṣṭa V 7,1213 (T.224 p. 426c20–21)” and “Aṣṭa V 14,9-IX (T.224 p.428b17–25)”.

46 Cf. Nattier (2003: 197ff.) regarding the “absence of the rhetoric of absence” in the Ugra, thus being an example for a Mahāyāna text not being grounded on the *śūnyatā* doctrine.

47 Strauch 2007/2008: 66: “And indeed, early Mahāyāna texts like the *Ugraparipṛcchā* clearly show that monks following the newly introduced Bodhisattvayāna lived together with those adherent to the traditional Śrāvakayāna (Nattier 2003: 81–89). Similar is the situation which can be deduced from the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*, which “suggests that in some monasteries adherents of different movements lived together, avoiding discussing their differences (between mainstream and Mahāyāna, and within Mahāyāna itself) openly” (Vetter 1994: 1265). Cf. also Drewes 2009.2: 6 and Allon/Salomon 2010: 13 and fn. 45 for further references.

48 Cf. Strauch 2007/2008: 66: “Xuanzang [600–664 CE] is reporting about the Mahāyāna monks in Udyāna (Swāt) [...]: ‘The schools of the Vinaya traditions traditionally known among them are the Sarvāstivādins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Kāśyapīyas, and the Mahāsaṃghikas: these five’ (Beal 1884,1: 120–121).”

the Mahāyāna could become a “member of the club”, independent of his traditional *nikāya* affiliation.⁴⁹ More important than his status was the mental attitude of the practitioner (cf. Tsai 2014: 266).

If we accept the reconstruction of *tribodhi* in BC4 and its explanation as referring to the three ways to awakening of a śrāvaka, a pratyekabuddha, or a samyaksambuddha, this could show that the instructions given in BC4 are addressed to each of the three groups. That is, in other words, this scroll would be a(nother) piece of evidence for the *prajñāpāramitā* having been used by anyone who wished to follow this kind of method, which was praised as some kind of shortcut to awakening – or simply as a method to experience *nirvāṇa*, that is the contentment and appeasement associated with it – here in this lifetime.⁵⁰ This would categorize BC4 as a representative of a “weak form” of Mahāyāna universalism, that “retains the traditional scenario of the three vehicles”, agreeing with the other “vehicles” in destination but not in the path (Nattier 2003: 175).⁵¹ In the beginning both (*śūnyatā* adherents and others) would have called themselves bodhisattvas to express their striving after buddhahood, but probably in the course of time more and more distinctive and distinguishing aspects came up that finally lead to a separation, generating the designation Mahāyāna (*bodhisattva mahāsattva*) in contrast to Hīnayāna (*bodhisattva*). This is likely to have taken place in the second century at the latest, since in the earliest Chinese translations the term Mahāyāna already exists (cf. Nattier 2003: 193–197). Furthermore, texts such as the *Ratnāvalī* attributed to Nāgārjuna (second c.) discuss the differences between both parties but also encourage one to see their similarities (tr. Hopkins et al. 1975 / Liebl 2006, verse 386), and refrain from condemning the Mahāyāna, if one is not able to accept it (verses 388, 389, 397). The need to discuss this issue and to plead for the

49 Cf. also Skilling 2004: 151 regarding the difference of Mahāyāna compared to Śrāvakayāna. A significant difference was the reading of Mahāyāna sūtras, in addition to the classical *tripiṭaka*. Skilling 2004: 142f.: “available scriptures of the eighteen schools allow all three options [of *yānas*]: it is one’s own decision” which one to take.

50 For the universalism of the *prajñāpāramitā* teaching cf. Rawlinson 1977: 15 referring to the ASP, where it is labeled as “beneficial for all [three] vehicles” (*prajñāpāramitā sārvaśāstrikā*) or another passage where it is stated that “(Those who) want to learn the Dharma of the arhan(t) [...]. (Those who) want to learn the Dharma of the pratyekabuddhas [...]. (Those who) want to learn the Dharma of the bodhisattvas, should listen to the Prajñāpāramitā, should study it, should bear it (in mind), should cultivate it” (Falk/Karashima 2012: 38f., in regard to PP-G (1-25): *ṣaḍvāgabhūmie va śikṣamaṇeṇa ayam eva prañāparamida śodava*). Also in BC2 all three paths are mentioned side by side without explicitly favoring or degrading one of them (cf. p. 143).

51 Nattier (2003: 175) further: “Thus even as they [i.e. early Mahāyāna sūtras] instruct the bodhisattva on the specifics of his or her chosen path [...] they also treat the path of the *śrāvaka* as entirely legitimate. [...] this nonuniversalist position was actually quite widespread, especially in the early stages of the production of Mahāyāna literature.”

Mahāyāna might indicate its contemporaneous differentiation and separation from Śrāvakayāna circles.

Similar texts

As no direct parallel has been found for the two Gāndhārī manuscripts under consideration, the following statements are merely vague references to similar texts in regard to their overall content, special terms, and/or stylistic features.

In respect to the “background philosophy” BC4 and 11 are connected to *prajñāpāramitā* texts. Hence, similar phrases in other Indic languages (Sanskrit/Pali) frequently occur in *prajñāpāramitā* affiliated literature, and especially in the commentaries that are associated with it.

In respect to the categories, terms, and phrases partial parallels can be found in the commentaries to the AN and KN of the Pali canon or in scholastic texts (Abhidharmakośabhāṣya and -vyākhyā). Sometimes the parallels are not directly obvious, but are given through synonyms.

Among canonical or para-canonical Pali literature and regarding the proposed meditation practice, similarities can be observed in the techniques described in the Pārāyanavagga in the dialogue with the Brahmin Upasīva.⁵² This meditation is based on nothingness and a co-product of it was apparently calm joy or delight. According to Wynne (2007: 75) it has its origin in Brahminic methods of absorption with the difference that in the Buddhist variant/adaptation mindfulness and insight is still included. The result was a liberation in life, but the liberated sage, as well as the liberation itself, is beyond conceptual dualities and not expressible (cf. Wynne 2007: 109). Wynne points to the fact, that the Upasīva dialogue is very much unlike other texts in the Suttapiṭaka.⁵³ Moreover, the Pārāyanavagga (Sn V) together with the Aṭṭhaka-vagga (Sn IV) and the Khaggavisāṇa-sutta (Sn I.35–75) are thought to have existed

52 The Pārāyanavagga contains three short dialogues with Upasīva, Udaya, and Posāla, that show that the Buddha taught a form of meditative practice based on the goal of Āḷāra Kālāma “that was thought to lead to a non-intellectual sort of insight” (*ākīñcañña*) (Wynne 2007: 75). Among these dialogues, the one with the Brahmin renouncer Upasīva is particularly similar to the overall picture emerging from BC4/11.

53 Cf. also Bronkhorst 2011: 171f.: “nothing in the teaching of the B. as traditionally handed down suggests that ordinary reality does not exist. This idea was introduced later into the Buddhist tradition.” Especially the Pārāyanavagga deals with forms of meditation which are unusual for Buddhism. They are described as meditation that had been taught to Brahmins. Also the stylistic features make them different to common texts in the Pali canon (e.g. the unusual beginning “I ask”).

independently before they were incorporated into the Suttanipāta (Wynne 2007: 73).⁵⁴ The recently discovered Gāndhārī manuscripts show that these texts were also known in Gandhāra during the first centuries CE, separately or as a group (cf. Salomon 2000: 14–18). So far, parallels to the Khaggavisāṇa-sutta (G *Khargaviṣaṇa-sutra), preserved in BL5B, and to parts of the Aṭṭhakavagga (G *Arthapada), preserved in SC1 and NC,⁵⁵ have been identified. Also the verse commentary (BL9+13) edited by Stefan Baums (2009) comments upon verses from the Aṭṭhaka- (Arthapada) and Pārāyanavagga, among others from the Dharmapada or Udāna. Thus, possibly, also BC4 might stand in some connection to the Pārāyanavagga or at least the meditation form proposed within it. Already in 1976, L. Gómez suggested that the Aṭṭhaka-vagga and Pārāyanavagga would be proto-Madhyamaka, and also some indications in BL9+13 suggest that at the time of its composition categorial systems existed that bear similarities with those in *prajñāpāramitā* texts (Baums 2009: 23, 52). But, again, as Mahāyāna seems to have been gradually developed within a Śrāvakayāna environment, the assignment to one or the other category is often not so easy to tell and several peculiarities/terms are shared by both parties.⁵⁶

In regard to its application of the six *pāramitās* as prerequisites to buddhahood and the kind of intermediate state between Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna BC4 is quite similar to the Cariyāpiṭaka of the KN.⁵⁷ The Cariyāpiṭaka is divided into three *vaggas* based on the first three *pāramīs*, i.e. *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, while the other perfections are included in the last *vagga* as well as in the last stanza (note that also in BC4 only three *pāramitās* are named exemplarily, but are otherwise referred to in a group of six). Regarding the Cariyāpiṭaka, Bhikkhu Bodhi (1996) emphasized the universalism of the *pāramī* practice and stated that “the work remains well within the bounds of Theravāda orthodoxy” and its “section on the perfection of wisdom has nothing more in common with the *prajñāpāramitā* literature than the core of Buddhist doctrine

54 Further, there are no parallels to portions of Sn IV–V within the Pali canon but only to Sn I–III, and it is also suspect in that it is the last part of the KN.

55 SC1 recto: IV.9 Māgandiya-sutta, Sn 841–844; verso: IV.16 Sāriputta-sutta, Sn 966–968. NC3: Sn 863–909.

56 Within the Gāndhārī manuscripts, also some of those that have been assigned to ‘mainstream’ Buddhism, contain possible indications of Mahāyāna or at least references to *śūnyatā* and *prajñā*. This is, for example, BL10 (cf. Salomon 1999a: 178). For the problem of the identification of an early Mahāyāna text cf. Nattier 2003: 171–197, Ruegg 2004, Schopen 2005, and Pagel 2006 (according to Strauch 2007/2008: 66 fn. 110).

57 The Cariyāpiṭaka is believed to be a late addition (Horner 1975, II: vi) and has been described as hagiographical (von Hinüber 1996: 43).

shared by all schools”.⁵⁸ He adds that it “should be noted that in established Theravāda tradition the *pāramīs* are not regarded as a discipline peculiar to candidates for buddhahood alone but as practices which must be fulfilled by all aspirants to awakening and deliverance, whether as Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas*, or disciples”.⁵⁹

Among the texts which are clearly attributed to the Mahāyāna, a similar text in respect to the *pāramitās* being requisites or provisions for awakening is the Bodhisambhāra ascribed to Nāgārjuna, although including more mature Mahāyāna ideas.⁶⁰ Judging from the mere title another text that could resemble BC4/11 is the *Bodhisattvanidāna-sūtra mentioned in the MPPŚ (fasc. 38),⁶¹ but neither the original nor any translation is extant any more (cf. Kimura R. 1927: 415). As already referred to above, other works, such as the Ratnāvalī commonly attributed to Nāgārjuna, contain similar statements to the ones made in BC4/11 in respect to the practice of a bodhisattva.

Based on Pagel (1995: 91) also some parts of the Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra are similar in its content. Most of all, this is section 7.3 which mentions the factors impeding moral conduct and singles out passion (*rāga*) as the most devastating force. It is argued that the best way to overcome this peril is to see its manifestation from the perspective of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). The whole text is much more elaborate than BC4/11 and is surely to be dated later (the earliest material evidence are the Schøyen fragments, 3rd/4th c. CE). Chapter 11 is about the bodhisattva path with emphasis on meditation and the *prajñāpāramitā*.

In regard to some special terms, most notably the twenty kinds of joy (*viṃśati prīti*), there are analogies in a Chinese text about the stages of a bodhisattva and about

58 “There is nothing about the identity of *nibbāna* and *saṃsāra*, the triple body of the Buddha, the suchness and sameness of all dhammas, mind-only, the provisional nature of the disciple and *paccekabuddha* vehicles, or any of the other ideas distinctive of the Mahāyāna. Even the mention of emptiness (*suññatā*) is restricted to the absence of a self or ego-entity and is not carried through to the radical ontology of the Mahāyāna sūtras” (Bodhi 1996).

59 “What distinguishes the supreme bodhisattva from aspirants in the other two vehicles is the degree to which the *pāramīs* must be cultivated and the length of time they must be pursued. But the qualities themselves are universal requisites for deliverance, which all must fulfill to at least a minimal degree to merit the fruits of the liberating path” (Bodhi 1996).

60 T1660, being a translation of the South Indian monk Dharmagupta (ca. 609 CE) together with the commentary of Bhikṣu *Vaśitva, living apparently not long after the time of Nāgārjuna, during the first quarter of the first millenium.

61 For a discussion of the author being Nāgārjuna or Kumārajīva, who is responsible for the only extant Chinese version made in 406 CE, cf. Takeda 2000 and also Deleanu 2000: 68.

what a bodhisattva has to do in order to help other beings to attain awakening. This is called the “Sūtra of the Garland of a Bodhisattva’s Primary Karmas”⁶² (菩薩瓔珞本業經, *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T1485, 1014).⁶³ A commentary to it is preserved in T2798, 755b (本業瓔珞經疏, *Benye yingluo jing shu*). According to Mochizuki 1946 this was considered an apocrypha and not a translation but a Chinese composition, which was, however, apparently composed making use of different Central Asian sources.⁶⁴ It shows similarities to e.g. the Brahmajāla-sūtra and elements in the Gaṇḍavyūha, using exaggerations as a typical feature (e.g. *gaṅgānadīvālikāsama...*). T281 (菩薩本業經, *Pusa benye jing*) is supposed to be an older version of (parts of) the text with a similar name,⁶⁵ although some essential keywords are missing there, as for example the twenty *prītis*, which constitute the crucial link to BC4, because apparently T1485 is the one and only parallel for this within the Chinese canon and other Buddhist scriptures as well. Unfortunately, both texts do not match exactly. But they have similar topics and wordings in the same sequence (*citti*, *cetanā* or *dhyāna* respectively, *tridhātu*, *prajñāpāramitā*, etc.). Another parallel is that both are structured by numbers. The Chinese text is far more elaborate and detailed, and it may be assumed that it originally had the same basis – whether in text form or merely regarding the content in general – and then grew gradually over the years or centuries, also including material from other (Central Asian) texts and/or manuscripts.

Among the earliest Chinese translations of the late 2nd c. CE none seems to show a striking similarity to BC4/11. Based on the overview of texts on Buddhist philosophy from 100 to 350 CE given in Potter 1999 (Vol. VIII), similar or relevant contemporary texts could be T 630, 成具光明經, *Chengiu guangming jing*, “Sūtra on the Completion of Brightness” (tr. by Zhi Yao, ca. 185 CE)⁶⁶ or T 778, 佛說菩薩內習六波羅蜜經, *Foshuo pusa neixi liuboluomi jing*, *Ṣaṭpāramitā-sūtra*.⁶⁷ Although both

62 “The *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is often rendered as ‘Scripture of the Original Acts that Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas’. A different English translation such as the ‘Scripture of the Original Acts as Adornments of Bodhisattvas’ may also be possible” (Funayama 2013: 15 fn. 1).

63 I owe this information to Abdurishid Yakup, who helped me in searching for several keywords of BC4 in the Chinese canon (2011, Berlin). Later on (2012, Munich), Hiromi Habata helped me in reading the text and comparing it with the Gāndhārī manuscript. Cf. also Funayama 2013, and according to him, Mochizuki 1912, 1930, 1946.

64 Funayama 2013: 17; personal communication with Hiromi Habata (2012).

65 For more information about T281 cf. Nattier 2008: 138, and according to this, especially Nattier 2005.

66 A treatise about the six perfections and the “Mental Concentration on Integral Illumination. The second part contains a description of the moral and religious duties of various classes of lay devotees” (Zürcher 1991: 299, cf. Potter 1999: 95).

67 It is ascribed to Yan Fotiao (i.e. late 2nd c. CE) according to DDB (s.v. 佛說菩薩內習六波羅蜜經),

appear to contain elements congruent with BC4/11, the Gāndhārī manuscripts on the other hand do not explain the six *pāramitās* in detail but simply refer to them without paying much attention to the set as such. Thus, neither of the two is expected to be a direct parallel.

As an example for a similar background or intention of writing a text, the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, “The Awakening of Faith [in the Mahāyāna/suchness]” (大乘起信論, T1666, tr. Hakeda 1967), may be named. According to Hakeda (1967: 25f.) the reasons for the production of this text had been to cause men to free themselves from all suffering and to gain final bliss, further to point out the advantages [of studying this treatise] and to encourage them to make an effort [to attain awakening]. The focus is on suchness/one mind only, and it is stated that there are ten advantages gained by the practice of cessation/*samādhi* (Hakeda 1967: 99).⁶⁸

Purpose

What was the use of writing the text (BC4/11) down? Why fix it to script? I argue that oral / aural features (p. 62) point to an oral original, whether this was a speech / lecture or dictation of a second person, which was simultaneously (or from memory) written down by the scribe, or whether it was his own creation, in which case the oral features would indicate a process of ‘writing aloud’ or an ‘inner speech’.⁶⁹ In addition to the phonological/orthographical features, further arguments, especially in regard to BC4, could be rhetorical elements like repetitions and summaries at the end of the lists that would be suitable for a presentation to an audience. A parallel structure,

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 cf. also Kimura R. 1927: 413, Hirakawa 1990: 276, Pagel 1995: 31 for cross-references in other Buddhist texts.

68 Due to the inclusion of especially mature Mahāyāna ideas akin to the Yogācāra philosophy (cf. Hubbard 1994), this is by no means a direct parallel, but perhaps a further development of the same issue. It is interesting in this context, that the text is traditionally believed to be from Aśvaghōṣa (ca. 80–150 CE), allegedly translated by Paramārtha in 553 CE, but modern scholars think that it was composed in Chinese or even written by Paramārtha himself (cf. e.g. Nattier 1992: 180f., Buswell 1990: 1–29, Ken Ching 2009). However, the arguments brought forth by J. Nattier, referring to Waley 1952: 53, are based on the single account of a story that “during his stay at Nālandā University Hsüan-tsang [Xuanzang] discovered that this important text was unknown to this Indian correlative. And his response, we are told, was to translate the text into Sanskrit.” This of course does not exclude its renownedness somewhere else, previous to the seventh c. CE.

69 Cf. e.g. Balogh 1927: 212–220, 232 for the reading aloud in antiquity (*paginalis locutio*). Cf. also Falk (2011: 14) in regard to SC1 (Aṭṭhakavagga) and the use of different graphemes – “under-barred” or “under-bent” variants – for *salta*: “The scribe obviously tried to differentiate the sounds he uttered when reciting the text. He found variants in pronunciation and tried to assign to them diacritic forms to express the differences he heard in writing.” For questions regarding orality and composition cf. also Skilling 2014: 501, 511, 515. In the case of BC4/11 it is, however, not principally excluded that the dictation was based on another written exemplar.

rhythmic patterns, as well as minimized vocabulary facilitates understanding and makes a text catchy and easy to remember. Exhortations, instructions and the use of first person pronouns (“I”, “we”) and possibly a direct address (“establish yourself”) suggest that the text was addressed to an audience (whether listening or reading) due to its incorporation of two parties: a sender and a recipient. I tend to consider BC4 as the product of a person that wants to praise detachment by means of the *śūnyatā* perspective as the essential prerequisite on the way to awakening – personally, but also for the sake of others.⁷⁰ Following the instructions one would acquire every possible fortune and gain the ultimate bliss. This eulogy appears to be some kind of motivational guide. The new aspect or speciality of this method would be the *lokottara-bhūta-jñāna* by which nothing has to be given up, especially not happiness or delight.⁷¹ Several indications in both manuscripts suggest this endeavor to be an individualized task.⁷² Although the detachment is primarily related to senses, it may also have included physical solitude (as for example in an *aranya*), probably most of all in the beginning to facilitate the meditation process.⁷³

Literal features that directly point to the written text being the primary medium of this witness, are the numbered sections as well as the instruction “on the reverse [side of the scroll] ...” – if this interpretation is accepted (cf. p. 175). This could point to an educational context. It is at least imaginable, that a presiding monk/*dharmabhāṅaka* was proclaiming this text teaching the *prajñāpāramitā*/*śūnyatā* doctrine to motivate and convince others from this new perspective.⁷⁴ Without this hint to the use of the

70 The lack of direct parallels as well as linguistic similarities to the Niya documents suggest that BC4 and BC11 are not translations but texts that were originally produced in Gāndhārī.

71 There are some indications that here a new method to achieve liberation and satisfaction in this life is promoted, opposed to a so far performed practice, which was not leading to success or happiness. In BC11, these are phrases such as “down to the present time ... this should not be done [any more], only do I liberate [myself] ...” and “no more will us be ...”. This involves the *lokottara-bhūta-jñāna*, which equals *śūnyatā*, and by which “nothing is given up”.

72 In BC4 these are the sections «1B3», «3», «4», «5», «6» with references to the first person singular being the protagonist as well as the imperative “establish yourself” at the end of the scroll. In BC11 the indications are the phrase “I release [myself]” and the terms referring to solitude (*asaṃganikā* and in this context also *vivekagata*).

73 The question then is, how the *saṅgha* was structured for the bodhisattvas practicing the *prajñāpāramitā*? Did individuals gather around certain *dharmabhāṅakas* that proclaimed certain texts (cf. Drewes 2011)?

74 Drewes 2009.2: 5: “What seems more likely is that early Indian Mahāyāna was, at root, a textual movement that developed in Buddhist preaching circles and centered on the production and use of Mahāyāna sūtras. At some point, drawing on a range of ideas and theoretical perspectives that had been developing for some time, and also developing many new ideas of their own, certain preachers began to compose a new type of text [...] Mahāyāna preachers gave their imaginations free rein to expand the old Buddhist world and locate it within an infinitely more vast and glorious

birch bark (“reverse [side]”), it would also be conceivable that the author wrote the texts himself, maybe in seclusion.⁷⁵ In any case, the *scriptio continua* suggests an oral culture still being prevalent (‘literate orality’).⁷⁶ And since there are no further medium-based peculiarities besides circles in varying sizes serving as punctuation, indicating breathing (or thinking) pauses, this written text(s), first of all BC4, appears to be an occurrence of an oral text being transferred to a lasting material (cf. Ludwig 2005: 71). A minor addition to this statement is that in BC4 the lines are written out in full, in BC11 however sometimes the end of line was left blank on purpose, apparently indicating a sort of conceptual junction with the beginning of a new line. This might show that BC4 was the result of an oral dictation, whereas BC11 was written at a later stage by the scribe himself thinking and commenting upon BC4. But, of course, this is highly speculative. The common practice may have been to recite a sūtra, to proclaim/present it to others and discuss it (as such the written texts can also be only abridged memory aids, as suggested in regard to the Gāndhārī avadānas). Others, like the commentaries, might have been produced in Abhidharma circles, perhaps directly written down by the authors themselves (producing autographs).

With this in mind, and as a footnote to that, it seems improbable that the cultural technique of writing was introduced all at once to Buddhist communities based on a strong oral tradition.⁷⁷ It would seem that writing was introduced into Indian culture by Aśoka in the middle of the 3rd c. BCE, but it was apparently already well established in Gāndhāra (as the Aśokan edicts here use Kharoṣṭhī and not Brāhmī as almost everywhere else in his realm). Under the assumption that there was no Buddhist community in Gandhāra before Aśoka (cf. e.g. Willemen et al. 1998: 88), one would expect that the first monks, if they came from Magadha, for example, would have used

Buddhist universe with new religious possibilities for all.” Cf. also the passage in the ASP, where the devotees of the perfection of wisdom should be “prepared to hear this sūtra rejected and reviled [...] by both traditional Buddhists and other Mahāyāna groups” because it was not the word of the Buddha but poetry (ASP 328 ed. Mitra 1888 according to MacQueen 1981 and 1982, cited from MacQueen 2005: 313).

75 It has sometimes been suggested that the rise of Mahāyāna was primarily connected with the cultural technique of writing. However, many early Mahāyāna texts do not explicitly mention that the text should be or was written down. Many of them only entreat the adept to recite and retain them. Nevertheless, a possible explanation of the use of scriptures, especially for Mahāyāna texts, could be that those teachings had been not widely accepted in the beginning and they had to be handed on secretly and not by public oral proclamation.

76 Kim 2013: 29: “*scriptura continua* suggest that the texts were recited and vocalized”. Cf. also Nattier 2008: 22f.

77 As has been shown by several studies, Buddhist texts were at first transmitted orally (cf. e.g.: Allon 1997a, Allon 1997b, von Hinüber 1994, Cousins 1983, Gombrich 1990, von Hinüber 1990).

Brāhmī if they had to write something down (supposing they were able to write). One possibility exists, that it was not the early (missionizing) Buddhist monks that availed themselves of writing down such texts in Kharoṣṭhī, but rather those who were already from Gandhāra, and who had “learned” the content from the newly arrived monks, or, for example, we can imagine the situation of local clerks (perhaps even non-religious) being charged with the task of writing down (of an orally dictated text).

But regardless of who wrote down the texts, it is still unanswered as to why the choice was made to write them down. Was it for the sake of fixing one agreed upon version (comparable to the legend of Kaniṣka being unsatisfied with many different views, cp. p. 13)? Or was it given a fixed form as an aide to memory, because the presentator was the only person who knew the text and it was therefore in danger of being forgotten, either because that person was about to die, or soon to depart the community after only a temporary visit, and so would no longer be available for recitation/consultation? Another possible scenario is that it was written down due to the wish to spread the word further than the author himself could, or would, go in person. Thus, it might be imagined that, in the process of some kind of Buddhist mission, whether initiated by foreign visitors or locals, manuscripts were produced in order to be conveyed by someone who otherwise had neither the capacity nor the time to learn the texts by heart – and thereby producing a medium that enabled the easier and also more reliable transmission of the content.

Another suggestion for the use of early written texts were their relevance for liturgic or ritual purposes,⁷⁸ although I can hardly imagine that, especially in a primarily oral society, one would write down something that one was (already) using in a daily ritual. Furthermore, not every part of the text (BC4, much less BC11) is appropriate and intended for repetitive / frequent recitation, as there are also many argumentative and rhetorical passages. Still, some paragraphs, namely section «6» and parts of section «7» of BC4 are suitable for recitation on a daily basis.⁷⁹ While «6» represents the *praṇidhāna*, which perhaps was not verbalized only once at the beginning of a bodhisattva career, but also at a later time to keep the vow alive, section «7» could possibly be connected with some sort of ritual of repentance regarding

78 E.g. Steinkellner 2012: “Dennoch ist dabei noch weniger an das Vorhandensein eines geschriebenen Kanons, etwa des Saṃyuktāgama zu denken, als zunächst an Formen der schriftlichen Niederlegung der oralen Überlieferung zu verschiedenen praktischen oder rituellen Zwecken.”

79 It could however also be intended for a ritual on only one single occasion, namely at the beginning of a bodhisattva career as some kind of inauguration.

one's negative actions and of rejoicing in meritorious acts. Unfortunately, too many as yet unclarified, but crucial words make this section almost incomprehensible (*G aloa/aloṇea* and *aride kerea/aṇaride kerea*, cf. p. 160). Nevertheless, a suggestion by P. Harrison was that the text might deal in a way with the *triskandhaka* ritual.⁸⁰ According to J. Nattier the *triskandhaka-dharma* has to be recited three times in the daytime and three times at night (Nattier 2003: 121 and 259f.). It is not defined what exactly is meant by “three sections”, but repentance of bad deeds / rejoicing in future merits/requesting the buddhas to teach is one of the more favored suggestions. Other suggestions brought forward by J. Nattier (2003: 121) were the repentance regarding *rāga / dveṣa / moha* or repentance of the body / speech / mind. She argued that not all of the three items (repentance, rejoicing, requesting) are attested in the earliest version of the Ugra, “which lacks any mention of requesting the Buddhas to teach”. Additionally, “in all extant versions of the sūtra the practice of rejoicing in the merit of others is said to precede the recitation of the Triskandhaka, rather than being contained within it”.

Likewise, in BC4 the invocation of buddhas is not indicated. The text begins with the contemplation about the benefits of freedom from all desires, which could point to the act of rejoicing before reciting the *triskandhaka*. The ritual itself could be represented by section «7», where on the one hand a person should admonish and exhort something or someone, and on the other hand one should praise / salute something or someone and recommend the opposite (*paribhāṣ* vs. *abhivad*). In the first half of the paragraph («7A1») the verbs have negative connotations and could refer to the bad deeds to be confessed and repented (*sva-doṣa*, leading to *sva-daurgatya*); in the second half («7B1») they are positive in meaning and could refer to the good deeds to be rejoiced in (*svayam-ānuśāmsa*, leading to *sva-sampatti*).⁸¹ If one does so, all enumerated fortunes would come into existence, and finally the states of intrinsic nature would disappear and not rise anew, and one would attain the *mokṣa-sukha*.

80 “The aspiration to full awakening is called ‘giving birth to bodhicitta’. This is something more than a dry doctrine: it was, and is, a public ritual act, a social performance. The earliest text we know for this is the Triskandhaka, to which reference is made in several early Mahāyāna sūtras, for example the Ugraparipṛcchā” (Skilling 2004: 151). Cf. Pagel (1995: 24–26) for potential texts and references (“In the Vimaladattaparipṛcchā, a Triskandhaka is cited alongside the Bodhisattvapīṭaka as a treatise (*dharmaparyāya*) the bodhisattva should retain and memorise”, Pagel 1995: 25).

81 In addition to the dualism of bad and good, the formulation “rejoice [lit. ‘exhort and encourage’ ...]” in one of the Chinese versions of the Ugra (Dharmarakṣa, cf. Nattier 2003: 260 fn. 336) recalls the gerundive G *codidava* in BC4, possibly indicating a relation.

The repeated attribute “three” to all nouns of the list was interpreted as referring to the three times, i.e. past, present, and future (see p. 130), as they are also named in the ‘instructions’ preceding those lists. Thus, if BC4 is indeed connected to, or if parts of it even represent the *triskandhaka* intended for recitation, the prefix *tri-* would, most probably, refer to the three periods of time. This being the case, the term *tri-[koḍ]i* in «7A1» (BC4r.24.2), translated as “three points of time”, might refer to the three points of time during a day/at night, when the *triskandhaka* is said to be performed according to the Ugra. The following *G uhae vatave = ubhaye vaktavyam* (“both are to be uttered”), in addition to other verbs related to speech, indicates the oral character of the (supposed) ritual. However, it is not clear what exactly has to be done. The pronominal adjective “both” seems to point to the phrases *G satahi aloehi / aṣatiade ca aloṇeade ca aride kerea* or *sata aloa / aṣatia ca aloṇea ca aṇaride kerea*. Since apparently *sata aloa aṇaride kerea* etc. is “the thing to do”, which will finally lead to liberation, it could stand for the “not-doing / forbearance” of *sata aloa* (possibly referring to some kinds of attachment, see p. 164).⁸² Unfortunately, all these uncertain words are the key to the mystery, and as long as they are not satisfyingly identified, nothing definite can be said.

Nevertheless, it becomes clear that the text in general deals with the starting point of a bodhisattva practice and that it describes in particular a certain ritual that has to be performed. This bears resemblance to the *triskandhaka* ritual, or also, in part, to the seven-limb practice (cf. p. 163), even though in BC4 the steps are not so detailed and the otherwise usual invocation of numerous buddhas is not documented. The common steps are the confession of unwholesome deeds, and rejoicing in wholesome deeds of the past, present, and future. A similar ritual involving repentance and rejoicing (the ‘confession and repentance practice’) is also known from early Chinese Buddhist texts commonly categorized as *bodhisattvaprātimokṣa*, such as the *Vinaya-viniścayopālipariṣcchā-sūtra*.⁸³

The ritual described in BC4 would have to be performed either at the beginning of the bodhisattva path or in the “middle” of it, in the case that the zeal to awakening has weakened. Through its (oral) performance the practitioner would confess his

82 According to the Ugra, this ritual is performed by a lay bodhisattva, who is still a beginner on the path, to expiate his faults and overcome possessiveness and attachment [to the world], if no Buddha or member of the *āryasaṅgha* is “at hand” (Barnes 2012: 213).

83 佛說決定毘尼經, *Foshuo jueding pini jing*, T325, 12.37b1–42c10, cf. Barnes 2012 for this text and others related to the *triskandhaka* ritual, as well as Martini 2013.

misconduct and “get back on the right track”.⁸⁴ Thus, it could very well be that the texts from Bajaur have preserved certain rituals that are the basis of the training of a (Mahāyāna) bodhisattva, also called the *bodhisattvaprātimokṣa*.

Conclusion

The two Gāndhārī manuscripts BC4 and BC11 may be characterized as treatises for a practitioner on the bodhisattva path, based on (later) Mahāyāna ideas and particularly the realization of emptiness that leads to detachment and the bliss of liberation. In general, the diction is rather traditional but the author(s)⁸⁵ seem(s) to deal with new perspectives, designated by the terms *lokottara-bhūta-jñāna* and *prajñāpāramitā*. Several typical (or rather mature) Mahāyāna features are not being included, such as praising the Buddha as a supernatural being, celestial buddhas or bodhisattvas, pure land visions etc.,⁸⁶ but this may also be due to its character being a philosophical treatise rather than a sūtra or narrative. The references to transcendence are confined to realizations and abilities (*abhijñā*) within the meditation process. The notion of emptiness is included but not stressed. Likewise, the six *pāramitās* are known, but applied as an apparently well-established concept.

If we think of Mahāyāna having evolved as a slow and silent reform within a Śrāvaka environment in terms of a different approach to or focus on certain topics among the Buddhist doctrine, the first step may have been meditative techniques with concentration on emptiness as a means to seclude from the world, and in order to develop new ways of experiencing *mokṣa* and happiness in this very life. The whole process was an individualized task of renunciation, possibly, but not necessarily, also in physical seclusion in some kind of isolated forest abode (*araṇya*). In this respect, the bodhisattva path was a solitary and ascetic endeavor. The altruistic element would have included, or been confined to the intention to lead other beings on the same way to awakening by means of teaching them this very doctrine and helping them to help themselves.

84 A similarity to confessions in the Vinaya corpus is given in «1B3», which begin with *ya mama ta sakṣitena* (= *yad mama tad saṃkṣiptena*), i.e. a pronoun in the first person and the operator *saṃkṣiptena* (suggested by Richard Salomon, personal communication, Seattle 2014).

85 Though written by the same scribe, the authors of the texts preserved in BC4 and BC11 do not necessarily have to be identical.

86 There is also no stress on *upāya-kauśalya*, no system of stages of a bodhisattva, no indications for a laity-oriented context or any close relationship to lay people, no invocation of buddhas or bodhisattvas, no *stūpa* or book cult.

The universal application of the *śūnyatā* concept may have evolved on the basis of the analytic methods of (Sarvāstivāda) Abhidharma, and this scholastic approach is still visible in BC4 and BC11 (as well as in BC2). In practice, the realization of emptiness was accomplished by insight meditation (*vipaśyanā bhāvanā*) resulting in the non-perception of anything whatsoever. Among the several theories on the origin of Mahāyāna proposed to date,⁸⁷ the ones that explained it as the concentration on meditative practices in combination with new ways to *mokṣa*, or new ideas about the reality of things, are confirmed by BC4 and 11. The new approach was to experience the bliss of *nirvāṇa* and liberation “here in this lifetime” by realizing the emptiness of all dharmas. It may be repeated that *nirvāṇa* is only the end of suffering due to attachment to the world, the result of which is a deeper happiness that is a serene, unexcited state of mind beyond words.

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 87 Most recent summaries are: Shimoda 2009, Drewes 2009.1, Allon/Salomon 2010.

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Word index

Each entry of the word index is given in the following format:

G lemma, Skt. equivalent, P equivalent, gender, “English translation”.

G *word* (as given in the reconstructed text), grammatical status, line number.

The Gāndhārī lemmata (headwords) are presumptive, since they do not appear in the manuscript in this form. Nevertheless, they are solely based on the evidence in BC4 and BC11, thus no standardized lemmata have been chosen (e.g. the index lists *aidaṇa* and not *ayadana*). The actual forms, as they appear in the text editions, are given in the subsequent listings. For verbal forms, the present stem is given in brackets, in case it is different to the root, and reference is made to the Sanskrit root. Sanskrit and Pali equivalents as well as English translations are given only once for each lemma. When the equivalent in Sanskrit or Pali is not a direct phonetic correspondent of the Gāndhārī form, this is indicated by the symbol ≈ (“almost equal to”). Word boundaries are marked by hyphens, except in the case of prefixes. The sequence of the occurrences is based on the following criteria: verbal forms, nominal forms, number (sg./pl.), inflected forms (arranged alphabetically, beginning with the first word of a compound), compounds (when the headword is not at the end, thus having no inflection), gender (m./n./f.), line numbers. For convenience, the index follows the more familiar *varṇamālā* sequence as it is known from other dictionaries of Indic languages, with the only exception that *ṇ* is treated as *n* and ordered between *dh* and *p*; *ṣ* is treated as *s*.

Word Index BC4 and BC11

- aidaṇa, āyatana, āyatana**, n., “sense base”.
aḷatvia-aidaṇa nom. pl., 11v.24
bahira-aidaṇa nom. pl., 11v.24
- akarma, akarmaṇ, akamma**, n., “non-action”.
akarmaṇa gen. pl., 4r.27.2
[a]karmaṇa gen. pl., 4v.07.1
- akica, akṛtya, akicca**, n., “lit. ‘that which ought not to be done’, non-duty”.
a[kicaṇa] gen. pl., 4r.27.1
aḷicaṇa gen. pl., 4v.06.2
- akuśala⁽¹⁾, akuśala, akusala**, n., “unwholesome / bad [deed]”.
aku[śa]l[o] nom. sg., 4r.21.1
- akuśala⁽²⁾, akuśala, akusala**, n., “unwholesome / bad [condition]”.
akuśala nom. sg., 4r.05.2
akuśale nom. sg., 11r.14
akuśala nom. pl., 4r.04.2
*(*aku)śala* nom. pl., 4r.11.1
aku[śa]laṇa gen. pl., 4r.26.1
akuśalaṇa gen. pl., 4v.05.2
- akuhica, akutrācit, akuhiñci**, ind., “nowhere”.
akuhica-agamaṇa-akuhica-gamaṇa-agareṇa
 11v.19
- akṣaya, akṣaya, akkhaya**, mnf., “not decaying”.
akṣaye nom. sg. f., 11v.03
- a√kha = ā√khyā**, “(caus.) declare, make known”.
akhaita abs. caus., 11r.05
- āgamaṇa, āgamaṇa, āgamaṇa**, n., “coming”.
akuhica-agamaṇa-akuhica-gamaṇa-agareṇa
 11v.19
- agara, ākāra, ākāra**, m., “(under the) aspect (of)”.
 + + *[gar]e[ṇa]* instr. sg., 4r.21.1
aṇatvagaraṇa = aṇatvagaraṇa instr. sg., 11v.18
aṇicagaraṇa instr. sg., 11v.17
aparibhujī[tv]e[a]-agareṇa instr. sg., 11v.18
avedea-agareṇa instr. sg., 11v.18
parimaṇa-sacea-agareṇa instr. sg., 11v.19
śuṇagaraṇa instr. sg., 11v.18
sudīṇagaraṇa = sudīṇagaraṇa instr. sg., 11v.18
- acala, acala, acala**, mnf., “immovable”.
acala nom. sg. f., 11v.02
- a√ci = ā√ci**, “accumulate, cover with”.
[a]cida, pp. (used adverbially?) nom./acc. (?) sg.
 m./n. (?), 11r.33
- acitīa, acintitā (?)**, **acintitā (?)**, n. (?), “without thinking / reflection” (?), cf. text notes.
acitīeṇa instr. sg., 11v.20
- aḷatva, adhyātma, ajjhata**, mnf., “inward, inner”.
aḷatva-bahira 11v.13
- aḷatvia, ādhyātmika, ajjhattika**, mnf., “inward, inner”.
achat[v]ia nom. pl. n., 11v.25
[aḷatvia] nom. pl. n., 11v.27
aḷatvia nom. pl. n., 11v.26
aḷatvia nom. pl. n., 11v.26
aḷatvia-aidaṇa 11v.24
- ajavi, adyāpi, ajjavi**, ind., “to this day, up to now”.
ajavi 11r.35
- añā, anya, aññā**, mnf., “other”.
añā nom. pl. m., 4r.17.1
*(*a)ñā* nom. pl. m., 4r.18.1
añe nom. pl. m., 4r.18.2
- añātra, anyatra, aññātra**, ind., “elsewhere”.
añātra-deṣehi 4r.18.1
- añhaṇa, asthāna, aṭṭhāna**, n., “an impossibility”.
añhaṇo nom. sg., 11v.24
- atara √sa = antara √dhā**, “disappear”.
a[t]araṇaṣaiṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4v.11.1
- atogada⁽¹⁾, antargata**, BHS **antogata, antogata**, mnf., “included”.
atogade nom. sg. m., 11r.51
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.49
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.48
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.49
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.49
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.50
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.50
atogade nom. sg. n., 11r.51
atogado nom. sg. n., 11r.47
atogade nom. sg. f., 11r.49
atogada nom. pl. m., 11r.50
- atogada⁽²⁾, antargata**, BHS **antogata, antogata**, mnf., “turned inward”.
*(*a)[to]gada-suhe* 11r.18
atogada-suhe 11r.18
- atra⁽¹⁾, atra, atra**, ind., “here”.
atra 11r.47
[atra] 11v.23
- atra⁽²⁾, antra, anta**, n., “intestine”.
atra nom. (?) sg., 11r.32
- atva, ātman, attan**, n., “self”.
atve nom. sg., 11r.24
atva-hida 4r.22.2
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.45
- adida, atīta, atīta**, n., “past (lit. ‘what has gone’)”.
adide nom. sg., 4r.24.1
*adida-aṇa[gada-p](*r)[ac](*u)[pa]ṇe[hi]* 11r.36
adida-aṇagada-pracupaṇehi 11r.38
- aṇagada, anāgata, anāgata**, n., “future (lit. ‘what has yet not come’)”.
aṇagada = aṇagade nom. sg., 4r.24.2
aṇagad[e] nom. sg., 4v.03.1
aṇagade nom./loc. (?) sg., 4v.12.1

- adida-aṇa*[gada-p](*r)[ac](*u)[pa]ṇe[hi] 11r.36
adida-aṇagada-pracupaṇehi 11r.38
- aṇatva, anātman, anatta**, mnf., “without a self, selfless”.
aṇatvagarāṇa 11v.18
- aṇarida** (?), uncertain, cf. text notes.
*[aṇari](*da) [ke]rea* 4v.11.2
aṇarid[a] k[e]rea 4v.11.2
aṇaride keraa 4v.09.2
aṇari[de ke]rao 4v.01.2
aṇaride kerea 4v.01.1
aṇaride [ko] 4v.10.1
- aṇavaṭṭiā, anāvartika, anāvattika**, mnf., “not leading to rebirth”.
aṇavaṭṭie nom. sg. f., 11v.03
- aṇica, anitya, anicca**, mnf., “impermanent”.
aṇicagareṇa 11v.17
- aṇubhavaṇa, anubhavana, anubhavana**, n., “experience”.
aṇubhavaṇa nom. sg., 11r.05
- aṇu** √*bhu* = *anu* √*bhū*, “experience”.
a[ṇu]bhaviea 3rd sg. opt. caus. (?), 11r.14
aṇubhavi[[da]]ea 3rd sg. opt. caus. (?), 11r.14
[aṇu]bhavavida pp. nom. pl. n. caus., 11r.34
*(*a)[ṇ]ubhavidave* gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11v.30
- aṇuvadaṇa, anupādāna, anupādāna**, n., “without clinging [to existence]”.
aṇu[va]daṇa nom. sg. (?), 4r.14.2
- aṇu** √*śaś* = *anu* √*śams*, “praise, approve”.
aṇuśaśidava gdv. nom. pl. m./f. (?), 4r.28.2
- aṇuśaśa**, BHS *ānuśamsa, ānisamsa*, m., “benefit”.
aṇuśa[śe] nom. sg., 4v.10.1
aṇuśaśa acc. sg., 11r.26
yaśa-bhuda-aṇuśa[ṇa] instr. sg., 4r.28.2
*(*viraga-aṇuśa)[ś](*e)* loc. (?) sg., 4r.02.2
vira[ga]-aṇuśaṣe loc. (?) sg., 4r.09.2
aṇuśaśa nom. pl., 4r.12.2
svaya-aṇuśaṣehi instr. pl., 4v.02.1
- aparasiṇa, aparādhīna, aparādhīna**, mnf., “not depending on anything”.
aparasiṇa-suhe 11r.16
- aparibhujitvea** (?), ***aparibhuj-ātmaka** (?), mnf. (?), “having the nature of non-enjoying (?)”.
aparibhuj[iv]e[a]-agareṇa 11v.18
- aparibhuta**, cf. *pari* √*bhuj*.
- aparihaṇa-dhama, aparihāṇa-dharma, aparihāna-dhamma**, m., “not leading to decline”.
aparihaṇa-dhama bv. nom. sg. f., 11v.03
- apalioṣa**, BHS *apaligodha, apaligedha*, m., “without desire”.
[a]palioṣeṇa instr. sg., 4r.02.1
*[apalio]ṣ(*e)[ṇa]* instr. sg., 4r.08.2
- apoṣaṇa, apoṣaṇa, aposana**, n., “non-nourishing”.
amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva nom. sg., 11r.38
- aprañati, aprajñapti, apaññatti**, f., “non-designation”.
aprañati nom. sg., 11r.29
- amidra, amitra, amitta**, m., “not a friend, enemy”.
amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva 11r.38
- amiṣa, āmiṣa, āmiṣa**, n., “material (sources, things)”.
amiṣa-daṇe 11r.49
- amuḍa** (?), **amūḍha** (?), **amūlha** (?), mnf. (?), “non-perplexed (?)”.
[a]muḍa adv. (?), 11v.07
- amoyaṇa**, uncertain (*amocana* or *āmocana* ?), cf. text notes.
civara-kṣaya[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amo[yaṇa-kṣaya-du]kha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.45
- arida** (?), uncertain, cf. text notes.
ari[da] karae 4r.23.1
ar[i]da keraa 4v.10.2
*arida [kere](*a)* 4v.10.2
[ari]de [ka]rai 4v.09.2
arede keraa 4v.09.1
- arupa, ārūpya, ārūppa**, n., “formless [state]”.
arupa-dhadu 11v.15
- aruva, arūpa, arūpa**, n., “[the] formless”.
aruve nom. (?) sg. n., 11v.30
aruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11r.21
aruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.28
aruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.28
ruvaruva nom. (?) pl. n., 11v.28
- aroa, aroga, aroga**, m., “freedom from disease, health”.
aroa nom. sg., 11v.14
- aroga, ārogya, ārogya**, n., “freedom from disease, health”.
[arogaṇa] gen. pl., 4r.27.2
arogaṇa gen. pl., 4v.08.1
- artha, artha, attha**, n., “profit; (dat. sg.) for the sake of”.
a[r]tho nom. sg., 4r.21.2
artha dat. sg., 11v.12
artha[e] dat. sg., 11v.12
- alabha, alābha, alābha**, m., “non-obtainment, non-possession, absence of gains”.
alabheṇa instr. sg., 11r.37
- alaṣiā, ālaṣya, ālaṣsa**, n., “idleness, want of energy”.
alaṣiāṇa gen. pl., 4r.27.1
*al[aṣi](*a)ṇa* gen. pl., 4v.06.1
- aloa**, uncertain, cf. text notes.
sata aloa nom./acc. (?) pl., 4v.01.1
sata matra alo[a] nom./acc. (?) pl., 4v.11.2
satahi alohi instr. pl., 4r.23.1
- aloia, alaukika, alokika**, mnf., “not relating to this world”.
aloieṇa instr. sg. n., 11v.16
- aloṇea**, uncertain, cf. text notes.
aloṇea aṣatia idara nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.11.2
[aṣa]tia aloṇ[e]o [ca] nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.10.1
*aṣatia ca a[loṇe](*a) ca* nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.01.1
aloṇea aṣatiade « ca » *idarade* abl. sg., 4v.10.2
*aṣatia al[o]ṇe[a](*de)* abl. (?) sg., 4v.09.1
*aṣatiade ca (*a)loṇeade* abl. sg., 4r.23.2
- ava** √*kram* = *ava* √*kram* (?), “overcome”.
[avakra] ? = avakramya (?), abs. (?), 11r.20

- avaṇaa, apanaya, ≈ apanayana**, m., “removal”.
dukha-[avaṇao] nom. sg., 11v.08
- avyaīda (?)**, *avyayita* → *avyayitā* (?), “not spent → not consuming (?)”.
ava[yede]ṇa adj. or nomen abstr. (?), instr. sg. n. (?), 11r.39
- avayea, apacaya, apacaya**, m., “decrease”.
avayea gen. sg., 11r.09
- avarimaṇa, aparimāṇa, aparimāṇa**, mnf., “without measure, immeasurable”.
avarimaṇa gen. pl. m./f. (?), 4v.08.1
avarimaṇa gen. pl. m., 11v.05
avarimaṇa gen. pl. n., 11v.05
avarimaṇa gen. pl. f., 11v.06
avarimaṇa gen. pl. f., 11v.10
[avarimaṇa] // gender and case uncertain, 11r.26
avara[mī]ṇa-doṣa-prahaṇa = avarimaṇa° 11v.10
*(*ava)rimaṇa-gu[ṇa-vidi]miśa* 11r.20
avarimaṇa-[dukha]-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.46
avarimaṇa-do[ṣa] 11r.20
hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa 11r.46
- avaśa, avaśyam, avassam**, ind., “certainly, necessarily”.
[ava]śa 11r.27, *avaśa* 11v.04, *avaśa* 11v.30,
avaśi 11r.47, *avaśi* 11r.48, *avaśi* 11v.02,
avaśi 11v.07, *avaśi* 11v.08, *avaśi* 11v.08,
[avaśi] 11v.09, *avaśi* 11v.11
- avi, api, api**, ind., “even”.
*(*a)[vi]* 11r.04, *avi* 11r.04, *avi* 11r.05, *avi* 11r.05,
avi 11r.49, *avi* 11r.49, *avi* 11r.51, *avi* 11v.28,
avi 11v.28, *avi* 11v.30, *avi* 11v.30,
vi 11r.23, *vi* 11r.24
- avhiṇa, abhiñā, abhiñā, f.**, “higher supernormal or supernatural knowledge”.
avhiṇa-aś[r]ea-suh[e] 11r.18
- aviñati, avijñapti, viññatti**, f., “non-cognition”.
[a]viñati-[s]()u[he]* 11r.16
- avedea, avedaka, avedaka**, m., “one who does not experience (?)”.
avedea-agareṇa 11v.18
- aśuha, aśubha, aśubha**, mnf., “not beautiful or agreeable, unpleasant”.
« aśuha » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
*« (*a)śuh[a] »* nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
aśuha nom. sg. n., 11r.41
aśuhe nom. sg. n., 11r.25
aśuhe nom. sg. n., 11r.25
aśuho nom. sg. f., 11v.04
aśuha nom. pl. n., 11v.26
aśuha nom. pl. n., 11v.26
- aśuha, aśubha, aśubha**, n., “unattractive [condition], what is unpleasant”.
aśuhe nom. sg., 11r.14
aśuha acc. sg., 11v.09
aśuhe acc. sg., 11v.05
aśuha nom. pl., 4r.04.2
aśuha nom. pl., 4r.11.1
aśuhaṇa gen. pl., 4r.26.1
a[ś]()uhaṇa* gen. pl., 4v.05.2
- aśpriṣaṇa, aśparśana**, BHS *aśpṛśana, aṣhusana*, n., “non-touch”.
*(*aśpriṣa)[ṇaṇa]* gen. pl., 4r.27.2
a[śpṛi]ṣa[ṇaṇa] gen. pl., 4v.07.1
- aś[r]jea, aśreyas = niḥśreya(sa)** (?), n., “final emancipation, ultimate bliss (without superior)”.
avhiṇa-aś[r]jea-suh[e] 11r.18
- √as = √as**, “be, exist”.
asti, asti, asti, 3rd sg. pres., 11r.23
siadi, syāt, siyā(ti), 3rd sg. opt., 11r.47
- aśa va, atha vā, atha vā**, ind., “or (also)”.
aśa va 11r.21
aśa va 11v.28
- asakhada, asaṃkhyāta, asaṃkhāta**, mnf., “not enumerated, not considered” (or: *asaṃskṛta, asaṃkhata*, mnf., “not constructed, unconditioned”, cf. text notes).
sakhada-asakhada gen. sg. n., 11r.09
- asagaṇia, asaṃgaṇikā, saṅgaṇikā**, f., “being without company [opposite of solitude, *viveka*]”.
asagaṇia-[suhe] 11r.18
- asaṃkhea, asaṃkhyeya, asaṃkheyya**, mnf., “uncountable, innumerable”.
aśakema ka[r]pa adv., acc. pl. m., 11r.33
asakhea karpa adv., acc. pl. m., 11r.35
- asaṃkheda, asaṃkhyāta, asaṃkhāta**, mnf., “uncounted, innumerable (P not in this meaning)”.
asaṃkhe[dehi] instr. pl. n., 4r.15.1
- asaśaraṇa, asādhāraṇa, asādhāraṇa**, mnf., “uncommon, extraordinary”.
asaśaraṇe nom. sg. f., 11v.02
- aśatia, āśaptika** (?), **āsattika** (?), mnf., “up to seven” (?), cf. text notes.
aloṇea aśatia idara nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.11.2
[aśa]tia aloṇ[e]o [ca] nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.10.1
aśatia ca a[loṇe]() ca* nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.01.1
aloṇea aśatiade « ca » idarade abl. sg., 4v.10.2
aśatia a[lo]ṇe[a]()de* abl. (?) sg., 4v.09.1
*aśatiade ca (*a)loṇeade ca* abl. sg., 4r.23.1
- aśapurūṣa, aśatpurūṣa, aśappurisa**, m., “unworthy man”.
aśapur[ūṣ]aṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.1
[kama]-pra[muḥa]-aśapurū[ṣa]ṇa gen. pl., 4v.04.1
- aśi √vas = adhi √vās**, “endure, accept”.
[a]śivaśidae cf. text notes, 4r.20.1
aśivaśidae cf. text notes, 4r.20.2
- asuha, asukha, asukha**, n., “unhappiness”.
asuhe nom. sg., 11r.32
- √ah = √ah**, “say (only 3rd sg. and 3rd pl. perf.)”.
aha 3rd sg. perf., 4r.17.2
a[ha] 3rd sg. perf., 11r.21
- ahara** (?), **āhara** (?), **āhara** (?), m., “support”, cf. text notes.
[aharae] dat. sg. (?), 4r.25.1
[a]()hara[e]* dat. sg. (?), 4r.25.1
aharae dat. sg. (?), 4r.25.2
aharae dat. sg. (?), 4r.26.1

- (*aharae) dat. sg. (?), 4r.26.1
 aharae dat. sg. (?), 4r.26.2
 (*a)[hara]e dat. sg. (?), 11r.07
 aharae dat. sg. (?), 11r.08
 aharae dat. sg. (?), 11r.09
 [aharae] dat. sg. (?), 11r.10
 aharae dat. sg. (?), 11v.06
 aharae dat. sg. (?), 11v.10
 [aharea] dat. sg. (?), 4r.26.2
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4r.27.1
 (*a)[har](*)[a] dat. sg. (?), 4r.27.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4r.27.2
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4r.27.2
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4r.28.1
 [aha]rea dat. sg. (?), 4v.04.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.04.2
 [aharea] dat. sg. (?), 4v.05.1
 [a](*)[ha]re]a dat. sg. (?), 4v.05.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.05.2
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.06.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.06.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.06.2
 [aharea] dat. sg. (?), 4v.07.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.07.1
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.07.2
 aharea dat. sg. (?), 4v.08.1
 [aha]rea] dat. sg. (?), 4v.08.2
 [aha]rea (uncertain) dat. sg. (?), 11r.20
- ahi** √gaks = **abhi** √kāṅks, “expect, look forward to”.
 [ahi]ga[kṣidave] gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.03.1
- ahi** √ṇad = **abhi** √nand (?), “rejoice at”.
 [a] .[i] ? ? dave = [abhi](*)[nadi]dave (?) gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.24.2
- ahi** √vad = **abhi** √va(n)d, “salute respectfully”.
 aivadida pp. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.11.2
 ahivadidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4v.03.2
 a[hi](*)[va][d](*)[i][dava] gdv. nom. pl. m./f. (?), 4r.28.2
 ahivadidava gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.01.2
 ahiva<*(d)ida[va] gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.01.2
 [a](*)[hiva]didave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.24.1
- ithu**, (Vedic *itthā*) *ittham*, *itthaṃ*, ind., “thus, in this way”.
 < [i]thu > 4r.28.2
- ithumi**, (Vedic *ittha*) *iha* (*ittha*° only in cpd.), *idha* (*ittha*° only in cpd.), ind., loc. sg., “here, in this existence” (or “thus” ?), cf. text notes.
 [ithumi] 4v.08.2
 ithumi 4v.09.2
 [i]th[u]mi] 4v.12.2
- ida**-, “this”.
 aya nom. sg. n. treated as m., 11r.47
 io nom. sg. n., 4r.21.2
 [ida] nom. sg. n., 11r.48
 ida nom. sg. n., 11r.50
 ida nom. sg. n., 11v.11
 ida nom. sg. n., 11v.25
 ida nom. sg. n., 11v.26
 ida nom. sg. n., 11v.27
 imo nom. sg. n., 4r.19.1
 i(*)[m][e] nom. pl. m., 4r.18.1
 ime nom. pl. m., 4r.18.2
 ime nom. pl. m., 4r.12.2
- ime nom. pl. m., 11r.50
 imehi instr. pl. (?) n. (?), 11r.35
- idara**, **itara**, **itara**, mnf., “the other, (pl.) the rest”.
 ida[ra] nom. sg., gender uncertain, 4r.28.2
 idaro nom. sg., gender uncertain, 4v.03.1
 idara nom./acc. (?) sg., gender uncertain, 4v.11.2
 idarade abl. sg., gender uncertain, 4v.10.2
 idara-sahoro 4v.12.2
- iva**, **iva**, **iva**, ind., “like, as”.
 amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva 11r.38
 iva 11v.14, i[va] 11v.26, (*iva) 11v.27
- √iṣ (*ich*~) = √iṣ, “wish”.
 [ichi]ea 3rd sg. opt. pass. (?), 11v.03
 ichiea 3rd sg. opt. pass. (?), 11v.06
- iṣemi**, ≈ *iha*, ≈ *iha*, ind., loc. sg., “here”.
 iṣemi 4r.15.2
 i(*)[ṣe][mi] 4r.17.1
- ua** √ikṣ (*ueks*~) = **upa** √ikṣ, “disregard; look at with an even mind, be disinterested or indifferent”.
 [u]lekṣidae cf. text notes, 4r.20.2
- ua** √da (*uadi*~) = **upa**-ā √dā, “cling to, grasp at”.
 [u]adidea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.15
 uadiaṇa pres. part. ātmanepada (?), 4r.13.1
 (*u)[a]diaṇa pres. part. ātmanepada (?), 4r.13.1
 u[ad]i[ṇae] cf. text notes, 4r.20.1
- uadāṇa**, **upādāṇa**, **upādāṇa**, n., “grasping, clinging [to existence]”.
 u[a]dana nom. sg., 4r.14.2
- uadi**, ≈ **upadhi**, **upādi** = **upadhi**, m., “attachment to worldly possessions [forming a basis for rebirth]”.
 uadi nom. sg., 4r.14.2
- uaṇiṣa**, BHS **upaniṣad** = **upaniṣā**, **upaniṣā**, f., “cause, basis”.
 uaṇiṣa-suhasa 11v.12
 [ua]ṇi[ṣa]-suhe 11r.24
 [u](<*)[a]ṇiṣa[ṣa]-suhe 11r.23
- uama**, **upamā**, **upamā**, mnf., “like ... (in cpd.)”.
 sudiṇoamo acc. sg., 4r.15.2
 [su]di[ṇoa]mo acc. sg., 4r.16.1
- u** √pad (**upaj**~) = **ud** √pad, “arise, (caus.) produce, generate, arouse”.
 [u]pa[ja]di 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.01
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.27
 (*u)pa]j]ea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.28
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.28
 (*upa)[je]a 3rd sg. opt., 11r.29
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.29
 [upa]j](*)e]a 3rd sg. opt., 11r.30
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.30
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.30
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.31
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.31
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.31
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.04
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.06
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.07
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.14
 upajea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.25
 upajiṣa[ti] 3rd pl. fut., 4v.11.1

- upaje* abs., 11r.28
upaj[e] abs., 11r.28
upaje abs., 11r.29
u[pa]ṇa pp. nom. sg. n., 11r.27
upaṇa pp. nom. sg. f. (treated as m.?), 11v.07
upaṇa pp. nom. sg. f. (treated as m.?), 11v.30
upajidave gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.11
upadidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), caus., 4v.02.2
- uṣā, uṣṇa, uṇha**, mnf., “hot”.
sīda-uṣā-dha[r]ṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
- u** √**ṣa** (?) uncertain, cf. text notes.
uṣata abs. (?), 11r.32
- uhae, ubhaya, ubhaya**, mnf., “both”.
uhae nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.23.2
[uha]e nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.24.2
uhae nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.01.2
uhae nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.04.1
abhae = *ubhae*, nom. pl. n., 11r.06
uhaa = *uhae* nom. pl. n., 11r.06
uhae nom. pl. n., 11r.06
- eka, eka, eka**, mnf., “one”.
[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa 4v.01.1
eka-du-tra-cadure-paṃca-ṣaha 4r.23.1
ekam ekasa, adv., gen. sg., “one by one”, 4v.12.2
- eda-**, “this”.
eṣa nom. sg. m., 11v.14
eṣa nom. sg. m. (?), 11r.03
edam io nom. sg. n., 4r.21.2
eṣa nom. sg. n., 11r.21
eṣa nom. sg. n., 11r.23
[e]ṣa nom. sg. n., 11r.24
[eṣa] nom. sg. n., 11v.01
eṣa acc. (?) sg. n., 11v.05
edeṇa instr. sg. n. (treated as m.?), 4r.20.1
« ede » nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.23.2
[e]de nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.01.2
edeṣa gen. pl. m. (?), 11r.01
edeṣa gen. pl. m. (?), 11r.02
[eda]-pramuhe 11r.46
- eva, eva, eva**, ind.
eva “indeed”, 11r.23
evam eva “just so”, 11v.24
- olaia**, ≈ ***avalag(ay)ita** (?), ***olag(g)ita** (?), mnf.,
“fastened, attached [to something]”, ≈ **avalambita**,
olambita, mnf., “depending upon”, cf. text notes.
ola[ia] 11v.01
ol[aiia] 11v.12
- osagra, avasarga, vossagga**, m., “release”.
osagra gen. sg., 11r.26
osagra-suh[e] 11r.15
- oṣaṇa, avadhāna, avadhāna**, n., “attention, concentration [on]”.
[s]u[ḡada]-[dha]()mo[ṣa]ṇa-suhe* 11r.17
- ohoro** (?), ≈ **P huram** (?), ind., “there, in another world / existence” or ≈ **P hurāhuram** “from existence to existence” (?), cf. text notes.
ohoro 4v.08.2
()h[o]r[o]* 4v.09.1
ohoro 4v.09.2
[o]()ho)ro* 4v.10.1
- ka-**, “who? what? why? how?”.
[ka] nom. sg. m. (or *kam* ?), 11r.24
[ki] nom. sg. m. or ind. (?), 4v.10.1
[k]o nom. sg. m., 4r.13.2
ko nom. sg. m., 4r.14.1
[ki] nom. sg. n., 4r.07.2
ki nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
ki nom. sg. n., 11r.21
kim asuhe nom. sg. n., 11r.32
[ke]ṇa instr. sg. n. (?), 11r.10
keṇa instr. sg. n., 11r.48
keṇa instr. sg. n., 11v.23
- kama** ⁽¹⁾, **kāma, kāma**, n., “sensual pleasure, desire”.
kama-dhadu 11v.14
kama-bhoyi 11r.22
kama-suhe 11r.46
kama-suhe 11r.47
kama-suhe 11r.48
kama-suhe 11r.50
- kama** ⁽²⁾, **kāma, kāma**, m., “Kāma, epithet of Māra (?)”.
[kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapur[u]ṣa]ṇa 4v.04.1
- kaya, kāya, kāya**, m(n), “body”.
kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suh[e] 11r.42
kaya-dukhe 11r.04
kaya-suhe 11r.05
kay[e]-suh[o] 11v.07
civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amofyaṇa-kṣaya-du]kha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.42
hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa 11r.46
- ka(y)ia, kāyika, kāyika**, mnf., “bodily, relating to the body”.
*(*kai)[a]sa* gen. sg. n., 11r.09
[kai]a-c[e]d[a]ṣia 4r.04.1
[kaia]-cedaṣia 4r.10.2
- karaṇa, kāraṇa, kāraṇa**, n., “reason, cause”.
*(*ka)raṇe* nom. sg., 4r.05.2
*kara(*ṇeṇa)* instr. sg., 4r.05.2
karaṇeṇa instr. sg., 11r.48
« karaṇeṇa » instr. sg., 11v.15
karaṇ[e]ṇa instr. sg., 11v.16
karaṇeṇa instr. sg., 11v.23
karaṇeṇa instr. sg., 11v.30
karaṇa acc. (?) pl. (?), 4r.08.2
- karpa, kalpa, kappa**, n., “eon”.
aṣakeṇa ka[r]pa adv., acc. pl., 11r.33
asakhea karpa adv., acc. pl., 11r.35
asaṃkhe[dehi] ka[r]p[e]h[i] adv., instr. pl., 4r.15.1
- karma, karman, kamma**, n., “act, activity”.
pariṇa-prahaṇa-karmo nom. sg., 11v.28
praṣaṇa-ka[r]mo nom. sg., 11r.21
[karmaṇa] gen. pl., 4r.27.1
karmaṇa gen. pl., 4v.07.1
- kala, kāla, kāla**, m., “time”.
ṇica-kalo adv., acc. sg., “forever”, 11r.31
- kavala, kapālaka, kapālaka**, m., “(beggar’s) bowl”.
kavalaena instr. sg., 4r.19.1
- kaṣa, katham, katham**, ind., “how?”.
kaṣa 11v.04
[ka]sa 11v.06

- kica**, *kr̥tya*, *kicca*, n., “lit. ‘that which ought to be done’, duty”.
[k]icāṇa gen. pl., 4r.27.1
[ki]cāṇa gen. pl., 4v.07.1
- kici**, *kiṃcid*, *kiñci*, “something”.
kica nom. sg. n., 11v.17
kici nom. sg. n., 11v.19
- ku**, *kū* = *kva*, *ku*, ind., “how? why? where? when?”, with *na* “why then?”.
k[u] ṅ[a] + + + 11v.16
[ku ṅa] 11v.20
- kuśala**⁽¹⁾, *kuśala*, *kusala*, n., “wholesome / bad [deed]”.
kuśale nom. sg., 4r.05.2
kuśalo nom. sg., 4r.21.1
kuśala acc. sg. (?), 4r.08.1
kuśaleṇa instr. sg., 11r.01
kuśa(*leṇa) instr. sg. (?), 11r.01
- kuśala**⁽²⁾, *kuśala*, *kusala*, n., “wholesome / good [condition]”.
kuśala nom. pl., 4r.04.2
kuśala nom. pl., 4r.11.1
(*kuśa)[la](*ṇa) gen. pl., 4r.26.1
kuśalaṇa gen. pl., 4v.06.1
- √ka**⁽¹⁾ = **√kr̥**, “do”.
kahati 3rd sg. fut. (?), 4r.24.2
kahati 3rd sg. fut. (?), 4v.03.2
kahati 3rd sg. fut. (?), 4v.03.2
ka[rama]ṇa pres. part. pass. caus. (?), nom. sg. m., 4r.21.2
[karamaṇa] pres. part. pass. caus. (?), nom. sg. n., 4r.21.1
kaye = *karye* (?) gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.01
kaye = *karye* (?) gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.02
karye gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.02
karye gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.25
karye gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.32
karye gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.35
karye gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.47
- √ka**⁽²⁾ = **√kr̥**, “do” (as an instruction).
« *kaṭave* » gdv. nom. sg. n., 4r.28.2
kaṭave gdv. nom. sg. n., 4v.12.2
kaṭave gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.06
- kerea**, uncertain, cf. text notes.
ari[da] karae 4r.23.1
ar[i]da keraa 4v.10.2
arida [kere](*a) 4v.10.2
[ari]de [ka]rai 4v.09.2
arede kerea 4v.08.2
*[aṇari](*da)* [ke]rea 4v.11.2
aṇarid[a] k[e]rea 4v.11.2
aṇaride keraa 4v.09.2
aṇari[de ke]rao 4v.01.2
aṇaride kerea 4v.01.1
aṇaride [ko] 4v.10.1
praṇide (*?ka)rae 4r.23.2
- koḍi**, *koṭi*, *koṭi*, f., “end, limit [a division of time with reference either to the past or the future]”.
tri-[koḍ]i adv. (?), acc. (?) sg., 4r.24.2
- kṣati**, *kṣānti*, *khanti*, f., “endurance”.
kṣati nom. sg., 11r.49
- kṣaya**, *kṣaya*, *khaya*, m., “decay, destruction”.
puṇa-kṣae nom. sg., 4r.05.2
*civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amofyaṇa-kṣaya-du]*kha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
- √kṣi** (?), *khav~*) = **√kṣip**, “spend time”.
khaveati 3rd sg. opt. caus., 11r.35
- √kha** = **√khyā**, “declare, make known”.
[kha]ita abs. caus., 11r.04
khaita abs. caus., 11v.07
- khadaa**, *khaṇḍaka*, ≈ *khaṇḍa*, mnf., “broken”.
khaḍaṇa instr. sg. m., 4r.19.1
- √ga** (*gach~*) = **√gam**, “go, pass”.
gach[iea] 3rd sg. opt., 11r.13
- gaga-ṇadi-valia-sama-**, **gaṅgā-nadī-vālikā-sama-**, mnf., “as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges”.
gaga-ṇa[di-va]lia-[ṣama-lo]adhadu 4r.13.2
[gaga-ṇa]di-valia-sama-loadhadu-()d[u](*)ha* 4r.13.1
*[gaga]-<(*ṇadi)-[valia-ṣama]-loadhadu-s[u]ha* 4r.14.1
gaga-ṇadi-valia-ṣama-l[o]ga-()dhadu* 4r.12.2
- gaḍa**, **gaṇḍa**, **gaṇḍa**, m., “ulcer”.
ga[d]a nom. pl., 11v.13
ga[d]a nom. pl., 11v.26
[gaḍa] nom. pl., 11v.27
gaḍa nom. pl., 11v.27
ga[d]a nom. pl., 11v.25
ga[d]aṇa gen. pl., 11v.14
ga[d]a-[sagha]rya 11v.22
- gamaṇa**, **gamana**, **gamana**, n. (pres. part.), “going”.
akuhica-agamaṇa-akuhica-gamaṇa-agareṇa 11v.19
- guṇa**, **guṇa**, **guṇa**, m., “quality”.
(*ava)rimaṇa-gu[ṇa-vidi]miśa 11r.20
hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa 11r.46
- gelaṇa**, ≈ **glāna**, BHS **glānya**, **gelañña**, n., “sickness”.
gelaṇaṇa gen. pl., 4r.28.1
gelaṇaṇa gen. pl., 4v.07.2
- ca**, **ca**, **ca**, ind., “and”.
[ca] 4r.03.1, *ca* 4r.03.2, *ca* 4r.03.2, *ca* 4r.04.1, *ca* 4r.04.1, *ca* 4r.05.2, *ca* 4r.08.2, *ca* 4r.10.1, *ca* 4r.10.1, *ca* 4r.10.2, *ca* 4r.11.1, *ca* 4r.12.1, *ca* 4r.14.2, *ca* 4r.15.2, *[ca]* 4r.16.1, *ca* 4r.16.1, *ca* 4r.16.1, *ca* 4r.16.1, *ca* 4r.16.2, *ca* 4r.17.1, *ca* 4r.17.2, *[ca]* 4r.18.1, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.18.2, *ca* 4r.19.1, *[ca]* 4r.19.2, *[ca]* 4r.19.2, *[ca]* 4r.19.2, *ca* 4r.21.2, *ca* 4r.21.2, *ca* 4r.22.1, *[ca]* 4r.22.2, *ca* 4r.22.2, *ca* 4r.22.2, *ca* 4r.22.2, *ca* 4r.23.1, *ca* 4r.23.2, *ca* 4r.23.2, *[ca]* 4r.23.2, *ca* 4r.24.1, *ca* 4r.24.2, « *ca* » 4r.28.1, « (*ca) » 4r.28.1, *ca* 4r.28.2, *ca* 4r.28.2, *[ca]* 4r.28.2, *ca* 4r.28.2, *ca* 4r.28.2, *ca* 4v.01.1, *ca* 4v.02.1, *ca* 4v.02.1, *ca* 4v.02.2, *ca* 4v.02.2, *ca* 4v.03.1, *ca* 4v.03.1, « *ca* » 4v.04.1, *[ca]* 4v.10.1, « *ca* » 4v.10.2, *ca* 4v.11.1, *ca* 4v.11.1, *ca* 4v.11.1, *ca* 4v.11.2, *ca* 4v.12.1, *ca* 4v.12.1, *ca* 11r.01, *ca* 11r.01, *ca* 11r.03, (*ca) 11r.03, *ca* 11r.06, *ca* 11r.07, *[ca]* 11r.07, *ca* 11r.08, *ca* 11r.10, *ca* 11r.10, *ca* 11r.10, *ca* 11r.10, *[ca]* 11r.13, *ca* 11r.15,

- [ca] 11r.15, ca 11r.16, ca 11r.24, ca 11r.24, ca 11r.24, ca 11r.26, ca 11r.33, ca 11r.33, ca 11r.34, ca 11r.36, ca 11r.47, ca 11r.47, ca 11v.04, ca 11v.04, ca 11v.04, ca 11v.05, ca 11v.05, ca 11v.05, ca 11v.05, ca 11v.09, ca 11v.09, ca 11v.10, ca 11v.12, ca 11v.13, ca 11v.15, ca 11v.20, ca 11v.28, ya 4r.15.2, ya 4r.15.2, ya 4r.22.1, ya 4v.11.1
- ca** (?), uncertain.
[ca] 4r.08.2
ya 4r.18.1
- cakṣu, cakṣu, cakkhu**, n., “eye[sight]”.
diva-ca[kṣ]u nom. sg., 11r.19
- cadura, catur, catur**, “four”.
[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa 4v.01.1
eka-du-tra-cadure-paṃca-ṣaha 4r.23.1
- caduraguḍia, caturāṅgulika, caturāṅgulika**, mnf., “four fingers long/broad” (?), cf. text notes.
caduraguḍiehi instr. pl., gender uncertain, 11r.33
- √**car** = √**car**, “go”.
cariṣe 1st sg. fut., 4r.21.1
- √**cit** = √**cint**, “think”.
citi[d]i 3rd sg. pres. pass. (?), cf. text notes, 11r.11
citi[t]a abs., 11r.26
citiidave gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.11
- citta, citta, citta**, n., “mind”.
kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiṣa-suh[e] 11r.42
cita-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.42
[cita-dukhe] 11r.04
cita-suhe 11r.05
p[ara]-cita-ñāṇa 11r.19
- citaṇa, cintana, cintana**, n., “thinking, contemplation, reflecting upon”.
citaṇe nom. sg., 4r.03.1
citaṇe nom. sg., 4r.09.2
- citia, cintita** (?), **cintita** (?), n., “thought, reflection”.
[c]iti[a]e dat. = instr. (?) sg. (?), 11r.12
- citida, cintita, cintita**, n. (pp.), “thought”.
citidasa gen. sg., 4r.03.1
citidasa gen. sg., 4r.09.2
- citupada**, BHS **cittotpāda, cittuppāda**, m., “resolve [to strive for perfect awakening]”.
paḍhama-c[i]tupa[de] abl. sg., 4r.15.2
- civara, cīvara, cīvara**, n., “garment, dress, robe”.
civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amo[yaṇa-kṣaya-du]kha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.44
- √**cud** (**cod**~) = √**cud**, “exhort”.
codid[a] pp. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.11.1
c[o]ldida pp. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.12.1
codidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.24.2
codidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4v.03.2
codidav[a] gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.23.2
codidava gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.02.1
«[codidave]» gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.09.2
codida[ve] gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.10.1
- cedaṣia, caitasika, cetasika**, mnf., “mental, relating to the mind”.
cedaṣiasa gen. sg. n., 11r.09
[kai]a-ce[d]a[ṣ]ia nom. pl. n., 4r.04.1
- [kaia]-cedaṣia nom. pl. n., 4r.10.2
cedaṣia-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.43
- √**chad** = √**chand**, “wish”.
chata pp. nom. sg. n., 11r.17
chade pp. nom. sg. n., 11r.17
[chade] pp. nom. sg. n., 11r.40
ch[a]de pp. nom. sg. n., 11r.41
- √**chid** = √**chid**, “cut off”.
chidita abs., 11r.32
- jagara, jāgariyā, jāgariyā**, f., “[mental] wakefulness, vigilance”.
(*jagaraṇa) gen. pl., 4r.26.2
jagaraṇa gen. pl., 4v.06.1
- jadi, jāti, jāti**, f., “life[time]”.
jadi loc. (acc.?) sg., 4r.15.2
- jado, jātu, jātu**, ind., “at all, ever”.
ṇa jado “not at all, by no means, never”, 11r.31
- jaṇa, jana, jana**, m., “people, mankind”.
jane nom. sg., 11v.12
jaṇe nom. sg., 11v.12
jaṇe nom. sg., 11v.13
bahu-jaṇa-ṣaṣaraṇa-dukha 11r.23
- jibha, jīhvā, jīhvā**, f., “tongue”.
[jibha] nom. (?) sg., 11r.32
- √**jug** = √**juṅg**, “exclude”.
jugidea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.28
jugida pp. (or abs. ?), 11r.28
- √**juhus** (**juhoṣ**~) = √**jugups** (desid. of *gups*), “abhor, be disgusted with or horrified at”.
[j]uhosidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.24.1
- ñāṇa, jñāna, ñāṇa**, n., “knowledge”.
ñāṇe nom. sg., 4r.17.2
(*ñā)[ṇo] nom. sg., 4r.19.2
ṇisama(*r)[tha]-dukha-ñāṇo nom. sg., 4r.21.2
p[ara]-cita-ñāṇa nom. sg., 11r.19
(*dukha)-[ñāṇo] acc. (?) sg., 4r.19.2
(*ṇi)[ṣama]r[tha]-ñāṇo acc. (?) sg., 4r.19.2
dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇa instr. sg., 4r.20.1
bhuda-ñāṇa instr. sg., 11v.17
ñāṇami loc. sg., 11r.06
ñāṇami loc. sg., 11r.06
dukha-ñāṇa-ṇisamartha-ñāṇa 4r.20.1
- ta-, ta-, ta-**, “this, that”.
se nom. sg. m. (?), 11r.22
so nom. sg. m., 4r.18.1
so nom. sg. m., 4r.18.1
so nom. sg. m., 11v.14
ta nom. sg. n., 4r.12.1
ta nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
ta nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
ta nom. sg. n., 4r.18.1
ta nom. sg. n., 11r.01
ta nom. sg. n., 11r.12
[ta] nom. sg. n., 11r.40
ta nom. sg. n., 11r.49
ta nom. sg. n., 11r.50
[ta] nom. sg. n., 11v.23
ta nom. sg. n., 11v.28
sa nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.17.1

- sa* nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11r.28
sa nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11r.28
sa nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11r.29
s[e] nom. (?) sg. (?) f. (?), 4r.02.1
se nom. sg. f., 4r.15.2
ta acc. (?) sg. (?) f. (?), 4r.15.1
ta acc. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11r.28
teṇa instr. sg. m., 11r.32
teṇa instr. sg. n., 11v.30
tae instr. sg. f. (?), 11v.30
tasva abl. sg. m., 4r.18.2
[tasva] abl. sg. n., 11r.05
te nom. pl. m. (?) (or ind., “thus”), 4v.10.2
te nom. pl. m. (?) (or ind., “thus”), 4v.11.2
te nom. pl. f. (?) (or ind., “thus”), 4v.11.1
teṣa gen. pl. m., 11v.13
te[ṣa] gen. pl. n., 11v.25
te[ṣ] gen. pl. n., 11v.26
teṣa gen. pl. n., 11v.27
- ta, tad, tam,*** ind., “thus, therefore, then”.
ta “then” 4r.20.1
ta “thus” 4r.20.2
ta “therefore” 11r.35
ta “then” 11v.04
ta “then” 11v.07
[ta] “then” 11v.08
[te] “thus” (or pronoun, nom. pl. n.), 4r.14.2
te “thus” (or pronoun, nom. pl. f.), 4r.14.2
[e] “thus” 11r.50
- tati, tṛpti*** (?), ***titti*** (?), f., “satisfaction” (?).
tati nom. sg., 11r.11
- taraṇia,*** form uncertain, “cross”, cf. text notes.
[ta]raṇia 4r.13.1
ta[ra]ṇia 4r.13.2
- tatra, tatra, tatra,*** ind., “there, then”.
tatra 11r.41
- tava, tāvat, tāva,*** ind., “then, first, indeed (?) (BC4);
 as to ... (BC11)”.
ta[va] 4r.25.1
tava 4v.01.2
 « *tava* » 11v.15
tava 11v.16
- tulī, tulā, tulā,*** f., “balance, beam” (?).
tulīe abl. / loc. (?) sg., 11r.32
- tuṣa, tuṣa, thusa,*** m., “husk of grain, chaff”.
tuṣe nom. sg. m., 11r.51
- tri, tri, ti,*** “three”.
trae ca saparaia mokṣa nom. pl. m., 4r.03.2
 « (**trae drugana*) » nom. pl. m., 4r.05.1
trae dru[ga]ṇa nom. pl. m., 4r.11.2
trae kuśala nom. pl. n., 4r.11.1
trae ca kuśala nom. pl. n., 4r.04.2
trae ca duha nom. pl. n., 4r.04.1
trae ca śuha nom. pl. n., 4r.04.1
trae ca śuha nom. pl. n., 4r.11.1
trae akuśala nom. pl. n., 4r.04.2
*[trae] (*aku)śala* nom. pl. n., 4r.11.1
trae aśuha nom. pl. n., 4r.04.2
trae aśuha nom. pl. n., 4r.11.1
trae dukha nom. pl. n., 4r.10.2
 « (**trae sapuruṣa*)-[*da*]rśana » nom. pl. n., 4r.05.1
- trae sapuruṣa*-[*da*]rśana nom. pl. n., 4r.11.2
trae sadriṭhia suha nom. pl. n., 4r.04.1
[trae suha] nom. pl. n., 4r.10.2
*trae [ca] (*durga)[di]* nom. pl. f., 4r.03.1
trae ca durgadi nom. pl. f., 4r.10.1
trae ca su[gadi] nom. pl. f., 4r.03.2
*tra[e ca s]u[*gadi]* nom. pl. f., 4r.10.1
trae [sadriṭhia] ? ? nom. pl., gender uncertain, 4r.03.2
*(*tra)[e]* nom. pl., gender uncertain, 4r.10.2
triṇa aṣapur[uṣ]aṇa gen. pl. m., 4r.25.1
triṇa [kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapur[uṣa]ṇa gen. pl. m., 4v.04.1
triṇa triṇa do([*ṣa]) gen. pl. m., 4v.08.1
triṇa «... budhaṇa» *sapuruṣaṇa* gen. pl. m., 4r.25.1
t[r]iṇa budha-pramuha-sapuruṣaṇa gen. pl. m., 4v.04.2
triṇa mokṣaṇa gen. pl. m., 4r.25.2
triṇa mokṣaṇa gen. pl. m., 4v.05.1
*(*tr)[i]ṇa akarmaṇa* gen. pl. n., 4r.27.2
triṇa [a]karmaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.1
triṇa a[kicaṇa] gen. pl. n., 4r.27.1
triṇa aku[śa]laṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.26.1
triṇa akuśalaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.05.2
triṇa aḡicaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.06.2
[triṇa arogaṇa] gen. pl. n., 4r.27.2
triṇa arogaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.2
triṇa alaṣiaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.27.1
*triṇa al[aṣi](*a)ṇa* gen. pl. n., 4v.06.1
triṇa aśuhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.26.1
*triṇa a[ś](*u)haṇa* gen. pl. n., 4v.05.2
*(*triṇa aṣpriṣa)[ṇaṇa]* gen. pl. n., 4r.27.2
triṇa a[ṣpri]ṣa[ṇaṇa] gen. pl. n., 4v.07.1
[triṇa karmaṇa] gen. pl. n., 4r.27.1
triṇa karmaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.1
triṇa [k]icaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.27.1
triṇa [ki]caṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.1
*(*triṇa kuśa)[la](*ṇa)* gen. pl. n., 4r.26.1
[tri]ṇa kuśalaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.06.1
[triṇa] gelaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.28.1
triṇa gelaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.2
*triṇa d(*u)kh[āṇa]* gen. pl. n., 4r.25.2
*triṇa d[ui](*kha)[ṇa]* gen. pl. n., 4v.05.1
triṇa badhaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.25.2
*triṇa mi(*dhaṇa)* gen. pl. n., 4r.26.2
triṇa midhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.06.1
*triṇa lah(*u)ḡhaṇaṇa* gen. pl. n., 4r.26.2
triṇa lahuḡhaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.06.2
[tr]iṇa śuhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.26.1
triṇa śuhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.05.2
triṇa [ṣpri]ṣaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.27.2
triṇa [ṣpri]ṣaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.07.2
triṇa saṃsa[ra][ra]-badhaṇaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.04.2
triṇa suhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4r.25.2
triṇa suhaṇa gen. pl. n., 4v.05.1
*triṇa (*jagariaṇa)* gen. pl. f., 4r.26.2
triṇa jagariaṇa gen. pl. f., 4v.06.1
triṇa triṇa sapatina gen. pl. f., 4v.08.2
triṇa drogadiṇa gen. pl. f., 4r.25.1
triṇa drogadiṇa gen. pl. f., 4v.04.1
triṇa sugadiṇa gen. pl. f., 4r.25.1
triṇa sugadiṇa gen. pl. f., 4v.04.1
[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa 4v.01.1
eka-du-tra-cadure-pamca-ṣaha 4r.23.1
tri-[koḍ]i 4r.24.2
t[r]i-boṣa[e] 4r.15.1

- tredhadua, traidhātuka, tedhātuka**, n., “triple universe, three states of existence”.
 (*tredhaduade) abl. sg., 4r.02.2
 [tr](*)dhaduade abl. sg., 4r.09.2
- √**ḥha (tiḥha~)** = √**sthā**, “stay, (caus.) establish”.
 ḥhavaṇia gdv. nom. sg. n. (?) caus., 11r.22
- ḥhaṇa, sthāna, thāna**, n., “possibility”.
 [ḥhaṇe] nom. sg., 11r.48
 ḥhaṇe nom. sg., 11v.11
 ḥhaṇo nom. sg., 11r.50
 ḥhaṇo nom. sg., 11v.25
 [ḥhaṇo] nom. sg., 11v.26
 ḥhaṇo nom. sg., 11v.27
- daṇa, dāna, dāna**, n., “gift, giving”.
 amiṣa-daṇe nom. sg., 11r.49
 daṇe nom. sg., 11r.49
 daṇe nom. sg., 11r.49
 dharmā-daṇe nom. sg., 11r.49
- darśaṇa, darśana, dassana**, n., “meeting, seeing”.
 « (*sapuruṣa)-[da]rśaṇa » nom. pl., 4r.05.1
 sapuruṣa-[d]arśaṇa nom. pl., 4r.11.2
- diva, divya, dibba**, mnf., “divine, heavenly, celestial”.
 diva-ca[kṣ]u 11r.19
- √**diś (deś~)** = √**diś**, “(caus.) show”.
 deśamaṇa pres. part. pass. caus. nom. sg. m., 4r.21.2
 deśidavo gdv. caus. nom. sg. m./n./f. (?), 4r.17.1
- du, dva, dvi**, “two”.
 [du]e nom. m., 11v.13
 [du]e nom. n., 11r.05
 [dum](*)e nom. n. (?), 4r.24.2
 [du]me nom. n. (?), 4v.04.1
 [eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa 4v.01.1
 eka-du-tra-cadure-paṃca-ṣaha 4r.23.1
 du-[padua] 11v.13
- dukha, duḥkha, dukkha**, mnf., “painful, causing suffering”.
 dukhe nom. sg. n., 4r.18.2
 « dukhe » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
 « dukhe » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
 dukho nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11v.04
 dukho acc. (?) sg. n. (?), 4r.15.2
 dukho acc. (?) sg. n. (?), 4r.16.1
 dukha nom. pl. n., 11v.24
 dukha nom. pl. n., 11v.25
- dukha, duḥkha, dukkha**, n., “painful [condition], suffering”.
 bahu-jaṇa-ṣaṣaraṇa-dukha (bv.?) nom. sg. m. (?), 11r.23
 kaya-dukhe nom. sg., 11r.04
 [cita-dukhe] nom. sg., 11r.04
 dukha nom. sg. (?), 4r.20.1
 dukha nom. sg., 11r.04
 du[khe] nom. sg., 11r.04
 duhe nom. sg. (?), 4r.14.2
 [gaga-ṇa]di-valia-ṣama-loadhadu-(*)d[u](*)ha acc. sg. (?), 4r.13.1
 dukha acc. sg., 11v.09
 dukhe acc. sg., 11v.05
 [d]u[kho] acc. sg. (?), 4r.02.1
 (*dukho) acc. sg. (?), 4r.09.1
 [d]ukho acc. sg., 11v.21
 dukha nom. pl., 4r.10.2
 dukha nom. pl., 11r.05
 dukha nom. pl., 11r.06
 duha nom. pl., 4r.04.1
 d(*u)kh[ana] gen. pl., 4r.25.2
 d[u](*)kha[ṇa] gen. pl., 4v.05.1
 avarimaṇa-[dukha]-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.46
 kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiṣa-suh[e] 11r.42
 cita-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.42
 civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amofyaṇa-kṣaya-du[kha]-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.45
 cedasiya-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.43
 dukha-[avaṇao] 11v.08
 dukha-ṇana-ṇisamartha-ṇaṇeṇa 4r.20.1
 (*dukha)-[ṇaṇo] 4r.19.2
 dukha-bie 11v.22
 dukha-bio 11v.21
 [du]kha-vidimiṣ[a-s]u(*he) 11r.40
 dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.41
 dukha-sagha[r]ye 11v.23
 dukha-sa[r]gharya 11v.22
 durgadi-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.43
 ṇiṣama(*)[tha]-dukha-ṇaṇo 4r.21.2
 viṇati-dukha-vidimiṣa-s[u]he 11r.40
 śida-uṣa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.44
 [saṃsa]ra-uava[t]i-[ni]rvaṇa-ṇaṣa-dukha-vidi]miṣa-suhe 11r.43
 sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.42
- dukhavida, P dukkhāpita** (pp. of dukkhāpeti), mnf., “pained, afflicted”.
 dukhavida pp. (used adverbially?) nom. sg. m./n. (?), 11r.33
- durgadi, durgati, duggati**, f., “bad birth, unhappy existence”.
 durgadi acc. sg., 11r.13
 (*durga)[di] nom. pl., 4r.03.2
 durgadi nom. pl., 4r.10.1
 drogadiṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.1
 drogadiṇa gen. pl., 4v.04.1
 durgadi-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.43
- deśa, deśa, desa**, m., “place”.
 de[ś]e loc. sg., 11r.41
 deśa nom. pl., 4r.18.2
 deśa nom. pl., 4r.18.2
 aṇatra-deśehi instr. pl., 4r.18.1
 sarvatra-deśehi instr. for loc. pl., 11r.30
- doṣa, doṣa, dosa**, m(n)., “malice”.
 avarimaṇa-do[ṣa] acc. (?) pl., 11r.20
 sva-doṣehi instr. pl., 4r.24.1
 do(*ṣaṇa) gen. pl., 4v.08.1
 doṣaṇa gen. pl., 11v.05
 avara[m]iṇa-doṣa-prahaṇa 11v.10
- driṭhadhamia, dṛṣṭadhārmika, diṭṭhadhammika**, mnf., “relating to the visible world / the present life”.
 [driṭhadhamia] adv. (?), acc. (?) sg. n., 4v.05.1
 driṭhadhamio adv. (?), acc. (?) sg. n., 4r.25.2
 driṭhadhamiasa (*sapaṛaiasa) gen. sg. n./f. (?), 11r.08
 driṭhadhami(*)-sapaṛai[sa] 11v.15

- drugana, durgana, *duggana**, m., “bad company, troop of unworthies”.
 « (*drugana) » nom. pl., 4r.05.1
 dru[ga]na nom. pl., 4r.11.2
- droaca, daurgatya, duggacca**, n., “misery”.
 sarva-droa[ca] nom. sg., 4r.22.2
 sarva-droac[a] acc. sg., 11r.34
 sarva-droacade abl. sg., 11r.36
 sarva-droacade abl. sg., 11v.15
 droacasa gen. sg., 11r.09
 (*sarva-droacasa) gen. sg., 11r.07
 sarva-droacasa gen. sg., 11r.08
 sarva-droacasa gen. sg., 11r.10
 [sarva]-droacasa gen. sg., 11v.20
 dro[a]c[e] loc. sg., 11r.35
 (*sarva-droaca) nom. pl., 4r.05.1
 sarva-droaca nom. pl., 4r.12.1
 sva-droacehi instr. pl., 4r.24.1
 droacaṇa gen. pl., 11v.05
- dhadu, dhātu, dhātu**, f., “realm”.
 arupa-dhadu nom. or loc. sg., 11v.15
 kama-dhadu nom. or loc. sg., 11v.14
 ruva-dhadu nom. or loc. sg., 11v.14
- dhaṇai, dhanāya, dhanāya**, [denom. to dhana],
 “desire [like money], strive after”.
 dhaṇaita, abs. (?) 11v.16
- dharana, dharana, dharana**, mnf., “bearing”.
 sīda-uṣa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
- dharetra, dhārayitī** (also *dhāritī*), f., “earth, ground”.
 dh[a]re[tr]ami loc. sg., 4r.17.2
- dharma** ⁽¹⁾, **dharmā, dhamma**, n. (for usually m.),
 “the Dharma, (Buddhist) doctrine”.
 dharm[e] nom. sg., 4r.21.2
 dharmā-dāṇe 11r.49
 [b](*)u[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o] 4r.21.1
 [s]u[gada]-[dha](*)mo[s]a[ṇa]-suhe 11r.17
- dha(r)ma** ⁽²⁾, **dharmā, dhamma**, m., “entity, characteristic”.
 aparihaṇa-dhama bv. (?) nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11v.03
 dhama nom. pl., 11r.50
- na, na, na**, ind., “not”.
 na 4r.02.1, na 4r.03.1, [na] 4r.03.2, na 4r.04.1,
 na 4r.04.2, na 4r.04.2, « (*na) » 4r.05.1,
 (*na) 4r.05.1, na 4r.05.2, na 4r.08.2,
 na 4r.10.1, na 4r.10.1, [na] 4r.10.2, na 4r.11.1,
 na 4r.11.2, (*na) 4r.11.2, na 4r.12.1,
 na 4r.14.2, na 4r.14.2, [na] 4r.16.2, na 4r.17.2,
 na 4r.17.2, na 4r.19.1, [na] 4r.22.2, na 4r.24.1,
 na 4r.24.2, na 4v.11.1,
 na 11r.02, na 11r.06, [na] 11r.11, na 11r.11,
 na 11r.12, [na] 11r.14, [na] 11r.19, na 11r.22,
 na 11r.22, na 11r.24, [na] 11r.24, na 11r.24,
 na 11r.25, na 11r.27, na 11r.31, na 11r.32,
 na 11r.35, na 11r.36, na 11r.37, [na] 11r.38,
 na 11r.40, na 11r.41, na 11r.47, na 11r.47,
 na 11r.48, na 11r.50, na 11r.50, na 11v.03,
 na 11v.04, na 11v.06, na 11v.08, na 11v.11,
 [na] 11v.16, na 11v.16, na 11v.17, na 11v.19,
 [na] 11v.20, na 11v.25, na 11v.26, na 11v.27
- na cīri [v]e, na cīrād vai, ≈ na cīrass’ eva**, adv.,
 “certainly before long, very soon”.
 na cīri [v]e 4r.22.1
- nagaa, nagnaka, *naggaka**, m., “naked mendicant,
 ascetic”.
 nagao nom. sg., 4r.19.1
- ṇaṇa, nānā, nānā**, ind., “various, different”, cf. text
 notes.
 ṇaṇa-parigrah[i]di[a] 11r.23
- ṇamaṣea(di)** (?), uncertain, cf. text notes.
 [ṇa]meaṣadidi = nāmadheyati (?) 11r.15
- √naś = √naś**, “perish, (caus.) destroy”.
 naśadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.13
 naśie[a] 3rd sg. opt. caus., 11r.15
 naśeati 3rd sg. opt. caus., 11r.35
 naśeati 3rd sg. opt. caus., 11r.35
 naśida pp. nom. sg. m./n. (?) caus., 11r.34
 naśida pp. nom. sg. m./n. (?) caus., 11r.34
 naśida pp. nom. sg. m./n. (?) caus., 11r.34
- naśa, nāśa, nāsa**, m., “destruction, annihilation”.
 naśe nom. (?) sg., 11r.07
 na[śe] nom. (?) sg., 11r.08
 (*naśe) nom. (?) sg., 11r.10
 [na]śe nom. (?) sg., 11r.10
 naśe nom. sg., 11v.20
 naśe acc. (?) sg., 11v.05
 [saṃsa]ra-uava[ti]-[ṇi]rvaṇa-[naśa-dukha-
 vidi]miśa-suhe 11r.43
- naśa** (?), **nāśa** (?), **nāsa** (?), “destruction” (or √naś
 destroy ?), cf. text notes.
 na[śae] 4r.25.1
 naś[ae] 4r.25.2
 naś[a]e] 4r.25.2
 naśe 4r.25.1
 naśe 4r.26.1
 (*naśe)[a] 4r.26.2
 (*naś)e[a] 4r.26.2
 naśea 4r.27.1
 (*na)śe[(*a)] 4r.27.1
 naśea 4r.27.2
 naśea 4r.28.1
 naśea 4v.04.1
 naśea 4v.04.2
 naśea 4v.05.1
 naśea 4v.05.2
 naśea 4v.05.2
 naśea 4v.06.1
 naśe[a] 4v.06.2
 naśea 4v.06.2
 naśea 4v.07.1
 naśea 4v.07.2
 naśea 4v.07.2
 (*na)śe[a] 4v.08.2
 naśee 4r.26.1
- ni √khal = niḥ √khal**, “remove, expel”.
 nikhālīda 3rd sg. opt., 11r.28
 nikhālīda pp. nom. sg. f., 11r.29
- nica, nitya, nicca**, mnf., “permanent”.
 nica adj./adv. (?), 11v.24
 ni[ca] nom. sg. n., 11r.24
 nica-kalo 11r.31

- nidaṇa, nidāna, nidāna**, n., “cause; motive; introductory; (here:) [underlying] theme”.
nidaṇa nom. sg., 4r.05.2
- nirvāna, nirvāṇa, nibbāna**, n., “extinction or annihilation, nirvāna”.
n[iva]n[u] acc. sg., 11r.15
[samsa]ra-uava[t]i-[ni]rvāṇa-[ṇaṣa-dukha-vidi]miśa-suhe 11r.43
- ni** √*śa* = **ni** √*sad*, “sit (down)”.
moṣimada-niṣaṇa pp. nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.18.1
- niṣamartha, niṣāmarthya, ~ nirattha**, mnf., “useless, ineffectual”.
 « *niṣamartha* » nom. (?) sg. n., 4r.13.1
 « *niṣamartha* » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.2
[niṣamar]tha nom. sg. n., 11r.25
niṣamartha nom. sg. n., 11r.25
niṣamarthe nom. sg. n., 4r.18.2
 « *niṣamarthe* » nom. sg. n., 4r.25.1
 « *(*ni)[sa]marthe* » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
 « *n(*i)samarth(*e)* » nom. sg. n., 4r.28.1
 « *niṣa(*marthe)* » nom. (?) sg. n., 4v.04.1
[niṣamarthe] nom. sg. n., 11r.07
niṣamartho nom. sg. n., 11v.14
niṣamartha nom. sg. f. (treated as m.), 11v.04
niṣamartha acc. sg. n., 11v.09
niṣamarthe acc. sg. n., 11v.05
niṣamartho acc. sg. n., 4r.15.2
niṣamartho acc. sg. n., 4r.16.1
dukha-ṇaṇa-niṣamartha-ṇaṇeṇa 4r.20.1
*(*ni)[sama]r[tha]-ṇaṇo* 4r.19.2
*niṣama(*r)[tha]-dukha-ṇaṇo* 4r.21.2
 « *niṣamartha-vidimiśa-suhe* » 11r.46
- neva** [*ṇa + eva*], **naiva, neva**, ind., “neither”.
neva 11r.02
nevi 11r.01
nevi 11r.01
nevi 11r.02
- pañca, pañca, pañca**, “five”.
[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa 4v.01.1
eka-du-tra-cadure-pañca-ṣaha 4r.23.1
- pañḍida, pañḍita, pañḍita**, m(nf.), “wise, learned (one); pandit”.
pa[m]ḍidaṇa gen. pl. m., 11r.05
pa[m]ḍi[d]a-[sri]yaṇa 11r.19
- paḥā, paścāt**, BHS **pacchā, pacchā**, adv., abl. sg., “later, afterwards”.
 « *paḥā* » 4r.28.1
 « *[pa](*cā)* » 4r.28.1
[pa]ḥā 11r.25
- paḍi- / paḍi-**, see **pradi-**.
- paḍhama, prathama, paḥama**, mnf., “first”.
paḍhama-c[i]tupa[de] 4r.15.2
- pata, *patta**, “back, reverse [side]”.
patade adv., abl. sg., 4r.28.2
- padi- / paḍi-**, see **pradi-**.
- padua, padika, padika**, mnf., “consisting of parts”.
du-[padua] nom. pl. m., 11v.13
- para, para, para**, mnf., “other”.
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.45
p[ara]-cita-ṇana 11r.19
para-hida 4r.22.2
- parama, parama, parama**, mnf., “best, highest”.
parameṇa adj./adv. (?), instr. sg. m./n. (?), 11r.11
parameṇa adj./adv. (?), instr. sg. m./n. (?), 11r.12
- paramida, pāramitā, ~ pāramī**, f., “perfection”.
praṇa-paramida nom. sg., 4r.16.1
praca-[pa]rami[do] acc. (?) sg., 4r.19.2
paramidehi instr. pl., 11r.02
- √**palaśp** (?), “guard, protect, maintain” (?), cf. text notes.
palaśpada pp. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.12.1
palaśpidava gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.02.1
palaśpidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.10.1
palaśpidava gdv. nom. pl. m./f. (?), 4r.28.2
- parigrahida, parigrhūta, *paṭiggahūta**, mnf., “surrounded” (?).
parigrahida nom. sg. m., 11r.22
parigrah[i]di[a] (+ika) nom. sg. m., 11r.23
- pari** √*ca* = **pari** √*tyaj*, “give up, let go”.
paracea = *paricea* 3rd sg. opt. (or *pariceaṇa*, uncertain), 11r.12
paracaita = *paricaita* abs., 11v.09
paracaita = *paricaita* abs., 11v.22
paracaita = *paricaita* abs., 11v.23
paricaita abs., 4r.12.2
paricaita abs., 11v.04
paricaita abs., 11v.06
parica[i]ta abs., 11v.15
paricaita abs., 11v.17
paricaita abs., 11v.19
paricaita abs., 11v.21
pari[caita] abs., 11v.21
parica[e]ta = *paricaita* abs., 11v.05
paricaeta = *paricaita* abs., 11v.06
[pariceaṇa] pres. part. ātmanepada (?), 4r.14.1
paricea[ṇa] pres. part. ātmanepada (?), 4r.14.1
paricatae cf. text notes, 4r.20.2
paricaidave gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.11
*parica[i](*dav)[e]* gdv. nom. sg. n., 11r.11
- paricāa, parityāga, pariccāga**, m., “giving up, letting go, relinquishment”.
*(*pa)ricāae* dat. sg., 11r.08
paricaea dat. sg., 11r.11
paricaade abl. sg., 11v.10
paricae uncertain, 11v.16
paricae uncertain, 11v.17
- pari** √*ñā* (**pariyaṇ-**) = **pari** √*jñā*, “understand thoroughly / fully”.
[pariñā] ? = *pariñā(*e)* (?) abs. (?), 4r.16.1
*(*pa)[ri]yaṇeo* gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.29
pariyaṇeo gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.29
- pariṇa, pariñā, pariñā**, f., “thorough/full understanding”.
pariṇa-prahaṇa 11r.06
pariṇa-prahaṇa-karmo 11v.28
[pariṇa]-pridi 11v.01
pariṇa-suhe 11r.16

- pari-ñi** \sqrt{vah} = **pari-niḥ** \sqrt{vah} , “enter into *nirvāṇa*, go to cessation, be finally released from rebirth”.
parañirvah[ido] pp. nom. sg. m., cf. text notes, 4r.20.2
- pari** $\sqrt{bhaṣ}$ = **pari** $\sqrt{bhāṣ}$, “admonish; revile, rebuke”.
paribhatha pp. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.11.1
paribhaṣidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.24.2
paribha[ṣi]da[v]()e* gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.09.1
[pa]ribhaṣidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.09.2
paribhaṣidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.10.1
su-paribhaṣidavo gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.23.2
- paribhaṣa**, **paribhāṣā** (f.), also **ṛa** (m.), **paribhāsa** (m.), “admonition”.
paribhaṣehi instr. pl., 4r.23.2
- pari** \sqrt{bhuj} = **pari** \sqrt{bhuj} , “enjoy [sensual pleasures]”.
aparibhuteṇa pp. neg. instr. sg. n., 11r.37
aparibhu[t]asa pp. neg. gen. sg. n., 11r.30
paribhu[t]asa pp. instr. sg. n., 11r.30
parubhuteṇa = *pari*° pp. instr. sg. n., 11r.37
paribhujidave gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), caus. (?), 4v.03.1
cf. *aparibhujitvea*
- parimaṇa**, **parimāṇa**, **parimāṇa**, n., “measure”.
parimaṇa-sacea-agareṇa 11v.19
- parvayida**, **pravrajita**, **pabbajita**, m., “one who has gone forth, a mendicant”.
parvayidehi instr. pl., 11r.29
- palala**, **palāla**, **palāla**, mn., “[stalk of] straw”.
pala[le] nom. sg., 11r.51
- palioṣa**, BHS **paligodha**, **paligedha**, m., “desire, greed”.
[pa][li]oṣ[e] nom. sg., 4r.08.2
- pava**, **pāpa**, **pāpa**, n., “evil [deed]”.
paveṇa instr. sg., 4r.05.2
- $\sqrt{paś}$ = $\sqrt{paś}$, “see”.
paśita abs., 11r.26
- piala**, BHS **peyālam**, **peyyālam**, ind., “etc., in short; (in combination with *iva*): once more”.
piala 11r.15
[pial]o 4v.12.2
i[va] pialo 11v.26
*(*iva pi)[a][l](*)o* 11v.27
- picara**, **pratyarham**, ind., “according to merit”.
yaśa-bhuda-picara 4v.01.2
- picu** (?), **pretya** (?), **pecca** (?), ind., “lit. ‘after having gone past’, i.e. having died, after death” (?).
picu 11v.16
- $\sqrt{piṣ}$ = $\sqrt{piṣ}$, “crush”.
piṣita abs., 11r.32
- \sqrt{puj} (**puj**~) = $\sqrt{pūj}$, “worship, honor”.
puyamaṇa pres. part. pass. nom. sg. m. (caus.), 4r.21.2
- puña**, **puṇya**, **puñña**, n., “merit”.
puña acc. sg., 11v.16
puña-kṣae 4r.05.2
- purve**, **pūrve**, **pubbe**, adv., loc. sg. n., “previous, before”.
⟨ purv[e] ⟩ 4r.28.1
⟨ purve ⟩ 4r.28.1
purve 11r.25
- pra** $\sqrt{oḍ}$ = BHS ***pra** $\sqrt{choḍ}$, “throw away, reject”.
[pra]oḍidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.16.2
praoḍidave gdv. nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
praoḍidave gdv. nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.19.1
[praoḍidave] gdv. nom. sg. n., 4r.19.2
- pracupaṇa**, **pratyutpanna**, **paccuppanna**, n., “presence (lit. ‘what has come up’)”.
pracu[pa]ṇae = *pracupaṇe* nom. sg., 4r.24.1
pracupaṇe nom. sg., 4v.02.2
adida-aṇa[gada-p]()[ac](*)[pa]ṇe[hi]* instr. pl., 11r.36
adida-aṇagada-pracupaṇehi instr. pl., 11r.38
- praceā**, **-pratyaya**, **-paccaya**, mnf., “having ... as condition, being based upon, dependent on ...”.
⟨ budha-praceā ⟩ nom. pl., 4r.05.1
budha-prac()eā* nom. pl., 4r.11.2
- prajahāṇa**, **prajahana**, **pajahana**, n., “abandoning”.
prajaha[ṇa-pri]()di* 11v.01
- praña**, **prajñā**, **pañña**, f., “[discriminating] insight”.
praca-[para]mi[do] 4r.19.2
praña-paramida 4r.16.1
[pra]ña /// 4r.15.1
- prati** \sqrt{labh} (**paḍilabh**~) = **prati** \sqrt{labh} , “obtain”.
paḍiladha pp. nom. sg. f., 4r.16.1
- pratilabha**, **pratilābha**, **paṭilābha**, m., “obtainment”.
padilabhe nom. pl., 11v.20
- prati** $\sqrt{iṭha}$ (**paḍitiṭh**~) = **prati** $\sqrt{sthā}$, “establish one-self; (caus.) establish, introduce into, make attain ...”.
p[āḍitiṭha], *pratitiṭhā*, *patitiṭṭha*, 2nd sg. impv., 4v.12.1
praiṭha[vamaṇa] pres. part. pass. caus. nom. pl. m., 4r.22.1
- pradigara**, **pratikāra**, **paṭikāra**, m., “remedy, counteraction”.
*(*pra)digara-suhasa* 11v.12
pradigara-suhe 11r.23
p[r]a[di]ga[ra-suhe] 11r.24
- pradibhava**, **pratibhavam**, adv., “for this and all future births” (?).
pradibh[ava] 11v.16
- pranida**, **prañita** (?), **pañita** (?), “superior” (?), cf. text notes.
prañide < *ka > rae 4r.23.2
- pramuha**, **pramukha**, **pamukha**, mnf., “headed by ..., first”.
[eda]-pramuhe nom. sg. n., 11r.46
pramuha adv. (?), uncertain, 11r.32
[kama]-pra[muha]-aṣapur[u]ṣa[ṇa] 4v.04.1
budha-pramuha-sapur[u]ṣaṇa 4v.04.2
- pra** \sqrt{labh} = **pra** \sqrt{labh} , “seize, take hold of”.
[pra]la[dhe] pp. sg. (?), gender and case uncertain, 4r.16.2

pra \sqrt{ha} (*prajaha*~) = *pra* $\sqrt{hā}$, “abandon”.

prajahati 3rd sg. pres., 4r.15.2
prajaha|| = *prajaha*(**di*) or *prajaha*(**dava*) =
prajahi(**dava*) (?), 11v.29
prajahita abs. (or 2nd pl. impv. ?), 11v.29
pajahidava gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.29
prahadava gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.29

prahaṇa, BHS *prahāṇa*, *pahāṇa*, n., “abandoning”.

avara[*mi*]ṇa-*doṣa*-*prahaṇa* nom. (?) sg., 11v.10
pariṇa-*prahaṇa* nom. sg., 11r.06
pariṇa-*prahaṇa*-*karmo* 11v.28
praṣaṇa-*ka*[*rmo*] 11r.21

pridi, *prīti*, *pīti*, f., “joy”.

[*pariṇa*]-*pridi* nom. sg., 11v.01
*prajaha*ṇa-*pri*(**di*) nom. sg., 11v.01
pridi nom. sg., 11r.27
pridi nom. sg., 11r.29
pridi nom. sg., 11r.30
pridi nom. sg., 11v.02
pridi nom. sg., 11v.02
pridi nom. sg., 11v.02
pridi nom. sg., 11v.03
pridi nom. sg., 11v.03
pridi nom. sg., 11v.03
pridi nom. sg., 11v.03
pridi nom. sg., 11v.04
pridi nom. sg., 11v.04
pridi nom. sg., 11v.06
pridi nom. sg., 11v.07
(**pridi*) nom. sg., 11v.09
pridi nom. sg., 11v.09
pridi nom. sg., 11v.30
pridi acc. sg., 11r.28
viṣadi pridi nom. pl., 4r.03.1
viṣadi pridi nom. pl., 4r.09.2
pridi-*suha* 11v.02
pridi-*su*[*he*] 11v.01
[*pridi*-*su*]he 11v.07
pridi-*suhe* 11v.11

pruvagama, *pūrva*(*m*)*gama*, *pubbaṅgama*, mnf.,
“preceded by”.

« ? ? [*ma*-]*pu*]r*vagama* » nom. pl. m. (?), 4r.05.1

badhaṇa, *bandhana*, *bandhana*, n., “fetters”.

badhaṇaṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.2
saṃsa[*ra*]{*[ra]*}-*badhaṇaṇa* gen. pl., 4v.04.2

bahira, *bāhira*, *bāhira*, mnf., “outward, outer”.

aṅatva-*bahira* nom. pl. n., 11v.13
(**ba*)*hi*[*ra*] nom. pl. n., 11v.26
bahira nom. pl. n., 11v.26
(**bahira*) nom. pl. n., 11v.27
bahira-*ai*ḍaṇa 11v.24

bahu, *bahu*, *bahu*, mnf., “many”.

+ [*ho*] = (**ba*)*[ho]* adv. (?), 11r.01
[*ba*](*)*hu* adv. (?), 11r.03
[*ba*]hu adv. (?), 11r.10
bahu-*ja*ṇa-*sa*ṣaṇa-*du*kha 11r.23

bia, *bīja*, *bīja*, n., “seed, primary cause”.

*du*kha-*bie* acc. sg., 11v.22
*du*kha-*bio* acc. sg., 11v.21

budha, *buddha*, *buddha*, m., “awakened [one],
“the Buddha”.

budhesa = *budhasa* gen. sg., 11r.29
« *budhana* » gen. pl., 4r.25.1
[*b*](*)*u*[*dha*]-*dharm*[*a*]-*sagh*[*o*] 4r.21.1
« *budha*-*prace*a » 4r.05.1
budha-*prac*(*)*a* 4r.11.2
budha-*pramu*ha-*sapuru*ṣaṇa 4v.04.2

boṣa, *bodha*, *bodha*, m., “awakening, knowing, under-
standing”.

t[*r*]i-*boṣa*[*e*] dat. sg., 4r.15.1
boṣa cpd. or loc. sg. (= *boṣe*), 4r.22.1

boṣi, *bodhi*, *bodhi*, f., “awakening”.

boṣi acc. sg., 11r.15

boṣimaḍa, *bodhimaḍa*, *bodhimaḍa*, mn., “seat of
awakening”.

boṣimaḍa = *boṣimaḍe* (?) nom. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.18.2
boṣimaḍ[*e*] nom. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.18.1
boṣimaḍami loc. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.17.1
boṣimaḍami loc. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.17.2
moṣimaḍa-*ni*ṣaṇa 4r.18.1

boṣiṣatva, *bodhisattva*, *bodhisatta*, m., “bodhisattva
[aspirant to awakening on the path to buddhahood]”.

boṣiṣatva nom. pl., 4r.17.1

bhava, *bhāva*, *bhāva*, m., “[continuous] state”.

bhave nom. sg. (?), 11r.24

bhavaṇa, *bhāvanā*, *bhāvanā*, f., “cultivation”.

marga-*bhavaṇe* nom. sg., 4r.02.1
(**ma*)*r*[*ga*]-(**bhavaṇe*) nom. sg., 4r.08.2

bhio, *bhūyaḥ*, *bhīyyo*, ind., “more”.

bhi = *bhio* 11r.37
bhiu 11r.38
bhio 11r.36

$\sqrt{bhikṣ}$ = $\sqrt{bhikṣ}$, “beg”.

bhikṣiṣe 1st sg. fut. ātmanepada, 4r.19.1

\sqrt{bhu} = $\sqrt{bhū}$, “be, (caus.) become”.

hode 3rd sg. pres., 11v.04
[*ho*]de 3rd sg. pres., 11v.08
[*ho*]de 3rd sg. pres., 11v.09
[*bhavi*]{*[da]*}*ea* 3rd sg. opt., 11r.14
bhavea 3rd sg. opt., 11r.50
bhavea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.25
bhavea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.26
bhavea 3rd sg. opt., 11v.27
bhod[*u*] 3rd sg. impv., 11v.07
bhodu 3rd sg. impv., 11v.08
bhodu 3rd sg. impv., 11v.08
bhaviṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 11v.24
hakṣati 3rd sg. fut., 4r.02.1
hakṣati 3rd sg. fut., 4r.08.2
hakṣati 3rd sg. fut., 4r.20.1
hakṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 4r.02.1
hakṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 4r.03.1
hakṣa[*d*]i 3rd sg. fut., 4r.05.2
[*hakṣadi*] 3rd sg. fut., 4r.07.2
(**hakṣadi*) 3rd sg. fut., 4r.09.1
hakṣa[*d*]i 3rd sg. fut., 4r.09.2
ha(*)*kṣa*[*d*]i 3rd sg. fut., 4r.12.1
ha[*kṣadi*] 3rd sg. fut., 4r.20.1
hakṣa[*d*]i 3rd sg. fut., 4r.20.2

- hakṣadi* 3rd sg. fut., 4r.20.2
*[ha](*kṣa)[di]* 3rd sg. fut., 4r.22.1
hakṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 4r.22.2
hakṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 4r.22.2
hakṣadi 3rd sg. fut., 4v.10.2
a[kṣ]ati 3rd pl. fut., 4v.11.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.03.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.03.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.03.2
*(*hakṣa)[ti]* 3rd pl. fut., 4r.03.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.03.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.1
*(*hakṣa)ti* 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.04.2
 « *hakṣati* » 3rd pl. fut., 4r.05.1
 « *(*hakṣati)* » 3rd pl. fut., 4r.05.1
[ha]kṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.05.1
*(*hakṣati)* 3rd pl. fut., 4r.05.1
*(*ha)[kṣa]ti* 3rd pl. (?) fut., 4r.05.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.1
*(*hakṣati)* 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.10.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.1
hakṣa[ti] 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.2
[hakṣati] 3rd pl. fut., 4r.11.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.12.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.12.1
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 4r.12.2
hakṣati 3rd pl. fut., 11r.06
hakṣa[d]i 3rd pl. fut., 11r.06
hoīta, abs. caus. (?) 4r.19.1
[bhavid]. [d]. pp. caus. (?), 4r.06.2
bhavidave gdv. nom. sg. n., 11v.08
hoidava gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.37
hoidava gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.38
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.36
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.37
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.39
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. n. caus. (?), 11r.39
h[o]idave gdv. nom. sg. f. caus. (?), 11v.02
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. f. caus. (?), 11v.02
hoidave gdv. nom. sg. f. caus. (?), 11v.02
- bhuda*, *bhūta*, *bhūta***, mnf., “true, real”.
bhuda-ñāṇa 11v.17
- bhuyo*, *bhūyaḥ*, *bhiyyo***, adv., “more, again”.
bhuyo 4v.11.1
- bheṣaja*, *bhaiṣajya*, *bhesajja***, n., “medicine, remedy”.
bheṣaje 11v.14
bheṣaje-suh[e] 11v.13
- bhoḥi*, *bhogin*, *bhugin***, m., “enjoying [sensual pleasures]”.
kama-bhoḥi nom. sg., 11r.22
- ma-***, “I, we”.
ahu nom. sg., 11r.12
me (encl.) instr. sg., 4r.17.2
maha = *mahi* dat. (used as instr.) sg. 4r.15.2
mahi dat. (used as instr.) sg., 4r.17.1
mama gen. sg., 4r.12.1
ma[ma] gen. sg., 11r.11
mame gen. sg., 11v.07
mame gen. sg., 11v.07
mame gen. sg., 11v.08
mame gen. sg., 11v.09
me (encl.) gen. sg., 4r.22.1
meme gen. sg., 11v.08
mio, P *mayam* = *vayam*, nom. pl., 11r.12
amahu gen. pl., 11r.37
amaho gen. pl., 11r.36
- maja*, *madhya*, *majjha***, n., “(the) middle”.
 « *maja* » = *maje* (?) loc. (?) sg., 4r.28.2
[maja] = *maje* (?) loc. (?) sg., 11r.25
maja = *maje* (?) loc. (?) sg., 11r.25
 « *maje* » loc. sg., 4r.05.1
 « *maje* » loc. sg., 4r.25.1
 « *ma[j](*)e* » loc. sg., 4r.25.1
 « *maje* » loc. sg., 4r.28.1
 « *[ma](*)e* » loc. sg., 4r.28.1
 « *maj(*)e* » loc. sg., 4v.04.1
[maje] loc. sg., 11r.07
- matra*, *mātra*** (mnf.) / ***mātrā*** (f.), ***matta*** (mnf.) / ***mattā*** (f.), “mnf. measuring, consisting of; f. measure, quantity”.
matra nom. sg., 4r.28.2
matro nom. sg., 4v.02.2
matra nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.09.2
matra nom./acc. (?) sg., 4v.11.2
 « *matra* » abl. (?) sg., 4v.10.2
[ma]tra-sahoro 4v.12.2
- marga*, *mārga*, *magga***, m., “path”.
marga-bhavaṇe 4r.02.1
*(*ma)r[ga-bha](*)vaṇe* 4r.08.2
marga-[suhe]ṇa 11r.02
- maha-śīe* (?)**, ***mahā-śrī* (?)**, ***mahā-sirī* (?)**, f., “great fortune”.
mah[a-ś]()ie* nom. sg., 11r.15
maha-śīe nom. sg., 11r.16
maha-[ś]ie nom. sg., 11r.21
- middha*, *middha*, *middha***, n., “[mental] sleepiness, drowsiness”.
*mī(*dhaṇa)* gen. pl., 4r.26.2
midhaṇa gen. pl., 4v.06.1
- miṣa*, *miśra*, *missa***, mnf., “mixed, together”.
miṣo adv., acc. sg. n., 4v.01.2
 « *miṣo* » adv., acc. sg. n., 4r.23.2
- \sqrt{muc} = \sqrt{muc} , “release, liberate”.
mucami 1st sg. pres., 11r.36
- muḍa* (?)**, ***mūḍha* (?)**, ***mūḷha* (?)**, mnf., “perplexed, bewildered, foolish” (?).
 ///*muḍeasa* 11r.27
- mokṣa*, *mokṣa*, *mokkha***, m., “release, liberation”.
mokṣa nom. sg., 11r.36
mo[kṣ]e nom. sg., 11v.15

- mokṣo* acc. sg., 11r.35
mokṣade abl. sg., 11r.34
mokṣa nom. pl., 4r.03.2
mokṣaṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.2
mokṣaṇa gen. pl., 4v.05.1
mokṣa-sapati 4r.14.2
mokṣa-suha 4r.12.1
mokṣa-suhe 11r.18
- moyea** (?), uncertain, cf. text notes.
moyea 4v.04.1
- ya-**, “which”.
ya (?) nom. sg. m. (?), 11r.22
[ye] (?) nom. sg. m. (?), 11r.23
yo nom. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.23.1
yo nom. sg. m./n. (?), 4r.23.2
ya nom. sg. m./n. (?), 11v.14
ya nom. sg. n., 4r.12.1
yo acc. sg. n., 4r.17.1
ya acc. sg. f. (treated as m./n.), 11r.17
yo acc. sg. f. (treated as m./n.), 11r.40
yeṇa instr. sg. m./n. (?), 11v.23
[ya] uncertain, maybe = *ca*, 11r.32
- yaṇa** (?), **yāna** (?), **yāna** (?), n. (?), “vehicle (?)”.
[ya]ṇa nom. sg., 11r.31
- yatra**, **yatra**, **yatra**, ind., “where”.
ya[tr]a 11r.17
yatra 11r.41
yatra 11r.50
- yadi**, **yadi**, **yadi**, ind., “if”.
yati 11r.27
yadi 11v.03
yadi 11v.14
yadi 11v.14
yadi 11v.15
ya[hi] 11v.07
[ya]hi 11v.13
yidi = *yadi* 11v.06
- yava**, **yava**, **yava**, m., “corn, barley”, cf. text notes.
yava[s]a gen. sg., 11r.51
- yava**, **yāvat**, **yāva**, ind., “as far as, up to”.
yava 4r.23.1
yava 4v.01.1
yava 11r.15
yavi 11r.34
- yavade**, BHS **yāvātā**, **yāvātā**, ind., “as long as”.
ya[va]de 11r.06
- yaṣa-bhuda**, **yathā-bhūta**, **yathā-bhūta**, mnf., “lit. ‘as it is’, according to the truth”.
[yaṣa-bhude]hi instr. pl. m., 4r.24.1
yaṣa-bhudehi instr. pl. m., 4v.02.1
*ya[*ṣa]-bhudehi* instr. pl. m. (?), 4r.23.2
yaṣa-bhuda-aṇuśa[ṇa] 4r.28.2
yaṣa-bhuda-picara 4v.01.2
- ruva**, **rūpa**, **rūpa**, n., “form”.
ruvaruva nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.28
ruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11r.21
ruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.28
ruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.28
ruve nom. (loc.?) sg. n., 11v.30
ruva-dhadu 11v.14
- roa**, **roga**, **roga**, m., “illness, disease”.
[gro] nom. sg., 11v.13
roa-sagharya 11v.22
- $\sqrt{\text{labh}} = \sqrt{\text{labh}}$, “obtain”.
la[bhadi] 3rd sg. pres. pass., 4r.18.1
labhadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.36
labhadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.40
labhadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.41
lavheti 3rd pl. pres., 4r.17.1
ladhe pp. nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
- labha**, **lābha**, **lābha**, m., “obtainment, gain”.
lavha nom. sg., 4r.17.2
labheṇa instr. sg., 11r.36
- lahuḥṇaṇa**, **laghūtthāna**, **lahuḥṇāna**, n., “physical alertness, vigorousness”.
*lah(*uḥṇaṇa)* gen. pl., 4r.26.2
lahuḥṇaṇa gen. pl., 4v.06.2
- loia**, **laukika**, **lokika**, mnf., “mundane, relating to this world”.
« loi[e]ṇa » instr. sg. n., 11v.15
- loutara**, **lokottara**, **lokuttara**, mnf., “supramundane, superworldly”.
loutareṇa instr. sg. n., 11v.17
- loga**, **loka**, **loka**, m., “[this] world”.
[lo]gado abl. sg., 4r.21.1
- logadhadu**, **lokadhātu**, **lokadhātu**, f. (m.), “world-system”.
gaga-ṇa[di-va]lia-[ṣama-lo]adhadu nom. pl., 4r.13.2
*gaga-ṇadi-valia-ṣama-l[o]ga[*dhadu]* nom. pl., 4r.12.2
*[gaga-ṇa]di-valia-ṣama-loadhadu-[*d][u]([*ha])* 4r.13.1
*[gaga]-[*ṇadi]-[valia-ṣama]-loadhadu-s[u]ha* 4r.14.1
- va**, **vā**, **vā**, ind., “or”.
aṣa va 11r.21, *aṣa va* 11v.28,
[va] 11r.19, *va* 11v.03, *va* 11v.06, *(*va)* 11v.09,
va 11v.09, *va* 11v.14, *va* 11v.14, *va* 11v.15,
- $\sqrt{\text{va}}$ (**var~**) = $\sqrt{\text{vṛ}}$, “(1) restrain; (2) choose (for one’s self)”, cf. text notes.
vareḍi 3rd sg. pres. caus., 4r.13.2
vareḍi 3rd sg. pres. caus., 4r.14.1
- $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$ (**vuc~**) = $\sqrt{\text{vac}}$, “say, speak, explain; (caus.) declare”.
vacadi = *vucadi* (?) 3rd sg. pres. act. or pass. (?), 11r.12
vucadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 4r.18.1
vucadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.01
[vu]cadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.49
*[v]([*u]c[a]di* 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.23
vucadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.28
vaiśa[di] 3rd sg. fut. caus. (?), 4r.06.2
*(*va)[i]śadi* 3rd sg. fut. caus. (?), 4r.08.1
vaiśadi 3rd sg. fut. caus. (?), 4r.08.2
vu[t]o pp. nom. sg. m., 11r.51
[vata]ve gdv. nom. pl. n. (?), 4r.24.2
[vata]ve gdv. nom. pl. n. (?), 4v.04.1

- $\sqrt{\text{varj}}$ = $\sqrt{\text{vrj}}$, “(caus.) avoid”.
varjita abs., 11r.05
varj[a]maṇa pres. part. pass. caus. nom. sg. n., 4r.21.1
varjamaṇa pres. part. pass. caus. nom. sg. n., 11r.04
varjida pp. caus. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.11.1
varjidavo gdv. caus. nom. sg. m./n./f. (?), 4r.16.2
varjidava gdv. caus. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4r.24.1
 «*[varjidave]*» gdv. caus. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.09.2
- vayaa* (?), *vyayaka* (?), **vayaka* (?), mnf. (?), “making payments → consumer” (?).
[va]yaeṇa instr. sg. m. (?), 11r.38
- vada*, *vāda*, *vāda*, m., “speech, talk; (here:) statement”.
vado nom. sg., 4r.05.2
- vaṇa*, *punar*, *pana*, ind., “then, again”.
vaṇa 4r.19.1
vaṇa 11r.05
[va]ṇa 11r.11
vaṇa 11r.12
- vi*, *api*, *pi*, ind., “even”.
vi 4r.24.1
- viñati*, *vijñapti*, *viññatti*, f., “perception, cognition”.
viñati-dukha-vidimiśa-s[u]he 11r.40
- vitrea*, form uncertain, “go through” (?), cf. text notes.
 (**vitre*)*[a]* 4r.13.1
vitrea 4r.14.1
- $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ (*vij-*) = $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$, “know”.
vijadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.48
vijadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11r.50
vijadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.11
vijadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.25
- vidimiśa*, *vyatimiśra*, *vītimissa*, mnf., “mixed with, intermingled with, tainted by”.
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.45
 (**ava*)*rimaṇa-gu[ṇa-vidi]miśa* 11r.20
avarimaṇa-[dukha]-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.46
kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suh[e] 11r.42
cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.42
civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amofyaṇa-kṣaya-du[kha]-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.45
cedaṣia-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.43
*[du]kha-vidimiś[a-s][u>(*he)]* 11r.40
dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.41
durgadi-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.43
 «*niṣamartha-vidimiśa-suhe*» 11r.46
viñati-dukha-vidimiśa-s[u]he 11r.40
[vidimiśa-suhe] 11r.42
śida-uṣa-dha[r]ṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
[saṃsa]ra-uava[t]i-[ni]rvaṇa-ṇaṣa-dukha-vidi]miśa-suhe 11r.43
sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.42
hiṇa-kaya-avarimaṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa 11r.46
 ///[.o]-*vidimiśa-suhe* 11r.41
- viraga*, *virāga*, *virāga*, m., “indifference to worldly objects, dispassion”.
 (**viraga-aṇuśa*)*[ś](*)e* 4r.02.2
vira[g]a-aṇuśaśe 4r.09.2
- vi* $\sqrt{\text{raj}}$ = *vi* $\sqrt{\text{rañj}}$, “free oneself of passion; (pp.) dispassioned, detached”.
 (**viratasa*) pp. gen. sg. m., 4r.02.2
viratasa pp. gen. sg. m., 4r.09.2
- vivaryaa*, *viparyāya*, *vipariyāya*, m., “opposite”.
vivaryaeṇa instr. sg., 4r.28.2
- vivega*, *viveka*, *viveka*, m., “detachment, solitude, seclusion”.
vivega-gadasa 11r.31
vivega-gadasa 11r.31
vivega-vera[gr]a-suhe 11r.46
[vi]()ve**[ga]-suami* 11r.48
vivega-suhami 11r.47
vi[ve]ga-suhe 11r.18
- viśadi*, *viṃśati*, *vīsati*, “twenty”.
viśadi śoa nom. pl. m., 4r.03.1
viśadi śoa nom. pl. m., 4r.10.1
viśadi pridi nom. pl. f., 4r.03.1
viśadi pridi nom. pl. f., 4r.09.2
- vi* $\sqrt{\text{śaj}}$ = *vi* $\sqrt{\text{sa(ñ)}}$, “adhere to, hang to”.
viśajajita abs. (intens.?), 11v.08
- vi* $\sqrt{\text{ha}}$ (*vihañ-*) = *vi* $\sqrt{\text{han}}$, “suffer (in vain)”.
vihañadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.12
vihañadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.12
vihañadi 3rd sg. pres. pass., 11v.13
- ve*, *vai*, *vai*, ind., “indeed”, cf. *ṇa ciri* *[v]e*.
[v]e 4r.22.1
- vela*, *velā*, *velā*, f., “(point of) time”.
vela adv., 11r.17, *vela* adv., 11r.40, *vela* adv., 11r.40
- veragra*, *vairāga* (n.) or *virāga* (m.), *virāga* (m.), “absence of desire / passion, dispassionateness”.
vivega-vera[gr]a-suhe 11r.46
vera[gra]-suhami 11r.47
veragra-suhami 11r.48
- $\sqrt{\text{vrud}}$ (?) = $\sqrt{\text{vrt}}$, “be performed”, cf. text notes.
[vr]ud[e] pp. nom. sg. m., 4r.16.1
- $\sqrt{\text{śaṣ}}$ = $\sqrt{\text{śaṃs}}$, “praise, commend”.
śaṣidava gdv. nom. pl. m./n. (?), 4v.02.1
- śaki*, *śakyā* (Vedic *śakyāt*), *sakkā*, ind., “it is possible”.
[śaki] 4r.13.1
[śaki] 4r.13.1
śa[ki] 4r.13.2
śa[ki] 4r.14.1
- śali*, *śāli*, *sāli*, m., “grain”.
śali nom. sg., 11r.51
śali nom. sg., 11r.51
- śiṭha*, *śiṣṭa*, *siṭṭha*, n., “the rest, the remaining”.
śiṭha nom. sg. n., 11r.27
- śida*, *śita*, *sīta*, mnf., “cold”.
śida-uṣa-dha[r]ṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.44
- śila*, *śīla*, *sīla*, n., “ethics, morality”.
[śīle] nom. sg., 11r.49
- śuñā*, *śūnya*, *suñña*, mnf., “void”.
śuñ[e] nom. sg. n., 4r.18.1
śuñā nom. pl. m., 4r.18.2
śuñagareṇa 11v.18

- śuha, śubha, subha**, mnf., “pleasant”.
śuhe nom. sg. n., 11r.18
- śuha, śubha, subha**, n., “beautiful [condition]”.
śuha nom. pl., 4r.04.1
śuha nom. pl., 4r.11.1
śuhaṇa gen. pl., 4r.26.1
śuhaṇa gen. pl., 4v.05.2
- śeṣa, śeṣa, sesa**, mn., “remainder, remaining”.
śeṣae dat./loc. (?) sg. 4r.28.2
- śoa, śoka, soka**, m., “sorrow”.
viśadi śoa nom. pl., 4r.03.1
viśadi śoa nom. pl., 4r.10.1
- śpadima, smṛtimant, satimant**, mnf., “mindful”.
[śpadi]mo pres. part., nom. sg. m. (?), 4v.03.1
- śpabhavasa, svabhāvātā, sabhāvātā**, f., “state of inherent existence, intrinsic nature”.
śpabhavasa nom. pl., 4v.11.1
- śpriṣaṇa, sparśana**, BHS *spṛśana, phusana*, n., “touch, contact”.
[śpr]iṣaṇaṇa gen. pl., 4r.27.2
[śpri]ṣaṇaṇa gen. pl., 4v.07.2
- śriya, śriyā** (?) = **śrī**, ≈ **sirī** (?), f., “prosperity, wealth, power, riches”.
pa[m]ḍi[d]a-śriyaṇa gen. pl., 11r.19
[śriyaṇa] gen. pl., 11r.19
- ṣa, ṣaṣ, cha**, “six”.
[eka-du-tra]-cadura-pa[mca]-ṣa nom./acc. (?) pl. m. (?), 4v.01.1
eka-du-tra-cadure-pa[mca]-ṣaha instr. pl. m. (?), 4r.23.1
ṣahi instr. pl., 11r.02
- śada, ś(r)ānta / śāta** (?), **sāta** (?), mnf., “pleased, satisfied, content”, cf. text notes.
śade nom. sg., 11r.36
śade nom. sg., 11r.37
śade nom. sg., 11r.37
śa[d](*)e nom. sg., 11r.37
śade nom. sg., 11r.39
śade nom. sg., 11r.39
« śade » nom. sg., 11v.17
śado nom. sg., 11v.16
[śa]do nom. (?) sg., 11r.12
śadasa gen. sg., 4v.12.1
- śadima, *ś(r)āntimant** (?), ***sātimant** (?), mnf., “possessing contentment / satisfaction”.
śadimeṇa instr. sg. m. (?), 11r.11
śadimeṇa instr. sg. m. (?), 11r.12
- ṣaṣadaa** (?), ≈ **śāsvata** (?), ≈ **sassata** (?), mnf., “permanent, constant”, cf. text notes.
ṣaṣadaeṇa instr. sg. n. (?), 4v.02.2
ṣa[ṣa]dae dat. sg. f. (?), 11r.11
- saṃsara, saṃsāra, saṃsāra**, m., “cycle of existence, transmigration”.
sasamra acc. sg., 11r.15
[saṃsa]ra-uava[t]i-ṇi[rvaṇa]-[ṇaṣa-dukha-vidi]miśa-suhe 11r.43
saṃsa[ra][ra]-badhaṇaṇa 4v.04.2
- sa[kṣ]ji**, uncertain (= *sākṣin* or *saṃkṣipta*), 11r.12
- sakṣiteṇa**, BHS *saṃkṣiptena*, ≈ *saṃkhepato*, adv., instr. sg., “in brief, in short, in summary”.
? + ? ṇa ? = [sa](*)kṣi[t](*)eṇa 11r.10
sakṣiteṇa 4r.12.1
sakṣite[ṇa] 4v.08.1
[sakṣi]teṇa 11r.20
sakṣiteṇa 11r.30
sakṣiteṇa 11r.34
- sakhada, saṃkhyāta, saṃkhāta**, mnf., “enumerated” (?).
sakhada-asakhadasa gen. sg. n., 11r.09
- sagaṇia, saṃgaṇikā, saganikā**, f., “with company”.
sagaṇia nom. sg., 11r.31
- sagha, saṃgha, saṅgha**, m., “Sangha, community of monks”.
[b](*)u[dha]-dharm[a]-sagh[o] nom. sg., 4r.21.1
- sagharya, *saṅghārya = saṃhārya, ≈ saṅgharaṇa = saṃharaṇa** (or **saṃskārya*, ≈ *saṃkhāra*, n. ?), “accumulation”.
dukha-sagha[rye] nom. sg., 11v.23
ga[d]a-[sagha]rya acc. sg., 11v.22
dukha-sa[r]gharya acc. sg., 11v.22
roa-sagharya acc. sg., 11v.22
(*)sa[gha]rya acc. sg., 11v.23
sagharyade abl. sg., 11v.25
[sa](*)gharyade abl. sg., 11v.26
(*)sagharyade abl. sg., 11v.27
- sacea, satyaka = satya** (?), **sacca** (?), “truth”.
parimaṇa-sacea-agareṇa 11v.19
- sata, sapta, satta**, “seven”.
sata nom./acc. (?) pl., 4v.01.1
sata nom./acc. (?) pl., 4v.09.2
sata nom./acc. (?) pl., 4v.11.2
satahi instr. pl., 4r.23.1
satahi instr. pl., 4v.08.2
satahi instr. pl., 4v.10.2
- satida** (?), **saptitā** (?), **sattitā** (?), f., “sevenness” (?).
sati[dehi] instr. pl., 4v.12.1
- satva, sattva, satta**, m., “living being”.
satva nom. pl., 4r.21.2
sarva-ṣatvehi instr. pl., 11r.22
satvaṇ[a] gen. pl., 4r.21.2
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.45
[satva]-hida-suhe 11r.19
sarva-ṣatvaṇama[sa]ṇima-suhe 11r.17
sarva-ṣatva-hida 4r.22.2
[sa](*)[va-ṣatva].i [ya] ṇ. [s](*)[h](*)e 11r.17
- sadakalo, sadākālam, sadākalam**, adv., “all the time, always”.
[sa]dakalo acc. sg., 4v.12.1
- sadrīthia, sāmdrṣṭika, sandīṭṭhika**, mnf., “relating to the present life”.
sadrīthia nom. pl. n., 4r.04.1
sad[r]īthia nom. pl. n. (or adv. (?)), 4r.10.2
[sadrīthia] nom. pl. (?), uncertain, 4r.03.2
sadrīthia adv. (?), 4v.08.1
- sapati, sampatti, sampatti**, f., “fortune”.
mokṣa-sapati nom. sg., 4r.14.2

- (**sa*)*r[va]*-*sapati* nom. sg., 4r.22.1
sarva-sapati nom. sg., 11r.36
sapati acc. sg., 11r.35
[sarva-sapati] acc. sg., 11r.34
(**sapatie*) gen. sg., 11r.10
sarpa-sapatie = *sarva*° gen. sg., 11v.20
sarva-sapatie gen. sg., 11r.07
sarva-sapatie gen. sg., 11r.08
*[sa](**rva-sa*)*[pat]i[e]* gen. sg., 11r.10
sarva-[sa]patie gen. sg., 11v.15
sapati nom. pl. (?), 4r.14.2
sarva-sapati nom. pl., 4r.12.1
sarva-sapati nom. pl., 4r.05.1
sva-sapatihi instr. pl., 4v.02.1
sapatiṇa gen. pl., 4v.08.2
sapatiṇa gen. pl., 11v.06
sapatiṇa gen. pl., 11v.10*
- saparaia, sāmparāyika, samparāyika**, mnf., “relating to the future / to the next world”.
(**driṭhadhamiasa saparaiasa*) gen. sg. n./f. (?), 11r.09
*driṭhadhami(**a*)-saparaia[*s*a]* gen. sg. (?), gender uncertain, 11v.15
saparaia nom. pl. m., 4r.03.2
saparaia adv. (?), 4v.08.1
- sapuruṣa, satpuruṣa, sappurisa**, m., “worthy / good / wise man”.
« *budhaṇa* » *sapuruṣaṇa* gen. pl., 4r.25.1
budha-pramuha-sapuruṣaṇa gen. pl., 4v.04.2
« (**sapuruṣa*)-*[da]rṣaṇa* » 4r.05.1
sapuruṣa-[d]arṣaṇa 4r.11.2
- sama, sama, sama**, mnf., “same”.
samo nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.17.2
samo nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.18.1
samo nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.18.1
samo nom. sg. n. (?), 4r.18.2
same nom. pl. m., 4r.18.2
same nom. pl. (?) m. (?), 4r.18.2
- sayaṣavi**, BHS *sayyathāpi, seyyathāpi*, ind., “just as if”.
saya[visa] = *sayaṣavi* 11r.51
- sarva, sarva, sabba**, mnf., “all, every, each”.
sarve nom. sg. m., 4r.20.2
sarv[a] nom. sg. n., 11r.14
sarva nom. sg. n., 11r.14
sarve nom. sg. n., 4r.20.1
[sa]rve nom. sg. (?) n., 4r.14.2
sarv[e] nom. sg. n., 11r.14
sarva nom. sg. (?) f., 4r.14.2
sarv[a] acc. sg. f., 11r.13
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.45
sarpa-sapatie = *sarva*° 11v.20
sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiṣa-suhe 11r.42
(**sarva-droaca*) 4r.05.1
sarva-droaca 4r.12.1
sarva-droa[ca] 4r.22.2
sarva-droac[a] 11r.34
sarva-droacade 11r.36
sarva-droacade 11v.15
(**sarva-droacasa*) 11r.07
sarva-droacasa 11r.08
sarva-droacasa 11r.10
[sarva]-droacasa 11v.20
sarva-sa /// 11v.16
*[sa](**r*)*[va-ṣatva]* 11r.17
sarva-ṣatvaṇama[sa]ṇima-suhe 11r.17
sarva-ṣatva-hida 4r.22.2
sarva-ṣatvehi 11r.22
sarva-sapati 4r.05.1
sarva-sapati 4r.12.1
(**sa*)*r[va]*-*sapati* 4r.22.1
[sarva-sapati] 11r.34
sarva-sapati 11r.36
sarva-sapatie 11r.07
sarva-sapatie 11r.08
*[sa](**rva-sa*)*[pat]i[e]* 11r.10
sarva-[sa]patie 11v.15
sarv[a]-siha 4r.12.2**
- sarvatra, sarvatra, sabbattha**, ind., “everywhere, in every case, always”.
« *sarvatra* » 4r.28.2
sarvatra-deṣehi 11r.30
- sarvatradea, sarvatratāye, sabbattatāya**, ind., “in every way”.
sarva[t]ra[dea] 11r.30
- sarvarthae, sarvārthāye, sabbāthāya(ṇ)**, adv., dat. sg. mn., “in all matters”.
sa[rva]rthae 11r.51
- saṣaraṇa, sādhāraṇa, sādharāṇa**, mnf., “common”.
bahu-jaṇa-saṣaraṇa-dukha 11r.23
- sahora, saṃhāra / sambhāra** (?), **saṃhāra / sambhāra** (?), m., “collection” (?).
idara-sahoro nom. sg., 4v.12.2
[ma]tra-sahoro nom. sg., 4v.12.2
- siha, sneha, sineha**, m., “affection”.
sarv[a]-siha acc. sg., 4r.12.2
- sugada, sugata, sugata**, m., “lit. ‘gone well’ [i.e. ‘gone for good’], epithet of the Buddha, ‘the Sugata’”.
*[s]u[gada]-[dha](**r*)mo[sa]ṇa-suhe* 11r.17
- sugadi, sugati, sugati**, f., “good birth / happy existence”.
su[gadi] nom. pl., 4r.03.2
*[s]u(**gadi*)* nom. pl., 4r.10.1
sugadiṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.1
sugadiṇa gen. pl., 4v.04.1
- suṭhu, suṣṭhu, suṭṭhu**, ind., “aptly, fitly, duly, well”.
suṭhu 11r.05
- sudiṇa, svapna**, BHS *supina, supina*, m(n), “dream”.
sudiṇagarāṇa = *sudiṇagareṇa* 11v.18
sudiṇoamo 4r.15.2
[su]di[ṇoa]mo 4r.16.1
- sudura, sudūra, sudūra**, mnf., “remote, distant”.
[su]du[ro] adv., acc. sg., 4r.24.1
- sudeṣa, su-uddeṣa, su-uddesa**, m., “good instruction”.
[su]deṣa-suhe 11r.17
- sudhu**, etymology uncertain (maybe from P *suddha*), ind., “only, solely”.
sudhu 11r.12
sudhu 11r.35
sudh[u] 11v.11

- suladha, sulabdha, suladdha**, mnf., “easy to obtain”.
su-ladh[a] pp. nom. sg. n., 4r.17.2
- suveraa, suvairāga, suverāga**, n., “complete absence of desire or passion”.
 « *suverao* » nom. sg., 11r.30
- suha, sukha, sukha**, n., “happy [condition], happiness, bliss”.
 (*a)[to]gada-suhe nom. sg., 11r.18
 atogada-suhe nom. sg., 11r.18
 atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.45
 aparasiṇa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.16
 avarimaṇa-[dukha]-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.46
 [a]viñati-[s](*u)[he] nom. sg., 11r.16
 avhiṇa-aś[r]ea-suh[e] nom. sg., 11r.18
 asagaṇia-[suhe] nom. sg., 11r.18
 [u](*a)ṇiṣa[ṣa]-suhe nom. sg., 11r.24
 osagra-suh[e] nom. sg., 11r.15
 kaya-dukha-cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suh[e] nom. sg., 11r.42
 kama-suhe nom. sg., 11r.46
 kama-suhe nom. sg., 11r.47
 kama-suhe nom. sg., 11r.48
 kama-suhe nom. sg., 11r.50
 kaya-suhe nom. sg., 11r.05
 kay[e]-suhom nom. sg., 11v.07
 cita-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.42
 cita-suhe nom. sg., 11r.05
 civara-kṣay[a]-kaya-kṣaya-amofyaṇa-kṣaya-du[kha]-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.45
 cedaṣia-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.43
 [du]kha-vidimiśa-s[u](*he) nom. sg., 11r.40
 dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.41
 durgadi-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.43
 « *ṇiṣamartha-vidimiśa-suhe* » nom. sg., 11r.46
 pariṇa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.16
 pradigara-suhe nom. sg., 11r.23
 p[ra]di[ga]ra-suhe nom. sg., 11r.24
 pridi-suha nom. sg., 11v.02
 pridi-su[he] nom. sg., 11v.01
 [pridi-su]he nom. sg., 11v.07
 pridi-suhe nom. sg., 11v.11
 bheṣaje-suh[e] nom. sg., 11v.13
 mokṣa-suha nom. sg., 4r.12.1
 mokṣa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.18
 viñati-dukha-vidimiśa-s[u]he nom. sg., 11r.40
 vīvega-vera[gr]a-suhe nom. sg., 11r.46
 [vi](*ve)[ga]-suami nom. sg., 11r.48
 vi[ve]ga-suhe nom. sg., 11r.18
 śida-uṣa-dha[r]aṇa-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.44
 [saṃsa]ra-uava[t]i-[ṇi]rvaṇa-[ṇaṣa-dukha-vidi]miśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.43
 [satva]-hida-suhe nom. sg., 11r.19
 sarva-kaya-dukha-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.42
 sarva-ṣatvaṇama[sa]ṇima-suhe nom. sg., 11r.17
 sue nom. sg., 11v.09
 [su]gada-[dha](*r)mo[sa]ṇa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.17
 [su]deṣa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.17
 suhe nom. sg., 4r.20.2
 [suhe] nom. sg., 11r.16
 [s](*u)[he] nom. sg., 11r.17
 [s](*u)[h](*e) nom. sg., 11r.17
 suhe nom. sg., 11r.17
- suhe* nom. sg., 11r.19
suhe nom. sg., 11r.19
 [su]he nom. sg., 11r.19
suhe (uncertain) nom. sg. (?), 11r.20
 [s]u[he] nom. sg., 11r.21
 [su]he nom. sg., 11r.40
 [suhe] nom. sg., 11r.42
suhe nom. sg., 11v.08
suhom nom. sg., 11v.08
suhom nom. sg., 11v.25
suhom nom. sg., 11v.25
 (*su)ho nom. sg., 11v.26
 [suhom] nom. sg., 11v.27
 sva[a]ṣiṇa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.16
 // [o]-vidimiśa-suhe nom. sg., 11r.41
 [gaga]-(*ṇadi)-[valia-sama]-loadhadu-s[u]ha acc. sg. (?), 4r.14.1
 marga-[suhe]ṇa instr. sg., 11r.02
 suheṇa instr. sg., 11r.02
 [suhade] abl. sg., 11r.34
 uṇiṣa-suhasa gen. sg., 11v.12
 (*pra)digara-suhasa gen. sg., 11v.12
 vīvega-suhami loc. sg., 11r.47
 vera[ga]-suhami loc. sg., 11r.47
 veragra-suhami loc. sg., 11r.48
suha nom. pl., 4r.04.1
 [suha] nom. pl., 4r.10.2
suha nom. pl., 11r.06
 suhaṇa gen. pl., 4r.25.2
 suhaṇa gen. pl., 4v.05.1
- suhi, sukhin, sukhin**, mnf., “possessing happiness”.
suhina gen. sg. m., 11r.24
- sva-, sva-, sa-**, “own”.
sva-doṣehi 4r.24.1
sva-droacehi 4r.24.1
sva-sapatihī 4v.02.1
- svaasiṇa, svādhīna, sādhiṇa**, mnf., “dependent [only] on oneself, independent”.
sva[a]ṣiṇa-suhe 11r.16
- svaya-, svayam-, sayam-**, mnf., “own”.
svaya-aṇuṣaṣehi 4v.02.1
- śpaho, svayam, sayam**, adv., “for oneself”.
śpahu 11r.10
śpah[o] 11r.01
[śpaho] 11r.03
- hi, hi, hi**, ind., “because, indeed, surely”.
hi 4r.28.2, *hi* 11r.35
- hida, hita, hita**, n., “welfare”.
atva-hida nom. sg., 4r.22.2
para-hida nom. sg., 4r.22.2
sarva-ṣatva-hida nom. sg., 4r.22.2
[satva]-hida-suhe 11r.19
- hiṇa, hīna, hīna**, mnf., “low, poor, inferior, wretched”.
hiṇa-kaya-avaramiṇa-guṇa-vidimiśa 11r.46
- hisa, hiṃsā, hiṃsā**, f., “harm”.
atva-his[a]-para-hisa-sarva-ṣatva-hisa-vidimiśa-suhe 11r.45
- hurahu**, ≈ P *hurāhuram*, adv., “from existence to existence”.
hu[ra]hu 04v.12.2

ho, khalu, kho, ind., “indeed”.

ho 11r.05

hoḍa, hoḍha, “stolen (goods)”.

amidra-hoḍe-apoṣaṇam iva 11r.38

1, “[cipher ‘one’]”.

1 4r.12.2

« *1* » 11v.17

2, “[cipher ‘two’]”.

2 4r.14.2

3, “[cipher ‘three’]”.

3 4r.17.1

4, “[cipher ‘four’]”.

4 4r.19.1

4 11v.30

5, “[cipher ‘five’]”.

4 1 4r.20.1

6, “[cipher ‘six’]”.

4 2 4r.22.2

Abstract

This dissertation contains an edition, translation and study of two unparalleled Buddhist texts from 'Greater Gandhāra' (eastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan), written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script and dating from the first or second century CE. They are reconstructed from several pieces of birch bark labeled as fragments 4 and 11 of the Bajaur Collection, a group of 19 separate scrolls found at the end of the 20th century. The manuscripts under consideration document a form of early or proto-Mahāyāna that developed against a background of scholasticism and focused on the concept of emptiness [of all dharmas]. This is realized by analytical or discriminating insight, commonly known as *prajñāpāramitā*, and practised by non-attachment to the sense-realm that will lead to all kinds of fortunes and finally to the bliss of liberation. BC4 contains in addition a description of the path of a bodhisattva, while BC11 deals extensively with the happiness experienced on that path. Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts found to date, with special reference to the Bajaur Collection. Chapter 2 explains the reconstruction of the two scrolls. Chapter 3 is a paleographic description of their handwriting. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 contain a detailed discussion of the orthography, phonology and morphology of the texts. Chapter 7 presents both texts in diplomatic transcription, reconstruction and translation followed by detailed notes on individual words and phrases. Chapter 8 discusses the content in general and interprets it in relation to the history of Buddhism in Gandhāra and the establishment of early Mahāyāna Buddhism. The dissertation concludes with a complete word index to both scrolls.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit umfasst die Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung zweier buddhistischer Original-Manuskripte aus 'Greater Gandhāra' (östliches Afghanistan und Nordwestpakistan), geschrieben im ca. 1./2. Jh. in der Sprache Gāndhārī und der Schrift Kharoṣṭhī auf Birkenrinde. Sie sind Teil einer Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts gefundenen Sammlung von 19 Kharoṣṭhī-Handschriften, bekannt unter dem Namen 'Bajaur Collection', und wurden dort als Fragment 4 und 11 bezeichnet. Die auf ihnen erhaltenen Texte belegen eine frühe oder prototypische Form des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, die einerseits deutliche Einflüsse des analytischen Abhidharma zeigt und andererseits vor allem die Lehre der "Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis (Weisheit)" (*prajñāpāramitā*) betont, welche die Leerheit aller Daseinslemente realisiert. In der Praxis bedeutete dies vor allem ein geeignetes Mittel, um jegliche Anhaftung an die sinnlich erfahrbare Welt zu überwinden. BC4 enthält darüber hinaus Hinweise auf den Weg eines Bodhisattvas, der anderen Lebewesen mittels dieses Wissens zur Erleuchtung verhilft. BC11 konzentriert sich vor allem auf das Glücksgefühl, das einem Praktizierenden auf diesem Weg zuteilwird. Kapitel 1 beginnt mit einer allgemeinen Einführung in die Materie und gibt einen Überblick über das Korpus der bisher gefundenen Kharoṣṭhī-Manuskripte mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die Bajaur Collection. Kapitel 2 schildert die physische Beschaffenheit und Rekonstruktion der Fragmente. Kapitel 3 beschreibt die paläographischen Eigenheiten der Handschrift, während sich Kapitel 4, 5 und 6 mit den orthographischen, phonologischen und morphologischen Besonderheiten der Texte befassen. Kapitel 7 präsentiert die diplomatische Transliteration sowie eine Rekonstruktion mitsamt Ergänzungen und einer nebenstehenden Übersetzung. Daran anschließend liefert eine ausführlicher Textkommentar Erläuterungen zu einzelnen Worten und Passagen. Kapitel 8 schließlich diskutiert den Inhalt im Ganzen und stellt ihn in Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung des Buddhismus in Gandhāra wie auch des Mahāyāna. Abschließend findet sich ein vollständiges Wortverzeichnis zu beiden Manuskripten.

