

Metaphor and Pedagogy in Early Buddhist Literature:  
An Edition and Study of Two Sūtras from the Senior Collection of Gāndhārī Manuscripts

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**Abstract**

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This dissertation examines the role of metaphorical language in early Buddhist literature through the lens of two previously unpublished Gāndhārī sūtras on a manuscript from the Robert Senior Collection. At the microscopic level, I offer an edition, translation, and textual analysis of a Buddhist manuscript containing two Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. I study the writing and language of the manuscript in sections on paleography, orthography, phonology, and morphology. I then offer extensive text notes making sense of the sūtras and comparing them with parallel texts in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese.

At the telescopic level, I study the pedagogical and rhetorical functions of metaphorical language, broadly conceived, in early Buddhist literature, particularly through

the lens of two evocative similes that are the central motifs of the Gāndhārī sūtras under consideration. The first simile compares a well-defended fortress to a mindful practitioner, while the second compares bodies of people born in hell to a red-hot iron ball. Additionally, I examine a metaphor that compares hell, and also existence in saṃsāra, to a "great conflagration." Through this analysis, I show that the Gāndhārī similes and metaphor allude to wide-reaching networks of imagery found throughout early Buddhist literature that enhance our interpretation of the Gāndhārī sūtras. Moreover, they illustrate a common didactic strategy, a kind of "pedagogy of metaphor," that was used to engage the imaginations of traditional audiences and convey complex Buddhist teachings.

# Contents

|                                                              |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| List of Figures.....                                         | vii  |
| List of Tables .....                                         | viii |
| Acknowledgements .....                                       | ix   |
| Dedication.....                                              | xi   |
| List of Abbreviations .....                                  | xii  |
| Transcriptional Conventions .....                            | xvi  |
| Part I: Metaphor and Pedagogy .....                          | 1    |
| Chapter 1: Introduction .....                                | 1    |
| 1.1. Gandhāran Buddhist Manuscripts .....                    | 1    |
| 1.2. Scope of the Dissertation .....                         | 3    |
| 1.3. Zooming In: Robert Senior Manuscript 20 .....           | 6    |
| 1.4. Zooming Out: Metaphor in Early Buddhist Literature..... | 8    |
| 1.4.1. Metaphor and Pedagogy.....                            | 8    |
| 1.4.2. Metaphor and Soteriology .....                        | 12   |
| 1.4.3. Metaphor and Intertextuality.....                     | 14   |
| 1.5. Range of Literature .....                               | 16   |
| 1.6. Structure of the Dissertation .....                     | 16   |
| Chapter 2: The Simile of the Fortified City .....            | 19   |
| 2.1. Introduction.....                                       | 19   |
| 2.2. Imagining the City .....                                | 21   |
| 2.3. Examples of the Simile .....                            | 23   |
| 2.3.1 City-as-nirvāṇa .....                                  | 24   |

|                                                                               |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.3.2 City-as-body .....                                                      | 28  |
| 2.3.3. City-as-Dharma .....                                                   | 31  |
| 2.4. New Evidence from a Gāndhārī Version.....                                | 39  |
| 2.5. Incendiary Cats .....                                                    | 41  |
| 2.6 Conclusion: Similes and the Construction of Buddhist Texts.....           | 45  |
| Chapter 3: The Great Conflagration Hell.....                                  | 49  |
| 3.1. Introduction.....                                                        | 49  |
| 3.2. Buddhist Hells.....                                                      | 51  |
| 3.3. The Great Conflagration Sūtra .....                                      | 61  |
| 3.4. The Great Conflagration Hell .....                                       | 64  |
| 3.4.1. Mahaparaḍaha as Metaphor .....                                         | 65  |
| 3.4.2. The Fire, the Fall, and the Darkness: Early Conceptions of Hell? ..... | 66  |
| 3.4.3. Mahaparaḍaha as Pratāpana .....                                        | 69  |
| 3.4.4. Mahaparaḍaha as Mahāniraya/Avīcī.....                                  | 70  |
| 3.5. Conclusion .....                                                         | 72  |
| Chapter 4: The Simile of Red-Hot Iron Ball.....                               | 74  |
| 4.1. Introduction.....                                                        | 74  |
| 4.2. Eating the Red-Hot Iron Ball .....                                       | 75  |
| 4.3. RHIB and Other Tortures in Earthly Punishment .....                      | 82  |
| 4.4. Conclusion: Discipline, Punishment, and Liberation .....                 | 89  |
| Part II: Robert Senior Manuscript 20.....                                     | 96  |
| Chapter 5: Physical Description of the Manuscript .....                       | 96  |
| Chapter 6: Paleography and Orthography.....                                   | 103 |

|                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.1. Paleography.....                                        | 103 |
| 6.2. Orthography .....                                       | 106 |
| 6.3. Errors and Corrections.....                             | 108 |
| 6.3.1. Haplography .....                                     | 108 |
| 6.3.2. Corrections .....                                     | 108 |
| Chapter 7: Phonology .....                                   | 110 |
| 7.0. General Remarks.....                                    | 110 |
| 7.1. Vowels.....                                             | 110 |
| 7.1.1. Initial Vowels .....                                  | 111 |
| 7.1.2. Medial Vowels .....                                   | 112 |
| 7.1.3. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan ṛ .....                | 115 |
| 7.1.4. Reductions .....                                      | 115 |
| 7.2. Consonants .....                                        | 116 |
| 7.2.1. Single Consonants in Initial and Medial Position..... | 116 |
| 7.2.2. Consonant Clusters.....                               | 127 |
| 7.3. Sandhi.....                                             | 133 |
| 7.3.1. Vowel Sandhi .....                                    | 133 |
| 7.3.2. Inorganic Sandhi Consonants.....                      | 133 |
| 7.4. Rhotic Metathesis.....                                  | 133 |
| 7.5. Epenthesis (Svarabhakti Vowels).....                    | 134 |
| Chapter 8: Morphology .....                                  | 135 |
| 8.0. General Remarks.....                                    | 135 |
| 8.1. Nominal Forms .....                                     | 135 |

|                                                                   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 8.1.1. Stems in -a and -ā, Masculine, Neuter, and Feminine .....  | 135 |
| 8.1.2. Other Vocalic Stems.....                                   | 140 |
| 8.1.3. Original Consonant Stems.....                              | 141 |
| 8.1.4. Nominal Compounds.....                                     | 142 |
| 8.2. Pronouns, Pronominals, and Numerals .....                    | 144 |
| 8.2.1. First-Person Pronouns .....                                | 144 |
| 8.2.2. Third-Person/Demonstrative Pronouns.....                   | 144 |
| 8.2.3. Relative Pronoun .....                                     | 145 |
| 8.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns .....                               | 145 |
| 8.2.5. Numerals .....                                             | 145 |
| 8.3. Verb Forms .....                                             | 146 |
| 8.3.1. Present .....                                              | 146 |
| 8.3.2. Optative .....                                             | 146 |
| 8.3.3. Imperative.....                                            | 146 |
| 8.3.4. Preterites.....                                            | 146 |
| 8.3.5. Absolutives (Gerunds).....                                 | 147 |
| 8.3.6. Participles .....                                          | 147 |
| 8.4. Indeclinables and Adverbs.....                               | 148 |
| 8.4.1. Indeclinable Particles and Conjunctions .....              | 148 |
| 8.4.2. Adverbs .....                                              | 148 |
| Chapter 9: Transcribed Text, Reconstruction, and Translation..... | 150 |
| 9.1. Transcribed Text.....                                        | 150 |
| 9.2. Reconstruction and Translation of the Text .....             | 152 |

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 9.2.1. The Suhadukha-sūtra.....                                     | 152 |
| 9.2.2. The Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra.....                                  | 154 |
| Chapter 10: The Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain.....                     | 158 |
| 10.1. Introduction.....                                             | 158 |
| 10.1.1. Summary of Contents.....                                    | 158 |
| 10.1.2. Title.....                                                  | 158 |
| 10.1.3. Parallels .....                                             | 160 |
| 10.1.4. Reference in the Index Scrolls .....                        | 162 |
| 10.2. Text Commentary .....                                         | 162 |
| 10.2.1. The Brahman Approaches the Buddha (Lines 1-2) .....         | 162 |
| 10.2.2. The Cause of Pleasure and Pain (Lines 2-4, 7-9) .....       | 170 |
| 10.2.3. The Simile of the Fortified City (Lines 4-7).....           | 178 |
| 10.2.4. The Brahman Takes Refuge (Lines 10-11).....                 | 189 |
| 10.2.5. The Brahman Rejoices in the Buddha's Speech (Line 11) ..... | 196 |
| Chapter 11: The Great Conflagration Sūtra .....                     | 200 |
| 11.1. Introduction.....                                             | 200 |
| 11.1.1. Summary of Contents.....                                    | 200 |
| 11.1.2. Title.....                                                  | 200 |
| 11.1.3. Parallels .....                                             | 201 |
| 11.1.4. Reference in the Index Scrolls .....                        | 202 |
| 11.2. Text Commentary .....                                         | 202 |
| 11.2.1. The Setting (Line 11) .....                                 | 202 |

|                                                                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 11.2.2. The Hells Called "Great Conflagration" and the Simile of the Red-hot<br>Iron Ball (Lines 11-15)..... | 203 |
| 11.2.3. A Greater, More Frightful Conflagration (Lines 15-19) .....                                          | 211 |
| 11.2.4. The Buddha's Response I (Lines 19-21) .....                                                          | 217 |
| 11.2.5. The Buddha's Response II (Lines 21-27).....                                                          | 224 |
| 11.2.6. The Buddha's Response III (Lines 27-29).....                                                         | 234 |
| 11.2.7. Interlinear Dhammapada Citation (Line 29 <sup>A</sup> ) .....                                        | 240 |
| 11.2.8. The Monks Rejoice in the Buddha's Speech (Line 30).....                                              | 243 |
| References .....                                                                                             | 245 |
| Word Index .....                                                                                             | 256 |

## **List of Figures**

|                                                                           |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: RS 20 recto.....                                                | 98  |
| Figure 2: Minor fragments. ....                                           | 99  |
| Figure 3: Recto after digital reconstruction. ....                        | 100 |
| Figure 4: Verso after digital reconstruction. ....                        | 101 |
| Figure 5: Verso with digitally replaced minor fragments highlighted. .... | 102 |

## **List of Tables**

|                                                                        |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1: Metaphorical associations in City-as-nirvāṇa type.....        | 27  |
| Table 2: Metaphorical associations in Kiṃsuka-sutta. ....              | 30  |
| Table 3: Metaphorical associations in Apadāna and Milindapañha. ....   | 33  |
| Table 4: Metaphorical associations in Fortress Sutta. ....             | 35  |
| Table 5: List of punishments in Vajja-sutta. ....                      | 83  |
| Table 6: Reflexes of OIA vowels in RS 20. ....                         | 110 |
| Table 7: Reflexes of OIA Consonants in RS 20.....                      | 116 |
| Table 8: Endings of stems in -a, masculine, neuter, and feminine. .... | 135 |

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# **Dedication**

For Noelle

## List of Abbreviations

|                   |                                                                                                     |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| -a                | aṭṭhakathā (commentary)                                                                             |
| abl.              | ablative                                                                                            |
| abs.              | absolute, absolutive                                                                                |
| acc.              | accusative                                                                                          |
| adj.              | adjective                                                                                           |
| AdSPG             | Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Conze 1962)                                                   |
| adv.              | adverb                                                                                              |
| AG-G <sup>L</sup> | Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā in British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 1 (ed. Salomon 2008) |
| AG-G <sup>S</sup> | Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā in Senior Scroll 14 (ed. Salomon 2008)                     |
| AN                | Aṅguttara-nikāya                                                                                    |
| Ap                | Apadāna                                                                                             |
| ASD               | P. Kroll, et. al., <i>A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese</i> (Leiden, 2014)   |
| AV                | Atharvaveda                                                                                         |
| AvL4              | Gāndhārī Avadāna, British Library Scroll 4                                                          |
| Avś               | Avadānaśataka (ed. Vaidya 1958)                                                                     |
| B <sup>e</sup>    | Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition(s) of Pali texts (=VRI-CD).                                      |
| BC                | Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts                                                          |
| BHS               | Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit                                                                            |
| BHSD              | F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (New Haven, 1953)                           |
| BHSG              | F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i> (New Haven, 1953)                              |
| BL                | British Library Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts                                                 |
| bv.               | bahuvrīhi compound                                                                                  |
| caus.             | causative                                                                                           |
| Ch.               | Chinese                                                                                             |
| C <sup>e</sup>    | Sri Lankan edition(s) of Pali texts                                                                 |
| CDIAL             | R. L. Turner, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Āryan Languages</i> (London, 1962-6)              |
| CPD               | V. Trenckner et al., <i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> , vols I-III.7 to date (Copenhagen, 1924-)   |
| CPS               | Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1957)                                                           |
| DĀ                | Chinese Dīrghāgama (Taishō Tripiṭaka)                                                               |
| dat.              | dative                                                                                              |
| dem. pron.        | demonstrative pronoun                                                                               |

|                    |                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DDB                | Digital Dictionary of Buddhism                                                                                                |
| Dhp                | Pāli Dhammapada                                                                                                               |
| Dhp-G <sup>K</sup> | Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan (= "Gāndhārī Dharmapada," ed Brough 1962; formerly referred to as KDhp in Salomon 1999, 2000) |
| Dhp-G <sup>L</sup> | Gāndhārī Dharmapada, London (BL Fragments 16 + 25; ed. Lenz 2003: part I)                                                     |
| Dhp-P              | Dharmapada in Patna (ed. Cone 1989)                                                                                           |
| Divy               | Divyāvadāna                                                                                                                   |
| Dhp                | Dhammapada                                                                                                                    |
| DN                 | Dīgha-nikāya                                                                                                                  |
| dv.                | dvandva compound                                                                                                              |
| EĀ                 | Chinese Ekottarikāgama/Ekottarāgama (Taishō Tripiṭaka)                                                                        |
| EĀ-G               | Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras (ed. Allon 2001)                                                                          |
| E <sup>e</sup>     | European (Pali Text Society) edition(s) of Pali texts                                                                         |
| f.                 | feminine                                                                                                                      |
| fut.               | future                                                                                                                        |
| G                  | Gāndhārī                                                                                                                      |
| GBT                | Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series                                                                                               |
| gdv.               | gerundive                                                                                                                     |
| gen.               | genitive                                                                                                                      |
| impv.              | imperative                                                                                                                    |
| ind.               | indeclinable                                                                                                                  |
| instr.             | instrumental                                                                                                                  |
| int.               | intensive                                                                                                                     |
| interr. pron.      | interrogative pronoun                                                                                                         |
| It                 | Itivuttaka                                                                                                                    |
| Jā                 | Jātaka                                                                                                                        |
| kdh.               | karmadhāraya compound                                                                                                         |
| Khvs-G             | Gāndhārī *Khargaviṣaṇa-sūtra (ed. Salomon 2000)                                                                               |
| l.                 | line                                                                                                                          |
| ll.                | lines                                                                                                                         |
| lit.               | literally                                                                                                                     |
| loc.               | locative                                                                                                                      |
| m.                 | masculine                                                                                                                     |
| MĀ                 | Chinese Madhyamāgama (Taishō Tripiṭaka)                                                                                       |
| MĀ <sup>S3</sup>   | Gāndhārī Madhyamāgama sūtras, Senior Scroll 12 (ed. Silverlock 2015)                                                          |
| MAV                | Mahāvadāna-sūtra (ed. Fukita 2003)                                                                                            |
| Mil                | Milindapañha                                                                                                                  |
| MN                 | Majjhima-nikāya                                                                                                               |

|                     |                                                                                                         |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| MPS                 | Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra (ed. Waldschmidt 1950-1)                                                          |
| Mvu                 | Mahāvastu-avadāna (ed. Senart 1882-97)                                                                  |
| MW                  | M. Monier-Williams, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1899)                                 |
| n.                  | neuter                                                                                                  |
| neg.                | negative                                                                                                |
| Nid-G <sup>L2</sup> | Gāndhārī Verse Nideśa 2 (BL fragments 7, 9, 18 and 13 up to line 90)                                    |
| nom.                | nominative                                                                                              |
| obj.                | object                                                                                                  |
| OIA                 | Old Indo-Āryan                                                                                          |
| opt.                | optative                                                                                                |
| P                   | Pāli                                                                                                    |
| part.               | participle                                                                                              |
| pass.               | passive                                                                                                 |
| PDB                 | R. E. Buswell Jr. and D. Lopez, <i>Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism</i> (Oxford, 2014)                  |
| pers.               | person                                                                                                  |
| pl.                 | plural                                                                                                  |
| P.N.                | proper noun                                                                                             |
| pp.                 | past participle                                                                                         |
| pres.               | present                                                                                                 |
| pret.               | preterite                                                                                               |
| pron.               | pronoun                                                                                                 |
| PSP V               | Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Part V (ed. Kimura 1992)                                           |
| PTS                 | Pali Text Society                                                                                       |
| PTSD                | T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (London, 1921-5) |
| Pv                  | Petavatthu                                                                                              |
| rel. pron.          | relative pronoun                                                                                        |
| SĀ-G <sup>S1</sup>  | Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras, Senior Scroll 5 (RS 5) (ed. Glass 2007)                                   |
| SĀ-G <sup>S5</sup>  | Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras, Senior Scroll 19 (RS 19) (ed. Lee 2009)                                   |
| SĀ-G <sup>S6</sup>  | Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama sūtras, Senior Scroll 20 (RS 20)                                                  |
| RS                  | Robert Senior Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts                                                       |
| RV                  | R̥gveda                                                                                                 |
| SAT                 | SAT Daizōkyō Text Database ver. 2012                                                                    |
| SĀ                  | Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (Taishō Tripiṭaka)                                                                 |
| SBhV                | Saṅghabhedavastu (ed. Gnoli 1977-8)                                                                     |
| SangCm-G            | Gāndhārī Saṅgītisūtra commentary (BL 15) (ed. Baums 2009)                                               |
| S <sup>e</sup>      | Thai (King of Siam) editions(s) of Pali texts                                                           |

|        |                                                                                                                 |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SHT    | E. Waldschmidt et al., <i>Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , 9 vols. to date (Göttingen, 1973-) |
| Skt.   | Sanskrit                                                                                                        |
| SN     | Samyutta-nikāya                                                                                                 |
| Sn     | Suttanipāta                                                                                                     |
| T.     | J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds., <i>Taishō Shinshu Daizokyo</i> , 100 vols. (Tokyo, 1924-34)                  |
| Th     | Theragāthā                                                                                                      |
| Thī    | Therīgāthā                                                                                                      |
| tp.    | tatpuruṣa                                                                                                       |
| Uv     | Udānavarga (ed. Bernhard 1965-8)                                                                                |
| vb.    | verb                                                                                                            |
| Vin    | Theravādin Vinayapiṭaka                                                                                         |
| Vism   | Visuddhimagga                                                                                                   |
| voc.   | vocative                                                                                                        |
| VRI-CD | Vipassana Research Institute CD-ROM = Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana                                                  |

## Transcriptional Conventions

The transcriptional conventions are modeled on those used in previous volumes of the GBT series.

- [] An unclear or partially preserved akṣara (graphic syllable) whose reading is uncertain.
- () An akṣara or a component thereof that is implied but not actually written; for example, in a Sanskrit word, a phoneme that has been deleted or altered by sandhi or, in a Gāndhārī word, the implied element of a geminate consonant written as a single consonant.
- (\*) A lost or illegible akṣara that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel texts, or other evidence.
- <\*> An akṣara or a component thereof that was omitted by the scribe and has been conjecturally restored.
- «» An akṣara that was written above or below a line.
- . A missing portion (consonantal or diacritic vowel sign) of a partially legible akṣara. For example, .*e* represents an akṣara in which the vowel diacritic *e* is visible, but the consonant to which it was attached is lost or illegible; *g.* signifies that the consonant *g* is legible but incomplete so that one cannot determine whether or not a vowel diacritic was attached to the syllable.
- ? A visible or partially visible but illegible akṣara.
- + A missing akṣara that would have appeared on a lost or obscured portion of the scroll.
- /// Beginning or end of an incomplete line.
- = A word division within an akṣara, used in phrases such as *evam=eva*, in which the final *m* of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are written together as a single syllable.

## PART I: METAPHOR AND PEDAGOGY

### CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Gandhāran Buddhist Manuscripts

In the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fragments of a manuscript written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script were discovered by French and Russian explorers, allegedly in Khotan in the southwest of the Taklamakan desert.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript contained a version of the popular Buddhist verse collection known as the Dharmapada,<sup>2</sup> and it was the only Buddhist manuscript in the Gāndhārī language known to scholars for roughly a century. During that time, scholars of early Buddhism advanced their field largely without manuscript evidence from Gandhāra, an important hub of early Buddhist culture at a key location connecting South Asia, East Asia, and the West.<sup>3</sup> However, since the British Library acquired twenty-nine manuscripts from an anonymous donor in 1994,<sup>4</sup> Gāndhārī manuscripts dating from the first century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE – the oldest extant Buddhist manuscripts – have emerged in surprising numbers, and they continue to do so. According to a recent count, there are now at least 135 catalogued manuscripts available for study, and many more than that known to scholars.<sup>5</sup> These manuscripts represent six major collections and several other individual scrolls.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to recent studies, we now have a

---

<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether Khotan was the actual source of the manuscript. See Brough 1962: 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> A provisional study of the manuscript was first offered by Senart in 1898, but an authoritative study was not completed until John Brough's 1962 edition.

<sup>3</sup> Scholars of Gāndhārī and Gandhāran Buddhism relied on inscriptions, of which there are hundreds extant (see Salomon 1998: 42-8), and also other Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, such as the Niya documents, which were mostly administrative communications (see Burrow 1937).

<sup>4</sup> Richard Salomon published an introduction to the collection in 1999.

<sup>5</sup> See Falk and Strauch 2014: 55, 57.

<sup>6</sup> The major collections, their number of manuscripts, and introductory studies (if available) are as follows: the British Library Collection, 28 mss., Salomon 1999; the Robert Senior Collection, 24 mss., Allon's

much stronger understanding of the Gāndhārī language, Kharoṣṭhī paleography, and the history of Gandhāran Buddhism than was possible just twenty years ago. The rapid rate of discovery and publication of new materials continues to shed new light on aspects of early Buddhism, such as the process of canon formation, the relationship between Pāli, Gāndhārī, and Chinese Buddhist texts, and the nature of early Mahāyāna.<sup>7</sup>

It is because of the primary level, philological groundwork laid by Gāndhārī scholars over the last two decades that we can now begin to approach Gandhāran literature from new perspectives. While there is still plenty of manuscript work to be done, some projects are extending the scope of the field. For example, Jason Neelis uses Gāndhārī manuscripts to support his study of the transmission of Buddhism along trade networks in the greater Gandhāran region.<sup>8</sup> Along with Timothy Lenz and David Jongeward, Neelis also explores the relationship between Gandhāran literary and visual culture, connecting textual studies and art history.<sup>9</sup> A forthcoming publication by Richard Salomon makes translations of Gāndhārī Buddhist texts accessible to non-academic readers and introductory level classes on Buddhism.<sup>10</sup> This sort of work highlights the importance of Gāndhārī manuscripts for

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Introduction in Glass' study of RS 5 (Allon 2007a); the Bamiyan fragments of the Schøyen and other collections, > 50 mss., Braarvig 2000; the Central Asian fragments of the Pelliot and Oldenburg Collections, 5-8 mss., Salomon 1998b; the Bajaur Collection, 19 mss., Strauch 2007; and the Split Collection, 5 mss., Falk 2011. Individual manuscripts include the Khotan Dharmapada (Brough 1962), the University of Washington Scroll, and the Library of Congress Scroll (Salomon and Baums 2007). As noted above, there are also many as yet unpublished manuscripts. For a summary of the extant manuscripts, their contents, and associated scholarly editions, see Strauch 2014: 814-16.

<sup>7</sup> On Gāndhārī Mahāyāna texts, see Allon and Salomon 2010, Schlosser and Strauch 2016, and Strauch forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Neelis 2010, especially chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> Neelis leads the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Collaborative Research Project called "Buddhist Rebirth Narratives in Literary and Visual Cultures of Gandhara."

<sup>10</sup> Salomon, forthcoming.

understanding early Buddhism and South Asian history, and moreover helps to put their study in conversation with a wider audience, both scholarly and popular.

## 1.2. Scope of the Dissertation

The present study stands on the shoulders of those scholars responsible for the last two decades of innovation in Gāndhārī studies, particularly of the current and former members of the University of Washington's Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project (EBMP). It is a two-fold project. First, using what Salomon calls the "zoom lens," I zoom in to focus on what Doniger called the "microscopic level,"<sup>11</sup> offering an edition, translation, and textual analysis of an unpublished Gāndhārī manuscript, which is discussed in §1.3 below.

Following the structure and conventions of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series,<sup>12</sup> I study the language of the manuscript and make sense of its contents by comparing them with parallel texts in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese.

Second, zooming out, or viewing from the "telescopic level," I study the pedagogical and rhetorical functions of metaphor, broadly conceived, in early Buddhist literature, particularly through the lens of two evocative similes that are the central motifs of the Gāndhārī sūtras under consideration. The first simile compares a well-defended fortress to a mindful practitioner, while the second compares bodies of people born in hell to a red-hot

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<sup>11</sup> Doniger identifies the "extreme ends" of "narrative vision" as the microscopic level and telescopic level. At the microscopic level, a single mythic narrative is considered in its immediate personal context. At the telescopic level lies "the entirely general and the formal: a theoretical treatise, or even a mathematical formula" (1998: 8). In the present context we are not discussing mythic structures, but the relationship between individual manuscripts and the web of texts and meaning that they function within. The microscopic level considers what a single Gāndhārī text on a manuscript actually says. The telescopic level considers the content in broader context of general patterns and strategies found in early Buddhist literature broadly construed.

<sup>12</sup> This series is published by the University of Washington and currently contains six volumes on manuscripts from the British Library Collection and Robert Senior Collection.

iron ball. Additionally, I examine a metaphor that compares hell, and also existence in saṃsāra, to a "great conflagration." Through this analysis, I show that the Gāndhārī similes and metaphor allude to wide-reaching networks of imagery found throughout early Buddhist literature that enhance our interpretation of the Gāndhārī sūtras. Moreover, they illustrate a common didactic strategy, a kind of "pedagogy of metaphor," that was used to engage the imaginations of traditional audiences and convey complex Buddhist teachings.

On the surface, this may seem like an unlikely combination of projects, but they are in fact inextricably linked. By analyzing the Gāndhārī texts in terms of the metaphorical relationships presented therein, we can situate them in a wider context that goes beyond their doctrinal content and into the greater imaginative space of what Reiko Ohnuma called the "Indian Buddhist discursive world." For Ohnuma, this world showed across linguistic borders a "remarkable consistency over time in terms of narrative themes, character-types, plotlines, conventional tropes, similes, metaphors, and images."<sup>13</sup> By tracing similes and metaphors instead of doctrine, we can see how the images of the city, hell, and the iron ball connect apparently unrelated Buddhist texts, and how in different cases they drive the pedagogical strategy of the those texts. Moreover, we can uncover the way the same images were incorporated into non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts like the Manusmṛti and Arthaśāstra, something that would be impossible if we only searched for doctrinal parallels.

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<sup>13</sup> Ohnuma (2012: 6) studied maternal imagery in both mainstream and Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions, using primarily Pāli and Sanskrit texts, but also Chinese and Tibetan translations of Indian texts no longer extant. Similar to Ohnuma's notion is Steven Collins' "Pali imaginaire" (1998: 73-4), which he defines as "a mental universe created by and within Pali texts," which was participated in and perpetuated by historical Buddhist communities. For the purposes of studying metaphorical imagery, I would extend Collins' sense of this term to include Gandhāran and Sanskrit Buddhist texts that have parallels or semi-parallels in the Pāli canon as well as early Sanskrit manuscripts in early Chinese āgama literature. For further discussion, see §1.5.

Using this zoom-in/zoom-out strategy is also important for extending the scope of the present study into an even larger comparative context, placing the philological study of Gāndhārī manuscripts in conversation with a broader range of questions and related scholarship on classical and religious literature. In the humanities, there is a tendency to separate philological textual studies from more broadly conceptual, comparative, and theoretical work, leading to what some have perceived to be a methodological division of labor whereby philologists and area specialists are relegated to the role of "data-mongers" while theorists are responsible for secondary level analysis.<sup>14</sup> While I would argue that this division is overstated, and that philologists are inherently engaging with "theory" in order to do their own microscopic work, any attempt to bridge the perceived gap can only increase the scope of the conversation that builds around a given study. Speaking of the need for philologists to engage with a wider readership, Jan Ziolkowski offered the following warning:

[P]hilologists must realize that making their texts relevant to a modern audience, which necessitates asking new questions of their texts, is not inherently meretricious; on the contrary, it is an urgent desideratum. Most people are drawn to literature for pleasure and intellectual challenge...not for satisfaction of exercising well-honed technical skills. Just as knowledge will be lost if old standards are dropped, so too fields will die if their representatives cannot find meaning for today's readers and today's new questions in the texts...[I]t is extremely important that scholars be able to articulate why students and colleagues should care about the books with which they work.<sup>15</sup>

Though nearly thirty years old, Ziolkowski's comments are increasingly relevant today. Warnings like this and defensive responses to them have echoed across the humanities, including Buddhist Studies.<sup>16</sup> In his famous article "Buddhist Hybrid English," Paul

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<sup>14</sup> See for example Pollock 2014: 13.

<sup>15</sup> Ziolkowski 1990.

<sup>16</sup> See K. R. Norman's defense of philology in Buddhist studies (1997a), and Gombrich's critical review of Norman (1999). On the potential for a "disruptive" philology in Asian studies, see Dutton 2005. In medieval studies, see the special issue "The New Philology" in the journal *Speculum* (Vol. 65, no. 1, Jan. 1990). In

Griffiths argued that the "prime duty" of any scholar of Buddhism is to communicate his or her findings not only to other scholars in the field, but also to scholars in other fields and ultimately to the interested greater public.<sup>17</sup> This dissertation is, in part, my attempt to engage Gāndhārī studies in a broader context with a wider scholarly community.

### 1.3. Zooming In: Robert Senior Manuscript 20

The manuscript at the center of this study is the well-preserved scroll number 20 of the Robert Senior Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (RS 20). The collection was found inside a clay pot, reportedly buried underground, probably in Haḍḍa near Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup> On the basis of the dedicatory inscription on the pot and of radio-carbon testing of samples from the manuscripts, the approximate date of the collection is 100-150 CE. It contains a total of 24 birch bark scrolls which contain at least 41 texts. Previous studies of this collection include Salomon's preliminary report (2003) and his study of RS 14 (2008); Allon's overview of each manuscript's contents (2007a), his study of one sūtra from RS 22 (2007b), and his recent review of scholarship (2014); Glass' study of RS 5 (2007); Lee's dissertation on RS 19 (2009); and Silverlock's dissertation on RS 12 (2015). Allon's comprehensive study of the collection is forthcoming.

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literary studies, see the special issue "What is Philology" in the journal *Comparative Literature Studies* (Vol 27, no. 1, 1990), as well as Holquist 2000, and Momma 2013. One of the most important contributions to this discussion comes from the early critic of philology, Edward Said (2004, especially chapter 3). Sheldon Pollock's recent article "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World" argues for a "critical philology" that considers the text, the context of its reception, and the context of the scholar, among other things (2009).

<sup>17</sup> Griffiths 1981: 20-1.

<sup>18</sup> Salomon 2003: 74-8.

Several features of the Senior collection which distinguish it from other groups of Gāndhārī manuscripts are worth mentioning at the outset. First of all, two of the scrolls (7 + 8) comprise a kind of index that partially reflects the contents of the rest of the collection.<sup>19</sup> This offers a window into the meta-level of a scribe's work. Unlike any other major collections, all of the manuscripts were copied by the same scribe, offering scholars an opportunity to, in effect, study at length a single witness of Gandhāran manuscript culture. Another peculiarity is that at least 26 out of the 41 texts have their parallels in the Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama ("Connected Discourses"),<sup>20</sup> making the Senior manuscripts overwhelmingly reflective of a single *nikāya/āgama*.<sup>21</sup>

In terms of its contents, RS 20, now referred to in the online database of Gāndhārī texts<sup>22</sup> as SĀ-G<sup>S6</sup>, contains two sūtras. Neither is titled on the manuscript.<sup>23</sup> The first sūtra describes sensory contact as the origin of pleasure (G *suha*; Skt. *sukha*) and pain (G *dukha*; Skt. *duḥkha*). Accordingly, I call it The Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain. It has no direct parallel in Chinese or Pāli, but texts with similar structures and themes can be found in the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya and Chinese Saṃyuktāgama. I call the second sūtra The Great

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<sup>19</sup> For a preliminary discussion of the "index scrolls" see Salomon 2003: 80-2. Allon is currently preparing a complete study.

<sup>20</sup> As Glass notes (2007: 26-7), the terms *āgama* (BHSD: "traditional" or "canonical text") and *nikāya* (PTSD: "collection") are synonymous, and were used by the northern and southern traditions, respectively. That is to say, Sanskrit and Chinese sūtra collections are referred to as *āgamas*, while the Pāli collections are called *nikāyas*. Other texts in the Senior collection have parallels in the Dīghanikāya/Dīrghāgama ("Long Discourses"), Majjhimanikāya/Madhyamāgama ("Middle Discourses"), and Vinaya (monastic regulations).

<sup>21</sup> Glass discusses the relationship between the Senior Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama texts and those in Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit in Glass 2007: 51-70.

<sup>22</sup> See Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums' *A Dictionary of Gāndhārī, Bibliography of Gāndhārī Studies*, and *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* at [www.gandhari.org](http://www.gandhari.org). For the sake of clarity, I have chosen to identify Senior manuscripts according to their scroll number throughout this study.

<sup>23</sup> The index scrolls do contain references to both sūtras on RS 20, but neither of them are likely to have been intended as titles. The reference to the first sūtra is *ṇagaroham[e]*, "simile of the city" (cf. § 10.1.2), which could be a title, but is more likely just a reference to the simile that occurs in the sūtra. The reference to the second sūtra is *sata bhikṣave mahapariḍaho ṇama ṇire<\*a>*, which is a quote from the text itself (cf. § 11.1.4).

Conflagration Sūtra based on the title of the Pāli parallel. It teaches that ignorance of the four noble truths leads to being burned by the "conflagration of birth, old age, sickness, death, [etc]." Fairly close parallels can be found in the Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama collections. I provide detailed discussions of these sūtras and their parallels in the text notes in chapters 10 and 11.

## 1.4. Zooming Out: Metaphor in Early Buddhist Literature

### 1.4.1. Metaphor and Pedagogy

Whereas the nature of my philological analysis of this Gāndhārī manuscript will become clear in subsequent chapters, I will provide here at the outset an introduction to the methodology and theoretical orientation of my approach to studying early Buddhist pedagogy and metaphor<sup>24</sup> – an umbrella term I will use to refer generally to metaphors, similes, and parables (extended similes).<sup>25</sup>

It's easiest to begin with an example. In the Pāli sutta called the Janapadakalyāṇī-sutta,<sup>26</sup> "The Sūtra of the Most Beautiful Girl in the Land," the Buddha begins teaching as he

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<sup>24</sup> While there are numerous studies of individual similes and metaphors, there is no comprehensive study of the function of illustrative imagery as a teaching tool in early Buddhist literature. A selection of studies of individual Buddhist similes or other images includes Wayman 1974 and 1979, Allon 2007b, Kragh 2010, and Ohnuma 2012. More general studies of similes in Buddhist literature Caroline Rhys-Davids' index of similes in Pāli (1907), her article on similes and parables (1908), and the useful Japanese index edited by Mori Shōji (1987). For a general study of similes in Indian literature, see Gonda, 1949. Two noteworthy examples of scholarship on Buddhist literature analyzing metaphor in a cross-disciplinary and theoretically engaged way are Steven Collins' work on nirvāṇa imagery and his examination of the "Pāli imaginaire" (1998), and David McMahan's study of metaphor and vision in Mahāyāna literature (2002).

<sup>25</sup> For a useful discussion of the problem of clarity when discussing Buddhist literary devices, see Kragh 2010: 479–502. The distinction between simile (*upamā*) and metaphor (*rūpaka*) is significant in certain contexts in Buddhist literature, especially in kāvya where metaphor was often employed for its practical economy in verse, but we can consider them in the same light in this discussion. I will refrain from using either of the technical vocabularies available in Indian and Western sources. Instead, I will refer to the item being compared as the "subject" and the item serving as the comparison as the "image" or "metaphor."

<sup>26</sup> SN V 169-70. All citations of Pāli texts are from the Pali Text Society Editions (E<sup>c</sup>) unless otherwise indicated.

frequently does, with the words "*Seyyathāpi, bhikkhave*," "It is just like this, monks." With reference to the narrative spirit of the text, we might render it, "Imagine, monks." The Buddha goes on to lead his audience through a provocative scene in which the most beautiful girl in the land is singing and dancing "exquisitely."<sup>27</sup> A crowd gathers around the woman and grows as onlookers comment on her beauty and skill. Then a man comes along, wishing to live, to be happy, averse to suffering. Someone else hands him a bowl filled to the brim with oil and tells him to walk between the beautiful woman and the crowd. If he spills even a drop of oil, another man with a raised sword will be right behind him to cut off his head. Having painted this picture, the Buddha asks the monks if they think the man carrying the oil would let his attention waver from the bowl to the enticing distractions around him. The monks of course respond that he would not. The Buddha explains: "I have made a simile, monks, in order to convey a meaning. This now is the meaning: That bowl of oil is a metaphor for mindfulness directed to the body. Therefore, it should be practiced like this: 'We will develop and cultivate mindfulness directed to the body, make it our vehicle, make it our basis, stabilize it, exercise ourselves in it, and fully perfect it.'"<sup>28</sup>

This sūtra is characteristic of the pedagogical strategy employed throughout the Pāli nikāyas, namely, using metaphorical language, in this case an extended simile, to capture and engage the imagination of the audience in order to convey otherwise abstruse concepts in more readily comprehensible terms. Indeed, a search through the canon shows that the

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<sup>27</sup> So translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 1649). The Pāli is *paramapāsāvinī nacce, paramapāsāvinī gīte*, literally "the best delivery with respect to dancing and singing." The commentary (SN-a 228) glosses *nacce ca gīte ca uttamappavatti, seṭṭhakiriyā*, "with respect to dancing and singing, it is the ultimate execution, the best performance."

<sup>28</sup> Translation based on Bodhi 2000: 1649. SN V 170: *Ayaṃ cevetha attho – samatittiko telapattoti kho, bhikkhave, kāyagatāya etaṃ satiya adhvacaṇaṃ. Tasmātiha, bhikkhave, evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ – 'kāyagatā sati no bhāvitā bhavissati bahulikatā yānikatā vatthukatā anuṭṭhitā paricitaṃ susamāradhā'ti.*

word *seyyathāpi*, which introduces similes, occurs close to 2,000 times. Like the one above, many sūtras are entirely framed around extended comparisons. Caroline Rhys Davids recognized the importance of Buddhist similes, which she said carry a "deep-lying esthetic effect" like those in the Christian Gospels, a "perennial charm" that was in part responsible for the longevity of Buddhist teachings wherever they went.<sup>29</sup> One could say that Buddhists knew well what Nietzsche later observed: "The more abstract the truth you wish to teach, the more must you allure the senses to it."<sup>30</sup> In the Janapadakalyāṇi-sutta, esthetic effect, charm, and sensual allure are on full display. It is a teaching that uses physical desire for a beautiful woman on the one hand and the horror of death on the other to command its audience's attention before delivering its message, a psychological strategy whose enduring efficacy is shown today in everything from movies to advertisements for cars and perfume.

Innovations in the study of metaphor resonate with this millennia-old Buddhist teaching strategy. With respect to education, recent scholarship holds that "it is exactly the creative and innovative and interactive role of metaphor which creates the similarities between a student's earlier understanding and the acquisition of new knowledge of an unfamiliar topic."<sup>31</sup> In their oft-cited work *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphor is "one of our most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally" that is, among other things, our "moral practices, and spiritual awareness."<sup>32</sup> Indeed, they contend that our everyday thoughts and experiences are "very

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<sup>29</sup> Rhys-Davids, 1908: 521.

<sup>30</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil* §128. Translation by Zimmern 1907: 94.

<sup>31</sup> Botha 2009: 432. On the role of analogy in creative thought, see Holyoak and Thagard 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Lakoff and Johnson 200 (1980): 193. For this discussion, I am indebted to McMahan's excellent survey of relevant studies of linguistic theory (2002: 62-5).

much a matter of metaphor."<sup>33</sup> The implications of Lakoff and Johnson's theory for questions of ontology and phenomenology, both of which are of primary concern in Buddhist didactic literature, are profound. If, as they argue, our everyday thought and reasoning involve metaphor, then the very nature of ordinary rationality is "imaginative," and this "imaginative rationality" transcends both rational objectivity and subjectivity.<sup>34</sup> Viewing early Buddhist sūtras through this lens helps us better understand the frequent use and value of similes and metaphors in sūtras. They imply an understanding by Buddhist teachers that by activating the imagination, the learning process is more effective than by merely relying on prescriptive statements. Here, it is useful to reflect on the important observation of George Tanabe in his study of the Japanese visionary monk Myōe, namely, that "the Buddhist tradition is as much a history of fantasy as it is a history of thought."<sup>35</sup> That is, Buddhist texts do not simply convey information; they encourage an imaginative, transformational experience. This reminds us that Buddhist literature is not just didactic literature, but soteriologically-oriented literature, which leads to my next theoretical point of departure.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 3. Lakoff also described the locus of metaphor as "the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another," or "cross-domain mapping" (Lakoff 1993: 203). For example, in the love-as-journey mapping, lovers correspond to travelers, the love relationship to a vehicle, the lovers' common goals to their common destination, and their difficulties to roadblocks in the journey. Love-as-journey is not simply the name that gives rise to these associations but rather the expression of the preverbal ontological mapping of knowledge about journeys onto knowledge about love.

<sup>34</sup> Lakoff and Johnson 2000 (1980): 193.

<sup>35</sup> Tanabe 1992: 9.

#### *1.4.2. Metaphor and Soteriology*

Thomas Tweed offers an interpretation of religions that in part emphasizes their role in making "dwellings" and effecting "crossings."<sup>36</sup> Although Tweed developed his theory – what he stresses is but a single perspective and not explanatory or predictive model – to make sense of Cuban diaspora communities in Miami, his theory is productive in the present discussion as well. Tweed proposes that religious people make dwellings by inscribing the body, the home, the homeland, and the cosmos – what Tweed calls "chronotopes" – with religious significance.<sup>37</sup> Religions can also "mark boundaries" and "prescribe and proscribe different kinds of movements across those boundaries," thus effecting crossings.<sup>38</sup> While acknowledging the significant differences between Tweed's object of study and my own, I nonetheless find it instructive to approach metaphor in Buddhist literature as a tool for helping Buddhists make dwellings and effect crossings. Such an approach continues to highlight their rhetorical and pedagogical function without ignoring the fact that Buddhist texts are religious texts that are primarily directed toward the achievement of spiritual transformation.

Buddhist similes and metaphors can create "dwellings" by charging different spaces from everyday existence in ancient South Asia with Buddhist meaning. Examples of this are found in different uses of the simile of the fortified city as discussed in chapter 2. In the *Fortress Sūtra* (AN V 106-13), Buddhist virtues are mapped onto different features of a

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<sup>36</sup> Tweed defines religions as "confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries" (2008: 54). He emphasizes that this definition is a single perspective from which to view religions, not an explanatory or predictive model of all religion from a "god's-eye view" (165).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid: 97.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid: 123.

fortified city. For example, modesty (*hiri*) is conceived as a moat (*parikhā*), and vigor (*virīya*) as an army (*balakāya*). Elsewhere, as in the Gāndhārī Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain under analysis here, a city is mapped with Buddhist meaning and then equated to the practitioner's body, redefining two spaces at once. In another example, the city is imagined to be the soteriological aim of Buddhist practice, nirvāṇa. Outside of the city trope, similes routinely make use of imagery from the local environment and everyday life, like tools associated with fishing and hunting, weather, and wildlife, to mention just a few examples.<sup>39</sup> In all these cases, abstract Buddhist meaning is inscribed onto tangible, local spaces that can be inhabited and interacted with.

We can also think of similes and metaphors as effecting crossings. They are vehicles for transcendental, opaque knowledge often based on meditative or visionary experience to "cross over," becoming immanent and accessible in the here and now, as in the city-as-nirvāṇa example. On another level, they facilitate a crossing on the part of the practitioner, who is transported from ignorance to another way of perceiving reality. Of course, this metaphor of crossing over beyond saṃsāra (the cycle of birth and rebirth) "to the other shore" as a soteriological movement is pervasive in Buddhist literature. In the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, upon seeing people desperately build rafts to cross the flooded Ganges, the Buddha stands with his monks and remarks that while people fasten rafts to cross the ocean – a metaphor for saṃsāra – the wise, having made a bridge, have already crossed.<sup>40</sup> By making dwellings and effecting crossings, Buddhist metaphors and similes

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<sup>39</sup> See for example the Lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, in which eight sūtras attempt to explain the danger of gain, honor, and praise (*lābhasakkārasiloko*) with such imagery (SN II 225-32).

<sup>40</sup> The full verse is at DN II 89 = Ud 90: *Ye taranti añṇavaṃ saraṃ setuṃ katvāna visajja pallalāni, kullaṃ hi jano pabandhati, tiṇṇā madhāvino janā ti.*

connect what Tweed called "the most distant horizon" with "the most intimate domain," allowing learners to use one to imagine and encounter the other.<sup>41</sup>

#### *1.4.3. Metaphor and Intertextuality*

One other aspect of similes and metaphors that I consider in this dissertation is their intertextuality, that is, the way they allude to, respond to, or otherwise communicate with similar images or comparisons in other texts. I focus on two aspects of their intertextuality. First, I consider that similes are often stock formulaic elements, or pericopes,<sup>42</sup> that could be cut, moved, and inserted, whole cloth, into different texts. I discuss an example of this type of formulaic expression of the simile of the fortified city in § 2.3.3. As one might imagine, transferring such formulas from one text to another often resulted in variation,<sup>43</sup> and changed the way the simile functioned in each context. When studying simile pericopes, one must understand how they are applied in their various contexts in order to fully understand each individual application.

This leads to the second aspect of intertextuality, which is related to the first. I show that the similes of the city and red-hot iron ball are part of greater simile families, repositories of associations between a given set of images and Buddhist concepts. In other words, both similes in Senior 20 are but a single manifestation, a single discrete performance, of collective bodies of fortified city and iron ball imagery. Several scholars of Western literature offer models for interpreting this sort of literary phenomenon. In discussing the

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<sup>41</sup> Tweed 2008: 158.

<sup>42</sup> Here, I use the word "pericope" to describe a formulaic textual unit shared among several. This is common practice among New Testament Scholars (e.g., Stanton 2002), and increasingly in Buddhist studies (e.g., Anālayo 2007, 2015).

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of pericope variation in early Buddhist literature, see Anālayo 2007: §1.4.

Biblical parable of the sower, Paul Ricoeur argues that the various parables that appear in different texts should be read together as constituting a "universe of meaning in which the symbolic potentialities of one contribute, by means of their common context, to making the potentialities of another explicit."<sup>44</sup> Each expression of sower imagery modifies the reading of every other expression. Elsewhere, in his study of Johannine imagery, Jan Van der Watt shows how certain individual metaphors "should be read in conjunction, to constitute a larger imagery."<sup>45</sup> In some cases, as in the metaphor of Jesus as the vine, different local metaphorical phrases that are syntactically related to each other form "metaphorical networks" (e.g., Jesus = vine; disciples = branches; Father = gardener).<sup>46</sup> In the context of Homeric poetry, W. C. Scott introduces the concept of the "simileme" to distinguish the "full range of possibilities" for a simile "developed through a long series of performances," from the individual simile, which reflects the "particularized composition" of a single poet.<sup>47</sup> The simileme is the "nonverbal background material," that is, all the various associations that underlie a given comparison familiar to performers and audience members alike.<sup>48</sup> Each of these three ways of conceiving of simile/metaphor families – as "universes of meaning," "networks of metaphor," and "similemes" – inform my interpretation of the metaphorical imagery in RS 20 and in early Buddhist literature in general.

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<sup>44</sup> Ricoeur 1995: 157.

<sup>45</sup> Van der Watt 2000: 124.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 125.

<sup>47</sup> Scott 2009: 19.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 25.

## 1.5. Range of Literature

Broadly speaking, the literature I consider here is what is often called "mainstream"<sup>49</sup> or non-Mahāyāna literature produced in the early period of Buddhism (from roughly the fifth-to-fourth century BCE to the time of Buddhaghosa in roughly the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE) and reflected in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, the Chinese āgamas, and in various surviving Sanskrit and Gāndhārī manuscripts. Throughout the dissertation, I will refer to this generally as "early Buddhist literature." Despite the vast temporal and geographic range of these texts, they were transmitted and translated conservatively, and pedagogical and literary elements such as similes and metaphors tend to be retained across this range. When metaphorical language does undergo transformations by crossing temporal, linguistic, and cultural boundaries, it often expands the scope of the "universe of meaning" that any simile/metaphor family embodies, shedding light on the process of cultural exchange. Therefore, while Pāli and Gāndhārī constitute the base of the comparative research throughout this study, I also use examples from Sanskrit and Chinese mainstream Buddhist texts. The absence of Tibetan examples is due to my own lack of facility with the language.

## 1.6. Structure of the Dissertation

As noted above, the structure of this dissertation is modeled after the volumes of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series, where thematic studies usually precede the edition of

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<sup>49</sup> See for example Harrison 1997: n. 8: "'Mainstream Buddhism' is the term I employ to refer to non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, in preference to the other terms in current use, none of which is totally satisfactory. 'Theravāda' is patently inaccurate and anachronistic, 'Hīnayāna' is pejorative and potentially offensive, 'Śrāvakayāna' is more subtly pejorative, and also makes it hard to place the Pratyekabuddhayāna (whatever that was), while 'Nikāya' or 'Sectarian Buddhism,' although neutral, are historically misleading, given the fact that the Mahāyāna was a pan-Buddhist movement running across Nikāya or Vinaya school/ordination lineage boundaries. This means that monks and nuns converted to the Mahāyāna continued to belong also to the Nikāya in which they had been ordained, to uphold its Vinaya, and so on. However, they remained in the minority, at least in India. The term 'Mainstream' reflects this situation."

manuscripts and explanation of their texts. Part I is focused on the comparative study of the metaphorical imagery found in the two sūtras of RS 20. In chapter 2, I trace the simile of the fortified city from the Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain as it occurs across early Buddhist literature, considering its role in the imagination of South Asian people during a period of dynamic urbanization. I show that the fortified city was used to convey Buddhist notions of nirvāṇa, the body, and the Buddhist dharma. Moreover, I argue that the Gāndhārī version of the simile sheds new light on the nature of siege warfare in ancient South Asia. In chapter 3, I examine the development of the idea of hell as a "great conflagration," showing that it was probably one of the earliest Buddhist notions of hell, and that it was conceived of both metaphorically and literally. This chapter is intended to go beyond the study of hell as a metaphor and contribute to our still incomplete understanding of the origin and development of hell in Buddhism in general. In chapter 4, I trace a particular aspect of the Gāndhārī description of the "Great Conflagration Hell," namely, its comparison of beings born there to red-hot iron balls. I trace the use of the iron ball in various similes, ultimately concluding that it is a kind of inverted mimesis of the *piṇḍapāṭa*, the ball of alms-food monks receive from patrons. I also look to theoretical insights from the study of religion and ritual to address the thematic focus of the imagery, namely discipline and punishment, in both Gāndhārī sūtras.

In Part II, I offer a complete study of RS 20 and its contents. In chapter 5, I give a brief overview of the physical description of the manuscript and provide digitally reconstructed images for reference. In chapter 6, I analyze the paleographic and orthographic peculiarities of the scribe. In chapter 7, I offer a complete account of the phonological developments evidenced by the manuscript, and in chapter 8, its morphological characteristics. In chapter

9, I transcribe, reconstruct, and translate the two sūtras of RS 20. (For a quick review of the manuscript's contents, it would be useful to begin here.) In chapters 10 and 11, I analyze the two sūtras at length in turn, and compare them with parallels and other relevant texts in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese. At the end of the dissertation, I provide a complete glossary, referencing every word on the manuscript with grammatical information as well as English, Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese glosses, where relevant.

## CHAPTER 2: THE SIMILE OF THE FORTIFIED CITY<sup>50</sup>

### 2.1. Introduction

Among the many alluring similes and metaphors employed in early Buddhist sūtras, the similes built around the image of the fortified city are especially evocative and prolific.<sup>51</sup> These draw upon the imagination of listeners by painting pictures of lively cities replete with defensive fortifications and inhabitants. In one common expression of the simile (e.g., SN V 160),<sup>52</sup> a royal frontier fortress (*rañño pacantimaṃ nagaraṃ*) is described as having solid ramparts, walls, arches, and a single gate. In it, a wise gatekeeper controls the traffic in and out of the city, making sure that there are no cracks in the city walls, not even one big enough for a cat to sneak through. He would know that anyone entering or exiting the city must come through the single gate. In the same way, there is only one path toward nirvāṇa, the one laid out in the Buddha's Dharma. Fortified city similes are further employed in a broad range of contexts and forms, in each instance emphasizing different characteristics of the city and thereby different aspects of Buddhist ideology and practice. Noticing the variety of city similes, Charles Hallisey suggested that their comparative study would contribute to our understanding of the role of imagery in Buddhist literature as a whole.<sup>53</sup>

In this chapter, I compile and analyze examples of Buddhist similes of the fortified city from Pāli, Chinese, and Gāndhārī sources in an effort to shed light on the nature and

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<sup>50</sup> Earlier versions of this chapter were first presented at the XVIIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies in Vienna, Austria in August, 2014, and in the Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (Marino 2015).

<sup>51</sup> I call this simile the "simile of the fortified city" as opposed to "frontier city" or "fort" in order to put this essay in conversation with the recent English translation of Dieter Schlingloff's archaeological study of "fortified cities of ancient India" (2013).

<sup>52</sup> All Pāli citations are Pāli Text Society versions unless otherwise noted.

<sup>53</sup> Hallisey 1990: 164.

function of this particular group of similes and of Buddhist similes in general. The frequency of this image illustrating such essential Buddhist ideas as *nirvāṇa*, *dharma*, and mindfulness indicates how important Buddhist teachers must have considered it as a pedagogical tool. Furthermore, although there is significant variation among the different fortified city similes, in most cases they appear to be derived from a shared trove of building blocks and themes, reflecting a kind of polythetic simile family that comprises of a series of associations between characteristics of the city and Buddhist concepts, although only some of these associations appear in any given simile.<sup>54</sup> To better understand how the simile family works, I borrow the concept of the "simileme" from classicist W. C. Scott, as reviewed in chapter 1 of this dissertation. Despite the differences between the contexts of Homeric verse and Buddhist sūtras, Scott's simileme is a suitable lens through which to examine the present case in that it helps us to better understand the way in which certain tropes common in the literary imagination of the time were utilized in Buddhist texts, as well as the extent of literary creativity employed by their author or authors.

In order to illustrate the way in which a single occurrence of the fortified city simile alludes to, or operates in conversation with, the greater simileme, I turn to a recently discovered Gāndhārī version – the oldest manuscript attestation – preserved in the first sūtra of RS 20. Although the Gāndhārī simile is unique in both the context in which it occurs and in its phrasing, its meaning can only be fully understood when considered in the context of

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<sup>54</sup> Here I am influenced by Jonathan Silk who defines Mahāyāna Buddhism as a polythetic class (2002). According to Silk, "In a Polythetic Class, to be considered a member of the class each object must possess a large (but unspecified) number of features or characteristics which are considered relevant for membership in the class. And each such set of features must be possessed by a large number of members of the class. But—and this is the key—there is no set of features which must be possessed by *every* member of the class. There is no one feature or set of features necessary and sufficient for inclusion in the class" (402).

the relationships between the city and Buddhist ideas present in other versions of the simile. At the same time, it informs our understanding of those other versions; it offers us a key to unlocking a rather curious idiomatic expression common to the simile involving a gatekeeper, a cat, and by implication, as I will argue, siege warfare.

## 2.2. Imagining the City

The world inhabited by the characters of early Buddhist literature is distinctly colored by the "second urbanization" of the mid-to-late 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE, when cities began to develop in the Gangetic valley and spread across South Asia.<sup>55</sup> In this period, rural life was drawn into stark contrast with the burgeoning world of political, social, and technological innovation inside city centers, and images of well-protected and often lavish cities became common in Indian visual and literary culture. Relief sculptures at early sites like Sāñchī, Mathurā, and Amarāvātī contain images of fortified cities with imposing ramparts, gates, arches, and grand multi-level balconies filled with onlookers.<sup>56</sup> Descriptions of the city also featured prominently in Indian literature. Early kāvya poets such as Aśvaghoṣa, Āryaśūra, and Kālidāsa often explored imaginative descriptions of cities to draw in listeners or readers. For example, in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the protagonist yakṣa offers a fanciful description of his native city Alakā by comparing it to his cloud messenger:

Its mansions are your equals—they have for your lightning  
the flash of dazzling women, for your rainbow  
arrays of paintings, for your deep and soothing thunder

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<sup>55</sup> Thapar, 2004: 139-146. With respect to early fortified cities, according to archaeological evidence, large settlements were first created in the seventh century BCE and were defended by ditches, moats, and ramparts. There is also evidence that towards the end of the first millennium BCE city gateways with brick towers and guard stations were further developed (Heitzman 2009). Excavations of Kauśāmbī, a major early Buddhist hub, have revealed ramparts thirteen meters high, encased in 154 layers of brick, containing six gates, and surrounding a city area 2.29 km<sup>2</sup> (Schlingloff 2013: 19). For an indispensable literary survey of cities featured in the Pāli canon, see Sarao 1990.

<sup>56</sup> Kaul 2011: 60-65.

drums beating for dance and song, for your core  
of waters floors inset with gems, and roofs that graze the sky for your loftiness.<sup>57</sup>

In the same poem Kālidāsa also famously describes the historical city of Ujjain in such fantastic terms that it has been called "the city of romance *par excellence*."<sup>58</sup>

As Shonaleeka Kaul has noted, our understanding of urban life in ancient South Asia should incorporate such imagined cities:

The city in history has had not only a spatial existence but an ideational one – an existence in the realm of ideas. It has elicited and gathered around itself notions, images, and associations. These ideas of the city are as material a part of the story of urban space as the tangible structures and systems that inhabit or delimit it on the ground.<sup>59</sup>

The city as imagined in Buddhist literature, particularly the fortified city at the edge of the reach of a central lord, made to guarantee its own protection, might have evoked themes such as vulnerability and safety from attacks by neighboring kingdoms, protection from the dangers of the wilderness, and social stratification. The city might also have been viewed with some degree of ambivalence by some Buddhist monks, for whom it was at once the site of patronage but also, at least according to some textual sources, a site of distraction. For example, in the Theragāthā, a monk is said to lie "trembling" or "in fear" (*uttasaṃ*) in the city, and only finds peace in the forest which is more conducive to meditation:

In the city, within high encircling walls and solid watchtowers and strongholds,  
protected by sword-wielding men, I lived in fear.

Today, fortunate and at ease, with all fear abandoned,  
Bhaddiya, son of Godhā, having entered into the forest, meditates.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Translation Nathan 1976.

*vidyutvantam lalitavanitāḥ sendracāpaṃ sacitrāḥ  
saṃgītāya prahatamurajāḥ snigdhaḡambhīraghoṣaṃ /  
antastoyaṃ maṇimayabhuvas tuṅgaṃ abhraṇḡliḡgrāḥ  
prāsādās tvāṃ tulayitum alaṃ yatra tais tair viśeṣaiḥ //* (64).

<sup>58</sup> Sharma 1990: 129.

<sup>59</sup> Kaul 2011: 1.

<sup>60</sup> Th, V. 863-4:

*Ucce maṇḡdalipākāre daḡhamatṭālakoṭṭhake /  
rakkhito khaggahattehi uttasaṃ vihariṃ pure //*

Of course, as Gregory Schopen has made apparent, what we find in the literature does not necessarily reflect the lived reality of Buddhist communities.<sup>61</sup> Still, one can't overlook the fact that the setting of the stories of early Buddhism – and the setting of the rise of historical Buddhism – is determined in no small part by city centers. We need only look to the beginning of nearly all sūtras where the Buddha and his monks rest just outside the city in pleasure gardens, where the imposing reality of walls and fortifications – and the contrast between inside and outside – stands conspicuously in the background.

### 2.3. Examples of the Simile

Various Buddhist texts contain similes painting pictures of cities defended by ramparts (*uddāpa*) or walls (*pākāra*). Many examples describe a border city (*paccantimam nagaram*), which according to the Arthaśāstra must be manned by a commander to guard the entrance to the interior of the kingdom.<sup>62</sup> I have not tried to exhaustively treat every reference to a protected border city in Buddhist literature, but only to select enough examples from Pāli, Gāndhārī, and some Chinese parallels to illustrate the diverse meanings and functions of this simile in the early Indian Buddhist literary milieu.

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*So 'jja bhaddo anutrāsī pahīnabhayabheravo /  
jhāyati vanam ogayha putto Godhāya Bhaddiyo //*

(All translations not otherwise attributed are my own.)

<sup>61</sup> See Schopen 1991: 311: "...we need not - and probably should not - assume that the presence of an idea in a canonical Buddhist text necessarily means that that same idea was current in actual Buddhist communities. The two need not - and probably often did not - have any necessary connection, chronological or otherwise."

<sup>62</sup> The relevant section of the Arthaśāstra (02.01.05) reads: *anteṣv antapāladurgāṇi janapadadvārāṇy antapālādhiṣṭhītāni sthāpayet* ("At the frontiers, he should construct the forts of the Frontier Commanders as gateways into the countryside and under the control of Frontier Commanders"). Translation by Olivelle 2013: 99.

Examples of the simileme can be broadly divided into three types on the basis of their particular application or theme. In each type, the city carries a different metaphorical force and doctrinal association:

- 1) City-as-nirvāṇa: Just as the city sits at the end of a road, nirvāṇa lies at the end of the Eightfold Path.
- 2) City-as-body: Just as a city must be protected from attackers, the body must be protected from distraction.
- 3) City-as-Dharma: Just as an architect creates a beautiful city, so did the Buddha create the Dharma; and just as a fortified city protects a citizen, so does the Dharma protect Buddhists from Māra's forces.

These categories are somewhat fluid, often with considerable overlap, and should therefore be treated as heuristic devices. Nevertheless, they structure the imagery of their respective similes in a way that allows us to tease out their various characteristics and functions.

### 2.3.1 *City-as-nirvāṇa*

The city-as-nirvāṇa type describes nirvāṇa as a physical place, a wonderful city filled with luxuries that can be reached via the Eightfold Path. This type is exemplified in the well-known account of the Buddha's enlightenment in the Nagara-sutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya.<sup>63</sup> There, the Buddha describes how he realized the nature of dependent co-arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) the night before his awakening by discovering the Eightfold Path. He illustrates this through the following simile:

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<sup>63</sup> SN II 104-7. This text is not to be confused with another Nagara-sutta (AN IV 106-13). The Nagara-sutta in the Saṃyuttanikāya also has a parallel in Sanskrit which was compiled from various manuscripts from Turfan, Kucha, and Dunhuang, and possibly other places. For a comprehensive study of these manuscripts, see Gregory Bongard-Levin et al. 1996.

Suppose, bhikkhus, a man wandering through a forest would see an ancient path, an ancient road travelled upon by people in the past. He would follow it, and would see an ancient city, an ancient capital that had been inhabited by people in the past, with parks, groves, ponds, and ramparts, a delightful place. ...So too, bhikkhus, I saw the ancient path, the ancient road traveled by the Perfectly Enlightened Ones of the past. And what is that ancient path, that ancient road? ... It is just this Noble Eightfold Path. ... I followed that path and by doing so I have directly known [dependent co-arising].<sup>64</sup>

This simile contains three features that are especially important for the present study. First, the association between the path leading to the city and the Eightfold Path is a key component of the fortified city simile, appearing in numerous individual similes. Second, even though it is not made explicit in the text, one can infer that, because the path is the Eightfold Path, the city must be nirvāṇa, as do Buddhaghosa in his commentary<sup>65</sup> and at least one similar Chinese text.<sup>66</sup> Third, the Buddha says that by following the path he came to directly know (*abbhaññāsīm*)<sup>67</sup> each component of the twelve-fold chain of dependent co-arising. The focus here on direct knowledge is the opposite of that on inferred knowledge (*anumānañāṇa*) that we find in most other versions of the simile.

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<sup>64</sup> Translation by Bodhi 2000: 603. SN II 105-6: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave puriso araṇṇe pavane caramāno passeyya purāṇaṃ maggaṃ purāṇaṇjaṣaṃ pubbahehi manussehi anuyātaṃ. So tam anugaccheyya tam anugacchanto passeyya purāṇaṃ nagaraṃ purāṇaṃ rājadhāniṃ pubbahehi manussehi ajjhāvutthaṃ ārāmasampannaṃ vanasampannaṃ pokkharāṇisampannaṃ uddāpavantaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ.... Evam eva khvāhaṃ bhikkhave addasaṃ purāṇaṃ maggaṃ purāṇaṇjaṣaṃ pubbahehi sammāsambuddhehi anuyātaṃ. Katamo ca so bhikkhave purāṇamaggo.... Ayam eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. . . .tam anugacchiṃ. Tam anugacchanto... [paṭiccasamuppāda]...abbhaññāsīm.*

<sup>65</sup> SN-a II 117: *Purisassa ten' eva maggena gacchato purato nagaradassanaṃ viya Tathāgatassa nibānanagaradassanaṃ.* ("A person's sight of the city that had previously been reached by this very path is like Tathāgata's sight of the city of nirvāṇa.")

<sup>66</sup> The primary Chinese parallel to the Nagara-sutta found in Guṇabhadra's Saṃyuktāgama (T 99 80b24-81a08) does not explicitly call the city the "city of nirvāṇa," but the Chinese translation of the Nidāna Sūtra attributed to Faxian (T 715 830a08) also deals with dependent co-arising and reads: 我今已履佛所行道, 已被昔人所被之甲, 已到昔人涅槃之城 ("I have now tread the path walked by Buddhas, and worn the armor worn by people from the past, and arrived at the city of nirvāṇa of the people of the past").

<sup>67</sup> In Pāli, *abbhaññāsīm*, an aorist from of Skt. *abhi + jñā*, can mean "to know by experience, to know fully or thoroughly" (PTSD s.v. *abhiññāti*); or, more closely related to the Buddhist technical term *abhiññā* (according to the CPD, "higher or supernatural knowledge"), "to know by intuition" (CPD s.v. *abhiññāti*). Here it seems to connote knowledge by direct observation.

Where the Nagara-sutta implies an identification of the city with nirvāṇa, two non-canonical texts, the Nibbāna-sutta and Tuṇḍilovāda-sutta, make the association explicit, spelling out a host of connections between characteristics of the city and characteristics of nirvāṇa.<sup>68</sup> For the sake of space, I will limit my discussion to the Nibbāna-sutta, which is similar to the Nagara-sutta in that it is framed by a story of a man on a path to a great city. After overcoming four pursuing enemies (birth, old age, sickness, and death) and a great tree of defilements (*kilesamahāruhaṃ*), the man arrives at the city of nirvāṇa, which has defensive measures like a wall, gate, watchtower, and moat, as well as a bazaar, pillars, beds, couches, and natural luxuries like ponds, geese, and other pleasant birds. After the description of the city, each item is made to correlate with an important Buddhist concept, a technique called "application of a simile" or "association via comparison" (*upamāsaṃsandanaṃ* or *opammasaṃsandanaṃ*) by commentators.<sup>69</sup> For example, the beginning of this list of associations reads:

What is the wall? The wall of virtue. What is the [gate]?<sup>70</sup> The gate of knowledge. What is the watchtower? The watchtower of concentration. What is the moat? The moat of loving kindness...<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Hallisey 1990 and Hallisey 1993. Neither text is found in standard editions of the Pāli canon.

<sup>69</sup> The neuter *saṃsyandana* is defined by Edgerton in the BHSD as "agreement." The PTSD defines the feminine *opammasaṃsandana* as "application of a simile." Occurrences of similar phrases in Pāli commentaries include MN-a III 262: *ettha evaṃ upamāsaṃsandakaṃ* (B<sup>e</sup> has *saṃsandanaṃ*) and SN-a III 62: *tatridaṃ opammasaṃsandanaṃ*.

<sup>70</sup> Here the text reads, *kin taṃ pākāraṃ? ñāṇaṃ dvāraṃ*. As Hallisey notes, the intended reading must be *\*kin taṃ dvāraṃ?* (Hallisey 1993: 122).

<sup>71</sup> Hallisey 1993: 122: *Kin taṃ pākāraṃ? Silapākāraṃ. Kin taṃ pākāraṃ [dvāraṃ]? Ñāṇaṃ dvāraṃ. Kin taṃ tālakaṃ [aṭṭālakaṃ]? Samādhiṭālakaṃ. Kin taṃ parikkhaṃ [parikhaṃ]? Mettāparikkhaṃ*. (Corrected readings in brackets are provided by Hallisey).

The simile in the Tuṇḍilovāda-sutta is presented in similar fashion, except that it describes many items as "perfections" (*pāramīs*).<sup>72</sup> Table 1 compares the key associations between the city and Buddhist concepts in the city-as-nirvāṇa type:

Table 1: Metaphorical associations in City-as-nirvāṇa type.

|                                                                         | Nagara (SN II 104-7)                       | Nibbāna                                                                                | Tuṇḍilovāda                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| City ( <i>nagara</i> )                                                  | Nirvāṇa                                    | Nirvāṇa                                                                                | Nirvāṇa                                                       |
| Straight path ( <i>ujumagga</i> )                                       | Eightfold path ( <i>aṭṭhaṅgika magga</i> ) | Eightfold path ( <i>aṭṭhaṅgika magga</i> )                                             | —                                                             |
| Walls ( <i>pākāra</i> )                                                 | —                                          | Virtue ( <i>sīla</i> )                                                                 | Perfection of patience ( <i>khantipāramī</i> )                |
| Gates ( <i>dvāra</i> )                                                  | —                                          | Knowledge ( <i>ñāṇa</i> )                                                              | Perfection of giving ( <i>dānapāramī</i> )                    |
| Watchtowers ( <i>aṭṭālaka</i> )                                         | —                                          | Concentration ( <i>samādhi</i> )                                                       | Concentration ( <i>samādhi</i> )                              |
| Pillars ( <i>thaṃbha</i> )                                              | —                                          | Vigor ( <i>virīya</i> )                                                                | Seven books of Abhidhamma ( <i>Abhidhammasattappakaraṇa</i> ) |
| Surrounding ramparts ( <i>parikkhitta</i> <sup>73</sup> <i>pākāra</i> ) | —                                          | Loving kindness ( <i>mettā</i> )                                                       | Perfection of loving kindness ( <i>mettāpāramī</i> )          |
| Palaces ( <i>pāsāda</i> )                                               | —                                          | —                                                                                      | Ten perfections ( <i>dasapāramī</i> )                         |
| Beds ( <i>sayana</i> )                                                  | —                                          | Renunciation ( <i>nikkhamma</i> )                                                      | Perfection of renunciation ( <i>nekkhammapāramī</i> )         |
| Lamps ( <i>padīpa</i> )                                                 | —                                          | Insight arising from knowledge of release <sup>74</sup> ( <i>vimuttiñānadassanaṃ</i> ) | Knowledge ( <i>ñāṇa</i> )                                     |
| Lotus ponds ( <i>pokkharāṇī</i> )                                       | —                                          | Cultivation by meditation ( <i>bhāvanā</i> )                                           | Cultivation by meditation ( <i>bhāvanā</i> )                  |
| Cool water ( <i>sītajala</i> )                                          | —                                          | Compassion ( <i>karuṇā</i> )                                                           | Compassion ( <i>karuṇā</i> )                                  |

<sup>72</sup> Other references to the perfections (*pāramī*-s) as a set in Pāli are found in Khuddaka Nikāya texts like the Buddhavaṃsa (e.g., 6, 16) and Cariyāpiṭaka (e.g., 83, 91, 97), but as far as I can tell not in the other four nikāyas.

<sup>73</sup> *Parikkhitta* in the Tuṇḍilovāda-sutta should perhaps read *parikhā* (moat) which appears in many city descriptions. The Nibbāna-sutta has *parikkham*. It is also possible that it should read *parikkhata*, "endowed with" (PTSD s.v.), but the syntax of the compound would be irregular. To better understand the possible confusion, cf. AN IV 106, where a city is described as being well-endowed (*suparikkhitaṃ*) with a moat (*parikhā*) which is a requisite (*parikkhāra*) of a city.

<sup>74</sup> PTSD s.v. *dassana*.

|                                      |   |                         |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|
| Pleasure garden<br>( <i>uyyāna</i> ) | — | Vigor ( <i>virīya</i> ) | — |
|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|---|

Hallisey considered whether the complex city similes in the Nibbāna-sutta and Tuṇḍilovāda-sutta might be secondary to a "more fundamental conventional metaphor of the city of Nibbāna, which itself is linked to the conventional metaphor of Nibbāna as a 'place',"<sup>75</sup> but he was unable to locate any such image. However, it is clear that they are related to the more basic city-as-nirvāṇa image in the Nagara-sutta described above. Altogether, they reflect a specific creative application of the fortified city simile in teaching contexts emphasizing the nature of nirvāṇa, utilizing details appropriate to the story that contains them.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3.2 City-as-body

In the second type of fortified city simile, the city-as-body, the theme is not the discovery or the wonder of the city, but rather the protection of the city. As the comparison goes, one must defend one's body as one would defend a vulnerable border town. The most succinct example of the city-as-body type comes from the Dhammapada:

Just as a border city is protected inside and out, so protect yourselves. Do not let the moment pass you by, for those who have been passed by the moment grieve when they are consigned to hell.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Hallisey 1993: 109.

<sup>76</sup> Another noteworthy, but brief and fragmented example is found in the so-called Buddhist Yoga Manual ("Yogalehrbuch"), which features a gatekeeper who warns that those who enter the city of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇapuraṇi*) cannot leave: *dauvārikaḥ puruṣo v. + + + + + kathayati / iha nagare yaḥ praviṣṭo na bhūyo nirgacchatīti* (YL 161R2 ll 5-6; Schlingloff 1964: 169). ("The gatekeeper...says: 'One who has entered this city will not leave again.'") Apparently, no other example describes the city of nirvāṇa in such terms.

<sup>77</sup> PTS edition verse 315. Translation by Norman 1997b: 46:

*nagaraṃ yathā paccantaṃ guttaṃ santarabāhiraṃ  
evaṃ gopetha attānaṃ, khaṇo vo mā upaccagā,  
khaṇātītā hi socanti nirayamhi samappitā.*

Here, the correlation between city and self is explicit. Lack of protection, even for a moment, leads to hell. The Chinese parallel attributed to Vighna is similar, but specifically calls for the protection of the mind (心):

Like a prepared border city, strong and secure inside and out, one should guard one's mind. Don't give rise to unrighteous things. Practice, if deficient, results in distress, and causes one to fall into hell.<sup>78</sup>

The Pāli commentary on Dhammapada verse 315 sharpens the focus of the simile by comparing not only the body to a city, but also the six internal sense gates to city gates:

Here, monks, with respect to "inside and out," just as a frontier city is well protected on the inside and out by men building firm gates and walls on the inside, and firm towers, ramparts, and moats on the outside, so too should you establish mindfulness and close the six internal gates. Don't give up the mindfulness that protects the gates, and because the six external sense objects, when being grasped, lead to personal injury, become firm by not grasping them. Without giving entry to them, and without abandoning the mindfulness that protects the gates, protect yourself as you go about.<sup>79</sup>

This expanded image comes alive with people who construct the essential defensive mechanisms of a fortified city: gates (*dvāra*), walls (*pākāra*), watchtowers (*aṭṭālaka*), ramparts (*uddāpa*), and moats (*parikhā*).

A more extensive version of the city-as-body simile can be found in the Kiṃsuka-sutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya. It begins:

Suppose, monk, that a king had a frontier city with strong ramparts, strong walls and arches, and six gates. In it, there is a wise, experienced, intelligent gatekeeper who refuses entrance to those he does not know and admits those he does know.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> T 210 570b1: 如備邊城, 中外牢固, 自守其心, 非法不生, 行缺致憂, 令墮地獄。

<sup>79</sup> Dhṛ-a III 488: *Tattha santarabāhiranti, bhikkhave, yathā tehi manussehi taṃ paccantanagaraṃ dvārapākārādīni thirāni karontehi saantaraṃ, aṭṭālakauddāpaparikhādīni thirāni karontehi sabāhiranti santarabāhiraṃ guttaṃ kataṃ, evaṃ tumhepi satīṃ upaṭṭhapetvā ajjhattikāni cha dvārāni pidahitvā dvārarakkhikaṃ satīṃ avissajjetvā yathā gayhamānāni bāhirāni cha āyatanāni ajjhattikānaṃ upaghātāya saṃvattanti tathā agahaṇena tāni pi thirāni katvā tesāṃ appavesāya dvārarakkhikaṃ satīṃ appahāya vicarantā attānaṃ gopethāti attho.* (PTS has *aṭṭālakauddāmaparikhādīni*, but CPD calls *-uddāma-* a mistake for *-uddāpa-*.)

<sup>80</sup> SN IV 194: *Seyyathāpi, bhikkhu, rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ dalhuddāpaṃ dalhapākāratoraṇaṃ chadvāraṃ. Tatrassa dovāriko paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī, aññātānaṃ nivāretā, ñātānaṃ pavesetā.*

This formulaic passage occurs in at least five other examples of the simile,<sup>81</sup> though these usually describe a single-gated city rather than one with six entrances.<sup>82</sup> As the simile continues, the Buddha says, "I have made a simile, monks, so that you will understand my meaning, and here it is,"<sup>83</sup> and then presents a list of direct one-to-one correspondences between the fortified city on the one hand, and the body or experience of a practitioner on the other:

Table 2: Metaphorical associations in *Kimśuka-sutta*.

| Kimśuka-sutta (SN IV 191-5)                 |                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| City ( <i>nagaram</i> )                     | Body ( <i>kaya</i> )                                            |
| Six gates ( <i>chadvārā</i> )               | Six internal sense gates ( <i>ajjhātikā āyatanā</i> )           |
| Gatekeeper ( <i>dovāriko</i> )              | Mindfulness ( <i>satī</i> )                                     |
| Two messengers ( <i>dūtayugam</i> )         | Tranquility ( <i>samatha</i> ) and insight ( <i>vipassanā</i> ) |
| City commander ( <i>nagarasāmī</i> )        | Consciousness ( <i>viññāṇa</i> )                                |
| Central square ( <i>majjhe siṅghātake</i> ) | Four elements ( <i>caturmahābhūtā</i> )                         |
| Message ( <i>vacanam</i> )                  | Nirvāṇa ( <i>nibbāna</i> )                                      |
| Path to the city ( <i>yathāgatamaggo</i> )  | Eightfold Path ( <i>aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo</i> )                      |

<sup>81</sup> SN V 160, AN V 192, DN II 82, DN III 101. The Gāndhārī example from Senior scroll 20 is similar, but does not include the part about keeping out strangers.

<sup>82</sup> There are at least two important historical examples of South Asian fortified cities with six gates: Kauśāmbī, which is described as a *mahānagara* in the *Dīghanikāya* (DN II 146) and around which six gates were discovered by archaeologists (see note 6 above), and in the northwest, Bactra (modern Balkh), which was another important city for early Buddhists, and is said to have had six gates at least at the time of Ibn Hawqal's 10<sup>th</sup> century explorations. Kramers and Wiet's French translation of Ibn Hawqal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* reads: "Elle est bâtie en terre. La ville a plusieurs portes, dont la porte du Naubahar – la porte de Wakhteh – la porte de Fer – la porte de Hinduwan – la porte des Juifs – la porte de Shastaman – et la porte de Bakhti. – C'est dans le mur d'enceinte que sont percées ces portes. ... Le mur de la ville est construit en terre" (Kramers and Wiet 1964: 433). The ramparts of both Kauśāmbī and Bactra are both still clearly visible from satellite images.

<sup>83</sup> *Upamā kho myāyam, bhikkhu, kata atthassa viññāpanāya ayañcevettha attho.*

A few of the associations warrant further comment. As in the Dhammapada example, the city stands for the body, and as in the Dhammapada commentary, the gates stand for the six senses. The city is animated by a number of characters, including a gatekeeper who embodies mindfulness, the city commander who stands for consciousness, and messengers who stand for tranquility and insight (*samatha* and *vipassanā*).<sup>84</sup> While it signifies a shift from the city-as-nirvāṇa type in that it is not the city but the message that stands for nirvāṇa, the Kiṃsuka-sutta still draws a thread from the city-as-nirvāṇa type in continuing to associate the path into the city with the eightfold path. Interestingly, in the Pāli commentary Buddhaghosa also interprets the Kiṃsuka's simile in light of the city-as-nirvāṇa type, at least partially, describing the city as both "like the body" (*viya sakkāyanagaram*) and "like nirvāṇa" (*viya hi nibbānanagaram*).<sup>85</sup> This suggests that Buddhaghosa was aware of the multiple possibilities of the fortified city simile.

### 2.3.3. City-as-Dharma

In the third type of fortified city simile, the city represents the Dharma, or the methods developed by the Buddha as teachings leading to nirvāṇa. One example is from the

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<sup>84</sup> The commentary (SN-a III 60) explains the messengers in this simile with a story of a king who sends his prince to establish a border city. When word reaches the king that the prince has been wasting his time drinking, singing, and dancing in the company of scoundrels (*dhutta*), the king sends messengers to the city to admonish the prince. The messengers ask the gatekeeper where to find the prince, and he sends them to the central square where the prince sits in a drunken stupor, pretending not to hear the messengers. Upon finding the prince, the messengers threaten to cut his head off if he does not comply with the king's commands. The prince's incompetent servants then flee the city. This interpretation, though creative, does not correspond well to the context of the simile. It is possible that the story told in the commentary appears elsewhere and was used here to explain the messengers, whose function in this sūtra is not completely clear. Either way, the fact that the commentary's interpretation does not seem to fit the context is a sign that the fortified city simile of the Kiṃsuka-sutta is somehow an atypical application of the simile.

<sup>85</sup> SN-a III 62

Apadāna, in which the monk Upāli builds a city of Dharma like a powerful king (*yathā rājā balavā*):

He put an end to other views and to Māra along with his army,  
Dispelled the darkness, and built a city of Dharma,

Where virtue was its walls and knowledge its gateway strongholds,  
Faith its strong pillars, and restraint its wise gatekeeper.

The bases of mindfulness were the watchtowers, sagely wisdom its crossroads,  
The bases of supernatural power were its central square, and the Dharma its well-built road.<sup>86</sup>

Here the emphasis is placed not on the need to protect the city (as body), but on the protection that the city – the Dharma – can provide for the practitioner: virtue, knowledge, faith, etc. are the defensive measures that keep Māra at bay. All of the characteristics of the city mentioned here (e.g., walls, pillars, etc.) appear in other city similes, showing a strong consistency in the city's features as described across the greater simile.

A second Dharma city is described in great detail in the Milindapañha in the section dealing with questions solved by inference (*anumānapañho*). This directly contrasts with the emphasis on the Buddha's direct knowledge (*abhiññā*) described in the Nagara Sutta of the city-as-nirvāṇa type. In the Milindapañha, King Milinda asks Nagasena how he really knows that the Buddha existed if neither he nor his teacher has ever met him. Nagasena says that one can infer that the Buddha existed by reference to the teachings he left behind, including the four bases of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*), the seven limbs of

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<sup>86</sup> Ap I 44:

*Titthiye nihanivāna mārāṇ cāpi sasenakaṃ  
tam andhakāraṃ vidhamitvā dhammanagaraṃ amāpayi.*

*Sīlaṃ pākārikaṃ tattha ñāṇan te dvārakoṭṭhakaṃ  
saddhā te esikā dhūradvārapālo 'va saṃvaro.*

*Satipaṭṭhānam aṭṭālaṃ paññā te caccaraṃ mune  
iddhipādaṇca siṅghāṭaṃ dhammavīthiṃ sumāpitaṃ.*

enlightenment (*satta bojjhangā*), and the Eightfold Path (*aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*). Just as someone entering a glorious city would know that the architect must have been skillful (*cheko*), so too would one recognize that the one who developed the Dharma must have been an incomparable Buddha. Nagasena then describes the Buddha building his city of Dharma in much the same way as Upāli's efforts are described in the Apadāna:

After defeating Māra together with his army and breaking through the net of false views, having destroyed ignorance and brought forth wisdom, bearing up the torch of the law, and having obtained omniscience, [the Buddha], undefeated and victorious in battle, built a city of Dharma.<sup>87</sup>

Following this, Nāgasena further describes the Buddha's city in an extended simile much like the ones in the Tuṇḍilovāda-sutta and Nibbāna-sutta:

Oh King, the Lord's city of Dharma had virtue for its walls, modesty for its moat, knowledge for its gateway strongholds, vigor for its watchtowers, faith for its pillars, mindfulness for its gates, wisdom for its palaces, the Sūtras for its crossroads, the Abhidharma as its central square, the Vinaya for its courthouse, and the bases of mindfulness for its roads. And in those streets which represent the bases of mindfulness such shops were laid out as follows: a flower shop, a perfume shop, a fruit shop, an antidote shop, a medicinal herb shop, an ambrosia shop, a jewel shop, and a general shop.<sup>88</sup>

For a comparison of the metaphorical associations in the Apadāna and Milindapañha, see table 3.

Table 3: Metaphorical associations in Apadāna and Milindapañha.

|                                             | Apadāna (I 44)            | Milindapañha (Mīl 332)              |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| City ( <i>nagara</i> )                      | Dhamma                    | Dhamma (once <i>nibbānanagara</i> ) |
| Walls ( <i>pākāra</i> )                     | Virtue ( <i>sīla</i> )    | Virtue ( <i>sīla</i> )              |
| Gateway stronghold ( <i>dvārakoṭṭhaka</i> ) | Knowledge ( <i>ñāṇa</i> ) | Knowledge ( <i>ñāṇa</i> )           |

<sup>87</sup> Mīl 332: *sasenam māram parājetvā diṭṭhijālam padāletvā avijjam khepetvā vijjam uppādetvā dhammukkam dhārayitvā sabbaññutam paṇuṇitvā nijjitavijitasangāmo dhammanagaraṃ māpesi.*

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. *Bhagavato kho mahārāja dhammanagaraṃ sīlapākāraṃ hiriparikhaṃ ñāṇadvārakoṭṭhakaṃ viriyaattālakaṃ saddhāesikaṃ satidovārikaṃ paññāpāsādaṃ Suttantacaccaraṃ Abhidhammasinghātakaṃ Vinayavinicchayaṃ satipaṭṭhānavūthikaṃ. Tassa kho pana mahārāja satipaṭṭhānavūthiyaṃ evarūpā āpaṇā pasārītā honti, seyyathidaṃ: pupphāpaṇaṃ gandhāpaṇaṃ phalāpaṇaṃ agadāpaṇaṃ osadhāpaṇaṃ amatāpaṇaṃ ratanāpaṇaṃ sabbāpaṇanti.*

|                                      |                                              |                                              |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Watchtowers ( <i>aṭṭāḷaka</i> )      | Bases of mindfulness ( <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> ) | Vigor ( <i>virīya</i> )                      |
| Gatekeeper ( <i>dovārika</i> )       | Restraint ( <i>saṃvara</i> )                 | Mindfulness ( <i>satī</i> )                  |
| Pillar ( <i>esikā</i> )              | Faith ( <i>saddhā</i> )                      | Faith ( <i>saddhā</i> )                      |
| Palace ( <i>pāsāda</i> )             | —                                            | Wisdom ( <i>paññā</i> )                      |
| Road ( <i>vīthika</i> )              | Dhamma                                       | Bases of mindfulness ( <i>satipaṭṭhāna</i> ) |
| Central Square ( <i>siṅghāṭaka</i> ) | Bases of magical power ( <i>iddhipāda</i> )  | Abhidhamma                                   |
| Crossroads ( <i>caccara</i> )        | Wisdom ( <i>paññā</i> )                      | Suttānta                                     |
| Courthouse ( <i>vinicchaya</i> )     | —                                            | Vinaya                                       |

The Aṅguttaranikāya's Nagara-sutta<sup>89</sup> (which I will call the Fortress Sūtra to avoid confusion with the Nagara-sutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya) presents the relationship between the Dharma and the fortified city in even greater detail. Unlike other similes of the fortified city which are inserted into larger stories to illustrate a teaching, the simile in the Fortress Sūtra itself constitutes the entire sūtra. It opens by comparing a frontier city well-stocked with seven key defensive requisites and four key food provisions to a noble disciple who can fend off Māra with seven good qualities (*saddhamma*) and access to the four states of concentration (*jhānas*):

Bhikkhus, when a king's frontier fortress is well provided with seven appurtenances of a fortress and readily gains, without trouble or difficulty, four kinds of food, it can be called a king's frontier fortress that cannot be assailed by external foes and enemies. ... So too, bhikkhus, when a noble disciple possesses seven good qualities, and when he gains at will, without trouble or difficulty, the four jhānas that constitute the higher mind and are pleasant dwellings in this very life, he is then called a noble disciple who cannot be assailed by Māra, who cannot be assailed by the Evil One.<sup>90</sup>

Here, the text emphasizes the way in which the Buddha's Dharma can adorn a practitioner as armor. Technically, in this comparison the city itself is equivalent to the practitioner and the

<sup>89</sup> AN IV 106-13.

<sup>90</sup> Translation by Bodhi (2012: 1075-6). AN IV 106-9: *Yato kho bhikkhave rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ sattahi nagaraparikkhārehi suparikkhitaṃ hoti catunnaṃ ca āhārānaṃ nikāmalābhī hoti akicchālābhī akasiralābhī. Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ akaraṇīyaṃ bāhirehi paccatthikehi paccāmittehi. ... Evameva kho bhikkhave, yato ariyasāvako sattahi saddhammehi samannāgato hoti catunnaṃca jhānānaṃ abhicetasikānaṃ diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārānaṃ nikāmalābhī hoti akicchālābhī akasiralābhī. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave ariyasāvako akaraṇīyo Mārassa akaraṇīyo pāpimato.*

Dharma is represented only by certain attributes of the city, but the emphasis of the teaching is placed on learning the Dharma, so I examine this as an example of the city-as-Dharma type. The Fortress Sūtra is further unique among city similes in that it does not simply list the correspondences in the style of the "serial simile," but rather offers a thorough explanation of each comparison.<sup>91</sup> The description of the gatekeeper serves as an example:

Just as the gatekeeper in the king's frontier fortress is wise, competent, and intelligent, one who keeps out strangers and admits acquaintances, for protecting its inhabitants and for warding off outsiders, so too a noble disciple is mindful, possessing supreme mindfulness and alertness, one who remembers and recollects [even] what was done and said long ago. With mindfulness as his gatekeeper, the noble disciple abandons the unwholesome and develops the wholesome, abandons what is blameworthy and develops what is blameless, and maintains himself in purity.<sup>92</sup>

Table 4 contains the complete list of associations:

Table 4: Metaphorical associations in Fortress Sutta.

| Fortress Sutta (AN IV 106-13)                    |                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Seven Defensive Requisites of a City             | Seven Good Qualities of a Practitioner |
| Pillar ( <i>esikā</i> )                          | Faith ( <i>saddhā</i> )                |
| Moat ( <i>parikhā</i> )                          | Modesty ( <i>hiri</i> )                |
| Path around the city ( <i>anupariyāyapatha</i> ) | Scruples ( <i>ottappa</i> )            |
| Many weapons ( <i>āvudha</i> )                   | Great learning ( <i>bahussutta</i> )   |
| Army ( <i>balakāya</i> )                         | Vigor ( <i>virīya</i> )                |
| Gatekeeper ( <i>dovārika</i> )                   | Mindfulness ( <i>satī</i> )            |
| Walls ( <i>pākāra</i> )                          | Wisdom ( <i>paññā</i> )                |
| Four Provisions of a City                        | Four <i>jhānas</i>                     |

<sup>91</sup> The Milindapañha example also contained this kind of lengthy description, but only for the various shops found inside the city.

<sup>92</sup> Translation Bodhi (2012: 1078). AN IV 110-11: *Seyyathāpi bhikkave rañño paccantime nagare dovāriko hoti paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivāretā ñātānaṃ pavesetā abbhantarānaṃ guttiyā bāhiraṇaṃ paṭighātāya, evam eva kho bhikkhave ariyasāvako satimā hoti paramena satinepakkena samannāgato cirakatampi cirabhāsitaṃ saritā anussaritā. Satidovāriko bhikkhave ariyasāvako akusalaṃ pajahati, kusalaṃ bhāveti; sāvajjaṃ pajahati, anavajjaṃ bhāveti; suddhaṃ attānaṃ pariharati.*

|                                              |                     |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Grass, timber, water                         | First <i>jhāna</i>  |
| Rice and barley                              | Second <i>jhāna</i> |
| Seeds, beans, and cereals                    | Third <i>jhāna</i>  |
| Ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, and salt | Fourth <i>jhāna</i> |

The structure of the Fortress Sūtra suggests that it might have served a mnemonic function in which certain elements of the city are made to "store" information about Buddhist practice. The text begins by painting a detailed picture of a fortified city in which each defensive requisite and food item earns its own paragraph of description. The text essentially asks the audience to visualize a city in detail, walking through it in their minds, meeting the gatekeeper, touching the pillars, smelling the foods; only then does it introduce Buddhist concepts which can then be mapped onto the image of the city. We can think of this image as a "memory palace," or a "method of loci," an aid for memorization that goes back at least as far Cicero's *De Oratore* (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE). Cicero attributes this technique to the Greek Simonides from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE:

[Simonides] inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty [of memory] must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things will denote the things themselves, and we shall employ the places and images respectively as a wax writing-tablet and the letters written on it.<sup>93</sup>

Four other Pali suttas<sup>94</sup> draw upon the Fortress Sūtra's implicit notion that there is only one way to nirvāṇa, namely by following the eightfold path, developing the seven good qualities (or sometimes seven limbs of enlightenment), and obtaining the four *jhānas* (or

<sup>93</sup> Sutton and Rackham 1942: lxxxvi.

<sup>94</sup> Uttiya Sutta (AN V 194-5), Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (DN II 83), Sampasādanīya Sutta (DN III 101), and Nālandā Sutta (SN V 160). The page numbers reflect the location of the similes in each sūtra.

sometimes four bases of mindfulness). The simile in each of the four describes a city with only one gate, illustrating the single path to nirvāṇa. It constitutes a single formulaic expression, or pericope, that has been inserted as a single unit in texts that teach the path to awakening, and that also focus on what can be known "by inference from the Dharma," or "by logical conclusion from the Dharma" (*dhhammanvayo vidito*).<sup>95</sup> Inference (*anumāṇa*) is often contrasted by Buddhist scholastics with direct sensory experience (*pratyakṣa*) in discussions about types of authority (*pramāṇa*), or ways of knowing.<sup>96</sup> It is fitting that a simile explaining something abstract in terms of something concrete would be used to convey such concepts. In the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, Sāriputta tells the Buddha that even though he does not know the minds of the past or future Buddhas, he knows by inference from the Dharma that there has never been an ascetic more enlightened than Śākyamuni Buddha. He supposes that all enlightened arhats must have followed the same dharmic teachings and offers the following simile to illustrate how he knows this:

Suppose, sir, a king had a frontier city with strong ramparts, strong walls and arches, and a single gate. In it there is a wise, competent, intelligent gatekeeper who keeps out those he doesn't know and lets in those he does. While he walks along the path that encircles the city, he would not see a breach or an opening in the wall even big enough for a cat to slip through. He might think: 'Whatever larger creatures enter or exit this city, will all enter and exit through this gate. So too, sir, I have understood this by logical conclusion from the Dhamma.'<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Walshe translates *dhhammanvayo* as "the way the Dhamma goes" (1987: 235; 568 n. 372), but in a different sūtra with the same phrase Bhikkhu Bodhi translates, "I have understood this by inference from the Dhamma" (2000: 1642). Buddhaghosa (SN-a III 210) equates *dhhammanvayo* ("as a logical conclusion of the Dharma") with *anumāṇāñāṇa* ("inference," or knowledge based on previous knowledge): *Dhammanvayo ti, dhammassa paccakkhato ñāṇassa anuyogaṃ anugantvā uppannaṃ anumāṇāñāṇaṃ* ("With respect to 'dhhammanvayo,' having come to the application of knowledge from direct perception of the Dharma, knowledge by inference arises"). See also MN-tīkā (B<sup>o</sup>: 2.162): *dhhammanvayasāṅkhātāṃ anumāṇaṃ* ("inference is considered [to mean] 'as a logical conclusion of the Dharma'"), and *diṭṭhena hi adiṭṭhassa anumāṇaṃ* ("inference of what is not seen by what is seen").

<sup>96</sup> The types of authority are a common point of discussion among Indian philosophers, but are most famously discussed in the Buddhist context by Dharmakīrti (~6<sup>th</sup> century) in his *Pramāṇavarttika* ("Commentary on Epistemology").

<sup>97</sup> I have translated this to match Bhikkhu Bodhi's translations of similar phrases. DN II 83: *Seyyathāpi bhante rañño paccantimaṃ nagaram daḥhuddāpaṃ daḥhapākāratoraṇaṃ ekadvāraṃ, tatrassa dovāriko paṇḍito*

An expression of this formula in the Chinese translation of the similar Uttiya Sutta from the Saṃyuktāgama shows some slight variation from the Pāli formula, but still highlights the theme of inferred knowledge:

It is as if a king has a frontier citadel whose walls were solid all the way around. Its alleys and lanes are even and straight and it has only one gate. There is appointed a gatekeeper who is clever and intelligent, a skilled assessor. As for people coming from the outside, those who ought to enter, he admits, and those who ought not enter, he does not admit. If he were to go all the way around the city looking for a second gate, he would not succeed. (The walls) would lack even space for a cat to come or go, let alone a second gate. The gatekeeper would not be aware of every single person who enters or exits, but nevertheless he would know that anyone who enters or exits could only do so through this [one] gate.<sup>98</sup>

Three items from the closely parallel city-as-Dharma similes require attention. First, the reference in all four sūtras to understanding by inference from the Dharma (*dhammanvayo vidito*) connects them to the Milindapañha, where inference is the predominant theme, and places them in contrast to the Nagara Sutta (SN), which focused on just the opposite: direct knowledge. Second, the gatekeeper has an expanded role in these versions. Although he is not explicitly identified as mindfulness (*sati*), he embodies it by walking around the city walls making sure they are solid. If the walls are solid, he can infer that nothing can enter the city except through its single gate. Third, the integrity of the walls is measured in a peculiar way. They are described as not containing an opening "even big enough for a cat to slip through" (*biḷāranissakkanamattampi*). On the surface, this appears simply to be an idiomatic way of saying that nobody could sneak through the wall. Why would the

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*viyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivāretā ñātānaṃ pavesetā. So tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāya pathaṃ anukkamaṃ na passeyya pākārasandhiṃ vā pākāravivaraṃ vā antamaso biḷāranissakkanamattampi. Tassa evaṃ assa, ye kho keci oḷarikā pāṇā imaṃ nagaram pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā sabbe te iminā vā dvārena pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā ti. Evaṃ eva kho me bhante dhammanvayo vidito.*

<sup>98</sup> T99 248a3: 譬如國王有邊境城四周堅固。巷陌平正唯有一門。立守門者聰明點慧善能籌量。外有人來，應入者聽入，不應入者不聽。周匝遶城求第二門都不可得。都無狐狸出入之處況第二門。彼守門者都不覺悟入者出者，然彼士夫知一切人唯從此門若出若入。

gatekeeper be concerned specifically with a cat? However, as we will see in the Gāndhārī text in the following section, the gatekeeper probably had a very real fear of cats and other small animals.

#### 2.4. New Evidence from a Gāndhārī Version

The Robert Senior Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist manuscripts includes a new version of the fortified city simile – its earliest extant manuscript attestation – that confirms and augments the discussion above, showing that individual fortified city similes draw from a central repository of associations, that is, the fortified city simileme. As we will see, the Gāndhārī simile embodies multiple meanings, depending on which aspect of the greater simileme one chooses to highlight.

The simile is contained on the recto of RS 20 in the first sūtra on the manuscript, the Suhadukha-sūtra, or Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain. In the text, a brahman asks the Buddha about the cause and condition for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world (*ko bho godama haḍa ko pacae logo suha-dukkhasa upadāe*). The Buddha replies that there are six causes and conditions, namely, the existence of the six senses and contact with each of them. He offers the following simile to illustrate his point:

*Sayaṣavi brahmaṇo raṇa pacatima ṇakare dhriḍa-dare [5] dhriḍa-prakara-toraṇa ṣa-dvaro. Tatraṣpi doario paḍiḍa meṣavi tatro mia-vimasa-samuṇakāda. So imasa ṇakarasa samato aṇupa(\*ya)[6]ya-paṣo ṇa i paṣea paṣaṇaṣa chidva atamaḍo bilaḍa-ṇisaga«ṇa»-matra va. Taṣa <\*i>masa eḍa ahuṣi ye ke oraḍi praṇa ima ṇ(\*a)k(\*a)[7]ro pravi(\*ṣati ṇa)kramati s(\*a)v(\*a) te imehi ṣ(\*a)hi dvarehi praviṣati ṇakramati. Evam=eva brahmaṇa ṣa haḍa ṣa pacea loga suha-dukkhasa upad(\*a)[8]e.*

Brahman, it is just as if there is a king's frontier city with strong ramparts, [5] strong walls and arches, and six doors. In it, there is a wise, intelligent gatekeeper charged with the investigation of animals. On the path encircling the city on all sides, he would not see a crack in the stone even large enough for a cat to creep through. Thus it [might have] occurred to him: "whatever sizable creatures enter [7] and exit this city will enter and exit through these six doors." Just so, Brahman, there are six causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world.

In terms of its phrasing, the Gāndhārī simile is nearly identical to the city-as-Dharma formula found in texts like the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta. Other than the context in which it is used, it differs only slightly in the description of the gatekeeper and the number of doors to the city. Like the Uttiya-sutta, it also lacks the final phrase "So too, venerable sir, I have understood this by inference from the Dharma" (*evam eva kho me bhante dhammanvayo vidito*). However, any familiarity with city-as-Dharma similes in which inferred knowledge is the theme would lead one to interpret the Gāndhārī text in a similar way. Thus, the sūtra would be summarized as follows: just as a gatekeeper in a city with solid walls and six gates could infer that anyone entering or exiting the city would have to come through the six gates, so too can one infer that happiness and suffering (G. *suha-dukha*) must be caused by contact with the six sense bases.

However, when read in the context of the city-as-body similes like those in the Dhammapada and the Kiṃsuka Sutta, the Gāndhārī simile takes on quite a different meaning. Although it lacks the Dhammapada's direct command to protect oneself (*evam gopetha attānaṃ*) or the Dhammapada commentary's direct association of the city gates with the six sense bases, the theme of protection is implied by the proximity of the six-gated city image to a discussion about the six sense bases. Furthermore, because the gatekeeper routinely stands for mindfulness in texts like the Kiṃsuka Sutta, one can assume that the Gāndhārī version is also suggesting that mindfulness can protect the sense bases, and in turn control the arising of happiness and suffering. Therefore, when read in the context of the city-as-body versions, the Gāndhārī simile could be summarized as follows: just as a watchful gatekeeper protects the six gates of a city, so too must one be mindful and protect the six sense bases.

Thus, the Gāndhārī simile appears to draw upon the fortified city simile to allow for two different but equally viable readings. On the one hand, the text is an explanation of the origin of happiness and suffering. On the other hand, it is a warning to guard the senses with mindfulness. Assuming that the goal of the author of this text was to effectively and efficiently communicate the Buddha's Dharma, it is highly possible that the city simile was utilized precisely because of its power to evoke both of these messages in the minds of traditional audiences. If, as I suspect, there existed a kind of fortified city idea in the imagination of early Indian Buddhists, and the Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain evoked this idea in its audience, then the sūtra may have brought to mind any number of other associations with the city present in the greater simile.

## 2.5. Incendiary Cats

Thus, an understanding of the fortified city simile clarifies the Gāndhārī text, while conversely the Gāndhārī text has implications for understanding other expressions of the simile. But it is also of interest for an entirely different matter, namely, the nature of siege warfare in ancient India. As mentioned above, the Gāndhārī simile is nearly identical to the four formulaic city-as-Dharma similes. However, it differs in containing a unique description of the duties of the gatekeeper. Where the other versions describe a gatekeeper who is wise, competent, and intelligent (e.g., *paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī*), the gatekeeper in the Gāndhārī version is wise, intelligent, (*paḍiḍa meṣavi*) and "charged with the investigation of animals" (*mia-vimasa-samuṇaḱaḍa*; P \**miga-vīmaṃsā-samannāgato*: literally "endowed with [skill] in investigation of animals").<sup>99</sup> In light of this phrase about investigating

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<sup>99</sup> Given the lack of other meaningful ways of reading *mia* and its occurrence in a context which also describes a cat and "larger creatures (*oraḍi praṇa*=P. *oḷārikā pāṇā*), I am confident in reading *mia* as

animals, two other phrases in the simile take on an interesting flavor. First, the walls are described as being without a space "even big enough for a cat to sneak through" (*biladaṇisagaṇamatra*),<sup>100</sup> and second, the gatekeeper is said to be on the lookout for "larger creatures" (*oraḍi praṇā*) who might enter the city. The phrases about the cat and large creatures in the four city-as-Dharma type sūtras seemed unremarkable until read in light of the new Gāndhārī passage with three separate phrases referring to the gatekeeper's preoccupation with animals. Why is the gatekeeper of a fortified city so worried about cats?

Here, the Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, the core of which is perhaps roughly contemporary with the earliest layers of Buddhist literature, can offer some help. Its thirteenth book, on laying siege to a fortress, contains a passage describing the use of small birds and animals in covert siege operations:

After getting hawks, crows, nightjars, vultures, parrots, mynas, owls, and pigeons living within the fort captured, he should attach an incendiary mixture to their tails and release them into the enemy's fort. ... Clandestine operatives, moreover, working as guards within the fort should attach an incendiary mixture to the tails of mongooses, monkeys, cats, and dogs and release them among reeds, stocks, defenses, and houses.<sup>101</sup>

Here, spies are advised to select animals – including cats – whose homes are inside the fortified city, and then set them on fire to run among the flammable homes. Apparently, in

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equivalent to Pāli *miga*. Elision of intervocalic -g- in Gāndhārī is not uncommon (e.g., (\*a)traīṇa=antraguṇa in Salomon 2008: § II 3.2.1.2.), and the G. equivalent of Skt. *mṛga*/P. *miga* also occurs as *mriaṃ* with -g- elided in the uddāna of the Gāndhārī Rhinoceros Sūtra (see Salomon 2000: 189).

<sup>100</sup> I am indebted to Megan O'Donald of the University of Washington for bringing to my attention what appears to have been a similar idiom in Attic Greek, as employed by the comic playwright Apollodorus of Carystus (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE): κεκλείσει' ἡ θύρα μοχλοῖς· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἷς, τέκτων ὀχυρὰν οὕτως ἐποίησεν θύραν δι' ἧς γαλῆ καὶ μοιχὸς οὐκ εἰσερπύσει ("The door 'll be bolted; but no carpenter was ever known to make so strong a door as to keep out a cat or a paramour"). See Fragment 6. Stob. *Fl.* 6. 28 = 11H: The Slanderer in Edmonds 1961: 189.

<sup>101</sup> Translation from Olivelle 2013: 415. The original text reads: (13.4.14, 13.4.16) *durgavāsinaḥ śyēnakākanapṭṛbhāsaśukasārikaulūkakapotān grāhayitvā puccheṣv agniyogayuktān paradurge visṛjet // ... gūḍhapurṣās cāntardurgapālakā nakulavānarabiḍālaśunām puccheṣv agniyogam ādhāya kāṇḍanicayarakṣāvidhānaveśmasu visṛjeyuḥ //*

their panic the animals were capable of burning down the city. The Arthaśāstra does not specifically describe sending small animals through the cracks in the city walls, but it takes little imagination to extend the tactics from the text to that extent.

Of course, the Arthaśāstra is not the only place in early Indian literature in which animals light a city on fire. In the Rāmāyana, Rāvaṇa has Hānuman's tail set on fire as a punishment, but Hānuman turns the tables by running across the roofs of Lankā setting the city on fire.<sup>102</sup> There are also a number of examples from other ancient literatures of animals used as incendiary devices in siege warfare.<sup>103</sup> In the Old Testament book of Judges, Samson, not wanting to take personal responsibility for an attack on the Philistines, ties lighted torches to the tails of foxes and releases them into the Philistine's standing grain.<sup>104</sup> The tenth century Chronicle of Nestor<sup>105</sup> cites a story of Olga, who had sulfur attached to the feet of birds so that when they returned to their nests within Olga's enemy's city walls, they proceeded to burn the city to the ground.<sup>106</sup> Genghis Khan is also said to have requested one thousand cats as a peace offering from a fortress he wished to attack, after which he lit their tails on fire and sent them back into the fortress to watch it burn, although this is probably a tale inserted into the Mongol chronicles by a later interpolator.<sup>107</sup> An example from a sixteenth century German war strategy manual provides the best illustration of this

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<sup>102</sup> Rāmāyana V. 53-4.

<sup>103</sup> Pentti Aalto's short article (1983) is undoubtedly the best source on these stories and includes examples from the Arthaśāstra as well as Central Asian and European sources. He concludes that European versions of the story might have come from the east via the Vikings, or Varangians, through Old Norse sagas.

<sup>104</sup> Judges 15:5: "Samson then said to them, 'This time I shall be blameless in regard to the Philistines when I do them harm.' Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took torches, and turned the foxes tail to tail and put one torch in the middle between two tails. When he had set fire to the torches, he released the foxes into the standing grain of the Philistines, thus burning up both the shocks and the standing grain, along with the vineyards and groves" (translation from New American Standard Bible).

<sup>105</sup> Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953: 81, 239 n. 57 (cited in Aalto, 13).

<sup>106</sup> Aalto, 13.

<sup>107</sup> See Prawdin 2006 (1940): 107 and Aalto, 12-13.

technique. The manual contains images of birds and cats affixed with what look like jet packs flying over the walls of a fortress. The text reads in part:

"Create a small sack like a fire-arrow ... if you would like to get at a town or castle, seek to obtain a cat from that place. And bind the sack to the back of the cat, ignite it, let it glow well and thereafter let the cat go, so it runs to the nearest castle or town, and out of fear it thinks to hide itself where it ends up in barn hay or straw, it will be ignited."<sup>108</sup>

The incendiary animal strategy was most recently employed by the United States military during WWII, via the "Project X-Ray" in which incendiary devices were tied to bats, who were then stuffed in bomb casings and dropped from planes as "bat bombs."<sup>109</sup> The plan was for the bats to roost in wooden structures and then ignite in order to burn down Japanese cities. However, in a not very surprising turn of events, during testing the bats failed to reach their intended targets and burned down a number of US research facilities instead.

All this is to say that the clue offered by the Gāndhārī version of the simile – that the gatekeeper was charged with investigating animals – combined with evidence of cats and other small animals being used during siege operations in India and elsewhere, shows that the *biḷāra* might have at some point been more than a generic idiom of measurement. Instead, it might have been something the gatekeeper of our fortified city similes literally had to guard against. After all, this image is used to emphasize the need for mindfulness, to guard against overwhelming sensation, and it is often those distractions we expect least which sneak through the gates of body and mind. However, it remains a mystery why, despite the many different fortified city similes involving gatekeepers, only the gatekeeper of the Gāndhārī version is explicitly "charged with investigating animals."

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<sup>108</sup> Translated by University of Pennsylvania researcher Mitch Fraas and published in Scriber 2014.

<sup>109</sup> Couffer 1992.

## 2.6 Conclusion: Similes and the Construction of Buddhist Texts

Throughout this chapter I have traced threads from a wide variety of fortified city similes back to a kind of simile family from which they emanate, and to which they feed back. To describe this family I have borrowed classicist W. C. Scott's term "simileme," which represents all the various possible expressions of a simile as a single unit. One might think of the relationship between the individual simile and the greater simileme as the branches and trunk of a tree. All of the branches grow out of the trunk while at the same time feeding back energy to the trunk and the other branches, helping them grow and change. The point at which a branch and the trunk, or one branch and another branch, become separate from each other is only vaguely defined. There exists a clear continuum from one branch in the tree's canopy to a low branch near the roots, and yet they can be separated by a considerable amount of space.

It could be argued that where I see a fortified city tree – individual simile-branches connected to a simileme-trunk – there is in reality only a messy array of city similes that share few features in common. It is possible that city similes sprung up separate from each other, their popularity stemming only from the ubiquitous experience of cities. However, I would argue that they contain a considerable internal conceptual clarity and are remarkably consistent with each other. For instance, the gatekeeper is always a metaphor for mindfulness (*sati*) or restraint (*saṃvara*), and a path leading to the city is almost always called the Eightfold Path. Also, the themes of protection, inferred knowledge, and discovery of nirvāṇa occur frequently across typological boundaries. Scott has argued that the strongest evidence for the existence of the simileme in Homeric poetry is the "regularity

with which similes of a single family are developed from a series of motifs that are repeatedly used together";<sup>110</sup> it is clear that such a regularity exists in the present case.

The similes are also connected by their usefulness as didactic tools, which is likely part of the reason that they were used so often. The very architecture of the city image reveals its pedagogic function. They situate the same core teachings about nirvāṇa, mindfulness, and the importance of practicing the Buddha's Dharma in city spaces which everyone would be able to know through daily sensory experience. As in the "memory palace" of the Fortress Sūtra, it is not necessarily the details of the simile's associations that make it effective, but rather its power to "allure the senses" and act as a bridge to understanding. Even if the logic of each individual correspondence is not immediately obvious to the listener, there is still power in the imaginative process of metaphor-making that is conducive to learning.

Applying Scott's idea of the "simileme" to the fortified city simile family not only gives us language with which to organize our similes, but it also draws our attention to the possibility that there was considerable creative freedom in the process of composing and teaching the Buddhist sūtras under discussion. According to Scott:

"...as similes are the product of human imagination, a wide variety of individual similes can be created by recombination, deletion, or addition of customary elements – and also, undoubtedly, at moments of creative innovation or discovery. ... In drawing on the simileme, the poet is exercising his artistic choice within the traditional devices and language ... in order to tell his own story."<sup>111</sup>

Scott refers to the context of Homeric poetry when he speaks of the "recombination, deletion, or addition of customary elements" to creatively make new texts, but his words could just as easily describe the nature of Buddhist texts. On this topic, Jonathan Silk has

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<sup>110</sup> Scott, 37.

<sup>111</sup> Scott, 25.

recently written that "nearly all Buddhist scriptural literature from the very earliest times follows exactly the same pattern: texts are constructed out of parts, stock phrases, pericopes, elements which are drawn upon to create – with of course new elements as well – new works."<sup>112</sup> In the Buddhist context, similes operate as kinds of interchangeable stock phrases, and there are examples of single teachings that occur in different sūtras with different similes used to illustrate them. In fact, the basic teaching about the arising of happiness and suffering contained in the Gāndhārī Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain also appears elsewhere with a different simile, not including a city image.<sup>113</sup> Another example of this phenomenon is the Lābhasakkārasaṃyutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya, in which a single teaching is presented eight times in a row, each time with a different simile.<sup>114</sup> These examples suggest that the Buddha gave individual teachings multiple times in different ways, a possibility that Silk recently called "entirely plausible, if not overwhelmingly likely."<sup>115</sup>

It is also possible that later teachers applied new imagery like the popular fortified city simile, which proved to be effective elsewhere, to already existing teachings, thus expanding the "canon" with each new teaching – or perhaps performance – of a given text. However, scholars of Buddhist literature have been reluctant to imagine early Buddhist teachers as creative storytellers. In his recent discussion about the oral nature of early Buddhist texts, Bhikkhu Anālayo argues that "we simply have no evidence that would support a shift from an early period of fairly free improvisation to a subsequent period of strictly formalized

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<sup>112</sup> Silk 2015: 208.

<sup>113</sup> Hatthapādūpamā Sutta of the Saḷayatanasaṃyutta (SN IV 171-2).

<sup>114</sup> These texts (SN II 225-231), beginning with the Dāruṇa Sutta, describe the dangers of gain, honor, and praise (*lābhasakkārasiloko*), using eight different similes.

<sup>115</sup> Silk 2015: 207.

transmission, except for variations found between parallel versions of a discourse."<sup>116</sup> While there might not be enough evidence in a brief study of one simile family to contradict Bhikkhu Anālayo's position, it is enough to encourage further study of the role of Buddhist similes in the composition and performance of Buddhist literature. Studying Buddhist literature by means of its imagery can help scholars connect texts otherwise not recognized to be parallel, to bring more clarity to the process of textual composition, and gain a better understanding of the relationship between visual culture and texts. And as we have seen in the Gāndhārī text above, it can offer us rather surprising insights into ancient history as well.

In the following two chapters, and particularly in chapter 4, I apply the same methodological approach to the second sūtra on Senior scroll 20, the Great Conflagration Sūtra, as I did here to the first. Its simile of the red-hot iron ball connects our manuscript to diverse texts gluttony, discipline, punishment, and the nature of hell in the Buddhist imagination.

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<sup>116</sup> Anālayo 2014a: 52.

## CHAPTER 3: THE GREAT CONFLAGRATION HELL

### 3.1. Introduction

Given the centrality of karma in Buddhism, it is not surprising that hell plays a major role in early Buddhist literature. As the worst of five or six<sup>117</sup> realms of rebirth, *niraya*, or *naraka*,<sup>118</sup> is reserved for those who have performed significant unwholesome deeds in body, speech, or mind, and must suffer until the karma associated with such deeds is exhausted. Naturally, hell is a powerful motivator, and some texts suggest that the threat of hell and the hope of a heavenly rebirth were among the first things taught to non-Buddhists in the hope of converting them.<sup>119</sup> It has been argued that Buddhist conceptions of hell might

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<sup>117</sup> Pāli canonical sources give five: the hell, animal, ghost, human, and divine realms. E.g., Mahāsīhanāda-sutta (MN I 73): *Pañca kho imā Sāriputta gatiyo. Katamā pañca? Nirayo tiracchānayoni pīttivisayo manussā deva* ("There are these five destinies. What are the five? Hell, the womb of an animal, the realm of hungry ghosts, human beings, and god[s]"). A similar system is widely found in Chinese. E.g., T 741 *Wūkǔzhāngjù jīng* 五苦章句經 at 543c4. Formulations with six realms, as is often represented in Tibetan *bhāvacakra* images, add *asuras*, or demi-gods, to the list. The Kathāvatthu (Kv 360) mentions that the Andhakas and Uttarāpathakas also considered there to be a separate realm of the Asuras. For a brief discussion on this, see Braarvig 2009: 261.

<sup>118</sup> *Niraya* is preferred in Pāli texts, while *naraka* seems to be preferred in Sanskrit texts. See, for example, Feer 1892: 187-8. Chinese texts contain the transliteration *nílí* 泥犁, the translation *dìyù* 地獄 ("earth prison"), and sometimes refer to hell as *tàishān* 泰山 (Mount Tai) or *tàishān dìyù* 泰山地獄. This latter name demonstrates the localization or emplacement of hell into a Chinese mountain that was a sacred site long before the arrival of Buddhism.

<sup>119</sup> The "graduated discourse" (*anupubbikathā*) that the Buddha is said to have often used when speaking to beginners is described as a talk about giving, virtue, heaven, and the path (*dāna*, *sīla*, *sagga*, and *magga*), but not explicitly about hell (e.g., DN I 110). It is possible that *sagga* implied an entire discussion of realms of rebirth. However, elsewhere, as in the *Sahasodgatāvadāna*, monks are taught to use painted *pañcagaṇḍaka cakras* (five-fold wheels [of existence]) in the entrance way of monasteries to point out the perils of hell to brahmin passersby (Divy 1286.006-7). Another example occurs in the accounts of monks spreading the teachings to the borderlands according to the Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa accounts. Mahādeva was sent to convert the residents of Mahisa by using the Devadūta-sutta to teach about hell, e.g., Dpv. viii, 5: *gantvāna raṭṭhaṃ Mahisaṃ Mahādeva mahiddhiko coditvā niraya-dukkhena mocesi bandhanā bahu* ("Mahādeva, possessed of great power, went to the Mahisa country and exhorted [the people] with talk of the suffering of hell, and freed many from bonds."); Vin-a I, 66: *Mahādevatthero pi Mahiṃsakamaṇḍālaṃ gantvā Devadūtasuttaṃ kathesi...* ("The Elder Mahādeva, too, went to the Mahiṃsa country and expounded the Devadūta-sutta..."). See also Mhv. xii, 4, 29.

be among the oldest such developed notions in the world,<sup>120</sup> and its deep influence on modern Buddhist cultures is evident in places like Thailand's popular Wang Saen Suk hell-themed garden. Despite its central role, as Lady Macbeth said, "hell is murky," and the origins and development of Buddhist hell cosmography and imagery remain obscure. But we have a lot to learn from hell. Buddhist descriptions of infernal retribution reveal ties to early Indian systems of control and punishment, they highlight differences between Indian and Chinese conceptions of torture, and they provide a map for understanding the Buddhist geography of transmigration.

With the discovery of the Senior manuscripts, our picture of hell becomes a little bit clearer. In the following two chapters, I analyze the second text on Senior manuscript 20, the Gāndhārī Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra, or the "The Great Conflagration Sūtra,"<sup>121</sup> placing the hell described therein in the context of other relatively early texts about hell (chapter 3), and studying its simile of the red-hot iron ball (chapter 4). This sūtra forces us to ask, "What is the 'Great Conflagration Hell,' and why does it not appear in any other developed lists of Buddhist hells?" Furthermore, by tracing the image of the red-hot iron ball across early Buddhist literature, I find that it operates within a wide-reaching network of metaphorical language about hell that draws upon fear of corporal punishments, both earthly and otherworldly.

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<sup>120</sup> Jens Braarvig (2009), on the basis of a discussion about hell in the *Kathāvatthu*, whose contents he argues derive from a roughly 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE council, suggests that the Buddhist idea of hell as a place of punishment could predate and might have influenced similar Mediterranean developments.

<sup>121</sup> In naming the Gāndhārī sūtra I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of the Pāli *mahāpariḷāha* as "The Great Conflagration" (Bodhi 2000: 1867).

### 3.2. Buddhist Hells

Before contextualizing the Great Conflagration Hell, it is important to understand the place of hell in general in early Buddhist mainstream sūtra literature, by which I am referring primarily to the five Pāli nikāyas as well as texts in Sanskrit and Chinese Āgamas.<sup>122</sup> Hell (P/Skt. *niraya* or *naraka*) often appears in sūtras in short references to undesirable rebirths,<sup>123</sup> but only rarely do we find descriptions of what it's actually like, and at that, they often differ. I cannot cover all such references in a comprehensive way here, but a brief survey is in order.<sup>124</sup>

The Pāli Bālapaṇḍita-sutta (Sūtra of the Fool and the Wise) and Devadūta-sutta (Sūtra of the Messengers from the Gods) are commonly cited by scholars as early examples of hell cosmographies.<sup>125</sup> They are found back-to-back in the Majjhima-nikāya (suttas no. 129 and 130).<sup>126</sup> There is a second Devadūta-sutta in the Aṅguttara-nikāya,<sup>127</sup> which contains a briefer hell description. There are also numerous Chinese texts that are either directly

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<sup>122</sup> I use the phrase "early Buddhist literature" or "Śrāvakayāna" in a sense similar to what Paul Harrison has called "mainstream Buddhism" (Harrison 1995: 169). I do not limit it to the "first" or "early period" which Steven Collins defines as the period between the time of the Buddha to that of Aśoka (Collins 1998: 53), but extend its meaning to roughly the time Buddhaghosa's commentaries in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In all cases, I refer to non-Mahāyāna texts, without necessarily suggesting their historical priority to Mahāyāna texts, which we now know coexisted with Śrāvakayāna literature from an early time (e.g., Strauch 2007: 66; Allon and Salomon 2010). Excluding Mahāyāna literature is merely a way of limiting my data set for this project and does not suggest that the relevant content in Mahāyāna literature would not be a useful extension of the project.

<sup>123</sup> Take for example the common phrase at AN IV 93: *kāyassa bhedaṃ nirayaṃ vajanti* ("After the breaking up of the body, they go to hell") = EĀ 51.9 at T 125 821a3-4 身壞命終入地獄中。

<sup>124</sup> Throughout this chapter, I take the Pāli texts as a starting point, utilizing Gāndhārī and Sanskrit manuscripts where available, and looking to Chinese examples often only as secondary support for my investigation. This is a result of my Indological orientation and intermediate ability in Buddhist Chinese. Another gap in the study is the lack of Tibetan examples, which again reflects my own limitations.

<sup>125</sup> E.g., Kirfel 1920: 199; Przyluski 1923: 130-31; van Put 2007: 206.

<sup>126</sup> Bālapaṇḍita-sutta: MN III 163-178 = Ch. *chīhuìdì jīng* 癡慧地經 T. 26 759a19-763a22; Devadūta: MN III 178-187 = Ch. *tiānshǐ jīng* 天使經 T. 26 503a21-506b1. For a detailed study of these texts and their parallels, see Bhikkhu Anālayo's indispensable comparative study of the Majjhima-nikāya (2011: 741-53), from which I have drawn much useful information for this section. Przyluski argues that both derive from a hypothetical primitive \*Niraya Sūtra (1923: 123-4).

<sup>127</sup> AN I 138-42.

parallel to the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta or Devadūta-sutta, or that share characteristic descriptions of the different hells discussed in those texts. These include, from the Ekottarikāgama (*zēngyī āhán jīng* 增壹阿含), a parallel to the Devadūta-sutta, the *tiānshǐ jīng* 天使經 ("The Divine Messengers Sūtra" T 125 674b16); from the Madhyamāgama (*zhōng āhán jīng* 中阿含經), another version of that text (T.26 503a21) as well as a parallel to the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta, the *chīhuì dì jīng* 癡慧地經 ("The Land of the Foolish and the Wise Sūtra" T. 26 759a19); and independently transmitted Madhyamāgama-type sūtras like the *tiěchéng nílí jīng* 鐵城泥犁經 ("Iron Fortress Hell Sūtra" T. 42), the *nílí jīng* 泥犁經 ("Hell Sūtra" T. 86),<sup>128</sup> and yet another parallel to the Devadūta-sutta, the *yánluó wáng wǔ tiānshǐ jīng* 閻羅王五天使者經 ("King Yama's Five Heavenly Messengers Sūtra" T. 43).

In terms of the narrative context, the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta discusses hell together with other possible rebirths in a teaching about karmic consequences. It describes hell primarily as something that is "utterly unwished for, utterly undesired, utterly disagreeable."<sup>129</sup> The Devadūta-sutta focuses on the role of King Yama's *devadūtas* ("divine messengers"),<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> The Hell Sūtra (泥犁經) is a combination of the contents of the Devadūta-sutta and the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta, with some differences. Maki Tatsugen (1983) suggests that the it might have been an effort on the part of the translator Zhu Tanwulan, who also translated the Iron Fortress Hell Sūtra (鐵城泥犁經), to translate both texts about hell into a single scroll: つまり、[泥犁經] の訳者は、[Pāli Devadūta-sutta and Bālapaṇḍita-sutta] 両經に相当するテキストを「泥犁經」一卷として、まとめて訳出したのかも知れない。Zhu Tanwulan translated between 381-395. The individual MĀ translations of the Devadūta and Bālapaṇḍita-suttas were translated by Saṅghadeva in 397-8.

<sup>129</sup> *Ekantaṃ anīṭṭhaṃ ekantaṃ akantaṃ ekantaṃ amanāpaṇaṃ ti*. Here and elsewhere I follow Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of this phrase in *The Middle Discourses* (2001: 1017), as opposed to Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation in *The Connected Discourses* (2000: 1867), where he instead uses "undesirable," "unlovely," and "disagreeable" to render *anīṭṭham*, *akantam* and *amanāpaṇam*.

<sup>130</sup> Regarding my translation of *deva*, it might seem strange to call the messengers sent by the king of hell "divine," but it should be noted that Yama is not equivalent to the Christian conception of the devil. He is not evil, but a god who fulfills the role of judge and warden of those in hell.

which serve as warnings about the nature of suffering in hell and encourage proper behavior in body, speech, and mind.<sup>131</sup>

These texts describe a general Great Hell, or Mahāniraya, which is sometimes equated to a hell called Avīci.<sup>132</sup> People are cast into this hell after a brief visit with Yama, king of hell, and after suffering six preliminary tortures.<sup>133</sup> It is characterized by an iron ground, ceiling, and walls, and a fiery heat that penetrates everywhere. In some versions, the gates open, tempting prisoners to hope for freedom, and then close just as prisoners approach them. The Bālapaṇḍita-sutta and the Devadūta-sutta, as well as several other texts,<sup>134</sup> contain a verse describing this hell:

*Catukkaṇṇo catudvāro vibhatto bhāgasō mito  
Ayopākārapariyānto ayasā paṭikujjito.*

*Tassa ayomayā bhūmi jalitā tejasā yutā<sup>135</sup>  
Samantā yojanasataṃ pharitvā tiṭṭhati sabbadā.*

[Mahāniraya is] four cornered, with four gates, divided in equal portions,  
Surrounded by iron walls, covered over by iron.

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<sup>131</sup> The AN and DĀ versions contain a list of three messengers: an old person, a sick person, and a dead body. As Anālayo (2011: 749) has pointed out, this list is closely parallel to the four sights that inspired the prince Siddhartha to leave his palace life and become an ascetic. Other versions of the Devadūta narrative, particularly the MN version, list five messengers, adding a helpless infant and a criminal being tortured. The addition of the latter creates a parallelism between the criminal and those doomed to hell that are described after. I discuss the relationship between earthly punishment and cosmic punishment below.

<sup>132</sup> E.g., Chinese Iron Fortress Hell Sūtra (T. 42) and Hell Sūtra (T. 86). In the Pāli Devadūta-sutta as we have it today the Mahāniraya is not directly equated with Avīci. However, in the commentary to the Dhammapada (Dhp-a I 127) we are told that it was in fact the *Avīcimahāniraya* that is described there (*Avīcimahānirayo Devadūtasuttantena vaṇṇetabbo*). Avīci is usually interpreted to mean "[suffering] without (-a) a break (vīci)." See for example MN-a IV: 235: *Kasmā pan' esa narako Avīcīti saṅkham gato ti? Vīci nāma antaram vuccati. Tattha ca aggijālānaṃ vā sattānaṃ vā dukkhassa vā antaram n'atthi. Tasmā so Avīcīti saṅkham gato.* ("Why is this hell called 'Avīci'? 'Vīci' means 'break.' And there, there is no break in the flames or the suffering of the beings. Therefore, it's called 'Avīci.'")

<sup>133</sup> These include being pierced with red-hot iron stakes, hacked with axes, pared with adzes, being dragged by a chariot across a burning ground, having to climb a mountain of hot coals, and being cooked in a pot of boiling water. Counting these tortures together with the burning Mahāniraya that follows, Kirfel (1920: 199-200) posited that this constituted a seven hell system that was the earliest Buddhist hell cosmography.

<sup>134</sup> E.g., Pv 9; Jā V 266; AN I 141-2.

<sup>135</sup> According to the PTSD, *yutā* (s.v. *yuta*) in the phrase *tejasā yutā* should probably be read *āyutā*, "endowed with" (past participle of Skt. *ā + √yū*) in sandhi combination with the instrumental singular *tejasā*. The S<sup>e</sup> edition of Nid 2 405 has *yutta* (past participle of Skt. *√yuj*, "yoked to, connected with").

The ground is made of iron, blazing with fire,  
Everywhere it spreads a hundred yojanas in all directions.<sup>136137</sup>

A MĀ parallel to these verses in the *tiānshǐ jīng* 天使經 (Divine Messengers Sūtra) at T 26

504c15 describes the *dà dìyù* 大地獄 ("Great Hell") in similar terms, but with greater sensory detail:

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| 四柱有四門 | 壁方十二楞 |
| 以鐵爲垣牆 | 其上鐵覆蓋 |
| 地獄內鐵地 | 熾燃鐵火布 |
| 深無量由延 | 乃至地底住 |
| 極惡不可受 | 火色難可視 |
| 見已身毛豎 | 恐懼怖甚苦 |
| 彼墮生地獄 | 脚上頭在下 |
| 誹謗諸聖人 | 調御善清善 |

[It] has four columns and four gates; the walls are square forming a box.<sup>138</sup>  
Its walls are made of iron; above is an iron ceiling.  
In hell the ground is made of iron; burning and blazing, the iron's fiery heat spreads.  
Its depth is immeasurable *yojanas* and it reaches to the lowest part of the earth.  
The extreme horror cannot be taken in; the fiery appearance is difficult to look upon.  
Seeing it, one's hair stands on end; the fear and terror are extremely distressing.  
One who falls into a rebirth in hell does so head first,  
Having slandered the sages who are well disciplined and well purified.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Tartarus, the bottommost part of Hades, is described similarly as being very deep (as far below the earth's surface as the heavens are above it) and surrounded by a bronze fence (ll. 720-30).

<sup>137</sup> Two related verses appear in the Mahāvastu, but describe multiple hells and are contained in a series of other verses describing these hells in detail:

*catukarṇā caturdvārā vibhaktā bhāgaśo mitā*  
*udgatā yojanaśataṃ samantā yojanaśataṃ |*  
*atha ye narakaprakṣiptā ayaśā pratikubjitā*  
*teṣāṃ ayomayā bhūmi prajvalitā tejasamṃyutā ||*

[These Mahānarakas] are four cornered, with four gates, divided in equal portions,  
one hundred yojanas high and one hundred yojanas around.  
Now those who are cast into hell are covered over with [an] iron [ceiling]  
and the floor is made of iron, blazing with fire.

<sup>138</sup> Literally, "the walls are square and there are twelve seams." "Seams" indicates places where walls meet, or corners. Any square space has four walls and – counting the ceiling and floor – twelve points where all surfaces meet. Indeed, the Pāli commentary at Jā V 272 describes the four-cornered Mahāniraya as: *caturassamañjūsasadiśā* ("like a rectangular box").

<sup>139</sup> Another related set of verses appears in the EĀ in a sūtra of the same name (天使經 T 125 675b6-13):

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| 四壁四城門 | 廣長實爲牢 |
| 鐵籠之所覆 | 求出無有期 |
| 彼時鐵地上 | 火然極爲熾 |
| 壁方百由旬 | 洞然一種色 |
| 中央有四柱 | 觀之實恐畏 |

Although the verses in Pāli and Chinese vary from one another considerably, they share a common core. As did the description of the fortified city in the AN Fortress Sutta described in chapter 2, the formulaic description of the physical dimensions of Mahāniraya seems to emplace the audience in the scene, offering a kind of first-person experience. It renders the fantastic in concrete terms: hell is a fiery box made of iron. Here is another example in which an otherwise abstract concept, hell, is made to "dwell," to use Tweed's language, in an object that is more easily conceived of by the intended audience. As we will see in chapter 4, torture in an iron container or with iron instruments was part of the concrete reality of ancient India.

In the MN Devadūta-sutta, we find evidence of further development of hell with the addition of subsidiary hells and other punishments outside the gates of the Mahāniraya. These are the Hell of Excrement (*gūthaniraya*), the Hell of Burning Embers (*kukkuḷaniraya*), the Cotton Tree Forest (*siṃbalīvana*), the Sword-leaf Forest (*asipattavana*), and the Caustic River (*khārodakā nadi*), where, after a slew of new punishments, including being fed a red-hot iron ball, people are thrown back into Mahāniraya.<sup>140</sup> We also find many

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及其劍樹上 鐵觜鳥所止  
 臭處實難居 覩之衣毛豎  
 種種之畏器 隔子有十六

[It has] four walls and four fortress gates, expansive, they form a veritable pen covered by an iron cage. Appealing for an exit, there is no hope.  
 At that time on the iron ground, all fiery, it is exceedingly hot.  
 The walls are a hundred yojanas square; penetrating to the core [the fire] is a single color.  
 In the middle are four pillars. To regard [the hell] indeed is terrifying.  
 Then there are the sword trees on which iron-beaked crows perch.  
 That foul place is indeed difficult to be in; looking at it, one's hair stands on end.  
 Various are its frightful tools (vessels?); its sub-compartments sixteen.

<sup>140</sup> MN III 184-6. Ineke van Put (2007: 218-221) provides a useful list and chart of these subsidiary hells as they occur in Chinese sūtras.

of these same tortures in a description of hell from The Mahānāradakassapa-jātaka (Jā VI 219-55), which describes punishments like being rent apart by birds of prey, eaten by giant dogs,<sup>141</sup> stabbed by spears, forced to climb a mountain of coals and trees with sword-leaves, and falling into the river Vetaraṇī.<sup>142</sup> This way of conceiving of hell seems to have had wide purchase in early India,<sup>143</sup> for we find a similar description of a general hell with many of the same subsidiary tortures in the Mahābhārata, when Yudhiṣṭhira tours hell with a *devadūta* of his own.<sup>144</sup>

Evidence of a different system with eight main hells and sixteen subsidiary hells (*ussadas*) can be found in the Saṃkicca Jātaka:

*Sañjīvo Kālasutto ca Saṅghāto dve ca Roruvā  
Athāparo Mahāvīci Tapano ca Patāpano.*

*Icc-ete aṭṭha nirayā akkhātā duratikkamā  
Ākiṇṇā luddakammehi paccekā soḷas' ussadā.*<sup>145</sup>

"Revival,"<sup>146</sup> "Black Thread," and "Crushing," and the two [called] "Wailing,"  
And furthermore "Great Without-a-Break," "Scorching," and "Great Scorching."

These are known as the eight hells that are difficult to pass,  
Filled with terrible tortures, each with sixteen subsidiary hells.

<sup>141</sup> The dogs are called *sabalā* ("brindled") and *sāmā* ("dark"), which apparently correspond to the names of Yama's dogs in RV 10.14: *śabalā* and *śvānā*.

<sup>142</sup> See especially Jā VI 246-50.

<sup>143</sup> Many of these punishments are also found in the Apocalypse of Peter, which probably dates to the mid-second century (Schneemelcher and Wilson 2003: 621-5). For example, people are tossed in burning pits, forced to consume fire that runs through their intestines, eaten by birds, and forced onto hot coals.

<sup>144</sup> 18.2.16-26. On a path beset all around with blazing fire (*jvalanena pradīptena samantāt pariveṣṭitaṃ*) and darkness (*tamasā saṃvṛtaṃ*), Yudhiṣṭhira sees, among other things, a river of acrid water (*uṣṇodaka*), a sword-leaf forest (*asipatravana*), and plains of burning sand and rocks. Yudhiṣṭhira's presence provides a cool breeze for the denizens of hell, much as the Buddha's smile is often said to do. E.g., Brahmanadārikāvadāna in Divy 41.013: *arciṣo... ya adhaṣṭād gacchanti, tāh saṃjīvaṃ kālasūtraṃ [etc.]... narakān gtvā ye uṣṇanarakās teṣu śītībhūtvā nipatanti, ye śītanarakās teṣuṣṇībhūtvā nipatanti* ("Those rays that go from below [the Buddha] enter the hells Saṃjīva, Kālasūtra, [etc.] and cool off the hot hells and warm up the cold hells").

<sup>145</sup> Saṃkicca-jātaka (Jā 530 at V 266).

<sup>146</sup> According to the Pāli commentary at Jā V 270 Saṃjīva hell is so-named because beings suffering there constantly revive (*sañjīvanti*) after being hacked to pieces by hell wardens. Kālasutta is named after a blazing black thread that is used to mark bodies where they will be hacked with axes. The others are self-explanatory.

This list corresponds to what comes to be the standard list of eight-great hells, or eight-hot hells, in other Buddhist texts of the Northern tradition as for example in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.<sup>147</sup> However, lists of these eight hells are conspicuously absent from the four main Pāli nikāyas. As far as I can tell, there are only a few isolated references to two of the hells from this list, namely Rorūva and Mahārūva, in the *Saṃyutta-nikaya*.<sup>148</sup>

Besides the Mahāniraya and eight hell systems, a completely different hell cosmography can be found in three semi-parallel Kokālika-suttas in the *Sutta-nipāta*, *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, and *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.<sup>149</sup> These texts contain a list of ten hells beginning with Abbuda. In the story, Kokālika speaks ill of Sāriputta and Mogallāna to the Buddha, and subsequently dies of a horrific disease only to be reborn in "Paduma," or Lotus, hell. The Buddha explains this and nine other hells in terms of their duration. Abbuda is endured for the time it takes to remove twenty measures of sesame seed from a cart by removing one seed every year. Nirabbuda is twenty times longer than Abbuda, Ababa is twenty times longer than Nirabbuda, and so on up to Paduma, the tenth hell.<sup>150</sup> Eight of the ten names – excluding Kumuda and Sogandhika – correspond to the standard list of what come to be known as "cold hells."<sup>151</sup> Some of the names appear to reflect the shouts (*ahaha*) or chattering teeth (*aṭaṭa*) of their inhabitants, and the latter five are names of types of lotuses, possibly

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<sup>147</sup> AKB III 58.

<sup>148</sup> E.g., SN I 30: *upenti rorūvaṃ ghorāṃ cirarattaṃ dukkham anubhavanti*; SN I 92: *...setṭhi gahapati mahārūvaṃ nirayaṃ upapanno*.

<sup>149</sup> Sn 123-31; SN I 149-53; AN V 170-4. Only the Sn contains verses describing the tortures of hell. A parallel in the SĀ is T 99 sūtra 1278 at 351b12. Also, a Gāndhārī commentary text from the British Library Collection comments on the verse equivalent to Sn 662 (Baums 2009: § 6.2.3.). This same verse appears outside the context of the story of Kokālika, in Jā III 203, Dhṛp 125, Uv 28.9, and Dhṛp<sup>1</sup>115.

<sup>150</sup> The complete list in Pāli is *Abbuda*, *Nirabbuda*, *Ababa*, *Ahaha*, *Aṭaṭa*, *Kumuda*, *Sogandhika*, *Uppalaka*, *Puṇḍarīka*, and *Paduma*.

<sup>151</sup> E.g., AKB 164.25 contains the following list (in Sanskrit) of *śūtanarakā* (cold hells): *arvuda*, *nirarvuda*, *aṭato*, *hahava*, *huhuva*, *utpala*, *padma*, *mahāpadma*.

referring to the changes in the appearance of the skin of those suffering in the intense cold.<sup>152</sup> Although the systems of hells are organized according to duration and are not compatible by name with the Mahāniraya or eight-hell system in Pāli, the punishments described in the Sn Kokālika-sutta largely correspond to those in the Devadūta-sutta. In addition to suffering the sword-leaf forest, caustic river, etc., people who spoke offensive or untrue things during their lifetimes enter a hell where, among other things, they are pierced by iron spears and made to eat food that resembles a red-hot iron ball.

Still other Pāli texts describe individual hells like the "Hell of Laughter,"<sup>153</sup> where stage performers go for punishment, or the hell called "Battle-Slain Hell" for professional soldiers, elephant-riding warriors, and cavalymen.<sup>154</sup> The Saṅgayha-sutta (B<sup>e</sup>: Khaṇa-sutta) names the hells called Chaphassāyatanikā Nirayā,<sup>155</sup> or the "Six Sense-Bases Hells," which are found in only one other sūtra.<sup>156</sup> It is worth noting that these mostly one-off descriptions of hells are all found in the Saṃyuttanikāya, where the unique Mahāpariḷāha-sutta is also found. In the commentary to the SN, Buddhaghosa often identifies these individual hells as

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 164.25-165.02: *teṣāṃ sattvānāṃ tīvraśītābhihatānāṃ kāyaśabdavikārānurūpāṇyetāni nāmāni* / ("These names correspond to the changes in the sounds and bodies of the beings who are afflicted by the bitter cold.") The nature of Kokālika's sickness and death – growing boils that cover his body and eventually burst – suggests that *Abbuda* hell could be a place where people are afflicted with boils. The word can mean "canker" (PTSD sv.) or "tumor" (CPD sv.).

<sup>153</sup> Tālapuṭa-sutta (SN IV 306-8).

<sup>154</sup> Yodhājīvo-sutta (SN IV 308-9); Hatthi-sutta (SN IV 310); Assa-sutta (SN IV 310-311). "Battle Slain" is the translation adopted by Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 1449 n.340) for *parajitānaṃ*, which is found in B<sup>e</sup>. E<sup>e</sup> has *sarañjītānaṃ*.

<sup>155</sup> SN IV 126: *Lābhā vo bhikkhave suladdhaṃ vo bhikkhave khaṇo vo paṭiladdho brahmacariyavāsāya. Diṭṭhā mayā bhikkhave chaphassāyatanikā nāma nirayā. Tattha yaṃ kiñci cakkhunā rūpaṃ passati, anīṭharūpaññeva passati, no iṭṭharūpaṃ. Akantarūpaññeva passati, no kantarūpaṃ. Amanāparūpaññeva passati, no manāparūpaṃ. Yaṃ kiñci sotena saddaṃ suṇāti... [etc.].* ("It is a gain well-obtained, monks, an opportunity won, monks, to abide in the holy life. I have seen, monks, hells called Six Sense-Bases. There, whatever form is seen with the eye is unwished for, never wished for, undesired, never desired, disagreeable, never agreeable. Whatever sound is heard with the ear is ... [etc.]).

<sup>156</sup> In the Māratajjanīya-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya (MN I 337), it is said that Mahāniraya also goes by three other names: Chaphassāyataniko ("Six Sense Bases"), Saṅkusamāhato ("Struck with Stakes"), and Paccattavedaniyo ("To Be Felt by Oneself").

"part of Avīci," and not separate hells.<sup>157</sup> Other than the Abbuda series in the Kokālika-sutta and brief mentions of Roruva and Mahāroruva hells, no systematic cosmography can be found in the Saṃyutta-nikāya. The Chinese Saṃyuktāgama collections (SĀ; T 99/100/101) mention the eight great hells (八大地獄) only once,<sup>158</sup> and the Abbuda series in a parallel to the Kokālika-sutta.<sup>159</sup> All of this evidence seems to suggest that for some reason the SN/SĀ tradition did not adopt the same hell cosmographies that predominate in other nikāyas/āgamas at a comprehensive level. It is possible that this is related to the nature of the SN/SĀ sūtras which are short and focused on single doctrinal items.

There is one group of outlying Chinese āgamas that must also be addressed in an overview of early Hell conceptions. The Dīrghāgama's (*cháng āhán jīng* 長阿含經) *shìjì jīng* 世記經 (Sūtra of the Account of the World T.1 114b7) incorporates descriptions of hell into a formal cosmology with far more detail than is provided in any other account in the nikāyas/āgamas.<sup>160</sup> It has no canonical Pāli parallel, but is related to three other independently transmitted Dīrghāgama-type Chinese sūtras: *dàlótàn jīng* 大樓炭經 (Sūtra

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<sup>157</sup> E.g., SN-a III 103: *visuṃ pahāsanāmako nirayo nāma natthi, avīcisseva pana ekasmiṃ koṭṭhāse*. ("The hell called 'laughing' is not the name of a separate hell, [but rather] it is in one part of Avīci.") SN-a II 400: *visuṃ phassāyatanikā nāma nirayā n'atthi; sabbesu pi hi ekatimsa mahānirāyesu chadvārāphassāyatanapaññati hoti yeva. Idam pana Avīci mahānirayaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ*. ("There is not a separate hell called Sense Bases Hell; for this name Six Gated Sense Bases applies to all thirty-one hells. In this case it is said with reference to the Mahāniraya Avīci"). I do know what thirty-one hells are referred to here.

<sup>158</sup> Sūtra 1244 of T 99. The hells are listed at 341a27-29.

<sup>159</sup> T 99 sūtra 1278 at 351b12.

<sup>160</sup> Maki Tatsugen (1985 and 1989) discusses the relationship between the EĀ version of the Heavenly Messengers Sūtra (天使經) with other hell texts like the Pāli Devadūta-sutta, and the Chinese Hell Sūtra (泥犁經) and Iron Fortress Hell Sūtra (鐵城泥犁經). He offers a valuable comparison of each component part of the sūtras, but gives only one cursory note on the nature of the so-called 四門大地獄 ("Four Walled Great Hell"), equivalent to *mahāniraya*, namely, that it is equivalent to the 八熱大地獄 ("Eight Great Hot Hells") (287). But there is scant reference to such a system of eight hells in the early literature, as I discussed above, and none that shows evidence that such a system existed at the time when the Devadūta and related sūtras were written.

of the Great Tower of Ashes; T 23); *qǐshì jīng* 起世經 (Sūtra on the Arising of the World; T 24); *qǐshìyīnběn jīng* 起世因本經 (Sūtra on the Origin of the Arising of the World; T 25).

Because of the complexity of the cosmology and cosmography found in these texts, they apparently represent a later stage of development than is found in the Devadūta and Bālapaṇḍita-suttas, and as some have suggested, also later than other texts in the Dīrghāgama.<sup>161</sup> Further work needs to be done to clarify their origin and date.<sup>162</sup>

The apparent differences between these relatively early descriptions of hell (in terms of the *longue durée* of Buddhist literature) have been said to "betray a certain lack of systematization"<sup>163</sup> and have left a number of scholars frustrated. Léon Feer struggled to make sense of the relationship between the major and subsidiary hot hells. What purpose do the subsidiary hells serve that the main ones do not? Are they more or less horrific? Were they once competing systems that were later brought together? Feer refrains from offering answers because, in his words, "à toute réponse qui y serait faite on peut opposer un texte contraire."<sup>164</sup> In the end, he concludes that all Buddhists, northern and southern, eventually agreed on the existence of eight major hot hells of increasing intensity of suffering and duration, and on the existence of subsidiary hells.<sup>165</sup>

In his study of the Aśokāvadāna (1923) Jean Przyluski proposed that the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta and Devadūta-sutta must both be related to a more primitive, now lost \*Niraya-sūtra

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<sup>161</sup> According to Bhikkhu Anālayo, "it is fairly probable that the Discourse on a Record of the World is a rather late text" (Anālayo 2014b: 39), and Govind Pande has argued that it is apocryphal (Pande 1957: 79; cited in Anālayo 2014b: 39).

<sup>162</sup> See also Maki 1978.

<sup>163</sup> Teiser 1988: 435.

<sup>164</sup> Feer 1892: 209. Besides Feer, Kirfel's study of Indian cosmography (1920) is still an indispensable source for surveying conceptions of hell in the purāṇas and śāstras, but he spends less attention on Buddhist hell systems, which only correlate partially with non-Buddhist systems.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. 231.

which emphasized punishments for gluttons. He references a sūtra quoted in the Aśokāvadāna in which beings in hell are force-fed red-hot iron balls and ground up with a pestle, among other things. In the text, a monk is reciting the quote from a "Bālapaṇḍita-sutta" that corresponds more closely to the Pāli Devadūta-sutta we have today.<sup>166</sup> As will be discussed in chapter 4, Przyluski's suggestion that early descriptions of hell emphasized punishments for gluttons resonates with the relatively wide-spread use of red-hot iron ball punishments in Buddhist and other literature.

More recently, Ineke van Put has argued that the Bālapaṇḍita and Devadūta-suttas reflect an early single hell system, that only developed into the eight-great-hell system, a middle stage, around the beginning of the common era. In a third stage, the eight hot hells were combined with the Arbuda series to create a system of hot and cold hells.<sup>167</sup> Van Put's suggestion is reasonable; why shouldn't a development from a less to a more complex and specific cosmography make sense? However, our limited knowledge of factors like the sectarian affiliation of the different āgamas, the functions and stylistic limitations of each nikāya transmission lineage, and the influence of non-Buddhist sources on Buddhist literature leave any conclusions we might draw about the development of hell from simply collating and comparing Buddhist descriptions of hell to be tentative at best.

### 3.3. The Great Conflagration Sūtra

The Gāndhārī Mahaparaṇihata-sutra, or Great Conflagration Sūtra (hereafter GCS), is primarily a teaching about the four noble truths that uses a haunting description of hell as a great conflagration to make its point. I introduce the text in this way to say that it is not a

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<sup>166</sup> Przyluski 1923: 124.

<sup>167</sup> Van Put 2007: 205.

cosmographical text *about* hell – really, few early canonical Buddhist texts are<sup>168</sup> – but one that *uses* hell as a pedagogical tool. Because of its function in the text as a vehicle for conveying the primary teaching, the Great Conflagration Hell (hereafter GCH when referring to the hell in the abstract) is only described briefly, making any attempt to situate it within other hell systems difficult. Still, it tells us more about Buddhist hells and the strategic use of similes in Buddhist texts than might appear at first glance.

In the sūtra, the Buddha introduces the hell or hells – the number is unclear (more on this below) – called *mahaparaḍaha nīrea* (P. *mahāpariḷāha nīraya*; Skt. *mahāparidāha nīraya*; Ch. *dàrè dìyù* 大熱地獄), or the "Great Conflagration Hell/s." There, like an iron ball that is heated all day, people's bodies are constantly burning:

*sayasavi aya-ūda divasa satata aḍita bhodi sapacaliḍa sajedi-bhuda evam=eva sati* [14]  
*maha-paraḍaha nama nīrea tatra satvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhudaṇa aviṇivartaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti*  
*sapaḍi*[15]*liḍa sajedi-bhude*

Just like an iron ball which is heated all day, burning, blazing, glowing, so too are [14] there hells named "Great Conflagration" where the bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being are burning, blazing, [15] glowing.

An unnamed monk who is impressed with how great and frightful this hell is then asks if there is any conflagration greater and more frightful than this. The Buddha says yes: it is the conflagration that is birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, and turmoil (*jādi...jara...viaṣi-maraṇa-śoke-pariḍeve-ūyasa-paraḍaha*), which is experienced by those who, being ignorant of the four Noble Truths, delight in volitions (*sakhara aviṣakharoti*)

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<sup>168</sup> Cosmographical texts are especially rare in Pāli. Important texts in this genre include the Pañcatidīpanī and the Lokapaññātti, but I do not consider them in this study because of the difficulty in dating them before the medieval period. On the single manuscript of the Pañcatidīpanī, see Feer 1884, and the brief description in Norman 1983: 160. Chinese cosmographical āgama texts include DĀ 30 at T. 1 114.b7 *shìjì jīng* 世記經; T. 23 *dàlótàn jīng* 大樓炭經; T. 24 *qǐshì jīng* 起世經; and T 25 *qǐshìyīnběn jīng* 起世因本經. See also Michael Radich's entry in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism for 立世阿毘曇論.

that lead to birth, etc. Therefore, monks should make an effort to understand the Four Noble Truths (for the full sūtra, see Chapter 10).

There are parallels to this sūtra in Pāli, Chinese, and Sanskrit. As with most of the sūtras in the Senior Collection, the most direct Pāli parallel, the Mahāpariḷāha-sutta, is in the Saṃyuttanikāya (SN V 450-2; sutta 43 of the Sacca-saṃyutta).<sup>169</sup> The Chinese parallel to the Great Conflagration Sūtra is found in the *Zá āhán jīng* 雜阿含經 (sūtra 422: T 99 111b10-24). The early 6<sup>th</sup> century catalogue *Chū sānzàng jìjí* 出三藏記集 compiled by Sengyou 僧祐, mentions a text called *Dàrè dìyù jīng* 大熱地獄經 (T 2145 27c24) in the category of anonymous scriptures. This title only appears in this and later catalogs, but it is possible that it refers to the SĀ text under consideration. There is also a small Central Asian (Turfan) fragment (SHT II 51 f1 + 2 Bl. [10]4) that contains references to a *paridāha* in a context that strongly suggests it is a parallel to our text.<sup>170</sup> Although there is variation in the way each text defines the GCH (excepting the Sanskrit version which is too brief to offer such details), it is worth noting that the basic structure of the text and the name of the hell is shared across at least the Gāndhārī, Pāli, and Chinese versions, each of which represents a different lineage of transmission.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> The uddāna entry in all P versions is *pariḷāho*, and the titles are given as *Pariḷāho* (E<sup>e</sup>), *Mahāpariḷāhasuttaṃ* (B<sup>e</sup>, VRI<sup>e</sup>), and *Pariḷāhasuttaṃ* (C<sup>e</sup>, S<sup>e</sup>). For a discussion of the relationship between the Senior Collection and the Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama collections, see Glass 2007, especially the introduction and Chapter 1.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. § 3.3.3 below.

<sup>171</sup> The Pāli belongs to the Theravāda lineage, the Gāndhārī Senior Collection most likely belongs to the Dharmaguptaka lineage (see Glass 2007: 34-5), although this is not certain, and most modern scholars agree that the Chinese SĀ (T 99) is associated with Sarvāstivāda or (Mūla)sarvāstivāda lineage (ibid. 2007: 39).

### 3.4. The Great Conflagration Hell

The GCH is discussed only in the roughly parallel Pāli, Sanskrit, Gāndhārī, and Chinese versions of the sūtra listed in the section above. Despite their similar structures, the sūtras do not completely agree with one another. The Gāndhārī is the only version to include the simile of the iron ball. The Pāli does not define the GCH in terms of burning bodies, but instead as a place where whatever one sees with the eyes, hears with the ears, smells with the nose, etc., is "unwished for, never wished for; undesired, never desired; disagreeable, never agreeable."<sup>172</sup> The Chinese version is closer to the Gāndhārī in its characterization of hell, describing the *dàrè dìyù* 大熱地獄 as a place where people "constantly emit heat" (一向與炯然), but it does not mention an iron ball. The characters used to translate *Mahaparaḍaha* – *dàrè* 大熱 – are the same ones used to translate the more common *Pratāpana* hell in several other texts.<sup>173</sup> With respect to the Sanskrit version, we have only a trace of the text on a broken fragment, and any description of the hell is lost. Thus, we can preliminarily say that the GCH appears to be unique to the GCS; that, following the Gāndhārī and Chinese, it is a hell where bodies are constantly burning, or, following the Pāli, it is a place where no sensory experience is pleasurable; that the iron ball simile only occurs in the Gāndhārī; and that all versions except possibly the fragmentary Sanskrit compare suffering in the Great Conflagration Hell to ignorance of the four noble truths.

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<sup>172</sup> SN V 450-1: *aniṭṭharūpaṃ yeva passati no iṭṭharūpaṃ; akantarūpaṃ yeva passati no kantarūpaṃ; amanāparūpaṃ passati no manāparūpaṃ*. This definition is also used to describe a hell in at least two other Pāli sūtras, the Bālaṇḍita Sūtra (MN III 165) and the Saṅgayha Sūtra (SN IV 126; B° Khaṇa-sutta). Other differences between the Pāli, Chinese, and Gāndhārī versions of the Great Conflagration Sūtra will be discussed in detail in the text notes in chapter 10.

<sup>173</sup> E.g., T 397 261c29-262a02: 一名一死一活地獄. 二名黑繩地獄. 三名衆合地獄. 四名叫喚地獄. 五名大叫喚地獄. 六名熱地獄. 七名大熱地獄. 八名阿鼻地獄. Here, 熱地獄 is used for *Tāpana* and 大熱地獄 for *Pratāpana*, the sixth and seventh in the standard list of eight hot hells. See also T 441 309c21 and T 657 131b12.

Given its rarity, how should we understand the place of the Great Conflagration Hell in Buddhist cosmography? Does it intersect with other developed conceptions of hell? Is it a single hell, or does it refer to a series of hells? Does it predate the conception of a long series of hot and cold hells? If so, is it synonymous with *the* hell, Mahāniraya? Alternatively, was it intended only as metaphor? In the following sections I will explore these questions and begin to move toward possible answers.

### 3.4.1. Mahaparaḍaha as Metaphor

Gāndhārī *paraḍaha* is derived from OIA *pari* ("[all] around; entirely") + *dāha* ("burning," "conflagration"). With the prefix, *mahā*, it means "great conflagration." According to Monier Williams (MW), in Vedic texts the verb *dah* is usually used literally to denote consummation by fire,<sup>174</sup> but in epic literature it can also figuratively mean "to be consumed by internal heat or grief, suffer pain, be distressed or vexed."<sup>175</sup> For example, in the Bhagavad Gītā, Arjuna, when facing the prospect of fighting his own kinsmen, becomes so vexed and anxious that his skin "burns" (*tvak caiva paridahyate*), which must be taken figuratively.<sup>176</sup> In Pāli Buddhist literature, *pariḷāha* often occurs with the figurative meaning "fever" in phrases like *kāmapariḷāha* ("the fever of desire")<sup>177</sup> and *pariḷāho kāyasmim okkami* ("a fever came into the body").<sup>178</sup> In the case of Senior 20, *paraḍaha* is used in the

<sup>174</sup> E.g., RV 7.15.13: *Agne... taptiṣṭhair ajaro daha* ("Oh Agni [Fire god] who is undecaying, burn with extreme heat...").

<sup>175</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, sv. See also Böhtlingk and Roth 1855-75, sv.: "*verbrennen, durch Feuer verzehren*," but also "*von innerer Glut verzehrt werden*."

<sup>176</sup> BhG 1.29.

<sup>177</sup> MN I 504: *kāmānaṃyeva samudayaṇca ... yathābhūtaṃ viditvā kāmataṇhaṃ pahāya kāmaparilāhaṃ paṭivinodetvā vigatapipāso ... viharāmi* ("Realizing as it really is ... the origin of desires, [he] renounced the thirst of desire, drove out the fever of desire, and dwelled as one in whom longing had ceased.")

<sup>178</sup> DN III 88 (*Agāṇṇasutta*): *Itthī ca sudaṃ ativelaṃ purisaṃ upanijjhāyati, puriso ca itthim. Tesaṃ ativelaṃ aṇṇamaṇṇaṃ upanijjhāyataṃ sārāgo udapādi, parilāho kāyasmim okkami* ("The woman considers the man for

figurative sense to describe the "conflagration" experienced by one who is ignorant of the four noble truths: *jādi-paraḍaa pi pracaṇaveti jara-paraḍaha pi pracaṇahoti* ("One experiences the conflagration of birth, the conflagration of ageing [etc.]"). However, this figurative usage is juxtaposed with the graphic description of the GCH, where the literal meaning is intended; bodies are actually on fire. I would argue that in the Gāndhārī text where *paraḍaha* is used to refer to the metaphorical conflagration of old age, disease, death, etc., *as well as* to the literal conflagration of bodies in hell, there is an intentional play on the range of meanings associated with the word. This ambiguity is most likely instructive for how we should understand the function of hell in early Buddhist literature in general: that is, it was at once conceived of as a metaphor and an actual place of rebirth.

### 3.4.2. *The Fire, the Fall, and the Darkness: Early Conceptions of Hell?*

Despite the fact that the GCS places a significant emphasis on a figurative meaning of the great conflagration, and furthermore that it appears to be the only sūtra in which the GCH is even mentioned, it is still important to understand the place of the GCH in the greater cosmography of early Buddhism. The systematization of hells as evidenced in later texts suggests that Buddhist thinkers spent considerable effort dealing with hell as an actual place. Considering the intertextual nature of early Buddhist literature, it is likely that a hell important enough to survive in four languages, even if in only one sūtra, was either influenced by or itself influenced the further development of hell in other Buddhist texts.

One way to better contextualize the GCH is to understand the position of the GCS in the Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama collections. In Pāli, the Parilāha-sutta is situated amongst

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some time, and the man the woman. [After] considering one another for some time, passion arose, and a fever came into the body").

two other similar suttas, namely, the Papāta-sutta ("The Fall" or "Precipice" SN V 448-9) and Andhakāra-sutta ("The Darkness" SN V 454-5). Together, these three texts are the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> suttas of the Papātavagga (5<sup>th</sup> subchapter), or the 42<sup>nd</sup> (Papāta), 43<sup>rd</sup> (Pariḷāha), and the 46<sup>th</sup> (Andhakāra) suttas overall in the Saccasaṃyutta ("Chapter on Truth") in the Mahāvagga ("Great Book") of the Saṃyutta-nikāya.<sup>179</sup> All of them share a common pericope: A monk says that something the Buddha described (conflagration, steep precipice, or darkness) is great (*mahā*), in fact very great (*sumahā*), and asks if anything is greater or more frightful (*mahatara*; *bhayānakatara*). The Buddha says that the conflagration, steep fall from the precipice, or fall into darkness that results from ignorance of the four noble truths is greater and more frightful. Essentially, all three texts represent the same teaching with a different image to illustrate the main point.

The Chinese version of the GCS (T 99 sūtra 422 at 111b10-24) is also grouped in a Saṃyuktāgama with parallels to the Papāta (sūtra 421 at 111a20-b9) and Andhakāra-suttas (sūtra 423 at 111b25-c7), the latter of which also describes the *dààn* 大闇 (= *andhakāra*: "Great Darkness") as a separate hell (*dààn dìyù* 大闇地獄).<sup>180</sup> The Sanskrit fragment from Turfan was similarly situated with part of a \*Paridāha-sūtra and \*Andhakāra-sūtra occurring in succession.<sup>181</sup> Given that the Pāli and Chinese Great Conflagration Sūtras share a similar

<sup>179</sup> The structure of the Saṃyutta-nikāya from larger to smaller units can be described as follows: *vagga* (book) > *saṃyutta* (chapter) > *vagga* (subchapter) > *sutta*. The usage of *vagga* for both book and subchapter can be confusing. My numbering reflects the PTS edition.

<sup>180</sup> T 99 111b25-c7.

<sup>181</sup> The Verso of the fragment (51 f1+2 B1. (10)4) has:

1 [pa]r(i)dā(hād=anyaḥ pari)dāhatara ///  
 2 yāya pū(rvava)t § + + + santi bhikṣa[vo]  
 3 ath=ānyataro bhi[kṣ](ur=utthāyāsānā)d=ekāṃsa(m=) ///  
 4 (ndhakā)raḥ sumahā + O ///  
 5 + + + + yasmā(t) ///  
 6-8 ///

structure and peculiar pericope with the Papāta and Andhakāra sūtras, with which they also, together with the Sanskrit, appear in close proximity, we can deduce that they were probably collected and transmitted – if not composed – together as a set from an early time.

It is possible that this grouping reflects an earlier Indic system for conceiving of hell. Some Vedic notions of punishment in the afterlife correspond to the three frightful items (conflagration, steep fall from a precipice, and descent into darkness) of these three texts. In Rig Veda 7.104.01-03, Indra and Soma are asked to burn (*tápatam*) their enemy, cast him down (*arpayatam*) into deep caverns,<sup>182</sup> and into darkness (*támasi*). Macdonell cites this text as evidence that, even though its references are few, the Rig Veda is "not altogether wanting" with respect to a belief in hell.<sup>183</sup> Elsewhere, in RV 4.5.04, the poet asks Agni to "devour with [his] extremely hot flame" (*babhasat ... tápiṣṭhena śocíṣā*) those who disregard Varuṇa's and Mitra's commandments. In the Atharva Veda, with regard to which Macdonell says the belief in hell is "beyond doubt," one can find references to "the house below,"<sup>184</sup> and the *nārakaṃ lokáṃ*, where those unwilling to offer cows to Brahmins are consigned.<sup>185</sup> One can also find there references to the "lowest darkness" and "black darkness"<sup>186</sup> or "blind darkness."<sup>187</sup> It is possible that the Buddhist Pariḷāha, Papāta, and

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The recto also contains what is probably a second Andhakāra-sūtra corresponding to SĀ 424, which contains an extended description of the darkness (*ānmīṅ* 闇冥) "in between the thousand worlds" (此千世界中間). See SHT II pp. 4-6.

<sup>182</sup> 7.104.3a: *vavré* ("into a cavern"); 7.104.17c: *vavrām anantām* ("to endless caverns").

<sup>183</sup> Macdonell 1897: 169-70. See also Zin 2015: 269.

<sup>184</sup> AV 2.14.3a *adharād grhās*

<sup>185</sup> AV 12.4.36c. *áthāhur nārakaṃ lokáṃ nirundhānāsya yācitām* ("But they say it is the hell realm for the one who, when asked, obstructs [the giving of a cow]"). Here, *nārakaṃ lokáṃ* is juxtaposed to the realm of Yama (*yamarājya*) where, those who give cows to Brahmins dwell.

<sup>186</sup> AV 5.30.11: *kṛṣṇāt...tāmasas*

<sup>187</sup> AV 18.3.3: *andhēna...tāmasā prāvṛtāsī*. O the connection between hell and darkness in Buddhist literature, see also Sankararayan et al. 2002: 257.

Andhakāra-suttas bear the same propensity found in the above cited Vedas for representing cosmic punishment as fire, falling from a precipice, and being cast into darkness.<sup>188</sup>

### 3.4.3. Mahaparaḍaha as Pratāpana

As noted above, the Chinese parallel to the GCS uses the same name, *dàrè dìyù* 大熱地獄, to translate Mahaparaḍaha that is used in several other sūtras to translate the hell called Pratāpana-niraya, the seventh hell in the eight-hot-hell system. The two share the characteristic of great heat. For example, in the Sūtra of the Account of the World (T 1.30), prisoners in Pratāpana are placed into an iron room and their flesh is broiled.<sup>189</sup> However, there are numerous different translations of Pratāpana in the four main āgamas alone, so the shared name is not necessarily indicative of a shared cosmographical identity.<sup>190</sup>

By the 5<sup>th</sup> century when the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (T. 99) was translated, complex multi-hell systems like the eight great hells were already well developed in texts like the AKB and the Sūtra of the Account of the World, so the translator of the SĀ, Guṇabhadra, might have translated the Great Conflagration Hell as *dàrè dìyù* 大熱地獄 with this existing framework in mind. On the other hand, only once in T 99 are the eight hot hells listed as a group,<sup>191</sup> and there the equivalents of Tāpana and Patāpana are *shāo rán* 燒然 and *jí shāo rán* 極燒然, neither of which correspond to *dàrè* 大熱 in the Chinese GCS. It would be strange

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<sup>188</sup> The Mahānārada-kassapa-jātaka (Jā VI 219) contains a unique description of many hells, among them a hell of complete darkness without a sun or moon: *andhaṃ tamaṃ tattha na candasūriyā*. The Kokāliya or Kokālika-sutta of the Sutta Nipāta (Sn 128, vs. 665) also contains a reference to hell as a pit or precipice (*paṇṇa* [sic]) into which one falls.

<sup>189</sup> Van Put 2007: 217.

<sup>190</sup> Some other translations of *pratāpana* include *dàjiāorè dìyù* 大焦熱地, e.g., *Zhèngfǎniàncù jīng* 正法念處經 (T721 18b11) and *Dàbānnièpán jīng* 大般涅槃經, e.g., T 374 0429c28 and T 375 0671b2. Also *dàrènnǎo dìyù* 大熱惱地獄 in the *Qǐshìyīnběn jīng* 起世因本經.

<sup>191</sup> Sūtra 1244 of T 99. The hells are listed at 341a27-29.

for a single translator or translation team to render the names differently if they were intended to represent the same hell. Thus, just because *dàrè dìyù* 大熱地獄 is used by different translators to render both the Mahāparaḍaha Hell and Pratāpana Hell does not mean that we should equate the two.

#### 3.4.4. Mahaparaḍaha as Mahāniraya/Avīci

When comparing the GCH with hells described in other early Buddhist texts, two hells stand out. Mahāniraya and Avīci, which, as noted above, are equated with one another in several places, most significantly in Buddhaghosa's Pāli commentaries.<sup>192</sup> One piece of evidence suggesting a connection between the GCH and Mahāniraya can be found in the description of the GCH in Pāli. As noted above, in place of the simile of the iron ball, the Pāli version describes Mahāpariḷāha Niraya as a place where whatever one sees with the eyes, hears with the ears, smells with the nose, etc., is "unwished for, never wished for; undesired, never desired; disagreeable, never agreeable." This trio of synonyms (*aniṭṭha*, *akanta*, *amanāpa*) occurs together in Pāli suttas only rarely, glossing words like *hīna* and *avaññāta* ("inferior"; "contemptible"),<sup>193</sup> or describing the nature of conditioned dharmas.<sup>194</sup> Importantly for our purposes, they also occur in at least two other descriptions of hells, one of which is Mahāniraya in the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta:

*Yaṃ kho taṃ, bhikkhave, sammā vadamāno vadeyya: Ekantaṃ aniṭṭhaṃ ekantaṃ akantaṃ ekantaṃ amanāpan ti nirayam eva etaṃ sammā vadamāno vadeyya: Ekantaṃ aniṭṭhaṃ ekantaṃ akantaṃ ekantaṃ amanāpan ti. Yāvañcidaṃ, bhikkhave, upamā pi na sukarā yāva dukkha nirayā ti.*

Were it rightly speaking to be said of anything: "That is utterly unwished for, utterly undesired, utterly disagreeable," it would rightly be said of hell that it is "utterly unwished

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<sup>192</sup> On the relationship between Avīci and Mahāniraya, see van Put 2007: 209.

<sup>193</sup> Vibh 2.

<sup>194</sup> AN I 30

for, utterly undesired, utterly disagreeable." So much so it is, monks, that it is not easy to make a simile for the suffering in hell.<sup>195</sup>

Yet again the phrase occurs in the Saṅgayha-sutta (SN IV 126; B<sup>c</sup>: Khaṇa-sutta) to describe the hells called Chaphassāyatanikā Nirayā, or the Six Sense-Bases Hells.<sup>196</sup> Considering their occurrence in at least three texts which describe hells and rarely elsewhere outside of commentaries, this string of synonyms can be taken as a formulaic unit that was used primarily to describe hell. It also suggests a thematic connection between Mahāpariḷāha Niraya, Chaphassāyatanikā Nirayā, and Mahāniraya.

A correlation can also be found between the Gāndhārī description of Mahaparaḍaha and Avīci as described in the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Mahāvastu (1.15-1.16). There, the wording is different and is restricted by verse, but the pithy definition of Avīci closely matches our text:

*ayoguḍā hi agnismiṃ yatha-r-iva saṃtāpitā  
evaṃ avīcī narake heṣṭā upari pārśvato  
jātavedosamā kāyāḥ teṣāṃ narakavāsināṃ  
paśyanti karmadr̥ghatām na tasmāt bhoti no gatiḥ*

Red-hot like an iron ball in fire,  
Thus in Avīcī hell, from below, above, and on all sides,  
Bodies of those dwelling there are like fire.  
They do not realize the fixed nature of karma; there is no way out from there.

This is comparable to the Gāndhārī, which describes "bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being there [in the GCH]..." (*tatra śatvaṇa jadāṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya*) "like an iron ball heated all day" (*sayasavi aya-ūḍa divasa śatata*). It would

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<sup>195</sup> Following Bhikku Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation (2001).

<sup>196</sup> In the Māratajjanīya-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya (MN I 337), it is said that Mahāniraya also goes by three other names: Chaphassāyataniko ("Six Sense Bases"), Saṅkusamāhato ("Struck with Stakes"), and Paccattavedaniyo ("To Be Felt by Oneself").

appear that the Gāndhārī GCS and the Mahāvastu are drawing from the same formulaic conception of hell.

According to inscriptional evidence, in the first or early second century CE when the Senior scribe copied our text, Avīci would probably have been well known in the greater Gandhāra region as the quintessential hell. Dated to the first part of the first century CE, the Senavarma inscription commemorates the restoration of the Ekakūṭa Stūpa by Senavarma, a King of Oḍi, who was a ruler in the Swat valley to the northeast of Gandhāra proper.<sup>197</sup> In this inscription, the Great Hell Avīci (P. *Avīci Mahāniraya*) is mentioned twice. In the first instance (10d), it is described as the bottommost place in the cosmos: *aviyamahaṇīrea payato karita, utvareṇa (a)bhavagro* ("beginning with Avīci Mahāniraya up to the highest point of existence"). In the second (13c), any being who would burn the stūpa down a second time (it once burned on account of lightning) would fall into that hell: *se aviyamahaṇīraa padeati saśarire* ("he would fall embodied to Avīci Mahāniraya"). Here we have two clear references that describe two aspects of Avīci Mahāniraya. First, it occupies the lowest place in the cosmos. Second, it is where the worst offenders are reborn.

### 3.5. Conclusion

In the end, although we are unable to clearly map the development of Buddhist hells or the place of the GCH among them, we have uncovered some helpful hints. The idea of hell in early Buddhist literature seems to fluctuate along a spectrum from the real to the imaginary, that is, between concrete conceptions of cosmography and metaphorical notions

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<sup>197</sup> The inscription has been the subject of considerable scholarly inquiry. See Bailey 1980: 21-9, Fussman 1982: 1-46, Salomon 1986: 261-93, von Hinüber 2003, and Baums 2012: 227-33.

of the suffering of saṃsāra. The former draws upon people's fears of otherworldly punishment, and the latter on the practitioners' understanding of the human predicament here and now. Together with the darkness and the precipice, the great conflagration could be part of a trio of conceptions of hell, real or metaphorical, that were transmitted as a unit since Vedic times. The GCH might be a precursor to, or a synonym of, Mahāniraya, the great fiery iron box of the Devadūta and Bālapaṇḍita-suttas. If so, as with nearly every other mention of hell in the Saṃyuttanikāya/Saṃyuktāgama, the GCH might have been conceived of prior to or completely outside of the popular eight-great/-hot/-cold-hell systems. We have also seen that the GCH is defined in similar terms to Avīci, and that Avīci would have been familiar to Gandhārans at the time our text was copied. Taking a nod from our previous analysis of the fortified city in the Suhadukha-sūtra, perhaps a more productive way to make sense of the Gāndhārī Great Conflagration Hell is by looking to its simile of the red-hot iron ball. This is the subject of Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4: THE SIMILE OF RED-HOT IRON BALL

### 4.1. Introduction

Having situated the Great Conflagration Hell in the wider context of Buddhist cosmography, I turn now to one of the unique features of the Gāndhārī version of the Great Conflagration Sūtra, its simile of the red-hot iron ball (RHIB). Unlike its parallels, the Gāndhārī version of the sūtra compares blazing bodies that arise in the GCH to a red-hot, "burning, blazing, glowing" iron ball. Considering only its occurrence in the Gāndhārī sūtra, the simile appears to contain a relatively innocuous reference to a blacksmithing tool, an unworked ball of hot iron, which is used to convey a sense of great heat, but not necessarily great horror. However, a deeper look into the various uses of the RHIB in early Buddhist sūtras and other roughly contemporaneous Indian texts shows that it appears throughout a network of imagery depicting gruesome tortures of both hell and earth.

It is through a comparative study of the RHIB in different contexts that we can draw a thread between the simile of our text and some of the many depictions of hell and torture that were ostensibly used to inspire fear and discipline among saṅgha members. Whereas the fortified city image threatens enemy invasion (i.e., sensory distraction) if one does not guard the sense gates, the iron ball image hints at corporal punishments in both this world and the next. Here, it is impossible to ignore the emphasis in both similes on controlling bodies. Both put the body inside walls – the stone walls of the city and the red-hot iron walls of hell. Recent decades have seen an explosion of literature on the body, especially as it relates to issues of authority and punishment. It is not within the purview of this dissertation to address this topic in full, but brief remarks can be found in the conclusion to the chapter.

In short, I argue that the RHIB is a kind of horrific inverted mimesis of eating alms food, usually offered as round *piṇḍa* balls to the saṅgha by lay devotees in an implicit exchange for merit. The wide usage of the iron ball image in Buddhist texts reflects an effort to police and discipline monks and nuns who abuse this critical relationship with their patrons through gluttony.

#### 4.2. Eating the Red-Hot Iron Ball

As noted above, if taken only as suggested by its context in Gāndhārī, the RHIB is imagined in the context of a metalworker's workshop, undoubtedly a common sight in the middle of South Asia's iron age. In fact, one application of the simile of the RHIB in the Dīgha-nikāya focuses on this practical function. In the Pāyāsi-sutta, Kassapa compares the lightness, softness, and flexibility of a living person to a heated iron ball, and the heaviness, firmness, and stiffness of a dead person to a cold one.<sup>198</sup> Here, the description of an "iron ball that is heated all day, burning, blazing, glowing" is nearly identical to the one in our Gāndhārī text:

*P. divasa-santattaṃ ayo-guḷaṃ ādittaṃ sampaḷḷitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ*

*G. aya-ūḍa divasa ṣatata aḍita ... sapacaliḍa sajeḍi-bhuda.*

Despite this similarity, the contexts are considerably different. The simile in the Pāyāsi-sutta has nothing to do with hell, and certainly nothing to do with torture. If we only compared the Gāndhārī version of the simile to this one, we might assume that it is only used in contexts calling for an image conveying heat, or a change of physical state. But we would be missing the full allusive force of the simile.

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<sup>198</sup> DN II 335.

Several texts use the iron ball image to warn against gluttony. For example, the Āpāyika-sutta<sup>199</sup> of the Itivuttaka (It 42-3) contains the following:

*Seyyo ayogulo bhutto  
tatto aggisikhūpamo,  
yañce bhuñjeyya dussīlo  
raṭṭhapinḍaṃ asaṇṇato ti.*

Better to eat an iron ball  
red-hot like a flame,  
than should a wicked person with no control  
eat the people's almsfood.<sup>200</sup>

This verse uses an antithetical proposition to highlight the danger of taking alms without following the discipline expected of a monk or nun. Here we see a basic example of the RHIB as the inversion of the *piṇḍapāta*. The Aggikhandopama-sutta (Sūtra on the Simile of the Mass of Fire)<sup>201</sup> incorporates the antithetical proposition from the Āpāyika-sutta into a longer list of similar propositions. The first is as follows:

*Taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhikkhave? Katamaṃ nu kho varaṃ: yaṃ amuṃ mahantaṃ aggikkhandaṃ  
ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ ālīṅgitvā upanīṣideyya vā upanipajjeyya vā, yaṃ vā  
khattiyakaññaṃ vā brāhmaṇakaññaṃ vā gahapatikaññaṃ vā mudutalunahatthapādaṃ  
ālīṅgitvā upanīṣideyya vā upanipajjeyya vā?*

What do you think, Bhikkhus? Which is better: to embrace the great mass of fire, burning, blazing, and glowing, and sit down or lie down next to it, or to embrace a girl with soft and tender hands and feet – whether from a khattiya, Brahmin, or householder clan – and sit down or lie down next to her?<sup>202</sup>

The answer, of course, is that it is better to embrace the fire because at least that would not lead to hell. A similar proposition involves a red-hot copper ball:

*Taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhikkhave, katamaṃ nu kho varaṃ: yaṃ balavā puriso tattena ayosaṅkunā  
ādittena sampajjalitena sajotibhūtena mukhaṃ vivaritvā tattaṃ lohagulaṃ ādittaṃ*

<sup>199</sup> So-called in B<sup>e</sup>. It is untitled in E<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> This verse follows two that are about hell, as it also does in the *Nirayavagga* of the Pāli *Dhammapada* (Dhp 86), although it doesn't explicitly refer to hell itself. Interestingly, while many of the verses that make up the *Nirayavagga* also occur in the Gāndhārī Khotan *Dharmapada* (Dhp-G<sup>K</sup>), including the verse cited above, they are scattered throughout that version, not grouped in a section dedicated to hell. This is also the case with the Patna *Dharmapada* (Dhp-P) and the Udānavarga (Uv). Thus, in the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup>, the verse containing the iron ball image is not explicitly situated in the context of hell.

<sup>201</sup> AN IV 128-135 = T 125 689a4-c7.

<sup>202</sup> Translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi 2012: 1090.

*sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ mukhe pakkhipeyya, taṃ tassa oṭṭhaṃ pi daheyya mukhaṃ pi daheyya jivhaṃ pi daheyya kaṇṭhaṃ pi daheyya udaram pi daheyya antaṃ pi antagaṇaṃ pi ādāya adbhogaṃ nikkameyya, yaṃ vā khattiyamahāsālānaṃ vā brāhmaṇamahāsālānaṃ vā gahapatimahāsālānaṃ vā saddhādeyyaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ paribhuñjeyyā ti?*

What do you think, Bhikkhus? Which is better, for a strong man to force open one's mouth with a hot iron spike, burning, blazing, and glowing, and insert a hot copper ball, burning, blazing, and glowing, which burns one's lips, mouth, tongue, throat, and stomach, and takes their guts and goes out their bottom, or for one to consume almsfood given out of faith by affluent khattiyas, brahmins, or householders?<sup>203</sup>

Again, the RHIB images in the Āpāyika-sutta and Aggikhandopama-sutta both seem to resonate with Jean Przyluski's observation that the force-feeding of red-hot iron balls was originally a hellish torture for gluttons, particularly among monks, whose gluttony could have tarnished the reputation of the saṅgha that was dependent upon alms.<sup>204</sup>

Elsewhere, the RHIB appears explicitly as a torture in hell. Often hell guardians (P. *nirayapāla*; Ch. 獄卒 "prison wardens"), or sometimes *rakkhasas*,<sup>205</sup> pry open the mouths of hell residents with iron rods and drop in RHIBs that pass through their victims' bodies. Sometimes they do so in response to the prisoner's cries of hunger. The *Samkicca-jātaka*<sup>206</sup> contains perhaps the most graphic description in Pāli of a hot-iron ball torture. In the story, the Prince Brahmadatta slays his father and struggles with guilt. *Samkicca*, the bodhisattva (the Buddha-to-be in a previous incarnation), informs him of the hellish fate of those who

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 131. The Chinese (T 125 689b3-7) has: 寧受人信施之食爲寧以吞熱鐵丸乎? 諸比丘對曰: 寧受人信施之食不吞熱鐵丸. 所以然者此痛不可堪處. 世尊告曰: 我今語汝. 寧吞熱鐵丸不以無戒受人信施. 所以然者吞熱鐵丸痛斯須間. ("Would you rather take people's charitable alms or swallow a red-hot iron ball?" The monks replied saying: 'We'd rather accept the charitable alms and not swallow a red-hot iron ball. This is because the pain would not be able to be endured.' The Buddha replied, saying: 'I tell this to you: You would rather swallow a red-hot iron ball and not take people's alms without restraint. This is because the pain from swallowing a red-hot iron ball is momentary.'")

<sup>204</sup> For an antithetical proposition of the same time in the Vinaya, see Vin III 20-21, where the Buddha says that it would be better to put one's male organ into the mouth of a fiery pit than for it to enter a woman, because at least the first option does not lead to hell. See also Braavig 2009: 265-6. See Przyluski's remarks in Przyluski 1923: 124.

<sup>205</sup> See Jā V 268 for a version with *rakkhasās*.

<sup>206</sup> Jā V 261-77.

commit patricide. Among the penalties one encounters in the so-called Kālasutta ("Black Thread") Hell is the following:

*Tattaṃ pakatṭhitam<sup>207</sup> ayogulañca,  
dīghe ca phāle<sup>208</sup> cirarattatāpīte,  
vikkhambham ādāya vibhajja<sup>209</sup> rajjuhi,  
vivaṭṭe mukhe sampavisanti rakkhasā.<sup>210</sup>*

The red-hot iron ball being cooked,  
when an iron-rod has been heated for a long time,  
taking the prop and binding it with a rope [to prop open the mouth],  
the Rakkhasas drop the [the ball] into the open mouth.

The function of the iron ball is explained further in the commentary:

*Tattaṃ pakkuthitam ayogulañcāti puna pakkuthitam gūthakalalañceva jalita ayogulañca  
khādāpentī. So pana taṃ āhariyamānaṃ disvā mukhaṃ pidheti. Athassa dīghe ciratāpīte  
jalamāne phāle ādāya mukhaṃ vikkhambhetvā vivaritvā rajjubaddhaṃ ayabaliṣaṃ khipitvā  
jivhaṃ nīharitvā tasmiṃ vivaṭṭe mukhe taṃ ayogulaṃ sampavisanti pakkhipanti. Rakkhasāti  
nirayapālā.*

"Heated, boiled iron ball": Now [the demons] make [the person] eat boiled excrement and a hot iron ball. The person, seeing [the demon] bringing [the heated items], shuts tight his mouth. Then, taking up an iron ploughshare that had been heated for a long time, [the demons] prop open [the person's] mouth, drop in an iron fishhook attached to a rope, pull out the tongue, and shove the iron ball into the open mouth. "Rakkhasā-s" [refers to] guardians of hell.<sup>211</sup>

If we reinterpret the Gāndhārī RHIB simile with Āpāyika-sutta and Saṃkicca-jātaka in mind, it is no longer simply a reference to the heat of a metalworker's tool; it contains an implicit warning against gluttony and alludes to a hellish torture.

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<sup>207</sup> B<sup>e</sup> has *pakkuthitam*.

<sup>208</sup> The meaning of *phāle* is uncertain. It always occurs in the same context with the iron ball as a heated instrument. Parallel to RS 20 is Vin I 225: *phālo divasantatto*. The PTSD suggests it might be a spear or rod.

<sup>209</sup> B<sup>e</sup> has *vibandha*

<sup>210</sup> Jā V 268.

<sup>211</sup> Jā V 273.

The Saṃkicca-jātaka's iron ball reference is far from unique. In the Kokālika-sutta of the Sutta Nipāta,<sup>212</sup> we find an example of an iron ball torture in the context of a different set of hells, the Abbuda series, but its function is the same:<sup>213</sup>

*Ayosaṅkusamāhataṭṭhānaṃ, tiṇhadhāram ayasūlam upeti.  
Atha tatta ayoguḷasannibhaṃ, bhojanam atthi tathā patirūpaṃ.*

He goes to the place of impaling upon iron spikes, to the iron stake with its sharp blade. Then there is food like a red-hot iron ball, thus appropriate.<sup>214</sup>

The Kokālika-sutta describes the punishment of eating iron balls as "appropriate," thus directly connecting the punishment and crime, which, here, is described broadly as *bahuni ca duccaritāni cartivā*, "having done many bad deeds."

In the Mahāvastu, in the chapter recounting Mahāmaudgalyāyana's travels through hell, there occurs one of the most comprehensive descriptions of hells in early Indian Buddhist literature.<sup>215</sup> There, the iron ball torture is located at the point at which people are dragged out of the river Vaitaraṇī, or as it is called in the Devadūta-sutta, Khārodakā, "Caustic River." Below are descriptions of the torture first in prose and then verse, at Mvu 1.7-8 and Mvu 1.12, respectively. Here, hell wardens mock the starving and thirsty victims by first making them beg for food and drink, and then feeding them red-hot iron balls and molten copper, more evidence that the iron ball is primarily a punishment for gluttons.

*Tato 'pi sānaṃ<sup>216</sup> narakapālā āyasehi aṅkuṣehi uddharetvā nadītīre ādīptāye bhūmiye  
saṃprajvalitasatejobhūtāye. Āviddhānāṃ evaṃ āha: "Ahaha bho puruṣāḥ! Kim icchatha?" Te  
evaṃ āhansuḥ: "Paribubhukṣitā sma saṃpipāsītā sma." Tato sānaṃ narakapālāḥ*

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<sup>212</sup> Sn 128-9.

<sup>213</sup> It is possible that the description of hell tortures was appended to the Sn Kokālika-sutta, which also appears in the SN and AN without such descriptions.

<sup>214</sup> Translation follows Norman 2001: 77.

<sup>215</sup> A narrator recounts at length Mahāmaudgalyāyana's journeys through hell, which he describes "in brief" (*samāsato*), as well as the Buddha's account of hells, which he describes "at length" (*vistarato*). The two versions contain many similarities, but are not completely parallel. Monika Zin (2015: 275) noted that the text, at times, appears to follow different sources.

<sup>216</sup> On the peculiar form of the pronoun *ta-* (*sa-*), *sānaṃ*, see BHSG §21.44. In BHS, it is most often genitive plural, but Edgerton notes that in at least one case it can be accusative plural.

*ayoviṣkaṃbhanebhi mukhaṃ viṣkaṃbhayitvā ādīptasamprajvalitasatejobhūtehi ayoṣaṇḍaṃ dhamenti mukhaṃ svakaṃ vivarayitvā ādīptāni samprajvalitāni satejobhūtāni ayoguḍāni mukhe samprakṣipanti. "Taṃ bhuñjantāṃ bhavanto!" Tāmrālohaṃ ca sānaṃ vilīnakaṃ pāyayanti. "Pibantāṃ bhavanto." Yo sānaṃ dhamamāna eva oṣṭhaṃ dahati oṣṭhaṃ dahitvā jīhvāṃ dahati jīhvāṃ dahitvā tālukaṃ dahati tālukaṃ dahitvā kaṇṭhaṃ dahati kaṇṭhaṃ dahitvā antraṃ dahati antraṃ dahitvā antraguṇaṃ ādāya adhobhāgena gacchati; na caivaṃ tāvat kālāṃ karonti karmopastabdhatvā.<sup>217</sup>*

And then, the hell wardens lift them up [out of the river] with iron hooks onto the burning, blazing, glowing ground of the riverbank. They say this to [they who are] pierced: "Hey, my good men! What is it that you want?" They reply thus: "We are starved and extremely thirsty." Then the hell wardens prop their mouths open with burning, blazing, glowing iron rods, they forge a mass of iron, force the people to open their own mouths, and then throw in red-hot, burning, blazing, glowing iron balls. "Good sirs, eat this!" And they make them drink molten copper. [They say:] "Drink this!" And being molten, it burns their lips, their tongues, their palates, their throats, their innards, and takes their guts and goes out their bottom; but they do not to that extent die because of [the fact that] their karma [is not exhausted].

This section is followed shortly by verses summarizing the prose:

*Tato kṣatā ca ārtā ca bahurudhiramrakṣitā,  
asipatranā muktāḥ yānti vaitaraṇīm nadīm.*

*Tena tām avagāhanti taptāṃ kṣārodakāṃ nadīm,  
teṣāṃ ca aṅgamaṅgāni kṣatāni pratividhyata.*

*Tato 'ṅkuṣeḥi viddhitvā āyasaiḥ yamapauruṣāḥ,  
utkṣipitvā nadīṭire bhuñjāventi ayoguḍāṃ.*

*Tāmrālohaṃ ca śulvaṃ ca āpāyenti vilīnakaṃ,  
tam eṣāṃ antraṃ ādāya adhobhāgena gacchati.<sup>218</sup>*

Then, wounded, afflicted, and smeared all over with blood,  
freed from the sword-leaf forest, they go the river Vaitaraṇī.

Then they plunge into the burning river of caustic water,  
and their wounded limbs are torn one from the other.

Then Yama's men pierce them with iron hooks,  
and pulling them onto the river bank, they force-feed them iron balls.

And they force-feed them molten red copper,  
which takes their guts and goes out their bottom.

<sup>217</sup> Mvu 1.7-8. Translation based on Jones 1949.

<sup>218</sup> Mvu 1.12.

In the Chinese DĀ sūtra 30, the *shìjì jīng* 世記經 (Sūtra of the Account of the World),<sup>219</sup> iron balls are featured in punishments of several minor hells, including one (小獄) aptly called "Iron Ball Hell" 鐵丸地獄. In the "Hell of Bubbling Excrement" (沸屎地獄), iron balls are literally everywhere (T 1 122a15-19):

其地獄中有沸屎，鐵丸自然滿前。驅迫罪人使抱鐵丸，燒其身手，至其頭面，無不周遍。復使探撮舉著口中燒其脣舌。從咽至腹通徹下過無不焦爛。

In that hell, there is bubbling excrement and iron balls naturally appear everywhere before them. [The hell wardens]<sup>220</sup> goad forward the wrong-doers, forcing them to embrace the iron balls, which burn that person from the hands up to their face, covering everything. Then [the hell wardens] force them to gather up [the hot iron balls] and put them in their mouths, burning their lips and tongues. From their throats to their stomachs [the balls] pass through penetrating down, burning everything.

This creative use of RHIBs in tortures seems to have influenced their appearance in later East Asian descriptions of hells, such as those in Genshin's popular 10<sup>th</sup> century *Ōjōyōshū* (T 2682), in which iron balls rain from the sky<sup>221</sup> and hell wardens shoot them from their eyes.<sup>222</sup>

The image of the RHIB is obviously prolific in early Buddhist literature, and it plays a significant role in many accounts of the tortures of hell. I need not belabor the point here; it turns out that the simile of the red-hot iron ball in our Gāndhārī sūtra is not, in the end, innocuous. Its subtle reference seems to draw threads from a wide world of horrific infernal punishment. If the audience of our text understood the range of the iron ball's function as a torture device in Buddhist literature, then the force of the Gāndhārī simile would have evoked images of such tortures in their mind. Of course, I cannot presume to know what

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<sup>219</sup> On this text, cf. chapter 3 note 45.

<sup>220</sup> The subject is unclear here. Are hell wardens goading prisoners forward, or are the iron balls themselves doing it?

<sup>221</sup> T 2682 36a4-5: 雨大鐵丸亦滿城內。

<sup>222</sup> T 2682 35c26: 有六十四眼迸散鐵丸。

was in the mind of those in the audience at any given teaching or recitation, but it is reasonable to suppose that the RHIB was used so widely in Buddhist literature *because* it was already a powerful image associated with monastic discipline, hell, and torture in the people's imagination. That is, in the same way that for a Westerner the image of a pitchfork immediately draws to mind the Devil and his tortures, the RHIB probably called to mind the tortures described above.

### 4.3. RHIB and Other Tortures in Earthly Punishment

The RHIB of RS 20 does not only allude to a fear of cosmic punishment in hell. It also symbolizes real world punishments used ancient India. In fact, some sūtras make this connection explicit by juxtaposing the punishments of hell with those meted out to criminals by kings. In the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta and the Devadūta-sutta, Yama often asks newly arrived denizens of hell if, upon seeing a criminal tortured by a king for bad deeds on earth, they did not realize by analogy that they too were susceptible to punishments for their bad deeds in hell. In the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta,<sup>223</sup> the Buddha, foreshadowing the tortures of hell, describes some common punishments inflicted on criminals. Among the various tortures is one called the "porridge pot," or "gruel pot" (*bilangathālika*), which is described by commentators as follows:

*Bilaṅgathālikan ti kañjiya-ukkhali-kamma-kāraṇaṃ. Taṃ karontā sīsakapālaṃ uppādetvā tattaṃ ayogulaṃ saṇḍāsena gahetvā tattha pakkhipanti. Tena matthaluṅgaṃ pakkaṭṭhitvā upari uttarati.*

"Gruel Pot" torture refers to the sour rice-gruel pot torture; while they do it, they tear off the top of the head, grab a red-hot iron ball with pincers, and drop it [inside] there, after which the brains boil over.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>223</sup> MN III 163-78, especially 163-4.

<sup>224</sup> MN-a II 58. Also AN-a II 88.

This and many others make up a formulaic list that occurs in several places in the Pāli canon.<sup>225</sup> The first sūtra of the Book of Twos in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, the Vajja-sutta (Crime Sūtra),<sup>226</sup> describes faults that lead to punishment in this world (i.e., criminal acts punished by the king) and those that lead to punishment in the next world (i.e., unrighteous acts punished in hell). Together with the *bilāṅgathālika* iron ball torture, we find the following extensive list of punishments for criminals in this world:<sup>227</sup>

Table 5: List of punishments in Vajja-sutta.

|                                              |                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Kasāhi/vettehi/addhadaṇḍakehi tāḷenti</i> | Beating with whips/canes/clubs      |
| <i>Hattha/pāda/kaṇṇa/nāsa-chedaṃ</i>         | Cutting off of hands/feet/ears/nose |
| <i>Bilāṅgathālika</i>                        | "Gruel Pot"                         |
| <i>Saṅkhamuṇḍika</i>                         | "Polished-Shell Shave"              |
| <i>Rāhumukha</i>                             | "Rāhu's Mouth"                      |
| <i>Jotimālika</i>                            | "Fiery Wreath"                      |
| <i>Hatthapajjotika</i>                       | "Flaming Hand"                      |
| <i>Erakavattika</i>                          | "Blades of Grass"                   |
| <i>Cīrakavāsika</i>                          | "Bark Dress"                        |
| <i>Eṇeyyaka</i>                              | "Antelope"                          |

<sup>225</sup> E.g., AN I 47-8, AN II 122, MN I 87, Mil 290.

<sup>226</sup> AN I 47-52, especially 47-8.

<sup>227</sup> For the English names of these tortures, I follow Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation (2012: 139), except for *Palālapīṭhaka*, which he translated as "Rolled-up Pallaise."

|                                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Balisamaṃsika</i>              | "Meat Hooks"                 |
| <i>Kahāpaṇaka</i>                 | "Coins"                      |
| <i>Khārāpatacchika</i>            | "Lye Pickling"               |
| <i>Palighaparivattika</i>         | "Pivoting Pin"               |
| <i>Palālapīṭhaka</i>              | "Straw Chair"                |
| <i>Tattenapi telena osiṅcante</i> | Splashing with boiling oil   |
| <i>Sunakhehi pi khādāpente</i>    | Feeding to dogs              |
| <i>Jīvantampi sūle uttāsente</i>  | Impaling alive on stakes     |
| <i>Asināpi sīsaṃ chindante</i>    | Cutting off head with sword. |

It is interesting to note that there is a discrepancy between the way some of these esoterically named earthly punishments are understood in Indian and Chinese materials. For instance, there is a punishment called *Rāhumukha*, or "Rāhu's Mouth." Rāhu is a semi-divine being in Indian stories who attempts to consume the sun and the moon. He is often depicted in images with one or the other in his mouth. The Pāli version of the Devadūta-sutta gives only the name of the torture with no description, but the commentary explains: *Taṃ karontā saṅkunā mukhaṃ vivaritvā antomukhe dīpaṃ jālenti* ("Having propped open the mouth with a prop, they ignite a lamp in his mouth"). When the Chinese translated the sutta, they apparently did not know the story of Rāhu, and offered the following interpretations: 或著鐵豬口中 ("some are placed/burned in an iron pig mouth"), and 或置鐵虎口中燒 ("some are

placed in an iron tiger mouth and burned").<sup>228</sup> Neither of the two Chinese tortures, which seem to refer to something like the medieval European "brazen bull" torture, correspond to anything found in Pāli. Another example of apparent confusion in translation occurs around the torture called *erakavattika*, which means something like "Twists of Grass" or "Grass Coverlet." One Chinese translation describes wrapping the body in grass and burning it (草纏火燒),<sup>229</sup> and another describes a person having their stomach opened up and attacked with grass: 或開其腹以草撻之.<sup>230</sup> However, the Pāli commentary describes *erakavattika* as follows:

*Taṃ karontā heṭṭhāgīvato paṭṭhāya cammavaṭṭe kantitvā goppake ṭhapenti, atha naṃ yottehi bandhitvā kaḍḍhanti. So attano cammavaṭṭe akkamitvā akkamitvā patati.*

Having cut strips of skin from the bottom of the neck to the ankles, they bind him with a yoke and drag him. He steps on his own flayed skin over and over and falls.

Here again there seems to be a disconnect reflecting a difference in torture practices in India and China.

An example of the juxtaposition of earthly punishment and punishment in hell that does not contain a RHIB but is still useful in this discussion occurs in the story of Ambasakkhara in the Petavatthu. The titular king and a *yakkha-peta* (*yakṣa* ghost) observe the extended torture of a criminal and discuss his fear of being reborn in hell.<sup>231</sup> The man being tortured is publicly either tied up on or impaled upon a stake,<sup>232</sup> a punishment that is often among the

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<sup>228</sup> E.g., T 26 504b29-c1.

<sup>229</sup> T 26 504 b29. The Arthaśāstra mentions a punishment in which the criminal is wound in mats and burned alive, which shows that this Chinese interpretation did reflect an actual Indian torture.

<sup>230</sup> T 125 675a20. According to the ASD, 撻 might be equivalent to 击, which can mean "to attack."

<sup>231</sup> Ambasakkarapetavatthu in the Mahāvagga of the Pv 45-57.

<sup>232</sup> *Sūle āropeti*. Later in the text: *sūlāvutaṃ* ("strung up on" or "put up on").

first suffered by new denizens of hell.<sup>233</sup> The sight of the tortured man's prolonged suffering inspires the ghost to warn the king that he too is at risk of such a horrible fate:

*Anekabhāgena guṇena seyyo  
ayameva sūlo nirayena tena.  
Mā ekantadukkhaṃ kaṭukaṃ bhayānakaṃ  
ekantattibbaṃ nirayaṃ patāyaṃ.*<sup>234</sup>

Many times better<sup>235</sup>  
even that stake is than hell.  
May he not fall to the utterly painful, severe, frightful,  
utterly dark hell.

Here, the modern reader is offered a glimpse into the world of ancient Indian public torture through a scene that is reminiscent of the early modern European spectacles described by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*.<sup>236</sup>

One might assume that Buddhists were borrowing the details of torture for their texts from real-world executioners, but there are also stories describing transmission going the other way, where kings institute punishments according to those found in Buddhist texts. One such story appears in the legendary accounts of the most famous king in Indian Buddhist history, Aśoka. In the account of Faxian's journey to India (T 2085), Aśoka (Ā Yù) stumbles upon hell and thinks to himself, "If Yama is able to make a prison to punish wrong-doers, then why shouldn't I, a ruler of people, make a hell to punish wrong-doers?"<sup>237</sup> In the Sanskrit Aśokāvadāna, Aśoka hires the executioner Caṇḍagirika to build a state-of-the-art torture chamber that was beautiful on the outside but horrible on the inside, and from

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<sup>233</sup> E.g., Sn 128: *ayosaṃkusamāhataṭṭhānaṃ tiṇhadhāraṃ ayasūlaṃ upeti...* ("He goes to the place of impaling iron spikes, to the iron stake with its sharp blade..."). Translation follows Norman 2001: 88.

<sup>234</sup> Pv 46.

<sup>235</sup> I follow the PTSD (sv. guṇa<sup>1</sup>) translating *anekabhāgena guṇena seyyo* as "many times better."

<sup>236</sup> Foucault 1977 (1975). See also § 4.4.

<sup>237</sup> T 2085 863c1-2: 鬼王尚能作地獄治罪人。我是人主何不作地獄治罪人耶。

which no one who entered could leave again (*yas tatra praviśet tasya na bhūyo nirgama*).<sup>238</sup>

This reminds one of the warning above the entrance to hell in Dante's *Inferno*: "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here."

Caṇḍagirika is said to have been inspired for the design of his "beautiful prison" (*ramaṇīyakaṃ bandhanaṃ*) after hearing a monk in Pāṭalipūtra's Kukkuṭārāma preach the Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra. The section the monk preached corresponds to the Pāli Devadūta-sutta as we have it today (MN III 186). In the Chinese *Āyùwáng jīng* 阿育王經 (Sūtra of King Aśoka), the monk is said to have preached the *wǔtiānshǐ xiūduōluó* 五天使修多羅 (Five Heavenly Messengers Sūtra), which corresponds to the Devadūta-sutta.<sup>239</sup> In the Sanskrit Aśokāvadāna, part of the quoted text is precisely the iron ball torture described above:

*Narakapālā...ayomayena viṣkaṃbhakena mukhadvāraṃ viṣkaṃbhya ayoguḍān ādīptān  
pradīptān saṃprajvalitān ekajvālībhūtānāsye prakṣipānti...Evaṃ duḥkhā hi bhikṣavo narakāḥ  
sattvā narakeṣūpapannāḥ.*<sup>240</sup>

Hell wardens...fix open the mouth with an iron prop and drop into the mouth red-hot iron balls that are burning, blazing, glowing...Thus, is the suffering of beings who are born in hell.

Here is a story about a political actor intentionally making use of a hell torture described in Buddhist didactic literature for the purpose of political control here and now. Moreover, that it is the red-hot iron ball torture, which is described just as in our Gāndhārī sūtra as "burning, blazing, glowing," shows that that particular torture was among the early archetypal symbolic representations of hell.

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<sup>238</sup> A-av 45.

<sup>239</sup> T 2043 134a9-10. Przyluski discusses the complicated relationship between the Devadūta-sutta and the Bālapaṇḍita-sutta in 1923: 121-130. See also van Put 2007.

<sup>240</sup> Divy 236.012.

Turning to a Brahmanical text with significant political overtones, the Manusmṛti threatens people who do not comply with socially acceptable Brahmanical behaviors with punishments reminiscent of those we find in Buddhist hells. Olivelle notes that *śāstras* like this one were not just commentaries by pandits, but rather actual reflections of what was practiced on the ground.<sup>241</sup> In the section on the Śrāddha ceremony for recently dead relatives (III.133), we find a threat similar to that in the Buddhist Aggikhandopama and Āpāyika-suttas:

*Yāvato grasate piṇḍāṇ havyakavyeṣvamantravit,  
tāvato grasate pretya dīptañchūlarṣṭyayoguḍān.*<sup>242</sup>

As many rice balls as one ignorant of the mantras swallows at a sacrifice for the gods and ancestors, so many red-hot spikes, spears, and iron balls will he swallow after death.

Instead of warning against overindulging in alms, a particularly Buddhist monastic concern, the Manusmṛti warns against eating offerings designated for ancestors, a Brahmanical concern. Elsewhere in the text, it is said that one caught in an indiscretion with a guru's wife must extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace a red-hot image of a woman (XI.104), a punishment that again reminds us of the Aggikhandopama-sutta. In another place, it is mentioned that one who insults twice-borns will suffer a red-hot iron spike being shoved into his mouth (VIII.271). Rebirth in specific hells – including all of the so-called eight-great hells – is also prescribed for those who would accept gifts from a corrupt king (IV.87-90).<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Olivelle 2005: 64.

<sup>242</sup> Edition from Olivelle 2005.

<sup>243</sup> The full list is at Mn 4.87-90: *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava*, *Kālasūtra*, *Mahānaraka*, *Samjīvana*, *Mahāvīci*, *Tapana*, *Sampratāpana*, *Samghāta*, *Sakākola*, *Kuḍmala*, *Pūtimṛttika*, *Lohaśaṅku*, *Rjīṣa*, *Panthāna*, *Śālmali*, *Nadī*, *Āsipatravana*, and *Lohadāraka*. These hells appear to be shared across South Asian traditions. See Kirfel 1920: 148-173 for a detailed comparison of the names of hells in Purāṇas and Śāstras.

Buddhist hell texts also share some descriptions of punishments with the Arthaśāstra. For instance, the removal of hands, feet, ears, and nose are common in both the Arthaśāstra and in the list of punishments for criminals in Buddhist texts (e.g., MN III 164). In the Arthaśāstra, those guilty of committing adultery with the queen are cooked alive in a cauldron (*kumbhīpāka*; 4.13.33), which is one of the preliminary punishments in Mahāniraya (e.g., MN III 183). Moreover, some are condemned to drink hot oil and then be cooked for a day (4.8.22), a torture reminiscent of that called Rāhu's Mouth discussed above.

Considering the many descriptions of earthly and infernal punishments that are shared among the Manusmṛti, Arthaśāstra, and Buddhist texts, despite the significantly different orientations of each literature, we can say that hell and the details of its punishments were to some extent pan-Indian. Moreover, it shows that this culture of punishment functioned across political, social, and religious contexts, and that the boundary between each was blurry. The fact that punishments for criminals described in Buddhist texts echo those found in legal texts like the Arthaśāstra also suggests that there is some historical reality to the Buddhist accounts of torture. In all cases, hell and its associated tortures seems to have functioned to control bodies, and, as Gananath Obeyesekere has noted, "to create fear and dread in the population as to what might occur if heinous crimes are committed."<sup>244</sup>

#### **4.4. Conclusion: Discipline, Punishment, and Liberation**

The widespread use of the RHIB trope testifies to its efficacy as a tool for inspiring awe and fear of both hellish and earthly torture. It drew upon and in turn informed actual

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<sup>244</sup> Obeyesekere 2002.

punishments for criminals in order to map a Buddhist cosmos – and thus a Buddhist theory of karmic retribution – onto everyday reality. Using the language of Tweed, the RHIB simile draws down the otherwise fantastic realm of hell, and the motivation it inspires, to "dwell" in a common iron ball that anyone could experience locally. In this pedagogical technique, the teacher combines in the simile the imagined and the concrete, the metaphorical and the literal, where the tug-of-war between the two encourages the student to use his or her imagination instead of merely passively absorbing information.

Looking back at the two similes of RS20 and the Buddhist teachings that they illustrate, it is important to address the fact that both are explicitly concerned with controlling bodies. The simile of the fortified city suggests that failure to police embodied sensory experience can lead to the arising of suffering. The simile of the RHIB suggests that failure to realize the four noble truths can lead one to experience not just the conflagration of saṃsāra, but the conflagration of torture in hell as well. This emphasis on control is no accident of the manuscript under discussion here. Restraint of body and mind is a pervasive theme of early Buddhist literature in general. Considering the similes of the fortified city and iron ball, how should one interpret this discourse of control?

Useful tools for this interpretation can be found in the work of theorists of religion and history. Looking first at Mary Douglas' classic *Purity and Danger*, Douglas argues that the development of social structures with clearly defined boundaries is often accompanied by the development of notions of pollution within that structure.<sup>245</sup> That is, at the same time that a social structure like the Buddhist saṅgha becomes established, ideas of what constitute a

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<sup>245</sup> Douglas 1984 (1966).

polluting threat to that structure are developed. Moreover, Douglas regards the body as a kind of microcosm of the social order at large, and argues that what enters and exits the body symbolizes what enters and exits the social unit.<sup>246</sup> In this way, bodily impurity, or "dirt" as Douglas calls it, is experienced by the group as social impurity.

One could say that both sūtras of RS 20 reveal the Buddhist community's concern with pollution. The simile of the fortified city with its six doors stresses that one must *keep out* of the body what is antithetical to successful practice. The hell tortures with fiery instruments alluded to in the RHIB simile are usually associated with gluttony or sexual impropriety, in other words, physical impurity. Such a concern with what enters and exits the body is also reflected in the Buddhist Vinaya, which defines ideal boundaries within which monastic bodies must be restrained, and by which monks and nuns must develop what Asad called "the will to obey."<sup>247</sup> Those guilty of the most severe offenses (*pārājika* offenses) like sexual impropriety, may be expelled from the order or even reborn in hell,<sup>248</sup> and as we've seen above, the connection between gluttony and certain hell tortures is well-established.

For the monks, this is not problem of holographic symbolism; it reflects a real social concern. In the early period of Buddhism, gluttony would have been one of the most dangerous offenses for monks to commit as it violated the essential relationship between the saṅgha and the community. The lay community offered food to the saṅgha, and the saṅgha offered merit to the lay community. Why should patrons offer food if the monks and nuns are overindulgent, and thus no longer effective sources of merit? As Buddhists attempted to

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid, 4: "Sometimes bodily orifices seem to represent points of entry or exit to social units, or bodily perfection can symbolize an ideal theocracy." See also pg. 125.

<sup>247</sup> Asad 1993: 125.

<sup>248</sup> Braarvig 2009: 265.

establish new saṅghas across regional and cultural boundaries – as in greater Gandhāra during the first two centuries CE – the legitimacy of their order and the trust of their patrons was of ultimate concern. Impurity would not only jeopardize an individual's practice, but also the saṅgha's very existence.<sup>249</sup>

This anxiety is illustrated by the prolific use of the image of the RHIB in Buddhist literature as the inversion of the *piṇḍapāṭa*, the round balls or clumps of food received as donations by begging monks. In examples from the sūtras noted above, the iron ball is usually a punishment for indulgent monks. But the iron ball is also threatened to patrons who don't respect the practice of donating *piṇḍapāṭa*. In the Koṭīkarṇāvadāna there is an example of a lay person eating the iron ball in the *pretaloka* because he did not offer the *piṇḍa* to Buddhist monks while he was alive. He explains that he did not want to feed a monk begging at his door, instead saying, "Hey baldy! Why don't you eat an iron ball?"<sup>250</sup> As a result of his karma, anything he ate in the *pretaloka* turned into an iron ball. Here the text is meant to frighten lay people into giving alms to Buddhist monks, perhaps reflecting the public-facing nature of Avadānas as opposed to the monastic-facing sūtras. In this and other cases, anxiety about the saṅgha-community relationship based on almsgiving and the didactic role of the iron ball in policing this relationship is evident.

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<sup>249</sup> The emphasis placed on maintaining the purity of the saṅgha is evident in one of the earliest and most important of Buddhist monastic traditions, the recitation of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra. This "inventory of offenses" was – and still is in many Buddhist communities – recited by a given saṅgha as a group each fortnight at the Uposatha ritual, during which members would also publicly disclose any offenses to the community (Prebish 1996 [1975]: 11). If we consider the Uposatha ritual in light of Douglas' work, the "dirt which is normally destructive," that is, the indulgent behaviors, can "become creative," that is restorative for the saṅgha (Douglas 160). In other words, the public disclosure of impurity offenses serves not just to punish guilty individuals, but also to reinforce the social structure and renew the community members' commitment to it.

<sup>250</sup> Divy 8.021: *kasmāt sa muṇḍakaḥ śramaṇako 'yoguḍaṃ na bhakṣayati?*

Douglas' theory is useful when considering bodily pollution and control from the perspective of the growing monastic community, but it is less useful if we approach the images of control in our texts from the perspective of the individual practitioner within the sophisticated system of mental and physical training offered in Buddhist literature. Both sūtras, and Buddhist didactic sūtra literature as a whole, aim to teach the individual how to end suffering (e.g., Suhadukha-sūtra), to see the world as it really is (e.g., Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra), and ultimately to succeed in meditation and become an *arhat*. Regardless of the historical social reality of early Indian Buddhism, the rhetoric of its primary teachings should also be understood as part of this soteriological path. As Stephen Teiser put it:

The torments of hell are used to illustrate to meditators the power of their own mental fabrications, the manner in which they are responsible for constructing the world around them and for filling that world not just with the tortures of hell but also with *yakṣas*, ogres, and less corporeal forms of self-doubt and delusion.<sup>251</sup>

In other words, the discourse functions not only to frighten lay people into supporting the saṅgha and to regulate the behavior of the saṅgha itself, but also to inspire the individual practitioner.

Another useful lens through which to examine our discourse of control, particularly regarding the GCH and the iron ball, is Michel Foucault's analysis in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault shows how the spectacle of public corporal punishment in pre-eighteenth century Western Europe served to reinforce the authority of the ruler and to deter the public from disobedience. He argued that corporal punishment and the public display of agony in earthly execution was made to evoke the parallel tortures of hell. In many cases, punishments were designed to match a specific crime, creating a system of symbolic torture which Vico called

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<sup>251</sup> Teiser 1988: 437.

"an entire poetics,"<sup>252</sup> and Rossi called "the poetry of Dante put into laws."<sup>253</sup> Besides the obvious intention behind Buddhist hell imagery to inspire fear of disobedience, there is in the concept of matching the punishment (e.g., swallowing a red-hot iron ball) with the crime (e.g., gluttony) a clear parallel to the systems Foucault discusses. This is no doubt also connected to the idea of purity – that the karma associated with certain misdeeds can be "boiled off" (from the verb *√pac*, "to cook, boil, roast") by analogous retributive measures. Foucault also describes the shift in the Western judicial system from one in which offenders were publicly tortured to a prison system based on discipline and reform, or as Talal Asad paraphrases, "an economy of training in which body and soul are molded carefully, almost solicitously, by power."<sup>254</sup> We might consider the message of the GCS in a similar light: The Buddha is offering a system of discipline (*yoge karaṇio*, he says, "effort is to be made!") for this world to avoid the corporal punishment in the next.

But here again it is important to avoid the temptation to explain the Buddhist emphasis on discipline solely through the hermeneutic of suspicion. The teachings in our sūtras do not seek to control bodies *merely* as a means of political, social, or ritual control. Such is undoubtedly part of the social history of Buddhism over two-and-a-half millennia, but, one cannot ignore the stated aims of the didactic texts themselves, namely, to demonstrate that self-control and one's clear perception of reality can lead to liberation from suffering here and in the hereafter. If these texts are about power and knowledge, they are at least in part

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<sup>252</sup> Cited in Foucault 1977 (1975): 45.

<sup>253</sup> "C'était de la poésie du Dante mise en lois." Rossi 1829: 26 n.1; quoted in Foucault 1977: 34. Speaking about the "well-defined procedure" and "regulated practice" of matching punishments to crimes, Foucault says: "the various stages, their duration, the instruments used, the length of ropes and the heaviness of weights used, the number of interventions made by the interrogating magistrate, all this was...carefully codified" (40-41).

<sup>254</sup> Asad 1993: 88.

also about one's own power over and knowledge of one's self. Asad reads the difference between discipline in a Christian monastic setting and institutions like prisons in a similar way: "The obedient monk is a person for whom obedience is *his* virtue – in the sense of being his ability, potentiality, power – a Christian virtue developed through discipline."<sup>255</sup>

Read in this light, the teachings in our sūtras are far from constituting the "opium of the people," as Marx characterized religion. If they call for submission from one perspective, at another they exhort: "wake up!" and "strive diligently!" Moreover, they do not ask for patience in the present world in return for a reward after death, but instead call for practice here and now in order to escape the very enslavement that Marx argued religion – that momentary "sigh of the oppressed" – only made more tolerable. The similes of the fortified city and red-hot iron ball may on the one hand function as rhetorical tools for legitimizing discipline, punishment, and control, but on the other hand, they are records of a Buddhist concern for the mental, physical, and spiritual freedom of the individual. That our two similes can operate in complex ways at both levels must in part contribute to their fitness as teaching tools, and their longevity as evidenced in the literature.

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<sup>255</sup> Asad 1993: 125.

CHAPTER 5: PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

An introduction to the Senior Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Buddhist manuscripts, including comments on the clay pot in which it was found, the presumed date of its composition, and the physical construction of the manuscripts can be found in Salomon 2003: 87-89.<sup>256</sup> Glass further describes the process of unrolling and conserving the Senior scrolls (2007: 71). As Glass notes, each scroll was numbered according to the order in which the packet containing it was opened for inspection. Thus, RS 20 was in the twentieth packet to be opened.

RS 20 is a birch bark scroll measuring at the longest points approximately 19.6 cm high and 22.3 cm wide. At the time it was interred in the pot, it had been rolled vertically with the recto on the inside, pressed flat to form a long strip, and then folded in half (Salomon 2003: 84). Because it was creased, when the brittle bark was unrolled by conservators it broke cleanly along the edges, leaving seventeen large fragments that preserve the text fairly well. However, due to the brittle nature of the aged bark, during the unrolling many smaller fragments also broke off. All of the fragments are now preserved in a glass frame (figure 1). At least a dozen minor fragments remain "floating" among the major fragments, and thirty-two additional minor fragments were collected and framed together below the major fragments. In some cases, small pieces of the manuscript along the broken creases of the major fragments had folded backwards, resulting in text belonging to one side appearing upside-down on the other side.

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<sup>256</sup> Here and throughout part II, I primarily use in-line references for the ease of the reader. Most of the discussion in the following chapters includes detailed philological analysis that relies heavily on a small number of related studies, which the reader can more efficiently reference in the main text than in footnotes.

I have endeavored to digitally reconstruct the manuscript in its entirety, slightly adjusting the seventeen major fragments to align the text, and repositioning six of the "floating" fragments, thirty-one of the minor fragments that had been gathered below the manuscript, and ten of the folded pieces.<sup>257</sup> Figure 2 shows the minor fragments after digital extraction. Figures 3 and 4 are the digitally reconstructed recto and verso of the manuscript. Figure 5 shows the reconstructed manuscript where all of the major fragments are decolored to highlight the minor fragments and folded pieces that had been digitally restored to their original places.

Because the major fragments have warped slightly, it is impossible to arrange them in such a way that the text aligns at all points, even if a fragment is positioned correctly. The same is true of the minor fragments. In cases where I was not able to arrange a minor fragment to show its clear connection to more than one major fragment or other minor fragments, I placed it where it would most help clarify an otherwise difficult reading. In the text notes, I have included many images of details of the manuscript that are relevant to specific textual problems. In some cases, those detailed images are modified from figures 3 and 4.

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<sup>257</sup> I used the open source digital image editing program GIMP 2 for all reconstructions. I was not able to successfully place all of the minor fragments. It is a many-weeks-long project at the least to digitally drag, rotate, and test small fragments at every possible juncture on both sides of the manuscript, especially when a fragment does not contain text. Moreover, with the text almost entirely reconstructed, the return on investing more time into the few still unplaced fragments became, at a certain point, negligible.



Figure 1: RS 20 recto as it is currently framed with minor fragments collected at the bottom.



Figure 2: Minor fragments. Those marked in blue boxes were not able to be placed.

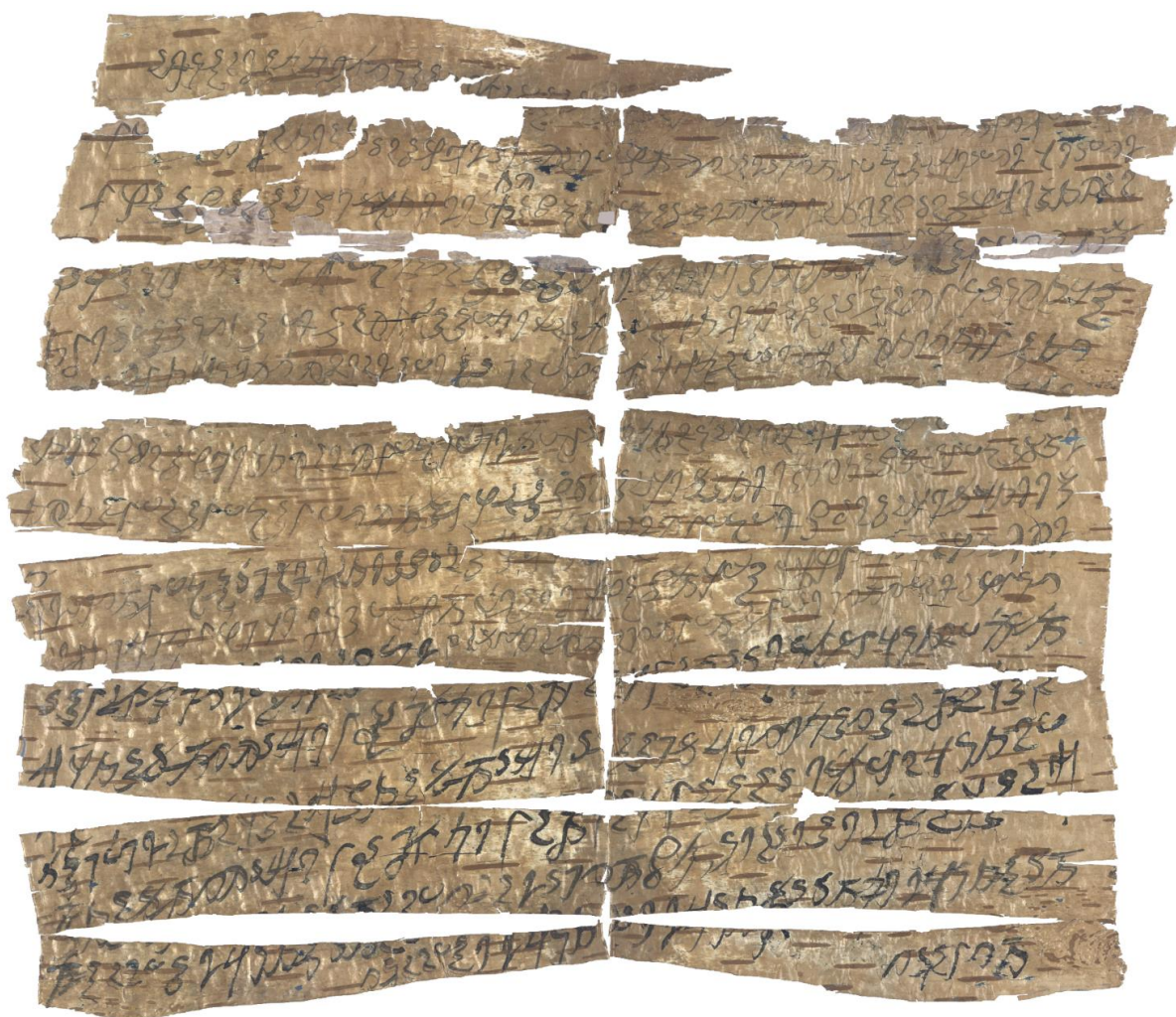


Figure 3: Recto after digital reconstruction.

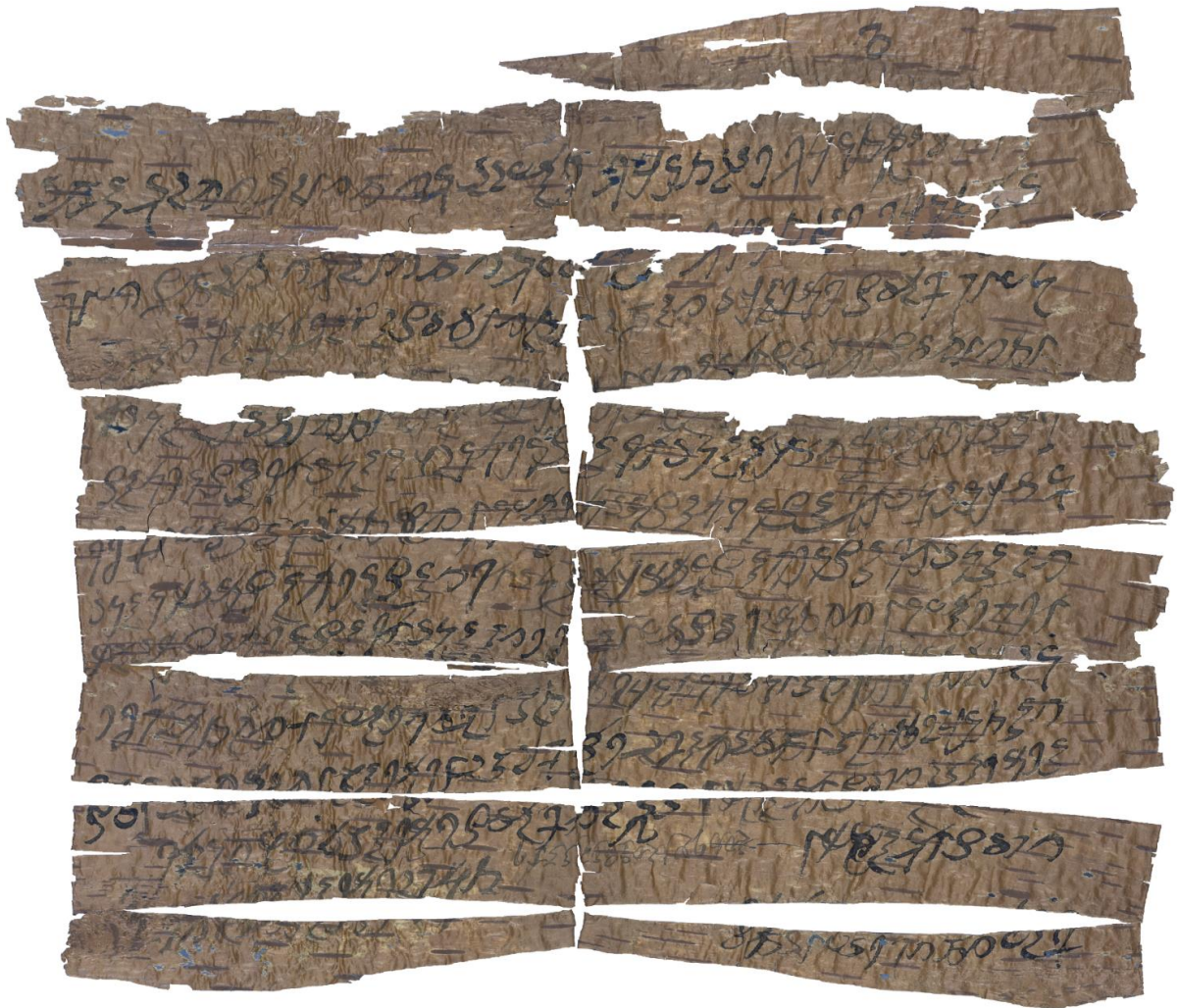


Figure 4: Verso after digital reconstruction.



*Figure 5: Verso with digitally replaced minor fragments highlighted.*

## CHAPTER 6: PALEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

### 6.1. Paleography

The paleographic characteristics of the Senior scribe – including the instrument used, general features of the hand, and character by character analysis – have been discussed at length by Glass in his comprehensive study of RS 5 (2007: 85-108). Further studies of Senior paleography in scrolls 14, 19, and 12, can be found in Salomon 2008: 333, Lee 2009: 45-9, and Silverlock 2015: 148-161, respectively. Because all scrolls of the Senior collection were written by the same scribe, Glass's study applies to the present manuscript as well, and thus a complete account of the paleography of scroll 20 will not be provided here. For reference, a survey of the Kharoṣṭhī script as written by the Senior scribe can be found in Glass 2007: 92-3.

However, there are a few paleographic peculiarities in scroll 20 that are worthy of mention. The conjunct *rta* occurs twice:



*rta* with correction



*rta*

It is well attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī, but has not yet been included in Senior paleographic analyses.

There is also an otherwise unattested akṣara in the top right portion of the verso that appears to be *kr* with both *i* and *o* diacritics. It is separated from the rest of the text, and hence might be a kind of folio identifier:



*kri/kro*

If it is a folio identifier, it is unclear where *kri* or *kro* would fit into a greater organizing principle. As Salomon (2006) has shown, Kharoṣṭhī characters arranged in the *arapacana* sequence have been used as location markers for stone masons in Gandhāran stupa architecture, and there is one manuscript in the Bajaur Collection in which verses are arranged according to this syllabary (Strauch 2007: § 6.3.4), but no manuscript collections are known to have used it to arrange folios. Moreover, neither *kri* nor *kro* (or *ki* or *ko*, for that matter) appear in the forty-two character *arapacana* sequence. Therefore, if this sign is a folio identifier, it is not clear how it functions.

With respect to the paleography, if the reading *kri/kro* is correct, the base akṣara *ka* is what Glass has called a type 1 *ka* (2000: § 2.1.), which is different from the cursive *ka*, Glass's type 3 (2000: § 2.1.), as written by the Senior scribe. It should be noted that no other Senior scroll whose top is preserved contains a similarly isolated sign.



*śa*



*śa*

Silverlock has recently shown that the Senior scribe distinguished the modified *ś* with a sharp rightward footmark from the unmodified *ś* with significant regularity. In his study of

published Senior Collection scrolls (RS 5, 12, 14, and 19), he shows that 92% of the time *śa* and *ṣa* are distinguished by the Senior scribe along phonetic and etymological grounds (2015: 151 [§ 4.2.2]). Unmodified *śa* reflects an original initial *śa*, *śr*, *śṛ*, or *śṛ*, or an original medial geminate (e.g., Skt. *rś* = G *-(ś)ṣ-*), while modified *śa* reflects an original medial *śa* whose pronunciation has probably become voiced and fricativized in Gāndhārī. Data from this manuscript largely agrees with Silverlock's findings; at least 14/19 occurrences of *śa/śa* are consistent with the distinction noted above.

Of the examples that apparently do not follow the normal pattern, three occur in the word *-sapāśa-* = Skt. *saṃsparśa* (4, 8 [2x]), where OIA intervocalic *-rś-* goes to modified *ś-* even though *-ṣ-* is anticipated. In one occurrence, it is written without the modified character (3). The related form *phraśa-vihara* (= BHS *sparśa-vihāra*, "comfortable condition") occurs in RS 12 (e.g., lines 32, 35, 39, 51), where Skt. *-rś-* also goes to *ś-*. Here we might find evidence for the relatively consistent use of the unexpected modified form in this word. In BHS, *sparśa-vihāra* is the regular form of this compound, but the variants *phāsu-*, *phāsa-*, and *(a)phāṣa(ka)-* also occur (BHSD sv.). In P, the equivalent is *phāsu-vihāra*. The etymology of this compound is unclear, but Edgerton suggests that BHS *sparśa* might be a hyper-Sanskritization of *phāsu*. The fact that G *phraśa* (RS 12) and *-sapāśa-* (RS 20) have modified *ś* suggests that they derive from an underlying OIA form with a single intervocalic retroflex sibilant, perhaps *phāṣa* or *phāṣu*. However, *phraśa* clearly retains *-r-*, suggesting an original form closer to *sparśa*. It is likely that there is some degree of cross-contamination between P *phāsu*, BHS *sparśa*, and G *sapāśa/phraśa* such that any attempt to explain a linear derivation would be only misleading.

The other two outlying examples are in  $\underline{s}(*a)hi$  = Skt. *ṣadbhiḥ* (7) and  $\underline{s}a$  = Skt. *ṣaṭ* (7), where in word initial position we apparently have the modified  $\underline{s}$  where *ṣa* is expected. However, in these latter two cases (see images below), the vertical stroke bends only slightly to the right, less than in most modified forms, but more than most unmodified forms. Therefore, it is not clear if the bend is a modifying diacritic or a footmark with no phonetic meaning.



$\underline{s}(*a)hi$



$\underline{s}a^{258}$

## 6.2. Orthography

As with the paleography, the orthography of scroll 20 is consistent with other published scrolls from the Senior collection. Glass's analysis of scroll 5 serves as a foundation for understanding this scroll and the rest of the collection. Further analyses can be found in Salomon 2008: 333-6, Lee 2009: 50, and Silverlock 2015: 162-212.

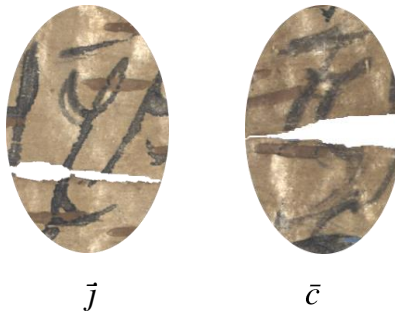
Here, it is useful to reiterate a few important characteristics of Senior collection orthography. Original retroflex and dental nasals are all represented by the akṣara  $\text{ṣ}$  in this scribe's hand, which is conventionally transcribed as *ṇ*, e.g., *bhayaṇaḍaro* = Skt. *bhayānakataṛaḥ* (17, 18, 19). Anusvāra is never indicated, however final *-m* before an initial vowel is often retained, e.g., *iḍam oyi* = Skt. *idam avocat* (11). The sign  $\underline{s}$  is a possible reflex

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<sup>258</sup> Notice that what appears to be a sharp rightward curve in the foot of this akṣara is really a break in the manuscript.

of original intervocalic *-th-*, *-dh-*, and *s* (e.g., *yaśa-bhude* = Skt. *yathābhūtaṃ* [20]; *dukha-ṇiroṣo* = Skt. *duḥkhanirodhaḥ* [21]; *aviśakhareti* = P. *\*abhisankharonti* [22]). Dental *t* and *d* are graphically indistinguishable, and I have transcribed them throughout according to etymological grounds. However, in intervocalic position, dental *t* and *d* are most often – though not always – fricativized and represented by *ḍ*, which is graphically distinguished from *t* and *d* by a rightward stroke at the bottom.

One further noteworthy orthographic problem is the use of the signs *j̄* and *c̄* – standard akṣaras with a horizontal line above – to represent the correspondent of Skt. *jv* in the words *sapaḥjalīḍa* (l. 12-13) and *sapaḥcīlīḍa* (l.14-15). Elsewhere, *j̄* corresponds to Skt. *dhy-*/MIA *jh-*, *j̄jh-* (Glass 2000: § 2.8.1.; Salomon 2000: § 5.5.2.8) and *c̄* corresponds to Skt. *śc* (Salomon 1999: 122; Silverlock 2016: § 6.4.6.2.), and *rc* (Salomon 1999: 122), but not to *jv*. In all cases of its occurrence in Kharoṣṭhī, the horizontal diacritic above *j* and *c* (also *s* and *ṣ*) indicates an underlying geminate or consonant cluster (see also Brough 1962: 63; Lenz 2003: 64; Salomon 2008: 97).



### 6.3. Errors and Corrections

#### 6.3.1. Haplography

There are two possible cases of haplographic errors in this manuscript. In *maṇosa* 𑀩𑀭𑀮𑀺𑀓 <<*bramaṇa sado*>> *maṇos(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)pacea* (4), the scribe clearly erased an error after *maṇosa*, and in the space above the line wrote *bramaṇa sado* in smaller characters:



It would appear that in writing the genitive singular *maṇosa* = P *manassa* the scribe accidentally skipped ahead to the compound *maṇos(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)pacea*. That is, he skipped the genitive ending and the phrase *bramaṇa sado* completely before continuing with *p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)pacea*. The now illegible smudged out character represented in the transliteration by 𑀩𑀭𑀮𑀺𑀓 was most likely *pa*.

Another possible haplographic error is found in line 3, where the scribe seems to have first written *cakhuṣapaceae* = Skt. *caḥṣusaṃsparśapratyayāt*, and then corrected *p* to *ph* and inserted *ṣapa* in the line above, making the corrected form *cakhu-ṣaphaṣa-paceae*. Here, the scribe jumped from the *p* in *ṣapaṣa* to the *p* in *paceae*.

#### 6.3.2. Corrections

One other correction is noteworthy. At the end of line 15 and beginning of line 16, the scribe writes *sumahada so bha-bhate so paraḍae* ("Very great, Sir, is this conflagration"). The first *so* and *bha* are superfluous, and the scribe clearly intended to cross out the *bha*.

What is unique about this instance is the curved half-moon strikethrough the scribe used to cross out *bha*. As can be seen in the image below, the curved strike only crosses the top horizontal stroke of the akṣara. Note that the horizontal stroke below it is the *o* diacritic on the preceding *so*:



## CHAPTER 7: PHONOLOGY

### 7.0. General Remarks

Several phonological studies of the Senior manuscripts are now available concerning RS 5 (SĀ-G<sup>S1</sup>), RS 14 (AG-G<sup>S</sup>), RS 19 (SĀ-G<sup>S5</sup>), and RS 12 (MĀ<sup>S3</sup>).<sup>259</sup> A comprehensive study of the entire collection is forthcoming.<sup>260</sup> Given that all manuscripts in the Senior Collection share the same scribe, the phonology of RS 20 is largely consistent with the previous studies. Below is a brief survey of the phonology of this manuscript.

### 7.1. Vowels

As noted in previous studies of the Senior manuscripts, vowel length is not indicated by this scribe (e.g., Glass 2007: § 5.1), although the Kharoṣṭhī script is capable of marking it (e.g., Salomon 1999: § 6.3; Glass 2000: 33-49). Thus, the simple vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* can be either long or short. Therefore, all changes from long vowels to short vowels (e.g., *ā* > *a*) listed below are purely orthographic, but they are listed below for the sake of completeness.

*Table 6: Reflexes of OIA vowels in RS 20.*

| Original<br>OIA vowel | Reflexes    |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
|                       | Initial     | Medial            |
| <i>a</i>              | <i>a</i>    | <i>a, i, u, e</i> |
| <i>ā</i>              | <i>a</i>    | <i>a</i>          |
| <i>i</i>              | <i>i, Ø</i> | <i>i, a</i>       |

<sup>259</sup> See phonology sections at Glass 2007: 109-125, Salomon 2008: 337-343, Lee 2009: 51-59, and Silverlock 2015: 213-273, respectively. The identifiers in parentheses reflect the names given to these texts in the online Gāndhārī.org database.

<sup>260</sup> Allon forthcoming.

|           |             |                  |
|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>ī</i>  | <i>i</i>    | <i>i</i>         |
| <i>u</i>  | <i>u, a</i> | <i>u, a, o</i>   |
| <i>ū</i>  | —           | <i>u</i>         |
| <i>ṛ</i>  |             | <i>ri, i, ur</i> |
| <i>e</i>  | <i>e</i>    | <i>e, a</i>      |
| <i>ai</i> | —           | —                |
| <i>o</i>  | —           | <i>o, u, e</i>   |
| <i>au</i> | <i>o</i>    | <i>e</i>         |

#### 7.1.1. Initial Vowels

Initial vowels are stable throughout the manuscript with one exception in line 4 where *apacadi* = Skt. *utpadyate* (4). The quotative particle Skt. *iti* is reduced to *ta* once (20) and *ti* twice (28, 29), but this is most likely the result of sandhi with the preceding word, which is in each case *aria-śaja* (Skt. *ārya-satyam*), and which in P is routinely written together with *iti* as *ariya-saccaṃti*. The number of occurrences and examples of initial vowel correspondences are as follows:

*a* > *a* (35 occurrences): e.g., *acatva* = Skt. *adhyātmaṃ* (3)

*ā* > *a* (10 occurrences): e.g., *aria-śaja* = Skt. *ārya-satyaḥ* (29)

*i* > *i* (2 occurrences): e.g., *imasa* = BHS. *imasya* (5)

*i* >  $\emptyset$  (2 occurrences): e.g., *ti* = Skt. *iti* (28, 29)

*u* > *u* (9 occurrences): e.g., *uasao* = Skt. *upāsakaṃ* (10)

*u* > *a* (1 occurrence): *apacadi* = Skt. *utpadyate* (4)

*e* > *e* (14 occurrences): e.g., *ekamata* = P *ekamantaṃ* (2 [2x])

*au* > *o* (1 occurrence): *oraḍi* = Skt. *audārikāḥ*/P *oḷārikā* (6)

### 7.1.2. Medial Vowels

Medial vowels are stable in most cases:

*a* > *a* (270 occurrences): e.g., *gachami* = Skt. *gacchāmi* (10)

*ā* > *a* (121 occurrences): e.g., *ṇamo* = Skt. *ṇāma* (14)

*i* > *i* (85 occurrences): e.g., *doario* = Skt. *dvārikāḥ* (5)

*ī* > *i* (19 occurrences): e.g., *aḍita* = Skt. *ādīptāḥ* (12, 14)

*u* > *u* (38 occurrences): e.g., *cakṣusa* = Skt. *cakṣusaḥ*/P. *cakkhussa* (3, 8)

*ū* > *u* (8 occurrences): e.g., *ahuṣi* = BHS *abhūṣi* (6)

*e* > *e* (12 occurrences): e.g., *meṣavi* = Skt. *medhāvī* (5)

*o* > *o* (25 occurrences): e.g., *dukha-ṇiroṣo* = Skt. *duḥkha-nirodhaḥ* (21)

#### 7.1.2.1. Alternation of *a* and *i*

In at least two occurrences (20, 28), and possibly in a third (9), medial *a* goes to *i* in the word *idi* = Skt. *idaṃ*. See the discussion of *idi vute* in the text notes to line 9 as well as Allon's discussion of EA-G 1.63 (2001: § 6.2.2.2). This alternation is also found in *sapaṭilida* = Skt. *samprajvalitāḥ* (14-15), demonstrating the palatalization of *a* – a common shift in the Senior manuscripts – where *a* is changed to *i* or *e* in a palatal environment. See Salomon 2000: § 6.1.1, Allon 2001: § 5.1.1, and Lenz 2003: §§ 4.1.1, 9.1.1.

Elsewhere, original *i* becomes *a* in the prefix *niḥ* in *nakramati* = Skt. *niṣkramanti* (7 [2x]), and in all thirteen G variants of the word *paraḍaha* = P *pariḷāha*. Here, *i* is most likely weakened and reduced to *a* in an unstressed position.

#### 7.1.2.2. Alternation of *a* and *u*

There is one occurrence of *a* > *u* in *samuṇakāda* = Skt. *samanvāgataḥ* in the compound *mia-vimasa-samuṇakāda* (5). Here, the original underlying semivowel *v* – a sandhi development from the combination of *u* and *ā* – apparently influences the shift.

Elsewhere, *u* > *a* in three G equivalents to Skt. *pratyanubhavanti*/P *paccanubhonti*: *pracaṇaveti* (26), *pracaṇahoti* (26), and *pracaṇabhoti* (27). Here again we find the reduction of an unstressed vowel to *a*.

#### 7.1.2.3. Alternation of *a* and *o*

*a* > *o* seven times in final vowels of words that are prior members in a compound, or pseudo-compound (see § 8.1.4). Skt. *marāṇa* becomes G *marāṇo* (26-7); Skt. *śrotra* becomes G *sotro* (3-4, 8); Skt. *ghrāṇa* becomes G *gaṇo* (3-4, 8); Skt. *samudaya* becomes *śamud[e]o* (20); and Skt. *ayo-guḍaḥ* becomes G *aya-iūda* (4). It is possible that these reflect morphological, not phonological changes, wherein prior members of compounds are declined.

#### 7.1.2.4. Alternation of *a* and *e*

In this manuscript, there is one case of *a* becoming *e* in a palatal environment, where G *añearo* corresponds to Skt. *anyataraḥ* (15). Here as in P, *ny* is graphically represented by the single nasal *ñ*.

Conversely, *e* > *a* in *haḍa* = Skt. *hetuḥ* (2) and *haḍa* = Skt. *hetavaḥ* (3, 7).

#### 7.1.2.5. Alternation of *ā* and *e*

There is one possible case of *ā* > *e* in *cibhe* = Skt. *jihvā* in the compound *sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-maṇasa* (8). However, as discussed elsewhere (§7.1.5), some compounds in this

manuscript appear to be pseudo-compounds in which prior members are declined, making analysis of final vowels the purview of morphological analysis rather than phonological. See also Silverlock's discussion of the irregular treatment of single consonants at compound boundaries in the Senior scrolls (2015: § 6.3.2).

#### 7.1.2.6. Alternation of *u* and *o*

This manuscript contains one example of *o* for etymological *u*: *cadōṇa* = Skt. *caturṇām* (27 [2x]). As noted by Silverlock, the relative rarity of this shift in the Senior manuscripts contrasts with its frequency in manuscripts written by British Library Collection scribe 1 (2015: § 6.2.4).

There is also one example of *u* for etymological *o*: *p(\*r)aṇueda* = Skt. *prāṇopetaṃ* (10). However, this change can be considered a sandhi phenomenon common to MIA in which  $V^1 + V^2 > V^2$  (e.g., P *pāṇupetaṃ*).

#### 7.1.2.7. Alternation of *e* and *o*

The equivalent of the name Skt. *Gautama*/P *Gotama* occurs once as *geda[m(\*a)]* (10), where P *o*/Skt. *au* goes to *e*. Although *e/o* alternation is not generally common in Gāndhārī, it does occur more frequently in the Senior manuscripts, particularly in the word *gedama* (e.g., Senior 11: G.3; Senior 13 r.2, 3, 5.; see discussion of *geda[m(\*a)]* in line 10). In this manuscript, *sajedi-bhude* (1.13, 15) for Skt. *sajyoti-bhūta* is also found, where *o* in a palatal environment shifts to *e*. There are also two occurrences in which the G forms corresponding to P verbs ending in *onti* end in *eti*: *aviṣakhareti* (1.22) for P *abhisankharonti*/Skt. *abhisamṣkurvanti*, and *pracaṇaveti* (1.26) for P *paccanubhonti*/Skt. *pratyānubhavanti*. An

instance of *e/o* alternation elsewhere in the Senior collections occurs in RS 5, which has *bejagaṇa* for Skt. *bodhyaṅgānām* (Glass 2007: § 5.1.2.8.).

### 7.1.3. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan *r*

OIA syllabic *r* is reflected in this manuscript in three different ways depending on its environment. Three times *r* > *ri* when following *dh*: *adhriṭhatva* = Skt. *adrṣṭatvāt* (27); *dhriḍa-da[re]* = Skt. *dr̥dhodvāpaṃ* (4); *dhriḍa* = Skt. *dr̥dha* (5). Once *r* > *i* in *mia-vimasa-samuṇakāda* = Skt. *\*mṛga-mīmāṃsā-samanvāgataḥ* (5). Following *v*, *r* once becomes *ur*: *avinivurtaṇa* = *abhinirvṛttānām* (12, 14). Cf. § 7.4.

### 7.1.4. Reductions

As has been well documented, G combinations of original *a* or *ā* with *y* in any order are often written as *e* in a process usually called the "palatalization of vowels" (e.g., Salomon 2008: § II.3.1.1.). In this manuscript, *ay* > *e* in *pacea* = Skt. *pratyayāḥ* (3, 7, 9)/*pacea* = Skt. *pratyayāt* (8)/*paceae* = Skt. *pratyayāt* (3), *ṇirea* = Skt. *nirayāḥ* (12, 14), and *ṣamud[e]o* = Skt. *samudaya* (20).

Elsewhere, *ya* apparently goes to *e* in *ṣamae* = Skt. *samayaṃ* (11) and *pacae* = Skt. *pratyayāḥ* (2), but these might be examples of *y* >  $\emptyset$  and both words being declined in *e*. See also § 7.2.1.6.

Twice *au* > *o* in *domaṇasta* = Skt. *daurmanasya* (23, 25). The equivalent of Skt. *Gautama*/P *Gotama* is twice spelled *goḍama* (2, 10), although as mentioned above it is once written *geḍama*.

## 7.2. Consonants

### 7.2.1. Single Consonants in Initial and Medial Position

Table 7: Reflexes of OIA Consonants in RS 20.

| Original<br>OIA<br>consonant | Reflexes                       |                                                  |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|                              | Initial                        | Medial                                           |
| <i>k</i>                     | <i>k</i>                       | Ø, <i>k</i> , <i>k̲</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>g</i>    |
| <i>kh</i>                    | —                              | <i>h</i>                                         |
| <i>g</i>                     | <i>g</i>                       | Ø, <i>y</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>k̲</i> , <i>g</i>    |
| <i>gh</i>                    | —                              | <i>g</i>                                         |
| <i>c</i>                     | <i>c</i> , <i>j</i> , <i>y</i> | —                                                |
| <i>ch</i>                    | <i>ch</i>                      | —                                                |
| <i>j</i>                     | <i>j</i>                       | <i>y</i> , <i>c</i>                              |
| <i>ṇ</i>                     | —                              | <i>n</i>                                         |
| <i>t</i>                     | <i>t</i>                       | <i>t</i> , <i>ḍ</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>d̲</i>       |
| <i>th</i>                    | —                              | <i>s</i> , <i>ṣ</i>                              |
| <i>d</i>                     | <i>d</i>                       | <i>ḍ</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>d̲</i> , <i>dh</i>      |
| <i>dh</i>                    | <i>dh</i>                      | <i>s</i> , <i>ṣ</i>                              |
| <i>n</i>                     | <i>ṇ</i>                       | <i>ṇ</i>                                         |
| <i>p</i>                     | <i>p</i>                       | <i>p</i> , <i>v</i> , Ø, <i>r</i> <sup>261</sup> |
| <i>b</i>                     | <i>b</i>                       | —                                                |

<sup>261</sup> See § 7.2.1.5.

|           |             |                 |
|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>bh</i> | <i>bh</i>   | <i>bh, v, h</i> |
| <i>m</i>  | <i>m</i>    | <i>m, v</i>     |
| <i>y</i>  | <i>y</i>    | <i>y, Ø</i>     |
| <i>r</i>  | <i>r</i>    | <i>r, ḍ</i>     |
| <i>l</i>  | <i>l</i>    | <i>l, ḍ</i>     |
| <i>v</i>  | <i>v</i>    | <i>v</i>        |
| <i>ś</i>  | <i>ś</i>    | <i>ś</i>        |
| <i>ṣ</i>  | <i>ṣ</i>    | <i>ṣ</i>        |
| <i>s</i>  | <i>s, ṣ</i> | <i>s, ṣ</i>     |
| <i>h</i>  | <i>h, Ø</i> | <i>h, Ø, ḍ</i>  |

#### 7.2.1.1. Velars

In initial position, *k* and *g* are stable:

*k* > *k* (12 occurrences): e.g., *kaḍara* = Skt. *katarāḥ* (3)

*g* > *g* (5 occurrences): e.g., *godama* = Skt. *gautama* (2, 10)

However, all medial velar stops show changes:

-*k*- > Ø (3 occurrences): e.g., *uasao* = Skt. *upāsakaṃ* (10)

-*k*- > -*k*- (3 occurrences): e.g., *eka* = Skt. *ekaṃ* (11). Original intervocalic -*k*- is usually

elided or changed to -*g*- in Gāndhārī. An exception to this pattern is the regular

preservation of original -*k*- in the word *eka*, "one," in this manuscript and in

Gāndhārī and MIA in general. As Burrow and others have argued, this exception

suggests an underlying form *ekka*, that would indicate *G eka* is not an example of the

preservation of intervocalic *-k-*, but rather the preservation of the geminate *-kk-* (see Burrow 1937: § 16; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.1.; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.1; Salomon 2008: § II.3.2.1.2).

*-k- > -g-* (3 occurrences): e.g., *logo* = Skt. *loke* (2, 3)

*-kh- > -h-* (8 occurrences): The G equivalent to Skt. *sukha* is written as *suha* in every case, e.g., *suha-dukhasa* = Skt. *sukha-duḥkhasya* (2, 3, 7, 9).

*-g- > Ø* (2 occurrences): Medial *g* is elided twice, once in *aya-üda* = Skt. *ayo-guḍaḥ* (13) and once in *mia* = Skt. *\*mrga* (5).

*-g- > -y-* (8 occurrences): In all occurrences, the G equivalent to Skt. *bhagavat* shows *g > y*, e.g., *bhayava* = Skt. *bhagavān* (11, 30).

*-g- > -k-* (2 occurrences): e.g., *ṇakarasa* = Skt. *nagarasya* (5)

*-gh- > -g-* (1 occurrence): Aspirate *gh* becomes *g* in *driga-ratro* = Skt. *dīrgha-rātram* (25-6), where rhotic metathesis also occurs.

The modified forms *k̲* and *g* have a rightward extension at the foot, similar to a post-consonantal *r*, most likely indicating a fricative pronunciation (Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.1.).

Changes involving these forms are as follows:

*-k- > -k̲-* (5 occurrences): e.g., *śoka* = Skt. *śoka* (23, 25). Once, it occurs in an apparently initial position in *k̲iśa* = Skt. *kasya*/P *kissa* (27). However, *k̲iśa* should perhaps be read together with *ta k̲iśa edo* = P. *taṃ kissa hetu* as a single expression, where *k̲* is treated as intervocalic.

*-k- > -g-* (1 occurrence); *loga* = Skt. *loke* (7)

-g- > k (5 occurrences): e.g., *ṇakar[e]* = Skt. *nagaram* (4). As in the shift from *k* > k in *kisa* above, *g* > k in one word which occurs three times in compound as a final member: *-kamiṇa* = Skt. *gāmini* (21, 28, 29). Despite the fact that many word initial consonants at compound boundaries and consonants immediately following verbal prefixes often retain original phonetic strength in the Senior manuscripts (Salomon 2008: 110; Silverlock 2015: § 6.4.2.), *-kamiṇa* = *gāmini* and *kisa* = Skt. *kasya* are examples of weakening of word initial consonants at compound boundaries.

-g- > -g- (2 occurrences): e.g., *yoge* = Skt. *yogaḥ* (28, 29)

#### 7.2.1.2. Palatals

As mentioned in Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.2., *c* and *j* had merged in the dialect of the Senior scribe (see also Salomon 2003: 86-7). Original initial palatals are stable in all cases except for the conjunction *ca*, which is enclitic, and therefore pronounced together with the preceding word, usually weakening the initial *c* to *y*.

*c* > *c* (6 occurrences): e.g., *cadoṇa* = Skt. *caturṇām* (27 [2x])

*c* > *j* (1 occurrence): *ja* = Skt. *ca* (10)

*c* > *y* (7 occurrences): e.g., *ya* = Skt. *ca* (16, 17, 18 [2x], 19 [2x], 24)

*ch* > *ch* (1 occurrence): *chidva* = Skt. *chidra* (6). On *dv* > *dr* see § 7.2.2.6.

*j* > *j* (10 occurrences): e.g., *jadaṇa* = Skt. *jātānām* (12, 14)

In Medial position:

-*j*- > -*y*- (1 word, 3 occurrences): *payaṇati* = Skt. *prajānanti* (21 [2x]); *prayaṇati* = Skt. *prajānanti* (20)

-j- > -c- (2 occurrences): *cibha/cibhe* = Skt. *jihvā* occurs in compound twice (4, 8), where the anticipated weakened medial reflex of -c- would be -y-. Here, *j* > *c* at compound junctures as if it were an initial stop. This same shift is discussed by Silverlock (2015: §6.3.6.).

#### 7.2.1.3. Retroflexes

As mentioned by Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.3, in most Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts there is evidence of the complete merging of dental and retroflex nasals. In the Senior manuscripts, both are written with the Kharoṣṭhī letter conventionally transcribed as *ṇ*, although its pronunciation is still uncertain.

Other than retroflex nasals, there are two occurrences of original intervocalic retroflex *ḍ*. In the first, *aya-üḍa* = Skt. *ayo-guḍaḥ* (13), -ḍ- is stable. In the second, the position of -ḍ- is shifted: *bilāḍa* = Skt. *biḍāla*/P *biḷāra* (6). As in Pāli, G *bilāḍa* is an example of metathesis involving two adjacent liquid consonants (Sihler 2000: § 19.a). The development of this word in various Indo-Āryan languages shows significant variation with regard to metathesis in the medial consonant and semivowel (CDIAL s.v.).

#### 7.2.1.4. Dentals

Initial dentals are stable except for two occurrences of *d*- > *dh*-, a well-attested change in Gāndhārī which usually occurs in word initial position and in a rhotic environment (Salomon 2008: § II.3.2). It should be noted that the dentals *t* and *d* have graphically merged in this scribe's hand and have been transliterated based on etymology here. As Glass has noted, their values remain uncertain (Glass 2007 § 5.2.1.4).

*t*- > *t/d*- (11 occurrences): e.g., *taspi* = Skt. *tasmāt* (16, 18, 19)

*d-* > *t/d-* (10 occurrences): e.g., *divasa* = Skt. *divasaṃ* (13)

*d-* > *dh-* (2 occurrences): *dhriḍa-* = Skt. *ḍṛdha-* (4, 5).

*dh-* > *dh-* (2 occurrences): e.g., *dhareṭi* = P *dhārehi* (10)

Medial:

There is considerable variation in medial dentals:

*-t-* > *-ḍ-* (59 occurrences): *-ḍ-* is by far the most common G reflex of Skt. *-t-*, e.g.,

*aviraḍa* = Skt. *abhiratāḥ* (22). It most likely represents a fricative pronunciation

(Salomon 2008: § III.3.2.1.3). Other noteworthy examples are *edaḍ* = Skt. *etat* (2, 9,

15 [2x]), where the final *ḍ* should be interpreted as intervocalic in the common

idiomatic phrase *edaḍ=aya* = P *etad avoca*, which was apparently treated in G as a

single unit (cf. *ta kiṣa edo* = P. *taṃ kissa hetu* in § 7.2.1.1). A similar case is *de* of *ye*

*de* (19) which corresponds textually and semantically to P *ye keci*, but phonologically

to *ye te*. In both *edaḍ=aya* and *ye de*, *ḍ* represents a common phonological shift for

original intervocalic *-t-*.

*-t-* > *-ḍ-* (2 occurrences): *paḍivada* = Skt. *pratipad* (21, 19). As in P, the *t* of original

*prati-* becomes *ḍ* conditioned by the preceding *r* (cf. § 6.2.2.4: *-dh-* > *-ḍ-*).

*-t-* > *-t/d-* (6 occurrences): e.g., *apacadi* = Skt. *utpadyate* (4).

*-th-* > *-s-* (7 occurrences): e.g., *yaṣa-bhude* = Skt. *yathā-bhūtaṃ* (20 [2x], 21). As noted

in Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.4, underscore *s*, which was presumably pronounced as a

fricative sibilant (Brough 1962: 94; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.4), commonly replaces

both intervocalic *-th-* and *-dh-*. However, as noted immediately below, *-s-* is also a

common, if less frequent reflex of both aspirate stops.

- th*- > -*s*- (2 occurrences): *asa* = Skt. *atha* (15); *sayasavi* = BHS *sayyathāpi* (13).
- d*- > -*ḍ*- (16 occurrences): e.g., *aḍita* = Skt. *ādīptāḥ* (12, 14). This change is probably a case of spontaneous retroflexion, a phenomenon discussed in detail by Burrow (1971) and more recently by Cardona and Jain (2003: 30). It is common in derivatives of OIA roots  $\sqrt{damś}$  and  $\sqrt{dah}$  (Burrow 1971: 539). Indeed, all other cases of -*d*- > -*ḍ*- in this manuscript are in words derived from  $\sqrt{dah}$ , e.g., *paraḍae* = Skt. *paridāhaḥ* (15, 16 [2x]) and *paraḍao* = Skt. *paridāhaḥ* (18, 19).
- d*- > -*t*/*d*- (12 occurrences): e.g., *suha-dukho* = Skt. *sukha-duḥkhaṃ* (4). We expect intervocalic -*d*- to become fricativized (-*ḍ*-), but as a word initial consonant at compound boundaries, -*d*- often goes to -*t*-/-*d*-.
- d*- > -*dh*- (1 occurrences): *adhriḥatva* = Skt. *adr̥ṣṭatvāt* (27). Other examples of this change in intervocalic position in a word derived from OIA  $\sqrt{dr̥ś}$  can be found in AG-G<sup>L</sup>, where *adhrikṣ[e]* (25c) and *adhrekṣe* (28a) correspond to *adrākṣam* (Salomon 2008: § II.3.1.5). There are also several examples of this change in  $\sqrt{dr̥ś}$  derivatives in initial position, e.g., AG-G<sup>L</sup> 8a: *dhriṣpaṇa* = Skt. *dr̥ṣṭvā* and EĀ-G 22: *dhrekṣatu* = Skt. *\*drakṣyantu*.
- d*- > -*ḍ*- (19 occurrences): Etymological -*d*- is normally written as -*ḍ*- in this manuscript, e.g., *iḍam* = Skt. *idaṃ* (11, 30), *upaḍae* = Skt. *utpādāya* (2, 3, 7-8, 9).
- dh*- > -*ḍ*- (2 occurrences): In *dhriḍa-* = Skt. *dr̥ḍha-* (4, 5), aspiration shifts from the second to the first syllable while the rhotic environment influences the shift in the second syllable from a dental to a retroflex.
- dh*- > -*s*- (1 occurrence): *viviso* = Skt. *vividhām*/P *vividhaṃ* (1). Here, *s* is probably a graphic variant of *ṣ*.

-dh- > -ṣ- (11 occurrences): e.g., *dukha-ṇiroṣo* = Skt. *duḥkha-nirodhaḥ* (21). A special case is *aṣimaḍaḍaro* = Skt. *atimahantatarah* (16, 19) and *aṣimaḍaḍoro* = Skt. *atimahantatarah* (18). This is an instance of lexical alternation common to Gāndhārī where *aṣi* corresponds phonetically to *adhi* but in sense to *ati*. Cf. text notes for *aṣimaḍaḍaro*.

#### 7.2.1.5. Labials

Labials in initial position are stable:

*p* > *p* (12 occurrences): e.g., *paḍida* = Skt. *paṇḍitaḥ* (5)

*b* > *b* (1 occurrence): *biḷaḍa-ṇisagaṇa-matra* = Skt. *\*biḍāla-niḥsarpana-mātram/P*  
*biḷāra-nissakkana-mattam* (6)

*m* > *m* (9 occurrences): e.g., *meṣavi* = Skt. *medhāvī* (5)

*bh* > *bh* (30 occurrences): e.g., *bhayaṇaḍaro* = Skt. *bhayānakatarah* (17, 18, 19)

In medial position:

-*p*- > -*p*- (14 occurrences): Except for *aṇupa(\*ya)ya-paṣo* = Skt. *anuparyāya-pathe* (5-6) and *pi* = Skt. *api* (26 [2x], 27), all other cases of -*p*- > -*p*- occur at compound boundaries, e.g., *jaḍi-paraḍaa* = Skt. *jāti-paridāham* (26); *jara-paraḍaha* = Skt. *jarā-paridāham* (26).

-*p*- > -*v*- (4 occurrences): e.g., *paḍivaḍa* = Skt. *pratipad* (21, 19)

-*p*- > ∅ (4 occurrences): All cases of this development occur in the prefix *upa*, e.g., *uasao* = Skt. *upāsakaṃ* (10), *uasaka[m(\*i)]* = *\*upasamakramūt* (1).

-*p*- > -*r*- (1 occurrence): *dhriḍa-da[re]* = Skt. *dr̥dhodvāpaṃ* (4). The reading of *[re]* in *da[re]* is unclear, but is a stronger reading based on paleography than the

anticipated reading *ve*. This anomalous correspondence is most likely due to a lexical shift, where the equivalent of Skt. *dṛdhodvāpa* (*dṛdha* + *udvāpa*, "strong ramparts") is replaced with *dṛdha-dvāra* (*dṛdha* + *dvāra*, "strong gates"). The G word may have been erroneously changed due to the influence of *ṣa-dvaro* ("six gates"), which follows two words later. In any case, the phonetic change is not expected and not consistent with other G manuscripts.

*-bh- > -bh-* (7 occurrences): e.g., *pracaṇabhoti* = Skt. *pratyanubhavanti*/P *paccanubhonti* (27)

*-bh- > -v-* (11 occurrences): Most cases of this change occur in the prefix *avi* = Skt.

*abhi*, e.g., *aviṣakhareti* = P. *abhisankharonti* (22), *aviṇivurtaṇa* = Skt.

*abhinirvṛttānāṃ* (12, 14). The exception is *pracaṇaveti* = Skt. *pratyanubhavanti*/P *paccanubhonti* (26).

*-bh- > -h-* (2 occurrences): Both examples of this development are in words based on the root  $\sqrt{bhū}$ : *pracaṇahoti* = Skt. *pratyanubhavanti*/P *paccanubhonti* (26), *ahuṣi* = BHS *abhūṣi* (6).

*-m- > -m-* (37 occurrences): Medial *-m-* is stable, e.g., *atamaṇo* = BHS *āttamanāḥ* (11).

*-m- > -v-* (1 occurrence): *mia-vīmasa-samuṇakāda* = Skt. *mṛga-mīmāṃsā-*

*samanvāgataḥ*/P *mīga-vīmaṃsā-samannāgato* (5). Here, *vīmasa* corresponds to P

*vīmaṃsā*, a form that developed by dissimilation (*m > v*; see Geiger 1916: 61 and

PTSD sv. *vīmaṃsati*).

#### 7.2.1.6. Semivowels

Semivowels in initial position are always stable:

*y* > *y* (11 occurrences): e.g., *yaśa-bhude* = Skt. *yathā-bhūtaṃ* (20 [2x], 21)

*r* > *r* (1 occurrence): *raña* = Skt. *rājñah* (4)

*l* > *l* (4 occurrences): e.g., *logo* = Skt. *loke* (2, 3)

*v* > *v* (4 occurrences): e.g., *viviso* = Skt. *vividhām*/P *vividham* (1). As in P, in G the past participle of *√vac* includes a prothetic *v*- in *vute* (9).

Medial semivowels are stable with few exceptions:

-*y*- > -*y*- (15 occurrences): e.g., *kaya* = Skt. *kāyāḥ* (12, 14). G *sarayaṇio* (1) corresponds more closely to BHS *sārāyaṇīyaṃ* than its Skt. counterpart *saṃrañjanīyāṃ*. On the lengthening of nasalized vowels in BHS, see BHSG § 3.3.

-*y*- > Ø (10 occurrences): e.g., *jadi-sabataña* = Skt. *jāti-saṃvartaṇīyān*/P *jāti-saṃvattanike* (21-22, 22, 24). *ya* apparently goes to *e* in *samae* = Skt. *samayaṃ* (11) and *pacae* = Skt. *pratyayaḥ* (2), but these might be examples of *y* > Ø and both words being declined in *e* (c.f. § 6.1.4).

-*r*- > -*r*- (65 occurrences): e.g., *añearo* = Skt. *anyataraḥ* (1, 15)

-*r*- > -*ḍ*- (1 occurrence): In *oraḍi* = Skt. *audārikāḥ*/P *olārikā* (6), as in *biḍa-* = Skt. *biḍāla*/P *biḷāra*, G shows metathesis and *ḍ* where P has *r*. In this case, the suffix -*ka-* is also dropped.

-*l*- > -*ḍ*- (1 occurrence): *biḷaḍa-ṇisagaṇa-matra* = Skt. *biḍāla-niḥsarpana-mātraṃ*/P *biḷāra-nissakkana-mattaṃ* (6)

-*l*- > -*l*- (3 occurrences): e.g., *sapaḷalida* = Skt. *samprajvalitāḥ* (12-13)

-*v*- > -*v*- (27 occurrences): e.g., *śavasti-ṇidaṇe* = Skt. *śrāvastī-nidānaṃ* (11)

#### 7.2.1.7. Sibilants and *h*

Initial sibilants are stable except for *s* which is also written as s:

*ṣ* > *ṣ* (9 occurrences): All occurrences of initial *ṣ* are in variants of the word "six," e.g.,

*ṣa* = Skt. *ṣaṭ* (2, 3 [2x], 7 [2x], 9 [2x]).

*ś* > *ś* (2 occurrences): e.g., *śaraṇa* = Skt. *śaraṇam* (11)

*s* > *s* (43 occurrences): e.g., *sada* = Skt. *sataḥ* (3, 8)

*s* > s (7 occurrences): e.g., *samae* = Skt. *samayam* (11)

Intervocalic sibilants are also stable aside from *s* which can become s:

-*ṣ*- > -*ṣ*- (5 occurrences): e.g., *bhaṣide* = Skt. *bhāṣitam* (11)

-*ś*- > -*ś*- (6 occurrences): e.g., *paśea* = Skt. *paśyet*/P *passeyya* (6)

-*s*- > -*s*- (14 occurrences): e.g., *uasao* = Skt. *upāsakaṃ* (10)

-*s*- > s- (21 occurrences): e.g., *aviṣakhareti* = P. *\*abhisankharonti* (22). Given the wide use of both -*s*- and s- in both initial and intervocalic position, it would appear that the two signs have become free graphic variants for the G phonetic equivalent of the dental sibilant.

Initial *h* is either maintained or dropped:

*h* > *h* (4 occurrences): e.g., *hada* = Skt. *hetuḥ* (2)

*h* > Ø (2 occurrences): e.g., *edo* = Skt. *hetoḥ* (27)

Intervocalic -*h*- is either retained, elided, or in one word changed to d:

-*h*- > -*h*- (8 occurrences): e.g., *imehi* = P *imehi* (7)

-*h*- > Ø (11 occurrences): e.g., *jaḍi-paraḍaa* = Skt. *jāti-paridāham* (26)

-*h*- > d- (3 occurrences): The G word corresponding to Skt. *atimahantatarah* is spelled *aṣimadaḍaro* (16, 19) and *aṣimadaḍoro* (18). The graphic similarity between

underscore *d* and *h* suggests that this might be an orthographic phenomenon and not a phonological shift. See the text notes for *aṣimadaḍaro* in line 15.

## 7.2.2. Consonant Clusters

### 7.2.2.1. Visarga

Skt. visarga (*h*) is assimilated to the following consonant in all cases.

-*ḥkh*- > -*kh*- (17 occurrences): This change occurs in the present manuscript only in variations of the word *dukha* = Skt. *duḥkha* (e.g., 20, 27-8).

-*ḥs*- > -*s*- (1 occurrence): *ṇisagaṇa* = Skt. *niḥsarpana*/P *nissakkana* (6)

### 7.2.2.2. Nasal + Stop

As noted in Glass 2007: § 5.2.2.2., the Senior scribe does not write anusvāra, so that all original nasal + stop clusters are represented only by the stop in G. Representations of each of the clusters of this type are listed below:

*ṇḍ* > *ḍ* (1 occurrence): *paḍiḍa* = Skt. *paṇḍitaḥ* (5)

*nt* > *t* (21 occurrences): e.g., *payañati* = Skt. *prajānanti* (21 [2x])

*nt* > *ḍ* (1 occurrence): *mahaḍa* (15) appears to be based on the strong stem *mahant* and the corresponding P form *mahanto* is common (e.g., MN III 185: *mahanto kukkuḷanirayo*). However, the anticipated G reflex of *nt* is *t*. Instead, the voiced and presumably fricativized *ḍ* reflects a hypothetical underlying OIA weak nominative singular form *mahataḥ*. Cf. text notes for *mahaḍa* in line 15.

*nd* > *d* (3 occurrences): e.g., *aviṇadida* = Skt. *abhinanditaḥ* (11)

*ṁkr* > *k* (2 occurrences): e.g., *uasaka[m(\*i)]* = P *upasaṅkami* (1)

*ṁgh* > *g* (1 occurrence): *-saga* = Skt. *saṁghaṁ* (10)

*ṃt > t* (1 occurrence): *ṣat[a]ta* = Skt. *saṃtaptah* (13)

*ṃpr > p* (3 occurrences): e.g., *sapaṛjalida* = Skt. *sampraṇivalitāḥ* (12-13)

*ṃm > m* (2 occurrences): [*samoda*] = P *sammodi* (1)

*ṃv > b* (8 occurrences): e.g., *ṣabataṇia* = Skt. *saṃvartaṇīyān*/P *saṃvattanike* (21-22, 22, 24)

*ṃs > s* (1 occurrence): *vimasa* = Skt. \**mīmāṃsā* (5)

*ṃsk > kh* (14 occurrences): e.g., *sakhare* = Skt. *saṃskāreṣu* (22)

*ṃsp > ph* (1 occurrence): *-ṣapha<<ṣa >>-* = Skt. *saṃsparśa* (3). Here the aspiration from the original sibilant is maintained in the stop *ph*.

*ṃsp > p* (3 occurrences): e.g., *-sapāṣa-* = Skt. *saṃsparśa* (8)

#### 7.2.2.3. Nasal + Semivowel

*nv > ṇ* (1 occurrence): *-samuṇakada* = Skt. *samanvāgataḥ* (5). Here, the shift from *a > u* is apparently influenced by the original semivowel *v*.

#### 7.2.2.4. Stop + Nasal

*tm > tv* (4 occurrences): e.g., *acatva* = Skt. *adhyātman* (3)

*jñ > ñ* (2 occurrences): e.g., *pañae* = Skt. *prajñayā* (29<sup>A</sup>)

#### 7.2.2.5. Stop + Stop

This type of cluster results in assimilation of the first to the second stop. The resulting geminate, or double consonant, remains in pronunciation, but is not represented in the Kharoṣṭhī script, which shows only a single consonant. The retention of the geminate in pronunciation is evidenced by the phonetic stability of that consonant. For example, OIA *-y-*

could be represented by -y-, -a-, or -k-, but OIA -yy- will usually be represented in Gāndhārī by -y- alone (e.g., Brough 1962: § 28; see also Salomon 2000 § 6.2.2).

*dj* > *j(j)* (1 occurrence): *yava-jīva* = Skt. *yāvajjīvaṃ* (10)

*cch* > *(c)ch* (1 word, 1 occurrence): *gachami* = Skt. *gacchāmi* (10)

*kt* > *t(t)* (1 occurrence): *vute* = Skt. *ukte/P vutte* (9)

*tt* > *t(t)* (2 occurrences): e.g., *atamaṇo* = BHS *āttamanāḥ* (11)

*tp* > *p(p)* (8 occurrences): e.g., *apacadi* = Skt. *utpadyate* (4)

*pt* > *t(t)* (4 occurrences): e.g., *aḍita* = Skt. *ādīptāḥ* (12, 14)

#### 7.2.2.6. Consonant + Semivowel

Consonant + y clusters result in palatalization of the preceding consonant, whereby if the prior consonant is a dental, the result in G is a single palatal. While *ty* > *c* and *dy* > *j* are the anticipated developments, the fact that both palatals occur as results of both clusters in this manuscript further shows the collapsing of *j* and *c*.

*jy* > *j(j)* (3 occurrences): e.g., *sajedi-bhude* = BHS. *sajyoti-bhūtāḥ* (13, 15)

*ty* > *c(c)* (14 occurrences): e.g., *aṇica* = Skt. *anityāḥ* (29<sup>A</sup>)

*ty* > *j(j)* (3 occurrences): e.g., *aria-saja* = Skt. *ārya-satyāḥ* (29). Here and in *dy* > *c*,

further merging of *c* and *j* is evidenced.

*dy* > *c(c)* (3 occurrences): e.g., *apacadi* = Skt. *utpadyate* (4);

*dy* > *j(j)* (2 occurrences): e.g., *ajavagreṇa* = Skt. *adyāgreṇa* (10)

*dhy* > *c(c)* (1 occurrence): *acatva* = Skt. *adhyātman* (3)

*dhy* > *j(j)* (3 occurrences): *ajatva* = Skt. *adhyātman* (4, 8, 9)

*ny* > *ñ(ñ)* (5 occurrences): e.g., *aña* = Skt. *anyāḥ* (16, 18, 19)

Consonant + *r* clusters:

Typically, consonant + *r* clusters are retained in Gāndhārī (Salomon 2000: 89 [§ 6.2.2.2]). However, as Salomon shows, in the Senior manuscripts particularly, *pr* can either be retained (*pr*) or geminated (*p[p]*) (Salomon 2008: § III.3.2.3.2). In our manuscript, *br*, *kr*, *gr*, and *tr* are retained, but *pr* goes to *p(p)* more often than *pr*. There does not appear to be a consistent pattern to this variation.

*pr* > *pr* (8 occurrences): e.g., *prayaṇati* = Skt. *prajānanti* (20)

*pr* > *p* (14 occurrences): e.g., *pacae* = Skt. *pratyayaḥ* (2)

*br* > *br* (12 occurrences): e.g., *bramaṇo* = Skt. *brāhmaṇaḥ* (1, 2, 9)

*br* > *bh* (1 occurrence): *bhamaṇa* = Skt. *brāhmaṇaḥ* (11)

*kr* > *kr* (2 occurrences): *ṇakramati* = Skt. *niṣkramanti* (7 [2x])

*gr* > *gr* (1 occurrence): *ajavagreṇa* = Skt. *adyāgreṇa* (10)

*ghr* > *g* (2 occurrences): In both cases of *-gaṇo-* = Skt. *ghrāṇaḥ* (3-4, 8), the cluster is word-initial but at a compound juncture. The change from *gh* to *g* is not a phonetic change, but rather a paleographic feature of the Senior scribe who does not write aspirate *gh* (Glass 2007: § 4.5.2.7).

*tr* > *tr* (4 occurrences): e.g., *driga-ratro* = Skt. *dīrgha-rātraṃ* (25-6). Cf. § 6.4.1.

*dr* > *dv* (1 occurrence): *chidva* = Skt. *chidra* (6). Here, *chidva* might reflect a scribal error by way of contamination from the gerund form. See discussion of *paṣaṇaṣa chidva* in the text notes for line 6.

Consonant + *v* clusters:

*dv-* > *dv-* (1 occurrence): *dvarehi* = Skt. *dvāraiḥ* (7)

*jv* > *c* (1 occurrence): *sapacalida* = Skt. *samprajvalitaḥ* (13)

*jv* > *c̄* (1 occurrence): *sapačilida* = Skt. *samprajvalitāḥ* (14-15). Both *c̄* and *j̄* are otherwise unattested orthographic representations of *jv*. Elsewhere, overscore *c̄* regularly corresponds to Skt. *śca*, e.g., G *kači* = Skt. *kaścī* (Glass 2000: § 2.6.1.; see also § 6.1 of the Paleography and Orthography chapter of this dissertation).

*jv* > *j̄* (1 occurrence): *sapaājilida* = Skt. *samprajvalitāḥ* (12-13). The character written *j̄* elsewhere corresponds to Skt. *dhy*/MIA *jh*, *j̄h* (Glass 2000: § 2.8.1.).

*tv* > *tv* (6 occurrences): e.g., *adhriṭhatva* = Skt. *adrṣṭatvāt* (27)

*tv* > *t* (1 occurrence): (\*ua)[s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)] = P *upasaṅkamitvā* (1)

*dv* > *d* (1 occurrence): *dhriḍa-da[re]* = Skt. *ḍṛdhodvāpaṃ* (4). See § 6.2.2.5 for this peculiar correspondence.

*ḍdv* > *dv* (1 occurrence): *ṣa-dvaro* = Skt. *ṣaḍ-dvāraṃ* (5)

#### 7.2.2.7. Semivowel + Consonant

*rṇ* > *ṇ* (2 occurrences): *cadona* = Skt. *caturṇām* (27 [2x])

*rt* > *t* (8 occurrences): e.g., *-ṣabataṇia* = Skt. *saṃvartaṇīyān*/P *saṃvattanike* (21-22)

*rm* > *rm* (1 occurrence): *dhrrama* = Skt. *dharmam* (10). Here, despite the occurrence of rhotic metathesis in which the *r* of *rma* is shifted back to *dhr*, it is additionally maintained in its original position.

*rm* > *m* (2 occurrences): e.g., *-domaṇasta-uayasa* = Skt. *daurmanasyopāyāsa* (23-4)

*rv* > *v* (1 occurrence): [s(\*a)v(\*a)] = Skt. *sarve* (7). This reading is not clear.

*rv* > *rv* (1 occurrence): *sarva* = Skt. *sarve* (29<sup>A</sup>)

*rś* > *ś* (2 occurrences): e.g., *-sapaṣa-* = Skt. *saṃsparśa* (8)

#### 7.2.2.8. Semivowel + Semivowel

*yy > y(y)* (1 occurrence): *sayaṣavi* = BHS *sayyathāpi* (4)

#### 7.2.2.9. Clusters with Sibilants

##### 7.2.2.9.1. Consonant + Sibilant

*kṣ > kṣ* (3 occurrences): e.g., *bhikṣave* = Skt. *bhikṣavaḥ* (12). OIA *kṣ* is usually maintained in G, but it is occasionally represented by *kh*, as noted directly below.

*kṣ > kh* (7 occurrences): e.g., *bhikhu* = Skt. *bhikṣo* (18, 19)

*rś > ṣ* (2 occurrences): *-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-* = Skt. *saṃsparśa* (4, 8-9)

##### 7.2.2.9.2. Sibilant + Consonant

*ṣṭ > ṭh* (1 occurrence): *adhriṭhatva* = Skt. *adrṣṭatvāt* (27)

*st > st* (3 occurrences): e.g., *asti* = Skt. *asti* (16, 18)

*sth > ṭ* (2 occurrences): e.g., *aṭa* = Skt. *asthāt*/BHS *asthāsi* (2)

*sm > sp* (4 occurrences): e.g., *taspi* = Skt. *tasmāt* (16, 18, 19)

*śy > ś* (1 occurrence): *paśadi* = Skt. *paśyati* (29<sup>A</sup>);

*śr > ṣ* (1 occurrence): *ṣamaṇa* = Skt. *śramanāḥ* (19);

*śr > ś* (2 occurrences): e.g., *śavasti-ṇidāṇe* = Skt. *śrāvastī-nidānaṃ* (11)

*śr > s* (2 occurrences): *sotro-* = Skt. *śrotra* (3-4). This is the typical G development of OIA *śr*.

*sy > ṣ* (3 occurrences): This change occurs only in the singular neuter/masculine ending -*sya*: e.g., *aria-ṣacaṣa* = Skt. *āryasatyasya* (28).

*sy > s* (9 occurrences): e.g., *imasa* = BHS. *imasya* (5)

*sy > st* (2 occurrences): e.g., *-domaṇasta-* = Skt. *daurmanasya* (23-4). Allon has argued that the numerous occurrences of *domaṇasta* (RS 17.29; spelled *domaṇastu* at EĀ-G 42, 45, 48, 51-2, 55), suggest an unattested Skt. *\*daurmanastva* (2001: 273; also Glass 2007: 192). If this is correct, then this is a lexical change and not a phonetic one.

*hm > m* (13 occurrences): e.g., *bramaṇo* = Skt. *brāhmaṇaḥ* (1, 2, 9).

*hv > bh* (2 occurrences): This occurs only in *-cibha-* (4) and *-cibhe-* (8) = Skt. *jihvā*.

These correspond to P *jivhā*.

### 7.3. Sandhi

#### 7.3.1. Vowel Sandhi

The first-person nominative singular pronoun *ao* (Skt. *aham*) is joined by sandhi to the preceding word *eṣa* forming *eṣao*. Another possible example of elision can be found where the equivalent of the quotative particle *iti* occurs as *ta* (20) and *ti* (28, 29) with initial *i* dropped in both cases.

#### 7.3.2. Inorganic Sandhi Consonants

There is one example of an inorganic sandhi consonant, or hiatus bridging consonant: *aja-v-agreṇa* = Skt. *adyāgreṇa*. The sandhi consonant in the corresponding Pāli form *ajjatagge* is *t*.

### 7.4. Rhotic Metathesis

Rhotic metathesis is common in Gāndhārī. Examples in this manuscript are: *driga-ratro* = Skt. *dīrgha-rātraṃ* (25-6) and *dhrarma* = Skt. *dharmam* (10). In the latter, despite

metathesis the original *-r-* also is maintained. For a full discussion of metathesis in *dhrarma*, see the text notes for line 10. Another example might be *aviṇivurtaṇa* = Skt.

*abhinirvṛttānām* (12, 14), where *-nirvṛt-* becomes *-ṇivurt-*, with the *r* from *ṇir* shifting to the following syllable. In this case, it is also possible that *-ur-* in *ṇivurt* is a reflex of vocalic *r*, but there are no other instances of this reflex in Gāndhārī. However, *u* and *ru* are attested reflexes of OIA *r*, e.g., *phuṣita* = BHS *spṛśitvā* (EĀL 1.54); *savrudu* = Skt. *saṃvṛta* (Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> 23). Cf. § 5.1.3.

#### 7.5. Epenthesis (Svarabhakti Vowels)

There are numerous cases of epenthetic vowels in this manuscript. Most of them occur in *aria* = *ārya* (e.g., 20, 27, 28, 29). Elsewhere, *o* is inserted in *doario* = Skt. *dvārikaḥ* (5) and *i* in *viaṣi* = Skt. *vyādhi* (e.g., 26-7).

## CHAPTER 8: MORPHOLOGY

### 8.0. General Remarks

The morphology of RS 20 is generally consistent with that of the Senior Collection as a whole. This chapter relies on and builds upon previous morphological studies of Senior texts, particularly those by Glass (2007: 126-134), Salomon (2008: 344-348), Lee (2009: 60-70), and Silverlock (2015: 274-365). In what follows, I present the morphology of the two sūtras of RS 20 in full, but limit extensive discussions primarily to items that provide new information about morphology in this collection. I only provide Sanskrit cognates in this section for some particularly difficult or obscure Gāndhārī words. The glossary at the end of the dissertation should orient the reader with respect to the rest of the forms.

### 8.1. Nominal Forms

#### 8.1.1. Stems in *-a* and *-ā*, Masculine, Neuter, and Feminine

In accordance with the precedent set in previous studies of Gāndhārī morphology, gender is assigned to words according to Sanskrit and Pāli equivalents (e.g., Allon 2001: 106, Glass 2007: 126). Table 8.1 summarizes the endings of all *-a* and *-ā* stem nouns and adjectives.

*Table 8: Endings of stems in -a, masculine, neuter, and feminine. In parenthesis, the number of occurrences comes first, followed by the number of distinct words.*

| <i>a/ā</i> stems | Singular         |                 |                | Plural           |        |                |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|--------|----------------|
|                  | Masculine        | Neuter          | Feminine       | Masculine        | Neuter | Feminine       |
| Nominative       | <i>o</i> (16/10) | <i>a</i> (10/8) | <i>a</i> (2/1) | <i>a</i> (19/13) | —      | <i>a</i> (1/1) |

|              |                                                                    |                |                 |                  |   |   |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|---|---|
|              | <i>a</i> (13/12)                                                   | <i>e</i> (3/3) | —               | <i>e</i> (2/1)   | — | — |
|              | <i>e</i> (5/3)                                                     | <i>o</i> (1/1) | —               | <i>i</i> (1/1)   | — | — |
| Accusative   | <i>a</i> (9/7)                                                     | <i>a</i> (2/2) | <i>o</i> (3/3)  | <i>a</i> (10/4)  | — | — |
|              | <i>o</i> (2/2)                                                     | <i>o</i> (1/1) | <i>a</i> (1/1)  | <i>o</i> (1/1)   | — | — |
|              | <i>e</i> (1/1)                                                     | <i>e</i> (1/1) | —               |                  | — | — |
| Instrumental | —                                                                  |                | <i>ae</i> (1/1) | <i>ehi</i> (1/1) | — |   |
| Dative       | <i>ae</i> (4/1)                                                    |                | —               | —                | — |   |
| Ablative     | <i>a</i> (4/4), <i>o</i> (2/2), <i>e</i> (1/1),<br><i>ae</i> (1/1) |                | —               | —                | — |   |
| Genitive     | <i>sa</i> (8/5), <i>ṣa</i> (2/2), <i>a</i> (1/1)                   |                | —               | <i>aṇa</i> (9/6) | — |   |
| Locative     | <i>o</i> (3/2), <i>e</i> (2/2), <i>a</i> (1/1)                     |                | —               | <i>e</i> (1/1)   | — |   |
| Vocative     | <i>a</i> (8/2), <i>o</i> (1/1)                                     |                | —               | —                | — |   |

#### 8.1.1.1. Nominative and Accusative Singular

##### 8.1.1.1.1. Nominative Singular Masculine

The endings are *–a*, *–e*, and *–o*:

*a* (12 occurrences, 10 words): *aṇa* (16, 18, 19), *aḍita* (13), *aviṇadida* (11), *kaṇaṇia* (28), *paḍida* (5), *bhaṇaṇa* (11), *mia-vimasa-samuṇakada* [= Skt. *\*mṛga-mīmāṃsā-samanvāgataḥ*/P *\*miga-vīmaṃsā-samannāgato*] (5), *ṣat[a]ta* (13), *sumahada* (15), *hada* (2).

*e* (5 occurrences, 3 words): *pacae* (2), *paraḍae* (15, 16 [2x]), *yoge* (4).

*o* (16 occurrences, 10 words): *aṭido* [= Skt. *āsthitaḥ*/P *āṭhito*] (2), *añearo* (1, 15),  
*aṣimadadaro* (16, 19), *aṣimadadoro* (18), *karaṇio* (29), *dukha-ṇiroṣo* (21), *doario* (5),  
*paraḍao* (18, 19), [*brama*]ṇo (2, 9), *bhayaṇadaro* (17, 18, 19).

#### 8.1.1.1.2. Nominative Singular Neuter

*a* (10 occurrences, 8 words): *dukha-aria-ṣaca* (28), *aria-ṣaja* (29), *dukha-aria-ṣaja* (20),  
*dukha-ṣamud[e]o-aria-ṣaja* (20), *dhriḍa-prakara-toraṇa* (5), *pacatima* (4), *śuda* (11),  
*suha-dukha* (3, 8, 9).

*e* (3 occurrences, 3 words): *ṇakar[e]* (4), *dhriḍa-da[re]* [= P *dalḥuddāpaṃ*] (4), *śavasti-  
ṇidaṇe* (11).

*o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *ṣa-dvaro* (5).

#### 8.1.1.1.3. Nominative Singular Feminine

*a* (2 occurrences, 1 word): *paḍivada* (21, 29) corresponds to the OIA consonant stem  
feminine noun *pratipad* ("path"). The G is a thematic extension, as is also the case  
with P *paṭipadā*. Cf. § 8.1.3.7.

#### 8.1.1.1.4. Accusative Singular Masculine

*a* (8 occurrences, 6 words): *geda[m(\*a)]* (10), *jadi-paraḍaa* (26), *jadi-ṣabatāṇia* (21-2,  
22, 24), *dhrarma* (10), *bhikhu-ṣaga* (10), *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üayasa-  
paraḍaha* (26-7), *śaraṇa* (11).

*o* (2 occurrences, 2 words): *uasao* (10), [*ś(\*a)r(\*a)*]ṇo (10).

*e* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *ṣamae* (11).

#### 8.1.1.1.5. Accusative Singular Neuter

*a* (2 occurrences, 2 words): *chidva* (6), *bilada-ṇisagaṇa-matra* (6).

*o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): [*ṇ(\*a)k(\*a)r[o]*] (6-7).

*e* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *bhaṣide* (11).

#### 8.1.1.1.6. Accusative Singular Feminine

*a* (1/1): [*k(\*a)ṣa*] (1).

*o* (3/3): *viviso* (1), *ṣamo[da]ṇi[(\*o)]* (1), *sarayaṇio* (1).

#### 8.1.1.2. Nominative and Accusative Plural

##### 8.1.1.2.1. Nominative Plural Masculine:

*a* (21 occurrences, 13 words): *aḍita* (12, 14), *aṇica* (29<sup>A</sup>), *aviraḍa* (22), *ṇirea* (12, 14), *pacea* (3, 7, 9), *kaya* (12, 14), *bramaṇa* (20), *maha-paraḍa* (12), *maha-paraḍaha* (14), *ṣamaṇa* (19), *sakhara* (29<sup>A</sup>), [*s(\*a)v(\*a)*] [= Skt. *sarve*/P *sabbe*] (7), *sarva* (29<sup>A</sup>), *haḍa* (3, 7), *heḍa* (9).

*i* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *oraḍi* (6).

*e* (2 occurrences, 1 word): *sajedi-bhude* (13, 15).

##### 8.1.1.2.2. Nominative Plural Feminine

*a* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *praṇa* (6). This word corresponds to Skt. *prāṇinaḥ* from the *-in* stem noun *prāṇin*, "possessed of breath; living being." However, in BHS and P, the function of *prāṇin* is often taken by the *-a* stem word for breath itself, *prāṇa/pāṇa*. Moreover, in P, words that were originally *-in* stems are sometimes thematically extended to form new words with simpler declensions (Geiger § 95.2). If something similar is involved here, *praṇina* would be the expected form. See also § 8.1.3.5.

#### 8.1.1.2.3. Accusative Plural Masculine:

*a* (10 occurrences, 4 words): *jara-ṣabataṇia* (22, 24-5), *viaṣi-marāṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia* (23-4), *viaṣi-marāṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia* (25), *sakhara* (22 [2x], 23, 24 [2x], 25).

*o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *jara-ṣabataṇio* (23)

#### 8.1.1.3. Oblique Cases

Instrumental Singular: The manuscript contains only one feminine *-ā* stem noun, which occurs in instrumental singular: *pañae* [= Skt. *prajñayā*] (29<sup>A</sup>).

Dative Singular: The dative ending *ae* occurs three times in the masculine noun *upaḍae* (2, 3, 9), and probably again in *upa[d(\*a)]e* 7-8, although the ending is slightly obscured in the latter case.

Ablative Singular: The masculine and neuter endings are *-a*, *-o*, *-e*, and *-ae*. Occurrences of masculine ablative singular nouns are: *cakhu-ṣapha<<ṣa-pa>>ceae* (3), *cakhu-sapaṣa-pacea* (8), *paraḍae* (16), *paraḍao* (18, 19), *maṇo-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-pacea* (4), *maṇo-sapaṣa-pacea* (8-9), *eḍo* (27). There is one example in the neuter: *adhriṭhatva* [= Skt. *adṛṣṭatvāt*] (27).

Genitive Singular: The masculine and neuter endings are *-sa* and *-ṣa*. The masculine occurrence is *paṣaṇaṣa* (6). Neuter occurrences are *aria-ṣacaṣa* (28), *ṇakarasa* (5), *dukhasa* (27-8), *sotro-gaṇo-cibha-kaya-maṇosa* (3-4), *sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-maṇasa* (8), *suha-dukhasa* (2, 3, 7, 9).

Locative Singular: The masculine and neuter endings are *-o*, *-a*, and *-e*. Masculine occurrences are: *aṇupa*(\**ya*)*ya-paṣo* (5-6), *loga* (7), *logo* (2, 3), *loge* (9). There is one neuter occurrence: *vute* (9).

Vocative Singular: The masculine and neuter endings are *-a* and *-o*. There are nine occurrences of masculine *-a* stem nouns in vocative singular, represented by two words, *godama* (10, 20) and *bramaṇa* (2, 3, 4, 7, 8 [2x]), also spelled *bramaṇo* (4).

Instrumental Plural: There is one instrumental plural *-a* stem neuter noun: *dvarehi* (7).

Genitive Plural: The ending is *-aṇa*. Masculine occurrences are *aviṇivurtaṇa* (12, 14), *jadāṇa* (12, 14), *bhudāṇa* (12, 14), *ṣatvaṇa* (12), and *satvaṇa* (14). One neuter occurrence is *aria-ṣacaṇa* (27).

Locative Plural: There is one occurrence of a masculine locative plural ending in *-e*: *sakhare* (22).

### 8.1.2. Other Vocalic Stems

#### 8.1.2.1. Stems in Original *-ī*

There are three occurrences of one feminine noun in original *-ī*, *-kamaṇa* [= Skt. *gāminī*] (21, 28, 29), which appears here to have been declined as an *-a* stem noun in this manuscript.

#### 8.1.2.2. Stems in Original *-u*

*bhikhu* occurs in the same form as nominative singular (15), nominative plural (30), and twice as vocative singular (18, 19). It also occurs in the vocative plural once as *bhikṣave* (12).

### 8.1.3. Original Consonant Stems

#### 8.1.3.1. Stems in Original *-as*

There is one nominative singular masculine occurrence of an *-as* stem noun, *atamaṇo* (11), and one nominative plural masculine occurrence, *atamaṇa* (30).

#### 8.1.3.2. Stems in Original *-an*

G *raña* is the genitive singular masculine reflex of OIA *rājñah*, "of the king," from the *-an* stem *rājan*.

#### 8.1.3.3. Stems in Original *-ant*

The Gāndhārī equivalent of the Skt. stem *bhagavant* occurs in the nominative singular masculine as *bha[yavad(\*a)]* (1) and *bhayava* (11, 30); instrumental singular *[bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)d(\*a)]* (1); accusative singular *bhayavata* (2, 9, 15); and genitive singular *bhayavaḍa* (11). The contracted forms equivalent to the Skt. vocative *bhoḥ* (from *bhavant*), are *bho* (2) and *bh[i]* (10). Nominative singular *mahaḍa* is based on the OIA *-ant* stem *mahant*, but, like Pali *mahanta*, shows a thematic extension to form a new *-a* stem, *mahaḍa*.

#### 8.1.3.4. *Bhate*

In his morphology of the AG-G<sup>L</sup>, Salomon treats this word as a special case (2008: § II.4.1.6.), as does Silverlock (2015: § 7.7.). It is equivalent to Pāli *bhante*, which is itself probably derived from a contraction of Skt. *bhadraṃ te/P bhaddaṃ te*, "[May it be well] for you" (Salomon, *ibid.*). In Senior 20 the vocative singular masculine *bhate* appears four times (15, 16 [2x], 18), and *bha*, which is probably either a scribal error for *bhate* or a further contraction of the word, appears once (10). On the possibility that *bha* is a "highly contracted" form equivalent to P *bhavantam*, see Allon 2001: 215.

#### 8.1.3.5. Stems in Original *-in*

The nominative singular masculine *meṣavi* [= Skt/P *medhāvī*] occurs once (5). There is also one occurrence of the nominative plural masculine *praṇa* [= Skt. *prāṇinaḥ*] (6). Cf.

#### 8.1.1.2.2.

#### 8.1.3.6. Stems in Original *-us*

There is one original *-us* stem noun occurring twice in the genitive singular neuter as *cakṣusa* (3, 8). However, *cakṣusa* could also be locative; see the text notes for further discussion.

#### 8.1.3.7. Other Consonant Stems

There is one occurrence of the nominative singular feminine *paḍivaḍa* [= Skt. *pratipad*] (21, 29). Like *praṇa*, this also appears to be a thematic extension from the consonant stem to a new *-ā* stem, as is the case with P *paṭipadā*.

#### 8.1.4. Nominal Compounds

As Glass observed in his study of RS 5, distinguishing compounds from inflected forms can be difficult in Gāndhārī, particularly when dealing with the Senior manuscripts, in which the inflectional system appears to have broken down considerably (Glass 2007: § 6.1.5.). In his discussion of the Khvs-G from the British Library Collection, Salomon suggested that Gāndhārī compounds that exhibited a "looser conception of compounding" than in Sanskrit and Pāli might be considered "pseudo-compounds" (Salomon 2000: § 7.1.5.). In RS 20, there are several examples of such looser compounds. In some instances, compounds that repeat show instability in the endings of their prior members: *viaṣi-maraṇa-*

*śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia* vs. *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üayasa-paraḍaha*. If we take this change in endings in the latter example to reflect an uncompounded series, the inflections (e.g., *maraṇo*, *śoke*, etc.) do not correspond to the anticipated forms, which should be genitive if governed by *paraḍaha* ("the conflagration of..."). Consider also the compound *sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-maṇasa*, which forms an absolute clause with the following genitive (or possibly locative) participle *sada* [= Skt. *satah*]. Whereas the Pāli parallel repeats the absolute clause for each member out of compound, it appears that our Gāndhārī example is an abbreviation for five different absolute clauses: "when there is an ear, nose, tongue, body, (or) mind...". Only the final member, *maṇasa*, is semantically relevant in the rest of the sentence: *maṇo-sapaṣa-pacea upajadi ajatva suha-dukha* ("pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the mind").

Compounds or "pseudo-compounds" occurring in RS 20 are as follows: *aṇupa(\*ya)ya-paṣo* (5-6), *aya-üda* (13), *aria-ṣacaṇa* (27), *aria-ṣacaṣa* (28), *aria-ṣaja* (29), *cakhu-ṣapha<<ṣa-pa>>ceae* (3), *cakhu-sapaṣa-pacea* (8), *jaḍi-paraḍaa* (26), *[j(\*a)di]-ṣabataṇia* (21-2), *jaḍi-ṣabataṇia* (22, 24), *dukha-aria-ṣaja* (20), *dukha-aria-ṣaca* (28), *dukha-ṇiroṣo* (21), *dukha-ṇir[o]ṣa-kamiṇa* (21), *dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa* (28, 29), *dukha-ṣamuḍ[e]o-aria-ṣaja* (20), *dhriḍa-da[re]* (4), *dhriḍa-prakara-toraṇa* (5), *bilada-nisagaṇa-matra* (6), *bhikhu-ṣaga* (10); *maṇo-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-pacea* (4), *maṇo-sapaṣa-pacea* (8-9), *mia-vimasa-samuṇakada* (5), *yava-jiva* (10), *yaṣa-bhude* (20 [2x], 21), *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üayasa-paraḍaha* (26-7), *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia* (23-4), *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia* (25), *śavasti-*

*ṇidāṇe* (11), *ṣa-dvaro* (5), *sajedi-bhude* (13, 15), *suha-dukhāsa* (2, 3, 7, 9), *sotro-gaṇo-cibha-kaya-maṇosa* (3-4), *sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-maṇasa* (8).

## 8.2. Pronouns, Pronominals, and Numerals

### 8.2.1. First-Person Pronouns

There is one instance of the nominative singular of the first-person pronoun in a sandhi combination with the nominative singular masculine of the third-person demonstrative pronoun: *eṣao* (P *esāhaṃ* 10; see text notes below). There is also one accusative singular, *me* (10).

### 8.2.2. Third-Person/Demonstrative Pronouns

#### 8.2.2.1 *tad-*

In the masculine, the nominative singular occurs five times as *so* (2, 5, 11, 15, 18) and three times as *ṣo* (9, 15, 16); instrumental singular as *t(\*e)ṇa* (1); ablative singular as *taspi* three times (16, 18, 19) and *taspad* once (28); nominative plural as *te* five times (7, 21, 22, 24, 30), and *de* once in the indefinite construction *ye de* (19). There is one nominative singular neuter, *ta* (27).

#### 8.2.2.2. *etad-*

*etad* is attested in the nominative singular neuter as *eḍa* (6) and accusative singular neuter as *eḍaḍ* (2, 9, 15). See § 8.2.1. for *eṣao*.

#### 8.2.2.3. *idam-*

The nominative singular neuter *idam* is attested as *idi* at least twice (20, 28). Another possible occurrence of this form occurs in line 9, but it is more likely that it corresponds to

the quotative particle *iti* (cf. § 8.4.1.). *idam* is also attested in the nominative plural masculine *ima* (2, 9); genitive singular masculine *imasa* (5, 6); accusative singular neuter *ima* (6) and *iḍam* (11, 30); and instrumental plural neuter *im[e]hi* (7).

### 8.2.3. Relative Pronoun

The nominative plural masculine *ye* occurs twice in indefinite phrases, once in *ye ke* (6) and once in *ye de* (19). The instrumental singular masculine *y(\*e)ṇa* occurs once (1), but functions in its adverbial form in the construction *yeṇa...teṇa*, meaning, "where...there...". Cf. § 8.4.1.

### 8.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

#### 8.2.4.1. *ka-*

The nominative singular masculine *ko* is attested twice (2 [2x]); nominative plural masculine *ke* is attested once in the indefinite construction *ye ke* (6); and the genitive singular masculine/neuter *kīsa* occurs once (27). In the latter example, the stem is based not on *ka-* but on *ki-* as it is in P *kissa*.

#### 8.2.4.2. *katara-*

The nominative singular masculine is *kaḍaro* (18); the nominative plural masculine is *kaḍara* (3); and the genitive plural neuter is *kaḍareṣa* (27).

### 8.2.5. Numerals

The accusative singular masculine *eka*, "one," occurs once (11), and also in the adverbial compound *ekamata* [= BHS *ekamante*/P *ekamantaṃ*] (2 [2x]). The nominative plural masculine *ṣa*, "six," occurs seven times (2 [as *ṣ(\*a)*], 3 [2x], 7 [2x], 9 [2x]). "Six" also

occurs in the instrumental plural as *ṣ(\*a)hi* (7), and in the *bahuvrīhi* compound *ṣa-dvaro*, "[possessed of] six gates" (5). The genitive plural neuter *cadōṇa*, "of (the) four," is attested twice (27 [2x]).

### 8.3. Verb Forms

#### 8.3.1. Present

Third-person singular forms are *upacadi* (3, 8), *apacadi* (4), *upajadi* (9) (all corresponding to Skt. *utpadyate*/P *uppajjati*), *asti* (16, 18), *paśadi* (29<sup>A</sup>), and *bhodi* (13). Third-person plural forms are *sata* (11), *sati* (13), *aviṣakhareti* (22), *aviṣakharoti* (22-3, 24; see discussion in text notes), *ṇakramati* (7 [2x]), *prayaṇati* (20), *payāṇati* (21 [2x]), *pracaṇaveti* (26), *pracaṇahoti* (26), *pracaṇabhoti* (27), *praviśati* (7 [2x]), and *bhoti* (12, 14). There is one first-person singular form, *gachami* (10).

#### 8.3.2. Optative

There is one third-person singular optative, *paśea* [= Skt. *paśyet*/P *paseyya*] (6).

#### 8.3.3. Imperative

There is one imperative form, the second-person singular causative *dharei* (= P *dhārehi*) (10).

#### 8.3.4. Preterites

The most common preterite forms in this text are those deriving from OIA aorists (see Salomon 2008: § II.4.5.5.2. and Silverlock 2015: § 7.17.4). As noted by Salomon, as in Pāli, the *-iṣ-* subclass ending in *-i* in first- and third-person singular is the most common finite G

verb form in general. Silverlock sampled 83 preterites from the Senior scrolls and found that a strong majority of cases fall into this class, which he, following Geiger's study of Pāli, calls Type IV (Silverlock: 355-6; Geiger: 128-136). In Senior 20, preterite forms ultimately derived from OIA *-iṣ-* aorists (Type IV) include *aviṇadi* [= P *abhinandī*] (11), *samoḍa* [= P *sammodī*] (1), and *uasaka[m(\*i)]* [=P *upasaṅkami*] (1). *ahuṣi* [= P *ahosi*] (6) derives from a *s*-aorist (Type III). *aṭa* (2) either corresponds the Skt. root aorist (Type I) *asthāt*, or *s*-aorist (Type III) corresponding to BHS *asthāsi* (see text notes for discussion). The peculiar forms *aya* (2, 9), *oyi* (11), *oya* (15) and *eya* (30), are all third-person singular preterite forms probably derived from the OIA thematic aorist (Type II) *avaca*, from  $\sqrt{vac}$ , "to speak" (Allon 2001: 163-5, 181-2; Glass 2007: 184).

#### 8.3.5. Absolutives (Gerunds)

Absolutive forms are *uḍaṣoraṭṭva* (1; see text notes for derivation), *aviṣakharita* (23, 24, 25), and *(\*ua)[s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)]*.

#### 8.3.6. Participles

##### 8.3.6.1. Present Participle Parasmaipada in *-ant-*

The present participle of  $\sqrt{as}$  occurs in the genitive singular neuter as *sada* (3, 8) and *sado* (4, 8).

##### 8.3.6.2. Past Participles

Nominative singular masculine forms are *aviṇadida* (11), *bhaṣide* (11), *ṣat[a]ta* (13), *aṭido* [= Skt. *āsthitaḥ*/P *āthito*] (2), *aḍita* (13) and *sajedi-bhuḍa* (13). The nominative plural masculine *aḍita* occurs once (13), *sajedi-bhuḍe* occurs twice (13, 15), and *sapaṭjalida* [= Skt.

*samprajvalitāḥ/P sampajjalitā*] occurs once (12-13), as does *sapacalida* (13) and *sapačilida* (14-15). There is one nominative singular neuter, *śuda* (11), and one accusative singular masculine, *gade* (11). Genitive plural masculine forms are *aviṇivurtaṇa* (12, 14), *jadāṇa* (12, 14), and *bhudāṇa* (12, 14). The locative singular neuter form is *vute* (9).

#### 8.3.6.3. Future Passive Participle (Gerundives)

Gerundives in nominative singular masculine from the root  $\sqrt{kr}$  are *karaṇia* (28) and *karaṇio* (29).

### 8.4. Indeclinables and Adverbs

#### 8.4.1. Indeclinable Particles and Conjunctions

*i* [= *hi*] (6), *asa* [= *atha*] (15), *aśi* [= *iha*] or *ayi* (28), *idi* (9), *ta* [= *iti*] (20), *ti* (28, 29), *va* (6), *eva* (7, 13), *eva* [= *evam*] (11), *evam* (7, 13), *e* [= *ca*] (3), *ja* (10), *ya* [= *ca*] (16, 17, 18 [2x], 19 [2x], 24), *ṇa* (6, 20, 21 [2x]), *tatro* (5), *tatra* (12, 14), *taṣa* [= *tathā*] (6), *pi* (26 [2x], 27), *yada* [= *yadā*] (29<sup>A</sup>), *yava* [= *yāvat*] (28, 29), *y(\*e)ṇa* (1), *va* (19, 20).

#### 8.4.2. Adverbs

There is one adverb based on a pronominal stem, *tatraspi* (5). Adverbs from nominal and adjectival stems are: *acatva* [= Skt. *adhyātmaṃ*] (3), *a[j(\*a)]tva* (4), *ajatva* (8, 9), *ajavagreṇa* [= Skt. *adyāgreṇa/P ajjatangge*] (10), *atamado* [= BHS *antamaśas/antamaśato/P antamaso*] (6), *ekamata* (2 [2x]), *ṇamo* (12), *ṇama* (14), *divasa* (13), *driga-ratro* (25-6), *p(\*r)aṇueda* [= Skt. *prāṇopetaṃ*] (10), *yava-jīva* [= Skt. *yāvajīvaṃ/P yāvajjīvaṃ*] (10), *yaṣa-bhude* [= Skt. *yathābhūtāṃ*] (20 [2x], 21), [*s(\*adha)*] (1), *samato* (5), *sayaṣavi* (4), *sayasavi* (13).



## CHAPTER 9: TRANSCRIBED TEXT, RECONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSLATION

In § 9.1 the text is presented as it appears in the reconstructed manuscript.

### 9.1. Transcribed Text

- 1 a[ñ.aro brama]ño y.ña bha[yavad.] t.ña uasaka[m.] + + [s.k.mit. bh.y.v.d. s.] ? [samoda]  
samo[da]ñi[a. k.]śa sarayaño viviso udaśoraīva
- 2 ekamata aṭa ekamata aṭido so bramaño bhayavata edad=aya ko bho go[da]ma hada ko  
pae logo suhadukhasa upadae [ś. a.] + [br.]maṇa
- 3 hada śa paea logo suhadukhasa upadae kadara śa e cakṣusa brama[ñ. sa]da  
cakuṣapha«śapa»ceae upacadi acatva suhadukha sotrogaño
- 4 cibhakayamaṇosa ? «bramaṇa sado» manos.p.ś.paea apacadi a[j.]tva suhadukho  
sayasavi bramaño raña pacatima ṇakar[e] dhridada[re]
- 5 dhridaprakaratorana śadvaro tatraspi doario paḍida meṣavi tatro miavimasasamuṇakada  
so imasa ṇakarasa samato aṇupa ///
- 6 yapaṣo ṇa i paṣea paṣaṇaṣa chidva atamado bilaḍaṇisaga«ṇa»matra va taṣa amasa eda  
ahuṣi ye ke oraḍi praṇa ima [ṇ.k.]
- 7 r[o] pravi + + + [kramati s.v. te] im[e]hi ś.hi dvarehi praviṣati ṇakramati evam=eva  
bramaṇa śa hada śa paea loga suhadukhasa upa[d.]-
- 8 e cakṣusa bramaṇa sado cakuṣapaṣapaea upacadi ajatva suhadukha  
sotrogaṇocibhekayamaṇasa bramaṇa sada maṇosapaṣa-
- 9 cea upajadi ajatva suhadukha ima bramaṇa śa heda [śa] paea loge suhadukhasa upadae  
iḍi vute ṣo bramaño bhayava[ta] edad=a«ya»

- 10 eṣao bha geḍa[m. ś.r.]ṇo gachami dhrarma ja bhikhuṣaga ja uasao me bh[i] goḍama  
dhareṇi ajavagreṇa yavajiva p.aṇueḍa
- 11 śaraṇa gaḍe iḍam=oyi bhayava atamaṇo so bhamāṇa bhayavaḍa bhaṣiḍe aviṇaḍiḍa |° eva  
me śuḍa eka ṣamae śavastiṇiḍaṇ[e] sata
- 12 bhikṣave mahapaḍaḍa ṇamo ṇireṇa tatra ṣatvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya  
bhoti sapaḍjali-
- 13 ḍa sajedibhude sayasavi ayaḍiḍa divasa ṣa[ta]ta aḍita bhodi sapacaliḍa sajedibhuda  
evam=eva sati
- 14 mahapaḍaha ṇama ṇireṇa tatra satvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti  
sapaḍi-
- 15 liḍa sajedibhude asa añeṇo bhikhu bhayavata eḍaḍ=oya mahāḍa bhate so paraḍae  
sumahāḍa so ~~bha~~
- 16 bhate so paraḍae asti bhate taspi paraḍae añṇa paraḍae aṣimaḍaḍaro ya
- 17 bhayaṇaḍaro ya
- 17a «kri» [this appears at the top right of the ms.]
- 18 [asti bhikh]u taspi paraḍao añṇa paraḍao aṣimaḍaḍoro ya bhayaṇaḍaro y[e] kaḍaro so  
bhate
- 19 tas[p]i paraḍao [a]ñṇa paraḍao [aṣim.ḍaḍa]ro ya bhayaṇaḍaro ya ye ḍe bhikhu ṣamaṇa va
- 20 braṇaṇa va iḍi dukhaariasaja ta yaṣabhude ṇa prayaṇati dukhaṣamud[e]oariasaja  
yaṣabhude
- 21 ṇa payaṇati dukhaṇiṇoṣo dukhaṇir[o]ṣakamiṇa paḍivaḍa yaṣabhude ṇa payaṇati te  
[j.ḍi]ṣabataṇi-
- 22 a sakhara aviṣakhareti te jaḍiṣabataṇia sakhare aviraḍa jaraṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakha-

- 23 roti jarasabatāṇio sakhara aviṣakharita viaṣimarāṇaśoka<sub>2</sub>paridevadukhadomaṇastāüa-
- 24 yasasabatāṇia sakhara aviṣakharoti te jaḍiṣabatāṇia ya sakhara aviṣakharita jaraṣabata-
- 25 ṇia viaṣimarāṇaśoka<sub>2</sub>paridevadukhadomaṇastāüayaṣasabatāṇia ṣakhara aviṣakharita  
driga-
- 26 ratro jaḍiparaḍaa pi pracaṇaveti jaraparaḍaha pi pracaṇahoti  
viaṣimarāṇaśoke<sub>2</sub>parideveüa-
- 27 yasaparaḍaha pi pracaṇabhōti ta kiṣa edo adhriṭhatva caḍoṇa ariṣacaṇa kaḍareṣa caḍoṇa  
dukha-
- 28 sa ariṣacaṣa yava dukhaṇi<sub>2</sub>roṣakāmiṇa taspada=ayi idi dukhaariṣaca ti yoge k<sub>2</sub>araṇia
- 29 yava dukhaṇi<sub>2</sub>roṣakāmiṇa paḍivada ariṣaja ti yoge karaṇio
- 29<sup>A</sup> aṇica sarva sakhara yada paṇae paṣaḍi
- 30 ida<sub>2</sub>m=eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu

## 9.2. Reconstruction and Translation of the Text

### 9.2.1. The Suhadukha-sūtra

- [1] aṇi(\*e)aro bramaṇo y(\*e)ṇa bhayavad(\*a) t(\*e)ṇa uasakam(\*i) (\*ua)s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)  
bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)d(\*a) s(\*adha) samoda samodaṇi(\*o) k(\*a)ṣa sarayaṇio viviso uḍaṣoraṭva
- [2] ekamata aṭa ekamata aṭido so bramaṇo bhayavata edaḍ=aya ko bho godama haḍa ko  
paceae logo suha-dukhasa upadae ṣ(\*a ima) br(\*a)maṇa [3] haḍa ṣa paceae logo suha-  
dukhasa upadae kaḍara ṣa e cakṣusa bramaṇ(\*a) sada cakhu-ṣaphaṣa-paceae upacadi  
acatva suha-dukha sotro-gaṇo-[4]cibha-kaya-maṇ<\*a>sa bramaṇa sado mano-  
s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-paceae apacadi aj(\*a)tva suha-dukho

sayasa<sub>vi</sub> bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇo raṇa pa<sub>ca</sub>tima ṇa<sub>k</sub>are dhri<sub>ḍa</sub>-da<sub>re</sub> [5] dhri<sub>ḍa</sub>-pra<sub>k</sub>ara-tora<sub>ṇa</sub> ṣa-  
dva<sub>ro</sub> tatra<sub>s</sub>pi do<sub>ar</sub>io pa<sub>ḍi</sub>da me<sub>s</sub>avi tatro mia-vi<sub>ma</sub>sa-sa<sub>mu</sub>ṇa<sub>k</sub>a<sub>ḍa</sub> so i<sub>ma</sub>sa ṇa<sub>ka</sub>ra<sub>sa</sub>  
sa<sub>ma</sub>to a<sub>ṇu</sub>pa(\*ya)[6]ya-pa<sub>s</sub>o ṇa i pa<sub>s</sub>ea pa<sub>s</sub>aṇa<sub>sa</sub> chi<sub>d</sub>va a<sub>ta</sub>ma<sub>ḍo</sub> bi<sub>la</sub>ḍa-ṇi<sub>s</sub>a<sub>ga</sub>«ṇa»-  
ma<sub>tra</sub> va ta<sub>s</sub>a <\*i>ma<sub>s</sub>a e<sub>ḍa</sub> ahu<sub>ṣi</sub> ye ke ora<sub>ḍi</sub> pra<sub>ṇa</sub> i<sub>ma</sub> ṇ(\*a)k(\*a)[7]ro pra<sub>vi</sub>(\*ṣa<sub>ti</sub>  
ṇa)k<sub>ra</sub>ma<sub>ti</sub> s(\*a)v(\*a) te i<sub>me</sub>hi ṣ(\*a)hi d<sub>va</sub>rehi pra<sub>vi</sub>sati ṇa<sub>k</sub>ra<sub>ma</sub>ti e<sub>va</sub>m=e<sub>va</sub> bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇa ṣa  
ha<sub>ḍa</sub> ṣa pa<sub>cea</sub> lo<sub>ga</sub> su<sub>ha</sub>-du<sub>k</sub>ha<sub>sa</sub> upa<sub>ḍ</sub>(\*a)[8]e ca<sub>k</sub>ṣu<sub>sa</sub> bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇa sa<sub>ḍo</sub> ca<sub>k</sub>hu-sa<sub>pa</sub>ṣa-pa<sub>cea</sub>  
upa<sub>ca</sub>di a<sub>ja</sub>tva su<sub>ha</sub>-du<sub>k</sub>ha so<sub>tro</sub>-ga<sub>ṇo</sub>-ci<sub>b</sub>he-ka<sub>ya</sub>-ma<sub>ṇa</sub>sa bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇa sa<sub>ḍa</sub> ma<sub>ṇo</sub>-sa<sub>pa</sub>ṣa-  
pa[9]cea upa<sub>ja</sub>ḍi a<sub>ja</sub>tva su<sub>ha</sub>-du<sub>k</sub>ha i<sub>ma</sub> bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇa ṣa he<sub>ḍa</sub> ṣa pa<sub>cea</sub> lo<sub>ge</sub> su<sub>ha</sub>-du<sub>k</sub>ha<sub>sa</sub>  
upa<sub>ḍa</sub>e

i<sub>ḍi</sub> vute so bra<sub>ma</sub>ṇo bhayavata e<sub>ḍa</sub>ḍ=aya [10] eṣa<sub>o</sub> bha ge<sub>ḍa</sub>m(\*a) ṣ(\*a)r(\*a)ṇo ga<sub>cha</sub>mi  
dhr<sub>ar</sub>ma ja bhik<sub>hu</sub>-ṣa<sub>ga</sub> ja uasao me bhi go<sub>ḍa</sub>ma dhare<sub>i</sub> a<sub>ja</sub>vagre<sub>ṇa</sub> ya<sub>va</sub>ji<sub>va</sub> p(\*r)a<sub>ṇu</sub>e<sub>ḍa</sub>  
[11] ṣa<sub>ra</sub>ṇa ga<sub>ḍe</sub> i<sub>ḍa</sub>m=oyi bhayava a<sub>ta</sub>ma<sub>ṇo</sub> so bha<sub>ma</sub>ṇa bhayava<sub>ḍa</sub> bha<sub>ṣi</sub>ḍe a<sub>vi</sub>ṇa<sub>ḍi</sub>da °

## The Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain

[1] A certain brahman approached the Lord, and having approached, exchanged  
courtesies with him. Having exchanged various courteous and polite greetings with him, [2]  
he stood to one side. Standing to one side, he said this to the Lord: "What, sir Gotama, is the  
cause, what is the condition for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world?" "Brahman,  
there are these six [3] causes, and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the  
world. What are the six? When there is an eye, brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one  
due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, [4] tongue, body, and mind,  
brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body,  
and] mind.

"Brahman, it is just as if there is a king's frontier city with strong ramparts, [5] strong walls and arches, and six doors. In it, there is a wise, intelligent gatekeeper charged with the investigation of animals. On the path encircling the city on all sides, he would not see a crack in the stone even large enough for a cat to creep through. Thus it [might have] occurred to him: 'whatever sizable creatures enter [7] and exit this city will enter and exit through these six doors.' Just so, brahman, there are six causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world. [8] When there is an eye, brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, brahman, [9] pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body, and] mind."

This being said, the brahman said this to the Lord: [10] "I, Sir, go to the refuge of Gotama, the teachings, and the community of monks. Accept me as a lay follower, Sir Gotama, from now on, as long as I live, as long as I breathe, as one [11] gone to the refuge." The Lord said this. Pleased, the brahman rejoiced in the words of the Lord.

### 9.2.2. The Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra

[11] *eva me śūda eka śamae śavasti-ñidāṇe sata* [12] *bhikṣave maha-paraḍa ṇamo ñireā tatra śatvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhudaṇa aṇivurtāṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapāḷali* [13] *da sajedi-bhude sayasavi aya-ūḍa divasa śatata aḍita bhodi sapacaliḍa sajedi-bhuda evam=eva sati* [14] *maha-paraḍaha ṇama ñireā tatra satvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhudaṇa aṇivurtāṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapācī* [15] *liḍa sajedi-bhude*

*asa añeāro bhikhu bhayavata eḍaḍ=oya mahada bhate so paraḍae sumahada so* [16] *bhate so paraḍae asti bhate taspi paraḍae añā paraḍae aṣimaḍaḍaro ya* [17] *bhayaṇaḍaro*

ya [17a] «kri» [18] *asti bhikhu taspi paraḍao añā paraḍao aṣimadadaro ya bhayaṇadaro ye kaḍaro so bhate* [19] *taspi paraḍao añā paraḍao aṣim(\*a)dadaro ya bhayaṇadaro ya ye de bhikhu ṣamaṇa va* [20] *bramaṇa va idi dukha-aria-ṣaja ta yaṣa-bhude ṇa prayaṇati dukha-ṣamudeo-aria-ṣaja yaṣa-bhude* [21] *ṇa payaṇati dukha-ṇiroso dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa paḍivada yaṣa-bhude ṇa payaṇati te j(\*a)di-ṣabataṇi*[22]*a sakhara aviṣakhareti te jadī-ṣabataṇia sakhare avirada jara-ṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakha*[23]*roti jara-sabataṇio sakhara aviṣakharita viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üa*[24]*yasa-sabataṇia sakhara aviṣakharoti te jadīṣabataṇia ya sakhara aviṣakharita jaraṣabata*[25]*ṇia viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayaṣa-sabataṇia ṣakhara aviṣakharita driga-*[26]*ratro jadī-paraḍaa pi pracaṇaveti jara-paraḍaha pi pracaṇahoti viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üa*[27]*yasa-paraḍaha pi pracaṇabhoti*

*ta kiṣa edo adhrīṭhatva caḍoṇa aria-ṣacaṇa kaḍareṣa caḍoṇa dukha*[28]*sa ariṣacaṣa yava dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa taspad=ayi idi dukha-aria-ṣaca ti yoge karaṇia* [29] *yava dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa paḍivada aria-ṣaja ti yoge karaṇio*

[29<sup>A</sup>] *aṇica sarva sakhara yada paṇae paśadi*

[30] *idam=eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu*

## The Great Conflagration Sūtra

[11] Thus I have heard: At one time in the Śrāvastī setting... [The Buddha said to the bhikkhus:] "There are, [12] monks, hells called 'Great Conflagration.'" Bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being there are burning, blazing, [13] glowing. Just like an iron ball which is heated all day, burning, blazing, glowing, so too are there [14] hells

named 'Great Conflagration' where the bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being are burning, [15] blazing, glowing."

Now, a certain bhikkhu said this to the Lord: "Great, Sir, is this conflagration. Very great, [16] Sir, is this conflagration. Is there, Sir, another conflagration even greater and [17] more frightful than this conflagration?" [18] "There is, bhikkhu, another conflagration greater and more frightful than this conflagration." "Which, Sir, [19] is the other conflagration even greater and more frightful than this conflagration?"

"Any ascetics [20] or brahmans, bhikkhu, who do not know as it really is [21] 'this is the noble truth of suffering,' who do not understand as it really is '[This is] the noble truth of the arising of suffering,' who don't understand as it really is '[This is the noble truth of] the cessation of suffering' [and 'This is the noble truth of] the path leading to the cessation of suffering,' [22] they generate volitions which lead to birth. Delighting in volitions leading to birth, they generate volitions leading to old age. [23] Having generated volitions leading to old age, they generate volitions leading to disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and turmoil. [24] Having generated volitions leading to birth, [and having generated volitions] leading to old age, [25] and having generated volitions leading to disease, death, sorrow, lamentations, suffering, dejection, and turmoil, [26] for a long time they experience the conflagration of birth, they experience the conflagration of old age, [27] [and] the conflagration of disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, and turmoil.

"What is the cause of this? Because the four noble truths have not been seen. What four? [28] The noble truth of suffering [up to the noble truth of the path] leading to the cessation of suffering. Therefore, an effort is to be made with regard to 'This is the noble truth of

suffering' [29] [up to 'This is] the noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of suffering.'"

[29<sup>A</sup>] When one sees with insight that all conditioned things are impermanent...

[30] The Lord said this, and the bhikkhus, pleased, [delighted in the speech of the Lord.]

## CHAPTER 10: THE SŪTRA ON PLEASURE AND PAIN

Chapters 10 and 11 present detailed text notes and comparative studies of the contents of the two complete sūtras found on RS 20.

### 10.1. Introduction

#### 10.1.1. Summary of Contents

In the first sūtra on this manuscript, a brahman approaches the Buddha and asks about the causes of pleasure and pain in the world. The Buddha uses the simile of the fortified city to explain that pleasure and pain result from contact between the six sense bases and their objects. Just as a gatekeeper of a city is aware of all that enters or exits a city through its six gates, so too, the Buddha implies, should one be aware of all that moves through the six sense gates. Upon hearing this, the brahman declares his conversion to lay status. Unless the missing top right portion of the recto contained a nidāna, the sūtra is complete.

#### 10.1.2. Title

I offer the title *Suhadukha-sūtra* on the basis of the Gāndhārī spelling of the sūtra's main topic. An argument could be made for naming the sūtra with reference to the simile of the fortified city (*nagaropama*) contained therein. As discussed in § 10.1.4, the Senior index scroll contains the entry *ṇagaroham[e •]*, which might refer to the present text. However, because the association between the entry in the Index Scroll and RS 20 is not secure, and in order to avoid confusing this sutra with others named after the simile of the city (see Chapter 2), I have selected *Suhadukha-sūtra*.

Of course, rendering the title into English poses an even larger problem. The authors of the PTSD note how particularly difficult the term *dukha*, Skt. *duḥkha*/P *dukkha*, can be for translators: "There is no word in English covering the same ground as *dukkha* does in Pāli. Our modern words are too specialised, too limited, and usually too strong" (PTSD). They go on to remark that, even if one can confidently render *suha*, P/Skt. *sukha*, as "ease," "well being," or "wealth," the opposite of these words – "disease," "illness," and "illth," – are either inappropriate in modern usage or have fallen out of use altogether.

To avoid the narrowly physical connotations of the word "pain," one might consider the pair "happiness and suffering." But this translation skews the meaning in English towards a more existential understanding of the two words. In the context of the sutra, *suha-dukha* is directly caused by contact (*saphaṣa*; Skt. *saṃsparśa*/P *saṃphassa*) between the six sense bases and their respective objects (e.g. ear and sound), so it is focused not on general states of being (e.g., happy, unhappy), but on the immediate feeling – both mental and physical – resulting from contact. In the description of the Buddha's realization of the twelve-fold chain of dependent origination (e.g., Nagara-sutta; SN II 104), *vedanā* ("feeling") is also described as being due to the condition (*paccayā*) of contact (*phasso*), as it is in teachings about the five constituent elements (*skandhas*) that make up the illusion of self, for example in the Upādānaparivaṭṭa-sutta (SN III 59): *Katamā ca bhikkhave vedanā? Chayime bhikkhave vedanākāyā. Cakkhusamphassajā vedanā [etc.]...Phassasamudayā vedanāsamudayo* ("What is feeling? Monks, there are six categories of feeling. Feeling born from contact with the eye [etc.]...The arising of feeling comes from the arising of contact"). Thus it is possible to interpret *suha-dukha* as, if not synonymous with, then at least related to *vedanā*, emphasizing the more particular meaning "pleasure and pain" that arises in a moment of

sensory contact. Still, the English word "pain" is typically reserved for physical discomfort instead of negative mental experiences, which are more commonly described as "anguish." It is worth noting that mind is considered a sense in the Indic Buddhist context, but not traditionally in Western thought. Despite the limited connotation of the words, it is preferred in English to maintain the literary force of the natural opposites as rendered in *suha-dukha*, so I have chosen to render the English title "The Sūtra on Pleasure and Pain." However, in the second sūtra on the manuscript, I have translated *dukha*, which in that context occurs without *suha*, as "suffering," as is traditionally done when it occurs in the context of the four noble truths.

### 10.1.3. Parallels

Although no complete parallel has yet been found for this sūtra, the bulk of the sūtras in the Senior collection – at least twenty-six of forty-one – have their primary parallels in the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya and Chinese Sanskrit Saṃyuktāgama (see Allon's Introduction in Glass 2007: 21). Based on these twenty-six texts, particularly those on Senior 11 which appear to comprise a group similar to the P *Vana-saṃyutta*, it can be surmised that a "stable, if not fixed Saṃyuktāgama was known to the Gandhāran community who produced these manuscripts in the first half of the second century A.D." (Ibid., 22). The Suhadukha-sūtra has no exact parallel in another language, but it would most naturally fit in a grouping like the Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta ("Six Sense Spheres Section"), given its focus on the six sense spheres.

Further evidence for the association can be gleaned from relationships between some texts from the Senior collection and those in the P Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta. As noted in §

10.1.4., two texts mentioned in the Senior Index Scroll correspond to sūtras no. 190 and 197 in that saṃyutta, and Senior 19 corresponds to the two Dārukkhandopama-suttas (SN IV 179 and 181), nos. 201 and 202. Moreover, the Suhadukha-sūtra's discussion of the origin of pleasure and pain is directly parallel to that found in the two Haṭṭhapādopama-suttas (SN IV 171-2), nos. 195 and 196, and its simile of the fortified city is nearly identical to that in the Kimsuka-sutta (SN IV 191), no. 204. Thus, there is some evidence that a portion of the texts in the Senior collection once contained or was intended to contain sūtras related to those found between nos. 190 and 204 in the Samudda-vagga and Āsivisa-vagga subsections of the Pāli Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the Suhadukha-sūtra might have been included in a AN-type group, a Book of Sixes, in view of its elaboration of the content grouped in sixes. But there are no direct parallels in an existing AN/EĀ.

The sūtra's constituent elements are separately reflected in various Pāli suttas. Parallels for the formulas describing someone's approach to the Buddha, the questioning and answering about the cause and condition for the arising of something, and the formula for the brahman's declaration of lay status can be found in numerous Pāli and Gāndhārī texts, which are discussed in the following text notes. As has been discussed at length in Chapter 2, the simile of the fortified city also has numerous parallels in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese. By and large, this sūtra consists of formulaic elements which can be found elsewhere, but are here arranged in a unique way, and containing a few unique elements, including the description of the gatekeeper as an investigator of animals, something so far not found in any other Buddhist text.

#### 10.1.4. Reference in the Index Scrolls

There is possibly a reference to this sūtra in the Index Scrolls (Senior 7+8). Entry number 11, *ṇagaroham[e •]* ◇ (l. 3), refers to a text called or containing "the simile of the city" (Skt. *nagaropama*), which is a major feature of this sūtra. Allon (forthcoming) notes that the identification of the Index Scroll reference with this sūtra is strengthened by that fact that the two references following it – *aśiviṣaama* and *kṣīriarukṣa* (nos. 12 and 13) – refer to the Āsīvisopama-sutta (SN IV 172) and the Khīrarukkhopama-sutta (SN IV 159), both of which are found in the P Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta ("Six Sense Spheres Chapter"). If the current sūtra is in fact part of a G Saḷāyatana group, *ṇagaroham[e •]* probably refers to it, acting as a kind of general designation for any sūtra with the simile of the fortified city.

However, a point against this association is the fact that the actual phrase *ṇagarohame* does not occur in this sūtra, whereas other entries of the Index Scrolls do directly correspond to text from other Senior sūtras. There are also other sūtras referred to as *nagaropama* which do not correspond to the text on RS 20, so that *ṇagarohame* could refer instead to a G parallel to one of these that is not reflected in the extant Senior manuscripts.<sup>262</sup>

#### 10.2. Text Commentary

##### 10.2.1. The Brahman Approaches the Buddha (Lines 1-2)

Edition:

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<sup>262</sup> See, for example, the Nagara-sutta of the Saṃyutta-nikāya (SN II 104-7), which has parallels in the Chinese SĀ (T 99 80b25-81a8) and EĀ (T 125 718a13-c16), and in a number of Sanskrit versions, one of which is quoted in the Pravrajyāvastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and is referred to as the *Nagaropamaṃ sūtram* (Näther, Vogel, and Wille 1996: 257), and another from Dunhuang which is called the *Nagaropama-sūtra* (Bongard-Levin et al. 1996).

[1] a[ñ.aro brama]ño y.ña bha[yavad.] t.ña uasaka[m.] + + [s.k.mit. bh.y.v.d. s.] ?  
[samoda] samo[da]ñi[a. k.]sa sarayaño viviso uḍaṣoraitva [2] ekamata aṭa ekamata  
aṭido so bramaño bhayavata eḍaḍ=aya

#### Reconstruction:

[1] añ(\*e)aro bramaño y(\*e)ña bhayavad(\*a) t(\*e)ña uasakam(\*i) (\*ua)s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)  
bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)d(\*a) s(\*adha) samoda samodañi(\*o) k(\*a)sa sarayaño viviso  
uḍaṣoraitva [2] ekamata aṭa ekamata aṭido so bramaño bhayavata eḍaḍ=aya

#### Translation of the Gāndhārī:

[1] A certain brahman approached the Lord, and having approached, exchanged  
courtesies with him. Having exchanged various courteous and polite greetings with him,  
[2] he stood to one side. Standing to one side, he said this to the Lord:

#### Cf. G (RS 13.5-7):

asa u veḍadal[e]a bramaṇagahavadea yeṇa [6] /// [v.t.]ña uasagami uasakramita  
apegeca bhaya /// /// [p.g.]ca bhayavaḍa sadha samoda samodaño kaṣa sarayaṇia  
vivisaraīta

#### Pāli Parallel (SN II 75):

atha kho aññataro brāhmaṇo yena bhagavā tenupasaṅkami. upasaṅkamitvā bhagavatā  
saddhiṃ sammodi. sammodanīyaṃ katham sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.  
ekamantaṃ nisinno kho so brāhmaṇo bhagavantam etad avoca.

#### Chinese Parallel (SĀ 300; T 99 85c4-5):

時有異婆羅門來詣佛所與世尊面相慶慰。慶慰已退坐一面白佛言。

At that time a certain brāhman came to where the Buddha was and exchanged salutations. Having done so, he retreated, sat to one side, and addressed the Buddha, saying:

Text notes:

Given the presence of nidānas in other Senior scrolls, and in the second sūtra on this manuscript, we would expect one at the beginning of the scroll, but the top right portion of the recto is missing. However, the first visible line of the recto inclines slightly as it moves to the left half, showing clearly that there are no missing lines on the left-hand fragments. In this case, the nidāna may have been written only on the upper right side of the manuscript, with the first full line beginning just below it. It is also possible that the nidāna was left out completely, as in the case of Senior 5, in which the first sūtra contains no nidāna, although the rest of the sūtras on that scroll do (Glass 2007: 177, 187, 195).



Line 1. *a[ñ.aro]*: As noted above, the upper right portion of the manuscript is missing, leaving only bottoms of most of the akṣaras in the right half of line 1. A debris fragment with faint ink traces contains what appears to be the top portions of *[ñ.a]*, but the placement of the debris fragment is uncertain. Two characteristics distinguish the *-ñ-* from other forms of the akṣara elsewhere on the manuscript. The bottom of the stem is characterized by a sharp leftward hook corresponding to Glass' type 4 footmark (Glass 2007: 89), whereas the bottom of the stem of other forms of *ñ* in the manuscript has a pronounced rightward curve

corresponding to Glass' type 2. If the debris fragment is placed correctly, the *-ñ-* also has a pronounced leftward hook at the top of the stem. Although both features are absent elsewhere in RS 20, they do occur in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, for example British Library scrolls 12+14 (1.57.17; Allon 2001 § 4.4.2.9). No *-e-* diacritic is visible on the fragment, but *añ(\*e)aro* can be reconstructed based on the parallel phrase in 1.15. For the palatalization of *a*, especially after OIA *y*, see Salomon 2000: § 6.1.1.; Allon 2001: § 5.1.1.; Lenz 2003: § 4.1.1., 9.1.1.

*y.ṇa bha[yavaḍ.] t.ṇa*: Here, *yeṇa...teṇa* is anticipated, but the manuscript breaks just above the consonant stems and the *e* diacritics are not visible. Since this scribe often writes "floating" *e* vowels, the diacritics may have originally been in the missing portion of the manuscript. Vowel omission is not uncommon for this scribe (Glass 2007: 104 [§4.7.2]; Salomon 2008: 336 [§III.2.2.5.]), but it is not expected here. *bha[yavaḍ(\*a)]*, which must be read as nominative in view of the context, corresponds in form to P accusative *bhagavantam*, instead of the nominative G *bhayava*, which is expected here. While the expected G reflex of *-nt-* is *-t-*, here we have *-ḍ-*. It is partially obscured by an overlaying chip but is clearly distinguishable from a *d* or *t* by the characteristic rightward extension of its foot, which is just visible at the bottom right. A similar accusative form – *(\*bha)yavadu* – occurs in a parallel phrase requiring a nominative reading in BL 12+14 1.9 (Allon 2001: 163).

*++[ṣ.k.mit.]*: Only the bottoms of the latter four akṣaras are visible, and only a slight trace of the bottom in the case of *-m-*. However, the visible portions contain characteristic features that eliminate the possibility of other readings, and the word occurs in a common approach formula found at the beginning of many sūtras including RS13 (above) and RS 19:

"añe++ *bhikhu yeṇa bhayava teṇa uasakami uasakamita bhayavada...*" (1.1). Thus, it can be confidently reconstructed as *(\*ua)s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)*, which corresponds to the Pāli gerund *upasaṅkamitvā*.



[*bh.y.v.d. s.*]?: This can confidently be reconstructed as *bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)d(\*a) s(\*adha)* from only the bottoms of the akṣaras based on the similar characteristic forms in RS 19.26. Although identical in form to the pseudo-accusative *bha[yavad.]* above, this word must represent the instrumental, equivalent to OIA *bhagavatā*. Only the bottom half of *s* of [*s(\*adha)*] is clearly readable. What is probably a *-dh-* is little more than a smudge before the center break of the manuscript. G *sadha* is the cognate of the BHS *sārdham* and P *saddhiṃ*, "with." This word is spelled *sada* in RS 19.11 (Lee 2009), but I have reconstructed it here in its more commonly occurring form *sadha* on the basis of RS 13 (e.g., ll 3, 6) and numerous Gāndhārī inscriptions (e.g., CKD 517: Obv 6; CKI 149: 8, 12; CKI 172: 3 [2x], 4 [2x]).

[*samoda*] *śamo[da]ṇi[a.]*: The word *samoda* is split in half across two fragments and a small portion of the middle of each akṣara is missing. However, enough remains for a secure reading. With the exception of the initial *ś*, only the tops of *śamo[da]ṇi[a.]* remain. No underscore on the *d* is visible, but the lack of an open rightward hook at the top clearly indicates *d* instead of *ḍ*. I have reconstructed *śamodaṇi(\*o)* to match the endings of the other two adjectives modifying *kaśa*, namely *sarayaṇio* and *viviso*.

This phrase corresponds to P *sammodi sammodanīyaṃ*, which constitutes the end of one sentence with the finite preterite form of *sam* +  $\sqrt{mud}$  ("to delight in") and the beginning of the next sentence with an adjective made from the same prefix + root combination. The sequential use of words sharing the same root – polyptoton – is a common technique in Indian Buddhist literature as noted by von Simson (1965: 29-30). The G and P versions differ from the Sanskrit version of this approach formula, which has *saṃmukhaṃ* ("face-to-face") instead of the finite verb (e.g., Divy 43.008; 47.019). The Chinese parallel – 世尊面相 ("face-to-face with the Lord") – agrees with the Sanskrit. Von Simson (1965: 136-8) has suggested that the difference between the P and Skt versions might be attributed to a memorization error where the syntactic sense and even the desired alliteration is maintained, but the original phrase – whichever it was – has been altered.

[*k. /s*]*a*: This corresponds to Skt. *kathām*/P *kathaṃ*. As noted in Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.4., original OIA intervocalic *th* and *dh* usually become *-s-* or *-s-* in Gāndhārī.

*viviso*: Unlike in *k(\*a)s**a*, here *s* without underscore is a reflex of original *-dh-* in Skt. *vividhāṃ*, "various." *s* is probably a graphic variant of *s* (cf. § 7.2.1.7).

Comparing different versions of this phrase, G parallels P with respect to *samoda=sammodi*, but is closer to the Sanskrit in containing *viviso=vividhāṃ*. The relevant words are underlined in the phrases copied below. An additional example from Sanskrit is added:

G (RS 20): *bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)d(\*a) s(\*adha) samoda samodaṇi(\*o) k(\*a)s**a sarayaṇio*  
*viviso udaṣoraṭṭva...*

G (RS 13): *bhayavaḍa sadha samoda samodaṇio kaṣa sarayaṇia vivisaraṭṭa...*

P: *bhagavatā saddhiṃ saṃmodi saṃmodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā...*

Skt. (Divy 047.019): *bhagavatā sārḍhaṃ saṃmukhaṃ saṃmodanīm saṃrañjanīm  
vividhām kathāṃ vyatisārya...*

Ch. 與世尊面相慶慰。慶慰已...

In RS 13, *vivisarāita* is likely a contraction of *viviso* and the gerund *udaṣorāitva*, which occurs in the present manuscript and is discussed below. Comparing all versions, it is evident that the P, G, and Ch versions all contain two full sentences: "[He] shared greetings with the Blessed One. Having shared friendly greetings, [he] ...", where G *samoda* (RS 20) and *saṃoda* (RS 13), P *saṃmodi*, and Ch 慶慰 are finite preterite verbs followed by the gerunds *udaṣorāitva*, *vivisarāita*, *vītisāretvā*, and 慶慰已, respectively. Since the Skt version contains *saṃmukhaṃ* instead of P *saṃmodi*, there is no verb before the gerund *vyatisārya*. The Chinese 慶慰, which can mean "to salute and hearten" (ASD s.v.), encompasses the sense of both the verb and objects in the phrase *saṃodaṇi(\*o) k(\*a)sa sarayaṇio viviso udaṣorāitva*.

*udaṣorāitva*: This corresponds to either Skt. *vyatisārya* (*vi-ati -√sṛ*)/P *vītisāretvā*, which occurs in the respective parallels above, or to Skt. *ud-ā-√hṛ*, discussed below. It is also possible that it represents a blend of the two. If *vyatisārya*, then *vya-* > *u-*, *-ti-* > *da*, and *-ā-* > *-o-*, but these changes are highly unlikely. For the alternation of *a* and *i* in *-ti-* > *-da-*, see Allon 2001: § 5.1.2. and Glass 2007: § 5.1.2.2. More likely, the word stems from Skt. *ud-ā-√hṛ*, "relate, declare" (MW s.v.), and "to utter, speak" (CPD s.v. *udāharati*). The related form *upa-saṃ-√hṛ* appears in the approach formula in, for example, the Skt.

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (MPS 40.23): *sārḍhaṃ saṃmukhaṃ saṃmodanīm saṃrañjanīm*

*kathāṃ vividhāṃ upasaṃhr̥tyaikānte nyaṣīdat*. Related forms also occur in compound with *kathā* in the beginning of the Skt. Mahāvadāna-sutra (MAV 30): *antarākathāsamudāhāraḥ*; and with *gāthāṃ* in the P Dhp-a (III 265): *gāthāṃ udāharitvā*. If this derivation is correct, this is another example of *h/sibilant* alternation, and *a > o* (See Brough 1962: 81). The scribe seems to have either written the *i* diacritic twice or crossed out the akṣara. If the *ī* was intended, then *-āitva* is probably a reflex of OIA *-ayitvā*, denoting a causative form of the gerund.

Line 2. *ekamata aṭa*: Although P *ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi* that appears in some approach formulas (e.g., DN II 76) reflects a sibilant aorist of  $\sqrt{sthā}$ , the Gāndhārī *aṭa* seems to reflect the Skt. root aorist form *asthāt* (cf. § 8.3.4). Compare, for example: "*āyusmatānandena sārḍhaṃ saṃmukhaṃ saṃmodanīm saṃrañjanīm vividhāṃ kathāṃ vyatisāryaikānte 'sthāt* (AvŚ: 101). However, elsewhere in the Senior collection the G form is *[a]ṭḥaṣi* (RS 12 1.64) and *aṭaṣi* (Lee 2009, 1. 21, 27), corresponding to BHS *asthāsi*, leaving open the possibility that in the present manuscript the scribe left out the final akṣara *-ṣi*. It should be noted that Lee reads the initial *a* as the upasarga *ā* instead of the aorist augment. She concludes this on the basis of the form of the past participle *aṭide*, which, as in our manuscript, appears in the same expression just two words later.

*aṭido*: The form *aṭido* is a past participle of the root  $\sqrt{sthā}$  (Skt. *sthitaḥ*/P *ṭhito*; "stood"). It is attested elsewhere in G with the aspirated initial as *ṭhido* (e.g., AvL4 13.38), *ḥhido* (e.g., Nid-G<sup>L2</sup> v73.3,10), *ḥhido* (e.g., SangCm-G 32v5.2), and with the initial *a* as *aṭide*, *aṭida* (RS 19 1.21, 27), and *aṭhid[e]* (RS 12 .64; for a discussion of G *ṭh* vs. *ḥh* as a reflex of OIA *sth*- see Baums 2009: 164-8). The origin of the prefix *a* is unclear. Following Lee's study of RS 19 (Lee 2009: 141), I suggest reading *aṭido* as the pp of prefix *ā* +  $\sqrt{sthā}$ , "to stand or

remain by." Such a form does not occur in Pāli, but it does occur in Sanskrit, e.g., Divy 2008.5: *muktvā ekānte 'pakramyāsthitaḥ*. However, this reading does not necessarily mean that the previous preterite form *aṭa* also includes the upasarga. It is possible that the stylistic preference for polyptoton as this phrase solidified into a common formulaic element led to the initial *a* being used in both the finite verb *aṭa/aṭaṣi* as the augment and the pp. *aṭido* as an upasarga. Unlike in G, the Ch (退坐一面) and P (*ekamantaṃ nisīdi*) both explicitly say "sat to one side," instead of "stood."

*bhayavata*: In the hand of the Senior scribe the signs *ta* and *da* have merged. Following the model of previous studies of the Senior manuscripts, I transcribe kharoṣṭhī *ta/da* on etymological grounds. Here, *-t* is the expected reflex of OIA *-nt*.

*edad*=*aya*: This an example of the peculiar G contraction equivalent to P *etad avoca*/Skt. *idam avocat*. G forms of the third-person preterite of  $\sqrt{vac}$  cover what Andrew Glass called a "bewildering array," including *aya* (RS 13.8), *ayi* (RS 19.2), *a[va]i* (EĀ-G 16), *avaci* (HI 17r3; ND 511r 7b, 7d), *u* (in *idam-u bhayavadu* EĀ-G 16, 36), *eyi* (RS 5.21, 27), *oya* (RS 5.32), and *oyi* (RS 20.11) (Glass 2007, 184). Allon discusses these forms at length in the context of EĀ-G (Allon 2001: 163-5, 181-2), where he suggests that they represent the thematic aorist *avaca*, where *ava* contracts to *o*, which is weakened to *u* in some cases, and *-c-* goes to *-y-* or is completely elided. In this manuscript, this verb appears as *aya* (twice), *oya*, and *eya*.

#### 10.2.2. The Cause of Pleasure and Pain (Lines 2-4, 7-9)

Edition:

Lines 2-4:

*ko bho go[da]ma ha<sub>da</sub> ko pacea logo suhadukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub> [ṣ. a.] + [br.]maṇa [3] ha<sub>da</sub>  
ṣa pacea logo suhadukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub> ka<sub>da</sub>ra ṣa e cakṣusa brama[ṇ. sa]da  
cakuṣapha«ṣapa»ceae upacadi acatva suhadukha sotrogaṇo[4]cibhakayamaṇosa 2  
«bramaṇa sa<sub>do</sub>» manos.p.ṣ.pacea apacadi a[j.]tva suhadukho*

Lines 7-9:

*[7] ... evam=eva bramaṇa ṣa ha<sub>da</sub> ṣa pacea loga suhadukhasa upa[d.] [8]e cakṣusa  
bramaṇa sa<sub>do</sub> cakhusapaṣapacea upacadi ajatva suhadukha sotrogaṇocibhekayamaṇasa  
bramaṇa sa<sub>da</sub> maṇosapaṣapa[9]cea upajadi ajatva suhadukha ima bramaṇa ṣa he<sub>da</sub> [ṣa]  
pacea loge suhadukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub>*

Reconstruction:

*ko bho go<sub>da</sub>ma ha<sub>da</sub> ko pacea logo suha-dukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub> ṣ(\*a ima) br(\*a)maṇa [3] ha<sub>da</sub>  
ṣa pacea logo suha-dukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub> ka<sub>da</sub>ra ṣa e cakṣusa bramaṇ(\*a) sa<sub>da</sub> caku-  
ṣaphaṣa-paceae upacadi acatva suha-dukha sotro-gaṇo-[4]cibha-kaya-man<\*a>sa  
bramaṇa sa<sub>do</sub> mano-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-pacea apacadi aj(\*a)tva suha-dukho  
...evam=eva bramaṇa ṣa ha<sub>da</sub> ṣa pacea loga suha-dukhasa upa<sub>d</sub>(\*a)[8]e cakṣusa  
bramaṇa sa<sub>do</sub> caku-sapaṣa-pacea upacadi ajatva suha-dukha sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-  
maṇasa bramaṇa sa<sub>da</sub> maṇo-sapaṣa-pa[9]cea upajadi ajatva suha-dukha ima bramaṇa  
ṣa he<sub>da</sub> ṣa pacea loge suha-dukhasa upa<sub>dae</sub>*

Translation of the Gāndhārī:

[2] "What, sir Gotama, is the cause, what is the condition for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world?" "Brahman, there are these six [3] causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world. What are the six? When there is an eye, brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, [4] tongue, body, and mind, brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body, and] mind.

...Just so, brahman, there are six causes and six conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain in the world. [8] When there is an eye, brahman, pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the eye. When there is an ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, brahman, [9] pleasure and pain arise within one due to contact with the [ear, nose, tongue, body, and] mind.

Pāli Parallel:

*evam eva kho bhikkhave cakkhusmiṃ sati cakkhusamphassapaccayā uppajjati ajjhataṃ  
sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ . . . pe . . . jivhāya sati jivhāsamphassapaccayā uppajjati ajjhataṃ  
sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ . . . pe . . . manasmiṃ sati manosamphassapaccayā uppajjati ajjhataṃ  
sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ. (SN IV 171)*

Chinese Parallel from SĀ (1166; T 99 311c1-2):

有眼故眼觸因緣生受內覺，若苦若樂，不苦不樂。耳鼻舌身意亦復如是。

If there is an eye, then the cause and condition of contact with the eye gives rise to the receiving of internal feeling, whether it is pain or pleasure, or not pain or not pleasure.

The ear, nose, tongue, body and mind are also like this.

Text notes:

The pericope dealing with the six causes and conditions for the arising of pleasure and pain occurs twice, once in lines 2-4, and again in lines 7-9 as part of the simile of the fortified city. Because they are nearly identical and there are no major reading issues in the second occurrence of the phrase, I treat them together here and address the image of the fortified city separately in § 10.2.3. For a complete discussion of the fortified city simile, see chapter 2.

*hada*: Where we would expect *hedu* or *hedu* for Skt. *hetu*, "cause," here the vowels appear to have been omitted. There is a small dot above and to the left of the *h*, but it is not clearly an *e* diacritic. In this sūtra the scribe spells this word *hada* three times and *heda* – with the *e* extending to the right from the middle of the vertical stem of the *h* – once.

*pacae*: The G equivalent to Skt. *pratyaya*/P *paccaya*, "reason; condition," occurs eight times in this sūtra. Here in line 2, nominative singular *pacae* is equivalent to Skt. *pratyayaḥ*/P *paccayo*. In this case, OIA *ya* > *e*, showing the palatalization of *a*, a common phonological change in the Senior manuscripts (Glass 2007: § 5.1.2.1). Three times the word occurs in the nominative plural as *pacea*, (ll. 3, 7, 9) = Skt. *pratyayāḥ*/P *paccayā*, where OIA *aya* > *e* and final *ā* > *a*. The word also occurs in the ablative singular three times as *pacea* = Skt. *pratyayāt*/P *paccayā* (4, 8, 9), where again *aya* > *e*, and once as *paceae* (1.3), which is discussed below.

*logo*: This locative singular form corresponding to Skt. *loke*, "in the world; among people," is spelled in three different ways in this sūtra: *logo* (2, 3), *loga* (7), and *loge* (9). This variety is common in G locative singular masculine and neuter forms, as for example in AG-G<sup>L</sup> (Salomon 2008: 133 [§ II.4.1.1.5]).

Line 2-3. [*ṣ. a.*] + [*br. ]maṇa* [3] *haḍa ṣa pacea*: Only the bottoms of the two strokes of *ṣa* remain, but its reconstruction is clear from the context. Here the Buddha responds to the brahman's question: "Brahman, there are these six causes and six conditions...". Given the context, I have reconstructed the two akṣaras that follow as (*\*ima*), the nom. pl. m. demonstrative pronoun from the base *ayam*. Though only the bottom of what I presume to be an *i* remains, the vowel stem is consistently the only sign whose lower portion appears as a nearly vertical downward stroke with a slight rightward curve at its bottom-most point. As there is no bottom immediately to its left where the next expected akṣara would be, it is likely that *m*, which does not extend as low as other signs, was originally in the missing portion. The anticipated form would be *ime*, but the word occurs again in l.9 in the phrase *ima braṃaṇa ṣa heḍa ṣa pacea* without the *e* diacritic, so I have matched that here. If the reading (*\*ima*) = P. *ime* is correct, it would resemble a construction common to many lists recited by the Buddha, for example *cattāro'me, bhikkhave, oghā. Katame cattāro?* (SN V 59), which shares the structure (no.) (dem. pron.) (voc.) (sub.).

*kaḍara ṣa e*: "And what are the six?" *kaḍara* is the Gāndhārī equivalent of the comparative interrogative pronoun Skt/P *katara*, which is usually used for inquiries about two items, while *katama*, the superlative interrogative, is used in questions about more than two items. However, their uses can be interchangeable (MW s.v.). *e* is a possible G reflex of OIA *ca*, "and," which is the best reading here (e.g., Khvs-G 34b and RS 19.11). Alternatively, *e* could be an inflection on *ṣa* marking the nominative plural, but there are no other examples of such an inflection in the manuscript.

*cakṣusa braṃaṇ(\*a) sada*: This phrase, together with *maṇ<\*a>sa braṃaṇa s(\*aḍa)* in l.4 and both of their parallels in l.8, can be interpreted as either a genitive or locative absolute

corresponding to the P parallel, *cakkhusmiṃ ... sati*, "when there is an eye," which is a locative absolute. The Chinese has 有眼故, "Because there is an eye..." or "If there is an eye...". Konow cites locatives in *-asa*, e.g., *khanasa* (1929: xcvi and cxiii), and the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> has *parasa* where P has the locative *paramhi* (Brough 1962: § 53). It is possible in these instances that G *-sa* could be a reduced locative termination where *-smi* > *-si* > *-sa*, with the *i* vowel omitted. Omission of vowel diacritics on word-final syllables is well-attested in G (e.g., Brough 1962: 81-2; Allon 2001: 74; Salomon 2003: 88-9; also this manuscript 1.11 *sata* for Skt *santi*). However, as Allon notes, there also seems to be a wider breakdown in the distinction between ablative, genitive, and locative singular forms in G (2001: 200). For example, in the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup>, *tasa* appears as the equivalent of Skt. *tasmāt*, *tasya*, and *tasmin* (Brough 1962: 300). This could be explained in terms of phonetic decay where *-sm-* and *-sy-* are assimilated and the final *-i*, in the case of the locative, is neutralized. But it is also possible – as evidenced in the case of *tasa* as well as *taspi* = Skt. *tasmāt* in lines 16 and 18 below – that the cases have collapsed to the point that one form could be used for any of the three functions. Thus, it is equally possible that the intended reading of *caḅṣusa* and *maṇasa* is genitive where *-sya* > *-sa*, which is the normal phonetic correspondence. A genitive absolute conveys the same sense as the locative absolute in this context. Edgerton notes that the genitive absolute is not uncommon in BHS (1953: § 7.53), and it occurs elsewhere in G (e.g., AG-G<sup>L</sup> 27a). The present participles forming the absolute with *caḅṣusa* and *maṇasa* – *sada* and *sado* – are also ambiguous. They could be locative, with final *-i* omitted, or genitive, corresponding to Skt. *sataḥ*/P *sato*.

*cakhuṣapha*«*ṣapa*»*ceae*: This corresponds to Skt. \**cakṣusaṃsparśapratyayāt*/P *cakkhusamphassapaṣapaccayā*/Ch 眼觸因緣, "due to the condition of contact with the eye," that is, due to the contact between the eye faculty and the object of the eye faculty, i.e., form (*rūpa*).<sup>263</sup> The scribe apparently first wrote *cakhuṣapaceae*, then corrected *pa* to *pha* – which he did not correct in later occurrences of the word – and inserted *ṣapa* above the line. This could reflect a haplographic error in which the scribe skipped from the first *pa* (later corrected to *pha*) to what should have followed the second *pa*, accidentally leaving out *ṣapa*.<sup>264</sup> We expect this ablative compound to end in *ea*, as it does elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g., line 8). It is possible that the final *-e* in 1.3 is equivalent to the Skt. conjunct *ca*, but the syntax would be irregular, particularly if the previous *e* following *ṣa* is read as *ca* as suggested above. I read the final *-e* here as superfluous; the scribe probably had in mind both forms of the word used in this manuscript – *pacae* and *pacea* – and confused them. See also § 7.1.4.

*upacadi acatva*: The top half of the *ca* in *upacati* appears to have been traced over a second time. The scribe might have written a *ja* over the *ca*, but the long and straight characteristic bottom of the stem of this scribe's *ja* should still be visible if that was the case. As it is, the curvy bottom of the underlying *ca* extends all the way to the bottom of the register. We would expect *ja* in the word corresponding to Skt. *utpadyate/utpadyati*/P *upajjati*, but the Senior scribe appears to have



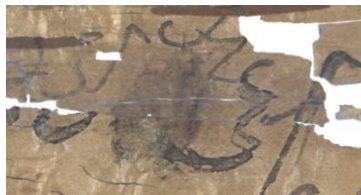
<sup>263</sup> For a discussion of the *āyatanas*, or bases (e.g., eye base, object of sight base, ear base, sound base, etc.), see chapter fifteen (*Āyatana-dhātu-niddeso*) of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (PTS Vism 481).

<sup>264</sup> Haplography – when a scribe's eye passes from one word to another similar word – is a common error that occurs when manuscripts are copied from archetypes. But it is important to note here that we do not know whether our scribe was copying the texts or writing them from memory. Silverlock discusses the possibility that the Senior scribe wrote from memory (2015: § 4.3.3). In particular, he studies the patterns of re-inking that suggest a "great fluency in the writing of the text."

had trouble distinguishing between -c- and -j- in an intervocalic environment. For example, the scribe spells the phrase corresponding to Skt. *utpadyate adhyātma*/P *utpajjati ajjhatta* in a variety of ways: *upacadi acatva* here in 1.3, *apacadi aj(\*a)tva* in 1.4, *upacadi ajatva* in 1.8, and *upajadi ajatva* in 1.9. The evidence suggests that in the scribe's pronunciation, intervocalic -c- and -j- were not clearly distinguished. Glass has recognized this phenomenon in RS 5, where we find a variety of spellings for the word corresponding to P *pajahatha*/Skt. *prajahūta*: *pacajahasa*, *pajaasa*, *pacaesa*, *pacahasa*, *pracaesa*, and *pacahasa* (Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.2.). In one instance in RS 5, the scribe writes *ja* side by side with *ca* in lieu of choosing one. See also § 7.2.1.2.

Line 4. *sotro-gaṇo-[4]cibha-kaya-maṇosa* १ <<*bramaṇa saḍo*>> *maṇos.p.ṣ.pacea*: The *ṇo* of *maṇosa* clearly has an *o* diacritic, but this is probably a mistake due to haplography.

After *maṇosa*, there is dark smudge indicating that the scribe erased an akṣara, and above



the smudge *bramaṇa saḍo* is written in smaller handwriting, indicating that it was squeezed in after the smudge was made.

To the left of the erased akṣara, the scribe continued writing *maṇo-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-pacea*. Apparently, the scribe first wrote *maṇosapa*, then, realizing that he had skipped from the *ma* of *maṇasa* to the *ma* of the compound form *maṇo*, he erased the *pa* and fixed his mistake. However, instead of erasing *-ṇosapa*, he only erased *pa* and spelled *maṇasa* with an *o*.

The string of nouns *sotro-gaṇo-cibha-kaya-maṇ<\*a>sa* could be read as a dvandva compound, where the final member shows either the genitive singular ending *-sa*, or the reduced locative form as discussed above with reference to *cakṣusa*. Thus, it would fall into the class of compounds declined in the neuter singular despite the gender or number of its

prior members (Whitney 1924: § 1254; Edgerton 1953: § 23.2). This same string of words appears in 1.8 but with *cibhe* instead of *cibha*. In both instances, but especially in the latter, it is unclear why the prior members of the compound would have such a variety of endings (*o*, *e*, and *a*). This might suggest that we read each noun as declined separately as part of a pseudo-compound that, according to Salomon, is a "characteristically Gāndhārī" phenomenon that reflects a "looser conception of compounding" than in Sanskrit and Pāli (Salomon 2000: § 7.1.5.; cf. this dissertation § 8.1.4.). The function of the pseudo-compound in this case may be to suggest a kind of abbreviation, matching *peyāla* or *pe* that appears in the Pāli versions of this phrase.

### 10.2.3. The Simile of the Fortified City (Lines 4-7)

Edition:

*sayaṣavi bramaṇo raṇa pacatima ṇakar[e] dhriḍada[re] [5] dhriḍapraḱaratoraṇa ṣa-  
dvaro tatraṣpi doario paḍida meṣavi tatro miavimasasamuṇaḱaḍa so imasa ṇakarasa  
samato aṇupa /// [6]yapaṣo ṇa i paṣea paṣaṇaṣa chidva atamaḍo bilaḍaṇisaga«ṇa»matra  
va taṣa amasa eḍa ahuṣi ye ke oraḍi praṇa ima [ṇ.k.][7]r[o] pravi + + + [kramati s.v. te]  
im[e]hi ṣ.hi dvarehi praviṣati ṇakramati*

Reconstruction:

*sayaṣavi bramaṇo raṇa pacatima ṇakare dhriḍa-dare [5] dhriḍa-praḱara-toraṇa ṣa-  
dvaro tatraṣpi doario paḍida meṣavi tatro mia-vimasa-samuṇaḱaḍa so imasa ṇakarasa  
samato aṇupa(\*ya)[6]ya-paṣo ṇa i paṣea paṣaṇaṣa chidva atamaḍo bilaḍa-ṇisaga«ṇa»-*

*matra va taṣa <\*i>masa eḍa ahuṣi ye ke oraḍi praṇa ima ṇ(\*a)k(\*a)[7]ro pravi(\*śati  
ṇa)kramati s(\*a)v(\*a) te imehi ṣ(\*a)hi dvarehi praviśati ṇakramati*

Translation of the Gāndhārī:

Brahman, it is just as if there is a king's frontier city with strong ramparts, [5] strong walls and arches, and six doors. In it, there is a wise, intelligent gatekeeper charged with the investigation of animals. On the path encircling the city on all sides, he would not see a crack in the stone even large enough for a cat to creep through. Thus it [would have] occurred to him: 'Whatever sizable creatures enter [7] and exit this city will enter and exit through these six doors.'

Pāli Parallel (e.g., DN II 83; cf. SN V 160, AN V 194, DN III 100):

*seyyathāpi bhante rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ dalhuddāpaṃ dalhapākāratoraññaṃ  
ekadvāraṃ. tatrassa dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivāretā ñātānaṃ  
pavesetā. so tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāyapatham anukkamamāno na passeyya  
pākārasandhiṃ vā pākāravivaraṃ vā antamaso bilāranissakkanamattam pi. tassa evaṃ  
assa ye kho keci oḷārikā pāṇā imaṃ nagaraṃ pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā sabbe te iminā  
va dvārena pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā ti. evaṃ eva kho . . .*

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 965; T 99 248a3-9):

譬如國王有邊境城四周堅固，巷陌平正，唯有一門。立守門者聰明黠慧善能籌量。外有人來，應入者聽入不應入者不聽。周匝遶城求第二門都，不可得都。無猫狸出入之處。彼守門者都不覺悟入者出者，然彼士夫知一切人唯從此門若出若入。

It is as if a king has a frontier citadel whose walls were solid all the way around. Its alleys and lanes are even and straight and it has only one gate. There is appointed a gatekeeper who is clever and intelligent, a skilled assessor. As for people coming from the outside, those who ought to enter he admits, and those who ought not enter he does not admit. If he were to go all the way around the city looking for a second gate, he would not succeed. (The walls) would lack even space for a cat to come or go, let alone a second gate. The gatekeeper would not be aware of every single person who enters or exits, but nevertheless he would know that anyone who enters or exits could only do so through this [one] gate.

Text Notes:

The significance of this section and a comparative study of different versions of the simile of the fortified city in Gāndhārī, Pāli, and Chinese Buddhist texts are discussed at length in Chapter 2. I have therefore reserved my comments in this section to issues related to the reading and interpretation of the manuscript.



*raña pacatima*: This word is split across two fragments and is only able to be clearly read when the image is adjusted to join the fragments at this juncture, as has been done above.

*ṇakare*: This corresponds to Skt./P *nagaram*. Brough notes that both *-k-* and *-g-* can appear as *-k-* in intervocalic positions, but that this might conceal actual linguistic

differences. For example, intervocalic *-k-* might represent [χ] in one case and [γ] in another (Brough 1962: § 31-2; see also Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.1). Sometimes the modified form *-k-* is the G reflex of *-g-* in the Senior manuscripts: RS 20 1.5 *samuṇakada* = *samanvāgata*, RS 5 1.35 *bhavaṇaṇuyoka* = *bhāvanānuyogam*. It occurs in a number of G texts including other Senior scrolls (e.g., RS 5 in Glass 2007: § 4.5.2.3.), the Khotan Dharmapada, and the British Library commentary on the Saṅgīti-sūtra (Salomon 1999: § 8.2.2.1.), usually in intervocalic position. Modified *k* and *g* both have a rightward extension at the bottom of the stem. *k* is paleographically indistinguishable from *kr*. See also text notes for *dukha-nir[o]ṣa-kamiṇa* in 1.21 below. The *e* diacritic and *r* with which it is to be read are on separate fragments, but the reconstructed image leaves no doubt about the reading.



*dhriḍada[re]*: This is the equivalent of Skt. *\*dṛḍhodvāpaṃ/P dalhuddāpaṃ*, "strong ramparts." The G form *dhriḍa* reflects a shift in aspiration from the second to the first syllable and the development of OIA *r* > G *ri*. The *ra* is split between two fragments, with the long stem on one and the tip of the curly top on the other. We would expect G *dave* instead of *dare* to correspond with *udvāpa/uddāpa*, where OIA *p* goes to *v*. Instead, *dare* appears to correspond to Pāli *\*dalḥadvāraṃ*, "strong gates," which is found – as far as I can tell – only in the Thai version (S<sup>e</sup>) of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (DN II 83, n.1). Because this would make *ṣa-dvaro* in the same description of the city repetitive, and because ramparts – *uddāpa* – are such a regular component of the fortified city simile, I take *-re* to

be a scribal error for *-ve*, where the scribe anticipated the word *ḍaro* (Skt/P *dvāra*) which occurs just a few words later.

Line 5. *dhriḍapraḥaratoraṇa*: Based on the Pāli *dalhapākāratoraṇaṃ*, this can be read as a compound in which the two latter members are both modified by the prior member: "strong walls and gates."



*ṣa-dvaro*: This could also be read *ṣa-ḍaro*, since underscore *ḍ* and *d* with postconsonantal *v* both are characterized by a rightward extension of the foot. However, a typical postconsonantal *v* for this scribe would include "a sharp upward stroke from the foot of the stem rising to be almost level with the head of the letter" (Glass 2007: § 4.5.3.4.). In this case, there is a sharp upward stroke after the rightward horizontal, but it is very short. Still, elsewhere the scribe has written flat horizontal strokes with no upward stroke to mark the bottom of *ḍ*, and etymologically *dv* is anticipated. In 1.7, *dv-* of *dvarehi* has a clear postconsonantal *v*.

*tatraspi*: The modified form *ḍa*, which is graphically distinguished from *ta* and *da* by the rightward extension of the foot, also resembles *tra*. Only context and parallels can guide the correct transliteration, which must be *tra* here.

*tatraspi* appears to be a locative singular ending attached to a pronoun already declined in the locative, equivalent to Skt *tat + tra + smin*. This pattern also occurs in the Niya documents where the suffix *-mi* is commonly found after pronouns and adverbs (e.g.,

*tatremi*, *atremi*, *iṣemi*; Burrow 1937: § 91, p. 41), and in at least one instance in the Bajaur Collection where the locative particle *iṣe* (Skt. *iha*) becomes *iṣemi* (BC 4 r.10). If the G form is to be taken as *tatra* with a secondary locative ending, it can be translated simply "in that (place)." However, the P parallel contains the genitive singular *tatrassa*, a sandhi combination of *tatra* and the genitive pronoun *assa* (Skt. *asya*), where each should be translated separately, "There, its [gatekeeper]...".<sup>265</sup> Locative for genitive is also possible in the G case. For example, in AG-G<sup>L</sup> 63b, the locative *añamañeṣu* occurs instead of the genitive *añamañeṣa*=Skt *anyaṃanyeṣāṃ*. But elsewhere Gāndhārī locative *taśpi* for Skt. ablative *tasmāt* is attested in EĀ-G (Allon 2001: 199-200), and again in Senior 20 l.16 (see below).

As discussed in § 2.4-5, the description of the gatekeeper is problematic, and apparently unique to G. As is evidenced below, the gatekeeper of the G version is described slightly differently than the gatekeeper of other versions:

G: *tatraspi doario paḍiḍa meṣavi tatro miavimasasamuṇakāda*

" In [the city], there is a wise, intelligent gatekeeper charged with the investigation of animals."

P: (DN II 83) *tatrassa dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī*

"There, its gatekeeper is wise, competent, and intelligent."

Ch<sup>1</sup> (T 99 248a4-5): 立守門者聰明黠慧善能籌量.

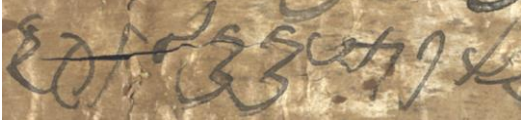
"There is appointed a gatekeeper who is clever and intelligent, a skilled assessor."

Ch<sup>2</sup> (T 100 447c7-8): 時守門人聰明智慧有大念力. 善能分別客舊諸人.

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<sup>265</sup> It is also possible to interpret P *tatrassa* as a combination of *tatra* and the third-person singular optative of  $\sqrt{as}$ , "There, there would be."

"At that time there is a gatekeeper who is intelligent, wise, and  
endowed with great power of mindfulness. He can skillfully  
distinguish visitors and locals."



*doario paḍiḍa meṣavi tatro miavimasasamuṇakaḍa*: This description directly parallels the Pāli *dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī*, except that it lacks *viyatto* = Skt. *vyakta*, replacing it with the difficult phrase *tatro miavimasasamuṇakaḍa*, "endowed with (skill) in investigation of animals there," or more colloquially, "charged with the investigation of animals there." *samuṇakaḍa* corresponds to P *samannāgato*/Skt. *samanvāgataḥ*, and appears in the similar form *samuṇagata* in the Senavarma Inscription (CKI 249: 7). Allon first suggested that *mia* might correspond with Skt. *mṛga*/P *miga*, "wild animal," but noted that *migavīmaṃsāsamannāgato* occurred nowhere in Pāli.<sup>266</sup> But the lack of other meaningful ways of reading *mia* force us to accept the Gāndhārī as it is; in the context of a simile that, in nearly all P and Ch versions as well, also describes city walls as being firm enough to keep out cats, and the gatekeeper as one who observes the coming and going of "larger creatures" (*oraḍi praṇa* = P. *oḷārikā pāṇā*), the most secure reading of G *mia* is as equivalent to Pāli *miga*. As for the form, elision of intervocalic -g- in Gāndhārī is not uncommon (e.g., (\*a)traüṇa=antraguṇa in Salomon 2008: § II 3.2.1.2.), and the G. equivalent of P *miga*/Skt.

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<sup>266</sup> This is based on Allon's notes on RS 20 following Kharoṣṭhī Klub meetings in which the manuscript was discussed at the University of Washington in 2000.

*mṛga* also occurs as *mṛiam*, with -g- elided, in the uddāna of the Gāndhārī Rhinoceros Sūtra (see Salomon 2000: 189).

The *Visuddhimagga* also contains a passage which connects a *dovāriko* with *vīmaṃsā* ("investigation"), but says nothing of animals (Vism 281). Although it does not refer to a gatekeeper, the Āsīvisa-sutta, part of the Śalāyatana-saṃyutta of the Saṃyuttanikāya, contains a description of a "wise, competent, intelligent person" (*paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī*) who "investigates" (*upaparikkhati*) (SN IV 175). Here, the six internal sense media (*ajjhātikā āyatanā*) are compared with an empty village (*suñño gāma*), and the external sense media (*bāhirā āyatanā*) with "robbers attacking the village" (*corā gāmaghātakā*). Similar to the Suhadukha-sūtra, this text describes a wise person who investigates the internal sense media from the perspective of each sense. While the Āsīvisa-sutta is not a direct parallel to the present sūtra, taken together with evidence from the sūtras containing the simile of the fortified city, it suggests that there was a well-established connection between the discussion of the six sense bases and the protection of a city, often with a "wise, competent, intelligent" investigator, gatekeeper or otherwise. Both Chinese versions of the simile cited above also describe the gatekeeper in terms of his ability to discern. In Ch<sup>1</sup>, he is a "skilled assessor" (善能籌量), and in Ch<sup>2</sup> he "can skillfully distinguish visitors and locals" (善能分別客舊諸人). The Āsīvisa-sutta is explicit about the *bāhirā āyatanā* being dangerous invaders, "thieves" and "brigands," which must be understood to stand parallel to the *mīa* (P *mīga*/Skt. *mṛga*), *bilāḍa* (P *biḷāra*/Skt. *biḍāla*), and *oraḍi praṇa* (P *olārikā pāṇā*/BHS *audārikā prāṇā*) of our text. This supports the idea that *bilāḍa* is also a metaphor

for "deceit" (PTSD), as in the Skt. phrase *biḍāla-vratika*, "acting like a cat," that is, "false" or "hypocritical" (MW s.v.).<sup>267</sup>

*samato*: This corresponds to Skt. *samantāt*/P *samantā*, "completely" or "all around," which modifies the following compound *aṇupa*< \**ya*>*yapa*so and governs the genitive *imasa ṇakarasa*. For *o* in place of *ā*, see Salomon 2000: § 6.1.3.

Line 6. *aṇupayapa*so: This compound, which is split across lines 5 and 6, corresponds to *anupariyāyapatham* in the P parallel. The end of line five is broken just before its original end, and *ya* may have originally been at the end of the line, as is reflected in my reconstruction, *aṇupa*( \**ya*)*yapa*so. It is also possible that the missing syllable is *rya*, or that there is no missing syllable at all, in which case *aṇupaya* would be a peculiar contraction of Skt. *anuparyāya*. The Pali has *so tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāyapatham anukkamamāno*. There, the present participle *anukkamamāno* ("going along") governs the accusative *patham*. But the Gāndhārī lacks *anukkamamāno*, so I read *aṇupa*( \**ya*)*yapa*so as locative, which together with *samato* can be translated as "on the path encircling [the city] on all sides," or "on a path that goes all around [the city]."

*i*: The context suggests that *i* must correspond to Skt. *hi*. However, such a correspondence is not well-attested, and in the Senior manuscripts initial *h* is usually stable, aside from a few examples (See Glass 2007: 118; Salomon 2008: 117).

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<sup>267</sup> Cf. P *Biḷāravatajātakaṃ* (128): *yo ve dhammaṃ dhajaṃ katvā, nigūḷho pāpam ācare; vissāsayitvā bhūtāni, biḷāraṃ nāma taṃ vatanti* ("Truly, the one who hoists the flag of the dharma, but indulges in wickedness in private, having led others to trust him, is thus like a cat"). For *vata* in this context, see PTSD s.v.: "manner of (behaving like) a certain animal, e.g., *govata* (MN I 387; Jā IV 318) and *ajagata* (Jā IV 318). See also the commentary to the jātaka: *taṃ evaṃ dhammaṃ dhajaṃ katvā raho pāpāni karontassa vataṃ kerāṭikavataṃ nāma hotīti attho*. Here, *biḷāraṃ* is replaced with *kerāṭikavataṃ*, "like a hypocrite" (Jā I 461).

*paṣaṇaṣa chidva*: Where the Pāli has *pākārasandhiṃ vā pākāravivaraṃ vā*, the Gāndhārī has *paṣaṇaṣa chidva*, corresponding to P *pāsāṇassa chidda*/Skt. *pāṣāṇasya chidra*, "a crack in the stone (of the wall)." However, the anticipated G form would be *chidra*. Here, the sign transcribed as *dva* has a clear foot which extends up the right side of the *d*, distinguishing it from *dra*. It also appears that the sign was written in two strokes, the first being the top half of *d*, the second beginning from the right of the stem and continuing to form the characteristic post-consonantal *v*. This might suggest that the scribe hesitated when completing the sign. As *d* and *t* often are indistinguishable orthographically, and are transcribed largely based on context, it is also possible to read this character as the absolute ending *tva*. Perhaps, then, the appearance of *chidva*, where the context clearly requires *chidra*, represents a scribal error by way of contamination from the gerund form.

*atamaḍo bilaḍaṇisaga«ṇa»matra va*: This corresponds to the Pāli *antamaso bilāranissakkanamattam pi*, substituting a final *va* (= Skt. *eva*) for the P *pi* (= Skt. *api*). It is also possible that *pi* > *vi* > *va*, where the *i* vowel is omitted. Gāndhārī *atamaḍo* corresponds in sense to BHS adverbial *antamaśaḥ/antamaśato* and P *antamaso*, "(even) so much as." G *do* reflects the ablative *-tas* suffix. *ṇisaga«ṇa»* corresponds to P *nissakkana*, which possibly derives from OIA *niḥ + √sṛp*, "to sneak or steal away" (Trenckner 1879: 60). In place of *nissakkana*, B<sup>e</sup> has *nikkhamana*, which derives from OIA *niḥ + √kram*, "to exit." Both meanings are appropriate in the context, but G *ṇisaga«ṇa»* is clearly closer to P *nissakkana*, and when describing the movement of a cat through a crack, the sense of "sneak," or "creep" as I have rendered it in the translation, is more appropriate than "exit." *matra* corresponds to Skt. *mātra*/P *matta*, which can mean "by measure," or "even as much as." I have translated *atamaḍo* together with *matra va* as "even large enough...". As noted above, the term *bilaḍa*

(Skt. *biḍāla*/P *biḷāra*), "cat," can carry metaphorical connotations of deceit, but might also refer to the risk that cats and other small creatures posed in siege operations. Cf. § 2.5.

*taṣa amasa eḍa ahuṣi*: *taṣa* most likely corresponds to Skt/P *tathā*, "thus." I have reconstructed *amasa* as <\*>*masa*. This could possibly be a case of vowel omission, which, though most common in final syllables in the Senior mss (see, Glass 2007: 104 [§ 4.7.2]), also appears in initial syllables, for example in *apacadi* (1.4) for \**upa*- in this text. *ahuṣi* is a preterite of √*bhū*, corresponding to P *ahosi* and BHS *abhūṣi*. A genitive pronoun followed by a preterite form of √*bhū* means "it occurred to him," or "he thought," so the full G phrase can be translated: "Thus it occurred to him." The P parallel cited above has *tassa evam assa*, "It might occur to him thus," where *assa* is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular optative of √*as*. The structural similarity between the forms G *taṣa* <\*>*massa eḍa* and P *tassa evam assa*, suggests a second possible reading of the G where *taṣa* = P *tassa* and <\*>*massa* is a complementary emphatic pronoun (c.f. *eṣao*=Skt. *eṣa* + *aham* in 1.10).

*ye ke oraḍi praṇa*: *oraḍi* corresponds to BHS *audārikāḥ*/P *olārikā* and can mean "gross" or "corporeal," especially in contrast to the subtle body, *sūkṣma* (BHSD s.v.). However, in the present context in which a gatekeeper is concerned with people and creatures entering the city without his knowledge, *ye ke oraḍi praṇa* means something more like "whatever sizable creatures" (CPD s.v. *olārika*). G *oraḍi* shows elision of intervocalic *k* and loss of final vowel.

Line 7. *ṇakramati*: While this verb looks like a negative particle plus *kramati*, in this context it more likely corresponds to Skt. *niṣkramanti*/P *nikkhamanti*, "(they) come out from" (PTSD). This is probably due to vowel deletion as discussed above.

[*s.v. te*]: This corresponds to the P *sabbe te*. These akṣaras are split across a horizontal break in the manuscript, with the bottoms preserved on one fragment and only the top of what is most likely the *e* diacritic preserved on another. I have reconstructed *s(\*a)v(\*a) te*. It is possible that there was originally an *e* diacritic above the *v*, but I would expect to see at least a trace of it on the upper fragment next to the one above *t*. If this reading is correct, this is another example of omission of a final vowel.

#### 10.2.4. The Brahman Takes Refuge (Lines 10-11)

Edition:

*iḍi vute so braṃaṇo bhayava[ta] eḍaḍ=a«ya» [10] eṣao bha geḍa[m. ś.r.]ṇo gachami  
dhrarma ja bhikhuṣaga ja uasao me bh[i] goḍama dhareṇi ajavagreṇa yavajiva p.aṇueḍa  
[11] śaraṇa gaḍe*

Reconstruction:

*iḍi vute so braṃaṇo bhayavata eḍaḍ=aya [10] eṣao bha geḍam(\*a) ś(\*a)r(\*a)ṇo gachami  
dhrarma ja bhikhu-ṣaga ja uasao me bhi goḍama dhareṇi ajavagreṇa yavajiva  
p(\*r)aṇueḍa [11] śaraṇa gaḍe*

Translation of the Gāndhārī:

This being said, the brahman said this to the Lord: [10] 'I, Sir, go to the refuge of Gotama, the teachings, and the community of monks. Accept me as a lay follower, Sir Gotama, from now on, as long as I live, as long as I breathe, as one [11] gone to the refuge.'

Cf. EĀ-G (Reconstructed):

(\*·eṣaho) [24] *ṣamaṇo ghudamu śaraṇo ghachami dhama ca bhikkhusagha ca ·*  
*u(\*asaghu) mi ṣ(\*a)ma(\*ṇe ghuda)[25]m(\*e) dharedu aṣavaghreṇa yavajivu praṇouviade*  
*śaraṇo <\*ghade> abhiprasaṇe ·*

Cf. Senior 24 [Edition]:

Recto: [E3] [*edad aya*] *e[?]vae bhate bhayava śaraṇo gachami dhrarm. ca bhikhu[s.] ?*  
/// [E4] /// ....??[*ajava*]greṇa yava[*ji*]? {*p.*}ṇueda śa[*r.*] ?[ *gaḍ.*]

Verso: [E16] /// *eṣa vae bhat[e] bhayava śaraṇa gachama [dharma ca] uāṣea me bhate*  
*[bh.y.] ? ? . . .* [E17] /// ? ? *śaraṇa gaḍo*

Pāli (e.g., AN I 56):

*esāhaṃ bhavantaṃ gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca.*  
*upāsakaṃ maṃ bhavaṃ gotamo dhāretu aṭṭaṃ pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gatan ti.*

Skt (E.g., CPS §16.16):

*eṣo 'haṃ bhagavantaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi dharmaṃ ca bhikṣusaṃghaṃ ca upāsakaṃ ca.*  
*māṃ dhārayādyaḡreṇa yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇopetaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatam abhiprasannam.*

Ch (e.g., MĀ 12; T 26 435a9-11):

世尊我今自歸於佛法及比丘衆。唯願世尊, 受我爲優婆塞從今日始終身自歸乃至命盡。  
World Honored One, I take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha. Please,  
World Honored One, accept me as a lay-follower from this day until the end of my life  
[as one who] take[s] refuge until life is exhausted.

Text Notes:

Mark Allon has provided a detailed study of this formula as it occurs both in EĀ-G and in the current manuscript, comparing it to Pāli and Sanskrit parallels (see Allon 2001: 203-18). As such, the notes below will draw largely from his work, and will focus on the more problematic aspects of the formula as it occurs in our text and in Senior 24.

Line 9. *idi vute*: *vute*, the past participle of Skt.  $\sqrt{vac}$ , forms a locative absolute with the implied third-person locative pronoun. The form *vute* corresponds to P *vutte*/Skt. *ukte*, and *idi* either corresponds in form to the quotative particle *iti*, whereby the translation would literally be "when [he] spoke in this way," or to the accusative demonstrative pronoun *idam*, changing it to "when [he] said this." Allon has discussed the possibility that G *idi* could be equivalent to P *iti* or *idam* in the similar G phrase *idi vucadi* in EA-G 1.63 (Allon 2001: § 6.2.2.2). In Pali, the absolute construction corresponding to that in the present manuscript occurs as both *iti vutte* and *evam vutte*, but in the context of the conversion formula it is regularly *evam vutte* (e.g., SN IV 324). We might suppose, then, that the Senior scribe used the G idiom *idi vute* more commonly, or in place of, *evam vute*, which, if *idi* is equivalent to *iti*, is exactly parallel in meaning. Further evidence for this can be found in RS 19 1.7, in which *idi* also appears where the P parallels have *evam* (Lee, 2009, 105-6). However, strong evidence for *idi=idam* in the Senior manuscripts can also be found later in this manuscript (see text notes for lines 20 and 28 below).



*edad*=a«ya»: Here occurs another peculiar form equivalent to P *avoca*/Skt. *avocat* (see also 1.2). «ya» is inserted above *edad* as the scribe appears to have run out of room at the edge of the manuscript and chosen to complete the phrase on a single line. It is also possible that he inserted «ya» as a correction after having begun the following line.

Line 10. *eṣao bha gedā[m. ś.r.]ṇo gachami*: On the basis of the parallels, *eṣao* corresponds to the P *esāham*/Skt. *eṣo 'ham*, a sandhi combination of nominative masculine singular *eṣa* and the nominative singular personal pronoun *aham*. Here *eṣa* + *aho* > *eṣaho* > *eṣao*. If this is the case, it is another instance of elision of intervocalic *h* with the syllabic structure retained through vowel haitus (see Salomon 2008: 117 [§ II.3.2.1.8.]).

As Allon notes, there is variation in the Pāli phrases corresponding to *eṣao bha gedā[m. ś.r.]ṇo gachami*, particularly with respect to *bha gedā[m.]* (Allon 2001: 215). At least two versions have consecutive accusatives, as in *bhagavantam gotamam* (e.g., AN I 56) and *bhavantam gotamam* (e.g., MN I 24, 39; 184), and at least one other has a vocative plus accusative, as in *bhante bhagavantam* (e.g., DN I 85). If we read the G with the accusative + accusative construction, then G *bha* is equivalent to either *bhagavantam* or *bhavantam*, but if we read it based on the latter P example, then *bha* is equivalent to the vocative *bhante*. With support from Senior 26, where this phrase occurs twice as *bhate bhayava* (recto E3 and verso E16), I read *bha* as vocative equivalent to P *bhante*, probably with a scribal error by which the *te* has been omitted. Therefore, *eṣao bha gedam(\*a) ś(\*a)r(\*a)ṇo gachami*, as I've reconstructed, can be translated: "I, Sir, go to the refuge that is Gotama." It is also possible to read *bha* as the vocative *bho* where *bha* is influenced by the vocative forms *bho go[da]ma* and *bh[i] godama* (1.10) which appear elsewhere in the sutra. A similar problem can be found in EĀ-G where *ś(\*a)ma(\*ṇe ghuda)m(\*e)* is found where *bhate ghudame* is

expected, which Allon suggests is done under the influence of *ṣamaṇeṇa ghomedana* (instr. sg.) and *ṣamaṇo ghudamu* (acc. sg.) found earlier in the text.

The use of multiple vocative terms of address in a single sūtra by a single speaker is not without precedent elsewhere. Bhikkhu Anālayo has noted that such a thing occurs in numerous Pāli texts. Often, monks will refer to the Buddha respectfully as *bhadante*, and shortly after call him *bhante*. According to Anālayo, "Since there would be no reason for starting with one particular vocative and then switching to another type of vocative, this difference suggests that [a pericope with a different vocative] may have been added during oral transmission" (Anālayo 2007: 14).

*geda[m.]*: The *e* above *g* is faint and "floating," similar to *sajedi-bhude* (ll. 11,13) and *samudeo* (l. 20). Although *e/o* alternation is not generally common in Gāndhārī, it does occur more frequently in the Senior manuscripts, particularly in the word *gedam(\*a)* (Skt. *Gautama*/P *Gotama*; e.g., Senior 11: G.3; Senior 13 r.2, 3, 5.; see § 7.1.2.7).

*dhrarma*: In G, cases of metathesis whereby OIA *Cvr > Crv* are common. *dharma > dhrama* occurs throughout the corpus and is especially prevalent in Aśokan rock edicts. However, in our manuscript, even though metathesis occurs, *dhrarma* still maintains the "historical spelling" *rma*. Such a spelling is rare in G, attested only five times, four of which are in the Senior manuscripts (RS 20 l.10, RS 17 l.1, RS 24 recto E.3 and E14r), and two of which occur in the conversion formula. The other occurrence is in Schoyen fragment 68, where the reading is unclear. Both Allon and Salomon have noted instances of "intrusive *r*" in EĀ-G and the Senior mss., respectively, where postconsonantal *r* develops unetymologically after voiced dental stops (Allon 2001: 97-8; Salomon 2008: § II.3.5.1). For example, we find *gadhrauo* for Skt. *gandharvaḥ* in EĀ-G, and *ladhro* for Skt. *labdhaḥ*

in Senior 14 (76b). Allon refers to other cases as "anticipatory *r*," in which *r* appears in the syllable prior to its expected appearance, e.g., *-prarayaṇo* = *-parāyaṇaḥ* (Senior 14: 35b). Thus, *dhṛarma* of our manuscript is probably a combination of metathesis and intrusive or anticipatory *r*.

Concerning the broader issue of rhotic behavior in Gāndhārī and Indo-Aryan languages in general, Salomon notes that "the presence of an *r* conditioned a rhotic articulation which persisted, not only through the syllable in which it occurred, but into adjacent syllables or even throughout the entire word" such that "the *r* could be represented in any of several positions" (Salomon 2008: 131 [§ II.3.5.2.]. This pattern has persisted even in modern derivatives of G. For instance, Degener (1998: 28) notes that metathesis involving *r* and consonant clusters is common: "[n]ach einem Konsonanten (K) erfolgt oft die Metathese von *ř* + Vokal (V), nämlich KVř(K) --> KřV(K) oder auch KřVřK oder KřVKř, z.B. ... *göřmā* / *gřöřmā* / *gřömřā* / *gřomřā* "Zielstein".

*uasao me bh[i] goḍama dharei*: This phrase differs from both the P and Skt. parallels. In one P parallel *bhavaṃ gotamo*, "Sir Gotama," appears in the nominative with *dharetu*, the third-person singular causative imperative of  $\sqrt{dhr}$ , "May [he] accept [me]." In another G parallel (BL 12+14), *dharedu* corresponds directly to this P version, and Allon accordingly reads the phrase which precedes it,  $\varsigma(*a)ma(*\eta e\ ghuda)m(*e)$ , as nominative. However, the Sanskrit parallel has *dhāraya*, second-person singular causative imperative, without name or epithet of the Buddha. *dharei* of our text seems to correspond grammatically to the Skt, assuming the regular athematic 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular Parasmaipada ending *-hi* – a common

change in Prakrits and BHS<sup>268</sup> – and dropping the *h*. This form occurs fairly often in Pāli with the sense of "bear in mind" (e.g., B<sup>e</sup> version of SN II 75: *dhārehi tvaṃ, bhikkhu, imaṃ dhammapariyāyaṃ*), but not in the conversion formula as far as I can tell. Thus, *dhareī* is a 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative, and *bhi goḍama* must be vocative, not nominative as is supposed in Allon 2001: 215.



The *[i]* of *bh[i]* is in brackets not because it is difficult to see, but because of the unusual form of the diacritic. It extends well above the horizontal stroke of the *bh*, but only barely below the stroke. Thus, it resembles an *e* that extends a bit too low as much as it does an *i* that is too short. However, given this scribe's strong preference for "floating" *e* vowels, and the fact that no other confirmed *e* diacritics on the manuscript extend below the topmost horizontal stroke of an akṣara, I have reconstructed *bhi*. Neither form is an anticipated reflex of the P vocatives *bho* or *bhante*.

*ajavagreṇa*: This corresponds to Skt. *adyāgreṇa* (*adya* + *agra*)/P *ajjatagge/ajjadagge*/Ch 從今日, "from this day forward." Here, G -v- functions as a sandhi consonant like P *t/d* (Allon 2001: 216; Geiger 1916: § 73.5). The instrumental termination corresponds to the Skt., whereas the P idiom is declined in the locative.

*p.aṇueda*: The bottom of the *p* is no longer visible, but I have reconstructed *p(\*r)a* based on a parallel occurrence in EĀ-G and what is anticipated phonologically. This corresponds

<sup>268</sup> In his BHS Grammar, Edgerton notes that the imperative ending *-hi* is used much more extensively in Pali, other Prakrits, and BHS than it is in Skt, particularly in the case of causative stems in *-aya* (§ 30.2).

to P *pāṇupetaṃ*/Skt. *prānopetaṃ* (*prāṇa* + *upeta*), declined adverbially, literally meaning "[while I'm] endowed with breath." The Ch has 始終, "[while I am] living." In our text, the spelling is the anticipated equivalent of the Skt./P, where original intervocalic *p* is either elided or replaced by *v* (Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.5.; Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.5.; Lee 2009: § 4.2.2.5.). In EĀ-G, a different occurrence of this phrase in the context of the conversion formula is spelled *praṇouviade*, where *uviade* could be a misspelling for *uvide* (or *uvede*), equivalent to Skt. *upetaṃ* (Allon 2001: 217).

Our manuscript agrees with the P version of the conversion formula in excluding the adverb Skt. *abhiprasannam*/P *abhiprasaṇe* ("full of faith") at the end, which does appear in the Skt. formula. The absence of this phrase contrasts with its inclusion in the EĀ-G (1.25), but Allon notes that the "idea expressed by this term...is inherent in the act of going for refuge to the Buddha" (Allon 2019: 218). On the other hand, our manuscript agrees more closely with the Sanskrit parallel in the verb form (*dhareī/dhāraya*) and the inclusion of *yavaḥjīva*.

#### 10.2.5. The Brahman Rejoices in the Buddha's Speech (Line 11)

Edition:

*iḍam=oyi bhayava atamaṇo so bhamana bhayavaḍa bhaṣide aviṇadida °*

Reconstruction:

*iḍam=oyi bhayava atamaṇo so bhamana bhayavaḍa bhaṣide aviṇadida °*

Translation of the Gāndhārī:

The Lord said this. Pleased, the brahman rejoiced in the words of the Lord.

Cf. Senior 19 l. 32 (Reconstructed):

*ida<\*m eyi> bhayava atamaṇa si bhikhu aiśpa ye ṇada bhayava bh(\*aṣ)ida aviṇadide*

Pāli (e.g., SN IV 47):

*idaṃ avoca Bhagavā attamano so bhikkhu bhagavato bhāsitam abhinandi.*

Skt. (E.g., Divy 24.6-7, 55.13-5; Avś I 7.12, 12.20):

*idam avocad bhagavān. āttamanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan.*

Chinese (SĀ 59; T 99 15b20-21):

佛說此經已時，諸比丘聞佛所說歡喜奉行。

When the Buddha had expounded the sutra, the monks delighted in and carried out what they heard from the Buddha.

Text Notes:

As with lines 10-11 above, this common formula is also discussed at length in Allon 2001: 218-23. It occurs in a variety of complete and abbreviated forms across G manuscripts; compare the full version here with the truncated form of the second sūtra of our manuscript in l.30: *idaṃ=eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu*. Allon points out that although the phrase "pleased at the words of the Buddha" does occur commonly in P after the Buddha teaches monks or nuns, there are no examples in P where it occurs at the end of a conversion formula that is also the end of a sūtra. Usually, the conversion formula simply ends with *saraṇaṃ gatan ti* (Allon 2001: 220 cites as examples DN I 210, DN I 234, DN I 252, and

DN III 193). When the phrase is included, it is usually followed by a line describing the departure of the converted listener.

Line 11. *idam=oyi bhayava*: Here, *oyi* corresponds to *aya* in lines 2 and 9 above, and is another preterite form of Skt.  $\sqrt{vac}$ . Contextually, this phrase seems to jump over the phrase immediately preceding it, which was spoken by the brahman making his vow. Instead, it must refer back to the main content of the sūtra as spoken by the Buddha. Allon (2009: 221) has suggested two explanations. First, this may reflect an error on the part of the scribe, who was likely in the habit of writing this stock phrase at the end of sūtras in which the Buddha spoke. Alternatively, this entire phrase may have been a standard conclusion to any G sūtra which contained the Buddha's words.

*bhaṣide*: Although this form appears to be locative, the parallels in other languages lead us to anticipate the accusative, as is common in the Indic parallels. I take this substantively as "speech" (see PTSD, s.v. *bhāsita*) with *bhayavaḍa* in the genitive (= Skt. *bhagavataḥ*). However, the form *bhayavaḍa* is ambiguous, and could also be instrumental (= Skt. *bhagavatā*), a construction that would be parallel to that in EĀ-G, which has the clearly instrumental *bhayavadeṇa*. Still, based on the parallels the secure reading in the present case is genitive + accusative. There is at least one other instance in the Senior manuscripts of an accusative singular neuter form in *e* (Glass 2007: § 6.1.1.1.5.).



*aviṇadida*: As in RS 19 1.32, this appears to be a past participle of OIA *abhi* +  $\sqrt{nand}$ , equivalent to P *abhinandita*. The final *da* seems to have two footmarks, one written over the

other, or else the stylus was beginning to split as the scribe wrote the stroke. All canonical Pāli versions of this formula conclude with a preterite (i.e., *abhinandi*), absolutive (i.e., *abhinanditvā*), or more rarely optative form (i.e., *abhinandeyya*) of the finite verb *abhi + nand*. Allon cited occurrences of the G word in the Senior collection as *aviṇadi* (Allon 2001: 222), third-person singular preterite. But in at least four cases (Senior 20: 1.11; 19: 1.32; 22: 1l. r67, v43), it appears as either *aviṇadide* or *aviṇadida*, which could be past participles functioning as finite verbs. However, it is also possible that the ending *-de/da* is equivalent to the quotative particle *iti*, which is frequently found at the end of this formula in Pāli (e.g., SN III 5: *attamano Nakulapitā hagapati āyasmato Sāriputtassa bhāsitaṃ abhinandīti*; DN III 35: *attamano Bhaggava-gotto paribbājako Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandīti*). For *iti*, we have *ta* in the present manuscript (1.20) with the vowel omitted, *di* in RS 5 (1.27), and *idi* and *[de]* in RS 19, so it appears to be represented by a variety of G forms in the Senior manuscripts.

## CHAPTER 11: THE GREAT CONFLAGRATION SŪTRA

### 11.1. Introduction

#### 11.1.1. Summary of Contents

The second sūtra on the manuscript comprises lines 11 – 17 on the recto and the entire verso. In the text, the Buddha tells the monks about a hell or hells (*ṇirea*) called Mahaparaḍaha, or "Great Conflagration," where people's bodies are constantly burning. He compares the bodies to a red-hot iron ball that is heated all day long. When a monk asks if there is a conflagration worse than this one, the Buddha says that the conflagration of birth, old age, sickness, etc. – all of which are caused by ignorance of the four noble truths – is worse. The Buddha draws explicit causal connections between ignorance about what causes suffering and the forming of and delighting in volitions (*sakhara*) that lead to birth, old age, etc. The contents of this sūtra, particularly the nature of the Great Conflagration Hell and the simile of the iron ball, are discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Salomon offers a preliminary reading with text notes for part of this sūtra in Salomon 2003: 87-9.

#### 11.1.2. Title

The title Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra is based on the Gāndhārī spelling of the title given to the parallel Pāli text, the Mahāpariḷāha-sutta, as in B°. The English title, "The Great Conflagration Sūtra," is based on Bhikkhu Bodhi's translation of the Pāli *mahāpariḷāha* (Bodhi 2000: 1867). This title is also used in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (DDB) to

translate the Chinese sūtra *Dàloutàn jīng* (大樓炭經; T 23 277a4), which is an unrelated cosmological text (see 大樓炭經 s.v. in DDB and Maki 1978: 667-8).

### 11.1.3. Parallels

Parallels are discussed in § 3.3. The following is a brief summary. The most direct P parallel is SN V 450-2, sutta no. 43 of the Sacca-saṃyutta. The uddāna entry in all P versions is *pariḷāho*, and the titles are given as *Pariḷāho* (E<sup>e</sup>), *Mahāpariḷāhasuttaṃ* (B<sup>e</sup>, VRI<sup>e</sup>), and *Pariḷāhasuttaṃ* (C<sup>e</sup>, S<sup>e</sup>). Two other Sacca-saṃyutta suttas share common elements with the *Pariḷāho*-sutta. The format of the *Papāta* and *Andhakāra*-sutta (SN V 454-5) are both similar, differing only in the metaphor employed to explain the perils of ignorance; where the result of being unaware of the four noble truths is burning in hell in the *Pariḷāha*-sutta, the result is falling from a great cliff or into darkness in the *Papāta* and *Andhakāra*-suttas, respectively. These three texts make up the 42<sup>nd</sup> (*Papāta*-sutta), 43<sup>rd</sup> (*Pariḷāha*-sutta), and the 46<sup>th</sup> (*Andhakāra*-sutta) of the *Mahāvagga*, the final *vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*. Each of these three has a Chinese parallel in the *Samyuktāgama* (SĀ; T 99), namely sūtras 421, 422, and 423 respectively (111a20-111c07). There is also a Central Asian (Turfan) fragment, SHT II 51 f1 + 2 Bl. (10)<sup>4</sup>, that contains references to a *paridāha* and *andhakāra* (to give the Sanskrit forms), separated by only two lines. This gives the impression that the Sanskrit fragment might be part of a SN-type text parallel in structure to the Pāli Sacca-saṃyutta. Throughout the text notes I have included other semi-parallel P, Ch, and Skt. texts for comparison where they offer instructive similarities and differences.

#### 11.1.4. Reference in the Index Scrolls

This sūtra is referred to on Senior 8, line 1: *sata bhikṣave mahapariḍaho ṇama ṇire<\*a>*. According to Allon (forthcoming), the *ya* after the space following this entry may also belong to this entry. In this case, read *ṇireya*. This corresponds to line 11 of this scroll: *sata bhikṣave mahaparaḍa ṇamo ṇireya*. It is notable that in both the index entry and the sūtra the anticipated *i* diacritic is omitted from the plural *sata*, which is equivalent to Skt. *santi*, "there are." See the text notes for more on *sata* as plural.

#### 11.2. Text Commentary

##### 11.2.1. The Setting (Line 11)

Edition:

*eva me śūda eka ṣamae śavastiṇiḍaṇ[e]*

Reconstruction:

*eva me śūda eka ṣamae śavasti-ṇiḍaṇe*

Translation:

Thus I have heard: At one time in the Śrāvastī setting...

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 422; T 99 111b10-11):

如是我聞：一時佛住王舍城迦蘭陀竹園。

Thus I have heard: at one time the Buddha dwelt in Rājagṛha city in the Kalandaka bamboo grove.

Text Notes:

The scribe either reinked or changed his stylus after finishing the first sūtra, and as a result the text of the second sūtra is significantly darker.

Line 11. *śavasti-ṇidāṇ[e]*: The manuscript is broken above the *ṇ*, but a trace of ink that is most likely the bottom of the *e* diacritic is still visible, albeit slightly farther to the left of the akṣara than would be anticipated. The trace is probably not the bottom of an akṣara from the line above because it is written with the distinctly darker ink of the second sūtra.

Supporting evidence for reading *ṇidāṇe* can be found among the Senior manuscripts in RS 5 (l.15), which has *śavasti-ṇidāṇe*, and in RS 9 (recto C1) and RS 17 (l.8), both of which have *śavastia-ṇidāṇe*. Our manuscript corresponds to the abbreviation found at the beginning of numerous Pāli texts, *sāvatthinidānaṃ*, "the Śrāvastī setting," where the two words appear to be in compound. In other Senior sūtras (RS 17 l.8, RS 22 l.57), *śavastia* appears to be out of compound in locative (= Skt. *Śrāvastyāṃ*). Neither the Pāli parallel nor the SHT fragment contain *nidānas*, and the Chinese *nidāna* provides a different setting, Rājagṛha (王舍城).

### 11.2.2. The Hells Called "Great Conflagration" and the Simile of the Red-hot Iron Ball (Lines 11-15)

Edition:

*sata* [12] *bhikṣave mahaparaḍa ṇamo ṇireā tatra ṣatvaṇa jadāṇa bhudāṇa aviṇivurtaṇa*  
*aḍita kaya bhoti sapāḍali*[13]*ḍa sajedibhude sayasavi ayāiḍa divasa ṣa[ta]ta aḍita bhoti*  
*sapacaliḍa sajedibhuda evam=eva sati* [14] *mahaparaḍaha ṇama ṇireā tatra satvaṇa*  
*jadāṇa bhudāṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapāci*[15]*liḍa sajedibhude*

Reconstruction:

*sata [12] bhikṣave mahaparaḍa ṇamo ṇireā tatra satvaṇa jadāṇa bhudāṇa aviṇivurtaṇa  
 aḍita kaya bhoti sapaḍali[13]da sajedi-bhude sayasavi aya-üḍa divasa satata aḍita bhoti  
 sapacaliḍa sajedi-bhuda evam=eva sati [14] maha-paraḍaha ṇama ṇireā tatra satvaṇa  
 jadāṇa bhudāṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapaḍi[15]liḍa sajedi-bhude*

Translation of Gāndhārī:

[The Buddha said to the monks:] "There are, [12] monks, hells called 'Great Conflagration.'" Bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being there are burning, blazing, [13] glowing. Just like an iron ball which is heated all day, burning, blazing, glowing so too are there [14] are hells named 'Great Conflagration' where the bodies of beings who are born, arise, and come into being are burning, [15] blazing, glowing.

Pāli Parallel (SN V 450-1):

*atthi bhikkave Mahā-pariḷāho nāma nirayo. tattha yaṃ kiñci cakkhunā rūpaṃ passati  
 anīṭṭharūpaṃ yeva passati no iṭṭharūpaṃ akantarūpaṃ yeva passati no kantarūpaṃ  
 amanāparūpaṃ passati no manāparūpaṃ. yaṃ kiñci sotena saddaṃ suṇāti pa-pe yaṃ  
 kiñci kāyena poṭṭhabbam phussati yaṃ kiñci manasā dhammaṃ vijānāti anīṭṭharupaṃ  
 yeva vijānāti no iṭṭharūpaṃ akantarūpaṃ yeva vijānāti pe no manāparūpan ti.*

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 422; T 99 111b11-12):

爾時世尊告諸比丘：有大熱地獄。若眾生生於彼中 一向與燄然。

At that time, the bhagavat spoke to the bhikṣus: "There is a hell of great conflagration. If sentient beings are born there, they are constantly blazing."

Chinese Partial Parallel to Iron Ball Simile (SĀ 282; T 99 78c25-26):

譬如鐵丸燒令極熱

Just like an iron ball, heated and made exceedingly hot.

Text notes:



*sata*: This word recurs in 1.13 as *sati*. Both forms correspond to the P/Skt. plural *santi* which, taken together with the apparently plural *nirea* (Skt. *nirayāḥ*/P *nirayā*), require that this phrase be translated "There are hells." This contrasts with P *atthi...nirayo*, which is clearly singular. Although this phrase does not appear in the Sanskrit fragment, there is evidence that it might also have had the plural. Allon suggests that since the following sūtra on the Sanskrit fragment, which probably corresponds to the P Andhakāra-sutta, contains the plural *santi bhikṣa[vo]* /// (SHT II 51 f1 + 2 V2) where P has the singular *atthi bhikkave*, the Sanskrit version of the Mahāpariṇāha-sutta may also have contained the plural form *ṇarakāḥ* where P has the singular *nirayo* (Allon, forthcoming). The Chinese is unclear regarding number.

But after the Buddha's opening statement, the succeeding dialogue between the Buddha and the monks contains a clear reference to a single conflagration, with the singular pronoun *so* and the singular copula *asti* instead of the plural *sata*. Other than the implications for understanding the Buddhist conception of hell geography, the apparent shift in number does

not seem to have any significance for the meaning of the sūtra. It is possible that the distinction may simply not have been a concern for the scribe.

Line 12. *mahaparaḍa*: Where we expect *mahaparaḍaha*, the scribe has left off the final syllable, possibly in error. If this was not an error, it is a case of elision of intervocalic *-h-* followed by dropping of the final vowel. Lenz has previously noted this change in ablative and instrumental forms commonly ending in *ehi* that occur with just *e* (Lenz 2010: 226-7). Another example of this is found in the AG-G<sup>L</sup> (29c), which has *krīm[i]* for Skt. *kṛmibhiḥ* (Salomon 2008: 225). The spelling of the G equivalent of P *pariḷāha* varies throughout the text: *mahaparaḍaha* (l.14), *paraḍae* (l. 15, 16 [x3]), *paraḍao* (l. 18 [x2]), *paraḍaa* (l. 26), *paraḍaha* (l. 26, 27). Most likely, the *h* was not pronounced in the dialect of the scribe.

Fussman (1989: 453) notes that when Senior manuscripts contain more and less phonologically advanced forms (relative to Sanskrit), the less advanced forms (e.g. *paraḍaha*) are likely to be historical spellings, while the more advanced forms (e.g., *paraḍa/paraḍaa*) reflect actual pronunciation (see also Silverlock 2015: 215).

Grammatically, *mahaparaḍa* is either a nominative singular collective noun or a nominative plural form. G *para* for Skt. *pari* is a common dialectal variant, e.g., *kulavaravaḥḥaḍa* at RS 12.68 for Skt *kulaparivatataḥ*, and *paraḥṣiṇa* at 12.57, 60, 61 for Skt. *parikṣīnāḥ* (Silverlock 2015: 219).

The G description of this hell – or group of hells – is completely different from that in the main P parallel. Where the G describes the actual burning bodies of those born there, the P describes people's inability to find sensory pleasure there. Chapter 3 contains a detailed comparison of the description of the Great Conflagration Hell in the various Indic and Chinese versions.

*tatra śatvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurdaṇa*: This phrase has no direct parallel in P canonical suttas (Salomon 2003: 89). The Paṭiṭṭhā-sutta reads only *tattha*. In P commentaries, *jāta* and *nibbatta* are common glosses on *bhūta* (e.g., SN-a 61) and the participles *jātā*, *bhūtā*, and *nibbatta* appear as glosses on *uppanna* (e.g., Vism 35), but in wholly different contexts than G. On the other hand, the Ch parallel is similar in meaning to the G: 若眾生生於彼中, "If beings are born there...".

The G description is characterized by the occurrence of three near synonyms, all of which, as noted, are quasi-synonymous with *uppanna*. The phenomenon of proliferating synonymous word elements has been studied by Gonda (1959), von Simson (1965), and Allon (1997). Allon calls such proliferation an "extremely important feature" of sūtra literature, and referring to the previous studies of Gonda and von Simson, highlights its four main functions as emphasis, clarity of expression, stressing the thoroughness with which something is done, and "encircling" or "encompassing" an idea in order to provide clarity (Allon 1997: 251). Allon also observed that component elements of such sequences are usually arranged according to their syllable length, what the CPD calls *wax. comp.* in its list of abbreviations, and which is now commonly called the "waxing syllable principle" (Allon 1997: 250; Norman 1997: 43, 45). The word with the fewest syllables comes first, the word with the next fewest comes next, and the word with the most last. Allon notes that in some cases these sequences of similar words share sound and metrical similarities as well, which he suggests may "give greater cohesion to the group and emphasise the close relationship existing between the components" (Allon 1997: 251). In our manuscript, *jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa* fits the general waxing pattern from first to last, though *jaḍaṇa* and *bhuḍaṇa*

share the same count.



The foot mark of the *ṇ* in *avinivurtaṇa*, like that in *ṇireā* two lines down (l. 14), curls back around to the left and up again, making the character similar to a *d*. This appears only in these two instances containing an *-i* diacritic (cf. Salomon 2003: 89).



The conjunct *rta* is transcribed with a *t* according to etymological context, though it appears closer to *rda* paleographically. The scribe appears to have corrected a first attempt to write this character by adding the curly sign for the preconsonantal *r* afterwards. The word is repeated without apparent correction in l.14, where it resembles *rta/rda* more clearly. Given that the Senior scribe represents original *rt* as *t*, *ṭ*, or *ṭh* in other manuscripts (e.g., 19.14 *āvartate* > *avatadi*, 19.8 *āvarta* > *avaṭa*, 12.62 *muhūrtam* > *mahuṭha*), in his native dialect the original cluster *rt* was most likely not actually pronounced as such.

*aḍita kaya bhoti sapājalida sajedibhuda*: This description of the burning bodies utilizes the same "waxing syllable" rhetorical flourish as the immediately preceding string of adjectives. While absent from the P *Pariḷāha-sutta*, this grouping of adjectives occurs frequently elsewhere in Pāli. For example, in SN II 260-1, evil monks and nuns are

described as having "burning, blazing, and glowing" robes (*saṅghātī*), bowls (*patta*), belts (*kāyabandhana*), and bodies (*kaya*).<sup>269</sup>

The Ch parallel contains a similar description of the bodies: 一向與炯然, "The bodies are constantly blazing," or more literally, "the bodies constantly emit/join with burning heat." But the Ch contains only a single descriptor, 炯然, where the G has three. Except for this difference, the two passages are closer than the G is to P.

*aḍita* corresponds to P *āditta*/Skt. *ādīpta*. On OIA *-d- > -ḍ-*, see § 7.2.1.4. Alternatively, it might represent a conflation of P *āditta* with *aṭṭita* (Skt., *ardita*, "tormented"), which can be found in Khuddaka-nikāya texts like the Theragāthā and Apadāna in phrases like *kāmarāgena aṭṭito* ("tormented by desire and lust"; e.g., Th 21) and *tena sokena aṭṭito* ("tormented by this suffering"; e.g., B<sup>e</sup> Ap I 387).<sup>270</sup>



The overscored *ḷ* of *sapaḷalida* (l. 12-13) and *ē* of *sapaēilida* (l.14-15) denote some sort of underlying conjunct or resulting geminate. See also § 6.2. and § 7.2.2.6. Here, both *sapaḷalida* and *sapaēilida* correspond to Skt. *saṃprajvalita*, where the overscored characters correspond to Skt. *jv*. A different occurrence of this word is spelled *sapacalida* with no diacritic in l.13.

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<sup>269</sup> SN II 260-1: *Tassā saṅghāṭipi ādittā sampajjalitā sajotibhūtā, pattopi āditto sampajjalito sajotibhūto, kāyabandhanampi ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ, kāyo pi āditto sampajjalito sajotibhūto.*

<sup>270</sup> According to meeting notes, this was suggested at a Kharoṣṭhī Klub meeting in 2000.



Line 13. *sajedi-bhude*: This corresponds to Skt. *sajyotibhūta*/P *sajotibhūta*. On *e/o* alternation in Gāndhārī, see the discussion of *gedam*(\*a) in 1.10 above. Here, OIA *o* goes to *e* under the influence of the underlying OIA *y*. A floating *e* diacritic sits high and just to the right of the *d*- in each of the three occurrences of this word (ll.13 [2x],15). Taken as separate cases, they seem to be errant strokes, too far to the right of the akṣara and very short, but the consistency shows that the vowel is intended. This contrasts with, for example, *paśea* (1.6) and *bhate* (1.16), where the *e* is placed directly above the consonant stem and is significantly longer. In *sajedi-bhude* in ll. 13 (first occurrence) and 15, the *e* above *d* is divided by horizontal breaks in the manuscript, but the stroke appears clearly in both cases after reconstruction of the image.

*aya-ūḍa*: The image of the red-hot iron ball does not appear in of either the direct parallels in P or Ch. However, it does occur in many other Buddhist texts, as discussed in chapter 4. P *ayoguḷa* (Skt. *ayoguḍa*) appears in several places in P, where it is always described as either *tatta/santatta*, "heated, glowing" (e.g., SN V: 283; Dhṛp 44; It 43; Mil 45) or *āditta*, "blazing, burning" (e.g., Vism 57). In at least one other case it appears along with the same string of three modifiers as in our manuscript, *ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ* (DN II 335). In some cases, the red-hot iron ball is used to describe the point at which something is most malleable and light, that is, when heated all day (*divasaṃ santattaṃ*; 竟日; e.g., DN II: 335; MĀ T 26 528b10; T 45 833b6), but is also employed to remind monks that swallowing a glowing iron ball is preferable to gluttony (e.g., Dhṛp 44; T 212 668a28-9).

*divasa śatata*: Because the Senior scribe does not write anusvāras, *divasa* can either be an adverb corresponding to P *divasaṃ*, "for one day," or "one day long" (AN III 304=IV 317; J I.279), or in compound with *śatata*. Both occur in Pāli (e.g., *divasaṃ santattaṃ* at SN V 283 and *divasa-santattaṃ* at DN II 335). Either way, the sense is the same: "heated all day."



*sati*: There is an extra foot mark on the *sa* resembling the usual Kharoṣṭhī sign for anusvāra, consisting of a crescent shaped stroke stemming from the bottom right of the akṣara and curving below it to the left. Although anusvāra would fit the context (*saṃti* = Skt. *santi*), there are no other cases of anusvāra in this scribe's work (see Glass 2007: § 5.2.2.2. and Salomon 2008: § III.2.2.3.). I therefore read *sati*. It is also possible that what I read as *sa* with a second footmark is actually *so*, where the upper horizontal stroke is actually an *o* diacritic. But a close inspection of the manuscript shows that the upper stroke is continuous with the same pen stroke that wrote the upper part of the akṣara, and it is the bottommost footmark that was added later, making it unlikely that *so* is the intended reading.

### 11.2.3. A Greater, More Frightful Conflagration (Lines 15-19)

Edition:

*asa añearo bhikhu bhayavata edaḍ=oya mahada bhate so paraḍae sumahada so ~~bha~~* [16]

*bhate so paraḍae asti bhate taspi paraḍae añā paraḍae aṣimadaḍaro ya* [17]

*bhayaṇaḍaro ya [17a] «kri» [18] [asti bhikh]u taspi paraḍao añā paraḍao aṣimaḍaḍoro  
ya bhayaṇaḍaro y[e] kaḍaro so bhate [19] tas[p]i paraḍao [a]ñā paraḍao [aṣim.ḍaḍa]ro  
ya bhayaṇaḍaro ya*

#### Reconstruction:

*asa añearo bhikkhu bhayavata eḍaḍ=oya mahāḍa bhate so paraḍae sumahāḍa so [16]  
bhate so paraḍae asti bhate taspi paraḍae añā paraḍae aṣimaḍaḍaro ya [17]  
bhayaṇaḍaro ya [17a] «kri» [18] asti bhikkhu taspi paraḍao añā paraḍao aṣimaḍaḍoro ya  
bhayaṇaḍaro ye kaḍaro so bhate [19] taspi paraḍao añā paraḍao aṣim(\*a)ḍaḍaro ya  
bhayaṇaḍaro ya*

#### Translation of Gāndhārī:

Now, a certain bhikkhu said this to the Lord: "Great, Sir, is this conflagration. Very great, [16] Sir, is this conflagration. Is there, Sir, another conflagration even greater and [17] more frightful than this conflagration?" [18] "There is, bhikkhu, another conflagration greater and more frightful than this conflagration." "Which, Sir, [19] is the other conflagration even greater and more frightful than this conflagration?"

#### P parallel (SN V 451):

*evaṃ vutte aññataro bhikkhu bhagavantam etad avoca. mahā vata so bhante pariḷāho  
sumahā vata so bhante pariḷāho. atthi nu kho bhante etamhā pariḷāhā añño pariḷāho  
mahantataro ca bhayānakataro cā ti? atthi kho bhikkhu etamhā pariḷāhā añño pariḷāho  
mahantataro ca bhayānakataro cā ti. katamo pana bhante etamhā pariḷāhā añño  
pariḷāho mahantataro ca bhayānakataro cā ti?*

Skt. parallel (SHT B1. (10)4 verso 1-2):

[pa]r(i)dā(hād=anyaḥ pari)dāhatara /// yāya pū(rvava)t

Ch. parallel (SĀ 422; T 99 111b12-18):

時有異比丘從座起整衣服為佛作禮合掌白佛言：如世尊說，此則大熱。世尊，唯此大熱？  
復有大熱過於此者，甚可怖畏，無有過上。如是，比丘，此則大熱亦更有大熱過於此者。甚  
可怖畏，無有過上。何等為更有大熱，甚可怖畏，過於此者。

Then, a certain Bhikkhu stood up from his seat, straightened his robe, made an *añjali* in respect to the Buddha, and said to the Buddha: "Like the Blessed One explained, this, then, is a great conflagration. Blessed One, is there only this great conflagration? Or is there yet a greater conflagration than this one, exceedingly frightening, [such that] none exceeds it?" [The Buddha said:] "Thus, monk, as for this great conflagration, there is a yet greater conflagration than this one, exceedingly frightening, [such that] none exceeds it." [The monk asked:] "What is the further great conflagration, exceedingly frightening, [such that] none exceeds it?"

Text notes:

For preliminary comments on lines 11-16, cf. Salomon 2003: 88-9.

The description of a "certain monk" (異比) rising from his seat (從座起), arranging his robe (整衣服), and saluting the Buddha (為佛作禮合掌) before addressing him only occurs in the Ch parallel. G and P begin with his address to the Buddha. However, the Ch is similar to a common P phrase found elsewhere (e.g. MN III 15: *atha kho aññataro bhikkhu*

*uṭṭhāy'āsanā ekamsaṃ cīvaram katvā yena bhagavā ten'añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā bhagavantam etadavoca*).<sup>271</sup>

Line 15. *asa añearo bhikhu*: This corresponds to Skt. *athānyataro bhi[kṣ]( \*ur)* (II 51 f1+2 [Bl.(10)4] V3), and Ch. 時有異比丘, where *asa* ("now; then") is equivalent to Skt. *atha* and Ch 時. The P has *evaṃ vutte aññataro bhikkhu*, "When this was said [by the Buddha], a certain monk...".

*mahada*: This corresponds in the P Paṭiṭṭha-sutta to the nominative masculine singular *mahā*, "great." It is declined based on a thematic extension of the strong stem *mahant*, which also occurs in P (e.g., MN III 185: *mahanto kukkuḷanirayo*, "The Great Hot Embers Hell"). This extended form also occurs as nominative singular masculine as *maha[ta da]rukade* in RS 19 1.3 as discussed by Lee (2009: 88-9).



Line 16. *sumahada so bhā bhate so paraḍae*: I have reconstructed this as *sumahada so bhate so paraḍae*. The scribe crossed out *bhā* with a hook-shaped strike unique to this manuscript. The preceeding *so* remains intact, but given the context, where the pronoun is needed only once, it should probably also be struck out. Salomon notes that "the text seems to be defective here .... the scribe seems to have lost his place in the archetype" (2003: 89). Cf. § 6.3.2.

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<sup>271</sup> "Then, a certain monk got up from his seat and arranged his robe over one shoulder, and having bowed in añjali toward the Lord, he said this to him."

*taspi*: Phonetically this corresponds to Skt. *tasmin*, but here it should be taken as ablative, governed by the following comparative adjective *aṣimadaḍaro*, "even greater than." This is supported by the P parallel which has the ablative *etamhā*. On the collapsing of ablative, genitive, and locative singular forms in G, see the discussion of *cakṣusa* and *ma<\*ṇa>sa* in lines 3 and 4 above.

*aṣimadaḍaro*: G *aṣi* should correspond phonetically to P/Skt. *adhi*, "over, above, superior," where OIA intervocalic *-dh-* > *-ṣ-* (cf. Salomon 2003: 89). However, in this case we would instead anticipate a reflex of *ati*, which, when prefixed to nouns and adjectives, typically has the related but different sense of "excessively" or "exceedingly." This would correspond well with the Ch, which has 甚可怖畏, "exceedingly frightening." 甚 is often used to translate Skt./P *ati* (DDB s.v.). If *aṣi* corresponds in form to OIA *adhi* but in sense to *ati*, then this would be a case of lexical alternation with respect to prefixes that is also common elsewhere in G. Glass has discussed G *abhi-* for OIA *adhi-* in G (2007: § 5.2.1.4.; e.g., *avimucadi* = OIA. *adhimuñcati* where *abhi-* > G *avi-*). Lenz noted the alternation of *pari-* and *prati-* in G inscriptions on the pots acquired with the British Library Manuscripts (2002: 187-8; e.g., in *pratigrahi* and *parigrahi*), a change also noted in BHS by Edgerton (BHS § 2.4.7.). Also, Salomon has discussed G *api-* for OIA *abhi-* (1986: 276-7; *apisavujita* = OIA *\*abhisambudhyitvā*).

More problematic is the G spelling *madadaḍaro* (l. 16, 19) and *madadaro* (l. 18) for P *mahantataro*, or its less common form *mahattaro* (see Oberlies 2001: 167-8). The signs for *h* and *ḍ* are similar in this scribe's hand, so it is difficult to distinguish the two. But a close inspection shows that the manuscript definitely reads *ḍa* and not *ha* in ll. 16 and 18, where

the top of the stem curls just slightly to the right as is common with d. The top of the akṣara in l.19 is missing, but I read it as d because it is clearly d in the two other occurrences of the word. Below are, from left to right, -dada-, -dado-, and -dada-, followed by a clear hada to show the distinction between the akṣaras. Note that in the first dada from l.16, the stylus tip splits at the top, creating the illusion of the leftward curl typical of h.



It is possible that the substitution of da for ha is a case of dittography, but it would be rare for the scribe to make the same mistake two or three times. Scribal error also probably accounts for instances of do, although, as noted throughout, *o*, *e*, and *a* are unstable in the Senior scrolls.

Line 17. *bhayaṇadaro*: This corresponds to Skt. *bhayānakataṛaḥ*. Before the comparative suffix *-tara*, the G stem does not include the pleonastic suffix *-ka* as found in the Skt.



Line 17a. «*kri*»: This appears at the top right corner of the recto separated from the rest of the text. There is a faint extra stroke at the lower left of the akṣara that could be an *o*. It is possible that *kri* is a volume number. Cf. § 6.1.

Line 18. *taspi*: The conjunct *spi* can resemble *smi* in our scribe's hand, where the *p* portion of the akṣara consists of a sharp upward stroke along the stem followed by a u-

shaped extension to the right. Elsewhere in G, *sm* is indicated by a *s* on top bisecting the u-shaped *m* below. Copied below are *taspi* in 1.18 and *taspa* 1.28:



#### 11.2.4. The Buddha's Response I (Lines 19-21)

Edition:

*ye de bhikhu ṣamaṇa va [20] bramaṇa va idi dukhaariaṣaja ta yaṣabhude ṇa prayaṇati*  
*dukhaṣamud[e]oariaṣaja yaṣabhude [21] ṇa payaṇati dukhaṇiroṣo dukhaṇir[o]ṣakamiṇa*  
*paḍivada yaṣabhude ṇa payaṇati*

Reconstruction:

*ye de bhikhu ṣamaṇa va [20] bramaṇa va idi dukha-aria-ṣaja ta yaṣa-bhude ṇa prayaṇati*  
*dukha-ṣamudeo-aria-ṣaja yaṣa-bhude [21] ṇa payaṇati dukha-ṇiroṣo dukha-ṇiroṣa-*  
*kamiṇa paḍivada yaṣa-bhude ṇa payaṇati...*

Translation:

"Any ascetics [20] or brahmans, bhikkhu, who do not know as it really is [21] 'this is the noble truth of suffering,' who do not understand as it really is '[This is] the noble truth of the arising of suffering,' who don't understand as it really is '[This is the noble truth of] the cessation of suffering' [and 'This is the noble truth of] the path leading to the cessation of suffering...'

Pali parallel (SN V 451):<sup>272</sup>

*ye hi keci bhikkhu samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti  
(ayaṃ dukkhasamudayo ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti ayaṃ dukkhanirodho ti  
yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti) ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā ti yathābhūtaṃ  
nappajānanti...*

Sanskrit partial parallel (SBhV I 118):

*sa idaṃ duḥkhaṃ āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti; ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ, ayaṃ  
duḥkhanirodhaḥ, ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ  
prajānāti...*

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 422; T 99 111b18-20):

謂沙門婆羅門此苦聖諦不如實知苦集聖諦苦滅聖諦苦滅道跡聖諦不如實知...

As for a monk or brahman, [if] he does not know as it really is the noble truth "This is suffering," [does not know as it really is] the noble truth that is "the arising of suffering," [does not know as it really is] the noble truth that is "the cessation of suffering," and does not know as it really is the noble truth that is the path leading to the cessation of suffering...

Text Notes:

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<sup>272</sup> Here, the text in parentheses comes from the Papāta-sutta, which immediately precedes the Pariḷāha-sutta at SN V 449-450. I have included it here to fill out the abbreviated form of the identical passage in the Pariḷāha-sutta for this and the following section.

Lines 19-27 contain a relative/correlative construction in which the Buddha explains to the monks the repercussions of being ignorant of the noble truths. For the sake of clarity, I have divided the Buddha's response into three sections. This section (§ 11.2.4) presents the relative clause describing who is subject to suffering, namely, those who don't know the four noble truths as they really are (*yaṣabhude*=Skt *yathābhūtaṃ*); the second section (§ 11.2.5) contains the correlative clause describing the repercussions of the ignorance described in the first section, namely, taking pleasure in and continuing to generate volitions that lead to birth, old age, sickness, etc., and then in turn being burned by the conflagrations of birth, old age, sickness, etc.; and the third section (§ 11.2.6) contains the reason for suffering and the Buddha's call to strive diligently.

The first section appears to have been common enough that it could easily be abbreviated and the reciter would be expected to have known it offhand, or to have understood from the context how to fill in the gaps. The pattern begins: "Whatever Bhikṣu or Brahmana does not know the noble truth 'This is suffering' as it really is..." and then repeats for each of the four of the Buddha's truths. While there are examples of this textual unit expressed in full, i.e. the sutta preceding the *Paṇḍita-sutta*, the *Papāta-sutta* (SN V 449), the unit is often abbreviated so that the first and last sentence are expressed in full and the middle two are abridged, as in the parallel examples cited above. This is a widely used pattern of abbreviation in Buddhist literature that reflects the fact that many pericopes, that is, short self-contained textual units, were memorized units that could be transferred from text to text whole cloth. In cases where the pericope was copied out in full in one sūtra, it need not have been copied out in full in the following texts. Unlike the other versions, G

only abbreviates the third truth. A summary of this section in P, Skt., Ch, and G is listed below. Note that the Sanskrit subject is the singular *saḥ*.

P (full version from Papāta-sutta) *ye hi keci bhikkhu samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā*

- 1) *idaṃ dukkhaṃ ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti*
- 2) *ayaṃ dukkhasamudayo ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti*
- 3) *ayaṃ dukkhanirodho ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti*
- 4) *ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti.*

Skt. *saḥ*

- 1) *idaṃ duḥkham āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti*
- 2) *ayaṃ duḥkhasamudayaḥ*
- 3) *ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhaḥ*
- 4) *ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti*

G *ye de bhikku ṣamaṇa va brahmaṇa va*

- 1) *īdi dukha ariṣaja ta yaṣabhude ṇa prayaṇati*
- 2) *dukhaṣamudao ariṣaja yaṣabhude ṇa payaṇati*
- 3) *dukhaṇiroṣo*
- 4) *dukhaṇiroṣakamiṇa paḍivaḍa yaṣabhude ṇa payaṇati*

Ch. 沙門婆羅門

- 1) 此苦聖諦不如實知
- 2) 苦集聖諦
- 3) 苦滅聖諦
- 4) 苦滅道跡聖諦不如實知

Line 19. *ye de bhikku ṣamaṇa va brahmaṇa va*: This is the relative clause of a relative-correlative construction to denote an indefinite subject, "whatever ascetics or brahmins."

*bhikku* is vocative. P reads *ye hi keci*. The correlative *te* appears at the end of line 21.

Line 20. *īdi...ta*: *īdi* corresponds to P *idaṃ* and *ta* to the quotative *ti*, with the final vowel omitted. This same structure occurs again in l. 28. *ta* cannot be the resumptive particle going with the relative clause *ye de* as the correlative is not expected until after the full list of

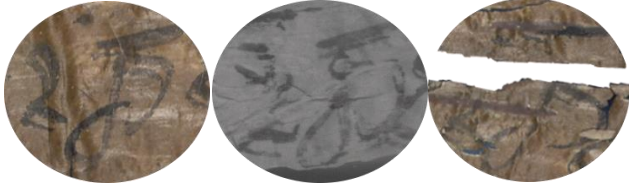
*āryasatya*, where it does indeed occur in 1.21. For *īdi* = P *idaṃ*, see the discussion of *īdi vute* in 1.9 above.

*dukha-ariaṣaja*: This scribe's inconsistency with final vowels makes it difficult to determine whether *dukha* here is declined in the nominative or undeclined in compound (cf. § 8.1.4). Either way, the sense is the same: "the noble truth that is suffering" or "the noble truth of suffering." The compound *\*dukkhāriyasaccaṃ* does not occur in P, although out of compound *dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ*, *dukkhasamudayaṃ ariyasaccaṃ*, etc., are extremely common. In the Skt. Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, the compound *duḥkhāryasatyānāṃ* occurs (AdSPG I 190), and we find *duḥkhāryasatyalakṣaṇe*, *samudayāryasatyalakṣaṇe*, etc. in the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (PSP V: 160). The Chinese also appears to translate an underlying Indic compound: 此苦聖諦, "this is the noble truth of suffering," where 苦 ("suffering") modifies 聖諦 ("noble truth").

Because *dukha-ariaṣaja* is inside the *iti* clause, it is the nominative predicate to *īdi*, "this is the noble truth of suffering," instead of the accusative object of *ṇa prayaṇati*. Note that neither *īdi* (= P *idaṃ*) nor the quotative particle *ta* (= P *iti*) repeat for *dukha-ṣamud[e]o* or the other noble truths. However, because the whole section is abbreviated, *īdi* (= *idaṃ*) and *ta* (= *iti*) are to be understood in each phrase, so I translate them in the same way as the first noble truth, that is, in the nominative inside an *iti* clause, "They do not know 'This is the noble truth of...".

*yaṣabhude*: In all three occurrences of the word *yaṣabhude*, *e* is just a small dot placed above the space between the *bhu* and *de*. In the second occurrence at the end of 1.20, the *e* diacritic is obscured by a knot in the wood, faded ink, and a lenticel, but it is clearly

discernible in the infra-red images. Below are images of *bhude*, from left to right located at 20.18, 20.38 (infrared), and 21.26:



Skt./P *yathābhūtaṃ* is an indeclinable *avyayībhāva* compound in the accusative, "as it (really) is." The G form in *e* is so far unique to Senior 20. Elsewhere, Saṅg-G contains the same adverbial phrase as *yaśabhudā* (31 v.24), *yaśabhudā* (v.26), and *yaśabhudo* (v.53 [2x], 56), and it occurs adjectivally in BC 4 as *ya(\*śa)bhudehi* (r.18, 19).



*śamudea*: As with *sajedi-bhude* in ll.13 and 15, the *e* diacritic is actually closer to the preceding akṣara than the *d*. This might strengthen the reading *de* in both cases, suggesting that it was common for the scribe to write the small, floating *e* above and to the right of *d*.

*prayaṇati*: This corresponds to P *pajānānti* meaning "to understand" or "distinguish" when it follows *yathābhūtaṃ*. In intervocalic position, *y* is a common G reflex of OIA *j* (e.g., Brough 1962: § 32; Salomon 2001: § 6.2.1.2; Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.2).

Line 21. *dukha-ṇir[o]śa-kamiṇa paḍivada yaśabhude ṇa payaṇati*: On the modified form *k* and *g > k* alternation, see the notes on *ṇakare* in l.4 above. In this case, it is possible that the scribe conflated *gāminī* with a form from the root  $\sqrt{kram}$ . Further evidence of possible

confusion between the two roots is found in 1.29, where *k* of *kamiṇa* is written over top of a *g*.

This whole phrase corresponds to P *ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānanti* (SN V 451) and Skt *ayaṃ duḥkhanirodhagāminī pratipad āryasatyam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti* (SBhV I 118). Parallel phrases in the P Parilāha-sutta and Papāta-sutta omit the word *ariyasattaṃ* when listing each noble truth, but G omits *aria-ṣaja/aria-ṣaca* only for the third and fourth noble truth. G *dukkha-ṇir[o]ṣa-kamiṇa paḍivada* is either intended to be read exactly parallel in structure to Skt. and P, with *kamiṇa* declined as feminine nominative modifying a feminine *paḍivada* and showing loss of the final vowel (as it is listed in the glossary), or it could be read as a single compound, or "pseudo-compound," with *paḍipada* as the headword. Each time a noble truth is listed in the manuscript, it is either explicitly or implicitly preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *idi* (= P *idaṃ*) and followed by the quotative particle *ti*, making whatever appears in the quotation nominative rather than the accusative object of the verb *pra + √jñā*. Therefore, this phrase can be translated: "They don't understand as it really is: "[This is the noble truth] of the path leading to the cessation of suffering." The meaning of the phrase is the same whether it is read in or out of compound.

*paḍipada* is a reflex of the feminine Skt. *pratipad*, but is morphologically more similar to P *paṭipadā*, which is formed by a thematic extension of the consonant stem. While this can be translated as "path," especially in light of its implied reference to the *āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ* (SBhV T 60b; "noble eight-limbed path"), it refers more specifically to a "course of conduct" or "practice" (BHSD), definitions substantiated by the noted relationship

(sometimes interchangeability) of *pratipad* and *pratipatti* in BHS. For *gāminī pratipad*, Ch has 道跡.

#### 11.2.5. The Buddha's Response II (Lines 21-27)

Edition:

*te [j.di]sabataṇi[22]a sakhara aviṣakhareti te jaḍisabataṇia sakhare aviraḍa  
jaraṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakha[23]roti jaraṣabataṇio sakhara aviṣakharita  
viaṣimaraṇaśoka-paridevadukhadomaṇastaiia[24]yasaṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakharoti te  
jaḍisabataṇia ya sakhara aviṣakharita jaraṣabata[25]ṇia  
viaṣimaraṇaśoka-paridevadukhadomaṇastaiiayasaṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakharita driga-  
[26]ratro jaḍiparaḍaa pi pracaṇaveti jaraparaḍaha pi pracaṇahoti  
viaṣimaraṇaśoke-parideveiia[27]yasaparaḍaha pi pracaṇabhoti*

Reconstruction:

*te j(\*a)di-sabataṇi[22]a sakhara aviṣakhareti te jaḍi-sabataṇia sakhare aviraḍa jara-  
ṣabataṇia sakhara aviṣakha[23]roti jara-sabataṇio sakhara aviṣakharita viaṣi-maraṇa-  
śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üa[24]yasa-sabataṇia sakhara aviṣakharoti te jaḍi-  
ṣabataṇia ya sakhara aviṣakharita jara-ṣabata[25]ṇia viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-  
dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia sakhara aviṣakharita driga-[26]ratro jaḍi-paḍaa  
pi pracaṇaveti jara-paḍaha pi pracaṇahoti viaṣi-maraṇa-śoke-parideve-üa[27]yasa-  
paḍaha pi pracaṇabhoti*

Translation:

...[22] they generate volitions which lead to birth. Delighting in volitions leading to birth, they generate volitions leading to old age. [23] Having generated volitions leading to old age, they generate volitions leading to disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and turmoil. [24] Having generated volitions leading to birth, [and having generated volitions] leading to old age, [25] and having generated volitions leading to disease, death, sorrow, lamentations, suffering, dejection, and turmoil, [26] for a long time they experience the conflagration of birth, they experience the conflagration of old age, [27] [and] the conflagration of disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, and turmoil.

Pali Parallel (SN V 451-2):

*te jātisaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiramanti. (jarāsaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiramanti. maraṇasaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiramanti. sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsasaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiramanti. te jātisaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiratā jarāsaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiratā maraṇasaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu abhiratā sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsasaṃvattanikesu saṅkhāresu) abhiratā (jātisaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre) abhisañkharonti. (jarāsaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharonti. maraṇasaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharonti. sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsasaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharonti. te jātisaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharitvā jarāsaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharitvā maraṇasaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre abhisañkharitvā sokapridevadukkhadomanassupāyāsasaṃvattanike pi saṅkhāre) abhisañkharitvā*

*jātipariḷāhena pi pariḍayhanti (jarāpariḷāhena pi pariḍayhanti maraṇapariḷāhena pi pariḍayhanti) te na parimuccanti. jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi na parimuccanti. dukkhasmā ti vadāmi.*<sup>273</sup>

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 421/422; T 99 111b21-2):<sup>274</sup>

如是乃至 (彼於生本諸行樂著, 於老病死憂悲惱苦生本諸行樂著, 而作是行, 老病死憂悲惱苦行轉增長故), 生老病死憂悲惱苦大熱熾然. 是名比丘大熱燒然甚可怖畏無有過者.

[Repeat it] like this up to (he delights in the volitions that are the origin of birth, [he] delights in the volitions that are the origin of old age, disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, dejection, and suffering, and then [he] generates these volitions and further increases the volitions that are old age, disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, dejection, and suffering, and because of that) the great conflagration of birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, dejection, and suffering burns [him]. Thus, monks, the burning that is exceedingly frightening with none that exceeds it is called the Great Conflagration.

Text Notes:

At the outset of this section it is useful to consider the importance of the G term *sakhara* (Skt. *saṃskāra*/P *saṅkhāra*/Ch 行) in Buddhist literature, and the particular meaning it carries in this text. In Sanskrit, *saṃskāra* is composed of the prefix *saṃ* ("together with,"

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<sup>273</sup> Here, again, the text in parenthesis comes from the Papāta-sutta, which immediately precedes the Pariḷāha-sutta at SN V 449-450. I've included it here to fill out the abbreviated form of the identical passage in the Pariḷāha-sutta.

<sup>274</sup> Note that SĀ 422 is abbreviated because the text immediately preceeding it in the SĀ contains the full formula. The text in parentheses is that formula as it appears in SĀ 421 (T 99 111b2-4).

"altogether") plus the verb root *kr* ("to do," "to make"). Thus, the verb *saṃskṛ* in general Sanskrit usage can mean something like "put together," "compose," or "arrange" (MW s.v.). In the Buddhist idiom, *saṃskāra* has several more specific connotations. It can be variously translated as "formation," "volition," "volitional actions," "conditioned" (where it is a noun form equivalent in sense to the past participle *saṃskṛta*), and "conditioning factors" (PDB s.v.).

As Bhikku Anālayo notes, there are three main contexts in which the P word *saṅkhāra* occurs (Anālayo 2006: 732-7). First, as the fourth of the five aggregates (P *khandas*/Skt. *skandhas*),<sup>275</sup> it has the sense of volitional or intentional activity that arises in relation to the six types of sense contact. Second, *saṅkhāra* is the second link in the twelve-fold chain of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*/Skt *pratītyasamutpāda*), where it refers to the volitions conditioned by ignorance that ultimately give rise to the suffering of rebirth.<sup>276</sup> As Anālayo succinctly notes, the difference between these first two contexts is one of perspective; the five aggregates are an analysis of existence at a particular moment of time, whereas dependent origination has to do with a temporal sequence and focuses on the conditioned arising of suffering (Ibid., 734). In a third context, *saṅkhāra* refers to anything at all that is conditioned. In the Mahaparaṇihata-sūtra, *sakhara* refers to the second context, that is, the volitions or inclinations resulting from ignorance and leading to birth, old age, disease, etc.

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<sup>275</sup> The five aggregates that constitute existence are, in P, *rūpa* (form), *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *saṅkhāra* (volitions), and *viññāṇa* (consciousness). These five items are usually discussed in relation to the doctrine of *anātman*, or "non-self" (e.g., SN III 56).

<sup>276</sup> Dependent origination, or Skt *pratītyasamutpāda*, usually consists of twelve elements: *avijjā* (ignorance), *saṅkhārā*, (volitions), *viññāṇaṃ* (consciousness), *nāmarūpaṃ* (name and form), *saḍāyatanaṃ* (the six sense organs), *phassa* (contact), *vedanā* (feeling), *taṇhā* (thirst), *upādānaṃ* (clinging), *bhava* (existence), *jāti* (birth), and *dukkha* (suffering), which encompasses old age, disease, death, etc (e.g., SN II 1).

Turning back to lines 22-27, this section, which is quite well-preserved and easy to read, contains the correlative clause going with *ye de bhikhu samaṇa va brahmaṇa va na prayaṇati*. The structure of the G is different from the P and Ch. It is useful to look at the most complete version first. In this case, it is P:

Those who are ignorant of the four noble truths:

1. delight in volitions (*saṅkhāresu abhiramanti*) leading to birth, old age, etc.
2. and delighting in volitions (*saṅkhāresu abhiratā*) leading to birth, etc.
3. they generate volitions (*saṅkhāre abhisāṅkharonti*) leading to birth, etc.
4. and having generated volitions (*saṅkhāre abhisāṅkharitvā*) leading to birth, etc.
5. they are burned by the conflagration (*pariḷāhena pi pariḍayhanti*) of birth, etc.
6. and not freed from (*na parimuccanti*) birth etc.

In P, this pattern then reverses, giving the full positive formula. In points 1-4 above, each phrase repeats four times, once each for birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*), death (*maraṇa*), and sorrow, etc. (*soka-parideva-dukkha-domāṇassupāyāsa*). For item five, the phrase repeats only three times, once each for birth, old age, and death. For item six, the phrase occurs twice, once with all items in the formula listed separately and declined in the instrumental (e.g., *na parimuccanti jātiyā, jarā*, etc.) and once as *na parimuccanti dukkhasmā* with *dukkha* declined in the ablative. This latter sentence seems to summarize the one that comes before.

The Chinese parallel omits the section between 不如實知, "does not understand as it is," and 大熱熾然, "is burned by a great conflagration," containing only 如是乃至, which is a phrase equivalent to *peyyālaṃ, yāvat*, or *vistareṇa*, meaning "and so on up to." However, filling in the abbreviated section with text from the sūtra preceding it (SĀ 421; T 99

111bb2-4), we can reconstruct the complete Ch formula, which matches the logic and structure of the P while including one unique element. According to the Ch:

Those who are ignorant of the four noble truths:

1. delight (樂著 = *abhiramanti*) in volitions leading to birth (生), old age (老), etc.,
2. then generate (作) them
3. and – here differing from P – further increase them (轉增長)
4. and are thereby burned by the great conflagration [that is birth, old age, etc.] (大熱熾然 = *pariḷāhena pi pariḍayhanti*).

The Ch does not repeat phrases like P. The G formula is different from both the P and Ch:

Those who don't understand the noble truths:

1. generate volitions (*sakhara aviṣakhareti*) leading to birth (*jadī*)
2. and delighting in volitions (*sakhare aviraḍa*) leading to birth
3. they generate volitions leading to old age (*jara*)
4. and having generated volitions leading to old age
5. they generate volitions leading to disease, death, sorrow, etc. (*viāsi-maraṇa-śoka*, [etc.])
6. having generated volitions leading birth, old age, and disease, etc. (repeated for each)
7. they experience the conflagration of birth, old age, and disease etc. (repeated for each)

The main difference between the G and the other versions is that while the processes or events that take place within each section of the P and Ch e.g., *jāti...abhiramanti*, *jarā...abhiramanti*, *marāṇa...abhiramanti*, are simultaneous, that is, one can indulge in actions leading to a variety of sufferings at once, they appear to be causal in G: *j( \*a)ḍi ... aviṣakhareti > jaḍi ... aviraḍa > jara ... aviṣakharoti*. Only after generating volitions leading to birth can one indulge in them, and only after that can one generate volitions leading to old age. A second important difference is that the G only includes the sequence about delighting in volitions with reference to birth. It is possible that there was an error either in the copying of the manuscript or in the exemplar itself in which the section corresponding to P sections 1 and 2 (as listed above) was largely omitted. It is also likely that that section was intentionally collapsed into *jaḍi-ṣabatāṇia sakhare aviraḍa*, which was meant to stand for *jaḍi-jara-viaṣi-marāṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-ḍomaṇasta-iiayaṣa-sabatāṇia sakhare aviraḍa*. Evidence in support of the latter possibility is that the scribe ran to the very end of the scroll copying this sūtra and probably knew by line 22 that he was short on space, thereby choosing to abbreviate a section that was not essential to the comprehension of the text.

Another difference between the versions is the grouping of sufferings. P contains four groups: *jāti*, *jarā*, *marāṇa*, and *soka-parideva-dukkhadomanassupāyāsa*, where the fourth group is a long but common compound meaning, in essence, "all the sufferings characteristic of existence." G has three groups: *jaḍi*, *jara*, and *viaṣimarāṇaśok(r)eparidevadukhadomaṇastauayaṣa*. Where P has a separate group for *marāṇa*, G includes it in the compound and adds *viaṣi* (Skt./P *vyādhi*), "disease, illness,"

before it. Ch has only two groups, 生 (*jāti*) and 老病死憂悲惱苦 (= *jarā-vyādhī-maraṇa-soka-parideva-domanassa-dukkha*), which is similar to the G in its inclusion of 病 (*vyādhī*), but different from both the P and G in the order of the items in the compound and in leaving out *upāyāsa*. It should also be noted that the Ch strongly reflects the sentence structure of an Indic archetype with a SOV construction (e.g., 彼於生本諸行樂著; lit: "he, in volitions that are the origin of birth, delights"), with the exception of 而作是行 ("and then he generates these volitions") which has a [S]VO construction more typical for Ch.

Line 22. *sakhare aviraḍa*: Here, *sakhare* is locative, governed by *aviraḍa*, a past participle corresponding to Skt. *abhiratāḥ*/P *abhiratā*, "fond of, finding delight in, content with" (CPD s.v.). Verb forms from *abhi* +  $\sqrt{ram}$  usually take their object in the locative. The equivalent locative in the P parallel is *saṅkhāresu*, and the case is again reflected in the Ch with 於, "in; with regard to" (ASD s.v.). *aviraḍa* must be plural to agree with the plural head subject *te*.

Line 22. *aviṣakhareti*: This corresponds textually to P *abhisāṅkharonti*. However, *aviṣakhareti* appears to be causative, reflecting P *\*abhisāṅkhārenti*/Skt. *\*abhisāṃskārayanti*. The causative form occurs rarely in P (e.g., Vin I 16: *iddhābhisāṃkhāraṃ abhisāṃkhāreyyaṃ*, and *iddhābhisāṃkhāraṃ abhisāṃkhāresi*), and as far as I can tell never in the plural. In lines 23 and 24, the word recurs as the anticipated *aviṣakharoti*, suggesting that the *e* probably reflects the Senior scribe's characteristic inconsistency with vowels more than it does an underlying causative form.

*jadisaḥatāṇia*: This corresponds to P *jāṭisaṃvattanika* (Skt. *jāṭisaṃvartanīya*) where *v* > *b* and gemination is unmarked. As is common in G, intervocalic *-k-*, or if it follows the Skt, *-ya-*, is elided.

Line 23. *domaṇasta*: This is equivalent to P *domanassa*/Skt. *daurmanasya*. It is unclear how *sta* derives from *sya*, but such a form is well attested in G. See for example *domaṇastu* in EĀ-G 42, 45, 48, 51-2, 55; *do[ma]ṇasta* in RS 17.29, 31; and *dormaṇasta* in the Kurram casket inscription (Konow 1929: 153-4) and possibly *dormanasti* in Schøyen fragment 50. Allon suggests that G *dormanasta*/*domaṇasta* represents an underlying OIA form with the abstract suffix: *\*daurmanastva-* (see Allon 2001: 273).

*viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukkha-domaṇasta-üāyasa*: This extended compound is composed of a string of near synonyms. The particular connotation of each member is discussed in Pāli commentaries with the exception of the equivalents of *viaṣi* ("disease") and *marāṇa* ("death"), which are not included:

e.g., DN-a I: 121

*nijjhāyana-lakkhaṇo soko. taṃ nissita-lālappana-lakkhaṇo paridevo. kāya-paṭipīḷana-lakkhaṇaṃ dukkhaṃ. mano-vighāta-lakkhaṇāṃ domanassaṃ. visāda-lakkhaṇo upāyāso.*

*Soka* is characterized by remorse. *Parideva* is characterized by the wailing associated with [remorse]. *Dukkha* is characterized by physical pain. *Domanassa* is characterized by mental vexation. *Upāyāso* is characterized by dejection.

Line 24. *jadisaḥabataṇia ya*: Here, *ya* is the conjunctive particle, "and," connecting the section with phrases mostly ending in the finite present verb *aviṣakharoti* with the those ending in the gerund *aviṣakharita*.

Line 25. *driga-ratro*: This corresponds to Skt. *dīrgharātram*/P. *dīrgharattam*, "for a long time." OIA *dīrgha* becomes G *driga* where *r* shifts before *i* due to rhotic metathesis (cf. *dhrarma* in 1.10 above and § 7.4), and *gh* is deaspirated (cf. RS 12.71: *dagapale* for Skt. *dāghapālah*). This phrase is absent from both P and Ch.

Line 26. *pracaṇaveti*: This term appears as *pracaṇaveti* (1.26), *pracaṇahoti* (1.26), and *pracaṇabhoti* (1.27). *pracaṇabhoti* corresponds directly to P. *paccanubhonti*. *pracaṇahoti* shows deocclusion but retains the aspiration (*bh* > *h*). *pracaṇaveti* must be another instance of *e/o* alternation and original *bh* going to *v* in the Senior scrolls (cf. *gedam*(\*a) in 1.10, *sajedi-bhude* in 1.13, and § 7.1.2.7; for *bh* > *v* see Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.5).

Line 27. *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üayasa-paradaḥa*: In this third repetition of the compound *viaṣi...üayasa*, two words are omitted – *dukha* and *domaṇasta* – and the endings of *maraṇo*, *śoke*, and *parideve* have changed. Compare the three occurrences of the grouping:

1.23-4: *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayasa-sabataṇia*

1.25: *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-üayaṣa-sabataṇia*

1.26-7: *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-üayasa-paradaḥa*

With regard to the loss of two members of the group, it is possible that the scribe was aware of the limited space left on the manuscript and chose to eliminate words that had already been listed twice and whose meaning was already reflected in other members of the group. As for the shifting of final vowels, it has already been shown above that the Senior scribe is

notoriously inconsistent in this area. I read this series as a compound and have listed it as such in the glossary and morphology. The compound *üayasa-paraḍaha* is probably a genitive *tatpuruṣa* ("conflagration of turmoil") rather than an appositional *karmadhāraya* ("conflagration that is turmoil"). For example, in the *Vaḍika* story in the *Avadānaśataka*, *paridāha* governs the genitive: *iyaṃ te kāyikasya duḥkhasya paridāhaśamanīti* (Avś; Vaidya 1958: 16).

#### 11.2.6. The Buddha's Response III (Lines 27-29)

Edition:

*ta kīsa edo adhriṭhatva caḍoṇa ariasaṇa kadareṣa caḍoṇa dukha[28]sa ariasaṇa  
yava dukhañiroṣaṇa taspad=ayi idi dukhaariasa ti yoge karaṇia [29] yava  
dukhañiroṣaṇa paḍivada ariasa ti yoge karaṇio*

Reconstruction:

*ta kīsa edo adhriṭhatva caḍoṇa ariasaṇa kadareṣa caḍoṇa dukha[28]sa ariasaṇa  
yava dukha-ñiroṣa-ṇa taspad=ayi idi dukha-aria-ṣa ti yoge karaṇia [29] yava  
dukha-ñiroṣa-ṇa paḍivada ariasa ti yoge karaṇio*

Translation:

"What is the cause of this? Because the four noble truths have not been seen. What four?

[28] The noble truth of suffering [up to the noble truth of the path] leading to the cessation of suffering. Therefore, an effort is to be made with regard to 'This is the noble truth of suffering' [29] [up to 'This is] the noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of suffering.'

G<sup>2</sup> (RS 22.53-56):

*taspad ayi idi dukho ariasaca ti yog[e] karaṇio aya dukhasamuḍao ariasaca ti yoga  
karaṇio aya dukhaṇirosso ariasaja ti yoge kariṇia aya dukhaṇirossakaminapaḍivada  
ariasaca yoge karaṇi.*

Pali Parallel (SN V 452):

*tasmāt iha bhikkhu idaṃ dukkhan ti yogo karaṇīyo ... pe ... ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī  
paṭipadā ti yogo karaṇīyo ti.*

Chinese Parallel (SĀ 422; T 99 111b22-3):

是故比丘於四聖諦未無間等者當勤方便起增上欲學無間等。

Therefore, monks, those who have not yet completely understood the four noble truths should make an earnest effort to raise up and develop desire to come to a complete understanding.

Text Notes:

Nearly every sūtra of the P Sacca-saṃyutta ("Section on the Truths"; from SN V 414) ends with a passage parallel to *taspad ayi idi dukha aria-ṣaca ti yoge karaṇia yava dukha-ṇirossa-kamiṇa paḍivada aria-ṣaja ti yoge karaṇio*, which can be translated loosely:

"Therefore, strive after [understanding of] the four noble truths." Almost of all of them are abbreviated like the ending of the Paṭiṭṭha-sutta cited above, in which only the first and last truths are listed. Interestingly, the Ch parallel to this phrase throughout the Saṃyuktāgama (T 99), including the parallel to the Great Conflagration Sūtra, is apparently a translation of

a slightly different phrase, similar to one found in the Skt. Satya-sūtra (Waldschmidt 1959: 1-8, 20-21):<sup>277</sup>

*tasmāt tarhi caturṇām āryasatyānām anabhisamitānām abhisamayāya atimātraṃ  
tīvracchando vyāyāmaś cotsudhiś cāpratīvāṇiś ca smṛtyā saṃprajanyena ca yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ.*

Therefore, for those who do not have complete understanding of the four noble truths, an effort of seriously keen desire, struggle, exertion, and non-opposition, with mindfulness and clear-headedness, is to be made towards complete understanding.

Comparing this with Ch, 未無間等者 is apparently rendering *anabhisamitānām*, where the negative prefix *an* is rendered by 未, "not," or "not yet," and *abhisamita* is rendered by 無間等, with 者 marking the subject. It is possible that 等, which can mean "equal" or "the same as" (ASD s.v.), corresponds to Skt. *sama* ("equal, even, same"; from  $\sqrt{sam}$ ) or *samita* ("measured; equal to"; from *sa* + pp of  $\sqrt{mā}$ ), both of which would be misreadings of *abhisamita* or *abhisamaya*, which are derived from the prefixes *abhi* and *saṃ* + the root  $\sqrt{i}$ , meaning "complete understanding" or "completely understood."<sup>278</sup> However, it is also possible that 等 should be read as a simple plural marker, leaving only 未無間. 當勤方便, "should make an earnest effort", corresponds to the Skt *yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ*, which has the passive sense of the gerundive: "an effort should be made." 方便 corresponds to *vyāyāma*, meaning "effort," and is one possible translation of the sixth item on the eightfold path, 正方便 (e.g., T 99 18c8), "right effort," or Skt. *saṃyagvyāyāma*/P *sammāvāyāma* (e.g., MN II 12), which is also commonly translated as 正精進.<sup>279</sup> Here, if we take 勤 adjectivally, it

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<sup>277</sup> A similar passage is found in Divy 425.1-3, but it is structured differently: *tasmāttarhi bhikṣavo 'nabhisamitānāṃ caturṇāmāryasatyānāmabhisamayāya, adhimātraṃ vīryaṃ tīvracchando vīryaṃ śabdāpayāmi. utsāha unnatiraprativāṇiḥ smṛtyā saṃprajanyena apramādato yogaḥ karaṇīyaḥ.*

<sup>278</sup> In his translation of SĀ 23, Bhikkhu Anālayo (2012: 41) notes that 無間等 appears to render *abhisamaya* in T 99.

<sup>279</sup> It should be noted that elsewhere, as in the Lotus Sūtra, 方便 translates *upāya*, "skillful means." See, for example, the Lotus Sūtra chapter 2 on skillful means (T 262 5b24).

modifies 方便 and means "earnest" or "zealous" (ASD s.v.), perhaps corresponding loosely to Skt. *atimātram*, "extreme." To better understand 起 "raise up" and 增上 "develop," compare the variant of this passage in the Divyāvadāna that contains *utsāha unnati* (instead of *utsudhi* (P *ussolhi*) of the Satya-sūtra) where *unnati* means "rising" or "swelling up." The sense of the Ch is that one should strive to give rise to and then increase one's desire (Skt. *chanda*) for the study (學) leading to complete understanding (無間等). Xuanzang uses a similar phrase 當勤修學 in the *Dà bōrě bōluómìduō jīng* 般若波羅蜜多經 (Mahāprajñāparamitā-sūtra) to mean "should exert oneself in discipline" (lit. "make an effort to cultivate the study of..."; cf. DDB s.v.).

In P, a phrase similar to that found in the Ch but in a different context occurs in the Aṅguttara-nikāya (e.g., AN III 307; AN V 93, 95):

*tena bhikkhave bhikkhunā tesaṃ yeva pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya adhimatto pahānāya adhimatto chando ca vāyāmo ca ussāho ca ussolhī ca appaṭivānī ca sati ca sampajaññaṃ ca karaṇīyaṃ.*

Therefore, monks, for the sake of abandoning these bad unwholesome dharmas, a serious desire, effort, resolution, exertion, non-obstruction, mindfulness, and clear-headedness should be made.

*ta kiṇa eḍo adhriṭhatva caḍoṇa ariya-saccaṇa kaḍareṣa caḍoṇa:* A P parallel to this phrase does not occur in the Parilāha-sutta, but does in another text of the Sacca-saṃyutta, the Daṇḍa-sutta (SN V 439), which has: *taṃ kissa hetu?* ("And what is the cause?") *aditṭhattā bhikkhave catunnam ariyasaccānaṃ.* ("O monks, it is because the four noble truths have not been seen.") *katamesaṃ catunnaṃ?* ("Which four?"). The apparently nominative P form *hetu* is described in the PTSD "elliptically as adverb" (s.v.), but Skt versions always have the ablative *hetoḥ*, "due to [what] cause" (e.g., Mvu 1.45; 1.262; Avś 87). This phrase has become idiomatic and the G morphology is not clear; it could correspond either to the

nominative P form *hetu* that is used adverbially, or to the ablative Skt. *hetoh*. Since the sense is clearly ablative, I have included *edo* in the glossary and morphology as a reflex of Skt *hetoh*. But note that Glass has listed *edu* in RS 5 as nominative singular (2007: 242).

*edo* shows loss of initial *h*-, which is usually stable in G, but is also omitted in this word elsewhere (RS 5: *ed[u]* in ll.19, 37; see Glass 2007: § 5.2.1.7.) *adhriṭhatva* – Skt.

*adr̥ṣṭatvāt*/P *adiṭṭhattā* – is made from the negative prefix *a*, the past participle of  $\sqrt{dr̥ś}$ , "to see," and the abstract suffix *-tva*, declined in the ablative: lit. "due to not being seen."

*caḍoṇa* (Skt. *caturṇām*/P. *cattunṇaṃ*) and *aria-ṣacaṇa* are both correspondingly genitive plural.

Line 28. *dukhasa aria-ṣacaṇa yava dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa*: The response to the question, "Of which four?" is an abbreviated list of the four noble truths. The first is listed in the genitive, "Of the noble truth of suffering." This is followed by the abbreviation marker *yava* (Skt. *yāvat*/P *yāva*), and then the last truth, which is listed without its final member, *paḍivada*, an omission that is probably attributable to scribal error.

*taspad=ayi*: P has *tasmāt iha bhikkhu* ("Now, therefore, monk"), the Skt. *Satya-sūtra* has *tasmāt tarhi* ("Therefore, then"), and Ch has 是故比丘 ("Therefore, monks"), all of which amount to the same meaning. G has *ayi* where Skt. has *tarhi* ("then") and P has *iha* ("here; now"). Two parallel phrases are found in RS 22, *yaspad ayi* in l.11, and *taspad ayi* in l.53. The latter example is from a *sūtra* which also has a P parallel in the *Sacca-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (*Dutiyacchiggaḷayuga-sutta* at SN V 456-7) as well as a partial Ch parallel in the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99 108c-20; Glass 2007: 15). As in our manuscript, *taspad=ayi*

begins the formula, "Therefore, an effort is to be made...". Unlike the formula in our manuscript, in RS 22 it is not abbreviated.

In both manuscripts, *ayi* appears at first glance to be the typical G reflex of Skt *avocat*/P *avoca* ("said"), which variously appears elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts as *ayi*, *aya*, *eyi*, *oya*, and *oyi*, among other forms (Glass 2007: 184; see discussion of *edad*=*aya* in 1.2 above). If this were the case, it would read: "Therefore, he said," but this does not fit the context; the Buddha has previously been speaking and continues to speak afterwards. We might instead expect something like "Therefore, I say." There are at least two other possibilities for interpreting *ayi*. It could be a contraction for *ai*< \**śpa*> – with *śpa* omitted – for the vocative Skt. *āyusman*/P *āvuso*, "friend, brother." *ai*< \**śpa*> would correspond to the vocative "O, monk" in P (*bhikkhu*) and Ch (比丘), which is otherwise lacking in our text. Also, *aiśpa* is quite common in G, and in the Senior manuscripts in particular (eg., RS 17.8, 16, 17; RS 19.32; RS 11 rM.2-3; rN.3, etc.). However, nowhere else in G is this word spelled with -y-, and nowhere else does it occur as only *ayi*. Another possibility is that *ayi* = *api*. Aśokan Rock Edict XIII at Shāhbāzgarhi has *ayi ca* at a transition between sentences, where *api ca* is expected. However, the Eragudi and Kalsi versions have *iyam* (Schneider 1978: 75). *Tasmāpi* is not uncommon in P, though it is found almost exclusively in commentarial literature (e.g., DN-a I 65; MN-a IV 118; SN-a III 271), and it occurs in Skt as well (e.g., Divy 106.21; 295.18; Lal 19.25).

Line 29. *dukhañiroṣaṭkamaṇa*: see the note on *dukhañir[o]ṣaṭkamaṇa* in 1.21. Here, *g* has been corrected to *k*.

### 11.2.7. Interlinear Dhammapada Citation (Line 29<sup>A</sup>)

Edition:

[29<sup>A</sup>] *aṇica sarva sakhara yada paṇae paśadi*

Translation:

When one sees with insight that all conditioned things are impermanent...

Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> (106):

*savi saghara aṇica di, yada prañaya paśadi*

P (Dhp 277):

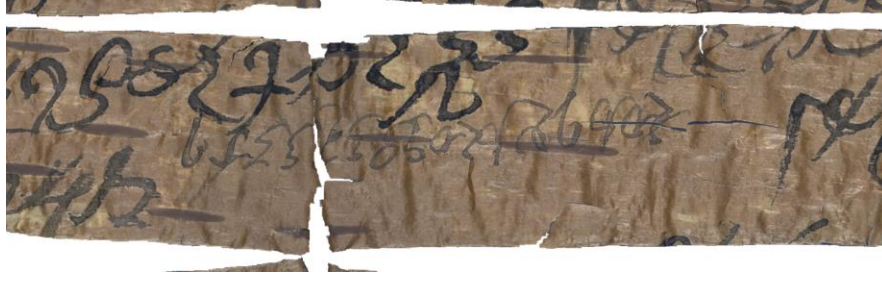
*sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā ti, yadā paññāya passati*

Skt (Ud 12.5)

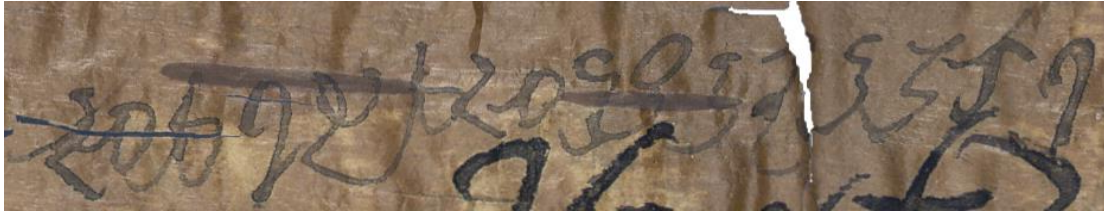
*anityān sarva saṃskārān, prajñayā paśyate yadā*

Text notes:

This passage appears to be in the same hand as the scribe of the main text. It is written upside down in the space between *dukkha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa* and *paḍivada* (l. 29). Given the fact that when writing the main text the scribe left a large blank space around this passage, it is most likely the case that this was written first and the main text second. There are no blemishes in the manuscript that would otherwise have caused the scribe to avoid writing in this part of the scroll.



*Interlinear notation upside down.*



*Zoomed in and right-side up.*

With respect to the content, this is the first line of a popular verse that appears in the Dharmapada, two versions of which are cited above, including a Gāndhārī version. The full verses from the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> (vs. 104), Dhp-P (vs. 277), and the parallel verse from the Skt Udānavarga (12.5) are cited below:

| Dhp-G <sup>K</sup>                                                                                     | Dhp-P                                                                                                        | Uv                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>savi saghara aṇica di<br/>yada prañāya paśadi<br/>tada nivinadi dukkha<br/>e[so] magu viśodhia.</i> | <i>sabbe saṃkhārā aniccā ti<br/>yadā paññāya passati<br/>atha nibbindatī dukkhe<br/>esa maggo visuddhiyā</i> | <i>anityān sarva saṃskārān<br/>prajñayā paśyate yadā<br/>atha nirvidyate duḥkhād<br/>eṣa mārgo viśuddhaye</i> |

#### Translation of Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> and Dhp-P

All conditioned things are impermanent."  
When one sees this with insight,  
then one is disgusted with suffering.  
This is the path to purity.

## Translation of Uv

When one sees with insight  
that all conditioned things are impermanent,  
then one is disgusted with suffering.  
This is the path to purity.

I have translated *sakhara* here to reflect its broader meaning, "conditioned things." The Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> corresponds exactly to the Dhp-P. Whereas the first pada of Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> and Dhp-P are *iti* clauses, or quotations, the Uv is unique in the group with *saṃskārān* and the modifier *anityān* in accusative plural as the object of *paśyate*. All of them come to the same meaning. Only the Uv has *anityān* at the front, as it appears in our manuscript.

If read as a self-contained unit, the meaning of the half-verse in our manuscript changes significantly from the example above. Where in the full verse, the second pada, *yadā paññāya passati*, is a condition for what follows ("when one sees with insight [that] all conditioned things are impermanent, then one is disgusted..."), in our manuscript, if it is taken as a complete sentence, it must apply to what precedes ("All conditioned things are impermanent when one sees with insight"). Of course, this assumes that the scribe intended to write only the first half, and that it was not a kind of false start for the entire verse. It is also possible that the first half of such a well-known verse implies the entire verse. But why would the scribe stop half way?

There are still other questions: Why was this line apparently written by itself at the top (if read right-side up) of an otherwise empty scroll? Was it at some point going to be part of a Dharmapada or Udānavarga-type text? If so, was it in the middle of a larger text? Because in no other collection does this verse begin the Dharmapada or Udānavarga. And what is the

connection between this line and the texts that were later written on the scroll? Was it a sort of place holder for the text to be written, identifying its main theme, namely, the impermanence of conditioned things/volitons? After all, the Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra is largely concerned with the danger of generating volition towards anything.

In theory, scholars working to make sense of early Buddhist texts in a historical context would be eager to discover extra notes on a manuscript, canonical or otherwise. They might hope to learn something about the little understood historical process of textual production and transmission. Unfortunately, the present example offers only a small morsel of data, however tantalizing, and raises more questions than can be answered here.

#### 11.2.8. The Monks Rejoice in the Buddha's Speech (Line 30)

Edition:

[30] *iḍam=eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu*

Reconstruction:

[30] *iḍam=eya bhayava atamaṇa te bhikhu*

Translation:

[30] The Lord said this, and the bhikkhus, pleased, [delighted in the speech of the Lord.]

Ch (SĀ; T 99 111.24)

佛說此經已, 諸比丘聞佛所說歡喜奉行.

When the Buddha had explained this sūtra, the monks delighted in what they heard from him and received it respectfully.<sup>280</sup>

Text notes:

The full version of this closing passage is discussed in § 10.2.5. above. Here, *bhayavaḍa bhaṣide aviṇadida*, "rejoiced in the words of the Buddha," is left out. The scribe was nearly out of space on the manuscript, but there was still room to squeeze in the last few words if he found it necessary. Having written the full phrase once in the preceding sūtra, he chose not to repeat it. The P *Pariḷāha-sutta* does not have a parallel phrase, and the phrase concluding the Ch is the standard ending, which corresponds to the full version of the ending as seen in line 11.

*te bhikhu*: Here, *bhikhu* presumably refers not to the monk who questioned the Buddha earlier in the sūtra, but to the whole group of monks whom the Buddha addressed at the introduction of the sūtra. Thus, it is plural, equivalent to P masculine plural *bhikkhū*.

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<sup>280</sup> I follow Bhikkhu Anālayo in translating 奉行 as "received it respectfully" (Anālayo 2012: 7).

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## Word Index

This word index is organized according to the structure laid out in Glass 2007. Each entry in the index consists of the following:

1. The headword, whose form is a combination of the transcription and reconstruction. When there is only one occurrence, the reading as it appears in the text is given as the head word. When there are multiple occurrences of a word, the headword is either the first occurrence of the word, or a hypothetical stem is given and the multiple occurrences are listed below it. The graph *ṇ* historically represents both original OIA retroflex *ṇ* and dental *n*, but is always represented here in the sort order among the retroflex consonants. Graphs with underscore (i.e., *ṣ*, *ḳ*, etc.) are not distinguished in the sort order from graphs without underscore. When a word occurs in multiple forms or as the same form but representing multiple grammatical functions, it is listed multiple times.
2. The Sanskrit cognate. The abbreviation BHS indicates Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit usage (i.e., a form unique to Buddhist Sanskrit texts but not otherwise occurring in classical Sanskrit).
3. The Pāli equivalent, as represented in the parallel texts, if any, cited in the commentary. Where the P equivalent is not found in the parallel, but does occur in other texts, the equivalent is marked in brackets [].
4. The Chinese equivalent as represented in parallel texts, if any.
5. The English translation.
6. The grammatical explanation of the G word.
7. Occurrences according to the line number in the reconstructed text. Multiple occurrences in a single line are indicated by the multiplier (i.e., [2x]).

\* When a P, Skt., or Ch cognate as it appears in a parallel text is not directly equivalent to the G form, it is marked by the "not equal sign" (≠).

**ao:** see *aho* and *eṣa*.

**ajatva-:** "internally," adv.

**acatva:** *adhyātmaṃ; ajjhattaṃ*; 3.

**a[j(\*a)]tva:** *adhyātmaṃ; ajjhattaṃ*; 4; *ajatva* 8, 9.

**aja-v-agreṇa:** *adyāgreṇa; ajjatagge*; 從今日; "from now on; from today forward," adv. 10.

**aña:** *anyaḥ; añño*; "another," adj. nom. sg. m. 16, 18, [*a]ña* 19.

**a[ñ(\*e)aro]:** *anyatarah; aññataro*; 有異; "a certain," adj. nom. sg. m. 1; *añearo* 15.

**aṭa:** see *√sthā*.

**aṭido:** see *√sthā*.

**aḍita:** "burning," pp. m. *ā* + *√dīp*

*aḍita*: ādīptaḥ; [āditto]; nom. sg. 13.  
*aḍita*: ādīptāḥ; [ādittā]; nom. pl. 12, 14.  
*aṇica*: anityāḥ; aniccā; "impermanent," adj. nom. pl. m. 29<sup>A</sup>.  
*aṇupa(\*ya)ya-paṣo*: anuparyāyapathe; ≠ anupariyāyapatham; 匝 "on the encircling path,"  
 kdh. loc. sg. m. 5-6.  
*atamaṇo*: "pleased," adj. m.  
*atamaṇo*: BHS āttamanāḥ; [attamano]; nom. sg. 11.  
*atamaṇa*: BHS āttamanasaḥ; [attamanā]; nom. pl. 30.  
*atamaḍo*: BHS antamaśas/antamaśato; antamaso; "even, so much as," adv. 6.  
*adhriṭhatva*: adṛṣṭatvāt; [adiṭṭhattā]; ≠ 未無間等者; "because [the four noble truths] have  
 not been seen" (lit. "due to not having been seen"), abl. sg. n. 27.  
*abhi-saṃ + √kr*: 作; "generate, form."  
*aviṣakhareti*: \*abhisamṣkurvanti; abhisamkharonti; "they generate; they form," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.  
 pres. 22.  
*aviṣakharoti*: \*abhisamṣkurvanti; abhisamkharonti; "they generate; they form," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.  
 pres. 22-3, 24.  
*aviṣakharita*: abhisamṣkrtya; abhisamkharitvā; "having formed," abs. 23, 24, 25.  
*aya*: see √vac.  
*aya-ūda*: ayoguḍaḥ; ayoguḷo; [鐵丸]; "iron ball," kdh. nom. sg. m. 13.  
*aria-śaca*: 聖諦; "noble truth," n.  
*aria-śaṇa*: āryasatyānām; ariyasaccānam; "of the noble truths," gen. pl. 27.  
*aria-śaṇa*: āryasatyasya; ariyasaccassa; "of the noble truth," gen. sg. 28.  
*aria-śaja*: āryasatyah; ariyasacco; "the noble truth," nom. sg. 29.  
*aria-śaja*: in *dukha*~ and *dukha-śamudao*~.  
*aria-śaca*: in *dukha*~.  
*aviṇadida*: abhinanditaḥ; abhinandito; 歡喜; "delighted in," pp. √abhi + nand, nom. sg. m.  
 11.  
*avinivurtaṇa*: abhinirvṛttānām; [abhinibbattānām]; "of those who came into being," pp.  
 √abhi – nir + vṛt, gen. pl. m. 12, 14.  
*aviraḍa*: abhiratāḥ; abhiratā; 樂著; "delighting in," pp. abhi + √ram, nom. pl. m. 22.  
*aviṣakhareti*: see *abhi-saṃ + √kr*.  
*aviṣakharoti*: see *abhi-saṃ + √kr*.  
*aviṣakharita*: see *abhi-saṃ + √kr*.  
*aśi (or ayi)*: iha; iha; "here," ind. 28.  
 √as: 有; "be."  
*[sa]ḍa*: sataḥ; sato; "when there is," pres. part. gen. sg. n. 3; *saḍa* 8.  
*saḍo*: sataḥ; sato; "when there is," pres. part. gen. sg. n. 4, 8.  
*sata*: santi; santi; "there are," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 11.

*sati*: *santi*; *santi*; "there are," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 13.  
*asti*: *asti*; *atthi*; "there is," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 16; [*asti*], 18.  
*asa*: *atha*; *atha*; "then," ind. 15.  
*aṣimadadaro*:- "even greater," adj.  
*aṣimadadaro*: *atimahantatarah*; ≠ *mahantataro*; nom. sg. m. 16; [*aṣim(\*a)dada*]ro, 19.  
*aṣimadadoro*: *atimahantatarah*; ≠ *mahantataro*; nom. sg. m. 18.  
*aho*:- 我; "I," 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron.  
*ao*: *aham*; *ahaṃ*; 我; "I," 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron., nom. sg. 10 (in sandhi combination *eṣao*). See also *eṣa*.  
*me*: *me*; *me*; acc. sg. 10.  
*i*: *hi*; *hi*; "indeed," ind. 6.  
*ida*:- "this," dem. pron.  
*(\*ima)*: *ime*; *ime*; "these," nom. pl. m. 2; *ima* 9.  
*imasa*: BHS *imasya*; [*imassa*]; "of that," gen. sg. n. 5.  
<*\*i*>*masa*: BHS *imasya*; [*imassa*]; "of him," gen. sg. m. 6.  
*ima*: *imaṃ*; *imaṃ*; "this," acc. sg. n. 6.  
*im[e]hi*: *ebhiḥ*; [*imehi*]; "by these," instr. pl. n. 7.  
*idam*: *idaṃ*; *idaṃ*; "this," acc. sg. n. 11, 30.  
*idi*: *idaṃ*; *idaṃ*; "this," nom. sg. n. 9 (?), 20, 28.  
*idi*: "thus," ind.  
*idi*: *iti* (or *idaṃ*); [*iti*] (or *idaṃ*); 9.  
*ta*: *iti*; *iti*; 20.  
*ti*: *iti*; *iti*; 28, 29.  
*-uayasa*:- "turmoil," in *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukkha-domaṇasta~* and *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoke-parideve~*.  
*uasao*: *upāsakaṃ*; *upāsakaṃ*; "lay follower," acc. sg. m. 10.  
*ut + √pad*: "arise."  
*apacadi*: *utpadyate*; *uppajjati*; "it arises," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 4.  
*upacadi*: *utpadyate*; *uppajjati*; "it arises," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 3, 8.  
*upajadi*: *utpadyate*; *uppajjati*; "it arises," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 9.  
*udaṣoraivta*: ≠ BHS *vyatisārya*; ≠ *vītisāretvā*; "having exchanged [courtesies]; having conversed," abs. *vi-ati* + *√sṛ* or *ud-ā-√hr* (see text notes). 1.  
*upadae*: *utpādāya*; *uppādāya*; 生; "for the arising of," dat. sg. m. 2, 3, 9; *upa[d(\*a)]e*, 7-8.  
*upa-sam + √kram*: "approach."  
*uasaka[m(\*i)]*: ≠ BHS *upasaṃkrāntaḥ*; *upasaṅkami*; "he approached," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 1.  
*(\*ua)[s(\*a)k(\*a)mit(\*a)]*: *upasaṃkramya*; *upasaṅkamitvā*; "having approached," abs. 1.  
*e*: see *ca*.  
*eka*: *ekaṃ*; [*ekaṃ*]; 一; "one," adj. acc. sg. m. 11.

**ekamata:** BHS *ekamante*; *ekamantaṃ*; 一面; "at one side," adv. 2 [2x].

**eḍa-/eṣa-:** "this," dem. pron.

**eḍaḍ:** *etat*; *etad*; acc. sg. n. 2, 9, 15.

**eḍa:** *etat*; *etad*; nom. sg. n. 6.

**eṣa:** *eṣaḥ*; *eṣo*; nom. sg. m. 10 (in sandhi combination *eṣao*). See also **ao**.

**eḍo:** see **haḍa**.

**eya:** see **√vac**.

**eva:** *eva*; *eva*; "indeed, even," ind. 7, 13. See also **va**.

**eva:** *evam*; *evam*; 如是; "in this way, thus," ind. 11.

**evam:** *evam*; *evam*; 如是; "in this way, thus," ind. 7, 13.

**eṣao:** see **eṣa** and **ao**.

**oya:** see **√vac**.

**oyi:** see **√vac**.

**oraḍi:** BHS *audārikāḥ*; *oḷārikā*; "sizable; corporeal," adj. nom. pl. m. 6.

**kaḍara-:** "which?" interr. pron.

**kaḍara:** *katarāḥ*; *katarā*; nom. pl. m. 3.

**kaḍaro:** *katarāḥ*; ≠ *katamo*; nom. sg. m. 18.

**kaḍareṣa:** ≠ *katameṣāṃ* ≠ *katamesaṃ*; gen. pl. n. 27.

**-kaṃiṇa:** "leading to," in **dukha-ṇir[o]ṣa~**.

**kaya:** *kāyāḥ*; [*kāyā*]; "bodies," nom. pl. m. 12, 14; also in **sodo-gaṇo-cibha~**, **sodo-gaṇo-cibhe~**.

**karaṇia:** "is to be made; is to be done."

**karaṇia:** *karaṇīyaḥ*; *karaṇīyo*; nom. sg. m. 28.

**karaṇio:** *karaṇīyaḥ*; *karaṇīyo*; nom. sg. m. 29.

**[k(\*a)]ṣa:** *kathāṃ*; *katham*; "talk," acc. sg. f. 1.

**ki-:** 何; "what?" interr. pron.

**ko:** *kaḥ*; *ko*; nom. sg. m. 2 [2x].

**kiṣa:** *kasya*; *kissa*; gen. sg. m./n. 27.

**ke:** ≠ *kecit*; ≠ *keci*; nom. pl. m. 6. In **ye ke**, "whatever" (lit. "whoever").

**-gaṇo:** "nose," in **sodo~**.

**godama-:** *Gautama*; *Gotama*; P.N., m.

**go[ḍa]ma:** voc. sg. 2; *godama*, 10.

**geḍa[m(\*a)]:** acc. sg. 10.

**√gam:** "go."

**gachami:** *gacchāmi*; *gacchāmi*; "I go," pres. 1<sup>st</sup> sg. 10.

**gaḍe:** *gataṃ*; *gataṃ*; "gone," pp. acc. sg. m. 11.

**ca:** "and," ind.

**e:** *ca*; *ca*; 3.

**ja:** *ca; ca; 10 [2x].*  
**ya:** *ca; ca; 16, 17, 18, 19 [2x], 24; y[e] 18.*  
**cakṣu/cakhu-:** 眼; "eye," n.  
**cakṣusa:** *cakṣuṣaḥ* or *cakṣuṣi; [cakkhussa] or cakkhusmiṃ;* gen or loc. sg. 3, 8.  
**cakhu-ṣapha<<ṣa-pa>>ceae:** *cakṣusaṃsparśapratyayāt; cakkhusaṃphassapaccayā;* 眼觸因緣; "due to contact with the eye," tp. abl. sg. m. 3; *cakhu-sapaṣa-pacea,* 8.  
**cadona:** *caturñāṃ; catunnaṃ;* 四; "of the four," gen. pl. n. 27 [2x].  
**-cibha:** "tongue," in *sodo-gaṇo~*.  
**-cibhe:** "tongue," in *sodo-gaṇo~*.  
**chidva:** *chidraṃ; [chiddaṃ];* "crack," acc. sg. n. 6.  
**ja:** see *ca*.  
**jadāṇa:** *jātānāṃ; [jātānaṃ];* 生; "of those who are born," pp. √*jan*, gen. pl. m. 12, 14.  
**jaḍi-paraḍaa:** *jātiparidāhaṃ; jātipariḷāhaṃ;* 生...大熱; "conflagration of birth," app. kdh. acc. sg. m. 26.  
**[j(\*a)ḍi]-ṣabataṇia:** *jātisaṃvartanīyān; jātisaṃvattanike;* 生本; "leading to birth," tp. acc. pl. m. 21-22; *jaḍi-ṣabataṇia* 22, 24.  
**jara-paraḍaha:** *jarāparidāhaṃ; jarāpariḷāhaṃ;* 老...大熱; "conflagration of old age," app. kdh. acc. sg. m. 26.  
**jara-ṣabataṇia:** 老...本, "leading to old age," tp.  
**jara-ṣabataṇia:** *jarāsaṃvartanīyān; jarāsaṃvattanike;* acc. pl. m. 22, 24-5.  
**jara-sabataṇio:** *jarāsaṃvartanīyān; jarāsaṃvattanike;* acc. pl. m. 23.  
**ṇa:** *na; na; 不; "not," ind. 6, 20, 21 [2x].*  
**ṇakara:** 城; "city," n.  
**ṇakar[e]:** *nagaraṃ; nagaraṃ;* nom. sg. n. 4.  
**ṇakarasa:** *nagarasya; nagarassa;* gen. sg. n. 5.  
**[ṇ(\*a)k(\*a)]r[o]:** *nagaraṃ; nagaraṃ;* acc. sg. n. 6-7.  
**ṇama-:** "called," adv.  
**ṇamo:** *nāma; nāma;* 12.  
**ṇama:** *nāma; nāma;* 14.  
**ṇirea:** *ṇirayāḥ; ≠ nirayo;* 地獄; "hells," nom. pl. m. 12, 14.  
**-ṇiroṣo:** "cessation," in *dukha~*.  
**-ṇir[o]ṣa:** "cessation," in *dukha~*.  
**ṇiṣ + √kram:** "exit," 出.  
**(\*ṇa)[kra]mati:** *niṣkramanti; nikkhamanti;* "they exit," pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. 7.  
**ṇakramati:** *niṣkramanti; nikkhamanti;* "they exit," pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. 7.  
**-ṇisagaṇa:** in *bilada~*.  
**ta-:** 此; 彼; "he; she; it; this; that." dem. pron.

*t(\*e)ṇa*: *tena*; *tena*; instr. sg. m. 1.  
*so*: *saḥ*; *so*; nom. sg. m. 2, 5, 11, 15, 18; *so* 9, 15, 16.  
*[te]*: *te*; *te*; nom. pl. m. 7; *te* 21, 22, 24, 30.  
*de*: *te*; *te*; nom. pl. m. in *ye de*, 19.  
*taspi*: *tasmāt*; ≠ *etamhā*; 於此; pron. abl. sg. m. 16, 18; *tas[p]i* 19.  
*taspad*: *tasmāt*; *tasmāt*; 是故; pron. abl. sg. m. 28.  
*ta*: ≠ *tat*; *taṃ*; nom. sg. n. 27.  
*tatra*: "there," ind.  
*tatro*: *tatra*; [*tattha*]; 5.  
*tatra*: *tatra*; *tattha*; 12, 14.  
*tatraspi*: \**tatrasmin*; ≠ *tatrasa*; "in that place," dem. pron. loc. sg. n. 5.  
*taṣa*: *tathā*; [*tathā*]; "thus," ind. 6. See text notes.  
*-da[re]*: in *dhriḍa-da[re]*.  
*divasa*: *divasaṃ*; [*divasaṃ*]; "for a (whole) day," adv. 13.  
*dukha*: 苦; "suffering; pain," n.  
*dukhasa*: *duḥkhasya*; *dukkhassa*; "of suffering," gen. sg. n. 27-8.  
*-dukha-*: "suffering," in *viaṣi-marāṇa-śoka-pariḍeva~* and *suha~*.  
*dukha-aria-saja-*: 苦聖諦; "the noble truth of suffering," tp.  
*dukha-aria-saja*: *duḥkhāryasatyam*; ≠ *dukkham ariyasaccaṃ*; nom. sg. n. 20.  
*dukha-aria-saca*: *duḥkhāryasatyam*; ≠ *dukkham ariyasaccaṃ*; nom. sg. n. 28.  
*dukha-ṇiroṣo*: *duḥkhanirodhaḥ*; *dukkhanirodho*; 苦滅, "the cessation of suffering," tp. nom. sg. m. 21.  
*dukha-ṇir[o]ṣa-kamiṇa*: *duḥkhanirodhagāminī*; *dukkhanirodhagāminī*; 苦滅道跡; "leading to the cessation of suffering," tp. nom. sg. f. 21; *dukha-ṇiroṣa-kamiṇa* 28, 29.  
*dukha-ṣamud[e]o-aria-saja*: *duḥkhasamudayāryasatyam*; ≠ *dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccaṃ*; 苦集聖諦; "the noble truth of the arising of suffering," tp. nom. sg. n. 20.  
*doario*: *dvārikaḥ*; *dovāriko*; 守門者; "gatekeeper," nom. sg. m. 5.  
*-domaṇasta-*: "dejection," in *viaṣi-marāṇa-śoka-pariḍeva-dukha~*.  
*driga-ratro*: *dīrgharātram*; *dīrgharattam*; "for a long time," adv. 25-6.  
*dvaro*: see *ṣa-dvaro*.  
*dvarehi*: *dvāraiḥ*; *dvārehi*; 門; "by (these) gates," instr. pl. n. 7.  
✓ *dhṛ*: 受; "to bear, hold; accept."  
*dharei*: ≠ *dhāraya*; [*dhārehi*]; "[you] accept," 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. impv. 10.  
*dharma*: *dharmaṃ*; *dhammaṃ*; 法; acc. sg. m. 10.  
*dhriḍa-da[re]*: *dṛḍhadvāpam*; *dalḥuddāpam*; "having strong ramparts," bv. nom. sg. n. 4.  
*dhriḍa-prakara-toraṇa*: *dṛḍhaprākāratoraṇam*; *dalḥapākāratoraṇam*; ≠ 周堅固; "having strong walls and gates," bv. nom. sg. n. 5

**pacae-**: 縁; "condition, cause," m.

**pacae**: *pratyayah*; *paccayo*; nom. sg. 2.

**pacea**: *pratyayāh*; *paccayā*; nom. pl. 3, 7, 9.

**pacea**: in *cakhu-sapaṣa~* and *maṇo-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)~*.

**paceae**: in *cakhu-ṣapha<ṣa>~*.

**pacatima**: *pratyantimam*; *paccantimam*; 邊境; "frontier; bordering," nom. sg. n. 4.

**pañae**: *prajñayā*; *paññayā*, "with insight," instr. sg. f. 29<sup>A</sup>.

**paḍida**: *paṇḍitaḥ*; *paṇḍito*; 聰明; "wise," adj. nom. sg. m. 5.

**paḍivada**: *pratipad*; *paṭipadā*; 道跡; "path," nom. sg. f. 21, 29.

**paraḍaha-**: 熱, "conflagration," m.

**paraḍae**: *paridāhaḥ*; *pariḷāho*; nom. sg. m. 15, 16 [2x];

**paraḍao**: *paridāhaḥ*; *pariḷāho*; nom. sg. m. 18, 19.

**paraḍae**: *paridāhāt*; *pariḷāhā*; abl. sg. m. 16.

**paraḍao**: *paridāhāt*; *pariḷāhā*; abl. sg. m. 18, 19.

**paraḍaa**: in *jadī~*.

**paraḍaha**: in *jara~* and *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke-parideve-ūyasa~*.

**parideva-**: "lamentation," in *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka~* and *viaṣi-maraṇo-śoke~*.

√**paś-**: "to see; to understand."

**paśea**: *paśyēt*; *passeyya*; "he would see," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. opt. 6.

**paśadi**: *paśyati*; *passati*; "(one) sees; (one) understands," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 29<sup>A</sup>.

**paṣaṇaṣa**: *pāṣāṇasya*; [*pāṣāṇassa*]; "of the stone," gen. sg. m. 6.

**pi**: *api*; *pi*; "also; and," ind. 26 [2x], 27.

**pra + √jñā**: 知; "to understand."

**payanaṭi**: *prajānanti*; [*pajānanti*]; "they understand," pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. 21 [2x].

**prayaṇaṭi**: *prajānanti*; [*pajānanti*]; "they understand," pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. 20.

**prana**: BHS *prāṇāḥ*; *pāṇā*; "living beings, creatures," nom. pl. m. 6.

**p(\*r)anueda**: *prāṇopetaṃ*; *pāṇupetaṃ*; 乃至命盡; "as long as (I) breathe," adv. 10.

**prati-anu + √bhū**: "experience."

**pracaṇaveti**: *pratyanubhavanti*; [*paccanubhonti*]; "they experience," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 26.

**pracaṇahoti**: *pratyanubhavanti*; [*paccanubhonti*]; "they experience," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 26.

**pracaṇabhoti**: *pratyanubhavanti*; [*paccanubhonti*]; "they experience," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 27.

**pra + √viś**: "enter," 入.

**praviśati**: *praviśanti*; *paviśanti*; "they enter," pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. 7; *pravi(\*śati)* 7.

**biḷaḍa-nisaga«ṇa»-matra**: *\*biḷālanīḥsarpanamātram*; *biḷāranissakkanamattam*; ≠ 無猫狸出入之處; "large enough for the creeping of a cat," bv. acc. sg. n. (see text note). 6.

**bramaṇa-**: 婆羅門; "brahman," m.

[**brama**]**ṇo**: *brāhmaṇaḥ*; *brāhmaṇo*; nom. sg. 1; *bramaṇo* 2, 9.

**bhamaṇa**: *brāhmaṇaḥ*; *brāhmaṇo*; nom. sg. 11.

*[br(\*a)]maṇa:* brāhmaṇa; brāhmaṇa; voc. sg. 2; *brama[ṇ(\*a)]* 3; *bramaṇa* 4, 7, 8 [2x], 9.

*bramaṇo:* brāhmaṇa; brāhmaṇa; voc. sg. 4.

*bramaṇa:* brāhmaṇāḥ; brāhmaṇā; nom. pl. m. 20.

*bha:* bhavaḥ (or bhoḥ); bhante (or bho); "sir," voc. sg. m. 10.

*bhate:* bhavaḥ; bhante; ≠ 世尊; "Sir," voc. sg. m. 15, 16 [2x], 18.

*bhayaṇaḍaro:* bhayānakataṛaḥ; bhayānakataro; ≠ 甚可怖畏; "more frightful," adj. nom. sg. m. 17, 18, 19.

*bhayava-*: 佛; 世尊; "Lord," m.

*bha[yavaḍ(\*a)]:* bhagavān; bhagavā; nom. sg. 1.

*bhayava:* bhagavān; bhagavā; nom. sg. 11, 30.

*[bh(\*a)y(\*a)v(\*a)ḍ(\*a)]:* bhagavatā; bhagavatā; instr. sg. 1.

*bhayavata:* bhagavantam; bhagavantam; acc. sg. 2, 15; *bhayava[ta]* 9.

*bhayavaḍa:* bhagavataḥ; bhagavato; gen. sg. 11.

*bhaṣide:* bhāṣitam; bhāṣitam; 說; "speech," pp. acc. sg. nt. √bhāṣ 11.

*bhikṣu-*: 比丘; "monk," m.

*bhikṣave:* bhikṣavaḥ; bhikkhave; voc. pl. 12.

*bhikhu:* bhikṣuḥ; bhikkhu; nom. sg. 15.

*[bhikh]ju:* bhikṣo; bhikkhu; voc. sg. 18; *bhikhu* 19.

*bhikhu:* bhikṣavaḥ; [bhikkhū]; nom. pl. 30.

*bhikhu-saga:* bhikṣusaṃgham; bhikkhusaṃgham; "community of monks," acc. sg. m. 10.

√bhū-: "is, be, come into being."

*ahuṣi:* BHS abhūṣi; ahosi; "there was," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 6.

*bhoti:* BHS bhonti; [honti]; "they are," 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. 12, 14.

*bhodi:* BHS bhoti; [hoti]; "it is," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. 13.

*bhudaṇa:* bhūtānām; [bhūtānam]; "of those who arise," pp. gen. pl. m. 12, 14.

*bho:* "Sir," m.

*bho:* bhoḥ; bho; voc. sg. m. 2.

*bh[i]:* bhoḥ; bho; voc. sg. m. 10.

*maṇasa:* "when there is mind" (in genitive or locative absolute with pres. part. of √as), in *sodo-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya~*.

*maṇosa:* "when there is mind" (in genitive or locative absolute with pres. part. of √as), in *sodo-gaṇo-cibha-kaya~*.

*maṇo-s(\*a)p(\*a)ṣ(\*a)-pacea:* manosaṃsparśapratyayāt; manosaṃphassapaccayā; "due to contact with the mind," bv. abl. sg. m. 4; *maṇo-sapaṣa-pacea* 8-9.

*matra:* "having the measure, large enough" (at end of compound), in *biḷaḍa-ṇisagaṇa~*.

*marāṇa-*: "death," in *viaṣi~*.

*mahaḍa:* ≠ mahān; ≠ mahā; 大; "great," adj. nom. sg. m. 15.

**Maha-paradaha-**: 大熱; "Great Conflagration (hell)," m.

**Maha-parada:** *Mahāparidāhāḥ*; ≠ *Mahāparilāho*; nom. pl. 12.

**Maha-paradaha:** *Mahāparidāhāḥ*; ≠ *Mahāparilāho*; nom. pl. 14.

**mia-vimasa-samuṇakada:** *mṛgamīmāṃsāsamanvāgataḥ*; *migavīmāṃsāsamannāgato*;

"endowed with (skill) in investigation of animals," tp. nom. sg. m. 5.

**me:** see *aho*.

**meṣavi:** *medhāvī*; *medhāvī*; 黠慧; "intelligent," adj. nom. sg. m. 5.

**ya:** see *ca*.

**yada:** *yadā*; "when," ind. 29<sup>A</sup>.

**yava:** *yāvat*; *yāva*; 如是乃至; "[and so on] up to," adv. 28, 29.

**yava-jiva:** *yāvajjīvaṃ*; *yāvajīvaṃ*; 始終身; "as long as (I) live," adv. 10.

**yaśa-bhude:** *yathābhūtaṃ*; *yathābhūtaṃ*; 如實; "as it really is," adv. 20 [2x], 21.

**ye:** *ye*; *ye*; "who," rel. pron. nom. pl. m. in *ye ke*, 6; and *ye de*, "whatever" (lit. "whoever"), 19.

**y(\*e)ṇa:** *yena*; *yena*; "where," ind. (instr. sg. m. of rel. pron.). 1.

**yoge:** *yogaḥ*; *yogo*; 方便; "effort," nom sg. m. 28, 29.

**raña:** *rājñah*; *rañño*; 王; "of the king," gen. sg. m. 4.

**loga-**: "world, people," m.

**logo:** *loke*; *loke*; loc. sg. m. 2, 3.

**loga:** *loke*; *loke*; loc. sg. m. 7.

**loge:** *loke*; *loke*; loc. sg. m. 9.

**va:** *vā*; *vā*; "or," ind. 19, 20.

**va:** *eva*; *eva*. "indeed, even," ind. 6. See also *eva*.

√**vac:** 白; "speak."

**aya:** *avocat*; *avoca*; "he said," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 2; *a«ya»* 9.

**oyi:** *avocat*; *avoca*; "he said," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 11.

**oya:** *avocat*; *avoca*; "he said," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 15.

**eya:** *avocat*; *avoca*; "he said," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 30.

**vute:** *ukte*; *vutte*; "was said," pres. part. loc. sg. n. 9.

**viaṣi-maraṇa-śoke-parideve-ūyasa-paradaha:** ≠

*vyādhimaraṇaśokaparidevaduhkhadaurmanasyopāyāsaparidāhaṃ*; ≠

*vyādhimaraṇasokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsaparilāhaṃ*; ≠ 病死憂悲惱苦大熱;

"conflagration of disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, and turmoil," tp. acc. sg. m. 26-7.

**viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-ūyasa-sabataṇia:**

*vyādhimaraṇaśokaparidevaduhkhadaurmanasyopāyāsasaṃvartanīyān*;

*vyādhimaraṇasokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsasaṃvattanike*; ≠ 病死憂悲惱苦;

"leading to disease, death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and turmoil," tp.

acc. pl. m. 23-4; *viaṣi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-ūyasa-sabataṇia*, 25.

**vimasa:** "investigation," in *mia*~.

**viviso:** *vividhāṃ; vividhaṃ*; "various," adj. acc. sg. f. 1.

**vute:** see  $\sqrt{vac}$ .

**śaraṇa-**: 歸; "refuge," m.

[ś(\*a)r(\*a)]**no:** *śaraṇaṃ; saraṇaṃ*; acc. sg. 10.

**śaraṇa:** *śaraṇaṃ; saraṇaṃ*; acc. sg. 11.

**śavasti-ñidāṇe:** *Śrāvastīnidāṇaṃ; [Sāvattihīnidāṇaṃ]*; "the Śrāvastī-setting." tp. nom. sg. n. 11.

**śuḍa:** *śrutaṃ; sutaṃ*; 聞; "was heard," pp. nom. sg. n.  $\sqrt{śru}$  11.

**śoka-**: "sorrow," in *viaṣimaraṇa*~ and *viaṣimaraṇo*~.

**ṣa:** "six," adj.

[ṣ(\*a)]: *ṣaṭ; cha*; nom. pl. m. 2; *ṣa* 3 [2x], 7 [2x], 9 [2x].

ṣ(\*a)**hi:** *ṣaḍbhiḥ; chahi*; instr. pl. n. 7.

**ṣa-dvaro:** *ṣaḍdvāraṃ; chadvāraṃ*; [六門]; "having six gates," bv. nom. sg. n. 5.

**ṣamaṇa:** *śramaṇāḥ; samaṇā*; "monks," nom. pl. m. 19.

**sakhara:** "volitions; formations," 諸行; m.

**sakhara:** *saṃskārāṇ; saṅkhāre*; acc. pl. 22 [2x], 23, 24 [2x], 25.

**sakhare:** *saṃskāreṣu; saṅkhāresu*; loc. pl. 22.

**sakhara:** *saṃskārāḥ; saṅkhārā*; nom. pl. 29<sup>A</sup>.

**ṣaca:** "truth," in *dukha-aria*~.

**ṣaja:** "truth," in *dukha-aria*~ and *dukha-ṣamuḍ[e]o-aria*~.

**sajedi-bhuda:** "glowing," pp. m. *sa-jyoti + √bhū*.

**sajedi-bhude:** BHS *sajyotibhūtāḥ; [sajotibhūtā]*; "glowing," nom. pl. m. 13, 15.

**sajedi-bhuda:** BHS *sajyotibhūtāḥ; [sajotibhūto]*; "glowing," nom. sg. m. 13.

**sata:** see  $\sqrt{as}$ .

**sat[a]ta:** *saṃtaptāḥ; [santatto]*; "heated," nom. sg. m. 13.

**satva-**: 眾生; "beings," m.

**satvaṇa:** *satvānām; [sattānaṃ]*; gen. pl. 12.

**satvaṇa:** *satvānām; [sattānaṃ]*; gen. pl. 14.

**sada:** see  $\sqrt{as}$ .

**sado:** see  $\sqrt{as}$ .

[s(\*adha)]: BHS *sārdhaṃ; saddhiṃ*; 與; "together with," adv. 1.

**sapaḥalida-**: "blazing," pp. *saṃ - pra + √jval*.

**sapaḥalida:** *samprajvalitāḥ; [sapaḥjalitā]*; nom. pl. m. 12-13.

**sapacalida:** *samprajvalitāḥ; [sapaḥjalito]*; nom. sg. m. 13.

**sapaḥilida:** *samprajvalitāḥ; [sapaḥjalitā]*; nom. pl. m. 14-15.

**saphaṣa-**: 觸; "contact," m.

**sapha<<ṣa>>:** in *cakhu*~.

*sapaṣa*: in *cakhu*~ and *maṇo*~.

*sabataniā*: "leading to" in [*j(\*a)di*]~, *jara*~, *viāsi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-ūyasa*~, and *viāsi-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-dukha-domaṇasta-ūyasa*~.

*samato*: *samantāt*; *samantā*; 周; "completely, all around," adv. 5.

*samae*: *samayaṃ*; [*samayaṃ*]; 時; "time," acc. sg. m. 11.

*samud[e]o*: "arising," in *dukha*~.

*samuṇakāda*: "endowed with," in *mia-vimasa*~.

*sam* + *√mud*: "delight in"

[*samoda*]: ≠ *saṃmukhaṃ*; *sammodi*; 3rd sg. pret. 1.

*samo[da]ṇi(\*o)*: ≠ *saṃmodanīm*; *saṃmodanīyaṃ*; "courteous," adj. acc. sg. m. 1.

*sayaṣavi*: [譬如]; "just as if," adv.

*sayaṣavi*: BHS *sayyathāpi*; *seyyathāpi*; 4.

*sayasavi*: BHS *sayyathāpi*; *seyyathāpi*; 13.

*sarayaṇio*: BHS *sārāyaṇīyaṃ*; *sāraṇīyaṃ*; "polite," adj. acc. sg. f. 1.

*sarva*:- 一切; "all; entire," adj.

[*s(\*a)v(\*a)*]: *sarve*; *sabbe*; nom. pl. m. 7.

*sarva*: *sarve*; *sabbe*; nom. pl. m. 29<sup>A</sup>.

*sumahada*: ≠ *sumahān*; ≠ *sumahā*; adj. nom. sg. m. 15.

*suha-dukha*: 苦樂; "pleasure and pain," n.

*suha-dukhasa*: *sukhaduḥkhasya*; *sukhadukkhasa*; gen. sg. 2, 3, 7, 9.

*suha-dukha*: *sukhaduḥkhaṃ*; *sukhadukkhaṃ*; nom. sg. 3, 8, 9.

*suha-dukho*: *sukhaduḥkhaṃ*; *sukhadukkhaṃ*; nom. sg. 4.

*sotro-gaṇo-cibha-kaya-maṇosa*: [*śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanasaḥ*] or *-manasi*;  
[*sotaghāṇajivhākāyamanassa*] or *manasmim*; 耳鼻舌身意; "[when there is] an ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind" (in genitive or locative absolute with pres. part. of *√as*), dv. sg. n. 3-4; *sotro-gaṇo-cibhe-kaya-maṇasa* 8.

*√sthā*: "stand."

*aṭa*: ≠ *asthāt*; ≠ *aṭṭhāsi*; "he stood," 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pret. 2.

*aṭido*: *āsthitah*; *\*āṭhito*; "remained standing," pp. nom. sg. m. 2.

*hada*:- 因; "cause," m.

*hada*: *hetuḥ*; *hetu*; nom. sg. 2.

*hada*: *hetavaḥ*; *hetū*; nom. pl. 3, 7.

*heḍa*: *hetavaḥ*; *hetū*; nom. pl. 9.

*eḍo*: *hetoh*; ≠ *hetu*; abl. sg. 27.