

The Emotionology of Anger in Early Buddhist Literature:  
Through the Lens of a Gāndhārī Verse Text

Michael Butcher

A dissertation  
submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2020

Reading Committee:

Richard Salomon, Chair

Collett Cox

Prem Pahlajrai

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

©Copyright 2020

Michael Butcher

University of Washington

**Abstract**

The Emotionology of Anger in Early Buddhist Literature:

Through the Lens of a Gāndhārī Verse Text

Michael Butcher

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:  
Professor Richard Salomon  
Department of Asian Languages and Literature

This dissertation examines the early Buddhist attitude toward anger (G *kroṣa*, OIA *krodha*) through the lens of an unpublished verse text, hereafter referred to as the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*, from a newly discovered collection of Buddhist texts in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. At the microscopic level I offer an edition, translation, metrical analysis, and textual notes of the manuscript with chapters on the text's morphology, orthography, paleography, meter, and phonology, using the format and conventions of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series.

At the telescopic level I rely on the notion of emotionology to study the collective emotional attitudes toward anger found within early Buddhist literature by looking at key passages within the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* in comparison with canonical texts. These passages betray the attitudes that argued for and maintained the appropriate expression of anger and the ways in

which those responsible for producing and circulating such texts encouraged their understanding of and viewpoint toward this emotion. One such passage stresses the social isolation that comes from lashing out at people in anger. A second compares anger to a deadly poison, while others echo common Buddhist tropes that being angry leads to becoming ugly in a future rebirth, or possibly being reborn as a pig. In this way I show that the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*, and early Buddhist literature, characterizes anger as an absolutely negative phenomenon that one should shun even at the cost of one's life.

## Contents

List of Figures .....	viii
List of Tables .....	x
Acknowledgments.....	xi
Dedication .....	xiii
List of Abbreviations .....	xiv
Transcriptional Conventions.....	xvi
PART I: THE EMOTIONOLOGY OF ANGER.....	1
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Gandhāran Buddhist Manuscripts.....	1
1.2. Anger in Popular Literature .....	2
1.3. Anger in Scholarly Literature .....	4
1.4. Scope of the Dissertation .....	5
1.5. Zooming In: The * <i>Kroṣa-gaṣa</i> .....	8
1.6. Zooming Out: Anger and Emotionology in Early Buddhist Literature .....	9
1.6.1. Emotionology.....	10
1.6.2. Anger and Bodily Factors .....	12
1.7. Range of Literature .....	13
1.8. Structure of the Dissertation .....	14
CHAPTER 2: WHAT IS ANGER? .....	16
2.1. What Are Emotions?.....	16

2.2. The Five Aggregates .....	17
2.2.1. <i>Vedanā</i> .....	18
2.2.2. <i>Samkhāra</i> .....	19
2.3. <i>Cetasikas</i> .....	21
2.4. <i>Krodha</i> .....	22
2.5. <i>Dosa</i> .....	23
2.6. <i>Paṭigha</i> .....	26
2.7. <i>Āghāta</i> .....	27
2.8. Conclusion .....	28
CHAPTER 3: ANGER MAKES YOU UGLY.....	30
3.1. Introduction.....	30
3.2. Beauty and Spiritual Purity .....	31
3.3. <i>Krodha</i> and Ugliness in Suttas, Commentaries and Jātaka Tales.....	34
3.3.1. Rohiṇī.....	34
3.3.2. Queen Mallikā.....	36
3.3.3. Jātaka Tales – Pañcapāpā and the Paccekabuddha .....	37
3.3.4. Jātaka Tales – The Bodhisattva.....	38
3.3.5. Subha.....	40
3.3.6. Sakka and the Anger-Eating Yakkha .....	41
3.4 The Buddhist <i>Mahākāvya</i> Tradition .....	43
3.5. <i>Samkhāras</i> and the Mechanics of Being Reborn Ugly .....	44

3.6. <i>Krodha</i> and Ugliness Outside of Mainstream Buddhism .....	47
3.7. Buddhism, Foucault, and the Body .....	48
CHAPTER 4: AN EMOTION WORSE THAN DEATH .....	51
4.1. Introduction: What to Do About Anger .....	51
4.2. The Simile of the Saw .....	52
4.3. Anger Management in the <i>Visuddhimagga</i> .....	54
4.4. Models of Anger Management .....	64
4.4.1. Sakka, <i>devānām indra</i> .....	64
4.4.2. The Bodhisattva .....	75
4.4.3. Angerless Monks .....	81
4.5. Conclusion: The Buddhist Emotionology of Anger .....	82
PART II: THE *KROSA-GASA .....	86
CHAPTER 5: PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT .....	86
5.1. Description of the Manuscript (Figures 2, 3, and 4) .....	86
5.2. Reconstruction of the Scroll .....	92
5.2.1. Size and Format .....	92
5.2.2. The Reconstructed Text (Figures 5, 12, and 13) .....	93
5.3. Descriptive List of Subfragments .....	94
5.3.1. Subfragments in Frame 19 (Figures 6–10) .....	95
5.3.2. Subfragments in Frame 12 (Figures 4 and 11) .....	97
CHAPTER 6 PHONOLOGY .....	103
6.1. General Remarks .....	103

6.2. Vowels .....	104
6.2.1. Initial Vowels .....	105
6.2.2. Medial Vowels .....	105
6.3. Consonants .....	109
6.3.1. Velars in Intervocalic Position .....	112
6.3.2. Palatals in Intervocalic Position .....	113
6.3.3. Retroflexes in Intervocalic Position .....	114
6.3.4. Dentals in Intervocalic Position .....	114
6.3.5. Labials in Intervocalic Position .....	115
6.3.6. Semivowels in Intervocalic Position .....	116
6.3.7. Sibilants and <i>h</i> in Intervocalic Position .....	117
6.3.8. Aspiration .....	118
6.4. Consonant Clusters .....	118
6.4.1. Visarga .....	123
6.4.2. Nasal + Stop .....	123
6.4.3. Stop + Stop .....	124
6.4.4. Stop + Nasal .....	125
6.4.5. Consonant + Semivowel .....	125
6.4.6. Semivowel + Consonant .....	127
6.4.7. Semivowel + Semivowel .....	128
6.4.8. Stop + Sibilant .....	128
6.4.9. Sibilant + Consonant .....	128
6.5. Sandhi .....	129

6.5.1. Vowel Sandhi.....	129
6.5.2. Inorganic Sandhi Consonants .....	130
6.6. Rhotic Metathesis.....	130
6.7. Anaptyxis (Svarabhakti Vowels).....	130
6.8. Epenthesis .....	130
<b>CHAPTER 7: PALEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>131</b>
7.1. Introduction.....	131
7.2. General Features of the Hand .....	131
7.3. Footmarks .....	133
7.4. Analysis of Individual Akṣaras .....	136
7.4.1. Independent Vowels.....	136
7.4.2. Consonants .....	137
7.4.3. Consonant Clusters .....	152
7.5. Punctuation .....	154
7.6. Errors and Corrections .....	155
7.7. Omission of Vowel Diacritics.....	156
7.8. Interlinear Notations .....	156
7.9. Dittography and Other Redundant Marks.....	157
7.10. Paleographic Dating.....	158
7.11. Orthography .....	159
<b>CHAPTER 8: MORPHOLOGY .....</b>	<b>162</b>

8. Introduction.....	162
8.1. Nominal Forms .....	162
8.1.1. Stems in <i>-a/-ā</i> , Masculine, Neuter and Feminine.....	162
8.1.2. Stems in Original <i>-i</i> , <i>-ī</i> and <i>-in</i> .....	168
8.1.3. Stems in Original <i>-u</i> .....	168
8.1.4. Stems in Original <i>-r</i> .....	169
8.1.5. Original Consonant Stems .....	169
8.1.6. Stems in Original <i>-us</i> .....	169
8.1.7. Compounds .....	169
8.2. Pronouns, Pronominals and Numerals.....	174
8.2.1. Second-Person Pronouns .....	174
8.2.2. Third-Person and Demonstrative Pronouns .....	174
8.2.3. Relative Pronouns .....	175
8.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns.....	175
8.2.5. Numerals .....	175
8.3. Verbal Forms .....	175
8.3.1. Present Tense .....	175
8.3.2. Optatives .....	176
8.3.3. Imperatives.....	176
8.3.4. Preterites .....	176
8.3.5. Absolutes (Gerunds) .....	177
8.3.6. Participles.....	177
8.4. Indeclinables and Adverbs.....	178

8.4.1. Indeclinable Particles .....	178
8.4.2. Adverbs .....	178
CHAPTER 9: TRANSCRIPTION, RECONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSLATION .....	179
9.1. Transcribed Text .....	179
9.1.1. Diplomatic edition of the * <i>Kroṣa-gaṣa</i> .....	179
9.1.2. Transcribed Text of Unplaced Fragments in Frame 12 .....	180
9.2. Reconstructed Diplomatic edition of the * <i>Kroṣa-gaṣa</i> .....	181
9.3. Translation .....	184
9.3.1. Translation of the * <i>Kroṣa-gaṣa</i> .....	184
9.3.2. Translation of Unplaced Fragments .....	186
CHAPTER 10: VERSE FORMAT AND METER.....	187
10.1 Introduction.....	187
10.2. Lines 1–14.....	189
10.3. Lines 15–17.....	194
10.4. Transcription and Scansion.....	197
CHAPTER 11: TEXTUAL COMMENTARY .....	201
11.1. Introduction.....	201
11.2. Frame 19 and Placed Fragments in Frame 12.....	201
11.3. Unplaced Fragments in Frame 12 .....	256
REFERENCES .....	261
WORD INDEX.....	266

## List of Figures

Figure 1: The Hunter Sawing off Chaddanta's tusks, Bharhut .....	78
Figure 2: Recto with plastic film .....	89
Figure 3: Verso with plastic film .....	90
Figure 4: Fragments in Frame 12.....	91
Figure 5: Traces of ink on the verso corresponding to 6–9b on the recto, digitally inverted and with color values inverted for clarity .....	94
Figure 6: Subfragment 1 .....	95
Figure 7: Subfragment 2 .....	95
Figure 8: Subfragment 3 .....	96
Figure 9: Subfragment 4 .....	96
Figure 10: Subfragment 5 .....	96
Figure 11: Fragment 12h+12i+12d.....	98
Figure 12: Recto after digital reconstruction, with fragments from frame 12.....	101
Figure 13: Recto after digital reconstruction, with fragments from frame 12 added and subfragments in frame 19 highlighted .....	102
Figure 14: akirti before and after digital reconstruction .....	202
Figure 15: purekhida.....	205
Figure 16: sarvam=(*e)va / sarvam.na.....	205
Figure 17: ś. r.no uvakramena after digital reconstruction .....	206
Figure 18: śarira .....	207
Figure 19: vilavia[a kro/krudho].....	210
Figure 20: ? + r. ?.....	212

Figure 21: so/go pur[va] ki[ta] baho ? .....	212
Figure 22: satvana he with horizontal crack or ink.....	216
Figure 23: a.h. ? + + + [aśava m.go].....	220
Figure 24: sambhavati ? ? .o/i.....	220
Figure 25: /// ? ? ? ? ? [vraya]ti before and after colors inverted for clarity .....	222
Figure 26: drovana drodaśia bhavati.....	223
Figure 27: p.n. ....	226
Figure 28: yo suaro [a] ayurmena .....	227
Figure 29: ? ? .e [ya] ? ? ? ? ? kr[i] ni ? ○:.....	233
Figure 30: ? <<gi loga [da] ma>> sa hidae na [so] .....	236
Figure 31: ? /// ga ca.....	245
Figure 32: prahahi paca <<dhama>> .....	247
Figure 33: sodamaṇa stitviya .....	251
Figure 34: p(*ra) ṇ. śa [d./tva] ? ki [sa/ra] .i ...(*kh.) ... ..	252
Figure 35: na śaka daśi.....	255
Figure 36: tamavro ? hi .....	255

## List of Tables

Table 1: Reflexes of OIA Vowels in Initial and Medial Positions in Frame 19.....	104
Table 2: Gāndhārī Reflexes of OIA Consonants in Frame 19.....	110
Table 3: Gāndhārī Reflexes of OIA Consonant Clusters in Frame 19.....	119
Table 4: Endings of stems in -a/-ā in masculine, neuter and feminine.....	163
Table 5: Singular and plural masculine nouns.....	171
Table 6: Singular and plural neuter nouns.....	172
Table 7: Singular and plural feminine nouns.....	173
Table 8: Śloka 1 Scansion.....	195
Table 9: Śloka 2 Scansion.....	195
Table 10: Śloka 3 Scansion.....	195
Table 11: Śloka 4 Scansion.....	195

## Acknowledgments

This project was made possible by the kindness and support of many different people and organizations. First, I would like to thank the Dhammachai International Research Institute for awarding me the 72<sup>nd</sup> Dhammachai Fellowship in Gāndhārī Studies for 2015–2020. Their generosity and friendliness throughout these five years have made my dreams of researching these Gāndhārī manuscripts a reality, and for this I am forever grateful.

I am also indebted to the faculty and students of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project at the University of Washington for overseeing my education and professional training. Dr. Richard Salomon proved himself to be a fountain of knowledge and experience and a model for careful scholarship. Dr. Collett Cox bore the lion's share in continuing my Sanskrit education, a Herculean effort that no doubt earned her a mountain of *puñña*. More than anything, I value her frank and honest thoughts on life in academia. Dr. Timothy Lenz undertook the arduous task of beginning my education in Gāndhārī and Pali and brought me face to face with these incredibly delicate manuscripts for the first time. His kindness, personal warmth, and admonition to allow myself time to relax gave me a broader perspective about my goals and priorities. All these teachers showed immense *khanti* in teaching and training me in the ways of philology.

My colleague Dr. Joseph Marino was supportive every step of the way in his position as peer advisor and friend. His appointment to the Buddhist Studies faculty ensures that Buddhist Studies will continue to thrive at the University of Washington. Fei Zhao and Doctor Zev Handel were kind enough to join my semi-regular Buddhist Chinese club, without which my limited experience with Buddhist Chinese materials would be nonexistent.

I would also like to thank my colleagues Julia Chatterjee, James Vongagsorn, Charlyn Edwards, Christopher Diamond, Mike Skinner, Isa Thompson, Sravani Divvala, and all those who joined us in our weekly Kharoṣṭhī Klub.

Lastly my thanks go to my family who encouraged me every step of the way, and to my loving partner Kaitlyn who never let me be too hard on myself.

## Dedication

For Kaitlyn

चन्द्रा मे

## List of Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AG-G <sup>L</sup>	Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā in British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment
1	
AN	Aṅguttara Nikāya
BC	Bajaur Collection
BhB	Bhikkhu Bodhi
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> (New Haven, 1953)
BL	British Library Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts
caus.	causative
dat.	dative
DhP	Dhammapada
DhPA	Dhammapadatthakathā
Dhp-G <sup>K</sup>	Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan (= Brough 1962)
DN	Dīgha Nikāya
DNA	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
f.	feminine
gen.	genitive
ind.	indeclinable
inst.	instrumental
Jā	Jātaka
Khvs-G	Gāndhārī version of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta
Lal	Lalitavistara (= Vaidya 1958)
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
Mil	Milindapañhā
MN	Majjhima Nikāya
MW	M. Monier-Williams, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1899)
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
OIA	Old Indo-Āryan
opt.	optative
part.	participle
pp.	past participle
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
P	Pali
PTSD	T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (London, 1921-5)
RS	Robert Senior Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts

SN	Samyutta Nikāya
Th	Theragāthā
Thī	Therīgāthā
Uv	Udānavarga
Vism	Visuddhimagga

## Transcriptional Conventions

The transcription conventions used throughout are modelled after those in the Gandhāran

Buddhist Texts Series of publications.

- [] 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 an OIA 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 based on context, parallel citation, or other means.
- << >> An interlinear insertion.
- . The missing portion (consonantal element 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 a vowel diacritic was attached to it.
- ? A visible or partially visible but illegible akṣara.
- + A missing akṣara that would have appeared on a lost or obscured portion of the scroll. A series of these symbols indicates the number of lost syllables as calculated on metrical grounds.
- / Separates alternative readings for an incompletely preserved or partially illegible akṣara. For example, *kro/kru* indicates that akṣara could be either *kro* or *kru*.
- /// Beginning or end of an incomplete line.
- = A word division within an akṣara, used in phrases such as *suarabhavam=eti* in which the final *m* of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are written together as a single syllable.
- A small circle marking the end of a verse or half verse.
- ∪ Metrically light syllable.
- Metrically heavy syllable.
- ⌞ Metrically neutral (light or heavy) syllable

## PART I: THE EMOTIONOLOGY OF ANGER

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Gandhāran Buddhist Manuscripts

Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese have loomed large in discussions of early Buddhist literature, and for good reason: these languages have been instrumental in the production of thousands of pages of suttas and sūtras. However, discoveries of ancient manuscripts written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script have occurred at an increasingly rapid pace, allowing Gāndhārī to occupy a bigger role in discussions of early Buddhist literature. Although Gāndhārī has been known and studied since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the sheer amount of textual material available for study has skyrocketed since the 1990s, necessitating an equally impressive number of philological studies. The Early Buddhist Manuscript's Project at the University of Washington has served as a haven for these studies. Scholars such as Timothy Lenz, Richard Salomon, Collett Cox, and an ever-increasing slew of others have spent countless hours piecing together and reconstructing these ancient manuscripts and presenting them in a collection of volumes as part of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series.

The past decade has seen a sharp rise in works that bring the field of Gandhāran studies into new territories based on these philological projects, such as Jason Neelis' 2010 study calling attention to the expanding trade networks in Gandhāra that facilitated the spread of Buddhist ideas and teachings (Neelis 2010). Richard Salomon's latest work brings together select Gāndhārī texts and presents them in a way that does not assume past knowledge of Buddhism and Gāndhārī literature, making it an ideal work for generating new interest from those outside the field of Buddhist Studies (Salomon 2018). Joe Marino's 2017 doctoral dissertation takes a

middle path, presenting a philological study of two manuscripts from the Senior collection and using them as a lens through which to study “the pedagogical and rhetorical functions of metaphor” in early Buddhist literature (Marino 2017: 3). The present study follows Marino’s example, presenting a philological study of one recently discovered manuscript and using it as the basis for a wider discussion on anger in early Buddhist literature.

## 1.2. Anger in Popular Literature

When discussing anger in the context of Buddhist traditions, we can discern two main routes that earlier scholars have taken. Firstly there are those few works written by psychiatrists and psychologists, as in Leifer’s short *Buddhist Conceptualization and Treatment of Anger* (1999). Most such works are understandably concerned with modern psychological treatments for anger and are lacking in sophisticated Buddhological study. Secondly those who approach the topic from a Buddhist perspective are more numerous. Robert Thurman (2005) and Thich Nhat Hanh (2001) have each penned works that are self-help in nature, more concerned with giving Buddhist-inspired strategies for lessening anger in one’s daily life rather than giving an account of anger in Buddhist literature. Anger also makes an appearance in the Dalai Lama’s autobiography *My Spiritual Journey*, in which he frankly admits to getting angry every now and then, and he frequently discusses anger in his daily postings on social media (Dalai Lama 2010). Take, for instance, his musings from September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019:

When a situation arises that makes you angry, confront your anger and analyze it. Ask yourself what factors have given rise to that particular instance of anger or hatred. Analyze it further; ask yourself whether anger is an appropriate response and especially whether it will be constructive or destructive. Exert restraint and cultivate thoughts of patience and tolerance (The Dalai Lama’s Facebook page. Accessed 15 January. 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/DalaiLama>).

More substantively, he has produced two valuable works (1994, 1997) that serve as commentaries and discussions of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and its chapter on patience (*khanti*, OIA *kṣānti*).

Despite the popularity of anger as a general topic by Buddhist authors and celebrities, such works have overwhelmingly targeted a general audience and present Buddhist thought in much the same way as those on the more psychological side: stripped of historical change and presented as monolithic and primarily Mahāyāna. We do not find similar works by famous authors for Mainstream, or non-Mahāyāna, Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> In its widest sense, the Mainstream branch of Buddhism that I will study refers to those schools that do not accept Mahāyāna texts and doctrines to be authoritative, and it once included such schools as Theravāda, Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Pudgalavāda. In modern times all but the various Theravāda schools have died out, making the Theravāda Pali canon the most expansive source for Mainstream Buddhist literature. With most of my sources ranging from the Pali canon to the writings of the fifth century writer Buddhagosa, the timespan covered in this work ranges from roughly the fifth century BCE to the fifth century CE.

Despite the lack of attention, early Buddhist literature is absolutely brimming with writings on anger. Popular verse texts that boil down the teachings of the Buddha into easily digestible chunks such as the Dhammapada, Udānavagga and Uragavagga each have a chapter devoted to the subject, and in the Pali canon the Buddha describes anger with such similes as poison (SN IV 172), a crushing mountain (SN I 514–15), and an inscription on a stone (AN III 132). Arguments between angry monks serve as the backstory for the Buddha laying down new

---

<sup>1</sup> Here and throughout this work I use Paul Harrison's term "Mainstream Buddhism." See Harrison 1992: 77–78.

laws in the vinaya monastic code, and anger often serves as an explanation for why his students and audiences are reborn the way they are.

### 1.3. Anger in Scholarly Literature

Scholarly works present a wider view regarding emotions as they relate to Buddhist literature, though they are still lacking in specialized scholarly treatments for Mainstream Buddhism. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion* (Corrigan, ed. 2007) has separate chapters on individual emotions such as hate, terror, hope, ecstasy, and love, as well as on traditions such as Japanese religions, new religious movements, and Islam. Its chapter on Buddhism and emotions by Maria Heim stands as the most relevant treatment for our purposes, as it does touch on the topics of anger and hatred as they relate to Buddhist literature, however those instances are few and far from comprehensive. It is useful to this project insofar as Heim gives a short account of emotions from an Abhidharmic view by describing the ways in which emotions are categorized in the *Aṭṭhasālinī* and the metaphorical “earthy and evocative language” used to describe various emotions (Heim 2007: 20). Aside from an Abhidharmic view, she notes that Buddhist emotions can also be approached from the perspectives of metaphor, meditative practices, and narrative.

Padmasiri de Silva (1992, 1995, 2014) cuts a balanced middle-ground between the Buddhological and psychological approaches, offering insightful analyses of Buddhist emotions backed up with attention to Pali sources. His chapter *Theoretical Perspectives on Emotions in Early Buddhism* shows the ways in which Buddhist thinkers have brought in “different theoretical strands like feelings, desires, cognitions, and bodily factors” into their conception of emotions (1995: 109). His attention to emotions and their outward bodily expressions is

particularly useful in my treatment of the connections between anger and physical forms. But as valuable as de Silva's work has been in giving a theoretical orientation into Buddhist thought and emotions, matters of spacing in the relevant works have limited his treatment to highly condensed chapters in multi-author works such as *Emotions in Asian Thought* (de Silva 1995: 109–20).

After surveying the relevant works a gap in scholarship becomes apparent. The field does not lack popular works on anger written from a practicing Buddhist perspective, however these are better characterized as self-help than scholarly. Those works that do touch on the subject with the needed attention to literature are embedded within broader works on emotion and religions or lack the space needed to do the subject justice. And so full-length scholarly accounts of anger as depicted in early Buddhist literature are so far nonexistent. Scholars in many fields have addressed questions such as “how can we lessen anger in our own lives through the teachings of the Buddha” and “what precisely is anger according to Buddhist traditions,” however, none of these works have addressed the central question of how early Buddhist literature expressed its vision of anger to the society in which it was embedded. From a broader perspective this feeds into the issue of treating early Buddhist manuscripts as dehistoricized documents, stripped of their historical and social contexts. This is a particularly widespread problem with regard to the writings in question that touch on issues of emotions and Buddhist traditions, whether the more Mahāyāna-focused popular works or the Theravāda-centered works of Heim and de Silva.

#### 1.4. Scope of the Dissertation

Following in the footsteps of Joe Marino's work on metaphor and pedagogy in early Buddhist literature, I will use the “zoom lens” technique inspired by Wendy Doniger (2011:

6–28) that relies on two levels of perspective. At the “microscopic” level, which serves as the second part of this work, I offer an edition, translation, metrical analysis, and textual notes on a Gāndhārī text from a newly discovered collection. While the text thus far remains unidentified with any known Buddhist texts, there are enough semi-parallels and references therein to wider early Indian Buddhist literary tropes to position the text within early Buddhist literature through focusing on its attention to *kroṣa* “anger” and through comparison with relevant passages in the Sanskrit, Pali, and Chinese canons. A few relevant passages are described below.

At the “telescopic” level that serves as the first part of this work, I zoom out and use key passages in the text as lenses through which to study the imagery and metaphorical tropes used to portray *kroṣa* in early Buddhist texts and the ways in which anger is used in turn to give expression to Buddhist values. The first of these passages forms the inspiration for chapter 3 and concerns rebirth in *saṃsāra* and the causal effects of *kroṣa* in a former life on one’s physical appearance in the present life. The readable portion of line 6 reads ...*sayi punu eti maṇuṣyabhavo* ◊ *drovana drodaśia bhavati* ◊ “...if one reaches a human birth again, they become ugly, hard to look upon...” This echoes several texts that identify anger as one of the causes for ugliness. A semi-parallel for the Gāndhārī passage comes from the Cuḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya (MN III 202–6) which reads *sace manussattaṃ āgacchati, yattha yattha paccājāyati dubbaṇṇo hoti* “If [an angry person] is reborn as a man, wherever he arises, he is ugly.”<sup>2</sup>

Another text from Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Dhammapada concerns the Buddhist laywoman Rohiṇī shaking off the karma that arose from anger in her past life that recently caused her face to erupt in sores. After working through her harmful karma by sweeping

---

<sup>2</sup> Citations to Pali sources refer to the Pali Text Society editions and page numbers. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

a newly built hall she had erected for the saṅgha, her sores disappeared, she died and was reborn in the Tāvātimsā heaven as the beautiful wife of Sakka, king of the gods. These are but two examples that gesture toward a pervasive train of thought in Buddhist literature linking one's physical appearance and spiritual development.

The second passage is a simile in line 12 comparing anger to a particularly harmful poison: *acataniṭhasa aṃtarago* ◊ *krodho jaha halahalaviṣa va* “One should abandon anger, the obstacle of the final goal, as if it were the *halāhala* poison.” Here we have no semi-parallels, however the image of anger as poison is well-attested in verse compilations in Pali, Sanskrit, and Gāndhārī texts in the various Dharmapadas, the Sanskrit Udānavarga and the Pali Uragavagga.<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (AN II, 110) the Buddha uses the simile of four kinds of venom compared to a person's anger and how long it lingers: *Kathañca bhikkhave puggalo āgataviso hoti na ghoraviso? Idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo abhiṇhaṃ kujjhati. So ca khvassa kodho na dīgharattaṃ anuseti. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave puggalo āgataviso hoti na ghoraviso* “And how, monks, is a person someone whose venom is fast-acting but not terrible? Here, monks, some person is often angry. But his anger does not last a long time. In this way, monks, a person is one whose venom is fast-acting but not terrible.” This use of poison as a metaphor for anger carries a strong somatic component to it, returning us to the Buddhist discourse on one's inner emotions, in this case anger, and its link with one's outward appearance and bodily factors.

The third passage involves a series of conditions associated with an angry person such as infamy, poverty, disgrace, loss of friends, and the aforementioned ugliness. The text of the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* begins with a few such conditions when it says *duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti* ◊ *purekhidakroṣan(\*a) sarv[am]=(\*e)[va]* ◊ “Suffering, loss, infamy, and disgrace all indeed

---

<sup>3</sup> Parallels from Timothy Lenz 2003: 58–59.

accrue to those by whom anger is favored.” Line 4 continues these conditions by noting that anger entails the loss of friendship: (*\*aśi*)[*vi*]*ṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya* ◊ *satvana heḍae carati loge* ◊ *teṣa tiṣo kroṣa samusta teno* ◊ *kopa[di]te mitro parica[y]e[a]* [◊] “Snakes with fierce heat and terrible venom act angrily toward beings in the world. And with that, bitter anger arises toward them. A friend would abandon those who are afflicted with anger.” For these passages we have a semi-parallel in the Kodhana Sutta (AN VII 64), which lists an expanded series of seven conditions associated with being angry: ugliness, poor sleep, poverty, having little, disgrace, social isolation, and rebirth in hell. As this series of seven includes other conditions that are treated in more detail in other sūtras, the Kodhana Sutta serves as an umbrella text that encompasses others within its scheme, and we will return to these conditions in chapter 4.

Through analyzing these passages within the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*, I show that the mere arising of anger, to say nothing of acting on it, can have severe karmic consequences for the individual, especially being reborn as ugly. Acting on this negative feeling, on the other hand, can lead to immediately harmful consequences for the individual in the present life, risking the loss of one’s good reputation and the abandonment of one’s friends and social circle. It is no stretch to say that early Buddhist literature paints a picture of anger that is purely and absolutely negative, devoid of any benefit or appropriate expression.

### 1.5. Zooming In: The *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*

The manuscript that forms the basis of this study is one part of a newly discovered collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts. It is now preserved in a glass frame, frame 19. While thirteen fragments from frame 12 belong to the same text, for the sake of convenience the text is referred to as merely frame 19 or the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*. Given the novelty of the collection, many

broad details about its discovery, contents, and size are unforthcoming, and no other works based on it have thus far been published. This is in clear contrast to other collections, namely the British and Senior collections, for which there is comparatively a great deal of knowledge. Based on conversations that arose during the “Mahā-Kharoṣṭhī Klub” that took place at the University of Washington July 15–17, 2018, there is some speculation that the new collection is related, or was discovered alongside, manuscripts that now belong to the Split collection. Precious little is known of other manuscripts within the collection, although a verse text concerning scenes from the life of the Buddha has come to light in Klub discussions. Beyond this, I cannot speculate, and it is up to future works to expound on the collection.

The text written in frame 19 is comprised of 17 lines of verse and is concerned with the concept of *kroṣa* (OIA *krodha*) “anger,” the negative effects that come from anger’s arising, and the positive effects that come from its cessation. Because of this, I have given the text the provisional title *Kroṣa-gaṣa* (OIA *\*krodha-gāthāḥ*) “Anger-verses.” Similar passages to those in the *Kroṣa-gaṣa* are found throughout the Pali Tipiṭaka, Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, and the chapters on anger in the various Dharmapadas, although the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* has no direct parallels in any known canon. For an in-depth look at the similarities and semi-parallels found in other texts, the reader is referred to the textual commentary in chapter 11.

## 1.6. Zooming Out: Anger and Emotionology in Early Buddhist Literature

It would be fair at this point for the reader to question why this dissertation should be so divided into two parts. Why place a philological study of a single Gāndhārī text alongside a wider discussion of anger and emotions in early Buddhism at all? Two key concerns have shaped this decision, the first being a point concisely summarized in Marino’s 2017 dissertation.

Drawing from Paul Griffiths' and Jan Ziolkowski's passionate arguments for the spread of philology and literature in general, Marino remarks that it is in the best interests for philologists to build stronger bridges between their works and the wider scholarly community (Marino 2017: 5–6). Secondly, and particular to this study of frame 19, there is the matter of organizational convenience. That is, the zoomed out, telescopic chapters in which I take a single passage and relate it to early Buddhist literature are the result of the same analytical and methodological processes that produced the textual commentary in chapter 11. These telescopic chapters are essentially commentarial treatments that took on a life of their own and took me down avenues of thought so that they merited their own separate chapters.

#### 1.6.1. Emotionology

In order to contextualize what the text in frame 19 is saying and what that means for *krodha* in early Buddhist literature, I rely on the notion of emotionology as one of my key theoretical frameworks. Developed by Stearns & Stearns, emotionology contextualizes emotions on a broad societal scale and counteracts a perceived trend in scholarly writings which conflates “the emotional experiences of individuals and groups” and “the collective emotional standards of a society” (Stearns & Stearns 1981: 813). It is defined as:

the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression; ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct, e.g., courtship practices as expressing the valuation of affect in marriage, or personnel workshops as reflecting the valuation of anger in job relationships (Stearns & Stearns 1981: 813).

A number of points regarding this notion must be clarified. Firstly it must be emphasized that emotions and emotionology are distinct: anger is the emotion that an individual feels, while the emotionology of anger in a society determines such things as the appropriate targets for that anger, such as channeling it into physical exercise as opposed to lashing out at pets. A group of

people may disapprove of anger and actively suppress it through socialization, as in the case study of the Utku Eskimo peoples conducted by the anthropologist Jean Briggs. However,

[the disapproval] does not prove that the Utku are a people without anger. They regularly sulk when challenged (anger turned inward?) and, when even slightly provoked, routinely beat and otherwise abuse dogs and other household animals. These actions are not included in the tribe's proscriptions against anger because of the particular emotionology involved... (Stearns and Stearns 1981: 814).

Secondly, emotionology deals with societies and groups. It is the telescopic view to the microscopic view of emotions. With emotional experience being centered around the person having the emotion, emotionology looks at society as a whole or a group within society, and its focus is on *what the society says about emotions*, professed values rather than personal experiences. This point reveals an important notion that we must bear in mind throughout this study. It would be a leap to say that the emotionology laid out in these chapters is descriptive of all early Indic society, or even of all early Buddhist society; the texts and suttas surveyed here are the opinions of the authors of these texts, literate religious professionals, almost certainly male, who were able to devote time to literary creation. This is the key reason why this dissertation is limited to outlining the emotionology of anger in early Buddhist literature and not that of early Buddhism, which is a far broader phenomena than we find in texts alone. Lastly, the emotionology of a society changes over time as the society or group undergoes its own changes. A future survey of later texts, such as those found in tantra traditions, could prove valuable in showing the degree to which the emotionology of anger changed or remained static with the emergence of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions.

Engaging with early Buddhist texts through the lens of emotionology allows us to appreciate better the ways in which such texts encourage and discourage societal standards for expressing emotions. It highlights the notion that early Buddhist sūtras are more than good

stories with a soteriological goal and Buddhist Abhidharma treatises are more than coldly rational analyses of phenomena; they are literature put forward by members of a subset of an ancient society, literature meant to convey ethical imperatives to other members of that society. This, in turn, steers us away from being overly concerned with emotions as inner phenomena experienced and expressed by an individual and underscores the embeddedness of emotions within a shared societal space.

### 1.6.2. Anger and Bodily Factors

Padmasiri de Silva in his contribution to *Emotions in Asian Thought* (1995) puts forward his own theoretical framework for conceptualizing emotions in a Buddhist context. With the five aggregates as his starting point, he outlines five separate variables or facets that color and generate such emotions as happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and so on: feelings, desires, beliefs, appraisals, and bodily sensations.

It is this last variable that we turn our attention to. Though less prominent than emotionology for this study, this attention to the body emphasizes that while emotionology considers emotions to operate within a societal structure, emotions operate at the individual, physiological level. We see this in such mindfulness practices as *kāyānupassanā* “observing the body” espoused in the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta (MN 10) and the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta (DN 22). Here, *kāyānupassanā* involves mindful concentration on various aspects of the body, whether that be one’s breathing, posture, bodily activity throughout the day, the fact that one’s body is composed of a multitude of disgusting elements, and seeing for oneself that the ultimate fate for one’s body is death and decay. “In the practice of the mindfulness of breathing and bodily postures,” de Silva writes, “one discerns the intrusion of irritability and resentment into our

routine lives” and the practitioner begins to see the interrelatedness of body, thoughts, feelings, and desires (de Silva 1995: 116). As we will see in such texts as the the Cūḷasaccaka Sutta (MN I 227–37), the notion that one’s lack of spiritual virtue is revealed in one’s appearance is widespread in Buddhist literature. This theoretical orientation which considers emotions and the body as mutually affective comes to the fore in chapter 3 in conversations of the connections of anger with ugliness.

### 1.7. Range of Literature

As stated above in §1.2., in my study of Buddhist attitudes toward anger I have narrowed the range of literature to Mainstream, or non-Mahāyāna traditions. Future research may show whether the rise of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions had a great impact on appropriate expressions of anger, whether reinforcing earlier tropes or qualifying and contradicting them. The revolutions brought about by such notions as *upāya-kausalya* “skillful means” and the wrathful deities of Tantric traditions no doubt merit their own full-length study. But because I lack the expertise to treat these developments with any justice, and because such a broad scope taking in each of the three branches of Buddhist practice would be well beyond the purpose of this project, I have limited myself to Mainstream forms of Buddhism.

The texts I make use of are, for the most part, primary sources of South Asian Buddhism that have survived in Pali, Gāndhārī, and Sanskrit, with texts from the Pali canon forming the lion’s share. Dates for these texts range from the early fourth century BCE to later works written by the prolific Buddhist author Buddhagosa in the fifth century CE. In addition, I have drawn upon a select few Chinese Buddhist texts when they add something fruitful to the discussion. The limited discussion of Chinese sources is a result of my linguistic skills alone, rather than

intentional ignorance of their value. This amalgamation of Pali literature, Chinese *āgamas*, and Gāndhārī texts form what I refer to throughout this dissertation as “early Buddhist literature.” Secondary, scholarly writings on anger in Mainstream Buddhism have yet to appear in any notable length, making a sole reliance on primary sources a necessity.

### 1.8. Structure of the Dissertation

The goal of this dissertation is not to produce a general work on anger as it relates to Buddhist traditions, as the scale of such a work would be unrealistic given the scope of the subject, the timeframe, and the linguistic competence in languages such as Japanese and Tibetan needed to complete it. Instead my goal will be limited to early Mainstream, or non-Mahāyāna, Buddhist literature on the Buddhistic side, the majority of which being works composed in Gāndhārī and Pali. Regarding anger, my goal is to outline the emotionology of *kroṣa* as presented in the literature in the vein of Stearns and Stearns, showing the ways in which key passages in frame 19 express Buddhist values and which practices reflected the early Buddhist valuation of anger.

This project is divided into two parts, beginning with a broad lens in Part I that looks at anger in early Buddhist literature writ large. In chapter 2, I address how Buddhist literature identifies and categorizes anger from a Pali Abhidhammic perspective. Chapter 3 takes inspiration from a concise statement in two pādas in line 6 which read *sayi punu eti manuṣyabhavo* ◊ *drovana drodaśia bhavati* ◊ “...if one reaches a human birth again, they become discolored and ugly.” Based on this passage, I outline a commonly expressed notion in early Buddhist literature linking the arising of anger with being reborn ugly. Although commonly expressed, it has nevertheless eluded the attention of scholars and highlights the connection

between emotions and bodily factors prevalent in Pali texts. While chapter 2 and 3 address the questions, “what is anger?” and “why is anger bad?” chapter 4 is concerned with the question, “what should we do about anger?” laying out the various strategies that early Buddhist texts argue practitioners should take to lessen the hold that anger has on us and to prevent its arising in the future. These strategies, broadly speaking, are of two types: 1) direct imperatives that we find in such texts as the “Sutta on the Simile of the Saw” (MN I 122–9) and the systematic approach found in the *Visuddhimagga*, and; 2) character studies of key Buddhist figures who refuse to act out in anger no matter the consequences, such as the bodhisattva, Sāriputta, and the god Sakka.

Chapters 5–11 comprise Part II, in which I zoom in to study frame 19 and its contents, along with the fragments found in frame 12, in the manner of the volumes of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series. A physical description of the manuscript and its preservation is found in chapter 5, and in chapter 6 I give a complete phonological analysis of the text in frame 19. Chapter 7 describes the paleographic and orthographic standards that our scribes practiced, followed by an outline of the grammatical idiosyncrasies of the text in chapter 8. In chapter 9 I offer a transcription, reconstruction, and translation of the text, with chapter 10 devoted to the text’s metrical peculiarities. The final chapter provides a textual commentary for the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*, pointing out any remaining semi-parallels and notable discoveries. The dissertation ends with a complete glossary giving grammatical information for every identifiable word found in frame 19 and the relevant fragments in frame 12, with glosses in English, OIA, and Pali where necessary.

## CHAPTER 2: WHAT IS ANGER?

### 2.1. What Are Emotions?

This chapter addresses how Buddhist literature identifies and categorizes *krodha*, along with the related concepts *dosa* “hatred,” *paṭigha* “wrath,” and *āghāta* “hostility,” according to the scholastic analyses found in the Pali Abhidhamma. Although only *krodha* appears in the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*, similar terms such as these often appear alongside *krodha* in the Pali canon.<sup>4</sup> And as I will emphasize throughout this chapter, Pali Abhidhammic literature repeatedly glosses these notions in terms of each other. A greater understanding of these related terms is therefore an important step in fleshing out the semantic field of *krodha*.

But before dealing with *krodha* proper, we must first address emotions as a general concept and their place within a Buddhist framework. This is harder than it may seem at first, as Buddhist literature presents the reader with something of a paradox regarding emotions. That is, one can find long accounts of specific emotions relevant to attaining awakening: diatribes against anger, multi-step programs for anger management, arguments for the benefits of loving-kindness and patience (OIA *kṣānti*, P *khanti*) for oneself and others, however Buddhism does not offer a broad term coinciding with the modern concept of emotions. Outlining emotions in a Hindu context, June McDoughal discusses a number of terms, such as *bhava* and *rāga*, but ultimately notes that the lack of an appropriate word applies to Sanskrit as a whole, with the language having “no exact term for emotion” (McDoughal 2007: 53).

The word “emotion” referring to such states as gladness and sorrow is only a recent development to the English lexicon itself. Its first attested meaning in 1562 is “political agitation,

---

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this chapter I use the OIA *krodha* for the sake of consistency.

civil unrest,” being a borrowing of the French *émotion* and the Latin *emotio* “agitation of mind.” By the 1600s the word acquired the sense of being carried away or moved by one’s passion, “an agitation of mind; an excited mental state.”<sup>5</sup>

“Passion,” meanwhile, is first attested in Old English as a loan word from Latin *passiōn-*, *passiō* appearing in the West Saxon Gospels and a Kentish charter, referring to the Passion of Jesus. Its first attested use as a noun referring to “any strong, controlling, or overpowering emotion, as desire, hate, fear, etc.’ an intense feeling or impulse” occurs in 1250.<sup>6</sup> And it is passion, rather than emotion, that for centuries signified what we now refer to as emotions (de Silva 2014: 48). All of this is to say that, just as thoughts on emotion and passion have changed throughout the history of the English language, the interpretations within Abhidhamma/Abhidharma traditions have likewise changed over time. So too have certain words in Buddhist canons likely faded out of use as others were introduced. While I refer to Pali Abhidhamma passages and sutta texts in this chapter, we cannot assume that they all arose within the same time period. With that in mind, there are two relevant systematic groupings that we may turn to in order to categorize *krodha* and emotions: that of the five aggregates (P *pañcakkhandā*) and that of *cetasikas* “mental concomitants.”<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2. The Five Aggregates

The five aggregates, or “heaps,” are collections of impermanent phenomena that come together to form a “person,” in a continual process of breaking apart, arising, and falling away.

---

<sup>5</sup> “Emotion, n.: Oxford English Dictionary,” Oxford English Dictionary. <https://www-oed-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/view/Entry/61249#eid5521328> (Accessed March 3, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> “Passion, n.: Oxford English Dictionary,” Oxford English Dictionary. <https://www-oed-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/view/Entry/138504?rskey=UYYBql&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

<sup>7</sup> Here I rely on Cox’s translation for *cetasika* (Cox 2014: 42).

They include form (P *rūpa*), feeling (P *vedanā*), conceptions (P *saññā*), volitional forces/dispositions/habits (P *saṃkhārā*), and consciousness (P *viññāna*). It is this attention to the aggregates that led de Silva to define emotions within Buddhist literature as “an interactive complex or construct emerging with the causal network of the five aggregates” (de Silva 2014: 61.) The separate spheres encompassed by the aggregates (physical sensations, desires, consciousness, and so forth) function as variables that give rise to emotions like fear and envy. Of these five aggregates, *vedanā* and *saṃkhāra* share the most overlap with the modern idea of emotion. These two aggregates are investigated below, along with the notion of *cetasikas*.

### 2.2.1. *Vedanā*

*Vedanā* “feeling” does operate as a form of mental activity, but it is much less precise than the various shades that “emotion” carries. As we are bombarded with physical and mental stimuli, *vedanā* represents responses to those stimuli, responses that are either positive, negative, or neutral. We may think at first that anger could correspond on some level to a negative response of the sort that *vedanā* represents and mistakenly place emotions within this category. But Nyanaponika Thera makes it explicit in his treatment of *vedanā* that it is not the same as emotions, saying, “...in Buddhist psychology, ‘feeling’ (Pali: *vedanā*) is the bare sensation noted as pleasant, unpleasant and neutral. Hence it should not be confused with emotion which, though arising from the basic feeling, adds to it likes or dislikes of varying intensity, as well as other thought processes” (Nyanaponika 1983: 7). He continues, noting that “*feeling* by itself, in its primary state, is quite neutral when it registers the impact of an object as pleasant, unpleasant or indifferent. Only when emotional or volitional additions are admitted, will there arise desire and love, aversion and hate, anxiety, fear and distorting views” (Nyanaponika 1983: 8). That is,

emotions are more complex phenomena that arise when cognitive overlays are added onto the basic feeling that is *vedanā*, although in later analyses these cognitive overlays become distinct factors. Although he does not state it directly, it is clear from his mention of “volitional additions” that Nyanaponika Thera places emotions within the category of *saṃkhāra*. Padmasiri de Silva, assessing *vedanā* from a psychologically informed view, likewise distinguishes *vedanā* from emotion, arguing that “the term *vedanā*, translated as hedonic tone (feeling), is the base for the affective dimension as compared with the cognitive, volitional and motivational facets of psychology” (de Silva 2014: 49). With that in mind, we turn next to *saṃkhāra*.

### 2.2.2. *Saṃkhāra*

Any discussion of *saṃkhāra* “volitional forces/dispositions/habits” should highlight the fact that the term refers to a variety of phenomena, not all of which are relevant to our discussion. The nun Dhammadinnā refers to three kinds in the Cūḷavedalla Sutta: *kāyasaṃkhārā* “*saṃkhāras* regarding the body,” *vacīsaṃkhārā* “*saṃkhāras* regarding speech,” and *cittasaṃkhārā* “*saṃkhāras* regarding the mind.” When the layman Visākha asks her to expand on this three-part scheme, she relates that: *Assāsapassāsā kho, āvuso visākha, kāyasaṃkhāro, vitakkavicārā vacīsaṃkhāro, saññā ca vedanā ca cittasaṃkhāroti* “Breathing in and out is surely a bodily *saṃkhāra*, layman Visākha. Directing the mind on an object and holding it there are verbal *saṃkhāras*, and consciousness and feeling [*vedanā*] are mental *saṃkhāras*” (MN I 229). One also hears of an *āyusaṃkhāra* “vital *saṃkhāra*” in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, an intentional sustaining of the element responsible for one’s life. It is this *saṃkhāra* that the Buddha abandons upon resolving to enter *mahāparinibbāna* “great final nīrvāṇa” in three months’ time (DN II 106).

Elsewhere, in the Saṃkhārupapatti Sutta there is a teaching which distinguishes meritorious and unmeritorious *saṃkhāras* (MN II 99–100). The possibility that the Buddha could abandon the *āyusaṃkhāra* while still having three months to live, as well as the distinction between meritorious and unmeritorious *saṃkhāras*, highlights an important point in our discussion, namely that one’s intention and volition play a key role in *saṃkhāras*. We will see later in §3.5 that the volitional aspect of *saṃkhāras* is a determining factor for the specific realms and conditions that one is born into.

We find an analysis of *saṃkhāras* in the suttas, for instance the Upādānaparipavatta Sutta:

*Katame ca, bhikkave, saṃkhārā? Chayime, bhikkhave, cetanākāyā rūpasañcetanā, saddasañcetanā, gandhasañcetanā, rasasañcetanā, phoṭṭhabbasañcetanā, dhammasañcetanā. Ime vuccanti, bhikkhave, saṅkhārā. Phassasamudayā saṅkhārasamudayo, phassanirodhā saṅkhāranirodho* (SN III 58).

And what are the *saṃkhāras*, monks? These are the six kinds of intentions: intentions about images, intentions about sounds, intentions about smells, intentions about tastes, intentions about touches, and intentions about thoughts. These, monks, are called *saṃkharas*. From the arising of contact comes the arising of *saṃkhāras*. From the cessation of contact comes the cessation of *saṃkhāras*.

Two things are noteworthy about this passage. First, the sutta explicitly states that *saṃkhāras* are *sañcetas* (identical to *cetas*) “intentions/thoughts” that give rise to actions regarding the six sense perceptions. Second, and based on the first, there can be no *saṃkhāras* without *phassa* “sensory contact,” such as when one becomes frustrated over having stubbed one’s toe and felt twinges of pain. These *saṃkhāras* are not “neutral” as Nyanaponika Thera describes positive, negative, and neutral *vedanās*; *saṃkhāras*, and emotions with them, are willful intentions that one makes.

Within the scheme of the five aggregates then, we can speculate *krodha* and other emotions to be one of the many varieties of these willful *saṃkhāras* that arise from sensory contact. But this can be nothing more than speculation, as concrete evidence showing *krodha* to be a *saṃkhāra* is unforthcoming in the Pali Abhidhamma materials.

### 2.3. *Cetasikas*

Certain Pali Abhidhammic texts are concerned with parsing out and analyzing reality into *dhammas*, or the smallest possible unit that can be distinguished. The Abhidhammāvatāra, for instance, eschews the mental components of the five aggregates (*saṃkhāra*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, and *viññāna*), for a more exhaustive system of four categories of *dhammas*: *rūpa* “form/material substance,” *citta* “thoughts,” *cetasika* “thought concomitants,” and *nibbāna*. Within this alternate scheme, it is in the fifty-two *cetasika dhammas*, mental aspects related to a particular moment of consciousness, that we can locate phenomena associated with *krodha*.

It must be noted at the outset that we do not find *krodha* specifically categorized as a *cetasika dhamma* in Theravāda Abhidhamma materials. In texts such as the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, when the *akusala cetasikas* “unskillful thought concomitants” are discussed, the relevant terms are instead *dosa* “hatred” and *issā* “spite”:

*Moho ahirikaṃ anottappaṃ uddhaccaṃ lobho diṭṭhi māno doso issā  
macchariyaṃ kukkuccaṃ thīnaṃ middhaṃ vicikicchā ceti cuddasīme cetasikā  
akusalā nāma.* (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha 5)

These are the fourteen unskillful thought concomitants, namely: stupidity, shamelessness, lack of remorse, agitation, greed, unfounded views, conceit, hatred, spite, selfishness, misbehavior, sluggishness, sloth, and doubt.

Further on these two, along with *macchariya* “selfishness” and *kukkucca* “misbehavior” are grouped together as *paṭighasampayuttacittā* “thoughts associated with wrath (*paṭigha*),” and

further on we will find *paṭigha* defined in much the same way as both *dosa* and *krodha* (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha 24).

But with *cetasika dhammas* our search for a simple categorization hits another roadblock; here too the texts do not say unequivocally where to look *krodha*.

#### 2.4. *Krodha*

But what is *krodha* then? At the very least, definitions are abundant, and we turn to the *Puggalapaññatti* “Description of Persons,” one of the books of the Pali Abhidhammapiṭaka. Like the Pali Abhidhamma in general, the text’s method is systematic and analytical, attempting to separate the entirety of human experience into its smallest components and showing the ways in which these components give rise to each other and interact. As its name suggests, within the *Puggalapaññatti* the reader finds an accounting of the types of people and the elements, aggregates, and characteristics that describe them. There a definition of anger as well as that of an angry person is given as:

*Katamo ca puggalo kodhano? Tattha katamo kodho? Yo kodho kujjhanā kujjhitattaṃ doso dussanā dussitattaṃ byāpatti byāpajjanā byāpajjitattaṃ virodho paṭivirodho caṇḍikkaṃ asuro po anattamanatā cittassa ayaṃ vuccati kodho. Yassa puggalassa ayaṃ kodho appahīno ayaṃ vuccati puggalo kodhano* (*Puggalapaññatti*, *Dukapuggalapaññatti*, 45).

And what kind of person is angry? What then is anger? Whatever is anger, being angry, irritation, hatred, hating, hatefulness, malice, being malicious, maliciousness, hostility, opposition, wrathfulness, short-temperedness, dissatisfaction of the mind—this is called “anger.” Whoever has not renounced this anger—this is called an “angry person.”

This exhaustive listing of synonyms is typical of Pali Abhidhammic glosses, and we will see many more like it in the coming sections. This definition is also repeated verbatim in the

Vibhaṅga, another major Abhidhammic treatise. But there the term is coupled with another one, *upanāha* “grudge, negative obsession,” which arises because of *krodha*:

*Tattha katamo upanāho? Pubbakālaṃ kodho, aparakālaṃ upanāho. Yo evarūpo upanāho upanayhanā upanayhitattaṃ aṭṭhapanā ṭhapanā saṅṭhapanā anusamsandanā anuppabandhanā dalhīkammaṃ kodhassa – ayaṃ vuccati upanāho* (Vibhaṅga, Dukaniddeso, 891).

What then is a grudge? First there is anger, then there is a grudge. Whichever such grudge, scorn, bitterness, unsettling, settling, establishment, conclusion, escalation, strong action coming from anger—this is called a “grudge.”

*Krodha*, then, is a mental phenomenon associated with such things as hatred, maliciousness, hostility and mental dissatisfaction. Moreover, it can give rise to *upānaha* “a grudge” against another. *Krodha* is elsewhere categorized as one the six *vivādamūlāni* “roots of infighting” and one of the nine *purisamalāni* “impurities of people” (Vibhaṅga, 944, 961). I have chosen to characterize *krodha* above as a “mental phenomenon,” rather than a *saṃkhāra* or *cetasika dhamma*, for that is as specific as the data from Pali Abhidhamma materials allow me to be.<sup>8</sup>

But what of the other related terms that crop up whenever discussing *krodha* in depth? For terms such as *dosa* and *paṭigha*, we will find a number of elements seen in *krodha*’s gloss repeated.

## 2.5. *Dosa*

While *krodha*’s categorization is only indirectly implied in the texts surveyed thus far, there can be little doubt that *dosa* “hatred” is categorized as a *cetasika dhamma* and coincides with *moha* “delusion” and *rāga* “passion” as one of the three great *kilesas* (OIA *kleśa*) “afflictions, stains.” Nevertheless, owing to their similarity, *krodha* and *dosa* sometimes find

---

<sup>8</sup> *Krodha*, however, does appear among the *caitta dharmas* in Sarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣikas. See, for instance, Abhidharmakośa 5.47–48a and 5.57a–c for *krodha* as *kleśamala* and *upakleśa*, respectively. My thanks to Collet Cox for this insight.

themselves enmeshed, particularly regarding definitions, as in that of *krodha* above and the definition of *dosa* below.

*Dosa*, along with *lobha* and *moha*, is categorized as one of three *akusalahetū* “unmeritorious conditions” in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, another of the great works in the Pali *Abhidhamma*. And the definition given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* shares much of its terminology with that of *krodha* in the *Puggalapaññatti*. Words found in both definitions are underlined below:

*Tattha katamo doso? Anattaṃ me acarīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me caratīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me carissatīti āghāto jāyati, piyassa me manāpassa anattaṃ acari...pe... anattaṃ carati...pe... anattaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, appiyassa me amanāpassa atthaṃ acari...pe... atthaṃ carati...pe... atthaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, aṭṭhāne vā pana āghāto jāyati. Yo evarūpo cittassa āghāto paṭighāto paṭighaṃ pativirodho kopo pakopo sampakopo doso padoso sampadoso cittassa byāpatti manopadoso kodho kujjhanā kujjhitattam doso dussanā dussitattam byāpatti byāpajanā byāpajitattam virodho pativirodho candikkam asuro anattamanatā cittassa – *ayaṃ vuccati doso* (*Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 1066).*

What then is hatred? There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done me a disservice...does me a disservice...will do me a disservice.” There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done a disservice to someone pleasing and dear to me...does a disservice to someone pleasing and dear to me...will do a disservice to someone pleasing and dear to me.” There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done a service to someone displeasing and not dear to me...does a service to someone displeasing and not dear to me...will do a service to someone displeasing and not dear to me.” Hostility arises for no reason. Whichever such hostility of the mind, repugnance, wrath, antagonism, agitation, tumult, rage, hatred, hate, ill-will, malice of the mind, thoughts of hate, anger, being angry, irritation, hatred, hating, hatfulness, malice, being malicious, maliciousness, hostility, opposition, wrathfulness, short-temperedness, dissatisfaction of the mind—this is called “hatred.”

Out of the twenty-six terms used in the latter half of the definition, sixteen are shared with that of *krodha* above. Interestingly, among those not included in *krodha*’s definition are *āghāta* “hostility” and *paṭigha* “wrath,” to be discussed further on. With such a wide degree of overlap between *dosa* and *krodha*, drawing sharp semantic distinctions is fruitless for our purposes. We

may note, however, the additional attention given to defining *dosa*, particularly with the first half dealing with specific thoughts that can give rise to *āghāta* “wrath.” Regarding the ten terms found in *dosa*’s gloss but not found in *krodha*’s, this does not necessarily mean that the terms are not applicable to *krodha*. But whether these terms could apply to *krodha* or not, Buddhist writers in Pali did not include them in technical analyses of it.

When we consider *krodha*’s unclear categorization compared to that of *dosa* and the uses to which Buddhist writers have put the two terms, there is another notable difference. As I will discuss in chapter 3, early Buddhist literature argues for a karmic connection between being angry in one’s present life and being reborn as ugly in a future life. And the term used in this context is most commonly *krodha*, rather than *dosa* or the other terms explored below. Lashing out because of *dosa* does appear as a condition for ugliness, for instance in the Mallikādevī Sutta (AN II 203–5), though these instances are rare. The reason for this attention to *krodha* is ultimately unclear.

Also noteworthy concerning *dosa* is that this term, rather than the more generic *krodha*, is the word that receives the most attention by the prolific Buddhist writer Buddhaghosa in his lengthy step-by-step treatise on anger management, discussed further in §4.3. While he uses *krodha*, *dosa*, *paṭigha*, and *āghāta* throughout the work, the opening remarks concern the need to lessen one’s *dosa*: *dose ādīnavo khantiyaṃ ca ānisaṃso paccavekkhitabbo* “One should reflect upon the danger regarding hatred and the merit regarding patience” (Vism IX, 242). The fact that Buddhaghosa soon engages suttas and stories that concern *krodha* in his instructions on how to lesson *dosa* reinforces the semantic similarity between these terms.

## 2.6. Paṭigha

*Paṭigha* “wrath” appears in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī in a list of ten *saṃyojanas* “bonds, fetters” that keep beings tied to the realms of rebirth. A number of analyses of these *saṃyojanas* occur, differing in the number and the particular terms included. In the Dhammasaṅgaṇī *paṭigha* occurs alongside nine other terms: *kāmarāga* “desire for passion,” *māna* “arrogance,” *diṭṭhi* “dogma,” *vicikicchā* “doubt,” *sīlabbataparāmāsa* “clinging to rules and rituals,” *bhavarāga* “desire for existence,” *issā* “anger, ill-will” *macchhariya* “selfishness,” and *avijjā* “ignorance.” Another list of seven *saṃyojanas* in DN III 254 repeats these terms, but leaves out *sīlabbataparāmāsa*, *issā*, and *macchhariya*. Interestingly, the definition for *paṭigha* given in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī is identical to that given for *dosa* above:

*Tattha katamaṃ paṭighasaṃyojanaṃ? Anattaṃ me acarīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me caratīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me carissatīti āghāto jāyati, piyassa me manāpassa anattaṃ acari...pe... anattaṃ carati...pe... anattaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, appiyassa me amanāpassa atthaṃ acari...pe... atthaṃ carati...pe... atthaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, aṭṭhāne vā pana āghāto jāyati. Yo evarūpo cittassa āghāto paṭighāto paṭighaṃ paṭivirodho kopo pakopo sampakopo doso padoso sampadoso cittassa byāpatti manopadoso kodho kujjhanā kujjhitattaṃ doso dussanā dussitattaṃ byāpatti byāpajjanā byāpajjitattaṃ virodho paṭivirodho caṇḍikkam asuropo anattamanatā cittassa – idaṃ vuccati paṭighasaṃyojanaṃ (Dhammasaṅgaṇī 1120).*

What then is the fetter of wrath? There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done me a disservice...does me a disservice...will do me a disservice.” There arises hostility at the thought “[he] has done a disservice to someone pleasing and dear to me...does a disservice...will do a disservice.” There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done a service to someone displeasing and not dear to me.”...Hostility arises for no reason. Whatever sort of hostility of the mind, revulsion, repugnance...dissatisfaction of the mind—this is called “wrath.”

With the definition for *paṭigha* being identical to that of *dosa*, how are we to distinguish the two?

The derivation of the word *paṭigha* itself is somewhat helpful in this regard. It is formed by prefixing *prati*, implying opposition, to the root  $\sqrt{han}$  “attack, strike, kill.” *Paṭigha*, then, carries connotations of opposition, resistance, and violence, rather than mere feelings and emotions.

*Dosa* does not carry the same violent implication, being a nominal derivation of  $\sqrt{duṣ}$  “commit offense, be ruined.” Rather, it has connotations of being wronged or wronging another.

More revealing in drawing distinctions is the commentary for the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which makes it plain that the difference is one of intensity: *Idhāpi doso dubbalakodho, paṭigho balavakodho* “Now then, *dosa* is a weak anger, *paṭigha* is a strong anger” (DNA, *Sīlakkhandhavagga Aṭṭhakathā*, 63). That is, both *dosa* and *paṭigha* are forms of anger, though *paṭigha* is more forceful. It is because of the attention to violence and its gloss as *balavakodho* that I have given *paṭigha* the translation “wrath.”

## 2.7. *Āghāta*

We have already encountered *āghāta* “hostility” throughout this chapter, appearing in the definitions for *dosa* and *paṭigha* as the element that arises from thoughts such as *anattaṃ me acari* “[He] has done me a disservice.” The very same sequence of thoughts appears in the gloss for *āgāthavattūni* “elements of hostility”:

*Tattha katamāni nava āghātavattūni? Anattaṃ me acarīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me caratīti āghāto jāyati, anattaṃ me carissatīti āghāto jāyati, piyassa me manāpassa anattaṃ acari...pe... anattaṃ carati...pe... anattaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, appiyassa me amanāpassa atthaṃ acari...pe... atthaṃ carati...pe... atthaṃ carissatīti āghāto jāyati, Imāni nava āghātavattūni* (Vibhaṅga, Navakaniddeśa, 960).

What then are the nine elements of hostility? There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done me a disservice...does me a disservice...will do me a disservice.” There arises hostility at the thought, [he] has done a disservice to someone pleasing and dear to me...does a disservice...will do a disservice.” There arises hostility at the thought, “[he] has done a service to someone displeasing and not dear to me...does a service...will do a service.” These are the nine elements of hostility.

Elsewhere in the *Vibhaṅga* there occurs a list of ten *āgāthavattūni* consisting of the same set of nine, with the addition of *aṭṭhāne vā pana āghāto jāyati* “Hostility arises for no reason”

(Vibhaṅga, Dasakaniddesa, 967). We must note here that these two glosses are not for *āghāta* specifically, but for *āghātavatthūni*, and that a direct definition of *āghāta* remains elusive. The gloss given above serves adequately for describing *āghātavatthuni* but would be woefully circular for a definition of *āghāta*. The etymology of the term is similar to *paṭigha*, differing only in upasarga. While *paṭigha* is derived from *prati* + √*han*, *āghāta* is derived from *ā* + √*han*. Monier-Williams gives a number of glosses for *ā-*, including “near, toward, at, unto” (MW 1899: 126). But the importance of this upasarga is limited at best, and little should be made of it. Given that, the best attempt at defining the term relies on the words that *āghāta* itself glosses: *dosa* and *paṭigha*. Whether it would be categorized as a *dubbalakodha* or *balavakodha* is unknown, though I believe *balavakodha* to be more likely given the shared etymology with *paṭigha*.

Taken as a whole, there is little to distinguish *āghāta*, *paṭigha*, *dosa*, and *krodha*. They differ in categorization, in strength when referring to *dosa* and *paṭigha*, and the implications of violence that *āghāta* and *paṭigha* carry because of their shared derivation from √*han* “attack, strike, kill.”

## 2.8. Conclusion

I would like to finish by returning to a key aspect in the notion of emotionology, namely that it is variable across time periods. It is tempting to view the texts and terms surveyed here as arising in a timeless void with static meanings and functions, but this is certainly not the case. Words and emotions at one time see a great deal of attention, while others become less frequently used and discussed.

The glosses seen throughout this chapter are no doubt thorough in their attempt to describe the complexity of human experience. They show that when looking at *krodha*, *dosa*, and

the rest, we are dealing with largely overlapping semantic fields. But these fields are not strictly congruent, as in the implications of violence seen in *āghāta* and *paṭigha* that are not there in *krodha* and *dosa*. This brief overview of the Pali Abhidhammic analysis of anger and similar emotions also reveals these emotions “to be multifaceted events that resist a static or absolutist interpretation of a human being” (Heim 2007: 20). However, the mission of Abhidhammic literature—shaving down experiences and phenomena to their barest elements—gives rise to results that are timeless and the “natural occurrences built into human psychology” (Heim 2007: 20). But for all their exactness, the *Vibhaṅga*, *Puggalapaññatti*, and *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* disregard the cultural and societal element that accounts for much of the richness offered by emotionology. For this, we turn to the following two chapters in which I explore the Buddhist relationship between emotions and physical appearance and the ways in which we should respond to anger.

## CHAPTER 3: ANGER MAKES YOU UGLY

### 3.1. Introduction

Of the many emotionological factors involved in early Buddhist literature's valuation of *krodha* as a negative emotion, most notable is the causal connection of anger and *doṣa* (P *dosa*) "hatred" to bodily traits, notably ugliness. A number of passages tucked away in the Buddhacarita, Chinese Samyuktāgamas, and the Pali nikāyas, Jātaka tales, and commentaries on Pali literature explicitly say that anger is the enemy of beauty, and that the karmic consequences of becoming angry will manifest as physical ugliness in a future rebirth. There is much we can learn from this anger-ugliness connection about Buddhism on a wider scale and about Buddhist notions of earthly and otherworldly punishments. Such a connection underscores the idea that early Buddhist conceptions of karmic retributions were more diverse than the fire and brimstone images of hell that often capture popular imagination. Moreover, it is a cunning way of using people's attachment to outward form (P *rūpa*) and beauty and turning it toward salvifically beneficial ends. The Buddhist literature surveyed in this chapter seems to say "Follow the Dharma and renounce anger, lest you be reduced to ugliness and your beauty fade!" From an emotionological perspective, this and the widespread connection between beauty and purity explored below gesture toward early Buddhist society's valuation of one's appearance as an indicator for one's inner emotional state. Furthermore it highlights a radical attitude of one's total control and responsibility for one's appearance, for if a person's beauty or ugliness is a direct result of anger in a past life, then ultimately their looks are their own fault. Ideas of discipline, emotions, and control over individuals' bodies come to influence each other, warranting a discussion of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* in the final pages of this chapter.

### 3.2. Beauty and Spiritual Purity

In the Indic context this causal connection with ugliness often stretches across multiple lifetimes. As each being is tossed about in *samsāra*, the beginningless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth, their gender, wealth, societal position, and physical appearance are all conditioned by acts they have done in former lives. Furthermore, the idea that one's outward physical appearance is a reflection of one's inner spiritual state is emphasized in Buddhist circles, with the Buddha himself standing as the most famous example of this connection. Owing to the innumerable good deeds he accomplished in the lifetimes between his fateful meeting with the earlier Buddha Dīpaṅkara and his final birth as Siddhārtha, he was born with the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇā*, or marks of a great man, and exceptional good looks. It was based on these very marks that soothsayers predicted that he was to become either a great king or an awakened being. Beautiful and virile, the Buddha is time and again hailed as a hypermasculine figure, a “bull of a man,” whose impressive physique gained him a number of followers on its own, (Powers 2009: 15).

This conflation of bodily features such as extreme virility and attractiveness with spiritual excellence may seem odd to those raised outside an Indic religious context, in which the two are not inherently linked. However the Buddha's manliness and appearance served him well throughout his teaching and conversions along the Gangetic plains. Nowhere is this link between inner emotions and outer form more dwelt upon in Buddhist literature than in tales describing the appearance of the Buddha in fine detail.

Take, for instance, the tales of the brahmins in the Caṅkī Sutta and Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta. When the brahmin Caṅkī was persuading a group of his fellows to visit the Buddha, they told

him that the Buddha should come to see him instead, citing Caṅkī's wisdom, learning and beauty. Caṅkī responded by praising the Buddha's appearance, saying of the Buddha:

*Samaṇo khalu, bho, gotamo abhirūpo dassanīyo pāsādiko paramāya  
vaṇṇapokkharatāya samannāgato brahmavaṇṇī brahmavacchasī akhuddāvakaṣo  
dassanāya* (MN II 166–7).

‘The Samaṇa Gotama is truly handsome, good looking and lovely, endowed with the best beauty of complexion, with the best looks and bearing, and an appearance not lowly to behold.’

Upon saying this he immediately goes into a long description of the Buddha's virtues. An identical exchange takes place between the brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa and a group of five hundred of his fellow brahmins when the Buddha made his way to the city of Campā on the far eastern edge of the early Buddhist world. Just as before, Soṇadaṇḍa expresses interest in seeing the Buddha despite his friends' objection that the Buddha should go to him instead, because of his station and good looks. And just as before, the Buddha is hailed as even better looking than Soṇadaṇḍa, (DN I 111–7). For a being as inwardly pure and wise as the Buddha, beauty necessarily accompanied spiritual attainments.

In this sense, the appearance of a spiritual teacher served as a billboard for the efficacy of his religious teaching, since writers and thinkers within the world of the texts and in historical ancient India regarded a teacher's loveliness as important. As King Pasenadi says to the Buddha with regard to other ascetic schools,

*Somaṇ tattha passāmi eke samaṇabrāhmaṇe kisse lūkhe dubbhaṇṇe  
uppaṇḍuppaṇḍukajāte dhamanisanthatagatte, na viya mañṇe cakkhuṃ bandhante  
janassa dassanāya. Tassa mayhaṃ, bhante, etadahosi: ‘addhā ime āyasmanto  
anabhiratā vā brahmacariyaṃ caranti, atthi vā tesamaṃ kiñci pāpaṃ kammaṃ  
kataṃ paṭicchannaṃ; tathā hi ime āyasmanto kisaṃ lūkhā dubbhaṇṇā  
uppaṇḍuppaṇḍukajātā dhamanisanthatagattā, na viya mañṇe cakkhuṃ bandhanti  
janassa dassanāyā’ ti* (M II 121–2).

‘I have seen these śrāmaṇas and brahmins who are haggard, wretched, ugly, having become very pale, their veins showing, so that folks would not set their gaze upon the site of one. And I thought, ‘surely either these venerable ones are unhappy wandering religiously, *or they have done some hidden evil deed* [my emphasis]; such that they are truly haggard, wretched, ugly, having become very pale, their veins showing. I don’t suppose that folks would set their gaze upon the site of one.’

In contrast the king says that spiritually advanced folks, and the Buddhist saṅgha in particular, are associated with pleasant looks, its monks and nuns roaming happily:

*Idha panāhaṃ, bhante, bhikkhū passāmi haṭṭhapahaṭṭhe udaggudagge abhiratarūpe pīṇindriye appossukke pannalome paradattavutte migabhūtena cetasā viharante* (MN II 121–2).

‘Yet now I see, worthy one, before my very eyes, monks in high spirits, very delighted, with contented bodies, their senses satisfied, without a care in the world and undisturbed, subdued, living on charity, roaming carefree like a deer.’

With such passages in mind that describe Buddhist ascetics as having soothing voices, kind eyes and a calm yet powerful bearing, de Silva notes that “the body is one of the avenues through which both evil and good may be expressed” in Buddhist texts (de Silva 1995: 166).

At times these differences in physiology come into dramatic focus, as in the Cūḷasaccaka Sutta (MN I 227–37) featuring the debate between the Buddha and Saccaka the Nighaṇṭa. As their dialogue progressed and the Buddha got the better of Saccaka, the Buddha remained calm and unflustered in mind and body and showed his golden form to the audience, while Saccaka began sweating so badly that it soaked through his robes and began to show. This led the Buddha to mock him and boast triumphantly, saying that while Saccaka had boasted of his ability to make anyone sweat in a debate,

*Tuyhaṃ kho pana, aggivessana, appekaccāni sedaphusitāni nalāṭā muttāni, uttarāsaṅgaṃ vinibhīditvā bhūmiyaṃ patiṭṭhitāni. Mayhaṃ kho pana, aggivessana, natthi etarahi kāyasmimṃ sedo”ti. Iti bhagavā tasmimṃ parisati suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ kāyaṃ vivari* (MN I 233).

‘Now again, Aggivessana, some drops of sweat bead up on your forehead, soak through your upper robe and fall to the ground. And as for me now, Saccaka, there is no sweat on my body,’ and the lord showed his beautiful body to the audience.

With Saccaka regarded as the clear loser, we read that he sat without talking,

*Evaṃ vutte, saccako nigaṇṭaputto tuṅhībhūto maṅkubhūto pattakkhandho adhomukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāno nisīdi* (MN I 234).

Thus spoken to, Saccaka the Nigaṇṭa sat down, tongue-tied, disheartened, with drooping shoulders, a downcast face, stupefied, and tongue-tied.

Saccaka’s expression and bodily condition thus betrayed his inner turmoil and his as-yet unattained awakening. With this association of beauty and spiritual virtue firmly established in the early Buddhist context, we are on firmer ground to lay out a similar relationship in early Buddhist literature between ugliness and a lack of virtue, typified by *krodha*.

### 3.3. *Krodha* and Ugliness in Suttas, Commentaries, and Jātaka Tales

#### 3.3.1. Rohiṇī

We do not have far to look for a connection between *krodha* and ugliness, for the Buddha himself in a number of texts says explicitly that anger gives rise to ugliness. The fifth century Theravādan writer Buddhaghosa relates a number of stories involving ugliness and physical form in his commentaries on the *Kodhavagga*, or chapter on Anger, in the Dhammapada.

One such tale involves the laywoman Rohiṇī, whose face had erupted in sores. The tale goes that when her brother, the famous bhikkhu Anuruddha, came to visit Kapilavatthu she refused to greet him, owing to the sores that had erupted on her face. Anuruddha then summoned her anyway and, seeing her condition, bade her sell her jewels and build a meditation hall for the

sangha. As soon as she finished sweeping the newly-built hall, she found to her surprise that the sores cleared from her face.

Later on the Buddha heard of her condition and bluntly stated why they had troubled her: *‘Tava kodhaṃ nissāya uppanno eso’ ti*, “Your anger is the reason for their arising,” (DhPA III 297). The reader is then treated to a former birth story in which Rohiṇī, born a queen, bore a grudge against her chief rival. To get an edge over her, Rohiṇī poured itching powder onto her rival’s body, cloak and bed. The potency of the powder was such that her rival suffered terrible boils, just as the queen would in her present life. But after hearing this tale and the Buddha’s explanatory verse,

*kodhaṃ jahe vippajaheyya mānaṃ saññojanaṃ sabbam atikkameyya /  
taṃ nāmarūpasmim asajjamānaṃ akiñcanaṃ nānupatanti dukkhā* (DhP 221).

‘One should abandon anger, give up pride, overcome all fetters. No suffering at all befalls one who does not cling to name and form.’

she attained the fruit of stream-entry and, revealingly for the present work, *Taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva’ssā sarīraṃ suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ ahosi*, “Her body took on a beautiful hue” (DhPA Vol III, 298).

The tale does not end there, however, for her transition from ugliness to beauty continued after death as she was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsā heaven as the beautiful wife of Sakka, king of the gods. So beautiful was she that a fight nearly broke out among Sakka’s heavenly servants, with each vying for her hand until he stepped in and claimed her for himself. This tale is particularly revealing in that it establishes both that anger led to Rohiṇī’s malady and that her transition to beauty was the result of piety, sweeping the hall herself, and a lack of anger.

A further facet of this story that sets it apart from others discussed later is the speed with which her sores disappeared. Unlike other tales in which an ugly person performs a good deed but stays ugly until their next life, Rohiṇī’s sores disappeared in her very lifetime, immediately

upon sweeping the meditation hall. One other instance of *krodha* or *akrodha* having an outward effect within the same lifetime occurs in the Ekapanna Jātaka concerning the wrathful Licchavi prince Duttha (Jā I 504–6). In persuading Duttha to renounce his violent ways, the Buddha explains that violent men such as the prince are unkind to those around them, like a striking snake, and that such men are reborn in hell. But interestingly, he teaches that such wrathful people are ugly in this very lifetime:

*Diṭṭhe yeva ca dhamme kodhano puggalo maṇḍitapasādhito 'pi dubbanno va hoti,  
puṇṇacandasassirīkaṃ pi 'ssa mukaiḥ jālabhihatapadumaiḥ viya  
malagahitakañcanadasamaṇḍalaiḥ viya virupaṃ hoti (Jā I 504-6).*

‘Even in this very life, though he is richly adorned, he is ugly, and though his face be beautiful as a full moon, he is as ugly as lotuses scorched by fire, as golden discs covered in filth.’

Furthermore, he says that even after going to hell and reaching birth as a human once more, one is still beset by ugliness and physical deformities from birth in the form of illnesses of the eyes.

### 3.3.2. Queen Mallikā

This parallel causation of *krodha* leading to ugliness and *akrodha* leading to beauty is not restricted to Rohiṇī, for often the same text that reflects on anger and ugliness also reflects on a lack of anger and attractiveness. In the Mallikādevī Sutta, at one time queen Mallikā of Kosala came to the Buddha asking why some women are born ugly, others lovely, some poor, others rich, some powerless, and others powerful. In his response the Buddha systematically relates 1) giving food, drink, clothing, and garlands to brahmins and ascetics to being born rich and wealthy; 2) being jealous, resentful and begrudging the honor and esteem given to others to being reborn as insignificant and powerless, and; 3) being angry, short tempered, cruel, showing anger, hatred and bitterness to being reborn as *dubbaṇṇā durūpā dassanāya*, a stock phrase for

“ugly, unattractive, bad-looking.” He then reverses the latter two conditions by teaching that giving to ascetics and brahmins leads to riches, that not being jealous leads to esteem, and that not being angry leads to loveliness:

*‘Idha pana, mallike, ekacco mātugāmo akkodhanā hoti anupāyāsabahulā ... Sā ce tato cutā itthattaṃ āgacchati, sā yattha yattha paccājāyati abhirūpā ca hoti dassanīyā pāsādikā paramāya vaṇṇapokkharatāya samannāgatā’* (AN II 203–5).

‘Here again, Mallikā, some woman is not angry, given to tranquility ... if she dies and returns to this earthly existence, wherever she is reborn she is beautiful, good-looking, lovely, endowed with the best complexion.’

Queen Mallikā says that she must have given much to ascetics in a former life, for now she was rich and wealthy, and she must not have been envious, jealous or resentful of fame and praise given to others, for now she was powerful and had many maidens and underlings. But she clearly thought of herself as unattractive, saying,

*‘Yā nūnāhaṃ, bhante, aññaṃ jātiṃ kodhanā ahoṣiṃ upāyāsabahulā, appampi vuttā samānā abhisajjiṃ kuppiṃ byāpajjiṃ patitthīyīṃ kopañca dosañca appaccayañca pātvākāsiṃ, sāhaṃ, bhante, etarahi dubbaṇṇā durūpā supāpikā dassanāya’* (AN II 205).

‘In another life, worthy one, I must have been angry and given to irritation. Even though spoken to gently, I was angry just the same, on edge, offended, irritable and showed anger, hatred and bitterness. Now because of that I am ugly, misshapen, wretched, bad-looking.’

Upon saying this she resolved never to lose her temper, to be generous, and not to be envious of others and declared herself a lay-follower of the Buddha.

### 3.3.3. Jātaka Tales – Pañcapāpā and the Paccekabuddha

Nestled within the wider narrative of the Kunala Jātaka (Jā VI 412–56) are a series of tales told to Punnamukha in order to convince him of the immorality of women. One such tale concerns Pañcapāpā, the daughter of a poor man who dwelt near the eastern gate of Benares. In a

former life, the people said, she was the daughter of a poor man and made her living by plastering walls with clay. Then one day a Paccekabuddha (a self-enlightened being who has chosen not to teach the Dharma) found his cave dwelling in poor shape and set out for clay to tidy it up, whereupon he met with Pañcapāpā. Seeing the Paccekabuddha with his begging bowl,

*Paduṭhena manasā mattikaṃpi bhikkhatīti avoca paccekabuddho niccalo va ahosi atha sā paccekabuddhaṃ niccalitaṃ disvā puna cittaṃ pasādetvā oloketvā. Sā kujjhitvā oloketī ‘samaṇa mattikaṃ pi na labhasīti’ vatvā mahantaṃ mattikāpiṇḍaṃ āharitvā patte ṭhapesi, so tāya mattikāya pabbhāre paribhaṇḍam akāsi, tassā mattikāpiṇḍaphalena sarīraṃ phassasampannaṃ ahosi, kujjhitvā olokitattā pana hatthapādamukhākkhināsāni pāpāni virūpāni ahesuṃ, tena naṃ Pañcapāpā ti (Jā VI 441).*

She muttered ‘With his wicked mind he begs for clay too,’ but the Paccekabuddha was quite still. Then she saw the still Paccekabuddha, calmed her mind and reconsidered him. Having been angry and considering, she thought ‘You, Samaṇa, haven’t gotten clay,’ and took a great ball of clay and put it in his begging bowl, and with this clay he made a plastered flooring for his cave. In reward for giving this offering of clay her body became wonderful to the touch, but for having been angry at the Paccekabuddha and looking down on him her hands, feet, face, eyes and nose became wretched and deformed, whence her name “Pañcapāpā” [“Five Deformities”].

Here again, just as the tale of Rohiṇī, we find anger directly causing ugliness in a future rebirth. But unlike with Rohiṇī, it is not an act done out of anger that has the karmic effect, but speech arising out of anger.

#### 3.3.4. Jātaka Tales – The Bodhisattva

We should note here that those instances in the literature which illustrate this causal connection between anger and ugliness usually involve women. But lest we think that this teaching was meant only for women, the Buddha gave similar teachings to men and audiences of all kinds. And in at least one instance it is the Bodhisattva himself who grew angry and suffered from ugliness. In the Kusa Jātaka (Jā VI 278–312) we read of his former birth as the hideous

King Kusa of Malla and his tumultuous relationship with his queen Pabhāvātī, who was exceedingly beautiful and shone like a lamp. Upon first seeing her husband, the queen fainted and thought that she had married a yakṣa (*Sā tassa mukhaṃ disvā “yakkho maṃ gaṇhatī” viravitvā*). Only after Pabhavati fled the kingdom in a chariot do we learn the reason behind his ugliness, her beauty, and her disgust for the king.

Long before his birth as Kusa, the Bodhisattva was born as the younger of two brothers. One day his brother’s wife cooked a cake (*P pūva*) for the Bodhisattva, but after seeing a Paccekabuddha with an empty bowl, she gave him the cake instead and decided that she would simply bake another for the younger brother. The Bodhisattva grew angry when he learned of this, and after snatching the cake out of the Paccekabuddha’s bowl ordered his brother’s wife to bake the Paccekabuddha a second cake instead. Determined for the Paccekabuddha not to leave with an empty bowl after all, she filled his bowl with fresh ghee, and prayed that

*‘Bhante, nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne me sarīraṃ obhāsajātaṃ hotu, uttamarūpadharā bhaveyyaṃ, iminā ca me asappurisena saddhiṃ ekaṭṭhāne vāso mā ahoṣīti’* (Jā VI 289).

‘Worthy one, in whichever state I am reborn, may my body be made of light, with the best of forms, and may I never dwell in the same place with this unworthy man!’

and because of this vow she would have nothing to do with him in later lives. The Bodhisattva, meanwhile,

*Taṃ pūvaṃ tasmīṃ patte osīdāpetvā patthanaṃ thapesi: “bhante imaṃ yojanasataṃ vasantiṃ pi ānetvā mama pādapariṇāyikaṃ kātuṃ samattho bhaveyyaṃ” ti* (Jā VI 289).

Having put the cake back into [the paccekabuddha’s] bowl, made a wish: “Worthy one, even though I may dwell a hundred yojanas away, may I be able to fetch her and make her my wife.

But karma worked both for and against him, for although he was able to marry her in a later life,

*Yaṃ so kuddho hutvā pūvaṃ gaṇhi tassa pubbakamassa vasena virūpo ahosi (Jā VI 289).*

Because he was angry and took the cake, by the power of that earlier deed he became ugly.

Only after his rebirth as the ugly Kusa was he able to woo Queen Pabhāvatī, and we learn that she was none other than Yaśodharā, Siddhartha Gautama’s wife, in a previous lifetime.

### 3.3.5. Subha

Elsewhere, in the Cuḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (MN III 202–6), we hear of the brahmin Subha asking the Buddha, similarly to queen Mallikā, why some people are born ugly or beautiful, long-lived or short-lived, high-born or low-born, clever or dull, and so forth. With Subha not being satisfied with the response that “action is what separates the lowly from the excellent,” (*“Kammassakā, māṇava, sattā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammappaṭisaraṇā. Kammaṃ satte vibhajati yadidaṃ—hīnappaṇītatāyā”*ti), the Buddha decides to clarify his comment. His opening remarks are nearly identical to those given to Mallikā (“some man or woman is angry, irritated though only lightly criticized,” and so forth), and the Buddha goes on to explain that because of this person’s anger he is reborn in an unhappy place, possibly hell.

*No ce kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati, sace manussattaṃ āgacchati yattha yattha paccājāyati dubbhaṇṇo hoti. Dubbhaṇṇasaṃvattanikā esā, māṇava, paṭipadā yadidaṃ kodhano hoti upāyāsabahulo; appampi vutto samāno abhisajjati kuppati byāpajjati paṭiṭṭhīyati kopaṇca dosaṇca appaccayaṇca pātukaroti (MN III 203).*

‘But if, upon the breakup of the body, after death, he is not reborn in a worse place, in a place of loss, in hell, *and instead arises in the human realm, wherever he is reborn he is ugly* [my emphasis]. This is the way leading to ugliness, young man: that is, one is angry, much troubled ... shows anger, hate and bitterness.’

And just as with Mallikā, the Buddha is quick to say also that a lack of anger leads to beauty.

This last passage is of particular relevance to the microscopic level of this study, as the remaining fragment of line 6 in frame 19 reads “...if one reaches a human birth again, one becomes ugly, hard to look upon...,” giving us one of several partial parallels in what is otherwise an unidentified and unparalleled text:

P. *sace manussattaṃ āgacchati yattha yattha paccājāyati dubbaṇṇo hoti.*

G. ... [sa]yi punu eti manuṣyabhavo ∆ drovana drodaśia bhavati

Despite the differences in word choice, i.e. P *manussattam* and G *manuṣyabhavo*, P *āgacchati* and G *eti*, the two amount to the same idea, that one is ugly upon being reborn human. Note too that G [sa]yi is parallel to P *sace*, making the relationship more striking. Unfortunately the Gāndhārī text is fragmentary and only bottoms of *akṣaras* have survived in the beginning of the line; however a possible reading of this pāda could involve the word *vrayati*, cognate with OIA *√vraj*, “to turn, turn up, arise,” a common Gāndhārī verb for being reborn. Given the similarity of these two passages, it is likely that the Gāndhārī corresponded to the Pali passage detailing rebirth in hell upon death as the alternative to an ugly rebirth as a human.

### 3.3.6. Sakka and the Anger-Eating Yakkha

There is a curious inversion of this connection between *krodha* and ugliness in a story concerning the king of the gods, Sakka, or Indra, and his victory over an anger-eating yakkha. That is, instead of a character growing angry and becoming ugly as a result, the *Dubbaṇṇiya Sutta* (SN 509–12) involves a yakkha growing beautiful as others become angry at him. The story goes that at one time an “ugly and misshapen yakkha” (*yakkho dubbaṇṇo okoṭimako*) went up to the Tāvatiṃsā heaven and sat on Sakka’s throne. The gods attending the throne understandably grew annoyed and began grumbling at him. But, the tale goes,

*Yathā yathā kho, bhikkhave, devā tāvatimsā ujjhāyanti khiyyanti vipācenti tathā tathā so yakkho abhirūpataro ceva hoti dassanīyataro ca pāsādikataro ca (SN I 509).*

The more angry, annoyed and irritated the Tāvātimsā gods grew, the more truly beautiful, good-looking, and lovelier the yakkha became.”

The parallel version found in the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* emphasizes their rage toward the yakkha when it writes,

爾時，三十三天見是夜叉坐於釋處，皆大瞋忿，種種毀罵。爾時，夜叉惡相漸滅，善色轉生，漸漸長大。諸天罵詈，瞋恚轉多，夜叉遂復身形長大，顏色鮮盛 (T no. 2.99 (2.36) 291a27).

Then the thirty-three gods saw the *yakkha* sitting on Sakka’s throne, and they were furious, incensed, glared angrily, and hurled all kinds of insults at him. Then the *yakkha*’s hideous appearance slowly faded, and a good color took shape within him, and in time he grew great. And the more all the gods hurled curses and abused him, were angry and glared, the more his appearance changed, for in answer his form grew the greater, and his countenance grew beautiful and mighty.

Not knowing what to do with this strange reversal, the gods told Sakka of their plight and in their despair said, *So hi nūna, mārisa, kodhabhakkho yakkho bavissatīti* “He must surely be an anger-eating yakkha.” True to nature, as we shall see in chapter 4, Sakka responded without anger. Rather than storming up and hurling the yakkha off his throne as one might expect, the god calmly walked up to him, went to one knee and saluted him respectfully:

*‘Yathā yathā kho, bhikkhave, sakko devānamindo nāmaṃ sāvesi tathā tathā so yakkho dubbaṇṇataro ceva ahosi okoṭimakataro ca. Dubbaṇṇataro ceva hutvā okoṭimakataro ca tatthevantaradhāyīti (SN I 238).*

‘The more, o monks, that Sakka, king of the gods, announced himself, the uglier and uglier the yakkha became, and having become uglier and uglier, he disappeared right there.’

This text is unique in two ways: 1) it seems to be the only instance in which anger leads to beauty rather than ugliness, as well as patience (in this case Sakka’s) leading to

ugliness, and; 2) it is a case of one's inner state affecting someone *else's* outward appearance, rather than one's own. Interestingly where the Pali reads *kodhabhakkho yakkho* "anger-eating yakkha," the Chinese reads 助人瞋, "one who helps people to be angry." Alternatively it could read "one who is a remedy for anger." This text also perfectly shows Sakka's avoidance of anger, as we shall see further in the next chapter.

### 3.4. The Buddhist *Mahākāvya* Tradition

Aside from these findings within prose narratives, we can glimpse also a scant few passages from the *Mahākāvya* tradition of Buddhist epic poetry, in Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* "Acts of the Buddha." Here the evidence suffers from a degree of linguistic modification, for only the first fourteen out of twenty-eight of the original Sanskrit cantos have come down to us intact, while the remaining cantos have survived in non-Indic languages thanks to the efforts of Chinese and Tibetan translators. It is from cantos xxiii and xxiv within this latter half that we discover two curious passages, the first of which takes place as the Buddha preaches to the Licchavis on the evils of anger. After praising the virtues of a disciplined mind and the dangers of passion (Johnston hypothesizes *kāmarāga* as the original Sanskrit term), the Buddha settles into a lengthy attack on anger, describing it in terms that should now strike us as familiar:

46. Anger is as old age to the beautiful, as darkness to those who have eyes, the frustration of Law, Wealth and Pleasure, and the enemy of learning (Buddhacarita 23).<sup>9</sup>

Echoing this simile is another passage taking place just before the Buddha's last breath and *mahāparinirvāṇa*. After ordaining Subhadra, his final student, the Buddha preaches one last time and exhorts the saṅgha to follow the Dharma that he has set out. After teaching that one should

---

<sup>9</sup> Translated from the Chinese and Tibetan by Johnston 1937: 235.

not give in to anger even though all their limbs be cut off, echoing the Simile of the Saw discussed in §4.2., the Buddha warns his audience, saying,

49. Do not allow the slightest opening to anger, which ruins the Law and destroys fame, and which is the enemy of beauty and a fire to the heart; there is no enemy to the virtues like unto it,” (Buddhacarita 24).<sup>10</sup>

Both passages given in the Buddhacarita express the same idea as that found in the Cullakammavibhaṅga Sutta and elsewhere, though curiously they accomplish it in a different way, establishing an opposition between anger and beauty (“Anger is as old age to the beautiful,” and “the enemy of beauty”) rather than a direct causal connection with ugliness. So too is this final passage noteworthy in that it establishes anger as the destroyer of fame [likely OIA. *yaśas*], echoing the first line of frame 19, *duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti* ◊ *purekhidakroṣa[n.] sarv[am=eva]* “Suffering, loss, infamy, and disgrace all truly belong to those who display anger.”

### 3.5. *Samkhāras* and the Mechanics of Being Reborn Ugly

When we consider the specific mechanisms by which beings are reborn the way they are, we find that it is *krodha* and other *saṃkhāras* that directly determine the state of one’s future births. Returning to the Suttapiṭaka, we find in the Kukkuravatika Sutta (MN I 387–92) two ascetics asking the Buddha what their future rebirths will be. Seniya, the naked ascetic who practices austerities by taking on the posture and mannerisms of a dog, such as only eating food that has fallen to the ground, cries out in despair when the Buddha tells his friend Puṇṇa that only a bad rebirth awaits him.

*‘Idha, puṇṇa, ekacco kukkuravataṃ bhāveti paripuṇṇaṃ abbokiṇṇaṃ, kukkurasīlaṃ bhāveti paripuṇṇaṃ abbokiṇṇaṃ, kukkuracittaṃ bhāveti paripuṇṇaṃ abbokiṇṇaṃ, kukkurākappaṃ bhāveti paripuṇṇaṃ abbokiṇṇaṃ. So*

<sup>10</sup> Translation by Johnston, 1937, 259.

*kukkuravatam bhāvetvā paripuṇṇam abbokiṇṇam, kukkurasīlam bhāvetvā paripuṇṇam abbokiṇṇam, kukkuracittam bhāvetvā paripuṇṇam abbokiṇṇam, kukkurākappam bhāvetvā paripuṇṇam abbokiṇṇam kāyassa bhedā param marañā kukkurānam saḥabyatam upapajjati*’ (MN I 387).

Here now, Puṇṇa, someone cultivates the manner of a dog fully and uninterrupted ... the habits of a dog ... the mind of a dog ... the appearance of a dog fully and uninterrupted. After cultivating the manner of a dog fully and uninterrupted ... the habits of a dog ... the mind of a dog ... the appearance of a dog fully and uninterrupted, with the break up of the body after death he arises [in the companionship] of dogs.

Here we see the central place that mental inclinations have in influencing rebirths, for acting, talking, and thinking like a dog or a cow will lead to those very fates in a future life.

Commenting on this sutta, Bhikkhu Analayo writes that,

Hence, someone whose *saṅkhāras* [used here in the basic sense of intentions that lead to actions] are similar to those of an animal will simply be reborn as an animal. In this way, *saṅkhāras* are indeed the creative principle responsible for various forms of existence. In more general terms, if *saṅkhāras* are of a harmful nature, they will in turn lead to a rebirth where harmful types of experiences are predominant. That is, each living being creates and forms its own character and existence, both in past lives and at every moment of present existence, through the medium of *saṅkhāras* (Analayo 2012: 111).

We can interpret this to mean that if *saṅkhāras* are of an angry nature, they will in turn lead to a rebirth where angry types of experiences predominate. In terms of early Buddhism, that entails ugliness. However a passage explicitly stating how anger leads to ugliness has yet to be found. Explanations in sutta literature tend to be a generalized sort, as we shall see.

Further on in the Kukkuravatika Sutta, the Buddha explains how these *saṅkhāras* go about influencing rebirths by saying that certain actions and their results can be classified as dark, bright, both or neither. By generating these *saṅkhāras*, beings are reborn in correspondingly troublesome (*sabyābajjha*) or troubleless (*abyābajjha*) worlds. As for those actions that are dark and have dark results, we hear that,

*Katamañca, puñña, kammaṃ kaṇhaṃ kaṇhavipākaṃ? Idha, puñña, ekacco sabyābajjhaṃ kāyasaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharoti, sabyābajjhaṃ vacīsaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharoti, sabyābajjhaṃ manosaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharoti. So sabyābajjhaṃ kāyasaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharitvā, sabyābajjhaṃ vacīsaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharitvā, sabyābajjhaṃ manosaṅkhāraṃ abhisāṅkharitvā, sabyābajjhaṃ lokaṃ upapajjati. Tameṇaṃ sabyābajjhaṃ lokaṃ upapannaṃ samānaṃ sabyābajjhā phassā phusanti. So sabyābajjhehi phassehi phuṭṭho samāno sabyābajjhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti ekantadukkhaṃ, seyyathāpi sattā nerayikā. Iti kho, puñña, bhūtā bhūtassa upapatti hoti; yaṃ karoti tena upapajjati, upapannameṇaṃ phassā phusanti (MN I 388).*

And what, Puñña, is an action that is dark and has darkness as its result? Here now, Puñña, one generates a troublesome bodily formation ... verbal formation ... mental formation. After generating a troublesome bodily formation ... verbal formation ... mental formation ... he arises in a troublesome world [one of the lower realms of animals, pretas or hell-beings]. And troublesome contacts touch this being who was born in a troublesome world. Touched by the troublesome contacts, the being feels troublesome feelings most miserably, just like beings in hell. Just so, Puñña, is the rebirth of a being dependent on the being. Whatever one does, one is reborn by that deed, and contacts touch this one who is reborn.

In his own explanation of the passage, Bhikkhu Bodhi writes that these troublesome mental formations may be understood “as the volition responsible for the three courses of unwholesome mental action” (Bodhi 2009: 1260). These three actions in turn are explained in full in MN I 287 and include coveting the wealth of others, denying the existence of karma and other worlds and, importantly for us, having a disturbed mind and plans that only a wicked mind could come up with (*byāpannacitto kho pana hoti paduṭṭhamanasāṅkappo*). Under this last category would fall those cases of beings giving in to anger, even if only temporarily. Saṃkhāras, possibly *krodha* among them, appear to be the true determinants of beings’ karmic fates. But it must be emphasized again that explicit statements categorizing *krodha* as a saṃkhāra have been unforthcoming in the literature discussed here, and further research may flesh out the limited claims made in this project.

### 3.6. *Krodha* and Ugliness Outside of Mainstream Buddhism

It should not surprise us that this *krodha*-ugliness connection goes unnoticed in scholarly circles, for it seems to be an attitude restricted to Buddhist literature in the first place, and even then only to non-Mahāyāna texts. We do not, for instance, find similar teachings connecting *krodha* and ugliness in the Vedas, Upaniṣads, the Mahābhārata, or Rāmāyāna, despite those traditions having much to say on *krodha* in general, while on the Mahāyāna Buddhist side it similarly seems not to have been a concern. Such texts are undoubtedly concerned with *krodha* and its karmic effects, but a connection with ugliness is not explicit. We find no hint of the connection, for instance, in the works of Nagarjuna. Śāntideva for his part does dwell on *krodha* and *doṣa* for some time in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, though there he is ultimately concerned with cultivating *kṣānti* “patience,” and makes no mention of how *krodha* may affect one’s appearance. In this way later Mahāyāna thoughts on anger are more in step with the various *krodha* chapters in the Dhammapada and Udānavarga, neither of which likewise discusses a connection with ugliness or beauty.

With regard to Jainism we find an exhaustive account of different kinds of karma and their effects, among which are *śubhavarannakarma*, leading to one growing beautiful, and *aśubhavarannakarma*, leading to ugliness (Suri 1987: 9). While this leaves open the possibility of *aśubhavarannakarma* being dependent on *krodha* or anger of some kind, my lack of expertise in Jainology prevents a thorough search of the literature, and this remains a topic for future research.

### 3.7. Buddhism, Foucault, and the Body

The repeated and direct connection between anger and ugliness, seen in the stories of Rohiṇī, Pañcapāpā, the Bodhisattva, Queen Mallikā, and Subha underscores the early Buddhist emotionological valuation of anger, and emotions in general, as driving forces in one's appearance and karmic fate. That women are disproportionately on the receiving end of the anger/ugliness connection in early Buddhist literature suggests also that Buddhist writers considered such a lesson to be especially relevant for them. That one's body serves as the visible manifestation of spiritual purity or impurity is well-established, with the Buddha standing as the greatest exemplar. According to the texts surveyed here, if one wanted to join Pañcapāpā in her ugly fate, then one should give in to anger and hatred. But if one would avoid the fate of Pañcapāpā and take on a beautiful hue like Rohiṇī and enjoy the best of looks, as the Buddha does, then one should renounce anger as if it were the *halāhala* poison," (*krodha jaha halahalaviṣa va*, line 12).

This in turn speaks to a radical notion of autonomy and self-control. If, as the Buddha says, true charioteers are those who keep anger in check like a chariot, and that others merely hold the reins (*Yo ve uppatitaṃ kodhaṃ / ratham bhantaṃva vāraye / Tamahaṃ sārathiṃ brūmi / rasmiggāho itaro jano*, DhP 222), then the reins are still in our hands. We all sit in the driver's seat, so to speak, and we all in this sense serve as the chief decider of our karmic fate, whether that leaves us beautiful or ugly, rich or poor, respected or loathed. But even this kernel of self-control is framed in such a way that encourages audiences toward some actions and away from others. There is nevertheless an overriding element of control apparent in Buddhist discourses, telling us that we should avoid hell, that we should want to be beautiful and not want to be ugly, and that we should abandon anger.

How are we to understand this complex interaction between freedom and control as it relates to emotions and the body? A useful lens appears in Michel Foucault's treatment of systems of control and power found in *Discipline and Punish*. In his analysis, punishment in premodern times focused on people's bodies — floggings, beheadings, quartering, and so forth. But beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the focus became centered around people's souls or consciences. The public spectacles of death and torture of the Middle Ages gave way to private executions in the modern period, and gradually even these executions lessened in favor of asylums and prisons. Rather than punishing people's bodies, those in power tried to cure people's souls. That certain prisons are called "penitentiaries" is no mistake or coincidence, for they are, in conception at least, an environment meant to bring about changes in one's mind or "soul."

In distinguishing new "projects of docility that interested the eighteenth century," Foucault is careful to separate them from older forms of control such as slavery, service, vassalage and finally "asceticism and from 'disciplines' of a monastic type." The function of the latter forms, "was to obtain renunciations rather than increases of utility and which, although they involved obedience to others, had as their principal aim an increase of the mastery of each individual over his own body" (Foucault 1977: 137). It is apparent that for his characterization of asceticism as emphasizing obedience, Foucault had medieval Christian monasticism in mind, but that does not lessen his applicability to the realm of Buddhist practice. Buddhist monks and nuns found in early literature, with their strict adherence to celibacy, shunning of intoxicants, wandering, and eating a single meal every day aim to harness their bodily and mental activities no less than their Christian counterparts. This calls to mind the Buddha's call to control anger like a chariot

driver. Separating the Christian from the Buddhist context with regard to our present focus is the notion of rebirth and the changing nature of our bodies. For if being angry makes you ugly, it is just as true to say that being unangry makes you beautiful. In other words, Buddhists were in the business of disciplining their bodies and minds so as to make of them effective instruments for reaching a better rebirth and ultimately *nīrvāṇa*, and thus to “cure the soul” as Foucault would have it. But the Buddha also showed in his teachings *a means of curing the body* as well as the soul, with the soul understood here in a Foucaultian sense. There is already in Foucault’s work an analysis of the body as something that is “manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skillful and increases its forces,” (Foucault 1977: 137). The Buddha’s theory of karmic forces molding one’s appearance not only established a system for “controlling or correcting the operations of the body,” but also set in motion the way to control and correct *its very form and shape*, and thus make a beauty out of one that queen Pabhāvati mistook for a *yakkha*, or a hideous creature out of an angry man.

## CHAPTER 4: AN EMOTION WORSE THAN DEATH

### 4.1. Introduction: What to Do About Anger

Everyone gets angry sometimes. It arises from any number of reasons: a bad day at work, family troubles, looming deadlines, unforeseen circumstances. It is perhaps one of the greatest insights of Buddhist teaching that there is, really, no person at all who gets angry and no one to get angry at. According to the idea of *anatta* “non-self,” there is no permanent, stable being who feels anger bubbling up and who lashes out in hatred. It is more accurate to speak of emotions in terms of events and phenomena: anger arises and anger passes away. And yet in our everyday lives this is scant comfort to us, and regardless of one’s stance on a permanent being, anger will inevitably rear its ugly head and force us to confront it or be carried away by it.

What then should the wise do about anger? And in the inevitable event that it arises, how are they to respond? We have seen already in chapter 3 that *krodha* is karmically harmful in future lives and causes no end of trouble in the present: infamy, disgrace, poverty, lack of sleep, and so forth. It is fitting then that early Buddhist literature is in agreement that one should abandon anger at all costs, and has laid out a number of strategies for doing this. It is these strategies for ridding ourselves of *krodha* that we will investigate in this chapter.

Such strategies fall generally into two broad categories. The first is explained in texts that explicitly tell the audience what they should think about anger and how they should go about destroying it right away. In this category belongs the step-by-step guide found in the *Visuddhimagga* as well as the direct imperative found within line twelve from the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*: *krodha jaha halahalaviṣa va* “abandon anger like the *halāhala* poison.” The second strategy involves more indirect methods, narratives characterized more by who than by how, with the

character in question responding to difficult situations that would otherwise elicit violence and annoyance in mundane folks. This category includes Jātaka tales telling of the Bodhisattva undergoing horrific tortures without compromising his commitment to *khanti* “patience” and other tales with enlightened humans and gods. In this latter category such figures are held up as especially worthy of emulation because of their *akodha* “lack of anger.” Both *akodha* and *khanti* appear multiple times throughout this chapter as the remedy for *kodha*, and in §4.4.2.3. we will even see *khanti* explained as *akujjanabhāvo* “being without anger” (Jā IV 32).

#### 4.2. The Simile of the Saw

Literary depictions of horrific torture can grab your reader’s attention, and Buddhist writers use it to great success.<sup>11</sup> The extreme measures that the Buddha goes to in order to denounce *krodha* can be seen in the Kakacūpama Sutta “Sutta on the Simile of the Saw,” (MN I 122–9) in which the Buddha impresses upon the monk Moliya Phagguna the lengths that monks should go to avoid it. This monk grew so friendly with the order of bhikkunīs that he would fly to their defense and grow angry whenever a monk criticized their order, while the nuns would likewise rush in passionately to his defense. After summoning the monk, the Buddha admonished him, saying that he must not interfere if a monk criticizes the nuns and should instead cultivate compassion, a mind of love, and harbor no inner hate (P *mettacitto na dosantaro*). The Buddha’s use of *dosa* rather than *krodha* here is not surprising given the wide overlap in their definitions found in the Pali Abhidhammic literature surveyed in chapter 2; the two are synonymous. He repeats the teaching against inner hate with a gradual escalation of

---

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Joseph Marino’s account of Buddhist textual tropes using red-hot iron ball imagery to motivate the saṅgha to act piously: Joseph Marino, “From the Blacksmith’s Forge to the Fires of Hell: Eating the Red-Hot Iron Ball in Early Buddhist Literature,” *Buddhist Studies Review*, 36 (2019): 35-55.

offenses. Even if one strikes the bhikkhunīs, even if one strikes Moliya himself with weapons, rocks and fists, Moliya must not act out of anger and must harbor no secret hate.

At this point the Buddha addresses the saṅgha of monks as a whole, saying that no matter what reasons that people have for criticizing monks and nuns, the saṅgha must bear it patiently and harbor no secret hate. Once more the Buddha goes through a series of gradually increasing annoyances that monks should bear patiently, from a person saying he will dig up the whole earth, paint the sky and burn the Ganges, to someone chafing a silky-smooth bag, culminating in the following:

*Ubhatodaṇḍakena cepi bhikkhave kakacena corā ocarakā aṅgamaṅgāni okanteyyūṃ tatrāpi yo mano padūseyya na me so tena sāsanakaro tatrāpi vo bhikkhave evaṃ sikkitaḅbaṃ na ceva no cittaṃ vipariṇataṃ bhavissati na ca pāpikaṃ vācaṃ nicchāressāma hitānukampī ca viharissāma mettacittā na dosantarāti. (MN I 129)*

Even if, O monks, bandits and ruffians were to saw you limb from limb with a two-handled saw, a monk who sets his mind on anger would on that account not be a follower of my teachings. Even in such a case, O monks, you should train yourselves thusly: “Our mind will not be perverted at all, and we will utter no evil words. We will dwell compassionately, with minds full of loving-kindness and without inner hate.”

The shocking imagery used in this sutta shows in dramatic detail the absolutist nature of the early Buddhist emotionology of anger. There is no context in which it is appropriate to act or speak from a place of anger. There is no good that can come of anger, according to the literature, and no defensible excuse for giving in to anger. Now this point must be emphasized: even compassion for another person and wanting others not to suffer are not valid reasons to become angry or even to harbor a grudge. In other words, the simile is not limited to bearing one’s own suffering. In the Buddha’s exhortation to Moliya just before explaining the simile, he tells the monk to grin and bear it if he were personally attacked, as well as if the nuns were attacked and

abused. Even in such extreme circumstances, one must strive to avoid the slightest whiff of a grudge.

The popularity of the simile of the saw is apparent from the references we find to it in other texts, such as the multi-step guide to anger management in the Visuddhimagga discussed below, as well as the verses of Brahmadata told in the Theragāthā. The reference within Brahmadata’s verses to the simile occurs alongside a number of other passages found elsewhere in Pali literature. A number of verses sung by Brahmadata, for instance, echo those of Sakka in §4.4.1.3. below, as Brahmadata similarly argues that one who stays calm while an enemy is angry wins a battle that is hard to win, while getting angry only worsens matters (SN I 481). Closing the matter is the elder’s plea for others to remember the simile:

*uppajjete sace kodho / āvajja kakacūpamaṃ / (Th 445)*

If anger arises in you / reflect on the simile of the saw

We will find the simile of the saw referenced once more in the Visuddhimagga’s section on how to rid oneself of anger, explored below.

#### 4.3. Anger Management in the Visuddhimagga

Given the Buddhist fascination with emotions and the various mental states, it should not surprise us that somewhere within the vast expanse of Buddhist literature there is at least one manual which discusses ways to stop anger from arising. For this we turn once more to the fifth century Buddhist scholar Buddhaghosa, this time to his Visuddhimagga, or “Path of Purification,” a lengthy treatise on the Theravāda doctrine as understood in the Indian monastic communities of his time. It is concerned primarily with three topics, namely the purification of the body, the right use and practice of *samādhi*, and the cultivation of *paññā* “wisdom.” It is in

pursuit of the perfection of *samādhi* that Buddhaghosa asserts that in order to practice *metta* “loving-kindness,” one must first fully abandon hatred (*dosa*). A series of quotations from the Sakka-samyutta discussed below in §4.4.1. are brought to bear to encourage readers to reflect on the harm of *dosa* and the advantages of *khanti*, effectively the antidote to the poison of *krodha*.

Following this thought, Buddhaghosa lays out a detailed strategy that one must undertake in order to rid himself of *paṭigha* “wrath.” I present them here divided into ten steps, much like a modern-day ten-step program in anger management, though the text does not succinctly organize itself as such. The Pali texts make frequent mention of *paṭigha*, *dosa*, *āghāta*, and *kodha* with little apparent distinction, so my discussion below will make use of each of these terms. Each step is to be followed if the previous one failed to work.

1. If *paṭigha* toward another arises in one’s mind, one should try and tackle it head-on by applying oneself to cultivating *metta*. This need not be directed at the target of one’s anger at first and can instead focus on a beloved friend, a beloved teacher or a neutral person. Only after cultivating *metta* toward these easier targets should one then direct it toward the offending person. In this first step we can see a realistic approach to human behavior and emotional maturation, for it is unlikely that practitioners will be motivated to apply loving-kindness to their enemies straightaway. Earlier guidelines justify it honestly in this way:

*verimanussarato kodho uppajjati tasmā appiyādīsu paṭhamaṃ na bhāvetabbā*  
(Vism IX 242)

Anger concerning a hostile person springs up. Therefore one should not cultivate [*mettā*] at first toward those who aren’t dear to him.

By beginning with loved ones and neutral targets, the practitioner becomes more attuned to the arising of *metta* rather than to the person to whom it is being directed, making the act of generating *metta* easier to bring about.

2. If cultivating loving-kindness toward one's enemy fails, Buddhaghosa's next step is to reflect on the simile of the saw:

*kakacūpamaovādaādīnaṃ*<sup>12</sup> *anusārato / paṭighassa pahānāya ghaṭitabba punappunaṃ* (Vism IX 244)

In accordance with the teaching such as the saw / one should strive for the abandoning of wrath over and over again.

Buddhaghosa then reiterates the meaning of the simile by referencing the wider sutta found in MN I 122–9 discussed above in §4.2., as well repeating a verse recited elsewhere in SN I 162 in which the Buddha deals with an angry and abusive brahmin. His strategy is in the form of another simile, comparing food that is given to and rejected by guests to the abuse hurled by one's enemies. Just as the food remains the property of the host if the food is rejected, so too is the abuse and harsh speech still the property of the angry one if one does not accept their abuse. In summary, the Buddha utters another verse, repeating the common trope of winning a battle by staying patient and not repaying anger in kind.

3. If remembering the simile of the saw fails to work, one should remember the seven things that are pleasing to an angry man's enemies. These will be discussed in connection with the Kodhana Sutta (AN IV 94–7) in §11.2., and here Buddhaghosa lists them in brief rather than the full explanation given in the sutta. An enemy wishes for his angry enemy to be ugly, for *na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa vaṇṇavatāya nandati* “an enemy does not delight in an enemy's beauty, o monks” (Vism IX 245). Furthermore, we hear again the sentiment told in the Ekapanna Jātaka (Jā I 504–6), in which a man may be well dressed, with his beard trimmed and well anointed, and yet he is still ugly if he is angry and overcome with anger. The remaining items Buddhaghosa gives only in brief (being in pain, having ill luck, being penniless, infamous and

---

<sup>12</sup> This verse is written in the Visuddhimagga without sandhi.

friendless) until he expands on the final wish that an enemy goes to hell after death, for *na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa sugatigamanena nandati* “an enemy does not delight in an enemy’s going to a good birth, o monks.” The rest of the description for the seventh item is the same as in the Subhāsītajaya Sutta discussed below in §4.4.1.3., namely that in repaying anger in kind, you are worse off than the other person and will only help your enemy. Buddhaghosa adds to this yet another simile, this time comparing an angry man to a burning log, as found in AN II 95.

4. The fourth step depends on the virtue of one’s enemy. If recalling the seven things pleasing to an enemy does not help, then one should remember some form of self-control which the enemy has reached. Though uncontrolled in speech and thought, he may be restrained in body and have an extensive course of duty. Though unrestrained in body and thought, he may be restrained in speech and be friendly to talk with, and he may preach the teaching eloquently. Or if he is unrestrained in body and speech, he may be restrained in mind and worship shrines, holy trees, stūpas and elders.<sup>13</sup>

If one determines that one’s enemy is restrained in neither body, speech, nor mind, then it would be helpful to generate compassion for that poor soul, for he is surely going to one of the eight hells or the sixteen greater hells, *kāruṅṅaṃ pi hi paṭicca āghāto vūpasammati* “for it is truly because of compassion that wrath dwindles” (Vism IX 246). In the unlikely event that the person is restrained in all three ways, then one can pick any of the three he wishes, *tādise hi puggale na dukkarā hoti mettābhāvanā* “for the cultivation of loving-kindness for such a person is truly no hard feat” (Vism IX 246).

---

<sup>13</sup> It is noteworthy that each of the examples given for restraint, such as attending to shrines, listening to teachings with one’s full attention, and studying and teaching the dharma, are activities that would have been visible to those who studied in the monasteries of fourth-century Śri Lanka, in which the Visuddhimagga was written. It seems that whoever the targets of people’s anger actually were, Buddhaghosa assumed that they would be other monastics.

To drive this message home the author recommends that people read the five ways of getting rid of *āghāta* “hostility” as enumerated in the Book of Fives found in AN III 186–9. This text is in fact the shorter of two suttas aimed at lessening wrath, and it concisely lays out these five steps: 1) one should cultivate loving-kindness for that person, and in that way wrath should be driven out; 2) one should cultivate *karuṇā* “compassion” for that person...; 3) one should cultivate *upekkhā* “disinterest” for that person...; 4) one should engage in *asati* “disregard” and *amanasikāra* “inattention” regarding that person...; 5) one should reflect on the fact that we are the owners of our actions, and that the person one is angry with is responsible for their actions and will reap the karmic fruit of what they sow.

5. If focusing on the virtues of one’s enemy and reciting AN III 186–9 do not have the desired effect, then Buddhaghosa cites a series of verses that one should reflect upon. As Buddhaghosa is normally careful to cite his sources, either the origin of these verses is unknown or they are his own compositions.

<i>attano visaye dukkhaṃ kataṃ te yadi verinā /</i>	If an enemy does you wrong with respect to his own self,
<i>kiṃ tassāvisaye dukkhaṃ sacitte kattuṃ icchasi /</i>	why do you wish to do harm to your own mind, with regard to him?
<i>bahūpakāraṃ hitvāna ñātivagaṃ rūdaṃmukhaṃ /</i>	After abandoning your helpful family, with tears in their eyes,
<i>mahānatthakaraṃ kodhaṃ sapattaṃ na jahāsi kiṃ /</i>	why shouldn’t you abandon your enemy, this disastrous anger?
<i>yāni rakkhasi sīlāni tesam mūlanikantaṃ /</i>	This anger cuts away at whatever virtues you watch over,
<i>kodhaṃ nāmupalālesi ko tayā sadiso jaḷo /</i>	and you don’t cast it aside. Who is a bigger fool than you?
<i>kataṃ anariyaṃ kammaṃ parena iti kujjhasi /</i>	Another man does a lowly deed, so you get angry.

<i>kiṃ nu tvaṃ tādisaṃ yeva yo sayāṃ kattuṃ icchasi /</i>	So you then want to do whatever he did yourself?
<i>dosetukāmo yadi taṃ amanāpaṃ paro kari /</i>	If another, wanting to annoy you, did something unpleasant,
<i>dosuppādena tasseva kiṃ pūresi manorathaṃ /</i>	why do you fulfill his wish by getting angry at that same person?
<i>dukkhaṃ tassa ca nāma tvaṃ kuddho kāhasi vā na vā /</i>	If you will get angry you may make him suffer, or not.
<i>attānaṃ panidāneva kodhadukkhena bādhasi /</i>	But immediately you harm yourself with the suffering of anger.
<i>kodhandhā ahitaṃ maggaṃ ārūḷhā yadi verino /</i>	If anger-blinded enemies set out on the path of unkindness,
<i>kasmā tuvaṃ pi kujjanto tesa yevānusikkhasi /</i>	why do you then, growing angry, follow their example?
<i>yaṃ dosaṃ tava nissāya sattunā appiyaṃ kataṃ /</i>	Whatever hatred of yours on account of which an enemy does you wrong,
<i>tameva dosaṃ chindassu kimaṭṭhāne vihaññasi /</i>	destroy that very hatred. Why be annoyed groundlessly?
<i>khaṇikattā ca dhammānaṃ yehi khandehi te kataṃ /</i>	Given the momentariness of dharmas, the aggregates by which
<i>amanāpaṃ niruddhā te kassa dānīdha kujjhasi /</i>	unpleasant things were done to you are gone. At whom, then, are you now angry?
<i>dukkhaṃ karoti yo yassa taṃ vinā kassa so kare /</i>	If someone does harm to someone else, without him, to whom would he do it?
<i>sayāṃ pi dukkahetu tvaṃ iti kiṃ tassa kujjhasi (Vism. IX 247)</i>	You are the cause of your own anger. Why are you angry with him?

Several different strands of thought weave themselves through these verses, at times emotionally charged and other times rational. There is undoubtedly a social component that Buddhaghosa touches upon, for he reminds the readers of the family they left behind to enter the holy life. Returning once more to the notion of emotionology, Buddhaghosa seems to entertain a degree of societal pressure. That is, if you can leave your parents behind, then abandoning anger should be nothing by comparison. Moreover, if you left your family, then not abandoning anger and not practicing fervently would mean that you left your family only to fail at the holy life. In harboring anger, you disappoint your parents.

More dispassionate is the appeal to the impermanence of the five aggregates. With the five aggregates that make up a person fading in and out of existence every instant, from a purely Buddhist point of view there is no reasonable target for one's anger. The person who triggered the anger no longer exists. This line of thinking takes a far different approach from the appeal to one's family seen above, i.e., metaphysical rather than social. Rather than bringing one back into line with the social reality that one is embedded within, this approach encourages the practitioner to abandon the very idea of an other with whom one can be angry. Like a candle without a wick, anger without an object snuffs itself out.

The last point worth mentioning brings us again to the social dimension, namely that there are necessarily at least two people involved in the scenarios described in the verses, namely oneself and one's enemy. The final verse stresses the notion that you necessarily play an integral part in the arising of your anger, for whatever the reason for it, your presence in the situation is a necessary condition. Buddhism, it must be noted, takes a hardline stance on personal responsibility and blame, for good and for ill. You are to blame for being angry in the first place.

5. At this point in this program for abandoning *paṭigha*, Buddhaghosa’s strategy recalls the Buddha’s admonishment that beings are the heirs of their own karma. This takes two forms, namely one’s own karma and that of one’s enemy. To begin, the author reminds beings of the perils of anger and the danger that will surely come from acting on it, for *nanu taveva cetam dosanidānaṃ kammaṃ anathāya saṃvattissati* “Isn’t it so that this deed of yours, born out of hatred, will lead only to your disadvantage?” (Vism IX 247). Wrath, anger and hatred will not lead to rebirth as Brahmā or Sakka or a Cakkavattin. A deed done out of anger is *nerayikādidukkhavisesānaṃ* “characterized by sufferings such as hell.” Such a man, says Buddhaghosa, is like someone who means to strike his enemy with a stick and, picking up a burning ember, only burns himself.

The same is true for the person who has made one angry: *eso pi tava kujjivā kiṃ karissati nanu etassevetaṃ anathāya saṃvatissati* “and what will come of this one who got angry at you? Won’t it lead only to his own disadvantage?” In getting angry at you, your enemy is like a man who wants to throw sand at you against the wind, hurting only himself. In justification, the author calls our attention to the Dhammapada:

*yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassa /  
tameva bālaṃ pacceṭi pāpaṃ sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṃ va khitto* (DhP 125)

Whoever offends a man who is purified, spotless, without evil /  
that evil comes right back to the fool, like fine dust thrown against the wind

If you truly want to get one over on an enemy, the text suggests, you should be spiritually spotless. In a sense, this Buddhist strategy for getting rid of anger relies on the very anger it seeks to undo, for if one were spiritually spotless, one would have no desire to take revenge on an enemy. This echoes the sentiment seen in the last chapter in which getting rid of anger relies on the same attachment to beauty and outer form from which one should seek to distance

oneself. Both take a pragmatic assessment of anger and vanity and channel them toward spiritually beneficial practices. Such strategies are characteristic of the *upāyakauśalya* “skillful means” that take an honored position in pedagogical strategies in Mahāyana schools.

6. The next step is to follow the example of the Buddha and to remember the many good qualities he cultivated throughout the four incalculable ages and hundred thousand kalpas before his final birth as Siddhartha Gautama. In these past lives too he practiced *akkodha* “non-anger” and cultivated *khanti*. To show this, Buddhaghosa spends most of the remaining text recalling particular former birth tales of the Buddha in which the Bodhisattva stayed calm and peaceful where others would have become angry and fought back violently. They are: 1) the Sīlavanta Jātaka (Jā I 261); 2) the Khantivādin Jātaka (Jā III 39); 3) the Cūḷadhammapāla Jātaka (Jā III 181); 4) the Chaddanta Jātaka (Jā V 51); 5) the Mahākapi Jātaka (Jā V 71); 6) the Bhūridatta Jātaka (Jā XI 157); 7) the Campeyya Jātaka (Jā XVI 161); 8) the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka (Jā V 172); 9) the Mātuposaka Jātaka (Jā IV 90). These are discussed in greater detail in §4.4.2. below. The author concludes this step with the following exhortation to follow the Buddha’s example:

*tassa te idāni sabbaññutaṃ pattaṃ sadevake loke kenaci appaṭisamakhaṅtiguṇaṃ  
taṃ bhagavantaṃ satthāraṃ apadisato paṭighacittaṃ nāma uppādetuṃ ativiya  
ayuktaṃ appaṭirūpaṃ ti* (Vism IX 250).

It would be very unsuitable and unfitting to arouse a wrathful mind, you who quote the lord as your teacher whose virtue is patience unrivalled in the world with its gods, and who has reached omniscience.

7. If emulation of the Buddha is not effective for him, the reader is then told to consider the matter from a wider cosmological perspective. This takes the reader back to the fundamental problem that Buddhism works against, namely the sorrowful ocean of saṃsāra in which beings are reborn without end. Such is the state of things in the round of rebirths that no matter what person one becomes angry with, that person has undoubtedly lived as one’s mother for a nearly

infinite number of lifetimes. With that in mind one should remember that for innumerable lifetimes this person was his mother, cared for him, cleaned up his messes when he soiled himself, nourished him and carried him around on her hip. Similarly, that same person has lived innumerable times as one's father, went to great lengths and dangers to keep him fed by going out on dangerous sea-farings, fighting in wars decked out in armor, and pursuing the risky life of a merchant in far-off lands, all in order to give his child food, water, shelter and opportunities. And furthermore, this same person has lived as one's son, daughter, sister, brother, uncle, aunt, and so forth. Because of this, it would be unfitting to corrupt one's own mind by harboring hate for someone who has been so dearly beloved for so many lifetimes.

8. Next, one should remember the eleven benefits of cultivating loving-kindness, many of which are the opposites of the dangers of *kodha* discussed in the Kodhana Sutta (AN IX 94). They are, in brief: 1) one sleeps comfortably; 2) one wakes soundly; 3) one dreams soundly and without nightmares; 4) one is dear to humans; 5) one is dear to non-humans; 6) one is watched over by gods; 7) one is unharmed by fire, poison and weapons; 8) one's mind concentrates easily; 9) one enjoys a calm expression; 10) upon death one dies without confusion; 11) one will be reborn in the Brahmā world at the least. Buddhaghosa is quick to emphasize that without loving-kindness, *imehi ānisaṃsehi paribāhiro bhavissasi* "you will be a stranger to these blessings" (Vism IX 252).

9. Nearing the end of the anger management strategies, we read that one should next consider also the five aggregates that make up a person, namely form (P *rūpa*), feeling (P *vedanā*), conception (P *saññā*), volitional forces/dispositions/habits (P *saṃkhārā*), and consciousness (P *viññāna*). Think of the specific person at whom you are angry. Are you angry at his *rūpa*, and if so is it his nails, beard, bones and so forth that have offended you? Likewise

for consciousness, form, feeling, and volitional formations. This process of breaking down the object of anger into its constituent parts continues through with the water, earth, fire, and air elements and further on into the different stages of sensory contact. In so doing, your anger finds no stable object:

*Evam hi dhātuvinibbhogaṃ karoto āragge sāsapassa viya ākāse cittakamassa  
viya ca kodhassa patiṭṭhānaṭṭānaṃ na hoti (Vism IX 252)*

In this very way, when he tries the dissolution of the elements anger has no foothold, like a painting on the sky and like a mustard seed on the head of an awl.

10. At last Buddhaghosa comes to the final point. If absolutely nothing has worked thus far in alleviating one's anger, one should try the simple act of giving a gift. This can take the form of accepting a gift if one's enemy is spiritually purified enough and if one's requisites, here meaning the few small items that monks and nuns are allowed to carry with them, are not yet met. But if one's enemy is not purified, then it should instead be the reader who gives the gift. In doing so, whatever anger has built up between the two, even though it may have sprung up from a past life and stretched back for aeons, will at last fade away.

#### 4.4. Models of Anger Management

##### 4.4.1. Sakka, *devānāṃ indra*

Direct addresses to the audience for the abandoning of anger and hatred are rare, whereas it is far more common to find texts that hold up particular figures as worthy of emulation. The Buddha himself is the obvious candidate, and his deeds throughout his many past lives are told in detail in §4.4.2. below. But if you sift through the suttas of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, you will find an unexpected character functioning as a paragon of *akkodha* “non-anger.” That figure is none other

than Sakka, lord of the heaven of the thirty-three gods (*P tāvatīmsadevaloka*, OIA *trāyatīmsadevaloka*). Moreover despite being styled *devānām indra* “lord of gods” he functions as an arguably more relatable role model to lay audiences, especially kings, than enlightened figures such as Sāriputta, for the simple fact that Sakka remains an unenlightened lay follower, subject to the same basic defilements that they are.

The Buddha made this distinction abundantly clear in conversations with monks when he taught that staring up at Sakka’s banner in the midst of battle would bring no relief to warriors, because even Sakka is *avītarāgo avītadoso avītamoho bhīru chambhī utrāsī palāyi* “not free of passion, hatred and delusion, and afraid, scared stiff, fearful and flighty,” (SN I 473). In contrast, if one should look to the Buddha one would find their heart uplifted and their fears gone, for the Buddha is a fully awakened being without those defects.

Looking throughout early Indic literature, one finds Sakka contrasted with the Buddha. One is serene, nonviolent, drinks no intoxicants and swears off all worldly power, while Sakka (like his Vedic forebear Indra) becomes lustful and violent, drinks heavily of the intoxicating Soma, and rules as king in his heavenly realm. The Indra of the Vedas is above all a warrior god, with many of the Ṛgvedic hymns dedicated to him praising his skill in war (Jamison and Brereton 2014: 38–40). He ravages the cities and fortresses of his enemies and carries the *vajra* as his weapon. His greatest deed was slaying Vṛtra, unleashing the waters that Vṛtra had held in check, thus securing his place as a god of waters and rains. Many of the names of Indra found in the Vedas call to mind this martial character: *vajrin*, *vajrabhṛt*, *vajrahasta*, *suvajra* and *adriva* recall his vajra weapon. Names such as *vṛtrakhāda*, *vṛtrahantama* and *vṛtrahan* are a result of his slaying Vṛtra, and in ruling supreme over gods he took on six others: *śacīvaḥ*, *śacīpati*, *śatakratu*, *purumāya*, *maghavan*, and *śakra* (Jamison and Brereton 2014: 38, 149).

But this primarily martial character evolved and weakened as different religious schools took up his worship. Long after the Vedic period, as Buddhists began circulating their own tales, the terms *indra* and *śakra* (P *sakka*) “mighty one” underwent a shift in usage. The proper name for the god of the Tāvatiṃsā heaven was now Śakra/Sakka in Buddhist and Jain texts, while *indra* served as a descriptor, meaning “lord.”<sup>14</sup> Other nicknames from Vedic times remained in Buddhist usage, though with their own Buddhistic etymology. Accordingly the Buddha explains in the Sakkanāma Sutta “Sutta on Sakka’s Names” that in an earlier life the god gave gifts to monks and ascetics *sakkaccaṃ* “respectfully” and therefore is called “Sakka,” undermining his mighty stature in favor of his piety (SN I 493). This underscores an important point about the two Indras: the Sakka found in early Buddhist literature is a far cry from the Indra found in the Vedas, the breaker of city walls and unleasher of rivers. As part of their emotionological project, Buddhists were reimagining Indra/Sakka away from the violent warrior god-king archetype and toward a more pious, less violent, more patient and, most relevant for our purposes, less angry king of the gods.

Curiously it is mostly within the Saṃyutta Nikāya that we find tales explicitly linking Sakka and *akrodha*. He occurs elsewhere in Pali literature to be sure, though even in much longer works such as the Sakkapañha Sutta “Questions of Sakka,” (DN II 263) he is concerned with more practical questions such as what practices lead to having restrained sense-faculties.

---

<sup>14</sup> The Jain Kalpa Sūtra, for instance, refers to the god as “Śakra.”

#### 4.4.1.1. The Anger-Eating Yakkha

Returning quickly to the tale of the anger-eating yakkha told in the last chapter, the reader can recall that the yakkha grew more beautiful and impressive the more the thirty-three gods reviled and abused him, though Sakka was able to bring him down and render him ugly again by showing *khanti* and addressing him respectfully. After the now-ugly yakkha slunk away and Sakka regained his throne, the king of the gods explained how he was able to humble the yakkha.

*Na sūpahatacittomhi / nāvattena suvānayo /  
Na vo cirāhaṃ kujjhāmi / kodho mayi nāvatiṭṭhati /  
Kuddhāhaṃ na pharusāṃ brūmi / na ca dhammāni kittaye /  
Sanniggaṇhāmi attānaṃ / sampassaṃ atthamattano (SN I 511)*

I'm not easily distressed in mind / Nor am I carried about by [anger's] whirlpool /  
Nor do I stay angry for long at all / Anger doesn't last in me /  
I don't get angry and utter unkind speech / Nor do I praise [my] virtues /  
I restrain myself / dwelling on my own benefit.<sup>15</sup>

These verses serve as a concise encapsulation of the Sakka we find in the Saṃyutta Nikāya. He stands as lord of a heavenly realm, with a host of gods at his beck and call. But for all that, his solutions to problems are more often dhammic than violent.

#### 4.4.1.2. Becoming Sakka

A number of texts from the Saṃyutta Nikāya besides the tale of the anger-eating yakkha show Sakka acting as the poster child for *akkodha*, beginning even before he was reborn as the god. The Buddhist account of his rise to the heavenly throne emphasizes his *akrodha* nature, as depicted in the Vatapada Sutta “Sutta on the Oath-Verses” (SN I 492). In a past life, the sutta goes, Sakka was a human who undertook seven virtuous oaths: 1) supporting his mother and

---

<sup>15</sup>I supply the genitive pronoun “my” and “anger’s” following Bhikkhu Bodhi’s translations, which read “And I don’t praise my virtues,” and “Nor easily drawn by anger’s whirl,” (Bodhi 2000: 338).

father; 2) respecting his family elders; 3) being soft-spoken; 4) avoiding slanderous speech; 5) giving freely and happily; 6) speaking the truth, and finally; 7) *Yāvajīvaṃ akkodhano assaṃ sacepi me kodho uppajjeyya, khippameva naṃ paṭivineyyanti* “As long as I live, may I be without anger; and should anger boil up in me, may I get rid of it right away” (SN I 492). By the power of these vows alone he was able to assume the throne in a future birth.

In the following two suttas we find this text repeated word for word, once after the Buddha gives the etymologies for Sakka’s names, and once more in reassuring his audience that he knew precisely who Sakka was and the reasons for his rebirth as king of the gods (SN I 493–496). Note here that nowhere in the three accounts of his rebirth in the Tāvātīṃsa heaven are there references to violence or martial prowess of any kind. Whatever conquests the man-who-would-be-Sakka undertook involved conquering his own defilements and moral shortcomings.

His rise to power continues in Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Dhammapada (DhPA Vol. 1 263–81) as well as in the Kulāvaka Jātaka (Jā II 198–206). Born in Māgadha as the prince Magha, he undertook the seven vows, as told in the three suttas. Once, as he visited the marketplace of his village he found himself shoved about and kicked off of his seat again and again by different people, alluding to the trope of Indra/Sakka being pushed off his throne in the heavens when his time is up. But rather than becoming angry, he thought to himself that each man who had taken his seat was pleased, so his actions must be meritorious, and he rejoiced. Now motivated to do more good deeds, he took a spade and set about levelling a wide space for people to sit. If it was cold, he built a fire and did all he could to make the space a popular meeting place. With this done he set about improving the roads around the village, clearing bushes and levelling the roads. Soon he attracted helpers and followers, who grew into a following of thirty-three. In time the king made Magha the village headman after Magha

nonviolently defeated the former headman, who had grown jealous of his popularity. The tale memorializes his life and vows with a verse, ending with:

*maccheravinaye yuttaṃ / saccaṃ kodhābhibbuṃ naraṃ /  
taṃ ve devā tāvatimsā / āhu sappuriso' iti (Jā II 202)*

One who is fixed on driving away selfishness / a man who has truly conquered  
anger /

Truly that man is called “a good man” / by the Tāvatiṃsā gods

Upon dying he was reborn as Sakka, and his followers became the thirty-three gods.

#### 4.4.1.3. Winning with Words

After taking his place as king of the devas Sakka did not sway from the moral vows he undertook as a man. It was not possible to keep his throne without violence, of course, as the devas warred endlessly against their asura rivals, but Sakka took every chance to avoid direct fights whenever possible. In one such case seen in Subhāsitaḥaya Sutta “Sutta on Well-Spoken Victory” (SN I 480–3), the gods and asuras were arrayed for battle and faced each other, ready for a fight until the asura lord Vepacitti suggested that they should settle the dispute with words. Sakka agreed and the two lords began a high-stakes poetry slam overseen by a panel of judges taken from both sides. Vepacitti opened with an argument against practicing *khanti*, namely that lords should punish anyone who insults them, lest their enemies become emboldened:

*bhiyyo bālā pabhijjeyyūṃ / no cassa paṭisedhako /  
tasmā bhusena daṇḍena / dhīro bālaṃ nisedhayeti (SN I 480)*

Fools would surely be set loose too much / without someone to stop them /  
Therefore with firm punishment / a wise man should resist the foolish

Sakka agreed with the premise that those who are angry and insulting should be put in their place, but disagreed on the method, saying that it is better to stay calm:

*etadeva ahaṃ maññe / bālassa paṭisedhanaṃ /  
paraṃ saṅkupitaṃ ñatvā / yo sato upasammā'ti (SN I 480–1)*

This alone, I think / is what stops a fool: /  
One who is mindful and stays calm / upon learning that another is enraged

Vepacitti was quick to pounce on this strategy, saying that being calm in the face of insults only gives the offenders reason to think that there are no consequences for their foolish deeds. Worse yet, the offenders might become fearless if they think that one does not stop them because one is too afraid to act. Sakka's response was a six-verse praise of *khanti* and a condemnation of anger, beginning with the following:

*kāmaṃ maññatu vā mā vā / bhayā myāyaṃ titikkhati /  
sadaṭṭharamā atthā / khantya bhiiyo na vijjati (SN I 481)*

Let him think so or not, as he wants, that / “this one puts up with me out of fear” /  
Of the greatest, highest goals / none is found greater than patience

Further verses continue along this vein. Finally he came to the root of the matter, namely that anger will only make matters worse, no matter the situation, and that the truly superior one is whoever keeps anger in check.

*tasseva tena pāpiyo / yo kuddhaṃ paṭikujjhati /  
kuddhaṃ appaṭikujjhanto / saṅgāmaṃ jeta dujjayaṃ /  
ubhinnaṃ carati / attano ca parassa ca /  
paraṃ saṅkupitaṃ ñatvā / yo sato upasammā'ti (SN I 481)*

Whoever is angry at an angry person only makes it worse for himself /  
One who doesn't return anger with anger wins a battle hard to win  
He acts for the good of both oneself and another /  
He who is mindful and stays calm upon learning that another is enraged

With the verses exchanged, the judges pronounced Sakka as the winner, for his verses were about *adaṇḍa* “nonviolence” and *asattha* “nonviolence,” while Vepacitti's were violent and bent on punishment.

This debate happens once again, word for word, in the sutta immediately before this one. Once more the devas and asuras are arrayed for battle, ready for a fight, only this time Vepacitti is taken hostage in the clash of arms and brought in chains to Sakka's assembly hall. There the asura abuses and reviles him, and this time it is Sakka's chariot driver Mātali who opposes Sakka in debate, taking Vepacitti's lines and arguing that Sakka should not sit there and take the insults. The key difference between the two suttas is in their messages to the reader. While the debate with Vepacitti ends with the judges deeming that Sakka's victory was done with well-spoken words (*sakkassa devānamindassa subhāsitenā jayoti*), the debate with Mātali closes with an exhortation to the Buddha's audience:

*So hi nāma, bhikkhave, sakko devānamindo sakaṃ puññaphalaṃ upajīvamāno devānaṃ tāvatiṃsānaṃ issariyādhipaccaṃ rajjaṃ kārento khantisoraccassa vaṇṇavādī bhavissati. 'Idha kho taṃ, bhikkhave, sobhetha yaṃ tumhe evaṃ svākkhāte dhammavinaye pabbajitā samānā khamā ca bhaveyyātha soratā cā'ti* (SN I 475).

Surely, o monks, Sakka, the lord of the gods, living on his own rewards from his merit and ruling with supreme authority, will speak praises of patience and kindness. Since you, o monks, have gone forth in the well-taught teaching and discipline, it would be truly splendid if you were likewise patient and kind.

In this latter case we have a clear emotionological claim that the king of the gods is a champion of *khanti*, the antidote to *krodha*, and that pious Buddhists should follow his example.

#### 4.4.1.4. Sakka and Verocana

This adherence to *khanti* showed itself in a contest with the asura lord Verocana as well, as told in the Verocanāsuri Sutta (SN I 485–7). Once upon a time he and Sakka went to visit the Buddha. Their violent rivalry seemingly at an end for the moment, the two took the chance to engage in yet another contest of poetry to impress the Buddha. Taking the first turn, Verocana

begins by reciting verses on how men should strive until their goals come to fruition. Sakka builds on this by praising *khanti* as the best goal.

*vāyametheva puriso / yāva atthassa nipphadā /  
nipphannasobhano attho / khantiyā bhiyyo na vijjati* (SN I 486)

A man should truly strive until the ripening of his goal /  
We don't find a goal that shines more when accomplished than patience

Sakka then builds upon this by praising *khanti*.

*sabbe sattā atthajātā / tattha tattha yathārahaṃ /  
saṃyogaparamā<sup>16</sup> tveva / sambhogā sabbapāṇinaṃ /  
nipphannasobhano attho / khantiyā bhiyyo na vijjati* (SN I 486)

All beings are in need / here and there according to their worth /  
But for all beings it is association alone / that is truly the best of enjoyments /  
We don't find a goal that shines more / when accomplished than patience

Unlike his other debates, this contest ends abruptly without any apparent effects or a winner being declared.

#### 4.4.1.5. Killing Anger

In one of the shortest suttas in the Sakka-saṃyutta, Sakka poses a single question to the Buddha, asking the one and only thing the killing of which pleases the Buddha. The Buddha's response identifies *kodha* as that one thing:

*kodhaṃ chetvā sukhaṃ seti / kodhaṃ chetvā na socati /  
kodhassa visamūlassa / madhuraggassa vāsava /  
vadhaṃ ariyā pasamsanti / tañhi chetvā na socatīti* (SN I 508)

Having cut off anger, one sleeps happily / Having cut off anger one doesn't grieve  
/  
The noble praise the killing / of anger, with its poisoned root /  
with its honeyed tip, Vāsava / Having cut off that, one doesn't grieve

<sup>16</sup> It is unclear what is meant here by *saṃyoga*. I offer the translation "association" for lack of a better rendering.

This verse is by no means limited to the Sakka-saṃyutta, for it shows up elsewhere in the Saṃyutta-nikāya as the Buddha debates with the husband of the faithful lay follower Dhanañjali (SN I 161), in the Udānavarga (Uv *krodhavarga* 3), as well as in the Khotanese Dharmapada in Gāndhārī as:

*kodhu jatva suha śayadi / kodhu jatva na śoyadi /  
kodhasa viśamulasa / masuragasa brahmaṇa /  
vadha aria praśajadi / ta ji jatva na śoyadi* (Brough 1962: 164)

#### 4.4.1.6. Anger and Mountains

The Sakka-saṃyutta ends with a pair of suttas in which the king of the gods likens anger to a mountain. In the first, we hear of two monks fighting over a transgression, as one monk was not willing to pardon the offense done by the other. When the saṅgha approaches and tells the Buddha about the situation, the Buddha tells of a time in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven when Sakka gave the following verses vilifying slander and blame:

*kodho vo vasamāyātu / mā ca mittehi vo jarā /  
agarahiyaṃ mā garahittha / mā ca bhāsittha pesuṇaṃ /  
atha pāpajanaṃ kodho / pabbatovābhimaddati* (SN I 514)

May anger be under your control / and may your friendships not wither<sup>17</sup> /  
Don't fault the faultless / and don't talk slander /  
Thus anger crushes the wicked / like a mountain

In the following sutta we find the Buddha once again recalling a quote by Sakka, although the context for Sakka's recitation or for the Buddha's relating it go unnoted. Here, however, Sakka is not concerned with slander and infighting, instead presenting a more general exhortation against anger:

---

<sup>17</sup> More literally "and may your friendships not be subject to old age."

*mā vo kodho ajjhabhavi / mā ca kujjhittha kujjhatam /  
akkodho avihimsā ca / ariyesu ca paṭipadā /  
atha pāpajanaṃ kodho / pabbatovābhimaddati (SN I 515)*

Don't let anger overcome you / And don't become angry at the angry /  
Non-anger and nonviolence / are the way among the noble ones /  
While anger crushes the wicked / like a mountain

The fact that this verse finds parallels outside the Pali canon, occurring in Sanskrit in the Udānavarga (UV XX 22) and twice in Chinese (T 4 713b06 and T 4 787a09), suggests something of its popularity. Note again that in both suttas it is actually the Buddha speaking and holding up Sakka as the role model for *akkodha*.

#### 4.4.1.7. Sakka: Conclusion

Sakka's status as king of the gods puts him in an unusual position when placed alongside other pious Buddhist role models. He is both transcendent and relatable – transcendent for ruling over the gods of the Tāvātimsā heaven and thus far beyond any mortal's experience, yet relatable insofar as he is a mere lay-person in the Buddhist reckoning rather than an enlightened being like Sāriputta or the Buddha. He suffers as all unawakened beings suffer, grapples with greed, hatred and delusion as we do, and he falls short and stumbles as we do. But for all that, he is ever striving with his imperfections and does much to avoid the glorified violence of his Vedic forebear Indra. We persistently learn from his example that practicing *khanti* and being free of anger's grasp are heavenly acts. Functionally, he serves as a righteous role model for worldly beings, and especially for the kings who patronized Buddhist establishments at the time of the \*Krośa-gaśa's composition in the first centuries C.E. Despite still grappling with greed, hatred and delusion, and despite his never-ending war with his asura rivals, he makes sincere efforts to rule as a Buddhist king should. This brings to mind the ideal Buddhist king Aśoka, who likewise

did all he could to avoid outright violence, and who reigned only a few centuries before the patron kings of the first centuries C.E. Sakka's concern for *ahiṃsa* "nonviolence" shows itself in battle, as his virtues often do. Even after losing a battle and fleeing with his routed troops, his concern for the lives of others comes before his personal safety. For he tells his charioteer Mātali to avoid the heavily forested landscape ahead of them in the Tāvatiṃsā heaven, in case the movement of his chariot should disturb or kill the birds and forest dwellers therein (SN I 483). The new Indra's righteous rule entailed being without anger and cultivating *khanti*.

#### 4.4.2. The Bodhisattva

Sakka may have lived a glorious and pious life before assuming the throne and taken many risks in doing so, but he never suffered personal mutilation for the sake of *khanti*. The Bodhisattva, on the other hand, faced torture, mutilation and bodily suffering to a degree unthinkable for those not on the path leading toward full Buddhahood. Throughout his innumerable lifetimes before becoming Siddhartha Gautama, the Bodhisattva had equally innumerable chances to cultivate *khanti* and abandon *kodha*. According to the anger management section in the Visuddhimagga discussed above in §4.3., there are no fewer than nine Jātaka tales that pious Buddhists should look to for guidance and emulation. Rather than relay each tale in detail, I will focus on a few key episodes that show how Buddhist literature holds up the Bodhisattva as the utmost paragon of *akkodha*, far surpassing that of Sakka and the monks and nuns of the Buddhist saṅgha.

#### 4.4.2.1. Saṅkhapāla the Nāgarāja (Jā XVII 524)

Restraint in the face of abuse especially comes into play in his former births as nāgas, and the Buddha shows mercy when he could justifiably have defended himself and harmed other beings. Long ago he was born as the nāga king Saṅkhapāla, after seeing the splendor of the last nāga king and resolving to see their fair kingdom. But he soon grew tired of the magnificence of his own form. Renouncing his watery throne, he took to asceticism and sat upon ant hills. It was in such a state that his abusers arrived, sixteen men with sharp stakes and cruel tempers. They drove their stakes into his long body, cut a hole in his nose and dragged him along by it with a rope. It was only by the kindness of the nearby landholder Aḷāra that he was set free. Speaking of his torture to Aḷāra sometime later, the Bodhisattva explained that he would rather break his own bones than his religious holidays:

*bhetvāna nāsaṃ atikassa rajjuṃ / nayiṃsu maṃ sampaṭiggayha luddā /  
etādisaṃ dukkhaṃ ahan titikkhiṃ / uposathaṃ appaṭikopayanto* (Jā XVII 524)

The hunters pierced my nose and pulled a rope through it / and led me away like  
that /  
Such suffering I endured / without disturbing the Uposatha day

It is a testament to the Bodhisattva's restraint that he chose not to fight back. As the \**Krośa-gaśa* reminds us, even mundane serpents can be (\**asivi*)*śa ghoraviśa ugrateya* “snakes with fierce passion and terrible venom.” How much more destructive and potent the venom must be when the serpent in question is a kingly nāga with the spiritual force of the Bodhisattva behind it? With such might, Saṅkhapāla's power was such that he could have quite easily burned them all to a crisp for their torture.

Likewise in his former births as the kingly nāgas Bhūridatta (Jā XI 157) and Campeyya (Jā XVI 161), his overriding concerns for staying calm and peaceful were based on potential

consequences. In each case he was again severely abused and tormented and could have reduced his tormenters to ashes with his wrath, but refused in one case because it would risk the breaking of his precepts, and in the other case, as Campeyya, he would not risk harming his chances of someday reaching Buddhahood.

#### 4.4.2.2. Chaddanta the Elephant-King (Jā XVI 514)

Once more born in the animal realm, this time as the mighty elephant Chandanta, the Bodhisattva suffered great pains when a poisoned arrow struck him in the navel. Addressing the hunter after forgiving him (*tasmim cittaṃ nibbāpetvā*, literally “after cooling his mind toward that one”), he asked the hunter the reason for his assault. The queen of Kāsi, the hunter said, desired his tusks, for they were magnificent and glittered with great radiance.

Ever insightful, Chaddanta knew straightaway the truth of the matter. The queen whom the hunter served had been Chaddanta’s wife not long ago in her last life and was of a jealous and wrathful nature. Moreover, the queen of Kāsi knew that Chaddanta’s storehouses held all the magnificent and stately tusks of his forebears, and so she would not ask for Chaddanta’s tusks if it were treasures she wanted. She could have far more easily sent a thief to steal his ancestor’s tusks rather than risk the wrath of the mighty, and still living, Chaddanta. No, she wanted his tusks out of spite alone. But such was his kindness that he suffered the hunter to take a saw to his tusks, and when the hunter proved unable to saw his thick tusks, he used his own trunk to grasp the saw and hack them off. With the task done, the Bodhisattva magically sped the hunter along back to his queen, shortening his trip from seven years, seven months and seven days down to only a week (Jā XVI 514).



Figure 1: The Hunter Sawing off Chaddanta's tusks, Bharhut<sup>18</sup>

To bring home the lesson that *kodha* is reserved largely for villains and the spiritually poor, as well as that the Bodhisattva suffered for others no matter how spitefully they treated him, the text describes the queen of Kāsi, twice using the term *kodha*, once in the Bodhisattva's revelation of her true purpose and once more in ordering the hunter to report back to her:

*bahū hi me dantayugā uḷārā / ye me pitunnaṃ pi pitāmahānaṃ /  
jānāti sā kodhanā rājaputtī / vadhatthikā veraṃ akāsi bālā* (Jā XVI 514)

Many indeed are the great pairs of tusks I have / which are my fathers' and  
grandfathers' /  
The angry queen knows this / The foolish woman did this hateful act wanting me  
dead

*uṭhehi tvam ludda khuraṃ gahetvā / dante ime chinda purā marāmi /  
vajjāsi taṃ kodhanaṃ rājaputtiṃ / nāgo hato handa imassa dantāti* (Jā XVI 514)

Stand, hunter, and after taking your knife / cut these tusks before I die /  
Tell that angry queen / "The beast is dead, and now here are his tusks."

<sup>18</sup> "The Story of Chaddanta Elephant," Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, last Modified June 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019, <http://ignca.gov.in/online-digital-resources/jataka-stories/004-the-story-of-chaddanta-elephant>.

#### 4.4.2.3. Khantivādin (Jā IV 32)

With such restraint in the face of violence even in the forms of elephants and snakes, it should come as no surprise that the Bodhisattva's *akkodha* reached an even greater and more extreme degree as a man. In his final birth as Siddhartha, the Buddha teaches his students to let bandits sever them limb from limb rather than to grow angry at their enemies. The Bodhisattva practiced as he preached and did not back down from suffering mutilation, whether self-imposed or inflicted upon him. In the Khantivādin Jātaka we read that at one time he lived as an ascetic in a forest grove when he was approached by dancing girls of the nearby king of Kāsi. Entranced by the Bodhisattva's handsomeness and splendor in the flower of his youth, they sat and listened to his teachings. Meanwhile the king stumbled over drunkenly and, seeing his dancing girls showing the ascetic greater favor than him, was livid, jealous and wrathful. Only by the pleading of his women did he lower his sword and cool his anger. Yet tension remained. When asked for a summary of his teaching, the Bodhisattva's reply was that, true to his name Khantivādin "Teacher of Patience," his teaching focused on *khanti*. And *khanti*, he preached,

*akkosantesu paharantesu paribhāsantesu akujjhanabhāvo* (Jā IV 32)

is being without anger when others insult, beat and abuse you.

The jealous king sent for his executioner to punish the ascetic and test his resolve, and soon the Bodhisattva took two thousand lashes on his front, then his back, then his sides. When his skin peeled off in lumps and blood flowed, the king came again and mockingly asked "what do you teach, monk?" But he grew only more wrathful when the Bodhisattva chided him, saying his *khanti* was not skin deep, but was rooted in his heart. Soon Khantivādin lost his hands, then his feet, then finally his nose and ears before his torture ended and the king left him ruined in body, but unshaken in spirit. Luckily the cruel king's general was of a kinder sort and bandaged

his wounds. Recognizing the ascetic's greatness and knowing the immense power the bodhisattva commanded, the general pleaded for him not to use it, to show mercy to the kingdom, and to leave it unharmed. The king who mutilated him so, on the other hand, was a suitable target for the bodhisattva's anger according to the general. But the Bodhisattva would have none of it, saying:

*yo me hatthe ca pāde ca kaṇṇanāsañ ca chedayi /  
ciraṃ jīvatu so rājā, na hi kujjhanti mādisa (Jā IV 32).*

He who cut off my hands, feet, ears and nose /  
Long live that king! Those like me do not grow angry.

But for all his mercy, the Bodhisattva was yet powerless to stop the king from reaping the fruits of his actions, nor could he save the king from the flaming grip of the Avici hell that soon dragged him beneath the earth. For his part, Khantivādin soon died of his wounds without having lifted a finger in retaliation. Whether born as a man, monkey, elephant or nāga, the Bodhisattva missed not a single opportunity to show his purposeful lack of *kodha*.

Two points are worth noting in the Bodhisattva's efforts to cultivate *khanti*. First one must admit the Bodhisattva's actions are both dramatic, for mutilation is sure to attract and hold the reader's attention, as well as maximally noble. The purposefully extreme tortures he undergoes, such as a total of eight-thousand lashes, show that the Bodhisattva's striving and personal bodily torment are at the peak of what could be expected of Buddhist practitioners. Second, these sufferings show in dramatic fashion that even in past lives the bodhisattva was the utmost embodiment of the simile of the saw, discussed in §4.2 above, as he never grew angry with the king despite the physical disfigurement. The Buddha could rightfully preach to his followers never to entertain angry thoughts even at the cost of being sawn apart and dismembered, for in his past lives he had undergone those very same torments.

#### 4.4.3. Angerless Monks

Last among those that one should emulate for their devotion to *khanti* and rejection of *kodha* are notable members of the Buddhist saṅgha. Two of these tales are enough to underscore the point, for in their essential elements they resemble narratives of the former lifetimes of the Buddha. In each case an instigator attacks or abuses an innocent member of the saṅgha, who remains strong in his spiritual faculties and does not strike back or suffer others to come to his defense.

##### 4.4.3.1. Sāriputta (DhPA Vol. 4, 145–6)

According to one story, students of the venerable Sāriputta held him in such a high degree of respect that they gathered to praise his virtues, saying that he was such a patient man that he never got angry, even when struck and abused (DhPA Vol. 4, 145–6). Hearing this, some brahmin doubted the elder's virtue and resolved to prove that Sāriputta was just as full of hate and anger as anyone else. His opportunity presented itself that same day when Sāriputta went along on his alms round. Seizing the chance, the brahmin saw the elder, snuck behind an alley and struck him with a staff squarely in the back. But Sāriputta, not even caring to turn around to see what had caused him such pain, continued along his way.

Seeing such indifference to abuse, the brahmin was exceedingly remorseful and begged his forgiveness, saying that he wished only to test the monk's *khanti*, and Sāriputta promptly forgave him. But the deed did not go unnoticed, and the mob that formed around the elder and the brahmin were not so quick to forgive. Seeing the mob thirsting for the man's blood, the elder sent them on their way and argued that the brahmin had struck him, not them, and that he had forgiven the man.

#### 4.4.3.2. “A Certain Monk” (DhPA Vol. 4, 174–5)

At one time, the story goes, a certain monk had quickly reached the fruit of arhantship and put an end to rebirths after applying himself diligently in the forest. Meanwhile a married couple bickered in a nearby village, and the wife fled the house as soon as her husband was away. Seeing the monk on the way to tell the Buddha of his newly reached success, she decided to travel with him for safety. The monk neither looked in her direction nor acted inappropriately in any way. In a sense, travelling with the monk for safety worked, though not as she intended. Not long after her flight from home, her husband caught up with her and saw the monk travelling with his wife. After discovering that their companionship was her idea alone and that the monk never so much as glanced her way, her husband decided to mete out her punishment on the monk and beat him senseless, purely out of spite and *uppannakodho* “[his] anger arisen.”

In time the monk returned to the other monks, battered, broken and bruised, but without any trace of anger or self-defense. In recounting his story to his fellow monks he was met with staunch skepticism, for they could not accept that one could endure such violence without becoming angry. They soon reported the matter to the Buddha, who knew the truth and explained to the monks how such a thing could be true:

*Bhikkhave khīṇasavā nāma nihitadaṇḍā te paharantesu pi kodhan na karonti yeva*  
(DhPA Vol. 4, 174–5)

Surely, monks, those whose oozing taints have been destroyed have abandoned violence, even toward those who beat them, nor do they act out of anger.

#### 4.5. Conclusion: The Buddhist Emotionology of Anger

As we have seen, Mainstream Buddhist writers and thinkers recognized anger and similar phenomena, whether *krodha*, *dosa*, or *paṭigha*, as significant obstacles on the path toward

awakening. So too did they devote a great deal of energy in examining these phenomena and detailing their faults, more so than the lack of modern scholarship in early Indian Buddhism suggests. A variety of methods for bringing anger under their control and ultimately cutting it out root and stem were proposed. In the simile of the saw, anger is seen as such a threat to one's spiritual progress that the Buddha outlaws both acting upon it and allowing it to arise at all, even at the cost of extreme bodily torture for oneself and others.

*Krodha* was treated no less seriously by that most prodigious of monks Buddhaghosa, who penned a lengthy step-by-step guide for its destruction. His methods included cultivating *metta*, or loving-kindness, reflecting on the virtues of the anger's object, acting in accordance with the *dhamma* to satisfy one's family, an analysis of the cause for one's anger into one's constituent aggregates, and finally an exhortation to look at the Buddha's example from before his enlightenment and the innumerable tortures he endured without being soiled by anger. The Bodhisattva's own actions give the reader an array of such examples in the various *jātaka* tales, along with those of the Buddha's monks during his final lifetime. Sāriputta and the nameless monk described above showed that standing up to anger and cultivating extreme *khanti* were not unique to the Buddha, and they suggest to the reader that the Buddha's dramatic example could be carried out by anyone who followed the Buddhist path.

With the centrality of Buddhas and arhants within the early Buddhist cosmology, and the notion that godhood was a potential state of rebirth for virtuous beings, it is no surprise that gods such as Indra were no longer held up to the same cosmic importance they occupied in Vedic literature, at least in Buddhist literary circles. However, it would be a mistake to dismiss them as relics of a bygone era. Buddhas may stand as the worthiest beings to worship, however as we have seen in the discussion of Sakka, gods could find their place, and indeed thrive, in a

Buddhist hierarchy. In Sakka's case, he managed to keep his lofty position of king of the gods and remain worthy of emulation on account of his righteous actions before and during his reign.

Further study of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna literature remains to be done before we can ascribe similar attitudes to those traditions. Looking into specific gods and their characteristic differences in Buddhism and the contemporary Jain or Brahmanical literature could also prove a worthwhile endeavor in seeing why some gods such as Indra remained, while many notable figures such as Agni and Varuṇa fell to the wayside in Buddhist circles. An in-depth study of Sakka's position in Buddhist literature and tradition in general remains a desideratum as well. Such a study is beyond the scope of this project, and it is likely to take us far from the theme of anger, but it has the potential to shed further light on early Buddhist cosmological thought. At the very least, this short case study of angerless Sakka shows that some entity, such as the Buddha, being lifted above godhood status does not necessarily mean that the gods suffer a demotion.

I would like to conclude this chapter by summarizing the key emotionological insights that we have come across in Part I. That is, what characterizes the early Indian Buddhist attitudes toward anger put forward by early Buddhist thinkers? Naturally, the recurring sentiment is that anger is bad; that should come as no surprise. We have seen in chapter 2 that characters such as Pañcapāpā and the Bodhisattva were born ugly in a future life simply for being frustrated with a Paccekabuddha. This anger-ugliness connection applies to all people in society, whether one is a monk, nun, layperson, commoner, or king. In line 12 of the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* anger is compared to a deadly poison, with similar metaphors occurring in verse compilations in the Dharmapadas, Udānavarga, and the Urugavagga. The *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* also states plainly that angry people may suffer from social isolation, echoing sentiments from the Kodhana Sutta (AN IV 94–9). Other

anger-induced ailments found in the Kodhana Sutta and reiterated in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga include lack of sleep, poverty, and rebirth in a hell realm.

But the key insight from early Buddhist emotionology is not that anger is karmically, societally, and economically harmful; it is the absolutist way in which the literature characterizes *krodha*. The simile of the saw and the Khantivādin Jātaka, in which the Bodhisattva undergoes horrific torture while remaining calm and free of anger, drive this lesson home. As stated above in §4.2, *krodha*, *dosa*, *paṭigha*, and so forth are absolutely harmful and have no redeeming qualities. There is no defensible reason for becoming angry, whether in body, speech, or mind. Nor do we hear of any fruitful way to make use of anger: the creators of these texts make no mention of channeling the energy behind anger into a productive endeavor like exercise or art. It is better to suffer bandits to saw you apart limb from limb, and to suffer others being sawn apart limb from limb, than to entertain angry thoughts. To do so can lead to ugliness, loneliness, poverty, and going to hell. It is truly an emotion worse than death.

This unbending attitude toward *krodha* may lead to fruitful discussions when drawn up alongside similar studies of the emotionology of anger in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna traditions. Future studies incorporating *upāya-kausalya* “skillful means” and the importance of wrathful deities in Tantric pantheons remain possibilities. But these are beyond the scope of the present work. In the remaining chapters I turn to an in-depth study of the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*.

## PART II: THE \*KROṢA-GAṢA

### CHAPTER 5: PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

#### 5.1. Description of the Manuscript (Figures 2, 3, and 4)

As mentioned in the introduction, frame 19 contains fragments of a scroll consisting of 17 lines of verse, one part of a large, newly discovered and yet to be published collection of Gandhāran manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script. Considering how recently the collection has come to light, many details about it such as the number of scrolls, their contents and condition, information about its discovery, the number of hands represented, and so forth have yet to be determined. The text of the manuscript within frame 19 I have named the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* (OIA \**Krodha-gāthāh*), “Anger-verses,” to reflect the prominence given to anger within the text.

The text is generally written with one verse for each line, with lines 1–14 written in a metrical pattern resembling *triṣṭubh* and lines 15–17 resembling *śloka*. No title or colophon appears on the surviving material. The old and dry birchbark on which the manuscript is written is immensely fragile, and much of the right side has crumbled away through the years. Roughly three fourths of the scroll’s width has survived for the majority of the text, comprising the middle and left side. After the text was written out, the scroll was rolled into a cigar shape and eventually became flattened during storage in antiquity. The top and bottom edges of the scroll suffered damage during storage and modern conservation and unrolling, with breakage naturally occurring along these edges of the flattened manuscript, leaving us with five short and wide horizontal strips of roughly uniform size averaging four lines of verse each. From top to bottom, these horizontal strips are labelled frame 19a–frame 19e. Before becoming flattened, the cigar-

shaped roll was then folded across the width of the scroll, nearer to the right side rather than neatly in half, a practice seen elsewhere in preserved Gāndhārī scrolls such as the G Rhinoceros Sūtra in the British Library (Salomon 2000: 26, §2.2.2.; although folding neatly down the middle is seen also, in particular see Glass 2007: 71, §3.1). The surviving fragments of the scroll are divided into two groups: 1) these five horizontal strips within frame 19 that comprise the middle and end of each line, and; 2) a series of narrower strips which are preserved in frame 12 of the same collection that comprise the beginning of each line.

Thirteen fragments in frame 12 of the same collection show the same handwriting as that found in frame 19. We are most lucky in that many of these fragments show a blank space on their right side, revealing that these make up portions of the missing first pādas for lines 4, 5 and 13–17. Such fragments are contextual matches for verses in frame 19, and furthermore share a similar mixture of metrical patterns resembling triṣṭubh and śloka verse, further strengthening the case that they belong to the same original text.

While details regarding the collection's finding and preservation are unavailable, photographs taken of the manuscript and its fragments allow some discussion. According to the usual practice, the scroll was unfolded and the pieces placed inside a glass frame, in this case frames 19 and 12. Unusually, however, the manuscript and its fragments were overlaid with a thin plastic film, presumably to limit the amount of oxygen exposure and help with preservation. This plastic film has unfortunately led in some places to further damage to the manuscript. The disturbance to the bark resulting from this preservation process has led a number of smaller fragments to rest on top of the larger manuscript in frame 19, partially blocking our view of a number of akṣaras. As for frame 12, three of the relevant fragments were placed upside-down;

also within the frame are fragments that display a different hand from the two in our text and so are not associated with the text of the \**Krośa-gaśa*.

Otherwise the manuscript is in fair, but not ideal, condition. The right side is in poor condition, and the scroll has sustained a great deal of damage to the top edges. With this in mind, and since no parallel has yet been identified in any known Buddhist canon to date, it is not possible to tell how much of the text is missing. The lower four centimeters of the scroll are both in excellent condition and blank. It is likely then that the end of the text has come down to us intact and that the scribe did not intend to continue the text on other scrolls.

The verso is blank except for slight traces of ink, as discussed in §5.2.2. below. A few possibilities could account for this blankness. The verso could have delaminated naturally, or those responsible for the scroll's discovery could have skillfully delaminated much of the verso in an attempt to sell recto and verso separately, or more likely, the verso could have simply been blank to begin with. Given that the ending of the text is far above the bottom of the scroll on the recto, I am inclined to suspect that the verso had been left blank by the scribe.



Figure 2: Recto with plastic film



*Figure 3: Verso with plastic film*



Figure 4: Fragments in Frame 12

## 5.2. Reconstruction of the Scroll

### 5.2.1. Size and Format

The text is composed of verses made up of four pādas, with nine of the second pādas and eleven of the first pādas missing. It currently stands at roughly at 19 centimeters in width where the rightmost pādas have been restored and 14 centimeters in width where they have not; it measures 22 centimeters in length. More precise measurements are not possible without greater digital reconstructions than are possible, given the many horizontal gaps and distortions between fragments that developed upon unfolding and preservation.

Although the bottom edge of the original scroll has survived intact, the entire top edge, half of the left edge and much of the right edge has not, aside from those fragments that have been preserved in frame 12. Eight such fragments have been securely located on the right edge, leaving another five yet to be placed either on the right or at the top. The portions of the original manuscript that have survived do not show traces of glue lines, and there is only a single doubtful instance of a hole meant for stitching which appears at the beginning of line 5 after reconstruction. The lack of glue lines and stitching and the short length of the scroll suggest that the manuscript that has survived was almost certainly made from a single piece of bark, although the possibility remains that our manuscript was glued to another piece that has not survived, forming a much longer text. Seventeen lines of verse appear on the recto, while all but lines 13, 15 and 17 take up the full width of the scroll. The reason for the short length of line 13 is unknown, while those of 15 and 17 are the result of a switch to a meter that wraps around to a second, incomplete line. Calculating the average akṣara count of the lines is not yet possible given the damage to the scroll, but the two lines with the shorter meter that have been fully

restored, 4 and 14, have 43 akṣaras each. In strict triṣṭubh meter we would predict 44 akṣaras for each line, but the meter of these verses is imperfectly understood and only resembles triṣṭubh.

### 5.2.2. The Reconstructed Text (Figures 5, 12, and 13)

The fragments that make up the bulk of the text in frame 19 have been set down in their proper place, so that even without relying on digital reconstruction one can read roughly three-fourths of the surviving text. But digital reconstruction is required to make the majority of the manuscript readable, and this is made possible by high-quality color digital photographs. As mentioned above, a number of smaller fragments have become dislodged from their original place and have come to rest on top of other pieces, hiding our view of what lies beneath. While they have been restored to their original places, we are left with gaps in the spaces they now occupy and must rely on context for reconstructing these gaps.

The verso is blank except for two areas. The first is a small fragment of the recto from line 2 that has folded over so that it is only visible on the verso. The second is a portion on the middle left side corresponding to lines 9–13, which shows only faint traces of visible ink. The hand is the same as that on the recto. It was at first assumed that the akṣaras were originally on the recto and were the remains of text somewhere beneath lines 9–13. A second early theory was that the akṣaras on the verso were part of a separate text entirely that had become rolled up with the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*.<sup>19</sup> But higher quality images and digital reconstructions have since shown that the orientation of the akṣaras follows that of the recto and moreover that they are part of the same text, making up the second pādas of lines 6–9. It is definitely the case that the sheet of bark with

---

<sup>19</sup> Timothy Lenz, personal communication, January 23, 2018.

the faint akṣaras became disconnected from one of the five main fragments, frame 19b, during preservation and came to rest under the fragment below it. This surviving sheet of bark is actually a lower layer, onto which the ink bled from the delaminated top layer, making the ink only slightly visible.



*Figure 5: Traces of ink on the verso corresponding to 6–9b on the recto, digitally inverted and with color values inverted for clarity*

### 5.3. Descriptive List of Subfragments

The vast majority of subfragments are those found in frame 12. Those in frame 19 are limited to just five subfragments (not to be confused with the five main strips), all of which have been securely restored to their proper place. The subfragments in frame 12 have proven more difficult to place. Out of the thirteen subfragments that bear the same hand as our scribe, only eight have been restored. The remaining nine have eluded all attempts at placement thus far.

They may belong to a separate text written by the same scribe, or they may belong to the damaged upper part of the text.

### 5.3.1. Subfragments in Frame 19 (Figures 6–10)

Aside from the five main fragments in frame 19, five smaller subfragments have become dislodged from their original place and have been restored digitally.



Figure 6: Subfragment 1

Subfragment 1: A small fragment bearing an initial *a* and the top half of a *ki* has come to rest above *prala* in 2d. James Vongagsorn restored this fragment to its proper place in *akirti* in line 1 during my first presentation of the manuscript in the weekly Kharoṣṭhī Klub at the University of Washington on January 26, 2018.



Figure 7: Subfragment 2

Subfragment 2: At the beginning of line 2 a short, narrow strip of bark has folded over so that it rests on the verso, hiding five akṣaras of pāda b. The final two syllables of the subfragment had formerly been reconstructed as *u va* based on context, and the fragment's placement confirms our earlier reconstruction. With the fragment in place, the surviving akṣaras of line 2b now read [*ś.*]rano uvakramena.



Figure 8: Subfragment 3

Subfragment 3: A much bigger fragment shifted slightly to the left and downward and now rests between lines 8 and 9, pāda c. I have since digitally restored the fragment to its original place, forming the end of pāda b and the beginning of pāda c for both lines.

Unfortunately this subfragment rests on top of four akṣaras in 9c, preventing a secure reading of that pāda.



Figure 9: Subfragment 4

Subfragment 4: Five akṣaras to the left of the bigger fragment, a smaller piece rests upside down (that is, rotated 90 degrees, rather than resting on its backside) just below the pāda break between 8c and 8d, so that it lies between lines 8 and 9. In its original position it restores the final two akṣaras in 8c as *jano* and the first two akṣaras in 8d as *kṣetro*. As it came to rest in the space between two lines, it has not disrupted the reading of the manuscript.



Figure 10: Subfragment 5

Subfragment 5: Between fragments C and D of the main manuscript lies a long, thin fragment of nine akṣaras. When put into its proper place in 10b, it gives the reading *na janati hidahida va*. Its resting place in frame 19 at the gap between lines 14 and 15 is a result of the

fragment's becoming delaminated from its proper place and does not obscure the reading of the text.

### 5.3.2. Subfragments in Frame 12 (Figures 4 and 11)

Below I give an overview of the relevant fragments found within frame 12. The frame holds sixteen fragments from several Gāndhārī manuscripts, thirteen of which show the same hand as the manuscript in frame 19 and possibly belong to our text. Of those thirteen fragments, eight have been placed in their original positions. The placement of many of these was made easier by their conveniently blank right margins, revealing that they make up the beginnings of their respective lines. At least one other fragment shows similar blank margins, however it does not match up with the surviving edges of the manuscript like the other five. At present the most that can be said of them is that they make up the beginning pādas of unidentified lines or belong to a separate text written by the same scribe. The remaining five do not lend themselves to easy placement, either lacking helpful context or enough akṣaras for identification, or both. We have discovered that in a notable few cases these fragments match up nicely with others within the same frame, belonging to each other as it were, without finding a place in the manuscript. It is clear that fragments 12h, 12i and 12d belong together, for instance. Placed fragments are marked with an asterisk below.

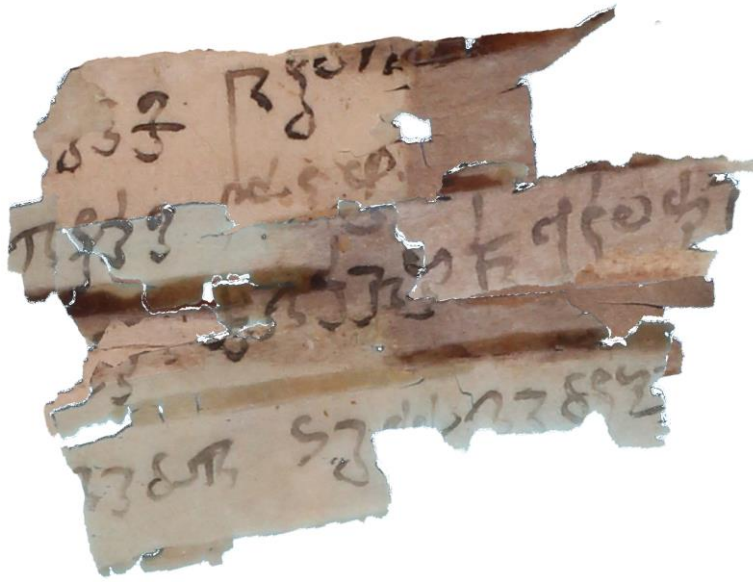


Figure 11: Fragment 12h+12i+12d

12a\*: This fragment has a blank right margin and forms the beginning of line 17. Placing the fragment in its proper position to the right of 12o shows that the fragment reads *na śa*.

12b: This fragment, placed upside down in frame 12, shows traces of five akṣaras in one line and traces of two akṣaras from the line above. The readable portion, the second line, reads *[p.]reṣu a[bh]e*.

12c: This fragment likewise shows traces from a line above with seven akṣaras below that read *kroṣāṣile deśite*.

12d\*: This fragment has seven akṣaras in one line, reading *[va]se mane labhe s*. When placed with 12i the fragments read *[va]se mane labhe sakare yakhi* ◊ *sa*.

12e: This fragment has five akṣaras that read *li ga vidraga*, below which is a trace of ink resembling the top of a *kh*.

12f: This fragment has seven akṣaras with a pāda break between the fifth and sixth, reading *[s.]* ◊ *anubhavo upa*. Above this line the fragment has delaminated and below are traces of three akṣaras too partial to be readable.

12h\*: The bottom half of this fragment has delaminated, and digital reconstruction shows that the delaminated portion belongs with 12i. For this reason, these fragments are elsewhere referred to as the composite fragment 12h+i in the discussions of words that are incomplete without both fragments, as in *aveniyo*. This fragment shows two lines with the top line bearing six or seven akṣaras, with a pāda break between the fourth and fifth. The line reads ? *manuśa* ◊ *i* ?. The bottom line preserves the top halves of the akṣaras *ga n. re n.* ◊ *aveniyo*.

12i\*: This fragment shows three lines, the top of which completes the incomplete akṣaras from 12h, and the second line completes the akṣaras from 12d. The lower two lines both have a pāda break, with the second line reading ? *kare yakhi* ◊ *sa* and the bottom-most line reading ? *śana duvayam=[i(\*d)i] vuta* ◊ *yo duva(y.)*.

12j\*: This fragment shows traces of eight akṣaras and belongs beneath fragment 12n, completing the partial akṣaras found on the bottom of 12n and giving the reading *krodhena mata [k.r.]di akario* ◊ *k*. Together the two fragments make up the first pādas of lines 3-5.

12k\*: This fragment shows twenty-four partial or complete akṣaras in two lines and makes up the beginning of lines 13 and 14. The top line reads *kro[ś]o [ca] h[i]da suhida bhavati* ◊ *krośo*. The bottom line has suffered such damage to its bottom edge that the lower half of each akṣara is missing and a secure reading for a few akṣaras is only possible with reference to the context. It reads *suha sama[śi] viśati [a jatu]* ◊ *(\*bha)*.

12m: This fragment similarly makes up the beginning of two lines, but it has yet to be placed in its original position. The first line shows only two damaged and unclear akṣaras, the second of which may read be *na* or *da*. The second line is more complete and reads *ñatvana edadiśo* ?.

12n\*: As mentioned above, this fragment belongs to the beginning of lines 3–5. The top line shows only the bottom edges of akṣaras and cannot be read securely. When placed with 12j, the remaining two lines give the readings (\*aśivi)ṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya and krodhena mata [k.r.]di akario ◊ k. This fragment has been placed upside down in frame 12.

12o\*: This fragment has three lines of text with the notable change in hand (discussed in §7.2) that characterizes the final three lines, and so and makes up the beginnings of lines 15–17. The top line shows eleven akṣaras and reads *prahahi paca <<dhama>> cedaṣa vi*. The second line has suffered a great deal of damage and delamination; only eight akṣaras are readable, and only questionably, as *p. n. śa [d] v. t. ki sa*. The characteristically elongated top of the akṣara *kh* is visible at around the eleventh akṣara mark. The final line is more complete, allowing the reading of *na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva*. When placed with the main manuscript the final word becomes *adhvaṇe*. A satisfactory reading eludes me thus far. The fragment, like 12n has been placed upside down in frame 12.

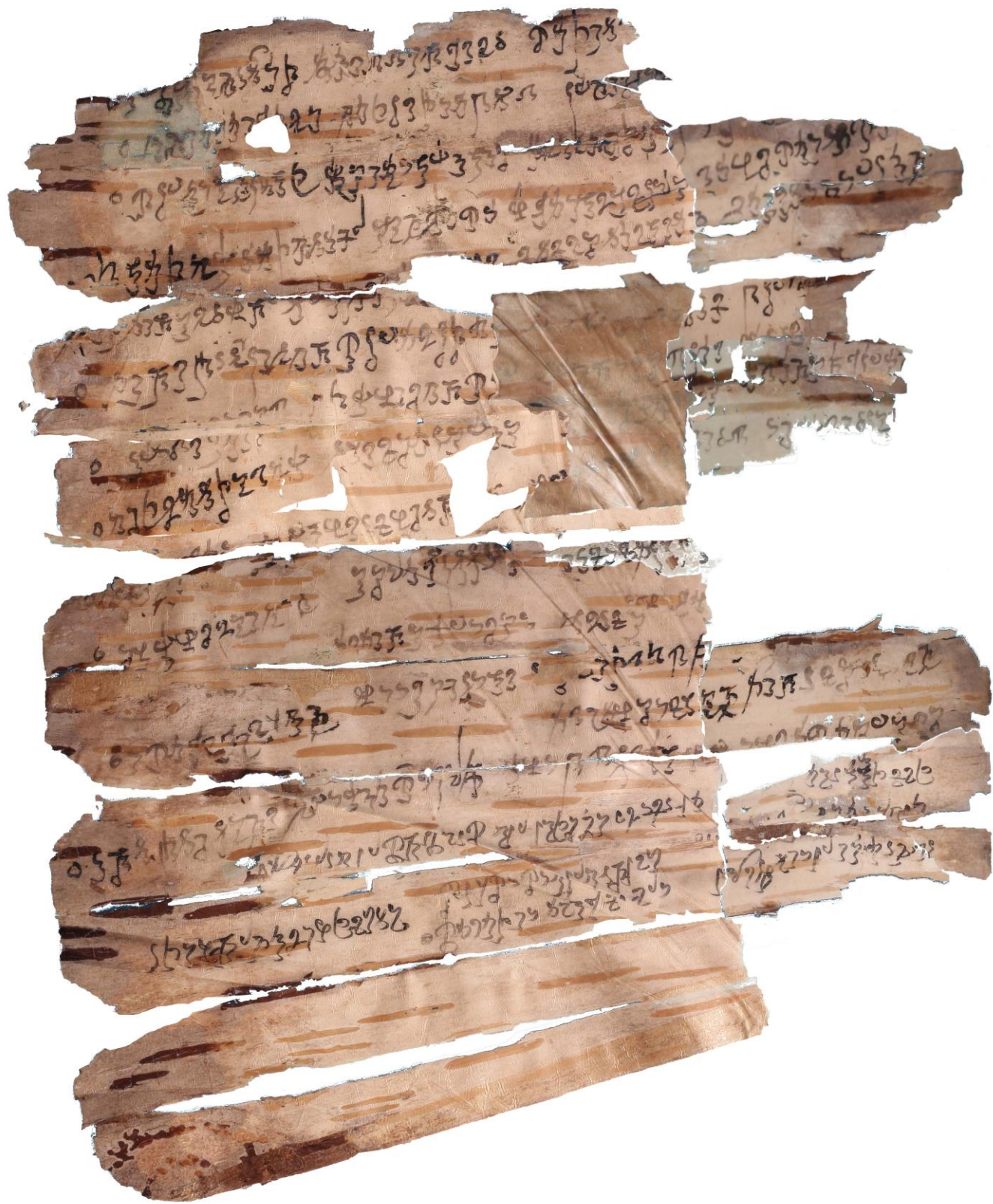


Figure 12: Recto after digital reconstruction, with fragments from frame 12



Figure 13: Recto after digital reconstruction, with fragments from frame 12 added and subfragments in frame 19 highlighted

## CHAPTER 6 PHONOLOGY

## 6.1. General Remarks

The presentation below seeks to give a complete phonological analysis of the manuscript in frame 19 and associated fragments found in frame 12. In the absence of a parallel text in OIA or non-Gāndhārī MIA, the analysis relies upon a proposed reconstruction of how the text truly sounded based on parallels for individual words and phrases, apart from the limitations imposed upon the representation of the language by Kharoṣṭhī. This is particularly important for vowel length and consonant clusters, many of which (including all geminates) are not represented in Kharoṣṭhī. Thus *acatanithasa* corresponding to OIA *atyantaniṣṭhasya* (12c) is understood to have been pronounced *accataniṭṭhassa* and so scans metrically as - - ∪ - - ∪, rather than ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ as suggested by the orthography alone.

In general, the phonology of frame 19 is similar to the normal developments seen throughout Gāndhārī. The new collection from which frame 19 springs being a recent finding and as yet unpublished, it is too early to evaluate the manuscript's phonology with respect to the bigger picture of the new collection. Thus at a later date it will be possible to view the observations made below in a more informed light. With that in mind, many claims below must be taken cautiously until such time.

6.2. Vowels<sup>20</sup>

Vowel length is not noted in the manuscript, despite Kharoṣṭhī's occasional ability to do so elsewhere, as found in the KDhp, Niya documents, BL and Schøyen collections (Glass 2007: 109, §5.1; Glass 2000: 137, §4.4). Thus vowel length depends entirely on etymology and proposed metrical patterns discussed in chapter 10. While *aya*, *āya* and *yā* often find a reflex in *e*, as in *havedi* = OIA *hāpayati* (5b) and *heḍae* = OIA *heḍayā* (4b) (see §8.2.2.1. below), we do not find the expected contraction of OIA *ava* and *āva* to *o*. Thus *suavabhavo* = OIA *sūkarabhāvaṃ* (7b), and *bhavati* rather than *bhoti* or *hoti* for OIA *bhavanti* (13a). Prothetic *v* appears in *vuta* = OIA *uktaḥ* (9a). OIA *ṛ* sees the most varied reflexes, with *a*, *u* and *i* all developing in intervocalic position (see §8.2.2.4.). OIA vowels and their developments in initial and medial position are listed in Table 1 below. When there is more than one reflex, they are presented in order of frequency.

Table 1: Reflexes of OIA Vowels in Initial and Medial Positions in Frame 19

OIA Vowel	G Reflexes in Initial Position	G Reflexes in Medial Position
<i>a</i>	<i>a, Ø</i>	<i>a, e, u</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, o</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i, Ø</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ī</i>	—	<i>i</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ū</i>	—	<i>u</i>

<sup>20</sup> Words in frame 19 are referenced by line number and pāda: thus 2d refers to line 2, pāda d. Those in frame 12 are referenced by frame 12 and fragment number. Frame 12m thus refers to fragment m found within frame 12.

<i>r</i>	_____	<i>a, u, i</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e, Ø</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ai</i>	_____	<i>i</i>
<i>o</i>	_____	<i>o</i>
<i>au</i>	_____	<i>o</i>

### 6.2.1. Initial Vowels

Initial vowels are stable in most cases, apart from the reflexes of the common OIA enclitic particles *api*, *iva* and *eva*, where they are elided. But the OIA particle *iti*, which elsewhere undergoes elision in G (Marino 2017: 111, §7.1.1.), remains unchanged save for the voicing of the intervocalic *-t-*, becoming *idi* (5b). Below are the number and occurrences of initial OIA vowels and their developments:

OIA *a* = *a* (15 occurrences): e.g., *anupraviṭho* = OIA *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c)

OIA *a* =  $\emptyset$  (1 occurrence): *pi* = OIA *api*, P *pi* (2c)

OIA *i* = *i* (2 occurrences): e.g., *idi* = OIA *iti* (5B, frame 12i)

OIA *i* =  $\emptyset$  (2 occurrences): e.g. *va* = OIA *iva* (12d)

OIA *u* = *u* (6 occurrences): e.g., *ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ* (9c)

OIA *e* = *e* (5 occurrences): e.g., *eti* = OIA *eti* (6c, 7c)

OIA *e* =  $\emptyset$  (1 occurrence): *va* = OIA *eva* (10b)

### 6.2.2. Medial Vowels

Medial vowels are mostly stable, with a few notable exceptions. OIA *mātrā* sees both vowels developing into *o* in *motro* as the final member of the compound *vidhamita[mo]tro* (14c).

OIA *-r-* develops a range of correspondences in *a* (following dental *t-*), *i* (following velar *k-*) and *u* (following labial *p-*) (see §8.2.2.4. below). The single attested reflex of OIA *au* develops into the expected *o* in *somaṇaso* = OIA *saumanasya* (16a). OIA *ai* occurs only as a result of sandhi with *eva* in the phrases *tathaiva* and *caiva*, in each case developing a different correspondent: *i* in *taṣiva* (3c) and *e* in *yeya* (12c) (see §8.5.1. below). OIA medial vowels and their developments are listed below:

OIA *a* = *a* (110 occurrences): e.g., *sabhavati* = OIA *saṃbhavati* (5d)

OIA *a* = *e* (1 occurrence): *purekhida-kroṣān(\*a)* = OIA *puraskṛta-krodhānām* (1d)

OIA *a* = *u* (1 occurrence): *pravuto* = OIA *\*proptaḥ* (8d)

OIA *ā* = *a* (50 occurrences): e.g., *uvagami* = OIA *upāgami* (7c)

OIA *ā* = *o* (2 occurrences): *motro* = OIA *mātrā* (16c)

OIA *i* = *i* (35 occurrences): e.g., *drodaśia* = OIA *durdarśikāḥ* (6d)

OIA *ī* = *i* (11 occurrences): e.g., *akirti* = OIA *akīrtiḥ* (1c)

OIA *u* = *u* (19 occurrences): e.g., *suhida* = OIA *sukhitāḥ* (13a)

OIA *u* = *o* (2 occurrences): e.g., *drovana* = OIA *durvarṇāḥ* (6d)

OIA *ū* = *u* (5 occurrences): e.g., *śidibhuda* = OIA *śītībhūtaḥ* (14d)

OIA *r* = *a* (1 occurrence): *taṣa* = OIA *tṛṣṇā* (14c)

OIA *r* = *i* (4 occurrences): e.g., *ki[ṭa]* = OIA *kṛtam* (3b)

OIA *r* = *u* (1 occurrence): e.g., *nivuti* = OIA *nirvṛtaḥ* (8d)

OIA *e* = *i* (1 occurrence): *[sa]yi* = OIA *sacet* (6c)

OIA *e* = *e* (16 occurrences): e.g., *teṣa* = OIA *teṣām* (4c)

OIA *o* = *u* (1 occurrence): *viruhea* = OIA *virohet* (8c)

OIA *o* = *o* (19 occurrences): e.g., *kroṣo* = OIA *krodham* (13b)

OIA *au* = *o* (1 occurrence): *somaṇaso* = OIA *saumanasyam* (16a)

### 6.2.2.1. Changes Affecting OIA *a* and *ā*

The common Gāndhārī phenomenon whereby *a* in combination with *y*, whether as *ay* or *ya*, often results in *e* in a “palatization of vowels” (Brough 1962: 81, §22a; Salomon 2008: 102, §II.3.1.1) occurs five times in this manuscript. Medial *e* = OIA *ayā* once and *āya* twice: in *heḍae* = OIA *heḍayā* (4b), *vaṣae* = OIA *vadhāya* (10d) and *hidae* = OIA *hitāya* (11b), whereas Brough remarks that “For the inflexional ending (-āya), -a’i is almost universal;” (Brough 1962: 90, §37). We find the expected contraction of medial OIA *aya* into *e* in the causative verb *havedi* = OIA *hāpayati* (5b), while *a* = OIA *ay* in *[v]iṇodaīta* = OIA *vinodya* (15c). Palatalization of *a* elsewhere occurs in *purekhida* = OIA *puraskṛta* (1d), elsewhere attested in AMg. with retroflex *ḍ* as *purekkhaḍa* and *purekaḍa* (Brough 1962: 101, §49, citing Pischel 1900: 235, §345).

Noticeably absent is the related and similarly common contraction throughout Gāndhārī literature of *o* = *ava*. In the five instances of *bhavati* and related words throughout the manuscript, the scribe consistently avoids contraction in favor of forms such as *bhavati*.

Initial *a* is elided only once, with *pi* = OIA *api* (2c), parallel to P *pi*. Two instances involve final *-ar* represented by *u* in *punu* = OIA *punar* (6c, 7c). The development of medial *ā* to *o* occurs once in the manuscript, in which OIA *mātrā* becomes *[mo]tro* (14c).

### 6.2.2.2. Changes Affecting OIA *i* and *ī*

OIA *i* and *ī* are unfailingly stable throughout the manuscript. The two instances in which OIA *i* =  $\emptyset$  are certainly morphological in nature rather than phonological, one being a plural nominative OIA neuter *as* stem developing into a masculine *a* stem, and the other a contracted

past participle: *ugrateya* = OIA *ugratejasah*, P *uggatejā* (4A) and *samusta* = OIA *samutthita* (4c).

#### 6.2.2.3. Changes Affecting OIA *u* and *ū*

In all positions *u* and *ū* are mostly stable, with a few notable exceptions in which *u* develops into *o*. Twice *baho* = OIA *bahu* (2d, 16c), and twice again the OIA prefix *dur-* develops into *dro-*: *drovana* = OIA *durvarṇāḥ* (6d) and *drodaśia* = OIA *durdarsikāḥ* (6d). However the prefix is stable in *durvayam* = OIA *durvacam* (frame 12i). In all other cases *u* and *ū* are stable. OIA *anu-*, which in the Senior Collection and EĀ-G often develops into *aṇo-* (Salomon 2008: 105, §II.3.1.4.), remains *aṇu-* in the only instance of the prefix as *anupraviṭho* = OIA *anupraviṣṭah* (2c).

Lastly, in one instance *bahaṇubhudo* = OIA *bahvanubhutaḥ* (16a), certainly a case of sandhi rather than OIA *bahu* developing into *baha*, as the actual pronunciation was likely closer to the OIA than the orthography suggests. Salomon notes that “*baha* forms may represent a sporadic shift of the declension class of this word from the *-u* stem to the dominant *-a* stem type...rather than a sound change,” therefore the possibility remains that in this one instance, *baha* is truly a development from OIA *bahu* (Salomon 2008: 105, §II.3.1.4).

#### 6.2.2.4. Changes Affecting OIA *ṛ*

In this manuscript we find OIA syllabic *ṛ* reflected as vowels in a similar way to that found in the Senior Collection and in other MIA languages, twice as *a* = OIA *ṛ* when *taṣa* = OIA *tṛṣṇām* (14c) and *svadibahopragara* = *smṛtibahuprakārāḥ* (16c); once as *u*: *nivuti* = OIA *nirvṛtaḥ* (14d); and four times as *i*: *purekhidakroṣan*(\*a) = OIA *puraskṛtakrodhānām* (1d), *ki[ṭa]* = OIA *kṛtam* (3b), *idhikamabhogasapada* = OIA *ṛddhikāmabhogasaṃpadā* (16d), and *edadiśo* =

OIA *etādṛśa* (frame 12m). Elsewhere we find rhotic coloration in the reflexes *ri* and *ra*: *vriti* = OIA *vṛttīḥ* (17g) and *ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ* (9c).

#### 6.2.2.5. Changes Affecting OIA *e*

OIA intervocalic *-e-* is mostly stable except for one instance in which it undergoes weakening to *-i-* in *[sa]yi* = OIA *sacet* (6c). This is in accord with other texts in which we find OIA *sacet* developing into *sai* (Salomon 2008: 337, §III.3.1.).

Of the six occurrences of OIA initial *e-*, only once is it elided, in *va* = OIA *eva* (10b).

#### 6.2.2.6. Changes Affecting OIA *o*

There is one possible instance of OIA *-o-* developing into *-u-* in *viruhea* = OIA *virohet*, P *virūheyya* (8c). However, this is more likely a morphological change, being an optative built on a weak stem of the root in MIA, and thus closer to P *virūheyya*. In all other cases *-o-* is stable.

#### 6.2.2.7. Changes Affecting OIA *au*

OIA *-au-* appears only once in the manuscript, and develops into *-o-* in *somanaso* = OIA *saumanasya* (16a).

### 6.3. Consonants

Initial consonants of latter members of compounds are treated as initial rather than medial in all cases; hence *t-* in *ugrateya* and *k-* in *idhikamabhogasapada* remain unvoiced, leaving *t-* and *k-* rather than *d-* and *g-*. They remain stable but for one instance, in which aspiration of *k-*, conditioned by the preceding *-s*, occurs in OIA *\*puraskṛtakrodhānām*, developing into

*purekhidakroṣan(\*a)* (1d). OIA *puraskṛta-* elsewhere occurs in AG-G<sup>L</sup> as *purakīdu*, with a diacritically modified *-k-* to represent the consonant cluster *-sk-* (Salomon 2008: 95, II.2.1.2.). Other than this conditioned aspiration, the language of the manuscript keeps an inconsistent distinction between aspirates and nonaspirates, for which see §8.3.8. below.

OIA initial consonants are overwhelmingly stable. The exception is *c-*, which usually remains unchanged, but for one case in which elision occurs, leaving us with *a* = OIA *ca* (10c).

The modified akṣara forms *ḡ* and *g*, characterized by horizontal strokes to the right on the bottom of the akṣara, are well represented in the manuscript, occurring seventeen and ten times, respectively. Surprisingly the similarly modified akṣaras *k̄* and *d̄*, so widespread in the Senior Collection, do not occur (Glass 2007: 114, §5.2.1.1.; Marino 2017: 119, §7.2.1.1.). Table 2 below gives an overview of OIA consonant reflexes in frame 19.

Table 2: Gāndhārī Reflexes of OIA Consonants in Frame 19

OIA Consonant	G Reflexes in Frame 19	
	Initial	Intervocalic
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	∅, <i>g</i> , <i>ḡ</i> , <i>k</i>
<i>kh</i>	_____	<i>h</i>
<i>g</i>	_____	<i>ḡ</i>
<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>gh</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>c</i> , ∅	<i>c</i> , <i>y</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	_____
<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>y</i> , ∅

<i>jh</i>	_____	_____
<i>t</i>	_____	_____
<i>d</i>	_____	<i>d</i>
<i>n</i>	_____	<i>n</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, d, t, n, Ø</i>
<i>th</i>	_____	<u><i>s</i></u>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>dh</i>	<i>dh</i>	<u><i>s</i></u> , <i>dh</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>v, p, m</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	_____
<i>bh</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>bh</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n, ñ, d</i>	<i>n, ñ</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>	Ø, <i>y, g</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>v, b</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>
<i>ṣ</i>	_____	<i>ṣ</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<u><i>s</i></u> , <i>ṣ, s</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>

### 6.3.1. Velars in Intervocalic Position

Intervocalic *-k-* is elided three times with vowel hiatus remaining. Thus *drodaśia* = OIA *durdarśikāḥ* (6d), *suarabhavam* = OIA *sūkarabhāvaṃ* (7b, 7d).

Less common is for OIA intervocalic *-k-* to develop into *-g-*: *[na]stiga* = OIA *nāstikaḥ* (8b), *pragara* = OIA *prakārah* (16c). So too do we find *-g-* in the OIA consonant cluster *-rk-* in *vidraga* = OIA *vitarka* (frame 12e), surely because OIA *vitarka* underwent rhotic metathesis and developed into *vitarka*, leaving the *-k-* as an intervocalic consonant rather than a latter member of a cluster.

Only rarely does *-k-* see other developments, as there are two instances of developments into *-g-* and once into *-k-*: *loge* = OIA *loke* (4b), *para[hisaga]* = OIA *\*parahiṃsakaḥ* (12b) and *akirti* = OIA *akīrtiḥ* (1c), the latter non-voicing of *-k-* being due to its being treated as initial after the negative *a-* prefix.

Intervocalic *-kh-* similarly develops into *-h-* in both instances in which it occurs: *suha* = OIA *sukhaṃ* (5b, 14a).

Intervocalic *-g-* in every instance develops into the modified form *-g-*, characterized by a horizontal stroke on the base of the akṣara, partially to the left and mostly to the right: *bhagi* = OIA *bhāgī* (5d), *uvagami* = OIA *upāgami* (7c), *arago* = OIA *arāgāḥ* (9b), *sugati* = OIA *sugatiṃ* (13d), *śatagami* = OIA *śāntagāmī* (14b) and *idhikamabhogasapada* = OIA *ṛddhikāmabhogasampadā* (16d). Glass suggests that the rightward stroke beneath *g* likely represents a fricative pronunciation in the Senior manuscripts, but is uncertain whether the stroke represents a phonetic distinction there, since the Senior scribe uses *g* for both OIA *g* and *k* (Glass 2007: 114, §5.2.1.1.; Marino 2017: 118, §7.2.1.1.). Since our scribe almost always writes *-g-* for original intervocalic *-g-* and never in initial position, there is likely to be a phonetic distinction

between the two. Unmodified *g* is reserved for OIA intervocalic *-k-* and consonant clusters, for which see §8.5.5.

OIA *-gh-* in intervocalic position occurs only as a member of a consonant cluster, for which see §8.5.5. below.

### 6.3.2. Palatals in Intervocalic Position

Original *-c-* develops into *-y-* in all three instances in which it occurs. Thus *sayi* = OIA *saci* (6b) and *duvayam* = OIA *durvacam* (twice in frame 12i).

OIA *ch* does not occur in intervocalic position and is attested only once in initial position: *chitvana* = OIA *chitvāna* (14c).

OIA *-j-* occurs four times, in three instances developing into *-y-*: *parica[y]e[a]* = OIA *parityajet* (4d), *vrayati* = OIA *vrajati* (14f) and *ugrateya* = OIA *ugratejasaḥ*, P *uggatejā* (4a). It is elided once in *bie* = OIA *bīje* (8d).

OIA *jh* does not occur in the manuscript in initial or intervocalic position.

*-c-* and *-j-* have merged with *-y-* in our text. OIA *-y-* never develops into *-j-* or *-c-*, while OIA *-j-* and *-c-* in intervocalic position always develop into *-y-* and are stable in initial position. This is in accord with the normal pattern in G. In the case of the elided *-j-* in *bie* = OIA *bīje* (8d) above and the elided *-y-* in *viruhea* = OIA *virohet*, P *virūheyya* (8c) we can surmise that the scribe felt no need to write the consonants, whether *y* or *j*, for as we have seen *-j-* develops into *-y-*, and so in actual pronunciation both *-ie* and *-ea* would naturally become *-iye* and *-eya*. Thus the elisions are in fact orthographic rather than phonetic.

### 6.3.3 Retroflexes in Intervocalic Position

Intervocalic *-t-* does not occur.

OIA *-ṭh-* occurs only once in the manuscript in the consonant cluster (*ṭ*)*ṭh*, for which see §6.4.9. below.

Intervocalic *-ḍ-* similarly occurs once, remaining stable: *heḍae* = OIA *heḍayā* (4b).

Intervocalic *-ṭ-* and *-ḍh-* do not occur.

### 6.3.4. Dentals in Intervocalic Position

Intervocalic *-t-* exhibits a wide array of developments, most commonly *-d-*: *purekhida* = OIA *puraskṛta* (1d), *havedi* = OIA *hāpayati* (5b), *idi* = OIA *iti* (5b, frame 12i), *bhudo* = OIA *bhūtaḥ* (9c), *ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ* (9c), *hidahida* = OIA *hitāhitam* (10b), *hidae* = OIA *hitāya* (11b), *suhida* = OIA *sukhitāḥ* (13a), *śidibhuda* = OIA *śītībhūtaḥ* (14d), *ede* = OIA *ete* (15c), *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f), *edadiśo* = OIA *etādṛśam* (frame 12m).

Less commonly, *-t-* is retained: *kopa[ḍi]te* = OIA *kopārditān* (4d), *eti* = OIA *eti* (6c), *puti* = OIA *pūti* (8d), *jatu* = OIA *jātu* (10d), *saṃbhavati* = OIA *saṃbhavati* (11c), *sugati* = OIA *sugatiṃ* (13b), *viṣati* = OIA *viṣati* (14a), *vidhamita[mo]tro* = OIA *vidhamitamātrā* (14c), *deśite* = OIA *deśite* (frame 12c). Lastly *ugrateya* = OIA *ugratejasah*, P *uggatejā*, in which the OIA neuter stem *tejas* shifts to a masculine stem as part of a bahuvrīhi compound.

OIA intervocalic *-t-* develops into retroflex *-ṭ-* once: *ki[ṭa]* = OIA *kṛtam* (3b).

OIA intervocalic *-t-* develops into *-ṇ-* twice: *jaṇiṣu* = OIA *jātiṣu* (16b).

Elision of *-t-* occurs once in *vilavi[a]* = OIA *vilāpitaṃ* (2d).

OIA intervocalic *-th-* occurs twice, developing into *ṣ*: *taṣiva* = OIA *tathaiva* (3c), *yaṣa* = OIA *yathā* (8d). The diacritically marked *ṣ* commonly occurs throughout Gāndhārī in place of

intervocalic OIA *-th-* and *-dh-*, as well as less commonly for *-s-*, as in *supraṣaṇamaṇaso* = OIA *suprasannamānasāḥ* (15d). The general view is that *ṣ* represents a fricative sibilant (Brough 1962: 94, §43; Salomon 2000: 85, §6.2.1.4.).

OIA intervocalic *-d-* occurs three times, remaining stable: *[v]iṇodaīta* = OIA *vinodya* (15c), *sapada* = OIA *saṃpadā* (16c), *edadiśo* = OIA *etādrśa* (frame 12m).

OIA intervocalic *-ḍ-* occurs once, remaining stable in *heḍae* = OIA (4b).

OIA intervocalic *-dh-* occurs fifteen times, often for OIA *krodha* and related words, developing into *-ṣ-* in eleven instances: *purekhida-kroṣan*(\*a) = OIA *puraskṛta-krodhānām* (1d), *kroṣaraṣo* = OIA *krodharasaḥ* (3d), *kroṣa* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (4c), *kroṣo* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (10d), *vaṣae* = OIA *vadhāya* (10d), *kro[ṣ]o* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (13a, 13b), *sama[ṣi]* = OIA *samādhim* (14a), *akroṣa* OIA *akrodho* (14d), *kroṣaṣīle* = OIA *krodhaṣīle* (frame 12c), (\**sakro*)ṣana = OIA *sakrodhānām* (9a).

OIA intervocalic *-dh-* remains stable in four instances: *krodho* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (2d), *krodho* = OIA *krodham* (12d), *krodhena* = OIA *krodhena* (5a), *vidhamita[mo]tro* = OIA *vidhamitamātrā* (14c).

### 6.3.5. Labials in Intervocalic Position

OIA intervocalic *-p-* develops into *-v-* in six instances: *uvakramena* = OIA *upakramena* (2b), *pr(\*a)l(\*a)va* = OIA *pralāpaṃ* (2d), *vilavi[a]* = OIA *vilāpitaṃ* (2d), *havedi* = OIA *hāpayati* (5b), *uvagami* = P *upāgami*, OIA *upāgamat* (7d), *pavia* = OIA *pāpikā* (17h).

OIA intervocalic *-p-* remains stable once: *kopaḍite* = OIA *kopārḍitān* (4d).

OIA intervocalic *-p-* develops into *-m-* once in *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f). Brough (1962: 89, §36) notes that developments of *-p-* and *-v-* to *-m-* in OIA and P are often

conditioned by a following nasal, as in *maṇa* (P *pana*), *deva mi ṇa* (P *deva pi naṃ*) and *sumiṇa* (OIA *svapna*).

Equivalents of OIA intervocalic *-ph-* and *-b-* do not occur.

OIA intervocalic *-bh-* occurs five times, always remaining stable: *alabho* = OIA *alābhaḥ* (1d), *sidibhuda* = OIA *śītībhūtaḥ* (14d), *bahaṇubhudo* = OIA *anubhūtaṃ* (16a), *anubhavo* = OIA *anubhāvaṃ* (frame 12f), *labhe* = OIA *lābhe* (frame 12d).

OIA intervocalic *-m-* occurs nine times, remaining in all cases.

### 6.3.6. Semivowels in Intervocalic Position

OIA intervocalic *-y-* occurs eight times, in four of which palatalization of vowels occurs; see §6.2.2.1. Of these, *-y-* as part of *-aya-*, *-ayā-* or *-āya-* develops into *-e-* four times: *heḍae* = OIA *heḍayā* (4b), *havedi* = OIA *hāpayati* (5b), *vaṣae* = OIA *vadhāya* (10d) and *hidae* = OIA *hitāya* (11b).

OIA intervocalic *-y-* is elided once: *[v]iṇodaīta* = OIA *vinodya* (15c).

OIA intervocalic *-y-* remains stable three times: *ayaśo* = OIA *ayaśaḥ* (1c), *aveniyo* = OIA *āveṇiyah* (frame 12h+i), *stitviya* = OIA *sthāpayitva* (15f).

OIA *-y-* develops into *-ry-* once in *traya* = OIA *trayaḥ* (15e), perhaps an instance of persistent rhotacization. Alternatively, it is possible that graphs like *rṣa* and *rya* have some special function in this manuscript, as in the case of *bharyamaṇa* = OIA *bhāṣyamāna* (15e).

OIA intervocalic *-y-* develops into *-g-* in *aṃtarago* = OIA *aṃtarāyaḥ* (12c).

For the lack of distinction between *-y-* and *-j-*, see §8.3.2. above. The sporadic development of OIA intervocalic *-y-* to *-g-* and *-y-*, as in *aṃtarago* (12c), is not restricted to our text, as the inscription on the Bajaur Casket bears the names *vijayamitra* and *viyakamitra*

(Brough 1962: 91–92, §38; *Epigraphia Indica*, xxiv, 3.). So too does *pracaga* appear for OIA *pratyaya* in the Kurram Casket inscription as well as being a common phenomenon in the Niya documents, appearing as -g- (Brough 1962: 91, §38). Brough rejects Konow’s suggestion of “‘a strongly fricative sound’ for y,” arguing instead that it “reflects a further continuation of the normal tendency towards weakening in the descendants of (-k-, -g-),” and that “The written signs for [-k- and -g-], being associated with a very lax utterance (*ya-śruti*) in certain positions, would then be readily adopted by scribes in words containing (-y-).”

OIA intervocalic -r-, -l- and -v- remain stable in all cases.

### 6.3.7. Sibilants and *h* in Intervocalic Position

As usual in Gāndhārī, the text distinguishes the three sibilants *s*, *ś* and *ṣ*. But while OIA -*ś*- and -*ṣ*- remain stable, -*s*- shows a marked number of different developments.

OIA intervocalic -*ś*- and -*ṣ*- remain stable in all but two instances: [*vasia*] = P *vasika/vāsika* (9b) and *manuśa* = OIA *manuṣya* (6a). The lack of context makes this latter reading speculation at the present.

OIA intervocalic -*s*- is represented as -*ṣ*- three times: *raśa* = OIA *rasaḥ* (3d), and twice in *supraśaṇamaṇaśo* = OIA *suprasannamānasāḥ* (15d).

OIA intervocalic -*s*- develops into -*ṣ*- twice due to morphological changes, for which see §10.2.2.1.: *taśu* = OIA *tāsu* (twice in 16b).

OIA intervocalic -*h*- remains stable in all seven cases: *baho* = OIA *bahu* (2d, 16c), *viruhea* = OIA *virohet* (8c), *ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ* (9c), *para[hisaga]* = OIA *\*parahiṃsakaḥ* (12b), *halahalaviṣa* = OIA *hālahalaviṣaṃ* (12d), *prahahi* = OIA *prajahi* (15a).

### 6.3.8. Aspiration

As is usual in Gāndhārī and MIA, aspirate consonants sporadically lose their aspiration, while nonaspirates sporadically gain aspiration. This points toward “a dialectal weakening of the distinction between aspirates and nonaspirates,” (Salomon 1999: 127, §6.4.2.; Brough 1962: 100).

Aspiration of OIA consonants occurs three times, in each case normally conditioned by the underlying sibilant: OIA *-sk-* develops into *-(k)kh-* once in *purekhidakroṣan(\*a)* = OIA *\*puraskṛtakrodhānām* (1d), OIA *-ṣṭ-* develops into *-(ṭ)ṭh-* once in *anupraviṭho* = OIA *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c) and OIA *-kṣ-* develops into *-kh-* once in *pracakhi* = OIA *pratyakṣī* (3d).

### 6.4. Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters in our text present few irregularities, generally following the usual Gāndhārī developments. Clusters of consonant + *-r*, consonant + *-v*, consonant + *-y* and preconsonantal *r-* + consonant make up the bulk of conjuncts that are graphically represented. This is probably due to Gāndhārī phonological patterns and the ease with which the Kharoṣṭhī script allows for such clusters. Geminate consonants are present in the language but are not represented orthographically and instead are written with a single consonant, thus *supraṣaṇa* = OIA *suprasanna* (15d), while clusters of nonaspirate + aspirate are written with the aspirate alone: *budh[e]* = *bu(d)dha* = OIA *buddhe* (3c).

OIA clusters of nasal + homorganic stop are written with or without indication of nasalization with little apparent pattern. Unlike some other Kharoṣṭhī scribe, for example the one who wrote the Rhinoceros Sūtra held in the BL collection, our scribe never writes anusvāra where it is not etymologically justified (see Salomon 2000: 77, §5.9.3.1.). Thus the scribe writes

*carati* for OIA *caranti* (4b) and similarly does not write anusvāra for the third person plural present case ending *-anti* for any verb. We do, however, find anusvāra in *aṃtarago* = OIA *aṃtarāyaḥ* (12c), *saṃghe* = OIA *saṃghe* (3c) and *saṃbhavati* = *saṃbhavanti* (5d).

Table 3 lists every occurrence of OIA consonant clusters in initial and medial positions and their reflexes in our text. Where more than one reflex is given, they appear in order of frequency with the most common appearing first. Where gemination occurs, the unrepresented consonant appears in parentheses.

Table 3: Gāndhārī Reflexes of OIA Consonant Clusters in Frame 19

Underlying OIA Cluster	G Reflex as Written	Typical G Reflex
<i>kt</i>	<i>t</i> ( <i>vuta</i> , 9a)	<i>t(t)</i>
<i>ky</i>	<i>k</i> ( <i>śaka</i> , 17e)	<i>k, ky</i>
<i>kr</i>	<i>kr</i> ( <i>kroṣa[n.]</i> , 1d, <i>krodho</i> , 2d, 12d, <i>kroṣa</i> , 3d, 4c, frame 12c, <i>kroṣo</i> , 10d, 13a, 13b, <i>akroṣa</i> , 14d, ( <i>*sakro</i> ) <i>ṣana</i> , frame 12i, <i>krodhena</i> , 5a)	<i>kr</i>
<i>kṣ</i>	<i>kṣ</i> ( <i>yakṣo</i> , 2c, <i>kṣetro</i> , 8d) <i>kh</i> ( <i>pracakhi</i> , 3d)	<i>kṣ,</i> <i>kh</i>
<i>kṣṇ</i>	<i>ṣ</i> ( <i>tiṣo</i> , 4c)	<i>ṣ(ṣ)</i>
<i>gy</i>	<i>g</i> ( <i>*bha</i> ) <i>ga</i> , 14b)	<i>g(g)</i>
<i>gr</i>	<i>gr</i> ( <i>agradhamo</i> 9c, <i>ugrateya</i> , 4a)	<i>gr</i>

<i>jñ</i>	<i>ñ</i> ([ <i>a</i> ]ñanino, 10c, ñatvana, frame 12m)	<i>ñ</i> ( <i>ñ</i> )
<i>ty</i>	<i>c</i> (pracakhi, 3d, parica[ <i>y</i> ]e[ <i>a</i> ], 4d, acatanīḥasa, 12c)	<i>c</i> ( <i>c</i> )
<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i> (mitro, 4d, kṣetro, 8d, [mo]tro, trarya, 15e)	<i>tr</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>s</i> (vitvasu, 10c)	<i>ts</i>
<i>tv</i>	<i>tv</i> (chitvana, 14c, stitviya, 15f, ñatvana, frame 12m); <i>t</i> (hita, 13b, [v]iṇodaīta, 15c)	<i>tv</i> , <i>t</i> ( <i>t</i> )
<i>tt</i>	<i>t</i> (mata 5a, nastiga-vuti 8b, pravuto 8d, utamatha 11c, vriti 17g)	<i>t</i> ( <i>t</i> )
<i>ttv</i>	<i>tv</i> (satvana, 4b)	( <i>t</i> ) <i>tv</i>
<i>dg</i>	<i>g</i> (ugami, 10d)	<i>g</i> ( <i>g</i> )
<i>dgr</i>	<i>gr</i> (ugrahida, 9c)	( <i>g</i> ) <i>gr</i>
<i>ddh</i>	<i>dh</i> (budh[ <i>e</i> ], 3c, sadhame, 8c, idhikamabhogasapada 16d);	( <i>d</i> ) <i>dh</i>
<i>dv</i>	<i>tv</i> (vitvasu, 10c) <sup>21</sup>	<i>dv</i>
<i>dhv</i>	<i>dhv</i> (adhvaṇe, 17f)	<i>dhv</i>
<i>pt</i>	<i>t</i> (pravuto, 8d)	( <i>t</i> ) <i>t</i>
<i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i> (anupraviṭho, 2c, bahopr(*a)l(*a)va, 2d, pracakhi, 3d, pravuto, 8d, prahahi,	<i>pr</i> , <i>p</i>

<sup>21</sup> Given the graphical similarity of *ṣ* and *ś* in our text it is possible that this is a misreading.

	15a, <i>supraṣaṇamaṇaṣo</i> , 15d, <i>pragara</i> , 16d)	
<i>bdh</i>	<i>dh</i> ( <i>ladha</i> , 17g)	<i>(d)dh</i>
<i>rk</i>	<i>r_g</i> ( <i>vidraga</i> , frame 12e)	<i>r_g</i> <sup>22</sup>
<i>rgh</i>	<i>r_gh</i> ( <i>drigho</i> , 17f)	<i>r_gh</i>
<i>rṇ</i>	<i>n</i> ( <i>drovana</i> , 6d)	<i>rṇ</i>
<i>rt</i>	<i>rt</i> ( <i>akirti</i> , 1c)	<i>rt</i>
<i>rth</i>	<i>th</i> ( <i>utamatha</i> , 11c)	<i>rth</i>
<i>rd</i>	<i>ḍ</i> ( <i>kopa[ḍ]ite</i> , 4d); <i>r_d</i> ( <i>drodaśia</i> , 6d)	<i>ḍ(d)</i> , <i>r_d</i>
<i>rm</i>	<i>m</i> ( <i>dhame</i> , 3c, <i>sadhame</i> , 8c, <i>agradhamo</i> , 9C, <i>kama</i> , 16d)	<i>rm</i> , <i>m(m)</i> <sup>23</sup>
<i>ry</i>	<i>y</i> ( <i>niyano</i> ); <i>rio</i> ( <i>akario</i> ); <i>ria</i> ( <i>k[a]ria</i> )	<i>ry</i>
<i>rv</i>	<i>rv</i> ( <i>sarv[am]</i> , 1d, <i>nivuti</i> , 14d, <i>sarve</i> , 15c); <i>r_v</i> ( <i>drovana</i> , 6d); <i>v</i> ( <i>duvayam</i> , frame 12i)	<i>rv</i> , <i>r_v</i> , <i>v</i>
<i>rś</i>	<i>ś</i> ( <i>drodaśia</i> , 6d)	<i>rś</i>
<i>vr</i>	<i>vr</i> ( <i>vrayati</i> , 6c, 13b)	<i>vr</i>

<sup>22</sup> *r\_* + consonant indicates rhotic metathesis, resulting in a vowel between *r* and the following consonant.

<sup>23</sup> The case of *m(m)* for MIA developments of words such as *dharmā* and *karmā* is common and usually interpreted as the influence of the substratum Buddhist dialect on the technical terms.

<i>śr</i>	<i>ṣ</i> ( <i>ṣuda</i> , 15e)	<i>ṣ</i>
<i>ṣṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i> ( <i>anupraviṭho</i> , 2c)	( <i>ṭ</i> ) <i>ṭh</i>
<i>ṣṭh</i>	<i>ṭh</i> ( <i>niṭhasa</i> , 12c)	( <i>ṭ</i> ) <i>ṭh</i>
<i>ṣṇ</i>	<i>ṣ̄</i> ( <i>taṣā</i> , 14c); <i>rṣ</i> ( <i>tirṣa</i> , 17h)	<i>ṣ̄</i> , <i>rṣ</i>
<i>ṣy</i>	<i>ṣy</i> ( <i>manuṣya</i> , 3d, 6c, 7c); <i>rṣ</i> ( <i>bharṣamaṇa</i> , 15e); <i>ś</i> ( <i>manuśa</i> , frame 12h)	<i>ṣy</i> , <i>rṣ</i> (perhaps graphic only), <i>ś</i> ( <i>ś</i> )
<i>sk</i>	<i>kh</i> ( <i>purekhida</i> , 1d)	( <i>k</i> ) <i>kh</i> , <i>ḱ</i> (representing reflex of <i>sk</i> )
<i>sm</i>	<i>sv</i> ( <i>svadibahopragara</i> , 16c)	<i>sv</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>st</i> ( <i>[na]stiga</i> , 8b)	<i>st</i>
<i>sth</i>	<i>st</i> ( <i>stitviya</i> , 15f), ( <i>samusta</i> , 4d)	<i>st</i> <sup>24</sup>
<i>sy</i>	<i>s</i> ( <i>athasa</i> , 11c, <i>niṭhasa</i> , 12c, <i>somanaso</i> , 16a)	<i>s</i> ( <i>s</i> )
<i>sr</i>	<i>s</i> ( <i>sodama[ṇa]</i> , 15f)	<i>s</i>
<i>hy</i>	<i>h</i> ( <i>jaha</i> , 12d)	<i>h</i>
<i>ḥkh</i>	<i>h</i> ( <i>duha/hu</i> , 1c, <i>duho</i> , 5d)	<i>h</i> <sup>25</sup> <i>kh</i>

<sup>24</sup> The phonological status of the character commonly identified as *sta* (see §7.4.3.4.) remains problematic. Brough (1962: 75, §18) reasons that even if the character did originally denote *stha*, “it was nevertheless used at all periods of the Kharoṣṭhī script in words where Sanskrit has *sta*, and it seems likely that this value was intended...”

<sup>25</sup> OIA *ḥkh* developing into *h* is a special case seen only in *duḥkha*.

#### 6.4.1. Visarga

OIA visarga as a member of a consonant cluster appears only twice in the manuscript as OIA *duḥkham*, in both of which the visarga is assimilated into the following aspirate *-kh-*, leaving *duha/hu* (1c) and *duho* (5d) formed by analogy with *suha* (OIA *sukha*), possibly from a substratum dialect. Although elided, OIA *-ḥkh-* in this manuscript is assumed to have kept a similar metrical weight as in other MIA dialects. Thus *duho* scans as  $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ - } \bar{\text{v}}$  rather than  $\bar{\text{v}} \text{ - } \bar{\text{v}}$  as the orthography suggests. Whether the actual pronunciation of *duho* included a geminate of some kind is uncertain, as *-hh-* and *-ḥḥ-* remain highly unlikely, if not impossible.

#### 6.4.2. Nasal + Stop

Although our scribe does occasionally write anusvāra, he does so only three times: *aṃtarago* = OIA *antarāyaḥ* (12c), *saṃghe* = OIA *saṃghe* (3c) and *saṃbhavati* = OIA *saṃbhavanti* (5d). Everywhere else the syllable is written without any indication of the nasal component.

OIA *-nt-* is represented as *-t-* in seven instances, five of which involve verbs declined in the third person plural present tense: *carati* = OIA *caranti* (4b), *bhavati* = OIA *bhavanti* (6d, 13a) *janati* = OIA *jānanti* (10b), *vrayati* = OIA *vrajanti* (13b), *acataniṭhasa* = OIA *atyanta-niṣṭhasya* (12c) and *śatagami* = OIA *śāntagāmin* (14b). The nasal is represented orthographically in *aṃtarago* = OIA *aṃtarāyaḥ* (12c) mentioned above.

OIA *-ṅh-* is represented as *ṃgh* once: *saṃghe* = OIA *saṅghe* (3c).

OIA *-ṃp-* is represented as *-p-* once in *sapada* = OIA *saṃpadā* (16c).

OIA *-ṃbh-* remains stable in *saṃbhavati* = OIA *saṃbhavanti* (5d).

OIA *-ñc-* is represented as *-c-* once in *paca* = OIA *pañca* (15a).

OIA *-nn-* is represented as *-ṇ-* twice: *supraṣaṇamaṇaso* = OIA *suprasannamānasāḥ* (15d) and *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f). Both of these instances are due to their occurrence in the final three lines of the manuscript, written by a second scribe who usually writes *ṇa* for OIA *ṇa* and *na*.

#### 6.4.3. Stop + Stop

Stop + Stop clusters in frame 19 usually conform to wider Gāndhārī and MIA developments, forming geminates in which the former member is elided and only the latter remains. The exception to this is *bradibahopragara* = OIA *\*vṛddhibahuprakāraḥ* (16c), in which OIA *-ddh-* apparently develops into *-d-* and loses aspiration altogether.

OIA *-kt-* develops into *-t(t)-* once: *vuta* = OIA *uktaḥ* (9a).

OIA *-sth-* is represented as *-st-* once in *samusta* = OIA *samutthitaḥ* (4d), although given the uncertainty surrounding the phonological value of *sta* there is room for doubt.

OIA *-tt-* develops into *-t(t)-* once in *utamatha* = OIA *uttamarthaḥ* (11c).

OIA *-ttv-* is represented as *-(t)tv-* once in *satvana* = OIA *sattvānām* (4b).

OIA *-dg-* develops into *-g(g)-* once in *ugami* = OIA *udgāmi* (10d). *Ugami* reflects a gemination of *-g(g)-* rather than *-dg-*, in agreement with similar forms such as G *apradipughalu* = *apratipudgalam*, where Salomon notes the geminate *(g)gh* (the use of aspirate *gh* reflects scribal idiosyncrasy in the manuscript; Salomon 2005: 119). Compare this with geminate forms such as *uggami* and *uggiramānā* occurring in the *Mahāvastu* (Mv II.91.17 and Mv II.412.1, respectively; Edgerton 1953: 15, §2.9). Note here the one instance of the scribe's use of modified *-g-* in a consonant cluster, which is likely merely an orthographic anomaly.

OIA *-dgr-* develops into *-(g)gr-* once in *ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ* (9c).

OIA *-ddh-* is represented as *-(d)dh-* three times: *budh[e]* = OIA *buddhe* (3C), *sadhame* = OIA *saddharme* (8c) and *idhikamabhogasapada* = OIA *\*rddhikāmabhogasampadā* (16d).

OIA *-bdh-* develops into *-(d)dh-* once in *ladha* = OIA *labdhaḥ* (17g).

#### 6.4.4. Stop + Nasal

OIA *-jñ-* develops into *-ñ-* twice: *[a]ñanino* = OIA *ajñāniṣu* (10cc) and *ñatvana* = OIA *jñātvā* (12m).

#### 6.4.5. Consonant + Semivowel

Clusters of consonant + *y* usually result in either the cluster remaining stable or the former consonant remaining and the *y* becoming elided. Only once does the consonant drop out while the *y* remains, in *niyano* = OIA *niryāna* (14b). Clusters of nasal or palatal + *y* do not occur. Dental + *y*, which in frame 19 occurs only in *-ty-*, results in palatalization and develops into *(c)c*. Clusters of consonant + *r* are stable except for one case in which OIA *sr-* in initial position develops into *s-*: *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f). Clusters of consonant + *l* do not occur, while those of consonant + *v* remain stable in five out of nine occurrences.

OIA *-g-* develops into the unmodified *-g-* before semivowels. Thus OIA *-gy-* develops into *-g(g)-* once: *(\*bha)ga* = OIA *bhāgya* (14b).

OIA *-ty-* develops into *-c(c)-* three times: *pracakhi* = OIA *pratyakṣī* (3d), *parica[y]e[a]* = OIA *parityajet* (4d) and *acataniṭhasa* = OIA *atyantaniṣṭhasya* (12c).

OIA *-ṣy-* remains stable three times in *manuṣya* = OIA *manuṣyaḥ* (3d), *manuṣyabhavo* = OIA *manuṣyabhāvaṃ* (6c, 7c), but it develops into *-ś(ś)-* once in *manuśa* = OIA *manuṣyaḥ*

(frame 12h). Here we have not uncommon juxtaposition in G of historical *-ṣy-* and developed *-ś-* spellings.

OIA *-ṣy-* is apparently represented by *-rṣ-* once in *bharṣamaṇa* = OIA *bhāṣyamāna* (15e).

OIA *-ṣy-* develops into *-s(s)-* three times: *athasa* = OIA *arthasya* (11c), *acatanithasa* = *atyananiṣṭhasya* (12c), *somaṇaso* = OIA *saumanasya* (16a).

OIA *-hy-* develops into *-h-* once: *jaha* = OIA *jahi* (12d).

OIA *-kr-* remains stable in all twelve cases in which it occurs: *purekhidakroṣan*(\*a). = OIA *\*puraskṛtakrodhānām* (1d), *krodho* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (2d), *krodho* = OIA *krodham* (12d), *kroṣaraṣo* = OIA *krodharasaḥ* (3d), *kroṣa* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (4c), (*krodhena*, 5a), *kroṣāṣile* = OIA *krodhaṣīle* frame 12c), *kroṣo* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (10d), *kroṣo* = OIA *krodhaḥ* (13a, 13b), *akroṣa* = OIA *akrodhaḥ* (14d), (*\*sakro*)ṣana = OIA *sakrodhānām* (9a).

OIA *-ky-* develops into (*k*)*k* once: *śaka* = OIA *śakyaḥ* (17e).

OIA *-gr-* remains stable in both cases in which it occurs: *ugrateya* = OIA *ugratejasaḥ*, P *uggatejā* (4a), *agradhamo* = OIA *agradharmaṃ* (9c).

OIA *-tr-* remains stable in all three cases in which it occurs: *mitro* = OIA *mitram* (4d), *kṣetro* = OIA *kṣetraḥ* (8d), *vidhamita[mo]tro* = OIA *vidhamitamātrā* (14c), *trarya* = *trayaḥ* (15e).

OIA *-pr-* remains stable in all seven cases in which it occurs: *anupraviṭho* = OIA *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c), *bahopr*(\*a)l(\*a)va, = OIA *bahupralāpaṃ* (2d), *pracakhi* = OIA *pratyakṣī* (3d), *pravuto* = OIA *proptaḥ* (8d), *prahahi* = OIA *prajahi* (15a), *supraṣaṇamanaṣo* = OIA *suprasannamānasāḥ* (15d), *bradhibahopragara* = OIA *\*vṛddhibahuprakāraḥ* (16d).

OIA *-vr-* remains stable in both cases in which it occurs: *vrayati* = OIA *vrajati* (6c, 13b).

OIA *-sr-* develops into *-s-* once: *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f).

OIA *-tv-* remains stable three times: *vitvasu* = OIA *vidvatsu* (10c), *stitviya* = OIA *sthāpayitvā* (15f), *ñatvana* = OIA *jñātvā* (frame 12m).

OIA *-tv-* develops into *-(t)-* once: *[v]iṇodaīta* = OIA *vinodya* (15c).

OIA *-ttv-* is represented as *-(t)tv-* twice: *satvana* = OIA *sattvānām* (4b), *chitvana* = OIA *chitvā*, BHS *chitvāna* (14c).

OIA *-dhv-* remains once: *adhvaṇe* = OIA *adhvane* (17f).

#### 6.4.6. Semivowel + Consonant

All instances of OIA semivowel + consonant clusters are of the *r* + consonant type, often undergoing metathesis.

OIA *-rk-* develops into *-r\_g-* once as a result of rhotic metathesis: *vidraga* = OIA *vitarkaṃ* (frame 12e), as noted in §8.3.1.

OIA *-rgh-* develops into *-r\_gh-* once as a result of rhotic metathesis: *drigho* = OIA *dirghaḥ* (17f).

OIA *-rt-* remains stable in *akirti* = OIA *akīrtiḥ* (1c).

OIA *-rth-* develops into *-(t)th-* once in *utamathasa* = OIA *uttamārthaḥ* (11c).

OIA *-rd-* develops into *-ḍ(d)-* once in *kopa[ḍ]ite* = *kopārditān* (4d).

OIA *-rd-* develops into *-r\_d-* once as a result of rhotic metathesis in *drodaśia* = OIA *durdarśikāḥ* (6d)

OIA *-rm-* develops into *-m(m)-* three times: *dhame* = OIA *dharma* (3c), *sadhame* = OIA *saddharme* (8c), and *agradhamo* = OIA *agradharmaṃ* (9c).

OIA *-rṇ-* is develops into as *-n(n)-* once in *drovana* = *durvarṇāḥ* 6d).

OIA *-rś-* is represented as *-ś-* once: *drodaśia* = *durdarśikāḥ* 6d).

#### 6.4.7. Semivowel + Semivowel

OIA *-ry-* develops into *-y(y)-* once in *niyano* = OIA *niryānaḥ* (14b).

OIA *-rv-* remains stable twice: *sarv[am]* = OIA *sarvaṃ* (1d), *sarve* = OIA *sarve* (15c). It develops into *-v(v)-* three times: *nivuti* = OIA *nirvṛtaḥ* (14d), *duvayam* = OIA *durvacam* (twice in frame 12i) and develops into *-r\_v-* once in *drovana* = OIA *durvarṇāḥ* (6d).

OIA *-vr-* remains stable twice in *vrayati* = OIA *vrajati* (6c, 13b).

#### 6.4.8. Stop + Sibilant

OIA *-kṣ-* remains twice: *yakṣo* = OIA *yakṣaḥ* (2c), *ksetro* = OIA *kṣetraḥ* (8d).

OIA *-kṣ-* develops into *-kh-* once: *pracakhi* = OIA *pratyakṣī* (3d).

OIA *-kṣṇ-* develops into *-ṣ(ṣ)-* in *tiṣo* = OIA *tīkṣṇaḥ* (4c).

OIA *-ts-* develops into *-s(s)-* once in *vitvasu* = OIA *vidvatsu* (10c).

#### 6.4.9. Sibilant + Consonant

OIA *śr-* develops into *-ṣ-* once in *ṣuda* = OIA *śrutaḥ* (15e).

OIA *-ṣṭ-* develops into *-(t)ṭh-* once in *anupraviṭho* = OIA *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c).

OIA *-ṣṭh-* develops into *-(t)ṭh-* once in *acatanīṭhasa* = OIA *atyantaniṣṭhasya* (12c).

OIA *-ṣṇ-* is once represented as *-ṣ̄-* in *taṣā* (14c) and once as *-rṣ-* in *tirṣa* (17h) as a result of rhotic metathesis of original *-r-*. These correspond to OIA *tṛṣṇām* (14c) and *tṛṣṇā* (17h). This is the only instance of *ṣ̄* in the manuscript.

OIA *-sk-* develops into *-(k)kh-* once in *purekhidakroṣan(\*a)* = OIA *\*puraskṛtakrodhānām* (1d), one of three instances in which aspiration is conditioned by an underlying sibilant.

OIA *-st-* remains stable in *[na]stiga* = OIA *nāstikaḥ* (8b).

OIA *-sth-* develops into *-st-* in *stitviya* = OIA *sthāpayitvā* (15f).

OIA *-sy-* develops into *-s-* two times: *acataniṭhasa* = OIA *atyantaniṣṭhasya* (12c),  
*somaṇaso* = OIA *saumanasya* (16a).

OIA *sr-* develops into *s-* once in *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f).

## 6.5. Sandhi

### 6.5.1. Vowel Sandhi

The majority of vowel sandhi in this text is of the *-a + a- = -ā-* type. The resulting long vowel is not noted in the orthography but is nevertheless assumed based on metrical patterns and parallels in OIA and MIA.

OIA diphthong *ai*, arising from *tathā + eva*, is represented as *-i-*: *taṣiva* = OIA *tathaiva* (3c).

OIA *ā*, arising from *kopa + arditān*, is represented as *-a-*: *kopa[ḍi]te* = OIA *kopārditān* (4d).

OIA *ā*, arising from *hita + ahitaṃ*, is represented *-a-*: *hidahida* = OIA *hitāhitaṃ* (10b).

OIA *ā*, arising from *artha + arthasya*, is represented *-a-*: *uttamatha* = OIA *uttamārthaḥ* (11c).

OIA *ai*, arising from *ca + eva*, is represented as *-e-*: *yeya* = OIA *caiva* (12b).

OIA *ā*, arising from *srota(s) + āpannaḥ*, is represented as *-a-* for *ā*: *sodama[ṇa]* = OIA *srotāpannaḥ* (15f).

OIA *vā*, arising from *bahu + anubhūtaṃ*, is represented as *-a-*: *bahaṇubhudo* = OIA *bahvanubhūtaṃ* (16a).

### 6.5.2. Inorganic Sandhi Consonants

Inorganic sandhi consonants do not occur in our text.

### 6.6. Rhotic Metathesis

Rhotic metathesis is common in this manuscript, as in Gāndhārī generally. OIA *dur-* develops into *dro-* two out of four times in which it occurs: *drovana* = OIA *durvarṇāḥ* (6d) and *drodaśia* = OIA *durdarṣikāḥ* (6d). Elsewhere metathesis occurs in *vidraga* = OIA *vitarkaḥ* (frame 12e), *drigho* = OIA *dirghaḥ* (17f) and *tirṣa* = OIA *tṛṣṇā* (17h). Here we find the only instance of metathesis in which original *-r-* develops into preconsonantal *-r-* in the following akṣara.

### 6.7. Anaptyxis (Svarabhakti Vowels)

Svarabhakti vowels, or those inserted to resolve a consonant cluster, do not occur in this manuscript. One possible instance occurs in *stitviya* = OIA *sthāpayitvā* (15f), in which *vya* > *viya*. Given the high degree of uncertainty surrounding *stitviya*, however, this is only speculation.

### 6.8. Epenthesis

No instances of epenthesis occur in this manuscript.

## CHAPTER 7: PALEOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

### 7.1. Introduction

Many earlier publications of Gāndhārī manuscripts, notably those in the British Library Collection, have been helped by the fact that they are part of a series of publications on such collections, providing a wider discussion from which scholars have noticed patterns in handwriting and scribal practices. For the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* we must do without such details, for many of the manuscripts in the collection remain to be studied or are written in different hands than our manuscript. Details about the discovery of the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* and the rest of the manuscripts in the new collection are limited, and speculation will here be kept to a minimum. A common suspicion within Gāndhārī circles points to connections with the Split collection.<sup>26</sup> For ease of reference, individual akṣaras will be referred to throughout this chapter by line number and syllable count beginning from the right. Thus 12.18 refers to the akṣara on line twelve, eighteenth from the right.

### 7.2. General Features of the Hand

The *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* is written in fluid and rapid hands, and the scribes do not appear to have been concerned with writing each character methodically. Akṣaras frequently overlap and at times interfere with lines above and below. Unlike other texts such as fragments 12 and 14 from the British Library collection, the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* shows no signs that the scribes recut or switched pens during writing, for the akṣaras in the beginning of the text show the same

---

<sup>26</sup> This was discussed briefly at the “Mahākharoṣṭhī Klub” that took place in Seattle July 15–17, 2018.

thickness as those at the end (Allon 2001: 53, §4.1). The scribes did not rule the lines, for the writing shows a dramatic downward slope, so that the end of one line is usually parallel with the beginning of the next. This is a common feature of G manuscripts, seen in the Senior Collection (see Marino 2017: 98 and Silverlock 2015: 133, §3.2.1.) Vertical strokes are mostly written perpendicular to the line of writing.

Overall the hand appears to be the same throughout lines 1–14, until a second hand appears in lines 15–17 with the switch to a meter resembling śloka, wherein the akṣaras are more compact and run into each other with greater frequency. The reason for this is unclear, for the scribe did not lack for space in the remaining manuscript and had no need to compact his akṣaras. The hand in lines 15–17 does show similar orthographic peculiarities as we find in the lines above, such as notable footmark variants and scribal flourishes in the formation of akṣaras such as *bha*. The use of both *ṇa* and *na* in the last three lines, however, is noticeably different and points to a separate scribe. The switch to a different meter in the same lines is surely no coincidence. There is a possibility that different scribes specialized in different meters, and that the text was meant to be the work of more than one scribe, or perhaps the final three lines were added long after the initial text was written.

The orthographic features in the \**Krośa-gaśa* present few irregularities, and generally follow the orthographic patterns found throughout Gandhāran literature. The scribes keep to the practice of regularly writing the modified sibilant ś for akṣaras corresponding to original intervocalic *-th-* and *-dh-*, and occasionally to *-s-*, in Sanskrit and Pali. Thus we find *krośa* for OIA *krodha* in lines 1, 3 and 4, *taśiva* for OIA *tathaiva* in line 3, *yaśa* for OIA *yathā* in line 8, and so forth. Only rarely does it correspond to *-sa-*, as in *supraśaṇamaṇaśo* in line 15 (OIA *suprasanna-mānasāḥ*). The scribe responsible for lines 1–14 writes *na* for both OIA *na* and *ṇa*,

which presumably had phonetically merged in Gāndhārī by the time of this manuscript. This often results in a scribe writing only *na* or *ṇa* in their texts. The scribe responsible for 15–17 uses mostly *ṇa* and rarely *na*.

### 7.3. Footmarks

My discussion of footmarks found in our text follows Andrew Glass' typology of footmarks in the British Library collection of manuscripts (Glass 2000: 22, §4.0; see Glass 2007: 89, §4.4 for a simplified typology of the footmarks found in the Senior collection).

Nearly every akṣara in the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* appears with a small flourish, or footmark, at the bottom of the vertical strokes which have no phonetic value and which vary depending on the formation of the akṣara. *Ma*, for instance, has no vertical stem and so has no footmark, whereas akṣaras such as *ya*, *śa*, and *bha* with a double stem have two.



a: *ma* (11.11)



b: *ya* (2.9)

Gāndhārī manuscripts commonly show a wide variation among types of footmarks, which therefore can serve as a useful tool in reconstructing lost or damaged pieces. Most footmarks in our text resemble those categorized as type 4 in Glass' 2007 typology of the Senior collection, in which the scribe writes a shallow curve to the right and ends in a leftward stroke, as seen in *ya* above. It does not fit nicely into any type categorized in his earlier 2000 typology of the British Library collection—even the closest type he identifies, type 1, takes a turn upward which we do not see in our text. These occur in this manuscript in the initial vowels *a* and *i*, the consonants *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *ca*, *ja*, *ṇa*, *ṭha*, *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, *pa*, *ba*, *bha*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*,

*va*, *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa*, and in the special characters *kṣa* and *sta*. These footmarks and their vertical stems appear to have been made in one fluid stroke, rather than written as a separate stroke.

Footmarks in the shape of a wide curl to the left resembling anusvāra occur six times: *va* (1.3), *la* (1.10), *ḍa* (4.15) *va* (6.27), *a* (7.23), *sa* (10.20). This well-attested “pseudo-anusvāra” occurs in places where one would not expect nasalization, as in *la* in *alabho* = OIA *alābhaḥ* in 1c and *ḍa* in *heḍae* = OIA *heḷayā* in 4b. Such marks are found in Glass’ earlier 2000 study of British Library footmarks, however the “pseudo-anusvāra” marks in our text do not correspond to any in the Senior collection, whose scribe does not write anusvāra (Glass 2000: 27, §4.7). In contrast to the kind noted above, these and their verticals were clearly formed from separate strokes.



a: *va* with pseudo-anusvāra  
(6.27)



b: *sa* with pseudo-anusvāra  
(10.20)



c: *sa* with “true” anusvāra  
(5.36)

Less common are those made of a short leftward stroke without the preceding dip to the right, closely resembling the type 1 category of Glass’ 2007 typology.



a: *bho* (1.11)



a: *re* (1.5)

Hooks to the right do not occur.

An exaggerated downward stroke, often long enough to intersect with the line below, appears six times: four times in *na* in word final position (2.5, 6.21, 10.15, 14.13) and twice in *śa* in word initial position (2.8, 14.19).



a: elongated *na* alongside *ni* (10.15) b: *śa* interfering with line below (14.19)

An elongated downward stroke followed by a leftward stroke is found in *pa* (1.4), *śi* (6.24) and *bha* (6.26).



a: *pa* (1.4)

Footmarks formed of a sharp curve to the right ending in a leftward stroke appear in *si* (3.17), *yi* (6.9), *vi* (8.29, 12.28) and *mo* (14.32), as well as on the end of *-i* vowel markers in *mi* (4.37, 7.16, 10.28, 14.22, 14.30), so that we have footmarks on akṣaras that would otherwise go without them.



a: *mi* with footmark formed off the vowel marker *-i* (7.16)

Vertical stems without any footmark, the “type Ø” in both of Glass’ studies (see also Salomon 2000: 56, §5.4) are the rare exception. Aside from akṣaras with the exaggerated downward stroke discussed above, they appear four times in the last three lines: *ṇe* (15.24), *ṇa* (15.22), *ra* (16.23) and *a* (17.29), corresponding to the change in hand mentioned in §9.2.



a: *ṇa* (15.22)

A footmark resembling postconsonantal *ya*, or a two-stroke footmark curving to the left, occurs only once (1.19). Although Glass categorizes certain footmarks, type 5 in his 2000

typology, as “somewhat similar in form to the postconsonantal *y* sign,” the footmark seen here does not match his description of the type as consisting of “a short wide stroke up to the left followed by a narrow pointed downward stroke” (Glass 2000: 26, §4.5).



*a: re*

#### 7.4. Analysis of Individual Akšaras

##### 7.4.1. Independent Vowels

###### 7.4.1.1. *a* (19 Occurrences)

By far the most common independent vowel, *a* comes in many forms, generally written in two strokes. Two representative forms are shown below.



*a: a* (1.9)



*a: a* (1.15)

###### 7.4.1.2. *i* (2 Occurrences)

Independent *i* occurs only twice, once with a visible short footmark. The other is partially damaged, leaving the bottom unreadable. The top of the second is formed with a straight vertical stem that turns 90° to the left at the top, rather than the curved top seen in the first example.



7.4.1.3. *u* (6 Occurrences) *i* (15.13) *b: i* (5.22)

Independent *u* shows no variation and is formed with a single pen stroke ending in an open loop. The bottom loop precludes any footmarks.



a: *u* (10.26)

7.4.1.4. *e* (7 Occurrences)

Independent *e* appears in two forms, both of which have wide drooping tops. The first is formed cursorily with the characteristic *e* marker near the middle of the stem and a small gap in the lower vertical. The second form has the horizontal *e* marker written at the bottom of the vertical, resulting in an akṣara closely resembling *ha*.



a: *e* (4.16)



b: *e* (6:12)

7.4.1.5. *o* (2 Occurrences)

Independent *o* occurs only twice, both times damaged below the vowel marker.



a: *o* (5.12)



b: *o* (5.24)

7.4.2. Consonants

7.4.2.1. *ka* (22 Occurrences)

*Ka* in our manuscript is written in two strokes. The first stroke forms the left horizontal and continues down to the stem, much as an independent *a* vowel, while the second stroke forms the right arm. Given the frequency of words such as *krodhana* and *kroṣa*, most instances of *k* occur in the consonant cluster *kro*. In such cases the postconsonantal *-ra* is applied at the end of the scribe's first stroke, before finishing with the right arm and vowel marker. This is contrast with other scribes, such as the scribe responsible for the British Library Fragments 12 and 14, who used separate strokes for the top and vertical stem (Allon 2001: 60, §4.4.2.1.).

a: *ka* (16.35)*kro* (4.26)7.4.2.2. *kha* (2 Occurrences)

This character occurs both times as *khi*. While the top of one akṣara has not survived, the characteristic top is preserved in 1.20 and extends far above the line of writing. This particular akṣara is evidently a correction, for which see §9.6 below. The remains of a third *kha* possibly survive in a corner of the fragment 12E, though it is too damaged to be securely read.

a: corrected *khi* (1:20)b: damaged *khi* (3:26)

7.4.2.3. *ga* (9 Occurrences)

*Ga* is written in a single stroke with a medium length vertical stem and a type 4 footmark, with a shallow curve to the right before a sharp turn to the left.

a: *ga* (16.31)7.4.2.4. *ga* (9 Occurrences)

The modified character *ga* is distinguished from *ga* by the shortness of the vertical stem and the horizontal line beneath. Footmarks do not occur.

a: *ga* (7.15)7.4.2.5. *gha* (3 Occurrences)

This character occurs once as *ghe* in 3.24 and twice as *gho* (4.3 and 17.12). It is written in two strokes, the first forming the top loop and the vertical stem, the second forming the right arm that nearly forms a closed loop.

a: *ghe* (3.24)b: *gho* (17.12)7.4.2.6. *ca* (12 Occurrences)

This character occurs commonly in the manuscript and has only a few different footmarks. The scribe appears to have written *ca* in a single cursive stroke without lifting the pen.

a: *ca* (3.15)b: *ca* (4.17)7.4.2.7. *cha* (1 Occurrence)

This character occurs once as *chi* in 14.23. It is written in three strokes, the first being a cursivized top loop that bends into the vertical stem, the second being the central horizontal, and lastly the vowel at the upper left corner.

a: *chi* (14.23)7.4.2.8. *ja* (6 Occurrences)

*Ja* is written in a cursivized form in which the scribe writes the left arm before finishing with the right arm and vertical stem in a single stroke. Footmarks resemble type 4 found in Glass' 2007 study, with some being a small tick to the left and others appearing almost like anusvāra. The forms shown in the manuscript are more consistent with later forms of *ja* than earlier types made with two strokes (Allon 2001: 61, §4.4.2.7.).

a: *ja* (15.23)b: *ja* (8.17)c: *ja* (10.29)7.4.2.9. *ña* (2 Occurrences)

*Ña* is written in two strokes, the first forming the right arm, the second forming the vertical stem and footmark. The first instance in 10.12 is cut off near the top, but the second in

frame 12M 4.1 shows a right arm that is written much like *ga*, with a cursivized loop on top before turning left to meet the stem. Allon notes that this hooked variant occurs in BL 12 & 14 “is also seen in a relatively late inscription, the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359 of the so-called Old Sāka era, which is likely to represent approximately A.D. 200...but seldom in between” (Allon 2001: 61, §4.4.2.9).

a: *ñā* (10.12)b: *ñā* (frame 12M 4.1)

#### 7.4.2.10. *ṭa* (0 Occurrences)

*ṭa* occurs once in our manuscript. It is written in three strokes, first the top left, second the horizontal, then the vertical and right-facing bottom. This single instance of *ṭa* is obscured by an elongated vertical stem from the line above.

*ṭa* (3.12)

#### 7.4.2.11. *ṭha* (2 Occurrences)

This character is written in two strokes, first the top, stem and footmark, then the left arm. *ṭhi* may occur at 12.1., but the akṣara is too badly damaged to be read securely, and it may instead be *sti*.

a: *ṭho* (2.19)b: *ṭhi/sti* (12.1)c: *ṭha* (12.14)

7.4.2.12. *ḍa* (2 Occurrences)

This akṣara is written in a single stroke, so that it closely resembles *ja* in §7.4.2.8. In accord with the scribe's common practice, the two instances each show a different footmark, the first in 4.15 bearing one resembling anusvāra, the other in 4.35 showing a small tick to the left resembling a curly variant of Glass' type 4. This latter akṣara appears to have been originally *mi*, *yi* or *gi* before being corrected to *ḍi*.

a: *ḍa* (4.15)b: *ḍi* (4.35)7.4.2.13. *ḍha* (0 Occurrences)

*ḍha* does not occur in our manuscript.

7.4.2.14. *ṇa* (11 Occurrences)

*ṇa* occurs only in lines 15–17 and is distinguished from *na* by an unusually straight head and stem. The fact that *ṇa* only occurs in lines 15–17 strengthens the claim that a change in scribe took place for the final three lines.

d: *ṇa*  
(15.22)

7.4.2.15. *ta* (60 Occurrences)

Despite its widespread use in the manuscript, *ta* is stable throughout its many occurrences, the only notable variations occurring in the footmarks. Unlike many other hands, our scribe clearly distinguishes *ta* from *da*.

a: *te* (4.22)b: *ti* (6.13)c: *to* (8.29)7.4.2.16. *tha* (1 Occurrence)

*Tha* appears only in *utamatha* in 11.12 with a footmark to the left. It was made in two strokes, with the darkness of the ink suggesting that the horizontal came first. The slightest hint of pen-drag is visible leading from the left horizontal arm to the top vertical arm. The pen-drag suggests that the scribe wrote the horizontal from right to left rather than left to right, pulling the pen being easier than pushing. Alternatively, the scribe could have written the vertical from the bottom up before dragging his pen to the left and writing the horizontal. In this case the scribe would have written the footmark last, after both the horizontal and vertical were already finished.

a: *tha* (11.12)7.4.2.17. *da* (39 Occurrences)

*Da* appears in three distinct forms. Most common are those appearing in lines 1–14 which are squat, made in a single stroke and vaguely resembling *ta*, though not enough to cause confusion. The usual variation in footmarks presents itself: leftward ticks resembling Glass' type

4 and footmarks in the shape of a small anusvāra. Second are those found in 1.21 and 8.24 which are made of two semicircles and which closely resemble a variant of *na* discussed in §7.4.2.19. These forms of *da* and *na* are indistinguishable and must be differentiated by context. Last is the form found in lines 15–17 characterized by less exaggerated and more elongated curves. Both the first and third types appear in lines 15–17.



a: *du* (5.35)    b: *da* (1.21)    c: *da* (16.41)

#### 7.4.2.18. *dha* (12 Occurrences)

*Dha* has two forms. The first occurs in lines 1–14 and is more compressed, with the ink of the two curves often blending into each other in the middle, whereas the form occurring in 15–17 is more elongated and the two halves are more separate. One instance of *dha* in 9.19 shows a small tick to the right on the upper half, though it is without any phonetic significance.



a: *dha* (3.16)    b: *dhi* (16.34)    c: *dha* with upper tick (9.19)

#### 7.4.2.19. *na* (42 Occurrences)

*Na* comes in three forms and occurs mostly in lines 1–14, with only one instance occurring in lines 15–17 at 17.1. The first, or “candy-cane *na*,” often forms a closed loop (2.16, 4.13, 6.11, 10.13, 10.14), and has a curved stem and footmark. The stem curve varies, sometimes being nearly straight, and elsewhere being a series of semicircles. This semicircular type is indistinguishable from the semicircular form of *da* in 1.21 and 8.24, and context alone allows us

to distinguish the two. The third form of *na* commonly occurs in word-final position and is characterized by an elongated stem that often overlaps with the line below.



a: “candy-cane *na*” with a closed loop (2.16)



b: semicircular *na* (4.32)



c: elongated *na* (2.8)

#### 7.4.2.20. *pa* (23 Occurrences)

Four notable forms of *pa* present themselves. The first is the common *pa* found throughout Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, with the first stroke forming the stem and footmark and the second forming the right arm. A slight variation occurs in 1.18 (see below) in which the right arm bears the scribal flourish resembling a hook or inward bend commonly found elsewhere in the manuscript in *bha* and *śa*. Vertically elongated forms of *pa* appear in 1.4 and 4.34. The final variation occurs in lines 15–17, in which the scribe leaves a gap between the stem and right arm and in which the right arm curves around so dramatically that it nearly forms a closed loop.



a: elongated *pa* (1.4)



b: *pu* with scribal flourish on the right arm (1.18)



c: *pi* (2.14)



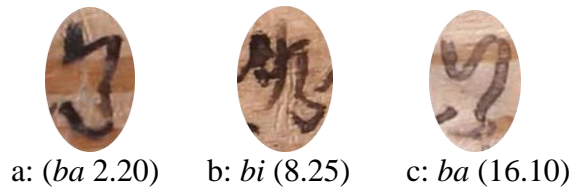
d: *pra* (15.1)

#### 7.4.2.21. *pha* (0 Occurrences)

*Pha* does not occur in our manuscript.

7.4.2.22. *ba* (8 Occurrences)

*Ba* comes in two types. The first is characterized by a straight horizontal head, strongly resembling *va* but for a sharp upward tick at the upper left. Second is the more common variant in which the head slopes downward to the left before bending upward. In lines 15–17 we find a form written with a more exaggerated dip, softer angles and a single stroke. All bear short footmarks to the left.

7.4.2.23. *bha* (17 Occurrences)

The *bha* found in the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* is characterized chiefly by the inward bend in the right arm. Cursivization has reduced the character to two strokes, the first forming the horizontal head, vertical stem and footmark, the second forming the right arm. As such it corresponds strongly to the third type of *bha* described in Glass' article on the akṣara (Glass 2009: 82–3). Footmarks on the stem vary from type 4 in Glass' 2007 study, i.e. sharp ticks to the left, to deep dips to the upper left that nearly resemble *-u* vowels. Footmarks also occur on the right arm, at times continuing the rightward bend to face right but in most cases creating a second dip and facing leftward. In 5.37 there is an instance of *bha* which is indistinguishable from *gha* due to the cursivized formation of the roof.



7.4.2.24. *ma* (35 Occurrences)

*Ma* is written in a higher position in the line of writing than other characters. Our scribe writes it in a single stroke from the left to the right, with the right arm in each case being higher than the left. This height difference becomes more apparent in lines 15–17. The single instance of the special ligature *mu* in 4.29 shows the a downward dip in the left arm, while the right arm is a tall vertical that extends far past the line of writing and nearly interferes with the line above (see Glass 2000: 92, §225 for more on *mu* and its variants). In those instance where the scribe writes *mi*, he adds an angular footmark to the bottom of the vowel marker.

7.4.2.25. *ya* (28 Occurrences)

*Ya* appears in three forms. The most common, the so-called “flat top” appears during the Kuṣāṇa period and remains in use throughout Kharoṣṭhī’s history (Salomon 2000: 68, §5.5.2.25). It is written in two strokes, first the horizontal, usually written diagonally sloping rightward, and the right vertical with its footmark, then the left vertical with a separate footmark. Unlike some other manuscripts, this form of *ya* is clearly distinguished from *śa* by the distinctive inward bend that appears on the right vertical of *śa*. Less common are *ya*-s written in a single stroke in the older style with a pointed head. Footmarks on this form occur only on the right vertical. Last are those forms which are pointed and angled nearly 90 degrees clockwise, so that the left vertical is now horizontal. This final type is indistinguishable from *va* and must be identified through context.

a: *ya* (1.13)b: *yo ye ya* (12.2–4)c: *ya* (frame 12i.13)7.4.2.26. *ra* (23 Occurrences)

This character shows little variation in form, with rare differences in footmarks, including in 1.19 in which its footmark resembles post-consonantal *ya* with its two-stroke flourish. In one instance (2.13) the scribe writes *ra* with a dip in the vertical stem so that it resembles *sa*.

a: *re* (1.5)b: *re* with) two-stroke footmark (1.19)c: *ra* (2.13)d: *ra* (16.32)7.4.2.27. *la* (11 Occurrences)

*La* in our manuscript is commonly written in two strokes. The scribe writes first the left arm, then adds the stem and footmark. In one instance in 4.20 we find *lo* written cursorily, in which the scribe begins with the left arm before looping to the right then upward to write the stem.

a: *la* (1.10)b: *lo* (4.20)7.4.2.28. *va* (57 Occurrences)

*Va* shows little variation despite its frequency. It is written in a single stroke beginning at the horizontal head before running into the vertical stem with a slight dip in the middle and

ending in a footmark to the left. In one instance such a footmark is so exaggerated as to be confusable with anusvāra. In lines 15–17 we find *va* written without the dip in the vertical stem.

a: *va* (3.21)b: *va* (6.27)*vri* (17.24)

#### 7.4.2.29. *śa* (15 Occurrences)

*Śa* in our manuscript is written in two strokes, the first forming the horizontal and right arm, the second making up the left arm. Our scribe consistently writes a dip in the right arm, similar to the arm seen in *bha* and rarely in *pa*. This character often takes on an elongated form, with its left verticle overlapping with the line below, however these do not occur in word-final position as is the case with elongated forms of *na*; it occurs in initial position in *śatagami* in 14.19 and in medial position in *drodaśia* in 6.23. *Śa* occurs three times in lines 15–17, though one instance in line 16 is read tentatively and may also be read as *vo*. If the character in question truly is *śa* the character is similarly written in two strokes, though it lacks the dip on the right arm characteristic of *śa*, in lines 1–14. The other two instances of *śa* in the final lines are written in a similar two-stroke method, however the left arm is a short tick of the pen rather than the longer stroke seen in lines 1–14.

a: elongated *śi*  
(6.23)b: elongated *śi*  
(14.19)c: *śi*  
(14.40)d: [*śa*]  
(16.3)e: *śa*  
(17.2)

7.4.2.30. *ṣa* (19 Occurrences)

*Ṣa* is written in two strokes, the first forming the semicircular head from left to right, the second going downward to form the stem and footmark. Footmarks are the exception, for most instances of the character either comprise the *ṣya* in *manuṣya* or form the ending of the locative plural *-eṣu*. Both of these cases preclude the addition of footmarks. Those instances in which the character takes a footmark show short leftward hooks. The instances of the character found in lines 15–17 do not differ from those seen in the lines above.

a: *ṣu* (1.6)b: *ṣa* (4.6)c: *ṣu* (16.22)7.4.2.3.31 *ṣā* (1 Occurrence)

In one instance, *ṣa* has a modified form with a horizontal bar above the character. This form occurs elsewhere in Kharoṣṭhī, corresponding to OIA *-ṣṇa* and occurs in our text in *taṣā* = OIA *trṣṇām* (14.27) (Salomon 2000: 69 §5.5.2.31).

a: *ṣā* (14.27)7.4.2.32. *sa* (45 Occurrences)

*Sa* comes in two distinct forms. The first is the later variety with the open top characteristic of the Kuṣāṇa period (Allon 2001: 64 §4.4.2.32). These commonly occur in initial position, with the modified form *ṣa* reserved for intervocalic position. In one instance (2.10), this character is written at half the usual height, compared to the following *pi*. The form of *sa* in lines

15–17 is less distinct and can easily be confused with *va*, *ra* or *ba*. It is characterized by a more open top and a short leftward tick as a footmark.

a: *sa* (8.8)b: *sa* (2.13)c: *sa* (16.39)

#### 7.4.2.33. *ṣa* (17 Occurrences)

This graph is a modified form of *sa* characterized by its distinctive rightward footmark. At 3.32 we find the single instance of the second form, characterized by the narrow top and zigzag appearance. Finally in lines 15–17 we come across *ṣa* with a shallower top, an elongated vertical stem that slopes sharply to the left and a more pronounced rightward footmark.

*ṣa* (4.27)b: *ṣa* (3.32)c: *ṣa* (15.8)

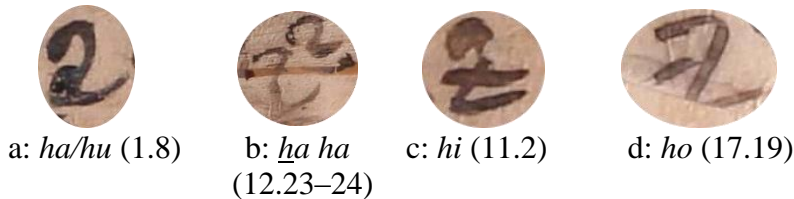
#### 7.4.2.34. *za* (0 Occurrences)

*Za* does not occur in the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*.

#### 7.4.2.35. *ha* (24 Occurrences)

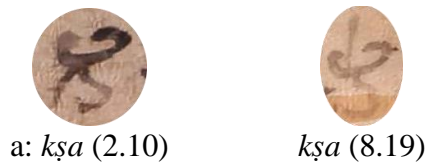
*Ha* is written in a single stroke, once in 1.8 in a cursive form in which the scribe forms a loop in the bottom before writing the bottom horizontal, giving the ambiguous reading *ha/hu*. This form occurs elsewhere in the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> and is there read as *hu*. Everywhere else *ha* is written without the loop. *Hi*, when it occurs, is of the non-cursive, two stroke variety. In the final pāda of

line 12 we come across a quick succession of *ha*-s in *krodha jaha halahalaviṣa va*. This first *ha* appears to be a modified form with an underbar, just as we find in *śa* and *ga*. The following *ha* is written at twice the size of the former with an exaggerated diagonal.



#### 7.4.2.36. *kṣa* (2 Occurrences)

*Kṣa* is written twice in the usual fashion with two strokes, the first forming the head that resembles *ma*, while the second forms the vertical stem. In both instances the right side of the head is higher than the left, while the stem resembles a leftward hook more than a vertical, resulting in a stem that can be confused with a footmark.

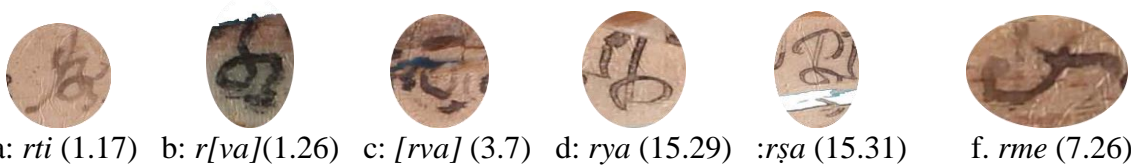


### 7.4.3. Consonant Clusters

#### 7.4.3.1. Preconsonantal *ra* (7 Occurrences)

Most of the occurrences of this akṣara are damaged in some form, but can be securely read. It is formed by a continuation of the vertical stem, forming a counterclockwise loop spiraling outward to the right and downward. We find preconsonantal *ra* in the following clusters: *rti*, *rva*, *rma rya* and *rṣa*. There are two instances in which preconsonantal *ra* is used as a stand-in for other clusters (see §7.11.16 below). In line 7 we find *ayus̥mena* written as

*ayurmena*, while in line 15 it is used to represent OIA *ṣya* in *bharṣamaṇa* = OIA *bhāṣyamāna*, an interesting development given that the scribe elsewhere does write the consonant cluster *ṣya*.



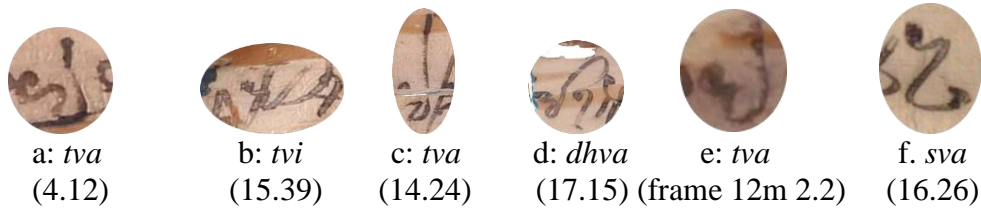
#### 7.4.3.2. Postconsonantal *ra* (34 Occurrences)

Despite its many occurrences, postconsonantal *ra* shows little variation. In a few instances (1.22, 3.25, 12.20) it is a straight diagonal line. In all other instances it is a curved line formed by a continuation of the vertical stem that is similarly curved. Most of the instances of postconsonantal *ra* occur in the combination *kro* in *kroṣa*.



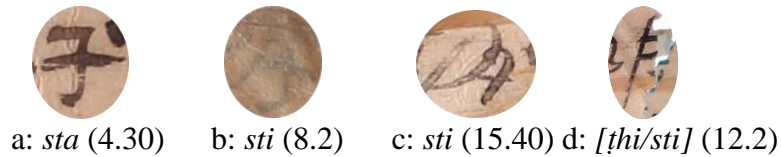
#### 7.4.3.3. Postconsonantal *va* (6 Occurrences)

Postconsonantal *va* comes in five distinct forms and in each case is a continuation of the akṣara's vertical stem curling back and upward. In two instances it is a vertical line written at slightly less than twice the height of the akṣara, while in one case in 14.24 it is a vertical line written at well over twice the height. In 15.39 we find *tvi* written with a diagonal postconsonantal *va*, while at 17.15 the scribe writes *dhva* with an exaggerated curved line that stretches over the former two akṣaras. Only once in 16.26 do we find postconsonantal *va* with a slight upward curl rather than a dramatic vertical.



#### 7.4.3.4. *sta* (3 Occurrences)

*Sta* is mostly written in the usual two-stroke variety in which the scribe writes the horizontal top and vertical in one stroke before coming across to write the horizontal. In line 15 we find *sti* written in a more cursivized form, with the top appearing not as a straight horizontal but as a hook as seen in independent vowels. There is possibly a fourth instance of this akṣara in 12.2, however the manuscript is too badly damaged for a secure reading, and the character could equally be read as *ṭha*.



#### 7.5. Punctuation

Two types of punctuation marks occur in the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*. The first is a small circle (○) that marks the end of a verse. Our scribe uses this mark inconsistently at the end of lines 1–14 and never writes it between pādas. This small open circle is abandoned toward the end of the manuscript, with the switch in scribe and switch in meter from triṣṭubh to anuṣṭubh or śloka, so that line 15 is without any punctuation at all. It likewise does not occur at the end of lines 6 and 11, though this is probably due to damage to the manuscript rather than scribal omission. The lack of punctuation at the end of the short line 13 is perplexing, with only two pādas reading *kro[ṣ]o [ca] h[i]da suhida bhavati* ◊ *kroṣo* /// *ca hita sugati vrayati* “Anger is abandoned; they are delighted. And after abandoning anger they go to a good rebirth,” with no traces of ink to the

left which might indicate further pādas that have since disappeared. The final line of the manuscript ends with another small circle that is more filled in, clearly indicating an end of the text. This is consistent with punctuation marks found elsewhere, for example in the Senior collection (Allon 2001: 66 §4.5, Glass 2007: 103 §4.6).



a: end of verse mark  
(2.31)



b: end of text mark  
(17.33)

## 7.6. Errors and Corrections

Three instances of the scribe for lines 1–14 writing a mistaken akṣara are apparent, and in each case the error is corrected. In 1.20 the scribe apparently began to write *puretida* before correcting himself and writing *purekhida* (OIA *puraskṛta*), adding the long curling top characteristic of *kha*. Not all corrections are as easy to identify, however. In 4.35 we have an uncertain *akṣara* between *kopa* and *te*. It is unclear which *akṣara* the scribe wrote originally, as it may have been *mi*, *gi* or *ya* before being corrected to *ḍi*, leaving us with *kopaḍite* (OIA *kopārditaṃ*, “afflicted with anger”). Lastly the scribe began to write *so* in 12.21 before correcting it to *dho*, leaving us with *krodha* rather than *kroṣa*. This gives us a rare glimpse into the scribe’s vacillation between *sa* and *dha* for writing *kroṣa/krodha*. He appears to have been unsure as to how to write it, despite its being the most common word found in the manuscript thus far, and settled on hedging his bets by writing both variants. Brough notes that the writing of *-s-* for *-dh-* or *-th-* “indicates the development of the intervocalic stop to a [z], through the intermediate stage of [ḍ]”, and that the use of *s* for *dha* had become the accepted spelling by the time of the Niyā documents in words such as *maṣu* (OIA *madhu*) (Brough 1962: §43).



a: *ti* → *khi* (1.20)



b: *mi/gi/ya* → *ḍi* (4.35)



c: *ṣa* → *dha* (12.21)

### 7.7. Omission of Vowel Diacritics

Nowhere does the scribe neglect to write a vowel diacritic.

### 7.8. Interlinear Notations

The scribe of the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* wrote a number of incidental interlinear marks that seemingly have no semantic or phonetic value and add nothing substantive to the text, with the possible exception of <<*dhama*>> in 15.5 explained below. Rather than writing below the line of writing as seen in some other manuscripts (Allon 2001: 66 §4.6), our scribe has added in marks above. At 6.22 we find what appears to be *va*, however the line is securely read on its own. The sole argument for its inclusion is that the addition of *va* (corresponding to OIA *vā*) would add the eleventh syllable to a line, perhaps filling out the meter. The reading would thus be *drovana va drodaśia bhavati* “they become discolored and ugly.” Complicating this reading of the mark as *va* is a further trace of ink to the right at the same level as the horizontal orientation of line 6. The space between the blot of ink and the *va* is damaged, so we cannot determine if the two marks were originally parts of a unit. It is possible then that the scribe did not write *va* at all, but instead wrote some other mark that has coincidentally survived to resemble *va*.

Above 10.6 there are traces of ink that vaguely resemble a miniscule *ha*. The reason for this is unknown, given that the reading for the line as a whole is secure and would in fact be

complicated by the addition of *ha*. The current interpretation is that the mark is an incidental mark.

Line 11 has suffered damage to its second pāda and the complete loss of the first, so that of the second pāda we can read only *sa hidae na so*. To the right of these akṣaras, presumably above where the rest of the pāda had originally been written, the scribe added in short akṣaras *gi lo ga da ma*, which have yet to be interpreted with satisfaction.

Lastly above 15.5–6 the scribe has written <<*dhama*>>, giving us the reading *prahahi paca* <<*dhama*>> *cedasavi*. This pāda has eluded all attempts at interpretation, so we cannot say with certainty whether this notation is significant.



a: Superlinear marks  
(6.22)



b: Superlinear mark  
(10.6)



c: <<*gi lo ga da ma*>>  
(11.1)



d: <<*dhama*>>  
(15.5-6)

### 7.9. Dittography and Other Redundant Marks

No instances of dittography occur in our manuscript, while there is a single instance of the scribe writing part of an akṣara twice. In 3.13 we find an unidentified akṣara that most resembles *sa*, but the upper part involves a straight vertical line rather than the short hook to the right characteristic of *sa*. Furthermore, this vertical line is written out twice. It is included here as a redundant mark under the possibility that this akṣara is a distinct variant of *sa* with a redundant top.



*sa*? (3.12)

### 7.10. Paleographic Dating

Three complexities must be kept in mind before any discussion of dating can take place for this manuscript. First, the claims made here are based solely on the paleographic data found in this single manuscript, and no comparison is attempted with other manuscripts within the wider collection, since such texts have not been published as of the time of writing. Nor do we have any extratextual evidence within the collection on which to rely, such as the inscribed pot and lid that stored the Senior collection. Second, only part of the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* has survived intact, leaving us with only seventeen lines of verse. Characters such as *va* and *sa* occur frequently enough to make generalization possible, however certain characters such as *cha* occur only once, limiting their usability. As always, future discoveries and fragment placing may shed light on or undermine the claims made here. Last, there is the standard precaution about applying dates based on paleographic data in general, namely that Kharoṣṭhī characters may have a long overlap between forms that are nevertheless generally agreed upon as early or late forms:

...there is typically a considerable overlap in the period of use of older and of more developed letter types. This is particularly true of *sa*, for which it has been shown (Salomon 1999: 118) that all three of its forms overlapped around the beginning of the first century A.D. Thus it should come as no surprise to find different subtypes of *sa* being used in the same manuscript (Salomon 2000: 74, §5.8.).

That is to say, a manuscript showing middle forms of *kha*, for instance, need not necessarily discount an earlier or later date for our manuscript.

The Kharoṣṭhī characters *sa*, *ya*, *ca*, *cha* and *ka* are the usual test letters for determining the approximate age of a Gāndhārī manuscript and will be used here. Based on these characters and the study of the evolution for such characters as *sa*, *ya* and *cha* as laid out in Glass 2007: 106, §4.8., we can estimate our manuscript to date from approximately the second century of the

Common Era. *Ya* is not formed in the arrow-shaped, older style and strongly resembles *śa* except for the presence of a slight diagonal top rather than the strictly horizontal we find in *śa*. Nor does *ya* show instances of the later styles seen in the Senior collection, in which the right arm curls inward, such that the character nearly forms a closed loop. *Ca* and *cha* most resemble those forms found within manuscripts of the BL collection, which Salomon has dated to no later than the early to middle first century CE. Broadly speaking, characteristically early and late forms are not well represented in our manuscript.

### 7.11. Orthography

This section presents a summary of the orthographic practices of our scribe.

#### 7.11.1. Distribution of *ga* and *ga*

The scribe's use of the modified form *ga* is not random, as we have seen in §6.3.1. In every instance it corresponds to OIA *ga* or *ya*, while standard, unmodified *ga* corresponds to OIA intervocalic *-ka*. In the case of this manuscript at least, our scribe understood the two forms to be phonetically distinct, with a fricativized pronunciation for *ga*.

#### 7.11.2. Distribution of *ta* and *da*

Unlike texts in the Senior collection, *ta* and *da* are not identical here, and so I have made a clear distinction between the two in the transcription of the text.

#### 7.11.3. Distribution of *ṇa* and *na*

As is well attested in Gāndhārī literature, the distribution between the two akṣaras *ṇa* and *na* became sporadic after the Aśokan period, such that the two were no longer phonetically

distinct and scribes generally picked one or the two to represent both. In our manuscript the scribe responsible for lines 1–14 writes dental *na* exclusively, and the scribe responsible for lines 15–17 writes both dental *na* and retroflex *ṇa* without any discernable pattern.

#### 7.11.4. Distribution of *sa* and *ṣa*

The modified sibilant *ṣa* never stands in initial position, for which the scribe uses unmodified *sa*. The two are interchangeable to some extent when corresponding to OIA intervocalic *-sa-*, however, for the scribe writes *raṣo* for OIA *rāsaḥ* in 3d and *vitvasu* for OIA *vidvatsu*. While the distinction between *sa* and *ṣa* significantly weakened during the time of the Senior collection, we can surmise our manuscript to have been written during a time when the distinction was only beginning to lessen.

#### 7.11.5. Anusvāra

Anusvāra only rarely occurs in our text, once each in *saṃgha* = OIA *saṃgha*, *saṃbhavati* = OIA *saṃbhavati*, and *aṃtarago* = OIA *aṃtarāyaḥ*. Final *-m* is retained before an initial vowel in a following word, as in line 1 where we find *sarvam=eva*.

#### 7.11.6. Use of Preconsonantal *r* for Consonant Clusters

The use of preconsonantal *r* to represent a member of a consonant cluster is well attested in Gāndhārī, and our scribe makes use of this practice twice (Salomon 2000: 77, §5.9.4). In line 7 we find *ayurmena* written, corresponding to OIA *ayuśmena*, and in line 15 he writes *bharṣamaṇa* for OIA *bhāṣyamāna* (see also §7.4.3.1. above).

### 7.11.7. Deaspiration

No instances of deaspiration occur in our text.

### 7.11.8. Spelling Variation

On a number of occasions our scribe makes use of different spellings of the same word. The most frequent example is his treatment of OIA *krodha*, which he represents as *krodha* (three times) and *kroṣa* (nine times). Also in line 6 the scribe has written *manuśa*, which possibly corresponds to OIA *manuṣya*, while in every other instance he writes *manuṣya*. But the damage to the fragment has rendered only the single word legible, and so we are left without otherwise revealing context.

### 7.11.9. Sandhi

For the most part the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* is written without sandhi and in the majority of those cases that do arise, it is an instance of OIA *-a + a-* developing into OIA *ā*. With vowel length not being noted in this text, the significant results are one fewer akṣara and a change in metrical weight. Only once do we find sandhi of a different sort: in line 16 the scribe writes *bahaṇubhudo* for OIA *bahu + anubhūtaṃ*.

## CHAPTER 8: MORPHOLOGY

### 8. Introduction

The morphology of the \**Krośa-gaśa* presents few, if any, irregularities compared to other G manuscripts; the brevity of the surviving manuscripts limits the data that can be gleaned from it and applied to Gāndhārī findings as a whole. This chapter describes in full the grammar of the *Krośa-gaśa*. I give Sanskrit parallels wherever possible, and parallels in Pali only when they are clearly more in agreement with the Gāndhārī.

### 8.1. Nominal Forms

#### 8.1.1. Stems in *-a/-ā*, Masculine, Neuter and Feminine

Table 4 summarizes the occurrence of each inflection of *-a/-ā* stem nouns in masculine, neuter and feminine genders. In following the general convention for Gāndhārī analyses, gender is determined by relying on parallels in P and OIA. Masculine and neuter inflections in Gāndhārī generally differ only in their nominative, accusative and vocative cases (Salomon 2008: 132, §II4.1.1., Glass 2007: 126, §6.1.1.). The analysis here is in agreement with that trend. Masculine and neuter nominatives differ only in their frequency, with neuters appearing in only six out of twenty-three instances. The only notable difference in masculine and neuter accusative is the common appearance (25%) in the masculine of *-o* endings, while none appear in the neuter. Feminine nouns of this stem appear too seldom, twice in the nominative singular and once in the instrumental singular, to be useful for generalizing wider trends.

In Table 4 the number of occurrences of each inflection is given in parentheses, followed by the number of different words that bear the inflection.

Table 4: Endings of stems in *-a/-ā* in masculine, neuter and feminine

<i>a/ā</i> stems	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nominative	<i>o</i> (14/10)	<i>a</i> (4/4)	<i>a</i> (3/3)	<i>a</i> (5/4)	—	—
	<i>a</i> (11/11)	<i>o</i> (6/6)	—	<i>o</i> (1/1)	—	—
	—	<i>e</i> (1/1)	—	—	—	—
Accusative	<i>o</i> (7/5)	<i>a</i> (5/5)	—	<i>a</i> (1/1)	<i>e</i> (1/1)	—
	—	<i>o</i> (1/1)	—	—	—	—
	<i>am</i> (1/1)	<i>am</i> (1/1)	—	—	—	—
Instrumental	<i>ena</i> (2/2)	—	<i>ae</i> (1/1)	—	—	—
Dative	<i>ae</i> (1/1)	—	—	—	—	—
Ablative	—	—	—	—	—	—
Genitive	<i>asa</i> (1/1)	<i>asa</i> (1/1)	—	<i>ana</i> (2/2)	—	—
Locative	<i>e</i> (5/5)	<i>e</i> (3/3)	—	—	—	—
	—	<i>o</i> (1/1)	—	—	—	—
Vocative	—	—	—	—	—	—

### 8.1.1.1. Nominative Singular Masculine

The endings are in order of frequency *-o* and *-a*:

*o* (14 occurrences, 10 words): *anupraviṭho* = *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c), *anubhavo* =

*anubhāvaḥ/anubhavaḥ* (frame 12f1), *alabho* = *alābhaḥ* (1c), *ugrahida-agradhamo* =

*udgrhīta-agra-dharmaḥ* (9c), *krodho* = *krodhaḥ* (2d), *kroṣo* = *krodhaḥ* (4c, 10d, 13a,

13b, 14d), *kroṣa-raṣo* = *krodha-rasaḥ* (3d), *bhudo* = *bhūtaḥ* (9c), *suaro* = *sūkaraḥ* (7d),

and *yakṣo* = *yakṣaḥ* (2d). *Anubhavo* occurs as the only identifiable word on a fragment,

so that we lack the context to say whether it corresponds to OIA *anubhāvaḥ* or

*anubhavaḥ*.

*a* (11 occurrences, 11 words): *baho-pr(\*a)l(\*a)va* = *bahu-pralāpaḥ* (2d), *mata* = *mattaḥ* (5a),

*manuṣya* = *manuṣyaḥ* (3d), *utamatha* = *uttama-ārthaḥ*, *para[hisaga]* = *\*parahiṃsakaḥ*

(12b), *ladha* = *labdhaḥ* (17g), *vilavi[a]* = *vilāpitam* (2d), *vidraga* = *vitarkaḥ* (frame

12e2), *vuta* = *uktaḥ* (9a), *samusta* = *samutthitaḥ* (4c), and *h[i]da* = *hīnaḥ* (13a).

### 8.1.1.2. Nominative Singular Neuter

The endings are in order of frequency *-a*, *-o*, and *-e*:

*a* (4 occurrences, 4 words): *duha* = *duḥkham* (1c), *vilavi[a]* = *vilapitam* (2d), *śarira* = *śarīram*

(2c), and *ṣuda* = *śrutam* (15e). There is some ambiguity over the final akṣara in *duha*, so

that it may read *duhu*. If so, it would be the only case in this text of the nominative

singular neuter in *-u*.

*o* (6 occurrences, 6 words): *ugrahida-agradhamo* = *udgrhīta-agra-dharmam* (9c), *pravuto* =

*\*proptaḥ* (8d), *bahu-aṇubhudo* = *bahu-anubhūtam* (16a), *bhagi-duho* = *bhāgi-duḥkham*

(5d), *mitro* = *mitram* (4d) and *somaṇaso* = *saumanasyam* (16a).

*e* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *pudi-bie* = *pūti-bīje* (8d).

#### 8.1.1.3. Nominative Singular Feminine

The ending is *-a*:

*a* (3 occurrences, 3 words): *vidhamita-[mo]tro* = *vidhamita-mātrā* (14c). *idhi-kama-bhoga-sapada* = *ṛddhi-kāma-bhoga-saṃpadā* (16c) and *tirṣa* = *tṛṣṇā* (17h).

#### 8.1.1.4. Accusative Singular Masculine

The endings are in order of frequency *-o*, *-a*, and *am*:

*o* (7 occurrences, 5 words): *ugrahida-agra-dhamo* = *udgṛhīta-agra-dharmam* (9c), *krodho* = *krodham* (12d), *kroṣo* = *krodhaṃ* (13b), *manuṣya-bhavo* = *manuṣya-bhāvam* (6c, 7c), and *aṃta-rago* = *anta-rāyaḥ* (13c).

*am* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *suara-bhavam* = *sūkara-bhāvam* (7b).

#### 8.1.1.5. Accusative Singular Neuter

The endings are in order of frequency *-a*, *-o*, *-e*, and *-am*:

*a* (5 occurrences, 5 words): *akario* = *akārya* (5a), *k[a]ria* = *kārya* (5b), *bharṣamaṇa* = *bhāṣyamāṇam* (15e), *duva(\*ya)* = *durvacāḥ* (9b) and *halahala-viṣa* = *hālahala-viṣaṃ* (12d).

*o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *śarano* = *śaraṇaṃ* (2b).

*am* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *duvayam* = *durvacāḥ* (9b).

#### 8.1.1.6. Accusative Singular Feminine

The accusative singular feminine ending is *-a*:

*a* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *taṣā = tṛṣṇām* (14c).

#### 8.1.1.7. Nominative and Accusative Plural Masculine

Nominative plural masculine endings are, in order of frequency, *-a* and *-o*:

*a* (5 occurrences, 5 words): (*\*aśivi*)*ṣa = āśīviṣāḥ* (4a), *ghora-viṣa = ghora-viṣāḥ* (4a), *śidi-bhuda = śītī-bhūtāḥ* (14d), *sodama[ṇa] = srotāpannāḥ* (15f), and *suhida = sukhitāḥ* (13a).

*o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *supraṣaṇa-maṇaṣo = suprasanna-mānasāḥ* (15d)

Accusative plural masculine nouns from *-a* do not occur in the text.

#### 8.1.1.8. Nominative and Accusative Plural Neuter

Nominative plural neuter endings are *-a* and *-e*:

*a* (1 occurrence, 1 word): <<*dhama*>> = *dharmān* (15a).

*e* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *kopa-a[ḍi]te = kopa-arditān* (4d).

Accusative plural neuter nouns from *-a* do not occur in the text.

#### 8.1.1.9. Nominative and Accusative Plural Feminine

Nominative and accusative plural feminine nouns from *-a* do not occur in the text.

## 8.1.1.10. Oblique Cases

Instrumental Singular: The masculine ending is *-ena* (2 occurrences, 2 words): *uvakramena* = *upakramena* (2b) and *krodhena* = *krodhena* (5a). The feminine ending is *ae* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *heḍae* = *heḷayā* (4b). Neuter instrumentals do not occur.

Instrumental Plural: Plural instrumentals do not occur.

Dative Singular: The masculine and netuer ending is *-ae* (2 occurrences, 2 words): *vaṣae* = *vadhāya* (10d) and *hidae* = *hitāya* (11b). Feminine datives do not occur.

Dative Plural: Plural datives do not occur.

Ablative Singular and Plural: Ablatives of any number and gender do not occur.

Genitive Singular: The masculine ending is *-asa* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *acataniṭhasa* = *atyanta-niṣṭhasya* (12c).

The neuter ending is *-asa* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *cedaṣa* = *cetasah* (15a).

Feminine genitives do not occur.

Genitive Plural: The masculine ending is *-ana* (3 occurrences, 3 words): *purekhida-kroṣan*(\*a) = *puraskṛta-krodhānām* and *satvana* = *sattvānām* (4b), and (\*sa)k(ro)ṣana = *sakrodhānām* (9a). Neuter and feminine genitives do not occur.

Locative Singular: The masculine endings are *-e* (5 occurrences, 5 words): *adhvaṇe* = *adhvani* (17f), *dhame* = *dharme* (3c), *loge* = *loke* (4b), *saṃghe* = *saṅghe* (4c) and *budh[e]* = *buddhe* (3c). The neuter endings are *e* (2 occurrences, 2 words) and *-o* (1 occurrence, 1 word): *deśite* = *deśite* (frame 12c2), *kroṣa-śīle* = *krodha-śīle* (frame 12c2), and *kṣetro* = *kṣetre* (8c).

Feminine locatives do not occur.

Locative Plural: Plural locatives do not occur.

Vocative Singular and Plural: Vocatives of any number and gender do not occur.

### 8.1.2. Stems in Original *-i*, *-ī* and *-in*

#### 8.1.2.1. Stems in Original *-i*

The nominative singular occurs once in the feminine in *akirti = akīrtiḥ* (1c) and twice in the masculine in *nastiga-vuti = nāstika-vṛttiḥ* (8b) and *nivuti = nirvṛtaḥ* (14d). Accusative singulars occur in the feminine *sugati = sugatim* (13b) and in the masculine *sama[ṣi] = samādhim* (14a). There is also a single occurrence of the locative plural feminine in *jaṇiṣu = jātiṣu* (16b). The nominative singular feminine occurs once in *vriti = vṛttiḥ* (17g).

#### 8.1.2.2. Stems in Original *-ī*

*-ī* stem nouns do not occur in the text.

#### 8.1.2.3. Stems in Original *-in*

The nominative singular masculine occurs three times in *pracakhi = pratyakṣī* (3d), *śatagami = śāntagāmī* (14b) and *daśi = darśī* (17e). The locative plural masculine occurs once in *[a]ñānino = aṅñāniṣu* (10c).

### 8.1.3. Stems in Original *-u*

*-u* stem nouns do not occur in the text.

#### 8.1.4. Stems in Original *-ṛ*

*-ṛ* stem nouns do not occur in the text.

#### 8.1.5. Original Consonant Stems

##### 8.1.5.1. Stems in Original *-as*

There is a single occurrence each of the nominative singular masculine: *ayaśo = ayaśaḥ* (1c) and the nominative singular masculine: *ugrateya = ugratejaśaḥ* (4a).

##### 8.1.5.2. Stems in Original *-an*

*-an* stem nouns do not occur.

##### 8.1.5.3. Stems in Original *-ant*

The single instance of the instrumental singular masculine, *ayurmena = āyusmatā* (7d), undergoes a shift to a thematic stem, while the locative plural masculine, *vitvasu = vidvatsu* (10c), keeps its original stem.

#### 8.1.6. Stems in Original *-us*

*-us* stem nouns do not occur.

#### 8.1.7. Compounds

Salomon noted in his analysis of the nominal compounds within the Khvs-G that, “Most of these compounds are translated directly from the presumed archetype of the Khvs-G and are paralleled in the Khvs-P ... They are all of types familiar from Pali and other languages and

hence are of no particular significance for the study of the Gāndhārī language as such,” (Salomon 2000: 100, §7.1.5.). Such is the case for many Gāndhārī texts for which we have extant parallels in other Indic languages. However, the lack of a parallel for the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* complicates the matter, as the inflectional system in Gāndhārī seen in our text, as well as throughout Gāndhārī generally, seems “to reflect a looser conception of compounding than what prevails in Sanskrit and Pali, a phenomenon that is characteristically Gāndhārī,” (Salomon 2000: 100, §7.1.5.). That is, one cannot rely on inflections to argue conclusively that certain words are in compound or not.

The following compounds appear in the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*: *purekhida-kroṣan*(\*a) = *puraskṛta-krodhānām* (1d), *baho-pr*(\*a)*l*(\*a)*va* = *bahu-pralāpaḥ* (2d), *kroṣa-raṣo* = *krodha-rasaḥ* (3d), *ghora-viṣa* = *ghora-viṣāḥ*, *ugra-teya* = *ugra-tejasah* (4a), *kopa-a*[di]*te* = *kopa-arditān* (4d), *bhagi-duho* = *bhāgi-duḥkham* (5d), *suara-bhavam* = *sūkara-bhāvam* (7b), *manuṣya-bhavo* = *manuṣya-bhāvam* (7c), *nastiga-vuti* = *nāstika-vṛttiḥ* (8b), *sa-dhame* = *sad-dharme* (8c), *pudi-bie* = *pūti-bījam* (8d), *ugrahida-agra-dhamo* = *udgrhīta-agra-dharmam* (9c), *hida-ahida* = *hitāhitam* (10b), *utama-atha* = *uttama-arthah* (11c), *acata-niṭhasa* = *atyanta-niṣṭhasya* (12c), *halahala-viṣam* = *hālahala-viṣam* (12d), *śata-gami* = *śānta-gāmī* (14b), *vidhamita-[mo]tro* = *vidhamita-mātrā* (14c), *śidi-bhuda* = *śītī-bhūtaḥ* (14d), *supraṣaṇa-maṇaso* = *suprasanna-mānasāḥ* (15d), *soda-ma*[ṇa] = *srota-āpannāḥ* (15c), *bahu-aṇubhudo* = *bahu-anubhūtam* (16b), *so-maṇaso* = *sau-manasyam* (16b), *svadi-baho-pragara* = *smṛti-bahu-prakārāḥ* (16c), *idhi-kama-bhoga-sapada* = *ṛddhi-kāma-bhoga-sampadā* (16d), *kroṣa-śīle* = *krodha-śīle* (frame 12c2), *duvayam* = *durvacam* (frame 12i3), *duva*(\*ya) = *durvacam* (frame 12i3).

Table 5: Singular and plural masculine nouns

	<b>Singular Masculine</b>	<b>Plural Masculine</b>
Nom	<p><i>alabho</i> = <i>alābhaḥ</i> (1c)</p> <p><i>anubhavo</i> = <i>anubhāvaḥ</i> (frame12f)</p> <p><i>alabho</i> = <i>alābhaḥ</i> (1c)</p> <p><i>utama-athasa</i> = <i>utama-arthasya</i> (12d)</p> <p><i>krodho</i> = <i>krodhaḥ</i> (2d)</p> <p><i>kroṣo</i> = <i>krodhaḥ</i> (4c, 10d, 13a, 14d)</p> <p><i>kroṣa-raṣo</i> = <i>krodha-rasaḥ</i> (3d)</p> <p><i>nastiga-vuti</i> = <i>nāstika-vṛtīḥ</i> (8b)</p> <p><i>pracakhi</i> = <i>pratyakṣī</i> (3d)</p> <p><i>bhudo</i> = <i>bhūtaḥ</i> (9c)</p> <p><i>manuṣya</i> = <i>manuṣyaḥ</i> (3d)</p> <p><i>yakṣo</i> = <i>yakṣaḥ</i> (2d)</p> <p><i>vidraga</i> = <i>vitarkaḥ</i> (frame 12e2)</p> <p><i>śatagami</i> = <i>śāntagāmī</i> (14b)</p>	<p>(*<i>aśivi</i>)<i>ṣa</i> = <i>āśīviṣāḥ</i> (4a)</p> <p><i>ugrateya</i> = <i>ugratejḥ</i> (4a)</p> <p><i>supraṣaṇa-maṇaṣo</i> = <i>suprasanna-mānasāḥ</i> (15d)</p> <p><i>sodama[ṇa]</i> = <i>srotāpannāḥ</i> (15f)</p>
Acc	<p><i>agra-dhamo</i> = <i>agra-dharmaṃ</i> (9c)</p> <p><i>krodho</i> = <i>krodhaḥ</i> (12d)</p> <p><i>kroṣo</i> = <i>krodhaṃ</i> (13b)</p> <p><i>baho-pr.l.va</i> = <i>bahu-pralāpaṃ</i> (2d)</p> <p><i>manuṣya-bhavo</i> = <i>manuṣya-bhāvaṃ</i> (6c, 7c)</p>	—

	<i>sama[si] = samādhiṃ (14a)</i> <i>suara-bhavam = sūkara-bhāvaṃ (7b)</i>	
Inst	<i>uvakramena = upakramena (2b)</i> <i>krodhena = krodhena (5a)</i> <i>ayurmena = āyusmatā (7d)</i>	—
Dat	<i>vaṣae = vadhāya (10d)</i>	—
Abl	—	—
Gen	—	<i>purekhida-kroṣan(*a) = puraskṛta-krodhānām (1d)</i> <i>satvana = sattvānām (4b)</i>
Loc	<i>adhvane = advhani (18a)</i> <i>dhame = dharme (3c)</i> <i>budh[e] = buddhe (3c)</i> <i>loge = loke (4b)</i> <i>saṃghe = saṃghe (4c)</i>	<i>[a]ñnanino = ajñāniṣu (10c)</i> <i>vitvasu = vitvatsu (10c)</i>

Table 6: Singular and plural neuter nouns

	<b>Singular Neuter</b>	<b>Plural Neuter</b>
Nom	<i>duha = duḥkham (1c)</i> <i>bhagi-duho = bhāgi-duḥkhaḥ (5d)</i> <i>mitro = mitram (4d)</i>	<i>ghora-viṣa = ghora-viṣāḥ (4a)</i>

	<i>vilavi[a] = vilāpitaṃ</i> (2d) <i>śarira = śarīraṃ</i> (2c) <i>somaṇaso = saumanasyaṃ</i> (16b)	
Acc	<i>duvayam = durvacam</i> (frame 12i3, <i>duva(*ya) = durvacam</i> (frame 12i3) <i>sugati = sugatiṃ</i> (13b) <i>halahala-viṣa = hālahala-viṣaṃ</i> (12d)	—
Inst	—	—
Dat	<i>hidāe = hitāya</i> (11b)	—
Abl	—	—
Gen	—	—
Loc	<i>kroṣa-śīle = krodha-śīle</i> (frame 12c2) <i>pudi-bie = pūti-bīje</i> (8d)	—

Table 7: Singular and plural feminine nouns

	<b>Singular Feminine</b>	<b>Plural Feminine</b>
Nom	<i>akirti = akīrtiḥ</i> (1c) <i>idhi-kama-bhoga-sapada = ṛddhi- kāma-bhoga-saṃpadā</i> (16d) <i>tirṣa = tṛṣṇā</i> (17h) <i>vriti = vṛttiḥ</i> (17g)	—
Acc	<i>taṣa = tṛṣṇāṃ</i> (14c)	—

Inst	<i>heḍae = heḷayā</i> (4b)	—
Dat	—	—
Abl	—	—
Gen	—	—
Loc	—	<i>jaṇiṣu = jātiṣu</i> (16b)

## 8.2. Pronouns, Pronominals and Numerals

### 8.2.1. Second-Person Pronouns

First-person pronouns do not occur, while a single instance of the second-person genitive singular pronoun *tava* (OIA *tava*) occurs in 17e.

### 8.2.2. Third-Person and Demonstrative Pronouns

#### 8.2.2.1. *tat-*

The nominative singular masculine pronoun occurs four times, twice as *sa* in 10c, 11b and 11C, and twice as *so* in 8c and 11c. A single instance of the genitive plural masculine *teṣa* (OIA *teṣām*) occurs in 4c. The locative plural feminine pronoun occurs twice in 16b in the expression *taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu* (OIA *tāsu tāsu jātiṣu*) “...in every birth.” We similarly find OIA *tāsu* attested in AG<sup>L</sup> as *taṣu taṣu* rather than the expected *\*tasu*, with Salomon noting that this reflects “a partial contamination with the corresponding masculine form *teṣu*” (Salomon 2008: 147, §II.4.2.3.) Brough similarly records *-aṣu* in place of OIA *-āsu* in the locative plural feminine *kichaṣu* (Brough 1962: 101, §50).

#### 8.2.2.2. *etad-*

The accusative singular neuter *ede* occurs once in 15c.

#### 8.2.3. Relative Pronouns

Three instances of the nominative singular masculine relative pronoun *yo* (OIA *yaḥ*) occur in 7c, 14b and frame 12i3.

#### 8.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns do not occur in our manuscript.

#### 8.2.5. Numerals

*Trarya* “three” occurs once in the nominative singular masculine, in the sense of “threesome, triad.” The use of preconsonantal *ra* here is less likely a stand-in for a member of a consonant cluster rather than an instance of hypersanskritization, uncharacteristic for our scribe.

The word for “five,” *paca*, occurs once, however the damage to the manuscript makes the context unclear, and the possibility of a misreading remains.

*trarya* = OIA *traya*, P *taya* (15e)

*paca* = *pañca* (15a)

### 8.3. Verbal Forms

#### 8.3.1. Present Tense

The usual ending for the third-person singular form is *-(a)ti*, with the exception of *karodi* (5a) the causative *havedi* (5b):

*eti* = *eti* (6c, 7b)

*viṣati* = *viṣati* (14a)

[*k.r.*] *di* – *karoti* (5a)

[*vraya*] *ti* = *vrajati* (6b)

*sabhavati* = *saṃbhavati* (5b, 11c)

*havedi* = *hāpayati* (5b)

Third-person plural forms take *-ati*, with the anusvāra, occurring only three times in the text, omitted and conjectured based on context:

*carati* = *caranti* (4b)

*bhavati* = *bhavanti* (6d, 13a)

*janati* = *jānanti* (10b)

*vrayati* = *vrajanti* (13b)

### 8.3.2. Optatives

Four optatives occur, all in the third-person singular:

*karea* = P *kareyya* (frame 12i2)

*viruhea* = *virohet* (8c)

*parica[y]e[a]* = *parityajet* (4d)

### 8.3.3. Imperatives

Two imperatives occur in the text:

*jaha* = *jahi* (12d)

*prahahi* = *prajahi* (15a)

### 8.3.4. Preterites

Given that our text is wholly in verse rather than prose, it is not surprising that preterite forms are not widely represented in the *Krośa-gaśa*. In fact, only two preterites occur at all, both forms of OIA  $\sqrt{gam}$  derived from OIA aorists in the third person singular. Finally, both are of the *-iṣ* aorist form which in the third-person, lose the sibilant tense marker. That both are of the *-iṣ*

form is consistent with the prevalence of the form in Gāndhārī literature writ large (see Salomon 2008: 102, §II.4.5.5.2., Allon 2001: 117, §6.3.6., and Marino 2017: 146-7, §8.3.4.)

*ugami* = OIA *udagamat*, P *uggacchi* (10d)      *uvagami* = OIA *upāgamat*, P *upāgami* (7c)

### 8.3.5. Absolutes (Gerunds)

Two forms of absolutes occur, the more common type being derived from OIA *-tvā*:

*[v]iṇodaīta* = *vinodya* (15c)                      *hita* = *hitvā* (13b)

*stivīya* = *sthāpayivā* (15f)

Two instances of an absolute formed from original *-tvāna* occur:

*chitvana* = OIA *chitvā* (14c)                      *ñatvana* = *jñātvā* (frame 12m2)

### 8.3.6. Participles

#### 8.3.6.1. Present Participles

Only twice do present participles occur: one in the accusative singular deriving from  $\sqrt{bhāṣ}$ , and once in the nominative deriving from  $\sqrt{sev}$ . Both appear with *-maṇa*, corresponding to the OIA *ātmanepada* form:

*bharṣamaṇa* = *bhāṣyamāṇam* (15e)                      *sevamaṇa* = *sevamāna* (17d)

#### 8.3.6.2. Past Participles

Only forms in the singular have so far been attested, with suffix elements varying widely between *-ida*, *-ite*, *-ita*, *-to*, *-do* and *-da*. These all derive from the usual OIA forms in *-(i)ta*:

*anupraviṭho* = *anupraviṣṭaḥ* (2c)                      *ladha* = *labdhaḥ* (17g)

*ugrahida-agra-dhamo* = *udgrhīta-agra-dharmaḥ* (9c)                      *vilavi[a]* = *vilāpitam* (2d)

*ki[ṭa] = kṛtam* (3b)

*vuta = uktaḥ* (9a)

*deśite = deśite* (frame 12C2)

*śidibhuda = śītībhūtaḥ* (14d)

*nivuti = nirvṛtaḥ* (14d)

*ṣuda = śrutam* (15e)

*pravuto = \*proptaḥ* (8d)

*samusta = samutthitaḥ* (4c)

*bahu-aṅubhudo = bahu-anubhūtam* (16a)

*suhida = sukhitāḥ* (13a)

*mata = mattaḥ* (5a)

*h[i]da = hīnaḥ* (13a)

#### 8.4. Indeclinables and Adverbs

##### 8.4.1. Indeclinable Particles

*a = ca* (10c, 14a)

*pi = pi* (2c)

*idi = iti* (5c, frame 123)

*punu = punar* (6c, 7c)

*eva = eva* (1d, 10b)

*yaṣa = yathā* (8d)

*eva = evam* (10b)

*yeya = caiva* (12b)

*ca = ca* (3c, 5c, 13a, 13b, 14b)

*va = iva* (12d)

*jatu = jātu* (14a)

*va = eva* (10b)

*jatu = jātu* (10d)

*tava = tāvat* (17f, 17h)

*tu = tu* (11c)

*taṣiva = tathaiva* (3c)

*na = na* (3d, 8c, 10b, 10c, 11c, 17d)

*sayi = sacet* (6c)

##### 8.4.2. Adverbs

Adverbs based on nominal and adjectival stems are:

*suha = sukhaṃ* (14a)

*heḍae = helayā* (4b)

## CHAPTER 9: TRANSCRIPTION, RECONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSLATION

### 9.1. Transcribed Text

Here I present the text as it appears in the reconstructed manuscript. The superscript numeral <sup>[19]</sup> indicates that the following akṣaras are from frame 19, while the superscript numeral <sup>[12]</sup> indicates that the following akṣaras are from frame 12.

#### 9.1.1. Diplomatic edition of the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*

1. <sup>[19]</sup>/// ? ni va pareṣu ◊ duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti ◊ purekhidakroṣan. sarv[am. va] ◊
2. <sup>[19]</sup>/// [ś.] r. no uvakramena ◊ yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho ◊ bahopr.l.va vilavi[a kro/krudho] ◊
3. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ? + r. ? [◊] ? ? <sup>[19]</sup>so/go pur[va] ki[ṭa] baho [pi] ◊ budh[e] ca dhame ca taṣiva saṃghe ◊  
pracakhi na kroṣaraṣo manuṣya ◊
4. <sup>[12]</sup>/// [vi]ṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya ◊ <sup>[19]</sup>satvana heḍae carati loge teṣa tiṣo kroṣa samusta teno ◊  
kopa[di]te mitro parica[y]e[a] [◊]
5. <sup>[12]</sup>krodhena mata [k.r.]di akario ◊ <sup>[19]</sup>k[a]ria ca havedi suha idi [o] ◊ a./h. ? + + ? ? [aśava  
m.go] ◊ bhagiduhu saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i
6. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ? ? manuśa ◊ i ? .u <sup>[19]</sup>? ? ? ? [vraya]ti ◊ sayi punu eti manuṣyabhavo ◊ drovana  
drodaśia bhavati ◊
7. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ga [n.] re [n.] ◊ aveniyo <sup>[19]</sup>suarabhavam=eti ◊ manuṣyabhavo uvagami p.n. ◊ yo suaro  
[a] ayurmena ◊
8. <sup>[12]</sup>/// [va]se mane labhe sakare ya [bhi/kh.] ◊ sa <sup>[19]</sup>? [na]stigavuti ? sa ◊ sadhame so na  
viruhea jano ◊ kṣetro yaṣa pudibie pravuto ◊

9. <sup>[12]</sup>/// [k.]ṣana duvayam=[idi] vuta ◊ yo duva[y.] <sup>[19]</sup>aragi [vasia] /// [m.n.] ◊ ? ? + bhudo  
ugrahidaagradhamo ? [◊] ? .e [y.] ? ? ? ? ? [kri] ni ? ◊
10. <sup>[19]</sup>/// na janati hidahida va ◊ [a]ñanino na a vitvasu sa ◊ kroṣo vaṣae ugami jatu ◊
11. <sup>[19]</sup>/// <<? gi loga [da] ma>> sa hidae na [so] ◊ ? sa utamatha sabhavati [h.se/te] ? ? ? ? ? ?
12. <sup>[19]</sup>/// ? ? ? ◊ ? [ṭh/st]iyo yeya para[hi si ga] ◊ acataniṭhasa aṃtarago ◊ krodho jaha  
halahalaviṣa va ◊
13. <sup>[12]</sup>kro[ṣ]o [ca] h[i]da suhida bhavati ◊ kroṣo <sup>[19]</sup>/// ca hita sugati vrayati
14. <sup>[12]</sup>suha sama[ṣi] viṣati [a jatu] ◊ <sup>[19]</sup>///ga ca niyano yo śatagami ◊ chitvana taṣa  
vidhamita[mo]tro ◊ akroṣa nivuti śidibhuda ◊
15. <sup>[12]</sup>/// prahahi paca <<dhama>> cedaṣa vi + + + + ◊ <sup>[19]</sup>[v]iṇodaīta ede sarve  
supraṣaṇamaṇaṣo ◊ ṣuda trarya bharṣamaṇa sodama[ṇa] stitviya
16. <sup>[12]</sup>p. ṇ. śa [d./tva] ? ki [sa/ra] .i ? ? ? ? <sup>[19]</sup>/// ◊ bahaṇubhudo somaṇaso taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu ◊  
svadibahopragara idhikamabhogasapada
17. <sup>[12]</sup>/// na śaka da śi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva<sup>[19]</sup>///ṇe ◊ tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavia  
tirṣa ◊

### 9.1.2. Transcribed Text of Unplaced Fragments in Frame 12

12b

1. /// ? ? ///
2. /// [p.]reṣu a[bhe] ///

12c

1. /// ... ///
2. kroṣāṣile deṣite ///

12e

1. /// ... ///
2. /// li ga vidraga ///
3. /// ? ///

12f

1. /// [s.] anubhavo ◊ upa ///
2. /// [kh. d.] ? ///

12m

1. ? [na/da] ? ///
2. ñatvana edadišo ? ///

## 9.2. Reconstructed Diplomatic edition of the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*

Below I present the reconstructed edition of the text verse by verse. Although the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* has one line per verse in lines 1–14, lines 15–17 do not adhere to this, with four verses resembling śloka running across three lines.

1. \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? ni va pareṣu ◊

duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti ◊

purekhidakroṣan(\*a) sarvam=(\*e)va ○

2. \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ś(\*a)r(\*a)no uvakramena ◊

yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho ◊

bahopr(\*a)l(\*a)va vilavia kro/krudho ○

3. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ? + r. ? ◇

? ? <sup>[19]</sup>so/go purva kiṭa baho pi ◇

budhe ca dhame ca taṣiva saṃghe ◇

pracakhi na kroṣaraṣo manuṣya ○

4. <sup>[12]</sup>/// (\*aṣi)viṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya ◇

<sup>[19]</sup>satvana heḍae carati loge

teṣa tiṣo kroṣa samusta teno ◇

kopaḍite mitro paricayea ○

5. <sup>[12]</sup>krodhena mata k(\*a)r(\*o)di akario ◇

<sup>[19]</sup>karia ca havedi suha idi o ◇

a./h. ? + + ? ? aśava m.go ◇

bhagiduhu saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i

6. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ? ? manuśa ◇

i ? .u <sup>[19]</sup>? ? ? ? vrayati ◇

sayi punu eti manuṣyabhavo ◇

drovana drodaśia bhavati ○

7. <sup>[12]</sup>/// ga n. re n. ◇

aveniyo <sup>[19]</sup>suarabhavam=eti ◇

manuṣyabhavo uvagami p(\*u)n(\*u) ◇

yo suaro a ayurmena ○

8. <sup>[12]</sup>/// vase mane labhe sakare ya bhi/kh. ◇

sa ? <sup>[19]</sup>nastigavuti ? sa ◇

sadhame so na viruhea jano ◇

kṣetro yaṣa pudibie pravuto ○

9. <sup>[12]</sup>/// (\*sa)k(\*ro)ṣana duvayam=idi vuta ◇

yo duvay. <sup>[19]</sup>aragi vasia /// m.n. ◇

? ? + bhudo ugrahidaagradhamo ? ◇

? .e y. ? ? ? ? ? kri ni ? ○

10. \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[19]</sup>/// (\*eva) na janati hidahida va ◇

añanino na a vitvasu sa ◇

kroṣo vaṣae ugami jatu ○

11. \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? gi loga [da] ma sa hidae na so ◇

? sa utamatha sabhavati h.se/te

? ? ? ? ? ?

12. \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[19]</sup>? ṭh/stiyo yeya parahisiga ◇

acataniṭhasa aṃtarago ◇

krodho jaha halahalaviṣa va ○

13. <sup>[12]</sup>kroṣo ca hida suhida bhavati ◇

kroṣo <sup>[19]</sup>/// ca hita sugati vrayati

14. <sup>[12]</sup>suha samaṣi viṣati a jatu ◇

(\*bha)<sup>[19]</sup>///ga ca niyano yo śatagami ◇

chitvana taṣa vidhamitamotro ◇

akroṣa nivuti śidibhuda ○

15. <sup>[12]</sup>/// prahahi paca <<dhama>> cedaṣa vi + + + + ◇

<sup>[19]</sup>viṇodaīta ede sarve supraṣaṇamaṇaṣo ◇

16. ṣuda trarya bharṣamaṇa sodamaṇa stitviya

<sup>[12]</sup>p(\*ra) ṇ. śa d./tva ? ki sa/ra .i ? (\*kh.) ? ? <sup>[19]</sup>/// ○

17. bahaṇubhudo somaṇaso taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu ◇

svadibahopragara idhikamabhogasapada

18. /// <sup>[12]</sup>na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva<sup>[19]</sup>///ṇe ◇

tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavia tirṣa ○

### 9.3. Translation

#### 9.3.1. Translation of the \*Kroṣa-gaṣa

1. ... with regard to others. Suffering, loss, infamy, and disgrace all indeed accrue to those by whom anger is favored.
2. ... (going for) refuge because of an attack. An angry man weeps and wails as if (his) body were possessed by a yakṣa.
3. ... done before. A man whose dominant emotion is anger is not a witness with respect to the Buddha and the dharma and likewise the saṅgha.
4. Snakes with fierce heat and terrible venom act angrily toward beings in the world. And with that, bitter anger arises toward them. A friend would abandon those who are afflicted with anger.

5. Intoxicated with anger, one does what shouldn't be done and abandons what should be done, [thinking "this is] happiness" ... the path of *āśravas* ... and becomes a partaker of suffering ...
6. ... is reborn. If a man reaches a human birth again, they become discolored and ugly.
7. ... goes to an appropriate birth as a pig. He reached a human birth once again, and whatever pig by a monk ...
8. Regarding dwelling, respect, gain, and honor ... one who follows the *nāstika* way of life ... That man may not flourish in the good dharma, like a rotten seed sown in a field.
9. ... is called "the harmful words of angry people." ... He who is self-controlled ... under the control of ... a being is one by whom the highest dharma is realized ...
10. Thus they don't understand what is beneficial and what is not beneficial. Anger conducive to killing arose among the unwise, but never among the wise.
11. ... For the beneficial ... The highest goal arises ...
12. ... and hurtful to others ... Abandon anger, the obstacle of the final goal, as if it were the *halāhala* poison.
13. Anger is abandoned; they are delighted. And after abandoning anger they go to a good rebirth.
14. One is happily and totally engrossed in *samādhi*, happiness and deliverance. Whoever is headed for peace, after cutting off craving, as soon as it is destroyed, he is free from anger, quenched, cooled.
15. Abandon the five things of the mind ... After dispelling these they were all clear-minded. The three heard what was being said and were established as stream-enterers.
16. ... (there is) happiness frequently enjoyed in every birth, as well as accomplishments of many kinds, magic powers, pleasure, wealth, and achievements.

17. One who sees, indulging for a long time, cannot ... existence is obtained as long as [one's] desire is wicked.

### 9.3.2. Translation of Unplaced Fragments

Here I present only those fragments for which translations are available.

12b

1. —

2. ... among/with regard to others ...

12c

1. —

2. One who is habitually angry is taught ...

12e

1. —

2. ... thinking ...

12f

1. ... understanding ...

2. —

12m

1. —

2. ... after realizing this ...

## CHAPTER 10: VERSE FORMAT AND METER

### 10.1 Introduction

The lack of a parallel complicates the task of editing the text in frame 19 at every level. This is especially true regarding its metrical analysis. Studies of Gāndhārī metrics in general, and text editions so far published in particular, have been helped in great part by the fact that these works have had Pali or Sanskrit parallel texts to lean on and fill in the gaps. So heavy has this reliance on non-Gāndhārī texts been that Glass noted in his study of Gāndhārī metrics, based on the Khotanese Dharmapada, that “the scansion of the Gāndhārī is entirely based on parallel sources in Pali and Sanskrit and knowledge of Indian metrics in general” (Glass 2001: 34). This common reliance on parallels has no doubt proven to be a great boon for producing editions, but as an unfortunate side-effect many studies have relied on “translationese,” that is, Gāndhārī as filtered through a Sanskrit and Pali lens.

But for the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa* we must do without such aids, a prospect that is at once daunting, for we have no helping hand, and thrilling, for the opportunity of working on what is possibly an original Gandhāran composition. Kharoṣṭhī orthography does little to make this job easier: long vowels are generally not noted, and not at all in our text. Final vowels here, as in G generally, have weakened, so that the nominative singular for masculine and neuter nouns may be noted as *-o* or *-a*. The notation of anusvāra in G varies with each scribe, with some scribes noting it randomly or not at all. Our scribe only rarely notes anusvāra. The treatment of consonant clusters and geminates are usually predictable.<sup>27</sup> Geminates can be deduced from the

---

<sup>27</sup> For an introduction to Kharoṣṭhī and distinguishing features of Gāndhārī as an MIA dialect the reader is referred to Glass’ 2000 treatment of Kharoṣṭhī paleography.

presence of an unvoiced intervocalic stop, which are otherwise usually voiced when intervocalic:

G *loge* = OIA *loke* (4b), while G *mata* = OIA *mattaḥ* (5a).

Lacking a parallel for the text as a whole, I have deemed it useful to construct one where possible and deduce the underlying quantity of the syllables based on the well-known phonological correspondence between Gāndhārī, Pali and Sanskrit. These asterisked verses in Sanskrit then inform the scansion, particularly when they are most helpful in fleshing out Kharoṣṭhī orthography. With that being said, there is always a risk that even this provisional scansion is projecting a Sanskritic slant onto the meter. The working assumptions for the metrical analysis are based on those commonly practiced in scanning Sanskrit and Pali texts. While this further adds to a Sanskritic interference, it is nevertheless a suitable starting point given the number of identified Gandhāran texts that follow these rules, if loosely.

The assumptions are as follows:

1. Vowel length and consonant clusters can be etymologically determined by parallels in Sanskrit and Pali
2. Syllables with a short vowel and followed by a single consonant can be read as light
3. Syllables with a long vowel or a short vowel followed by two or more consonants and long vowels can be read as heavy
4. Syllables ending in *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* are light
5. Syllables ending in *visarga* or *anusvāra* can be light or heavy

There are as well some common assumptions that we cannot make, in the absence of a parallel text:

1. The composer(s) of the text adhered to surviving or well-attested metrical standards

2. The composer(s) regarded adhering to meter as a mandatory concern
3. One can deduce syllable length based on metrical position
4. The final syllable in a pāda may be scanned as light or heavy despite its metrical weight.
5. G *-e-* and *-ae*, corresponding to OIA *aya-* and *āya-*, can be scanned as heavy. This is in contrast with earlier studies, such as Lenz 2003: 25. Only three instances of these correspondences occur in the text, and only once would scanning according to the OIA put it in accord with metrical trends in the text.

Lastly, it is important to emphasize that many of the verses have yet to be, or cannot be, fully translated. Of the sixty-six identifiable pādas in the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa*, only fifty-two have proven possible to transcribe, translate, and analyze metrically, whether due to damage to the scroll or unfamiliar vocabulary. Thus, the claims made here are provisional until such time as greater reconstruction and translation work sheds more light on the manuscript.

## 10.2. Lines 1–14

Of the fifty identifiable pādas in lines 1–14, forty are preserved well enough to scan for the most part. They vary in length between nine and twelve syllables each, with thirty-one pādas of eleven syllables, two of nine, five of ten, and two of twelve. There is no single metrical standard or morae count. The common eleven syllable count and irregular morae count makes a moraic meter such as *āryā* unlikely, while of the syllabic meters we can discount *śloka/anuṣṭubh* and *jagatī* based on the number of syllables (with the exception of two pādas, discussed in §10.2.2. below). A more accurate identification requires metrical analysis, for which see §10.4. In the following tables I present the syllabic weight that appears most often for each position in

the pādas from lines 1–14. A blank cell represents an equal appearance of light and heavy syllables.

Pāda a										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-	-	◡	-	-	◡	◡		◡	-	-

Pāda b										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-	-	◡	-	-		◡	-	◡	-	

Pāda c										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-	-	◡	-	-	◡	◡	-	◡	-	-

Pāda d										
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-	-	◡	-	-	◡	-		◡	-	◡

A clear pattern emerges, but it is far from definitive. The sample size remains much smaller than one would like, and many of the weights above rely on the presence of a single light or heavy akṣara. Future work will undoubtedly see further revision. Nevertheless, we have now enough raw data to speculate as to the meter. Triṣṭubh meter, and in particular its derivative upajātī, appears to be a good candidate for the meter of this text. Defined by Warder as

◡ - ◡ - ◡ ◡ - - ◡ - ◡ and ◡ - ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡ in its commonest Vedic schemes, triṣṭubh shows markedly greater variation in later Pali texts, as well Gāndharī texts such as the Rhinoceros Sūtra (Salomon 2000: §4.4.2), where it appears as a mixed triṣṭubh/jagatī meter. The only common opening for triṣṭubh is ◡ - ◡ - - (Warder 1967: 202–210, 274), and K. R. Norman’s study of the Theraghāthā agrees with Warder on this matter, as Norman notes that the two commonest openings for triṣṭubh to be ◡ - ◡ - and - - ◡ - (Norman 1995: XXXV). With upajātī defined by Ānandajoti Bhikkhu as ◡ - ◡ - - ◡ ◡ - ◡ - x, the two bear close resemblance to the provisional

verse pattern shown above (Ānandajoti Bhikkhu 2013: 24). Pādas 1c and 2c match this last definition to a T:

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Pādas 1c and 2c	-	-	◡	-	-	◡	◡	-	◡	-	-

The following pādas vary from the definition by only one or two akṣaras: 4a, 5a, 9a, 13a, 5b, 7b, 13b, 3c, 4c, 6c, 12d, and 14d. All told, fourteen out of forty pādas match or strongly resemble Ānandajoti’s definition of upajātī. The remaining verses show only a passing resemblance to triṣṭubh and upajātī.

### 10.2.1. Hypometric Pādas

The frequent appearance of hypometric pādas with 9–10 syllables, occurring in 8b, 7d (nine syllables each), 3b, 10b, 10c, 12c, 6d, and 8b (ten syllables each), presents further difficulties. We find a regular hypometric scheme elsewhere in viyogini meter, however there the hypometric pādas are a and c, rather than b and d, which make up the majority of hypometric pādas in our text. With so many a pādas missing, no further speculation on this is fruitful. The four pādas with ten syllables suggest that replacement has taken place, in which two light syllables in sixth and seventh positions are replaced with one heavy. This does not seem to be the case, however, as the combination - - does not appear in the sixth and seventh positions (which we find in Pali verses in which replacement occurs) on the relevant surviving verses. Given that seven out of the analyzed forty pādas in lines 1–14 are hypometric, it would be wrong to identify these as “wrong” or defective verses. Gāndhārī metrics in general are best treated the same way

we treat Gāndhārī grammar—something loose and flexible. More likely lines 1–14 are in a mixed 10/11 meter that has appeared elsewhere in Gandhāran manuscripts.<sup>28</sup>

### 10.2.2. Hypermetric Pādas

Two hypermetric pādas occur in 4a and 11c:

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
4a	(*ā	śī)	[vi]	ṣa	gho	ra	vi	ṣā	u	gra	te	yā
Weight	-	-	˘	-	-	˘	˘	-	-	˘	-	-

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11c	[tu]	sa	u	(t)ta	ma	(t)tha	(s)sa	bha	va	ti	[h.	se/te]
Weight	˘	˘	-	˘	-	-	˘	˘	˘	˘	?	-

The presence of hypermetric pādas suggests that resolution has taken place, in which two light syllables occur where we would otherwise expect one heavy. In 4a we see ˘˘ in sixth and seventh position, giving some weight to the notion, however resolution is untenable when we consider that ˘˘ occurs in sixth and seventh place thirteen times in other pādas, each of which comes to eleven syllables. An incorrect reconstruction of the first two akṣaras of this line, (\*āśī), could otherwise account for the extra syllable, but this is certainly not the case, given the many parallels for this phrase in Pali. The reading, if not the meter, is secure.

The reading for 11c is far less secure due to damage and delamination of the scroll. Assuming that the reading is correct, resolution is possible in eighth position, which normally scans as heavy in c pādas. This would then scan as:

<sup>28</sup> A recently discovered Gāndhārī biography of the Buddha has a high frequency of both ten and eleven syllable pādas; Timothy Lenz, personal communication, January 30th, 2018.

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
11c	[tu]	sa	u	(t)ta	ma	(t)tha	sa	bhava	ti	[h.	se/te]
Weight	˘	˘	-	˘	-	-	˘	˘˘	˘	?	-

Otherwise, there is some doubt whether the pāda begins with [tu], as the reading currently stands, or with the following sa. Either reading explains some problems while leaving others open. Reading the pāda beginning with sa scans as:

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
11c	sa	u	(t)ta	ma	(t)tha	sa	bha	va	ti	[h.	se/te]
Weight	˘	-	˘	-	-	˘	˘	˘	˘	?	-

This brings the scansion more in accord with other pādas, particularly in positions four-six, and brings the meter to eleven; however, it does not explain the lack of a pāda break between sa and the preceding [tu]. Beginning the line with [tu] accounts for the lack of a gap, with resolution resulting in the longer meter. Therefore, I have opted to read the pāda as beginning with [tu] until further reconstruction of the damage is possible.

Alternatively, these twelve syllable pādas may not be hypermetric triṣṭubh and may instead be in another meter entirely, such as jagatī. Ānandajoti notes in his discussion of triṣṭubh that a combined triṣṭubh/jagatī meter becomes more common in the Pali canon after the early period. We find such a mixed meter sporadically throughout the Theragāthā as well as in the Gāndhārī, Pali, and Sanskrit versions of the Rhinoceros Sūtra (Salomon 2000: §4.4.2.).

However 4a only loosely fit the jagatī pattern, defined by Ānandajoti as  
 ˘ - ˘ - ˘ ˘ - ˘ - ˘ x (Ānandajoti 2013: 20). Most of 4a is in keeping with jagatī, though the ninth-eleventh syllables scan as - ˘ - . Pāda 11c fits the meter poorly at best, with only the break (syllables five–seven) fitting with established variations in Pali texts. With only two questionable pādas in jagatī, it is unlikely that our text is in a combined triṣṭubh/jagatī meter.

### 10.2.3. Svarabhakti

Svarabhakti, or the separation of two semivowels by means of a vowel, is a common development in MIA and in scanning it is common practice to ignore the interceding vowel, so that P *āriya* (OIA *ārya*) scans as - ◡ rather than - ◡ ◡. This occurs twice in our text: *akaria* = OIA *akārya* (5a), *karia* = OIA *kārya* (5b). Here I have followed the established practice and scanned each as ◡ - ◡ and - ◡ to prevent the lines from being hypermetric.

### 10.3. Lines 15–17

At line 15 we can see a change to a meter that only loosely resembles śloka, or anuṣṭubh, one of the most common meters in the Pali canon. This particular meter is normally composed of two pādas of eight syllables, with much flexibility in the first four positions. Positions five-eight follow one of two general patterns, depending on whether the line is odd (a) or even (b):

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pāda a	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	-	-	x
Pāda b	◡	◡	◡	◡	◡	-	◡	x

The surviving portions of lines 15–17 show that they originally comprised sixteen pādas, most with eight akṣaras, with the exception of seven akṣaras in the final pāda in line 15. In line 16 we find a verse marker after the first two pādas, showing that the scribe composed four ślokas in total, conforming to the expected system of four pādas to each śloka. Because these ślokas are spread over three lines, they will be referred to as ślokas 1–4.

In ślokas 1–2, a total of six pādas have remained intact and are capable of translation and metrical scanning. Pādas b and g cannot be read. Ślokas 3–4 have fared better, with only pāda g eluding translation and analysis. This leaves us with only thirteen legible pādas, a small sample

size that severely limits our ability to generalize from these meager data. Those pādas that are in accord with establish Pali śloka patterns are noted with an asterisk.

Table 8: Śloka 1 Scansion

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pāda a*	∪	-	∪	-	∪	-	-	-
Pāda b	∪	-	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pāda c	∪	-	∪	-	-	-	-	-
Pāda d*	-	-	∪	-	∪	-	∪	-

Table 9: Śloka 2 Scansion

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pāda e	∪	-	-	-	-	∪	-	∪
Pāda f	-	-	-	-	-	∪	∪	
Pāda g	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pāda h	-	-	∪	-	∪	∪	-	-

Table 10: Śloka 3 Scansion

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pāda a	∪	∪	∪	-	-	-	∪	-
Pāda b*	-	-	∪	-	∪	-	∪	∪
Pāda c*	∪	∪	∪	-	∪	-	-	-
Pāda d*	∪	-	∪	-	∪	-	∪	-

Table 11: Śloka 4 Scansion

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pāda e	∪	-	∪	-	-	-	∪	-
Pāda f	∪	-	-	-	-	-	∪	-
Pāda g	?	-	-	?	?	-	-	-
Pāda h	-	-	∪	-	∪	∪	-	-

Agreement among the pādas is infrequent, occurring in śloka 1, positions 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8,; śloka 2, positions 2, 4, and 6; śloka 3, positions 3, 4, and 6; and śloka 4, positions 2, 4, and 8.

Whether owing to the famously flexible structure of śloka meter or otherwise, there is little to link the verses aside from a fifteen/sixteen syllable count. Five pādas are in accord with Ānandajoti’s definition of the standard pathyā structure of the Pali siloka meter (Ānandajoti Bhikkhu 2013: 17). When common variations of śloka meter in the Pali canon are taken into consideration, we may note also that both pādas labelled “h” are in accordance with Ānandajoti’s fifth vipulā, defined as:

Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	≅	≅	≅	≅	∪	∪	-	x

We have then at most seven out of thirteen legible pādas that are recognizably śloka in meter. But as noted in the analysis of lines 1–14 above, we must be careful not to read too far into any deviations from the strict OIA/Pali metrical rules. The study of Gāndhārī metrics is still in its early stages, and so I must repeat the observation that instead of labelling these pādas as either “correct” or “defective,” it is more accurate to characterize them as loosely-structured verses that share a resemblance with ślokas.

Finally this shift to a separate meter, in this case to a shorter one, for the final three lines is noteworthy in that it shows a similar switch in meter (not always śloka) often found at the end of chapters (*vargas*) in the text’s closest (but not very close) relatives, namely the Gāndhārī and Pali Dharmapadas, Pali Suttanipata, and to a lesser extent the Sanskrit Udānavarga. The fragmentary nature of frame 19 prevents more specific investigations into its verse structure.

### 10.3.1. Hypometric Pādas

A single hypometric pāda occurs in 1f.



- - - - - | - - - - - | ...? ? ? ? | - - - - -

6. Transcription: <sup>[12]</sup>/// ? manuśa ◊ i[ś]u<sup>[19]</sup> ? ? ? ? [vraya]ti ◊ sayi punu eti manuśyabhavo ◊ drovana drodaśia bhavati ◊

OIA chāyā: \*? maṇuśya | ? ? ? ? ? ? vrajanti | saci punar eti manuśyabhāvaṃ | durvarṇāḥ durdarśikāḥ bhavanti

Pronunciation: ? manuśśa ◊ ? ? ? ? ? ? vrajanti ◊ sayi punu eti manuśyabhāvo ◊ drovannā drodaśśiā bhavanti ◊

? - - - | ? ? ? ? ? ? - - - - - | - - - - -

7. Transcription: <sup>[12]</sup>/// ga [n.] re [n.] ◊ aveniyo <sup>[19]</sup>suarabhavam=eti ◊ manuśyabhavo uvagami p(\*u)n(\*u) ◊ yo suaro [a] ayurmena ◊

OIA chāyā: Pāda b – d: \*āvenikaṃ sūkarabhāvam eti | manuśyabhāvaṃ upāgami punaḥ | yo sukaraḥ āyuśmena...

Pronunciation: āveniyo sūarabhāvam=eti ◊ manuśyabhāvo uvāgami punu ◊ yo suaro a ayuśmena<sup>29</sup> ◊

? ? - ? | - - - - - | - - - - -

8. Transcription: <sup>[12]</sup>/// [va]se mane labhe sakare ya [bhi/kh.] ◊ sa <sup>[19]</sup>? [na]stiga vuti ? sa ◊ sadhame so na viruhea jano ◊ kṣetro yaśa pudibie pravuto ◊

OIA chāyā: \*? ? māne lābhe sakkāre ca ? | ? ? nāstikavṛttiḥ... | saddharme saḥ na virohet janaḥ | kṣetre yathā pūtibījam proptaḥ

Pronunciation: ? ? māne lābhe sakkāre ya ? ◊ ? ? nāstigavutti ? ? ◊ saddhamme so na viruheyya jano ◊ kṣetro yaśā pūḍibīe pravutto ◊

? - - - - - | ? ? - - - ? ? / - - - - - | - - - - -

9. Transcription: <sup>[12]</sup>/// (\*sakro)śana duvayam=[i(\*d)i] vuta ◊ yo duva[ya] <sup>[19]</sup>aragi [vasia] /// [manu] ◊ ? bhudo ugrahidaagrathammo [◊] ? ? .e [ya] ? ? ? ? kr[i] ni ? ◊

OIA chāyā: \*sakrodhanaṃ durvacaḥ iti ukta | yo durvacam arāgī vaśika ... | ... bhūtaḥ udgrhītāgradharmaṃ

Pronunciation: sakrośana duvvayam=idi vutta ◊ yo duvvaya aragi vāsika /// manu ◊ ? bhūdo ugrahīdaagrathammo ◊ ? ? .e ya ? ? ? ? ? kri ni ? ◊

- - - - - | ... | ? - - - - - | ...

10. Transcription: <sup>[19]</sup>/// (\*eva) na janati hidahida va ◊ [a]ññanino na a vitvasu sa ◊ krośo vaśae ugami jatu ◊

OIA chāyā: \*evaṃ na jānanti hitāhitaṃ eva | aññāniṣu na ca vidvatsu saḥ | krodhaḥ vadhāya udāgamat jātu

Pronunciation: eva na jānaṃti hidāhida va ◊ aññānino na a vitvassu sa ◊ krośo vaśāe uggami jātu ◊

- - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - -

<sup>29</sup> Āyuttameṇa scans as - - - - - rather than - - - - -. Ayuttameṇa scans as - - - - -.



OIA *chāyā*: \**pranaśatva...* / *bahvanubhūtaṃ saumanasyaṃ tāsu tāsu jāniṣu* / *smṛtibahuprakārāḥ ṛddhikāmbhogasampadāḥ* ○

Pronunciation: *pranaśatva...bahaṇubhūdo*<sup>31</sup> *somaṇasso tāṣu tāṣu jāṇiṣu* ◇ *svadibahopragārā iddhikāmbhogasampadā*

◡ ◡ - - | ◡ ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ - ◡ ◡ ◡ - -

17. Transcription: <sup>[12]</sup>/// *na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva*<sup>[19]</sup>///*ṇe* ◇ *tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavia tirṣa* ○

OIA *chāyā*: \**na śakya darśī sevamāna tāvat dīrghaṃ adhvane* | ...*labdhaḥ vṛttiḥ tāvat pāpikā tṛṣṇā*

Pronunciation: *na śakka daśśī sevamāna tāva drīgho adhvane* ◇ *????? laddha vritti tāva pāvia tirṣā* ○

◡ ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - - - - ◡ - | ? - - <sup>32</sup> ? ? - - ◡ - - ◡ - ◡ ◡ - -

<sup>31</sup> The opening syllable can only scan as heavy if we posit a geminate (*h*)*h* in *bahaṇubhudo*.

<sup>32</sup> Although a translation is unavailable for these two akṣaras, their metrical weight is secure, based on the conjunct -*vro*.

## CHAPTER 11: TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

## 11.1. Introduction

This chapter presents text notes and summaries of many semi-parallels found in P for the text of the \**Kroṣa-gaṣa*. Where relevant, figures have been given for portions of the text.

## 11.2. Frame 19 and Placed Fragments in Frame 12

## 11.2.1. Line 1: Characteristics of Angry People

Edition:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// *ni va pareṣu* ◊ *duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti* ◊ *purekhidakroṣan*.  
*sarv[am].[va]* ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// *ni va pareṣu* ◊ *duha alabho ayaśo akirti* ◊ *purekhida-kroṣan(\*a)*  
*sarvam(\*=e)va* ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\*...*pareṣu* | *duḥkhaṃ alābhaḥ ayaśaḥ akīrtiḥ* | *puraskṛtakrodhānāṃ sarvaṃ eva*

Translation:

...with regard to others. Suffering, loss, infamy and disgrace all indeed accrue to those who display anger.

Text notes:

/// *ni va pareṣu*: As noted before, much of the right side of the text has not survived, so that the first and second pādas of most lines are incomplete. In this line the first pāda is missing

entirely, with only *ni va pareṣu* remaining of the second pāda. Because of this, only the locative plural *pareṣu* “among/with regard to others” can be securely understood.



Figure 14: *akirti* before and after digital reconstruction

*duha/hu alabho ayaśo akirti*: The final akṣara in *duha/hu* is written in such a way that it forms a loop on the lower left, so that it can be interpreted as a cursivized *ha* written in a single stroke, or as the *u* vowel marker. The word *akirti* is split between two fragments. The fragment on which *aki* is written has fallen to the line below, so that it now rests on top of *pr.l.va* in line 2d, while *rti* is preserved as it was written (see Fig. 14).

A similar phrase occurs in the Bajaur collection (BC 2), with *aśilogo* (OIA \**aśloka*) “without sorrow”: *ayaśo · akirti · aśilogo*. The terms *dukkha* “suffering,” *alābha* “loss,” *ayasa* “infamy” occur as a loose set throughout P literature, often with a word here or there missing or rephrased. Together with *nindā* “blame”, they make up four of the eight *lokadhammā* “worldly qualities” that are categorized into four positive and four negative items. We find these items mentioned in such texts as the Saṅgīti Sutta (DN III 207), the Dasuttara Sutta (DN III 272–92), the Ṭhāna Sutta (AN II 187–90), the Paṭhamalokadhamma Sutta (AN IV 156–7), and the Dutiyalokadhamma Sutta (AN IV 157–60), with each text bringing out separate facets of these phenomena. The Paṭhamalokadhamma Sutta emphasizes that the eight *lokadhammā* are characterized, like most things, by their impermanence:

*lābho alābho ca yasāyaso ca /  
nindā pasamsā ca sukhaṃ dukhañca /  
ete aniccā manujesu dhammā /  
asassatā vipariṇāmadhammā* (AN IV 156–7)

Gain and loss, fame and infamy /  
 praise and blame, pleasure and suffering /  
 among humans these phenomena are impermanent /  
 temporary, fickle things.

It is worth noting that while G reads *akirti*, P has in every instance of this group the pair of terms *nindā* “blame, fault, disgrace” and *pasamsā* “praise, acclamation.”

These four items also partly correspond to a set of seven conditions in the Kodhana Sutta in which the Buddha describes seven conditions that an angry man’s enemies wish upon him.

These seven are:

*Aho vatāyaṃ dubbaṇṇo assā...Aho vatāyaṃ dukkhaṃ sayeyyā...Aho vatāyaṃ na pacurattho assā...Aho vatāyaṃ na bhogavā assā...Aho vatāyaṃ na yasavā assā...Aho vatāyaṃ na mittavā assā...Aho vatāyaṃ kāyassa bhedā paraṃ marañā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjeyyā* (AN IV 94–9).

May he be ugly! May he sleep poorly! May he be bountiless! May he be penniless! May he not be glorious! May he be friendless! Upon the breakup of his body, after death, may he be reborn in a worse place, in a place of loss, in hell!

Once more the P differs in word choice but agrees with the G in general meaning, with our text using nouns rather than adjectives. *Dukkha* occurs in the P, but with reference to how one wishes an angry man to sleep: poorly. In our text *duha* occurs as a noun to show that it is something that accrues to an angry man. *Alabho* “loss” corresponds in the Kodhana Sutta to P *na pacurattho* “not bountiful” and *na bhogavā* “not wealthy.” *Ayaso* is the strongest match between the texts, corresponding to P *na yasavā* “not glorious,” while *akirti* has no match in the P, aside from the similar *na yasavā* just mentioned.

A similar set of four consequences occurs elsewhere in the *Pācittiya* in the Theravāda *Vinaya*. The story goes that the unruly nun Thullanandā failed to tell the saṅgha when she

discovered that a fellow nun had become pregnant. When asked why she remained silent,

Thullanandā responded:

*Yo etissā avaṇṇo mayheso avaṇṇo, yā etissā akitti mayhesā akitti, yo etissā ayaso mayheso ayaso, yo etissā alābho mayheso alābho. Kyāhaṃ ayye attano avaṇṇaṃ attano akittiṃ attano ayasaṃ attano alābhaṃ paresaṃ ārocessāmī* (Pācittiya, Dutiyapārājikaṃ, 664)

Whatever fault she has, it's my fault. Whatever ill renown she has, it's my ill renown. Whatever infamy she has, it's my infamy. Whatever loss she has, it's my loss. O worthy ones, what am I to tell others of my own fault, my own ill renown, my own infamy, my own loss?

Here we have *avaṇṇaṃ* “blame, fault” in place of *dukkha*, but *akitti*, *ayaso*, and *alābho* of our text matches more closely than those in the Khodana Sutta.

Finally, the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka has in place of *dukkha apuñña* “unmeritorious.” The story goes that at one time the bodhisattva did a great favor for a king who enjoyed eating human flesh. In payment, the king offered him four boons, one of which the bodhisattva used to ask the king to stop his evil habit. In desperation the king wondered how he could break the habit, given all the evils that had come from it:

*apuññalābhaṃ ayasaṃ akittiṃ /  
pāpaṃ bahuṃ duccharitaṃ kilesaṃ /  
manussamaṃsassa kate upāgā /  
taṃ te varaṃ kiṃti ahaṃ dadeyyaṃ* (Ja 21 463)

Failure to win merit, infamy, disgrace, /  
many evils, bad deeds and stains. /  
I have resorted to these for the sake of (eating) human flesh. /  
How then can I give you this boon?

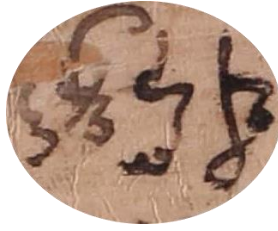


Figure 15: *purekhida*

*purekhidakroṣan.*: *Purekhida* (OIA *puraskṛta*, P *purakkhata*) also occurs in the AG-G<sup>L</sup> with the modified akṣara *k̄* as *purak̄idu*, where it corresponds to OIA *-sk*. (Salomon 2008: 185, §II.6). See §7.3 for a discussion of the unusual footmark in *re*. *Khi* appears to be a correction over an originally written *ti*, as the characteristic head was written separately from the rest of the akṣara (Fig. 15). On the palatalization of *-a-* in *purekhida*, see §6.2.2.1. *Purekhida* here is the prior member of the genitive plural masculine bahuvrīhī compound *purekhidakroṣana* (OIA *puraskṛtakrodhānām*) “of those by whom anger is favored,” meaning people who value anger. OIA *puraskṛta* and P *purakkhata* are typically used in Sanskrit and Pali texts with a positive connotation. In this case, the use of *purekhida* to highlight *kroṣa*, an absolutely negative trait, is unusual.



Figure 16: *sarvam=(\*)va / sarvam.na*

*sarv[am.][va]* ○: The text is damaged so that only the bottoms are visible after the preceding *na* in *purekhidakroṣan*. (Fig. 16). Because of this, the text could read *sarvam=eva* or, just as likely, *sarvamana* “every mind.” The visible portion of the final akṣara shows only a footmark and a trace of ink. When taken together, the footmark and trace of ink resemble the bottom half of *na* or *ṇa*.

## 11.2.2. Line 2: Violence, Yakṣas, and Wailing

Edition:

[19]/// [ś.] r. no uvakramena ◊ yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho ◊ bahopr.l.va vilavi[a  
kro/krudho] ○

Reconstruction:

[19]/// ś(\*a)r(\*a)no uvakramena ◊ yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho ◊ baho-pr(\*a)l(\*a)va  
vilavia kro/krudho ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\*...śaraṇaṃ upakramena | yakṣaḥ śarīraṃ iva anupraviṣṭaḥ | bahupralāpaḥ vilāpitaṃ  
krodhaḥ/kruddhaḥ

Translation:

...(going for) refuge because of an attack. An angry man weeps and wails as if (his) body  
were possessed by a yakṣa.

Text Notes:



Figure 17: ś. r.no uvakramena after digital reconstruction

ś. r. no uvakramena: The fragment showing ś. r. no and the top of uva- has folded back from the recto so that it is only visible on the verso. The downward stroke of na in uvakramena is elongated so that it overlaps with the line below (Fig. 17). I have reconstructed ś(\*a)r(\*a)no based on the little context available, as understood with the singular instrumental uvakramena

(OIA *upakramena*). The meaning could be “(going for) refuge,” perhaps not in the sense of going for refuge in the Buddha, dharma, and saṅgha, but a more practical refuge as a place of safety because of an attack. Edgerton otherwise glosses *upakrama* as “violence, doing violence to..., attack,” which also matches contextually with the reference to a yakṣa in the next pāda (Edgerton 1953: 133). Finally *upakrama* is used in the instrumental in the Milindapañhā in the sense of “medicine” or “remedy”:

*Vāto kho, mahārāja kuppamāno dasavidhena kuppati sītena uñhena jighacchāya  
pipāsāya atibhuttana ṭhānena padhānena ādhāvanena upakkamena  
kammavipākena* (Mil 5.1.8.)

Surely, great king, when the air humor is being riled up, it’s riled up by tenfold things: by hot, by cold, by hunger, by thirst, by overeating, by being stationary, by overexertion, by running about, *by medicine*, and by the ripening of karma.

Understanding *uvakamena* as “by medicine” does have merit if we also read the following *śarira pi* as *śarisapi* (OIA *sarīṣya*, P *siriṣapa*) “snake, reptile,” in which case medicine would refer to remedies for snake venom.



Figure 18: *śarira*

*yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho*: Śa in *śarira* has an elongated left vertical that nearly overlaps with the line below, while *ra* appears squat and has a stem so curved that the akṣara could also be read as *sa*. The correct reading of the third akṣara is crucial, for two separate interpretations (*śarira/śarisa*) are possible, discussed below:

[1] *śarira*: If we understand the reading to be *yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho*, then it is a matter of the nominative singular *yakṣo* entering the accusative singular *śarira* “body,” implying possession by yakṣa. *Pi* in this reading corresponds to OIA *iva*, a similar to form *vi* which occurs in the Rhinoceros Sūtra. Salomon notes that *vi* “evidently corresponds to P *va*/Skt. *iva*. The form may be related to P *viya*, PkT. *viva*, etc.” (Salomon 2000: 171). The Sānu Sutta tells of an *upāsakā*, a female Buddhist lay-follower, whose son Sānu had an unfortunate experience with a yakṣa:

*tena kho pana samayena aññatarissā upāsikāya sānu nāma putto yakkhena gahito hoti* (SN I 448)

Then at that time there was some lay-follower whose son, Sānu by name, was seized by a yakṣa.

Sānu’s mother then explains that those who observe the uposatha days are safe from harrassment by yakṣas, but as her son did not practice ardently, he was fair game for being seized.

How can we assert from this that *gahito* refers to possession in the frequently well-attested sense of having one’s body taken over by a supernatural force? Here we are helped by the commentary of the Saṃyutta Nikāya for this sutta, which glosses the above participle *gahito* as nothing other than *anupaviṭho*, seen in our text:

*yakkhena gahito hotīti yakkhena anupaviṭho hoti* (Sagāthāvagga-Ṭikā, Sānusuttavaṇṇanā, 239)

“he was seized by a yakṣa”: he was possessed by a yakṣa

The participle *anupaviṭho* in P and *anupraviṭho* in our text corresponds to OIA *anu + pra + √viś* which Monier-Williams glosses as “to follow in entering, enter; to attack” (MW 1899: 36), though he gives no source text for the gloss. The upasarga *pra* has no discernible semantic effect on *√viś*, so that both *√viś* and *praviś* similarly mean “enter.” More significant for our context is

the upasarga *anu*, which changes the meaning to something akin to “follow after,” a suitable meaning for possession. Seen in this light of yakṣa activities and intrusions, Edgerton’s gloss of *anupraviṣati* as the otherwise benign “accompanies” takes on a darker meaning (BHSD 1953: 31). Rhys Davids and Stede supply “entered, gone or got into, fallen into” for *anupaviṭṭho* (PTSD 1921-5: 38). In the context of our text and the Sānu Sutta, this range of interpretations is at least not inconsistent with one being haunted by a violent spirit, of violent seizures and possession.

The same story appears in an expanded form in the Dhammapada commentary, in which the commentator casts the spirit as a yakṣiṇī and uses the more precise verb *adhimuccati*, which among less violent meanings such as “to be drawn to,” and “to have faith,” the PTSD glosses as, “of a spirit, to possess, to enter into a body” (MW 1899: 29):

*āgantvā tassa sarīre adhimuccitvā ...* (DhPA, Sānusāmaṇeravatthu, 5)

Having come and possessed his body...<sup>33</sup>

Given the attestation of *anupaviṭṭho* as a word for yakṣa possession, this reading is the most likely of the three interpretations.

[2.] *śarisa[pi]*: If we interpret the reading to correspond to OIA *sarīṣṛpa*, P *siriṃsapa* “serpent,” the passage reads *yakṣo śarisapi anupraviṭṭho*. The meaning of this passage would be unclear, and reading *śarisa* would be helpful only for the preceding *upakramena* noted above.

---

<sup>33</sup>Another passage from the Milindapañhā is less relevant but worth mentioning for its reference to *yakṣas* and *śariras*, in which the king Milinda asks about the seeming disappearance of *yakṣas* after their death: *Kissa pana bhante nāgasena tesaṃ matānaṃ yakkhānaṃ sarīraṃ na dissati kuṇapagandhopi na vāyatīti* (Mil 6.2.7.) “Then why, venerable Nāgasena, aren’t the bodies of dead *yakṣas* seen or the stench of their bodies smelled?”



Figure 19: *vilavia[a kro/krudho]*

*bahopr.l.va vilavi[a] kro/krudho* ○: A fragment from line one has come to rest on top of *pr.* and *l.*, but the reading *pr(\*a)l(\*a)pa* (OIA *pralāpam*) is secure. Also, some kind of disturbance in the bark has made the following akṣaras blurry, but we can safely read *bahopr(\*a)l(\*a)pa vilavi[a]*. The penultimate akṣara is open to interpretation, as the diacritic mark attached to *k* is obscured due to lamination of the bark. Thus the two akṣaras could likely be read either as *krodha* or *krudha* (OIA *kruddha* “angry”) (Fig. X+5). *Pral(\*a)pa* and *vilavi[a]* both develop from OIA  $\sqrt{lap}$ , glossed as “to utter moaning sounds, wail, lament, bewail...to speak variously, talk, chatter” (MW 1899: 984). *Pral(\*a)pa* (OIA *pralāpa*) and *vilavi[a]* (OIA *vilapita*) are nominal derivatives and past participles from this root respectively, with the addition of the prefixes *pra* and *vi* making no discernable difference in interpretation. In the PTSD, we see *vilapati* glossed similarly to *lapati* as “to talk idly...to lament, wail” (PTSD 1921–5: 634). Both *vi* and *pra* encompass unremarkable chatter and painful moaning and lamenting. A similar P phrase to that seen in this passage highlights the more harmless aspect of *vi* +  $\sqrt{lap}$  and occurs in the Cūḷasaccaka Sutta, in which the brahmin Saccaka fared poorly in a debate against the Buddha. After making a foolish statement, he asked the Buddha to ignore it, saying:

*Vilāpaṃ vilapitaṃ maññe* (MN I 227)

I think it was prattled nonsense.

But for the less trivial shades of meaning, we can return to the commentary of the Dhammapada, which sheds light on this matter of weeping and wailing. Upon being possessed by a yakṣiṇī, the unfortunate victim suffers a terrible fate:

*Agantvā tassa sarīre adhimuccitvā gīvaṃ parivattetvā kheḷena paggharantena bhūmiyaṃ nipati* (DhPA, Sānusāmaṇeravatthu, 5)

After coming and possessing [the victim's] body and after making him spin his neck around, [the yakṣiṇī] fell to the earth foaming at the mouth.

This passage describes in vivid detail the effects of possession and suggests that *bahopr(\*a)l(\*a)va vilavia kro/krudho* in frame 19 serves a similar function. That is, when taken as a whole, *yakṣo śarira pi anupraviṭho*  $\diamond$  *bahopr(\*a)l(\*a)va vilavia kro/krudho*  $\circ$  functions as a simile, comparing an angry man who weeps and wails to someone possessed by a yakṣa.

### 11.2.3. Line 3: Not Witnessing the Three Jewels

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>? + r. ? [◇] ? ? <sup>[19]</sup>so/go pur[va] ki[ṭa] baho [pi]  $\diamond$  budh[e] ca dhame ca taṣiva saṅghe  $\diamond$  pracakhi na kroṣaraṣo maṇuṣya  $\circ$

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>? + r. ?  $\diamond$  ? ? <sup>[19]</sup>so/go purva kiṭa baho pi  $\diamond$  budhe ca dhame ca taṣiva saṅghe  $\diamond$  pracakhi na kroṣa-raṣo maṇuṣya  $\circ$

OIA *chāyā*:

*\*buddhe ca dharme ca tathaiva saṅghe | pratyakṣī na krodharasaḥ maṇuṣyaḥ*

Translation:

... done before. A man whose dominant emotion is anger is not a witness with respect to the Buddha and the dharma and likewise the saṅgha.

Text notes:



Figure 20: ? + r. ?

? + r. ?: Fragment frame 12n has been placed on the upper right portion of the manuscript in frame 19, restoring the bottom halves of five akṣaras for line 3. The second akṣara shows a preconsonantal *r*, and there are the remains of an elongated vertical stem characteristic of this scribe (Fig. 20). The long stem suggests the akṣaras to have been *pa*, *śa*, or *bha*. See, for instance, the *śa* and *bha* in *drodaśia bhavati* at the end of line 6. Such verticals occur in *na*, *śa* and *bha*, however the akṣara is too damaged to read farther.



Figure 21: *so/go pur[va] ki[ta] baho ?*

*so/go pur[va] ki[ta] baho [pi]*: There is a crack in the middle of this line, stretching from *bu* in *budha* in the next pāda to the rest of the line, that prevents a coherent reading of this pāda (Fig. 21). Presumably this same crack occurred in the missing first pāda, considering that the surviving fragment from frame 12 has a cracked top that follows this same line.

*budh[e] ca dhame ca taśiva saṃghe*: The crack so disruptive to the first two pādas softens into a crease as it goes into the third and fourth pādas. This creasing, along with the

scribe's natural tendency to slant his lines down as he goes on, means that the distortion is less of an issue and interferes only with the uppermost parts of the akṣaras.

This pāda presents the *triratna* “Three Jewels,” the Buddha, dharma and saṅgha, in a series of singular locatives. Part of the text above *dh.* in *budh[e]* has delaminated, so that we cannot securely read the singular locative *-e* diacritic, but the context makes this understanding certain. Furthermore, the locative singular ending in G is variable in general. See, for instance, Salomon 2005 (138-9), which lists *e, u, o, a, mi,* and *śpi* as locative singular endings in the Anavatapta-Gāthā (BL 1). In *saṅghe* we have one of only three instances of true anusvāra, the others being *saṃbhavati* (5d) and *aṃtarago* (12c).

*pracakhi na kroṣaraṣo manuṣya* ○: The manuscript has become delaminated above *khi* in *pracakhi*, but the bottom half and context make the reading *khi* and the rest of the line clear. This pāda concerns a nominative singular masculine *manuṣya* “man,” described by the nominative singular masculine bahuvrīhī compound *kroṣaraṣo* (OIA *krodha-rāsaḥ*) as one whose *rasa* “dominant emotion” is anger. Alternatively, *kroṣaraṣo* may correspond to OIA *\*krodharathaḥ* “a chariot that is anger.” In support of this reading we can look to DhP 222, which equates anger to a chariot:

*yo ve uppatitaṃ kodhaṃ, rathaṃ bhantaṃva vāraye  
tamahaṃ sārathiṃ brūmi, rasmiggāho itaro jano* (DhP 222)

Whoever reins in a rising anger, like a swerving and jerking chariot  
I call him truly a charioteer, another man merely holds the reins

In our text this angry man is not a *pracakhi* (OIA *pratyakṣī*) “witness” of the Buddha, dharma, and saṅgha. *Pratyakṣo* occurs in a similar sense in the Mahāyāna text *Lalitavistara*, in the scene in which the bodhisattva in his final life goes to school, and the teacher is astonished by the boy's knowledge:

*Atha viśvāmitra ācāryaḥ pratyakakṣo bodhisattvasya lipijñāne ... (La 102)*

Then the teacher Viśvāmitra was witness to the bodhisattva's art of writing...

Here, as elsewhere, *pratyakṣa* and the possessive *pratyakṣin* govern the locative, in agreement with our text, which has the three jewels in the locative.

#### 11.2.4. Line 4: Angry Snakes

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// [vi]ṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya ◊<sup>[19]</sup> satvana heḍae carati loge ◊ teṣa tiṣo kroṣa samusta  
teno ◊ kopa[ḍi]te mitro paricaye[a] ◊

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>(\*āsi-)viṣa ghora-viṣa ugra-teya ◊<sup>[19]</sup> satvana heḍae carati loge ◊ teṣa tiṣo kroṣa  
samusta teno ◊ kopa-aḍite mitro paricayea ◊

OIA *chāyā*:

\*āśīviṣā ghoraviṣā ugratejasah | sattvānām heḍayā caranti loke | teṣām tīkṣṇaḥ krodhaḥ  
samutthitas tena | kopārditān mitraḥ parityajet

Translation:

Snakes with fierce heat and terrible venom act angrily toward beings in the world. And with that, bitter anger arises toward them. A friend would abandon those who are afflicted with anger.

Text Notes:

/// [vi]ṣa ghoraviṣa ugrateya: The manuscript is damaged so that the first three akṣaras are unreadable, although one can make out an *-i* vowel marker before the first visible character *ṣa*. The rest of the pāda presents no difficulties, as a similar phrases involving *ghoraviṣa* occurs

in a great many P texts. The Āsīvisopama Sutta begins with the Buddha asking his listeners to imagine angry snakes in similar terms to those of in frame 19:

*Seyyathāpi bhikkhave cattāro āsīvisā uggatejā ghoravisā* (SN IV 172)

Suppose, o monks, there are four vipers with fierce passion and terrible venom.

Variations of *uggatejo* and *ghoraviso* serve as the standard descriptors for snakes throughout the P canon, appearing in *urago uggateja āsīviso sappo* (Jā VII 348), *āsīvisaṃ ghoraviṣaṃ* (MN I 227), and *āsīvisassa ghoravisassa* (MN II 252). In the Theravāda Vinaya we find *iddhimā āsīviso ghoraviso* “a powerful snake with terrible venom” (Pācittiya, Surāpānavagga, Surāpānasikkhāpadam, 326), and likewise in the Mahākhanda the Buddha describes a certain dwelling as *nāgarājassa iddhimato āsīvisassa ghoravisassa* “that of the powerful nāga-king, the serpent with terrible venom (Mahāvagga, Uruvelapātihāriyakathā, 38).

Furthermore, serpents and anger often go hand-in-hand. In the Dutiyakaṇhasappa Sutta, the Buddha lists *kodhano* and *ghoraviso* as two of the five dangers of a black snake (AN III 260). Returning to the Āsīvisopama Sutta, the Buddha continues his snake simile and says that four snakes must be well cared for and put to sleep at the proper time. Otherwise:

*Yadā ca kho te ambho purisa imesaṃ catunnaṃ uggatejānaṃ ghoravisānaṃ  
aññataro vā aññataro vā kuppissati tato tvaṃ ambho purisa maraṇaṃ vā  
nigacchasi maraṇamattaṃ vā dukkhaṃ* (SN IV 172)

Look here, man! Just when one or another of these four [snakes] with fierce passion and terrible venom gets angry, then oh man! You’ll suffer death or suffering equal to death.

Lastly, the Āsīvisa Sutta makes this connection explicit. After explaining that there are four kinds of snakes, depending on the potency of their venom, the Buddha states that people also have venom that can be fast-acting and lethal. And in the case of people, their venom is nothing other than anger.

*Kathañca bhikkhave puggalo āgataviso hoti na ghoraviso? Idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo abhiñhaṃ kujjhati. So ca khvassa kodho na dīgharattaṃ anuseti. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave puggalo āgataviso hoti na ghoraviso. Seyyathāpi so bhikkhave āsīviso āgataviso na ghoraviso tathūpamāhaṃ bhikkhave imaṃ puggalaṃ vadāmi (AN II 110).*

And how, monks, is a person someone whose venom is fast-acting but not terrible? Here, monks, some person is often angry. But his anger does not last a long time. In this way, monks, [such] a person is one whose venom is fast-acting but not terrible. Just as a snake whose venom is fast-acting but not terrible, monks, in that same way do I label this person.

The Buddha continues by sorting through different combinations of venom being fast-acting and lethal, but always anger is likened to a snake's venom. Based on these semi-parallels, we can confidently reconstruct the missing akṣaras in the beginning of this line and supply the nominative plural masculine (*\*aśivi*)ṣa (OIA *āsīviṣāḥ*).

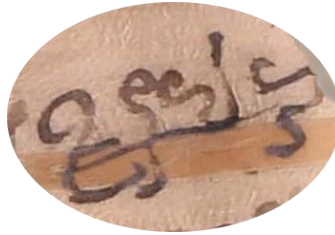


Figure 22: *satvana he* with horizontal crack or ink

*satvana heḍae carati loge*: The rest of the line is in good condition, aside from a damaged akṣara in pāda d, making this line the most complete and readable in the manuscript. A horizontal line stretches across the middle of *satvana he*, resembling either a crack in the manuscript or ink (Fig. 22). This could be determined if infrared photographs were available. I am inclined to consider it to be a crack, given that the line stretches across the word boundary between *satvana* and *heḍae*, and the line is noticeably narrower than is seen in nearby akṣaras. But the possibility also exists that a scribe at some later time crossed out the akṣaras using a sharper pen, without replacing the crossed out akṣaras.

Here we see an instance of the objective genitive in the plural *satvana* (OIA *satvānām*) “toward beings.” In the instrumental singular feminine *heḍae* = OIA *heḍayā* “anger, passion, hatred” from the Vedic root  $\sqrt{heḍ}$  or  $\sqrt{heḷ}$  “to be or make angry or hostile.” Developments from these roots include the OIA masculine *heḷa* “anger, passion, hatred., and P derivatives include *hīḷenti* (DN II 275) and *hiḷheti* (Jā IV 446). Noteworthy too is that *heḍae* is declined in the feminine in our text rather than in the masculine, as in the Vedic *heḷa*.

The first finite verb in our text occurs in *carati*, which at first glance might appear to be a third-person singular present in *-ati*. However, the common third-person singular in G being *-adi*, *carati* is most likely in the third person plural. The overwhelming attestation of plural forms in such P passages as *āsīvisā uggatejā ghoravisā* suggests a third-person plural, corresponding to OIA *caranti*, as well as the plural forms of the G nouns that precede the verb, reinforce this.

No space is given to indicate the end of a pāda, and this is reflected in the transcript. I attribute this lack of pāda space to the scribe rather than the verse structure or text.

*teṣa tiṣo kroṣa samusta teno*: The objective genitive occurs again in the genitive plural *teṣa* (OIA *teṣām*), referring to *satvana* in pāda b. The nominative singular *tiṣo* = OIA *tīkṣṇa*, with the nasal having been metathesized. The probable sequence of developments would have been: OIA *tī-kṣṇa* → *\*tī-ṣṣṇo* → G *tiṣo* (cf. Salomon and Baums 2007: 212). Here *tiṣo* modifies the subject *kroṣa*, despite the ending in *-o* whereas *kroṣa* ends in *-a*. In *samusta* (OIA *samutthitaḥ*) there is the single instance of the syllable *mu*. In form *samusta* differs from other G attestations. Firstly, the use of *sta* is irregular, as every other attestation of the word makes use of the character *śh*. Brough suggests that *sta* and *stha* had ceased to be distinct at some point, pointing to Niya documents which show that OIA *stha* consistently corresponded with G *tha* or *sta* (Brough 1962: 75–76). Secondly, *samusta* does not bear the expected participle marker *-ita* or -

*ida* that we find in other forms. Other attestations of the form are: *samu[ṭh]ida* (BL 4, Bajaur 2), *samu[ṭh]ida* (Split 3), and *samuḥido* (Bajaur 5). The instrumental singular pronoun *teno* functions as the correlative “in this way, on that account” to the implied relative *yena* “in what manner.”

*kopa[ḍi]te mitro parica[ye][a]* ○: The third-person optative singular *parica[y]e[a]* (OIA *parityajet*) has *mitro* as its subject and *kopa[ḍi]te* as its object. The *ḍi* in *kopa[ḍi]te* appears to be a correction over an originally written *ti*. *Kopa[ḍi]te* occurs as the only accusative plural masculine ending in *-e*. Beneath *mi* in *mitro* there is a footmark in the shape of anusvāra that connects to the bottom of the *-i* vowel marker. The final akṣara in the line is damaged so that only the very top of the character is visible. I have supplied the reading *[a]* so that the optative takes a similar form to the third-person singular optative P *pariccajeyya* and the corresponding G form *paricaea* in Bajaur 11.

#### 11.2.5. Line 5: Intoxicated by Anger

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*krodhena mata [k.r.]di akario* ◇ <sup>[19]</sup>*k[a]ria ca havedi suha idi [o]* ◇ *a.h. ? + + +*  
*[aśava m.go]* ◇ *bhagiduhō saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*krodhena mata karodi akario* ◇ <sup>[19]</sup>*karia ca havedi suha idi o* ◇ *a.h. ? + + + [aśava*  
*m.go]* ◇ *bhagi-duho saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i*

OIA *chāyā*:

\**krodhena mattaḥ karoti akāryaṃ | kāryaṃ ca hāpayati sukhaṃ iti ... | ... āśravamargaḥ |*  
*bhāgīduḥkhaḥ saṃbhavati...*

## Translation:

Intoxicated by anger, one does what shouldn't be done and abandons what should be done, [thinking "this is] happiness" ... the path of *āśravas* ... and becomes a partaker of suffering ...

## Text Notes

*krodhena mata [k.r.]di tadi akario*: In contrast with line 4, which presents little difficulty in reading, this line is badly damaged. The manuscript was creased and folded horizontally in the middle of this line, but here the damage is far greater than that seen in line 3. The scribe's tendency to slope his lines as he writes proves to be both boon and bane for this line. Pāda a was written well above the folding line and has survived relatively unscathed as two separate fragments now preserved in frame 12. *Krodhena mata k(\*a)r(\*o)di akario* is fairly straightforward, describing one who is *mata* (OIA *matta*) "intoxicated" by anger, and who does *akario* (OIA *akārya*, P *akāriya*) a deed that is "not to be done."

*k[a]ria ca havedi suha idi [o]*: Pāda b likewise has survived in fair condition, save for the final two akṣaras. *K[a]ria* likely corresponds to OIA *kārya* and P *kāriya* "to be done, duty," forming a contrast with *akario* in the previous pāda. *Havedi* is the causative third-person singular present form from the OIA  $\sqrt{hā}$  "to abandon" and takes the ending *-di* similarly to *[k.r.]di* in pāda a. Every other instance of the third-person singular present appears as *-(a)ti* and is indistinguishable from the third-person plural in *-ati* (see §8.3.1.). This differs from the usual G third-person singular ending *-adi*. *Idi* indicates the motivation of such a person: doing the wrong thing, he thinks it is happiness. *[o]* has yet to be interpreted.



Figure 23: *a.h. ? + + + [aśava m.go]*

*a.h. ? + + + [aśava m.go]*: Pāda c took the brunt of the damage from the folding, being right in the line of fire. The first half of the pāda is missing save the top of a single akṣara, although the second half remains with only a small horizontal break that leaves out a small part of the middle of the akṣaras (Fig. 23). I have tentatively read these five akṣaras as *[aśavamago]*, with *aśava* corresponding to OIA *āśrava* “taints, oozes” that befuddle the mind and stop one from progressing in the dharma. *[aśavamago]* then corresponds to *āśravamargaḥ*, the path of *āśravas*. This reading is supported by the context, as the other pādas in the line discuss things that are not beneficial for one’s karmic destiny. That no such term occurs elsewhere casts doubt on this interpretation, however, and further digital reconstruction may clarify the reading.



Figure 24: *saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i*

*bhagiduhu saṃbhavati ? ? .o/i*: The folding line appears above pāda d, so that this final pāda has fared better (Fig 24). It elaborates upon the poor fate that befalls people, presumably for being angry, as they are characterized by the compound *bhagiduhu* (OIA *bhāgīduḥkham*), one who partakes in (OIA *bhāgin* “enjoyer, owner”) of suffering. This is the only example of a

reverse compound in the text: *bhagiduhō* rather than the otherwise expected *duhabhagi*. Such compounds appear occasionally in Sanskrit, such as *dantajāta*, a baby whose teeth have come in, rather than *jātadanta*.

Only the final three akṣaras have suffered damage, and these to their top halves. Of the first of these bottom halves only a faint trace of ink is legible, possibly suggesting *ta*. The second is distinctive for the two exaggerated footmarks to the left, suggesting the akṣara to be *śa* or *bha*. The final akṣara is illegible save for a long vowel marker that could be read *.o* or *.i*.

#### 11.2.6. Line 6: Anger Makes You Ugly

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// ? ? manuśa ◊ i ? .u <sup>[19]</sup>? ? ? ? [vraya]ti ◊ sayi punu eti manuṣyabhavo ◊ drovana  
drodaśia bhavati ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// ? ? manuśa ◊ i ? .u <sup>[19]</sup>? ? ? ? vrayati ◊ sayi punu eti manuṣya-bhavo ◊  
drovana drodaśia bhavati ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\* ...manuṣya ... / ... vrayati / sacet punar eti manuṣyabhāvaṃ / durvarṇāḥ durdarśikāḥ  
bhavanti

Translation:

... is reborn. If one reaches a human birth again, they become discolored and ugly.

Text notes:



Figure 25: /// ? ? ? ? ? [vraya]ti before and after colors inverted for clarity

/// ? ? manuśa ḍ i ? .u ? ? ? ? ? [vraya]ti: Lines 6–9 have suffered more damage to their first two pādas than other lines. The first pādas have been restored after placing three smaller fragments in frame 12, forming the composite fragment 12h+i+d. The top half of the right-most akṣaras in this pāda are too fragmentary and delaminated to read, while *manuśa* is clear. Roughly half of the second pādas of these lines have been digitally restored. As discussed in §5.2.2., the fragment with these pādas broke off from its original position and became delaminated, so that the preserved fragment is a lower layer with only faintly visible ink. Digital reconstruction and color inversion fortunately allow us to read these pādas to some extent (Fig. 25). The traces of eight akṣaras are visible in pāda b. Only the footmarks and bottoms of akṣaras have survived, from which we can only conjecture. The first akṣara has a shape resembling the bottom of *ta*, but not well enough to justify the reading. The fourth akṣara bears a footmark resembling post-consonantal *-ya* or the one in *-re-* in 1d, for which see Fig. 15.

The only akṣara that we can reconstruct with confidence is the final one in pāda b, *ti*, which I understand to be the third-person singular ending for the present verb [vraya]ti. A postconsonantal *ra* is clearly visible in the third-to-last akṣara [+ (i.e., *vra*)]. The most common conjuncts being *vra* and *kro*, and there being no vowel marker suggesting *kro*, *vra* is most likely to have been written here. This leaves us with the third-person singular present *vrayati* (OIA *vrajati*) “he is reborn.” In any case, reading *vrayati* has contextual support from the following pādas, which describe rebirth as a human, and *vrayati* occurs elsewhere in 13b. Based on this reading of *vrayati*, the preceding passage may have concerned rebirth in a lower realm, as in the

similar passage in the Cuḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta which uses *upapajjati* before discussing rebirth in the human realm:

*No ce kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati, sace manussattaṃ āgacchati yattha yattha paccājāyati dubbannaṃ hoti* (MN III 203).

But if, upon the breakup of his body, after death, he is not reborn in a worse place, in a place of loss, in hell, and instead arises in the human realm, wherever he is reborn he is ugly.

*sayi punu eti maṇuṣyabhavo*: The reading of this pāda presents little difficulties. The first akṣara, *sa*, is damaged from the displacement of the fragment mentioned above, so that only the tip of the top curl and the bottom left footmark are visible without digital reconstruction. *Sayi* (OIA *sacet*, P *sace*) introduces a conditional clause. *Punu* is widely attested in G (for instance, in the Split and British Library collections and Dhp-G<sup>K</sup>) as a variant of G *puna* (OIA *punar*, P *puna* and *pana*) “again.” *Eti* supplies a third-person singular present verb from OIA  $\sqrt{i}$  “to go.” In this case one goes to *maṇuṣya-bhavo* (OIA *maṇuṣya-bhāvam*) “state of being human,” i.e., is born as a human being (accusative singular masculine).

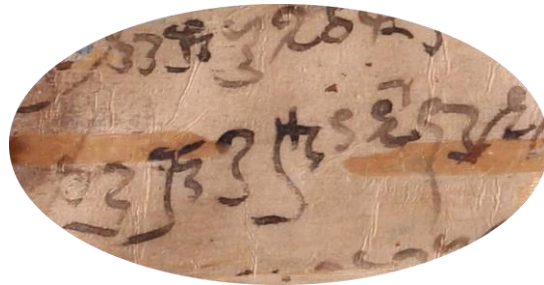


Figure 26: *drovana drodaśia bhavati*

*drovana drodaśia bhavati*: This pāda presents a few noteworthy peculiarities in orthography and phonology. *Drovana* and *drodaśia* (OIA *durvarnāḥ* and *durdarsikāḥ*) both exhibit rhotic metathesis. The scribe has written *na*, *śi*, *bha*, and *va* in curious ways, such that *na* nearly overlaps with the line below, as seen elsewhere in the text, and *śi*, *bha* and *va* bear

footmarks that dip far below the line of writing and curve to the left in an exaggerated manner. Finally, the scribe has written an interlinear notation to the left of *drovana* and the right of *drodaśia*, consisting of a short, straight vertical and a short, straight horizontal to the left. There is no explanation for the function of this notation.

The reading is straightforward. *Drovana* and *drodaśia* describe the state of someone who has been reborn as human. Namely, they are ugly, not good-looking. For an in-depth discussion of the trope of ugliness as the karmic result of anger, see chapter 3. The only matter of contention concerns the verb *bhavati*: does the verb correspond to the OIA third-person singular *bhavati* or the third-person plural *bhavanti*? The following adjectives *drovana* and *drodaśia* help us little in this regard, as they can be read as singular or plural. Throughout the text we find nominative singular masculine adjectives in both *-a* and *-o*: *akrośa* (14d), *suhida* (13a), *tiśo* (4c), *suaro* (7d), a variability similar to that noted in GBT 1 (Salomon 2000: 94). The case could be made that the footmark beneath *va* is no footmark at all and is instead anusvāra. This would render the reading as plural *bhavanti* “they are.” However, a number of considerations contradict this reading. The surrounding akṣaras bear similar footmarks that are contextually impossible to interpret as anusvāra. The footmark on *va* does not closely resemble the anusvāra seen elsewhere, as in *saṃ* in the line above (see Fig. 26). Furthermore the scribe elsewhere omits anusvāra when the context calls for it. This pāda supplies the necessary effect of the conditional statement told in pāda b *sayi punu eti manuṣyabhavo* “if one is reborn as man,” a statement in which the finite verb *eti* is in the singular. Finally, there are a number of parallels in P commentaries involving *dubbaṇṇo* and *duddasiko* in the singular: *dubbaṇṇopi hoti duddasiko* (Visuddhimagga-Mahāṭikā 259), *dubbaṇṇo duddasiko* (Tikanipātapāḷi, Āsaṃsasuttaṃ, 13; Catukkanipāta, Tamotamasuttaṃ,

85; Puggalapaññatti, 168; Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā, Cūḷavagga, 61; Sagāthāvagga-Ṭikā, Dubbaṇṇiyasuttavaṇṇanā, 268).<sup>34</sup>

### 11.2.7. Line 7: Pigs, Humans, and Monks

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// ga [n.] re [n.] ◇ *aveniyo* <sup>[19]</sup>*suarabhavam=eti* ◇ *manuṣyabhavo uvagami p.n.* ◇ *yo suaro [a] ayurmena* ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// ga [n.] re [n.] ◇ *aveniyo* <sup>[19]</sup>*suara-bhavam=eti* ◇ *manuṣya-bhavo uvagami p(\*u)n(\*u)* ◇ *yo suaro [a] ayurmena* ○

OIA *chāyā*:

*\*āveṇikaṃ sūkarabhāvaṃ eti | manuṣyabhāvaṃ upāgami punaḥ | yo sukaḥ āyuṣmena*  
...

Translation:

...goes to an appropriate birth as a pig. He reached a human birth once again, and whatever pig by a monk...

Text notes:

/// ga [n.] re [n.] ◇ *aveniyo suarabhavam=eti*: Only four akṣaras of the first pāda have survived, with no clear reading. The content of this second pāda continues the theme in earlier lines of some being or beings suffering through unfortunate births, presumably as a result of anger. While the entire pāda has not survived, the surviving portions make up a verb and an

---

<sup>34</sup> I would like to thank Mark Allon for bringing a number of these to my attention.

object: third person singular *eti* “goes to” and the accusative singular masculine compound *suara-bhavam* (OIA *sūkara-bhāvam*) “existence as a pig.” Otherwise, *suara* may correspond to OIA *sukara* meaning “easy to be done.” I favor the former reading, as the trope of being reborn as a pig appears in an avadāna text in BL fragment 12, where we read: *ka///(\*da)mago namo pido hovadi so suarayonige uvagado* “His father was named Kadamaga and was reborn in the womb of a pig.” A further reason to favor reading *sūkaraḥ* comes from the chapter on *krodha* in the Khotan Dharmapada. There Brough gives the following reading: *kodhaṇo su'aro bhodi* “An angry man becomes a pig,” an unmistakable literary connection between *krodha* and pigs (Brough 1962: 164).



Figure 27: *p.n.*

*manuṣyabhavo uvagami p.n.*: The first two akṣaras of this line, *ma* and *nu*, belong to the same fragment (frame 12h+i+d) that supplies pāda b. This pāda presents little difficulty in reading and no noteworthy orthographic features. The final two akṣaras, *p.* and *n.*, have delaminated so that only their tops are visible, however the contexts suggest the reading *p(\*u)n(\*)*, in accord with the spelling *punu* in 6c (Fig. 27). The scribe again makes use of the compound *manuṣyabhavo*, with the accusative singular masculine. However, here the scribe forgoes the third-person present verb *eti* seen elsewhere in favor of the preterite *uvagami* (OIA *upāgamat*, P *upāgami*), “he/she went,” from OIA *upa* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$  “to arrive, reach.” With this use of the preterite, it is possible that the text is now referring to a particular being who reached a human birth, rather than a general description as in *eti*.



Figure 28: *yo suaro [a] ayurmena*

*yo suaro [a] ayurmena* ○: The delamination that resulted in the loss of the bottoms of *p*. and *n*. in pāda c continues as a long, horizontal strip that damages the middle of the following five akṣaras (Fig. 28). The damage does not prevent a secure reading, however. In this pāda occurs the first of two instances in the text of the nominative singular masculine relative pronoun *yo* (OIA and P *yo*), the other occurring in frame 12i. [A] presumably corresponds to OIA *ca* “and.” Here we see the variation in the scribe’s forms of *a*, for the two *a*’s side-by-side in [a] *ayurmena* differ greatly in size. The former is much grander and has a long footmark to the left, while the latter is half the size and has only a short tick to the left for a footmark.

In *ayurmena* we see the scribe’s use of preconsonantal *r* to stand for the former member of a consonant cluster. In this case *ayurmena* represents *āyurṣmena*, the instrumental singular masculine form corresponding to OIA *āyurṣmatā*. Literally “one possessed of *āyus* ‘life’, long-lived” it is often used as an honorific for Buddhist monks (MW 1899: 149). The form *āyurṣmant* occurs in P as well, again referring to a respectful title for monks, though the variant *āyurṣmantā* is more prevalent (PTSD 1921–5: 104). But metrical considerations complicate this reading, as it produces a pāda with only nine akṣaras.

Once more the reading centers on the interpretation of *suario* as corresponding to OIA *sūkara* “pig” or *sukara* “easy to be done,” as the reading could be “and whatever pig by a

monk...” or “and whatever is easily done by a monk.” The occurrence of *suara* twice in this verse is unusual; either the poet is punning off the similarity of *suara* = OIA *sūkaraḥ/sukaraḥ*, or this second *suaro* also means “pig.” I am inclined to favor the latter interpretation on account of its coherence, though the word has yet to be solved.

#### 11.2.8. Line 8: Not Flourishing in the Field of Dharma

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>///*[va]se mane labhe sakare ya [bhi/kh.]* ◇ *sa* <sup>[19]</sup>? *[na]stigavuti ? sa* ◇ *sadhame so na viruhea jano* ◇ *kṣetro yaṣa pudibie pravuto* ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>///*[va]se mane labhe sakare ya [bhi/kh.]* ◇ *sa* <sup>[19]</sup>? *nastigavuti ? sa* ◇ *sadhame so na viruhea jano* ◇ *kṣetro yaṣa pudi-bie pravuto* ○

OIA *chāyā*:

*\*vāse māne lābhe sakkāre ca ... | ... nāstikavṛttiḥ ... | saddharme saḥ na virohet janaḥ | kṣetre yathā pūtibījam proptaḥ*

Translation:

Regarding dwelling, respect, gain, and honor ...one who follows the *nāstika* way of life ...

That person may not flourish in the good dharma, like a rotten seed sown in a field.

Text notes:

///*[va]se mane labhe sakare ya [bhi/kh.]*: Of the four first pādas preserved on fragment 12h+i+d, this pāda has fared the best, and two semi-parallels aid in interpretation. The first is a passage from the Milindapañhā. Nāgasena explains to the king that just as a lotus grows out of muck but is unstained:

*Evameva kho, mahārāja, yoginā yogāvacarena kule gaṇe lābhe yase sakkāre  
sammānanāya paribhogapaccayesu ca sabbattha anupalittena bhavitabbaṃ*

Just so, o great king, a yogī engrossed in yoga, should be unstained among family, tribe, fame, worship, acclaim, food and necessities.

We are presented with a series of locative nouns in which a virtuous monk is engrossed and is unstained by, while a layman or unvirtuous monk would become entranced by them. This sentiment appears also in DhP 73, in which unruly monks may desire improper things:

*asantaṃ bhāvanaṃ iccheyya purekkāraṃ ca bhikkhusu  
āvāsesu ca issariyaṃ pūjaṃ parakulesu ca (DhP 73)*

He may desire respect that does not exist, and pride of place among monks, and authority in dwelling-places, and honor among others

*Āvāsesu* in this passage may bear some relation to *[va]se* in our passage, allowing us to read the pāda as a series of abstract and ultimately fruitless goals: money, authority, fame, and so forth.

There is some damage and fragmentation between this series of locatives and the following pāda, hindering a secure reading.

*sa ? [na]stigavuti ? sa*: Nine akṣara have survived for this pāda, with the first one, *[na]*, missing its middle portion. A long diagonal fold stretches across the height of this fragment and distorts the akṣara immediately after *vuti*, however *sa* can be read clearly after that. The distorted akṣara is possibly *kro*, potentially giving another instance of *krosa*, though with unmodified *sa* rather than the expected *ḡ*. The securely read *[na]stiga* (OIA *nāstikaḥ*, P *natthika*) refers to a non-believer, someone who does not accept the Buddhist position on rebirth and karma. Here it is the first member of a bahuvrīhi compound with *vuti*, corresponding to OIA *vṛtti* “way, behavior.”

*sadhame so na viruhea jano* ◊ *kṣetro yaṣa pudibie pravuto* ○: Subfragments 3 and 4 in frame 19, discussed in §5.3.1., complete *sadha* and *jano* of the first pāda when restored to their

original position. These two pādas are best discussed as a whole, for together they reflect a popular image in which the *sadhame* (OIA *saddharme*) “good dharma” is a *ksetro* (OIA *ksetre*) “field” in which only good seeds grow. The use of *-o* for the locative is attested in the Rhinoceros Sūtra (Salomon 2000, 98) and RS 20 (Marino 2017, 140). *So* (OIA *saḥ*) “he/that” refers to the nominative singular masculine *jano* (OIA *janaḥ*) who is equated with the nominative singular neuter *puḍibie* (OIA *pūti-bījam*) “rotten seed.” Just as this rotten seed when sown in a field, the person in question cannot flourish in the good dharma. The verb in question is the third person singular optative *viruhea* (OIA *virohet*, P *viruheyya*) “may not sprout/grow.”

This simile is of particular relevance to the wider attention to *krodha* in our text when we consider the Paṭhamakodhagaru Sutta. In it, the Buddha uses the popular simile to equate rotten seeds with monks who value anger:

*Cattāro me bhikkhave asaddhammā. Katame cattāro? Kodhagarutā na saddhammagarutā, makkhagarutā na saddhammagarutā lābhagarutā na saddhammagarutā sakkāragarutā na saddhammagarutā. Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro asaddhammā.*

*Cattāro me bhikkhave saddhammā. Katame cattāro? Saddhammagarutā na kodhagarutā saddhammagarutā na makkhagarutā saddhammagarutā na lābhagarutā saddhammagarutā na sakkāragarutā. Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro saddhammāti.*

*kodhamakkhagaru bhikkhu  
lābhasakkāragāro  
sukhette pūtibījaṃ va  
saddhamme na virūhati.*

*ye ca saddhammagaruno  
vihaṃsu viharanti ca  
te ve dhamme virūhanti  
snehānvayamivosadhāti (AN II 46)*

Four things, monks, are evil practices. Which four? Valuing anger, not the good dharma’ valuing hypocrisy, not the good dharma’ valuing wordly gain, not the

good dharma; valuing honor, not the good dharma. These four things, monks, are evil practices.

Four things, monks, are good practices. Which four? Valuing the good dharma; not anger, valuing the good dharma; not hypocrisy, valuing the good dharma; not worldly gain, valuing the good dharma, not honor. These four things, monks, are good practices.

The monk who values anger and hypocrisy /  
worldly gain and honor /  
does not flourish in the good dharma /  
like rotten seeds in a good field

and those who value the good dharma /  
who act in accord and have acted in accord with it /  
they truly flourish in the dharma /  
like lovingly tended herbs.

Unfortunately, we cannot say for certain whether the *jano* equated with a rotten seed in our text is someone who values anger, but he is evidently a *nāstika*. The possibility is an enticing one however, potentially further tying in the simile with the text as a whole.

### 11.2.9. Line 9: The Highest Dharma

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// [k.]*ṣana duvayam*=[*idi*] *vuta* ◊ *yo duva*[y.] <sup>[19]</sup>*aragi* [*vasia*] /// [*manu* ◊] ? *bhudo*  
*ugrahidaagradhamo* [◊] ? ? .*e* [*ya*] ? ? ? ? ? *kr*[*i*] *ni* ? ◊

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>/// (\**sa*)*k*(\**ro*)*ṣana duvayam*=*idi vuta* ◊ *yo duvay*. <sup>[19]</sup>*aragi* *vasia* /// *manu* ◊ ? *bhudo*  
*ugrahida-agra-dhamo* ◊ ? ? .*e ya* ? ? ? ? ? *kri ni* ? ◊

OIA *chāyā*

*sakrodhanam durvacaḥ iti uktaḥ* | *yo duvayaṃ arāgī vaśika* ... | ... *bhūtaḥ*

*udgrhītāgradharmaḥ* | ...

## Translation:

... is called “the harmful words of angry people.” He who is self-controlled ... under the control of ... a being is one by whom the highest dharma is realized ...

## Text Notes:

/// (\*sa)[k]( \*ro)ṣana duvayam=[idi] vuta: The first two akṣaras of this pāda have not survived, so that the reconstruction (\*sa)k( \*ro)ṣana is provisional. *Duvayam* is secure, although the manuscript has broken off at the middle of the *m*, so that the vowel attached to it is uncertain and can be read as either *-e* or *-i*. Interpreting the vowel as *-e* sways the reading to (\*sa)[k]( \*ro)ṣana duvaya me di vuta, although the meaning is unclear.

/// yo duva[y.] aragi [vasia] /// [manu]: *yo duva[y.]* is clear, although the rest of the pāda is badly delaminated. Eight further akṣaras can be made out, though the reading is uncertain. The diagonal fold that has developed on this fragment complicates the reading of this pāda as well. *Aragi* (OIA *arāgin*) “self-controlled, one without passion” is clear, as is *[manu]*, however the other akṣara are ambiguous. I have supplied the provisional reading *vasia* (P *vasika/vāsika*) “under the control of.” A floating fragment on lines 8-9 (discussed in §5.3.1) obscures our view of the first few akṣaras of the following pāda, though when placed it completes *[manu]*.

? *bhudo ugrahida agradhamo*: Aside from the fragment just mentioned, this pāda is relatively clear in reading and interpretation. However, some uncertainties remain. The floating fragment casts doubt over the beginning of the pāda, and the lack of a space that signifies a pāda break is missing, so that we are unsure about where the pāda ends and the next begins. Several examples from the Saddharmapuṇḍarikā Sūtra, or Lotus Sūtra, shed light on the matter. There we read such verses as *sudurlabho īdrśu agradharmāḥ* and *teṣāṃ ca so bhāṣati agradharmaṃ*. In both of these examples *agradharma* occupies the final position, and are in a similar meter,

suggesting the same to be the case in our text (Saddharmapuṇḍarikā Sūtra 2.136).<sup>35</sup> *Ugrahida* = OIA *udgrhītaṃ*/P *uggahitaṃ* “learn, understand, accept” and is often used to show that one has taken a turn for the better: *uggahitaṃ nirattaṃ* “soullessness is understood” (Cūḷaniddesapāḷi 67), *uggahitaṃ buddhavacanaṃ* “the teaching of the Buddha is understood” (Mūlapaṇṇāsa Aṭṭhakathā 333), *so sammā uggahitaṃ dhammaṃ paṭipadaṃ dīpetvā katheti* “He fully understood the dharma, explained the path, and said...” (Saḷāyatanavagga Aṭṭhakathā 241). In our text it is part of the compound *ugrahida-agradhamo* “one by whom the highest dharma is understood/realized.”



Figure 29: ?? .e [ya] ? ? ? ? ? kr[i] ni ? ○:

?? .e [ya] ? ? ? ? ? kr[i] ni ? ○: There is a large gap between lines 8 and 9 which is wider on its left end (Fig. 29). The slightly diagonal gap perfectly aligns with the diagonal slope of the scribe’s writing, damaging the majority of this final pāda in line 9. There is no secure reading, and only two akṣaras are clear: the final *kr[i]* and *ni*, along with the verse ending marker ○.

<sup>35</sup> I would like to thank Mark Allon for this insight.

## 11.2.10. Line 10: The Wise and the Unwise

Edition:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// *na janati hidahida va* ◊ [*a*]ñānino na a vitvasu sa ◊ kroṣo vaṣae ugami jatu ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// (\**eva*) *na janati hidahida va* ◊ añānino na a vitvasu sa ◊ kroṣo vaṣae ugami jatu ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\**evaṃ na jānanti hitāhitaṃ eva* | *ajñāniṣu na ca vidvatsu saḥ* | *krodhaḥ vadhāya*  
*udāgamat jātu*

Translation:

Thus they don't understand what is beneficial and what is not beneficial. Anger conducive to killing arose among the unwise, but never among the wise.

Text notes:

/// *na janati hidahida va*: The first pāda of this line has not survived, and the first two akṣaras of this pāda are not preserved save for the bottom of one. The remaining akṣaras of this pāda are preserved on Subfragment 5 between lines 14 and 15. I have reconstructed the two missing akṣaras as (\**eva*) based on context, though not with certainty. Reconstructing (\**sata*)*na* (OIA *satvānām*) “for all beings,” on the other hand, has merit as well. The scribe elsewhere writes *satvana* in line 4 with the conjunct consonant *-tv-*, and admittedly the meager trace of ink does not suggest *-tv-*. However, it is hard to ignore the textual attestation of similar phrases in the

Kandaraka Sutta:

*Acchariyaṃ, bhante, abbhutaṃ, bhante. Yāvañcidaṃ, bhante, bhagavā evaṃ manussagahane evaṃ manussakasate evaṃ manussasāṭṭheyye vattamāne sattānaṃ hitāhitaṃ jānāti* (MN I 339).

It's incredible, bhante, it's marvelous, bhante, that the lord knows what is beneficial and not beneficial for beings, with there being such a tangle of humans, such a slop of humans, such a dishonesty of humans.

*añanino na a vitvasu sa*: The first akṣara of this pāda has suffered damage to its top, however context makes the reading *añanino* certain. Though *a* for OIA *ca* is irregular, it does occur, as is attested in such documents as G Rhinoceros Sūtra and the reliquary inscription of Mahazada, Krini and Śamasabaha (Jongeward et al. 2012: 247). The interpretation of this pāda centers around the reading of *vitvasu* rather than *avitvasu*, with *vitvasu* (OIA *vidvatsu*) “among the wise” standing in contrast to *añanino* (OIA *ajñāniṣu*) “among the unwise.” There is reason to render it as *avitvasu*, however, and have the two acting as synonyms. In the Metta-gūmāṇava-pucchā-niddesa, *avidvā* is glossed as *avijjāgato aññāṇī avibhāvi duppañño* “ignorant, unwise, foolish, stupid.” Reading *avidvasu* would thus change the interpretation to “anger conducive to killing does not arise among the stupid and unwise.” This, in turn, puts the pāda more in agreement with the alternative reading of the preceding pāda (*\*sata*)*na janati hidahida va* “he knows what is beneficial and not beneficial for beings.” However, it makes little sense in relation to the rest of the text to say that anger does not arise among the foolish. For this reading I have kept the reading as “anger conducive to killing arose among the unwise, but never among the wise.”

*kroṣo vaṣae ugami jatu* ○: The third-person singular preterite *ugami* functions as a verb of the subject *kroṣo*, while *vaṣae* = OIA *vadhāya*, a dative noun qualifying *kroṣo*: anger that leads to killing or harming others.

## 11.2.11. Line 11: The Highest Goal

Edition:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? <<gi loga [da] ma>> sa hidae na [so] ◇ ? sa utamatha sabhavati [h.se/te] ◇ ? ? ? ?

Reconstruction:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? gi loga da ma sa hidae na so ◇ ? sa utama-atha sabhavati h.se/te ◇ ? ? ? ?

OIA *chāyā*:

\* ... saḥ hitāya na ... | ? sa uttamārthaḥ saṁbhavati ? ?

Translation:

For the beneficial ... The highest goal arises.

Text notes:

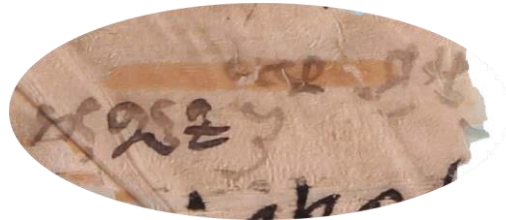


Figure 30: ? <<gi loga [da] ma>> sa hidae na [so]

/// <<gi loga [da] ma>>: A single trace of ink remains of the first pāda of this line, too incomplete to permit a reading. The scribe left blank space in the manuscript between the surviving right edge and the beginning of the line of line 11, as well as writing what appears to be an interlinear notation five akṣaras above the line of writing (Fig 30). Because of this blank space, this pāda is composed of only six akṣaras on the main line. It would be tempting to identify the interlinear notation as an integral piece of the pāda, and including those five akṣaras would bring the akṣara count to the expected eleven syllables. The problem, however, lies in interpreting the interlinear akṣaras, which are not clear. The first akṣara is written in such a way that it resembles both *gi* and *ḍi*. *Lo* is clear, as is *ga*, which in our text usually corresponds to

OIA intervocalic *-g-*, with the exception of *loge* in 4b. A small space has been left blank between these two akṣaras. The reason is unknown, for there does not appear to be a disturbance in the bark that would hinder writing. The final two akṣaras are ambiguous, with one only somewhat resembling *na*, while the second appears to be a small *ma*. It is questionable whether the two are, in fact, separate akṣaras. A small area of the surface has delaminated in the space between the two, so that their separation may be an illusion.

*sa hidae na [so]*: These akṣaras present fewer difficulties in reading, however different interpretations remain. One can read the passage as *sa hidae na [so]*, as I have in the edition, in which case *hidae* corresponds to the OIA adjective *hitāya* declined in the dative singular masculine/neuter. The manuscript has delaminated between *[so]* and *tu* in the following pāda, so that there is uncertainty over where the pāda break belongs.

? *sa utamatha sabhavati [h.se/te]*: The beginning akṣara of this pāda has suffered delamination at both its bottom and upper right portions. Initially the akṣara was read as *[tu]*, though being enclitic, that reading is untenable. *Utamatha* (OIA *uttama-ārthaḥ*, P *uttamattho*) “the highest goal” functions as a synonym for arhantship, the extinguishing of suffering and the goal of practice in non-Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions. This is borne out in the commentary for the Vinayaṭṭaka, where we read:

*uttamatthassāti arahattassa* (Vinayaviniṭṭhaya-Ṭīkā, 1138)

“uttamatthassa”: of arhantship

Similar to line 9, which sees a respite from the negative aspects of *krodha*, this passage gives the reader a glimpse of what comes from abandoning anger: abandoning suffering and saṃsāra as a whole. Only the top halves of the next two akṣaras are visible. The first has a curved top resembling *ha* or independent *a*, while the second resembles *t-* or *s-* with a clearly defined *-e*

diacritic mark. This is distinguishable from *-i* in that the mark does not overlap with the consonant, leaving a small blank space between it and the consonant.

◇ ? ? ? ? : The manuscript has delaminated here so that only four faint traces of ink remain of the entire pāda, too sparse to suggest a reading.

### 11.2.12. Line 12: Anger as Poison

Edition:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? ? ? ◇ ? [ṭh/st]iyo yeya para[hisaga] ◇ acataniṭhasa aṃtarago ◇ krodho jaha  
halahalaviṣa va ○

Reconstruction:

<sup>[19]</sup>/// ? ? ? ◇ ? ṭh/stiyo yeya parahisaga ◇ acata-niṭhasa aṃta-rago ◇ krodho jaha hala-  
hala-viṣa va ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\* ... *parahiṃsakaḥ* | *atyantaniṣṭhasya aṃtarāyam* | *krodhaṃ jahi hālahalaviṣaṃ iva*

Translation:

“ ... and hurtful to others ... Abandon anger, the obstacle of the final goal, as if it were the  
*halāhala* poison.”

Text notes:

/// ? ? ? ◇: The fragment, frame 12k, that once held the first pāda of this line has been replaced, however it has suffered so much damage that only traces of ink remain. In two places we see the scribe’s characteristic exaggerated vertical stems, one of which interferes with the line below.

? *ṭh/stiyo yeya parahisaga*: The first two akṣaras of this line rest on the same fragment as the first pāda, and only the bottom of a single akṣara remains. The scribe dipped his pen with the beginning of a new pāda, but nothing more can be learned from the surviving trace. Nothing remains of the second akṣara, after which the pāda continues on the main fragment in frame 19.

The surviving subfragment with the first pāda does not sit flush with the main fragment, so that only the left half of the following akṣara is preserved. It is composed of a vertical stem with a leftward horizontal stroke on the head and another horizontal stroke in the middle. We are left with an akṣara that could equally be *ṭhi* or *sti*, as the distinguishing feature between the two is whether the middle horizontal stroke is strictly leftward (*ṭhi*) or crosses the vertical stem (*sti*). The final three akṣaras of the pāda have suffered from delamination, but faint outlines of their forms are still visible, allowing us to read *para[hisaka]*, OIA *parahiṃsakaḥ* “hurtful to others.”

*acatanīṭhasa aṃtarago*: The reading of this pāda is straightforward, with the accusative singular masculine compound *aṃtarago* (OIA *aṃta-rāya*) “obstacle, hindrance” being equated with *krodho* in the following pāda. That *-g-* in *aṃtarago* develops from OIA *-y-* can be explained by the “normal tendency towards weakening in the descendants of (*-k-* and *-g-*)” as noted by Brough (1962: 92). “The written signs for these, being associated with a very lax utterance (*ya-śruti*) in certain positions,” he argues, “would then be readily adopted by scribes in words containing (*-y-*).” Here it is in the accusative in *-o*, which occurs in seven out of nine cases in the accusative singular masculine. And what is *krodho* an *aṃtarago* “obstacle” of? For an analysis of *acatanīṭhasa* we must turn to the Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta, in which the brahmin Moggallāna, soon to be a great monk, meets the Buddha and asks if all monks taught by the Buddha achieved their goal:

*Kiṃ nu kho bhoto gotamassa sāvakā bhotā gotamena evaṃ ovaḍīyamānā evaṃ anusāsīyamānā sabbe accantaṃ niṭṭhaṃ nibbānaṃ ārādhenti udāhu ekacce nārādhenti* (MN III 1)

Is it true that disciples of Gotāma, thus taught and thus guided by Gotāma, all fulfill the final goal, nibbāna, or do only some fulfill it?

Here Moggallāna understands *accantaṃ niṭṭhaṃ* as a synonym for awakening. The commentary for the Mahāniddeśa explains the compound in this way:

*Accantaniṭṭhaṃ nibbānaṃ ārādhentīti khayavayasaṅkhātaṃ antaṃ atītanti accantaṃ, accantañca taṃ sabbasaṅkhārānaṃ appavattiṭṭhānattā niṭṭhañcāti accantaniṭṭhaṃ* (Mahāniddeśa Aṭṭhakathā 8)

“They fulfill the final goal, nibbāna”: *accantaniṭṭhaṃ*: *accantaṃ* is recognized by loss and old age. The etymology is “going beyond the end.” And *niṭṭhaṃ* is that *accantaṃ* “going beyond the end,” of all saṅkhāras and is a stillness, a non-happening.

The key difference between *accantaṃ niṭṭhaṃ* in the Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta and *acataniṭṭhasa* in our text is that *niṭṭhaṃ* is the accusative form of the feminine noun *niṭṭhā*, while *niṭṭhasa* is a nominalized past participle in the masculine singular genitive (OIA *niṭṭhasya*, P *niṭṭhassa*). This pāda is best understood along *krodho* in the following pāda: *krodho an aṃtarago* “obstacle” in the way of becoming totally perfected, awakened.

*krodho jaha halahalaviṣa va* ○: This pāda explicitly tells the reader what to do about this anger that holds us back from nīrvāṇa. *Jaha* (OIA *jahi*), third-personal singular imperative, is one of several forms derived from OIA  $\sqrt{hā}$  that appear in G and P texts in connection with *krodha*. Two of these are in various Dharmapadas and similar verse collections: the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> 274 reads *kothu jahi viprayahea maṇa* (Brough 1962: 163), while the P Dhammapada has *kodhaṃ jahe vippajaheyya mānaṃ*, and the Uv reads *krodhaṃ jahed*.

*Halalaviṣa* is a particularly deadly poison cited used in similes in P literature. Forms differ, for it is attested as *hālāhala*, *hālahala*, *hālahāla* and *halāhala* in OIA and *halāhala* in P

(MW 1899: 1293, 1297, PTSD 1921–5: 730). Nāgasena in the Milindapañhā compares a Buddhist monk unknowingly committing an offense and suffering the consequences to a situation in which someone unknowingly ingests the poison and dies soon after (Mil 255). In the Therāpadāna the venerable monk Upāli uses the poison’s potency to explain the dangers of opposing the Buddhist teaching; while the terrible *halāhala* poison can kill a man, the man will only die once, but opposing the teaching leads to eons upon eons of agonies (Therāpadāna I 37).

We have seen already that our text associates anger with venom and snakes, for in line 4 we read of “snakes with fierce passion and terrible venom” lashing out in anger. In this pāda the connection between anger and poison or venom is explicit: one should abandon anger as if it were poison. This use of *halāhala* as a metaphor of *krodha* appears to be unique to our text, for I have yet to find similar uses in P and OIA.

### 11.2.13. Line 13: Abandoning Anger

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*kro[s]o [ca] h[i]da suhida bhavati* ◊ *kroṣo* <sup>[19]</sup>/// *ca hita sugati vrayati*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*kroṣo ca hida suhida bhavati* ◊ *kroṣo* <sup>[19]</sup>/// *ca hita sugati vrayati*

OIA *chāyā*:

\**krodhaḥ ca hīnaḥ sukhitāḥ bhavanti* | *krodhaṃ ca hitvā sugatiṃ vrayanti*

Translation:

Anger is abandoned; they are delighted. And after abandoning anger they go to a good rebirth.

Text notes:

*kro[s]o [ca] h[i]da suhida bhavati*: Beginning with this line we are on firmer ground in our efforts to reconstruct the first pādas of the text. Aside from some delamination that obscures the second and third akṣaras, this pāda is clear. Line 12 ends with an exhortation to abandon anger; this line continues that train of thought by showing what happens once that abandoning takes place. Without anger, beings are *suhida* (OIA *sukhitāḥ*) “delighted.” We also see another instance of the poet punning, this time with *h[i]da* and *suhida*.

*kroṣo /// ca hita sugati vrayati*: This pāda begins on the same fragment as the first pāda, frame 12k, but reaches the main manuscript after *kroṣo*. Along with being *suhida*, those who abandon anger *sugati vrayati* “go to a good rebirth,” reaffirming the principle that *krodha* and the place of one’s rebirth are causally connected: acting out in anger leads to being reborn ugly, and abandoning anger leads to a good rebirth.

While the content of the two pādas of this line are noteworthy, just as noteworthy is the fact that there are only two pādas. The rest of the manuscript in this line is blank, and furthermore it shows no signs of delamination or other damage to the text. Nor do we find the expected punctuation mark ◊ that signals the end of a verse. The reason for this is unknown.

#### 11.2.14. Line 14: Cutting off Craving

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*suha sama[sī] viṣati [a jatū] ◊ ?<sup>[19]</sup>///ga ca niyano yo śatagami ◊ chitvana taṣā  
vidhamita[mo]tro ◊ akroṣa nivuti śidibhuda ◊*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*suha samaṣi viṣati a jatu* ◊ (\**bha*)<sup>[19]</sup>///*ga ca niyano yo śata-gami* ◊ *chitvana taṣa*  
*vidhamita-motro* ◊ *akroṣa nivuti śidi-bhuda* ○

OIA *chāyā*:

\**sukhaṃ samādhiṃ viṣati ca jātu* | *bhāgya ca niryāna yo śāntagāmī* | *chitvā tṛṣṇāṃ*  
*vidhamitamātrā* | *akrodho nirvṛtaḥ śītībhūtaḥ*

Translation:

One is happily and totally engrossed in *samādhi*, happiness and deliverance. Whoever is headed for peace, after cutting off craving, as soon as it is destroyed, he is free from anger, quenched, cooled.

Text notes:

*suha sama[ṣi] viṣati [a jatu]*: This line continues the beneficial karma that comes from abandoning anger. Here we see *sama[ṣi]* (OIA *samādhi*) “concentration,” one of five characteristics associated with a *srotāpanna* (OIA *srotāpanna*) “stream-enterer,” appearing as *sodama[na]* in the following line. Those who have attained the fruit of stream-entry are destined for nirvāṇa within a few lifetimes and their progress cannot be reversed. In an analysis of stream-enterers, an Abhidharmic commentary discusses *samādhi* alongside *saddhā* (OIA *śraddhā*) “faith,” *vīriya* (OIA *vīrya*) “vigor,” *sati* (OIA *smṛti*) “mindfulness,” and *paññā* (OIA *prajñā*) “wisdom.” Each one of these items are described using the term *niyyāniko* “salvifically beneficial, leading to salvation”:

*Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa atthi vīriyaṃ, tañca vīriyaṃ niyyānikaṃ; atthi sati, sā ca sati niyyānikā; atthi samādhi, so ca samādhi niyyāniko...* (Kathāvatthu, tatiyavagga, 371)

The stream-enterer<sup>36</sup> has vigor, and that vigor leads to salvation; he has mindfulness, and that mindfulness leads to salvation; he has samādhi, and that samādhi leads to salvation...

With *sodama[na]* appearing in line 15, this Abhidharmic discussion is tantalizingly helpful for piecing together the following lines. While *samādhi*, *niryāna*, and other relevant items discussed below do occur in our text as well as the commentary, they are not presented in the same ways, and they may be only tangentially or circumstantially related. On the other hand, our text may be presenting similar information to the Kathāvatthu passage, albeit in a more poetic way that verse allows. For instance, *samādhi* appears in our text before any mention of stream-enterers, and our text says only that one who has abandoned anger *suha sama[si] viṣati [a jatu]* “is happily and totally engrossed in *samādhi*.” The Kathāvatthu is further discussed below when relevant.

I understand *viṣati* to correspond to OIA *viṣati* “perform, be engrossed in,” however this reading is unsatisfying. First, the OIA root  $\sqrt{viṣ}$  is archaic and attested only in Vedic material. Second, the verbs commonly used when referring to practicing *samādhi* are *labhati* “get, reach” and *bhāveti* “cultivate, develop,” rather than *viṣati* or a corresponding Pali word. *Viṣati* may otherwise correspond to OIA *viśati* “enter,” however this too is unsatisfying as it would require G ṣ to develop from OIA ś, which is an otherwise stable sibilant in G. I read *viṣati* “be engrossed in,” purely for lack of a convincing alternative.

The final three akṣaras of this pāda have survived only in their top halves, so that the reading *[a jatu]* is defensible in context, but it remains uncertain.

---

<sup>36</sup> *Aṭṭhamakassa puggalassa*, literally “of the eighth person,” referring here to a *sotāpanna*.



Figure 31: ? /// ga ca

? /// ga ca *niyano yo śatagami*: A single akṣara remains questionable at the beginning of this pāda. Our one clue is the following *ga*, which is notably the unmodified form that usually corresponds to OIA *k* or to conjunct consonants beginning with *g* (Fig. 31). The topmost part of the uninterpreted akṣara remains, allowing little conjecture. It is composed of three parts: a circular blot of ink on the left, a curved u-shaped stroke on the right, and a diagonal stroke leading to the upper left. I have reconstructed (*\*bha*)*ga* (OIA *bhāgya*) “welfare, good fortune, happiness,” based on the surrounding words *sama[ṣi]* and *niyano* (OIA *niryāna*) “release, deliverance,” and interpret (*\*bha*)*ga* to be among the good effects that come from abandoning anger. However we lack suitable parallels that support *bhāgya* being among these effects.

An alternative reading of this pāda would be *niyaniyo* (OIA *niryānikaḥ*, P *niyyāniyo*) “[one] headed for salvation” rather than *niyano yo*, understanding *niyaniyo* as a synonym for the following *śatagami* (OIA *śāntagāmī*) “one headed for peace.” The matter hangs on the interpretation of the vowel marker attached to *n* in the third akṣara, which can be seen as *o* or *i*. Both diacritics are placed in the same position in *n* for this scribe, who also has a practice of writing *-o* so that it overlaps with the consonant stem, making *-o* at times indistinguishable from *-i*. But the general interpretation of the line remains the same with either interpretation, with the major difference being the presence or absence of the singular relative pronoun *yo*.

*chitvana taṣā vidhamita[mo]tro*: In *taṣā* (OIA *tṛṣṇā*) “craving” occurs the only instance of the modified akṣara  $\bar{ṣ}$ , consisting of *ṣa* with a horizontal overbar on top. This is the common spelling for the G term corresponding to OIA *tṛṣṇā* (Dhp-G<sup>K</sup>, Rhinoceros Sūtra, 9, 16, Schøyen 8a+8b+9b+10b, Brough 1962: 130).

*[mo]tro* is uncertain due to a diagonal fold in the manuscript that crosses *[mo]* just beneath the consonant. There is a slight trace of ink flowing diagonally from *m* which resembles *-o*, however this presents difficulties for the interpretation. I interpret it as corresponding to OIA *mātrā* “measure, as soon as” in the absence of a more convincing reading.

*akroṣa nivuti śidibhuda* ○: This pāda presents a series of three effects that arise from the cutting off of *tṛṣṇā* “craving.” Two of these, *nivuti* (OIA *nirvṛtiḥ*, P *nibbuti*) “quenching” and *śidibhuda* (OIA *śītibhūtaḥ*) “cooled,” often appear together in the context of awakening. The two appear in BL 1 as *śidihodo śpi ṇibudu* “I was cooled and calmed,” (Salomon 2005: 180). The commentary on the P Dhammapada even glosses *śītibhūta* as *nibbuta*:

*śītibhūtanti nibbutaṃ* (DhPA, naṭaputtakatteravatthu, 418)

“*śītibhūtaṃ*” means *nibbutaṃ*

That *akroṣa* (OIA *akrodha*) “unangry” appears alongside these associates a lack of anger with arhantship. The form of *nivuti* is problematic: that its form corresponds to OIA *nirvṛtiḥ* “quenching” is certain, however this nominal form is out of place in a series of adjectives with *akroṣa* and *śidibhuda*. Because of this, context demands that we understand it as an adjective corresponding to OIA *nirvṛtaḥ*

## 11.2.15. Line 15: Stream-Enterers

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*prahahi paca <<dhama>> cedaṣa vi + + + + +* <sup>[19]</sup>*[v]iṇodaīta ede sarve*  
*supraṣaṇamaṇaṣo* *◇* *ṣuda trarya bharṣamaṇa sodama[ṇa] stitviya*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*prahahi paca dhama cedaṣa vi + + + + +* <sup>[19]</sup>*viṇodaīta ede sarve supraṣaṇa-maṇaṣo*  
*◇* *ṣuda trarya bharṣamaṇa sodamaṇa stitviya*

OIA *chāyā*:

*\*prajahi pañca dharmān cetasaḥ ... | vinodya ete sarve suprasannamānasāḥ | śrutāḥ*  
*trayaḥ bhāṣyamāna srotāpannaḥ sthāpayitvā*

Translation:

Dispel the five things with the mind ... After dispelling these they were all clear minded.  
 The three heard what was being said and were established as stream-enterers.

Text notes:

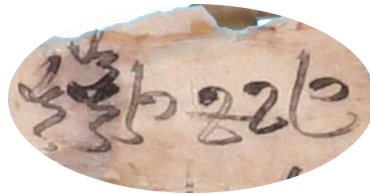


Figure 32: *prahahi paca <<dhama>>*

Lines 15–17 mark a turning point in the *\*Kroṣa-gaṣa* in three ways. There is a clear change in hand characterized by dramatic scribal flourishes, and the verse structure changes to a different meter in eight syllables that resembles śloka. In content too lines 15–17 diverge from the unifying idea of *krodha* seen in lines 1–14; *krodha* and similar words do not appear at all in these final three lines. These lines do, however, continue the general trend from bad to good

karmic results, and mention *sodama[ṇa]* “stream-enterers,” soon to be enlightened beings, and *taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu* “happiness frequently enjoyed in every birth.” There is a measure of continuity with the rest of the manuscript. But given the change in hand and meter and the noticeable absence of *krodha*, we cannot be certain that lines 1–14 and 15–17 were written at the same time, or that the scribe responsible for lines 15–17 intended to continue the text begun in 1–14 and present the manuscript as a unified whole.

*prahahi paca <<dhama>> cedaṣa vi + + + + +*: The first pādas of lines 15 and 16 are partially preserved in frame 12k, however the fragment is damaged after the first eleven akṣaras. If we assume the pāda to have had sixteen syllables, then five akṣaras have been lost. Considering that the following pāda begins with the gerund *viṇodaīta* (OIA *vinodya*) “after driving out, dispelling,” from OIA *vi + √nud*, there is a possibility of reconstructing an imperative form in the second-person singular *-hi* ending, *\*vi(ṇodahi)* or *\*vi(ṇodai)*. However this would still leave two akṣaras unaccounted for. The scribe has written an interlinear notation above *paca* that consists of the akṣaras *dhama*, surely corresponding to OIA *dharma*.

A similarly phrased pāda occurs in a shorter meter in the G Rhinoceros Sūtra (BL 5B):

*prahai paṃcavaraṇaṇi cedaso*

having abandoned the five obstructions of the mind...<sup>37</sup>

This passage presents a number of insights into the pāda in question. Firstly there is the matter of *prahahi* (OIA *prajahi*), understood as a second-person singular imperative. However, Brough observes that the akṣara *-h-* is often “written in the place of alif or *-y-* as a syllable-divider,” (Brough 1962: 92, §39). He therefore suggests that forms resembling imperatives such as *deśehi*

---

<sup>37</sup> Translated by Salomon (2000: 111).

and *ramahi* are better interpreted as optatives or present participles. When read on its own, *prahai* in the Rhinoceros Sūtra may well have been interpreted in a similar vein, however Salomon understands the term as absolute with the ending in *-ai-* corresponding to OIA absolute endings in *-ya*, (Salomon 2000: 101, §7.3.3.). Given the semi-parallel passage in the Rhinoceros Sūtra, an alternative interpretation could be to cast *prahahi* similarly as a gerund (OIA *prahāya* → G *prahai* → *prahahi*) with *-h-* acting as a syllable divider.

The interlinear <<*dhama*>> (OIA *dharma*) does not match the semi-parallel nicely (Fig. 32). In place of *dharma* the semi-parallel noted above has *avaraṇaṇi* (OIA *āvaraṇāni*) “obstruction,” which in P commentaries is glossed as *nīvaraṇi* (BHS *āvaraṇa*) “hindrance, obstruction,” mental roadblocks on the path toward awakening:

*āvaraṇānīti nīvaraṇāneva* (Cūḷaniddesa-Atthakathā, catutthavaggavaṇṇanā, 152)

“*āvaraṇāni*” means precisely *nīvaraṇāni*

Even with *dharma* being as multifaceted as it is, it would be a stretch to argue that our scribe scribbled in *dhama* in our text to mean something similar to *āvaraṇāni* and *nīvaraṇāni*. The evidence is simply too slim.

A possible semi-parallel for *cedaṣa vi...* is found in the Sangīti Sutta (DN III 207), in which the Buddha discusses a series of five-fold lists, among which are the *pañca cetaso vinibandhā* “five shackles of the mind” that aspiring monks can fall prey to. These involve such things as having desire for food/pleasures, desire for the body, desire for form, eating until full and oversleeping, and desiring to be reborn as a god.

The semi-parallel in the Rhinoceros Sūtra encourages us to interpret *cedaṣa* as genitive where we would expect *cedaso* in accord with OIA *cetasaḥ*. Two reasons could account for this. Firstly this may be an orthographic issue in which the scribe did not bother to mark the *-o*

diacritic. Second, *cedaṣa* is the result of a change in stem from OIA *-as* to *-a*: *cetasah* → *cetasya* → *cedaṣa*. But the development of OIA *cetas* to an *-a* stem noun is elsewhere unattested in G, so I am inclined to characterize the matter as orthographic, with the scribe not writing the *-o* diacritic.

*viṇodaṭṭa ede sarve suprasaṇa-maṇaso*: As mentioned above, *viṇodaṭṭa* (OIA *vinodya*) “after driving out, dispelling,” is the gerund of OIA *vi* + *√nud*. Despite the damage to the first pāda and the several missing akṣaras resulting from it, we can confidently assume that *viṇodaṭṭa* refers to the same object as *prahahi* in the first pāda, namely the *paca* <<*dhama*>> “five things,” possibly the same as or similar to the *pañca cetaso vinibhandhā* in the Saṅgīti Sūtra.

*Ede sarve* (OIA *ete sarve*) serves as the subject of the pāda and refers to *trarya* in the following pāda.

*Suprasaṇa-maṇaso* (OIA *suprasanna-mānasāḥ*, P *\*suppasanna-mānasā*) remains unattested in P, however we find similar compounds in the Mahāvamsa and in the Apadāna commentaries with *manaso/mānaso* and *pasanna* without the prefix *su-*:

*khedampi kāyajam asayham acintayitvā,  
puññaṃ pasannamanaso pacita<sup>38</sup> hi evaṃ;  
sādheti sādhana satāni sukhā karāni,  
tasmā pasannamanasova kareyya puññaṃ* (Mahāvamsa, Aṭṭhavāṣatima Pariccheda, 44)

Not thinking of unbearable physical exhaustion  
One with a clear mind thus indeed cooks up merit;  
Laying the groundwork for hundreds of good deeds,  
On account of that, one with a clear mind indeed should make merit.

*pasannamānasam disvā, sakakammena tositaṃ;  
pabbājessati so buddho, aggamaggassa kovido* (Apadāna, Subhaddatthera Apadānaṃ, 9)

Having seen with a clear mind, satisfied with one’s own actions;  
The wise Buddha will convert others to the highest path.

<sup>38</sup> Most likely a misreading for *pacati*.

*Supraṣana-maṇaso* thus characterizes someone who has “seen the light” so to speak, someone who has at least begun the work of attaining nīrvāṇa. In this text it is possibly used to refer to a set of three people who attain the fruit of stream-entry in the following pāda.



Figure 33: *sodamaṇa stitviya*

*ṣuda trarya bharṣamaṇa sodamaṇa stitviya*: There is a fold in the bark running diagonally that distorts the first four akṣaras of this pāda, however the characters remain readable (Fig. 33). *Trarya* (OIA *trayaḥ*, P *tayo*) is attested in G as *trayo* (BL 4, Shābāzgarhi Rock Edict 1) and *traya* (Senior 12, Schøyen 82, BL 28, BL 4). To the best of my knowledge the word is elsewhere unattested with preconsonantal *r-*. The plastic film covering the manuscript has creased in such a way that it distorts the akṣara currently read as *tra*, and the reading is uncertain.

*Sodamaṇa* (OIA *srotāpanna*, P *sotāpanna*) “stream-enterer” refers to one who has progressed in the Buddhist teaching so far that he or she is only a few lifetimes away from awakening and can no longer be reborn in the lower realms. Its most common forms in G are variations of *sodavaṇa*, found in Bajaur fragment 2 and the reliquary inscription of Ariyaśrava (Jongeward et al. 2012: 57, 96). The reading relies on the relationship between *ma* and *va* seen in such cases as Brough describes in OIA *prāvuni* → *pramuṇi* (Brough 1962: 88).

I have translated *stitviya* as a gerund causative form corresponding to OIA *sthāpayitvā*, “having been established,” from  $\sqrt{sthā}$ . However this is uncertain for a number of reasons. Firstly its placement at the end of the pāda is unexpected for a gerund. Secondly the form is unattested

in G. Both the past participle *stīta* (Chao-jung 2017: 25, 27) and gerundive *stītavya* (Burrow 1940: 15) occur in G, however the gerund form has yet to be attested.

No verse ending marker appears at the end of this line. See §11.2.16 for more.

#### 11.2.16. Line 16: Karmic Fruits

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*p. ṇ. śa [d./tva] ? ki [sa/ra] .i ...* <sup>[19]</sup>*///* ○ *bahaṇubhudo somaṇaso taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu* ◇  
*svadibahopragara idhikamabhogasapada*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*p(\*ra) ṇ. śa d./tva ? ki sa/ra .i ...(\*kh.) ...* <sup>[19]</sup>*///* ○ *bahaṇubhudo somaṇaso taṣu taṣu*  
*jaṇiṣu* ◇ *svadi-baho-pragara idhi-kama-bhoga-sapada*

OIA *chāyā*:

*... | bahvanubhūtaṃ saumanasyaṃ tāsu tāsu jāniṣu | smṛtibahuprakārāḥ*  
*rddhikāmbhogasampadā*

Translation:

... (there is) happiness frequently enjoyed in every birth, as well as accomplishments of many kinds, magic powers, pleasure, wealth, and achievements.

Text notes:



Figure 34: *p(\*ra) ṇ. śa [d./tva] ? ki [sa/ra] .i ...(\*kh.) ...*

*p(\*ra) ṅ. śa [d./tva] ? ki [sa/ra] .i ...(\*kh.) ... /// ○* The fragment on which this pāda rests, frame 12o, has crumbled and delaminated, leaving only the top halves of the first four akṣaras. The only plausible reading thus far is the gerund *praṇaśatva* (OIA *praṇaśya*) “after losing, vanishing.” Three further akṣaras are mostly intact, although the remaining akṣaras are missing or unreadable. In the middle of the fragment is a trace of ink resembling the characteristic curved top of *kha*, but this is uncertain. A similarly long and exaggerated stroke appears in *v* in *adhvaṇe* in line 17. At the end of the pāda the scribe has written the verse marker ○, suggesting this to be the end of the verse begun on line 15 (Fig. 34). The verse is then composed of four pādas, with the surviving and legible pādas having 16 and 15 akṣaras.

*bahaṇubhudo somaṇaso taṣu taṣu jaṇiṣu: Somaṇaso* (OIA *saumanasya*, P *somanassa*) “happiness” also occurs in the G commentary on the Saṅgīti Sūtra (BL 15) as [*so*]maṇas(\*o), and in compound form in BL 29, an unidentified sūtra-type text concerning stages of *dhyāna*, as *somanasa-dormanasanam*.

*svadibahopragara idhikamabhogasapada*: The reading corresponds to OIA *\*smṛti-bahu-prakārāḥ ṛddhi-kāma-bhoga-saṃpadāḥ* and treats these two compounds as forming a pair agreeing with *somaṇaso* in the preceding pāda. *Svadi* = OIA *smṛti*, relying on the well-established development of OIA *smṛ* → G *sva*. OIA *Smṛti* develops into *svadi* in our text, which occurs also in the Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> (verses 98b, 100d, 101d, 102d, 103, and 340b).

*Idhikamabhogasapada* apparently corresponds to OIA *ṛddhi-kāma-bhoga-saṃpadā* “magic powers, pleasure, wealth, and achievements,” however this pāda is also open to other interpretations depending on the interpretation of G *idhi* and *kama*. The PTSD gives a variety of glosses for *idhi* (OIA *ṛddhi*), chief among which being a set of ten magical powers that result from spiritual or meditative achievements, such as the power to create an illusory double of

oneself, ascending to the heavens, multiplying oneself, and so forth (DN I 77, DN I 212). *Kama* may correspond either to OIA *kāma* “desire, pleasure,” as in the current reading, or less likely OIA *karma*.

Although this pāda occurs at the end of line 16, no verse marker occurs here, indicating that the verse continues in the following line.

### 11.2.17. Line 17: Wicked Desire

Edition:

<sup>[12]</sup>*na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva<sup>[19]</sup>///ne ◊ tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavīa  
tirṣa ◊*

Reconstruction:

<sup>[12]</sup>*na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva<sup>[19]</sup>///ne ◊ tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavīa  
tirṣa ◊*

OIA *chāyā*:

*\*na śakyaḥ darśī sevamāṇa tāvat dīrgho adhvaṇe |...hi labdhaḥ vṛttiḥ tāvat pāpikā tṛṣṇā*

Translation:

One who sees, indulging for a long time, cannot ... existence is obtained as long as  
[one's] desire is wicked.

Text Notes:



Figure 35: *na śaka daśi*

*na śaka daśi sevamaṇa tava drigho adhva//ṇe*: Frame 12o contains the majority of the first pāda, while frame 12a supplies the opening *na* (Fig 35). The first five akṣaras correspond to OIA *na śakya* “not able, not possible, cannot” and *darśī* “one who sees, understands,” although the lack of an infinitive renders the pāda difficult to translate satisfactorily with *na śaka*. The remaining akṣaras concern the karmic benefits of letting go of anger: indulging for a long time, presumably in the powers, pleasure, and wealth from line 16. Presumably the indulgences involve the series of items covered in the above line: wealth, pleasure, and achievements.



Figure 36: *tamavro ? hi*

*tamavro ? hi ladha vriti tava pavā tirṣa*: The plastic film covering the manuscript has formed a crease that distorts the fourth akṣara of this pāda (Fig. 36), and the pāda as a whole remains untranslated with any certainty. An alternative reading of the third akṣara as *ho* rather than *vro* raises the possibility of rendering *tama ho[d](\*) hi* “darkness truly exists.” Some support for this reading comes from the Kodhana Sutta (AN VII 64), where we find the following verse:

*kuddho atthaṃ no jānāti  
 kuddho dhammaṃ no passati  
 andhatamaṃ tadā hoti  
 yaṃ kodho sahate naraṃ*

An angry man doesn't understand the good  
 An angry man doesn't see the dhamma  
 When a man is angry  
 Then there is blinding darkness

Similar passages occur in the Antarāmaḷa Sutta (Itivuttaka 88) with *lobho*, *doso*, and *moho* instead of *kodho*. Aside from the possibility of *tama* = P *tamaṃ*, the second pāda in the passage, noting that an angry man does not see the dhamma, supports the interpretation of *na śaka daśi* as corresponding to OIA *na śakyaḥ darsī*. If *tama ? hi* proceeds in a similar vein to that found in the Kōdhana Sutta and Antarāmaḷa Sutta and is instead *tama hodi hi*, the interpretation may read along the lines of “Indulging for a long time, one doesn't see. As long as [one's] desire is wicked, existence is obtained; there is truly darkness.” However, the crease in the plastic film prevents us from confidently reconstructing the akṣaras as *tama ho[d](\*i)*, and thus the transcription does not reflect this.

*Pavia* at the end of the verse may correspond to OIA *pāpīyasīm*, as in the reading, or *pāpikāṃ*.

### 11.3. Unplaced Fragments in Frame 12

Five fragments in frame 12 remain to be placed, being too fragmentary to be read or presenting too little for comment. I present them below, with an OIA *chāyā* and translation where available.

## 11.3.1. Frame 12b

Edition:

1. /// ? ? ///

2. /// [p.]reṣu a[bhe] ///

OIA *chāyā*:

1. \*/// ... ///

2. /// *pareṣu*... ///

Translation:

...among others...

Text Notes:

A faint trace of ink is visible above *ṣu* in the main line of writing, and a vertical stem is visible on the right-hand part of the fragment. I read the latter as [p.] because of the following *reṣu*, giving *pareṣu* = OIA *pareṣu*.

## 11.3.2. Frame 12c

Edition:

1. /// ... ///

2. *kroṣāṣile deṣite* ///OIA *chāyā*:

1. \*/// ... ///

2. *krodhaṣīle deṣite*

Translation:

One who is habitually angry is taught ...

Text Notes:

There are faint traces of ink on the upper part of the fragment. The right side of the manuscript is intact and a margin is present, showing the fragment to belong to the first pāda of an unknown line of the \**Krośa-gāsa*. Here *krośasīle* forms a locative of reference with *deśite* “taught.”

### 11.3.3. Frame 12e

Edition:

1. /// ... ///
2. /// *li ga vidraga* ///
3. /// ? ///

OIA *chāyā*:

1. \* /// ... ///
2. /// ...*vitarka*... ///
3. /// ... ///

Translation:

...thinking.

Text Notes:

A trace of ink resembling the exaggerated top curl of *kha* appears at the bottom right of this fragment, beneath *li*. The hand, in particular the distinctive *ga*, in this fragment suggests that it may belong to lines 15-17. *Vidraga* (OIA *vitarka*) is legible. Otherwise, *vidraga* may correspond to OIA *vītarāga* “free from passion.” *Avītarāgo* “not free from passion” appears in the Saṅgīti Sutta (discussed in §11.2.15 above) and the Cetasovinibhandha Sutta:

*Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāmesu avītarāgo hoti* (AN IV 461)

Here now, monks, a monk is not free from passion regarding pleasures

It may be that *vidraga* presents the positive side of abandoning the five shackles of the mind possibly alluded to in line 15. In such a case, the fragment would belong to the left side of frame 12o.

#### 11.3.4. Frame 12f

Edition:

1. /// [s.] *anubhavo* ◊ *upa* ///
2. /// [kh. d.] ? ///

OIA *chāyā*:

1. \*/// ...*anubhāvaḥ*...///
2. /// ... ///

Translation:

...majesty...

Text Notes:

The hand of this fragment matches that of line 1–14. A pāda break appears between *anubhavo* (OIA *anubhāva*) “majesty” and the upasarga *upa*, suggesting that the fragment belongs to the first and second pādas of an unidentified line.

#### 11.3.5. Frame 12m

Edition:

1. ? [na/da] ? ///

2. *ñatvana edadiśo ? ///*

OIA *chāyā*:

1. *\*... ///*

2. *jñātvā etādṛśaṃ... ///*

Translation:

...After realizing such...

Text Notes:

The traces of three akṣaras are visible in the top line of this fragment, the second **of** which may be *na*. The right margin indicates that this fragments makes up the first pāda of two unidentified lines.

## REFERENCES

- Allon, Mark. 2001. *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 12 and 14*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 2. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Analayo, Bhikkhu. 2012. *Excursions into the Thought-World of the Pāli Discourses*. Onalaska, WA: Pariyatti Press.
- Ānandajoti Bhikkhu. September 2013. *An Outline of the Metres in the Pāḷi Canon*. September 2013. Accessed 2/15/18. <https://ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Textual-Studies/Outline/index.htm>.
- Baums, Stefan. 2012. “Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions.” In Jongeward, et al. 2012. 200–51.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu, trans. 2000. *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- , trans. 2009. *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- , trans. 2012. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Brough, John. 1962. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Buddhaghosa. 1970. *Dhammapadatthakathā, Vol. III.: The Commentary on the Dhammapada*. Edited by H. C. Norman. London: Luzac & Company, Ltd.
- . 1977. *Visuddhimaggappakaraṇaṃ*. Edited by Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Vārānasī: Bauddhabhāratī.
- . 1989. *Aṭṭhasālinī*. Edited by Rāmaśaṅkara Triphāṭhī. Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University.
- Burrow, T. 1940. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. James G. Forlong Fund 20. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.
- Ching, Chao-jung (慶昭蓉). 2017. “SI 3662 and SI 3663 – Two Wedge-Shaped Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Niya in the Petrovsky Collection.” *Written Monuments of the Orient* 2017(2): 17–34.

- Cox, Collett. 2014. "Gāndhārī Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts: Exegetical Texts." In Harrison and Hartmann. 35–50.
- Dalai Lama [Tenzin Gyatso]. 1994. *A Flash of Lightning in the Dark of Night: A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*. Boston: Shambhala.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. *Healing Anger: The Power of Patience from a Buddhist Perspective*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Sofia Stril-Rever. 2010. *My Spiritual Journey: Personal Reflections, Teachings, and Talks*. New York: Harper One.
- Dauids, Caroline A. F. Rhys, and Phe Moñ‘ Tañ‘, trans. 1958. *The Expositor: Atthasālinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, the First Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Translation Series 8, 9. London: Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac.
- de Silva, Padmasiri. 1992. *Twin Peaks: Compassion and Insight*. Singapore: Buddhist Research Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. "Theoretical Perspectives on Emotions in Early Buddhism." In *Emotions in Asian Thought: A Dialogue in Comparative Philosophy*. Edited by Joel Marks and Roger T. Ames, 109–20. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. *An Introduction to Buddhist Psychology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Doniger, Wendy. 2011. *The Implied Spider: Politics and Theology in Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. 2 vols. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Falk, Harry. 2011. "The 'Split' Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Texts." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 114: 13–23.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977 (1975). *Discipline and Punish*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. Paris: Editions Gallimard.
- Glass, Andrew. 2000. *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*. Master's thesis, University of Washington, Department of Asian Languages and Literature.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. *A Preliminary Study of Gāndhārī Meter: The Meter of The Khotan Dharmapada*. Ph.D. field exam, University of Washington, Department of Asian Languages and Literature.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *Four Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama Sūtras: Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 4. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. “Bha.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 23: 79–86.
- Harrison, Paul. 1992. “Is the Dharma-kāya the Real ‘Phantom Body’ of the Buddha?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15, 44–94.
- Harrison, Paul and Hartmann Jens-Uwe, eds. 2014. *From Birch-Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field,' Stanford, June 15–19 2009*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Heim, Maria. 2007. “Buddhism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*. Edited by John Corrigan, 14–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. “The Story of Chaddanta Elephant.” Accessed June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2019. <http://ignca.gov.in/online-digital-resources/jataka-stories/004-the-story-of-chaddanta-elephant>.
- Jamison, Stephanie and Brereton, Joel, trans. 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnston, E. H., trans. 1937. “The Buddha’s Mission and Last Journey: *Buddhacarita*, XV to XXVIII.” *Acta Orientalia* 15: 231–292.
- Jongeward, David. 2012. David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon, and Stefan Baums. *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries*. Gandharan Studies 1. Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project.
- Jongeward, David. 2012. “Survey of Gandharan Reliquaries.” In David Jongeward, et al. 2012. 39–110.
- Leifer, Ron. 1999. “Buddhist Conceptualization and Treatment of Anger.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 55: 339–351.
- Lenz, Timothy. 2003. *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Majumdar, N. G. 1937–38. “The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander.” *Epigraphia Indica* 24: 1–8.
- Marino, Joseph. 2017. *Metaphor and Pedagogy in Early Buddhist Literature: An Edition and Study of Two Sūtras from the Senior Collection of Gāndhārī Manuscripts*. PhD

- Dissertation. Seattle: Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2019. “From the Blacksmith’s Forge to the Fires of Hell: Eating the Red-Hot Iron Ball in Early Buddhist Literature.” *Buddhist Studies Review* 36: 35–55.
- Matsuda, Kazunobu (松田 和信). 2013. “Hirayama korekushon no Gandārago baiyo shahon dankan ni tsuite 平山コレクションのガンダーラ語貝葉写本断簡について.” *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū 印度學佛教學研究 Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 62: 354–46.
- McDougal, June. 2007. “Hinduism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*. Edited by John Corrigan, 51–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ñāṇāmoli, Bhikku and Bhikkhu Bodhi, trans. 2001. *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Neelis, Jason. 2010. *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange Within and Beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*. Dynamics in the History of Religions 2. Leiden: Brill.
- Norman, K. R. 1995. *The Elders’ Verses I: Theragāthā*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- Nyanaponika Thera. 1983. *Contemplation of Feelings*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Peter N. Stearns and Carol Stearns. 1985. “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards.” *The American Historical Review* 90: 813–836.
- Powers, John. 2009. *A Bull of a Man*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rhys-Davids, Caroline, trans. 1900. *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Rhys-Davids, T. W., and William Stede. 1921–2. *The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary*. London: Pali Text Society.
- Salomon, Richard. 1999. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 1. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. “The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 13: 73-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Stefan Baums. 2007. “Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, and *Gāndhārī Iṣmaho*.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 29: 201–27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā): British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 and Senior scroll 14*. Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 5. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. “Gāndhārī Manuscripts in the British Library, Schøyen and Other Collections.” In Harrison and Hartmann, 1–18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2018. *Buddhist Literature of Ancient Gandhāra: An Introduction with Selected Translations*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Śāntideva. 1995. *The Bodhicaryavatara*. Trans. Kate Crosby and Andrew Skilton. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silverlock, Blair Alan. 2015. *An Edition and Study of the Goṣiga-sutra, the Cow-Horn Discourse (Senior Collection scroll no.12): An Account of the Harmonious Aṅarudha Monks*. 2 vols. PhD Dissertation, University of Sydney, Department of Indian Subcontinent Studies.
- Suri, Bhuvanbhanu. 1987. *A Handbook of Jainology*. Trans. K. Ramappa. Kamboi Nagar: Shri Vishvakalyan Prakashan Trust.
- Thich Nhat Hanh. 2001. *Anger: Wisdom for Cooling the Flames*. New York: Riverhead Books.
- Thurman, Robert. 2005. *Anger: The Seven Deadly Sins*. Oxford University Press.
- Vaidya, P. L., ed. 1958. *Lalita-Vistara*. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute.
- Warder, A. K. 1967. *Pali Metre: A Contribution to the History of Indian Literature*. London: Pali Text Society.

## WORD INDEX

Following the structure in Glass 2007, each entry in the index consists of the following:

1. The headword as it appears in the reconstructed text. When multiple occurrences of a word appear, the headword is given as a hypothetical stem, with the multiple occurrences listed beneath it. When multiple instances of a word occur with distinct grammatical functions, they are listed separately. Characters with underscore (ś, g) are not distinguished in the sort order from characters without underscore.
2. The OIA cognate. Both OIA and Pali are given for particularly complex words, and Pali is given in those cases where the G most closely matches the Pali.
3. The English translation.
4. The grammatical explanation of the Gāndhārī word, if known.
5. Occurrences according to the line number of the reconstructed text. The line and pāda numbers of words in frame 12 are identified with capital letters to distinguish them from pādas in frame 19. 12C therefore refers to a fragment in frame 12, while 12c refers to line 12, pāda c, found in frame 19.

*akario*: *akāryam*; “what should not be done,” gerundive, acc. sg. n. **5a**

*akirti*: *akīrtiḥ*; “disgrace, ill-reknown,” nom. sg. f. **1c**

*akroṣa*: *akrodhaḥ*; “free from anger, not angry,” adj. nom. sg. m. **14d**

*acaṃta-niṭhasa*: *atyanta-niṣṭhasya*; “the final goal,” gen. sg. m. **12c**

*adhvaṇe*: *adhvani*; “for a time,” loc. sg. m. **17f**

[*añanino*]: *ajñāniṣu*, “among the unwise,” loc. pl. m. **10c**

*anupraviṭho*: *anupraviṣṭaḥ*; “possessed,” pp. nom. sg. m. **2c**

*anubhavo*: *anubhavaḥ* or *-am*; “understanding, experience,” nom./acc. sg. m., or *anubhāvaḥ* or *-am*; “majesty, dignity,” nom./acc. sg. m. **frame 12f**

*aṃta-rago*: *antarāyaḥ*; “hindrance, obstacle,” nom. sg. m. **12c**

*ayaśo*: *ayaśaḥ*; “infamy,” nom. sg. n. **1c**

*ayurmena*: *āyusmena?*; “monk,” inst. sg. m. **7d**

*aragi*: *arāgī*; “one who is self-controlled,” nom. sg. m. **9b**

*alabho*: *alābhaḥ*; “want, loss, not getting,” nom. sg. m. **1c**

*aveniyo*: *āveṇikaṃ*; “appropriate,” adj. acc. sg. m. **7b**

*(\*aśi)[vi]ṣa*: *āśīviṣāḥ*; “snakes,” nom. pl. m. **4a**

*idi*: *iti*; “thus,” ind.

*idi*: **5c**

*[i(\*d)i]*: **9a**

*idhi-kama-bhoga-sapada*: *ṛddhi-kāma-bhoga-sampadā*; “magic powers, pleasure, wealth, and achievements,” dvandva compound, nom. sg. f. **16d**

*ud* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ : “arise”

*ugami*: P *uggacchi*, OIA *udagamat*; “arose,” aorist, 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. **10d**

*ugra-teya*: *ugra-tejaśaḥ*; “whose passion is fierce,” bahuvrīhi compound, nom. pl. m. **4a**

*ugrahida-agra-dhamo*: *udgṛhīta-agra-dharmaḥ*; “[he] by whom the dharma is realized,”

bahuvrīhi compound, nom. sg. m. **9c**

*utama-atha*: *uttama-arthaḥ*; “highest goal,” nom. sg. m./n. **11d**

*uvakramena*: *upakramena*; “because of an attack,” inst. sg. n. **2b**

*uva* +  $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ : “go”

**uvagami:** P *upāgami*, OIA *upāgamat*; “he reached,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. aorist **7c**

√*i*: “go, arise, reach”

**eti:** *eti*; 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. **6c, 7b**

**edadiśo:** *etādrśam*; “such, of a similar kind,” adj. acc. sg. n. **frame 12m**

**ede:** *ete*; “these,” pron. nom. pl. m. **15c**

(\**eva*): *evam*; “thus,” ind. **10b**

(\**e*)[*va*]: *eva*; “indeed; only,” ind. **1d**

**k[a]ria:** *kāryam*; “what should be done,” gerundive, acc. sg. n. **5a**

√*kṛ*: “do, make”

[*k.r.*]**di:** *karoti*; 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. **5a**

**ki[ṭa]:** *kṛta-*; “done/made,” pp. sg. **3b**

**kopa-a[ḍi]te:** *kopa-arditān*; “afflicted with anger,” adj. acc. pl. m./n. **4d**

**krodha:** *krodha*, “anger,” m.

[*krodho*]: *krodhaḥ*; “anger,” nom. sg. **2d**; alternatively could read [*krudho*]: OIA

*kruddhaḥ*? “angry,” nom. sg.

**krodho:** *krodham*; “anger,” acc. sg. **12d**

**krodhena:** *krodhena*; “with anger,” inst. sg. **5a**

**kroṣa:** *krodhaḥ*; “anger,” nom. sg. **4c**

**kroṣo:** *krodhaḥ*; “anger,” nom. sg. **10b**

**kroṣo:** *krodhaḥ*; “anger,” acc. sg. **13b**

**kro[ṣ]o:** *krodham*; “anger,” acc. sg. **13a**

**kroṣa-raṣo:** *krodha-rasaḥ*; “one whose dominant emotion is anger,” bahuvrīhi compound, nom.

sg. m. **3d**

*kroṣa-śīle*: *krodha-śīle*; “regarding one who is habitually angry,” bahuvrīhi compound loc. sg. n.

**frame 12c**

*kṣetro*: *kṣetre*; “in a field,” loc. sg. n. **8d**

*ghora-viṣa*: *ghora-viṣāḥ*; “whose venom is terrible,” bahuvrīhi compound, nom. pl. m. **4a**

*ca*: *ca*: “and,” ind.

*a*: **7d, 10b, 14a**

*ca*: **3c (2x), 5b, 8c, 13a, 13b, 14b**

*ya*: **8a**

√*car*: “go, walk, do”

*carati*: *caranti*; “they act,” 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. **4b**

*cedaṣa*: *cetasah*; “of the mind,” gen. sg. n. **15a**

√*chid*: “cut”

*chitvana*: *chitvā*; “after cutting off,” gerund **14c**

√*jan*: “know”

*janati*: *jānanti*; “they know,” 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. **10b**

*janiṣu*: *jātiṣu*; “in births/lifetimes,” loc. pl. f. **16b**

*jano*: OIA *janaḥ*; “man,” nom. sg. m. **8c**

*jatu*: *jātu*; “totally, at all” ind. **10d, 14a**

√*jñā*: “know”

*ñatvana*: *jñātvā*; “after realizing,” gerund **frame 12m**

*na*: *na*; “not,” ind. **17a**. See also *na* below.

*taṣa*: *tṛṣṇām*; “craving, thirst,” acc. sg. f. **14c**

*taṣu taṣu*: *tāsu tāsu*; “in every,” pron. loc. pl. f. **16b**

*taṣiva*: *tathaiva*; “likewise, just so,” ind. **3c**

*tava*: *tāvat*; “so long as,” adv. **17f, 17h**

*tīṣo*: *tīkṣṇaḥ*; “sharp, bitter, rough,” adj. nom. sg. m. **4c**

*tīrṣa*: *tṛṣṇā*; “desire,” nom. sg. f. **17d**

*teno*: *tena*; “with that,” dem. pron. inst. sg. m. **4c**

*teṣa*: *teṣāṃ*; “toward them,” dem. pron. gen. pl. m. **4c**

*trarya*: *trayaḥ*; “the three,” nom. sg. n. **15e**

*daśi*: *darśī*; “one who sees, understands” nom. sg. m. **17e**

*duvaya*: *durvacāḥ*; “ill speech, harmful words”

*duva[ya]*: *durvaca-*; “harmful words,” nom./acc. sg. n. **9b**

*duvayam*: *durvacāḥ*; “harmful words,” nom. sg. n. **9a**

*duha/hu*: *duḥkhaṃ*; “suffering,” nom. sg. n. **1c**

*deśite*: *deśite*; “shown, taught,” pp. loc. sg. n. **frame 12c**

*drigho*: *dīrghaṃ*; “long,” adj. acc. sg. m. “long,” **17f**

*drodaśia*: *\*durdarśikāḥ*; “ugly,” “adj. nom. pl. m. **6d**

*drovana*: *durvarṇāḥ*; “discolored,” adj. nom. pl. m. **6d**

*dhama*: *dharma*; “the dharma, the Buddha’s teachings” m.

<<*dhama*>>: *dharmān*; “things, dharmas,” acc. pl. **15a**

*dhame*: *dharme*; “with respect to the dharma, the Buddha’s teachings,” loc. sg. **3c**

*na*: *na*; “not,” ind. **3d, 8c, 10b, 11b, 17e**

*[na]stiga-vuṭi*: *nāstika-vṛttiḥ*; “one who follows the *nāstika* way of life,” bahuvrīhi compound,

nom. sg. m. **8b**

*niyano*: *niryāṇam*; “deliverance,” acc. sg. n. **14b**

*nivuti*: *nirvṛtaḥ*; “quenched,” pp. nom. sg. m. **14d**

*paca*: *pañcam*; “five,” num. acc. sg. m. **15a**

*para[hisaga]*: *\*parahiṃsakaḥ*; “hurtful to others,” adj. nom. sg. m. **12b**

*pari* +  $\sqrt{\text{tyaj}}$ : “abandon”

*parica[y]e[a]*: *parityajet*; “one would abandon, leave,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg opt. **4d**

*pareṣu*: *pareṣu*; “among/with regard to others,” adj. loc. pl. m./n. **1b, frame 12b**

*pavia*: *pāpikā*; “wicked, evil,” adj. acc. sg. f. **17h**

*pi*: *iva*; “like, as if,” ind. **2c** See textual commentary §11.2.2.

*punu*: *punar*; “again, further, moreover,” ind. **6c, 7c**

*purekhida-kroṣan(\*a)*: *puraskṛta-krodhānām*; “to those by whom anger is favored,” bahuvrīhi compound, gen. pl. m./n. **1d**

*pur[va]*: *pūrva-*; “before, former,” adj. **3b**

*pudi-bie*: *pūti-bījam*; “rotten seed,” nom. sg. n. **8d**

*pracakhi*: *pratyakṣī*; “witness,” nom. sg. m. **3d**

*pravuto*: P *pavapa*, OIA *\*proptaḥ*; “scattered, sown,” pp. nom. sg. n. **8d**

*pra* +  $\sqrt{\text{hā}}$ : “abandon, give up”

*prahahi*: *prajahi*; “abandon,” 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. imperative **15a**

*bahu-aṇubhudo*: *bahu-anubhutam*; “frequently enjoyed,” pp. nom. sg. n. **16a**

*bahopr(\*a)l(\*a)va*: *bahu-pralāpaḥ*; “weeping,” nom. sg. m. **2d**

*budh[e]*: *buddhe*; “with respect to the Buddha,” loc. sg. m. **3c**

*(\*bha)ga*: *bhāgyam*; “happiness,” acc. sg. n. **14b**

*bhagi-duho*: *bhāgī-duḥkhaḥ*; “a partaker of suffering,” bahuvrīhi compound, nom. sg. m. **5d**

√*bhāṣ*: “say”

*bharṣamaṇa*: *bhāṣyamānam*; “what was being said,” pres. part. passive, acc. sg. m./n. **15e**

√*bhū*: “arise, be, become”

*bhavanti*: *bhavati*; 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. **6d, 13a**

*bhudo*: *bhūtaḥ*; “being,” nom. sg. m. **9c**

*manuṣya*: “man, person,” m.

*manuśa*: *manuṣya*-; “man, person,” nom./acc. sg. m. **6a**

*manuṣya*: *manuṣyaḥ*; “man, person,” nom. sg. m. **3d**

*manuṣya-bhavo*: *manuṣya-bhāvaṃ*; “human birth,” acc. sg. m. **6c, 7c**

*mane*: *māne*; “regarding respect,” loc. sg. m. **8a**

*mata*: *mattaḥ*; “intoxicated,” pp. nom. sg. m. **5a**

*mitro*: *mitram*; “friend,” nom. sg. m. **4d**

*yakṣo*: *yakṣaḥ*; nom. sg. m. “a yakṣa, supernatural being, spirit” **2c**

*yaśa*: *yathā*; “like, as,” ind. **8d**

*yeya*: *caiva*; “and also, and,” ind. **12b**

*yo*: *yaḥ*; “(he) who,” relative pron., nom. sg. m./n. **7d, 9b, 14b**

*ladha*: *labdhaḥ*; “gotten, obtained” pp. nom. sg. m. **17g**

*labhe*: *lābhe*; “regarding gain, wealth,” loc. sg. m. **8a**

*loge*: *loke*; “in the world,” loc. sg. m. **4b**

*va*: *iva*; “as if, like,” ind. See also *pi*. **12d**

*vaśae*: *vadhāya*; “conducive to killing,” dat. sg. m. **10c**

*vasia*: P *vasika*-/vāsika-; “under the control of,” adj. **9b**

*vitvasu*: *vidvatsu*; “among the wise,” loc. pl. m. **10b**

*vidraga*: *vitarka*-; “thinking,” nom./acc. sg. m. **frame 12e**

*vidhamita-[mo]tro*: *vidhamita-mātrā*; “as soon as [it is] destroyed,” nom. sg. f. **14c**

*vi* + √*nud*: “drive away, dispell”

[*v*]jñodaita: *vinodya*; “after dispelling,” gerund, causative **15c**

*vi* + √*ruh*: “grow, rise”

*viruhea*: *virohet*; “may flourish,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. optative **8c**

*vilavi[a]*: *vilapitam*; “wailed,” pp. nom. sg. m. **2d**

√*viś*: “dwell”

*viṣati*: *viṣati*; “perform, be engrossed in,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. **14a** See 11.2.14.

*vuta*: *uktaḥ*; “called,” pp. nom. sg. m. **9a**

√*vraj*: “go, wander, be reborn”

*vrayati*: *vrajati*; “goes to, is reborn as,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. **6b**

*vrayati*: *vrajanti*; “go to, are reborn as,” 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pres. **13b**

*vriti*: *vṛtīḥ*; “ways of life, existence” nom. sg. f. **17g**

*śaka*: *śakyah*; “able, possible, can” adj. nom. sg. m. **17e**

*śata-gaṃi*: *śānta-gāṃī*; “one headed for peace,” nom. sg. m. **14b**

[ś](*\*a*)r(*\*a*)no: *śaraṇam*; “refuge,” acc. sg. n. **2b**

*śarira*: *śarīraṃ*; “body,” acc. sg. n. **2c**

*śidi-bhuda*: *śītī-bhūtaḥ*; “cooled, freed,” pp. nom. sg. m. **14d**

*ṣuda*: *śrutam*; “heard,” pp. nom. sg. n. **15e**

*sa*: *sah*; “he, that,” pron. nom. sg. m./n.

*sa*: **10b, 11c**

**so: 8c, 11b**

**sakare:** *satkāre*; “regarding honor, hospitality,” loc. sg. m. **8a**

(\***sakro**)**sana:** *sakrodhānām*; “of angry people,” adj. gen. pl. m.. **9a**

**saṃghe:** *saṃghe*; “with respect to the saṃgaha, the Buddhist monastic community,” loc. sg. m. **3c**

**saṃ** +  $\sqrt{bhū}$ : “arise”

**saṃbhavati:** *saṃbhavati*; “arises, becomes,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. pres. **5d, 11d**

**sama[si]:** *samādhiṃ*; “samādhi,” acc. sg. m. **14a**

**samusta:** *samutthitaḥ*; “arises, is arisen,” pp. nom. sg. m. **4c**

**sadhame:** *saddharme*; “with respect to the good dharma,” loc. sg. m. **8b**

**satvana:** *sattvānām*; “toward beings,” gen. pl. m. **4b**

**sayi:** *sacet*; “if,” ind. **6c**

**sarva:** *sarva*; “all,” adj.

**sarva:** *sarve*; “all,” nom. pl. m. **15c**

**sarv[am]:** *sarvaṃ*; “all,” nom. sg. n. **1d**

**suara-bhavam:** *sūkara-bhāvaṃ*; “birth as a pig,” acc. sg. m. **7b**

**suaro:** *sūkaraḥ*; “pig,” nom. sg. m. **7d**

**sugati:** *sugatiṃ*; “good rebirth,” acc. sg. f. **13b**

**supraṣaṇa-maṇaṣo:** *suprasanna-mānasāḥ*; “clear-minded, those whose minds are calm,”

bahuvrīhi compound, nom. pl. m. **15d**

**suha:** *sukhaṃ*; “happiness” n.

**suha:** *sukhaṃ*; “happiness,” nom. sg. **5b**

**suha:** *sukhaṃ*; “happily,” adv. **14a**

**suhida:** *sukhitāḥ*; “delighted,” adj. nom. pl. m. **13a**

*sevamaṇa*: *sevamāna*; “indulging in,” pres. part. nom. sg. m./n. **17e**

*soda-ma[ṇa]*: *srota-āpannāḥ*; “stream-enterers,” nom. pl. n. **15f**

*somaṇaso*: *saumanasyaṃ*; “gladness, happiness, joy,” nom. sg. n. **16a**

*svadi-baho-pragara*: *smṛti-bahu-prakārāḥ*; “accomplishments of many kinds,” nom. pl. m. **16c**

√*sthā*: “stand”

*stītiya*: *sthāpayitvā*; “having caused to be established,” gerund, causative, **15f**

*halahala-viṣa*: *halāhala-viṣaṃ*; “the *halāhala*-poison,” acc. sg. n. **12d**

√*hā*: “abandon”; compare *pra* + √*hā*.

*jaha*: *jahi*; “abandon,” 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. imp. **12d**

*havedi*: *hāpayati*; “abandons,” 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. causative pres. **5c**

*hi*: *hi*; “truly, indeed,” ind. **17e**

*hita*: *hitvā*; “after abandoning,” gerund, **13b**

*h[i]da*: *hīnaḥ*; “abandoned,” pp. nom. sg. m., **13a**

*hidahida*: *hita-ahitaṃ*; “what is beneficial and what is not beneficial,” acc. sg. n. **10b**

*hidae*: *hitāya*; “for the beneficial,” dat. sg. m./n. **11b**

*heḍae*: *heḷayā/heḍayā*; “angrily,” inst. sg. f. **4b**