

The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls

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# The Senior Manuscripts: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1994 the British Library acquired a collection of twenty-nine fragments of birch bark scrolls containing various Buddhist texts written in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī (Prakrit) language (Salomon 1997). At the time, these were virtually the only known specimens of what must have been a very extensive Gandhāran Buddhist literature, with the exception of one other manuscript, namely the famous “Gāndhārī Dharmapada,” which had been discovered in 1892 near Khotan in what is now the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China. In 1996 the British Library/University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project was constituted to study and publish this new collection. To date four volumes of studies of the British Library scrolls have been published (Salomon 1999, Salomon 2000, Allon 2001, Lenz 2003), and several further volumes are in progress.

Since the project was inaugurated in 1996, a large amount of additional related material has come to light. Most of this new material is contained in three major collections. The first of these is the Schøyen collection of Buddhist manuscripts, which includes, in addition to several thousand fragments of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Brāhmī script, 238 small fragments in Kharoṣṭhī script and a sanskritized variety of the Gāndhārī language (see Salomon 2001), written on palm leaf in folio or *poṭhī* format. Study and publication of the Kharoṣṭhī portion of the Schøyen collection has been begun by members of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project in cooperation with Professor Jens Braarvig of the University of Oslo, who is supervising the publication of the Schøyen collection as a whole (Braarvig 2000; Braarvig 2002; Allon and Salomon 2000; Salomon 2002a). Another collection, smaller but still significant, of Gāndhārī manuscripts on palm-leaf folios is the eight fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, which were found by the Pelliot expedition in the northern Tarim Basin (Salomon 1998).

The third additional major collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts (the fourth in total, including the British Library collection), and the one which is the subject of this article,<sup>1</sup> is the

Among the several persons who have assisted in the preparation of this article, I am profoundly grateful, first and foremost, to Robert Senior, the owner of the collection, for making it available to my collaborators and me and for granting us permission to study and publish it. Second, I wish to thank all of the members of the British Library/University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Projects working group, with whom I have been examining the Senior collection. Among them, Mark Allon in particular provided invaluable assistance and many important suggestions on the basis of his deep knowledge of Buddhist sūtra literature and his careful study of the Senior manuscripts. Andrew Glass assisted in the paleographic and orthographic study of these texts, as well as in preparing the figures, while Tien-chang Shih helped in locating, interpreting, and evaluating Chinese parallels for several of them. Paul Harrison of the University of Canterbury (New Zealand) provided advice on the interpretation of the relevant Chinese materials. Finally, I wish to thank the members of the conservation staff of the British Library’s Oriental and India Office Library, especially Mark Barnard and John Burton, for facilitating access to the scrolls during the process of their conservation.

1. Prior to this article, the Senior collection has only been briefly referred to in Salomon 2002b: 121, Salomon forthcoming: part II.4, and Allon 2001: xiv.

Senior collection, named for its owner, Robert Senior of Butleigh, Glastonbury (U.K.). This collection consists of twenty-four birch bark scrolls or scroll fragments of widely varying size, format, and quality of preservation. Like the British Library scrolls, the Senior scrolls were found inside an inscribed clay pot (described below in part 2) whose original provenance is not known with any certainty, but which is believed to have come from one of the several stūpa sites in and around Haḍḍa, near Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan. After being unrolled and conserved by the staff of the British Library's India Office and Oriental Collections, the scrolls were found to contain varying amounts of textual material in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language (except for one scroll, no. 6, which proved to be blank). Several of the Senior scrolls, such as nos. 5, 19, and 20, are complete or nearly complete, in contrast to the British Library scrolls, all of which were more or less fragmentary.

The owner of the collection has generously agreed to put it at the disposal of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project for study and publication, and this work is now in progress. Following this article, which is intended to introduce the Senior collection as a whole, the project staff plans to begin publishing texts from the collection in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series as soon as possible. The first volume on the Senior manuscripts will contain a detailed overview and catalogue of the collection as a whole (analogous to Salomon 1999 for the British Library collection), plus sample editions of one or more of the texts contained therein.

## 2. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE POT AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR DATING OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

Like the British Library scrolls, the Senior scrolls were found in a clay jar with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The inscription on the pot that contained the British Library scrolls (British Library pot D; Salomon 1999: 151–54, 214–17) was of great importance for establishing a likely sectarian affiliation of the manuscripts (*ibid.*, pp. 166–78), since it refers to a gift to members of the Dharmaguptaka school (*dhamaūteṇa parigrahami*), but it was undated. The inscription on the Senior pot, conversely, contains no sectarian reference (see also part 6 below), but is dated in the year twelve of an era which is unspecified but which, as explained below, can safely be identified as the Kaniṣka era. The inscription thereby provides an important clue to the dating of the accompanying manuscripts.

The Senior pot actually consists of two parts. The pot proper (fig. 1) is a large spherical vessel measuring about 35 cm in height and 30 cm in diameter, generally similar in form to the five inscribed pots in the British Library (Salomon 1999: 183–224), including the one (D) that contained the British Library scrolls. The second part is a smaller, cup-shaped lid (fig. 2), 13.8 cm high, which fits over the mouth of the jar. Both parts are inscribed with essentially the same text, but the version on the lid is abbreviated at various points. The black ink in which the inscriptions are written is badly faded, at some points illegible or even almost invisible to the naked eye. The reading of the inscription was facilitated by the use of an alcohol spray, which briefly enhances the visibility of the ink without damaging it, but even so many of the letters remain uncertain or illegible. The readings<sup>2</sup> and interpretations that follow are at this point still provisional; a more detailed study of them will be presented in the projected survey volume on the Senior collection referred to above.

2. Incomplete, damaged, or uncertain syllables are noted in square brackets; illegible syllables are indicated by a question mark; and contextual reconstructions of lost or illegible syllables are given in parentheses, with asterisk.

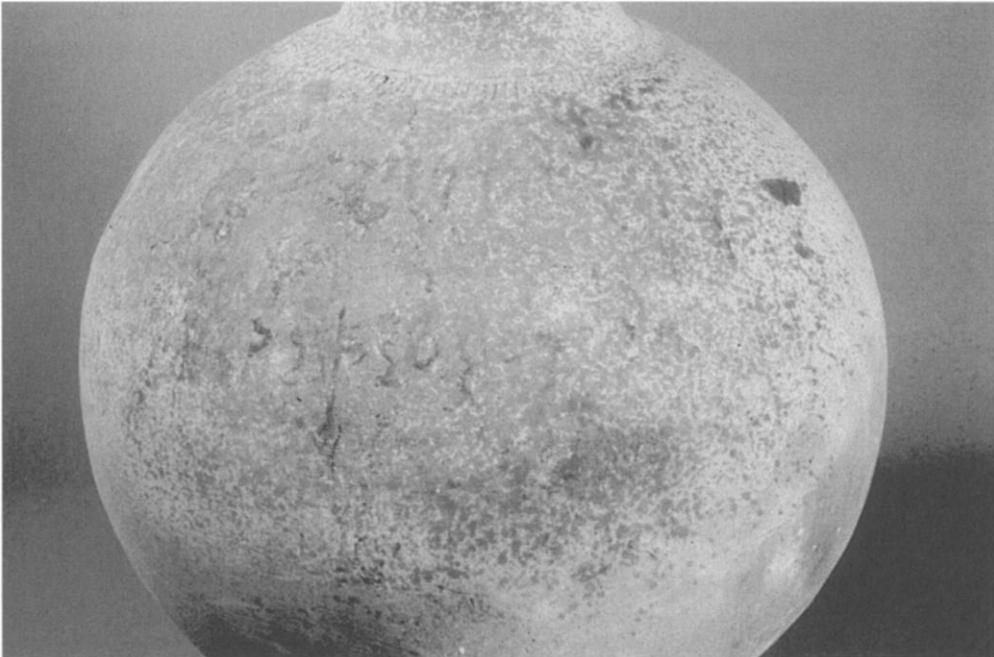


FIG. 1. The jar in which the Senior scrolls were discovered.



FIG. 2. The lid of the jar in which the Senior scrolls were discovered.

*Inscription 1, on the pot:*

1. [sa]ba[tsa]ra [ba](*\*da*)[śa](*\*mi*) ma[se] a[vadu]nake sa[ste]hi (*\*paca*)hi i[śa] (*\*kṣuṇa*)mi [prati]tha[vi]? [matrapi]tra-p[uya]e sarva[śatva]na [p]u(*\*ya*)[e]
2. r(*\*o*)haṇasa maṣumatraputrasa

In the year [twelve], in the month Avadunaka, after (\*five) days; at this time [this] was established in honor of [his] father and mother, in honor of all beings; [donation] of Rohaṇa, son of Maṣumatra.

*Inscription 2, on the lid:*

[sa]batsara 10 [2] ma[s]u a[vadu] saste 4 1 ? ? ? ? ? rohaṇeṇa maṣumatraputreṇa<sup>3</sup> thu[ba]m[i] sava[śatva]ṇa pu(*\*ya*)

Year 12, month Avadu[naka], after 5 days, (\*established?) by Rohaṇa, son of Maṣumatra, in the stūpa, in honor of all beings.

Although the date is only partially legible in each of the two inscriptions, it can be completely reconstructed by combining the legible portions of each. The year date is given in inscription 2 in figures (presumably in order to save space on the smaller surface on which it is written) as 10-2, that is, the year 12 of an unspecified era ([sa]batsara). This enables us to reconstruct the partially legible year number written in words in inscription 1 as ba(*\*da*)śa(*\*mi*), “twelve,” confirming the date. The month name, abbreviated in inscription 2 as a[vadu], is spelled out in full in inscription 1 as a[vadu]nake, that is, the Macedonian month Audunaios (Αὐδυνᾱϊός). The day number given in words in inscription 1 is illegible except for the instrumental/locative plural ending *-hi*, but the corresponding numerical figures in inscription 2 are legible as 4-1, that is, 5, so that the illegible word in 1 can be reconstructed as (*\*paca*)hi.

Thus the pot was dedicated on the fifth day of Avadunaka/Audunaios in the twelfth year of an unspecified era. This era can be identified as that of Kaniška on the basis of the dating formula, which is typical of Kaniška-era dates. The expressions *saste*hi “day[s]” and *iśa kṣuṇami*<sup>4</sup> “at this time” or “on this date,” which are of Iranian rather than Indic origin,<sup>5</sup> are typically found in the dates of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions attributable to the Kaniška era. In the Wardak inscription, for example, dated to the [Kaniška] year 51 during the reign of Huviška, the month date reads *masye arthamisiya saste*hi 10 4 1 “in the month Arthamisiya [Artemisios], after fifteen days” (Konow 1929: 170).

Several other inscriptions contain dates attributable to the Kaniška era which are very similar in phrasing and format to the date on the Senior pot. Particularly relevant is the “Hidda inscription of the year 28” (Konow 1929: 157–58; Konow 1935), which, like the Senior pot, was also written on a clay jar (now lost), and which was found at “Hidda” (i.e., Haḍḍa), reportedly also the findspot of the Senior pot. Its date reads *sambatsarae aḥa-viśatihi 20 4 4 mase apelaē saste*hi daśahi 10 *iśa kṣuṇammi* “in the year twenty-eight, 28,

3. After this word is inserted a monogram, partly visible at the left side of fig. 2, which seems to consist of a combination of several Kharoṣṭhī syllables but which cannot be clearly interpreted. It may be the name or symbol of the stūpa referred to by the following word *thubami*. The same monogram also is written twice at the end of the first line of inscription 1. At the end of the second line of inscription 1 there is also a different, larger monogram, which is partly visible in fig. 1 at the left.

4. This word is only partially legible in inscription 1, but the reconstruction (*\*kṣuṇa*)mi is quite secure on the basis of parallel formulae in many similar inscriptions.

5. On the etymology and use of these terms, see Konow 1929: lxxiv and 152.

in the month Apelaa [Apellaios], after ten days, 10; at this time . . .” Another similar dating formula appears in the “Box-lid inscription of the year 18” (Konow 1929: 151–52), which is written on the lid of a brass casket, also now lost. Its provenance is unknown, but it may well have also been found at Haḍḍa or a nearby site, since, like the “Hidda” inscription, it was found by Charles Masson who explored this area in the 1830s. Its date is read by Konow as *saṃ 10 4 4 masye arthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e] kṣunam̐m(r)i* “Year 18, in the month Arthamisiya [Artemisios], after 10 days; at this time . . .”

The use of Macedonian, as opposed to Indian, month names is also characteristic of dates from the Kaniṣka era, as in the examples cited above,<sup>6</sup> although Macedonian months do also sometimes occur in earlier inscriptions such as the Taxila copper plate of Patika (Konow 1929: 28), dated in the month Panema = Panemos. All in all, there can be little if any doubt that the year twelve of the inscriptions on the pot which contained the Senior scrolls refers to the Kaniṣka era. This means that the pot was dedicated either around A.D. 90, if one subscribes to the theory that the Kaniṣka era is identical to the Śaka era of A.D. 77/78, or at some time in the first half of the second century, following the several proposals, nowadays favored by an increasing number of specialists (see, e.g., Cribb 1999, Falk 2001), which would put the beginning of Kaniṣka’s reign sometime in or around the first quarter of the second century. Thus, the best estimate for an absolute date of the Senior pot would probably be around A.D. 140.

We can reasonably assume that, unlike the case of the British Library scrolls, the inscriptions on the Senior pot are contemporary with its deposit, and hence with the deposit (though not necessarily the composition) of the scrolls it contained. The undated inscription on the British Library pot referred to its original donation, presumably as an everyday utensil, to a Dharmaguptaka monastery, while its reuse as a container for the ritual burial of sacred texts was evidently secondary and took place at some later date (Salomon 1999: 152). The inscription on the Senior pot, on the contrary, refers to the ritual “establishment” of the pot in a stūpa, as expressed by the word [*prati*]tha[*vi*]? in inscription 1, which can be reconstructed as *pratithavi(\*da)* or the like.<sup>7</sup>

It is also noteworthy that, whereas the similar Hidda inscription of the year 28 mentioned above labels the object being established by the donor in the stūpa as “bodily relics” (scil. of the Buddha; *pratistapita śarira ramaramñāmi thubami saṃghamitreṇa ṇavakarmiaṇa*), as is typical of inscriptions of this type, the inscription on the Senior pot lacks this or any corresponding term. The nominative subject of the verb “established” (*pratithavi(\*da)*) is unstated, implying that the thing being established was either the pot itself, or perhaps rather its contents, namely the manuscripts.

With regard to the date of the texts, then, we can be confident that the inscription on the pot is contemporaneous with their interment, and this gives us a relatively firm *terminus ante quem* for the manuscripts themselves: they were buried, most likely, around A.D. 140. The question then arises of how old the scrolls were at that time. The fact that at least some of them were intact and in good condition at the time of their burial (see below, part 3) suggests that they were not very old. Although we have no way of determining their age at interment with any degree of precision, it seems safe to say that we are dealing with years or at most decades, rather than centuries. It is even possible that the scrolls were new when they were buried, having been drawn up for the express purpose of being ritually interred

6. See also the list in Fussman 1994: 28–29, n. 72.

7. This or a similar word is presumably also to be reconstructed for the sequence of four or five illegible syllables in inscription 2.

(as discussed in part 3). In any case, all of this adds up to a strong likelihood that the Senior scrolls were written, at the earliest, in the latter part of the first century A.D., or, perhaps more likely, in the first half of the second century.

This would make the Senior scrolls slightly but significantly later than the scrolls of the British Library collection, which have been provisionally dated to the first half of the first century (Salomon 1999: 141–55, esp. 154–55). Thus the Senior scrolls may be roughly fifty to one hundred years younger than the British Library scrolls. Some tentative confirmation of this dating has been found in preliminary readings of the scrolls, which seem to show a somewhat greater tendency towards elision of original (Old Indo-Aryan) intervocalic dentals<sup>8</sup> than do the British Library manuscripts. For example, in the Senior scrolls the equivalent of Buddhist Sanskrit *anyatara-* / Pali *aññatara-* “some, a” is regularly spelled *añeara-*, as in line 15 of the sample text from Senior scroll 20 presented below in part 6. Similarly, in Senior scroll 2, which contains the beginning of a Gāndhārī version of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* (see part 3), the equivalent of Pali *paṣīdeyya* “may have faith in” (*Dīgha-nikāya* I 47.14)<sup>9</sup> is *praṣīea* (ll. 19 and 20). This contrasts with the situation in the British Library scrolls, where the elision of original intervocalic dentals occurs in only a very few cases (Salomon 1999: 126).<sup>10</sup> Certain features of the script (see fig. 4) also point toward a similar dating, as discussed further in part 5 below. Although it remains to be seen whether further study of the Senior collection as a whole will confirm this pattern, these gleanings do provide provisional confirmation of a somewhat later date for the Senior manuscripts as compared to the British Library scrolls.

### 3. CHARACTER AND CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

The Senior collection is superficially similar in character to the British Library collection in that they both consist of about two dozen birch bark manuscripts or manuscript fragments arranged in scroll or similar format and written in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language. Both were found inside inscribed clay pots, and both are believed to have come from the same or nearby sites, in or around Haḍḍa in eastern Afghanistan. But in terms of their textual contents, the two collections differ in important ways. Whereas the British Library collection was a diverse mixture of texts of many different genres written by some two dozen different scribes (Salomon 1999: 22–55, esp. 22–23 and 54–55), all or nearly all of the manuscripts in the Senior collection are written in the same hand, and all but one of them seem to belong to the same genre, namely *sūtra*. Moreover, whereas all of the British Library scrolls were fragmentary and at least some of them were evidently already damaged and incomplete before they were interred in antiquity (Salomon 1999: 69–71; Salomon 2000: 20–23), some of the Senior scrolls are still more or less complete and intact and must have been in good condition when they were buried.

Thus the Senior scrolls, unlike the British Library scrolls, constitute a unified, cohesive, and at least partially intact collection that was carefully interred as such. Therefore, the hypothesis that was proposed in Salomon 1999: 69–86 to account for the circumstances of the contents and disposition of the British Library collection, namely that it was a ritual burial of randomly collected “dead” manuscripts, is not applicable to the new collection. This

8. See also part 5 for further discussion of the treatment of original intervocalic dentals.

9. All citations of Pali texts in this article refer to the volume, page, and line numbers of the Pali Text Society editions, unless otherwise indicated.

10. One of the few examples of elision of dentals cited there, *nai-* for *ṇadī-* in British Library fragment 1, was based on an incorrect preliminary reading and should now be disregarded.

may or may not mean that the aforementioned explanation of the British Library collection is wrong; for it is not yet clear what the intention of the Senior deposit may have been, and therefore whether it should be understood in terms similar to or different from the British Library group. Hopefully, this will become clearer in the course of further study of both collections. But it is certain that, in terms of its overall contents and character, the Senior collection differs significantly from its predecessor, for whatever reasons.

As noted above, all but one of the Senior scrolls seem to contain sūtra texts. To date, definite textual parallels have been located for nine of the sūtras on the Senior scrolls, six of which are found in the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and/or the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經). For example, Senior scroll 5 contains four short sūtras. Of these four, no direct parallel has been located for the first, although it does have partial parallels in both the *Samyutta-* and *Aṅguttara-nikāyas*. The second sūtra on the scroll is parallel to the *Natumhāka-sutta* (1) in *Samyutta-nikāya* III 33–34 and *Za ahan jing* (T 99) sūtra no. 269. The third sūtra is parallel to the first *Kulaputtana dukkhā-sutta* (*Samyutta-nikāya* III 179 = *Za ahan jing* sūtra no. 47), and the fourth to the *Vāsijaṭṭha-* or *Nāvā-sutta* (*Samyutta-nikāya* III 152–53 = *Za ahan jing* sūtra no. 263). Many of the other Senior texts for which parallels have not yet been located are, like those mentioned above, short sūtras for which the most likely source for parallels should be the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and its parallel collections in Sanskrit and Chinese, and it may be hoped that at least some more such parallels will eventually be located in these texts.

Although the largest number of parallels for the sūtras in the Senior collection are in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the corresponding collections in Sanskrit and Chinese, there are at least three texts for which parallels appear in other parts of the previously known Buddhist canons. These are:

1) Senior scroll 12, containing a sūtra parallel to the *Cūlagosiṅga-sutta* of the Pali *Majjhima-nikāya* (I 205–11) and the *Niujue suoluo lin jing* 牛角娑羅林經 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經; T 26.1: 729b26–731a27, sūtra no. 185).

2) Senior scroll 2, containing a sūtra parallel to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya* (I 47–86), the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* of the Sanskrit *Dirghāgama* (Hartmann 2002: 139, 147, and the *Shamen guo jing* 沙門果經 of the Chinese *Dirghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經; T 1.1: 107a18–112c19, sūtra no. 17).

3) Senior scroll 14, containing a portion of the introductory section and most of the first chapter (the recitation of Mahākāśyapa) of a text corresponding to the *Anavatapta-gāthā*. The *Anavatapta-gāthā*, a poetic text (not a sūtra), is also known in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions (Bechert 1961: 12–15), as well as in another Gāndhārī version among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments (Salomon 1999: 30–33, 43, 138–39).

The identification of these three texts shows that the Senior scrolls as a whole cannot be described as a collection of Saṃyukta-type sūtras, despite the predominance of parallels with the *Samyutta-nikāya* and analogous texts. While it is conceivable that a text corresponding to the *Cūlagosiṅga-sutta*, though classed as a Majjhima sutta in the Pali canon, might have been considered a Saṃyuktasūtra in other canons, this could hardly be the case for the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*, which in view of its length could hardly be construed as anything other than a Dīgha sūtra. Senior scroll 2, which is quite well preserved and nearly complete with seventy-three lines of writing in total (recto and verso), covers only the introductory portion of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*, concluding at the point at which King Ajātaśatru encounters the Buddha. Thus the complete text of this Gāndhārī version of the

*Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* would have covered several scrolls, so that the Gāndhārī version of this sūtra, like those in other languages, would certainly have been a “long” sūtra.

Moreover, the presence of a partial text of the *Anavatapta-gāthā* creates some doubt as to whether the collection was even necessarily composed of sūtras alone. The *Anavatapta* does not occur in any of the sūtra collections in other Buddhist canons, but rather is preserved either as an independent text, as in the Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa (*Fo wubai dizi zishuo benqi jing* 佛五百弟子自說本起經; T 199.4: 190a1–202a15) and in the British Library Gāndhārī version (Salomon in progress), or as imbedded in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (Wille 1990: 65–107). The *Anavatapta* consists of a series of recitations in verse by the principal disciples of the Buddha (thirty-six in all in the Vinaya version of the text), each of whom reveals his own karmic history. Although there is no evidence that the *Anavatapta-gāthā* was considered to be a sūtra in any other of the Buddhist traditions, it is still conceivable that it could have been so classified in the Gandhāran tradition represented in the Senior scrolls. But even if this were the case, it would have to have belonged to the “long” category since, as in the case of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* scroll, the Senior *Anavatapta-gāthā* manuscript seems to be the first part of a long text which, if complete, would have comprised a large number of scrolls.

Thus the Senior collection, as far as its contents have been analyzed to date, consists mostly of sūtra texts, especially ones that correspond to sūtras of the Saṃyukta category in other Buddhist canons, but also sūtras of the Dīrgha and Madhyama class, as well as one text (the *Anavatapta-gāthā*) which in other canons is not classed as a sūtra. It is therefore uncertain whether the Senior collection as a whole can be considered as a group of sūtras, but this is still at least a possibility, and it is hoped that detailed studies of the manuscripts will eventually clarify this question.

But whatever the rationale of the contents of the group, it is clear that it represents a unified, organized collection. This is proven by the presence of two scrolls, numbers 7 and 8, which seem to constitute a sort of guide or index to the collection as a whole. Scroll 8 (fig. 3) contains six lines of writing, the first five of which include the opening words or key phrases of various sūtras. Some of these key phrases clearly correspond to sūtras on other scrolls in the Senior collection. For example, the end of the third and the entire fourth line on scroll 8 read *ka[ḍa] ? [a.h.] /// [ka]ḍara maraṇasaṅgahaga kaḍara aharapaḍikulasāṅga kaḍara savaloga aṇaviraḡaḍasa[ṅ.] ///*, which directly corresponds to the four main topics of the first of the four sūtras on scroll no. 5. The following text on the fifth line of scroll 8 reads *[j.n.sa] bhikṣave paśaṣa asavaṇa kṣao vaḍ[e]mi ṇa aṇaḡaḍa kasa jaṇaḡa ka[sa] paśaḡa*, corresponding to the beginning of the fourth sūtra on scroll no. 5. The intervening second and third sūtras on scroll 5 are not cited on the index scroll 8, but they are mentioned on the other index scroll (no. 7), which is a longer text of twenty lines. Thus line 15 of scroll 7 begins *1 ṣadhaṣa bhikṣave kulaputraṣa ṣadhae aḡaraḡa spaṇaḡario (sic) parvayīḡaṣa*, etc., which corresponds to the beginning of the third sūtra on scroll 5, *ṣadhaṣa bhikṣave kulaputraṣa ṣadha akaraṣpa ?*, etc.; and the following line (16) of index scroll 7 has *1 ta ki maṇaṣi bhikṣave yo himaṣa jeḡavaṇe śahaḡaḡhapalaśap.*, etc., corresponding to a passage in the second sūtra on scroll 5, *sayaṣavi yo himaṣpi jeḡavaṇe triṇaḡaḡhaśaha-patrapalaśa*, etc.

Thus the relationship between these two index scrolls and the rest of the scrolls in the Senior collection is complex and not yet clearly understood. The text scroll 5 has four sūtras, the first and last of which are enumerated on index scroll 8, while the second and third are listed (but in reverse order!) on index scroll 7. Many, but by no means all of the other citations on the index scrolls correspond to texts on the other scrolls. For example, the second



FIG. 3. Senior scroll 8.

citation on line 1 of index scroll 8, *sata bhikṣave mahaparādaha ṇama ṇire*, refers to the second sūtra on scroll 20, the beginning of which is presented below (part 6) as a sample text; the brief notation *goṣigo* in the first line of index scroll 7 presumably refers to the *Cūlagosiṅga-sūtra* in scroll 12; and the citation 2 *bhayava veḍḍatalae viharādi*, etc. in line 17 of scroll 7 refers to the beginning of the sūtra on Senior scroll 13, which corresponds to the *Veḷudvāreyyā-sutta* of the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* (V 352–56).

But in many other cases, the citations on the index scrolls apparently cannot be correlated with the other surviving fragments of the collection. This is the case, for example, with the third citation on the first line of scroll 8, *ya bhikṣave dukha ca ṇid. ///*, and also with a large number of the citations on the longer index scroll 7, for example, the enigmatic 3 *upalo oma musalo ama* (l. 9). There are also several cases in which extant scrolls in the collection do not seem to be referred to in either of the index scrolls. This is the case, for example, with the *Śrāmaṇyaphala* scroll (no. 2), for which no citation in the indices has been located.

In other instances, there are partial but imperfect correspondences between the index scrolls and the text scrolls, as in the six references to texts called *aṇodatie* in lines 2 and 3 of index scroll 8. This word evidently refers to chapters (Gāndhārī *aṇodatie* = Skt. \**anavataptika*) of the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, and each *aṇodatie* citation is linked to the name of one of the narrators. But the name of Mahākāśyapa, the narrator of the surviving *Anavatapta* fragment in scroll 14, does not occur in the list on the index scroll, which begins with *śastarasa aṇodatie* (\*śa)[rip]u[tr.ṣa] a[ṇud.tie] “The Anavatapta recitation of the Teacher; the Anavatapta recitation of Śāriputra,” etc. Moreover, it is clear that Mahākāśyapa’s narration is the first one in the text, not only in the other versions of the *Anavatapta* but also in Senior scroll 14 where it immediately follows the introductory portion; and in all of the extant complete versions of the *Anavatapta* the Buddha’s (*śastarasa*) recitation is the last, rather than the first as listed here in the index scroll. Thus it is not clear exactly how the *aṇodatie* citations in index scroll 8 correspond to the fragmentary text of the *Anavatapta* preserved elsewhere in the collection, although there must be some connection between them.

In view of these problems, it is not entirely clear what the purpose or function of the index scrolls was. To some extent they resemble the familiar *uddānas* or mnemonic summaries that are widespread in Buddhist canonical literature, but they also differ from traditional *uddānas* as seen in Pali, Sanskrit, and Gāndhārī texts in various respects—for instance, in that they are not in verse. It has, however, already been noticed that the principles of composition of *uddānas* in Gāndhārī texts are somewhat different from those of Pali and Sanskrit (Salomon 2000: 33–37), so it is still not impossible that these scrolls could represent something analogous to an *uddāna*.

Alternatively, the index scrolls might be understood as sort of a table of contents, serving as a guide or label to a set of scrolls that constituted the Senior collection; that is to say, they may have been something more analogous to a modern library catalogue than to the traditional mnemonic *uddāna*. Yet another possible explanation<sup>11</sup> is that they were an informal outline or set of notes that were jotted down in advance by the scribe who had been assigned to write out the texts that comprise the collection. This theory would provide at least a partial explanation for the diverse and somewhat unsystematic character of the index scrolls, in which, for example, the four sūtras on scroll 5 are referred to in two different places and in a different order from that in which they actually appear in the text scroll. According to this theory, the scribe may have been employed by or on behalf of the donor Rohaṇa Maṣumitraputra whose name is recorded in the inscription on the pot that con-

11. This hypothesis was proposed by Mark Allon.

tained the scrolls, who commissioned the copying and interment of the scrolls as a pious donation.

The last line of the index scroll 8 provides an important clue to the scope and interpretation of the collection as a whole. This line, which is set off from the first five lines by a large blank space, reads in part: *sarvapiḍa sutra pacapacāśa 20 20 10 4 1* “In all fifty-five, 55, sūtras.” Here we have a clear reference to a discrete compilation of fifty-five sūtras, which presumably corresponds, at least in part, to the manuscripts in the Senior collection as we have them. This passage is followed by a set of references to various texts or groups of texts, each preceded by the word *sadha* “with,” perhaps in the sense of “together with, including”: *sadha dharmadaśeṇa sadha taṣagaḍavageṇa sadha spaḍiḥhaṇieṇa sadha aṅ[oḍa.i] ? ///*. The references of these citations are for the most part not clear, although some of them may correspond to texts found elsewhere in the collection; for example, the last, incomplete item, *sadha aṅ[oḍa.i] ? ///* presumably refers to the *Anavatapta-gāthā* or some part thereof. This seems to confirm the suspicion, mentioned above, that the *Anavatapta-gāthā* might have been considered as a sūtra in the Gandhāran tradition represented by the Senior scrolls.

Despite the many uncertainties about the details, there is no doubt that the Senior collection is a coherent set of texts, in contrast to the randomly compiled British Library scrolls. The exact character and nature of the Senior group remains largely obscure, but at the current stage of our understanding the most likely interpretation of the collection is that it constituted an anthology of important or representative Buddhist texts, consisting mainly if not completely of sūtras. Selective anthologies of roughly similar scope, that is, consisting of a few dozen sūtras, are attested in two Chinese translations which are probably attributable to the early translator An Shigao; these are the *Zajing sishisi bian* 雜經四十四編 containing forty-four sūtras from the *Ekottarikāgama* (imbedded within T 150A, *Qi chu san guan jing* 七處三觀經; see Harrison 1997) and the smaller text of the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T 101) with twenty-seven *Samyuktāgama* sūtras (Harrison 2002).

There is also a possibility that the fragment of a series of *Ekottarikāgama*-like sūtras in the British Library Kharoṣṭhī collection was part of a similar short anthology of sūtras, as opposed to a complete *Ekottarikāgama*, although this cannot be conclusively proven on the basis of the surviving portion of the text (Allon 2001: 22–25). Thus there is now some reason to believe that sūtra anthologies of this type were popular in Gandhāran Buddhist literature of this period, and that such Gandhāran texts, or their descendants, may have been the archetypes of the similar anthologies translated, apparently, by An Shigao. If this is correct, the Senior scrolls may represent a sūtra anthology of this or some similar type, though for the time being this is only a working hypothesis which remains to be confirmed or contradicted by further study of the collection.

Finally, the first entries in each of the index scrolls may also hold some clues to the overall character of the compilation. Scroll 7 begins with *śīlakadhe · dukhakadhio*, while the first entry on scroll 8 is *trikadhao dharmapaīao* (corresponding to Sanskrit *\*triskandhako dharmaparyāyah*). Although the significance of these notations and their relationship to the other scrolls are not yet clear, their prominent position at the head of the two index scrolls suggests that they have some special significance, perhaps indicating that the anthology as a whole was divided into three sections called *kadha* (Skt. *skandha*).

#### 4. FORMAT OF THE TEXTS

Although the Senior scrolls are broadly similar to the British Library scrolls in their overall format, there are some important differences in the details of their construction, for instance, in their length. Although none of the British Library scrolls is preserved in its

entirety, some of the surviving fragments are quite large, and textual correlations have made it possible to estimate that some of them could have originally been as long as about 230 to 250 cm (Salomon 1999: 89). The Senior scrolls, in contrast, seem to be much shorter, at least to judge from the more complete specimens. Senior scroll no. 2, for example, which is more or less complete, measures only 49 cm in length and 14 to 15 cm in width. Another of the better preserved scrolls, no. 20 (fig. 5), is even smaller, at 19.5 cm long and 21 to 22 cm wide. Thus the Senior scrolls belong to the short, wide “small format” type of scroll which was also represented by a few of the fragments in the British Library collection (Salomon 1999: 98–100).

The Senior manuscripts also differ from the British Library scrolls in their arrangement of text units. In the British Library collection, most of the scrolls contained one text, or one part of a long text which was divided over a set of several scrolls (Salomon 1999: 90–91). A few of the British Library scrolls contained two texts, but in such cases the second text was evidently added on secondarily at a later date by a different scribe who wished to make use of the blank space on the verso of a scroll which had originally only been inscribed on one side (*ibid.*, pp. 87–88). Among the Senior scrolls too there are several cases in which one scroll corresponds to one complete text (e.g., nos. 12 and 19), but there are also several scrolls containing two or more independent sūtras written by the same scribe at the same time. Senior scroll no. 5, for example, contains four separate sūtras, as we have seen already.

There are also at least three cases in the Senior collection (as also in the British Library collection) in which a scroll contains part of a longer text, which presumably was to be continued on additional scrolls; these are scrolls 2, the *Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra* scroll, 13, the *Veludvāreyyā-sutta* parallel, and 14, the *Anavatapta-gāthā*. In all three of these cases, the surviving scroll contains the beginning of the text. This may be only coincidence, but it also gives rise to a suspicion that the entire text was perhaps never completed. Conceivably, if the scrolls were specially prepared for a ritual interment, it was felt to be sufficient to write out only the first part of the longer texts, by way of presenting a representative or symbolic scroll.

Like several of the British Library manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 105–6), many of the Senior scrolls were double-folded; that is, after being rolled up vertically, the entire roll was folded in half lengthwise. This was the case, for example, with scroll 20, illustrated in fig. 5. Scrolls that were double folded in this way typically have a crack running down the middle after they are unrolled and conserved, as shown in the second image of scroll 20 in fig. 6. Although scroll 20 is remarkably well preserved and has suffered only minimal damage due to the double fold, in many other cases this practice has caused the loss of a sizable section of the middle of the scroll, where the double-folded bark has disintegrated (see Salomon 2000: 22, 26–27 for a similar case among the British Library scrolls). In some cases in both the British Library and Senior collections, the two halves of a double-folded scroll have broken apart completely and become separated, as a result of which they have to be preliminarily catalogued as separate scrolls, although detailed study later on may make it possible to identify and rejoin them (as, for example, in the case of British Library fragments 16 and 25; see Salomon 1999: 49, 51 and Lenz 2003: 3). There are at least nine scrolls in the Senior collection (nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 21) which are definitely or probably such half-scrolls, and it should eventually be possible to join at least some of them together into single scrolls.

A few of the Senior scrolls, for example nos. 19 and 20, appear to have been creased and folded up into a long flat strip rather than being rolled up into a cylindrical shape like the British Library scrolls and, apparently, most of the other Senior scrolls. This practice may

Scribe	<i>ka</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>sa</i>
Senior	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄
BL 1	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄
BL 2	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄
BL 9	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄

FIG. 4. Comparison of test letters in the Senior scrolls and selected British Library scrolls (for British Library [BL] scribe numbers, see Salomon 1999: 54–55).



FIG. 5. Senior scroll 20, before conservation; the second half of the first line on the verso is visible.

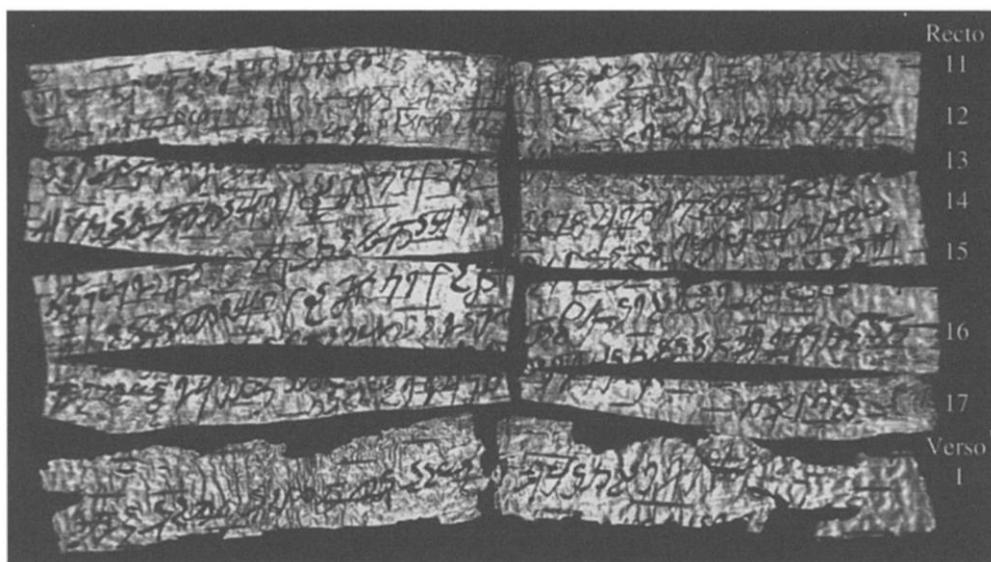


FIG. 6. Senior scroll 20, after conservation (composite detail of lower part of recto plus first line of verso).

have contributed to the excellent state of preservation of these two scrolls, in that the creasing produces a clean smooth break with minimal loss of material when the manuscript is unfolded.

##### 5. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

The variety of Kharoṣṭhī script (see fig. 4) used by the single scribe who wrote all or most of the Senior manuscripts has several distinctively late features that would be consistent with the later date, probably in the early second century A.D., that was suggested above (part 2) on other grounds. Particularly notable in this connection is the characteristically late form of *ka* (𑀓) which the scribe generally writes, although the earlier variety also occasionally appears. In older forms of this letter (𑀓) the first stroke consists of an angled line comprising the head, the upper half of the vertical stem, and the right arm, whereas in this late form the upper stroke has been restructured into a curve (Glass 2000: 49–51).<sup>12</sup> Also typically late is the shape of *sa* (𑀇), in which the stroke for the “head and leg is only one wavy line” (Konow 1929: cxiv). This type of *sa*, categorized by Glass (ibid., 106) as the fourth and latest variety of this letter, is regularly used by the Senior scribe, although he also sometimes writes the earlier, third type of *sa*.

The Senior scrolls have several interesting orthographic peculiarities. Among these is the use, in most cases, of a modified form of dental *da* (𑀢), namely 𑀢, transcribed as *ḍa*, to represent the sound derived from an original unaspirated dental consonant in intervocalic position (i.e., *-t-* or *-d-*). This is seen, for example, in *ṇīḍaṇ[e]* = Pali/Sanskrit *nīḍāna-* in the sample text provided below in part 6 (l. 11). This character is presumed to represent a modified, probably fricative pronunciation such as /ḍ/ (Konow 1929: 2–3; Fussman 1993: 99–101; Glass 2000: 79–80). It is attested sporadically in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from a relatively early period (Konow, loc. cit.) and also occurs in some of the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, for example the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* scroll (British Library fragment 15; Salomon 1999: 24, 49).

Sporadic nonetymological alternations between unaspirated and aspirated consonants have been noted in several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 127–28; Allon 2001: 68), but this tendency seems to be particularly pronounced in the Senior scrolls. The Senior scribe seems to be especially inclined to graphic deaspiration, as in the surprising spelling *bikhu* (scroll no. 2, l. 2) in place of normal *bhikhu* ‘monk’. Other examples of this pattern include *ṣarāḍi* (no. 13, l. 4) corresponding to Pali *sārathi* ‘charioteer’ and *sagi* (no. 2, l. 26) = Pali *saṅghī* ‘leader of a monastic community’.

Also characteristic of the orthography of the Senior scrolls are nonetymological alternations between unvoiced and voiced consonants, for example in *makaṣa* = Pali/Skt. *māgadha-* ‘Magadhan’ (no. 2, l. 5). This alternation seems to be particularly common with the palatals *c* and *j*. The scribe often writes *j* for original *c* in positions where it would not normally be voiced, for example for word-initial *c-* as in *jaḍamaṣi-* = Pali *cātumāsini-* ‘last day of a season’ (no. 2, l. 3), or for intervocalic geminate *-cc-* as in *ariaṣaja* = Pali *ariyasaccaṃ* / Skt. *āryasatyam* ‘noble truth’ (no. 20, l. 20). Conversely, he often writes *c* for etymological *j*, as in *acali* = Pali *añjaliṃ* ‘reverent gesture’ (no. 13, l. 7) and *caḍarua-* = *jātarūpa-* ‘gold’

12. In the hand of the Senior scribe, this late form of *ka* is very similar, sometimes virtually identical, to *ṣa* (𑀓). This similarity has recently been convincingly cited by Boucher (2001: 101–2) as evidence that the archetype manuscript of Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* was written in a similar late form of Kharoṣṭhī in which *k* and *ṣ* were easily confused, leading to a misreading of an original *eṣamānaḥ* as *\*ekamaṇāḥ*, which would explain the otherwise unaccountable Chinese translation of the word as “unifies his mind” (*yi qi xin* 一其心).

(no. 13, l. 10). This pattern suggests that this scribe, and presumably at least some other contemporary speakers of Gāndhārī as well, did not distinguish between *c* and *j* in their dialect, and this impression is confirmed by the fact that the scribe frequently writes the same word with *c* or *j*, apparently at random; for example, the spellings *jaḍamaṣi* and *caḍa-rua* cited above alternate with the etymologically correct forms *caḍamaṣi* and *jaḍaruā*.

An especially interesting instance of this phenomenon is the spelling in the *Śrāmaṇya-phala-sūtra* scroll (no. 2) of *aca* for Pali *ajja* / Skt. *adya* ‘today’ in the phrase *kam=aca ṣamaṇa va bramaṇa va* (l. 25) = Pali *kaṃ nu kh’ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā* (*Dīghanikāya* I 47.13). This is important because it confirms the interpretation, tentatively proposed in Salomon 1999: 75–76, of the same word *aca* (also spelled *aco*) in the interlinear notations by the secondary scribes in the British Library scrolls as equivalent to Pali *ajja* / Skt. *adya*. In light of this new data, that interpretation can now be considered virtually certain and the other proposed interpretations (ibid.) may be discarded, so that the interlinear notations such as *likhidago aco sarvo* can definitely be translated “All has been written today.”<sup>13</sup>

Another distinctive feature of the Senior scrolls is the peculiar spellings of certain proper names. The name of King Ajātaśatru (Pali Ajātasattu), for example, is regularly rendered as *ajaḍaśasta-* or *ajadaśastu-* in the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* manuscript (no. 2, ll. 5, 13, etc.). In the same scroll, the name of one of the king’s ministers, who is known in Pali as Sunidha, is given as *suṇiḍa* (l. 18; compare the comments above on the tendency toward graphic deaspiration). And in scroll 1 (l. 14), the king known in Pali as Pasenadi and in Sanskrit as Prasenajit is called [*raya*] *pras(\*e)ṇao*, presumably equivalent to a Sanskrit \*Prasenaka-, which is not otherwise attested as far as I am aware. Among toponyms, we find *veḍutala* as the location of the sūtra on scroll 13 (l. 1) corresponding to Pali *veḷudvāraṃ* (*SN* V 352.16), and *ayajae* as the setting of the sūtra on scroll 19 (l. 1), evidently equivalent to Pali *ayojjhāyaṃ* (= Skt. *ayodhyāyām*).<sup>14</sup>

#### 6. SAMPLE TEXT: SCROLL 20, SŪTRA 2 (FIGS. 5 AND 6)

By way of a representative example of the material in the Senior collection, I present here the opening portion, consisting of the first eight lines, of a sūtra corresponding to the *Parilāha-sutta* of the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* (V 450–52) and to sūtra no. 422 of the Chinese *Za ahan jing* (T 99.2: 111b10–24). This sūtra is the second of two sūtras on scroll 20. The first sūtra, which corresponds in part to the first *Hatthapādupamā-sutta* in the *Samyutta-nikāya* (IV 171–72), covers the first ten lines and part of the eleventh line of the recto. The sūtra presented here begins in the left half of line 11, immediately after a small circular punctuation mark indicating the end of the preceding sūtra. This second sūtra covers the rest of the recto (through line 17) and continues on through all thirteen lines on the verso. The introductory portion presented here comprises the text at the bottom of the recto plus the first line of the verso.<sup>15</sup>

13. For further comments on the interpretation of the interlinear notations in the British Library scrolls, see now Lenz 2003: 108–10.

14. The locus of the Pali parallel to the sūtra on Senior scroll 19, namely the first *Dārūkkhanda-sutta* (*SN* IV 179–81), is given as Kosambī in the PTS edition (*Kosambiyaṃ*, *SN* IV 179.6), but *Ayojjhāyaṃ* is cited as a variant reading in the Sinhalese manuscripts (*SN* IV 179 n. 4).

15. There is no internal punctuation within the sūtra; periods, commas, and question marks have been added in the transcribed text to facilitate reading. Incomplete, partially legible, and other problematic syllables or portions of syllables are indicated in square brackets.

[11] *eva me sūda eka śamae śavasti nīdan[e]. sata* [12] *bhikṣave mahaparāda nāmo nīrea. tatra śatvaṇa ja[ḍa]ṇa bhūdaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapra ali*[13] *ḍa saj[e]ḍi-bhūḍ[e]. sayasavi ayaiūda divasaśa[ta]ta aḍita bhoti sapacaliḍa sajeḍibhūḍa evam=eva sati* [14] *mahaparādaha nāma nīrea. tatra satvaṇa jaḍaṇa bhūdaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapaḍi*[15] *liḍa sajeḍibhūḍe. asa añearo bhikhu bhayavata eḍavaya. mahaḍa bhate so paraḍae, sumahaḍa śo bha*<sup>16</sup> [16] *bhate śo paraḍae. asti bhate taspi paraḍae aṇa paraḍae aṣimahaḍaro ya* [17] *bhayaṇaḍaro ya?* [verso, 1] [*ast. bhikh*] *ju taspi paraḍao aṇa paraḍao aṣimaḍaḍoro ya bhayaṇaḍaro ya.*

## TRANSLATION

Thus I heard at one time. [Supply] the Śrāvastī introductory formula. [The Buddha said:] “There are, O Monks, hells named ‘Great Burning.’ The bodies of beings who are born, come into being, reborn there are heated, scorched, and set on fire. Just as iron balls heated for a [full] day are scorched and set on fire, just so are the hells named ‘Great Burning.’ The bodies of beings who are born, come into being, reborn there are heated, scorched, and set on fire.”

Then some monk said this to the Blessed One: “Great, Sir, is this [hell named] ‘Burning’; very great, Sir, is this [hell named] ‘Burning.’ Is there, Sir, another [hell named] ‘Burning’ besides this ‘Burning,’ even greater and more terrible?” [The Buddha said:] “There is, O Monk, another [hell named] ‘Burning’ besides this ‘Burning,’ even greater and more terrible.”

## PARALLEL TEXTS

Pali: *Samyutta-nikāya* V 450–51: *atthi bhikkhave mahāpariḷāho nāma nirayo. tattha yaṃ kiñci cakkhunā rūpaṃ passati aniṭṭharūpaṃ yeva passati no iṭṭharūpaṃ. akantarūpaṃ yeva passati no kantarūpaṃ. amanāparūpaṃ yeva passati no manāparūpaṃ. yaṃ kiñci sotena saddaṃ suṇāti . . . pa-pe . . . yaṃ kiñci kāyena poṭṭhabbaṃ phussati . . . pe . . . yaṃ kiñci manasā dhammaṃ vijānāti aniṭṭharūpaṃ yeva vijānāti no iṭṭharūpaṃ. akantarūpaṃ yeva vijānāti . . . pe . . . no manāparūpan ti.*

*evaṃ vutte aññataro bhikkhu bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. mahā vata so bhante pariḷāho sumahā vata so bhante pariḷāho. atthi nu kho bhante etamhā pariḷāhā añño pariḷāho mahantataro ca bhayānakataro cā ti.*

*atthi kho bhikkhu etamhā pariḷāhā añño pariḷāho mahantataro ca bhayānakataro cā ti.*

Chinese: *Za ahan jing*, T 99.2: 111b10–17: 如是我聞。一時佛住王舍城迦蘭陀竹園。爾時世尊告諸比丘：有大熱地獄。若眾生生於彼中一向與焔然。時有異比丘從座起整衣服為佛作禮。合掌白佛言：如世尊說此則大熱。世尊，唯此大熱復有大熱過於此者，甚可怖畏無有過上？如是，比丘，此則大熱亦更有大熱過於此者，甚可怖畏無有過上。

## NOTES

Line 11. *sata* is evidently plural (= Pali/Skt. *santi*), as shown by *sati* in the similar passage in line 13, and by the nominative plural forms in *-a* (graphic for *-ā*) of the subject words (*mahaparāda . . . nīrea*). (In *taspi paraḍae* in l. 16 and *taspi paraḍao* in verso, l. 1, however, the “[Great] Burning” hell is apparently referred to in the ablative singular.) The spelling *sata* for *sati* is a case of the phenomenon, attested elsewhere in Kharoṣṭhī documents

16. This syllable has been crossed out by the scribe.

(e.g., Brough 1962: 81–82; Allon 2001: 74), of the scribal omission of vowel diacritics on word-final syllables.

l. 12, *aviṇivurtaṇa*: The *ṇ* in the third syllable of this word has a sharply curved tail at the bottom that makes it look like a *t*, but the intended reading is clearly *ṇ*; compare the *ṇ* in *ṇirea* in line 14, which has a similar though smaller tail. The intended reading of the fifth syllable of this word is *rta*, but the syllable seems to have been corrected or rewritten over another letter, making it look like *rṇa*. The intended reading is confirmed by the spelling of the same word in line 14, *aviṇivurtaṇa* (≈ Pali *abhinibbattānaṃ*). The peculiar shape of two syllables in this word may indicate that it was corrupt or damaged in the archetype text from which our scribe was copying.

For the phrase *jaḍaṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa* compare, for example, *jātānaṃ bhūtānaṃ nibbattānaṃ* in the *Visuddhimagga* (Warren 1950: 28.30). In Pali, this expression seems not to occur in canonical suttas, but only in later and commentarial texts; for similar patterns in Gāndhārī sūtra texts, see Allon 2001: §2.4.

ll. 12–13, *aḍita kaya bhoti sapra aliḍa saj[e]ḍibhuḍ[e]*: For this phrase, compare, for example, *Samyutta-nikāya* II 261.24–25 *kāyo 'pi āditto sampajjalito sajotibhūto* (similarly *Aṅguttara-nikāya* I 141.14–15, IV 128.12–13, etc.). Gāndhārī *aḍita*, attested here for the first time, seems to be a conflation of the equivalents of Pali *āditta-* / Skt. *ādīpta-* and Pali *addita-*, *aṭṭita-* (compare *Thera-gāthā* 157 *kāmarāgena aṭṭito*) / Skt. *ardīta-*.

l. 13, *sayasavi ayaiḍa divasaṣa[ta]ṭa aḍita bhoti sapacaliḍa sajeḍibhuḍa*: Compare *Dīgha-nikāya* II 335.2–3 *seyyathāpi rājañña puriso divasasantattaṃ ayoguḷaṃ ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ tulāya toleyya*; also *Samyutta-nikāya* V 283.13 *ayoguḷo divasaṃ santatto*.

l. 15, *eḍavaya*: This phrase is one of the several Gāndhārī equivalents of Pali *etad avoca* “said this”; see Allon 2001: 163–65.

ll. 15–16, *sumahaḍa ṣo bha bhate ṣo paraḍae*: The text seems to be defective here; the expected reading would be *sumahaḍa bhate ṣo paraḍae*. The scribe seems to have lost his place in the archetype; he partially corrected his error by crossing out the first *bha* (see n. 16), but failed to fix the repetition of *ṣo*.

l. 16, *aṣimahaḍaro*: The prefix element *aṣi-* here seems to correspond to Pali/Skt. *adhi-* in the sense of ‘superior, more’, as in, for example, Pali *adhimatta-* ‘exceeding’. The Pali parallel (cited above) has here the more usual comparative form *mahantataro*.

verso, l. 1, *[ast. bhikh]ju*: Only the very bottoms of the first three syllables, which are non-distinctive, are preserved, but the text can be securely reconstructed from the parallels.

verso, l. 1, *aṣimaḍaḍoro*: This spelling, instead of the expected *-mahaḍaro* as in line 16, seems to be a scribal error, influenced by the similarity of the consonants *ḍ* and *h*.

#### COMMENTS ON THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE THREE VERSIONS OF THE SŪTRA

Although the rest of this Gāndhārī sūtra (not presented here) on the verso of scroll 20 agrees fairly closely with the Pali parallel in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, describing the metaphorical hell in which those who are ignorant of the Four Noble Truths dwell, the description of the “Burning” or “Great Burning” hell(s) (*mahaparaḍa/mahaparaḍaha/paraḍae*) at the beginning of the sūtra, presented above, is very different. In the Pali text, the “Great Burning” hell (*mahāpariḷāho*) is described as a place where all sensory impressions are unpleasant (*tattha yaṃ kiñci cakkhunā rūpaṃ passati aniṭṭharūpaṃ yeva passati no iṭṭharūpaṃ*, etc.). In the new Gāndhārī text, the hell is described, true to its name, as a place where beings are tormented by fire (*tatra ṣatvaṇa ja[ḍa]ṇa bhuḍaṇa aviṇivurtaṇa aḍita kaya bhoti sapra aliḍa saj[e]ḍibhuḍ[e]*). Here the Gāndhārī is closer to the Chinese

*Samyuktāgama* version, which describes the *dare* hell (大熱地獄) in generally similar terms, though more concisely than the Gāndhārī: “If beings are born in it, they constantly experience burning” (若眾生於彼中一向與炯然).

But it would be highly premature to draw from this single observation any conclusions about the textual and sectarian affiliations among the three versions of the sūtra in question. This will have to await a complete study of the new Gāndhārī version of it, as well as of the other texts of the Senior collection, and previous experience in analogous situations should lead us to expect that the relationships among the extant versions of the *Samyutta-nikāya/Samyuktāgama* (including the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments as well as the Pali, Chinese, and the new Gāndhārī specimens) will turn out to be very complex. This comparison is presented here merely by way of an example of the sorts of relationships that are likely to emerge in the course in the study of the Senior collection. It seems reasonable to assume that they will probably be at least broadly similar to the issues that arose in connection with the *Ekottarikāgama*-type sūtra fragments in the British Library collection (Allon 2001: chapter 2).

With regard to the question of the sectarian affiliation of the Senior scrolls, we are at a distinct disadvantage in comparison to the British Library collection, which was found inside a jar bearing a dedication to the Dharmaguptakas (see above, part 2). The presumed Dharmaguptaka affiliation of the British Library collection, or at least of portions of it, was supported on textual grounds by the close parallels between the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* manuscript contained within it and the corresponding version of that sūtra in the Chinese *Dirghāgama*, for which a Dharmaguptaka origin is generally, though not unanimously accepted (Salomon 1999: 171–75). In the case of the new Gāndhārī *Samyuktāgama*-like texts in the Senior collection, however, the situation is much more difficult. First, the inscription on the pot that contained them contains no sectarian reference on which to base a hypothesis. Second, the sectarian affiliations of the three Chinese *Samyuktāgama* collections (T 99–101) are far more problematic and uncertain than in the case of the *Dirghāgama* (see, e.g., Mayeda 1985: 99–101).

On circumstantial grounds, the *a priori* possibilities most likely for the sectarian affiliation of the Senior scrolls would be Dharmaguptaka or Sarvāstivādin, these being, to judge from inscriptional evidence, the dominant schools in the region and period in question (Salomon 1999: 176–77). Since the long version of Chinese *Za ahan jing* (T 99) which provides the best parallel for the Gāndhārī text presented above is generally considered to be most likely connected with the Sarvāstivādins or an affiliated tradition such as the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Mayeda 1985: 99–101; Enomoto 1983: 198; Harrison 1997: 280), we can make a preliminary approach to the issue by positing a Sarvāstivādin connection for the Senior texts, although at this point this is no more than a guess. Indeed, it is by no means certain that it will ever be possible to definitively determine their affiliation, even after a complete study. Nonetheless, the addition of a substantial and coherent corpus of sūtra texts to the surviving repertoire of early Buddhist canonical literature is bound to elucidate the history of this tradition, probably in ways which at this point cannot even be predicated.

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