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## Tocharian B Manuscripts in the Berezovsky Collection (2): Five More Fragments<sup>1</sup>

*Abstract:* This article is a full edition of five Tocharian B manuscripts kept in the Berezovsky sub-collection of the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS: two Sanskrit-Tocharian B Bilingual *Udānavarga* fragments (Uv. 1.26b–1.34a, Uv. 4.23b–4.34c); a Sanskrit-Tocharian B Bilingual *Karmavācanā* (*Upasāmpadā*) fragment, one fragment of a *jātaka* and one fragment of a *stotra* previously erroneously identified as *Udānastotra*. The article contains a transliteration, transcription, tentative translation as well as a commentary on the text of the fragments.

*Key words:* *Udānavarga*, *Karmavācanā*, Sanskrit–Tocharian B bilingual, textual and manuscript studies, textology, manuscriptology

In a previous article<sup>2</sup>, I have made a start with publishing fragments from the Berezovsky collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). This article continues publication of the Tocharian B manuscripts from this collection, presenting five more manuscripts: two Tocharian B – Sanskrit bilingual fragments of the *Udānavarga*<sup>3</sup>; one fragment of the Tocharian B – Sanskrit *Karmavācanā*; one fragment of a *jātaka*; and one fragment previously erroneously identified as belonging to the *Udānastotra*.

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<sup>2</sup> LUNDYSHEVA 2019.

<sup>3</sup> For details on the publication of the *Udānavarga*, cf. PEYROT 2008a, PEYROT 2016a. For details on the publication of the *Udānavarga* from the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS, cf. OGIHARA 2016. Two more fragments were recently published by OGIHARA 2018, LUNDYSHEVA 2019.

### Symbols used in transliteration and transcription

()	restoration
[ ]	uncertain reading
{ }	later addition
–	one unreadable akṣara
·	unreadable consonantal or vocalic part of an akṣara
///	torn edge of a fragment
•	dot, punctuation mark
:	double dot, punctuation mark (mostly metrical)
ś	and other underlined consonants represent so-called Fremdzeichen
ā	so-called Fremdvokal, equivalent to <i>ā</i>
ṛ、	consonant in virāma position (without dot, mostly with Fremdzeichen consonant)
c、	consonant in virāma position with dot (mostly with Non-Fremdzeichen consonant) <sup>4</sup>

### *Karmavācanā* fragment, *Upasaṃpadā*

SI 2922/2 (Old number: B/3 (14–2))

Findspot: Kuča, On-baš<sup>5</sup> Miṅ-Öy

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 1

fig. 2

SI 2922/2 fragment gives a text which is nearly identical to one of the Berlin version of the *Karmavācanā* (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz), THT 1102–1125, which belongs to the *Sarvāstivādin* school. To be precise, the text corresponds to leaf No. 16 of the Berlin manuscript (= THT 1108)<sup>6</sup>, lines a2–b3.

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<sup>4</sup> When a Fremdzeichen consonant is following under a Non-Fremdzeichen consonant in virāma position a virama with dot is used as well.

<sup>5</sup> Mikhail Berezovsky registered all the find spots of the manuscripts. He labelled this find spot “Onbaškii Minui”. However, the place is presently difficult to identify. All we know about it with certainty is that it was situated near Kucha and it was a complex of cave temples = Miṅ-Öy (“thousand caves”) or “Minui” in Berezovsky’s spelling.

<sup>6</sup> The text was read, restored and translated by Klaus T. Schmidt in a book which was submitted as *Habilitationsschrift* to Saarbrücken University in 1986. For a long time it remained unavailable in printed form. The edition (2012) given on the CEToM website (<https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian>) is based on Schmidt’s edition and provides photographs of the manuscript. The edition is now available in print: SCHMIDT 2018.

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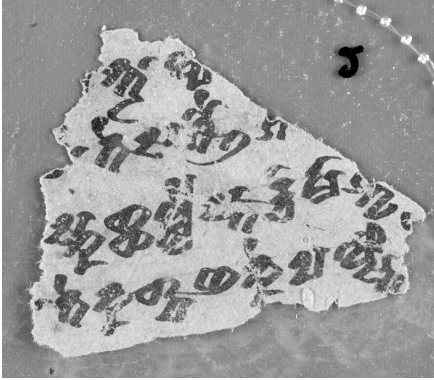


fig. 1: SI 2922/2 recto

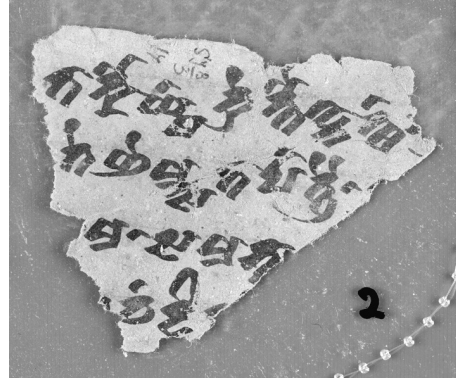


fig. 2: SI 2922/2 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.7×4.7 cm. Fragment of the middle of a leaf. It is likely that the lower edge is visible on the recto side and the upper edge on the verso side. It is possible that the leaf had only four lines on each side.

## 2. Transliteration

- a1 /// (·)[p·]<sup>7</sup> ntra · ly· ///
- a2 /// [rc·]<sup>8</sup> · tesa śaul<sub>~</sub> ś· ///
- a3 /// skaṣṣalle star-c<sub>~</sub> mā św· ///
- a4 /// · te ka śpā<sup>9</sup> ṅake palsko · e ///
- b1 /// tākoym<sub>~</sub> krentauwnat<sub>~</sub> p· ·r<sup>10</sup>· ///
- b2 /// te ṅemtsa tā pātrai · [·ru]<sup>11</sup> ///
- b3 /// ma · saman-ā ///
- b4 /// [e]vaṃ d(·)i [r·] – ///

<sup>7</sup> The rest of the akṣara before the lacuna is rather compatible with <ma> or <pa>.

<sup>8</sup> The rest of the akṣara is compatible with <rc> of line a3.

<sup>9</sup> There is no trace of any virāma stroke, even though śpā looks closely attached to the preceding letter. But it is for sure not written somewhat below the line.

<sup>10</sup> Judging from the level of the loop belonging to the presumable ligature <tra>, it seems likely that the word was written with double /tt/, as in the next line pātrai.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of the akṣara is compatible with <ru> because of the tiny remnant of the loop. It is supported by the text of THT 1108.

### 3. Transcription

- a1 /// (war)p(a)ntrā • ly ///
- a2 /// (star)-c • tesa śaul ś(awaṣālle) ///
- a3 /// (ya)skaṣālle star-c mā św(ātsintse) ///
- a4 /// • te ka ṣpā ṅake palsko(n)e ///
- b1 /// tākoym (•)<sup>12</sup> krentauwnats p(āt)r(o) ///
- b2 /// te ṅemtsa tā pātrai • (p)ru(camñai) ///
- b3 /// (ma)ma • saman(v)ā(hara) ///
- b4 /// evaṃ d(v)ir (api) ///

### 4. Tentative translation

- a1. ...will enjoy...
- a2. ...(this eating bowl) is to be (seized) by you. Thus [your] life should be lived (by you)<sup>13</sup>...
- a3. ...(you) should beg for it, (but you shall) not (for the sake of) food...
- a4. ...and, indeed, this now in [your] mind...
- b1. ...I wish to be, (I wish to be) a bowl of virtues...
- b2. ...(I,) N.N., this excellent eating bowl...
- b3. ...(it is) mine. Pay heed to this...
- b4. ...thus the second [time]...

### 5. Comments

a1. Compare THT 1108 lines a 1–2 (*pā*)traiyne cene ompostāṃ tsankalyi wārpanantrā lyec· ///.

Note that the subjunctive of *wārpā*- “to enjoy” in SI 2922/2 makes perfect sense in this context, because the passage refers to the future. The Berlin text has the apparent present *warpanantrā* with irregular *a* in the first syllable. Schmidt emends this to a regular 3 pl. present *wārpanantrā* with *ā* in the first syllable, but in view of the reading in SI 2922/2, an emendation of the form in THT 1108 to *warpantrā* has now become more likely.

a2. Compare THT 1108 line a3 *te p(ā)tr(o) eṅk(aṣalya) s(ta)r-(c) t(ai)sa śaul śawasāle star-cā*.

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<sup>12</sup> After a virama with dot a regular dot as punctuation mark was usually omitted in writing.

<sup>13</sup> “Thus you shall earn (lit. live) [your] living” (CEToM).

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Note that there is no dot after the first sentence in the Berlin text. Furthermore, SI 2922/2 supports the restoration *t(e)sa* in the Berlin text, which is allowed by the lacuna. The restoration *t(ai)sa*<sup>14</sup> should be abandoned. In SI 2922/2, the gerund form ought to be restored with <lle>, as in the next line.

a3. Compare THT 1108 line a4 *tā pātrai(sa) y(a)skasṣāle star-cä mā šwātsitse pernesa šaul šailyñe šparkäsäle star-cä*.<sup>15</sup>

a4. Compare THT 1108 line a5 *te ka špä ñ(ak)e p(a)l(sk)one pyāmtsar*.

b1. Compare THT 1108 line b1 *(eñka)ššeñca tākoymä krentaunats p(āt)r(o tā)koymä*.

b2. Compare THT 1108 line b2 *(te) ñemts(a) tā pātrai prucamñai eñkaskemar solmīyai pātrai rṣākāññe bhajaṃ*. This is a word by word translation of a ritual phrase which was spoken in Sanskrit. Compare the following Sanskrit text (THT 1108 line b3) *aham itthamñāma (= te ñemtsa) idaṃ pātraṃ (= tā pātrai) pāribhogikam (= prucamñai) adhitiṣṭhāmi (= eñkaskemar) paripūrṇaṃ (= solmīyai) pātraṃ (= pātrai) rṣibhājanam (= rṣākāññe bhajaṃ)*.

b3. The following part contains the part of the ritual which was spoken in Sanskrit, except the imperative *poñ* ‘say!’. Compare THT 1108 line b2 *tavedaṃ pātraṃ poñ mama samanvāyuṣmāṃ*.<sup>16</sup>

Note that the parallel Berlin text has no dot after *mama*.

b4. Compare THT 1108 line b3 *evaṃ dvir api tṛr api*.<sup>17</sup>

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to a part of the ritual of ordination (*upasampadā-*) for monks, more precisely to the episode concerning the acceptance of the alms bowl (*pātra-*) by the applying monk. This part follows the request and acceptance of the clothes (*cīvara-*) by the monk to be ordained.<sup>18</sup>

There are some differences of punctuation and orthography between the two manuscripts THT 1108 and SI 2922/2, which adds an interesting testimony to the ritual manuscripts for the Buddhist communities using Tocharian B.

<sup>14</sup> SCHMIDT 2018, 24, 56.

<sup>15</sup> “You shall beg for [it] (with) this eating bowl. But you shall not, for the sake of food, let fade away [this way of] earning [your] livelihood” (CEToM).

<sup>16</sup> “Is this your eating bowl? Say: [Yes, it is] mine. Pay heed to this, o venerable one!” (CEToM, somewhat modified).

<sup>17</sup> “Thus a second [and] a third time” (CEToM).

<sup>18</sup> For the general context and background, cf. HÄRTEL 1956, 74–76.

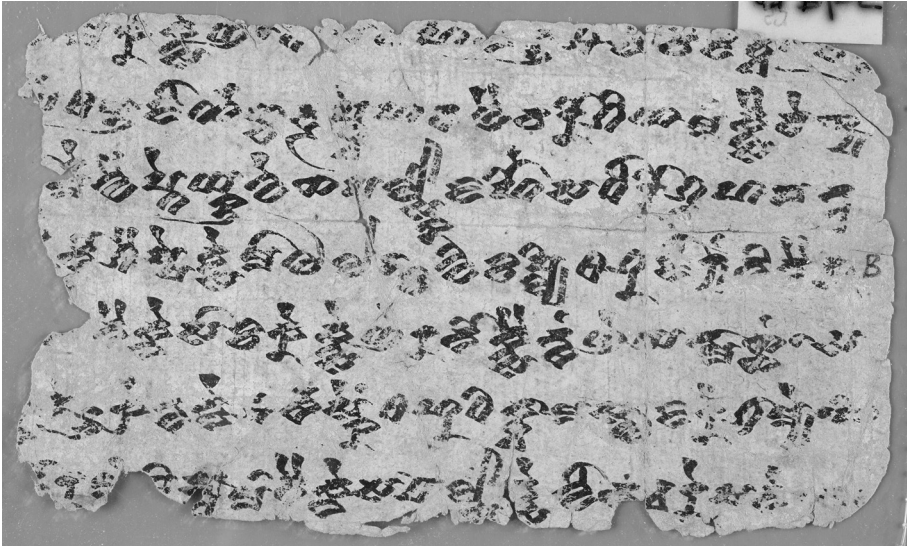


fig. 3: SI 2985/1 recto

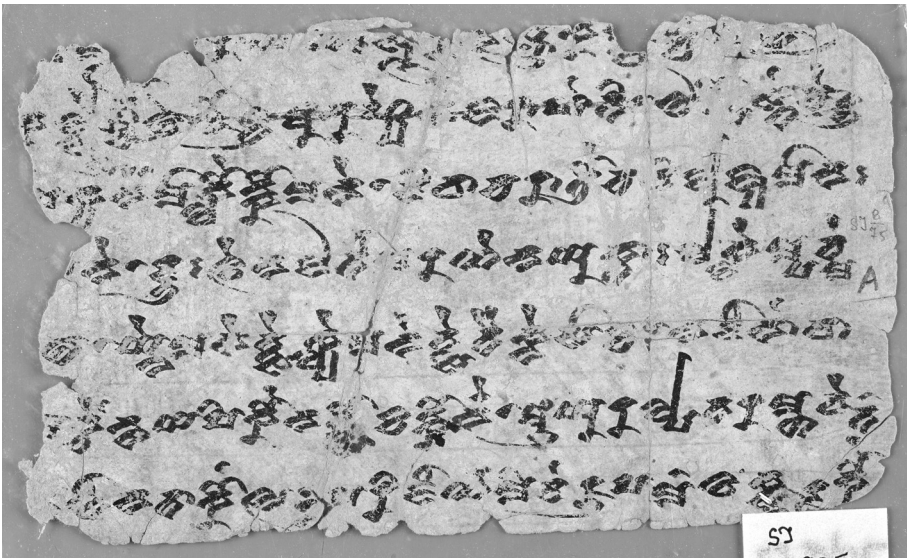


fig. 4: SI 2985/1 verso

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*Udānavarga* (Uv. 1.26b – 1.34a)<sup>19</sup>

SI 2985/1 (Old number: B/75)

Findspot: Kuča, Tadjit<sup>20</sup>, main temple.

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 3

fig. 4

SI 2985/1 lines b2-b4 give a text which is nearly identical with the *Udānavarga* manuscript Or.15007/308, kept in London (British Library), lines a1-a3. SI 2985/1 lines a4-a7 give a text which is nearly identical with the *Udānavarga* manuscripts IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368,<sup>21</sup> kept in London (British Library), lines a1-a4. SI 2985/1 line a2 corresponds to the *Udānālaṅkāra* manuscript kept in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz) = THT 5,<sup>22</sup> line a1; line a5 to line a8; line a6 to line b1.

**1. Material description**

Size (h x w, maximal): 9.0×15.5 cm. The right part of a leaf. The lower and upper edges are visible. Seven lines are still visible on both sides, which must also have been the original size of the manuscript. Line b1 is damaged: the paper has been erased, and the ink has faded.

**2. Transliteration**

a1 /// [n]· (·)m·(·)<sup>23</sup> k· ktseñ(√)<sup>24</sup> • t· [s]·(·)v·h[ā]n· [k]uś·l[o] vid[i]tv· •  
[ce]<sub>u</sub><sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The numbering of the chapters follows BERNHARD 1965.

<sup>20</sup> Mikhail Berezovsky labelled this find spot “Tadjit – glavnyj xram” (Tadjit – main temple). It was situated near Kuča. According to Berezovsky there was in Tadjit a surface monastery as well as a complex of cave temples, a Miñ-Öy (“thousand caves”; “Minui” in Berezovsky’s spelling).

<sup>21</sup> Published by PEYROT 2007.

<sup>22</sup> Published by SIEG & SIEGLING 1983, 147 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The Skt. absolute *prahāya* corresponds to the Toch. B absolute in *-rmem*. Therefore, <r> and <m> should be restored.

<sup>24</sup> A virāma with dot is supposed to be here after which a regular dot as a punctuation mark was omitted in writing. However, here one can see a regular dot as a punctuation mark and no virāma at all.

<sup>25</sup> The akṣara traces are compatible with <ce<sub>u</sub>> of line a6.

- a2 /// [y.]<sup>26</sup> 20 6 jīrnañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇamꣳ ktsaice ṣpā  
a3 /// [o]rme waipṭe ykuweṣa palsko jahau sa dhīro g[r]habandha  
a4 /// [i] no śaiṣṣentse mā olañkꣳ<sup>27</sup> wikaṣlyi 20 7 jīryamti<sup>28</sup> vai [rā]<sup>29</sup>  
a5 /// [t.]<sup>30</sup> taiknesākꣳ<sup>31</sup> kektseñe rano ktsaitsamñe yanmāṣṣamꣳ • sa<sup>32</sup>  
a6 /// [·cn· ce]<sub>u</sub> krentanne śarsaskeṃ 20 8 dhik tvām astu jare grāmye • hi  
a7 /// [n]<sup>33</sup> oramaṃ bimbamꣳ taiknesa pals·ontse wīna erepate • [jara]<sup>34</sup>  
b1 /// [p]· [m]r· [u] – r· y· [n]·h sū r·n· srūk·[ll]·śc· – w·lꣳ  
b2 /// kall{ñ}<sup>35</sup> }eścā aiwo<sub>lꣳ</sub><sup>36 37</sup> anu hy e[na]ṃ jarā haṃti • o[·p]ostamꣳ ce<sub>u</sub>  
b3 /// ṣ[e]k yanem mā klautkomane<sup>38</sup> • divā ca rātrau ca [vi]lujyamāna<sup>39</sup> h  
b4 /// [m·] ne • duhkhena jātīmarañena<sup>40</sup> yuktāḥ laklempa cme  
b5 /// thā<sup>41</sup> • ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesākꣳ<sub>u</sub><sup>42</sup> • nadīnām vā  
b6 /// [mā]kceṃtsa yaṣi kaunantso katkorne • āyur alpataaram<sup>43</sup> bhavetꣳ  
b7 /// [ts]<sup>44</sup> wīna tākoṃ 30 3 pariḥṛṇam idaṃ rūpamꣳ aiksnarꣳ ku[r]au

<sup>26</sup> See in the comment section.

<sup>27</sup> There is a tiny trace on the akṣara <la> which looks like a beginning of virāma-connection with the following <ñka> like in IOL Toch. 702 line b1. However, in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a1, one reads *olañkā* without virāma; and also here, the akṣara <ñka> is not lowered.

<sup>28</sup> In the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a1, one can see *jīryanti*.

<sup>29</sup> This akṣara should be the <rā> of *rājarathāḥ* Uv. 1.28a.

<sup>30</sup> This akṣara should be the <ti> of *upaīti* Uv. 1.28b.

<sup>31</sup> One can suppose that in this akṣara <ā> diacritical mark is used as a virāma-connection for the following Fremdzeichen consonant <k>.

<sup>32</sup> This akṣara should be the <sa> of *satām* Uv. 1.28c.

<sup>33</sup> This akṣara should be the <n> of *manoramaṃ* Uv. 1.29c.

<sup>34</sup> The akṣaras are reconstructed according to the Sanskrit text of Uv. 1.29d.

<sup>35</sup> The <ñ> has been added under the <lle> later.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a1 *aiw*.

<sup>37</sup> A virāma with dot is supposed to be after a non-Fremdzeichen consonant. So here one can suppose to see a virāma without dot and a dot as punctuation mark which are mixed in a unitary virāma with dot.

<sup>38</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a2 *n·(m) mā klautk*.

<sup>39</sup> In BERNARD 1965, 107: Uv. 1.31b *vilujyamānāḥ*.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a3 *marañe*.

<sup>41</sup> This is the last akṣara of *tathā* Uv. 1.32b.

<sup>42</sup> As in line a5, one can suppose that in this akṣara <ā> diacritical mark is used as a virāma-connection for the following Fremdzeichen consonant <k>. However, there is a possibility, that the word *taiknesāk* was spelled as *taiknesākā*.

<sup>43</sup> In BERNARD 1965, 108: Uv. 1.33a *alpataaram*

<sup>44</sup> According to the Sanskrit text a genitive plural ending of a pronoun is supposed to be here. The rest of akṣara could be compared with <tsā> of *mākceṃtsā* line b6.



### 3. Transcription

a1 /// (reri)n(or)m(eṃ) k(e)ktseñ • t(āṃ sar)v(a)h(ā)n(iṃ k)uś(a)l(o) vid(i)tv(ā) • ce<sub>u</sub> Uv.1.26b, c

a2 /// y 26 jīrnañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇam •<sup>45</sup> ktsaice ṣpā Uv. 1.26d; Uv. 1.27a

a3 /// (lyelyak)orme«ṃ» waipite ykuweṣā palsko jahau sa dhīro grhabandha Uv. 1.27b, c

a4 /// (yśelm)i no śaiṣṣentse mā olaṅk wikāṣlyi 27 jīryaṃti vai rā(jarathāḥ) Uv. 1.27d; Uv. 1.28a

a5 /// taiknesāk kektseñe rano ktsaitsāmñe yanmāṣṣām • sa Uv. 1.28b, c

a6 /// (kreñ)c n(o) ce<sub>u</sub> krentānne śarsāskeṃ 28 dhik tvām astu jare grāmye • hi Uv. 1.28d; Uv. 1.29a

a7 /// (ma)noramam bimbam taiknesa pālskontse wīna erepate • jara Uv. 1.29c, d

b1 /// (so) p(i) mṛ(ty)u(pa)r(ā)y(a)ṇ(a)ḥ sū r(a)n(o) srūk(a)lleśc(ā) (ai)w(o)l Uv. 1.30b

b2 /// (sū rano srū)kallñeścā aiwol • anu hy enaṃ jarā haṃti • ompostām ce<sub>u</sub> Uv. 1.30b, c

b3 /// ṣek yanem mā klautkomane • divā ca rātrau ca vilujyamānaḥ Uv. 1.31a, b

b4 /// (pālke)m(a)ne • duḥkhena jāṭimaraṇena yuktāḥ laklempa cme Uv. 1.31c, d

b5 /// (ta)thā • ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesāk • nadīnām vā Uv. 1.32b, c

b6 /// mākceṃtsā yaṣi kaunantso kātkorne • āyur alpataram bhavet Uv. 1.33a, b

b7 /// (ṃ)ts wīna tākoṃ 33 pariūrṇam idaṃ rūpam aiksnar k<sub>u</sub>rau Uv. 1.33d, Uv. 1.34a

### 4. Reconstruction and tentative translation

Uv. 1.26b /// (reri)n(or)m(eṃ) k(e)ktseñ

sarve gamiṣyanti prahāya deham “[men] will all pass away, casting off [their] bodies.”

Uv. 1.26c ce<sub>u</sub> ///

tāṃ sarvahāniṃ kuśalo viditvā “the wise man [who] understands (lit. having seen) [that] the loss is complete”

<sup>45</sup> After a virama with dot a regular dot as a punctuation mark was omitted in writing.

- Uv. 1.26d /// y  
*dharṃe sthito brahmacaryaṃ careta* “should live a life of purity (life of continence and chastity) according to the Law (steadfast in the Law)”
- Uv. 1.27a *ktsaice spā* ///  
*jīrnañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇam* “seeing an old man here (= in this world), and likewise [seeing] a sick man” THT 5 a1
- Uv. 1.27b /// (*lyelyak*)*orme«m» waipṭe ykuweṣā palsko*  
*mṛtaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā vyapayātacetasaṃ* “seeing a dead man, abandoned [by] consciousness”
- Uv. 1.27d (*yśelm*)*i no śaiṣṣentse mā olañk wikāṣlyi* IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368 a1  
*kāmā hi lokasya na supraheyāḥ.* “however, the desires of the world [are] not easily extinguished”
- Uv. 1.28b *taiknesāk kektseñe rano ktsaitsāmñe yanmāṣṣām* IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a2; THT 5 a8  
*hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti* “likewise, the body also gets old”
- Uv. 1.28d (*kreñ*)*c n(o) ce<sub>u</sub> krentänne śarsäskem* THT 5 b1  
*santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti* “and the virtuous men make it known among the virtuous men”
- Uv. 1.29a *hi(št)* /// IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a3  
*dhik tvām astu jare grāmye* “shame on you, old and vulgar”
- Uv. 1.29c *taiknesa pälkontse wīna erepate* IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368 a4  
*tathā manoramaṃ bimbam.* “since the form [that is so] lovely”
- Uv. 1.30b (*sū rano srū*)*kallñeścā aiwol*  
*so pi mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ* “Even that one [is] prone to death” Or.15007/308 a1
- Uv. 1.30c *ompostām ce<sub>u</sub>* ///  
*anu hy enaṃ jarā haṃti* “and thus death follows old age (lit. old age kills)”
- Uv. 1.31a *ṣek yanem mā klautkomane* Or.15007/308 a2  
*sadā vrajanti hy anivartamānā* “perpetually they go (away) without returning (=die)”
- Uv. 1.31c /// (*pälke*)*m(a)ne*  
*matsyā ivātīva hi tapyamānā* “like fish exceedingly burnt”
- Uv. 1.31d *laklempa cme* ///  
*duḥkhena jātīmaraṇena yuktāḥ* “with the suffering of birth and death” Or.15007/308 a3
- Uv. 1.32b *ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesāk*  
*caratas tiṣṭatas tathā* “of the moving [one and] as also of the staying [one]”

Uv. 1.33a *mākceṃtsä yaši kaunantso kätkorne*  
*yeṣām rätridivāpāye* “of [men] whose days and nights have passed”  
 Uv. 1.33d (*m*)*ts wīna tākom*  
*kā nu teṣām ratir bhavet* “what pleasure should they have (=find)”  
 Uv. 1.34a *aiksnar k<sub>n</sub>rau*  
*parijīrṇam idaṃ rūpam* “this completely old form (=body)”

## 5. Comments

a1. Toch. B *kektseñ*, obl. sg., “body”<sup>46</sup> corresponds to Skt. *deham*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

a1. The Skt. absolutive *prahāya* must be rendered in Toch. B with an absolutive in *-ormem*. According to the palaeographic traces, it is possible to restore (*veri*)[*n*]*ormem* “after having abandoned” (absolutive from *rin-* “renounce, abandon”),<sup>47</sup> which is the expected translation of *prahāya*.

a1. Toch. B *ce<sub>n</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tām*, acc. sg. fem., with the same meaning. Evidently, the Skt. feminine *sarvahāniṃ* was in Toch. B rendered with a masculine or alternant noun, for instance a verbal noun in *-lñe* like *nkelñe* ‘destruction’ or *kselñe* ‘extinction’.

a2. According to the akṣara traces, Skt. *careta*, 3sg. optative, is rendered in Toch. B with a 3sg. optative ending in *-y<sub>z</sub>*.

a2. Toch. B *ktsaice*, obl. sg., “old age” from *ksaitstse*,<sup>48</sup> corresponds to Skt. *jīrnam* “old age”, acc. sg.

a2. Toch. B *spä* “and” corresponds to Skt. *ca* with the same meaning.

a3. The Skt. absolutive *dr̥ṣṭvā* must correspond to a Toch. B absolutive in *-ormem*, so that the omitted <ṃ> is to be added. It is possible to restore (*lyelya*)*kormem* “after having seen” (absolutive of *lāk-* “see, look at”),<sup>49</sup> which makes perfect sense in this context.

a3. The Skt. compound *vyapayācetasam* “[the one] whose mind has gone apart” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase: *waipte ykuweṣä palsko*. The Skt. participle *vyapayāta* “gone away” is rendered as Toch. B *waipte* “apart, separately” and *ykuweṣä* “having gone”, obl. sg. preterite participle from *i-* “go, travel”.<sup>50</sup> Toch. B *palsko*, obl. sg., “mind” corresponds to Skt. *cetasam*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

<sup>46</sup> ADAMS 2013, 202.

<sup>47</sup> ADAMS 2013, 581.

<sup>48</sup> ADAMS 2013, 263.

<sup>49</sup> ADAMS 2013, 596.

<sup>50</sup> ADAMS 2013, 65.

a4. For Skt. *kāmā*, nom. pl., “desires, sexual pleasures” it is possible to restore Toch. B *yśelmi*, nom. pl., “(sexual) pleasure” from *yśelme*.<sup>51</sup>

a4. Toch. B *no* “but, however” corresponds to Skt. *hi* with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *śaiṣṣentse*, gen. sg., “world”<sup>52</sup> corresponds to Skt. *lokasya*, gen. sg., with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *mā* “no, not” corresponds to Skt. *na* with the same meaning.

a4. The Skt. nom. pl. gerund *supraheyāḥ* “± perfectly dispatched” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *olaṅk* “enough, easy” and the nom. pl. gerund *wikāṣlyi* from *wik-* “decrease and disappear”.<sup>53</sup>

a5. Skt. <hy> is normally not translated. Rather, pada-initial <hy> is often left out in the Skt. parts of the bilinguals.

a5. Toch. B *taiknesāk* “thus, just so”<sup>54</sup> corresponds to Skt. *atho* “like-wise”. a5. Toch. B *kektseṅe*, nom. sg., “body”<sup>55</sup> corresponds to Skt. *ṅaroram*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

a5. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”.

a5. Toch. B *ktsaitsāmṅe*,<sup>56</sup> obl. sg., “old age” corresponds to Skt. *jarām*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

a5. Toch. B *yanmāṣṣām*,<sup>57</sup> 3sg. active present from *yām-* “achieve, obtain; reach”<sup>58</sup> corresponds to Skt. *upaiti*, 3sg. present, “reach, obtain, to get into any state or condition”.

a6. Compare the beginning of the Toch. B part with THT 5 b1: *kreñc no c· – krentämne śarsäskemne eñ(we)tsts(e)*.

a6. Toch. B *kreñc*, nom. pl. masc., “good”<sup>59</sup> corresponds to Skt. *santaḥ*, nom. pl. masc., “good, real, true; a good or wise man”.

a6. Toch. B *no* “but, however” corresponds to Skt. *hi* with the same meaning.

a6. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”.

<sup>51</sup> ADAMS 2013, 565.

<sup>52</sup> ADAMS 2013, 696.

<sup>53</sup> ADAMS 2013, 652.

<sup>54</sup> ADAMS 2013, 325.

<sup>55</sup> ADAMS 2013, 202.

<sup>56</sup> The correct form is *ktsaitstsāmṅe* (ADAMS 2013, 263). However, in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a2, one can see *ktsaitsāmṅe* as well.

<sup>57</sup> The correct form is *yānmāṣṣām*. One can see it in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a2.

<sup>58</sup> ADAMS 2013, 538.

<sup>59</sup> ADAMS 2013, 153–154.

a6. Toch. B *ce<sub>u</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tam*, acc. sg. masc., “that”.

a6. Toch. B *krentänne*, loc. pl. masc., “good” corresponds to Skt. *satsu*, loc. pl. masc., “good” etc.

a6. Toch. B *šarsäskem*, 3pl. active present from *šärs-* “to make known”, corresponds to Skt. *nivedayanti*, 3pl. present, with the same meaning.

a6. The Toch. B part starts with *hi*. One can suppose *hišt* “pfui, pooh”<sup>60</sup> to be reconstructed as a rendering of the Sanskrit interjection *dhik*, or otherwise *hiś*<sup>61</sup> as in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a3. This assumption is supported by THT 5 b8: *hišt*<sup>62</sup> *t(w)e tākoyt (kts)aitsänñe*.

a7. Toch. B *taiknesa* “thus” corresponds to Skt. *tathā* “thus, in that manner”.

a7. The Skt. adjective + noun phrase *manoramam bimbam* “charming, beautiful image” was translated by a Toch. B complex phrase with an element of composita *pälskontse* (gen. sg.) *wīna* (nom. pl.<sup>63</sup>) *erepate* (nom. sg.) “form [which is] a pleasure for the mind”.

b1. Toch. B *sū*, nom. sg. masc., “he, this one” corresponds to Skt. *saḥ*, nom. sg., with the same meaning. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”. The Skt. compound *mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ* “[the one who is] an aim of death” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *srūkalleścä*, all. sg., “death”<sup>64</sup> and *aiwol* “towards, directed to”.<sup>65</sup>

b2. It looks like that the beginning of the line is a repetition of Uv. 1.30b from the line b1, at least in Toch. B. However, for some reason the word *srūkalleścä* in the repetition was corrected by the subscription of <ñ> to the ligature <lle>. It seems strange because there are two derivatives from *sruk-* “die”:<sup>66</sup> *srukalle* as a noun and *srukalñe* as a verbal abstract. The combination of <llñ> with double /ll/ before /ñ/ would be irregular. So this seems to be a scribal mistake.

b2. Toch. B *ompostäm* “afterwards”<sup>67</sup> corresponds to Skt. *anu* “after, afterwards, thereupon”. Skt. *hy* is not translated. Toch. B *ce<sub>u</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *enam*, acc. sg. masc., with the same meaning.

<sup>60</sup> ADAMS 2013, 797.

<sup>61</sup> Here *hiś* is written together with the following *twe*. So the last <ɤ> of *hišt* could be omitted.

<sup>62</sup> As the original manuscript was lost one cannot be sure about the omittance or presence of the final <ɤ> in the ligature.

<sup>63</sup> *wīna* is a pluralia tantum (ADAMS 2013, 654).

<sup>64</sup> ADAMS 2013, 792.

<sup>65</sup> ADAMS 2013, 111.

<sup>66</sup> ADAMS 2013, 791–792.

<sup>67</sup> ADAMS 2013, 126.

b3. Toch. B *šek* “continually, perpetually” corresponds to Skt. *sadā* with the same meaning.

b3. Toch. B *yanem*, 3pl. active present from *i-* “go, travel” corresponds to Skt. *vrajanti*, 3pl. present, “go, work, proceed”.

b3. Skt. *hy* is not translated.

b3. The Toch. B present participle *klautkomane* from *klautk-* “to turn, return, become”<sup>68</sup> with negation *mā* corresponds to Skt. *anivartamānā*, nom. pl., “not returning to life, without return”.

b4. The Skt. pl. participle *tapyamānā* corresponds normally to a Toch. B present participle in *-mane*, so that <ma> would seem to be the best option for the restoration of the preserved traces at the beginning of the line. The whole form may be *pālkemane*, as the Toch. B root corresponding to Skt. *tap-* “to make hot, to suffer pain, to torment oneself” is often *pālk-* “to burn; (caus.) torture”.<sup>69</sup> However, the rest of akṣara does not look like <m> but more like <y>. If it is indeed <m>, the lower right part must have been lost completely through abrasion. This is certainly a possibility, because there is a tear in the fragment at exactly that place.

b4. Toch. B *laklempa*, com. sg., “suffering”<sup>70</sup> corresponds to Skt. *duḥkhena*, ins. sg., with the same meaning.

b4. Toch. B <cme> should be the beginning of a derivative of the word *camel* “birth, rebirth”<sup>71</sup> *cmel*<sup>o</sup>, or the word *cmelle/cmelñe* “birth, rebirth” nom./obl. sg. gerund from *tām-* “to be born”<sup>72</sup>, corresponding to Skt. *jātī* with the same meaning.

b4. The Skt. compound *jātīmarāṇa* may have been translated into Toch. B as *cmelle srūkalle* as in *Udānavarga* manuscript PK AS 1A b1. The Skt. instrumental is rendered the with Toch. B comitative here so that one can restore *cmelle srūkallempa*.

b5. Toch. B *ynemanentse*, gen. sg. present participle from *i-* “to go”, corresponds to the Skt. present participle *caratas*, gen. sg., “moving”.

b5. Toch. B *klyemanentse*, gen. sg. present participle from *kāly-* “to stand”, corresponds to Skt. present participle *tiṣṭatas*, gen. sg., “standing”.

b5. Toch. B *taiknesāk* “thus, just so” corresponds to Skt. *tathā* “thus, in that manner”.

<sup>68</sup> ADAMS 2013, 248.

<sup>69</sup> ADAMS 2013, 404.

<sup>70</sup> ADAMS 2013, 589.

<sup>71</sup> ADAMS 2013, 269.

<sup>72</sup> ADAMS 2013, 308.

b6. The Toch. B gen. pl. reflexive pronoun *mākceṃtsä* corresponds to Skt. *yeṣām*, gen. pl., “which”.

b6. The Skt. compound *rātridivāpāye*, loc. sg., “passing of nights(s) and days(s)” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with gen. pl. *yaṣi kaunantso*<sup>73</sup> “night(s) and days” and *kātkorne*, loc. sg. of the *r*-abstract from the preterite participle from *kātk-* “proceed, pass on, pass [of time]”.

b7. Toch. B *wīna*, nom. pl. (tantum), “pleasure” corresponds to Skt. *ratih*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *tākom*, 3pl. active optative from *nes-* “be, exist, become”<sup>74</sup> corresponds to Skt. *bhavet*, 3sg. optative, “be, exist, become”.

b7. Skt. *parijīrṇam*, nom. sg., “old, decayed” is translated into Toch. B by a phrase with *aiksnar* “(al)together, completely” and *k<sub>i</sub>rau*, nom. sg. preterite participle of *kwär-* “to age, grow old”.<sup>75</sup>

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to the first Udānavarga<sup>76</sup> chapter named Anit-yavarga.

There are some differences between orthography and verbal forms of the two texts of IOL Toch. 233+368 and SI 2985/1. The translation from Sanskrit is done word by word. However, sanskrit compositas are usually translated by Toch. B phrases. Toch. B is not as rich in synonyms as Sanskrit is used to be. Some Skt. phrases get an additional elaboration as in line a7. All these instances helped not only to keep the translation close to the original but also make it clearer for the audience and omit excess stylistic effort.

### *Udānavarga* (Uv. 4.23b – 4.34c)

**SI 2994/9** (Old number: SI B/114)

Find spot: Kuča, On-baš Miñ-Öy

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 5

fig. 6

<sup>73</sup> In *yaṣi kaunantso*, *yaṣi* is in the singular and *kaunantso* is in the plural. We probably have to take it as a compound, even though no accent effect in *yaṣi* is seen.

<sup>74</sup> ADAMS 2013, 366.

<sup>75</sup> ADAMS 2013, 254.

<sup>76</sup> For the general context, cf. ĀNANDAJOTI BHIKKHU, 2007.

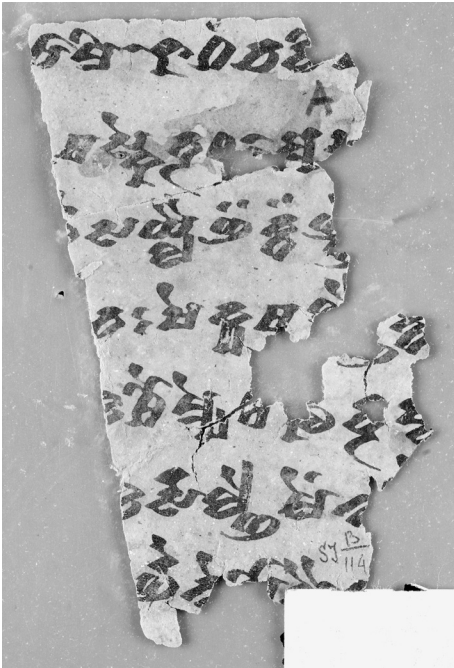


fig. 5: SI 2994/9 recto

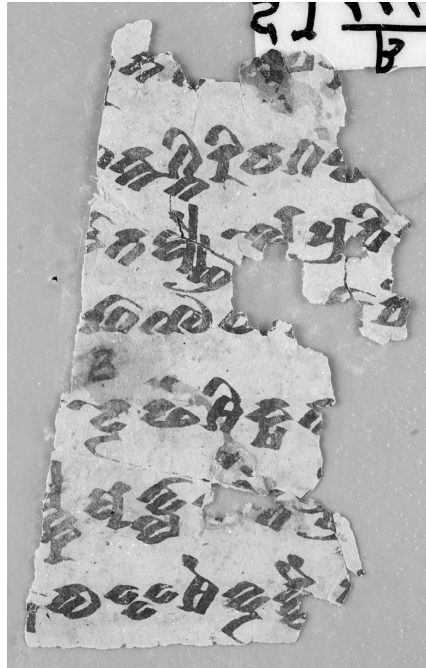


fig. 6: SI 2994/9 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 8.2×5.3 cm. Fragment of the middle of a leaf. It is likely that the lower and upper edges are both visible. On the fragment, seven lines are still visible on both sides. One can assume that each side had seven lines. The fragment is heavily damaged. All the lines have losses of text.

## 2. Transliteration

a1 /// [y]āmi • rāgaṃ ca d[oṣ·]<sup>77</sup> ///  
 a2 /// masketra 20-[3] a[p·]<sup>78</sup> ///  
 a3 /// [rñe]<sup>79</sup> sa ylaiñäktäññ[e] ///  
 a4 /// ta<sup>80</sup>ḥ ṣek yamal[y]ñent· ///

<sup>77</sup> These akṣaras should be the <doṣa> of *doṣaṃ* Uv. 4.23c.

<sup>78</sup> This akṣara should be the <pra> of *apramādaṃ* Uv. 4.24a.

<sup>79</sup> The akṣara is compatible with <rñe> of a7 line.

<sup>80</sup> Compare BERNGARD 1965, 134: Uv. 4.25b *pañditāḥ*.



- a5 /// [ai]śaumye 20-5 dṛ[ṣṭ·]<sup>81</sup> ///  
 a6 /// karsalñemem [ai]·[au] ///  
 a7 /// rñene [p]·os·ai [l] ///  
 b1 /// [dhu]n[āt]· [-] p·[k]<sup>82</sup> ///  
 b2 /// [ha]<sup>83</sup>nn agnir iva ga[cch·]<sup>84</sup> ///  
 b3 /// n[au]talyñe • 30 prati –<sup>85</sup> ///  
 b4 /// hāṇā[ya] (-)<sup>86</sup> [m]ā c[ä] ///  
 b5 /// • dṛḍham śikṣata ///  
 b6 /// ltk· awlā[wat]taññ[e] ///  
 b7 /// [m]<sup>87</sup> tu iše wrantsai [p·]<sup>88</sup> ///

### 3. Transcription

- a1 /// yāmi • rāgaṃ ca do(ṣaṃ) /// Uv. 4.23b, c  
 a2 /// māsketrā 23 ap(ramādaṃ) /// Uv. 4.23d; Uv. 4.24a  
 a3 /// (snai yko)rñesa ylaiñāktāññe (•) /// Uv. 4.24c  
 a4 /// (paṇḍi)taḥ ṣek yamālyñent(ane aiśaumye •) /// Uv. 4.25b  
 a5 /// aiśaumye 25 dṛṣṭ(adhārmika) /// Uv. 4.25d; Uv. 4.26a  
 a6 /// karsalñemem ai(ś)au(mye) /// Uv. 4.26c  
 a7 /// (yko)rñene p(r)os(k)ai l(kāskemane •) /// Uv. 4.27b  
 b1 /// (•) dhunāt(i pā)p(a)k(āṃ) /// Uv. 4.28c  
 b2 /// (da)hann agnir iva gacch(ati) /// Uv. 4.29d  
 b3 /// nautalyñe • 30 prati(vidhyate) /// Uv. 4.30d  
 b4 /// (pari)hāṇāya – mā cā /// Uv. 4.32c  
 b5 /// • dṛḍham śikṣata /// Uv. 4.33b  
 b6 /// (snai spe)ltk(e) awlāwattaññe /// Uv. 4.33d  
 b7 /// (pratibudhyadhva)m tu iše wrāntsai p(karsas) /// Uv. 4.34c

<sup>81</sup> This akṣara should be the <ṣṭa> of *dṛṣṭadhārmika* Uv. 4.26a.

<sup>82</sup> These akṣaras should be <dhu>nā<ti>< pā><pa><kām> of *dhunāti pāpakām dharmām* Uv. 4.28c.

<sup>83</sup> This akṣara should be the <ha> of *dahann* Uv. 4.29d.

<sup>84</sup> This akṣara should be the <ccha> of *gacchati* Uv. 4.29d.

<sup>85</sup> This akṣara should be the <vi> of *pratividhyate* Uv. 4.31c.

<sup>86</sup> There is a folio abruption at this place. It is not clear enough if an akṣara was eliminated by it. On the one hand, the traces of ink on the left and on the right sides of the abruption doesn't merge into one akṣara because the first one is looking more like <p> or <ṣ> and the second one is obviously <m>. On the other hand, from the semantical point of view there is no need of any additional akṣara.

<sup>87</sup> This akṣara should be the <m> in virāma position of *pratibudhyadhvam* Uv. 4.34c.

<sup>88</sup> The rest of akṣara could be either of <p> or <k>.

#### 4. Restoration and tentative translation

Uv. 4.23b /// *yāmi*  
*dharmasya bhavati hy anudharmacārī* “...of the law, fulfills his duties  
(walks in the path of the Law)”

Uv. 4.23d /// *māsketrā*  
*prahāya bhāgī śrāmaṇyārthasya bhavati* “shares the benefit derived from  
the monastic life”

Uv. 4.24c (*snai yko*)*rñesa ylaiñāktāññe*  
*apramādena maghavān* “through heedfulness of Maghavan (= Indra)”

Uv. 4.25b *ṣek yamālyñent(ane aiśaumye)*  
*sadā kṛtyeṣu paṇḍitaḥ* “a wise one permanently about [his] doings...”

Uv. 4.25d /// *aiśaumye*  
*atigrhñāti paṇḍitaḥ* “a wise one surpasses”

Uv. 4.26c /// *kārsalñemem ai(ś)au(mye)*  
*arthābhisamayād dhīraḥ* “having clear understanding of things, a wise man”

Uv. 4.27b (*yko*)*rñene p(r)os(k)ai l(kāskemane)*  
*pramāde bhayadarśakaḥ*. “[the one, who is] looking with fear at negli-  
gence...”

Uv. 4.30d /// *nautalyñe*  
*sarvasamyojanakṣayam* “elimination of all that binds to the world”

Uv. 4.32c *mā cā* ///  
*abhavyaḥ parihāñāya* “[the one who is] improper for a decrease”

Uv. 4.33d (*snai spe*)*ltk(e) awlāwattaññe*  
*anutthānam asamyamaḥ* “with a lack of endeavour and with uncontrolled  
[senses]”

Uv. 4.34c *tu iśe wrāntsai p(karsas)*  
*tad aṅgaṃ pratibudhyantadhvam* “O you! Recognize this!”

#### 5. Comments

a1. Toch. B *yāmi* “doer”, agent noun from *yām-*,<sup>89</sup> corresponds to the last element of the Skt. compound *anudharmacārī* “[the one who] acts according *dharmā*”.

a2. Toch. B *māsketrā*, 3sg. middle present from *māsk-* “to be, become”,<sup>90</sup> corresponds to Skt. *bhavati*, 3sg. present, “to be, become”.

<sup>89</sup> ADAMS 2013, 532.

<sup>90</sup> ADAMS 2013, 491.

a3. Toch. B *snai ykorñesa*, perl. sg., “without negligence; diligence”<sup>91</sup> corresponds to Skt. *apramādena*, ins. sg., with the same meaning.

a3. Toch. B *ylaiñäktäññe*, nom. sg., “pertaining to Indra, Indrahood”<sup>92</sup> corresponds to Skt. *maghavān*, nom. sg., “epithet of Indra”.

a4. Toch. B *šek* “continually, perpetually” corresponds to Skt. *sadā* with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *yamälyñentane*, loc. pl., “doing”, verbal abstract from *yām-* “to do, act”,<sup>93</sup> corresponds<sup>94</sup> to the Skt. gerund *kṛtyeṣu*, loc. pl., “to be done or performed”.

a4. The Toch. B correspondence to Skt. *pañḍitaḥ*, nom. sg., “a wise one” should be restored as *aiśaumye* as in line a5.

a5. Toch. B *aiśaumye*, nom. sg., “a wise one” corresponds to Skt. *pañḍitaḥ* with the same meaning.

a6. The Skt. compound *arthābhisamayād*, abl. sg., “clear understanding of artha” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *kärsalñemem*,<sup>95</sup> abl. sg., “knowledge” as the last component. The first component could be restored as *arthantse / ārth*.<sup>96</sup> Toch. B *aiśaumye*<sup>97</sup> “a wise one” corresponds to Skt. *dhīraḥ* with the same meaning.

a7. Toch. B *ykorñene*, loc. sg., “negligence”<sup>98</sup> corresponds to Skt. *pramāde*, loc. sg., with the same meaning.

a7. One can safely restore<sup>99</sup> the Toch. B phrase *proskai lkāskemane* “seeing fear” corresponding to the Skt. compound *bhayadarśakaḥ*, nom. sg., “[the one who is] looking with fear”.

b1. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.28c.

b2. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.29d.

b3. Toch. B *nautalyñe*, obl. sg., “disappearance”<sup>100</sup> corresponds to the last component of Skt. composita *sarvasamyojanakṣayam* “the destruction of all bounds [to *saṃsāra*]” acc. sg.

<sup>91</sup> ADAMS 2013, 559.

<sup>92</sup> ADAMS 2013, 563.

<sup>93</sup> ADAMS 2013, 529.

<sup>94</sup> *yamälyñe* “doing” would match much better to gerund, fem. from this root *kṛtyā* with meaning “act, doing”. However, the loc. pl. of *kṛtyā* is *kṛtyāṣu*.

<sup>95</sup> The correct form would be *karsalñemem* with *a* in the first syllable (ADAMS 2013, 177).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. ADAMS 2013, 56: *ārth* (n.[m.sg.]) ‘meaning, sense’ [*ārth*, *arthantse*, *ārth*//-, -, *arthanma*] *arthantse karsalce* ‘knowledge of the meaning’

<sup>97</sup> Cf. ADAMS 2013, 113.

<sup>98</sup> ADAMS 2013, 559.

<sup>99</sup> Compare IOL Toch. 48 line a2: *proskai lkāskem*.

<sup>100</sup> ADAMS 2013, 371.

b4. Sanskrit (Uv. 4.32c): *abhavyaḥ parihāṇāya*. Lit. “[the one who is] improper for a decrease”. One can suppose that in Toch. B it was translated as “[the one who is] not able to die or decrease” by a form of the verb *cāmp*-<sup>101</sup> “to be able to”. May be the agent noun *cāmpamo* was used.

b5. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.33b.

b6. One can safely restore the Skt. *anutthānam*, acc. sg., “want of exertion” as a Toch. B *snai* “without” *speltke*, obl. sg., “exertion”.<sup>102</sup>

b6. Toch. B *awlāwattaññe*, nom. sg., “absence of self-control”, abstract noun from adjective *awlāwatte* “uncontrolled, undisciplined”,<sup>103</sup> corresponds to Skt. *asamyamaḥ*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *tu*, obl. sg., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tat*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *iše*, a particle implying attention, corresponds to Skt. *aṅgaṃ* with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B postposition *wrāntsai* “against, opposite” and a 2pl, imperative, possibly *pkarsas* from *kārs-* “to know, understand, recognize”,<sup>104</sup> correspond to the Skt. *pratibudhyantadhvam* “to be aware of” 2pl, imperative.

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to the fourth *Udānavarga*<sup>105</sup> chapter named *Apramāḍavarga*.

Translation from Sanskrit is mostly a word by word one; however, there are some exceptions. Padas 4.28a-b, 29a-b, 30a-b, 31a-b, 32a-b are omitted as they are a mere repetition of padas 4. 27a-b.

## A stotra fragment

SI 2921/7 (Old number: SI B/3-6)

Find spot: Kuča, On-baš Miṇ-Öy

Tocharian B

fig. 7

fig. 8

<sup>101</sup> For the meaning of *cāmp*- cf. VYZHLAKOV 2020.

<sup>102</sup> ADAMS 2013, 788.

<sup>103</sup> ADAMS 2013, 32.

<sup>104</sup> ADAMS 2013, 176.

<sup>105</sup> For the general context, cf. ĀNANDAJOTI BHIKKHU, 2007.



fig. 7: SI 2921/7 recto

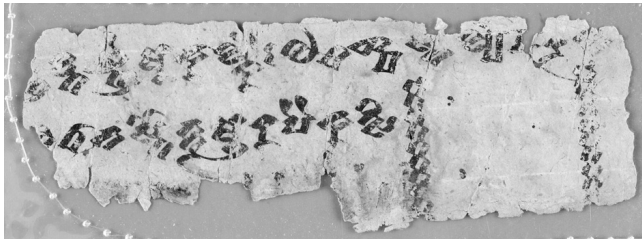


fig. 8: SI 2921/7 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.7×10.5 cm. The right part of a leaf, preserving the lower right corner on the recto, and the upper right corner on the verso. On the fragment, three lines are still visible on both sides. One can assume that originally each side had at least 4 or 5 lines.

On the verso side, one can see two vertical lines of ornament made of doubled slanting strokes going up to the end of the page. This drawing is the usual device for marking the final leaf of a manuscript, following a colophon. This assumption fits the content of the line b2, which mentions the end of the copy of a text. Line b3 is very damaged: the paper has been erased, and the ink has faded, so that one can see only the top of some akṣaras.

## 2. Metre<sup>106</sup>

The metrical character of the text is made sure by the double dots and by the instances of alternative word order. The complete metrical segments (*āñmalāṣlñe porttar ñiś : ketara kartseś; yārpointasa ñiññana : ce cmeltsa warñai, pūdñäktäññe akälko : ot spä snai lyīpär*) lead to the assumption that

<sup>106</sup> About Tocharian metre cf. PEYROT 2018.

the metre was 4 x 12 syllables, rhythm 5/7 (precisely 5/4+3). But the sentence to be found in line b2 was not metrical: it contained the title of the work, and probably the mention of the author of the text and the scribe.

### 3. Transliteration

- a1 /// ·[m]· – [p]· c[ā]r[ · ] p·yś·nts· c· [y]n·  
 a2 /// ·[n]uñña āñmalāṣṭhne porttar ñis<sup>ā</sup> · : ketara kartse[ṣ<sup>ā</sup> · ]  
 a3 /// ·o yārpontasa ñiññana : ce cmeltsa warñai wiko  
 b1 /// [d]ñ·ktāññe akālko ot · ṣpā sn· ly·[pā]r[ · ] [w]· ///  
 b2 /// [n]idhānastotrā āra paikatsi  
 b3 /// – ·e ·e l· ·e

### 4. Transcription

- a1 /// (śpāl)m(eṃ) (u)p(a)cār p(o)yś(i)nts(e) c(e) yn(eś)  
 a2 (yāmtsi : ----- : ---- ·nuñña āñmalāṣṭhne porttar ñis :  
 ketara kartseś  
 a3 (yamaṣṣeñcai po skeye : warpoymar ok)o yārpontasa ñiññana : ce  
 cmeltsa warñai wiko  
 b1 (yenträ – – – : ) ----- : ----- (pū)dñ(ä)ktāññe  
 akālko : ot ṣpā sn(ai) ly(ṭ)pār w·  
 b2 /// (pra)ñidhānastotrā āra paikatsi  
 b3 /// no restoration possible

### 5. Tentative translation

- a1 ...in order to make manifest the excellent practice of the omniscient.  
 a2 ...(please bestow) compassion, acknowledge me for the good of every-  
 one  
 a3 (as making all efforts. May I enjoy the fruit) by my own meritorious  
 acts. From this [present] existence onwards, may (the afflictions) disappear.  
 b1 (May my) wish of [attaining] Buddhahood (come true), and then entirely  
 (the refuge?) ...b2 ...the writing [of this] Prañidhānastotra has come to the end.

### 6. Comments

- a1. The words of this line should probably be restored as follows.  
*upacār* – noun, obl. sg., a loan from Skt. *upacāra*- “practice, behavior,  
 method”.

*poysintse* – gen. sg., “the all-knowing one, omniscient”, epithet and title of the Buddha, calque of Skt. *sarvajña*- “omniscient”.

*ce* – obl. sg. masc., of the demonstrative pronoun *se* of near deixis.

*yneś* – adverb, “really, obviously”; one could restore it as a part of the phrase *yneś yāmtsi*, infinitive, from the phrase *yneś yām-* “to make clear, manifest”.

Accordingly, these would make a complete pāda: *śpālmem upacār poysintse ce yneś yāmtsi* “in order to make manifest the excellent practice of the omniscient”; in other words, “to follow his example”.

a2. The first word of the line remains conjectural. The ligature ends with <·*nu*>, but the upper part remains problematic: it may be <*s*·>, or a more complex ligature. The reading of <·*ñña*> is perfectly safe, and it would be arbitrary to suppose a mistake. Otherwise, this text does not show any spelling error. The nom. sg. *-ñña*, if it were the feminine of an adjective in *-ññe*, does not fit with *āñmalāṣṣālñe*, which is masculine. Alternatively, an abstract in *-ñña*, (obl. sg. *-ññai*), does not fit in this context. The remaining option would be a verb form, the direct object of which would be “compassion”. This would be a 2sg. active of an imperative (V) based on a subjunctive stem in *-ññ-* (class XII), maybe from a denominative verb.

a2. *āñmalāṣṣālñe* is a verse form of *añmalāṣṣālñe*, nom./obl. sg., “compassion”.

a2. *porttar* – 2sg. middle imperative from *ārttā-* “to approve of, love, praise”. A new form and obviously correct. For this variant of the imperative prefix *p(ā)-* compare *pokse* from *āks-* “to announce, proclaim”.<sup>107</sup>

a2. *ñiś* – oblique of the 1sg. person personal pronoun. The nominative form is identical but does not fit in the present context. This form cannot be simply the direct object of the preceding verb, because one would expect the suffixed pronoun (*-ñ*) of the 1st person. Therefore, this pronoun ought to be constructed with a participial clause, which was made complete with the next segment. See the possible reconstruction of the text:<sup>108</sup> *porttar ñiś : ketara kartseś (yamaṣṣeñcai po skeye)* “acknowledge me, (as making all efforts), for the good of everyone”, where *yamaṣṣeñcai*, obl. sg.

<sup>107</sup> ADAMS 2013, 41.

<sup>108</sup> However, it is important to mention that as there normally should be a syntactic break after the punctuation mark (double dots), this reconstruction supposes a misfit between metre and syntax. Otherwise the translation ought to be as follows:

a2 ...acknowledge me [with respect to?] compassion; for the good of everyone, ...

a3 ...(May I enjoy the fruit) by my own meritorious acts.

*nt*-participle from *yām-* “doing”; *po* “all, every. each, complete”; *skeye*, obl. sg., “effort”.

a3. The first word of the line ought to be restored as (*ok*)*o*, obl. sg., “fruit, result”. As this text clearly contains a series of wishes, *oko* would be the complement of a verb meaning “to obtain, reach” or “to enjoy” in the optative, possibly *wārp-*. This would make a complete pāda: (*warpoymar oko*) *yārpontasa ñiññana*.

a3. *yārpontasa*, perl. pl., “good deed, merit” (an equivalent of Skt. *puṇya-*) and *ñiññana*, obl. fem. pl., “pertaining to me, my own” were put in a metrical order<sup>109</sup> to impose the rhythm 4+3 in the segment of 7 syllables.

a3. The last word of the line ought to be completed most probably as an optative form of *wik-* “drive off, disappear” either 3sg. middle *wikoytār* or 3pl. middle *wikoy(e)ntār*.<sup>110</sup> The term *kleś*, (oblique, pl. *kleśanma*), loan from Skt. *kleśa-* “affliction, impurity, depravity, defilement” is commonplace<sup>111</sup> as the direct object of the causative (transitive) of the verb *wik-*. So the complete pāda can then be restored as follows: *ce cmeltsa warñai wiko(yentrā kleśanma)*.

b1. *akālk* – nom./obl., sg. “wish”. The form of the text is *akālko* with so-called mobile *-o*, which is attested in other metrical texts. This vowel alternates with *-ā* and with zero at the end of the word. A final *-k* should have been written <̣k>. However, according to the requirements of metre, the *-o* has been written here. The wish in question pertains to becoming a Buddha in the next life, based on the merits.

b1. *snai lyipār* – current phrase (as an equivalent of Skt. *puṇya-*) used as an adverb “without any rest; entirely, completely”.<sup>112</sup>

b1. The last word of the line remains conjectural. One could restore *wa(ste)* “protection, refuge”.<sup>113</sup> This would refer to a commonplace notion, the threefold protection given by the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.

## 7. Notes

This fragment has been used by Lévi for his edition of the *Udānastotra*,<sup>114</sup> with the following comment:

<sup>109</sup> The normal (prose) order would be: *ñiññana yārpontasa*.

<sup>110</sup> ADAMS 2013, 652.

<sup>111</sup> For example, THT 1126 line a4 *kleśanma wikāṣṣām*.

<sup>112</sup> ADAMS 2013, 602.

<sup>113</sup> ADAMS 2013, 634.

<sup>114</sup> Lévi 1933, 66.



“Un fragment à Pétrograd semble appartenir au colophon:

1 *taññe akālk : oṣ ṣpa snai lyipar*

2 *tānastotr āra paikatsi*”

Lévi attributes this fragment to the *Udānastotra*. However, the connection with the *Udānastotra* seems to be wrong. Lévi assumes that for the *d* of *udāna* the scribe wrote <ṭ> (*uṭāna*), but with the alternative <ta>, namely the Fremdzeichen, transliterated currently as <t̄a>. But the Fremdzeichen <t̄a> is never found together with the diacritic mark of long vowel <ā>. Therefore, one should read <dhā>. The next decisive point is the reading of the preceding akṣara: this sign could be <ñi>, <ṇi>, or perhaps <śi>. One should quite definitely restore (*pra*)[ṇ]idhānastotrā, a transposition of Skt. *Praṇidhānastotra*.

In any case, the preceding text shows no common phrase with the conclusion of the *Udānastotra*.<sup>115</sup>

Since the notion of *praṇidhāna*-, alternatively *praṇidhi*- “solemn resolution, wish, vow”<sup>116</sup> is quite important in the Buddhist doctrine, a work with such a title is not unexpected.<sup>117</sup> But an exact identification seems to be out of reach at this point.

## Fragment of a *jātaka*

SI 2921/24 (Old number: SI B/3-13)

Findspot: Kuča, On-baš Miṇ-Öy

Tocharian B

fig. 9

fig. 10

<sup>115</sup> See the edition and restoration by PINAULT 1990 and the comments by PEYROT 2016b.

<sup>116</sup> EDGERTON 1953, 360.

<sup>117</sup> One would remember *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, also known as *Bhadra-carīpraṇidhānastotra* and *Ārya Bhadracarya Praṇidhāna Rāja*, the text which was popular in the region. Also the *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna text* is written in the first person, as the text of SI 2921/7. However this text does not fit the Sanskrit version: [http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/gretil/1\\_sanskr/4\\_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm](http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/4_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm).

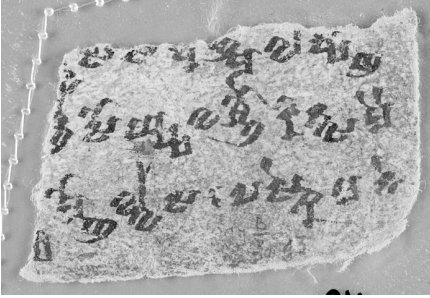


fig. 9: SI 2921/24 recto

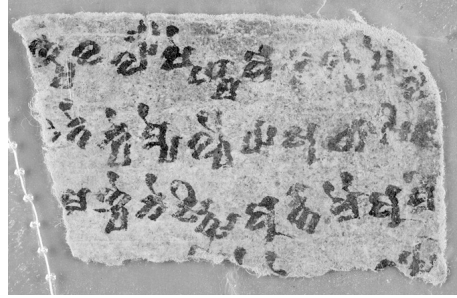


fig. 10: SI 2921/24 verso

### 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.3×5.5 cm. The right part of a leaf, preserving lower right corner of the presumed recto, and the upper right corner of the presumed verso. Based on the content, one cannot establish with safety what is the recto and the verso. On the fragment, three lines are still visible on one side, and four lines on the other side. Line b4 is much damaged so that one can see only the top of some akṣaras. One can assume that originally each side had at least five lines. The text seems to be entirely in verse, judging from the double dot in a6, and the number in b2, and from instances of verse forms.

### 2. Metre

The metrical character of the text is made sure by the double dots and by the instances of metrically pressed forms (*ṣlyamoñ lwāsa* and *teky empelye*) as well as several verse forms. The definition of the metre remains uncertain. However, there are several instances of sequences of 7 (4+3) syllables, and the final sequence of the pāda ought to be of 4 syllables (*ṣlyamoñ lwāsa* ; *teky empelye* 10). Therefore, one may tentatively surmise that the metre was of 4 x 18 syllables, rhythm 7(4+3)/7(4+3)/4.

### 3. Transliteration

- a1 /// [lt]s· [r]s· s· aṅm·l·ṣṣ[e]mñ  
 a2 /// [rñe] soṣṣawa śaul · rintsamai  
 a6 /// ·y· moñ · lwāsa : paskemane  
 b1 /// ñ[e]m · walo ṣeym · akalye p[r]e ·[ṣ]l

b2 /// [wa] teky empelye 10 subhāṣi[ta]

b3 /// mañye nestsi arttamai am[ā]ṃ

b4 /// --- ·ā ·e ·e -- [ra] [p]o

#### 4. Transcription

a1 /// (au)lts(o)rs(a) s(e) añm(a)l(ā)ṣṣeṃñ

a2 /// (perne)rñe soyṣṣawa śaul rintsamai

a3 /// (ṣl)y(a)moñ lwāsa : paskemane

b1 /// ñem walo ṣeym akalye pre(k)ṣl(e)

b2 /// (lyakā)wa teky empelye 10 subhāṣita(gaveṣi)

b3 /// mañye nestsi arttamai amāṃ

b4 /// --- ·ā ·e ·e -- ra po

#### 5. Tentative translation

a1. ...in brief, this one, out of pity

a2. ...I satisfied the glory, I gave up [my] life

a3. ...the flying animals. Observing

b1. ...was the king named ... The learning (ought) to be asked for (by myself)...

b2. ...(I suffered?) a dreadful disease. 10 (The king) *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*...

b3. ...I approved to become a servant. (I abandoned) the pride...

#### 6. Comments

a1. The words of the line one should probably restore as follows.

*aultsorsa* – adverb, “in short, briefly”, based on the verbal noun from the preterit participle from *wālts*- “to put together, press together.

*añmalāṣṣeṃñ* – causal (ending in *-ñ*) from *añmalāṣṣe*, equivalent of *añmalāṣṣālñe*, abstract, “sympathy, pity, compassion”. This form would be of the late layer of Tocharian B, featuring assimilation of a cluster of palatal consonants.

a2. The first word of the line ought to be restored as *pernerñe*, obl. sg., “splendor, glory”.

a2. *soyṣṣawa* is a verse form with syncope for *soyāṣṣawa*, 1sg. active preterit from *soy*- “to satisfy”.

a3. One knows already the fixed phrase *lwāsa ṣlyamñana* (THT 29 b8; to be restored in THT 343 a3), lit. “flying animals”, referring to birds. Here the

feminine plural *ṣlyamñana* of the agent noun *ṣlyamo* has been replaced by the masculine due to metrical requirements.

a3. *paskemane* is the *m*-participle from *pāsk-* “to protect; to observe (rules), practice, beware of”.

b1. *ñem* – nom. sg., “name”. It features here in the so-called naming construction with apposition to the proper name and the title of the person: “the king named N.N.”.

b1. *ṣeym* is a late form of *ṣaim*, 1sg. active imperfect from *nes-* “to be”.<sup>118</sup>

b1. *prekṣle* is a verse form with syncope for *prekṣalle*, gerund (I), expressing obligation, from *pārk-* “to ask for, beg”.

b2. The first word of the line remains conjectural. One could restore *lyakāwa*, 1sg. active preterit from *lāk-* “to see”, hence in this context “to suffer”.

b2. *teky* is a sandhi form, metri causa, for *teki*, obl. sg., “disease, illness”. With *empelye*, obl. sg., “terrible, horrible, dreadful, awful” composes a metrically pressed form *teky empelye*.

b3. *mañye* is a verse form with syncope of *mañīye*, obl. sg., “(male) slave, servant”.

b3. *amām* – nom./obl., sg., “pride, arrogance”; here probably a direct object, complement of a verb meaning “to set apart, abandon”.

## 7. Notes

The fragment belongs to a text which tells in verse stories of the past life (*jātaka*) of the Buddha in the first person, see the verbs in lines a5, b1, b3. Furthermore, the line b1 contains the typical sentence of conclusion, which gives the identification of a character of the distant past, in the 3sg. imperfect (*ñem walo ṣeym*).<sup>119</sup> This sentence corresponds to the so-called *samodhāna*, a finishing part of a *jātaka* in the Pāli *Jātaka* collection.

The king *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* is a well-known figure of Bodhisattva, which was the hero of a *jātaka* or *avadāna*.<sup>120</sup>

In Tocharian B, *Subhāṣitagavesin* is found in several texts: IOL Toch. 115 a1, IOL Toch. 278 b1, THT 95 a6, THT 99 a6. Precisely, in Berlin fragments, the story of *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* was told following the telling of the *Arañemi-jātaka*, the story of a very generous king, see the transition in THT

<sup>118</sup> Cf. PEYROT 2008, 58.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. THT 95 a1 (*etre ṣaim*), A 17a2, THOMAS 1957, 74–75, 162.

<sup>120</sup> See the references in PANGLUNG 1981, 177. See in particular *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, *Vinayaḥsūdraka* (T. 1451). *Bodhisattvāvadānakaḥpalatā* by Kṣemendra, No. 53 (see translation and analysis by STRAUBE 2009, 271–278); *Avadāna-śataka*, No. 38.

95 recto.<sup>121</sup> The story itself was told in drama form, as seen in the fragments THT 99 to 101.<sup>122</sup> In short, the king in question is eager to learn a saying (*subhāṣita*) of the Buddha. With this intention he meets a *Yakṣa* (who is actually *Indra/Śakra* in disguised form) in the forest, and learns finally from him the saying (stanza) in exchange of his own life: in this goal the king prepares a gigantic fire and throws himself into it, which however changes itself immediately into a pond. Then he obtains to hear the saying and to spread it.

There is however some uncertainty concerning the SI 2921/24 fragment, partly because the fragmentary text does not offer any common word or phrase with the fragments THT 95, 99–101. This situation can be explained by a difference of genre, since the treatment in dramatic form in THT 99–101 is quite extensive, with alternating prose and verse. It is not at all certain that the king who was named in SI 2921/24 b1 was identical to *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*, who is named later in line b2. The phrase “I gave up my life” (line a2) may apply to many *Bodhisattvas*. Then, it is possible that our text contained the successive telling of several *jātakas* in very abridged form (a type of text which is known otherwise) and in verse. And among them it contained the *jātaka* of *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*.

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<sup>121</sup> SIEG & SIEGLING 1953, 32.

<sup>122</sup> SIEG & SIEGLING 1953, 34–37.

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