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Pinault, G.-J.; Peyrot, M.; Wilkens, J.

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# TOCHARIAN B PARALLELS TO THE *SUPĀRAGA-AVADĀNA* OF THE OLD UYGHUR *DAŚAKARMAPATHĀVADĀNAMĀLĀ*

GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT – MICHAËL PEYROT – JENS WILKENS

École Pratique des Hautes Études à la Sorbonne  
54 rue Saint-Jacques. CS 20525, 75005 Paris, France  
e-mail: georges.pinault@wanadoo.fr

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, Universiteit Leiden  
Postbus 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands  
e-mail: m.peyrot@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen  
Geiststraße 10, 37073 Göttingen, Germany  
e-mail: jens.wilkens@phil.uni-goettingen.de

The collection of Buddhist legends entitled *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (*DKPAM*) is best preserved in Old Uyghur. According to the colophons of this Old Uyghur version, it was translated from Tocharian. In this paper, two Tocharian B fragments that are parallel to the *Supāraga-Avadāna* of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM* are presented, together with a third Tocharian B fragment that may belong to the same *avadāna*, but is so far lacking a parallel in Old Uyghur.

*Key words:* *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, Tocharian B, Old Uyghur, Buddhist legend, *Supāraga*, Silk Road.

## 1. Introduction

The Buddhist cycle of stories entitled *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (“Garland of legends pertaining to the ten courses of action”; hereafter: *DKPAM*) is preserved in various native languages of ancient Central Asia (Old Uyghur, Tocharian A, Tocharian B, Sogdian). The authors of this paper have already published on this work in this journal.<sup>1</sup> We have succeeded in identifying two further fragments in Tocharian B that belong to the *Supāraga-Avadāna* and have parallels in Old Uyghur. A third possible *Supāraga-Avadāna* fragment is so far without Old Uyghur parallel.

The *Supāraga-Avadāna* is the second story in the first chapter of the *DKPAM*. Several fragments of the Old Uyghur version are known. The manuscript from Tömürti (close to Hami; the manuscript was previously referred to as the Hami manuscript) kept in the Xinjiang-Museum in Ürümqi (PR China) has preserved consider-

<sup>1</sup> See Wilkens – Pinault – Peyrot (2014); Peyrot – Wilkens (2014).

able parts of the tale.<sup>2</sup> These can be complemented by fragments from the collections in Berlin and St. Petersburg. The sequence of these fragments is not certain in every respect. Three factors render a reconstruction of the tale as preserved in Old Uyghur rather difficult. First, the Supāraga-Avadāna as found in the *DKPAM* has only loose parallels in other Buddhist works. Secondly, there are obviously large gaps between the individual fragments belonging to the story. Thirdly, the manuscript from Tömürti seems to represent an independent translation which sometimes differs significantly from other manuscripts.

## 2. Outline of the Tale

The story is set in the city of Benares (India) where a certain merchant is living who is called *sandane* (Skt. Samdhāna) or alternatively *santake*.<sup>3</sup> This merchant has a son called Supāraga whose physical appearance and virtues are described in great detail. Being a Bodhisattva, he gives gifts in great amount, but still is not able to satisfy the needs of the poor.<sup>4</sup> He therefore decides to sail the sea in order to retrieve the wish-fulfilling jewel (Skt. *cintāmani*). The sons of the other merchants of Benares – 500 in number – want to accompany the Bodhisattva.

Supāraga reminds everyone to ask permission from their respective fathers. He approaches his own father and explains his desire to depart. His father tries to persuade him to give up his resolve, because he fears the dangers that Supāraga will have to face when embarking on a ship. He gives a description of the monsters living in the ocean. [*lacuna*] The dialogue between Supāraga and his father continues and the latter reflects that the Bodhisattva will refuse to eat should he not be given the permission to sail the sea. Thus, the merchant finally gives his son the permission to depart.

Supāraga and the 500 sons of the merchants agree to set off for their journey after seven days to make the provisions ready have passed. After seven days they meet in the north of the village of Ratnagrāma. The Bodhisattva admonishes his companions to avoid feelings of hatred and anger and to be instead always loyal. The merchant Ratnacintin points at Supāraga and recognises that he is a Bodhisattva. Marching through a ravine they reach the harbour after some days. The Bodhisattva advises the captain to tell all fellow seafarers that they have the opportunity to return. The captain mentions the dangers which await them and strictly forbids them to show any trace of anger or hatred while on the ocean. [*lacuna*]

<sup>2</sup> See the edition in Geng–Laut–Wilkens (2006, pp. 162–169; 2007, pp. 124–132). During a stay in Xinjiang in July and August 2014, Jens Wilkens had the opportunity to check the original manuscript kept in the Xinjiang Museum (Ürümçi). Thanks to this stay, we are now also able to provide the shelf marks of the fragments.

<sup>3</sup> The reconstruction of the underlying Sanskrit term of this variant is so far unclear. Skt. *santaka-* is recorded as an adjective meaning ‘belonging to’ (MW: 1141b; BHSD: 555a), which does not fit. It may be taken, however, as a proper name, diminutive of the proper name *Santa-*, attested in the Mahābhārata (MW: 1141b). If one considers it to be a transposition of a Prākṛit form, there are some additional possibilities, cf. the proper name Skt. *Śānta-* (BHSD: 525b), hence a diminutive *Śāntaka-*, or the like.

<sup>4</sup> This is the context of the first parallel passage.

A sea monster is approaching which Supāraga describes to the other merchants. [*lacuna*] Dangerous whirlpools are to be seen and sea creatures are leaping out of the water.<sup>5</sup> [*lacuna*] The merchants say that they have put their trust in Supāraga. They have even left their relatives behind to accompany the Bodhisattva. [*lacuna*] Apparently the seafarers are shipwrecked and are not able to cross a certain chasm. The Bodhisattva decides to sacrifice his life in order to be reborn as a huge serpent. The serpent is able to address his former companions in human language. All the merchants are able to cross the chasm by stepping on the body of the snake whereby the latter is terribly injured. [*lacuna*]

### 3. The First Parallel Passage

The Bodhisattva Supāraga wants to put to sea with 500 merchants' sons<sup>6</sup> in search of the *cintāmaṇi* jewel and asks his father permission to leave.

#### *D 2669 59HT/77AB* (= folio 28 Tömürti)<sup>7</sup>

*Verso*

00919 21 anta<sup>8</sup>  
 00920 22 [ötrü] suparage bodis(a)t(a)v tüzgäriñsiz (Br. supārāgi)  
 00921 23 burhan kutı üçün kop köñül[i]n katıglanu  
 00922 24 alku **ädin t(a)varın . alkuka ıdalayu**  
 00923 25 **titä berü kılı** inčä ök buşı[č]ı koltguči-  
 00924 26 larıg idi toduru kanturu umaz ärti : ötrü  
 00925 27 ol suparage bodis(a)t(a)v bo ok tıltağın (Br. supārāgi)  
 00926 28 taloy ügüzkä kirip cintamani ärdini (Br. cintāmāni)<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This is the context of the second parallel passage.

<sup>6</sup> In the OU version, they are merchants' sons, while they are simply merchants in TochB.

<sup>7</sup> Words in bold typeface signify that they have a correspondence in the Tocharian B parallel. The conventional symbols for transcribing Old Uyghur are used: [ ] restoration; ( ) defective spellings; (( )) later addition in the manuscript; / illegible letter; letters/words in italics: uncertain readings or partly damaged letters/words; words surrounded by a frame have a gloss in Brāhmī script. These glosses are transcribed in parentheses following the abbreviation Br. for Brāhmī. ( P ) position of the string hole. Explanatory additions in the translation are in ( ). In the translation, subscript 2 denotes a hendiadys (synonym compound) in the original. A subscript 3 denotes a combination of three synonyms. If restorations of damaged words are impossible, letters are given in transliteration (in small capitals). The letter *ṭ* used in the transcription means that <d> is written for expected *t*, whereas the letter *ḍ* represents a written letter <ṭ> in the manuscript. For the line numbers 00919 sqq. see Wilkens (2016).

<sup>8</sup> The beginning of this line is not cited. It reads: *-[ka] ok ädgü kılgu küsüslüg ärti :*

<sup>9</sup> In the first edition the gloss was read *cindhāmāni*, because of a fold in the paper partially covering up the akṣara <ntā>.

**D 2669 59HT/164AB [𐰽 22:1a/b] + 248AB (= folio 29 Tömürti)***Recto*

- pagination: tokuz otuz <p(a)tr> D2669 59HT/164AB r/pag./
- 00927 01 üntürgü ugrınta köñ[ül] öritip : ol
- 00928 02 köñülintäki savlarıg . s[a]rtlar oğlanıña
- 00929 03 aça yada birlä bargalı k[o]đuru sözlädi [:]
- 00930 04 [o]l savıg<sup>10</sup> äšidip **beš yü[z sart]lar oğlanı**
- 00931 05 anı birlä t[a]loyka ki[rğäli küsüşlüg ä]rtülär :  
248AB r1 + D2669 59HT/164AB r5
- 00932 06 **suparage** bodis(a)t(a)vka [inčä t]ep ötünti-  
(Br. supārāgi)
- 00933 07 lār : t(ä)ñrim kәнč ( P ) [yigi]t oğlan
- 00934 08 ärkän tapınu [ ] **sizni birlä**
- 00935 09 **ögräntim(i)z tuy[đumuz :] sizniñ** köñüllüg
- 00936 10 ärdiniñiz bizi[ñ yürä]k[i]m[i]z içintä yatur <:>  
248AB r6 + D2669 59HT/164AB r10
- 00937 11 *nän ol ädgü ögl[i]* ädgü ögli tetmāz :
- 00938 12 kayu ädgü ögli . ädgü öglisiniñ tapınča
- 00939 13 ävrilmäsär . biz amtı kamıgun turup sizniñ
- 00940 14 tap eyin ävrilgäli anuk täginür biz : ((**suparage**))  
(Br. supārāgi)
- 00941 15 bodis(a)t(a)v sözlädi : y-a antag ärsär amrak-
- 00942 16 lar yoriñlar : kamıgun **k(ä)ntü k(ä)ntü atam(i)zlar-**
- 00943 17 **garu kañlarım(i)zg[ar]u bar[i]p boşug kolalım :**<sup>11</sup>
- 00944 18 munča sözläšip turup öz öz ata-
- 00945 19 ları kañlarıñaru bardılar : suparage bodis(a)t(a)v  
(Br. supārāgi)
- 00946 20 atasıña tägip ayasın kavšurup ayayu
- 00947 21 čiltäyü ötünti : kut t(ä)ñrisiñä ogšatı
- 00948 22 kolusuz kutlug atačım kañiçim **kinıgım**
- 00949 23 **ötünmiš ötügüm[i]n äšidü y(a)rıkay** <:>

**U 1863***Recto*

- 00994 10 [agır] ayagın ogulı<sup>12</sup>
- 00995 11 [suparage bodi]s(a)t(a)v inčä tep [ötün]ti :

<sup>10</sup> The word is preserved. A fold in the paper had covered up the word.

<sup>11</sup> Hereafter the manuscript from Tömürti is obviously at variance with the texts from the Turfan Collection in Berlin. We decided to give here the text of two fragments from the Turfan Collection in Berlin as a parallel for the Tocharian B passage.

<sup>12</sup> In the lacuna at the beginning of this line we have to restore *-[läp meni titär s(ä)n]*.

- 00996 12 t[ä]nri atam-a<sup>13</sup> bo yert[inč]üdä<sup>14</sup> kim ärsär ä[d]gü  
 00997 13 / [ birök] m[a]ŋa ölüm kälsär nän siz  
 00998 14 [meni] tutu um[az] siz : munta ärsär ymä  
 00999 15 [u]/[u]g [a]daka ođu[ra]k tægirm(ä)n : anın  
 01000 16 s[iz] ymä meni taloyka bargalı tıdmazun :  
 01001 17 ötrü atası santake bayagut köjülintä  
 01002 18 inčä sakıntı : bo mäniŋ oglum ärtiŋü katıg  
 01003 19 k[ım]g köjüllüg [o]l : birök [ta]/[oy]ka bargalı[ı]

### Mainz 671

#### Recto

- 01004 01 bošuma-<sup>15</sup>  
 01005 02 [ / aš yegäli unamagay inčip toy  
 01006 03 [ ö]lgäy : nä tıltagin munı ölürürm(ä)n  
 01007 04 [taloy]ka bargalı bošuyın <:> öz kutınta  
 01008 05 [ ]/// [tiri]g äsän körüşgäy ärki m(ä)n  
 01009 06 [ ]///Q sakınıp ogulı suparage bodis(a)v(a)t-  
 01010 07 [k]a inčä tep ( P ) tedi : bošuyurm(ä)n  
 01011 08 [ ]// ogulum-a ( P ) karı nätägin  
 01012 09 urunčak yemägil ( P ) : yänä äsän  
 01013 10 [körüş]älim <:> bo savag äšidip suparage bodi-  
 01014 11 [s(a)v(a)t] t(ä)rkin ök oronınta turup ata-  
 01015 12 [sıŋa yin]čürü yükünüp<sup>16</sup> ögrünčülügün  
 01016 13 [säv]inčligin ratanagram atl(ı)g suzakka  
 01017 14 [ba]rdı : anta ötrü ol beš yüz satıgčılar  
 01018 15 oğlanı voltakı aš azuk äd tavar<sup>17</sup> anutu-  
 01019 16 p yetinč kün taloyka bargalı iş urdı-  
 01020 17 lar <:><sup>18</sup>

#### Translation

(00919–00924) Even though Bodhisattva Supāraga was at th[at time] striving with all his heart because of the unsurpassable *bodhi*, **giving up<sub>3</sub> all his possessions<sub>2</sub> to**

<sup>13</sup> The Tocharian parallel suggests this restoration of the lacuna. In the Hamsasvara-Avadāna, too, prince Hamsasvara addresses his father with *tänri atam-a*; see Wilkens (2016, p. 632, line 07801).

<sup>14</sup> U 1959r + U 1856 /r/7/: [ye]rtinčütä.

<sup>15</sup> The beginning of this line is not cited. It is identical to U 1863 /r/19/: [...] ol birök taloyka bargalı.

<sup>16</sup> U 1863 /v/ constitutes a parallel.

<sup>17</sup> U 1863 /v/4/: t(a)var.

<sup>18</sup> The end of this line is not cited. It reads: *yetinč kün ärtmäkiŋä tagdın yın-*.

**other people**, in this way he was not at all able to satisfy<sub>2</sub> the people<sub>2</sub> begging for alms. (00924–00929) For this reason precisely the Bodhisattva Supāraga decid[ed] to put to sea<sub>2</sub>, in order to retrieve the *cintāmaṇi*-jewel; and, very intent to depart, he communicated those things he had in mind thoroughly<sub>2</sub> to the merchants' sons. (00930–00931) After having heard [th]at speech, **the 50[0 merc]hants' sons** [wish]ed to sa[il] the ocean with him. (00932–00933) They spoke to the Bodhisattva Supāraga [as follows]: (00933–00935) “Sir, being young<sub>2</sub> men [...] by serving **we have learned and per[ceived] ... with you.** (00935–00936) **Your** jewel of thought lies in ou[r hear]ts. (00937–00939) (For) by no means can a friend be called ‘friend’ if he – as a friend – does not comply to the wish of his friend.<sup>19</sup> (00939–00940) So we are, too, ready to depart together and comply with your wish.” (00940–00941) Bodhisattva Supāraga said: (00941–00943) “That being so, my dear (friends), then set out! **Let us all go to our respective fathers<sub>2</sub> and ask for permission.**” (00944–00945) Thus coming to an agreement, they got up and went to their respective fathers. (00945–00947) When the Bodhisattva Supāraga reached his father, he put his palms together and spoke with respect<sub>2</sub>: (00947–00949) “My dear father<sub>2</sub>, who resembles the god of fortune and is immeasurably fortunate (himself), **deign to listen to my request made with resolution.**”

(00994–00995) With [great] respect his son, the [Bodhi]sattva [Supāraga], said hu[m]bly: (00996–00997) “[**My**] l[ord father], in [this wor]ld something g[o]d [...]. (00997–00998) [If] death approaches me, **you will not be able to support me at all.** (00998–00999) Surely somehow I will meet some [g]r[ea]t danger here. (00999–01000) Therefore, do not stop me from sailing the sea.” (01001–01002) **Then his father, the merchant Santake, thought in his heart:** (01002–01003) “My son is extremely determinate and [strong]-w[illed]. (01003–01005) If [I do not give him] permission to sail the [se]a, he will (surely) refuse to eat (and starve to death). (01005–01006) On the other hand, a feast [...] he will [d]ie. (01006) Why should I kill him (by declining his wish)? (01007) I will permit (him) to sail the [sea]. (01008) [Hopefully] I will see him again [saf]e and sound!” (01009–01010) Having [thus] considered (the matter), he said to his son, the Bodhisattva Supāraga: (01010–01012) “**I, the old one, give you the permission, [...]** my son; **do not treat the entrusted deposit carelessly.** (01012–01013) We shall meet [again] in good health!” (01013–01017) After having heard these words Bodhi[sattva] Supāraga instantly rose from his seat, took a bow [in front of his] father and filled with joy<sub>2</sub> he [we]nt to the village of Ratnagrāma. (01017–01020) Then those 500 merchants' sons **prepared** the provisions<sub>2</sub> and the **commodities<sub>2</sub>** and put (everything) in order so that they would put to sea **on the seventh day.**<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> We owe the correct understanding of this sentence to Klaus Röhrborn.

<sup>20</sup> A time period of seven days is a topos in the *DKPAM*. In another story, a golden doe is waiting for seven days for the hunter whom she had promised to return after having given birth; see Wilkens (2016, pp. 444, 446, lines 04371–04373, 04380–04382, 04402–04405). In the Hariś-candra-Avadāna, an altar is erected in order to distribute alms during the *pañcavārsika* feast after seven days have passed; see Wilkens (2016, p. 522, lines 05691–05694). In the same story, we find



b4 /// ta[r]kanau-c senik no ñiś tākau-[c̣] //  
 b5 /// – ññiññenta ārweṛ yā-i ṣ[u]kta ///

### Transcription

a1 /// t· onolme(m)ts āyornta ai(s)k(e)mane ///  
 a2 /// – c tañkā || tumem cai piś-kānte kāryo(rttāñc) ///  
 a3 /// -sa cimpa āklyi yāmoṣ wes : tañ ///  
 a4 /// ñake kā ṣp waiptār paceramem ///  
 a5 /// ·e r·e ·ā ·e yā ///  
 b1 /// – – – – – //  
 b2 /// – saswa pācer mā onuwaññ(e) ///  
 b3 /// (sa)ndhane osta-ṣmeñca palskone ya(maṣṣate) ///  
 b4 /// tārganau-c senik no ñiś tākau-c ///  
 b5 /// (eka)ññiññenta ārwer yā(mts)i ṣukta(ñce) ///

### Translation

a1 ... giving gifts to the beings ... [~ OU 00924]  
 a2 ... will stop (?) ... || Thereupon these five-hundred merchants ... [~ OU 00930]  
 a3 ... we have exercised with you. Your ... [~ OU 00935–36]  
 a4 ... and just now separately from [our] fathers ... [~ OU 00942–43]  
 a5 ...  
 b1 ...  
 b2 ... O lord father! Not immortal ... [~ OU 00996–99]  
 b3 ... the householder Sandhāna made in his mind: "... [~ OU 01001–02]  
 b4 ... I let you go; but I will care for you ... [~ OU 01010–12]  
 b5 ... (began) to make the possessions ready, (on) the seventh (day) ... [~ OU 01018–19]

### Textual Notes

- a1. The OU phrasing is slightly different. TochB *onolme(m)ts* is not likely to have been preceded by *alyeñkāṃ* ‘other’ because the standard expressions are rather either *onolmeṃts* ‘to the beings’ or *alyeñkāṃts* ‘to the others’. As a model for OU 00922–23 *idalayu titā* ‘giving up’ one might have expected *pāst ay-* ‘to give away’, but the adverb *pāst* is normally found right before the main verbal form (in this case the prs.ptc. *ai(s)k(e)mane*), so that it cannot be supplied here.
- a2. – *c tañkā*: Reading and interpretation are uncertain. *tañkā* would appear to stand for *tañk* or *tañkw* ‘love’, but this does not fit the context well and the expected *virāma* <tañḳ> cannot be restored because then the akṣara should have been

considerably lowered in this manuscript; one would have to assume that *tañkā* stands for *tañk* metri causa at the end of a pāda. At the end of a sentence, before a double daṇḍa (“||”), one would normally expect to find a finite verb form. However, this is also difficult, since no preterite form fits; the only possible reading seems to be *tañkā(m)* ‘they will stop’, which is also problematic in the context. A reading of the akṣara <cta> as <tta> is palaeographically unlikely, and the preceding akṣara can hardly be <ka>, <na> or <pu>; moreover, neither *kāttankām* ‘crosses’, *nāttankām* ‘pushes’ nor *puttānkām* ‘divides’ makes any better sense in the passage.

- a2. *tumem* ‘thereupon’: The more detailed OU 00930 [o]l *saviḡ äšidip* ‘after listening to that speech’ is a trivial phrase and certainly an addition of the OU translator.
- a3. The merchants are speaking. The line must be in verse in view of the punctuation mark. The metre may be (amongst others) 4×7<sub>1</sub>7.
- a3. -sa: On the basis of OU 00934 *tapinu* ‘by serving’, a restoration to (*yarke*)sa ‘with reverence’ can be considered.
- a3. *āklyi yāmoš*: This phrasal verb is always used intransitively (it can take a locative, ‘exercise in ...’, see Meunier 2013, pp. 174–175).
- a3. *ciṃpa, tañ*: These 2sg. pronoun forms correspond perfectly to their OU counterparts: the OU plurals 00934 *sizni* and 00935 *sizniḡ* are polite forms with singular reference.
- a4. *Supāraga* is speaking.
- a4. *kā*: The word *kā* means ‘why’, which would require a question of the type ‘why should not we now go separately to our fathers and ask them for permission?’. It seems more likely that the virāma of the following <ṣṣ> was attached too high by mistake (which changes *ka* into *kā*) and that the intended spelling is *ka*. The word *ka* is a particle meaning ‘just, only, already’ which fits here very well as a reinforcement of the preceding *ñake*. Also the position in the clause is typical of *ka*, not of *kā*.
- a4. *waiptār*: The word *waiptār* means ‘separately; apart’. It is used here in the sense ‘individually’.
- a5. Any restoration of a sequence of words ought to remain quite hypothetical. Nonetheless, one may observe that the large curve marking the vocalism °ā has precisely the shape expected for the akṣara <ña>. In that case, a possible restoration would be: (*snai n*)er(k)e (ñy)ās (t)e-yā(knesa pāklyaus) ‘hear the desire (of mine being expressed) in this way without hesitation’ (Supāraga speaking to his father). This would be translated by OU 00948–00949 *knigın ötümmiš ötügüm[i]n äšidü y(a)rlikay* ‘deign to listen to my request made with resolution’.
- a5–b1. The size of the lacuna is unknown. Since the manuscript may have had up to 9 lines on each side, and a1 and b5 seem to be the first and the last lines, respectively (see above), up to 10 lines, i.e. a5–9 and b1–5, may be lost, which would correspond to ca. 60 lines in the OU version. Of course, the fragment may also have had fewer lines, as for instance 5-line manuscripts are also frequently found, in which case the lacuna was proportionately smaller.

- b3. *palskone ya(maṣṣate)* ‘did in his mind’: This construction is regular; cf. B107 b10 *palskone yamaṣṣate* and further IOL Toch 134 a2, PK AS 17J, PK AS 19.6 a3, PK NS 48 + 258 b5. This expression belongs to the phraseology of Buddhist narratives for introducing private speech. The reading *palskone mā ///* in Peyrot (2007, No. 31) is to be rejected (the akṣara is not transliterated by Broomhead 1962, Vol. I, p. 203).
- b4. *senik*: The construction of *senik* ‘under one’s care, in trust’ with *nes-* ‘be’ occurs only here and its exact meaning is difficult to establish. More often attested is the collocation *senik wərpa-* ‘receive *senik*’, i.e. ‘take [someone] into one’s care; receive in trust’, while *senik kəlp-<sup>caus.</sup>* seems to mean ‘seek care from; entrust oneself to’. Because of the difficulties with the construction of *senik*, the meaning of the OU phrase 01012 *urunčak yemägil* ‘do not treat the entrusted deposit carelessly’ (lit. ‘do not eat the deposit’) cannot simply be superimposed on the TochB phrase: a misunderstanding or a reformulation on the part of the OU translator is perfectly possible.
- b5. *(eka)ññiññenta* ‘possessions’: This word corresponds exactly to OU 01018 *äd tavar* ‘possessions’, here ‘commodities (for trade)’. Clearly, the TochB word here also refers to tradable goods.
- b5. *ärwer yä(mts)i* ‘to make ready’: This infinitive requires a finite verb, probably *auntsante* ‘they began’. *awn-* (mid.) ‘begin’ is mostly (but not exclusively) placed at the beginning of the clause, directly after *tumem* ‘thereupon’ or the subject. It must have preceded it here, too.

#### 4. The Second Parallel Passage

Confronted with a terrible danger, the merchants’ sons implore Supāraga once more to help them.

##### *U 1787 + Mainz 90c*

##### *Recto*

01106 01 <b>körüp öz</b> [ beš yüz satıgčılar]	U 1787 r1
01107 02 kəñšäšdi : Ö’/[ ]	
01108 03 turur munuḡ : y(a)vla[k katıg]	
01109 04 ünlär äšidilür [: <b>sume r tag</b> başgo[kı]	U 1787 r4 + Mainz 90c r1
01110 05 täg ulug ulug <b>ko[rkın]čig</b> tægzinč-	
01111 06 lär tægzinür : kaynar suv tæg isig	
01112 07 suv bulganu turur : bädük bodlug suv-	
01113 08 daki tınl(ı)glar suvdın [ ]YN	
01114 09 <b>sekrıyürlär</b> : bizni b[arča ta]mu patal	U 1787 r9 + Mainz 90c r6

*Verso*

01115 01 [	]	<b>sä[ri]mlig</b>	U 1787 v1
01116 02 [ <sup>22</sup>		] <i>saṅa</i> inanıp	
01117 03 [	taloy ügüz	k] <sup>23</sup> <i>korkinčsı</i>	
01118 04 <i>k[ö]yülin ki[rdimiz]</i>	:	ög kaṅ ka	Mainz 90c v1 + U 1787 v4
01119 05 <i>kadaš</i> <sup>24</sup>	ogul k[ız]	<i>b[a]lık uluṣug barča</i>	
01120 06 <i>tiṭip idalap busuṣsuz</i>		<i>sakinčsı</i>	
01121 07 <i>sāniṅ eyin kältim(i)z</i>	<:>	<b>tözün</b>	
01122 08 <b>yumšak [supa]rige-y-a</b>	:	<b>iki/äyü</b>	
01123 09 <b>ätözümü[zni] urunčak tutuzur biz</b>	<:>		Mainz 90c v6 + U 1787 v9

*Translation*

(01106–01107) **Having seen** [this behaviour], the [500 mechants] consulted [with their] **own** [...] (as follows): (01107–01108) ,[...] is his [...]. (01108–01109) Terrible and [sharp] voices are being heard. (01109–01111) *Vast*<sub>2</sub> **ter[rifyi]ng** whirlpools are churning just (as high) as the summit of **mount [Sume]ru**. (01111–01112) Hot water is whirled up like boiling water. (01112–01114) Water creatures with large bodies **are jumping** [...] out of the water. (01114) [...] us a[ll like he]ll or precipice [...].

[lacuna]

(01115–01118) [...] o] **pa[ti]ent** [...], we have put our trust in you and have pu[t t]o [sea<sub>2</sub>] without fear. (01118–01121) We have left mother, father, relatives, sons, d[ughters], c[i]ty and land behind<sub>2</sub> and have followed you guilelessly<sub>2</sub>. (01121–01123) **O noble and gentle [Supā]raga, once again we put our trust in (you)** (lit. we intrust our bodies as a deposit [to you]).

[lacuna]

**PK AS 13I**

This fragment of the collection Pelliot Koutchéen of the Bibliothèque nationale de France measures 18 (height) × 21.8 cm (width). It is the right part of a large leaf of which the upper, lower, and right margins are partially preserved; the right corner is almost entirely preserved. The width of the right margin varies between 2.2 and 2.8 cm (recto), and 2.4 and 2.8 cm (verso), depending on the size of the last akšaras at the end of the lines. The interline spacing is 2.0 to 2.1 cm. The order of recto and verso is not certain. The fragment belongs to the same manuscript as PK AS 13B,

<sup>22</sup> U 1148a /A/ constitutes a parallel. The first line is to be read ...]///L//[...

<sup>23</sup> Restored after U 1148a /A/2/.

<sup>24</sup> U 1148a /A/3/: *kakadaš*.

which contains a parallel to the legend of Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma of the OU *DKPAM* (Wilkens–Pinault–Peyrot 2014). The paper is the same, and the interline spacing is practically the same, too. The manuscript had horizontal rules, which are still partly visible. The right corners of both fragments overlap almost completely, if one takes into account the difference in wearing. The script is still very black, the ductus is the same: monumental and angular writing, identical drawing of the diacritics for vowels, and the same ornamental stroke on the top of the <la>. In the series PK AS 13, judging from the line distance, the ductus and the size of the script, only fragment PK AS 13H.1 could belong to the same manuscript.

The fragment can be identified as part of the *Supāraga-Avadāna* on the basis of the proper name *Supāraga* that occurs as *supāragi* in a5 and as *supārakem* in b4. Side a has so far not been localised in the OU version and probably the corresponding OU passage is lost completely. Nevertheless, a number of interesting parallels with the beginning of the story can be noted, when *Supāraga* and the captain warn the merchants of the possible dangers of their journey and the bad consequences that arrogance and harsh speech may have. While the OU passage is definitely to be placed at the beginning of the story, just before the departure, these TochB parallels must belong to a much later passage. Probably, they are from a later scene in the story, at a point where they effectively brought themselves into danger through arrogance and harsh speech, against the initial advice. In this scene, *Supāraga* and perhaps also the captain may remind the merchants of their earlier warnings, before embarking. On the other hand, the description of lines b2–b3, which should probably be attributed to the merchants, seem to have correspondences in OU 01111–01114. This precedes, after an intermediary introduction in prose, a prayer of the merchants to *Supāraga*, begging him for his help in this extreme danger. b8 finds a relatively neat correspondance in OU 01121–01123 ‘Edler und sanfter [Supā]raga, erneut vertrauen wir uns (dir) an’ (transl. Wilkens 2016, p. 265).

### Transliteration

a1	/// m̄ṛṅṅ lkāṭar somṅṅ p̄attemane sume
a2	/// – na piṣṅṅ k̄ante k̄aryortant̄am̄ tuṅṅaske
a3	/// (·)k· olin[e] ette puttuwermem̄ ṣle amarṣ ra
a4	/// mahāsamud̄tar̄ṅṅ mem̄ ṣaiṣṣe salkatsi cimpa
a5	/// sta klautkoy <sup>a</sup>    te weweñormem̄ s[u]pāragi bo
a6	/// k· aṣ[k]ār k[l]laut(·)a auntsate kalymisa samud̄tar̄ntse peṭ[w]e
a7	/// m[ai]watsi sāgareṃntsa wārñai orocī –
a8	/// tkare ram̄ṅṅ ipreṅṅantse ānte ñ[ā] ///
b1	/// [nts]e spertte lkāskemane ṣaṅṅ empa(·)k· (–)
b2	/// [nt̄a]ñkarwa mam̄nt̄(̄) parsakalyi [n]ano[y·] ///
b3	/// kau <sup>a</sup> ṅṅ prukn̄ātar̄ṅṅ lwāsa māka yokanne ram̄ṅṅ pa
b4	/// [la]ṣ(·)em̄ pilkosa supārakem̄ bodhisatvem̄ lkāske
b5	/// ptsaradarṣa[m̄]ne    karuṅṅika pont̄am̄ne pta

b6 // yolai[n]a tsyālpataime tesa nauṣ :  
 b7 // ṣṣa reki māllarṣka kwaṃṣ, kaḷṣamai yā  
 b8 // [ṣṣ]· yṣe nai klyomai pūrwar-me senik

### *Transcription*

a1 // (ra)mt lkātār somp pättemane sume(r-ṣlentse)  
 a2 // (pakā)na piś-kānte kāryortantām tukāske(mane)  
 a3 // (eneñ)k(a) oline ette puttuwermem ṣle amarṣ ra(mt)  
 a4 // mahāsamudtārmem ṣaiṣṣe salkatsi cimpa  
 a5 // (pā)st klautkoy || te weweñormem supāragi bo(dhisatventse)  
 a6 // k· aṣkār klaut(k)a auntsate kalymisa samudtārtse petwe(sa)  
 a7 // maiwatsi sāgareṃntsa wārñai orocī (nāgi lāñc)  
 a8 // (prau)tkare ramt iprerāntse ānte ñā(kcyana naumiyyentasa)  
 b1 // ntse spertte lkāskemane ṣañ empa(1)k(attāññe)  
 b2 // (mā)ntāñkarwa maṃnt parsakalyi nanoyñ(tār) //  
 b3 // kauc pruknātār lwāsa māka yokan-me ramt pa  
 b4 // (añmā)laṣ(k)eṃ pilkosa supārakem bodhisatvem lkāske(mane)  
 b5 // (|| a)ptsaradarṣaṃne || karuñika pontāmne pta(ñkwāññe)  
 b6 // (pkantenmamem) yolaina tsyālpatai-me tesa nauṣ :  
 b7 // (skwa)ṣṣa-reki māllarṣka kwaṃṣ kālṣamai yā(rkessu :)  
 b8 // (arañcā)ṣṣ(u) yṣe nai klyomai pūrwar-me senik

### *Translation*

a1 ... this (water) over there (is seen) somehow like rushing (from the top) of the Sumeru-mountain ...  
 a2 ... (for the sake of compassion?) giving refuge (?) to the five hundred merchants (?) ...  
 a3 ... after having rushed down (inside) the ship, out of anger as it were ...  
 a4 ... in order to draw the people from the Mahāsamudra together with you ...  
 a5 ... may it (the ship) turn away (from ...) Having said that, (according to the wish) of the Bodhisattva Supāraga ...  
 a6 ... it turned back, it began to ... in the right direction on the border of the ocean.  
 a7 ... (started) to shake. The great (Nāga-kings) beginning with Sāgara ...  
 a8 ... they filled up as it were the surface of the sky with divine (jewels?).

b1 ... seeing the behaviour of the (ocean/monster ?), (the merchants discussed ...) their own heedlessness ... [~ OU 01106]  
 b2 ... maelstroms (?), so frightening, kept appearing ... [~ OU 01111]  
 b3 ... it [the hot water] jumps up high, the numerous animals will swallow us as it were ... [~ OU 01112–14]

- b4 ... looking at the Bodhisattva Supāraga with sympathetic glance ...
- b5 ... (the merchants say: ||) in the *aptsaradarśam* [tune] || « O compassionate one, show love to all! ...
- b6 ... you have freed us from bad (obstacles) before this. ...
- b7 ... O you inspiring delightful speech! O constant one! O enduring one! O honourable one! [~ OU 01115]
- b8 ... O dear one! O noble one! Take us under your care! [~ OU 01121–23]

### Textual Notes

- a1. *mṭṣ*: This hypothetical reading is preferable to [*mna*]. This implies to restore the conjunction *ramt*, with metaphorical meaning.
- a1. *somp*: A feminine distal demonstrative, maybe referring to a feminine term meaning ‘chasm, opening, gap’ and ‘mouth’, cf. TochB *tsrorye*. One may restore a preceding relative clause. In that case *pättemane* should belong to the next clause. The subject cannot be *sumer*, nor *šale* ‘mountain’, which are masculine. An alternative segmentation would be *su*, anaphoric relative pronoun, which presupposes that *somp* belongs to the relative clause. One should consider that this passage corresponds to instances of the narration which describe supernatural phenomena on the sea, and especially enormous waves produced by the sea-monster which frighten the merchants. Therefore, one may rather propose that *somp* refers to water rushing down into abysses of the sea, which would refer to TochB *āp*. To say it differently, the waves rise as high as the Sumeru mountain.
- a1. *pättemane*, a3. *puttuwermem*: These forms are usually taken to be from the same verb *pätt-* ‘climb’ v.s. (Malzahn 2010, p. 704; Peyrot 2013b, p. 771). This meaning goes back at least to Krause (1952, p. 159). These two forms would be the only forms attested of this verb in TochB, and even these two do not fit well together: the seeming alternation between *pätt-* in the prs.ptc. *pättemane* and *putt-* in the abs. *puttuwermem* is not regular. Moreover, *putt*<sup>o</sup> cannot be explained in TochB by assimilation of vocalism of /ä/ before following /u/; this evolution belongs rather to TochA. Actually, the expected form ought to be *pättuwermem*, cf. *ltu* from the root *lät-*, *plätku* from the root *plätk-*, but the allegro or verse form was possibly *ptuwermem*, or even *ptwermem*, hence *puttuwermem* as the restored full form. As for the occurrence of a3, it seems likely that the 500 merchants, or most of them, who are terrified, take refuge inside the boat, as quickly as they can. Then, they descend in the bottom of the boat in order to hide themselves. Actually, from the regular match TochA *pätw-*, *pätwäš* in the bilingual ms. A 453b3 translates Skt. *pātyate*, sic (one can definitely hesitate between /n/ and /t/ for the second akṣara), which can be read easily as *pādyate*, passive of *pādayati* ‘cause to fall’ (MW: 582c).
- a2. */// – na*: The vocalism of the first akṣara could be °ā, °o or °au. One may consider to restore (*pakā*)na ‘for the sake of’.
- a2. *tukäske(mane)*: Literally ‘hiding’ (transitive), but here probably in the sense ‘giving refuge’.

- a3. *puttuwermem*: See just above. Actually, the shape of the first akṣara after the lacuna allows both the reading of the vocalism °a, as well as of a preceding sign for the velar nasal. It would make sense that the merchants fly together into the bottom of the ship.
- a4. *mahāsamudtar, mem*: Sic! There is a virāma before the ablative case suffix.
- a4. *cimpa*: The word *cimpa* is the comitative of *twe* ‘you’, i.e. ‘together with you’. Another option would theoretically be that *cimpa* is to be restored to *cimpa(lle)*, a late form of *cāmpalle*, the gerund of *cāmp-* ‘be able to’. If one adopts the first option, which is more likely, the addressee could be Supāraga, or alternatively the captain of the ship. It cannot be the merchants who are referred to collectively by *šaiṣṣe* ‘the people’. The usual meaning ‘world’ of *šaiṣṣe* does not seem to fit here.
- a4–5. Supāraga is probably speaking.
- a5. /// *sta*: No virāma is visible, but there is enough place for assuming that it was there originally.
- a6. The restoration of *klaut(k)a* is perfectly safe, judging from the shape of the hole.
- a7. *orocī* —: A trace of the last akṣara of the line is visible; it is compatible with *nā*. The *nāga*-king Sāgara is known from several Buddhist legends, and this character occurs also in other Toch. texts, as holding fabulous gems.
- a8. *ñ[ä]* ///: There is place for one akṣara before the right margin.
- b1. (·)k: Possibly <lka>.
- b2. [*nta*]nkarwa: One may hesitate between [*tta*] and [*nta*], but [*tṣa*] is definitely excluded, judging from other instances of <ṣa> in this manuscript. Therefore, the reading of *tsānkarwa*, plural of *tsānkār* ‘summit’, would entail the notion of a scribal error, which is not likely. Note also that there is no trace of a virāma before, but only the normal blank space between two akṣaras. The segmentation is difficult: *karwa* would not give any plausible meaning here. It is possible that *tānkarwa* corresponds to OU 01110–11 *tāgzinčlār* ‘whirlpools’, plural of an alt. noun *\*tānkār* (<*\*tānkār*>), based on the root *tānk-* ‘to check, stop’. In that case, it would mean ‘barrier, hindrance’. A verb root of the shape *Cāntānk-* is not likely in Tocharian. One may consider that this word began with the nasal prefix which is so common in Tocharian. The prefixed noun would be the hypostasis of a phrase meaning ‘having a hindrance inside’, hence *\*(e)ntānkār*, plural *(e)tānkarwa*, approximately ‘chasm, abyss’. As an alternative, the word, which is an alternant plural, may reflect a noun *\*māntānkār*, cf. *tsānkarwa*, from *tsānkār* ‘summit’, based itself on the root *tsānk-* ‘to rise, stand oneself up’. Accordingly, the basis would be a suffixed adjective from the root *mānt-* ‘to stir’: *\*māntānke* ‘stirring’, then abstract/collective *\*māntānkār* ‘whirlpool’. If one admits that *parškalyi*, masculine plural, refers to the *(mā)ntānkarwa*, this would indicate that this description uttered by the merchants is in verse, making only one stanza, maybe of 4×15 syllables.
- b2. There is definitely an anusvāra sign on the top of *ma*, which should not be confused with the dot of the so-called double virāma. The lacuna allows the restoration of the double virāma here, too.
- b2. Due to the state of the paper, the reading of the three last akṣaras before the lacuna remained puzzling for some time, but it is relatively safe to restore an imperfect form.

- b3. *pruknātar* \: The state of the leaf would allow the restoration of an anusvāra on top of <nā>.
- b5. (*a*)*ptsaradarśamne*: Name of a tune with the metre 4×7<sub>1</sub>7. The first segment of the pāda a can be easily restored. Probably this verse passage consisted of two strophes at least, lasting until the beginning of the next leaf.
- b5. *pta*(*nikwāññe*): Beginning of an imperative form. The verb *tānk*<sup>w</sup>*aññ-* ‘love, show love’ is most fitting, since it has a locative complement.
- b6. *nauṣ* : : Pāda 1c must end here. Consequently, line b6 contained 6 syllables of pāda 1a, the full 14 syllables of pāda 1b, and the first 4 syllables of pāda 1c until the end of the lacuna. Together with the 10 syllables that are preserved, line b6 was thus 34 syllables long (counted in akṣaras, this would probably be almost 40). This corresponds well with the width of 35–40 akṣaras that we have estimated for PK AS 13B (Wilkens–Pinault–Peyrot 2014, p. 11).
- b7. The hypothesis of a compound *reki māllarṣke* ‘sweet worded’, or the like would be at variance with the formation of Toch. compounds, as well as with the meaning of the latter word. Actually, *māllarṣke* means ‘pressing, urging for’, and can be constructed with a direct object, cf. *papāṣṣorñe māllarṣke* ‘urging for moral behaviour’, in PK AS 5C a5. Furthermore, *reki* needs an epithet. Since the reading of -ṣṣa is quite certain, one should set up a compound *skwaṣṣa-reki*. As a matter of fact, this notion is opposed to the one of angry speech, which is one of the topics of this legend.
- b7. *kālśamai yā*: Two syllables may be missing until the end of pāda 2b. Judging from the context, an additional vocative would be in order. *kālśamai* is the vocative of *kālśamo*, a verbal adjective based on the present (VIII) stem of *kāl-* ‘to endure, suffer’. Since *kwants* (here written *kwams*) is also an adjective (‘firm, steadfast, constant’), one would assume a further vocative, nearly synonymous with the following vocative. This is close to an hendiadyn, and would express well the intensity of the demand of the merchants.
- b8. /// [*ṣṣ*]: No upper vowel diacritics can have been there, but a restoration *ṣṣ(u)* would be perfectly possible. This suggests the restoration of the vocative form of an adjective in <sup>o</sup>*ṣṣe*.

## 5. A Further Possible Tocharian Supāraga Fragment: IOL Toch 23

This fragment of the British Library with the old Hoernle number H 149.71 measures 8.5 (height) × 12.1 cms (width). It was edited by Broomhead (1962, Vol. I, pp. 197–198; see also Peyrot 2007, No. 23). Recto and verso could be determined with certainty thanks to the fact that the leaf number is preserved. This leaf number reads [2]23, i.e. the numbers 100, 20 and 3 are clear, but the first digit [2] is very damaged. Part of the string hole space has been preserved at the end of the fourth line from the bottom on the recto and the fourth line from the top on the verso. The leaf must therefore have contained at least 7 lines: three above the string hole space, one for the string hole space, and three below it. For such high leaves, it is, however, more likely

that the string hole space covered more than one line. If so, the manuscript will have had 8 or 9 lines. Although these sizes remind of the DPKAM fragment IOL Toch 217 (Peyrot–Wilkens 2014, pp. 324–328), the interline spacing of IOL Toch 23 is slightly larger and the akṣaras are clearly thinner (even though the fragments are otherwise palaeographically very close). It is therefore not likely that IOL Toch 23 and IOL 217 belong to the same manuscript, and the original height of leaf to which IOL Toch 23 belonged remains open. Below, it is provisionally assumed to have had 8 lines.

The appurtenance of this fragment to the *Supāraga-Avadāna* is uncertain, because no parallel could be found in the extant OU text. At the same time, this does not in any way prove that the fragment does not belong to it, since the OU text is still imperfectly known and the edition (Wilkens 2016, pp. 252–269) contains several lacunae of unknown, but probably considerable size. Indications of appurtenance are: the possible occurrence of the name *supārage* ‘Supāraga’ in b1, of which only the *g* would have been preserved; the combination of *y(ku)wermem* ‘having gone’ and *orotstsana āpām* ‘great waters’ in a5 suggests that the text is about seafaring; and *ysaly amām* ‘discord [and] arrogance’ in b5 fits very well to the central theme of the OU story, since Supāraga is mild and not in any way arrogant (OU 00907–00917) and the problems of the seafarers arise precisely because of arrogance and harsh speech. Also the main event described in the fragment, the soothing of poisonous snakes, fits well into the structure of the *avadāna* in which the merchants encounter several dangers from which they are saved by Supāraga. Nevertheless, for this event there is no parallel.

The high leaf number of the fragment is problematic. In the OU DPKAM, the *Supāraga-Avadāna* is the second story of the first “chapter”, the first *karmaṣa* (Wilkens 2010, p. 17). It can therefore be excluded that IOL Toch 23 was part of a *Supāraga-Avadāna* that was placed in the first section of a TochB DPKAM of the same structure as the OU version, in a manuscript that only contained the DPKAM, or at least began with it. There are of course several other options: (1) the fragment does not belong to the *Supāraga-Avadāna*; (2) the fragment was part of a very large manuscript that contained one or more texts before the DPKAM; (3) the composition of the TochB DPKAM was different; (4) at least in this manuscript, the *Supāraga-Avadāna* was part of a different *avadāna* collection, not of the DPKAM. Although the matter cannot be decided with the present state of research, the most likely option is perhaps the last one. Also the Tocharian A manuscript A 55–88 (Sieg–Siegling 1921, p. 31; Sieg 1952) contains *avadānas* with clear parallels in the DPKAM next to others that are almost certainly not part of it (Peyrot 2013a, p. 166).

### **Transliteration**

a3 tse ///

a4 tserekwa : [–] – ///

a5 y·wermem orotstsana āpām ○ ///

a6 ·e[t·\] w[s]eṣṣe aṇiye tar[kā]rm[p]a tase[m]· ///

- a7 ñke [wa ñke] snai wase kl·[t·]ṣṣam-me || tumem ///
- a8 sau ·om – [lā]nta arṣāk[l]am īme šés·amu yam – ///
- b1 (–) – (–) g· weṣṣa· ·y· k· – t·mp\ || ā[·]w· ///
- b2 ñke ṣ tekā·-me lalaṃṣkana painesa : añī ///
- b3 laṣkem pilkosa arṣāklam palkormem ṣaṅ a ///
- b4 rttau kleśanmaṃṣ\ toy te-yknesa o ///
- b5 ysaly amām ·e ·a (–) – ///
- b6 ste ///

### Transcription

- a3 tse ///
- a4 tserekwa : – – – ///
- a5 y(ku)wermem orotstsana āpām ///
- a6 ·et· wseṣṣe añiye tarkārmpa tasem(ane) ///
- a7 ñke wa ñke snai wase kl(au)t(kā)ṣṣām-me || tumem ///
- a8 (mu)sau (t)om (ta)lānta arṣāklam īme šés(ś)amu yam – ///
- b1 – (supāra)g(e) weṣṣā(ṃ : l)y(a)k(āwa) t(o)mp || ā(r)w(ane) ///
- b2 ñke ṣ tekā(ṃ)-me lalaṃṣkana painesa : añī(ye) ///
- b3 (añmā)laṣkem pilkosa arṣāklam palkormem ṣaṅ-a(ñmāmpa weṣṣām) ///
- b4 -rttau kleśanmaṃṣ toy te-yknesa ///
- b5 ysaly amām ·e ·a – – ///
- b6 ste ///

### Translation

- a3 ...
- a4 ... deceit ...
- a5 ... having gone, great waters ...
- a6 ... poisonous breath comparable to a cloud ...
- a7 ... but now he renders them non-poisonous. || Thereupon ...
- a8 ... has lifted up (?). He goes [towards] these miserable snakes with firm resolve.
- ...
- b1 ... Supārāga says: “I have seen her. || (in) the *ārwane* [tune] (||) ///
- b2 ... and if he then touches them with his tender feet; breath ...
- b3 ... having looked at the snakes with [his] compassionate gaze, he (says with) himself:
- b4 ... of/by the *kleśas*, these in this way ...
- b5 ... discord [and] arrogance ...
- b6 ... is ...

**Textual Notes**

- a4. The punctuation mark suggests that this line is in verse.
- a5. *y(ku)wermem* ‘having gone’: This word may indicate that the scene is to be placed somewhat later in the story, when the group has already travelled a while.
- a7. The subject will be Supāraga.
- b1. This line is very damaged, but *weṣṣä(m)* and the double daṇḍa (“||”) are nevertheless clear so that not many possibilities for restoration remain. In view of the pl.f. *arṣāklaṃ* ‘snakes’ mentioned in a8 and b3, one might instead of the obl.sg.f. *tomp* ‘her there’ have expected a pl.f. *toymp* ‘them there’ (*TEB I*: 165), but this reading is impossible as far as the manuscript traces are concerned. Possibly, one of the snakes was more important. Alternatively, the paradigm of this demonstrative pronoun was simply different: it is exceedingly rare and it is known that the feminine plural of other demonstrative pronouns was unstable and changed in the course of time. Indeed, the form *toy*, which is clearly contained in *toym/toymp*, is a later replacement of earlier *tom* according to Stumpf (1974; see also Peyrot 2008, pp. 124–127); thus, the older pl.f. may have been *tommp*\*. But also if one prefers to follow rather Pinault (2009, p. 224) who argues that *toy* as well as *tom* are of Proto-Tocharian date, it is conceivable that a form *tommp* or *tomp* was created for the pl.f.
- b1. *ā(r)w(ane)*: In view of the punctuation mark in the following line, an indication of the tune is expected. This tune, elsewhere spelled *arwane*, is attested with the metres  $4 \times 5 | 7$  and  $4 \times 7 | 7$ . Both are possible here. In the first case, one syllable from the beginning of the pāda would precede *nke* in line b2; in the second, three syllables of that pāda would be missing.
- b2. It is probable that Supāraga is speaking, but it is unclear who the subject of this clause is, as one is tempted to think that the ‘tender feet’ are those of Supāraga himself.
- b3. This line must again be in prose. The subject will be Supāraga.
- b4. *-rttau*: The restoration of this word is uncertain. As a first option, one may consider to restore (*kāryo*)*rttau kleśanmamts* ‘merchant of defilements’, but this metaphorical expression is so far unknown, and not very likely. Actually, the most typical action done by the Buddha about the *kleśas* is to chase (*wāyk*-<sup>caus.</sup>) or destroy (*nāk-*, *nawt*-<sup>caus.</sup>) them. On the other hand, the *kleśas* are probably referred to by the immediately following demonstrative *toy*, feminine plural. From the morphological point of view, a second option is to assume the end of a preterite participle, in the nom.sg.m.: *ārttau* ‘agreed’, *paṣpārttau* ‘having turned into’, *yārttau* ‘dragged, trailed’. Since the *kleśas* are often personified as agents, the last verb may be considered, but this does not correspond to any known phrase. With the second verb, one has some likely possibilities, since *kleśanmamts* may be the complement of a preceding noun, see for instance *kleśanmamts le(st)o tatākau* (PK AS 13E a6) ‘having become the lair of defilements’; one may also construct *nākṣeñca* (or *wikṣenca*) ... *kleśanmamts* ‘destroyer of the ... of defilements’. The third option would be the subjunctive 1sg.act. of the same verb: *spārttau*. This would make

sense, because this passage most probably belongs to direct speech, introduced by the common phrase ‘he speaks with himself’ in the preceding line. This would be a commonplace statement for a Bodhisattva: ‘I will become (the destroyer) of the *kleśas*’.

b4–5. These lines appear to be of doctrinal content and are probably spoken by Supāra.

### Abbreviations

abs.	absolute
act.	active
alt.	alternant
AS	Ancienne Série
BHSD	see Edgerton (1953)
Br.	gloss in Brāhmī script
caus.	causative
<i>CETOM</i>	<i>A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts</i> . <a href="http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian">www.univie.ac.at/tocharian</a> .
D 2669 59HT/77AB	shelf mark of a folio preserved in the Xinjiang-Museum (Ürümči)
D 2669 59HT/164 [戔 22:1a/b] + 248AB	shelf marks of two fragments in the Xinjiang-Museum (Ürümči)
<i>DKPAM</i>	<i>Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā</i>
f.	feminine
IOL	India Office Library, London (British Library)
m.	masculine
Mainz	shelf mark of fragments in the Turfan Collection in Berlin
MW	see Monier-Williams (1899)
nom.	nominative
NS	Nouvelle Série
obl.	oblique
OU	Old Uyghur
PK	Pelliot Koutchéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
pl.	plural
prs.ptc.	present participle
sg.	singular
<i>TEB I</i>	see Krause–Thomas (1960)
TochA	Tocharian A
TochB	Tocharian B
U	shelf mark of fragments in the Turfan Collection in Berlin

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