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

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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.¹ 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 Ürümči (PR China) has preserved consider-

¹ See Wilkens – Pinault – Peyrot (2014); Peyrot – Wilkens (2014).

able parts of the tale.² 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*.³ 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.⁴ He therefore decides to sail the sea in order to retrieve the wishfulfilling jewel (Skt. *cintāmaņi*). 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*]

² 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 (Ürümči). Thanks to this stay, we are now also able to provide the shelf marks of the fragments.

³ 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 Prākrit form, there are some additional possibilities, cf. the proper name Skt. *Śānta*- (BHSD: 525b), hence a diminutive *Śāntaka*-, or the like.

⁴ 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.⁵ [*lacuna*] The merchants say that they have put their trust in Supāraga. They have even left their relatives behind to accompany the Bodhisattya. [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' sons⁶ in search of the *cintāmani* jewel and asks his father permission to leave.

D 2669 59HT/77AB (= folio 28 Tömürti)⁷

Verso

00919 21 anta⁸ 00920 22 [ötrü] suparage bodis(a)t(a)v tüzgärinčsiz (Br. supārāgi) 00921 23 *bur*han kutı üčün kop könül[i]*n* katıglanu 00922 24 alku ädin t(a)varın . alkuka ıdalayu 00923 25 titä berü kılu inčä ök bušı[č]ı koltgučı-00924 26 larıg idi toduru kanturu umaz ärti : ötrü 00925 27 ol suparage bodis(a)t(a)v bo ok tıltagın (Br. supārāgi) 00926 28 talov ügüzkä kirip čintamani ärdini (Br. cintāmāni)⁹

⁵ This is the context of the second parallel passage.

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

⁷ 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 t used in the transcription means that $\langle d \rangle$ is written for expected t, whereas the letter d represents a written letter <t> in the manuscript. For the line numbers 00919 sqg. see Wilkens (2016).

 ⁸ The beginning of this line is not cited. It reads: -[ka] ok ädgü kılgu küsüšlüg ärti :
⁹ In the first edition the gloss was read *cindhāmāņi*, because of a fold in the paper partially covering up the aksara <ntā>.

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

Recto

pagination: tokuz *otuz* <p(a)tr> D2669 59HT/164AB r/pag./ 00927 01 *ü*ntürgü ugrınta kön[ül] öritip : ol 00928 02 könülintäki savlarıg. s[a]rtlar oglanına 00929 03 ača yada birlä bargalı k[o]duru sözlädi [:]00930 04 [o]l savıg¹⁰ äšidip beš yü[z sart]*lar* oglanı 00931 05 anı birlä t[a]loyka ki[rgäli küsüšlüg ä]rtilär : 248AB r1 + D2669 59HT/164AB r5 00932 06 suparage bodis(a)t(a)vka [inčä t]ep ötünti-(Br. supārāgi) 00933 07 lär : t(ä)nrim känč (P) [yigi]t oglan 00934 08 ärkän tap*ınu* [] *siz*ni birlä 00935 09 ögräntim(i)z tuy[dumuz :] siznin könüllüg 00936 10 ärdininiz bizi[n yürä]k[i]m[i]z ičintä yatur <:> 248AB r6 + D2669 59HT/164AB r10 00937 11 näŋ ol ädgü ögl[i] ädgü ögli tetmäz : 00938 12 kayu ädgü ögli . ädgü öglisinin tapınča 00939 13 ävrilmäsär . biz amtı kamıgun turup sizin 00940 14 tap evin ävrilgäli anuk täginür biz : ((suparage)) (Br. supārāgi) 00941 15 bodis(a)t(a)v sözlädi : v-a antag ärsär amrak-00942 16 lar yorınlar : kamıgun k(ä)ntü k(ä)ntü atam(ı)zlar-00943 17 garu kanlarım(1)zg[ar]u bar[1]p bošug kolalım :¹¹ 00944 18 munča sözläšip turup öz öz ata-00945 19 ları kanlarınaru bardılar : suparage bodis(a)t(a)v (Br. supārāgi) 00946 20 atasına tägip ayasın kavšurup ayayu 00947 21 čiltäyü ötünti : kut t(ä)nrisinä ogšatı

00948 22 kolusuz kutlug atačım kanıčım kınıgın

00949 23 ötünmiš ötügüm[i]n äšidü v(a)rlıkaŋ <:>

U1863

Recto

00994 10 [agir] ayagin oguli¹² 00995 11 [suparage bodi]s(a)t(a)v inčä tep [ötün]ti :

 ¹⁰ The word is preserved. A fold in the paper had covered up the word.
¹¹ 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.

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

00996 12 t[äŋri atam-a¹³ bo yert]*inč*üdä¹⁴ kim ärsär \ddot{a} [d]gü birök] m[a]*n*a ölüm kälsär **nän siz** 00997 13 /[00998 14 [meni] tutu um[az] siz : munta ärsär ymä 00999 15 [u]/[u]g [a]daka odgu[ra]k tägirm(ä)n : anın 01000 16 s[iz] vmä meni talovka bargali tidmazun : 01001 17 ötrü atası santake bayagut könülintä 01002 18 inčä sakıntı : bo mänin oglum ärtinü katıg 01003 19 k[ını]g könüllüg [o]] : birök [ta]/[ov]ka bargal[1]

Mainz 671

Recto

01004 01 bošuma-¹⁵ 01005 02 []/ *a*š yegäli unamagay inčip toy ö]lgäy : nä tıltagın munı ölürürm(ä)n 01006 03 [01007 04 [taloy]ka *bar*galı bošuyın <:> öz kutınta 01008 05 []/// [tiri]g äsän körüšgäv ärki m(ä)n]///Q sakinip oguli suparage bodis(a)v(a)t-01009 06 [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 [körüš]älim <:> bo savag äšidip suparage bodi-01014 11 [s(a)v(a)t] t(ä)rkin ök oroninta turup ata-01015 12 [sıŋa yin]čürü yükünüp¹⁶ ögrünčülügin 01016 13 [säv]inčligin ratanagram atl(1)g suzakka 01017 14 [ba]rdı : anta ötrü ol beš yüz satıgčılar 01018 15 oglani voltaki aš azuk **äd tavar**¹⁷ anutu-01019 16 p yetinč kün taloyka bargalı iš urdı- $01020 \ 17 \ \text{lar} < >^{18}$

Translation

(00919-00924) Even though Bodhisattva Supāraga was at th[at time] striving with all his heart because of the unsurpassable *bodhi*, giving up₃ all his possessions₂ to

¹³ The Tocharian parallel suggests this restoration of the lacuna. In the Hamsasvara-Avadāna, too, prince Hamsasvara addresses his father with täŋri atam-a; see Wilkens (2016, p. 632, line 07801). ¹⁴ U 1959r + U 1856 /r/7/: [ye]rtinčütä.

¹⁵ The beginning of this line is not cited. It is identical to U 1863 /r/19/: [...] ol birök taloyka *bargalı.* 16 U 1863 /v/ constitutes a parallel.

¹⁷ U 1863 /v/4/ : t(a)var.

¹⁸ The end of this line is not cited. It reads: *vetinč kün ärtmäkinä tagdın vın*-.

other people, in this way he was not at all able to satisfy the people begging for alms. (00924–00929) For this reason precisely the Bodhisattva Supāraga decid[ed] to put to sea₂, in order to retrieve the *cintāmani*-jewel; and, very intent to depart, he communicated those things he had in mind thoroughly₂ to the merchants' sons. (00930-00931) After having heard [th]at speech, the 5010 merchants' 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[2] 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.¹⁹ (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 fathers₂ 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 respect₂: (00947-00949) "My dear father₂, 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[mbly]: (00996-00997) "[My] l[ord father], in [this wor]ld something g[o]od [...]. (00997–00998) [If] death approaches me, you will not be able to support me at all. (00998–00999) Surely somehow I will meet some [glr[ealt 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 joy₂ he [we]nt to the village of Ratnagrāma. (01017-01020) Then those 500 merchants' sons prepared the provisions₂ and the **commodities**₂ and put (everything) in order so that they would put to sea on the seventh day.²⁰

¹⁹ We owe the correct understanding of this sentence to Klaus Röhrborn.

 $^{^{20}}$ 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 *pañcavārşika* feast after seven days have passed; see Wilkens (2016, p. 522, lines 05691–05694). In the same story, we find

Textual Notes

(00923) *buši[č]i*: The word was read *buši* in the first edition; see Geng-Laut-Wilkens (2006, line 634).

(00935) The restoration *tuy[dumuz]* is not certain. The reading *sizniŋ* could be established after an inspection of the original manuscript.

(00936) Compared with the first edition, several new readings are possible.

(00940) Instead of *tap eyin* we find *täg eyin* in Geng–Laut–Wilkens (2006, line 652). (00942–00943) Note the different order of suffixes in the hendiadys *atam(i)zlargaru*

kaŋlarım(ı)zgaru.

IOL Toch 31

This fragment of the British Library with the old Hoernle number H 149.82 measures 7.5 (height) \times 9.1 cm (width). It was edited by Broomhead (1962, Vol. I, p. 203; see also Peyrot 2007, No. 31). The darkening on top of line a1 and the relatively large blanks under b5 suggest that these are the first and the last lines of the fragment, respectively. Since it is impossible to tell how many lines are lost under a5 and above b1 (if any), the verso lines are only provisionally numbered b1–5.

The key to the identification of this fragment as part of the *Supāraga-Avadāna* is the occurrence of (sa)ndhane osta-smeñca 'the householder Sandhāna' in line b3: Sandhāna is the father of the bodhisattva Supāraga.²¹

Transliteration

a1 /// [t]· ono[l]m[e]·ts \bar{a} yornta ai·k·mane ///

- a2 /// c tanka || tumem cai piś-kante karyo ///
- a3 /// sa cimpa āklyi yāmos wes : tañ ///
- a4 /// [ñ]ake kā sp、waiptār paceramem ///
- a5 /// \cdot e r \cdot e \cdot ā \cdot e \overline{y} ä ///

b1 /// – [– –] – [– –] – ///

b2 /// – saswa pācer, mā onuwa[ññ]· ///

b3 /// – ndhane osta-smeñca palskone [ya] ///

the protagonist and a Brahmin making a journey of seven days to the king Lohitaketu; see Wilkens (2016, p. 542, lines 06085–06090). At the end of this avadāna god Indra announces that he will have to give up his position as a ruler of the gods after a period of seven days and that he will be reborn in another existence; see Wilkens (2016, p. 554, lines 06368–06373).

²¹ The conventional symbols for Tocharian are used: – illegible akşara; · illegible or missing part of an akşara; · virāma with dot; [] uncertain reading; () restoration; *s* sandhi; o string hole space; **:** punctuation in the original manuscript; | caesura in metrical passages (not in the original manuscript). In the translation, square brackets denote additions that are required to make the text more readable.

b4 /// $\underline{ta}[r]$ kanau-c senik no ñiś tākau-[c^ä] /// b5 /// – ññiññenta ārwe<u>r</u> yā·i s[u]kta ///

Transcription

a1 /// t· onolme(m)ts āyornta ai(s)k(e)mane ///

- a2 /// c tankä || tumem cai piś-känte käryo(rttāñc) ///
- a3 /// -sa cimpa āklyi yāmos wes : tañ ///
- a4 /// ñake kā sp waiptār paceramem ///
- a5 /// ·e r·e ·ā ·e yä ///
- b1 /// ----///
- b2 /// saswa pācer mā onuwaññ(e) ///
- b3 /// (sa)ndhane osta-șmeñca palskone ya(mașșate) ///
- b4 /// tärkanau-c senik no ñiś tākau-c ///
- b5 /// (eka)ññiññenta ārwer yā(mts)i șukta(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	y)
	[~ OU 01018-19]

Textual Notes

- a1. The OU phrasing is slightly different. TochB *onolme(m)ts* is not likely to have been preceded by *alyenkäm* 'other' because the standard expressions are rather either *onolmemts* 'to the beings' or *alyenkämts* 'to the others'. As a model for OU 00922–23 *idalayu titä* 'giving up' one might have expected *päst ay-* 'to give away', but the adverb *päst* 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 taňkä*: Reading and interpretation are uncertain. *taňkä* would appear to stand for *taňk* or *taňkw* 'love', but this does not fit the context well and the expected virāma $< taň_k > cannot$ be restored because then the akṣara should have been

considerably lowered in this manuscript; one would have to assume that *tankä* stands for *tank* metri causa at the end of a pāda. At the end of a sentence, before a double danda ("||"), 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 *tankä(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 <<u>ka</u>>, <<u>na</u>> or <<u>pu></u>; moreover, neither *kättankäm* 'crosses', *nättankäm* 'pushes' nor *puttankäm* 'divides' makes any better sense in the passage.

- a2. *tumem* 'thereupon': The more detailed OU 00930 [o]l savig 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 7.
- a3. -sa: On the basis of OU 00934 *tapınu* 'by serving', a restoration to (yarke)sa 'with reverence' can be considered.
- a3. *āklyi yāmos*: This phrasal verb is always used intransitively (it can take a locative, 'exercise in ...', see Meunier 2013, pp. 174–175).
- a3. *cimpa*, *tañ*: These 2sg. pronoun forms correspond perfectly to their OU counterparts: the OU plurals 00934 *sizni* and 00935 *sizniŋ* are polite forms with singular reference.
- a4. Supāraga is speaking.
- a4. $k\bar{a}$: The word $k\bar{a}$ 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 $\langle \text{sp.} \rangle$ was attached too high by mistake (which changes ka into $k\bar{a}$) 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 $k\bar{a}$.
- 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 $\circ \bar{a}$ has precisely the shape expected for the akṣara $< \tilde{n} a >$. In that case, a possible restoration would be: (*snai n*)*er*(*k*)*e* ($\tilde{n}y$) $\bar{a}s$ (*t*)*e-yä*(*knesa päklyauş*) '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 *knugın ötünmiš ötügüm[i]n äšidü y*(*a*)*rlıkaŋ* '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(massate) 'did in his mind': This construction is regular; cf. B107 b10 palskone yamassate 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 mä /// in Peyrot (2007, No. 31) is to be rejected (the aksara 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 warpa- 'receive senik', i.e. 'take [someone] into one's care; receive in trust', while senik kalp-^{caus.} seems to mean 'seek care from; entrust onself 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. *ārwer yā(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 körüp öz [beš yüz satıgčılar]U 1787 r101107 02 käŋšäšdi : Q'/[]01108 03 turur munuŋ : y(a)vla[k katıg]U 1787 r4 + Mainz 90c r101109 04 ünlär äšidilür [: sume]r tag bašgo[k1]U 1787 r4 + Mainz 90c r101110 05 täg ulug ulug ko[rkın]čıg tägzinč-U 1787 r4 + Mainz 90c r101111 06 lär tägzinür : kayınar suv täg isigU 112 07 suv bulganu turur : bädük bodlug suv-01113 08 dakı tınl(ı)glar suvdın []YN01114 09 sekriyürlär : bizni b[arča ta]mu patalU 1787 r9 + Mainz 90c r6

Verso

01115 01 [] sä[ri]mlig	U 1787 v1
$01116\ 02\ [^{22}$] sana inanip	
01117 03 [taloy ügüzk] \ddot{a}^{23} korkınčsız	
01118 04 <i>k</i> [ö] <i>y</i> ülin k <i>i</i> [rdimiz] : ög kaŋ ka	Mainz 90c v1 + U 1787 v4
01119 05 kadaš ²⁴ ogul k[1z] b [a]lık ulušug barča	a
01120 06 tițip ıdalap busušsuz sakınčsız	
01121 07 säniŋ eyin kältim(i)z <:> tözün	
01122 08 yumšak [supa] <i>r</i> ige-y-a : iki <i>l</i> äyü	
01123 09 ätözümü[zni] urunčak tutuzur biz <	.:> 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) Vast₂ **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 [sea₂] without fear. (01118-01121) We have left mother, father, relatives, sons, d[aughters], c[i]ty and land behind₂ and have followed you guilelessly₂. (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) \times 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 akṣaras 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,

²³ Restored after U 1148a /A/2/.

²⁴ U 1148a /A/3/: kakadaš.

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

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

al	/// mt; lkātar somp; pattemane sume
a2	/// – na piś <u>ka</u> nte <u>ka</u> ryortan <u>ta</u> m tu <u>ka</u> ske
a3	/// $(\cdot)\mathbf{k} \cdot \operatorname{olin}[\mathbf{e}]$ ette puttuwermem śle amars ra
a4	/// mahāsamud <u>tar</u> , mem śaisse salkatsi cimpa
a5	/// s <u>ta</u> klautkoy ^a te weweñormem s[u]pāragi bo
a6	/// k· as[k]ār k[l]laut(·)a auntsate kalymisa samud <u>ta</u> rntse pet[w]e
a7	/// m[ai]watsi sāgaremntsa wärñai orocī –
a8	/// tkare ramt; iprerantse ante ñ[ä] ///
b1	/// [nts]e spertte lkāskemane sañ empa(\cdot)k \cdot (–)
b2	/// [n <u>ta]</u> ṅkarwa maṃn <u>t</u> (;) parskalyi [n]ano[y··] ///
b3	/// kauc ^a , pruknā <u>tar</u> , lwāsa māka yokanme ram <u>t</u> ; pa
b4	/// [la]s(·)em pilkosa supārakem bodhisatvem lkāske
b5	/// ptsaradarśa[m]ne karunīka pontamne pta

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b6	/// yolai[n]a tsyālpataime tesa naus、:
b7	/// șșa reki mallarska kwams, kalşamai yä
b8	/// [ss]· yśe nai klyomai pūrwarme senik

Transcription

al	/// (ra)mt lkātär somp pättemane sume(r-slentse)
a2	/// (pakā)na piś-känte käryortantäm tukäske(mane)
a3	/// (enen)k(a) oline ette puttuwermem śle amarş ra(mt)
a4	/// mahāsamudtärmem śaisse salkatsi cimpa
a5	/// (pä)st klautkoy te weweñormem supāragi bo(dhisatventse)
a6	/// $\mathbf{k} \cdot \mathbf{a}$ skār klaut(k)a auntsate kalymisa samudtärntse petwe(sa)
a7	/// maiwatsi sāgaremntsa wärñai orocī (nāgi lāñc)
a8	/// (prau)tkare ramt ipreräntse änte ñä(kcyana naumiyentasa)
b1	/// ntse spertte lkāskemane sañ empa(l)k(attäññe)
b2	/// (mä)ntänkarwa mamnt parskalyi nanoyn(tär) ///
b3	/// kauc pruknātär lwāsa māka yokan-me ramt pa
b4	/// (añmā)las(k)em pilkosa supārakem bodhisatvem lkāske(mane)
b5	/// (a)ptsaradarśamne karunīka pontämne pta(nkwäññe)
b6	/// (pkantenmamem) yolaina tsyālpatai-me tesa naus :
b7	///(skwa)ssa-reki mällarska kwams kälsamai yä(rkessu :)
b8	/// (arañcä)ss(u) yśe 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 delighful 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. *mt*: 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 *sale* '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 see, 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.
- al. pättemane, a3. puttuwermem: These forms are usually taken to be from the same verb pətt- '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 patt- in the prs.ptc. pättemane and putt- in the abs. puttuwermem is not regular. Moreover, putto 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 quicky as they can. Then, they descend in the bottom of the boat in order to hide themselves. Actually, from the regular match TochA pätw-, pätwäs in the bilingual ms. A 453b3 translates Skt. pātyate, sic (one can definitely hesitate between /n/ and /t/ for the second akşara), 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 $\circ \bar{a}$, $\circ o$ or $\circ au$. One may consider to restore $(pak\bar{a})na$ '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 aksara after the lacuna allows both the reading of the vocalism $^{\circ}a$, 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 *cämpalle*, the gerund of *camp-* '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 *śaişşe* 'the people'. The usual meaning 'world' of *śaişşe* 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. $oroc\bar{i}$ -: A trace of the last akṣara of the line is visible; it is compatible with $n\bar{a}$. The nāga-king Sāgara is known from several Buddhist legends, and this character occurs also in other Toch. texts, as holding fabulous gems.
- a8. $\tilde{n}[\ddot{a}]$ ///: There is place for one aksara before the right margin.
- b1. (·)k: Possibly <lka>.
- b2. [nta]nkarwa: One may hesitate between [tta] and [nta], but [tsa] is definitely excluded, judging from other instances of <sa> in this manuscript. Therefore, the reading of tsänkarwa, plural of tsankär '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 aksaras. The segmentation is difficult: karwa would not give any plausible meaning here. It is possible that tänkarwa corresponds to OU 01110-11 tägzinčlär 'whirlpools', plural of an alt. noun *tankär (< *tänkär), based on the root tänk- 'to check, stop'. In that case, it would mean 'barrier, hindrance'. A verb root of the shape Cäntänk- 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)ntänkär, plural (e)tänkarwa, approximately 'chasm, abyss'. As an alternative, the word, which is an alternant plural, may reflect a noun *mäntankär, cf. tsänkarwa, from tsankär 'summit', based itself on the root *tsank*- 'to rise, stand oneself up'. Accordingly, the basis would be a suffixed adjective from the root mont- 'to stir': *mäntanke 'stirring', then abstract/collective *mäntankär 'whirlpool'. If one admits that parskalvi, masculine plural, refers to the (mä)ntänkarwa, 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 aksaras 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 $< n\bar{a} >$.
- b5. (a)ptsaradarśamne: Name of a tune with the metre 4×7 , 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(nkwäññe)*: Beginning of an imperative form. The verb *tənk^wəññ-* 'love, show love' is most fitting, since it has a locative complement.
- b6. nauş : : 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 mällarşke* '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, *mällarşke* means 'pressing, urging for', and can be constructed with a direct object, cf. *papāşşorñe mällarşke* 'urging for moral behaviour', in PK AS 5C a5. Furthermore, *reki* needs an epithet. Since the reading of *-sşa* is quite certain, one should set up a compound *skwaşşa-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. *kälṣamai yä*: Two syllables may be missing until the end of pāda 2b. Judging from the context, an additional vocative would be in order. *kälṣamai* is the vocative of *kälṣamo*, a verbal adjective based on the present (VIII) stem of *kəl* '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. /// [ss]: No upper vowel diacritics can have been there, but a restoration ss(u) would be perfectly possible. This suggests the restoration of the vocative form of an adjective in sse.

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) \times 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 aksaras 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 DKPAM, the *Supāraga-Avadāna* is the second story of the first "chapter", the first *karmapatha* (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 DKPAM of the same structure as the OU version, in a manuscript that only contained the DKPAM, 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 DKPAM; (3) the composition of the TochB DKPAM was different; (4) at least in this manuscript, the *Supāraga-Avadāna* was part of a different avadāna collection, not of the DKPAM. 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 DKPAM next to others that are almost certainly not part of it (Peyrot 2013a, p. 166).

Transliteration

a3 tse /// a4 tserekwa : [−−] − /// a5 y…wermeṃ orotstsana āpāṃ ○ /// a6 ·e[t·∖] w[s]eṣṣe añiye tar[kā]rm[p]a tase[m]· /// a7 ñke [wa ńke] snai wase kl·[t·]<u>ssa</u>m-me || tumem /// a8 sau ·om – [lā]nta arṣāk[l]am īme śeś·amu yam – /// b1 (–) – (– –) g· we<u>ssa</u>· ·y· k· – t·mp、 || ā[·]w· /// b2 ńke ș te<u>ka</u>·-me lalamskana painesa : añī /// b3 laşkem pilkosa arṣāklam palkormem ṣañ a /// b4 rttau kleśanmamt<u>s</u>; toy te-yknesa \circ /// b5 ysaly amām ·e ·a (–) – /// b6 ste ///

Transcription

a3 tse /// a4 tserekwa : - - - /// a5 y(ku)wermem orotstsana āpām /// a6 ·et· wseşşe añiye tarkärmpa tasem(ane) /// a7 ñke wa ṅke snai wase kl(au)t(kä)şşäm-me || tumem /// a8 (mu)sau (t)om (ta)lānta arṣāklam īme śeś(ś)amu yam - /// b1 - (supāra)g(e) weşşä(m : l)y(a)k(āwa) t(o)mp || ā(r)w(ane) /// b2 ṅke ş tekä(m)-me lalamṣkana painesa : añī(ye) /// b3 (añmā)laṣkem pilkosa arṣāklam pälkormem ṣañ-a(ñmämpa weṣṣām) /// b4 -rttau kleśanmamts 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 ... Supāraga 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 weşşä(m) and the double danda ("||") are nevertheless clear so that not many possibilities for restoration remain. In view of the pl.f. arşāklam '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. $\bar{a}(r)w(ane)$: 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 4×5 ^{|7} and 4×7 ^{|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 (käryo)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 (wəyk-caus.) or destroy (nək-, nawt-caus.) 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', paspārttau 'having turned into', yärttau '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 le(st)o tatākau (PK AS 13E a6) 'having become the lair of defilements'; one may also construct näkşeñca (or wikşenca) ... 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, introducted 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 Supāraga.

Abbreviations

abs.	absolutive
act.	active
alt.	alternant
AS	Ancienne Série
BHSD	
Br.	gloss in Brāhmī script
caus.	causative
CETOM	A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts. www.univie.ac.at/tocharian.
D 2669 59	
	shelf mark of a folio preserved in the Xinjiang-Museum (Ürümči)
D 2669 59	HT/164 [戊 22:1a/b] + 248AB
	shelf marks of two fragments in the Xinjiang-Museum (Ürümči)
DKPAM	Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā
f.	feminine
IOL	India Office Library, London (British Library)
m.	masculine
Mainz	shelf mark of fragments in the Turfan Collecion 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
TEB 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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