New material extracted from revised Tocharian A texts

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Complementary methods for understanding texts, and gaining the meaning of words.

1) The internal method, based on the structure of the Toch. text, and its internal logic, completed by the combinatorial method, i.e., confrontation of other Toch. texts.

2) The external method, resorting to parallel texts in other languages of Buddhism.

3) The contextual method, resorting to Indian and Buddhist culture, literature, arts, etc., and/or to the historical and cultural context of Central Asia, especially, but not exclusively, Tarim Basin.

§ 1. Reminder (Pinault 2019). Leaf of the MSN. A 285+281 (THT 918+914), plus little fragment THT 1408.k, giving the left corner of the leaf. OT parallel: MaitrHami V, 2 b14 to 4 a4. Sanskrit parallel: two texts at least, one (MPS) about the division and cult of the relics of the Buddha, and the other about the decadence and improvement of the living beings.

Meaning of the root TA *ok-* (TB *auk-*) 'to produce, show', translated by OT *b(ä)lgür-*. Compare Malzahn (2010): 'to set in motion', not 'to give to drink'. Fitting all other uses of

the verb, with the immortality (TA *oṅkraci*) or 'the medicine of immortality' (TB *sāṃtke …*
onwaññe) as direct object. Evident IE etymology: *$h_2e\square g$- 'to increase, let grow'.

TA *yri* 'fence, enclosure' = Skt. *vedikā-*. Standard description of wonderful cities (Ketumatī,
Kuśavatī, etc.), see MSP, *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*, etc.

TA *wpāl* = OT *kül* 'ashes' ; verbal noun of TA *wäp$^{\bar{a}}$-* 'to consume'. No gloss in Malzahn
(2010).

TA *puśeṃ*, new title of the Buddha, cognate with TB *puś* and adjective TB *puśamaṣṣe*.
Derived from TA/TB *puś* 'Buddhahood'. Probably of Iranian origin.

N.B. While TA/TB texts are adaptations or translations of Sanskrit texts, several terms of the
Buddhist terminology show some degree of Middle Iranian influence.

§ 2. New reading of a well-known text: Tale of the four masters of arts and the lion, part of
the *Puṇyavanta-jātaka*. A 11 b2 to 13 a5 (THT 644-646). Sieg 1944: 14-16 first translation by
Sieg 1916.

Description of the lion still asleep.
12 b3-5.

> *kākropu puk ś(twar pe)yu* ; *lyäṣknaṃ ywārśkā si cacp$_u$ku* :
>
> *kliso pāccās poṣṣāsā* ; *to lap śālyiṃ kolyeyac* :
>
> *ākaṃ yoktsās klośäṃ tsru* ; *lalku śaśmu śiśri koc* :
>
> *śāmāṃ śiśkäṣ klisontäṣ* ; *śoll ats cami wākäm ṣeṣ* : 1

Translation: The four feet had he all fold up, he had hidden his tail between his thighs; lying
on the right side, having placed his head toward the left paw. He let hang a little the ears,
provided with hairs on their tips, (but) he had his whiskers raised upwards. Only life made
him different from a living sleeping lion.

TA *si*, new noun, found by Itkin, Malyshev & Peyrot 2020. Cf. A 160 a1 (compared to a
passage from the *Saundarananda* by Aśvaghoṣa, 10.11) … *camar(ä) ops(i) siyā(s)///* 'the yak-
bulls (were wagging) their tails'. Skt. *camara-*.
TA *śiśri*, not 'mane' as per Sieg (1944, with question mark); dual of **śiśär* 'whisker', alias
'nose-tail' (Lat. *vibrissae*, Skt. *gumpha-* lex.), an organ which is typical of felines: pair of
long hairs on both sides of the nose, which are highly sensitive. The noun for 'mane' was
borrowed from Skt. *kesara-*, cf. *kesār-śiśäk*, calque of *kesari-siṃha-*.
Other duals in *-i* from *-r*-stems : TA *pratri* 'two brothers' from *pracar*, TA *yusāri* from *yusār*
'season', cf. TB *pwāri* from *puwar* 'fire'.
IE etymology: < **de\square k\square-ero-* 'indicator, indicative, pointer'; zero grade **dik\square-* of this root
in Toch. > **tsäk-*, cf. denominative verb TB *tskäññ-* 'to mark, characterize'.

Sūtra Pāli about the four types of lying posture. One is the *sīhaseyya-* 'lying posture of the
lion' (PED: 714a). *Aṅguttara-nikāya* II, 245, transl. Bodhi 2012: 612.

*katamā ca, bhikkhave, sīhaseyya? sīho bhikkhave migarājā dakkhiṇena passena seyyaṃ kappeti, pāde pādaṃ accādhāya, antara**satthi**mhi **naṅguṭṭhaṃ** anupakkhipitvā. so paṭibujjhitvā purimaṃ kāyaṃ abbhunnāmetvā pacchimaṃ kāyaṃ anuviloketi. sace, bhikkhave, sīho migarājā kiñci passati kāyassa vikkhittaṃ vā visaṭaṃ vā, tena, bhikkhave, sīho migarājā anattamano hoti. sace pana, bhikkhave, sīho migarājā na kiñci passati kāyassa vikkhittaṃ vā visaṭaṃ vā.*

'And what is the lion's posture? The lion, the king of beasts, lies down on his right side, having covered one foot with the other and tucked his tail between his thighs. When he awakens, he raises his front quarters and looks back at his hind quarters. If he sees any disorderliness or distension of his body, he is displeased. If he does not see any disorderliness or distension of his body, he is pleased.'

Confirmation: *lyṣäk**, dual *lyäṣkäṃ**, in the locative: 'thigh' = Skt. *sakthi-*. TB match would be **lyaṣke*.

List of further body parts: **11 b6-12 a1** *āyäntu świl /ysār yats krāṃ yokyo*
                                       12 b2 *āyäntu świl ysār krāṃ yokyo*
'die Knochen mit Fleisch, Blut, Haut, Fell (?) und Haar' (Schmidt 1974: 95)
'the bones with flesh, blood, skin, outer skin, and hair' (CEToM)
TA *yats*: TB *yetse* '(outer) skin' (Adams 2013 : 549). = *chavi-* according to a bilingual ms. Plus A 217 b6 *wsā-yok yats* 'gold-colored skin' = Skt. *suvarṇa-cchaviḥ*. Cf. Ved. *híranya-tvac, -tvacas-*, same image.
TA *krāṃ* '(outer) skin' (?) (Carling 2019: 171a). Probably not related to TB *krāñi(ye)** 'neck' (= Skt. *manyā-*), cf. Adams 2013: 230.
New possible item: TB *krāna*, THT 1224 (+ 1213) b1 *krāna auloṃ* 'k. [and] blood vessels', oblique plural. Broken context: the preceding line ended with *yamäṣate*. Ogihara 2014: 246.
Confrontation with standard lists from Pāli. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* II, 232: *iddhekacco āpokāyaṃ … pe … tejokāyaṃ… vāyokāyaṃ … kesakāyaṃ … lomakāyaṃ … chavikāyaṃ … cammakāyaṃ … maṃsakāyaṃ … rudhirakāyaṃ … nhārukāyaṃ … aṭṭhikāyam … aṭṭhimiñjakāyaṃ aniccato anupassati, no niccato.*
DN II, 164: *jhāyamānassa kho pana bhagavato sarīrassa yam ahosi chavīti vā cammanti vā maṃsanti vā nhārūti va lasikāti va, tassa neva chārikā paññāyittha, na masi.*
DN II, 336: *'tena hi bho, imaṃ purisam anupahacca chaviñca cammañca maṃsañca nhāruñca aṭṭhiñca aṭṭhimiñjañca jīvitā voropetha, appeva nāmassa jīvaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passeyāmā'* ti.
In all these lists, from outside to inside, the order of terms for the skin is always: P. *chavi-camma-* = Skt. *chavi-* 'skin' vs. *carman-* 'hide, skin, leather'. Then TA *yats* (B *yetse*) = *chavi-*vs. TA *krāṃ* (TB *krāna*) = *carman-*. Skt. *chavi-* refers to the surface of the skin, 'outer skin', to the complexion, see the evolution inside Sanskrit towards 'color'.
In such binomial phrases, it was always possible to reduce the pair to a single item, for instance TB *yetse* or TA *krāṃ*.
Etymologies. TB *krāna*, possibly plurale tantum, cf. *mīsa* 'flesh', hence **krānā*. Collective shifted to singular in TA. CToch. **kärān- < *krH-n-* or levelling of **k□H-ōn-*, cf. Lat. *carō*, gen. sg. *carnis* 'flesh' (de Vaan 2008: 94). < **'piece'. Root **(s)ker-* 'to cut', etc, basis of Ved. *cárman-*.
TB *yetse*, TA *yats < *yætsæ < *H□-ot-□o-*, cf. Ved. *éta-* 'of varying color, shimmering' (vs. fem. *éṇī-*, noun *eṇ□-* fem. 'antelope') *< *He□-t-o-*. Basis : **Hé□-ot-* '(shimmering) color' or the like. **H = *h_1* or **h_2*, depending on other comparanda.

*

Remark about the composition of Tocharian narrative texts: the <u>collage</u>. Inserting pieces of different texts of Sanskrit origin in the main text of the story.

Further instances, see the tale of the painter and the mechanical girl (Pinault 2008: 263-268): the comparison of human bodies with puppets; the list of women with whom a wise men should avoid forming any relationship.

Recurrent use of lists of notions, of Sanskrit origin, alternatively inspired by Sanskrit or Middle Indic. Pervasive use of clichés and metaphors of Indian origin.

§ 3. Extract of the *Maitreyāvadāna-vyākaraṇa*. New reading of A 222 (THT 855), completed with A 239 (THT 872), belonging to 2 different manuscripts (219-238 and 239-242). A 239 overlaps partially with A 222. The end of the leaf 222 finds a decisive parallel in *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, Turfan (Sängim/Murtuq) recension, chapter XIX, Taf. 57 and 58 (BT IX, I: 160-162), where some details are somewhat more developed, according to habits of the Uighur translators.

Meter 4 x 14 syllables: 7 (4+3)/7 (4+3).

(nasluneṣi retwe)[a1]ṣi ; kleśāṣi pälkäntwāṣi :

praṣṭaṣi śkaṃ kāṣāyyo ; spärko pältsä(k) wrasaśśi (: 102)

(cem yäsluṣ yo) naṣuṣ ; omäskeññi wośśi ṣeñc :

omäske(näṣ ñañärkuṣ) ; (mā pe wra) [a2] (sa)ñ p$_u$kaṃn atsaṃ :

lāñc āmāśāñ ṣoṣtäṅkāñ ; sne-pältikāñ prakṣäntāñ (:)

(āpṣātrikāñ ṣukṣeñi) ; kenpar entsuṣ märkampal : 10<3>

rapurñe(yo) (cem kaknuṣ) ; [a3] (pärko) kälpä rinäntāñ :

sne-palṣīnäṃ rīteyo ; rutoṣ wrasa(ñ) (ypeyäntwaṃ) (:)

(tmäṣ śa)mma(ṃ)tr-äm opṣlyäntu ; māsäṃśāt-äm want swase :

mā cesmi śkaṃ ṣṭām-kwreyunt ; [a4] praṣṭā pkämṣänt mā kämṣänt : 104

mā kälymeyā pakkunt cam ; (oko pākär ypamāṃ) ṣṭām :

spärksā-m pältsäk tmäk särki ; arnaṃ mäs<k>är umparñe :

kleśāñ ñätkä(r) ś$_u$k tkā(lune) ; [a5] (nakät ā)ttsek wsokone :

skeyasyo pe māski ṣeṣ ; mrosk$_u$lune(yo sākrone : 105)

sne-kaś ske ypā pättāṃñkät ; cesäm wrasas mroskässi :

aryu praṣṭaṃ ṣom (kṣanaṃ ; mā [a6] pe) ontaṃ mrosäṃśänt :

camik śpālmeṃ śākyeṣiṃ ; riṣakyāp ṣeṣ nānde ñom (:)

(kāwälte yoṃ praca)r ; ṣoma-pācär (riṣa)kyāp : 106

tsopatsäṃ ske spaltäkyo ; tskāt cam (wa)ṣ(täṣ [a7] *pättāṃñkät :)*

k̮ul(e)yaṃ pältsäk cacränku mrosäṅkātsi mā nwiññāt :

wāt-äṃ (riṣaksac) ; (a)ntuṣ w(ā)t-ä(ṃ ñäktasac) :

wāt-äṃ antuṣ ñareyaṃ : kuppre ontaṃ mroskat säm : (107)

(devadatte) [b1] *(märkampal) ; āklu ysomo tri-päräs :*

śaṃkum menāk śäk we pi ; puklā pāṣā(t pāp)ṣūn(e) :

ly(ä)m plyask(enaṃ m)usāt säm ; räddhiṣiṃ cam yātlun(e) :

ynāñmūneyo yärkantyo ; trīka(ṃ) (pä)ltsä(k) (puk ken[b2]par) (10)8

märkampalṣiṃ läc wäknäṣ ; skāy śkaṃ kossi pättāṃñkät :

yāmtsā(t ānantārśäntu) ; klā särki säm aviś ñareyaṃ :

gokālik ñom ṣeṣ camik ; waṣtäṣ laltu ā(kälṣäl :) [b3]

(casä)s nākäm naṣṣmi säm ; śāris seyā ślak penu : 109

maudgalyāyaṃnā pe śkaṃ ; pram ñkät mättak āltsāt-äṃ :

käṣṣī penu pättāṃñkät ; tri-lkwär nunak [ā]ltsāt-äṃ (:)

(wäknäṣ mā) säm närkässi [b4] *; antuṣ nwāt klā mahāpadūm :*

āresāsyo pän kät ṣ(ñ)i ; (käntu pāto) ñareyaṃ : 110

sunakṣatre lyäklyaṃ l(wā) ; malywā yonaṃ (pättāṃñkte :

ktoräṣ) [b5] *craṅkäs k̮ucäṣ caṣi ; buddhiśparäṃ kāswone :*

koluneṣiṃ prayo(kyo) ; (śrigupte ñom waṣt-lmo ṣeṣ) (:)

(k)ñāsyo yṣaṃ wāla-ṃ eṣäk wäs ; rarittwā-ṃ św(ā)tsintwaṃ : (111)

(aṅgulimāl wra[b6]sas ko)s ; ṣom atsaṃ tmānaṃ wärce :

pkāt nuṃ kossi ṣñi mācär ; yeṣäṃn anac pätt(āṃñkät :)

(cämpluneyo)   tām praṣtaṃ ; stāt nuṃ kossi pättāṃñkät :

mā ye(ṣs ākac) (tmäṣṣ ārānt) ; (säm [b7] *pyockä)s ko(c tāk) käṣṣi (: 112)*

ajātaśatru ñomā ṣeṣ; wäl tām (praṣt) omäsk(eṃ :)

(säm kākoräṣ ṣñi pācä)r ; kenpar spārttu pät(t)āṃñktaṃ :

yāmt(s)āt sär(k)i (nu deśit) ; − − − − − − :

Tentative translation: (102) Through the decay (*kāṣāya-*) pertaining to being (*sattva-*), rule (*kalpa-*), afflictions (*kleśa-*), views (*d□ṣṭi-*), and time (*āyuṣ-*), the mind of the living beings got lost. (103) They were, friends as well as enemies, bound to evil [and] wicked. No living beings at all indeed did refrain from evil. Kings, ministers, clerks, depraved men, judges, (people) belonging to suburbs and villages, did take wrongly the law. (104) They were avid from birth, searching for profit [and] gain. Through

the greed linked to injustice, the beings in the countries were deluded. Then [if] ceremonies happen to be performed by them, wind [and] rain made troubles for them. And for these ones the canes did not ripen nor develop at right time. (105) The tree (was) producing that (weird) fruit, not having matured correctly. Following immediately that their mind got lost. They become ugly in their aspect. The afflictions held off the touching of the viaticum. Joyfulness disappeared for sure. Even by making efforts, the blessing (obtained) through the feeling of disgust was difficult (to reach). (106) The Buddha-lord made continuously unlimited effort in order to make these beings feeling disgust. For a long time, they were not feeling disgust, even for a single moment. This excellent sage from the Śākya-clan (= Śākyamuni) had a brother called Nanda, the beautiful one (*saundara-*), the younger brother of the sage from the same father. (107) Through huge effort [and] zeal the Buddha lord took him away from home (= from householder-life). His mind was clung to the woman, he did not consent to feel disgust. He (the Buddha) led him to the sages, thereafter he led him to the gods, afterwards, whenever he led him in hell, this one (Nanda) felt disgust. (108) Devadatta had learned the Law, the three baskets (*tri-piṭa-*) completely. Like the scallop (lit. having shell) during twelve years he observed the observance. He sat in meditation; this one rose up to the controlling of supernatural power (□*ddhi-*). Through the admiration, through the honors (which he received), the mind of that one turned wholly astray [and] perverse. (109) He went far from the way of the Law, and he tried to kill the Buddha-lord. He committed the deadly sins (*anantariya-*); finally he fell in the Avīci hell. This one had a pupil named Kokālika, having become a monk (lit. having left home). He expressed (lit. set) blame [and] slander, in addition even on Śāriputra (lit. the son of Śāri), (110) and even on Maudgalyāyana. The god Brahmā himself restrained him. Even the Buddha-lord, the teacher restrained him again three times. From his way this one did not consent finally to refrain. He fell in the Mahāpadma (hell). By five hundred plowmen his own (tongue was plowed) in the hells. (111) Sunakṣatra crushed tiny animals; after having strewn them on the footprint of the Buddha-lord, he kept saying: 'From where has this one his virtue consisting in Buddhahood?' There was a householder called Śrīgupta, provided with means of killing. He covered for him a ditch with carpets above. He mixed poison in his (i.e., of the Buddha) meals. (112) Aṅgulimāla killed living beings, little less than 10.000 at once. Now he intended to kill his own mother. Through his power, the Buddha-lord went towards him at that time. Now, he decided to kill the Buddha-lord. He did not go to his goal. Then he became an Arhat: higher was the teacher. (113) There was at that time a king called Ajātaśatru, an evil one. This one, after having killed his own father, turned perversely in presence of the Buddha-lord. But finally he made the confession (*deśanā-*).

§ 4. A 381 (THT 1015). Preparation for the confession (*deśanā*) of a nun (*bhikṣuṇī*) before the assembly of monks and nuns. To be compared (partly) to A 371 (THT 915). Complete text.

Verso, not in TochSprR(A), also ruled, but only part of the line 1 has been written, by a different hand: b1. /// *ntāṃ āṣānikāṃ āmpe pissaṅkäṃtwe • ñuk täṣne ñomā aśi • śoṣi saṅkāvaśeṣäṃtu* (blank), four next lines not written: kind of rough draft.

Transcription and restoration of the recto.

a1   (*yärkā yāmluneyaśśäl ārāntāṃ*) *āṣā(nikāṃ) āmpe pissaṅkäṃtwe • ñuk (tä)ṣne ñomā aśi • śoṣi saṅk(ā)vaśeṣäṃtu(ṣi śikṣāpa)t*

a2   (*caṃ kätkos tāṃ ṣomaṃ wāwluṃt ṣo)maṃ mā wāwluṃt avasrut tāpluneṣinās avasrut tāpluneyaṃ ritwāṣlune-na(ndṣi)nās ā-*

a3   (*ppärmāt rakeṣinās ku*) ⊗*ladh(v)aṃsaṃṣinās leśu-māttrārṣinās ykoṃ o(ṣeñi) ywārśkā snāki n(aslune)ṣī-*

a4   (*nās) (snāki wär āsuk)* ⊗*kätkāluneṣinās ṣmac ṣtmā(lu)neṣinäṣ s(ne)-s(e)m ñuk täṣne ño(mā) a(śi) • to-*

a5   (*säm śikṣāpatäntu kätkos tāṃ*) *saṅkāvaśeṣ maṅkäṃtwāśśi • ṣomaṃ wāwluṃt ṣomaṃ mā wāwluṃ(tā)śśi • āmpe pissaṅkäṃtwenäṣ (kṣānti tākiṣ-ñi)*

Tentative translation:
[a1] With treating with homage the Arhat), the venerable one of both communities, I, the so-named nun, (I say:) O people! [a2] (If) I have transgressed any prescription pertaining to the Saṃghāvaśeṣas, some concealed, some not concealed, (such as) pertaining to lustful enjoyment, pertaining to passion [and] making connection for lustful enjoyment, [a3] pertaining to disdainful speech, pertaining to injuring of families, pertaining to only trifling matter (in accusing monks or nuns), pertaining to being alone amidst day [and] night, [a4] pertaining to going alone across a river, pertaining to standing for the suspension without refuge, I, the so-named nun, (if) [a5] I have transgressed those prescriptions, belonging to the Saṃghāvaśeṣa-sins, some concealed, some not concealed, may I have the pardon from both communities!

Skt. *saṃghāvaśeṣa-* (SA), part of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* rules. P. *saṃghādiseṣa-* 'a class of offences which can be decided only by a formal conclave' (*saṃgha-kamma*) (PED: 667b). "wobei der Rest [d.h. das Strafmaß] bei der Mönchsgemeinde liegt" (v. Hinüber 1999: 17) BHSD: 549b. 12 for the monks, 19 for the nuns. Skt. *saṃghātiśeṣa-* (Mahāsāṃghika). Mūlasarvāstivādin : 13 for the monks, 20 for the nuns, cf. Rockhill 1884 (= R.).

Confession formula: TB *kṣānti tākoy-ñ*, TA *k_uṣānti tākiṣ-ñi* (230 b4).
TA *śikṣāpat kätk-*: TB *śikṣapātänta kätk-*.

Loans and calques from Skt.
ñuk täṣne ñomā (a1.4): Skt. *aham itthaṃnāmā*, used in the *Karmavācanā*.
avasrut : Skt. *avasruta-* (P. *avassuta-*) 'foul, rotten', here matching rather *avaśruta-* 'sexually lustful' (BHSD: 76a), special use in Vinaya. PED: 84b.
tāplune, lit. 'eating' : Skt. *bhojana-* 'enjoyment, sexual intercourse' (BHSD: 412b). P. *bhoga-nand** << Skt. *nandī*, P. *nandī-/nandi-* 'joy' (BHSD: 280a, PED: 346b). P. *nandi-rāga-* 'pleasure and lust, passionate delight'.
ritwāṣlune, cf. Skt. *saṃcaritra-*, P. *saṃcaritta-* 'procuring, acting as go-between in liaisons' (BHSD: 350a).
*kuladhvaṃsaṃ** < Skt. *kuladhvaṃsana-*, re-formulation of *kula-dūṣaka-* 'injurer or spoiler of families' (BHSD : 188a), P. *kula-dūsaka-* 'one who brings a family into bad repute' (PED: 223a). See Nolot 1999: 433-438.
*leśu-māträr** < < *laiśa-mātra-*, cf. *laiśamātraṃ dharmam*, Prāt., P. *lesamattaṃ*, quoted BHSD : 463b. Keyword *laiśikam* 'concerning a trifling thing' (of accusing a monk of a *pārājika* sin [involving expulsion from the order of monks] on the basis of some trifling matter but afterwards repenting and confessing).
N.B. The TA term presupposes the analysis of the compound via MI transmission, hence borrowed (and not re-Sanskritized) **leśä*, either enlarged with TA suffix *-u* (thus transposing Skt. *laiśika-*) or with *ä > u* in bilabial context, see late TB forms *kaucu-wär*, *ñoru-wär* (PK AS 18B) < **kaucä-*, **ñorä-*. *-mätträr**, with redundant notation in interior position of final syllabic liquid after re-Sanskritization < **mättär/*mätträ* < **mātra* at word-end, crossed with MI *matta*.
sne-sem: Skt. *a-śaraṇa-*, P. *a-saraṇa-* 'without refuge' (PED: 697b).
ṣmac : allative sg. of *ṣäm**, 'remaining' (separate, i.e., from the community), root noun of *ṣäm-* 'to sit, remain'.
The list of offences is not complete, nor exactly in the same order as in parallel texts:
a2. sexual passion (R. 4), go-between for rendez-vous (R. 1),

a3. injuring or deprecatory speech, quarrel (R. 14, R.16, R.17, R.18), corrupter of families (R. 19), accusing for a pretext (R.3),

a4. being/travelling alone, day and night (R. 6-7 + R.8), crossing a river alone (R.9), renouncing the community and the 3 refuges (R. 13, R. 20).

References

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