

Georges-Jean Pinault (EPHE, PSL)

New findings in Tocharian literature and language

DOT 2022. 34. Deutscher Orientalistentag.

Panel « Tocharian language and Buddhist literature
of the Tarim Basin »

Berlin, Freie Universität, September 15, 2022



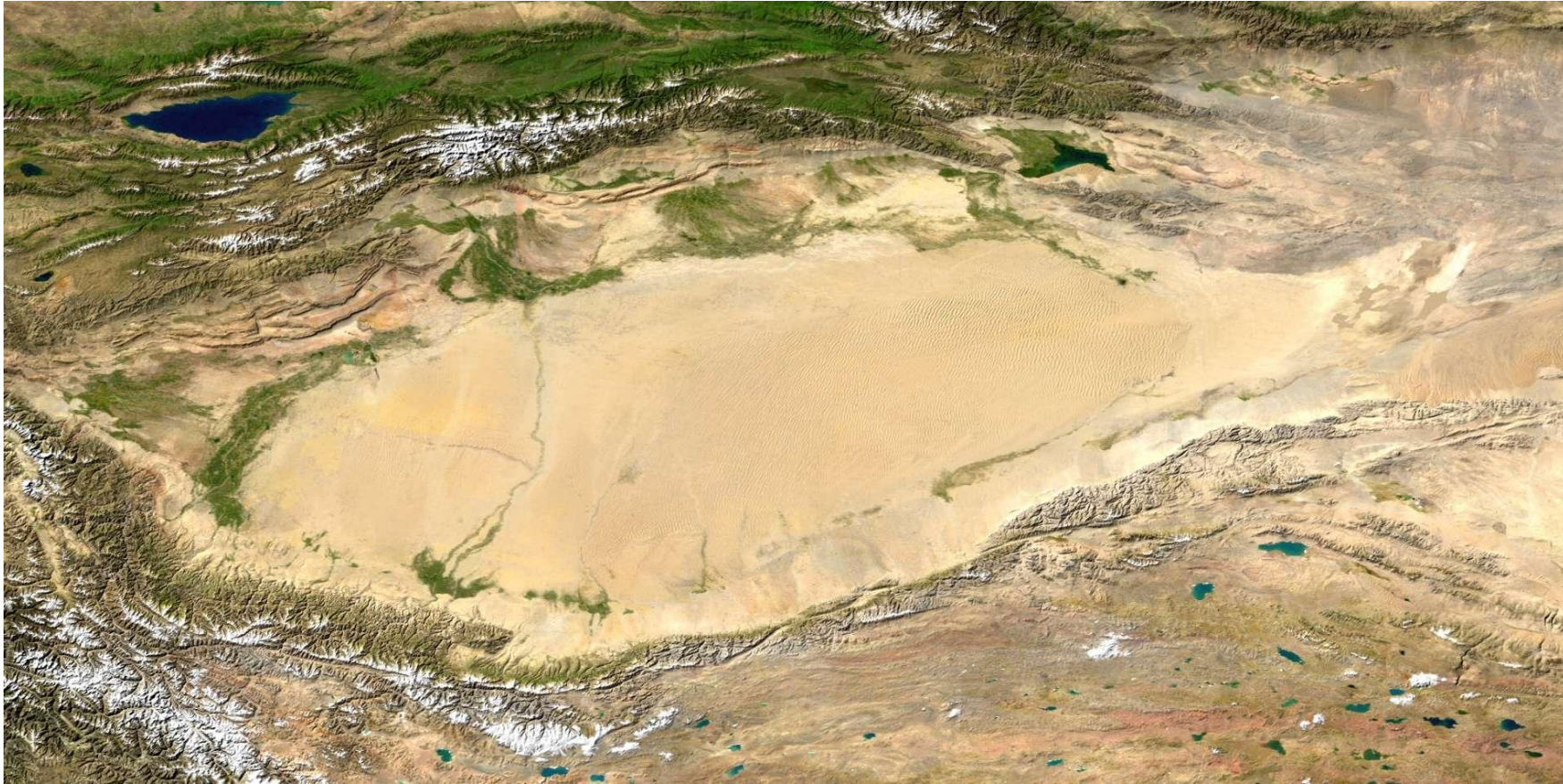
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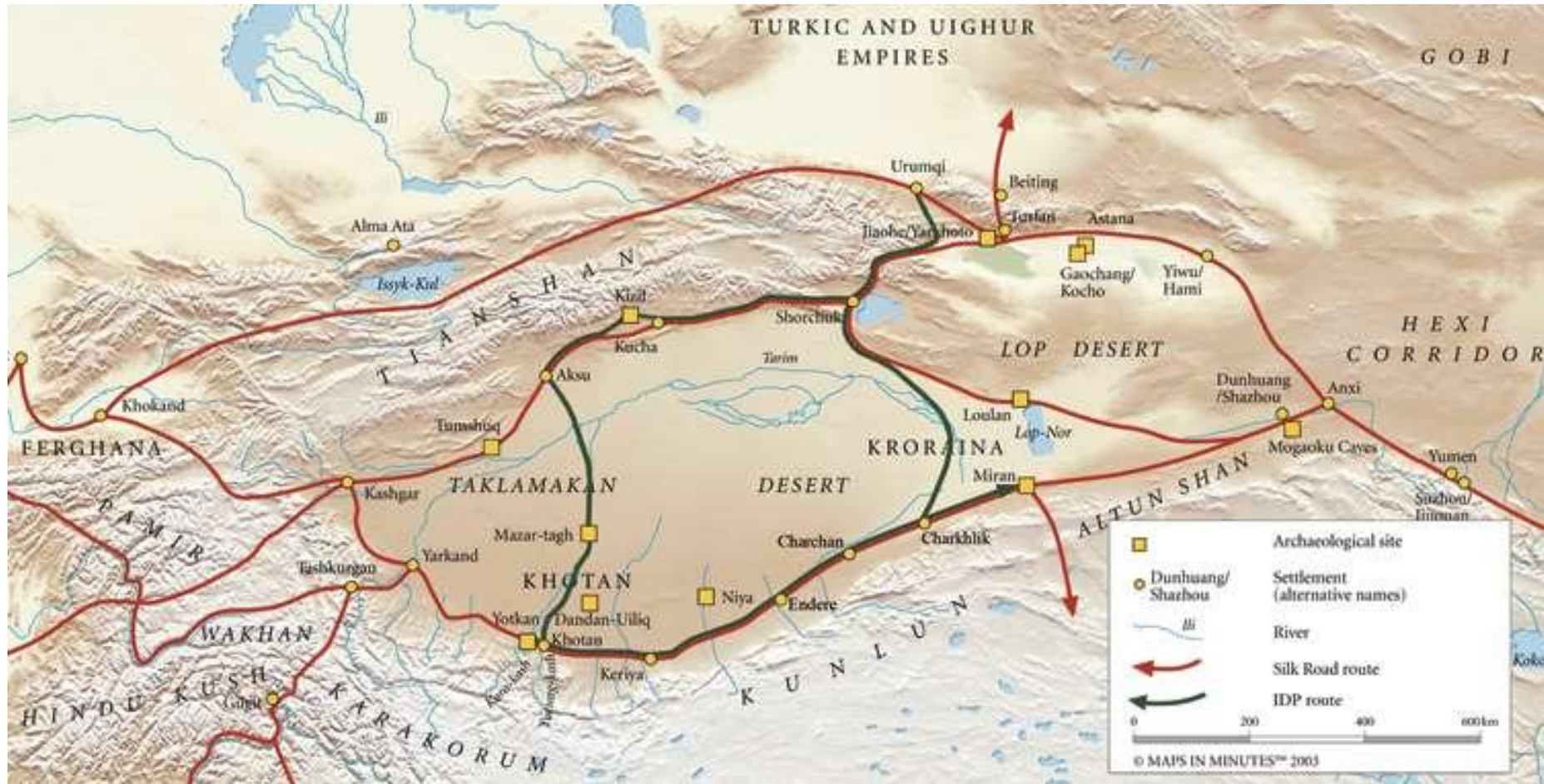
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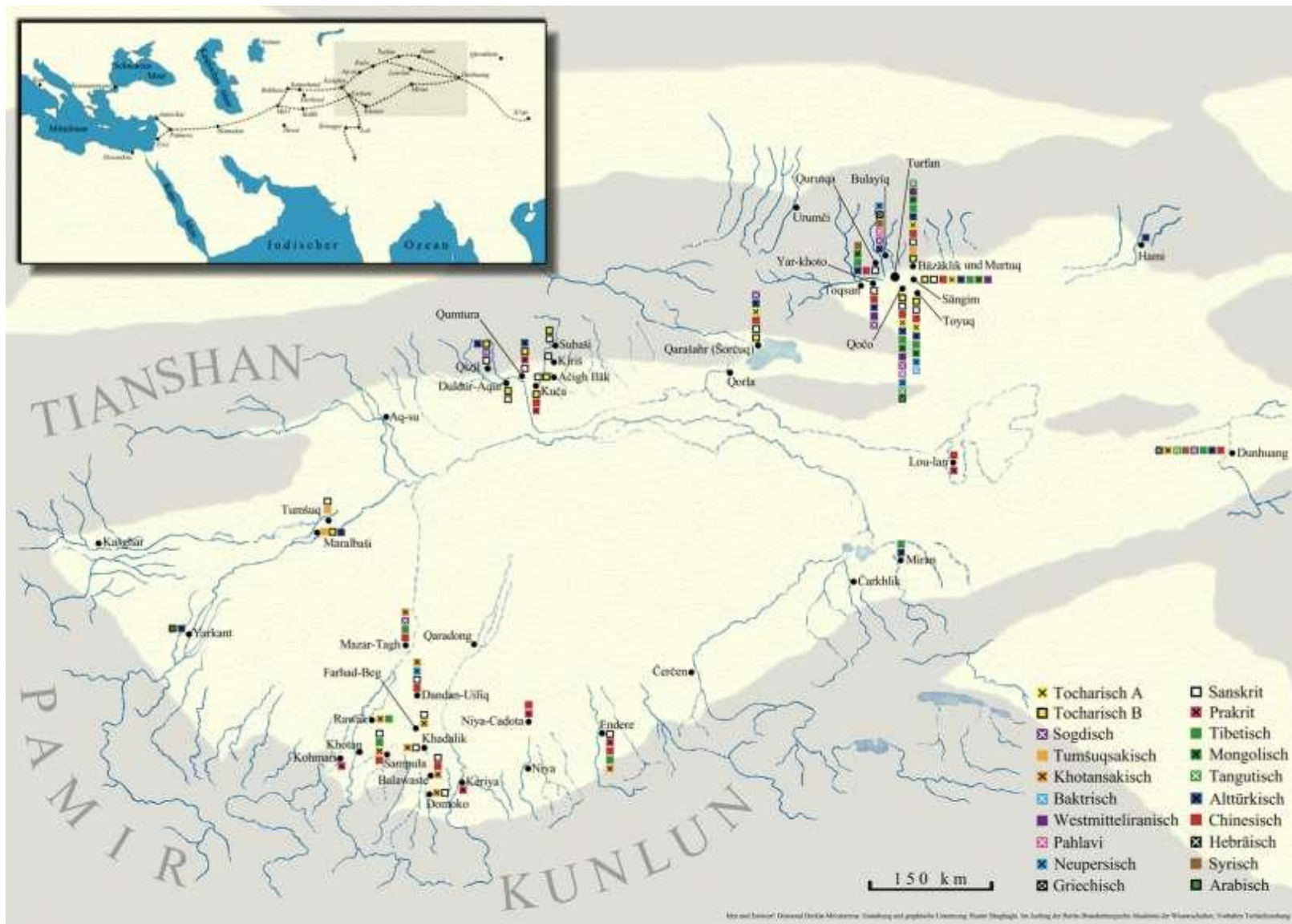


Taklamakan desert, Xinjiang, China



Archaeological spots





Langues (24 dans environ 20 écritures) et sites

Subashi, north of Kucha



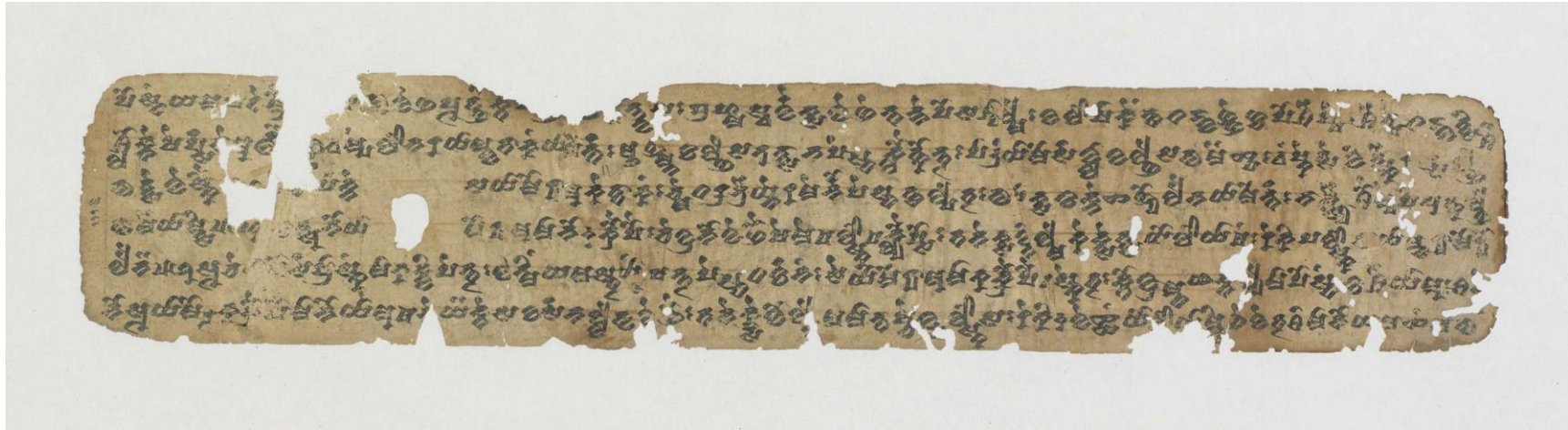
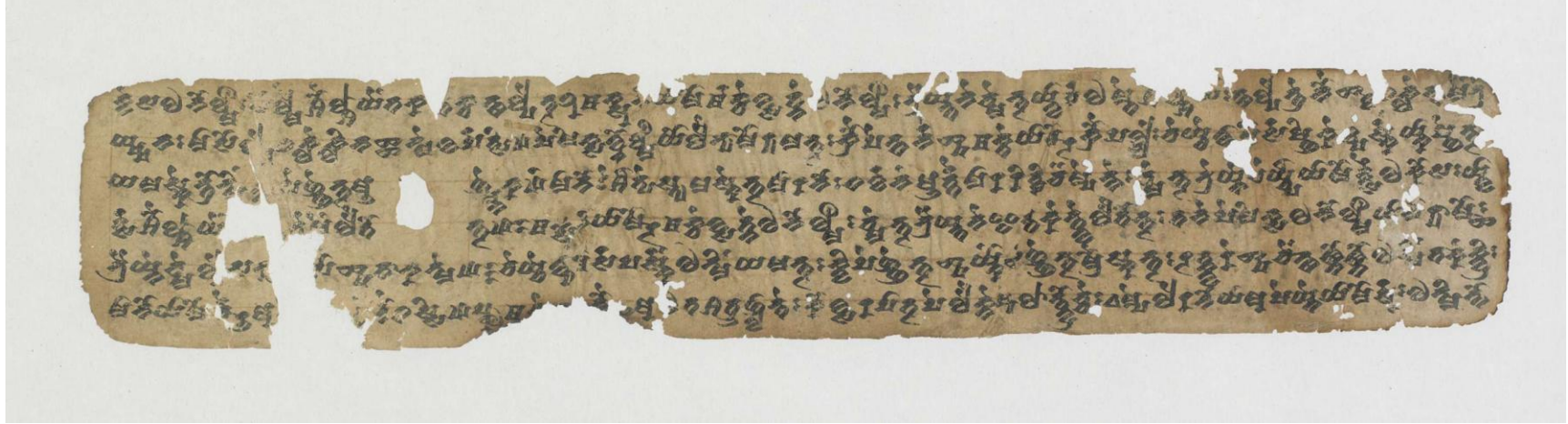
k_uśi postak



History of the Tocharian
Texts of the Pelliot collection

K_uśi, cf. *Kuśi*, older name of the Kucha city/kingdom in Tocharian B, cf. *k_uśiññe*.

Tocharian AB *postak* 'book', loan from Skt. *pustaka-*, through Middle Indian, Pali *poṭṭhaka-*, Pkt. *puttha-* ; alias « *pothi* format » (Hindi, Panjabi, etc.) *pothī-*. This format was originally designed for the books on palm leaves, then adapted for paper leaves in the Tarim Basin.



Tokharien B. BnF. Pelliot Koutchéen, Ancienne Série, 7B, 8,2 x 44 cm.

Project **HisTochText** = **History of the Tocharian Texts of the Pelliot Collection**. Funded by the **European Research Council** for 5 years.

Horizon 2020. Action number 788205. Starting October 1st, 2018.

Principal Investigator: Georges-Jean Pinault (EPHE, PSL)

- General objective. Description of the manuscript culture of Buddhism in the Kucha region, on the basis of the Tocharian and Sanskrit manuscripts found in the closely located sites (Kizil, Subashi, Kumtura, Duldur-Akhur), between 5th and 10th centuries CE.
- Material investigations of the manuscripts: paper, ink, formats. Collaboration with: Centre de Recherche sur la Conservation (CRC), CNRS USR 3224, MNHN, Paris ; Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, Hamburg University.
- Catalogue of the manuscripts, to be put on line by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris. Codicology, paleography.
- Revision of the edition of the Pelliot Koutchéen, to be implemented on the CEToM database, Vienna.
- Concentration on the most challenging manuscripts, which are studied with various imaging technologies. Photograph under different illuminations (UV, IR), PCA treatment of .

Tocharian A manuscript, PK N(ouvelle) S(érie) 1–6.

1. Found in Subashi, isolated by format and language, Tocharian A, whereas all the manuscripts found by the Pelliot expedition (1906-1908) in the Kucha region are written in Tocharian B.
2. Few words quoted (without exact reference) by Walter Couvreur (1955/56) in his review of the Toch. A dictionary by Pavel Poucha (1955). Provisory edition of PK NS 1, 2, 3 saved on CEToM in August 2014.
3. Paper much damaged for PK NS 4, 5, 6. Script partly erased and covered by overprints of the ink of other leaves. Hardly readable in full. Partly understandable through parallel texts.

PK NS 1-6. Tocharian A match of the « Bower Manuscript ».

1. Bower Manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford), written on birch bark *pothi* leaves, in Gupta script, in Sanskrit interspersed with Prākṛit. Excavated in March 1890 from a damaged Buddhist site of the Kucha region, precisely in the ruins of a stūpa in Kumtura.
2. Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf, *The Bower Manuscript*. Facsimile leaves, Nagari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation with notes. Calcutta (Archaeological Survey of India), 1893-1912.
3. Dated beginning of 6th century CE, cf. Lore Sander, in M. Yaldiz & W. Lobo (eds.), *Investigating Indian Art. Proceedings of a symposium on the development of Early Buddhist and Hindu iconography (May 1986)*. Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, 1987, 313-323.

Shared features of the Bower Manuscript.

- The Bower Manuscript contains an admixture of different texts: 1) three medical texts (reflecting the Indian tradition), 2) two dice divination texts, 3) two parts of the *Mahāmāyurī-vidyārājñī-dhāraṇī*.
- Likewise the TA Pelliot manuscript has two leaves of a magical text (PK NS 2, 3) and four leaves of a divination text : PK NS 1, 4, 5, 6. The magical text contains parallels to the TB Tantric text PK AS 8, see edition on CEToM, previous edition by Jean Filliozat, *Fragments de textes koutchéens de médecine et de magie*, Paris, 1948.
- The second Bower divination text (Hoernle edition, Part V) is the closest to the *Pāśaka-kevalī*, reflecting a tradition of north-western India during the first centuries CE.

PK NS 1, 4, 5, 6. Cubomancy, alias dice divination. Skt. *pāśaka-kevalī*

1. Triplet of numbers, obtained by throwing four-sided sticks, inscribed on the faces with pips marking 1, 2, 3, 4.
2. This makes 64 combinations, which are taken as omens.
3. WEBER, Albrecht. « Über ein indisches Würfel-Orakel », *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*. Aus dem Jahre 1859. Berlin, 1860.
4. SCHRÖTER, Julius Erich. *Pāśakakevalī. Ein indisches Würfelorakel*. Inaugural-Dissertation Leipzig. Borna, 1900.
5. Parallels in several languages of Central Asia.
TEKIN, Talat. *Irk Bitig: The Book of Omens*. Wiesbaden, 1993.
DOR, Rémy. *İrq Bitig. Jeu divinatoire turc-ancien*, Paris, 2014.

Cubomancy. Further references.

- F.W. Thomas. *Ancient Folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet. (Introduction, Texts, Translations and Notes)*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1957 (ADAW, Jg. 1952, Nr. 3).
- Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi, Rolf Scheuermann (eds.). *Glimpses of Tibetan divination. Past and present*. (Prognostication in history, vol. 2), Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019.
- Brandon Dotson, Constance A. Cook, Zhao Lu. *Dice and Gods in the Silk Road. Chinese Buddhists dice divination in transcultural context*. (Prognostication in history, vol. 7), Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2021 ; especially chap. 3 (The Divination of Maheśvara and Indic Dice Divination, 196-256).

Structure of the articles of the *Pāśaka-kevalī*.

- The Sanskrit text edited by Weber and Schröter orders the omens according to the sequence 111, 112, 113, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124, 131, 132, etc. until 444, with comments in sequence of stanzas of various lengths. Schröter's text has 189 stanzas in total.
- The Bower Manuscript (part V) and the TA manuscript follow a different ordering, the motivation of which remains unclear.
- The cardinal numbers are told in Sanskrit, followed by the name of the « throw » (*āya-*), and the prognosis itself.
- The comment refers to tokens or signs (*abhijñāna-* *cihna-*, *nimitta-*), which serve to confirm the prognosis on the basis of dreams, visions or events of everyday life.

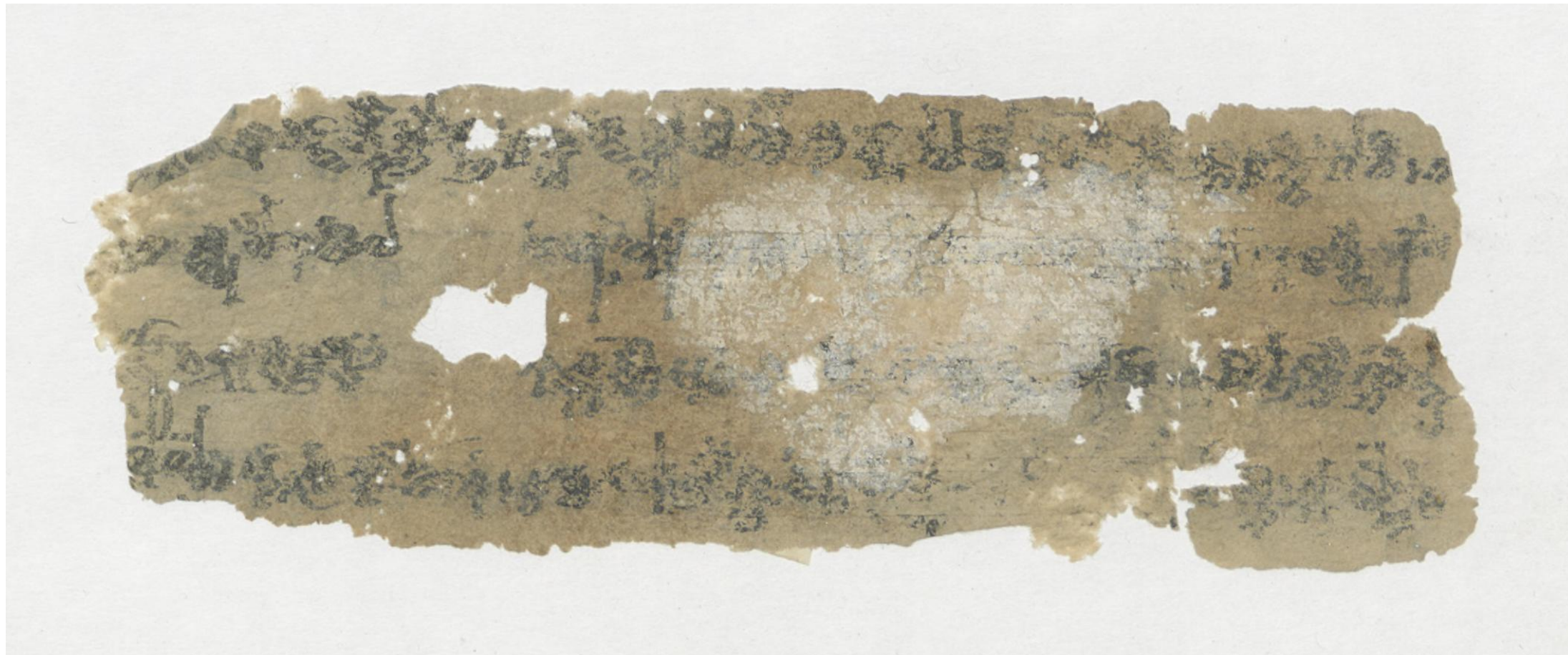
TA phraseology modelled after Sanskrit.

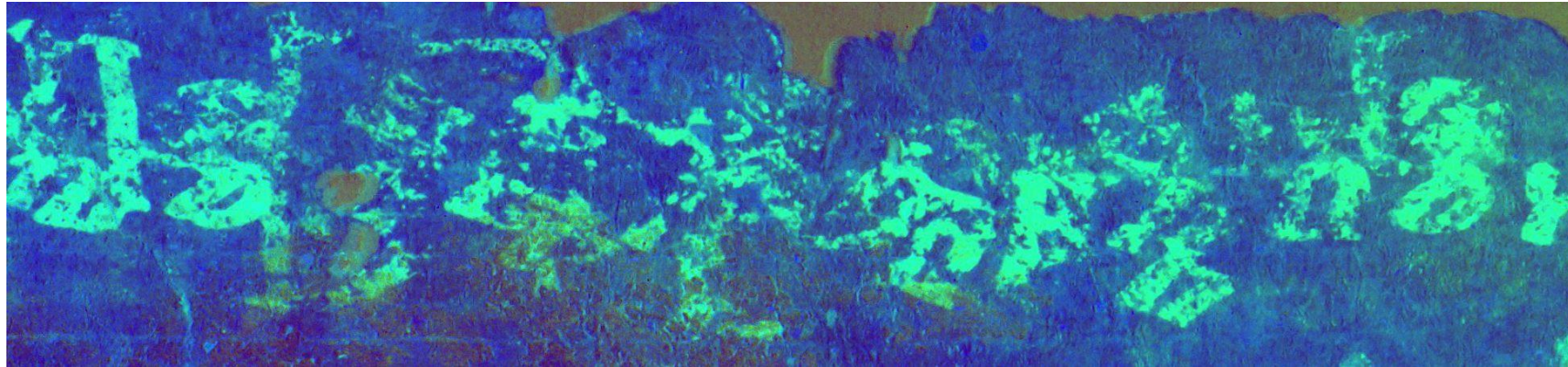
- Name of the throw as subject of a phrase with *patita-*, e.g. 442 *catuṣkau dvau dvikaṃ cānte vṛṣo 'yaṃ patitas tava* 'Twice four, and two at the end: this « Bull » here has fallen for you. TA *klā-ci*.
- Name *vṛṣa-* (4 times in the PāśKev) borrowed in TA.
- Various symbolic names: *śakti-* 'power', *dundubhi-* 'drum', *bahula-* 'variously applicable, ambivalent', etc.
- Terms *aphala-*, *niṣphala* 'without fruit': TA *sne oko* ; *saphala-* 'provided with fruit': TA *śla oko*.
- Mention of the fulfillment of wishes, after some period of trouble.

Some advances in reading the manuscript

- Recourse to imaging technologies. Photographs under different lights and with different filters. Collaboration with the searchers of the CRC (Centre de Recherche sur la Conservation), CNRS USR 3224, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, in 2019-2020, in the frame of the HisTochText project.
- New edition of PK NS 1-6 in preparation by Athanaric Huard, Kilian Laclavetine, Georges-Jean Pinault: « A Tocharian A parallel to the Bower Manuscript ».
- Some further tiny fragments of other manuscript(s) in TA of a similar text have been identified by Huard in the Pelliot Koutchéen collection.

PK N(ouvelle) S(érie) 4, verso. 5,3 x 15,5 cm.



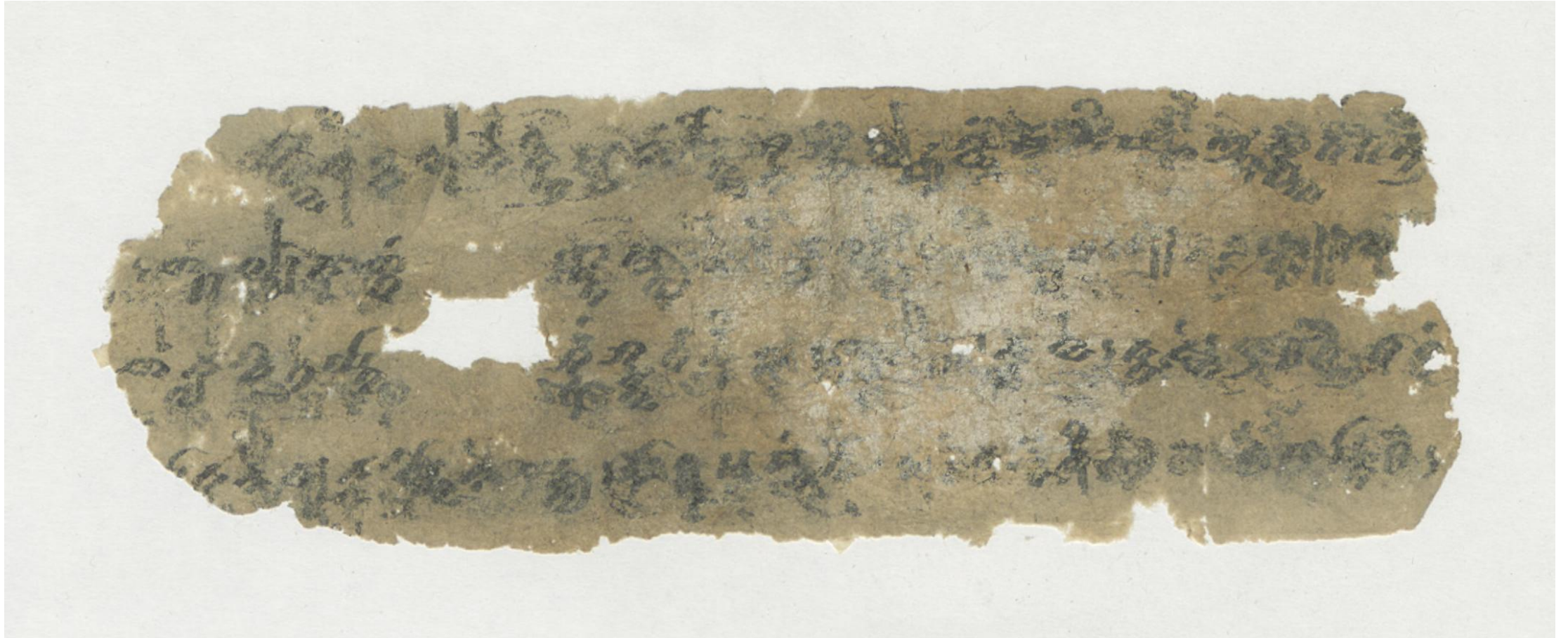


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PK NS 4b1
-lac **kusn=(ā)kāl tām** knatär-ci

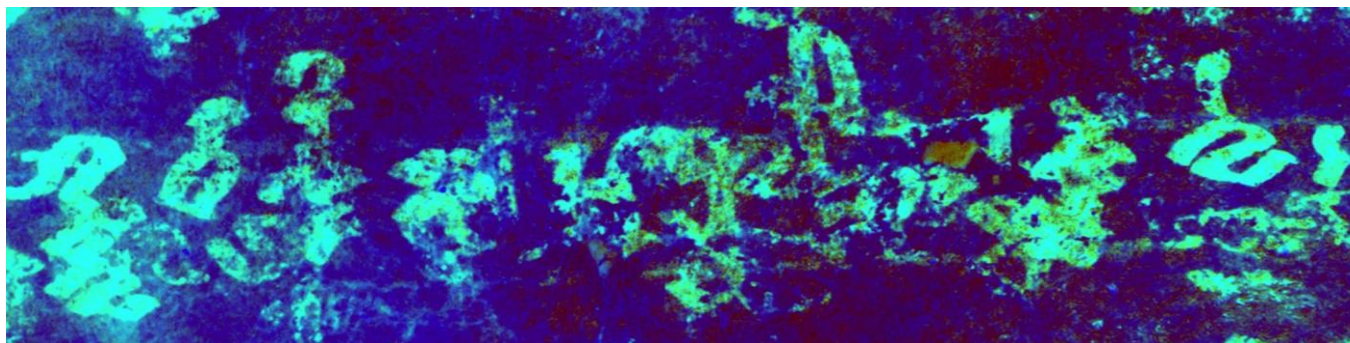
« Whichever [is] the wish, that one will
be fulfilled for you. »

PK N(ouvelle) S(érie) 5, verso. 5,3 x 15,7 cm.

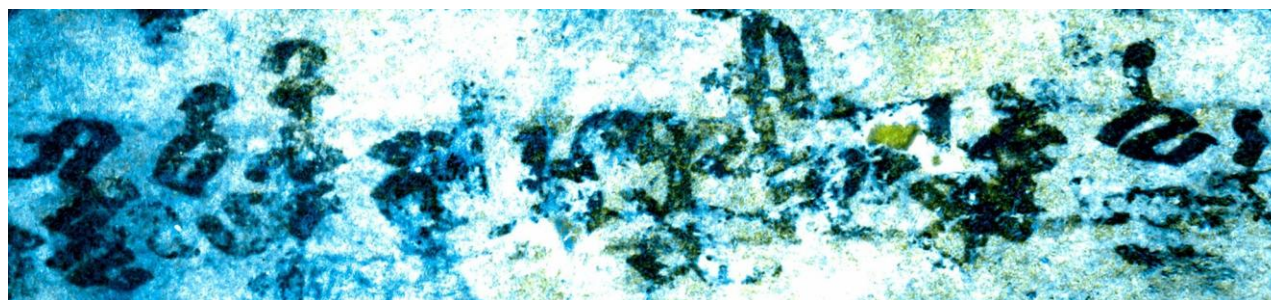




PK NS 5 b3



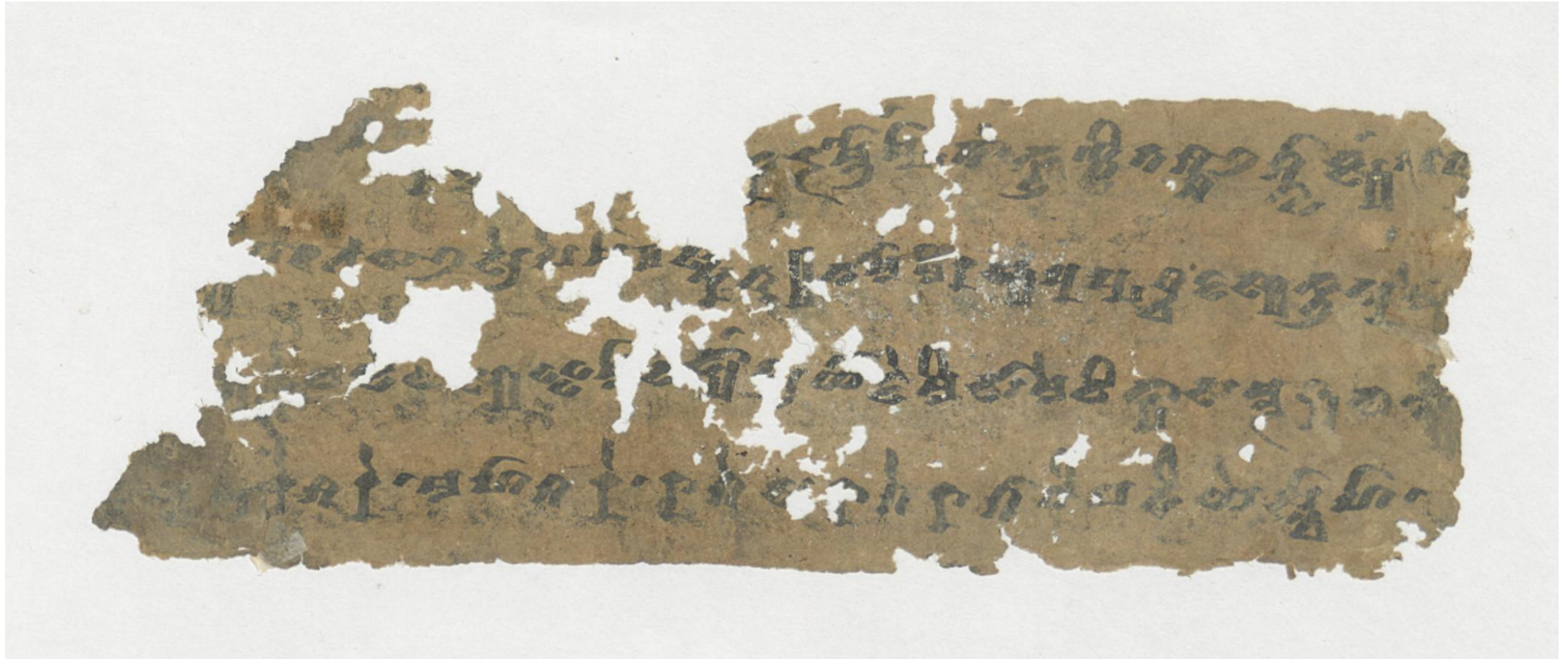
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DStreicht LABI

štvar sārki **bahul** ñom **klawe** : « and then four, a throw called *bahula* »

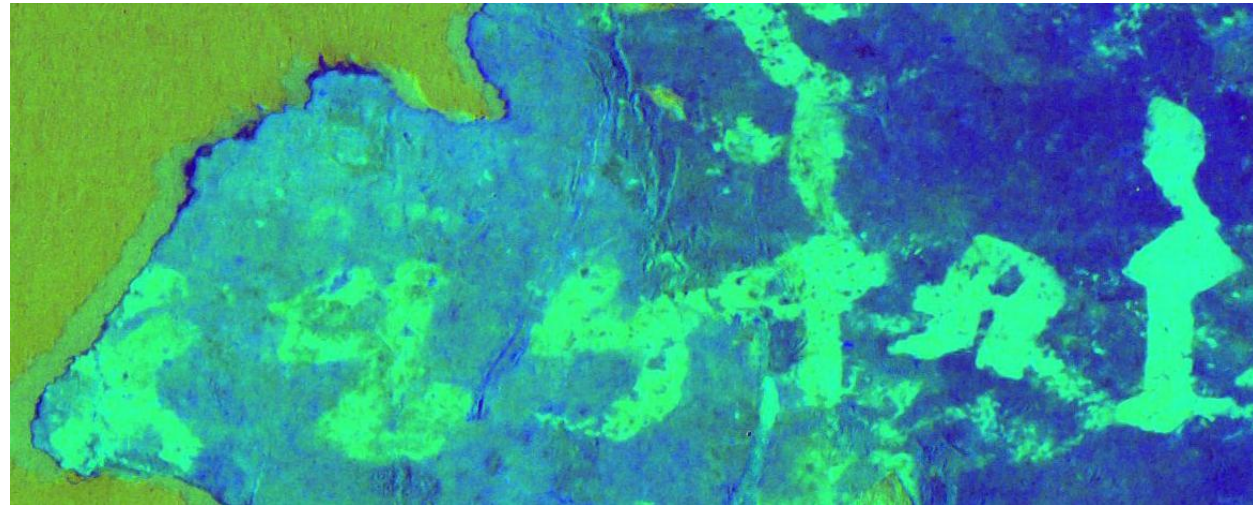
PK N(ouvelle) S(érie) 3, verso. 5,3 x 15,5 cm.





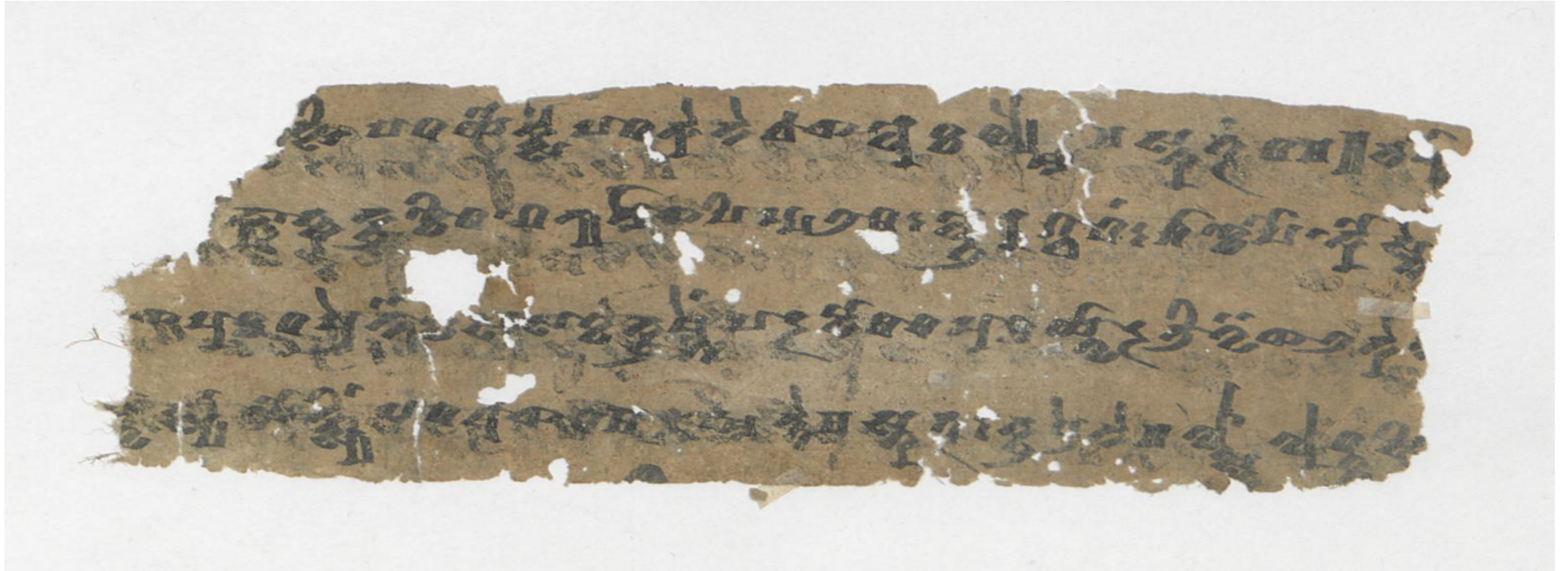
PK NS 3 b4

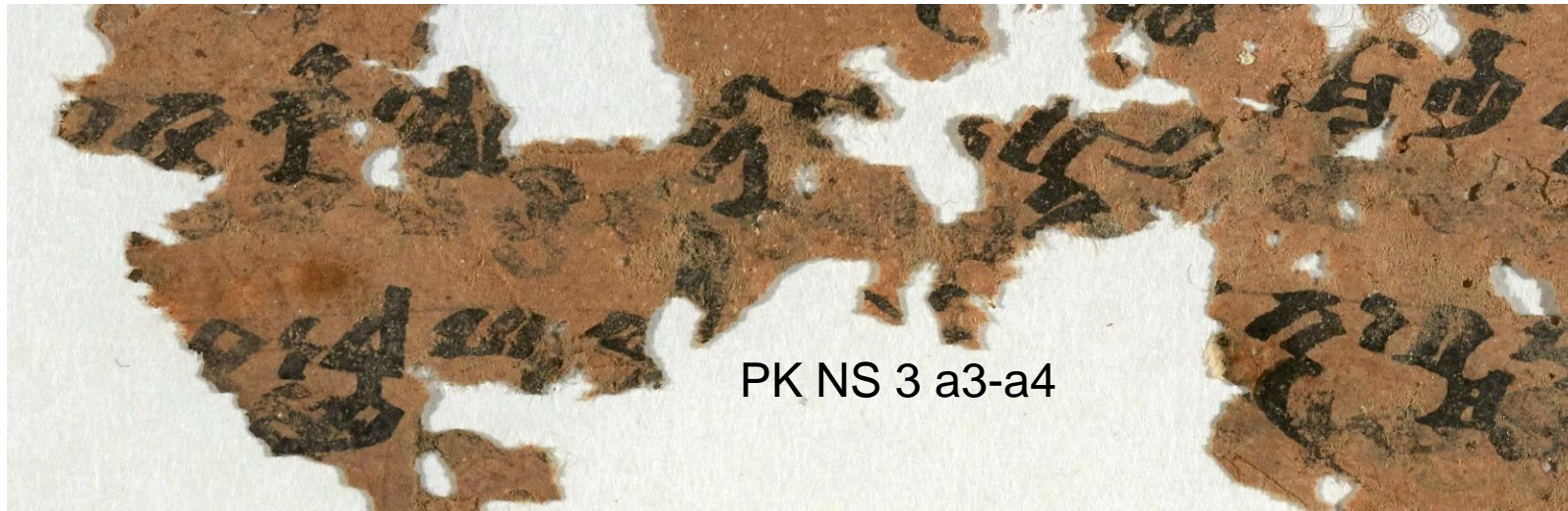
duṣṭapra«ta»re šare



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PK N(ouvelle) S(érie) 2, recto. 5,4 x 15,5 cm.





PK NS 3 a3-a4



PK NS 2 a1-a2
Infrarouge Miroir vertical

(wiskā)ñ(c) kurkalyo snum **kärtkşäl** •
-c tränkä)l : 1800 **sātaṃ mäskaträ** :

Magical text. PK NS 3.

- a1** -(l) – – – – .k. .n. – – – – (o)kar mroṣṣāṃtāṃ kuñcitass{ä}l śwātsyam pat (yo-
a2 tsyaṃ śāktā)lyi pat eṣāl srepe ma māskaträ namo mārasya puṣpadhvajasya
kusumye(ṣu-)
- a3** (mata ā)ryadevadevasya imā(m) v(i)dyāṃ prayojemi sā me vidyā samṛdhyatu
• s(arva)-
- a4** dusta{ra}pra{ta}re śare • mahāśare • rāge • sarāge rāgavipatiye svāhā •
- b1** inthanam {h}omena śam āgacchatu ātmane na(mo svā)hā kowi wāñc_{uo} tkam
k(arda-
- b2** myo wa)ṣt yal pyāpyāṣiṃ akkrittrām maṇḍlam talke yal klu trāyuyo : malkeyo
- b3** (wiskā)ñ(c) kurkalyo snum kārṭkṣāl • mār-ñaktes arāṃpāt {ma}ṇḍlam tāṣāl (wi-
b4 c trānkṣä)l : 1800 sātām māskaträ : tmāṣṣ aci śvātsi yoktsyā nesseset ya(l)

PK NS 3. Translation

- (a1) ... with ... herb, marjoram, sesame in the food or (in the drink) (a2), one should give the seed, [then] the beating (?) does not happen. Homage to Māra provided with flowers, (a3) having arrows of lotuses, the noble god of gods! I use this spell. May this spell of mine be successful. O Reed crossing over all obstacles! O mighty Reed! O Rāgā, O Sarāgā! Hail to the torment of Rāgā! (b1) The inflammation should go well with the oblation. Homage to the supreme soul! Hail! With cow's dung [and] with mud of earth (b2) a house should be made. In a circular maṇḍala, made of flowers, the sacrifice should be made with sour rice-gruel. (b2) (Dirt) with milk, perfume has to be spread with bdellium. A figure of Māra the lord should be put in the maṇḍala. (b3) (The spell should be utter)ed. (b4) The performance (or the incantation) is made 1800 times. Beginning with this, one should put a spell on the food [and] drink.

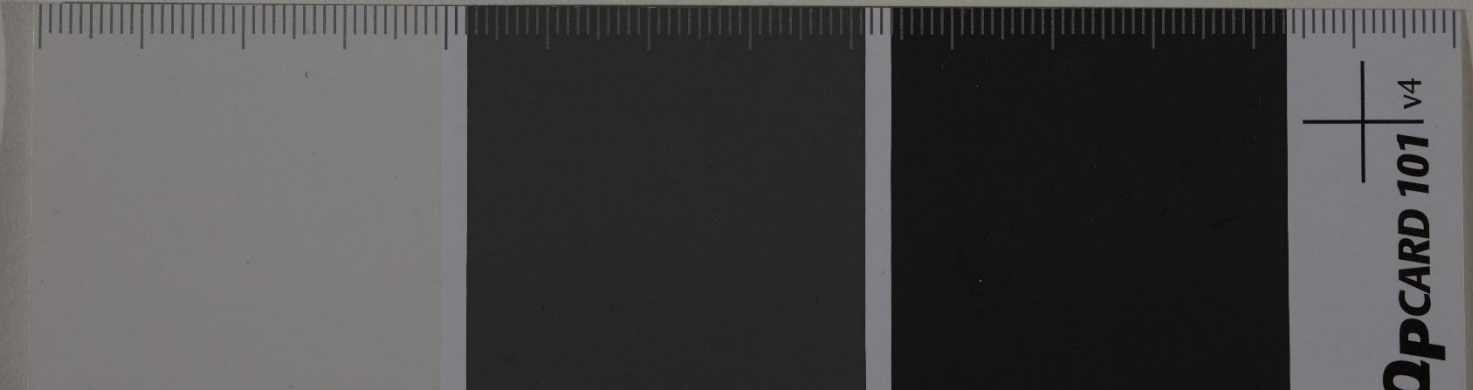
Magical text. PK NS 2

- a1** (tām ś)w(ā)tsi pat yoktsi pat kene eṣ akālyme māskatr-āṃ sām caṣyo
- a2** (sovīra)kāts kuñcit dhanyamāṣ pippalās : āragvat : śāñcapo • kosne
- a3** (tā)ṣ puk tāprenāk sasak kuṣ teṃpar tosās puk ywār triwāṣāl ken(e)
- a4** (tām) śwātsyaṃ yoktsyaṃ pat eṣ sām unmatte māskatrā : kuprene pāltskā
lutkāssi
- b1** (kri) tāṣ-āṃ śakri malkeyo pār yal kāsu māskatr-āṃ sās daśabal sutris
- b2** (naṣ u)pacār pāttāñakte anapār śāñcapo nesseset yal **21** ke ñomā ne
- b3** (tāṣ tā)ṣ cami yālyā(ṃ) tkanā knal cam ṣñi waṣtāṣ lutseñc-āṃ : kuppren(e)
- b4** (pārrās tsä)knātsi kri naṣ-āṃ kutkāryaṣ omālyāṃ ṣpal musnāl tsaryo

PK NS 2. Translation

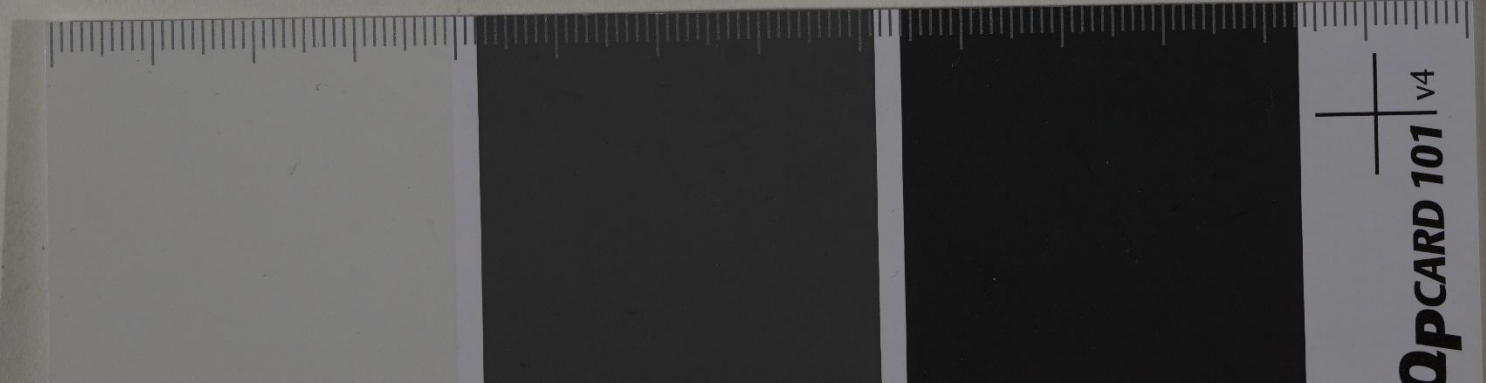
(a1) The one to whom one gives (that) to eat or to drink, this one becomes under one's control. With that one (a2) sesame accompanied with sour gruel, mung bean, long pepper, cassia fistula (*āragvadha-*), mustard. As much (a3) as everything (is available), as much exactly a single (person) pours appropriately. One should mix amidst all these (ingredients). To whom(ever) (a4) one gives that in the food or in the drink, this one becomes insane. If one wishes to let [him] return [in his right] mind, (b1) one should make a recitation with sweetened milk. It is good for him. || Of the Daśabala-sūtra this (b2) (is) the practice. In front of the Buddha [image], one should cast a spell on the mustard. In whose name (b3) this is to be strewn over the earth that is expected to be walked on by him, this one, they expel him from his own house. In case that (b4) one has the wish (to pull out arrow-tips?), one should rise hot powder from a mold (?) with the hand ...

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi, on a fragment of aged, brownish paper. The text is arranged in approximately four horizontal lines. The script is finely etched into the surface of the paper, which shows signs of wear and tear, including a small hole in the center. The characters are small and closely spaced, typical of early Indian writing systems.





Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a piece of aged, brown paper. The text is arranged in approximately five horizontal lines, though the paper is torn and the script is somewhat faded and difficult to decipher. The characters appear to be a mix of letters and symbols, possibly representing a specific dialect or a form of shorthand.



Divination. PK NS 1

(ā)-

- a1** -nāntāpā sne oko : āk caṃ ppāltsāk sārki āñu kälpatār: **1 || 2 4 4 ||**
- a2** jevada(ṃ) : wu neṣ tmāṣ śtwar śtwar vrāṣ klawe klā-ci tmāk ṣñi tmāk ā-
- a3** -lu yśalmsaṃ tattränku : kuleyā sārki ymāṃ tñi lkātār wlalune tṣaṃ yne-
- a4** -ś śorki ppāṣār āñcām ñātse yāṣ : mar kuleyis mosam kāpñe śol nakä-
- b1** -t : kākmärtikās wrassaśśäl tñi wac kuñś lkātār kule ṣurmaṣ : 1 ṣotre
- b2** ākṣñam-ci ṣpāṃ lyākaṣt ā{sm}iṃ tarpas ṣtāmāntu āsunt sne
- b3** oko : epreraṃ śkaṃ senas sālmāṃ sukrānās tu ṣpāṃ lyākaṣt tām nu
- b4** ṣokyo krāmārts wram : lapaṣi ske taṃ ywārckaṃ mā ṣeś-śi : pkānta
lyamāṣ mā

Remarks on PK NS 1.

- **a1.** End of a stanza in meter with 4th pāda of 11 syllables, 4/4/3.
- **a2.** Name of a tune, sequence of stanzas in meter 20/22/10/15 (5/5/5/5, 8/7/7, 5/5, 8/7). The indication is followed by two dots, not by double daṇḍas, or simple daṇḍa, as in PK NS 4 a4. Loan via MI from Skt. *jaya-vādyā-* ‘any instrument sounded to proclaim victory’ (MW: 413b), see also *jaya-* ‘victory’, as name of particular verses causing victory, and as a kind of measure in music (MW: 412c).
- **b2.** Sure reading *āmsiṃ*, which makes no sense. The superscribed cross points to a correction, without any missing syllable. Adverb *āsmiṃ*, based on *āsam**, found in *ekrā-āsam* ‘empty [and] dry’, agent noun based on *ās-* ‘dry out, dry up’. Cf. the token given in PāśKev, st. 76, but about omen **231**: ‘dried out trees, ponds, empty country’.

PK NS 1. Translation

(a1) ... forever without fruit. Think about some (any other) goal, you will obtain peace. **1** || **2 4 4** || (a2) In [the tune] *jevad** : Two before ; then four, four. The “Bull throw” has fallen for you. To the desires of yourself as well as of others (a3) it has been attached. Coming after the woman the death appears to you. At that place (a4) anguish [is] obvious. Watch yourself! Danger comes. You shall not destroy your life for the sake of the woman. (b1) Together with the beings [that are] rulers fight [and] quarrel is seen by you because of the woman. **1** The sign (token) (b2) I will teach you: In dream you kept seeing ponds in dryness, trees (being) dried out [and] without (b3) fruit. And in the sky eagles flying over crows, you, you kept seeing in dream. Then this [is] (b4) a very serious matter. There was no effort of the head for you amidst that. Separated from the lake, not (?) ...

PK NS 1. Comparison with the *Pāśaka-kevalī* (PāśKev)

- **244** PāśKev 93-95 dvikaṃ pūrvam catuṣkau dvau vṛṣo 'yaṃ patitas tava / yac ca te hṛdgataṃ kiṃcid udvegasa tatra dṛśyate // upasthitam ca kalyāṇam hṛdi nirvāṇakāraṇam / yāvat siddhir idānīm te tataḥ śreyo bhaviṣyati // idaṃ ca te hy abhijñānam guhyante tilako yadi / tataḥ sarvaṃ idaṃ satyaṃ yan mayā gaditaṃ tava //
- (transl. Weber) Zwei zuerst, zweimal Vier sodann, fiel dir hier ein stierkräftiger Wurf: / Was dir irgend im Herzen liegt, dabei steht Aufregung bevor. // Doch tritt dir Günstiges herzu, im Herz schaffend Glückseligkeit, / Bis die Vollendung jetzt dir naht: nachher wird es noch besser sein. // Und dies sei dir hier Wahrzeichen: von Mälern voll ist deine Scham. / Daher ist alles dieses wahr, was jetzt dir von mir gesagt. //

Divination. PK NS 4

- a1** štw(ar) štw(a)r sārki sas neṣā kuṭ klawe tñi puk sukāntwis (kleśāsāṣ) :
tsālpālune
- a2** niṣpaliṣ ā{kā}○ltwāśśi knalune pre kumseñc tñi : śri-ñkāt viṣṇu mahiśva(r)
- a3** tatārkuṣ cwaṃ ce○sām tu yārkā pyāmtsār : tmāṣ śkaṃ ṣotre ākṣñam-ci nimnā-
- a4** -talṣi ṣpām lyākaṣt mahādevem : **1 | 4 1 4 |** bahudantākaṃ | štwar neṣ štwar
sā-
- b1** (-rki sa)s ywārckā kut ñom klawe klā-ci oñi-cmolac kusn=ākāl tām knatār-ci :
nā-
- b2** (k)maṃtwāṣ lyutār la○me kālpātār (...)

PK NS 4. Translation

(a1) Four, four afterwards, one before. The throw “Heap” (has fallen) for you. The liberation from all the afflictions of pleasures, (a2) the fulfilling of wishes of possession come before you. The goddess Śrī, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara (a3) are rolling on you. You, pay homage to them! Then I will teach you the sign (token): (a4) In dream you kept seeing Mahādeva having a lowered hand. **1 | 4 1 4** | In [the tune] *bahudantāka* | Four before, four after(b1)wards, one in between. The throw named “Heap” has fallen for you. Which(ever) wish [is] for human birth, that will be fulfilled for you. (b2) You will obtain a stay beyond reproaches. (...)

Remarks on PK NS 4.

- Omen **144**. Name of the throw: *kuṭ*. The reading with retroflex seems likely in **a1**, but in the second occurrence (**b1**), the reading with dental /ta/ is warranted by the overprint of the same line in PK NS 5 a4. The idea of any connection with OT *kut* ‘Heil, (königliches Charisma), Würde, Rang; Glanz, Pracht; Segen; Glückszeichen’, etc., found in some items of the *Irk Bitig*, does not seem likely. Rather loan via MI from Skt. *kūṭa-* ‘summit, heap; illusion, fraud, trick, falsehood’ (MW: 299b). This term occurs in the PāśKev, 223 (st. 67), 232 (st. 77), 414 (st. 152) : ‘ein schlimmer Wurf’ (transl. Weber).
- **a2**. Standard list of deities to be praised, Śiva, etc.
- **a3-4**. Adjective *nimnātal-ṣi*, epithet of Mahādeva, based on the loan from Skt. *nimna-tala-* ‘having a lowered hand’.

PK NS 4. Comparisons (1)

- 144 PāśKev 47-48 padaṃ pūrvam catuṣkau dvau vṛṣo 'yaṃ patitas tava / saṃpattiḥ sarvakāryāṇāṃ dhanadhānyasya cāgamaḥ // yas tvayā cintitas cārthaḥ sa ca sarvo bhaviṣyati / svapne drakṣyasi devaṃ ca niśāyāṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ //
- (transl. Weber) Eins zuerst, zweimal Vier sodann; jetzt fiel dir ein stierkräftiger Wurf./ Aller Geschäfte Vollgedeihn, Getreide, Reichthum kömmt dir zu. // Und welches Ziel du hast im Sinn, das wird zu Theil dir werden ganz. Und im Traum wirst du sehen Gott des Nachts [Śiva], nicht sei ein Zweifel dran. //

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PK NS 4. Comparisons (2)

- **414** PāśKev 152-154 catuṣkādaḥ padam madhye catuṣkam cāvasānikam / daivānukulyataḥ sādhu kūṭo (Weber, -kr̥to Schröter) 'yaṃ patitas tava // dvipade vartate cintā tasya māsenā sambhavaḥ // arthāgamas tathā bandhusaṃyogo māsamātrataḥ // śarīre ca tathārogyaṃ manasā cintitaṃ tvayā / tataḥ sarvam idaṃ kṣipraṃ saphalaṃ te bhaviṣyati //
- (transl. Weber) Vier zuerst, Eins dann in der Mitt', und Vier am Ende noch dazu, – Durch Gunst des Schicksals günstig dir gefall'n ist dieser hohe Wurf. // Dein Sinn richtet auf Menschen sich. Es erfüllt sich in Monatsfrist. Auf Goldgewinn und Verein'gung mit Verwandten schon in 'nem Mond. // Und Gesundheit am Leibe auch hast wiederholt im Sinn begehrt. So wird denn alles dieses dir gar schleunig fruchttragend sein. //

PK NS 4. Comparisons (3)

- N.B. **414** follows **144** in the Bower manuscript, Part V, 2nd leaf, verso.
- **144.** (transl. Hoernle, p. 210) When one comes first and then twice four, then thou will attain progress in all thy business and wealth: thy family Deva, Maheśvara, the great Deva, will be favorable to thee: give praises to him and worship, and keep his vigils. Very great will be thy gain: there is no doubt about it. And this shall be for a token (*abhijñāna-*) to thee: there is an ulcer in thy buttocks: also in thy sleep you talkest much.

All these texts are quite repetitive and recycle similar formulas of prognostication. The TA text adds evidence to the fluctuating and adaptable aspect of the *Pāśaka-kevalī* tradition in Central Asia.

Remarks on the manuscript PK NS 1-6.

1. Portable manuscript (5,5 x 16 cm), which could be carried in a sleeve.
2. Further evidence for TA as a language not restricted to Buddhist clerical use.
3. Judging from the ductus, this manuscript is one of the oldest TA manuscripts, which could be placed in the beginning of 7th century CE.
4. Manuscript found in Subashi, which belongs to the Kucha area, the region where TB has been in current use for centuries (4th century CE for the oldest manuscripts). Some traces of TB influence on the wording of the text.
5. Further issues. Was this manuscript copied in Subashi after the model of the tradition of the « Bower Manuscript », which was still alive there, around Kucha, in order to be used by speakers of TA, who ordered the copy?
6. Which was the destiny of this manuscript: to be used in Subashi,

« In Kuchean »: Toch. B k_uśiññe pelesa

- **sā plāce āra || yesāṃ anaiśai keklyauṣorne māka sakw kālpām ||**

« This talk is finished.

We received much pleasure in your attentive hearing! »

Remerciements/Acknowledgements.

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 788205).

Web site: <https://histochtext.human-num.fr/>

Research group: Groupe de recherches en études indiennes (GREI), EA 2120, EPHE/Paris 3. <https://grei.fr>