Tocharian Abhidharma Texts I: A Philological Study of B 197

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TOCHARIAN ABHIDHARMA TEXTS I: A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY OF B 197[1]

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Abstract

This paper is a philological study of the Tocharian manuscript B 197. Kudara (1974) first identified this manuscript as a commentary on the *Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa*, a fifth-century CE Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma manual. Since Kudara's groundbreaking study and translation, essentially no research had been conducted on this text until Catt (2016), which uncovered a new verb form that allowed for a better understanding of the first lines of the manuscript. In this new study, we present a complete transcription and translation of the text along with detailed commentary and two in-depth lexical studies. In particular, we demonstrate that the phrase *yumāne nesalñe* is to be understood as a calque of Skt. *anu-bhava* 'experience, perception', confirming an observation about the meaning of the root *yu-* made by Peyrot (2013). We also identify the previously unclear form *käkse* in the manuscript as a scribal error for **wakse*, an adjective meaning 'cool'. This allows us to connect the form with Tocharian A *wpäs*, a hapax, and the Tocharian B verb *wäks-*, in addition to further cognates in other Indo-European languages. The study will also be of interest to Buddhologists for the light it sheds on Tocharian Abhidharma texts and their relation to other Buddhist texts of this genre.

Résumé

Cet article a pour but l'étude philologique du manuscrit tokharien B 197, que Kudara (1974) a été le premier à identifier comme un commentaire de l'*Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa,* un manuel d'Abhidharma de l'école Sarvāstivādin du cinquième siècle de notre ère. Après cette étude pionnière, aucune recherche n'a été menée sur ce texte jusqu'à Catt (2016), qui a mis au jour une nouvelle forme verbale permettant une meilleure compréhension des premières lignes du commentaire. Dans cette nouvelle étude, nous présentons une transcription et une traduction complètes du texte ainsi qu'un commentaire détaillé et deux études lexicales approfondies. Nous montrons notamment que la périphrase *yumāne nesalñe* est à interpréter comme un calque du sanskrit *anu-bhava* « expérience, perception », confirmant ainsi une observation de Peyrot (2013), et que la forme obscure *käkse* dans notre manuscrit doit être interprétée comme une erreur de scribe pour **wakse*, un adjectif signifiant « froid ». Cela nous permet de rapprocher cette forme de tokharien A *wpäs*, un hapax, et de la rattacher au verbe tokharien B *wäks-*, ainsi qu'à des formes apparentées dans les autres langues indo-européennes. Cette étude concerne aussi la bouddhologie dans la mesure elle donne un aperçu sur les textes tokhariens d'Abhidharma et leur relation aux autres textes bouddhiques de ce genre.

[1] This paper is the first in a series of in-depth philological studies on the Tocharian Abhidharma texts and draws from the fields of Buddhology, Tocharian studies, and linguistics. These texts are rich in material but have remained largely unmined till date. We hope this paper will exemplify the value of a collaborative philological approach.

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1. Introduction

The manuscript B 197 appears in the "Abhidharma" section of Sieg and Siegling's 1953 edition, where it is described as follows:

> Der Länge nach vollständiges, sechszeiliges Blatt ohne Zählung, an den Rändern vielfach beschädigt und stellenweise stark abgerieben. Späte Schrift; für -ṯaṛ wird häufig -tar geschrieben, und an Stelle von -ṯṛa̲ findet sich -ṯṛa̲. Es handelt sich um die dreifache Art von *vedanā* „Empfindung": Glück, Leid und Indifferenz. (Sieg and Siegling 1953: 114)

According to this description, this *pustaka* leaf was devoid of any numbering on the verso and was nearly complete in size, having six lines on each side. The leaf is one of only two within the Abhidharma section (B 170–202) that were preserved almost completely intact;[2] unfortunately, the whereabouts of the original are now unknown, leaving only Sieg and Siegling's transliteration to work from. The manuscript was found in Murtuq, and on the basis of the deducible paleographic features (see below) can plausibly be dated to the first half of the eighth century.[3] In the discussion that follows, we will argue that certain scribal errors reveal that B 197 was in fact copied from an older manuscript written in early classical script (as in, for example, PK AS 7). This older model would have been produced approximately one century earlier.

The text concerns a highly technical discussion of the three types of sensation (*vedanā*): pleasant (*sukha*), unpleasant (*duḥkha*), and neutral, i.e. neither pleasant nor unpleasant (*upekṣā* or *asukhāduḥkha*). In the first half (lines a1–6), the Sarvāstivādin position that all three types of sensation exist in terms of an intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) is contrasted with that of other schools and defended. The view of schools such as the Sautrāntikas and Mahāsāṃghikas was that only unpleasant sensation exists intrinsically, the other two types of sensation existing only conventionally or nominally (Sakurabe and Odani 1999: 33 n. 5)—these are likely the rival schools that are referred to by "some" (*ṣemi*) in line a1.[4] The Sarvāstivādin position is represented by the "commentator" (*ṭikkakāre*, transposing Skt. *ṭīkākāra*-)[5] in lines a2–3, who gives two logical arguments (*yukti*) and one citation of scriptural authority (*āgama*) to back up the view that all three types of sensation actually exist in terms of *svabhāva*.

The manuscript contains the following quotes from a Sanskrit source (for clarity, the Sanskrit has been slightly emended here): *trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti* (a6), *iṣṭāniṣṭobhayaviparītasparśayoniḥ* (b2), *kāyacittāvasthāviśeṣataḥ* (b3), *hlādī upatāpī ubhayaviparītaś* (b5–6), *tṛṣṇāhetur vedanety ucyate* (b6). In an illuminating paper on B 197, Kudara (1974) identified these quotes as stemming from Chapter 2 "Vedanā-padārtha" of the *Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa* (hereafter *Avatāra*).[6]

The *Avatāra* is a fifth-century Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma manual now extant in complete form only in Chinese and Tibetan translation. Sakurabe (1975: 184) notes that both of these translations are nearly identical in terms of content. The author of the Sanskrit original is generally thought to be Skandhila (based on the Chinese 塞建陀羅 or 塞建地羅),[7] a Kashmiri Sarvāstivādin Ābhidharmika (Dhammajoti 2008: 50–59). A number of fragments related to the *Avatāra* have been identified and studied over the past few decades. Below we give a full summary of the texts and translations that are now available.

Chinese: The Chinese translation (*Ru apidamolun* 入阿毘達磨論 Taishō No. 1554, Vol. 28, pp. 980–989) was produced by Xuanzang (玄奘) in 658. There are two modern translations of the Chinese into Indo-European

[2] The relatively undamaged state of the manuscript is presumably why this text was chosen as a passage for reading practice in the second volume of the *Tocharisches Elementarbuch* (*TEB* 2: 69–70), which provides some useful comments for understanding the text.

[3] For B 367 and B 178—two texts that were discovered in the same general vicinity as B 197 and that likely had similar paleographic characteristics—Tamai (2011: 374) proposes the dates 737–773 and 697–716, respectively, on the basis of carbon-14 dating of these manuscripts and their ductus.

[4] The debate between rival schools regarding the intrinsic nature of the three types of *vedanā* is discussed extensively in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and its commentaries; see Kudara (1974: 31 with n. 33) and below.

[5] See below on the special function of the phrases *ṭikkakāre weṣṣäṃ* 'the commentator states' and *codake weṣṣäṃ* 'the objector states' in the text.

[6] In the *Abhidharmadīpa* (ed. Jaini 1959: 69 line 1), a Kashmiri Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma manual which was also known to the Tocharian-speaking Buddhists (B 199 preserves a fragment of this text; see Kudara 1986, Catt 2016: 18 with n. 19), there is a nearly identical description of *vedanā*: *tatra vedanā sukhādis trividho 'nubhavaḥ | trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti paryāyaḥ | iṣṭāniṣṭobhayaviparītaviṣayendriyavijñānasannipātajā dharmayoniḥ* $^{+}$*kāyacittāvasthāviśeṣataḥ* (for *kāyacittāvasthāviśeṣaḥ*) *prahlādy upatāpī tadubhayaviparītaś ca tṛṣṇāhetur vedanety ucyate*. Tsukamoto et al. (1990: 70) note that the *Avatāra* and *Abhidharmadīpa* are unique among the Abhidharma texts in their succinct style and division into eight *padārtha*, or "chapters" concerning the meaning of fundamental technical terms. See Yoshimoto (1973) on the close correspondences between the two texts and for the suggestion that the *Abhidharmadīpa* in places may have quoted from the *Avatāra*. Note that B 199 and B 197 were both found in Murtuq, again suggesting an affinity between these Abhidharma manuals.

[7] Sugandhara and Sugandhīra have also been proposed; see the discussion in Tsukamoto et al. (1990: 70), Sakurabe (1975: 184–185), and especially Dhammajoti (2008: 50–51). The name given in the Uyghur commentary (*sikandile* ~ *sikantile*) also adds considerable weight to the evidence in favor of Skandhila (Kudara 1980: 75, Shōgaito et al. 2018: 49).

languages, one in French (van Velthem 1977) and one in English (Dhammajoti 2008).

Tibetan: The Tibetan translation (*Rab tu byed pa chos mṅon pa la ḥjug pa shes bya ba = Abhidharmāvatāra-prakaraṇa-ṇāma*) is by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye-shes-sde, and is available in three editions; see Inokuchi (1961: 336), Kudara (1974: 28 n. 25), and Dhammajoti (2008: 8). Sakurabe (1975: 184–241) is a translation of the Tibetan into Japanese. In addition, there is a commentary on the Tibetan translation (known in Sanskrit as the *Sārasamuccaya-nāma-abhidharmāvatāra-ṭīkā*).

Sanskrit: Matsuda (1996) identifies folio 56 (facsimile no. 3259) published in Part 10 of Vira and Chandra (1959–1974) as a Sanskrit fragment from Chapter 4 "Saṃskāra-padārtha" of the *Avatāra*. The Sanskrit corresponds to the portion 986b28–c26 of the Chinese translation. Matsuda provides a transcription and Japanese translation of the fragment.

Tocharian A: Inokuchi (1961: 336–342) identifies A 384–386 as fragments of a commentary on Chapter 4 "Saṃskāra-padārtha" of the *Avatāra*. He provides a transcription and Japanese translation of these fragments along with a synopsis of the corresponding portions in the Chinese and Tibetan translations.

Tocharian B: Kudara (1974) identifies B 197 as a commentary on the beginning of Chapter 2 "Vedanā-padārtha" of the *Avatāra*. He provides a transcription and Japanese translation along with a synopsis of the corresponding portions in the Chinese and Tibetan translations, extensive philological commentary, and a glossary of terms for Tocharian.[8] Catt (2016) presents a detailed study of the first lines of the manuscript and identifies a previously unrecognized verb form *ly(ǐ)ptsentar* that provides an important key to understanding the text.

Uyghur: Kudara (1980) identifies four folios from the Sven Hedin collection at the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm and three manuscript facsimiles in Tōru Haneda's private collection as belonging to a Uyghur commentary on the *Avatāra*. As Kudara demonstrates, the Uyghur text is itself a translation of a Chinese commentary on the *Avatāra*, and the Chinese is in turn a translation of an original Sanskrit commentary authored by Mitragupta, a name mentioned in the Uyghur manuscript. Unfortunately, outside of the information that can be gleaned from the Uyghur text, nothing else is known about any Sanskrit or Chinese commentary on the *Avatāra*. While Kudara (1980: 72) states that "a transcription, translation, and glossary for these Uyghur documents are to be published in the near future [trsl. of the original Japanese by the authors]", this was never realized. However, Shōgaito et al. (2018) have now taken up the four folios in the Hedin collection and provided a detailed transcription, Japanese translation, commentary, and glossary for these texts. These four folios comment on the opening verse, Chapter 1 "Rūpa-padārtha", and Chapter 4 "Saṃskāra-padārtha" of the *Avatāra* (Shōgaito et al. 2018: 3). Besides the folios identified by Kudara, Shōgaito (2004, 2009) has identified a total of eleven additional fragments housed at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences as belonging to the Uyghur commentary on the *Avatāra*. These fragments correspond to Chapter 4 "Saṃskāra-padārtha" (Shōgaito 2009: 95).

Sino-Japanese: Two commentaries on the Chinese translation were produced in Japan in the eighteenth century by Chiki (智暉) and Jikō (慈光) (Inokuchi 1961: 342, Kudara 1980: 411).

The *Avatāra* has eight succinct "chapters" (*padārtha*) arranged according to the five *skandha*s (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, *vijñāna*) and the three *asaṃskṛta*s (*ākāśa*, *pratisaṃkhyānirodha*, *apratisaṃkhyānirodha*). The Chinese, which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit quotes found in B 197, is given below with a translation:[9]

> 『入阿毘達磨論』(Taishō No. 1554, Vol. 28, p. 981c8–11)
> 受句義者。謂三種領納。一樂二苦三不苦不樂。卽是領納三隨觸義。從愛非愛非二觸生。身心分位差別所起。於境歡慼非二爲相。能爲愛因故名受。
>
> The term *vedanā* refers to the three types of experience (*anubhava*): (1) pleasant, (2) unpleasant, and (3) neither unpleasant nor pleasant. That is, it refers to experience in accordance with the three types of contact. They are born of contact which is desirable, undesirable, or neither of these two, and arise due to different states of body and mind. With regard to the object, their characteristics are gladdening, distressing, or neither of these two. They are called *vedanā* because they are the cause of craving. (trsl. Catt 2016: 17; cf. also the trsl. by Dhammajoti 2008: 79)

As is clear from the above, the portion of the *Avatāra* quoted in B 197 is not especially long; most of the text that makes up the Tocharian manuscript consists of commentary interspersed between the quotes.

The Tocharian commentary is carefully designed. Quotes in Sanskrit from the *Avatāra* are introduced and provided with Tocharian glosses, often followed by extensive commentary in Tocharian. The Tocharian commentary splits the description of *vedanā* given in the *Avatāra* into sections based on the following themes:

[8] The Japanese translation by Kudara can be viewed on *CEToM*.

[9] For discrepancies between the Sanskrit and Chinese and details about the peculiarities of the Chinese translation, see Catt (2016) and the literature introduced there.

I. Introduction of the three types of *vedanā*
   (a) All three types of *vedanā* exist intrinsically
   (b) Extensive arguments for *upekṣā-vedanā* existing intrinsically
II. *anubhava* as a synonym for *vedanā*
III. The intrinsic nature of *vedanā* in terms of the following characteristics
   (a) *phalalakṣaṇa*
   (b) *avasthālakṣaṇa*
   (c) *kriyālakṣaṇa*
IV. *vedanā* as the cause of craving

For clarity, in our study below we further divide the text into the following nine thematic sections, the contents of which are briefly summarized here: (1) Section following the introductory quote from Chapter 2 of the *Avatāra*. Here, the rival schools' position that only *duḥkha-vedanā* exists intrinsically is briefly mentioned and refuted. Next, a question is raised by an "objector" (*codake*) about the validity of *upekṣā-vedanā* existing in terms of *svabhāva*. The "commentator" (*ṭikkakāre*) responds that the *svabhāva* nature of *upekṣā-vedanā* is demonstrable by logical argument (*yukti*) and scriptural authority (*āgama*). (2) First *yukti* section. The first logical argument to support the view that *upekṣā-vedanā* exists intrinsically is given. (3) Second *yukti* section. The second logical argument is given. (4) *āgama* section. The argument from scriptural authority is given. (5) *vedanā* and *anubhava* section. The significance of the terms *vedanā* and *anubhava* and their relationship are discussed. (6) *phalalakṣaṇa* section. The *phalalakṣaṇa* of *vedanā* is explained. (7) *avasthālakṣaṇa* section. The *avasthālakṣaṇa* of *vedanā* is explained. It is stated that that which gives rise to *vedanā* is not an external object alone, but an object in contact with a certain psycho-physical state. An example to illustrate this argument is given. (8) *kriyālakṣaṇa* section. The *kriyālakṣaṇa* of *vedanā* is explained. (9) *vedanā* as the cause of craving (*tṛṣṇāhetur*). The Sanskrit quote here closes the basic explanation of *vedanā* given in the *Avatāra*.

The debates surrounding the nature of the three *vedanā* that are found in the Tocharian commentary are evidenced in other texts. For example, in Chapter 6 of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (hereafter *Kośa*), we find the following passage concerning differing views on the three types of *vedanā*:

> *nāsty eva sukhā vedanety ekīyā duḥkhaiva tu sarvā | katham idaṃ gamyate | sūtrād yuktitaś ca* (Pradhan 1967: 330 line 9)
>
> Some (*ekīyāḥ*) [claim that] pleasant sensation (*vedanā*) does not in fact exist, all [sensation] is only unpleasant. How is this to be understood? By scriptural authority and logical argument.

After this introductory statement, three different passages from scripture are cited and two logical arguments are given. Finally, these arguments of the rival schools are refuted, and the claim that the three types of *vedanā* actually exist is reconfirmed.

The *Kośa* passage above and the beginning of B 197 are similar in a number of respects. In lines a1–2 of the Tocharian text we find the statement that some rival schools believe only *duḥkha-vedanā* exists and that they demonstrate this by citing three passages from scripture. Strictly speaking, however, the similarities end here, for in line a2 the Tocharian text shifts its focus to demonstrating—once again through logical argument and scriptural authority—the intrinsic nature of *upekṣā-vedanā* in particular. This discussion is not found in the *Kośa*.

However, in Sthiramati's *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā*, a sixth-century commentary on Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka*, the validity of a third type of neutral sensation (i.e. *aduḥkhāsukha-vedanā* = *upekṣā-vedanā*) is discussed, and arguments from scriptural authority and logical reasoning are given to support this third type of *vedanā*:

> *vedanā katameti | trividho 'nubhava iti nirdeśaḥ | anubhūtir anubhavo vastuno hlādaparitāpatadubhayākāravinirmuktasvarūpasākṣātkaraṇaḥ | atha vā hlādaparitāpobhayākāravinirmuktaṃ vastusvarūpam anubhavatīty anubhavaḥ | sa ca svabhāvabhedāt trividhaḥ | sukho duḥkho 'duḥkhāsukhaś ca | kathaṃ punaḥ sukhaduḥkhavyatirikto 'nyas tṛtīyo 'nubhavo 'stīti vijñāyate | āgamāt yuktitaś ca | uktaṃ hi sūtre — tisro vedanā iti | punaś coktaṃ — sukhasya ca prahāṇāt duḥkhasya ca prahāṇād aduḥkhāsukhasya ceti | yuktir api — vedanāvirahitacittotpattyabhāvād apetasukhaduḥkhacittopalabdheś ceti* (Kramer 2013: 24 line 14)
>
> What is sensation (*vedanā*)? It is explained as three types of experience (*anubhava*). Experience is the act of perceiving (*anubhūti*), [i.e.] the direct perception of the inherent nature of an object (*vastu*) characterized as gladdening, afflicting, or devoid of both of these aspects. Alternatively, experience (*anubhava*) means to experience (*anubhavati*) the inherent nature of an object, which is characterized as gladdening, afflicting, or devoid of both of these aspects. Furthermore, according to differences in their intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*), [there are] the three types: pleasant, unpleasant, and neither pleasant nor unpleasant. How then is a third [type of] experience that is distinct from pleasant and unpleasant [experience] understood? By scriptural authority (*āgama*) and by logical argument (*yukti*). It is said in a sūtra, "[There are] three *vedanā*". Again, it is said [in the sūtras], "By eliminating pleasant and unpleasant [sensation, there is the experience] of the neither pleasant nor unpleasant [sensation]". The logical argument [is as follows]: Because without sensation (*vedanā*), there is no arising of the mind; and yet there still is apprehension of the mind even when it is devoid of pleasant and unpleasant sensation.

The focus here on the third type of *vedanā* matches with the Tocharian text, and perhaps most significantly, the logical argument (*yukti*) given by Sthiramati is identical to that given in line a3 of the Tocharian manuscript. As we will discuss in further detail below, the second *āgama* argument above is also shared by our Tocharian text.

What do these shared elements suggest? On the one hand, positing neutral sensation as a distinct category has been a topic of contention and confusion since early Buddhism. See for example the *Bahuvedanīya-sutta* (*Majjhima-Nikāya* 59) and, for a later Abhidharma text, the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (Taishō No. 1646, Vol. 32, p. 283b16–17): 'The neither-unpleasant-nor-pleasant sensation is not a sensation. Why? Because while both pain and pleasure can be experienced, non-pain and non-pleasure cannot be experienced' (不苦不樂不名爲受。所以者何。苦樂可覺。不苦不樂不可覺故). The Tocharian commentary likely treats the issue of *upekṣā-vedanā* more extensively to preclude any such doubts about its ontological status—for the Sarvāstivādins all three *vedanā* exist in terms of *svabhāva*. On the other hand, the close overlaps with Sthiramati's text are unlikely to be due to chance. However, positing a more direct link between the Tocharian commentary and Sthiramati or his disciples is problematic.[10] The shared *yukti* and *āgama* arguments are probably best explained by assuming that these were standard arguments used to support *upekṣā-vedanā* and reflect the basic teachings and debates in Abhidharma circles after Vasubandhu. Note, for example, that the same *yukti* argument also appears in the *Nyāyānusāriṇī* (see below).

A final question we may address here concerns the relationship amongst the Tibetan, Tocharian A, Tocharian B, and Uyghur commentaries on the *Avatāra*. Taking up this issue before the Uyghur commentaries were discovered, Kudara (1974: 30–31) writes:

> Now, concerning the interrelation of the commentaries [on the *Avatāra*]: to state my conclusion up front, there does not seem to be any evidence to show a direct relationship amongst the three commentaries.
>
> First, the contents of the commentary in the Tocharian A and B fragments do not correspond to that of the Tibetan ṭīkā commentary mentioned above. To be sure, the word *ṭikkakāre* = Skt. *ṭīkā-kāra* 'commentator' does appear in lines a2–3 of the Tocharian B fragment. This word might provide a hint as to the name of some commentary to which this manuscript originally belonged, or it might suggest a close relationship between this manuscript and a commentary titled something like *Abhidharmāvatāra-ṭīkā*. Nevertheless, in the Tibetan *ṭīkā*, not only is there no mention of the *yukti* and *āgama* arguments given by the *ṭīkakāra* in the Tocharian manuscript, but one cannot find any phrases that parallel those in the Tocharian commentary.
>
> Next, regarding the relationship between the A and B fragments, the Tocharian A commentary is stylistically similar to the B manuscript in that it quotes original Sanskrit phrases, glosses them in Tocharian, and follows with commentary. The Sanskrit cited in the Tocharian A fragments is from Chapter 4 'Saṃskāra-padārtha' [of the *Avatāra*] and the quotes span from number 10 *prajñā* 'understanding' to number 19 *hrī* 'modesty' [of the list of thought-concomitants (*caitta*)]. As this section differs from that of the Tocharian B commentary, it is impossible to judge whether the A and B fragments both have their origin in a single original commentary.
>
> Thus there is no evidence that allows us to suppose a direct link amongst the three commentaries. However, the stylistic similarities between the A and B fragments (i.e. Sanskrit quotes followed by Tocharian glosses and commentary) and the fact that both of these manuscripts were found in Murtuq and exhibit late scribal characteristics suggest to me that they may go back to the same original commentary. The commentarial sections in the A and B fragments are likely not translations from a different language such as Sanskrit but were originally composed in Tocharian. In the thirty lines of the three Tocharian A fragments, there are forty-seven Sanskrit quotes along with Tocharian glosses and commentary; however, the commentary overall is brief and gives only the standard explanation of Buddhist terms. In contrast, the majority of the twelve lines of the Tocharian B fragment are allocated to providing commentary on the seven quotes in Sanskrit. (trsl. from the original Japanese by the authors)

From the above, we see that Kudara considered it possible that the Tocharian A and B commentaries on the *Avatāra* may go back to a single original commentary, though his phrasing comes across as rather noncommittal. Writing six years later—and after he had identified the Uyghur fragments—Kudara (1980: 73) seems more unequivocal in suggesting that there is no evidence to indicate that the commentaries go back to the same source:

> Regarding the interrelationship of the extant commentaries [on the *Avatāra*] in Tibetan, Tocharian A and B, and Uyghur: (1) the Tocharian commentaries are organized into a three-step format—first short phrases or terms in Sanskrit are quoted from the *Avatāra*, next these are provided with a Tocharian gloss, and finally commentary is added. The Sanskrit in the A manuscript corresponds to the terms 慧 · 尋 · 伺 · 放逸 · 不放逸 · 厭 · 欣 · 軽安 · 不害 · 慚 in the 'Saṃskāra-padārtha' [section of the *Avatāra*] (Taishō p. 982a, b); the Tocharian B manuscript

[10] First, the school affiliation of Sthiramati would be hard reconcile with that of the Tocharian Buddhists. Second, in his description of *vedanā* in the *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* Sthiramati explicitly rejects the view that feeling is the experiencing of contact (*sparśa*) (Kramer 2012: 122). Yet this is precisely the view propounded by the *Avatāra* (*iṣṭāniṣṭobhayaviparītasparśayoniḥ*) and which is quoted in line b2 of B 197 without any refutation.

> corresponds to the opening of the 'Vedanā-padārtha' [section of the *Avatāra*] (Taishō p. 981c8–11)… Compared to the Tibetan *Sārasamuccaya*, the contents of the commentary do not match those of the commentaries in Tocharian. (2) As for the Uyghur commentary, while there are places that partially correspond to the *Sārasamuccaya*, as a whole the two commentaries do not match each other. (3) The Tocharian AB and Uyghur commentaries differ in the sections that they cover and cannot be compared. (4) Therefore, at present, there is no evidence one can adduce to show a relationship between the Tibetan, Tocharian AB, and Uyghur commentaries, or that these commentaries stem from one original text.[11] (trsl. from the original Japanese by the authors)

While a detailed study of the Tocharian A commentaries on the *Avatāra* may reveal some new evidence, the fact that both the A and B manuscripts were found in Murtuq and adopt a three-step format is insufficient to show that they are in fact related. In particular, the three-step format adopted by both commentaries is not especially revealing, since this format is commonly observed in other commentaries (e.g. B 170). It could be that the Tocharian A and B commentaries on the *Avatāra* are unrelated works created for particular audiences or pedagogical purposes, or they could be related—we simply do not have enough evidence at present to decide either way. This seems to be the conclusion that Kudara reached.

Kudara believed that B 197 was originally composed in Tocharian, but the numerous phrases that clearly were calqued on the model of Sanskrit (see more on this below) suggest that translation from a Sanskrit source is a likely possibility. The question then becomes what this source text may have been. In line a1 it appears that an actual written text is referred to by the phrase *akṣār tess(a)* 'He wrote…' followed by the quotative particle *te mant*, but who this refers to and what text this may be remain unclear. The phrases *ṭikkakāre weṣṣäṃ* 'the commentator states' and *codake weṣṣäṃ* 'the objector states' appear in a2–3, but these have little explanatory value as we believe they have been added by the translator merely to clarify the structure of the text. Numerous pieces of evidence indicate that this is the case. While the commentator and objector are referred to in the third person, other forms that likely represent the authorial voice (*weskem* 'we speak' in a2) are in the first person plural, as is typical of Sanskrit commentaries. Also, the phrases introduced with *ṭikkakāre weṣṣäṃ* and *codake weṣṣäṃ* do not end in the quotative particle *te mant* (note that the particle after the phrase introduced with *codake* belongs with the predicate *aiśalle ste* and does not indicate the end of a quote). Furthermore, in B 198 b1–2 we see the same insertion of the phrases *codake weṣṣäṃ* and *(ṭikkakāre) weṣṣäṃ* between the quotes in Sanskrit (Sieg and Siegling 1953: 116 with n. 3). This may represent the transposition of an editorial practice attested in the manuscripts of Central Asia of adding *co* (*codaka*) and *śā* (*śāstra*) under the line to organize the contents of the text; see for example *SHT* VII 165-166. As for the question of the Sanskrit source of the Tocharian commentary, one possibility is that this is the text said to have been authored by Mitragupta in the Uyghur commentary. We hope that new evidence will become available to shed light on this intriguing issue.

1.1 Linguistic and paleographic features of the manuscript

Our text shows several features of a late linguistic stage, but is on the whole written in classical Tocharian. Below is a list of some of the features:[12]

Phonological/orthographic features: simplification of clusters: *tarkañetstse*, *tarkāñe* [17] for *tarkalñe* (see Peyrot 2008: 64–65); *alek* [27] vs. *allek* [22]; *tanmaṣuki* [35] for *tanmäṣṣuki*; hypercorrection of *-au-* for *-o-*: *tākauy* [9] for *tākoy*; *stmauṣ* [37] for *stmoṣ* (see Peyrot 2008: 54); vowel differences: *kallo* [16] for *kallau*; *tarkāñe* [17] for *tarkalñe*; orthographic variation such as *vedanäntse* [33] vs. *vedanantse* [30, 39] and *vedanatse* [43]; *upekṣ* [9, 14] vs. *upeḵṣ* [32] (Sieg and Siegling 1953: 114 n. 6); on the spelling *yumāne* [23], see Peyrot (2013: 798 n. 654).

Morphological/lexical features: *taiseṃ* 'thus, so' [11] (see Peyrot 2008: 171); *taisaktuka* 'thus' [5] (see Peyrot 2008: 173–174); the demonstratives *cainäts* (copyist's error for *cainats*) [4] and *ceynats* [6]; *toy* [14] (see Peyrot 2008: 125–127); the form *tanmaṣuki* [35], since the suffix *-uki* is more frequently attested in the late language (Peyrot 2008: 96).

Relationship with Sanskrit: Our text is very close to Sanskrit, and appears in many places to be calqued on the basis of Sanskrit scholastic texts. Note, for example, the use of *te mant* = Skt. *iti* or the complex phrasing in [37] and [38] which can only be understood by inferring the underlying Sanskrit formulas. In addition to its standard quotative function, *te mant* is twice collocated with predicates of cognizance (*aiśalle ste* 'is to be understood' [9] and *kärsanaträ* 'understands, knows' [21]) to indicate the contents of what is known or understood, which suggests a complementizer function, as in Sanskrit.

[11] For further discussion of the commentaries on the *Avatāra* and their relationship, see Ikeda (1987). We may note here that Ikeda proposes that the original title of the *Avatāra* was *Prakaraṇābhidharmāvatāra*.

[12] Numbers in brackets refer to the sentence numbers given in our transcription below.

As we saw in the quote cited at the beginning of this paper, Sieg and Siegling (1953: 114) state that the text was written in late script, which is to be expected since the manuscript was found in the Turfan region. We can infer from their transcription that <ta> and <na> were difficult to distinguish (cf. *wrantsai* transcribed as *wrattsai* [6]; *saṃved[āṃ] na[me]ti* [24] transcribed for *saṃveditam iti*). The spelling *tusa* [7] is also peculiar to this region (cf. B 194 a3, SHT 1109 b1x, THT 4092 a3x, all Abhidharma texts from Murtuq), and recalls Tocharian A spelling.

It can be assumed that the text was likely copied from another manuscript, since it presents a number of mistakes that can be explained as misreadings of the model manuscript. The first group of mistakes concerns the third person middle endings, which were sometimes written as *-taṛ*, as pointed out by Sieg and Siegling (1953: 114). This can be accounted for by the fact that the *Fremdzeichen* <t̲a̲> in ligature with <na> is often difficult to distinguish from <ta> (see Figure 1 below): *wärpanantaṛ* [2] for *wärpananta̲ṛ*; *lyiptsentaṛ* [3] for *lyiptsenta̲ṛ*; the same problem arises for <t̲a̲> in ligature with <sa> (Figure 2): *ta̲ṃmastaṛ* [32] for *ta̲ṃmasta̲ṛ*; *ompostaṃ* [36] for *ompost̲a̲ṃ*; *westaṛ* for *west̲a̲ṛ* [44]. Likewise, the mistakes *mats̲* [9] for *mant̲* and *aklaṣṣeñcant̲* [22] for *aklaṣṣeñcats̲* are due to a confusion between <t̲a̲> and <s̲a̲>, which are distinguished in ligature only by a medial stroke (Figure 3). One can also add *cainātṣ* [4], where the scribe probably confused a virāma stroke with the long vowel sign. With regard to *käkse* [37], which we argue was mistakenly copied for **wakse*, see Section 4.2. In [44], the scribe wrote *neṃtaṃ* as a gloss for *vedanā* in the preceding Sanskrit quote. According to Sieg and Siegling (1953: 115 n. 14), a <da> is added under *taṃ*, which shows that *vedaṃ* was intended. As for *neṃ*, the anusvāra can be explained as perseveration from the preceding akṣara <seṃ>, but the reason why <ne> was written for <ve> is unclear. Tentatively, this could be explained as a misreading because both akṣaras share a similar upper part, which may indicate that the akṣara in the original was partly destroyed.

Apart from the above misreadings of similar akṣaras, there are a number of common scribal errors. Interestingly, some of these mistakes were corrected by a cross sign above the akṣara or by adding under the line the missing part of the word. Since the misreadings mentioned above themselves were not corrected, this would confirm that the copyist (or his supervisor) checked the text against the model manuscript and emended only the obvious scribal mistakes. Some of these are: *rekesa* [27] for *rekisa* (perseveration); *eñcareṃpa* [31] (<pa> deleted with a cross); *mäsakte* for *mäkte* [37] (unintentional repetition of <sa> due to the preceding word *mäsketrä*; <sa> deleted with a cross); *uyaviparitenmeṃ* [32] for *ubhayaviparitenmeṃ* (omission of <bha>, emended); *tā* [33] for *tāka* (omission).

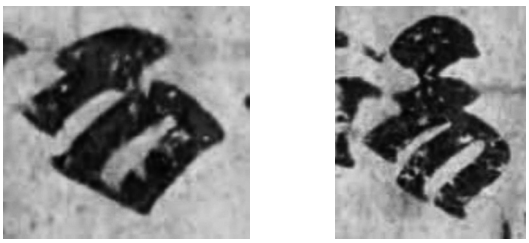

Figure 1. Examples of the ligature <nt̲a̲> vs. <nta>: <nt̲a̲> PK AS 7C a2 (left), <rnta> PK AS 7C b2 (right)

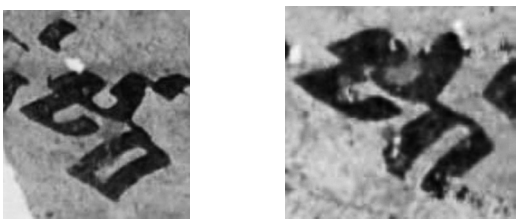

Figure 2. Examples of the ligature <st̲a̲> vs. <sta>: <st̲aṃ> PK AS 7M b2 (left), <sta> PK AS 7M b3 (right)

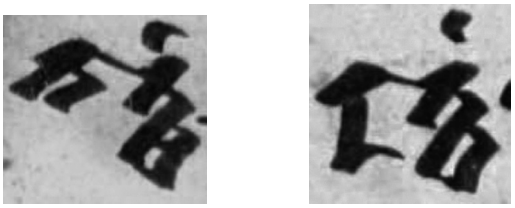

Figure 3. Examples of the ligature <ts̲> vs. <nt̲>: <nats̲> PK AS 2C b1 (left), <ran̲t̲> PK AS 2A a4 (right)

2. The text: transcription, translation, and notes

As noted above, we have split the text into nine thematic sections, and each sentence has been numbered in brackets for ease of reference. A transcription, translation, and notes justifying our emendations and translation decisions are given for each section. Any differences with Sieg and Siegling's (1953) (hereafter abbreviated *TochSprR(B)*) edition will be explicitly noted. Direct quotes from the *Avatāra* have been highlighted in bold. For words that require more extensive philological discussion, we will refer readers to the "Lexical studies" section at the end of this paper.

2.1 Section following the introductory quote from the *Avatāra*, Chapter 2

[1] ***(vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ sukho duḥkho 'sukhāduḥkhaś ca*** • *vedāṃ täryā-yäkne anubhāp sak lakle mā sak mā lakle ṣpä* • [2] $_{[a1]}$ *tane) ṣemi śrī(lāteṃ) w(ar)ñ(ai) c(eṃ)*[13] *svabhāptsa m(ā) w(är)p(a)n(a)ntar*[14] [3] *l(a)kle k(a) ly(ǐ)ptsentar*[15] [4] *+cainats*[16] *welñ(e) kl(a)-ṅkts(i) ṣ (su)*[17] *akṣār tess(a)* [5] *mä(kt)e lakle warpalñe svabh(ā)ptsa nesäṃ taisaktuka wi vedanta svabhāptsa ne(sä)ṃ (te) mant* [6] *ce*$_{[a2]}$*ynats jñāpake weweñwa tarya sūtärntats wrantsai nta*[18] *weṃ granth orotse mäsketrä* [7] *t$_u$sa mā wesk(e)m* [8] *codake weṣṣäṃ* [9] *tākauy*[19] *sak (w)ai lakle warpalñenta svabhāptsa upekṣ warpalñe mäkte aiśalle ste nesäṃ te +mant*[20] • [10] *ṭikka*$_{[a3]}$*kāre weṣṣäṃ yukti āgamtsa* •

[1] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ sukho duḥkho 'sukhāduḥkhaś ca* = [Toch. gloss:] *vedanā* [refers to] the three types of experience (*anubhava*): (1) pleasant (*sukha*), (2) unpleasant (*duḥkha*), and (3) neither pleasant nor unpleasant (*asukhāduḥkha*). [2] Herein, some—Śrīlāta and others—do not accept these (the three types of *vedanā*) [as existing] in terms of *svabhāva*. [3] They delimit only *duḥkha*[-*vedanā* as existing in terms of *svabhāva*]. [4] To refute their argument, he (?) wrote: [5] "As *duḥkha-vedanā* exists in terms of *svabhāva*, in just the same way do the [other] two *vedanā* (i.e. *sukha-* and *upekṣā-vedanā*) exist in terms of *svabhāva*". [6] If one replies to their *jñāpaka* (evidence provided by the scriptures), [i.e.] the three sūtras cited [by them], the *grantha* (the current commentary) will be [too] long (lit. large). [7] Thus we will not speak [any further on this topic here]. [8] The objector (*codake*) states: [9] "If *sukha-* and *duḥkha-vedanā* exist in terms of *svabhāva*, how is *upekṣā-vedanā* to be understood as, '[This] exists [in terms of *svabhāva*]'?" [10] The commentator (*ṭikkakāre*) states: "By logical argument (*yukti*) and scriptural authority (*āgama*)".

Notes

[1] Line a1 is clearly a response to the beginning of Chapter 2 of the *Avatāra*: 'The term *vedanā* refers to the three types of experience: (1) pleasant, (2) unpleasant, and (3) neither pleasant nor unpleasant'. This quote in Sanskrit, and the corresponding Tocharian gloss, must have appeared on the preceding folio. On the basis of the Tibetan translation, Kudara (1974: 31 n. 32) suggests restoring the Sanskrit and Tocharian for this portion as we have done in our transcription. Note that the phrase *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ sukho duḥkho 'sukhāduḥkhaś ca* is the standard definition of *vedanā* and is found, for example, in the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 54 line 19).

The first two akṣaras in line a1 are missing. We tentatively suggest supplying *tane* or a similar connective that would function to introduce the lengthy commentary in Tocharian that follows.

[2] *TochSprR(B)* reads *– – ṣemi [graṃ] – – w(ar)ñ(ai) [c](ai) svabhāptsa m(ā) w(är)p(a)n(a)ntar* for this sentence. In Catt (2016: 18–20) it was argued that this could be tentatively rendered as, 'Some do not accept these (the three types of *vedanā*) [as existing] by intrinsic nature to the same extent/in the same way as the *grantha* (?the text just cited, i.e. the *Avatāra*)'. This translation and the transcription it is based on can now be significantly improved. First, it is unlikely that the unclear akṣara *[graṃ]* should be interpreted as referring to *grantha*, since we find *granth* for this word in [6]. This akṣara can more plausibly be read as *[śrī]* (or perhaps *[śri]*), which would have been similarly shaped if the middle stroke of <śa> and the link with the vowel diacritic were illegible. As pointed out in Catt (2016: 19), we find a statement in the *Kośa* that, 'Some [claim] that there is no pleasant *vedanā* at all, all being only unpleasant' (*nāsty eva sukhā vedanety ekīyā duḥkhaiva tu sarvā*) and this is commented on by Yaśomitra as, '"Some" refers to Śrīlāta and others' (*ekīyā iti bhadanta-Śrīlātādayaḥ*; Wogihara 1971: 518 line 21). Śrīlāta was a leading Sautrantika figure who lived in the fourth century. Reading *[śrī](lāteṃ) warñai* allows us to fill in the two missing akṣaras and gives a perfect match with Yaśomitra's *Śrīlātādayaḥ*. *ṣemi* 'some' in [2] likely corresponds to Skt. *kecid* and, as in Sanskrit, serves to introduce a viewpoint held by others that will be refuted; see Catt (2016: 18–19) and B 199 a 1, where *kecid* is glossed with *ṣemi*.

The perlative *svabhāptsa* here and below is a calque of Skt. *svabhāvataḥ* '(existing) in terms of intrinsic nature', which is found in Sanskrit Buddhist texts; see Catt (2016: 21 n. 28).

[3] *TochSprR(B)* reads *l(a)kle k· ly· p tsentar*. See Catt (2016) for the proposal that a previously unrecognized Class VIII Present *ly(ǐ)ptsentar* 'lit. make remain' and the restrictive particle *k(a)* 'only' should be restored here. *ly(ǐ)ptsentar* is likely modelled on Skt. *viśeṣaya-ti* in the sense of 'specify, distinguish, delimit, single out' (root *śiṣ-* 'to remain').

[13] *TochSprR(B)*: *– – ṣemi [graṃ] – – w(ar)ñ(ai) [c](ai)*; see Notes section below.

[14] For expected *wärpanantär*; see Section 1.1.

[15] *TochSprR(B)*: *l(a)kle k· ly· p tsentar*; see Notes section below and Section 1.1.

[16] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *cainās*, which is likely the copyist's error; see Section 1.1.

[17] Tentatively supplied for the missing akṣara by *TochSprR(B)*.

[18] *TochSprR(B)*: *wrattsainta*; see Section 1.1.

[19] Hypercorrect form for *tākoy*; see Section 1.1.

[20] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *mats*, which is likely the copyist's error; see Section 1.1.

[4] The conjunctive particle *ṣ* occurs after an infinitive here and in [24]. To our knowledge, this phenomenon has not been mentioned in previous literature. While not frequent, there are a few other examples in both A and B, e.g., A 224 a5, A 383 a4, B 428 a6, B 567 b3, THT 1296 a4, THT 1340.b a4. Perhaps the conjunctive serves to link the infinitive clause with the main clause.

akṣār tess(a) 'lit. placed akṣara [sg.]; put down in writing (?)' appears to refer to a written text and to introduce a statement from some commentary, but the collocation with *tās-* 'place' here is idiosyncratic. Elsewhere Toch. B *akṣār*, as well as Toch. A *akṣar*, always refers to syllables and writing.[21] Could this be a Sanskritism of some sort?

[6–7] The previous translations of these phrases by Kudara (1974), Peyrot (2013: 684), and Catt (2016) can now be significantly improved. Previous studies have taken *jñāpake* as nominative, which gives an awkward reading with an inanimate subject for a verb of speaking and obscures the semantic link with the following clause. These problems can be avoided by taking *jñāpake* as an oblique, which is more likely since *wrantsai* 'against' is commonly construed with a nominal in the oblique case. The sequence *wrantsai weṃ* 'lit. speaks against' likely corresponds to Skt. *prati-vac-*. On the meaning of *jñāpake*, see Catt (2016: 22 with n. 32, 33).

A statement analogous to 'the *grantha* will be [too] long (lit. large)' can be seen in the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 36 line 19): *atibahugranthabhāraparihārārthaṃ tu, nedānīṃ punar ākhyāyate* 'However, in order to avoid making the already complicated commentary (*grantha*) overburdened, [this issue] will not be discussed further'; see Catt (2016: 23).

With regard to the "the three sūtras cited [by them]", see the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 330 line 9):

> *nāsty eva sukhā vedanety ekīyā duḥkhaiva tu sarvā | katham idaṃ gamyate | sūtrād yuktitaś ca | kathaṃ tāvat sūtrāt | uktaṃ hi Bhagavatā "yat kiṃ cid veditam idam atra duḥkhasye" ti | "sukhā vedanā duḥkhato draṣṭavye" ti | "duḥkhe sukham iti saṃjñāviparyāsa" iti | evaṃ tāvat sūtrāt |*
>
> Some [claim that] pleasant sensation (*vedanā*) does not in fact exist, all [sensation] is only unpleasant. How is this to be understood? By scriptural authority and logical argument. First, how is [this to be understood] according to scriptural authority? [The following three teachings] were propounded by the Blessed One: (1) "Anything that is experienced in this world—this is [marked] by the unpleasant" (cf. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* IV, p. 216 line 17: *yaṃ kiñci vedayitaṃ taṃ dukkhasmin ti*), (2) "pleasant sensation is to be regarded as unpleasant" (cf. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* IV, p. 207 line 6: *sukhā bhikkhave vedanā dukkhato daṭṭhabbā*), (3) "regarding that which is [actually] unpleasant as pleasant is a perversion of conception" (cf. *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* II, p. 52 [see PTS and Thai ed.]: *dukkhe bhikkhave sukhan ti saññāvipallāso*)—this is [how this is to be understood] according to scriptural authority. (see Kudara 1974: 32 n. 34 and Sakurabe and Odani 1999: 32)

[21] See Adams (2013: 5) and Pinault (2013: 219–221). To judge at least from the Tocharian A text A 273, *akṣar* could be used in the sense of Skt. *lipi-* 'writing, letters', which may refer also to any written text (*MW*: 902c).

2.2 First *yukti* section

[11] *yukti taiseṃ star-ne* [12] *snai warpalñe pälskontse tsaṅkalñe pomeṃ po mā nesäṃ* • [13] *s(n)ai sa(k snai la)kle palsko tseṅketrä* [14] *inte toy* $^{+}$*no*[22] *warpalñenta mā tākaṃ palskone ne*$_{[a4]}$*mcek upekṣ mäsketär se ṣe yukti ste* •

[11] The [first] logical argument (*yukti*) concerning it (i.e. *upekṣā-vedanā*) is thus: [12] Without *vedanā*, there is no arising of the mind at all. [13] [However,] without *sukha-* [and] *duḥkha*[*-vedanā*], the mind arises. [14] Indeed, [even] when these [two] *vedanā* are not present, *upekṣā*[*-vedanā*] is certainly [still] present in the mind—this is the first logical argument.

Notes

[11–14] As noted in the Introduction to this paper, the first logical argument here is also found in Sthiramati's *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā*: *yuktir api — vedanāvirahitacittotpattyabhāvād apetasukhaduḥkhacittopalabdheś ceti* 'The logical argument [is as follows]: Because without sensation (*vedanā*), there is no arising of the mind; and yet there still is apprehension of the mind even when it is devoid of pleasant and unpleasant sensation'.

Kudara (1974: 32) notes that this first logical argument is also found in the *Nyāyānusāriṇī* written by the fifth-century Sarvāstivādin Saṃghabhadra. This text is preserved only in Chinese (the immediately relevant underlined portion is translated below):

> 『順正理論』卷第二・辯本事品 (Taishō No. 1562, Vol. 29, p. 338c18–25)
> 今正說者。由教及理。知第三受決定非無。教者如言。由樂斷故。及苦斷故。此中唯有不苦不樂。<u>理者離受心必不生。離苦樂心現可得故</u>。焉知離受心必不生。由諸契經同所說故。如契經說。眼及色爲緣生於眼識三和合觸俱起受想思。如是乃至。意及法爲緣生於意識。三和合觸俱起受想思。無第七心離受而起。故知決定有第三受。
>
> The logical argument (*yukti*) [is as follows:] Without sensation, the mind cannot arise; [however, even] without unpleasant or pleasant [sensation] the mind is still able to arise.

[22] The manuscript reads *toyne*, which is emended to *toy no* by *TochSprR(B)*.

2.3 Second *yukti* section

[15] *wate nano yukti ste* [16] *aknātsa kallo*[23] *warñai okt pelaikne(ntane rittau ste)* [17] *(nemcek) vitarāg(e)*[24] *ārtte(-)tarkañetstse mäsketrä se su ārtte tarkāñe*[25] *upe(kṣ)*[a5] *s(te •)*

[15] Now, the second logical argument (*yukti*) is [as follows]: [16] The ignorant man (Skt. *pṛthagjana*) (is attached to) the eight [mundane] dharmas beginning with gain (Skt. *lābha*). [17] [But] surely the man free from passion (Skt. *vītarāga*) is equanimous (Skt. *upekṣaka*) [towards the eight mundane dharmas]—that very quality of equanimity is *upekṣā*[—therefore *upekṣā* cannot be said to not exist.]

Notes

[15–17] Kudara (1974: 32) notes that this argument can be found in the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* by Harivarman (third or fourth centuries CE); only the Chinese translation is extant:

> 『成實論』卷第六・辯三受品 (Taishō No. 1646, Vol. 32, p. 283c3–6)
> 又世八法得失毀譽稱譏苦樂。凡夫於失等四法違逆其心。於得等四法以爲可適。必當應有離欲聖人能俱捨者捨名不苦不樂受。是故非無。
>
> Now, the eight mundane dharmas (世八法) [are as follows:] gain (得 *lābha*), loss (失 *alābha*), slander (毀 *nindā*), praise (譽 *praśaṃsā*), honor (稱 *yaśas*), disgrace (譏 *ayaśas*), pain (苦 *duḥkha*), and pleasure (樂 *sukha*). For the ignorant man (凡夫), the mind is averse to the four dharmas beginning with loss (i.e. loss, slander, disgrace, and pain) and welcoming towards the four dharmas beginning with gain (i.e. gain, praise, honor, and pleasure). [But] surely the noble man free from passion is equanimous [towards the eight mundane dharmas]—this equanimity (*upekṣā*) is itself neutral (lit. neither unpleasant nor pleasant) sensation. Therefore, [the neutral sensation] cannot [be said to] not exist.

Sastri's (1975–1978) edition of the *Satyasiddhiśāstra*, which is a reconstruction of the Sanskrit based on the Chinese, gives the following for the above passage:

> *lokadharmāś cāṣṭau lābho 'lābho nindā praśaṃsā yaśo 'yaśaḥ sukhaṃ duḥkham iti* ǀ *pṛthagjanā alābhādiṣu caturdharmeṣu pratikūlacittā bhavanti* ǀ *lābhādiṣu caturdharmeṣu tu anukūlacittāḥ* ǀ *vītarāgā āryās tūbhayatrāvaśyam upekṣakā bhaveyuḥ* ǀ *upekṣaivāsukhāduḥkhā vedanā* ǀ *ato na sā nāstīti* ǀ (Sastri 1975–1978: I 193)

While Sastri's conjectured *vītarāgā āryās tūbhayatrāvaśyam upekṣakā bhaveyuḥ* does not correspond exactly with the Chinese, it is still a good estimate. On the basis of the Chinese and Tocharian, which appears to abbreviate the original passage somewhat, we suggest further refining the postulated phrase to *vītarāga (ārya) avaśyam evopekṣako bhavati*. Thus, *nemcek* (= *avaśyam eva*) *vitarāge* (= *vītarāga*) *ārtte-tarkañetstse* (= *upekṣako*) *mäsketrä* (= *bhavati*). Other adverbs in the same semantic sphere as *nemcek* 'certainly, surely' such as *taka*, *auspa* are also plausible alternatives, but *nemcek* seems most likely in view of the collocation *nemcek … mäsketär* in [14].

[17] On collocations with *ārtte*, see Catt (2018), to which two occurrences from the Paris texts can now be added: PK NS 101 a2 (commercial letter): *twere ārte ṣey-ñ wäntarwa pilykāwa-ñ wā-* /// 'the door was open (?) for me. I saw my things …'; PK NS 164 a4 (*avadāna*): *ksa ostmeṃ ltu tärkauw=ārtte i(śelme yaiku)* /// '(who?)ever has gone from the house, has relinquished passion, (has given up) desire (*kāmavītarāga*)…'. Now that we have a better understanding of the text, *ārtte-tarkañetstse* in B 197 should correspond to Skt. *upekṣaka* and is therefore not a gloss for *vītarāga*, as suggested in Catt (2018).

The sequence of demonstratives *se su* likely is an example of the emphatic function described by Adams (2015: 153–154)—hence our 'that very'—and may be a way of rendering Sanskrit *eva*; see Sastri's conjectured *upekṣaivāsukhāduḥkhā vedanā*.

2.4 *āgama* section

[18] *(weña) s(ai)m waste* [19] *upekṣasmṛtipariśuddhaṃ caturthaṃ dhyānam upasaṃpadya viharati te mant seṃ āgam star-ne* [20] *mā nesäṃ (upekṣ warpalñe śtarce dhyāna)ntse*[26] *aṅg nessi mā ritteträ* [21] *(cene āk)l(yi)sa*[27] *kärsanaträ nesäṃ upe*[a6]*(k)ṣ warpalñe te mant •*

[18] The Refuge [and] Asylum (i.e. the Buddha) spoke [the following]: [19] "[The monk] abides, having entered the fourth *dhyāna*, [which is] purified by *upekṣā* [and] *smṛti*"—this is the scriptural authority (*āgama*) concerning it (i.e. *upekṣā-vedanā*). [20] If it did not exist, *upekṣā-vedanā* [would] not be suitable to be a component (*aṅga*) of the fourth *dhyāna*. [21] Through practice in this (i.e. the fourth *dhyāna*), one understands that *upekṣā-vedanā* exists.

[23] *TochSprR(B)* emends to the standard *kallau*.
[24] *TochSprR(B)*: *pelaikne(nta) – – – – – – vitarāg·*.
[25] For expected *tarkalñe*; see Section 1.1.
[26] *TochSprR(B)*: *mā nesäṃ – – – – – – – (dhyāna)ntse*. On our restoration, see the Notes section below.
[27] *TochSprR(B)* tentatively suggests supplying *(te aka)l(yi)sa*; we have instead restored the slightly different *(cene āk)l(yi)sa*, as *āklyisa* appears to be the only form of the perlative that is attested. For the restoration of *cene*, see the Notes section below.

Notes

[18] For the restoration of *weña*, see B 405 a2: *weña saim-wäste*.

[19] *(sukhasya ca prahāṇād duḥkhasya ca prahāṇāt pūrvam eva saumanasyadaurmanasyayor aṣṭaṃgamād aduḥkhāsukham) upekṣāsmṛtipariśuddhaṃ caturthaṃ dhyānam upasaṃpadya viharati* is a standard phrase that appears in the *Saṅgītisūtra*, *Dhyānasūtra*, *Dharmaskandha*, etc. (see the references in Lamotte 1944–1980: II 1023 n. 3). Kudara (1974: 32 with n. 40) notes that this phrase also appears in various places in the *Saṃyukta-Āgama*; for example:

> 『雜阿含經』(Taishō No. 99, Vol. 2, p. 220a29–b1)
> 不苦不樂捨。淨念一心。第四禪具足住。
>
> With neither pain (*duḥkha*) nor pleasure (*sukha*)—in a state of equanimity (*upekṣā*)—having purity of mindfulness and one-pointedness of mind, he resides in the fourth *dhyāna*.

Interestingly, in the passage from Sthiramati's *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* cited at the beginning of this paper, we find a quote from the beginning of the same passage as in [19]: *punaś coktaṃ — sukhasya ca prahāṇāt duḥkhasya ca prahāṇād aduḥkhasukhasya ceti* 'Again, it is said [in the sūtras], "By eliminating pleasant and unpleasant [sensation, there is the experience] of the neither pleasant nor unpleasant [sensation]".' Sthiramati uses this as an argument from scriptural authority (*āgama*), which is significant because it reveals that his text and the Tocharian commentary show almost complete overlap in the *āgama* and *yukti* arguments that are given.

[20] *mā nesäṃ (upekṣ warpalñe śtarce dhyāna)ntse aṅg nessi mā ritteträ*. The fronted position of the negation particle and the verb suggest that this sentence begins with a conditional clause that lacks an explicit subordinating conjunction; see Hackstein (2013) for discussion of this phenomenon. The remaining gaps have been filled in by the authors on the basis of the general context.

[21] For *(cene āk)l(yi)sa*, in which *āklyisa* governs a nominal in the locative and refers to the practice of meditation, see PK NS 56 a5: */// (ompalskoññe)ntane āklyi yāmoṣ śtwāra dhyananmameṃ pīś abhi(jñänta)* 'having practiced in meditation, (having attained?) from the four *dhyāna*s the five supernatural knowledges' (cf. *CEToM*, ed. Pinault).

2.5 *vedanā* and *anubhava* section

[22] *+aklaṣṣeñcats*[28] *allek warpalñe ste* [23] *(täryāykne) yumāne (nesa)lñe ste te mant*[29] [24] *– – – ktsi ṣ – – – – – – **t(r)ividhaṃ saṃveditam iti (arthaḥ•** taryāyä)kne warpal(ñ)e (t)e (mant)*[30] [25] *a*[b1]*nubhava-rekine arth ste •* [26] *vedāṃ anubhāp swak ste* [27] *alek(-yknesa ve)danā-+rekisa*[31] *upakṣepapadak (lelakäṣ)ṣu ste* [28] *anubhava-rek(i)s(a) vyākhyānapadak lel(akäṣṣu ste)* [29] *(cemeṃ)*[32] *arth ln(aṣ)ṣä(ṃ •)*

[22] For [some] teachers, *vedanā* is otherwise [expressed], [i.e.] [23] "[it] is the three types of experience (*yumāne nesalñe* = *anubhava*)". [24] [?To clarify/summarize these expressions (i.e. *vedanā* vs. *anubhava*), Skandhila wrote:] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti (arthaḥ)* = [Toch. gloss:] [The three types of experience (*anubhava*) or sensation (*vedanā*) are, in other words,] the three types of perception (*warpalñe* = *saṃveditam*). [25] The meaning (*artha*) in the word *anubhava* is: [26] *vedanā* is *anubhava* itself. [27] [Expressed] in another way, by the word *vedanā* an *upakṣepapadaka* (introductory term) is shown. [28] By the word *anubhava* a *vyākhyānapadaka* (explanatory term) is shown. [29] From this (i.e. the word *anubhava*), the meaning (*artha*) emerges.

Notes

[22–24] Line a6, being at the bottom of the manuscript, was more severely damaged (see the remark by Sieg and Siegling 1953: 114 quoted at the beginning of this paper: "an den Rändern vielfach beschädigt und stellenweise stark abgerieben"). The lacunae here make interpretation of the text uncertain in places. The punctuation mark at the end of [21] in the preceding section and the general context appear to indicate that this sentence concludes the lengthy section introducing the *yukti* and *āgama* arguments for the intrinsic nature of *upekṣā-vedanā*. From [22] there is a transition to the discussion of the significance of the terms *vedanā* and *anubhava*, introduced with a quote from the *Avatāra*.

+aklaṣṣeñcats is a hapax. On the basis of its present-stem formation with the *sk*-affix, this participle has traditionally been grouped under the Pres. IXb "Kausativ" paradigm of *ākläṣṣäṃ* 'teaches' (see, e.g. Krause 1952: 219, *TEB* 2: 166). Winter (1961: 94, followed by Malzahn 2010: 520), however, suggests classifying the participle under a Pres. IXa paradigm due to its apparent lack of initial accent. Under this account *aklaṣṣeñca* would mean 'student' rather than 'teacher'. Other than this participle, however, there are no other forms to this

[28] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *aklaṣṣeñcant* in the manuscript, which is likely the copyist's error; see Section 1.1.

[29] *TochSprR(B)*: *– – – yumāne (nesa)lñe ste te mant*, with tentative restoration of *allek* before *yumāne*.

[30] *TochSprR(B)* (provided with brackets here to indicate which akṣaras were unclear): *– – – ktsi [ṣ] – – – – – – – [t](r)ividhaṃ saṃved[āṃ] na[me]ti (• taryā-yä)k[ne] warpal(ñ)e (t)e (mant).*

[31] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *rekesa*, which is likely the copyist's error; see Section 1.1.

[32] *alek(-yknesa)*, *(lelakäṣ)ṣu*, *lel(akäṣṣu ste)*, and *(cemeṃ)* in [27–29] restored by the authors on the basis of the context.

root that belong to a Pres. IXa paradigm (the substantivized gerundive *akalṣälle* 'student' listed under the Pres. IXa stem by Malzahn (2010: 520) is better grouped with the Pres. IXb stem, where 'student' has the passive sense 'one who is to be taught'; see *TEB* 1: 186). Now that the context in which *+aklaṣṣeñcats* appears has become much clearer, we suggest that the traditional interpretation, which groups all forms with the *sk*-affix under the Pres. IXb paradigm, is to be given more weight. *aklaṣṣeñca* and *akalṣälle* thus form a pair 'teacher' and 'student'. A likely correspondent with the gen. pl. *+aklaṣṣeñcats* here would be Skt. *ācāryāṇām*. The genitive plural could be interpreted as a genitive of point of view, which is a feature of Sanskrit scholastic and grammatical texts (see Tubb and Boose 2007: 232 and, for example, Pāṇini 3.1.90, 3.4.18: *prācām [ācāryāṇām]* 'according to the eastern grammarians').

The phrases *+aklaṣṣeñcats allek warpalñe ste* and *(täryā-ykne) yumāne (nesa)lñe ste te mant* present some difficulties of interpretation. *+aklaṣṣeñcats* 'for [some] teachers' followed by the quotative particle *te mant* indicate that a perspective held by some authorities is introduced. Taken in context with the surrounding quotes in the *Avatāra*—i.e. *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ sukho duḥkho 'sukhāduḥkhaś ca* in [1] followed by *trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti (arthaḥ)* in [24] and the shift in topic to the relationship between *vedanā* and *anubhava* in [25]—we argue that there is a transition here to discussion of the term *anubhava* as it relates to *vedanā*. On the basis of our extensive lexical survey (see Section 4.1), we understand *yumāne (nesa)lñe* here as a gloss for *anubhava*. Along with the quote from the *Avatāra—vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ*—this allows us to restore *(täryāykne) yumāne (nesa)lñe ste* '[it = *vedanā*] is the three types of experience (*yumāne nesalñe* = *anubhava*)'.

As for *+aklaṣṣeñcats allek warpalñe ste*, since *ste* consistently functions in the text as a copula and not an existential verb, the phrase should not be understood as 'another sensation (*vedanā*) exists'; rather, the literal interpretation would be 'sensation (*vedanā*) is other (*allek*)'. Presumably this means, 'For [some] teachers, *vedanā* is otherwise [expressed]', i.e. some teachers may refer to *vedanā* by the alternative term *anubhava*. Since *vedanā* is standardly defined as the three types of *anubhava* (see the *Avatāra*: *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ*), and these are synonyms, there may be some chance for confusion. This is why the *Avatāra* follows this statement with *trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti (arthaḥ)*, where *ity arthaḥ* 'such is the meaning' functions to paraphrase the preceding statement (see Tubb and Boose 2007: 23). In other words, the sense here is 'some use the term *vedanā* and some use *anubhava*, but these are synonymous terms that refer to the three types of perception (*trividhaṃ saṃveditam*)'. Sentences [22] and [23] merely serve to introduce the quote from the *Avatāra*.

In the lacunae in [24] *– – – ktsi ṣ – – – – – – –* before the quote, an infinitive ending in *-ktsi* followed by the conjunctive particle *ṣ* was still legible. This reminds one of the sequence *kl(a)ṅkts(i) ṣ* in [4], but *kl(a)ṅkts(i)* 'to refute' does not fit the context and is not likely due to Sieg and Siegling's transcription which gives *ktsi* for the akṣara rather than *·ktsi*. An infinitive meaning 'to clarify' or 'to summarize' seems most likely, but we have not been able to find a plausible candidate. One possibility is to restore *plāktsi* in the sense of 'to show agreement with/to acknowledge (the views of these teachers)'. We may add that, on the basis of [4], something along the lines of *akṣār tessa* 'he wrote' may have appeared here before the quote.

For the Sanskrit quote in [24] and its gloss, *TochSpr-R(B)* reads *[t](r)ividhaṃ saṃved[āṃ] na[me]ti (• taryā-yä)k[ne] warpal(ñ)e (t)e (mant)*, but this is not fully accurate. On the basis of the Tibetan, Chinese, and Tocharian A versions of the *Avatāra*, Kudara (1974: 26, 28 n. 26) restores the line as *t(r)ividhaṃ saṃved(a)nam (i)ti (yo rtha • taryā-yä)kne warpal(ñ)e (t)e (kᵤse arth)*. This is closer but still contains some errors. As mentioned in footnote 6 above, the quotes in B 197 closely resemble those of the *Abhidharmadīpa*, which has here *tatra vedanā sukhādis trividho 'nubhavaḥ | trividhaṃ saṃveditam iti paryāyaḥ* (Jaini 1959: 69 line 1). In the sequence *saṃved[āṃ] na[me]ti*, since *[āṃ]* could have been confused with *[i]* (similar to *[graṃ]* in [2], which we read as *śrī*) and <na> and <ta> are interchangeable (see Section 1.1), we may restore *trividhaṃ saṃved[i]tam iti*, as in the *Abhidharmadīpa*. This is also supported by the Tibetan version of the *Avatāra* (Dhammajoti 2008: 138, nn. 73–74). Note that the Tibetan suggests the restoration of *arthaḥ* corresponding to *paryāyaḥ* in the *Abhidharmadīpa*.

[25] *anubhava-rekine arth ste* •. The commentator provides here the Sanskrit term *anubhava* from the preceding sentence of the *Avatāra* (*vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ*), where *vedanā* is defined as the three types of *anubhava*.

[27–28] Note that *(ve)danā-+rekisa* and *anubhava-rek(i)s(a)* would correspond to Skt. *vedanā-śabdena*, *anubhava-śabdena* and are likely compounds.

upakṣepa-padak and *vyākhyāna-padak*. These terms obviously correspond to Skt. **upakṣepa-padaka* and **vyākhyāna-padaka*, but we have not been able to locate these specific compounds anywhere in the Sanskrit corpus. Could they have been created by the Tocharian commentator to impart an authoritative flavor to the text? Kudara (1974: 27) translates the former as *ritsurongo* 立論語 'lit. a word that sets up an argument' and the latter as *setsumeigo* 説明語 'an explanatory word'. Particularly in grammatical literature, *vyākhyāna* means 'explanation (of sūtras by giving examples of their application etc.)' (see Roodbergen 2008: 407). *upakṣepa* on

the other hand generally means 'allusion, suggestion, figurative expression'. In the Indian treatises on theater (*Nāṭyaśāstra* 21.69, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.83, *Daśarūpaka* 1.25), *upakṣepa* more specifically refers to a part of the first scene of a drama that alludes to the subject matter of the upcoming story (Lévi 1890: 36, Konow 1920: 12).[33] We see these senses for *upakṣepa* and *vyākhyāna* reflected in the Tocharian text. In the *Avatāra*, the description of *vedanā* opens with *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ*. The terms *upakṣepa-padak* and *vyākhyāna-padak* in the manuscript thus have a simple explanation—because *vedanā* appears first and establishes the topic of the discussion by alluding to the subject matter, it is an *upakṣepa-padaka*, i.e. an 'introductory term', whereas *anubhava* is a *vyākhyāna-padaka*, i.e. an 'explanatory term', since it comments on and explains the topic.

2.6 *phalalakṣaṇa* section

[30] *(ña)ke*[34] [b2] *(v)edanantse svabhāp weṣṣäṃ* • [31] ***iṣṭo niṣṭobhayaviparitasparśayoni*** • *ciñcareṃ eñcareṃ mā* +*eñcareṃ*[35] *sparśmeṃ tetemu* • [32] *ciñcareṃ sparśmeṃ sak warpalñe tänmastar*[36] *(eñcarenmeṃ) lakle* +*ubhayaviparitenmeṃ*[37] [b3] *upekṣ pākri mäsketrä* [33] *se vedanäntse phalalakṣaṃ weweñu* +*tāka*[38] •

[30] Now, he (Skandhila?) states the *svabhāva* of *vedanā* [in terms of the following three characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*)]: [31] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *iṣṭāniṣṭobhayaviparītasparśayoniḥ* = [Toch. gloss:] Born from agreeable, disagreeable, and [neither agreeable] nor disagreeable contact. [32] From agreeable contact (*sparśa*) is born *sukha-vedanā*, from disagreeable [contact is born] *duḥkha*[*-vedanā*, and] from [contact which is] different from both manifests *upekṣā*[*-vedanā*]. [33] The *phalalakṣaṇa* (effect-characteristic) of *vedanā* has [now] been explained (lit. told).

Notes

[30] *TochSprR(B)* suggests restoring the subject of the sentence as *(coda)ke*, i.e. the 'objector'; however, this cannot be correct since the objector partially rejects the intrinsic nature of *vedanā*.[39] We restore *(• ña)ke*, which serves to mark a transition to the next section of the commentary that describes the three characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of *vedanā*.

2.7 *avasthālakṣaṇa* section

[34] ***kāyacittāvasthāviśeṣata*** • *kektseñ palskoṣṣai avasthaṣṣai wākimeṃ* • [35] *tarya vedantats putkau tanmaṣuki* [b4] *viṣai mā nesäṃ* [36] *avasth ompostaṃ*[40] *viṣainta täryā-ykne vedantats cmelñene ṣarm mäsketrä* [37] +*mäkte*[41] *ñake* +*wakse*[42] *wreme emalyaṣṣe kektseṃne stmauṣ*[43] *avasth yainmu sak tanmaṣṣeñca*[44] *mäsketrä* [b5] *suwak* +*wakse wreme krostañaṣṣe*[45] *avasth yainmu lakle tanmaṣṣeñca mäsketrä* [38] *te warñai makte po rittäṣle* [39] *se vedanantse avasthālakṣaṃ weweñu tāka* •

[34] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *kāyacittāvasthāviśeṣataḥ* = [Toch. gloss:] From different states (*avasthā*) of body [and] mind. [35] That which gives rise to the three distinctions of *vedanā* is not the external object (*viṣaya*) [alone]. [36] In accordance with the [psycho-physical] state (*avasthā*) [of the person experiencing the object], external objects (*viṣaya*) are the cause for the arising of the three types of *vedanā*. [37] Just as (*mäkte ñake* = *yathāpi*) a cool object, having reached (i.e. come into contact with) a hot state—[i.e.] an *avasthā*—in the body, gives rise to pleasant [sensation] (*sukha-vedanā*), [and then] that very same cool object, having reached a cold state (*avasthā*) [in the body], gives rise to unpleasant [sensation] (*duḥkha-vedanā*). [38] —in this way (*te warñai*), [the reasoning shown here] is to be applied (*rittäṣle*) to all (*po*) [cases of contact between a given object and a psycho-physical state]. [39] The *avasthālakṣaṇa* (state-characteristic) of *vedanā* has [now] been explained (lit. told).

[33] Note also the meaning 'put forth, introduce, begin' given in some dictionaries (see Apte s.v. *upakṣepa-*). Passages exemplifying this sense can be adduced from the Buddhist literature; for example, the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti: *na prasaṅga upakṣeptavyaḥ, tadupakṣepe 'tiprasaṅgāt*. 'No *prasaṅga* argument should be introduced, for there would be unwanted consequences with the introduction of such an argument' (see Gokhale 1993: 54–55).

[34] *TochSprR(B)* suggest restoring *(coda)ke* here; we read *(• ña)ke* (the punctuation mark belongs to the end of [29]); see the Notes section below.

[35] Emended for *eñcareṃpa*. <pa> in the manuscript has been deleted with a cross over the akṣara; see Section 1.1.

[36] For expected *tänmastär*; see Section 1.1.

[37] Emended in the manuscript itself for *uyaviparitenmeṃ*; see Section 1.1.

[38] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *tā*, which is likely the copyist's error; see Section 1.1.

[39] Kudara (1974: 26–27) also appears to have rejected the restoration of *(coda)ke*; his transcription gives – – *ke*, and a gap for this word is indicated by ellipses in his translation.

[40] For expected *ompostäṃ*; see Section 1.1.

[41] Emended for *mäsakte*. <sa> in the manuscript has been deleted with a cross over the akṣara; see Section 1.1.

[42] Emended by the authors here and in b5 for *käkse*, which is likely the copyist's error; see the Notes section and Section 4.2.

[43] Likely hypercorrected for *stmoṣ*; see Section 1.1.

[44] For expected *tanmäṣṣeñca* (also in b5).

[45] For expected *krostañeṣṣe*.

Notes

[37] This sentence has not been well understood due to its rather complex phrasing and the word *käkse*, which appears only in this text. *TEB* 2: 70 n. 1 renders it as, "wie jetzt ein *käkse* (?)-Gegenstand, der den in einem Körper bestehenden Hitzezustand erreicht hat,…" (Kudara's 1974: 27 translation is also similar). The overall idea of the passage, however, is quite simple: the same object may produce pleasant sensation when the body is hot but also unpleasant sensation when the body is cold—it is not the external object (*viṣaya*) alone which determines the quality of a sensation but the particular interaction between the external object and the state (*avasthā*) of the body-mind.

The rather complicated Tocharian phrasing here appears to have been calqued on existing phrases in Sanskrit. The following passage from the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 332 line 13) matches the Tocharian closely in many regards:

> *āśrayaviśeṣāpekṣo hi viṣayaḥ sukhahetur vā bhavati duḥkhahetur vā | na kevalo viṣayaḥ | sa yāṃ ⁺kāya-avasthāṃ* (for *kāmavasthāṃ*) *prāpya sukhahetur bhavati na tāṃ punaḥ prāpya kadā cin na bhavatīti vyavasthita eva sukhahetuḥ |*
>
> An external object is the cause of pleasure or pain according to the distinct bodily states [of the person who experiences it]; the external object alone is not [the cause]. Since this (an external object) reaches (i.e. comes into contact with) the body in a certain state and is a cause of pleasure, [and then] again reaching that (the same bodily state) is never not [a cause of pleasure], the cause of pleasure is indeed constant. (see Sakurabe and Odani 1999: 47, 51 n. 1)

The parallels between the Sanskrit and Tocharian are quite striking: *prāpya* = *yainmu* 'having reached', *⁺kāya-avasthāṃ* = *kektseṃne stmauṣ avasth* 'a state—an *avasthā*—in the body', *sukhahetur bhavati* = *sak tanmaṣṣeñca mäsketrä* 'it gives rise to pleasant [sensation]'. On the other hand, the Tocharian text has an example introduced with *⁺mäkte ñake* 'just as (*yathāpi*)' that involves a cool object in contact with the body that does not appear in the *Kośa*. However, in Fabao's (法寶) *Jushelun shu* 俱舍論疏, a commentary (composed originally in Chinese) on Xuanzang's translation of the *Kośa*, we find an example that is nearly identical to that in the Tocharian text (the underlined portion is translated below):[46]

> 『俱舍論疏』(Taishō No. 1822, Vol. 41, p. 727a24–29) 謂觀所依身分位差別。外境方爲樂因。或唯苦因。非唯外境。如所依患冷煖爲樂因。所依患熱冷爲樂因。翻此苦因。苦·樂之因非唯外境。亦依身分爲苦·樂因。分位決定因亦定也。
>
> The external object (*viṣaya*) alone is not [the cause of pleasure or pain]. As warmth is the cause of pleasure in one who is suffering from cold in the body; as coolness is the cause of pleasure in one who is suffering from heat in the body; [or] conversely, as [both warmth and coolness also] may cause pain [depending on the state of the body]—it is not the external object alone which is the cause of pleasure or pain, but also the state of the body.

As is clear from the context of the example, *käkse wreme* should correspond to a particular *viṣaya* '(external) object'. *wreme* is the clearer of the two words; it is commonly taken to mean 'object' and to be cognate with Tocharian A *wram* 'thing, object' (*TEB* 2: 244, Adams 2013: 672). Oddly enough, however, this is the only place in the entire Tocharian B corpus where *wreme* occurs, which is somewhat surprising given such a common meaning as 'thing, object'.[47]

As for *käkse*, which is commonly taken as the first member of a compound *käkse-wreme* due to its lack of initial accent, Adams (2013: 143) writes, "Stripped of philosophical trimmings, this sentence might be, 'As now the *kakse*, becoming warm, produces good fortune, so the *kakse*, becoming cold, produces suffering'. Perhaps *kakse* is a body-part whose warmth or coldness has an important effect on the warmth or coldness of the body as a whole, e.g., 'belly' or 'loins' or the like (cf. the 'warm/cold feeling in the pit of one's stomach' in English)". Adams (loc. cit.) suggests that *käkse* may be cognate with Skt. *kukṣí* 'belly' or *kákṣa* 'armpit', etc., but notes that "both connections are phonologically difficult". *TEB* 2: 181 simply remarks on the term "Bedeutung unsicher".

Pace Adams, we argue that *käkse* is not a body part, since it corresponds to an external object in the example. In neither the Sanskrit nor the Chinese do we find

[46] Similar passages concerning warmth and coolness preserved in Chinese translation can be adduced: (1)『阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論』(Taishō No. 1545, Vol. 27, p. 402c25–26): 寒時得煖熱時得冷行疲倦時得車馬等。皆言得樂。(2)『成實論』(Taishō No. 1646, Vol. 32, pp. 281c28–29, 282a20–21): 如人爲寒所惱。爾時熱觸能生樂相。…如人爲熱苦所惱。則以冷觸爲樂。(3) *ibid.*, p. 283b19–20: 如人熱極。得冷觸覺樂。得熱觸覺苦。得不冷不熱觸。覺不苦不樂。(4)『順正理論』(Taishō No. 1562, Vol. 29, p. 664a20–b1): 無實樂者其理不然。生苦樂因非唯境故。謂我不許唯外境力能生苦樂。若唯境者初與事業。威儀合時便應發生增上苦受。謂由此境於最後時。爲緣發生增上苦受。初時已與如是境合。若唯境力生苦樂者。境纔合時應生上苦。既不如是故知觀身。相續分位轉變差別。外境方作苦樂生因。謂至所依如是分位。冷煖等觸能爲樂因。無至此時非樂因理。爲苦因者理亦應然。故觀別因便令外境。爲苦樂受各別生因。是故不應由事業等。後生增上苦便撥無實樂。

[47] We thank Bernhard Koller for this observation. Perhaps the reason for the lack of attestation is that *wreme* was only used in the technical sense of 'object of the senses'. As a further reason, one may note that the usual Tocharian B term for 'thing, object' is *wäntare* (Adams 2013: 643), whose semantic match is Toch. A *wram* (formal match of Toch. B *wreme*).

mention of a specific object, for example, a particular food, drink, or medical implement. The key to unlocking the meaning of *käkse* is to have a good understanding of the context. Once again, the idea of the example in the text is, 'If an X object (*käkse wreme*) comes into contact with the body when it is hot it will produce pleasant sensation; if it comes into contact with the body when it is cold it will produce unpleasant sensation'. Reasoning from this statement, a meaning 'cool' for *käkse* seems most plausible, and this is in fact what several lines of evidence suggest. Since this requires more extensive discussion, see Section 4.2 for our arguments and for the emendation of *käkse* to *+wakse*.

[38] *te warñai makte po rittäṣle* 'In this way (*te warñai*), [the reasoning shown here] is to be applied (*rittäṣle*) to all (*po*) [cases of contact between a given object and a psycho-physical state]'. This phrase appears to be calqued on the phrase *evam(ādi) … api yojyam* 'in this way … is to be applied' which is rather frequently encountered in some Sanskrit commentaries (e.g. *evam anyatrāpi yojyam* or *evam anyeṣām api yojyam* in Yaśomitra; cf. Wogihara 1971: 124, 155, 156, 204, 327, 419, 557, 625, 639); see Tubb and Boose (2007: 163). The corresponding Sanskrit would thus be something like *evamādi sarveṣv api yojyam* or *evamādi sarvatrāpi yojyam*. We suggest that *te warñai* here is to be interpreted in a similar manner as *tesa warñai* 'in this way (and so on)' (see for example B 549 b5 and Adams 2013: 629), which would be functionally equivalent to Skt. *evamādi*. The calque also suggests a correspondence between Skt. *api* and Toch. *makte*—presumably due to their emphatic function—that has not been noted in previous literature.[48] *rittäṣle* likely renders Skt. *yojyam*. For the correspondence between Toch. *ritt-* and Skt. *yuj-*, see A 385 b5, A 386 a1 *yogāt* = *ritwāluneyā* and *ritteträ* [20], which is probably the counterpart of Skt. *yujyate* 'to be suitable for'.[49]

2.8 *kriyālakṣaṇa* section

[40] ***hlādī*** • *parākäṣṣeñca* • *sak*<•> [41] ***upatāpi***<•> [b6] *karnnäṣṣeñca* • *la(kl)e* • [42] ***(ubhayav)īpa(r)īta(ś)***[50] • *mā parākäṣṣeñca mā karn(n)äṣṣeñca upe(kṣ)* [43] *seṃ vedanatse kriyālakṣaṃ <weweñu>*[51] *tāka* •

[40] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *hlādī* = [Toch. gloss:] refreshing/gladdening—[is] *sukha*. [41] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *upatāpī* = [Toch. gloss:] inflicting pain—[is] *duḥkha*. [42] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *ubhayaviparītaś* = [Toch. gloss:] not refreshing [and] not inflicting pain—[is] *upekṣā*. [43] The *kriyālakṣaṇa* (action-characteristic) of *vedanā* has [now] been explained (lit. told).

Notes

[40–42] The corresponding portion in the *Abhidharmadīpa* is *prahlādy upatāpī tadubhayaviparītaś ca*. Note that *prahlādy*, *upatāpī*, and *tadubhayaviparītaś* are all masculine forms, as they modify the masculine *anubhavaḥ*. While *TochSprR(B)* restores a neuter *(ubhayav)īpa(r)īta(m)*, we assume the Tocharian manuscript has *hlādī*, *upatāpi*, and *(ubhayav)īpa(r)īta(ś)*, i.e., taking into account some inconsistencies in the manuscript when writing long *ī* vs. short *i*, all of the forms here should also be taken as masculine. Note that, in contrast to the *Abhidharmadīpa* parallel, *hlādī* does not appear with a preverb and *tad* is not present. Perhaps these were omitted by the commentator or perhaps the wording in the *Avatāra* was slightly different than that of the *Abhidharmadīpa*.

For close parallels to this passage, see Yaśomitra's commentary on the *Kośa* (Wogihara 1971: 36 line 33): *trividho 'nubhava iti | anubhūtir anubhava upabhogaḥ | kasya | cittasya pudgalasya vā | sa ca trividhaḥ | sukho duḥkho 'duḥkhāsukhaś ca | vastuno hlādaparitāpatadubhayavinirmuktasvarūpasākṣātkaraṇasvabhāvaḥ | anubhūyate vā 'nena viṣaya ity anubhavaḥ*; Sthiramati's commentary on Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikāvijñapti* (Buescher 2007: 56): *vedanā anubhavasvabhāvā | sā punar viṣayasyāhlādakaparitāpakatadubhayākāraviviktasvarūpasākṣātkaraṇabhedāt tridhā bhavati | sukhā | duḥkhā | aduḥkhāsukhā ca*; and the passage from the *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣā* cited in Section 1.

2.9 *vedanā* as the cause of craving

[44] ***tṛṣṇāhetur vedanety +ucyate***[52] • *yokaintse ṣarm seṃ +vedaṃ*[53] *westar*[54]

[44] [Quote from the *Avatāra*:] *tṛṣṇāhetur vedanety ucyate* = [Toch. gloss:] The cause of craving (lit. thirst) is called *vedanā*.

— End of manuscript —

[48] Kudara (1974: 27, 34) assumes that *makte* is a mistake for the interrogative *mäkte*.

[49] Toch. B *rittetär* is attested as translating Skt. *yujyate* 'it is suitable, appropriate' in several texts, for instance B 324 b3 (medical) and B 331 b5 (Vinaya); see Pinault (2016: 183).

[50] *TochSprR(B)* reads *(ubhayav)īpa(r)īta(m)*, which suggests agreement with a neuter nominal; see the Notes section below.

[51] While not noted by *TochSprR(B)*, on the basis of the parallel phrase *weweñu tāka* in [33] and [39], *<weweñu>* should also be supplied here. The omission of this word is perhaps the copyist's mistake.

[52] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *u[t]yate*. *TochSprR(B)* states that either *udyate* or *ucyate* may have been intended. However, taking into consideration the parallel from the *Abhidharmadīpa*, which has *tṛṣṇāhetur vedanety ucyate*, we restore *ucyate*.

[53] Emended by *TochSprR(B)* for *neṃtaṃ*; under <taṃ> the akṣara <da> has been written. This is the copyist's error; see Section 1.1 for further discussion.

[54] For expected *westär*; see Section 1.1.

3 Final remarks

B 197 concerns a highly technical discussion of the three types of *vedanā*, or sensation. This study has attempted to clarify some of the problems of interpretation the text presents and to offer a rigorously researched translation and commentary. It is our hope that collaborative work of this sort will inspire further in-depth philological work and lead to a deeper understanding of the texts.

4 Lexical studies

4.1 *yumāne nesalñe*

In [23] we proposed that the phrase *vedanā trividho 'nubhavaḥ* from the *Avatāra* was glossed as *(täryā-ykne) yumāne (nesa)lñe ste* '[it = *vedanā*] is the three types of experience', where *yumāne (nesa)lñe* in the manuscript corresponds to Skt. *anubhava*. The participle *yumāne* (less frequently also written *yumane*) is taken as belonging to a root *yu-*, which is commonly thought to mean 'ripen' (*TEB* 2: 227, Krause 1952: 276, Malzahn 2010: 807). However, Peyrot (2013: 798 n. 654) observes that the actual attestations do not seem to support this meaning. With regard to *yumāne*, he points out that this is often found in collocations with *nes-* or *mäsk-*, which taken together mean 'experience, undergo, perceive'. In support of this interpretation, Peyrot cites the bilingual text B 251 a2, where *y(u)mane takāsta* glosses the preceding Skt. *anvābhuṃkth(ā)* '(the great affliction that) you underwent/experienced (for the sake of this world)'.[55]

The second passage Peyrot cites are two lines from an Abhidharma text, B 195: b6 /// *(lo)ko yaṃ • śaiṣṣe se • dṛṣṭaṃ • se ekantse yumāne n(esaṃñe)* /// b7 /// *(ta)rya dha(tunmane) yumāne nesaṃñe waikke weñña • t·* ///. In line b6, the phrase *se ekantse yumāne n(esaṃñe)*, which Peyrot translates as 'this [is] perception with the eye', glosses *dṛṣṭaṃ* 'seen'. This is preferable to Adams' (2013: 542) 'the mature ability of the eye'. The Tocharian gloss here actually matches a definition of *dṛṣṭa* found in the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 245 line 14): *yac cakṣurvijñānenānubhūtaṃ tad dṛṣṭam ity uktam* 'that which is experienced (*anubhūta*) by the visual consciousness is called *seen* (*dṛṣṭa*)'; also see the *Abhidharmadīpa* (Jaini 1959: 162 line 1): *yat khalu cakṣuṣā 'locitaṃ cakṣurvijñānamanovijñānābhyāṃ cānubhūtaṃ tad dṛṣṭam ity ucyate*. From this we see that the gloss *yumāne nes-* corresponds to *anu-bhū-* 'to perceive, experience', further confirming the interpretation suggested by Peyrot. The gloss *yumāne nesaṃñe* in b7 above can also be rendered in a similar way. The line is in reference to *mṛṣāvāda* 'false speech', and can be translated as, '[The sūtra] stated [that] false speech [is to say that one] has perceived [something in] the three sense-spheres (i.e. something either seen, heard, or cognized) [when one in fact has not]'.[56]

While not as clear, other occurrences that are not fragmentary suggest a similar interpretation. For example, IOL Toch 190 + 9 b6: *āñme tane mā ne(sa)mane mäk(c) eṃ āt(s)eṃ(ts) wäntare yumā(ne mäsketär)* 'Then, if the self does not exist, which aggregates perceive/experience an object?'; see also a5: *k$_u$se sū sruketrä alyek camelne tänmasträ* 'Who is it that dies and comes into being in a future birth?'.[57] The text discusses the apparent contradiction between the concept of no-self and rebirth. Here again a meaning 'perceive, experience' for *yumāne mäsk-* seems quite plausible. Also see the *Supriyanāṭaka* tale in PK AS 17A a3–4: *tumeṃ supriye cakravārtti walo ṣleṃtse krentauna yumāne tatāka(r) (w)ekārsasa pilko śeśśamu weṣṣäṃ* 'Then, the cakravartin king Supriya, having fixed his gaze on Wekārsa, says about the ripening of the virtues of the mountain' (trsl. from *CEToM*, ed. Pinault). Before this passage there is a lamentation in verse about the transience of human life, which is said to pass "more readily than a mountain river" (trsl. Pinault). As in most of its occurrences, *tatākar* can be taken as an absolutive, so we could render the phrase as, 'having perceived (*yumāne tatākar*) the virtues of the mountain (i.e. its unchanging qualities?), King Supriya says [the following:…]'.

In sum, the occurrences of *yumāne nes-/mäsk-* point to a meaning 'to perceive, experience', with clear correspondences with Skt. *anu-bhuj-* and *anu-bhū-*. This gives us good grounds to propose that *yumāne (nesa)lñe* functions as a calque for *anu-bhava* in [23]. In a Buddhist context, to experience something is to experience the ripening of one's own karma (for a brief overview of the Tocharian phraseology compared to Sanskrit, see Huard 2019: 51–52), which partially explains the standard rendering of *yu-* as 'ripen'. Note, however, that forms of this root never render Skt. *vipāka-* 'ripening, fruition', for which *pkelñe* or *oko* are the standard translations.

Older reference works (*TEB* 2: 227, Krause 1952: 276) typically set up a single root *yu-*, with Grundverb

[55] The corresponding Sanskrit reads *anvabhuṅkthā yad asyārthe jagato vyasanaṃ bahu* (*Śatapañcāśatka* verse 84). Since the Sanskrit parallel has *anvabhuṅkthā* and since the root *bhuj-* is elsewhere attested with the preverb *anu* but not with *anv-ā*, *anvābhuṃkth(ā)* in the Tocharian manuscript should be read as *+anvabhuṃkthā*.

[56] This is a parallel to the following passage in the *Kośa* (Pradhan 1967: 245 line 8) that discusses the eight inferior ways of speaking (*vyavahāra*): *ṣoḍaśa vyavahārāḥ sūtra uktāḥ | adṛṣṭe dṛṣṭavāditā aśrute 'mate 'vijñāte vijñātavāditā dṛṣṭe adṛṣṭavāditā yāvad vijñāte 'vijñātavāditā itīme 'nāryā aṣṭau vyavahārāḥ*.

[57] As noted in Catt (2018: 28 n. 15), like Skt. *para-*, Tocharian *alyek* encompasses the meaning 'other' as well as 'later, future'.

forms (the Pres. I participle *yumāne* etc.) meaning 'ripen' opposed to Kausativ forms (the Pres. IXb *yuwäṣṣäṃ* etc.) meaning 'make ripen'. More recent works (Malzahn 2010: 805–807, Adams 2013: 542) provide separate lemmas for a root ^{1}*yu-* meaning 'ripen, mature' (the traditional Grundverb) and a root ^{2}*yu-* meaning 'seek, aspire to, turn towards' (the traditional Kausativ), while acknowledging that the two may originate from a single underlying root (see especially the discussion in Malzahn 2010, loc. cit.). As discussed by Malzahn (2010: 806), the majority of forms built to ^{2}*yu-* are construed with a nominal in the allative case. In PK AS 7B b1 *yuwäṣṣäṃ* corresponds to Skt. *pariṇāmayati*, but rather than take both as 'make ripen' or 'aspire to', we argue that this to be understood in the more technical Buddhist sense of 'direct (one's good actions or merit) towards (attaining a favorable future birth)'. The majority of forms built to ^{2}*yu-* in fact suggest a general meaning 'direct (towards + allative)', so that the traditional assumption of a meaning 'make ripen' for this root can now be abandoned.

Also with regard to ^{1}*yu-*, we have seen that none of the examples of *yumāne* suggests a meaning 'ripen'. For *yumāne nesalñe* as a calque for *anu-bhava*, Georges-Jean Pinault (p.c.) points out that since *nesalñe* clearly corresponds to *bhava*, *yumāne* should somehow correspond in sense to *anu*. This is an important observation, as it further suggests that, although the assumed meanings were inaccurate, the traditional approach was correct in classifying the ^{1}*yu-* forms as belonging the Grundverb of ^{2}*yu-*. As we have seen that ^{2}*yu-* means 'direct (towards + allative), zuwenden', ^{1}*yu-* accordingly should mean 'be directed (towards), sich zuwenden'.[58] This neatly explains the rendering of *anu-bhava* with *yumāne nesalñe* 'experience, perception', which would literally be a state of having one's attention directed towards an object.[59] The translation of *anu-bhuj-* as *yumāne tāk-* we saw above in B 251 a2 is to be explained by the semantic similarity between *anu-bhuj-* and *anu-bhū-*, which both mean 'to experience'.

Besides *yumāne*, the other forms presumably built to ^{1}*yu-* are all attested in a broken context. The gerundive *yuwalye* occurs twice, in a fragmentary medical text from the London collection, IOL Toch 234: a2 /// *– lykäśke mītsa yuwalyi* /// ?' to be finely X-ed with honey…'; a4 /// *l(yk)äśke tsopälona mītsa yuwal(y)e* /// ?', to be finely stuck, to be X-ed with honey'. The apparent construction with a perlative here is unique and unclear. Likewise fragmentary are *yāwoṃ* in B 593 a2, *ywau*/// in B 342 b7, and *ywauwa* in IOL Toch 132 b2; note that the last example is preceded by an allative ending (///*śä*), which would fit well with a meaning 'directed towards'. Since these examples are mostly attested in archaic texts, the Grundverb may have fallen out of use (as it did in Tocharian A), except in the fixed phrase *yumāne nes-/mäsk-*.[60]

4.2 *käkse* as **wakse* 'cool'

For the two occurrences in [37] of *käkse wreme*, which has been taken as a compound due to the apparent non-initial accent of *käkse*, we argued that the sequence is not a compound but an adjective 'cool' followed by *wreme* 'object', a noun it modifies. Our interpretation of the word as 'cool' is partially based on the context, 'If an X (= cool) object (*käkse wreme*) comes into contact with the body when it is hot it will produce pleasant sensation; if it comes into contact with the body when it is cold it will produce unpleasant sensation'. Additional support for this interpretation comes from other lexemes that until now have not been recognized as cognates.

Given the well-known correspondence between TB *-ks-* and TA *-ps-* (TB *okso* 'ox' : TA *opsi* 'oxen'; TB *kektseñe* 'body' : TA *kapśañi* 'id.'; cf. Pinault 1999: 466–469, 2008: 457–458), the Tocharian A form corresponding to *käkse* would be **kpäs*. Such a word is not attested, but there is an adjective *wpäs*, with precisely the meaning 'coolness' (see *TEB* 2: 143: "Kühle (?)"). Though being a hapax, its meaning is assured: *wpäss ats (mäntne aräṣ ma)ñkät mā twāslune* 'just like the moon brings forth coolness, not burning' (A 75 a6; trsl. Carling 2020: s.v. *wpäs*). This translation is based on Sieg (1952: 12 with n. 14), who refers to the following parallel from the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (preserved in Chinese translation and in some Sanskrit fragments):[61]

[58] Note that this meaning is further supported by Toch. A *yulā* 'inclined towards', built to ^{1}*yu-*, of which there are no other traces in Tocharian A (see Malzahn 2010: 807).

[59] For *anu* translated as *(om)postäṃ* 'after', see *anu hy enaṃ jarā haṃti* • *ompostäṃ ce$_{u}$* (SI B 75 b2) and the examples in Adams (2013: s.v. *ompostäṃ*, *postäṃ*). Note also *yke postäṃ* 'place by place' as an equivalent for *anupadam* (see, e.g., PK AS 17A a2).

[60] If the optative *yāwoṃ* and preterite participle *ywauwa* do in fact belong to ^{1}*yu-*, as is commonly assumed, the gloss of *anu-bhuj-* as *yumāne tāk-* may offer an explanation for their somewhat aberrant morphological profile. Malzahn (2010: 807) writes that "with respect to Sub and Pt inflection, *yu-* had adopted the pattern found with rhyming *śuw-*." This is intriguing, because it is unlikely that analogy with *śuw-* 'eat, consume' would be activated simply on the basis of a similarity in the rhyme. Since *anu-bhuj-* means both 'experience (the consequences of one's actions)' and 'enjoy, consume (food)', ^{1}*yu-* in some contexts may likewise have been sufficiently semantically similar to *śuw-* to trigger analogy between these roots.

[61] The fragment belongs to the *Ṣaḍdanta-avadāna* (ref. in Lamotte 1944–1980: II 716 n. 1). In this version of the tale, this statement about the auspicious nature of the *kaṣāya* robe is uttered by the elephant king before the hunter shoots his arrow whereas in the Tocharian tale the elephant has already been struck by the arrow.

『大莊嚴經論』(Taishō No. 201, Vol. 4, p. 336c4–5)
見者獲安隱 寂然得勝妙
如月有清涼 終不變於熱

> Dans ceux qui le voient pénètre une tranquillité et un calme merveilleux: Ainsi la lune répand sa fraîcheur, jamais elle n'exhale la chaleur. (trsl. Huber 1908: 464).[62]

The meaning equation is perfect, but how could *käkse* and *wpäs* correspond to each other? Since a phonological explanation for the discrepancy is unlikely, we have to consider a different line of reasoning. One could assume that Sieg and Siegling confounded the akṣaras <wa> and <k̲a̲>, reading *käkse* instead of **wakse*. However, this is not very likely since these akṣaras are quite distinct in late script, not to mention that the word is written twice.

Considering the evidence presented in Section 1.1, which demonstrates that B 197 was copied from another manuscript as revealed by a number of mistakes made during the process of copying, we can assume then that *käkse* is an error of the scribe himself, who misread **wakse* in the model which was written in classical script, since a classical <wa> is closer to <k̲a̲> than to a late <wa> (Figure 4). This would also solve the oddity of the accentuation of *käkse*. Other cases of copyist mistakes are known from the late manuscripts of the Turfan region. For example, in several versions of the same stotra, the original word *gune* 'in a cave' (B 297.b b7) was written *guṇe* (B 294 b9), or *waṇe* (B 297.a a3) and *wane* (B 296 a9); see Thomas (1993: 173–175).

While our text concerns the confusion of <wa> as <k̲a̲> (**wakse* copied as *käkse*), below we cite an example of confusion going in the other direction, i.e. <k̲a̲> confused as <wa> (**kärtse* copied as *wartse*). The relevant passage is B 73 b2–3: *kätkre wartse kele ywārśka* 'tief [und] breit [ist = liegt] der Nabel…' (trsl. Thomas 1970: 262 n. 31). Here Thomas takes *wartse* at face value, translating it as 'breit'.

Figure 4. <wk̲a̲> A 384 a3 (left), <rk̲a̲> PK AS 7C a3 (center), <wa> PK AS 7C b2 (right)

In a recent study on the Tocharian B *Buddhastotra* verses (B 203–251 and B 71–76), Ogihara (2019) identifies ten fragments in the Lushun Museum collection that are parallel to B 203–206 and B 73–76. On the basis of these parallel texts, Ogihara attempts a reconstruction of the original *Buddhastotra* verses. Interestingly, the Lushun Museum parallel to B 73b2–3 reads *kätkkre kartse kele ywārśka* (LM20-1552-11b1), with *kartse* 'good, beautiful' where the Berlin manuscript has *wartse* 'broad'. Ogihara (2019: 33) argues that *kartse* is better supported by the philological evidence (this passage corresponds to Skt. *gambhīra-nābhi-*, literally 'a deep navel (one of the eighty characteristics of a Buddha)', which is translated in Chinese as 'a deep and beautifully-shaped round navel' (臍深圓好), with no mention of 'broad')[63] and that these variant readings can be explained if we suppose that the original manuscript was in archaic Tocharian B and had **kärtse*. Due to the similarity of <wa> and <k̲a̲>, it appears that the scribe of the Berlin manuscript mistakenly wrote *wartse* while the scribe of the Lushun Museum manuscript replaced *kärtse* with the standard classical TB *kartse*.

We may now address the question of why **wakse* 'cool' is so rarely attested. TB *emalle*, TA *omäl* 'hot' form an antonymic pair with TB *krośce*, TA *kroś* 'cold', the pair corresponding to Skt. *śīta* and *uṣṇa* (cf. the numerous contexts in which the two adjectives are opposed to each other, as in B 29 a6, YQ N.4 b5, etc.). TB **wakse* and TA *wpäs* would be the attenuatives of 'cold', hence 'cool', explaining the paucity of their attestation and their positive connotation of the coolness that alleviates one from heat (cf. Skt. *hlād-*).[64] Their

[62] These verses are a literary expansion of two verses that belong to the oldest layer of the tale (cf. *vadhissam etan ti*, etc. in *Jātaka* V, p. 49). For the topos of the cooling moon and the burning sun, see in Buddhist sources: *mkte meñe mā rinasträ swañcaiṃ kroścana* 'as the moon does not emit cold beams' (B 52 b7); 『長阿含經』(Taishō No. 1, Vol. 1, p. 147b28–29): 心當如月清涼無熱; and *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* III, pp. 866–867 (*cando … sītalam eva … suriyo … uṇham eva*); *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā* 98; *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* 311; in literary sources, see the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* of Kālidāsa (III 9): *netrotsavo hṛdayahārimarīcimālaḥ prahlādakaḥ śiśirasīkaravārivarṣī | patyur viyogaviṣadigdhaśarakṣatānāṃ candro dahaty atitarāṃ tanum aṅganānām ||* 'The moon is a pageant for the eyes, / With rays of light woven into garlands, / Streaming coolness and ravishing the heart; / Yet lo! the moon darts fire from frosty beams, / Burning like a poisoned shaft / The delicate limbs of the lovely maid / Pining in separation from her man' (Pandit 1947: 45); also *Raghuvaṃśa* IV 12.

[63] Note however that there are other occurrences with the somewhat odd 'thick navel' that could correspond to *wartse* (even if the meaning is not exactly the same): 『勝天王般若波羅蜜經』 (Taishō No. 231, Vol. 8, p. 723b21): 臍深厚狀如盤蛇圍圓右轉 'a deep and thick navel, like a snake, coiling to the right'; 『佛說法乘義決定經』 (Taishō No. 763, Vol. 17, p. 659c3): 世尊臍深圓妙殊異。世尊臍厚不窅不凸 'deep navel, which has a marvelous round shape; a thick navel, which is neither too hollow, nor too protruding'. We thank Bai Yu for alerting us to these passages.

[64] Note the term *hlādī* in [40]. Skt. *hlād-* 'be refreshed, be glad' clearly has a positive connotation. Also see the contrast between 'hot' : 'warm' and 'cold' : 'cool' in the Chinese parallels cited in footnote 6.

counterpart may be TA *sāt* 'warm', which has a positive connotation, but this word is also once opposed to *omäl* (A 257 b2). Note too that the scribe of B 197 himself was likely unfamiliar with **wakse*, since he mistakenly copied the word twice.

Carling (2020: s.v. *wpäs*) proposes to link Tocharian A *wpäs* to the Tocharian B verb *wäks-*, which she takes as 'to get cold, turn indifferent' rather than the earlier postulated meanings ('to turn away' in Malzahn 2010: 875, following the 'sich abwenden, sich abkehren' of Schmidt 2000: 231; 'beunruhigt sein', Krause 1952: 287). Since the verb is opposed to heat in two of its occurrences, such a meaning is indeed quite likely:

> *isälyäntse ṣṣertwentsā cowai käntwa tärkänaṃ ma cpi nesäṃ pärki su wäṣṣe weṣṣäṃ <o>nolmeṃ : tesa śaiṣṣe wäksenträ ālyauwcemeṃ ce preke aumiyene pälskoṣṣe (mā) kälpasträ emälyai* (B 255 b3–6)
>
> By the incitement of jealousy, one steals (?) the tongue [of others], is without *pärki* (shame?), [and] speaks slander with regard to beings. Thus, people become cold (*wäksenträ*) toward one another at this time, [not even] in *aumiye* of the mind, do they attain [some] heat'.[65]

Due to the difficulty of the passage, all of the details cannot be explained, but it is clear that the second sentence contrasts the coldness that results from slander with heat. In PK NS 29 a2–3, we find a similar opposition, but in this case the coolness of the jewel of immortality is what alleviates pain/heat (*tsäräśalñe*). This metaphor is picked up in the next sentence by the reference to the shadow of the feet of Supriya:

> *(e)ñ(c)ītär yes klyomoñ wesäṃ śmalñe säswenäś śarsäṣṣicer onwaññet(se) (naumiye) sklokanmaṣṣe tsäräśalñe waksäṣṣi-me : cwī paiyneṣṣai skiyaine śayeñcañ wes śaul warñai snai tar(ś)auna 2*
>
> May you (pl.) understand, oh noble ones, may you announce to the lord [Supriya] our coming! [2b] May the (jewel) of immortality cool (*waksäṣṣi*) the pain of hesitations! [2c] [May] we [remain] living under the shadow of his two feet lifelong without deception! (trsl. after *CEToM*, ed. Pinault)[66]

The last occurrence is in the *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga*, in rule Pātayantika 74, which states that a monk, after receiving alms from a householder for a period of four months, should not demand further offerings. The text ends with: *śitkai – nano nano preksemane tākaṃ tanāpatentse palsko lau wäksetär träṅkossu mäsketär* 'If he is insistently asking again and again and upsets (?) the mind of the benefactor, he is guilty [of the offense]' (B 331 b1–2; trsl. Peyrot 2013: 697). Malzahn (2010: 876) translates the passage as, '[and] the mind of the householder turns away'. It is clear from the context that the verb *wäksetär* refers to a reaction of discontent from the householder. Actually, if we examine the etiological tale in the Pāli *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga*, we may find some clues for understanding the Tocharian text. There, a householder named Mahānāma offers medicines to the saṅgha for a period of four months. In the story, Mahānāma criticizes the notorious "gang of six monks" (*chabbaggiyā bhikkhū*) in the group on account of their shabby appearance. These monks, now harboring resentment towards Mahānāma for his unwelcome comment, conspire to dishonor him: *atha kho chabbaggiyānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi — "kena nu kho mayaṃ upāyena mahānāmaṃ sakkaṃ maṅku kareyyāmā" ti?* 'Then the gang of six thought: how shall we dishonor Mahānāma the Sakyan?' (*Vinaya* IV, p. 102).

The term *maṅku* (also BHS *madgu*) is rendered 'mentally disturbed, upset, abashed, out of countenance' by Edgerton (1953: 414) and corresponds precisely to the idea that should be expressed by the Tocharian verb. Interestingly, its common gloss in the Pāli commentaries is *nitteja* 'lit. without heat/energy' (*Papañcasūdanī* II, p. 104, 280; *Manorathapūraṇī* II, p. 302, etc.), which suggests that such a metaphor was widespread in Buddhist literature. This term is translated 'lacking energy or power; low in spirit; dull' by Cone (2001–2010: II 341). But since *tejas* refers not only to heat but also to a person's prestige, the idea behind *nitteja* may in fact be dishonor or shame, conceived of as literally a 'cooling off' of someone's authority.[67]

Finally, in addition to TB *wäks-* and **wakse* being cognate with TA *wpäs*, these forms likely have cognates in other Indo-European languages, for example OIr. *ócht*, *úacht, úar* 'cold, cool, ineffective', Lith. *áušti* 'become cold', Latv. *aũksts,* Arm. *oyc* 'cold'. Pokorny (1959: 783) sets up a root **ou(g)-* 'kalt',[68] but the details concerning the reconstruction of these forms present many difficulties that should be addressed in another place. Suffice it to say for now that due to their clear adjectival

[65] The usually postulated meaning for the hapax *aumiye* is 'fever'. As others have proposed (see Adams 2013: 96), we interpret *emalyai* as the oblique of a feminine noun (the perlative of which is attested two times, in IOL Toch 88 a7 and B 286 b2). An earlier translation of the passage is: '[Selbst] im Fieber des Denkens erlangt er (keine) Hitze' (Schmidt 1974: 195).

[66] Pinault's translation has 'turn away' for our 'cool'.

[67] Dishonor plays a key role in the story about Mahānāma. Interestingly, the roguish monks' strategy to disgrace Mahānāma is to demand something—ghee—that they know he does not have on hand and then insinuate that he is reluctant to give what he has already invited the monks to accept. Note too that *nittejaṃ akāsi* appears alongside *lajjāpesi* 'to shame (Aorist 3sg.)' in *Jātaka* II, p. 94 line 1 (*theraṃ lajjāpesi nittejaṃ akāsi* '[The elder's statement] shamed/dishonored the monk'), of which it is surely a synonym.

[68] To be reformulated in more modern terms as perhaps **h₃euĝ-*; see for instance *ALEW*: 76, with further literature.

semantics and, for example, the presence of a *-*ro*-stem in Old Irish, the Tocharian forms are surely to be explained with reference to Caland system morphology.[69]

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[69] See Rau (2009: 67–109) on the coexistence of *-*ro*-stem adjectives and *-*s*-stem neuter abstracts for roots referring to physical properties.

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