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Georges-Jean Pinault

# Colophons in Tocharian Manuscripts

**Abstract:** Colophons have rarely been preserved in Tocharian manuscripts, as the final leaves of *pustaka* format manuscripts are often destroyed or lost. The corpus features, however, a significant number of sub-colophons, i.e. colophons written at the end of the sections of a longer Buddhist work. A particular instance are those colophons of the chapters of the drama about *Maitreyasamiti* in Tocharian A, that may be compared with the parallel colophons in the Old Uyghur text *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, translated from Tocharian. In addition to the author and translator names, these colophons contain the name and the number of the chapters. Several colophons have been transmitted with a text containing the names of the donors who sponsored manuscript copy. This mention is frequently accompanied by wishes and words of praise, highlighting the reward donors and their family expect from copying a sacred text. Similar instances are to be found in manuscripts in Tocharian B. In both Tocharian languages, one may observe the development of writing colophons in verse, as a literary practice that certainly gained significance for Buddhist culture in the Tarim Basin during the second half of the first millennium CE.

## 1 Preliminaries

A large part of Tocharian manuscripts contains Buddhist literary texts that most definitely pertain to Indian pothi manuscript culture.<sup>1</sup> In place of pothi, the more precise and appropriate term would be *pustaka* or *postaka*, for the equivalent, which arises from the borrowing, of this Indo-Aryan term,<sup>2</sup> is used in Tocharian texts: Toch. B *postak*, Toch. A *postäk* and *postak*.<sup>3</sup> These nouns are well recorded (20 occurrences in total). In the Tocharian corpus, the manuscripts of religious (Buddhist) and literary texts follow what will henceforth be termed the *pustaka* format, with one string hole in the first (left) third of the leaf. The format of books made by binding oblong leaves of papers with a cord, imitated the disposition of

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1 Survey of material aspects and palaeography by Sander 1968, 24–50.

2 Mayrhofer 1956–1976, vol. 2, 319; Turner 1966, 478b (No.8413); Mayrhofer 1986–2001, vol. 3, 331–332.

3 Poucha 1955, 191; Adams 2013, 436. For all abbreviations and acronyms see the list at the end of this article.

palm-leaf manuscripts, originally imported to the Tarim Basin by missionaries from India. The surface of such leaves could be ruled, at least horizontally, for the calligraphic writing of literary texts, and regular margins were used, with a blank space of a few centimetres for the string hole. The most widespread figures show the number of lines to fluctuate between four and nine. The leaves' length varies roughly between a minimum of 10 and a maximum 60 cm. When such leaves belong to a series forming part of a book or a whole book, they are normally numbered in the left margin on the verso side and, more rarely, close to the string hole.<sup>4</sup> Implementing paper as a support for Buddhist manuscripts became a general trend early on in the Tarim Basin. A few examples exist of manuscripts on birch bark, which also follow the *pustaka* format, such as the bilingual (Sanskrit and Toch. B) *Karmavācanā* (THT 1102–1125). Tocharian manuscripts date for the most part from between the sixth and eighth century CE. The scribes used the 'Northern-Turkestan Brāhmī' script,<sup>5</sup> also used for Sanskrit manuscripts found in the Buddhist sites of the Tarim Basin, on the northern fringe of the Taklamakan desert. This spelling system, designed originally for Sanskrit, was enlarged and adapted for rendering Tocharian phonemes foreign to Sanskrit. As for Toch. B, the earliest manuscripts date from the end of the fourth century, or beginning of the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> The earliest date for the Toch. A manuscripts is the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> Some evidence shows that Tocharian languages were still used up to the ninth to eleventh centuries CE, in the early phase of Old Uyghur Buddhism, when Old Uyghur texts were translated from Tocharian.<sup>8</sup> The entire Tocharian manuscript culture was influenced by Indian models implemented for Buddhist texts in different languages, starting with Sanskrit. By contrast, profane or secular texts, such as books of monastery accounts, business and private letters, receipts, registers, statements of offences, etc. were written on leaves of papers of

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**4** Such external features describe the manuscripts of the Paris collection, currently in preparation, by Melinda Fodor for Pelliot Sanskrit and by Athanaric Huard for Pelliot Koutchéen, for the ERC project (Action number 788205) HisTochText (History of the Tocharian Texts of the Pelliot Collection), under the direction of Georges-Jean Pinault.

**5** Sander 1968 and 1986. The two main sub-types found in Toch. manuscripts of the classical stage are the 'Schrifttypus V, Alphabet t', typical of the Kucha region, and the 'Schrifttypus VI, Alphabet u'. See the discussion and chart of akṣaras in Sander 1968, 182–183 and pl. 29–41, completed for Tocharian by Malzahn 2007a.

**6** Malzahn 2007b, 257–258, 275–278.

**7** For a review of the chronology of Toch. B (which had several stages) and of Toch. A, see Peyrot 2008, 187–209.

**8** Supporting evidence is given by a bilingual Toch. B/OU manuscript (U 5208), dated from the beginning of eleventh century CE, see Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens 2019, 67b.

various sizes, and did not follow the *pustaka* format. Several were glued to make scrolls of significant length. Economic and administrative documents of this kind were also written on wooden tablets, following independent patterns, similar to the ones of the Niya documents in Prākṛit, dated from the third century CE.<sup>9</sup>

The topic of colophons in Tocharian manuscripts has never been thoroughly investigated, even though, in editions of Tocharian (A and B) texts, several colophons have been identified and mentioned in passing. The whole issue has been somewhat neglected.<sup>10</sup> Material factors have impacted the amount of the possible corpus. A little over 10,400 items in the Tocharian language exist, approximately 8,600 in Toch. B and 1,800 in Toch. A, according to the CEToM database, which includes inscriptions and graffiti. A caveat should be applied to these numbers as the collections are comprised of fragmentary pieces, mostly small and worn out. The colophons of complete manuscripts are extremely scarce, since not a single book in Tocharian (A or B) exists. The final leaves of manuscripts, which normally bear the colophon, were prone to be lost or destroyed, once the wooden boards covering the books were removed in the course of time for other use. One exceptional case, in the Pelliot collection in Paris, is a book cover in poplar wood, pierced at the expected string hole place,<sup>11</sup> which still bears the title of the work and mention of the donor: *se udāṃ wāryarucintse āyu sutār ...* ‘This [is] the Udāna(varga), the sūtra given by Vīryaruci (...)’.<sup>12</sup> One may surmise this mention, carried forward on the cover, summarized the complete colophon written on the last leaf of the book. This mention on the cover confirms, were it necessary, that Buddhist books were stored in libraries of Tocharian-speaking monasteries. Nonetheless, colophons of parts of manuscripts are found in a significant number of instances, especially where a work has been divided into several sections or chapters, each ending with a specific colophon.<sup>13</sup> Several fragments are from colophons of manuscripts almost entirely lost, save for its colophon. The material can now be retrieved through the CEToM database. The present paper does not intend to be exhaustive. Its main goal is to describe the

<sup>9</sup> See the edition by Boyer, Rapson and Senart 1920–1929; translation by Burrow 1940.

<sup>10</sup> The searching function of CEToM yields 70 items. This number should be slightly revised. The colophons found in Sanskrit manuscripts edited by Peyrot 2014, 134–136 and 2015, 108–112 should also be added.

<sup>11</sup> PK Bois, série C, 5+6, cf. Pinault 1987, 185–186 and pl. XCVI–2.

<sup>12</sup> As for Skt. *Udāna*, the source of Toch. B *udāṃ*, as title of the *Udānavarga*, see Bernhard 1969 and below, p. 362.

<sup>13</sup> Strictly speaking, these should be named ‘sub-colophons’. But, as they form the large majority of the corpus by far, I have decided to refer to them simply as ‘colophons’.

salient features of Tocharian colophons, common to the manuscripts in both Tocharian languages.

## 2 General features of Tocharian colophons

The colophon gives the title – and, if required, the numbering – of the previous part or chapter of a text, or in some instances the full title of a complete text. These indications may be followed by the mention of the donors and of the scribe. As these scribal additions actually belong to so-called sub-colophons, they do not give any dating. The end of a section of any text can be marked by a specific verb, preterit 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. act. Toch. B *āra*, A *ār* ‘has come to an end, is finished’,<sup>14</sup> corresponding to Skt. *samāptaḥ*, *samāptam*. One often finds the mention of scribal activity, by the use of the verb Toch. A/B *pik-* ‘to write’.<sup>15</sup> This verb can be in the preterit, referring to the text that precedes. It can also occur in the phrase ‘to order to write’ (Toch. B *paikatsi wātk-*, A *piktsi wātk-*) with the donor(s) as subject and the book as direct object. A further relevant fact is the frequent use of the near deictic demonstrative, ‘this’, Tocharian B *se*, A *sās*, with *postak* or *postäk* ‘book’, e.g. nom. sg. B *se postak* (IOL Toch 81 b5), obl. sg. *ce postak* (THT 103 b3), A nom. sg. *sās postäk* (SHT 525.56 b4), *caṣ postäk* (A 311 b2, YQ I.10 b6), etc. This is very significant from a pragmatic point of view, because the scribe referred in this way to the book which he had near him, after he finished copying it.<sup>16</sup> Several extracts of texts containing these phrases will be quoted and discussed in the following pages.

The whole issue of colophons pertains to the various strategies of textual transitions, which can use simultaneously or alternatively different devices.

In terms of graphics, colophons have specific punctuation and marking, particularly in the use of the double *daṇḍa*, and three dots. In general, Tocharian manuscripts are quite sparing in their use of punctuations. For marking the end of a *pāda* in a metrical text, two dots (occasionally a single dot) are used. As for prose texts, the use of dots is relatively rare, without observing any fixed rule according to the limits of syntactic units. The final leaf of the section of a manuscript, or of a whole manuscript can be marked by a zigzag line as vertical

<sup>14</sup> Thomas 1957, 209–212; Malzahn 2010, 525 and 527.

<sup>15</sup> Malzahn 2010, 724.

<sup>16</sup> See Stumpf 1971, 106–107.

ornamentation, interrupting the lines of the text itself, and some blank space.<sup>17</sup> In the case of leaf A 226 (THT 859), the interval between these ornamental lines corresponds approximately to one fourth of the width of the leaf.

In addition, the shift from a section to the next may be marked by a change of meter. More precisely, this corresponded to a change of tune, i.e., some specific mood of chanting the versified text. The tune's name, usually in the locative case, is placed between double *danḍas* immediately before the section composed in verse.<sup>18</sup> In Tocharian literature, this change is found in doctrinal and commentary texts as well as in narrative texts.

In dramatic works, which are basically adaptations of Buddhist legends, the writers followed the conventions of Sanskrit dramaturgy. They actually indicate stage directions at the end of an act (Toch. A/B *nipāt* = Skt. *nipāta-*) of drama: Toch. A *lcār poñś*, B *lateṃ poñc*, translating Skt. *niṣkrāntāḥ sarve* 'All have left'. The change of the location of action is also stated at the beginning of a new act.<sup>19</sup>

First example: end of a section of the *Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa* in Tocharian A. This text ('Prophecy of the achievement of Maitreya') is a poem in 23 chapters<sup>20</sup> on the career of Maitreya, the future Buddha, whose advent has been announced by Śākyamuni. It is known mainly by the leaves and fragments of the same manuscript, A 219-238 (THT 852-871).<sup>21</sup> The original had 130 leaves. Another copy of this text is known by fragments A 239-242 (THT 872-875),<sup>22</sup> some parts of which overlap with passages of the previous manuscript.<sup>23</sup>

A 226 (THT 859) b3 *ske spaltäk śkaṃ yāmurāṣ tā(ṣ plāc klyossi ārwar šeñc)* 87 ||  
*maitreyā(va)[b4]dānavyākaraṇaṃ āgārikanarakopapatti ñomā wikiwepiñci pāk : • ||*  
 (|| *yasām ṣa)kkatsek ime (pāsmā)[b5]c āneṃśi : puk āñmaṣ kāryāṣ tāṣ plāc śakkats pāklyoṣāś*  
*sne wyākṣe(p :)*<sup>24</sup>

**17** See A 226 (THT 859) and 238 (THT 871), with the remarks in Sieg and Siegling 1921, 112 and 119, and also pl. 35, corresponding to A 226. YQ I.1 (I.10) verso, end of the first act of the MSN, see Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 66 and the corresponding plate, *ibid.*, 323.

**18** Pinault 2008, 397-401.

**19** See Pinault 2008, 406 and 2015, 585. About Tocharian literary genres, see Pinault 2016, 168-181.

**20** Named Toch. A *pāk* 'part' = Toch. B *pāke* 'part', from a Proto-Tocharian word, not a loan from Sanskrit, see Pinault 2008, 30 and 450.

**21** Sieg and Siegling 1921, 107-119.

**22** Sieg and Siegling 1921, 119-121.

**23** For instance A 239 and A 222.

**24** Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 113. This quotation, as well as several of the following ones, contains personal restorations, because most of these texts have not been completely investigated nor translated yet.

After having made effort [and] zeal, (they were ready to hear) the following (speech). 87. In the Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa, the 22<sup>nd</sup> part named Āgārikanarakopapatti ('Rebirth in the hell of householders'). || For sure set up your mind carefully! Out of whole soul [and] will listen [plural] to this speech surely without distraction!

The previous part, ending with stanza 87, follows a meter  $4 \times 14$  syllables (rhythm 7/7), the next follows a meter 12+15+12+15 syllables (rhythm 5/7 and 7/8). After the three dots, there is a blank space, of approximately 2–3 akṣaras, between two double *daṇḍas*, see further examples below. The 23<sup>rd</sup> part begins with an address to the audience, according to the style used for the preaching of the Buddha.

### 3 Divisions of the text in a Buddhist drama

The *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* ('Drama on the encounter with Maitreya') in Tocharian A is a huge text known by (at least) five manuscripts, each covering hundreds of leaves: 27 acts (Toch. A *nīpāt*), covering each around 15 *pustaka* leaves, plus one much shorter prologue. Each section is named 'act' by convention, because the whole text is cast in dramatic form, with alternation of prose and verse. It can be dated around the eighth century CE, and was translated into Old Uyghur, under the title *Maitrisimit nom bitig*: one prologue (*yükünč*) and 27 chapters (*ülüš*), which also include colophons. The OU text is known through two main recensions, one based on two versions in manuscripts from the Turfan region (Sāngim and Murtuk), and the second on manuscripts from the Hami region.<sup>25</sup> Each section, – 'act' in the Toch. A text, dubbed 'chapter' in the OU version – ended with a (sub-)colophon, and the entire text certainly ended with a colophon, partially known for the last leaf of the 27<sup>th</sup> chapter in the OU so-called Turfan recension.<sup>26</sup> One would expect a general colophon for the whole text, in addition to the (sub-)colophons of the individual chapters. This text played a decisive role in the history of Tocharology and of Uyghur Buddhism, as most of the colophons stated the text's mode of transmission, despite the fragmentary state of the Tocharian texts.<sup>27</sup> According to the explanations given by the copyist in the (sub-)colophons, the Toch. A text was composed by a Buddhist scholar

<sup>25</sup> Laut and Wilkens 2017, IX–XVI, with previous literature.

<sup>26</sup> See No. 182 of the catalogue, Laut and Wilkens 2017, 232; Laut, Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1998, 147.

<sup>27</sup> The landmark study is due to F. W. Müller and E. Sieg (1916), see now Sieg 2014, 25–47, before the full edition of the texts. Comparative survey with literature by Pinault 1999, 189–205.

named Āryacandra. This is backed up by the OU (sub-)colophons, informing that Āryacandra, born in Agnideśa (Toch. A *ārśi-ypē*, i.e. Yanqi country) composed (OU *yarat-*) the previous chapter of the work from the Indian (i.e. Sanskrit) language (*ānātkāk tilintin*) into Toch. A (*tohn tilinčä*),<sup>28</sup> and that a further scholar, Prajñārakṣita, living farther east, translated (*ävür-*) it from Toch. A (*tohn tilintin*) into the Turkic (i.e. Uyghur) language (*türk tilinčä*).

Regarding the MSN, the divisions of the text marked by the usual punctuation devices and by the colophons correlate in the Toch. A version with parts of a drama; the specific divisions include stage directions. This arrangement appears quite superficial as most of the actual content differs little from the narrative that is combined with parts featuring direct speeches and dialogue sequences. The characters' speeches are often – but not always – in verse. The OU version differs for its thoroughly prosaic form and the withdrawal of all dramaturgical indications. Nonetheless, careful reading of the parallel texts has proven the OU text to be a translation of the Tocharian text, following the same sequence of episodes and speeches, and reflects several features of Toch. A's syntax and phraseology. The career of Maitreya, first as Bodhisattva, and then as Buddha, is the canvas framing the work with its pedagogical purpose, to convey in both narrative and teaching styles the major notions of the Buddhist faith.

In comparing the preserved Toch. A colophons, one can reconstruct the basic scheme, which allowed several variants, according to elements the author or copyist added. The basic colophon features conventional stage direction, marking the end of an act, followed by the act's title. The punctuation marks (double *daṇḍas* separated by blank space), are followed by the beginning of the next act, preceded (or not) by stage directions. Leaving aside the phraseology of Indian dramaturgy, the basic elements of every colophon are the work's title, the chapter number and name, the author's, and possibly the name(s) of those commissioning the copy, and the expected merit the latter hoped to gain from it. Despite some differences, the same structure is found in colophons of OU works, especially those translated from Toch. A. As expected, the translator(s)' name is mentioned beside the author's name.<sup>29</sup> Thus it appears fair to assume the influence of Tocharian habits on OU habits. Conversely, facts from OU colophons,

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<sup>28</sup> OU *tohn* is the present-day interpretation of TWQRY in Uyghur script, which has been read previously as *toxri* of the like. Actually, the name of the Toch. A language was *twgry*, whose exact reading and source remain unknown. This moot point is not relevant for the present investigation.

<sup>29</sup> See Kasai 2008, 37–40, and the detailed discussion of OU colophons of works translated from Tocharian (Kasai 2008, 157–206).



which are numerous and often much more complete, may be inferred for the wording of their Toch. A models.

End of act XI, in prose, chapter's colophon, and beginning of act XII, in prose as well:

A 253 (THT 886) a5 (...) *tām ŧurmaŧ ŧla ypeyis puk kāswonentwāsŧi tsmālune māskatrām* || *lcār poñš<sup>a</sup>* || *maitreyasamitinā*[a6](*ŧkaṃ*) (*guru*)*darŧaṃ ṇomā ŧākŧapint nipātt ār* || (blank of 2–3 akŧaras) || *tmāŧ alyākyaṃ praŧtaṃ metrak bodhisattu ṇākci wāl tāpraṃ wimānāŧŧ oki tsoptsām wartsyaŧŧāl ṇemi*[a7](*ŧinās wa*)*ŧtwāŧ kākärpurāŧ*...<sup>30</sup>

Because of that, the increase of all virtues happens to him [king Śaṅkha] as well to his country. || All have left || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the eleventh act, named (*guru*)*daršana* ('Appearance of the teacher') has come to an end. || Thereupon, at another time, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, like the divine king [= the sun] out of his high palace (*wimāna*-), together with a large retinue, after having stepped down from his jewelled abodes [...]

This may be compared with the OU end of the corresponding chapter and colophon, MaitrSāṅgim XI, 14 (pl. 38), verso 17–30 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 112):

Aus diesem Anlaß sind das Volk und die Bevölkerung des Landes und der Stadt ohne Gefahr und Bedrohung, sehr froh und fröhlich. (Z. 21 leer gelassen) In dem *Maitrisimit-Sūtra*, welches der Kŧi-Meister, der Bodhisattva Vaibhāŧika Āryacandra, der die Tarkas, Vyākaraṇas und andere Śāstras genau versteht, übertragen hat und welches der Kŧi-Meister Prajñārakŧita aus der *twqry*-Sprache in die türkische Sprache übersetzt hat, ist das elfte Kapitel namens 'Das Erscheinen des Bodhisattva' zu Ende. / Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Mönchsgemeinde!<sup>31</sup>

The review of all available instances shows that the OU colophons are far more developed than those of the Toch. A version, and quite emphatic. Additional mentions on the OU side include the list, itself more or less developed, of the author's titles, then of the translator's titles, and finally a blessing formula with homage to the three jewels (Skt. *triratna*-): Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha.

Some further instances, somewhat mutilated, may be mentioned in brief.

<sup>30</sup> For the text, compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 128. Followed by my translation.

<sup>31</sup> 'For this reason the people and the population of the country and of the city are without danger or threat, very delighted and joyful. [line 21 blank] In the sūtra *Maitrisimit*, which the Kŧi-master, Āryacandra, the Bodhisattva Vaibhāŧika, who understands exactly the Tarkas, Vyākaraṇas and other Śāstras, has translated, and which the Kŧi-master, Prajñārakŧita has translated from the *twqry* language into the Turkic language, the eleventh chapter, called "The apparition of the Bodhisattva" has come to an end. / Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!' (my translation).

End of act XXV and beginning of act XXVI:

A 287+259 (THT 920+892) a2 || *lcār poñš<sup>a</sup>* || *maitreyasamitināṭk(aṃ)* (*niraya-[a3]nidaśaṃ*)  
*(ñomā wikipāñpint ni)pāt ār* ||

[...] || All have left. || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the twenty-fifth act, named *niraya-nidaśana* ('Showing the (great) hells') has come to an end.<sup>32</sup>

The stage direction, which follows immediately afterwards, can be restored with the help of the OU text, MaitrSāngim XXV, 1 (pl. 181), vv. 1–3 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 202):

*(sās nu tāpārk plāc kukkuṭapāt ṣulis uttar) kālymeyam kārsnālyi*

Now, this dialogue ought to be understood (as taking place) on the northern side of the Kukkuṭapāda-mountain.<sup>33</sup>

End of act XXI and beginning of act XXII:

A 298 (THT 931) b3-4 (*maitreyasamiti)nāṭkaṃ gr̥hast<h>aprawrajitanirayanid(arśaṃ ñomā wikipāpint nipātt ār)*

In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the twenty-first act, named 'Showing hells for householders [and] religious mendicants' has come to an end.<sup>34</sup>

The Tocharian type may include mention of the author or 'composer' in the colophon as well as the act's title and mention of the work. This proves that the OU translator, in mentioning the MSN's author, followed, at least in part, a model that featured in several Tocharian colophons of the drama's chapters.

End of act III and beginning of act IV:

A 263 (THT 896) b(<a)6 (*āryacandre)s raritwunt maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ aniruddhavadāṃ ñomā trit nipā(t ār)///*)

In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka composed by the (Vaibhāṣika) Āryacandra, the third act, named Aniruddhāvadāna ('Legend of Aniruddha') has come to an end.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 134 and 150. Restoration and translation according to Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004, 43 and 46.

<sup>33</sup> See Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004, 36, 39 and 43.

<sup>34</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 138. See also the names of the chapters (so-called 'Höllenskapitel') describing the punishments in various hells as per Laut, Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1998, 12–16, 85, 95, 105, 112 and 126.

<sup>35</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 137.

End of act XIV and beginning of act XV:

A 297 (THT 930) a8 (*ārwar mā*)*skantrā lcār poñśā* (|| *vai*)*bh(āṣikyā)p (ārya)candres raritwunt maitreyasamitin(āṭkaṃ)*... ///

[...] they become ready (to leave the house [= to enter into monkhood]). All have left. In the MSN composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra ...<sup>36</sup>

Toch. A *raritwu* is the preterit participle of the verb *ritw-* ‘to arrange, compose’ (a literary work), translated by OU *yarat-miš*, of the verb *yarat-* ‘to compose’, differentiated from the verb *āvīr-* ‘to translate, transpose’.<sup>37</sup>

The next fragment contains the end of an act, in verse, a somewhat extended colophon, and stage direction for the next act.

End of act X and beginning of act XI:

A 299 (THT 932) a7 ///(*śā*)*we nāktañ kumseñc napęmsac* : 1 || *lcār poñś* || *vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwunt maitreyasa(mitināṭkaṃ)*... [a3] (*śkānt nipāt ār*) || blank of 2 akṣaras || *sās nu tāpārk plāc jambudvīpaṃ ywārckā parnoreyo yetusāṃ ketumatī rīyaṃ kārsnāl(y)i*///<sup>38</sup>

End of a stanza in meter 4 × 17 syllables (rhythm 6/6/5), punctuation and beginning of the next act in prose:

[...] the great gods come to the humans. 1 || All have left. || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra (the tenth act, named NN., is finished.) || || Now this following dialog ought to be understood (as taking place) in the middle of the Jambudvīpa in the city of Ketumatī, adorned with splendour.

## 4 Colophons and the transfer of merits for the copy

A significant variation in the wording of a colophon includes mention of the manuscript’s donor(s). This addition occurs at the end of some of the MSN acts or chapters. When asking why individual chapters have specific donors, it may be surmised that copying such a large work as the MSN required enormous funding, simply for the expense of paper, pens, ink, and other implements, such as lamps to illuminate dark workshops. The contribution of the donors, sponsoring the whole copy, could be recalled at the end of some chapters. Alternatively, and

<sup>36</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 157.

<sup>37</sup> See Pinault 2016, 183–185

<sup>38</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 158.

more likely, the copy was divided into several groups of lay-followers, each of which responsible for the funding of several parts. Presumably, these patrons or families of patrons were allied in some other ways, not exclusively bound to religious belief.

End of act XII and beginning of act XIII:

A 265 (THT 898) a1 (*udāracin*)*tā sām tāññ ānkāmśāl piktsi wotkar • vaibhāṣik(yāp āryacandres raritwunt maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ ... ñomā śākwepint nipātt ar)*

[...] U. the wife together with T. A. have ordered to write (this book). In the Maitreyasamitināṭaka composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra (the act XII named ... is finished).<sup>39</sup>

In this passage and others to be quoted later, the reading and identification of proper names remain somewhat conjectural. The discussion of Old Uyghur onomastics in Tocharian, especially Toch. A, manuscripts still requires in-depth research.

End of act XXVI and beginning of act XXVII:

A 258 (THT 891) b3 (*sās postāk kulmäs or*)*śess ākālā vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwu maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ siṃhavyākaraṃ (ñomā wiki-śākpint nipātt ar)*

This book [has been] composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra according to the wish of Kulmäs Orś. In the MSN the 26<sup>th</sup> act named *Siṃhavyākaraṇa* ('Prophecy to Siṃha') is finished.<sup>40</sup>

The Toch. A text may have mentioned a donor, followed by a wish based on the achievement of the copying work which has been commissioned, see for instance the end of act II, where the name of the donor(s) was written in the lacuna:

YQ 1.43 [II.15] b6 (...) *tām wewñurāṣ* [b7] (lacuna of 25–30 akṣaras) (*mai*)*t(r)eyappravrajaṃ ñomā wāt nipāt ar* || *caṣ postāk* [b7] (lacuna of 25 akṣaras) (*pekluneṣiṃ pāññi*)*ss okoyā ṣakkats metrakāṃ ptāñāktaśśāl ṣyak śmimār* ||

Having said that, (...) the act named *Maitreya-pravrajana* ('the leaving home [for monkhood] of Maitreya') has come to an end. || This book (NN. has ordered to copy to NN., and he said:) As fruit of the merit (*puṇya-*) pertaining to writing may I for sure come together with the Buddha-lord Maitreya!<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 138.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 134. See Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault (2004, 75).

<sup>41</sup> Compare Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 140 and 141.

Toch. A *pñi*, loan from Skt. *puṇya*- ‘merit’, occurs also in the plural in the phrases *pñintwiss oko*, *pñintwāśši oko* ‘fruit of merits’.<sup>42</sup> According to the Hami text this mention is absent from the OU translation:

MaitrHami II, 17b20–26 *bu* [21] *yarlg yrliqaduqta ol sansiz tümän yigil*[22]*miš quwrag yadilip b(a)rdilar* . . [23] *maitrisimit nom bitigdä maitri bodiswt*[24]*ning toyin bolmaq atlg [ikinti] ülüš* [25] *tükädi* . . [26] *namo but namo drm namo sang*

Nachdem er diese Worte zu sagen geruht hatte, zerstreute sich jene zahllose Schar vollkommen. In dem Maitrisimit-Sūtra ist das [zweite] Kapitel namens ‘Mönch-Werden des Bodhisattva Maitreya’ zu Ende. Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Gemeinde!<sup>43</sup>

The parallel colophon in the Sängim manuscript is markedly different. Aside from being much more developed, it includes a wish for the donor, see the following text and translation:

MaitrSängim II, 20. pl. 19 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 61), verso 15–28 (Kasai 2008, 184–186) *kop* [16] *kamag šast(a)r-larag koduru uka y(a)rlika*[17]*dači* : : *vaybaš šastarlar(a)g arsayan* [18] *ičmiš aryač(a)nre bodis(a)v(a)t k(ä)ši ačari* [19] *änätäk tilintin tohn tilinčä yara*[20]*tmiš pr(a)tinakšit k(a)rmavazike tohn tilin*[21]*tin türk tilinčä ävirmiš maitri*[22]*samit nom bitigdä maitri bodis(a)v(a)t*[23]*nun toyin bolmaq atl(i)g ikinti i* [24] *ülüš tükädi* : : (ornament) [25] *bo buyan tüşintä yidläk burhan* [26] *kutn bulzun közüniür ätözi* [27] *igsiz bolzun* : : (blank) [28] *namo but namo d(a)rm namo san*

In dem *Maitrisimit-Sūtra*, welches der k(ä)ši-Meister, der Bodhisattva Āryacandra, der alle Śāstras gründlich zu verstehen geruht und die Vaibhāṣika-Śāstras (wie) ein Lebenselixier genossen hat, aus der indischen Sprache in die tocharische Sprache übertragen hat, und welches der Prajñāraṣita Karmavāśika [aus der] tocharischen Sprache in die türkische Sprache übersetzt hat, ist das zweite Kapitel namens ‘Mönch-Werden des Bodhisattva Maitreya’ zu Ende. / Durch die Frucht dieses Verdienst möge Yidläk die Buddhaschaft erlangen, und ihr gegenwärtiger Körper möge ohne Krankheit sein! / *Namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāya!*<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Poucha 1955, 192. This translates evidently Skt. *puṇya-phala*- ‘fruit of merit(s)’.

<sup>43</sup> Text and translation after Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1988, 168 and 169. The transcriptions reproduced here were used by the various editors of the OU texts. Translation: ‘After he [the Buddha] has deigned to speak these words, this countless crowd dispersed completely. In the sūtra *Maitrisimit* the [second] chapter called “The Bodhisattva Maitreya becoming a monk” has come to an end. Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’.

<sup>44</sup> See the discussion and translation by Kasai 2008, 184–186. Translation: ‘In the sūtra *Maitrisimit*, which the Kši-master, the Bodhisattva Āryacandra, who has understood thoroughly the Śāstras and who has enjoyed as an elixir of life the Vaibhāṣika-Śāstras, – has translated from the

OU *käši* is borrowed from Toch. A/B *käšši*, equivalent of Skt. *guru*-.<sup>45</sup> The donor, Yidläk, is a lay-woman, the wife of Boz Bay Tiräk, the sponsor of the Sängim manuscript.

The colophon of act IV of MSN contains a long list of donors in Toch. A, but not in the OU text of the so-called Turfan recension:

OU colophon of chapter IV in MaitrSängim, pl. 27 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 89), verso 3–11.

[6] *alkap töpülärintä tuta tängiti*[7] *lär maytrisimit nom bitigdä* [8] *tegin ügä atıña abišek* [9] *kılmak atl(i)g törtünč ülüš-š* [10] *tükädi* : : (ornament) / blank of 4 lines / [11] *namo but namo d(a)rm namo sañ* / blank of 4 lines at the bottom of the page.

... die Gemeinde wurde unendlich froh und erfreut, pries und lobte die Predigt des Göttergottes Buddha. Sie hielten sie ehrfurchtsvoll auf ihren Scheiteln. / Das vierte Kapitel namens ‘Vollziehen der Weihe für die Nachfolgerschaft’ in dem *Maitrisimit*-Sūtra ist beendet. / Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Mönchsgemeinde!<sup>46</sup>

Note that in the title of the chapter, the translator uses both the loan (*abišek*) from Skt. *abhiṣeka*- (through Toch. intermediary), preceded by a Turkic gloss of Toch. A *se-lāntune* ‘status of royal heir’.<sup>47</sup>

Compare the parallel Toch. A text:

A 302 (THT 935) b7 (*ptāñäkte käššiyā*)*p weñlune ārtā(nt pāla)nt lcār poñś* || *vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwunt* [b8] (*maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ abhiṣe*)*k ñomā stārt nipāt (ār || kulapakāṃ praśāntasenāṃ neṣontā śākwepināñ pra(cre ṣarsaśśāl caṣ postak piktsi wotkar ... co)spā šeri kātum tarmots lārat* – – – – – *kiññā elāk parno(ts) äkkāc hkuttem wām parnots nā(cci)*

... they approved [and] praised the speech of the Buddha-lord the teacher. All have left. || In the MSN composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra the fourth act named *abhiṣeka* (‘Royal

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Indian language into the Tocharian language, and which Prajñārakṣita Karmavāśika has translated from the Tocharian language into the Turkic language, the second chapter, called “The Bodhisattva Maitreya becoming a monk” has come to an end. Through the fruit of that merit may Yidläk obtain the Buddhahood, and her present body may be without disease! Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’.

<sup>45</sup> See Poucha 1955, 74; Adams 2013, 187 with literature; Carling 2009, 142–143.

<sup>46</sup> ‘[...] the assembly became endlessly delighted and joyful, it praised and extolled the prediction of the Buddha, the god of gods. They held it respectfully on the top of their heads. / The fourth chapter called ‘Accomplishment of the ordination for the successorship’, in the sūtra *Maitrisimit* has come to an end. Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’ (my translation).

<sup>47</sup> This compound is derived from Toch. A *se* ‘son’ and *lānt*-, alternative stem of *wäl* ‘king’, besides the free form *lānt*, which is both the accusative (oblique) and genitive singular. The phrase *se lānt* (alternatively *lānt se*) meant ‘king’s son’.

consecration') is finished. || The twelve brothers, starting with Praśāntasena, the chief of the family (Skt. *kulapaka-*), together with [their] sisters ordered to copy this book: ... NN.<sup>48</sup>

In this list of names, several are surely of feminine gender, certainly of various origins (mostly Old Turkic, but also Sogdian, possibly also Chinese), some mixed with titles or epithets<sup>49</sup> of Toch. A form: *parno*, masc. 'glorious', fem. *parnots*, for *parnoṃts*; *tarmots*, feminine epithet or title with the same suffix,<sup>50</sup> based on *tarm\**, loan of Skt. *dharma-* (see also *tārm\**),<sup>51</sup> indirect calque of Skt. *dhārmikā*, fem. or *dharmiyā*, fem. 'righteous, pious'; *nācci* 'lady, princess', feminine of *nātāk* 'lord, prince'. The mention of family relationships (brothers, sisters, chief the family), which is also found in Old Uyghur colophons,<sup>52</sup> is worthy of note.

Many of the same individuals have been listed in a poem of praise (meter of 20+22+10+15 syllables), in a fragment (A 303) which belongs to the same manuscript of the MSN:

A 303 (THT 936) a5 ///(tso)patsām̄ maitreyasamit postāk śpālmeṃ pekamāt was p.kis [a6] (kāswac) ... oppatyuti śeri kāttuṃ tarmots lārat hkhutteṃ wām nācci elā(k) ... (šā)[a7]r(c)e pai teñkohkh 4

We have copied excellently the great book Maitreyasamiti, for the good of all ... NN.

This fragment of the MSN has some stanzas in common with leaf A 311, from a different manuscript, containing stanzas of introduction (or conclusion) to a work named Śaṣṣūtra, apparently pertaining to Maitreya literature and cult.<sup>53</sup>

A 311 (THT 945) a2 lalākkompe seyaśśūl śyak ṣaṣṣūtrā postāk pekamāt 1 kusne wrasom caṣ postāk pe(katrā bodhisatv)enām̄ ytāraṃ ymām̄ (śolam :) (sām metrakṣinām̄ opṣlyāśśūl kunnā)ṣ : tāmyo pekamāt śla wsokoneyo : śmimās ṣakkats metrak ptāñktāc ketuma(ti ri) tām praṣṭ 2 (...)<sup>54</sup>

(...) together with the son of NN. we have copied the book Śaṣṣūtra. The living being who copies this book, going (in his life) on the path pertaining to Bodhisattva, he will (come

48 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 161.

49 These nouns could also serve as components of names. Uyghur names can in fact consist of several terms. In the present text, some names (*kāttuṃ*, *hkhutteṃ*, *elāk*) are evidently of Turkic origin. The topic of OU onomastics in Tocharian texts lies beyond the scope of the present contribution. A first approach has been given by Pinault 2007, 347–351.

50 Krause and Thomas 1960–1964, vol. 1, 155, § 242.1.

51 Compare *tārme* in Poucha 1955, 118, and the loan of this term in several proper names.

52 See Zieme 1992, 80–83.

53 Sieg and Siegling 1921, 161 and 166–167.

54 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 166.

together with the feast of Maitreya). Therefore we have copied with joyfulness. May we come indeed to Maitreya the Buddha-lord, to the city of Ketumatī, at that time!

A 311 (THT 945) a5 (5 syllables missing) *ākṣiññār-ām krañś ptāñkte märkampal pekluneṣi pñi : pūk pñintwaṃ tpär sumerr oki koṃ ñkätt oki lukšanu puk kleśāsīi prakte ypant* : (10 syllables missing) : (*saṃsarṣinās puk klopäntwäṣ*) *tsälpṣant källānt nervānac* 4

The good ones (...) have taught to us the merit of writing the Law of the Buddha-lord. Among all merits, this merit of writing [is] as high as the Sumeru (mountain), as bright as the sun(-god), achieving the hindrance of all impurities, (...) liberating from all sufferings of the Saṃsāra, leading to Nirvāṇa.

A similar text appears in A 303 (THT 936) b4–6, which allows mutual restorations.

The comparison of these leaves shows that some standard and stereotyped poems of praise on the merit of writing could be inserted in colophons and reused in different works.

In Tocharian as well as Old Uyghur colophons the merit of writing can be transferred to several persons from the same family or clan, including deceased persons, as shown by the Toch. A fragment of a colophon (in verse) preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris.<sup>55</sup> This piece extends the wishes of the donor(s) to several Uyghur dignitaries, as well as to several sisters, explicitly mentioned as dead. The notion of ‘transfer of merit’ (Skt. *puṇyapariṇāmanā*) was prevalent among Buddhists influenced by Mahāyāna trends. But the related practices were already recorded for early Buddhism,<sup>56</sup> and in the way known as Śrāvakayāna ‘Vehicle of the Listeners’, to which belonged the Tocharian Buddhists, whose texts are issued mostly from the Sarvāstivādin school. Notwithstanding differences of social and political organization, the accumulation of merits (Toch. A *pñi*, OU *byan*) by commissioning the copy of manuscripts was certainly an aim of lay-followers (Skt. *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*) from the higher classes of Tocharian speaking society, and later among Uyghur nobility.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See edition, translation and commentary by Pinault 2007, especially 338–358. The mention of Maitreya in the Musée Guimet fragment (a5) does not imply per se that it belonged to the colophon of a manuscript of the MSN.

<sup>56</sup> See Bechert 1976 and further literature in Zieme 1992, 64.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Zieme 2013, and with respect to colophons, Zieme 1992, 46–88, and to the cult of Maitreya, Zieme 1994.



## 5 Colophons in various works in Tocharian B

The use of colophons at the end of chapters of long-sized literary works was also present in compositions of doctrinal character. Several instances are given along the chapters of the *Udānālaṅkāra* by Dharmasoma, an extensive work,<sup>58</sup> which is an explanatory and etiological commentary of the *Udānavarga*. The latter work, equivalent to the *Dharmapada* (*Dhammapada* in Pāli), was one of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts most frequently copied in Central Asia, especially in the Tarim Basin. It has been preserved in a large number of manuscripts in Sanskrit, and in Tocharian (A and B) according to two main types: manuscripts containing only the Tocharian translation, or bilingual manuscripts, in which each Sanskrit stanza has been followed by its translation into Tocharian. In addition to bilingual manuscripts, quotations of the *Udānavarga* are found in Tocharian texts of various genres. In the commentary named *Udānālaṅkāra* (lit. ‘Ornament of the *Udāna*[*varga*]’), the stanzas of the *Udānavarga* are quoted in faithful Tocharian translations. For each of the 33 chapters of the *Udānavarga*,<sup>59</sup> the commentary was so long that it had to be divided into several parts (Toch. B *pāke* = A *pāk*, seen above p. 351), distinguished by their tunes (and meters).

The following extracts show the usual transition from one chapter to the next. The end of the previous chapter, with mention of the title, is in prose, then follows the division marked by double *daṅḍas* around a blank space, and immediately afterwards, the name of the tune (and meter) of the following chapter:

B 28 a4 ///72 dharmasomāññe udānalaṅkāre mārgavārgāntse pārweṣṣe pāke || || nanda-  
vilā(pne)

In the *Udānālaṅkāra* of Dharmasoma, first part of the *Mārgavarga*. || In the (tune) *Nandavilāpa* ||

The nominal sentence with *pāke* is equivalent to the current sentences ending with the verb Toch. B *āra* (A *ār*) ‘is finished’. End of the first part of the commentary of the *Mārgavarga* (Uv., chap. XII), in meter of  $4 \times 17$  syllables (rhythm 6/6/5). Then follows immediately the second part of the commentary, in (tune) *Nandavilāpa*, meter of  $4 \times 15$  syllables (rhythm 7/8, alternatively 8/7).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The 70 fragments from the Berlin collection have been edited and translated in Sieg and Siegling 1949. The same text is given with commentary by Thomas 1987, 19–95, but without the translation nor the glossary given in the first edition by Sieg and Siegling 1949.

<sup>59</sup> Edition by Bernhard 1965.

<sup>60</sup> See Sieg and Siegling 1949, 46 (translation).

B 33 a2 || *dharmasomāññe udānalañkārne satkāravārgāntse pārwe(š)š(e) pāke* || ||  
*subhādrenne* || *yetwe śāsantse pelke śamāññe šotri krentāntso soylñe wewe[a3]ñu*

In the Udānālañkāra of Dharmasoma, first part of the Satkāravarga. || In [the tune] Subhādra || The ornament of the teaching, the solemn utterance (*udāna*),<sup>61</sup> [is] named the token proper to the monk, the satiating of the good ones.<sup>62</sup>

End of the first part of the commentary of the Satkāravarga (chap. XIII), in meter of 21+21+18+13 syllables, beginning of the second part, in (tune) Subhādra, meter of 20+22+10+15 syllables.

In the latter example (B 33), by contrast with the former (B 28), the beginning of a chapter, composed in verse, starts with some general and pious statements before the text proper to the commentary itself. Accordingly, additions made by the redactor or copyist were also composed in verse and integrated into the main text. Mutilated colophons of similar structure are found in B 8 a7, 64 b7, 68 a3.

In B 51 one first reads, until line b3, the end of the commentary of the Śīlavarga (Uv., chap. VI), concerning the stanzas Uv. VI.16–18, in meter 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). The commentary of the Sucaritavarga (chap. VII) begins in line b5; this part is written in meter 4 × 17 syllables (rhythm 6/6/5), named Niṣkramānta. The transition between the two chapters was partly in verse, in stanza 78, followed by the colophon and the meter of the next chapter, presumably noted as || *niṣkramāntne* ||.

In his commentary, Werner Thomas<sup>63</sup> proposed restoring the last *pāda* of the stanza 78 (4 × 12 syllables), as follows:

(*sucaritavārg<sup>ā</sup>*) *śanmāñ tu pāklyauṣso* (78)

Es wird der (Sucaritavarga) kommen. Höret auch das.

It is however more likely that in this verse part the names of the chapters (*varga-*, transposed by Toch. B *kraupe*, lit. ‘group, gathering’)<sup>64</sup> in question were translated into Tocharian. I would then restore the two last *pādas* of the stanza 78 as follows:

(: *papāṣṣorñeṣe śpālmeñ kraupe ompostām* : *krent-yamorṣṣe no se*) *śanmāñ tu pāklyauṣso*

After the excellent chapter pertaining to observance (*śīla-*) comes this one pertaining to good behavior (*sucarita-*). Listen [plural] to it!

<sup>61</sup> Sieg and Siegling 1949, 142 (glossary).

<sup>62</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1949, 54 (translation).

<sup>63</sup> Thomas 1987, 224, following the text given in Sieg and Siegling 1949, 74–75 (translation), n. 9. Translation: ‘The [chapter] Sucaritavarga will come. Listen [plural] also to that!’.

<sup>64</sup> Sieg and Siegling 1949, 116 (glossary); Adams 2013, 238.

Toch. B *papāṣṣorñeṣṣe kraupe* translates Skt. *śīla-varga-*, and *krent-yamorṣṣe*, scil. *kraupe*, translates Skt. *sucarita-varga-*. Toch. B *papāṣṣorñe* ‘observance’<sup>65</sup> is the standard equivalent of Skt. *śīla-* ‘moral conduct, morality’,<sup>66</sup> B *krent-yāmor* lit. ‘good action’ is the calque of Skt. *su-carita-* ‘good behavior’.<sup>67</sup>

This restoration is effectively supported by the transition between the Kāmavarga (chap. II) and the Tṛṣṇāvarga (chap. III) in B 8 a7, where one reads the end of the stanza 40, in meter  $4 \times 25$  (rhythm 5/5/8/7). The next chapter will be in meter  $4 \times 18$  (rhythm 7/7/4):

(: pūdñākte kākṣi yselmeṣṣ=o)mpostām yokaiṣṣe ce kraupe weña tū ñke taṣa pāklyauṣso 40  
 || dharmasomāññe (udānalañkāre kāmavarg āra || hetuphalne ||)

‘After the one pertaining to desire (*kāma-*), the Buddha-lord the teacher (*guru-*) taught this chapter pertaining to thirst (*tṛṣṇā-*). Listen [plural] now to this out of love!’ In the Udānalañkāra of Dharmasoma the Kāmavarga has come to an end. || In the (tune) Hetuphala II.<sup>68</sup>

Toch. B *yselme* is one of the equivalents of Skt. *kāma-* ‘desire’,<sup>69</sup> B *yoko/yokiye* (obl. sg. *yokai*), lit. ‘thirst’ is the standard equivalent<sup>70</sup> of Skt. *tṛṣṇā-* ‘thirst, longing, craving’.<sup>71</sup>

Therefore, on the basis of these extracts, one can see that the transition between chapters could be indicated twice, 1) by the colophon itself, which was non metrical, 2) by the naming of the chapters as integrated to the narrative commentary in verse.

A similar, albeit somewhat shorter, transition can be found in a different manuscript of the same work,<sup>72</sup> which contains the end of the second part of the commentary to the Cittavarga (Uv., chap. XXXI):

65 Actually the abstract based on the preterit participle *papāṣṣu* of the verb *pāsk-* ‘to observe’ in the moral sense; its Toch. A match is *pāpṣune*.

66 Monier-Williams 1899, 1079a; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 4, 407b.

67 Monier-Williams 1899, 1223a; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 4, 386b.

68 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1949, 12–13 (translation); Thomas 1987, 152. For sake of convenience, I have filled the lacuna with one of the tune’s names which have the meter  $4 \times 18$  syllables (rhythm 7/7/4). Other well recorded meters of the same structure would be *bahupayikne*, *vilumpagatiṇe*, *vemacitreṃne*, *tesakaccāmne*, *klampāryaine*, etc.; the first two belong to the meters used for the *Udānastotra*, see Peyrot 2016, 319.

69 Sieg and Siegling 1949, 160 (glossary).

70 Sieg and Siegling 1949, 158 (glossary).

71 Edgerton 1953, 256b; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 2, 389b.

72 Belonging to the Pelliot collection, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

PK NS 22 a2 (*kartse pelaikne*) *ārttau tāka poyši-kāššišše sūtār warñai* [a3] (lacuna of 13 syllables = pāda 114d) 114 *udānalañkārne cittavārggāntse* [a4] (*wate pāke*)<sup>73</sup>

(The good Law) has been approved beginning with the Sūtra belonging to the omniscient, the teacher. [114c] (...) In the Udānalañkāra, second part of the Cittavarga.

The meter of this part was of 21/21/18/13 syllables, the second part of 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). The third part is in meter 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). One cannot exclude that this sentence ended with the verb *āra* ‘is finished’, but this was not required.

Several narrative and dramatic works are found in the Toch. B corpus. They may include the mention of the donors, i.e., people who ordered the copy of the manuscripts, as found above in Tocharian A.

B 519 a4 ///(*po*)*yšimne* || *pravešakk āra* || *ce po(sta)k lipijñake...* (*paikyka*) ... (5) (*wa*)*rwantsa yātkare pai(katsi)* (4 syllables lacuna) *weñāre*

... to the omniscient. || The intermede has come to an end. || This book NN., expert in writing, has written ... (5) Because of that NN., ... (and) NN. the receiver ordered (plural) to write, ... they said ...<sup>74</sup>

This extract gives the colophon of a part of a short scene, named *pravešaka*-‘interlude’, a term of Sanskrit dramaturgy.<sup>75</sup> It is found in both languages in the same phrase, placed between double *daṇḍas*: Toch. B, IOL Toch 140 b1 *pravešak āra*; Toch. A *pravešakk āra* in A 288 b5 (inserted in the first act), YQ I.1 a7, YQ III.5 a4. On the basis of colophons in Toch. A (see above, p. 350), it is safe to assume that the sentence beginning with *ce postak* contained the name of the scribe and the verb ‘to write’; in addition, the next sentence, in line 5, mentioned the commission of copying by named donors. In the first part of the colophon, *lipijñake*,<sup>76</sup> the nominative singular, has been borrowed from Buddhist Sanskrit *lipijñaka*-, masc., a typically Middle Indic *-ka*-derivative of Skt. *lipi-jña*- ‘one who can write’,<sup>77</sup> near equivalent of *lipi-kara*- ‘writer, scribe’ (Epic Skt.) or *lipika*-

<sup>73</sup> Revised edition and restoration by Pinault, put on CEToM together with Malzahn and Peyrot (February 2012): <<https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-pkns22>> (accessed on 22 April 2022).

<sup>74</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1953, 322.

<sup>75</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 692c; Pinault 2015, 585b.

<sup>76</sup> Despite the fading of the script and the bad state of the paper, this word is still readable. No reading in Sieg and Siegling 1953, 322, nor on the Tocharica site of TITUS project: <<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/tocharic/tht.htm>> (accessed on 11 April 2022).

<sup>77</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 902c. One of numerous compounds meaning ‘knowing X, expert in X’, see *lakṣaṇa-jña*-, *marma-jña*-, *rasa-jña*-, *doṣa-jña*-, etc.

‘writer, clerk, scribe’.<sup>78</sup> Besides, the standard Skt. term *lekhaka-* ‘writer, scribe, clerk’<sup>79</sup> has been borrowed under the form Toch. B *lekhāke* ‘copyist, scribe’.<sup>80</sup>

In examining the previous observations, it appears that the ‘syntax’ of Tocharian colophons was not just a matter of the spatial and graphic division of the text. It may include several traits perceptible through listening carefully, involving changes of tunes (and corollary meters). This was bound presumably by the need to mark the articulation of a long work which ought to be recited and read in public, not simply reserved for private and silent reading.

## 6 Colophons and verses of praise

The boundaries are fuzzy between colophon, praise of the copyist’s writing, and wishes of the donors or on behalf of them. Examples of combinations of these three different genres exist. Such practice was begun as soon as the colophon itself could be composed in verse. Alternatively, it could include verse parts borrowed from other types of texts. In Sanskrit manuscripts found in the northern oases of the Tarim Basin, one finds often short colophons or wishes – often reduced to one sentence – of the copyist, but in Tocharian B (less often A), not in Sanskrit. The standard wish reads in prose: ‘May we all become Buddhas!’, Toch. A *poñś tākimās ptāñktāñ*, see for instance the colophon of the first act of the MSN.<sup>81</sup> Needless to say, this kind of utterance is found in various types of pious works.<sup>82</sup> The wish to attain Buddhahood is met as the conclusion of an intriguing bilingual piece (B 605),<sup>83</sup> which contains a syllabary of the Brāhmī script on the recto, with divisions expressed in Toch. A. The verso tells in Toch. B that these twelve writing exercises have been ordered by Dharmacandra, out of his wish for the dignity of Buddha; then standard goals follow, such as being freed from the circle of births and meeting with Maitreya. The text ends in Toch. A, between double *daṇḍas*, by the mention of the profane name of the donor, Toñkitsā. Immediately before one reads the following statement in Toch. B: B 605 b6 *se ce amok aklyiyentrā po paññākte tākoyeṃ*, ‘Who may learn this art [scil. of writing],

<sup>78</sup> Edgerton 1953, 462b.

<sup>79</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 901b.

<sup>80</sup> Reference in Adams 2013, 608.

<sup>81</sup> YQ I.10 b8. This long colophon, starting on line b5, mentioned several donors, some of which bear OU names or titles (such as *čor*), see Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 64–65 and 66.

<sup>82</sup> Peyrot 2014, 134–136 and 2016, 322–323.

<sup>83</sup> See Sieg and Siegling 1953, 387.

may they all become Buddha!<sup>84</sup> It is clear that the merit based on writing words issued by the Buddha extended from the copyist to the commissioner of the copy.

The praise of writing (Skt. *lekhana-stava-*) was a genre pertaining to colophons, as colophons may include praises and wishes in prose, and frequently in verse, in Tocharian. This genre is best known by an extremely interesting, albeit non-canonical, text, the Tocharian *Udānastotra*, which existed in both A and B languages. The Toch. B *Udānastotra* is almost entirely preserved.<sup>85</sup> The main part consists of 31 stanzas of 4 × 18 syllables (rhythm 7/7/4), corresponding to the 33 chapters of the *Udānavarga*. The *Udānastotra*, lit. ‘praise of the Udāna’, is a poetic work, being ancillary to the *Udānavarga*. In *udāna-stotra-*, as in *udāna+alaṃkāra-*, the word *udāna-* refers to the *Udānavarga*, whose original title was indeed *Udāna*,<sup>86</sup> taken from the Pāli *Udāna*, even though it includes almost all the verses found in the Pāli *Dhammapada* and the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*.

Actually, the *Udānastotra* does not praise the *Udāna(varga)* much itself, but the act of writing it, precisely for copying each of its successive chapters. Each stanza of the *Udānastotra* is devoted to one (occasionally two) chapters of the *Udāna(varga)*, and contains stereotyped statements, variations and wishes on the basis of a keyword or the basic notion which comprises the title of each *varga*. Every stanza or at least nearly all contain a form of the Toch. B verb *paik-/pik-* ‘to write’.

Example: the 27<sup>th</sup> (alternatively 21<sup>st</sup>) stanza, linked to the Drohavarga, chap. XIV of the *Udānavarga*:

PK AS 4A b2-4 *paikykalñesa drohavarg akālk kñītār-ñ serkene po cmelaṣṣe :*  
*mamāntaṣ ra yolainne mā ñi t(ā)koy māntalyñe k<sub>u</sub>ce ṣ krentāmne :*  
*kaṣṣentai ra sanamne mā wer ṣono wṣi-ñä nta tarkoym trañko :*  
*aknātsaimpa ṣe śmalyñe mā ñi tākoy śānmimar krentāmp=eṣe 27*

May through the writing of the Drohavarga my wish come true in the circle of all births. [a]  
 May I not bear malice towards an evil person, even if he is malicious, nor towards those who

**84** Actually, Toch. B *paññākte*, for standard *paññākte*, is singular, which is triggered by the preceding quantifier *po* ‘all’, being indifferent to number as determinative. Differently Peyrot 2013, 706.

**85** Discovered and first edited by Lévi 1933, 40 and 57–71; revised edition and translation by Pinault 1990, 58–67. Further discussion of the structure and import of the whole text by Peyrot 2016, 306–324. The edition and translation of the fragments has been made available on the CEToM site by Pinault and Malzahn in 2012. In Toch. A, only one fragment is preserved, A 391 (THT 1025), which gives the bilingual text (Sanskrit/Toch. A) of the final stanzas of the Mārgavarga (Uv., chap. XII), followed by a colophon (line b 7) parallel to the one known entirely by the 19<sup>th</sup> stanza of the Toch. B *Udānastotra*.

**86** See Bernhard 1969.

are good. [b] May even towards a murderous enemy hate [and] enmity not reside in me at all [and] may I abandon sin. [c] May I not have a meeting with an ignorant one [and] may I come together with good people.<sup>87</sup>

Skt. *droha*- ‘malice, mischief’,<sup>88</sup> being the key word of the stanza, is rendered by Toch. B *māntalyñe*, abstract of *mānt*- ‘to destroy’, see also the pret. participle *mamāntau* (b).

On the basis of bilingual fragments Peyrot has shown that this Tocharian work followed the *Udānavarga* in Sanskrit, not translated, in the same manuscript.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the *Udānastotra* can be deemed a collective colophon, alternatively a compendium of sub-colophons, based on some kind of enlarged praising colophon, whose individual stanzas could be re-used in every copy of the *Udānavarga*. Admittedly, this poetic exercise is not of very high literary quality. Nonetheless, such a work opens a window into the training and scholarship of the copyists who wrote the colophons in verse of various Buddhist works. As the sponsoring of the copy of manuscripts, as well as of other artefacts, had become an essential part of the lay-followers’ everyday Buddhist practice, the composition of colophons receives some significance for the whole culture of Central Asia.

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<sup>87</sup> Text and translation after Pinault (1987, 61 and 64–65), see also Pinault and Malzahn, CEToM (August 2013): <<https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-pkas4a>> (accessed on 11 April 2022).

<sup>88</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 502c; ‘Beleidigung, Feindseligkeit’ according to Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 2, 501b.

<sup>89</sup> Peyrot 2016, 315–319 and 322–324.

## Abbreviations

CEToM	A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts: < <a href="https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian">https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian</a> >
IOL	India Office Library, London.
MaitrHami	<i>Maitrisimit</i> , Hami recension.
MaitrSängim	<i>Maitrisimit</i> , Sängim manuscript.
MSN	<i>Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka</i> in Tocharian A.
PK	Pelliot Koutchéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France. AS = Ancienne Série, NS = Nouvelle Série.
OU	Old Uyghur.
SHT	Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden.
THT	Tocharische Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfansammlung. Current standard inventory for the manuscripts of the Berlin collection, kept by the State Library at Berlin = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Orientabteilung.
Toch. A	Tocharian A.
Toch. B	Tocharian B.
Uv.	<i>Udānavarga</i> .
YQ	Yanqi manuscript of the MSN in Tocharian A.

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