

The East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna: The Version of THT 974 (A 340) and THT 975 (A 341) together with THT 1525

Olav Hackstein and Hiromi Habata

1 Introduction

The adventure story of Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa in the world of the dead is transmitted in various versions, ranging from the short version in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (story no. 18)¹ of Kumāralāta to the long version in the *Divyāvadāna* (story no. 1). Among the various versions of the story, the two Tocharian A versions shed light on the formation and development of the story. One version is THT 974 (A 340) and THT 975 (A 341) with THT 1525, which is dealt with in the present paper; another is THT 670–672 (A 37–39) that belongs to the Jātaka/Avadāna Collection THT 634–686 (A 1–53), whose author is probably Kumāralāta (see Habata 2023).

In our paper presented at the International Symposium “Variety of Jātaka and Avadāna transmission”, held on November 27th and 28th, 2023 at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies in Tokyo, we sketched the general outline of the various versions and the change of the plot of the story as well as stylistical change.² In the present paper we would like to provide a new edition, translation, and commentary of the fragments THT 974 (A 340) and THT 975 (A 341) together with newly identified fragment THT 1525.

The Tocharian fragments THT 974 and THT 975 from the Stadthöhle in Šorčuq were published by Sieg & Siegling (1921, pp. 186–188) and translated by Sieg (1952, pp. 37–41). Regarding their content, this Tocharian version corresponds well to the version of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin (hereafter Sarv-Vin) as transmitted by the Chinese translation *Shí sòng lǜ* 十誦律³ and its Sanskrit fragments found in Eastern Turkestan. Waldschmidt (1952) edited the Sanskrit fragment from Murtuq (M 655 = SHT 591) and clarified its difference from the version in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya,⁴ which matches

¹ Lüders 1926: no Sanskrit fragment of the story no. 18 is identified; Chinese translation *Dà zhuāng yán lùn jīng* 大莊嚴論經 (Taishō vol. 4, no. 201, 275c12–276b28) translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什.

² Hackstein & Habata (forthcoming).

³ Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, translated by Fú ruò duō luó 弗若多羅 (*Punyatāra) and Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什. The story of Śroṇakoṭikarṇa is located in the chapter on *carma* (皮革法 178a19–182a26). French translation in Chavannes 1911, II, pp. 237ff. Inokuchi (1961, pp. 324–328) compared the text of A 340 and A 341 with the Chinese correspondence in the *Shí sòng lǜ*.

⁴ Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, *Carmavastu* (*Gilgit Manuscript* III, 4, pp. 159–210); Chinese translation *Gēn běn shuō yí qiè yǒu bù pí nài yé pí gé shì* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶皮革事 (Taishō vol. 23, no.

with the version in the *Divyāvadāna*. Wille (1993) found two further Sanskrit fragments in the Pelliot Collection in Paris, through which the reading and reconstruction of the Sanskrit fragment (SHT 591) could be improved. Antedating Waldschmidt's recognition of the characteristics of the Central Asian version of the story, Grünwedel (1920, pp. II 29–53) identified the wall paintings in Kizil cave as the depiction of the Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa avadāna. This cave was named “Seefahrerhöhle”.

The concerning Tocharian A version is composed in verse without prose, whereas the story in the Sarv-Vin is written in prose. The Tocharian version is therefore regarded as a literary-style adaptation of the story.⁵ The style, in which the whole text is composed in verse, differs from the *campū* style that Kumāralāta used for his *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, which alternates verse and prose. The shorter version of the Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa avadāna in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, which contains only the episode of the city of *pretas* — and only one city where Koṭikarṇa begged for water⁶ —, agrees well with the Tocharian version: The wording of the Tocharian strophes 77–82 resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* more closely than the Sarv-Vin version. This raises the question whether the author of the Tocharian A version knew the version of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

All verses are numbered throughout the text; fragment THT 974 contains the strophes 77–87, featuring the episodes a) Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa visits the two cities of *pretas* (str. 77–82), b1) Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa meets a man who enjoys pleasures at nighttime but is savaged by dogs during daytime (str. 83–86), and b2) Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa meets a man who is eaten by a centipede at nighttime but enjoys pleasures during daytime (str. 87–88); the folio that consists of THT 974 supplemented by THT 1525 contains the strophes 88–100, dealing with the episodes c) Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa meets a woman with four *pretas* (str. 88–97), and the following episode upon his return to his hometown (str. 98–100).

2 Remarks on meter and style

THT 974 (A340), THT 975 (A341) and THT1525 are composed in the same meter, The strophes made up of 4 pādas (Sieg 1944, p. 37; Itkin & Malyshev 2021, p. 54):

pāda **a** 20 syllables (subdivided into 5+5+5+5).

pāda **b** 22 syllables (subdivided into 8+7+7)

or more precisely, as per Itkin & Malyshev 2021, p. 54: (4+4+4+3+4+3).

pāda **c** 10 syllables (subdivided into 5+5).

pāda **d** 15 syllables (subdivided into 8+7).

or more precisely, as per Itkin & Malyshev 2021, p. 54: (4+4+4+3).

Pāda b licences the contraction of [4+3] to [7], cf.

a) (4+4+4+3+[4+3]) > (4+4+4+3+7):

1447) translated by Yì jìng 義淨.

⁵ Waldschmidt 1952, pp. 141–142: “Sie enthalten eine Nachdichtung unserer Legende, in einem kunstvollen Metrum abgefaßt und mit gewissen Freiheiten im Wortlaut.”

⁶ Other versions contain two cities of *pretas*, one of which he begged for water, another for food.

- 77b [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ (ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ¹ klo(pantyo)¹ (**śkaṃ**) tā(t)wsu(ṣ) mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i)
 90b [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ [3 syll.]¹ (**weñār**) (**ko**)ṭikarṇenac :
 b) (4+4+[4+3]+4+3) > (4+4+7+4+3):
 82b tärkräṣ w[rä]ntu¹ sūmām tākeñc¹ **wasā kā(ruṇyo k_uprene)**¹ [4 syll.]¹ [3 syll.]
 c) (4+4+[4+3]+[4+3]) > (4+4+7+7):
 79b (tmäk ce)m pretāñ¹ litkoṣṣ oki¹ **āmpy esām ṣātre nāntsūs¹ klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:)**

Colon-initial and post-caesural fronting (hyperbaton)

A pervasive trait of Tocharian versification is the fronting of verbs and nouns into colon-initial and immediate post-caesural position (Hackstein 2015, pp. 80–5; cf. for a more detailed account Hackstein & Habata [forthcoming] §2.1.2).

THT 974 (A 340)

- 78a (**klyoṣār** pretāñ tā)m.¹ śwātsiṣy ākālyo¹ **kāpar** ymār pälskānt:¹ kāruṇik wrasom
 78b [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ klo(wikāssi) **yeñc:** piś!¹ Koṭika(r)ñe)¹ [3 syll.]
 79a (**we** Koṭikarṇe):¹ mättak nāṣ kaśsi¹ yasāṣ tāṣ praksa(m).¹ [5 syll.]
 79b (tmäk ce)m pretāñ¹ litkoṣṣ oki¹ **āmpy esām ṣātre nāntsūs¹ klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:)**
 80a wälts-ant-yo pūklā¹ **kātkont nām** tāpärk,¹ śwātsiṣyis ñom wa(s¹ mākk at)s klyoṣāmās.
 80d kaṣtyo āsūs,¹ ṣñi lyaly(pä)n(tw)ā¹ **prutkoṣ** riyam¹ añcwāṣṣām. || 80 ||
 81b wār-pärmañkyo¹ **lcār** tmāṣ pretāñ,¹ wältsantuyo¹ ārwar ymām,¹ ṣūñkac entsuṣ¹ (kapśi)ññās.
 82a s[n]e pārmañk pretāñ¹ weñār: ṣokyo nū¹ māski kälpāl w(ra)m¹ **p(aprāku wasā)ṣ.**
 83a **lotāk** tmāṣ. pälko¹ [5 syll.]¹ [5 syll.]¹ [2 syll.]¹ ākālyo.
 84a **lyokāt** wṣe. śl-āsām¹ **nakāt** k_uli. tmäk kū¹ **pākār tā(k tsopa)ts**¹ kapśño empele.
 84b **entsāt** onkam¹ ṣāyū oki¹ [4 syll.]¹ [3 syll.]¹ (kātsaṣim tru)ñk¹ tatrūsā-m
 84c **tāpam** śāmānām.¹ Koṭikarṇe tām
 84d pälkāt mroskat.¹ [3 syll.]¹ k sāk¹ tām wṣe, tāmnek¹ **pālkāt** n_unak. || 84 ||
 85b ykonā klopant¹ ñ(areṣṣās) lkāt.¹ **weñā-m** onk sām:¹ kñāsāṣ(t)u¹ Vāsavagrām¹ ṣūkṣam (te)?

THT 975 (A341) + THT 1525

- 90a k_ulyi weñām emci¹ [5 syll.]¹ [1 syll.]¹ (ā)sānac cem¹ **kakärkuṣ nāñi**
 90b **cassā-m** [ś]w(ātsi)¹ [4 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ [3 syll.]¹ (**weñār** ko)ṭikarṇenac :
 91a [5 syll.]¹ [5 syll.]¹ (u)mpa(r)ñ(ām) w(a)ryo¹ **paprutkār** wimām :
 91d **we** tām k_uleyac¹ kaśsi¹ nasam¹ śwātsi kly(omim)¹ (pūtkā-ñi)
 92b [4 syll.]¹ lyalypurṣi want¹ **worta-m** kumpam¹ ṣūti spāl¹ **pakt-ām** ymār tām¹ kapśaṇi :
 93a [1 syll.]¹ (ka)ś(ś)i nasam¹ **we** śwātsi pūtkā¹ ñi tāmnek tāmāc¹ **we** tmäk sām ās tāk ek (:)
 93d (**pārksātām** kuc)¹ lyalypāmntu yas¹ **yāmtsāc** ā(kṣñā)¹ (klyo)m{a/i}m sām
 94c śwā(1) (mā) (śwā)t māccāk¹ **eṣt** ālu penū :

- 97d **kāmatām** sām | pretāñc śla (l)w(ā) | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] (||97 ||)
 98b **(trāñki)ñc** ceṣ māk | wrasañ weñār | koṭikarṇe | sārthavāk | ytāraṃ ñakās | kāpñe
 śol |
 99a [2 syll.] (kra)ntāp sām | **ākṣñām** märkampal | srotāpattune | **kālpāt** oko sām :
 99d **(ākṣiññā)rām** | pācar mācar | was lo kāsū | ptas neṣā || 99 ||
 Another stylistic phenomenon is alliteration. Examples include:
THT 974 (A340)
 78a (klyoṣār pretāñ tā)m. | śwātsiṣy ākālyo | **kāpar** ymār pālskānt: | **kāruṇik** wrasom
 78d paṣ-ām śwātsi, | paṣ-ām, nātāk, | pwikā-m klop caṣ! | k(āśsiñ was.)
THT 975 (A341)
 88b [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | **ositis oko ñākcim** | **oṣem oko ñareṣim**

3 Edition of fragments THT 974 (A340), THT 975 (A341), THT 1525

The following section provides an updated edition of fragments THT 974 (A340), THT 975 (A341) and THT 1525. Each strophe is followed by an apparatus criticus, an English translation and a commentary. For an index of previous translations, cf. Carling 2024a and 2024b. The selected parallel versions from other versions of the Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa story that are close to the present Tocharian text are given at the end of the commentary: the Chinese translation of the Sarv-Vin (*Shí sòng lǜ* 十誦律 Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435) and the Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (*Dà zhuāng yán lún jīng* 大莊嚴論經 Taishō vol. 4, no. 201) are followed by an English translation.

THT 974 (A340)

Strophe 77

- a** [A340a1] [20 syll.]
b [A340a2] [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | (ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ | klo(pantyo | śkaṃ) tā(t)wsu(ṣ)
 mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i)
c [5 syll.] | [5 syll.]
d [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] (|| 77 ||)
^b(ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ klo(pantyo) (śkaṃ) tā(t)wsu(ṣ) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n.1, mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i) Itkin 2024, p. 84
^a(...) ^b(...) emaciated by hunger and aflame by the pains like sticks (lit. reeds)
^c(...) ^d(...)

77b: Pāda 77b contains the description of the hungry ghosts, the *pretas*, as emaciated and aflame. These properties are rendered in Tocharian as preterite participles:

(ka)ṣ[t]yo rukoṣ ‘shrunk by hunger’: (ka)ṣ[t]yo instr.sg.m. ‘by hunger’ (A *kaṣt*, B *kest* ‘hunger; famine’; Hitt. *k/gašt* c. ‘hunger; famine’ [Rieken 1999, p. 133]). – *rukoṣ* ‘emaciated’, prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. of Toch. AB *ruk-* (cognate of Lith. *rùkti* ‘verschrumpfen’, Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 58 §32). –

klo(pantyo śkaṃ) tā(t)wsu(ṣ) ‘aflame by the pains’: *tā(t)wsu(ṣ)* ‘ignited and burning’ prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. of *twā-* ‘burn’, Hackstein 1995, pp. 348–353. – Sieg 1952, p. 37

translates ‘(durch) die Leiden glühend’. The Tocharian “so-called” preterite participles often convey an attained-state and a presential stative meaning (boldfaced in the following), cf.:

- A *twās-* ‘ignite, be set on fire’ → pre-A **tāt-wāsu* > **A *tā(t)wsu(s)* ‘having been set on fire & burning’**. PIE inchoative **d^huh_{2/3}-s-* ‘being to burn, be set on fire’ > Toch. AB *twās-*; **d^huh_{2/3}-je/o-* > Lat. *suffire*, Gk. θύειν ‘sacrifice by burning sth.’, cf. Hackstein 1995, pp. 348–353.
- A *kān-* ‘generate’ (PIE **ĝenh₁-*) → A **kakanu* > ***kaknu*, B *kekenu* ‘having been generated and extant (with); provided with’**; Homeric Greek γενε- ‘produce’ γεγώς, γεγονώς ‘having become, being’; Gk. γεγονώς ἔτη περὶ πεντήκοντα ‘having become about fifty years’ > ‘being about fifty years old’ (D 21.154).
PIE **ĝeĝonh₁-/ĝeĝnh₁-*
→ i) vowel copying rule in reduplicant †*ĝoĝonh₁-*, Toch. B *kekenu*;
→ ii) leveling of strong perfect stem as in Greek γεγώς → γεγονώς.
- A *pāk-* ‘cook’ (PIE **pek^w-*) → Pre-A **papaku* > **papkū* > **A *pakku*, B *pepeku* ‘having been cooked & being ripe’**, cf. B *pepekwa oko(ṇta)* ‘ripe fruits’ (THT1572a3, Malzahn 2010, p. 700).
- A *wār^ā-* ‘wake up’ (PIE **uorh₃-* ‘gain conscience of, perceive’) → PP **wā-wāru* > PP [2] A *wāwru* ‘**having gained conscience & awakened, awake**’, Toch. B PP [2] *yairu* ‘having directed one’s attention towards something, having become attentive, concentrated’. Toch. A *ptāñkātt ats wāwrunṭ lkām* ‘I see ... the Buddha-god **awakened** indeed’ (A YQ 3 [I.8]b3, ed. Ji & Winter & Pinault 1998, p. 56).
- **B *aiku* ‘having become acquired & being known’** (< PIE **h₂e-h₂iĕk-uōs* ‘id’ x **h₂e-h₂oĭĕk-e* → ***h₂o-h₂oĭĕk-*, **h₂o-h₂iĕk-*) forms an equation with the Germanic preterite-present Gothic *aih*, *aigun* ‘have at one’s disposal’ (PIE **h₂e-h₂oĭĕk-e*) and Ved. *īśe* ‘I have at my disposal’. The reduplicated preterite-present stem has given rise to a neo root Toch. B *aik-* ‘have acquired command of, know’ and Goth. *aih*, *aigun* ‘possess’.

In sum, the Tocharian past participle displays the attained state and stative semantics of the classical Indo-European perfect as found in Germanic, Slavic, Greek and Vedic; cf. Saito 2006, p. 12; for Vedic, cf. inter alios Renou 1925, Kümmel 2000, pp. 66ff., aliter: a stative reading (Ringe 2022), a resultative reading and an universal reading Dahl 2010, p. 423; for Greek, inter alios Wackernagel 1904, Chantraine 1927, Forssman 2019, pp. 335–338, *LIV*² p. 21 (“Bedeutung: als Folge einer Veränderung am Subjekt erreichter Zustand”).

The attained-state value and a presential meaning of *tā(t)wsu(s)* ‘burning’ is furthermore confirmed by the immediately following context which has recently been restored by Itkin as *klo(pantyo) | (śkaṃ) tā(t)wsu(s) mū(r)l(i)ññ ok(i)* ‘and being burned by pains like torches’ (Itkin 2024, p. 84), who narrowed down the meaning of *mū(r)l(i)ññ* to ‘torches’, comparing inter alia A295a2 *sālp mā[m] murlisyo* ‘with

burning *murlisyo* [instr.pl.f.]’). Toch. A *murli*- likely derives from Skt. *muralī*- ‘flute, pipe’ via Middle Indic **murlī*- (cf. *DTA* p. 350 s.v. *murli** ‘pipe, reed’).

Finally the comparison of the hungry ghosts to burning sticks or torches is supported by the description of the *pretas* in *Avadānaśataka* 249.6–10 (story no. 43: Pāṇīya): *athāyusmān mahāmaudgalyāyanaḥ pretacārikāṃ caran pretīm adrākṣīd dagdhassthūṇāsadrśīm svakeśasaṃchannām sūcīchidropamamukhīm parvatopamakukṣim ādīptām pradīptām prajvalitām ekajvālībhūtām dhmāyantīm tṛṣārtām duḥkhām tīvrām kharām kaṭukām amanāpām vedanām vedayamānām | darśanamātreṇa cāsyā nadyudapānāni śuśyanti | yadā devo varṣati tadā tasyā upari savisphuliṅgāṅgāvarṣaṃ patati ||*, transl. Rotman 2021: “...There he saw a hungry ghost who looked **like burned-out tree stump**, totally covered with hair, with [a] mouth like [the] eye of a needle and a stomach like a mountain. **She was ablaze, alight, aflame, a single fiery mass, a perpetual cremation.**” (cf. Zin 2023, p. 132); *Divyāvadāna* 7.20 (story no. 1: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa): *dagdhassthūṇāsadrśair*, transl. Rotman 2008, p. 47: “like scorched wooden pillars” (cf. Zin 2023, p. 516). Further descriptions of the burning *pretas* see *KalpM*-Chin 275c17–20 (see unter Str. 78 below), 275c27–276a2, 276a6–9, 276b4. The *burning pretas* as reflected in the *Avadānaśataka* and the East Tocharian Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna might represent later features since they are absent from the pictorial descriptions in Kucha, where “only the very thin bodies of the *pretas* signalize their insatiable hunger and thirst”, and “[f]eatures ... such as large stomachs or minute mouths were not realized in Kucha.” (Zin 2023, p. 132).

Strophe 78

- a** ^[A340a3](klyoṣār pretāñ tā)m. | śwātsiṣy ākālyo | kāpar ymār pālskānt: | kāruṇik wrasom
- b** [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | klop wikāssi | yeñc: piś(co) | Koṭi[ka]^[A340a4](rṇe) | [3 syll.]
- c** [5 syll.] | [5 syll.]
- d** paṣām śwātsi, | paṣām, nātāk, | pwikā-m klop caṣ! | k(aśśiñ was) || **78** ||]
- ^a(klyoṣār pretāñ tā)m Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 2 ^bKoṭi[ka](rṇe) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 5 piś(co) Hackstein ^dk(aśśiñ was) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 6
- ^a(The *pretas* heard tha)t. In their desire to eat, they were excited and thought to themselves: “(a/ oh) merciful being ^b(...)” they went to dispel their suffering [saying]: Let’s go, Koṭika^[A340a4](rṇa)! (...) ^c(...) ^dGive us to eat, give us, oh master; drive away this pain from us! H(ungry we are.)”

78a: (*klyoṣār pretāñ tā*)m: *klyoṣār* with colon-initial fronting (see §2 above) is formally ambiguous as impf. = prt.3pl.act., but in coordination with preterites *kāpar* and *pālskānt*, is more likely preterite (Thomas 1964, p. 100). – *śwātsiṣy ākālyo* (instr.): ‘in their wish to eat’, adj. *śwātsiṣy* (= *śwātsi-ṣi*) ‘pertaining to eating’. – *kāpar* ‘they were excited’ (A *kāp*-, *kāw*- ‘be excited’, *DTA* pp. 104–105, Hilmarsson 1996, pp. 121–123,

Adams 2013a, pp. 160–161). – *ymār* ‘at once’. – *pālskānt* prt.3pl.mp. ‘they thought to themselves’. – *kāruṇik wrasom*: either nominative or vocative ‘oh merciful being’; cf. Zin 2023, p. 131: “among the preserved pictorial representations in Kucha, the *pretas* are not shown as malevolent evildoers but rather as pitiable creatures evoking compassion”, and the commentary below on THT1525a3 *kāruṇik nātāk*.

78b: *klop wikāssi yeñc* ‘they [the *pretas*] went to dispel their suffering’: motion verb with purposive infinitive (Thomas 1954, pp. 713–715). – *piś* for *pic* impv.2pl.act. is used adhortatively ‘let us go!’ (Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931, p. 336, Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 4, Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 183).

78d: *paṣām śwātsi*,¹ *paṣām*, *nātāk*,¹ *pwikāzm klop caṣ!*¹: alliteration (3x *p-*), *paṣ* ‘give!’, impv.2sg.act. – *paṣ* contracted from **pa-wəs-* < **po-uis-*, belonging to PIE **h₃uis-*, **h₃uis-ó-* ‘given’, **h₃uis-o-m* ‘gift’ > Toch. B *wase*, A *wās* ‘poison’, Skt. *viṣa-*, Gk. *οἶσε/o* ‘will give’ < **h₃uis-se/o-*, cf. Hackstein 2001, p. 31. – *k(aśśiñ was)*: copulaless nominal clause; see Hackstein 2012, Hackstein & Habata & Bross 2019, pp. 224–6.

Parallels: *KalpM-Chin* 275c17–20: 諸餓鬼輩聞是水聲。皆來雲集。誰慈悲者欲與我水。此諸餓鬼身如焦柱以髮自纏。皆來合掌作如是言。願乞我水。 The *pretas* heard this voice ‘water’, all [*pretas*] crowded [there], [thinking:] “A merciful one wants to give us water.” The bodies of these *pretas* are like burned pillars, and they covered themselves with hair. All [*pretas*] came joining their palms and said the following: “I beg water”. — *SV-Chin* 179a21–22: 時無數百千萬餓鬼來出。皆言。何等食阿誰與。 Thereupon appeared *pretas* of countless hundreds and thousands, every *preta* saying: “Does someone give us some food?”

Strophe 79

- a** (we Koṭikarṇe):¹ mättak nāṣ kaśśi¹ yasāṣ tāṣ praksa(m)¹ [A340a5] [5 syll.]
b (tmäk ce)m pretāñ¹ litkoṣṣ oki¹ āmpy eṣām ṣātre nāntsūṣ¹ klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:)
c (nātāk), k_uciṣṣ aśśi¹ āriñc pālsāk tñi,
d preteṃ riyaṣ¹ śwātsi¹ [A340a6] [2 syll.]¹ [4 syll.]¹ [3 syll.] s. || **79** ||
^a(we Koṭikarṇe) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 6 praksa(m) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 8 ^b(tmäk ce)m Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 8 klār tkan(ā prāksānt-ām śkaṃ:) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 9 ^c(nātāk) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 9 ^a(Koṭikarṇa spoke): “Myself, I’m hungry; from you I request this.” (...) “^b(Then th)ese *pretas*, as if having sunk down, fell on(to) the earth, gone limp at both shoulders (and asked him:) “(Oh master), where by any means does your heart (and) thinking (come) from? “^dFrom the city of *pretas* food (...).”

79a: (we) prt.3sg.act. ‘spoke’ with colon-initial fronting of the finite verb (see above §2), here to mark the beginning of a thematically new section, as per Dressler 1970. – *mättak nāṣ kaśśi* is an Indo-European (copulaless) nominal clause (Hackstein 2012, pp. 132–133). – *yasāṣ tāṣ praksa(m)*: *prak-* in the active voice means ‘request’, in the middle ‘ask’; see Schmidt 1969, pp. 376–378.

79b: Description of the *pretas*: *litkoṣṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. ‘sunk/slid down’ (A *litā-*, *litk-*

‘slide down’, cf. Hackstein 2002b, pp. 8–9), cf. the pictorial description of the two *pretas* in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle” as kneeling down (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 140 fig. 5; Zin 2023, p. 517 drawing 430). Sieg’s translation 1952, p. 37 ‘downtrodden’ [‘niedergeschlagen’] is not to be preferred. – *oki* ‘as if’. – *āmpy esām* obl.du.m. ‘at both shoulders’ (Kim 2018a, pp. 81–82) with oblique case of reference (*aliter* DTA p. 74: “nom.”). – *ṣātre* nom.pl.m. ‘limp, loose’ [not ‘soft’]. The shoulders of the *pretas* are described as A *ṣātre* ‘having lost all strength, weak and loose’; this description meets with the recent etymological analysis by Imberciadori 2025 (in press) §112. *ṣātre*: PIE **seh₁-i-* ‘let loose’ (LIV² p. 518), PToch. **s₂ioh₁-te-h₂-r_ó-* ‘released, let loose’ > **s₂iōtāro-* > PToch. **s₂jatāræ* > A **ṣātara* > *ṣātar* ‘weich, schlaff’ (DTA p. 486 s.v. *ṣātar* ‘soft, flabby’). – *nāntsūs* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. ‘having become’.

79c: (*nātāk*) voc.sg.m. ‘oh master’. – *k_uc-iṣṣ* ablative of interrogative pronoun ‘whence’ (Hitt. *kuēz* < **k^weti*, Hackstein 2007, pp. 143–144). – *aśsi* is an enclitic interrogative particle causing gemination of the preceding consonantal auslaut (from PIE **h₂et-k^wih₁* > Lat. *atquī* ‘but how’). – Asyndetic binomial formula *āriñc pāltsāk* ‘heart/feeling and thought/thinking’; cf. the Indo-Iranian (and perhaps Indo-European) collocation Ved. *hṛdasā manasā* ~ OAv. *haθrā manā* (EWAia II p. 308), German *mit Herz und Sinn*. – *tñi* dat.pers.prn.2sg. ‘to you’ (ethical dative, i.e., ‘in your point of view’).

79d: *pretem* obl.sg.f. of adj. *pretem*, oblique stem *ri-* plus ablative morpheme *-yās* in group inflection: ‘from the city of *pretas*’.

Parallels: *KalpM*-Chin 275c20–24: 億耳語言。我渴所逼故來求水。爾時餓鬼聞億耳爲渴所逼自行求水。希望都息。皆各長歎作如是言。汝可不知此餓鬼城。云何此中而索水耶。 Koṭikarṇa said: “Since I am extremely thirsty, I came to ask for water”. Then the *pretas*, hearing that Koṭikarṇa was extremely thirsty and came himself looking for water, all their hopes were abandoned, every [*preta*] sighing deeply said the following: “Don’t you know that this is the city of *pretas*? How can you ask here for water?” — *SV*-Chin 179a22–25: 億耳言無食。我行飢極念想得食。因出此言。我無食也。如是思惟。我當城邊得食。是故唱言食耳。諸餓鬼言。此是餓鬼城。 Koṭikarṇa said: “I have no food. I am going, extremely starved, wishing to get food. I uttered therefore this word ‘food’, I have no food indeed. I thought that I should get food in the city. Because of that, I just said ‘food’”. The *pretas* said: “This is the city of *pretas*.”

Strophe 80

- a** wāłtsantyo pūklā | kātkont nām tāpārk, | śwātsiyis ñom wa(s | mākk=at)s klyoṣāmās:
b śwātsi pālko | mā opyāc nām. | mā ne^[A340a7](ṣā) [1 syll.] | [3 syll.] | [3 syll.] r tñ(i)
 essi,
c āyāntwāṣiñi | k_urekāri oki
d kaṣtyo āsūṣ, | ṣñi lyaly(pā)n(tw)ā | prutkoṣ riyam | añcwāṣṣām. || 80 ||

^awa(s mākk at)s klyoṣāmās Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 13 ^bne(ṣā) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 14 tñ(i) essi Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 15

^a“Years have passed now for us by the thousands, and never have we heard even

the bare name of food. ^bWe cannot recall someone having seen food. Not before ... (we are not capable) to give you food, ‘being like house-skeletons of bones’
^ddried out due to hunger and being enclosed in the iron city through the consequences of [our previous] deeds (lit. ‘left-overs’).”

80a: *pūklā kātkont nām* ‘years have passed for us’ features the subject the nom. feminine/
***neuter plural** *pūklā* ‘aggregate of years’ agreeing with the nom. plural feminine participle *kātkont* and the **singular** copula *nām* (contracted from *naṣ* plus the enclitic 1pl. personal pronoun *-ām*. Neuter plural subjects governing finite verb forms in the singular are well known to Indo-Europeanists in terms of the morphosyntactic anomaly and archaism found in Greek, Old Avestan and Hittite, termed the *tà zōia tréchei* rule; for a detailed commentary, Hackstein & Habata (forthcoming) §2.2.1. – *śwātsiyis nām* ‘the (bare) word/notion of eating’. – *wa(s)* ‘we’. – *mā-* ‘not’, (*≠kk* plus geminating clitic *ats* are emphasizing particles. – *klyoṣāmās* prt. 1pl.act., ‘we haven’t heard at all; we don’t know at all’ (Thomas 1957: 216, p. 246).

80b: *śwātsi* ‘food’. – *pālko* prt.ptc.nom.sg.m. ‘someone having seen’.

80c: *āyāntwāṣiṇi* | *k_urekāri oki*: *āyāntwāṣiṇi* nom.pl.m. ‘of bones’. – *k_urekāri* nom.pl.m. ‘houses’ of *k_urekār* ‘house (or pavilion) with a vaulted roof’ (DTA p. 143, Skt. *kūṭāgāra-* ‘upper room’); *oki* ‘like’; metaphor, literally like ‘structures of a house’, ‘wie knöcherne Haus-Gerippe’, ‘wie Knochengerüste’ (Sieg 1952, p. 37) ‘emaciated to the bones’, ‘like skeletons of bones’, *asthiyantravad* ‘like a machine of bones’ (Divy 8.21). This accords with the pictorial description of the two *pretas* in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle”, main chamber, right side wall (Zin 2023, p. 132, drawing 77 and pp. 516–517, drawing 430). “The main and easily-depicted characteristic of the *pretas* is (...) their extremely emaciated bodies” (Zin 2023, p. 133).

80d: *kaṣṭyo* ‘by hunger’, *āsūṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. ‘dried out, dry’. – *prutkoṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. ‘enclosed’. – hyperbaton *riyaṃ* loc.sg.f. ‘in the city’ plus attributive adjective *añcwāṣṣām* obl.sg.f. ‘iron’.

Parallels: *KalpM-Chin* 275c25–26 (verse): 我等處此城 百千萬歲中 尚不聞水名 況復得飲者 We have never heard the word ‘water’ during hundreds and thousands of years in this city, to say nothing of getting to drink!”; 276a13–17 (verse): 云何能得水 以用惠施汝 我等先身時 慳貪極嫉妒 不曾施一人 將水及飲食 自物不與他 抑彼令不施 以是重業故 今受是苦惱 How can we get water and donate it to you? In our previous lives, we were stingy and extremely envying. We had never given donations to anyone. Water and food, we took for ourselves and neither gave to others, nor allowed them to donate. Because of this grave/bad deed (*karman*), now we incur this misery. — Divy 8.2–4: *te gāthāṃ bhāṣante | ākrośakā roṣakā vayaṃ matsariṇaḥ kuṭukuṇcakā vayaṃ | dānaṃ ca na dattam aṇv api yena vayaṃ piṭṭlokaṃ āgatāḥ ||* They (the *pretas*) said in verse: “We were blaming and vexing, we were stingy and niggardly, and no donation was given, not even a tiny one. We came therefore to the world of the dead. — SV 179a25–27: 我百千萬歲今日乃聞唱食聲。我等以不布施慳心多故。墮餓鬼中。汝欲那去。 We hear the word ‘food’ today [after] hundreds and thousands of

years [without hearing it]. Because we were very stingy and did not offer donations, we fell into (the state of a) *preta*. Do you want to go away?”⁷

Strophe 81

a antuṣ kälk wāccām | a^[A340a8](ñcwāṣṣām riyam). | (tmāṣ yokmaṣ yaiwu | waṣem cārḱ): wār wā(r)!

b wār-pārmaṅkyo | lcār tmāṣ pretāñ, | wältsantuyo | ārwar ymām, | ṣūṅkac entsuṣ | (kapśi)ññās.

c kārūṇik nātāk, | paṣām wār yoktsi.

d ^[A340a9] [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.]r. || 81 ||

^aa(ñcwāṣṣām riyam) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 18 (tmāṣ yokmaṣ yaiwu |waṣem cārḱ) Thomas 1964, p. 33 n.1 wā(r) Sieg 1952, p. 37 n. 20 ^b(kapśi)ññās Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 1

^aThereupon he went into a second i(ron city). (Then he entered the gate and proclaimed aloud:) “Water, water!” ^bIn the desire of water then the *pretas* came out, by thousands readily going, making a hand gesture towards the mouth (lit.: holding [their] (corp)oral extremities towards the cavity of the mouth). “Oh merciful master, give us to drink! ^d(...)”

81a: *antuṣ* ‘therefrom, then’ (*DTA* p. 11). – *kälk* ‘he [Koṭikarṇa] went’. – *wāccām* obl.sg.f. of *A wāt* ‘second’.

81b: *lcār tmāṣ pretāñ*: *lcār* prt.3pl.act. ‘they left, came forward’, postcaesural fronting of the finite verb (cf. §2 above).

ṣūṅkac entsuṣ (*kapśi*)ññās ‘holding [their] (corp)oral extremities towards their mouth’. *ṣūṅkac* all.sg. ‘towards cavity of the mouth’, directional allative, see Carling 2000, p. 203. – *entsuṣ* prt.ptc.nom.pl.m. of attained state meaning ‘having seized and holding’, cf. Saito 2006, p. 284. – (*kapśi*)ññās obl.pl.f. ‘(corporal) extremities’ (Toch. *A kapśaṇi*, B *kektseṇe* akin to Lat. *coxa*, *coxendix*, the body as an “ensemble de points articulés; ensemble articulé”, see Pinault 1999, p. 474). Sieg (1952, p. 38) translated “taking their body posture to their mouth” (“[ihre] Körper[haltung] nach dem Rachen zu nehmend”). Kizil cave 212, main chamber, right side wall (Zin 2023, p. 132, drawing 77, p. 517, drawing 430) depicts the *pretas* in the iron city, the two *pretas* each kneeling down with a raised arm in a begging gesture, and Simsim cave 41 (Zin 2023, p. 301, drawing 246). In sum, a better translation is ‘making a hand gesture towards the mouth’, begging for food and drink.

Parallels: *KalpM*-Chin see Str. 78–79 above — Sarv-Vin-Chin 179a28–b4: 於是前行。復見一城。如是復念。前城不得食。今或能得水。即到門立唱言。水水。時無數百千餓鬼來出。皆言。何等水阿誰與。億耳言無水。我渴極念想得水。因出是聲。我無水也。如是思惟。我當城邊得水。是故唱言水耳。 There went [Koṭikarṇa] ahead.

⁷ This last sentence together with the following passage (Sarv-Vin-Chin 179a27–28: 億耳言。欲至王薩薄聚落。鬼言。從是道去。 Koṭikarṇa said: “I want to go to the village Vāsava”. The *pretas* said: “Go away along this way”.) finds no correspondence in the Tocharian version.

He saw one city and thought the following: “I could not get food in the previous city. Now maybe I can get water”. He reached the gate, stood [there], and said: “water! water!” Thereupon appeared *pretas* of countless hundreds and thousands, every *preta* saying: Does someone give us some water? Koṭikarṇa said: “I have no water. I am extremely thirsty and wish to get water. I uttered therefore this [word ‘water’], I have no water indeed. I thought that I should get water at the city. Because of that, I just said ‘water’”.

Strophe 82

- a** s[n]e pārmaṅ pretāñ | weñār: šokyo nū | māski kälpāl w(ra)m | p(aprāku wasä)š.
b tärkräš w[rä]ntu | sūmām tākeñc | wasā kā^[A340b1](ruṇyo k_uprene) | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.]
c [4 syll.] (t)m(āk | por lkä)ś lotānkāš.
d šñy entsyo y(ā)mūnt | lyalypāntwā (was | ^{pretāñ. k_ucāš}) tñ(i) | wrāyīmās. || 82 ||

^aw(ra)m p(aprāku wasä)š Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 4 ^bkā(ruṇyo k_uprene) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 5
^c(t)m(āk ākā)ś Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 6 ^d(was pretāñ. k_ucāš) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 7, (*tṣam tatmuš. k_ucāš*) Thomas 1964, p. 33 n. 4

^aHaving lost all hope, the *pretas* spoke: “Something hard to get (has been requested by u)s. ^bShould there be raining out of the cloud loads of water through mercy for us (...) ^c(...) then it [the rain] turns into (fire and ligh)t. ^dThrough the consequences caused by our own greed we are *pretas*. What should we give you water from?”

82a: *māski* ‘difficult’, cf. Peyrot 2011.

82b: *tärkräš* abl.sg.m. of *tärkär* ‘cloud’ belongs to PIE **d^horg-r* ‘darkness’, **d^hrg-ur* > **d^hrg-ru-* ‘darkness’; cf. Lith. *dārga* ‘bad weather’, ORuss. *padoroga* ‘(stormy) weather’ (Adams 2013a, pp. 297–298). – *w[rä]ntu* nom.pl.f. ‘loads of water’, German ‘Wassermassen’ of *wār* ‘water’, on which see Kim 2018b. – *sūmām* prs.ptc.mp. ‘raining’ of *sū-*, *swā-* ‘rain’; cf. Gk. (*Zeús*) *hú-ei* ‘(the sky) rains’. – *tākeñc* subjunctive 3pl.act., subjunctive in conditionals, see Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 181 §309,4, Hackstein 2013, Peyrot 2013, pp. 244–255. – *wasā* perl. ‘above us’. – The colon *wasā kā(ruṇyo k_uprene)* features contraction 4+3 > 7, cf. §2 above.

82b–c: The content of the fragmentary *pādas* corresponds to *KalpM*-Chin 276a5–7 (verse): 況與一滴水 漬我喉舌者 若於山谷間 天龍降甘露 皆變成沸火 而注我身上 “... to say nothing of giving one drop of water, which moistens our throat and tongue. When the dragon of the sky rains sweet drops (rains) in a valley among mountains, all change into the boiling fire and pour over our bodies”. This expression is also found in *Avś* 249.9–10 (story no. 43: Pānīya): *yadā devo varṣati tadā tasyā upari savisphuliṅgāṅgāravarṣaṃ patati* “When the god rains [drops], the rains [changed into] sparking coals and fell on her (the *preta*-woman)”. The parallels suggest a restoration of the passage as *(t)m(āk por lkä)ś lotānkāš* “then it [the rain] turns into (fire and ligh)t” with *lotk-* as a copular verb ‘turn into, become’.

82c: *(t)m(āk)* ‘then’; cf. Lat. *tunc* ‘then’. – *(por lkä)ś* ‘fire and light’. – *lotānkāš*, prs.[6] (*-nā-*) of *lotk-* ‘turn, become’, **lotk-nā-* (with metathesis of *-n-* and anaptyctic schwa

-ä-) > *lotānkā-*; likewise *wnisk-* ‘oppress’, prs.[6] **wnisk-nā-* > *wnisānkā-*.

82d: *ṣṇy entsyo y(ā)mūnt* | *lyalypāntwā* ‘through/as a result of our left-overs, through the consequences caused by our own greed’: *ṣṇy entsyo* ‘through (our) own greed’. – *yāmūnt* obl.pl.f. ‘made, caused’. – *lyalypāntwā*: *lyalypāntu* obl.pl.f., suffixed with perlativ *-ā* ‘through the deeds’. – *lyalypu* ‘caused to remain, left-over, remain, consequence’, ‘das Übriggelassene’ (Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931, p. 6). – caus. prt.[2].ptc. of *lip-* ‘stick to, adhere, remain’, NHG *bleiben*, Gothic *bi-leiban*. For the causative *s*-present B *ly(ī)psentar* ‘they let remain; they leave, single out’, see Catt 2016, pp. 24.

East Tocharian *lyalypu* and West Tocharian *yāmor* serve as translational equivalents of the Sanskrit Buddhist term *karman*. While West Tocharian *yāmor* ‘deed’ is a literal translation of Sanskrit *karman*, East Tocharian *lyalypu* notably deviates in not being derived from East Tocharian *yā(m/p)-* ‘do’ but rather from AB *lip-* ‘to adhere to, be left over’ whose Indo-European etymological connection with Germanic, Gothic *bi-leiban*, NHG *bleiben* ‘remain’ has long been established since Meillet 1911, p. 633 (cf. Pinault 2001, pp. 254–256, Malzahn 2010, pp. 850–851, *LIV*² pp. 408–409 s.v. **leip-* ‘stick/adhere to’ [‘klebenbleiben’]).

In accordance with what was stressed above (see commentary ad pāda **77b**) regarding the preterito-presential attained-state value of Tocharian preterite participles, the participle A *lyalypu* denotes ‘what has been left from the past and remains in the future’ and thus directly addresses the causation and the consequences of actions; cf. **85a** (*kus*) *tñi lyalypu* below.

(*k_ucāṣ*) *tñ(i) wr=āyimās?* ‘From what should we (possibly) give you water?’, *āyimās* opt.1pl.act. ‘should we give’.

Parallels: *KalpM*-Chin see Str. 80 above — Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b4–6: 餓鬼言。此是餓鬼城。百千萬歲今日乃聞水聲。我等以不布施慳心多故。墮餓鬼中。汝欲那去。The *pretas* said: “This is the city of *pretas*. We hear the word ‘water’ today [after] hundred thousand ten-thousand of years [without hearing it]. Because we were very stingy and did not offer donations, we fell into (the state of) *preta*. Do you want to go away?”⁸

Strophe 83

- a** lotāk tmāṣ. pālko^[A340b2] | [5 syll.] | [5 syll.] | [2 syll.] ākālyo.
b mā wār kālpāt, | ṣtāmis pāltwā | rāswāt. tām tāp. | tām wṣe cam | (ṣtāmis) p(o)saṃ | oñk yo kuli
c rarkunt āsānā | lmoṣ pākā^[A340b3](r tākar).
d [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | s_ukuntu wārpānt | ñākcim pal. || **83** ||
^b(ṣtāmis) p(o)saṃ Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 10 ‘pākā(r tākar) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 9, 11

⁸ As at the end of Str. 80, this last sentence together with the following passage (SV-Chin 179b6–7: 億耳言。欲至王薩薄聚落。鬼言。從是道去。Koṭikarna said: “I want to go to the village Vāsava”. The *pretas* said: “Go away along this way”.) finds no correspondence in the Tocharian version.

^aThen he went back. Having noticed (a Palāśa-tree, he approached it) in his desire (for water). ^bHe didn't find water, he tore off for himself the tree's leaves. These he devoured. In that night beneath the tree a man together with a woman became visible, 'having sat down on a spread-out bed.' ^d ... They enjoyed pleasures in a god-like manner.

83a: *lotāk* prt.3sg.act. 'he went back' of *lotk-* 'turn, go back'. – *tmāṣ pālko ... ākālyo*: the missing context can be restored on the basis of the Chinese parallel: 復見樹。名婆羅。夜於下宿 "he saw a tree named palāśa, under which he [could] stay at night" (Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b7–8; see also Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 8; Thomas 1964, p. 33 n. 5).

83b: *mā wār kālṣāt* 'he didn't find water'. – *ṣtāmis* gen.sg.m. 'of a tree'. – *pāltwā* oblique collective 'the foliage', taking singular reference in the anaphoric pronoun *tām* of the ensuing sentence. – *rāswāt* prt.3sg.mp. 'he tore off for himself'. – *tām* 'that (foliage)'. – *tāp* suppletive prt.3sg.act. 'he ate' of *śuwā-* 'eat'.

In the Chinese version of the Sarvāstivādins Koṭikarṇa tore off the leaves from the tree, not only for himself, but also for his donkey(s). The donkey(s) attending him is a difference deviating from other versions of Koṭikarṇa story (see Waldschmidt 1952, p. 139).

83b-c: *onk* 'man'. – *yo* 'and/together with', see Hackstein & Habata (forthcoming) §2.2.2. – *k_uli* 'woman'; cf. the asyndetic juncture in **87a** (*o*)*ñk k_(ul)i* below. – *rarkunt* obl.sg.m. 'spread out'. – *āsānā* perl.sg.m. 'bed', G. *Hochbett, Lagerstätte*, Skt. *āsana*. In the Sanskrit fragment of the Sarv-Vin the bed is mentioned as *śayanam* (SHT 591 [M 655] V2 (restoration), R1, Waldschmidt 1952, p. 131; see str. 88). – *lmoṣ* nom.pl.m. features the masculine gender as unmarked gender encompassing male and female sex; for a detailed commentary, see Hackstein & Habata (forthcoming) §2.2.2. – *pākā(r tākar)* 'they became visible'.

83d: *śukuntu* obl.pl.f. 'pleasures'. – *wārpānt* 'they enjoyed', literally 'they encompassed, received and consumed', cf. Huard 2019, pp. 51–52. – *ñākcim pal* obl.sg.m 'in god-like manner'.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b7–11: 前行不久。復見樹。名婆羅。夜於下宿。搖樹落葉。細者自食麤者與驢。如是日暮至夜。是中即有床出。男出女出。顏貌端正著天寶冠。共相娛樂。沙門億耳作是思惟。我不應爾看他私事。 Not far away, after he (Koṭikarṇa) went ahead, he saw a tree named palāśa, under which he [could] stay at night. He shook the tree and let the leaves fall, and ate the fine ones for himself, gave the coarse ones to his donkey. Meanwhile, it was getting dark and the night fell. Then a couch appeared, a man appeared, and a woman appeared, who looked handsome and beautiful, wearing a heavenly jewelled crown, both enjoying together. Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa thought the following: "I should not watch the private affairs of others."

Strophe 84

- a** lyokāt wṣe. ślāśām | nakāt k_uli. tmāk kū | pākār tā(k tsopa)ts | kapśño empele.
b entsāt onkam | śāyū oki | ^[A340b4][4 syll.] | [3 syll.] | (kātsaṣim tru)ñk | tatrūsā-m

- c** tāpaṃ śāmānāṃ. | Koṭikarṇa tām
d pālkāṭ mroskat. | (śkaṃ ṣṇike)k sāk | tām wṣe, tāmnek | pālkāṭ n_unak. || 84 ||
^atā(k tsopa)ts Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 13 ^b(kātsaṣiṃ) Thomas 1964, p. 33 (tru)ṅk Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 14 ^d(śkaṃ ṣṇike)k Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 15
^aThe night had brightened up/lit up. Together with the seat the woman had disappeared. Instantly a dog became visible, a big one, horrifying with his body.
^bThe dog seized the man like raptor-like animal and slit up (the cavity of his belly) [and] ate him alive. Koṭikarṇa ^dsaw this and became weary of it. Nevertheless, he stayed. At night, he saw the same anew.

84a: root preterites 3sg.mp. *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had disappeared’. *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had vanished’ and **92b** *paktə* ‘had cooked for herself’ show a pluperfect meaning. The morphological interpretation of these forms has remained controversial (Malzahn 2010, pp. 113–115), ranging from putative hyperarchaic *o*-grade root aorists (Jasanoff 2003, p. 180, Villanueva-Svensson 2007/2008, p. 215) to more recent analogical creations. Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 247 analysis of these forms as due to aorist-perfect syncretism continues to carry the most conviction. The *o*-grade is of perfect origin, and the pluperfect meaning of the forms in question points to dereduplicated novel *o*-grade pluperfect of the Homeric type †*h₂uéh₂uorto* > (αἰὲν) ἄωρτο ‘(the sword) had been hung and was (always) hanging’ (*Il.* 3.272 = 19.253, confirmed by Theoc. 24.43 as per Hackstein 2002, pp. 202–204); likewise innovative †*[né]nokto* > PToch. **náktæ* > Toch. *A nákāṭ* ‘had vanished’. – *pākār tā(k)* ‘became visible’: colon-initial and post caesural fronting (cf. §2 above).

84b: *śāyū oki* ‘a raptor-like animal’: The connection of Toch. *A śāyū* with the designation of a bird of prey is suggested by the parallel version of this passage in the *Buddhacarita*, which mentions raptors (Skt. *vāyasa*) with iron beaks (see the philological commentary below), and also finds etymological support. It is possible to connect Toch. *A śāyū* under a protoform PIE **t̥kih₂-iōs/-iōn* with Ved. *śyená-* ‘any bird of prey: hawk, falcon, eagle’ (PIE **t̥k̑eh₂-inó-*, Schindler 1977, p. 32; *EWAia* II p. 662), Gk. ἰκτῖνος ‘kite’ (**t̥kih₂-no-*) *Milvus regalis* (*LSJ* p. 827 s.v.), and Arm. *c^ein-* (Klingenschmitt 1982, p. 191; Olsen 1999, p. 197; Clackson 1995, pp. 143–144). The protoform PIE **t̥kih₂-iōs* is a comparative of elative meaning or an individualizing *n*-stem of an appurtenative *jo*-adjective.

The philological arguments advanced in the philological commentary below recommend the latter analysis (i.e., *śāyū oki* ‘a raptor-like animal’), discarding Pinault’s alternative analysis of the passage as ‘a kind of *śāyū*-worm/snake/insect’ (see Pinault 2004, p. 257, *DTA* p. 464, s.v. *śāyū* with references, or *DTA* p. 494, s.v. *sūci-śpāl* ‘a[s] kind of gigantic insect’) basing himself on a putative etymological link of *śāyū* with Greek κίς, κίος ‘worm’ and PIE **kih₂-* ‘move’. The alleged Sanskrit parallel that features a centipede does not belong to the butcher scene but to the immediately following scene describing the tortures of the adulterer that engages in immoral sexual activities, see the commentary on the lacuna in strophes **87b–88b** below.

(*kātsaṣim tru*)*ñk tatrūsā-m* causative prt.[2].3sg.act. ‘he caused the cavity of his belly to be torn apart’, hapax legomenon, of Toch. A *tru-s-* ‘tear apart’. The verbal root Toch. AB *tru-s-* is an inchoative *s*-stem ‘begin to be torn apart’ and amenable to either one of the two explanations: i) It may be connected with PIE < PIE **tūr(H)-*, **tuer(H)-* ‘stir up; aufrühren, erregen, antreiben’ (**tuer-e-* > OHG *dweran* ‘aufrühren, aufwühlen’, cf. LIV² p. 655), and akin to Russian *o-tverit* ‘open’ and E. *stir*, NHG *stören* (from PGmc. **stur-ja-na* ‘stir up and out’ < PIE **stur-*). The phonological development is PIE **tūrH-* > **truH-* > PToch. **trū-* > Toch. *tru-* or PIE **tūr-* > **tru-* > PToch. **trā-* → *tru-* by analogical leveling as per Adams 1978 (Toch. *lät-* → *lut-*; *tsäk-* → *tsuk-*). For the metathesis of PIE **uR-* > **Ru-*, cf. Byrd 2015, pp. 142–143. Del Tomba 2021 adduced evidence for metathesis of PIE **-uR-* > Toch. **Ru-* in word-final position. Word-internal examples include PIE **k^wetūr-to-* > **k^wetru-to-* > PToch. **kjätar(ä)-tæ-* > Toch. B *štarte*, A *štärt*. Unmetathesized PIE **k^wetūr-to-* ought to have yielded PToch. **kätwär-tæ-* > †B *štuarte*, and Toch. AB *trus-*.

ii) Alternatively Toch. AB *trus-* may be akin to Gk. θραύω ‘to break in pieces’ < PIE **d^hreh₂us-* (Nikolaev 2022, p. 25 n. 16).

84a–c: *kū pākār tā(k tsopa)ts kapsño empele. entsāt oñkaṃ śāyū oki ... (kātsaṣim tru)[ñk] tatrūsām tāpaṃ śāmānām* ‘a dog became visible, a big one, horrifying with his body. He seized the man, like *śāyū* ... slit up (the cavity of his belly) [and] ate him alive’: The horrifying dog appears in every parallel text of the Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa story with some variation in details, however it is not compared with any other animals, how the dog slit up and ate the flesh of the man (butcher). This scene, in which the man experiences hellish sufferings half a day, is composed after the sufferings in the hell: *keciṭ tīkṣṇair ayodaṃṣṭrair bhakṣyante dāruṇaiḥ śvabhiḥ | kecid dhṛṣṭair ayastuṇḍair vāyasair āyasair iva* || ‘[In the hell] some are devoured by horrifying dogs with sharp iron teeth, some by impudent raptors (*vāyasa*) with iron beaks, as if they are made of iron (*āyasa*).’ (Buddhacarita XIV 14); 是時林中有烏鷲惡狗來食其肉 ‘In this forest [of the hell “sword forest”] there are ravens, raptors, and malicious dogs, they come to devour the flesh [of sinners fallen in the hell].’ (Dà zhì dù lún 大智度論 *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra/^oupadeśa, Taishō vol. 25, no. 1509, 177a18–19). For the meaning of Sanskrit *vāyasa* see PW s.v., the poet Aśvaghoṣa uses this word in assonance with *āyasa*.

84c: *mroskat* prt.3sg.mp. ‘he felt disgust’ (DTA p. 357). – *sāk* prt.[1].3sg.act. ‘he endured, stayed’ (Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931, p. 476; Thomas 1964, p. 152; Malzahn 2010, p. 933; DTA p. 512 s.v. *sāk-*) with *a*-umlaut in the *a*-preterite descends from PIE **[se]sōǵ^he* ‘he prevailed’.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b11–15: 時夜過晝來。即時床滅女滅。有群狗來噉是男子肉盡骨在。億耳念言。我悔不問是人。先作何行今得此報。夜善晝惡。我當住待問之。至夜更有好床。男出女出顏貌端正。著珠寶天冠共相娛樂。 While the night passed and it became daytime, at once the couch disappeared, the woman disappeared. There came a pack of dogs, they ate the flesh of the man until there remained bones.

Koṭikarṇa thought and said [to himself]: “I would regret if I do not ask him, which deed he did previously and receive now this result, enjoying at night [suffering] badly during daytime. I should wait to ask it [until night].” The night fell, and the nice couch appeared again, a man appeared, and a woman appeared, who looked handsome and beautiful wearing heavenly jewelled crown, both enjoying together.

Strophe 85

- a** ^[A340b5] [5 syll.] | [3 syll.]: (kus) tñi | lyalypu oṣeñi | ñkātt oki planttār,
b ykonā klopant | ñ(areṣṣās) lkāt. | weñām onk sām: | kñasāṣtu | vāsavagrām | šūkṣaṃ
^[A340b6] (te).
c [5 syll.] | [1 syll.] [e]mpele.
d sām nāṣ tām praṣṭ | ṣem. kāruṇyo | Kātyāyane | weñā(ñi: || 85 ||)
^a(kus) Thomas 1964, p. 33 ^bñ(areṣṣās) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 17 (te) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 18 (caṃ)
 DTA p. 158 ^dweñā(ñi:) Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 21
 “^a... What (deed) has been caused by you to linger on? At night you enjoy pleasures like a god, ^bby day you encounter pains from hell”. The man replied to him: “Are you informed about the village of Vāsavagrāma? ^c... (There lived) a cruel (butcher). ^dI was this butcher at that time.” Out of compassion Kātyāyana spoke to (me):

Strophe 85 contains the conversation between Koṭikarṇa and a man, who enjoys divine pleasures by night but suffers hellish pains by day (see str. 83–84). Koṭikarṇa enquires about the man’s previous deeds that caused his miserable state.

85a: (kus) tñi lyalypu ‘What (deed) has been caused by you to linger on?’ Sieg’s translation (1952: 38 “Welches war deine Tat?”) has been followed by most translators, see, e.g., DTA p. 409, but it is possible to construe this passage differently with tñi functioning as a genitive agent (cf. Krause & Thomas 1960, pp. 82–83; Meunier 2015, pp. 94–95) and lyalypu as predicative participle and periphrastic verb form (with covert copula), meaning ‘has been caused to linger on’. For parallels, cf. THT 749 (A 116) b3 ñi wewñunt pāttaññākte märkampalis ‘(because) of Budddha’s law spoken by me’, B30a7 ñi no ytārye ākṣusa ... ‘but the ... way proclaimed by me’.

klopant ñ(areṣṣās) lkāt prs.2sg.act. ‘you see/encounter hellish pains’: for A lāklenta lākā- ~ Uigh. ämgāk kör- (A166a2 klopant lkātār ‘he sees for himself/endures pains’, A226a7 tosām klopant lkeñc), see Chamot-Rooke 2022, p. 73; Schmidt 1969, pp. 193–194.

85b: weñā-ṃ onk sām colon-initial and post-caesural fronting (see §2 above). – kñasāṣtu Vāsavagrām šūkṣaṃ (te)? In pāda 85b, the man introduces his answer with a question containing the verbal form kñasāṣtu. The interpretation of this verbal form and the restoration of the missing final syllable of pāda 85b have been much debated. Sieg restored the missing final syllable as the interrogative particle te; cf. Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931, pp. 189–190. Sieg’s restoration of the East Tocharian interrogative particle te in 85b squares nicely with the Sanskrit parallel text identified and edited by

Waldschmidt 1952 and further advanced with the parallel fragment by Wille 1993. In the Sanskrit text, the question (repeated in the next episode, str. 88) is phrased with the Sanskrit interrogative particle *kaccit*: *kaccit tvam jānīṣe aśvāvantiṣu janap(ade)ṣu vāsavagrāmo nāma* “Do you know a village by the name of Vāsava in the land of Aśvāvanti?” (Pelliot Sanskrit bleu 11, verso 5). In the same vein, the Chinese version (汝識阿濕摩伽阿槃地國中王薩薄聚落不 “Do you know the village Vāsava in the country Aśmaka-Avanti?”), which in the French translation by Chavannes 2011, p. 248 reads: “connaissez-vous le bourg de *Wang-sa-po* (Vāsava) dans le royaume de *A-che-mo-kia-a-p’an-ti* (Açmaka avanti)?” The interrogative focus on the village of Vāsava contradicts the restoration of *cam* ‘anyone’ as suggested by *DTA* p. 158 (“Did you know anyone?”).

Syntactically, the East Tocharian question *kñasās(t) tu* appears to be an authentic East Tocharian rendering of the Sanskrit original, because the East Tocharian text features verb fronting and subject-verb inversion, i.e., the overt pronominal subject (*t*)*u* and the verb are inverted, as in German and (partly in) English, to yield *kñasās*t plus (*t*)*u*. In Tocharian, subject-verb inversion is not obligatory, but remains possible; cf. Hackstein 2013, pp. 110–111,

<i>kārsanoyem</i>	<i>toyⁱ</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>epe</i>	<i>mā</i>
knew	they	this	or	not
Did they [the animals] know this or not? (B575a3–4)				
<i>nesañcū</i>	<i>śāmane</i>	<i>tañ</i>	<i>pācer</i>	<i>mācer</i>
are.they	alive		your	father
Are your father and mother still alive?				
<i>plāksatai=me</i>			<i>.... ostamem</i>	<i>laṃtsi</i>
asked.for.agreement=them	... house.ABL		leave	
Have you asked them for permission to leave the house (= become				
(Schmidt 2018, p. 27, KVāc 19b4 = THT1111b4 (text), 74 (trans				

Regarding its Indo-European reconstruction, the form *kñasās*t has remained controversial down to the present day; cf. Hackstein 1993, Malzahn 2010, p. 609, and Peyrot 2013, p. 442. The verb form *kñasās*t was identified as an *s*-preterite by Winter & Schmidt 1992, Hackstein 1993 (cf. also Malzahn 2010, pp. 609–610), and it was further glossed as an intransitive form ‘are you knowledgeable, are you acquainted with’ by Sieg 1952 and Hackstein 1993, pp. 152–153. The insight that *kñasās*t is not a present form but an *s*-preterite rendered Jasanoff’s equation of *kñasās*t with the Hittite present *kanešzi* from an underlying Narten *s*-present PIE 3sg. **ḡneh₃-s-ti*, 3pl. **ḡneh₃-s-nti* (Jasanoff 1988 and 2003, p. 192) obsolete.⁹ Likewise impossible is the

⁹ Pace Jasanoff (1988, p. 236, 2003, p. 192), Alb. *njoh-* does not descend from **ḡnē-ske/o-*, but goes back to **ḡnh₃-ske-*, with analogical restoration of the onset **ḡn-* after the root aorist **ḡneh₃-*; see Klingenschmitt 1981, p. 130, Schumacher & Matzinger 2013, pp. 231–232. – For an account of Hittite *kane/išš-^{zi}*, see Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 434–435, s.v. *kane/išš-^{zi}* (Ib1) ‘to recognize, to acknowledge’:

form's interpretation as the imperfect of a Narten *s*-present as presumed by Jasanoff 2003, impf. PIE 3sg. **ǵnēh₃-s-t*, 3pl. **ǵnēh₃-s-nt* of inchoative meaning 'was getting knowledgeable about'. There remains, however, a major semantic problem which speaks against the interpretation of *kñasāšt* as an imperfect. The intransitive and presential semantics of *kñasāšt tu* 'are you knowledgeable?' only fit with a Tocharian preterite form and crucially not with a Tocharian imperfect. Only the functional array of a Tocharian preterite encompasses a presential attained state meaning, as I already argued in 1993, pp. 155–156. This presential and intransitive function is borne out by the Toch. A 1sg. form *kñasu*, which correlates with the 2sg. *kñasāšt*. The 1sg. preterite *kñasu* is attested in A214b6 + 76YQ1.4a1 *mā kñasu*, matching the Uighur negated participle *uqmaz* with auxiliary *ärdim* 'I cannot tell apart; ich kann nicht unterscheiden' (Shimin & Klimkeit 1988, p. 119, line 1491); cf. A305b3 *šärsā* 'I know; I'm well aware'; see further examples in Thomas 1957, pp. 209–217.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b15–21: 億耳即往問男。汝作何行今得是報。夜善晝惡。男言。汝何用問爲。億耳言。意欲知之。男言。汝識阿濕摩伽阿槃地國中王薩薄聚落不。億耳言識。男言。我是某甲屠兒。有長老迦旃延。常出入我家。我常供給飲食衣被湯藥。億耳。彼常語我言。 Koṭikarṇa went to the man and asked: "Which deed you did [previously] and receive now this result, enjoying at night [suffering] badly during daytime?" The man said: "Which matter does let you ask [such a question]?" Koṭikarṇa said: "I [simply] want to know it." The man said: "Do you know the village Vāsava in the country Aśmaka-Avanti?" Koṭikarṇa said: "I know". The man said: "I was [there] a butcher. There was Reverend Kātyāyana, who always visited my house. I always supplied him with food, drink, cloths and medicine. Koṭikarṇa (voc.), he always said to me:

Strophe 86

- a** (śós koluneyä)ṣ | plotāk, mälkärtēṃ | mā nāṣ tswe weñā: | [5 syll.] [A340b7]
b [3 syll.] (sām | we: ykonā pko |), oṣeṃ pkāmār | śikṣāpat, | mātne tmäkyok | mā nkatār.
c oṣe(ñi päre | śikṣāpat, ykonā)
d (koṣā)wā śós | tmi(s ca)ṣ oko | pärsātsām [1syll.] | (wärpñāmār) (||86||) [A340b8]
^a(śós koluneyä)ṣ Sieg 1952, p. 38 n. 21 ^coṣe(ñi päre śikṣāpat, ykonā) Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 1
^d(koṣā)wā śós tmi(s tā)ṣ Sieg 1952, p. 39 n.1, tmi(s ca)ṣ oko CEToM ad loc., oko pärsāt sām Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 2, *oko pärsātsām* (wärpñāmār) Itkin & Malyshev 2021, p. 53f.
 “^a‘Stop killing sheep, my friend!’ I didn’t comply. I said: ‘(…)’ ^b(…) he spoke: ‘During the day, kill, at night, keep the moral precept so that you won’t be ruined thereby’. ^c‘At night, I used to stick to the moral precept, during daytime, ^dI was killing sheep. I partake in this variegated fruit therefrom (here). (…).”

PIE **ǵneh₃-s-ti*, **ǵnh₃-s-enti*, (p. 435:) 3sg. **knāšzi*, 3pl. *kane/iššanzi* /knišant^si/. While Kloekhorst doesn’t accept the Narten-type of verbal inflection, he assumes the stem **ǵneh₃-s-*, which under the Narten type would function as the weak stem alternant.

86a: *mālkārteṃ* polite term of address (see *DTA* p. 345).

86c-d: *°oṣe(ñi pāre | śikṣāpat, ykonā) °(koṣā)wā śoś: pāre* ‘I was keeping, I used to keep’ ... *(koṣā)wā* ‘I was killing’ are imperfects of durative/habitual meaning.

86d: *tmi(s ca)ṣ oko pārsātsām (nāṣ ‘I [masc.]’/ tṣam ‘here’/ tām ‘that’) (wārpñāmār)* ‘I partake this variegated fruit therefrom (here)’. – *oko pārsātsām* ‘the variegated [i.e., good or bad] fruit’, obl.sg.m. (nom. *oko pārsa(m?)ts**) (Itkin & Malyshev 2021, p. 54).

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b21–26: 莫作惡行後得大苦。我時答言。先世以來以此爲業。今若不作那得自活。時迦旃延復語我言。汝作此惡晝多夜多。我言晝多。即語我言。汝夜受五戒可獲微善。我即從受。今得此報。夜善晝惡皆由作行。悔恨何益。 ‘Do not do bad deed, [with which] you receive severe suffering later.’ I answered at that time: ‘From the time of my ancestor, we have been engaged in this occupation. If I do not do this, how can I live by myself?’ Thereupon Kāśyapa said to me further: ‘Do you do this bad deed much during daytime or much at night?’ I said: ‘much during daytime’. Immediately he said to me: ‘If you keep the five moral precepts at night, you could acquire a little goodness’. I therefore accepted it. Now I receive this result, at night [the result of] goodness, during daytime [the result of] bad deed, everything is because of doing [my previous] deed. What is the use of regret?’

Strophe 87

a [7 syll.] (pā)lkāt ykoṃ pākār (tākar) (o)ñk k(u)l i āsānā :

b ñākcyā /// [A340b9] /// ne·ām nāmā ///

c [10 syll.]

d [15 syll.]

^a(pā)lkāt ykoṃ pākār (tākar) (o)ñk k(u)l i āsānā Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 1

^a(...) he saw during daytime (became) visible man (and) woman on a bed. ^bDivine (pleasures) (...) ^c(...), ^d(...)

Strophe 87 contains the story of a man who enjoys divine pleasures by day but suffers hellish pains by night, which is just opposite to the previously encountered man (butcher: see Str. 83–86 above). This part in the parallel version of the Sarv-Vin has Sanskrit fragments from two manuscripts, SHT 591 (M 655): cf. Waldschmidt 1952, and Pelliot Sanskrit bleu 11: cf. Wille 1993.

87a: *(o)ñk k(u)l i*, cf. **83b** above *(o)ñk yo k(u)l i*.

Parallels: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179b26–c5: 男問億耳。汝欲那去。答言。至王薩薄聚落。男言。從是道去。億耳便去。前行不久復見一樹。名波羅。住下止宿。搖樹落葉。細者自食。麤者與驢。時夜過晝來。是處復有床出。男出女出。顏貌端正。著珠寶天冠。共相娛樂。億耳即念。我不應住此觀他私事。如是至暮。床滅。女滅。百足蟲出。噉是男子。肉盡骨在。億耳念言。我悔不問。汝作何行。今得此報。晝善夜惡。當住待問。 The man asked Koṭikarṇa: “Where do you want to go?” [Koṭikarṇa] answered: “To the village Vāsava”. The man said: “Go this way along”. Thereupon Koṭikarṇa went away. Not far away after he (Koṭikarṇa) went ahead, he saw again a tree named palāśa, under which he [could] stay at night. He shook the tree and let the leaves fall, and ate the fine

ones for himself, gave the coarse ones to his donkey. While the night passed and it became daytime, there again, a couch appeared, a man appeared, and a woman appeared, who looked handsome and beautiful wearing heavenly jewelled crown, both enjoying together. Koṭikarṇa thought the following: “I should not stay here and watch other’s private affairs.” Meanwhile, it was getting dark, the couch disappeared, and the woman disappeared. There a centipede appeared, and it ate the man, whose flesh was exhausted until there bones remained. Koṭikarṇa thought: “I would regret if I do not ask him, which deed he did previously and receive now this result, enjoying during daytime and [suffering] at night badly. I should wait to ask it [until daytime].” — Sarv-Vin-Skt ¹⁰ [Pr1] [khakkha](tāni) + + + + + (gar)[d](a)bhā[nām] dadāti · yadā rātris aniṣkrāntā{h}⁽¹⁾ diva(sam āpatitaṃ tadā tat)r(a pradeśe śayanaṃ p)r(ā)du(r)[bhūt](aṃ) [st]r(ī) [pr](ā)[du]r[bhū](tā puruṣaḥ prādu)^[Pr2]rbhūto abh(i)rū(po darśanīya)ḥ prāsādikah śataracitena makūṭenābaddhena⁽²⁾ (kr)ī(ḍati) [ramati paricārayati · tataḥ] sa śravaṇaḥ k[o]ṭika[rmaḥ] pra .r + + .. + + ^[Pr3] tasyaitad abhava[m] + + cch. ka[m] syā]n na pratirūpaṃ yad aha^[Tr1]m etāv evaṃ rahogatau darśanāyopasaṃkrameyaṃ · api tu krīḍaṃtu⁽³⁾ tāvad ramaṃtu [pari]^[Pr4]cārayaṃtu · na .. + + (da)rśanāyopasaṃkramiṣyāmi · yadā divas(o) ’t(i)krāṃto rātrm⁽⁴⁾ ā^[Tr2]patitā⁽⁵⁾ tadā tac chayanam aṃtarhitam⁽⁶⁾ [·] strī aṃtarhitā⁽⁶⁾ śatapa^[Pr5]dī prādurbhūtā .. + + + [y]. ..ḥ khāditvā nirmāṃsa asthiśaṃkal[ā](va)śeṣo ’vasthāpi[taḥ] tasyaita[d abha]vad (dh)ik ka[ṣ]ṭaṃ ^[Tr3] kiṃ⁽⁷⁾ mayā kṛtaṃ yan na prṣṭaḥ kiṃ tvayā bhoḥ puru^[Pr6]ṣaḥ karma [k]ṛtaṃ yasya karma[ṇo] (vip)ā(k)e(na) [diva]sak[ā]le īdṛśī śrī[sam]pattih kiṃ [vā tva]yā karma kṛtaṃ yasya karma[ṇo] vipākena rātrkāle sā t^[Tr4]ādṛśī vi^[Pv1]pratipattiḥ (·) api tu ihaiva tāvad (āga)mayaṣyāmi ·

- (1) Wille emends *rātri*<ḥ> {*sa*} *niṣkrāntā*{*h*}. (2) Wille adds <*sa tayā sārḍham*>; Waldschmidt reconstructs (*tayā sārḍham krīḍati*). (3) Waldschmidt emends *krīḍatām*. (4) Wille emends *rātrir*. (5) Waldschmidt reconstructs (*u*)*panītā*. (6) T *antar*^o. (7) P *kin*.

Lacuna: Strophes 87b–88b

The remainder of the fragment THT 974 is lost. The content of the lacuna and the missing strophes 87b–88b (Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 6) must have contained the scene describing the tortures of the adulterer that had engaged in immoral sexual activities and was eaten by a centipede. This scene is transmitted by the Sanskrit parallel of the Sarv-Vin (Pelliot Sanskrit bleu 11, ed. Wille 1993, pp. 294, 297; cf. the parallels to str. 87 above and str. 88 below): *śata[p]adī prādurbhūtā ... khāditvā nirmāṃsa asthiśaṃkal[ā](va)śeṣo ’vasthāpi[taḥ]* “a centipede appeared ... and gnawed at the man until nothing but bones were left”.¹¹ Further support may come from the pictorial

¹⁰ The Sanskrit text is revised in comparing the two fragments (P = Pelliot Sanskrit bleu 11; T = THT 591 [M 655]), the reading of P owes to Wille 1993 and that of T to Waldschmidt 1952, of the latter the reconstruction is to advance.

¹¹ “Ein Hundertfüßler erschien und fraß den Mann an, bis das Fleisch aufgebraucht war und (nur noch)

description in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle” (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 138; Zin 2023, p. 517 drawing 430), cf. Waldschmidt (1952, pp. 138–139 fig. 4): “On the right-hand side of the pictorial description, we see Śroṇakoṭikarṇa again. He is sitting on a tree, watching sadly the scene that occurs underneath his feet. There is a man lying on the ground being savaged by two dogs; **and even further to the right, unfortunately particularly destroyed, a worm-like monster coils around gnawed bones. Here, the artist has abbreviated two events that occurred one after the other.**”¹² (my emphasis). It may be possible to discern the scene hinted at by Waldschmidt, but due to the damaged condition of the wall painting, one cannot be entirely certain; cf. Grünwedel 1920, Tafel 15–16, Fig. 2: see **fig. 1** with an enlargement of the relevant section of the image.

THT 975 (A341) + THT 1525

Fragment THT 975 (A341), whose remainder is lost, is complemented by THT 1525. For an edition of THT 1525, see Hackstein & Habata (forthcoming) §2.3. In the following strophes, the textual complements of fragment THT 1525 are italicized both in the East Tocharian transcription and in its English translation.

Strophe 88

a [20 syll.]

b ^[A341a1] [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | *ositis oko ñākciṃ* | *oṣeṃ oko ñareṣiṃ*

c [? syll.] ^[THT1525] /// .[w](e)[ñ](ā-m?tä /// [? syll.]

d [15 syll.] (||88||)

“^b(I enjoy by day) the heavenly fruit of moral behaviour, by night the hellish fruit (of adultery) ... ^c(...) *spoke* (...) ^d(...).

Strophe 88 continues the story of a man who enjoys divine pleasures by day but suffers hellish pains by night. He explains his previous deeds that caused his miserable state. It seems that the Tocharian version reduces the story to avoid redundancy with the previous story of the butcher, and begins the next episode somewhere in pāda c or d.

88b: *ositis oko ñākciṃ* | *oṣeṃ oko ñareṣiṃ* combines alliteration (2x *o-* *o-* *ñ-*) and syntactic parallelism; cf. Adams 2013b, pp. 10–11, 15, 25; *ositis* gen. of *osit* ‘moral behaviour’, borrowed from Middle Indic, see *DTA* p. 88.

Parallels: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179c5–18: 夜過晝來復有床出。男出女出顏貌端正。著珠寶天冠共相娛樂。億耳往問男子。汝作何行今獲此報。晝善夜惡。男言。汝何用問爲。億耳言。意欲知之。男言。汝識阿濕摩伽阿槃地國中王薩薄聚落不。答言識。

die Knochen übrig waren” (Wille 1993, p. 297).

¹² “Auf der rechten Seite des Bildes sieht man abermals Śroṇakoṭikarṇa. Er sitzt in einem Baum und sieht betrübt der Szene zu, die sich zu seinen Füßen abspielt. Dort liegt ein Mann am Boden, dem zwei Hunde den Leib zerfressen; und noch weiter rechts, leider besonders zerstört, windet sich ein wurmartiges Ungeheuer um abgenagte Knochen. Der Künstler hat hier zwei sich nacheinander zutragende Ereignisse abgekürzt dargestellt (...)” (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 139).

是中某甲男子姪犯他婦。有長老迦旃延。出入我家。我家常供給飲食衣被湯藥。億耳。爾時彼教我言。莫作惡行後得苦報。我答言。不能自抑當可如何。復語我言。汝於此事何時偏多。我言夜多。時迦旃延即語我言。受晝五戒可獲微善。我用其言。受晝五戒故獲斯報。晝善夜惡。悔恨先行無所復益。男問億耳。汝欲那去。答言。欲至王薩薄聚落。男言。從是道去。 The night passed and it became daytime, and the couch appeared again, a man appeared, and a woman appeared, who looked handsome and beautiful wearing heavenly jewelled crown, both enjoying together. Koṭikarṇa went to the man and asked: “Which deed you did [previously] and receive now this result, enjoying during daytime and [suffering] at night badly?” The man said: “Which matter does let you ask [such a question]?” Koṭikarṇa said: “I [simply] want to know it.” The man said: “Do you know the village Vāsava in the country Aśmaka-Avanti?” Koṭikarṇa said: “I know”. [The man said:] “I was [there] a man who committed sexual intercourse with a woman of another. There was Reverend Kātyāyana, who visited my house. My family always supplied him with food, drink, cloths and medicine. Koṭikarṇa (voc.), at that time, he taught me and said to me: ‘Do not do bad deed, [with which] you receive severe suffering later.’ I answered: ‘I cannot restrain myself. What should I do?’ Further, [Kāśyapa] said to me: ‘Which time do you do this bad deed much?’ I said: ‘much at night’. Thereupon he said to me: ‘If you keep the five moral precepts during daytime, you could acquire a little goodness’. I accepted, therefore, his words. Because during daytime I kept the five moral precepts, I receive this result, during daytime [the result of] goodness, at night [the result of] bad deed. It is no use to regret my previous deed”. The man asked Koṭikarṇa: “Where do you want to go?” [Koṭikarṇa] answered: “I want to go to the village Vāsava”. The man said: “Go this way along”. Thereupon Koṭikarṇa went away. — Sarv-Vin-Skt sa tasyaiva vaṭavṛkṣasya mūle dv[ītiy]āṃ rātriṃ vāsam [u]pagataḥ tad yadā rātr atikrāntā divasam āpa[tit](am) ^[Pv2] tadā tatra pra[de]^[Tv1]ś(e) tathaiva śayanam prādurbhūtaṃ strī prādurbhūtā puruṣaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ abhirūpo darśa[n]īyaḥ pr[ā]śādika śataraci[tena muku]ṭenābad[dh]ena⁽¹⁾ krī[ḍ](a)^[Pv3]ti ramati pari[c](āraya)^[Tv2][t]i · sa tam⁽²⁾ upasaṃkramyaivam āha · kiṃ tvayā bhoḥ puruṣa karma kṛtaṃ yasya karmaṇo vipākena divasakāle īdr[ī] ^[Pv4]śrīsaṃpattiḥ kiṃ [v](ā tvayā) [k](a)rma [kr]taṃ [ya]sya ka[r]maṇo ^[Tv3] vipākena rātrikāle sā tādrī vipratipattiḥ sa evam āha · bhavatu kiṃ tavā[n]e[na] sa e^[Pv5]vam āha · [a] .. + + + + sa evam āha · kacci<t> tvam jānīṣ[e a]śvāvaṃtiṣu ja[nap](ade)[ṣu vāsavag]rāmo ^[Tv4]nā[ma]⁽³⁾ · sa evam⁽⁴⁾ āha · jānāmi sa evam āha (·) tatrā^[Pv6]ham evaṃnāmā puruṣa āsam [p]āradārika [ā]ryakātyāyano me kule kulo[pa] .. + + + + + [tr]. .r. .e .. [g](l)[ānabhaiṣajyena ca] + + + +

- (1) Wille adds <sa tayā sārđham>; Waldschmidt reconstructs (tayā sārđham krīḍati). (2) P tām. (3) Waldschmidt reconstructs kiṃ tava (jñāto 'śmakāvantijanapadeṣu grāmo vāsavo) nāma: according to P, kiṃ tava belongs to the previous sentence bhavatu kiṃ tavā[n]e[na]. (4) T saivam.

Strophe 89

- a (tmaṃ aptsa)^[A341a2]rr oki | k_uli Imos ṣeṣ temi | lapāṣṣ āsānac | yalakāsyō sas :
b pret ka(kārku) | (ṣeṣ) [3 syll.] | [1 syll.] ^[THT1525](koṭi)[k](a)rṇem pālkātt | atsām

- ñomā* [3 syll.] (:)
- c** [5 syll.] | [5 syll.]
- d** (kaśśi)^[A341a3]nasam | lyutār memaṣ | paṣṇi klyomiṃ | śwātsik caṃ : || **89** ||
- ^a(*tmaṃ aptsa*)rr Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 7 ^b*ka(kārku ṣeṣ)* Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 9 ^d(*kaśśi*) nasam Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 9
- ^a(Therein) was sitting a woman like an (*apsa*)*r(as)*. To her seat ^ba *preta* was tied from the head with straps ... (*the woman*) saw *Koṭikarṇa* and (*greeted him*) with *his name* ... ^c(she enquired about his well being, he answered:) ^d“I’m hungry beyond all measure. Give me, oh noble one, something to eat!”
- 89a:** *kuli lmos ṣeṣ* ‘a woman was sitting’. – *temi* | *lapāṣṣ āsānac* shows colon-initial and post-caesural fronting (hyperbaton) of *lapāṣṣ* (see the remarks on meter and style in §2 above), presupposing **temi* | *āsānac lapāṣṣ*; *temi* is gen.sg.f. of *sām* ‘she’; *āsānac* all.sg. ‘to the seat’; *lapāṣṣ* abl.sg. ‘from the head’, ORu. *lobŭ* ‘forehead’, Gk. *λόφος* ‘top, crest’ (Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 54). – *yalakāsyo* instr.pl. ‘strap, bangle’ is a hapax legomenon, to be connected with Arm. *il* ‘spindle’ from PIE **h₁ēlo-* according to Pinault 2020, p. 215. The depiction of this scene in Kizil cave 212 however does not seem to show any binding (Zin 2023, p. 132 drawing 77, fig. 155), though the damaged state of the painting advises caution. – *sas* ‘one, a single’ nom.sg.m. of cardinal *sas*.
- 89b:** *pret* nom.sg.m. ‘preta’. – THT1525a2 (*koṭi*)[*k*](*a*)*rñeṃ pālkātts=āṃ* squares with A341a2, cf. Sieg 1952, p. 39: ‘The (beautiful) woman, sitting on a seat, (to which two *pretas* were tied,) beheld *Koṭikarṇa*, greeted him and inquired about his well being.’ – (*koṭi*)[*k*](*a*)*rñeṃ pālkātts=āṃ* (= *ats* + encl. pers.prn.) ‘she saw *Koṭikarṇa*’; clitic doubling: (*koṭi*)[*k*](*a*)*rñeṃ* ... *āṃ*. – (*koṭi*)*karñeṃ* is identified as obl.sg. by Itkin (2019, p. 112) and *DTA* p. 153. This seems problematic because “[d]ie o[st]toch. Substantiva zeigen—abgesehen von den Bildungen auf -*ṃ*—gewöhnlich keine besondere Form des Obl. Sg. gegenüber dem N.” (Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 109 §143). Alternatively, we might be dealing with the Toch. A suffix *-eṃ* [B -*ññe*] denoting appurtenance, e.g., *rāmeṃ* ‘of *Rāma*, belonging to *Rāma*’ (Krause & Thomas 1960, pp. 146–147 §219,1). – *pālkātts=ats*: *ats* triggers gemination of final consonants; cf. *DTA* p. 21. The woman beheld *Koṭikarṇa*, greeted him and inquired about his well being; cf. A341a2, Sieg 1952, p. 39.
- 89d:** (*kaśśi*) nasam lyutār memaṣ ‘I’m hungry beyond all measure’, the dropped subject pronoun requires the copula *nasam* to be overt; see the commentary on **91d** below. – impv. 2sg. *paṣṇi*, *wās-* ‘give’, see above **78d**. – *klyomiṃ* voc.sg.f. – *śwātsi-k* ‘to eat’, *caṃ* ‘something’ obl. of indef. prn. *saṃ*.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179c18–28: 前行復見林樹池水清淨。億耳於中洗浴飲驢。是池邊有堂。衆寶莊嚴。億耳仰視見堂。即作是念。我飢渴欲死。當何所在。即便上堂。誦佛經偈 飢爲第一病 行爲第一苦 如是知法寶 涅槃第一樂。上堂見女人坐象牙床。床脚繫二餓鬼。是女識億耳字。問訊沙門億耳。道路不極不渴不飢耶。億耳自念。是女人生不見我。乃識我字。何以得爾。女即喚億耳坐。共相問訊。語女言。貴女乞我食。 [*Koṭikarṇa*] went ahead and saw a grove and a pond with clear water.

Koṭikarṇa washed himself there and let his donkey drink. On the shore of the pond, there was a residence decorated with many jewels. Koṭikarṇa, looking above at the residence, thought the following: “I am hungry and thirsty to die. What should be there?” Immediately he entered the residence, and recited the verse from Buddhist scripture: “Thirst is the uppermost disease, saṃskāra is the uppermost suffering. Knowing in this way the jewel of the truth, nirvāṇa is the uppermost comfort.”¹³ Entering the residence, [Koṭikarṇa] saw a woman sitting on the ivory couch. Two *pretas* were bound to the legs of the couch. This woman noticed the name of Koṭikarṇa, and asked: “Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa, was the way not exhausting? [are you] not thirsty? not hungry?” Koṭikarṇa thought: “This woman has not seen me [before], but notice my name. How could she get it?” The woman invited Koṭikarṇa to take a seat. They greeted each other. [Koṭikarṇa] spoke to her: “I beg you, noble lady, to give me food.”

Strophe 90

a [A341a3]_kulyi weñāṃ emci | [5 syll.] | 1 syll.] [THT1525] (*ā*)sānac ceṃ | kakārkuṣ nāñi :

b [THT1525] cassāṃ [ś]w(ātsi) | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] |
(weñār ko)^[A341a4]ṭikarṇenac :

c kārūṇik nātāk | «†k»kaśśiñ was a(ryu) [1 syll.]

d [5 syll.] | [5 syll.] | [5 syll.] (||90||)

^b(weñār ko)ṭikarṇenac Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 11 ^aa(ryu) Sieg 1952, p. 39 n. 14

^a The woman spoke to him: “I shall give you (something to eat) ... *these (pretas)* are bound to my seat.” ^bShe put up food at his disposal... they spoke to Koṭikarṇa:

^c “Oh merciful mister, we have been hungry for a long time. ^d ... ”

90a: THT1525a3 (*ā*)sānac ceṃ kakārkuṣ nom.pl.m. ‘these were tied to the seat’ refers to the two *pretas*; the *preta* tied to the seat from the upper side was the woman’s husband, the other *preta* tied to the seat from its lower side was her son; cf. A341a2 pāda 89b (*ā*)sānac kakārku, A341a9 pāda 94a kusne sās lapāṣ kakār(ku). – A kārka- ‘bind’ belongs to Lith. *keĩgti* ‘tie to, add’, *kargĩti* ‘plait, join crosswise’ (Fraenkel 1932, p. 229); cf. Lat. *carcer* m. ‘jail, prison; traps’ (Pisani 1942-43, p. 245). – *nāñi* gen.sg.f. ‘of me’ designates the woman, for colon-final *nāñi* followed by double dot, cf. A341b3 pāda 95a *nāñi*.

90b: THT1525a3 cassāṃ [ś]w(ātsi) ‘she put up food at his disposal’; cf. A341a3 pāda 89a ‘Sie gab ihm zu essen’ (Sieg 1952, p. 39) might correlate with A341b2 pāda 95c *śwātsi* yoktsi *tāsy* | *āyim=āṃ ca(m)* [1 syll.] ‘anything I gave her as food and drink to stock up’ (Sieg 1952, p. 40, followed by *DTA* p. 205). – The colon (*weñār ko*)ṭikarṇenac shows contraction of 4+3 > 7; cf. §2 above.

90c: *kārūṇik nātāk* ‘Oh merciful mister’, the passage shows *kārūṇik* both in the meaning ‘merciful’, since the *pretas* are begging for mercy (cf. the remark above on 78a *kārūṇik*

¹³ This verse corresponds Dhp 203: *jighacchāparamā rogā, saṃkhārā paramā dukkhā, etaṃ ṇatvā yathābhūtaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*. For further parallels of the verse see Mizuno 1981, p. 168.

wrasom), and as an honorary title, cf. Itkin 2014, p. 96. – «*ṛk*»*kaśśiñ was a(ryu)* ‘we have been hungry for a long time’ copulaless nominal clause.

90d: THT1525a4 [*pä*]/*l(k)e* prt.1sg.mp. ‘I beheld’.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 179c28–180a6: 女言相與。汝但莫與是二餓鬼。億耳言。貴女。今我飢急何能與鬼。女即與水洗手與食。是女欲令億耳知此因緣故。小出堂外。時二餓鬼伸手語沙門億耳。乞我一口。乞我半口。我腹中飢如火燒。沙門億耳。先好布施憐愍衆生。作是思惟。我飢急辛苦。是餓鬼那得不苦。各各與一口。是二餓鬼著食口中。是食變成膿血。少多咽還吐出。 The woman said: “I take care to give, but you should not give it to these two *pretas*”. Koṭikarṇa said: “Noble lady, I am now urgently hungry, why I could give it to the *pretas*”. Thereupon, the woman gave water, washed hands, and gave food. Because the woman wanted to let Koṭikarṇa understand this affair, she went out of the residence. At that time, the two *pretas* stretched hands and said: “Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa, we beg one mouthful of food, we beg a half mouthful of food. We are hungry as if the fire is burning in the stomach”. Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa, who liked before to give donations out of compassion for people, thought the following: “I am urgently hungry, suffering severely. How do these *pretas* get no suffering?” He gave each one mouthful of food. While these two *pretas* kept the food in mouths, the food changed into blood and pus, less or much came back from the throat out.

Strophe 91

- a** [5 syll.] | [5 syll.] | (u)^[A341a5]mpa(r)ñ(ām) w(a)ryo | paprutkār wimām :
b k_uli yeṣ [2 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.]
c [5 syll.] | [2 syll.] (k_uli ā)^[A341a6]lyāk :
d we tām k_uleyac | kaśśi nasam | śwātsi kly(omim) | (pūtkā-ñi) (||91||)
^a(u)mpa(r)ñ(ām) w(a)ryo Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 1 ^c(ā)lyāk Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 3
^a(...) had the palace infested with an ugly smell. ^bThe woman was coming (...)
^canother (woman). ^dShe spoke to the other woman: “I’m hungry. (Allot me), oh no(ble one), (something to) eat.”

91a: (u)mpa(r)ñ(ām) w(a)ryo ‘with an ugly smell’, paprutkār wimām causative prt.[2].3pl.act. ‘they had the palace infested’.

91d: kaśśi nasam with covert subject (dropped 1st pronoun) the copula must (1sg. *nasam*) be overt, otherwise the copula is dropped as in pāda 79a above *māttak nāṣ kaśśi*.

Parallels: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a6–13: 滿堂臭惡。女人還入見。臭處滿堂。女言。我語汝莫與。何以與之。億耳言。姊妹。我不知是事故與。女即除吐掃灑燒香。還坐本處。億耳語。姊妹更與我食。女言。我不惜食。設與汝者恐更與鬼。是事不可。億耳言。姊妹我先不知故與。今不復爾。是女即以水洗手與億耳食。是時更有一女來語。貴女與我食。 The residence was filled with bad smell. The woman came back and entered there and saw that the bad smell filled the residence. The woman said: “I told you that you should not give [food to them]. Why you gave them [food]?” Koṭikarṇa said: “Sister, because I did not know this affair, I gave them”. Thereupon, the woman swept vomit away, washed it off, burnt incense, and sat back to her original position. Koṭikarṇa

said: “Sister, give me food again”. The woman said: “I am not stingy with [giving you] food. If I give you [food], I am afraid of your giving again to the *pretas*. It is not possible.” Koṭikarṇa said: “Sister, I did not know before, because of that I gave. Now I do not repeat”. Thereupon the woman washed her hands with water and gave food to Koṭikarṇa. At this time, there came another woman and said: “Noble lady, please give me food”.

Strophe 92

- a** [20 syll.]
b [4 syll.] | [A341a7]lyalypurṣi want | wortam kumpaṃ | śūci-śpāl | paktāṃ ymār tmaṃ
 | kapśaṇi :
c ṣṇi lyalypāmntu(yo) | [5 syll.]
d [15 syll.] (||92||)

^bśūci-śpāl DTA p. 494 ^clyalypāmntu(yo) Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 6

^a(...) ^bthe karmic wind had let her whirl into the cauldron head-over. She, having a mouth like a needle pin, had quickly cooked (for herself) her own body therein.

^cBy the consequences of her own deeds (...) ^d(...).

92b: *lyalypurṣi want* nom.sg.m./f. ‘the wind of the deeds and their consequences’ (DTA pp. 409, 423), *wortaṃ* causative reduplicated prt.[2].3sg.act. ‘had let her turn/whirl’, *kumpaṃ* ‘into the cauldron’. – *śū[ti]-śpāl* (Sieg & Siegling 1921, p. 188) is to be read as *śūci-śpāl* (DTA p. 494). The compound *śūci-śpāl* means neither ‘kopfüber’ (Sieg 1952, p. 40; Thomas 1964, p. 150) nor ‘needle-headed (ghost)’ (DTA p. 494, Skt. *sūci-mukha-*), but rather means ‘having a mouth like a needle, as small as the eye of a needle’ as a translational equivalent of Skt. *sūci-mukha-*. Its Toch. A rendering *śūci-śpāl* either denotes a *preta* that has a head with a mouth like a needle or presupposes a false interpretation of *sūci-mukha-* as ‘needle head’ owing to the ambiguity of Skt. *mukha* as ‘mouth, head’. In any case *śūci-śpāl* refers to the outward characteristics of the *pretas*. Owing to their extreme hunger and emaciation (cf. pādas 77b, 79b above), the *pretas* had shrunk mouths looking like [the] eye of a needle and narrow needle-pin necks so that they were no longer able to swallow food and were constantly starving, cf. again the description of the *pretas* in the *Avadānaśataka* 249.7: *sūcīchidropamamukhīm*, transl. Rotman 2021: “There he saw a hungry ghost (...) **with [a] mouth like [the] eye of a needle (...)**” (cf. 77b above), for which cf. Zin 2023, p. 132 and Moretti 2017. Cf. also Skt. *sūcī-mukha-* PW s.v. ‘einen Mund so spitz wie eine Nadel habend’. The *pretas* are often described with *sūcīmukha*: cf. Zin & Schlingloff 2007, pp. 89–91 (= Zin & Schlingloff 2022, pp. 105–108), among the quoted texts there, one older evidence could be found in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa: *sūcīchidropamamukhāḥ parvatopamakukṣayaḥ | kṣuttarṣajanitair duḥkhaiḥ pīḍyante duḥkhabhāgināḥ* “They, possessors of torments, having a mouth like a hole of a needle and a stomach like a mountain, are pressed by torments produced through hunger and

thirst.” (BC XIV 28). Further cf. the strophe 93 in the *Suḥṛllekha* of Nāgārjuna¹⁴: *sūcīcchidrānumukhāḥ parvatanibhakukṣayaḥ kṣudhārtāḥ svairam | kecit praveritān apy aśucilavān śaknuvanti nābhyavahartum* || 93 || (*Suḥṛllekha*, ed. Szántó 2021). “(The *pretas*), having mouths like needle’s eyes and bellies similar to mountains, are tortured with hungry of their own accord, they cannot eat even scraps thrown away, (even) filthy one”. In sum *ṣūci-śpāl* must therefore better be translated as ‘having a mouth like the eye/pin of a needle’.

The verb *pakt=ām ymār tmaṃ kapśāṇi* is not intransitive as previously thought (Schmidt 1969, p. 130 “schnell kochte ihr Körper darin”), but a transitive-reflexive middle (“She, as a needle-headed ghost, cooked herself quickly therein”, *DTA* p. 494), cf. the pictorial description in Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle” (Waldschmidt 1952, p. 141 fig. 6; Zin 2023, p. 517 drawing 430). Cf. the *pretas*’ habit of eating dead (cremated) flesh (Moretti 2017 sub 10). – The root preterite 3sg.mp. **92b** *pakt=* ‘had cooked for herself’ shows a pluperfect meaning like **84a** *lyokāt* ‘had lit up’, *nakāt* ‘had vanished’. The morphological interpretation of these forms has remained controversial (Malzahn 2010, pp. 113–115), ranging from putative hyperarchaic *o*-grade root aorists (Jasanoff 2003, p. 180) to more recent analogical creations.

Krause & Thomas 1960, p. 247 explained these forms persuasively as due to aorist-perfect syncretism. The *o*-grade comes from the classical Indo-European perfect, and the pluperfect meaning of the forms in question points to novel *o*-grade pluperfects of the Homeric type †*h₂ueh₂uórto* > (αἰὲν) ἄωρτο ‘(the sword) had been hung and was (always) hanging’ (*Il.* 3.272 = 19.253, confirmed by Theoc. 24.43 as per Hackstein 2002a, pp. 202–204); likewise innovative †*[ne]nókto* → **[no]nókto* > PToch. **néktæ* > Toch.A *nákāt* ‘had vanished’. –

Root preterite stressed on root syllable	Preterite participle stressed on redupl. syllable
A <i>pákāt</i> ‘had cooked’	A * <i>pá-pk-u</i> > <i>pákkū</i> ‘cooked, ripe’
A <i>nákāt</i> ‘had disappeared, was gone’	A <i>ná-nk-u</i> ‘gone’
PIE perf. strong stem, redupl. <i>o</i> -vowel copied; PToch. destressed reduplicant by * <i>k^wétuores</i> > * <i>k^wetuóres</i> accent shift and elision of unstressed reduplicant : * <i>pé-pok^w</i> > * <i>pe-pók^w</i> → † <i>[po-]pók^w-to</i> > A <i>pákāt</i> * <i>né-nok^w</i> > * <i>ne-nók^w</i> → † <i>[no-]nók^w-to</i> > A <i>nákāt</i>	PIE perf. weak stem, leveling of reduplicant <i>o</i> -vowel from strong to weak stem; PToch. accent retraction in disyllabics; stressed reduplicant : * <i>pe-pk^w-uōs</i> > → * <i>pó-pk^w-uōs</i> > A <i>pákkū</i> * <i>ne-nk^w-uōs</i> > → * <i>nó-nk^w-uōs</i> > A <i>nánku</i>

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a13–17: 女言食汝常食。作是語已。即有三錡鑊^鼎火湯沸。是女脫衣著一面入鑊中。皮肉爛盡唯有骨鎖。冷風來吹。即得出鑊還活。著衣 5 噉其爛肉。噉已而去。億耳故食。更有女來言。The woman said: “Eat what you usually eat”. Immediately after she had said this word, there appeared a tripod, in a cauldron above fire, hot water was boiling. The [another] woman took her dress off, put

¹⁴ We owe this reference to Dr. Taiken Kyuma.

on one cloth, and entered into the cauldron. Her skin and flesh were boiled down until there remained only bones. Cold wind blew, and she came out of the cauldron alive, put dress on, and devoured the boiled flesh. Having devoured up, she went away. Koṭikarṇa ate [his meal]. Thereupon further another woman came and said:

Strophe 93

- a** ^[A341a8] (ka)ś(ś)i nasam we | śwātsi pūtkā ñi | tāmnek tāmāc we | tmāk sām ās tāk ek (:)
- b** śwātsy o(sāt) [1 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] | [4 syll.] [3 syll.] ^[A341a9](:)
- c** [5 syll.] | [5 syll.]
- d** (pārksātām kuc) | lyalypāmntu yas | yāmtsāc ā(kṣṇā) | (klyo)m {i}m sām (||93||)
^a(ka)ś(ś)i Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 6 ^bo(sāt) Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 9 ^d(pārksātām kuc) ā(kṣṇā) (klyo)mim Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 11
^a“I’m hungry”, she spoke: “Allot me food”. “Thus”, she (the noble woman) spoke to her. She immediately became a goat. Food ^bshe began to eat. (...) ^c(...) ^dHe asked her: “Which deeds have you done (for yourselves)?” She, the noble one reported.

93a: (ka)ś(ś)i nasam, see **91d** above, we śwātsi pūtkā-ñi causative impv.[2].2sg.act. ‘order, have allotted to me’ of wātḱ-. – tāmnek tāmāc we ‘thus, she spoke to her’; tāmnek ‘thus’ designates “Eat what you usually eat”, which is the repeated statement of str. 92 in the lacuna of the Tocharian fragment, cf. Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a13 (corresponds to str. 92) and 180a17–18 (to str. 93) “The (noble) woman said: ‘Eat what you usually eat’ (女言食汝常食)”. – tmāk sām ās tāk ‘she immediately became a goat’. – ek ‘fodder’ (Skt. *bhoga*, DTA p. 68). – ^bśwātsy o(sāt) ‘she began to eat’.

The begging woman changing into a sheep/goat is the conspicuous difference of the Sarv-Vin from the other versions: see Waldschmidt 1952, pp. 141–142.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a17–21: 貴女與我食。女言食汝常食。作是語竟。女變成羖羊噉草。沙門億耳如是思惟。自疑我或人中死生此餓鬼國耶。即語貴女是何等事。女言。何用問爲。億耳言。意欲得知。“Noble lady, give me food”. The woman said: “Eat what you usually eat”. After she had said this word, the [another] woman changed into a sheep and devoured grass. Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa thought the following: “I wonder if I died among people and am born in this region of *pretas*?” Thereupon he said: “Noble lady, what is this affair?” The woman said: “For which use do you ask?” [Koṭikarṇa answered:] “I want to know”.

Strophe 94

- a** ^[A341a9] kusne sās lapāṣ | kakā(rku) [12 syll.]
- b** ^[A341b1] [15 syll.] | (ś)w(ā)tsi yoktsi cem māñcānt :
- c** śwā(l) (mā) (śwā)t māccāk | eṣt ālu penū :
- d** wlo(s) [14 syll.] (||94||)
kakā(rku) Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 12 ^cśwā(l) (mā) (śwā)t Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 14 ^dwlo(s) Sieg 1952,

p. 40 n. 15

^a“This one who is tied to the seat from the upper side (...) ^b(...) food and drink. They were upset: “You do not eat yourself (fem.) what you are supposed to eat. But you are giving it to others. ^d(You [fem.] have) shattered’ (...).”

94a: *kusne sās lapāṣ* | *kakā(rku)* ‘This one who is tied to the seat from the upper side,’ [he was my husband (Sieg 1952, p. 40)]. Inherited correlative clause construction with preposed relative clause and resumptive demonstrative in Wackernagel position following the relative pronoun.

94b: *cem māñcānt* prt.3pl.mp. ‘they were upset’.

94c: *ālu* genitive of beneficent ‘of/to/for others’ (Hackstein 2017, p. 1314). – *penū* ‘however’: ‘you, however, are giving it to others’.

94d: *wlo(s)* prt.ptc.nom.sg.f. of *wālā-* ‘shatter’ (‘zerschlagen’, Couvreur 1954, p. 261, DTA p. 440, Hackstein 1995, p. 302 n. 43, Latin *vellere* ‘pull, pluck out’, Hittite *walahzi*, *walhanzi* ‘beat’, LIV² p. 679). This corresponds to ‘You tire yourself in vain’ in the Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a26 (汝空自疲勞).

Parallel: 180a21–28: 女言。汝識阿濕摩伽阿槃地國中王薩薄聚落不。億耳言識。是一鬼繫我頭邊床脚者。是我夫某甲居士。繫我脚邊床脚者。是我兒。有長老迦旃延。出入我舍。受我衣服湯藥供養。是二人瞋我言。我作財辛苦。而持與他。汝空自疲勞。後世當得膿血之報。以是慳貪不惠布施墮餓鬼中。是惡口業報故。與食變爲膿血。 The woman said: “Do you know the village Vāsava in the country Aśmaka-Avanti?” Koṭikarṇa said: “I know”. “This *preta* who is bound to the leg of my couch on the head side, is my husband, householder with a certain name. [The other *preta*], who is bound to the leg of my couch on the foot side, is my son. Reverend Kātyāyana visited my house, and received my offering of cloths and medicine. These two (husband and son) got angry and said: ‘We make a fortune with endeavour, and you give it to others. You tire yourself in vain, and you receive in the future the retribution of pus and blood’. They were stingy and not glad at donation, because of that, they fell into the *preta* [state]. Because of the result of the karman of this abuse, if one gives them food, it changes into pus and blood”.

Strophe 95

a [b²][5 syll.] | [4 syll.] (śwā)ṣ | sām nāñi seyo | śām ṣeṣ kucne ñūk :

b śwātsi yoktsi tāsya āyim-ām | ca(m) (tāp māccāk) [3syll.] | [7syll.]

c [10 syll.]

d [2 syll.] [b³](ant)uṣ | śwāl tāpim ypā | tmiṣ caṃ oko | wārpnātār || **95** ||

^b(tāp māccāk) Hackstein ^d(ant)uṣ Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 17

“^a(...) eats. She used to be the wife of my [fem.] son. Whatever food and drink I [fem.] ^bwould give to her to keep, that (she ate herself ...) ^c(...) ^d‘(...) then may I eat what is to be eaten. (So) I did’. From that she receives this fruit.”

95a: *sām* ‘she’, *nāñi* gen.sg.f. ‘my’, *seyo* ‘son’s’ (Ringe 1996, pp. 61–63). – *śām* ‘wife’. – *ṣeṣ* habitual impf.3sg.act. ‘used to be’.

95a-b: ^a*kucne ñūk* ^b*śwātsi yoktsi tāsya āyim-ām*, *ca(m)* (*tāp māccāk*) ‘Whatever food and

drink I [fem.] ^bwould give to her to keep, that (she ate herself ... [Sieg 1952, p. 40]).’ – *tāsy* ‘to keep, stock up’, ‘aufbewahren’ (Sieg 1952, p. 40), infinitive von A *tā-* ‘put, place’, cf. **90b2** above.

95d: (*ant*)*uṣ* | *śwāl tāpim ypā* belongs to the statement of the wife of the son, when she was reproached by her mother-in-law. She is telling a lie that she did not eat the food given to her but not for her.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180a28–b2: 億耳言。是女何以自噉肉。女言。是女我兒婦。以物與舉。或自噉若與人。我問時如是言。我不噉不與他。若自噉若與他者。我當自噉肉。是故今自噉肉。Koṭikarṇa said: “Why does this woman devour her own flesh?” The woman said: “This woman was the wife of my son. I gave her something for offering, and then she devoured it herself or gave it to others. When I asked her, she said: ‘I did not devour nor gave it to others. If I devoured it myself or gave it to others, I should devour my own flesh’. Because of that, now she devours her own flesh”.

Strophe 96

- a** kusne sām ek śwāṣ | sām ne(ṣā) [2 syll.] | [5 syll.] | [5 syll.]
b [4 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] (sā)^[A341b4]m | ās ek śwānt | ñūk śkaṃ cesnaṃ | māñcāwe :
c ñāktasaṃ [2 syll.] | [5 syll.]
d [15 syll.] (|| **96** ||)

^ane(ṣā) Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 19 ^b(sā)m Sieg 1952, p. 40 n. 19

^a“This (woman) who eats the fodder, she (used to be my servant) in the past (...)

^bshe (is) a goat, eating fodder. I [fem.] too was (constantly) upset against them.

^b(...) ‘among the gods (...)’ ^d(...)”

96a: *kusne sām ek śwāṣ* | *sām ne(ṣā)* ‘This (woman) who eats the fodder, she (used to be my servant) in the past’, correlative clause construction; cf. **94a** above.

96b: (*sā*)*m ās ek śwānt* ‘she (is) a fodder-eating goat’, copulaless nominal clause, prs.ptc. *śwānt* better to be construed attributively, since converbs would take middle inflection. – *ñūk śkaṃ* ‘and I [fem.]’. – *cesnaṃ* loc.pl.m of *saṃ* ‘against these’, i.e., ‘against my relatives’ with unmarked gender of general reference, cf. Schmidt 1969, p. 165. – *māñcāwe* imperfect 1sg.mp ‘I was (constantly) upset’.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180b2–8: 是第二女復作何等。變作羖羊噉草。貴女言。是我婢。我使舂磨。或自噉或與他。若問時言。我不自噉不與他。若自噉若與他者。我後世當作羊噉草。以是因緣今作羊噉草。億耳言。汝作何行。女言。我有少罪。我是中不久住。我此間死。當生四天王天中。汝能少爲我不。億耳言何等事。[Koṭikarṇa asked:] “What did this second woman do, who changed into a sheep and devoured grass?” The noble woman said: “This is my servant. I let her grind grain in millstone, which she devoured herself or gave it to others. When I asked her, she said: ‘I did not devour myself nor gave it to others. If I devoured it myself or gave it to others, I should become a sheep in the future and devour grass’. Through this cause, she became now a sheep and devour grass”. Koṭikarṇa said: “Which deed did you do?” The woman said: “I had a small sin. I do not live here for long. After I die here [among *pretas*], I

should be born in the heaven of the four kings of gods. Could you do a little for me?”
Koṭikarṇa said: “What shall I do?”

Strophe 97

- a** (yśe koṭika)^[A341b5]rṇe | vāsavagrām tām | śūkṣaṃ wrasaśśi | wasām (ckācar naṣ :)
b [22 syll.]
c [5 syll.] | (tmä)^[A341b6]k entsāt poke :
d kāmātām sām | pretāñc śla (l)w(ā) | [4 syll.] | [3 syll.] (||97 ||)
^a(yśe koṭika)rṇe Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 1 (ckācar naṣ :) Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 3 ^c(tmä)k Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 3 ^d(l)w(ā) Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 5
^a“Hey Koṭikarṇa, in Vāsavagrāma, the village of humans our (daughter) is staying
^b(...)” ^c(...) at once (she) grabbed (him) by her arm. ^dThe *preta*-woman took him with his animals (...)

97a: (yśe koṭika)rṇe (DTA p. 382 s.v. yśe). – wasām ‘of us’. – (ckācar) ‘daughter’. – (naṣ) ‘is staying’: the existential verb must be overt.

97c: (tmä)k entsāt poke obl.sg. ‘arm’ (DTA p. 295).

97d: kāmātām prt.3sg.mp. ‘she took him with herself’ (PIE **kemh*₂- ‘work hard’, Ringe 1996, p. 35, Gk. κομίζω). – sām pretāñc ‘the *preta* woman’: the noble woman is mentioned as *preta*, whereas Sarv-Vin-Chin — that otherwise well corresponds to the Tocharian version — never mentions her as *preta* (餓鬼 ‘hungry ghost/demon’). Because of the generally known figure of the ‘hungry ghost’ who is emaciated and always desires water and food (as depicted in str. 77–82), it is peculiar that such a beautiful noble woman like *apsaras* (see str. 89) and is never short of food is called *preta*. In the version of the *Divyāvadāna*, she is mentioned as *pretamaharddhikā* ‘*preta* with supernatural power’ (*Divy* 14.19).¹⁵ Edgerton (BHSD s.v. *maharddhika*) noticed this peculiarity and explains “said of a class of pretas whose position as such has been mitigated, though not completely relieved, either by their own actions or by merit transferred to them by others”; cf. also “wealthy *pretas*” mentioned in Zin 2023, p. 133. – śla (l)w(ā) ‘with animals’: the animals probably designate the donkey(s) that attend(s) Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa in his adventure in the world of the dead. It is also the conspicuous difference of the Sarv-Vin from the other versions: see Waldschmidt 1952, pp. 137–138.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180b9–20: 女言。王薩薄聚落中我有女。未知修善。汝還至彼。爲我語是女某甲。我見汝父母兄婦婢。唯汝母獨受福。餘者受罪。汝母因我語汝。莫作惡事。後世多受苦報。汝若不信汝母言。是處有藏。大有錢財。取爲我

¹⁵ *yayā mayāryamahākātyāyanam piṇḍakena pratipādyā praṇīte trayastrimśe devanikāye upapattavyam sāhaṃ mithyāpraṇidhānavaśāt pretamaharddhikā saṃvṛttā* “I, who offered alms food to noble Mahākātyāyana and it should be reborn among the group of gods, being brought to the thirty-three heaven — such I am turned out as a *preta* with great supernatural power because of false vow.” (*Divy* 14.17–19).

作福供養僧。亦供養長老迦旃延殘餘可以自活。作是語已問億耳言。汝欲去耶。答言欲去。女言汝瞑眼。即如其言便瞑眼。須臾之頃。便於王薩薄聚落不遠置之。是諸商客先到聚落者。諸人問之。何以不見沙門億耳。諸商客言。大海中失。是時聚落諸人聞其失億耳。舉邑啼哭如喪父母。The woman said: “There is my daughter in the village Vāsava. She does not know how to practice good conduct. When you come back there, for my sake, please say to her the following: ‘Lady, a certain name, I saw your father, mother, brother, his wife, and servant. Only your mother alone receives happiness, the others receive [the result of] sins. Your mother let me tell you — Do not do bad conduct, [if you do bad conduct] you will receive much suffering as the result in the future. If you cannot believe the word of your mother, there is a storehouse which contains a large amount of money. Take it out for me to do fortune by offering saṅgha. Offer Reverend Kātyāyana, and with the rest of it you should live by yourself’. After she finished her word, she asked Koṭikarṇa: “Do you want to go away?” He said: “I want to go away”. The woman said: “Close your eyes”. Immediately, he closed his eyes as she said. In a while, she laid him not far from the village Vāsava. The merchants [of his caravan ship], who arrived in the village previously, to them people asked: “Why do we not see Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa?” The merchants said: “He was lost in the ocean”. At that time, when people in the village heard that Koṭikarṇa was lost, everyone in the whole village lamented and wept as if they had lost their parents.

Strophe 98

- a** [20 syll.]
b (trāṅki)^[A341b7]ñc ceṣ māḥ | wrasañ weñār | koṭikarṇe | sārthavāk | ytāraṃ ñakās |
 kāpñe śol (:)
c [5 + 1 syll.] ^[THT1525b7] m̥[ā]rś[o] pre yiñc :
d ^[THT1525b7] [tā]m sās klyoṣā t[m]ā[ṣ] /// [3 + 7 Silben] (||98||)

^b(trāṅki)ñc Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 5

^a ... ^bthey say. These many people were telling: “Koṭikarṇa, the caravan leader, lost his dear life.” ^c“... not today”. They are leaving. ... ^dHe heard that. Then ...

Strophe 98 narrates Koṭikarṇa’s coming back to his hometown, Vāsavagrāma: he experienced that people are talking of his death in the ocean. In order to refrain from astonishing his parents, he decided to visit first the daughter of the noble woman to give her the message. This part of visiting the daughter, which is already explained in detail when he received the message from the noble woman, seems to be reduced in the Tocharian version, again to avoid redundancy.

98b: *ceṣ māḥ wrasañ* ‘these many people’.

98c: *pre yiñc* prs.3sg. ‘they are going forward/away from somewhere, they are leaving’.

98d: *klyoṣā* impf.3sg.act. ‘he was hearing’.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180b20–c3: 億耳問之。何以如此。諸人言。沙門億耳大海中失。以其失故啼哭相吊。億耳即作是念。我死消息聞是聚落如是憂憤。若今見我必復擾動。何須復歸。彼貴女囑我語其女。當爲至彼。億耳漸到女舍。共相問訊語

其女言。某甲知不。我見汝父母兄婦婢盡在餓鬼中。唯汝母獨受福。餘者受苦。汝母語汝。莫作惡事後受苦報。女言。咄男子。汝癡人汝狂人。我父母布施作福德。死必生天。何以故在餓鬼中。億耳即語女言。汝母言。某處有藏。廣大錢物在中。爲我作福。供養僧及長老迦旃延。殘餘自活。是女聞已便至藏所。發取大得錢財。得以生信。如其母勅。即以供養衆僧。Koṭikarṇa asked about it: “Why is [people] doing like this?” People said: “Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa was lost in the ocean. Because of this loss, we are weeping and grieving each other”. Koṭikarṇa thought the following: “Hearing the news of my death, the village [people] is sorrowing. If they now see me [alive], they would be agitated. Why should I make a comeback? [I will do] the commission of the noble woman to tell her daughter. I should reach there”. After a while, Koṭikarṇa reached the house of the woman. After exchanging greetings, he said to the daughter: “Daughter, (an unknown personal name), do you know? I saw your father, mother, brother, his wife and servant among *pretas*. Only your mother alone receives happiness, the others receive suffering. Your mother [let me] tell you — ‘Do not do bad conduct, [if you do bad conduct] you will receive suffering as the result’”. The daughter said: “Pah, man! You are foolish; you are crazy. My father and mother did donation and cultivated fortune and virtue. After their death, they surely will be born in the heaven. Why are they among *pretas*?” Koṭikarṇa said to the daughter: “Your mother said: ‘There is a storehouse in a certain place, which contains a large amount of money. Do for me fortune by offering saṅgha and Reverend Kātyāyana, and with the rest of it, you should live by yourself’”. After the daughter heard this, she went to where the storehouse was. She opened it and got much money. Through this, she believed [the story]. Following her mother’s order, she offered saṅgha with it.

Strophe 99

- a** [2 syll.] (kra)^[A341b8]ntāp sām | ākṣṇāṃ mārkaṃpal | srotāpattune | kālpat oko sām :
b ā [3 syll.] | [4 syll.] | [1 syll.] ^[THT1525b8] (sne ?) [n]ākām | kārso śkaṃ | śtwar
 kārme[n](tu) | [3 syll.] (:)
c [10 syll.]
d (ākṣiññā)^[A341b9]rām | pācar mācar | was lo kāsū | ptas neṣā || 99 ||
^d(ākṣiññā)rām Sieg 1952, p. 41 n. 9
^aof the good (one). He taught him the law, he attained as the fruit the Srotāpatti.
^b(...) without fault having learnt the four truths ... ^c(...) ... ^dthey, father and mother, told him: “Take good care of us (first)!”

Strophe 99 narrates Koṭikarṇa’s decision to enter the saṅgha by Kātyāyana. The parents however did not allow him to. He stayed at home to take care of his parents, teaching them the Buddhist doctrine.

99a: (kra)ntāp ‘of the good (one)’, sām ākṣṇāṃ mārkaṃpal ‘He (Kātyāyana) taught him (Koṭikarṇa) the law’, srotāpattune kālpat oko sām ‘he (Koṭikarṇa) attained as the fruit the Srotāpatti’; attainment to enter the stream of the Buddhist saints for the aim of the enlightenment. In the corresponding passage in the Sarv-Vin his attainment is

mentioned as “pure stainless dharmic eye on phenomena” (得諸法清淨無垢法眼 Sarv-Vin-Chin 180c9–10).

99b: (*sne* ?) [*n*]*ākām* | *kārso śkaṃ* | *śtwar kārme[n](tu)* ‘faultlessly having learnt the four truths’.

99d: (*ākṣiññā*)*rāṃ* colon-initial fronting of the verb (see §2 above). – *pācar mācar* asyndetic natural pair ‘father and mother’. – *was* obl.1pl.prn. ‘us’. – *lo* ‘right away, at first’. – *kāsū* ‘good, well’. – *ptas* impv.1sg.act. ‘put’. – *neṣā* ‘earlier, first’. – *neṣā tā-* ‘put earlier, prefer, take into account’: ‘they, father and mother, told him: take good care of us (first)!’

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180c4–29:¹⁶ 是沙門億耳。先世供養佛種善根利根近見諦。以是因緣力。能得今世無漏智。是人爲善根力所迫。便自思惟。愁憂我用歸家爲。當往大迦旃延所。即往到已頭面禮竟一面坐。沙門億耳心厭本事怖畏世間。長老迦旃延隨順其意而爲說法。即於座上。得諸法清淨無垢法眼。是人見法得法知法淨法。度疑悔不信他。不隨他。立道果中得無所畏。從坐起頭面禮長老迦旃延足白言。Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa offered to a Buddha in his previous life, planted good root, and got closer to the truth of observation. Because of this history, he is able to get the knowledge without evil influence in this life. He was wanted because of his good root. He thought by himself: “I worry, there is no use of my coming back home. I should visit Mahākātyāyana”. Thereupon he went and arrived [where Kātyāyana was], gave reverence and sat down in the corner. Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa minded the affair and was afraid of the world. Reverend Kātyāyana followed his mind and taught for him. [Koṭikarṇa] immediately got there pure stainless dharmic eye on phenomena. He saw the truth, got the truth, knew the truth and the pure truth. He overcame doubts, regret, and distrust of others. He does not follow others, standing in the result of the [Buddhist] path, got [the state of] having no fear. He stood from his seat, gave reverence with his head to the feet of Reverend Kātyāyana, and said:

大德。我歸依佛歸依法歸依僧。我作優婆塞。憶念。我從今盡壽不殺生心信清淨。大德。我欲善勝法中出家受具足戒作比丘。欲善勝法中行道。“Reverend, I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the dharma, I take refuge in the saṅgha. I become upāsaka (layman). I determine that I, from now until the exhaustion of my life, do not kill living beings and [keep] my believe pure. Reverend, I want to leave the house and enter into the good excellent teaching, receive the ordination to become a monk. I want to practice the path in the good excellent teaching.”

迦旃延言。沙門億耳。父母聽汝出家不。答言大德。我父母未聽。迦旃延言。我曹

¹⁶ The text of the Sarv-Vin-Chin corresponds with the Tocharian version in its frame of the story, however it seems that the Chinese version is here extended, especially concerning the reverence to the parents. Regarding the transmission of the Sarv-Vin after its translation into Chinese, there was a complicated development in China: see Chi 2024. It is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate the Chinese text in detail, therefore it remains unsolved if this long passage was extended somewhere or the Tocharian version reduced it.

法父母不聽。不得出家受具足戒。億耳言。大德。我自求是事。若父母聽。當來出家受具足戒。迦旃延言。汝宜知是時。 Kātyāyana said: “Śramaṇa Koṭikarṇa, Did your parents allow your leaving the house?” [Koṭikarṇa] answered: “Reverend, my parents have not allowed still.” Kātyāyana said: “[According to] my law, if parents do not allow, one cannot leave the house and receive the ordination.” Koṭikarṇa said: “Reverend, I ask by myself for this matter. If my parents allow, I am going to leave the house and receive the ordination.” Kātyāyana said: “You may know the time.”

億耳頭面禮長老迦旃延足即便歸家。見父母禮拜問訊。億耳父母先愁苦故失明。聞億耳從大海中安隱還歸。悲喜淚出眼還得明。億耳住過五六日已。白父母言。聽我善勝法中出家。父母言。億耳我唯有汝。本至心求願得汝。汝不用我語入大海。得汝死消息。愁憂故眼盲。汝今大海中安隱來還。我大歡喜眼得開視。汝今便爲更生。汝受我語。則爲供養我曹。我曹壽命不過幾時。若能畢我等壽不出家者。我死不恨。 Koṭikarṇa gave reverence with his head to the feet of Reverend Kātyāyana, and went back to the house. He saw his parents and greeted them. The parents of Koṭikarṇa lost their eyesight because of suffering sorrow before. When they heard that Koṭikarṇa came back from the ocean safely, they wept with tears of happiness, and their eyes were recovered. After Koṭikarṇa spent five or six days, he said to his parents: “Please allow me to leave the house and enter into the good excellent teaching”. The parents said: “Koṭikarṇa, we have only you, we wished you wholeheartedly. You did not listen to our word and went into the ocean. When we heard the news of your death, we became blind because of sorrow. Now you have come back from the ocean safely, and we are very glad, and our eyes got recovered. You should change your life and accept our word. That is, take care of us so long as our lives do not pass the time [of death]. If you do not leave the house till the end of our lives, we will not blame you after our death.”

Strophe 100

a [A341b9]śāk we pi (puklā) /// [THT1525b9] /// śām [w]aś[t]äś ///

“Twelve (years he stayed with his parents) (Then) he (left their) house ...”

100a: śāk we pi (puklā) ‘twelve (years)’ appears only in the Sarv-Vin, but not in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya and in the Divyāvadāna.

Parallel: Sarv-Vin-Chin 180c29–181a6: 億耳答言諾。供養滿十二年。終父母壽。如偈說 生者有死 高者亦墮 一切皆盡 無有常者。億耳澡浴。到長老迦旃延所。頭面禮足一面坐。大德。我今得正法信。欲佛法中出家修梵行。長老迦旃延。即與億耳出家。 Koṭikarṇa answered: “I agree”. He cared [his parents] for twelve years. When the parents ended their lives, he spoke the verse: “Life is destined for death, what in high place falls down, everything runs out. There is nothing which stays always.”¹⁷ Koṭikarṇa purified himself and reached where Reverend Kātyāyana was. He gave reverence with his head to the feet and sat down in the corner. [Koṭikarṇa said:] “Reverend, I have got

¹⁷ This verse corresponds to Uv I 11 *yathā phalānām pakvānām nityaṃ patanato bhayaṃ / evaṃ jātasya martyasya nityaṃ maraṇato bhayaṃ //*

now believe in the right teaching. I want to leave the house and enter into the Buddhist teaching to practice pure life”. Thereupon, Reverend Kātyāyana let Koṭikarṇa leave the house.

3 Conclusion

To conclude, the East Tocharian Koṭikarṇa-poem as preserved in THT 974 (A340), THT 975 (A341) + THT 1525 appears to be an extremely skillful rendering of the Koṭikarṇa-story. Its linguistic features are not those of a mere translation language, but instead point to fully idiomatic East Tocharian, as is hinted at by numerous forms and constructions that are demonstrably inherited from Proto-Indo-European.

The frame of the story agrees with the Sarv-Vin version, as already noticed by Waldschmidt.¹⁸ The conspicuous characteristics of the version, for example, attending donkeys,¹⁹ which are not mentioned in str. 83b but hinted in str. 97d (*śla (l)w(ā)* “with his animals” when Koṭikarṇa returns from the world of the dead to his home country), confirm this accordance. Another detail, in which a *preta*-woman changes into a sheep/goat and begins to eat grass (str. 93), also evidences the close relationship with the Sarv-Vin version. Whereas the Sarv-Vin version repeats the same or very similar passages mechanically, the Tocharian version avoids redundancy (see str. 88, 93, 98).

Concerning the descriptions of the *pretas*, the Tocharian version often shows common expressions with the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (str. 77–82), the *Avadānaśataka*, and the *Divyāvadāna*, also with the *Buddhacarita*. It seems that the common literary expressions on the *pretas* had been well established, for example, “burning *pretas*” (see commentaries on str. 77) or “(having) mouth (like the eye) of a needle” (str. 92b, Skt. *sūci-mukha*, Toch. A *ṣūci-śpāl*). Both descriptions are however, not observed in the Kizil wall-paintings,²⁰ which otherwise correspond well with the Tocharian version and often provide indications for interpretations.

As mentioned in the introduction above, the wording of the Tocharian str. 77–82 resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* more closely than the Sarv-Vin version. The story of the Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* is the shortest version, which contains only the visit to one city of the *pretas*, and the theme of the story (*apramāda* ‘heedfulness’) differs from other versions (*karman*). If we could assume that the version of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* by Kumāralāta is the earlier version before the plot of the story had been well established with the episodes related to Mahā-Kātyāyana, namely the episodes of a butcher and an adulterer and the further episodes with a beautiful rich *preta*-lady, it would be probable that the Tocharian version is later than the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and the author of the Tocharian version knew the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

Besides the precise analyzations above could provide some progress in

¹⁸ Waldschmidt 1952, pp. 141–142.

¹⁹ Waldschmidt 1952, pp. 137–138.

²⁰ Zin 2023, p. 132.

understanding the Tocharian language, the Tocharian explication of Buddhist Sanskrit terms feeds back to understanding them, for example, Skt. *karman*, whose Tocharian A rendition is *lyalypu* ‘what has been left from the past and remains in the future’ (see str. 82d, also str. 77b, 85a).

Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the DFG project „Jātaka- und Avadāna-Texte in west- und osttocharischer Sprache: Eine interdisziplinäre Untersuchung zur zentralasiatischen Überlieferung“ (HA 3372/9-1, HA 5850/4-1) and the JSPS project “An Interdisciplinary Study on the Transmission of Jātaka and Avadāna texts in Tocharian Buddhism” (KAKENHI Grant Numbers 21H00474 and 23K20422). Earlier versions of the present paper were presented to the International Symposium: Variety of Jātaka and Avadāna Transmission, International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Tōkyō, 27 November 2023, the Conference *Borderlands Language and Culture in the Borderlands of the Eastern Silk Road*, Vienna, 4 September 2024, and the Kyōto Symposium of Silk Road Studies, 5 October 2024. Many thanks to Sergio Neri, Giulio Imberciadori, Ryan P. Sandell, and Athanaric Huard for their feedback from which our paper has benefitted. We are also grateful to Monika Zin, Satomi Hiyama, and Gudrun Melzer for their fruitful discussions and advice on art-historical issues.

Abbreviations

Languages

A = Toch. A

Alb. = Albanian

Arm. = Armenian

B = Toch. B

E. = English

G. = German

Gk. = Greek

Goth. = Gothic

Hitt. = Hittite

Lith. = Lithuanian

NHG = New High German

OAv. = Old Avestan

OHG = Old High German

ORuss. = Old Russian

PIE = Proto-Indo-European

PToch. = Proto-Tocharian

Toch. = Tocharian

Grammatical and other abbreviations

a = recto

all. = allative

b = verso
mp. = mediopassive
perl. = perlativ
prs. = present
prt. = preterite
ptc. = participle
str. = strophe
syll. = syllable(s)

Symbols

| caesura
≈ contraction
† unattested, non-authentic form

Works, Collections, Dictionaries and other Resources

Avś = *Avadānaśataka*, ed. J. S. Speyer, St. Pétersbourg 1902–1909.
BC = *Buddhacarita*, ed. E. H. Johnston, Lahore 1935.
BHSD = Franklin Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. II: Dictionary. New Haven 1953.
CETom = *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts*, <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/>
Dhp = *Dhammapada*, ed. O. von Hinüber & K. R. Norman, PTS 1994.
Divy = *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E. B. Cowell & R. A. Neil, Cambridge 1886.
DTA = Carling, Gerd & Georges-Jean Pinault (2023) *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
EWAia II = Mayrhofer, Manfred (1996) *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Band II. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
KalpM = Lüders, Heinrich (1926) *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*. (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte II). Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
KalpM-Chin = the Chinese equivalent of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*: *Dà zhuāng yán lún jīng* 大莊嚴論經 (Taishō vol. 4, no. 201) translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什
KVāc = *Karma-vācanā*, ed. Schmidt 2018.
*LIV*² = Rix, Helmut (2001) *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
LSJ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*. With a Revised Supplement, 1996. Ninth Revised Edition. Compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, Supplement edited by P. G. W. Glare, and with the assistance of A. A. Thompson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
PW = Otto Böhtlingk & Rudolph Roth (1855–75) *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg.
SHT = Sanskrit Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfansammlung.
Sarv-Vin = Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin

Sarv-Vin-Chin = the Chinese translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin: *Shí sòng lǜ* 十誦律 (Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435) translated by Fú ruò duō luó 弗若多羅 (*Punyatāra) und Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什.

Sarv-Vin-Skt = the Sanskrit fragments of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin (Pelliot Sanskrit bleu 11; SHT 591): see Waldschmidt 1952 and Wille 1993.

THT = Tocharische Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfansammlung.

Uv = *Udānavarga*, ed. F. Bernhard, Göttingen 1965–68.

References

- Adams, Douglas Q. (1978) Ablaut and umlaut in the Tocharian vowel system. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98, pp. 446–450.
- Adams, Douglas Q. (2013a) *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Revised and greatly enlarged. 2 vols. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.
- Adams, Douglas Q. (2013b) More thoughts on Tocharian B prosody. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 14, pp. 3–30.
- Byrd, Andrew Miles (2015) *The Indo-European Syllable*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Carling, Gerd (2000) *Die Funktionen der lokalen Kasus im Tocharischen*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Carling, Gerd (2024a) "A 340". In *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts* (CETOM). Created and maintained by Melanie Malzahn, Martin Braun, Hannes A. Fellner, and Bernhard Koller. <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-a340> (accessed 24 May 2024).
- Carling, Gerd (2024b) "A 341". In *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts* (CETOM). Created and maintained by Melanie Malzahn, Martin Braun, Hannes A. Fellner, and Bernhard Koller. <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-a341> (accessed 24 May 2024).
- Catt, Adam A. (2016) Tocharian B *ly(ĩ)psentar*: A new class VIII present. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 17, pp. 11–27.
- Chamot-Rooke, Timothée (2022) Back to the caustic lye stream. A revision of the Tocharian fragment A226 from the Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 21, pp. 5–95.
- Chantraine, Pierre (1927) *Histoire du parfait grec*. Paris: Champion.
- Chavannes, Édouard (1911) *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*. Deuxième volume. Réédition 1962. Paris: Librairie Maisonneuve.
- Clackson, James (1995). *The linguistic relationship between Armenian and Greek*. Cambridge, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Couvreur, Walter (1954) Review of "Emil Sieg: Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen. II. Berlin 1952". *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 5/6, pp. 259–261.
- Dahl, Eystein (2010) *Time, Tense and Aspect in Early Vedic Grammar*. Amsterdam, New York: Brill.
- Del Tomba, Alessandro (2021) Metathesis of PIE *-*ur* in Tocharian. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 74/1, pp. 51–85.
- Dressler, Wolfgang (1970) Eine textsyntaktische Regel der idg. Wortstellung (Zur

- Anfangstellung des Prädikatverbums). *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 83, pp. 1–25.
- Forssman, Bernhard (2019) *Die homerischen Verbalformen*. Unter Mitarbeit von Manfred Brust und Jürgen Habisreiter. Dettelbach: J. H. Röhl.
- Fraenkel, Ernst (1932) Zur tocharischen Grammatik. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 50, pp. 220–231.
- Grünwedel, Albert (1920) *Alt-Kutscha. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt*. Berlin: Otto Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Habata, Hiromi 幅田裕美 (2023) Kumāralāta saku Jātaka/Avadāna shū no tokarago A yaku no kōsei to tokuchō. Kumāralāta 作 Jātaka/Avadāna 集のトカラ語 A 訳の構成と特徴 (Structure and Characteristics of the Jātaka/Avadāna Collection of Kumāralāta Transmitted in Tocharian A). *Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Daigakuindaigaku Kenkyūkiyō* 国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要 (*Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*) 27, pp. 45–62.
- Hackstein, Olav (1993) Osttocharische Reflexe grundsprachlicher Präsensbildungen von idg. **ĝneh₃*- ‘(er)kennen’. In *Indogermanica et Italica, Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*. Herausgegeben von Gerhard Meiser. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, pp. 148–158.
- Hackstein, Olav (1995) *Untersuchungen zu den sigmatischen Präsensstambildungen des Tocharischen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hackstein, Olav (2001) Studien zur Grammatikalisierung in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen (Lat. *da*, *date*, aksl. *daždī*, *dadite*, toch. B *pete*, *petso*/ *petes* und die Affirmativpartikeln alat. *cedo*, (ak)sl. *da*, toch. B *tsa*). *Historische Sprachforschung* 114, pp. 15–42.
- Hackstein, Olav (2002a) *Die Sprachform der homerischen Epen. Faktoren morphologischer Variabilität in literarischen Frühformen: Tradition, Sprachwandel, sprachliche Anachronismen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Hackstein, Olav (2002b) Uridg. *CH.CC > *C.CC. *Historische Sprachforschung* 115, pp. 1–22.
- Hackstein, Olav (2007) Ablative Formations. In *Verba Docenti. Studies in historical and Indo-European linguistics presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by students, colleagues, and friends*. Edited by Alan J. Nussbaum. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press, pp. 131–153.
- Hackstein, Olav (2012) Collective and Feminine in Tocharian. In *Multilingualism and History of Knowledge. Vol. II: Linguistic Developments along the Silkroad. Archaisms and Innovation in Tocharian*. Edited by Olav Hackstein and Ronald I. Kim. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 143–177.
- Hackstein, Olav (2013) Polar questions and non-headed conditionals in a cross-linguistic and historical perspective. In *Grammatica et Verba. Glamor and Verve. Studies in South Asian, Historical, and Indo-European Linguistics in Honor of Hans Henrich Hock on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by Benjamin Slade and Shu-Fen Chen.

Ann Arbor, Michigan: Beech Stave Press, pp. 99–116.

Hackstein, Olav (2015) The word-order patterns *Troiae qui primus ab oris* and *summa cum dignitate* in Latin and Tocharian. In *Tocharian Texts in Context. International Conference on Tocharian Manuscripts and Silk Road Culture*. Vienna, 26-29 June 2013. Edited by Melanie Malzahn, Michaël Peyrot, Hannes Fellner and Theresa Illès. Bremen: Hempen, pp. 73–86.

Hackstein, Olav (2017) The Phonology of Tocharian. In *Handbook of Indo-European Linguistics* 41.2. Edited by Jared S. Klein, Brian Joseph, Matthias Fritz. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, pp. 1304–1335. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110523874-030>

Hackstein, Olav & Hiromi Habata (forthcoming) Two Tocharian A Versions of the Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna: Philological and Linguistic Remarks. In *Variety of Jātaka and Avadāna Transmission*. Proceedings of the International Symposium held on the 27th and 28th of November 2023 at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, ed. by H. Habata & S. Hiyaama. New Delhi: Dev Publishers.

Hackstein, Olav & Hiromi Habata & Christoph Bross (2019) *Tocharische Texte zur Buddhalegende*. (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft 27). Dettelbach: Verlag J. H. Röll.

Hilmarsson, Jörundur (1996) *Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary*. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Huard, Athanaric (2019) The beginning of the Tocharian B Karmavibhaṅga. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 19, pp. 27–66.

Imberciadori, Giulio (2025, in press). *Etymologische Untersuchungen zu den tocharischen Adjektiven*. (München Univ.Diss., 2023 u.d.T.: “Etymologische Untersuchungen zum System der tocharischen Adjektive”). Leiden: Brill.

Inokuchi, Taijun 井ノ口泰淳 (1961) Tokarago oyobi Utengo no butten トカラ語及びウテン語の佛典 [Tocharian and Khotanese Buddhist texts]. In *Chūō Ajia kodaigo bunken. Saiiki bunka kenkyū* 中央アジア古代語文献 西域文化研究 [Central Asian literature in ancient languages. Study on the culture of the western regions] 4, pp. 317–388.

Itkin, Ilya B. (2014) Apologia for the brahmin Bādhari. Some remarks on the meaning of the Tocharian A words *ṣtare*, *pī-* and *māl*. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 15, pp. 69–77.

Itkin, Ilya B. (2019) *Ukazatel' slovoform k neopublikovannym toxarskim A tekstam iz sobranija Berlinskoj biblioteki*. Moskva: Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenija.

Itkin, Ilya B. (2024) *Tocharskije A teksty iz sobranija Berlinskoj biblioteki: novye dannye*. [Tocharian A Texts from the Berlin Collection: New Data]. Dissertacija na soiskaniye učenoj stepeni doktora fililologičeskich nauk. Moskva.

Itkin, Ilya B. & Sergey V. Malyshev (2021) Notae Tocharicae: *apālkāts*, *pārsā(n)ts*, *letse* et autres addenda et corrigenda–4. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 3, pp. 47–75.

Jasanoff, Jay (1988) PIE **gnē-* ‘recognize, know’. In: *Die Laryngaltheorie*, edited by

- Alfred Bammesberger. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, pp. 227–239.
- Jasanoff, Jay (2003) *Hittite and the Indo-European Verb*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ji, Xianlin & Werner Winter & Georges-Jean Pinault (1998) *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kim, Ronald I. (2018a) *The Dual in Tocharian. From Typology to Auslautgesetz*. Dettelbach: J. H. Röhl.
- Kim, Ronald I. (2018b) The derivational history of Tocharian B *war*, A *wär* ‘water’. In *Vina Diem Celebrent. Studies in Linguistics and Philology in Honor of Brent Vine*, edited by Dieter Gunkel, Stephanie W. Jamison, Angelo O. Mercado, Kazuhiko Yoshida. Ann Arbor, New York: Beech Stave Press, pp. 141–151.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert (1981) Albanisch und Urindogermanisch. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40, pp. 93–131.
- Klingenschmitt, Gert (1982). *Das altarmenische Verbum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kloekhorst, Alwin (2008) *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Kümmel, Martin (2000) *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Krause, Wolfgang & Werner Thomas (1960) *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*. Band I: Grammatik. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Lüders, Heinrich (1926) *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*. (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte II). Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
- Malzahn, Melanie (2010) *The Tocharian Verbal System*. Leiden: Brill.
- Meillet, Antoine (1911) Compte rendu de “Emil Smith, Tocharisch, die neuentdeckte Sprache Mittelasiens, Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter, II, Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1910, n°. 5). Christiana”, *Journal Asiatique* 18, pp. 630–635.
- Mizuno, Kōgen 水野弘元 (1981) *Hokkukyō no kenkyū*. 法句經の研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Moretti, Constantino (2017) The Thirty-Six Categories of “Hungry Ghosts” Described in the Sūtra of the Foundations of Mindfulness of the True Law. *Fantômes Dans l’Extrême-Orient d’hier et d’aujourd’hui - Tome I*, Presses de l’Inalco, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pressesinalco.2120>.
- Nikolaev, Alexander (2022) Greek μάπτω and Tocharian A *märk-*. *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 32, pp. 23–28.
- Olsen, Birgit Anette (1999) *The Noun in Biblical Armenian*. Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Peyrot, Michaël (2011) Tocharian A *māskā-* ‘be difficult’. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 12, pp. 145–154.
- Peyrot, Michaël (2013) *The Tocharian Subjunctive. A Study in Syntax and Verbal Stem Formation*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (1999) Tokharien A *kapśaṇi*, B *kektseṇe*. In *Compositiones*

- Indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*, hrsg. von Heiner Eichner und Hans-Christian Luschützky. Praha: enigma corporation, pp. 457–478.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2001) Tocharo-Turcica. In *De Dunhuang à Istanbul. Hommage à James Russell Hamilton*, edited by Louis Bazin and Peter Zieme. Turnhout: Brepols (Silk Road Studies, 5), pp. 245–265.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2004) Zum Tocharischen in der Turfanforschung. In *Turfan Revisited – The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 256–263.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2020) Tocharian nouns of the Latin *ferōx*-type. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 20, pp. 201–227.
- Pisani, Vittore (1942-43) Glottica parerga 5. Etimologie tocariche. *Rendiconti del (Reale) Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Cl. di Lettere* 76,2, pp. 241–254.
- Renou, Louis (1925) *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques*. Paris: Champion.
- Rieken, Elisabeth (1999) *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ringe, Don (1996) *On the Chronology of Sound Changes in Tocharian. Volume I: From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Tocharian*. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Ringe, Don (2022) Stative perfects. In *Śabdānugamaḥ, Indian Linguistic Studies in Honor of George Cardona. Vol. II, Historical linguistics, Vedic, etc.*, ed. Peter M. Scharf. Providence: The Sanskrit Library, pp. 85–98.
- Rotman, Andy (2008) *The Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna Part I*. Boston: Wisdom Publications (Classics of Indian Buddhism).
- Rotman, Andy (2021) *Hungry Ghosts*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.
- Saito, Haruyuki (2006) *Das Partizipium Präteriti im Tocharischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schindler, Jochem (1977). A thorny problem. *Die Sprache* 23, pp. 25–35.
- Schmidt, Klaus T. (1969) *Die Gebrauchsweisen des Mediums im Tocharischen*. Dissertation Göttingen.
- Schmidt, Klaus T. (2018) *Klaus T. Schmidt. Nachgelassene Schriften. 1. Ein westtocharisches Ordinationsritual. 2. Eine dritte tocharische Sprache: Lolanisch*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Stefan Zimmer. Bremen: Hempen.
- Schumacher, Stefan & Joachim Matzinger (2013) *Die Verben des Altalbanischen. Belegwörterbuch, Vorgeschichte und Etymologie*. Unter Mitarbeit von Anna-Maria Adaktylos. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Shimin, Geng & Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1988) *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami Version der Maitrisimit*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Helmut Eimer und Jens-Peter Laut herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Geng Shimin und Hans-Joachim Klimkeit. Teil I: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Sieg, Emil (1944) *Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen I*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie

der Wissenschaften.

Sieg, Emil (1952) *Übersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen II*. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Werner Thomas. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst. Jahrgang 1951 Nr. 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Sieg, Emil & Wilhelm Siegling (1921) *Tocharische Sprachreste. I. Band. Die Texte. A. Transcription*. Berlin, Leipzig: de Gruyter.

Sieg, Emil & Wilhelm Siegling & Wilhelm Emil Heinrich Schulze (1931) *Tocharische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Szántó, Péter-Dániel (2021) *The Suḥṛlekha of Nāgārjuna*. Editio minor 1.0. Academia.edu,

https://www.academia.edu/61358006/The_Suh%E1%B9%9Blekha_of_N%C4%81g%C4%81rjuna_editio_minor_1_0 (accessed 27 October 2024).

Thomas, Werner (1954) Die Infinitive im Tocharischen. In *Asiatica. Festschrift für Friedrich Weller*. Zu 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

Thomas, Werner (1957) *Die Vergangenheitstempora des Tocharischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Thomas, Werner (1964) *Tocharisches Elementarbuch. Band II: Texte und Glossar*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Wackernagel, Jacob (1904) Studien zum griechischen Perfektum. In Programm zur akademischen Preisverleihung, Universität Göttingen. 3–32. (Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften* 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, pp. 1000–1021.)

Wackernagel, Jacob (1924) *Vorlesungen zur Syntax. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Zweite Reihe. Basel: Emil Birkhäuser.

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1952) Zur Śroṇakoṭīkaṇa-Legende. In *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 6, pp. 129–151.

Villanueva-Svensson, Miguel (2007/2008) Indo-European middle root aorists in Anatolian (Part I). *Die Sprache* 47(2), pp. 203–238.

Wille, Klaus (1993) Die Śroṇakoṭīkaṇa-Fragmente der Sammlung Pelliot. In *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni 1992. Herausgegeben von Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Petra Kieffer-Pülz. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, pp. 293–302.

Winter, Werner & Klaus T. Schmidt (1992) Die Formen der 1. Singular Aktiv der unerweiterten Präterita in Tocharisch B [A]. *Historische Sprachforschung* 105, pp. 50–55.

Zin, Monika (2023) *Gods, Deities, and Demons in the Paintings of Kucha*. (Leipzig Kucha Studies 4). New Delhi: Dev Publishers & Distributors.

Zin, Monika & Dieter Schlingloff (2007) *Saṃsāracakra. Das Rad der Wiedergeburten in*

The East Tocharian Śroṇa-Koṭikarṇa-Avadāna

der indischen Überlieferung. (Buddhismus-Studien 6). Düsseldorf: EKÖ-Haus. (English Version: *Saṃsāracakra. The Wheel of Rebirth in the Indian Tradition.* New Delhi: Dev Publishers & Distributors, 2022).

fig. 1 Kizil cave 212 “Seefahrerhöhle” (from Grünwedel 1920, Tafel 15–16, Fig. 2).



the relevant section enlarged

