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A TOCHARIAN B PARALLEL TO THE LEGEND OF KALMĀṢAPĀDA AND SUTASOMA OF THE OLD UYGHUR *DAŚAKARMAPATHĀVADĀNAMĀLĀ*[*]

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According to the colophons of the Old Uyghur *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (*DKPAM*), this collection of Buddhist birth legends was translated from a Tocharian A (*tohrı*) source which in turn was based on a Tocharian B (*küsän*) original. A Tocharian B fragment from the Paris Pelliot collection presents a close parallel to the legend of Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM*. This legend is so far not attested in Tocharian A. Although the existence of a Tocharian A intermediary text cannot be excluded, the parallel is so close that the Old Uyghur text may also have been translated directly from Tocharian B.

Key words: Old Uyghur, *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, Tocharian B, Buddhist legend, Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma.

1. Introduction

The *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (hereafter: *DKPAM*) is the only Buddhist text known so far in which the individual stories (*jātaka*s and *avadāna*s) are grouped according to the ten "courses of action" (Skt. *karmapatha*). Large parts of the Old Uyghur version have come down to us in several fragmentary manuscripts from different sites.[1] According to the extant colophons, the Old Uyghur translation was made from a Tocharian A original which in turn is said to be a translation from Tocharian B. This line of transmission is unusual, and the issue is still under discussion. Evidence for both Tocharian versions has been summarised recently by Peyrot (2013). Every

[*] We thank Ronald Kim (Poznań) for valuable comments.
[1] One leaf of a Sogdian version was edited by Sundermann (2006).

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Tocharian parallel of the Old Uyghur version may help to clarify the matter. A newly identified fragment in Tocharian B is edited and discussed below.

The Tocharian B fragment PK AS 13B was edited and translated by Georges-Jean Pinault and Melanie Malzahn in July 2012 and published online on CETOM in February 2013. On the basis of this edition, Jens Wilkens could identify the precise passage in the legend of Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM* in July 2013. In subsequent discussions between Jens Wilkens and Michaël Peyrot, several details of the identification could be improved, and on the basis of the Old Uyghur parallel, Georges-Jean Pinault and Michaël Peyrot were able to correct the reading and interpretation of the Tocharian B text in a number of points. Jens Wilkens could also improve some details in the Old Uyghur text.

The present paper consists of two parts. The first part (section 2) is due to Jens Wilkens and gives his transcription and translation of the relevant passage on the basis of his forthcoming edition of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM*. The line numbers 04010–85 refer to the running numbers of this edition.[2] The passages that have a match in the Tocharian text are in bold face. The second part (section 3), for which Georges-Jean Pinault and Michaël Peyrot are responsible, gives a revised edition of the Tocharian B fragment.

The story of Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma belongs to the fourth chapter of the *DKPAM*, which is devoted to the topic of avoiding telling lies. Kalmāṣapāda is born to a tigress which had intercourse with King Brahmadatta. After the death of Brahmadatta, Kalmāṣapāda becomes king of Benares. He is very fond of meat and refuses to eat anything else. One day his cook is unable to procure meat for the royal meal and in fear of Kalmāṣapāda decides to slaughter his own son in order to serve his meat to the king. The latter enjoys this unusual taste so much that afterwards his cook is forced to procure only human flesh for the king. When the citizens of Benares discover that the cook has kidnapped and slaughtered many children on the king's command, Kalmāṣapāda is forced to flee from his palace. In the wilderness he sprouts great wings because he swallows birds together with their plumage. One day Kalmāṣapāda meets his former *purohita*, who advises him to sacrifice a hundred princes and rulers in order to be liberated from danger. After capturing 99 princes, he snatches Sutasoma, who is taking a bath at the moment. Kalmāṣapāda brings him to a cave where the other 99 princes are locked up in great anxiety. Arriving at the cave, Kalmāṣapāda notices that Sutasoma is crying and deduces that fear of death must be the reason for this. But Sutasoma tells him that he is only crying because he fears that he might have spoken a lie: He had promised to give 500 coins to a Brahmin after having taken his bath. Kalmāṣapāda allows Sutasoma to return to his city in order to keep his promise and give the coins to the Brahmin. Having fulfilled his mission, Sutasoma returns to

[2] The first edition of this extract is found in U III 70–73. On pp. 62–74 all fragments of this story identified by F. W. K. Müller at that time are edited. Further materials are provided in Wilkens (2004). For a physical description of the fragments belonging to this legend see Ehlers (1987, pp. 137–138, 152, 153–154, 156–157, catalogue nos 230–233, 260, 263, 269) and Wilkens (2010, pp. 89–105, catalogue nos 87–#107).

the cave. The man-eater is astonished that the prince is true to his words and has returned to him to face death. Sutasoma explains that he wants to attain Buddhahood, and as soon as he hears of the fame of the Buddha, Kalmāṣapāda is converted. He releases the 99 princes, loses his wings, and becomes a righteous king. The extract from the Old Uyghur version and the corresponding parallel in Tocharian B belong to the turning point at the end of the story in which Kalmāṣapāda is converted.

2. Old Uyghur Passage[3]

Mainz 698

Recto

04010 02 kalmašapade[4]
04011 03 elig ıraktın ok suṭaṣome
04012 04 eligniŋ kälmišin körüp ärtiŋü
04013 05 sävinip utru barıp inčä tep tedi :
04014 06 ay ulug elig (P) čın kertü köni
04015 07 savlıg ärmiš (P) s(ä)n : suṭaṣ-
04016 08 ome elig (P) inčä tep
04017 09 tedi : birök **maŋa** aviš tamudakı
04018 10 örtlüg yalınlıg yerdä **uzun**
04019 11 **üdün** agnagalı **tägimlig bolsar** :
04020 12 **ymä ol ämgäkig** säri**p** bir kšan
04021 13 üdtä ymä äzüg sözlägülük
04022 14 ärmäz m(ä)n : bo yertinčüdäki erinč
04023 15 tınl(ı)glar **tüü törlüg ämgäkin baš-**
04024 16 **ka tokıtmışların** čıngaru körür
04025 17 *m*(ä)n : burhan kutı küsüšin ***o*lar-**
04026 18 ***nı* üčün** ančak(ı)ya ymä isig
04027 19 *ö*zümkä ilinmäkim yapšınmakım
04028 20 yok tep tedi : ötrü anta kalma-
04029 21 šapade[5] **elig**[6] **burhanlarnıŋ atın**
04030 22 *ä*šidmišdä ök **süzök köŋül** bul*up*
04031 23 suṭaṣome eligkä inčä *t*ep te-

[3] The leaves Mainz 698 and Mainz 690 were found by the First Turfan Expedition in Dakianussähri (Kočo). The transcription follows the rules outlined in the UW. The sign "(P)" marks the stringhole.

[4] Only the context necessary for the Tocharian fragment is provided; the first line and the beginning of the second line are not cited here.

[5] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /r/16-17/: *[kalmaša]paḍe*.

[6] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /r/17/ with punctuation.

04032 24 di : ay ulug küčlüg kutlug tınl(ı)g-a :
04033 25 burhan kutı üčün tep ter s(ä)n :
04034 26 burhan kutı nägü bolur **kimni üčün**
04035 27 **isig özüŋin ıdalayur s(ä)n** :
04036 28 bo savıg äšidip **suṭaṣome elig**
04037 29 **yazok yüzin inčä tep tedi** :
04038 30 **alp sözlägülük savıg** ayıtdıŋ
04039 31 maŋa <:> bo agır ulug **yer suv**

Verso

pagination: törtünč ülüš on
04040 01 ignä tozgakı täg yenik bolup
04041 02 kökkalıkka **učup bargay** ol **učuz**
04042 03 ol : **antada miŋ tümän artok alp**
04043 04 **ol burhanlarnıŋ** ädgüsin tükäl
04044 05 sözlägäli : inčip ymä ančak(ı)ya
04045 06 küčüm yetmiš-(P)-čä sözläyin <:>
04046 07 koduru kolu-(P)-lap tıŋlagıl :
04047 08 k(a)ltı t(ä)ŋridäm (P) kurekar äv täg
04048 09 alkuka sävgülük körü kanınčsız
04049 10 körklüg mäŋizlig bolurlar burhan-
04050 11 lar : miŋ kün t(ä)ŋriniŋ[7] : tümän
04051 12 ay t(ä)ŋriniŋ čogınta yalınınta
04052 13 utmıš yegädmiš čoglug yalınlıg
04053 14 bolur[8] aržilar eligi : sansız üküš
04054 15 äzrua t(ä)ŋriniŋ ünintän yegäḍmiš[9]
04055 16 utmıš bolur ıdok ünläri :
04056 17 birök akru akru **maŋın yorıs*ar*-**
04057 18 **lar** agır ulug **yer t(ä)ŋri hatunı *ög*-**
04058 19 **lüg köŋüllüg kiši täg adakl*a*[r]*ı***
04059 20 **eyin ävrilür** : ’äŋ mintin yılkı
04060 21 *a*žunıntakı tınl(ı)glar ymä burhan-
04061 22 larıg körsärlär muŋadıp taŋlap
04062 23 **süzök köŋül öritürlär** : :
04063 24 **kök ražaẇ(a)*r*t öŋlüg közin**
04064 25 ol erinč tınl(ı)glar tapa körüp
04065 26 üküš asıg tusu kılurlar : agız-
04066 27 lıg vimanıntın keŋ yetiz kirsiz

[7] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/3/: *künt(ä)ŋriniŋ*.
[8] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/5/: *[bo]lur-lar*.
[9] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/6/: *yegädm[iš]*.

04067 28 münsüz arıg süzök tillig ärdini-
04068 29 si agızınta tar ämgäkin ämgän-
04069 30 mädin **čoglug yalınl(ı)g bolup yatur** :
04070 31 burhanlarnıŋ **kasıgları arslan-**

Mainz 690

Recto

04071 01 **larnıŋ täg bolup** : **belläri hormuz-**
04072 02 **ta t(ä)ŋriniŋ *v*(a)či*ri***[10] **täg yinčgä**
04073 03 bolur : kamag gaŋavaluk **burhanlar**
04074 04 **bo munı täg ülgüsüz üküš ädgü-**
04075 05 **lärniŋ agılıkı täg bolurlar** tep
04076 06 tedi : bo sav-(P)-ıg äšidip
04077 07 kalmašapade[11] (P) elig **inčä**
04078 08 **tep tedi** : **ay** (P) **ulug elig**
04079 09 **burhanlarnıŋ ätözintäki č*og-***
04080 10 **ları yalınları** bo muntag ärmi*š* [:]
04081 11 köŋüldäki[12] ädgüläri nätäg osugl[ug]
04082 12 bolur tep ayıtdı[13] : suṭaṣome[14] el*ig*
04083 13 sözlädi <:> kamag burhanlarnıŋ **köŋül-**
04084 14 **lüg ärdiniläri** artokrak arıg
04085 15 bolur :[15]

Translation[16]

(04010–04013) King Kalmāṣapāda saw even from a distance that King Sutasoma was approaching, he was very pleased, walked towards him and said: (04014–04015) 'Great King, apparently you are someone whose words are truthful$_2$ and honest.' (04015–04017) King Sutasoma said: (04017–04022) '**Even if I should deserve** to roll **for a (very) long time** in the flaming$_2$ place of the *avīci* hell, I would rather endure **that (kind of) suffering** than to speak – even for a short moment – an untruthfulness (Skt. *mṛṣāvāda*). (04022–04025) I (can) see clearly **that** the miserable living beings in this world **are subject to various sufferings** (lit. hit on the head by various

[10] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/20/: *v(a)čari*.
[11] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/15/: *[k]almašapaḍe*.
[12] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/17/: *köŋültäki*.
[13] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/18/: apparently *tep ayıtdı* is missing here.
[14] U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /v/18/: *[su]tasome*.
[15] At the end of this line: *kimni körsär öŋtün*.
[16] In the translation, the subscript 2 denotes a hendiadys in the original.

sufferings). (04025–04028) In the desire for Buddhahood and **because of them** I do not cling$_2$ at all to my life.' (04028–04032) Hardly had **King** Kalmāṣapāda heard of **the fame of the Buddhas** when he acquired **faith** and said to King Sutasoma: (04032–04033) 'O great, powerful and charismatic being, you say 'because of the Buddhahood.' (04034) What is Buddhahood then? (04034–04035) And **for the sake of whom do you give up your life**?' (04036–04037) After having heard these words, **King Sutasoma said with a relaxed expression**: (04038–04039) 'You have asked me **a question which is difficult to answer.** (04039–04041) It seems easy if this heavy and vast **earth**$_2$ were light as filings (fine as) a needle and flew **up** to the sky. (04042–04044) **A thousand times multiplied by ten thousand times more difficult than this** would it be to describe thoroughly the goodness of those **Buddhas**. (04044–04045) All the same, I shall describe it, as far as my feeble strength goes. (04046) Meditate upon it earnestly and listen (to me)! (04047–04049) The Buddhas are (so) beautiful that one is never satisfied looking (at them), and (they are) dear to everybody just like a heavenly *kūṭāgāra*-dwelling. (04050–04053) Even more$_2$ brilliant$_2$ than the splendour$_2$ of a thousand suns and ten thousand moons is the king of the *ṛṣi*s. (04053–04055) Their holy voices are more refined$_2$ than the voices of countless$_2$ Brahmā-gods. (04056–04059) If (the Buddhas) **promenade** at a measured **pace**, **then the** heavy and vast **goddess of the earth turns according to their feet just like a sensible**$_2$ **wife.** (04059–04062) Even those beings in the existence of animals wonder and marvel when they see the Buddhas and **stir up faith**. (04063–04065) (The Buddhas, on the other hand,) look **with their blue, lapis lazuli-coloured eyes** upon those miserable creatures and engender manifold profit and advantage. (04065–04069) Their stainless, flawless and pure jewel of a tongue, which is wider$_2$ than their palace of a mouth without feeling narrowness or pain in their mouth, **remains brilliant and shining.** (04070–04073) **The jaws** of the Buddhas **are like those of lions, and their waists are as slender as God Indra's *vajra*.** (04073–04076) All **Buddhas**, who are as numerous$_2$ as grains of sand in (the river) Ganges (Skt. *gaṅgāvālukā*), **are as it were a receptacle of these numerous**$_2$ **virtues**.' (04076–04078) After listening to these words, King Kalmāṣapāda **asked**: (04078–04082) '**Great King, as the splendour and majesty on the Buddhas' bodies** is like that, what are the virtues in their mind[s]?' (04082–04083) King Sutasoma said: (04083–04085) 'All **jewels of thought** of the Buddhas are extremely pure.'

Textual Notes

04010–15. Kalmāṣapāda bidding Sutasoma welcome is depicted in Ajaṇṭā in cave XVII (cf. Schlingloff 2000, vol. 1, p. 259 [28]). The ensuing dialogue between the two protagonists is found there as well (*loc. cit*. [29]).
04013. *utru*: Elmalı 2009, line 1566: *ötrü*. Correct in U III 70.5.
04018. From this line on, the parallel in U 1137 + U 1155 + U 2171 /r/18/ begins.
04020. *kšan*: Erroneous reading *kalp* in U III 70.12 and Elmalı 2009, line 1573.
04025–26. *olarnı üčün*: Elmalı 2009, lines 1578–1579 reads *ular [nä] üčün*.

04029. The meaning of *at* is likely to be "fame, glory" here, which could render *perne* 'glory' of the Tocharian text. See UW 250b ("(guter) Ruf, Ruhm, Ehre").

04030. *bulup*: Read *bol[up]* in U III 71.22 and Elmalı 2009, line 1583.

04038sqq. The syntax of Sutasoma's speech is unusual in Old Uyghur and very likely follows a Tocharian model.

04046. *koduru kolulap tıŋlagıl*: Note that in the *Maitrisimit* before enumerating the 32 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s, Maitreya addresses the boys following him in a similar way: *čıngaru körüŋlär koduru kolulaŋlar* "visualize (them) clearly, meditate (on them) earnestly" (ZusTreff 1999–2000).

04047. *kurekar* < Toch. A *$k_u$rekār* < Skt. *kūṭāgāra*. On the Sanskrit term and its semantic development see Bollée (1986). The Tocharian A word *$k_u$rekār* is attested in a description of the Buddha in A 256 a8 (Geng – Laut – Pinault 2004, pp. 53, 56).

04047–55. In order to underline the fact that this passage renders verses in the Tocharian text, or perhaps simply as a calque of the Tocharian original, the Uyghur translator dislocated the subjects of the three sentences (*burhanlar*, *aržilar eligi* and *ıdok ünläri*) so that they follow the predicates. Even though it is rare and deviates from the basic word order, clause-final position of the subject is well attested in Tocharian, especially in verse. The corresponding Tocharian text of the next sentences is in verse too, but the word order of the OU version is as one would expect of a text in a Turkic language.

04053–55. In the list of the 32 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s in the *Maitrisimit*, the Buddha's voice is only said to be like god Brahmā's. See ZusTreff 1651–52: *yeti otuzunč äzrua t(ä)ŋriniŋ täg üni ärür* "27th: His voice is like god Brahmā's". See ZusTreff 2004 as well. In Tocharian B, the combination of *brahmasvar weksa* "with [his] Brahmasvara voice" and *walo ṛṣākeṃtsä* "king of the *ṛṣi*s" is found in a description of the Buddha in PK AS 7C b1.

04054. *ünintän*: U III 72.15 and Elmalı 2009, line 1609: *ünintin*.

04056–57. *yorısarlar*: In U III 72.17–18: *yorıš[tı]lar*. Elmalı 2009, lines 1610–1611: *yorıšd[ı]lar*.

04056–59. The earth always presents herself to the Buddhas as level ground, so that they may easily walk.

04058. According to the context – the earth is a goddess – and with regard to the Tocharian parallel, it is likely that *kiši* is to be read here as "wife" here and not as "person".

04059. *ävrilür*: Elmalı 2009, line 1613: *ävrilir*. On the formation of the aorist from the verbal root *ävril-* see UWV 209.

04062. *öritürlär*: Elmalı 2009, line 1616: *öritirlär*.

04063. *ražaw(a)rt*: Elmalı 2009, line 1617: *raž(a)vart*. In the list of the 32 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s in the *Maitrisimit* the blue eyes of the Buddha are mentioned as no. 28: *säkiz otuzunč köküš öŋlüg közi ärür* "28th: His eyes are bright blue" (ZusTreff 1652–53). See ZusTreff 2003–04 as well. The standard equivalent one would expect for Tocharian B *lalaṃṣke* would be *oglagu* but this is missing in this line. For *oglagu közin* "with tender eyes" see, e.g., Wilkens (2003, p. 165, line 084).

04065–69. In the list of the 32 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s in the *Maitrisimit*, the reference to the Buddha's tongue is No. 26: *altı otuzunč keŋ yadvı yuka yalınčıg tili ärür* "26th: His tongue is wide, spread-out, thin and flame-like" (ZusTreff 1649–50). See ZusTreff 2005 as well.

04068. *tar*: U III 72.29: *tai* with the alternative reading *täv*, which is taken up in Elmalı 2009, line 1622: (*täv* [?]). In UW 371a and 374b the reading *tıy* is proposed. But cf. ETS 10.114: *tar sıkıš ämgäktin kutrulturdačı* and the still unpublished *DKPAM* fragment Mainz 88g /v/5/: *muŋ tar ämgä[k]*.

04070–71. Elmalı (2009, line 1624) obviously had problems with the word *kasıgları*, because he adds a question mark. In the list of the 32 *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*s in the *Maitrisimit* we find: *tört otuzunč arslanlarnıŋ täg keŋ alkag kasagı ärür* "24th: His jaw is as broad$_2$ as (those) of the lions" (ZusTreff 1646–47). See ZusTreff 2006–07 as well.

04075. The first option for translating *agılık* would be "storehouse", but according to the Tocharian parallel, which has *ai(se)* "pot, receptacle", "receptacle" is more likely. See UW 64a, where the meaning "Behälter" is given as well.

3. The Tocharian B Parallel Fragment PK AS 13B

This text had been roughly identified as belonging to the Sutasoma-Jātaka on the basis of the proper name *sudasome* found in a5 (Pinault 2007, p. 176). An extract of line b2 was quoted by Couvreur (1954, p. 86).

Description

This fragment, which measures 26.8 cms in width and 18.0 cms in height, contains the right part, approximately the right half, of a very large leaf containing 8 lines on each side. The first line of the recto side is completely lost. The manuscript is written in a geometrical, presumably relatively late, variety of the classical North Turkestan Brāhmī. The line spacing is 2.0 cms. The finding place of this fragment is unknown, but most probably it was found in the region of Kucha, as almost all other Tocharian manuscripts of the Pelliot collection. Some fragments of the series PK AS 13, which contains fragments of several different manuscripts, have kept the indication of the finding place: Duldur Aqur for the four fragments with the press mark PK AS 13K, and Subashi for PK AS 13H.2 (Pinault 2007, pp. 176–177). The language of PK AS 13B is on the whole of the standard, classical type. Nevertheless, one may note the adjectival form *amaskaice* "difficult" instead of expected *amaskaicce*.[17]

[17] The same form *amaskaice* seems to be attested in IOL Toch 159 b5. The form *amāskaitstse** cited by Adams (2013, p. 20) is based on a restoration of the fragmentary attestation B 384 b2 /// *[m·]skaicce*.

Transliteration[18]

Recto

a1 lost
a2 /// [ñ]· ñ[1] ra [s]n[ai] keś$^{ä}_{\diagdown}$ emparkre : ka ///[2]
a3 /// – ptār$_{\diagdown}$[3] l̲aklentantso āś po papyāko[ṣ]$_{\diagdown}$ ceṃ ṣarmtsa ///[4]
a4 /// walo cek w[ä]rñai pañäk̲t̲aṃñe pernene takarṣk̲a[ñ]· ///[5]
a5 /// l[t·]a[6] twe ṣañ$^{ä}_{\diagdown}$ śaul̲$_{\diagdown}$ rinastar̲$_{\diagdown}$ || tane sudasome w·[l]·
a6 /// [rt]to[7]rmeṃ weṣ̲ṣ̲a̲ṃ maimañcu olyapotse amaskaice[8] wä
a7 /// [ṣl]ya wīna po wäntarwane se wäntare a[m]ā·ai – [tk]· pa
a8 /// ñe sa ///

Verso

b1 /// – [n]· t· /// /// [pr]·[9]
b2 /// [sī]k[ai]ntso[10] : tumeṃ sā keṃ-ñäkt[e] nmeträ p[ai]ne [ys]· – śle p̲a̲
b3 /// [ñ]e : māka lalaṃṣkana tseñā[na] eśnesa erṣ̲ṣ̲a̲ṃ taka
b4 /// [n]ts[o]ytte : wcūkane yailwa toṃ lānte [ṣ]eckeṃnts[e] mot[r]·nt(·)ā ·e (–)[11]
b5 /// ṣṣ[ī]nts·[12] : te-yknesa ysomo sū ponta krentaunants ai ///[13]
b6 /// [p]·k̲ṣ̲a̲ṃ ñakta sāṃ lkālñeṣṣa peñiya pañ[ä]kte ///[14]
b7 /// titu[l]yeṃne || p̲a̲lskoṣṣe nau ///[15]
b8 /// [lā] ·e ///

Textual Notes

1. This is the only possible reading. There is place for the vocalism °*i*, but not for °*ā*, °*o* or °*au*. Judging from the OU translation, probably a 3sg. opt. act. in *-i* followed by the 1sg. suffixed pronoun *-ñ* has to be restored.
2. Until the right margin ca. 11 akṣaras are missing.
3. The tiny trace of the right part of the preceding akṣara is compatible with a restoration *(wai)ptār*.
4. Until the right margin ca. 5 akṣaras are missing.
5. Until the right margin ca. 5 akṣaras are missing.
6. Heavy ligature. The restoration *lt(s)a* is compatible with the traces of the lower part.

[18] The transliteration conventions for Tocharian are as follows:
· illegible (vocalic or consonantal) part of an akṣara
– illegible akṣara
[ ] uncertain reading
( ) restoration
|| , : punctuation marks in the original manuscript
/// torn edge

7. The visible traces of the heavy ligature are incompatible with *[nt]o*. Without any doubt, we have here the absolutive of a verb root ending in °*rtt-*. From the context, one may consider two verbs: *spərtt-*$^{caus.}$ "turn (tr.)" or *ṣərtt-* "incite". The verbs *spartta-* "turn (intr.)" and *artta-* "approve" are excluded because their absolutives ought to end in °*armeṃ*.
8. This must be the obl. sg. m. (with *-ce* for *-cce*) of the adjective *amaskaitstse**, cf. *(a)m(a)skaicce* in B 384 b2. The alternative segmentation *amaskai ce* is not warranted because the usual form of the adverb is *amāskai* with long *ā* in the second syllable; in addition, it would cause difficulties in syntax. Finally, the parallel OU text (04038–39) has no demonstrative.
9. This seems somewhat more likely than *[mr]·*, but no restoration can be suggested.
10. For the second akṣara, *k[ai]* is definitely to be preferred to *k[eṃ]*, although in the ductus of this manuscript the anusvāra is quite large and generally close to the top of an akṣara. The form is clearly a genitive plural with the long ending *-ntso*, cf. *läklentantso* in a3.
11. There is still space for one akṣara before the right margin, indicated as "(–)". The segmentation is uncertain, probably because of sandhi phenomena. In any case, after *mo*, the manuscript traces exclude *[nu]*, while the extremity of the curve of the *ra* as second part of the akṣara can be discerned. A restoration *tr(u)* cannot be excluded.
12. The vocalism of this akṣara could be *-a* as well as *-e*.
13. Until the right margin ca. 7 akṣaras are missing.
14. Until the right margin ca. 6 akṣaras are missing.
15. Until the right margin ca. 10 akṣaras are missing.

Transcription and Restoration

a2 /// (kli)ñ(i)-ñ ra snai keś emparkre **:** ka(rep) ///
a3 /// (wai)ptār läklentantso āś po papyākoṣ ceṃ ṣarmtsa ///
a4 /// walo cek wärñai pañäktäṃñe pernene takarṣkäñ(ñe) ///
a5 /// (kete śau)lt(s)a twe ṣañ śaul rinastar || tane sudasome w(a)l(o)
a6 /// (ṣeṣa)rttormeṃ weṣṣäṃ maimañcu olyapotse amaskaice wä(ntare) ///
a7 /// (keṃ … pluwä)ṣlya wīna po wäntarwane se wäntare amā(sk)ai (śa)tk(ai) pa(ñäktents)
a8 /// ñe sa ///
b1 /// – n· t· /// /// pr·
b2 /// ṣīkaintso **:** tumeṃ sā keṃ-ñäkte nmeträ paine ys(ape) śle-pä(lskotstsa ra **:**)
b3 /// (se äktikäṃ)ñe **:** māka lalaṃṣkana tseñāna eśnesa erṣṣäṃ taka(rṣkñe **:**)
b4 /// (lkātsi o)ntsoytte **:** wcūkane yailwa toṃ lānte ṣeckeṃntse motr(a)nt(s)⸗ ā(str) e(ṅku ra **:**)
b5 /// (akek kä)ṣṣīnts(e) **:** te-yknesa ysomo sū ponta krentaunants ai(se) ///
b6 /// p(re)kṣäṃ ñakta sāṃ lkālñeṣṣa peñiya pañäkte(ntse kektsentsa)
b7 /// (|| apra)titulyeṃne || pälskoṣṣe nau(mye) ///
b8 /// lā ·e ///

Metre

The total number of akṣaras on each line can be estimated to have been approximately 35–40; the string hole space probably affected lines 4 and 5 (less likely lines 3 to 6), which consequently contained several akṣaras less.

In line a2, the punctuation points to the end of a pāda and the beginning of another. Unfortunately, the metre is unknown, and we can only note that *snai keś emparkre* makes a unit of 5 syllables. In any case, this stanza contains direct speech, judging from the OU text.

On the verso, parts of two stanzas of a verse passage are preserved in lines b2–5. This verse passage forms the second part of a long portion of direct speech of King Sutasoma. In Tocharian B, the direct speech starts in line a6, corresponding to OU 04038, and ends at the end of line b5, corresponding to OU 04075. It is uncertain where the verse passage begins, but judging from the OU text, there seems to be a transition just after OU 04046 between an introductory part that is concluded by *tiŋlagıl* "listen!", and the teaching itself. In Tocharian B, the latter part was probably in verse, which would mean that it started in a8. The indication of the tune and the first stanza that ended at the beginning of line b2 are completely lost; in the Old Uyghur parallel, the end of the first stanza may possibly be identified with *ünläri* OU 04055. Therefore, we have remnants of the second and the third stanza. The end of the second stanza possibly corresponds to *öritürlär* OU 04063. Line b3 shows that the metre contained pādas of at least 17 syllables, since the shortest possible restoration is *taka(rṣkñe)*. Lines b2 and b3 show that the first unit of these pādas was 6 syllables; this would also fit the pādas in b4 and b5. The only metre qualifying seems to be 4×17 syllables (rythm 6/6/5), attested so far under the names *keśik* or *niṣkramāṃt* (the latter alternating with 5/7/5). However, pādas 3b and 3d appear to have the alternative rhythm 6/5/6. A metrical restoration of stanzas 2 and 3 is given below:[19]

– – – – – – ; – – – – – – ; – – *ṣīkaintso* **:** [2a]
tumeṃ sā keṃ-ñäkte ; *nmeträ paine ys(ape)* ; *śle-pä(lskotstsa ra* **:)** [2b]
– – – – – – ; – – – – – – ; *(se āktikäṃ)ñe* **:** [2c]
māka lalaṃṣkana ; *tseñāna eśnesa* ; *erṣṣäṃ taka(rṣkñe* **:)** [2d]
– – – – – – ; – – – – – – ; *(lkātsi o)ntsoytte* **:** [3a]
wcūkane yailwa toṃ ; *lānte ṣeckeṃntse* ; *motr(a)nt(s)⸗ ā(str) e(ṅku ra* **:)** [3b]
– – – – – – ; – – – – – – ; *(akek kä)ṣṣīnts(e)* **:** [3c]
te-yknesa ysomo sū ; *ponta krentaunants* ; *ai(se)* – – – – [3d]

In b7, a new stanza begins, of which the metre is known to be 4×25 syllables (rhythm 5/5/8/7) thanks to the preservation of the tune name. In this metre, *pälskoṣṣe nau(mye)* makes a correct first unit.

[19] The caesurae are indicated with ";". In this metrical reconstruction, "–" stands for a syllable instead of an akṣara.

Translation

(a2) even if I were obliged (to roll in the Avīci hell) for a long time without limit (lit. without number), (I would rather endure) the damage … (a3) … (the living beings who) are being struck on the head by sufferings separately [for each one]. For that reason, … (a4) (Immediately after having heard that,) King (Kalmāṣapāda obtained) somehow faith in the glory of Buddhahood … (a5) 'For the sake of (whose) life do you abandon your own life?' Then King Sutasoma … (a6) … after having encouraged [him] (with a glance), says: 'O you clever one! (You have asked me about) a very difficult matter … (a7) … to make the earth fly (towards the sky) [is] an easy task (lit. pleasure, recreation); [but] among all matters, this [is] an (extreme)ly difficult matter, (to describe the qualities) of the Buddhas … (b2) … of those who step (smoothly), thereupon this earth-goddess will bow close to [their] feet, like someone (female) of reason. (b3) … (this wonder), because of [his, i.e. the Buddha's] tender blue eyes it evokes in many instances faith … (b4) … one is never satisfied (looking at him). [His] two curved jaws [are] those of the lion king, holding (as it were) the missile of Hari, … (b5) (The preceding Buddhas of this final?) teacher (were as numerous as grains of sand in the Gaṅgā?). In this manner he fully [is] a receptacle of all virtues.' (b6) (King Kalmāṣapāda) asks: 'O lord! (If) this splendor of vision (is found on the body) of the Buddha-lord …' (b7) || In the tune A. || 'The jewel of thought …

Remarks on the Translation and the Correspondences with the Old Uyghur Text

a2 ***(kli)ñ(i)-ñ***: cf. OU 04017–19 *maŋa … agnagalı tägimlig bolsar*. In Tocharian B, "to roll in the Avīci hell" may have been expressed as *apiś nraine ... spārttatsi.*

snai keś emparkre: cf. OU 04018–19 *uzun üdün*. Here the Toch. is more emphatic.

ka(rep): cf. OU 04020 *ämgäkig*. This is not contradictory with the correspondence in the next line, because there is no system of one-to-one translation from Toch. to OU.

a3 ***(wai)ptār***: cf. OU 04023 *tüü törlüg*

läklentantso: cf. OU 04023 *ämgäkin*

āś papyākoṣ: cf. OU 04023–24 *baška tokıtmıšların*. The Tocharian syntax is somewhat different: *papyākoṣ* is a nominative plural and must therefore be the predicate of *onolmi* 'beings', which can be restored in the lacuna, corresponding to *tınl(ı)glar*. In OU, *tokıtmıšların* is in the accusative, as the direct object of *körür män*. It is likely that the Toch. had instead a relative clause: *kᵤse onolmi* … "the beings who are, etc.".

ceṃ ṣarmtsa: cf. OU 04025–26 *olarnı üčün*. With the plural demonstrative pronoun *olarnı* the OU text refers to *tınl(ı)glar* "the living beings". It is not excluded that the Uyghur translator has misunderstood the obl. sg. m. demon-

strative *ceṃ* as an obl. pl. m., with which it is homophonous. The expression used here is rare in Tocharian B, the only parallel being B 369 b2 *ce ṣarmtsa*. More frequent are e.g. *tuntse ṣarmtsa* and *te ṣarmtsa*.

a4 ***walo***: cf. OU 04029 *elig*

cek wärñai … etc.: The reference to a plurality in OU 04029–30 *burhanlarnıŋ atın äšidmišdä ök* "hardly having heard of the fame of the Buddhas" is not found in the Tocharian B expression *pañäktäṃñe pernene takarṣkäñ(ñe)*, which refers to the abstract notion of Buddhahood. It is likely that *cek wärñai* "somehow, in this way or another" bears on the notion of acquiring faith. It is perhaps rendered, though not literally, by OU *ök*.

takarṣkäñ(ñe): cf. OU 04030 *süzök köŋül*

a5 ***(kete śau)lt(s)a***: cf. OU 04034 *kimni üčün*

twe ṣañ śaul rinastar: cf. OU 04035 *isig özüŋin ıdalayur s(ä)n*

tane: lit. "here". Instead, OU has the usual match of the Toch. B transitional phrase *tu keklyauṣormeṃ* or the like: OU 04036 *bo savıg äšidip*

sudasome w(a)l(o): cf. OU 04036 *sutasome elig*

a6 ***(ṣeṣa)rttormeṃ***: this restoration remains quite uncertain because the OU text does not seem to have an exact match. The meaning of the OU phrase *yazok yüzin*, which is found elsewhere, is "with relaxed face" (cf. Erdal 1991, p. 256), but neither of the two possible verbs *ṣərtt-* "incite" and *spərtt-*$^{caus.}$ "turn (tr.)" has a meaning close to "relax". One may assume that the first verb is used in a positive meaning "encourage", as is done in the restoration and translation given above. This would describe the attitude of Sutasoma towards King Kalmāṣapāda. Another possibility is that the second verb is used with "head" or "face" as the object, i.e. "having turned his relaxed (?) face towards King Kalmāṣapāda" v.s. The Tocharian A expression corresponding to OU *yazok yüzin* does not provide an exact match either: YQ1.8b1 */// yo ypic oki akmalyo* "with the face full of …, as it were" (Ji 1998, pp. 56–57) ~ *yazok yüzin* "mit … offenem Gesicht" (ZusTreff 102–03).

weṣṣäṃ: cf. OU 04037 *inčä tep tedi*

maimañcu: not translated into OU.

olyapotse amaskaice wä(ntare): cf. OU 04038 *alp ... savıg*

a7 ***(keṃ … pluwä)ṣlya***: cf. OU 04039–41 *yer suv ...kökkalıkka učup bargay*. According to the parallel OU text, /// *ṣlya* must be restored as the nom. sg. f. of a gerund that refers to the earth. The closest match of OU *uč-* "fly" is the root *plu-* "fly", of which the caus. ger. (prs. or sbj.) would be used here: *(pluwä)ṣlya*. In Tocharian B, "up towards the sky" may have been expressed as *ipreräś kauc*.

wīna: cf. OU 04041 *ol učuz*. The noun *wīna*, usually translated as "pleasure", seems to form a nominal predicate that corresponds to OU *ol učuz ol* "it seems easy". Accordingly, one may understand *wīna* as a pleasant activity that does not require any effort (cf. on *učuz* Clauson 1972, p. 32a, "not requiring effort").

po wäntarwane se wäntare amā(sk)ai: this superlative expression is reinforced with the adverb *(śa)tk(ai)* "extremely". In OU 04042 we find instead the com-

parative construction with *antada ... artok alp*, reinforced with *miŋ tümän* "a thousand times ten thousand".

pa(ñäktents): cf. OU 04043 *burhanlarnıŋ*

b2 ***ṣīkaintso***: This word must belong to the part translated by OU 04056 *akru akru maŋın yorısarlar*. It cannot be a form of the action noun *ṣīko* "step", since this has a plural *ṣikonta* and a gen. pl. *ṣikontants(o)**. Nevertheless, a form of the root *sika-* "step" is suggested by OU *yorı-* "go, walk" and the preceding *maŋın*, instr. of *maŋ* "step". It is tempting to construe *ṣīkaintso* with *paine* despite the distance, but a further difficulty is the adverb *tumeṃ* "then, thereupon", which usually marks the beginning of a new syntactic unit and often signals a new episode in a narrative. On the other hand, *tumeṃ* may here be used in the sense "because of that". Notably, it is not translated in the OU text. Even though the genitive plural of an agent noun in *-a* ought to have a genitive plural in *-ants(o)*, *ṣīkaintso* is probably best interpreted as the second member of a verbal governing compound of the type *kärtse-rita* "who seeks good" (cf. Malzahn 2012, pp. 116–117), which would fit the A-character of the root *sika-* "step, set foot". Although the formation of these agent nouns is not fully understood, *-ṣika** conforms to the pattern established so far, since the evidence for the vowel grade of the root as well as for initial palatalisation is inconclusive. The first member of this compound cannot be restored, but it may have contained a form of Toch. B *yarm* "measure". The problem of the ending *-aintso* for expected *-antso* can be resolved with the assumption that it is analogical after the regular oblique singular *-ṣīkai**, which would seem possible in view of the fact that this text is certainly relatively late, judging from the calligraphy.

sā keṃ-ñäkte nmeträ: cf. OU 04058–59 *yer t(ä)ŋri hatunı ... ävrilür*

paine ys(ape): cf. OU 04058–59 *adakları eyin*

śle-pä(lskotstsa ra): cf. OU 04058 *öglüg köŋüllüg kiši täg*. The gender of the compound in the Tocharian text is admittedly uncertain, since one may restore *śle-pä(lskotstse)* as well, but it is logical in view of the feminine gender of *keṃ* "earth".

b3 ***māka … erṣṣäṃ takarṣkñe***: the subject of this sentence is in the singular, contrary to the OU sentences 04062 *süzök köŋül öritürlär* and 04065 *asıg tusu kılurlar*. Furthermore, the sequence of actions may be somewhat different. The plural is implied by *māka* "many", that is "in many instances". One should not forget that this part is in verse in Tocharian: by comparison the prose rendering in OU is much longer and redundant. The subject of *erṣṣäṃ* may be the Buddha, or "each Buddha" in the singular, or "the wonder of looking at the Buddha(s)" (the notion of wonder is present in the OU text, cf. 04061 *muŋadıp taŋlap*). One should also note that the singular for referring to the Buddha seems to be present in b5, cf. the demonstrative *sū*; see also b7.

tseñāna eśnesa: cf. OU 04063 *kök ražaw(a)rt öŋlüg közin*

b4 ***(lkātsi o)ntsoytte***: This expression, lit. "insatiable to be looked at", i.e. "by the view of whom one cannot be satiated", has no exact match in OU 04069. The corresponding OU phrase *körü kanınčsız* has been used above in 04048. Instead,

the same notion is expressed by OU *čoglug yalınl(ı)g bolup yatur* "it is always brilliant [and] shining".

wcūkane yailwa toṃ lānte ṣeckeṃntse: cf. OU 04070–71 *kasıgları arslanlarnıŋ täg bolup*. Note again the plural, contrasting with the singular in the Toch. text.

motr(a)nt(s)⸗ ā(str) e(ṅku ra): In pāda 2b both metre and syntax are difficult. *wcūkane yailwa toṃ* makes a correct first unit of 6 syllables, but the next syntactic group, *lānte ṣeckeṃntse*, has only 5 instead of the expected 6 syllables. In addition, the restoration *motr(a)nt(s)⸗ ā(str) e(ṅku ra)* at the end of the line is very tentative: with this restoration, the last unit would have 6 syllables, so that the whole pāda would be 6/5/6 instead of 6/6/5. In any case, it is impossible to restore the usual name of the god Indra, Tocharian B *ylaiñäkte*, suggested by OU 04071–72 *hormuzta t(ä)ŋri*. For the proposed restoration, which surmises that the next pāda contains roughly the content of OU 04073–75, it has to be kept in mind that a literal translation from verse to prose is not to be expected, no more than for the preceding image. Toch. B *motr(a)nt(s)⸗* stands for *motrantse**, the genitive sg. of *motär**, which corresponds to Skt. *hari*-, since the derived adjective *motartstse** translates Skt. *harita*- (Adams 2013, p. 511). We can probably take *motr(a)nt(s)⸗* to refer to Indra, because Skt. *hari*- may designate several gods in Skt. literature, including Indra. The next word would be *āstär* "bolt, missile", borrowed from Skt. *astra*- (Adams 2013, p. 64). From that the Uyghur translator would have made up the reference to the weapon of Indra, the *vajra*, according to a well-known image. The restoration of the last syllables is based only on the image of the bolt held by a god in his hands: another possible restoration would be *ā(ntsn)e*, the dual of *āntse* "shoulder", which would be a totally different image.

b5 ***(kä)ṣṣīnts(e)***: This is the end of pāda 3c, and two more syllables are required to make a unit of 5 syllables. This pāda probably expressed the innumerability of the former Buddhas as found in the parallel OU 04073–74 with the metaphor of the grains of sand in the Gaṅgā river. Since the word *gaŋavaluk* is found in the OU text, one may surmise that its Tocharian B source *gaṅgavāluk* occurred in this pāda as well. The present-day Buddha may have been depicted as a receptacle of all virtues that have been accumulated by the infinite number of preceding Buddhas. The proposed restitution of *(akek)* is quite tentative; it was possibly opposed to *nauṣañ̈i* or *nauṣ* "former" as qualifying all the Buddhas of the past.

te-yknesa ysomo sū ponta krentaunants ai(se): cf. OU 04074–75 *bo munı täg ülgüsüz üküš ädgülärniŋ agılıkı* (…) The original meaning of Toch. B *aise* is "cooking pot, cauldron" (Pinault 2002, pp. 313–314 with references), but it took on a more general sense of "pot, receptacle". In OU the same image seems to be found, since *agılık*, usually "storehouse, treasury" (Clauson 1972, p. 86a), may also be rendered as "receptacle". Since *ponta krentaunants* makes a complete unit, the metre of this pāda would be again 6/5/6 instead of the expected 6/6/5.

b6 ***p(re)kṣäṃ ñakta***: cf. OU 04078 *tep tedi ay ulug elig*
sāṃ lkālñeṣṣa peñiya pañäkte(nts kektsentsa): cf. OU 04079–80 *burhanlarnıŋ ätözintäki čogları yalınları*
b7 ***pälskoṣṣe nau(mye)***: cf. OU 04083–84 *köŋüllüg ärdiniläri*, again in the plural.

4. Conclusion

The parallelism between the Tocharian B fragment PK AS 13B and the corresponding passage in the legend of Kalmāṣapāda and Sutasoma of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM* suggests that this Tocharian B text may indeed have been the model for the Old Uyghur legend. However, the degree of parallelism is uneven, as can often also be observed in the Old Uyghur translation of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamitināṭaka, the discrepancies being the most striking for the Tocharian B verse passages. Nevertheless, this fragment confirms that at least parts of the *DKPAM* did exist in Tocharian B. It must be noted, however, that this Tocharian B fragment was probably found in the region of Kucha, while fragments of manuscripts of the *DKPAM* were found at several sites in the region of Turfan and near Hami. There also seems to be a considerable time gap between both texts, even though neither of the two can be dated with any precision. The Tocharian B text, being relatively late, may be from the 8th century but not much later, whereas the earliest manuscripts of the Old Uyghur *DKPAM* could be from the early 11th century but hardly before. Especially in view of this difference in time and space, it remains to be seen if there was a Tocharian A *DKPAM* that functioned as an intermediary text between the Tocharian B original and the Old Uyghur version. Since the frame narrative of the *DKPAM* has so far been traced neither in Tocharian A nor in Tocharian B, it cannot be excluded that the Old Uyghur *DKPAM* is a compilation of Uyghur origin on the basis of *avadāna*s that had previously been adapted in Tocharian. Further research on fragments of Tocharian narrative Buddhist texts from the Pelliot collection as well as from other collections is required to shed light on this issue.

Abbreviations

DKPAM	*Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*
ETS	see Arat (1965)
OU	Old Uyghur
U III	see Müller (1922)
UW	see Röhrborn (1977–1998)
UWV	see Röhrborn (2010)
ZusTreff	see Geng – Klimkeit (1988)

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