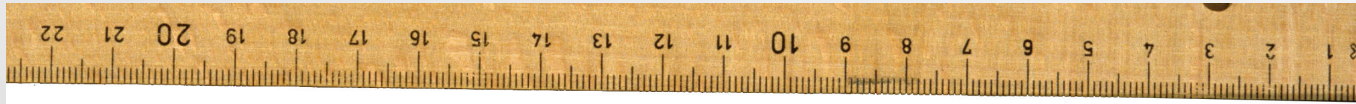# Toch. B *lyakeṃ yops=āttsāna warśaiṃne* and

Gr. πυκινὸν λόχον + ἰέναι

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THT 338 recto

Qizil, Cave 114, "Gebetmühlenhöhle", 4.–7. century AD

Shorchuq, Cave 3b "Handschriftenhöhle",

6.−7. century AD

Nr. 338 = T III. MQ 44. 2

Größeres Blattfragment rechts vom Schnurloch, aus kleineren Stücken zusammengesetzt und stark beschädigt, die Strophen 53c—64c im Metrum von 4 × 12 Silben (Rhythmus 5/7) umfassend; zweifellos zum Vyāghrī-Jātaka gehörig. Zur Sache vgl. man Kern, "The Jātaka-Mālā by Ārya-Śūra", Boston 1891, p. 1—6.

338a   Vorderseite

1 |||| s[a]ly[u][6]   lyak[em]   yops꞊āttsāna   waś·[7]   – – – –   [ne]stai[8]
naumyeṣṣān꞊epa – ||||[9]

Malzahn, Melanie. 2013. "Cutting around "temós"". Cooper, Adam I. et al. (eds.), Multi Nominis
Grammaticus. Ann Arbor: 165–174.

[19] *(se)salyu lyakeṃ yops=āttsāna wa(r)ś(aiṃne)* "leaping the obstacles, he entered the thick groves" (restorations and identification as belonging the *Vyāghrī-Jātaka* already made by Sieg/Siegling 1953:220). In this passage the Bodhisattva leaves behind his comfortable life as the son of a Brahmin (Sanskrit version) or of a king (Chinese version) for life in the forest as a mendicant. The Sanskrit text has been edited by Hanisch (1995); the canonical Chinese version of this *sūtra* can be found at: http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/T03/0160_001.htm. Unfortunately, neither version offers an exact parallel to the Tocharian passage which might further support the meaning of *lyake*, but the general meaning of the Tocharian text can easily be adduced based on these parallel versions. (I owe my knowledge of the Chinese text to Ulrike Steindl.)

- According to the study of the tigress story by Yu MENG (2017), the textual details in B 338 are incompatible with those in the Vyāghrī-Jātaka in the *Jātakamālā* by Āryaśūra.

- Based on the philological study of the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese texts, the Tocharian tigress story in B 338 stays closest to the one preserved in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (Suv.).

a1 *(se)s[a]ly[u] lyak[eṃ] yops=āttsāna wa(r)ś(aiṃne)*

'… having left behind … he entered the wild place in the thick forests …'

Cf. Skt. Suv. S.207 *te ca kumārās … **mahādvādaśavanagulmaṃ praviviśuḥ*** 'And the princes … **entered the great Dvādaśavanagulma forest**' and S.212 *svakāryeṇāhaṃ dvādaśavanagulmaṃ pravekṣyāmi* 'I will enter the Dvādaśavanagulma on my own business.'

Cf. Khot. Suv. 18.94 ***aysu** hīvī kīrä **ttrāme ttiña cānaulśa bāśa*** '**I will enter** upon my own business **in that forest full of creepers**.'

- *(se)s[a]ly[u]* 'having left behind'

In this sense, this preterite participle could refer to the scene *kumāropasthāyakā anyonyaṃ prasṛtā babhūvuḥ* **rājakumārotsṛṣṭāḥ** 'the princes' servants went off by themselves, **dismissed by the princes**' in Skt. Suv. p. 207 or in Khot. Suv. 18.95 *ttīyä* **Mahāsatvä alysānai ttä rräspūra** *brātarä* **īñä bāysä ṣṭānä haʲsaunde** *ku pastāta* 'Then **young Mahāsattva standing before the forest sent off the princes**, (his) brothers, (to) where they had set out (from)'.

- For the antigrundverb of **säl-** 'arise', under which the PPt. *sesalyu* is listed, Malzahn (2010: 941) gives the meaning "throw (down)", but she translates (Malzahn 2013: 171) it differently as "leaping", probably in order to highlight the possible PIE semantics, which is reflected in Lat. *salīre* 'to leap' < *$sl̥-i̯é$- from PIE *sel-* 'leap' (LIV: 527f.). However, the translation "leave behind" is indeed justified internal to the Tocharian corpus: cf. B 554 b1 ***piṃś atseṣṣe perpette täne yatäṃ ṣaläsi*** 'it will be possible here to throw [off] the burden of the five Skandha' (Hilmarsson 1990: 98; Pan 2019: 48–53).

- *säl-* 'arise' ~ PPt. ***sesalyu***

For the formation of the preterite participle, cf. *kekalypoṣ ~ kälyp* 'steal', *pepalyku ~ pälk* 'burn' (*pepälykoṣ* MQ), *pepälywu* ~ pälw* 'lament' (attested is *pepälyworsa*) and *keklyutkuwa ~ klutk* 'turn, become' (cf. Saito 2006: 386).

Sängim temple no. 7

cf. Raschmann/Semet 2008: 240
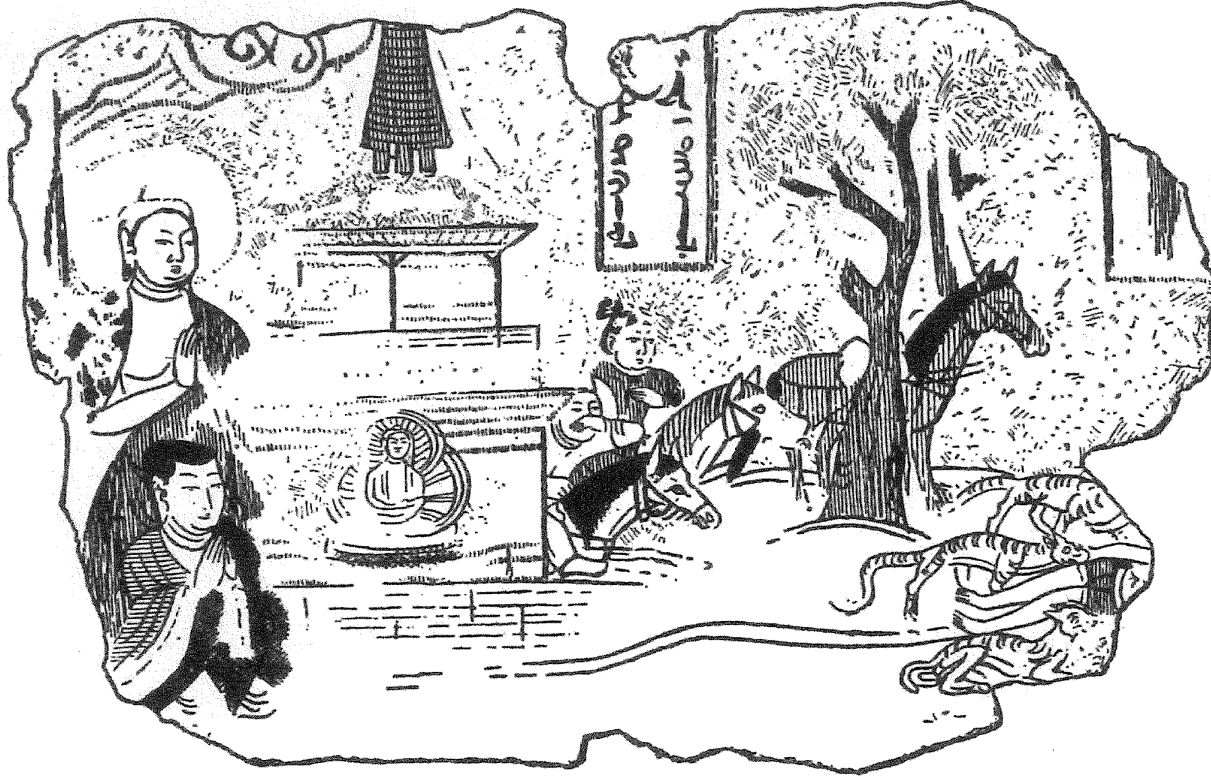
Detailed Analysis of TB *lyake*

- TB *lyake* occurs only twice, once at B 338 a1, and once at B 516 b2.

- Malzahn (2010: 860) mentions the word under the root *lyäk* 'lie (down)', without giving any meaning.

- Malzahn (2013: 171) also deals with this word, translating it as "obstacle", namely, "obstacle for leading a devout life, viz. the attachment to the world". The connection with the root *lyäk* 'to lie (down)' from PIE *leg^h- 'to lie down' (LIV: 398f.) has already been suggested by Krause (1952: 285).

- However, in CEToM (updated on 2017.09.11), Malzahn gives up her earlier interpretation: "but this reading is very unlikely in my opinion. A close inspection of the original manuscript on 2017-09-08 strongly suggests a reading *lyarkā*".

- Adams (2013: 615) proposes a new reading **lyāṣke* or **lyārṣke*, without giving any meaning.

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Paleography

The akṣara in B 338 a1:

The shape of *-rk-*

rkā in B 389 b7	*rkā* in B 337 b3	*rkā* in B 513 a2	*rkā* in B 331 a1	B 338 a1
Find Spot MQR	Shorchuq	Sängim	Sängim	MQ
Angle 47°	34°	36°	53°	61°

The shape of *-ke-*

	keṃ in B 588 b1	*keṃ* in B 575 a6	*keṃ* in B 359 a4	*keṃ* in B 386 a3	B 338 a1
Find Spot	MQ	MQ	Qumtura	Sängim	MQ
Angle	61º	57º	56º	64º	61º

Content

According to the theory of Malzahn (2013: 171 and in CEToM), the Toch. text corresponds to the Vyāghrī-Jātaka in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, where the word *lyake* means "obstacle, burden, *vel sim.*", and describes "attachment to the world", which again corresponds to the Sanskrit text **gārhasthyam asvāsthyam ivāvadhūya, kaṃ cid vanaprastham alaṃcakāra** "Den Stand eines Haushalters abgeschüttelt habend wie ein Unbehagen, schmückte er einen hochgelegenen Wald". However, the episode "he shook off the householder's state, as if it were an illness", which according to Malzahn is located in line **a1 in B 338**, is the **6th verse in *Jātakamālā***, while the scene in line **a3 in B 338**, where the protagonist enters the jungle and encounters the tigress, is the **13th verse in *Jātakamālā***.

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11. Anm auf S. 220 nach *ken̮aṣṣi* in a2: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

13. Anm auf S. 220 nach *māka* in a3: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

14. Anm auf S. 220 nach *sāᵤ* in a3: "Der Pāda ist um eine Silbe zu kurz".

1. Anm auf S. 221 nach *yäst̮* in a4: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

3. Anm auf S. 221 nach *yäst̮* in a5: "Das Metrum verlangt die Lesung *yästa*".

5. Anm auf S. 221 nach *tākoycer̮* in a6: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

10. Anm auf S. 221 nach *[m]amaiwarsa* in b2: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

11. Anm auf S. 221 nach *yäst̮* in b2: "Das Metrum verlangt die Lesung *yästa*".

13. Anm auf S. 221 nach *epiṅte* in b3: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

16. Anm auf S. 221 nach *orottse* in b 5: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

18. Anm auf S. 221 nach *ṣlemem̮* in b6: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

19. Anm auf S. 221 nach *mahāsatven* in b6: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

22. Anm auf S. 221 nach *ñäktene* in b7: "Hier fehlt die Versinterpunktion".

Meter of B 338

The metrical pattern is very likely 21 ¦ 21 ¦ 18 ¦ 13, and the first line has the following structure:

a1: *(? • {53b} 6 se)s[a]ly[u]* ¦ *lyak[eṃ] yops=āttsāna wa(r)ś(aiṃne* ¦ *{53c} e)[ne]stai naumyeṣṣān=epa(ns. – – – – || 53 || 19)*

- The sentence *lyak[eṃ] yops=āttsāna wa(r)ś(aiṃne)* comprises the second half of pāda c (9 ׀ 9) of verse 53, and the preterite participle *sesalyu* 'having left behind' in fact belongs to the first half of pāda 53c.
- Therefore, it is more likely that the object of *sesalyu* is not *lyakeṃ*.

Etymology, Morphological and Semantic Analysis

- From PIE *leg^h-* 'to lie down', via Proto-Tocharian *l'äkæ-*.

- TB *lyake* 'wild place' can be connected with Gr. λόχος 'ambush', whose original meaning is actually "lieu propice aux embuscades" (de Lamberterie 1975: 239) or "Ort, wo man im Hinterhalt liegt" (LfgrE II: 1713).

- TB *lyake* could also be compared with OIr. *fo-lach* 'hiding-place' and Welsh *golo*/*gwolo* 'hiding-place' < Proto-Celtic *$u̯o$-log-* from the *o*-grade of PIE *leg^h-* 'to lie down' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 658f).

- The *R(e/o)-o-* derivatives of PIE *leg^h-* 'to lie down' in Tocharian and Greek can be summarized as follows:

  R(o)-ó-: TB *leke* 'bed' < PIE *log^h-ó-* (or *lóg^h-o-*), cf. TA *lake* 'bed'

  R(ó)-o-: Gr. λόχος m. 'place for ambush' and Gr. λόχος 'child-birth' < PIE *lóg^h-o-s*

  R(e)-ó-: TB *lyake* 'wild place' < PIE *leg^h-ó-s* (or from *lég^h-o-s* with accent retraction)

  R(é)-o-: Gr. λέχος n. 'bed' < PIE *lég^h-os-*

- The possesive-passive or patientive meaning of *R(o)-ó-* in general is well documented (Nussbaum 2017: 240f.);

- cf. Hitt. *marša-* 'false' via the meaning "forgotten" from PIE **morsó-* of the PIE root **mers-* 'forget' vs. JAv. *marša-* 'das Vergessen' < PIE **mórso-* in the name *Maršavan-* 'das Vergessen bewirkend' (Bartholomae: 1153);

- Gr. λοιπός 'left, remaining' < PIE **lои̯ku̯ó-* of the PIE root **lеи̯ku̯-* 'leave' vs. Skt. *reka-* 'emptying, purging' < PIE **lói̯ku̯o-*.

- And the pseudo-passive meaning of *R(o)-ó-* from intransitive roots (TB *leke* TA *lake* 'bed') is exemplified by Ved. *sādá-* 'seat' < PIE **sodó-* of the PIE root **sed-* 'sit' (Nussbaum 2017: 242).

- '**bed**' ~ '**place for ambush, wild place**' are homogeneous with respect to the central *signifié*, from different contexts, namely, "**to lie down indoors**" ~ "**to lie down outdoors**". Thus, 'bed' and 'place for ambush, wild place' are the patientive objects of the action 'lie down', just like 'seat' vs. 'sit'.

- **The passive value of *R(e)-ó-* nouns** is also well attested; cf. Gr. ἔργον, OHG *werc* 'thing done, piece of work' from PIE root **u̯erĝ*- 'make, effect'; Ved. *padám* 'piece of ground' via the passive meaning "trodden" from PIE *pedóm of the root *ped- 'to tread', *pédom with accent retraction would yield Hitt. *pēdan* 'place' and Gk. πέδον 'ground, site'.

- Note the parallelism between **TB *lyake* 'wild place'** < PIE *legʰós of *legʰ- 'to lie down' and Ved. *padám* 'piece of ground', Hitt. *pēdan* 'place', Gk. πέδον 'ground, site' < PIE *pedóm of *ped- 'to tread'.

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To support the argument that **R(e)-o-** (TB *lyake* 'wild place' and Gr. λέχος 'bed') can have the same meaning with **R(o)-ó-** (TB *leke* TA *lake* 'bed'), cf. further Lat. *serum* 'whey' < PIE *serom* ~ Gr. ὀρός 'whey' < PIE *soró-* and OIr. *cerb* 'sharp, cutting' < PIE *kerbo-* ~ Gmc. *skarpa-* 'sharp' < PIE *(s)korbo-* (Nussbaum 2017: 249).

Syntactic Archaism

- The phrase **λόχον δ' ἰέναι** 'to go to the secluded spot of forest' in Iliad 1.227 ~ TB **lyakeṃ yopsa** 'entered the wild place'.

- PIE construction of accusative of direction and content with the verb ***h₁ei̯-** 'to go' or its synonyms without any preposition (Watkins 1975: 189ff.).

- The Greek examples, cf. Schwyzer (1950: 67f.), e.g. ἔρχεσθον κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος 'you two go to the place for lying down of Peleus' son Achilleus' in Il. 1.322;

- The Vedic examples cf. Gaedicke (1880: 215), e.g. *káṃ svid árdham párāgāt* 'welches Land ist sie hinweggegangen' in RV 1.164.17 und Delbrück (1888: 166ff.), e.g. *suvargáṃ lokám eti* 'er kommt in den Himmel' in ŚB 1.6.10.2.

- The later Tocharian construction replaces the accusative with the secondary case forms like the locative or allative, see Kölver (1965: 108), Thomas (1983: 23) and Carling (2000: 6f.).

About δε in οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι

- West, van Thiel, Basler Kommentar: **οὔτε λόχονδ' ἰέναι**, i.e., λόχον with the postposition -δε 'to, towards'.

- Ludwich: **οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι**,

- the scholia to A 151 read **οὔτε λόχον ἰέναι**. (Erbse I: 53, <δ'> added by Erbse).

- The original phrase λόχον ἰέναι ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ − was unmetrical and was metrically repaired by the secondary introduction of δε: οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι − ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ ⏑ −,

- cf. Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ − ⏑ ⏑ − from Ζεὺς πατὴρ − ⏑ −, PIE origin *$d_i\acute{e}\underset{.}{u}$ *ph_2ter 'o father heaven', e.g. Ved. *dyáuṣ pitā́* and umbr. *Iupater*.

- Therefore, in οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι an archaic construction of accusative of direction with the verb *$h_1ei̯$- 'to go', namely **λόχον ἰέναι**, and the δε here is very likely the conjunction PIE *-de 'dazu; andererseits' (LIPP II: 128), not the postposition PIE *-de 'zu − hin' attested in Gr. οὐρανόνδε 'in den Himmel', ὅικαδε 'nach Hause' (LIPP II: 148).

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Phraseological Connection

- The Homeric expression **πυκινὸς λόχος** 'thick ambush place' in Il. 4.392 and 24.779.

- TB *lyakeṃ … āttsāna warśaiṃne* 'wild place in the thick forests', which is the lair of the tigress.

- Gr. **λόχμη πυκινή** 'thick wild place', which is the lair of the boar at Od. 19. 439,.

Summary

1) Based on the paleographical study of the folio the reading Toch. B *lyakeṃ* can be confirmed.

2) Toch. B *lyake* 'wild place' is etymologically connected with Gr. **λόχος** 'place for ambush'.

3) **δε** in **οὔτε λόχον δ' ἰέναι** in Iliad 1.227 is secondarily introduced based on the evidence reported in the Scholia.

4) The rhythm of the verses in B 338 is **21 ¦ 21 ¦ 18 ¦ 13**.

5) Numerous detailed phraseological correspondences exist only between the Tocharian version and the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese versions of the tigress story in *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.