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New look at the Tocharian B medical manuscript IOL Toch 306 (Stein Ch.00316.a2) of the British Library – Oriental and India Office Collections¹⁾

1. The manuscript

The Tocharian B manuscript IOL Toch 306 (Stein Ch.00316.a2) is preserved at the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London. It was originally published in transliteration with translation and commentaries by Couvreur (1955) and thereupon by Broomhead (1964:46–8)²⁾. The text is obviously of medical nature, and is related to the manuscript IOL Toch 305 (Stein Ch.00316.a1)³⁾ in form, content and script. Recently, these texts have been integrated with the material of the International Dunhuang Project Interactive Web Database (<http://idp.bl.uk>), together with the Hoernle Collections of Tocharian manuscripts of the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections. A scanned copy of the manuscript, of which the number is now IOL Toch 306, is available on internet.

The size of the fragment is 26.5 cm long by 8.6 cm wide. The right part of the manuscript lacks 7–12 characters, but otherwise the writing is in a good state of preservation. It is written in medium ductus, probably by the same hand as the preceding manuscript IOL Toch 305.

The contents of the manuscript are obscure. This is mainly due to the loss of approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of the fragment towards the right part of the recto and verso. The recto of the fragment obviously deals with

¹⁾ I thank Prof. Kenneth Zysk (Copenhagen) for finding equivalents in the Sanskrit medical literature. I also thank Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault (Paris) and Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Werner Winter (Kiel) for valuable suggestions for restorations and interpretations of new words in the text, Dr. Susan Whitfield (British Library), for identification of the original manuscript, and Dr. Judith Josephson (Gothenburg) for correcting my English.

²⁾ Moreover, commentaries and translations of parts of this manuscript have been published by Winter (1962:113, n. 10), K.T. Schmidt (1974:114, n. 1 and 254, n. 1, 2), Winter (1984), Pinault (1988:151–153), and K.T. Schmidt (1997).

³⁾ Published by Filliozat (1948), commented by Sieg (1955) and also published and translated by Broomhead (1964).

two variants of cancer, B *kwarm*, Skt. *gulma*: cancer due to gall, B *pittaṣṣe kwarm*, Skt. *pittajagulma*, and cancer due to phlegm, B *leṣpaṣṣe kwarm*, Skt. *kaphajagulma*⁴). The contents of the last part of the verso are very hard to understand and seem at first glance to be completely different from the recto⁵). This is, however, not the case, as we will see below.

2.1. The text

Since I will propose a revised translation of the text below, based upon the identification of the Sanskrit equivalents, I will give the full text here. Revised readings and estimation of the lengths of the lacunae are based upon the scanned copy of the manuscript, available on internet (see above).

recto

- a1. (ara)ñcsa ♦ *raskare koyne* ♦ *pittaṣṣepi kwarmmatse*¹ *nauṣ* *ṣotri pkar-saso* ♦ *lamtse koyne ṣek* *masketra*² (*anāṣṣālñetstse māskētār walke*)
 a2. *perpette premane re*³ *añkain yamalle*⁴ *ṣp* *melyi tañki māskemntṛa*⁵ ♦ *irwate kektsemne masketar-ne tri* [k] (au)⁶ (*inkaum ṣek ṣpaneṣṣe*)
 a3. *preke masketar-ne* ♦ *ṣwātsi mā āñme somotkāmñe sosoyusa kektseñe masketa*⁷ (*r-ne* ♦ *te-ramt nauṣ ṣotri*)
 a4. (*pkarsa*)so *kwārmatse leṣpaṣṣepi* || *ñake sāmṭke weñau* ♦ *corak* *traun-ta* 10 *malkwerne* [pā]⁸ (*kṣalle* ♦ *te yokalle kwārmatse*)
 a5. (*sām*)tke || *ṣalype kuñcitaṣṣe* ♦ *malkwer* *mit* *panit* *aisene pakṣalle ywārtsa lipāṭra* [♦]⁹ -----
 a6. *pippāl* *enem katnālle te yokalle kwārmatse sāmṭke* ♦ || *kuñcīt* *mlyo-kotau* ♦ [i]ran [d¹⁰ am] (*alarwetasma triwāṣle*)

verso

- b1. (*kwā*)rmatse *laupe* || *panitaṣṣe ṣpel* *ṣe prayok* ♦ *wetene se wate* ♦ *lak-saiñ* [ai] (*klaun*)tsaiṣṣe¹¹ (*ṣpel* *trite*) -----

⁴) Cf. Pinault (1988:151–153), who comments on the two terms *raskare koyne* and *lamtse koyne* of line a1. He identifies the three variants of internal tumour (*gulma*), mentioned in the first part of our text with the descriptions of *gulma* given in *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthānam* XLII and *Siddhasāra* 1.24.

⁵) Cf. K.T. Schmidt (1997:247–248), who understands this part of the text (b3–b6) as an example of a treatment for impotence (“Behandlung von Potenzschwäche”). The passage is thought to describe sexual excitement, which is the effect of an aphrodisiac (“Wunderdroge”).

- b2. *štarte* ♦ *yavakṣār* *piñkte* ♦ *coy*¹² *prayokanta malkwersa yokalyi kwārmatse sāmṭke* || *pi*¹² (*tta-yenteṣṣe kwarm klainamts ka ste*)
 b3. *mā su masketar* *śrānāts* *cwi rano ṣotri* ♦ *weñau* ♦ *mā walkeññe pāst*¹³ *yā*¹³ (*mormem*) -----
 b4. *yāmormem istak wat* *pāst*¹⁴ *yāmormem* ♦ *istak wat* *prekesa yāmormem* ♦ [y]¹⁴ (*enteṣṣe tsmoññesa*)
 b5. *tso staukkanaṭar-me ṣle yasar kalṭra klainats* *premtsa ynāñm*¹⁵ *yamastra* ♦ [mā]¹⁵ *ntak no tso erkatse sa*¹⁵ (*lpam tottesa klainamts malkwe*)r
 b6. *masketra* ♦ *pāscane leṣp* [s]¹⁶ *masketar* *erene yolyiya āñme ṣpa mas-keṭar-ne* 4 *añkai*¹⁷ (*m yamalle*)

2.2. Textual notes

1) Sic! For *kwārmatse*. 2) Lacuna of 9 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 3) Sic! For *ra*. 4) Sic! For *añkain yamalle*. 5) Sic! For *māskentrā*. 6) Lacuna of 8 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 7) Lacuna of 9 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 8) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 9) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 10) Lacuna of 10 syllables. After [nda] there is the trace of an [m-]. For reconstruction see commentary. 11) Lacuna of 12 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 12) Lacuna of 10 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 13) Lacuna of 11 syllables. 14) Only the lower part of the y- is visible. Lacuna 7 syllables. For reconstruction see commentary. 15) Lacuna of 7 syllables. The script of the second half of the line is relatively faint. Nevertheless the characters can be easily read. 16) The third component of the ligature that begins with *ṣp*- has faded, but is relatively clearly -s. For reconstruction see the commentary. 17) Lacuna of 9 syllables. The script of the second half of the line is, as with the previous line, relatively faint. The lower right half of the last *akṣara*, *ñkai* has been torn away.

3. Sanskrit equivalents

It has not been possible to identify any specific Sanskrit source for this text. The contents do not follow directly upon the preceding manuscript IOL Toch 305, the Sanskrit equivalent of which was identified by Filliozat (1948: 57–61). However, it is entirely possible that no such exact source exists. If we consider the bilingual Sanskrit – Tocharian B medical text *Yogaśataka*, PK.AS.2A, PK.AS.2B and

PK.AS.2C⁶), we notice that the Tocharian text is not an exact translation of the Sanskrit original. The Tocharian text often contains inserted commentaries, which often indicate that the text was used practically, as some sort of “manual” for the physician⁷). This is probably even more the case for our text, which contains a relatively concentrated report on the symptoms of diseases, followed by a prescription for a cure.

Our text deals with different variants of cancer, Skt. *gulma*. The two first variants are mentioned in the recto of the text, cancer due to gall, B *pittaṣṣe kwarm* (a1), Skt. *pittajagulma*, and cancer due to phlegm, B *leśpaṣṣe kwarm* (a4), Skt. *kaphajagulma*. An enumeration of symptoms of *pittajagulma* ends at the beginning of the text, in a1, and is followed by an enumeration of the symptoms of *kaphajagulma*, which ends in a4.

Enumerations of symptoms of these cancer diseases mentioned above can easily be found in the Sanskrit medical literature⁸). They differ slightly from one source to the other. In *Siddhasāra* 9.5–9.7 we have a description that is relatively close to our text, but it is shorter and contains fewer symptoms. The description of remedies has relatively few parallels in our text. In *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam*, *Nidānasthāna* 11.44b–47 (given below) and *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*, *Nidānasthāna* 11.38–41 the descriptions are more detailed than in our text, and several symptoms of our text that are absent in the *Siddhasāra* are given here. Occasional parallels are also found in the descriptions in *Bhela-Saṃhitā*, *Nidānasthāna* 3.9b–27, which, however, is relatively unlike in general description. Henceforth I will use the abbreviations given at the end of the article for these texts.

The enumeration of symptoms that ends in a4 is then followed by a prescription for a cure, which lasts until the end of b2. In both AhNi and AsNi prescriptions for a cure of *gulma* are not given together with the enumeration of symptoms (*Nidāna*), but in a separate chapter (*Cikitsam*). In Si prescriptions for cures are given in the same chapter (Chapter 9, “Internal tumours”), but *after* the description of all the variants of cancer, not *in-between*, as in our text. This indicates relatively clearly that the Tocharian text represents an innovation in relation to the Sanskrit sources.

⁶) Originally published by Filliozat (1948), commented by Sieg (1955) and revised completely by Carling (2002)

⁷) Carling (2002).

⁸) For references to text and translation of the Sanskrit texts see end of article “Sources for Sanskrit texts/translations”.

After the prescriptions (ending in b2) a new section begins, where symptoms of another disease are enumerated. The name of this disease, most likely a variant of *gulma*, is not given in the text and is probably hidden in the lost part of the manuscript or in a following manuscript.

Which is then this disease? In the medical literature, in the works mentioned above as well as in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, the different variants of *gulma* are normally listed in the following order: *vātajagulma* “cancer due to wind”, *pittajagulma* “cancer due to phlegm”, *kaphajagulma* “cancer due to gall”, *tridoṣajagulma* “cancer due to all three together” and finally *raktajagulma* “cancer due to blood”, i.e. uterine cancer. In b3–b6 of our text, we have a description of symptoms of this last mentioned disease, *raktajagulma* “uterine cancer”.

Below I will give the complete sections of Si and AhNi which treat of *vātaja-* *pittaja-*, *kaphaja-*, *tridoṣaja-* and *raktajagulma*.

Si 9.4–9.7

śūlādhmāna-malāsaṅga-toda-sphuraṇa-lakṣaṇam | *vāta-gulmaṃ vaden manyā-śīraḥ-śāṅkhāṅga-ruk-karam* “In that (connection), as for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to wind, they are explained to be aches and pains, distended stomach, blocked faeces and urine, throbbing of the tumour itself, changing its position and becoming large and small, aches in the back of the neck, the head, and the jawbone, and pains in the spinal column”

dāha-trṣṇā-bhrama-sveda-śuktodgārāśya-tiktatā | *spṛśāsahatvam ākhyātam pitta-gulmaśya lakṣaṇam* “As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to bile, they are explained to be heat of the body, great thirst, reeling head, sweat emerging, sour eructation, bitter taste in the mouth, and being unable to bear touching the tumour itself.”

prasekāruci-hṛllāsa-śvāsa-kāśāvīpāka-tā | *kāṣṭhinonnata-tā chardir gulma-rūpaṃ kaphātmake* “As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to phlegm, they are much spittle, disturbed appetite, the chest being hot and water emerging from the mouth, uncomfortable breathing, cough, inability to digest food, the tumour itself being hard and raised on the outside, and vomiting.”

tīvra-rug-dāha-vān gulmaḥ śīlā-vac ca ghanonnataḥ | *mano-dehāgni-sādī syād a-sādhyaḥ sannipātakaḥ* “As for the characteristics of an internal tumour that has arisen due to (the three tumours) combined, they are the tumour itself being unbearably painful and being gently warm, being hard and raised on the outside like a stone, and impairing the mind, the body, and the heat of the (digestive) fire. It is not suitable for treatment.”

srute garbhe prajātāyām itau vā dāha-śūla-vān | *nāryā raktēna gulmaḥ syād garbha-liṅgābhisūcakaḥ* “As for the blood tumour of a woman, it arises due to abortion of the foetus, to the production of a child, and to menstrual discharge. The tumour itself is painful, is gently warm, and comes to resemble pregnancy”.

AhNi 11.44b-55

pittād dāho 'mlako mūrchā-viḍ-bheda-sveda-trḍ-jvarāḥ || 44 || *hāridra-toam tvag-ād-yeṣu gulmaś ca sparśanā-sahaḥ* | *dūyate dīpyate soṣmā sva-sthanam dahatīva ca* || 45 || “In *gulma* of *pitta* origin, there is (increased) sourness (acidity), fainting, diarrhoea, sweating, thirst, fever, deep yellow colour of the skin etc.; the tumour does not tolerate touching (tenderness), has burning sensation, great heat as though burning its own site” (44b-45)

kaphāt staimityam a-ruciḥ sadanam śīṣira-jvarah | *pīnasālasya-hṛl-lāsa-kāsa-śukla-tvag-ādi-tāḥ* || 46 || *gulmo 'vagādhah kaphino guruḥ suptah sthiro 'lpa-ruk* | “In *gulma* of *kapha* origin, there is inactivity, loss of taste/appetite, weakness, cold, fever, nasal catarrh, lassitude, nausea, cough, white colour of the skin etc.; the tumour is deep seated, hard, heavy, painless, static and slightly painful.” (46-47a)

sva-doṣa-sthāna-dhāmānaḥ sve sve kāle ca ruk-karāḥ || 47 || “Tumors arising from each *doṣa* are found to develop generally in their own seats and produce pain at their own specific times.” (47b)

prāyas trayas tu dvandvotthā gulmāḥ saṃsṛṣṭa-lakṣaṇāḥ | *sarva-jas tūvra-rug-dāhaḥ śīghra-pākī ghanonnataḥ* || 48 || “The three kinds arising from the combination of two *doṣās*, have mixed symptoms; that arising from the combination of all the *doṣās* has severe pain, burning sensation, suppurates soon, hard and greatly elevated, this is incurable.” (48)

so 'sādhyo rakta-gulmas tu strīyā eva prajāyate | *ṛtau vā nava-sūtā vā yadi vā yoni-ro-giṇī* || 49 || *sevate vātālāni strī krudhdhas tasyāḥ samīraṇaḥ* | *nirūṇaddhy ārtavaṃ yonyāṃ prati-māsam avasthitam* || 50 || *kukṣim karoti tad-garbha-liṅgam āviṣ-karoti ca* | *hṛllāsa-daurhṛda-stanya-darśana-kṣāma-tādikam* || 51 || *krameṇa vāyu-saṃsargāt pitta-yoni-tayā ca tat* | *śoṇitam kurute tasyā vāta-pittottha-gulma-jān* || 52 || *ruk-stambha-dāhātīsāra-trḍ-jvarādīn upadravān* | *garbhāśāye ca su-tarām śūlam duṣṭāśrg-āśraye* || 53 || *yonyāś ca srāva-daurgandhya-toda-spandana-vedanāḥ* | *na cāṅgair garbha-vad gulmaḥ sphuraty api tu śūla-vān* || 54 || *piṇḍi-bhūtaḥ sa evāśyāḥ kadā-cit spandate cirāt* | *na cāsyā vardhate kukṣir gulma eva tu vardhate* || 55 || “*Rakta gulma* (tumour arising from blood) occurs in women only. Women who during their menstrual period, or period soon after delivery or who are having diseases of the *yoni* (uterus and vagina) indulge in foods and activities which aggravate *vāta*, in them *samīraṇa* (*vāta*) getting increased obstructs the *ārtava* (menstrual blood) coming out every month, within the *yoni* (uterus) and produces signs and symptoms of pregnancy inside the abdomen, such as nausea, longings (desires of pregnancy), appearance of breast milk, emaciations etc.; gradually the *rakta* (blood) with the association of *vāyu* (*vāta*) and *pitta*, such as pain, stiffness, burning sensation, diarrhoea, thirst, fever and such other secondary diseases; severe pain in the uterus by accumulation of vitiated blood, exudation, foul smell, tearing and pulsation pain in the vagina. The tumour though moves inside the uterus is like a foetus without its parts (head, arms and legs), such movements being painful, and also rare, because it is a gathered mass; there is no growth of the abdomen (steadily as in pregnancy) but there is growth only of the tumour.”

5. Commentary

a1. This line represents the end of an enumeration of symptoms of *pittajagulma* “cancer due to gall”, of which only *rāskare koyne* “sharp in the mouth” is preserved completely. This is described as one of the important features of *pittajagulma*: Si 9.4 *āsyā-tikta-tā* “bitter taste in the mouth”, AhNi 11.44b, AsNi 11.38 *amlakas* “sour taste in the mouth, acidity of stomach”.

Thereupon begins a section enumerating the signs of *kaphajagulma* “cancer due to phlegm”. Though most of the symptoms of the Tocharian text can be found in AhNi and AsNi, the order is different. The description in AsNi (11.39) is somewhat more detailed than in AhNi:

kaphāt staimityam arocakāvipākau hṛdayopalepaḥ śīta-jvarastuptiḥ sadanam kāso hṛllāsaḥ pīna-sonidrā 'lasyam nakhādisuklatā gulmaś ca sputa-sthira-guru-kaphino 'vagādhō 'lparuk prāyo hṛtpārśvāśrayaś ca | *saṃsṛṣṭa-liṅgaḥ saṃsargāt sa trīvīdhaḥ* | *sarva-liṅga-nicaye nicaya-gulmaḥ so 'sādhyah* || 39 || “In that caused by *kapha* the symptoms are – inactivity, loss of appetite, indigestion, heaviness of the heart, fever with cold (chills) contentment (abnormal), weakness, cough, nausea, nasal catarrh, sleepiness, lassitude, whiteness of the nails etc., the tumour appears as sleeping (without movement, sensation and growth), immovable, heavy, hard, broad with mild pain and commonly occupying the region of the heart (chest) and the flanks. That caused by the combination of two *doṣās* are three, that caused by the combination of all the three *doṣās* will have the features of all the *doṣās* and is incurable.”

B *lamtse koyne šek mäsketrä* /// “he always becomes light in the mouth” refers to a taste in the mouth. Compared to *rāskare koyne* “acid in the mouth”, *lamtse koyne* probably means “bitter in the mouth”⁹.

a2. B ... *perpette premane r(a)*¹⁰ “as if carrying a burden” should probably not be connected with *aṅkaiṃ yamalle* “vomiting”¹¹. “As if carrying a burden” could be thought of as attribute to either *ālasya* “lassitude” in AsNi 11.39, or *śvāsa* “uncomfortable breathing” in Si 9.5. Both these symptoms are attested in the *Yogaśataka* bilingual¹². In PK.AS.2A a2 B *anāṣṣālñe* (!) can be reconstructed as the equivalent of Skt. *śvāsa* “uncomfortable breathing” (Yog 17) and in PK.AS.2C B *alāsāññe* occurs as the equivalent of Skt. *ālasya* (Yog 115) “idleness, lassitude”. The lassitude is probably mentioned later, thus I recon-

⁹) See Pinault (1999:152).

¹⁰) The manuscript has *re*, a misspelling for *ra*.

¹¹) Broomhead (1964: 47).

¹²) Filliozat (1948:31–48), revised by Carling (2002).

struct tentatively (*anāṣṣālñetstse mäsketär walke*) *perpette premane r(a)* “(he becomes constantly fatigued) as if carrying a burden”.

The vomiting, Skt. *chardis*, is mentioned in Si (9.5). Another parallel is found in BheNi 3.17 a–18 b

na cāsyā svadate bhojyaṃ bhuktaṃ na ca vipacyate || 17 || *śleṣmaṇā saha bhuktaṃ ca muhurūrdhvaṃ prapadyate* “(From then on) the food does not have any taste for him (whatever) food (he still manages to eat) does not get digested well. And, food with the provoked *śleṣma* moves upwards”.

B *melyi tañki mäskenträ* “his nostrils are blocked up” corresponds to *pīnasa-* “nasal catarrh” in AsNi and AhNi. Thereupon, we have *iwate kektsemne mäsketär-ne tri[k](au)///* “anxiety comes up in his body, (he becomes) confused ...”. The correspondence is most probably Skt. *hṛllāsa-* “nausea”.

a3. This line starts with *preke mäsketär-ne* “... time is for him”. The only parallel I can think of is BheNi 3.16a (about a phlegm cancer patient): *divāsvapnaratastathā-* “(he is) having in addition a habit of constantly sleeping by day”. Thus, for the lacuna I reconstruct (*inkaum šek španeṣṣe*) *preke mäsketär-ne* “(by day) time (for sleeping constantly) comes up for him”.

The correspondences of B *śwātsi mā āñme somotkāmñe sosoyusa kektseñe mäsketä(r)[-ne]///* “He has no desire for food [and] his body is constantly satiated” are Skt. *arocaka* “loss of appetite” (AsNi), *vipāka* “indigestion” (Si, AsNi), and *aruci* “loss of appetite” (AhNi).

a4–b2. In this section, prescriptions for the curing of cancer are given. It should be noticed that a section on *tridoṣajagulma* “cancer due to all three [*doṣas*] together” is missing in our text. A reason might be that the enumeration of symptoms is followed by prescriptions for cures. A cancer that is due to all three *doṣas* together is not curable (Si, AsNi, AhCi). However, it indicates again that our text is an innovation in relation to the Sanskrit originals.

The prescription section ends with (b2) *coy prayokänta yokalyi mal-kwersa kwärmatse samtke* “These devices should be drunk with milk as a remedy against cancer”. This is also an innovation with regard to the Sanskrit: the prescriptions are not specified for treatment of cancer due to wind, gall, phlegm, as they are in Si, AsCi and AhCi. Here the description has been greatly simplified, compared to the extensive prescriptions of Si, AsCi and AsNi. Yet, a few parallels can be traced.

a5–a6. A parallel to the prescribed remedy in this passage is found in AsCi 16.29 for *kaphajagulma*:

pippalyāmalaka-drākṣā-śyāmādyaiḥ pālikair eraṇḍa-taila-haviṣoḥ prasthau ṣaḍgune payasi pachedayaṃ miśraka-snehogulmināṃ sraṃsano vṛddhi-vidradhi-gulma-vāta-vyādhiṣu ca parama-mṛtam || 29 || “One *pala* each of *pippalī*, *āmalaka*, *drākṣā* and *kāś-marya* are converted into a decoction, to which are added, one *prāṣṭa* each of *eraṇḍa taila* and ghee and boiled with six times their quantity of milk. This (second) *miśraka sneha* is *sraṃsana* (laxative) in patients of abdominal tumour and acts like in enlargements of scrotum, abscess, abdominal tumour and disease caused by *vāta*.”

B *aise* does not mean “power; surplus, excess”¹³), but “cooking vessel, cauldron”. The word translates Skt. *sthālī-* in the text SI P/65 b2, and the meaning is also ensured through the text B 107 a3.4¹⁴).

Towards the end of the line (a6) there are traces of an [*m-*] after [*nda*]. The passage refers to an oil therapy, mentioned in b1, *kwärmatse laupe* “liniment against cancer”. This is known from the Sanskrit equivalents (AsCi 16.7):

abhyāṅga-pūrvaṃ caiman sadā svedayet | snehasvedau hi samyak prayuktau srota-sāṃ-mārdavam upajanayyānilaṃ jivā bhitvā ca vibandham āśu gulmaṃ apakarṣataḥ || 7 || “He (the patient) should always be administered *svedana* (sudation therapy) preceded by *abhyāṅga* (oil massage); oleation and sudation therapies properly done produce softness of the channels, subdue *vāta*, remove the obstruction and by all these, cure abdominal tumours quickly.”

The ingredients mentioned in a6 as ingredients of an oil therapy are *kuñcīt mlyokotau* “sesame paste”, *irand* “castor oil plant”. Thereafter, the only medical ingredient, mentioned among the prescriptions of AsCi that begins with *am-*, is Skt. *amlavetasa* “vinegar; bladder sorrel” (also Si 9.13). Adopted into Tocharian B it would become something like *amalawetas*. The most probable verb with *mlyokotau* “paste derived by grinding” is B *triw-* (caus.) “mix”. Thus I reconstruct *kuñcīt mlyokotau • iran[d am](alawetasma triwäṣle kwä) rmatse laupe* “sesame paste and castor oil plant (should be mixed with) vi(negar as an) ointment against cancer”.

b1–b2. I do not find any direct parallel in the Sanskrit equivalents of the enumeration of methods, B *prayok* (Skt. *prayoga*), prescribed in this passage. B *wetene*, hapax of our text, is borrowed from Skt. *vedhinī* “*Trigonella Foenum Graecum* (fenugreek)”. The reconstruction *lāk-saiñai* (*klau*)*tsaiṣṣe* (*spel*) is based upon a *lāksaṇñai klautsaiṣṣe spel* “a fish-gill pill” in PK.AS. 3B.Do (Pelliot 3510.50) b2¹⁵).

¹³) See Adams (1999:107).

¹⁴) K.T. Schmidt (1999:99 f.).

¹⁵) Filliozat (1948:51), see Couvreur (1955:223).

b2–b4. Towards the end of b2 there is a lacuna of 10 syllables after a broken *pi-*. The first passage of b3 says *mā su māsketār śrānāts cwi rano šotri weñau*. The translations by Couvreur (1954:223) and K.T. Schmidt (1997:247) say “this is not for the old. I shall now tell its signs”. The translation of B **śrān* as an adjective, “old”¹⁶) in this passage is based on two other fragmentary passages: B 22 a1 *kausa-ñ śrā-nām wetāñtām* “he killed for me the old warriors” and B 47 a8 *y(.)e śrāy wetāñco e[tri]///* “old warriors and heroes”¹⁷).

If we consider the description of *raktagulma* in BheNi 3.21b–22a, except for “old”, it has a beginning similar to our text: *atha lohita-gulmas tu strīṇām eva prajāyate* || 21 || *nāsau bhavati nṛṇām tu tasya vakṣāmi lakṣaṇam* | “Now, the *rakta* (i.e. haemal) *gulma* arises only in women. It will not occur among men. I shall tell about its characteristics.” In the eleventh century commentary of *Cakrapāṇidatta*, it is explained that *raktagulma* is particular to adult women (*strī*) and does not occur in men, girls (*kumārī*), and old ladies (*ativṛddhā*)¹⁸). However, the most important feature of this disease is that it occurs in *fertile women only*, and it does *not occur to men*. This makes it more likely that **śrān*-¹⁹) is not an adjective specifying the age of the patient, but a special term for the male sex in fertile age, as opposed to the female sex in fertile age that can be affected by *raktagulma*. If we consider the other occurrences of **śrān*-, we notice that in both cases it is followed by the adjective B *wetā* “combating” in nominative plural (*wetāñco*) and oblique plural (*wetāñtām*) respectively. B *wetā* has been interpreted as a substantivized adjective, “warrior”. The correct translation of these two passages is rather the other way around: *wetā* means “combating” and **śrān*- “man [in fertile age]”, i.e. a male person who is neither a boy nor an old man. This would be expected together with an adjective meaning “combating”. Thus *śrāy wetāñco* (nom.pl.) means “fighting men” instead of “old warriors”. The nominative plural *śrāy* is attested also in the St. Petersburg texts SI B Toch./9 and SI B Toch./12 that have been recently published by Pinault (1998). Especially the text SI B Toch./12²⁰) very convincingly shows that the meaning of this word is not “old” but “grown-up, mature man”. The text contains an

¹⁶) Krause – Thomas (1964:248).

¹⁷) Translations by Adams (1999:644). Adams (op.cit.) proposes a connection with IE **ǵerh₂ont-*, Gr. *géront-*, Skt. *járant-*.

¹⁸) See Zysk (2001:162)

¹⁹) For the proposed nominative **śrān*-, see 7.1.

²⁰) Pinault (1998:16–18).

enumeration of men. It says (1) *cai ñwai riši śrāy²¹ kalañku • ketsutaiyše* ... “These are the grown-up men of the New City: K., K. etc.”. The enumeration of names proceeds until line 4. Then line (5) says: *cai ostu-wāši śrāy²² • yatiške* ... “These are the grown-up men of the houses: Y. etc.”. The meaning “adult men” fits the context much better than “aged men”²¹), since the text most probably represents an inventory of people. Men eligible to be registered, especially for military purposes, are of course the adult men, and not the aged ones!

The context of the other passage where we have a nom.pl. *śrāy*: SI B Toch./9, 11²²), is not obvious:

cenak śak śwerne kapyāri śrāy²³ klaiyna orocce kemesa asaṃntse śaṇ²⁴ śar-wai śśawār

“An eben diesem 14. haben alte Klosterdiener [und desgleichen] Frauen Kötel einer trächtigen Ziege gegessen.”²³)

“On the same fourteenth day, the workers, old men [and] women, have consumed their own wool, of one goat with large teeth.”²⁴)

In spite of the uncertainty concerning the correct interpretation of this passage, we can assume that we have “workers, men and women”, instead of “monastery servants, aged men and women”.

Returning to our text we should assume that “woman” is given in the preceding lacuna. The lacuna follows the end of the section on prescriptions for *gulma*, and begins with the letters *pi-*. It is not very likely that we have another medical ingredient, *pippāl* “pepper” or *pis-sau* “anise” at the beginning of the *raktagulma* section. Then not many alternatives for words beginning with *pi-* remain. There are actually two possibilities: either we have *piñkte* “the fifth”, referring to *raktagulma* as the fifth of the *gulma nidāna* section: 1. *vātajagulma*, 2. *pittajagulma*, 3. *kaphajagulma*, 4. *tridoṣajagulma* and 5. *raktagulma*. However, this does not have any parallel in the Sanskrit equivalents, and further the *tridoṣajagulma* section has been left out in our text. The second possibility is that *pi-* represents the beginning of *pitta* or *pittaṣe*, of which there is a parallel in the Sanskrit, AsNi 11.41 (about *raktagulma*):

²¹) Pinault (op.cit.) asks “Why are those “aged men” listed in this way?”

²²) Edited by Pinault (1998:4–6). This single passage is also mentioned by K.T. Schmidt (1997:244).

²³) Translation by K.T. Schmidt (1997:244). K.T. Schmidt (op.cit.) thinks that this passage reflects the consuming of the excrement of a pregnant she-goat for its aphrodisiac effects.

²⁴) Translation by Pinault (1998:6).

vāyusamsargāt punaḥ pittaikaprapakatayā ca vātapittagulmarupāṇi kramāt “With the increase of pitta and its association with *vāta* the tumour exhibits the symptoms of both *vāta* and *pitta*”.

The masculine demonstrative *su* in *mā su māsketār śrānāts*, as well as *cwi* in *cwi rano šotri* “now I shall tell its signs”, most likely refers to a *kṛwam* “gulma” (masc.sg.) of the lacuna. Thus for the lacuna I tentatively reconstruct: *pi(tta-yenteṣṣe kṛwam klainamts ka ste) mā su māsketār śrānāts* “(This *gulma* belongs to both) *pitta* (and *vāta*, it [occurs] in [fertile] women only, [but]) it does not occur in fertile men.”

The sentence that begins on b3 with *mā walkeññe pāst yā(mormem)* and proceeds on b4 (lacuna 11–12 syllables) *yāmormem istak wat pāst yāmormem ♦ istak wat prekesa yāmormem ♦ [y]///* refers to the movements of the tumour: It does not move for a long time, and thereupon it pulsates like a limbless foetus. Compare Caraka (Ci 5.19):

yah spandate piṇḍita eva nāṅgaiś cirāt saśūlaḥ samagarbhalingaḥ, sa raudhir strībhava eva gulmo māse vyatīte daśame cikitsyah “The bloody tumour, after a long time, palpates as a painful round mass without limbs, and has the signs like that of a foetus. It occurs only in women and is treatable after ten months”²⁵)

or AsNi 11.41:

gulmaśca na garbha ivāṅgaiḥ piṇḍita eva tu cireṇa saśūlaṃ spandate “the tumour is felt as having no foetal parts but like a round mass, makes movements after a long time, is accompanied with pain”.

The movements are also seldom (see AhNi 11.55 above). The translation of the passage would then be as follows: “having not moved for a long time ... (lacuna 11–12 syllables) ... [then] suddenly having moved, [then] suddenly again having moved for a period...”. The lacuna cannot be reconstructed with any certainty; probably something is said about the pain of the tumour (cf. AsNi above).

b5. This line describes the symptoms of *raktaḡulma*, which resemble those of pregnancy. The verb B *staukk-* means “inflate, swell, grow”. This is ensured through the correspondence with Skt. *ādhmāpayati* “inflates” in IOL Toch 305 a1²⁶). The question is then what *tso*, which occurs once more towards the end of the line, means. The meaning “penis” has been proposed²⁷). This meaning is, however, incompatible

²⁵) Zysk (2001:162).

²⁶) Filliozat (1948:57, 61), Winter (1984).

²⁷) Winter (1962:113 n.10, 1984:212 ff.), K.T. Schmidt (1974:292 ff., 1997:247), Adams (1999:742 f.).

with our context. The Sanskrit text says (AhNi 11.55a): *na cāsyā vardhate kuḡṣir gulma eva tu vardhate* “there is no growth of the abdomen, but there is growth only of the tumour”, (AsNi 11.41): *gulma eva vardhate na kuḡṣiḥ*. Earlier in AsNi 11.41 it is said (about the menstrual blood):

tad uparudhyamānaṃ māse māse kuḡṣim adhinirvartayati garbhalingāni ca hṡllāsa-tandrāṅgamāda-dauhrda-stanya-darśanādīni “Thus obstructed, month after month, it produces an enlargement of the abdomen, and signs of pregnancy also, such as nausea, stupor, debility, longings (cravings) and appearance of breast milk”.

All this points in one direction: *tso* is the equivalent of Skt. *kuḡṣi* “[lower] abdomen; womb”.

In PK.AS.2A a6 (Yog 18), we have the following passage²⁸): *[o]ñi[ne] (āntsen) ts[ai] ♦ indrine ♦ aramśne piś yikne lakle wikaṣṣām* | corresponding to Skt. (a4) *śrony-aṃsa-medhra-hṡdaya-stana-rukṣu-peyam*. The Tocharian text does not correspond exactly to the Sanskrit text, but the translation of the Tocharian passage (with *tso* as “penis”) would be “this drives away a five-fold pain in the groin, the shoulder, the penis organ and the heart”. The correspondence of Skt. *medhra-* “penis” would then be B *tsai* (oblique of *tso*). However, two features are problematic here: 1. *tso* cannot mean “penis” (because of our text), 2. a monosyllabic paradigm *tso : tsai* has no parallels elsewhere in Tocharian B²⁹). At first glance, there could be an explanation for the monosyllabic forms: the only passage where *tso* is not preceded by a lacuna is IOL Toch b5 *[mä]ntak no tso erkatse sa///*. This could be interpreted as *[mä]ntak n=otso erkatse sa///*. The other two passages could then be analysed as follows: IOL Toch 305 b5 (o)tso *staukkana-tār-ne* and PK.AS.2A a6 *[o]ñi[ne] (āntsen=o)ts[ai]*. However, since neither of the texts PK.AS.2A a6 nor IOL Toch 305 is metrical, this solution is incorrect. This means that a monosyllabic *o : ai* type has to be added to the attested disyllabic ones.

Considering again *ts[ai] ♦ indrine* in PK.AS.2A a6 we have two possible solutions: 1. B *indri* is “penis”³⁰), and then the Tocharian translator has added *tsai* “abdomen” into the enumeration of bodyparts with pain, thus “in the groin, the shoulder, the abdomen, the penis and the heart”, 2. *tsai indrine* means “in the abdomen organ”, which is a paraphrase for “penis”.

²⁸) Reconstruction see Carling (2002).

²⁹) Krause – Thomas (1960) § 90, § 210.

³⁰) Cf. Adams (1999:64).

For the reconstruction of the lacuna of our text, we have two possibilities, depending on which passage of the Sanskrit original we follow: 1. We presuppose that *mā* “not” is hidden in the lacuna, and, with *tso* as “abdomen”, we reconstruct, following AsNi and AhNi above, (*kṛwam staukkanatār mā*) *tso staukkanatār-me* “(the cancer grows, but) their abdomen does (not) grow”. This is however mentioned in AsNi and AhNi towards the end of the *raktaḡulma* section. Thus the next variant seems more plausible: 2. Following *tad uparudhyamānaṃ māse-māse kuḡṣim adhi nirvartayati* of AsNi 11.41 we translate *tso staukkanatār-me* as “(their) abdomen is enlarged”. This last explanation also fits with the following phrase in the Tocharian text, *śle yasar kaltrā*, which refers to the obstruction of the menstrual blood: AhNi 11:50a *nirunad-dhy ārtavaṃ yonyām prati-māsam avasthitam* “[*vāta*] ... obstructs the *ārtava* (menstrual blood) coming out every month”, BheNi 3.24a *sā śonite sthite nārī garbhini strīti manyate* “When menstruation stops (but the congealed blood mass remains), the woman is regarded as if she is a pregnant woman”. B *kāly-* is normally an intransitive verb, “stand, stand still, fix”. Thus we should assume (as in BheNi 3.24a above) that *yasar* “blood” is the subject of this verb and that B *śle* is an adverbial, meaning “also, likewise”³¹). Corresponding to Skt. *śonite sthite* (BheNi 3.24a) we get: “likewise the [menstruation] blood stands still”.

Next passage, *klainats preṃtsa ynāñm yamastrā*, refers to the resemblance with pregnancy. K.T. Schmidt (1975:292–295) has examined the occurrences of B *pre(ṃ)tsa*. In occurrences outside this text (W 33 a6 and B 505 a5) a meaning “pregnant” seems to be possible. In our passage we have further evidence for this meaning. However, the problem is that a postulated adjective *preṃtsa* ought to be feminine³²). This is not the case with *tso : tsai*³³), since *tso* is combined with a masculine adjective *erkatse* in the next passage, and it definitely is not the case with *yasar* which is a neuter noun. Another possibility is that *preṃtsa* is a perlativ of a noun **preṃ*, which refers to pregnancy. We have **preṃ* in the noun B *empreṃ* “true” (with a prepositional/intensive prefix *en-* “in”)³⁴). Can these words be semantically combined? A possibility is to consider “pregnant” to be a metaphoric expression, as “being straight, direct, plain”, semantically related to “true”. The

³¹) See Adams (1999:623).

³²) Krause – Thomas (1960) §94, K.T. Schmidt (1975:294 f.).

³³) An *-o : -ai* noun could be both masculine and feminine. Cf. Pinault (1989:86).

³⁴) See Hilmarsson (1991:171 ff.).

meaning of **preṃ* might be something like “plainness”, with the derivations *empreṃ* “true” [“in clarity, in plainness”] and a (semi)-fossilized perlativ *preṃtsa* “with clarity > pregnant”³⁵).

The genitive plural *klainamts* should probably be understood as agentive, referring to the (imagined) pregnancy symptoms of the female patient; thus we arrive at a translation “and by the women it [i.e. the *raktaḡulma* symptoms] is evaluated as if [they are] pregnant”. This is relatively close, but not exactly corresponding to the formulation found in the Sanskrit equivalents, e.g. AhNi 11.50b *kuḡṣim karoti tad-garbha-liṅgam āviṣ-karoti ca* “... produces signs and symptoms of pregnancy inside the abdomen”. However, the subject here (in AhNi) is not the abdomen but the aggravation of *vāta*. This causes the obstruction of the menstrual blood which causes the swelling and further the pregnancy symptoms. Though *vāta* (B *yente*) cannot be the subject of *staukkanatār*³⁶), *kaltrā* or *yamastrā*, it is not unlikely that the *y-* of the preceding line is the rest of B *yente* “wind”. Thus I reconstruct [*y*](*enteṣṣe tsmoññesa*) “through an increase of *vāta*” for the lacuna, cf. AhNi 11.49b–50a

ṛtau vā nava-sūtā vā yadi vā yoni-roḡiṇī || 49 || sevate vātalāni strīkrudhas tasyāḡ samīraṇaḡ | “Women who during their menstrual period, or period soon after delivery or who are having diseases of the yoni (uterus and vagina) indulge in foods and activities which aggravate *vāta*, in them *samīraṇa* (*vāta*) getting increased...”

Next problem is the translation of B *erkatse*, which obviously refers to a property of the abdomen or the womb of the woman³⁷). In other medical texts we find an *erkantse* (W 6 a5, W 1 b3, W 22 a2)³⁸), *erkāntse* (W 5 a6) and *erkasenta* (W 2 a6), which occurs in enumerations of medical ingredients. The form *erkatse* might be a misspelling for *erkantse*, or reverse, but it is more probable that these should be kept apart: *erkantse* is most probably genitive singular of an independent noun **erkā*. The form *erkasenta* is a nominative plural, most probably related to *erkatse*, but possibly also related to **erkā*. The *erkatse* of our text is an adjective defining *tso*, this is evident. What is the meaning of these lexemes, and how is **erkā* related to *erkatse*?

³⁵) This solution has been proposed by G.-J. Pinault.

³⁶) The form *staukkanatār* is non-causative. See Winter (1984:212).

³⁷) Adams (1999:94, 1987:4–5) proposes “testiculate”, based partly upon the translation of *tso* as “penis” (see earlier), partly upon a connection with IE **H₂orǵʰi* “testicle”. This interpretation is incompatible with our context.

³⁸) The two latter are partially reconstructed.

Considering again the *raktagulma*, we find an important property of the abdomen or the cancerous tumour not mentioned elsewhere in our text: “burning” or “heating”, corresponding to Skt. *dāha-vān* in Si 9.7 (see above). Thus it is most probable that *erkatse* is an adjective “boiling, burning, hot”. This is also supported by the following *sa...* that most likely is a form of the verb *sālp-* “burn”, pres. 3sg. *salpām* “burns”³⁹).

b6. The form *lešpsa* ought to be a perlativ of B *lešp* “froth, foam”⁴⁰). The passage does most likely refer to the appearance of breast milk, mentioned as symptom of a *raktagulma*, cf. BheNi 3.26 b–27 b:

athāsyaḥ kālaparyāyātsa kṣīrau bhavati stanau || 26 || *kṣā bhavati sā pāṇḍur dohadam cābhinandati* | *chardir niṣṭīvikā caiva tandrā caiva prabādhate* || 27 “And, in addition, as time progresses to a point of limit, her breasts start developing milk. She (herself) becomes emaciated and lean, develops a pallor and starts desiring intensely what a normal pregnant longs for; vomiting, spitting, and lassitude start troubling her much.”

The *-r* at the beginning of the line does probably reflect B *malkwer* “milk”. Thus, a restoration of the complete passage as (*tottesā klainamtse malkwe*) *r māsketrā* ♦ *pāscane lešp[s]a māsketrā* “(at the outmost limit) milk develops (for the woman). Her breasts become provided with froth”⁴¹).

B *erene yoliya āñme špa māsketrā-ne* “[she becomes] pale in the face and desire arises in her”⁴²) corresponds to BheNi 3.27 *sā pāṇḍurdohadam cābhinandati* “she develops pallor and *dohada* (the particular longings of a pregnant woman)”.

After number 4 in the text, we have *aṅkai(m)* (*yamalle*), “vomiting”, that corresponds to *chardis* “vomition” in the BheNi 3.27.

Still, the syntax of the complete section is somewhat complicated. We have “women” in plural in b4; but in b6 the subject must be a “(female) patient” in the singular. In addition, we have two other subjects: something moving in b3–b4, which must refer to the cancerous tumour inside the abdomen, the abdomen itself (*tso*) in b5 growing and burn-

³⁹) For further discussion of this word, see 7.2. and Carling (forthcoming).

⁴⁰) K.T. Schmidt (1997:248) proposes (based upon Winter 1984:215) a interpretation of *lešpsa* as an adjective: *pāscane lešp[s]a māsketrā erene yoliya āñme špā māsketrā-ne* “An den Brüsten wird sie schleimig. [Sie wird] blass im Aussehen, und [sexuelles] Verlangen entsteht ihr”.

⁴¹) I thank G.-J. Pinault for this proposed restoration.

⁴²) See K.T. Schmidt (op.cit.).

ing, the blood (*yasar*) standing still and finally the disease, producing imaginary pregnancy symptoms.

6. Translation

a1. ... of the heart, he [i.e. he patient] [becomes] acid in the mouth. Know this before as symptoms of cancer due to gall. He always becomes bitter in the mouth, (likewise he becomes breathless)

a2. as if carrying a burden, vomiting, and his nostrils are blocked [i.e. he has a nasal catarrh]. Anxiety [nausea] besets his body, he (is) confused ([and] by day) time (for sleeping constantly)

a3. comes up for him. He has no desire to eat and constantly his body is satiated. Know (this mentioned before as signs)

a4. of a cancer due to phlegm. Now I shall state the remedy: 10 *trau* of *Trigonella corniculata* should be cooked in milk. (This should be drunk)

a5. (as a) remedy (against cancer). Sesame oil, milk, honey, syrup should be cooked in a vessel so that half of it remains ...

a6. ... pepper should be scattered therein. This should be drunk as a remedy against cancer. Sesame paste, castor-oil plant (should be mixed with) *vi(negar)*

b1. as an ointment against cancer. A pill of molasses is the first method, fenugreek the other, a pill of fish-gill (the third) ...

b2. ... the fourth, salpeter the fifth. All these remedies are to be drunk with milk as a remedy against cancer. (This *gulma* belongs to both) *pitta* (and *vāta*. It occurs in [fertile] women only [and])

b3. it does not occur in [fertile] men. I shall now state the signs of it: having not moved for a long time ... (the tumour (?)/imagined foetus (?) suddenly moves with pain (?))

b4. ... having (moved) then suddenly having moved again, suddenly again for a time having moved, (through the accumulation of) *vā(ta)*

b5. their [i.e. of the women] abdomen grows, likewise the [menstrual] blood stands still [i.e. is obstructed]. It [i.e. the *raktagulma* symptoms] is evaluated by the women as if [they are] pregnant. Further the abdomen is burning hot ([and] at the outmost limit) milk develops (for the woman).

b6. Her breasts become provided with froth, she is pale in her face and the desire [of a pregnant woman] comes up in her. Vomiting (occurs to her ...)

7. Etymological and paradigmatic considerations of new words

7.1. B *śrān- "adult man"

Adams (1999:644) has a lemma *śrān "old [of people]", based upon Krause – Thomas (1964:248). He reconstructs a PT *śārān-, which he connects etymologically with IE *ǵerh₂ōn- / *ǵerh₂ont- in Gr. géront- "geriatric", Skt. járant- "old, fragile", oss. zāronđ "old" from IE *ǵerh₂- "mature, grow old" (IEW), "make ripe, make old" (LIV)⁴³. As we have seen in our text, the meaning "old" for *śrān- is improbable, the meaning of this word is rather "adult man". Adams (op.cit.) supposes also a connection between B *śrān and A ku- B kur-/kwār- "grow old, fall into decay", which was dealt with by Hilmarsson (1986:252–260). Hilmarsson (op.cit.) argues that this verb should be kept apart from the IE *ǵerh₂- "mature, grow old", since, unless we suppose a nominal origin, *ǵerh₂- would not result in CT *kur-. Hilmarsson probably rightly connects this verb with IE *d^hǵ^{wh}ér-⁴⁴ in Skt. kṣáratī "flows, melts away, perishes", Gk. phtheírō "corrupt, waste, destroy"⁴⁵.

Before trying to establish an etymology of B śrān- "adult man", we should try to reconstruct the paradigm. We have an stem śrān-, attested in oblique plural śrānām and in genitive plural śrānāts. The attested nominative plural is śrāy. There are two possibilities: either we have a paradigm with two stems, śār- (with nom./obl.sg. śāro : śārai ?) and śrān- (in oblique cases), or else śrāy is a shortened form for śrānī. In the latter case, the forms should belong to the same paradigm as B sām "enemy", animates with an obl.sg. -am and a nom.pl. -i (palatalising), obl.pl. -ām (non-palatalising)⁴⁶. In any case, there is no reason to postulate a nom.sg. *śrān with root-final palatalisation when the genitive plural is śrānāts without palatalisation.

As for the etymology of B *śrān- "adult man", we should consider whether the connection with IE *ǵerh₂- proposed by Adams (op.cit.) can be kept. The basic meaning of the IE root *ǵerh₂- is "ripen" and the meaning "grow old, age" is secondary. This is indicated by the derivations *ǵr̥h₂-no-m "grain", Lat. grānum, Goth. kaur̥n, and also ONor. karl, "man, husband", OSax. ceorl "free man of the lowest

⁴³ IEW 390–391. Cf. also LIV 165.

⁴⁴ LIV (213–214), IEW (487–8) *ǵ^{wh}per-.

⁴⁵ This etymology is also accepted in LIV (op.cit.).

⁴⁶ Krause – Thomas (1964) § 184. This paradigm is a mixture of old *i*-stems and root nouns.

class". For B śrān-, an *-nt-formation can hardly be possible. Thus we have to consider other variants, as an -n- or a dental stem⁴⁷).

7.2. B erkatse "burning, boiling, hot"

From the evidence of our text, the meaning of the adjective B erkatse can be established with relative certainty as "burning, boiling, hot". In other medical texts (Weber mss.) we have erkantse and erkāntse which are most likely genitive of an independent noun *erkā (cf. discussion in 5.), and erkasenta, which is probably the nominative plural of erkatse. The words are found in passages with enumerations of medical ingredients. In all cases (except the fragmentary W 1 b3 where erka(ntse) is followed by a lacuna and W 5 a6 where erkāntse is followed by yasoñña of uncertain meaning), erkantse and erkasenta precede a term for a liquid. It might be possible that this noun *erkā is a special term for "decoction", and that genitive erkantse means "from a decoction". However, the contents of the quoted medical passages are still very obscure, and a more careful investigation, with systematic search for Sanskrit equivalents, will be required. A possible etymological connection of CT *erkæ as well as the relation between this word and other words beginning with CT *erk- have been dealt with elsewhere⁴⁸).

Abbreviations of Sanskrit texts

Ah	Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya
As	Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha
Bhe	Bhela-Saṃhitā
Ci	Cikitsāsthāna
Ni	Nidānasthāna

⁴⁷ After the completion of this article, G.-J. Pinault has proposed a probable solution for the nominative plural problem. The form śrāy can be the regular direct development of *śārāyā < śārāñā, according to the phonetic rule discovered by Winter (1989:116): - *āi (= *-āyā) can be a result of *-āñā in morpheme-final position, immediately after accented syllable. Thus the nominative plural can be reconstructed as *ǵerh₂-n-es, and accordingly the oblique plural can be reconstructed as *śārānām < ǵerh₂-n-ys. The paradigm has generalized two stems, a strong stem *ǵerh₂-on- (nominative singular *ǵerh₂-ōn) and a weak stem *ǵerh₂-n- in the plural. This means that we should postulate an IE *-(o)n-stem besides an *-(o)nt-stem, known from Vedic járant-, Greek géront etc.

⁴⁸ Carling (forthcoming).

Si *Siddhasāra*
Yog *Yogaśataka*

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