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### Front cover:

“The Prophet David and a flock”, miniature from the Arabic Psalter (A 187) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 61b.

### Back cover:

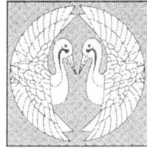
**Plate 1.** “John the Baptist”, miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 127a.

**Plate 2.** *Unwān* with the depiction of Prophet David, the same manuscript, fol. 1b.

**Plate 3.** “Jesus Christ, the good thief, and the Apostle Peter”, miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 93a.

**Plate 4.** “The Prophet Zakharyā”, miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 112b.

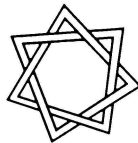
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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Georges-Jean Pinault

## ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS IN TOCHARIAN B FROM THE BEREZOVSKY AND PETROVSKY COLLECTIONS

The bulk of the Tocharian literature consists of literary and sacred texts, all of Buddhist content, with the exception of one Manichean text, which however conforms to Buddhist patterns of thought and phraseology. But since the first discoveries and expeditions in the oases of East Turkestan, north of the Takla Makan desert, other texts have come to light too, that are of secular or profane nature, written on paper or wood. These are book-keeping records of monasteries, business correspondence, administrative reports, receipts of gifts to the monasteries, caravan-passes, etc. Several inscriptions have also been found on the walls of the caves, most of them graffiti, in addition to legends of paintings and historical proclamations. All these profane texts are composed in Tocharian B [1]. Since the pioneering study of Emil Sieg about monastery records of the Berlin collection [2], several important contributions must be noted [3].

Some secular documents from the Berezovsky and Petrovsky collections belonging to the Asiatic Museum (at present, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) were studied by the French Indologist Sylvain Lévi in 1913, through a favour granted by his friend and colleague S. F. Oldenburg. All these manuscripts are now in the possession of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, an inventory of the Tocharian documents of the St. Petersburg collections is now available [4], and it was possible to the present author to identify and to study interesting manuscripts in February 1998. The fragmentary nature of most of the extant material poses considerable difficulties of interpretation. But instead of quoting excerpts of those manuscripts in biased ways, it appears useful to make the decipherment and translation of complete manuscripts available as quickly as possible so that other scholars can make use of this material and propose their own contributions.

The five manuscripts published thereafter for the first time were acquired in the Kucha region, but their exact finding place is unknown. Most probably they were bought from local people, since they bear marks of Chinese seals.

Four belong to the Berezovsky collection (SI B Toch./9, 11, 12, 13) and one — to the Petrovsky collection (SI P/117). The manuscript SI B Toch./10, which belongs to the same series of five complete “business documents”, will be published later. According to their contents, those manuscripts can be arranged in two sections: (i) monastery records concerning deals in smaller livestock (SI B Toch./9, 11, 13); and (ii) administrative documents registering men, as posted at watch-towers (SI P/117) or as aged men (SI B Toch./12). Furthermore, SI B Toch./13 is in effect the leaf following SI B Toch./9.

These manuscripts share general features of secular documents of this type. First, they are written on large leaves of rough paper, not on *pothī* leaves as literary texts generally are. Second, the script is not the formal variety of the Central Asian Brāhmī script of the Northern Silk Road, but the non-formal variety, so-called “cursive”, which is written quickly, although the individual *aḥṣaras* are not connected. Third, the language they are written in is not the correct literary language of non-secular texts, but a lower form of Tocharian B, with many forms close to the spoken everyday language of that period. Some facts appear at first sight, and have been already recorded [5], for instance, genitive sg. *lānti* instead of *lānte* (“king”) and forms of the numerals with cluster reduction, such as *šwer* instead of *štwer* (“four”), *šuk* instead of *šukt* (“seven”), *ok* instead of *okt* (“eight”). In addition, the existence of dialectal features ought to be considered. Finally, the records use stereotyped administrative formulations. Even if those texts are supposed to have been transcribed without much care, the scribes tried to be accurate as to the concrete datas concerned; and the blank spaces help to mark out the general structure of the documents.

The precise dating of these manuscripts is impossible, but the comparison with dated documents, such as the caravan-passes, allows to assume that they were written in the seventh century A.D., or eighth century A.D. at the latest. The texts do not mention the Kuchean kings of the first half of the seventh century A.D., Suvarṇapuṣpa and his successor Suvarṇadeva, they can therefore be tentatively placed in the second half of that century.

The signs for transliteration used in the present article are the usual ones: – for a missing *aḱṣara*; + for a missing part of *aḱṣara*; /// for a destroyed portion of the document;

( ) for restored passages; [ ] for uncertain readings. The broad transcription of Tocharian is used in the notes and in the commentaries\*.

## I. Monastery Records on Livestock

1. **SI B Toch./9** (see fig. 1). Size: 28.7 × 36.8 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The left border is slightly damaged at line 2.

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *wi kṣuṃntsa kṣemārcune lānti mewyai<sup>1</sup> pikulne ṅuñce šwer<sub>ᵛ</sub>  
meṅantse ne sāñk<sub>ᵛ</sub> sānta keš<sub>ᵛ</sub>*
2. *[t]essa<sup>2</sup> keša postam te yiknesa moko ṅwetakke ♦ ccākkare ♦  
sañkatāse te yikne-*
3. *sa sānta parra<sup>3</sup> spāwāṣar<sub>ᵛ</sub><sup>4</sup> ♦ sañkatāse kwaṅpe šinkrontse aṣicce  
alaṃ wāsta pku-*
4. *weš<sub>ᵛ</sub> šaiyye plyeñksa wi cakamṃma piš tom<sub>ᵛ</sub> yapta<sup>5</sup>*
5. *sañkatāse lestāñe camilamntse aṣicce alaṃ wāsta pkuweš<sub>ᵛ</sub> šaiyye  
plyeñksa wi cakamṃma pi-*
6. *š tom<sub>ᵛ</sub> [ya]pta<sup>6</sup> ♦ sañkatāse ♦ ccākkare ywārppai yparwe catilente  
aiyye alaṃ*
7. *šaiyye wsar[e] ṣeme<sup>7</sup> sañkatāse wāṃṣṣintse aiyye alaṃ  
pkuweš<sub>ᵛ</sub> šai-*
8. *yve wasa wi cakamṃma sātresa<sup>8</sup> ṅwetakke aiyyāna sānta wāya  
wi*
9. *<sup>9</sup>škañce šak<sub>ᵛ</sub> šwerne ypay<sup>10</sup> moko ratkakullente  
ccākka-*
10. *re ṅayuykṣentse<sup>11</sup> pakata aiyye alaṃ pkuweš<sub>ᵛ</sub> šaiyye wasa ṣeme<sup>12</sup> [I]*
11. *cena<sub>ᵛ</sub> šak<sub>ᵛ</sub> šwerne kapyāri šrāyā<sub>ᵛ</sub> klaiyna orocce kemesa asamntse  
šaṅā<sub>ᵛ</sub> šārwai šša-*
12. *wār<sub>ᵛ</sub> ♦<sup>13</sup> parwe kṣuṃntsa kṣemārcune lānti piñkce meṃne  
ṅwetakke yikweñe tarme<sup>14</sup> yparwe*
13. *kippāntse šaiyye wasa X<sup>15</sup> alaṃ aṣicce ce šaiyye raktakule perisa  
wāya*
14. *sañkatāse lyiwāntse aiyye alaṃ pkuweš<sub>ᵛ</sub> šaiyye wasa |  
wāsta pkusai |tomtsaisa<sup>16</sup> |*

### Textual remarks

<sup>1</sup> The reading is certain. This word — oblique sg. of *mew(i)yo* (“tiger”) — was misread as *maiyyai* by Sylvain Lévi [6].

<sup>2</sup> The first consonant of this word is partly destroyed, but this is the most probable reading. The word is the 3 sg. active preterite of the verb *tā-* (“to put”), in the well-known syntagma *keš tā-*, complemented with a direct object: “to take into account” [7].

<sup>3</sup> The geminate in the *aḱṣara rra* is marked by a transversal arc of circle; this peculiar usage is known from other profane documents, for instance, from the caravan-passes [8].

<sup>4</sup> New verbal form, 3 pl. active preterite causative of the verb *spāw-*, the meaning of which was given as uncertain by W. Krause [9]. This verb recurs in SI B Toch./11, line 2: *spawāre-ñ*, 3 pl. active preterite, but non-causative. The basic verb is intransitive, as shown by the latter occurrence, and also by the occurrence of the present, 3 sg. middle, *spowotrā*, in a broken context: H[oernle] 149.81 a 3: *tseñketār spowotrā* (“arises [and] subsides”), if it is taken as the antonym of the verb *tseñk-* (“to arise”); to the latter form one could previously add the privative *aspāwatte*, *aspawatte*, translated by W. Krause as “unversiegbar” (“inexhaustible”) [10]. In the St. Petersburg documents, the sentence containing *spāw-* gives a general heading to the subsequent operations, which involve selling and giving various animals of smaller livestock (*sānta*) to several individuals. Those animals belonged previously to the reserve of the Community (Skt. *saṅgha*, reflected by the loanword *sāñk*; cf. SI B Toch./9, line 1). The death of some animals is also recorded, with the verb *sruk-* (“to die”; cf. SI B Toch./11, lines 7 and 17). Therefore, it seems likely that the verb *spāw-* means “to subside, to diminish”, and its causative can be translated as “to withdraw, to draw away”, which is enforced here by the preverb *parra* (“away, off”).

\* I had the privilege of discussing a preliminary study of the first three documents (section I) with Prof. Werner Winter who offered many useful criticisms and suggestions. Final responsibility for the contents remains, naturally, mine.



51  
29

Handwritten text in Tocharian B script, consisting of approximately 15 lines of text. The script is dense and cursive, typical of ancient manuscripts. The text is arranged in a single column, with some lines starting with a small mark that could be a section indicator or a specific character. The ink is dark on a light background.

Fig. 1

<sup>5</sup> Sic! For *yap-sa*, perlative sg. of the word *yap* ("barley") with an epenthetical consonant (see line 6). This word is followed by a blank space till the right border, around 12 cm long.

<sup>6</sup> The first *akšara* of the word has been unnecessarily corrected in *ypa*, probably by a different hand.

<sup>7</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, about 6 cm long.

<sup>8</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, about 3 cm long.

<sup>9</sup> The text begins only at 12 cm from the left border. Here starts the record for the "tenth" (*škante*, oblique masc. sg. *škañce*) month.

<sup>10</sup> The reading is certain. The expected form is *ypoy*, as first member of a compound, from \**yāpōy*, of the noun *yāpoy* ("land, country"). The compound *ypoy<sup>4</sup>-moko* is attested as such on the *recto* of a wooden tablet (SI P/139d, line 4, dated on the basis of the king Suvarṇapūṣpa's mention to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.), which had been partially transcribed by Lévi [11]. One finds also the nominative pl. *ypoy-mokonta* at the beginning of an official record about frauds (PK DA M. 507(37), 2). This *ypoy-moko* occurs again in SI B Toch./11, line 14, and in SI P/117, line 1, both transcribed below. But *ypay-moko* is not due to a mere miswriting, since it recurs in SI B Toch./13, line 2, on the following leaf of this document. It is possible that the form results from the influence of the plural *ypauna*, or of the corresponding form Toch. A *ype*, which triggered \**ypai* as reversed equivalent of the monophthongized form in *-e*.

<sup>11</sup> The reading of this name remains partly uncertain, but, by comparison, *ṅa* and *kṣa* seem more likely than *ya* and *ṣṣa* as the first and third *akšara* respectively. The meaning of the following word, *pakata* (or *pakana* ?), is unknown, so that any translation of this passage is impossible.

<sup>12</sup> One may hesitate between the number "1", confirming simply *ṣeme*, and the dot as marking the end of a rubric. This mention is followed by a blank space, about 3.5 cm long, till the right border.

<sup>13</sup> The dot is followed by a blank space, corresponding to the span of an *akšara*.

<sup>14</sup> The separation of word remains unclear, but it would be gratuitous to take *yikveñetar-me* as a verb form. The word *tarme* belongs to the local onomastic stock (cf. *tarmatte*, etc.).

<sup>15</sup> The *akšara ṣe* (beginning of *ṣeme* — "one" — oblique masc. sg.) has been erased.

<sup>16</sup> In the first ligatura of this word, one may read *no* as well as *to*, as usual in the documents in cursive script. This is a new word, which designates probably a female animal, since it is preceded by oblique sg. feminine *wāsta-pkusai*. In several documents reflecting more faithfully the spoken Tocharian B language, one finds *om* (or *aum*) instead of *au* before nasal, e.g. *kom* for *kaum* ("day"), *katkomña* for *katkauña* ("joy"), etc. Therefore, the final part, *-omtsaisa*, can be interpreted as *-auntsai-sa*, perlative sg. of a well-known type of adjective, type *perne<sub>u</sub>* ("brilliant") or *tallā<sub>u</sub>* ("miserable"), feminine nominative *pernauntsa* and *tallauntsa*, oblique *pernauntsai* and *tallauntsai* [12]. A very tentative suggestion would be to connect the presupposed derivative \**ite<sub>u</sub>* with the adjective *ite* ("full, filled"), and the resultant meaning of the feminine would be "pregnant", i.e. "with filled womb".

#### TRANSLATION

(1) In the year two of the reign of the king Kṣemārjuna, in the year of the Tiger, on the fourth day of the ninth month, the Community (2) took into account the [mass of] small domestic animals. The results of the count are as follows: The elder Ņwetakke, CCākkare and Saṅghadāsa (3) have diminished as follows [the amount of] the small domestic animals. Saṅghadāsa sold to the Kwañpe Šiṅkro an caprine animal, male, twice combed (4) for 250 pounds of barley. (5) Saṅghadāsa sold to Camil Lestāñe (?) a caprine animal, male, twice combed for (6) 250 pounds of barley. Saṅghadāse [and] CCākkare ... first gave to Catile an ovine (7) animal, male, one. Saṅghadāsa gave to Wāmṣṣi an ovine animal, male, combed, (8) for 200 pounds of grain. Ņwetakke brought two ovine animals.

(9) On the fourteenth day of the tenth month, CCākkare gave to the country-elder Raktakule (10) ... an ovine animal, male, combed, one. (11) On the same fourteenth day, the workers, old men [and] women, have consumed their own wool, of one goat with large teeth. (12) In the year one of the reign of king Kṣemārjuna, in the fifth month, Ņwetakke ... first (13) gave an animal to Kippā, a male, caprine; Raktakule brought this animal [as compensation] for a debt. (14) Saṅghadāsa gave to Lyiwā an ovine animal, male, combed, for a pregnant [ewe](?), twice combed.

2. SI B Toch./13 (see fig. 2). Size: 28.3 × 15.2 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The document covers the beginning of a leaf, with insignificant rips, except for the last line.

#### TRANSLITERATION

1. wārsañe<sup>1</sup> taryāka ne ccākkarentse [m]uryesa<sup>2</sup> wara<sup>3</sup> ṣalāssi  
klyinaṣṣim<sup>4</sup> tu yparwe ypa-
2. y<sup>5</sup> moko raktakulentse ccākkare ṣitaintse<sup>6</sup> yoṣaiṣ, wāsta pkusai  
ā<sub>u</sub> wasa l
3. wi kṣumntsa kṣemārcune lānti rapaññe meṃne yapkontse yaitkorsa  
ṣattālya<sup>7</sup> sa-
4. ṅkatāse po[h]lālaraiṣentse<sup>8</sup> aiyyāna śānta wasa śwāra t<sub>u</sub>nek<sub>ṣ</sub><sup>9</sup>  
wi oro-
5. c[c]e [k]emesa awi 2 sana wāsta pk(u)sa l ṣe ā<sub>ṣ</sub> yriye l

Capitulum SJ 13.702  
13  
[Handwritten Tocharian B script on a fragment of paper, featuring several lines of text and two small rectangular stamps or markings.]

Fig. 2

## Textual remarks

<sup>1</sup> The complete formula for dating would be *wārsañe memne*; *wārsañe* (correct form *wārsaññe*) is the name of the eleventh month, while *rapaññe* (cf. line 3) is the name of the twelfth month. It is obvious that this leaf offers the direct continuation of the document SI B Toch./9, which contains the records of smaller livestock for the ninth and tenth month of the same year, the second regnal year of the king Kṣemārjuna.

<sup>2</sup> Perlative sg. of a new word, of uncertain meaning. It is unlikely to interpret it as an abstract meaning “order, will”, or the like, since we know the stereotyped expressions for that. One can suppose that the perlative case concerns an object through which the water flows towards some field or pasture, hence “irrigation canal, ditch”. This word is most likely a borrowing from Sogdian *mwry* ‘y (“canal”) [13].

<sup>3</sup> If one admits a careless writing of the final consonant, it would be more probable to find the word *war* (“water”). The next word is clearly the infinitive causative of the verb *sāl-* (“to throw, to release”) [14].

<sup>4</sup> The reading is safe; it is less likely to read *klyinaššām*, which would be the 3 sg. active of the present of the verb *kli-* (“to be obliged to”) [15]. It is actually the expected form of the imperfect, *klyinašši*, followed by a suffixed pronoun referring to the 3rd person singular. The sentence seems to refer to the well-known practice of controlling and distributing the water among inhabitants of a village. It is perhaps as a compensation for this service that CCākkare made the donation of one animal (line 2).

<sup>5</sup> Sic! About *ypay-moko*, for *ypoy-moko*, see above (remark No. 10) with concern to manuscript SI B Toch./9, line 9.

<sup>6</sup> For the first *aḡsara* of this word, a reading *pi* is excluded. Therefore, one cannot find here the word *pito*, oblique sg. *pita* (“price”) [16]. The form *yošai-š* is allative sg. of a noun, the oblique sg. of which is attested in PK DA M. 507(21).12, in a broken context, as complement of the verb *yām-* (“to do”). It is probably an abstract, connected presumably with the verb *yok-* (“to drink”), hence “to absorb water”.

<sup>7</sup> As usual, one can consider to read alternatively *śantālyā*. New word, of unknown meaning; in the first reading, it recalls superficially the noun *śaktālye* (“semen”) [17]. An assimilation \**śaktā*° > *śatū*° is possible. Would this mention refer to sowing time, and to the distribution of seeds to farmers?

<sup>8</sup> The second *aḡsara* contains a rare ligatura, which indicates a non-Indic name. The element *laraiyše* belongs to the onomastic local stock, using many derivatives of the adjective *lāre* (“dear”).

<sup>9</sup> This form results from the addition of the emphatic particle *-k* to the demonstrative adverb *tune* (“in it, therein”), locative sg. of the anaphoric pronoun *tu*. It was already known from a document of the Otani collection.

## TRANSLATION

(1) On the day thirty of the *wārsañe* [month], in the ditch (?) of CCākkare the water was to be released. Thereupon (2) CCākkare gave to the country-elder Raktakule for the irrigation (?) of the ground (?) one ewe, twice combed. (3) In the year two of the king Kṣemārjuna, in the *rapaññe* month, on order of the duke, [there was] sowing (?); Saṅghadāsa (4) gave to Pohlālaraiyše four ovine animals, namely two (5) ewes with large teeth, 2, one [ewe] twice combed, 1, one male lamb, 1.

3. SI B Toch./11 (see fig. 3). Size: 27.5 × 42.0 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The left margin is extant, but the right border is lost lengthwise, with deckle-edged paper, so that some *aḡsaras* are missing at the end of several lines.

## TRANSLITERATION

1. 14 *kṣuntsa*<sup>1</sup> *yśuhkwā*<sup>2</sup> *lānti śaiyye pikulne ṅuñce memne keša*  
*postam te* [y]i(k)n(esa)///
2. *nta*<sup>3</sup> *spawāreñ* *tulse*<sup>4</sup> *keš*<sub>ṅ</sub>///
3. *u*wāšši *oroce kemesa ā*<sub>u</sub>w<sup>5</sup> *wāya sanai ariweṃ wāya wi wāstā*[ɛ] <sup>6</sup>///
4. *ā*<sub>ṣ</sub> *wāya sanai*<sup>7</sup> *paiytiñe sutate perisa ā*<sub>u</sub>w<sup>5</sup> *wāya*///
5. *sa*<sup>8</sup> *šle yari*<sup>9</sup> *te*<sub>p</sub> *kwāmtse pelykiṃ wāsta pkuweš*<sub>ṅ</sub>  
*alā*<sub>u</sub> *plyeñ*[kuwa]<sup>10</sup>///
6. *aššice wāsta pkuweš*<sub>ṅ</sub> *alam ikaṃ wi caḡam*<sup>11</sup> *keneksa* ♦  
*rapañ*[ñ]e<sup>12</sup>///
7. *mesa ā*<sub>u</sub>w *sruka sana*<sup>13</sup> *cauši šwāra śānta wāya wāstār*<sub>ṅ</sub>  
*pkuwe*[š]ṣa(m)<sup>14</sup>///
8. *śānta šamsi śaṅke śka šem*<sub>ṅ</sub> *śānta wāya wi šeme aiyye ššeme*  
*ašši*[c]e wā<sup>15</sup>///
9. *weššam alawom*<sup>16</sup> *šqkwāke śaṅke śānta wāya wi ašiceṃ wāsta*  
*[pk](u)*<sup>17</sup>///
10. *šeme šawāre wāsta pkuweš*<sub>ṅ</sub><sup>18</sup> *šaiḷe yapkoṅe yaitkorsa śānta*  
*wāya*///

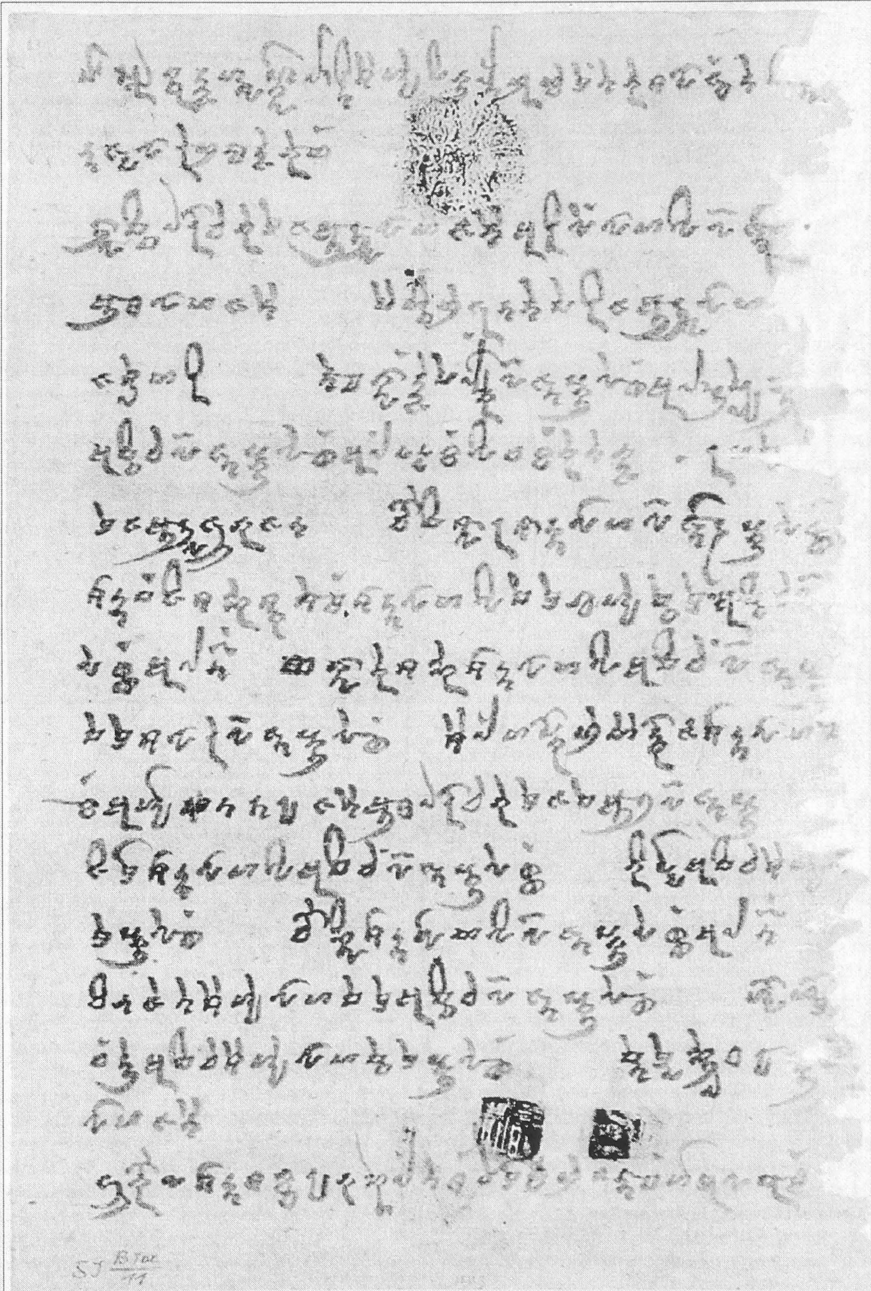


Fig. 3



11.  $k_{\lambda}$ <sup>19</sup> *aiyyāna*<sup>20</sup> *tarya sanai ā<sub>w</sub> oroce kemesa še ā<sub>λ</sub> wāsta pku*<sup>21</sup>
12. *simā śānta wāya wi aṣiceṃ wāsta pkuweṣṣam*<sup>22</sup> *kippā aṣice*  
*śai[yy](e)///*
13. *me*<sup>23</sup> *pkuweṣ*<sup>24</sup> *cauṅkwi śānta wāya wi wāsta pkuweṣṣam*  
*alawom*<sup>25</sup> *///*
14. *cinasene*<sup>26</sup> *śaiyye wāya ṣeme aṣṣice wāsta pkuweṣ*<sup>27</sup> *ypoy*  
*mo[k](o)///*
15. *camndre*<sup>28</sup> *aṣice śaiyye wāya ṣṣeme pkuweṣ*<sup>29</sup> *ṣtempeṅk<sub>u</sub>le tarya*  
*(p)ku(s)[ai]*<sup>30</sup> *///*
16. *wāya sanai*<sup>31</sup> *///*
17. *srukauwa śānta śa<sub>k</sub> tarya ka ṅk[e] l[o]*<sup>32</sup> *neṣam omorkaṅe*  
*[sa]ntap<sub>λ</sub>*<sup>33</sup> *yāmuwa ṣuk<sub>λ</sub> ///*

### Textual remarks

<sup>1</sup> Before the word for the regnal year (*kṣum*), one does not find the cardinal numeral, but the bare number signs, as in other documents which are carelessly written; see below SI P/117, line 1.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the king's name is certain. This name does not show any conceivable connection with Sanskrit onomastics. Strange as it is, it is a genuine Kuchean name, even if borrowed from another language, possibly Chinese. As a matter of fact, it recurs very clearly in inscriptions from Kyzyl (cave No. 95), which I had the opportunity to decipher in May 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Restore (*śā*)*nta*, maybe preceded by a word referring to the owner, the Community, possibly a form of *saṅkrāmāññe*, derivative of *saṅkrām* (Skt. *saṅghārāma*).

<sup>4</sup> Sic! One expects *tuntse* of *tuntse* for the genitive sg. of the demonstrative pronoun. One can explain this form by careless writing (*anusvāra* missing) or by phonetic assimilation, as elsewhere [18]. The phrase *tu(n)tse keś* ends the introduction of the record: it is followed by a blank space, about 15 cm long.

<sup>5</sup> The form is written in a peculiar way: there is a *virāma* stroke between *ā* and *u*, with *u* and *w* joined in a ligatura, seemingly in order to enforce the consonant character of the final sonorant. The pronunciation should be non-diphthongal, also /*āw*/. The same word is written as *ā<sub>w</sub>* in line 11, but as *ā<sub>u</sub>* in line 2 of SI B Toch./13.

<sup>6</sup> After this word, the lacuna covers about four *aṣṣaras*. To be completed as *wāstār* (*pkuweṣṣam*), according to the information given in lines 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, and probably 9.

<sup>7</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, around 3 cm long.

<sup>8</sup> To be completed as (*oroce keme*)*sa*, according to the information given in line 11, and probably also in 7.

<sup>9</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, around 4 cm long.

<sup>10</sup> The preceding words form an incomplete sentence, since one expects the mention of the price after the verb *plānk-*, causative “to sell” [19]. The money or the produce (grain, fabric) obtained in exchange is expressed in the perlative case; the lacuna may have contained three of four *aṣṣaras*.

<sup>11</sup> This form is attested elsewhere, and is the plural of a term *cak*, which ought to be different from *cāk*, since the latter is a measure of volume for liquids and grains. This name is part of a threefold decimal system, borrowed from Chinese: *ṣāṅk* [X], pl. *ṣāṅkām* (around 1.0355 l.), 10X = *tau*, pl. *towā*, 100X = *cāk*, pl. *cakanma* [20]. The following word, *kenek*, designates a “cotton fabric”, and not a “shroud” as given in Krause and Thomas [21]; it is matched by Toch. A *kanak*, which is well attested in the third act of the Buddhist drama *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* [22] and is translated in Old Uighur by *böz* (“cotton fabric”; “Baumwollstoff”). Accordingly, *cak* is a measure of length, and has its exact counterpart in Uighur *čiy*, which is used to measure pieces of *böz* [23]. Both words are parallel borrowings from Chinese *chi* (“foot” = one third of a metre), which had a final *-k* in Late Middle Chinese [24].

<sup>12</sup> There is place for several *aṣṣaras* at the end of the line; after the name of the twelfth month (*rapaññe*), it is not necessary to restore *memne* — “in the month”. The obvious link with the beginning of line 7 is given by (*oroce ke*)*mesa*.

<sup>13</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, around 2.5 cm long.

<sup>14</sup> In the lacuna the type of domestic animal (ovine/caprine) and the number were certainly expressed, all in four syllables approximately. The beginning of the next line starts a new sentence.

<sup>15</sup> It is easy to connect this syllable with the beginning of the next line by restoring *wā(stār pku)weṣṣam*. Note that in the preceding enumeration, the scribe has written the second occurrence of “one” (*ṣeme*, oblique sg. masc.) with a geminate initial consonant. This usage has no clear motivation, but recurs in line 15.

<sup>16</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, around 2 cm long.

<sup>17</sup> To be completed as *wāsta pku(uweṣṣam)*, without any place for more syllables in the lacuna. Therefore, at the beginning of next line, *ṣeme śawāre wāsta pkuweṣ* (understood *aṣice*) make a complete sentence. The plural subject of the preterite active 3 pl. *śawāre* (“they ate”) is found in the previous sentence: the word *śākwāke* is probably a name, coordinated with *śāṅke* (possibly borrowed from a Skt. name, either Śāṅka or Śāṅkha) without any particle. The trouble resides in the verb *wāya*, 3 sg. active preterite of *āk-/wāy-* (“to bring”), instead of the 3 pl. *wayāre* [25]. It is possible that the scribe had been influenced by the repeated mention of the singular, *wāya*, in the preceding lines 3, 4 (twice), 7, 8.

<sup>18</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, 2 cm long.

<sup>19</sup> As the introduction of an enumeration, one can restore (*t<sub>u</sub>ne*)*k*, after SI B Toch./13, line 4.

<sup>20</sup> The *akṣara na* is preceded by an erased sign.

<sup>21</sup> Here ends the enumeration. This word is followed by a blank space till the end of the line. According to the usage of SI B Toch./13, lines 4—5, the enumeration should be entirely in the nominative case; the oblique sg. *sanai* looks wrong, instead of nominative sg. *sana*. But it is probable that such an error was triggered by the plural *aiyyāna tarya* (scil. *śānta*), which is ambiguous.

<sup>22</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, 3 cm long.

<sup>23</sup> One can easily restore the compound (*ṣe*)*me pkuweṣ*, and at the end of the preceding line the lacuna allows place for some *akṣaras*, probably *wāya*, the expected verb of the sentence.

<sup>24</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, about 3 cm long.

<sup>25</sup> End of a rubric, according to the blank space which follows this word at the end of the line.

<sup>26</sup> Cinasena = Skt. Jīnasena.

<sup>27</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, 3 cm long.

<sup>28</sup> This is clearly the end of the name of the *ypoy-moko* ("country-elder"), borrowed from a compound Sanskrit name, with *candra* as second member.

<sup>29</sup> This word is followed by a blank space, 3.5 cm long.

<sup>30</sup> The lacuna contained the noun of a female domestic animal, according to the forms *-pkusai* and *sanai*, both oblique sg. feminine, possibly *ās* ("goat"), since the preceding animal mentioned was also a caprine.

<sup>31</sup> End of a rubric, followed by a blank space till the end of the line, 20 cm long.

<sup>32</sup> The reading remains quite uncertain.

<sup>33</sup> This sequence of *akṣaras* is problematic as to its form and meaning. It is probable that *omorkaṇe santap* constitutes a fixed expression, with an adjective singular as first term. The syntagma is constructed with the verb *yām-* ("to make"); it designates a produce obtained from the small domestic animals after death, possibly a fabric made from the skin.

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the year 14 of the reign of the king Yśuhkwā, in the year of the Sheep, in the ninth month, the results of the count are as follows: ... (2) [the amount of] the smaller livestock has been diminished by me. Of that the [detailed] account [is]: (3) Uwāṣṣi brought one ewe with large teeth [and] he brought two rams, twice (combed), (4) [and] he brought one goat. Sutate of Paiyti brought a ewe [as compensation] for a debt, (with large teeth), (5) with a lamb. According to the will of Tep Kwām, I sold one wether, twice combed, (...) (6) a caprine, male, twice combed, for 22 feet [of] cotton fabric. (In the month) *rapāññe* (7), one ewe, with (large teeth) died. Cauṣi brought four small domestic animals, twice combed (...). (8) Śaṅke came here in order to count the small domestic animals. He brought two animals, one an ovine, one a caprine, [both] twice (9) (combed), castrated. Śākwāke [and] Śaṅke brought animals, two caprine, twice comb(ed) ... (10) one (...) they ate, twice combed. Śaile brought animals on the order of the duke (...) (namely) (11) three ovines, one ewe with large teeth, one male (lamb), twice combed. (12) Simā brought animals, two caprines, twice combed. Kippā one caprine animal, ... (13) once combed. Cauṅkwi brought animals, two twice combed wethers. (14) Jīnasena brought an animal, one caprine, twice combed. The country-elder (15) *-candra* brought a caprine animal, once combed. Štempenkule brought (16) one (female), ..., thrice combed. (17) Small domestic animals that died are thirteen indeed left over (?). ... have been made ... seven.

## Commentary

### HISTORICAL AND AGRICULTURAL DATA

These three leaves have many common features. The first two belong to the same record. The texts are monastery accounts, which record incomings and withdrawals concerning smaller livestock. The animals, exchanged for various goods (grain, cotton fabric, etc.) or used as compensation for a debt or for some service, are precisely defined, since their value depends on their age, sex, and the amount of fine wool they have. It is not possible to study all the scope of information these extremely interesting documents provide. They confirm, as a whole, the view of the important economic role of the Kucheana monasteries.

The date of the first record refers to the king Kṣemārjuna. This name, borrowed from Sanskrit, recurs in other documents: an inscription G-Su 34 from Subashi near Kucha [26], several Berlin fragments (B 486, from Kyzyl, and other unpublished documents). The compound names with *arjuna* as second member seem to be characteristic of the royal family of Agni (Yanqi, alias Karashahr), as argued by Lüders [27] and Lévi [28]. Unfortunately, it is not possi-

ble for the moment to establish with certainty the relationship between these kings and the royal family of Kucha, whose chronology is better known [29]. We know that Suvarṇadeva ruled from 624 till 646 and his father Suvarṇapuṣpa was in charge already in 618.

Besides the king, other authorities also appear in these records. The term *ypoyypay-moko* ("country-elder") is a determinative compound; it refers probably to a local ruler who had authority on the people of the territory (see below the commentary on the manuscript SI P/117). It was rather vaguely defined by Fr. Bernhard as the "name of an administrative position" ("eine Amtsbezeichnung") [30]. Furthermore, the simple title *moko* ("elder") is well attested in the caravan-passes [31] as well as in the monastery accounts: oblique sg. *mokom*, genitive sg. *mokontse*; the regular nominative pl. is *mokoñ* (according to the pattern of *klyomo*) [32], but one finds also *mokonta*. It is possible that the *ypoy-moko* was at a higher level in the hierarchy of officials. In several occurrences, one finds the plural, implying

that those men acted collectively, as a council or senate. The usage and meaning of *moko* recall those of the *kitsaitsa* in the Kroraina Prakrit documents [33]: his functions were of judicial nature, and he was member of a sort of council of elders. The noun *kitsaitsa* reflects a more archaic form than Toch. B *kitsaitse* ("old"), while Toch. B *moko* is matched by Toch. A *mok* ("old"). Therefore, the translation as "elder" seems to be appropriate.

The adjective *yapkoñe* (SI B Toch./11, line 10) and the genitive sg. *yapkonise* (SI B Toch./13, line 3) imply the existence of a title \**yapko* (translated above as "duke") which is attested for the first time in Tocharian B. It recalls inevitably, while being adapted to the Tocharian phonology, the well-known Central Asiatic title *yabgu*, reflected by several forms in numerous languages: Old Turkic *yabyu* [34], Bactrian *zaooo* for the Kushān (Yuezhi) rulers, Prakrit (Kharoṣṭhī) *yavuga-*, *yaiia-*, Gk. ζαοου [35]. According to the Chinese sources, the chiefs of the five Yuezhi tribes bore this title. In a Tocharian A fragment kept in the Musée Guimet, *yāppāk* occurs as the title of a Uighur donor, being obviously a borrowing from Turkic *yabyu*. This occurrence does not give an independent evidence for a genuine Tocharian title. Our Tocharian B texts clearly show that in the Tocharian-speaking area a *yabgu* coexisted with a king (Toch. B *walo*, genitive sg. *lānte*). Presumably, there were several *yabgus* under the authority of the king, or the *yabgu* was a representative of the king in some matters of the royal administration, as his "grand duke" or "vizier". Be that as it may, the title *yabgu* enjoyed a great expansion in Central Asia, beyond the Kushān kingdom, and one should add now the Tocharian B piece of evidence.

The texts show several items of the terminology used by the stock-breeders of that time in the Tocharian-speaking area. It is not surprising that some aspects elude us. Since the taxonomy was self-evident for the speakers, they could use abbreviated expressions. In order to reconstruct at least a part of this lexicon, it is necessary to compare texts from various sources. Some items can be understood only by reference to a text from the Paris collection (PK LC I), which I published in 1997 [36], as well as from numerous wooden tablets found recently in Kyzyl, hitherto unpublished. However, I had the opportunity to study this material in May 1995.

I will not dwell on topics that I already discussed extensively [37]. The generic term for "smaller livestock" (Latin *minus pecus*) is Tocharian B *sānta* which shows a plural suffix with collective value; it is clearly not restricted to "sheep", as alleged in Krause and Thomas [38], but includes both ovines and caprines, excluding the rest of cattle, bovines and equines (Latin *maius pecus*). This term has a singulative, *śaiyye*, which refers basically to a "representative of the mass of small domestic animals", either ovine or caprine. This point is proven by the collocations *aiyye śaiyye* ("small domestic animal pertaining to sheep") and *ašicce śaiyye* ("small domestic animal pertaining to goats"). These secondary adjectives *aiyye* ("ovine") and *ašitstse*, or *ašīye* ("caprine") qualify also the collective term, hence *aiyyāna śānta* ("mass of smaller livestock consisting of sheep"), the detail of which is given afterwards; the parallel \**ašiyāna śānta* is matched by Tocharian A *āšīñ(i) šoś* ("small domestic animals pertaining to goats") [39]. In our lists of animals, the ovines stand always before the caprines. Furthermore, *śaiyye* may designate, without being qualified, the unmarked member of the bipartite concept of *sānta*

(ovines plus caprines), also the "sheep". It is so used in the datation formula as the noun corresponding to Chinese *yang* (Skt. *paśu*), one of the Twelve Animals of the zodiac. The Chinese term refers primarily to the sheep, and secondly to the goat as well. It is interesting to note that in the Kroraina documents from the third century A.D. the term *paśu* is also ambivalent, covering both ovine and caprine [40]. I would suggest that it is the Prakrit wording for a concept similar to that of Toch. B *śaiyye* in the local language.

The animals are also classified in the texts according to sex, age, and other characteristics that were important for stock-breeders. Since I hope to discuss those rather intricate problems elsewhere, I stress here only the main facts which show a striking parallelism of the terminology for ovines and caprines. My solutions agree only partially with assumptions that have been published by Schmidt without much argumentation and with less documentation [41]:

1) The mature animals are distinguished according to sex: *ā<sub>y</sub>w/āw* ("ewe"; oblique identical to nominative sg.), nominative pl. *awi*; *ās* ("goat"; oblique identical to nominative sg.), genitive sg. *asamtse*; the "ram" (uncastrated male ovine) is designated probably by *ariwe* (cf. Latin *ariēs*). The term *alā<sub>y</sub>*, masculine, oblique pl. *alawom*, hence nominative pl. *alawoñ*, concerns both caprines and ovines. It designates most likely the castrated male animal, also the "wether" for the sheep. It follows in part the inflection of the type *klyomo* [42]; stem \**alāwōn-*, with nominative sg. \**-wō* > \**-wu* > *-u*, as in Toch. B *ku* ("dog") < \**kwōn*, and the outcomes of stems with suffixes \**-wom-* and \**-wos-* (see the past participle).

2) There are, like in other languages, specific terms for young, immature animals (less than one year old): *yriye* ("lamb"; oblique sg. *yari*, nominative pl. *yriñ* (written *yrim*)); \**śro* ("kid"), nominative pl. *śroñ* (attested in one wooden tablet on display in the Hermitage Museum, Room No. 352). Those animals are further distinguished according to sex, as proven by the adjectives of appurtenance (here in the feminine) *alam-śrotaña* ("pertaining to male kid") vs. *klaim-śrotaña* ("pertaining to female kid"), and *klaī-yritañña* ("pertaining to female lamb"), and by the syntagmas *klaīyina śroñā* ("female kids"; in the same tablet of the Hermitage Museum), *āl yriye* ("male lamb"), nominative pl. *alyi yrim* (PK LC I). The adjective *āl*, oblique sg. *alam*, is used also to designate older male animals, both caprines and ovines. It follows the inflection of ancien *-i-* stems [43], exemplified by *sām* ("enemy") and *tsem* ("blue"). The seemingly likeness between *āl* and *alā<sub>y</sub>* is a mere illusion. The occurrences in SI B Toch./11, lines 5—6, and 8—9 prove that *alā<sub>y</sub>* ("castrated"; either ovine or caprine) and *ašicce ... alam* ("caprine male") vs. *aiyye alam* ("ovine male") refer in effect to different realities.

3) The distinction of age is implicit in the mention of castration and is further indicated by a syntagma common to both ovines and caprines, females (ewe, goat) and males (ram): *orocce* (or *orocce kemesa*). It means literally "with a large tooth", with the perlativ sg. of the noun *keme* ("tooth") being used. There is no need to render a homonymous noun \**keme* as meaning something else, to justify an *ad hoc* meaning [44]. This mention refers to the growth of the permanent teeth, namely the central incisors, which are the well-known criterion to distinguish mature ruminant animals. The singular is not so disturbing, instead of the dual or plural, since the dental system is symmetrical, so



that the expert stock-breeder needs only to touch one single incisor to make sure of the erupting of the permanent teeth.

One key notion of the economic vocabulary concerning livestock is indeed *šārwai* present in SI B Toch. 9, line 11, and — more frequently — in the Kyzyl documents. The nominative sg. is *šarwiye*, oblique sg. *šārwai*, nominative pl. *šarwaiñ* (written *šarwaiñ*; henceforth the word will be quoted under the oblique sg. form). This noun (feminine) belongs to a well-known type of inflection [45]. It designates some produce obtained from sheep and goats, as shown by the adjectives *asamntañai* (“from she-goat”), *awamntañā* (“from ewe”), etc. Furthermore, it is qualified also by the adjectives applied regularly (see the texts above) to ovines and caprines: *šeme-pkusai*, *wāsta-pkusai*, *tāryā-pkusai*. About *šārwai* is said that it is given to various people, but mostly to women (*klayina*) or to monastery servants (*kapyāri*), as payment for some work, or as something to be worked on. It is also delivered to the monastery. Despite its appearance as direct object of the verb *šu-šwā-* (“to eat”), it is not something “edible” by people: the verb *šu-šwā-* can be used in the general sense of “to consume”, as shown by the numerous occurrences in the monastery accounts [46].

The regular references to the animals from which the produce is obtained show that its quality depends on some characteristics of those animals. The identification to “dung, droppings”, as Schmidt proposes [47], is far from any probability, since animal dung is used currently in Central Asia as fuel or as building material. Its source is of course not restricted to ovines and caprines, and one can wonder about such a great stock control of animal droppings under the care of monastery agents. A regular produce, which is common to sheep and goats and of great importance to stock-breeders, is in fact the fleece or the wool. This hypothesis allows, by the same token, to understand the adjectives *X-pku*, with *X* as a multiplicative number and *-pku* as the past participle of a verb *pāk-*: sg. masc. nominative *pku*, obl. *pkuweš*, fem. nom. *pkusa*, obl. *pkusai*, pl. masc. nom.

*pkuweš*, obl. *pkuweššām*, following a well-known inflection type [48]. The root in question can be neither *pāk-* (“to cook, to ripe”; the past participle *papeku*), nor *pāk-* (“to plan, to contemplate”) [49]. If those adjectives had indicated the age of livestock, as proposed by Schmidt [50], would they be restricted to one, two or three years? For stating the age of people, Tocharian uses possessive compounds with derivatives of the noun for “[cyclic] year” — *A p<sub>2</sub>kāl*, *B pikul* as second member, *A wiki-puklyi*, *B ikām-pikwalaññe* (“with twenty years”). But the age of animals is rather established by external characteristics, as seen above (permanent teeth, castration, fertility, etc.). I propose to render *pku* as “combed”, from a technical verb *pāk-* (“to comb, to pluck out”; Indo-European root *\*pek-*) [51], which can qualify both the animals and the produce therefrom. Note, Tibetan uses similar expressions to distinguish different qualities of wool (*ba*): “the first coarse plucking of wool; the second, of the finer wool; the third, of the finest” [52].

Various domestic animals, special breeds of goats and hairy sheep, shed their hair during the moulting season. One may assume that the Tocharians did practice the plucking or combing of hairy animals as they moulted. This old method of removing underwool from moulting sheep, goats, yaks, camels is still used in northwest China, Tibet and Mongolia [53]. Therefore, *šārwai* designates the wool that sheep and goats shed during the moulting season: it is harvested by plucking or by combing. Actually, this word can be etymologically connected with the root (*\*skēH<sub>2</sub>i-/\*skH<sub>2</sub>ei-*) of English *shed* (Old English *scēadan* — “to separate”), Skt. *chā-* (*chyaṭi*) [54], by assuming a proto-form *\*skiH<sub>2</sub>(d)-ru-* > *\*skyaru-* > *\*ššāru-* (“what is shed”), which received later in Proto-Tocharian a very common secondary suffix, with collective value. This last proposal remains open to discussion, but through the semantic identification of *šārwai*, we gain a rather coherent and realistic view of the texts.

## II. Registration of men

1. SI P/117 (see fig. 4). Size: 29.2 × 39.8 cm. Tocharian B. Paper. Cursive script. Judging by the size and the general arrangement, the leaf is complete. There are several holes in the paper, impeding the reading of some names. The ductus is fine and geometrical, and it is very likely that the scribe used a pen, instead of a brush, as in most profane documents.

### TRANSLITERATION

1. 21<sup>1</sup> *kšuntsa*<sup>2</sup> *yāše lānti pa*[t]<sup>3</sup> [pi]*kulne oktañce ikām šene ypoy moko wrau*<sup>4</sup> *po ypo-*
2. *yntse*<sup>5</sup> *ārtarsa šwāra pwārane šaumoše paušye*<sup>6</sup> *lau putkār, cai mokšarāmše puwaršā,*
3. *šāmna* | *kerentsile* | *kkercipile*<sup>7</sup> | *ptāmparre*<sup>8</sup> | *catile* | *mikkišone* | *ykāmñā,* | *kwa-*
4. *ppale* | *šānkale* | *kercapiške* | *k[e]pautile* | *capišakke* | *kepautile* | *ciṭre*
5. | *puttamitre* | *soṭarkāne* | *mitraiyšē* | *laraciwe* | *oktale* | *puñicamndre* | (*šānkauptē*)<sup>9</sup>
6. | *kepautile* | *tarmasene* | [ku] *mpāntiške* | *kutsawa*[n] *putamitre* | *palāke* | *cinase-*
7. *ne* | *mikkinayšē* | *nwetakke* |<sup>10</sup>

Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Tamil, consisting of approximately 15 lines of dense characters. The text is arranged in a single column and includes several small square stamps or seals interspersed throughout the writing. The script is dark and appears to be ink on a light-colored paper or parchment.

MS. N. 1050

Fig. 4

8. *cai kwañye puwarne šāmma | caukile | puluške | malakke | wrau | cinatewe | ka-*
9. *ccināk<sub>λ</sub> wrau | kolti | palamtte | ś[i]ñkiške | kercapiške | ortonāk<sub>λ</sub> śiñki-*
10. *ške | puñyisene | maśuta | apārše wrau | larutti | koppesale | laressa-*
11. *le | sañkatāse | cami<sub>λ</sub> | — — <sup>11</sup>mpaiyse | pi[s]sure | perнау | puttaiyse | śi-*
12. *ñklo | nawarā — [ | ] <sup>12</sup>capeś<sub>λ</sub> | casene | <sup>13</sup>*

### Textual remarks

<sup>1</sup> As in SI B Toch./11, line 1 (see above), the bare number signs replace the cardinal numeral before the word for the reign year (*kšum*).

<sup>2</sup> Sic! There is a hole upon the *aḱšara kšu*, and it is not excluded that the expected *anusvāra* was lost.

<sup>3</sup> This reading is the most likely. The term *pikul* (“year”) is usually preceded by one of the names of the Twelve-Animals cycle according to the Chinese popular calendar that had been adopted by the Tocharians since the first centuries A.D. [55]. Those animals are: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, Pig. The Berlin text B 549 provides a bilingual list — Sanskrit-Tocharian B (a 5—7) — studied extensively by Lüders [56]. The form *pat* does not appear in this list. But Tocharian B, *pat* (pl. *ptanma*) is known as the noun meaning “stūpa” [57]. But what could “a year of the stūpa” mean? However, the formula of our document is confirmed by the mention *pat pikul* in an inscription from Kyzyl (cave No. 222), which I had the opportunity to consult on the spot after a previous publication [58].

<sup>4</sup> The verb of the sentence is *putkār*, 3 pl. active preterite of the verb *putk-* (“to divide”) [59]; accordingly, the name Wrau refers to a second subject, which does not agree with the official title *ypoy-moko* designating an anonymous first person. The name Wrau recurs later in the document (see lines 8, 9 and 10), but this fact is of no special significance. Other people used to bear the same name: for instance, Kercapiške (lines 4 and 9), Kepautile (lines 4 (twice!) and 6).

<sup>5</sup> The ligatura has been corrected by the scribe, who had previously written simply *ntse*, without *yod*.

<sup>6</sup> The word *pauśye* (pl. *pauśyenta*) was already known from several business documents; the alleged meaning is given as “contribution, tax” (German “Abgabe, Steuer”) [60]. In its occurrence in the Berlin text B 33 a 6, *ypoye pauśye* (“... of the country”), with *ypoye* as derived adjective, is mentioned among several duties of a householder, just after *lānte spaktām* (“the service of the king”). In our manuscript, we find also that the *pauśye* is required and organised by the “elder” (*moko*), responsible for the country (*ypoy*, basis of the adjective *ypoye*). In this context the term is determined by the adjective *šaumō-še* (“consisting of men”); therefore, the translation by “tax” does not fit. The notion seems to refer to some duty to which individuals of the kingdom were bound; it is closer to the medieval practice of *corvée*. The men called for service realise collectively this duty.

<sup>7</sup> The geminate of the first syllable is certain.

<sup>8</sup> The *aḱšara rra* does not show here the transversal arc of circle as a supplementary marking of the geminate [61].

<sup>9</sup> This name has been coarsely erased, without being replaced by another name.

<sup>10</sup> This stroke is followed by a blank space, more than 17 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. This blank space marks the end of the first list.

<sup>11</sup> Two *aḱšaras*, without superior vowel marking, are lost in a hole.

<sup>12</sup> One catches sight of the vertical stroke, so that the next name is complete, and the preceding name is lacking a single *aḱšara*.

<sup>13</sup> This stroke is followed by a blank space, more than 13 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. Again, this blank space marks the end of a rubric.

This document SIP/117 gives basically two lists of names, the first from line 3 through line 7 (27 names, one being suppressed), the second from line 8 through line 12

(27 names). The names are clearly separated by one single vertical stroke (*dañḍa*). It is sufficient here to give the translation of the introductory sentences.

### TRANSLATION

(1) In the year 21 of the reign of the king Yāše, in the year of the Stūpa (?), in the eighth [month], on the twenty-one, the country-elder [and] Wrau, along the border (2) of the whole country, have posted separately to the four fires the men being in service. These [are] (3) the men for the Mokṣarāma fire: ...

(8) These [are] the men at the Kwañye fire: ...

## Commentary

A Kuchean king named Yāše was already known from inscriptions of Kyzyl Karha (cave No. 25), which are dated by the 22th year of his reign [62]. This name is borrowed from Skt. *yaśa*, or is abbreviated from a compound name having this lexeme as second or first member [63].

The key for understanding this document lies in the noun meaning “fire”, Tocharian B *puwar*, pl. *pwāra*. Besides the locative pl. *pwāra-ne* (line 2), one finds the allative sg. *puwar-s* (end of line 2) and the locative sg. *puwar-ne* (line 8), both preceded by different adjectives. Those “fires” have no religious significance and do not give any evidence for a cult of fire. They designate signal-fires that were used in order to send messages from one garrison to the other. This primitive telegraphic system is well-known from the Chinese sources accounts of the surveillance of the frontiers against foreign invaders, but the practice is not exclusively Chinese and goes back to very ancient times [64]. Its existence in East Turkestan is documented by the numerous ruins of watch-towers that have been found [65]. In this region, the military and administrative organisation was admittedly influenced by the Chinese empire. The system used signals of smoke during the day and signals of fire during the night. The Chinese term *fēng* [66], meaning precisely “alarm-fire” and referring to a “watch-tower”, designates originally the stacks of wood lit to produce heavy smoke for signal purposes in day time.

One may assume in Tocharian the same metonymy in the usage of *puwar* (“fire”), specialised in meaning “signal-fire”, and extended to designate a “watch-tower” on the top

of which the stake was lit in case of danger. The “four fires” (line 2) refer to four places along the frontier of the kingdom. This manuscript records the names of the men that have been enrolled to take care of the surveillance at the frontier; the service included certainly the gathering of wood for the fires, and implied taking turns for watching night and day over the border. The text gives the names of the men posted at two fires, which are identified by the locality nearby. The lists of the men posted at the two other fires were written on a following leaf. It is certainly not by chance that the number of men conscripted for each fire is the same, to wit 27. Different men can share the same name (Kercapiške, Kepautile, Wrau, etc.). The grand total of men for the four fires altogether would amount to 108, an auspicious number. Besides the peculiar usage of *puwar* (“fire”), we get the meaning of the new noun *ārtar* (line 2), in the relative case, which apparently can be rendered as “frontier, border, limit”; it can be etymologically related to Latin *ōra*, Hittite *arha-* (“edge, rim, limit, boundary, confine(s)”), etc.

We gain also more information about the functions of the *ypoy-moko* (“country-elder”), already discussed above. He did not have any religious functions and was responsible for all matters related to the peace and security of the territory, and one may assume that those “elders” had power of police and justice. Their functions implied the control of people that were bound to some service or corvée, like guarding the frontiers, and they were entrusted with punishing people who do not perform their duties.

**2. SI B Toch./12** (see fig. 5). Size: 29.0 × 19.6 cm. Tocharian B. Cursive script. Paper. The document is not complete: only the upper part of the leaf is left. There are several rips, particularly in the right border, and the last line is almost entirely mutilated. The writing is peculiar, and unique in the series SI B Toch./9—13: the geometrical ductus is fine and it seems that the scribe used a pen instead of a brush. This scribe has also observed the difference between the *akšaras ta* and *na*. The overall style is actually very close to that of SI P/117 (see above), and it is not excluded that both manuscripts had been written by the same hand.

## TRANSLITERATION

1. *cai ñwai riši śrāyā, kalañku ♦ ketsutaišye ♦ kercapiške ♦ tsakune ♦ satyawārme ♦ citre-*
2. *rapaške ♦ cinaupte ♦ citrasene ♦ šiñkiške ♦ puttašile ♦ erkañciške ♦ mākkokke ♦ raktatāse (♦)*
3. *mikicandre ♦ caukilaiše ♦ erkañciške ♦ calaiške ♦ tarmatte ♦ ettukāne ♦ korakke ♦ catile ♦*
4. *kercapiške ♦ piñaute ♦ pañw[ai]ššārše<sup>1</sup> korakke ♦ motisāre ♦ šaiyle ♦<sup>2</sup>*
5. *cai ostuwāši śrāyā, ♦ yatiške ♦ yataiše ♦ turkāne ♦ kumpānte<sup>3</sup> ♦ stukile ♦ sañkopte!!!*
6. *ndre<sup>4</sup> ♦ mikiššone ♦ supriye ♦ tarmatte ♦ mikinare ♦ perñita ♦ aṃttule ♦ swamitre [♦] + i<sup>5</sup>!!!*
7. *kāñyake ♦ kalañko ♦ catewe ♦ casene ♦ pāllentakke ♦ sumitre ♦ kepautiške ♦ raktat[e]we ♦*
8. *+ au — — [l]e — + e + e + e [k]i + i [l]e [♦] + i + i [š]e<sup>6</sup> p[u]ñā + e + e<sup>7</sup> + e [m]e [c]a!!!*

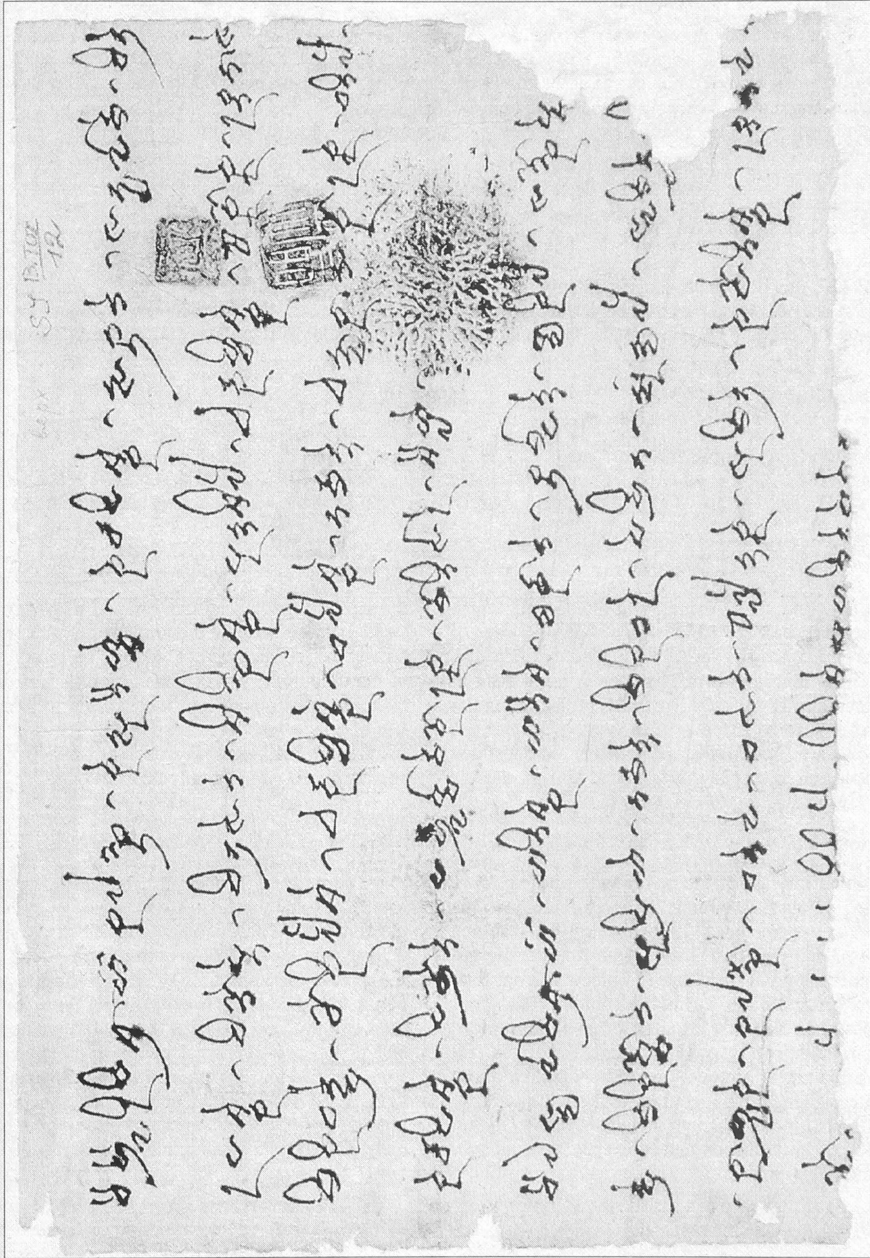


Fig. 5

## Textual remarks

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the vowel of the second syllable remains uncertain; one can consider alternatively to read it with vowel *-e*, showing a very large line.

<sup>2</sup> The dot is followed by a blank space, about 8 cm long, till the right border of the leaf. This blank space marks the end of the first list.

<sup>3</sup> One may hesitate between this reading and Kumpätte.

<sup>4</sup> End of a compound name with probably *-(ca)ndre* as second part, hence borrowed from a Sanskrit name ending in *candra*, as Guṇacandra, Jñānacandra, etc. [67]. The lacuna at the end of the preceding line allows place for the dot and three syllables. The form Sañkopte is a complete name as such, probably borrowed from Skt. Saṅhagupta.

<sup>5</sup> One catches sight only of the vocalisation of the *akṣara*; judging from the space till the border of the leaf, this is the first syllable of a trisyllabic name.

<sup>6</sup> A reading [*śk*]e can also be considered. Both syllables would fit for the end of a name. The following dot is lost.

<sup>7</sup> One can restore *puña(s)e(n)e* as well as *puña(t)e(w)e*, the two names being borrowed from Sanskrit Puṇyasena and Puṇyadeva respectively. The first is already attested [68].

Like **SI P/117**, this document consists mainly of lists of names. The first list runs from line 1 through line 8, the second from line 9 till the end, which is lost. The names are separated by a little arc of circle, analogous to the sign which is used as dot in literary manuscripts. Here follows the translation of the short introductory sentences:

## TRANSLATION

(1) These [are] the aged men of the New City: ...

.....

(9) These [are] the aged men of the houses: ...

## Commentary

The first list contains 27 names, and the second, which is incomplete, more than 28. The last line shows no trace of an introductory sentence similar to the preceding ones. The "aged men" (*śrāy*, nominative pl.) have been listed according to their location. If "houses" (*ostuwa*, pl. of *ost*) is not the given name of some place in the country, the derived adjective *ostuwā-ṣi* (nominative pl.) means perhaps that these old people had to stay in their isolated houses, outside

the built-up area. Why those "aged men" are listed in this way? One may assume that they were discharged from some duties: for instance, they could not be put on the active list of the military service. Or the old men, like the women, attested in other documents, were bound to other specific duties of peacetime, for example, handicraft or the like. This manuscript testifies again to a relatively strict control of the society by the administrative power.

\* \* \*

An additional interest of the documents studied above lies in the high number of names that occur therein. In the present context, it is not possible to develop the resulting contribution to Tocharian onomastics. One can identify immediately numerous compound names borrowed from Sanskrit, which are expected in a Buddhist culture. One finds also names based on Sanskrit lexemes, probably abstracted members from compounds, with Tocharian suffixes. Finally, there are names without any Indic tonality: those names are either indigenous, genuine Tocharian names, or borrowings from Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanese, and Uighur. Such a medley of multifarious names is typical of all profane documents.

The study of Tocharian onomastics is still in the stage of infancy, and the first task is to collect systematically this material [69]. The documents under discussion offer such a great number of new concrete facts that it is difficult to interpret them wholly. They deserve further study by comparing other Tocharian texts, which must be published in their entirety, and by using the evidence of other languages and cultures of the same epoch in Central Asia. Judging from the data that have been already discussed, one can say that the St. Petersburg Kuchean documents are indeed of utmost importance for our knowledge of the history and society of the Tarim basin in pre-Islamic time.

## Notes

1. See my general survey of the Tocharian literature in G.-J. Pinault, "Introduction au tocharien", *Lalies*, 7 (Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature, d'Aussois, 27 août—1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1985) (Paris, 1989), pp. 12—9.

2. E. Sieg, "Geschäftliche Aufzeichnungen in Tocharisch B aus der Berliner Sammlung", *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II/2 (Berlin, 1950), pp. 208—23.

3. References are given in G.-J. Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme pratiqué au nord du désert du Taklamakan, d'après les documents tochariens", in *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations* (Actes du colloque franco-japonais de septembre 1991) (Paris, 1994), pp. 86—90.

4. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "The ancient manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in the St. Petersburg Collection: some results of recent research", *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 7 (1997), pp. 205—12.
5. See references in Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 89.
6. S. Lévi, *Fragments de textes kouchéens (Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānālakāra et Karmavibhaṅga) publiés et traduits* (Paris, 1933), p. 23. — Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, II.
7. Cf. G.-J. Pinault, "Terminologie du petit bétail en tokharien", *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*, vol. 2 (Kraków, 1997), p. 181, with references.
8. Cf. G.-J. Pinault, "Epigraphie kouchéenne", in *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha* (Paris, 1987), p. 84. — Mission Paul Pelliot. Documents archéologiques, VIII.
9. W. Krause, *Westtocharische Grammatik*. Bd. I: *Das Verbum* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 303.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 43; for the discussion of the forms as known till now, see J. Hilmarsson, *The Nasal Prefixes in Tocharian. A Study in Word Formation* (Reykjavík, 1991), p. 36. — *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies. Suppl. Series*, Vol. 3.
11. S. Lévi, "Le "tokharien B", langue de Koutcha", *Journal Asiatique*, II (XI<sup>e</sup> série) (1913), p. 320, n. 1.
12. Cf. W. Krause and W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*; Vol. I: *Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1960), § 242, p. 155.
13. Cf. B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian-Persian-English)* (Tehran, 1995), No. 5552, p. 222.
14. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
16. W. Krause and W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*; Vol. II: *Texte und Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 211.
17. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 244.
18. Pinault, "Terminology", p. 177.
19. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
20. Cf. Sieg, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 93.
21. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 186 ("Leichentuch").
22. Cf. Ji Xianlin, W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault, *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China* (Berlin—New York, 1998), pp. 220 and 284. — *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs*, 113.
23. Cf. S.-Ch. Raschmann, *Baumwolle im türkischen Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 44. — *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altica*, Bd. 44.
24. See E. G. Pulleyblank, *A Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver, 1991), p. 56: Karlgren, 794a.
25. Cf. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
26. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 132 and 152.
27. H. Lüders, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan", *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1930), pp. 24—8.
28. Lévi, *Fragments*, p. 22.
29. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 85.
30. Fr. Bernhard, *Die Nominalkomposition im Tocharischen*, Diss. (Göttingen, 1958), p. 168.
31. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 77, 193.
32. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 238, p. 153.
33. Cf. Th. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 82.
34. See G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 873; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Bd. IV (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 124—36. — *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission*, Bd. XXI.
35. Gholam Djelani Davary, *Baktrisch*. Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine (Heidelberg, 1982), p. 297.
36. Pinault, "Terminology", pp. 176—84.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 185—204.
38. See Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 246.
39. See now Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 38.
40. See Th. Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1940), p. 27 (No. 151), p. 102 (No. 519), p. 131 (No. 633). — James G. Forlong Fund, XX.
41. Kl. T. Schmidt, "Liebe und Sexualität im Spiegel der tocharischen Sprachzeugnisse", in *Eros, Liebe und Zuneigung in der Indogermania* (Akten des Symposium zur indogermanischen Kultur- und Altertumskunde, 29.—30. September 1994), hrsg. von Michaela Ofitsch (Graz, 1997), pp. 244—6.
42. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 238, p. 153.
43. Cf. *ibid.*, § 184, p. 131 for the substantives, § 234.1, p. 151 for the adjectives.
44. Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 245, where a second \**keme* ("womb") is suggested.
45. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 187, p. 133.
46. Cf. Pinault, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 108, about the past participle *šešu* in PK DA M. 507 (8), in the formula *saṅkantse šešu* ("consumed by the monastery").
47. See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 245, and 259.
48. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. I, § 245.2, p. 157.
49. Cf. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
50. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
51. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern—München, 1959), p. 797.

52. H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881), p. 367.
53. Cf. M. L. Ryder, "The evolution of the fleece", *Scientific American*, 256/1, January (1987), p. 105.
54. See Pokorny, *op. cit.*, pp. 919—22.
55. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 81, also *idem*, "Aspects du bouddhisme", p. 94.
56. H. Lüders, "Zur Geschichte des Ostasiatischen Tierkreises", *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen, 1940), pp. 741—8.
57. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 206.
58. Pinault, "Epigraphie", pp. 127 and 177.
59. Krause, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
60. Cf. Krause and Thomas, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 214; see also E. Sieg and W. Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B. Heft 1: Die Udānālañkāra-Fragmente* (Göttingen, 1949), Glossar, p. 144.
61. For this variation in writing, cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 84.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
63. For examples, see *ibid.*, p. 188.
64. Cf. E. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford, 1913), pp. XI—XIII.
65. For the description, see A. Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford), pp. 749—54.
66. Pulleyblank, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Karlgren, 197r.
67. Cf. Pinault, "Epigraphie", p. 188.
68. *Ibid.*
69. For the names attested in caravan-passes and inscriptions, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 187—9.

### Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** SI B Toch./9. Monastery record in Tocharian B in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 28.7 × 36.8 cm.
- Fig. 2.** SI B Toch./13. Monastery record in Tocharian B of the same collection, 28.3 × 15.2 cm.
- Fig. 3.** SI B Toch./11. Monastery record in Tocharian B of the same collection, 27.5 × 42.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** SI P/117. Administrative report in Tocharian B of the same collection, 29.2 × 39.8 cm.
- Fig. 5.** SI B Toch. 12. Administrative report in Tocharian B of the same collection, 29.0 × 19.6 cm.