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SI 3656 and other Kuchean tablets related to the Kizil grottoes in the St. Petersburg Collection*

Abstract: This paper introduces five wooden tablets written in Kuchean (Tocharian B) and kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS), namely SI 3656 (SI P/136B), 3669 (SI P/139D), 6385 (SI Strelkov-D/3), 1931 (SI Strelkov-D/51) and 6456 (SI Strelkov-D/85). THT4063, an unedited tablet kept in Berlin, the text of which is largely parallel with SI 6456, is also introduced here.

According to the joint authors' investigation, which has been ongoing since 2009, these tablets are economic and administrative documents, and some of their features are comparable with the Kuchean sale contract THT4001. The severely damaged SI 1931 is particularly valuable because it proves that three currencies circulated in pre-Tang Kucha. Together with THT4063, the other four tablets are closely related to the *Yurpāška* Monastery, which is repeatedly mentioned in the findings from the Kizil grottoes as well as the graffiti surviving there. Therefore, the content of these tablets helps scholars to restore the history of this important Buddhist site as well as the activity of foreign expeditions in Chinese Turkestan.

Key words: Kucha, Tocharian, Kizil, Buddhism, Central Asia

1. Introduction

Since Sylvain Lévi's correspondence with Sergei F. Oldenburg, Nikolai D. Mironov and other Russian scholars, the importance of the Tocharian materials kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy

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of Sciences (IOM, RAS) in St. Petersburg has been widely known.¹ After the investigation led by Dr. Margarita I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia in the 1990s, Tocharian manuscripts in the Russian Collection have been largely identified.² Therefore, Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault published several Kucheana (i.e. Tocharian B) secular documents in 1998³ and Dr. Klaus T. Schmidt was expected to publish more texts.⁴ In addition, Douglas Q. Adams (2000, 4) provided Pinault's provisional revision of the Kucheana tablet SI P/139(d) (i.e. SI P/139Д) that was published by Lévi (1913, 320 n. 1),⁵ and Schmidt (2001b) analysed a bilingual Kucheana-Prākṛit tablet SI P/141 together with two similar ones (THT4059 and THT4062) kept in Berlin.⁶ Since 2002, Pinault has revised the reading of the *Buddhastotras* SI P/1b and 2b in addition to the Sanskrit-Kucheana glossary SI P/65b 1+2 previously published by Dr. V.S. Vorobiov-Desiatovskii (1958).⁷ Melanie Malzahn (2007a: 93) also read SI M-TD/31b in the Malov Collection according to a photograph published by Wilfried Seipel (1996: 345).

During our first visit to the IOM, RAS (March 21 to 12 April 2009), we were provided with a list of new SI numbers, which were still a work in progress. It is largely comparable to Pinault's hand-written list of old SI numbers made in 1998, which he kindly communicated to us in autumn-winter 2008. But a few numbers seemingly escaped from his early investigation, including the tablet SI 3656 (SI P/136B) to be treated in this paper.⁸

The text of SI 3656 is faint, but its features are similar to those in the contract of sale HT4001.⁹ Like THT4001, SI 3656 is also related to the *Yurpūṣka* Monastery. As argued in our edition of THT4001, *Yurpūṣka* is the

¹ For example, see MIRONOV 1909; LÉVI 1913: 320 and BONGARD-LEVIN et al. 2002: 123–141. For a more complete review of the studies of the Tocharian manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg in the last century, see MALZAHN 2007a: 91–93 and VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2008: 72–73.

² See VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2006.

³ I.e. SI B Toch./9, 11–13 and SI P/117.

⁴ Cf. VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997: 210. The five pieces published by Pinault (1998) are also partially mentioned by Schmidt (2001a).

⁵ See *infra*, § 4.

⁶ Ching (2013a) gives a reinterpretation of the three tablets as receipts of tax payment.

⁷ See PINAULT 2002a: 274–276 (SI P/2b); PINAULT 2008: 293–311 (SI P/1b and P/2b) and PINAULT 2002b (SI P/65b 1+2).

⁸ It seems that at a certain stage, the SI 3655 (SI P/1366) and 3656 (SI P/136B) were confused or counted together. The former was partially transliterated by Pinault in 1998, and the full content of this tablet was read by Ching (2010: 324–326).

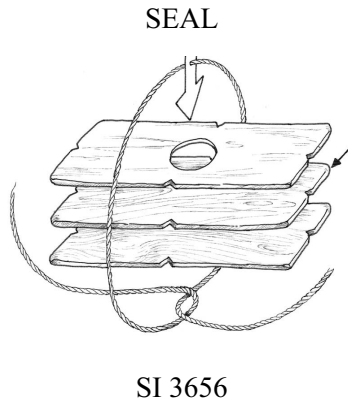
⁹ See CHING and OGIHARA 2012.

ancient name of a district around the Kizil grottoes or the general name of the whole area. The Kucheans documents kept in the IOM, RAS preserve abundant attestations of this name, and they are the most valuable first-hand material for the study of the early history of this region.

2. SI 3656: Formal description

The tablet SI 3656 measures 27.0 cm in width and 13.1 cm in length. The upper-left corner of the recto side is largely broken. Both sides are written in Kucheans.

As indicated by the old signature SI P/136B, the tablet once belonged to the Petrovskii collection.¹⁰ The round blank in the centre of the recto can be found on several Kucheans tablets, such as the sale contract (THT4001) and the three bilingual tablets (SI P/141, THT4059 and THT4062) mentioned above. On the central blank of SI 3656, traces of greyish clay used for sealing can be seen. The V-shaped incisions on its four sides are also similar to THT4001, the three bilingual tablets and the well-known *laissez-passers* found by Paul Pelliot. Therefore, the original binding of SI 3656 may resemble the model we have suggested for THT4001:



Among the tablets treated below, SI 6385 and THT4063 preserve one and four V-shaped incisions, respectively, although it is uncertain whether there are central round blanks due to the poor condition of these two tablets.

¹⁰ For N.F. Petrovskii's activities and contributions, see VOROBOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004; POPOVA 2008a: 25; and POPOVA 2008b: 148–150.

3. Translation of SI 3656 (=SI P/136B) (see the transliteration on p. 48)¹¹

a

- 1 /// ... (is) being in the year of... (?). (At) this moment ///
- 2 /// (something) [has been done]... (In) the *Yūrpaška* [Monastery]... ///
- 3 /// (The ones being) present in..., the novice monk called *Puṇyayaśe*...
- 4 /// ... thus (these are namely) we. We two are subject to... ///
- 5 /// ... they torment and harm us ///
- 6 /// For [this] reason, we two thought thus: ‘The *Okoi-*official¹² was dwelling (here). ... a legal dispute (?) agreed (?) with *Mānākke*... ///
- 7 ... He could bring the *Samgha* (of) this monastery to our life (lit. ‘He could give us this monastery-*samgha* in existence’). Then we two ourselves
- 8 We discuss the giving of...’ Forever in the future, with this document (?)¹³ ... together with... ///
- 9 ... they are not to be claimed by anyone [else] nor should be [inquired about] (by anyone else). As in this monastery... ///
- 10 /// ... ^ ... May our monastery be the refuge (?)... ///

b

- 1 /// of/to *Puṇyayaśe*... ∨ ... from this moment on (?)... ///
- 2 /// ..., *Pūñyavārdhī* the *Āraṇīye*, ... the *Agamadhāre*, ...
- 3–8 [untranslatable]

¹¹ The conventions generally follow the principles set up by E. Sieg and W. Siegling:

Transliteration

- [] partly damaged *akṣara(s)*. /// damaged edge.
- () seriously damaged *akṣara(s)* of which – an indeterminable *akṣara*.
 the reading is partly or totally restored. · indeterminable part of an *akṣara*.

Transcription: *Fremdzeichen* and *virāma* in the transliteration are ignored. When necessary, restoration based on the knowledge of the Tocharian manuscripts is adopted. Proper names and titles/positions are indicated with capitals.

Translation: The usage of brackets and parentheses follows that of the transliteration. The brackets indicate the damaged text, of which the uncertainty of reading should be kept in mind, and the parentheses indicate our restoration or interpretation based on seriously damaged text.

¹² This official title/position is attested in THT4001, which Ching related to Niya-Prākṛit *Ogu* and a later form *Akau* in Kuchean (see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 112–113). It appears as *Okau* in SI 6385 and THT4063 (see *infra*).

¹³ The word *parso* as used here is interesting. It is usually understood as the Kuchean word for ‘letter’, but from the context, it seemingly means ‘document’ here.

Transliteration of SI 3656

- a
- 1 /// [p]· kw· [n]· sp[or](o)mane ce_u pre[k](e) ///
 2 /// – m\ [y]ām[wa] ce_u sa(nīkā)[r]āma yūrpā[ṣ]k· – ///
 3 /// – skeñcā ṣammire puṇṇyaśe ñem\ · o ///
 4 maññ\ wes teṃ wene kettrā ekāly[m]ī ///
 5 yamaśkenne miyāske(mm)e ///
 6 lškamo oko_u wsas[i] māṅṅkkempā placā [ya] ///
 7 nestsine ā[yi] wene no ṣañ āṇmo ṣ· e r·ā – ///
 8 staññe preke ce p̄arsosa me[s]· – rīsi – mpā su ///
 9 (–) – ma k[e]tara ā(y)e[k](e)pi ñāṣṣalyi ma pre[k](ṣa)[yi tāko m̄gk[i]se ce_u saṅkrāṇne – – – – ///
 10 /// (–) – – /// [w]· ṣā m· – – – ^ – ne weṣṣāñ sāṅkā waste tāko, – /// /// – – – ///
- /// r(N)
 /// – cai lakle
 /// (ce)_[u] ṣarmṣa we[n]e maññ\ p̄ā-
 (–) [c](e)_u sāṅkāṛāṅg sāṅkā weṣṣāñ
 – – c[c]e āyo[x] w[e]skem\ eṇṣkete po-
 (–) – ma k[e]tara ā(y)e[k](e)pi ñāṣṣalyi ma pre[k](ṣa)[yi tāko m̄gk[i]se ce_u saṅkrāṇne – – – – ///
- b
- 1 /// (pu)[n](a)[ya]śi – – v – – ce_u preke[m]· – – – – ābh(i)dhā[r]m[i]k((e)
 2 2 /// (– – – – –) āraṇye puṇṇyaṇṛaddhi ‡ † [a]gamaadhāre
 3 /// [yṛḡddh](i) – – – [FAINT TRACES]
 4 /// – ce_u sutta· [FAINT TRACES]
 5 /// – – –
 6 /// [r]ra –
 7 [FAINT TRACES]
 8 [FAINT TRACES]

Notes on transliteration

- a1 **[p]· kw· l[n]** : Possibly to be restored *p(i)kw(ä)ln(e)*.
- a2 **sa(ñkā)[r]ām̄g**: Sic! Perhaps a scribal error for *sāñkārāmā* ‘monastery’ as attested in a7.
Yūrpa[s]k· /// : We intend to restore *Yūrpaṣk(aine)* ‘in *Yūrpaṣka*’ here.
- a3 – **skeñcā**: To be restored (*m̄a*)*skeñcā*.
ñem· o: It is possible to restore *ñem(m)o* with the so-called *bewegliche -o* in Kucheian.
- a4 **ekāly[m]r̄**: Alternatively to be read *ekāly[mi]*.
- a5 **cai**: It is also possible to read *rcai*.
- a6 **ya** ///: Perhaps a form of *yām-* ‘to do’.
- a9 **tāko**: Scribal error for *tāko*, 3sg.opt. of *nes-* ‘to be’.
māk[t]se: Scribal error for *mākte* ‘as’.
- a10 **sāñkā**: Probably another scribal error for *sāñkārām*.
- b1 /// – **[ñ]y**· : Perhaps to be restored (*āra*)[ñ]y(e).
preke[m]· : It is uncertain if one can restore *prekem(em)*, abl. sg. of *preke* ‘time’ here.

4. Textual features of SI 3656

In SI 3656, the ductus of <*m̄a*> and <*ñā*> shows an archaic phase as those attested in B133 (THT133) indicated by Malzahn (2007b: 297). From a linguistic point of view, these are also archaic:

Forms attested in SI 3656	Classical forms
<i>māskeñcā</i>	<i>māskeñca</i>
<i>kettrā</i>	<i>ketara</i> , etc.
<i>ekālymī</i> (or: <i>ekālymi</i>)	<i>ekalymi</i>
<i>pālskamo</i>	<i>palskam</i>
<i>māñākkempā</i>	* <i>manakkempa</i>
<i>placā</i> (obl.)	<i>plāc</i>
<i>pārsosa</i>	<i>parsosa</i>
<i>ālyekepi</i>	<i>alyekepi</i>
<i>ārañye</i>	<i>arañye</i>

However, forms that should be classified as belonging to the classical stage also appear, e.g. *sportomane*, *ṣarmtsa*, *ṣañ*, *postaññe*, *ketara* and so on. This leads one to think that SI 3656 was not written in the archaic stage, but at a later time under the influence of an older model text; thus, when the

formulae were copied, some archaic features were retained. Content highly comparable to the sale contract THT4001 is given as follows:

THT4001a9

e[nšk]etse postāñ[ñ]e preke mā ketra alyekepi ñāṣṣālle m[ā] prekṣālle tako.

Forever in the future, he (i.e. the sold person) should not be claimed by anyone else nor should be inquired about (by anyone else).

SI 3656a8

eṅṣketse postāññe preke... ‘Forever in the future...’

SI 3656a9

...[mā] k[e]tara āl(y)e[k](e)pi ñāṣṣālyi ma pre(kṣā)[I]yi tāko(i).

...they are [not] to be claimed by anyone [else] nor should be [inquired about] (by anyone else).

The phrases *ce_u preke(ne)* ‘(at) this moment’ (a1!),¹⁴ *ce_u ṣarmtsa* ‘for this reason’ (a6!) and *māskeñcā* ‘being present (somewhere)’ (a3!) are also used in THT4001, and they seem to be typical expressions in official and civil documents. The name list in SI 3656b2–3 also resembles the list of witnesses in THT4001 in the sense that several monks with the title of *Araññe* ‘forest-dweller’, *Agamadhāre* ‘Āgama-holder’, etc. are found in the latter; thus, at first glance, SI 3656 appears to be another sale contract. Nonetheless, no price or payment is mentioned. Therefore, it is safer to see SI 3656 as a document that allowed refuge sought by two persons, namely the novice monk *Puṇyayaśe* and his partner, whose name and identity were lost. Because of some unpleasant incident (a5), they decided to quit their original identity and requested the *Oko_u*-official’s permission to move to the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. In particular, if our restoration of *māskeñcā* (a3) is plausible, these two persons are very likely the active party in this process of application because the two sellers in THT4001 are introduced by the first person (nom. pl. *wes*) after the word *māskeñca* just before expressing their will to announce the sale.

In this case, *Puṇyayaśe* and his partner may have asked to become novices in the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. We are unsure whether *waste* ‘refuge’ (a10) is a rhetoric expression or has a legal implication (e.g. obtaining financial or

¹⁴ The *aḥṣara* on the right of *preke* does not remain. Whether the locative suffix *ne* was written or not, the comparability between the two tablets is evident.

juridical support from the authorities or the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery). At any rate, the damaged content reveals that the authorities agreed to their request, and this document was written in presence of several witnesses, including the monk *Pūṅgyavrāddhi* and his colleague(s).

Buddhist disciplines support this view. A rule widely found in the *vinaya* texts states that the *saṃgha* should not recruit a new member who is someone's slave or servant. For example, the Chinese *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* says:

從今奴大家不放，不應與出家。若與出家，得突吉羅罪。¹⁵

From now on, one should not let a slave/servant to be ordained without his owner's permission. If such a slave/servant is ordained, one convicts the *duṣkṛta* sin.

According to the *karmavācanā* belonging to this school that is to be spoken on the occasion of a monk's ordination, the *saṃgha* should ask him a series of questions:

汝丈夫不。年滿二十未。非奴不。不與人客作不。不買得不。不破得不。
非官人不。不犯官事不。不陰謀王家不。不負人債不。...¹⁶

Are you male? Are you over 20 years old? Are you not a slave/servant? Are you not hired by someone? Have you never been bought by someone? Have you never been forcibly owned by someone (because of invasion, etc.)? Are you not a slave/servant working for the government? Are you free from any criminal conviction? Have you never been traitorous to the royal family? Do you bear no burden of debt?

Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the purpose of SI 3656 is to authorize the change of the civil identity of the two applicants. It seems, at least, that the novice monk *Puṅgyaśe* was allowed to move into the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. In pre-Tang Gaochang (today's Turfan), the population was mainly classified as either 'lay' (俗 *sú*) or 'monastic' (僧 *sēng* for *saṃgha*). This classification involved a distinction between the monastic population and lay people in terms of taxation and labour services. We do not know whether the pre-Tang Kucha also classified its people into these two categories, but one can imagine that in such a 'Buddhist' country, some procedure may have existed to certify one's *entrée* into a monastery or movement from one monastery to another to avoid administrative problems. If this interpretation is plausible, SI 3656 implies the official registration of monks and novices in Kucha. More investigation is necessary to understand the control of the mo-

¹⁵ Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 151 c28–29.

¹⁶ Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 156 a28–b2.

nastic population in this powerful oasis state on the eastern branch of the Silk Road.

5. *Yurpāška*: the possible finding spot of SI 3656

As mentioned above, the district of *Yurpāška* is located approximately at today's Kizil grottoes rather than in Yanqi (around 300 km in the east of Kucha). Several tablets tagged with MQ (*ming-öi* Qizil) in the Berlin collection attest this toponym, including THT4001, THT4059 and TS43.¹⁷ Recently, we examined more graffiti surviving *in situ* that strongly supports the identification of the *Yurpāška* Monastery with the grottoes.¹⁸ Consequently, the finding spot of SI 3656 is very likely Kizil as well, although its site signature is lost. For the same reason, the tablet initially published by Lévi (1913), through a collaboration with S.F. Oldenburg, is possibly from Kizil, too. Here is our revised reading:¹⁹

SI 3669 = SI P/139Д

a

- 1 *śak*_(\) *kš*[e] *kṣu*(*m*)*tsa swarṇābūṣpe lānte* [*kṣu*](*mne*) ///
- 2 [*y cau*]*w*^ā \ *preke yurpāškai saṅkrāmne māškeñca sa* ///
- 3 *purṇāśā ṅ*[e]*m*^ā \ *samaśk*[e*m*] *tsuqalememṅ*^ā \ *tarkāte tum*[*ts*]e ///
- 4 *akeñe ypo**y*^ā \ *moko nañiṣṭe*

- 1 In the eleventh regnal year, [in the reign] of the king *Swarṇābūṣpe*, ///
- 2 ... (At) [that] time, ... being present in the *Yurpāška* Monastery, ///
- 3 (sb.) let a [boy] called *Purṇāśā* leave from (his) nurse(?). ... of it... ///
- 4 *Nañiṣṭe*, Prefect of the Frontier (Prefecture).

b

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 <i>kāw</i>[o]<i>tsiñe</i>²⁰ <i>yaśotarkontse soyä larāšk(e)</i> 2 <i>purṇakki proce</i>_(\) <i>purṇakṣeme</i> 3 <i>ṣṭakule</i> 4 <i>atsiñe yoniyatse śiñcake sutasomi proce</i>_(\) 5 – – [<i>ś</i>]e[<i>ṣ</i>]<i>ṣ</i> <i>kaparcā</i>[<i>t</i>]<i>āy</i>^ā \ <i>śa</i>[<i>m</i>]<i>aśkeṃtse tsuqale</i> – // ²³ | | <p><i>śātuma</i>[<i>ś</i>].²¹///</p> <p><i>akeñe pi</i> · [<i>v</i>].²²///</p> <p><i>tyuti s</i>[<i>ā</i>]<i>wā</i> ///</p> |
|--|--|---|

¹⁷ See Ching's review and arguments in CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 106.

¹⁸ See OGIHARA 2013 and Xinjiang Kucha Academy et al., 2013b.

¹⁹ Based on CHING 2010: 327–329 with slight modification.

²⁰ Or: *kāw*[*t*]*tsiñe*.

²¹ One may also read *śātuma*[*p*]· ///.

²² One may also read *pi* · [*c*]· ///

²³ This line is faint and difficult. The *aḱsara* following *tsuqale* may be *kā*.

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Laraške</i> , son of <i>Yaśotarko</i> * (being inhabitant?) of <i>Kāw[o] tsi</i> *. | ... /// |
| 2 | <i>Purnakṣeme</i> , brother of <i>Purnakke</i> * | ...of the frontier /// |
| 3 | <i>Ṣṭakule</i> . | ... /// |
| 4 | <i>Śiñcake</i> of the * <i>Ātsi</i> district(?) ²⁴ brother of <i>Sutasome</i> *. | |
| 5 | ..., nurse of the boy <i>Kapārcātāy</i> of (some region/clan) /// ²⁵ | |

As indicated by Lévi, this tablet was written during *Suvarṇapūspa*'s reign (?–624CE). We have pointed out that the expression *akeñe ypoṃ^ā moko* does not mean ‘the country-elder of the Agnean kingdom’ but the prefect of a prefecture near the border of Kucha, possibly not far from the Kizil grottoes.²⁶ In addition, we read *śak_kks[e]* ‘eleven’ (a1) instead of *p[i]k_kk[c]e* ‘fifth’, [*y cau*]w^ā (a2) instead of *cauw^ā* and *purnāśā* (a3) instead of *purnāyā*. These modifications permit us to improve the translation.

Thanks to Pinault (p.c. April 2009), the hapax *tsukāle* may be regarded as the gerundive of *tsuk-* ‘suck, suckle, etc.’, and the monastery may have operated an orphanage. Inspired by this idea, we see *tsukāle* as ‘nurse, wet nurse’²⁷ and perceive side a of SI 3669 as the prefect’s permission for someone in the monastery to take the boy *Purnāśā* from his nurse. In other words, this tablet is probably an official document of adoption. Strictly speaking, an orphan is a child whose parents are dead, but the broken text of SI 3669 does not state whether the boy’s parents are alive. Henceforth, one cannot exclude other situations, e.g. his parents had donated themselves to the *saṃgha*, leaving their child in the care of their relatives. Interestingly, the Chinese *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* regulates that a lay Buddhist should not enter the *saṃgha simulataneouly* together with his own child, if the child is under 15 years old, because such an act will cause rumours of intermarriage between monks and nuns.²⁸ Given that the *Sarvāstivādin* school was deeply influential in Ancient Kucha, part of its population may have gone into the monastic world generation by generation at a certain stage of their lives.

Another tablet SI 6385 also attests the name of *Yurpāška*. Our transliteration is as follows:

²⁴ *yoniya* is probably a variant of *yoñiya*, which most likely means a kind of administrative district in rural areas (see OGIHARA 2009: 385, 287 and CHING 2013b: 70–72).

²⁵ An alternative translation is ‘*Kapārcātāy* of (some region/clan), the boy’s nurse’. In this case, the nurse is a male, as revealed by the adjective masculine form ^oṣṣe.

²⁶ See CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 106; Ching, forthc.

²⁷ CHING 2010: 328.

²⁸ Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 151b4–22. In the following paragraph, the limit is tolerated as under seven years old.

SI 6385 (= SI Strelkov-D/3)

(a)

- 1 (- -) - ñay\ eñc(i)l\ ^(ä) - [s]·(·) [k]· [k]· [ñ]· k_(u)ś· ⁻²⁹ ----- ///
- 2 - aits(i) tun\ - [we]sq ompek patalakšana³⁰ yurpaška ///
- 3 - pa[l]ke_{se} ñem\ ci[m]\ ^(ä) ··e[m]³¹ (k_uśā)nem(t)[s]a piśältse ce(m) wantāre[s]a ///
- 4 ///·e /// /// - - - - - ^

- 1 ...(a kind of tax or duty?) imposed on... [k_uśāne]... ///
- 2 to give... [we] right there in *Patalakša* ..., *Yurpāška*... ///
- 3 ...(sb.) called *Palkeše* ...[is able](?)... (valued) at five thousands *k_uśānes*. Because of this affair, ///
- 4 [*untranslatable*]

(b)

- 1 - ·or\ ³² yamaša : ce, r(e)mi takare okau ∨ [sa]ñkul[e] ///
- 2 - wr[au] ko - kalya no[c]cot\ šletaś\ (·)kalya šarpa[ā]ś[k]e ///³³

- 1 He made a (purchase?). These witnesses were (*Sañkule*) the *Okau*-official, ///
- 2 ...*Wrau*... *Šletaś*-official... [*untranslatable*]

The ductus can be classified to Malzhan's standard script. Linguistically, the text shows a few archaic features, e.g. *Yurpaška* ((a)2, class. *Yurpāška*), *wantāresa* ((a)3, class. *wāntaresa*) and *takare* ((b)1, class. *takāre*). Nevertheless, there is at least one form placed in the classical stage, namely *piśältse* in (a)3, due to an allegro pronunciation of *piś yältse* 'five thousands' as noted by Peyrot (2008: 128–129).

The remaining context does not permit us to determine the exact purpose of this document. It may be some kind of official document or contract, in which the currency of *k_uśāne* 'Kuchean coin' is attested in many wooden documents. For example, the price given in the contract THT4001 to buy a young man or boy is 18,000 *k_uśānes*. Given that the sellers in THT4001 (i.e. the party who took the initiative in the transaction) are expressed by the

²⁹ To be restored a form of *k_uśāne*.

³⁰ Locative of *patalakša**. This proper name is seen in Ot.12.14 as the stem of an adjective *patalakšāšše**.

³¹ The form *cim(mp)em* (= *cimpeṃ*), 3.pl.prs. of *cāmp*- 'to be able to' may be restored here, although this form is usually classified to the late stage (cf. Peyrot, 2008: 55–57).

³² Perhaps (*kary*)or* 'buying'.

³³ The word segmentation of this line is uncertain. The hapax *no[c]cot* (a personal name?) may be a variant of *nocot* 'deposit(?)'. Another hapax *kalya* may be related to an identity or an official title *kalyä* that is seen in THT4001.

first-person plural, there is reason to suggest that the *wesā* ‘we’ in SI 6385(a)2 indicates the active party of a deed, of which some socially important persons including an *Oko_u*-official called *San̄kule* were present as witnesses (*remi*).

The IOM, RAS possesses another important tablet concerning currencies in Ancient Kucha, which is thus far the only piece of secular document attesting the local circulation of gold coins (*tinār** < Buddhist Skt. *ḍināra*-):

SI 1931 (SI Toch 1931) = SI Strelkov-D/51

(a)

- 1 /// [s]u³⁴ – – /// /// [4³⁵ 1000] – [100 50]
- 2 /// *postanont[ā] tem* /// /// [10000]³⁶ 6 1000 8 100 50
- 3 /// *enes[n]e [k_u]ś[ā]ni* 2 [10000] – [1000 5 100] –
- 4 /// *paiykānt[s]am cānem ka[m]ā(nt)[e 3]* – – ///
- 5 /// y[u]sa³⁷ cā[n](e)m wsam 1000 5 – – ///

(b)

- 1 /// [ly](ipār)[e k_u]ś(ā)ne^mntsa 2 1000 3 100 40
- 2 /// · [au] – *tinārq̄nta* 3 [c]ān[i] 3 –³⁸ ·s· –³⁹ – *trau k̄q̄* [tt]·⁴⁰ – – (k)_[u]ś(āni) 9 1000
8 100 6
- 3 /// 1000 [2] 100 (– –)

SI 1931 is thus far the only piece of secular document attesting the circulation of gold coins in the pre-Tang Kucha. Both the script ductus and the language appear quite standard, although a closer reading must be done after infrared photography. Because the text is extremely faint and the figures are mostly broken, its full translation cannot be determined at this stage. Nevertheless, the readable parts look very interesting. Some fixed expressions have been found from other wooden documents, e.g. *postanontā* ‘later, later’, *enes[n]e [k_u]ś(ā)ni* ‘Kucuan coins in cash(?)’⁴¹ and the verbal form

³⁴ Or [p]u.

³⁵ Or [5].

³⁶ For more on the difference between the figures 10000 and 100, see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 108.

³⁷ Or y[u]s[ai].

³⁸ Possibly [100] or [10000].

³⁹ Perhaps to be restored wsam.

⁴⁰ To be read either [tt]· or [nt]·.

⁴¹ For more on the Kucuan term for ‘cash’, see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 108.

lyipāre ‘(somethings) remained’ as the expression for ‘balance’ in Kuchean accounting. Interestingly, this tablet records a payment to a group of painters or calligraphers (*paikykānt[s]am* < *pik-* ‘write, paint’), which is meaningful to interpret the development of Kuchean art. The word *paikāntsa** ‘± painter, calligrapher’ was previously only seen from a wall inscription in Kizil Cave No. 181.⁴² Its attestation in SI 1931 is the first in Kuchean documents.

SI 1931 is thus far the only piece of secular document that attests multiple currencies in Ancient Kucha, and three kinds of money are indicated: *cāne** ‘(Chinese?) coins’, *k_rśāne** ‘Kuchean coins’ and *tinār** ‘gold coins’. It is still difficult to identify them as various archaeological types of unearthed coins, but at any rate, SI 1931 supports Xuanzang’s depiction of Kucha that ‘the currencies are gold coins, silver coins and small copper/bronze coins’.⁴³ In this regard, SI 1931 is one of the most valuable documents for historians of Chinese Turkestan.

6. SI 6456 and THT4063: a series of reports?

Soon after our first visit to IOM, RAS in 2009, the parallelism between THT4063 and SI 6456 (Strelkov-D/85) came to our notice. The condition of the wooden tablet THT4063 is better, so it is useful for restoring some damaged parts of SI 6456.

As revealed by its site signature (T III MQ 212), THT4063 was found at the Kizil grottoes by the third German expedition. It is also a document about the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. This name is not preserved in SI 6456, but both THT4063 and SI 6456 mentioned a person called *Tarmatāse* (<Skt. *Dharmadāsa-*, lit. ‘slave/servant of the Law’). Therefore, they likely concern the same monastic community. The remaining text of SI 6456 is almost perfectly parallel to THT4063. The only difficulty is a broken passage near the beginning of SI 6456, namely *s· lt· – śco – – –* (line 1), which should correspond to THT4063a1 – – [le] – – – [ntso k]· ; however, different content is probably involved. In addition, the broken texts *ṣamāne* /// ‘monk’ (line 1) and *ekita* /// ‘help’ (line 2) found in the upper-right margin of SI 6456 may be useful in restoring the lost part of THT4063.

⁴² Attested as pl.com. *pai[k]āntsāmpa*, see Xinjiang Kucha Academy et al. 2013a: 345.

⁴³ CHING and OGIHARA 2010: 102 n. 56.

THT4063 (The passages matching SI 6456 in bold)

a

- 1 /// [l]· – [ts]· lān[l̥]_(\) [k_vśiñ]ñ(e) ∨ (oro)c[c](e lā)[nt̥]_(\) **orocce omo[r]k̥_(\)**
ñ[āk]tents(e) s[o]y^[ā]⁴⁴ – – [le] – – – [ntso k]· **n[ī] ṣṣ**· (–)
- 2 mā – /// /// – yurpā[s̥](kai sañk)r(ā)[mn](e) w[r]· – ·[ai sa]ñka – – – ·[i] – – – [ly]·
[eka]ṃ(ñ)ñ(e m)ā (ś)ai arttsa piku_(\) **orocce lān_(\) ś(ar)ṣa(ś)y(eṃ) orots[ts]e wa**⁴⁵
- 3 /// – – – ·e ·i – ·k· tse (ma)ñ(i)y(e) pr · tar_(\)⁴⁶ **ta(r)matāse ñem_(\) † se tarmatāse**
lantaññana⁴⁷ pre-
- 4 /// – – – – /// /// – – – – r·· ·e ·e [r]ñ[e]sa⁴⁸ mā s̥[p̥]_(\) lamṣṭar_(\) **ta ñake se tar-**
matāse pkāte pi[ku]l[s̥]e(m) k_vśāneṃ wiltse yurpāṣka-
- 5 /// ṣṣai e(k)[s̥](a)ly[i]m – /// /// l· – – – – [salk](a) tañ[k](wa)lyesa † ñi
p[u]t[ta]tā[s]i yārṣa[ñ]esa c[e p]ete – tarmatā-

b

- 1 /// – [s̥]cā [s̥ā]mn(a) pīś_(\) – – – – /// /// ·emñe ·[s]· [t]· – – – – mantak_(\) tākoy^ā_(\)
makte ce parsonē omṣame(m) papek[au] e(m)[s̥]k(e)tstse p[o]· [t]· [ññe]⁴⁹
- 2 /// ·· r· ke okau sañkai[s̥](e) [ā]kṣ(a) [s]u – – [p](ai)[ka] † –

a

- 1 /// the king of ..., [the great **king** of Kucha], **son of the great Omork* god/majesty, ...///**

⁴⁴ Here, the passage [l]· – [ts]· lān[t K_vśiñ]ñ(e oro)c[c](e lā)[nt̥] orocce Omo[r]k̥ñ(ā)ktents(e) s[o](y) contains a series of epithets of a certain Kuchean king. Strikingly, to relate Kuchean kings with *Omork** is only attested on these two tablets. *Omork** seems to be either a deity, a foreign sovereign(’s title?) or a toponym. Its variants and derivatives are attested in THT2994, SI B Toch./11 and PK L.C. XXXVI, etc., cf. CHING 2010: 398–399.

Incidentally, the expression *ñākteṃts soy* ‘son of gods’ that Winter (1963) claimed to have read in a Prākṛit-Tocharian B bilingual document kept in Berlin and understood as a transposition of Skt. *devaputra-* is thus far not been found among the bilingual tablets kept in Berlin. In THT4063 and SI 6456, the text evidently reads *ñāktentse* (sg. gen.) instead of *ñākteṃts* (pl. gen.). If Winter’s reading is reliable, what he studied may have been lost after he published his paper.

⁴⁵ To be restored *walo* ‘king’ together with the beginning of the next line.

⁴⁶ To be restored *pretār* following its counterpart in SI 6456. It is probably a verbal form, although providing a satisfactory solution is difficult. We temporarily take it as the 3sg.mid.prs. of *pār-* ‘to carry, bear’, of which the ideal form should be **partār*. It may be an analogical form influenced by *premane* or *preñca*, which has *-e-* as a thematic vowel; alternatively, the class III of the present system may have influenced this root.

⁴⁷ The f.pl.nom./obl. of *lantaññe**. This feminine form is not registered by Adams (1999; 2013) or Thomas (1964), but it is seen in PK NS 63a3: *l[a](n)t[a]ñña[na] klai(na)*, lit. ‘the king’s women’, cf. OGIHARA 2009: 305–306.

⁴⁸ Perhaps to be restored *(p)e(rn)e[r]ñ[e]sa*.

⁴⁹ To be restored *p[o](s)[t](a)[ññe]*.

- 2 /// ... (in) the *Yurpāṣka* (Monastery)... [a monastery... **it was not a possession... Each year, they informed] the great king. The great king... ///**
- 3 /// ...[a servant] by the name of *Tarmatāse* [is given]. **This *Tarmatāse*... royal...**
- 4 /// but he was not working because of ...**Now, this *Tarmatāse*** intended to give(?) two thousand *k_vśānes* as a yearly (amount) to(?) the *Yurpāṣka*
- 5 /// ...[was... season... he showed]... by (giving a) mercy. By honouring me, (namely) [*Puttatāse*,... *Tarmatāse*]...

b

- 1 /// ...people... five... Thus it shall be as it is written(?) above in this document. Forever in the future... ///
- 2 /// ...*Sānkaiše* the *Okau*-official announced. *Su*-? [wrote].

SI 6456 (= SI Strelkov-D/85)

- 1 /// (*lān*)[*l*]_(\) [*o*]*rocce* [*o*]*mork*_\ *nā*[*k*]*tentse* *s*[*o*]*y*^ā *s*· *lt*· – *śco* – – – [*nī*]*ṣṣe* *ṣamāne* ///
- 2 /// (*e*)*k*(*a*)*nñe* *mā* *ṣai* † *arts*[*t*]*sa* *piku*_\ *orocce* *lān*_{nt} *śarṣaṣyem* *or*[*o*]*ts*[*ts*](*e*) *walo* *ekita* ///
- 3 /// (*ma*)*nñiye* *preṭar*_\ *tarmatāse* *nem*_\ *se* [*ta*]*rmatāse* *lantaññana* (*p*)*re* ///
- 4 /// [*nā*]*ke* *se* *tarma*[*t*]*āse* ///
- 1 /// ... (the great) [**king**] (of Kucha), **son of the great *Omork** god/majesty...** ///
- 2 /// ...**it was not a possession... Each year, they informed the great king. The great king... help...** ///
- 3 /// ...**a servant by the name of *Tarmatāse* is given. This *Tarmatāse*... royal...**
- 4 /// **Now, this *Tarmatāse*...** ///

There is no trace of writing on the verso of SI 6456; hence, the lower part of its contents would have been written on another tablet that has been lost.

The ductus of THT4063 and SI 6456 are standard. Generally, their language can be dated to the classical stage.⁵⁰ The spelling <śca> in THT4063b1 can be dated to both archaic and classical stages,⁵¹ but this faint *akṣara* may also be read as [*ṣ*]*cā*. Therefore, precisely dating THT4063 and SI 6456 is still impossible. Moreover, determining whether SI 6456 is a straightforward duplicate of THT4063 or vice versa is difficult. A safer interpretation is to view both as annual reports written in different years and submitted to the royal house or some responsible officers. At any rate, the

⁵⁰ For example, *wiltse* ‘two thousand’ in THT4063a4 is classical according to Peyrot (2008: 128–129, 184).

⁵¹ For a discussion of <śca>, cf. PEYROT 2008: 179–180.

dates of these two tablets are not far from each other because the same person *Tarmatāse* is mentioned in both. They are very probably older than the seventh-century wooden *laissez-passers* found by Pelliot.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we give our reading and interpretation of the thus-far unedited tablets SI 3656 (SI P/136B), 3669 (SI P/139Д), 6385 (SI Strelkov-D/3), 1931 (SI Strelkov-D/51) and 6456 (SI Strelkov-D/85). Among them, SI 3656, 3669 and 6385 attest the name of *Yurpāška*. They are good examples to indicate the significance of the Russian Collection for the study of human geography in the western regions of China.

SI 3656 is especially valuable to scholars because it reveals the practice of copying formulae from old documents to make new ones. As far as can be seen, SI 3656 is likely a certification of change of identity. It seems to have been a necessary document for the novice *Puṇyayaśe* and his partner to settle in the *Yurpāška* Monastery, which was located around the Kizil grottoes.

The practice of making documents by copying formulae from old documents or a model text is further implied by SI 6456 and THT4063, both of which belong to a series of yearly reports to Kuchean kings. Given that it is about the same person *Tarmatāse*, these two tablets were possibly issued by the same group of staff. Because THT4063 was unearthed from the Kizil grottes, SI 6456 is also likely to be from the same site. Infrared photography will be indispensable to compare the two tablets thoroughly.

SI 1931 is another important piece. The severely damaged text proves that three currencies, *k_vśāne** ‘Kuchean coins’, *cāne** ‘(Chinese?) coins’ and *tinār** ‘gold coins’, circulated in Kucha simultaneously at a certain historical period before the Tang Conquest.

In conclusion, the wooden documents kept in the IOM, RAS are essential first-hand materials to study Buddhist sites in the Kucha region. Their connection to the Berlin collection invites scholars to continue tracing the activities of Russian and German expeditions in Chinese Turkestan in the early twentieth century.

Glossary

The transcribed forms are used here in the place of the transliterated ones. (PN for personal name; exclamation marks for damaged attestations).

<i>Akeñe</i>	‘of the Frontier’	m.sg.nom. <i>akeñe</i>	SI 3669a4, b2
<i>Agamadhāre</i>	‘Āgama-holder’	sg.nom. <i>Agamadhāre</i>	SI 3656b2!
<i>Araññe</i>	‘forest-dweller, ascetic’	sg.nom. <i>Ārañye</i>	SI 3656b2
<i>artstsa</i>	‘each’		SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
<i>allek</i>	‘other’	m.sg.gen. <i>ālyekepi</i>	SI 3656a9
<i>Atsiñe</i>	‘of *Ātsi’	m.sg.nom. <i>Atsiñe</i>	SI 3669a4
<i>āks-</i>	‘to announce’	3sg.prt. <i>ākṣa</i>	THT4063b2
<i>Ābhidhārmike</i>	‘one learned in the <i>abhidhārma</i> ’	sg.nom. <i>Ābhidhārmike</i>	SI 3656b1!
<i>āyor</i>	‘gift, donation’	sg.obl. <i>āyor</i>	SI 3656a8
<i>eṃṣketstse</i>	‘even, unto’	<i>eṃṣketstse</i>	THT4063b1
		<i>eṃṣketse</i>	SI 3656a8
<i>ekaññe</i>	‘possession’	sg.nom. <i>ekaññe</i>	THT4063a2
		sg.nom. <i>ekaññe</i>	SI 6456.2
<i>ekālymi</i>	‘subject to’	<i>ekālymī</i>	SI 3656a4!
			(or: <i>ekālymi</i>)
<i>ekito*</i>	‘help’	sg.obl. <i>ekita</i>	SI 6456.2!
<i>ekṣalye</i>	‘season’	pl.obl. <i>ekṣalyim</i>	THT4063a5!
<i>eneśne</i>	‘in cash’ (for accounting, lit. ‘in one’s eyes’)		SI 1931(a)3!
<i>eñcil</i>	‘imposed’	sg.nom./obl. <i>eñcil</i>	SI 6385(a)1
<i>ai-</i>	‘to give’	3sg.opt. <i>āyi</i>	SI 3656a7!
		inf. <i>aitsi</i>	SI 6385(a)2!
<i>oṃṣameṃ</i>	‘(from) above’		THT4063b1
<i>Okau</i>	Official title/position	nom. <i>Okau</i>	SI 6385(b)1; THT4063b2
		nom. <i>Oko_u</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>Omork*</i>	‘?’	obl. <i>Omork</i>	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1
<i>ompek</i>	‘right there’		SI 6385(a)2
<i>orotstse</i>	‘great, big’	m.sg.nom. <i>orotstse</i>	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2!
		m.sg.obl. <i>orocce</i>	SI 6456.1, 2; THT4063a1!, 1, 2;

<i>Kapā[rc]ä[t]āy</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Kapā[rc]ä[t]āy</i>	SI 3669b5
<i>kalya</i>	Official title/position(?)	sg.nom. <i>kalya</i>	SI 6385(b)2!
<i>kārs-</i>	‘to inform (K.)’	3.pl.impf. <i>śarsāsyem</i>	THT4063a2
		3.pl.impf. <i>śarsāsyem</i>	SI 6456.2
<i>Kāw[o]tsiñe*</i>	‘of <i>Kāw[o]tsi</i> ’	m.sg.obl. <i>Kāw[o]tsiñe</i>	SI 3669b1
<i>k_vśāne*</i>	‘Kucchean coin’	pl.nom. <i>k_vśāni</i>	SI 1931(a)3!, (b)2!
		pl.obl. <i>k_vśāneṃ</i>	THT4063a4
		pl.perl. <i>k_vśāneṃtsa</i>	SI 6385(a)3!
<i>k_vśiññe</i> ‘	Kucchean, of Kucha’	m.sg.obl. <i>k_vśiññe</i>	THT4063a1
<i>ketara</i>	‘to whomever’		SI 3656a9!
<i>kettrā</i>	‘to whomever’		SI 3656a4
<i>kṣum*</i>	‘reign’	sg.perl. <i>kṣumtsa</i>	SI 3669a1!
		sg.loc. <i>kṣumne</i>	SI 3669a1!
<i>ksa</i>	indef.pron.	gen. <i>ketara</i>	SI 3656a9
		gen.: <i>kettrā</i>	SI 3656a4
<i>cāne*</i>	‘coin’	pl.obl. <i>cāneṃ</i>	SI 1931(a)4, 5!
<i>cāmp-</i>	‘to be able to’	3.pl.prs. <i>cimmpem</i>	SI 6385(a)3!
<i>ñake</i>	‘now’		SI 6456.4;
			THT4063a4
<i>ñakte</i>	‘god’	sg.gen. <i>ñāktentse</i>	SI 6456.1;
			THT4063a1
<i>ñās</i>	‘I’	sg.gen. <i>ñi</i>	THT4063a5
		du.nom. <i>wene</i>	SI 3656a4, 6, 7
		pl.nom. <i>wes</i>	SI 3656a4
		pl.nom. <i>wesä</i>	SI 6385(a)2
		pl.gen. <i>wesāñ</i>	SI 3656a7, 10
<i>ñāsk-</i>	‘to demand’	Ger.I.m.pl.nom. <i>ñāṣṣalyi</i>	SI 3656a9
<i>ñem*</i>	‘name’	sg.obl. <i>ñem</i>	SI 3656a3;
			3669a3!;
			6385(a)3; 6456.3;
			THT4063a3
<i>ta</i>	‘then’		THT4063a4
<i>Tarmatāse</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Dharmadāsa-</i>		nom. <i>Tarmatāse</i>	SI 6456.3, 3, 4!;
			THT4063a3, 3, 4!
<i>tānkw-āññ-</i>	‘to love ’	Abstr.perl.: <i>tānkwalyesa</i>	THT4063a5!
<i>tār-</i>	‘let go; allow, etc.’	3sg.prt. <i>tārkatē</i>	SI 3669a3
<i>tinār*</i>	‘gold coin’	pl.nom. <i>tinārānta</i>	SI 1931(b)2

<i>nes-</i>	‘to be’	inf.loc. <i>neṣṣine</i> 3sg.impf. <i>ṣai</i>	SI 3656a7 SI 6456.2; THT4063a2, 5
		3sg.opt. <i>tākoy</i>	THT4063b1
		3sg.opt. <i>tāko_i</i>	SI 3656a9!, 10
		3pl.prt. <i>takare</i>	SI 6385(b)1
<i>Nañiṣṭe</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Nañiṣṭe</i>	SI 3669a4
<i>no</i>	‘but’		SI 3656a7
<i>nowcot</i>	‘deposit(?)’		SI 6385(b)2!
<i>patalakṣa*</i>	‘? (proper name?)’	sg.loc. <i>patalakṣane</i>	SI 6385(a)2
<i>parso</i>	‘document’	sg.perl. <i>pārsosa</i>	SI 3656a8
		sg.loc. <i>parsonē</i>	THT4063b1
<i>Palkeṣe</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Palkeṣe</i>	SI 6385(a)3!
<i>pāk-</i>	‘to intend’	3sg.prt. <i>pkāte</i>	THT4063a4
<i>pār-</i>	‘to carry’	3sg.prs.(?) <i>pretār</i>	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
		3pl.prt. <i>kaṃānte</i>	SI 1931(a)4!
<i>pār-</i>	‘to ask’	Ger.I.m.pl.nom. <i>prekṣalyi</i>	SI 3656a9
<i>pālsk-</i>	‘to think’	1pl.prt. <i>pālskamo</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>pik-</i>	‘to write’	3sg.prt. <i>paika</i>	THT4063b2!
		3pl.prt. <i>paikānte</i>	SI 1931(a)4
		prt.part.m.sg.nom. <i>papekau</i>	THT4063b1
<i>pikul</i>	‘year’	sg.obl. <i>pikul</i>	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
<i>pikulṣe</i>	‘prting to a year’	m.pl.obl. <i>pikulṣem</i>	THT4063a4
<i>piś</i>	‘five’		THT4063b1(<i>pīś</i>)
<i>piśāltse</i>	‘five thousands’		SI 6385(a)3
<i>Pūñyavrāddhi</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Puṇyavrāddhi</i>		nom. <i>Pūñyavrāddhi</i>	SI 3656b2
<i>Puṇyayaśe</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Puṇyayaśas</i>		nom. <i>Puṇyayaśe</i>	SI 3656a3
		gen. <i>Puṇyayaśi</i>	SI 3656b1!
<i>Puttatāse*</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Buddhadāsa-</i>		gen. <i>Puttatāsi</i>	THT4063a5
<i>Purnāśā</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Purnāśā</i>	SI 3669a3
<i>Purnakke*</i> [PN]		gen. <i>Purnakki</i>	SI 3669b2
<i>Purnakṣeme</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Pūrṇakṣema-</i>		nom. <i>Purnakṣeme</i>	SI 3669b2
<i>paikāntsa*</i> ‘± painter, calligrapher’		pl.nom. <i>paikāntsaṃ</i>	SI 1931(a)4!
<i>postanu</i>	‘later, latter’	m.sg.obl. <i>postanontā</i>	SI 1931(a)2
<i>postaññe</i>	‘later’	m.sg.obl. <i>postaññe</i>	SI 3656a8; THT4063b1

<i>preke</i>	‘time’	sg.obl. <i>preke</i>	SI 3656a1!, 8; 3669a2
		sg.abl. <i>prekemem</i>	SI 3656b1!
<i>procer</i>	‘brother’	sg.nom. <i>procer</i>	SI 3669b2
<i>plāce</i>	‘word, speech’	sg.obl. <i>placā</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>mañiye</i>	‘servant’	sg.nom. <i>mañiye</i>	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
<i>mant</i>	‘so’	<i>maṃt</i>	SI 3656a4, 6
		<i>māntak</i>	THT4063b1
<i>mā</i>	‘not’	<i>mā</i>	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2, 4
		<i>ma</i>	SI 3656a9, 9
<i>mānākke*</i>	‘?’	sg.com. <i>mānākkempā</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>mākte</i>	‘as’	<i>mākte</i>	THT4063b1
<i>māktse</i>			SI 3656a9!
<i>māsk-</i>	‘to be’	prs.part. <i>māskeñcā</i>	SI 3656a3
		prs.part. <i>māskeñca</i>	SI 3669a2
<i>mi-</i>	‘to harm’	3pl.prs. <i>miyāskenṃme</i>	SI 3656a5
<i>Yaśotarko*</i> [PN]		gen. <i>Yaśotarkontse</i>	SI 3669b1
<i>yām-</i>	‘to do’	3pl.prs. <i>yamaskenme</i>	SI 3656a5
		3sg.prt. <i>yamaṣa</i>	SI 6385(b)1
		prt.part.f.pl.nom. <i>yāmwa</i>	SI 3656a2!
<i>yārs-</i>	‘to honor’	Abstr.I.perl.: <i>yārṣalñesa</i>	THT4063a5
<i>Yurpāška</i>	Name of monastery	nom. <i>Yurpāška</i>	SI 6385(a)2!
		nom. <i>Yurpāška</i>	THT4063a2!, 4!
		obl. <i>Yurpāškai</i>	SI 3669a2!
		<i>Yūrpašk-</i>	SI 3656a2!
<i>y[u]sa</i>	‘?’		SI 1391(a)5
<i>yoniyatse</i>	‘of <i>yoniya</i> ’	m.sg.nom. <i>yoniyatse</i>	SI 3669b4
<i>Ypoy-moko</i>	‘± Prefect’	sg.nom. <i>Ypoy-moko</i>	SI 3669a4
<i>reme</i>	‘witness’	pl.nom. <i>remi</i>	SI 6385(b)1
<i>lakle</i>	‘pain’	sg.obl. <i>lakle</i>	SI 3656a5
<i>lantaññe*</i>	‘royal’	f.pl.nom./obl. <i>lantaññana</i>	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
<i>Laraške</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Laraške</i>	SI 3669b1!
<i>lāms-</i>	‘to work’	3sg.impf. <i>laṃṣītār</i>	THT4063a4
<i>lip-</i>	‘remain, be left over’	3pl.prt. <i>lyipāre</i>	SI 1931(b)1!

<i>walo</i>	‘king’	sg.nom. <i>walo</i>	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
		sg.obl. <i>lānt</i>	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1, 1, 2
		sg.obl. <i>lāṃnt</i>	SI 6456.2
		sg.gen. <i>lānte</i>	SI 3669a1
<i>waste</i>	‘refuge’	sg.nom. <i>waste</i>	SI 3656a10
<i>wāntare</i>	‘affair’	sg.perl. <i>wantāresa</i>	SI 6385(b)3
<i>wās-</i>	‘to dwell’	3sg.impf. <i>wsaṣi</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>wiltse</i>	‘two thousand’		THT4063a4
<i>we-</i>	‘to tell’	1pl.prs. <i>weskem</i>	SI 3656a8
<i>Wrau</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Wrau</i>	SI 6385(b)2!
<i>śakk ṣe</i>	‘eleven’		SI 3669a1!
<i>śamaśke</i>	‘boy’	sg.obl. <i>śamaśkeṃ</i>	SI 3669a3!
		sg.gen.: <i>śamaśkeṃtse</i>	SI 3669b5!
<i>Śiñcake</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Śiñcake</i>	SI 3669b4
<i>śaumo</i>	‘person, man’	pl.nom./obl. <i>śāmma</i>	THT4063b1
<i>ṣaṅ āñm</i>	‘(one)self’	<i>ṣaṅ āñmo</i>	SI 3656a7
<i>ṣanmire</i>	‘novice monk’	sg.nom. <i>ṣanmire</i>	SI 3656a3
<i>ṣamāne</i>	‘monk’	sg.nom. <i>ṣamāne</i>	SI 6456.1!
<i>ṣarm</i>	‘cause’	sg.perl. <i>ṣarmtsa</i>	SI 3656a6
<i>Ṣṭakule</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Ṣṭakule</i>	SI 3669b3
<i>ṣpā</i>	‘and’	<i>ṣp</i>	THT4063a4
<i>Ṣletaś</i> [Official title]		sg.nom. <i>Ṣletaś</i>	SI 6385(b)2
<i>saṅkārām</i>	‘monastery’	sg.obl. <i>saṅkārāmā</i>	SI 3656a2, 10!
		sg.obl. <i>sāṅkārāmā</i>	SI 3656a7
<i>Saṅkaiśe</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Saṅkaiśe</i>	THT4063b2
<i>Saṅkule</i> [PN]		nom. <i>Saṅkule</i>	SI 6385(b)1!
<i>saṅkrām</i>	‘monastery’	sg.loc. <i>saṅkrāmne</i>	SI 3656a9; 3669a2
<i>sāṅk</i>	‘(monastic) community’	sg.obl. <i>sāṅkā</i>	SI 3656a7
<i>sāṅk-</i>	‘to show’	3sg.prt. <i>salka</i>	THT4063a5
<i>sim</i>	‘boundary, limit’	sg.nom./obl. <i>sim</i>	SI 1931(a)5
<i>su</i>	dem.pron.	m.sg.obl. <i>ce_u</i>	SI 3656a1, 2, 6!, 7, 9, b1, 4
		m.sg.obl. <i>cauw</i>	SI 3669a2!
		n.sg.obl. <i>tu</i>	SI 6385(a)2
		n.sg.gen. <i>tumtse</i>	SI 3669a3!

<i>Sutasome*</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Sutasoma-</i>	gen.sg. <i>Sutasomi</i>	SI 3669b4
<i>se</i> dem.pron.	m.sg.nom. <i>se</i>	SI 6456.3, 4; THT4063a3, 4
	m.sg.obl. <i>ce</i>	SI 3656a8; 6385(a)3; THT4063a5!, b1
	m.pl.nom. <i>ce</i> ;	SI 6385(b)1
	m.pl.nom. <i>cai</i>	SI 3656a5!; THT4063a5!
<i>seṃ</i> dem.pron.	n.sg.obl. <i>teṃ</i>	SI 3656a4
<i>soy</i> ‘son’	sg.nom. <i>soy</i>	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1
	sg.nom. <i>soyā</i>	SI 3669b1
<i>spārtt-</i> ‘to turn’	prs.part. <i>sportomane</i>	SI 3656a1
<i>Swarnābūṣpe</i> [PN] < Skt. <i>Suvarṇapūṣpa-</i>	nom. <i>Swarnābūṣpe</i>	SI 3669a1
<i>tsukāle</i> ‘nurse(?)’	abl.sg. <i>tsukālememṃ</i>	SI 3669a3
	<i>tsukāle</i> – ///	SI 3669b5

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