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Author(s): H. W. Bailey

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TOKHARIKA

By H. W. BAILEY

IN THE *Učenyje Zapiski*, XVI (1958), 280–308, the late V. S. Vorobiev-Desiatovsky published facsimiles of some Central Asian fragments preserved in Leningrad. One fragment contained a bilingual text, a traveller's guide, a type familiar elsewhere in Saka of Khotan,¹ in Buddhist Sanskrit and Saka; and also in Chinese and Saka.² The two languages in the new fragment were Buddhist Sanskrit and Kuchean, the language of ancient Kuci, modern Kucha, the so-called Tokharian B.

One phrase was apt at once to attract attention. The bilingual, plate 12, 1 b, 2, has the text *tokharika, kucaññe iścake*. In this Buddhist Sanskrit *tokharika* can be seen the equivalent of Hindu Sanskrit **taukhārikā*, that is, a feminine adjective from the name *tukhāra*, the celebrated name of the rulers of Tokharastan.³

The facsimile plate was insufficiently clear in two of its syllables. Through the kindness of Professor Giorgi Tsereteli I have received three excellent copies of a photograph of line 2. It shows that the editor has rightly read the text. I had earlier thought that one should read *iścake*⁴ instead of *iścake*, and Professor Werner Winter informed me by letter that he wished to read *kuṣṭhaññe* instead of *kucaññe*.

Here for the first time a local text offered a rendering "woman of Kuci" for Buddhist Sanskrit *tokharika*. It had long been known that Kumārajīva (born in Kuci) had equated Sanskrit *tukhāra* with the Chinese 月支 *üe-ṣi*. This Chinese name was widely documented from Kan-ṣou to Bactria, and throughout the same region the name which in its earliest Greek form was *Τόχαροι* was equally widely spread.

The problem of what people was meant by the name Greek *Τόχαροι* and Sanskrit *Tukhāra* has occupied me earlier on several occasions. General agreement has still to be reached. My own view at present is that the name is compounded from an ethnic name *Gara-* (that is, **yara-*) and a first component *to-* (written *to-*, *tho-*, and *tu-*). The name *Θογάρα* in Ptolemaios, *Geography*, was that of the city of Kan-ṣou. In this region the Chinese knew the Üe-ṣi. They reported that a group of these people went westwards to Bactria, but that a smaller group whom they called the Little Üe-ṣi withdrew into the Köke-nagur area. In this second area we have in Tibetan documents from the 8th century a people called **Gar* (written in three ways *mgar*, *ḥgar*, *sgar*). These were important enough to aim at royalty. Their name has been carried down to recent times in Tibetan legends. In the Nan-šan region the 8th–10th century Saka texts in the language of Khotan mention three peoples, *Gara*, *Cimuḍa*, and *Dūmva*. These *Gara* can hardly be any other than the Tibetan *Mgar* in the same region and the *-gara* of the name *Θογάρα*, the city of Kan-ṣou. There can also be little doubt that the Chinese name Üe-ṣi also in the same region represents the foreign name *Gara*, that is, with initial fricative *yara*.⁵ The earliest attested pronunciation of *üe* is *nüaḍ*, later written *ḥgvar* in Tibetan.

¹ P 5538 b, edited in *BSOS*, IX, 521–43, with translation, and again in my *Khotanese Texts*, III, 121–4.

² *Saka Documents*, text volume, 17–9.

³ V. V. Ivanov, in *Problemy vostokovedenia*, V, 1959, 188 ff., discussed this text from the point of view of Indo-European.

⁴ *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXV, 4, note 1.

⁵ The view of E. Pulleyblank, in *JRAS*, 1966, 16, is in need of modification.

For the first component, where the Chinese added their word *ta* "great", to which *siau* "little" was the contrast for those in the Nan-šan region, there is a useful control in the name of Tibet. The Tibetans themselves use *Bod*, earlier also *Bon*. This is found in Kuci Sanskrit *bhuṣa*, Khotan Sanskrit *bauṣa*, Hindu Sanskrit *bhoṣa*, *bhauṣa*. But a separate name **to-bot-* was adopted in Chinese *t'u-fan*, *t'u-pa*, *t'o-pa*, Jap. *tobatsu*, Sogdian *twp'wt-*, Uigur Turk *twypwt*, Mongol *töbed*, Zoroastrian Pahlavi *twpyt*, Arab-Persian *tubut*, *tubbat*, *tubbut*, *tabbut*, Georgian *t'obit'*-, *t'umbut'*-, Marco Polo *tebet*. The Saka has *tägutta-* through **tovut*.* Here one may see "great Tibet" or "greater Tibet". The Tibetans were expanding eastwards and to the north in the 7th century. In Tibetan books eastern Tibet is *Bod chen-po* "great Tibet".⁷ This use of "great" is frequent. One can refer to Sanskrit *Mahācina-*, Arab. *Māšin*, or the later *Great Mughal* or *Great Britain*.

Fuller discussion on this topic will be published elsewhere. Here it is intended only to settle the reading of the bilingual text from Kuci.

The second word *iṣcake* which corresponds to the Sanskrit ending *-ikā-* "female" looks like a loan-word from either Central Asian Iranian or from Kroraina Prakrit meaning "woman" with the prestige of a foreign word, like English *Dame*. Both these sources possess *stri-* "woman". In Kroraina occur *stri*, *istri*, *striya*, *istriya*. In Saka the word is *striyā-*. In modern Iranian Parāči *šičak* "female", Zēbakī *šēč* "female", Pašto *šadza* from **stričā-* are used. From a neuter **istričaka-* could derive Kuchean *iṣcake*. The suffix *-āke* and *-ake* is used in names of animates. Hence we find Tokharian B *ršāke*, A *riṣak* from Sanskrit *rṣi-* "sage", and the proper name B *prasamnake*, beside A *prasanaji*, and B *prasenaci* from Sanskrit *prasanajit-*.

For the trajection of ethnic names to later comers to a territory there are many parallels. In Central Asia one may note Tibetan *sog-dag* "Sogdian" replaced by *sog-po* and used of Mongols; and Tibetan *hor* "Uigur" used of the Mongols of Chingiz. The Byzantines used *Τοῦρκοι* of the Magyars. The Armenians used *Mazk'ut'-k'* "Massagetai" of the Eastern Turks.

(1969.)

* See details in W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds.), *A locust's leg: studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London, 1962, 37, and *BSOAS*, X, 599-605.

⁷ R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 245, 300.



Sanskrit-Kuchean bilingual (p. 121).