Between China and Tibet: A Documentary History of Khotan in the Late Eighth and Early Ninth Century

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Between China and Tibet: A Documentary History of Khotan in the Late Eighth and Early Ninth Century

A dissertation presented

by

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to

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for the degree of

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To my parents
Acknowledgement

My first encounter with Khotan began many years ago. When I was having one-on-one Pahlavi class with my M.A. advisor Prof. Duan Qing in her office, someone knocked on the door. The visitor was a private collector from Khotan, who came to present a group of manuscripts including a Judaeo-Persian one, which Prof. Duan Qing assigned to me to study. This manuscript turned out to be a letter written by a Jewish merchant in Khotan at the end of the eighth century. The letter, written some 1200 years ago, eventually led me to Harvard University to further study the language and history of Khotan. I am, therefore, immensely indebted to Prof. Duan Qing, who opened the door, both literally and figuratively, and guided me into the world of Iranian languages and peoples.

From the fall of 2009, my advisor P. O. Skjærvø began to teach Khotanese to me and Wen Xin, a young historian and fellow doctoral student at Harvard. After Wen Xin and I grasped the basics of the language, the three of us formed a reading group, and met at least two hours per week to read Khotanese secular documents. By the summer of 2014, we finished reading nearly all extant Khotanese secular documents, improved a lot of readings, and made quite a number of discoveries along the way. The results of our reading group form the basis of my dissertation. I am unable, however, to ascribe every improvement to a particular meeting in my dissertation. I would say that Prof. Skjærvø made most of them. Even when he did not, he taught me how to do it. It goes without saying that all errors are mine alone.

Many people have helped and supported me during the long process of my graduate studies. Without them, it could not have been possible for me to finish my dissertation.
Words cannot express my appreciation and gratitude to Prof. Skjærvø, whose warmth, sharpness, and humor, let alone his encyclopedic knowledge of Iranian languages and beyond, never fails to amaze me.

My sincere gratitude is due to my dissertation committee members Prof. Mark C. Elliott and Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, both from Harvard University, for their kindness, insights, and unwavering support all the way to the very end. Prof. Yutaka Yoshida from Kyoto University gave me his important book when I visited him in 2007, even though I could not read Japanese at that time.

Special thanks go to my friends for their help and encouragement. Grace Jackson kindly polished my English with great care and precision. Einor Keinan-Segev and Wang Xiyue also helped me polish Chapter II. I benefitted greatly from talks over coffee and beers with Wen Xin, who never hesitated to share with me his discoveries. Fu Ma, Zhang Fan, and Geng Yuanli all helped me obtain books and articles.

I am also enormously grateful to my girlfriend Nine for her smiles and confidence in me during my darkest days.

Last but not least, I could not have completed this work without the sustained encouragement and support from my parents. It is my pleasure to dedicate this dissertation to them.
Between China and Tibet: A Documentary History of Khotan in the Late Eighth and Early Ninth Century

Abstract

Since the late 19th century, expeditions in Khotan sponsored by various countries have yielded several collections of Khotanese manuscripts. Among them, the British Collection, the Russian Collection, and the Hedin stand out as they contain most of the secular documents from the Khotan region. In his groundbreaking work in 2006, Yutaka Yoshida regrouped these secular documents into six archives, Archive 0 to Archive 5, according to date and provenance.

In my dissertation, I continue Yoshida’s work and focus on Archive 3, a group of texts from the Domoko Oasis, some 120 km east of Khotan, dating from 798-802, the initials years of the Tibetan occupation of Khotan (790s-840s).

First, I divide the documents in Archive 3 into six groups according to genre and subject: 1) communications, 2) vouchers, 3) accounts, 4) patrol rosters, 5) rosters of other tasks, and 6) miscellaneous. Next, I re-edit and re-translate all the documents with a new editorial method. Instead of presenting the documents according to their appearance in the manuscripts as previous editors did, I present them in sections according their inner logic. This method is especially helpful
for synoptic texts. It also shows more clearly how the text corresponds to the translation. By paying close attention to the formulae in orders, petitions, vouchers, and rosters, I restore many documents, and establish the original line length, which in turn helps restore more lacunae. When re-editing, I also check the text of each document against its facsimile, and improve the readings along the way.

A more accurate reading and understanding of each document in Archive 3 sheds light on the history of Khotan during the late eighth and early ninth century, allows glimpses into various aspects of lives in Khotan, such as the administrative system, the taxation system, the distribution of corvée work, and various other issues.

By studying the documents of Archive 3 with a disciplined methodology, I also set up a framework for further research of Khotanese secular documents in other archives.
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Introduction: Goal and Means

From the 1890s to the 1930s, numerous explorations and expeditions in Xinjiang yielded a large number of manuscripts, which are now preserved in various museums and libraries in the countries that sponsored those expeditions. In these manuscripts, scholars discovered Khotanese, an Eastern Iranian language spoken in Khotan before the advent of Islam in the early 11th century. Owing to the persistent efforts of Iranists over the last century, the Khotanese language has been successfully deciphered. Today, almost all extant Khotanese texts have been published in facsimile, transcription, or both.

In respect to genre, Khotanese texts can be divided into two groups: literary and non-literary. Literary texts include Buddhist texts, poems, folktales, stories, and so on. Non-literary texts include medical works, administrative documents, economic documents, bilingual manuals, and other miscellaneous texts. Much scholarly effort has been devoted to the literary texts, since these texts are not only longer and more complete, but in many cases, also enjoy the advantage of having parallels in Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan. They are, therefore, of great help in deciphering and elucidating the Khotanese language. On the other hand, the non-literary texts—or the secular documents, as they are also known—have been studied far less, since they present greater difficulties and are of less linguistic interest. Though shorter and often fragmentary, these documents are of much greater value for historians, since they not only shed light on the otherwise shrouded history of Khotan but also allow glimpses into the lives of Khotanese people. The secular documents, in respect to their provenance, can be further divided into two groups: those from the Cave Library in Dunhuang and those unearthed in the vicinity of Khotan. These two groups
of texts also differ chronologically. The documents from Dunhuang date from the 10th century and later,\(^1\) while the secular documents from Khotan mostly date from the second half of the eighth century, with a handful from a slightly earlier or later date.\(^2\) The latter group mainly consists of three collections: the Hedin Collection in Stockholm,\(^3\) the Russian Collection in Saint Petersburg,\(^4\) and the British Collection in London.\(^5\) In his groundbreaking study in 2006, Y. Yoshida treated the secular Khotanese documents from Khotan across various collections as a whole, and divided them into five archives (Archive 0 to Archive 4) according to their dates and provenance, thus establishing a useful framework for further research.\(^6\) In the current dissertation, I continue Yoshida’s work and focus solely on Archive 3, a group of manuscripts bearing 84 register numbers in the British Collection and the Hedin Collection.\(^7\)

My goal is threefold. First, by organizing the documents in Archive 3 according to their inner logic, I seek to make possible a more accurate reading and understanding of each document and the entire archive. Second, by listening to the voices of Khotanese people that emerge from these documents, I shed light on the history of Khotan during the late eighth and early ninth cen-

\(^1\) Zhang and Rong 1989, p.300.

\(^2\) Zhang and Rong 1988, p.79.

\(^3\) The secular documents in this collection were published in transcription and translation by H. W. Bailey in *KT IV* in 1961. A selection of facsimiles of these documents were published in *KT IV* and *SD*.

\(^4\) Published by R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja in *SD VII* (facsimile) in 1993 and in *SDTV III* (transcription and translation) in 1995.

\(^5\) The entire collection was published by P. O. Skjærvø in his monumental *Catalogue* in 2002. The photographs of the majority of the documents can be downloaded from the website of the International Dunhuang Project: [idp.bl.uk](http://idp.bl.uk)

\(^6\) For the five archives, see Yoshida 2006, pp.49-66.

\(^7\) Each manuscript may contain multiple documents. I treat them separately and assign an archive number to each document. In total, there are 162 documents. For a concordance of the archive numbers and the register numbers of the documents, see Table III-1 in Chapter III.
tury and gain glimpses into the daily life of Khotan. Third, by accomplishing the previous two goals, I wish to set an example for future studies of the rest of the secular Khotanese documents and other similar collections of secular documents, such as the Kharoṣṭhī documents and the Tocharian documents. Ultimately, I wish to make these documents in lesser-known languages accessible to the scholarly community beyond a handful of Iranian language specialists.

In order to achieve my goal, I first arranged the documents in Archive 3 into six groups according to their genres:

- **Archive 3/1**: 47 communications, including 37 orders, seven petitions, two missives, and one letter, further divided into six subgroups according to their subjects;
- **Archive 3/2**: 17 vouchers of payments in cloth or coins, arranged by date;
- **Archive 3/3**: 18 accounts concerning payments in cloth, coins, or grain, arranged by subject;
- **Archive 3/4**: 43 patrol rosters, including 17 prospective rosters, 21 retrospective rosters, and three other rosters of 24 patrols in a full-year patrol cycle, arranged by date, and two patrol rosters outside the patrol cycle;
- **Archive 3/5**: 23 rosters of other tasks, arranged by subject;
- **Archive 3/6**: 14 documents of miscellaneous subjects.

After thus arranging the documents, patterns emerged immediately. The most obvious pattern can be found in the patrol rosters, which cover 24 patrols every half month in a full year.\(^8\)

In addition to this new arrangement, I adopted a different editorial method from those previously applied to the Khotan documents. I did not reproduce the texts in lines according to

\(^8\) For more details, see introduction of Archive 3/4 Patrol Rosters in Chapter III.
their appearance in the manuscripts, as previous editors had done. Instead, I presented each text in sections according to its own logic, and indicated the beginning of each line in the manuscripts with numbers in superscript. Skjærvø used this method in his edition of the Paikuli Inscription in Middle Persian and Parthian and the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhūṣottamasūtra*, and urged others to adopt this method to produce editions of secular documents such as the inscriptions of Kirdēr in Middle Persian. In fact, he did so in his edition of three sets of double wooden tablets in Khotanese. This method of sectioning makes it easy to refer to any part of the text, and is especially convenient for synoptic texts, such as Archive 3/3.2-Archive 3/3.5 and Buddhist texts. It also clarifies how the text corresponds to the translation.

After dividing the texts into sections, I paid special attention to formulae and lacunae. Documents in some genres, such as orders, petitions, vouchers, and rosters, often follow a fixed format and contain characteristic formulae. Understanding these formats and formulae helps us in restoring incomplete or missing formulae in damaged documents. Sometimes, such a restoration can establish the original line length, thus making further restorations possible. A good example comes from Archive 3/1.13 (Hedin 3v) §2, whose full restoration is rendered possible by the restoration of the opening formula of Archive 3/1.15 (Hedin 3r), written on the back of Archive 3/1.13. In other cases, the original line length of a damaged document can be established

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9 Skjærvø 1983.


11 Skjærvø 1984, p.158.

12 He did not, however, number the sections in these documents, nor did he indicate the original line numbers. See Skjærvø 1991, pp.272-278.

13 See commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2.
without the help of a formula.\textsuperscript{14} The restoration of a lacuna may have significant implications. For example, the restoration of the beginning of line 18 in Or.11252/2 confirms the name of the fifth township in Cira-Six Town Prefecture and clarified Wen Xin’s conjecture.\textsuperscript{15}

As a whole, the documents of Archive 3 contain a close-knit network of information. They were all collected in the late 1920s to the early 1930s from the Domoko Oasis, some 100 km east of Khotan, and most likely all date from 798 to 802. While they differ in genre, these documents are interrelated to one another: all concern a relatively small number of people, most of whom were residents of Birganḍara,\textsuperscript{16} during a period as short as four years. In order to confirm the interrelatedness of the documents, I cross-referenced documents in different genres. Such cross-references sometimes bore unexpected fruit. For example, Kharrjāṃ is attested as a dependent of the Crown Prince in Archive 3/5.12 §10 and “a good wheat sower” in Archive 3/1.43 §3. In addition, three “wheat-sows” are attested as dependents of the Crown Prince in Archive 3/5.20 §5. The above attestations link Kharrjāṃ, the Crown Prince and wheat sowers with one another, and help reconstruct Archive 3/1.43 §4 as \textit{yau[\varāyāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paśa]} “send Kharrjāṃ to the Crown Prince.”\textsuperscript{17}

When re-editing, I checked the text of each document against its facsimile, and was able to improve a number of readings along the way. In some cases, the improved reading of a single akṣara can reveal much historical information. For example, Bailey read the first two akṣaras in

\textsuperscript{14} See commentary on Archive 3/4.4r §2.

\textsuperscript{15} See introduction of Archive 3/6.1 and commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §17.

\textsuperscript{16} This township in Cira-Six Town Prefecture must be the provenance of the entire archive. See introduction of Archive 3/1.15 and commentary on Archive 3/1.42 §7.

\textsuperscript{17} For more reasoning on the restoration, see commentary on Archive 3/1.43 §4.
line 2 of Hedin 20 (Archive 3/1.2) as *tei thūe* with no satisfactory explanation,\(^\text{18}\) whereas I read the second *akṣara* as *rthū* and interpreted *tcirthū* as ‘Military Commissioner’, from Chin. *Jièdù* 節度,\(^\text{19}\) the title of the commander-in-chief of the Tibetans in the Tarim Basin. This document goes on to give the commander’s name, *lŷna ha’bāśi’ra* or *blon* Lha bzher, who was coordinating military activities of Khotan and Kashgar against the Uighurs.\(^\text{20}\)

In sum, my process consists of the following steps: Rearranging the documents, sectioning each one, paying attention to formulae and lacunae, cross-referencing personal and place names, and performing close readings of each *akṣara* against the facsimile.

Before delving into Archive 3, I first review the expeditions in Khotan in Chapter I and the history of Khotan from the seventh to the ninth century in Chapter II so as to lay the ground for Chapter III, a comprehensive edition and translation of the documents in Archive 3 with extensive commentaries. In Chapter IV, I synthesize the historical information presented in Chapter III to elucidate various aspects of Khotanese society in the late eighth century and early ninth century, such as administrative hierarchies, taxation procedure, corvée work distribution, and so on. Finally, in Conclusion, I evaluate my result and speculate on the direction of future work in this field.

\(^{18}\) *KT IV*, p.33.

\(^{19}\) See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §3.

\(^{20}\) See introduction of Archive 3/1.2.
Chapter I: Expeditions in Khotan

Map I.1

In the 19th century, as Russia and Great Britain vied for supremacy in Central Asia, both great powers extended their sphere of influence into Chinese Turkestan. An unexpected

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21 Hironaka 2006 is a concise and convenient survey in Chinese on the expeditions in Khotan, with a special attention paid to Buddhist texts. A survey of the Khotanese manuscripts in the British Library can be found in Catalogue, pp. xxxviii-lxiii. My survey, however, includes Khotanese manuscript across various collections and focuses on the secular documents.

22 Modified from the map in Hansen 2012, p.200.
byproduct of this rivalry was the discovery of ancient manuscripts and artifacts in this region.\textsuperscript{24}

The manuscript hunt in the Tarim Basin began in earnest in 1890, when Hamilton Bower, a British officer, bought a birch bark manuscript in Kucha and sent it to Calcutta to be examined by experts. A. F. R. Hoernle, a renowned Indologist, took up this task and soon published his results.\textsuperscript{25} The Bower Manuscript, named after its discoverer, turned out to be the oldest Sanskrit

\begin{footnotes}
\item[23] Modified from the map in Hansen 2012, p.201.
\item[25] See Hoernle’s report in Hoernle 1892. The entire manuscript is published in Hoernle 1893-1912.
\end{footnotes}
manuscript known at that time. In 1893, having realized the great prospect of further manuscript
finds in Chinese Turkestan, Hoernle persuaded the Government of British India to instruct its
agents in Kashmir, Leh, and Gilgit to collect ancient manuscripts and artifacts. As a result, a
large number of manuscripts found their way to Hoernle, mainly via two figures, Captain S. H.
Godfrey, the British Joint-Commissioner of Ladakh, and George Macartney, the British representa-
tive in Kashgar. In 1897, along with other manuscripts, Hoernle published twelve fragmentary
manuscripts sent to him by Godfrey. These manuscripts were written in a theretofore unknown
language. In addition to photographs, Hoernle also provided preliminary transcriptions and in-
sightful observations on the script, language, and content of these manuscripts. These 12 frag-
ments turned out to be the first Khotanese texts ever published. In 1901, Hoernle republished
them with an updated transcription together with more Khotanese texts, this time supplied by
Macartney. After studying the script, language, and content of these texts, Hoernle reached the
conclusion that both groups must be from the same place. The Khotanese manuscripts sent to
Hoernle between 1895-1901 are now preserved in the British Library, bearing the shelf numbers
from Or.6392/1 to Or.6402B/3.4. After Hoernle retired and returned to England in 1899, the gov-
ernment of India continued to send manuscripts to him. These manuscripts were later deposited
in the India Office Library and those in Khotanese now bear the shelf numbers starting with IOL
Khot. Together, the manuscripts sent to Hoernle make up ‘the Hoernle collection’.

26 Hoernle 1897 pp.213-60.
27 For the shelf numbers of these fragments in the British Library, see Catalogue, p. xxxviii
28 Hoernle 1901.
29 Hoernle 1901, p.31.
30 Catalogue, p.xl.
Nikolai Petrovsky, the Russian Consul in Kashgar from 1882 to 1902, also collected manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan. These manuscripts, known as ‘the Petrovsky Collection’, are now preserved in the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg. This collection includes 251 Sanskrit manuscripts, 59 Khotanese Buddhist manuscripts, and 238 Khotanese secular documents.

The last decade of the 19th century also saw two expeditions in Khotan.

In 1891, the French geographer Jules-Léon Dutreuil de Rhins and his assistant Joseph Ferdinand Grenard visited Khotan to conduct a geographical survey of Western China. In 1894, while exploring Amdo, they ran into conflicts with local people. De Rhins was killed but Grenard managed to return to Europe with most of their notes and findings. The most valuable item among them is a manuscript of Dammapada in Northwest Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script. Grenard later published a detailed report of their expedition.

The next year, the Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin came to Chinese Turkestan. After a failed attempt to traverse the Taklamakan desert, during which he narrowly escaped death, Hedin ventured again into the desert. This time he started from Khotan and managed to reach two sites in the desert: Dandan-Uiliq, ‘the Ivory House’, and Kara-dung, ‘the Black Hill’. In 1898, Hedin published his travelogue and earned instant fame. Although the expedi-

31 For a survey of these manuscripts, see Bongard-Levin and Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja 1986.


33 First published in Senart 1898. In 1945, Bailey published a new edition together with a brief review of the scholarship on this manuscript up to that point. See Bailey 1945.

34 Grenard 1897-1898.

tions of de Rhins and Hedin were mainly of a geographical nature, they paved the way for the archaeological expeditions of the ensuing years.

In 1900, in order to investigate the context in which the manuscripts of the Hoernle collection were discovered and to ascertain the authenticity of some suspicious ones in the same collection, Marc Aurel Stein embarked on his first Inner Asian expedition (1900-1901). On October 13, Stein and his team arrived in Khotan after a long trip from Srinagar through Gilgit and the Wakhan Corridor. Shortly afterwards, his local informant Turdi brought him several manuscript fragments in Brāhmī script from the site of Dandan-Uiliq. Having realized the archeological merit of the site, Stein decided to excavate it. He left Khotan on December 7 and found Dandan-Uiliq after 11 days’ march. Over the next 16 days, Stein excavated 17 buildings and found about 180 objects, including manuscripts in Khotanese, Sanskrit, and Chinese. This was the first and the most fruitful archeological excavation of Dandan-Uiliq.

The similarity between the manuscripts in cursive Brāhmī excavated in Dandan-Uiliq and those published by Hoernle led Stein to the conclusion that those in the Hoernle collection were also from Dandan-Uiliq. Other evidence confirmed this conclusion. The manuscripts sent to Hoernle by Godfrey and Macartney were all purchased from Badruddin Khan, the Ak-sakal of the Afghan merchants of Khotan. Badruddin Khan acknowledged that apart from Islam Akhun, the forger later exposed by Stein, Turdi was his only source of ancient manuscripts. Turdi told Stein that Dandan-Uiliq was the only place where he and his men had discovered and retrieved ancient

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36 For a list of his findings, see Stein 1907, pp.288-303.
manuscripts. As the Chinese manuscripts in the Hoernle Collection were also purchased from Badruddin Khan, Stein contended, they must also be from Dandan-Uiliq.\textsuperscript{37}

On January 4, Stein continued on his expedition, venturing north from Dandan-Uiliq. On January 5, some workers whom Stein had dismissed two days before came back to present him with two objects that they found in Dandan-Uiliq after Stein had left: a piece of stucco with Chinese inscriptions and a fragmentary manuscript in Judaeo-Persian. This Judaeo-Persian manuscript turned out to be a private letter between two Jewish merchants. As all the artifacts excavated in Dandan-Uiliq date from the second half of the 8th century, this document must be also from the same time period, making it the earliest extant document in New Persian.\textsuperscript{38}

On February 21, Stein reached Endere, the easternmost site of his expedition. Over the following five days, he excavated the site and discovered manuscripts in Khotanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Tocharian, as well as some graffiti in Tibetan and Chinese, and various artifacts. Endere is the last site at which Stein obtained written materials during his first expedition. On February 26, Stein left Endere and turned west to excavate Kara-Dung, Rawak, and other smaller sites. On April 19, Stein finally returned to Khotan. In Khotan, after making inquiries with Islam Akhun, a local Turk who had, for the past several years, produced a large number of manuscripts and ‘block-prints’ in so-called “unknown characters,” Stein ascertained that these materials were actually forgeries. He later published a personal narrative and a detailed report of this expedition.\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{37} Stein 1907, pp.270-271.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{38} A similar but well-preserved Judaeo-Persian manuscript came to light in 2004. See Zhang and Shi 2008.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{39} The personal narrative is Stein 1903. The archeological report is Stein 1907.
\end{flushright}
Stein’s immense success inspired explorers and archeologists in other countries. Expedition teams from Japan, America, German, France, and Russia all came to Western China to compete in this ‘great game’ for ancient manuscripts and artifacts.

The Japanese were the first to react to Stein’s discoveries. In 1902, Count Otani Kozui, the 22nd abbot of the Nishi Honganji Monastery in Kyoto, organized an expedition to Xinjiang in search of ancient manuscripts. Tachibana Zuicho, member of the second Otani expedition in 1909 and the third Otani expedition in 1911, visited Khotan and collected some manuscripts. The goal of the Japanese expeditions was simply to obtain ancient Buddhist texts and their excavations were not conducted in a scientific fashion. The teams did not document the provenance of the discovered artifacts, nor did they produce a comprehensive catalogue of their findings. Due to financial crisis of the Honganji Monastery in the 1910s and the Pacific War in the 1940s, the materials in the Otani collection are now scattered among various institutions in Japan, Korea and China.  

Khotanese manuscripts in the Japanese Collection include one folio of the Book of Zambasta (Folio 294, Otani 11062) and several unpublished secular documents that make up the so-called ‘Tachibana materials’, including four documents on paper (Otani 11063a, 11063b, 11064, 11065) and a wooden slip (Otani 11108).

In 1903, Oscar Terry Crosby, an American entrepreneur and a renowned world traveler, purchased some manuscripts when he visited Khotan during his journey through Xinjiang and

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40 For a concise history of the Otani expeditions and the Otani Collection, see Rong Xinjiang 1996, pp.155-164.

41 Emmerick 1968, p.268.

42 For a catalogue of these documents, see Kudagi 1996, pp.52-57. For more on the Khotanese documents in this collection, see Yoshida 2006, p.34.
Tibet. After his return, he deposited these materials in the Library of Congress. These manuscripts were later withdrawn from Crosby’s deposit and their whereabouts became unknown. In 1984, after searching for many years, R. E. Emmerick located these manuscripts in the Library of Congress. The Crosby Collection consists of about 150 fragments, including 56 in Khotanese, around 90 in Sanskrit, and two forgeries. The Khotanese texts in the Crosby Collection include a complete folio of the Saṅghāṭasūtra made of four fragments, an omen text, and a medical text. Particularly interesting for our purposes is a secular document (Crosby 272/273) dated to a rat year and the 17th regnal year of an unnamed king. Such a reign, which started in a monkey year, is unique in the entire corpus of Khotanese secular documents. Wille published a complete list of manuscripts in the Crosby Collection and transcribed most of those in Sanskrit. He also pointed out that certain fragments in the Crosby Collection belong to the same manuscript as some fragments excavated by Stein in 1906 in Khadalik (see below), a site that yielded a large number of Buddhist texts in the vicinity of the Domoko Oasis, roughly 100 km to the east of Khotan. This observation suggests that the entire Crosby Collection may have very well come from Khadalik, thus separating the materials in the Crosby Collection from those that originated in Dandan-Uiliq.

In 1905, an American geographer named Ellsworth Huntington mounted an expedition to Xinjiang with the aim of investigating the ancient climate and geography of the region. During

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43 Crosby 1905, pp.60-62.

44 Edited in Canevascini 1993, pp. 237-238.

45 Emmerick 1993, pp.58-59.

46 Wille 2006.

47 Wille 2006, p.484.
his stay in the Khotan area, Huntington visited Dandan-Uiliq, Khadalik, Uzun-tati and various other sites, and acquired “some fragments of paper bearing records in Brahmi script” in Khadalik.48 E. Leumann described four fragments brought back by Huntington.49 Huntington F and J are in Sanskrit. Huntington F is a half folio of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra. The other half of the same folio was acquired by C. K. Skrine in 1922.50 The combined folio belongs to the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra. Huntington I and K are in Khotanese. Huntington I is a double-sided folio of the Book of Zambasta, but only one side was published in facsimile in Huntington 1907, opposite p.206. As a result, only one side of the folio was transcribed and translated in Konow 1932, p.112. Based on Huntington’s unsatisfactory facsimile, Bailey transcribed one side of Huntington K in KT V, pp.294-95. In 1968, Emmerick found all four fragments in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University.51 He subsequently included Huntington I in his edition and translation of the Book of Zambasta52 and published Huntington K, an Abhidharma work, in 1969.53 Other materials including documents on wood in the Huntington Collection have not been published.

In 1906, Stein launched his second Inner Asian expedition.54 During this expedition, he managed to retrieve thousands of manuscripts from the library cave in Dunhuang, known today

48 Huntington 1907, p.173.
49 Leumann 1913.
50 Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p.82, fig.14.
51 Emmerick 1968b, p.xix.
52 Emmerick 1968b, pp.120-121.
53 Emmerick 1969.
54 The personal narrative is Stein 1912. The archeological report is Stein 1921.
as Cave 16, but this achievement should not eclipse his excavations and discoveries in other places, particularly in Khotan and its environs. During this expedition, Stein went through Khotan twice, on his way to and back from Dunhuang. On both visits, his findings included ancient coins, terra-cotta figurines, stucco reliefs, other artifacts of archeological interest, and most importantly for our purposes, manuscripts in multiple languages. He obtained these items either through his own efforts or via local agents such as the Afghan merchant Badruddin Khan. During the first visit, Stein made the most extensive manuscript discovery at Khadalik, ‘the place with the sign stake’, a site located to the north of Domoko oasis in present-day Chira County, roughly 100 km to the east of Khotan. During his excavation of this site from September 23 to October 2, 1906, he exposed 10 buildings and discovered a large number of objects, including manuscripts made of birch bark, paper, and wood, with writings in Sanskrit, Chinese, Khotanese, and Tibetan. Since this site used to be a Buddhist shrine, most manuscripts unearthed here are of a Buddhist nature, including the Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra in Khotanese, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka in Sanskrit, and some Prajñā-pāramitā texts in both Sanskrit and Chinese. These texts were presented by the faithful to the shrine as votive offerings. In addition to canonical texts, Stein also found secular documents in Khotanese, both on paper and on wood, such as Kha.i.111 = IOL Khot 23/10, Kha.ix.51= IOL Khot Wood 14, see Catalogue, p.218, p.563. At Khadalik, Stein discovered three wooden documents in Tibetan. One is Kha.ix.7 = IOL Tib N 2209, and the other two are from Kha. vi. and Kha. viii. As far as I know, these tablets in Tibetan remain unpub-

\[55\] 230 pōthis at the time of packing, Stein 1921, p.163 footnote 1.

\[56\] Stein 1921, p.162.
lished. These Tibetan documents show that the monastery at Khadalik was inhabited during the Tibetan period in the late eighth and early ninth century.

Stein published an inventory of the Sanskrit and Khotanese texts from Khadalik prepared by Hoernle as Appendix F to *Serindia*.\(^5^7\) The Khotanese manuscripts (including documents on wood) from Khadalik discovered by Stein, 152 from his second and 10 from his third expedition, are published in the *Catalogue* according to their shelf numbers. The site-marks of these texts are listed in *Catalogue*, pp.lv-lvi, and their shelf numbers can be found easily in the concordance in *Catalogue*, pp.594-596. Takeuchi catalogued and published four paper manuscripts in Tibetan from Khadalik.\(^5^8\) Among them, the verso of no.349 (Khad.052 = Or.15000/256), a complete contract of six lines, was first published and translated in *TLTD II*, p.251. Takeuchi published it again as text 58 with a new translation and ample annotations.\(^5^9\)

Among all the texts from Khadalik, Kha. i.158 is particularly noteworthy. The recto is a Chinese Buddhist text from *Dābōnièpānfēng 大般涅槃經 (Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra)*, catalogued as C47 in the Appendix to de la Vallée-Poussin’s *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*.\(^6^0\) The verso is a Khotanese Buddhist text, first transcribed by Bailey in *KT III*, pp.128-129, later catalogued as IOL Khot 212/1 + IOL Khot S.28 and translated by Skjærvø in *Catalogue*, pp.457-460. Besides Chinese and Khotanese, one line of a scribal exercise in Tibetan is found in the bottom margin of the Chinese text, catalogued as text no.350

\(^{57}\) Stein 1921, pp. 1432-1447.

\(^{58}\) No.350-1 from Stein’s second expedition, no.348-9 from Stein’s third expedition. See Takeuchi 1998, pp. 111-112.

\(^{59}\) Takeuchi 1995, p.320.

\(^{60}\) De la Vallée-Poussin 1962, p.251
in Takeuchi 1998, p.112. As the only Chinese-Khotanese-Tibetan trilingual text from Khotan, Kha. i.158 testifies to the coexistence of people from all three cultures in the Buddhist shrine at Khadalik, probably in the early ninth century.

During the excavation at Khadalik, Stein also visited some minor sites nearby, including Balawaste, 1.5 miles to the north of Khadalik. A local village official named Mullah Khwāja claimed to have found at this site three well-preserved wooden tablets with Chinese writings, which Stein had obtained in Khotan via Baddrudin Khan. Stein found a tiny fragment of a bilingual Chinese-Khotanese wooden tablet himself, thus confirming Mullah Khwāja’s statements. Stein would return to this small but important site on his third expedition and make more findings.

After excavating Khadalik and its surroundings, Stein turned to the south of the Domoko Oasis to visit Mazar Toghrak, where he discovered Khotanese and Chinese documents, both on paper and on wood. As Yoshida points out, the Khotanese texts on nos.977, 981 and 982 are yet to be read. Discoveries and observations from the excavation on both sides of the Domoko oasis, including Khadalik and Balawaste to the north and Mazar-toghrak to the south, led Stein to the conclusion that these sites were abandoned simultaneously towards the end of the eighth century. Stein suggested that the direct cause of the sudden desertion of these settlements was not

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61 Published in Chavannes 1913, p.219, nos.981-983.

62 Stein 1921, p.197.

63 For the Khotanese documents found at Mazar Toghrak, see Catalogue, p.lviii. For the wooden documents with Chinese writings, see Chavannes 1913, pp.217-218, plate XXXVII; reedited in Tono 1980 and Arakawa 2014.

64 Yoshida 2006, p.37.
desiccation and climatic change, but the human factor — in other words, political turmoil. Today, informed by the texts found by Stein and others at these sites, we can say that Stein’s conclusions, drawn almost a hundred years ago, remain valid.

On October 6, Stein left Domoko and continued his journey eastward. On November 8, after a 12-day excavation at Niya that yielded a rich harvest of Kharoṣṭhī documents from the third and fourth centuries, Stein arrived at Endere, the easternmost site of his first expedition, which he had not had enough time to explore fully in 1901. This time in Endere, despite only discovering one Brahmī document on wood (IOL Khot Wood 39 = E. VI. iii. 1) and a few Kharoṣṭhī ones, Stein was able to confirm that the site was occupied during two different periods. One period fell in the third and fourth centuries, when Niya was also occupied. The second period fell during the Tang dynasty in the eighth century (c. 660-790 CE). From the Tibetan texts discovered by Stein at this site during his first expedition, we can infer that Endere, in all likelihood, was still occupied when Khotan fell under Tibetan control in the early ninth century.

Further east, Stein visited Mīran, a site in the southeastern corner of the Taklamakan desert. Here he excavated a fort and found more than 1000 manuscripts in Tibetan, both on paper and on wood, and three pieces of paper with writing in Turkish Runic script. The fort at Mīran resembles the fort at Mazar Tagh, a site some 180 km north of Khotan. Both forts are on the southern rim of the Taklamakan desert, garrisoned by Tibetan troops in the late eighth and the

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65 Stein 1921, pp.207-209.
66 Stein 1921, p.286.
67 Stein 1907, pp.548-569.
68 Stein 1921, p.461.
69 Stein 1921, p.471.
first half of the ninth century. Though no Khotanese documents were found in Mīran, the Tibetan documents found there represent an important source for the study of Khotan due to their similarities with those from Mazar Tagh. Since the Tibetan documents from these two sites agree with each other in date, content, and nature, they are often treated as a single group. A. H. Francke made some preliminary observations on these documents in Francke 1914, extracted as Appendix G to *Serindia*. W. Thomas published a large selection from these texts by theme in *TLTD II*. The concordance of document numbers can be found in Thomas 1955. All Tibetan documents on paper discovered by Stein at sites in Xinjiang, including Mazar Tagh and Mīran, are published in Takeuchi’s descriptive catalogue.\textsuperscript{70} Unfortunately, due to the difficult and fragmentary nature of these texts, translation is not provided in the catalogue, thus making it difficult to use for those who do not read Tibetan. A comprehensive catalogue of the Tibetan documents on wood in the Stein Collection is still in the process of being compiled.

After Mīran, Stein rode on to make his (in)famous purchase at Dunhuang. The story of this purchase has been told many times and so I will refrain from repeating it here.\textsuperscript{71} Suffice it to say that the Khotanese documents from Dunhuang are not related to those from Khotan, for the former all date from the 10th century or later, at least a century later than the latter.\textsuperscript{72}

On his way back from Dunhuang, Stein skirted the Taklamakan desert along its northern rim and visited Turfan, Karashahr, and Kucha on his way. Spurred on by reports that new sites worthy of excavation had been found in Khotan, Stein turned south from Kucha and made the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{70} Takeuchi 1998.
\item \textsuperscript{71} See Stein 1921, pp.791-830; Hansen 2012, pp.167-175.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Zhang and Rong 1989, p.300.
\end{itemize}
arduous and hazardous crossing of the desert in order to excavate these new sites before the spring sandstorms. On February 25, 1908, Stein was joined by his local workers from Khotan at Kochkar-öghil on the southern side of the desert.

On March 2, Stein and his workers began excavating Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki, a site that had been found after Stein’s departure in 1906 in the vicinity of Old Domoko. At this site, approximately 10 miles to the northeast of Khadalik, Stein discovered wooden tablets with writing in Khotanese and Sanskrit, in addition to ancient coins and artistic remains. In the shrine designated as F.xii, Stein personally pulled out from the sand a Sanskrit manuscript of 33 complete folios, which turned out to include a part of the Saddarmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. The latest edition of this part of the manuscript is Karashima 2006. Based on numismatic, artistic, and textual evidence, Stein dated this site, with the exception of Shrine F.xii, to an earlier, probably pre-Tang period. Shrine F.xii, Stein argued, analogous to the Islamic Mazars built on ancient sites in Khotan, was built a century or two after the abandonment of this site. The shelf numbers of the Khotanese documents discovered at Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki are listed in Catalogue, p.liv and can be easily found in the Catalogue accordingly. The archaic linguistic features displayed in these texts corroborate Stein’s dating of this site.

After Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki, Stein journeyed to the south of the Domoko oasis to visit Kara Yantak, a site close to Mazar Toghrak. Based on artistic remains, one wooden board inscribed

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73 Stein 1921, p.1247.
74 Stein 1921, pp.1253-1254.
75 Stein 1921, pp.1254-1256.
with six Brahmī akṣaras, and a coin from the Qianyuan era (758-9 CE) discovered there, Stein dated the abandonment of this site to the end of the eighth century, when Khadalik and Mazar Toghrak were also abandoned.

On March 19, Stein marched northwestwards from Domoko into the desert to revisit Ulugh Mazar, due west of Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki. Here Stein found Wuzhu coins (fifth century), one Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coin, coins from the Tang dynasty (seventh and eighth century), Song dynasty coins (12th century), and an Islamic coin dated to the 14th century. These numismatic finds demonstrate that Ulugh Mazar was continuously occupied from a period before Song Yun’s visit to Khotan in 519, through the entire Tang period, until the Kharakhanid period, if not later. Stein also confirmed his identification of this site with Hanmo in Song Yun’s account, Pimo in Xuanzang’s account and probably Pein in Marco Polo’s account.

During Stein’s second expedition, the fort at Mazar Tagh was the last site that yielded significant discoveries of manuscripts. Perched on a hilltop above the desert overlooking the Khotan river to its east, the fort commands a strategic position along the route linking Khotan with Aqsu and the oases along the northern rim of the Tarim Basin. It was garrisoned by Chinese and Tibetan soldiers during the respective periods of Tang and Tibetan control over Khotan. Stein arrived at Mazar Tagh on April 16. A laborious three-day excavation rewarded him handsomely: close to 1000 documents in Tibetan, both on wood and on paper; over 70 in Khotanese, mostly on paper; four paper fragments in Sogdian (mislabeled as Uighur by Stein); and numerous paper

76 IOL Khot Wood 35 in Catalogue, p.568.
77 Stein 1921, p.1262.
78 Stein 1921, pp.1263-1264.
manuscripts in Chinese. As mentioned above, Thomas published a selection of the Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh together with those from Mīran in *TLTD II*. Takeuchi translated and annotated five of them in Takeuchi 1995, and catalogued all the Tibetan documents on paper in Takeuchi 1998. The shelf numbers of the Khotanese documents from Mazar Tagh are listed in *Catalogue*, pp.lvii-lviii, 71 from Stein’s second expedition, three from his third. Chavannes published 24 Chinese manuscripts from Mazar Tagh as Nos. 951-974. Among them, Nos. 969-972, an account of a temple’s daily expenditure stands out from the others on account of its sheer length (63 lines). Nicholas Sims-Williams published the four Sogdian fragments as Fragments 12, 15, 16, 23.

After further explorations of sites in Tumshuk and Marāl-bāshi on the northern edge of the Tarin Basin, Stein returned to Khotan via Yarkand. On August 1, he finally left Khotan for India with 93 cases of findings, only to return a few years later to conduct his third expedition.

In 1906, Baron Carl Gustav Emil von Mannerheim, a Finnish officer in the service of the Imperial Russian Army, undertook a secret intelligence mission from Central Asia to Beijing, disguised as a Swedish anthropologist. He paired up with the French Sinologist Paul Pelliot in Samarkand, but the two soon parted ways after quarreling en route from Andijan to Kashgar. From Kashgar, Mannerheim journeyed to Khotan, and stayed there from November 29 to December 11, 1906. In Khotan, Mannerheim bought some manuscripts in Sanskrit and Khotanese

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79 Chavannes 1913, pp.201-217.

80 The definitive study of this document is Ikeda 1996.

81 Sims-Williams 1976, pp.53-71
from Baddrudin Khan. He then returned to Kashgar, and followed the northern route to Turfan, where he purchased more manuscripts. In July 1908, he reached Beijing and concluded his expedition. Several decades later, this explorer of Central Asia became Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish armed forces and played a pivotal role in the history of Finland during and after WWII.

The manuscripts in the Mannerheim Collection are now housed in the National Museum of Finland. Reuter published those in Brahmī script, including nine in Sanskrit (Fragment 1-9) and two in Khotanese (Fragment 10-11), all Buddhist texts. Fragment 11 was subsequently known as Reuter 1 and Fragment 10 as Reuter 2. Konow noticed that Reuter 1 can be combined with a fragment in the Hoernle Collection, now known as IOL Khot 141/5 or H. 147 NS 112, to form a complete folio. He published the combined text in his edition of the *Samghāṭasūtra*. Bailey published H. 147 NS 112 in *KT V*, p.76 without combining it with Reuter 1, but included Reuter 1 and 2 in the Addenda of *KT V* in *KT V*, pp.394-395. Canevascini published the combined text as part of MS 24 in his critical edition of the Khotanese *Samghāṭasūtra*. Neither Konow nor Canesvsani indicated where the two fragments meet in the combined text. Skjærvø also included the combined text and indicated the joint of the two fragments. Sims-Williams and Halén published five manuscripts in Sogdian script, including four in Sogdian (Fragment A-

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84 Konow 1932, p.93.

85 Canesvsani 1993, p.250

86 *Catalogue*, p.323.
D) and one in Middle Persian (Fragment E), in the Mannerheim Collection. No secular Khotanese documents are found in the Mannerheim Collection.

From March 27, 1909 to July 1911, Sergej E. Malov, a Russian scholar of Turkic languages, was sent by the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and Eastern Asia to Xinjiang and Gansu to study the languages and customs of the Turkic peoples in China. This expedition ended in great success with the harvest of a variety of ancient manuscripts and artifacts, including 57 Tibetan wooden documents from Mīran. Encouraged by the results of Malov’s first expedition, the Committee sent Malov to China again for a second expedition, which lasted from March 1913 to August 1915. Having not traveled to Khotan on his earlier trip, on this second expedition Malov paid his first visit and collected a number of manuscripts, mostly in Khotanese. The Khotanese materials in the Malov Collection, including at least 10 fragments of secular documents, were published in *SD VII* (facsimile) and *SDTV III* (texts) together with other Khotanese materials held in St. Petersburg.

Germany also took part in this “Great Game” of manuscript hunting in Xinjiang. Albert Grünwedel, director of the Indian Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, led the first German expedition to Xinjiang from December 1902 to April 1903. Because Grünwedel and his team worked mainly in the vicinity of Turfan, their expedition was known as the German Turfan Expedition, a name also inherited by the next three German expeditions despite the fact that these later expeditions were not confined to Turfan. From November 1904 to December 1905, Albert von Le Coq, then an assistant to Grünwedel, led the Second German Turfan Expedi-

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87 Sims-Williams and Halén 1980.
tion, and excavated extensively at sites in Turfan. In December 1905, Grünwedel arrived in Kashgar to join von Le Coq, thus beginning the Third German Turfan Expedition, which lasted till April 1907. From June 1913 to February 1914, von Le Coq led the fourth and final German Turfan Expedition.

The German explorers and archeologists of the Turfan Expeditions never set foot in Khotan. Nevertheless, they acquired Khotanese manuscripts from excavations at sites on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin, including one folio of the *Book of Zambasta* from Şorčuq (T III S 16 = bi 33, see Maggi 2004), KS 7 and possibly KS 9 from Toyoq. In 1913, von Le Coq, when passing through Kashgar during the Fourth Turfan Expedition, also managed to acquire a number of items of archeological interest from Baddrudin Khan, including Sanskrit, Chinese and Khotanese manuscripts. These manuscripts were sent back to Germany and became part of the Berlin Collection. Wille identified 69 fragments in the Berlin Collection as belonging to the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscript from Khadalik. He also listed the fragments bearing the signum T4 Chōtān, indicating that they were obtained from Khotan during the Fourth Turfan Expedition. These fragments include several in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tibetan, and one in Chinese (CH 774, unpublished). More Chinese documents from Khotan in the Berlin Collection have since been identified. Chen Guocan published MIK 7587, a document concerning relay posts near Mazar Tagh. Oguchi published two detailed studies of Ch 3473, a two-sided Chinese

89 Wille 2009, p.30, n.51.

90 Wille 2000, p.2.

91 Wille 2000, p.6.

92 Wille 2000, p.5.

document. Its recto is a register of Khotanese people and their ages. On the verso, a section of the *Analects* and its commentary was copied. Pictures of a number of unpublished Khotanese fragments in the Berlin Collection are available on the website of *Digitales Turfan Archiv* ([http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html](http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html)) under bi (Mitteliranische Texte in Brāhmī-schrift) and KS (Khotansakische Texte). Among them are fragments of secular documents, including bi 45, bi 46, KS 11, and KS 13-18. In all likelihood, these materials are also from Khadalik.

In July 1913, Stein mounted his third Inner Asian expedition from Kashmir. He arrived in Kashgar via Tashkurgan on September 19, and, after some rest and preparation, continued eastwards to Maral-bashi. From there, on October 25, he marched southeastwards into the desert and reached Mazar-tāgh on November 17. Stein obtained some items from the local treasure-seekers who had continued to dig around the ruined fort after Stein’s previous excavation in 1908. This time, Stein himself exposed a Buddhist shrine on the hill. The next day, he left Mazar Tagh for Khotan and arrived on November 21. In Khotan, Stein obtained a number of artifacts from Baddrudin Khan, the Afghan merchant who had been assisting him ever since 1900. Karekin Moldovack, an Armenian merchant settled in Khotan, and a local treasure-seeker named Tokhtakhūn gave Stein additional artifacts. On November 29, Stein visited Toghrak Mazar, a site close to Sampula (not to be confused with Mazar Toghrak in the Domoko Oasis) and found a few manuscripts and artifacts. On November 30, Stein left Khotan and continued his journey east-

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94 Oguchi 2007a and 2007b.

95 Stein 1928, pp.90-94.

96 Stein 1928, pp.99-100.

wards. In the Domoko Oasis, he excavated Kuduk-köl, a small site to the south of Khadalik.\(^9^8\) In January 1914, Stein revisited Mīran, an important site for the study of Khotan in the southeastern corner of the Tarim Basin. This time, Stein exposed more structures and discovered additional Tibetan documents.\(^9^9\) After a long journey full of adventure, exertion, and discovery, Stein returned to Kashgar on May 31, 1915. Baddrudin Khan also came to Kashgar from Khotan to present Stein with a large number of manuscripts and artifacts allegedly from sites around the Domoko Oasis, including Balawaste, Farhad-Beg, Khadalik, and Ile-dong. It is important to bear in mind that Stein was unable to check the provenance of these documents claimed by Baddrudin Khan, and the site-marks on them are provisional and subject to scrutiny. With Baddrudin’s help, Stein packed all his findings during this expedition into 182 cases and made arrangement for them to be sent across the Karakoram to Kashmir via Ladakh. On July 6, Stein left Kashgar and continued his journey westwards, thus riding out of our story.\(^1^0^0\)

The manuscript finds from Stein’s third expedition, both on paper and wood, were subsequently published. Those related to Khotan include the following:

1) Chinese documents discovered in Xinjiang

607 documents preserved in a better state were first published posthumously in Maspéro 1953. Guo Feng published the remaining 420 non-Buddhist fragments.\(^1^0^1\) Chen Guocan published an updated edition of these documents.\(^1^0^2\) Sha Zhi and Frances Wood published a compre-

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\(^9^8\) Stein 1928, pp.127-131.

\(^9^9\) Stein 1928, pp.169-175.

\(^1^0^0\) Stein 1928, pp.842-844.

\(^1^0^1\) Guo Feng 1993.

\(^1^0^2\) Chen Guocan 1995.
hensive edition of all the non-Buddhist Chinese documents with both facsimile and transcription.\textsuperscript{103} Yoshida points out that the Khotanese texts on Balawaste 0160 and Balawaste 0162\textsuperscript{104} are yet to be published.\textsuperscript{105}

2) Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh and Mîran

As with the Tibetan documents from Stein’s second expedition, Thomas first published a selection of them in \textit{TLTD II}, then Takeuchi included all the paper documents in his catalogue.\textsuperscript{106}

3) Khotanese documents from Sampula and Domoko

Bailey published some of them in \textit{KT III} and \textit{KT V}. Skjærvø published all of them with translation in the \textit{Catalogue}.\textsuperscript{107}

4) Sogdian documents from Mazar Tagh

Sims-Williams published them as Fragment 27, 30, and 33.\textsuperscript{108}

In 1914, A. H. Francke, a Moravian missionary and scholar of Tibetan language and religion, set out on an expedition to Xinjiang, where he obtained a fairly large number of manuscripts and artifacts from the British Consul in Kashgar and local residents in Khotan. In his travelogue published in 1921, Francke stated that all his finds were lost during World War I. In 1922, however, he discovered that the crates containing his finds had remained intact in the cellar of some Swedish missionaries in Kashgar. He arranged these finds to be sent to Munich via India.

\textsuperscript{103} Sha and Wood 2005.

\textsuperscript{104} The Chinese texts on these documents have been published in Maspéro 1953, p.186.

\textsuperscript{105} Yoshida 2006, p.37.

\textsuperscript{106} Takeuchi 1998.

\textsuperscript{107} For a list, see \textit{Catalogue}, pp.li-lix.

\textsuperscript{108} Sims-Williams 1976.
in 1928 and thereafter began to compile a catalogue of them. He was unable to finish the catalogue before his death in 1930.\footnote{Gropp 1984, pp.147-148.} The Francke collection was largely forgotten until Gerd Gropp rediscovered it in the Völkerkundemuseum in Munich in 1981. The collection includes about 350 manuscripts on paper and wood in Chinese, Sogdian, and Brahmi scripts.\footnote{Gropp 1984, p.148.} Gropp promised to compile a catalogue of the Francke Collection, but such a catalogue remains to be published.

Among the more than 50 Khotanese fragments in this collection, Emmerick discovered that 16 are from the Saṅghaṭasūtra, five are from the Karmavibhāṅga series, and one is from the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra.\footnote{Emmerick 1984a, p.219.} Canevascini identified two more fragments as being from the Saṅghaṭasūtra, and published all 18 fragments in his critical edition of the Saṅghaṭasūtra. Interestingly, seven of these fragments can be pieced together with manuscripts in the British Collection.\footnote{For the concordance, see Canevascini 1993, p.169.} Maggi identified six more fragments as being from the Karmavibhāṅga series and published all 11 fragments in his critical edition of the Khotanese Karmavibhāṅga.\footnote{Maggi 1995. For the concordance, see p.28.} Skjærvø published one fragment as Manuscript R in his critical edition of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra.\footnote{Skjærvø 2004 vol. II, p.72.} In addition to Buddhist texts, one wooden document in Khotanese from this collection has also been published.\footnote{Emmerick 1990.} All in all, 31 Khotanese fragments from the Francke Collection have been published.

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Gropp 1984, pp.147-148.}
\item \footnote{Gropp 1984, p.148.}
\item \footnote{Emmerick 1984a, p.219.}
\item \footnote{For the concordance, see Canevascini 1993, p.169.}
\item \footnote{Maggi 1995. For the concordance, see p.28.}
\item \footnote{Skjærvø 2004 vol. II, p.72.}
\item \footnote{Emmerick 1990.}
\end{itemize}
published. In other words, about 20 fragments remain unpublished, and they may very well be secular documents.

Nicholas Fitzmaurice, the British Vice-Consul in Kashgar from 1919-1922 and acting Consul-General from May-July 1922, presented two sets of double wooden tablets inscribed with Khotanese writing to the British Museum on July 14, 1923.\(^{116}\) The documents written on these tablets turned out to be two contracts, one concerning water rights (Or. 9268A), the other concerning adoption (Or. 9268B).\(^{117}\)

In July 1922, Clarmont Skrine, a British civil servant, after crossing the Pamir from India in the company of his eccentric Vice-Consul Harold Ivan Harding, arrived in Kashgar to serve as Consul-General. During his term, which ended in September 1924, Skrine took interest in the cultural remains of ancient Khotan. He collected a number of artifacts and manuscripts in Khotan via the Afghan merchant Badruddin Khan and the Armenian merchant Keraken Moldovack, and deposited them in the British museum on June 13, 1925. Skrine later published a book on his experience in Xinjiang.\(^{118}\) The manuscripts in the Skrine Collection (Or.9609-9615) include Buddhist works in Sanskrit and Khotanese, secular documents in Khotanese, and one fragment in Tibetan.\(^{119}\) Most Buddhist manuscripts in the Skrine Collection are folios belonging to much larger works, whose other parts are scattered across various collections in Russia, Germany, the UK, the US and Japan. Incidentally, a half folio of Sanskrit Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra purchased

\(^{116}\) *Catalogue*, p.Ixi.


\(^{118}\) Skrine 1926.

\(^{119}\) *Catalogue*, pp.Ixi-Ixii. For a detailed list, see Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, pp.82-86. The Khotanese manuscripts are published in *Catalogue*, pp.69-82. The Tibetan fragment (Or.9615/12) is published as text 355 in Takeuchi 1998, p.114.
by Skrine fits perfectly with Huntington F, another half folio acquired by Huntington.\textsuperscript{120} This neatly demonstrates that the manuscripts in these collections originated from a common source, that is, Khadalik.

H. I. Harding, British Vice-Consul in Kashgar from July 1922 to July 1923, traveled to Khotan in April 1923, and collected some artifacts and manuscripts there. In September 1923, on his passage through Kashmir, Harding donated his entire collection to the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi. Stein included an inventory of 76 artifacts in the Harding Collection compiled by F. H. Andrews as Appendix M to \textit{Innermost Asia}.\textsuperscript{121} When Stein mentioned H. I. Harding for the first time, he misspelt his name as C. Hardinge, perhaps confusing him with Charles Hardinge, Viceroy of India from 1910-16.\textsuperscript{122} Bailey followed Stein’s misspelling and published the Khotanese fragments in the Harding Collection as Hardinge 072-079 in \textit{KT V}, pp. 271-291. These fragments now bear register numbers starting with Or.8211 or Or.12637.\textsuperscript{123} From the very beginning, Stein claimed that the Harding Collection was acquired from Baddrudin Khan.\textsuperscript{124} Almost all researchers followed him without doubt\textsuperscript{125} until Wang Jiqing, a Chinese scholar specializing in the history of expeditions in Western China, discovered the letter that Harding sent to Stein on June 7, 1923, in which Harding stated explicitly that his collection was

\textsuperscript{120} Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p.82.

\textsuperscript{121} Stein 1928, pp.1052-1056.

\textsuperscript{122} Stein 1928, p.99.

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Catalogue}, pp.120-163.

\textsuperscript{124} Stein 1928, p.99 and p.1052.

\textsuperscript{125} Andrews 1948, p.24; \textit{Catalogue}, p.lxiii; Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p.75.
acquired from Moldovack, not Baddrudin Khan.\textsuperscript{126} This discovery successfully explains why the Khotanese materials in the Harding Collection differ markedly in content from those acquired from Baddrudin Khan around the same time, including Or.11252, Or.11344, the Hedin Collection, and the manuscripts discovered during Stein’s fourth expedition.

In 1926, Emil Trinkler, a German geographer, began to prepare for a Central Asian expedition under the auspices of the Städtischen Museum für Natur- Völker- und Handelskunde in Bremen. He recruited two teammates, Helmut de Terra, another German geographer, and Walter Bosshard, a Swiss photographer. In May 1927, this small German-Swiss expedition team embarked on its journey from Srinagar. On February 28, 1928, they arrived in Khotan and stayed in Baddrudin Khan’s home. In Khotan, Trinkler bought some antiques from Baddrudin Khan\textsuperscript{127} and obtained ‘some archaeological specimens’ from Moldovack.\textsuperscript{128} On March 2, Trinkler set out into the desert without Bosshart, who had fallen ill. Trinkler first visited Ak Sipil, then excavated Rawak, where he obtained several Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh from a local worker named Ekram Hadji.\textsuperscript{129} At Rawak, Bosshard joined Trinkler and they decided to go to Dandan-Uiliq, a site that no European had revisited since Stein’s excavation in 1901. After a week’s march through the desert, they finally reached the site on March 21. Among Trinkler’s finds at Dandan-Uiliq, in addition to some artifacts and several Chinese manuscripts, particularly noteworthy is a manuscript in Sogdian (misidentified as ‘Uigurian script’) found by Kadre Akhon,

\textsuperscript{126} Wang Jiqing 2012, pp.139-140.

\textsuperscript{127} Trinkler 1931, p.171.

\textsuperscript{128} Trinkler 1931, p.175.

\textsuperscript{129} Trinkler 1931, p.186.
one of Trinkler’s workers. This manuscript is significant because it directly testifies to the presence of Sogdians in the Khotan area, if not at Dandan-Uiliq itself, in the late eighth century, when Dandan-Uiliq was still inhabited. On March 25, before leaving Dandan-Uiliq, Trinkler buried near the ruin of a small temple some copies of a Swiss newspaper and a tin with the following words written on the outside: “To the poor fellow who trusts that he will find something here, for his lonely hours, with kindest regards.” This short note would wait in the sands for over 80 years until it was excavated by a team of Sino-Japanese archeologists. On April 2, Trinkler arrived at Mazar-Tagh and began to explore the geography of the area.

In the meantime, Chinese scholars and intellectuals were enraged to learn that another imperialist expedition team was on Chinese soil, looking for opportunities to remove more of the hidden treasures of the nascent republic. So they urged the government of Xinjiang to take action. Before long, messages from authorities in Khotan reached Trinkler and forced him to abort his expedition. Trinkler and de Terra subsequently left Xinjiang for India, leaving behind Bosshard and all their finds. After diplomatic intervention by the British and German governments, Chinese authorities agreed to let Bosshard take away what Trinkler had acquired from Baddrudin Khan and Moldovack, on the ground that these two merchants were British and German subjects respectively. On December 5, 1928, Bosshard left Kashgar for Germany with the finds of the expedition, which later became known as the Trinkler Collection.

130 Trinkler 1931, p.195.

131 Trinkler 1931, p.197.

132 Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, China and the Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruins of Bukkyo University, Japan, 2009, p.41.
Trinkler published a travelogue in German in 1930.\textsuperscript{133} It was translated into English in 1931.\textsuperscript{134} However, his untimely death in 1931 at the age of 35 in an accident postponed the publication of the archeological report of his expedition. In 1974, Gerd Gropp published a systematic study of the Trinkler Collection, now housed in the Übersee-Museum, Bremen. (Gropp 1974). The manuscripts and inscriptions in the Trinkler Collection are listed in Section H in Gropp 1974, including 12 folios of the Khotanese \textit{Suvarṇabhāsasūtra},\textsuperscript{135} a short inscription in Khotanese on a piece of wall-painting,\textsuperscript{136} a small fragment in Sogdian,\textsuperscript{137} several Buddhist texts in Sanskrit,\textsuperscript{138} and 12 Tibetan documents.\textsuperscript{139} The collection contains no secular Khotanese documents.

From April 1928 to October 1929, Huang Wenbi, a young Chinese archeologist, conducted the first Chinese archeological expedition in Xinjiang. From April to June 1929, Huang visited and investigated various sites in the Khotan area, including Mazar Tagh, old Domoko, Khadalik, Karadung, Ak-sipil, and Kohmati.\textsuperscript{140} During this expedition, Huang collected a number of

\textsuperscript{133} Trinkler 1930.

\textsuperscript{134} Trinkler 1931.

\textsuperscript{135} These manuscripts were first published in Konow 1935, then in \textit{KT V}, pp.106-119, and finally as 6.1.34-6.3.17 and 12.6-13.6 in Skjærvø 2004, vol.II, pp.20-26, and pp.33-36. Five of them are now housed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and the whereabouts of the rest is unknown. Only photos of them are preserved in the Khotanese manuscript photo collections in Hamburg. See Skjærvø 2004, vol.II, p.16.

\textsuperscript{136} Emmerick published this short inscription with commentary as H.a. in Gropp 1974, pp.362-364.

\textsuperscript{137} As mentioned above, this Sogdian fragment should be the one discovered by Kadre Akhon in Dandan-Uiliq. Gropp took it to be among the manuscripts that Trinkler acquired from Ekram Hadji at Rawak.

\textsuperscript{138} Including 9 folios belonging to the ‘Kashgar’ manuscript of the Sanskrit \textit{Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra}, published in Bechert 1972.

\textsuperscript{139} Published in Taube 1980 as Text 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 22, and 116. See the concordance on p.31.

\textsuperscript{140} Huang 1958, pp.42-54.
manuscripts and published their facsimiles in his archeological report.\textsuperscript{141} Among the non-Chinese materials on plate 73-93, a large portion (plates 78-90 and very likely plate 75) turned out to be forgeries.\textsuperscript{142} Similar or almost identical forgeries were also purchased by Stein, Trinkler, and Ambolt, who traveled to Khotan and collected artifacts and manuscripts at around the same time. The western explorers, however, were wise enough not to publish these forgeries.\textsuperscript{143} Interestingly, three forgeries on plate 81 and 82 are apparently imitations of Hedin 20, an authentic document in Khotanese concluded by a disproportionately large signature in Chinese.\textsuperscript{144} These imitations demonstrate that the forgers must have had some access to the authentic documents. As for the authentic documents, Waldschmit briefly described those in Brahmī script, including four Tocharian documents on plate 73 and 74 and some Sanskrit fragments on plate 76 and 77.\textsuperscript{145} Werner Sundermann published the fragment in Manichean Middle Persian on plate 77.\textsuperscript{146} Ching Chao-jung transcribed and translated the four Tocharian documents on Plate 73-74.\textsuperscript{147} Four poorly preserved Tocharian wooden documents on plate 91-93 are deemed illegible.\textsuperscript{148} A small wooden slip with Khotanese writing on plate 93 seems to have escaped Waldschmidt’s attention. This slip must be authentic, since Huang Wenbi acquired it together with other artifacts during exca-

\textsuperscript{141} Huang 1958, pl. 71-93.
\textsuperscript{142} Waldschmidt 1959, pp.233-34.
\textsuperscript{143} U. Sims-Williams 2000, p.123.
\textsuperscript{144} Rosén 2001, pp.171-172.
\textsuperscript{145} Waldschmidt 1959, pp.238-242.
\textsuperscript{146} Sundermann 1981, pp.111-112.
\textsuperscript{147} Ching Chao-jung 2012.
\textsuperscript{148} Waldschmidt 1959, p.238, n.3.
vation at Mazar Tagh.\textsuperscript{149} This wooden slip, the only authentic Khotanese secular document in the Huang Wenbi Collection, remains unpublished.

On October 11, 1930, Frederick Williamson, the British Consul-General in Kashgar from October 1927 to October 1930, presented to the British Museum a large roll made of 41 Khotanese fragments glued together.\textsuperscript{150} These fragments, to which the shelf number Or.11252 was assigned, are mostly secular documents, and were probably acquired from Baddrudin Khan.

From August 11, 1930 to July 2, 1931, Stein conducted his fourth and final Inner Asian expedition. To a large degree, this expedition failed as a result of fierce and dogged opposition by Chinese scholars who deemed it another attempt by imperialists to pillage China’s ancient past.\textsuperscript{151} Although Stein’s activities were closely monitored by Chinese officials in his company, he nonetheless managed to carry out some archeological work and discovered artifacts and manuscripts in Domoko, Niya, and Endere between November 1930 and February 1931.\textsuperscript{152} He also acquired some manuscripts from Baddrudin Khan.\textsuperscript{153} On February 11, an order from Chinese authorities reached Stein, informing him that his visa had been annulled and he must abort his expedition and leave China immediately. By way of Korla, Kucha, and Aqsu, Stein returned to Kashgar with all his finds on April 25. During his stay there, Stein photographed the manuscripts with the help of George Sheriff, the British Consul-General in Kashgar. On May 18, Stein left Kashgar for Srinagar, leaving behind his finds in China. On November 21, the materials were

\textsuperscript{149} Huang 1958, p.45.
\textsuperscript{150} Catalogue, p.lxii.
\textsuperscript{151} Brysac 2004.
\textsuperscript{152} Wang Jiqing 2004, pp.305-402.
\textsuperscript{153} Wang 1998, pp.269-272.
passed to Chinese authorities in Xinjiang, and their whereabouts have been unknown since.\textsuperscript{154} Of all the manuscripts found in this expedition, only 31 photographs remain, including those of Chinese wooden documents and Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya, five Khotanese documents from Domoko, and some forgeries.\textsuperscript{155} The five Khotanese documents are known as Achma, Domoko A4, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Domoko F. Among them, Domoko C and Domoko D are bilingual Chinese-Khotanese documents.\textsuperscript{156}

On January 9, 1932, George Sheriff, the British Consul-General in Kashgar from October 1930 to September 1931, presented to the British Museum two parcels of manuscripts, including 18 fragments of Khotanese manuscripts and some forgeries.\textsuperscript{157} The authentic fragments, catalogued under the register number Or.11344, are mostly secular documents, bearing striking resemblance to those presented by Williamson, under the register number Or.11252. Wang Jiqing conjectured that Sheriff may have obtained these materials from either Stein or Baddrudin Khan.\textsuperscript{158} Ursula Sims-Williams quoted a letter from Sheriff, stating explicitly that he acquired these materials not from Stein but from the “Aqsaqal” of Khotan, i.e., Baddrudin Khan.\textsuperscript{159} Conceivably, the manuscripts in Or.11252 and Or.11344 were gifts that Baddrudin Khan presented respectively to Williamson and Sheriff during their tours in Khotan when serving as the British Consul-General.

\textsuperscript{154} U. Sims-Williams 2000, pp.123.
\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Catalogue}, p. lxii; U. Sims-Williams 2000, p.123.
\textsuperscript{158} Wang Jiqing 1994, pp.95-102.
\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Catalogue}, pp.lxii-lxiii.
eral in Kashgar. The similarity of these two groups of manuscripts also points to a common provenance. Both groups were first published in *KT II*, pp.15-38 and *KT III*, pp.13-15, and again with translation in *Catalogue*, pp.82-115.

In 1932-1933, the astronomer Nils Ambolt and the geologist Erik Norin worked in the Khotan area as members of the Sino-Swedish Expedition. Both purchased paper manuscripts and wooden documents from local Turks. Those purchased by Norin turned out to be all forgeries. Those purchased by Ambolt included both forgeries and authentic documents. These materials were later deposited in the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm and became known as the Hedin Collection. In 1957, Nils Simonsson published four Tibetan folios of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* in the Hedin Collection. In 1961, Bailey published in *KT IV* all the Khotanese materials in the Hedin Collection, including 30 paper manuscripts and 45 wooden documents, in transcription with translation and commentary, together with two facsimiles. More facsimiles were published in *SD*, but a complete facsimile edition of the Khotanese materials in the Hedin Collection is yet to be published. Bailey updated the transcription and translation of some documents in the Hedin Collection in *SDTV*. During his visit to the Museum of Ethnography in 1985, Rong Xinjiang discovered in the Hedin Collection a dated wooden slip neglected by Bailey, because the slip contains only Chinese. Zhang and Rong published its facsimile and dating formula. A colored facsimile of this document was published in Japan together with two forg-

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160 Rosén 2001, p.162.
161 Simonsson 1957, pp.16-20.
162 Zhang and Rong 1988, pp.75-76.
eries.\textsuperscript{163} Yoshida published the entire text.\textsuperscript{164} Takeuchi published three Tibetan secular documents in the Hedin Collection.\textsuperscript{165}

Among the paper documents in the Hedin Collection, Hedin 15 and 16 closely parallel Domoko C and D, two documents discovered by Stein during his fourth expedition. The documents in Or.11252 and Or.11344 also display remarkable similarities in form and content to those in the Hedin Collection.\textsuperscript{166} These four groups of documents (namely, the Khotanese documents discovered by Stein during his fourth expedition, the majority of paper documents and one wooden slip in the Hedin Collection, and all the documents in Or.11252 and Or.11344) must belong to a larger text group, which Yoshida designates as Archive 3.\textsuperscript{167} Most of the documents on wood and some paper documents in the Hedin Collection, however, do not belong to Archive 3.

As the political climate in China changed to the disadvantage of foreign explorers, expeditions in Khotan ceased after the 1930s.

Archeological activities in Khotan resumed toward the end of last century. From 1991 to 1996, archeologists from China and France jointly investigated the Keriya River and discovered a new settlement to the north of Karadong.\textsuperscript{168} The wooden tallies discovered during this excavation may very well contain texts in Khotanese.\textsuperscript{169} From 1994 to 1998, Christoph Baumer, a Swiss

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{163} 日本書道教育業議 (編) 『スウェン・ヘディン楼蘭発現 残紙・木牘』東京 1988 p. 128, no.117. No. 115 and 116 are forgeries.

\textsuperscript{164} Yoshida 2006, p.27.

\textsuperscript{165} Takeuchi 1994.

\textsuperscript{166} Zhang and Rong 1988, pp.72-74.

\textsuperscript{167} Yoshida 2006, pp.57-60.

\textsuperscript{168} Debaine-Francfort and Idriss, 2001.

\textsuperscript{169} Yoshida 2006, p.34.
\end{footnotesize}
explorer, came to Xinjiang and visited Dandan-Uiliq, Endere, Kara-dong, and other sites in the
Khotan area.\textsuperscript{170} He excavated a number of artifacts in Dandan-Uiliq,\textsuperscript{171} including an amulet in
Khotanese.\textsuperscript{172} It was lying on the surface and noticed by his Norwegian companion when he sat
down for a smoke. From 2002 to 2006, Chinese and Japanese archeologists jointly formed a
team and systematically excavated Dandan-Uiliq.\textsuperscript{173} The only textual finding of this expedition is
a short inscription on a piece of wall painting.\textsuperscript{174} This was the most recent archeological expedition in Khotan to date.

Alongside the resumed archeological activities in Khotan, a trickle of new Khotanese
documents came to light. In 1984, Emmerick transcribed and translated a newly discovered
Khotanese document on a set of double wooden tablets first published in facsimile in \textit{China Pictorial} 1981, no.1, p.38.\textsuperscript{175} This document, designated as Urumqi 1, is a slave purchase contract
dating from the fourth regnal year of Viša’ Sīhya, a King of Khotan previously unattested. In
1991, Skjærvø published another set of double wooden tablets with Khotanese writings redis-
covered in the India Office Library.\textsuperscript{176} This set of double tablets, catalogued as IOL Khot Wood
1, consists of two documents. The first one, written on the inside of the tablets, dates from the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{170} Baumer 2000.
\item \textsuperscript{171} Baumer 1999.
\item \textsuperscript{172} First published in Skjærvø 2008, and again in Duan Qing 2009c.
\item \textsuperscript{173} Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, China and the Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruins of Bukkyo University, Japan, 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{174} Wen Xin and Duan Qing 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{175} Emmerick 1984.
\item \textsuperscript{176} Skjærvø 1991, pp.272-75. He also an updated transcription and translation of Urumqi 1 and Or.9268A, two similar Khotanese documents on double wooden tablets. See \textit{ibid.}, pp. 275-78.
\end{itemize}
first regnal year of Viṣya’ Śīhya. The second one, written on the outside of the tablets, dates from
the second year of Viṣa Dharma. The document on the outside must have been written after the
document on the inside and the sealing of the tablets. Consequently, Viṣya’ Śīhya’s reign must
predate Viṣa Dharma’s. In 1997, Duan Qing and Wang Binghua published yet another set of
Khotanese double wooden tablets acquired by Wang Binghua in Khotan in 1973. This set of
double tablets, designated as WBH01, contains a slave purchase contract dating from the fifth
regnal year of Viṣya Vikrāṃ, the King of Khotan whose reign began in 692. In 1998, Aziz
Abdurishit published the Chinese texts on four newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese wooden
tallies dating from 727. In 2005, Skjærvø published an account in Khotanese on a wooden
tablet in the collection of Sam Fogg, London.

After 2005, due to rampant illegal excavations (or rather ‘treasure-hunting’), the trickle of
new documents from Khotan gradually became a torrent. These new materials can be divided
into three groups according to their current locations: 1) those in the National Library of China;
2) those in the Museum of Renmin University; 3) those in various institutions in Xinjiang. Duan
Qing is largely responsible for the publication of new Khotanese materials. She published the
following secular documents: 1) BH1-15, a Chinese-Khotanese register of residents of several

177 Ibid. pp.262-64.
178 Duan Qing and Wang 1997.
179 The name of the king is read incorrectly as Viṣya Virya in ibid., p.7.
182 Skjærvø 2005.
villages in Khotan;\(^{183}\) 2) BH4-66, a contract of slave purchase on a set of double wooden tablet;\(^{184}\) 3) BH5-1, an annulment of a previous loan contract on a set of double wooden tablet;\(^{185}\) 4) BH5-2, another contract of slave purchase on a set of double wooden tablet;\(^{186}\) 5) BH4-13, a long account of expenditure on paper;\(^{187}\) 6) GXW0107, an account of loans on paper; 7) GXW0038, a fragmentary order; 8) GXW0163, a loan contract on paper;\(^{188}\) 9) 09ZJ0032, a fragmentary order on paper issued by \(spāta\) Vaisa;\(^{189}\) 10) HTB000397, a loan contract of mulberry trees in the Hetian Museum;\(^{190}\) 11) Qira 04, a land purchase contract on a set of double wooden tablet.\(^{191}\) Duan Qing also published a large number of new Khotanese manuscripts of Buddhist content.\(^{192}\) In 2008, Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin published 35 newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese wooden tallies together with those four first published in 1998.\(^{193}\) In 2014, Wen Xin

\(^{183}\) Duan Qing 2009a (in English), Duan Qing 2010 (in Chinese). In both articles, this document still bears the provisional register number X15.

\(^{184}\) First published in Duan Qing 2008b, updated in Duan Qing 2013c, pp.245-266, and again in Duan Qing 2015, pp.67-80.

\(^{185}\) First published in Duan Qing 2013d (in Chinese), updated in Duan Qing 2014b (in English) and Duan Qing 2015, pp.81-96 (in Chinese). Duan Qing 2014b is collected in Duan Qing 2015, pp.125-143.

\(^{186}\) First published in Duan Qing 2013b, updated in Duan Qing 2015, pp.97-117.

\(^{187}\) Duan Qing 2016. These five documents are preserved in the National Library of China.

\(^{188}\) GXW0107, GXW0038, and GXW0163 are Chinese-Khotanese bilingual documents on paper preserved in the Museum of Renmin University, published in Duan Qing and Li Jianqiang 2014.

\(^{189}\) Duan Qing 2013e.

\(^{190}\) Duan Qing and Hotan Museum 2008 (in Chinese), Duan Qing 2009b (in English).

\(^{191}\) First published in Duan Qing and AOPCR of Cele County 2013 (in Chinese), reprinted in Duan Qing 2013c, pp.267-284, and again in Duan Qing 2014a (in English) with an updated translation. This document is one of the four sets of double wooden tablets preserved in the Cultural Administration Bureau of Qira County, Xinjiang. The remaining three are yet to be published.

\(^{192}\) For those in the National Library of China, see Duan Qing 2015. For those in the Museum of Xinjiang, see Duan Qing 2013e.

\(^{193}\) Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 2008.
published a long Khotanese document on a wooden tablet, which bears remarkable resemblance to the tablet published in Skjærvø 2005.194

In addition to documents in Khotanese, documents in Chinese also surfaced in Khotan. From 2001 to 2009, Li Yinping, an archeologist based in Khotan, published 15 new Chinese documents discovered in Khotan in private collections.195 Three Chinese documents from Khotan were collected in Urumqi in 2006 and published in 2008.196 As mentioned above, a large number of new documents from Khotan went into the possession of the National Library of China and the Museum of Renmin University. Rong Xinjiang gave an overview of those in Chinese and published several as examples.197 He further reported that there are also Khotanese and Tibetan ones among the documents from Khotan in the Museum of Renmin University,198 but none has been published yet. A selection of the new Chinese documents from Khotan have been published,199 but a systematic and comprehensive publication is still lacking.

Documents in languages other than Khotanese, Chinese, and Tibetan have also been discovered in Khotan. In 2008, Shi Guang and I published a Judaeo-Persian document.200 This doc-

194 Wen Xin 2014.
195 L1 and L2 in Li Yinping 2001; L3, L4, C1, and C2 in Li Yinping 2004; C3-C6 in Li Yinping 2007a; C7 in Li Yinping 2009; C8-C11 in 2007b. Note that C5 is a double-sided document, including a Chinese document (C5A) on one side and a Khotanese document (C5B) on the other. A small photograph of C5B is published in Li Yinping 2007a, p.23, but the text remains unedited. Among these documents, L4 later went into the collection of the Museum of Renmin University, and reedited in Rong 2011, p.50.
197 Rong Xinjiang 2011.
198 Ibid., p.43.
200 Zhang Zhan and Shi Guang 2008
ument, now designated as BH1-19, is very similar to the Judaeo-Persian document acquired by Stein during his first expedition. Bi Bo and Sims-Williams published 13 Sogdian documents held in the Museum of Renmin University, four in 2010 and the remaining nine in 2015.\textsuperscript{201} In 2010, Yoshida transcribed and translated IOL Khot 158/5, a previously unedited Sogdian fragment in the Hoernle Collection.\textsuperscript{202} In 2013, I published a small Sogdian fragment from Khotan preserved in the Museum of Xinjiang.\textsuperscript{203} In 2016, Yoshida published a small Sogdian fragment preserved in the National Library of China.\textsuperscript{204} While waiting for these exciting new materials to be published in full,\textsuperscript{205} in this dissertation, I would like to confine myself to the secular Khotanese documents in various collections that have already been published.

Nearly all the early 20th century expeditions to Khotan yielded manuscript finds, most of which were taken back to the home countries of the expedition teams. As a result, Khotanese manuscripts are now scattered across various collections all over the world. As far as secular Khotanese documents are concerned, three collections stand out: the Hedin Collection in Stockholm, the Russian Collection in Saint Petersburg, and the British Collection in London.

In 1961, Bailey published the entire Hedin collection in transcription together with translation and commentary in \textit{KT IV}. In 1993, Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja and Emmerick published the Russian Collection in facsimile in \textit{SD VII}, and in transcription with translation and commentary

\textsuperscript{201} See Bi Bo and Sims-Williams 2010 and 2015. Bi Bo and Sims-Williams 2016 is an updated Chinese version of Bi Bo and Sims-Williams 2010.

\textsuperscript{202} Yoshida 2010, p.6.

\textsuperscript{203} Zhang Zhan 2013.

\textsuperscript{204} See Appendix II in Duan Qing 2016, p.115.

\textsuperscript{205} The number of new manuscripts and artifacts from Khotan in the collection of the National Library of China alone exceeds 500, as reported in Bi Bo and Sims-Williams 2016, p.188.
in *SDTV III* in 1995. In 2002, Skjærvø published the monumental *Catalogue of Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library*, in which all the Khotanese manuscripts held in the British Collection are transcribed and translated.

With the publication of the *Catalogue*, almost all the Khotanese secular documents from Khotan became available both in transcription and translation, thus rendering possible and desirable a thorough study of them across the boundaries of different collections.

Yutaka Yoshida, a Japanese scholar known for his work on Sogdian materials, was the first to respond to this development. In 2006, he published an important work in Japanese: *Notes on the Khotanese documents of the 8th-9th centuries unearthed from Khotan*. In this work, he groups extant Khotanese secular documents into five archives (Archive 0 to Archive 4) according to their contents, thus establishing a convenient framework for further discussions. Following Yoshida’s grouping, Wen Xin listed the groups of documents assigned to each archive. Shen Chen discerned some imperfections in Wen Xin’s grouping and gave a modified list. Based on Yoshida, Wen Xin, and Shen Chen’s work, I divide the secular Khotanese documents from Khotan into six archives, as shown in the following table:

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207 See Table 1 in Wen Xin 2008a, p.122.

208 See Table 1 in Shen Chen 2015, p.9.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Central Figure</th>
<th>Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 0</td>
<td>700-750</td>
<td>Domoko (?)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>The double wooden tablets; the Chinese-Khotanese wooden Tallies Some documents from the Harding Collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 1-1</td>
<td>Around 767</td>
<td>Domoko</td>
<td>Vaśā’rasaṃga</td>
<td>Hedin 32 to Hedin 75 except Hedin 57; IOl Khot Wood 60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 1-2</td>
<td>around 773-787</td>
<td>Domoko</td>
<td>Budasaṃga</td>
<td>Hedin 2, Hedin 4, Hedin 25, Hedin 26, Hedin 29; SI P 139.1, SI P 140.1, SI P 142.1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 2</td>
<td>770-791</td>
<td>Dandan Uilik</td>
<td>Siḍaka</td>
<td>Or.6392-Or.6402; the secular documents discovered by Stein in Dandan Uilik. SI P 92.1 to SI P 136.1 in the Petrovsky Collection; SI M 50 to SI M 53 in the Malov Collection;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3</td>
<td>798-802</td>
<td>Domoko</td>
<td>Sudāṛjrāṃ and Sāṃdara</td>
<td>Or.11252 (except Or.11252/1); Or.11344; 18 out of the 30 documents on paper in the Hedin Collection; Hedin 31 and Hedin 57; The five documents acquired by Stein during his fourth Inner Asian Expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 4</td>
<td>After 791</td>
<td>Mazar Tagh</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>The secular documents discovered by Stein at Mazar Tagh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table II-1 Archives of Secular Khotanese texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Central Figure</th>
<th>Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 5</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Khadalik</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>The secular documents from Khadalik acquired by Stein; the secular documents in the Skrine Collection (Or. 9611, Or.9612, and Or.9615); the secular documents in the Malov Collection excluding SI M 50-53; Hedin 7; Crosby 272/273; Some documents in the Harding Collection.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Archive 0 consists of the Khotanese documents dating from the first half of the eighth century, including the double wooden tablets,\(^{209}\) the Chinese-Khotanese wooden tallies,\(^{210}\) and some documents from the Harding Collection.\(^{211}\)

Archive 1 consists of two groups of documents. The first one includes 43 wooden tallies in the Hedin collection. These wooden tallies are orders concerning tax collection issued to a Khotanese man named Vaśi’rasaṃga.\(^{212}\) Thanks to a similar Chinese wooden slip in the Hedin Collection, which bears the date of 767, the date of this archive can be established with confi-

\(^{209}\) To date, nine sets of double tablets have been published: Or.9268A (Catalogue, pp.66-68), Or. 9268B (Catalogue, pp.68-69), IOL Khot Wood 1 (Catalogue, pp.557-559), Urumqi 1 (Skjærvø 1991, pp.275-276), WBH01 (Duan Qing and Wang Binghua 1997), BH4-66 (Duan Qing 2015, pp.67-80), BH5-1 (Duan Qing 2015, pp.81-96), BH5-2 (Duan Qing 2015, pp.97-117), Qira 04 (Duan Qing 2014a). Note that Qira 04 dates from 777, see Duan Qing 2014a, p.349.

\(^{210}\) Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 2008. These tallies, 39 in total, bear the date of 722 and 727.

\(^{211}\) Such as Or.12637/14.1, a document from Viśya Vikram’s reign. See Catalogue, p.124.

\(^{212}\) Yoshida 2006, pp.50-54.
dence. The second group in Archive 1, which is not in Yoshida’s grouping, consists of at least five document in the Hedin collection and three in the Petrovsky Collection, all concerning a man named Budasaṃga, including a loan contract in 773 and a petition by Budasaṃga’s wife in 787 after Budasaṃga’s death.

Archive 2 consists of the documents from Dandan Uiliq, or Gaysāta as it is known in the Khotanese texts, including the early acquisitions in the Hoernle Collection, the documents excavated by Stein in Dandan Uiliq, and the majority of the secular documents in the Russian Collection. These documents, dating from 770-791, seem to belong to the personal archive of a Khotanese man named Sīdaka in Gaysāta.

Archive 3 consists of the documents under the register number Or.11252 and Or.11344 in the British Library, 18 documents on paper and two documents on wood in the Hedin collection, and the five documents discovered by Stein during his fourth Inner Asian expedi-

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213 Yoshida 2006, p.27.
214 Hedin 26, see KT IV, p.38.
215 Hedin 2, see KT IV, pp.21-22.
216 Or.6392-Or.6402, see Catalogue, pp.3-26.
217 For a concordance of the signatures and shelf numbers of these documents, see Catalogue, pp.590-591.
219 See Yoshida 2006, pp.54-57.
220 Excluding Or.11252/1, a divination text. See Catalogue, pp.85-104.
221 Catalogue, pp.104-115.
222 Hedin 1, 3, 5, 6, 8-18, 19-21, 24, 31, 57. See KT IV, pp.21-37, p.41, and p.47.
These documents, dating from 798 and 802, seem to belong to the personal archive of a Khotanese official named Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara, a town located in the vicinity of the present-day Domoko Oasis.\textsuperscript{224}

Archive 4 consists of the Khotanese documents excavated by Stein from Mazar Tagh.\textsuperscript{225} Documents from this archive all date from the early ninth century, when Khotan was under Tibetan control. A large number of Tibetan documents on paper and on wood from the same period have also been excavated in Mazar Tagh.\textsuperscript{226} A study combining the Khotanese and the Tibetan materials is yet to be conducted.

Archive 5, which is not in Yoshida’s grouping, consists of Khotanese documents from Khadalik, the site of a Buddhist monastery in the vicinity of the Domoko Oasis. This archive includes the secular document discovered by Stein at Khadalik,\textsuperscript{227} the secular documents in the Skrine Collection,\textsuperscript{228} the secular documents in the Malov Collection excluding SI M 50-53,\textsuperscript{229}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{223} Achma, Domoko A4, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Domoko F. Only their photographs have been preserved. See Catalogue, pp.581-582.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Yoshida 2006, pp.57-60.
\item \textsuperscript{225} For a concordance of the signatures and shelf numbers of these documents, see Catalogue, pp.597-599.
\item \textsuperscript{226} A selection of these documents have been published TLTD II. All the Tibetan documents on paper from Mazar Tagh have been published in Takeuchi 1998. A comprehensive publication of the Tibetan documents on wood from Mazar Tagh is still in preparation.
\item \textsuperscript{227} For a concordance of the signatures and shelf numbers of these documents, see Catalogue, pp.594-597.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Including texts in Or.9611, Or.9612, and Or.9615. See Catalogue, pp.77-78 and pp.80-82.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Hedin 7, Crosby 272/273, the only secular document in the Crosby Collection, and some documents in the Harding Collection.

Numerous secular Khotanese documents from Khotan, many of which bear the register number IOL Khot or IOL Khot Wood, are not included in the above six archives. I wish to incorporate these remaining documents into this framework of archives in the future. At present, due to the limits of time and space, I focus solely on Archive 3. Now, let’s turn to the history of Khotan during the seventh to the ninth centuries so as to set the scene for further discussions of the documents in Archive 3.

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231 This text has been described in Emmerick 1993, p.59, but not published yet.

232 Such as Or.8211/1457, Or.8211/1475 in Catalogue, p.39 and p.41. At present, I am unable to give a complete list of documents belonging to Archive 5 in the Harding Collection. More research on this collection is needed.
Chapter II: A History of Khotan from the Seventh to the Ninth Century

The history of Khotan has been shaped by its geography. An oasis city-state on the southern rim of the Taklamkan desert, Khotan was of key importance on the so-called Silk Road, the east-westward route linking China and Central Asia. It also commanded a strategic point on the north-southward route. To the north of Khotan, Aqsu is easily accessible along the Karakash and the Yurungkash rivers, which converge to become the Khotan River some 150 km north of the Khotan oasis. During the Tang Dynasty, there was busy traffic along the Khotan River, evidenced by the relay posts established along it. Today, China’s National Highway 217 runs along this route. To the south, two routes lead to western Tibet. One runs through Aksai Chin, a high-altitude desert area between the Kunlun Mountains and the Karakoram Mountains. The other route goes across the Sanju Pass, the Shahidullah Pass, the Suget Pass, the Karakoram Pass, and finally reaching Ladakh. During the nineteenth century, travelers from British India, such as William H. Johnson in 1865 and Thomas Douglas Forsyth in 1870 and 1873, often took the latter route, which, today, has been replaced by the Karakoram Highway via Tashkurgan and Gilgit.

Khotan’s accessibility made it one of the key oases in the Tarim Basin. Any political power intending to dominate the Tarim Basin must take control of Khotan. In addition, like other oases, Khotan is geographically isolated. Sandwiched between the Takalamakan desert to the

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233 The term ‘Silk Road’ was coined by the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen in 1877. For a discussion on the development and reception of this term see Waugh 2007.

234 Chen Guocan 2008.

north and the Kunlun Mountains to the south, Khotan possesses only a limited amount of arable land. In pre-modern times, it could only support a relatively limited population. According to the national census conducted in the 740s, there were 4974 families in Kucha, 1167 families in Yan-qi, 4487 families in Khotan, and 1860 families in Kashgar. This rather small population meant that Khotan, like other oasis city-states in the Tarim Basin, was unable to organize and maintain a large local army or to support a large foreign one. The kings of Khotan were must have been keenly aware of this constraint and understood its political implications.

During the seventh to ninth centuries, when the great political powers were vying for supremacy in Central Asia, Khotan lacked the resources to defend itself militarily and had to switch allegiance among the major powers, be it the Western Turks, the Tang Chinese, or the Tibetans. At the same time, also due to lack of resources, the dominating powers were unable to take direct control of Khotan either. The kings of Khotan, by claiming allegiance to the dominating power, were able to maintain a certain degree of autonomy for themselves. This maneuver, however, required them to be flexible and quick in response to the waxing and waning of powers. They made the right choices for the most part, but also paid hefty prices for their miscalculations. In either case, their political choices can be better understood when viewed from their own perspective. It is with this indigenous perspective in mind that I divide the history of Khotan from the seventh to the ninth century into the following six periods:

I. Before 658: Under the Western Turks
II. 658-692: Between the Tang and the Tibetans
III. 692-755: Firmly under the Tang

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I. Before 658: Under the Western Turks

During the first half of the seventh century, the Western Turks dominated Central Asia. The territory under their control extended over a vast area, including the Tarim Basin, Dzungaria, Semireche, Sogdiana, Tocharia, and even to the south of Hindukush. The Qaghanate of the Western Turks, like all the other nomadic polities before and after it, was loosely structured. Its rule over its territory was neither direct nor uniform. Generally speaking, the Qaghanate employed three modes of ruling over its territory. On the steppes, the Qaghan maintained the traditional political structure of the nomads: He ruled his own tribe directly and was recognized as the head of the confederation by other tribes. In the sedentary area, the Qaghan ruled indirectly, often appointing his family members as local rulers. For example, Ton Yabghu Qaghan installed his eldest son to rule Kapiša, near modern-day Begram, Afghanistan. In other cases, the Qaghan conferred the title Iltäbar on the local ruler and installed an official known as a Tudun to oversee the local ruler and levy taxes. The city-state itself enjoyed semi-independence to a certain degree. The oasis city-states located along the periphery of the Tarim Basin, including Khotan, fall into this category.²³⁷

In 628, Ton Yabghu was killed and his Qaghanate soon devolved into civil war. Consequently, the Western Turks’ grip on the Tarim Basin weakened significantly. In the meantime,

Tang China was on the rise. After a series of offensive campaigns against the Eastern Turkic Qaghanate, which had already been plagued by natural disasters and internal conflicts, Tang forces crushed the Eastern Turkic army in 630, captured their Qaghan, thus dealing the final blow to the Eastern Turkic Qaghanate.\textsuperscript{238}

The rulers of the oases in the Tarim Basin quickly sensed the change of the political climate and began sending embassies to Chang’an to express their goodwill to the Tang Emperor. In 631,\textsuperscript{239} the king of Kucha Sufadie,\textsuperscript{240} sent envoys to the Tang court and presented horses as tribute. In 632, the King of Khotan sent an embassy to Chang’an and presented a jade belt as tribute.\textsuperscript{241} In the same year, an embassy sent by Long Tujizhi, the king of Yanqi, also arrived in Chang’an.\textsuperscript{242} In 635, the Tang court received an embassy from Yanqi, two from Khotan, and one from Kashgar.\textsuperscript{243} In one embassy, the King of Khotan upgraded the diplomatic relationship between him and the Tang court by sending one of his sons to Chang’an as hostage.\textsuperscript{244} In 636, Chang’an received embassies from Yanqi, Khotan, Kashgar, and Kargharik.\textsuperscript{245} In 640, Tang forces conquered the kingdom of Gaochang (present-day Turfan) and incorporated the oasis city-

\textsuperscript{238} Wu Yuguı 1998, pp.207-227.

\textsuperscript{239} See CFYG, juan 970, p.11229. In both JTS, juan 198, p.5303 and XTS, juan 221a, p.6230, it is recorded that the envoy from Kucha was received in 630, a date implausibly early. The Tang forces defeated the Turks in the third month of that year. It must have taken more than a few months for the news to reach Kucha and the envoys to reach Chang’an.

\textsuperscript{240} Or *Swarnatepe, as reconstructed in Lévi 1913, p.319.

\textsuperscript{241} CFYG, juan 970, p.11229, JTS, juan 198, p.5305, and XTS, juan 221a, p.6235.

\textsuperscript{242} CFYG, juan 970, p.11229, JTS, juan 198, p.5301, and XTS, juan 221a, p.6229.

\textsuperscript{243} CFYG, juan 970, p.11229.

\textsuperscript{244} JTS, juan 198, p.5305 has “in the 13th year (of Zhengan)”, or year 639, as opposed to ‘three years later’, that is, year 635, in XTS, juan 221a, p.6235, agreeing with “in the 9th year (of Zhengan)” in CFYG, juan 970, p.11229.

\textsuperscript{245} CFYG, v970, p.11229.
state into the national administrative system as a prefecture,\textsuperscript{246} thus initiating an expansionist foreign policy that would last for the next fifty years. After 640, the King of Khotan continued to send embassies to the Tang court. The last one arrived in Chang’an in the first month of 645.\textsuperscript{247} Xuan Zang, the great Buddhist pilgrim and translator, who, on his way back from India, passed through Khotan and was warmly received by the king, also arrived in the same month.\textsuperscript{248} It is very likely, therefore, that the embassy of Khotan escorted Xuan Zang to Chang’an.

In 648, after a series of campaigns, Tang conquered Kucha, the largest oasis in the Tarim Basin, and established its dominance over the entire Tarim Basin.\textsuperscript{249} Fushe Xin, the King of Khotan at that time, promptly responded to the new situation. He sent his son to the Tang army to present 300 camels as a gift, but this was not enough. Xue Wanbei, a Tang general, volunteered to visit Khotan with 50 horsemen and managed to persuade the King of Khotan to pay homage to the Tang emperor in person. He received honorific titles and generous gifts, stayed for several months, and left his subordinates as hostages in Chang’an.\textsuperscript{250} As we shall see, during the sixth to ninth centuries, the kings of Khotan consistently opted for submission over confrontation when faced with a military threat.

In 650, Ashina Helu, a Western Turk nobleman who had previously defected to Tang, re-united the ten tribes of the Western Turks, asserted independence from Tang, and tried to reestab-

\textsuperscript{246} For the administrative system established in Turfan after 640, see Zhang Guangda 1988.

\textsuperscript{247} CFYG, juan 970, p.11230.

\textsuperscript{248} Huili and Yancong 2000, p.126.

\textsuperscript{249} ZZTJ, juan 199, pp.6264-6265.

\textsuperscript{250} JTS, juan 198, p.5305, and XTS, juan 221a, p.6235. Fushe Xin arrived in Chang’an with Xue Wanbei in 649. See CFYG, juan 999, p.11555.
lish dominance over the Tarim Basin. In 657, after conducting three major campaigns over seven years, Tang forces finally defeated Ashina Helu and restored its hegemony over the Tarim Basin. Khotan and other oasis states remained outside these conflicts, and simply waited for the final victor to emerge so that they could offer their submission.

II. 658-692: Between Tang and Tibet

In 658, in order to tighten its grasp on the Tarim Basin, the Tang government moved the headquarters of the Anxi Protectorate from Turfan to Kucha. Shortly thereafter, it established four garrisons in Kucha, Khotan, Yanqi, and Kashgar, collectively known as the Four Garrisons, thus marking the beginning of Tang’s military control of the entire Tarim Basin. Initially, this control was weak and unstable. According to the Tang military system during this period, up to 500 soldiers were deployed in each garrison. Even less may have been actually stationed in the Four Garrisons. The main responsibility of the garrisons was to ‘pacify the local people’. Such a small force could not withstand large-scale invasions, and the Tang government had to muster large expeditionary armies from its hinterland in order to properly confront its enemy.

Also during this period, Tibet emerged as a major political player in the Tarim Basin. Wang Xiaofu detected some traces of Tibetan involvement in a battle against the Tang in 659 in

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251 ZZTJ, juan 200, p.6307.
252 ZZTJ, juan 200, p.6309.
253 XTS, juan 221a, p.6232.
the vicinity of Kashgar. The encounter of a Tibetan army and a Tang army in an area south of Kashgar in 662 is the earliest explicit attestation of Tibetan military activities in the Tarim Basin in Chinese sources. The location of these battles indicates that the Tibetan forces entered the Tarim Basin via the ‘middle route’, which linked western Tibet with the Tarim Basin via Aksai Chin and the passes in the Karakoram and the Kunlun Mountains. Only after this route was blocked by Tang forces in a later period did the Tibetans begin to seek to enter the Tarim Basin via alternate routes, either through Gilgit in the west or along the Hexi Corridor in the east. On account of its location right on the end point of this middle route, Khotan was the focal point of these battles. In 663 and 665, two Tibetan attacks on Khotan were repelled by Tang forces despatched from elsewhere, whereas the local forces of Khotan, as before, did not assume any active roles.

These initial conflicts soon escalated into a protracted warfare between the Tibetans and the Tang, as the two powers contended for control of the Tarim Basin. In 670, the Tibetans took Khotan, conquered Bohuan (present-day Aqsu, west of Kucha, north of Khotan) with the assistance of Khotan, and forced the Tang to abandon the Four Garrisons and retreat to Xizhou (present-day Turfan). Before long, Tang forces recovered Kashgar, whose king went to

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256 ZZZJ, juan 201, pp.6332-6333.
257 For a detailed discussion on this “middle route”, see Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.20-42.
258 Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.54.
259 ZZZJ, juan 201, p.6339 and p.6344.
260 ZZZJ, juan 201, p.6363.
Chang’an to surrender to the Chinese Emperor at the end of 673. Fushe Xiong, the King of Khotan at that time, shrewdly observed the change of wind and quickly followed suit. Fushe Xiong expelled Tibetans from Khotan and traveled to Chang’an to offer his submission at the end of 674. In the first month of 675, the Tang government announced the establishment of the Pisha Governorate in Khotan and installed Fushe Xiong as its Governor. Two similar governorates were established in Kashgar and Yanqi around the same time. In so doing, the Tang government officially incorporated the entire Tarim Basin into its system of civil administration.

In 678, the Tibetans, in alliance with the Western Turks, once again conquered the Tarim Basin and forced the headquarters of the Anxi Protectorate to be moved back to Xizhou again. In 679, Tang forces recovered the Tarim Basin, defeated the Western Turks, and reinstalled the Four Garrisons, replacing Yanqi with Suyab so as to cut off the Tibetans and the Western Turks from each other. In 686, in order to divert resources to its northern frontier, where the nascent Second Turkic Qaghanate posed a more serious threat, Tang chose to withdraw the Four Garrisons and appointed two Turks as agents to govern its Central Asian territories. The Tibetans, however, wasted no time in taking advantage of this turn of events and promptly retook control of the Tarim Basin. Fushe Xiong, the Tang-appointed governor of Khotan, was forced to flee.

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262 ZZTJ, juan 202, p.6374.
263 JTS, juan 5, p.100.
264 JTS, juan 40, p.1648.
265 Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.102, n.45.
266 Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.79-80.
267 Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.81-82.
In 687, He arrived in Luoyang, the capital of Tang China during Empress Wu’s reign (684-705), and spent his remaining years there.\textsuperscript{268}

It is highly likely that Devendraprajñā, a learned Khotanese monk, was in Fushe Xiong’s entourage and accompanied him to Chang’an. In 688, Devendraprajñā was appointed the leader of a translation workshop sponsored by Empress Wu, following the death of his predecessor Divākara, a monk from Central India.\textsuperscript{269} Although Devendraprajñā brought with him more than a hundred Sanskrit texts, he was only able to finish translating six before his untimely death.\textsuperscript{270}

Among these texts, four have parallels in Khotanese. The \textit{Dàchéng Zàoxiāng Gōngdējīng} 大乘造像功德经 (T.694) corresponds to Chapter 23 of the \textit{Book of Zambasta}.\textsuperscript{271} The \textit{Dāfāngguāngfó Huáyánjīng Xiūcǐfēn} 大方广佛华严经修慈分 (T.306) corresponds to Chapter 3 of the \textit{Book of Zambasta}.\textsuperscript{272} The \textit{Zhìjù Tuólùníjīng} 智炬陀罗尼经 (T.1397) has multiple loosely corresponding Khotanese parallels.\textsuperscript{273} Remnants of the Sanskrit original have also been identified among the manuscripts discovered in Khotan.\textsuperscript{274} One folio of Khotanese in the British Library (IOL Khot 147/5) has been identified as having a parallel in the \textit{Dafangguangfo Huayanjing Busiyifo JTS, juan} 201, p.5305.

\textsuperscript{268} Forte 1979, pp.290-291.
\textsuperscript{269} These six texts are listed in Forte 1979, pp.296-297.
\textsuperscript{270} Inouchi 1961.
\textsuperscript{271} Duan Qing 2008a.
\textsuperscript{272} Listed in Emmerick 1992, pp.24-25.
\textsuperscript{273} Maggi, 2008.
Devendraprajña completed his last translation in late 691, and died shortly afterwards.276

From 687 on, the Tibetan Minister Lun Qinling, or Blon Khri ’bring, was in charge of the Tarim Basin.277 In 689, after defeating a large Tang army led by Wei Daijia at Yinshijia River, close to present-day Issykol, Khri ’bring returned to Tibet, and installed in his place his younger brother Lun Zanren,278 identified with Mgar btsan nyen gung rton in the Old Tibetan Annals and Mgar blon btsan nyen gung ston in Li yul lung bstan pa.279 According to Li yul lung bstan pa, when Khotan was under Btsan nyen’s control, the King of Khotan built a monastery called Bhavanya, identified with the Dīrghabhavana Monastery mentioned by Xuan Zang.280 Conceivably, Khotan was the base of Tibetan administration in the Tarim Basin from 687 to 692.281

III. 692-755: Firmly Under the Tang

In 692, Tang forces defeated the Tibetans and drove them out of the Tarim Basin for the third and last time.282 Determined not to let the Tarim Basin slip away once again, Empress Wu

275 Chen Huaiyu 2012.
276 Forte 1979, p.295.
277 Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.84.
278 Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.84.
279 Moriyasu 1984, pp.21.
280 TLTD I, p.125, n.6.
281 Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.87.
282 JTS, juan 198, p.5304. For a detailed discussion of this battle, see Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.110-115.
stationed 30,000 Chinese soldiers in the region. As mentioned above, the resources necessary to
provide livelihoods for these soldiers were unavailable in the Tarim Basin, and large quantities of
clothing and grain needed to be transported from the hinterland. Though Empress Wu was ad-
vised to withdraw the soldiers in order to lift the huge economic burden on Tang commoners, she
did not listen. Later, the number of soldiers was adjusted to 24,000, but the basic policy of
maintaining a strong military presence in the Tarim Basin continued until 755, when the An
Lushan Rebellion forced Tang to retreat from the Tarim Basin. The Tang forces in the Tarim
Basin were headquartered in Kucha, where their commander, the Military Commissioner of the
Four Garrisons (Sìzhèn jiédù shì 四鎮節度使), resided. Khotan, due to its strategic location that
provided easy access to the Tarim Basin from the Tibetan Plateau, ranked second among the Four
Garrisons, and the Vice Military Commissioner of the Four Garrisons (Sìzhèn jiédù fūshì 四鎮節
duì副使) resided here. Although the Four Garrisons were still called ‘garrisons’, they were no
longer the garrisons with up to 500 soldiers. If the 30,000 or 24,000 soldiers were divided evenly,
a full-blown army of at least 6000 soldiers was stationed in each of the Four Garrisons. The
commander of each army was variously called ‘Commissioner-in-chief of the Guarding
Army’ (Zhènjūn dàshì 鎮軍大使), ‘Guarding Commissioner’ (Zhènshōu shì 鎮守使), ‘Military
Commissioner-in-chief’ (Jūndāshì 軍大使). Interestingly, Commissioner-in-chief (Dàshì 大
使), the simplest form of this title, found its way into Tibetan the-ši, Khotanese thaiši, and

283 JTS, Juan 198, p.5304.
284 ZZTJ, Juan 215, p.6847.
285 Rong 1992, p.60.
286 Meng 2012, p.123.
Manichean Middle Persian ʿyšy.\textsuperscript{287} Alongside the deployment of soldiers, sophisticated systems of defense and communication were subsequently established. For example, there were at least two defense detachments (shōuzhuō 守捉), seven garrisons (zhèn 鎮), six forts (bāo 堡), four relay stations (guān 閘), and one pass (guān 關) around Khotan.\textsuperscript{288} Such a comprehensive defense system discouraged potential insurgences and invasions, resulting in a largely peaceful half-century in the Tarim Basin. One exception was the 720s, when the Tibetans had begun to coordinate with the Turgesh to make incursions into the Tarim Basin.\textsuperscript{289} In 720, the Tibetans took Lob Nor.\textsuperscript{290} Having poorly judged the situation, the King of Khotan switched his allegiance to the Turgesh in 725, but was promptly murdered by Du Xian, Vice Protector-in-Chief of Anxi Protectorate, who was probably residing in Khotan at that time.\textsuperscript{291}

In addition to the defense system, Tang also implanted its system of civil administration in Khotan. As early as 675, the Pisha Governorate was established and divided into ten prefectures.\textsuperscript{292} Each prefecture was governed by a prefect (Chin. cìshì 副史, Khot. tšišì). A prefecture was further divided into townships (Chin. xiāng, Khot. au), which were in turn made up of villages (Chin. cūn 村, Khot. bisā-). The county level (Chin. xiàn 縣) between the prefecture level and the township level was absent in Khotan. The city of Khotan, as other cities in hinterland

\textsuperscript{287} See my commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.
\textsuperscript{288} Rong 1992, pp.58-59.
\textsuperscript{289} ZZJT, juan 211, p.6728.
\textsuperscript{290} Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.166-167.
\textsuperscript{291} ZZJT, juan 212, p.6769.
\textsuperscript{292} XTS, juan 43b, p.1134.
China, was divided into districts (Chin. fāng ffield).\textsuperscript{293} This administrative system was inherited by the Tibetans and continued in use in the tenth century when Khotan was independent. The names of townships, villages, and districts attested in the Chinese documents unearthed in Khotan were collected by Rong,\textsuperscript{294} and Yoshida proposed the names of the six towns in the so-called “Six-Town Prefecture”.\textsuperscript{295} Wen Xin confirmed Yoshida’s proposition.\textsuperscript{296} Zhu Lishuang attempted to ascertain the names of all ten prefectures, but her conclusion is largely conjectural.\textsuperscript{297}

After 692, cultural exchanges between Khotan and China also intensified. Yuchi Jing, who had succeeded his deceased father Fushe Xiong in Luoyang as King of Khotan in 692, accompanied the Chinese army to Khotan.\textsuperscript{298} According to the \textit{Li yul lung bstan pa}, after returning to Khotan with the Chinese army, Yuchi Jing built a monastery in memory of Devendraprajña, who had just died in Luoyang in 691 or 692.\textsuperscript{299} In the meantime, Śīkṣānanda, another learned monk from Khotan, was summoned to Luoyang to lead the translation workshop. He arrived in Luoyang in 695, finished a new translation of the \textit{Avatamsaka-sūtra} in eighty volumes in 699, and continued to translate other texts. In 704, he was granted permission to go back to Khotan to visit his mother.\textsuperscript{300} Duan Qing has suggested that during his stay in Luoyang, Śīkṣānanda may

\textsuperscript{293} For a detailed discussion of the administrative system in Khotan, see Chapter IV: Analysis.

\textsuperscript{294} Rong 1993, p.406.

\textsuperscript{295} Yoshida 2006, pp.47-48, n.66.

\textsuperscript{296} Wen Xin 2008b.

\textsuperscript{297} Zhu Lishuang 2012.

\textsuperscript{298} Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.83-84.

\textsuperscript{299} Hill 1988, p.182.

\textsuperscript{300} Zanning 1987, pp.31-32.
have procured a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* brought by Yijing from India, and carried it back to Khotan, because some Khotanese translations of this sutra correspond closely to Yijing’s Chinese translation, but not to the Sanskrit text of the Nepalese recension. Śikṣānanda was recalled to Luoyang in 705, arrived in 708, and died there in 710. Geshu Daoyuan, a general of Turkic descent and the Vice Protector-in-Chief of Anxi Protectorate, escorted Śikṣānanda’s remains back to Khotan. Geshu Daoyuan’s wife was the daughter of the King of Khotan, and their son Geshu Han later became a prominent Tang general. In accordance with royal edicts, Chinese Buddhist monasteries were built in Khotan. Two such building efforts, one in the 720s, the other in the 730s, are reflected in the *Li yul lung bstan pa*. Chinese Buddhist texts, including Zen texts, also found their way to Khotan. Besides Buddhism, Chinese education and learning also spread into Khotan. A variety of Chinese literary texts have been found in Khotan, including Chinese classics, writing exercises, and other learning materials. These materials must have been used by both Chinese and non-Chinese in Khotan. For example, Geshu Han, the Turkic-Khotanese general mentioned above, was fond of reading the *Zuo Zhuan* and the *Book of Han*, two classical works of Chinese history.

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301 Duan Qing 2013c, pp.183-184.
303 Zanning 1987, p.32.
305 Rong 1993, pp.412-414.
306 Rong 2015, pp.218-219.
308 *JTS, juan* 104, p.3212.
Its control over the Tarim Basin firmly established, the Tang continued to further expand its territory in the first half of the eighth century, all the way to the south of Hindukush and the west of Issyk Köl. Its generals conquered the Lesser Bolü (present-day Gilgit) in 747,\textsuperscript{309} captured the king of Samarkand in 750,\textsuperscript{310} and subdued the Greater Bolü (present-day Baltistan) in 753.\textsuperscript{311} This expansion, however, came to an abrupt end in 755, when An Lushan, a Sogdian Turkic general, rose up in northeastern China to make a bid for the throne.

IV. 755-790: Isolated from Tang

Shortly after the An Lushan Rebellion broke out in 755, most of the troops garrisoned west of Chang’an were recalled to help quell the rebellion, and a great number of them were eliminated in the Battle of Tongguan to the east of Chang’an in 756. After the battle, Emperor Xuanzong had to abandon the capital and fled to Sichuan. His son, however, parted ways with his father, went north to Lingwu (in present-day Ningxia Province), and declared himself the new emperor. Yuchi Sheng, the King of Khotan at that time, responded to this radical change with typical swiftness. That same year, he consigned his power to his younger brother Yuchi Yao and led 5,000 soldiers to help the new emperor.\textsuperscript{312} More than an act of patriotism or loyalty to the Chinese Emperor, this move also reflected the king’s ultimate pragmatism. After the rebellion, the Tang government could not continue to send large amounts of supplies into the Tarim Basin.

\textsuperscript{309} XTS, \textit{juan} 221b, p.6251.

\textsuperscript{310} ZZTJ, \textit{juan} 216, p.6904. This incident led to the famous Battle of Talas in 751, in which Tang forces were defeated by Arabic forces. See ZZTJ, \textit{juan} 216, pp.6907-6908. This encounter, however, was accidental and politically inconsequential. See Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.165.

\textsuperscript{311} ZZTJ, \textit{juan} 216, pp.6920-6921.

\textsuperscript{312} ZZTJ, \textit{juan} 219, p.7010; JTS, \textit{juan} 198, p.5306.
to support the troops garrisoned there. Khotan, as well as other oases, simply could not afford to support such a large army on its own.\textsuperscript{313}

The Tibetans were also quick in taking advantage of the military vacuum left by the Tang army. In 756, a series of key forts and garrisons in Longyou (present-day Qinghai) fell to the Tibetans.\textsuperscript{314} Before long, the Tibetans conquered all of Longyou and eastern Hexi (present-day Gansu).\textsuperscript{315} In 763, they even occupied Chang’an for 15 days and installed a new emperor of their choice.\textsuperscript{316} From then on, the Tibetans began to expand their territories westward along the Hexi Corridor. They took Liangzhou (present-day Wuwei) in 764, Ganzhou (present-day Zhangye) and Suzhou (present-day Jiuquan) in 766, Guazhou in 776,\textsuperscript{317} and Shazhou (present-day Dunhuang) in 786.\textsuperscript{318}

The Uighurs, on the other hand, fought against the rebels as the Tang’s allies and mercenaries, and helped Tang recover Chang’an in 757 and Luoyang in 757 and 763. A steppe people, the Uighurs lacked territorial ambitions. They were content with receiving a large annual tribute and trading horses for silk with the Tang, a trade whose terms they dictated. As a result, in the years during and following the An Lushan Rebellion, the Tang government generally followed a pro-Uighur and anti-Tibetan foreign policy.

\textsuperscript{313} Wen Xin, private communication.
\textsuperscript{314} ZZTJ, juan 219, p.7011.
\textsuperscript{315} ZZTJ, juan 223, pp.7146-7147.
\textsuperscript{316} ZZTJ, juan 223, pp.7151-7153.
\textsuperscript{317} The three dates above are from Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi, juan 40, quoted in Chen Guocan 1996, p.416.
\textsuperscript{318} The date of this event is disputed. Here I follow Chen Guocan 1985.
In 779, Emperor Dezong ascended the throne and immediately overturned the existing foreign policy, as a result of his deep resentment for the Uighurs, who had humiliated him in 762 when he was sent to ask for the Qaghan’s military assistance to quell the rebellion.³¹⁹ To show goodwill to the Tibetans, Dezong sent an envoy to the Tsenpo with released Tibetan captives.³²⁰ The Tibetans, after initial disbelief, welcomed this radical change of attitude. As more envoys and letters traveled back and forth between Chang’an and Lhasa, the two parties were approaching a comprehensive reconciliation.³²¹ In the first month of the fourth year of the Jianzhong era,³²² representatives of both sides met at Qingshui (in present-day Gansu), performed a solemn ceremony, and signed a peace treaty in which the Sino-Tibetan border was clearly demarcated.³²³ Six months later, this treaty was ratified in Chang’an with a similar ceremony.³²⁴ In the 10th month of the same year, however, before the treaty could be ratified in Lhasa and come into effect, a mutiny of Chinese soldiers broke out in Chang’an and forced Dezong out of the capital.³²⁵ Desperately in need of troops to quench the mutiny, Dezong asked the Tibetans for assistance and promised them control of the Tarim Basin as reward.³²⁶ The Tibetan soldiers came and

³¹⁹ ZZTJ, juan 222, p.7133.
³²⁰ ZZTJ, juan 226, p.7268.
³²¹ JTS, juan 196b, pp.5245-5246.
³²² Approximately corresponding to year 783.
³²³ JTS, juan 196b, pp.5247-5248.
³²⁴ JTS, juan 196b, p.5248.
³²⁵ ZZTJ, juan 228, p.7351-7354.
³²⁶ ZZTJ, juan 231, p.7442.
helped Tang forces win at least one battle,\textsuperscript{327} but they suffered from plague and withdrew after receiving bribes from the mutineers.\textsuperscript{328} In 784, when the mutiny was finally put down and Chang’an was recovered, the Tibetans came to claim their reward. Dezong, persuaded by the famous strategist Li Mi, reneged on his promise and refused to cede the Tarim Basin to the Tibetans.\textsuperscript{329} The Tibetans responded with renewed and intensified raids into the Ordos, to the north of Chang’an.\textsuperscript{330} In 787, however, they appeared to have overstretched themselves and proposed to restore the Qingshui Treaty. Still hoping to ally with the Tibetans to attack the Uighurs, Dezong agreed to the proposal, which was but a trap.\textsuperscript{331} Later that year, at Pingliang (in present-day Gansu), the Tibetans kidnapped the Tang officials who came to attend the oath-taking ceremony and ambushed the Tang army.\textsuperscript{332}

The Pingliang False Treaty ended any hope of rapprochement between China and Tibet. Dezong, however reluctant, followed Li Mi’s advice and reversed his foreign policy back to the previous line. According to Li Mi, “the Tibetans will ensnare themselves” if Emperor Dezong “could make peace with the Uighurs in the north, connect with the Arabs and the Indians in the west, and communicate with Yunnan in the south.”\textsuperscript{333} Less than four months after the Pingliang False Treaty, Dezong agreed to marry his daughter to the Uighur Qaghan, thus resuming a peace-

\textsuperscript{327} ZZTJ, juan 230, p.7422.

\textsuperscript{328} ZZTJ, juan 231, p.7429.

\textsuperscript{329} ZZTJ, juan 231, p.7442.

\textsuperscript{330} For the significance of these raids, see Beckwith 1987b.

\textsuperscript{331} ZZTJ, juan 232, p.7482.

\textsuperscript{332} ZZTJ, juan 232, pp.7486-7487.

\textsuperscript{333} ZZTJ, juan 233, p.7502.
Map II-1

334 Modified from the map of the ancient world in 900, downloaded from http://worldhistorymaps.info/images/East-Hem_800ad.jpg
ful relationship with one of the Tang’s traditional allies. In 785, when Dezong appointed Wei Gao as Commissioner-in-Chief of Xichuan (present-day western Sichuan), Wei Gao immediately began to approach the King of Nanzhao, who officially switched allegiance to the Tang in 794. As for the Arabs, a stele that came to light in 1984 revealed that a eunuch was sent as envoy to Baghdad in 785, presumably in order to persuade the Arabs to coordinate with the Tang to attack the Tibetans from the west. This inscription demonstrates that Li Mi’s plan was already in place as early as 785, when Dezong decided to deny the Tibetans the Tarim Basin as their reward. This grand strategy worked. Wei Gao and the King of Nanzhao defeated the Tibetans decisively in 794 and 801, and recovered much former Tang territory. The Uighurs stripped the Tibetans of the control over the northern Tarim Basin by the early ninth century. The Arabs attracted large Tibetan forces to the west during the Zhenyuan era (785-805). From the 790s on, Tibetan military might weakened significantly and no longer posed an imminent threat to Tang.

Not much is found in Chinese official histories on Khotan after the An Lushan Rebellion because the communication between the Tarim Basin and the central Tang government was cut.

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335 ZZTJ, juan 233, p.7505.
336 ZZJT, juan 232, p.7480.
337 ZZTJ, juan 234, p.7552.
338 Rong 2012, p.87.
339 XTS, juan 222a, p.6274 and pp.6277-6278; JTS, juan 197, p.5283; ZZTJ, juan 234, pp.7552-7553, and juan 236, p.7598.
341 JTS, juan 198, p.5316; Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.209-211.
off by the Tibetans, who began to occupy the eastern end of the Hexi Corridor in 763.\textsuperscript{342} On the other hand, the majority of texts unearthed in Khotan date from this period. From these texts, historical information can be gleaned and inferred. Specifically, four out of the six era names used by Tang from 763 to 800\textsuperscript{343} have been attested in the Chinese texts from Khotan. Each change of era names indicates a successful communication between Khotan and the central Tang government. In 764, when asked by Emperor Daizong to return to Khotan, Yuchi Sheng, the nominally incumbent King of Khotan, insisted on staying. Moreover, he officially transferred the kingship to his younger brother Yuchi Yao.\textsuperscript{344} The date when this news reached Khotan can be inferred from the change of era names. An unpublished wooden slip from the Hedin Collection bears the date of the first month of the third year of Yongtai (767),\textsuperscript{345} indicating that people in Khotan at that time were not aware of the era name change in the 11th month of the previous year. A document from Dandan-Uiliq (Or.6406) bears the date of the third month of the third year of Dali (768), indicating the new era name had reached Khotan by that date.\textsuperscript{346} The envoys to Khotan, who also brought with them news of era name change, must have arrived between the two dates mentioned above. Documents from later periods confirm 767 as the year of the envoys’ arrival and the beginning of the reign of Yuchi Yao, or Viśa’ Vāhaṃ.\textsuperscript{347} In 779, Daizong died and his son

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{342} ZZTJ, juan 223, pp.7146-7147.
\item \textsuperscript{343} Emperor Daizong 代宗：Guangde 廣德（763）→ Yongtai 永泰（765）→ Dali 大歷（766）
Emperor Dezong 德宗：Jianzhong 建中（780）→ Xingyuan 興元（784）→ Zhenyuan 貞元（785）
\item \textsuperscript{344} ZZTJ, juan 223, p.7171.
\item \textsuperscript{345} Zhang and Rong 1997, pp.346-347.
\item \textsuperscript{346} Zhang and Rong 1997, p.347.
\item \textsuperscript{347} Zhang and Rong 1997, p.346.
\end{itemize}
Dezong ascended the throne. The next year, the Dali era was changed to the Jianzhong era. As mentioned above, Dezong pursued a pro-Tibet, anti-Uighur foreign policy in the very beginning of his reign. The Uighurs were alarmed by this change. In response, they opened the so-called ‘Uighur route’ to the envoys of the Anxi Protectorate (the Tarim Basin) and the Beiting Protectorate (including Yizhou, Xizhou, and Tingzhou, to the north and east of the Tarim Basin), thus giving them access to the Tang court, in the hope to dissuade Dezong from ceding these western territories to the Tibetans. In 781, Dezong was happily surprised to receive these envoys, and promptly granted all the officers and soldiers in the two protectorates a promotion of seven ranks in the seventh month of that year. This news, together with the new era name, arrived in Khotan between the intercalary third month (the latest attestation of the Dali era, in S.5871 and Дх 18919) and the seventh month of 782 (the earliest attestation of the Jianzhong era, in S. 5867). The promotion is also reflected in the texts from Khotan. Yang Jinqing, who bears the title Zhènguān Jiāngjūn (rank 7a-2) in Дх 18915, appears with the title Jiàngzuòjiān 將作監 (rank 3b) in SI P 103.24, a document dated to the 11th month of 782. Probably in late 785, Li Yuanzhong, the Commissioner-in-Chief of Beiting died. The news reached Chang’an in the fifth month of 786, and the emperor appointed Yang Xigu to be the new Commissioner-in-

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348 ZZZJ, juan 227, p.7303.

349 Zhang and Rong 1997, p.344.

350 Yoshida 2006, p.71. By the way, kva khaihvū attested in this document is none other than Guo Kaifu 郭開府, referring to Guo Xin 郭昕, the Commissioner-in-Chief of the Tarim Basin, with a shortened form of his honorific title of the highest rank Kaifuítōngsānǐ 開府儀同三司, which is included in Guo Xin’s full title recorded in Wukong’s account. See Lévi and Chavannes 1895, p.363.
Chief of Beiting.\textsuperscript{351} It took some time for the appointment, together with the new era name, to arrive in Beiting and the Tarim Basin. Khotan learned of the change of era names between the fourth month of 787 (the latest attestation of the Jianzhong era, in S.5869) and the fifth month of 788 (the earliest attestation of the Zhenyuan era, in Дх 18917).\textsuperscript{352}

In the 780s, the Tarim Basin was largely uneventful, as witnessed by Wukong, a Chinese monk who passed through the region during that decade on his way back to China from India. From 786 to 788, he spent several months in each of the Four Garrisons, namely, Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha, and Yanqi. Wukong’s account, in which the names of the Chinese military chief and the local king of each garrison are specified,\textsuperscript{353} shows that the Chinese forces in the Tarim Basin, though cut off from China’s hinterland for over 20 years, were still effectively in control of the military affairs there. The peace that predominated during this period is also confirmed by Chinese texts from Khotan and Kucha.\textsuperscript{354} During his stay in Kucha, Wukong collaborated with a local monk and translated into Chinese one of the three Sanskrit Buddhist texts he had brought with him from India.\textsuperscript{355} In 788, he crossed the Tianshan Mountains and reached Beiting (present-day Jimsar County, some 160 km east of Urumqi). Upon the request of Yang Xigu, the Commissioner-in-Chief of Beiting, Wukong, together with a Khotanese monk named Śīladharma and other monks in Beiting, translated the remaining two texts into Chinese.\textsuperscript{356} Śīladharma returned to

\textsuperscript{351} Chen Guocan 1996, p.426.
\textsuperscript{352} Zhang and Rong 1997, 348.
\textsuperscript{353} Lévi and Chavannes 1895, pp.362-363.
\textsuperscript{354} Chen Guocan 1996, pp.427-428.
\textsuperscript{355} Fōshūō Shīdì Jīng 佛說十地經 (T.780).
\textsuperscript{356} Fōshūō Shīdì Jīng 佛說十地經 (T.287) and Fōshūō Huìxiānglùn Jīng 佛說迴向輪經 (T.998).
Khotan after completing the translation. It seemed that traveling between Beiting and Khotan was not only feasible, but also relatively easy at that time. On the 13th day of the ninth month of 789, together with the envoys sent by and to the Chinese emperor, Wukong left Beiting for Chang’an via the steppes. Soon after Wukong’s departure, war broke out in Beiting, and the entire Tarim Basin entered a tumultuous new era.

V. 790-840: Under Tibet

After the Pingliang False Treaty in 787, the Tibetans launched a full-scale onslaught on Beiting and the Tarim Basin. In 789, the Tibetans besieged Beiting with the Qarluqs and another Turkic tribe. Both tribes were disgruntled with the Uighurs’ incessant raids. During the siege, they were able to repel multiple Uighur attacks led by El Ögäsi. The next year, the people of Beiting, also suffering from the Uighurs’ unbridled loots and extortions, opened the city gates. Yang Xigu, unwilling to surrender to the Tibetans, left for Xizhou (present-day Turfan) with 2000 soldiers. In the autumn of the same year, Yang Xigu’s forces joined the large Uighur army brought back by El Ögäsi to recover Beiting, only to be totally eliminated. After the defeat, El

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357 Zanning 1987, p.46.

358 Wu Kong’s account of his travel is recorded in Dàtáng Zhēnyuán Xīnyì Shídìdēngjīng Jì 大唐貞元新譯十地等經記, a biographical essay by Yuanzhao, composed in 790 after Wukong’s own narration. This text is appended to T.780 and also collected in T.2089. For an annotated translation, see Lévi and Chavannes 1895.

359 ZZTJ, juan 233, p.7520.
Ögäsi lured Yang Xigu to the Uighur capital and killed him there.\textsuperscript{360} In 792, Xizhou also fell to the Tibetans, perhaps without a fight.\textsuperscript{361}

Khotan must have fallen to the Tibetans at around the same time. Firstly, we know from the \textit{Old Tibetan Chronicles} that Khotan was already under Tibetan control before 797, during Khri srong lde btsan’s reign (755-797).\textsuperscript{362} Secondly, no text from Dandan-Uiliq bears a date later than the seventh month of the seventh year of the Zhenyuan era (791),\textsuperscript{363} indicating that the site was abandoned shortly after that date. Stein attributed the hurried abandonment of Dandan-Uiliq to the political turmoil caused by the Tibetan invasion, which, then, must have happened between 791 and 797.\textsuperscript{364} Thirdly, an often-overlooked graffiti discovered by Stein in the fort of Endere, due east of Khotan,\textsuperscript{365} may help confirm 791 as the year in which the Tibetans invaded and took control of Khotan. The graffiti reads:

\begin{verbatim}
[贞] 元七年記

[至] 建聞其兵馬使死及四鎮大蕃

[和] 大蕃官太常卿秦嘉興歸本道
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{360} \textit{ZZTJ, juan} 233, pp.7521-7522.

\textsuperscript{361} Wang Xiaofu (1991, pp.208-209) interprets P.3918 in a way different from that in Moriyasu 1979, p.229, and establishes this date. Although Rong Xinjiang found a fragment from Turfan bearing the date of the 11th year of the Zhenyuan era (795), Chen Guocan (1996, pp. 429-431) argues convincingly that the mere use of the Chinese era does not necessarily indicate the political affiliation of the area.

\textsuperscript{362} Moriyasu 1984, p.57.

\textsuperscript{363} Zhang Mingxin and Chen Hao 2010.

\textsuperscript{364} Stein 1907, p.284.

\textsuperscript{365} Stein 1907, p.432.
“Written in the seventh year of the Zhenyuan era (791).\textsuperscript{366}

…I arrived in Jian (and) heard that their commander had died and the Four Garrisons (of) the Great Tibetan …

…I, Qin Jiaxing, Chamberlain of Ceremonials, official in charge of making peace with the Great Tibet, am returning to (my) own district.”

The most noteworthy phrase in this graffiti is 大蕃 ‘the Great Tibet/Tibetan’, the literal translation of Tib. bod chen po, the self-designation of Tibetans during the Tang Period. Its attestation indicates the pro-Tibet stance of the graffiti author. Further, I interpret 和大蕃官 as a part of the graffiti author’s title and translate it as “official in charge of making peace with the Great Tibet”, since it is syntactically impossible to take 和 as ‘and, with’ as Chavannes does in his translation. According to my interpretation, Qin Jiaxing was a Chinese collaborator of the Tibetans. He was sent to the fort of Endere with the task of persuading the fort commander to see reason and surrender to the Tibetans. When he arrived there, however, he learned that the fort commander had died before his arrival. Seeing that persuasion was no longer needed, he left this graffiti and retracted his steps, perhaps returning to Khotan. The phrase 四鎮大蕃 ‘the Four Garrisons (of) the Great Tibet’ may indicate that in 791, the Four Garrisons (the entire Tarim Basin) were already under Tibetan control. In any case, the Ti-

\textsuperscript{366} Chavannes (1907, p.546) reads the date as 開元七年 (719), but such a reading is implausible, since at that time, the Tang was firmly in control of the Tarim Basin.
Betans had occupied Khotan by 797 and were headquartered in Shenshan (present-day Mazar Tagh) as evidenced by the large number of Tibetan documents unearthed there.367

A closer look into the administrative system of the Tibetan kingdom can shed light on the Tibetans garrisoned in Khotan. Central Tibet was divided into four ruṣ, ‘horns’ or ‘divisions’: 1) dbu ru, ‘the Central Horn’ (present-day northern Dbus); 2) g.yo ru, ‘the Left Horn’ (present-day southern Dbus); 3) g.yas ru, ‘the Right Horn’ (present-day northern Gtsang); 4) ru lag, ‘the Additional Horn’ (present-day southern Gtsang). Later, as the Tibetans expanded their territory beyond central Tibet, two more ‘horns’ were added, namely, sumpa’i ru ‘the Horn of Sumpa’ (present-day Amdo in Qinghai province) and zhangzhung gi ru ‘the Horn of Zhangzhung’ (present-day Ngari in western Tibet). Each horn was further divided into ten or eleven stong sde ‘thousand-districts’, each with its own name.368 In the Tibetan documents excavated from Mazar Tagh and Miran (near present-day Ruoqiang/Charkilik, in the southeastern corner of the Tarim Basin), soldiers were often identified by their names and the thousand-districts from which they hailed. The distribution of the thousand districts attested in these two sites reveals something remarkable: not a single thousand district is found in either site. With only one exception, all the thousand-districts attested in Miran belong to the Horn of Sumpa. In Mazar Tagh, in sharp contrast, not a single thousand-district belonging to the Horn of Sumpa is attested, whereas thousand-districts belonging to each of the other five horns are attested.369 This distribution indicates that the soldiers in Miran were from the nearby Horn of Sumpa, whereas the soldiers

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367 A selection of these documents are published in TLTD I. All the documents on paper are published in Takeuchi 1998.

368 Iwao 2000, pp. 605-604.

369 Table 3 in Iwao 2000, pp.588-587. Thomas (TTLD II, pp.422-423) touches upon this fact. Denwood (2009, p.11) also observes it.
diers in Mazar Tagh were drawn from every horn other than the Horn of Sumpa. Simply put, two totally distinct armies were stationed in these two garrisons. The army in Mazar Tagh could not have traveled there via Miran from the east, but must have gone via the ‘middle route’ from the south, the easiest access between the Tarim Basin and the Western Tibet, where the horn of Zhangzhung is located. This route was rendered inaccessible by the Chinese army stationed at the passes, and only became accessible again after most of the Chinese forces had been recalled to help quell the An Lushan Rebellion after 755. The Tibetans were not able to use this route earlier because they concentrated their forces in their eastern and southeastern front in the Hexi Corridor and Sichuan. When the Tibetans came down to the Tarim Basin again in the 790s, they first directed their forces toward Kashgar just as they had done so more than a century before in the 660s. Despite an initial setback, reflected in the newly discovered Judaeo-Persian document from Dandan-Uiliq, the Tibetans took control of Kashgar, Khotan, Beiting, and probably the entire Tarim Basin in the 790s, but they were unable to retain it.

370 For a detailed discussion of this route, see Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.20-42.


372 The first recorded encounter of the Tang and Tibetan forces in the Tarim Basin happened in 662. See ZJT, juan 201, pp.6332-6333. For traces of earlier encounters, see Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.48.

373 Zhang Zhan and Shi Guang 2008, p.79. I have modified the date of the letter from 802 to 790/791, shortly before the abandonment of Dandan Uiliq. See Zhang Zhan 2016, p.667.

374 The Tibetans were in control of Kashgar in the early ninth century, as evidenced by a message sent from a Tibetan officer in Kashgar mentioned in Archive 3/1.2 §6 (Hedin 20), a document bearing the date of 802.

375 Khotan must be under Tibetan control by 797. See Moriyasu 1984, p.57. Tibetan most likely took control of Khotan in 791, see above.

376 The conquest of Beiting in 790 is recorded in ZJT, juan 233, pp.7521.
In 791, only one year after their defeat at the hands of the Tibetans in 790, the Uighurs scored a victory over the Tibetans in Beiting and presented captives and other spoils to the Tang court.\(^{377}\) No further information on Beiting and the Tarim Basin is recorded in Chinese official histories, since Tang had already lost control of these regions. The most informative source on the history of the Tarim Basin during this period is the Karabalgasun Inscription, a much-damaged trilingual inscription in Old Turkic, Sogdian and Chinese. The inscription was erected in Karabalgasun, the capital of the Uighur Qaghanate in present-day Mongolia, to commemorate the exploits of Uighur Qaghans, especially the seventh Qaghan, who is none other than El Ögäsi.\(^{378}\) The conquest of Beiting is recorded in Column 15 of the Chinese text. Next, a decisive victory over the Tibetans in Kucha is recorded in Column 16:

復吐蕃大軍圍攻龜茲____天可汗領兵救援吐蕃畜□奔入于術四面合圍一時撲滅\(^{379}\)

“Again, the great Tibetan army besieged Kucha. The Heavenly Qaghan came to its rescue with his army. The Tibetans ran into Yushu (like) animals (?). They were surrounded on four sides and eliminated in one moment.”

During the Tang Period, a defense detachment (shōuzhuō 守捉) was located at Yushu,\(^{380}\) present-day Šorčuq, some 30km southwest of Yanqi.\(^{381}\) According to the text quoted above, the Tibetans were trying to retreat to Yanqi, which must have been under their control at that time.


\(^{378}\) For an introduction to the inscription, see Yoshida, ‘Karabalgasun’ in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. For the most updated Chinese text, see Moriyasu 2003, fig.1. For the Sogdian texts and the history of scholarship on this inscription, see Yoshida 2011.

\(^{379}\) Moriyasu 2003, fig.1.

\(^{380}\) *XTS, juan* 43b, p.1151.

Conceivably, the Uighurs went on to take Yanqi after their grand victory over the Tibetans at Yushu, and began their westward expansion from Kucha, as is recorded in Column 17:

天可汗躬總師旅大敗賊兵奔逐至真珠河俘掠人民萬萬有餘

“The Heavenly Qaghan led the army in person, soundly defeated the enemy army, chased (them) all the way to the Syr Darya, and captured thousands of people.”

Yoshida linked the Uighur victory over the Tibetans in Kucha and Yushu with the imminent threat felt in Khotan recorded in the Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document Hedin 24 (Archive 3/1.1), an order of evacuation issued by the King of Khotan in 798. The King of Khotan issued this order immediately after receiving a message of warning. The defeat at Yushu, some 300 km east of Kucha, should not have prompted him to react in such a haste. I think it is more plausible that the King of Khotan issued this evacuation order in response to some Uighur military activities in the west of Kucha following their victory at Yushu. The alarm felt in the year 798 seems to have dissipated shortly afterwards, since all the dates attested in Archive 3 of the Khotanese secular documents, to which Hedin 24 also belongs, are after 798. In the eighth month of the 36th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ (802), however, the King of Khotan issued another order of evacuation (Hedin 20 = Archive 3/1.2), in which military activities of the Uighurs in the vicinity of Kashgar were explicitly mentioned. As in the previous order, the king ordered all men

382 Moriyasu 2003, fig.1.
384 The message arrived at 5-7 AM, and the king issued the order at 7-9 AM. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §7 (C).
385 Archive 3/1.2 §6-§7: “But last night, a document sent by blon Tsa-bzang from Kashgar came, saying: ‘The Huns have passed over Ttumgaśem in Kashgar, (and are now going to) you.’”
and cattle to be evacuated to the Fort of Phema, but this time the evacuation seemed to be permanent, since no text in Archive 3 bears a date later than that of Hedin 20, the year 802.

The Uighur dominance over the oases along the northern arm of the Taklamakan is reflected in the colophon of the *Maḥrnāmag*, a Manichean book listing hymns finished during the reign of the eighth Qaghan (808-821).\(^{386}\) Listed in the colophon were six groups of Manichean auditors arranged according to their places of origin, including Ordubalīq (Karabalgasun), Bešbalīq (Beiting), Turfan, Kucha, Yanqi, and Yushu. Auditors from Kashgar and Aqsu are included in the list of those from Kucha. These lists indicate that Manichean churches, as well as Uighur control, have already been established in all the places mentioned in the colophon in the early ninth century.\(^{387}\) In other words, the Uighurs took Turfan and Kashgar from the Tibetans before 821.

The military setbacks in the Tarim Basin also affected the Tibetans on their southeastern front. In 794, the Tibetans asked its vassal state Nanzhao (present-day Yunan) to provide 10,000 soldiers to supplement their losses during the battle of Beiting in 790-791. The king of Nanzhao, who had just decided to switch his allegiance to Tang, saw this request as an opportunity for military gain. He sent a reinforcement of 5,000 men to appease the Tibetans, and then proceeded to defeat the Tibetan army with a surprise attack at Shenchuan. During this attack, his forces destroyed the Iron Bridge, which provided critical access to Nanzhao from the west.\(^{388}\) After this

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\(^{386}\) Published in Müller 1912.

\(^{387}\) Yoshida 2009, pp.352-353.

\(^{388}\) ZZTJ, juan 234, pp.7552-7553.
victory, the king of Nanzhao received envoys from Chang’an and officially became a vassal of Tang.\(^{389}\) In 801, Tang and Nanzhao mobilized more than 25,000 men and launched a large-scale campaign against the Tibetans in multiple directions. The Tibetans were decisively defeated.\(^{390}\) Even their commander, Lùn Màngrè 諮莽熱, was captured and sent to Chang’an in 802\(^{391}\) together with exotic captives from Samarkand and the Abbasid Caliphate.\(^{392}\) Yoshida identified this Lun Mangre with bulāna rmamā śi’ra, a Tibetan officer attested in Archive 3,\(^{393}\) on the following grounds:\(^{394}\) 1) both are phonetic transcriptions of the same Tibetan name Blon Rmang-bzher, which is attested in a Tibetan document from Mazar Tagh;\(^{395}\) 2) This name is also attested in a Tibetan document from Mīran, bearing the title Nang rje po chen po ‘great Inner-Minister’.\(^{396}\) In Chinese sources, Lun Mangre bears the title Nèidàxiàng 内大相, a literal translation Nang rje po chen po;\(^{397}\) 3) The Samarkandi and Arab captives sent to Chang’an together with Lun Mangre betrayed the latter’s links with Central Asia and Khotan. First of all, as Shen Chen pointed out, the Chinese title Nèidàxiàng 内大相 is a translation of the Tibetan title Nang blon chen po, not of the Tibetan title Nang rje po chen po. The former referred to a high official in the Tibetan court,

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\(^{389}\) ZZTJ, juan 235, pp.7561-7562.

\(^{390}\) XTS, juan 222a, pp.6277-6278.

\(^{391}\) XTS, juan 216b, p.6100; ZZTJ, juan 236, p.7599.

\(^{392}\) XTS, juan 222a, pp.6277.

\(^{393}\) For more on him, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

\(^{394}\) Yoshida 2009, p.358.

\(^{395}\) Or.15000/33 = M.Tagh.0512, see TLTD II, pp.410-412 and Takeuchi 1998, p.28.


\(^{397}\) JTS, juan 140, p.3824.
whereas the latter often referred to someone on the prefecture level. I would add that Lung Mangre was already active in Nanzhao in 794. Yoshida’s identification would put Blon Rmang-bzher in Nanzhao in 794, in Khotan in 799, in Nanzhao again in 801, and in Miran at some point before 801. As Yoshida himself admitted, Rmang-bzher could simply be a common Tibetan name.

After the military setbacks in Nanzhao and the northern Tarim Basin in 801 and 802, the Tibetans dropped their previous policy of aggressive expansionism and seemed to be content with their control of Khotan. People in the Six Towns were ordered to abandon their settlements and evacuate into the Fort of Phema, thus putting an end to Archive 3 of the Khotanese secular documents. The monastery at Khadaliq, however, continued to function during this period, as demonstrated by the Tibetan documents excavated there. Among the texts from Khadaliq, Crosby 272/273 is specifically noteworthy because of its date: the 17th regnal year of an unnamed king in a rat year. The use of the animal-circle, an indicator of Tibetan occupation, shows that this document dates from the period of Tibetan occupation after Viśa Vāhaṃ’s

398 Shen Chen 2016, p.219.

399 TTS, juan 216b, p.6098.

400 Blon Rmang bzher is attested in Archive 3/1.42 (Or.11344/3v-b), which bears a date in the 33rd regal year of Viśa’ Vāham, that is, year 799.

401 Yoshida 2006, p.93, n.53.

402 See Archive 3/1.2 and Archive 3/1.3.

403 For the Tibetan documents from Khadaliq, see Takeuchi 1998, p.245. For a list of Khotanese texts excavated by Stein, see Catalogue, pp.lv-lvi. In fact, the Book of Zambasta and the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharma-śūtra must also be from Khadaliq, as well as the Huntington Collection, the Crosby Collection, and the Skrine Collection. See Chapter I. Expeditions in Khotan.

404 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1997, p.349.
reign, and before 840, when the Tibetan kingdom disintegrated. Such a date would put the beginning of the reign to 804, 816, or 828. In all likelihood, the unnamed king in Crosby 272/273 was Viśa Vāhaṃ’s son and his reign started in 804. Crosby 272/273 dates from year 820. From Archive 4, the Khotanese documents from Mazar Tagh, we know that Khotan was under Tibetan control in the 16th regnal year of Viśa’ Kīrtti, King of Khotan. Not surprisingly, the King of Khotan was subordinate to his Tibetan overlords, and ranked below the Tibetan Li’i Blon stationed in Khotan, as described in P.t.1089, a Tibetan document from Dunhuang.

While military activities subsided, cultural exchanges intensified. Siddhasāra, a medical text was translated into Khotanese from Tibetan. Śīladharma, the Khotanese monk who collaborated with Wukong and translated two Sanskrit texts into Chinese in Beiting in 788-789, translated one of these texts into Tibetan by 812. Five Tibetan works concerning Khotan have been preserved in the Kanjur: 1) The Prophecy of Khotan (Li yul lung bstan pa); 2) The

405 The 36th regnal year, corresponding to year 802, is the latest attested year of Viśa Vāhaṃ’s reign. See Archive 3/1.2 §13.
406 IOL Khot 50/4, see Catalogue, p.285.
407 P.t.1089, line 22-24, see Takeuchi 2004, p.55.
408 Emmerick 1992, p.44.
409 Lévi and Chavannes 1895, p.365
410 Saerji 2011, p.52.
Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat (Li yul gyi dgra bcom pas lung bstan pa);\textsuperscript{412} 3) The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā (Dri ma med pa’i ’od kyis zhus pa);\textsuperscript{413} 4) The prophecy of Gośrīga (’Phags pa ri glang ru lung bstan pa);\textsuperscript{414} and 5) The Prophecy of Arhat Samghavardana (Dgra bcom pa dge ’dun ’phel gyis lung bstan pa).\textsuperscript{415} Additionally, the Religious Annals of Khotan (Li yul chos kyi lo rgyus) is a Tibetan work concerning Khotan found only in Pt.960, a Dunhuang manuscript in the Pelliot Collection.\textsuperscript{416} Although all these texts, especially the Prophecy of Khotan, contain some historical information, they are first and foremost of a religious nature. In order to reconstruct the history of Khotan, one must also take into consideration the Chinese and Khotanese sources.

VI. 840-1007: An Independent Khotan

In 840, a large Kirghiz army, invited by a Uighur minister, sacked and razed Karabal-gsun and killed the Uighur Khagan; subsequently, the Uighur Qaghanate collapsed.\textsuperscript{417} In 842, Glang Darma, the last Tibetan Tsenpo, was assassinated, and the Tibetan Empire also quickly

\textsuperscript{412} Thomas calls this text the Prophecy of the Li Country (Li’i yul gyi lung bstan pa) in his translation. See TLTD I, pp.73-87. Three copies of this text, (ITJ 597, ITJ 598, and ITJ 601.2) are found in the Tibetan texts from Dunhuang in the British Collection. P.2139, a Dunhuang manuscript in the Pelliot Collection, is the Chinese translation of this text, made by ’Gos chos grub/Facheng, a famous Tibetan monk in Dunhuang in the first half of the ninth century. For a collation of all these versions and a comparison with the Chinese translation, see Zhu Lishuang 2010.

\textsuperscript{413} Translated in TLTD I, pp.137-258.

\textsuperscript{414} Translated in TLTD I, pp.1-38. Zhu Lishuang recently discovered that Pt.953 and Pt.961, two Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Pelliot Collection, contain part of this work. She produced a collation of the two Dunhuang manuscripts and other Tibetan versions together with a Chinese translation. See Zhu Lishuang 2013c.

\textsuperscript{415} Translated in TLTD I, pp.39-69.

\textsuperscript{416} Translated in TLTD I, pp.303-323, transcribed in Emmerick 1967, pp.78-91. For a new edition and a Chinese translation, see Appendix II in Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 2013.

\textsuperscript{417} XTS, juan 217b, pp.6130-6131.
disintegrated afterwards.\footnote{For a traditional narrative of the event according to the Tibetans sources, see van Schaik 2011, pp.46-47.} In the east, Tang never fully recovered from the An Lushan Rebellion and was plagued by semi-independent warlords within its borders ever since. In the west, the Abbasid Caliphate had long lost direct control over western Central Asia. Eastern Eurasia had entered an era of political fragmentation. For the first time in centuries, no single political power could dominate the Tarim Basin. The King of Khotan during this period, as politically savvy as his predecessors, saw an opportunity to assert independence. The next textual record of Khotan emerges from a Dunhuang Chinese text dated to 901. At that time, Khotan had already become an independent kingdom.\footnote{P.4640, see Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 2013, p.38 and p.110.} The Khotanese managed to retain their independence until 1006 or 1007, when they were eventually conquered by the Karakhanid armies.\footnote{For the history of Khotan during this period, see Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 2013.} From then on, Khotan was ushered into the Islamic era, which falls outside the scope of this dissertation.
Chapter III: Texts of Archive 3

Archive 3, according to Yoshida (2006, pp.57-58), refers to the group of Khotanese secular documents centered on spāta Sudārrjāṃ and pharṣa Saṃdāra, dating from the 32nd to the 36th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ. It consists of four collections, namely, the manuscripts bearing the register number Or.11252 and Or.11344 in the British Collection, the manuscripts on paper in the Hedin Collection, and the photos of the manuscripts discovered by Stein during his Fourth Inner Asian Expedition. All of these documents were collected in late 1920s or early 1930s.

The texts in Archive 3 display a high degree of interrelatedness, as shown by the attestations of the same personal names and places names across the four collections. Yoshida (2006, p.58) suggests Archive 3 may very well be an archive belonging to pharṣa Saṃdara, a Khotanese official who is often at the receiving end of the orders in Archive 3. My reading and analysis of Archive 3 supports this suggestion. The entire Archive 3, therefore, ought to come from the same place, namely the Domoko area, since it was in the vicinity of the Domoko Oasis, some 100 km to the east of Khotan in present-day Cele County, that Stein discovered the fourth collection of manuscripts in Archive 3 during his Fourth Inner Asian Expedition. Accordingly I call this Archive 3 Domoko.

As Shen Chen (2015, p.10) points out, a closer look at Archive 3 reveals that some manuscripts in the four collections, especially the Hedin Collection, do not belong to Archive 3. Hedin 2, Hedin 4, Hedin 25, and Hedin 26 belong to Budasaṃga’s archive, and date to an earlier period. Hedin 25, for example, dates from the seventh regnal year. (KT IV, p.38) Hedin 22, Hedin 23, Hedin 27, Hedin 28, and Hedin 30 are Buddhist texts, not secular documents. (KT IV, p.35, p.39,
and p.40) Hedin 7 belongs to the archive of a monastery, probably the one located at Khadaliq. 

(KT IV, pp.25-26) Hedin 17 is an omen text. (KT IV, pp.25-26) Hedin 29 bears the date of the 13th regnal year. (KT IV, p.39) Or.11252/1 is a divination text. (Catalogue, pp.82-85) Additionally, Hedin 31 and Hedin 57, two documents on wood in the Hedin Collection, belong to Archive 3. In total, Archive 3 consists of manuscripts bearing 84 register numbers, including 41 in Or. 11252 (Or.11252/2-42), 18 in Or.11344 (Or.11344/1-18), five photographs of the documents discovered by Stein during his 4th Inner Asian Expedition (Achma, Domoko A4, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Domoko F), 18 manuscripts on paper (Hedin 1-30, excluding Hedin 2, 4, 7, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30) and two documents on wood (Hedin 31 and 57) in the Hedin Collection. Some of these manuscripts are double-sided or fairly large, and contain more than one document.

Each document will be treated separately here. All documents in Archive 3 are rearranged by genre and divided into six groups: 1) communications, 2) vouchers, 3) accounts, 4) patrol rosters, 5) rosters of other tasks, 6) miscellaneous. In total, 162 documents are discerned and an archive number is assigned to each. The following table is a concordance of register numbers and archive numbers:

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<td>Archive 3/6.14</td>
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<td>Order concerning drum</td>
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<td>Archive 3/1.38</td>
<td>Order concerning horses</td>
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<td>Or.11344/6r</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.23</td>
<td>Petition concerning patrol duty</td>
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<td>Archive 3/1.6</td>
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<td>Or.11344/9</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.36</td>
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<td>Or.11344/11v</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.12</td>
<td>Document concerning purchase of vănă-cloth</td>
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<td>Or.11344/12r</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.33</td>
<td>Order concerning road work and wine</td>
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<td>Archive 3/1.35</td>
<td>Letter concerning wine</td>
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<td>Account of mūrās</td>
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<td>Or.11344/15</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.17</td>
<td>Record of cloth and money for the king</td>
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<td>Or.11344/16</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.16</td>
<td>Document concerning vouchers</td>
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<td>Archive 3/1.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or.11344/18</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.15</td>
<td>Note on lack of voucher</td>
</tr>
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<td>Account of outstanding cloth</td>
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<td>Archive 3/1.15</td>
<td>Order concerning tax money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedin 5 = Hedin 3v</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.13</td>
<td>Petition concerning grain</td>
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<td>Hedin 8r</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.37</td>
<td>Missive concerning horses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hedin 9 = Hedin 8v</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>List of men on various tasks</td>
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<td>Archive 3/5.3</td>
<td>Rosters of shifts in the fort</td>
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<td>Hedin 11-a</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.29</td>
<td>Petition concerning irrigation work</td>
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<td>Hedin 11-b</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.30</td>
<td>Order concerning irrigation work</td>
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<td>Hedin 12-a</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.10</td>
<td>Account of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money</td>
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<td>Hedin 12-b</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>Account of assigned cloth</td>
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<td>Hedin 13-a</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.4</td>
<td>Account of outstanding cloth</td>
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### Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

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<td>Account of outstanding cloth</td>
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<td>Hedin 15</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.15</td>
<td>voucher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
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<td>vouchers</td>
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<td>Hedin 18</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.7</td>
<td>Agreement on buying a camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedin 19</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>Account of cloth payments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedin 20-a</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.2</td>
<td>Order of evacuation</td>
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<td>Hedin 20-b</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Hedin 21</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.41</td>
<td>Order concerning equipments</td>
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<td>Hedin 24r</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.1</td>
<td>Order of evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedin 24v</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.19</td>
<td>List of men and their equipments</td>
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<td>Hedin 31</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.47</td>
<td>Order on wood concerning patrol duty</td>
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<td>Hedin 57*</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.10</td>
<td>Record of a loan</td>
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<td>Achma-1</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.19</td>
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<td>Achma-2</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.11</td>
<td>Contract of silk cloth, small cloth and money</td>
</tr>
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<td>Archive 3/1.16</td>
<td>Order concerning tax money</td>
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<td>Domoko C</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.16</td>
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<td>Domoko D</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.17</td>
<td>voucher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domoko F</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.14</td>
<td>Order concerning mūrās for those going to Erma</td>
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Archive 3/1 Communications

I. Introduction

Included in Archive 3/1 are 37 orders, seven petitions, two missives, and one letter, 47 documents in total. Orders are issued by an official to his subordinate(s). Petitions are made by one person or a group of people to a superior official or the King of Khotan. Missives are communications between officials of equal status. Letters are correspondence from an official to a non-official.

Among the 37 orders, 26 were issued by Sudārrjāṃ, prefect of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, five by two Tibetan officers, three by the King of Khotan. That 21 orders were issued to pharṣa Saṃdara is a strong indication that Archive 3 is a collection of official documents in Sāṃdara’s possession. Among the seven petitions, two were made by Sudārrjāṃ on behalf of all the officials and commoners in the prefecture to the King of Khotan. Four were made to Sudārrjāṃ. One was made to Viṣṇadatta. One of the two missives was sent to Sudārrjāṃ, who was also the sender of the only letter in Archive 3.

Among all the communications, seven orders were fully dated, two in the 32nd regnal year, one in the 33rd, and four in the 36th, ranging from 798 to 802 CE. Presumably, documents in Archive 3 all date from this period.

II. Formula

1) Orders
Orders are highly formulaic and structured documents. Every order can be divided into three parts: opening, body, and closing. In the opening, the issuer and the recipient(s) of the order are specified. In the body, the issuer first states the reason why the order is issued, then gives specific instructions to the recipient(s). The closing includes a dating formula and the issuer’s signum. Each part follows specific formulae.

a) Opening

Most orders open with the following formula, identifying the issuer of the order:

@ [title] [name] tta parī ‘A orders thus’.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.4 §1: @ spāta sudārrjām tta parī ‘spāta Sudārrjām orders thus’.

Archive 3/1.42 §1: thaiṣī bulāni rmāmi ſi ſi rā tta parī ‘Commissioner-in-chief Blon Rmang-bzher orders thus’.

Then, after a blank space about 6-12 akṣaras long, comes the formula specifying the recipient(s).

[ttitle B] [name B] vara (u [title C] [name C] vara) ‘to B (and C)’.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.9 §2: pharṣa sāṃdarā vara ‘to pharṣa Sāṃdara’.

Archive 3/1.16 §2: salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari vara u mūra-hamgām vara ‘to the Year-leader pharṣa Sāṃdara and the money-collectors’.

Note that the postposition vara governs nouns in the genitive-dative.

b) Body

The body opens with the reason of issuance. Orders, similar to emails, can be divided into
four types according to the reason of issuance: new orders, orders in reply, forwarded orders, and follow-up orders.

i) New orders: in response to a new situation

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.16 §3: vaña ma haṁbāji mūri paṉistām di bistā ysā’ca ‘now here they asked for a total amount of 20000 mūrās’.

Archive 3/1.34 §3: vaña mara ma phema yusaujsā mau ništā ‘now I have no tasty wine here in Phema’.

ii) Orders in reply: in response to a petition previously made by the recipient(s)

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.41 §3: cu vā haḍdi yudāṃda si ‘since you made a petition to me, saying that’.

iii) Forwarded orders: in response to an order received from a superior official

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.4 §3: ttāgutta hvāṣṭa tta parstāṃdi si ‘the Tibetan masters ordered thus:’.

Archive 3/1.5 §3: vaña vā midāṃ ġyastāṇa parau ā si ‘now an order from the Gracious Lord has come, (saying) that’.

iv) Follow-up orders: in response to a previous order issued by the issuer

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.15 §3: paḍāṃdara ttā parauva hauḍi yuḍem si ‘previously I have given you orders, (saying) that’.

Archive 3/1.27 §3: parau ttā hauḍem si ‘I have sent an order to you, saying that’.
Next, after the reason of issuance, comes the actual instruction, introduced by the following formulae:

\textit{khu parau pva’} ‘When you (sg.) hear the order’. Examples include Archive 3/1.1 §4, Archive 3/1.2 §9, Archive 3/1.18 §5, Archive 3/1.30 §4, Archive 3/1.32 §12, and Archive 3/1.39 §19.

or

\textit{khu parau pvī’rau} ‘When you (pl.) hear the order’. Examples include Archive 3/1.3 §3, Archive 3/1.4 §5, Archive 3/1.5 §5, Archive 3/1.6 §6, and Archive 3/1.45 §3.

A less common formula of the same function is:

\textit{khu ttā parau hiśtā} ‘When the order comes to you’. Examples include Archive 3/1.3 §11, Archive 3/1.9 §6, and Archive 3/1.16 §7.

After the above formulae comes the main clause of the instruction, which is always in the imperative mood.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.3 §3: \textit{ttye nva parau biśi hvanḍā kītha tvāśdyarā ‘transfer all men into the fort according to the order’}.

Archive 3/1.16 §8: \textit{ttā-m vā hiri thyau haṃga’jari u ma ṣai vā hajsēmyari ‘quickly gather my thing and send it here to me’}.

c) Closing

Most orders close with the following dating formula and the issuer’s signum:

\textit{[month] [day] mye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum} ‘On the Xth of Y month, the order went out to you. Signum’.
E.g.:

Archive 3/1.3 §10: *braṃkhaysji 22 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve* Signum-SU ‘On the 22nd of *Braṃkhaysja* (the eighth month), the order went out to you. Signum-SU’

Archive 3/1.44 §4: *ttājirā ṣe’ye haḍai ttā parau tsve* Signum-SU ‘On the 2nd of *Ttuṃjārā* (the seventh month), the order went out to you. Signum-SU’

Orders from the Tibetans often end with one line of Tibetan indicating the recipient(s).

Examples include: Archive 3/1.34 §8, Archive 3/1.42 §7, Archive 3/1.43 §6, and Archive 3/1.46 §3.

In addition to the orders with the tripartite structure described above, there exists another type of order consisting of two parts. The first part is a long quote of either an agreement (*samauca*) or another order. The second part is a relatively short order in response to the quote in the first part. A typical example is Hedin 20. Its first part, Archive 3/1.2 (Hedin 20-a), is a long quote of an order from the King of Khotan in its entirety. Its second part, Archive 3/1.3 (Hedin 2-b), is the actual order in response to the order of the king. Other examples include:

Archive 3/1.6: an order from the king in §1-§3 and the actual order in §9-§11.

Archive 3/1.7: an agreement in §1-§8 and the actual order in §9-§11.

Archive 3/1.8: an agreement in §1-§4 and the actual order in §5-§7.

Archive 3/1.14: an agreement in §1-§7 and the actual order in §8-§12.

2) Petitions

Most petitions open with the following formulae, identifying the recipient of the petition:

@ [honorific] [title] [name] *vara tta haṣṭi yane* ‘I hereby make a petition to A’.  

or
@ [honorific] [title] [name] vara tta haṣdi yanāmaṇ ‘We hereby make a petition to A’.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.19 §1: @ hiyaudā āmācā ssau viṣṇadattā vara tta haṣdi yane ‘I hereby make a petition to Lord āmāca ssau Viṣṇadatta’.

Archive 3/1.29 §1: @ hiyaudi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjaṃ vara tta haṣdi yani ‘I hereby make a petition to Lord tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjaṃ’.

Archive 3/1.13 §1: @ mīḍaṃ jasti vara tta haṣdi yanāmaṇ ‘We hereby make a petition to the Gracious Lord’.

Similar to orders, after a blank space about 6-12 ākṣaras long comes the formula specifying the petitioner(s).

(a) [title A] [name A] (u [title B] [name B]) ‘I (am) A.’

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.21 §2: kṣvā auvā tsīṣī spāta suджārjaṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīda pa’k-isina ‘(we are) Sudārrjaṃ, tsīṣī spāta of the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, together with the commoners’.

Archive 3/1.24 §2: a pharṣa sāṃdari ‘I (am) pharṣa Sāṃdara’.

In the two petitions to the King of Khotan, a long formula of praise (Archive 3/1.13 §3-4, Archive 3/1.21 §3-4) follows the formula identifying the petitioners.

The content of the petition is introduced by a vocative.

Hiye, vocative of hiyauda- ‘lord’. Examples include Archive 3/1.19 §3, Archive 3/1.22 §3, Archive 3/1.24 §3, and Archive 3/1.29 §3.
or

**Jasta**, vocative of *jasta*- ‘lord’, referring to the King of Khotan. Examples include Archive 3/1.13 §3 and Archive 3/1.21 §5.

After the opening, no uniform formula is discernible in the petitions. Formulaic expressions attested more than once include:

**jasti mu’sdi parī byaudi khu** ‘May the Lord deign to have mercy, so that’, attested in Archive 3/1.13 §13 and Archive 3/1.21 §11.

**vañaṃ aspāta hiyaudāna khu dā byehāṃ** ‘Now our refuge is from the Lord so that we shall obtain justice’, attested in Archive 3/1.22 §12 and slightly different in Hedin 2 line 5-6 (not in Archive 3).

Typically, the recipient of the petition would issue an order in response to the petition, written below or on the back of the petition, or on a separate sheet of paper, and send the order in response together with the petition either back to the petitioners or to the official concerned. That is why some petitions are preserved in Archive 3, a collection of official documents in Sāṃdara’s possession.

There also exists a bipartite petition, consisted of a quote in the first part and an actual petition in the second.

Archive 3/1.23: §1-§5 an arrangement of people for different tasks, §6-§13 the actual petition.

3) Missives

Opening formula:

(a) [A] [B] *pu’sūṃ* ‘I, [A], greet [B]’.
Only two fragmentary missives, Archive 3/1.37 and Archive 3/1.40, are preserved in Archive 3. Only in Archive 3/1.40, the last word of the opening formula pu'šūm ‘I ask’ is preserved. A complete opening formula of missives is preserved in SI P 103.35 (*SDTV III*, p.149), a document in Archive 2.

4) Letters

Opening formula:

```
[title A][name A] šaṃdā haṃbujsai hūṃ ‘Embracing the earth (before) A, I speak (thus):’
```

This formula is partially preserved in Archive 3/1.35, the only letter in Archive 3. A complete opening formula of letters is preserved in IOL Khot 41/1 (*Catalogue*, p.270), a document in Archive 4.

III. Subjects

The 47 documents in Archive 3/1 are divided here into six subgroups according to their subjects. Documents within each subgroup are arranged chronologically.

The subjects of the six subgroups are:

1) Evacuation (Archive 3/1.1-6)

2) Taxes in grain, money, and cloth (Archive 3/1.7-19)

3) Corvée work including state work, court work, canteen duty, patrol duty, irrigation work, and road work (Archive 3/1.20-33)

4) Wine (Archive 3/1.34-36)

5) Horses and draft animals (Archive 3/1.37-40)
6) Others (Archive 3/1.41-46)

The following table lists the basic information of the documents in Archive 3/1:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Register number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Subject</th>
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<td>Hedin 24r</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>King of Khotan</td>
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<td>4'/4/32</td>
<td>evacuation</td>
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**IV. Texts**

**Archive 3/1.1 (Hedin 24r) Bilingual order of evacuation issued by the King of Khotan**

This document is a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual order, drafted by an official in charge of paperwork, issued by the Administrative Assistant and the King of Khotan. In other words, this document was issued from the highest level of administration in Khotan. Since all the documents...
in Archive 3 were from Cira-Six Town Prefecture, the addressee of this order, though missing in
the document, should be an official in the same prefecture, most likely the prefect Sudārrjām, who is abundantly attested in Archive 3. According to the order, a camel rider named Saṃgapuña brought in an alarming message of military threat from Shenshan, a military citadel situated at present-day Mazar Tagh, some 180 km north of Khotan on the left bank of the Khotan River. The officials in Khotan responded swiftly to the alarm. Within a matter of hours, they issued this order and demanded that all people and livestock be evacuated into the Fort of Kan. Failure to carry out this order would incur punishment. Such instruction of evacuation and punishment for failure to do so is also the common subject of the next five documents (Archive 3/1.2-6).

Thanks to the better preserved and better understood Chinese part, this order is the most studied document in Archive 3. Bailey first published the entire document, with his reading of and commentary on the fragmentary Khotanese text (KT IV, p.37 and p.135), together with Pulleyblank and Haloun’s reading of the Chinese text (KT IV, p.136), and Pulleyblank’s translation of and commentary on the Chinese text (KT IV, pp.136-138). Bailey then published the facsimile of Hedin 24 recto in SD, plate VII, and updated his transcription and translation of the Khotanese text in SDTV, pp.12-13. From the late 1980s, Chinese and Japanese scholars began to contribute to the study of this document, primarily on the Chinese text. In 1988, Zhang and Rong reedited the Chinese text according to the facsimile published in SD and argued that its date could not be ‘the 54th year’, as Pulleyblank read it. (Zhang and Rong 1988) Based on Pulleyblank’s transcription, Cheng Xilin discussed this document in his monograph on the institution of relay posts. (Cheng 1991, pp. 238-39) Lin Meicun (1993) also reedited the Chinese text. Kumamoto (1996) criticized Lin for his fanciful readings. In 1997, Zhang and Rong published a new edition of the
Chinese text along with a better picture of Hedin 24. (Zhang and Rong 1997) This article is by far the most important study on the Chinese text of Hedin 24r, and the secular documents from Khotan as a whole. Zhang and Rong read the date in Hedin 24r as the 14th year of the Zhenyuan era, i.e., 798 CE, and identified this year with the 32nd regnal year mentioned in Hedin 21 (Archive 3/1.41 §11) on the ground that these two documents are related in content and share the intercalary fourth month in their dates. In so doing, Zhang and Rong successfully anchored the regnal years of the King of Khotan to an absolute chronology. In his groundbreaking study on the secular Khotanese documents, Yutaka Yoshida discussed the political situation reflected in Hedin 24r and other related documents in Archive 3, and argued that the military threat was posed not by the Tibetan army to the Chinese forces, as Zhang and Rong had assumed, but by the Uighurs from the northern brim of the Tarim Basin to the Tibetans, who had already occupied Khotan for some time (Yoshida 2006, pp.28-31; Yoshida 2009). In 2009, in an article devoted to the dated documents in Archive 3, Skjærvø published a high-resolution facsimile of Hedin 24, both recto and verso, and a new edition of the Khotanese text. (Skjærvø 2009) He took note of the new readings proposed by Zhang and Rong, but relied heavily on Pulleyblank’s interpretation of the Chinese text. He also used the Chinese text to understand and emend the badly damaged Khotanese text. (Skjærvø 2008, pp.120-21)

In 2012, Rong Xinjiang included Hedin 24 in his study on the Chinese-Khotanese bilingual documents from Khotan, but did not use Skjærvø’s new edition of the Khotanese text. (Rong 2012, pp.20-21) In the same volume of proceedings, Duan Qing devoted a study solely to Hedin 24r. She attempted to elucidate the Chinese text in light of the Khotanese text. She suggested that a baffling phrase in the Chinese text previously read as Rúmāqūsà 濁馬屈薩 should be read as
Pèimāqūsā 钦马屈袈, a phonetic rendering of the Khotanese phrase phemāṃṇa kīṃtha, ‘in the Fort of Phema’ (Duan 2012, pp.75-76). Though her interpretation is subject to discussion, her method of comparing the Chinese and the Khotanese text is illustrative and most welcome.

In Hedin 24r, as in other Chinese-Khotanese bilingual documents, the scribe first wrote the Chinese text, then the Khotanese text. The Chinese text strictly follows the official formula of documents prescribed by the Tang Government. As we shall see, insights into other Tang official documents in Chinese can help elucidate the structure and meaning of this fragmentary text. The Khotanese and the Chinese texts are divided into seven and nine sections respectively. The seven sections of the Khotanese text correspond to the first seven sections in the Chinese text on a one-to-one basis, whereas the last two sections of the Chinese text are merely titles and signatures. Such correspondences help improve reading and understanding both the Chinese and the Khotanese text.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/5.19, a list of men and their equipments.

**Text**

§1 ¹[……] 乘駝人桑宜本口報稱

§1 ¹[...] khu x x ā sa x

§2 聞神山堡〔敟〕² ³[……] 三舖 [人] 並駝三頭今日卯時到潤馬屈袈

§2 […] ²[yu]dai kar[x]ā x ra -ā -ī [k]ūsā ḳyāṃdā ula-bārai x sa x x īa x stā yuḍe

§3 ³[……] 得消息便即走報來者

§3 khu sa […]³[...] vā bu[ḍā] yuḍe[m]

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¹ All Chinese-Khotanese bilingual secular documents from the Khotan region, nine groups in total, are conveniently collected in Rong 2012.
Translation

§1 (C) … The camel-rider Samgapuña orally reported that:

§1 (K) “…

§2 (C) “(I) heard [the drum] of the Citadel in Shenshan. … at the hour of Mao (5-7 AM) today, three men of the relay posts, together with three camels, arrived at Rumaqusa.

§2 (K) … the drum continually the camel riders…

§3 (C) Once obtaining the message, [I] immediately came to report (it).”

§3 (K) When …, I have brought (the message) here.”

§4 (C) Issue orders to the subordinates according to the report:

§4 (K) When you hear the order,

§5 (C) “[…] Collect all the people and cattle into the fort of Kan in defense (of a possible attack).
§5 (K) No matter how many men and cattle you have there in the prefecture, transfer all of them into the Fort of Phema.

§6 (C) If (anyone is) neglected or missing, […] the subordinates will be punished.” Thus I issue the order.

§6 (K) ... you will incur severe (punishment for) wrongdoing.

§7 (C) At the hour of Chen (7-9 AM) on the 4th of the intercalary fourth month in the 14th year of the Zhenyuan era, Shi Huaipu the scribe drafted the document.

§7 (K) On the 4th of the second (= intercalary) Siṃjsīsa (the fourth month), the order (went out to you).

§8 (C) The Administrative Assistant, Senior Secretary in Prince Jian’s Establishment, Fu Signum-Wei[jin]

§9 (C) Vice Military Commissioner, Governor, King [Yuchi Signum-Yao]

Commentary

§1 (C) 乘駝人 chéngtuórén: ‘camel rider’. This word reminds one of ula-bāraa- ‘camel rider’ in §2 (K). But the two sentences do not correspond to each other.

§1 (C) 乘宜本 Sāngyībēn: Chinese name of the Khotanese camel rider. Sāngyī 桑宜 is attested in Vaśi’rasamga’s Chinese name Wūrisāngyī 勿日桑宜. See Yoshida 2006, p.27. The original Khotanese name of Sāngyībēn 乘宜本 can thus be restored as Saṃgapuṇa, a name attested in Archive 3 (Archive 3/4.5p §3, Archive 3/4.6a §2, and elsewhere), but perhaps not referring to the same person.

§1 (C) 口報 kōubào: ‘to report orally’, as opposed to a written report.
§2 (C) 鼓 gǔ: ‘drum’. Restored according to [k]ūsā in §2 (K). The upper left corner of the character is still visible. Drums were used to signal alarms in Khotan at that time. The camel-rider Samgapuña heard the alarm sounded by the drum in Shenshan and hurriedly came to report it. For more on the usage of drum, see commentary on Archive 3/1.3 §11.

§2 (C) 三人 sān pùrén: ‘three men of the relay posts’. Pù 舖 refers to the relay posts set up along the frontier approximately every 30 lis. Pùrén 舖人, men guarding these posts, were charged with the task of warning the nearby town in case of enemy attacks. See Cheng 1991, pp. 230-39.


§2 (C) 濃馬屈薩 Rúmāqūsà: Place name, exact location unknown. Duan (2012, p.75) first reads this phrase as a place name. She then identifies it with the Khotanese phrase written to its left phēmāña kīmtha ‘the Fort of Phema’. Based on this identification, she reads the first character as pèi 露, and interprets the entire phrase as a phonetic transcription of phēmāña kīmtha. Her insight that Pèimāqūsà 濃馬屈薩 is a place is valuable, but the rest of her argument is flawed, because in this document the Chinese texts correspond to the Khotanese texts written to its right, not to its left. As can be clearly seen in the translation, phēmāña kīmtha belongs to §5 of Khotanese, which closely corresponds to §5 of Chinese, and phēmāña kīmtha corresponds to Kānchéng 坎城 ‘the fort of Kan’.

§3 (C) 言 zhē: Marker of end-quote. See Wang Yongxing 1994, pp.423-442.
§5 (C) 坎城 Kānchéng: ‘Fort of Kan’, corresponding to Khot. *phemāṇa kīṁtha*, see below.

§5 (K) piṣkala: ‘prefecture’, Chin. *zhōu* 州, Tib. *tshan(d)*, referring to Cira-Six Town Prefecture, attested in Khotanese as *cira kṣvā auvā piṣkala* ‘Cira-Six Town Prefecture’ (Archive 3/6.1 §2), or *cira kṣvā auvā* ‘Cira-Six Towns’ (Archive 3/1.3 §1 and elsewhere), or simply *kṣvā auvā* ‘in/of the Six Towns’ (Archive 3/1.21 §2 and elsewhere). Similarly, the name of the prefecture is attested in Chinese as *Zhīlúó Liùchéng* 質遼六城 ‘Cira-Six Towns’ in Дх.18940 (Zhang and Rong 2002, p.236), or *Liùchéng Zhīlúó 六城質遼* ‘Six Towns-Cira’ in Or.6406 (H.1) (Chavannes 1907, pp.521-524; Zhang and Rong 1987, pp.79-83), or simply *Liùchéng* 六城 ‘Six Towns’ in Archive 3/2.3 §1 (C) and elsewhere. Yoshida (2006, p.89, n.8), Wen Xin (2008b, p.114), and Zhu Lizhuang (2013, p.73) take *Liùchéng Zhōu* 六城州 ‘Six Town Prefecture’ as the name of the prefecture, whereas Rong (1993, p.405) tacitly uses both *liùchéng Zhīlúó Zhōu* 六城質遼州 ‘Six Town-Cira Prefecture’ and *Zhīlúó Zhōu* 質遼州 ‘Cira Preference’ to refer to this prefecture. In my opinion, the official name of the prefecture is *Zhīlúó Liùchéng Zhōu* 質遼六城州, ‘Cira-Six Town Prefecture’, corresponding to Khot. *cira kṣvā auvā piṣkala*, meaning ‘the prefecture made up of six towns headed by Cira’, as Cira was the most important town among the Six Towns. Such a structure is parallel to *Ānxī Sīzhèn Jièdù* 安西四鎮節度 ‘the Military District of Anxi-Four Garrisons’, meaning ‘the military district made up of four garrisons headed by Anxi, as Anxi (present-day Kucha) was the most important garrison among the Four Garrisons.

§5 (K) phemāṇa kīṁtha: ‘the Fort of Phema’, L., corresponding to Chin. *Kānchéng* 坎城. Tib. *Kam sheng*. The first syllable, *kān* in Chinese and *kam* in Tibetan, is a phonetic transcription of
Khot. *kaṃḍva* (Zhu Lishuang 2013, p.48). Duan (2012, p.77) points out that *kaṃḍva* is attested together with *Phema* in Or.11344/8v (Archive 3/3.18 §3), and links it with *khema* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Phema, on the other hand, corresponds to Chin. *Pímó* 婁摩 in Xuan Zang’s *Xiyuji* and *Pein* in Marco Polo’s *Travels*, a place identified by Stein (1907, pp.462-463) with the site Uzun-tati. Especially noteworthy is the old fort that Stein (1907, p.462) visited and examined in the vicinity of Ulūgh-Ziārat, about three miles to the southeast of Uzun-tati. According to Huang Wenbi (1958, p.48), who visited it in 1929, the local name of this fort is *Kānāqin* 卡那沁. Li Yinping (1998, pp.255-262) convincingly identified this fort with *Kānchéng* 坎城 and interpreted its modern Uighur name as a phonetic rendering of its older Chinese name. When Khotan was under Tang control, a relatively small garrison was stationed in Kancheng as a defense detachment (*Shōuzhuō* 守捉, Khot. *śūṣuha*, see Yoshida 1997, p.568). The Tibetans continued to use this garrison as their military headquarters in the Six Towns. In the orders of Archive 3, *phema* ‘in Phema’ and *kīṃtha* ‘in the fort’ are often attested together with *mara* ‘here’ and *vā* ‘to us here’ (Archvie 3/1.33 §3, Archive 3/1.34 §3, Archive 3/1.39 §5, and Archive 3/1.42 §3), indicating that these orders were issued in the Fort of Phema, and the issuers of the orders, namely, Sudāṛrjāṃ, the prefect of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, and Blon Rmang-bzher, the Tibetan military officer, were residing in the Fort of Phema. Also note that Phema was located in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, but was not one of the Six Towns. For a list of the Six Towns, see Wen Xin 2008b.

§6 (C) 所由 *suōyóu*: ‘official, subordinate’, referring to the officials on a lower level. See Zhang and Rong 1987, p.87.

§7 (C) 辰時 chênshi: ‘the hour of Chen (7-9 AM)’. According to §2 (C), the men from the relay post delivered the warning in the hour of mao (5-7 AM). Within a few hours, this order was drafted and issued, showing that the authorities in Khotan took the warning seriously and responded swiftly.

§7 (C) 典 diàn: ‘scribe, official in charge of paperwork’. Also attested in Or.6406 (H. 1). See Zhang and Rong 1997, pp.87-88. But their identification of this title with Khot. dīna ‘under’, attested in Archive 3/2.11 §1 (K), is far-fetched and incorrect.


§8 (C) 判官 Pànguān: ‘Administrative Assistant’, an important post in charge of paperwork on the staff of the Military Commissioner (Jiedushi). See Hucker 1985, p.363. This title is also attested as Khot. phqṇā kvṇā (Archive 3/2, passim), JP pnkw’n (Zhang and Shi 2008, p.94), and MMP p’nxw’n (Yoshida 1994, p.371).


§8 (C) 長史 Zhăngshǐ: ‘Senior Secretary’. Also attested as Khot. cāṃṣšī in Archive 3/6.7 §7 (KT IV, p.118) and MMP c’ngṣyy (Yoshida 1994, p.371).

§9 (C) 富惟[謫] Fù Wéijin: Name of the Administrative Assistant. Together with a Khotanese
official, Fu Weijin issued most of the vouchers in Archive 3/2. See Archive 3/2 II. Formula. In accordance with the common practice at that time, the Administrative Assistant signed his name Wéijǐn in a smaller font. See Rong and Zhang 1997, p.343.


§9 [尉遲 曜] [Yūchí Yào]: the Chinese name of Viśa Vāhaṃ, the King of Khotan. Restored by Zhang and Rong (1997, p.340). The upper left corner of Yù 尉 is still visible. The last character Yào 曜 would have been written by Viśa Vāhaṃ’s himself, functioning as his signum, as in Archive 3/1.41 §13.

Archives 3/1.2 (Hedin 20-a) Order of evacuation

This document is the first half of Hedin 20, in which spāta Sudārjāṃ reproduces in its entirety an order he received from the King of Khotan. In the order, the king first quotes what he heard from the Military Commissioner blon Lha bzher, the Tibetan commander in charge of the southern Tarim Basin. The previous night, the commander received a message from Kashgar, saying that an Uighur army had just passed over, heading for Khotan. Neither the size of the army nor the date of its passing was included in the message. In response to this emergency, the king or-
ders spāta Sudārrjāṃ to evacuate all people and cattle into the Fort of Phema in preparation of an imminent invasion. The king issued the order on the 20th of Braṃkhaysja in the 36th regnal year, or 802 CE, and Sudārrjāṃ received it on the next day, the 21st of Braṃkhaysja.

**Text**

§1 ¹[braṃkhaysji māś][ä] 20 1 mye haḍai vā mishāṃ gyastāna parau ā

§2 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ va²[ra]

§3 [vaña v]ā tcirthū lūnā ha’bāsi’rā āstamṇa hvāṣta parstāṃdā si

§4 paḍāṃda tā³[łūn₄ tca]bi ysaṃgā pāḍaki hauḍi si

§5 cīgā lā thihā tcyeṇā tā hāṃjśisṭā hvaṃ kṣīra ⁴[hī]na bāyi dvī ysārā

§6 va jsāṃ vā mu-ṣhe khyeṣvā ḍha lūnā tcabi ysaṃgā {hā} {tī} {ṭa} ⁵[hīvī] pīḍakā ā si

§7 huna tā khyeṣvā ttumgāṣem parrya

§8 ści haḍai va ni ye si caṃda [⁶parr]y[a] u kāmye haḍai vā parrya

§9 khu parau pva’ hvaṃdā u stūra biṣi phēmāṇa kītha tvā⁷[śdyā]

§10 [u] tī jsāṃ au au parau pāsā

§11 ci ttye stūra buḍa īde khvaṃ ttuṣā kītha ni tvaśdīṃ⁸[ḍa cī tty[e] stūra ni īde śūje hāyarā

§12 jsārū jsa tvaryari

§13 36 mye kṣuṇā ⁹[braṃ]khaysji 20 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SUa

**Translation**

§1 On the 21st of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month), an order from the Gracious Lord came to us, (saying):

§2 “To tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ:

§3 [Now], Military Commissioner blon Lha bzher and other masters told us:
§4 ‘Previously, blon Tsa-bzang gave you a document, (saying):

§5 “The Chinese Lu Tejin intends to lead an army of 2000 to Khotan to you.”

§6 But last night, a document sent by blon Tsa-bzang among the Kashgarian came, saying:

§7 “The Huns have passed over Ttumgašem in Kashgar, (and are now going to) you.”

§8 But it did not (say) how many have passed or on which day they passed, (heading for) us.’

§9 When you hear the order, transfer all men and cattle into the Fort of Phema.

§10 Then send orders to every town.

§11 Those who have more cattle (and) those who have no cattle, help one another so that they (those who have more cattle) do not transfer them (their cattle) unloaded into the fort.

§12 Transfer the grain with you.

§13 On the 20th day of Braṃkhaysjā in the 36th regnal year the order went out to you.” Signum-SUa

Commentary

§1 [braṃkhaysji māś[tā] 20 i mye haḍai: ‘On the 21st of Braṃkhaysja’. Bailey (KT IV, p.33) read: “[ka]j/a 22mye haḍai”. Skjærvø (2009, p.124) improves on Bailey’s reading and reads: “[ttāṃjeri māś[t[i] 20 [i)i]i mye haḍai”. On the 21st of Braṃkhaysja, Sudārrjāṃ received the order issued by the king on the 20th of Braṃkhaysja (§14). On the next day, the 22nd of Braṃkhaysja (Archive 3/1.3 §10), Sudārrjāṃ copied this order from the king and issued his own order to his subordinates. There is no siddham sign in the beginning, because the space of the lacuna, established by the restoration of Archive 3/1.3 §1, only allows five akszaras before ‘20’ at most.

§1 miṣḍām gyastāna: ‘the Gracious Lord’, I.-Ab., referring to the King of Khotan, Viśa’ Vāhaṃ.
More on him in the introduction to Archive 3/1.41.


§2 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ: Prefect of the Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Most of the orders in Archive 3 were issued by him, as testified by his signum at the end of the orders.

§3[vañña v]ā tciirthū: ‘now, here, Military Commissioner’. Restored according to the standard opening formula of orders. This restoration also fits the length of the lacuna. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.33) reads: ‘[v]ātcī thū’e’.

§3 tciirthū: ‘Military Commissioner’, from Chin. *Jiēdù* 端度, LMC *tsiat thu*: (Pulleyblank 1991, p.83), a shortened form of *Jiēdūshi* 端度使. Also attested as *tcārāthū* in Archive 3/1.12 §2, and *tcirrtū* in Archive 3/6.3 §2. Compare MMP *syrtwš*, *syrtwšyy*, from Chin. *Jiēdūshi* 端度使. (Yoshida 1994, p.371) When the Tarim Basin was under Tang’s rule, Khotan, Kashgar, and Kucha were all within the jurisdiction of the Anxi Protectorate, whose headquarters were located in Kucha and whose military chief bore the title *Jiedushi*, ‘Military Commissioner’. In other words, *Jiedushi* was the military official of the highest rank in the entire Tarim Basin. In 760, the King of Khotan Viśa’ Vāhaṃ was appointed *Jiēdūfūshi* 端度副使, ‘Vice Military Commissioner’, by the Tang government, and continued to bear this title well into the period
when Khotan was under Tibetan rule, as is attested in Archive 3/1.1 §10 (C).

§3 teirthū lūnā ha’bāśi’rā: ‘Military Commissioner Blon Lha bzher’. It can be inferred from the title Jiedu that this Tibetan official was the military commander in charge of the southern Tarim Basin, including Khotan and Kashgar. After conquering part of the Tarim Basin in the 790s, the Tibetans inherited the Chinese title Jiedu and incorporated it into their own administrative system. In the northern Tarim Basin, the Uighurs mirrored the Tibetans and appointed Uighur Jiedushi in Kucha and Beshbaliq. (Line 47 syrtwś and line 73 syrtwśyy in the Mahrnā-mag. See Müller 1912, pp.10-11) The restored Tibetan name Lha zher is attested in Or.15000/187 (Takeuchi 1998, p.83.), in which Lha zher bears the title dgra blon ‘the commissioner of defense’. For more on dgra blon, see Shen Chen 2016, p.223.

§4 pāḍaki: pāḍaka- ‘document’. Pāḍa is the term for documents written on large wooden boxes, such as Or.9268a (Catalogue, p.67) and IOL Khot Wood 1 (Catalogue, p.557). Almost all pāḍa-type documents are contracts. Pāḍaka, diminutive of pāḍa, may refer to smaller documents written on wood. In Archive 3, pāḍaka-baraa- ‘document-carrier’ refers to those charged with the task of carrying such documents. See commentary on Archive 3/5.10 §3.


§5 cigā lā thihā tcyēna: ‘the Chinese Lā Tejin’, probably referring to Lū Yáng 魯陽, the military chief of Kashgar (Zhènshōushi 鎮守使) around 786 when Wū Kōng 悟空 passed through Kashgar on his way from India back to China. See Lévi and Chavannes 1895, p.362. Yoshida (2009,
p.353) identifies this name with MMP lyfwvw in Marhnāmag, who has the title kʾỹyxʾd ‘Lord of Kashgar’.

§6 khyešvā: ‘among the Kashgarian’, loc. pl. The locative singular form, khyeša, is attested in Archive 3/1.6 §2. For the identification of this word with Kashgar and its forms in other languages, see KT VII, p.50-54.


§6 lũnā tcabi ysamgā: ‘Blon Tsa-bzang’, only attested here and partially in §4. Lũnā, from Tib. blon ‘minister’, indicates that this man was a Tibetan official.

§6 lũnā tcabi ysamgā {hā}{ī} {ḍa} [hīvī] pīdakā ā si: ‘An order from blon Tcabi Ysamga has come, (saying)’. The scribe made some mistakes and deleted the last two aḵsaras of line 4. Also compare with jasti hīvī parau ā si ‘an order of the King has coming, (saying)’ in Archive 3/1.13 §5. Both Bailey (KT IV, pp.33-34) and Skjærvø (2009, p.124) reconstruct differently.


§7 ttuṃgašem: Place name, exact location uncertain. Bailey (KT IV, p.34) reads it as two separate words and suggests Uighur tonga ‘hero’ for ttumga in Dict., p.219, in the entry of parrya. But this is hardly plausible. Place names between Kashgar and Khotan at that time should not be in Turkic, as the region was not yet under Uighur control.


§8 [parr]y[a]: Restored according to parrya in the second half of §8. Bailey reconstructs:
“[ʰha]d[ᵃ]”.


§10 au au: ‘every town’. Attested again in Archive 3/1.4 §2. The distributive usage of repetition is also found in hva hva ‘every man’ in Archive 3/1.6 §7 and bisi bisi ‘every village’ in Archive 3/1.45 §4.

§11 budā: buḍara ‘more’, not the past participle of bar- ‘to carry’.

§11 hāyarā: hāy- ‘to help’, impv. 2pl. Bailey (KT IV, p.124) infers this meaning from the context, but proposes ‘to send, to forward’ in Dict., p.478. The latter meaning does not fit the context here. Skjærvø (2009, p.124) also renders this word as ‘*to help’.

§12 tvaryari: tvar- ‘to bring in, carry’, impv. 2pl., from *ati-bar-, see KT IV, p.124. Another form tvaridā is attested in Archive 3/1.3 §7. The whole sentence corresponds to u jsārā jsāṃ pariya buḍā ‘order to carry your grain’ in Archive 3/1.3 §4.

§14 Signum-SUa: This signum, a shorthand of Sudārrjaṃ’s formal signature Signum-SU, is used here to authenticate and mark the end of the quoted order from the King. It is attested again at the end of Archive 3/1.3, following the postscript after the end of the order and Sudārrjaṃ’s formal signature. This shorthand is used again in the same manner in Archive 3/4.17p and Archive 3/4.18p.

Archive 3/1.3 (Hedin 20-b) Order of evacuation

This document is the second half of Hedin 20, an order issued by spāta Sudārrjaṃ to spāta Vidyadatta and others in response to Archive 3/1.2, an order from the King of Khotan to Sudārrjaṃ. In accordance with the order from the king, Sudārrjaṃ orders his subordinates to evacuate
all people and cattle into the Fort of Phema, asks them to instruct the people to help each other, and warns them of severe punishment if he finds anyone that has not been evacuated when he comes to inspect the result of evacuation. In the end, Sudārṛjāṃ asks the recipients to beat the drum to send alarms to the people but not to arouse the enemy.

This order was issued on the 22nd of Braṃkhaysja, only one day after spāṭa Sudārrjāṃ received the order from the king. Such responsiveness and high efficiency of communication is also evident in Archive 3/1.9 §7, Archive 3/1.11 §6, and Archive 3/1.34 §6-7.

**Text**

§1 spāṭa sudārrjuṃ tta parī
§2 spāṭa vidyadattā vara u pha[rṣa] sādarā vara u hamīḍa hārvāṃ vara
§3 khu parau pvī’rau ttye nva parau biśi'[hvaṃ]dā kītha tvaśdyarā
§4 u jsārū jsāṃ pariya buḍā
§5 ttuśā stūra ma ha[yysyar]ā
§6 kaṃṭha paṃmarīrau
§7 neri pūra kīṃtha nā’yīdā u daha hvaṃḍā jsā[ra] tvarīdā
§8 khu tta a hīśūṃ khu ra tta śau hvaṃḍā byehīme
§9 pa’jsa daula [ārri hva]ryari
§10 braṃkhaysji 22 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SU
§11 khu ttā parau hīṣti [x tt]ī küsi ka’jarā
§12 {x} tta tta haḍi ma yaṃ khu aḍārye vyauli yuḍāṃda Signum-SUa

**Translation**

§1 Spāṭa Sudārrjāṃ orders as follows.
§2 To spāta Vidyadatta, pharṣa Sāṃdara, and all the officials:

§3 When you hear the order, transfer all men into the Fort according to the order.

§4 And order to carry your grain.

§5 Do not send the draft animals unloaded.

§6 Inform the Fort.

§7 Women shall place children in the Fort and men shall bring in the grain.

§8 When I come to you, if I find a single man (left) at your place.

§9 Get (lit. eat) severe punishment for wrongdoing!

§10 On the 22nd of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month), the order went out to you. Signum-SU

§11 When the order reaches you, beat the drum!

§12 But don’t do it (as last time) when you aroused the others (= the enemy). Signum-SUa

Commentary

§1 ḫārvāṃ: ḫārua- in the documents denotes an ‘official’, not ‘merchant’ as in the Buddhist texts, gen. pl. See commentary on Archive 3/3.3 §4.

§4 jsārū: jsār-ū, ‘your grain’. Corresponding to jsārū jsa tvaryari ‘Transfer the grain with you’ in Archive 3/1.2 §12. Bailey (KT IV, p.121) takes the second person plural enclitic-ū as the third person plural enclitic -ūṃ.

§4 pariya: pary-, ‘to order’, impv. 2pl.

§5 ha[yysyar]ā: hays- ‘to send’, impv. 2 pl. Restored from context by Bailey (KT IV, p.34).

§6 pāmarīrau: OKh. patāmar- ‘to inform’, impv. 2pl.

§7 neri: nārā- ‘wife, woman’, nom.-acc. pl. Here, neri is the subject of the sentence, just as daha hvamḍā ‘male men’ is also the subject. Bailey (KT IV, p.121) takes both as objects.
§7 nā’yīda: nā’y- ‘to place’, pres. 3pl., from *ni-šādaya-. See Dict., p.186. §7 tvarīda: tvar- ‘to bring in’, pres. 3pl., from *ati-bar-. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §12.

§8 byehīme: byeh-, ‘to obtain’, pres. 1s.

§9 pa’jsa daula [ārri]: ‘severe punishment for wrongdoing’, restored by comparison with pa’jsā ārrā byehā ‘you will incur severe (punishment for) wrongdoing’ in Archive 3/1.1 §6 (K).


§11 kūsi: kūsa- ‘drum’ Nom.-acc. s, also attested in Archive 3/1.1 §1 (K), Archive 3/1.6 §2 and Archive 3/1.42 §3. Beating drums to signal alarms was a common practice in Khotan at that time and is reflected in a legend collected by Xuan Zang in his description of Khotan. According to the legend, the King of Khotan once sacrificed one of his ministers to appease the river goddess and was therefore rewarded with the Dragon Drum, a magical drum that would automatically sound if enemy were to approach. Though the mythical drum itself was no longer extant, an abandoned Buddhist temple built by the side of the drum was still visible during Xuan Zang’s visit. (Xiyuji, pp.1024-25) Stein (1907, p.227) identifies this temple with a mound called Naghara-Khāna ‘the house of kettle-drum’, not far from Yotkan, the site identified with the capital city of Khotan.

§11 ka’jarā: OKh. kalj- ‘to beat’, impv. 2pl.

§12 aḍārye: aḍāra- ‘other’. Skjærvø (2009, p.125) observes that this word means ‘the Other’, referring to the enemy. This interpretation fits the context perfectly.

§12 vyauli: ‘alarm’, OKh. vyāt/vula-. See KT IV, p.125. Also attested in a similar context in Archive 3/1.6 §3.

§12 yuḍāmda: yan- ‘to do’ pf. 2 pl. tr. Bailey (KT IV, p.121) translates this word in the future
perfect. Skjærvø (2009, p.136, note 64) notices the inconsistency in Bailey’s translation, but does
not change it.

**Archive 3/1.4 (Or.11252/18) Order of evacuation**

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to all the *auva-haṃḍastas* and the trans-
porters. In it, Sudārrjāṃ passes an order from the Tibetan masters, and demands that all men be
transferred into the Fort, presumably due to military threat of some sort. Unlike others, this order
does not have Sudārrjāṃ’s signum at the end.

Written on the back of this order is one vertical line of Khotanese, which reads: ‘to be sent to
Lord āmāca sau Viṣṇadatta’. Incidentally, Archive 3/1.19 is a petition to sau Viṣṇadatta from
Ysevidṭa, the *auva-haṃḍasta* of Phaṃnai. Conceivably, Ysevidṭa first received this order from
Sudārrjāṃ. Next, he used the back of this order to write the name of the addressee of his petition,
attached this slip of paper to his petition, and sent both to sau Viṣṇadatta, who in turn sent back
the petition together with his instruction, probably to Sāṃdara. Unfortunately, Viṣṇadatta’s order
in response to Ysevidṭa’s petition is not found in Archive 3.

**Text**

**Recto**

§1  ד suppressing spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 au au auva-haṃḍa[stā vara] 2u dṛṛma ttvaśdā vara

§3 ttāgaṭta hvāṣṭa tta parstāṃdi si

§4 hvaṃṇḍi vā bi[ṣ]i [kīth]ā 3ttvaśdyari

§5 khu parau pvīrau hvaṃṇḍi vā kīthā ttvaśdyari
§6 {braṃkhaysji} \mūnāṃji/ kṣemye [haḍai ttā] "parau tsve

Verso

§1 [hiyau]di āmāci šau viṣṇadattā haiśā’ni

Translation

Recto

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To the auva-haṃdastas of every town and the transporters in Drrama.

§3 The Tibetan Masters ordered thus:

§4 “Transfer all men to us [in the Fort].”

§5 When you hear the order, transfer the men to us in the Fort.

§6 On the 6th of Mūnāṃja (the 10th month), the order went out [to you].

Verso

§1 To be sent to Lord āmāca šau Viṣṇadatta

Commentary

§2 au au: ‘every town’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §10.

§2 auva-haṃdastā: auva-haṃdastas-, gen.-dat. pl., the title of an official on the township level. The auva-haṃdastas of three towns are listed in Archive 3/3.10 §2. The level of auva-haṃdasta is lower than that of spāta. Wen Xin (2008a, pp.138-39) suggests that the Chinese title Xiāngtóu 鄉頭 ‘head of a township’ perhaps corresponds to auva-haṃdasta. For more on this title, see commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2.

§2 drrīma: drrama-, loc., place name, exact location unclear. The adjective drramaji is attested in Archive 3/1.6 §2.
§2 ttvaśā: ttvaśdaa- ‘transfer’, G-D. pl., from tvaśd- ‘to transfer’.


§4 hvāṃḍī vā biḥṣi [kītha] ttvaśdyari: ‘Transfer all men to us [in the Fort].’ Restored according to vā kītha ttvaśdyari in §5.

§6 kṣemye: ‘sixth’ (‘sixteenth’ in Catalogue, p.96, is a lapsus).

Verso

§1 viṣṇadattā: Proper name. Also attested with the same titles in Archive 3/1.19 §1, a petition to Viṣṇadatta from Ysevidṭa, auva-haṃḍasta of Phaṃnai. See commentary on Archive 3/1.19 §2 and Archive 3/3.10 §2.

§1 haiśā’ñī: haiś- ‘to send’, participle of necessity, nom.-acc. s., also attested in Archive 3/1.10v §1.

Archive 3/1.5 (Or.11344/17) Order of evacuation

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara and others. The understanding of this order is imperfect because of its damaged right end. In this order, Sudārrjāṃ first quotes an order from the King of Khotan, who talks about the activities of the invading Uighurs and demands everyone to be brought into the fort the next day. Sudārrjāṃ then threatens the recipients of the order with death (?) and other punishment. The name of pharṣa Sāṃdara, one of the addressees, is written on the back of the order.

Text

Recto
§1 1@ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 [pharṣa sāṃdari va]2ra auva haṇḍasti sudattā vara u pa’ suda[tta vara]

§3 3vaṇa vā miḍāṇī ṣyaṣṭāna parau ā si

§4 [x x x] 4kīthi vā ysaṃgaunā huna parrya

§5 khu parau pvī’rau

§6 svī pana [hvaṃdi] 5mara āju[m]yarā

§7 paḍāṃdara ttā parau tsve

§8 khu vā tti na [x x x]6sāta mirāṇ-ū himi u daua haṇḍara

§9 skarāhverā mā[sta x mye] 7ḥaḍai haṇḍāmaṃci parau Signum-SU

Verso

§1 1[pharṣa] sāṃdari vara

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To [pharṣa Sāṃdara], auva-haṇḍasta Sudatta, and Suda[tta] in Pa’.

§3 Now an order from the Gracious Lord has come, (saying):

§4 “The plundering Huns have passed here … of the fort.

§5 When you hear the order,

§6 Bring here all the men tomorrow.”

§7 An order went out to you previously.

§8 If [you do not] … to us, you will have to die and [you will suffer] other punishment.

§9 On the … of Skarihvāra (the 11th month), the … order (went out to you). Signum-SU.

Verso
§1 To [Pharṣa] Sāṃdara.

**Commentary**

**Recto**

§4 **yśaṃgauṇā**: meaning uncertain. Bailey (*Dict.*, p.344) proposes ‘plundering’ from *zang-* ‘to seize’.

§4 **huna**: ‘Hun’, pl., referring to the Uighurs. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §7.

§4 **parrya**: *pars-* *parrāta*- ‘to pass’, pf. intr. 3pl. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §7.

§6 **pana [hvaṃḍi]**: ‘all men’. Restored from context. Compare similar instructions in the orders on evacuation, particularly *hvaṃḍī vā bīśī kīṭha ttvaśdyari*, ‘Transfer all men to us in the fort’, in Archive 3/1.4 §4.

§8 **x x xsāta**: unclear. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.115) reads: ‘*spāta*’

§8 **mirāñ-ū**: participle of necessity, ‘you (pl.) will have to die’, from *mar-* ‘to die’.

§9 **haṃḍāmaṇci**: From *ham-dām-*, meaning unclear, present participle, f. sg. Nom.-acc. Bailey (*Dict.*, p.453) proposes ‘to complete’ from *ham-dā-‘to end (?)’.

**Archive 3/1.6 (Or.11344/7) Order of evacuation**

This document is an order issued by Sūdāṛjāṃ. He first quotes an order from the King of Khotan, saying that people are striking the drum to signal great alarm. Next, he orders Sāṃdara and the transporters to evacuate all men and cattle of the prefecture into the Fort, and threatens them with punishment in order that no one is left behind. The wording of this order is very similar to that of Archive 3/1.3 and Archive 3/1.4. The quoted order from the King of Khotan is dated the 15th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month). This order would have been issued either on the same
day or slightly later.

Text

§1 "vaña vā miṣḍāṃ ġyastina parau ā skarhveri māśti 10 5 mye haḍai si

§2 vaña āṁ vā khyeṣa v[ī x]ṛṣṭhi drramaji kūsi ka’jūmdā

§3 strihi vyaulā şte

§4 "spāta sudārrjuñ tta parī

§5 pharṣa sāṃḍari vara u [drrīma ttva]śdām’ va

§6 khu parau pvī’rau

§7 cu burau hva hva piṣkala u auya hvaṃḍī īde bi[śi vā kītha ttvaśdyari]

§8 "khv-e tta śau hve harsī u stūri

§9 nva vyasthāṃ garkhi āri daṃḍī byehi

§10 skarihveri [10 x mye haḍai parau Signum-SU]

Translation

§1 Now, on the 15th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month), an order from the Gracious Lord has come here, (saying):

§2 “Now here in Kashgar …, they are beating the drum of Drrama.

§3 There is serious alarm.”

§4 Spāta Sudārrjuñ orders thus:

§5 To pharṣa Sāṃḍara and [the transporters in Drrama]:

§6 When you hear the order,

§7 No matter how many men in the prefecture and the townships you have, [transfer] all [of them into the Fort to us.]
§8 If one man or one draft animal of yours is left behind,

§9 (then) according to the rule, you will incur heavy punishment for wrongdoing.

§10 [On the …] of Skarhvārā (the 11th month), [the order went out to you. Signum-SU]

Commentary


§2 v[ī x]ṛṣṭhi: unclear.

§2 drramaji: ‘of Drrama’. The exact location of Drrama is unclear. Its locative form drrīma is attested in Archive 3/1.4 §2.

§2 kūsi: ‘drum’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.3 §11.

§3 vyaulā: ‘alarm’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.3 §12.

§5 [drrīma ttva]śdāṃ va(ra)’: ‘To the transporters in Drrama’. Restored according to drrīma ttvaśdā vara in Archive 3/1.4 §2.

§7 hva hva: ‘every man’. For the distributive usage of repetition, see commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §10.

§7 piṣkala: ‘prefecture’, loc. sg. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§7 bi[ši vā kītha ttvaśdyari]: ‘[transfer] all [of them into the Fort to us]’, restored according to vā biši kītha ttvaśdyari in Archive 3/1.4 §4.

§8 harsī: hars- ‘to be left behind, to remain’, opt. 3s.

§9 vyasthāṃ: ‘rule’, meaning inferred from context.

§9 āri: ‘fault, wrongdoing’, gen.-dat. sg. Compare pa’jsā ārrā byehā ‘you will incur severe (punishment for) wrongdoing’ in Archive 3/1.1 §6 (K).
**Archive 3/1.7 (Or.11252/34.2r) Order concerning grain for patrolmen**

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ. It opens with an agreement saying that several people from the Six Towns withdrew 100 šaṃga of wheat from the common granary, and now 58 men are to deliver this 100 šaṃga of wheat. Consequently, each man is to produce 1.72 šaṃga, or 1 šaṃga and 5 šega. During the Tibetan period, 1 šaṃga equals to 7 šega, not 10 šega. Thus, 1 šaṃga and 5 šega = 1 + 5/7 šaṃga ≈ 1.71 šaṃga. (1 + 5/7 šaṃga) × 58 = 99.4 šaṃga ≈ 100 šaṃga. Sudārrjāṃ, however, seems to have assumed that 1 šaṃga equals to 10 šega and understands the amount assigned to each man as 1.5 šaṃga instead of 1 + 5/7 šaṃga. As a result, he miscalculates the amount of wheat assigned to each town. 15 men from Āskūra are to deliver 15 × 1.5 šaṃga = 22.5 šaṃga ≈ 23 šaṃga of wheat. 17 men from Phaṅnai and Pa’ are to deliver 17 × 1.5 šaṃga = 25.5 šaṃga ≈ 26 šaṃga of wheat. 26 men from Birgaṇḍara are to deliver 26 × 1.5 šaṃga = 39 šaṃga ≈ 38 šaṃga of wheat. Here one šaṃga is taken off because each of the previous two groups is to deliver 0.5 šaṃga extra. The total amounts to 58 × 1.5 šaṃga = 87 šaṃga, significantly less than 100 šaṃga. In order to prevent Sudārrjāṃ from making the same mistake again, it was clearly stated in Archive 3/6.1 §3 that one should deliver grain haudi šemgāṃ šaṃga ‘by the šaṃga of 7 šemga’. After this calculation, Sudārrjāṃ then asks Sāṃdara to collect the wheat according to the agreement.

Written on the back of this order is one line of another document (Archive 3/6.5), perhaps a petition to the King of Khotan. Moreover, another document bears the register number Or. 11252/34. This document (Or.11252/34.1) consists of three prospective rosters, Archive 3/4.17p, Archive 3/4.18p, and Archive 3/4.19p, all bearing Sudārrjuṃ’s signum.

The next order, Archive 3/1.8, was issued on the same date, and is probably related to this or-
der. See introduction to Archive 3/1.8.

Text

§1 [sa]lī kṣeradirsā māštī rarūya haḍā šūdasi ša’ samauca ttye pracaina c[ā]

§2 [kśvā] auvā hvaṃḍī hariṅira prū haḍa yuḍādi spašarāṇ keṇa

§3 cirāna u senī[li] u makali || u naṃdaki || namaubudi || ṣanīraki || brūnade ga[naṃ x x x] ṣa māṃ-

di sayī šaṃgi

§4 ttū ganaṃ vaṇa haraṭādi

§5 hvaṃḍi himya 50 8 [še hvaṃḍye] ṣa ganaṃ himye šau šaṃgi paṃjsa šega māṭargā jsa

§6 āskūrya 10 5 ga[naṃ haурīda 2 kū] sa 3 šaṃga

§7 phaṃnāja u pa’ja 10 7 ganaṃ haурīda dva kūsa kṣi ša ga

§8 birgām[daraja 1420 6] ganaṃ haурīdi 3 kūsa 8 šaṃga

§9 spāta sud[ār]jā tta parī [… vara]

§10 [khu parau pv’rau ttū ga]na[m] tty[e] nva samauci pajiṭta

§11 rarūyi 10 [1 mye ttā 16pa]rau Sigum-SU

Translation

§1 On the 11th of Rarūya (the sixth month) in the 36th (regnal) year, this agreement (is made) for

the (following) reason:

§2 The men in the [Six] Towns have made petitions to the Inner Court concerning the patrolmen.

§3 Cira residents, Senila, Makala, Naṃdaka,Namaubuda, Ṣanīraka, Brūnade, and Gachauka

have taken 100 saṃga of wheat.

§4 Now they have assigned this wheat.

§5 There are 58 men. Each man’s wheat is 1 saṃga and 5 șega from the māṭarga.
§6 There are 15 (men) in Āskūra. They [will deliver 2] kūsa 3 šamga of wheat.

§7 There are 17 (men) in Phaṃnai and Pa’. They will deliver 2 kūsa 6 šamga of wheat.

§8 There are [26 (men)] in Birgaṃḍara. They will deliver 3 kūsa 8 šamga of wheat.

§9 Spāta Sudārrjām orders thus. [To …]

§10 [When you hear the order,] collect the wheat according to the agreement.

§11 On the 1[1]th of Rarūya (the sixth month), the order (went out) [to you]. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 haṃdīra prū: ‘the Inner Court’. This is the place where the King of Khotan resided. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §9.

§3 ga[naṃ x x x]: ‘wheat …’ Restored according to ttū ganam ‘this wheat’ in §4. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.101) reconstructs: ‘ga[chauki]’. Gachauka is attested twice in the rosters of shifts in the Fort (Archive 3/5.1 §2, Archive 3/5.9 §2), but not attested in the patrol rosters.


§5 hvamḍi himya 50 8: ‘There are 58 men.’ It is not clear how this number was calculated. Note that there are 53 ‘grain-delivering’ men in Archive 3/6.1 §2, 53 men ‘including the commissioned and the non-commissioned’ in Archive 3/6.3 §4, and 52 men ‘according to the register’ in Archive 3/6.7 §4.

§5 mātargā: Meaning unclear, from skt. māṭrka- ‘pertaining to mother’. ‘Aunt’, the rendering by Bailey (Dict., p.328), does not fit the context here. This word is also attested in contexts related to money in SI P 103.10 (SDTV III, p.138) and IOL Khot 44/5 (Catalogue, p.275). It probably refers to a communal granary.
§6 gaṇaḥ haurīda 2 kūṣa 3 șamga: ‘They [will deliver 2] kūṣa 3 šamga of wheat.’ Restored according to ganam haurida dva kūsa kṣi șaga ‘they will deliver 2 kūsa 6 šamga of wheat’ in §7. The amount of kūṣa is calculated from the number of men. 15 × 1.5 = 22.5.

§8 birgam[daraja 20 6]: ‘There are [26 (men)] in Birgamḍara.’ There are 15 men in Āskūra, 17 men in Phaṃnai and Pa’, and 58 men in total. There must be 58 − 15 − 17 = 26 men in Birgamḍara.

§10 [khu parau pvīrau ttū gaṇaṃ tty[e] nva samauci pajitta: ‘[When you hear the order,] collect the wheat according to the agreement.’ Restored according to khu parau pvīrau ttye nva parau ... ‘When you hear the order, according to the order...’ in Archive 3/1.3 §3.


Archive 3/1.8 (Or.11252/36v-a) Order concerning grain

This badly-damaged document is an order from Sudārrjām to the auva-haṃdastas. From what remains, we know that the order concerns a Sogdian šau named An Kuk-syin and some wheat that the Sogdian did not obtain. Also preserved in the order is its date of issuance, the 11th of Rarūya (the sixth month). The previous order (Archive 3/1.7) was issued on the same date. In other words, the wheat mentioned here is probably the same wheat as in Archive 3/1.7.

Preserved at the bottom of this order is Archive 3/1.46, the last line of an order from a Tibetan official. Written on the back of this order is Archive 3/6.8, a document bearing auva-haṃdasta Darauka’s finger mark, also issued on the 11th of the sixth month. For a conjecture of the relationship of these documents, see introduction of Archive 3/1.46.
Text

§1 [...] samauca ṣau ani kuki syini pāj[iste]

§2 [...]di

§3 sūlī gamaṇḍ ni byaudī

§4 pīḍa[kā …]

§5 [...]ta sudārrjā tta parī auva haṃdastā var[a]

§6 [...]a

§7 [ra]rūyi 10 1 mye haḍai parau Signum-SU

Translation

§1 … Ṣau An Kuk-syin asked for an agreement.

§2 …

§3 The Sogdian has not obtained the wheat.

§4 The document…

§5 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus, to auva-haṃdastas

§6 …

§7 On the 11th of of Rarūya (the sixth month), the order (went out). Signum-SU

Commentary

§1 ani kuki syini: Proper name, attested again as qni kuhi syini in Archive 3/3.6 §3, probably the Chinese name of a Sogdian of Bukharan descent, who typically assumed Ān ‘安’ as their Chinese surname. More on this name and other similar names, see commentary on Archive 3/3.6 §3.

§3 sūlī: ‘Sogdian’, probably referring to ṣau An Kuk-syin in §1.
Archive 3/1.9 (Or.11344/11r) Order concerning grain

This document is a short order to pharṣa Sāṃdara. Though the opening formula is missing, this order must be from spāta Sudārrjāṃ, as his signum concludes the order. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p. 113) links this document with Domoko A4, but the formulaic similarities shared by them are not enough to link them directly. In this order, spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders pharṣa Sāṃdara to collect some grain and deliver it to the Master’s messenger so that it may arrive on the next day. In the dating formula, only the month has been preserved.

Written on the back of this order are the last three lines of another document (Archive 3/6.12), from which no coherent meaning can be established.

Text

§1 [spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī]

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā vara

§3 vaña āṃ ma hvāṣṭā parsam²[dai x x x x jsārā pa]jittā śau kūsi

§4 paḍāṃdara-e ttā parau hauḍem

§5 nai vā hajaudai

§6 khu ttā parau hī²[štā]

§7 [ttī jsāṃ vā jsārā parsam]dy[e] dīṣta thyau hajsēma khu ma svī hīṣtā

§8 pa{sta}rsamdai ma stāka {la} stī

§9 ttamiṣeri ⁴[x x mye haḍai ttā pa]rau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 [Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus]
§2 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.

§3 Now here, the master’s passerby (messenger?) ... is asking for one *kūsa* [of grain].

§4 I issued an order to you a while ago.

§5 You have not sent it (the grain) to me.

§6 When the order comes to you,

§7 quickly send me [the grain via the passerby’s] hands so that it comes here tomorrow.

§8 The passerby (messenger?) is needed here.

§9 On x] of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month), the order went out [to you]. Signum-SU

**Commentary**

§1 [@ *spāta* sudārrjāṃ tta pari]: ‘Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus’, restored according to the opening formula of orders issued by Sudārrjāṃ. We know that Sudārrjāṃ was the issuer of this order from his signum at the end of the order.

§3 *parsaṃ[dai]*: ‘passerby’, restored from *pa*{sta}*rsamdai* in §8.

§3 *pa*jittā: *pajād* ‘to ask for, to collect (tax, debt)’, pres. 3s.

§4 *paďāmdar-e*: ‘formerly, previously’, same as *paďāmda*, from *padā*-, ‘first’. See Dict., p.203.

§6 *khu ttā parau hī[stā]*: ‘When the order comes to you’, restored according to the formula *khu ttā parau hīstā*, ‘When the order comes to you’, attested in Archive 3/1.3 §11 and Archive 3/1.16 §7. See Archive 3/1 II.-1-b.

§7 [ttī *jsāṃ* vā *jsāra* *parsamaṇdy[e] dīsta thyau hajsēma*: ‘Quickly send me [the grain via *parsamaṇdi*’s] hands’, restored according to *ttī *jsāṃ vā kṣauva hajsēmyari thyau tye hvaṃdyē dīsta* in Archive 3/1.16 §11. Note that the first *akṣara* of Line 3 is *dy*-, not *dy*-, as read by Skjærvø in Catalogue, p.113.
§7 khu ma svī hištā: ‘so that it comes here tomorrow’. This formula is also attested Archive 3/1.11 §6. For the efficiency of communication reflected in this formula, see introduction of Archive 3/1.2.

§8 par{sta}samđai: parsanda—a ‘passer-by’, from pars—‘to pass’. pres. part. N. m.s. Also attested in Archive 3/1.16 §16, SI P 103.37, and SI P 137.1 (SDTV III, p.151, p.161). Though its exactly meaning remains unclear, it seems refer to a messenger from the Tibetan masters.

**Archive 3/1.10 (Or.11252/8r) Order concerning grain**

This document is one of the two orders from the Tibetan officer blon Zham-rjai to pharṣa Sāṃdara. In it, Zham-rjai demands Sāṃdara to come with the workers and bring the grain they owe. In the second half of the order, which is not entirely clear, blon Zham-rjai talks about oil and cotton.

Different from the orders issued by blon Rmang-bzher (Archive 3/1.34, Archive 3/1.42, and Archive 3/1.43), this order does not have a Tibetan phrase at the end. Instead, there are some Tibetan-like, but unrecognizable signs at the end of line 2 and 3. The addressee is written on the back of the order.

Also written on the back of this order is Archive 3/5.21, a document of two short rosters.

**Text**

**Recto**

§1 ¹bulāṇi śa’ma rrjai tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdari vara

§3 haṃtsa kīraryau ²jsa mara hīsa
§4 jsär-e vāra ṣṭi

§5 cu jsāri biysīyi ḫ marai ājima

§6 ṣu rrūnai maṃ stāka ṣṭi

§7 spāta yāṇiviṭi d{ā} īsta ttā rrūnai keṇa parste[m] baḍa rī vā

§8 ṣtāy[i] jsāṃ ttā kapāysā kiṇa hv[ā]ṃdū

§9 sā’ va ttā girye-t-ī

§10 mūca’ci paḍauysye haḍai

**Verso**

§1 4|| pharṣa sāṃđa’rā haiśā’ñā

**Translation**

**Recto**

§1 Blon Zham-rjai orders thus

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃḍara.

§3 Come here with the workers.

§4 You have outstanding grain.

§5 Today, bring here the grain that may have been seized.

§6 And I need oil.

§7 Concerning the oil in spāta Yāṇiviṭa’s hands at your place, I ordered: “Carry it to me.”

§8 And we talked about the cotton at your place.

§9 He bought it at your place.

§10 On the 1st of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month), (the order went out to you)

**Verso**
§1 To be sent to pharṣa Sāṃdara.

Commentary

Recto

§1¹bulāni śa’ma rrjai: Proper name, also attested as śq’majai in Archive 3/1.11 §1. The title bulāni ‘minister’, from Tib. blon, shows that the issuer is a Tibetan official.


§5 biysiɣī: biysmj- biysiɣa-, ‘to seize, take’, perf. opt. intr.

§7 d{x}išta: dasta- ‘hand’, loc. sg. Note that akṣara was first crossed out and replaced by dī. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.90) reads: ‘bvāsta’.

§7 parste[m]: pary- parsta- ‘to order’, pf. 1s.

§7 baḍa: bar- ‘to carry’, impv. 2p.


Verso

§1 haišā’ñā: hataiš- haiš- ‘to send’, participle of necessity, also attested in Archive 3/1.4v §1.

Archive 3/1.11 (Or.11252/17r) Order from blon Zham-rrjai concerning grain

Like Archive 3/1.10, this document is also an order from the Tibetan official Zham-rrjai to Sāṃdara. In it, Zham-rrjai requires Sāṃdara to send him the tax in grain of 15 men. Unfortunately, only the first three lines of the order have been preserved. As a result, we do not know the original length of the order, nor its date of issuance, nor the signum of Zham-rrjai (if he used one). It is noteworthy, however, that the handwriting of this order is of a conspicuously lower quality than that of other documents in Archive 3. Perhaps Zham-rrjai wrote this order himself, or an un-
skilled scribe wrote on behalf of him. The handwriting of the other order from him, Archive 3/1.10, is of normal quality.

Written on the back of the order is Archive 3/4.15p, the prospective roster of Patrol 15.

**Text**

§1 šą’majai tta parī

§2 pharṣa sādari [vara]

§3 [vaña vā …]ysā śtāka ṣṭi

§4 tvī vā paṃjusuṃeṃ hvaṃḍā kama[la]ji …]

§5 3ttū jsārā vā parya buḍā cira

§6 khu ma svī h[īstā]

§7 […]

**Translation**

§1 Zham-rjai orders thus:

§2 [To] pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 [Now] … is needed.

§4 And the toll tax of your 15 men ...

§5 Order to bring the grain to me in Cira.

§6 so that it comes here tomorrow.

§7 …

**Commentary**

§1 ša’majai: Name of a Tibetan official residing in Cira, also attested as bulāṇi ša’mā rrjai in Archive 3/1.10 §1. See commentary on Archive 3/1.10 §1.
§5 buḍā: bar- ‘to carry’, inf.

§6 khu ma svī h[īstā]: ‘so that it comes here tomorrow’. This formula is also attested in Archive 3/1.9 §7. It shows that the distance between the issuer (in Cira) and the recipient (most likely in Birgaṃḍara) of the order can be covered within one day and the communication between them was considerably swift and efficient. See introduction of Archive 3/1.2.

**Archive 3/1.12 (Or.11252/7r) Order concerning grain**

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ, probably to Sāṃḍara. Since its right half is missing, the understanding of this order is imperfect. In the order, Sudārrjāṃ first informs the recipient that the Military Commissioner, the Tibetan official of the highest rank in the Khotan region, is coming next month, and instructs the recipient to prepare good wine and highland barley flour for this important visit. Next, Sudārrjāṃ quotes an order from blon Rmang-bzher concerning the silkworm-raisers, and gives further instructions concerning state-workers. As noticed by Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.89), Archive 3/6.3 is a document issued in response to this order.

Written on the back of this order is Archive 3/6.13, a document of merely two lines concerning wine.

**Text**

§1 𐐴 spātā sudārrjuṃ tta pārī […] vara

§2 […] daña māštā āstāṃ māste tcārāthū hīstā

§3 […] mau 𐐵 ysau]isā küysdái tta ne

§4 khu parau pva’ šau khūrā […]

§5 […] hi]⁴mi
§6 khu tti nā hūnhā sā nā pyuštėm

§7 u tti jsām tta […]

§8 […] 5x tcahu kūsā rruāsā jsa ādā

§9 khu ttā a […]

§10 […] 6x x cārāna biśā pāra-vārāṁ hauḍāṁ[dā]

§11 […] bulāni] ʔmāmā sā’rā pastā se

§12 birgaṁdara bisai […]

§13 […] 8šau hvanḍā višta

§14 kšīrva-vīrai u spāta yqnāvi[dtā …]

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjuṁ orders thus. [To …]

§2 In the month starting from the next month, the Military Commissioner is coming.

§3 You have sought [tasteful wine], haven’t you?

§4 When you hear the order, … one jar [of wine …]

§5 … becomes …

§6 so that you do not then say: “I have not heard.”

§7 then thus … …

§8 … four kūsas of highland barley flour.

§9 When to you …..

§10 Cira residents gave all (of it) to the silkworm-raisers.

§11 [Blon] Rmang-bzher ordered that:

§12 The residents in Birgaṁdara …
§13 Place one man …

§14 The state-worker and Spāta Yāṇāviḍa …

Commentary

§2 tcārāthū: ‘Military Commissioner’, from Chin. jiédū 節度, referring to tcirrū ḫynā ḥa’bā śi’rā ‘Military Commissioner Blon Lha bzher’ in Archive 3/1.2 §3, the Tibetan official of the highest rank in the entire Khotan region. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §3. This title is also attested as tcirrtū in Archive 3/6.3 §2.

§3 [mau ष्यांपी]ṣā: ‘tasteful wine’. Restored according to ysaujsā mau in Archive 3/1.34 §3. Since khūrā ‘jar (of wine)’ is mentioned in §4, this sentence must be about mau ‘wine’.

§3 kūysdai: kūys- ‘to seek’, pf. 2s.

§4 khūrā: ‘jar (of wine)’, also attested in Archive 3/1.34 §4 in a context concerning wine.

§6 khu ttī nā hūṇā sā nā pyuṣṭem: ‘so that you do not then say: “I have not heard.’’ The same formula is also attested in Archive 3/1.32 §15.


Read rrusā. The vowel sign ‘ā’ on ‘rru’ is a dittography of the vowel sign of ‘ā’ on ‘śa’. For a discussion of its meaning, see Rong and Wen 2008, p.67. Note that Rong and Wen mistake rrusa- as the stem of this word.


§11 [bulāṇi] māmā śā’rā: Proper name. Blon Rmang-bzher is a Tibetan official often attested in Archive 3. His order mentioned here is probably reflected in Archive 3/6.2. More on him, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.
§14 kṣīrva-vīrai: ‘state-worker’, Nom.-acc. s., from *kṣīrva-kīraa-, also attested in Archive 3/1.20 §3 and Archive 3/1.23 §3. It seems that there were two kinds of corvée work, *kṣīrua-kīra- ‘work for the state’ and rrvīya- kīra- ‘work for the king’. The latter is attested in Archive 3/1.21 §5 and §10. Similarly, in addition to taxes for the state, taxes in money, cloth, and grain were also collected separately for the king, as attested in rrvīya haṃbā ‘tax money for the king’ in Archive 3/1.15 §4, rrvīya thauna ‘cloth for the king’ in Archive 3/1.19 §3, and rrvīya ganīma ‘wheat for the king’ in Archive 3/1.44 §3.

Archive 3/1.13 (Hedin 5=Hedin 3v) Petition concerning grain

This document is a petition from all the officials and residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture to the King of Khotan. The lamentable condition of this document and the poor quality of its facsimile at my disposal made many readings uncertain and its second half largely incomprehensible. In it, the petitioners first praise the king in a formulaic manner, then mention an order from the king, in which they are commanded to send tax in grain to the king. It seems that the petitioners were unable to deliver the grain because they had just delivered their grain to the Tibetans. The rest of the petition is beyond comprehension.

This petition must have been sent back to Sudārrjāṃ together with the king’s order in response. After receiving the petition, Sudārrjāṃ wrote on its back Archive 3/1.15r, an order to Sāṃdara unrelated to this petition, and Archive 3/1.15v, the name of the recipient of his order, in the blank below this petition.

Text

§11 @ midāṃ jasti vara tta haṣṭi yanāmāṃ
§2 kṣvā au[vā sudārrjāṃ] 2u tsīṣī āstaṃṇa hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa’kisina

§3 jasta cu [x x x x] 3hatcast-e piśkali vī jva himāmaṃ ttamḍī jasti puṇau jsa

§4 cvau ā vā biśi [bāḍa paisa] 4ma yinīdi

§5 ttye vaṇa vā jasti hī[va] [par]au ā si

§6 kamalaji jsāri sa ha[x x x x] 5kīsa šau

§7 mara haṃḍī[ra] prū haurāṇi

§8 cu mara kamalaji jsāṛa ye ttū biś[ā paphū] 6ka tvarī dāśāḍūṃ paphūjāṃ

§9 pa’kisanāṃ bida ra jsāṛa ttamḍī și’ aštī

§10 cu [x x] 7sarāṃ ttāguttāṃ h[aūrā] ni na (pa)[ph]ū[ʃ]jam

§11 cu mara mā karairā șṭi jsā[rā x x x] 8puḍī

§12 ttāgutta hatcastū piśkali mi[dā x x] jasta stūryau jsau ri hauda na hi9yau

§13 dikh[autta] tsvāṃḍū

§14 vaṇauṃ vī [ja]stī mu ’śdī [parī] byaudi

§15 khu ttye-v-ū jsārina śāraṇa [x 10x]

§16 maṃ ttū tsāṣṭa vā ādarā yanā[maṃ]

§17 khu jast[i] hīya parauva yuḍī […]

§18 […] 11jasta

Translation

§1 We hereby make a petition to the Gracious Lord.

§2 [Sudārrjāṃ] in the Six Towns, all the officials headed by tsīṣī, and all the commoners.

§3 O Lord, because … we are living in your prefecture by so much merits of the Lord.

§4 Because they [worship] you in all lands.
§5 Now an order of the Lord has come to us, (saying):

§6 “The poll-tax in grain … one kūsa.

§7 It should be delivered here in the Inner Court.”

§8 What poll-tax grain was here, we have finished collecting all …

§9 And the grain imposed upon commoners is so much that

§10 what … to be delivered to the Tibetans … not to be collected.

§11 what here … ploughing (?) , the grain [which?] was outstanding.

§12 The Tibetans of your prefecture. O [Gracious] Lord, with your draft animals, seven …

§13 we have gone miserable.

§14 Now, may the Lord deign to have mercy upon us.

§15 so that by your grain for him … service …

§16 we will take care of it at ease.

§17 so that (we are able to) do the Lord’s orders.

§18 … Lord

**Commentary**

§2 ḷśāvā au[vā sudārrjāṃ]: ‘Sudārrjāṃ in the Six Towns’. The length of the lacuna is established by [@ spāta su]dārrjāṃ tta parī in Archive 3/1.15 §1, written on the back of this document. Bailey (KT IV, p.23) constructs: ‘kṣvā au[vā spāta’.

§2 hārva: hārva-, G.-D. pl., ‘officials’. This word must refer to the second group of men in the list, spātas and pharṣas, in other words, the officials. In OKh. the word means “merchant” (Bailey, 1949, p.124; KT IV, p.54; Dict. p.479.), translating Skt. śreṣṭhin, which in turn is translated into Chin. shāngzhū 商主 and Tib. tsong dpon in Buddhist texts, both meaning ‘chief of mer-
chants’. Skt. śreṣṭhin, however, literally means ‘having the best, chief, a person of rank or authority’. Only in certain contexts, say, some Buddhist texts, it can also mean ‘chief of merchants’ specifically. Its meaning of ‘official’ is most clearly shown in Archive 3/1.13 §2, where the prefect is identified as a hārua, and all the hāruas are contrasted with pa’kisina, Chin. bāixing 市民, ‘commer-
cer’: tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍha hārva u hamīḍha pa’kisina, ‘all the officials headed by the prefect, and all the commoners’, in other words, everybody in the prefecture.

§2 tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍha hārva u hamīḍha pa’kisina: ‘all the officials headed tsīṣī, and all the commoners’. The opening formula of this petition is somewhat strange. Compare the standard opening formula in Archive 3/1.21 §2: ‘kṣvā auvā tsīṣī spāta sudāṛjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍha pa’kisina’.

§3 hatcast-e piṣkali: ‘partitioned section’. hatcaṇ- hatcasta- ‘to break’. Bailey (KT IV, p.23) reads: ‘hacasta’. A similar construction hatcastū piṣkali is attested in §12. This may be the official term for ‘prefecture’ in Khotanese. For piṣkala- ‘prefecture’, see Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K). For the meaning of hatcasta piṣkala, see Yoshida 2008b, p.118, n.44.

§3 piṣkali vī jva himāmaṃ ttaṇḍī jasti puñau jsa: ‘we are living in the prefecture by so much merits of the Lord.’ The same formula is attested in Archive 3/1.21 §3.


§4 [pajṣa]ma yanīda: ‘to worship, to honor’. Restored according to the context.


§6 sa ha[x x x x] kūsa sau: unclear.

§7 haṃdira prū: ‘the Inner Court’, where the King of Khotan resided. See commentary on Ar-
chive 3/1.21 §9.

§8 āśā: ‘to finish’ (+inf.), pf. 1pl.


§11 karairā: ‘ploughing (?)’, attested as karera in Archive 3/5.16 §1.

§13 dikh[autta]: ‘miserable’. Such a reading leaves hiyau before it unaccounted for.

§14 vañauṃ vi [ja]sti mu ’śdi [parī] byaudi: ‘Now, may the Lord deign to have mercy upon us.’ Restored according to Archive 3/1.21 §11: ‘[ja]sti mu’śdi parī byaudi’. A formulaic expression used in petitions. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§15 śāraṇ[a]jā: ‘service’.

§16 tsāṣṭa: ‘calm, at ease’.

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Archive 3/1.14 (Domoko F) Order concerning money for those going to Erma

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṁ, as shown by his signum at the end, to pharṣa Sāṃdara, Darauka, and Yseviṭa. The latter two were auva-haṃdastas of Birgaṃdara and Phaṃnai respectively, as attested in Archive 3/3.10. In this order, Sudārrjāṁ first states that 46 men are required to pay 500 mūrās each for those going to Erma. He then lists the names of these 46 men, grouped according to their places of origin, similar to the groups listed in Archive 3/6.1. Finally, he asks Sāṃdara to send the money accordingly.

If Bailey’s identification of Erma with a place in the Turfan region is true (KT VII, pp.18-19), then this order is a unique witness to the Tibetans’ military operations against the Uighurs on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin in the beginning of the 9th century.

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Text

§1 [ṣa’ samauca ttye pracaina] cu

§2 30 6 mye kšuṇi ttāmjiri 20 2 mye haḍai erma tsūkāṃ va hirā pajistādi

§3 [x x x paśa ava]śāna še hvanḍye haṃbā himye paṃ-se mūri

§4 mūra-haurā hvanḍi himya 40 6

§5 mūri [himārā 20 3 ysā’cyā]

§6 [tti buri] hvanḍi cu mūri haurīdi

§7 āskuvīra makali ∩ pu’yisdaki ∩ šī’laṃ ∩ svarṛjāṃ ∩ 4[… ∩ … ∩] ysāḍadatti ∩ saṃgūlai ∩ suhadāysi ∩ puṅade ∩ vasa²[de ∩ … ∩]

§8 [phamṇa khar]murr[ai] || si vidyadatti || kucałai ∩ sarkāṃ ||

§9 pa’ sudatti ∩ sude pu⁶[ñausa ∩ …] ∩

§10 birgaṃḍara mādāśi ∩ maṃgali ∩ mulaki ∩ sudatti ∩ sirphūki ∩ namaubu⁷[di ∩ … ∩ har]yāsaki ∩ naṃdaki ∩ ṣanīraķi ∩ vidyadatti ∩ hunaki ∩ budadatti ⁸[… ∩ …]datti ⁹[… ∩]

§11 [cira …]ka ∩ īrvadatti ∩ nahuṇi ∩ visarrjāṃ ∩ hvīviṭi šau ∩ brāṇa ∩ budesa

§12 ¹⁰[@ spāta sudārrjāṃ] tta parī

§13 pharṣa sāṃdari vara u darauki yseviṭi [x x vara]

§14 ¹¹[khu parau pvī’r]au ttye nva samauci hiri pajitta

§15 u pāra-vaysdān-ī hauḍa thyau

§16 ttāmjiri ¹²[20 x mye haḍai parau ttā t]sv[e] Signum-SU

Translation

§1 [This agreement is made for the reason that]

§2 On the 22nd of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month) in the 36th regnal year, they asked for the thing
for those going to Erma.

§3 The amount for one man, including the commissioned and the non-commissioned, is 500 mūrās.

§4 The mūra-paying men were 46.

§5 The mūrās (to be paid ) are 23,000.

§6 [The following are] the men who will pay mūrās:

§7 From Āskūra: Makala, Pu’ysdaka, Śī’laṃ, Svarjāṃ, […, …], Ysāḍadatta, Saṃgūlai, Suhadāysi, Puṇade, Vasade, […]

§8 [From Phaṃnai: …] Kharamurrai, Si Vidyadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ,

§9 From Pa’: Sudatti, Sude, Puũ[nāusa …, …],

§10 From Birgaṃdara: Mādāśi, Maṃgala, Mulaka, Sudatta, Sirphūka, Namaubuda, […] Haryāsaka, Naṃdaka, Śaṇīraka, Vidyadatta, Hunaka, Budadatta, […, …]datti, […,

§11 [From Cira: …]ka, Īrvadatta, Nahvāṇa, Visarrjāṃ, Hviṣiti one, Braṇa, Budesa

§12 [Spāta Sudārrjāṃ] orders thus:

§13 To pharṣa Sāṃdara, Darauka, Yseviṭa and …

§14 [When you hear the order], collect the thing according to the agreement.

§15 And quickly deliver its debt acknowledgement.

§16 [On … of] Ttumjārā (the seventh month) [the order] went [out to you]. Signum-SU

Commentary

§1 [ṣa’ samauca ttye pracaina]: ‘[This agreement is made for the reason that]’, restored according to samauci in §10 and the same formula attested in Archive 3/1.7 §1.
§2 erma: from Ārma-, loc. sg., place name, also attested in Hedin 36, line a3 (KT IV, p.42) and the Staël-Holstein Scroll, line 23 (KT II, p.72). Bailey (KT VII, pp.18-19) identifies it with a place between Karashahr and Turfan, probably corresponding to the city Gučen, about 100 miles north of Turfan.

§3 [paśā ava]śāna: ‘including the commissioned and the non-commissioned’. It is restored as such because this phrase is attested together with še hvaṃdye in Archive 3/1.24 §5 and Archive 3/1.31 §5-§6. See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.


§4 mūra-haurā hvaṃdi himya 40 6: ‘The mūra-paying men were 46.’ 46 names should have been listed in §7-10. Only 36 have been preserved.

§5 mūri [himārā 20 3 ysā’cya]: ‘The mūras (to be paid ) are 23,000.’ Restored according to the context. There are 46 men (§4), and every man should pay 500 mūras (§3). 46 × 500 = 23,000.

§6 [tti buri] hvaṃdi: ‘[the following] (are) the men’. tti buri is still partially visible in the crease of the paper. Compare Archive 3/1.23 §1: @ tti burā thauna haurā paśāta ‘the following are commissioned with cloth-delivering’. Like §7-§10 here, Archive 3/1.23 §2 is also a long list of names.

§7 āskuvīra: ‘in Āskūra’, āskuṛa or āskvīra is intended. Of the nine names listed after this word (from Makala to Vasade), seven are attested in Archive 3/6.1 §17 as being from Āskūra.

§8 [phaṃṇa]: ‘in Phaṃnai’. Of the four names listed after this word, two are attested in Archive 3/6.1 §18 as being from Phaṃnai.

§9 puṇausahaan: Proper name, attested in Archive 3/6.1 §16 as being from Pa’.

§11 [cira]: ‘In Cira’. Of the six names listed after this word (from Īrvadatta to Budesa), only Vis-
arrjāṃ is attested in Archive 3/6.1 §10 as being from Cira.

§12 [@ spāta sudārrjāṃ]: This restoration, made according to Sudārrjāṃ’s signum at the end of the document, establishes the original line length of the document.

§14 [khu parau pvī’r]au tye nva samauci: ‘[When you hear the order], according to the agreement…’, restored according to a similar formula khu parau pvī’r au tye nva parau ‘When you hear the order, according to the order…’ in Archive 3/1.3 §3.


Archive 3/1.15 (Hedin 3r) Order concerning tax money

This document is a lengthy order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ first says that he was required to borrow 22,120 mūrās at an interest rate of 8%, because Sāṃdara failed to deliver the outstanding tax and vouchers in full. Next, he harshly scolds Sāṃdara for his incompetence. In the end, he once again demands Sāṃdara to immediately deliver the outstanding tax together with interest and the vouchers so that the interest may not accumulate. In Archive 3/1.16, a similar order related to this one, Sudārrjāṃ’s tone is much softer. The outstanding amount in Archive 3/1.16 is less, because, when Sudārrjāṃ issued Archive 3/1.16, he did not need to pay interest. When he issued this order, however, he had to pay 2,120 mūrās more as interest. Small wonder that Sudārrjāṃ was discontent. The loan that Sudārrjāṃ took is reflected in Archive 3/6.10, one of the two documents on wood in Archive 3.
Written on the back of this order is the name of the addressee, *pharpa* Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara, showing clearly that *pharpa* Sāṃdara was in Birgaṃdara. In other words, the entire Archive 3, an archive belonging to *pharpa* Sāṃdara, originated from Birgaṃdara.

Also written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.13, a petition from all the officials and residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture to the King of Khotan concerning the payment of grain. The petition is not related to this order. Sudārjāṃ just used the blank space on the back of the petition to write this order, after the petition had been sent back to him from the king.

**Text**

**Recto**

§1 ¹[@ spāta su]dārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 pharpa sāṃdari vara

§3 ²[paḍāṃdara] tā parauva hauḍi yuḍem si

§4 rrvī haṃbā hiya vā kṣauta ha³[jśema]

§5 [vaña] vā hajṣaudai c[i] uma luna x-i’ biśi’ x sti

§6 u ttye vaska ⁴[x x hau]da thauna śtāka ya

§7 u kṣa-t-ūm draya hvaṃdi vistādi

§8 u ttā mūri ⁵[x x x] va vāri śṭārā


§10 aysī āṃ ni bve [si caṃdi] gvaścāṃda u caṃdā va vāri śṭārī

§11 ⁷[x x x] da[m]di akalāsci hiri yuḍai

§12 khu ttā h[v]aṃḍi kṣauva ājāṃḍāṃdi cū⁵[d[i-m] ni pajistai

§13 u vā-t-e haurāṇa ya

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§14 maṃ cu tti mūrā ysamthaḍi himye

§15 śi’ ttadī [x x x] akalāścauñā ya

§16 cūḍi haṃbā {x} bī/śi uspurri ni pajistai

§17 khu [x x x x]ta tī cūḍi haṃkhīysi ni yuḍai

§18 khvai a bvīna ā-t-e maṃ pyaṃtsi [hvāṇā]ñai ye si

§19 haṃbā uspurri lyiba gvešce himye

§20 vaña tta haṃkhīysi [yaṃ]

§21 [u] thyau-tt-ūṃ hirā ci tt/ye/ bedi buri ī bīśi haṃtsa ysamthina paja khu [ttā parau] hīsti

§22 khu ttiña māsta paphve himi

§23 khu ni aḍaṇa māsta ysamthi ni [trāmi]

§24 [x x]mā a ma pravanāja pīšini na ra yuḍi {yu} yanūṃ

§25 lyiba’ āṃ ma [pajistāṃdi]

§26 ci tt/ye tta hārū-ṃ peri ṣṭāte puṣai vā hajsema thyau

§27 tt/ye vā haṃbā thyau [haṃ]khīysā yaṃ si camḍ-e tta va vāri aṣṭi

§28 u pīḍaki vā haura kṣauva vā hajsema Signum-SU

§29 17tti mūri vagevedina jisteṃ

**Verso**

§1 [bi]rgaṃdara pharṣa sāṃdari haurāñā

**Translation**

**Recto**

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ thus orders.

§2 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.
§3 [Previously] I have given you orders, saying:
§4 “Send me the vouchers of the amount for the king.”
§5 Now you have sent me what blon … you. (?)
§6 And seven bolts (of cloth) for him are needed.
§7 Three men placed six of them.
§8 And these mūrās are outstanding for …
§9 They ordered (me) to borrow 22,120 (mūrās) at an interest of eight percent.
§10 I do not know how much you have paid and how much is outstanding there.
§11 You have done such an … incompetent thing.
§12 When the men brought the vouchers to you, why didn’t you collect them?
§13 And you should have delivered (them) to me,
§14 because these mūrās have become interest-bearing.
§15 That was such … incompetence!
§16 Why didn’t you collect all the amount in full?
§17 When …, why didn’t you calculate?
§18 so that I might know it, or you should say before me:
§19 “The full amount has been paid in total.”
§20 Now [make] the calculation,
§21 quickly collect the tax as much as imposed, together with all of its interest, when the order comes to you.
§22 so that it can be collected in this month,
§23 so that the interest does not [enter] another month.
§24 … I can not make the … of the register here.

§25 They have [asked] for the whole amount here.

§26 No matter how much is to be paid to my officials, quickly send it all to me!

§27 Quickly calculate the amount, (and see) how much you still owe there.

§28 And deliver a document to me and send me the vouchers. Signum-SU.

§29 I have borrowed the mūrās from Vageveda.

Verso

§1 To be delivered to pharṣa Sāṃḍara in Birgaṃḍara

Commentary

§1 [@ spāṭa su]dārrjāṃ tta pari: ‘Spāṭa Sudārrjāṃ thus orders.’ Restored according to the standard opening formula of orders. This restoration also establishes the original line length of the document. Bailey (KT IV, p.22) reconstructs: ‘[spāṭa su]dārrjāṃ tta pari’.

§3 [paḍāṃdara]: ‘previously’. Restored according to Archive 3/1.9 §4: ‘paḍāṃdari ttā parau hauḍeṃ’. According to the restoration of §1, there must be four akṣaras in the lacuna of line 2. Hedin (KT IV, p.22) reconstructs: ‘vaña’.

§4 ha[jsema]: hajsem- ‘to send’, impv. 2s. Since this sentence is a quote of a previous order, it requires an imperative. Bailey (KT IV, p.22) reconstructs: ‘ha3[mīḍa]’. hamīḍa should be part of the opening formula, not here.

§5 c[i] uma lun[ä] x-i’ biṣi’ x sti: Unclear. lun[ä] is from Tib. blon, ‘minister’. The three akṣaras following it is this Tibetan official’s name. Bailey (KT IV, p.22) reads: ‘vaña malunaskhi’ biṣi’ bvasti’. I cannot see skhi’ and bva in the manuscript.

§6 [x x hau]da thauna: ‘seven bolts’. Restored from the context. Bailey (KT IV, p.22) reconstr-
tructs and reads: ‘[hai]dai’.

§9 *ysaṃthaḍi pastāṇḍi jiṣṭi [20] 2 ysā’[ca sa] bisti [haṣṭi mūri] sa: ‘They ordered (me) to borrow 22,120 (mūrās) with an interest at eight percent.’ The interest rate is restored according to Archive 3/1.16 §6: *tti mūri ysaṃthaḍi pastāṇḍi jiṣṭi haṣṭi mūri sa ‘they ordered (us) to take a loan of the mūrās with an interest at eight percent’. The amount of money to be borrowed is restored according to Archive 3/6.10 §1: *spāta sudārrjā haṃdīra prū vagevidīna mūri jiṣṭi 20 2 ysā’ca sa bisti ‘Spāta Sudārrjāṃ borrowed 22120 mūrās from Vagevida in the Inner Court.’

§9 jiṣṭi: *jad- jista- ‘to borrow, to take a loan’, inf. The word is abundantly attested in Archive 2 and its meaning of ‘to borrow’ is best illustrated in SI P 103.22 line 2: *pāṭci karūṣai thaunakā jiṣṭā ūa paśa heḍā 2 ‘Next, Karūṣai borrowed one piece of small cloth. He will deliver two pieces in the autumn’. (*SDTV III*, p.144. The translation is my own.) Another illustrative example comes from Or.6397/2 line 2-3 (*Catalogue*, p.9): *tti buru [x] mūri jistādā, ‘the following borrowed money’. This is followed by seven parallel phrases, each stating one man owes 125 mūrās. Take the first as an example: *hatkaṃ mūri puḍā sa sparibistā, ‘Hatkaṃ owes 125’.

§10 *gaścāṇda: gaśca- ‘to pay’, pf. 2pl.


§12 *ājāmdāṇdi: ājum-, ājumda- ‘to bring’, pf. 3pl. In the Khotanese language at this stage, āṃ and *um often alternate, just as *Sudārrjum, partly from Arjuna, is often spelt Sudārrjāṃ. For other instances, see commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §10, Archive 3/1.26 §3, and Archive 3/2.11 §1.

§12 *cūḍ[i-ṃ] ni pajistai: ‘Why didn’t you collect them?’ Sudārrjāṃ asks Saṃdara two similar questions in §16 and §17. Hedin (*KT IV*, p.22) reads: ‘[mū ỳri ni]’.
§13 vā-t-e: ‘here, for you’. -t- here is epenthetic and -e is the second singular enclitic pronoun, governed by haurāña, a participle of necessity.

§15 akalāścauñā: ‘incompetence’, see commentary on §11.


§17 haṃkhīysi: ‘counting, calculation’, Nom.-acc. sg. from haṃkhīys-, ‘to calculate’.

§18 bhīna: buv- ‘to know’, opt. mid. 1s. See KT IV, p.69.

§18 ā-t-e: ‘or, for you’, similar to vā-t-e in §13.

§18 [hvāññ]ānai ye si: ‘it should be said that’. Restored according to the context.


§21 khu [ttā parau] hīsti: ‘When the order comes to you.’ Restored according to the formula attested in Archive 3/1.3 §11, Archive 3/1.9 §6 and Archive 3/1.16 §7. Also see Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§22 khu ttiña māsta paphve himi: ‘so that it can be collected in this month’. This clause is attested again in Archive 3/1.16 §9.

§23 khu ni adaña māsta ysaṃṭhi ni [ttrāmi]: ‘so that the interest does not [enter] another month.’ Restored according to Archive 3/1.16 §10: khu ada māsta ysaṃṭhi ni ttrāmi.


§24 pravanāja: ‘of the register’, from pravanaa- ‘register’, in which the names and ages of the
residents of an administrative unit, be it a township or a village, are recorded. For its etymology, see *KT IV*, p.70. Yoshida (2006, pp.133-134) collects seven such registers: including two Chinese ones, four Khotanese ones, and a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual one. Oguchi 2007a, supplemented by Oguchi 2007b, is a detailed study of Ch 3473 T IV Chotan, one of the registers in Chinese. For a newly-discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual register, see Duan Qing 2009a.


§26 hārū-ŋ: ‘my officials’. For hārua- ‘official’, See commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2..


Verso

§1 [bi]r̥gāmḍara pharṣa sāṃdari: ‘Pharṣa Sāṃdara in Birgaṃḍara’. This is an unequivocal evidence showing that pharṣa Sāṃdara was in Birgaṃḍara. In other words, the entire Archive 3 originated from Birgaṃḍara.

**Archive 3/1.16 (Domoko A4) Order concerning tax money**

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ demands Sāṃdara to quickly send him 20,000 mūrās, required perhaps by the Tibetans, so that he does not need to pay the 8% interest of the loan. Next, he asks Sāṃdara to send the vouchers and advises him to buy some horses to expedite the process. This order is most likely related to
Archive 3/1.15, in which Sudārrjāṃ mentions a loan of 22,120 mūrās and vehemently scolds Sāṃdara for his incompetent handling of the payments and the vouchers.

As this document was discovered by Stein during his 4th Inner Asian Expedition, only a photo of it has been preserved. Fortunately, the document is complete and the photo taken in 1931 is also of good quality. Only three akṣaras are missing or unclear at its right end, and two of them have been securely restored.

Text

§1 1|| spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃda2-ri vara {vā} u mūra-haṃgāṃ vara

§3 vaña ma haṃbāji mūri pājistāṃdi bistā ysā’13ca

§4 cu ści ttada vāri śṭāri

§5 u numa’śūṃ’ draya hvanḍi vistāṃdi

§6 tti mūri ysaṃ†thaḍi pāstāṃdi {śa} jiṣṭi haṣṭi mūri sa

§7 khu ‘tta/ parau hīṣṭā

§8 ttū-ṃ vā hiri thyau haṃ[ga]5jari u ma ṣai vā hajsēmyari

§9 khu ttiña māста paphve himi

§10 khu aḍa [m]ā6ṣta ysaṃṭhi ni ttṛāmi

§11 ttī jsāṃ vā kṣauva hajsēmyari thyau ttye hvanḍye dīśta cu vā 7haṃbā buḍi

§12 paḍāṃda ttā parau hauḍem kṣauvā kiṇa

§13 u na-ṃ vā hauḍāṃda

§14 khu x 8hīsīdi makali vā hajsēmyari

§15 lyiba’ āṃ ma pajīdā
§16 pa{sta}rsaṃdai ha°jsëmyarī

§17 vā aśau gānāṇa himi khu vā kṣauva u tti mūri paiya ni hīśī ¹⁰Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārjāṃ orders thus

§2 To the Year-leader pharṣa Sāṃdara and the money-collectors.

§3 Now here they asked for an amount of 20,000 mūrās.

§4 Because this much is outstanding.

§5 And they placed three men after them.

§6 They ordered us to take a loan of the mūrās with an interest at 8%.

§7 When the order comes to you,

§8 quickly gather this tax for me and send it here to me,

§9 so that it can be collected within this month.

§10 so that the interest may not enter another month.

§11 Then quickly send me the vouchers in the hands of the man who brought the money to me.

§12 Previously, I issued an order to you concerning the vouchers,

§13 and you have not delivered them to me.

§14 When they come …, send Makala to me.

§15 They are asking for the total amount.

§16 Send his messenger.

§17 You should buy horses for me, so that the vouchers and the mūrās may not come late here.

Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 {x} u: ‘and’, part of the opening formula.

§2 mūra-haṅgāṃ: ‘(tax) money collector’, gen.-dat. pl, also attested multiple times in Archive 2, including Or. 6398/4 (Catalogue, p.11), SI P 101.1 (SDTV III, p.126), and SI P 103.37 (SDTV III, p.150). Emmerick (1996, pp.114-17) discusses this word at length. Wen Xin (2008a, p.144) compares it with thamgaurāṃ ‘tax-collector’ in SI P 103.17 (SDTV III, p.142), but the word he refers to is actually thamgavajai, not thamgaurāṃ, which is attested in Or.6395/1 (Catalogue, p.6).


§5 numa’śūṃ’: from numa’śa’-ūṃ. Numalśa- ‘after’, adv./prep./postp./, Dict., p.188. Also attested in Archive 3/1.17 §4.

§5 u numa’śūṃ’ draya hvaṃḍi vistāṇḍi: ‘And they placed three men after them.’ Exact meaning unclear. Compare Archive 3/1.15 §7 u kṣa-t-ūṃ draya hvaṃḍi vistāṇḍi ‘Three men placed six of them.’

§6 jiṣṭi: jiṣ- ‘to demand, to borrow, to take a loan’, inf., also attested in Archive 3/1.15 §29 and Archive 3/6.10 §1. See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §9.

§6 haṣṭi mūri sa: ‘8 mura in sa (NA), at the rate of 8%’. Yoshida (2006, p.116-17) recognizes this formula and collects two other examples, but confuses jiṣ- ‘to take a loan’ with pajiy- ‘to ask for, to collect (tax)’.

§8 haṃ[gal]’jari: hamggalj- ‘to gather’, impv. 2p.

§9 paphve himi: paphūj- paphva- ‘to collect’, passive potential construction.
§10 ni trāmi: ‘it (the interest) may not enter’. trām- ‘to enter’, opt. 3s. Skjærovø (Catalogue, p. 581) reads: ‘ttāddrāmi’.


§14 makali: Proper name, attested in Archive 3/1.26 §3 as Sudārrjām’s former paśā ‘the commissioned’, a post that has been given to Naṃdaka.

§15 lyiba’: ‘total’, meaning uncertain. See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §19.

§16 paśamdai: parsanda- ‘passer-by’, from pars- ‘to pass’. pres. part. N. m.s. Exact meaning unclear. Perhaps, it refers to a messenger of some sort. See commentary on Archive 3/1.9 §8.

§16 hajsemyarī: ‘Send his (passer-by).’, from hajsemyarā-ī, hajsem- ‘to send’, impv. 2p.


§17 gānāṇa: gān- ‘to buy’, participle of necessity, Nom.-acc. m. pl.


§17 hīsī: hīs- ‘to come’, opt., 3s. This form is attested again in Archive 3/1.17 §8.

Archive 3/1.17 (Or.11252/16r) Order concerning money and grain

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjām to pharṣa Sāṃdara. Since its right half is damaged, the meaning of this order is not entirely clear. In it, spāta Sudārrjām first mentions the register, then quotes a document demanding foodstuff and money from his father. Next, he quotes an earlier order he sent, then a petition he made. In the end, Sudārrjām advises Sāṃdara not to transfer the grain.
This order was originally written on the back of a contract (Archive 3/6.11). After the order was sent, Sāṃdara wrote two prospective rosters, namely, Archive 3/4.3p and Archive 3/4.4p, on the back of this order, in the remaining blank space of the original contract.

Text

§1 spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 pharṣa sā[m]dar[ā vara u xxx vara]

§3 […] ja ya

§4 khu pravanai yanīra numa’sā’ hā kautaji mūrā […]

§5 […] 3maṃ pye pīḍakā hauḍā u ka’ra si

§6 khaysanaji vā hirā ha[jsema]

§7 […] 4tti mūrā paja pāṃ-sa

§8 yina khu draiyvā haḍā mara hīśī

§9 […] 5kā’ṇa’ parau hauḍem si

§10 ī ma hāmgā vistām

§11 vaña burā vā […]

§12 […] 6rā hajse’ma

§13 khv-e kākijāṇa ni haurāṇā himi

§14 phēma āṁ […]

§15 […] hau7rīḍī

§16 a hā umāṇī kāṇa haṣdi yude si

§17 kīthai nāsī […]

§18 […] 8jsārā nā tvaryarā
§19 hamaiya jsāṁ vā trāṁ jsārā kva Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṁ orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara [and …]

§3 There were …

§4 When you make the register, the following, the kauta mūra to it…

§5 My father and the scribes delivered a document, saying:

§6 “Send us food and drink.

§7 … Collect these 500 mūrās.

§8 Make it come here within three days.”

§9 I have issued an order concerning …, saying:

§10 “I set today as the due date.

§11 Until now to us …

§12 Send …

§13 so that you do not need to deliver (it) in Kākijāna.”

§14 In Phema …

§15 They are [delivering] …

§16 I made a petition to them on your behalf, saying:

§17 “He may received it in the Fort …”

§18 Do not transfer the grain.

§19 Strike (?) such grain yourselves. Signum-SU

Commentary

§4 numa’śä’: numalśa- ‘following’, Gen.-dat. s., also attested in Archive 3/1.16 §5.

§4 kautaji: Hapax, unclear.


§6 khaysanaji: ‘of food and drink’, from khaysana- ‘food and drink’.

§8 yina: yan- ‘to do’, impv. 2s.

§8 hīsī: hīs- ‘to come’, opt. 3s., attested again in Archive 3/1.16.


§10 vistāṁ: višt- vistāta- ‘to place, to set’, pf. 1s.

§13 kākijāna: Hapax, unclear.

§17 nāsī: nās- ‘to receive’, opt. 3s.

§19 ttrāṁ: ttrāma- ‘such’.

§19 dva: Reading uncertain, perhaps from dvya- ‘to beat’, impv. 2s., but the expected form is dvya, or from dva- ‘to smear’, impv. 2s., but the meaning does not fit the context. In either case, an impv. 2pl. form is expected here, agreeing with tvaryarā, impv. 2pl. in §18. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.94) reads: ‘kṣa’.

Archive 3/1.18 (Or.11252/21) Order concerning cloth and grain

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ first mentions an order he received from the King of Khotan, who requires every man to deliver a cloth 23 feet long, 2 feet wide. Next, Sudārrjāṃ asks Sāṃdara to gather the cloth within ten days and deliver the poll tax, 6 kūsas of grain per man, before the end of the month.
Text

§1 @ spāta sudārjāṁ tta pari

§2 salya-bā[ya pharṣa sāmpdari] vara

§3 vaṇa vā miḍāṃ ḣyastāna parau ā

§4 haṃbā{da} va se hvamdye thau [20 3 chā bu’] ysi dva chā hvāhi

§5 khu parau pva’ 10śvā haḍvā tā than haṃga’ja

§6 tcahau[ra x x] yaneṃ paja hv-e uspurri 20 3 chā himi

§7 tī jsāṃ še kamala[ji kūsa hayasa] ḷkṣe’

§8 khu ttāṇa māṣta jsārā bīṣi hauḍā himi

§9 ttājerā 10 2 m[ye haḍai ttā pa] rau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārjāṁ orders thus:

§2 To the Year-leader [pharṣa Sāmpdara].

§3 Now an order from the Gracious Lord has come to me.

§4 The amount for one man (is) a piece of cloth [23 feet] long, 2 feet wide.

§5 When you hear the order, gather the cloth within ten days.

§6 I make four … Collect (the cloth) so that you have 23 feet in full.

§7 Send the poll-tax, 6 [kūsas (of grain)] per head.

§8 so that all the grain can be delivered this month.

§9 On the 12th of Ttumjāra (seventh month), the order went [out to you]. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 salya-bā[yai pharṣa sāmpdari] vara: ‘To the Year-leader [pharṣa Sāmpdara’]. Sāmpdara is
identified as salya-bāyaa ‘the year-leader’ in Archive 3/1.16 §2, Archive 3/1.42 §2. Since Archive 3/1.42 is dated to the 33rd regnal year, this order probably dates from the same year. Note that the opening formula of petitions always ends in vara. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§4 haṃbā{ḍa}: ‘amount’. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.96) reads: ‘haṃbāḍa’. Haṃbā better fits the context, which is about the amount of cloth to be delivered.

§4 thau [20 3 chā bu’]ysi dva chā hvāhi: ‘a piece of cloth [23 feet] long, 2 feet wide’, restored from §6: ‘20 3 chā’. The amount of cloth assigned to one man in the 35th regnal year is also 23 feet. See Archive 3/3.2 §2.

§5 10śvā: Read daśvā, dasau- ‘ten’, L.pl.

§5 haṃga’ja: haṃggalj- ‘to gather’, impv. 2s.

§7 śe kamalajji kūsa haysa kṣe’: ‘Send the poll-tax, 6 [kūsas (of grain)] per head’, restored according to the context and the length of the lacuna as established in §2.

Archive 3/1.19 (Achma-1) A petition from Ysevidṭā to Viṣṇadattā concerning cloth

Achma refers to a document obtained by Stein during his fourth Inner Asia Expedition in 1930-1931. Due to the unfavorable political climate at that time, Stein was only able to bring back photos of the documents he obtained during this expedition. As a result, only a photo of Achma, registered as OIOC Photo 392/57 T.O.20, survives to this day. Although both Bailey (SDTV, pp. 121-22) and Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.581) treated Achma as a single document, a closer look reveals that it is actually consisted of two unrelated documents, namely, Achma-1 and Achma-2. This document, Achma-1, contains the first two lines of Ysevidṭa’s petition to ṣṣau Viṣṇadatta concerning cloth for the king. Though incomplete, it provides us with an excellent example of
the opening formula of petitions. In the petition, Ysevidṭa seems to be complaining about the cloth tax, for the king imposed on him or his people is too much.

Achma-2 (Archive 3/3.11) is a contract of loan.

**Text**

§1 ą̄mācā šṣau viṣṇadattā vara tta haṣḍī yane

§2 aysā kṣā’ auvā bisai ysevidṭā

§3 hīye maṃ vā aḍā āna rrviya thauna pastāṃdā [pajisti …]

**Translation**

§1 I hereby make a petition to Lord āmāca šṣau Viṣṇadatta.

§2 I, Ysevidṭa, a resident of the Six Towns.

§3 O Lord, they ordered to collect additional cloth for the king.

**Commentary**

§1 āmācā: Honorific of a high official, Chin. āmózhī, Tib. a ma cha, from Skt. amātya, also attested in Archive 3/3.8 §1, Archive 3/6.6 §7, and Archive 3/6.7 §8. This honorific is often attested in conjunction with šṣau. For example: hiyaudā āmācā šṣau āttuṃ in Hedin 2 line 1. (KT IV, p.21) More on this title, see Wen Xin 2008a, p.123-127. Note that Wen Xin’s suggestion that āmāca’s status was lowered during the Tibetan period is based on an erroneous reading of Archive 3/3.8 (Or.11252/38) §1.

§1 šṣau: Title of an official on the prefecture level. Based on newly discovered Chinese documents, Wen Xin (2008, p.131) suggests that šṣau most likely corresponds to Chin. zhīshī 知事. For a more detailed study of this title across all archives, see Wen Xin 2008a, p.127-133.
§1 viṣṇadattā: Proper noun, attested again in Archive 3/1.4v §1 and Archive 3/5.12 §9, also bearing the title sṣau. He must be an official on the prefecture level or above. He is also attested with the same title āmāca sṣau in two documents in Archive 4, namely, IOL Khot 42/3 and IOL Khot 177/3. (Catalogue, p.272 and p.394.)

§2 aysā kṣā’ auvā bisai ysevidṭā: ‘I, Ysevidṭa, a resident of the Six Towns.’ Ysevidṭa is attested 11 times in Archive 3 in five different spellings, namely, Ysiviṭa, Yseviḍa, Ysevidṭa, Yseviṭa, and Ysiviḍta. The name seems to be of non-Khotanese origin and its last syllable a foreign sound to Khotanese ears. Note that he bears the title auva-haṃdasta of Phaṃnai in Archive 3/3.10 §2.

§3 aḍā: ‘other’, a shortened form of aḍārā.

§3 aḍā āna: Bailey (SDTV, p.121) reads: ‘aḍāsvāṇa’.

§3 hīye: hiyaud- ‘lord’, voc., a formulaic component of petitions.

§3 rrvīya thauna: ‘cloth for the king’. Conversely, there was probably kṣīrua- thauna- ‘cloth for the state’, just like rrvīya- kīra- ‘work for the king’ as opposed to kṣīrua- kīra- ‘work for the state’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.

Archive 3/1.20 (Or.11252/37r) Order concerning state work

Included in this document is a short order from spāta Sudārrjaṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara concerning those who do state work (§1-§5) and one line at the bottom unrelated to the order above (§6-§7). Since the left part of the document is missing, it cannot be perfectly understood. It seems that Sudārrjaṃ is asking Sāṃdara to collect money from currently active state workers to pay tax on behalf of retired state workers. The line at the bottom concerns the length of cloth.
Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.43, an order issued by blon Rmang-bzher to Sudārrjāṃ concerning wheat-sowers, dated to the 26th of Kaja (the second month). Conceivably, Sudārrjāṃ used the blank on the back of an outdated order to write this order, which is dated to the 1st of Ttumjārā (the seventh month).

Text

§1 [¹ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī]

§2 pharṣa sāṃdārā vara

§3 vaña pravanā ṣ[...] ni pa[na] maṃgārā kīrārāṃ vī khu še hvaṃdye kṣīrva-vīraī ṣ[...] mūri

§4 ttājīri paḍauysye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SU

§5 ṣ[...] || tti paṃjṣa chā 2 tsuna buysde u na drrai chā

§6 śi’ cu nāṣta kaṣṭi

Translation

§1 [Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus]

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara:

§3 Now the registers ... for all old workers so that each man doing state work … mūrās.

§4 The order went out to you on the 1st of Ttumjārā (the seventh month). Signum-SU

§5 5.2 feet in length and not three chāṣ.

§6 This is what falls downward.

Commentary

§1 [¹ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī]: ‘[Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus]’. The beginning of the order is missing, but Sudārrjāṃ’s signum at the end indicates that he was the issuer.

§3 pravanā: ‘registers’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §24.
§3 khu: ‘so that’. The actual instruction of the order is only one sentence long. The main clause should be in the imperative followed by an adverbial clause of purpose introduced by the conjunction khu. The length of the lacunae, about nine to ten akṣaras long, as determined by the restoration of §1, does not allow khu to introduce a conditional clause followed by a main clause, as Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.103) takes it.

§6 kaśti: ‘to fall’, from kas- pres. 3s.

Archive 3/1.21 (Or.11252/15r) Petition to the king concerning court work

This document is a petition from Sudārrjāṃ to the king on behalf of all the officials and residents in the Six Towns. In it, Sudārrjāṃ reports that one of the superior teachers is too old to do court work, and asks the king to have mercy on him. The formulae in this petition is very similar to those in Archive 3/1.13, another petition to the king.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/6.4, a fragment of a petition concerning state work.

Text

§1 ¹[@ mi]ḍā jasti vara tta ḥaḍi yanāmaṇ

§2 kṣvā auvā tsī[ṣī spā-ṭa su]ḍārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pi’kisina

§3 cu ra ā maṃ m[ḍā ja]³[sti] piṣkali vī jva himāmaṇ ttaṃḍi jasti puṇau jsa

§4 cvau vā jasti biśi b[āḍa x] ⁴[x] parīdi

§5 ttye jasta vaṇau maṃ pharāka rrviya kīrā ṣṭārā

§6 u stān[a]d[jau] [x x x] ⁵[x x] ra maṃ drraya stāṇaḍa īdi

§7 ṣi jsā śau yasāṃgara ṣti
§8 ṣi’ ni ṣṭāṃ ṛrṇīya [kīrā ṣuḍā ⁶yīmdā]  
§9 ttarau ṣṭāṃ haṃdira pṛū lyiba’ pajiḍi  
§10 u tta ṣṭā ttā ṛrṇīya kīrī ni [x yuḍā yīm’ḍā]  
§11 [ja]sti mu’šdi paɾi byaudi khvau vā piškala paṃ[sa …

Translation

§1 We hereby make a petition to the Gracious Lord

§2 (We are) Sudārrjāṃ, tsīṣī spāta in the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, and all the commoners.

§3 Because only by the Lord’s merits can we live in the prefecture of the Gracious Lord.

§4 Because they deign to ... at all times of the Lord. (?)

§5 O Lord! Now, I have a lot of your court work here.

§6 And your superior teachers... I have three superior teachers.

§7 One of them is very old.

§8 He just [could not do] court [work].

§9 Those at the Inner Court are demanding the total for you.

§10 Thus he [could] not [do] court work at your place.

§11 May the lord deign to find mercy so that here in your prefecture five ...

Commentary

§1 [mi]ḍā jasti: ‘the Gracious Lord’, referring to the King of Khotan, Viṣa’ Vāhaṃ. See introduction of Archive 3/1.41.

§2 kṣvā auvā tsīṣī spāta suḍārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u haṃḍa pa’kisina: ‘Sudārrjāṃ, tsīṣī spāta in the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, together with the commoners.’ In oth-
er words, Sudārjām makes the petition on behalf of everyone in the Six Towns. A similar formula is found in Archive 3/1.13 §2: ‘tsīśī āstaṃna hamīda hārva u hamīda pa’kisina’. For hārupa-‘official’, see commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2.

§3 piṣkali: See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§4 parīdi: pary- ‘to order, deign’, pres. 3pl.

§5 ttye: Skjæervo (Catalogue. p.94) reads: ‘-ye’. Compare the parallel formula in Archive 3/1.13 §3-§5.

§5 jasta: ‘lord’, V. The vocative is part of the opening formula of petitions. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§5 rrviya kīrā: See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.


§8 [yuḍā yīṃdā]: yan- ‘to do’, pres. 3s., potential construction, restored according to the context.

§9 haṃdira prū: ‘the Inner Court’, also attested in a similar context in Archive 3/1.13 §7. Ttara
‘at your place’ shows the king was at hamdira prū. It can be inferred that hamdira prū does not refer to a fort as Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.94) renders it, but to the court or the palace where the King of Khotan resides. Wen Xin (2014, p.94) makes the same suggestion based on a Khotanese document on a wooden tablet.

§9 lyiba*: ‘total’, Tib. lib, uncertain See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §19.

§11 [ja]sti muśdi pari byaudi: ‘May the lord deign to find mercy’, a formulaic expression used in the petitions. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

Archive 3/1.22 (Or.11252/5r) Petition concerning work

This neatly written document is a petition from the residents in Cira to spāta Sudārrjāṃ. Unfortunately, only its left half has been preserved, so its meaning is not entirely clear. In the petition, it seems that the residents of Cira are complaining that too much work has been assigned to them by the Tibetan masters, and ask Sudārrjāṃ to intervene on their behalf so that some work can be exempted.

Written on the back of this petition is Archive 3/5.7, a short roster of two teams.

Text

Recto

§1 1 hiyaudā spāta sudārrjuṃ vara tta haṣṭi [yanāmaṃ]

§2 […] ci²rāna auya

§3 hiye mahe ma ttye ttājā jsa kṣa ysā[…]

§4 […]³ttā śira kye sī budesa tsue

§5 u hvāṣṭāṃ hiya da […]
§6 […] ⁴ni tcerā cuai pūrā ye cisti pa’jśā

§7 ⁷ai’ āṁ kīrī ni īṃdā […]

§8 […] ⁵harṣā haśdā u pyarī dvī mastāṇā īṃdā

§9 u […]

§10 […] ⁶āṛi māṇī beṃdā haśdā khu ysāḍa hvaṃḍī pa[…]

§11 […] ⁷śādi hvaṃḍī ra ma tti īṃdā cu āṁ hvāśṭām hīya […]

§12 [vaña-ṃ aspāta hi]⁸yaudāna khu dā byehāṃ

§13 bulāṇi maṃ ści’rā […]

§14 ⁹u spāta yāṇivittā ma pūrī ā [-i …]

§15 […] ¹⁰haṃdara prrū tsue

§16 budesa haṃḍa[ra prrū tsve]

§17 […] ¹¹haṃdara prrū tsve

§18 vidyabudā ści’ va […]

**Verso**

§1 || spāta sudārrjum

**Translation**

**Recto**

§1 To Lord spāta Sudārrjum, [we] hereby make a petition:

§2 [We are …] the residents of Cira.

§3 O Lord, we here from the river six [thousand] …

§4 … Budesa has gone to you,

§5 and the (Tibetan) Masters’ …
§6 … are not to be done, because he had a very young son,

§7 He does not do any work for him.

§8 ... sends .... And the father has two portions of fodder.

§9 and …

§10 Then he sends work upon us so that the old men ...

§11 And there are … men here because the Masters’ …

§12 [Now our refuge] is from the Lord so that we may obtain justice.

§13 Blon Rmang-bzher …

§14 and spāta Yāṇivitta’s son here …

§15 … has gone to the Inner Court.

§16 Budesa [has gone to] the Inner [Court]

§17 ... has gone to the Inner Court

§18 Vidyabuda, he ...

Verso

§1 (To) Spāta Sudārjuṃ.

Commentary

§1 tta haṣdi [yanāmaṇ]: ‘thus we make a petition’, restored according to the standard formula as attested in Archive 3/1.13 §1. Also see Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§3 hiye: hiyaude ‘lord’, V. (Skjærvø, communication during class) See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§4 kye sī: unclear. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.88) takes śīra kye sī as one word.

§6 tcerā: tcera- ‘to be done’, participle of necessity, nom.-acc. pl.

§8 harṣā: meaning and reading unclear.
§8 haśdā: *hays- ‘to send’, pres. 3s.

§8 mastāṇa: ‘fodder (?)’, see Dict., p.326.

§11 sāḍi: unclear. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.88) reconstructs ‘[pa?]śādi’.


§12 [vaṇa-ṃ aspāta hiyaudāna khu dā byehāṃ: ‘[Now our refuge] is from the Lord so that we may obtain justice.’ Dā- ‘law, justice’, Nom.-acc. s., from dāta-, restored according to the complete formula attested in Hedin 2 line 5-6: ‘vaṇa-ṃ āspāta hiyaudāna khu dā byehūṃ’. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.21) reads vā for dā.

§13 bulāṇi maṃ sī’rā: *Blon Rmang-bzher, a Tibetan officer residing in Phema. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§15 haṃdara prrū: ‘the Inner Court’, see commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §9.

**Archive 3/1.23 (Or.11344/6r) Petition concerning patrol duty**

This fragmentary document is a petition to Sudārrjāṃ from a petitioner, whose name has not been preserved. In it, the petitioner first gives two lists of people, one of cloth-deliverers, the other of state-workers. It seems that people listed here are exempt from patrol duties. Next comes the opening formula of petition. Due to its fragmentary condition, the rest of the document cannot be clearly understood. The petitioner asks Sudārrjāṃ to issue an order since the sons of the petitioner are staying with Sudārrjāṃ. It seems that he also asks for more time for the patrolmen to reach Cira.

Written on the back of the petition is Archive 3/4.1p, the prospective roster of Patrol 1, in which no name listed in this petition is attested. Presumably, the petition was made by Sāṃdara,
and was sent back to him together with Sudārrjāṃ’s response. Sāmdara then used the back of the used petition to write the roster.

Text

§1 1[@] tti burā thau[na-h]aurā pa[š]āta
§2 cira phāṃji || salamai || īrvadatti || naṃdaki || sa[… ||] 2saṃgūlai || puñade || vasade bikināṃ mādā[ši ||] saṃgaki || maṃgali || mulaki || […] 3ṣanīrā || ha[ryās]ki || \ṣi’ spaśaṇa tsu x/ vidya-datti || sudarmā || [pa]ṃjamaki || […]
§3 4tti vā ttū paṇḍi hvaṃdi hvaṃdi kṣīrva-vīrā cu spaśaṇa ni tsvādi ||
§4 […] 5yaudari ∩ vidya-datti ∩ kharajsajsi
§5 ṣi’ myāra vī āsti bu’yśī va himye […]
§6 6@ hiyaudi spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta haṣṭi yani
§7 […] bi]7śāṇi
§8 ttā nāma pīḍai
§9 kāṃ paṃ[ḍ]ye haṣṭi
§10 thyau vā parau paṣa
§11 maṃ pūra ttara śṭāṃ […]
§12 […] 8haura spaṣaraṇaḥ ra haḍā baka īdi
§13 khu cira buri spaṣaṇa tṣī[di …]

Translation

§1 The following are commissioned with cloth-delivering:

§2 Phāṃji from Cira, Salamai, Īrvadatta, Naṃdaka, Sa…, Saṃgūlai, Puñade, Vasade, Mādāśa from Bikina, Saṃgaka, Maṃgala, Mulaka, …, Ṣanīra, Haryāsaka, Vidyadatta \he went on patrol/,
Sudarma, Paṃjamaka, …

§3 The following (are) the remaining state workers of road work, who did not go on patrol:

§4 …, Yaudara, Vidyardatta, Kharajsaja

§5 He was at the *dams. It was (too?) long (far?) for him (to come?)

§6 I hereby make a petition to Lord spāta Sudārjum.

§7 …

§8 You wrote these names.

§9 On which road has he sent (them)?

§10 Quickly send me an order.

§11 My sons are at your place.

§12 The [four] patrolmen have only a few days.

§13 If the patrolmen go as far as Cira …

Commentary

§1 paśāta: ‘commissioned’, from paś- ‘to send’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.


§2 bikināṃ: ‘Bikina’. Name of a village in Birgaṃdara, also attested in Archive 3/6.1 §15.


§5 myāra: a scribal error for pyāra ‘dam’? Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.110) reads: ‘pyāra’.

§8 pīḍai: pīr- pīḍa- ‘to write’, pf. 2s.

§9 haṣṭi: hays- haṣṭa- ‘to send’, pf. 3s.
Archive 3/1.24 (Or.11252/12r) Petition concerning canteen duty and servant work

This document is a petition made by Sāṃdara. Since its left and lower parts are missing, the addressee of the petition and its date of issuance have not been preserved. Fortunately, both can be inferred from the order in response to this petition (Archive 3/1.25). The order in response, written on the back of the petition, was issued by Sudārrjāṃ, and its date of issuance is the 21st of Mūca’ca (the ninth month). Since the 18th of Mūca’ca is mentioned in the past tense in §13 here, the petition must have been made between the 18th and the 21st of Mūca’ca (the ninth month).

In this petition, Sāṃdara first quotes a previous order, in which he was asked to send both the commissioned and the non-commissioned on canteen duty in Cira. Then he complains that the work of the commissioned is now neglected. Conceivably, in the missing part of the petition, Sāṃdara would ask Sudārrjāṃ to rescind his order so that the commissioned can be exempted from canteen duty and do their own work. In the response (Archive 3/1.25), however, Sudārrjāṃ denies this request and insists that due to the pressure from the Tibetans, all people, including the commissioned, be sent on canteen duty.

Text

§1 ¹[@ hiyaudi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta] haṣḍi ṣani

§2 a pharṣa sāṃdari

§3 ²[hīye paḍāmḍa vā parau parstai hauḍa si]

§4 [ṣa]pāṇara sameva

§5 ttī jsāṃ paśā avaśāna cirāṣṭa ́se ³[hvaṃdye …]
§6 spāta vīsa hīvī puṇadatti șapāña viṣṭā

§7 va[d [... pa]șātāṃ bida kīri ni bāysdai

§8 tti pașāti bida și kīri nā yīdi

§9 ș[...新鲜]parya hauḍi

§10 â vâ vâ ttāguttā parau parī hauḍi

§11 tī jśāṃ vā še ja6[...]

§12 [...] tsīšīya ysāda haysīru u vilaka

§13 u šanīri va7[... pa]rau

§14 mūca’ci haştūsamye haḍai ttā haṣḍī yuḍi

§15 ș[...] u ganaṃ haṃḍāḍa-yū spāta hajsaudāṃdi

§16 vaña ā parau [...]

§17 ș[...] naraṃda [...]

Translation

§1 I hereby make a petition [to Lord tsīšī spāta Sudārrjāṃ]:

§2 I (am) pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 [O Lord, previously you have deigned to give us an order, saying:]

§4 “Appoint canteen workers.

§5 Then, (...) every men, including the commissioned and the non-commissioned, … to Cira.

§6 Place spāta Vīsa’s Puṇadatta on canteen duty.

§7 … do not check the work (imposed) upon the commissioned.”

§8 Then he does not do the work (imposed) upon the commissioned.

§9 He will give…
§10 Or he will deign to give us an order in Tibetan."

§11 Then here every…

§12 You should send tsīši’s old men and boys.

§13 And Şanīra …. order.

§14 On the 18th of Mūtica’ca (ninth month) he made a petition to you.

§15 The spātas have sent the reaped wheat to you…

§16 Now, then, an order …

§17 …went out …

Commentary

§1 [@ hiyaudi tsīši spāta sudārrjāṃ]: ‘Lord, tsīši spāta Sudārrjāṃ’, restored according to the standard opening formula of petitions attested in Archive 3/1.22 §1, Archive 3/1.23 §6, and Archive 3/1.29 §1. Also see Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§3-§4 [hiye paḍāṃda vā parstai haudā si șa]pāñara sameva: ‘[O Lord, previously you have deigned to give us an order, saying:] appoint canteen workers.’ The restoration is based on: 1) sameva, impv. 2s, must be in a quote from an order that Sāmdara received from Sudārrjāṃ. 2) According to the restoration of line 1, there must be 14 akṣaras in the lacuna of line 2. 3) hīye, ‘lord’, voc., is part of the formula of petitions to Sudārrjāṃ, as attested in Archive 3/1.22 §3 and Archive 3/1.29 §3. 4) parstai haudā, ‘you have deigned to give’. The honorific construction is used to show respect when addressing one’s superior, especially in petitions, see Archive 3/1.29 §3 and Archive 3/1.35 §5.

§5 paśā avāśāna: ‘with the commissioned and the non-commissioned’. Usually, the commissioned and the non-commissioned are treated differently in regard to tax, corvée work, and other
duties. The phrase *paśā avaśāna* is used when the two groups are not differentiated. See Yoshida 2006, pp.120-122. Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

§5 *śe [hvamdye]*: ‘everyone’. The phrase *śe hvamdye* is often used in conjunction with *paśā avaśāna*, see Archive 3/1.14 §3, Archive 3/1.31 §5-§6 and Hedin 33 b1 (*KT IV*, p.41).

§6 *spāta vīsa hīvi puṇadatti*: ‘*spāta* Vīsa’s Puṇadatta’. *Spāta* Vīsa and Puṇadatta are attested together again in Archive 3/2.8, a bilingual voucher. In the Chinese text of Archive 3/2.8, Puṇadatta is clearly identified as a dependent, presumably of *spāta* Vīsa.

§7 *bāysdai*: ‘to observe, to see to (something so that it is done), to check’, impv. 2s, parallel with *viśta* ‘to place’, impv. 2s. in §6. This form is also attested in Archive 3/1.34 §6.

§10 *ttāguttā*: ‘in Tibetan’. See commentary on *ttāguttau* in Archive 3/1.41 §7. For another instance of the alternation of *au* and *ā*, see commentary on Archive 3/2.11 §1. This is the end of the quoted order, in which Sudārrjāṃ demands Sāṃdara to send both the commissioned and the non-commissioned to do canteen duty in Cira, and ignore the work assigned to the commissioned.

§12 *haysīru*: *hays-* ‘to send’, opt. 2p.

§14 *haṣḍi yuḍi*: ‘to make a petition’, pf. 3sg. This sentence is not the dating formula, which should be at the end of the petition, but a reference to a previous petition made by someone else, perhaps Śanīra. Thus the date of the petition must fall between the date mentioned here (9/18) and the date of the order in response (9/21).

§15 *haṃḍāḍa-y-[ū]*: ‘reaped for you’. *haṃḍār-, haṃḍāda*, ‘to bring together, to reap’. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.92) reads *yu*, but the lower end of the *aḵṣara* is missing. The long tail of *-ū*, the expected second person singular enclitic, is probably in the lacuna.
Archive 3/1.25 (Or.11252/12v) Order concerning canteen duty

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ in response to the previous petition (Archive 3/1.24), in which Saṃdara asks Sudārrjāṃ to exempt the commissioned from the canteen duty. In this order, however, Sudārrjāṃ first quotes an order from a Tibetan official and then makes it clear to Saṃdara that both the commissioned and the non-commissioned must be sent on canteen duty.

Text

§1 Ṛpāta sudārrjā tta parī

§2 [pharṣa sāṃdara vara u] kīrāṛmaṇ u pa’kisenā vara

§3 vañha thaiṣṭi bulā(ṇi) rmāṇī [śārāṇa parau ā sā]

§4 […] miḍā jasti hīyā maśa-vīrā āstaṇṇa paśā a[vaśāṇa … śapā]na viṣṭari

§5 khu umi parau pvīrau ttinī vā tti śapāṇara samevya[rā]

§6 […] vi būjāri

§7 tāgutta hvāṣṭa tte śapāṇi va pa’jṣi ysurri yu[ḍāṃdā]

§8 [ni … śapā]na hatcasta

§9 mūṭca’ći śuvarabistamyhe haḍai tta [parau tsve Signum-SU]

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus.

§2 [To pharṣa Sāṃdara,] the workers, and the commoners:

§3 Now, [an order has come from] Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang-[bzher, (saying):]

§4 “Place the commissioned and the non-commissioned, including the house-workers of the Gracious Lord and others, … on canteen duty.”
§5 When you (pl.) hear the order, immediately agree on the men on canteen duty.

§6 They will provide food (?) …

§7 The Tibetan Masters have become very angry about the canteen duties.

§8 The men on canteen duty [must not be] replaced.

§9 On the 21st of of Müca’ca, [the order went out] to you. [Signum-SU]

Commentary

§3 thaiṣi: ‘Commissioner-in-chief’, referring to the military commander of the garrison stationed in the Fort of Phema, corresponding to Chin. dāshí 大使 (Yoshida 2006, p.23 and 2008a, p.468), Tib. the śi (Rong 1993, p.413), MMP  transpose yśy (Yoshida 1994, p.371, not dāshī 大使 as he suggests there). This is one of the Chinese titles adopted by the Khotanese. Other such titles include Khot. phqna kvana ~ Chin. pānguān 判官, Khot. cāmṣṣī ~ Chin. zhāngshì 長史, and Khot. tsīṣī ~ Chin. cishī 刺史. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C) and Archive 3/1.2 §2.

§3 bulā(ni) rmāmi [śā’rāṇa]: ‘Blon Rmang-[bzher]’, also attested in Archive 3/1.12 §11, Archive 3/1.22 §13, Archive 3/1.34 §1, Archive 3/1.42 §1, Archive 3/1.43 §1 (restored), and Archive 3/6.2 §1. As hinted by Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.87), this Tibetan military officer is attested again in Or.15000/33, a Tibetan document from Mazar Tagh (Or.15000/33 = M.Tagh. 0512, see Takeuchi 1998, p.28, n.87, and TLTD II, p.410). Yoshida (2006, pp.74-76, and 2008a, pp.468-469) identifies him with Lūn Māngrē 論莽熱, a Tibetan general captured by Tang forces in 802 in Nanzhao, in present-day Yunnan, but the latter was already active in Nanzhao in 794 (XTS, v216b). A similar name blon Rma-bzher attested in a Tibetan document from Miran (TLTD II, pp.413-14) shows that this name was fairly common at that time. Therefore, Yoshida’s identi-
fication is probably incorrect. It can be inferred from Archive 3/1.34 §3 that blon Rmang-bzher was residing in Phema, thus he was most likely the commander of the garrison at the Fort of Phema. He would not be the commander in charge of the entire Khotan region as suggested by Yoshida (2006, p.24), since the headquarters of the Tibetan administration in Khotan were located in the citadel at Shenshan, present-day Mazar-Tagh, as demonstrated by the numerous Tibetan documents discovered there. (Takeuchi 2004, p.55) Blon Rmang-bzher was certainly not the Military Commissioner (tcirrtū, jiédù 節度) as suggested by Yoshida (2006, p.76), since the name of the Military Commissioner is attested in Archive 3/1.2 §3 as lünä ha’bäśi ’rā ‘Blon Lha bzher’.

§3 vaña thaiṣī bulā(ni) rmāmi [śā’rāṇa parau ā sā]: ‘Now, [an order has come from] the Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang-[bzher, (saying)]’. Restored according to the formula of orders. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§4 miḍā jasti: ‘the Gracious Lord’, referring to the King of Khotan, Viśa’ Vāhaṃ. For more on him, see introduction of Archive 3/1.41.

§4 māśa-vīrā: māśa-vīraa-, ‘house-worker, dependent’, from *māśa-kīraa-, also attested in Archive 3/4.5p §3, Archive 3/4.5r §2, Archive 3/6.3 §5, and Archive 3/6.7 §5. According to Archive 3/6.7 §5, there are 15 ‘house-workers of the king’ in the 33rd regnal year. Wen Xin (2008a, p.125) first identified this term with Chin. jiārén 家人, ‘person of the household, dependent’, attested in Archive 3/2.8 §2 (C), and multiple times as dependents of a Buddhist temple in Or. 8211/969-972 (MT.b.009), a long Chinese document dated to 721 CE. See Ikeda 1996, pp. 209-211.

§4 paśā a[vaśāna]: See commentary Archive 3/1.24 §5.

§4 viśtari: ‘to place’, impv. 2 pl. The quote of the Tibetan’s order ends here.
§5 samevyā[rā]: samev- ‘to agree on’, impv. 2pl. For the imperative ending -yarā, see SGS, p. 212-13.

§6 būjāri: ‘to provide food (?)’, suggested by Bailey (Dict., p.295), not quite reliable.

§8 hatcasta: hatcy-, hatcasta- ‘to be broken, to be replaced’, past participle, nom.-acc., pl., not ‘*to cancel’ as Skjærvø (Studies III, pp.159-162) suggests. This verb is also attested as hatcaste pf. 3s. in Archive 3/1.26 §9 and hatcyāre pres. mid. 3pl. in Archive 3/1.32 §14. Here, one’s canteen duty can be replaced. Payments in silk cloth can be replaced by payments in small cloth or mūrās, as in Archive 3/3.4 §8. One kind of grain can be replaced by another, as in Archive 3/6.1 §.

§8 [ni … śapā]ñara hatcasta: ‘The men on canteen duty [must not be] substituted.’ It can be inferred from the context that a negative is required here, because the Tibetans have become angry (§7) and would not allow canteen duty to be substituted by other forms of labor or payments.

Archive 3/1.26 (Or.11252/6v) Order concerning canteen duty

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. In the order, Sudārrjāṃ asks Sāṃdara to exempt Naṃdaka from his canteen duty and transfer it to Makala, since Naṃdaka has replaced Makala as Sudārrjāṃ’s assistant.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/6.9, a letter most likely to Sudārrjāṃ.

Text

§1 1|| spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā vara

§3 makalā maunai pa²śā ye
§4 vaña paśā naṃdaki biysiye

§5 ī āstaṃna kīri makalā parya

§6 naṃdaki ni ma [viṣṭā]

§7 3u tī ī jsāṃ naṃdaki spaśa{ña} īnāštī gVāri yuḍe

§8 u pyaḍai ī śa sa parya [viṣṭāmdai]

§9 [khu] ‘parau pva’ śapāṇā tti cu vaña hatcste naṃdaki śapāṇā ni perri ya

§10 śapāṇā ttye [haṃdarā] īperi

§11 īṃ tti śapāṇā cu vā vaña naṃdaki hīśdi makalā parya Signum-SU

**Translation**

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjuṃ orders thus:

§2 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.

§3 Makala used to be our commissioned man.

§4 Now Naṃdaka has taken (the status of) the commissioned man.

§5 From today on, order Makala (to do) the work.

§6 Do not [assign work to] Naṃdaka.

§7 Naṃdaka made a complaint concerning patrol duties.

§8 You rejected (it), (and) [placed] him on canteen duty there.

§9 [When] you hear the order, Naṃdaka must not be made to do the canteen duty because (his)
canteen duty has already been substituted.

§10 His canteen duty should be done [by someone else].

§11 Today, order Makala (to go on) the canteen duty that is now coming here to Naṃdaka.

Signum-SU
Commentary

§3 maunai: mānaa- ‘our’, N.s., also attested as mauña Loc. sg., see Dict., p.329. Au ~ ā alternation is common in the Khotanese language at this stage. For other instances, see commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §12, Archive 3/1.24 §10, and Archive 3/2.11 §1. Skjærvø (Catalogue p.89) reads: ‘mau nai’ and takes mau for ‘wine’ and nai for na-i, but one would expect hā ‘to him’ rather than an enclitic pronoun.

§3 paśā: ‘the commissioned’, also attested as paśāta- in Archive 3/1.23 §1, Archive 3/1.24 §8, Archive 3/5.2 §11, Archive 3/5.9 §2, Archive 3/5.14 §6, and Archive 3/6.7 §6. Vorob’ëva-Desjatovkaja (1996, p.174) renders this word as ‘servant’. Yoshida (2006, pp.120-122) translates it as ‘half-dependent’. The meaning of ‘the commissioned man, servant’ fits the context here well. Makala used to be the commissioned man of Sudārrjāṃ and was thus exempt from the canteen duty. Naṃdaka now replaces Makala and becomes Sudārrjāṃ’s new commissioned man. As a result, the canteen duty imposed on Naṃdaka should be transferred to Makala. As can be seen from the context, paśā ‘the commissioned man’ is more like a job or task rather than a fixed social status.

§7 spaśa{ña}ñāṣṭi: ‘to the patrols’. The first ēna is deleted and the resulting form spaśaṇāṣṭi is what one expects.

§7 gvāri yuḍe: ‘he made a complaint’. This legal term means ‘to bring a lawsuit against someone’.

§8 pyaḍai: pyaḍa- ‘to reject, turn down’, pf. 2s. As is made clear in §4, Naṃdaka has now replaced Makala to be the commissioned man. Consequently, Naṃdaka’s patrol duty should be done by Makala. Naṃdaka made a complaint before Sāṃdara concerning the patrol duty, but
Sāṃdara rejected his request and put him on the canteen duty. Then Naṃdaka turned to Sudāṛ-ṛjuṃ for help. Sudāṛṛjuṃ supported him and issued this order to transfer Naṃdaka’s canteen duty to Makala.

§9 hatcaste: hatcy- hatcasta- ‘to be broken, to be substituted’, pf. 3s., other forms are attested in Archive 3/1.25 §8, Archive 3/1.32 §14. For its meaning of ‘to be replaced’, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.

§9 ya: yan- ‘to do’ inf., see Dict., p.341.

§10 ēṇapāṇā tṭye [haṃdarāj] peri: ‘His canteen duty should be done [by someone else].’

Restored according to the context. ‘[makalā]’ is another possibility.

**Archive 3/1.27 (Or.11252/35b) Order concerning canteen duty**

This document is an order from Sudāṛṛjuṃ to Sāṃdara. In it, Sudāṛṛjuṃ first quotes a previous order, in which he demanded Sāṃdara to enter (the Fort) with all the cattle. Since no canteen workers are coming, he now orders Sāṃdara again to send canteen workers immediately.

Two unrelated documents bear the same register number Or.11252/35. The other one is Archive 3/4.5p (Or.11252/35a), the prospective roster of Patrol 5, which also bears Sudāṛṛjuṃ’s signum at the end.

**Text**

§1 1|| spāṭa sudāṛṛjuṃ tta pari

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā va

§3 parau ttā hauḍemśi

§4 2puṣa vā ttrāṃrāu haṣde yanāmaṃ tṭye jśārā ki’ṇa
§5 ni ā vā ttrāmīrau paya ²ā himi

§6 thyau vā puṣi ttrāmīrau haṃtsa gūhyau jsa cu bure tsīdā

§7 ṣapāṇarāṃ āṃ vā ḍbūka ni hī(śi)dā

§8 hvaṃḍi āṃ ma gva-v-āṃ na dijsārā

§9 thyau vā ṣapāṇara haysa Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārṛjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 I have sent an order to you, (saying):

§4 “You should all enter (the Fort), (and) we will make a petition concerning the grain.

§5 Or, if you do not enter, it will be (too) late.

§6 All of you, immediately enter (the Fort) together with every cow that walks.”

§7 No teams of canteen workers are coming here.

§8 People do not hold their ears here (= obey my words).

§9 Send canteen workers to me immediately! Signum-SU

Commentary


§5 haṣḍe yanāmaṃ ttye jsārā ki’ṇa: ‘We will make a petition concerning the grain.’ It seems that Sāṃdara has some trouble concerning the tax in grain, and Sudārṛjāṃ offers to write a petition on Sāṃdara’s behalf to solve the problem for him, as long as Sāṃdara and his men come to the Fort right away.

§5 ni ā vā: ‘if not’.
§5 paya: ‘late’. Also attested as paiya in Archive 3/1.16 §17

§7 būka: ‘team (of patrol or other duties)’. See commentary on Archive 3/4.18p §1.

§8 dijsārā: OKhot. dārjsp- ‘to keep, hold’, pres. mid. 3p.

Archive 3/1.28 (Or.11252/25) Order concerning canteen duty

This document is a short order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara. In it, spāta Sudārrjāṃ instructs pharṣa Sāṃdara to stop sending incompetent cooks. The month in the dating formula is missing.

Text

§1 1|| spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 pha[rṣa sāṃda]2rā vara

§3 khu parau pva’ anaru ṣapāṇa ma {ha} haysa

§4 [x x x] 310 3 mye haḍai parau Signum-SU

Translation

§1 The spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 [To] pharṣa [Sāṃdara].

§3 When you hear the order, send your anara cooks here.

§4 On the 13th of [a certain month], the order (went out to you). Signum-SU

Commentary

§3 anaru: from anara-u, meaning unclear. The second plural enclitic -ū is expected here.

Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.97) reads ‘agaru’ and also leaves it untranslated.
Archive 3/1.29 (Hedin 11-a) Petition concerning canteen duty and irrigation work

This document is a petition made by Mulaka to spāta Sudārrjāṃ. In it, Mulaka, who has already been tasked with irrigation work, requests to be exempted from the canteen duty so that he can focus on the irrigation work.

Written below this petition is Archive 3/1.30 (Hedin 11-b), the order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to spāta Vīsa in response to Mulaka’s petition.

Text

§1 1(hiyaudhi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta haṣṭi yani

§2 [a ksā’ auvā bisai] 2mulaki

§3 hīye muhu ŋā va parstai vistāti

§4 u vaña buri […]3rya

§5 a mara ṣapāṇa kaṣṭūṃ

§6 būki āṃ ni byehī

§7 u khu ūtca [ni basta himi …]4te ŋā hīhina hambīḍi

§8 kari bāḍi auva ūtca ni ttrāmi

§9 jsāri […] nā rru]5sti himi

§10 vaña-ṃ va hīye parya ceṃdye khu ša’ ūtca basta himi

§11 khu […]

Translation

§1 I hereby make a petition to Lord tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ.

§2 I am Mulaka, [a resident of the Six Towns]

§3 O Lord, you deigned to place me for the river
§4 And till now ...

§5 I have fallen into canteen duty

§6 May I not get a shift.

§7 If the water [can not be held back], the river will be filled with mud,

§8 and surely, the water will not enter the town on time,

§9 and the grain cannot [grow …]

§10 Now, O Lord, please think for me so that the water can be held back,

§11 so that […].

Commentary

§2 [a ḱa’ auvā bisai] mulaki: ‘I (am) Mulaka, (a resident of the Six Towns).’ The right end of the document is damaged and an unknown number of akṣaras are missing. Bailey (KT IV, p.27) assumed that only two akṣaras are missing in the first line and supplied aysā in the lacuna. It is more likely, however, that more akṣaras are missing, since one would expect the petitioner to reveal himself with a title, such as a pharṣa sāṃdari ‘I (am) pharṣa Sāṃdara’ in Archive 3/1.24 §2 or aysā kṣā’ auvā bisai ysevidṭā ‘I (am) Ysevidṭa, a resident of the Six Towns’ in Archive 3/1.19 §2. Because Mulaka never bears an official title, kṣā’ auvā bisai ‘a resident of the Six Towns’ is restored.

§3 hiye: hiyaudi ‘lord’, V. s. The vocative is part of the opening formula of petitions. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula. Bailey (KT IV p.99) takes it as a genitive marker.


§6 byehī: byeh- ‘to obtain’, opt.1s.
§7 khu ūtca [ni basta himi]: ‘If the water is not held back’, restored according to §10: khu ṣa’ ūtca basta himi ‘so that the water can be held back’.

§7 hīhina: hīha- ‘mud, silt’, I.s., meaning inferred from context. Bailey (KT IV, p.101) translates is as ‘with a binding, dam, sluice’.


§10 ceṃdye: ciṃd- ‘to think’, inf., see SGS, p.34.

Archive 3/1.30 (Hedin 11-b) Order concerning irrigation work

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ, written below and in response to the previous petition (Archive 3/1.29). In it, spāta Sudārrjāṃ instructs spāta Vīsa to exempt Mulaka from his canteen duty and send people to the pond to do irrigation work, just as Mulaka has petitioned in Archive 3/1.29. Note that Mulaka went on Patrol 7 on 11/3 (Archive 3/4.7r) and Patrol 10 on 12/21 (Archive 3/4.10p), but not Patrol 8 on 11/20 (Archive 3/4.8r) and Patrol 9 on 12/4 (Archive 3/4.9p).

Text

§1 ¹@ spāta sudārrjum tta parī

§2 spāta vīsa vara

§3 mulakā ūna [... ] ²šapānā pārrva

§4 khu parau pva’ āṣimji vī hā hvaṃdi haysa

§5 khu ūtca ha[...]

§6 ³skarihveri 12 mye haḍai ttā parau tsue

§7 khu ūna hīhina ni ḫambīḍi Signum-SU
Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus

§2 To spāta Visa:

§3 Mulaka [...] the river [...] owes canteen duty.

§4 When you hear the order, send the men to the pond,

§5 so that the water [...] 

§6 On the 12th day of Skarihvārā (the 11th month), the order went out to you.

§7 so that the river is not filled with mud. Signum-SU

Commentary

§3 pārrva: ‘to be paid, owing’, not ‘transferred’ in Dict., p.233. This word is attested abundantly in Archive 1 and its meaning can be securely inferred from Hedin 49 line b2-b3: śe hvaḍye mūri pārrve 15 hvaḍ-e 3 ½ mūr-e 52 hau[ra] ‘One man should pay 15 mūrās. You have three men and a half man (a minor, an elder, or a disabled), (so) you have 52 mūrās (outstanding). Deliver!’.

See Bailey’s different transcription and translation in KT IV, p.45 and p.155.

Archive 3/1.31 (Or.11252/3r) Order concerning road work and grain

This document, whose left end is damaged, is an order concerning barley, millet, and road work issued to Suda from Pa’ and Sudatta. Its formulae and structure are markedly different from those in the orders from Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. This order can be divided into two parts. In part one (§1-§7, or the first three lines), Suda from Pa’ and Sudatta are instructed to deliver barley according to the number of men under them, including the commissioned. This part closes with a formula which is not found elsewhere. In part two (§8-§14, or the last three lines), it is recorded
that there was some road work to be done by the recipients. Incidentally, Suda from Pa’ is in three patrol rosters as doing road work. Additionally, the recipients are also instructed to load some millet for the Tibetans. As there is no closing formula or signum at the end of this part, the issuer of this order, we have to look for clues elsewhere.

Written on the back of this order is Archive 3/1.34, an order concerning wine issued by the Tibetan official blon Rmang bzher to spāta Vīsa and others on the 6th of Semjṣīja (the fourth month). Conceivably, spāta Vīsa wrote Archive 3/1.31 on the back of the order he received previously (Archive 3/1.34). In other words, spāta Vīsa is the issuer of Archive 3/1.31.

Text

§1 [spāta vīsa tta parī]
§2 pa’ sudi vara u sudatti vara
§3 umānī chaska bā2[…]
§4 [haṃ]dara stūra ājimyarā
§5 u śe hvaṃḍye chaski 2 saṃga
§6 paṣā a³[vaśāna …] hauḍa
§7 seṣījī 20 6 m(y)e haḍai parau tta parī
§8 4[…]
§9 3 paṃḍāta tsve himyi
§10 umānī va vārā paṃḍāta ṣṭārā
§11 vaṇau va ma⁵ µ[…]
§12 śī khaudi vā tsūva
§13 ttū āyaṃ sa drāśī’rav kuva tuṭāgutta nijsa⁶[ṣṭā yīndā]
§14 [...] b[u]t[t]amdaï suhade svarrnadī āskvī

Translation

§1 [Spāta Vīsa orders thus]

§2 To Sude from Pa’ and Sudatta.

§3 Your barley…

§4 Bring other draft animals.

§5 Each man (shall deliver) 2 samgas of barley.

§6 Both the commissioned and the non-commissioned, deliver …

§7 On the 26th of Semjśīja (the fourth month), he orders the order.

§8

§9 he has finished going to three roads

§10 You owe road (work).

§11 Now for you my …

§12 Go to this khaudi here.

§13 You should load this much millet so that the Tibetans can show you (the way?)

§14 […] Buttamdaï, Suhade, Svarrnade in Āskūra.

Commentary

§6 paśā a[vaśāna]: See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.

§6 sejsīji 20 6 mye haḥāi parau tta pari: ‘On the 26th of Semjśīja (the fourth month), he orders the order thus’. This is different from both the opening and the closing formula of other orders.

§10 paṃdāta: pande- ‘road’ pl., referring to the work of road maintenance. Suda, one of the recipients of this order, and was recorded to be working on the road in Patrol 15 on the 7th of the
third month (Archive 3/4.15r §3), in Patrol 18 on the 29th of the fourth month (Archive 3/4.18r §4) and in Patrol 21 in the sixth month (Archive 3/4.21r §4). Note that this order was issued only three days before the date of Patrol 18.

§12 ṣi khaudi: hapax, unclear.

§12 niṣṭa yīndā: niṣṭa- niṣṭa- ‘to show’, potential construction, 3pl., restored from context.

Archive 3/1.32 (Or.11344/3v-a) Order concerning road work

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ asks Sāṃdara to lead ten men to repair the road by putting reeds on it. The next document, Archive 3/1.33, is a similar order, in which Sudārrjāṃ instructs Sāṃdara to lead 20 men to do the same task.

After receiving this order, Sāṃdara glued it with Archive 3/1.42, an order he received from blon Rmang bzher, and wrote on the back of the orders (Or.11344/3r) six retrospective rosters, namely, Archive 3/4.19r, Archive 3/4.20r, Archive 3/4.21r, Archive 3/4.22r, Archive 3/4.23r, and Archive 3/4.24r. Note that Archive 3/4.24r is written on Or.11344/3v. For a discussion of the arrangement of these documents, see introduction of Archive 3/4.19r.

The right end of this document is damaged. Thanks to Archive 3/1.42, whose original line length can be established, the line length of this document can also be established accordingly. For more details, see introduction of Archive 3/1.42.

Text

§1 [+] spāta sudārrjum tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā vara
§3 vaña vā hvaṃḍā [x x] ²[x] ma āna tta ma hvaṃḍā si

§4 pe’ vī tta paṃḍā paskyāṣṭa muttūṃ himye

§5 u tī ṣi jsāṃ tta birgaṃḍarajāṃ [paṃḍāvā] ³bimḍā khūṇā ște

§6 śi’ că śā’ hirā štā cu āṃ hā hvaṃḍā haḍā kīrā jānīdā

§7 u paṃḍā āṃ būmanā [x x x]

§8 [khu] ⁴parau pva’ hvaṃḍā hā bāya 10

§9 var-e-ṃ kīrā parya khu burā nā dāśide

§10 bāra bāra hā gaysā ha[ysa]

§11 [khu tta ūtca] ⁵jsāṃ šaśajā jā vī kaṃṭhā hālai narāmaṃcā

§12 pātcā bāra bāra gaysā parya nāśāta

§13 ā [x x x x x x] ⁶būma hime

§14 khu tta hvāštāṇa stūra-pānā hatcyāre

§15 vaña thyau khu tī nā hūṇā sā nā pyuṣṭeṃ Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 Now the … men said this to me:

§4 “The road in Pa’ has become muttūṃ again.

§5 And there are holes on [the roads] of Birgaṃḍara.

§6 There are all kinds of things, because the men there are destroying the guardians’ work.

§7 And the ground of the road does not …”

§8 [When] you hear the order, lead ten men there.
§9 Order them (to do) your work there so that they do not cease (working).

§10 [Send] loads and loads of reed there.

§11 [so that the water] in the pond goes out towards the Fort.

§12 Then, order to put loads and loads of reed or …

§13 [so that] the ground becomes …

§14 so that the (Tibetan) Masters’ herdsmen of draft animals are replaced.

§15 Now (act) quickly so that you do not say: “I have not heard.” Signum-SU

Commentary

§4 pe’vī: ‘in Pa’(?), also attested in Archive 3/1.33 §10. Pe ’is the gen.-dat. of pa’.


§5 birgaṃdarajāṃ [paṃdāvā] bīṇḍā: ‘on [the roads] of Birgaṃdara’. Bīṃ is still visible. paṃdāvā is restored from context.

§6 haḍā: haḍaa- ‘guardian, protecter’, G.D. pl., not hadā- ‘day’.

§10 ha[ysa]: ‘send’, impv. 2s. The akṣara ‘ha’, though contaminated by the writings on the other side of the paper, is still visible. This form is attested again in Archive 3/1.33 §5, another order concerning road work.

§11 [ūtca]: ūtc-, ‘water’, N. f., restored according to narāmaṃcā, ‘to go out’, pres. part. f. N. and āṣaijā ‘pond’.

§11 āṣaijā jā: āṣṣimyā- ‘pond’, G. f. s. The second jā is a dittography. This pond must be phāṃjāṇā āṣaijāji ‘the pond of Phaṃnai’ mentioned in Archive 3/1.36 §11.

§11 narāmaṃcā: naram- ‘to issue, go out’, pres. part., N. f. This feminine participle must agree with a feminine noun in the lacuna, a noun also related to the pond. Hence ūtca ‘water’ is restored.

§12 bāra bāra gaysā parya nāśāta: ‘Order to put loads and loads of reed’, similar to baśa’baśa’ hā gaysā nāśarā ‘Place loads and loads of reed there’ in Archive 3/1.33 §8.


§14 hateyāre: hatey- ‘to be broken, to be replaced’, pres. mid. 3p., also attested as hatcasta in Archive 3/1.25 §8 and hatcaste in Archive 3/1.26 §9. For its meaning of ‘to be replaced’, see commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §8. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.108) reads: ‘hamāre’.

Archive 3/1.33 (Or.11344/12r) Order concerning road work and wine

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ asks Sāṃdara to send wine to Āskūra and take 20 men to repair the road leading to the pond. In §9, Sudārrjāṃ specifically instructs Sāṃdara to put a lot of reeds on the road. An almost identical instruction is found in Archive 3/1.32 §12.

Written on the back of this order is Archive 3/1.35, a letter from Sudārrjāṃ to Śvarabhadra. This order must have been written after the letter, because part of the name of the addressee of the letter is found written vertically in §10. The letter must have somehow come back to Sudārrjāṃ after it had been sent. Curiously, several Sogdian words were written in the right bottom corner, overlapping with the Khotanese writing and Sudārrjāṃ’s signum. Conceivably, a Sogdian who tried but failed to deliver Sudārrjāṃ’s letter to Śvarabhadra and may have left this note of delivery failure and brought the letter back to Sudārrjāṃ.
Text

§1 🅁@ spāta sudārrju(ṃ) tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā vara

§3 vaṇa vā śaṃ[…]ṛā kīṁtha āṃ naraṃdā

§4 daṅai dāthaḍai mara āskvīra bāḍa mau vā bara

§5 ha[…] 3śāṃ vā haysa

§6 u kīrārā jsāṃ vā tsūva āskvīra

§7 u ttī jsāṃ tta āśaįja vī pad[i …] 4hā ysai ysai hvaṃḍā bāya 20

§8 baṣa’ baṣa’ hā gaysā nāsara u gaysā ηe[yarā]

§9 [khu …] 5būma jastā himi

§10 khu d(au)la nā byehi u pe’ vī \$i{ī}i’rī/ pa’ jsā

§11 āṃ va aṣa vahṇ[de …]

§12 6 || āskūrī [ham]dastā ā 7ysāḍadattā

§13 hīśvā padi parya jaštī

§14 āskūryā hīṣa’ pyāhitta Sigum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 Now … in the Fort has gone out to us,

§4 Transfer it into the house, carry wine to us here in the land (of) Āskūra.

§5 Now send … to us.

§6 And (you) the workers must come to us in Āskūra.
§7 As for the road to the pond, lead 20 men there early in the morning (to work on it).

§8 Place loads and loads of reed there and put down the reed.

§9 so that … the ground can be cleaned.

§10 so that you do not get sticks and in Pa’ (the road remains) strong.

§11 The horses there are going down (= sinking into the muddy road?).

§12 Ysāḍadatta, hamdasta of Āskūra, came.

§13 Order to clean the road in the uneven places.

§14 (And order) those from Āskūra to strike the uneven places. Signum-SU

Commentary

§3 śaṃ[…]: Bailey (SDTV, p.36) restored śaṃ[ḍā] ‘earth’ here, without giving specific reasons.

§3 dañai: from daṃña-, damāna-, ‘house’, L.s., see Dict., p.152.

§3 dāthaḍai: ‘to transfer’, impv. 2s., also attested in Archive 3/1.39 §21, similar to bāysdai impv. 2s. in Archive 3/1.24 §7 and Archive 3/1.34 §6.

§7 pad[ḍi]: ‘road’, attested again in §13.

§8 näśarā: näś- ‘to place’, impv. 2pl., Dict., p.185. The subject of the verb is pharṣa Sāṃḍara and the 20 men led by him.

§8 ne[yaɾā]: OKhot. nišā’y- > ne’y-, ‘to place’, impv. 2pl. Bailey reads (SDTV, p.36): ‘be x’. Note that the hook is missing.

§9 jastā himi: gyeh, jeh-, ‘to cleanse, heal’, potential construction, attested again as jaṣṭi, inf. in §13.

§10 d(au)la: ‘stick’. Bailey (SDTV, p.36) reads: ‘sala’. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.113) emends the text as: ‘d(au)la’.

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§10 byehi: ‘to obtain’, pres. 2s., not pres. 3s. as Bailey (SDTV, p.37) and Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.113) take it.

§10 khu d(au)la nā byehi: ‘so that you do not get sticks’. This formula is also attested in SI P 103.14. (SDTV III, p.140) Similar penalty clauses are also found in Prakrit and Tumshuqese documents from Xinjiang. See, Hitch 1988.

§10 pe’ vī: ‘on strength (?)’. Bailey (SDTV, p.37) takes pe’ as from pā, ‘foot’ and translates it as ‘underfoot’. This rendering is morphologically implausible. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.113) reads pe’-v-ī and translates it as ‘his strength’, but this rendering does not fit the context very well. Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.32 §4.

§10 ś{i}’īrī: This word is written vertically between vī and pa. It must not be an insertion, since no insertion is written vertically. It is most likely part of the name of the addressee of the document on the back of this order, Archive 3/1.35, a letter to Āśi’ra Śvarabhadra. The rest of the name must have been lost in the lacunae. (Discovered by Skjærvø)

§11 vahan[de]: vahan-, ‘to descend’, pres. 3p.

§12 āskūrī [haṃ]dastā: ‘The hamdasta of Āskura has come.’ This sentence is an insertion above the last line.

§12 ysāḍadattā: Proper name. Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra is attested in Archive 3/3.10 with two other auva-hamdastas.


§14 pyāhaitta: pāhay- ‘to strike’, inf.
**Archive 3/1.34 (Or.11252/3v) Order concerning wine**

This document is an order issued by the Tibetan official *blon* Rmang bzher in Phema to *spāta* Vīsa and other Khotanese officials. Unfortunately, the right half of the document has not survived and about 10 *akṣaras* are missing in each line. From the extant part, though not entirely clear, we know that the Tibetan official is in urgent need of wine, and requires the recipients to respond by the next day. This urgency also suggests a high efficiency of communication between the Tibetans in Phema and the Khotanese in the Six Towns. For more on this, see introduction of Archive 3/1.2. Like other orders issued by the Tibetans, this order ends with a Tibetan phrase indicating the addressees.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.31 (Or.11252/3r), an order concerning road work and grain issued on 4/26, probably by *spāta* Vīsa.

**Text**

§1 ¹buluñā rmāmā śi’rā tta parī

§2 [spāta marši’ vara …]²na u spāta vīsa vara hamīda hārvāṃ va[ra……]

§3 [va]³ña mara ma phēma ysaūsā mau niṣtā

§4 vaña x x pa x [……]

§5 ⁴khu šau khūrā ni himāte ttī dva kūsa puña ma yaṃ [……]

§6 […] ⁵bāysdai khu ma ttiña māśta 7 mye haḍai hīś[t]ā -au [……]

§7 ⁶seṃjsīji 6 mye haḍai parau |

§8 (Tib.) spa : mar : dang [: spa : vi : sa : la : spo]

**Translation**

§1 *Blon* Rmang bzher orders thus:
§2 [To spāta Marṣa’, …], spāta Vīsa, (and) to all the officials …

§3 Now I do not have tasty wine here in Phema.

§4 Now, …

§5 If there is not one jar, those two kūsa … do some merit here (?) …

§6 … see to it so that it *comes here on the 7th of this month……

§7 On the 6th of Seṃsja (the fourth month) the order (went out to you).

§8 (Tib.) [Pass to] spāta Marṣa [and spāta Vīsa.]

Commentary

§1 bulūnā rmāmā-śi’rā: ‘Blon Rmang bzher’. This Tibetan official is attested multiple times in Archive 3, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§2 [spāta marṣi’ vara …]: ‘to spāta Marṣa’, restored from the Tibetan phase at the end of the document, see commentary on §8 below.

§2 na: Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.87) reconstructs: ‘[spāta suhe?]na’. This restoration is not in line with the opening formula of orders: ‘[A] vara u [B] vara’. The first vara can not be omitted. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§3 [vaḷa]: ‘now’. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.87) reads: ‘… 3u’. Compare it with Ṇa in the fourth line and u in the second line.

§3 phēma: Phema is the garrison where the Tibetan soldiers and officials were stationed. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (C).

§4 vaḷa x x pa x: The aḵaras after va are damaged. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.87) reads: ‘vaḷa-m śā mau paṣa’.

§5 khūra: ‘jar (of wine)’, inferred from context.
§5 puña ma yaṃ: ‘do some merit here’. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.87) reads ‘puñamayä’ and tentatively takes it as a proper noun, but it is not attested elsewhere in Archive 3. Here I follow Bai-ley’s reading in Dict. p.242, though he ignores the lacuna.

§6 bāysdai: ‘to observe, to see to (something so that it is done), to check’, impv. 2s., also attested in Archive 3/1.24 §7.


Archive 3/1.35 (Or.11344/12v) Letter to a monk concerning wine and barley

This document is a letter from spāta Sudārrjāṃ to Śvarabhadra concerning wine and barley. It is closed related to Archive 3/1.36, an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara also concerning wine and barley. It seems that both documents were issued in preparation of a visit of the Tibetan masters scheduled on the 10th of a certain month.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.33 (Or.11344/12r), an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara concerning road work and wine.

Text

§1 [x x x x x x] -ēśvarabhadrā sāṃdā haṃbujṣai hūṇūṃ
§2 spāta sudārṛjunḍ cu ttā bu[x x x x]rā vīrāṣṭā pīḍaka huadēṃ

§3 ttādī-yū parya pa’jsaude

§4 rrvī tta hāmai śṭā dvrrāku 3[x x x pa]rya hajsaude

§5 u ttī jsāṃ tta mau śṭā parya-tī pirštā khu nā bajarittā

§6 hvāśṭa ā[4] ṃ[x x x mā]štā 10 mye haḍai narāṃiṇdā

§7 paṃjsa ṣaṃga aṣparā na ma vā pu’śa Signum-SU

Translation

§1 [I,] embracing the earth of Śvarabhadra, speak:

§2 (I am) spāta Sudārrjāṃ. Because I have delivered a document to […]

§3 Please carry that out only for them.

§4 As for the barley belonging to the king, please gather …

§5 As for the wine, please store it away so that it is not spoiled.

§6 The (Tibetan) masters are going out on the 10th of … month.

§7 Do not ask again (about) the 5 ṣaṃgas of lucerne. Signum-SU

Commentary

§1 […] śvarabhadrā ṣaṃdā haṃbujsai hūṇūṃ: ‘[I,] embracing the earth of Śvarabhadra, speak:’. This is the opening formula of letters between officials and non-officials, which is also attested in SI P 94.5 (SDTV III, p.97).

§3 pa’jsaude: paljsem-, ‘to carry out, accomplish’, inf. See Dict. p.201.

§4 dvrrāku: reading uncertain and meaning unclear.
§5 **pirštä**: *prīh-, prīsta- ‘to cover, store away’, inf. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.114) takes this word as the infinitive of *pary-, parsta- ‘to order’. Bailey’s rendering (Dict., p.240) fits the context better.

§5 **khu nā bajaittä**: ‘so that it does not go bad.’ This adverbial clause of purpose is governed by the previous sentence. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.114) reads *khu na bajaittä*, and parses it differently. An almost identical sentence is attested in Archive 3/1.36 §9.

§6 **hvāṣṭa āṃ [x x mā]śta 10 mye haḍai narāmīṇḍā**: ‘The (Tibetan) masters are going out on the 10th of … month’. This sentence is used to emend Archive 3/1.36 §10: ‘[hvāṣṭa āṃ x x māístä] 10 mye haḍai narāmīṇḍā’.

§7 **na ma vā pu’sa**: ‘do not ask again (= a fortiori)’.

**Archive 3/1.36 (Or.11344/9) Order concerning wine, barley and sheep.**

This much-damaged document is an order from *spāta* Sudāṛjāṃ to *pharsha* Sāṃdara concerning wine, sheep, and barley flour. In it, Sudāṛjāṃ instructs Sāṃdara to make preparations for the Tibetans masters, who were scheduled to arrive on the 10th of a certain month (§10). This document is closely related to Archive 3/1.35, in which the same instruction and the schedule of the Tibetans are also mentioned.

**Text**

**Recto**

§1 || pharsha sāṃndari

**Verso**

§1 [@ spāta sudāṛjum tta] parī

§2 pharsha sāṃdarā vara
§3 cu vā pīḍakā hau[ḍāṃdā si]

§4 [x x x x x x] nā himi

§5 khu ttara ni byehi puṣa barā phēma hvaṃḍā spāśā

§6 3[x x x x x x]dā yuḍā yuḍāṃdā

§7 u vara āna jsāṃ vā pasi gēnā

§8 ttamḍī haḍā va'[x x x x x x x] hīś[ā] āśkvīra

§9 tta mau ṣṭi parya-t-ī pirštā khu ni bajaittā

§10 5[hvāṣṭa āṃ x x x māṣṭā] 10 mye haḍai narāṃmēndā

§11 u ṣe’ hirā bīsā phāṇājāṅṅā āṣaim[ā][ji ...]

§12 [...] hi’ysda ṣṭa viṣta

§13 vaṇa mara hvāṣṭām vaska hāṃ?[...hvaṃ][ā] nā īdā cu hāmai haurīdā

§14 vaṇa ttā hvaṃḍā paśateṃ dva

§15 8[...] kamṭhā vīrāṣṭā āṃ tta hira pajīṃdā

§16 9[......] ā . hā jaṃ hā Signum-SU

Translation

Recto

§1 To pharṣa Śaṃdara

Verso

§1 [Spāta Sudāṛjāṃ] orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Śaṃdara.

§3 Because [they] delivered a document to me, [saying:]

§4 “… does not become …”
§5 If you do not obtain (it) at your place, nor carry it all to Phema, nor inspect the men.

§6 They can do ...

§7 Then you should buy a sheep there.

§8 So much, however, … the uneven places (?) you come in Āskūra.

§9 As for the wine, order to store it away so that it is not spoiled.

§10 [The (Tibetan) masters] are going out on the 10th [of … month].

§11 And all the things … the pond of Phamnāi …

§12 Place (what is) present …

§13 Now, here for the Masters, they are … because they will deliver barley flour.

§14 Now, I have sent two men to you.

§15 […] they will request the thing (to be sent) to the fort.

§16 … Signum-SU

Commentary

§5 barä: barä- ‘to carry’, opt. 3s. Moreover, spāśā in §5 and genā in §7 are also in the optative.


§10 [hvāṣṭa āṃ x x māśtā] 10 mye haḍai narāṃīmdā: ‘[The (Tibetan) masters] are going out on the 10th [of … month]’, restored according to Archive 3/1.35 §7: ‘hvāṣṭa āṃ […] mā]štā 10 mye haḍai narāṃīmdā.’ Unfortunately, the month is not preserved in either place.

§11 hirä: ‘thing’. Yoshida (2006, p.100; 2008b, p.103) argues that hira- ‘thing’ is the general term for tax in Khotanese, while thaṃga- ‘tax’ refers to tax in money.

§12 śta: This aksara is damaged and the reading is uncertain. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.112) reads ‘-v-’.

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§14 hāmai: ‘barley flour’.

§16 ā. hājam hā: unclear.

Archive 3/1.37 (Hedin 8r) Missive concerning horse

This document is the lower part of a missive sent to the Six Towns. Because its top is missing, the sender’s name has not been preserved. The sender’s signum, resembling Chin. jùn俊, suggests that he is probably Zhào Jùn 趙俊, a Chinese scribe attested in Or.8212/702, a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document from Balawaste. For the facsimile and transcription of Or. 8212/702, see Sha and Wood 2005, v.1, p.184.

In the missive, the sender suggests the recipients and the residents of the Six Towns buy a horse for the patrolmen. The recipients, therefore, would be officials from the Six Towns, such as spāta Sudārrjāṃ and others.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/5.13, a list of men with various tasks, all of whom are attested multiple times in Archive 3.

Text

§0 […] … pu’sūṃ]

§1 1vañā tta sam barīja va śirā ādarā yanīrau khu bāḍ[ā]na [haṃ]2dāḍā yaṃda

§2 u ttarau spaṣarāṃ aṣi ye

§3 vañai ści mu3ḍā

§4 ttū aṣi paḍāṃda hamīda gyidā

§5 vañai pätcā hamīda 4kṣvau auyau jsi gynīrau

§6 ttuṃjerā 17 mye haḍai pȳḍakā Signum-JUN
Translation

§0 ‘[I, …, greets …]’

§1 Now, you should take good care of the crop so that you can reap it in its time.

§2 And Your patrolmen had a horse there.

§3 It is dead now.

§4 He (?) jointly bought that horse before.

§5 Now you should buy it again jointly with the residents in the Six Towns.

§6 On the 17th of Ttumjārā (the seventh month), this document (went out to you). Signum-JUN

Commentary

§0 [... ... pu’sūṃ]: ‘[I, ..., greet …]’, restored according to the formula of missives: [A] [B]
pu’sūṃ, ‘I, [A], greet [B]’. Pu’sūṃ is attested in Archive 3/1.40 §1. Complete formulae are attested in SI P 103.35 and SI P 136.1r. (SDTV III, p.149 and p.160)

§2 ttarau: from ttara-ū. Ttara, ‘there with you’, is the medial or second person spatial deictis, contrasted with mara, ‘here with me’, and vara, ‘there with them’. Not recognized as such by Bailey (KT IV, p.92), but by Skjærvø (personal communication).

§4 gyidä: gän- ‘to buy’, pres. 3s. Bailey reads gyedā (KT IV, p.26) and takes it (KT IV, pp.93-93) as a defective spelling for pres. 2p., but recognizes this form as pres. 3s. in Dict. p.83. Because of padānda ‘formerly’, a perfect is expected here, either girye pf. 3s, or even giryānda pf. 2p. Could it be a scribal error?

§6 pīḍakā: ‘document’. This term indicates that the sender and the recipients were of equal or comparable social status. Otherwise, parau ‘order’ or haṣda ‘petition’ would be used.

§6 Signum-JUN: The signum resembles the Chinese Character jùn 俊. Yoshida (2004, p.31) notices that this signum is also attested at the end of IOL Tib N 2220, a fragmentary wooden tally from Balawaste obtained by Stein during his 3rd Expedition (Catalogue, p.574), and links it with Zhào Jùn 趙俊, the name of a scribe (Diàn 典) in Or.8212/702 (Balawaste 0160, see Maspéro 1953, p.186), a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document also from Balawaste. By the way, the Khotanese text in Or.8212/702 has not been published yet. The attestations of the same Signum both in Archive 3 and documents from Balawaste lend strong support to the identification of Bir-gaṃdara with the site of Balawaste.

Archive 3/1.38 (Or.11344/5) Order concerning horses

This document is an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. Because the right half of the document is missing, it can only be partially understood. In it, Sudārrjāṃ first quotes a document (pīḍaka) from spāta Budarma, in which Budarma is asked to buy a horse. Note that this document from spāta Budarma is different from Archive 3/1.37, in which the sender asks the recipients to buy a horse jointly.

Next, the price of the horse is converted into 15.1 kūsas of sesame according to the price of sesame at [2]50 mūrās per kūsa. The hundreds digit in the price of sesame is missing and is restored according to the price of horse recorded in a Chinese document from Mazar Tagh, Or. 8212/1551 (M.Tagh.0117), in which the prices of three different horses are listed as 4000, 3000, and 2800 coins respectively. For a detailed study of this document, see Arakawa 1994. Its fac-
simile and transcription can be found in Sha and Wood 2005, v.2, p.213. 15.1 kūsa of sesame at 250 mūrās per kūsa for a horse is equivalent of 3775 mūrās, right in the price range recorded in Or.8212/1551. Also comparable are the price of a donkey at 4000 mūrās in 781 (S.5864, see Stein 1907, p.526), and the price of a camel at 14000 mūrās also in 781 (Дх.18926 + SI P. 93.22 + Дх. 18928, see Kumamoto 2001, p.3, and Zhang and Rong 2002, p.232). This part on conversion is probably included in the quote of the document from spāta Budarma.

Sudārrjāṃ then goes on to ask Sāṃdara to do something upon receiving the order so that no interest would arise and no pack animals would be further collected. Sudārrjāṃ also mentions spāta Sudarma’s debt acknowledgement. It seems that spāta Sudarma needs to buy a horse but lacks the funds, so he is taking a loan from Sudārrjāṃ. What Sudārrjāṃ actually instructs Sāṃdara to do is missing, but, according to the context, he must have asked Sāṃdara to deliver the sesame as a loan for Sudarma to buy the horse. Finally, Sudārrjāṃ closes the order with the dating formula and his signum.

Text

§1 ¹@ spāta sudārrju tta parī

§2 pha[rṣa sāṃdari vara]

§3 [vaña vā] ²spāta budarmā piḍakā hauḍe se

§4 aśūṃ ma pastādā gārye

§5 h[ā…]

§6 […]³na hi’yṣda ya

§7 u tcahaura-ṃ ma jārma himya

§8 ttyāṃ va ma kāṃjsa […… dvāse paṃ]⁴jśāṣi ūṣaṃgā
§9 u kāṃjasa himye pāmjsūsi kusa šau šaṃgā

§10 […]

§11 5paṃñe āṃ naḍā nva kāṃjasa pastā kṣasi šaṃga

§12 khu parau pva’ ttū [kāṃjasa vā x x x thyau hajse’ma]

§13 6khu vā spāta budarmā pāra-vaysdā ājāme

§14 khu ma hi’ysda […]

§15 [ku] 7ysamthi ni hime

§16 u khu jsāṃ stūrāṃ hvaiyā ni pajīdā nū[varā]

§17 [x x x x mye hadai ttā] 8parau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 [To] pharṣa [Sāṃdara]

§3 Now, spāta Budarma has delivered to me a document, saying:

§4 “They ordered me to buy a horse here.

§5 To them …

§6 […] were present.

§7 And four of them here were excellent.

§8 For these, [they collected] sesame (at the price of) [2]50 [mūrās per] šamga.

§9 And the sesame amounted to 15 kūsas 1 šamga.

§10 […]

§11 He demanded 16 šamgas of sesame from every man.”

§12 When you hear the order, [quickly … send] this [sesame to me.]
§13 so that you bring me Spāta Budarma’s debt acknowledgement.

§14 so that [the horse is] present here.

§15 so that there is no interest.

§16 and so that they do not demand to bring possessions of draft animals.

§17 [On … day of … month], the order went out [to you]. Signum-SU

Commentary

§3 [vaña vā]: ‘[now, to me]’, restored according to the standard formula of orders. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula. Together with the restoration of §2: ‘pha[rṣa sāṃdari vara]’, the number of missing aksaras of each line can be established.

§3 pīdakā: ‘document’, also attested in Archive 3/1.37 §6, referring to communications between officials on the same level. As mentioned above, the content of the document mentioned here resembles that of Archive 3/1.37, which is also about the purchase of a horse.

§8 [dvāse paṃjjsāsi șaṃgā: ‘(at the price of) [2]50 [mūrūs per] șaṃga’, analogous to tca’hause paṃjjsāsī catal ‘(at the price of) 450 mūrūs per foot’ in Archive 3/3.4 §8. The hundreds digit is restored according to the price of horse. See introduction of this document.

§11 paṃñe ām nađā nva kāṃjsā pastā kṣasi șaṃga: ‘He demanded 16 șaṃgas of sesame from every man.’ Consequently, there must be nine and a half men under Sāṃdara who should deliver sesame. (151 ÷ 16 = 9.4375 ≈ 9.5) For a ‘half’ man, see hālaa- in Studies III, p.169-173.

§12 ttū [kāṃjsa vā x x thyau hajse’ma]: ‘[quickly … send the sesame to me]’, restored from the context. See introduction of this document. Thyau hajse’ma is restored according to Archive 3/1.45 §5: ‘māñe vā paskyāṣṭa thyau hajse’ma’.

§13 ājāme: ājum- ‘to bring’, pres. 2s.

§16 nū[varā]: nūvar- ‘to bring, take away’, inf.

Archive 3/1.39 (Or.11252/4r) Order concerning draft animals and grain for silkworm raisers

This document is an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjāṃ first quotes an order from his superiors, asking him to provide pack animals for the silkworm raisers. As Sudārrjāṃ just began to collect pack animals earlier that day and thought he may be unable to provide these draft animals as quickly as demanded, he made a petition asking for an extension. The superior official, however, denied Sudārrjāṃ’s request and demanded that the pack animals be sent to the Fort before the gates of the Fort are opened early next morning, otherwise severe punishment will fall on the workers. Sudārrjāṃ then orders Sāṃdara to quickly send the draft animals so that they may arrive at the Fort before dawn. He also tells Sāṃdara that the silkworm raisers have sent a document saying that they are starving, and instructs Sāṃdara to immediately send him all the grain. If there is no one on duty, Sudārrjāṃ asks Sāṃdara to return the money of collateral and get his men back on duty to send the grain.

Archive 3/5.17 and Archive 3/5.20 are written from opposite ends on the back of this order. Archive 3/5.17 is a list of pack animal providers, and Archive 3/5.20 is a list of men to be served. It is highly likely that the draft animals mentioned in Archive 3/5.17 are provided for the silkworm raisers, as demanded in §4 in this order, and the men listed in Archive 3/5.20 are the worm rais-
ers themselves, mentioned in §4 and §15 in this order. The grain for is the silkworm raisers is mentioned in Archive 3/6.2.

Text

1 śpāta sudāṛṛjuṃ tta parī {pha}

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarā vara

§3 vaṇa ā[m] ma pa[rau ā si]

§4 stūra pajiḍā pira-vārāṃ va

§5 āṣṭaṃḍādem saṃ īṃ mara kīṃtha paji

§6 tti āḥ haṣḍā yuḍem si

§7 ma[ra x x x īṃdā]

§8 tti tta parsti si

§9 khu maṃ kaṃthi vara pahājīdā u ni ma hīsīṃde

§10 kīraṇā biśā dau[la pa’jsa byehīdā]

§11 [vaṇa] ttā ysāḍadattā tsve

§12 stūrai va āḥ thyau sameva u šau-t-ī jsāṃ hā hvaṃḍā viṣṭa

§13 kheṃ ⁵[x x x x x]-īṃ dā

§14 khu ma abyūṣṭā vīra kaṃṭhā hīsīṃdā

§15 pira-vārā va ṭiḍakā hauḍāṃdā se

§16 ⁶[x x x x x]dūṃ haṃjsyārau hvaṃḍā māṛāṃ kṣūṇa

§17 cvai tta jsārā ī cūḍai āṃ puṣa ni hajseṃā

§18 hvaṣṭ-e va ⁷[x x haṃ]bā’ki yanāre

§19 khu parau pva’ cv-e ra tta jsārā ī thyau thyau-t-ī parya dārstā
§20 khu tta hve nāī biśai draṃmai naśkāra

§21 §[khu tta] jsārā dāṭhaḍai biśā cāra paphve hime Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudāṛjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To pharṣa Sāṃdara.

§3 Now, an order [has come] to me, (saying):

§4 “They are asking for draft-animals for the silkworm raisers.”

§5 Only today did I begin to collect it here in the Fort.

§6 Then I made a petition to them, saying that:

§7 “Here …”

§8 Then he ordered that:

§9 “If they open the gates of the Fort here and (the pack animals) do not come here,

§10 all the workers will [get heavy] sticks.

§11 [Now] Ysāḍadatta has gone to you.

§12 Quickly assign draft animals to them for him, and place one of his men to them.

§13 so that … them …

§14 so that they come here to the Fort upon dawn.

§15 The silkworm raisers delivered a document to me, (saying) that:

§16 “We have … Your men are about to die of hunger.”

§17 Why don’t you send all the grain you have?

§18 The Masters fear … for you.”

§19 When you hear the order, however much grain you may have, order to load it immediately.

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§20 If there is no man (to use), withdraw all his money (of the collateral).

§21 [so that] you will transfer the grain [at your place] and all can be collected in Cira. Signum-SU

Commentary

§3 vaña ā[ṃ] ma pa[rau ā si]: ‘Now, an order [has come] to me, [saying that:]’, restored according to the standard formula of orders. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.


§5 āṣṭaṁdaṃ: āṣṭan- ‘to be about to’ pf. 1s. + inf. or pres.part.

§5 paįi: from paįiy- ‘to ask for, to collect (tax)’, inf.


§9 pahājīdā: prahājl- ‘to open’, pres. 3pl. ‘Opening the gates’ seems to refer to the opening of the gates of the Fort every early morning. This is why Sudārrjāṃ is asking Sāṃdara to make sure that the men arrive at the Fort at dawn or even before dawn.

§10 dau[la pa’jsa byehīdā]: ‘they will [get heavy] sticks’, restored from context. Compare pa’jsa daula in Archive 3/1.3 §9 and pa’jśā ārrā byehā in Archive 3/1.1 §6 (K).

§12 u šau-tī jsāṃ hā hvaṃdā viṣṭa: ‘and place one of his men to them.’ Here Sudārrjāṃ instructs Sāṃdara to dispatch one man to drive the required draft animals to the Fort.


§16 haṃjṣyārau: from haṃjṣyāre-ū. haṃjṣaṣ- ‘to intend, be about to’ + inf. or + part. pres.

§16 mārāṃ: mar- ‘to die’, pres. part.
§16 kṣūna: kṣū ‘hunger’.

§18 [haṃ]bā’ki yanāre: hambālke yan- ‘to fear’


§20 draṃmā: ‘money (of collateral)’. Its adjective form draṃmāja- is attested multiple times in Or.9268a (Catalogue, p.67) and other newly-discovered documents. Duan Qing (2014b), argues that this word actually means ‘pledge, collateral’.

§20 naṣkāra: naṣkār- ‘to draw out, to withdraw’, impv. 2s. It seems that the men under Sāṃdara may put some money as collateral for leave of duty. If all men have done so, and there is no one on duty, spāta Sudārrjāṃ instructs Sāṃdara to return the money of collateral and get his men back on duty to transfer the grain.

§21 [khu tta]: ‘[so that there (your place)]’, restored from context.

§21 dāthaḍāi: ‘to transfer’, form uncertain, also attested in Archive 3/1.33 §4.

Archive 3/1.40 (Or.11252/11v) Missive concerning draft animals

This document is a missive in which the sender asks the recipient to deliver draft animals. Unfortunately, the names of the sender and the recipient have not been preserved. The signum at the end of the missive is not seen in any other document in Archive 3, so the sender must be someone unfamiliar to us, probably an official from Phema. The recipient, on the other hand, is most likely spāta Sudārrjāṃ, since Archive 3/1.45 (Or.11252/11r), an order issued by him concerning a fugitive, is written on the back of this missive.

Text
§1 [...] pu’sūṃ

§2 spāta śirīdatti ttā stūrā va parau buḍi

§3 10 5 stūra pajīdi

§4 [...] kā 1 si vidyadatti 1

§5 saū jśā hā thu haura u chaski hā drrāśīrau

§6 drrai stū[ra ...]

§7 [...] stūra haṃdara śtāka Signum-X

Translation

§1 [I, ....] greet [...] 

§2 Spāta Śirīdatta brought you an order concerning draft animals.

§3 They are asking for 15 draft animals.

§4 ...ka (shall deliver) one, Si Vidyadatta (shall deliver) one.

§5 Give one (pack animal) to him yourself and load barley on it.

§6 Three draft animals ...

§7 Other draft animals are needed. Signum-X

Commentary

§1 pu’sūṃ: puls-, ‘to ask, to greet’, pres. 1s. This is the last word of the opening formula of missives: [A] [B] pu’sūṃ, ‘I, [A], greet [B]’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.37 §0.

§2 spāta śirīdatti: Proper name. Since this name is not attested elsewhere in Archive 3, spāta Śirīdatta was probably from somewhere other than the Six Towns, such as Phema, whence several orders in Archive 3, including Archive 3/1.34 and Archive 3/1.42, were issued to officials in
the Six Towns. If so, the recipient of this missive would be spāta Sudārrjāṃ, who is also the issuer of the order written on the back of this missive.

§3 pajīḍī: ‘to ask for, to collect (tax, including money, cloth, draft-animals, corvée work, etc.)’ It must be the Tibetans in Phema who were asking for the draft animals.

§5 draśīrau: ‘to load’, impv. 2pl. Compare the previous verb haura, ‘to give’, impv, 2s., and note the difference in number.

§7 Signum-X: Attested only here in all the archives.

Archive 3/1.41 (Hedin 21) Order concerning equipment

This document is an order from the King of Khotan Viśa’ Vāhaṃ to the stānaḍas and the commoners in the Six Towns concerning equipments and weapons. Particularly noteworthy is the king’s large signum at the end of the document. Yoshida (2006, p.31) first recognized this signum as a cursive form of Chin. yào 昭, none other than Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s Chinese name. This document also played a pivotal role in anchoring the relative chronology of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s regnal years to the absolute chronology. Zhang and Rong (1997, pp.346) identified the intercalary fourth month of the 32nd regnal year in this document with the intercalary fourth month of 798 CE in the Chinese text of Archive 3/1.1, thus establishing Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s 32nd regnal year as 798 CE. See introduction to Archive 3/1.1 and appendix.

The right end of the document is slightly damaged. Only up to four akṣaras are missing at the end of each line. Bailey’s restorations (KT IV, p.34) are often at odds with the limited room of the lacunae.
In the order, the king gives instructions to the recipients concerning weapons and equipment. He advises the recipients to take care of bows, arrows, spears, and shields, and to ask the Tibetans what kind of breastplates are needed. As for the armors, he says he has sent a letter to the Tibetans, but has not received any reply yet. The king also advises the recipients to go to Phema to make petitions there themselves.

Text

Recto

§1 ṃiṣḍi ḡyastā tta parī

§2 cira kṣvā auvā stānaḍām vara u hamī[da] pa[ˈki]2sanāṁ vara

§3 cu vā haṣḍi yuḍāṃda si

§4 ph|māṣṭau āṁ āyśīrām śaṇtaṇa pariśkhāri pa[sa]

§5 ṃvāśa’nai pastiṇ pyūṣṭe

§6 cu duna pīṇa hu’stä be’sa ttyāṁ va ādarā yanīrau cvaṁ hā [x x x]4da

§7 cu āyśīra ttyāṁ kiṇau va hā ttāguttau pīḍakā pastem hauḍe si

§8 dikhautta ṣṭāri

§9 na [ra] 5yanīmdā

§10 u baṅgāmāṁ kiṇa hā aurāśīrau si cirāma śtāka

§11 se’ śiṁ[ʃiṁʃs] 620 8 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve dvāradirṣamye kṣūṇā

§12 umi hā pātcā phṃmāṣṭa hamayi tsuṅ[a stā]

§13 ʰbiśa tta haṣḍi yanīrau Signum-VH

Verso

§1 [par]āśākhārā hīvī pīḍaki

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Translation

Recto

§1 The Gracious Lord orders thus.

§2 To the superior teachers in Cira-Six Town (Prefecture) and all the commoners.

§3 Since you made a petition to me, (saying) that:

§4 “[Send] armors and other equipments to Phema.”

§5 I deigned to listen to its reading.

§6 As for the bows, arrows, spears, (and) shields, you should take care of them because …

§7 As for the armors, I deigned to send them (= the Tibetans) a document on behalf of you in Ti-

betan regarding them (= the armors), (saying):

§8 “They (= the residents of the Six Towns) are miserable.”

§9 They (= the Tibetans) have not done (anything) yet.

§10 As for the breastplates, you should inform them (= the Tibetans) what kind are needed.

§11 The order went out to you on the 28th of the second (= intercalary) Siṃjsījsa (the fourth

month) of the 32nd regnal year.

§12 You should then go to Phema yourselves.

§13 All of you should make petitions. Signum-VH

Verso

§1 Document of equipment

Commentary
§2 cira kṣvā auvā: ‘Cira-Six Town (Prefecture)’. For the name of the prefecture, see commentary on piškala in Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§2 stānaḍāṃ: ‘superior teacher’, an honorific referring to monks. For more on this word, see commentary on stānaḍa in Archive 3/1.21 §6.

§2 pal’ki|sanāṃ: ‘commoners, ordinary people’, from Chin. baixing 百姓. This restoration established that the lacuna after pa is only one akṣara long.

§2 cira kṣvā auvā stānaḍāṃ vara u hamī[ḍa|] pa[’ki|sanāṃ vara: ‘To the superior teachers in Cira-Six Town (Prefecture) and all the commoners’, or ‘to the monks and all the laymen in Cira-Six Town Prefecture’, simply meaning ‘everyone in the prefecture.’.

§3 haṣḍi yuḍāṃda: haṣḍi yan- ‘to make a petition’ The subject of the verb is the stānaḍas and the residents in the Six Towns. In other words, this order was responding to a petition concerning equipments that the stānaḍas had made to the King of Khotan on behalf of all the residents of the Six Towns. The stānaḍas must be in charge of military affairs.

§4 phimāṣṭau: from phimāṣṭa-ū, ‘to Phema, for you’. Bailey (KT IV, p.34) reads: ‘phemāṣṭau’. Phema refers to the fort where the garrison was located. See commentary on phemāṇa kīṁtha in Archive 3/1.1 §6.

§4 pa[ṣa]: impv. 2s. Although this could be a direct quote from the stānaḍas’ petition to the king, it is highly unlikely that the stānaḍas actually used the second person singular imperative to address the king. Perhaps the king was paraphrasing, just as he did in §8.

§5 vāśa’nai: ‘recitation, reading’. According to the restoration of pal’ki|sanām in §2 at the end of line 1, only one akṣara is missing at the end of line 2. Bailey’s restoration (KT IV, p. 34), ‘pa<ṣa nāma-> vāśa’nai ’ is too long and therefore unacceptable.
§5 vāṣa’nai pastiṇ pyūṣe: ‘I deigned to listen to its reading.’ In other words, the king had the stāṇḍās’ petition read aloud for him.

§6 cvaṃ hā [x x x]da: Bailey (KT IV, p.126) reconstructs the whole sentence as cvaṃ hā śtāka īda ‘because they are necessary for them’. Judging from the length of the lacuna, this restoration is possible, but the expected verbal form is īdi or īdā. Here, -da indicates a verb in the second person plural, past tense, such as yuḍāmda in §3.

§7 ttyāṃ kiṇau: from ttyāṃ kiṇa-ū ‘concerning them (= the armors), for you’.

§7 ttāguttau: ‘In the Tibetan language’. See KT IV, p.126. The fact that the King of Khotan wrote a document in Tibetan shows that: 1) the document was sent to Tibetans; 2) the king was able to communicate in Tibetan, either by himself or, more likely, via a scribe versed in Tibetan; 3) when this order was drafted in 798 CE, Khotan was already under control of the Tibetans. Yoshida 2006, p.30.

§8 dikhaustta: ‘miserable’.

§9 na [ra] yanīmdā: “They (= the Tibetans) have not done (anything) yet.” Restored by analogy with Archive 3/3.3 §7: kṣau na ra byaidi ‘but the voucher has not been obtained’. This sentence is outside the quote of the document that the king sent to the Tibetans.

§10 aurāśīrau: aurās-, ‘to inform’, opt. 2pl.

§11 se’ sin[ʃʃ][ʃʃ][ʃʃ]: ‘the second (= intercalary) Siṃjśīsa (the fourth month)’, corresponding to Chin. rūn siyuè 閏四月 in Archive 3/1.1 (C) §7. Siṃ, the last preserved akṣara in line 5, is the key to the anchoring of Viṣa’ Vāha’s regnal years onto an absolute chronology.

§12 umi: ‘you’, G.-D. pl., governed by the participle of necessity tsuṇa.
Archive 3/1.42 (Or.11344/3v-b) Order concerning the drum

This document is an order from the Tibetan officer blon Rmang bzher to someone in the Six Towns, most likely spāta Vidyadatta and pharṣa Sāṃdara. The right end of this document is slightly damaged. Fortunately, by the aid of Archive 3/4.20r, a patrol roster written on the back this order, the original line length of the document can be established, and all missing akṣaras can be restored accordingly. In this order, blon Rmang bzher asks spāta Vidyadatta and pharṣa Sāṃdara to comply with the orders concerning the drum and to deliver the required tax in kind. Like other orders from blon Rmang bzher, there is a short Tibetan phrase appended at the end, indicating the addressee and the destination of the order.

Having received this order, pharṣa Sāṃdara glued it to Archive 3/1.32, also an order to Sāṃdara, and wrote on the back of them a series of retrospective patrol rosters (Or.11344/3r = Archive 3/4.19r + Archive 3/4.20r + Archive 3/4.21r + Archive 3/4.21d + Archive 3/4.22r + Archive 3/4.23r). As it turned out, the entire page of Or.11344/3r was not enough. Sāṃdara had to turn over the page again and wrote on Or.11344/3v the last roster, Archive 3/4.24r (Or.11344/3v-c). Also see the introduction of Archive 3/4.19r.

Text

§1 1thai[ṣ]ī bulāni rmāṃi śī’rā tta parī
§2 kṣvā auvā [sp]ā[ta vidyada]2ttā vara u salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari vara u kīrara vara
§3 mara kīthā kūṣ[i] pa[sti pa]3ttiyyi
§4 umānī tī sī dyāña cī ra kūsi pasti
§5 pharṣa vida kūsi pattīye vā hirā haurāṇi caṃda pajīde
§6 30 3 kṣuṇi braṃkhaysji kṣemye haḍai ttā parau tsve

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§7 (Tib.) ༥x x rin : bir : ga : ’dru : ba : la : bkab …

Translation

§1 The Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang bzher orders thus:

§2 To [spāta Vidyada]tta in the Six Towns, the Year-leader pharṣa Sāṃdara, and the workers.

§3 He ordered to beat drum here in the Fort.

§4 You should consider it suitable for you when he ordered pharṣa Vida to beat the drum and you to let go the drum.

§5 You should deliver the tax to me as much as they ask for.

§6 On the 6th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month) in the 33rd regnal year, the order went out to you.

§7 (Tib.) … Birgaṃdara …

Commentary

§1 thai[ṣ]ī bulāni rmāṃi śi’rā: ‘The Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang bzher’, the Tibetan military officer residing in the Fort in Phema. For more on him, see Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§2 kṣvā auvā [sp]ā[ta vidyada]ttā vara: ‘To [spāta Vidyada]tta in the Six Towns’. As part of the opening formula of the order, this phrase gives the first recipient of the order, an official from the Six Towns on the prefecture level. This official could be spāta Vidyadatta, who, together with pharṣa Sāṃdara, was the recipient of an order from spāta Sudārrjāṃ in Archive 3/1.3. The number of aksaras also matches the length of the lacuna, see commentary on kū[si] in §4.

§2 salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari: ‘the Year-leader pharṣa Sāṃdara’. As Sāṃdara often received orders from spāta Sudārrjāṃ, the prefect of the prefecture, he must be an official on the township level. Here, Sāṃdara was the recipient of an order issued to the prefecture, because he was on
duty to serve as the ‘Year-leader’ of the 33rd regnal year. For more on salya-bāyaa-, see commentary on Archive 3/1.16 §2.

§3 mara kītha: ‘here in the fort’. Kītha, from kanthā- ‘city refers to Phema, a fort or a fortified garrison where the Tibetan officer blon Rmang bzher resided. See commentary on phemāña kīṃtha in Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§3 kū[si] pa[sti pa]ttīyi: ‘he ordered to beat the drums’, restored according to kūsi pasti pharṣa vida kūsi pattīyi in §5. The drum was beaten to signal warnings of possible attacks. More on the drums, see commentary on Archive 3/1.3 §11. On the length of the lacuna, see commentary on kū[si] in §4.

§4 sī: ‘suitable’, from sāj-, sīta-/sīya-/sī, ‘to learn’. Its secondary meaning of ‘to fit, suit’ is widely attested in other Iranian languages, including NP sāxtan, sāz-, Sogd. s’ē-, and so forth. See Dict., p.423.

§4 cī ra kūsi pasti pharṣa vida kūsi pattīyi: ‘When he ordered pharṣa Vida to beat the drum’.

The first kūsi is redundant.

§4 kū[si]: ‘the drum’. In order to fully reconstruct the lacunae in a document, one needs to first establish the original line length. It seems that the right end of the paper is fully preserved in line 5, as demonstrated by Archive 3/4.20r, a patrol roster written on back of the this order, where no akṣara is missing at the end of its line 3, corresponding to line 5 here. The original line length can thus be established. Consequently, it becomes evident that there is only one akṣara missing after kū in line 3, and it must be sī to give kūsi, ‘the drum’.

§4 paši: paš-, ‘to let go, release, send’, inf. see above

§6 30 3 kṣuṇi: ‘the 33rd regnal year’, or year 799 CE, when pharṣa sāmdari was the Year-leader.

Archive 3/1.43 (Or.11252/37v) Order concerning wheat-sowing

This document is a short order to Sudārrjāṃ. The Tibetan phrase at its end shows that it was issued by a Tibetan, most likely blon Rmang bzher, the issuer of another two orders in Archive 3, namely, Archive 3/1.34 and Archive 3/1.42. Since the left part of the document is missing, its content is not perfectly understood. In the order, the Tibetan official asks Sudārrjāṃ to send Kharrjāṃ, a ‘good wheat-sower’, to sow wheat for somebody, perhaps Yauvarāya, the crown prince of Khotan. The document was issued on the 26th of Kaja (the second month), a date corresponding to late March early April, right in the season of wheat-sowing.

On the 1st of the seventh month, about four months after receiving this order, Sudārrjāṃ used the blank space on the back of this document to write Archive 3/1.20, an order to pharṣa Sāṃdara.

Text

§1 ¹[@ thaiṣī bulāṇi rmāṃi śi’]ri tta parī

§2 spāta sudā²[rrjāṃ vara]

§3 […] kharrjāṃ śapāṇa śera ganama-kerai ṣṭi

§4 yau³[varāyāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paṣa]

§5 kaji 20 6 mye haḍai parau
§6 (Tib.) spa : sor : zhong : la : spo

Translation

§1 [The Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang bzher] orders thus.

§2 To spāta Sudārrjāṃ.

§3 ... Kharrjāṃ on canteen duty is a good wheat-sower.

§4 [Send Kharrjāṃ to the Young King.]

§5 On the 26th of Kaja (the second month), the order (went out).

§6 (Tib.) Pass to spāta Sudārrjāṃ.

Commentary

§1 [@ thaiṣī bulāni rmāmi śi’]rā tta parī: ‘[The Commissioner-in-chief blon Rmang bzher] orders thus’, restored according to Archive 3/1.42 §1: ‘thai[š]ī bulāni rmāmi śi’rā tta parī’. This restoration also establishes the original line length of the document, thus providing clues for further restorations. Skjærvø’s restoration ‘[@ spāta ṣan]rā’ (Catalogue, p.103) is unlikely, because the Tibetan phrase at the end requires a Tibetan issuer. For more on blon Rmang bzher, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§3 kharrjāṃ: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/4.6p §2, Archive 3/4.6r §2, and Archive 3/5.12 §10.

§3 śera: ‘good’. The expected form is sārā. Perhaps the scribe had in mind śera ganama.

§4 yau[varāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paṣa]: ‘[Send Kharrjāṃ to the Young King]’. Not many words start with yau-, so one is not left with many options when it comes to restoration. Skjærvø reconstructs ‘yau[dar- ? ....]’ (Catalogue, p.103) My restoration, however, is based on the following: 1) Kharrjāṃ is attested in Archive 3/5.13 §10 as belonging to yauvarāya, ‘the Young King’;
2) three ‘wheat-sowers’ are attested in Archive 3/5.20 §5 as belonging to the Young King; 3) an order must end with an imperative; 4) there must be eight akṣaras in the lacuna, as established by the restoration of §1. For more on yauvarāya, see commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §7.

§5 kaji: ‘In the month of Kaja’. Skjærvø reads -ja and gives all month names that end in -ja: Rrāhaja, Cvātaja and Kaja in the notes. Actually, ka is still partially visible in the document, and a date near the end of Kaja (the second month), late March to early April, also fits the context of wheat-sowing.

§6 (Tib.) spa : sor : zhong : la : spo: “Pass to spāta Sudārījaṃ”. Sor-zhong is the Tibetan rendering of Sudārījaṃ. Three alternative spellings are also attested, namely, bsar-gzhong (Hedin Tibetan 3, line 1), kṣar-gzhong (Hedin Tibetan 3, line 3), sar-zhong (Hedin Tibetan 2 and M.-Tagh.a.ii. 0096). See Takeuchi 1995, pp. 272-273, and Yoshida 2006, p.28. This Tibetan phrase naming the addressee of the order indicates that the order was issued by a Tibetan official. Other orders from Rmang bzher also contain a similar Tibetan phrase at the end. See Archive 3/1.34 §8 and Archive 3/1.42 §7. Spo, ‘to change, to transfer’, see TLTD III, p.153.

Archive 3/1.44 (Or.11252/32-b) Order concerning water

This document is a short order from Sudārījaṃ to Darauka and others. Though the right end of the document is damaged, its general sense can be established. In the order, Sudārījaṃ instructs Darauka and all his men to yield their irrigation water to the king so that the king’s wheat can be reaped.

Written on the same page but from the opposite end is Archive 3/5.1, a document of several rosters of men on duty in the Fort of Phema. One of the rosters bears the date of the 12th of
Haṃdyaja (the fifth month). Conceivably, the rosters were first drafted on a large piece of paper with a considerable blank space below it. After a month or so, when the rosters were not useful any longer, Sudārrjāṃ turned the paper 180 degrees and wrote this order in the blank space.

Text

§1 ¹@ spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 da[r]au[ka vara u … vara]

§3 ²khu parau pvīrau cu burā hve ī cu ūtca nāsāte biśū ṛrvīya ganīma [ūtca … khu ga]³naṃ dr-ṛrvārā ṛrvī

§4 ttājīrā še’ye haḍaī tā parau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus

§2 To Da[r]auka and …]

§3 When you hear the order, all of you who take water (should direct water) into the wheat (field) of the king so that they can reap the royal wheat.

§4 On the 2nd of Ttumjārā (the seventh month), the order went out to you. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 da[r]au[ka vara u … vara]: ‘To Da[r]auka and …]’. There must be more than one recipients, because pvīrau in §3 is in the second person plural.

§3 biśū: from biśā-ū, ‘all of you’.

§3 ganīma: ganīma- ‘wheat’, L.s. At the end of line 2, ma is partially preserved.

§3 [ga]naṃ drvārā: ‘They reap the wheat.’, restored by Bailey in Dict., p.171.

§3 drvārā: drau- ‘to reap’, pres. mid. 3pl. Dict., p.171. didn’t we already have a word like this?
no no!

**Archive 3/1.45 (Or.11252/11r) Order concerning a fugitive**

This document is an order from *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, as is shown by his signa at the end. In spite of a missing top and a slightly damaged left end, the general sense of this document can be established. In it, *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ instructs his subordinates to let people in every village know about a fugitive, Vidyade by name, so that he could be caught again as soon as possible. Sudārrjāṃ also demands that Maṃñe be sent back to him.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.40, a missive concerning pack animals.

**Text**

§1 ¹ … bera

§2 aḍā ma cakvakā ye vidyade nāma cu a […]

§3 ²[...]-ai biysīyāṃdā u rrustāṃdī

§4 vaña ttā bisi bisi hvaṃḍām bvānā ³[...]d[ā] biysaṃjārai Signum-SU

§5 maṃñe vā paskyāṣṭa thyau hajse’ma Signum-SU

**Translation**

§1 […] should be carried.

§2 Another boy was here, Vidyade by name, who ...

§3 The ... seized him and then lost him.

§4 Now, to you, men of every village shall know […] so that they … and seize him. Signum-SU

§5 Quickly send Maṃñe back to us. Signum-SU

**Commentary**

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§2 vidyade: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/4.1p §2, Archive 3/4.1r §2, and Archive 3/5.22 §2, in which Vidayde is identified as from Gūma of Āskūra.

§4 bisi bisi: ‘of every village’, distributive, similar to *au au* ‘every town’ in Archive 3/1.2 §10 and Archive 3/1.4 §2, and *hva hva* ‘every man’ in Archive 3/1.6 §7. For more on *bisā*-, ‘village’, see Duan Qing 2009a.

*Archive 3/1.46 (Or.11252/36v-b) Order from the Tibetans*

Only the last line of this order has been preserved. The Tibetan phrase at the end shows that this order was issued by a Tibetan. *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ was most likely its recipient, since it was he who used the blank space on this outdated order and wrote from the opposite end his own order to the *auva-hamdastas* (Archive 3/1.8). Probably, it was also he who cut off the rest of the order from the Tibetan. Interestingly, *auva-hamdasta* Darauka, having received the order from *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, continued to use this page of paper and wrote another document (Archive 3/6.8) on its back (on the same day!), which in turn somehow found its way into Sāṃdara’s archive. The relationship of the three documents on Or.11252/36 can be summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Register number</th>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Recipient(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.46</td>
<td>Or.11252/36v-b</td>
<td>A Tibetan</td>
<td>Pharṣa and spāta</td>
<td>7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.8</td>
<td>Or.11252/36v-a</td>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Sudārrjāṃ</td>
<td><em>Auva-hamdastas</em></td>
<td>6/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/6.8</td>
<td>Or.11252/36r</td>
<td><em>Auva-hamdasta</em> Darauka</td>
<td>Sāṃdara (?)</td>
<td>6/11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text

§1 […] my-r-

§2 ttā[m]jeri 8 mye haḍai parau ||

§3 (Tib.) phar śa : dang : s[p]a [: la : spo]

Translation

§1 …

§2 On the 8th of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month), the order (went out).

§3 (Tib.) [To be sent to] pharṣa and spāta.

Commentary

§3 (Tib.) phar śa : dang : s[p]a [: la : spo]: ‘[To be sent to] pharṣa and spāta’, restored according to Archive 3/1.43 §6: (Tib.) ‘spa : sor : zhong : la : spo’. Since the pharṣa here is not named, the spāta, most likely referring to spāta Sudāṛṛjāṃ, is probably not named either.

Archive 3/1.47 (Hedin 31) Order concerning patrol on wood

This fragmentary document is one of the two documents on wood in Archive 3. It is an order concerning patrol duty. Unlike other orders, it does not bear a signum at the end. Bailey’s reading of the dating formula seems to be wrong, but I have not been able to check the facsimile of this document.

Text

§1 1tti buri birgaṃdara spaśari cu vā …

§2 2x x sūradattā || yaudarā … vīsūra …
§3 ... 28 māš[t]a 28 mye haḍai parau

Translation

§1 The following (are) the patrolmen in Birgaṇḍara who are (coming) to us ....

§2 ... Sūradatta, Yaudara, ... Sūra...

§3 On the 28th of the eighth month (?), this order (went out to you.)

Commentary

§2 sūradattā || yaudarā: Proper names. Sūradatta is a member of Team 1 and is attested in the rosters of Patrol 1, 6, 10, 12, 15, and 21. Yaudara is attested in the rosters of Patrol 2 and 3. Both are also attested elsewhere in Archive 3. These attestations show that this document belongs to Archive 3.

§3 8 māś[t]a: This reading by Bailey (KT IV, p.41) is probably wrong, since a month name, but not a numeral, precedes māśtā in all dating formulae in Archive 3.
Archive 3/2 Vouchers

I. Introduction

Vouchers, another type of document in Archive 3, are short documents issued by government authorities to individuals, confirming the receipt of tax in cloth or coins. The vouchers in Archive 3, 17 in total, are in four manuscripts, namely, Hedin 15, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Hedin 16.\(^{422}\) The first three manuscripts contain one voucher each, whereas Hedin 16 contains 14 vouchers (Archive 3/2.1-14) on 13 pieces of paper (Hedin 16-a to Hedin 16-m) glued together. Among them, 15 are Chinese-Khotanese bilingual vouchers of cloth, while the other two (Archive 3/2.1, Archive 3/2.2) are vouchers of money in Khotanese.

The following table lists the archive number, register number, date, name(s) of the payer(s), the amount paid, and the corresponding section in Archive 3/3.1 of each voucher:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Register number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Payer (Chinese)</th>
<th>Payer (Khotanese)</th>
<th>Money delivered (in mūrās)</th>
<th>Corresponding section in Archive 3/3.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>12/28</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Namdaka</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.2 §1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>12/4</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td>§25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{422}\) Yoshida (2006, p.140) suggests that these documents are not vouchers for individuals, but are accounts kept by prefecture officials. Judging from the formula and the signatures in these documents, I think they must be vouchers issued to cloth payers. Officials in the prefecture collected them, made accounts according to them, and kept them for later reference. For a discussion of the process of voucher issuing and account making, see Chapter IV. Analysis of Archive 3, 2. The Taxation System.
### Table 3/2.1 Vouchers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive 3/2.3 §1</th>
<th>Hedin 16</th>
<th>11/25</th>
<th>Suhadatta, Kharamurrai</th>
<th>46</th>
<th>§24</th>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>南牟没</td>
<td>斯ExporterVidyadatta</td>
<td>18.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §2</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §3</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>歠ग</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §5</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Ṭrasamṅa</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §6</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Senila</td>
<td>36.2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>南牟没</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.5 §2</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Namḍaka</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.6 §1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>南牟没</td>
<td>Brūnade</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>南牟没</td>
<td>Samga</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>Archive 3/2.7 §2</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>斯ExporterVidyadatta</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>Archive 3/2.7 §3</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Makala</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §4</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Svarṛja</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/2.8 §1</td>
<td>Hedin 16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>薩波尾楼</td>
<td>斯ExporterVīsa</td>
<td>20</td>
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### Table 3/2.1 Vouchers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive</th>
<th>Hedin</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Section</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3/2.8 §2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>Puñadatta</td>
<td>§27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.9 §1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>Spāta</td>
<td>§17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.9 §2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>Śanīraka</td>
<td>§18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>Senila</td>
<td>§16</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.11 §1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>Vidarjū under pharṣa Sudara</td>
<td>§28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.12 §1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>Arsāla, Māñem</td>
<td>§19, §20</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12/9</td>
<td>Sudarma</td>
<td>none</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.14 §1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12/7</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>§21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.14 §2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12/7</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>§22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/2.15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12/21</td>
<td>Visarrjām, Hvrrīva</td>
<td>none</td>
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<td>3/2.16 §1</td>
<td>Domoko C</td>
<td>12/22</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>§34</td>
<td>36.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>3/2.17 §1</td>
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<td>3/6</td>
<td>Budarma</td>
<td>none</td>
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<tr>
<td>3/2.17 §2</td>
<td>Domoko D</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>Sūradatta</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in the table, 24 different cloth payers are attested in the vouchers. Among them, 12 are attested in Chinese. The other 12 cloth payers (Arsāla, Brūnade, Īrasaṃga, Mañeṃ, Makala, Naṃdaka, Saṃga, Senila, Sudarma, Svarrjā, Vidyadatta, and Virgāṃ) are represented by Naṃaubuda, or Nánmóumô 南牟没 in the Chinese text.

The amount of cloth delivered ranges from 5 to 46 feet. 23 feet is the amount assigned to each worker (Archive 3/4.2 §1-3). Out of the 28 payments, 14 payments are 20-23 feet. Three pairs of payers made three payments of 40 or 46 feet. Senila made two payments, 36.2 feet on 11/26 and 9.8 feet on 11/29. The sum of his payments is 46 feet, the amount of cloth assigned to two men. Naṃdaka also made a payment of 46 feet by himself. 7 payments are around 37 feet. Namaubuda made five of them. It is not clear why this amount was delivered.

In addition to cloth, 44,000 mūrās were assigned to the 44 cloth payers in Archive 3/3.6 §17. Naṃdaka and Namaubuda made payments in coins, 3000 mūrās and 40,000 mūrās respectively. They paid on behalf of all the workers, and 1000 mūrās were still outstanding.

All in all, according to these vouchers, 776.7 feet (19 bolts and 16.7 feet) of cloth and 43000 mūrās were delivered.

II. Formula

All the Chinese vouchers follow the same formula. Such uniformity is in line with the official status of the vouchers. The formula runs as follows:

§1 六城 {town’s name} {payer A’s title} {payer A} {payer B} 納進奉縫紗 {X丈} {Y尺} {Z寸}
§2 [已/午]年M月N日判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫抄

§1 In the Six Towns, [Payer A] {together with Payer B} delivered XY.Z feet of tribute silk cloth.


Thus, each voucher bears two officials’ signa at its end. The first official, Fu Weijin, was the Administrative Assistant of Khotan, a Chinese official from the state level who came down to the prefecture to collect payments of silk cloth. The second official was spāta Še’maka, a Khotanese official, who used his Chinese name Shēnmò 深莫. According to the common practice of document drafting during Tang China, the scribe would write at the end of a document the surname of the official and leave a blank after it for the official to sign his first name to validate the document. In our case, the scribe wrote Fù 富 for the Administrative Assistant, and the latter signed his first name Wéijin 惟謹423 in the blank. In the same manner, the scribe wrote Shēn 深 for spāta Še’maka for him to sign the second character of his Chinese name mò 莫. Fu Weijin’s signum resembles the handwriting of the Chinese texts and was written considerably smaller. Probably, Fu Weijin was the scribe himself and reduced the size of his signum as a token of respect. On the other hand, spāta Še’maka’s signum is rather large and clumsy, thus showing his unfamiliarity with Chinese and betraying his Khotanese ethnicity.

423 Not ‘respectfully submitted,’ as Haloun takes it in the Appendix of KT IV. See KT IV, pp.173-176.
III. Date

All the vouchers are fully dated. Apart from Archive 3/2.17, which was issued on the 6th of the third month in the 36th regnal year of Viṣa Vāham, or 802 CE, all the vouchers were issued at the end of the previous year, 801 CE, from the 25th of the 11th month (Archive 3/2.3) to the 28th of the 12th month (Archive 3/2.1).

IV. Texts

Archive 3/2.1 (Hedin 16-a) Voucher of Naṃdaka’s payment of mūrās

Hedin 16 is a very long document (64 lines), made up of 14 vouchers (Archive 3/2.1-14) glued together. All of the vouchers except the first two are Chinese-Khotanese bilingual. Almost all the bilingual vouchers are arranged in chronological order. The last voucher (Archive 3/2.14, dated on 12/7), however, predates the second last one (Archive 3/2.13, dated on 12/9) by two days. These vouchers cover the period from 11/25 to 12/9 of the 35th regnal year, 801 CE. The first two vouchers (Archive 3/2.1 and Archive 3/2.2) are in Khotanese only. They are from a slightly later date (12/28 and 12/4 respectively), and do not fit in the chronological sequence of the bilingual vouchers. Presumably, the first two vouchers were glued on top of the bilingual vouchers. More significantly, both are vouchers of mūrās instead of cloth. The issuers of both vouchers also differ from those of the bilingual vouchers. All of above point to an ad hoc nature of these two vouchers.

Archive 3/2.1 (Hedin 16a) is the first voucher in Hedin 16, dated on 28th day of Rrāhaja (the 12th month) in the 35th regnal year, 801 CE. An official, Raṣade by name, issued this voucher to
Naṃdaka, a resident in Cira, for his payment of 3000 mūrās. Raṣade received the payment on behalf of śṣau An Sam, the issuer of the next voucher (Archive 3/2.2).

Text

§1 ','#@ 35 mye kṣuṇi rrāhaji 28 mye haḍai

§2 cīrāṇa naṃdaka śṣau ṣaṇi pājiṇa ʔysārī haṃbā mūri hauḍā drrai ysāri

§4 hārū raṣade nāte āmāci ʒsalāna Signum-Raṣade

Translation

§1 On the 28th of Rrāhaja in the 35th regnal year,

§2 Naṃdaka from Cira delivered 3000 (mūrās) in (strings of) 1000 mūrās into the treasury of śṣau An Sam.

§3 Raṣade the official from āmāca’s words. Signum-Raṣade.

Commentary

§2 cīrāṇa naṃdaka: ‘Naṃdaka from Cira.’ According to Archive 3/2.5, Naṃdaka paid 46 feet of cloth on the 27th of the 11th month. He is also as Sudārrjām’s ‘commissioned’? (paśā) in Archive 3/1.26 §4.

§2 śṣau ṣaṇi sāmi: ‘śṣau An Sam’. It was into this man’s treasury that Naṃdaka delivered the mūrās. He was also the issuer of the next voucher (Archive 3/2.2). This name is certainly not Khotanese and qni reminds one of Chin. Ān ‘安’, the Chinese surname assumed by Bukharan Sogdian immigrants in China. Also see commentary on Archive 3/3.6 §3.


§2: ysārī haṃbā: ‘by the amount of 1000’ or ‘(string) of 1000 (coins)’. This phrase translates Chin. guàn 贯, ‘a string of 1000 coins’, corresponding to Sog. ptkwk and JP ptkw. Strings of
coins were easier to use, since merchants in Khotan, be they Sogdians or Persian Jews, often handled large amount of money, from several thousand up to a hundred thousand coins. See Bi and Sims-Williams 2010, pp. 505-06.


§4 hārū raṣade: ‘Raṣade the official’. This man was probably not a resident in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, since his name is not attested elsewhere in Archive 3.

§4 āmāci salāna: ‘from āmāca’s words’, referring to dictation.

§4 Signum-Raṣade: The signum closing and validating a voucher belongs to the issuer of the voucher, who is, in this case, Raṣade the official.

Archive 3/2.2 (Hedin 16-b) Voucher of Namaubuda’s payment of mūrās

This is the second voucher in Hedin 16, dated to the 4th of Rrahāja (the 12th month) in the 35th regnal year. The scribe Gauda and šṣau An Sam issued this voucher to Namaubuda for his payment of 40000 mūrās. Namaubuda is identified as a resident in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. The amount he delivered (40000 mūrās) exceeds the amount in the previous voucher (3000 mūrās). In other words, Namaubuda paid not for himself, but on behalf of more than one person in the prefecture. In other words, the tribute was imposed upon the entire prefecture rather than on individual towns or residents.

Text

§1 ʰ@ kṣvāṃ auvāṃ namaubudā ysārī haṃbā mūrī hauxde tcahu’si ysā’cya

§2 35 mye kṣuṇa rrrahāji tcūramye haḍai ka’rā gaudā nāte Signum-Gauda

§3 u šau āni sāmi Signum-An Sam
Translation

§1 Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 40000 (**mūrās**) in (strings of) 1000 **mūrās**.

§2 On the 4th of **Rrāhaja** (the 12th month) in the 35th regnal year, Gauda the scribe received (it).

Signum-Gauda.

§3 And **śṣau An Sam** (also receives them). Signum-An Sam.

Commentary


§2 **Gaudā**: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/4.11r §2, Archive 3/4.14p §2.

§3 **Signum-An Sam**: The signum resembles the Chinese character **xin** 信. Śau Śattum’s signum, as attested in SI P 94.2 [**SD 7**, Plate 70 (b)], SI P 103.38 [**SD 7**, Plate 120 (b)], and Or.6405 (M.9) (Hoernle 1901, Plate 3; Sha and Wood 2005, v.2, p.331) in Archive 2, is also similar to **xin** 信, but is markedly different from An Sam’s signum.

Archive 3/2.3 (Hedin 16-c) Voucher of two payments of silk cloth

The first bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 was issued to Suhadatta and Kharamurrai, residents of Phaṃnai in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. **Spāta Śe’maka** and the Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin issued this voucher and all the other bilingual vouchers. The Khotanese text in the voucher faithfully reflects the Chinese text. The payment in this voucher is recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §24.

Text
Translation

§1 (C) Suhadatta and Kharamurrai in Phaṃnai of the Six Towns delivered 46 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Suhadatta and Kharamurrai from Phaṃnai of the Six Towns delivered 46 feet of tribute silk cloth.


§2 (K) On the 25th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month) in the 35th regnal year. Spāta Śe’maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it). [red mark]

Commentary

§1 姓 Suōnà: transcribe Chin everywhere (the first time) ‘Suhadatta’. Nà 拊 Sui-Tang Chang’an Chinese "da (Coblin 1994, p.307). During the eighth to the tenth century, nasals in Northwest Chinese changed into pre-nasalized voiced stops, and then plain voiced stops. Amoghavajra systematically used Chinese characters with nasal initials and non-nasal finals to transcribe voiced stops in Sanskrit. (Maspéro 1920, p.29)
This character, ना, is also attested as the phonetic transcription of da in पेन्ना for Puṇādatta in Archive 3/2.8 §1 and in सुलिना for Suradatta in Archive 3/2.17 §1. G. Haloun reads तु in KT IV, p.173, p.175. Bailey adopts R. Kaneko’s same reading in SDTV, p.123. Rong (2012, p.25) reads न.

§1 進奉 jīnfèng: ‘Tribute’. For a general discussion of tribute during the second half of the Tang Dynasty, see Li Jinxiu 2001, pp.969-1019. Zhang and Rong (1997, pp.349-350) suggest that this tribute collected in Khotan was to be delivered to the Tibetan Btsanpo. Based on this understanding, Yoshida (2006, p.59) links this tribute with Tibetan military activities against the Kingdom of Nanzhao, in present-day Yunnan in Southwest China. Due to the long distance between Khotan and Tibet, however, the tribute might not have been actually delivered to the Tibetan court, it might have been stored separately as the Btsanpo’s private property. For a similar practice in Dunhuang during the Tang Dynasty, see Li Jinxiu 2001, p.982.

§1 繎紗 shīchōu: ‘Floss silk cloth’, corresponding to Khot. thau, and probably Tib. men dri. Shīchōu 繎紗 is a special textile produced in Khotan mentioned by Xuanzang. (Xiyuji, p.1001) Duan and Wang (2009, pp.308-309) suggest that this kind of silk was different in that the silk makers allowed the silkworms to transform into moths and come out of the cocoons, and spun silk from the broken cocoons.

§1 tcinaji: ‘of tribute’, the adjective form of tcina, which in turn comes from Chin. jīn 進, LMC tsin (Pulleyblank, p.157), for jīnfèng 進奉, ‘tribute’.

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§2 sābōshēn mò / spāta śe’maki: Proper name. It seems that this Khotanese official drafted the Khotanese texts in the vouchers. As he is only attested in the vouchers, he was probably from outside Cira-Six Town Prefecture, and was sent from the court of the King of Khotan to this prefecture to collect the tribute cloth.

§2 pàn guān / pha¹ni kvāni: ‘Administrative Assistant’, a high official in Khotan, perhaps only second to the King of Khotan, who was, of course, under the Tibetan Military Commissioner in Khotan at this point. More on this title, see commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C).

§2 Fu Weijin/hvū: As analyzed in Archive 3/2 II. Formula, Fu Weijin, a Chinese official on the staff of the King of Khotan, probably drafted the Chinese texts in the vouchers. He is also attested as one of the signatories in the bilingual order from the King of Khotan (Archive 3/1.1). More on him, see commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §9 (C).

Archive 3/2.4 (Hedin 16d) Voucher of six payments of cloth

Recorded in the second bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are six payments of cloth. In the Chinese text, Namaubuda makes the first payment, whereas the payers of the remaining payments are not mentioned. This implied that Namaubuda made all the payments. In the Khotanese text, however, payers of all the payments are specified, namely, spāta Vidyadatti, Namaubuda, Virgāṃ, Namaubuda, Īrasaṃga, and Senila. Note that Namaubuda appears twice. All the pay-
ments add up to 146.7 feet, 8.5 feet more than the amount assigned to 6 workers (23 × 6 = 138).

The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §1-§5 and §7.

Text

§1 13六城南牟没納進奉緋絹壹丈捌尺伍寸

§1 12|| spāta vidyadatti thau himye (ha)štūsi chā paṃjṣi tsuna

§2 15又貳丈貳尺伍寸

§2 || namaubudi thau himye 22 5 tsuna ||

§3 又貳丈參尺貳寸

§3 14virgāṃ thau himye 23 chā dva tsuna ||

§4 又納17貳丈肆尺

§4 pātcā namaubudi thau himye 24 chā ||

§5 又貳丈貳尺壹寸

§5 ṭrasaṃ16[gi th]au himye 22 chā šau tsuni ||

§6 又叁丈陸19尺貳寸

§6 sēnili x thau hi(mye) 36 dva tsuna ||

§7 巳年十一月廿六日判官富 惟謹 20薩波深 莫抄

§7 35 mye [kṣu]18ni skarhve mā kṣeribistamye hadai sū phani kvañi spāta še’maki nāti [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 18.5 feet of tribute silk cloth,

§1 (K) Spāta Vidyadatta’s silk cloth is 18.5 feet long.
§2 (C) Again 22.5 feet.

§2 (K) Namaubuda’s silk cloth is 22.5 feet long.

§3 (C) Again 23.2 feet.

§3 (K) Virgāṃ’s silk cloth is 23.2 feet long.

§4 (C) Again, (he) delivered 24 feet.

§4 (K) Next, Namaubuda’s silk cloth is 24 feet long.

§5 (C) Again, 22.1 feet.

§5 (K) Īrasaṃga’s silk cloth is 22.1 feet long.

§6 (C) Again, 36.2 feet.

§6 (K) Senila’s silk cloth is 36.2 feet long.

§7 (C) On the 26th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§7 (K) On the 26th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month) in the 35th regnal year. Administrative Assistant and Spāta Še’maka received (it).

**Commentary**

§1 *spāta vidyadatti*: Proper name. According to Archive 3/2.7 §2, *spāta* Vidyadatta delivered another 37 feet of cloth three days later. He delivered 55.5 feet in total, 9.5 feet more than the amount of cloth assigned to two workers.

§6 *senili*: Proper name. Three days later, on the 29th, Senila he delivered another 9.8 feet, as recorded in Archive 3/2.10 §1 (K). In total, he delivered 46 feet, the amount assigned to two workers.
§7 **skarhve mā:** ‘in the month of Skarhvāra (the 11th month)’. A shortened form of *skarhvera māstā*.

§7 **sū:** a misspelling of *hvū*, corresponding to *fū* 查, the surname of Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin. The same mistake also occurs in Archive 3/2.5, §3. For more on Fu Weijin, see commentary on Archive 3/2.3 §2.

**Archive 3/2.5 (Hedin 16-e-i) Voucher of two payments of silk cloth**

Recorded in the third bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are two payments of cloth, 84 feet in total, close to the amount assigned to four workers (92 feet). The payers’ names in Chinese do not match those in Khotanese. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §8-9.

**Text**

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 38 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 38 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) Again, 46 feet.

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 38 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 38 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) Again, 46 feet.
§2 (K) Naṃdaka delivered 46 feet of silk cloth.

§3 (C) On the 27th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§3 (K) On the 27th of Skarhvarā (the 11th month) in the 3[5th regnal year]. Administrative Assistant Fu and spāta Šę’maka received (it).

Commentary

§2 Naṃdaki: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/2.1, according to which he paid 3000 mūrās into the treasury of ġṣau An Sam.

§3 [s]ū: a misspelling for hvū, see commentary on Archive 3/2.4, §7.

Archive 3/2.6 (Hedin 16-e-ii) Voucher of Brūnade’s payment of silk cloth

Recorded in the fourth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 is Brūnade’s payment of 20 feet of cloth, three feet less than the assigned amount. The payer’s name recorded in Chinese does not match that in the Khotanese. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §11.

Text

§1 27六城南牟没納進奉縑絹貳丈

§1 26kṣā auvā brūnade thau hauḍi 20 chā

§2 巳年十一月廿九七日判官富 惟譚 薩波深 莫 抄

§2 35 kṣuṇi skarhveri māsti 27 ha hađai [hv]ū 28phāṇī kvāṇi nāṭ(i) u spāta śe’maki [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C)Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Brūnade of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (K) On the 27th of Skarhvāra in the 35th regnal year. Administrative Assistant Fu and spāta Śe’maka received (it).

Commentary

§1 brūnade: Proper name. According to Archive 3/3.7 §10, Brūnade owes 20 feet. Here, he repays his debt.

Archive 3/2.7 (Hedin 16-f) Voucher of four payments of cloth

Recorded in the fifth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are four payments of cloth, 118.4 feet in total, slightly more than the amount assigned to four workers (23 × 5 = 115). The payers’ names recorded in Chinese do not match those in Khotanese. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §12-15. The Khotanese handwriting in this voucher is bold and the vowel au is written as o.

Text

§1 30stdboolam evakahai sāmgi tho hoḍi 37

§1 3135 ni nāvarabistamye haṭai saṃgi tho hoḍi 37

§2 32ṭām evakahai sāmgi tho hoḍi 37 ||

§3 33spāta vidyadatti tho hoḍi 37 ||

§3 makali tho hoḍi 3522 chā
§4 貳丈貳尺肆寸
§4 svarrjā tho hoḍi 22 tcahau tsuna ||
§5 34已年十一月廿九日判官富 惟譯 藩波深36 莫抄
§5 spā śe’maka 36nāti hvū phañi kvañi || [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 37 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) In the 35th regnal year, on the 29th day, Saṃga delivered 37 (feet) of silk cloth.

§2 (C) Again, 37 feet.

§2 (K) Spāta Vidyadatta delivered 37 (feet) of silk cloth.

§3 (C) Again, 22 feet.

§3 (K) Makala delivered 22 feet of silk cloth.

§4 (C) 22.4 feet.

§4 (K) Svarrjā delivered 22.4 feet of silk cloth.


§5 (K) Spāta Śe’maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it).

Commentary

§1 35 ṇi nāvarabistamye haḍai: The dating formula in the Khotanese text is defective and out of place. 35 (kṣu)nā (skarhveri māśti) nāvarabistamye haḍai ‘on the 29th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month) in the 35th regnal year’ is expected at the beginning of §5.

§2 spāta vidyadatti: Proper name. Spāta Vidyadatta had delivered 18.5 feet of cloth three days earlier. See commentary on Archive 3/2.4 §1 (K).
§3 Makali: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/1.14 §7 as from Āskūra, and in Archive 3/1.26 §3 as Sudārrjāṃ’s former assistant (paśā).

§4 Svarrjā: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/1.14 §7 as from Āskūra.

Archive 3/2.8 (Hedin 16-g) Voucher of two payments of cloth

Recorded in the sixth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are Vīsa and Puñadatta’s payments of cloth, 43 feet in total, three feet less than the amount assigned to two workers (46 feet). The Khotanese and the Chinese text agree with each other, except that Puñadatta has the epithet jiārén 家人 ‘dependent of the household’ in Chinese. The payments in this voucher are recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §26-§27.

Text

§1 37六城薩波尾娑納進奉絹絹軒丈

§1 38|| kṣā auvā spāta vīsa thau hauḍi bisti chā

§2 家39人盆捺納軒丈三尺

§2 puñadatti drrairabi40sta chā

§3 巳年十一月廿九日41判官富 惟謙 薩波深 莫抄

§3 spāta še’maki nāte hvū [phāṇi kvāṇi] [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C) Spāta Vīsa of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Spāta Vīsa of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) Puñadatta, dependent of the household, delivered 23 feet.
§2 (K) Puñadatta (delivered) 23 feet.

§3 (C) On the 29th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§3 (K) Spāta Śe’maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it).

**Commentary**

§1 spāta visa: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/3.7 §5, where it is recorded that he owes 20 feet. Here he repays his debt, and this payment is also recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §26.

§2 家人: ‘dependent of the household’, corresponding to Khot. māśa-vīraa-, referring to servants or slaves in a household. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §4.

§2 puñadatti: Proper name, also attested as ‘belonging to spāta Vīsa’ in Archive 3/1.24 §6. This attestation suggests that Puñadatta here is a dependent of Vīsa, thus lending strong support to the identification of Chin. jiārén 家人 with Khot. māśa-vīraa-. This payment is recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §27.

**Archive 3/2.9 (Hedin 16-h) Voucher of two payments of cloth**

Recorded in the seventh bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are Marṣa’ and Ṣanīraka payments of cloth, 43 feet in total, three feet less than the amount assigned to two workers (46 feet). In Archive 3/3.7 §4 and §11, it is recorded that Marṣa’ owes 20 feet and Ṣanīraka owes 23 feet. Here, they repay their debts and the payments in this voucher are also recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §17-18.

**Text**

§1 六城薩波末土納進奉絹緞貳丈
§1 $kṣvā$ aŭvā $s$pāta $m$arši’ thau hauḍā bistā chā

§2 又$kṣvā$洛納$kṣvā$m

§2 u ʂanîraki drairabistā chā

§3 已年十一月廿九日$kṣvā$m

§3 $s$pāta $kṣvā$makā nāte u hvā phâna kvānā skarhveri 29 mye haḍai [red mark]

*Translation*

§1 (C) Spāta Marsha’ of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Spāta Marsha’ of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) And ʂanîraka delivered 23 feet.

§2 (K) And ʂanîraka (delivered) 23 feet.

§3 (C) On the 29th of the 11th month in the snake year, Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§3 (K) Spāta ʂec’maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it) on the 29th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month).

*Commentary*

§1 $s$pāta $m$arši’: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/3.7 §4 as owing 20 feet of cloth.

§2 ʂanîraki: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/3.2 §10, Archive 3/3.3 §12, Archive 3/3.5 §4, and Archive 3/3.7 §11 as owing 20 feet of cloth. Perhaps two men with the same name are involved here.

*Archive 3/2.10 (Hedin 16-i) Voucher of Senila’s payment of silk cloth*
Recorded in the eighth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 is Senila’s second payment of cloth. Here, he delivers 9.8 feet of cloth. The payment is recorded as made by Namaubuda in Chinese, but by Senila in Khotanese. The closing formula is missing in the Khotanese text. The payment in this voucher is recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §16.

Text

§1 47六城南牟沒納進奉繹紬玖尺捌寸

§1 48senili tho hauḍi no chā haṣṭa tsuna [red mark]

§2 巳年49十一月廿九日判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 9.8 feet of tribute silk cloth.  
§1 (K) Senila delivered 9.8 feet of silk cloth.  
§2 (C) On the 29th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Signum-Weijin.  
Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Commentary

§1 Senili: This is Senila’s second payment. His first payment of 36.2 feet is recorded in Archive 3/2.4 §6. In total, Senila delivered 46 feet, the amount assigned to two workers.

Archive 3/2.11 (Hedin 16-j) Voucher of Vidarjū’s payment of cloth

Recorded in the ninth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 is Vidarjū’s payment of 23 feet of cloth, the amount assigned to one worker. The closing formula is missing in the Khotanese text. The payment in this voucher is recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §28.

Text
§1 .Classes and Types of Text

§1 50 六城破沙宋闕下勿闎蹂納進奉勳絹52 參丈叁尺

§1 51 kśā auvā pharṣa sudarana dīna vidarjū thau hauḍa 23 chā [red mark]

§2 巳年十二月二日判官富 惟譯 53 蕭波深 莫 抄

Translation

§1 (C) Vidarjū under Pharṣa Sudarana of the Six Towns delivered 23 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Vidarjū under Pharṣa Sudara of the Six Towns delivered 23 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) On the 2nd of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei-jin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Commentary

§1 dīna: ‘under, subordinate to’, corresponding to Chin. xià 下, attested again in Archive 3/5.3

§3. Zhang and Rong (1987, p.88) tries to interpret this word as a phonetic transcription of Chin. diān 典 ‘scribe, official in charge of paperwork’ by assuming a series of scribal errors. This argument is far-fetched and untenable.

§1 破沙宋闕下勿闎蹂/pharṣa sudarana dīna vidarjū: ‘Vidarjū under pharṣa Sudara’, meaning Vidarjū was a subordinate of pharṣa Sudara, who was none other than pharṣa Sāṃdara, the recipient of most orders in Archive 3. In the Khotanese language at this stage, āṃ and u/ūṃ were interchangeable, just as Vidarjū is spelt Vidarrjāṃ in Archive 3/3.1 §28. For other instances, see commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §12, Archive 3/1.24 §10, and Archive 3/1.26 §3.

Archive 3/2.12 (Hedin 16-k) Voucher of Arsala and Māñēṃ’s payments of cloth
Recorded in the tenth bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 is a payment of silk cloth (46 feet) made by Namaubuda in Chinese, and two payments (23 feet each) made by Arsāla and Mañeṃ in Khotanese. The closing formula in Khotanese is not complete. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §19-§20.

Text

§1 _paidh nhu 邏者納追織許肆拾陸尺

§1 arsi la_thau hau 23 23 spāta šem’maki nāte

§2 已年56十二月二日判官富 惟譚 蕡波深 莫 抄

§2 35 mye [kṣṇi rrā]haji māṣti śe’ye haḍai

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 46 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Arsāla delivered 23 feet of silk cloth. Mañeṃ delivered 23 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) On the 2nd of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei-jin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§2 (K) On the 2nd of Rrāhaja (the 12th month) in the 35th regnal year.

Archive 3/2.13 (Hedin 16-I) Voucher of Sudarma’s payment of cloth

Recorded in the 11th bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 is a payment of silk cloth (20 feet), made by Namaubuda in Chinese, but by Sudarma in Khotanese. The closing formula in Khotanese is not complete. The date of this voucher (12/9) is the latest among the bilingual vouchers, but it is placed before the last voucher (Archive 3/2.14), whose date (12/7) is two days earlier.

Text
§1 六城南牟沒納進奉綾絹廿丈

§1 kṣā auvā sudarm(ä) thau hauḍa 20 chā

§2 巳年十二月六日判官富惟謹薩波深莫抄

§2 rrāhaja 9 mye haḍa [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Sudarma of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) On the 9th of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei-jin, Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§2 (K) On the 9th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).

Commentary

§1 sudarm(ä): Sudarma is attested not in Archive 3/3.1, but in Archive 3/3.7 §9 as owing 20 feet. Here, Sudarma repays the outstanding amount.

Archive 3/2.14 (Hedin 16-m) Voucher of Namaubuda’s payments of cloth

Recorded in the 12th and last bilingual voucher in Hedin 16 are Namaubuda’s two payments of silk cloth. The closing formula in Khotanese is missing. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §21-22, where it is explicitly stated that Namaubuda’s second payment is made on behalf of Suhena and Śūradatta. The amount paid (36.2 feet) is about 10 feet less than the amount assigned to two workers (46 feet). Accordingly, it is recorded in Archive 3/3.5 §5-6 that both Suhena and Śūradatta owe 5 feet of cloth.

Text
§1 Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of silk cloth, according to the small silk cloth.

§2 And 36.2 feet.

§2 Then he again delivered 36.2 feet of silk cloth.

§3 On the 7th of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei- jin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Translation

§1 Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of silk cloth, according to the small silk cloth.

§2 And 36.2 feet.

§2 Then he again delivered 36.2 feet of silk cloth.

§3 On the 7th of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei- jin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Commentary

§1 nva thaunakāṃ: ‘According to the small silk cloth’. Bailey (KT IV, p.31) reads: ‘hva thau- nakā’. One can deliver thaunaka ‘small cloth’ in place of thau ‘(normal) silk cloth’. According to Archive 3/3.9 §3, 3.2 feet of small cloth equaled to 23 feet of normal cloth. 36.2 feet of silk cloth is equivalent to 5.04 feet of small cloth.

Archive 3/2.15 (Hedin 15) Voucher of Visarrjāṃ and Hvrri’s payment of silk cloth
This is the first of the three freestanding vouchers in Archive 3. Recorded in it is Visarrjāṃ and Hvrrīvi’s payment of silk cloth, 40 feet in total, six feet less than the amount assigned to two workers (46 feet). This shortage is reflected in Archive 3/3.2 §12, in which it is recorded that Visarrjāṃ and Hvrrīvi owe six feet of cloth.

Text

§1 bindValue="六城勿薩蹟拂里勿共納進奉絹布肆拾\(3\)尺

§1 cira visarrjāṃ thau hauḍe tci’hau’sa chā hvrrīvina haṃtsa

§2 巳年十二月廿一日判官富 惟謹 薩波 深 莫

§2 rrāhājangi 21 mye haḍai 35 mye kṣuṇā (red mark)

Translation

§1 (C) Visarrjāṃ and Hvrrīva of the Six Towns delivered 40 feet of tribute silk cloth together.

§1 (K) Visarrjāṃ from Cira together with Hvrrīvi delivered 40 feet of silk cloth.


§2 (K) On the 21st of Rrāhaja (12th month), 35th regnal year.

Commentary

§1 hvrrīvina: This proper name is also attested in Archive 3/3.12 §4 as owing 10140 mūrās and Archive 3/3.14 §1 as having paid 3280 mūrās.

Archive 3/2.16 (Domoko C) Voucher of Namaubuda’s payment of silk cloth
Recorded in the second freestanding bilingual voucher is Namaubuda’ payment of silk cloth. The Khotanese and the Chinese text agree with each other. The closing formula in the Khotanese text is not complete. The information in this voucher is found in Archive 3/3.1 §37.

Text

§1 ནུ་མ་མ་ནུ་མ་མཐོ་ང་ང་ང་ང་ང་

§1 kṣvā auvā namaubudi thau hauḍā 30 6 chā kṣā tsuna nva thaunakāṃ

chive 3/3.2, Archive 3/3.2.3 and Archive 3/3.2.5. Here, Budarma and Sūradatta are repaying their debts from the previous year. In the Khotanese text, the closing formula and some vowel signs are missing.

Text

§1 སྙེམ་བུདོར་ཐུད་སྒྲ་བྲབ་ལྕགས་ཞེས་ཉིད་ཉིན་

§2 དུས་པོཤ་ཁྲིམས་བུདོར་ཐུད་སྒྲ་བྲབ་ལྕགས་ཞེས་ཉིད་[red mark]

§3 སིལ་གཉེན་ཟློ་སིཀས་ཉིད་མོ་

Translation

§1 (C) Budarma of the Six Towns delivered 23 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Budarma of the Six Towns delivered 23 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) Suradata delivered five feet.

§2 (K) Suradata delivered five feet of silk cloth.

§3 (C) On the 6th of the third month in the horse year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei-jin. Spāta Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Commentary

§1 没達門/Budarma: The expected form is Budarmā. Here, Budarma repays his debt recorded in Archive 3/3.2 §11, Archive 3/3.3 §13, and Archive 3/3.5 §4. See Table 3/3.2: Synopsis of Ar-

§2 suradata tha: The expected form is sūradattā thau.
§2 蘇里捺/suradata: 捺 nà is read 捺 tū in *SDTV*, p.123. More on him, see Archive 3/2.3 §1.

Sūradatta here repays his debt from the previous year, as he is recorded in Archive 3/3.9 §6 to be owing five feet. Also see commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §22.
I. Introduction

18 documents are included in Archive 3/3 Accounts, as they all pertain to payments of cloth, mūrās, or grain. These accounts are arranged by subjects and divided into the following sub-groups:

1) Account of cloth payments (Archive 3/3.1)

The payments listed in Archive 3/3.1 largely correspond to the vouchers in Archive 3/2. The differences show that Archive 3/3.1 was not made directly from the vouchers.

2) Account of cloth still outstanding (Archive 3/3.2-5)

These four documents overlap with one another to a large extent. They include a summary account of the cloth payments and a list of men who still owe cloth. For a synopsis, see Table 3/3.2.

3) Account of assigned cloth and money (Archive 3/3.6-7)

Listed in these two documents are the amounts of cloth and money assigned to the officials and residents in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Some of them later delivered the cloth assigned to them, while some did not. For a synopsis of the assigned, delivered, and cloth still outstanding, see Table 3/3.6-2.

4) Account of small cloth and cloth (Archive 3/3.8-9)

The two documents concern the delivery of small cloths in place of normal cloths, and provide key information concerning the price of small cloths.

5) Miscellaneous (Archive 3/3.10-18)
The documents in this subgroup are imperfectly understood, including an account of possessions of three *auva-haṃdasta*, a loan contract (Archive 3/3.11), three accounts of *mūrās* (Archive 3/3.12-14), two notes concerning vouchers (Archive 3/3.15-16), a record of tax for the king (Archive 3/3.17), and an account of outstanding grain (Archive 3/3.18).

The following table lists the archive numbers, the register numbers and the subjects of the documents in Archive 3/3:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Register number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>Hedin 19</td>
<td>Account of cloth payments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.2</td>
<td>Hedin 1</td>
<td>Account of cloth still outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.3</td>
<td>Or.11344/4</td>
<td>Account of cloth still outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.4</td>
<td>Hedin 13-a</td>
<td>Account of cloth still outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.5</td>
<td>Hedin 13-b</td>
<td>Account of cloth still outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
<td>Or.11252/30</td>
<td>Account of assigned cloth and money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>Hedin 12-b</td>
<td>Account of assigned cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.8</td>
<td>Or.11252/38</td>
<td>Account of small cloth and cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.9</td>
<td>Or.11252/28</td>
<td>Account of small cloth and cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.10</td>
<td>Hedin 12-a</td>
<td>Account of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.11</td>
<td>Achma-2</td>
<td>Contract of silk cloth, small cloth and money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.12</td>
<td>Or.11252/23</td>
<td>Account of outstanding <em>mūrās</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.13</td>
<td>Or.11252/20</td>
<td>Account of outstanding <em>mūrās</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.14</td>
<td>Or.11344/14</td>
<td>Account of <em>mūrās</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.15</td>
<td>Or.11344/18</td>
<td>Note on lack of voucher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.16</td>
<td>Or.11344/16</td>
<td>Document concerning vouchers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.17</td>
<td>Or.11344/15</td>
<td>Record of cloth and money for the king</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Texts

Archive 3/3.1 (Hedin 19) A long account of payments of cloth and mūrās

Listed in this document are payments of cloth and mūrās in the 11th and the 12th month of the 35th regnal year, with two handwritings, one thin, the other bold, alternating.

The payments in this account largely correspond to the vouchers in Archive 3/2. Note that the vouchers in Archive 3/2.1, Archive 3/2.13, Archive 3/2.15, and Archive 3/2.17 do not correspond to any payments recorded in this account and the payments in §23 and §29-33 in this account do not correspond to any vouchers in Archive 3/2. This can be partially explained by the dates of the documents. The dates of the cloth vouchers in Hedin 16 (Archive 3/2.3-14) cover the period from the 25th of the 11th month to the 7th of the 12th month of Year 801. The payments recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §29-§33 date to the 19th-20th of the 12th month, outside the range of dates in Hedin 16. The last payment recorded in the account (Archive 3/3.1 §34) corresponds to Archive 3/2.16 (Domoko C), a freestanding voucher dated to the 22nd day of the 12th month. In other words, the dates of the payments in Archive 3/3.1 span from 25th of the 11th month to the 22nd of the 12th month. The dates of the vouchers in both Archive 3/2.1 and Archive 3/2.17 fall outside this range. The lack of correspondence of two vouchers (Archive 3/2.13 and Archive 3/2.15) and one payment (Archive 3/3.1 §23) has to remain unaccounted for. The following table sum-

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**Table 3/3 List of Accounts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Register number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.18</td>
<td>Or.11344/8v</td>
<td>Account of outstanding grain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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marizes the dates and correspondence (or lack thereof) of the vouchers in Archive 3/2 and the payments in Archive 3/3.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Section in Archive 3/3.1</th>
<th>Voucher in Archive 3/2</th>
<th>Delivered by</th>
<th>Feet of cloth delivered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§1</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §1</td>
<td>Spāta Vidyadatta</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§2</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §2</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§3</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §3</td>
<td>Virgā</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §4</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §5</td>
<td>Īrāsāṃga</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>§6 (deleted)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Brūnade</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/26</td>
<td>§7</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4 §6</td>
<td>Senila</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>§9</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.5 §1</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>§10</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.5 §2</td>
<td>Naṃḍaka</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/27</td>
<td>§11</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.6 §1</td>
<td>Brūnade</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§12</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §1</td>
<td>Saṃga</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§13</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §2</td>
<td>Spāta Vidyadatta</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§14</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §3</td>
<td>Makala</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§15</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §4</td>
<td>Svarṛjāṃ</td>
<td>22.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§16</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.10 §1</td>
<td>Senila</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§17</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.9 §1</td>
<td>Spāta Marṣa’</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§18</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.9 §2</td>
<td>Śanīraka</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>§19</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.12 §1</td>
<td>Arsāla</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>§20</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.12 §1</td>
<td>Mañe</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Section in Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>Voucher in Archive 3/2</td>
<td>Delivered by</td>
<td>Feet of cloth delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/7</td>
<td>§21</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.14 §1</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/7</td>
<td>§22</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.14 §2</td>
<td>Namaubuda on behalf of Suheña and Sūradatta</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>§23</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Haskadarma from Cira</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/9</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.13</td>
<td>Sudarma</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/25</td>
<td>§24</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.3 §1</td>
<td>Sahadatta u Kharamurrai</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/4</td>
<td>§25</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.2 §1</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>40000 mūrās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§26</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.8 §1</td>
<td>Spāta Vīsa</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/29</td>
<td>§27</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.8 §2</td>
<td>Puñādatta</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/2</td>
<td>§28</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.11 §1</td>
<td>Vidarrjāṃ from Gūma</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/19</td>
<td>§29</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Vasade from Āskūra</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/19</td>
<td>§30</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/19</td>
<td>§31</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/19</td>
<td>§32</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/20</td>
<td>§33</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Sogdians paid from small cloths</td>
<td>53 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/21</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.15</td>
<td>Vissarrjāṃ and Hvṛrīva</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/22</td>
<td>§34</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.16 §1</td>
<td>Namaubuda</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/28</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.1</td>
<td>Nāṃdaka</td>
<td>3000 mūrās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.17</td>
<td>Budarma</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>not found</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.17</td>
<td>Suradatta</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3/3.1 Payments in Archive 3/3.1 and Vouchers in Archive 3/2
Note that the sequence of payments in this account does not match that of the vouchers in Hedin 16 (Archive 3/2.1-14), suggesting that this account was not copied directly from Hedin 16. According to this list, 857.3 feet of cloth and 40000 mūrās were delivered. This figure matches neither the sum of delivered cloth in the vouchers in Hedin 16 (776.7 feet and 43000 mūrās), nor the sum recorded in Archive 3/3.2 §6 (23 bolts 11.7 feet = 931.7 feet). Perhaps after this account was drafted, more vouchers were collected, and the figures in Archive 3/3.2 §6 reflect the updated information.

Text

§1 1|| spāta vidyadatti thau himye haśṭūsi chā paṃjsa tsuna

§2 || namaubudi thau himye 22 chā pa[m]jsa 2tsu

§3 | virgā thau himye 23 dva tsuna

§4 || namaubudi thau himye 24 chā |

§5 trasaṃgi thau himye 322 śau tsunā

§6 | {brūnade thau haudi} 23 cha

§7 śeni thau haudi 36 chā dva 2 tsuna ||

§8 4[śi’ vā th]au nva thau nakāṃ ttraṃdi

§9 38 chā namaubudi haudi

§10 || naṃdaki thau (hau)di kṣe[rā]tca’hausī chā

§11 || byūnade tho haudi 20 chā

§12 || saṃgi thau haudi 37 6[chā]

§13 || spāta vidyadatti thau haudi 37 chā

§14 || makali tho haudi 22 chā
§15 || svarjāṃ thau (hau)di 22 tcaho(ra) tsuna

§16 || senīli 9thau hauḍī 9 chā 8 tsu(na)

§17 || spāṭa marṣa’ thau hauḍī 20 chā

§18 || ṣanīraki thau hau9[di] 23

§19 | arsāli thau hauḍī 23 [chā]

§20 || māṇe thau hauḍī 23 chā

§21 10|| namaubudā thau hauḍī 36 chā nva thaunakāṃ

§22 || pātcī še’ thau hauḍī 36 11[chā 2 tsu]na suhṇa kamalā u sūradattā kamalā

§23 || cira haskadamā 12[thau hau]ḍā {tcahau’si chā \23/} 23 chā

§24 sahadattā u kharamurrai thau hauḍāṃdi 46 \chā/

§25 13@ kṣvā auvā namaubudi šau ḍni sāmi pājiṇa mūri hauḍā yṣārī ḍham 14bā tcahau’si yṣā’cya

§26 || spāṭa vīsa thau hauḍā 20 chā

§27 || puṇādattā thau hauḍā 1523 chā

§28 gūmaji vidarrjāṃ thau hauḍā 23 chā

§29 || ā(s)kvīra vasade thau hauḍā 18 chā 163 tsuna ṛṛḥaṇi 19 mye haḍai

§30 || namaubudā thau hauḍī šau 39 chā 1 tsunā

§31 u šau 1737 chā 4 tsuna

§32 u pātcī šau 28 chā

§33 35 mye kṣunā 18ṛṛḥaṇi 20 mye haḍai spāṭa še’makā nāte u hvū phañā kvaṇā

§34 tti cu sūlāya gvaścāṃ19[dā] thaunakyau jsa cu 53 nāṃdā

§35 pātcī namaubudi thau hauḍi kṣeradirsā chā kṣi 20[tsu]na

§36 ša’ cu sūlau jsa nāti nva thaunakāṃ
Translation

§1 Spāta Vidyadatta’s (delivered) cloth is 18.5 feet long.

§2 Namaubuda’s (delivered) cloth is 22.5 feet long.

§3 Virgāṃ’s (delivered) cloth is 23.2 feet long.

§4 Namaubuda’s (delivered) cloth is 24 feet long.

§5 Īrasaṃga’s (delivered) cloth is 22.1 feet long.

§6 Brūnade delivered 23 feet of cloth.

§7 Senila delivered 36.2 feet of cloth.

§8 [The following] cloth came in as small cloths.

§9 Namaubuda delivered 38 feet.

§10 Naṃdaka delivered 46 feet of cloth.

§11 Brūnade delivered 20 feet of cloth.

§12 Saṃga delivered 37 [feet] of cloth.

§13 Spāta Vidyadatta delivered 37 feet of cloth.

§14 Makala delivered 22 feet of cloth.

§15 Svarṛjāṃ delivered 22.4 feet of cloth.

§16 Senila delivered 9.8 feet of cloth.

§17 Spāta Mara’s delivered 20 feet of cloth.

§18 Ṣanīraka delivered 23 (feet) of cloth.

§19 Arsāla delivered 23 [feet] of cloth.

§20 Mañe delivered 23 feet of cloth.

§21 Namaubuda delivered 36 feet of cloth with (equivalent) small cloth.
§22 Then, he again delivered 36.2 feet of cloth on behalf of Suhena and Sūradatta.

§23 Haskadarma in Cira delivered 23 [feet] of cloth.

§24 Sahadatta and Kharamurrai delivered 46 feet of cloth.

§25 Namaubuda in the Six Towns delivered into the treasury of Śau An Sam 40000 mūrās with (strings of) 1000 mūrās.

§26 Spāṭa Vīsa delivered 20 feet of cloth.

§27 Puṇadatta delivered 23 feet of cloth.

§28 Vidarrjāṃ from Gūma delivered 23 feet of cloth.

§29 Vasade from Āskūra delivered 18.3 feet of cloth on the 19th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).

§30 Namaubuda delivered one piece of cloth, 39.1 feet long.

§31 and one (piece of cloth), 37.4 feet long.

§32 and again one (piece of cloth), 28 feet long.

§33 On the 20th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month) in the 35th regnal year, spāṭa Śe’maka and the Administrative Assistant Fu received (it).

§34 This is what the Sogdians paid by the small cloths of which they received 53 pieces.

§35 Then Namaubuda delivered 36.8 feet of cloth.

§36 That is what he received from the Sogdians in small cloth.

Commentary


§6 {brūnade thau hauḍi} 23 cha: This section is deleted by the scribe who wrote the next record, recognizable by his bold handwriting, because the amount of cloth that Brūnade deliv-
ered is 20 feet, not 23 feet. The correct amount is recorded in §11, corresponding to the voucher in Archive 3/2.6 §1.

§8 thaunakāṃ: ‘small cloth’, corresponding to Chin. xiāobù 小布, as attested in SI P 103.49 (SDTV III, p.156). The ‘small cloth’ is of higher value than normal cloth. One foot of small cloth’ is worth 450 mūrās (Archive 3/3.4 §8), whereas the price of silk cloth is 62.5 mūrās per foot (Archive 3/3.9 §3). Duan (2013a, p.310) identifies the small cloth with Chin. hújin 胡锦, ‘foreign brocade’ and Tib. men dri in Hedin (Tibetan) 2, whereas Yoshida (2008a, p.470) suggests that Tib. men dri is a translation of Khot. pe‘mīnai thau and Chin. shīchōu 绯绸, ‘floss silk cloth’. For shīchōu 绯绸, see commentary on Archive 3/2.3 §1 (C).

§8 ttraṃdi: ‘entered’, see SGS, pp.40-41. In this context, the verb ttraṃ- refers to converting the value of a small cloth into that of a normal cloth’. Compare Archive 3/3.8 §5 ‘naraṃda’, from narāṃ-, ‘to go out, to convert (something) into money’.

§8 4|ṣi’ vā th|au nva thaunakāṃ ttraṃdi: ‘[The following] cloth came in as small cloths.’ Some men delivered small cloth in place of normal cloth. According to Archive 3/3.9 §3, 3.2 feet of small cloth is equivalent to 23 feet of normal cloth.

§11 byūnade: a scribal error for ‘brūnade’, see its corresponding voucher in Archive 3/2.6.

§17 thau hauḍi 20 chā: Bailey (KT IV, p.33) reads: ‘thau hauḍi 20 h<imye>’.

§22 || pātcī śe’ thau hauḍi 36 [chā 2] tsuna suhēna kamalā u sūradattā kamalā: ‘Then, he again delivered 36.2 feet of cloth on behalf of Suhena and Sūradatta.’ Bailey (KT IV, p.120) notices the peculiar usage of ‘kamalā’ here, but does not offer an explanation. Here, kamala- ‘head’ must mean ‘on behalf of’. Apart from suhēna kamalā u sūradattā kamalā, §22 is identical with
the voucher in Archive 3/2.14 §2, in which Namaubuda is recorded as the payer. As every men
should deliver 23 feet (Archive 3/3.3 §2), two men should deliver 46 feet. Suhena and Sūradatta
jointly delivered 36.2 feet, 9.8 feet short of the assigned amount. For each of them, about 5 feet
was still outstanding, as recorded in Archive 3/3.9 §5 and §6. Sūradatta later paid his debt, as
recorded in the voucher in Archive 3/2.17 §2.

§23 || cira haskadarmā [thau hau]ḍā {tcahau’si chā 23/l} 23 chā: ‘Haskadarma from Cira de-
ivered 23 feet of cloth.’ Haskadarma is also attested in Archive 3/5.10 §2, Archive 3/5.12 §11,
and Archive 3/6.1 §10. His payment does not correspond to any voucher in Archive 3/2. Instead,
we find a voucher of 20 feet of cloth by Sudarma on the 9th of the 12th month (Archive 3/2.13).
This voucher does not correspond to any payment in the account either. Is it merely coincidental
that both names end in -darma?

§25 ysārī haṃbā: ‘by the amount of 1000, (string) of 1000 (mūrās)’. See commentary on Ar-
chive 3/2.1 §2.


§28 gūmaji vidarrjāṃ: ‘Vidarrjāṃ from Gūma’. In the corresponding voucher, Archive 3/2.11,
Vidarrjāṃ is identified as pharṣa sudarana dīna vidarjū ‘Vidarjū under pharṣa Sudara’. Gūma is
a village in Āskūra. See commentary on Archive 3/5.22 §2. The attestation of Gūma here does
not indicate by any means that it is on the same administrative level of Āskūra in §29, as Zhu
Lishuang (2013a, p.46) understands it.

§29 || ākvīra vasade thau hauḍā 18 chā 3 tsuna rrāhaji 19 mye haḍai: ‘Vasade from Āskūra
delivered 18.3 feet of cloth on the 19th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).’ The dating formula is fol-
lowed by the sentence separator ||, so it must belong to this section, not the following one. The
four payments recorded in §29-§33 are not found in Hedin 16, since the last voucher in Hedin 16
dates from the 7th day of the 12th month. These payments may have been recorded in freestanding
vouchers similar to Archive 3/2.16.

§30 || namaubūdā thau hauḍi šau 39 chā 1 tsunā: ‘Namaubuda delivered one cloth, 39.1 feet
long.’ Note that what Namaubuda delivered is one (piece of) cloth (thau), not one bolt (thauna).

§34 tti cu sūlya gvaścāṃ[da] thauṇkyaau jsa cu 53 (chā) nāṃdā: ‘This is what the Sogdians
paid by the small cloths of which they received 53 pieces.’ Those who could only produce small
cloths needed to convert their small cloth (thauṇaka) into normal cloth (thau). The Sogdians de-
delivered normal cloth to the officials on behalf of these people in return for their small cloth. Ac-
cording to Archive 3/3.8 §6, the Sogdians took 53 pieces of small cloth for seven bolts of normal
cloth. Here I take one piece of small cloth as one foot of small cloth, because that is the default
unit measuring small cloth. One feet of small cloth is worth 450 mūrās (Archive 3/3.4 §8) and
one foot of normal cloth is worth 62.5 mūrās (Archive 3/3.9 §3). 53 feet of small cloth would
make 53 × 450 = 23850 mūrās. Seven bolts of normal cloth would make 7 × 40 × 62.5 = 17500.
Clearly, the Sogdian made a considerable profit out of the deal.

Archive 3/3.2 (Hedin 1) Account of delivered and cloth still outstanding

This document is almost identical to Archive 3/3.3 and to a large extent overlap with Archive
3/3.4 and Archive 3/3.5 (Hedin 13-a & b). The following table summarizes and juxtaposes the
information in these documents.
Table 3/3.2 Synopsis of Archive 3/3.2-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Description</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.2</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.3</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.4</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Year 35, there are 44 workers.</td>
<td>§1</td>
<td>§1</td>
<td>§1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every man (should deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth.</td>
<td>§2</td>
<td>§2</td>
<td>§2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accordingly, 25 bolts 12 feet (of cloth) should be (delivered).</td>
<td>§3</td>
<td>§3</td>
<td>§3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prefect, the officials, and the wealthy should deliver 7 bolts 30 feet (of cloth).</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total amount is 33 bolts 2 feet.</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 bolts 11.7 feet of cloth has been delivered.</td>
<td>§6</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td>§6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 bolts 24.3 feet of cloth is still outstanding.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>§7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sogdians delivered 2.5 bolts.</td>
<td>§13</td>
<td>§6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The voucher has not been obtained from the Sogdians.</td>
<td>§15</td>
<td>§7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Še’maka received the collected (cloth).</td>
<td>§14</td>
<td>§8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefect <em>spāta</em> Sudāṛjāṃ should deliver 3 bolts.</td>
<td>§7</td>
<td>§9</td>
<td>§1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Yañiviṭa owes 40 feet.</td>
<td>§8</td>
<td>§10</td>
<td>§2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sāmada owes 20 feet.</td>
<td>§9</td>
<td>§11</td>
<td>§3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śanīraka owes 20 feet.</td>
<td>§10</td>
<td>§12</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budarma owes 23 feet.</td>
<td>§11</td>
<td>§13</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarkāṃ owes 20 feet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>§6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hṛṇiviṭa and Visarrjāṃ owe 6 feet.</td>
<td>§12</td>
<td>§14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaudara owes 1640 mūrās.</td>
<td>§16</td>
<td>§15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In both Archive 3/3.2 and Archive 3/3.3, the scribe first calculates the amount of cloth assigned to the cloth payers in the Six Towns (23 feet/man × 44 men = 1012 feet = 25 bolts 12 feet), then adds the amount assigned to tsīṣī and others to get the total outstanding amount (7 bolts 30 feet + 25 bolts 12 feet = 33 bolt 2 feet). Next, he gives the amount of cloth already delivered (25 bolts 11.7 feet), and calculates the amount still outstanding (33 bolt 2 feet - 25 bolts 11.7 feet = 7 bolts 24.3 feet). Finally, the scribe lists 9 men and the amounts of cloth they owe. The last three men owe money instead of cloth. In Archive 3/3.4, however, this part is replaced by a calculation of small cloths that men from different towns should deliver.

**Text**

§1 ¹sparadirsamyē kṣu(ṇi) kīrāhvaṃḍi 40 4

§2 ²ē hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai thau 20 3 chā
§3 tta nva hvaṁdaṁ ṭhauna himārā 20 5 u 10 2 chā

§4 tsīśī u hārvā thauna himārā hauḍa u dirsā chā

§5 ṃbiśna haṁba’ca thauna haurāṅa/ 30 3 u dva chā

§6 vaṇa nva kṣauvāṁ hauḍa himya 20 3 u śūdasi chā

§7 tsīśī spāṭa sudārrjāṁ thauna haurāṅa 3

§8 spāṭa yaṇiśvi ca’hau’si chā

§9 pharṣa sāmadi puḍi 20 chā

§10 ṣanīraki 20 chā

§11 budarmā 20 3 chā

§12 hvīviṭi u visarrjāṁ kṣi chā

§13 u thauna dva hālai va sūlya thaunaka nāṃdi

§14 7thini ttiki biśa biśa ttyā spāṭa ṣe’maki paphūka nāṭi

§15 kṣau na ra byaidi sūlau jsa

§16 8mūrai ysāra kṣi-se ca’hau’si yaudarā hīye vāra

§17 mūri dvī ysā dvī-sa paṃjsāsi sūradatti hīye 9vāra

§18 mūrā ysārā kṣi-si cahausī pa’ sudatti vāra

**Translation**

§1 In the 35th regnal year, there (are) 44 workers.

§2 One man (should deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth.

§3 So, according to (the number of) men, the cloth (to be delivered) is 25 (bolts) 12 feet.

§4 The prefect and the officials should deliver 7 (bolts) 30 feet (of cloth).

§5 In total, 33 bolts 2 feet of cloth should be delivered.
§6 Now, according to the vouchers, 23 (bolts) 11 feet has been delivered.

§7 Prefect spāta Sudārrjāṃ is to deliver 3 (bolts) (of cloth).

§8 Spāta Yanivi (is to deliver) 40 feet (of cloth).

§9 Pharṣa Sāmada owes 20 feet (of cloth).

§10 Šanīraka (owes) 20 feet (of cloth).

§11 Budarma (owes) 23 feet (of cloth).

§12 Hvrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ (owe) six feet (of cloth).

§13 The Sogdians took small cloth for 2.5 bolts (of cloth).

§14 Spāta Še’maka received the collected from them (= the Sogdians) in the village of thini ttiki.

§15 The voucher has not been obtained from the Sogdians yet.

§16 Yaudara owes 1640 mūrās.

§17 Sūradatta owes 2250 mūrās.

§18 Sudatta from Pa’ owes 1640 mūrās.

**Commentary**

§1 sparadirsamye kṣu(ṇi) kīrārā hvamḍi 40 4: ‘In the 35th regnal year, there (are) 44 working men’. In other words, 44 men have been registered as workers, and they were responsible for delivering tribute cloth.

§2 pe’mīnai thau: ‘floss silk cloth’. Chin. shīchōu 絲絹, probably Tib. men dri. Its price was at 62.5 mūrās per foot. See the calculation in commentary of Archive 3/3.9 §3. More on this word, see commentary on Archive 3/2.3.

§3 thauna: ‘bolt’, corresponding to Chin. pī pī. One bolt equals to 40 feet, in accordance with the Tang system.

§7 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ: Sudārrjāṃ was the prefect of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, who issued numerous documents in Archive 3.

§8 yqnivi: Proper name. Yqnivi is one of the spelling variants of Yqnivīṭi attested in Archive 3/3.3 §10, Archive 3/3.7 §3.

§9 puḍī: ‘to promise, to commit oneself, to owe’. See puḍa- in Studies III, pp. 96-100. It is also attested in a newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document, corresponding to Chin. qiàn ㄑ ‘to owe’. See Duan and Li 2014, p.31.

§11 budarmā 20 3 chā: ‘Budarma (owes) 23 feet.’ Budarma delivered 23 feet of cloth in the third month of the next year, as recorded in the voucher in Archive 3/2.17 §1.

§12 hvīviṭi u visarrjāṃ ksi chā: ‘Hvrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ (owe) 6 feet.’ Hvrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ are not attested in Archive 3/3.1, but it is recorded in Archive 3/2.15 §1 that ‘Visarrjāṃ from Cira together with Hvrrīva delivered 40 feet of cloth’. (Hvīviṭi and hvrrīvi are spelling variants of the same name.) Since one man was to deliver 23 feet of cloth, Hvrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ should delivered 46 feet. They already delivered 40 feet, and still owe 6 feet. As recorded in Archive 3/2.15 §1, Hvrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ’s payment of 40 feet was made on the 21st of the 12th month. Consequently, this account must have been made after that date.

§13 u thauna dva hālai va sūlya thaunaka nāṃdi: ‘The Sogdians took small cloth for 2.5 bolts.’ Bailey (KT IV, p. 21) reads ‘u thauna dva hālai u’. As discussed in the commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §34, the Sogdians delivered tribute cloth on behalf of some people in return for small cloth. Here, the emphasis is on the small cloth. The Sogdians delivered 2.5 bolts of tribute cloth
for those who should but could not deliver it, and took (nāṃdi) small cloth in return. The wording is slightly different in Archive 3/3.3 §6: thauna dva hālai sūlya hauḍāṃdi ‘the Sogdians delivered two and a half bolts’. The emphasis is on the tribute cloth. The Sogdians delivered (hauḍāṃdi) 2.5 bolts of tribute cloth to the officials on behalf of those who should but could not deliver it.

§14 thinī ttiki: This village name must be from Chinese. Bailey (KT IV, p.60) suggests tiāndé 天德, but a place name as such is not attested elsewhere in Khotanese and Chinese documents from Khotan.

§14 biṣa: biṣā-, L.s., ‘house, village’, the lowest level in the administrative system of Khotan, corresponding to Chin. cūn 村 ‘village’ (Duan 2009a, p.66), but not Tib. tshan(d) as suggested in Tsugihito 2009, p.146. Tib. tshan(d) is equivalent to Chin. zhōu 州 ‘prefecture’ (Zhu 2012, p.75).

§14 bisā: bisāa-, particle following locatives.

§15 kṣau na ra byaidi sūlau jsa: ‘The voucher has not been obtained from the Sogdians yet.’

The Sogdians should have received a voucher from spāta Śe’maka, to whom they had delivered tribute cloth on behalf of some Khotanese workers. The Sogdians should then the pass the voucher to the officials of the prefecture so that their payment can be confirmed and taken into account, but they have not done so. This lack of voucher is probably reflected again in Archive 3/3.16 §2.

§16 mūrai ysāra kṣi-se ca’hau’si yaudarā hīye vāra: ‘Yaudara owes 1640 mūrās.’ One foot of small cloth is worth 450 mūrās (Archive 3/3.4 §8). 1640 mūrās is approximately equivalent to 3.65 feet of small cloth (3.65 × 450 = 1642.5), the amount assigned to those who deliver small
cloth instead of floss silk cloth (Archive 3/3.4 §8-§9). Yaudara is attested again in Archive 3/3.12 §3 as owing 520 mūrās.

§17 mūri dvī ysā dvī-sa paṃjsāsi sūradatti hiye vāra: ‘Sūradatta owes 2250 mūrās.’ 2250 mūrās is equivalent to five feet of small cloth. 

\[(2250 \div 450 = 5)\]

Interestingly, it was recorded in Archive 3/3.9 §6 that Sūradatta owes 5 feet of cloth, perhaps because Namaubuda delivered 18.1 feet on his behalf (Archive 3/3.1 §22), almost 5 feet short of the assigned amount. Additionally, according to Archive 3/2.17 §2, Sūradatta paid his due in the third month of the next year. Conceivably, the scribe of this document mistook the 5 feet of cloth that Sūradatta owed as 5 feet of small cloth.

§18 mūrā ysārā kṣi-si caahusi pa’ sudatti vāra: ‘Sudatta from Pa’ owes 1640 mūrās.’ As in §16, 1640 mūrās is the amount assigned in Archive 3/3.4 §9. Sudatta from Pa’ is not attested in the vouchers. Perhaps he also repaid his debt three months later, but his voucher has not been preserved.

**Archive 3/3.3 (Or.11344/4) account of cloth still outstanding**

This account is almost identical to Archive 3/3.2 and overlaps with Archive 3/3.4 and Archive 3/3.5 to a large extent. Although its right end is damaged, most of the missing akṣaras can be restored by comparison with Archive 3/3.2.

**Text**

§1 '30] 5 mye kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvā kīrarā hvaṃ(ḍi) tcahauratca’hau’si

§2 śe hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai [thau 20 3 chā]

§3 3tta nva hvaṃḍā thauna himārā 20 5 u 10 2 chā

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§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṁ u tsātā[ṃ bida] 3thauna himārā hauda u dirsā chā

§5 vaña nva kṣauvā hauḍha thauna himya 20 3 u [šūdasi chā 47 t]suna

§6 thauna dva hālai sūlyā hauḍāṃdi

§7 kṣau na ra byaidi

§8 tti cu spāta śe’maki [paphūka nāti]

§9 5thauna 3 tsīṣī spāta sudārjāṃ haurāṅa

§10 u spāta yāni viṭi śau tca’hau’sā ch[ā]

§11 [u pharṣa sāma]6di thau puḍi 20 chā

§12 śanīraki 20 chā

§13 budarmā 20 3 chā

§14 hrrīviṭi u vi[sarrjāṃ kṣi chā]

§15 7mūrai ysārā kṣi-si tcahau’sā yaudarā hiye vāra

§16 mūri dvī ysārā dvī-sa paṃjsāsā sūradatt[i] 8vāra

§17 mūrā ysārā kṣi-si tcahausi pa’ sudatti vāra

Translation

§1 In the 35th regnal year, there are 44 workers in Cira-Six Town (Prefecture).

§2 One man (shall deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth.

§3 Then according to (the number of) men, the cloth (to be delivered) is 25 bolts 12 feet.

§4 The prefect, the officials, and the wealthy should deliver 7 bolts 30 feet of cloth.

§5 Now, according to the vouchers, 23 bolts [11.7 feet] of cloth have been delivered.

§6 The Sogdians delivered 2.5 bolts.

§7 But the voucher has not been obtained.
§8 These (are) what spāta Śe’maka [collected.]

§9 Prefect spāta Sudārrjāṃ should deliver 3 bolts.

§10 Spāta Yaniviṭi (should deliver) one bolt or 40 feet.


§12 Śanīraka (owes) 20 feet.

§13 Budarma (owes) 23 feet.

§14 Hṛṛviṭi and Vi[sarrjāṃ owe 6 feet.]

§15 Yaudara owes 1640 mūrās.

§16 Sūradatta owes 2250 mūrās.

§17 Sudatta from Pa’ owes 1640 mūrās.

Commentary

§1 cira kṣvā auvā: ‘in Cira-Six Town (Prefecture)’, see commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (C).

§2 pe’mīnai [thau]: ‘floss silk cloth’, corresponding to Chin. shīchōu 絸絹, Tib. men drī. See Yoshida 2008a, pp.469-470.

§2 ṣe hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai [thau 20 3 chā]: ‘Each man (shall deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth’, restored according to Archive 3/3.3 §2: ‘ṣe hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai thau 20 3 chā’.

§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṇ u tsātā: ‘the prefect, the officials, and the wealthy’. Additional tribute cloth was assigned to those of higher social status in the prefecture. Their names and the amounts of cloth assigned to each are listed in Archive 3/3.6 §5-§12 and Archive 3/3.7 §2-§13, as summarized in the following table:
Though the two lists are slightly different from each other, the names in both lists are clearly arranged in order of descending hierarchy: first the prefect, followed by *spātas*, then *pharṣas*, and lastly, those without titles.

§4 *tsiṣi*: ‘Prefect, head of a prefecture’, corresponding to Chin. *cishi* 刺史. As shown in §9, the prefect refers to Sudārrjāṃ. More on this title, see commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §2.


§4 *tsāṭā*: ‘the wealthy’, N.-A. pl., referring to the third group of men in the lists, those without official titles.

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**Table 3/3.3 Amounts of Assigned cloth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Assigned Cloth</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.6</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefect <em>Spāta</em> Sudārrjāṃ</td>
<td>3 bolts</td>
<td>§5</td>
<td>§2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Yaniviṭa</td>
<td>40 feet</td>
<td>§6</td>
<td>§3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Burmaki</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Marṣā’</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Vīsa</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§8</td>
<td>§5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Vidyadatta</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>[§9]</td>
<td>§6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sādara</td>
<td>15 feet</td>
<td>§10</td>
<td>§7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sāmada</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§11</td>
<td>§8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudarma from Pa’</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§12</td>
<td>§9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brūnada from Phanai</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>§13</td>
<td>§10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śanīraka from Mattiška</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>[§14]</td>
<td>§11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṃga</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td></td>
<td>§12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśnadatti</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td></td>
<td>§13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātāṣṇ bida] thauna himārā hauda u dīrśā chā: ‘the cloth upon the prefect, the officials, and the wealthy is 7 bolts 30 feet’. ‘[bida]’ is restored according to Archive 3/3.4 §4: ‘tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā bida thauna himārā hauda u dīrśā chā.’

§5: 20 3 u [śūdas chā 7 tsuna: ‘23 bolts 11.7 feet’, restored according to Archive 3.4/4 §6: ‘20 {5} \3 11 chā 7 tsuna/ u 17 chā hauda tsuna’, the amount of cloth delivered was modified from 25 bolts 17.7 feet to 23 bolt 11.7 feet, and the latter amount matches the amount here, hence ‘7’ is supplied. In Archive 3/3.2 §6, the figure is 23 bolts 11 feet.

§6 thauna dva hālai sūlya haudāṃdi: ‘The Sogdians delivered 2.5 bolts.’ The Sogdian delivered floss silk cloth on behalf of those who should but could not deliver it, in return for small cloth. See commentary on Archive 3/3.2 §13.

§8 tti cu spāta še’mak [paphūka nāti]: ‘These (are) what spāta Še’maka [collected]’, restored from Archive 3/3.2 §14: ‘spāta še’maki paphūka nāti’.


§14 hrrīvīṭi u vi[sarrjāṃ kṣi chā]: ‘Hrrīvīṭi and Visarrjāṃ (owe) 6 feet’, restored according to Archive 3/3.2 §12: ‘hrrīvīṭi u visarrjāṃ kṣi chā’.

Archive 3/3.4 (Hedin 13-a) Account of cloth still outstanding

Hedin 13-a and Hedin 13-b are two documents written on opposite ends of Hedin 13. Hedin 13-a, or Archive 3/3.4, can be divided into two parts. Part one, Archive 3/3.4 §1-§7, corresponds to Archive 3/3.3 §1-§6 and Archive 3/3.4 §1-§5, and concerns the calculation of cloth still outstanding. Part two, Archive 3/3.4 §8-§12, concerns the conversion between cloth and small cloth
and the sum of money that each town should deliver according to the price of small cloth, 450 mūrās per foot. This part is related to Archive 3/3.9 §10-§11, in which the outstanding amounts of small cloth are listed.

Text

§1 1sparadirsamyе kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvā kīrarāṁ hvaṃḍi tcahaura tca’hau’sā

§2 2še hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai thau 23 chā

§3 tti nva hvaṃḍām thauna himārā 25 12 3chā

§4 4tisī u hārvāṁ u tsātā bida thauna himārā hauda u dīrsā chā

§5 5haṃba’ca thauna himārā 33 u 2 chā

§6 vaṇa nva kṣauvā hauḍa thauna himya 620 {5} \3 11 chā 7 tsuna/ u 17 chā hauda tsuna

§7 7vaṇa ra thauna vāra hauda u 24 chā 3 tsuna

§8 8še hvaṃḍyi hatcām 3 chā kṣi tsuna hālai tca’hause paṃjsāsī chā

§9 mūrī himārā ysārā kṣi-se tcahau’si

§10 9āskvāra paṃji hvaṃḍā thaunakā nva mūrī himārā 8 ysārā dvī-sa 10 8 chā drai tsuna thau va

§11 10phānājā u pa’jā daśvi thaunakā mūrī himārā 10 4 ysā’ca drrai-se 10

Translation

§1 In the 35th regnal year, in Cira-Six Town (Prefecture), there are 44 working men.

§2 One man (should deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth.

§3 According to (the number of) men, 25 bolts 12 feet (of cloth should be delivered).

§4 The prefect, the officials, and the wealthy (should deliver) 7 (bolts) 30 feet of cloth.

§5 The total is 33 bolts 2 feet.
§6 Now, according to the vouchers, {25 bolts 17.7 feet} \23 bolts 11.7 feet/ (of cloth) has been delivered.

§7 Now 7 bolts 24.3 feet (of cloth) is still outstanding.

§8 For each man (who) substitutes (small cloth for cloth), (the amount of small cloth to be delivered) is 3.65 feet (at the price of) 450 (mūrās) per foot.

§9 (The sum) is 1640 mūrās.

§10 For the five men in Āskūra, (the sum) is 8200 mūrās for 18.3 feet of small cloth.

§11 For the ten men from Phaṃnai and Pa’, (the sum) for small cloth is 14310 mūrās.

Commentary

§6 vaña nva kṣauvā hauḍa thaunā himya 20 {5} \3 11 chā 7 tsuna/ u 17 chā hauḍa tsuna:
‘Now, according to the vouchers, 25 bolts 17.7 feet \23 bolts 11.7 feet/ has been delivered.’ 33 bolts 2 feet or 1322 feet has been assigned (§5), and 7 bolts 24.3 feet or 304.3 feet is still outstanding (§7). The delivered cloth must be 1322 − 304.3 = 1017.7 feet, or 25 bolt 17.7 feet, the original figure in the document. This figure is later corrected to 23 bolt 11.7 feet, or 931.7 feet, 2 bolts 6 feet less than the original figure. The amount of delivered cloth in Archive 3/3.2 §6 (23 bolts 11 feet) and Archive 3/3.3 §5 (23 bolts [11.7] feet) agree with the corrected figure here. The correction was made with denser ink, similar to the ink used in §8-§12. According to the corrected figure, 390.3 feet of 9 bolts 30.3 feet of cloth is still outstanding. Perhaps the scribe decided not to take into consideration of the 2.5 bolts the Sogdians delivered (Archive 3/3.2 §13 and Archive 3/3.3 §6), because the voucher of this payment has not been obtained (Archive 3/3.2 §15 and Archive 3/3.3 §7). But 2.5 bolts is 14 feet more than 2 bolts 6 feet. At present, this discrepancy has to remain unaccounted for.
§8 hatcaṃ: ‘conversion, replacement’, from hatcañ- ‘to break’. Tribute cloth can be replaced by small cloth or money. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.

§8 ṣe hvaṃḍyi hatcaṃ 3 chā kṣi tsuna hālai tca’hause paṃjsāsi chā: ‘For each man the replacement of (cloth by small cloth), (the amount of small cloth) is 3.65 feet (at the price of) 450 mūrās per foot.’ Since one foot of small cloth is worth 450 mūrās, 3.65 feet of small cloth is equivalent to 1642.5 mūrās, approximately 1640 mūrās, the amount assigned to one man in §9, also the amount owed by Yaudara (Archive 3/3.2 §16 and Archive 3/3.3 §15) and Sudatta from Pa’ (Archive 3/3.2 §18 and Archive 3/3.3 §17). In Archive 3/3.9 §3, however, 3.2 feet of the small cloth is assigned to each man who substitutes small cloth for cloth. The increase from 3.2 feet to 3.65 feet is probably due to the increase of the amount of cloth still outstanding from 304.3 feet to 390.3 feet (Archive 3/3.4 §6). But the figures do not perfectly agree with each other.

§10 āskvīra paṃji hvaṃḍa thaunakā nva mūri himārā 8 ysārā dvī-sa 10 8 chā drai tsuna thau va: ‘For the five men in Āskūra, (the sum) is 8200 mūrās for 18.3 feet of small cloth.’ 1640 × 5= 8200. 3.65 × 5 = 18.25 ≈ 18.3. In Archive 3/3.9 §7, the amount of small cloth for those in Āskūra is 3.2 × 5 = 16 feet.

§11 phañājā u pa’jā daśvi: Bailey (KT IV, p.29) reads: ‘phañājā u pa’jā paṃjyi’. Bailey’s reading does not agree with the manuscript nor the context, since there should be ten men in Phaṃnai and Pa’ combined, see below.

§11 phañājā u pa’jā daśvi thaunakā mūri himārā 10 4 ysā’ca drrai-se 10: ‘For the 10 (men) from Phaṃnai and Pa’, (the sum) for small cloth is 14310 mūrās.’ 14310 mūrās is equivalent to 31.8 feet of small cloth. It seems that the amount assigned to those from Phaṃnai and Pa’ is not 3.65 feet per man, but 3.2 feet per man, same as the amount in Archive 3/3.9 §3. In Archive 3/3.9
§9, 19 feet is assigned to those from Pa’, approximately the amount for six men \(3.2 \times 6 = 19.2\), while the amount assigned to those from Phaṃnai is missing in Archive 3/3.9 §8. If we assume that the total amount of small cloth assigned to people from Phaṃnai and Pa’ in Archive 3/3.9 is also 31.8 feet, then the amount of small cloth assigned to those from Phaṃnai in Archive 3/3.9 §8 should be \(31.8 - 19 = 12.8\) feet, the exact amount assigned to four men \(12.8 \div 3.2 = 4\). In other words, there are 15 men, five from Āskūra, four from Phaṃnai, and six from Pa’, who deliver small cloth instead of floss silk cloth. The above calculations are based on and improved from Duan 2013a, pp.323-24. Also note that the total amount of small cloth assigned here is \(31.8 + 18.3 = 50.1\) feet, close to the 53 pieces of small cloth that the Sogdians received (Archive 3/3.1 §33 and Archive 3/3.8 §6).

### Archive 3/3.5 (Hedin 13-b) Account of cloth still outstanding

Listed in the second document on Hedin 13 are the names of those who owe cloth and the amounts they owe, corresponding to Archive 3/3.2 §7-11 and Archive 3/3.2 §9-13. The total cloth still outstanding listed here amounts to 243 feet, significantly less than the amount of cloth still outstanding calculated in Archive 3/3.4, 304.3 feet before modification, or 390.3 feet after modification.

### Text

§1 1thauna 3 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vāra

§2 thau śau spāta ṣāṇiviḍti vāra \(\text{tcahausi chā}\/\)

§3 2thau 20 chā pharṣa sāṃmadi vāra

§4 thau 20 chā ṣanīraki hīvī vāra
§5 3thau 23 chā budarmā vāra

§6 thau 20 chā sakāṃ hīvī vāra

Translation

§1 Prefect spāta Sudārrjāṃ owes 3 bolts.

§2 Spāta Yāṇiviḍta owes 40 feet of cloth.

§3 Pharsa Sāmada owes 20 feet of cloth.

§4 Śanīraka owes 20 feet of cloth.

§5 Budarma owes 23 feet of cloth.

§6 Sarkāṃ owes 20 feet of cloth.

Commentary

§6 thau 20 chā sakāṃ hīvī vāra: ‘Sarkāṃ owes 20 feet of cloth’. Sakāṃ is a scribal error for sarkāṃ, a well attested name in Archive 3. It is hard to explain, however, why Sarkāṃ is not attested in the payment account in Archive 3/3.1, nor in the debtor list in Archive 3/3.2 and Archive 3/3.3, nor in the vouchers in Archive 3/2.

Archive 3/3.6 (Or.11252/30) Account of assigned cloth and money

Recorded in this damaged document is the amount of cloth and money assigned to Cira-Six Town Prefecture in the 35th regnal year, or year 801. The content of §4-14 is repeated in Archive 3/3.3 §4 and §9, and Archive 3/3.7 §3-§11. As a result, most of the lacunae at the right end of this document can be restored with confidence, as shown in the following table:
As shown in the above table, listed in §4-§14 are the amounts of cloth assigned to ten men. After the document was made, six of them later delivered the cloth assigned to them, as recorded in the vouchers in Archive 3/2 and the payment list in Archive 3/3.1. Four did not, as recorded in the accounts of cloth still outstanding in Archive 3/3.2, Archive 3/3.3, and Archive 3/3.5. These can be summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive 3/3.6</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.7</th>
<th>Archive 3/3.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§4 mista thauna haud[ä u 30 chā tsīṣī u hārvā] 3u tsātā ḥvaṃḍāṃ bida himārā</td>
<td>§1 1[tsīṣī] u hārvā u tsānā pe’minā thauna</td>
<td>§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā [bida] 3thauna himārā hauda u dirṣā chā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§5 tsīṣī spāṭa sudāṛṛjāṃ thauna 3 [h]au[rāṇa]</td>
<td>§2 tsīṣī thauna 3</td>
<td>§9 5thauna 3 tsīṣī spāṭa sudāṛṛjāṃ haurāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§6 [spāṭa yaniviti tca]4hau’si chā</td>
<td>§3 spāṭa yaniviṭi såu tca’hau’si chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§7 spāṭa burmaki 20 chā</td>
<td>§4 spāṭa marṣā’ 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§8 s[p]āṭa vīsa 20 chā</td>
<td>§5 spāṭa vīsa 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§9 [spāṭa vidyadatti 10 5 chā]</td>
<td>§6 spāṭa vidyadatti 15 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§10 [pharṣa] 5sāḍarā 10 ’5/ chā</td>
<td>§7 pharṣa sāṃdari 15 [chā]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§11 pharṣa sāmadi 20 chā</td>
<td>§8 sā[ma]di 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§12 pa’ suda[r]m[ā 20 chā]</td>
<td>§9 pa’ji sudarmā 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§13 [phāṇāji brūnadi 20 chā]</td>
<td>§10 phāṇāji brūnadi 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§14 6mattīskāṇa ṣaṇīraki 20 chā</td>
<td>§11 ṣaṇīraki 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>§12 saṃgi 20 4[chā]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>§13 aśnadatti 20 chā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3/3.6-2 Synopsis of the assigned, delivered, and cloth still outstanding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Assigned</th>
<th>Delivered</th>
<th>Outstanding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefect <em>spāta</em> Sudārrjāṃ</td>
<td>3 bolts</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §5</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §2</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.2 §7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.3 §7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.5 §1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Yaniviḍṭa</td>
<td>40 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §6</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §3</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.2 §8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.3 §10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.5 §2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Burmaki</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Marṣā’</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §4</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.9 §1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1 §17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Visa</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §8</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.8 §1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §5</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1 §26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spāta</em> Vidya-datta</td>
<td>15 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §9</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7 §2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §6</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1 §13*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sādara</td>
<td>15 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §10</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.11 §1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §7</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1 §28**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sāmada</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.2 §9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.3 §11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.5 §3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudarma from Pa’</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §12</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.13 §1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brūnada from Phamnai</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §13</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1 §11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka</td>
<td>20 feet</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6 §14</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7 §11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text

§1 130 5 mye kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvvā mista thauna himārā 30 2 u 10 1 chā

§2 u vitt- […]

§3 3mūri 40 4 ysā’cya šau āṇi kuhi syini nāsāṇi
§4 mista thauna haud[a u 30 chá tsīṣi u hārvām] 3u tsātā hvaṃḍāṃ bida himārā

§5 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ thauna 3 [h]au[rāṇa]

§6 [spāta yaniviṭā tca]4hau’si chá

§7 spāta burmaki 20 chá

§8 s[p]āta vīsa 20 chá

§9 [spāta vīyadatti 10 5 chá]

§10 [pharṣa] 5sādarā 10 \5/ chá

§11 pharṣa sāmadi 20 chá

§12 pa’ suda[r]m[ā 20 chá]

§13 [phaṇāji brūnadi 20 chá]

§14 6mattīskāṇa ṣānīraki 20 chá

§15 kīrarā hvaṃḍi 40 4

§16 mista [thauna himārā 20 5 u 10 2 chá]

§17 7mūra-ṃ himārā 40 4 [ys]ā[cyā]

§18 […] -au x] 3 chá u mūrā […]

§19 […] haṃḍara] 8prū jsausīya pa[…]  

**Translation**

§1 In the 35th regnal year, in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, 32 bolts 11 feet of large cloth is (to be delivered).

§2 And Vitt- ….

§3 Ṣau An Kuh-syin should receive 44,000 mūrās.

§4 7 bolts [30 feet] of large cloth is (assigned) to [the prefect, the officials,] and the wealthy.
§5 Prefect spāta Sudārrjāṃ shall deliver 3 bolts.

§6 [Spāta Yaniviṭā] (shall deliver) 40 feet.

§7 Spāta Burmaka (shall deliver) 20 feet.

§8 Spāta Vīsa (shall deliver) 20 feet.

§9 [Spāta Vidyadatti (shall deliver) 15 feet.]

§10 [Pharṣa] Sāṃdara (shall deliver) 15 feet.

§11 Pharṣa Sāmada (shall deliver) 20 feet.

§12 Sudarma from Pa’ (shall deliver) [20 feet]

§13 [Brūnada from Phaṃnai (shall deliver) 20 feet.]

§14 Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka (shall deliver) 20 feet.

§15 There are 44 working men.

§16 The large cloth (assigned to them) [is 25 bolts 12 feet.]

§17 Their tax is 44000 mūrās.

§18 … 3 feet and mūrās ...

§19 [… the Inner] Court, (being) in hardship ...

**Commentary**

§1 mista thauna: ‘large cloth’, as opposed to thauna and thaunaka ‘small cloth’, also attested in SI P 103.4 and Or.12637/23, see Yoshida 2006, p.106.

§1 30 2 u 10 1 chā: ‘32 bolts 11 feet’. The total amount of assigned cloth is 33 bolts 2 feet in Archive 3/3.2 §5 and Archive 3/3.4 §5, and implicitly so in Archive 3/3.3. (25 bolts 12 feet + 7 bolts 30 feet). It is unclear why the figure is different here.
§3 mūri 40 4 ysā’cya șau șani kuhi syinī nāsāni: ‘Şau An Kuh-syin should receive 44000 mūrās.’ Note that ni is part of the name Ānī Kuhī-syinī. This name is also attested in Archive 3/1.8 §1, spelt as șau ani kuki syini. The sum of 44000 mūrās can be linked with two payments, one of 3000 mūrās (Archive 3/2.1), the other of 40000 mūrās (Archive 3/2.2 and Archive 3/3.1 §25). These two payments, 43000 mūrās in total, were made to șau An Sam. Both An Kuh-syin and An Sam are most likely Chinese names of Sogdians bearing the surname Ān 安, the surname assumed by Bukharan Sogdians. A similar name, Ān Dāhàn 安達漢, is attested in Đx 18925 (Zhang and Rong 2002, p.230), a Chinese document from Dandan-Uiliq in the Russian Collection. For a discussion of the Sogdian names and their activities in Khotan, see Rong 2009, p.406.

§4 mista thauna haud[a u 30 cḥa tsīṣī u hārvā] 3u tsātā hvaṃḍāṃ bida himārā: ‘7 bolts [30 feet] of large cloth is (assigned) upon [the prefect, the officials,] and the wealthy.’ The amounts assigned to the prefect, six officials, and three wealthy men are listed in §5-§14. The total is 3 × 40 + 40 + 20 + 20 + 15 + 15 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 = 310 feet = 7 bolts 30 feet, exactly the amount restored here, and also in Archive 3/3.2 §4, Archive 3/3.3 §4, and Archive 3/3.4 §4.

§7 spāta burmaki 20 cḥa: ‘Spāta Burmaka (shall deliver) 20 feet.’ Spāta Burmaka is replaced by spāta Marṣa in Archive 3/3.7 §4. Spāta Burmaka is not attested elsewhere in Archive 3/3, nor in the vouchers in Archive 3/2. Spāta Marṣa, on the other hand, is recorded to have delivered the cloth assigned to him in Archive 3/2.9 §1 in Archive 3/3.1 §17.

§16 mista [thauna himārā 20 5 u 10 2 cḥa]: ‘The large cloth (assigned to them) [is 25 bolts 12 feet]’, restored from Archive 3/3.2 §3: ‘tta nva hvaṃḍāṃ thauna himārā 20 5 u 10 2 cḥā’. This sentence is repeated in Archive 3/3.3 §3 and Archive 3/3.4 §3. 23 feet is assigned to each man (Archive 3/3.2 §2, Archive 3/3.3 §2, Archive 3/3.4 §2), so the total is 23 × 44 = 1012 feet = 25
bolts 12 feet. The total assigned amount should be 33 bolt 2 feet (Archive 3/3.2 §5 and Archive 3/3.4 §5), different from the figure in Archive 3/3.6 §1, 32 bolts 11 feet, which is probably a mistake, since it does not fit the number of workers and not repeated elsewhere.

§19 [... hanḍira] prū: ‘the inner court’. This word refers to the administrative center to which tax and tribute was directed, and where the King of Khotan resided. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §9.


§20 pa[...]: Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.99) reads: ‘parau’.

Archive 3/3.7 (Hedin 12-b) Account of assigned cloth

Similar to Hedin 13, Hedin 12 also includes two documents written from opposite ends, namely, Hedin 12-a and Hedin 12-b. Listed in Archive 3/3.7 (Hedin 12-b) are the amounts of cloth assigned to the prefect, the officials, and the wealthy. Most of its content is repeated in Archive 3/3.6 and reflected elsewhere. See Table 3/3.6-2. The left end of the document is slightly damaged and all the missing aksaras have been restored by comparison with Archive 3/3.6.

Text

§1 1[tsisī] u hārvā u tsānā pe’mīnā thauna

§2 tsisī thauna 3

§3 spāta yānviviṭi ū tca’hau’si chā

§4 2spāta marṣā’ 20 chā

§5 spāta viśa 20 chā

§6 spāta vidyadatti 15 chā
§7 pharṣa sāṃdari 15 3[chā]
§8 sā[ma]di 20 chā
§9 pa’ji sudarmā 20 chā
§10 phanāji brūnadi 20 chā
§11 ṣanīraki 20 chā
§12 saṃgi 20 4[chā]
§13 [a]śnadatti 20 chā

**Translation**

§1 The silk cloth (assigned to) the prefect, the officials and the wealthy.

§2 The prefect (should deliver) 3 bolts.

§3 *Spāta* Ṭanividta (should deliver) one (bolt, or) 40 feet.

§4 *Spāta* Marṣa’ (should deliver) 20 feet.

§5 *Spāta* Vīsa (should deliver) 20 feet.

§6 *Spāta* Vidyadatta (should deliver) 15 feet.

§7 *Pharṣa* Sāṃdara (should deliver) 15 [feet].

§8 Sāmada (should deliver) 20 feet.

§9 Sudarma from Pa’ (should deliver) 20 feet.

§10 Brūnade from Phaṃnai (should deliver) 20 feet.

§11 Ṣanīraka (should deliver) 20 feet.

§12 Samga (should deliver) 20 feet.

§13 Āśnadatta (should deliver) 20 feet.

**Commentary**
§12 saṃgi 20 [chā]: ‘Saṃga (should deliver) 20 feet.’ The amount of cloth assigned to Saṃga is not found in Archive 3/3.6, but his payment of 37 feet of cloth is recorded in Archive 3/2.7 §1 and Archive 3/3.1 §12.

§13 [a]śnadatti 20 chā: ‘Āśnadatta (should deliver) 20 feet’. Bailey (KT IV, p.28) reads: ‘bhaśadatti’. Āśnadatta is not attested in Archive 3/3.6, nor in the vouchers, nor in other accounts in Archive 3/3. He is, however, attested in Archive 3/5.5 §1, Archive 3/6.2 §10, Archive 3/6.5 §2, and Archive 3/6.22 §1.

Archive 3/3.8 (Or.11252/38) Account of small cloth and cloth

Particularly noteworthy in this damaged short document is §6, in which it is recorded that the Sogdians received 53 pieces of small cloth in return for seven bolts of cloth. This document presents more questions than answers. Who is the āmāca and the Sogdian in §1? Why did Śanīraka and Brūnade receive small cloth rather than deliver cloth, as they did in other documents in Archive 3? What is the overall purpose of this document?

Text

§1 1@’ ví haṣṭāyeṃ thau[nāṃ … paṃ]jsūsi āmāci sūlīna paphve

§2 thauna vā nāte dva 2tca’hausa-chāya

§3 pe’mī[na thau … śanī]raki nāte

§4 || thaunaka 3 brūnade nāte

§5 || thaunaka dva 3nva mūraṃ naraṃda ysā[ra … ]

§6 [thaunak]a 50 3 tti sūlya nāṃdā haudyem thau’nāṃ va

§7 || pātci […] va ttraṃda ysārī haṃbā va
Translation

§1 Of the 80 bolts of cloth, …, Āmāca collected 15 from the Sogdian.

§2 He received two 40-foot-long bolts of cloth.

§3 Ṣanīraki received x bolts of floss silk cloth.

§4 Brūnade received 3 pieces of small cloth.

§5 Two pieces of small cloth came out (= were converted into) one thousand mūrās.

§6 The Sogdians received 53 pieces of small cloth for seven bolts.

§7 Then, (x strings) of one thousand mūrās came in (= were converted into) …

Commentary

§1 haṣṭāyem: gen.-dat. pl of haṣṭāta- ‘eighty’. 80 bolts of cloth is not mentioned elsewhere.

§1 āmāci: Title of high officials, see commentary on Archive 3/1.19 §1. Here, it probably refers to Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin, who came down to the Six Towns to collect tribute cloth. See commentary on Archive 3/2.3 §2.

§1 sūlina: ‘the Sogdian’. The Sogdians functioned as creditors in Khotan. They lent money to residents who could not pay tax on time and charge a considerably high interest. See commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §34. Note that sūlina here is in the singular. Who is this Sogdian?

§2 thauna vā nāte dva tca’hausa-chāya: ‘He received two 40-foot-long bolts of cloth.’ For a parallel construction, see Archive 3/3.10 §2: pe’mīnā thauna ůdi dva bista-chāya ‘(he) has two pieces of 20-foot-long silk cloth’.

§5 naramda: ‘to go out, to convert (something) into money’. See commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §8.
§6 [thauna]ka 50 3 tti sūlya nāṃdā haudyeṃ thaunāṃ va: ‘The Sogdians received 53 (pieces) of small cloth for seven bolts.’ In other words, the Sogdians delivered 7 bolts of cloth to the officials on behalf of the workers who could not produce the cloth and received from the latter 53 pieces of small cloth in return. The 53 pieces of small cloth that the Sogdians received is mentioned in Archive 3/3.1 §33, but not the amount of cloth they delivered. The seven bolts that the Sogdian delivered is very close to the amount of cloth still outstanding (7 bolts 24.3 feet) calculated in Archive 3/3.4 §7 according to the delivered cloth before modification. According to the delivered cloth after modification, 9 bolts 30.3 feet of cloth is outstanding. See commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §6. In Archive 3/3.4, a total of 50.1 feet of small cloth is assigned to the workers of the Six Towns. See commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §11. If one piece of small cloth is one foot long, then the amount of small cloth that the Sogdians (53 feet) received is very close to the amount assigned (50.1 feet). Though the figures do not perfectly agree with one another, the following is what I conceive as a plausible scenario. When the officials came down to the Six Towns to collect tribute cloth, the Sogdian delivered the cloth still outstanding on behalf of the residents of the Six Towns and received small cloth from them in return, making a handsome profit out of the deal. 53 feet of small cloth is worth 53 × 450 = 23850 mūrās. 9 bolts 30.3 feet of cloth is worth (9 × 40 + 30.3) × 62.5 = 24393.75 mūrās. The profit is 24393.75 − 23850 = 543.75 mūrās. For the price of small cloth, see commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §8. For the price of normal cloth, see commentary on Archive 3/3.9 §3.

Archive 3/3.9 (Or.11252/28) Account of small cloth and cloth
Recorded in this slightly damaged document are those who delivered small cloth instead of silk cloth. Especially noteworthy is §3, in which it is stated that 3.2 feet of small cloth is equivalent to the required amount of silk cloth. The amounts of outstanding small cloth for those in Āskūra, Phamnai, and Pa’ are listed in §7-§9. Compare Archive 3/3.4 §10-§11, in which the outstanding amounts of the residents in the three towns are listed in mūrās.

Text

§1 @ tti hvaṃḍi cu pe’mīnā thaunā va thaunaka hauḍādi

§2 yseviḍti u […]tca]haura

§3 śe hvaṃḍye pe’mīnai thau-v-ī hatcaṃ śtāka d[rr]ai chā [dv]i tsuna

§4 spā[ta …] hamtsa kharajsāna u suramarṣā’na ’īrasaṃ[gaṇa…]

§5 ⁴suḥena thau vāra paṃjsa chā

§6 sūradatti thau vāra paṃ[lys chā …]

§7 ⁵āskvira nva thaunakā hatca kṣasi chā

§8 phamnājāṃ nva thaunakāṃ ha[tca 10 2 chā 8 tsuna]

§9 [pa’ja nva] ⁶thaunakāṃ hatcaṃ nausā chā

§10 saṃgi thau vāra 10 2 chā

§11 […] thau vāra x x]⁷ chā

§12 ā[……tca]hau chā hau[…]

Translation

§1 The following are those who delivered small cloth for silk cloth.

§2 Yseviḍti and … four.

§3 One man needs 3.2 feet of small cloth as replacement for his silk cloth.
§4 Spāta ... together with Kharajsajsa, Suramarṣa, and Īrasamga ...

§5 Suhena owes five feet of cloth.

§6 Sūradatta owes five feet of cloth.

§7 In Āskūra, (the silk cloth is) replaced by 16 feet of small cloth.

§8 For those from Phaṃnai, (the silk cloth is) replaced by [12.8] feet of small cloth.

§9 [For those from Pa’], (the silk cloth is) replaced by 19 feet of small cloth.

§10 Samga owes 12 feet of cloth.

§11 [...] owes x] feet [of cloth].

§12 [...] four] feet [...] 

Commentary

§3 hatcam: See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.


Here I follow Duan’s reading in Duan 2013a, p.323, because it fits the figures well. According to Archive 3/3.4 §10, five men in Āskūra should deliver $3.2 \times 5 = 16$ feet of small cloth, exactly the amount specified here in §7. If 3.2 feet of small cloth at the price of 450 mūrās per foot (Archive 3/3.4 §8) can replace 23 feet of floss silk cloth (Archive 3/3.2 §2), then the price of floss silk cloth is $(450 \times 3.2) \div 23 = 62.61 \approx 62.5$ mūrās per foot, or $62.5 \times 40 = 2500$ mūrās per bolt.

Duan (2013a, p.324) first makes this calculation and traces the fluctuation of cloth price in Khotan during the seventh to the ninth centuries. In Archive 3/3.4 §8, however, the small cloth assigned to each man is increased from 3.2 feet to 3.65 feet. For an explanation of this increase, see commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §8.
§5 suhena thau vāra paṃjṣa chā: ‘Suhena owes five feet of cloth.’ Namaubuda delivered 36.2 feet of cloth on behalf of Suhena and Sūradatta (Archive 3/3.1 §22), so Suhena and Suradatta owe about 5 feet each. See commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §22.

§6 sūradatti thau vāra paṃ[jsa chā …]: ‘Sūradatta owes five feet of cloth.’ Sūradatta later delivered the cloth assigned to him, see Archive 3/2.17 §2.

§8 phaṃnājāṃ nva thaunakāṃ ha[tca 10 2 chā 8 tsuna]: ‘For those from Phaṃnai, (the silk cloth is) replaced by [12.8] feet of small cloth.’ According to Archive 3/3.4 §8, the equivalent of 31.8 feet of small cloth is assigned to those from Phaṃnai and Pa’. 19 feet is assigned to those from Pa’ (§9), then 31.8 – 19 = 12.8 feet must be assigned to those from Phaṃnai. Since 3.2 feet is assigned to each (§3), there must be 4 men in Phaṃnai who should deliver small cloth. The restoration is based on Duan 2013a, p.324. Also see commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §8.

§9 [pa’ja nva] thaunakāṃ hatcaṃ nausā chā: ‘[For those from Pa’], (the silk cloth is) replaced by 19 feet of small cloth.’ According to Archive 3/3.4 §8, the equivalent of 31.8 feet of small cloth is assigned to those from Phaṃnai and Pa’. Since the small cloth assigned to those from Phaṃnai is recorded in §8, so the 19 feet of small cloth recorded here must be assigned to those from Pa’. 19 feet is 0.2 feet short of the amount assigned to 6 men (3.2 × 6 = 19.2). The restoration is based on Duan 2013a, p.324. Also see commentary on Archive 3/3.4 §8.

§10 saṃgi thau vāra 10 2 chā: ‘Saṃga owes 12 feet of cloth.’ It is recorded in Archive 3/3.7 §12 that Saṃga owes 20 feet of cloth.

Archive 3/3.10 (Hedin 12-a) Account of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth, and mūrās
Recorded in this document are the amounts of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth, and mūrās of three men from three towns, namely, Darauka from Birgaṃdara, Yseviṭa from Phaṃnā, and Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra. All of them, either here or elsewhere, bear the title auva-haṃdasta. At present, it is hard to understand the purpose of this document and whether or how it is related to the other document in Hedin 12, Archive 3/3.5 (Hedin 12-b).

Text

§1 1ṣi’ buru birgaṃdara darau hi’ysda pe’mīnā thauna ī(di) tcahaura u kāṃha thaunaka īdi
dirs[a u hi’]2ysdi mūrī īdi tca’hau’ yśārā

§2 3phāṇāji auva-haṃdasti ysiviṭi pe’mīnā thauna īdi dva bista-chāya u kāhai thaunaka ī[di x u
hi’ysdi] 4mūrī īdi tca’hau’ yśārā

§3 5āskūri ysāḍadatti hi’ysda pe’mīnā thauna īdi śau tca’hau’si chā u 3 20sta-chāya u kāṃha
thau[naka] 6īdi 21 u 2 thaunaka īdi nva mūrā

Translation

§1 Darau(ka) from Birgaṃdara has so much: 4 bolts of silk cloth, 30 pieces of small hemp cloth, and 4000 mūrās.

§2 Auva-hamdasta Ysiviṭa from Phaṃnai has two bolts of 20-foot-long silk cloth, x pieces of small hemp cloth, and 4000 mūrās.

§3 Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra has one bolt of 40-foot-long silk cloth, two pieces of 20-foot-long silk cloth, 21 pieces of small hemp cloth, and the mūrās equivalent of two pieces of small cloth.

Commentary
§1 darau: A scribal error for *darauka*, ‘Darauka’ (*KT IV*, p.102). This name is not attested in the accounts and vouchers, but multiple times in other documents in Archive 3. Note that in Archive 3/6.8 §2, Darauka bears the title *auva-haṃdasta*.

§2 kāṃpha thaunaka: ‘hemp small cloth’. This must be different from the unmarked *thaunaka*, ‘small cloth’, as is evident in §3, where the amounts of both small hemp cloth and small cloth are given.

§2 auva-haṃdasti: The title of an official on the township level, lower than *spāta*, perhaps corresponding to Chin. *xiāngtōu* 鄉頭. See Wen Xin 2008a, pp. 138-39. This title is attested in a newly discovered Chinese document from Khotan. Wen Xin (2008a, pp.138-139) first reported on it and read the related phrase as *Jièxiè Xiāngtōu Mōlìwéi* (or *yào* suō) 傑謝鄉頭没里惟(or 曬)思. Zhang Mingxin and Chen Hao (2010, pp.2-4) then published the document, but parsed this phrase differently and interpreted it incorrectly. Actually, this name is also attested in a newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document GXW 0107 as Chin. *Mōliyàosūo* 沒里曜娑, Khot. *Brīyasa*. (Duan and Li 2014, p.30) This phrase should read *Jièxiè Xiāngtōu Mōliyàosūo* 傑謝鄉頭沒里曜思 ‘Brīyasa, auva-haṃdasta of Gaysāta’.

§2 ysiviṭi: Proper name, often attested in Archive 3 but spelled variously as *Yseviḍa*, *Ysevidṭa*, *Yseviḍta*, *Yseviṭa*, or *Ysiviḍta*. Note that he identifies himself as *kṣā’auvā bisai*, ‘a resident of the Six Towns’ in Archive 3/1.19 §2.

§3 ysāḍadatti: Proper name, attested in Archive 3/1.33 §12 as the *auva-haṃdasta* of Āskūra. In other words, the three men in this document, namely, Darauka from Birgaṃḍara, Yseviṭi from Phaṃṇā, and Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra, were all *auva-haṃdastas*. 

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§3 3 20sta-chāya: ‘of 23 feet’. Read drairabista chāya.


Archive 3/3.11 (Achma-2) Contract concerning silk cloth, small cloth, and mūrās

Listed in this document are the amounts of silk cloth, small cloth, and mūrās that Senila, Ysevidta, and Ṣanīraka received from several people. This document is incomplete, since a document beginning with the formula ṣi’ pīḍakā tīye pracaina cu ‘this document is made for the following reasons’ usually includes the formula ttī ra ṣi’ pīḍakā pramāṃ himi khu hā [A] u [B] haṃguṣṭi viṣṭārā ‘this document takes effect when A and B put their finger marks on it’, followed by the finger marks and a list of witnesses. Most examples are contracts from Archive 2, including Or. 6392/1, Or.6392/2, Or.6395/1, Or.6397/1, Or.6399/1.1 (Catalogue, p.3, p.6, p.9, and p.12), SI P 96.11 + SI P 103.16, SI P 98.9, SI P 103.24, SI P 103.49 (SDTV III, p.111, p.118, p.141, p.145, and p.156), and a document from the Khotan Museum (HTB000397, see Duan and Khotan Museum 2008, p.30). Like all these examples, this document should also be a contract, most likely a contract of loan. In the missing part, there should be a clause on interest, the closing formula ttī ra ṣi’ pīḍakā pramāṃ himi khu hā senili u ysevidti u Ṣanīraki haṃguṣṭi viṣṭārā, finger marks of Senila, Ysevidta, and Ṣanīraka, and a list of witnesses. Note that the date of the document, the 7th of the 11th month in the 35th year, is only 18 days before the delivering of tribute cloth begins (Archive 3/2.3). Conceivably, Senila, Ysevidta, and Ṣanīraka took loans to cover the upcoming tribute cloth for them to deliver at the end of the month.
This document (Achma-2) is not related to Achma-1, a petition from Ysevidṭa to Viṣṇadatta concerning cloth. For the relationship between Achma-1 and Achma 2, see introduction of Archive 3/1.19.

**Text**

§1 30 5 mye kṣuṇi skarihveri māsti haudamye haḍai ši’ pīḍaki tt ye pracaina cu

§2 ā phaṭmnāji sinili [u yseviḍttā/ 2u birgaṃdurajī ṣanīraki pe’mīnāṃ thauna nāmdā u kāṃha thaunaka u ysārī haṃbā mūrī

§3 makali thau 3tc ahaurabisti chā

§4 spāta vidyadatti hīvī tca’hau’si chā

§5 svarrjāṃ thau 20 3 chā

§6 puṇaśālyā 20 chā bi[x]ai 4kāṃhi thaunaki āhaṃtsa ysārī haṃbāna/ ||

§7 āskūryāna kāṃha thaunaka 20 u 2 \ || /

§8 nva mūra sarkāṃ pe’mīnai thau nausi chā bida šau thau’naki ||

§9 suhena pemīnai thau 20 chā u bida šau thaunaki haṃtsa mūryau jsa ysārī haṃbā u kāṃha thaunaka

**Translation**

§1 On the 7th of Skarihvāra (the 11th month) in the 35th regnal year, this document (is made) for the reason that

§2 Sinila from Phaṭmnai, [Yseviḍtta/, and Ṣanīraka from Birgaṃdara received silk cloth, hemp small cloth, and strings of 1000 mūrāś (from the following people):

§3 Makala’s 24 feet of cloth.

§4 Spāta Vidyadatta’s 40 feet of cloth.
§5 Svarrjām’s 23 feet of cloth.

§6 20 feet (of cloth) of those from Puñišāla … small hemp cloth together with strings of 1000 mūrās.

§7 22 pieces of hemp small cloth of people from Āskūra.

§8 Sarkām’s 19 feet of silk cloth upon (?) one piece of small cloth.

§9 Suhena’s 20 feet of silk cloth in mūrās and upon (?) one small cloth together with (strings of) 1000 mūrās, and small hemp cloth.

Commentary

§2 \u yseviḍttā: ‘and Yseviḍtta’. Bailey (SDTV, p.121) and Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.581) both take this not as an insertion but as a separate line. Yseviḍtta is the auva-haṃḍasta of Phamnai. See commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2.


§2 ysārī hambā mūrī: ‘(strings) of 1000 mūrās’. See commentary on Archive 3/2.1 §2.

§7 āskūryāna: ‘those from Āskūra’.

§7 \||/: an inserted sentence separator. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.581) reads a subscript ‘ma’.

§8 bīda: ‘upon’. The exact meaning and function of this word here is not clear.

Archive 3/3.12 (Or.11252/23) Account of outstanding mūrās
The next three documents, all concerning mūrās, are related to each other and probably also related to the 40000 mūrās recorded in Archive 3/2.2 §1 and Archive 3/3.1 §25, but the purpose of these documents and their exact relationship remain unclear.

Listed in the document here are the amounts of mūrās owed by five men, namely, Upadatta, Yanaka, Yaudara, Hvṛrīviṭa, and Makala. In total, they owe 17440 mūrās, but it is not clear how this is related to 3280 mūrās, the outstanding amount mentioned in §1. Note that Hvṛrīviṭa and Yanaka are attested again in Archive 3/3.14 §1 and §3.

Text

§1 tti vā dhṛai yṣāri dvī-sa-haṣṭāyī haṃbā mūri puḍa

§2 upadatti haṃtsa yāṃkā hīyau mūryau jsa mūri puḍi tca’hau’ ysāri 40

§3 yaudari u mūri puḍi paṃ-se 20

§4 cīra hvṛrīviṭi dasau yṣā’ca sa ca’hausā

§5 makali mūri vāra dvī yṣā hauda-se tca’hausā

Translation

§1 The (following men) owed 3280 mūrās.

§2 Together with Yānaka’s mūrās, Upadatta owed 4040 mūrās.

§3 Yaudara owes 520 mūrās.

§4 Hvṛrīviṭi from Cira (owes) 10140 mūrās.

§5 Makala owes 2740 mūrās.

Archive 3/3.13 (Or.11252/20) Account of outstanding mūrās
Both the left and the right end of this short document are missing. Consequently, its overall meaning is clear.

**Text**

§1 [... sp]āta vidyadatti hīye vāra mūri riysā haṣṭa-se

§2 sūradatti hīvī [vāra mūri …]

§3 […]datti hīye vāra mūri drrai-se

§4 yseviḍṭi hīye vāra tcaṃna mau girye mūri paṃ[se]

§5 […] ³[…] puṇaṣālyāni

**Translation**

§1 Spāṭa Vidyadatta owes 1800 mūrās.

§2 Sūradatta [owes ... mūrās].

§3 …datta owes 300 mūrās.

§4 Yseviḍṭa owes 500 mūrās, with which he bought wine ...

§5 … from Puṇaṣāla

**Commentary**

§1 riysā: a scribal error for ysāri, ‘one thousand’.

§4 tcaṃna: ‘with which’.


**Archive 3/3.14 (Or.11344/14) Account of mūrās**
This document only contains two lines on a rather large page, the right end of which is slightly damaged. Recorded in it are several payments of \( mūrās \). The overall meaning and purpose of this document as well as its relationship with the previous two documents remain unclear.

**Text**

§1 1|| tti vā hvṛrīviṭi drrai ysārā dvī-sa-haṣṭāyī haṃbā mūrā hauḍi

§2 pauḍauysi mūri hauḍi drrai ysārā drraisi

§3 tti cvai la[k]i […….] 2u birgaṃdarajā šau thaunaki drrai ysārā mūrā u yānaki hīye drrai ysārā drrai-se vī

§4 tti mūri nāti dasau ysā’ca šau dvana

**Translation**

§1 Hvṛrīviṭi paid an amount of 3280 \( mūrās \).

§2 He first paid 3300 \( mūrās \).

§3 These are what … of/for those from Birgaṃdara, one piece of small cloth, 3000 \( mūrās \), and Yānaka’s 3300 \( mūrās \).

§4 He received 10000 \( mūrās \), one for two.

**Commentary**

§4 šau dvana: unclear. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.114) renders: ‘minus one or two’. It may mean ‘approximately’, since \( 3280 + 3300 + 3300 = 9880 \approx 10000 \).

**Archive 3/3.15 (Or.11344/18) Note on the missing vouchers**
In this document, only one line is written in the middle of a rather large piece of paper. It concerns the missing vouchers of cloth and mūrās, and may be related to the missing vouchers mentioned in Archive 3/3.2 §15 and Archive 3/3.3 §7.

Text

§1 ¹pe’mīnā thaunā hīya kṣauva u yserī haṁbā haṁda maṁ pīḍaki niṣta

Translation

§1 I do not have the document of the vouchers of floss silk cloth and (any) other (string of) 1000 coins here.

Commentary

Archive 3/3.16 (Or.11344/16) Document concerning vouchers

Although the left part of this short document is missing and its overall meaning unclear, satīra, a small measure of weight derived from Greek στατηρ, is attested in §1. Because this measure is only used for medicines, spices, such as musk and peppers, one wonders what might be in the lacuna.

Text

§1 ¹[...]tā saṁttīrvā ttṛaṇḍa

§2 u kṣauvā na ra[aidi]

§3 ²[...]nā sūlyau jsa paphūka nāte

§4 rrāhaji ³[...] brāṭarā haṁña biśa

Translation

§1 … in … ounces of … went in (= converted into) … …
§2 The vouchers for them have not been obtained yet.

§3 He received the collected (sum) from the Sogdians …

§4 In Rrāhaja (the 12th month), … brothers in the same house.

Commentary

§1 saṃttīrva: satīra-, ‘ounce, stater’, L. pl., a small measure of weight, from Gk. στατηρ, found in various languages of the Tarim Basin, including Niya Prakrit, Sogdian, Kuchean, Uighur, and Judaeo-Persian. See Dict., p.418 and Zhang and Shi 2008, p.94, commentary on styī/satēr-.

§1 ttṛṛmaṇḍa: See commentary on Archive 3/3.8 §5.

§2 u ḫauvā na by[aidi]: ‘The vouchers for them have not been obtained yet.’ The same sentence is attested in Archive 3/3.2 §15 and Archive 3/3.3 §7.

§3 2[…]nā sūlyau jsa paphūka nāte: ‘He received the collected from the Sogdians’. A very similar sentence is attested in Archive 3/3.2 §14.

§4 haṁña biśa: ‘in the same house’, an expression also attested in SI P 94.20 (SDTV III, p.103).

Archive 3/3.17 (Or.11344/15) Record of cloth and mūrās for the king

Recorded in this slip of paper is the amount of floss silk cloth, mūrās, and probably small cloth that Senila brought as tax for the king. This document is not a voucher since it does not contain any official signum.

Text

§1 1[…] senila rrvī hirā buḍāṃdi pe’mīnā thauna nau u śau tca’hau’2[sa … u mūri tca]hau ysārā

Translation
§1 Senila brought the tax for the king: nine bolts of floss silk cloth, one forty-foot-long small cloth ... and four] thousand [mūrās.]

Commentary

§1 rrvī: ‘of the king’, as opposed to kṣīra-, ‘of the state’. On the difference of rrvī and kṣīra-, see commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.

§1 hirā: ‘thing, tax’. Yoshida (2006, p.100; 2008b, p.103) suggests that hira- ‘thing’ is the general term for tax, while thaṃga- ‘tax’ refers to tax money only.

Archive 3/3.18 (Or.11344/8v) Account of outstanding grain

Recorded in this account is the amount of outstanding grain, including wheat and millet.

This document is written on the back of Archive 3/5.12, a list of men on various tasks.

Text

§1 ¹kucalai {rrusa} ganaṃ vāra 2 krve paṃjṣa sāṃga

§2 ttye bāja ā`ysaṃ hauḍi

§3 ²|| ści’ vā phema bisai āysaṃ hatcaṃ

§4 cu phema kaṃdvāṣṭā buḍāṃdi paskāṣṭi phea[ma x x haurā]³ni 10 1 krve 3 sāṃga

§5 ⁴ganaṃ paṃjṣūsi krve hāṣṭa sāṃga ści’ cira haurāṇi

Translation

§1 Kucalai owes 2.5 kūsa of {highland barley} wheat.

§2 He delivered millet instead.

§3 This Phema resident (delivered) millet to us as replacement.
§4 What they brought to Kaṇḍva in Phema, 11 kūsas 3 ṣamga of … should be delivered back to Phema.

§5 15 kūsa 8 ṣamga of wheat should be delivered in Cira.

Commenta

§1 kerve: A scribal error for kūsa, a measurement of grain, corresponding to Chin. shuō 硕, see Rong and Wen 2008, p.64.

§3 hatcaṃ: See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.

§4 phema kaṇḍvāṣṭā: ‘to Kaṇḍva in Phema’. Phema was the place where the officials resided. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).
Abbreviation: Viṣa’ Vāhaṃ

I. Introduction

The patrol roster is a distinctive document type in Archive 3. Listed in each roster are 9-15 men on patrol duty on a specific date, mostly in the 35 or the 36th regnal year of Viṣa’ Vāhaṃ, that is, 801 or 802 CE. Though one register number may include multiple rosters, each roster has its own archive number.

Among these rosters, two subtypes can be distinguished: the ‘prospective’ ones and the ‘retrospective’ ones. A prospective patrol roster was drafted before the patrol date and contains the names of those who are going (tsīndī) on patrol duty. In contrast, a retrospective patrol roster was drafted after the patrol date and contains the names of those who actually went (tsvādi) on patrol duty. By comparing the prospective and the retrospective roster of the same patrol, one can easily emend the lacunae in them. Several couples have already been recognized by Skjærvø in the Catalogue.

A prospective roster was sometimes modified after the patrol. Names were added or deleted accordingly. Such a modified prospective roster functions as a retrospective one. In fact, prospective rosters were provisional and informal, and were not intended to be kept as official documents for later reference. Some of them were written on the margin of another document (Archive 3/4.3p), or on a small slip of paper (Archive 3/4.2p).

Retrospective rosters were copied from prospective rosters, with modifications applied and the present tense changed. A series of retrospective rosters were compiled in chronological order to form a roster compilation, such as Hedin 6, Or.11344/1, and Or.11344/3r, as a record of attendance. Since the roster compilations include many rosters, they tend to be very long, and are
therefore made of several sheets of paper glued together. Verbs in the present tense (tsīndi) do appear in three retrospective rosters (Archive 3/4.1b, Archive 3/4.7r, and Archive 3/4.16r). These must be mistakes made by the scribe, who forgot to change the tense when copying the corresponding prospective rosters.

Apart from prospective rosters and retrospective rosters, there are two deleted rosters and one ‘agreement’ roster. The deleted rosters are the result of scribal mistakes. The agreement roster (Archive 3/4.6a) is a distinct roster type.

The 24 patrols reflected in the 41 patrol rosters in Archive 3/2 form a complete cycle that spanned one full year, with each patrol taking place every half a month, from the eighth month of the 35th regnal year to the seventh month of the 36th. These rosters are arranged here in chronological order and catalogued by patrol number (1-24) plus roster type (prospective, retrospective, agreement, or deleted). For example, the prospective roster of Patrol 5 has the archive number Archive 3/4.5r (Hedin 6-b-iii), and the retrospective roster of Patrol 20 is Archive 3/4.20r (Or. 11344/3r-a-ii). The following table lists the register numbers of the 41 rosters in the roster cycle according to its patrol number and roster type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patrol</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Prospective</th>
<th>Retrospective</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>Or.11344/6v</td>
<td>Hedin 6-a-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8/17</td>
<td>Or.11252/27</td>
<td>Hedin 6-a-ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9/4</td>
<td>Or.11252/16v-a-i</td>
<td>Hedin 6-b-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9/15</td>
<td>Or.11252/16v-a-ii</td>
<td>Hedin 6-b-ii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10/3</td>
<td>Or.11252/35a*</td>
<td>Hedin 6-b-iii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10/18</td>
<td>Or.11344/13*</td>
<td>Hedin 6-b-iv</td>
<td>Or.11252/13r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additionally, two patrol rosters outside the roster cycle are included under the archive number Archive 3/4a.

### II. Formula

The standard opening formula of prospective rosters is:
@ tti buri hvaṇḍi cu [month name] māśtā [ordinal] haḍai spaśāṇa tsīdi

For example:

Archive 3/4.7p §1: ‘@ tti bura hvaṇḍi cu skarihverā māśtī didye haḍai spaśāṇa [tsīdā]’.

Archive 3/4.9p §1: ‘@ tti bura hvaṇḍi cu rrāhaji māśta tcūramye haḍai spaśāṇa tsīdi’.

The standard opening formula of retrospective rosters is:

@ tti vā [month name] māśtā [ordinal] haḍai spaśāṇa tsvādi

For example:

Archive 3/4.1r §1: ‘tti vā braṃkhaysji māśtī dyidye haḍai spaśara tsvādi’.

Archive 3/4.8r §1: ‘tti vā skarihveri bistamye haḍai spaśāṇa tsvādi’.

Various parts can be omitted in the opening formula.

III. Text

Archive 3/4.0 (Hedin 6v) Heading of the roster compilation

Hedin 6 is a large roster compilation (28 × 49.5 cm) made of 4 pieces of paper (Hedin 6a-d) glued together. It contains eight retrospective patrol rosters in chronological order from the 3rd of the eighth month to the 20th of the 11th month in the 35th regnal year. The right end of Hedin 6 is damaged, and one or more akṣaras towards the end of each line are missing. Emendations are made when a corresponding prospective roster exists. This document, one line on the verso of Hedin 6, is the heading of the entire roster compilation.

Text

§1 (spa)šarāṇā[ṃ] pīḍaka

Translation
§1 document of patrolmen

Commentary

§1 spaśarāṇāṃ pīḍaka: ‘document of patrol duties’, the term for roster compilations such as Hedin 6, Or.11344/1, and Or.11344/3r.

Archive 3/4.1p (Or.11344/6v) Prospective roster of Patrol 1

Although the opening formula is missing, 10 out of the 12 names preserved in this fragmentary roster are in Archive 3/4.1r. This roster, therefore, is highly likely the prospective roster of Patrol 1. Below the roster are two large but illegible Chinese characters.

This roster was written on the back of Archive 3/1.23, a petition concerning patrol duty.

Text

§1 ¹ […] vidyade | pu’ysdaki || ysāḍadatti || suhadā[²ysi || … ||] īrāsāṃgi | puṇadatti || suhena
³[…] sudatti || {x} sīlāṃ || virgāṃ || saloki || vidarrjāṃ

Translation

§1 … Vidyade, Pu’ysdaka, Ysāḍadatta, Suhadatta, …, Īrāsāṃga, Puṇadatta, Suhena, Sudatta, Sīlāṃ, Virgāṃ, Saloka, Vidarrjāṃ

Archive 3/4.1r (Hedin 6-a-i) Retrospective roster of Patrol 1

The first retrospective roster in Hedin 6 contains 14 names. It is highly likely that its corresponding prospective roster is Archive 3/4.1p, a short roster of 12 names, 11 out of which overlap with the names in this roster.

Text
§1 1tti vā braṃkhaysji māśti dyidye haḍai spaśara tsvādi

§2 suhena || īrasaṃgi || ṣanīrā || sa[loki ||] 2puṇadatti || suhadāysi || pu’ysdaki || vidyade || pa’ su-
datti || sūradatti || virgāṃ || sīlā[ṃ ||] 3vidarrjāṃ || kūcalai ||

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month) [the following] patrolmen went [on duty]:

§2 Suhena, Īrasaṃga, Ṣanīra, Saloka, Puṇadatta, Suhadāysa, Pu’ysdaka, Vidyade, Sudatta from Pa’, Sūradatta, Virgāṃ, Sīlāṃ, Vidarrjāṃ, Kucalai.

Commentary

§2 ||: Name separator.

§2 sa[loki]: Proper name, restored from saloki in Archive 3/4.1p §1.

§2 sīlā[ṃ ||]: Proper name, restored according to the original line length. See commentary on Ar-

cheive 3/4.4r §2.

Archive 3/4.2p (Or.11252/27) Prospective roster of Patrol 2

This prospective roster is complete and can be used to emend its corresponding retrospective
roster Archive 3/4.2r. Listed in the roster are 16 patrolmen scheduled on patrol duty on the 16th
of the eighth month, one day earlier than the date in the retrospective roster. After the patrol was
over, the roster was modified accordingly. Four out of the 16 names have been crossed out, and 3
new ones have been added, resulting in a roster of 15 patrolmen. Due to lack of space, the added
names were written above the original first line of the document. As a result, the original first
line became the second line. In other words, this roster starts from the second line, and the first
line follows the fourth. The small size and later modifications are signs of the informal nature of prospective rosters.

**Text**

§1 2@ tti buri braṃkhaysji 10 6 mye haḍai tti bu(ri) spašaṇa tsidi

§2 phaṃnāji sahadatti || 3śanīraki hvrṛviṭi visarrjāṃ kharamūrrai marṣa’datti {śaṃ- datti} si vidyadatti sa4loki maṃñe sarkāṃ {hunaki} makali īrvadatti arsāli {yauḍari} 1budadatti kāšaki naṃdaki

§3 spašara paṃjsūsi

**Translation**

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 16th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month):

§2 Sahadatta from Phaṃnai, Šanīraka, Hvṛṛviṭa, Visarrjāṃ, Kharamūrrai, Marṣa’datta, {Śaṃdat-ta}, Si Vidyadatta, Saloka, Maṃñe, Sarkāṃ, {Hunaka}, {Makala}, Īrvadatta, Arsāla, {Yauḍara}, Budadatta, Kāšaka, Naṃdaka.

§3 15 patrolmen (in total).

**Commentary**

§2 arsāli: Proper name. This name was marked as deleted in Catalogue, p.98. Only by counting in Arsāla does the number of patrolmen add up to 15. Arsāla also appears as the last name in the retrospective roster Archive 3/4.2r.

§3 spašara paṃjsūsi: ‘15 patrolmen (in total)’. Rather rarely, the roster ends with the total number of patrolmen.

**Archive 3/4.2r (Hedin 6-a-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 2**

335
The second roster in Hedin 6 contains 15 names, four out of which are partially or wholly restored by comparison with its corresponding prospective roster Archive 3/4.2p, which contains the same names in the same order.

Text

§1 braṃkhaysji 17 mye haḍai tti burā spašara tsidā

§2 suhada[tti phaṃnāji ||] ṣanīraki || hvrrīviṭi || visarrjāṃ || kharamurrāi || marṣā’datti || si vidyadatti || sa[loki || maṃñe || sarkāṃ ||] īrvadatti || naṃdaki || kāšaki || budadatti || arsāli

Translation

§1 On the 17th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month), the following patrolmen are going:

§2 Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, Hvrrīviṭa, Visarrjāṃ, Kharamūrrai, Marṣā’datta, Si Vidyadatta, Saloka, Maṃñe, Sarkāṃ, Īrvadatta, Naṃdaka, Kāšaka, Budadatta, Arsāla.

Commentary

§1 tsidā: ‘they are going’ This must be a scribal error for tsvādi ‘they went’ when the scribe copied it from the prospective roster. A similar error appears in Archive 3/4.7r §1 and Archive 3/4.16r §1. Also see Archive 3/4 I. Introduction.


§2 ||: Shorthand form of the name separator ‘||’.

§2 sa[loki || maṃñe || sarkāṃ ||] īrvadatti: Restored from the corresponding prospective roster in Archive 3/4.2p §2: ‘saloki || maṃñe || sarkāṃ || {hunaki} || {makali} || īrvadatti’.

Archive 3/4.3p (Or.11252/16v-a-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 3
Or.11252/16v contains two prospective rosters, Archive 3/4.3p and Archive 3/4.4p. A contract (Archive 3/6.11) was first written on Or.11252/16v, as attested by the signatures in the bottom right corner of the original document. A scribe later used the blank to the left of the signatures to write the rosters. In order to avoid confusion, the scribe turned the paper clockwise 90 degrees. Of the first roster, only the last five names have been preserved. These names correspond perfectly to the last five names in Archive 3/4.3r.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.17, an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ.

Text


§2 mulaki vā paskyāṣṭi īṣṭi

Translation

§1 Paṃjamaka, Maṃgala, Brīna, Haryāska, Saṃgaka.

§2 Mulaka came back here.

Commentary

§1 paṃ[ja]maki || maṃga[li] || brīna || [ha]ry[ā]saki || saṃgaki: These five names correspond to the last five names in Archive 3/4.3r, and are restored accordingly. As the next roster in Or. 11252/16v is the prospective roster corresponding to Archive 3.4/r, this roster must be the prospective roster corresponding to Archive 3/4.3r. By comparison with Archive 3/4.3r, the complete prospective roster of Patrol 3 can be restored as follows: ‘[mūtca’ci teūramye hadai tti buri spaśara tsīdi || hunaki || yaudari || vidyadatti || saṃgadi || serju || īrvadatti || saṃgūlai || puṇadi ||] paṃjamaki || maṃgali || brīna || haryāsaki || saṃgaki.’
§2 Mulaka vā paskyāṣṭi īṣṭi: ‘Mulaka came back here.’ Since Mulaka has come back from another task, he is now ready to go on patrol. Note that Mulaka is on Patrol 4.

Archive 3/4.3r (Hedin 6-b-i) Retrospective roster of Patrol 3

The third roster in Hedin 6 contains 13 names. The corresponding prospective roster (Archive 3/4.3p) has been partially preserved.

Text

§1 6@ tti vā mūtca’ci 4 (mye) haḍai spaśaṇa tsvādi

§2 hunaki || yaudari ∩ vidyadatti [i ∩] 7saṅgadi ∩ serju ∩ īrvadatti ∩ saṅgulai ∩ puṇadi ∩ paṃjamaki ∩ maṃgali [∩] 8brīna ∩ haryāsaki ∩ saṃgaki ∩

Translation

§1 On the 4th of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month), the following went on patrol:

§2 Hunaka, Yaudara, Vidyadata, Saṅgada, Serjū, Īrvadatta, Saṅgulai, Puṇade, Paṃjamaka, Maṃgala, Brīna, Haryāsaka, Saṃgaka.

Commentary

§2 vidyadatti [i ∩], maṃgali [∩]: The restoration of ‘buda[rmā]’ in Archive 3/4.4r §2 determines that only one aksara is missing at the end of line 6 and line 7, and the missing aksara after ‘vidyadatti’ and ‘maṃgali’ must be ‘∩’. Actually, part of ‘∩’ after ‘maṃgali’ is still visible.

Archive 3/4.4p (Or.11252/16v-a-ii) Prospective roster of Patrol 4

The second prospective roster in Or.11252/16v contains 15 names, two of which are deleted and therefore absent in the corresponding retrospective roster Archive 3/4.4r, and ‘pramuhā
vasade’ in this roster is replaced by ‘sīlām’ in Archive 3/4.4r. More on Or.11252/16v, see introduction to Archive 3/4.3p.

Text

§1 sparadirsamye kṣā mūtca’ci paṃjsūsamye haḍai tti buri spaśara tśidi

§2 {mādāśi} || vidyadatti || sirphũka sudarma akāṇadatti || budarmā || pramuhā vasa’dē khara-jsajsi || mūlaki sudatti īrasaṃga suhadatti suhadāysi {suhena} virgā

Translation

§1 In the 35th regnal year, on the 15th of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month), the following patrolmen are going:

§2 {Mādāśa}, Vidyadatta, Sirphũka, Sudarma, Akāṇadatta, Budarma, Vasade of the priors, Kharajṣajsa, Mulaka, Sudatta, Īrasaṃga, Suhadatta, Suhadāysa, {Suhena}, Virgāṃ.

Commentary

§3 sparadirsamye kṣā mūtca’ci paṃjsūsamye haḍai: ‘In the 35th regnal year, on the 15th of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month)’. The year is rarely indicated in the opening formula of a patrol roster. Thanks to this attestation, almost all patrol rosters in Archive 3 are now securely dated to the 35th regnal year (801 CE).

§4 pramuhā: ‘leading, prominent’, from Skt. pramukha-, honorific of the priors in Buddhist monasteries, see KT IV, p.83.

§4 pramuhā vasade: ‘Vasade the elder’. Vasade’s epithet betrays his connection with a buddhist monastery. This name is replaced by ‘sīlām’ in Archive 3/4.4r.

Archive 3/4.4r (Hedin 6-b-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 4
The fourth retrospective roster in Hedin 6 contains 14 names and one deleted. Two out of 14 are restored by comparison with Archive 3/4.4p. This restoration establishes the original line length, thus the original width of Hedin 6, which in turn helps reconstruct other lacunae in Hedin 6.

Text

§1 9tti vā mūtca’ci 15 mye haḍai tsvādi

§2 vidyadatti || sirphūκi || sudarmā || akāṇadatti || buda[rmā ||] 10sīlāṃ || kharajsajsi || mulaki || pa’ sudatti || īrasaṃgi || śirguli suhadatta || [suha]11dāysi || virgāṃ || ṣanīri ∩ {puṇadatti}

Translation

§1 On the 15th of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month) the following men went (on patrol duty):

§2 Vidyadatta, Sirphūka, Sudarma, Akāṇadatta, Budarma, Sīlāṃ, Kharajsajsa, Mulaka, Sudatta of Pa’, Īrasaṃga, Suhadatta from Śirgula, Suhadāysa, Virgāṃ, Ṣanīra, {Puṇadatta}.

Commentary

§2 akāṇadatti || buda[rmā ||] sīlāṃ || kharajsajsi ||: Restored by comparison with Archive 3/4.4p §4: ‘akāṇadatti || budarmā || pramuhā vasade kharajsajsi’. Here, ‘sīlāṃ’ replaces ‘pramuhā vasade’. This restoration establishes the length of the lacuna at the right end of the document.

§2 śirguli suhadatta [suha]dāysi || virgāṃ: Restored by comparison with Archive 3/4.4p §4: ‘suhadatti suhadāysi {suha} virgā’. ‘Suhadatti’ is mentioned without the epithet in the prospective roster.

§2 śirguli: Place name, a village in Birgaṃdara, attested as Suhadatta’s place of origin in Archive 3/4.17r, Archive 3/5.9 §2, and Archive 3/5.17 §2. Wen Xin (2008a, p.120, n.56) points out that this village is also in Or.12637/21.3a (Catalogue, p.131), a document in the Harding Collection.
that records the names and ages of grain deliverers in Birgaṇḍara. This attestation clearly demonstrates that Śīrgula was a village in Birgaṇḍara.

§2 师事务 ∩ {puñadatti}: these two names are not in Archive 3/4.4p.

Archive 3/4.5p (Or.11252/35a) Prospective roster of Patrol 5

This prospective roster is slighted different from previous prospective rosters in several ways. The opening formula differs in that the participle of necessity tsuṇai is used instead of the present tense tsīdi. The epithet, māśa-vīrai ‘house worker’, is attested 5 times in this roster. The formula A bāja B jsātā ‘B will go instead of A’ betrays the existence of a patrol schedule before the drafting of this roster. The preexisting patrol schedule is slightly altered here, and further changed in the retrospective roster. The signum of Sudārrjāṃ is in the last line, showing that this roster was issued by Sudārrjāṃ to one of his subordinates, mostly likely Sāṃdara, who is often at the receiving end of orders from Sudārrjāṃ. Coincidentally, Archive 3/1.27, the other document in Or.11252/35, is an order concerning canteen duty from spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharsa Sāṃdara. Yoshida (2006, p.115) also discusses this document and links it with its corresponding retrospective roster Archive 3/4.5r.

Text

§1 ¹[@ tti bura] hvaṃḍi cu mūṅṇaṃji māṣṭā didye haḍai spaśaṇa tsuṇai

§2  zarówn bāja vaśi’raki jsātā ²[budadatti || su]dattā || budāṣṭırā || kaledrā || phāji cira ||

§3 svarrnade māśa-vīrai ³[vasade ]]{sarkaṃ} māśa-vīrai || sūrade māśa-vīrai || samgapeṇi || {vi- 

darrjāṃ} ⁴[...]jā salamai haubarai sīhai ḥīvī || buttamḍai māśa-vīrai ⁵[suḥadā]yṣā māśa-vīrai || {x 

j-} nahvaṇā || Signum-SU
§4 vidarrjāṃ bāja svarrnade jsātā

Translation

§1 [The following (are)] the men who are going on patrol duty on the 3rd of Mūnāṃjā (the 10th month):


§3 Svarrnade the house-worker, [Vasade,] Śarkāṃ the house-worker, Sūrade the house-worker, Samgapuṇa, Vidarrjāṃ, […] Salamai belonging to haubarai Sīhai, Buttamdvai the house-worker, Suhadāysa the house-worker, Nahvāna. Signum-SU

§4 Svarrnade goes instead of Vidarrjāṃ.

Commentary

§1 [@ tti bura hvaṃḍi cu]: The lacuna is restored from the standard opening formula of prospective rosters, as exemplified in Archive 3/4.7p §1: ‘@ tti bura hvaṃḍi cu’.


§2 śarkāṃ bāja vaśi’raki jsātā: ‘Vaśi’raka goes instead of Śarkāṃ’. The formula A bāja B jsātā ‘B goes instead of A’, betrays the existence of a general patrol schedule, and records a slight change of it before the patrol day. In contrast, the formula A bāja B tsve ‘B went instead of A’ records a change in the actual patrol and is used in retrospective rosters.

§2 śarkāṃ bāja vaśi’raki jsātā [budadatti su]dattā: Restored from Archive 3/4.5r §2: ‘vaśi’raki || budadatti || āskvī(ra) sudatti’.

§2 phāji cira: ‘Phāja from Cira’. Phāja did not go on patrol, as his name is absent in Archive 3/4.5r. He was rescheduled to the next patrol and did go on duty in Patrol 6, as his name is in Archive 3/4.6p and Archive 3/4.6r.
§3 svarrnade māśa-vīrai | vasade || {sarkāṃ} māśa-vīrai || sūrade: Restored from Archive 3/4.5r §2: ‘svarmadi bāja vidyadatti tsve || {maṃgali} || suradi bāja kāśaki tsve’ and ‘vasadi bāja maṃgali tsve ||’. According to the retrospective roster, Vidyadatta, Maṃgala, and Kāśaka went on patrol as substitutes for Svarrnade, Vasade, and Sūrade. Therefore, the name missing in the prospective roster between Svarrnade and Sūrade must be Vasade.

§3 saṃgapuṇi ||: According to Archive 3/4.5r, Saṃgapuṇa did not go on duty in Patrol 5. He did not go on duty in Patrol 6 either, as his name is present, but deleted in Archive 3/4.6p, and not in Archive 3/4.6r. He finally went on duty in Patrol 9, as in Archive 3/4.9p §2.

§3 {vidarrjāṃ}: Vidarrjāṃ is deleted because Svarrnade is going on his behalf. See commentary on §4 below.

§3 haubarai sīhai: ‘Haubarai Sīhai’. Haubarai is a rarely attested title. Apart from Sīhai, only Ttirikvira bears this title, as in Archive 3/5.20 §4, the only document where Sīhai is attested again. See commentary on Archive 3/5.20 §3.

§3 salamai haubarai sīhai hīvī: ‘Salamai belonging to haubarai Sīhai’. Salamai, as a dependent of Sīhai, is of a lower social status. Salamai did not go on duty in Patrol 5, as his name is not in Archive 3/4.5r. He was rescheduled to attend the next patrol, but this shift was canceled again, since his name is present, but deleted in Archive 3/4.6p and is not in Archive 3/4.6r. He is not attested again in other patrol rosters.

§3 buttaṃdai māśa-vīrai | suhadā|ysā māśa-vīrai || {x x} nahvanā: Restored from Archive 3/4.5r §2: ‘buttaṃdai || suhadāysi \māśa-vīrai/’ || nahvanī.

§4 vidarrjāṃ bāja svarrnade jsātā: ‘Svarrnade goes instead ofVidarrjāṃ’. This sentence accounts for the absence of Vidarrjāṃ in Archive 3/4.5r. It also explains the faint circle, a mark of
deletion, around ‘vidarrjāṃ’ in §3. The handwriting of this sentence is different from the rest of
the text, but similar to the signum. The scribe listed both Svarrnade and Vidarrjāṃ earlier in the
roster, but Sudārrjāṃ, when signing the document, realized that Vidarrjāṃ would not go because
Svarrnade was going on his behalf, so he added this sentence after his signum and drew a circle
around Vidarrjāṃ in the roster.

Archive 3/4.5r (Hedin 6-b-iii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 5

This retrospective roster, the fifth in Hedin 6, corresponds in part to Archive 3/4.5p. Both Ar-
chive 3/4.5r and Archive 3/4.5p are restored by comparison with each other.

Text

§1 12@tti vā mūṇāṃji didye haḍai spaṣaṇa tsvādi

§2 vaṣi’raka || budadatti || āskvī(ra) sudatti [[ budāṣṭirā ||] 13kalidrri || svarrnadi bāja vidyadatti
tsve || {maṃgali} || suradi bāja kāśaki tsve || bu[ttamdai ||]14suhadāysi ’māṣa-vīrai/ || nahvāni ||
svarrnade || vasadi bāja maṃgali tsve ||

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Mūṇāṃjā (the 10th month), the following went on patrol:

§2 Vaṣi’raka, Budadatta, Sudatta in Āskūra, [Budāṣṭira], Kalidra. Vidyadatta went instead of S-
varrnada. {Maṃgala}. Kāśaka went instead of Surade. Buttamdai, Suhadāysa the house-worker,
Nahvāna, Svarrnade. Maṃgala went instead of Vasade.

Commentary

§2 āskvī(ra) sudatti: ‘Sudatta in Āskūra’. Āskūra is one of the Six Towns.


§2 {maṃgali}: Maṃgala went on patrol as a substitute. The scribe wanted to include the man replaced by Maṃgala, so he deleted Maṃgala and wrote ‘vasadi bāja maṃgali tsve’ at the end of the roster to show that Maṃgala went on duty instead of Vasade.


**Archive 3/4.6a (Or.11252/13r) Agreement roster of Patrol 6**

I call this roster ‘agreement roster’ because its opening formula includes the verb samev-samautta- ‘to agree’. The honorific form parstai samauttī shows that this roster was sent by a subordinate official to his superior, presumably Sudārrijāṃ, to remind him of a previous agreement. After reviewing this document, Sudārrijāṃ issued and signed an almost identical prospective roster (Archive 3/4.6p).

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/6.6, a document concerning a petition made on the 24th of Braṃkhasja (the eighth month). When writing the date of the agreement roster, the scribe inadvertently wrote bra, the first aksara of Braṃkhasja, and deleted it. This small mistake betrays that this agreed roster might have been drafted also in Braṃkhasja. If true, it would mean that the officials began to plan a particular patrol almost two months in advance. This agreement roster is preserved because it was later sent back to its original sender, most like-
ly from Sudārrjāṃ to Sāṃdara. Other agreement rosters may have been kept by Sudārrjāṃ in his archive and may still be there.

Text

§1 tti vaña {bra} mūñaṃji māsti spāśara parstai samautti

§2 [salamai || saṃgapuṇī || kharrjāṃ ||] suhīkā ṣanīrī || vilocaṃ || braṃgi || brūnadi || sūra[de || sāmadatti || saṃganaṃdi ||] īysadatti || vidyabudi || {senili} \kāśaki/ || kharamurrai || īrvadatti [[ śīrībudi || sūradatti ||] 4vidarrjāṃ phāji

§3 śi’ paḍāda samautti ye

Translation

§1 Now, you have deigned to agree on the patrolmen for Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month):

§2 [Salamai, Saṃgapuṇa, Kharrjāṃ], Ṣanīra from Suhīka, Vilocaṃ, Braṃga, Brūnada, Sūra[de, Sāmadatta, Saṃganaṃda,] Īysadatta, Vidyabuda, {Senila, \Kāśaka/, Kharamurrai, Īrvadatta, [Śīrībuda, Sūradatta,] Vidārrjāṃ, Phāja.

§3 This was agreed upon previously.

Commentary

§1 parstai samautti: ‘you deigned to agree’. The verb parī- parsta- ‘to command’ plus infinitive is used when addressing superiors, just as modern Persian farmāy- farmūd ‘to command’.

§2 [salamai || saṃgapuṇī || kharrjāṃ] suhīkā ṣanīrī: restored from Archive 3/4.6p §2: ‘{salamai} || {saṃgapuṇī} || kharrjāṃ || {suhīkā ṣanīra}’.

§2 suhīkā ṣanīra: ‘Ṣanīra in Suhīka’. Suhīka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.
§2 бүнад || сүрдө || сағадат || саңганаңд || تباعادат || Ресторед от Архив 3/4.6п §2: ‘бүнад || сүрдө || сағадат || саңганаңд || {تباعادат}’.

§2 {сенили} кăаăки: Although Senila is deleted and replaced by Kăaska, according to Archive 3/4.6р, it was still Senila who went on duty in Patrol 6,


Archive 3/4.6p (Or.11344/13) Prospective roster of Patrol 6

Similar to Archive 3/4.5p, this roster was issued by Sudărğan. Sudărğan first signed in the last line, then added two names and signed again to authenticate the modification. As a result, there are two signi of Sudărğan in the last line.

Text

§1 1[@ tti вă мунаm]ji 10 8 mye хацай спашăна тсăди

§2 {сalamai} || {саңгапуни} || кхарржам || {сухпăа сапира} 2[{вилокаm}] || брăнг || бүнад || сүрдө || сағадат || саңганаңд || {تباعادат} || видабуди || 3[сенили] || кхарамурраи вăри спашăна șау ǰум || Тывадат вă вăра спашăна șау ǰум || сирибуди || 4[сүрда]tti || вăри спăси șау тă кхвай вă видаррjam Signum-SU фăя || тăмгуыс || Signum-SU

Translation

§1 On the 18th day Мунаm (the 10th month), (the following) are going on patrol duty:

§2 {Salamai}, {Саңгапуња}, Kharрjam, {Сăнпăра from Сухика}, [{вилокаm}] Bramga, Brûnada, Surade, Sămadatta, Саңганаңдă, {تباعадат}, Vidyabuda, [Senila,] Kхармурай owes one shift
of patrol duty. Īrvadatta owes one shift of patrol duty. Śirībuda. Sūradatta owes one shift of patrol duty. Then when for him, (it is) Vidarrjāṃ. Signum-SU. Phāja. Ttāṃguysa. Signum-SU.

Commentary

§1 [@ tti vā mūṃja]ji 18: Restored from Archive 3/4.6r §1: ‘tti vā mūṃja 18 8’.

§2 {suhīkā ṣanīra} [{vilocaṃ} ||] braṃgi: Restored from Archive 3/4.6a §2: ‘suhīkā ṣanīri || vilocaṃ || braṃgi’. As ‘vilocaṃ’ is not in Archive 3/4.6r, it must have been deleted in the prospective roster.

§2 vidyabudi || [senilī]: Restored from Archive 3/4.6r §2: ‘vidyabudi || senili’.

§2 khāramurrai va vāri spaśaṇa śau jū || Īrvadatti va vāri spaśaṇa śau jūṃ ||: ‘Khāramurrai owes one turn of patrol duty. Īrvadatta owes one turn of patrol duty.’ In other words, Khāramurrai and Īrvadatta, who had been scheduled to go on duty in this patrol, asked for leave this time. They were both rescheduled to Patrol 9, but did not go for a second time, as their names are listed and deleted Archive 3/4.9p §2. The formula va vāri spaśaṇa śau jūṃ corresponds to the formula va vā tsve in the retrospective roster.


§2 phāji || tāṃguysi || Signum-SU: These two names were added after Sudārrjāṃ had signed the roster. He signed again to authenticate the addition. Note that Tāṃguysa is attested not in Archive 3/4.6a, but in Archive 3/4.6r.

Archive 3/4.6r (Hedin 6-b-iv) Retrospective roster of Patrol 6
The sixth retrospective roster in Hedin 6 contains 15 names. It corresponds to both the agreement roster Archive 3/4.6a and the prospective roster Archive 3/4.6p.

Text

§1\(^{15}\) tti vā mūṇāṃjī 18 m(y)e haḍai spaśaṇa tsvā(di)

§2 braṃgi || brūnade || gūma sūradi || [sāmadatti || 16]saṃganaṃdi bāja yaduysi || vidyabudi || senili || kharamurrai va vā tsve || īrvadatti [va vā tsve || ]17śiribudi || sūradatti va vā tsve || vidarjāṁ || phāji || ttāṃguysi || kharrjāṁ tti […]

Translation

§1 On the 18th of Mūṇāṃjā (the 10th month), the following men went on patrol:


Commentary

§2 gūma sūradi: ‘Sūrada in Gūma’. Gūma is a village in Āskūra. See commentary on Archive 3/5.22 §2.


§2 kharamurrai va vā tsve: ‘Kharamurrai went here.’ In other words, Kharamurrai did not go on patrol as previously scheduled. The formula \(va \ vā \ tsve\) corresponds to the formula \(va \ vā \ ri \ spaśaṇa \ ūau \ jūm\) in the prospective roster.

§2 kharrjāṃ: ‘Kharrjāṃ’ is the first undeleted name in Archive 3/4.6p. The two names preceding it and the two following it are all deleted. The scribe of this roster seemed to have overlooked ‘Kharrjāṃ’ first and later added it to the end. He is also in Archive 3/1.42 §3 as a competent wheat-sower.

Archive 3/4.7p (Or.11252/22) Prospective roster of Patrol 7

This prospective roster contains 14 names, of which 5 are partially or wholly restored from the corresponding retrospective roster Archive 3/4.7r.

Text

§1 tti bura hvaṃḍi cu skarihverā māṣṭi didye haḍai spaśaṇa [tsīdā]

§2 [brīna || saṃgūlai || si vidya]datti || sudarmā || puñadi || maṃgali || har(y)āsaki [|| vaṣi’raki || vidyadatti ||] ³paṃjamaki || mulaki || jsajsaki hunaki || burmaki ||

Translation

§1 The following are the men who [are going] on patrol duty on the 3rd of Skarihvāra (the 11th month):

§2 [Brīna, Saṃgūlai, Si vidya]datta, Sudarma, Puṇada, Maṃgala, Haryāsaka, [Vaṣi’raka, Vidya-datta], Paṃjaka, Mulaka, Jsajsaka, Hunaka, Burmaka.

Commentary


Archive 3/4.7r (Hedin 6-c) Retrospective roster of Patrol 7

The seventh retrospective patrol roster in Hedin 6 corresponds to the prospective roster Archive 3/4.7p, and is restored via comparison with it.

Text

§1 ttv skarihveri máṣṭi didye haḍai spaśaṇa tśiḍi

§2 bṛṇa || sāṃgūlai || si vidyadatti || [sudarmā || ] 19puṇadi || maṃgali || haryāsaki || vasi’raki || vidyadatti || paṃjamaki || mulaki || [jsajsaki || hu]20naki || burmaki

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Skarihvārā (the 11th month) the following men are going on patrol duty:

§2 Bṛṇa, Saṃgūlai, Si Vidyadatta, [Sudarṇa], Puṇade, Maṃgala, Haryāsaka, Vaśi’raka, Vidyadatta, Paṃjaka, Mulaka, [jsajsaka], Hunaka, Burmaka.

Commentary

§1 tśiḍi: ‘they go’. Again, the past tense tsvāḍi is expected. See commentary on Archive 3/4.2r.


Archive 3/4.8r (Hedin 6-d) Retrospective roster of Patrol 8

The eighth and last roster in Hedin 6 contains 11 names. Probably another name was originally in the roster but is now missing. Its corresponding prospective roster has not been preserved.
§1 21tti vā skarihveri bistamye haḍai spaśaṇa tsvādi

§2 gayseta sudatti || […] 22ṣanīra || uysbāki budadatti || brīṇa || sedrrum || rrūvašakī īrvadatti || ttāṃgu[ysi ||] 23yaduysi || marṣa’datti hīśi’nai vī svarrnadi || akāṇadatti ||

Translation

§1 On the 20th of Skarihvārā (the 11th month) the following went on patrol:

§2 Sudatti from Gaysāta, … Ṣanīra, Budadatta son of Uysbāka, Brīṇa, Sedrrum, Īrvadatta son of Rrūvašaka, Ttāṃguysa, Yaduysa, Marṣa’datta, Svarrnade on hīśi’nai, Akāṇadatta.

Commentary

§1 gayseta sudatti: ‘Sudatta from Gaysāta’. Gaysāta, corresponding to Chin. jiéxìè 傑謝, one of the Six Towns, is identified with present-day Dandan-Uiliq, some 120 km north of Keriya. See Zhang and Rong 1987, p.80. Gaysāta must have already been abandoned shortly after the Ti-betans took control of Khotan in the late 790s. See Stein 1907, p.284. In all the attestations of this town in Archive 3, including gayseta sudatti here, vidyadatti gaysātaji in Archive 3/4.10p §2, and gaysāyī vidyadatti in Archive 3/5.5 §6, Gasyāta only indicates the origin of Sudatta and Vidyadatta, but does not refer to the actual town.

§2 uysbāki budadatti: ‘Budadatta, son of Uysbāka’. This is a rare way of identifying people in Archive 3.

§2 hīśi’nai: unclear.

Archive 3/4.9p (Or.11344/1-a-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 9

352
Or.11344/1 is a roster compilation consisted of 13 rosters covering Patrol 9 to Patrol 18, an immediate continuation of Hedin 6. Similar to Hedin 6, Or.11344/1 is made of three sheets of paper (Or.11344/1-a, Or.11344/1-b, Or.11344/1-c) glued together. Unlike Hedin 6, however, Or.11344/1 contains both prospective and retrospective rosters.

Or.11344/1-b only contains prospective rosters that correspond to existing retrospective rosters, thus it does not provide any independent information on the patrols. Or.11344/1-a and Or.11344/1-c, on the other hand, display conspicuous similarities. In both, the prospective rosters (Or.11344/1-a-i, 11344/1-a-ii, Or.11344/1-c-i), which always precede the retrospective ones, all bear marks of deletion and insertion. The handwriting of the prospective rosters also differs from that of the retrospective ones. The former is bold, whereas the latter is thin. They are in sharp contrast in Or.11344/1-c, but not so obvious in Or.11344/1-a. It is also noteworthy that the prospective roster in Or.11344/1-c (Or.11344/1-c-i) has Sudārrjaṃ’s signature, indicating that it was originally a document issued by Sudārrjaṃ.

All of the above suggests the following scenario: A scribe wrote two prospective rosters on a large piece of paper (Or.11344/1-a). He also received a prospective roster issued by Sudārrjaṃ on a large piece of paper (Or.11344/1-c). Both pieces contain considerable usable space below the rosters. After the patrol in the fourth month was over, the scribe took out these two pieces of paper, modified the prospective rosters, copied later retrospective rosters in the blank below, and glued them together with another related document (Or.11344/1-b) in between. The final product is the roster compilation Or.11344/1.
Archive 3/4.9p, the first roster in Or.11344/1-a, is prospective. It originally contained 16 names. Later, two were deleted, and the substitute was inserted. As a result, 15 patrolmen actually went on duty in Patrol 9.

Text

§1 1@ tti bura hvaṛḥaṇi cu rrāhāji māśṭa tcūramye haḍai spaśaṇa tsīdi

§2 āśkīra nahnvi [||] 2sūradi || māṃñe || kharajṣaj(s)i || pu’yṣdaki || saṃgapuṇi | sarkāṃ | saṃgadi || {kharamura} | 3īrvadatt\ | kūcalai/ || brīna || si vidyadatti || jsajsaki || vidyabudi || hvṛrviḍṭi || ttāṃ[gu]ys[i]

Translation

§1 The following (are) the men who are going on patrol duty on the 4th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).

§2 Nahnva in Āskūra, Surada, Maṃñe, Kharajṣaja, Pu’yṣdaka, Saṃgapuṇa, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgada, {Kharamura} {Īrvadatta}, {Kūcalai/, Brīna, Si Vidyadatta, Jsajsaka, Vidyabuda, Hvṛrviḍṭa, Ttāṃguysa.

Commentary

§2 āśkīra nahnvi: ‘Nahnva in Āskūra’. Āskīra is for āśkīra.

Archive 3/4.10p (Or.11344/1-a-ii) Prospective roster of Patrol 10

The second roster in Or.11344/1-a is a prospective roster containing 14 names, out of which two were deleted and two substitutes were inserted.

Text

§1 4@ tti vā rrāhāji 20 l mey haḍai spaṣara tsīdi
§2 āskvīra sudatti || saṃgūlai || puṇade || [bu]ṛmaki || {braṃgā || ttāṃguysi} \sūradatti jsajsaki/ || yaduysi || paṃjamaki || sudarmā || mulaki || vidyadatti || șirphūki || vidyadatti gaysātaji || maṃgali
||

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 21th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).

§2 Sudatta from Āskūra, Saṃgūlai, Puṇade, Burmaka, {Braṃga, Ttāṃguysi}, \Sūradatta, Jsajaska/, Yaduysa, Paṃjamaka, Sudarma, Mulaka, Vidyadatta, Sirphūka, Vidyadatta from Gaysāta, Maṃgala.

Commentary


Archive 3/4.11r (Or.11344/1-a-iii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 11

The third roster in Or.11344/1-a is a retrospective roster containing 14 names plus an illegible one at the end. No modification was made to the roster except for a short insertion by a different hand.

Text

§1 ș@ tti vā cvātaji kṣemye haḍai spaṣaṇa tsvādi

§2 haryāsaki || akāṇadatti || tcaṃjsai [||] șkhau šanīrā || vidyabudi || cirāṃ īrvadatti || sūradi || nahvāni || gaudi [||] șīlaṃ || sudi \va ttāgutti tsve/ || pa’ sudatti || si vidyadatti bāja kucalai || saloki || -yā x x /

Translation
§1 The following went on patrol on the 6th of Cvātaja (the first month):

§2 Haryāsaka, Akānadatta, Tcaṃjsai, Śanīra the Khau, Vidyabuda, Īrvadatta from Cira, Sūrada, Nahvana, Gauda, Śīlaṃ, Suda \the Tibetan went for (him)/, Sudatta from Pa’, Kucalai (went) instead of Si Vidyadatta, Saloka, …

Commentary

§2 khau: An official title often in the rosters. Almost every roster from Patrol 14 to Patrol 23 includes one Khau. One wonders if this is the title of the leader of the patrol team. This title is also in Archive 3/6.1 §18.

§2 cirāṃ īrvadatti: ‘Īrvadatta of Cira’. Cira is one of the Six Towns.

§2 Sudi \va ttāgutti tsve/: ‘Suda, the Tibetan went for (him)’, also in Archive 3/4.12p. The handwriting of the only modification in this roster is very similar to that of the subsequent rosters.

Archive 3/4.12p (Or.11344/1-b-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 12

Or.11344/1-b consists of two prospective rosters corresponding to the last two retrospective rosters in Or.11344/1-a. It was glued below Or.11344/1-a for reference. The first roster in Or. 11344/1-b is a prospective roster corresponding to Archive 3/4.12r, the fourth roster in Or. 11344/1-a. One of the 14 names in this roster were replaced by substitutes in the retrospective roster.

Text

§1 15@ tti vā cvātaji māstä 20 l mye haḍai spaśaṇa tsidi
§2 āskvīra kharajsajsā || suhadā[ysi ||] 16phaṃnāji sūradatti || īrvadatti || suhadatti || arsāli || bir-gaṃdara suhada[tti] 17śāṃdatti || si vidyadatti || marṣa’datti || suhena || ṣanīrakā || ṣanīraki || naṃ-daki [||]

Translation
§1 And the following are going on patrol duty on the 21st of Cvātaja (the first month).

§2 Kharajsja in Āskūra, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta from Phaṃnāi, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta, Arsāla, Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara, Śāṃdatta, Si Vidyadatta, Marṣa’datta, Suhena, Ṣanīraka, (the second) Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.

Commentary
§2 āskvīra kharajsajsā || suhadā[ysi ||]: Restored from Archive 3/4.12r §2: ‘kharajsji || suhadāysi’.

§2 birgaṃdara suhada[tti]: ‘Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara’. Suhadatta is replaced by Virgāṃ in Archive 3/4.12r.

Archive 3/4.12r (Or.11344/1-a-iv) Retrospective roster of Patrol 12

The fourth roster in Or.11344/1-a is a retrospective roster containing 14 names, corresponding to Archive 3/4.12p, the first roster in Or.11344/1-b. From this patrol on, three teams of patrolmen rotated in a fixed order. The team of this patrol, or Team 1, also went on duty in Patrol 15 (Archive 3/4.15r), Patrol 18 (Archive 3/4.18p, Archive 3/4.18r), and Patrol 21 (Archive 3/4.21p, Archive 3/4.21r). The following table lists the patrolmen of Patrol 12, Patrol 15, Patrol 18, and Patrol 21:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEAM 1</th>
<th>12p</th>
<th>12r</th>
<th>15p</th>
<th>15r</th>
<th>18p</th>
<th>18r</th>
<th>21p</th>
<th>21r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharajsajsa</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṃdaki</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saloki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suḥadāysa</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūradatta</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgāṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si Vidyadatti the Khau</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suḥena</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudatta from Pa’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sude</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kucalai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṃgade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsāla</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īrvadatta</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[✓]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marṣa’datta</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāṃdatta</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣanīraki</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣanīraki the second one</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suḥadatta</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suḥadatta from Birgāṃdara</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be clearly seen from the table that Kharajsajsa, Suḥadāysa, Sūradatta, Virgāṃ, Suḥena, and Naṃdaka attended all of the four patrols, and were the core members of Team 1.
§1 10tti vā cvātaji 20 1 mye haḍai tsvādā

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || sūradatti || īrvada[tti ||] 11phaṃnā(ji) suhadatti || marṣa’datti || arsāli ||
virgāṃ || śāmdatti || khau si vidyadatti || suhena [||] 12śanīraki || pātci ṣe’ śanīraki | namḍaki ||

Translation

§1 The following went on the 21th of Cvātaja (the first month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta from Phaṃnā, Marṣa’datta, Arsāla,
Virgāṃ, Śāmdatta, Si Vidyadatta the khau, Suhena, Śanīraka, then the second Śanīraka, Naṃdaća-
ka.

Commentary

§2 pātca ṣe’ śanīraki: ‘Then the second Śanīraka’. Two men named Śanīraka are also in Archive
3/6.1 §15: b[i]rgaṃdara mattiśkāṇa śanīrakā 30 4 || śanīrakā 20 4 ‘Śanīraka from Mattiśka in
Birgaṃdara, 34 (years old), Śanīraka 24 (years old)’.


Archive 3/4.13d (Or.11344/1-b-ii) Deleted roster of Patrol 13

This roster of 17 names should correspond to the retrospective roster Archive 3/4.13r, but it
does not. The scribe realized his mistake, deleted the entire roster, and wrote the correct one be-
low it.

Text

§1 {18@ tti vā {cvā} kaji māṣṭā pūhye haḍai spaśara tsidi

§2 āskvīrā śi’laṃ || pu’yasdaki ||19maṃne || kharamurrai \suhadatti/ || si vidyada | tti kucalai ||
sarkāṃ || saṃgadi || sude | sudatti 20visarrjāṃ || hvrṛīviṭi || sīlāṃ || sudatti || namḍaki salokā}
Translation

§1 {The following are going on patrol duty on the 5th of Kaja (the second month).

§2 Śī’laṃ from Āskūra, Pu’ydsaka, Maṃñe, Kharamurrai, ‘Suhadatta/, Si Vidyadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Samgade, Sude Sudatta, Visarrjāṃ, Hvṛrvīṭa, Sīlāṃ, Sudatta, Naṃdaka, Saloka.}

Commentary

§2 kharamurrai ‘suhadatti/: The insertion of ‘suhadatti’ below ‘kharamurrai’ shows that Suhadatta went on patrol instead ofKharamurrai. In Archive 3/4.14p §3, Kharamurrai did the same for Suhadatta.

Archive 3/4.13p (Or.11344/1-b-iii) Prospective roster of Patrol 13

After deleting the previous roster, the scribe copied the right one, the prospective roster of Patrol 13. All but the last name on this roster, Sudatta from Pa’, are in the corresponding retro-

pective roster Archive 3/4.13r.

Text

§1 21@ tti vā kaji māsti haudamye haḍai spaśaṇa tsīdi

§2 śīlāṃ || pu’ydsaki || maṃñe || suhada[tt]i 22kucalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgadi || sudi \va ttāgutti tsve/
|| sīlāṃ || si vidyadatti sudatti pa’ji

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 7th of Kaja (the second month):

§2 Śī’laṃ, Pu’ydsaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Samgade, for Sude the Tibetan went, Sīlāṃ, Si Vidyadatta, Sudatta from Pa’.

Commentary
§2 sudatti pa’ji: ‘Sudatta from Pa’’. This name is not in the corresponding retrospective roster Archive 3/4.13r.

**Archive 3/4.13r (Or.11344/1-a-v) Retrospective roster of Patrol 13**

The fifth roster in Or.11344/1-a is a retrospective roster containing 10 names. The team of this patrol, or Team 2, also went on duty in Patrol 16 (Archive 3/4.16r), Patrol 19 (Archive 3/4.19p, Archive 3/4.19r), and Patrol 22 (Archive 3/4.22r). The following table lists the patrol-men of Patrol 13, Patrol 16, Patrol 19, and Patrol 22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEAM 2</th>
<th>13p</th>
<th>13r</th>
<th>16r</th>
<th>19p</th>
<th>19r</th>
<th>22r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kucalai</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṃñe</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[✓]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, Śi’laṃ, Pu’ybsdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, and Si Vidyadatti were the core members of Team 2.
Text

§1³@ tti vā kajī māsti hau damye ḥaḍai tsvādī

§2 Ṣī’laṃ || pu’ysdaki || māṃñe || suhadatti {||} kha(ra)mūrrai bāja ¹⁴kūcalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgade || sudi va ttāguttī tsve || sīlāṃ || sī vidyadatti khau

Translation

§1 These went on the 7th of Kaja (the second month):

§2 Ṣī’laṃ, Pu’ysdaka, Māṃñe, Suhadatta instead of Kharamūrrai, Kucaīai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade.

For Suda, the Tibetan went. Sīlāṃ, Si Vidyadatti the Khau. Commentary

§2 sudi va ttāguttī tsve: ‘For Sude, the Tibetan went’. This phrase is also in Archive 3/4.11r. See commentary on Archive 3/4.11r §2.


Archive 3/4.14p (Or.11344/1-c-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 14

Sudārrijāṃ’s signature at the end of this roster indicates that it was issued by Sudārrjaṃ. The scribe modified this roster after the patrol, used the space below it to write four more rosters, and then glued the paper below Or.11344/1-b to form the roster compilation. The patrol team in this roster, or Team 3, also went on duty in Patrol 17 (Archive 3/4.17p, Archive 3/4.17r), Patrol 20
According to the table above, Arsäla, Marṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, and Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara were the core members of Team 3.

Text

§1 23tti vā kaji 20 3 mye haḍai spaḥara tsi(di)

§2 arsāli marṣa’datti \gaudi va/ || saloki {ṣanīraki} || si vi[dyadatti] \īrva[datti va/] 24sudatti khau | šādatti \va śiraki/ | suhadatti || {suhen} |
§3 suhadatti || kharamurrai bāja spaṣaṇa tsve vaṇa [khara]²⁵ murrai suhadattī bāja jsātā u {sura-marṣa’} Signum-SU

Translation

§1 These are going on patrol duty on the 23th of Kaja (the second month):

§2 Arsāla. Gauda (is going) for Marṣa’datta. Saloka. {Ṣanīraka} Īrvadatta (is going for) for Si Vidyadatta., Sudatta the khau. Śiraka (went) for Śādatta. Suhadatta, {Suhena}

§3 Suhadatta went on patrol instead of Kharamurrai. Now Kharamurrai is going instead of Suhadatta and {Suramarṣa’}. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 ġaudī va/, īrv[da]tti va/, va śiraki/: The inserted names are substitutes for those written above them.

§3 vaṇa [khara]²⁵ murrai suhadattī bāja jsātā: ‘Now Kharamurrai is going instead of Suhadatta.’ Here Kharamurrai returns Suhadatta’s favor as the latter went on patrol for the former half a month ago, see commentary on Archive 3/4.13r §2.

Archive 3/4.15p (Or.11252/17v) Prospective roster of Patrol 15

All the six names preserved in this fragmentary roster belong to Team 1. Therefore, this roster is mostly likely the prospective roster of Patrol 15, the only otherwise unidentified prospective roster of Team 1.

This roster was written on the back of Archive 3/1.11, an order from blon Zham rjai concerning grain.

Text
§1 ¹[...] || ṣanīraki || virgāṃ || ṣanīraki | suhena ²[Īrvadattī] | sūradatti ||

Translation

§1 … Ṣanīraka, Virgāṃ, Ṣanīraka, Suhena, Īrvadatta, Sūradatta.

Commentary

§1 [Īrvadattī]: restored according to Archvie 3/4.15r §2.

Archive 3/4.15r (Or.11344/1-c-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 15

The second roster in Or.11344/1-c lists the names of eight men of Team 1 on patrol duty and two men on other tasks. Though the verb was omitted in the opening formula of, this roster would be a retrospective one, since it bears no marks of modification, and is included in a roster compilation, the purpose of which was to keep track of patrol attendance. By the same token, the next three rosters in Or.11344/1-c would also be retrospective ones. More on Team 1, see introduction to Archive 3/4.12r.

Text

§0 ²⁵a{kharajsajsi}

§1 ²⁶tti vā hamārrīji māṣti haudamye haḍai

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi | suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || ṣa[nīra]k[i] ²⁷sūradatti || Ṣīrvadatti | ṣanīraki pyāra vī

§3 sudi śau paṃḍi byāṣṭi

Translation

§0 {Kharajsajsa}

§1 The following on the 7th day of Hamārrīja (the third month):

365
§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Ṣanīraka
(was working) at the dams.

§3 Suda opened one road.

Commentary

§0 {kharajsajsi}: A scribal error. The scribe wrote the first name of the roster before writing the opening formula. He subsequently deleted the name and restarted the roster in the next line.

§2 pyāra vi: ‘(working) at the *dams’. This phrase is also in Archive 3/4.19r §2, Archive 3/4.20r §2, Archive 3/4.21r §3, and Archive 3/5.9 §4.

§3 sudi śau paṃdi byāṣṭi: ‘Suda opened one road’. The exact meaning of this sentence is not clear. It may indicate that Suda was sent to repair the roads. This phrase is also in Archive 3/4.18r §4 and Archive 3/4.21r §4. The handwriting of the phrase is different from the rest of the roster but is identical with that of the last two rosters in Or.11344/1-c, namely, Archive 3/4.17r and Archive 3/4.18r.

Archive 3/4.16r (Or.11344/1-c-iii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 16

This roster appears to be a prospective one, since the verb in the opening formula is in the present tense. According to the analysis in the introduction of Archive 3/4.15r, however, it must be a retrospective one. The scribal error of the verbal form in its opening formula is also in Archive 3/4.2r §1 and Archive 3/4.7r. §1. The patrolmen in this roster were from Team 2. For more on Team 2, see introduction of Archive 3/4.13r.

Text

§1 28@tti vā hamārrīji 10 9 mye haḍai spaśaṇa tsidī
§2 Śī’laṃ pu’yisdaki || maṃñe || suhadatti phaṃnā[ji] 29kūcalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgadai || khau sā vidyadatti || pa’ sūdatti

**Translation**

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 19th of Hamārrīja (the third month):

§2 Śī’laṃ, Pu’yisdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai of Phaṃnai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the Khau, Sudatta in Pa’.

**Archive 3/4.17p (Or.11252/34.1-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 17**

Or.11252/34 includes two documents, Or.11252/34.1 and Or.11252/34.2. Both documents have Sudārrjam’s signature at the end, indicating that both were issued by Sudārrjam. Or.11252/34.2r, or Archive 3/1.7, is a dated order concerning provisions for the patrolmen. Or.11252/34.2v, or Archive 3/6.5, contains the last sentence of a petition to the King of Khotan.

Or.11252/34.1 contains three prospective rosters. The first two end with the shorthand form of Sudārrjam’s signum, and the last one ends with his formal signum. This indicates that Sudārrjam issued these three rosters as a single document.

The first roster, the prospective roster of Patrol 17, contains nine names from Team 3. For more on Team 3, see introduction of Archive 3/4.14p.

**Text**

§1a† tti vā sejsīji māstā 8 mye haḍai spaśara tśidi

§2 arsāli {li} || maṛṣa’datti || 2’īṛvadatti || khau kūlā sudatti || šaṃdatti || bārgaṃdara suhadatti || kharamūrrai | saloki ³śilā Signum-SUa

**Translation**

367
§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 8th of Simjsīja (the fourth month):

§2 Arsāla, Marṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śaṃdatta, Suhadatta from Bir-gaṇḍara, Kharamūrrai, Saloka, Sīlāṃ. Signum-SUa.

Commentary

§2 khau kūlā sudatti: ‘Sudatta the Khau from Kūla’, also in Archive 3/6.1 §18. Kūla is a village in Phaṃnai. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §18.

§2 Signum-SUa: This is the shorthand of Sudārrjaṃ’s formal signum. As the entire document requires Sudārrjaṃ to sign three times, he used the shorthand signum for the first two, and the formal one for the last. For a detailed discussion of signi, see Skjærvø 2009, pp.131-134 and Yoshida 2008a, pp.463-465.

Archive 3/4.17r (Or.11344/1-c-iv) Retrospective roster of Patrol 17

This retrospective roster, the fourth one in Or.11344/1-c, contains 9 names from Team 3. It is restored via comparison with the corresponding prospective roster Archive 3/4.17p. For more on Team 3, see introduction to Archive 3/4.14p.

Text

§1 30@ tti vā sejsi 8 mye haḍai spaśara tsvādi

§2 arsāli || marṣa’datti || īrvadatti || khau [kūlā suda]|titi || śaṃdatti || śirgūlā suhadatti || kharamūrrai || sīlāṃ || saloka [||]

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol on the 8th of Simjsīja (the fourth month):
§2 Arsälā, Maṛṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the khaū from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Śīrgūla, Kharamūrrai, Śīlāṃ, Saloka,

Commentary


§2 śīrgūla suhadatti: ‘Suhadatta from Śīrgūla’, also in Archive 3/4.4r. Śīrgūla is a village in Bir-gaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/4.4r §2.

§2 sīlāṃ || saloki |||: Saloki is established as the last name on the roster via comparison with Archive 3/4.17p §2: ‘saloki sīlā Signum-SUa’.

Archive 3/4.18p (Or.11252/34.1-ii) Prospective roster of Patrol 18

The second prospective roster in Or.11252/34.1 contains 9 names from Team 1. For more on Team 1, see introduction of Archive 3/4.12r. Although the date of the patrol is not specified in the opening formula, this must be a roster of Patrol 18, because it corresponds to the retrospective roster Archive 3/4.18r, and follows the prospective roster of Patrol 17. This roster ends with a shorthand of Sudārrjam’s signum.

Text

§1 ¼@ tti vā śe’ būki spaśaṇa tsīdi

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || 5sanīraki || sūradatti || si vidyadatti || sanīraki || Signum-SUa

Translation:

§1 The following are going on patrol duty of the second shift:
§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Sūradatta, Si Vidyadatta, Ṣanīraka.

Commentary

§1 būki: ‘shift, team’. In Or.11252/34.1, Sudār̄jaṃ issued the rosters of Patrol 17 to Patrol 19, but did not specified the date of Patrol 18 and Patrol 19. Instead, he used ‘the second būka’ and ‘the third būka’ to refer to the team of Patrol 18 and Patrol 19 respectively. The first būka in Sudār̄jaṃ’s mind must then be the team of Patrol 17. The three būkas refer to three teams on patrol duty on three different dates, not three teams on the same day, as Yoshida (2006, p.116) understands it. As shown in Table IV-13 in Chapter IV, one team is made up of nine to 19 people.

Archive 3/4.18r (Or.11344/1-c-v) Retrospective roster of Patrol 18

The last roster in Or.11344/1-c contains seven names from Team 1 on patrol duty and two on other tasks. An additional name is restored by comparison with Archive 3/4.18p. For more on Team 1, see introduction of Archive 3/4.12r. The verb in the opening formula is omitted. According to the analysis in the introduction of Archive 3/4.15r, this roster must be a retrospective one.

Text

§1 32sejsīji 20 9 me haḍai

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || Ṣanīraki || [sūradatti] 33ṭīvadatti ||

§3 Ṣanīraki || pāra vī

§4 sude śau paṃdi byāṣṭi

Translation

§1 On the 29th of Simjsīja (the fourth month):
§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadâysa, Suhena, Virgâm, Naǒdaka, Šanîraka, [Sûradatta], Īrvadatta.

§3 Šanîraka, at the dams.

§4 Sude opened one road.

Commentary

§2 Šanîraki || [sûradatti]: Restored from Archive 3/4.18p §2: ‘šanîraki || sûradatti’.

§3 Pâra vî: ‘at the dams’. Scribal error for pyâra, see Archive 3/4.15r §2, Archive 3/4.19r §2, Archive 3/4.20r §2, and Archive 3/4.21r §3.

§4 Sude šau paṇdi byâsti: ‘Sude opened one road.’ See commentary on Archive 3/4.15r §3. It is recorded in Archive 3/1.31, an order issued three days before the date of Patrol 18, that Suda from Pa’ and others owe road work. See commentary on Archive 3/1.31 §10.

Archive 3/4.19p (Or.11252/34.1-iii) Prospective roster of Patrol 19

The third and the last prospective roster in Or.11252/34.1 is a roster of Patrol 19, as it corresponds to Archive 3/4.19r and follows Archive 3/4.18p. This roster bears Sudârrjaṃ’s formal signum at the end.

Text

§1 6@ tti burâ vâ didi bûki spaṣaṇa tsîdi

§2 šîlaṃ || pu’yasdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnâji suhad[atti ||] 7kûcalai || sarkâm || saṃgade || khau si vidyadatti || pa’ sudatti || Signum-SU

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty of the third shift:
§2 Śīlaṃ, Pu’ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidya-datta the Khau, Sudatta from Pa’.

Commentary:

§2 pa’ sudatti: ‘Sudatta from Pa’”. He is not in the corresponding retrospective roster Archive 3/4.19r.

Archive 3/4.19r (Or.11344/3r-a-i) Retrospective roster of Patrol 19

Or.11344/3r is the third and the last roster compilation in Archive 3. Similar to Hedin 6 and Or.11344/1, Or.11344/3r is made of two sheets of paper (Or.11344/3r-a, Or.11344/3r-b). These two sheets were originally two orders sent to Sāṃdara, one from spāta Sudārrjaṃ (Archive 3/1.32), the other from the Tibetan Military Commissioner Rmang bzher (Archive 3/1.41). The scribe glued these two orders together and used the blank on the back to write five retrospective rosters covering Patrol 19 to Patrol 23, immediately following the previous roster compilation, Or.11344/1, which covers Patrol 9 to Patrol 18. Due to lack of space, the scribe used the blank on the same side of the orders to write the roster of Patrol 24 (Or.11344/3v-c), the last roster in the entire roster cycle.

The first retrospective roster in Or.11344/3r-a contains nine names, eight from Team 2 on patrol duty, one on other task. The last two names are not in the prospective roster Archive 3/4.19p. For more on Team 2, see introduction of Archive 3/4.13r. The date of the patrol, though not specified, must be in the first half of the fifth month, because the next patrol was on the 15th of the fifth month.

Text
§1 өтті вә һәңдыйәйи мәәсти спәәнә тсвәди

§2 ʂилам || пу’ысдаки || пхәңәји сәҳадатти || маәмнә || 2күәләй || сәркәәм || сәңгәде || ҡәәү si видядатті || ʂәңәрәки пыәрә ві

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Haңдыйәя (the fifth month):

§2 Ԫ’лаң, Пу’ысдака, Сәһадатта from Phаңнә, Мәәңе, Күәләй, Сәркәәм, Сәңгәде, Si Видядатта the Khәу.

§3 Ԫңәрәка (was) at the dams.

Commentary

§3 ʂәңәрәки пыәрә ві: ‘Ԫңәрәка (was) at the dams.’ The handwriting of this sentence is different from the rest of the roster and must be a later addition. Ԫңәрәка is not in the corresponding prospective roster Archive 3/4.19p.

Archive 3/4.20r (Or.11344/3r-a-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 20

The second roster in Or.11344/3r-a is a retrospective roster of Team 3. For more on Team 3, see introduction of Archive 3/4.14p. No corresponding prospective roster has been preserved. Note that line 3 is complete, and therefore can be used to ascertain the length of lacunae in Archive 3/1.41, the document written on the other side of this roster. See introduction of Archive 3/1.41, and commentary on Archive 3/1.41 §4.

Text

§1 3tti вә һәңдыйәйи пәңjspәәmye ха даи тсвәди
§2 arsäli || marša’datti || īrvadatti || khau kulā sudatti ṣāṃdatti || birgaṃdara suhadatti || kharamurray || saloki || sīlā ’pyāra vī’ ||

Translation

§1 The following went (on patrol) on the 15th day of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month):

§2 Arsāla, Marṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara, Kharamurray, Saloka, Sīlāṃ (was) at the dams.

Archive 3/4.21p (Or.11252/26) Prospective roster of Patrol 21

This roster should be a prospective one, although the verb in its opening formula is in the past tense. It corresponds partially to the retrospective roster Archive 3/4.21r, bears no marks of modification, and is written on a small slip of paper. All of above demonstrates the provisional and informal nature of a prospective roster.

Text

§1 tti vā raruśi māštā spaśāna tsvādi

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || saṃgade || virgāṃ || [naṃdaki ||] 2saloki || sūradatti || kūcalai || sudatti pa’ji

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Raruśa (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Saṃgade, Virgāṃ, [Naṃdaka.] Saloka, Sūradatta, Kucalai, Sudatta from Pa’.

Commentary

Archive 3/4.21r (Or.11344/3r-a-iii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 21

Listed in the third roster in Or.11344/3r-a are eight names from Team 1 and two others on other tasks. For more on Team 1, see introduction of Archive 3/4.12r. In this roster, Suhena and Si vidyadatta replace Saṃgade and Kucalai in the corresponding prospective roster Archive 3/4.21p. The date of Patrol 21, though not specified in both rosters, must be in the first half of the sixth month, since Patrol 20 was on the 15th of the fifth month.

Text

§1 ॐ तिव रारूयी माष्टि स्पाशाना त्सवादि

§2 कहराजसाज || सुहदायस || सुहेना || विर्गम || ६नाङ्दक || सालोक || सुरादत्त || सी विद्यादत्त ||

§3 सुदत्ति पयार वी

§4 सुदे द्राई पाँढी बयाछती हिम्ये/

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsaṣa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgāṁ, Naṃdaka, Saloka, Sūradatta, Si Vidyadatta

§3 Sudatta (was) at the *dams.

§4 As for Sude, three roads have been opened.

Commentary

§3 byāṣṭi hīmye: ‘have been opened’. Passive potential construction to denote the completion of an action. Sude is attested to have ‘opened’ one road in Archive 3/4.15r §3 and Archive 3/4.18r §4.
Archive 3/4.21d (Or.11344/3r-b-i) Deleted roster of Patrol 21

The scribe inadvertently copied the previous roster for a second time. He realized his mistake after one line and a half, and deleted the repeated roster. The right end of Or.11344/3r is damaged, but this repetition helps establish the original width of the entire document.

Text

§1 ʿitti pātcī rārūyi māštā spaśāna tsvāḍī

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || [suhera ||] ʾvīrgām || namdaki ||

Translation

§1 {Next, the following went on patrol in Rārūya (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, [Suhena], Virgām, Namdaka.}

Commentary

§2 suhadāysi || [suhera ||]: Restored from Archive 3/4.21r §2: ‘suhadāysi || suhera’.

Archive 3/4.22r (Or.11344/3r-b-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 22

The second roster in Or.11344/3r-b is a roster of Team 2. Two names are restored by comparison with other rosters of Team 2. For more on Team 2, see introduction of Archive 3/4.13r. No corresponding prospective roster exists. The exact date of Patrol 22, though not specified, must be in the second half of the sixth month, since Patrol 23 was on the 10th of the seventh month.

Text

§1 tti pātcī rārūyi māštā

§2 ʾšīʿlaṃ | puʿygsda[ki || maṃhe ] ʾ9|| phamānāji suhadatti || kuclai || sarkāṃ || saṃgade || [khau si vidyādatti ||] ʾ10paʿ sudatti ||
Translation

§1 Next, in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Śīlaṃ, Pu’ysdaka, [Maṃñe], Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, [Si
vidyadatta the Khau,] Sudatta in Pa’.

Commentary

§2 pu’ysdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnāji suhadatti: Restored from the other rosters of Team 2: Ar-
archive 3/4.13r §2: ‘pu’ysdaki || maṃñe || suhadatti’ and Archive 3/4.16r §2: ‘pu’ysdaki || maṃñe ||
suhadatti phaṃnā(ji)’.

§2 saṃgade || [khau si vidyadatti ||] pa’ sudatti: Restored from the other rosters of Team 2: Ar-
|| khau si vidyadatti || pa’ sudatti’.

Archive 3/4.23r (Or.11344/3r-b-iii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 23

This retrospective roster of seven names is a roster of Team 3. One of the missing names can
be restored from other rosters of Team 3. For more on Team 3, see introduction of Archive

Text

§1 tti vā ttājīrā māstā tsvādi 10 haḍai

§2 arsāli || [marṣa’datti ||] 11[Ī]rvadatti || khau sudatti śādatti || birga suhadatti || kharamurrai ||
ṣanī[raki ||] 12[s]īlā

Translation

§1 The following went (on patrol) on the 10th of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month):
§ 2 Arsāla, [Marṣa’datta,] Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara, Kharamurrai, Ṣanīraka, Sīlām.

Commentary


§ 2 Ṣanīraki ||: Ṣanīraka must be the last name of this line, because the lacunae is three to four akṣaras long, as established by Archive 3/4.21d § 2: ‘[suhena ||]’.

Archive 3/4.24r (Or.11344/3v-c) Retrospective roster of Patrol 24

As discussed in the introduction of Archive 3/4.19r, the last roster of the entire patrol cycle is written on Or.11344/3v. The nine patrolmen on this roster are not from Team 1 to Team 3. Though the month is missing in the opening formula due to damage, Patrol 24 must be in the second half of the seventh month, since Patrol 23 was in the first half of the seventh month.

Text

§ 1 1x x x x va tsvādi 20 8

§ 2 jsajsaki || [vi]dyadatti || sūrade || šarkā || budarmā || sudatti || sudatti || puñadi || 2[x x da]rauki ||

Translation

§ 1 The following went (on patrol) on the 28th of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month):

§ 2 Jsajsaka, Vidyadatta, Sūrade, Śarkāṃ, Budarma, Sudatta, Sudatta, Puṇada, …, Darauka.

Commentary

§ 2 sūrade || šarkā: Both names are in Archive 3/4.5p § 3.
Archive 3/4a.1 (Or.11252/14r) prospective patrol roster

This roster records a patrol outside the patrol cycle. Though no verb is in it, from it opening formula ‘[tti] burā’ and the small size of the document, one can tell that it is a prospective roster. A retrospective roster tends to open with ‘tti vā’. See Archive 3/4 II. Formula. Among the 10 names in the roster, Yseviḍṭa and Namaubuda are not in the rosters of the patrol cycle in Archive 3/4. The dating formula is also missing.

Written on the back of this roster is Archive 3/5.11, a roster of men on canteen duty.

Text

§1 \[[@ ... tti] burā spaśara

§2 kharajsajsä || yseviḍṭi || hunaki || darau²[ki || ... sa]rkāṃ|| 'īrvadatti || namaubudi || suhṇa | ar-sāli || cira ³[mādā]ši

Translation

§1 ... These are the patrolmen:

§2 Kharajsajsa, Yseviḍṭa, Hunaka, Darauka, ... Sarkāṃ, Īrvadatta, Namaubuda, Suhena, Arsāla, [Mādā]ša from Cira.

Commentary

§2 [sa]rkāṃ: Proper name.

Archive 3/4a.2 (Or.11252/10r) Three prospective rosters

This roster also concerns a patrol outside the patrol cycle. Three patrol teams in this roster are comparable with Team 1, Team 2 and Team 3 in the patrol cycle, but Yseviḍṭa and Ysāḍadatta
here are not in the rosters of the patrol cycle. For more on the three teams, see introduction of Archive 3/4.12r, Archive 3/4.13r, and Archive 3/4.14p respectively.

Written on its back is Archive 3/5.18, a short list of men who delivered jars and sacks.

**Text**

§1 [tti bura hvaṃḍi cu ... mā]ṣṭi sparābistamye haḍai spaśaṇa tśiḍi

§2 [...] x x -i || suhena || virgāṃ || makali || saṃgade || sūradatti ||

§3 [tti buri ... spa]ṣaṇa tśiḍi

§4 yṣāḍadatti {śī’laṃ ||} | pu’yṣdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnāji suhadatti || kūca⁴[la || ... ṣa]nīrakā ||

khau si vidyadatti || yseviṭi ||

§5 […]datti || īrvadatti || darauki || šāṃdatti || birgaṃḍara suhadatti || kharamurrai ||

**Translation**

§1 [The following men] are going on patrol on the 25th of [...] 

§2 […] Suhena, Virgāṃ, Makala, Saṃgade, Sūradatta. 

§3 [The following] are going on patrol:

§4 Yṣāḍadatta, {Śī’laṃ} Pu’yṣdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta from Phaṃnā, Kucaḷai, …, Śanīraka, Si Vidyadatta the Khau, Yseviṭa 

§5 […]datta, Īrvadatta, Darauka, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃḍara, Kharamurrai,

**Commentary**

§2 suhena || virgāṃ || makali || saṃgade || sūradatti ||: Suhena, Virgāṃ and Sūradatta are members of Team 1, while Saṃgade belongs to Team 2. Makala is attested only once in the rosters of the patrol cycle in Archive 3/4.2p §2.

§4 yṣāḍadatti {śī’laṃ ||}: ‘yṣāḍadatti’ is written over the deleted ‘śī’la ||’.
Among these names, Śīḷaṃ, Pu’ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, and Khau Si vidyadatti are all members of Team 2. Şanīraka is a member of Team 1. Ysevita is attested not in the rosters of the patrol cycle, but in Archive 3/4a.1 §2. Ysāḍadatta is not in any other rosters.

Among these names, Īrvadatta, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta and Kharamurrai are all members of Team 3. Darauka is in Archive 3/4.24r §2 and Archive 3/4a.1 §2.
Archive 3/5 Rosters of Other Tasks

I. Introduction

Apart from patrol rosters, there are rosters of other tasks in Archive 3. I have these rosters in Archive 3/5 and divided them into six subgroups.

1) Rosters of shifts in the fort (Archive 3/5.1-5)

96 names are attested, most of them multiple times, in these five rosters of duty in the Fort of Phema, a major task imposed upon the residents of the Six Towns. Though the data in these fragmentary documents are far from comprehensive, it is clear that the duty in the fort is similar to the patrol duty in terms of both scale and frequency. The size of a team on duty in the fort ranges from 11 men (Archive 3/5.2 §2) to 20 men (Archive 3/5.2 §4). Five dates, namely, the 11th, the 12th, the 23rd, and the 24th of the fifth month, and the 14th of the sixth month, are attested, indicating that every half month a team was required to go on duty in the fort. It is hard to tell, however, how long a typical shift in the fort lasted. It seems that some stayed in the fort longer than others, since shifts of one day, five days and ten days are all attested.

2) Rosters of unspecified shifts (Archive 3/5.6-9)

Listed in these four short rosters are those of teams of unspecified duty, probably also duty in the fort.

3) Rosters concerning patrol duty and canteen duty (Archive 3/5.10-11)

Archive 3/5.10 is list of state workers exempt from patrol duty. Archive 3/5.11 is a roster of men on canteen duty. For more on state work and canteen duty, see Archive 3/1.20 to Archive 3/1.28.

4) Lists of men performing various tasks (Archive 3/5.12-14)
60, 28, and 15 men with their tasks are listed in these three documents. The tasks include patrol duty, going to the Hill (Tibetan headquarters), going to Cira, serving the Young King, serving sau Viṣṇadatta, sowing sesame and wheat for the king, carrying grain, cloth, tax-money, documents, cotton, or iron.

5) Lists of draft animal providers (Archive 3/5.15-17)

Listed in these three documents are 39 draft animal providers, 17 of whom are attested twice. Some of them are only attested here. Archive 3/1.39 and Archive 3/1.40 are two communications concerning draft animals. Archive 3/1.39 is directly related to Archive 3/5.17, as they were written on two sides of the same sheet of paper.

6) Others (Archive 3/5.18-22)

This subgroup includes a list of men who delivered jars and sacks (Archive 3/5.18), a list of men and their equipments (Archive 3/5.19), a list of men to be served, probably the silkworm raisers (Archive 3/5.20), and two short rosters (Archive 3/5.21 and Archive 3/5.22).

The following table lists the archive number, the register number, and the subject of each document in Archive 3/5:

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<th>Register number</th>
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<td>Or.11252/32-a</td>
<td>Rosters of shifts in the fort</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/5.2</td>
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<td>Archive 3/5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archive 3/5.6</td>
<td>Or.11252/39</td>
<td>Roster of three teams</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Many documents in Archive 3/5 share the same sheet of paper with other documents, written on the verso, or from the opposite end, or both. This economic use of paper is also seen in Archive 3/1.

II. Texts

Archive 3/5.1 (Or.11252/32-a) Rosters of teams on duty
This document lacks the left edge and most of line 5. It consists of two sets of rosters. Listed in the first set are members of three teams going to the Fort of Phema. Listed in the second are members of three teams from Cira who have come (to the fort?) on the 12th of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month). In total, 67 men are listed in this document. Seven of them are listed twice in both. All the 32 men in the first two teams of the first set are in Archive 3/5.2 to Archive 3/5.5, four similar rosters. Among the remaining 35 men, however, only six are in the next three rosters (Archive 3/5.2-4).

Archive 3/1.44, a short order concerning water issued by Sudārrjāṃ, is written on the same page of this document but from the opposite end. This order is dated to the 2nd of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month), about 40 days later than the date mentioned in the roster. It is very likely, therefore, that this roster was drafted before the order.

**Text**

§1 1[...] kaipaustaṃdādi

§2 phemāṇa kītha padausyī būki ḥvaṃdi

§3 2[...]ri || [pu’]ysdaki || sudivi || sudatti || gachauki || arsāli || kuca3[lai ... || śañjīrā || sīlām || śāndatti || si vidyadatti || khau śanīrā || širī4[buda || ... ] || hunaki || hunili || yulmahī || vidarrjāṃ || {svarrnade} 5[... || suha]dāysi ||

§4 6[tti vā še’ būki]

§5 [...] hvurihvādi || saṃg[u]lai || marṣa’datti || budāṣṭri || si vidya[dat][t]i || 7[.......... || mu]la[k]i || sīrphū[k]i || x x 8... || sa[lo]ki || śanīraki spāta pū || [b]u[dat][t][i 9...di] || kalidrā || gaudi || svarṛjāṃ || maṃgali ||

§6 10[tti vā didi būki]
§7 [...] suhadāysi || makali || vasade || śī'laṃ || īrvadatti || brūnade || 11[... ]de || sarkāṃ || namdaki || śarmai || virgāṃ || upadatti || vasade || aśna12[datti || ...] || haryāsaki || vidyadatti || bu'ysi şanīrā || vaşî'raki || 13[... ]ş’a’bude || suhade ||

§8 tti vā haṁdyaji 10 2 mye haḍai cirāna āta padauysi 14[būki hvaṇḍi]

§9 [...] hadru || saṁgalaki || saṁganaṃdi || yuduysi || matsarākīśā || 15[... ]rrjāṃ || nahvāṇi

§10 tti vā še’ būki

§11 namdaki || braṃgi || braṇaṃdi || īrvada16[tti || ...]datti || nineviṣa’li || arrjāṃ || budesa || skarai || phāji ||

§12 tti vā di17[di būki]

§13 [...]si || ttiśaṇi || saṁgabudi || sedruru || visarrjā || īraki || šīrde || 18[...] || īyasadatti || šīrbudi || khāhadatti | vilocaṃ yṣādi budesa

Translation

§1 They began the kai̱pautsī ... 

§2 The first team of men (on duty) in the Fort of Phema (includes):

§3 …ri, Pu’ysdaka, Sudiva, Sudatta, Gachauka, Arsāla, Kucalai, … Șanīra, Sīlām, Šamdatta, Si vidyadatta, Khau Șanīra, Širibuda, …, Hunaka, Hunila, Yulmaha, Vidarrjām, {Svarrnade,} … Suhadāysi.

§4 [The second team (includes):] 

§5 [... Hvurihvādi,] Saṁg[u]lai, Mara’datta, Budāštira, Si Vidyadatta, ……, Mulaka, Sirphūka … Samādrradatta, Saloka, Șanîraki the Spāta’s son, Budadatta, … Kalidrra, Gauda, Svarrjāṃ, Maṅgala.

§6 [The third team (includes):]
§7 [...] Suhadāysa, Makala, Vasade, Śīlaṁ, Īrvadatta, Brūnade, ..., ...de, Sarkāṁ, Naṃdaka, Ṣarrnai, Virgāṁ, Upadatta, Vasade, Aśnadatta, ..., Haryāsaka, Vidyadatta, Ṣanīra the tall, Vaśi’raka, ..., ...śa’buda, Suhade.

§8 The following are [the men of] the first [team] from Cira on the 12th day of Haṃdyaja:

§9 [...]hadru, Saṃgalaka, Saṃganaṃda, Yuduysa, Matsarakīsa, ..., ...rrjāṃ, Nahvāna.

§10 The second team (includes):

§11 Naṃdaka, Braṃga, Brānāṃda, Īrvadatta, ..., -datta, Nineviṣa’la, Arjjāṃ, Budesa, Skarai, Phāja.

§12 The third [team (includes)]:

§13 [...] Ttīśāna, Saṃgabuda, Sedrrum, Visarrjāṃ, Iraķa, Śirīde, ... Īyasadatta, Śirībuda, Khāha-datta, Viłocaṃ the old, Budesa.

Commentary

§1 kaipautsī: meaning unclear.

§2 phemāna kītha: ‘the Fort of Phema’, where the garrison was stationed. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§2 būki: ‘team’. As demonstrated by its usage in the patrol rosters, the three teams of men mentioned here would not be on duty on the same day. See commentary on Archive 3/4.18p §1.

§2 paḍauysi būki: ‘the first team’. Among the 17 men of the first team listed in §3, six are in Archive 3/5.2 §2.

§4 [tti vā śe’ būki]: ‘[The second team (includes):]’. Restored according to §10: ‘tti vā śe’ būki’.

Among the 15 men of the second team listed in §5, 12 are in Archive 3/5.2 §4.
§5 [... hvurihvādi || saṃgulai]: Proper names. Restored from ‘hvurihvādi || saṃgulai’ in Archive 3/5.2 §4.


§5 spāta pū: ‘the Spāta’s son’, epithet of Ṣanīraki, from spāta pūrā, also in Archive 3/5.2 §4 and Archive 3/5.4 §2.

§6 [tti vā didi būki]: ‘[The third team (includes):]’. Restored according to §12: ‘tti vā di[di būki]’.

Archive 3/5.2 (Or.11344/2-a) Rosters of fort provisioners

This much-damaged document mainly consists of four rosters of provisioners to the fort. In total, 45 men are listed in this document. Among them, 12 are listed twice, and five are not in other fort provisioner rosters (Archive 3/5.1, Archive 3/5.3, Archive 3/5.4, and Archive 3/5.5). Among the 11 men of the first team listed in §2, six are in Archive 3/5.1 §3. Among the 20 men of the second team listed in §4, 12 are in Archive 3/5.1 §5, one in Archive 3/5.1 §3. Among the 13 men present in the fort from the second (team) onward listed in §6, five are listed in §4, one in §2. Among the three men from Cira listed in §8, two are in Archive 3/5.1 as being from Cira. Among the nine men present (in the fort) on the 23rd of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month) listed in §10, two are listed in §2, four in §4. All these names link the first five rosters in Archive 3/5 with one another.

Written on the same page but from the opposite end is a short document, Archive 3/5.14, a short list of men and their tasks.
Text

§1 1@ tti vā maṁ paḍauysi būki kaṁtha-āsalyā hvaṁḍi ya

§2 2puñade || ysāḍadatti || puysdaki || sudivi || a[rsāli...] 3pātcī suhadatti || sīlām || Šāmda[tti || …]

4anirudi || hunaki || hunili || […]

§3 5@ tti vā śa’ hvaṁḍi

§4 sudatti || alttām || hvurihvādi || saṃgulai || mārṣa’da[tti || …] 6paṁjamaki || sudarmā || mādāsī || saṃphaki || hattikam || mūlak[i] || si[rphūki…] 7sāmadatti šūde || samādṛradatti || saloki || ṣaṇīrakī || spā pūri budada[tti || …] 8kaledρri || svarrjāṃ || maṁgali ||

§5 9@ tti vā śe’ āstāṁ kaṁthi vī hi’yṣda hvaṁḍi ya

§6 maṁgali || śīṛbudi || sūra[de … ||] 10mulak || haryāsaki || darauki || ṣaṇīri || vidyadatti || su[… || …] 11rā || paṁjamaki || ysāḍadatti || saṅgapuṇi || […] 12na || svarrjā || budadatti ||

§7 tti vā cīrana ya

§8 vi[… || …] 13de || vidyabudi || khāhadatt[i] || yaduysi || […]

§9 14@ tti vā maṁ haṁdyaji 20 3 mye haḍai hā’ysda hvaṁḍi ya

§10 mu[… || sā] 15madatti || suhena || hvurihvādi || alttām || sudatti || […] 16datti || kūcalai || kalidṛrā || hunili || sudaśna […]

§11 […] 17vi haṁdara hvāṣṭi paśāti sałamai vāta 10 haḍā

§12 ttī […]

Translation

§1 These were the men on the first team of fort provisioners (?):

§2 Puṅade, Ysāḍadatta, Puysdaka, Sudiva, Arsāla …again Suḥadatta, Sīlām, Śaṃdatta, …, Aniruda, Hunaka, Hunila, …
§3 These (were) the men on the second (team):

§4 Sudatta, Alttāṃ, Hvurihvāda, Saṃgulai, Māṛṣa’datta, …, Paṃjamaka, Sudarma, Māḍāśa, Śamphaka, Hattikaṃ, Mūlaka, Sirphūka, …, Sāmadatta śūde, Samādrradatta, Saloka, Śanīraka, the spāta’s son, Budadatta, Kaledrra, Svarrjāṃ, Maṃgala.

§5 These (men) were present in the fort from the second (team) onward:

§6 Maṃgala, Śirībuda, Sūra…, …, Mulaka, Haryāsaka, Darauka, Śanīra, Vidyadatta, Su…, …, …ra, Paṃjamaka, Yśādatta, Saṃgapuṇa, …na, Svarrjāṃ, Budadatta.

§7 These (men) were in Cira.

§8 Vi-, …, …de, Vidyabuda, Khāhadatta, Yaduysa, …

§9 These (men) were present on the 23rd of Haṃdyaja:

§10 Mu…, …, Sāmadatta, Suhena, Hvurihvāda, Alttāṃ, Sudatta, …-datta, Kucalai, Kalidrra, Hūnila, Sudaśna, …

§11 Another Master’s servant upon … Salamai’s shift (is) 10 days.

§12 These…

Commentary

§1 kaṃṭha-āsalyā: ‘fort provisioner’, also in Archive 3/5.5 §1.

§3 śa’: ‘second’. The expected form is śe’, as in Archive 3/5.1 §10.

§4 śanīraki || spā pū: ‘Śanīraka, the spāta’s son’, also in Archive 3/5.1 §5 and Archive .

§11 hvāṣṭi: ‘master’, G.-D. s., referring to the Tibetans. See commentary on Archive 3/1.4 §3.


§11 paśāti: ‘the commissioned, servant’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

§11 vāta: ‘shift’. One shift can be one day, five days, or ten days long.
Archive 3/5.3 (Hedin 10) Rosters of teams on duty in the fort

This document consists of a roster of five men missing from the second team and another roster of eight men going on duty on the 24th of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month). Śaṃphaka is in both rosters. All the 12 men named in the rosters are also in Archive 3/5.1 and Archive 3/5.2. The second roster is partially repeated in Archive 3/5.14 §3.

Some Chinese characters are preserved on the back of this document, but no coherent meaning can be made of them.

Text

Recto

§1 \[tti\] vā maṃ še būki hvaṃ vāra ya kaṃthi vī

§2 haṃdyaji 10 śūdasamye haḍai pīḍeṃ

§3 2āskūṛī altāṃ || pa’ji suhena || saṃgapuṇī rrīṇī hīvī 3gaudi spāta vīsa dīna māśavīrai śaṃphaki suhīkāṃ

§4 \[t\]4[i] vā haṃdyaji 24 vāta pīḍai

§5 mādāśi ∩ maṃñe ∩ phāṇāji si vidyadatti ∩ mattiśkā šanīraki ∩ śaṃphaki ∩ svarnade ∩ marṣa’datti ∩ īyasadatti ∩

Verso

§1 ...\[城住例廿\]□□□□

Translation

Recto

§1 These were the men missing from the second team in the fort.
§2 I wrote on the 11th of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month):

§3 Altāṃ from Āskūra, Suhena from Pa’, Saṃgapuña, Gauda belonging to the queen, Śaṃphaka from Suhīka, the houseworker under Spāta Vīsa.

§4 I wrote down (those on) the shift of the 24th of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month):

§5 Mādāśa, Maṃñe, Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka, Śaṃphaka, Svarrnade, Marṣa’daṭṭa, Īṣadatta.

**Verso**

§1 In the city, residing, twenty, calendar (?)

**Commentary**

**Recto**

§2 10 śūdasame: ‘the eleventh’.

§3 rrīni: ‘queen’, referring to the queen of Khotan, only attested once in Archive 3, but abundantly in the tenth century Khotanese documents from Dunhuang.

§3 dīna: ‘under, subordinate to’. See Archive 3/2.11 §1.


§3 suḥikāṇ: ‘From Suhīka’. Suhīka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§5 mattiśkā: ‘From Mattiśka’. Mattiśka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

**Archive 3/5.4 (Or.11252/31) Prospective roster of men on duty in the fort**
This document is a roster of 40 men who are going on duty in the fort on the 14th of Rārūya (the sixth month). Among them, 33 are in the rosters in Archive 3/5.1, Archive 3/5.2 and Archive 3/5.3. The seven men not listed there are: Akāṇadatta, Hejsāka, Namaubuda, Sahadatta, Sude, Viloka, and Yaudara. Among them, Hejsāka is only here in Archive 3. Sudārrjāṃ’s signum at the end of this document shows that it was issued by Sudārrjāṃ.

**Text**

§1 [māstā rar]āyi yi 10 4 my[e ha]dai paḍauysi būki kaṃṭhi vī kīri yanīdi

§2 ṣu[rade] || maṃñe || puṇade || ysāḍadatti || sude || gachauki || sahadatti || vilokā 3[x x x] ṣanīrā || śirībudi || sāmadatti || namaubudi || {anirudi} || hunaki || huni4[li || yulma]hi || vidarrjāṃ || sudaśna || akāṇadatti || sahadāysi \hejsāki/ || svarrnade || maṃgali 5[x x hatti]kaṃ || mādāsi || paṃ- jamaki || kalidrrī || budāṣṭīri || gaudi || suhena || hvuri6[hvādi || yau]dari || sāmadatti śude || sirphūki || si [vi]dyadatti khau || ṣanīraki spāta pūri 7[x x x x] b[ī]rra-barai pu’ysdaki || mulaki || śaṃphaki || śī’laṃ Signum-SU

**Translation**

§1 On the 14th [of Rārūya (the sixth month),] (men of) the first team do work upon the fort.

§2 ... Śūrade, Maṃñe, Puṇade, Ysāḍadatta, Sude, Gachauka, Sahadatta, Viloka, ..., Śanīra, Śirībuda, Sāmadatta, Namaubuda, {Aniruda}, Hunaka, Hunila, Yulmaha, Vidarrjāṃ, Sudaśna, Akāṇadatta, Suḥadāysi, \hejsāka/, Svarrnade, Maṃgala, ..., Hattikaṃ, Mādāṣa, Paṃjamaka, Kalidrra, Budāṣṭīra, Gauda, Suhena, Hvuriḥvāda, Yaudara, Sāmadatta’s Śude, Sirphūka, Si Vidyadatti the Khau, Ṣanīraka the Spāta’s son, ..., Pu’ysdaka the load-carrier, Mulaka, Śaṃpha- ka, Śī’laṃ. Signum-SU

**Commentary**

393
§1 [māstā rar|ūyi]: ‘in Rarūya (the sixth month)’. Rarūya is the only month name that ends in \( ya \). The second \( yi \) is a dittography. This restoration also fits the length of the lacuna established in §2.

§2 huni[li || yulma]hi || vidarrjāṃ: Proper names. Restored according to ‘hunaki || hunili || yulmahi || vidarrjāṃ’ in Archive 3/5.1 §3. This restoration also establishes the length of the lacuna at the left end of the document, and in turn helps the restoration of the beginning of other lines.

§2 khau: Title, probably the leader of the team. Abundantly in Archive 3/4. See commentary on Archive 3/4.1r §2.

§2 b[ī]]ra-barai: ‘load-carrier’, epithet of Pu’yṣdaka, attested only here. Bīrra- ‘load’ is also in Archive 3/5.16 §3 and Archive 3/5.17 §1, in which the men whose draft animals carried or will carry loads are listed.

**Archive 3/5.5 (Or.11252/33) Roster of fort provisioners**

Similar to Archive 3/5.2, document is a roster of fort provisioners. Its left and right ends are both missing, and, as a result, no complete sentence has been preserved. It is noteworthy that the adjectival form of Gaysāta, a town that had already been abandoned when the document was drafted, is in it.

**Text**

§1 ¹[... kaṃ]tha-āsalyā tsīdi

§2 āskvīra sūra[de ||... ] ²[...da]tt[i]||

§3 še’ paṃdi budarmā u saṃgada[tā ||... ] ³[... ||] arsāli || sahadatti
§4 birgaṃ[da ...] 4[... s]īlāṃ || sāmadatti || mādāśi ||

§5 dva [...] 5 [...] sahadatti || bu’yasi ṣaṇīri ||

§6 hvaṃḍi dva [...] 6 [...] || gaysāyi vidyadatti || upadatti [...]

Translation

§1 [The following] fort-provisioners are going (on duty):

§2 Sūrade from Āskūra, … [...]datta.

§3 (Those) of the second road: Budarma and Saṃgadatta … Arsāla, Sahadatta …

§4 … from Birgaṃdara, … Sīlāṃ, Sāmadatta, Mādāśa.

§5 Two [men?] … Sahadatta, Ṣaṇīra the tall,

§6 Two men … Vidyadatta from Gaysāta, Upadatta ...

Commentary

§3 śe’ paṇḍi: ‘the second road’, exact meaning unclear.


Archive 3/5.6 (Or.11252/39) Roster of three teams

Preserved in this badly damaged document are fragments of a roster of three teams.

Text

§1 1[...] ki ∩ saṃgūlai 2[...] na u sarkāṃ x x x bāja 3[...] x hunaki || a[niru]di || akā4[nadatti || …]

§2 || tti śe’ būki ṣaṇīraki 5[...]

§3 [tti] vā didi bū[ki] x x datti || 6[...] x x khau kūlāna ṣaṇīraki

Translation

§1 …ka, Saṃgūlai, …na and Sarkāṃ, … in place of …, Hunaka, Aniruda, Akānadatta...
§2 These are (the men) of the second team: Ṣanīraka…

§3 These are (the men) of the third team: …datta. … Khau Ṣanīraka from Kūla.

Commentary

§3 kūlāna: ‘from Kūla’. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §18. Also see Table IV-10 in Chapter IV Analysis.

Archive 3/5.7 (Or.11252/5v) Roster of two teams

This short roster is written on the back of Archive 3/1.22, a petition to Sudārṛjāṃ. Conceivably, Sudārṛjāṃ issued an order in response to the petition and sent the order together with the petition to Saṃdara, who in turn used the other side of the petition to write this roster for himself.

Text

§1 ¹[…mā]śtā kṣasamye haḍai śe’ būkā hvaṃḍi āta

§2 ²[…sī]lā [[]] mulakā || akānadatti ||

§3 ³[didi būkā] hvaṃḍi āta || yseviḍi || kharamurrai || maṣa’datti ⁴[…]nā ||

Translation

§1 On the 16th of the month […], the men of the second team came:

§2 … Sīlāṃ, Mulaka, Akānadatta.

§3 [The (following)] men [of the third team] came: Yseviḍta, Kharamurrai, Marṣadatta, …-nā.

Archive 3/5.8 (Or.11252/9r-a) Roster of three shifts

This roster includes three sets of shifts. The shifts of the first set are five days long. The shifts of the second and the third are one or two days long.
Also written on the same page, but from the opposite end, is Archive 3/5.10, a list of state workers who are exempt from patrol duty. Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/5.9, a list of men who owe shifts.

Text

§1 \([@ tti vā … ā]staṃ vāta vistāta

§2 kaṃdvaji șanīrā 5 haḍa si vidatti paṃjisa haḍa ²[x x x paṃ]sa haḍa svarrnade paṃjisa haḍa suhadāysi paṃjisa haḍa

§3 \([x x x] šau-haḍājsya vāta vistāta

§4 maṃñe vāta 2 si vidyadatti vā 1 suhadatti vā ⁴[x pu’y]sd[al]k[i] vā 1

§5 @ tti vā še’ būki vāta vistāta

§6 altā 1 suhena 1 saṃgapuṇi 1 gaudi 1

Translation

§1 [The following] shifts have been set:

§2 Șanīra from Kaṃdvā, 5 days, Si Vidattā, 5 days. … five days. Svarrnade, five days.

Suhadāyasa, five days.

§3 [The following] one-day shifts have been set:

§4 Maṃñe, two shifts. Si Vidyadatta, one shift. Suhadatta, [one] shift. Puysdaka, one shift.

§5 The following shifts of the second team have been set:

§6 Altāṃ one, Suhena one, Saṃgapuṇa one, Gauda one.

Commentary

§2 kaṃdvaji: ‘of Kaṃdvā’, corresponding to Chin. känchéng 坎城 Tib. kam sheng, also called phemāṇa kaṃṭhā ‘the Fort in Phema’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).
Archive 3/5.9 (Or.11252/9v) Lists of men who owe shifts

This document includes two lists of men who owe shifts. It is specified in the first list that seven men went on patrol duty (five of them are members of Team 2). See Table 3/4.13r. All men in the second list are attested multiple times in the patrol rosters in Archive 3/4.

Two other name lists, Archive 3/5.8 and Archive 3/5.10, are written from opposite ends on the back of this document. The names listed in these three documents partially overlap, but no clear pattern is discernible.

Text

§1 /catalogue

§2 [sudatti] viş 5 haďā | aniru cira tsve || şanǐra thaişi paşati 2[x x x thaişi pa]şati pu’ysdaki spaşãna tsve suhadatti spaşãna tsve khau si vidyada3[tti spaşãna] tsve širgu(lam) suhadatti spaşãna tsve sǐlā spaşãna tsve | phaṁnāji suhadatti spaşa4[ña tsve seni]li spaşãna tsve

§3 5[tti vā ā]staṁ hvaṃ vāra ya

§4 mādāşi | maṁñe ∩ phaṁnāji si vidyadatti ∩ šanīraki vā šau pyāra vi [x]6[x]k[i] ∩ svarrnade ∩ marš’a’datti ∩ iysadatti ∩ budadatti ∩

Translation

§1 [These] men owed (shifts).

§2 Sudatta from Pa’, a shift (of) 5 days; Aniru went to cira; Šanīra, the Commissioner-in-chief’s commissioned man; ... sent [to the Commissioner-in-chief]; Pu’ysdaka went on patrol; Suhadatta went on patrol; Khau Si Vidyadatta went on [on patrol]; Suhadatta from Širgula went on patrol; Sǐlām went on patrol; Suhadatta from Phaṁnai [went] on patrol; Senila went on patrol.
§3 [These] men owed shifts:

§4 Mādāśa, Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, one shift at the dam, ..., Svarnade, Marṣa'-datta, Īysadatta, Budadatta.

Commentary


§2 paśāti: paśāta- ‘the commissioned, servant’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.


§2 khau si vidyada[tti spaśāṇa] tsve: ‘Khau Si Vidyadatta went on [on patrol]’, restored according to spaśāṇa tsve attested multiple times in §2. This restoration also establishes the length of the lacuna at the left end of the document.


§4 pyāra: ‘dam’, also in Archive 3/4.15r, Archive 3/4.18r, Archive 3/4.19r, Archive 3/4.20r, and Archive 3/4.21r. In all cases except the last one, Ṣanīraka is identified as the one at the dam.

Archive 3/5.10 (Or.11252/9r-b) List of state workers exempt from patrol duty

The state workers who do not go on patrol duty are listed in this document. The four defectors (?) in §2 are also in Archive 3/5.12 §11.

Archive 3/5.8, a roster of three sets of shifts, is written on the same page, but from the opposite end. Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/5.9, a list of men who owe shifts.

Text

§1 ṭte buri kṣīrva-vīrā ḍhaṃḍi cu spaṣī ni yanīdī
The following are state workers who do not do patrol:

Suramarṣa’, defector (?); Vidarrjāṃ Haskadarma is not (here); Puṇadatta

Two document-bearers to the mansion in Cira, document-bearers in Āskūra, …one; Budarma, one; Sāmadatta’s child.

Commentary


§2 **vi[...]darrj[āṃ] || x haska[...]darm[ā]**: Proper name. Restored from Archive 3/5.12 §11, where Vidarrjāṃ and Haskadarma are identified as defectors together with Suramarṣa’ and Puṇadatta.

§3 **kūṣḍi**: ‘mansion, palace’, only attested once in Archive 3, but attested as kūḍā in a set of newly-discovered wooden double tablets. See commentary on this word in Duan and AOPCR of Cele County 2013, p.131.

§3 **pāḍaka-barā**: *pāḍaka-baraa*—‘document-bearer’, N.-A. pl. The document-bearers in Āskūra are most likely Vasade and Altāṃ, because both are identified as such in Archive 3/5.12 §3, and Altāṃ is identified as from Āskūra in Archive 3/5.3 §3. For more on *pāḍaka*, see commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §4. Here, ‘document-bearing’ is considered a kind of ‘state work’.
Archive 3/5.11 (Or.11252/14v) Roster of men on canteen duty

This roster of men on canteen duty includes four groups of men. Each group closes with the phrase tti haṃtsa ‘with those’. Canteen duty, a major duty imposed on Khotanese during the Tibetan occupation, is the subject of Archive 3/1.24 to Archive 3/1.28. Khotanese men identified as byan-po ‘cook’ and byan-g.yog ‘assistant cook’ are in the Tibetan wooden slips from Mazar Tagh. See Takeuchi 2004, p.51.

Written on the back of this roster is Archive 3/4a.1, a patrol roster outside the patrol cycle.

Text

§1 ṣapāñara sirphūki | si vidyadatti | brīṇa | ṣanīri || haṭṭikaṃ | tt[i] ha[ṃtsa …] ²

§2 namaubudi | saloki sāmadatti || vidyadatti tti haṃtsa

§3 […] ustākaji ṣanīri | phaṃnāji si vidatti bu’ysi ṣanīri | sahada[tti…] ⁴maṃgali || mulaki || akā-nadatti || vasadi || mādāśi haṃ[tsa…]

§4 Ṽupadatti | virgāṃ || sīlāṃ || śādatti || budadatti tti haṃ[tsa…]

Translation

§1 On canteen duty: Sirphūka, Si Vidyadatta, Brīṇa, Ṣanīra, Hattikaṃ.

§2 Namaubuda, Saloka, Sāṃmadatta, Vidyadatta.

§3 Ṣanīra from Ustāka, Si Vidatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīra the tall one, Sahadatta, …, Maṃgala, Mulaka, Akānadatta, Vasade, Mādāśa

§4 Upadatta, Virgāṃ, Sīlāṃ, Śāṃdatta, Budadatta.

Commentary

§1 ṣapāñara: ‘person on canteen duty’, identified by Bailey (Dict. 407). The ‘duty’ is ṣapāña-.
§1 tt[i] haṃtsa: meaning unclear, restored from tti ″hamṣa″ in §2. This phrase is also partially in §3 and §4. It seems to mark the end of each list.

Archive 3/5.12 (Or.11344/8r) List of men assigned to various tasks

Listed in this documents are 60 men assigned to various tasks, such as patrol duty, document-delivering, sesame and wheat-sowing, and so on. Among them, 31 are named. Some men and their tasks are also in Archive 3/5.10 and Archive 3/5.14.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/6.14, a list of men and the grain they delivered.

Text

§1 1@ hvamḍi nau tti spaṣaṇa tsvādi
§2 naṃḍaki || șanīɾaki || virgāṃ || șanīɾaki || suhena || kharajsīsi 2suḥadāysi || ṭrvadatti || sūradatti |
§3 hvamḍi 2 pāḍaka-barā vasade || alttāṃ ||
§4 u mulaki 3birgaṃḍara spaṣari ttāguṭti vīṣṭi
§5 ysiviḍṭi haṃḍira prū tsve thaunā gvaṣce
§6 cira jsāra-barā 3 4suḥadatti || pu’ys(d)aki || yṣāḍadatti ||
§7 hvamḍi paṃṣṣa haḍa bisvā ṣṭāri
§8 hvamḍi 2 cira tsvādi aniṣrudi u svarjāṃ
§9 hvamḍi 3 šau viṣṇadatti hīya vāra sūrade || sudatti || saṃgaṇaṃḍi
§10 6hvamḍi 5 yauvarāyi jasti hīya vāra aśnadatti || kharrjāṃ || tcaṃṣsai || hvurihvādi || saṃgaki
§11 7hvamḍi 5 pahaisā sūramarṣā’’ || vidarrjāṃ || haskadarmā || puṇadatti || sumatta x x
§12 8hvamḍi 20 4 miḍāṃ jasti hīya kāṃṣsata-kerā u gaṇama-kerā

402
Translation

§1 The following nine men went on patrol.

§2 Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Virgām, Ṣanīraka, Suhena, Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Ḣrvadatta, Suradatta.

§3 Two men are document-bearers: Vasade, Altāṃ.

§4 Mulaka from Birgaṃdara is upon the patrolman of the Tibetan.

§5 Ysiviḍta went to the Inner Court to deliver the cloth.

§6 Three grain-carriers in Cira: Suhadatta, Pu’yṣdaka, Yṣāḍadatta.

§7 Five men, messengers, are staying in (their) houses.

§8 Two men went to Cira: Aniruda and Svarrjāṃ.

§9 Three men are in Šau Viṣṇadatta’s vāra: Surade, Sudatta, Saṃganaṃda.

§10 Five men are in the Crown Prince’s entourage: Aṣṇadatta, Kharrjāṃ, Tcaṃjsai, Hvurihvāda, Samgaka.

§11 Five men (are) defectors (?): Suramarṣa’, Vidarrjāṃ, Haskadarma, Puṇadatta, Sumatt-.

§12 24 men (are) the Gracious Lord’s sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers.

Commentary

§1 @ hvaṅḍi nau tti spaśaṇa tsvādi: ‘The following nine men went on patrol.’ The nine men listed below are all members of Team 1. All of them attended Patrol 12, Patrol 15 and Patrol 18, and all but Ḣrvadatta and the second Ṣanīraki attended Patrol 21. See Table 3/4.12r.

§5 haṃdira prū: ‘the Inner Court’, referring to the residence of the King of Khotan. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §9.

§7 haḍa: ‘messenger’, only attested here in Archive 3, but abundantly in the Khotanese documents from Dunhuang.
§7 bisvā: bisā-, ‘house’, loc. pl. The meaning of the sentence is not entirely clear.

§8 hvaṃḍi 2 cira tsvādi anirudi u svarrjāṃ: ‘Two men went to Cira: Aniruda and Svarrjāṃ.’

This sentence is attested again in Archive 3/5.14 §5.

§9 vāra: unclear, but not ‘entourage’ in Dict., p.293.

§10 yauvarāyi jasti: ‘the Crown Prince, the Lord’, from Skt. yuvarāja-, lit. ‘the young king’, also in Archive 3/5.12 §10, Archive 3/5.20 §5, and restored in Archive 3/1.43 §4. The Crown Prince during Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s reign was probably Viśa’ Kīrta, the King of Khotan in Archive 4, in IOL Khot 50/4 and IOL Khot 54/2. See Catalogue, lxvii. As suggested by Yoshida (2006, p. 82), he could be identified with Bzhan-bzang Bzhan-la Brtan, the last King of Khotan according to Li yul lung-btsan-pa. See Emmerick 1967, p.23, p.77. Outside Archive 3, this title is in Hedin 2 (KT IV, p.22) and IOL Khot Wood 3 (Catalogue, p.560), probably also referring to Viśa’ Kīrta, because these two document date from an earlier period of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s reign. The Young King in Or.12637/21.3a (Catalogue, p.131), which is dated to the first year of the Young King and the year of sau Hvimdū, probably refers not to Viśa’ Vāhaṃ as Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.lxvii) suggests, but to a king who reigned in Khotan in the first half of the eighth century, since a newly-discovered wooden tally bears the date of the second year of sau Hvimdū in Khotanese and the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era (726 CE) in Chinese. See Tally no.36-38 in Rong and Wen 2008, pp.57-58.

§10 kharrjāṃ: Proper name, also in Archive 3/1.43 as a ‘good wheat sower’, whom the Young King asked for.

§11 pahaisā: ‘defector (?)’, from pahaisaa-?. See Archive 3/5.10 §2, where four of the five defectors mentioned here are also attested.
§12 hvaṃḍi 20 4: ‘24 men’. These 24 sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers could be the king’s 24 men mentioned in Archive 3/5.20 §2. It is more probable, however, that the latter 24 men were silkworm raisers. See commentary on Archive 3/5.20 §2.

Archive 3/5.13 (Hedin 9 = Hedin 8v) List of men on various tasks

Listed in this document are 28 men assigned to four different tasks, including going to the Mountain, carrying cotton, carrying iron, and carrying the amount (of tax). Three men are listed as assigned to two tasks. All of these men are attested multiple times in Archive 3.

Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.37, a missive from a Chinese Official named Zhao Jun concerning the purchase of a horse.

Text

§1 1@ makali ∩ svarjāṃ ∩ suhadāysā ∩ budāṣṭiri ∩ sūrade ∩ pharṣa sādari ∩ segi ∩ upadatti ∩ namdaki spāṭa marṣā’ ∩ pharṣa sādari ∩ spāta maṣi’

§2 tti śūmdasi gīṛa tsvādi

§3 pharṣa sāṃda(rī) hīya cīgi bāstāṃ hvaṃdi

§4 3tti vā spāta saṃgabudi dva kapāysā buḍāṃdi u ba’hau’yi

§5 šarkāṃ ∩ senili ∩ āśi’rī [ṭsa]ttvabhadṛṛi ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩ ṣanīṛi ∩ ba’sakāji ∩ budadatti ∩ upadatti ∩ yulimahā’ ∩ 5v[i]šabhadṛṛi ∩ spāta viṣa ∩ spāta marṣā’ ∩ suhade ∩ brūnade ∩

§6 tti vā hīṣaṃ buḍāṃdi {nahvā} [ṭx]li brabudi ∩ viśnadabhadṛṛi ∩ hrrīvīdi ∩

§7 tti vā haṃbā buḍāṃ sāmadatti ∩ nahvāṇi ∩ 7makali ∩

Translation
§1 Makala, Svarjāṃ, Suhadāysa, Budāśīra, Sūrade, pharṣa Sāṃdara, Sega, Upadatta, Naṃdaka, Spāta Marṣa’, Pharṣa Sādara, Spāta Maṣa’.

§2 These eleven (men) went to the Mountain.

§3 They led pharṣa Sāṃdara’s (female) Chinese (attendants) inside.

§4 The following carried spāta Saṃgabuda’s two (units of) cotton (?) and bahauya.

§5 Śarkāṃ, Senila, the Reverand Sattyabhadṛra, Ysāḍadatta, Śanīra, Ba’sakāja, Budadatta, Upadatta, Yulimaha’, Virśhadṛra, spāta Vīsa, spāta Marṣa’, Suhade, Brūnade.

§6 The following carried iron: {Nahvana}, Brabuda, Viśnabhadṛra, Ḥṛṇviḍa.

§7 The following carried the amount (of tax money): Sāmadatta, Nahvāna, Makala.

Commentary

§2 śūṃdasi: ‘eleven’. There are 12 names in §1, but Sāṃdara is attested twice.


§3 bāstāṃ: shortened form of bāstāṃdi, parallel to buḍāṃ in §7.

§3 haṃdi: ‘within, inside’.

§4 ba’hau’yi: Plant name, found three times in the (unedited) medical textP 2893. (Dict., p.274).

Bailey does not comment on the word in KT IV, p.94.


Archive 3/5.14 (Or.11344/2-b) List of men on various tasks
This badly damaged short document includes several lists of men and their tasks, some of them attested elsewhere in Archive 3/5.

This document is written on the same page but from the opposite end of Archive 3/5.2, a document of fort provisioner rosters.

Text

§1 [...] suhadāysi ∩ {si vidatti} ∩

§2 še būki tti buri vāta

§3 saṃgapuṇi 2[5 haḍā … māḍā]śi 5 haḍā || maṃṅe paṃṣja haḍā || phaṃṇāji si vidyadatti 5

§4 marṣadatti spaśaṇa ye | ṣanīraka spaśaṇa ye

§5 [... sva]ṛṛjāṃ anirudi cira t[svādi]

§6 ṣanīrā thaiṣi paśāti ||

§7 u svarrnade 5[spaśaṇa ye … spaśaṇa] ye

§8 [x x x x] si vidyadatti spaśaṇa ye ||

§9 birgaṃḍara 6[suhadatti … spa]ṣaṇa

Translation

§1 Suhadāyṣa, Si Vidatta.

§2 The second team (includes) the following shifts:

§3 Samgāpuṇa [5 days]…, Māḍāśa 5 days, Maṃṅe 5 days, Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃṇai 5 [days],...

§4 Marṣadatta was on patrol, Ṣanīraka was on patrol duty,

§5 Svarṛjāṃ and Aniruda went to Cira;
§6 Șanīra, the Commissioner-in-chief’s servant;

§7 Svarrnade [was on patrol duty…] was [on patrol duty], ...

§8 Si Vidyadatta was on patrol duty.

§9 [Suhadatta] from Birgaṇḍara …, ... (was on) patrol duty.

Commentary

§3 saṁgapuñi: Also in Archive 3/5.3 §3, where he is missing from the second team.

§3 [mādā]śi, maṃñe, si vidyadatti, īyasadatti: Also in Archive 3/5.3 §5 as men on duty on the 24th of Haṃḍyaja (the fifth month).


§6 șanīrā thaiṣī paśāti: ‘Șanīra, the Commissioner-in-chief’s commissioned one’, also in Archive 3/5.9 §2.

Archive 3/5.15 (Or.11344/10-a) List of draft animal providers

Listed in this documents are 25 men who are to provide draft animals to carry the grain. The kinds of draft animals to be provided are specified.

Written on the same page, but from the opposite end, is Archive 3/5.16, a document consisted of two similar lists of draft animal providers. Four names in both documents show that these two documents are somewhat related but not directly linked.

Text

§1 1[tī hvaṃ]dā jsāri barīdi
§2 makali gūhi śau || budāṣṭīri ∩ ṣanīraki ∩ bramgi ∩ [x x ²x x] ∩ budadatti cīrām ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩ virśabhadrra ∩ brabudi ∩ hvrrīviṭi ∩ bhadrra[x x ³ha]ttikaṃ ∩ darauki ∩ virgāṃ ∩ sude ∩ šī’lāṃ ∩ budarmā ∩ āśirī yīse[drrba’drri ∩]

§3 anirūdi khara śā ∩ suhadāysi ∩ pharṣa sāṃdari ∩ samgi ∩ upadatti [∩] ⁵[a]śnadatti ∩

§4 yadu gūhi śā || īrvadatti gūha śā

Translation

§1 [These men] will carry grain.

§2 Makala one ox, Budāṣṭīra, Ṣanīraka, Braṃga, …, Budadatta from Cira, Ysāḍadatta, Virśabhadrra, Brabuda, Hvr̥īviṭa, Bhadrara-, Hattikaṃ, Darauka, Virgāṃ, Sude, Śī’lāṃ, Budarma, the reverend Yīṣedrrabhadrṛa.

§3 Aniruda one jenny, Suhadāysa, pharṣa Sāṃdara, Samga, Upadatta, Āśnadatta.

§4 Yaduysa one cow, Īrvadatta one cow.

Commentary

§2 yīse[drrabhadrr]: Proper name, restored by Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.112), also in Archive 3/5.17 §2.

§3 [a]śnadatti: Also in Archive 3/5.1.

§4 yadu: Proper name, attested as yaduysi in Archive 3/4.10p §2 and Archive 3/5.2 §8.

§4 gūhi śā: ‘one cow (?)’. The gender of the numeral does not agree with that of the noun it modifies. The expected forms are either gūhi āu ‘one ox’ or gūha śā ‘one cow’.

Archive 3/5.16 (Or.11344/10-b) List of draft animal providers
This document contains two lists of draft animal providers, each with six names. Among them, four are in Archive 3/5.15, a similar list of draft animal providers written on the same page but from the opposite end of this document.

**Text**

§1 @ tti buri hvaŋdi cu karera stūra haysīdi

§2 hunaki ∩ ṣanīraki ∩ sīlāṃ ∩ ūr[va]ḍatti ∩ pu’yṣdaki ∩ kharajsajsi ∩

§3 @ tti buri stūra cu bīrri buḍāṃdi

§4 ṣanīraki haṣṭi sahadatti guhi ∩ [-i x u x ] sāṃdari ∩ spāta maṛṣa’ hīvī ∩ viśnadhabhadṛri ∩ jayabhadṛri ∩

**Translation**

§1 The following (are) the men who will drive animals for ploughing(?):

§2 Hunaka, Ṣanīraka, Sīlāṃ, Ḡrvadatta, Pu’yṣdaka, Kharajsajsa.

§3 The following (are) (those men whose) draft animals have carried loads

§4 Ṣanīraka, eight; Sahadatta, an ox; ... Sāṃdara; (someone) belonging to spāta Maṛṣa’; Viśna-
abhadṛra; Jayabhadṛra.

**Commentary**

§1 karera: ‘ploughing’, uncertain, suggested by Skjærvø in Catalogue, p.113, attested again as karairā in Archive 3/1.13 §11. See kara- ‘field’ in Dict., p.53

§2 Among the six names in §2, Ḡrvadatta and Ṣanīraka are in Archive 3/5.15.

§3 stūra cu bīrri buḍāṃdi: ‘the draft animals that have carried loads.’ Compare stūra cu bīrrā barīdi ‘the draft animals that are going to carry loads’ in Archive 3/5.17 §1.
§4 Among the six men listed in §4, Ṣanīraka and Sāṃdara are in Archive 3/5.15 §2 and §3, and the remaining four men are in Archive 3/5.17 §2. The three documents concerning draft animal providers are related, but it is premature to draw any conclusion on their exact relationship.

**Archive 3/5.17 (Or.11252/4r-a) List of draft animal providers**

Listed in this documents are 20 men who owe load-carrying draft animals. Among them, four are in Archive 3/5.16 §4 and ten in Archive 3/5.15 §2 and §3.

Written on the same page but from the opposite end is Archive 3/5.20, a list of men to be served. Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.39, an order issued by spāta Sudārjrām to pharṣa Sāṃdara concerning draft animals and grain for the silkworm raisers. It is very likely that the men listed here provided draft animals for the silkworm raisers, as demanded in Archive 3/1.39 §4. In addition, it is hard to distinguish the punctuation sign ‘∩’ from the numeral ‘1’ since in many of these ‘1’ also makes perfect sense and alternates with śau.

**Text**

§1 }@ tti vā va vārā stūrā cu bīrrā barīdi

§2 sude ∩ yīśedrabhadrri ∩ suhadāysi ∩ jayabha[drri ∩ ] ²pa’ sudatti | güha śā | śī’laṃ ∩ budar-mā ∩ spāta marṣā’ ∩ naṃdaki ∩ makali ∩ mādāsi ∩ [viśna]³dhabhadrri ∩ suprabhadrri ∩ īraṣam-gi güha śā ∩ sīrgulā sahadatti gühi [śau x x x gühi] ⁴śau saṃgi ∩ upadatti ∩ budāṣṭiri śau senili ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩

§3 ³sa’ sa […]

**Translation**

§1 These (men) owe draft animals that will carry loads:
§2 Sude, Yīṣedrabhadhra, Suhadāysa, Jayabhadrra, Sudatta of Pa’, one cow, Śī’laṃ, Budarma, 
spāta Marṣā’, Naṃdaka, Makala, Mādāśa, Viśnadbhadrra, Suprabhadrra, Īrasamga, one cow, 
Suhadatta from Śirgula, [one] ox, …, one [ox], Saṃga, Upadatta, Budāṣṭira, one, Senila, Ysāḍa-
datta.

§3 These …

Commentary

§2 [viṣṇa]dabhadrri: Proper name, also in Archive 3/5.13 §6 as a man who carried iron, and in 
Archive 3/5.16 §4 as a man whose draft animals carried loads.

Archive 3/5.18 (Or.11252/10v) List of men who delivered jars and sacks

Listed in this document are those who delivered jars, small jars, and sacks.

This document is written on the back of Archive 3/4a.2, a document of three patrol rosters out-
side the patrol cycle.

Text

§1 [… gū]thaka hauḍāṃdi

§2 saṃgi gūthaki ∩ brūnade ∩ sūradatti ∩ budāṣṭiri śūṇi śā senili ∩ 2[…]

§3 tti gūthe śe śāṃdatti ∩ virgā ∩ sīlāṃ ∩ khau sudatti ∥ darauki ∩ ṣanīraki ∩

Translation

§1 [The following] delivered small jars.

§2 Saṃga (delivered) small jars, Brūnade Sūradatta. Budāṣṭira (delivered) one sack, Senila, ...

§3 These (men delivered) jars: Śāṃdatta, Virgāṃ, Sīlāṃ, Khau Sudatta, Darauka, Ṣanīraka.

Commentary
§2 **gūthaka**: ‘small jar, container’, diminutive of *gūtha*- in §3, corresponding to Sog. γwō’k (Yoshida 2006, p.112), JP *gwlyq* (Zhang and Shi 2008, p.93)


§3 **gūthe**: *gūtha*- ‘jar’ See commentary on *gūthaka* in §2.

**Archive 3/5.19 (Hedin 24v) List of men and their equipments**

Listed in this document are men and their equipments, in most cases spears and breastplates. The military preparation reflected in this document is undoubtably related to the document written on its back, Archive 3/1.1, a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual order on evacuating all men and cattle into the Fort of Phema in preparation of a possible invasion. Also related to it is Archive 3/1.41, an order from the King of Khotan to the residents of the Six Towns concerning equipments and weapons.

**Text**

§1 1[@ tti buri hva[ḍ]i […] -ā x phā x x maṃ

§2 2*pharṣa sāṃdari hā’stä u baṃgāṃ u duna u p[ū]na || […]

§3 3|| *vidyadatti hā’stä u baṃgāṃ ||

§4 [ani] *rudi hā’stä u baṃgāṃ [||]

§5 […] 4*hā’stä u baṃgāṃ ||

§6 […] ha’stä u baṃ]gāṃ ||

§7 *ṣanī[rakā hā’stä u baṃgāṃ]
§8 [artial Delhi, Laxmi, and the army of Haryāśaka. Haryāśaka, a spear and breastplate.

§9 [s]āmadatti hā’stä baṃ[gaṃ ||]

§10 [… hā’]6štā baṃgām ||

§11 u[pa]datti hā’stą [baṃ]gāṃ ||

§12 mulakā ha’stå [baṃgāṃ ||]

§13 7[…]rr[j]āṃ hā’stå [baṃgāṃ ||]

§14 […] hā’strtolower baṃgāṃ ||

Translation

§1 These men ……

§2 Phāṛṣa Śāṃdara: spear, breastplate, bows and arrows

§3 Vidyadatta: spear and breastplate.

§4 Aniruda: spear and breastplate.

§5 […] spear and breastplate.

§6 […] spear and breastplate.

§7 Ṣānīraka: spear and breastplate.

§8 Haryāśaka: spear and breastplate.

§9 Sāmadatta: spear and breastplate.

§10 […] spear and breastplate.

§11 Upadatta: spear and breastplate.

§12 Mulaka: spear and breastplate.

§13 …rrjāṃ: spear and breastplate.

§14 […] spear and breastplate.
Commentary

§2 हास्ता उ बाम्गामि: ‘spear and breastplate’, in Archive 3/1.41 as हस्त (§6) and बाम्गामि (§10). See KT IV, p.126.

§2 दुना उ पुना: ‘arrows and bows’, restored according to दुना पीना in Archive 3/1.41 §6.

Bailey (KT IV, p.37) reads: ‘त्तैना उपाणद्वै’.


Archive 3/5.20 (Or.11252/4r-b) Lists of men to be served

Listed in this document are 32 men to be served, five of whom are specifically named. All of them are dependents of someone of higher social status, be it the King of Khotan, the Crown Prince of Khotan, or other high officials.

On the same page, but written from the opposite end, is Archive 3/5.16, a list of draft animal providers. Written on the back is Archive 3/1.39, an order issued by स्पाता Sudārjām to phārṣa Sāṃdara concerning draft animals and grain for the silkworm raisers. Presumably, the men to be served listed here are the silkworm raisers mentioned in Archive 3/1.39 §4 and §15.

Text

§1 [ट्टि बु] रि हवाॅठाना हवांदी चु शेराॅना

§2 मिदामि जस्ती हिया 20 ४

§3 भाबराई सिहाई हिया पाम्हामकी उ आकानाॅ[दत्ति ||]

§4 [हाउ]बाराई त्तीर्क्विरा हिवी नाह्वानि ||
§5 yauvarāyi hīya 4 ganama-kirā 3 u hvurāhvādi ||

§6 šau vī[šnadatti hīvī x x]datti ||

Translation

§1 [These] (are) the Masters’ men who (are) to be served:

§2 Belonging to the Gracious Lord: 24 (men).

§3 Belonging to haubarai Sīhai’: Paṃjamaka and Akānadatta.

§4 Belonging to haubarai Ttirikvira: Nahvāṇa.

§5 Belonging to the Young King: four (men, including) three wheat-sowers and Hvurāhvāda.

§6 Belonging to šau Viṣnadatta: …datta.

Commentary

§1 hvāṣṭāna: hvāṣṭa- ‘master’, referring to the Tibetans. The expected form is hvāṣṭāṃ.


§2 midiṃ jasti hīya 20 4: ‘Belonging to the Gracious Lord: 24 (men).’ As analyzed in the introduction of this document, these 24 men were probably silkworm raisers. The Gracious Lord refers to Viśa’ Vāhaṃ, the King of Khotan. For more on him, see introduction of Archive 3/1.41. It is also possible, however, that these 24 men were the sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers of the Gracious Lord mentioned in Archive 3/5.13 §12.

§3 haubarai: honorific, in Archive 3/4.5p §3, and in Archive 3/6.7 §8 together with āmāca. Haubarai must be someone close to the king and the Crown Prince, since it is attested together with the latter two here and in Archive 3/6.7 §8.

§3 sīhai’: Proper name, attested again only in 3/4.5p §3, also bearing the title haubarai.
§4 ttirikvirā: Proper name, uncertain reading, only attested here.

§5 yauvarāyi: ‘the Young King’, G.-D. s., from Skt. yuvarāja, referring to the Crown Prince of Khotan. See commentary on Archive 3/5.12 §10.

§5 ganama-kirā: ‘wheat-sowers’, also attested as ganama-kerai in Archive 3/1.43 §3. The attestation of this word here together with the Crown Prince lends support to the restoration of Archive 3/1.43 §4. See commentary on Archive 3/1.43 §4.

§6 viṣṇadtti: Proper name, restored as such because in Archive 3, the only sau whose name starts with vi is Viṣṇadatta, as in Archive 3/1.4v §1, Archive 3/1.19 §1 and Archive 3/5.12 §9.

Archive 3/5.21 (Or.11252/8v) Short roster

This short roster includes two groups of men of different taks. The task of the first group is not specified. The men in the second group are those who went to Kavārma, a place name only attested here.

This roster is written on the back of Archive 3/1.10, an order from the Tibetan officer blon Zham rjai to pharṣa Sāṃdara concerning grain, oil, and cotton. Conceivably, Sāṃdara drafted this roster on the back of an order he had received previously.

Text

§1 ^braṃgi | senili | naṃdaki || hvūrvāvādi || sāmadatti || kharryāni || makali || ṣanīraki 2aśnadatti [||] yulimahi’ sudarmā

§2 tti vā kavārma tsvāṇdi

§3 ṣanīrakā saṃgūlai īrvadatti 3irasaṃgi || suhadāysi || vaṣi’raki || kāgaki

Translation
§1 Braṃga, Senila, Naṃdaka, Hvūrāhvāda, Sāmadatta, Kharrjyāna, Makala, Ṣanīraka, Aśnadatta, Yulimaha, Sudarma.

§2 These (men) have gone to Kavārma:

§3 Ṣanīraka, Saṃgūlai, Īrvadatta, Īrasaṃga, Suhadāysa, Vaśi’raka, Kāgaka.

Commentary

§1 yulimahi’: Proper name, also in Archive 3/5.11 §4, and as yulmahi in Archive 3/5.1

§2 kavārma: Place name, location unknown, not attested elsewhere.

Archive 3/5.22 (Or.11252/24) Short roster

This short roster of five names was issued by Sudārrjāṃ, as shown by his signum the end of the document. Unfortunately, the beginning of the roster is damaged, and the task assigned to these five men has to remain unknown.

Text

§1 1[@ tti v x x] x svāṣṭi hvaṃdi

§2 birgaṃḍara mattiśkāṇa vidarrjāṃ || suhīkāṇa 2[Īrasaṃ]gi || phaṃnāji kāśaki || u yaudari || āskvīra gūmaji vidyade Signum-SU

Translation

§1 [These are] the men [going to …]

§2 Vidarrjāṃ from Mattiśka in Birgaṃḍara, [Īrasaṃga] from Suhīka, Kāśaka from Phaṃnai, and Yaudara, Vidyade from Gūma in Āskūra. Signum-SU

Commentary
§1 [x x]svāṣṭi: Hapax, meaning unclear. vāṣṭa- ‘towards’ is also in kaṃdvāṣṭā ‘toward Kaṃdva’ in Archive 3/6.14 §3. What comes before vāṣṭi must be a place name.

§2 birgaṃdara mattiśkāṇa vidarrjāṃ: ‘Vidarrjāṃ from Mattiśka in Birgaṃdara’. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15. Birgaṃdara here governs only Vidarrjāṃ, not all the five names in §2, as Zhu Lishuang (2013a, p.46) understands it.

§2 suhīkāṇa: ‘from Suhīka’. Suhīka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§2 suhīkāṇa [īrasaṃ]gi: ‘[Īrasaṃga] from Suhīka’, restored from suhīkāṇa īrasaṃgā in Archive 3/6.1 §15. This restoration also establishes the length of the lacuna at the beginning of the document.

§2 āskvīra gūmajī: ‘from Gūma in Āskūra’, clearly showing that Gūma is a village in Āskūra. Gūma is also in Archive 3/3.1 §28 and Archive 3/4.6r §2. Zhu Lishuang (2013a, p.46) tries to identify this place with Tib. Ko sheng/Ku sheng and Chin. gùchéng 固城, but as she convincingly demonstrates, Kosheng/Gucheng is located to the west of Khotan, and can not be identified with a village in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Her argument that Gūma is not a village name is based on erroneous interpretation of §2 in this document and Archive 3/3.1 §28.
Archive 3/6 Miscellaneous

I. Introduction

Archive 3/6 includes 14 documents of various genres and subjects. Archive 3/6.1-3 contain orders, but do not conform to the standard format of orders. Archive 3/6.4-5 are fragments of originally larger petitions. Each document among Archive 3/6.6-11 is the only one of its kind. Archive 3/6.12-14 are small fragments. All of above, in one way or another, are related to other documents in Archive 3. The following table lists the archive number, register number, and subject of each document in Archive 3/6:

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*Document on wood.
II. Texts

Archive 3/6.1 (Or.11252/2) Copy of an order from the King of Khotan concerning grain

In this document, the issuer copies a long order from the king concerning the annual tax in grain of 53 grain-deliverers in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Each grain-deliverer is required to deliver 11.9 kūsas of grain. First listed are the names and ages of seven men from Cira who will deliver only millet. Five names and six ages have been preserved. The remaining 46 grain-deliverers are required to deliver three types of grain, including highland barley, wheat, and millet. 35 names, arranged according to place of origin, have been preserved, including 16 men from Bir-gaṃdara, five from Pa’, nine from Āskūra, and five from Phaṃnai. Because the order was too long, the issuer of the document had to attach a small piece of paper below the large sheet and wrote four additional lines on it. In other words, this document is complete. Otherwise, another piece of paper would have been attached to it, but there is no trace of that.

This document is comparable with Archive 3/1.14, in which 46 men who are required to pay 500 mūras for those going to Erma are listed according to their places of origin. These 46 men largely overlap with those listed in this document.

Wen Xin (2008b, pp.116-118) discerns various village names in the name list in this document, and discusses the administrative system in Khotan. His conjecture, however, that names of grain deliverers from Gaysāta may be missing in the lacuna is incorrect, since Gaysāta had already been abandoned. See commentary on Archive 3/5.5 §6.

Text

Recto

§1 𐁪𐁨𐁤𐁨 mишдам гyastana parau
§2 cira kṣvā auvā piškalā nvā saḷī jśāra-haurā hvaṃḍā biśna 50 3

§3 paṃñe hvaṃḍye ttāguttām haudi śemgām śamḍgna jśārā pastā 10 1 kūsa 9 śaṃga


§5 200 20 5 kūsa 4 śaṃga rrusa —

§6 5[100 80] 4 kūsa ganaṃ ||

§7 200 20 1 kūsa 3 śaṃga gau’sā ||

§8 hauda hvaṃ[ḍā cir]āna tti śūmā gau’sā haurīdā

§9 biśna-ṛ gau’sā himi 80 3 kūsa 3 śaṃga

§10 7[x x x x] visarrjāṃ 50 2 || vīrgulāṇa haskanāmā 20 9 || jīvīa khaśṭarāṃ 8[x x x x] 40 2 ||

ysāḍāṇa hvrrvīdiṭā pūrā vismadatta 10 8[x x x x] 30 4 || si vidattā 30 5 ||

§11 hvaṃḍā 40 6 tti jśārā drrai pīla haurīd[ā]

§12 10[biśna-ṛ jśārā] himi 500 40 7 kūsa 4 śaṃga

§13 șa’ 4 kūsa 9 śaṃga rrusa || 11[4 kūsa ga]na[m] || 3 kūsa gau’sā

§14 || 200 20 5 kūsa 4 śaṃga rrusa || 100 12[80] 4 kūsa ganaṃ || 100 30 8 kūsa gau’sā ||

§15 13b[i]rgamḍara mattiśkāṇa ṣanīrakā 30 4 || ṣanīrakā 20 4 || vidarrjāṃ 20 2 14nāmubudā ||
dumesalāṇa hunakā || sahadattā || suhadāysā || suhīkā15ṇa ṛrasaṃgā || spāṇi virgāṃ || mattiśkāṇa
naṃdakā || || śāṃdattā || śude sa16[x x x x dattā || sāmadattā pūrā daraukā || \spāṇa sīlāṃ/’{bik-
ināṇa ṣanīrā || khau} \[ ... mād]āśi/’17[x x x x x]

§16 pa’ sūlyāṇa sudattā || kharajsāsā || puṇausa || sude || suda18[ttā ||]

§17 [āsklu[ī]ra puṇiśela śī’laṃ || altāṃ || svarṛjāṃ || makalā || vasade || maṃ19[ñe ||] pu[’]ysdakā ||

ba’sā vi suhadāysā || puṇide

422
§1 An order from the Gracious Lord (says):

§2 In Cira-Six Town Prefecture, according to the year, there are 53 grain-deliverers in total.

§3 He ordered each man to deliver 11 kūsa 9 šamga by the Tibetan seven-šemga šamga.

§4 In total, it is 6[30] kūsa 7 šamga of grain.

§5 225 kūsa 4 šamga of highland barley.

§6 [18]4 kūsa of wheat.

§7 221 kūsa 3 šamga of millet.

§8 Seven men from Cira will deliver only millet.

§9 In all, their millet amounts to 83 kūsa 3 šamga.

§10 …; Visarrjām, 52 (years old); Haskadarma from Viṃgula, 29 (years old); … from Khaṣṭara among the Jīvas, 22 (years old); Vismadatta, son of Hvrrīviṃta from Ysāḍa, 18 (years old); … 34 (years old); Si Vidatta 35 (years old).

§11 46 men will deliver three types of grain.

§12 [Their grain] amounts to 547 kūsa 4 šamga.

§13 That is 4 kūsa 9 šamga of barley, [4 kūsa] of wheat, and 3 kūsa of millet (per man).
§14 (That is) 225 kūsas 4 šaṅgas of highland barley, 1[8]4 kūsas of wheat, and 138 kūsas of millet.

§15 In Birgaṃdara: Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka, 34 (years old); Ṣanīraka, 24 (years old); Vidarrjāṃ, 22 (years old); Namaubuda; Hunaka from Dumesala, Sahadatta, Suhadāysa, Īrasaṃga from Suhīka, Virgāṃ from Spai, Naṃdaka from Mattiśka, Sāmadatta, Śude Sa…, -datta; Darauka, son of Sāmadatta; Sīlāṃ from Spai; {Ṣanīra from Bikina, Khau …}, \Mādāśa/ ……

§16 In Pa’: Sudatta from the Sogdian (Village), Kharajsajsā, Puñausa, Sude, Sudatta.

§17 In Āskūra: Śīlaṃ from Puṇīśāla, Altāṃ, Svarṛjāṃ, Makala, Vasade, Maṃṇe, Pu’yasdaka, Suhadāysa upon Ba’sa, Puṇide.

§18 In Phaṃnai: Si Vidyadatta from Spai, Senila, Yseviṭa, Khau Sudatta from Kula, Kharamur-rai from Buttaka.

Verso

§1 The inspectors’ … confusion. (?)

Commentary

§2 cira kṣvā auvā piśkalā: ‘Cira-Six Town Prefecture’, the full official name of the prefecture, corresponding to Chin. Zhīluó Liùchéng Zhōu 質遜六城州. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (C).

§2 nvā salī: ‘according to the year’, indicating that the amount listed below was the tax in grain for an entire year, that is, 11 kūsas 9 šaṅgas per man.

§2 hvaṃḍā biśna 50 3: ‘53 men in total’. Compare the ‘53 men, (including both) the commissioned and the non-commissioned’ in Archive 3/6.3 §4, the 58 men in Archive 3/1.7 §4, and the 52 men ‘according to the register’ in Archive 3/6.7 §4.
§3 ttāguttāṃ haudi śemgāṃ śaṃgna: ‘by the Tibetan seven-śemga śaṃga’. In the Tibetan system, one śaṃga equals to 7-śemga. Here, the issuer explicitly reminds the recipient of the Tibetan measurements, because Sudārrjāṃ confuses the Tibetan seven-śemga śaṃga with the Chinese 10-śemga śaṃga in his calculation of grain in Archive 3/1.7. See introduction to Archive 3/1.7.


§6 [100 80] 4 kūsa ganāṃ: ‘184 kūsas of wheat’. 630.7 − 225.4 − 221.3 = 184.

§10 visarrjāṃ 50 2: ‘Visarrjāṃ, 52 (years old)’. The number after the name of a man indicated the age of the man, a common practice in registers. See Yoshida 2006, p.134.

§10 vīṃgulāṇa, ysāḍāṇa: ‘From Vīṃgula’, ‘from Ysāḍa’. Vīṃgula and Ysāḍa are villages in Cira, only attested here.

§10 jīvvā khaṣṭarāṃ: ‘from Khaṣṭara among the Jīvas’, epithet of the name in the lacuna. Meaning unclear.

§12 [biśna-m jsärā] himi: ‘[All their grain] is …’, restored according to biśna jsārā himi in §4.

§15 mattiśkāṇa, dumesalāṇa, suhīkāṇa, bikināṇa: ‘From Mattiśka’, ‘from Dumesala’, ‘from Suhīka’, ‘from Bikina’. Mattiśka, Dumesala, Suhīka, and Bikina are villages in Birgaṇḍara. Mattiśka is also in Archive 3/3.6 §14, Archive 3/5.3 §5, and Archive 3/5.22 §2. In Archive 3, Dumesala is only attested here, but it is in BH 5-1, a newly-discovered wooden document in Khotanese. See Duan 2015, p.146. Suhīka is also in Archive 3/4.6a §2, Archive 3/4.6p §2, Archive 3/5.3 §3, and Archive 3/5.22 §2. Bikina is also in Archive 3/1.23 §2.

§15 spāṇi: Place name, a village in Birgaṇḍara, from spai- ‘to be rich, prosperous’, attested again in Archive 3/6.8 §5. It is also in the epithet of Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃnai in §18, referring
a village of the same name in Phaṃnai. The expected form is spāña, L.s., as in spāña sīlāṃ in §15.

§16 sūlyāña: a village in Pa’, L.s., from sūlya- ‘Sogdian’. This village is only attested here in Archive 3.

§17 [āskju[i]ra: ‘In Askūra’, parallel to ‘In Birgaṃdara’ in §15, ‘in Pa’ in §16, and ‘In Phaṃnai’ in §18. A more common form is āskvīra, such as āskvīra šī’laṃ ‘Śī’laṃ from Āskūra’ in Archive 3/4.13d §2. Wen Xin (2008b, p.117, n.40) could not reconstruct this word and made a wrong conjecture.

§17 puñiśela: puñiśāla-, L.s., a village in Āskūra, attested again as puņaśālā in Archive 3/3.11 §6.

§17 ba’sā vī: ‘upon ba’ṣa’. meaning unclear.

§18 kulāña, buttakāña: ‘From Kula’, ‘from Buttaka’. Kula and Buttaka are villages in Phaṃnai. In Archive 3, Buttaka is only attested here, whereas Kula is also in Archive 3/4.20r §2.

Verso

§1 spaśarāna kūca haphāra: This is only text written on the verso, in its upper left side. Meaning unclear.

Archive 3/6.2 (Or.11252/29) Copy of an order concerning grain for silkworm raisers

Similar to Archive 3/6.1, this short document was copied from an order issued by blon Rmang bzher, in which he asks for new grain for silkworm raisers. The right end of the document is damaged, and its exact meaning, especially the measurements of the grain, is not entirely clear.
Related to this document is Archive 3/1.39, an order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ demanding draft animals and grain for silkworm raisers.

**Text**

§1 ¹bulāṇi rmāṃi śāʾrāna parau

§2 pira-vārā va nūvari jsārā śtā[k[a śtį]

§3 […] ²50 8 khara u 6 ʂaṃga drrai šega

§4 nūvārā khu hā ni haurāta tī maṃ ttye jsārā […] ³u guṇi-haysāk hvaṃḍī

§5 tta hā jsārā jseni hauḍa 60 4 khara kṣi ʂaṃga 2 še[ṃga]

**Translation**

§1 An order from blon Rmang bzher:

§2 New grain is needed for the silkworm raisers.

§3 … 58 khara 6 ʂaṃga 3 ʂeṃga.

§4 If you do not deliver new (grain), then here … of the grain and the sack-sending men.

§5 You delivered to them precisely 64 khara 6 ʂaṃga 2 ʂeṃga of grain.

**Commentary**

§1 *bulāṇi rmāṃi śāʾrāna parau:* ‘An order from *blon* Rmang bzher’, opening formula, parallel to Archive 3/6.1 §1. For more on *blon* Rmang bzher, the Tibetan officer residing in Phema, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§2 *pira-vārā:* ‘for the silkworm raisers’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §10.

§3 *khara:* a measure for grain, also spelt *kha*, corresponding to Chin. *dōu* ²³⁴, interchangeable with *ṣamga*. See Rong and Wen 2008, pp.64-67. It is unclear why and how this measure is used here together with *ṣamga*. ⁴²⁷
§4 **haurāta**: *haur*- ‘to give’, subj. 2pl., a rarely attested form.

§4 **guñi**: ‘sack’, attested as *śūni* a scribal error for *gūni* in Archive 3/5.18 §2.

§4 **haysāka**: ‘sending, sender’, N.-A. pl., from *hays*- ‘to send’.


**Archive 3/6.3 (Or.11252/19) Copy of an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ concerning grain**

This short document, as noticed by Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.96), is drafted in reaction to Archive 3/1.12, an order issued by Sudārrjāṃ. It is mentioned in both documents that the Military Commissioner was coming, and flour of highland barley was needed. According to this document, 53 men in the Six Towns were charged with the task of providing the flour in preparation of the Tibetan Military Commissioner’s visit.

**Text**

§1 [...] *spāta* sudārrjāṃna parau ā si

§2 *tcirrtū* vā haṃjiṣḍī hīsi

§3 10 kūsa ā [...]aina tcahau kū/śa' rruśi jsa āḍī

§4 paśā avaśāna hvaṃḍi himya 50 3

§5 [...] māṣa-vīrā birgaṃḍara hvaṃḍi 20 7

§6 phanāja hvaṃḍi 10 6

**Translation**

§1 [...] An order came from *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, saying:
§2 The Military Commissioner is about to come to us.

§3 10 kūsas of [...] four kūsas of flour of highland barley.

§4 There were 53 men, (including both) the commissioned and the non-commissioned.

§5 27 house-workers in Birgaṃdara.

§6 16 men from Phaṃnai.

Commentary

§2 tcirrtū: ‘Military Commissioner’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §3.

§2 haṃjisiḏi: haṃjisa- ‘to intend, be about to’ + inf., pres. mid. 3s. Compare Archive 3/1.12 §2, which says the Military Commissioner is coming the next month.

§3 rruši jsa āḍi: ‘flour made of highland barley’, also in Archive 3/1.12 §8.

§4 paśā avasāna: ‘the commissioned and the non-commissioned’, meaning everybody. See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5

§4 hvaṃṇḍi himya 50 3: ‘There were 53 men’, probably referring to the 53 grain-delivering men in the Six Towns in Archive 3/6.1 §2. Also compare the 58 men in Archive 3/1.7 §5 and the 52 men according to the register in Archive 3/6.7 §4.


§5 māśa-vīrā birgaṃḍara hvaṃṇḍi 20 7: ‘27 house-workers in Birgaṃḍara’. It is recorded in Archive 3/1.7 §8 that 26 men from Birgaṃḍara will deliver wheat.

§6 phanāja hvaṃṇḍi 10 6: ‘16 men from Phaṃnai’. It is recorded in Archive 3/1.7 §7 that 17 men from Phaṃnai and Pa’ will deliver wheat. Consequently, there must be 10 men from Āskūra missing in the lacuna to make up the total of 53 men.
**Archive 3/6.4 (Or.11252/15v) Petition concerning state work**

This fragmentary document is part of a petition to ‘the Lord’, a high official in Khotan, probably *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ. In it, the petitioner first mentions the tax money for the king and the state workers. Then he says he has sent his wife and sons to ‘the Lord’, and will serve the Lord himself in the future. Next, he refutes the monks, and confirms that life in the town is not miserable for people there. Due to the fragmentary condition of this petition, its exact meaning and overall purpose are not perfectly understood.

Written on its back is Archive 3/1.21, a petition by Sudārrjāṃ and all the residents in the Six Towns to the king concerning work for the king. It is hard to understand how these petitions ended up on two sides of a single sheet of paper.

**Text**

§1 … 1[x x]lä hīye ||

§2 rrvī thaṃgi kiṇa u kṣīrvāṃ kīrāṃ pracaina pa x-ṇāï ai tsveṇ gviṇā [x x] 2[x x] vīra

§3 vaṇa dva jūna pīha hauḍi yiḍem

§4 āysā āṃ na hame

§5 vaṇa āṃ ttā {uha} ‘i x/ [x x] 3[x x] {x hai}/x-i pa/śūṃ haṃtsa neri jsa u pūryau jsa

§6 pyaṃtsāṣṭa hiyaudi parśūm’ x x -āga [x x] 4[x x x x x] na va

§7 ttiṇa auva satta ni dikhyeviṇī🔘

§8 stāṇaḍa va adāya șṭāre

§9 [x x] 5[x x x x] kīra yuḍi yiḍem khu pyaṃtsā paśā byehūṃ

§10 vaṇa-ṃ āspāta yidi [x x]

**Translation**

430
§1 … O Lord.

§2 Concerning the tax money for the king and instead of the state workers, for this reason I went to … I shall speak upon …

§3 Now, I already paid the price twice.

§4 I am well-born.

§5 Now, to you, …, I send … together with the wife and the sons.

§6 In the future I will serve the lord. … …

§7 In this town people are not suffering.

§8 The superior teachers there are unjust.

§9 … I had already done the [state?] works so that I may obtain a servant in the future,

§10 Now he protects me …

Commentary

§1 hīye: hiyāda- ‘o lord’. This vocative is part of the formula of petitions. It also indicates one line or two is missing in the lacuna above the first line. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§2 rrvī thāṃgi: ‘tax money for the king’, as opposed to ‘tax money for the state’. See Yoshida 2006, pp.100-103. Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.


§2 gvīrā: gvar- ‘to speak’, subj. 2s. uncertain.

§4 āysā: ‘well-born’, from āysāta-.

§6 parśūṃ’: parś’- ‘to serve’, pres. 1s.

§7 satta: ‘being, people’.

§7 dikhyevīdi: dukheva- ‘to be miserable’ from skt. duḥkhāpaya-.

§8 adāya: from adātia- ‘wrongful, unjust’.

§9 paśā: ‘the commissioned, servant’, from paśś- ‘to send’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

§10 āspāta: āspātā- ‘refuge, protection’, typically in petitions. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

Archive 3/6.5 (Or.11252/34.2v) Petition to the king

This document seems to be the last line of a petition to the king concerning corvée work. Archive 3/1.7, an order issued by Sudārṛjāṃ concerning grain, is written on the back of this document. Conceivably, Sudārṛjāṃ made the petition and received his petition back from the king as all petitions were sent back to the petitioners together with the orders in response. Sudārṛjāṃ then cut off the used petition and wrote an order on its back. The petition, however, was not cut off completely, therefore its last line has been fortuitously preserved.

Text

§1 …[…] kīri uspurra dāśāṃ āspātau jastina

Translation

§1 We will complete the work in full with the protection of you, the Lord.

Commentary

§1 dāśāṃ: dāś- ‘to complete’, pres. 1 pl.

§1 āspātau: āspātā-ū, ‘your protection.

Archive 3/6.6 (Or.11252/13v) Document concerning a petition
It can be inferred from the traces above the first line that this document was originally part of a larger document, and the scribe cut it from the original to write Archive 3/4.6a, the agreement roster of Patrol 6.

In this incomplete document, the issuer first mentions a petition he made on the 24th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month), and expresses his doubt concerning the oral order he received afterwards, trying to confirm or challenge such an implausible order.

Text

§0 …
§1 ¹biśa braṃkhaysji 20 4 mye haḍai ttā haṣḍā yuḍem
§2 vaña ttā […]
§3 […]²dīsta vā salāna parya
§4 pa’jsā ma byāmā śṭi
§5 șai khvai pāṃdāya pa[…]
§6 […]³pīḍa kuṣṭa buri pademda himya ||
§7 āmācā ma[…]
§8 […]⁴na ttiṇa māś[ta] [t]tara hīsā ||

Translation

§0 …
§1 In the village, on the 24th of Braṃkhaysja, I made a petition to you.
§2 Now to you …
§3 Order by words (to …) in the hands of …
§4 I have great doubt.
§5 he will have to set out on the road

§6 … write as long as they can be made’

§7 The āmāca … here ...

§8 … in this month he will come there (to you) ...

Commentary

§0: There are traces of akṣaras above the first line, indicating that this document was originally part of a larger document.

§1 biśa: bīsā- ‘village’. See commentary on Archive 3/3.2 §14.

§1 haḍḍā yudṛṇ: haḍḍā yan- ‘to make petition’, pf. 1s. This is not the opening formula of a petition, which requires the present tense. See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§2 parya: pary- ‘to order, to deign’, impv. 2s.

§4 byāmā: OKh. bātā ‘doubt’.

§5 paṇḍāya: pande ‘road’, L.s.

§6 pīḍa: pīr- ‘to write’, 2pl impv.


§6 paḍemḍa himya: padam- ‘to make’, potential construction, pf. 3pl.

§8 ḍara: reading and meaning unclear.

§8 hīsā: hīs- ‘to come’, subj. mid. 2s.

Archive 3/6.7 (Hedin 18) Agreement on buying a camel

This document of agreement was drafted in response to an order by śṣau Cveṃdū asking those in the Six Towns to buy a camel for a patrolman. After stating the reason of issuance, the
issuer of this documents lists the numbers of men of different status, but makes no further instruction concerning the camel purchase. Camels were expensive in Khotan during that time. In a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual camel purchase contract belonging to Archive 2 (Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928), a camel was priced at 16000 mūras. See Kumamoto 2001.

**Text**

§0 […] 0x 2

§1 †@ 33 mye kṣāṇā ttāṁjirā māśtā 29 mye haḍai ṣa’ samauca ttye pracaina 2cu

§2 vā ṣṣau cveṃdūna paraũt ā sā

§3 kṣvā avau ḍhamḍa ṣṭām spasārā ulā gi3nīrav

§4 nva pravanai hvaṃṭi himya 50 2 ||

§5 ṛṛāṃdi ḍhiya māśa-vīrā himya 415 ||

§6 paśāta haṣṭa

§7 cāṃṣṣī gyastā ḍhiya u yauvarāyā gya5ṭā ḍhiya paṣāta himya 10

§8 cu haubarai ḍhiya u dvīyām āṭmācām ḍhiya paṣāta himya 13

§9 biṣna haṃba’ca hvaṃṭa himya 7sa Signum-H18 8

§10 kṣvā avau stānaḍa himarı kṣa Signum-H18

**Translation**

§0 … 2

§1 On the 29th of Ttuṃjirā (the seventh month) in the 33rd regnal year, this agreement (is made) for the reason that:

§2 An order from ṣṣau Cveṃdū has come to us, saying:

§3 “All of you in the Six Towns should buy a camel for the patrolman.”
§4 According to the register, there are 52 men:

§5 15 dependents belonging to the king.

§6 Eight commissioned men (belonging to the king).

§7 10 commissioned men belonging to the Senior Secretary and the Crown Prince (respectively).

§8 13 commissioned men belonging to haubarai and two āmacas.

§9 In total, there are 108 men. Signum-H18.

§10 There are six superior teachers in the Six Towns. Signum-H18.

**Commentary**

§0 […] x 2: Traces of akṣaraš above the first line indicate that another document was originally written above this document.

§2 cvemđūna: Proper name, I.-Ab. s., only attested here. It can be inferred from his title ʂʂau that Cveṃdū was an official on the prefecture level or above. For more on ʂʂau, see commentary on Archive 3/1.19 §1. Cveṃdū is not a Khotanese name, probably a Chinese one.


§6 haṣṭa: ‘eight’. Bailey (KT IV, p.32) takes the blob before haṣṭa as a sign for 10 so that the numbers add up to 108, but there is no way that a blob can be a sign for 10. The problem can be solved by parsing cāṃṣṣī gyastā hīya as belonging to §7, also governing paśāta himya 10.

§7 cāṃṣṣī: ‘Senior Secretary’, Chin. zhāngshī 長史, most likely referring to Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin, who is in Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C) bearing this title.


§8 haubarai: honorific of an official of a status similar to that of āmāca and associated with the king and the Young King. Also see commentary on Archive 3/5.20 §3.
§8 dvīyāṃ āmācāṃ: ‘two āmācas’. In Archive 3, only śṣau Viṣṇadatta is attested with the honorific āmāca, in Archive 3/1.4v §1 and Archive 3/1.19 §1. It is hard to conjecture who the second āmāca is.

§9 hvaṃḍā himya sa Signum-H18 8: ‘there are 108 men. Signum-H18.’ 108 men have been enumerated. 52 + 15 + 8 + 10 + 10 + 13 = 108.

§9 Signum-H18: This Signum is only in this document. Skjærvø (2009, p.132) suggests that this is śṣau Cveṃdū’s signum. This must not be the case, since this document was issued in response to śṣau Cveṃdū’s order and śṣau Cveṃdū was mentioned in the third person. This signum must belong to the issuer of this document, whose name is not attested.

§10 stāṇaḍa: ‘superior teacher’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §6. Yoshida (2006, p.124) understands the six stāṇadas mentioned here are included in ‘the 52 men according to the register’ in §4 and proposes that stāṇaḍa is the title of an official on the village level, comparable to Khot. chaupaṃ Chin. chibàn 半. For more on chaupaṃ, see Wen Xin 2008a, pp.143-144. These six stāṇadas, however, should not be understood as included in the 108 men enumerated above. The issuer of this document wrote §10 after his first signum because he forgot to count in these six stāṇadas. He then put a second signum after §10 to authenticate this modification. Postscript followed by a second signum is also seen in Archive 3/1.3, Archive 3/1.45, and Archive 3/4.6p, three documents issued by Sudāṛṛjāṃ.

Archive 3/6.8 (Or.11252/36r) Certificate for minors, elders, and the sick

Listed in this document are the names of minors, elders and the sick/disabled under auva-haṃḍasta Darauka’s jurisdiction. These people, as opposed to healthy adults, were categorized as
hālaa- ‘half man’ (Studies III, p.169-173), and were exempt from some corvée work and taxes. Darauka, auva-haṁdasta of Birgamdara, put his finger marks at the end of the document to warrant its authenticity. This document was probably sent to Sāṃdara as a reference. Note that none of those in this document is in the patrol rosters.

Two documents, namely, Archive 3/1.8 and Archive 3/1.46, are written on the back of this document. For the arrangement and relationship of these three documents, see introduction of Archive 3/1.46.

Text

§1 [...] mye kṣunārāryā māstā 10 1 mye haḍai [śi’ pīḍaki ttye pracaina cu]

§2 [...] auva haṃ haṁdastā daraukā pastā [...] 

§3 [...] ūṃ darauki salā hauḍā si

§4 maṇ ma auva {tsīd- x} ści [...][...] rā pūrā šarrnai || svarrjun ||

§5 [...] ysāḍa spānā upadattā brabudā | hattākaṇ

§6 āchānai ysaṅgarā au [...] 

§7 [...] ā]chānai višāśīlā ysaḍā

§8 tī ra prāmā khu hā darauki haṁguṭi viṣti

§9 7da | rauki haṃ | gu[ṣt]i

Translation

§1 On the 11th of Rarūya (the sixth month) [in the … regnal year, this document (is made) for the reason that]:

§2 Auva-haṁdasta Darauka ordered ...

§3 ... delivered Darauka’s word:
§4 Here in the town, the minors are: …, xx’s son Șarrnai, Svarrjum, Șarrnai, Svarrju.

§5 The elders are: Upadatta from Spai, Brabuda, Hattäkaṃ.

§6 The sick and old are: …

§7 … is sick, and Vișa’sīla is old.

§8 It takes effect when Darauka puts his finger on it.

§9 Darauka’s finger (mark)

Commentary

§1 [și’ pîdaki ttie pracaina cu]: ‘this document (is made) for the reason that’, the standard opening formula of contracts, restored from the standard opening formula of contracts, as in Archive 3/3.11 §1. See introduction of Archive 3/3.11.

§2 auva haṃ haṃdastā daraukā: ‘Auva-haṃdasta Darauka’. Darauka is attested as being from Birgaṃdara together with two auva-haṃdastas from other towns in Archive 3/3.10. See commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2 and §3.

§5 spānā: Place name, a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§8 tī ra pramā khu hā darauki haṃguști viști: ‘It takes effect when Darauka puts his finger on it.’ This is the standard closing formula of contracts, often in contracts in Archive 2. See introduction of Archive 3/3.11.

Archive 3/6.9 (Or.11252/6r) Letter concerning corvée work

Since traces of akṣaras are still visible above the first line, this document, which seems to be a letter between men of equal status, is incomplete. In this incomplete letter, the sender first complains to the recipient, then quotes a petition previously sent to the Tibetan Masters. Next, he
asks the recipient to speak to blon Rmang bzher, and closes the letter by asking whether the recipients would help him. Unfortunately, since the signum at the end of this document is not attested elsewhere, the identity of the sender has to remain unknown. As for the recipient, however, there is a clue. Written on the back of this document is Archive 3/1.26, an order issued by Sudār-rjāṃ concerning canteen duty. It is very likely, then, that the recipient of this letter was Sudār-rjāṃ, who wrote his own order on its back.

Text
§1[...] 1ma bajeśīrau
§2 hvāṣṭāṃ eha ma salā niśtā
§3 ysiri tta ma hāṃthraji
§4 a ma vaña hvāḥḥāṃṭāḥ varaḥḥāṃṭāḥ yudem sā
§5 kīrūṃ anvāṣṭāḥ sṭā būki āṃ byēhūṃ
§6 thu tta luni māṃmiḥḥāṃṭā sā[rā] bajeśi
§7 khvaṃ vā ttara kīrī kūśā’ puṇaruci na pā hūḍa
§9 āṃ tū pūśūṃ sa tti na tta pariya byaudai ā na ra Signum-X

Translation
§1 Do not speak …
§2 There is no words here in the Masters’ mouth.
§3 You are oppressing my heart.
§4 Now here, I have made a petition [to the Masters], saying:
§5 “My work is difficult. I will be assigned to a team.”
§6 You shall speak to blon Rmang bzher.

§7 If you seek work for me, do not tell Puñaruca again.

§8 so that you may take care of …

§9 Hereby I ask you: will you deign to obtain it or still not? Signum-X

Commentary

§1 baješīrau: bajes- ‘to make sound’, commonly ‘to speak’, impv.

if you cite, you must cite SGS 140

§5 būki: ‘team’. One team consists of 10 to 20 men. See commentary on Archive 3/4.18p §1

§6 luni māmi [šā’rā]: Blon Rmang bzher, a Tibetan officer. For more on him, see commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§9 Signum-X: attested only here.

Archive 3/6.10 (Hedin 57) Record of a loan

Recorded in this document, one of the two documents on wood in Archive 3, is a loan of 22,120 mūras taken by spāta Sudārrjāṃ from Vagevida. This loan is also mentioned in Archive 3/1.15 §9 and §29. The five names on the verso, each followed by a number (four or five) remain unaccounted for. Note that all the numbers add up to 23. Is it related to the 22,120 mūras in some way?

Text

§1 r1spāta sudārrjā haṃdīra prū vagevidina mūri jisti 20 2 ysā’2ca sa {20} bisti

§2 v1vidyadatti 4 puñadatti 5 darauki 4 naṃdaki 5 senili 5

Translation
§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ borrowed 22,120 mūras from Vagevida in the Inner Court.

§2 Vidyadatta 4, Puṇadatta 5, Darauka 4, naṃdaka 5, Senila 5.

Commentary

§1 haṃdira prū: ‘Inner Court’, referring to the residence of the King of Khotan. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §9.

§1 vagevidina: ‘from Vagevida’, also in Archive 3/1.15 §29.

§1 jisti: See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §9.

Archive 3/6.11 (Or.11252/16v-b) Finger marks at the end of a contract

In this document, only the ‘finger seals’ at the end of a contract have been preserved. The contract was originally kept by spāta Sudārrjāṃ, who, after the contract was no longer useful, cut off a piece of paper from it to write on its back Archive 3/1.17, an order to pharṣa Sāṃdara. The latter in turn wrote two rosters (Archive 3/4.3p and Archive 3/4.4p) on the back of the order, that is, on the side of the ‘finger seals’. See introduction of Archive 3/4.3p.

Do you talk about the lines below the names?

Text

§1 sarkā haṃguṣṭi

§2 senili haṃguṣṭi

§3 suhadatti haṃguṣṭi

§4 vidyadatti haṃguṣṭi

Translation

§1 Sarkāṃ’s finger
§2 Senila’s finger
§3 Suhadatta’s finger
§4 Vidyaadatta’s finger

Archive 3/6.12 (Or.11344/11v) Document concerning purchase of vānā-cloth

This badly damaged short document concerns the purchase of vānā-cloth, but no coherent meaning can be established.

Written on its back is Archive 3/1.9, an order concerning grain issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara.

Text

§1 [...] vā x x g[ā]ry[em] x mūra ysa tty[a]u jsa u x-ū x js- ḍ- g[ā]ry[em]a [...] 
§2 [...] {vā sudārrjāṃ} vānā gāryeṃ mūrā haṣṭusi 
§3 ttyau jsa jṣeṇa [...] 
§4 [...] mūrā haṣṭa yṣārā 
§5 ttyau jsa {sudārrjuṃ va} yi bakajā thau gāryeṃ [...] 

Translation

§1 I bought …

§2 I bought vānā-cloth for 18 mūras. 

§3 With these, fine…

§4 8000 mūras. 

§5 With these, I bought cloth {for Sudārrjāṃ} from *Baka. 

Commentary
§2 vānā: a sort of cloth, also in Hedin 59. See Dict., p.383.

Archive 3/6.13 (Or.11252/7v) Document concerning cloth and wine

This fragmentary text from the middle of two lines is poorly understood. In it, cloth, wine, and a monk are mentioned. It was written on the back of Archive 3/1.12, an order concerning grain issued by spāta Sudārṛjāṃ.

Text

§1 […] 1dva tsuna

§2 āśirī vimalidrrabha khvī ra m[au]

§3 […] pīḍaki 2hauḍi sä

§4 maṇ 20 ca mau aṣṭi

§5 a [x x x]

Translation

§1 … two inches.

§2 The reverend Vimalidrrabha when for him the wine …

§3 … delivered [a document], saying:

§4 I have 20 … of wine

§5 I …

Commentary

§2 āśirī vimalidrrabha: attested only here.
Archive 3/6.14 (Or.11252/40-42) Document issued by a Tibetan

Or.11252/40-42 are three double-sided tiny fragments of one document. Each fragment contains only a few akṣaras. A Tibetan phrase specifying the addressee is partially in Fragment C, indicating that this document must have been sent by a Tibetan. Similar Tibetan phrases indicating the addressee of the order are also attested at the end of other orders issued by Tibetan officials, including Archive 3/1.34, Archive 3/1.42, Archive 3/1.43, and Archive 3/1.46.

Text

Recto

Fragment A (Or.11252/40r)

1 […] ki naṃdaki […]

2 […] īrva[datti …]

Fragment B (Or.11252/41r)

1 […] -i […]

Fragment C (Or.11252/42r)

1 […] ttī cu […]

2 (Tib.) […] vi : sa : la

Verso

Fragment A (Or.11252/40v)

1 […] va da ma […]

2 […] la x […]

Fragment B (Or.11252/41v)

1 […] dā ma […]
Fragment C (Or.11252/41v)

1 […] ra ta […]

Commentary

Recto

Fragment C

§2 (Tib.) […] spa : sa : la: ‘To be sent to [spāta] Vīśa’. The scribe used the Khotanese vi here, since such an akṣara does not exist in Tibetan. Note that Archive 3/1.34 is also an order issued to spāta Vīśa, though his name is missing in the closing Tibetan phrase.
Chapter IV: Analysis of Archive 3

1. Administrative structure

From the documents in Archive 3 and others excavated from Khotan, an administrative system comprising four levels can be discerned to have been in place in Khotan during the Tibetan occupation. The following table lists the four levels in three languages.424

Table IV-1 Administrative System of Khotan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kingdom</th>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khotanese</td>
<td>Piškala</td>
<td>Au</td>
<td>Bisā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>zhōu 州</td>
<td>xiāng 郊</td>
<td>cūn 村 / fāng 坊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>Yul</td>
<td>Tshan(d)</td>
<td>Tshar(d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest ranking official attested in Archive 3 was from a level above that of the kingdom of Khotan. Lha bzher, a Tibetan official, bore two titles: 1) luna from Tib. blon, ‘councilor’; 2) tcirthū/tcārāthū/tcirrtū, from Chin. jiédù 節度 ‘Military Commissioner’.425 When the Tarim Basin was under Tang control, the Military Commissioner of Anxi-Four Garrisons Chin. Ānxīsīzhèn jiédūshī 安西四鎮節度使, more simply known as the Military Commissioner Chin. jiédù 節度, was in charge of the entire Tarim Basin and as such was the highest official in the region. The Tibetans inherited this title and conferred it upon their official in charge of the southern Tarim Basin. Lha bzher’s jurisdiction can be inferred from Archive 3/1.2, a quote of an order from the King of Khotan, in which the King further quotes an order he received from Lha bzher,

424 This table is modified and expanded from similar tables in Yoshida 2006, p.148 and Zhu Lishuang 2012a, p.77.

425 See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §3.
the Military Commissioner. That the king of Khotan took orders from Lha bzher indicates that Khotan was within Lha bzher’s jurisdiction. In the order quoted by the king, Lha bzher mentions a report from a Tibetan official in Kashgar.\textsuperscript{426} This report from Kashgar indicates that Kashgar was also within Lha bzher’s jurisdiction. In other words, Lha bzher’s jurisdiction included both Kashgar and Khotan – the area of the Tarim Basin under Tibetan control at that time. Incidentally, the Uighurs, who controlled the northern half of the Tarim Basin, also inherited this title. In \textit{Mahrnāmag}, a Manichean Hymnbook, two Military Commissioners are attested in the lists of Manichean faithfuls in Kucha and Beshbaliq (near present-day Urumqi) respectively, two military headquarters where Tang Military Commissioners had resided.\textsuperscript{427}

When Khotan was under Tibetan control, the king of Khotan was subordinate to his Tibetan overlords, as we learn from P.t.1089: “[But he (the King of Khotan)] is inferior to the [Tibetan] official of silver rank [in charge of] Khotan”.\textsuperscript{428} The Tibetan official in charge of Khotan (Tib. \textit{li’i blon}) probably resided in the citadel at present-day Mazar Tagh,\textsuperscript{429} the headquarters of the Tibetan army, as evidenced by the large number of Tibetan documents excavated there.\textsuperscript{430}

In Archive 3, the king of Khotan was Viśa’ Vāhaṃ, and his Chinese name was \textit{Yùchīyào} 尉遲曜. His Chinese title is attested in Archive 3/1.1 §9 (C): \textit{Jièdùfūshī Dūdū Wáng} 節度副使都督王. This title consists of three parts. 1) \textit{Jièdùfūshī} 節度副使, standing for Ānxī Sizhèn 안심식전.

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\textsuperscript{426} Archive 3/1.2 §6.

\textsuperscript{427} Line 47 and 73, see Müller, 1912, pp.10-11, and Yoshida 1994, p.370.

\textsuperscript{428} Takeuchi 2004, p.55.


\textsuperscript{430} Takeuchi 2004, p.55.
Jiédūfūshì 安西四鎮節度副使 ‘Vice Military Commissioner of Anxi-Four Garrisons’, the king’s title in the Tang military system; 2) Dūdū 都督, standing for Pishā Dūdūfū Dūdū 呢沙都督府都督 ‘Governor of Pisha Governorate’, the king’s title in the Tang civil administrative system; 3) 王, standing for Yútián Wáng 于闐王 ‘King of Khotan’, which comes after the titles conferred by the Tang court, indicating his subordinate status to the Tang, as well as the Tang’s acknowledgment of his kingship in Khotan. Archive 3/1.1, however, was drafted in the 14th year of the Zhenyuan era, or year 798. By that time, Khotan was already under Tibetan control. That the date was given in terms of the Tang era and that the king’s titles were described in Chinese indicate that the Tibetans did not radically alter the administrative system in Khotan and allowed scribes to continue using the bureaucratic conventions developed under Tang control. On the other hand, the king of Khotan was adapting to his new masters. In Archive 3/1.41, an order issued in the same month as Archie 3/1.1, the king says in §7 that he has sent a letter in Tibetan to the Tibetans. The administrative system was also evolving. In the vouchers in Archive 3/2, all dated to 801-802, the Tang eras are replaced by dizhi, an equivalent to the animal circle, in the dates. This change of dating convention, a distinctive feature of Tibetan control also observed in the Chinese texts from Dunhuang, shows that Khotan was further integrated into the Tibetan system. In Khotanese, the honorific title of the king is ‘the Gracious Lord’, Khot. midstāṃ jasta or midstāṃ ġyasta, an inherited title attested in texts from the reigns of previous kings. For example, both Viśya’ Dharma in Or.9268a and Viśya Sīhye in IOL Khot Wood 1 also bear this title. The resi-

431 Note that the military title takes precedence over the civil title.

432 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1997, p.349.

dence of the king is called haṃdira prū, ‘the Inner Court’. An order from the king is quoted in Archive 3/1.13 §7, saying: “It should be delivered here in the Inner Court.” The king refers to the Inner Court as ‘here’, which was presumably located in the city of Khotan, identified with the site Yotkan.\(^{434}\)

The following table lists the attestations of the King of Khotan in Archive 3/1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender → Recipient</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King of Khotan → tsīṣī spāta Sudārṛjām</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.2</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.5</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.6</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.13</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.18</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Cloth and grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King of Khotan → stānaḍas and all the commoners in Cira-Six Town Prefecture</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.41</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsīṣī spāta Sudārṛjām, all the officials and commoners → King of Khotan</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.13</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.21</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Court work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the table above that the king of Khotan communicated directly with tsīṣī spāta Sudārṛjām, who often quoted and forwarded the king’s orders to his subordinates. In Archive 3/1.41, the only order directly from the king in Archive 3,\(^{435}\) the king addresses the stā-

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\(^{434}\) Stein 1907, p.200.

\(^{435}\) In all likelihood, Archive 3/1.1 is also an order from the king, but the king’s signature has not been preserved.
naḍas\textsuperscript{436} and all the commoners in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, that is, all the people in the prefecture. This order was most likely directed to tsīṣī spāta Sudāṛjan, the representative of the entire prefecture, who petitioned the king on behalf of all the officials and commoners of the prefecture.

Another important kingdom level official is \textit{Fū Wējīn} 富惟謙, whose Chinese title is attested in Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C): Administrative Assistant and Senior Secretary in Prince Jian’s Establishment, Chin. \textit{Pānguān Jiānwángfǔ Zhāngshī} 判官簡王府長史. The first part, Administrative Assistant, was his title in the Tang military system, while the second part, Senior Secretary in Prince Jian’s Establishment (Rank 4b) was his title in the Tang civil administrative system. The civil title here functioned only as an indicator of his rank.\textsuperscript{437} The role of the Administrative Assistant was an important one on the staff of the Military Commissioner.\textsuperscript{438} This is why Archive 3/1.1, an evacuation order issued by the King of Khotan, also bears Fu Weijin’s signum. The third signatory of Archive 3/1.1 is the Scribe \textit{diān} 典 Shi Huāipū 史懷仆, the drafter of the document. In 801-802, Fu Weijin, while still bearing the title of Administrative Assistant, traveled to Cira-Six Town Prefecture to collect tribute cloth, and issued the vouchers in Archive 3/2.

The Crown Prince, Khot. \textit{Yauvarāya}, is attested four times in Archive 3:

\footnote{\textsuperscript{436} Referring to the monks, see below.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{437} \textit{Fēng Chángqīng} 封常清, Administrative Assistant of Anxi Military Command Ānxī Jiédu Pānguān 安西節度判官 in 747, bore a similar civil title: Administrative Supervisor in Prince Qing’s Establishment (Rank 6b) Qing-wángfǔ Lūshīcǎnjūn 慶王府錄事參軍, see JTS, juan 104, p.3208. For a discussion on the civil titles of Administrative Assistants, see Lai Ruihe 2008, pp.512-520.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{438} Hucker 1985, p.363.}
Though Yauvarāya in Archive 3 is never named, it probably refers to Viśa’ Kīrta, who is attested as the King of Khotan in IOL Khot 50/4 and IOL Khot 54/2, two documents from Mazar Tagh, belonging to Archive 4. The title Yauvarāya is also attested in IOL Khot Wood 3 and Or.12637/21.3a, two documents outside Archive 3. IOL Khot Wood 3 is a wooden slip from Dandan Uiliq, thus belonging to Archive 2, dating from Viśa’ Vāham’s earlier reign. The title Yauvarāya attested in Archive 2 probably refers to the same person as it does in Archive 3, presumably Viśa’ Kīrta. Or.12637/21.3a, on the other hand, belongs to the Harding Collection, which predates Viśa’ Vāham’s reign. Skjærvø suggested that this yauvarāya refers to Viśa’ Vāham himself, during the period after his brother had been recalled to China to help quell the An Lushan Rebellion, but before the Tang officially recognized him as the King of Khotan. I argue, however, that this yauvarāya refers to Viṣya’ Dharma. In any case, the yauvarāya in Or. 12637/21.3a is different from the yauvarāya attested in Archives 2 and 3.

Table IV-3 Yauvarāya in Archive 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.43*</td>
<td>Blon Rmang bzhed orders spāta Sudārjāṃ to send Kharrjāṃ, a good wheat sower, to the Crown Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>Five men in the Crown Prince’s entourage are listed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/5.20</td>
<td>Four men belonging to the Crown Prince are to be served.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/6.7</td>
<td>10 servants belonging to the Crown Prince are among the 108 men who are ordered to buy a camel for the patrolmen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*restored


441 Zhang and Rong confused the two yauvarāyas, and take them as referring to the same person. See Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1997, p.352.
Haubarai, attested only four times in Archive 3, is another title or honorific on the kingdom level. In Archive 3/5.20, two haubarais are attested in a list together with the King, the Crown Prince, and the Senior Secretary — all officials on the kingdom level. Unlike yauvarāya, Haubarai is not attested in any documents outside Archive 3. Its attestations are listed in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sīhai</td>
<td>Archive 3/4.5p</td>
<td>Salamai belonging to him is on the patrol roster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.20</td>
<td>Paṃjamaka and Akānadatta belonging to him are among the men to be served.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ttirikvira</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.20</td>
<td>Nahvaṇa belonging to him is among the men to be served.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.7</td>
<td>13 men assigned to one haubarai and two āmācas are among the men who are ordered to buy a camel for the patrolmen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immediately below the kingdom level is the prefecture level. In 675, the Tang government incorporated Khotan into its system of civil administration as Pisha Governorate, and divided it into ten prefectures. Since no further information is found in Chinese official histories, in order to reconstruct a complete list of these ten prefectures, one has to look elsewhere. Drawing on Tibetan and Chinese documents unearthed from Khotan, Zhu Lishuang identified the names of five prefectures and offered conjectures about the other five. Guo and Abdul-kerim

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442 XTS, juan 43b, p.1134.
443 Zhu Lishuang 2012a.
criticized Zhu’s list of prefectures, especially her conjectures, and proposed a different list, also highly conjectural, if not untenable.\textsuperscript{444} The five prefectures identified by Zhu Lishuang are:\textsuperscript{445}

1) Six-Town Prefecture (Chin. \textit{Liúchéng Zhōu} 六城州; Khot. \textit{kṣau au});

2) West River Prefecture (Chin. \textit{Xīhé Zhōu} 西河州;\textsuperscript{446} Tib. \textit{Shel chab gong ma});

3) East River Prefecture (Tib. \textit{Shel chab ’og ma});

4) Between-the-Rivers Prefecture (Tib. \textit{Shel chab dbus});\textsuperscript{447}

5) Zhuba Prefecture (Chin. \textit{Zhūbá Zhōu} 猪拔州).\textsuperscript{448}

Among these prefectures, only the first one, Six-Town Prefecture, is abundantly attested, since a large proportion of the Chinese and Khotanese texts discovered in Khotan are from the region within this prefecture. G. Haloun first pointed out that Six-Town Prefecture was one of the ten prefectures in Khotan.\textsuperscript{449} Zhang and Rong 1987, Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1996, Kumamoto 1996, Yoshida 2006, and Wen Xin 2008a all represent important studies on this prefecture. A close reading of the documents in Archive 3 reveals still more about this prefecture in particular and the administrative system in Khotan as a whole.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[444] Guo and Abdul-kerim 2014.
\item[445] See Zhu Lishuang 2012a, pp.71-78.
\item[446] Attested in Or. 8211/969-72, see Ikeda 1996.
\item[447] The Tibetan names of these three prefectures are attested in IOL Tib N 1854 (M.Tagh.b.i.0048). See \textit{TLTD II}, pp. 167-169 and Takeuchi 2009, pp.145-146.
\item[448] Attested only in BH1-1 and BH1-2, two newly discovered Chinese documents from Khotan. See Zhu Lishuang 2012a, pp.77-78.
\item[449] \textit{KT IV}, pp.176-177.
\end{footnotes}
We know from Archive 3/6.1 §2 that the term for ‘prefecture’ in Khotanese is *piškala*. The only blank slot in the table of administrative units of Khotan in Zhu Lishuang 2012a, p.77 is thus filled. We also know from the same passage that the full name of the prefecture is ‘Cira-Six Town Prefecture’, Khot. *cira kṣvā auvā piškala*, corresponding to Chin. *Zhīluó Liùchéng Zhōu* 質邏六城州, meaning ‘the Prefecture of the Six Towns headed by Cira’, a structure parallel to ‘the Military Command of Anxi-Four Garrisons’ Chin. *Ānxī Sīzhēn Jièdù* 安西四鎮節度, meaning ‘the Military Command of the Four Garrisons headed by Anxi’.

The highest official in Cira-Six Town Prefecture was most likely the Tibetan officer *blon Rmang bzher*, who bore the title ‘Commissioner-in-chief’, Khot. *thaiṣī*, from Chin. *dāshi* 大使, the title of the commander of the Tang army stationed in Khotan, corresponding to Tib. *theshi*. This title led Yoshida to the belief that *blon Rmang bzher* was the commander of the Tibetan army in Khotan and was therefore in charge of Khotan. This is implausible, since we learn from Archive 3/1.34 that *blon Rmang bzher*’s residence was not in Shenshan, but in Phema. Conceivably, he was the commander of the Tibetan garrison stationed at the fort of Phema. We also learn from P.t. 1089 that: “The Khotanese *āmāca* and so on, who are granted

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450 Discovered by Wen Xin, private communication.

451 See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

452 See Meng Xianshi 2014, pp. 2-3.

453 Rong 1993, p.413.


455 Archive 3/1.34 §3: ‘Now I do not have tasty wine here in Phema.’
gold and turquoise ranks, are also inferior to the *rtse rje* of the copper rank.\(^{456}\) *Blon* Rmang bzher, therefore, must have ranked higher than Sudārrjāṃ, the top Khotanese official in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. This is confirmed by the orders and petitions in Archive 3/1 in which *blon* Rmang bzher is attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender ⟷ Recipient</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Blon Rmang bzher</em> ⟷ <em>tsīṣī spāta</em> Sudārrjāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.12</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.25</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.43</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Wheat sowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Blon Rmang bzher</em> ⟷ <em>spāta</em> Marṣa’, <em>spāta</em> Vīsa, and all the officials.</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.34</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Blon Rmang bzher</em> ⟷ <em>Spāta Vidyadatta, Pharṣa Sāṃdara, and the workers.</em></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.42</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Drum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the table that *blon* Rmang bzher gave order to Sudārrjāṃ and other officials in the prefecture, including *spāta* Marṣa’, *spāta* Vīsa, *spāta* Vidyadatta, and *pharṣa* Sāṃdara. These orders demonstrate that *blon* Rmang bzher was of a rank immediately above that of Sudārrjāṃ and all the other officials in the prefecture, since he issued orders directly to them.

The highest Khotanese official in Cira-Six Town Prefecture was Sudārrjāṃ. His full title was *tsīṣī spāta*. The first part, *tsīṣī*, from Chin. *cīṣī* 剿刺 ‘prefect’, indicates his official status as

\(^{456}\) Takeuchi 2004, p.55.
the head of the prefecture. This status is evident from the orders and petitions in Archive 3/1 in which Sudāṛjjāṃ is attested:

**Table IV-4 Tsīṭī spāta Sudāṛjjāṃ in Orders and Petitions in Archive 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender —— Recipient</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King of Khotan —— Sudāṛjjāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.2</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.5</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.6</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.13</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.18</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Cloth and grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blon Rmang bzher —— Sudāṛjjāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.12</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.25</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.43</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Wheat sower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan Masters —— Sudāṛjjāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.4</td>
<td>Order in quote</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudāṛjjāṃ —— pharṣa Sāṃdana</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.6</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.9</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.15</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Tax in coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.17</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Tax in coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.18</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Cloth and grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.20</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>State work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.25</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.26</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.27</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.28</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.32</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Road work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.33</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Road work and wine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV-4 *Tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ in Orders and Petitions in Archive 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender → Recipient</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.36</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Wine, barley and sheep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.38</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.39</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Draft animal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.5</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.14</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Money for those going to Erma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.16</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Tax in coins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.30</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Irrigation work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.3</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.4</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Evacuation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.8</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Grain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.44</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.13</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Grain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.21</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Court work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.24</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Canteen duty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.29</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Irrigation work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/1.22</td>
<td>Petition</td>
<td>Corvée labor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the table above that Sudārjrāṃ took orders from the king of Khotan and blon Rmang bzher, the commander of the Tibetan garrison at the fort of Phema. He gave orders to spāta Vīsa, spāta Vidyadatta, pharṣa Sāṃdara, auva-hamdasta Sudatta, auva-hamdasta Darauka, and auva-hamdasta Ysevīṭi, all of whom were most likely township level officials. Sudārjrāṃ’s status as the prefect is further confirmed by Archive 3/1.13 and Archive 3/1.21, two petitions that Sudārjrāṃ made to the king of Khotan on behalf of all the officials and commoners in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Petitions to Sudārjrāṃ sent by Pharṣa Sāṃdara, Mulaka, and the residents in Cira are also found, once again confirming Sudārjrāṃ’s superior status in the prefecture.

Wen Xin interpreted tsīṣī as an honorific title attached to spāta, and did not categorically differentiate tsīṣī spāta, the Prefect, from other spātas, officials on the township level.⁴⁵⁷ He observed that in Archive 2, spāta Siṃdaka sometimes took orders from officials with the title sau, but in Archive 3, tsīṣī spāta Sudārjrāṃ did not take any order from a sau. He interpreted this phenomenon as a result of the downgrading of sau during the Tibetan Period.⁴⁵⁸ In fact, sau was the title of an official on the prefecture level, ranking below tsīṣī spāta and above spāta. It is unsurprising, then, that tsīṣī spāta Sudārjrāṃ did not take orders from saus, but spāta Siṃdaka did. Sudārjrāṃ’s signum is found at the end of some prospective patrol rosters⁴⁵⁹ and some other rosters,⁴⁶⁰ indicating that he was in charge of arranging patrols and other duties as well.

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⁴⁵⁷ Wen Xin 2008a, p.138.
⁴⁵⁸ Wen Xin 2008a, p.138.
⁴⁶⁰ Archive 3/5.4 and Archive 3/5.22.
Another official title on the prefecture level is ʂau. Drawing on Khotanese documents mostly from Archive 2 and Chinese documents from Khotan, Wen Xin analyzed the role of officials bearing this title, and concluded that ʂau was an official title on the prefecture level, corresponding to Chin. Zhīshì 知事 ‘Administrative Clerk’. There were multiple ʂaus in one prefecture; chief among them corresponded to Chin. Dūzhīshi 都知事 ‘Chief Administrative Clerk’, and was reflected in the year name.\footnote{Wen Xin 2008a, pp.127-133.} I agree with Wen Xin’s conclusions. Incidentally, Chiji 知事 is still the title of prefectural governors in Japan today. In Archive 3, four officials with the title ʂau are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An Kuk-syin</td>
<td>ʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.8</td>
<td>He demands an agreement on grain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Kuh-syin</td>
<td>ʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
<td>He should receive 44,000 coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Sam</td>
<td>ʂʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.1</td>
<td>Naṃdaka delivered 3,000 coins into his treasury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʂʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>Namaubuda delivered 40,000 coins into his treasury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/2.2</td>
<td>He issues a voucher for Namaubuda’s payment of 40,000 coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cveṃdū</td>
<td>ʂʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.7</td>
<td>He orders those in the Six Towns to collectively buy a camel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇadatta</td>
<td>hiyauda āmāca ʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.4v</td>
<td>Recipient of a document, presumably a petition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiyauda āmāca ʂau</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.19</td>
<td>Recipient of Ysevidtā’s petition.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An Kuk-syin is a variant spelling of An Kuh-syin. Both An Kuk-syin and An Sam seem to be the Chinese names of Bukharan Sogdians, who assumed Ān 'ฤ' as their Chinese surname.\footnote{See commentary on Archive 3/3.6 §3}

Just like Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin and spāta Še’maka, who came from the capital of Khotan to collect tribute cloth in Cira-Six Town Prefecture and issued vouchers to the payers,\footnote{The vouchers for payment in cloth are Archive 3/2.3-17.} šau An Sam, who also came to Cira-Six Town Prefecture to collect tax money and issued vouchers to the payers,\footnote{The vouchers for payment in coins are Archive 3/2.1-2.} was presumably also from the capital of Khotan. It seems that šau An Sam replaced šau An Kuk-syin, whose scheduled arrival in Cira-Six Town Prefecture is mentioned in Archive 3/3.6 §3: ‘šau An Kuh-syin should receive 44,000 mūras.’ An Kuk-syin was also involved in a payment of grain in Archive 3/1.8.

Šau Cvemdü is attested only once. An order from him is quoted in Archive 3/6.7, in which he commands the residents of the Six Towns to collectively purchase a camel.\footnote{More one him, see commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §2 and §9.} Since šau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šau</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>Three men are in his entourage.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šau</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.20</td>
<td>One man belonging to him is to be served.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table V-5 šau officials in Archive 3}
Cvenḍū could issue orders to all the residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, he must have been an official on the prefecture level or above.

The fourth attested ṛau is Viṣṇadatta. In Archive 3/1.19, a petition made by a resident of the Six Towns, ṛau Viṣṇadatta is addressed with two honorifics, hiyauda and āmāca. That the petitioner identified himself as a resident of the Six Towns indicates that Cira-Six Town Prefecture was in the jurisdiction of ṛau Viṣṇadatta. This is in line with our understanding of ṛau as an official on the prefecture level. As for the two honorifics, tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjām is also addressed as hiyauda in petitions,466 whereas āmāca, from Skt. āmātya ‘minister’, corresponding to Chin. Āmózhi 阿摩支 and Tib. ‘a ma cha, seems to have been exclusively reserved for ṛau in Archive 3.

Wen Xin surveyed the role of āmāca reflected in Khotanese, Chinese, and Tibetan sources concerning Khotan.467 He followed Zhang and Rong468 in concluding that āmāca did not refer to any specific office, but was an honorific. Wen Xin noted that in Hedin 18 (Archive 3/6.7), in which the number of men required to collectively buy a camel is calculated, the number of āmāca’s men is listed after those of the king of Khotan, the Administrative Assistant, and the Crown Prince, indicating that an āmāca is inferior to these kingdom level officials.469 In Archive 1, Wen Xin observed,470 some officials are simply addressed as āmāca.471 In all these ex-

466 See Archive 3/1.22 §1 and Archive 3/1.29 §1.
467 Wen Xin 2008a, pp.123-127.
468 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1987, p.89.
469 Wen Xin 2008a, p.125.
470 Wen Xin 2008a, p.124.
amples except Hedin 69, āmāca is attested in the formula that introduces a quotation of received orders: vaña vā āmācāna parau ā si ‘Now an order from āmāca has come to me, (saying:)’. Honorifics are often used in this formula, as in Archive 3/1.5 §3: vaña vā midām āmācāna parau ā si ‘now an order from the Gracious Lord has come, (saying:)’. Miḍām āmācāna ‘Gracious Lord’ is the honorific reserved for the King of Khotan. Wen Xin also observed a downgrading of āmāca during the Tibetan period. This observation was based on erroneous readings of Archive 3/3.8 (Or.11252/38) and Or.12637/25, a document in Archive 4. Wen Xin parsed āmāci Archive 3/3.8 §1 as an apposition of sūlīna. This is incorrect, since āmāci is in the nominative case, while sūlīna is in the instrumental-ablative case. The entire passage reads: @ si’ vā haśṭāyem thau[nām ... paṁ]jśūsi āmāci sūlīna paphve ‘Of the 80 bolts of cloth, …, āmāca collected 15 from the Sogdian’. As for Or.12637/25, its first line reads: …śirī mam āmāci pa’ sa pastai si gari vī daṇa parvāpālam… Skjærvø added a question mark to show uncertainty after his translation of āmāci pa’ sa as ‘the minister Sa in Pa’. It is quite unlikely for sa itself to be a personal name. It is more plausible, therefore, to take pa’ sa as the āmāca’s name. Moreover, āmāci pa’ sa should be the subject of the verb parstai in accordance with similar formulae. Parstai, pf. 2s., however, is an implausible form. The expected form is parste, pf. 3s. In order to confirm the reading, one needs to check the facsimile of this document, which is now unavailable. Suffice it to say that this āmāca was in all likelihood not someone from Pa’, but was an official residing in the citadel at present-day Mazar Tagh, as betrayed by the first word in the quoted order gari,  

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472 Wen Xin 2008a, p.126.
473 Archive 3/3.8 §1
474 Catalogue, p.133.
from *gara-*-, G.-D. s., ‘mountain’, referring to the citadel at Mazar Tagh. In Archive 4 and Chinese documents from Khotan, āmāca is sometimes used as an honorific for *tsīšī*, as in *tsīšī āmāca* in Or.12637/17, *tcīšī āmāca ssau* in IOL Khot 54/2,475 *cishī āmōzhī* 刺史阿摩支 in Or.6406 and Or.8212/702.476 This honorific is also attested as 'am cha, 'a ma cha, and 'a ma ca in Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh.477 To summarize, āmāca is an honorific for officials on the prefecture level, attested in Khotanese documents across Archive 1 to Archive 4 as well as in Chinese and Tibetan documents from Khotan.

In China’s hinterland during the Tang Dynasty, immediately below the prefecture level was the county level, but this was not the case in the Tarim Basin. In both Khotan and Kucha, immediately below the prefecture level was the township level.478 As suggested by the name of the prefecture, there should be six townships in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, but the identification of these six towns has vexed scholars for a long time. Based on Chinese and Tibetan sources, Zhang and Rong first proposed a complete list of the six towns: Cira, Phema, Phaṃnai, Birgāṃdara, Āśkūra, and Gaysāta.479 Drawing on Khotanese materials, especially those from the Russian Collection, Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja proposed a markedly different list: Phaṃnai, Pa’, Tcina, Vīṅgula, Jīvva, and Ysāda.480 Kumamoto refuted Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja’s conclusion and

475 Noted in Wen Xin 2008a, p.126, n.3.

476 Zhang and Rong 1987, p.89. Or.6406 is from Dandan Uiliq, whereas Or.8212/702 is excavated in Balawaste.

477 *TLTD II*, pp.191-194.

478 Wen Xin 2008b, p.115; For the administrative system in Kucha, see Liu Anzhi and Chen Guocan 2006, p.38.

479 See Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1987, p.82. Some locative forms used by Zhang and Rong are changed into nominatives.

480 These place names are standardized from the forms used by in Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja 1996.
criticized her for not taking Chinese sources into consideration. He argued that as a crystalized toponym similar to Penjikent (‘five cities’) and Bishbalïq (‘five cities’), ‘Six Town Prefecture’ may not have contained six actual towns in the eighth century. Inferring from ḫx.01461, a newly published Khotanese document from the Russian Collection, Yoshida tentatively proposed a new list: Cira, Pa’, Phaṃnai, Birgaṃdara, Āskūra, and Gaysāṭa. This list only differs slightly from that proposed by Zhang and Rong. Pa’ in this list replaces Phema in Zhang and Rong’s list. Finally, through a close reading of Or.11252/2 (Archive 3/6.1) and other Khotanese documents, Wen Xin confirmed Yoshida’s list and discerned several villages in each town. He also discussed the location of each town and concluded that all the Six Towns sat along the same river, now known as the Domoko River, and that Six-Town Prefecture largely overlapped with present-day Qira County.

The six towns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Khotanese</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dandan-Uiliq</td>
<td>Gaysāṭa</td>
<td>Jièxiè 傑謝</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chira (?)</td>
<td>Cira</td>
<td>Zhiluo 質逻</td>
<td>Ji la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV-6 The Six Towns

482 Ibid., p.48.
484 Wen Xin 2008b. Listed in Archive 3/6.1 (Or.11252/2) are the names of grain deliverers from Cira, Birgamdarā, Pa’, Āskūra, and Phaṃnai, in other words, all the townships in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Āskūra is partially attested in the beginning of Line 18, which I reconstruct as: ‘ttâ || āsk]u[i]ra’. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §17. Wen Xin (2008b, p.117, n.40), however, is too cautious to make this restoration. He (ibid., p.118) also considers Archive 3/6.1 (Or.11252/2) incomplete and expects in the lacuna a list of grain deliverers from Gaysāṭa. In fact, this document is complete, since its verso is blank. Gaysāṭa is not attested in it simply because Gaysāṭa was already abandoned in the beginning of 790s, see note 64.
485 Modified from Table 1 in Wen Xin 2008b, p.110.
Note that there is no Tibetan name for Gaysāta, since this town was abandoned in the early 790s as a result of the Tibetan invasion of Khotan.\textsuperscript{486} Stripped of one town, however, the Six-Town Prefecture still retained its name during the period when Khotan was under Tibetan control.

The Chinese name of Birgaṃdara, \textit{Bájiā} 拔伽, is supplied according to the newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual wooden tallies.\textsuperscript{487} This place name is also attested in the only Chinese wooden tally in the Hedin Collection,\textsuperscript{488} and partially attested in Or.8211/981-983, three Chinese wooden tallies excavated from Balawaste by Stein.\textsuperscript{489} Based on these wooden tallies, Yoshida identified Birgaṃdara with Balawaste, a site located to the north of the Domoko

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Site} & \textbf{Khotanese} & \textbf{Chinese} & \textbf{Tibetan} \\
\hline
Balawaste (?) & Birgaṃdara & \textit{Bájiā} 拔伽 & Be rga ’dra \\
Mazar Toghrak (?) & Āskūra & & O sku \\
\textit{Phaṃnai} & \textit{Pānyē} 甕野 & & Pha nya \\
\textit{Pa’} & & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{The Six Towns}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{486} Already pointed out in Stein 1907, p.284. Later discoveries confirmed Stein’s conclusion, as the latest text from Dandan-Uiliq bears the date of year 791. See Zhang Mingxin and Chen Hao 2010.

\textsuperscript{487} Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 2008, p.60.

\textsuperscript{488} Yoshida 2006, p.27.

\textsuperscript{489} Chavannes (1913, p.219) reads the first two characters of Or.8211/981-983 as \textit{Bōqù} 撥去. Tono (1983, p.47) leaves these characters unread. Yoshida (2006, p.44, n.37) suggests that Chavannes’s reading is wrong and that the first two characters in Or.8211/983 refer to the same place as the first two characters in the Chinese wooden tally in the Hedin Collection, which he tentatively reads as \textit{Bájiā} 拔伽. Arakawa (2014, p.3) reads the first two characters in Or.8211/981 and Or.8211/983 as \textit{Bà} 拔. The reading of \textit{Bájiā} 拔伽 is confirmed by the newly-discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual wooden tallies. See Rong Xinjiang and Wen Win 2008, Table 1, pp.58-60.
Oasis. Three partial attestations of Bájiä拔伽 in the wooden tallies from Balawaste, however, are not enough to establish the identification of these two places. In fact, based on similarity of content, Arakawa suggests that Mazar Toghrak is the find spot of the newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual wooden tallies, in which Bájiä拔伽 and Birgaṃdara are abundantly attested. These tallies are markers of grain sent from Birgaṃdara. Based on the names of many villages in Birgaṃdara attested in the documents bearing the register numbers Or.11252 and Or.11344, Wen Xin surmised that all documents bearing these register numbers are from Birgaṃdara. More decisive evidence in support of Wen Xin’s supposition is found in Archive 3. A phrase indicating the destination of the document is found on the verso of Archive 3/1.15, an order from späta Sudārjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara. Archive 3/1.15 verso §1 reads: [bi]rgaṃdara pharṣa sāṃdari haurāṇā ‘to be delivered to pharṣa Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara’. A similar phrase in Tibetan is found at the end of Archive 3/1.42, an order issued by blon Rmang bzher to pharṣa Sāṃdara. Archive 3/1.42 §7 reads: (Tib.) x x x rin : bir : ga : ‘dru : ba : la : bkab ... ‘... Birgaṃdara ...’ . These phrases clearly show that both orders were sent to pharṣa Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara, thus indicating that the entire Archive 3 belonged to Sāṃdara and originated from Birgaṃdara. Citing Zhang and Rong and a letter in 1931 by the British Consul-General in Kashgar


491 Arakawa 2014, pp.9-10.

492 Both groups of texts belong to Archive 3.

493 Wen Xin 2008b, pp.121-122.

494 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1988, p.74.
George Sheriff, Wen Xin further placed Birgamdana in Old Domoko, an area encompassing Khadaliq, Balawaste, Mazar-Toghrak, and other minor sites, not to be confused with the ‘Old Domoko’ in Stein’s works, the area several miles to the northwest of the Domoko Oasis, encompassing Uzun-tati, Ulugh-mazar, and Farhad Beg-yailaki. As for now, it is still premature to identify Balawaste with Birgamdana, whence Archive 3 originated. Nevertheless, we do find in Archive 3 some links with Balawaste. Yoshida noticed that the signum of a Chinese official at the end of Hedin 8r (Archive 3/1.37), representing his given name jùn, is also found in IOL Tib N 2220, a fragmentary wooden tally Stein obtained from Balawaste during his third expedition. The full name of this official, Zhào Jùn, is again attested in Or.8212/702 (Balawaste 0160), a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document from Balawaste. Admittedly, the attestations of the same name in both Archive 3 and the documents from Balawaste neither confirm nor exclude the possibility that Balawaste used to be Birgamdana. It is more likely that Birgamdana, though located in the Domoko area, has never been systematically and exhaustively excavated. Some documents there, later known collectively as Archive 3, have been haphazardly removed from the site by local treasure-hunters, whereas others remained there until recently, as two new-

495 Catalogue, p.lxii.

496 Wen Xin 2008b, p.122. Note that Mazar-Toghrak is located to the south of the Domoko oasis, not north, as Zhang and Rong (1988, p.74) understand it. See Stein 1921, p.201.

497 See Stein 1907, p.458 and Stein 1921, 1263.


499 See commentary on Archive 3/1.37 §6.
ly discovered Khotanese documents on wood both contain reference to Birgaṃdara as their place of origin.\textsuperscript{500}

As for Āskūra, Wen Xin tentatively identified it with Mazar Toghrak on the grounds that Āskūra is attested in several documents excavated from Mazar Toghrak.\textsuperscript{501} Based on this identification and the numerous bilingual wooden tallies discovered in Mazar Toghrak in which the amount of delivered grain are recorded, together with the large amount of grain and a wooden key discovered there, Arakawa suggested that a relay post, to which grain and fodder were delivered, and the Penghuai Fort used to exist in Āskūra/Mazar Toghrak.\textsuperscript{502} As with the case of Balawaste and Birgaṃdara, a few attestations of Āskūra in the documents from Mazar Toghrak are not enough to establish the identification of the two places. Arakawa’s suggestion that a relay post and a fort existed in Mazar Toghrak, however, remains valid.

Phema, a place name often attested in Archive 3, is not a township (Khot. \textit{au}), but a fort (Khot. \textit{kaṃtha}), where \textit{blon} Rmang bzher and \textit{tsiṣī spāta} Sudārrjāṃ resided.\textsuperscript{503} Li Yinping convincingly identified the Fort of Phema (Khot. \textit{phemāṇa kaṃtha}, Chin. \textit{kāchēng} 坎城, Tib. \textit{kamsheng}) with Fort Kanaqin, located in the vicinity of Ulugh Ziarat to the north of the Domoko Oasis.\textsuperscript{504} Kanaqin is but an old transcription of the Chinese name of Phema.

\textsuperscript{500} BH5-1 F3 line 3-4 reads: \textit{birgaṃdaraja parrama pyaṃtsā āna} ‘in front of the \textit{parramas} of Birgaṃdara’. See Duan Qing 2015, p.83. BH5-2 J2 line 2 reads: \textit{mara birgaṃdara auva} ‘here in the town of Birgaṃdara’. See Duan Qing 2015, p.98.

\textsuperscript{501} Wen Xin 2008b, pp.122-123.

\textsuperscript{502} Arakawa 2014, pp.16-18.

\textsuperscript{503} See commentary on Archive 3/1.5 §5 (K).

\textsuperscript{504} Li Yinping 1998, pp.255-262. For more details on Phema and the site of the fort, see commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).
The most important official on the township level was spāta. Sīḍaka in Archive 2 is by far the most attested spāta. Zhang and Rong listed the documents in which Sīḍaka is attested, and traced his promotion from auva-hamdasta to spāta. The following table lists the spātas attested in Archive 3:

Table IV-7 Spātas in Archive 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spāta</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Budarma</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.38</td>
<td>He delivered a missive to Sudārrjāṃ concerning the purchase of horses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmaka</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
<td>He owes 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṣa’</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>He is going to the Mountain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṃgabuda</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>14 men brought his cotton and bahauya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śirīdatta</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.40</td>
<td>He brought an order concerning draft animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marṣa</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.34</td>
<td>He and Vīṣa are the recipients of an order from blon Rmang bzher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/2.9</td>
<td>He delivered 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>He delivered 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>He owes 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>He is going to the Mountain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>He brought spāta Saṃgabuda’s cotton and bahauya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.17</td>
<td>He owes a draft animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyadatta</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.3</td>
<td>He, Sāṃdara, and all the officials are the recipients of an order of evacuation from Spāta Sudārrjāṃ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/2.4</td>
<td>He delivered 18.5 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/2.7</td>
<td>He delivered 37 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>He delivered 18.5 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spāta</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>He delivered 37 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>He is to deliver 15 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.11</td>
<td>Three men received 40 feet of cloth from him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.13</td>
<td>He owes 1,800 mūras.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīsa</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.24</td>
<td><em>Pharṣa</em> Sāṃdara is ordered to put <em>spāta</em> Visa’s dependent Puṇḍadatta on canteen duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.30</td>
<td>He is the recipient of an order from <em>spāta</em> Sudārjām.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.34</td>
<td>He and Marṣa are the recipients of an order from <em>blon</em> Rmang bzher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/2.8</td>
<td>He delivered 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
<td>He delivered 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
<td>He is to deliver 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>He is to deliver 20 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.3</td>
<td>Śaṃphaka from Suhīka, a house worker under him, is on the shift of the 11th of Haṃdyaja (the 5th month).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.13</td>
<td>He brought <em>spāta</em> Saṃgabuda’s cotton and <em>bahauya</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaniviṭa</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.10</td>
<td><em>Blon</em> Zham rjai orders <em>pharṣa</em> Sāṃdara to bring the oil in <em>spāta</em> Yaniviṭa’s hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.12</td>
<td>He is mentioned together with a corvée worker for the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.22</td>
<td>His son is mentioned in a petition concerning corvée labor for the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.2</td>
<td>He owes 40 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.3</td>
<td>He should deliver 40 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.5</td>
<td>He owes 40 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.7</td>
<td>He is to deliver 40 feet of cloth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen from the table above that nine men are attested with the title *spāta* in Archive 3. Among them, Budarma, Burmaka, Maṣa’, Saṃgabuda, and Śirīdatta are attested only once, whereas Marṣa, Vidyadatta, Vīsa, and Yaniviṭa are attested multiple times. This difference in frequency suggests that the former five might be *spātas* from outside Cira-Six Town Prefecture, whereas the latter four might be *spātas* in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Budarma and Śirīdatta brought in an order or a missive, probably from another prefecture. Maṣa’ is attested only once in a list of eleven men who are going to the Mountain. It could be a scribal mistake for Marṣa, who is also on the list. It is recorded in Archive 3/5.13 that 14 men brought *spāta* Saṃgabuda’s cotton and *bahauya*, perhaps from outside the prefecture. Saṃgabuda is attested only once again, this time without the title *spāta*, in Archive 3/5.1, as a member of the third team on duty in the Fort of Phema. Other members of this team are rarely attested elsewhere in Archive 3, suggesting that the entire team, including Saṃgabuda, might be from outside Cira-Six Town Prefecture. As for the origin of the four better attested *spātas*, the most illustrative document is Archive 3/3.6, in which the amounts of tribute cloth assigned to the Prefect, the officials, and the wealthy men in Cira-Six Town Prefecture are specified. Archive 3/3.6, though damaged, can be fully restored via comparison with Archive 3/3.3 and Archive 3/3.7. Listed in Archive 3/3.6 §5-§14 are the amounts of cloth assigned to ten men in the following order: the prefect (*tsīṣi spāta*), four *spātas*, two *pharṣas*, and three men without official titles. This list seems to include all the *spātas* and *pharṣas* in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, since it is implausible for any *spāta* or *pharṣa* to be exempt from paying the tribute. In other words, there were four *spātas* in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Pre-

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506 For the restoration, see Table 3.6-1 in the introduction of Archive 3/3.6.

507 See commentary on Archive 3/3.6 §4.
sumably, each spāta was in charge of one township, with the prefect (tsīṣī spāta) in charge of Cira and the other spātas in charge of the other four townships. From Archive 3, it is difficult to infer which spāta was in charge of which township. Alternatively, it may be purely coincidental that the number of spātas matched that of the townships, since the prefect (tsīṣī spāta) resided in the Fort of Phema, not in Cira.\(^{508}\) In any case, it can be inferred from the sequence of the officials listed in Archive 3/3.6 that spāta ranks below tsīṣī spāta and above pharṣa. This hierarchy is also reflected in Archive 3/1.3, an order issued by tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ to spāta Vidyadatta and pharṣa Sāṃdara. Since spāta Vidyadatta took orders from tsīṣī spāta, he must have ranked below tsīṣī spāta. Since spāta Vidyadatta is listed before pharṣa Sāṃdara as a recipient of the order, he must have ranked above pharṣa. Additionally, spāta Burmaka, attested in Archive 3/3.6 §7, is replaced by spāta Marṣa, in all the other documents concerning tribute cloth, including Archive 3/3.7, Archive 3/2.9, and Archive 3/3.1.\(^{509}\) Burmaka might have died after Archive 3/3.6 was drafted and Marṣa might have been made spāta in his place. Archive 3/3.7, a list of the amounts of assigned cloth very similar to Archive 3/3.6, was therefore drafted to reflect this change.

In Archive 3, the most attested official on the township level is pharṣa. In fact, the entire Archive 3 belonged to pharṣa Sāṃdara, as illustrated by the numerous orders issued to him.\(^{510}\) Most of these orders were issued by tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ,\(^{511}\) whereas four orders were issued by

\(^{508}\) In Archive 3/1.39, an order issued by tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ, he refers to the Fort of Phema as ‘here’, indicating his residence in Phema. Archive 3/1.39 §5 reads: ‘Only today did I begin to collect it here in the fort.’ Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

\(^{509}\) See Table 3.6-1 and Table 3.6-2 in the introduction of Archive 3/3.6.

\(^{510}\) Incidentally, an order issued by pharṣa Sāṃdara is partially preserved in IOL Khot 173/9. Unfortunately, this document is too badly damaged to be legible.

\(^{511}\) See Table IV-4 above.
Tibetan officials, indicating that the Tibetans could directly control officials on the township level.

Table IV-8 Orders to pharṣa Sāṃdara from Tibetan officials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sender —— Recipient</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Blon</em> Zham rjai —— Sāṃdara</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.10</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Blon</em> Rmang bzher —— Sāṃdara</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.42</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Tibetan official —— Sāṃdara</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.46</td>
<td>Order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The jurisdiction of pharṣa Sāṃdara sometimes exceeded the boundary of a single township. It can be inferred from the patrol rosters in Archive 3/4 that pharṣa Sāṃdara was in charge of tracking the patrol attendance of the entire prefecture. He received orders from *tsīṣī* spāta Sudārjāṃ concerning the patrols,512 made prospective patrol rosters,513 and compiled lengthy documents consisting of multiple retrospective patrol rosters.514 One of these large roster documents, Or.11344/3r, was made by gluing together two orders issued to pharṣa Sāṃdara, namely, Archive 3/1.32 (Or.11344/3v-a) and Archive 3/1.42 (Or.11344/3v-b).515

Sāmada, the other pharsa in Archive 3, is attested in Archive 3/3.2, Archive 3/3.3, Archive 3/3.5, Archive 3/3.6, Archive 3/3.7, all concerning the 20 feet of cloth assigned to and still owed by him.

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513 17 prospective rosters out of 24 patrols have been preserved. See Table 3/4 in the introduction of Archive 3/4.

514 All retrospective rosters are included in three large roster documents: Hedin 6, Or.11344/1, Or.11344/3r. See Table 3/4 in the introduction of Archive 3/4.

515 See the introduction of Archive 3/1.32, Archive 3/1.42, and Archive 3/4.19r.
Another official title on the township level is *auva-haṃdasta*, which ranked below *pharsa*. Based on a newly discovered Chinese document from Khotan, Wen Xin identified this title with *Chin. xiāngtóu* 郷頭.\(^{516}\) By far, the most attested *auva-haṃdasta* is Sīḍaka in Archive 2.\(^{517}\) Four *auva-haṃdasta* are attested in Archive 3:

**Table IV-9 Auva-haṃdastas in Cira-Six Town Prefecture**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auva-haṃdasta</th>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darauka</td>
<td>Birgaṃdara</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.8</td>
<td>He puts his finger mark on a certificate for the minors, the elders and the sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudatta</td>
<td>Pa’</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.5</td>
<td>He is the recipient of an order of evacuation from Sudārrjāṃ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysāḍadatta</td>
<td>Āskūra</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.33</td>
<td>He is mentioned in an order from <em>tsīṣī spāṭa</em> Sudārrjāṃ to <em>pharṣa</em> Sāṃḍara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ysiviṭa</td>
<td>Phaṃnai</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.10</td>
<td>The amounts of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money belonging to him are listed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Archive 3/1.33, Ysāḍadatta bears the title *haṃdasta*, a shortened form of *auva-haṃdasta*. In Archive 3/3.10, Darauka (spelt *Darau*) and Ysāḍadatta are also attested, but without the title *auva-haṃdasta*.

In Archive 3, all four *auva-haṃdastas* are attested without the title multiple times. Especially noteworthy among these attestations is the one in Archive 3/1.19, the opening formula of a petition made by Ysevidṭa, a spelling variant of Ysiviṭa, who identifies himself as a ‘resident of

\(^{516}\) Wen Xin 2008a, pp.138-139. Also see commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2.

\(^{517}\) See Zhang and Rong 1997, p.351, table 2.
the Six Towns’. Conceivably, auva-hamdastas were merely representatives of their townships, and their official status was no more than ‘resident of the Six Towns’. On the other hand, pharṣa was considered a formal official, since Sāṃdara identifies himself as pharṣa in Archive 3/1.24, a petition made by him to tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjām. This difference of official status of auva-hamdastas vis-à-vis spātas and pharṣa is also discernible in Archive 3/3.2, Archive 3/3.3, and Archive 3/3.6, in which spātas and pharṣas are listed as officials (hārua), without any mention of auva-hamdasta.518

Below the township level is the village level. The existence of this level is most explicitly illustrated in BH1-15, a newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document, in which the names and ages of 33 men from five villages (Chin. cūn 村, Khot. bisā) are listed.519 In Archive 3, most of the village names are attested with an adjectival suffix -āna, and function as epithets to differentiate namesakes.520 The following table lists the villages in Cira-Six Town Prefecture attested in Archive 3:521

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Villager</th>
<th>Archive number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cira</td>
<td>Vīṅgula</td>
<td>Haskadarma</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ysāḍa</td>
<td>Vismadatta</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikina</td>
<td>Mādāśa</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Śanīra</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

518 See commentary on Archive 3/3.3 §4.

519 Duan Qing 2009a, pp.65-68.

520 Wen Xin first recognized the village names in these epithets, which were previously interpreted as patronymics. See Wen Xin 2008b, pp.117-119.

521 This table is based on Table 4 in Wen Xin 2008b, p.120, with modifications and expansions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Villager</th>
<th>Archive number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birgaṇḍara</td>
<td>Dumesala</td>
<td>Hunaka</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mattiśka</td>
<td>Namdaka</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slutṛaka</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vidarrjāṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Śīrgula</td>
<td>Suhadatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spai</td>
<td>Śīlāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Virgāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suhīka</td>
<td>Īrasamga</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Śaṃphaka</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Śanīra</td>
<td>Archive 3/4.6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/4.6p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ustāka</td>
<td>Śanīra</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puṇiśāla</td>
<td>Śīḷaṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gūma</td>
<td>Sūrada</td>
<td>Archive 3/4.6r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vidarrjāṃ</td>
<td>Archive 3/3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vidyade</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttaka</td>
<td>Kharamurrai</td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kūla</td>
<td>Sudatta</td>
<td>Archive 3/4.20r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In his translation of Or.11252/2 (Archive 3/6.1), Wen Xin took jīvva in ‘|| jīvva khaṣṭarāṃ 8[x x x] 2 ||’ (line 7-8, §10) as a village name and khaṣṭarāṃ as a personal name.\textsuperscript{522} Jīvā, however, is dissimilar to the adjectival forms of village names ending in -āña, such as vīṃgulāña and ysādāña, both in Archive 3/6.1 §10 as well. The length of the lacuna, not taken into consideration by Wen Xin, suggests that khaṣṭarāṃ is not a personal name, but part of the epithet of the name in the lacuna. The exact meaning of this epithet remains unclear. Khaṃśara was a village in Bir-gaṇḍara, attested in SI P 103.46 in Archive 2\textsuperscript{523} and Hedin 4 in Archive 1,\textsuperscript{524} but not in Archive 3, and thus not included in the table above.

Since Archive 3 belongs to pharṣa Sāṃdara, an official on the township level, it contains little concerning the village level. An official title on the village level, chaupaṃ (Chin. chībàn 么), however, is attested in Khotanese documents outside Archive 3\textsuperscript{525} and Chinese documents from Khotan.\textsuperscript{526} Yoshida suggested that Vaṣi’rasamga in Archive 1, who was in charge of levying

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Table IV-10 Villages in Cira-Six Town Prefecture}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Township & Village & Villager & Archive number \\
\hline
 & Spai & Si Vidyadatta & Archive 3/6.1 \\
\hline
Pa’ & Sūlya & Sudatta & Archive 3/6.1 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{522} Wen Xin 2008b, p.116.
\item \textsuperscript{523} Wen Xin 2008b, p.120, n.57.
\item \textsuperscript{524} \textit{KT IV}, p.23.
\item \textsuperscript{525} SI P 103.46, SI P 103.49 (\textit{SDTV III}, p.154, p.156) and Or.12637/13 (\textit{Catalogue}, p.123).
\item \textsuperscript{526} Or.8211/969-72 line 9 (Ikeda 1996, p.210) and the newly discovered bilingual wooden tallies (Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 2008, no.36-39, pp.57-58). For more on this title, see Wen Xin 2008a, p.143.
\end{itemize}

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taxes on five to six men, was a chaupam.\textsuperscript{527} He also linked this title with Chin. chūbàn 處半 in the Chinese documents from Douldour-aqour in the Kucha region, čūpan in Old Turkic, and σωπανο in Bactrian, and attributed the origin of these titles to the Hephthalite language.\textsuperscript{528}

Following Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaya, Yoshida suggested that stāṇaḍa\textsuperscript{529} was the title of a village-level official comparable to chaupam,\textsuperscript{530} but his understanding was based on a wrong interpretation of Archive 3/6.7 (Hedin 18).\textsuperscript{531} Bailey suggested that Khot. stāṇaḍa is an honorific referring to high ranking monks from Tib. ston bla, ‘superior teacher’. Kumamoto found more evidence in support of Bailey’s suggestion from Dunhuang.\textsuperscript{532} I accept this etymology and would like to point out that the stāṇaḍas are associated with the weapons and equipments in the prefecture in Archive 3/1.41. Perhaps these monks were also in charge of military affairs?\textsuperscript{533}

In Archive 3, commoners without official titles are known as Khot. pa’kisina (from Chin. bāixīng 百姓 ‘commoner’), and contrasted with officials (hārua), as shown in Archive 3/1.13 §2: tsīṣī āstāṇṇa hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa’kisina, ‘all the officials headed by tsīṣī, and all the commoners’ and Archive 3/1.21 §2: ksvā auvā tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ u kšā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pa’kisina ‘Sudārrjāṃ, tsīṣī spāta of the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, and all the commoners’.

\textsuperscript{527} Yoshida 2006, pp.123-124.
\textsuperscript{528} Yoshida 2004b, pp.132-133.
\textsuperscript{529} Attested in Archive 3/1.21 §6, Archive 3/1.41 §2, Archive 3/6.7 §10.
\textsuperscript{530} Yoshida 2006, p.104.
\textsuperscript{531} See commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §10.
\textsuperscript{532} Kumamoto 1996, p.50.
\textsuperscript{533} See commentary on Archive 3/1.41 §3.
The following table lists the titles and names of the officials attested in Archive 3 according to their respective levels:

**Table IV-11 Titles and Names of the Officials in Archive 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khotanese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tibetan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khotanese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tibetan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tibetan Empire</td>
<td><em>Tcirthū</em></td>
<td>Lunā ha’ba śi’ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kingdom of Khotan</td>
<td><em>Miḍāṃ jasta</em></td>
<td>Viśa’ Vāhaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>篤度副使</td>
<td>尉遲曜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>都督王</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Phañna kvana</em></td>
<td>Viśa’ Kīrtta (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cāṃssī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>判官府長</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>王府長史</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viśa’ Kīrtta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cira-Six Town Prefecture</td>
<td><em>Thaiṣī</em></td>
<td>Bulāna rmama śā’rā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Theshi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>刺史</td>
<td>Sudārṛjāṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tsīṣī spāta</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Saú</td>
<td>Viṣṇadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townships in Cira-Six Town Prefecture</td>
<td><em>Spāta</em></td>
<td>Marṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>薩波</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vidyadatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viṣa</td>
<td>尾娑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yaniviṭa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pharṣa</td>
<td>Sāṃḍara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>破沙</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pharsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. Taxation system

Mainly based on documents from Archive 1 to Archive 3, Yoshida discussed various issues concerning the taxation system in Khotan during the eighth century, including the items collected as tax, the kinds of tax payers, and the documents produced during the taxation procedure. In this section, however, I would only discuss the taxation system in Khotan as reflected in documents from Archive 3, and what I can add to Yoshida’s conclusions and discoveries.

Generally speaking, three kinds of taxes were collected in Khotan during the eighth to the ninth century: the tax in coins (Khot. mūras), the tax in grain, and the tax in cloth.535

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Different from Archive 2, in which many documents concern the tax in coins and the poll tax in particular, Archive 3 contains just a handful of documents related to the tax in coins, including Archive 3/1.14-17, Archive 3/2.1-2, and Archive 3/3.11-14. They only allow a hasty glimpse of the taxation system in Khotan.

In Archive 3/1.16, spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders pharṣa Sāṃdara to collect and send him the outstanding 20,000 mūras in full by the end of the month so that he could avoid paying a monthly interest at the rate of 8%. In Archive 3/1.15, a similar order issued by spāta Sudārrjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara, spāta Sudārrjāṃ first harshly scolds pharṣa Sāṃdara, since the latter has not sent him the tax money and he had to take a loan of 22,120 mūras at an 8% monthly interest rate. Next, spāta Sudārrjāṃ once again orders pharṣa Sāṃdara to send him the outstanding tax money together with the interest by the end of the month. Incidentally, a record of spāta Sudārrjāṃ’s loan of 22,120 mūras has been preserved in Archive 3/6.10, a document on wood. From Archive 3/1.15 §4, we know that the tax money in question was ‘the amount belonging to the King’ (Khot. ṭī ḫambā), just as the poll tax in Archive 2. From Archive 3/1.15 §24, we know that collecting the tax money involved making the ‘population registers’ (Khot. pravanāja). We do not know, however, the nature of the outstanding 20,000 or 22,120 mūras. Was it annual tax or monthly tax? On how many tax payers was this tax levied? I hope new discoveries could help us answer these questions.

536 Khot. thaṅga. See ibid., p.100.

537 Khot. kamalaji mūra, about 100 mūras per person per month. See Yoshida 2006, pp.102-103.


539 Eight such registers have been collected in Yoshida 2009, pp.106-107. Also see Oguchi 2007a, Duan Qing 2009a, and commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §24.
In Archive 3/1.14, spāta Sudāṛṛjāṃ orders his subordinates to collect from 46 residents in five townships of Cira-Six Town Prefecture an *ad hoc* tax of 500 *mūras* per person for those going to Erma. The names listed in this order largely overlap with those in Archive 3/6.1, an order concerning the tax in grain. Yoshida thought that the people listed in this document paid 500 *mūras* as a replacement of going to Erma themselves.\(^{540}\) In fact, this amount of money was levied on the ‘*mūra*-paying men’\(^{541}\) ‘for those going to Erma’.\(^{542}\) If Bailey’s identification of Erma with a place in the Turfan region is correct,\(^{543}\) Archive 3/1.14 reflects the burden imposed on Khotanese people due to Tibetan military activities in the northern Tarim Basin.

From Archive 3/1.17, a poorly understood fragmentary order issued by spāta Sudāṛṛjāṃ to pharṣa Sāṃdara, we know that pharṣa Sāṃdara was in charge of making the population register.

Archive 3/2.1 and Archive 3/2.2 are vouchers in Khotanese of two payments of 40,000 *mūras* and 3,000 *mūras* respectively. They were glued on top of a group of Chinese-Khotanese bilingual vouchers of payments in cloth (Archive 3/2.3-14). The information in Archive 3/2.1 is also recorded in Archive 3/3.1 §25. These two payments were levied on the 44 cloth payers\(^{544}\)

\(^{540}\) Yoshida 2006, p.105.

\(^{541}\) Khot. *mūra-haurā hvaṃḍi* in Archive 3/1.15 §4.

\(^{542}\) Khot. *erma tsūkāṃ va* in Archive 3/1.15 §2.

\(^{543}\) *KT VII*, pp.18-19. Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §2.

\(^{544}\) 44000 *mūras* were assigned to all the cloth payers as recorded in Archive 3/3.6 §17. 1000 *mūras* were still outstanding.
and were delivered into the treasury\textsuperscript{545} of ṣṣau An Sam, probably a descendent of Bukharan Sogdian.

Archive 3/3.12-14 are three accounts of outstanding \textit{mūras}, but their overall meaning, purposes, and relationships with the payments in Archive 3/2.1-2 are not clear.

The documents in Archive 3 concerning tax in grain include Archive 3/1.7-13, Archive 3/1.39, Archive 3/3.18, Archive 3/6.1-3. In Archive 3/6.1, each of the 53 grain deliverers in Cira-Six Town Prefecture is required to deliver 11 \textit{kūsas} 9 \textit{ṣaṃgas} of grain. Those in Cira were required to deliver only millet, while the others were required to deliver three kinds of grain, namely, barley, wheat, and millet. The number of the grain deliverers was determined ‘according to the year’.\textsuperscript{546} This phrase indicates that: 1) the annual tax in grain was levied here;\textsuperscript{547} 2) the number of grain deliverers might vary from year to year;\textsuperscript{548} 3) the government must have kept and regularly updated the population registers, in which the names, ages, places of origins (townships and sometimes also villages), and tasks of all of this subjects were recorded.\textsuperscript{549} The information listed in Archive 3/6.1 should have been copied from such a population register.

Apart from the annual tax in grain, the residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture were often asked to provide additional grain for the Tibetans and others. The Tibetan officer \textit{blon} Zham rjai orders \textit{pharṣa} Sāṃdara to deliver the poll tax in grain in Archive 3/1.11, and to deliver the out-

\textsuperscript{545} Khot. \textit{pājiṇa} in Archive 3/2.1 §2 and Archive 3/3.1 §25.

\textsuperscript{546} Khot. \textit{nvā salī} in Archive 3/6.1 §2.

\textsuperscript{547} This amount required here (11 \textit{kūsas} 9 \textit{ṣaṃgas}) is comparable to the average amount of grain (11 \textit{tuo} 3.5 \textit{dou}) levied on each man per year in Dunhuang during the period of Tibetan occupation. See Yoshida 2009, p.118.

\textsuperscript{548} According to Archive 3/6.7 §4, the number of men in the 33rd regnal year in Cira-Six Town Prefecture recorded in the population register was 52, but this number does not necessarily refer to the grain deliverers.

\textsuperscript{549} Or.12637/21.3a, a document from Archive 0, is such a register, in which the names and ages of the grain deliverers in Birgāṃdara of a certain year are recorded. See Catalogue, p.131.
standing grain and oil in Archive 3/1.10. Spāta Sudārjāṃ orders (presumably pharṣa Sāṃdara) to collect 100 *samga* of wheat from 58 men in Āskūra, Phaṃnai, Pa’, and Birgāmḍara for the patrolmen in Cira in Archive 3/1.7, and to deliver flour made of highland barley in preparation for the Tibetan Military Commissioner’s visit in Archive 3/1.12. According to Archive 3/6.1, the latter task was assigned to 53 men in Birgāmḍara and Phaṃnai. Spāta Sudārjāṃ also orders pharṣa Sāṃdara to deliver grain via a messenger of the Tibetan masters in Archive 3/1.9, and to deliver draft animals and grain for the silkworm raisers in Archive 3/1.39 in accordance with an order from blon Rmang bzher recorded in Archive 3/6.2. Archive 3/1.8 concerns the grain to be delivered to a Sogdian. Archive 3/3.18 is an account of outstanding grain.

As shown above, people in Cira-Six Town prefecture had to provide grain for both the King of Khotan and the Tibetans. Sometimes, they were unable to meet the requirement. In Archive 3/1.13, Sudārrjāṃ the prefect petitions the king to exempt the residents of the prefecture from the poll tax in grain, because they have already delivered all their grain to the Tibetans.

In Archive 3, a relatively large number of documents are related to the tax in cloth, including 14 Chinese-Khotanese bilingual vouchers (Archive 3/2.3-17), eight accounts (Archive 3/3.1-9), an order (Archive 3/1.18), and a petition (Archive 3/1.19). Nearly all the vouchers and the accounts concerned the collection of tribute cloth at the end of the 35th regnal year (802 CE), thus making it possible to reconstruct the procedure of cloth collecting and account making during that time in Khotan.

First, the officials of Cira-Six Town Prefecture ascertained that 32 bolts 11 feet of silk cloth was to be delivered by the prefecture for the 35th regnal year.\(^{550}\) Next, they assigned 7 bolts

\(^{550}\) Archive 3/3.6 §1. One bolt equals to 40 feet.
30 feet of cloth to the prefect, the officials, and the wealthy,\textsuperscript{551} and specified the amount assigned to the prefect, four spātas, two pharṣas, and three wealthy men.\textsuperscript{552} The cloth assigned to these ten men add up to 7 bolts 30 feet. Archive 3/3.7 contains a slightly different list, in which spāta Marṣa’ replaces spāta Burmaka in Archive 3/3.6 and the amount of cloth assigned to two more men are added. The remaining 25 bolts 12 feet of the cloth was assigned to the 44 workers of the prefecture. Each worker should deliver 23 feet.

The officials then issued an order to the workers, asking them to deliver the assigned amount of cloth. After receiving the order, the workers came to the administrative center of the prefecture to deliver the cloth to two officials from the central government of Khotan, namely, Fu Weijin, the Administrative Assistant (Chin. pànguăn 判官), and spāta Śe’maka. The amount delivered, however, did not always match the amount assigned to each worker. Some delivered more and some delivered less. In either case, the worker would receive a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual voucher for his payment. These vouchers (Archive 3/2.3-17) bore the date of issuance and the signature of the two officials. Conceivably, the Chinese official Fu Weijin was responsible for the Chinese text in the voucher, whereas the Khotanese official Śe’maka was responsible for the Khotanese text. All the vouchers of cloth in Hedin 16 (Archive 3/2.3-14) bore a date between the 25th day of the 11th month and the ninth day of the 12th month.

In the bilingual vouchers, Chinese characters are considerably larger than Khotanese akṣaras, giving the impression that the Chinese texts were written first, and the Khotanese texts were

\textsuperscript{551} Archive 3/3.6 §4.

\textsuperscript{552} Archive 3/3.6 §5-§14.
Such an impression is further confirmed by the characteristics of Chinese and Khotanese texts in the vouchers.

The fixed and uniform format and the signi of the issuers in Chinese at the end of each voucher show that the Chinese texts in the vouchers were legally binding official documents issued by government authorities. In other words, Chinese was still used as the administrative language in Khotan during the initial years of Tibetan occupation. This is not to say that Tibetan was not in use at that time in Khotan. Rather, the usage of Chinese demonstrates that, after conquering Khotan, the Tibetans left the Chinese administrative system in Khotan largely intact. The officials and scribes who had worked for Tang, nominally at least, switched their allegiance to the Tibetans, drafted and issued documents in Chinese as they had done before.

The Khotanese texts in the vouchers, on the other hand, are of an explanatory and supplementary nature. They were inserted above or beneath the Chinese texts, and do not follow any fixed formula. Nor do they faithfully reflect the corresponding Chinese texts. Critical information, such as the amount of delivered silk cloth, always agrees with that in the Chinese text, whereas redundant information, such as the dates of issuance, the names of the issuers, is sometimes omitted when there is not enough space. In the Khotanese texts, various misspellings and mistakes are attested. For example, the dating formula is defective in Archive 3/2.4 and Archive 3/2.7. Hvū, the name of the issuer is spelt sū in Archive 3/2.4 and Archive 3/2.5. Some

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553 Rong (2012, p.26) comes to the same conclusion.

554 Apart from the large number of Tibetan documents discovered in Mazar Tagh, there are three Tibetan documents in the Hedin collection, namely Hedin Tibetan 1-3. Hedin Tibetan 1 in particular is related to the silk cloth payments in the bilingual vouchers discussed here. For the Tibetan documents in the Hedin Collection, see Takeuchi 1994. For the relationship of Hedin Tibetan 1 and the vouchers in Archive 3, see Yoshida 2006, p.59.

555 In Archive 3/2.8, Archive 3/2.9, Archive 3/2.16, the date is missing. In Archive 3/2.12, Archive 3/2.13, Archive 3/2.15, the issuers are missing. In Archive 3/2.10, Archive 3/2.11, Archive 3/2.14, Archive 3/2.17, both are missing.
vowel signs are missing in Archive 3/2.17. The sloppiness of the Khotanese texts also testifies to its secondary status in the voucher.

The Chinese and the Khotanese texts are not identical, and their difference sheds light on the taxation system practiced in Khotan. In eight (Archive 3/2.3, Archive 3/2.8, Archive 3/2.9, Archive 3/2.11, Archive 3/2.14, Archive 3/2.15, Archive 3/2.16, Archive 3/2.17) out of 15 bilingual vouchers, the cloth payers’ names in Chinese and Khotanese agree with each other. In the remaining seven vouchers, Namaubuda is the cloth payer in all the Chinese texts, whereas in Khotanese different payers are specified for each payment. Moreover, all the Chinese texts in the vouchers open with ฤUCHENG ฤmr, ‘the Six Towns’, referring to Cira-Six Town Prefecture, whereas only three Khotanese texts (Archive 3/2.3, Archive 3/2.9, Archive 3/2.16) open with kṣva auvā, ‘the Six Towns’. These inconsistencies demonstrate that the cloth was levied on the entire prefecture collectively, and Namaubuda acted as an agent for the cloth payers in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. The Chinese scribes only needed to record how much and from which prefecture the cloth was collected, but not the names of those who actually delivered it. While collecting cloth and issuing vouchers, the authorities must also have recorded for themselves the amount of cloth that each prefecture delivered. Although no such record of cloth payments is found in Archive 3, two similar records of payments in grain have recently come to light. Recorded in these Chinese documents are the amounts and types of the grain, the prefectures

556 Sekio (1997) makes the same conjecture by studying only the Chinese texts in the vouchers. Yoshida’s study of SI P 136.1 in Archive 2 demonstrated that sheep skins were also levied on the prefectoral level. See Yoshida 2006, pp.21-24.

557 Only a few, but highly informative lines of these two documents (BH1-1 line 23-27 and BH1-2 line 17-22) have been published in Rong 2011, p.46.
from which the grain was collected, and the officials who oversaw these payments. Conceivably, similar records of cloth payments should also have existed and been kept by the officials above the prefecture level who received the payments. These records are not found in Archive 3 because Archive 3 belongs to a township level official.

In the Khotanese texts of the vouchers, however, all the cloth payers are specified, since it was the Khotanese officials’ responsibility to record and track all the payments and to make further arrangements accordingly. Consequently, the Khotanese texts were not merely translation or summary of the corresponding Chinese texts, but were made together with the Chinese texts during the process of cloth delivering, because the Khotanese scribe could not have known the payers’ names only from the Chinese texts. Because the cloth was levied on the entire prefecture, the Khotanese officials who were responsible of collecting the cloth needed to know who delivered how much and how much cloth was still outstanding. In order to do so, they collected all the vouchers and glued them together. The result is Hedin 16, a long manuscript consisting 14 vouchers. From the vouchers, the officials made Archive 3/3.1, a summary account of all the delivered cloth and coins, in which the information of all the vouchers except Archive 3/2.13, Archive 3/2.15, and Archive 3/2.17 is found. Since the order of the vouchers in Hedin 16 do not match that in Archive 3/3.1, the summary account must have been made before the vouchers were glued together for later reference. The red mark at the end of each Khotanese text in the vouchers probably signifies that the information in the voucher has been copied into the summary account.

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558 Only two prefectures are attested, Cira-Six Town Prefecture (Liùchéng Zhōu 六城州) and Zhuba Prefecture (Zhūbā Zhōu 猪拔州).
The officials then calculated the amount of delivered cloth and listed the names of those who still owed cloth and the amount they owed.\textsuperscript{559} The total amount of delivered cloth recorded in Archive 3/3.2-5 exceeded that in Archive 3/1.1. The outstanding cloth could be paid in either coins or small cloth. One foot of foot was equivalent of 62.5 \textit{mūras},\textsuperscript{560} and one foot of small cloth was equivalent of 450 \textit{mūras}.\textsuperscript{561} Several Sogdians were involved in helping the Khotanese convert small cloth into normal cloth, and probably made a handsome profit out of this process.\textsuperscript{562}

Yoshida suggested that the payments of tribute cloth recorded in Archive 3 could be linked with in the Tibetans’ conflicts against Nanzhao, a kingdom in present-day Yunan in Southwest China, on the southeastern fringe of the Tibetan Empire.\textsuperscript{563} Since Khotan is located to the north-west of Tibet, it seemed logistically implausible, if not impossible, for the Tibetans to transport cloth and other supplies from Khotan to support troops thousands of miles away. One has to keep in mind that the soldiers garrisoned in Khotan, regardless of their ethnicity, were dependent on the local residents. The Tibetans requested all kinds of things from the local residents, including money, grain, flour, wine, draft animals, and even sacks. Contrary to what Yoshida suggested,\textsuperscript{564}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{559} Archive 3/3.2-5. Yoshida already pointed out that these documents are related. See Yoshida 2006, p.58.
\item \textsuperscript{560} See commentary on Archive 3/3.9 §3.
\item \textsuperscript{561} Recorded in Archive 3/3.4 §8.
\item \textsuperscript{562} See Commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §34.
\item \textsuperscript{563} Yoshida 2006, p.59.
\item \textsuperscript{564} Yoshida 2006, p.59.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the amount of cloth to be delivered by each worker (23 feet) was not particularly high since it was the annual tax paid by those workers.565

In addition to coins, cloth, and grain, the residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture were also responsible to provide wine,566 horses,567 camels,568 draft animals,569 and various other things.570

3. Distribution of corvée work

A variety of corvée work was imposed on the residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, including patrol duty, canteen duty, duty in the Fort, road work, irrigation work, and various other tasks. Among these tasks, the patrol duty is best documented because of the patrol rosters in Archive 3/4.

There are mainly two kinds of patrol rosters: the prospective ones and the retrospective ones. A prospective roster was made before the patrol to record the names of those who were scheduled to attend the patrol, whereas a retrospective roster was made after the patrol to record the names of those who actually attended the patrol. Archive 3/4 contains 17 prospective rosters and 21 retrospective rosters of 24 patrols scheduled consecutively every half a month from the

565 Archive 3/3.6 §1: “In the 35th regnal year, in Cira-Six Town Prefecture, 32 bolts 11 feet of large cloth is (to be delivered).”

566 See Archive 3/1.33-36.

567 See Archive 3/1.37-38.

568 See Archive 3/6.7.

569 See Archive 3/1.39-40.

570 Yoshida listed the items delivered by the Khotanese in all archives. See Yoshida 2006, pp.107-108, pp.110-112.
eighth month of the 35th regnal year to the seventh month of the next year. Overall, 92 patrolmen are attested in these rosters.

The following table lists the date of patrol, the number of patrolmen, and the names of patrolmen recorded in each patrol roster:

Table IV-13 Patrol Rosters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Patrolmen</th>
<th>Patrolmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.1p</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>10/12</td>
<td>Vidyade, Pu’ysdaka, Ysāḍadatta, Suhadatta, Īrasaṇa, Puṇadatta, Suhena, Sudatta, Śīlāṃ, Virgāṃ, Saloka, Vidarrjāṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.1r</td>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>10/14</td>
<td>Suhena, Īrasaṇa, Ṣanīra, Saloka, Puṇadatta, Suhadāya, Pu’ysdaka, Vidyade, Sudatta from Pa’, Sūradatta, Virgāṃ, Śīlāṃ, Vidarrjāṃ, Ku-calai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.2r</td>
<td>8/17</td>
<td>15/15</td>
<td>Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, Hvṛṛviṭa, Visarrjāṃ, Kharamūrrai, Marṣa’datta, Śī viddyadatta, Saloka, Maṃnē, Sarkāṃ, Īrvadatta, Naṃdaka, Kaśaka, Budadatta, Arsāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.3p</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>5/5</td>
<td>Paṃjamaka, Maṃgala, Brīna, Haryāśka, Saṃgaka.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

571 For more details on the process of making the rosters, see introduction of Archive 3/4 Patrol Rosters.

572 Format: Month/day

573 Format: number of patrolmen attested in both the prospective roster and the retrospective one/number of patrolmen attested in the roster in question.

574 Those attested in both the prospective roster and the retrospective one are in bold font.

575 The archive numbers are assigned according to the patrol number and type of each roster. For a concordance of the archive numbers and the register numbers of the rosters, see Table 3/4 in Archive 3/4 Patrol Roster.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Patrolmen</th>
<th>Patrolmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.4r</td>
<td>9/15</td>
<td>12/15</td>
<td>Vidyadatta, Sirphūka, Sudarma, Akānadatta, Budarma, Sīlāṃ, Kharajsajsa, Mulaka, Sudatta of Pa’, Īrasaṃga, Suhadatta from Śirgula, Suhadāysa, Virgāṃ, Śanīra, {Puṇadatta}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.5p</td>
<td>10/3</td>
<td>9/16</td>
<td>Vaśi’raka on behalf of Śarkāṃ, Budadatta, Sudatta, Budāṣṭira, Kaledra, Phāja in Cira, Svarrnade the house-worker, Vasade, {Śarkāṃ} the house-worker, Sūrade the house-worker, Saṃgapuṇa, Vidarrjāṃ, Salamai belonging to haubarai Sīhāi, Buttaṇḍai the house-worker, Suhadāysa the house-worker, Nahvana, Svarrnade on behalf of Vidarrjāṃ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.5r</td>
<td>10/3</td>
<td>9/12</td>
<td>Vaśi’raka, Budadatta, Sudatta in Āskura, [Budāṣṭira], Kalidra, Vidyadatta on behalf of Svarrnada. {Maṃgala}. Kāsaka on behalf of Surade. Buttaṇḍai, Suhadāysa the house-worker, Nahvana, Svarrnade, Maṃgala went on behalf of Vasade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive number</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Number of Patrolmen</td>
<td>Patrolmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.6r</td>
<td>10/18</td>
<td>11/12</td>
<td>Brahma, Bruna, Surade from Gupta, [Samadatta], Yaduysa on behalf of Samganamda, Vidyabuda, Senila, Kharamurrai went to us, Irvadatta went to us, Siribuda, Suradatta went to us. Vidarrjani, Phaja, Ttanguya, Kharrjani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/4.7r</td>
<td>11/3</td>
<td>14/14</td>
<td>Brina, Samgulai, Si Vidya]datta, [Sudarma], Punade, Mankala, Haryasa, Vasi’raka, Vidya]datta, Panjaka, Mulaka, Jsaksaka, Hunaka, Burmaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive number</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Number of Patrolmen</td>
<td>Patrolmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.12p</td>
<td>1/21</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>Kharajsajsa in Āskūra, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta from Phaṃnāi, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta, Arsāla, Suhadatta from Birgaṇḍara, Śāṃḍatta, Si Vidyadatta, Marṣa’datta, Suhena, Ṣanīraka (the second) Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.12r</td>
<td>1/21</td>
<td>13/14</td>
<td>Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta from Phaṃna, Marṣa’datta, Arsāla, Virgāṃ, Śāṃḍatta, Si Vidyadatta the khaus, Suhena (2), Ṣanīraka, then a second Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.13p</td>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>Śī’ilaṃ, Pu’yṣdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, for Sude the Tibetan went, Silāṃ, Si Vidyadatta, Sudatta of Pa’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.13r</td>
<td>2/7</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>Śī’ilaṃ, Pu’yṣdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta on behalf of Kharamūrrai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, for Sude the Tibetan went, Silāṃ, Si Vidyadatti the khaus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.14p</td>
<td>2/23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Arsāla, Gauda for Marṣa’datta, Saloka, {Ṣanīraka} Īrvadatta for Si Vidyadatta, Sudatta the khaus, Śīraka for Śādatta, {Suhena}, Kharamūrri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.15r</td>
<td>3/7</td>
<td>6/9</td>
<td>Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena (3), Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Ṣanīraka (was) at the *dams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.16r</td>
<td>3/19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Śī’ilaṃ, Pu’yṣdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the Khaus, Sudatta from Pa’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive number</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Number of Patrolmen</td>
<td>Patrolmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.17r</td>
<td>4/8</td>
<td>9/9</td>
<td>Arsāla, Marṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta from Kūla the kħau, Šāmdatta, Suhadatta from Širgula, Kharamūrrai, Sīlāṃ, Saloka,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.18r</td>
<td>4/29</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena (4), Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣāṅraka, [Sūradatta], Irvadatta, Ṣāṅraka at the dams. Sude opened one road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.19p</td>
<td>5/?</td>
<td>8/9</td>
<td>Śī’laṃ, Pu’ydsaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatti from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, the khaub Si Vidyadatta, Suhadatta from Pa’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.19r</td>
<td>5/?</td>
<td>8/9</td>
<td>Śī’laṃ, Pu’ydsaka, Sahadatta from Phaṃnai, Maṃñe, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the khaub, Ṣāṅraka at the dams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.20r</td>
<td>5/15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Arsāla, Marṣa’datta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta the Khau from Kūla, Šāmdatta, Suhadatta in Birgamḍara, Kharamurrai, Saloka, Sīlāṃ at the dams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.21r</td>
<td>6/?</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena (5*), Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Saloka, Sūradatta, Si Vidyadatta, Suhadatta at the *dams, Sude over three roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.22r</td>
<td>6/?</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Śī’laṃ, Pu’ydsaka, [Maṃñe], Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, [Si Vidyadatta] Suhadatta from Pa’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive 3/3.23r</td>
<td>7/10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Arsāla, [Marṣa’datta,] Īrvadatta, Suhadatta the Khau, Šāmdatta, Suhadatta from Birgamḍara, Kharamurrai, Ṣāṅraka, Sīlāṃ.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 24 patrols can be divided into two groups. In Patrol 12-23, three teams of patrolmen, Team 1 in red, Team 2 in yellow, and Team 3 in blue, took turns to go on duty. Each team, typically consisting of nine patrolmen, went on duty four times during the six months. The remaining 12 patrols (Patrol 1-11, Patrol 24) typically involved 14 to 15 patrolmen, who were assigned to these patrols without any discernible pattern. Some patrolmen, such as Darauka and Ysāḍadatta, were on duty only once, whereas some others, such as Īrasamga and Nahvana, were on duty two or three times. Members of Team 1-3 are also attested in these rosters. We do not know, however, where the patrolmen went when on duty. Due to the mistranslation of Khot. ttāgutta as ‘Tibet’ instead of ‘Tibetan’ in Or.11344/8, Yoshida believed a patrolman named Mulaka was sent to Tibet. In fact, Mulaka was on patrol duty for a Tibetan, presumably in Khotan.

As discussed in the introduction of Archive 3/4 Patrol Rosters, prospective rosters were informal, and sometimes were written on the margins of other documents, whereas retrospective rosters were official documents intended to be kept for later reference. All retrospective rosters in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archive number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Patrolmen</th>
<th>Patrolmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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576 See Table 3/4.12r Patrol Attendance of Team 1.

577 See Table 3/4.13r Patrol Attendance of Team 2.

578 See Table 3/4.14p Patrol Attendance of Team 3.

579 *Catalogue*, p.111.

580 Yoshida 2006, p.60.

581 See Archive 3/5.12 §4.
Archive 3 were written on three large manuscripts, namely, Or.11344/1, Or.11344/3r, and Hedin 6, which were all made of several sheets of paper glued together. Such a system of assigning patrolmen and keeping record of patrol attendances seemed not to be a provisional arrangement in response to a sudden military threat, but an established practice for quite some time.

The canteen duty, another kind of corvée work attested in Archive 3, immediately reminds one of the Tibetan wooden slips discovered in Mazar Tagh, in which Khotanese ‘cooks’ and ‘cook-assistants’ are often attested. Indeed, the canteen duty is also associated with the Tibetans in Archive 3. Archive 3/1.24 is a petition pharṣa Ṣāṃdara made to spāta Sudārṛjāṃ, in which Ṣāṃdara asks Sudārṛjāṃ to exempt some of his men from the canteen duty so that they could finish other tasks assigned to them. Archive 3/1.25 is spāta Sudārṛjāṃ’s order in response, in which he denies pharṣa Ṣāṃdara’s petition, and orders him to immediately dispatch the men on canteen duty because the Tibetan masters have become very angry. In other cases, canteen duty can be transferred or exempted. In Archive 3/1.26, spāta Sudārṛjāṃ orders pharṣa Ṣāṃdara to transfer Naṃdaka’s canteen duty to Makala, because Naṃdaka has replaced Makala as Sudārṛjāṃ’s assistant. In Archive 3/1.30, spāta Sudārṛjāṃ instructs spāta Vīsa to exempt Mulaka of his canteen duty so that he could do irrigation work in the pond, just as Mulaka petitions in Archive 3/1.29. Those who took patrol duty might also take canteen duty. All of the 23 men listed in Archive 3/5.11, a roster of canteen duty, are also attested in the patrol rosters.

A series of rosters of fort provisioners, very similar to the patrol rosters, are recorded in Archive 3/5.1-5. Due to the fragmentary and sporadic nature of these rosters, however, a system similar to that of the patrols could not be established from them. Moreover, irrigation work (Ar-

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582 Takeuchi 2004, p.51.
chive 3/1.29-30), road work (Archive 3/1.31-33), and various other tasks are also attested in Archive 3.

A common Khotanese, once charged with a task, was known as paśāta ‘dispatched’, and became unavailable for other tasks. In Archive 3/1.23, more than 17 men are listed as having been dispatched with the task of delivering cloth. In the same document, several state workers are listed as exempt from patrol duty. In Archive 3/5.10, several document carriers are included in a list of state workers, and were also exempt from patrol duty. It seems that pharṣa Sāmdara was responsible of keeping track of those dispatched and their tasks, and compiled Archive 3/5.12 and Archive 3/5.13, in which 60 men and 28 men are listed with various tasks respectively, so as to determine who was available for other tasks, such as patrol duty or canteen duty. In some cases, a commoner was assigned to an official and became the latter’s paśāta. In Archive 3/6.7, the numbers of paśātas belonging to the king, the Senior Secretary (most likely referring to Fu Weijin, the Administrative Assistant), the Crown Prince, and other officials are listed. Paśāta was not a fixed social status as Yoshida understands it, but was more like a job with benefits that a commoner could take, as illustrated in Archive 3/1.26, in which tsīṣī spāta Sudārjāṃ orders pharṣa Sāmdara to transfer Naṃdaka’s canteen duty to Makala, since Naṃdaka had replaced Makala to be Sudārjāṃ’s paśāta. When those charged with tasks are mentioned together with those without a task, the phrase paśā avaśāna ‘the dispatched and the non-dispatched’, meaning all men, is used.

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584 See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

585 See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.
Different from paśāta, māśa-vāraa from *māśa-kīraa- ‘house worker’, corresponding to Chin. jiārén 家人, literally ‘person of the family’, refers to servants or house slaves.\textsuperscript{586} According to Archive 3/6.3, there were 27 house workers in Birgaṃdara and 16 house workers in Phaṃnai. According to Archive 3/6.7, there were 15 house workers belonging to the king in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. In Archive 3/1.25, blon Rmang Bzher orders Sudarrjāṃ to put these house workers on canteen duty. Five house workers, Svarnade, Sarkāṃ, Sūrade, Buttaṃdai, Suhadāysa are listed in two patrol rosters, Archive 3/4.5p and Archive 3/4.5r. Šamphaka from Suhīka, a house worker under spāta Vīsa, is attested in Archive 3/5.3 as one of the men missing from the second team in the fort. Sometimes, a house worker is identified simply by hīvī ‘belonging to’. For example, Puñadatta is identified as a house worker in Archive 3/2.8, but as spāta vīsa hīvī ‘belonging to spāta Vīsa’ in Archive 3/1.24. House workers were of the lowest social status in Cira-Six Town Prefecture.

The following tables lists the various tasks attested in Archive 3:\textsuperscript{587}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Task in Khotanese & Task & Archive Number & Activity \\
\hline
jsāra-hauraa & Grain deliverer & Archive 3/6.1 & There are 53 grain deliverers in Cira-Six Town Prefecture in that year. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{586} Wen Xin (2008a, p.125) first identified these two terms, but translated both māśa-vāraa and paśāta as house worker.

\textsuperscript{587} This table is modified from the list in Yoshida 2006, p.122, in which the tasks outside Archive 3 are also included.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task in Khotanese</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mūra-hauraa</td>
<td>Money deliverer</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.14</td>
<td>46 men deliver money for those going to Erma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thauna-hauraa</td>
<td>Cloth deliverer</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.23</td>
<td>More than 17 men are listed as commissioned with cloth delivery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jsāra-baraa</td>
<td>Grain carrier</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>Suhadatta, Pu’yisdaka, and Ysāḍa-datta are grain carriers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāḍaka-baraa</td>
<td>Document carrier</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.10</td>
<td>Two document carrier s in Cira and document carrier s in Āskūra are mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>Vasade and Alttām are document carriers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganama-keraa</td>
<td>Wheat sower</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.43</td>
<td>Kharrjām on canteen duty is recalled because he is a good wheat sower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>There are 24 sesame sowers and wheat sowers belonging to the King of Khotan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.20</td>
<td>Three wheat sowers belong to the Crown Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamjsata-keraa</td>
<td>Sesame sower</td>
<td>Archive 3/5.12</td>
<td>There are 24 sesame sowers and wheat sowers belonging to the King of Khotan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira-vāraa</td>
<td>Silkworm raiser</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.12</td>
<td>Highland barley flour was given to all the silkworm raisers from Cira.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.39</td>
<td>Draft animals for the silkworm raisers are demanded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/6.2</td>
<td>New grain is needed for the silkworm raisers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drrīma-ttvaśdaa</td>
<td>Transporter in Drrama</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.4</td>
<td>Recipient of an order of evacuation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.6*</td>
<td>Recipient of an order of evacuation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV-13 Various Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task in Khotanese</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>erma-tsūka</em></td>
<td>Those going to Erma</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.14</td>
<td>46 men deliver money for those going to Erma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>spaśara</em></td>
<td>Patrolman</td>
<td><em>passim</em> in Archive 3/4</td>
<td>A team of about 15 patrolmen men is on duty twice a month. 24 teams are on duty in one year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ṣapāñara</em></td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.25</td>
<td>The men on canteen duty are to be appointed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.11</td>
<td>A group of men on canteen duty is listed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kīrara</em></td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.10</td>
<td><em>Blon</em> Zham rjai orders pharṣa Sāṃdara to come here with the workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.20</td>
<td>Old workers are mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.25</td>
<td>Pharṣa Sāṃdara, the workers, and the commoners are the recipients of an order from tsēṣī spāta Sudārrjām.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.33</td>
<td>The workers are coming to Āskūra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.39</td>
<td>All the workers will get heavy sticks if pack animals are not sent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.42</td>
<td>Spāta Vidyadatta, pharṣa Sāṃdara, and the workers are the recipients of an order from <em>blon</em> Rmang bzher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.2</td>
<td>In the 35th regnal year, 44 workers are to deliver 23 feet of cloth each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.12</td>
<td>Mentioned together with spāta Yanāvīḍṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/1.20</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table IV-13 Various Tasks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task in Khotanese</th>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Archive Number</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kṣīrva-vīraa</td>
<td>State worker</td>
<td>Archive 3/1.23</td>
<td>The state workers did not go on patrol duty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/5.10</td>
<td>State workers who are exempt from patrol duty are listed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Archive 3/6.4</td>
<td>The petition is made concerning the tax money for the king and on behalf of the state workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV-13 Various Tasks

503
Conclusion: Toward a Social History of Khotan

Khotan, though located at the fringe of the Taklamakan Desert and the foothills of the Kunlun Mountains, occupies a geographically central position in Eurasia with links to Chinese, Tibetan, Turkic, Indian, and Islamic civilizations. Historians of pre-modern Eurasia are fortunate to have a unique collection of secular documents in Khotanese that reflect the lives of those living in Khotan during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. These Khotanese sources, like ore, can only yield valuable historical information through philological refinement. The past century has seen the publication, transcription, and translation of almost all of these documents in the works of Bailey, Emmerick, and Skjærvø.\(^{588}\) To push the refinement process to the next level, I followed the path Yoshida pointed out,\(^{589}\) rearranged the documents according their own logic, and re-edited the entire Archive 3. Now let’s see what this level of refinement has yielded.

Archive 3 consists of 84 manuscripts in the British and the Hedin Collection, including Or. 11252/2-42, Or.11344/1-18, the five documents discovered by Stein during his 4th Inner Asian Expedition,\(^{590}\) 18 documents on paper\(^{591}\) and two documents on wood\(^{592}\) in the Hedin Collection. These documents date from 798 to 802, the initial years of Tibetan occupation of Khotan.\(^{593}\) They originated from the township Birgaṃdara in Cira-Six Town Prefecture in present-day Do-

\(^{588}\) *KT IV, SDTV III*, and *Catalogue*.

\(^{589}\) Yoshida 2006, pp.49-66.

\(^{590}\) Achma, Domoko A4, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Domoko F. Only photographs of these documents have been preserved.

\(^{591}\) Hedin 1-30, excluding Hedin 2, 4, 7, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

\(^{592}\) Hedin 31 and 57.

\(^{593}\) See introduction of Archive 3/1 Communications.
moko, some 100 km east of Khotan, and probably belonged to the personal archive of pharṣa Sāṃdara, a township level official in Birgāndara.\textsuperscript{594} 162 individual documents are separated from these manuscripts and divided into six groups by genre. Each group reveals a specific aspect of Khotanese society.

The 47 official communications in Archive 3/1 involve people from all four levels of the administrative system in Khotan, including the King of Khotan, the Chinese officials, the Tibetan military officers, the Khotanese officials on the prefecture and the township level, and the commoners.\textsuperscript{595} That Chinese still functioned as one of the administrative languages in communications between officials on the state level and those on the prefecture level\textsuperscript{596} indicates that the administrative system developed under the Tang was retained in the initial stage of Tibetan occupation. All the Chinese texts in Archive 3 are accompanied by parallel Khotanese texts, since these documents circulated down to the township level, where Khotanese was the dominant language. It is not surprising to see that the influence of Chinese diminished and the usage of Tibetan emerged during the initial years of Tibetan occupation. A considerable number of Chinese-only documents from the period when Khotan was under Chinese control have been discovered, whereas no such documents from the Tibetan period is known to have existed. In contrast, Tibetan names and words transcribed in Khotanese as well as Tibetan writing\textsuperscript{597} are all found in documents of Archive 3. Tibetan-only contracts involving Tibetans and Khotanese have also been

\textsuperscript{594} See Chapter IV: Analysis of Archive 3 and commentary on Archive 3/1.15 verso §1.

\textsuperscript{595} Table IV-11 lists the titles and names of all the officials attested in Archive 3 according to their levels.

\textsuperscript{596} A case in point is Archive 3/1.1, an evacuation order from the King of Khotan.

\textsuperscript{597} In Archive 3/1.34, Archive 3/1.42, Archive 3/1.43, Archive 3/1.46, Archive 3/6.14.
found in the Hedin Collection. Clearly, the Khotanese were quick to adapt to the new political climate.

The 17 vouchers in Archive 3/2 and the 18 accounts in Archive 3/3 allow glimpses into the taxation system in Khotan. Toward the end of the 35th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ (802), each of the 44 workers (cloth-producers) in Cira-Six Town Prefecture was required to deliver 23 feet of tribute cloth and 1000 mūrās. Additional cloth was assigned to the officials and the wealthy of the prefecture. Two officials, one Khotanese the other Chinese, came from the capital down to the prefecture to collect the cloth, and issued Chinese-Khotanese bilingual vouchers to individual cloth payers (Archive 3/2.3-17). The mūrās were paid collectively into the treasury of a Sogdian official (Archive 3/2.1-2). The prefecture officials made a summary account according to the vouchers (Archive 3/3.1), and listed the names of those who still owed cloth and the amount outstanding (Archive 3/3.2-5), which could be replaced either by 1640 mūrās per feet or 3.65 feet of small cloth. The cloth and mūrās collected seemed to be the regular annual tax of year 802, and should not be associated with the military activities of the Tibetans in their southeastern border against the Nanzhao Kingdom.

The 43 patrol rosters in Archive 3/4 best demonstrate the interrelatedness of the documents in Archive 3 and reflect a well-established system of patrol organizing. The names of those scheduled to go on a particular patrol were recorded in a prospective roster drafted before the patrol in question. The names of those who actually went on patrol were recorded in a retrospective roster after the patrol was over. The retrospective rosters were carefully compiled according to the prospective ones, and were kept properly for later reference. In total, 24 consecu-

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tive half-monthly patrols over a full year are recorded in 17 prospective rosters and 21 retrospective ones. Three teams of patrolmen alternated four times and performed 12 out of the 24 patrols.

Five similar rosters (Archive 3/5.1-5) indicate that a similar system existed for the fort provisioners, but the sources are too scarce to allow a fuller picture to be established.

The remaining 18 rosters in Archive 3/5 and the 14 documents of miscellaneous subjects in Archive 3/6 elucidate other issues concerning Khotanese society, such as the tax in grain (Archive 3/6.1) and the canteen duty imposed upon residents of Cira-Six Town Prefecture (Archive 3/5.11).

The haphazard nature of the documents prevents us from obtaining a panoramic view of Khotanese society, but the view obtained from Archive 3 does have a conspicuous lacuna. No documents in Archive 3 is directly linked with trade or commerce, especially long-distance trade, an element almost synonymous with the so-called ‘Silk Road’ ever since the coinage of this rosy term. From Archive 3, one could not see Khotan as a prosperous entrepôt along the trading route, but an oasis-state with limited resources constantly adjusting itself between great powers in order to retain some degree of independence. I would not deny the existence of trade in Khotan by *argumentum ex silentio*, but would consider the political and military factor as the defining element of Khotanese society.

As shown above, by completing a new edition of documents in Archive 3 arranged by genre and subject, I have facilitated discussion on various aspects of Khotanese society. I invite historians to make use of these Khotanese materials, which I have made more accessible, as pri-

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599 For a brief history of this term, see Waugh 2007.

600 Hansen came to a similar conclusion after inspecting the evidence from several major sites along the Silk Road. See Hansen 2012, p.237.
mary sources in their research. In the future, I wish to apply the same method to the documents in other archives and to make a comprehensive re-edition of all extant Khotanese secular documents from Khotan so as to further our understanding of the history of Khotan in particular and the history of Eurasia in general. I also wish fellow philologists of other languages may apply my method to the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya, the Tocharian documents from Kucha, the Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh and Mīran, the Bactrian documents from Afghanistan, and many many other similar collections of secular documents.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LMC</td>
<td>Late Middle Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAI</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Asia Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin.</td>
<td>Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khot.</td>
<td>Khotanese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KT III</td>
<td>Bailey 1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMP</td>
<td>Manichean Middle Persian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal asiatique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>Judaeo-Persian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Bailey 1960.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD VII</td>
<td>Emmerick and Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja 1993.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDTV</td>
<td>Bailey 1968.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGS</td>
<td>Emmerick 1968a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skt.</td>
<td>Sanskrit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1924-1934.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tib.</td>
<td>Tibetan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLTD I</td>
<td>Thomas 1935.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLTD II</td>
<td>Thomas 1951.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLTD III</td>
<td>Thomas 1955.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue</td>
<td>Skjærvø 2002.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiyuji</td>
<td>Xuan Zang and Bianji 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZZTJ</td>
<td>Zizhitongjian 資治通鑑 20 vols., Beijing 1956.</td>
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<td>Studies II</td>
<td>Emmerick and Skjærvø 1987</td>
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<tr>
<td>Studies III</td>
<td>Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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