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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

Zhan Zhang

to

The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

History

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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.

Dissertation Advisor: Prods Oktor Skjærvø Zhan Zhang

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-

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[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

[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[9] and the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*,[10] and urged others to adopt this method to produce editions of secular documents such as the inscriptions of Kirdēr in Middle Persian.[11] In fact, he did so in his edition of three sets of double wooden tablets in Khotanese.[12] 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.[13] In other cases, the original line length of a damaged document can be established

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[9] Skjærvø 1983.

[10] Skjærvø 2004, vol.1.

[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.[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.[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 Birgaṃdara,[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 *yau*[*varāyāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paśa*] "send Kharrjāṃ to the Crown Prince.]"[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 *akṣara*s in

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[14] See commentary on Archive 3/4.4r §2.

[15] See introduction of Archive 3/6.1 and commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §17.

[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.

[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 *tci thūe* with no satisfactory explanation,[18] whereas I read the second *akṣara* as *rthū* and interpreted *tcirthū* as 'Military Commissioner', from Chin. *Jiédù* 節度,[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, *lụna ha'bäśi'ra* or *blon* Lha bzher, who was coordinating military activities of Khotan and Kashgar against the Uighurs.[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.

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[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[21]



Map I.1[22]

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.



Map I.2[23]

byproduct of this rivalry was the discovery of ancient manuscripts and artifacts in this region.[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.[25] The Bower Manuscript, named after its discoverer, turned out to be the oldest Sanskrit

[23] Modified from the map in Hansen 2012, p.201.

[24] See Skjærvø 2002, pp. xxxviii-lxiii.

[25] See Hoernle's report in Hoernle 1892. The entire manuscript is published in Hoernle 1893-1912.

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 representative 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 insightful observations on the script, language, and content of these manuscripts.[26] These 12 fragments turned out to be the first Khotanese texts ever published.[27] In 1901, Hoernle republished them with an updated transcription together with more Khotanese texts, this time supplied by Macartney.[28] After studying the script, language, and content of these texts, Hoernle reached the conclusion that both groups must be from the same place.[29] 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 government 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.[30] Together, the manuscripts sent to Hoernle make up 'the Hoernle collection'.

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[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.[31] 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.[32]

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.[33] Grenard later published a detailed report of their expedition.[34]

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.[35] Although the expedi-

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[31] For a survey of these manuscripts, see Bongard-Levin and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1986.

[32] Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1992, pp.85-92.

[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.

[35] Hedin, *En färd genom Asien, 1893-1897*. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1898. Idem. *Through Asia*, 2 vols. Trans. John Thomas Bealby. London, 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.[36] 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

[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.[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.[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.[39]

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[37] Stein 1907, pp.270-271.

[38] A similar but well-preserved Judaeo-Persian manuscript came to light in 2004. See Zhang and Shi 2008.

[39] The personal narrative is Stein 1903. The archeological report is Stein 1907.

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.[40] Khotanese manuscripts in the Japanese Collection include one folio of the Book of Zambasta (Folio 294, Otani 11062)[41] 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).[42]

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.[43] 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,[44] 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.[45] 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.[46] 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.[47] 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 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. 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 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. 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 Zambasta[52] 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

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[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.[55] 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.[56] As far as I know, these tablets in Tibetan remain unpub-

[55] 230 pōthīs 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*.[57] 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.[58] 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.[59]

Among all the texts from Khadalik, Kha. i.158 is particularly noteworthy. The recto is a Chinese Buddhist text from *Dàbōnièpánjīng* 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*.[60] 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

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[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.[61] Stein found a tiny fragment of a bilingual Chinese-Khotanese wooden tablet himself, thus confirming Mullah Khwāja's statements.[62] 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.[63] As Yoshida points out, the Khotanese texts on nos.977, 981 and 982 are yet to be read.[64] 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.[65] 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).[66] From the Tibetan texts discovered by Stein at this site during his first expedition,[67] 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,[68] and three pieces of paper with writing in Turkish Runic script.[69] 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.[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.[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.[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

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[70] Takeuchi 1998.

[71] See Stein 1921, pp.791-830; Hansen 2012, pp.167-175.

[72] Zhang and Rong 1989, p.300.

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.[73] 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*.[74] 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.[75] 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 *akṣara*s,[76] 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.[77]

On March 19, Stein marched northwestwards from Domoko into the desert to revisit Ulūgh 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 Ulūgh 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.[78]

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

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[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.[79] 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).[80] Nicholas Sims-Williams published the four Sogdian fragments as Fragments 12, 15, 16, 23.[81]

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.[82] 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.[83] 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 *Saṃghāṭasūtra.*[84] Bailey published H. 147 NS 112 in *KT V*, p.76 without combining it with Reuter 1, but included Retuer 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 *Saṃghāṭasūtra*.[85] 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.[86] Sims-Williams and Halén published five manuscripts in Sogdian script, including four in Sogdian (Fragment A-

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[82] Mannerheim 1940, v.1, pp.100-116.

[83] Reuter 1918. He mistook Fragment 10 as a bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese document. *Ibid*., pp.33-37.

[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.[87] 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.[88] 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-

[87] Sims-Williams and Halén 1980.

[88] *SDTV III*, pp.173-174.

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 Šorčuq (T III S 16 = bi 33, see Maggi 2004), KS 7 and possibly KS 9 from Toyoq.[89] 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.[90] 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.[91] He also listed the fragments bearing the signum T4 Chotän, 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).[92] 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.[93] 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.

[93] Chen Guocan 2008, pp.12-13.

document.[94] 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) 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 Novermber 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.[95] 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 Tokhta-Ākhūn gave Stein additional artifacts.[96] 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.[97] 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.

[97] Stein 1928, pp.98-101.

wards. In the Domoko Oasis, he excavated Kuduk-köl, a small site to the south of Khadalik.[98] 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.[99] 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.[100]

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.[101] Chen Guocan published an updated edition of these documents.[102] Sha Zhi and Frances Wood published a compre-

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[98] Stein 1928, pp.127-131.

[99] Stein 1928, pp.169-175.

[100] Stein 1928, pp.842-844.

[101] Guo Feng 1993.

[102] Chen Guocan 1995.

hensive edition of all the non-Buddhist Chinese documents with both facsimile and transcription.[103] Yoshida points out that the Khotanese texts on Balawaste 0160 and Balawaste 0162[104] are yet to be published.[105]

2) Tibetan documents from Mazar Tagh and Mīran

As with the Tibetan documents from Stein's second expedition, Thomas first published a selection of them in *TLTD II*, then Takeuchi included all the paper documents in his catalogue.[106]

3) Khotanese documents from Sampula and Domoko

Bailey published some of them in *KT III* and *KT V*. Skjærvø published all of them with translation in the *Catalogue*.[107]

4) Sogdian documents from Mazar Tagh

Sims-Williams published them as Fragment 27, 30, and 33.[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

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[103] Sha and Wood 2005.

[104] The Chinese texts on these documents have been published in Maspéro 1953, p.186.

[105] Yoshida 2006, p.37.

[106] Takeuchi 1998.

[107] For a list, see *Catalague*, pp.li-lix.

[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.[109] 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 Brahmī scripts.[110] 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 *Karmavibhaṅga* series, and one is from the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*.[111] 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.[112] Maggi identified six more fragments as being from the *Karmavibhaṅga* series and published all 11 fragments in his critical edition of the Khotanese *Karmavibhaṅga.*[113] Skjærvø published one fragment as Manuscript R in his critical edition of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra.*[114] In addition to Buddhist texts, one wooden document in Khotanese from this collection has also been published.[115] All in all, 31 Khotanese fragments from the Francke Collection have been

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[109] Gropp 1984, pp.147-148.

[110] Gropp 1984, p.148.

[111] Emmerick 1984a, p.219.

[112] For the concordance, see Canevascini 1993, p.169.

[113] Maggi 1995. For the concordance, see p.28.

[114] Skjærvø 2004 vol. II, p.72.

[115] Emmerick 1990.

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

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[116] *Catalogue*, p.lxi.

[117] Edited in *SDTV*, pp.5-9, Skjærvø 1991, pp.276-78, and *Catalogue*, pp.66-69.

[118] Skrine 1926.

[119] *Catalogue*, pp.lxi-lxii. 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.[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 *Innermost Asia*.[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.[122] Bailey followed Stein's misspelling and published the Khotanese fragments in the Harding Collection as Hardinge 072-079 in *KT V*, pp. 271-291. These fragments now bear register numbers starting with Or.8211 or Or.12637.[123] From the very beginning, Stein claimed that the Harding Collection was acquired from Baddrudin Khan.[124] Almost all researchers followed him without doubt[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

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[120] Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p.82.

[121] Stein 1928, pp.1052-1056.

[122] Stein 1928, p.99.

[123] *Catalogue*, pp.120-163.

[124] Stein 1928, p.99 and p.1052.

[125] Andrews 1948, p.24; *Catalogue*, p.lxiii; Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p.75.

acquired from Moldovack, not Baddrudin Khan.[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[127] and obtained 'some archaeological specimens' from Moldovack.[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.[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,

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[126] Wang Jiqing 2012, pp.139-140.

[127] Trinkler 1931, p.171.

[128] Trinkler 1931, p.175.

[129] Trinkler 1931, p.186.

one of Trinkler's workers.[130] 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."[131] This short note would wait in the sands for over 80 years until it was excavated by a team of Sino-Japanese archeologists.[132] 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.

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[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.[133] It was translated into English in 1931.[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 *Suvarṇabhāsasūtra*,[135] a short inscription in Khotanese on a piece of wall-painting,[136] a small fragment in Sogdian,[137] several Buddhist texts in Sanskrit,[138] and 12 Tibetan documents.[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.[140] During this expedition, Huang collected a number of

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[133] Trinkler 1930.

[134] Trinkler 1931.

[135] These manuscripts were first published in Konow 1935, then in *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.

[136] Emmerick published this short inscription with commentary as H.a. in Gropp 1974, pp.362-364.

[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.

[138] Including 9 folios belonging to the 'Kashgar' manuscript of the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, published in Bechert 1972.

[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.

[140] Huang 1958, pp.42-54.

manuscripts and published their facsimiles in his archeological report.[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.[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.[143] Interestingly, three forgeries on plate 81 and 82 are apparently imitations of Hedin 20, an authentic document in Khotanese concluded by a disproportionally large signature in Chinese.[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.[145] Werner Sundermann published the fragment in Manichean Middle Persian on plate 77.[146] Ching Chao-jung transcribed and translated the four Tocharian documents on Plate 73-74.[147] Four poorly preserved Tocharian wooden documents on plate 91-93 are deemed illegible.[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-

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[141] Huang 1958, pl. 71-93.

[142] Waldschmidt 1959, pp.233-34.

[143] U. Sims-Williams 2000, p.123.

[144] Rosén 2001, pp.171-172.

[145] Waldschmidt 1959, pp.238-242.

[146] Sundermann 1981, pp.111-112.

[147] Ching Chao-jung 2012.

[148] Waldschmidt 1959, p.238, n.3.

vation at Mazar Tagh.[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.[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.[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.[152] He also acquired some manuscripts from Baddrudin Khan.[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

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[149] Huang 1958, p.45.

[150] *Catalogue*, p.lxii.

[151] Brysac 2004.

[152] Wang Jiqing 2004, pp.305-402.

[153] Wang 1998, pp.269-272.

passed to Chinese authorities in Xinjiang, and their whereabouts have been unknown since.[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.[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.[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.[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.[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.[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-Gen-

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[154] U. Sims-Williams 2000, pp.123.

[155] Wang Jiqing 1998, p.261; U. Sims-Williams 2000, p.123; *Catalogue*, pp.xlix-l.

[156] Bailey transcribed these documents in *KT II*, pp.62-64, published their facsimiles in *SD IV*, pl. XCV-XCVI and provided an updated transcription with translation in *SDTV*, pp.121-123. Skjærvœ published these documents again in *Catalogue*, pp.581-582. Wang Jiqing published the Chinese texts, including the Niya documents and the Chinese texts in Domoko C and Domoko D, in Wang Jiqing 1998, pp.263-267.

[157] *Catalogue*, p. lxii; U. Sims-Williams 2000, p.123.

[158] Wang Jiqing 1994, pp.95-102.

[159] *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.[160] 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.[161] 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.[162] A colored facsimile of this document was published in Japan together with two forg-

[160] Rosén 2001, p.162.

[161] Simonsson 1957, pp.16-20.

[162] Zhang and Rong 1988, pp.75-76.

eries.[163] Yoshida published the entire text.[164] Takeuchi published three Tibetan secular documents in the Hedin Collection.[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.[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.[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.[168] The wooden tallies discovered during this excavation may very well contain texts in Khotanese.[169] From 1994 to 1998, Christoph Baumer, a Swiss

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[163] 日本書道教育会議（編）『スウエン・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.

[164] Yoshida 2006, p.27.

[165] Takeuchi 1994.

[166] Zhang and Rong 1988, pp.72-74.

[167] Yoshida 2006, pp.57-60.

[168] Debaine-Francfort and Idriss, 2001.

[169] Yoshida 2006, p.34.

explorer, came to Xinjiang and visited Dandan-Uiliq, Endere, Kara-dong, and other sites in the Khotan area.[170] He excavated a number of artifacts in Dandan-Uiliq,[171] including an amulet in Khotanese.[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.[173] The only textual finding of this expedition is a short inscription on a piece of wall painting.[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 *China Pictorial* 1981, no.1, p.38.[175] This document, designated as Urumqi 1, is a slave purchase contract dating from the fourth regnal year of Viśa' Sīhya, a King of Khotan previously unattested. In 1991, Skjærvø published another set of double wooden tablets with Khotanese writings rediscovered in the India Office Library.[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

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[170] Baumer 2000.

[171] Baumer 1999.

[172] First published in Skjærvø 2008, and again in Duan Qing 2009c.

[173] Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology, China and the Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruins of Bukkyo University, Japan, 2009.

[174] Wen Xin and Duan Qing 2009.

[175] Emmerick 1984.

[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 *ibid*., pp. 275-78.

first regnal year of Viśya' Sīhya. The second one, written on the outside of the tablets, dates from the second year of Viśa Dharma. The document on the outside must have been written after the document on the inside and the sealing of the tablets. Consequently, Viśya' Sīhya's reign must predate Viśa Dharma's.[177] In 1997, Duan Qing and Wang Binghua published yet another set of Khotanese double wooden tablets acquired by Wang Binghua in Khotan in 1973.[178] This set of double tablets, designated as WBH01, contains a slave purchase contract dating from the fifth regnal year of Viśya Vikrraṃ,[179] the King of Khotan whose reign began in 692.[180] In 1998, Aziz Abdurishit published the Chinese texts on four newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese wooden tallies dating from 727.[181] In 2005, Skjærvø published an account in Khotanese on a wooden tablet in the collection of Sam Fogg, London.[182]

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

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[177] *Ibid*. pp.262-64.

[178] Duan Qing and Wang 1997.

[179] The name of the king is read incorrectly as Viśya Virya in *ibid.*, p.7.

[180] Skjærvø 1991, p.260.

[181] Abdurishit 1998.

[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

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[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-

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[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.

[196] Rong, Li, and Meng 2008, pp.359-361. Also see Rong Xinjiang 2008, p.8.

[197] Rong Xinjiang 2011.

[198] *Ibid*., p.43.

[199] Including but not confined to: Wen Xin 2009, Zhang Mingxin and Chenhao 2010, Ding Jun 2012, Liu Zifan 2012, Bi Bo 2013, Ding Jun 2014, Chen Lifang 2014, Liu Zifan 2014, Meng Xianshi 2014

[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.[201] In 2010, Yoshida transcribed and translated IOL Khot 158/5, a previously unedited Sogdian fragment in the Hoernle Collection.[202] In 2013, I published a small Sogdian fragment from Khotan preserved in the Museum of Xinjiang.[203] In 2016, Yoshida published a small Sogdian fragment preserved in the National Library of China.[204] While waiting for these exciting new materials to be published in full,[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 *KT IV*. In 1993, Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja and Emmerick published the Russian Collection in facsimile in *SD VII*, and in transcription with translation and commentary

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[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.

[202] Yoshida 2010, p.6.

[203] Zhang Zhan 2013.

[204] See Appendix II in Duan Qing 2016, p.115.

[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.[206] Following Yoshida's grouping, Wen Xin listed the groups of documents assigned to each archive.[207] Shen Chen discerned some imperfections in Wen Xin's grouping and gave a modified list.[208] 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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[206] Yoshida 2006, p.44-66.

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

[208] See Table 1 in Shen Chen 2015, p.9.

Table II-1 Archives of Secular Khotanese texts

Archive	Date	Provenance	Central Figure	Documents
Archive 0	700-750	Domoko (?)	n/a	The double wooden tablets; the Chinese-Khotanese wooden Tallies Some documents from the Harding Collection.
Archive 1-1	Around 767	Domoko	Vaśä'rasaṃga	Hedin 32 to Hedin 75 except Hedin 57; IOl Khot Wood 60.
Archive 1-2	around 773-787	Domoko	Budasaṃga	Hedin 2, Hedin 4, Hedin 25, Hedin 26, Hedin 29; SI P 139.1, SI P 140.1, SI P 142.1,
Archive 2	770-791	Dandan Uilik	Sīḍaka	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;
Archive 3	798-802	Domoko	Sudārrjāṃ and Sāṃdara	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.
Archive 4	After 791	Mazar Tagh	n/a	The secular documents discovered by Stein at Mazar Tagh.

Table II-1 Archives of Secular Khotanese texts

Archive	Date	Provenance	Central Figure	Documents
Archive 5	??	Khadalik	n/a	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.

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 Vikrram's reign. See *Catalogue*, p.124.

[212] Yoshida 2006, pp.50-54.

dence.[213] 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[214] and a petition by Budasaṃga's wife in 787 after Budasaṃga's death.[215]

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,[216] the documents excavated by Stein in Dandan Uiliq,[217] and the majority of the secular documents in the Russian Collection.[218] These documents, dating from 770-791, seem to belong to the personal archive of a Khotanese man named Sīdaka in Gaysāta.[219]

Archive 3 consists of the documents under the register number Or.11252[220] and Or. 11344[221] in the British Library, 18 documents on paper and two documents on wood in the Hedin collection,[222] 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.

[218] Including SI P 92.1 to SI P 136.1 in the Petrovsky Collection and SI M 50 to SI M 53 in the Malov Collection. See *SDTV III*, pp.83-160 and pp.235-236

[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.

tion.[223] 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.[224]

Archive 4 consists of the Khotanese documents excavated by Stein from Mazar Tagh.[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.[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,[227] the secular documents in the Skrine Collection,[228] the secular documents in the Malov Collection excluding SI M 50-53,[229]

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[223] Achma, Domoko A4, Domoko C, Domoko D, and Domoko F. Only their photographs have been preserved. See *Catalogue*, pp.581-582.

[224] Yoshida 2006, pp.57-60.

[225] For a concordance of the signatures and shelf numbers of these documents, see *Catalogue*, pp.597-599.

[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.

[227] For a concordance of the signatures and shelf numbers of these documents, see *Catalogue*, pp.594-597.

[228] Including texts in Or.9611, Or.9612, and Or.9615. See *Catalogue*, pp.77-78 and pp.80-82.

[229] Including SI M1, SI M 9.2, SI M 11.1, SI M 15.1, SI M 15.2, SI M 25-27, and SI M 33, published in *SDTV III*, pp.174-222.

Hedin 7,[230] Crosby 272/273, the only secular document in the Crosby Collection,[231] and some documents in the Harding Collection.[232]

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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[230] *KT IV*, pp.25-26.

[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.[233] 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.[234] 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.[235] 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.

[235] Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.25.

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.[236] 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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[236] Wang Zhongluo 1993, p.9.

IV. 755-790: Isolated from the Tang

V. 790-840: Under Tibetan rule

VI. 840-1007: An Independent Khotan

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 Kapiśa, 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,

[237] Wu Yugui 1998, pp.48-55.

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.[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,[239] the king of Kucha Sufadie,[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.[241] In the same year, an embassy sent by Long Tujizhi, the king of Yanqi, also arrived in Chang'an.[242] In 635, the Tang court received an embassy from Yanqi, two from Khotan, and one from Kashgar.[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.[244] In 636, Chang'an received embassies from Yanqi, Khotan, Kashgar, and Kargharik.[245] In 640, Tang forces conquered the kingdom of Gaochang (present-day Turfan) and incorporated the oasis city-

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[238] Wu Yugui 1998, pp.207-227.

[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.

[240] Or *Swarnatepe, as reconstructed in Lévi 1913, p.319.

[241] *CFYG*, *juan* 970, p.11229, *JTS*, *juan* 198, p.5305, and *XTS*, *juan* 221a, p.6235.

[242] *CFYG*, *juan* 970, p.11229, *JTS*, *juan* 198, p.5301, and *XTS*, *juan* 221a, p.6229.

[243] *CFYG*, *juan* 970, p.11229.

[244] *JTS*, *juan* 198, p.5305 has "in the 13th year (of Zhenguan)", 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 Zhenguan)" in *CFYG*, *Juan* 970, p.11229.

[245] *CFYG*, v970, p.11229.

state into the national administrative system as a prefecture,[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.[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.[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.[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.[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, reunited the ten tribes of the Western Turks, asserted independence from Tang, and tried to reestab-

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[246] For the administrative system established in Turfan after 640, see Zhang Guangda 1988.

[247] *CFYG*, *juan* 970, p.11230.

[248] Huili and Yancong 2000, p.126.

[249] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 199, pp.6264-6265.

[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.[251] 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.[252] Shortly thereafter, it established four garrisons in Kucha, Khotan, Yanqi, and Kashgar, collectively known as the Four Garrisons,[253] 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.[254]

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.

[254] Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.8-9.

the vicinity of Kashgar.[255] 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.[256] 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.[257] 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.[258] 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,[259] 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).[260] Before long, Tang forces recovered Kashgar, whose king went to

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[255] Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.48.

[256] *ZZTJ*, *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] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 201, p.6339 and p.6344.

[260] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 201, p.6363.

Chang'an to surrender to the Chinese Emperor at the end of 673.[261] 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.[262] 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.[263] Two similar governorates were established in Kashgar and Yanqi around the same time.[264] 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.[265] 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.[266] 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.[267] Fushe Xiong, the Tang-appointed governor of Khotan, was forced to flee.

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[261] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 202, pp.6371-6372; Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.73-74.

[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.[268]

It is highly likely that Devendraprajña, a learned Khotanese monk, was in Fushe Xiong's entourage and accompanied him to Chang'an. In 688, Devendraprajña was appointed the leader of a translation workshop sponsored by Empress Wu, following the death of his predecessor Divākara, a monk from Central India.[269] Although Devendraprajña brought with him more than a hundred Sanskrit texts, he was only able to finish translating six before his untimely death.[270] Among these texts, four have parallels in Khotanese. The *Dàchéng Zàoxiàng Gōngdéjīng* 大乘造像功德经 (T.694) corresponds to Chapter 23 of the *Book of Zambasta*.[271] The *Dąfāngguǎngfó Huáyánjīng Xiūcífēn* 大方广佛华严经修慈分 (T.306) corresponds to Chapter 3 of the *Book of Zambasta*.[272] The *Zhìjù Tuóluóníjīng* 智炬陀罗尼经 (T.1397) has multiple loosely corresponding Khotanese parallels.[273] Remnants of the Sanskrit original have also been identified among the manuscripts discovered in Khotan.[274] One folio of Khotanese in the British Library (IOL Khot 147/5) has been identified as having a parallel in the *Dafangguangfo Huayanjing Busiyifo*

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[268] *JTS*, *juan* 201, p.5305.

[269] Forte 1979, pp.290-291.

[270] These six texts are listed in Forte 1979, pp.296-297.

[271] Inouchi 1961.

[272] Duan Qing 2008a.

[273] Listed in Emmerick 1992, pp.24-25.

[274] Maggi, 2008.

Jingjiefen 大方广佛华严经不思议佛境界分 (T.300).[275] 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 Issyk Köl, 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

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[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 advised to withdraw the soldiers in order to lift the huge economic burden on Tang commoners, she did not listen.[283] Later, the number of soldiers was adjusted to 24,000,[284] 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 shǐ* 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 fùshǐ* 四鎮節度副使) resided here.[285] 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 dàshǐ* 鎮軍大使), 'Guarding Commissioner' (*Zhènshǒu shǐ* 鎮守使), 'Military Commissioner-in-chief' (*Jūndàshǐ* 軍大使).[286] Interestingly, Commissioner-in-chief (*Dàshǐ* 大使), the simplest form of this title, found its way into Tibetan *the-śi*, Khotanese *thaiṣī*, 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 *t̲'yšy*.[287] Alongside the deployment of soldiers, sophisticated systems of defense and communication were subsequently established. For example, there were at least two defense detachments (*shǒuzhuō* 守捉), seven garrisons (*zhèn* 鎮), six forts (*bǎo* 堡), four relay stations (*guǎn* 館), and one pass (*guān* 關) around Khotan.[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.[289] In 720, the Tibetans took Lob Nor.[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.[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.[292] Each prefecture was governed by a prefect (Chin. *cìshǐ* 刺史, Khot. *tsīṣī*). A prefecture was further divided into townships (Chin. 鄉 *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

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[287] See my commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

[288] Rong 1992, pp.58-59.

[289] *ZZJT*, *juan* 211, p.6728.

[290] Wang Xiaofu 1992, pp.166-167.

[291] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 212, p.6769.

[292] *XTS*, *juan* 43b, p.1134.

China, was divided into districts (Chin. *fāng* 坊).[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,[294] and Yoshida proposed the names of the six towns in the so-called "Six-Town Prefecture".[295] Wen Xin confirmed Yoshida's proposition.[296] Zhu Lishuang attempted to ascertain the names of all ten prefectures, but her conclusion is largely conjectural.[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.[298] According to the *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.[299] In the meantime, Śikṣānanda, 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 *Avataṃsaka-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.[300] Duan Qing has suggested that during his stay in Luoyang, Śikṣānanda may

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[293] For a detailed discussion of the administrative system in Khotan, see Chapter IV: Analysis.

[294] Rong 1993, p.406.

[295] Yoshida 2006, pp.47-48, n.66.

[296] Wen Xin 2008b.

[297] Zhu Lishuang 2012.

[298] Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.83-84.

[299] Hill 1988, p.182.

[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,[301] because some Khotanese translations of this sutra correspond closely to Yijing's Chinese translation, but not to the Sanskrit text of the Nepalese recension.[302] 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.[303] Geshu Daoyuan's wife was the daughter of the King of Khotan, and their son Geshu Han later became a prominent Tang general.[304] 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*.[305] Chinese Buddhist texts, including Zen texts, also found their way to Khotan.[306] 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.[307] 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.[308]

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[301] Duan Qing 2013c, pp.183-184.

[302] Skjærvø 2004, p.li.

[303] Zanning 1987, p.32.

[304] Rong 1992, pp.59-60.

[305] Rong 1993, pp.412-414.

[306] Rong 2015, pp.218-219.

[307] Rong 2015, pp.215-219; Chen Lifang 2014.

[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,[309] captured the king of Samarkand in 750,[310] and subdued the Greater Bolü (present-day Baltistan) in 753.[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.[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

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[309] *XTS*, *juan* 221b, p.6251.

[310] *ZZTJ*, *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*, *juan* 216, pp.6907-6908. This encounter, however, was accidental and politically inconsequential. See Wang Xiaofu 1992, p.165.

[311] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 216, pp.6920-6921.

[312] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 219, p.7010; *JTS*, *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.[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.[314] Before long, the Tibetans conquered all of Longyou and eastern Hexi (present-day Gansu).[315] In 763, they even occupied Chang'an for 15 days and installed a new emperor of their choice.[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,[317] and Shazhou (present-day Dunhuang) in 786.[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.

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[313] Wen Xin, private communication.

[314] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 219, p.7011.

[315] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 223, pp.7146-7147.

[316] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 223, pp.7151-7153.

[317] The three dates above are from *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi*, *juan* 40, quoted in Chen Guocan 1996, p.416.

[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

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[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,[327] but they suffered from plague and withdrew after receiving bribes from the mutineers.[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.[329] The Tibetans responded with renewed and intensified raids into the Ordos, to the north of Chang'an.[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.[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.[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."[333] Less than four months after the Pingliang False Treaty, Dezong agreed to marry his daughter to the Uighur Qaghan, thus resuming a peace-

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[327] ZZTJ, *juan* 230, p.7422.

[328] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 231, p.7429.

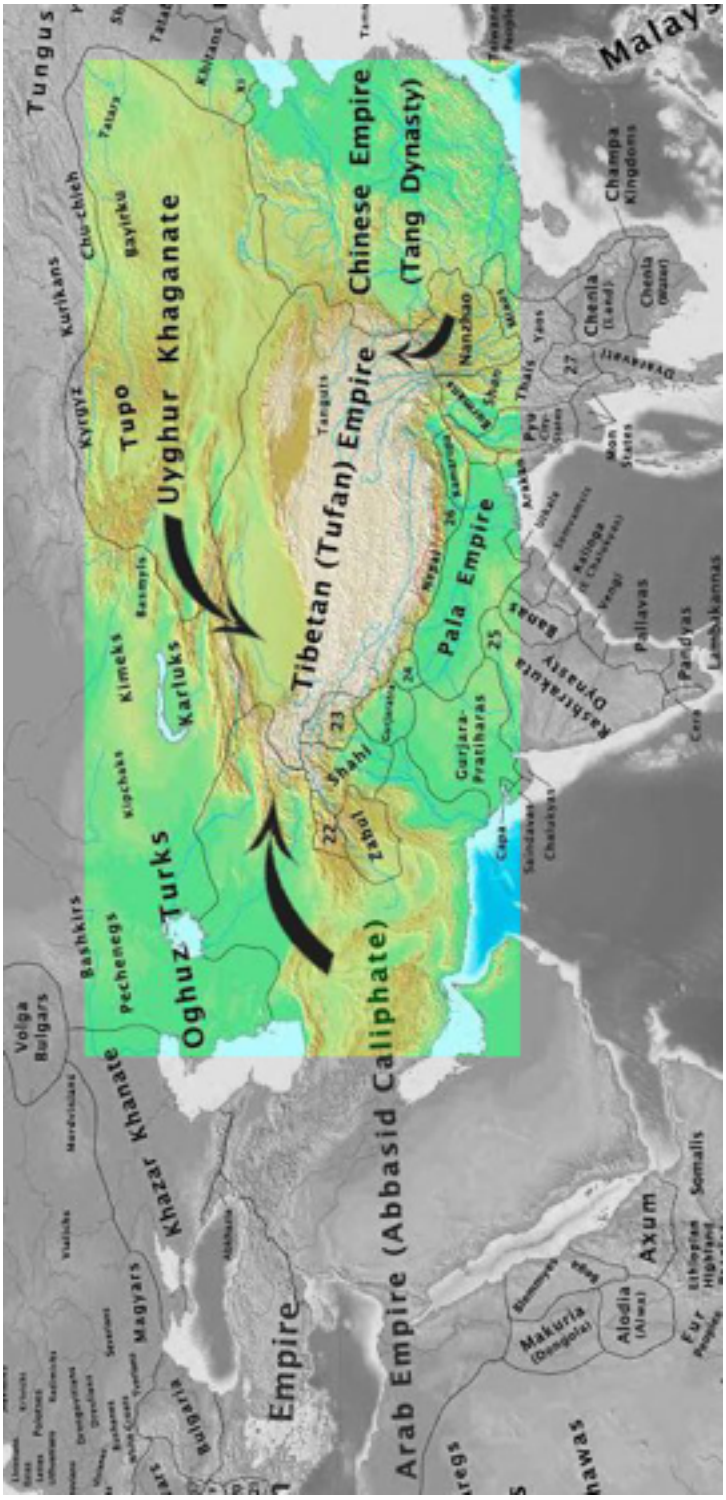
[329] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 231, p.7442.

[330] For the significance of these raids, see Beckwith 1987b.

[331] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 232, p.7482.

[332] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 232, pp.7486-7487.

[333] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 233, p.7502.



Map II-1[334]

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.[335] 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,[336] who officially switched allegiance to the Tang in 794.[337] 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.[338] 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.[339] The Uighurs stripped the Tibetans of the control over the northern Tarim Basin by the early ninth century.[340] The Arabs attracted large Tibetan forces to the west during the Zhenyuan era (785-805).[341] 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.

[340] Yoshida 2009, p.353.

[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.[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[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.[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),[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.[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.[347] In 779, Daizong died and his son

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[342] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 223, pp.7146-7147.

[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）

[344] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 223, p.7171.

[345] Zhang and Rong 1997, pp.346-347.

[346] Zhang and Rong 1997, p.347.

[347] Zhang and Rong 1997, p.346.

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.[348] 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 Дx 18919) and the seventh month of 782 (the earliest attestation of the Jianzhong era, in S. 5867).[349] The promotion is also reflected in the texts from Khotan. Yang Jinqing, who bears the title *Zhènguān Jiāngjūn* 鎮官將軍 (rank 7a-2) in Дx 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.[350] 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] *ZZTJ*, *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 *Kaifuyitongsansi* 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.[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).[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,[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.[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.[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.[356] Śīladharma returned to

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[351] Chen Guocan 1996, p.426.

[352] Zhang and Rong 1997, 348.

[353] Lévi and Chavannes 1895, pp.362-363.

[354] Chen Guocan 1996, pp.427-428.

[355] *Fóshuō Shídì Jīng* 佛說十地經 (T.780).

[356] *Fóshuō Shídì Jīng* 佛說十地經 (T.287) and *Fóshuó Huíxiànglún Jīng* 佛說迴向輪經 (T.998).

Khotan after completing the translation.[357] 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.[358] 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.[359] 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 Shídìděngjīng 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.[360] In 792, Xizhou also fell to the Tibetans, perhaps without a fight.[361]

Khotan must have fallen to the Tibetans at around the same time. Firstly, we know from the *Old Tibetan Chronicles* that Khotan was already under Tibetan control before 797, during Khri srong lde btsan's reign (755-797).[362] Secondly, no text from Dandan-Uiliq bears a date later than the seventh month of the seventh year of the Zhenyuan era (791),[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.[364] Thirdly, an often-overlooked graffiti discovered by Stein in the fort of Endere, due east of Khotan,[365] may help confirm 791 as the year in which the Tibetans invaded and took control of Khotan. The graffiti reads:

［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

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[360] *ZZTJ*, *juan* 233, pp.7521-7522.

[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.

[362] Moriyasu 1984, p.57.

[363] Zhang Mingxin and Chen Hao 2010.

[364] Stein 1907, p.284.

[365] Stein 1907, p.432.

"Written in the seventh year of the Zhenyuan era (791).[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 *dàfān* 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 *hédàfānguān* 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 *hé* 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 *sìzhèn dàfān* 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-

[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 *ru*s, '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 sol-

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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,[370] 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.[371] 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.[372] Despite an initial setback, reflected in the newly discovered Judaeo-Persian document from Dandan-Uiliq,[373] the Tibetans took control of Kashgar,[374] Khotan,[375] Beiting,[376] and probably the entire Tarim Basin in the 790s, but they were unable to retain it.

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

[371] Moriyasu 1984, p.51.

[372] The first recorded encounter of the Tang and Tibetan forces in the Tarim Basin happened in 662. See *ZZTJ*, *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 *ZZTJ*, *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 (*shǒuzhuō* 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.

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[377] *JTS*, *juan* 195, p.5210. Moriyasu 1979, p.210.

[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.

[381] Yoshida 1993, p.366-367.

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[382]

"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.[383] The King of Khotan issued this order immediately after receiving a message of warning.[384] 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.[385] As in the previous order, the king ordered all men

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[382] Moriyasu 2003, fig.1.

[383] Yoshida 2009, pp.353-355.

[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 Ttuṃgaśeṃ 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 Ordubalïq (Karabalgasun), Bešbalïq (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 Măngrè* 論莽熱, 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 rmamä 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.

396 Or.15000/529 = M.I. xliv. 6. See *TLTD II*, p.413 and Takeuchi 1998, p.224.

397 *JTS*, *juan* 140, p.3824.

whereas the latter often referred to someone on the prefecture level.[398] I would add that Lung Mangre was already active in Nanzhao in 794.[399] Yoshida's identification would put Blon Rmang-bzher in Nanzhao in 794, in Khotan in 799,[400] 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.[401]

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,[402] 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.[403] Among the texts from Khadaliq, Crosby 272/273 is specifically noteworthy because of its date: the 17th regnal year of an un-named king in a rat year. The use of the animal-circle, an indicator of Tibetan occupation,[404] shows that this document dates from the period of Tibetan occupation after Viśa Vāhaṃ's

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398 Shen Chen 2016, p.219.

399 *XTS*, *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-puṇḍarīkasūtra* 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,[405] 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' Kīrrti, King of Khotan.[406] 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.[407]

While military activities subsided, cultural exchanges intensified. Siddhasāra, a medical text was translated into Khotanese from Tibetan.[408] Śīladharma, the Khotanese monk who collaborated with Wukong and translated two Sanskrit texts into Chinese in Beiting in 788-789,[409] translated one of these texts into Tibetan by 812.[410] Five Tibetan works concerning Khotan have been preserved in the Kanjur: 1) *The Prophecy of Khotan* (*Li yul lung bstan pa*);[411] 2) *The*

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[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.

[411] Text and translation in Emmerick 1967, pp.1-75. Confusingly, Thomas calls this text *the Annals of the Li Country* (*Li-yul-gyi-lo-rgyus*) in his translation. See *TLTD I*, pp.89-136. For a new edition and a Chinese translation, see Zhu Lishuang 2012b and 2014a. Zhu Lishuang (2014b, p.117) also argues that this work was most likely composed in 830.

Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat (*Li yul gyi dgra bcom pas lung bstan pa*);[412] 3) *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* (*Dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa*);[413] 4) *The prophecy of Goṡṛṅga* (*'Phags pa ri glang ru lung bstan pa*);[414] and 5) *The Prophecy of Arhat Saṃghavardana* (*Dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyis lung bstan pa*).[415] Additionally, the Religious Annals of Khotan (*Li yul chos kyi lo rgyus*) is a Tibetan work concerning Khotan found only in P.t.960, a Dunhuang manuscript in the Pelliot Collection.[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 Karabalgasun and killed the Uighur Khagan; subsequently, the Uighur Qaghanate collapsed.[417] In 842, Glang Darma, the last Tibetan Tsenpo, was assassinated, and the Tibetan Empire also quickly

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[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.

[413] Translated in *TLTD I*, pp.137-258.

[414] Translated in *TLTD I*, pp.1-38. Zhu Lishuang recently discovered that P.t.953 and P.t.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.

[415] Translated in *TLTD I*, pp.39-69.

[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.

[417] *XTS*, *juan* 217b, pp.6130-6131.

disintegrated afterwards.[418] 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.[419] The Khotanese managed to retain their independence until 1006 or 1007, when they were eventually conquered by the Karakhanid armies.[420] From then on, Khotan was ushered into the Islamic era, which falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

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[418] For a traditional narrative of the event according to the Tibetans sources, see van Schaik 2011, pp.46-47.

[419] P.4640, see Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 2013, p.38 and p.110.

[420] For the history of Khotan during this period, see Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 2013.

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* Saṃdara, 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:

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11252/2	Archive 3/6.1	Copy of an order concerning grain
Or.11252/3r	Archive 3/1.31	Order concerning road work
Or.11252/3v	Archive 3/1.34	Order concerning wine
Or.11252/4r-a	Archive 3/5.17	List of draft animal providers
Or.11252/4r-b	Archive 3/5.20	Lists of men to be served

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11252/4v	Archive 3/1.39	Order concerning draft animals
Or.11252/5r	Archive 3/1.22	Petition concerning work
Or.11252/5v	Archive 3/5.7	Roster of two teams
Or.11252/6r	Archive 3/6.9	Letter concerning work
Or.11252/6v	Archive 3/1.26	Order concerning canteen duty
Or.11252/7r	Archive 3/1.12	Order concerning grain
Or.11252/7v	Archive 3/6.13	Document concerning cloth and wine
Or.11252/8r	Archive 3/1.10	Order concerning grain
Or.11252/8v	Archive 3/5.21	Short roster
Or.11252/9r-a	Archive 3/5.8	Roster of three sets of shifts
Or.11252/9r-b	Archive 3/5.10	List of state workers exempt from patrol duty
Or.11252/9v	Archive 3/5.9	Lists of men who owe shifts
Or.11252/10r	Archive 3/4a.2	patrol roster
Or.11252/10v	Archive 3/5.18	List of men who delivered jars and sacks
Or.11252/11r	Archive 3/1.45	Order concerning a fugitive
Or.11252/11v	Archive 3/1.40	Missive concerning draft animals
Or.11252/12r	Archive 3/1.25	Order concerning canteen duty
Or.11252/12v	Archive 3/1.24	Petition concerning canteen duty
Or.11252/13r	Archive 3/4.6a	patrol roster
Or.11252/13v	Archive 3/6.6	Document concerning a petition on 8/24
Or.11252/14r	Archive 3/4a.1	patrol roster
Or.11252/14v	Archive 3/5.11	Roster of men on canteen duty
Or.11252/15r	Archive 3/1.21	Petition concerning court work
Or.11252/15v	Archive 3/6.4	Petition concerning state work
Or.11252/16r	Archive 3/1.17	Order concerning tax money

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11252/16v	Archive 3/4.3p	patrol roster
Or.11252/16v	Archive 3/4.4p	patrol roster
Or.11252/16v-b	Archive 3/6.11	Fingermarks on a contract
Or.11252/17v	Archive 3/1.11	Order concerning grain
Or.11252/17v	Archive 3/4.15p	patrol roster
Or.11252/18	Archive 3/1.4	Order of evacuation
Or.11252/19	Archive 3/6.3	Copy of an order concerning grain
Or.11252/20	Archive 3/3.13	Account of outstanding *mūrās*
Or.11252/21	Archive 3/1.18	Order concerning cloth
Or.11252/22	Archive 3/4.7p	patrol roster
Or.11252/23	Archive 3/3.12	Account of outstanding *mūrās*
Or.11252/24	Archive 3/5.22	Short roster
Or.11252/25	Archive 3/1.28	Order concerning canteen duty
Or.11252/26	Archive 3/4.21p	patrol roster
Or.11252/27	Archive 3/4.2p	patrol roster
Or.11252/28	Archive 3/3.9	Account of small cloth and cloth
Or.11252/29	Archive 3/6.2	Copy of an order concerning grain
Or.11252/30	Archive 3/3.6	Account of assigned cloth and money
Or.11252/31	Archive 3/5.4	Roster of shifts in the fort
Or.11252/32-a	Archive 3/5.1	Rosters of shifts in the fort
Or.11252/32-b	Archive 3/1.44	Order concerning water
Or.11252/33	Archive 3/5.5	Roster of shifts in the fort
Or.11252/34.1a	Archive 3/4.17p	patrol roster
Or.11252/34.1b	Archive 3/4.18p	patrol roster
Or.11252/34.1c	Archive 3/4.19p	patrol roster
Or.11252/34.2r	Archive 3/1.7	Order concerning grain

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11252/34.2v	Archive 3/6.5	Petition to the King
Or.11252/35a	Archive 3/4.5p	patrol roster
Or.11252/35b	Archive 3/1.27	Order concerning canteen duty
Or.11252/36r	Archive 3/6.8	Certificate for minors, elders, and the sick
Or.11252/36v-a	Archive 3/1.8	Order concerning grain
Or.11252/36v-b	Archive 3/1.46	Order
Or.11252/37r	Archive 3/1.20	Order concerning state work
Or.11252/37v	Archive 3/1.43	Order concerning wheat-sower
Or.11252/38	Archive 3/3.8	Account of small cloth and cloth
Or.11252/39	Archive 3/5.6	Roster of three teams
Or.11252/40-42	Archive 3/6.14	Fragments of a document issued by a Tibetan
Or.11344/1a-i	Archive 3/4.9p	patrol roster
Or.11344/1a-ii	Archive 3/4.10p	patrol roster
Or.11344/1a-iii	Archive 3/4.11r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1a-iv	Archive 3/4.12r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1a-v	Archive 3/4.13r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1b-i	Archive 3/4.12p	patrol roster
Or.11344/1b-ii	Archive 3/4.13d	patrol roster
Or.11344/1b-iii	Archive 3/4.13p	patrol roster
Or.11344/1c-i	Archive 3/4.14p	patrol roster
Or.11344/1c-ii	Archive 3/4.15r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1c-iii	Archive 3/4.16r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1c-iv	Archive 3/4.17r	patrol roster
Or.11344/1c-v	Archive 3/4.18r	patrol roster
Or.11344/2-a	Archive 3/5.2	Rosters of shifts in the fort

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11344/2-b	Archive 3/5.14	List of men on various tasks
Or.11344/3r-a-i	Archive 3/4.19r	patrol roster
Or.11344/3r-a-ii	Archive 3/4.20r	patrol roster
Or.11344/3r-a-iii	Archive 3/4.21r	patrol roster
Or.11344/3r-b-i	Archive 3/4.21d	patrol roster
Or.11344/3r-b-ii	Archive 3/4.22r	patrol roster
Or.11344/3r-b-iii	Archive 3/4.23r	patrol roster
Or.11344/3v-a	Archive 3/1.32	Order concerning road work
Or.11344/3v-b	Archive 3/1.42	Order concerning drum
Or.11344/3v-c	Archive 3/4.24r	patrol roster
Or.11344/4	Archive 3/3.3	Account of outstanding cloth
Or.11344/5	Archive 3/1.38	Order concerning horses
Or.11344/6r	Archive 3/1.23	Petition concerning patrol duty
Or.11344/6v	Archive 3/4.1p	patrol roster
Or.11344/7	Archive 3/1.6	Order of evacuation
Or.11344/8r	Archive 3/5.12	List of men on various tasks
Or.11344/8v	Archive 3/3.18	Account of outstanding grain
Or.11344/9	Archive 3/1.36	Order concerning wine, barley, and sheep
Or.11344/10-a	Archive 3/5.15	List of draft animal providers
Or.11344/10-b	Archive 3/5.16	List of draft animal providers
Or.11344/11r	Archive 3/1.9	Order concerning grain
Or.11344/11v	Archive 3/6.12	Document concerning purchase of *vānā*-cloth
Or.11344/12r	Archive 3/1.33	Order concerning road work and wine
Or.11344/12v	Archive 3/1.35	Letter concerning wine
Or.11344/13	Archive 3/4.6p	patrol roster

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Or.11344/14	Archive 3/3.14	Account of mūrās
Or.11344/15	Archive 3/3.17	Record of cloth and money for the king
Or.11344/16	Archive 3/3.16	Document concerning vouch-ers
Or.11344/17	Archive 3/1.5	Order of evacuation
Or.11344/18	Archive 3/3.15	Note on lack of voucher
Hedin 1	Archive 3/3.2	Account of outstanding cloth
Hedin 3r	Archive 3/1.15	Order concerning tax money
Hedin 5 = Hedin 3v	Archive 3/1.13	Petition concerning grain
Hedin 6-a-i	Archive 3/4.1r	patrol roster
Hedin 6-a-ii	Archive 3/4.2r	patrol roster
Hedin 6-b-i	Archive 3/4.3r	patrol roster
Hedin 6b-ii	Archive 3/4.4r	patrol roster
Hedin 6b-iii	Archive 3/4.5r	patrol roster
Hedin 6b-iv	Archive 3/4.6r	patrol roster
Hedin 6c	Archive 3/4.7r	patrol roster
Hedin 6d	Archive 3/4.8r	patrol roster
Hedin 8r	Archive 3/1.37	Missive concerning horses
Hedin 9 = Hedin 8v	Archive 3/5.13	List of men on various tasks
Hedin 10	Archive 3/5.3	Rosters of shifts in the fort
Hedin 11-a	Archive 3/1.29	Petition concerning irrigation work
Hedin 11-b	Archive 3/1.30	Order concerning irrigation work
Hedin 12-a	Archive 3/3.10	Account of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money
Hedin 12-b	Archive 3/3.7	Account of assigned cloth
Hedin 13-a	Archive 3/3.4	Account of outstanding cloth

Table III-1: Concordance of Register numbers and Archive numbers

Register number	Archive number	Genre and Subject
Hedin 13-b	Archive 3/3.5	Account of outstanding cloth
Hedin 15	Archive 3/2.15	voucher
Hedin 16	Archive 3/2.1-14	vouchers
Hedin 18	Archive 3/6.7	Agreement on buying a camel
Hedin 19	Archive 3/3.1	Account of cloth payments
Hedin 20-a	Archive 3/1.2	Order of evacuation
Hedin 20-b	Archive 3/1.3	Order of evacuation
Hedin 21	Archive 3/1.41	Order concerning equipments
Hedin 24r	Archive 3/1.1	Order of evacuation
Hedin 24v	Archive 3/5.19	List of men and their equipments
Hedin 31	Archive 3/1.47	Order on wood concerning patrol duty
Hedin 57*	Archive 3/6.10	Record of a loan
Achma-1	Archive 3/1.19	Petition concerning cloth
Achma-2	Archive 3/3.11	Contract of silk cloth, small cloth and money
Domoko A4	Archive 3/1.16	Order concerning tax money
Domoko C	Archive 3/2.16	voucher
Domoko D	Archive 3/2.17	voucher
Domoko F	Archive 3/1.14	Order concerning *mūrās* for those going to Erma

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 sudārrjāṃ tta parī* '*spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders thus'.

Archive 3/1.42 §1: *thaiṣī bulāni rmąmi śi'rä tta parī* 'Commissioner-in-chief *Blon* Rmang-bzher orders thus'.

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

[title B] [name B] ***vara*** **(*u* [title C] [name C] *vara*)** 'to B (and C)'.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.9 §2: *pharṣa sāṃdarä vara* 'to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara'.

Archive 3/1.16 §2: *salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari vara u mūra-haṃgāṃ 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 haṃbāji mūri pajistāṃdi bistä ysā'ca* 'now here they asked for a total amount of 20000 *mūrās*'.

Archive 3/1.34 §3: *vaña mara ma phęma ysaujsä mau niśtä* '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 haṣḍi yuḍāṃda 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 miḍāṃ ḡyastäna 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 yuḍeṃ si* 'previously I have given you orders, (saying) that'.

Archive 3/1.27 §3: *parau ttā hauḍeṃ 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:

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

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:

khu ttā parau hīśtä '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: *ttye nva parau biśi hvaṃḍā kītha* ***tvaśdyarä*** '**transfer** all men into the fort according to the order'.

Archive 3/1.16 §8: *ttū-ṃ vā hiri thyau* ***haṃga'jari*** *u ma ṣai vā* ***hajsęmyari*** '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:

[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: *ttājirä śe’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 haṣḍi yane*** ‘I hereby make a petition to A’.

or

@ [honorific] [title] [name] ***vara tta haṣḍi yanāmaṃ*** ‘We hereby make a petition to A’.

E.g.:

Archive 3/1.19 §1: @ *hiyaudä ą̄mācä ṣṣau viṣṇadattä vara tta haṣḍi yane* ‘I hereby make a petition to Lord *āmāca ṣṣau* Viṣṇadatta’.

Archive 3/1.29 §1: @ *hiyaudi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta haṣḍi yani* ‘I hereby make a petition to Lord *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ’.

Archive 3/1.13 §1: @ *miḍāṃ jasti vara tta haṣḍi yanāmaṃ* ‘We hereby make a petition to the Gracious Lord’.

Similar to orders, after a blank space about 6-12 *akṣara*s 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 tsī[ṣī spāta su]dārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pa’kisina* ‘(we are) Sudārrjāṃ, *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.

Hīye, 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’śdi 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.

vaña-ṃ aspāta hiyaudäna 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 Saṃdara’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'sūṃ* '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] ***śaṃdā haṃbujsai hū̱ñūṃ*** '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 3/1 Communications

Archive number	Register number	Type	Sender	Recipient	Date	Subject
Archive 3/1.1	Hedin 24r	Order	King of Khotan		4’/4/32	evacuation
Archive 3/1.2	Hedin 20-a	Order	King of Khotan	Sudārrjāṃ	8/20/36	evacuation
Archive 3/1.3	Hedin 20-b	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Vidyadatta, Sāṃdara, and all the officials	8/22/36	evacuation
Archive 3/1.4	Or.11252/18	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	All *auva-haṃ-dasta*s	10/16	evacuation
Archive 3/1.5	Or.11344/17	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara, *auva-haṃdasta* Sudatta and Sudatta from Pa’	11/?	evacuation
Archive 3/1.6	Or.11344/7	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara	after 11/15	evacuation
Archive 3/1.7	Or.11252/34.2r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ		6/11/36	grain
Archive 3/1.8	Or.11252/36v-a	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	*Auva-haṃdasta*s	6/11	grain
Archive 3/1.9	Or.11344/11r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara	7/?	grain
Archive 3/1.10	Or.11252/8r	Order	Blon zham-rjai	Sāṃdara	9/1	grain
Archive 3/1.11	Or.11252/17v	Order	Blon zham-rjai	Sāṃdara		grain
Archive 3/1.12	Or.11252/7r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ			grain

Table 3/1 Communications

Archive number	Register number	Type	Sender	Recipient	Date	Subject
Archive 3/1.13	Hedin 5 = 3v	Petition	Sudārrjāṃ, officials, and commoners	King of Khotan		grain
Archive 3/1.14	Domoko F	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara, Darauka, and Yseviṭi	after 7/22/36	money for those going to Erma
Archive 3/1.15	Hedin 3r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		tax money
Archive 3/1.16	Domoko A4	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara and *mūra-haṃga*s		tax money
Archive 3/1.17	Or.11252/16r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		tax money
Archive 3/1.18	Or.11252/21	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara	7/12	cloth
Archive 3/1.19	Achma-1	Petition	Ysevidṭä	Viṣṇadatta		cloth
Archive 3/1.20	Or.11252/37r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara	7/12	state work
Archive 3/1.21	Or.11252/15r	Petition	Sudārrjāṃ, officials, and commoners	King of Khotan		court work
Archive 3/1.22	Or.11252/5r	Petition	Residents in Cira	Sudārrjāṃ		work
Archive 3/1.23	Or.11344/6r	Petition		Sudārrjāṃ		patrol duty
Archive 3/1.24	Or.11252/12v	Petition	Sāṃdara	Sudārrjāṃ	9/18 -9/21	canteen duty

Table 3/1 Communications

Archive number	Register number	Type	Sender	Recipient	Date	Subject
Archive 3/1.25	Or.11252/12r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara	9/21	canteen duty
Archive 3/1.26	Or.11252/6v	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		canteen duty
Archive 3/1.27	Or.11252/35b	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		canteen duty
Archive 3/1.28	Or.11252/25	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		canteen duty
Archive 3/1.29	Hedin 11-a	Petition	Mulaka	Sudārrjāṃ	11/12	irrigation work
Archive 3/1.30	Hedin 11-b	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Vīsa	11/12	irrigation work
Archive 3/1.31	Or.11252/3r	Order		Suda from Pa' and Sudatta	4/26	road work
Archive 3/1.32	Or.11344/3v-a	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		road work
Archive 3/1.33	Or.11344/12r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		road work and wine
Archive 3/1.34	Or.11252/3v	Order	Blon Rmang-bzher	Marṣa' and Vīsa		wine
Archive 3/1.35	Or.11344/12v	Letter	Sudārrjāṃ	Śvarabhadra		wine
Archive 3/1.36	Or.11344/9	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		wine, barley and sheep
Archive 3/1.37	Hedin 8r	Missive	Zhao Jun (?)	Sudārrjāṃ (?)	7/17	horses
Archive 3/1.38	Or.11344/5	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		horses

Table 3/1 Communications

Archive number	Register number	Type	Sender	Recipient	Date	Subject
Archive 3/1.39	Or.11252/4v	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Sāṃdara		draft animals
Archive 3/1.40	Or.11252/11v	Missive				draft animals
Archive 3/1.41	Hedin 21	Order	King of Khotan	*Stānaḍa*s and commoners	4'/28/32	equipments
Archive 3/1.42	Or.11344/3v-b	Order	Blon Rmang-bzher	Sāṃdara	8/6/33	drum
Archive 3/1.43	Or.11252/37v	Order	Blon Rmang-bzher	Sudārrjāṃ	2/26	wheat-sower
Archive 3/1.44	Or.11252/32-b	Order	Sudārrjāṃ	Darauka	7/2	water
Archive 3/1.45	Or.11252/11r	Order	Sudārrjāṃ			fugitive
Archive 3/1.46	Or.11252/36v-b	Order	A Tibetan Official	*Pharṣa* and *spāta*	7/8	
Archive 3/1.47	Hedin 31	Order on wood				patrol duty

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 Sudārrjāṃ, 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 *Rúmăqūsà* 濡馬屈薩 should be read as

Pèimǎqūsà 霈馬屈薩, a phonetic rendering of the Khotanese phrase *phęmāṃña 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,[421] 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［鼓］[2]［……］三舖［人］並駝三頭今日卯時到濡馬屈薩

§2 […] [2][yu]ḍai kar[x]ā x ra -ā -ī [k]ūsä īyāṃdä ula-bārai x sa x x ñä x stä yuḍe

§3 [3]［……］得消息便即走報來者

§3 khu sa […] [3][…] vā bu[ḍä] yuḍe[ṃ]

---

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

§4 准狀各牒所[4]［由］

§4 khu parau pva’

§5 ［……州］人畜一切盡收入坎城防備。

§5 cv-e tta piṣkala hvaṃḍä u stūrä biśūṃ phęmāña kīṃtha tva[4][śdya]

§6 如有漏失[5]［……］罪科所由者。故牒。

§6 […] hī x x tsa ā x rä th[u] pa[’]jsä ārrä byehä

§7 [6]貞元十四年閏四月四日辰時典史懷仆牒

§7 śe[’] siṃjsījsä 4 mye haḍai parau

§8 [7]判官簡王府長史富 惟［謹］

§9 [8]節度副使都督王［尉遲 曜］

Translation

§1 (C) … The camel-rider Saṃgapuña 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) Siṃjsījsa (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) 桑宜本 *Sāngyíběn*: Chinese name of the Khotanese camel rider. *Sāngyí* 桑宜 is attested in Vaśi'rasaṃga's Chinese name *Wùrìsāngyí* 勿日桑宜. See Yoshida 2006, p.27. The original Khotanese name of *Sāngyíběn* 桑宜本 can thus be restored as Saṃgapuña, 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 *kǒubào*: 'to report orally', as opposed to a written report.

§2 (C) [鼓] *gǔ*: ‘drum’. Restored according to [*k*]*ūsä* 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 Saṃgapuña 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) 三鋪人 *sān pùrén*: ‘three men of the relay posts’. *Pù* 鋪 refers to the relay posts set up along the frontier approximately every 30 *li*s. *Pùrén* 鋪人, 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) 到 *dào*: ‘to arrive’. Reading uncertain. Zhang and Rong (1997, p.341.) leave this character unread. Here I follow Pulleyblank’s reading in *KT IV*, p.136.

§2 (C) 濡馬屈薩 *Rúmǎqūsà*: 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 *phęmāña kīṃtha* ‘the Fort of Phema’. Based on this identification, she reads the first character as *pèi* 霈, and interprets the entire phrase as a phonetic transcription of *phęmāña kīṃtha*. Her insight that *Pèimǎqūsà* 濡馬屈薩 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, *phęmāña kīṃtha* belongs to §5 of Khotanese, which closely corresponds to §5 of Chinese, and *phęmāña kīṃtha* corresponds to *Kǎnchéng* 坎城 ‘the fort of Kan’.

§3 (C) 者 *zhě*: Marker of end-quote. See Wang Yongxing 1994, pp.423-442.

§5 (C) 坎城 *Kǎnchéng*: ‘Fort of Kan’, corresponding to Khot. *phemāña kīṃtha*, 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 *Zhìluó Liùchéng* 質邏六城 ‘Cira-Six Towns’ in Дх.18940 (Zhang and Rong 2002, p.236), or *Liùchéng Zhìluó* 六城質邏 ‘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 Zhìluó Zhōu* 六城質邏州 ‘Six Town-Cira Prefecture’ and *Zhìluó Zhōu* 質邏州 ‘Cira Prefecture’ to refer to this prefecture. In my opinion, the official name of the prefecture is *Zhìluó Liùchéng Zhōu* 質邏六城州, ‘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 Sìzhèn Jiédù* 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) phęmāña kīṃtha: ‘the Fort of Phema’, L., corresponding to Chin. *Kǎnchéng* 坎城. Tib. *Kam sheng.* The first syllable, *kǎn* in Chinese and *kam* in Tibetan, is a phonetic transcription of

Khot. *kaṃdva* (Zhu Lishuang 2013, p.48). Duan (2012, p.77) points out that *kaṃdva* is attested together with *Phema* in Or.11344/8v (Archive 3/3.18 §3), and links it with *khema* in the Kharoṣṭhi documents. Phema, on the other hand, corresponds to Chin. *Pìmó* 媲摩 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 *Kǎnàqìn* 卡那沁. Li Yinping (1998, pp.255-262) convincingly identified this fort with *Kǎnchéng* 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 (*Shǒuzhuō* 守捉, Khot. *śūkṣuha*, 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, Sudārrjāṃ, 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 *suǒyóu*: 'official, subordinate', referring to the officials on a lower level. See Zhang and Rong 1987, p.87.

§6 pa[']jsä ārrä byehä: 'you will incur severe (punishment for) wrongdoing.' Compare Archive 3/1.3 §9: 'pa'jsa daula [ārri hva]ryari'. Similar penalty clauses are found in Prakrit and Tumshuqese documents from Xinjiang. See Hitch 1998.

§7 (C) 辰時 *chénshí*: '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 *diǎn*: 'scribe, official in charge of paperwork'. Also attested in Or.6406 (H. 1). See Zhang and Rong 1987, 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.

§7 (C) 史懷仆 *Shǐ Huáipú*: Name of the scribe. Zhang and Rong (1997, p.340) leave the third character unread.

§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. *phąnä kvąnä* (Archive 3/2, *passim*), JP *pnkw'n* (Zhang and Shi 2008, p.94), and MMP *p'nxw'n* (Yoshida 1994, p.371).

§8 (C) 簡王府 *Jiǎnwángfǔ*: 'Prince Jian's Establishment', also attested in Дх.18918. See Zhang and Rong 1997, p.342-43. For Дх.18918, see Zhang and Rong 2002, p.227.

§8 (C) 長史 *Zhǎngshǐ*: 'Senior Secretary'. Also attested as Khot. *cāṃṣṣī* in Archive 3/6.7 §7 (*KT IV*, p.118) and MMP *c'ngšyy* (Yoshida 1994, p.371).

§9 (C) 富 惟[謹] *Fù Wéijǐn*: 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* 惟謹 in a smaller font. See Rong and Zhang 1997, p.343.

§9 (C) 節度副使都督王 *jiédùfùshǐ dūdūwáng*: 'Vice Military Commissioner, Governor, King', shortened title of the King of Khotan. His full title is *Ānxī Sìzhèn Jiédū Fùshǐ* 安西四鎮節度副使 'Vice Military Commissioner of Anxi-Four Garrisons', *Píshā Dūdūfǔ Dūdū* 毗沙都督府都督 'Governor of Pisha Governorate', *Yútián Wáng* 于闐王 'King of Khotan'. See Rong and Zhang 1997, p.343.

§9 [尉遲 曜] [*Yùchí 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.

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

This document is the first half of Hedin 20, in which *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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]t[ä] 20 1 mye haḍai vā miṣḍāṃ ḡyastäna parau ā

§2 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ va[2][ra]

§3 [vaña v]ā tcirthū lụnä ha'bäśi'rä āstaṃna hvāṣṭa parstāṃdä si

§4 paḍāṃda ttā [3][lụnä tca]bi ysaṃgä pāḍaki hauḍi si

§5 cigä lä thihä tcyẹnä ttā haṃjsiṣḍä hvaṃ kṣīra [4][hī]na bāyi dvī ysārä

§6 va jsāṃ vā mu-ṣve khyeṣvā ą̄na lụnä tcabi ysaṃgä {hā}{ī} {ḍa} [5][hīvī] pīḍakä ā si

§7 huna ttā khyeṣvā ttuṃgaśeṃ parrya

§8 ṣi' haḍi va ni ye si caṃda [6]parr]y[a] u ką̄mye haḍai vā parrya

§9 khu parau pva' hvaṃḍä u stūra biśi phęmāña kītha tva[7][śdya]

§10 [u] ttī jsāṃ au au parau paśa

§11 ci ttye stūra buḍa īde khvaṃ ttuśā kītha ni tvaśdīṃ[8][dä ci] tty[e] stūra ni īde śūje hāyarä

§12 jsārū jsa tvaryari

§13 36 mye kṣuṇä [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 Ttuṃgaśeṃ 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]t[ä] 20 1 mye haḍai: ‘On the 21st of Braṃkhaysja’. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.33) read: “[ka]*ja* 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 *akṣara*s before ‘20’ at most.

§1 miṣḍāṃ ḡyastäna: ‘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: 'prefect', head of a prefecture, from Chin. *cìshǐ* 刺史. *Cì* 刺, LMC *ts^{h}ẓ* (Pulleyblank 1991, p.64) is polyphonetic. The other pronunciation *ts^{h}ẓk*, preserved in Hakka and Cantonese today, is reflected in MMP *cygš'n*, *cygšyy* (Yoshida 1994, p.371 and Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p.132) and perhaps JP *cykšy*, *cyk'šy* (Yoshida 2016). Presumably, the first pronunciation found its way into Khotanese directly from Chinese, whereas the second pronunciation entered Uighur/ MMP/JP via a Sogdian intermediary .

§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[vaña v]ā tcirthū: '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]ātci thūe'.

§3 tcirthū: 'Military Commissioner', from Chin. *Jiédù* 節度, LMC *tsiat tʰuə̆* (Pulleyblank 1991, p.83), a shortened form of *Jiédùshǐ* 節度使. Also attested as *tcäräthū* in Archive 3/1.12 §2, and *tcirrtū* in Archive 3/6.3 §2. Compare MMP *syrtwš*, *syrṯwšyy*, from Chin. *Jiédùshǐ* 節度使. (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 *Jiédùfùshǐ* 節度副使, '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 tcirthū lụnä ha'bäśi'rä: '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*s in Kucha and Beshbaliq. (Line 47 *syrtwš* and line 73 *syrtwšyy* in the *Mahrnāmag.* 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 thihä tcyẹnä: A title, probably from Chin. *Tèjìn* 特進 LMC *tɦəək tsin* (Pulleyblank 1991, p. 304, p.157), literally '(Lord) Specially Advanced', a prestige title (*sǎnguān* 散官) of the second highest rank (Rank 2a). See Hucker 1985, p.490.

§5 cigä lä thihä tcyẹnä: 'the Chinese Lä Tejin', probably referring to Lǔ Yáng 魯陽, the military chief of Kashgar (*Zhènshǒushǐ* 鎮守使) around 786 when Wú 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 *lyfwṯwšy* in *Marhnāmag*, who has the title *k'šyxšδ* 'Lord of Kashgar'.

§6 khyeṣvā: 'among the Kashgarian', loc. pl. The locative singular form, *khyeṣa*, 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 ą̄na: 'from', originally *ā'ṇa*-, present participle of *āh*- 'to sit, dwell', later particle emphasizing here and now, and finally used as postposition. *Dict*. p.29.

§6 lụnä tcabi ysaṃgä: 'Blon Tsa-bzang', only attested here and partially in §4. *Lụnä*, from Tib. *blon* 'minister', indicates that this man was a Tibetan official.

§6 lụnä tcabi ysaṃgä {hā}{ī} {ḍa} [hīvī] pīḍakä ā si: 'An order from *blon* Tcabi Ysaṃga has come, (saying)'. The scribe made some mistakes and deleted the last two *akṣara*s 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 huna: 'Huns', referring to the Uighurs. Also attested in Archive 3/1.5 §4. For the identification of the Huns with the Uighurs, see Yoshida 2009, pp. 351-55.

§7 ttuṃgaśeṃ: Place name, exact location uncertain. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.34) reads it as two separate words and suggests Uighur *tonga* 'hero' for *ttuṃga* 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.

§7 parrya: *parrīj*-, *parräta*- 'to pass', pf. intr. 3 pl., nom.-acc. pl. See *Dict.*, p.219, not what Bailey proposes in *KT IV*, p.123. Note the intransitive form.

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

“[^{6}ha]ḍ[ā]”.

§9 phęmāña kītha: ‘The Fort in Phema’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

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

§11 hāyarä: *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 *tvarīdä* is attested in Archive 3/1.3 §7. The whole sentence corresponds to *u jsārū jsāṃ parīya buḍä* ‘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* Sudārrjāṃ to *spāta* Vidyadatta and others in response to Archive 3/1.2, an order from the King of Khotan to Sudārrjāṃ. In accordance with the order from the king, Sudārrjāṃ 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, Sudārrjāṃ 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 *spāta* 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 [10][@ s]p[ā]ta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 spāta vidyadattä vara u pha[11][rṣa] sādarä vara u hamīḍa hārvāṃ vara

§3 khu parau pvī'rau ttye nva parau biśi [12][hvaṃ]ḍā kītha tvaśdyarä

§4 u jsārū jsāṃ parīya buḍä

§5 ttuśā stūra ma ha[13][ysyar]ä

§6 kaṃtha pąmarīrau

§7 neri pūra kīṃtha nā'yīdä u daha hvaṃḍä jsā[14][ra] tvarīdä

§8 khu ttā a hīsūṃ khu ra tta śau hvaṃḍä byehīme

§9 pa'jsa daula [15][ārri hva]ryari

§10 braṃkhaysji 22 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SU

§11 khu ttā parau hīśti [16][x tt]ī kūsi ka'jarä

§12 {x} tta tta haḍi ma yaṃ khu aḍārye vyauli yuḍāṃda Signum-SUa

Translation

§1 *Spāta* 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 hārvāṃ: *hārua-* 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 parīya: *pary-*, 'to order', impv. 2pl.

§5 ha[ysyar]ä: *hays-* 'to send', impv. 2 pl. Restored from context by Bailey (*KT IV*, p.34).

§6 paṃarīrau: OKh. *patämar-* 'to inform', impv. 2pl.

§7 neri: *närä-* 'wife, woman', nom.-acc. pl. Here, *neri* is the subject of the sentence, just as *daha hvaṃḍä* 'male men' is also the subject. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.121) takes both as objects.

§7 nā'yīdä: *nā'y-* 'to place', pres. 3pl., from **ni-šādaya-*. See *Dict.*, p.186.**§7 tvarīdä**: *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'jsä ārrä byehä* 'you will incur severe (punishment for) wrongdoing' in Archive 3/1.1 §6 (K).

§9 [hva]ryari: *hvar-* 'to eat', impv. 2pl., restored by Skjærvø (2009, p.125).

§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'jarä: 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 yuḍāṃda: *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-haṃdasta*s and the transporters. In it, Sudārrjām 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 ṣau* Viṣṇadatta'. Incidentally, Archive 3/1.19 is a petition to *ṣau* Viṣṇadatta from Ysevidṭa, the *auva-haṃdasta* 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 *ṣau* 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 [1]@ spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 au au auva-haṃda[stā vara] [2]u drrīma ttvaśdā vara

§3 ttāgutta hvāṣṭa tta parstāṃdi si

§4 hvaṃḍi vā bi[ś]i [kītha] [3]ttvaśdyari

§5 khu parau pvīrau hvaṃḍi vā kītha ttvaśdyari

§6 {braṃkhaysji} \mūñaṃji/ kṣemye [haḍai ttā] [4]parau tsve

Verso

§1 [1][hiyau]di āmāci ṣau viṣṇadattä haiśā'ñi

Translation

Recto

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To the *auva-haṃdasta*s 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 Mūñaṃja (the 10th month), the order went out [to you].

Verso

§1 To be sent to Lord *āmāca ṣau* Viṣṇadatta

Commentary

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

§2 auva-haṃda[stā]: *auva-haṃdasta*-, gen.-dat. pl., the title of an official on the township level. The *auva-haṃdasta*s 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 one 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 ttvaśdā: *ttvaśdaa-* ‘transferer’, G-D. pl., from *tvaśd-* ‘to transfer’.

§3 ttāgutta hvāṣṭa: ‘Tibetan Masters’. In Archive 3, *hvāṣṭa-* ‘lord, master’ refers to the Tibetans. See *Studies III*, pp.179-181.

§4 hvaṃḍi vā bi[ś]i [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 viṣṇadattä: Proper name. Also attested with the same titles in Archive 3/1.19 §1, a petition to Viṣṇadatta from Ysevidṭa, *auva-haṃdasta* of Phaṃnai. See commentary on Archive 3/1.19 §2 and Archive 3/3.10 §2.

§1 haiśā’ñi: *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][2]ra auva haṃdasti sudattä vara u pa’ suda[ttä vara]

§3 [3]vaña vā miḍāṃ ḡyastäna parau ā si

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

§5 khu parau pvī’rau

§6 svī pana [hvaṃḍi] [5]mara āju[m]yarä

§7 paḍāṃdara ttā parau tsve

§8 khu vā tti na [x x x][6]sāta mirą̄ñ-ū himi u daula haṃdara

§9 skarähverä mā[śta x mye] [7]haḍai haṃdą̄maṃci parau Signum-SU

Verso

§1 [1][pharṣa] sāṃdari vara

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To [*pharṣa* Sāṃdara], *auva-haṃdasta* 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 ysaṃgauñä: 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- parräta*- '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 *hvaṃḍi vā biśi kītha ttvaśdyari*, 'Transfer all men to us in the fort', in Archive 3/1.4 §4.

§8 [x x x]sāta: unclear. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.115) reads: '*sp*āta'

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

§9 haṃdāṃmaṃci: From **haṃ-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 Sudārrjāṃ. 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[1]@ vaña vā miṣḍāṃ ḡyastina parau ā skarhveri māśti 10 5 mye haḍai si

§2 vaña āṃ vā khyeṣa v[ī x][2]rṣṭhi drramaji kūsi ka'jīṃdä

§3 strihi vyaulä ṣṭe

§4 [3]@ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§5 pharṣa sāṃdari vara u [drrīma ttva][4]śdāṃ' va

§6 khu parau pvī'rau

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

§8 [5]khv-e tta śau hve harsī u stūri

§9 nva vyasthāṃ garkhi āri daṃḍi 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* Sudārrjuṃ orders thus:

§5 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara 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 khyeṣa: ‘Kashgar’, loc. sg. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §6.

§2 v[ī x]rṣṭhi: 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 vyaulä: ‘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[śi vā kītha ttvaśdyari]: ‘[transfer] all [of them into the Fort to us]’, restored according to *vā biśi 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’jsä ārrä byehä* ‘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 withdreww 100 *ṣaṃga* of wheat from the common granary, and now 58 men are to deliver this 100 *ṣaṃga* of wheat. Consequently, each man is to produce 1.72 *ṣaṃga*, or 1 *ṣaṃga* and 5 *śega* . During the Tibetan period, 1 *ṣaṃga* equals to 7 *śega,* not 10 *śega.* Thus, 1 *ṣaṃga* and 5 *śega* = 1 + 5/7 *ṣaṃga* ≈ 1.71 *ṣaṃga.* (1 + 5/7 *ṣaṃga*) × 58 = 99.4 *ṣaṃga* ≈ 100 *ṣaṃga*. Sudārrjāṃ, however, seems to have assumed that 1 *ṣaṃga* equals to 10 *śega* and understands the amount assigned to each man as 1.5 *ṣaṃga* instead of 1 + 5/7 *ṣaṃga.* As a result, he miscalculates the amount of wheat assigned to each town. 15 men from Āskūra are to deliver 15 × 1.5 *ṣaṃga* = 22.5 *ṣaṃga* ≈ 23 *ṣaṃga* of wheat. 17 men from Phaṃnai and Pa' are to deliver 17 × 1.5 *ṣaṃga* = 25.5 *ṣaṃga* ≈ 26 *ṣaṃga* of wheat. 26 men from Birgaṃdara are to deliver 26 × 1.5 *ṣaṃga* = 39 *ṣaṃga* ≈ 38 *ṣaṃga* of wheat. Here one *ṣaṃga* is taken off because each of the previous two groups is to deliver 0.5 *ṣaṃga* extra. The total amounts to 58 × 1.5 *ṣaṃga* = 87 *ṣaṃga*, significantly less than 100 *ṣaṃga.* 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 śeṃgāṃ ṣaṃgna* 'by the *ṣaṃga* of 7 *śeṃga*'. 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 [1][sa]lī kṣeradirsä māśti rarūya haḍā śūdasi ṣa' samauca ttye pracaina c[ä]

§2 [kṣvā] [2]'auvā hvaṃḍi haṃdira prū haṣḍa yuḍādi spaśarāṃ keṇa

§3 cirą̄na u seni[li] [3]u makali || u naṃdaki || namaubudi || ṣanīraki || brūnade ga[naṃ x x x] [4]nāṃ-di sayī ṣaṃgi

§4 ttū ganaṃ vaña haraṣṭādi

§5 hvaṃḍi himya 50 8 [śe hvaṃḍye] [5]ganaṃ himye śau ṣaṃgi paṃjsa śega mātargä jsa

§6 āskūrya 10 5 ga[naṃ haurīda 2 kū][13]sa 3 ṣaṃga

§7 phaṃnāja u pa'ja 10 7 ganaṃ haurīda dva kūsa kṣi ṣaga

§8 birgaṃ[daraja [14]20 6] ganaṃ haurīdi 3 kūsa 8 ṣaṃga

§9 spāta sud[ārr]jā tta parī [… vara]

§10 [15][khu parau pvī'rau ttū ga]na[ṃ] tty[e] nva samauci pajitta

§11 rarūyi 10 [1 mye ttā [16]pa]rau Sigunm-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 *ṣaṃga* and 5 *śega* from the *mātarga.*

§6 There are 15 (men) in Āskūra. They [will deliver 2] *kūsa* 3 *ṣaṃga* of wheat.

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

§8 There are [26 (men)] in Birgaṃdara. They will deliver 3 *kūsa* 8 *ṣaṃga* of wheat.

§9 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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 **haṃdira 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 ganaṃ* '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.

§4 **haraṣṭādi**: *harays- haraṣṭa-* 'to assign, to determine how much each has to pay' , pf. 3p. See *Studies III*, p.166-67.

§5 **hvaṃḍi 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 mātargä: Meaning unclear, from skt. *mātṛka-* '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 ga[naṃ haurīda 2 kū]sa 3 ṣaṃga: ‘They [will deliver 2] *kūsa* 3 *ṣaṃga* of wheat.’ Restored according to *ganaṃ haurīda dva kūsa kṣi ṣaga* ‘they will deliver 2 *kūsa* 6 *ṣaṃga* of wheat’ in §7. The amount of *kūsa* is calculated from the number of men. 15 × 1.5 = 22.5.

§8 birgaṃ[daraja 20 6]: ‘There are [26 (men)] in Birgaṃdara.’ 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 Birgaṃdara.

§10 [khu parau pvī’rau ttū ga]na[ṃ] tty[e] nva samauci pajitta: ‘[When you hear the order,] collect the wheat according to the agreement.’ Restored according to *khu parau pvī’rau ttye nva parau* ... ‘When you hear the order, according to the order…’ in Archive 3/1.3 §3.

§11 rarūyi 10 [1 mye]: ‘On the 1[1]th of Rarūya’. Restored according to *rarūya haḍā śūdasi* ‘On the 11th of Rarūya’ in §1. The numeral ‘1’ is still partially visible in the document.

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

This badly-damaged document is an order from Sudārrjāṃ to the *auva-haṃdasta*s. From what remains, we know that the order concerns a Sogdian *ṣau* 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 [1][…] samauca ṣau ani kuki syini paj[iste]

§2 [2][…]di

§3 sūlī ganaṃ ni byaudi

§4 pīḍa[kä …]

§5 [3][spā]ta sudārrjā tta parī auva haṃdastā var[a]

§6 [4][…]

§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-haṃdasta*s

§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 *ąni 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 [1][@ spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī]

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 vaña āṃ ma hvāṣṭä parsaṃ[2][dai x x x x jsārä pa]jittä śau kūsi

§4 paḍāṃdar-e ttā parau hauḍeṃ

§5 nai vā hajsaudai

§6 khu ttā parau hī[3][śtä]

§7 [ttī jsāṃ vā jsārä parsaṃ]dy[e] dīśta thyau hajsẹma khu ma svī hīśtä

§8 pa{sta}rsaṃdai ma śtāka {la} ṣṭi

§9 ttāṃjeri [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 parī]: '[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}rsaṃdai* in §8.

§3 [pa]jittä: *pajäd-* 'to ask for, to collect (tax, debt)', pres. 3s.

§4 paḍāṃdar-e: 'formerly, previously', same as *paḍāṃda,* from *padā-*, 'first'. See *Dict*., p.203.

§6 khu ttā parau hī[śtä]: 'When the order comes to you', restord according to the formula *khu ttā parau hīśtä*, '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 jsārä parsaṃ]dy[e] dīśta thyau hajsęma: 'Quickly send me [the grain via *parsaṃdai*'s] hands', restored according to *ttī jsāṃ vā kṣauva hajsęmyari thyau ttye hvaṃḍye dīś-ta* in Archive 3/1.16 §11. Note that the first *akṣara* of Line 3 is *dy-*, not *ḍy-*, as read by Skjærvø in *Catalogue*, p.113.

§7 khu ma svī hīśtä: ‘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}saṃdai: *parsandaa-* ‘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[1]bulą̄ni śa’ma rrjai tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdari vara

§3 haṃtsa kīraryau [2]jsa mara hīsa

§4 jsār-e vāra ṣṭi

§5 cu jsāri biysīyi ī marai ājima

§6 [3]u rrūnai maṃ śtāka ṣṭi

§7 spāta yąniviṭi d{ā}īśta ttā rrūnai keṇa parste[ṃ] baḍa rī vā

§8 [4]u ttäy[i] jsāṃ ttā kapāysä kiṇa hv[ā]ṃdū

§9 śä' va ttā girye-t-ī

§10 mūca'ci paḍauysye haḍai

Verso

§1 [4]‖ pharṣa sāṃda[5]rä haiśā'ñä

Translation

Recto

§1 *Blon* Zham-rjai orders thus

§2 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.

§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* Yąniviṭa'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

§1[1]bulāṇi śa'ma rrjai: Proper name, also attested as *śą'majai* in Archive 3/1.11 §1. The title *bulāni* 'minister', from Tib. *blon,* shows that the issuer is a Tibetan official.

§4 vāra: 'owing', see *Studies III*, pp.137-140.

§5 biysīyi ī: *biysamj- biysīya-*, 'to seize, take', perf. opt. intr.

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

§7 parste[ṃ]: *pary- parsta-* 'to order', pf. 1s.

§7 baḍa: *bar-* 'to carry', impv. 2p.

§8 hv[ā]ṃdū: *hvan- hvata-* 'to speak', pf. 1p. Reading uncertain.

Verso

§1 haiśā'ñä: *hataiś- haiś-* 'to send', participle of necessity, also attested in Archive 3/1.4v §1.

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

Like Archive 3/1.10, this document is also an order from the Tibetan official Zham-rjai to Sāṃdara. In it, Zham-rjai 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-rjai (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-rjai 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 [1]|| śą'majai tta parī

§2 pharṣa sādari [vara]

§3 [vaña vā …][2]ysä śtāka ṣṭi

§4 tvī vā paṃjsuśeṃ hvaṃḍā kama[laji …]

§5 [3]ttū jsārä vā parya buḍä cira

§6 khu ma svī h[īśtä]

§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 śą'majai: Name of a Tibetan official residing in Cira, also attested as *bulą̄ni śa'ma rrjai* in Archive 3/1.10 §1. See commentary on Archive 3/1.10 §1.

§5 buḍä: *bar*- ‘to carry’, inf.

§6 khu ma svī h[īśtä]: ‘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 Birgaṃdara) 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 Sāṃdara. 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 [1]@ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī […vara]

§2 […[2]a]ḍaña māśtä āstaṃ māśte tcäräthū hīśtä

§3 […mau [3]ysau]jsä kūysdai tta ne

§4 khu parau pva’ śau khūrä […]

§5 […hi][4]mi

§6 khu ttī nä hū̱ñä sä nä pyūṣṭeṃ

§7 u ttī jsāṃ tta […]

§8 […ˢx] tcahau kūśä rruäśä jsa āḍä

§9 khu ttā a […]

§10 […ᶢx x] cärā̱na biśä pära-vārāṃ hauḍāṃ[dä]

§11 […bulāni] ⁷mąmä śä'rä pastä se

§12 birgaṃdara bisai […]

§13 […] ⁸śau hvaṃḍä viśta

§14 kṣīrva-vīrai u spāta yąnävi[ḍtä …]

Translation

§1 Spāta Sudārrjuṃ 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 *kūsa*s 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 Birgaṃdara …

§13 Place one man …

§14 The state-worker and Spāta Yąnäviḍta ...

Commentary

§2 tcäräthū: ‘Military Commissioner’, from Chin. *jiédù* 節度, referring to *tcirthū lụnä ha’bä śi’rä* ‘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 ^{3}ysau]jsä: ‘tasteful wine’. Restored according to *ysaujsä mau* in Archive 3/1.34 §3. Since *khūrä* ‘jar (of wine)’ is mentioned in §4, this sentence must be about *mau* ‘wine’.

§3 kūysdai: *kūys-* ‘to seek’, pf. 2s.

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

§6 khu ttī nä hū̃ñä sä nä pyūṣṭeṃ: ‘so that you do not then say: “I have not heard.”’ The same formula is also attested in Archive 3/1.32 §15.

§8 rruäśä: *rrusā-* ‘highland barley’, I.-Ab. f. s., Chin. *qīngmài* 青麥, not ‘barley’ (*Dict.*, p.367). Read *rruśä.* The vowel sign ‘*ä*’ on ‘*rru*’ is a dittography of the vowel sign of ‘*ä*’ 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.

§10 pära-vārāṃ: *pära-vāraa-*, ‘silkworm-raiser’, Gen.-dat. pl., from **pira-pāraa-*, also attested in Archive 3/1.39 §4, §15 and Archive 3/6.2 §2. See *Studies III*, pp.91-93.

§11 [bulāni] mąmä śä’rä: 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

§1[1]@ miḍāṃ jasti vara tta haṣḍi yanāmaṃ

§2 kṣvā au[vā sudārrjāṃ] [2]u tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina

§3 jasta cu [x x x x] [3]hatcast-e piṣkali vī jva himāmaṃ ttaṃdī jasti puñau jsa

§4 cvau ā vā biśi [bāḍa pajsa][4]ma yi*nī*di

§5 ttye vaña *vā* jasti hī[v]ī [par]au ā si

§6 kamalaji jsāri sa ha[x x x x] [5]*kū*sa *ṣau*

§7 mara haṃdi[ra] *prū* haurąñi

§8 cu mara kamalaji jsärä ye ttū biś[ä paphū][6]ka *tvari* dāśādūṃ paphūjāṃ

§9 pa'kisanāṃ bida ra jsärä ttaṃdī ṣi' aśti

§10 cu [x x] [7]*sa*rāṃ ttāguttāṃ h[aurā]ñi *na* (pa)[ph]ū[j]āṃ

§11 *cu* mara *mā* karairā ṣṭi jsā[rä x x x] [8]*pu*ḍi

§12 ttāgutta ha*tca*stū piṣkali *mi*[ḍā x x] jasta stūryau jsau ri hauda na *hi*[9]*yau*

§13 dikh[autta] tsvāṃdū

§14 vañauṃ vī [ja]sti *mu'*śdi [parī] byaudi

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

§16 maṃ *ttū* tsāṣṭa vā ādarä yanąˀ[maṃ]

§17 khu jast[i] hīya parauva yuḍi […]

§18 […] [11]jasta

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 kṣvā 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:** *hārua*-, G.-D. pl., ‘officials’. This word must refer to the second group of men in the list, *spāta*s and *pharṣa*s, 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. *shāngzhǔ* 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 *hārua*s are contrasted with *pa'kisina*, Chin. *bǎixìng* 百姓, 'commoner': *tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina*, 'all the officials headed by the prefect, and all the commoners', in other words, everybody in the prefecture.

§2 tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa 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 sudārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina'.

§3 hatcast-e piṣkali: 'partitioned section'. *hatcañ- 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 ttaṃdī 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 biśi [bāḍä]: 'in all lands'. Restored from *biśi bā*[*ḍa*] in Archive 3/1.21 §4.

§4 [pajsa]ma yanīda: 'to worship, to honor'. Restored according to the context.

§6 kamalaja: 'poll tax', from *kamala-* 'head'. *kamalaja mūra* 'poll-tax in money' is attested in documents from Archive 2. See Yoshida 2006, p.102.

§6 sa ha[x x x x] *kū*sa *ṣau*: unclear.

§7 haṃdira prū: 'the Inner Court', where the King of Khotan resided. See commentary on Ar-

chive 3/1.21 §9.

§8 dāśādūṃ: *dāś-* ‘to finish’ (+inf.), pf. 1pl.

§8 paphūjāṃ: *paphūj-* ‘to collect’, inf. *-āṃ* < *-ānä*, parallel to *märāṃ*, from *mar-* ‘to die’, inf. in Archive 3/1.39 §16.

§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 vī [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[ä]: ‘service’.

§16 tsāṣṭa: ‘calm, at ease’.

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

This document is an order issued by *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, as shown by his signum at the end, to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, Darauka, and Yseviṭa. The latter two were *auva-haṃdasta*s of Birgaṃdara and Phaṃnai respectively, as attested in Archive 3/3.10. In this order, Sudārrjāṃ 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.

Text

§1 [1][ṣa’ samauca ttye pracaina] cu

§2 30 6 mye kṣuṇi ttāṃjiri 20 2 mye haḍai erma tsūkāṃ va hirä pajistādi

§3 [2][x x x paśā ava]śāna śe hvaṃḍye haṃbā himye paṃ-se mūri

§4 mūra-haurā hvaṃḍi himya 40 6

§5 mūri [3][himārä 20 3 ysā’cya]

§6 [tti buri] hvaṃḍi cu mūri haurīdi

§7 āskuvīra makali ∩ pu’ysdaki ∩ śī’laṃ ∩ svarrjāṃ ∩ [4][… ∩ … ∩] ysāḍadatti ∩ saṃgūlai ∩ suhadāysi ∩ puñade ∩ vasa[5][de ∩ … ∩]

§8 [phaṃña khara]murr[ai] || si vidyadatti || kucalai ∩ sarkāṃ ||

§9 pa’ sudatti ∩ sude pu[6][ñausa ∩ …] ∩

§10 birgaṃdara mādāśi ∩ maṃgali ∩ mulaki ∩ sudatti ∩ sirphūki ∩ namaubu[7][di ∩ … ∩ har]yāsaki ∩ naṃdaki ∩ ṣanīraki ∩ vidyadatti ∩ hunaki ∩ budadatti [8][… ∩ …]datti [9][… ∩]

§11 [cira …]ka ∩ īrvadatti ∩ nahvạni ∩ visarrjāṃ ∩ hvīviṭi śau ∩ brạna ∩ 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 ttāṃjiri [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, Svarrjāṃ, […, …,] Ysāḍadatta, Saṃgūlai, Suhadāysi, Puñade, Vasade, […]

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

§9 From Pa': Sudatti, Sude, Pu[6][ñausa …, …],

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

§11 [From Cira: …]ka, Īrvadatta, Nahvạna, Visarrjāṃ, Hvīviṭi one, Brạna, 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] Ttuṃjārā (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 *śe hvaṃḍye* in Archive 3/1.24 §5 and Archive 3/1.31 §5-§6. See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.

§3 hvaṃḍye: *hvand-* 'man', Gen.-dat. sg. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.582) reads: 'hvaṃḍe'.

§4 mūra-haurā hvaṃḍi 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 [himārä 20 3 ysā'cya]: 'The *mūrās* (to be paid) are 23,000.' Restored according to the context. There are 46 men (§4), and every man should pay 500 *mūrās* (§3). 46 × 500 = 23,000.

§6 [tti buri] hvaṃḍi: '[the following] (are) the men'. *tti buri* is still partially visible in the crease of the paper. Compare Archive 3/1.23 §1: *@ tti burä 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', *āskuīra* 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 [phaṃña]: 'in Phaṃnai'. Of the four names listed after this word, two are attested in Archive 3/6.1 §18 as being from Phaṃnai.

§9 pu[ñausa]: 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 ttye nva samauci: '[When you hear the order], according to the agreement…', restored according to a similar formula *khu parau pvī'rau ttye nva parau* 'When you hear the order, according to the order…' in Archive 3/1.3 §3.

§15 pāra-vaysdān-ī: 'its debt acknowledgement'. A similar word *pāra-vaysnä* is attested in Archive 3/1.38 §13. Also attested as *pāra-vaysdāṃ* in SI P103.43 and translated as 'the quittance of the debts'. See SDTV III, p.153. The 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun, *-ī*, refers to *hiri* in §10, 'thing, tax'.

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, *pharṣa* Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara, showing clearly that *pharṣa* Sāṃdara was in Birgaṃdara. In other words, the entire Archive 3, an archive belonging to *pharṣa* 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. Sudārrjāṃ 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 pharṣa sāṃdari vara

§3 [2][paḍāṃdara] ttā parauva hauḍi yuḍeṃ si

§4 rrvī haṃbā hīya vā kṣauta ha[3][jsema]

§5 [vaña] vā hajsaudai 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-ūṃ draya hvaṃḍi vistādi

§8 u ttä mūri [5][x x x] va vāri ṣṭārä

§9 ysaṃthaḍi pastāṃdi jiś[t]i [20] 2 ysā'[ca sa] bisti [6][haṣṭi mūri] sa

§10 aysī āṃ ni bve [si caṃdi] gvaścāṃda u caṃdä va vāri ṣṭāri

§11 [7][x x x] da[ṃ]di akalāści hiri yuḍai

§12 khu ttā h[v]aṃḍi kṣauva ājāṃdāṃdi cū[8]ḍ[i-ṃ] ni pajistai

§13 u vā-t-e haurāña ya

§14 maṃ cu tti mū̱rä ysaṃthaḍi himye

§15 ṣi’ ttadī [9][x x x] akalāścauñä ya

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

§17 khu [10][x x x x x]ta ttī cūḍi haṃkhīysi ni yuḍai

§18 khvai a bvīna ā-t-e maṃ pyaṃtsi [11][hvāñā]ñai ye si

§19 haṃbā uspurri lyiba gveśce himye

§20 vaña tta haṃkhīysi [12][yaṃ]

§21 [u] thyau-tt-ūṃ hirä ci \ttye/ bedi buri ī biśī haṃtsa ysaṃthina paja khu [13][ttā parau] hīśti

§22 khu ttiña māśta paphve himi

§23 khu ni aḍaña māśta ysaṃthi ni [14][ttrāmi]

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

§25 lyiba’ āṃ ma [15][pajistāṃdi]

§26 ci ttye tta hārū-ṃ peri ṣṭāte puṣai vā hajsẹma thyau

§27 ttye vā haṃbā thyau [16][haṃ]khīysä yaṃ si caṃd-e tta va vāri aśti

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

§29 [17]tti mūri vagevedina jisteṃ

Verso

§1 [1][bi]rgaṃdara pharṣa sāṃdari haurą̄ñä

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* Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara

Commentary

§1 [@ spāta su]dārrjāṃ tta parī: 'Spāta 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: '[spāta su]dārrjāṃ tta parī'.

§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 *akṣara*s 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: 'ha^{3}[mīḍa]'. *hamīḍa* should be part of the opening formula, not here.

§5 c[i] uma lun[ä] x-i' biśi' 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' biśi' 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) recons-

tructs and reads: '[hai]dai'.

§9 ysaṃthaḍi pastāṃdi jiś[t]i [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 mū̱ri ysaṃthaḍi pastāṃdi jiśti haṣṭi mū̱ri 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 haṃdira prū vagevidina mūri jisti 20 2 ysā'ca sa bisti* 'Spāta Sudārrjāṃ borrowed 22120 *mūrās* from Vagevida in the Inner Court.'

§9 jiś[t]i: *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: *pātci karūsai thaunakä jistä śau paśa heḍä* 2 'Next, Karūsai 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 jistādä*, '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 puḍä sa sparibistä*, 'Hatkam owes 125'.

§10 gvaścāṃda: *gvaśc-* 'to pay', pf. 2pl.

§11 akalāści: 'unskillful, incompetent', Nom.-acc. sg. For its etymology, see *KT IV*, p.68-69. Bailey reads: 'akalāśca'.

§12 ājāṃdāṃdi: *ājum-*, *ājuṃda-* 'to bring', pf. 3pl. In the Khotanese language at this stage, *āṃ* and *uṃ* often alternate, just as *Sudārrjuṃ*, 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 ^{8}ri 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 akalāścauñä: ‘incompetence’, see commentary on §11.

§16 cūḍi: ‘why’. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.22) reads: ‘cū-ṃ tti’.

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

§18 bvīna: *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 [hvāñā]ñai ye si: ‘it should be said that’. Restored according to the context.

§19 lyiba: ‘total’, uncertain, probably from Tib. *lib.* See *KT IV*, pp.70-71.

§20 [yaṃ]: from *yana*, *yan-* ‘to do’ impv. 2s. Restored by Bailey (*KT IV*, p.22). Compare [*haṃ*]*khīysä yaṃ* in §27.

§21 bedi: from *benda*, ‘(imposed) upon’, uncertain. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.71) equates this word with *bida*, attested in Archive 3/3.4 §4 and Archive 3/3.6 §4.

§21 khu [ttā parau] hīśti: ‘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 māśta 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 aḍaña māśta ysaṃthi ni [ttrāmi]: ‘so that the interest does not [enter] another month.’ Restored according to Archive 3/1.16 §10: *khu aḍa māśta ysaṃthi ni ttrāṃi*.

§24 [x x]mā: unclear. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.22) reconstructs: ‘[draṃ]mā’.

§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.

§24 pīśini: unclear. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.22) reads: 'biśi'.

§26 hārū-ṃ: 'my officials'. For *hārua-* 'official', See commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2..

§26 puṣai: from *puṣa-ī*. *puṣa*, 'completely'. See *Studies II*, pp. 91-94.

§29 tti mūri vagevedina jisteṃ: 'I borrowed these mūrās from Vageveda'. *vagevedina*, *vagevе-da-*, I.-Ab., proper noun. Compare Archive 3/6.10 §1: *spāta sudārrjā haṃdira prū vagevidina mūri jisti 20 2 ysā'ca sa bisti* 'Spāta Sudārrjāṃ borrowed 22,120 *mūrās* from Vagevida in the Inner Court'. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.22) reads: '[.] mūri vageve dina jiste'.

Verso

§1 [bi]rgaṃdara pharṣa sāṃdari: '*Pharṣa* Sāṃdara in Birgaṃdara'. This is an unequivocal evidence showing that *pharṣa* Sāṃdara was in Birgaṃdara. In other words, the entire Archive 3 originated from Birgaṃdara.

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 *akṣara*s 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 sāṃda[2]ri vara {va} u mūra-haṃgāṃ vara

§3 vaña ma haṃbāji mūṛi pajistāṃdi bistä ysā'[3]ca

§4 cu ṣi ttada vāri ṣṭāri

§5 u numa'śūṃ' draya hvaṃḍi vistāṃdi

§6 tti mūṛi ysaṃ[4]thaḍi pastāṃdi {śa} jiśti haṣṭi mūṛi sa

§7 khu \tta/ parau hīśtä

§8 ttū-ṃ vā hiri thyau haṃ[ga]'[5]jari u ma ṣai vā hajsęmyari

§9 khu ttiña māśta paphve himi

§10 khu aḍa [m]ā[6]śta ysaṃthi ni ttrąmi

§11 ttī jsāṃ vā kṣauva hajsęmyari thyau ttye hvaṃḍye dīśta cu vā [7]haṃbā buḍi

§12 paḍāṃda ttā parau hauḍeṃ kṣauvā kiṇa

§13 u na-ṃ vā hauḍāṃda

§14 khu x [8]hīsīdi makali vā hajsęmyari

§15 lyiba' āṃ ma pajīdä

§16 pa{sta}rsaṃdai ha[9]jsęmyarī

§17 vā aśau gänąña himi khu vā kṣauva u tti mūri paiya ni hīsī [10]Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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 salya-bāyai: ‘the Year-leader’. Also attested in Archive 3/1.18 §2 and Archive 3/1.42 §2. Wen Xin (2008, pp.128-29) discusses this title and compares it with *ṣṣau* [A] *salya*, ‘in the year of *ṣṣau* [A]’, a phrase commonly attested in Archive 2. Also see commentary on Archive 3/1.42 §2.

§2 {x} u: ‘and’, part of the opening formula.

§2 mūra-haṃgāṃ: ‘(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 *thaṃgaurāṃ* ‘tax-collector’ in SI P 103.17 (SDTV III, p.142), but the word he refers to is actually *thaṃgavajai*, not *thaṃgaurāṃ*, which is attested in Or.6395/1 (*Catalogue*, p.6).

§4 ttada: ‘so much’, for *ttaṃda*. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.581) reads: ‘tta va’.

§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 vistāṃdi: ‘And they placed three men after them.’ Exact meaning unclear. Compare Archive 3/1.15 §7 *u kṣa-t-ūṃ draya hvaṃḍi vistādi* ‘Three men placed six of them.’

§6 jiśti: *jiy-* ‘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 *jiy-* ‘to take a loan’ with *pajiy-* ‘to ask for, to collect (tax)’.

§8 haṃ[ga]’jari: *haṃggalj-* ‘to gather’, impv. 2p.

§9 paphve himi: *paphūj- paphva-* ‘to collect’, passive potential construction.

§10 ni ttrāmi: ‘it (the interest) may not enter’. *trām-* ‘to enter’, opt. 3s. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p. 581) reads: ‘ttäddrāmi’.

§11 vā: ‘to us’. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.581) reads: ‘va’.

§14 makali: Proper name, attested in Archive 3/1.26 §3 as Sudārrjāṃ’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 pa{sta}rsaṃdai: *parsandaa-* ‘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 hajsęmyarī: ‘Send his (passer-by).’, from *hajsęmyarä-ī*, *hajsem-* ‘to send’, impv. 2p.

§17 aśau: From *aśa-ū. Aśa-*, ‘horse’, Nom.-acc. pl., agreeing with *gänāña.* The 2nd plural enclitic prounoun, *-ū*, is governed by *gänāña.* Hence, ‘you should buy horses’.

§17 gänāña: *gän-* ‘to buy’, participle of necessity, Nom.-acc. m. pl.

§17 paiya: ‘late’. *Dict.*, p.249.

§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* Sudārrjāṃ to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara. Since its right half is damaged, the meaning of this order is not entirely clear. In it, *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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, Sudārrjāṃ 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 [1]|| spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 pharṣa sā[ṃ]dar[ä vara u xxx vara]

§3 […][2]ja ya

§4 khu pravanai yanīra numa'śä' hā kautaji mūrä […]

§5 […] [3]maṃ pye pīḍakä hauḍä u ka'ra si

§6 khaysanaji vā hirä ha[jsema]

§7 […] [4]tti mū̱rä paja paṃ-sa

§8 yina khu draiyvā haḍā mara hīsī

§9 […] [5]kä'ṇa' parau hauḍeṃ si

§10 ī ma haṃgä vistāṃ

§11 vaña burä vā […]

§12 […][6]rä hajse'ma

§13 khv-e kākījā̱ña ni haurāñä himi

§14 phęma āṃ […]

§15 [… hau][7]rīdī

§16 a hā umā̱nī käṇa haṣḍi yuḍe si

§17 kīthai nāsī […]

§18 […] [8]jsārä nä tvaryarä

§19 hamaiya jsāṃ vā ttrāṃ jsārä *kva* Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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 *Kākījāna*.”

§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 pravanai: ‘register’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §24.

§4 numa’śä’: *numalśa*- ‘following’, Gen.-dat. s., also attested in Archive 3/1.16 §5.

§4 kautaji: Hapax, unclear.

§5 ka’ra: ‘scribe’, Nom.-acc. pl. See Yoshida 2006, p.121.

§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 haṃgä: ‘due date, expiry’. See Emmerick 1996, p.117.

§10 vistāṃ: *viśt- vistāta*- ‘to place, to set’, pf. 1s.

§13 kākījāña: Hapax, unclear.

§17 näsī: *näs*- ‘to receive’, opt. 3s.

§19 ttrāṃ: 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 *tvaryarä*, 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 *kūsa*s of grain per man, before the end of the month.

Text

§1[1]@ spāta sudārrjāṃ tta parī

§2 salya-bā[yai pharṣa sāṃdari] [2]vara

§3 vaña vā miḍāṃ ḡyastäna parau ā

§4 haṃbā{ḍa} va śe hvaṃḍye thau [20 3 chā bu’][3]ysi dva chā hvāhi

§5 khu parau pva’ 10śvā haḍvā ttä than haṃga’ja

§6 tcahau[ra x x] [4]yaneṃ paja khv-e uspurri 20 3 chā himi

§7 ttī jsāṃ śe kamala[ji kūsa haysa] [5]kṣe’

§8 khu ttäña māśta jsārä biśi hauḍä himi

§9 ttājerä 10 2 m[ye haḍai ttā pa][6]rau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders thus:

§2 To the Year-leader [*pharṣa* Sāṃdara].

§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 [*kūsa*s (of grain)] per head.

§8 so that all the grain can be delivered this month.

§9 On the 12th of Ttuṃjāra (seventh month), the order went [out to you]. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 salya-bā[yai pharṣa sāṃdari] vara: ‘To the Year-leader [*pharṣa* Sāṃdara]’. Sāṃdara 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 kamala[ji kūsa haysa] kṣe’: ‘Send the poll-tax, 6 [*kūsa*s (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 Ysevidṭä to Viṣṇadattä 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 [1]@ hiyaudä ąmācä ṣṣau viṣṇadattä vara tta haṣḍi yane

§2 aysä [2]kṣā' auvā bisai ysevidṭä

§3 hīye maṃ vā aḍā ąna rrvīya thauna pastāṃdä [pajisti …]

Translation

§1 I hereby make a petition to Lord *āmāca ṣṣau* Viṣṇadatta.

§2 I, Ysevidṭä, a resident of the Six Towns.

§3 O Lord, they ordered to collect additional cloth for the king.

Commentary

§1 ąmācä: Honorific of a high official, Chin. *āmózhī* 阿摩支, 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 *ṣṣau*. For example: *hiyaudä ąmācä ṣṣau śattuṃ* 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 an erroneous reading of Archive 3/3.8 (Or.11252/38) §1.

§1 ṣṣau: Title of an official on the prefecture level. Based on newly discovered Chinese documents, Wen Xin (2008, p.131) suggests that *ṣṣau* most likely corresponds to Chin. *zhīshì* 知事. For a more detailed study of this title across all archives, see Wen Xin 2008a, p.127-133.

§1 viṣṇadattä: Proper noun, attested again in Archive 3/1.4v §1 and Archive 3/5.12 §9, also bearing the title *ṣṣau*. He must be an official on the prefecture level or above. He is also attested with the same title *āmāca ṣṣau* in two documents in Archive 4, namely, IOL Khot 42/3 and IOL Khot 177/3. (*Catalogue*, p.272 and p.394.)

§2 aysä kṣā' auvā bisai ysevidṭä: '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 *aḍārä*.

§3 aḍā ą̄na: Bailey (*SDTV*, p.121) reads: 'aḍāsvą̄na'.

§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 Sudārrjaṃ concerning wheat-sowers, dated to the 26th of Kaja (the second month). Conceivably, Sudārrjaṃ used the blank on the back of an outdated order to write this order, which is dated to the 1st of Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month).

Text

§1 [[1]@ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī]

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 vaña pravanā [2][…] ni pa[na] maṃgārā kīrarāṃ vī khu śe hvaṃḍye kṣīrva-vīrai [3][…] m[ū]ri

§4 ttājiri paḍauysye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SU

§5 [4][…] || tti paṃjsa chā 2 tsuna buysde u na drrai chā

§6 ṣi' cu nāṣṭa kaśti

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 Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month). Signum-SU

§5 5.2 feet in length and not three *chā*s.

§6 This is what falls downward.

Commentary

§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 *akṣara*s 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 haṣḍi yanąmaṃ

§2 kṣvā auvā tsī[ṣī spā[2]ta su]dārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pi’kisina

§3 cu ra ā maṃ mi[ḍā ja][3][sti] piṣkali vī jva himāmaṃ ttaṃdī jasti puñau jsa

§4 cvau vā jasti biśi b[āḍa x] [4][x] parīdi

§5 ttye jasta vañau maṃ pharāka rrvīya kīrä ṣṭārä

§6 u stąna[ḍ]au [x x x] [5][x x] ra maṃ drraya stānaḍa īdi

§7 ṣi jsā śau ysaṃgara ṣṭi

§8 ṣi’ ni ṣṭāṃ rrvīya [kīrä yuḍä ^{6}yīṃdä]

§9 ttarau ṣṭāṃ haṃdira prū lyiba’ pajīdi

§10 u tta ṣṭā ttā rrvīya kīri ni [x yuḍä yīṃ^{7}dä]

§11 [ja]sti mu’śdi parī byaudi khvau vā piṣkala paṃj[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, Viśa’ Vāhaṃ. See introduction of Archive 3/1.41.

§2 kṣvā auvā tsī[ṣī spāta su]dārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pa’kisina: ‘Sudārrjāṃ, *tsīṣī spāta* in the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, together with the commoners.’ In oth-

er words, Sudārrjāṃ makes the petition on behalf of everyone in the Six Towns. A similar formula is found in Archive 3/1.13 §2: 'tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina'. For *hārua-* '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: Skjærvø (*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 rrvīya kīrä: See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.

§6 stānaḍa: 'superior teacher', an honorific referring to monks, from Tib. *ston bla*, synonym of *āśi'rī* 'Doctor, reverend'. (*KT IV*, p.119) Kumamoto (1996, p.50) provides more supporting evidence from Khotanese documents from Dunhuang. Yoshida (2006, p.124), following Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaya (1996, pp.174-175), suggests that *stānaḍa* refers to an official on the village level, comparable to *chaupaṃ*. His argument, however, is based on a flawed interpretation of Hedin 18 (Archive 3/6.7). See commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §10. The meaning *stānaḍa* can also be demonstrated in Archive 3/1.41 §2: *cira kṣvā auvā stānaḍāṃ vara u hamīḍa pa'kisanāṃ vara* 'to the superior teachers in Cira-Six Towns and all the commoners', or, 'to the monks and the laymen', including everyone in the prefecture.

§8 [yuḍä yīṃdä]: 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 *haṃdira prū.* It can be inferred that *haṃdira 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 mu’śdi parī 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]@ hiyaudä spāta sudārrjuṃ vara tta haṣḍi [yanāmaṃ]

§2 [… ci][2]rāṇa auya

§3 hīye mahe ma ttye ttājä jsa kṣa ysā[…]

§4 […] [3]ttā śira kye sī budesa tsue

§5 u hvāṣṭāṃ hīya da […]

§6 […] [4]ni tcerā cuai pūrä ye cisti pa'jsä

§7 ṣai' āṃ kīri ni īṃdä […]

§8 […] [5]harṣä haśdä u pyarī dvī mastāṇñä īṃdä

§9 u […]

§10 […] [6]āṃ kīri māṇnī beṃda haśdä khu ysāḍa hvaṃḍi pa[…]

§11 […][7]śāḍi hvaṃḍi ra ma tti īṃdä cu āṃ hvāṣṭāṃ hīya […]

§12 [vaña-ṃ aspāta hi][8]yaudäna khu dā byehāṃ

§13 bulāṇni maṃ śi'rä […]

§14 [9]u spāta yąnivittä ma pūri ā [-i …]

§15 […] [10]haṃdara prrū tsue

§16 budesa haṃda[ra prrū tsve]

§17 [… haṃ][11]dara prrū tsve

§18 vidyabudä ṣi' va […]

Verso

§1 [1]|| spāta sudārrjuṃ

Translation

Recto

§1 To Lord *spāta* Sudārrjuṃ, [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* Yąnivitta'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 Sudārrjuṃ.

Commentary

§1 tta haṣḍi [yanāmaṃ]: '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 hīye: *hiyaude* 'lord', V. (Skjærvø, communication during class) See Archive 3/1 II. Formula.

§4 kye sī: unclear. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.88) takes *śira kye sī* as one word.

§6 tcerā: *tcera-* 'to be done', participle of necessity, nom.-acc. pl.

§8 harṣä: meaning and reading unclear.

§8 haśdä: *hays-* ‘to send’, pres. 3s.

§8 mastāña: ‘fodder (?)’, see *Dict.*, p.326.

§11 śāḍi: unclear. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.88) reconstructs ‘[pa?]śāḍi’.

§12 byehāṃ: *byehāṃ*, *byeh-* ‘to obtain’, pres. 1pl.

§12 [vaña-ṃ aspāta hi]yaudäna 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: ‘vaña-ṃ āspāta hiyaudäna khu dā byehūṃ’. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.21) reads *vā* for *dā*.

§13 bulāni maṃ śi’rä: *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. Sāṃdara then used the back of the used petition to write the roster.

Text

§1 [1][@] tti burä thau[na-h]aurā pa[ś]āta

§2 cira phāṃji || salamai || īrvadatti || naṃdaki || sa[… ||] [2]saṃgūlai || puñade || vasade bikināṃ mādā[śi ||] saṃgaki || maṃgali || mulaki || […] [3]ṣanīrä || ha[ryāsa]ki || \ṣi' spaśaña tsu x/ vidya-datti || sudarmä || [pa]ṃjamaki || […]

§3 [4]tti vā ttū paṃdi hvaṃḍi harya kṣīrva-vīrā cu spaśaña ni tsvādi ||

§4 […] [5]yaudari ∩ vidyadatti ∩ kharajsajsi

§5 ṣi' myāra vī āsti bu'ysī va himye […]

§6 [6]@ hiyaudi spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta haṣḍi yani

§7 [… bi][7]śąni

§8 ttā nąma pīḍai

§9 kāṃ paṃ[d]ye haṣṭi

§10 thyau vā parau paśa

§11 maṃ pūra ttara ṣṭāṃ […]

§12 [… tsa][8]haura spaśarāṃ ra haḍā baka īdi

§13 khu cira buri spaśara tsī[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, Vidyadatta, Kharajsajsa

§5 He was at the *dams. It was (too?) long (far?) for him (to come?)

§6 I hereby make a petition to Lord *spāta* Sudārrjuṃ.

§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 pa[ś]āta: 'commissioned', from *paśś-* 'to send'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

§1 thau[na-h]aurā pa[ś]āta: 'commissioned with cloth-delivering'. Compare *mūra-haurā hvaṃḍi* 'the *mūra*-delivering men' in Archive 3/1.14 §4.

§2 bikināṃ: 'Bikina'. Name of a village in Birgaṃdara, also attested in Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§3 kṣīrva-vīrā: 'state-worker', Nom.-acc. pl., from **kṣīrva-kīraa-*. See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.

§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 yani

§2 a pharṣa sāṃdari

§3 [2][hīye paḍāṃda vā parau parstai hauḍa si]

§4 [ṣa]pāñara sameva

§5 ttī jsāṃ paśā avaśāna cirāṣṭa śe [3][hvaṃdye …]

§6 spāta vīsa hīvī puñadatti ṣapāña viśta

§7 va[4][… pa]śātāṃ bida kīri ni bāysdai

§8 tti paśāti bida ṣi kīri nä yīdi

§9 [5][…]pa*ry*a hauḍi

§10 ā vā vā ttāguttā parau parī hauḍi

§11 ttī jsāṃ vā śe ja[6][…]

§12 […] tsīṣīya ysāḍa haysīru u vilaka

§13 u ṣanīri va[7][… pa]rau

§14 mūca'ci haṣṭūsamye haḍai ttā haṣḍi yuḍi

§15 [8][…] u ganaṃ haṃdāḍa-y-*ū* spāta hajsaudāṃdi

§16 vaña ā parau […]

§17 [9][…] naraṃda […]

Translation

§1 I hereby make a petition [to Lord *tsīṣī 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 Puñadatta 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 *tsīṣi*'s old men and boys.

§13 And Ṣanīra …. order.

§14 On the 18th of Mūtca'ca (ninth month) he made a petition to you.

§15 The *spāta*s have sent the reaped wheat to you…

§16 Now, then, an order …

§17 …went out ...

Commentary

§1 [@ hiyaudi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ]: 'Lord, *tsīṣī 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 [hīye paḍāṃda vā parau parstai hauḍa si ṣa]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 Sāṃdara received from Sudārrjāṃ. 2) According to the restoration of line 1, there must be 14 *akṣara*s 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 hauḍa*, '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 avaśāna: '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 [hvaṃdye]: 'everyone'. The phrase *śe hvaṃdye* 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 hīvī puñadatti: '*spāta* Vīsa's Puñadatta'. *Spāta* Vīsa and Puñadatta are attested together again in Archive 3/2.8, a bilingual voucher. In the Chinese text of Archive 3/2.8, Puñadatta 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 he 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 Ṣanīra. 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 haṃdāḍa-y-[ū]: 'reaped for you'. *haṃdār-*, *haṃdāḍa*, 'to bring together, to reap'. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.92) reads *yu*, but the lower end of the *akṣara* 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 [1]@ spāta sudārrjā tta parī

§2 [pharṣa sāṃdara vara u] [2]kīrarāṃ u pa'kisenā vara

§3 vaña thaiṣī bulā(ni) rmąmi [śä'räna parau ā sä]

§4 […] [3]miḍā jasti hīyā māśa-vīrā āstaṃna paśā a[vaśāna … ṣapā][4]ña viśtari

§5 khu umi parau pvīrau ttinī vā tti ṣapāñara samevya[rä]

§6 […] [5]vī būjāri

§7 tāgutta hvāṣṭa ttye ṣapāñi va pa'jsi ysurri yu[ḍāṃdä]

§8 [ni … ṣapā][6]ñara hatcasta

§9 mūtca'ci śūvarabistamye haḍai ttā [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 Mūca'ca, [the order went out] to you. [Signum-SU]

Commentary

§3 thaiṣī: 'Commissioner-in-chief', referring to the military commander of the garrison stationed in the Fort of Phema, corresponding to Chin. *dàshǐ* 大使 (Yoshida 2006, p.23 and 2008a, p.468), Tib. *the śi* (Rong 1993, p.413), MMP *t̲'yšy* (Yoshida 1994, p.371, not *dàshī* 大師 as he suggests there). This is one of the Chinese titles adopted by the Khotanese. Other such titles include Khot. *phąna kvana* ~ Chin. *pànguān* 判官, Khot. *cāṃṣṣī* ~ Chin. *zhǎngshǐ* 長史, and Khot. *tsīṣī* ~ Chin. *cìshǐ* 刺史. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C) and Archive 3/1.2 §2.

§3 bulā(ni) rmąmi [śä'räna]: '*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 *Lùn Măngrè* 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 *lụnä ha'bäśi'rä* '*Blon* Lha bzher'.

§3 vaña thaiṣī bulā(ni) rmąmi [śä'räna parau ā sä]: '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 samevya[rä]: *samev-* ‘to agree on’, impv. 2pl. For the imperative ending *-yarä*, 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 *mūrā*s, as in Archive 3/3.4 §8. One kind of grain can be replaced by another, as in Archive 3/6.1 §.

§8 [ni … ṣapā]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 sāṃdarä vara

§3 makalä maunai pa[2]śā ye

§4 vaña paśā naṃdaki biysīye

§5 ī āstaṃna kīri makalä parya

§6 naṃdaki ni ma [viśta]

§7 [3]u ttī ṣi jsāṃ naṃdaki spaśa{ña}ñāṣṭi gvāri yuḍe

§8 u pyaḍai ṣi hā ṣapāṇñä [viśtāṃdai]

§9 [khu] [4]parau pva' ṣapāṇñä tti cu vaña hatcaste naṃdaki ṣapāṇñä ni perri ya

§10 ṣapāṇñä ttye [haṃdarä] [5]peri

§11 īṃ tti ṣapāṇñä cu vā vaña naṃdaki hīsīdi makalä 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-ī*, 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 *ña* is deleted and the resulting form *spaśañāṣṭi* 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 Sudārrjuṃ for help. Sudārrjuṃ 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 ṣapāṇä ttye [haṃdarä] peri: 'His canteen duty should be done [by someone else].' Restored according to the context. '[makalä]' is another possibility.

Archive 3/1.27 (Or.11252/35b) Order concerning canteen duty

This document is an order from Sudārrjuṃ to Sāṃdara. In it, Sudārrjuṃ 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 Sudārrjuṃ's signum at the end.

Text

§1 [1]|| spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä va

§3 parau ttā hauḍeṃ si

§4 [2]puṣa vā ttrāmīrau haṣḍe yanāṃmaṃ ttye jsārä ki'ṇa

§5 ni ā vā ttrą̄mīrau paya [3]ā himi

§6 thyau vā puṣi ttrą̄mīrau haṃtsa gūhyau jsa cu bure tsīdä

§7 ṣapą̄ñarāṃ āṃ vā [4]būka ni hī(sī)dä

§8 hvaṃḍi āṃ ma gva-v-āṃ na dijsārä

§9 thyau vā ṣapą̄ñara haysa Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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

§4 puṣa: ‘completely’. See *Studies II*, pp. 91-94.

§5 haṣḍe yanąmaṃ ttye jsārä ki’ṇa: ‘We will make a petition concerning the grain.’ It seems that Sāṃdara has some trouble concerning the tax in grain, and Sudārrjāṃ 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 dijsārä: OKhot. därjs- ‘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][2]rä vara

§3 khu parau pva’ anaru ṣapāña ma {ha} haysa

§4 [x x x] [3]10 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]@ hiyaudi tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vara tta haṣḍi yani

§2 [a ksā' auvā bisai] [2]mulaki

§3 hīye muhu ñā va parstai vistāti

§4 u vaña buri […][3]rya

§5 a mara ṣapāña kaṣṭūṃ

§6 būki āṃ ni byehī

§7 u khu ūtca [ni basta himi …][4]te ñā hīhina haṃbīḍi

§8 kari bāḍi auva ūtca ni ttrāmi

§9 jsāri [… nä rru][5]sti himi

§10 vaña-ṃ va hīye parya ceṃdye khu ṣa' 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 ksā' 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 *akṣara*s are missing. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.27) assumed that only two *akṣara*s are missing in the first line and supplied *aysä* in the lacuna. It is more likely, however, that more *akṣara*s 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 *aysä kṣā' auvā bisai ysevidṭä* '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 hīye: *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 būki: 'shift, team'. See commentary on Archive 3/4.18p §1.

§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’.

§9 [nä rru]sti himi: *rruv-*, *rrusta* ‘to grow’, potential construction, restored from context.

§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 sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 spāta vīsa vara

§3 mulakä ñā […] [2]ṣapāṇä pārrva

§4 khu parau pva’ āṣiṃji vī hā hvaṃḍi haysa

§5 khu ūtca ha[…]

§6 [3]skarihveri 12 mye haḍai ttā parau tsue

§7 khu ñā hīhina ni haṃbīḍi Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders thus

§2 To *spāta* Vīsa:

§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 Seṃjsīja (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 [1][spāta vīsa tta parī]

§2 pa' sudi vara u sudatti vara

§3 umānī chaska ba[2][…]

§4 [haṃ]dara stūra ājimyarä

§5 u śe hvaṃḍye chaski 2 ṣaṃga

§6 paśā a[3][vaśāna …] hauḍa

§7 sejsīji 20 6 m(y)e haḍai parau tta parī

§8 [4][…]

§9 3 paṃdāta tsve himyi

§10 umānī va vārä paṃdāta ṣṭārä

§11 vañau va ma[5] ṃ[…]

§12 ṣi khaudi vā tsūva

§13 ttū āysaṃ drraśī'rau khvau ttāgutta nijsa[6][ṣṭä yīndä]

§14 […] b[u]t[t]aṃdai suhade svarrnadi 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 *ṣaṃga*s of barley.

§6 Both the commissioned and the non-commissioned, deliver …

§7 On the 26th of Seṃjsīja (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 […] Buttaṃdai, Suhade, Svarrnade in Āskūra.

Commentary

§6 paśā a[vaśāna]: See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.

§6 sejsīji 20 6 mye haḍai parau tta parī: 'On the 26th of Seṃjsīja (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 nijsa[ṣṭä yīndä]: *nijsäṣ- nijsäṣṭa-* '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 [1][@] spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 vaña vā hvaṃḍä [x x] [2][x] ma āna tta ma hvāṃdä si

§4 pe’ vī tta paṃdä paskyāṣṭa muttūṃ himye

§5 u ttī ṣi jsāṃ tta birgaṃdarajāṃ [paṃdāvā] [3]biṃdä khūṇā ṣṭe

§6 ṣi’ cä ṣä’ hirä ṣṭä cu āṃ hā hvaṃḍä haḍā kīrä jänīdä

§7 u paṃdä āṃ bū̆manä [x x x]

§8 [khu] [4]parau pva’ hvaṃḍä hā bāya 10

§9 var-e-ṃ kīrä parya khu burä nä dāśīde

§10 bāra bāra hā gaysä ha[ysa]

§11 [khu tta ūtca] [5]jsāṃ āṣaijä jä vī kaṃthä hālai narą̄maṃcä

§12 pātcä bāra bāra gaysä parya näśāta

§13 ā [x x x x x x] [6]būma hime

§14 khu tta hvāṣṭāna stūra-pānä hatcyāre

§15 vaña thyau khu ttī nä hūñä sä nä pyūṣṭeṃ 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 Birgaṃdara.

§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'*.

§4 muttūṃ: meaning unclear. Bailey renders it as 'bad'. *Dict.*, p.335.

§5 birgaṃdarajāṃ [paṃdāvā] biṃdä: 'on [the roads] of Birgaṃdara'. *Biṃ* 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]: *ūtcā-*, 'water', N. f., restored according to *narāṃmaṃcä*, 'to go out', pres. part. f. N. and *āṣaijä* 'pond'.

§11 āṣaijä jä: *āṣṣiṃyā-* 'pond', G. f. s. The second *jä* is a dittography. This pond must be *phąnājąñä āṣaiṃji* 'the pond of Phaṃnai' mentioned in Archive 3/1.36 §11.

§11 hālai: 'direction, towards'. *Dict*., p.480.

§11 narąmaṃcä: *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 gaysä parya näśāta: ‘Order to put loads and loads of reed’, similar to *baśa’ baśa’ hā gaysä näśarä* ‘Place loads and loads of reed there’ in Archive 3/1.33 §8.

§14 stūra-pānä: ‘herdsmen of draft animals’. *Dict.*, p.229.

§14 hatcyāre: *hatcy-* ‘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 Śvarabhadraand may have left this note of delivery failure and brought the letter back to Sudārrjāṃ.

Text

§1 [1]@ spāta sudārrju(ṃ) tta parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 vaña vā śaṃ[…][2]rä kīṃtha āṃ naraṃdä

§4 dañai däthaḍai mara āskvīra bāḍa mau vā bara

§5 ha[…] [3]jsāṃ vā haysa

§6 u kīrarā jsāṃ vā tsūva āskvīra

§7 u ttī jsāṃ tta āṣaijä vī pad[i …] [4]hā ysai ysai hvaṃḍä bāya 20

§8 baśa' baśa' hā gaysä näśarä u gaysä ṇe[yarä]

§9 [khu …] [5]būma jastä himi

§10 khu d(au)la nä byehi u pe' vī \ś{ī}i'rī/ pa'jsä

§11 āṃ va aśa vahąnī[de …]

§12 [6] || āskūrī [haṃ]dastä ā [7]ysāḍadattä

§13 hīśvā padi parya jaśti

§14 āskūryā hīśa' pyähaitta 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, *haṃdasta* 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*[*dā*] 'earth' here, without giving specific reasons.

§3 dañai: from *daṃña-ī*, *damäna*-, 'house', L.s., see *Dict*., p.152.

§3 däthaḍai: '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[i]: 'road', attested again in §13.

§8 näśarä: *näś*- 'to place', *impv.* 2pl., *Dict.*, p.185. The subject of the verb is *pharṣa* Sāṃdara and the 20 men led by him.

§8 ṇe[yarä]: OKhot. *niṣā'y*- > *ṇe'y*-, 'to place', impv. 2pl. Bailey reads (*SDTV*, p.36): 'be x'. Note that the hook is missing.

§9 jastä himi: *gyeh*, *jeh*-, 'to cleanse, heal', potential construction, attested again as *jaśti*, 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'.

§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 nä 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 \s{ī}i’rī/: 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 vahąnī[de]: *vahan-*, ‘to descend’, pres. 3p.

§12 || āskūrī [haṃ]dastä ā: ‘The *haṃdasta* of Āskura has come.’ This sentence is an insertion above the last line.

§12 ysāḍadattä: Proper name. Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra is attested in Archive 3/3.10 with two other *auva-haṃdasta*s.

§13 hīśvā and *hīśa’*, ‘uneven places’, L. pl. Meaning inferred from context by Bailey in *SDTV*, p. 39. Dict. 486.

§14 pyähaitta: *pähay-* ‘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 *akṣara*s 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 [1]bulụnä rmąmä śi'rä tta parī

§2 [spāta marṣi' vara …][2]na u spāta vīsa vara hamīḍa hārvāṃ va[ra……]

§3 [va][3]ña mara ma phęma ysaujsä mau niśtä

§4 vaña x x pa x [……]

§5 [4]khu śau khūrä ni himāte ttī dva kūsa puña ma yaṃ [……]

§6 […] [5]bāysdai khu ma ttiña māśta 7 mye haḍai hīś[t]ä -au [……]

§7 [6]seṃjsīji 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*s … do some merit here (?) …

§6 … see to it so that it *comes here on the 7th of this month……

§7 On the 6th of Seṃjsīja (the fourth month) the order (went out to you).

§8 (Tib.) [Pass to] *spāta* Marṣa [and *spāta* Vīsa.]

Commentary

§1 bulụnä rmąmä-śi'rä: '*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 [va]ña: 'now'. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.87) reads: '… ^{3}u'. Compare it with *ña* in the fourth line and *u* in the second line.

§3 phęma: Phema is the garrison where the Tibetan soldiers and officials were stationed. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (C).

§4 vaña x x pa x: The *akṣara*s after *va* are damaged. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.87) reads: 'vaña-ṃ śā mau pa*śa*'.

§5 khūrä: 'jar (of wine)', inferred from context.

§5 puña ma yaṃ: ‘do some merit here’. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.87) reads ‘puñamay*ä*’ and tentatively takes it as a proper noun, but it is not attested elsewhere in Archive 3. Here I follow Bailey’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.

§8 (Tib.) spa : mar : dang [: spa : vis : la : spo]: ‘[Pass] to *spāta* Marṣa [and *spāta* Vīsa.]’. *Spa*:*mar* must refer to *spāta* Marṣa, the only *spāta* in Archive 3 whose name starts with *mar*. The second addressee must be *spāta* Vīsa, who is attested in the opening formula in §2. The reading of *dang*, instead of *pa* (*Catalogue*, p.87), is confirmed by Archive 3/1.46 §3: ‘phar : śa : dang : s[pa ...]’. [*la:spo*] is restored according to Archive 3/1.43 §6: ‘spa : sor : zhong : la : spo’. *Spāta* Marṣa’ and *spāta* Vīsa are also attested together in Archive 3/2.8, Archive 3/2.9, Archive 3/3.7, and Archive 3/5.14.

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 [1][x x x x x x] -eśvarabhadrä śaṃdā haṃbujsai hū̱ñūṃ

§2 spāta sudārrjuṃ cu ttā bu[2][x x x x x]rä vīrāṣṭä pīḍaka hauḍeṃ

§3 ttädī-y-ū parya pa'jsaude

§4 rrvī tta hāmai ṣṭä dvrrāku [3][x x x pa]rya hajsaude

§5 u ttī jsāṃ tta mau ṣṭä parya-t-ī pirśtä khu nä bajaittä

§6 hvāṣṭa ā[4] ṃ[x x x mā]śta 10 mye haḍai narāmīṃdä

§7 paṃjsa ṣaṃga aśparä na ma vā pu'sa 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 *ṣaṃga*s of lucerne. Signum-SU

Commentary

§1 […] śvarabhadrä śaṃdā haṃbujsai hūñūṃ: '[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 pirśtä: *prīh-*, *pirsta-* ‘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 nä 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 x mā]śta 10 mye haḍai narąmīṃdä: ‘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 x māśtä] 10 mye haḍai narąmīṃdä ’.

§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* Sudārrjāṃ to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara concerning wine, sheep, and barley flour. In it, Sudārrjāṃ 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 [1]|| pharṣa sāṃdari

Verso

§1 [@ spāta sudārrjuṃ tta] parī

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 cu vā pīḍakä hau[2][ḍāṃdä si]

§4 [x x x x x x] nä himi

§5 khu ttara ni byehi puṣa barä phęma hvaṃḍä spāśä

§6 [3][x x x x x x]dä yuḍä yuḍāṃdä

§7 u vara ą̄na jsāṃ vā pasi gęnä

§8 ttaṃdī haḍä va[4][x x x x x x x x x] hīś[ä] āskvīra

§9 tta mau ṣṭi parya-t-ī pirśtä khu ni bajaittä

§10 [5][hvāṣṭa āṃ x x x māśtä] 10 mye haḍai narą̄mīṃdä

§11 u ṣe' hirä biśä phąnāją̄ñä āṣaiṃ[6][ji …]

§12 […] hi'ysda ṣṭa viśta

§13 vaña mara hvāṣṭāṃ vaska hāṃ[7][…hvaṃ]ḍ[ä] nä īdä cu hą̄mai haurīdä

§14 vaña ttā hvaṃḍä paśāteṃ dva

§15 [8][…] kaṃthä vīrāṣṭä āṃ tta hira pajīṃdä

§16 [9][……] ā . hā jaṃ hā Signum-SU

Translation

Recto

§1 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara

Verso

§1 [*Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ] orders thus:

§2 To *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.

§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 Phaṃnāi …

§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: *bara-* 'to carry', opt. 3s. Moreover, *spāśä* in §5 and *gẹnä* in §7 are also in the optative.

§8 hīśa: 'uneven places (?)', also attested in Archive 3/1.33 §13 and §14. See *SDTV*, p.39.

§10 [hvāṣṭa āṃ x x x māśtä] 10 mye haḍai narąmīṃdä: '[The (Tibetan) masters] are going out on the 10th [of … month]', restored according to Archive 3/1.35 §7: 'hvāṣṭa āṃ […mā]śta 10 mye haḍai narąmīṃdä.' 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 ṣṭa: This *akṣara* is damaged and the reading is uncertain. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.112) reads '-v-'.

§14 hāmai: ‘barley flour’.

§16 ā . hājaṃ 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 [1]vaña tta saṃ barīja va śirä ādarä yanīrau khu bāḍ[ä]na [haṃ][2]dāḍä yaṃda

§2 u ttarau spaśarāṃ aśi ye

§3 vañai ṣi mu[3]ḍä

§4 ttū aśi paḍāṃda hamīḍa gyidä

§5 vañai pātcä hamīḍa [4]kṣvau auyau jsi gyinīrau

§6 ttuṃjerä 17 mye haḍai pīḍakä 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 Ttuṃjārā (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 deixis, 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 *gyedä* (*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 *paḍāṃda* 'formerly', a perfect is expected here, either *girye* pf. 3s, or even *giryāṃda* pf. 2p. Could it be a scribal error?

§5 auyau: *auya-* 'townsman, resident in the town', I.-Ab. pl. Not recognized as such by Bailey (*KT IV*, p.92).

§6 pīḍakä: ‘document’. This term indicates that the sender and the recipients were of equal or comparable social status. Otherwise, *parau* ‘order’ or *haṣḍa* ‘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 (*Diǎn* 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 Birgaṃdara 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 *kūsa*s 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*s 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] [2]spāta budarmä pīḍakä hauḍe se

§4 aśūṃ ma pastādä gärye

§5 h[ā…]

§6 […][3]na hi'ysda ya

§7 u tcahaura-ṃ ma järma himya

§8 ttyāṃ va ma kāṃjsa […… dvāse paṃ][4]jsāsī ṣaṃgä

§9 u kāṃjsa himye paṃjsūsi kusa śau ṣaṃgä

§10 […]

§11 [5]paṃñe āṃ naḍä nva kāṃjsa pastä kṣasi ṣaṃga

§12 khu parau pva’ ttū [kāṃjsa vā x x x thyau hajse’ma]

§13 [6]khu vā spāta budarmä pāra-vaysdä ājäme

§14 khu ma hi’ysda […]

§15 [khu] [7]ysaṃthi ni hime

§16 u khu jsāṃ stūrāṃ hvaiyä ni pajīdä nū[varä]

§17 [x x x x mye hadai ttā] [8]parau 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] *ṣaṃga*.

§9 And the sesame amounted to 15 *kūsa*s 1 *ṣaṃga*.

§10 […]

§11 He demanded 16 *ṣaṃga*s 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 *akṣara*s of each line can be established.

§3 pīḍakä: '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 paṃ]jsāsī ṣaṃgä: '(at the price of) [2]50 [*mūrās* per] *ṣaṃga*', analogous to *tca'hause paṃjsāsī chā* '(at the price of) 450 *mūrās* 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 āṃ naḍä nva kāṃjsa pastä kṣasi ṣaṃga: 'He demanded 16 *ṣaṃga*s 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 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: 'mąñe vā paskyāṣṭa thyau hajsę'ma'.

§13 pāra-vaysdä: ‘debt acknowledgement’, attested as *pāra-vaysdān-ī* in Archive 3/1.14 §15. See commentary on Archive 3/1.14 §15. Translated as ‘payment-price in Catalogue, p.110.

§13 äjäme: *ājum-* ‘to bring’, pres. 2s.

§16 nū[varä]: *nuvar-* ‘to bring, take away’, inf.

Archive 3/1.39 (Or.11252/4v) 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 [1][@] spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī {pha}

§2 pharṣa sāṃdarä vara

§3 vaña ā[ṃ] ma pa[rau ā si]

§4 stūra pajīdä pira-vārāṃ va

§5 āṣṭaṃdādeṃ saṃ īṃ mara kīṃtha pajī

§6 ttī hā haṣḍä yuḍeṃ si

§7 ma[ra x x x īṃdä]

§8 ttī tta parsti si

§9 khu maṃ kaṃthi vara pahājīdä u ni ma hīsīṃde

§10 kīrarā biśä dau[4][la pa'jsa byehīdä]

§11 [vaña] ttā ysāḍadattä tsve

§12 stūrai va hā thyau sameva u śau-t-ī jsāṃ hā hvaṃḍä viśta

§13 kheṃ [5][x x x x x x]-īṃ dä

§14 khu ma abyūṣṭä vīra kaṃthä hīsīṃdä

§15 pira-vārā vā pīḍakä hauḍāṃdä se

§16 [6][x x x x x x]dūṃ haṃjsyārau hvaṃḍä märāṃ kṣūna

§17 cvai tta jsärä ī cūḍai āṃ puṣa ni hajsęmä

§18 hvāṣṭ-e va [7][x x haṃ]bā'ki yanāre

§19 khu parau pva' cv-e ra tta jsārä ī thyau thyau-t-ī parya därśtä

§20 khu tta hve nä ī biśai draṃmai naṣkāra

§21 [8][khu tta] jsārä däthaḍai biśä cära paphve hime Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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.

§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.

§4 pira-vārā: *pira-vāra-*, 'silkworm raiser', G.-D. pl., from **pira-pāraa-*. See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §10.

§5 āṣṭaṃdādeṃ: *āṣṭan-* 'to be about to' pf. 1s. + inf. or pres.part.

§5 pajī: from *pajiy-* 'to ask for, to collect (tax)', inf.

§9 vara: *vara-* 'door', see *Studies II*, pp.125-26.

§9 pahājīdä: *prahālj-* '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 byehīdä]: 'they will [get heavy] sticks', restored from context. Compare *pa'jsa daula* in Archive 3/1.3 §9 and *pa'jsä ārrä byehä* in Archive 3/1.1 §6 (K).

§12 u śau-t-ī jsāṃ hā hvaṃḍä viśta: '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.

§14 abyūṣṭä vīra: 'before dawn', from *byūs- byūṣta-* 'to become light', *Dict.*, p.5., and *SGS*, p. 105.

§16 haṃjsyārau: from *haṃjsyāre-ū*. *haṃjsaṣ-* 'to intend, be about to' + inf. or + part. pres.

§16 märāṃ: *mar-* 'to die', pres. part.

§16 kṣū̱na: *kṣū* ‘hunger’.

§18 [haṃ]bā’ki yanāre: *haṃbālke yan-* ‘to fear’

§19 därśtä: *drays-* ‘to load’, inf., *Dict*., p.160.

§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 däthaḍai: ‘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 [1][…] pu’sūṃ

§2 spāta śirīdatti ttā stūrā va parau buḍi

§3 10 5 stūra pajīdi

§4 [2][…] kä 1 si vidyadatti 1

§5 śau jsā hā thu haura u chaski hā drraśīrau

§6 drrai stū[3][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 pajīdi: '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 drraśīrau: '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 *stānaḍa*s 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* 曜, 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 *akṣara*s 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 equipments. 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 [1]@ miṣḍi ḡyastä tta parī

§2 cira kṣvā auvā stānaḍāṃ vara u hamī[ḍa] pa[’ki][2]sanāṃ vara

§3 cu vā haṣḍi yuḍāṃda si

§4 phịmāṣṭau āṃ āysīrāṃ āstaṃna pariṣkhāri pa[śa]

§5 [3]vāśa’nai pastiṃ pyūṣṭe

§6 cu duna pūna hu’śtä be’sa ttyāṃ va ādarä yanīrau cvaṃ hā [x x x x][4]da

§7 cu āysīra ttyāṃ kiṇau va hā ttāguttau pīḍakä pasteṃ hauḍe si

§8 dikhautta ṣṭāri

§9 na [ra] [5]yanīṃdä

§10 u baṃgāṃāṃ kiṇa hā aurāśīrau si cirāma śtāka

§11 śe’ siṃ[jsīṃjsä] [6]20 8 mye haḍai ttā parau tsve dvāradirsamye kṣuṇä

§12 umi hā pātcä phęmāṣṭa hamayi tsuñ[a stä]

§13 [7]biśä tta tta haṣḍi yanīrau Signum-VH

Verso

§1 [1][par]äṣäkhārä hīvī pīḍaki

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 Tibetan 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 *piṣkala* 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 pa[’ki]sanāṃ: ‘commoners, ordinary people’, from Chin. *baǐxìng* 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 *stānaḍa*s and the residents in the Six Towns. In other words, this order was responding to a petition concerning equipments that the *stānaḍa*s had made to the King of Khotan on behalf of all the residents of the Six Towns. The *stānaḍa*s must be in charge of military affairs.

§4 phịmāṣṭau: from *phịmāṣṭa-ū*, ‘to Phema, for you’. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.34) reads: ‘phęmāṣṭau’. Phema refers to the fort where the garrison was located. See commentary on *phęmāña kīṃtha* in Archive 3/1.1 §6.

§4 pa[śa]: impv. 2s. Although this could be a direct quote from the *stānaḍa*s’ petition to the king, it is highly unlikely that the *stānaḍa*s 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 *pa*[’*ki*]*sanāṃ* 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<śa nāma-> vāśa’nai ’ is too long and therefore unacceptable.

§5 vāśa'nai pastiṃ pyūṣṭe: 'I deigned to listen to its reading.' In other words, the king had the *stānaḍa*s' petition read aloud for him.

§6 cvaṃ hā [x x x x]da: Bailey (*KT IV*, p.126) reconstructs the whole sentence as *cvam 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 *īdä*. Here, *-da* indicates a verb in the second person plural, past tense, such as *yuḍāṃda* 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 dikhautta: 'miserable'.

§9 na [ra] yanīṃdä: "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 śe' siṃ[jsī]ṃ[jsä]: 'the second (= intercalary) Siṃjsījsa (the fourth month)', corresponding to Chin. *rùn sìyuè* 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 Viśa' Vāha's regnal years onto an absolute chronology.

§12 umi: 'you', G.-D. pl., governed by the participle of necessity *tsuña.*

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 *akṣara*s 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 [1]thai[ṣ]ī bulāni rmąmi śi'rä tta parī

§2 kṣvā auvā [sp]ā[ta vidyada][2]ttä vara u salya-bāyai pharṣa sāṃdari vara u kīrarā vara

§3 mara kītha kūs[i] pa[sti pa][3]ttīyi

§4 umānī ttā sī dyāña cī ra kūsi pasti

§5 pharṣa vida kūsi pattīye vā hirä haurāñi caṃda pajīde

§6 30 3 kṣuṇi braṃkhaysji kṣemye haḍai ttā parau tsve

§7 (Tib.) [5]x x 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 rmąmi śi'rä: '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]ttä 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 *akṣara*s 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 *phęmāña kīṃtha* in Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

§3 kūs[i] 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'č-*, 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 *si* to give *kūsi*, 'the drum'.

§4 paśi: *paś-*, 'to let go, release, send', inf. see above

§6 30 3 kṣuṇi: 'the 33rd regnal year', or year 799 CE, when *pharṣa* sāṃdari was the Year-leader.

§7 bir : ga : 'dru: 'Birgaṃdara', attested as *be-rga-'dra* in *li-yul lung-bstan-pa* (Prophecy of the Li Country). See Zhang and Rong 1983, p.82 and Emmerick 1967, p.72. Like other Tibetan phrases in Archive 3, this line of Tibetan indicates the location of the recipients of the order, providing yet another piece of evidence pointing Birgaṃdara as the origin of Archive 3.

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 bulāni rmąmi śi']ri tta parī

§2 spāta sudā[2][rrjāṃ vara]

§3 […] kharrjāṃ ṣapāña śera ganama-kerai ṣṭi

§4 yau[3][varāyāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paśa]

§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 rmąmi śi']rä tta parī: '[The Commissioner-in-chief *blon* Rmang bzher] orders thus', restored according to Archive 3/1.42 §1: 'thai[ṣ]ī bulāni rmąmi śi'rä tta parī'. This restoration also establishes the original line length of the document, thus providing clues for further restorations. Skjærvø's restoration '[@ spāta ṣan]īrä' (*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 *śärä*. Perhaps the scribe had in mind *śera ganama*.

§4 yau[varāyāṣṭi kharrjāṃ paśa]: '[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 *akṣara*s 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* Sudārrjāṃ”. *Sor-zhong* is the Tibetan rendering of Sudārrjāṃ. Three alternative spellings are also attested, namely, *bsar-gzhong* (Hedin Tibetan 3, line 1)*, ksar-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 Sudārrjāṃ to Darauka and others. Though the right end of the document is damaged, its general sense can be established. In the order, Sudārrjāṃ 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 [2]khu parau pvīrau cu burä hve ī cu ūtca näsäte biśū rrvīya ganīma [ūtca … khu ga][3]naṃ dr-rvärä rrvī

§4 ttājirä śe'ye haḍai ttā parau tsve Signum-SU

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders thus

§2 To Da[rauka 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 Ttuṃjārā (the seventh month), the order went out to you. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 da[r]au[ka vara u … vara]: 'To Da[rauka and …]'. There must be more than one recipients, because *pvīrau* in §3 is in the second person plural.

§3 biśū: from *biśä-ū*, 'all of you'.

§3 ganīma: *ganīma-* 'wheat', L.s. At the end of line 2, *ma* is partially preserved.

§3 [ga]naṃ drrvārä: 'They reap the wheat.', restored by Bailey in *Dict.*, p.171.

§3 drrvārä: *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 aḍä ma cakvakä ye vidyade nāma cu a […]

§3 [2][…]-ai biysīyāṃdä u rrustāṃdī

§4 vaña ttā bisi bisi hvaṃḍāṃ bvāñä [3][…]d[ä] biysaṃjārai Signum-SU

§5 maṃñe vā paskyāṣṭa thyau hajsę'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

§2 cakvakä: ‘boy’. See *Studies III*, pp. 53-57.

§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-haṃdasta*s (Archive 3/1.8). Probably, it was also he who cut off the rest of the order from the Tibetan. Interestingly, *auva-haṃdasta* 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 3/1.46 Documents on Or.11252/36

Archive number	Register number	Sender	Recipient(s)	Date
Archive 3/1.46	Or.11252/36v-b	A Tibetan	*Pharṣa* and *spāta*	7/8
Archive 3/1.8	Or.11252/36v-a	*Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ	*Auva-haṃdasta*s	6/11
Archive 3/6.8	Or.11252/36r	*Auva-haṃdasta* Darauka	Sāṃdara (?)	6/11

Text

§1 [1][…] my- r-

§2 ttā[ṃ]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* Sudārrjāṃ, 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 [1]tti buri birgaṃdara spaśari cu vā …

§2 [2]x x sūradattä || yaudarä … [v1]sūra …

§3 … [2]8 māś[t]a 28 mye haḍai parau

Translation

§1 The following (are) the patrolmen in Birgaṃdara 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 sūradattä || yaudarä: 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 *māśtä* 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 3/2.1 Vouchers

Archive number	Register number	Date	Payer (Chinese)	Payer (Khotanese)	Money delivered (in *mūrās*)	Corresponding section in Archive 3/3.1
Archive 3/2.1	Hedin 16	12/28	/	Naṃdaka	3000	none
Archive 3/2.2 §1	Hedin 16	12/4	/	Namaubuda	40000	§25
Archive number	**Register number**	**Date**	**Payer(s) (Chinese)**	**Payer(s) (Khotanese)**	**Cloth delivered (in feet)**	**Corresponding section in Archive 3/3.1**

[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

Archive 3/2.3 §1	Hedin 16	11/25	娑捺 可里沒黎	Suhadatta, Kharamurrai	46	§24
Archive 3/2.4 §1	Hedin 16	11/26	南牟没	*Spāta* Vidyadatta	18.5	§1
Archive 3/2.4 §2	Hedin 16	11/26	/	Namaubuda	22.5	§2
Archive 3/2.4 §3	Hedin 16	11/26	/	Virgāṃ	23.2	§3
Archive 3/2.4 §4	Hedin 16	11/26	/	Namaubuda	24	§4
Archive 3/2.4 §5	Hedin 16	11/26	/	Īrasaṃga	22.1	§5
Archive 3/2.4 §6	Hedin 16	11/26	/	Senila	36.2	§7
Archive 3/2.5 §1	Hedin 16	11/27	南牟没	Namaubuda	38	§9
Archive 3/2.5 §2	Hedin 16	11/27	/	Naṃdaka	46	§10
Archive 3/2.6 §1	Hedin 16	11/27	南牟没	Brūnade	20	§11
Archive 3/2.7 §1	Hedin 16	11/29	南牟没	Saṃga	37	§12
Archive 3/2.7 §2	Hedin 16	11/29	/	*Spāta* Vidyadatta	37	§13
Archive 3/2.7 §3	Hedin 16	11/29	/	Makala	22	§14
Archive 3/2.7 §4	Hedin 16	11/29	/	Svarrjā	22.4	§15
Archive 3/2.8 §1	Hedin 16	11/29	薩波尾娑	*Spāta* Vīsa	20	§26

Table 3/2.1 Vouchers

Archive 3/2.8 §2	Hedin 16	11/29	家人盆捺	Puñadatta	23	§27
Archive 3/2.9 §1	Hedin 16	11/29	薩波末士	*Spāta* Marṣa’	20	§17
Archive 3/2.9 §2	Hedin 16	11/29	瑟呢洛	Ṣanīraka	23	§18
Archive 3/2.10	Hedin 16	11/29	南牟沒	Senila	9.8	§16
Archive 3/2.11 §1	Hedin 16	12/2	破沙宋闥下勿闥踵	Vidarjū under *pharṣa* Sudara	23	§28
Archive 3/2.12 §1	Hedin 16	12/2	南牟沒	Arsäla, Mąñeṃ	46	§19, §20
Archive 3/2.13	Hedin 16	12/9	南牟沒	Sudarma	20	none
Archive 3/2.14 §1	Hedin 16	12/7	南牟沒	Namaubuda	36	§21
Archive 3/2.14 §2	Hedin 16	12/7	/	/	36.2	§22
Archive 3/2.15	Hedin 15	12/21	勿薩踵拂里勿	Visarrjāṃ, Hvrrīva	40	none
Archive 3/2.16 §1	Domoko C	12/22	南牟沒	Namaubuda	36.8	§34
Archive 3/2.17 §1	Domoko D	3/6	沒達門	Budarma	23	none
Archive 3/2.17 §2	Domoko D	3/6	蘇里捺	Sūradatta	5	none

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 (Arsäla, Brūnade, Īrasaṃga, Mañeṃ, Makala, Naṃdaka, Saṃga, Senila, Sudarma, Svarrjā, Vidyadatta, and Virgāṃ) are represented by Na-maubuda, or *Nánmóumò* 南牟沒 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共}納進奉絁紬{X丈}{Y尺}{Z寸}

§2 [巳/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.

§2 On the Nth of the Mth month in the [snake/horse] year. Administrative Assistant Fu (Signum) Weijin. *Spāta* Shen (Signum) Mo. Voucher.

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* Śe'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 *Wéijǐn* 惟謹[423] in the blank. In the same manner, the scribe wrote *Shēn* 深 for *spāta* Śe'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* Śe'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 Viśa 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 *mūrā*s

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 *mūrā*s 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 *ṣṣau* An Sam, the issuer of the next voucher (Archive 3/2.2).

Text

§1 [1]@ 35 mye kṣuṇi rrāhaji 28 mye haḍai

§2 cirāṃ naṃdakä ṣṣau ąni sąmi pājiña [2]ysārī haṃbā mūri hauḍä drrai ysāri

§4 hārū raṣade nāte āmāci [3]salāna 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 *ṣṣau* An Sam.

§3 Raṣade the official from *āmāca*'s words. Signum-Raṣade.

Commentary

§2 cirāṃ naṃdakä: '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 Sudārrjāṃ's 'commissioned'? (*paśā*) in Archive 3/1.26 §4.

§2 ṣṣau ąni sąmi: '*ṣṣau* 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 *ąni* 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 pājiña: 'in the treasury', see *KT IV*, p.108, also attested in Archive 3/3.1 §25.

§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: *hārua-* 'official'. commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2.

§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 *ṣṣau* 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 [4]@ kṣvāṃ auvāṃ namaubudä ysārī haṃbā mūri hauḍe tcahau'si ysā'cya

§2 35 mye kṣuṇa rrahā[5]ji tcūramye haḍai ka'rä gaudä nāte Signum-Gauda

§3 u ṣau ąni sąmi 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 *ṣṣau* An Sam (also receives them). Signum-An Sam.

Commentary

§2 ka'rä: 'scribe', corresponding to Chin. *diǎn* 典 or *húshū diǎn* 胡書典 'scribe of foreign script', attested in Or.8210/S5864 (D.v.6). See Sha and Wood 2005, v.2, p.313.

§2 Gaudä: 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 *xìn* 信. Ṣau Śattuṃ'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 *xìn* 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

§1 [6]六城潘野娑捺可里沒黎共納進奉絁[8]紬肆拾陸尺

§1 [7]kṣvā auvā phaṃña suhadatti u kharamurrai tcinaji thau hauḍāṃdi 46 [9][ch]ā

§2 巳年十一月廿五日判官富 惟謹[10]薩波深 莫 抄

§2 [skarhv]eri 25 mye haḍai 35 mye kṣụṇi spāta śę'maki nāte u hvū phą[11]ni kvąni [red mark]

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 (C) On the 25th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin, *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§2 (K) On the 25th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month) in the 35th regnal year. *Spāta* Śę'maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it). [red mark]

Commentary

§1 娑捺 *Suōnà*: transcribe Chin everywhere (the first time) 'Suhadatta'. *Nà* 捺 Sui-Tang Chang'an Chinese *ⁿda* (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, *nà* 捺, is also attested as the phonetic transcription of *da* in *Pénnà* 盆捺 for Puñadatta in Archive 3/2.8 §1 and in *Sūlǐnà* 蘇里捺 for Suradatta in Archive 3/2.17 §1. G. Haloun reads 捺 *tú* in *KT IV*, p.173, p.175. Bailey adopts R. Kaneko's same reading in *SDTV*, p.123. Rong (2012, p.25) reads 捺.

§1 進奉 *jìnfèng*: '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 絁紬 *shīchōu*: 'Floss silk cloth', corresponding to Khot. *thau*, and probably Tib. *men dri*. *Shīchōu* 絁紬 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. *jìn* 進, LMC *tsin* (Pulleyblank, p.157), for *jìnfèng* 進奉, 'tribute'.

§2 46 [ch]ā: ‘46 feet’. *Chā* is from Chin. *chǐ* 尺, ‘foot’. According to Archive 3/3.2 §2, every worker should pay 23 feet of silk cloth, so Suhadatta and Kharamurrai paid 46 feet.

§2 薩波深 莫 *sàbōshēn mò* / spāta śę’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 判官 *pàn guān* / phą^{11}ni kvąni: ‘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 富 惟謹 Fù Wéijǐn/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]六城南牟没納進奉絶紬壹丈捌尺伍寸

§1 [12]|| spāta vidyadatti thau himye (ha)ṣṭūsi chā paṃjsi tsuna

§2 [15]又貳丈貳尺伍寸

§2 || namaubudi thau himye 22 5 tsuna ||

§3 又貳丈叁尺貳寸

§3 [14]virgāṃ thau himye 23 chā dva tsuna ||

§4 又納[17]貳丈肆尺

§4 pātcä namaubudi thau himye 24 chā ||

§5 又貳丈貳尺壹寸

§5 īrasaṃ[16][gi th]au himye 22 chā śau tsuni ||

§6 又叁丈陸[19]尺貳寸

§6 sęnili 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 [kṣų][18]ṇi skarhve mā kṣeribistamye haḍai sū phąni kvąni spāta śe'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 Assitant and *spāta* Śę'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 d 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 māśtä*.

§7 sū: a misspelling of *hvū*, corresponding to *fù* 富, 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 [21]六城南牟没納進奉絁紬叁丈捌尺

§1 [22]|| namaubudi kṣā auvā thau hauḍi 38 chā ||

§2 [3]又肆拾陸尺

§2 naṃdaki thau hauḍä kṣeritca’hau’si chā

§3 巳年十一月廿七日判官富[25]惟謹薩波深 莫 抄

§3 3[5 mye kṣu][24]ṇi skarhveri māśti 27 haḍai [s]ū phąni kvąni u spāta śe’maki nāti [red mark]

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 Skarhvāra (the 11th month) in the 3[5th regnal year]. Administrative Assistant Fu and *spāta* Śę'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 *ṣṣau* 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]六城南牟没納進奉絶紬貳丈

§1 [26]kṣā auvā brūnade thau hauḍi 20 chā

§2 巳年十一月廿[29]七日判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

§2 35 kṣuṇi skarhveri māśti 27 ha haḍai [hv]ū [28]phąni kvąni nāt(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 (C) On the 27th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§2 (K) On the 27th of Skarhvāra in the 35th regnal year. Administrative Assistant Fu and *spāta* Śę'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 [30]六城南牟没納進奉絁紬叁丈柒尺

§1 [31]35 ṇi nävarabistamye haḍai saṃgi tho hoḍi 37

§2 [32]又叁丈柒尺

§2 [33]spāta vidyadatti tho hoḍi 37 ||

§3 又貳丈貳尺

§3 makali tho hoḍi [35]22 chā

§4 貳丈貳尺肆寸

§4 svarrjā tho hoḍi 22 tcahau tsuna ||

§5 [34]巳年十一月廿九日判官富 惟謹 薩波深[36] 莫 抄

§5 spā śe'maka [36]nāti hvū phąni kvąni || [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 (C) On the 29th of the 11th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§5 (K) *Spāta* Śę'maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it).

Commentary

§1 35 ṇi nävarabistamye haḍai: The dating formula in the Khotanese text is defective and out of place. *35 (kṣu)ṇä (skarhveri māśti) nävarabistamye 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絁紬貳丈

§1 [38]|| kṣā auvā spāta vīsa thau hauḍi bisti chā

§2 家[39]人盆捈納貳丈三尺

§2 puñadatti drrairabi[40]sta chā

§3 巳年十一月廿九日[41]判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

§3 spāta śe'maki nāte hvū [phąni kvąni] [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* Śę'maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it).

Commentary

§1 spāta vīsa: 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 [42]六城薩波末土納進奉絁紬貳丈

§1 [43]|| kṣvā auvā spāta marṣi’ thau hauḍä bistä chā

§2 又[44]瑟昵洛納貳丈叁尺

§2 u ṣanīraki drairabistä chā

§3 巳年十一月廿九日判[46]官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

§3 spāta [45]śę’makä nāte u hvū phąnä kvąnä skarhveri 29 mye haḍai [red mark]

Translation

§1 (C) Spāta Marṣa’ of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Spāta Marṣa’ of the Six Towns delivered 20 feet of silk cloth.

§2 (C) And Ṣanīraka delivered 23 feet.

§2 (K) And Ṣanīraka (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* Śę’maka and Administrative Assistant Fu received (it) on the 29th of Skarhvāra (the 11th month).

Commentary

§1 spāta marṣi’: Proper name, also attested in Archive 3/3.7 §4 as owing 20 feet of cloth.

§2 ṣanīraki: 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]六城南牟沒納進奉絁紬玖尺捌寸

§1 [48]senili 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 [50]六城破沙宋闥下勿闥踵納進奉絶紬[52]貳丈叁尺

§1 [51]kṣā auvā pharṣa sudarana dīna vidarjū thau hauḍa 23 chā [red mark]

§2 巳年十二月二日判官富 惟謹 [53]薩波深 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-Weijin. *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. *diǎn* 典 'scribe, official in charge of paperwork' by assuming a series of scribal errors. This argument is far-fetched and untenable.

§1 破沙宋闥下勿闥踵/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 Mąñeṃ'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 Arsäla 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 [54]六城南牟沒納進奉絁紬肆拾陸尺

§1 [55]|| arsäli thau hauḍi 23 chā || mąñeṃ thau hauḍi 23 chā spāta śeṃ'maki nāte

§2 巳年[56]十二月二日判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

§2 35 mye [kṣụṇi rrā][57]haji māśti śe'ye haḍai

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 46 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Arsäla delivered 23 feet of silk cloth. Mąñeṃ 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-l) 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 [58]六城南牟沒納進奉絁紬貳丈

§1 [59]|| kṣā auvā sudarm(ä) thau hauḍa 20 chā

§2 巳年十二月[60]九日判官富 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 Sūradatta. 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 Sūradatta owe 5 feet of cloth.

Text

§1 [61]六城南牟沒納進奉絁紬叁丈陸尺

§1 [62]kṣā auvā namaubudä thau hauḍä kṣe'rädirsa chā nva thaunakāṃ |

§2 [63]又三丈陸尺貳寸

§2 pātcä śe' thau hau[64]ḍe kṣe'rädirsä chā dva tsuna [red mark]

§3 巳年十二月七日判官 [65]富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36 feet of silk cloth, according to the small silk cloth.

§2 (C) And 36.2 feet.

§2 (K) Then he again delivered 36.2 feet of silk cloth.

§3 (C) On the 7th of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

Commentary

§1 nva thaunakāṃ: 'According to the small silk cloth'. Bailey (*KT IV,* p.31) reads: 'hva thaunakā'. 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 Hvrrīvi'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 [1]六城勿薩踵拂里勿共納進奉絶紬肆拾[3]尺

§1 [2]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 rrāhä[4]ji 21 mye haḍai 35 mye kṣụṇä (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 (C) On the 21st of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Wei-jin. *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§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 [1]六城南牟沒納進奉絁紬叁丈陸尺陸寸

§1 [2]kṣvā auvā namaubudi thau hauḍä 30 6 chā kṣä tsuna nva thaunakāṃ

§2 [3]巳年十二月廿二日判官富 惟謹 薩波深 莫 抄

§2 spāta śę'ma[4]kä nātä u hū phąnä kvąnä

Translation

§1 (C) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36.8 feet of tribute silk cloth.

§1 (K) Namaubuda of the Six Towns delivered 36.8 feet of silk cloth by small silk cloth.

§2 (C) On the 22nd of the 12th month in the snake year. Administrative Assistant Fu Signum-Weijin. *Spāta* Shen Signum-Mo. Voucher.

§2 (K) Spāta Śe'maka and Panguan Fu .

Commentary

§1 nva thaunakāṃ: 'by small silk cloth'. According to Archive 3/3.9 §3, 3.2 feet of small cloth equaled to 23 feet of normal cloth. 36.8 feet of silk cloth is equivalent to 5.12 feet of small cloth.

Archive 3/2.17 (Domoko D) Voucher of Budarma and Sūradatta's payments of silk cloth

Recorded in the third and last freestanding bilingual voucher are Budarma and Sūradatta's payments of silk cloth. The date of this voucher is about three months later than all the other vouchers, and the amounts paid here are recorded as outstanding in the summary accounts Ar-

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 [1]六城沒達門納進奉絁紬貳丈三尺

§1 [2]kṣā auvā budarma thau hauḍi drrarabista chā

§2 蘇里捺[3]納五尺

§2 suradata tha hau[4]ḍi pajsa chā [red mark]

§3 午年三月六日判官富惟謹 薩波深 莫 [5]抄

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 沒達門**/Budarma**: The expected form is *Budarmä*. 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 Archive 3/3.2-5.

§2 suradata tha: The expected form is *sūradattä thau*.

§2 蘇里捺**/suradata:** 捺 *nà* is read 捺 *tú* 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.

Archive 3/3 Accounts

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*s, 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:

Table 3/3 List of Accounts

Archive number	Register number	Subject
Archive 3/3.1	Hedin 19	Account of cloth payments
Archive 3/3.2	Hedin 1	Account of cloth still outstanding
Archive 3/3.3	Or.11344/4	Account of cloth still outstanding
Archive 3/3.4	Hedin 13-a	Account of cloth still outstanding
Archive 3/3.5	Hedin 13-b	Account of cloth still outstanding
Archive 3/3.6	Or.11252/30	Account of assigned cloth and money
Archive 3/3.7	Hedin 12-b	Account of assigned cloth
Archive 3/3.8	Or.11252/38	Account of small cloth and cloth
Archive 3/3.9	Or.11252/28	Account of small cloth and cloth
Archive 3/3.10	Hedin 12-a	Account of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money
Archive 3/3.11	Achma-2	Contract of silk cloth, small cloth and money
Archive 3/3.12	Or.11252/23	Account of outstanding *mūrās*
Archive 3/3.13	Or.11252/20	Account of outstanding *mūrās*
Archive 3/3.14	Or.11344/14	Account of *mūrās*
Archive 3/3.15	Or.11344/18	Note on lack of voucher
Archive 3/3.16	Or.11344/16	Document concerning vouchers
Archive 3/3.17	Or.11344/15	Record of cloth and money for the king

Table 3/3 List of Accounts

Archive number	Register number	Subject
Archive 3/3.18	Or.11344/8v	Account of outstanding grain

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-

marizes the dates and correspondence (or lack thereof) of the vouchers in Archive 3/2 and the payments in Archive 3/3.1:

Table 3/3.1 Payments in Archive 3/3.1 and Vouchers in Archive 3/2

Date	Section in Archive 3/3.1	Voucher in Archive 3/2	Delivered by	Feet of cloth delivered
11/26	§1	Archive 3/2.4 §1	*Spāta* Vidyadatta	18.5
11/26	§2	Archive 3/2.4 §2	Namaubuda	22.5
11/26	§3	Archive 3/2.4 §3	Virgā	23.2
11/26	§4	Archive 3/2.4 §4	Namaubuda	24
11/26	§5	Archive 3/2.4 §5	Īrasaṃga	22.1
n/a	§6 (deleted)	n/a	Brūnade	23
11/26	§7	Archive 3/2.4 §6	Senila	36.2
11/27	§9	Archive 3/2.5 §1	Namaubuda	38
11/27	§10	Archive 3/2.5 §2	Naṃdaka	46
11/27	§11	Archive 3/2.6 §1	Brūnade	20
11/29	§12	Archive 3/2.7 §1	Saṃga	37
11/29	§13	Archive 3/2.7 §2	*Spāta* Vidyadatta	37
11/29	§14	Archive 3/2.7 §3	Makala	22
11/29	§15	Archive 3/2.7 §4	Svarrjāṃ	22.4
11/29	§16	Archive 3/2.10 §1	Senila	9.8
11/29	§17	Archive 3/2.9 §1	*Spāta* Marṣa’	20
11/29	§18	Archive 3/2.9 §2	Ṣanīraka	23
12/2	§19	Archive 3/2.12 §1	Arsäla	23
12/2	§20	Archive 3/2.12 §1	Mąñe	23

Table 3/3.1 Payments in Archive 3/3.1 and Vouchers in Archive 3/2

Date	Section in Archive 3/3.1	Voucher in Archive 3/2	Delivered by	Feet of cloth delivered
12/7	§21	Archive 3/2.14 §1	Namaubuda	36
12/7	§22	Archive 3/2.14 §2	Namaubuda on behalf of Suhęna and Sūradatta	36.2
n/a	§23	not found	Haskadarma from Cira	23
12/9	not found	Archive 3/2.13	Sudarma	20
11/25	§24	Archive 3/2.3 §1	Sahadatta u Kharamurrai	46
12/4	§25	Archive 3/2.2 §1	Namaubuda	40000 *mūrās*
11/29	§26	Archive 3/2.8 §1	*Spāta* Vīsa	20
11/29	§27	Archive 3/2.8 §2	Puñädatta	23
12/2	§28	Archive 3/2.11 §1	Vidarrjāṃ from Gūma	23
12/19	§29	not found	Vasade from Āskūra	18.3
12/19	§30	not found	Namaubuda	39.1
12/19	§31	not found	Namaubuda	37.4
12/19	§32	not found	Namaubuda	28
12/20	§33	not found	Sogdians paid from small cloths	53 pieces
12/21	not found	Archive 3/2.15	Visarrjāṃ and Hvrrīva	40
12/22	§34	Archive 3/2.16 §1	Namaubuda	36.8
12/28	not found	Archive 3/2.1	Naṃdaka	3000 *mūrās*
3/6	not found	Archive 3/2.17	Budarma	23
3/6	not found	Archive 3/2.17	Suradatta	5

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 haṣṭūsi chā paṃjsa tsuna

§2 || namaubudi thau himye 22 chā pa[ṃ]jsa [2]tsu

§3 | virgā thau himye 23 dva tsuna

§4 || namaubudi thau himye 24 chā |

§5 īrasaṃgi thau himye [3]22 śau tsunä

§6 | {brūnade thau hauḍi} 23 cha

§7 sẹni thau hauḍi 36 chā dva 2 tsuna ||

§8 [4][ṣi' vā th]au nva thaunakāṃ ttraṃdi

§9 38 chā namaubudi hauḍi

§10 || naṃdaki thau (hau)ḍi kṣe[[5]rä]tca'hau'si chā

§11 || byūnade tho hauḍi 20 chā

§12 || saṃgi thau hauḍi 37 [6][chā]

§13 || spāta vidyadatti thau hauḍi 37 chā

§14 || makali tho hau[7]ḍi 22 chā

§15 || svarrjāṃ thau (hau)ḍi 22 tcaho(ra) tsuna

§16 || sęnili [8]thau hauḍi 9 chā 8 tsu(na)

§17 || spāta marṣa’ thau hauḍi 20 chā

§18 || ṣanīraki thau hau[9][ḍi] 23

§19 | arsäli thau hauḍi 23 [chā]

§20 || mąñe thau hauḍi 23 chā

§21 [10]|| namaubudä thau hauḍi 36 chā nva thaunakāṃ

§22 || pātci śe’ thau hauḍi 36 [11][chā 2 tsu]na suhęna kamalä u sūradattä kamalä

§23 || cira haskadarmä [12][thau hau]ḍä {tcahau’si chā \23/} 23 chā

§24 sahadattä u kharamurrai thau hauḍāṃdi 46 \chā/

§25 [13]@ kṣvā auvā namaubudi ṣau ąni sąmi pājiña mūri hauḍä ysārī haṃ[14]bā tcahau’si ysā’cya

§26 || spāta vīsa thau hauḍä 20 chā

§27 || puñädattä thau hauḍä [15]23 chā

§28 gūmaji vidarrjāṃ thau hauḍä 23 chā

§29 || ā(s)kvīra vasade thau hauḍä 18 chā [16]3 tsuna rrāhaji 19 mye haḍai

§30 || namaubudä thau hauḍi śau 39 chā 1 tsunä

§31 u śau [17]37 chā 4 tsuna

§32 u pātci śau 28 chā

§33 35 mye kṣųṇä [18]rrāhaji 20 mye haḍai spāta śę’makä nāte u hvū phąnä kvąnä

§34 tti cu sūlya gvaṣcāṃ[19][dä] thaunakyau jsa cu 53 nāṃdä

§35 pātci namaubudi thau hauḍi kṣeradirsä chā kṣi [20][tsu]na

§36 ṣa’ 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 Svarrjāṃ delivered 22.4 feet of cloth.

§16 Senila delivered 9.8 feet of cloth.

§17 *Spāta* Marṣa' delivered 20 feet of cloth.

§18 Ṣanīraka delivered 23 (feet) of cloth.

§19 Arsäla 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 Ṣau An Sam 40000 *mūrās* with (strings of) 1000 *mūrās*.

§26 *Spāta* Vīsa delivered 20 feet of cloth.

§27 Puñadatta 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, *spāta* 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

§2 namaubudi: 'Namaubuda', abundantly attested in Archive 3/2 and Archive 3/3, corresponding to Chin. *nánmóumò* 南牟没. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.32) reads: 'namaubudhi'.

§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. *xiǎobù* 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. *hújǐn* 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* 絁紬, 'floss silk cloth'. For *shīchōu* 絁紬, see commentary on Archive 3/2.3 §1 (C).

§8 ttraṃdi: 'entered', see *SGS*, *pp.*40-41. In this context, the verb *ttrām-* refers to converting the value of a small cloth into that of a normal cloth'. Compare Archive 3/3.8 §5 'naraṃda', from *narām-*, '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 || pātci śe' thau hauḍi 36 [chā 2] tsuna suhẹna kamalä u sūradattä kamalä: '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 'kamalä' here, but does not offer an explanation. Here, *kamala-* 'head' must mean 'on behalf of'. Apart from *suhẹna kamalä u sūradattä kamalä*, §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 haskadarmä [thau hau]ḍä {tcahau'si chā \23/} 23 chā: 'Haskadarma from Cira delivered 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 Archive 3/2.1 §2.

§27 23 chā: '23 feet'. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.33) reads: '33 chā'.

§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 hauḍä 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 followed 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 || namaubudä thau hauḍi śau 39 chā 1 tsunä: '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 gvaṣcāṃ[dä] thaunakyau jsa cu 53 (chā) nāṃdä: '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 (*thaunaka*) into normal cloth (*thau*). The Sogdians delivered normal cloth to the officials on behalf of these people in return for their small cloth. According 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

	Archive 3/3.2	Archive 3/3.3	Archive 3/3.4	Archive 3/3.5
In Year 35, there are 44 workers.	§1	§1	§1	
Every man (should deliver) 23 feet of floss silk cloth.	§2	§2	§2	
Accordingly, 25 bolts 12 feet (of cloth) should be (delivered).	§3	§3	§3	
The prefect, the officials, and the wealthy should deliver 7 bolts 30 feet (of cloth).	§4	§4	§4	
The total amount is 33 bolts 2 feet.	§5	n/a	§5	
23 bolts 11.7 feet of cloth has been delivered.	§6	§5	§6	
7 bolts 24.3 feet of cloth is still outstanding.			§7	
The Sogdians delivered 2.5 bolts.	§13	§6		
The voucher has not been obtained from the Sogdians.	§15	§7		
Spāta Śe'maka received the collected (cloth).	§14	§8		
Prefect *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ should deliver 3 bolts.	§7	§9		§1
Spāta Yąniviṭa owes 40 feet.	§8	§10		§2
Pharṣa Sāmada owes 20 feet.	§9	§11		§3
Ṣanīraka owes 20 feet.	§10	§12		§4
Budarma owes 23 feet.	§11	§13		§5
Sarkāṃ owes 20 feet.				§6
Hrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ owe 6 feet.	§12	[§14]		
Yaudara owes 1640 mūrās.	§16	§15		

Table 3/3.2 Synopsis of Archive 3/3.2-5

	Archive 3/3.2	Archive 3/3.3	Archive 3/3.4	Archive 3/3.5
Sūradatta owes 2250 mūrās.	§17	§16		
Sudatta owes 1640 mūrās.	§18	§17		
3.65 feet of small cloth is assigned to each person at the price of 450 mūrās per feet.			§8	
This is (equivalent to) 1640 *mūrās*.			§9	
The small cloth assigned to the five men in Āskūra is worth 8200 *mūrās*.			§10-11	
The small cloth assigned to 9 men in Phaṃāi and Pa' is worth 14310 *mūrās*.			§12	

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 [1]sparadirsamye kṣu(ṇi) kīrarā hvaṃḍi 40 4

§2 śe hvaṃḍye pe'mīnai thau 20 3 chā

§3 tta nva hvaṃḍāṃ [2]thauna himārä 20 5 u 10 2 chā

§4 tsīṣī u hārvā thauna himārä hauda u dirsä chā

§5 [3]biśna haṃba'ca thauna haurą\ña/ 30 3 u dva chā

§6 vaña nva kṣauvāṃ hauḍa himya [4]20 3 u śūdasi chā

§7 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ thauna haurą̃ña 3

§8 spāta yąni[5]vi ca'hau'si chā

§9 pharṣa sāmadi puḍi 20 chā

§10 ṣanīraki 20 chā

§11 budarmä 20 3 [6]chā

§12 hvīviṭi u visarrjāṃ kṣi chā

§13 u thauna dva hālai va sūlya thaunaka nāṃdi

§14 [7]thini ttiki biśa bisā ttyā spāta śe'maki paphūka nāti

§15 kṣau na ra byaidi sūlau jsa

§16 [8]mūrai ysāra kṣi-se ca'hau'si yaudarä hīye vāra

§17 mūri dvī ysā dvī-sa paṃjsāsi sūradatti hīye [9]vāra

§18 mūrä ysārä kṣi-si cahausi 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 Ṣanīraka (owes) 20 feet (of cloth).

§11 Budarma (owes) 23 feet (of cloth).

§12 Hvrrīviṭa and Visarrjāṃ (owe) six feet (of cloth).

§13 The Sogdians took small cloth for 2.5 bolts (of cloth).

§14 *Spāta* Śe'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) kīrarā hvaṃḍi 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* 絁紬, 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. *pǐ* 匹. One bolt equals to 40 feet, in accordance with the Tang system.

§4 tsīṣī u hārvā: 'Prefect and the officials'. *Tsīṣī* 'prefect', from Chin. *cìshǐ* 刺史. See commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §2. For *hārvā* 'officials', see commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2.

§7 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ: Sudārrjāṃ was the prefect of Cira-Six Town Prefecture, who issued numerous documents in Archive 3.

§8 yąnivi: Proper name. *Yąnivi* is one of the spelling variants of *Yąniviṭi* attested in Archive 3/3.3 §10, Archive 3/3.7 §3.

§9 puḍi: '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* 欠 'to owe'. See Duan and Li 2014, p.31.

§11 budarmä 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 kṣi 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 thini 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 biśa: *bisā*-, 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: *bisaa*-, 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 yaudarä 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 hīye vāra: 'Sūradatta owes 2250 *mūrās*.' 2250 *mūrās* is equivalent to five feet of small cloth. (2250 ÷ 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 mūrä ysārä kṣi-si cahausi 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 *akṣara*s can be restored by comparison with Archive 3/3.2.

Text

§1 [1][30] 5 mye kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvā kīrarā hvaṃ(ḍi) tcahauratca'hau'si

§2 śe hvaṃḍye pe'mīnai [thau 20 3 chā]

§3 [2]tta nva hvaṃḍā thauna himārä 20 5 u 10 2 chā

§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā[ṃ bida] [3]thauna himārä hauda u dirsä chā

§5 vaña nva kṣauvā hauḍa thauna himya 20 3 u [śūdasi chā [4]7 t]suna

§6 thauna dva hālai sūlya hauḍāṃdi

§7 kṣau na ra byaidi

§8 tti cu spāta śe'maki [paphūka nāti]

§9 [5]thauna 3 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ haurāña

§10 u spāta yąniviṭi śau tca'hau'sä ch[ā]

§11 [u pharṣa sāma][6]di thau puḍi 20 chā

§12 ṣanīraki 20 chā

§13 budarmä 20 3 chā

§14 hrrīviṭi u vi[sarrjāṃ kṣi chā]

§15 [7]mūrai ysārä kṣi-si tcahau'sä yaudarä hīye vāra

§16 mūri dvī ysārä dvī-sa paṃjsāsä sūradatt[i] [8]vāra

§17 mūrä ysārä 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.

§11 [*Pharṣa* Sāma]da owes 20 feet.

§12 Ṣanīraka (owes) 20 feet.

§13 Budarma (owes) 23 feet.

§14 Hrrīviṭi 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* 絁紬, Tib. *men dri*. See Yoshida 2008a, pp.469-470.

§2 śe 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: 'śe hvaṃḍye pe'mīnai thau 20 3 chā'.

§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ 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:

Table 3/3.3 Amounts of Assigned cloth

Names	Assigned Cloth	Archive 3/3.6	Archive 3/3.7
Prefect *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ	3 bolts	§5	§2
Spāta Yaniviḍta	40 feet	§6	§3
Spāta Burmaki	20 feet	§7	
Spāta Marṣä’	20 feet		§4
Spāta Vīsa	20 feet	§8	§5
Spāta Vidyadatta	20 feet	[§9]	§6
Pharṣa Sādara	15 feet	§10	§7
Pharṣa Sāmada	20 feet	§11	§8
Sudarma from Pa’	20 feet	§12	§9
Brūnada from Phanai	20 feet	§13	§10
Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka	20 feet	[§14]	§11
Saṃga	20 feet		§12
Āśnadatti	20 feet		§13

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 *spāta*s, then *pharṣa*s, and lastly, those without titles.

§4 tsīṣī: ‘Prefect, head of a prefecture’, corresponding to Chin. *cìshǐ* 刺史. As shown in §9, the prefect refers to Sudārrjāṃ. More on this title, see commentary on Archive 3/1.2 §2.

§4 hārvāṃ: *hārua*-, ‘officials’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.13 §2.

§4 tsātā: ‘the wealthy’, N.-A. pl., referring to the third group of men in the lists, those without official titles.

§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā[ṃ bida] thauna himārä hauda u dirsä 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 himārä hauda u dirsä chā.’

§5: 20 3 u [śūdasi chā 7 t]suna: ‘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 hauḍāṃdi: ‘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 śe’maki [paphūka nāti]: ‘These (are) what *spāta* Śe’maka [collected]’, restored from Archive 3/3.2 §14: ‘spāta śe’maki paphūka nāti’.

§11 [u pharṣa sāma]di thau puḍi 20 chā: ‘[*Pharṣa* Sāma]da owes 20 feet’, restored according to Archive 3/2 §9: ‘pharṣa sāmadi puḍi 20 chā’.

§14 hrrīviṭi u vi[sarrjāṃ kṣi chā]: ‘Hrrīviṭi and Visarrjāṃ (owe) 6 feet’, restored according to Archive 3/3.2 §12: ‘hvīviṭi 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 [1]sparadirsamye kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvā kīrarāṃ hvaṃḍi tcahaura tca'hau'sä

§2 [2]śe hvaṃḍye pe'mīnai thau 23 chā

§3 tti nva hvaṃḍāṃ thauna himārä 25 12 [3]chā

§4 [4]tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā bida thauna himārä hauda u dirsä chā

§5 [5]haṃba'ca thauna himārä 33 u 2 chā

§6 vaña nva kṣauvā hauḍa thauna himya [6]20 {5} \3 11 chā 7 tsuna/ u 17 chā hauda tsuna

§7 [7]vaña ra thauna vāra hauda u 24 chā 3 tsuna

§8 [8]śe hvaṃḍyi hatcaṃ 3 chā kṣi tsuna hālai tca'hause paṃjsāsī chā

§9 mūri himārä ysārä kṣi-se tcahau'si

§10 [9]āskvīra paṃji hvaṃḍā thaunakā nva mūri himārä 8 ysārä dvī-sa 10 8 chā drai tsuna thau va

§11 [10]phąnājā u pa'jā *daśvi* thaunakā mūri himārä 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 thauna himya 20 {5} \3 11 chā 7 tsuna/ u 17 chā hauda 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 śe hvaṃḍyi hatcaṃ 3 chā kṣi tsuna hālai tca’hause paṃjsāsī 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 hvaṃḍā thaunakā nva mūri himārä 8 ysārä 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 phąnājā u pa’jā *daśvi*: Bailey (*KT IV*, p.29) reads: ‘phąnājā 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 phąnājā u pa’jā *daśvi* thaunakā mūri himārä 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 × 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 ÷ 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 [1]thauna 3 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ vāra

§2 thau śau spāta yąniviḍti vāra \tcahausi chā/

§3 [2]thau 20 chā pharṣa sąmadi vāra

§4 thau 20 chā ṣanīraki hīvī vāra

§5 [3]thau 23 chā budarmä vāra

§6 thau 20 chā sakāṃ hīvī vāra

Translation

§1 Prefect *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ owes 3 bolts.

§2 *Spāta* Yąniviḍta owes 40 feet of cloth.

§3 *Pharṣa* Sāmada owes 20 feet of cloth.

§4 Ṣanīraka 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:

Table 3/3.6-1 Restoration of Archive 3/3.6

Archive 3/3.6	Archive 3/3.7	Archive 3/3.3
§4 mista thauna haud[a u 30 chā tsīṣī u hārvā] [3]u tsātā hvaṃḍāṃ bida himārä	§1 [1][tsīṣī] u hārvā u tsānā pe'mīnā thauna	§4 tsīṣī u hārvāṃ u tsātā [bida] [3]thauna himārä hauda u dirsä chā
§5 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ thauna 3 [h]au[rāña]	§2 tsīṣī thauna 3	§9 [5]thauna 3 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ haurāña
§6 [spāta yaniviṭä tca][4]hau'si chā	§3 spāta yąniviṭi śau tca'hau'si chā	
§7 spāta burmaki 20 chā	§4 spāta marṣä' 20 chā	
§8 s[p]āta vīsa 20 chā	§5 spāta vīsa 20 chā	
§9 [spāta vidyadatti 10 5 chā]	§6 spāta vidyadatti 15 chā	
§10 [pharṣa] [5]sādarä 10 \5/ chā	§7 pharṣa sāṃdari 15 [chā]	
§11 pharṣa sāmadi 20 chā	§8 sā[ma]di 20 chā	
§12 pa' suda[r]m[ä 20 chā]	§9 pa'ji sudarmä 20 chā	
§13 [phąnāji brūnadi 20 chā]	§10 phąnāji brūnadi 20 chā	
§14 [6]mattiśkāña ṣanīraki 20 chā	§11 ṣanīraki 20 chā	
	§12 saṃgi 20 [4][chā]	
	§13 aśnadatti 20 chā	

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 3/3.6-2 Synopsis of the assigned, delivered, and cloth still outstanding

Name	Amount	Assigned	Delivered	Outstanding
Prefect *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ	3 bolts	Archive 3/3.6 §5 Archive 3/3.7 §2		Archive 3/3.2 §7 Archive 3/3.3 §9 Archive 3/3.5 §1
Spāta Yaniviḍ-ta	40 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §6 Archive 3/3.7 §3		Archive 3/3.2 §8 Archive 3/3.3 §10 Archive 3/3.5 §2
Spāta Burmaki	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §7		
Spāta Marṣä’	20 feet	Archive 3/3.7 §4	Archive 3/2.9 §1 Archive 3/3.1 §17	
Spāta Vīsa	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §8 Archive 3/3.7 §5	Archive 3/2.8 §1 Archive 3/3.1 §26	
Spāta Vidya-datta	15 feet	Archive 3/3.6 [§9] Archive 3/3.7 §6	Archive 3/2.7 §2 Archive 3/3.1 §13*	
Pharṣa Sādara	15 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §10 Archive 3/3.7 §7	Archive 3/2.11 §1 Archive 3/3.1 §28**	
Pharṣa Sāma-da	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §11 Archive 3/3.7 §8		Archive 3/3.2 §9 Archive 3/3.3 §11 Archive 3/3.5 §3
Sudarma from Pa’	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §12 Archive 3/3.7 §9	Archive 3/2.13 §1	
Brūnada from Phamnai	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 §13 Archive 3/3.7 §10	Archive 3/2.6 §1 Archive 3/3.1 §11	
Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka	20 feet	Archive 3/3.6 [§14] Archive 3/3.7 §11		Archive 3/3.2 §10 Archive 3/3.3 §12 Archive 3/3.5 §4

Text

§1[1]30 5 mye kṣuṇi cira kṣvā auvvā mista thauna himärä 30 2 u 10 1 chā

§2 u vitt- […]

§3 [2]mūri 40 4 ysā’cya ṣau ąni kuhi syini näsąñi

§4 mista thauna haud[a u 30 chā tsīṣī u hārvāṃ] [3]u tsātā hvaṃḍāṃ bida himārä

§5 tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ thauna 3 [h]au[rāña]

§6 [spāta yaniviṭä tca][4]hau'si chā

§7 spāta burmaki 20 chā

§8 s[p]āta vīsa 20 chā

§9 [spāta vidyadatti 10 5 chā]

§10 [pharṣa] [5]sādarä 10 \5/ chā

§11 pharṣa sāmadi 20 chā

§12 pa' suda[r]m[ä 20 chā]

§13 [phąnāji brūnadi 20 chā]

§14 [6]mattiśkāña ṣanīraki 20 chā

§15 kīrarā hvaṃḍi 40 4

§16 mista [thauna himārä 20 5 u 10 2 chā]

§17 [7]mūra-ṃ himārä 40 4 [ys]ā[cya]

§18 [… -au x] 3 chā u mūrä […]

§19 [… haṃdara] [8]prū 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* Yaniviṭä] (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 ṣau ąni kuhi syini nāsąñi: 'Ṣau An Kuh-syin should receive 44000 *mūrās*.' Note that *ni* is part of the name *Ąni Kuhi-syini.* This name is also attested in Archive 3/1.8 §1, spelt as *ṣau 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 *ṣau* 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 Dáhàn* 安達漢, is attested in Дх 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 chā tsīṣī u hārvā] ^{3}u tsātā hvaṃḍāṃ bida himārä: '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 chā: '*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 himārä 20 5 u 10 2 chā]: 'The large cloth (assigned to them) [is 25 bolts 12 feet]', restored from Archive 3/3.2 §3: 'tta nva hvaṃḍāṃ thauna himārä 20 5 u 10 2 chā'. 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 doe not fit the number of workers and not repeated elsewhere.

§19 [… haṃdira] 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.

§19 jsausīya: 'in hardship'. See *Studies III*, p.65.

§20 pa[…]: Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p.99) reads: 'pa*rau*'.

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 *akṣara*s have been restored by comparison with Archive 3/3.6.

Text

§1 [1][tsīṣī] u hārvā u tsānā pe'mīnā thauna

§2 tsīṣī thauna 3

§3 spāta yąniviṭi śau tca'hau'si chā

§4 [2]spāta marṣä' 20 chā

§5 spāta vīsa 20 chā

§6 spāta vidyadatti 15 chā

§7 pharṣa sāṃdari 15 [3][chā]

§8 sā[ma]di 20 chā

§9 pa’ji sudarmä 20 chā

§10 phąnāji 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* Yąniviḍta (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 Saṃga (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: ‘bhaśa-datti’. 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 Ṣanīraka 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]@ ṣi’ vā haṣṭāyeṃ thau[nāṃ … paṃ]jsūsi ąmāci sūlīna paphve

§2 thauna vā nāte dva [2]tca’hausa-chāya

§3 pe’mī[na thau … ṣanī]raki nāte

§4 || thaunaka 3 brūnade nāte

§5 || thaunaka dva [3]nva mūraṃ naraṃda ysā[ra …]

§6 [thauna]ka 50 3 tti sūlya nāṃdä haudyeṃ thau[4]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 haṣṭāyeṃ: gen.-dat. pl of *haṣṭāta-* ‘eighty’. 80 bolts of cloth is not mentioned elsewhere.

§1 ąmāci: 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 sūlīna: ‘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 *sūlīna* 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 īdi dva bista-chāya* ‘(he) has two pieces of 20-foot-long silk cloth’.

§5 naraṃda: ‘to go out, to convert (something) into money’. See commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §8.

§6 [thauna]ka 50 3 tti sūlya nāṃdä 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 [1]@ tti hvaṃḍi cu pe'mīnā thaunā va thaunaka hauḍādi

§2 yseviḍti u […tca][2]haura

§3 śe hvaṃḍye pe'mīnai thau-v-ī hatcaṃ śtāka d[rr]ai chā [dv]i tsuna

§4 spā[ta …] [3]haṃtsa kharajsajsäna u suramarṣä'na 'īrasaṃ[gäna…]

§5 [4]suhena thau vāra paṃjsa chā

§6 sūradatti thau vāra paṃ[jsa chā …]

§7 [5]āskvīra nva thaunakā hatca kṣasi chā

§8 phaṃnājāṃ nva thaunakāṃ ha[tca 10 2 chā 8 tsuna]

§9 [pa'ja nva] [6]thaunakāṃ hatcaṃ nausä 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 Īrasaṃga ...

§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 Saṃga owes 12 feet of cloth.

§11 [… owes x] feet [of cloth].

§12 [… four] feet […]

Commentary

§3 hatcaṃ: See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.

§3 d[rr]ai chā [dv]i tsuna: '3.2 feet'. Skjærvø (*Catalogue*, p. 98) reads: 'd[rr]ai chā -i tsuna'. 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 × 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 × 3.2) ÷ 23 = 62. 61 ≈ 62.5 *mūrās* per foot, or 62.5 × 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 [4]suhena thau vāra paṃjsa 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 dilivered 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 nausä 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 [1]@ ṣi' buru birgaṃdara darau hi'ysda pe'mīnā thauna ī(di) tcahaura u kāṃha thaunaka īdi dirsa [u hi']²ysdi mūri īdi tca'hau' ysārä

§2 [3]phąnāji auva-haṃdasti ysiviṭi pe'mīnā thauna īdi dva bista-chāya u kāhai thaunaka ī[di x u hi'ysdi] [4]mūri īdi tca'hau' ysārä

§3 [5]@ āskūrī ysāḍadatti hi'ysda pe'mīnā thauna īdi śau tca'hau'si chā u 3 20sta-chāya u kāṃha thau[naka] [6]īdi 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-haṃdasta* 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 *daraukä*, '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 kāṃha 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. *xiāngtóu* 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 *Jiéxiè Xiāngtóu Mòlǐwéi* (or *yào*) *suō* 傑謝鄉頭沒里惟(or 曜)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. *Mòlǐyàosuō* 沒里曜娑, Khot. *Brīyasa*. (Duan and Li 2014, p.30) This phrase should read *Jiéxiè Xiāngtóu Mòlǐyàosuō* 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 Birgaṃdara, Yseviṭi from Phaṃnā, and Ysāḍadatta from Āskūra, were all *auva-haṃdasta*s.

§3 3 20sta-chāya: ‘of 23 feet’. Read *drairabista chāya*.

§4 nva mūrā: ‘by *mūrā*s’, also attested in Archive 3/3.4 §10, Archive 3/3.8 §5, and Archive 3/3.11 §8.

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’ pīḍaki ttye pracaina cu* ‘this document is made for the following reasons’ usually includes the formula *ttī ra ṣi’ pīḍakä pramāṃ himi khu hā* [A] *u* [B] *haṃguṣṭi viśtārä* ‘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’ pīḍakä pramāṃ himi khu hā senili u ysevidti u ṣanīraki haṃguṣṭi viśtārä*, 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 [1]30 5 mye kṣuṇi skarihveri māśti haudamye haḍai ṣi' pīḍaki ttye pracaina cu

§2 ā phaṃnāji sinili \u ysevidṭtä/ [2]u birgaṃdaraji ṣanīraki pe'mīnāṃ thauna nāṃdä u kāṃha thaunaka u ysārī haṃbā mūri

§3 makali thau [3]tcahaurabisti chā

§4 spāta vidyadatti hīvī tca'hau'si chā

§5 svarrjāṃ thau 20 3 chā

§6 puñaśālyā 20 chā bi[x]ai [4]kāṃhi thaunaki \haṃtsa ysārī haṃbāna/ ||

§7 āskūryāna kāṃha thaunaka 20 u 2 \ || /

§8 nva mūra sarkāṃ pe'mīnai thau nausi chā bida śau thau[5]naki ||

§9 suhena pemīnai thau 20 chā u bida śau 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 Phaṃnai, \Ysevidṭtta/, and Ṣanīraka from Birgaṃdara received silk cloth, hemp small cloth, and strings of 1000 *mūrās* (from the following people):

§3 Makala's 24 feet of cloth.

§4 *Spāta* Vidyadatta's 40 feet of cloth.

§5 Svarrjāṃ's 23 feet of cloth.

§6 20 feet (of cloth) of those from Puñiśāla … small hemp cloth together with strings of 1000 mūrās.

§7 22 pieces of hemp small cloth of people from Āskūra.

§8 Sarkāṃ'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 yseviḍttä/: '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-haṃdasta* of Phamnai. See commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2.

§6 puñaśālyā: 'of those from Puñiśāla', attested again in Archive 3/3.13 §5. Puñiśāla is a village in Āskūra, as shown by Archive 3/6.1 §17: [*ask*]*u*[*ī*]*ra puñiśela śī'laṃ* 'Śī'laṃ in Puñiśāla in Āskūra'.

§2 ysārī haṃbā mūri: '(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 bida: '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, Hvrrīviṭa, 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 Hvrrīviṭa and Yanaka are attested again in Archive 3/3.14 §1 and §3.

Text

§1 [1] tti vā drrai ysāri dvī-sa-haṣṭāyī haṃbā mūri puḍa

§2 [2]upadatti haṃtsa yąnaki hīyau mūryau jsa mūri puḍi tca'hau' ysāri 40

§3 [3]yaudari u mūri puḍi paṃ-se 20

§4 [4]cira hvrrīviṭi dasau ysā'ca sa ca'hausä

§5 [5]makali mūri vāra dvī ysā hauda-se tca'hausä

Translation

§1 The (following men) owed 3280 *mūrās*.

§2 Together with Yąnaka's *mūrās*, Upadatta owed 4040 *mūrās*.

§3 Yaudara owes 520 *mūrās*.

§4 Hvrrīviṭi 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 [1][… sp]āta vidyadatti hīye vāra mūri riysā haṣṭa-se

§2 sūradatti hīvī [vāra mūri …]

§3 […][2]datti hīye vāra mūri drrai-se

§4 yseviḍti hīye vāra tcaṃna mau girye mūri *p*aṃ[se]

§5 […] [3][… pu]ñaśālyāni

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Vidyadatta owes 1800 *mūrās*.

§2 Sūradatta [owes ... *mūrās*].

§3 …datta owes 300 *mūrās*.

§4 Yseviḍta owes 500 *mūrās*, with which he bought wine …

§5 … from Puñaśāla

Commentary

§1 riysā: a scribal error for *ysāri*, ‘one thousand’.

§4 tcaṃna: ‘with which’.

§5 puñaśālyāni: ‘from Puñaśāla’. Puñaśāla is a village in Āskūra. See Archive 3/3.11 §6.

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 hvrrīviṭi drrai ysārä dvī-sa-haṣṭāyī haṃbā mūrä hauḍi

§2 pauḍauysi mūri hauḍi drrai ysārä drraisi

§3 tti cvai la[k]i [……] [2]u birgaṃdarajā śau thaunaki drrai ysārä mūrä u yąnaki hīye drrai ysārä drrai-se vī

§4 tti mūri nāti dasau ysā'ca śau dvana

Translation

§1 Hvrrīviṭi 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 Yąnaka's 3300 *mūrās*.

§4 He received 10000 *mūrās*, one for two.

Commentary

§4 śau dvana: unclear. Skjærvø (Catalogue, p.114) renders: 'minus one or two'. It may mean 'approximately', since 3280 + 3300 + 3300 = 9880 ≈ 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 [1]pe'mīnā thaunā hīya kṣauva u yserī haṃbā haṃda maṃ pīḍaki niśta

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][…]tä saṃttīrvā ttrraṃda

§2 u kṣauvā na ra by[aidi]

§3 [2][…]nä sūlyau jsa paphūka nāte

§4 rrāhaji [3][…] brātarä haṃña 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 saṃttīrvā: *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 styr/*satēr-*.

§1 ttrraṃda: See commentary on Archive 3/3.8 §5.

§2 u kṣauvā na ra 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][…]nä sūlyau jsa paphūka nāte: ‘He received the collected from the Sogdians’. A very similar sentence is attested in Archive 3/3.2 §14.

§4 haṃña 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][…] senili rrvī hirä buḍāṃdi pe’mīnā thauna nau u śau tca’hau’[2][sa … u mūri tca]hau ysārä

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 hirä: ‘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 [1]kucalai {rrusa} ganaṃ vāra 2 krve paṃjsa ṣaṃga

§2 ttye bāja ā’ysaṃ hauḍi

§3 [2]|| ṣi’ vā phema bisai āysaṃ hatcaṃ

§4 cu phema kaṃdvāṣṭā buḍāṃdi paskāṣṭi phe[ma x x haurā][3]ñi 10 1 krve 3 ṣaṃga

§5 [4]ganaṃ paṃjsūsi krve haṣṭa ṣaṃga ṣi’ cira haurāñi

Translation

§1 Kucalai owes 2.5 *kūsa*s of {highland barley} wheat.

§2 He delivered millet instead.

§3 This Phema resident (delivered) millet to us as replacement.

§4 What they brought to Kaṃdva in Phema, 11 *kūsa*s 3 *ṣaṃga* of … should be delivered back to Phema.

§5 15 *kūsa* 8 *ṣaṃga* of wheat should be delivered in Cira.

Commenta

§1 krve: A scribal error for *kūsa*, a measurement of grain, corresponding to Chin. *shuò* 碩, see Rong and Wen 2008, p.64.

§3 hatcaṃ: See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §8.

§4 phema kaṃdvāṣṭā: ‘to Kaṃdva in Phema’. Phema was the place where the officials resided. See commentary on Archive 3/1.1 §5 (K).

Archive 3/4 Patrol Rosters

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 Viśa' 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 (*tsīndi*) 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 3/4 The Rosters of Patrol Cycle

Patrol	Date	Prospective	Retrospective	Other
1	8/3	Or.11344/6v	Hedin 6-a-i	
2	8/17	Or.11252/27	Hedin 6-a-ii	
3	9/4	Or.11252/16v-a-i	Hedin 6-b-i	
4	9/15	Or.11252/16v-a-ii	Hedin 6-b-ii	
5	10/3	Or.11252/35a*	Hedin 6-b-iii	
6	10/18	Or.11344/13*	Hedin 6-b-iv	Or.11252/13r

Table 3/4 The Rosters of Patrol Cycle

Patrol	Date	Prospective	Retrospective	Other
7	11/3	Or.11252/22	Hedin 6-c	
8	11/20		Hedin 6-d	
9	12/4	Or.11344/1-a-i		
10	12/21	Or.11344/1-a-ii		
11	1/6		Or.11344/1-a-iii	
12	1/21	Or.11344/1-b-i	Or.11344/1-a-iv	
13	2/7	Or.11344/1-b-iii	Or.11344/1-a-v	Or.11344/1-b-ii
14	2/23	Or.11344/1-c-i*		
15	3/7	Or.11252/17v	Or.11344/1-c-ii	
16	3/19		Or.11344/1-c-iii	
17	4/8	Or.11252/34.1-i*	Or.11344/1-c-iv	
18	4/29	Or.11252/34.1-ii*	Or.11344/1-c-v	
19	5/?	Or.11252/34.1-iii*	Or.11344/3r-a-i	
20	5/15		Or.11344/3r-a-ii	
21	6/?	Or.11252/26	Or.11344/3r-a-iii	Or.11344/3r-b-i
22	6/?		Or.11344/3r-b-ii	
23	7/10		Or.11344/3r-b-iii	
24	7/28		Or.11344/3v-c	

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 hvaṃḍi cu* [month name] *māśtä* [ordinal] *haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

For example:

Archive 3/4.7p §1: '@ tti bura hvaṃḍi cu skarihverä māśti didye haḍai spaśaña [tsīdä]'.

Archive 3/4.9p §1: '@ tti bura hvaṃḍi cu rrāhaji māśta tcūramye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi'.

The standard opening formula of retrospective rosters is:

@ tti vā* [month name] *māśtä* [ordinal] *haḍai spaśaña tsvādi

For example:

Archive 3/4.1r §1: 'tti vā braṃkhaysji māśti dyidye haḍai spaśara tsvādi'.

Archive 3/4.8r §1: 'tti vā skarihveri bistamye haḍai spaśaña 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 × 49.5cm) 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 *akṣara*s 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 [1](spa)śarāṇā[ṃ] pīḍaka

Translation

§1 document of patrolmen

Commentary

§1 spaśarāṇā[ṃ] 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[[2]ysi || … ||] īrasaṃgi | puñadatti || suhena [3][…] sudatti || {x} sīlāṃ || virgāṃ || saloki || vidarrjāṃ

Translation

§1 … Vidyade, Pu’ysdaka, Ysāḍadatta, Suhadatta, …, Īrasaṃga, Puñadatta, 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 [1]tti vā braṃkhaysji māśti dyidye haḍai spaśara tsvādi

§2 suhena || īrasaṃgi || ṣanīrä || sa[loki ||] [2]puñadatti || suhadāysi || pu'ysdaki || vidyade || pa' sudatti || sūradatti || virgāṃ || sīlā[ṃ ||] [3]vidarrjāṃ || kūcalai ||

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month) [the following] patrolmen went [on duty]:

§2 Suhena, Īrasaṃga, Ṣanīra, Saloka, Puñadatta, 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 Archive 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) spaśaña tsīdi

§2 phaṃnāji sahadatti || [3]ṣanīraki ∩ hvrrīviṭi ∩ visarrjāṃ ∩ kharamūrrai ∩ marṣa'datti ∩ {śāṃ-datti} ∩ si vidyadatti ∩ sa[4]loki ∩ maṃñe ∩ sarkāṃ ∩ {hunaki} ∩ {makali} ∩ īrvadatti ∩ arsäli ∩ {yaudari} ∩ [1]budadatti | kāśaki | naṃdaki

§3 spaśara paṃjsūsi

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 16th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month):

§2 Sahadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, Hvrrīviṭa, Visarrjāṃ, Kharamūrrai, Marṣa'datta, {Śāṃdat-ta}, Si Vidyadatta, Saloka, Maṃñe, Sarkāṃ, {Hunaka}, {Makala}, Īrvadatta, Arsäla, {Yaudara}, Budadatta, Kāśaka, Naṃdaka.

§3 15 patrolmen (in total).

Commentary

§2 arsäli: Proper name. This name was marked as deleted in *Catalogue,* p.98. Only by counting in Arsäla does the number of patrolmen add up to 15. Arsäla also appears as the last name in the retrospective roster Archive 3/4.2r.

§3 spaśara paṃjsūsi: '15 patrolmen (in total)'. Rather rarely, the roster ends with the total num-ber of patrolmen.

Archive 3/4.2r (Hedin 6-a-ii) Retrospective roster of Patrol 2

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 burä spaśara tsīdä

§2 suhada[tti phaṃnāji ∩] [4]ṣanīraki ∩ hvrrīviṭi ∩ visarrjāṃ ∩ kharamurrai ∩ marṣa'datti ∩ si vidyadatti || sa[loki ∩ maṃñe ∩ sarkāṃ ∩] [5]īrvadatti || naṃdaki ∩ kāśaki ∩ budadatti ∩ arsäli

Translation

§1 On the 17th of Braṃkhaysja (the eighth month), the following patrolmen are going:

§2 Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, Hvrrīviṭa, Visarrjāṃ, Kharamūrrai, Marṣa'datta, Si Vidyadatta, Saloka, Maṃñe, Sarkāṃ, Īrvadatta, Naṃdaka, Kāśaka, Budadatta, Arsäla.

Commentary

§1 tsīdä: '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 suhada[tti phaṃnāji || ṣanīraki: Restored from the corresponding prospective roster in Archive 3/4.2p §2: 'phaṃnāji sahadatti || ṣanīraki'.

§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

§1 [1]paṃ[ja]maki || maṃga[li] || brīna || [ha]ry[ā]saki || [2]saṃgaki

§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 tcūramye haḍai tti buri spaśara tsīdi || hunaki || yaudari || vidyadatti || saṃgadi || serju || īrvadatti || saṃgūlai || puñadi ||] paṃjamaki || maṃgali || brīna || haryāsaki || saṃgaki.'

§2 mulaki 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 spaśaña tsvādi

§2 hunaki || yaudari ∩ vidyadatt[i ∩] [7]saṃgadi ∩ serju ∩ īrvadatti ∩ saṃgūlai ∩ puñadi ∩ paṃjamaki ∩ maṃgali [∩] [8]brīna ∩ haryāsaki ∩ saṃgaki ∩

Translation

§1 On the 4th of Mūtca’ca (the ninth month), the following went on patrol:

§2 Hunaka, Yaudara, Vidyadata, Saṃgada, Serjū, Īrvadatta, Saṃgūlai, Puñade, Paṃjamaka, Maṃgala, Brīna, Haryāsaka, Saṃgaka.

Commentary

§2 vidyadatt[i ∩], maṃgali [∩]: The restoration of ‘buda[rmä]’ in Archive 3/4.4r §2 determines that only one *akṣara* is missing at the end of line 6 and line 7, and the missing *akṣara* 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 'sīlāṃ' in Archive 3/4.4r. More on Or.11252/16v, see introduction to Archive 3/4.3p.

Text

§1 [3]sparadirsamye kṣā mūtca'ci paṃjsūsamye [4]haḍai tti buri spaśara tsīdi

§2 [5]{mādāśi} || vidyadatti || sirphūki sudarma [6]akā̱nadatti || budarmä || pramuhā vasa[7]de kharajsajsi || mūlaki sudatti īrasaṃga [8]suhadatti [9]suhadāysi [10]{suhena} [11]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, Sirphūka, Sudarma, Akānadatta, Budarma, Vasade of the priors, Kharajsajsa, 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 'sīlāṃ' 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 [9]tti vā mūtca'ci 15 mye haḍai tsvādi

§2 vidyadatti || sirphūki || sudarmä || akāṇadatti || buda[rmä ||] [10]sīlāṃ || kharajsajsi || mulaki || pa' sudatti || īrasaṃgi || śirguli suhadatta || [suha][11]dāysi || virgāṃ || ṣanīri ∩ {puñadatti}

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, {Puñadatta}.

Commentary

§2 akāṇadatti || buda[rmä ||] sīlāṃ || kharajsajsi ||: Restored by comparison with Archive 3/4.4p §4: 'akāṇadatti || budarmä || 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 {suhena} 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 Birgaṃdara. This attestation clearly demonstrates that Śirgula was a village in Birgaṃdara.

§2 ṣanīri ∩ {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 *tsuñai* 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 *jsātä* 'B will go instead ofA' 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 *pharṣa* 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 mūñaṃji māśtä didye haḍai spaśaña tsuñai

§2 śarkāṃ bāja vaśi'raki jsātä [2][budadatti || su]dattä || budāṣṭirä || kaledrä || phāji cira ||

§3 svarrnade māśa-vīrai [3][vasade ||]{śarkāṃ} māśa-vīrai || sūrade māśa-vīrai || saṃgapuñi || {vidarrjāṃ} [4][…]ä salamai haubarai sīhai hīvī || buttaṃdai māśa-vīrai [5][suhadā]ysä māśa-vīrai || {x j-} nahvąnä || Signum-SU

§4 vidarrjāṃ bāja svarrnade jsātä

Translation

§1 [The following (are)] the men who are going on patrol duty on the 3rd of Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month):

§2 Vaśi'raka goes instead ofŚarkāṃ. Budadatta, Sudatta, Budāṣṭira, Kaledra. Phāja in Cira.

§3 Svarrnade the house-worker, [Vasade,] {Śarkāṃ} the house-worker, Sūrade the house-worker, Saṃgapuña, Vidarrjāṃ, […] Salamai belonging to *haubarai* Sīhai, Buttaṃdai the house-worker, Suhadāysa the house-worker, Nahvạna. Signum-SU

§4 Svarrnade goes instead ofVidarrjāṃ.

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 bāja: postp., 'for the sake of, on behalf of'. See *bāja-* in *Studies III*, pp.112-114.

§2 śarkāṃ bāja vaśi'raki jsātä: 'Vaśi'raka goes instead of Śarkāṃ'. The formula A *bāja* B *jsātä* 'B goes instead ofA', 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 ofA' records a change in the actual patrol and is used in retrospective rosters.

§2 śarkāṃ bāja vaśi'raki jsātä [budadatti su]dattä: 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 ||]{śarkāṃ} māśa-vīrai || sūrade: Restored from Archive 3/4.5r §2: ‘svarrnadi 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 saṃgapuñi ||: According to Archive 3/4.5r, Saṃgapuña 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]ysä māśa-vīrai || {x x} nahvąnä: Restored from Archive 3/4.5r §2: ‘bu[ttaṃdai ||] suhadāysi \māśa-vīrai/’ || nahvąni.

§4 vidarrjāṃ bāja svarrnade jsātä: ‘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 Archive 3/4.5r and Archive 3/4.5p are restored by comparison with each other.

Text

§1 [12]@ tti vā mūñaṃji didye haḍai spaśaña tsvādi

§2 vaśi’raki || budadatti || āskvī(ra) sudatti |[| budāṣṭirä ||] [13]kalidrri || svarrnadi bāja vidyadatti tsve || {maṃgali} || suradi bāja kāśaki tsve || bu[ttaṃdai ||][14]suhadāysi \māśa-vīrai/ || nahvąni || svarrnade || vasadi bāja maṃgali tsve ||

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month), the following went on patrol:

§2 Vaśi’raka, Budadatta, Sudatta in Āskūra, [Budāṣṭira], Kalidra. Vidyadatta went instead ofSvarrnada. {Maṃgala}. Kāśaka went instead ofSurade. Buttaṃdai, Suhadāysa the house-worker, Nahvąna, Svarrnade. Maṃgala went instead ofVasade.

Commentary

§2 āskvī(ra) sudatti: ‘Sudatta in Āskūra’. Āskūra is one of the Six Towns.

§2 |[| budāṣṭirä |||] kalidrri: Restored from Archive 3/4.5p §2: ‘budāṣṭirä || kaledrä’.

§2 svarrnadi bāja vidyadatti tsve: ‘Vidyadatta went instead ofSvarrnada’. The formula A *bāja* B *tsve* means B in the retrospective roster went on duty instead ofA in the prospective roster.

§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 ofVasade.

§2 bu[ttaṃdai |||] suhadāysi \māśa-vīrai/: Restored from Archive 3/4.5p §3: ‘buttaṃdai māśa-vīrai [suhadā]ysä māśa-vīrai ||’. One ‘māśa-vīrai’ is omitted here. ‘[Suhadā]ysä’ in Archive 3/4.5p is restored according to ‘suhadāysi \māśa-vīrai/ || nahvạni’ here.

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 samautti* shows that this roster was sent by a subordinate official to his superior, presumably Sudārrjāṃ, to remind him of a previous agreement. After reviewing this document, Sudārrjāṃ 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 *akṣara* 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[1]@ tti vaña {bra} mūñaṃji māśti spąśara parstai samautti

§2 [salamai || saṃgapuñi || kharrjāṃ ||] [2]suhīkā ṣanīri || vilocaṃ || braṃgi || brūnadi || sūra[de || sāmadatti || saṃganaṃdi ||] [3]īysadatti || vidyabudi || {senili} \kāśaki/ || kharamurrai || īrvadatti [|| śirībudi || sūradatti ||] [4]vidarrjāṃ phāji

§3 ṣi' paḍāda samautti ye

Translation

§1 Now, you have deigned to agree on the patrolmen for Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month):

§2 [Salamai, Saṃgapuña, Kharrjāṃ], Ṣanīra from Suhīka, Vilocaṃ, Braṃga, Brūnada, Sūra[de, Sāmadatta, Saṃganaṃda,] Īysadatta, Vidyabuda, {Senila}, \Kāśaka/, Kharamurrai, Īrvadatta, [Śirībuda, 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 || saṃgapuñi || kharrjāṃ] suhīkā ṣanīri: restored from Archive 3/4.6p §2: '{salamai} || {saṃgapuñi} || kharrjāṃ || {suhīkā ṣanīra}'.

§2 suhīkā ṣanīra: 'Ṣanīra in Suhīka'. Suhīka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§2 brūnadi || sūra[de || sāmadatti || saṃganaṃdi ||] ’īysadatti: Restored from the Archive 3/4.6p §2: ‘brūnadi || sūrade || sāmadatti || saṃganaṃdi || {’īysadatti}’.

§2 {senili} \kāśaki/: Although Senila is deleted and replaced by Kāśaka, according to Archive 3/4.6r, it was still Senila who went on duty in Patrol 6,

§2 ’īrvadatti [|| śirībudi || sūradatti ||] vidarrjāṃ: Restored from Archive 3/4.6p §2: ‘īrvadatti va vārä spaśaña śau jūṃ || śirībudi || [4][sūrada]tti || va vāri spaśi śau ttī khvai va vidarrjāṃ’.

Archive 3/4.6p (Or.11344/13) Prospective roster of Patrol 6

Similar to Archive 3/4.5p, this roster was issued by Sudārrjāṃ. Sudārrjāṃ 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 Sudārrjāṃ in the last line.

Text

§1 [1][@ tti vā mūñaṃ]ji 10 8 mye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 {salamai} || {saṃgapuñi} || kharrjāṃ || {suhīkā ṣanīra} [2][{vilocaṃ} ||] braṃgi || brūnadi || sūrade || sāmadatti || saṃganaṃdi || {īysadatti} || vidyabudi || [3][senili] || kharamurrai va vāri spaśaña śau jū || īrvadatti va vārä spaśaña śau jūṃ || śirībudi || [4][sūrada]tti || va vāri spaśi śau ttī khvai va vidarrjāṃ Signum-SU phāji || ttāṃguysi || Signum-SU

Translation

§1 On the 18th day Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month), (the following) are going on patrol duty:

§2 {Salamai}, {Saṃgapuña}, Kharrjāṃ, {Ṣanīra from Suhīka}, [{vilocaṃ}] Braṃga, Brūnada, Surade, Sāmadatta, Saṃganaṃda, {Īysadatta}, Vidyabuda, [Senila,] Kharamurai 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 mūñaṃ]ji 18: Restored from Archive 3/4.6r §1:‘tti vā mu̱ñaṃji 10 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 || [senili]: Restored from Archive 3/4.6r §2: ‘vidyabudi || senili’.

§2 kharamurrai va vāri spaśaña śau jū || īrvadatti va vārä spaśaña śau jūṃ ||: ‘Kharamurrai owes one turn of patrol duty. Īrvadatta owes one turn of patrol duty.’ In other words, Kharamurrai 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 spaśaña śau jūṃ* corresponds to the formula *va vā tsve* in the retrospective roster.

§2 śirībudi || [sūrada]tti || va vāri spaśi śau: ‘Śirībudi. Sūradatta owes one shift of patrol duty’, restored from Archive 3/4.6a §2:‘śirībudi || sūradatti va vā tsve ||’. Just as Kharamurrai and Īrvadatta, Sūradatti also asked for leave. He was rescheduled to Patrol 10, as in Archive 3/4.10p §2.

§2 phāji || ttāṃguysi || Signum-SU: These two names were added after Sudārrjāṃ had signed the roster. He signed again to authenticate the addition. Note that Ttāṃguysa 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 mūñaṃji 18 m(y)e haḍai spaśaña tsvā(di)

§2 braṃgi || brūnade || gūma sūradi || [sāmadatti ||] [16]saṃganaṃdi bāja yaduysi || vidyabudi || senili || kharamurrai va vā tsve || īrvadatti [va vā tsve ||][17]śirībudi || sūradatti va vā tsve || vidarrjāṃ || phāji || ttāṃguysi || kharrjāṃ ttī […]

Translation

§1 On the 18th of Mūñaṃjā (the 10th month), the following men went on patrol:

§2 Braṃga, Brūnade, Sūrada from Gūma, [Sāmadatta], Yaduysa instead ofSaṃganaṃda, Vidyabuda, Senila. Kharamurrai went to us. Īrvadatta went to us. Śirībuda. Sūradatta went to us. Vidarrjāṃ. Phāji. Ttāṃguysa, Kharrjāṃ. Then…

Commentary

§2 gūma sūradi: ‘Sūrada in Gūma’. Gūma is a village in Āskūra. See commentary on Archive 3/5.22 §2.

§2 gūma sūradi || [sāmadatti ||] saṃganaṃdi bāja yaduysi ||: Restored from Archive 3/4.6p §2: ‘sūrade || sāmadatti ||saṃganaṃdi’.

§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 vāri spaśaña śau jūṃ* in the prospective roster.

§2 īrvadatti [va vā tsve ||] śirībudi ||: restored from Archive 3/4.6p §2: ‘īrvadatti va vārä spaśaña śau jūṃ || śirībudi ||’.

§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[1]@ tti bura hvaṃḍi cu skarihverä māśti didye haḍai spaśaña [tsīdä]

§2 [brīna || saṃgūlai || si vidya][2]datti || sudarmä || puñadi || maṃgali || har(y)āsaki [|| vaśi’raki || vidyadatti ||] [3]paṃjamaki || 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, Puñada, Maṃgala, Haryāsaka, [Vaśi’raka, Vidyadatta], Paṃjaka, Mulaka, Jsajsaka, Hunaka, Burmaka.

Commentary

§2 [brīna || saṃgūlai || si vidya]datti || sudarmä || puñadi: Restored from Archive 3/4.7r §2: ‘brīna || saṃgūlai || si vidyadatti || [sudarmä ||] puñadi’.

§2 [vaśi’raki || vidyadatti ||] paṃjamaki: Restored from Archive 3/4.7r §2: ‘vaśi’raki || vidyadatti || paṃjamaki’.

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[18]@ tti vā skarihveri māśti didye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 brīna || saṃgūlai || si vidyadatti || [sudarmä ||] [19]puñadi || maṃgali || haryāsaki || vaśi'raki || vidyadatti || paṃjamaki || mulaki || [jsajsaki || hu][20]naki || burmaki

Translation

§1 On the 3rd of Skarihvārā (the 11th month) the following men are going on patrol duty:

§2 Brīna, Saṃgūlai, Si Vidyadatta, [Sudarma], Puñade, Maṃgala, Haryāsaka, Vaśi'raka, Vidyadatta, Paṃjaka, Mulaka, [jsajsaka], Hunaka, Burmaka.

Commentary

§1 tsīdi: 'they go'. Again, the past tense *tsvādi* is expected. See commentary on Archive 3/4.2r.

§2 [sudarmä ||] puñadi: Restored from Archive 3/4.7p §2: 'sudarmä || puñadi'.

§2 [jsajsaki || hu]naki || burmaki: Restored from Archive 3/4.7p §2: 'jsajsaki | hunaki || burmaki ||'.

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.

Text

§1 [21]tti vā skarihveri bistamye haḍai spaśaña tsvādi

§2 gayseta sudatti || […] [22]ṣanīrä || uysbāki budadatti || brīna || sedrruṃ || rrūvaśaki īrvadatti || ttāṃgu[ysi ||] [23]yaduysi || marṣa'datti hīśī'nai vī svarrnadi || akąnadatti ||

Translation

§1 On the 20th of Skarihvārā (the 11th month) the following went on patrol:

§2 Sudatti from Gaysāta, … Ṣanīra, Budadatta son of Uysbāka, Brīna, Sedrruṃ, Īrvadatta son of Rrūvaśaka, Ttāṃguysa, Yaduysa, Marṣa'datta, Svarrnade on *hīśī'nai*, Akānadatta.

Commentary

§1 gayseta sudatti: 'Sudatta from Gaysāta'. Gaysāta, corresponding to Chin. *jiéxiè* 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 Tibetans 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 hīśī'nai: unclear.

Archive 3/4.9p (Or.11344/1-a-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 9

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 hvaṃḍi cu rrāhaji māśta tcūramye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 āskīra nahvąni [||] [2]sūradi || maṃñe || kharajsaj(s)i || pu'ysdaki || saṃgapuñi | sarkāṃ || saṃgadi || {khara[murai}] [3]{īrvadatti}\kūcalai/ || brīna || si vidyadatti || jsajsaki || vidyabudi || hvrrīviḍti || ttāṃg[u]ys[i]

Translation

§1 The following (are) the men who are going on patrol duty on the 4th of Rrāhaja (the 12th month).

§2 Nahvana in Āskūra, Surada, Maṃñe, Kharajsajsa, Pu'ysdaka, Saṃgapuña, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgada, {Kharamurai} {Īrvadatta}, \Kūcalai/, Brīna, Si Vidyadatta, Jsajsaka, Vidyabuda, Hvrrīviḍta, Ttāṃguysa.

Commentary

§2 āskīra nahvąni: 'Nahvąna in Āskūra'. *Āskīra* is for *āskvīra*.

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 rrāhaji 20 1 mye haḍai spaśara tsīdi

§2 āskvīra sudatti || saṃgūlai || puñade || [bu][5]rmaki || {braṃgä || ttāṃguysi} \sūradattä jsajsaki/ || yaduysi || paṃjamaki || sudarmä || mulaki || vidyadatti || [6]sirphūki || 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, Puñade, Burmaka, {Braṃga, Ttāṃguysi}, \Sūradatta, Jsajsaka/, Yaduysa, Paṃjamaka, Sudarma, Mulaka, Vidyadatta, Sirphūka, Vidyadatta from Gaysāta, Maṃgala.

Commentary

§2 vidyadatti gaysātaji: 'Vidyadatta of Gaysāta'. See commentary on Archive 3/4.8r §1.

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 [7]@ tti vā cvātaji kṣemye haḍai spaśaña tsvādi

§2 haryāsaki || akāṇadatti || tcaṃjsai [||] [8]khau ṣanīrä || vidyabudi || cirāṃ īrvadatti || sūradi || nahvạni || gaudi [||] [9]śīlaṃ || 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, Ṣanīra the Khau, Vidyabuda, Īrvadatta from Cira, Sūrada, Nahvana, Gauda, Śīlaṃ, Suda \the Tibetan went for (him)/, Sudatta from Pa', Kucalai (went) instead ofSi 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 māśtä 20 1 mye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 āskvīra kharajsajsä || suhadā[ysi ||] [16]phaṃnāji sūradatti || īrvadatti || suhadatti || arsäli || birgaṃdara suhada[tti] [17]śāṃdatti || si vidyadatti || marṣa'datti || suhena || ṣanīrakä || ṣanīraki || naṃdaki [||]

Translation

§1 And the following are going on patrol duty on the 21st of Cvātaja (the first month).

§2 Kharajsajsa in Āskūra, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta from Phaṃnāi, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta, Arsäla, Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara, Śāṃdatta, Si Vidyadatta, Marṣa'datta, Suhena, Ṣanīraka, (the second) Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.

Commentary

§2 āskvīra kharajsajsä || suhadā[ysi ||]: Restored from Archive 3/4.12r §2: 'kharajsajsi || 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 3/4.12r Patrol Attendance of Team 1

TEAM 1	12p	12r	15p	15r	18p	18r	21p	21r
Kharajsajsa	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Naṃdaki	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Saloki							✓	✓
Suhadāysa	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sūradatta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Virgāṃ		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Si Vidyadatti the Khau	✓	✓			✓			✓
Suhena	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Sudatta from Pa’							✓	dam
Sude				road		road		road
kucalai							✓	
Saṃgade							✓	
Arsäla	✓	✓						
Īrvadatta	✓	✓		✓		[✓]		
Marṣa’datta	✓	✓						
Śāṃdatta	✓	✓						
Ṣanīraki	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Ṣanīraki the second one	✓	✓	✓	dam	✓	dam		
Suhadatta	✓	✓						
Suhadatta from Birgaṃ-dara	✓							

It can be clearly seen from the table that Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta, Virgāṃ, Suhena, and Naṃdaka attended all of the four patrols, and were the core members of Team 1.

Text

§1 [10]tti vā cvātaji 20 1 mye haḍai tsvādä

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || sūradatti || īrvada[tti ||] [11]phaṃnā(ji) suhadatti || marṣa'datti || arsäli || virgāṃ || śāṃdatti || khau si vidyadatti || suhena [||] [12]ṣanīraki || pātci śe' ṣanīraki | naṃdaki ||

Translation

§1 The following went on the 21th of Cvātaja (the first month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta from Phaṃnā, Marṣa'datta, Arsäla, Virgāṃ, Śāṃdatta, Si Vidyadatta the khau, Suhena, Ṣanīraka, then the second Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.

Commentary

§2 pātca śe' ṣanīraki: 'Then the second Ṣanīraka'. Two men named Ṣanīraka are also in Archive 3/6.1 §15: *b*[*i*]*rgaṃdara mattiśkāña ṣanīrakä 30 4* || *ṣanīrakä 20 4* 'Ṣanīraka from Mattiśka in Birgaṃdara, 34 (years old), Ṣanīraka 24 (years old)'.

§2 virgāṃ: Virgāṃ replaces Suhadatti from Birgaṃdara in Archive 3/4.12p.

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 below it.

Text

§1 {[18]@ tti vā {cvā} kaji māśtä pūhye haḍai spaśara tsīdi

§2 āskvīra śī'laṃ || pu'ysdaki ||[19]maṃñe || kharamurrai \suhadatti/ || si vidyada | tti kucalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgadi || sude | sudatti [20]visarrjāṃ || hvrrīviṭi || sīlāṃ || sudatti || naṃdaki salokä}

Translation

§1 {The following are going on patrol duty on the 5th of Kaja (the second month).

§2 Śī'laṃ from Āskūra, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Kharamurrai, \Suhadatta/, Si Vidyadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Sude Sudatta, Visarrjāṃ, Hvrrīviṭa, 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 retrospective roster Archive 3/4.13r.

Text

§1 [21]@ tti vā kaji māśti haudamye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 śīlaṃ || pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || suhada[tt]i [22]kucalai || 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'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, 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 patrolmen of Patrol 13, Patrol 16, Patrol 19, and Patrol 22:

Table 3/4.13r Patrol Attendance of Team 2

TEAM 2	13p	13r	16r	19p	19r	22r
Kucalai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Maṃñe	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	[✓]
Pu'ysdaka	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Śīlaṃ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Saṃgade	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sarkāṃ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Si vidyadatta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	[✓]
Suhadatta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sīlāṃ	✓	✓				
Suda	Tibetan	Tibetan				
Sudatta from Pa'	✓		✓	✓		✓
Ṣanīraka					dam	

Clearly, Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, and Si Vidyadatti were the core members of Team 2.

Text

§1[13]@ tti vā kaji māśti haudamye haḍai tsvādi

§2 śī'laṃ || pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || suhadatti {||} kha(ra)mūrrai bāja [14]kūcalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgade || sudi va ttāgutti tsve || sīlāṃ || si vidyadatti khau

Translation

§1 These went on the 7th of Kaja (the second month):

§2 Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta instead ofKharamūrrai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade. For Suda, the Tibetan went. Sīlāṃ, Si Vidyadatti the Khau. **Commentary**

§2 sudi va ttāgutti tsve: 'For Sude, the Tibetan went'. This phrase is also in Archive 3/4.11r. See commentary on Archive 3/4.11r §2.

§2 suhadatti {||} kha(ra)mūrrai bāja: 'Suhadatta instead ofKharamūrrai'. Note that the word separator '||' is deleted here. Suhadatta went on duty instead ofKharamūrrai in Patrol 13. Kharamūrrai returned the favor and went on duty instead ofSuhadatta in Patrol 14. See Archive 3/4.14p §3: 'Suhadatta went on patrol instead ofKharamurrai. Now Kharamurrai is going instead ofSuhadatta.'

Archive 3/4.14p (Or.11344/1-c-i) Prospective roster of Patrol 14

Sudārrjāṃ'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

(Archive 3/4.20r), and Patrol 23 (Archive 3/4.23r). The following table lists the patrolmen of Patrol 14, Patrol 17, Patrol 20, and Patrol 23:

Table 3/4.14p Patrol Attendance of Team 3

TEAM 3	14p	17p	17r	20r	23r
Īrvadatta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Arsäla	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Marṣa'datta	✓	✓	✓	✓	[✓]
Sudatta the Khau from Kūla	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Śāṃdatta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Saloka	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Kharamūrrai	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sīlāṃ		✓	✓	dam	✓
Ṣanīraka	{✓}				✓
Suhena	{✓}				
Si vidyadatta	✓				
Gauda	substitute				
Śiraka	substitute				

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 [23]tti vā kaji 20 3 mye haḍai spaśara tsī(di)

§2 arsäli marṣa'datti \gaudi va/ || saloki {ṣanīraki} || si vi[dyadatti] \īrva[datti va/] [24]sudatti khau | śādatti \va śiraki/ | suhadatti || {suhena} |

§3 suhadatti || kharamurrai bāja spaśaña tsve vaña [khara][25]murrai suhadatti bāja jsātä u {suramarṣa'} Signum-SU

Translation

§1 These are going on patrol duty on the 23th of Kaja (the second month):

§2 Arsäla. 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 ofKharamurrai. Now Kharamurrai is going instead ofSuhadatta and {Suramarṣa'}. Signum-SU

Commentary

§2 \gaudi va/, \īrva[datti va/], \va śiraki/: The inserted names are substitutes for those written above them.

§3 vaña [khara][25]murrai suhadatti bāja jsātä: 'Now Kharamurrai is going instead ofSuhadatta.' 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][Īrva]datti | sūradatti ||

Translation

§1 … Ṣanīraka, Virgāṃ, Ṣanīraka, Suhena, Īrvadatta, Sūradatta.

Commentary

§1 [Īrva]datti: 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 [26]tti vā hamārrīji māśti haudamye haḍai

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi | suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || ṣa[nīra]k[i] [27]sūradatti || 'īrvadatti | ṣanīraki pyāra vī

§3 sudi śau paṃdi byāṣṭi

Translation

§0 {Kharajsajsa}

§1 The following on the 7th day of Hamārrīja (the third month):

§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 vī: '(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 spaśaña tsīdi

§2 śī'laṃ pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || suhadatti phaṃnā[ji] [29]kūcalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgadai || khau sä vidyadatti || pa' sudatti

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 19th of Hamārrīja (the third month):

§2 Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, 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 Sudārrjaṃ's signature at the end, indicating that both were issued by Sudārrjaṃ. 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 Sudārrjaṃ's signum, and the last one ends with his formal signum. This indicates that Sudārrjaṃ 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

§1[a1]@ tti vā sejsīji māśtä 8 mye haḍai spaśara tsīdi

§2 arsäli {li} || marṣa'datti || [2]'īrvadatti || khau kūlā sudatti || śāṃdatti || bärgaṃdara suhadatti || kharamūrrai | saloki [3]sīlā Signum-SUa

Translation

§1 The following are going on patrol duty on the 8th of Siṃjsīja (the fourth month):

§2 Arsäla, Marṣa'datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara, 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 sejsīji 8 mye haḍai spaśara tsvādi

§2 arsäli || marṣa'datti || 'īrvadatti || khau [kūlā suda][31]tti || śāṃdatti || śirgūlā suhadatti || kharamūrrai || sīlāṃ || saloki [||]

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol on the 8th of Siṃjsīja (the fourth month):

§2 Arsäla, Marṣa'datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Śirgūla, Kharamūrrai, Sīlāṃ, Saloka,

Commentary

§2 khau [kūlā suda][31]tti: Restored from Archive 3/4.17p §2: 'khau kūlā sudatti'. Kūla is a village in Phaṃnai. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §18.

§2 śirgūlā suhadatti: 'Suhadatta from Śirgūla', also in Archive 3/4.4r. Śirgūla is a village in Birgaṃdara. 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 Sudārrjaṃ's signum.

Text

§1 [4]@ tti vā śe' būki spaśaña tsīdi

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || [5]ṣanīraki || sūradatti || si vidyadatti || ṣanīraki || Signum-SUa

Translation:

§1 The following are going on patrol duty of the second shift:

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgām, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Sūradatta, Si Vidyadatta, Ṣanīraka.

Commentary

§1 būki: 'shift, team'. In Or.11252/34.1, Sudārrjaṃ 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 Sudārrjaṃ's mind must then be the team of Patrol 17. The three *būka*s 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 [32]sejsīji 20 9 me haḍai

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || suhena || virgāṃ || naṃdaki || ṣanīraki || [sūradatti] [33]'īrvadatti ||

§3 ṣanīraki || pāra vī

§4 sude śau paṃdi byāṣṭi

Translation

§1 On the 29th of Siṃjsīja (the fourth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, [Sūradatta], Īrvadatta.

§3 Ṣanīraka, at the dams.

§4 Sude opened one road.

Commentary

§2 ṣanīraki || [sūradatti]: Restored from Archive 3/4.18p §2: 'ṣanīraki || sūradatti'.

§3 pāra vī: 'at the dams'. Scribal error for *pyāra*, see Archive 3/4.15r §2, Archive 3/4.19r §2, Archive 3/4.20r §2, and Archive 3/4.21r §3.

§4 sude śau paṃdi byāṣṭi: '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 Sudārrjaṃ's formal signum at the end.

Text

§1 [6]@ tti burä vā didi būki spaśaña tsīdi

§2 śīlaṃ || pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnāji suhad[atti ||] [7]kūcalai || sarkāṃ || 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 Vidyadatta 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 [1]@ tti vā haṃdyaji māśti spaśaña tsvā́di

§2 śīlaṃ || pu'ysdaki || phaṃnāji sahadatti || maṃñ[e ||] [2]kūcalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgade || khau si vidyadatti || ṣanīraki pyāra vī

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Haṃdyaja (the fifth month):

§2 Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Sahadatta from Phaṃnā, Maṃñe, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the Khau.

§3 Ṣanīraka (was) at the dams.

Commentary

§3 ṣanīraki pyāra vī: 'Ṣanīraka (was) at the dams.' The handwriting of this sentence is different from the rest of the roster and must be a later addition. Ṣanīraka 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 [3]tti vā haṃdyaji paṃjsūsamye haḍai tsvā́di

§2 arsäli || marṣa'datti || īrvadatti || khau kulā sudatti [4]śāṃdatti || birgaṃdara suhadatti || kharamurrai || saloki || sīlā \pyāra vī/ ||

Translation

§1 The following went (on patrol) on the 15th day of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month):

§2 Arsäla, Marṣa'datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara, Kharamurrai, 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[1]tti vā rarūyi māśtä spaśaña tsvādi

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || saṃgade || virgāṃ || [naṃdaki ||] [2]saloki || sūradatti || kūcalai || sudatti pa'ji

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Saṃgade, Virgāṃ, [Naṃdaka,] Saloka, Sūradatta, Kucalai, Sudatta from Pa'.

Commentary

§2 virgāṃ || [naṃdaki ||] saloki: Restored from Archive 3/4.21r §2: 'virgā || naṃdaki || saloki ||'.

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 [5]tti vā rarūyi māśti spaśaña tsvā́di

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || suhena || virgā || [6]naṃdaki || saloki || sūradatti || si vidyadatti ||

§3 \sudatti pyāra vī

§4 sude drrai paṃdi byāṣṭi himye/

Translation

§1 The following went on patrol in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Saloka, Sūradatta, Si Vidyadatta

§3 Sudatta (was) at the *dams.

§4 As for Sude, three roads have been opened.

Commentary

§3 byāṣṭi himye: ‘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 {[7]tti pātci rarūyi māśtä spaśaña tsvā́di

§2 kharajsajsi || suhadāysi || [suhena ||] [8]virgāṃ || naṃdaki || }

Translation

§1{Next, the following went on patrol in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, [Suhena], Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka.}

Commentary

§2 suhadāysi || [suhena ||]: Restored from Archive 3/4.21r §2: ‘suhadāysi || suhena’.

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 pātci rarūyi māśtä

§2 śī’laṃ | pu’ysda[ki || maṃñe] [9]|| phaṃnāji suhadatti || kucalai || sarkāṃ || saṃgade || [khau si vidyadatti ||] [10]pa’ sudatti ||

Translation

§1 Next, in Rarūya (the sixth month):

§2 Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, [Maṃñe], Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, [Si vidyadatta the Khau,] Sudatta in Pa'.

Commentary

§2 pu'ysda[ki || maṃñe] || phaṃnāji suhadatti: Restored from the other rosters of Team 2: 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: Archive 3/4.16r §2: 'saṃgadai || khau sä vidyadatti || pa' sudatti' and Archive 3/4.19p §2: 'saṃgade || 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 3/4.14p. No corresponding prospective roster exists.

Text

§1 tti vā ttājirä māśtä tsvā́di 10 haḍai

§2 arsäli || [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 Arsäla, [Marṣa'datta,] Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara, Kharamurrai, Ṣanīraka, Sīlāṃ.

Commentary

§2 arsäli || [marṣa'datti ||]: Restored from the other rosters of Team 3: Archive 3/4.14p §2: 'arsäli marṣa'datti', Archive 3/4.17r §2: 'arsäli || marṣa'datti', and Archive 3/4.20r §2: 'arsäli || marṣa'datti'.

§2 ṣanī[raki ||]: Ṣanīraka must be the last name of this line, because the lacunae is three to four *akṣara*s 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 Team3. 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 [1]x x x x va tsvādi 20 8

§2 jsajsaki || [vi]dyadatti || sūrade || śarkā || budarmä || 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, Puñada, …, Darauka.

Commentary

§2 sūrade || śarkā: 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] burä' 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, Yseviḍta 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 [1][@ … tti] burä spaśara

§2 kharajsajsä || yseviḍti || hunaki || darau[2][ki || … sa]rkāṃ|| 'īrvadatti || namaubudi || suhẹna | arsäli || cira [3][mādā]śi

Translation

§1 … These are the patrolmen:

§2 Kharajsajsa, Yseviḍta, Hunaka, Darauka, … Sarkāṃ, Īrvadatta, Namaubuda, Suhena, Arsäla, [Mādā]śa 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 Yseviḍta 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 [1][tti bura hvaṃḍi cu … mā]śti sparäbistamye haḍai spaśaña tsīdi

§2 [2][…] x x -i || suhena || virgāṃ || makali || saṃgade || sūradatti ||

§3 [3][tti buri … spa]śaña tsīdi

§4 ysāḍadatti {śī'laṃ ||} | pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnāji suhadatti || kūca[4][lai || … ṣa]nīrakä || khau si vidyadatti || yseviṭi ||

§5 [5][…da]tti || īrvadatti || darauki || śāṃdatti || birgaṃdara 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 Ysāḍädatta, {Śī'laṃ} Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta from Phaṃnā, Kucalai, …, Ṣanīraka, Si Vidyadatta the Khau, Yseviṭa

§5 […]datta, Īrvadatta, Darauka, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara, 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 ysāḍadatti {śī'laṃ ||}: 'ysāḍadatti' is written over the deleted 'śī'la ||'.

§4 ysāḍadatti {śī'laṃ ||} | pu'ysdaki || maṃñe || phaṃnāji suhadatti || kūca[lai || ṣa]nīrakä || khau si vidyadatti || yseviṭi ||: Among these names, Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, and Khau Si vidyadatti are all members of Team 2. Ṣanīraka 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.

§5 […da]tti || īrvadatti || darauki || śāṃdatti || birgaṃdara suhadatti || kharamurrai: 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 *ṣau* 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:

Table 3/5.1 Documents in Archive 3/5

Archive number	Register number	Subject
Archive 3/5.1	Or.11252/32-a	Rosters of shifts in the fort
Archive 3/5.2	Or.11344/2-a	Rosters of shifts in the fort
Archive 3/5.3	Hedin 10	Rosters of shifts in the fort
Archive 3/5.4	Or.11252/31	Roster of shifts in the fort
Archive 3/5.5	Or.11252/33	Roster of shifts in the fort
Archive 3/5.6	Or.11252/39	Roster of three teams

Table 3/5.1 Documents in Archive 3/5

Archive number	Register number	Subject
Archive 3/5.7	Or.11252/5v	Roster of two teams
Archive 3/5.8	Or.11252/9r-a	Roster of three sets of shifts
Archive 3/5.9	Or.11252/9v	Lists of men who owe shifts
Archive 3/5.10	Or.11252/9r-b	List of state workers exempt from patrol duty
Archive 3/5.11	Or.11252/14v	Roster of men on canteen duty
Archive 3/5.12	Or.11344/8r	List of men on various tasks
Archive 3/5.13	Hedin 8v	List of men on various tasks
Archive 3/5.14	Or.11344/2-b	List of men on various tasks
Archive 3/5.15	Or.11344/10-a	List of draft animal providers
Archive 3/5.16	Or.11344/10-b	List of draft animal providers
Archive 3/5.17	Or.11252/4r-a	List of draft animal providers
Archive 3/5.18	Or.11252/10v	List of men who delivered jars and sacks
Archive 3/5.19	Hedin 24v	List of men and their equipments
Archive 3/5.20	Or.11252/4r-b	Lists of men to be served
Archive 3/5.21	Or.11252/8v	Short roster
Archive 3/5.22	Or.11252/24	Short roster

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][…] kaipautsī āstaṃdādi

§2 phemāña kītha paḍauysi būki hvaṃḍi

§3 [2][…]ri || [pu']ysdaki || sudivi || sudatti || gachauki || arsäli || kuca[3][lai … || ṣan]īrä || sīlāṃ || śāṃdatti || si vidyadatti || khau ṣanīrä || śirī[4][buda || …] || hunaki || hunili || yulmahi || vidarrjāṃ || {svarrnade} [5][… || suha]dāysi ||

§4 [6][tti vā śe' būki]

§5 [… hvurihvādi ||] saṃg[u]lai || marṣa'datti || budāṣṭiri || si vidyadat[t]i || [7][…… || mula]ki || sirphū[k]i [|| x x [8]… || samā]drradatti || sa[lo]ki || ṣanīraki spāta pū || [b]u[dadat]t[i [9]…di] || kalidrrä || gaudi || svarrjāṃ || maṃgali ||

§6 [10][tti vā didi būki]

§7 [… suhad]āysi || makali || vasade || śī'laṃ || īrvadatti || brūnade || [11][…]de || sarkāṃ || naṃdaki || ṣarrnai || virgāṃ || upadatti || vasade || aśna[12][datti || …] || haryāsaki || vidyadatti || bu'ysi ṣanīrä || vaśi'raki || [13][…]śa'bude || suhade ||

§8 tti vā haṃdyaji 10 2 mye haḍai cirāṇa āta padauysi [14][būki hvaṃḍi]

§9 […] hadru || saṃgalaki || saṃganaṃdi || yuduysi || matsarakīsä || [15][…]rrjāṃ || nahvạni

§10 tti vā śe' būki

§11 naṃdaki || braṃgi || brạnaṃdi || īrvada[16][tti || …]datti || nineviṣa'li || arrjāṃ || budesa || skarai || phāji ||

§12 tti vā di[17][di būki]

§13 […]si || ttīśạni || saṃgabudi || sedrruṃ || visarrjā || īraki || śirīde || [18][…] || īysadatti || śirībudi || khāhadatti | vilocaṃ ysāḍi budesa

Translation

§1 They began the *kaipautsī* ...

§2 The first team of men (on duty) in the Fort of Phema (includes):

§3 …ri, Pu'ysdaka, Sudiva, Sudatta, Gachauka, Arsäla, Kucalai, … Ṣanīra, Sīlāṃ, Śāṃdatta, Si vidyadatta, Khau Ṣanīra, Śirībuda, …, Hunaka, Hunila, Yulmaha, Vidarrjāṃ, {Svarrnade,} … Suhadāysi.

§4 [The second team (includes):]

§5 [… Hvurihvādi,] Saṃg[u]lai, Marṣa'datta, Budāṣṭira, Si Vidyadatta, ……, Mulaka, Sirphūka … Samādrradatta, Saloka, Ṣanīraki the Spāta's son, Budadatta, … Kalidrra, Gauda, Svarrjāṃ, Maṃgala.

§6 [The third team (includes):]

§7 […] Suhadāysa, Makala, Vasade, Śī'laṃ, Īrvadatta, Brūnade, …, …de, Sarkāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣarrnai, Virgāṃ, 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, Nahvạna.

§10 The second team (includes):

§11 Naṃdaka, Braṃga, Brạnaṃda, Īrvadatta, …, -datta, Nineviṣa'la, Arrjāṃ, Budesa, Skarai, Phāja.

§12 The third [team (includes)]:

§13 […] Ttīśạna, Saṃgabuda, Sedrruṃ, Visarrjāṃ, Īraka, Śirīde, ... Īysadatta, Śirībuda, Khāhadatta, Vilocaṃ the old, Budesa.

Commentary

§1 kaipautsī: meaning unclear.

§2 phemāña 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 ||] saṃg[u]lai: Proper names. Restored from ‘hvurihvādi || saṃgulai’ in Archive 3/5.2 §4.

§5 mula]ki || sirphū[k]i: Proper names. Restored from ‘mūlak[i] || si[rphūki]’ in Archive 3/5.2 §4.

§5 spāta pū: ‘the Spāta’s son’, epithet of Ṣanīraki, from *spāta pūrä*, 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 maṃ paḍauysi būki kaṃtha-āsalyā hvaṃḍi ya

§2 [2]puñade || ysāḍadatti || puysdaki || sudivi || a[rsäli…] [3]pātci suhadatti || sīlāṃ || śāṃda[tti || …] [4]anirudi || hunaki || hunili || […]

§3 [5]@ tti vā śa' hvaṃḍi

§4 sudatti || alttāṃ || hvurihvādi || saṃgulai || mārṣa'da[tti || …] [6]paṃjamaki || sudarmä || mādāśi || śaṃphaki || hattikaṃ || mūlak[i] || si[rphūki…] [7]sāmadatti śūde || samādrradatti || saloki || ṣanīraki || spā pū*r*i budada[tti || …] [8]kaledrri || svarrjāṃ || maṃgali ||

§5 [9]@ tti vā śe' āstaṃ kaṃthi vī hi'ysda hvaṃḍi ya

§6 maṃgali || śirībudi || sūra[de … ||] [10]mulaki || haryāsaki || darauki || ṣanīri || vidyadatti || su[… || …][11]rä || paṃjamaki || ysāḍadatti || saṃgapuñi || [……][12]na || svarrjā || budadatti ||

§7 tti vā ciraṇa ya

§8 vi[… || …][13]de || vidyabudi || khāhadatt[i] || yaduysi || […]

§9 [14]@ tti vā maṃ haṃdyaji 20 3 mye haḍai hä'ysda hvaṃḍi ya

§10 mu[... || sā][15]madatti || suhena || hvurihvādi || alttāṃ || sudatti || […][16]datti || kūcalai || kalidrrä || hunili || sudaśna […]

§11 […][17]vī haṃdara hvāṣṭi paśāti salamai vāta 10 haḍā

§12 ttī […]

Translation

§1 These were the men on the first team of fort provisioners (?):

§2 Puñade, Ysāḍadatta, Puysdaka, Sudiva, Arsäla …again Suhadatta, Sīlāṃ, Śāṃdatta, …, Aniruda, Hunaka, Hunila, …

§3 These (were) the men on the second (team):

§4 Sudatta, Alttāṃ, Hvurihvāda, Saṃgulai, Mārṣa'datta, …, Paṃjamaka, Sudarma, Mādāśa, Śaṃphaka, Hattikaṃ, Mūlaka, Sirphūka, …, Sāmadatta śūde, Samādrradatta, Saloka, Ṣanīraka, 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, Ṣanīra, Vidyadatta, Su…, …, …ra, Paṃjamaka, Ysāḍadatta, Saṃgapuña, ...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, Altāṃ, Sudatta, ... -datta, Kucalai, Kalidrra, Hunila, Sudaśna, …

§11 Another Master's servant upon … Salamai's shift (is) 10 days.

§12 These…

Commentary

§1 kaṃtha-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 ṣanīraki || spā pū: 'Ṣanīraka, 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. See *Studies III*, pp.179-181.

§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 [1][tti] vā maṃ śe būki hvaṃ vāra ya kaṃthi vī

§2 haṃdyaji 10 śūdasamye haḍai pīḍeṃ

§3 [2]āskūrī altāṃ || pa'ji suhena || saṃgapuñi rrīñi hīvī [3]gaudi spāta vīsa dīna māśavīrai śaṃphaki suhīkāṃ

§4 [t][4]t[i] vā haṃdyaji 24 vāta pīḍai

§5 mādāśi ∩ maṃñe ∩ phąnāji si vidyadatti ∩ mattiśkā ṣanī[5]raki ∩ śaṃphaki ∩ svarrnade ∩ marṣa'datti ∩ īysadatti ∩

Verso

§1 ...[1]城住例廿[2]□曆

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'datta, Īysadatta.

Verso

§1 In the city, residing, twenty, calendar (?)

Commentary

Recto

§2 10 śūdasamye: 'the eleventh'.

§3 rrīñi: '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 māśavīrai: *māśa-vīraa-*, 'house-worker'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §4.

§3 suhīkāṃ: '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 Rarūya (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: Akānadatta, 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 [māśtä rar]*ū*yi yi 10 4 my[e ha]ḍai paḍauysi būki kaṃthi vī kīri yanīdi

§2 [2][x x sū]rade || maṃñe || puñade || ysāḍadatti || sude || gachauki || sahadatti || vilokä [3][x x x] ṣanīrä || śirībudi || sąmadatti || namaubudi || {anirudi} || hunaki || huni[4][li || yulma]hi || vidarrjāṃ || sudaśna || akānadatti || sahadāysi \hejsāki/ || svarrnade || maṃgali [5][x x hatti]kaṃ || mādāśi || paṃjamaki || kalidrri || budāṣṭiri || gaudi || suhena || hvuri[6][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 Rarūya (the sixth month),] (men of) the first team do work upon the fort.

§2 ... Sūrade, Maṃñe, Puñade, Ysāḍadatta, Sude, Gachauka, Sahadatta, Viloka, …, Ṣanīra, Śirībuda, Sāmadatta, Namaubuda, {Aniruda}, Hunaka, Hunila, Yulmaha, Vidarrjāṃ, Sudaśna, Akānadatta, Suhadāysa, \Hejsāka/, Svarrnade, Maṃgala, …, Hattikaṃ, Mādāśa, Paṃjamaka, Kalidrra, Budāṣṭira, Gauda, Suhena, Hvurihvāda, Yaudara, Sāmadatta's Śude, Sirphūka, Si Vidyadatti the Khau, Ṣanīraka the Spāta's son, …, Pu'ysdaka the load-carrier, Mulaka, Śaṃphaka, Śī'lāṃ. Signum-SU

Commentary

§1 [māśtä rar]*ū*yi yi: ‘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 3/4.11r §2.

§2 b[ī]rra-barai: ‘load-carrier’, epithet of Pu’ysdaka, 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 śe’ paṃdi budarmä u saṃgada[ttä ||…] [3][… ||] arsäli || sahadatti

§4 birgaṃ[dara …] [4][… s]īlāṃ || sāmadatti || mādāśi ||

§5 dva […] [5][… |]| sahadatti || bu'ysi ṣanīri ||

§6 hvaṃḍi dva […] [6][…] || gaysāyī 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 ... Arsäla, Sahadatta …

§4 … from Birgaṃdara, … Sīlāṃ, Sāmadatta, Mādāśa.

§5 Two [men?] … Sahadatta, Ṣanīra the tall,

§6 Two men … Vidyadatta from Gaysāta, Upadatta ...

Commentary

§3 śe' paṃdi: 'the second road', exact meaning unclear.

§6 gaysāyī: *gaysātaja-* 'of Gaysāta'. See commentary on Archive 3/4.8r §1.

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 || akā̧[4][nadatti || …]

§2 || tti śe' būki ṣanīraki [5][…]

§3 [tti] vā didi bū[ki] x x datti || [6][…] x x khau kūlāna ṣanīraki

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 Sudārrjāṃ. Conceivably, Sudārrjāṃ 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]śtä kṣasamye haḍai śe’ būkä hvaṃḍi āta

§2 [2][…sī]lā [|]| mulakä || akāṇadatti ||

§3 [3][didi būkä] hvaṃḍi āta || yseviḍi || kharamurrai || maṣa’datti [4][…]ñä ||

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, ...-ña.

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 [1][@ tti vā … ā]staṃ vāta vistāta

§2 kaṃdvaji ṣanīrä 5 haḍā si vidatti paṃjsa haḍā [2][x x x x paṃ]jsa haḍā svarrnade paṃjsa haḍā suhadāysi paṃjsa haḍā

§3 [3][x x x x] śau-haḍājsya vāta vistāta

§4 maṃñe vāta 2 si vidyadatti vā 1 suhadatti vā [4][x pu'y]*sd*[a]k[i] vā 1

§5 @ tti vā śe' būki vāta vistāta

§6 altā 1 suhena 1 saṃgapuñi 1 gaudi 1

Translation

§1 [The following] shifts have been set:

§2 Ṣanīra from Kaṃdva, 5 days, Si Vidatta, 5 days. ... five days. Svarrnade, five days. Suhadāysa, 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, Saṃgapuña one, Gauda one.

Commentary

§2 kaṃdvaji: 'of Kaṃdva', corresponding to Chin. *kǎnchéng* 坎城 Tib. *kam sheng*, also called *phemāña kaṃthā* '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 man 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 [1][@ tti burä hvaṃ]ḍi vāra ya

§2 pa’ sudatti vā 5 haḍā | aniru cira tsve || ṣanīrä thaiṣī paśāti [2][x x x thaiṣī pa]śāti pu’ysdaki spaśaña tsve suhadatti spaśaña tsve khau si vidyada[3][tti spaśaña] tsve śirgu(lāṃ) suhadatti spaśaña tsve sīlā spaśaña tsve | phaṃnāji suhadatti spaśa[4][ña tsve seni]li spaśaña tsve

§3 [5][tti vā ā]staṃ hvaṃ vāra ya

§4 mādāśi | maṃñe ∩ phaṃnāji si vidyadatti ∩ ṣanīraki vā śau pyāra vī [x][6][x]k[i] ∩ svarrnade ∩ marṣa’datti ∩ īysadatti ∩ budadatti ∩

Translation

§1 [These] men owed (shifts).

§2 Sudatta from Pa’, a shift (of) 5 days; Aniru went to cira; Ṣanīra, 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 Śirgula went on patrol; Sīlāṃ went on patrol; Suhadatta from Phaṃnai [went] on patrol; Senila went on patrol.

§3 [These] men owed shifts:

§4 Mādāśa, Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃnai, Ṣanīraka, one shift at the dam, …, Svarrnade, Marṣa'-datta,, Īysadatta, Budadatta.

Commentary

§2 thaiṣī: 'Commissioner-in-chief'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §3.

§2 paśāti: *paśāta-* 'the commissioned, servant'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

§2 ṣanīrä thaiṣī paśāti: 'Ṣanīra, the Commissioner-in-chief's servant', attested again in Archive 3/5.14 §6.

§2 khau si vidyada[tti spaśaña] tsve: 'Khau Si Vidyadatta went on [on patrol]', restored according to *spaśaña tsve* attested multiple times in §2. This restoration also establishes the length of the lacuna at the left end of the document.

§2 śirgu(lāṃ): 'From Śirgula'. See commentary on Archive 3/4.4r §2.

§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 [1]@ tte buri kṣīrva-vīrā hvaṃḍi cu spaśi ni yanīdi

§2 suramarṣa’ pahai || v[i]darrj[āṃ || haska]²darm[ä] niśt[ä] || puñadatti

§3 kūṣḍi vī cira pāḍaka-barā 2 āskvīra pāḍaka-barā pa[x x x x]³piṣi’ śau budarmä śau sąmadatti vilakä

Translation

§1 The following are state workers who do not do patrol:

§2 Suramarṣa’, defector (?); Vidarrjāṃ Haskadarma is not (here); Puñadatta

§3 Two document-bearers to the mansion in Cira, document-bearers in Āskūra, …one; Budarma, one; Sąmadatta’s child.

Commentary

§1 kṣīrva-vīrā: ‘state workers’, N.-A. pl., from **kṣīrva-kīraa-*. See commentary on Archive 3/1.12 §14.

§2 pahai: ‘defected’, pf. of *pahais-*, cf. *pahaisā* in Archive 3/5.12 §11. See *SGS*, p.80.

§2 v[i]darrj[āṃ || x haska]darm[ä]: Proper name. Restored from Archive 3/5.12 §11, where Vidarrjāṃ and Haskadarma are identified as defectors together with Suramarṣa’ and Puñadatta.

§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 Alttāṃ, because both are identified as such in Archive 3/5.12 §3, and Alttāṃ 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 [1]ṣapāñara sirphūki | si vidyadatti | brīna | ṣanīri || haṭtikaṃ | tt[i] ha[ṃtsa …] [2]

§2 namaubudi | saloki sąmadatti || vidyadatti tti haṃtsa

§3 […] [3]ustākaji ṣanīri | phaṃnāji si vidatti bu’ysi ṣanīri | sahada[tti…] [4]maṃgali || mulaki || akānadatti || vasadi || mādāśi haṃ[tsa…]

§4 [5]upadatti | virgāṃ || sīlāṃ || śādatti || budadatti tti haṃ[tsa…]

Translation

§1 On canteen duty: Sirphūka, Si Vidyadatta, Brīna, 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, Virgām, Sīlāṃ, Śāṃdatta, Budadatta.

Commentary

§1 ṣapāñara: ‘person on canteen duty’, identified by Bailey (*Dict.* 407). The ‘duty’ is *ṣapāña-*.

§1 tt[i] ha[ṃtsa]: meaning unclear, restored from *tti haṃtsa* 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]@ hvaṃḍi nau tti spaśaña tsvādi

§2 naṃdaki || ṣanīraki || virgāṃ || ṣanīraki || suhena || kharajsijsi [2]suhadāysi || īrvadatti || sūradatti |

§3 hvaṃḍi 2 pāḍaka-barā vasade || alttāṃ ||

§4 u mulaki [3]birgaṃdara spaśari ttāgutti vī ṣṭi

§5 ysiviḍti haṃdira prū tsve thaunā gvaṣce

§6 cira jsāra-barā 3 [4]suhadatti || pu'ys(d)aki || ysāḍadatti ||

§7 hvaṃḍi paṃjsa haḍa bisvā ṣṭāri

§8 hvaṃḍi 2 cira tsvādi ani[5]rudi u svarrjāṃ

§9 hvaṃḍi 3 ṣau viṣṇadatti hīya vāra sūrade || sudatti || saṃganaṃdi

§10 [6]hvaṃḍi 5 yauvarāyi jasti hīya vāra aśnadatti || kharrjāṃ || tcaṃjsai || hvurihvādi || saṃgaki

§11 [7]hvaṃḍi 5 pahaisā suramarṣä' || vidarrjāṃ || haskadarmä || puñadatti || sumatta x x

§12 [8]hvaṃḍi 20 4 miḍāṃ jasti hīya kāṃjsata-kerā u ganama-kerā

Translation

§1 The following nine men went on patrol.

§2 Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Virgāṃ, Ṣanīraka, Suhena, Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Īrvadatta, 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'ysdaka, Ysāḍadatta.

§7 Five men, messengers, are staying in (their) houses.

§8 Two men went to Cira: Aniruda and Svarrjāṃ.

§9 Three men are in *ṣau* Viṣṇadatta's *vāra*: Surade, Sudatta, Saṃganaṃda.

§10 Five men are in the Crown Prince's entourage: Aśnadatta, Kharrjāṃ, Tcaṃjsai, Hvurihvāda, Saṃgaka.

§11 Five men (are) defectors (?): Suramarṣa', Vidarrjāṃ, Haskadarma, Puñadatta, Sumatt-.

§12 24 men (are) the Gracious Lord's sesame-sowers and wheat-sowers.

Commentary

§1 @ hvaṃḍi nau tti spaśaña 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 Īrvadatta 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’ Kīrrta, 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’ Kīrrta, 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 *ṣau* Hviṃdū, 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 *ṣau* Hviṃdū 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 documents 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 ∩ svarrjāṃ ∩ suhadāysä ∩ budāṣṭiri ∩ sūrade ∩ pharṣa sādari ∩ segi ∩ upadatti ∩ naṃdaki spā[2]ta marṣä’ ∩ pharṣa sādari ∩ spāta maṣi’

§2 tti śūṃdasi gīra tsvādi

§3 pharṣa sāṃda(ri) hīya cigi bāstāṃ haṃdi

§4 [3]tti vā spāta saṃgabudi dva kapāysä buḍāṃdi u ba’hau’yi

§5 śarkāṃ ∩ senili ∩ āśi’rī [[4]sa]ttyabhadrri ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩ ṣanīri ∩ ba’sakāji ∩ budadatti ∩ upadatti ∩ yulimahä’ ∩ [5]v[i]rśabhadrri ∩ spāta vīsa ∩ spāta marṣä’ ∩ suhade ∩ brūnade ∩

§6 tti vā hīśaṃ buḍāṃdi {nahvą} [[6]x]li brabudi ∩ viśnadabhadrri ∩ hrrīviḍi ∩

§7 tti vā haṃbā buḍāṃ sāmadatti ∩ nahvąni ∩ [7]makali ∩

Translation

§1 Makala, Svarrjāṃ, Suhadāysa, Budāṣṭira, 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 Sattyabhadrra, Ysāḍadatta, Ṣanīra, Ba'sakāja, Budadatta, Upadatta, Yulimaha', Virśabhadrra, *spāta* Vīsa, *spāta* Marṣa', Suhade, Brūnade.

§6 The following carried iron: {Nahvana}, Brabuda, Viśnadabhadrra, Hrrīviḍa.

§7 The following carried the amount (of tax money): Sāmadatta, Nahvạna, Makala.

Commentary

§2 śūṃdasi: 'eleven'. There are 12 names in §1, but Sāṃdara is attested twice.

§2 gīra: loc. sg. of *gara-* 'mountain', referring to the Tibetan headquarters in the citadel at the site of Mazar Tagh. See Takeuchi 2004, p.55.

§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.

§6 hīśaṃ: 'iron', attested again only in documents outside Archive 3, including Hedin 56, Hedin 66 (*KT IV*, p.47, p.49), and SI P 94.8 (*SDTV III*, p.98). See Yoshida 2006, p.111.

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 [1][…] suhadāysi ∩ {si vidatti} ∩

§2 śe būki tti buri vāta

§3 saṃgapuñi [2][5 haḍā … mādā]śi 5 haḍā || maṃñę paṃjsa haḍā || phaṃnāji si vidyadatti 5 [3][haḍā …] īysadatti |

§4 marṣadatti spaśaña ye | ṣanīraka spaśaña ye

§5 [4][… sva]rr[j]āṃ anirudi cira t[s]vādi

§6 ṣanīrä thaiṣī paśāti ||

§7 u svarrnade [5][spaśaña ye … spaśaña] ye

§8 [x x x x] si vidyadatti spaśaña ye ||

§9 birgaṃdara [6][suhadatti … spa]śaña

Translation

§1 Suhadāysa, Si Vidatta.

§2 The second team (includes) the following shifts:

§3 Samgapuña [5 days]…, Mādāśa 5 days, Maṃñe 5 days, Si Vidyadatta from Phaṃnai 5 [days], ... Īysasdatta.

§4 Marṣadatta was on patrol, Ṣanīraka was on patrol duty,

§5 Svarrjāṃ and Aniruda went to Cira;

§6 Ṣanīra, 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 Birgaṃdara …, ... (was on) patrol duty.

Commentary

§3 saṃgapuñi: Also in Archive 3/5.3 §3, where he is missing from the second team.

§3 [mādā]śi, maṃñę, si vidyadatti, īysadatti: Also in Archive 3/5.3 §5 as men on duty on the 24th of Haṃdyaja (the fifth month).

§5 [4][… sva]rr[j]āṃ anirudi cira t[s]vādi: 'Svarrjāṃ and Aniruda went to Cira', restored according to *cira tsvādi anirudi u svarrjāṃ* in Archive 3/5.12 §8.

§6 ṣanīrä thaiṣī paśāti: 'Ṣanīra, 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][tti hvaṃ]ḍä jsāri barīdi

§2 makali gūhi śau || budāṣṭiri ∩ ṣanīraki ∩ braṃgi ∩ [x x [2]x x] ∩ budadatti cirāṃ ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩ virśabhadrra ∩ brabudi ∩ hvrrīviṭi ∩ bhadrra[x x [3]∩ ha]ttikaṃ ∩ darauki ∩ virgāṃ ∩ sude ∩ śī'laṃ ∩ budarmä ∩ āśirī yīśe[drrabha[4]drri ∩]

§3 anirūdi khara śā ∩ suhadāysi ∩ pharṣa sāṃdari ∩ saṃgi ∩ upadatti [∩] [5][a]śnadatti ∩

§4 yadu gūhi śā || īrvadatti gūha śā

Translation

§1 [These men] will carry grain.

§2 Makala one ox, Budāṣṭira, Ṣanīraka, Braṃga, …, Budadatta from Cira, Ysāḍadatta, Virśabhadrra, Brabuda, Hvrrīviṭa, Bhadrra-, Hattikaṃ, Darauka, Virgāṃ, Sude, Śī'lāṃ, Budarma, the reverend Yīśedrrabhadrra.

§3 Aniruda one jenny, Suhadāysa, *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, Saṃga, Upadatta, Aśnadatta.

§4 Yaduysa one cow, Īrvadatta one cow.

Commentary

§2 yīśe[drrabhadrri]: 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 śau* '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 [1]@ tti buri hvaṃḍi cu karera stūra haysīdi

§2 hunaki ∩ ṣanīraki ∩ sīlāṃ ∩ īr[va][2]datti ∩ pu'ysdaki ∩ kharajsajsi ∩

§3 [3]@ tti buri stūra cu bīrri buḍāṃdi

§4 ṣanīraki haṣṭi sahadatti gūhi ∩ [-ī x [4]x x ∩] sāṃdari ∩ spāta marṣä' hīvī ∩ viśnadabhadrri ∩ jayabhadrri ∩

Translation

§1 The following (are) the men who will drive animals for ploughing(?):

§2 Hunaka, Ṣanīraka, Sīlāṃ, Īrvadatta, Pu'ysdaka, Kharajsajsa.

§3 The following (are) (those men whose) draft animals have carried loads

§4 Ṣanīraka, eight; Sahadatta, an ox; … Sāṃdara; (someone) belonging to *spāta* Marṣa'; Viśnad-abhadrra; Jayabhadrra.

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, Īrvadatta and Ṣanīraka are in Archive 3/5.15.

§3 stūra cu bīrri buḍāṃdi: 'the draft animals that have carried loads.' Compare *stūra cu bīrrä 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* Sudārrjāṃ 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 [1]@ tti vā va vārä stūra cu bīrrä barīdi

§2 sude ∩ yīśedrrabhadrri ∩ suhadāysi ∩ jayabha[drri ∩] [2]pa' sudatti | gūha śā | śī'laṃ ∩ budarmä ∩ spāta marṣä' ∩ naṃdaki ∩ makali ∩ mādāśi ∩ [viśna][3]dabhadrri ∩ suprabhadrri ∩ īrasaṃgi gūha śā ∩ śirgulā sahadatti gūhi [śau x x x gūhi] [4]śau saṃgi ∩ upadatti ∩ budāṣṭiri śau senili ∩ ysāḍadatti ∩

§3 ṣa' sa […]

Translation

§1 These (men) owe draft animals that will carry loads:

§2 Sude, Yīśedrrabhadrra, Suhadāysa, Jayabhadrra, Sudatta of Pa', one cow, Śī'laṃ, Budarma, *spāta* Marṣa', Naṃdaka, Makala, Mādāśa, Viśnadabhadrra, Suprabhadrra, Īrasaṃga, one cow, Suhadatta from Śirgula, [one] ox, …, one [ox], Saṃga, Upadatta, Budāṣṭira, one, Senila, Ysāḍa-datta.

§3 These …

Commentary

§2 [viśna]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 outside the patrol cycle.

Text

§1 [1][… gū]thaka hauḍāṃdi

§2 saṃgi gūthaki ∩ brūnade ∩ sūradatti ∩ budāṣṭiri śūñi 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. *γwδ’k* (Yoshida 2006, p.112), JP *gwlyq* (Zhang and Shi 2008, p.93)

§2 śūñi: a scribal error for *gūñi* ‘sack’, attested as *guñi* in Archive 3/6.2 §4. See Yoshida 2006, p. 111.

§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 hvaṃ[ḍ]i […] -ā x phā x x maṃ

§2 [2]pharṣa sāṃdari hạ’śtä u baṃgāṃ u duna u p[ū]na || […]

§3 [3]|| vidyadatti hạ’śtä u baṃgāṃ ||

§4 [ani]*ru*di hạ’śtä u baṃgāṃ [||]

§5 […] [4]hạ’śtä u baṃgāṃ ||

§6 [… ha’śtä u baṃ]gāṃ ||

§7 ṣanī[rakä hạ’śtä u baṃgāṃ]

§8 [5]|| haryāsakä hą’śtä baṃgā[ṃ ||]

§9 [s]āmadatti hą’śtä baṃ[gāṃ ||]

§10 [… hą’][6]śtä baṃgāṃ ||

§11 u[pa]datti hą’śtä [baṃ]gāṃ ||

§12 mulakä ha’śtä [baṃgāṃ ||]

§13 [7][…]rr[j]āṃ hą’śtä [baṃgāṃ ||]

§14 […] hą’śtä baṃgāṃ ||

Translation

§1 These men ……

§2 *Pharṣa* Sāṃdara: spear, breastplate, bows and arrows

§3 Vidyadatta: spear and breastplate.

§4 Aniruda: spear and breastplate.

§5 […]: spear and breastplate.

§6 […]: spear and breastplate.

§7 Ṣanīraka: spear and breastplate.

§8 Haryāsaka: 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 haṃ'śtä u baṃgāṃ: 'spear and breastplate', in Archive 3/1.41 as *hu'śtä* (§6) and *baṃgāmāṃ* (§10). See *KT IV*, p.126.

§2 duna u p[u]na: 'arrows and bows', restored according to *duna pūna* in Archive 3/1.41 §6. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.37) reads: '*ttci*na upa[da]tti'.

§4 [ani]*ru*di: Proper name, reading uncertain. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.37) reads: 'x -e *tra*di'.

§8 haryāsakä: Proper name, in Archive 3/1.14 §10, Archive 3/4.3p §1, Archive 3/5.1 §7, Archive 3/5.2 §6, and elsewhere. Bailey (*KT IV*, p.37) reads:'haryapaḍä'.

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 *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ to *pharṣa* 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 [@ tti bu]ri hvāṣṭāna hvaṃḍi cu śerāña

§2 miḍāṃ jasti hīya 20 4

§3 haubarai sīhai' hīya paṃjamaki u akāna[2][datti ||]

§4 [hau]barai ttiri*k*virä hīvī nahvąni ||

§5 yauvarāyi hīya 4 ganama-kirā 3 u hvurähvādi ||

§6 ṣau vi[3][ṣṇadatti 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: Nahvąna.

§5 Belonging to the Young King: four (men, including) three wheat-sowers and Hvurähvāda.

§6 Belonging to ṣau Viṣṇadatta: …datta.

Commentary

§1 hvāṣṭāna: *hvāṣṭa-* 'master', referring to the Tibetans. The expected form is *hvāṣṭāṃ*.

§1 śerąña: **śār-* 'to serve', participle of necessity, N.-A., pl. See *śāraṣa-* 'service' in *Dict.*, p. 397.

§2 miḍāṃ 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 ttiri*k*virä: 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 vi[ṣṇadatti]: Proper name, restored as such because in Archive 3, the only *ṣau* 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 [1]braṃgi | senili | naṃdaki || hvūrähvādi || sąmadatti || kharryāni || makali || ṣanīraki [2]aśnadatti [||] yulimahi' sudarmä

§2 tti vā kavārma tsvāṃdi

§3 ṣanīrakä saṃgūlai īrvadatti [3]īrasaṃgi || suhadāysi || vaśi'raki || kāgaki

Translation

§1 Braṃga, Senila, Naṃdaka, Hvūrähvāda, Sąmadatta, 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 vā x x] x svāṣṭi hvaṃḍi

§2 birgaṃdara mattiśkāña vidarrjāṃ || suhīkąña [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 Birgaṃdara, [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 mattiśkāña 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 suhīkāña: 'from Suhīka'. Suhīka is a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§2 suhīkāña [īrasaṃ]gi: '[Īrasaṃga] from Suhīka', restored from *suhīkāña īrasaṃgä* in Archive 3/6.1 §15. This restoration also establishes the length of the lacuna at the beginning of the document.

§2 āskvīra gūmaji: '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:

Table 3/6 Documents in Archive 3/6

Archive number	Register number	Subject
Archive 3/6.1	Or.11252/2	Copy of an order concerning grain
Archive 3/6.2	Or.11252/29	Copy of an order concerning grain
Archive 3/6.3	Or.11252/19	Copy of an order concerning grain
Archive 3/6.4	Or.11252/15v	Petition concerning state work
Archive 3/6.5	Or.11252/34.2v	Petition to the King
Archive 3/6.6	Or.11252/13v	Document concerning a petition on 8/24
Archive 3/6.7	Hedin 18	Agreement on buying a camel
Archive 3/6.8	Or.11252/36r	Certificate for minors, elders, and the sick
Archive 3/6.9	Or.11252/6r	Letter concerning work
Archive 3/6.10	Hedin 57*	Record of a loan
Archive 3/6.11	Or.11252/16v-b	Fingermarks on a contract
Archive 3/6.12	Or.11344/11v	Document concerning purchase of *vānā*-cloth
Archive 3/6.13	Or.11252/7v	Document concerning cloth and wine
Archive 3/6.14	Or.11252/40-42	Fragments of a document issued by a Tibetan

*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 *kūsa*s 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 Birgaṃdara, 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 *mūra*s 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 [1]@ miṣḍāṃ ḡyastäna parau

§2 cira kṣvā auvā piṣkalä nvā sa[2]lī jsära-haurā hvaṃḍä biśna 50 3

§3 paṃñe hvaṃḍye ttāguttāṃ haudi śeṃgāṃ ṣaṃ[3]gna jsärä pastä 10 1 kūsa 9 ṣaṃga

§4 biśna jsärä himi 600 [30] [4][kūsa] 7 ṣaṃga

§5 200 20 5 kūsa 4 ṣaṃga rrusa —

§6 [5][100 80] 4 kūsa ganaṃ ||

§7 200 20 1 kūsa 3 ṣaṃga gau'sä ||

§8 hauda hvaṃ[6][ḍä cir]ą̄na tti śū̧mä gau'sä haurīdä

§9 biśna-ṃ gau'sä himi 80 3 kūsa 3 ṣaṃga

§10 [7][x x x x] visarrjāṃ 50 2 || vīṃgulą̄ña haskadarmä 20 9 || jīvvā khąṣṭarāṃ [8][x x x x] *40* 2 || ysāḍą̄ña hvrrīviḍtä pūrä vismadatta 10 8 [9][x x x x] 30 4 || si vidattä 30 5 ||

§11 hvaṃḍä 40 6 tti jsärä drrai pila haurīd[ä]

§12 [10][biśna-ṃ jsärä] himi 500 40 7 kūsa 4 ṣaṃga

§13 ṣa' 4 kūsa 9 ṣaṃga rrusa || [11][4 kūsa ga]na[ṃ] || 3 kūsa gau'sä

§14 || 200 20 5 kūsa 4 ṣaṃga rrusa || 100 [12][80] 4 kūsa ganaṃ || 100 30 8 kūsa gau'sä ||

§15 [13]b[i]rgaṃdara mattiśką̄ña ṣanīrakä 30 4 || ṣanīrakä 20 4 || vidarrjāṃ 20 2 [14]namaubudä || dumesalą̄ña hunakä || sahadattä || suhadāysä || suhīkā[15]ña īrasaṃgä || spą̄ñi virgāṃ || mattiśką̄ña naṃdakä || || śāṃdattä || śude sa[16][x x x x x]dattä || są̄madattä pūrä daraukä || \spāña sīlāṃ/{bik-iną̄ña ṣanīrä || khau} [\ … mād]āśi/ [17][x x x x x x]

§16 pa' sūlyą̄ña sudattä || kharajsajsä || puñausa || sude || suda[18][ttä ||]

§17 [āsk]u[ī]ra puñiśela śī'laṃ || altāṃ || svarrjāṃ || makalä || vasade || maṃ[19][ñe ||] pu[']ysdakä || ba'sä vī suhadāysä || puñide

§18 || phaṃña spāñi si vi[20][dyada]tt[ä] || seṇilä || yseviḍtä || khau kulāña sudattä || buttakāña kharamurrai

Verso

§1 [1]spaśarāna kūca haphāra

Translation

Recto

§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*s 9 *ṣaṃga*s by the Tibetan seven-*śeṃga ṣamga*.

§4 In total, it is 6[30] [*kūsa*s] 7 *ṣaṃga*s of grain.

§5 225 *kūsa*s 4 *ṣaṃga*s of highland barley.

§6 [18]4 *kūsa*s of wheat.

§7 221 *kūsa*s 3 *ṣaṃga*s of millet.

§8 Seven men from Cira will deliver only millet.

§9 In all, their millet amounts to 83 *kūsa*s 3 *ṣaṃga*s.

§10 …; Visarrjāṃ, 52 (years old); Haskadarma from Viṃgula, 29 (years old); … from Khaṣṭara among the Jīvas, 22 (years old); Vismadatta, son of Hvrrīviḍta 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*s 4 *ṣaṃga*s.

§13 That is 4 *kūsa*s 9 *ṣaṃga*s of barley, [4 *kūsa*s] of wheat, and 3 *kūsa*s of millet (per man).

§14 (That is) 225 *kūsa*s 4 *ṣaṃga*s of highland barley, 1[8]4 *kūsa*s of wheat, and 138 *kūsa*s 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), Kharajsajsa, Puñausa, Sude, Sudatta.

§17 In Āskūra: Śīlaṃ from Puñiśāla, Altāṃ, Svarrjāṃ, Makala, Vasade, Maṃñe, Pu'ysdaka, Suhadāysa upon *Ba'sa*, Puñide.

§18 In Phaṃnai: Si Vidyadatta from Spai, Senila, Yseviḍta, Khau Sudatta from Kula, Kharamurrai from Buttaka.

Verso

§1 The inspectors' … confusion. (?)

Commentary

§2 cira kṣvā auvā piṣkalä: 'Cira-Six Town Prefecture', the full official name of the prefecture, corresponding to Chin. *Zhìluó Liùchéng Zhōu* 質邏六城州. 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 *kūsa*s 9 *ṣaṃga*s per man.

§2 hvaṃḍä 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 śeṃgāṃ ṣaṃgna: ‘by the Tibetan seven-*śeṃga ṣaṃga*’. In the Tibetan system, one *ṣaṃga* equals to 7-*śeṃga*. Here, the issuer explicitly reminds the recipient of the Tibetan measurements, because Sudārrjāṃ confuses the Tibetan seven-*śeṃga ṣaṃga* with the Chinese 10-*śeṃga ṣaṃga* in his calculation of grain in Archive 3/1.7. See introduction to Archive 3/1.7.

§4 600 [30] [kūsa] 7 ṣaṃga: ‘630 *kūsa*s 7 *ṣaṃga*s’. 11.9 *kūsa*s per man × 53 men = 630.7 *kūsa*s.

§6 [100 80] 4 kūsa ganaṃ: ‘184 *kūsa*s 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 vīṃgulą̄ ña, ysāḍą̄ña: ‘From Vīṃgula’, ‘from Ysāḍa’. Vīṃgula and Ysāḍa are villages in Cira, only attested here.

§10 jīvvā khąṣṭarāṃ: ‘from Khaṣṭara among the Jīvas’, epithet of the name in the lacuna. Meaning unclear.

§12 [biśna-ṃ jsārä] himi: ‘[All their grain] is …’, restored according to *biśna jsārä himi* in §4.

§15 mattiśką̄ña, dumesalą̄ña, suhīkāña, bikiną̄ña: ‘From Mattiśka’, ‘from Dumesala’, ‘from Suhīka’, ‘from Bikina’. Mattiśka, Dumesala, Suhīka, and Bikina are villages in Birgaṃdara. 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 spą̄ñi: Place name, a village in Birgaṃdara, 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 [āsk]u[ī]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 śī'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 *puñaśālyā* in Archive 3/3.11 §6.

§17 ba'sä vī: 'upon *ba'sa*'. 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 [1]bulāni rmąmi śä'räna parau

§2 pira-vārā va nūvari jsārä śtāk[a ṣṭi]

§3 […] [2]50 8 khara u 6 ṣaṃga drrai śega

§4 nūvarä khu hā ni haurāta ttī maṃ ttye jsārä […] [3]u guñi-haysāka hvaṃḍi

§5 tta hā jsārä jseṇi hauḍa 60 4 khara kṣi ṣaṃga 2 śe[ṃga]

Translation

§1 An order from *blon* Rmang bzher:

§2 New grain is needed for the silkworm raisers.

§3 … 58 *khara* 6 *ṣaṃga* 3 *śeṃga*.

§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 *ṣaṃga* 2 *śeṃga* of grain.

Commentary

§1 bulāni rmąmi śä'räna 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. *dǒu* 斗, interchangeable with *ṣaṃga.* See Rong and Wen 2008, pp.64-67. It is unclear why and how this measure is used here together with *ṣaṃga.*

§4 haurāta: *haur*- ‘to give’, subj. 2pl., a rarely attested form.

§4 guñi: ‘sack’, attested as *śūñi* a scribal error for *gūñi* in Archive 3/5.18 §2.

§4 haysāka: ‘sending, sender’, N.-A. pl., from *hays*- ‘to send’.

§5 jseṇi: *jsei’ṇa*- usually ‘small, fine’. Here I follow Skjærvø’s rendering in *Catalogue*, p.99. Also see Skjærvø 2004, vol.II, p.123, and pp.269-70.

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 [1][…] spāta sudārrjāṃna parau ā si

§2 tcirrtū vā haṃjsiṣḍi hīsi

§3 10 kūsa ā[2][…]aina tcahau kū\sa/ rruśi jsa āḍi

§4 paśā avaśāna hvaṃḍi himya 50 3

§5 [3][…] māśa-vīrā birgaṃdara 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 *kūsa*s of […], four *kūsa*s 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 haṃjsiṣḍi: *haṃjsaṣ-* '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 rruśi jsa āḍi: 'flour made of highland barley', also in Archive 3/1.12 §8.

§4 paśā avaśāna: 'the commissioned and the non-commissioned', meaning everybody. See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5

§4 hvaṃḍi 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: 'house-worker, dependent'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.25 §4.

§5 māśa-vīrā birgaṃdara hvaṃḍi 20 7: '27 house-workers in Birgaṃdara'. It is recorded in Archive 3/1.7 §8 that 26 men from Birgaṃdara will deliver wheat.

§6 phanāja hvaṃḍi 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-ąñai tsveṃ gvīrā [x x] [2][x x] vīra

§3 vaña dva jūṇa pīha hauḍi yiḍeṃ

§4 āysā āṃ na hame

§5 vaña āṃ ttā {uha} \ī x/ [x x] [3][x x] {x hai}\x-ī pa/śūṃ haṃtsa neri jsa u pūryau jsa

§6 pyaṃtsāṣṭa hiyaudi parśūṃ' x x -āga [x x][4][x x x x x] na va

§7 ttiña auva satta ni dikhyevīdi

§8 stąnaḍa va adāya ṣṭāre

§9 [x x] [5][x x x] kīra yuḍi yiḍeṃ khu pyaṃtsā paśā byehūṃ

§10 vaña-ṃ āspāta yidi [x x]

Translation

§1 … O Lord.

§2 Concerning the tax money for the king and instead ofthe 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: *hiyauda-* '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 thaṃgi: '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 kṣīrvāṃ kīrāṃ: *kṣīrva kīraa-* 'state worker'. 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: *dukhev-* 'to be misearable' from skt. *duḥkhāpaya-*.

§8 stąnaḍa: ‘superior teacher’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §6.

§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 Sudārrjāṃ concerning grain, is written on the back of this document. Conceivably, Sudārrjāṃ 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. Sudārrjāṃ 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 …[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: *āspāta-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 [1]biśa braṃkhaysji 20 4 mye haḍai ttā haṣḍä yuḍeṃ

§2 vaña ttā […]

§3 […] [2]dīśta vā salāna parya

§4 pa’jsä ma byąmā ṣṭi

§5 ṣai khvai paṃdāya pa[…]

§6 […] [3]pīḍa kuṣṭa buri padeṃda himya ||

§7 ąmācä ma ma[…]

§8 […][4]na ttiña 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 *akṣara*s above the first line, indicating that this document was originally part of a larger document.

§1 biśa: *bisā*- 'village'. See commentary on Archive 3/3.2 §14.

§1 haṣḍä yuḍeṃ: *haṣḍä 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 byąmā: OKh. *bätamā* 'doubt'.

§5 paṃdāya: *pande* 'road', L.s.

§6 pīḍa: *pīr*- 'to write', 2pl impv.

§6 kuṣṭa buri: 'as long as'. *ku buro* corresponds to Skt. *yāvat* see Skjærvø, vol. II, p.317.

§6 padeṃda 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 *ṣṣau* 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 *mūra*s. See Kumamoto 2001.

Text

§0 […] [0]x 2

§1 [1]@ 33 mye kṣāṇä ttāṃjirä māśtä 29 mye haḍai ṣa' samauca ttye pracaina [2]cu

§2 vā ṣṣau cveṃdūna parau ā sä

§3 kṣvā auvā hamīḍa ṣṭāṃ spaśarä ulä gi[3]nīrau

§4 nva pravanai hvaṃḍi himya 50 2 ||

§5 rrāṃdi hīya māśa-vīrā himya [4]15 ||

§6 paśāta haṣṭa

§7 cāṃṣṣī gyastä hīya u yauvarāyä gya[5]stä hīya paśāta himya 10

§8 cu haubarai hīya u dvīyāṃ ā[6]mācāṃ hīya paśāta himya 13

§9 biśna haṃba'ca hvaṃḍä himya [7]sa Signum-H18 8

§10 kṣvā auvā stānaḍa himāri kṣa Signum-H18

Translation

§0 … 2

§1 On the 29th of Ttuṃjārā (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 *āmaca*s.

§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 *akṣara*s above the first line indicate that another document was originally written above this document.

§2 cveṃdūna: Proper name, I.-Ab. s., only attested here. It can be inferred from his title *ṣṣau* that Cveṃdū was an official on the prefecture level or above. For more on *ṣṣau*, see commentary on Archive 3/1.19 §1. Cveṃdū is not a Khotanese name, probably a Chinese one.

§4 pravanai: 'register'. See commentary on Archive 3/1.15 §24.

§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 gyastä hīya* as belonging to §7, also governing *paśāta himya 10*.

§7 cāṃṣṣī: 'Senior Secretary', Chin. *zhǎngshǐ* 長史, most likely referring to Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin, who is in Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C) bearing this title.

§7 yauvarāyä: 'the Crown Prince', see commentary on Archive 3/5.12 §10.

§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 *āmāca*s’. In Archive 3, only *ṣṣau* 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 hvaṃḍä 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 *ṣṣau* Cveṃdū’s signum. This must not be the case, since this document was issued in response to *ṣṣau* Cveṃdū’s order and *ṣṣau* Cveṃdū was mentioned in the third person. This signum must belong to the issuer of this document, whose name is not attested.

§10 stānaḍa: ‘superior teacher’. See commentary on Archive 3/1.21 §6. Yoshida (2006, p.124) understands the six *stānaḍa*s mentioned here are included in ‘the 52 men according to the register’ in §4 and proposes that *stānaḍa* is the title of an official on the village level, comparable to Khot. *chaupaṃ* Chin. *chìbàn* 叱半. For more on *chaupaṃ*, see Wen Xin 2008a, pp.143-144. These six *stānaḍa*s, 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 *stānaḍa*s. 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 Sudārrjāṃ.

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-haṃdasta* 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-haṃdasta* of Birgaṃdara, 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 [1][… mye kṣuṇ]ä rarūyä māśtä 10 1 mye haḍai [ṣi’ pīḍaki ttye pracaina cu]

§2 [2][…] auva haṃ haṃdastä daraukä pastä […]

§3 [3][…] ñaṃ darauki salā hauḍä si

§4 maṃ ma auva {tsīd- x} ṣīka […] [4] […]rä pūrä ṣarrnai || svarrjuṃ ||

§5 [5][… ys]āḍa spāñä upadattä brabudä | hattäkaṃ

§6 āchänai ysaṃgarä au […]

§7 [6][… ā]chänai viśa’śīlä ysāḍä

§8 ttī ra prąmā khu hā darauki haṃguṣṭi viśti

§9 [7]da | rauki haṃ | gu[ṣṭ]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-haṃdasta* Darauka ordered ...

§3 ... delivered Darauka’s word:

§4 Here in the town, the minors are: …, xx's son Ṣarrnai, Svarrjuṃ,

§5 The elders are: Upadatta from Spai, Brabuda, Hattäkaṃ

§6 The sick and old are: …

§7 … is sick, and Viśa'śīla is old.

§8 It takes effect when Darauka puts his finger on it.

§9 Darauka's finger (mark)

Commentary

§1 [ṣi' pīḍaki ttye 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 haṃdastä daraukä: '*Auva-haṃdasta* Darauka'. Darauka is attested as being from Birgaṃdara together with two *auva-haṃdasta*s from other towns in Archive 3/3.10. See commentary on Archive 3/3.10 §2 and §3.

§5 spāñä: Place name, a village in Birgaṃdara. See commentary on Archive 3/6.1 §15.

§8 ttī ra prąmā khu hā darauki haṃguṣṭi viśti: '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 *akṣara*s 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 Sudārrjāṃ concerning canteen duty. It is very likely, then, that the recipient of this letter was Sudārrjāṃ, who wrote his own order on its back.

Text

§1[…] [1]ma bajeṣīrau

§2 hvāṣṭāṃ eha ma salā niśtä

§3 ysiri tta ma haṃthraji

§4 a ma vaña hvā[2][ṣṭā vara] hąṣḍi yuḍem sä

§5 kīrūṃ anvaśtä ṣṭä būki āṃ byehūṃ

§6 thu tta luni mąmi [3][śä'rä] bajeṣi

§7 khvaṃ va ttara kīri kūśä' puñaruci na pā hūña

§8 khu ādari [4][x x x]jsyau

§9 āṃ ttā pu'sūṃ sa tti na tta parīya 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 bajeṣīrau: *bajeṣ-* ‘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 mąmi [śä’rä]: *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 *mūra*s 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 *mūra*s in some way?

Text

§1 r1spāta sudārrjā haṃdira 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 *mūra*s from Vagevida in the Inner Court.

§2 Vidyadatta 4, Puñadatta 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 Vidyadatta’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 [1][…] vā x x g[ä]ry[eṃ] x mūra ysa tty[au] jsa u x-ū x js- ḍ- g[ä]ry[eṃ]a […]

§2 [2][…]{vā sudārrjāṃ} vą̄nā gäryeṃ mūrä haṣṭusi

§3 ttyau jsa jsęṇa […]

§4 [3][…] mūrä haṣṭa ysārä

§5 ttyau jsa {sudārrjuṃ va} yi bakajä thau gä[ryeṃ …]

Translation

§1 I bought …

§2 I bought *vānā*-cloth for 18 *mūra*s.

§3 With these, fine…

§4 8000 *mūra*s.

§5 With these, I bought cloth {for Sudārrjāṃ} from *Baka.

Commentary

§2 vāṇā: 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* Sudārrjāṃ.

Text

§1 […] [1]dva tsuna

§2 āśirī vimalidrrabha khvī ra m[au]

§3 [… pīḍaki] [2]hauḍi sä

§4 maṃ 20 ca mau aśti

§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 *akṣara*s. 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 ḍa ma […]

2 […] la x […]

Fragment B (Or.11252/41v)

1 […] ḍā ma […]

Fragment C (Or.11252/41v)

1 […] ra ta […]

Commentary

Recto

Fragment C

§2 (Tib.) [… **spa]** ***vi*** **: sa : la**: ‘To be sent to [*spāta*] Vīsa’. 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* Vīsa, 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

	Kingdom	Prefecture	Township	Village
Khotanese		Piṣkala	Au	Bisā
Chinese		*zhōu* 州	*xiāng* 鄉	*cūn* 村/ *fǎng* 坊
Tibetan	Yul	Tshan(d)	Tshar(d)	?/Srang

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*/*tcäräthū*/*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. *Ānxīsìzhèn jiédùshǐ* 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.[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 *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.[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".[428] The Tibetan official in charge of Khotan (Tib. *li'i blon*) probably resided in the citadel at present-day Mazar Tagh,[429] the headquarters of the Tibetan army, as evidenced by the large number of Tibetan documents excavated there.[430]

In Archive 3, the king of Khotan was Viśa' Vāhaṃ, and his Chinese name was *Yùchíyào* 尉遲曜. His Chinese title is attested in Archive 3/1.1 §9 (C): *Jiédùfùshǐ Dūdū Wáng* 節度副使都督王. This title consists of three parts. 1) *Jiédùfùshǐ* 節度副使, standing for *Ānxī Sìzhèn*

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[426] Archive 3/1.2 §6.

[427] Line 47 and 73, see Müller, 1912, pp.10-11, and Yoshida 1994, p.370.

[428] Takeuchi 2004, p.55.

[429] Khot. *gara*, Chin. *shén shān* 神山, Tib. *Shingshan*, see Yoshida 2006, p.39.

[430] Takeuchi 2004, p.55.

Jiédùfùshǐ 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 *Píshā Dūdūfǔ Dūdū* 毗沙都督府都督 'Governor of Pisha Governorate', the king's title in the Tang civil administrative system;[431] 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 acknowledgement 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,[432] shows that Khotan was further integrated into the Tibetan system. In Khotanese, the honorific title of the king is 'the Gracious Lord', Khot. *miḍāṃ jasta* or *miṣḍāṃ ḡyasta*, 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.[433] The resi-

[431] Note that the military title takes precedence over the civil title.

[432] Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1997, p.349.

[433] See *Catalogue*, p.67 and p.557.

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 IV-2 The King of Khotan in Orders and Petitions in Archive 3/1

Sender ⟶ Recipient	Archive Number	Type	Subject
King of Khotan ⟶ *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.2	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.5	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.6	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.13	Order in quote	Grain
	Archive 3/1.18	Order in quote	Cloth and grain
King of Khotan ⟶ *stānaḍa*s and all the commoners in Cira-Six Town Prefecture	Archive 3/1.41	Order	Equipment
Tsīṣī spāta Sudārrjāṃ, all the officials and commoners ⟶ King of Khotan	Archive 3/1.13	Petition	Grain
	Archive 3/1.21	Petition	Court work

It is clear from the table above that the king of Khotan communicated directly with *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, 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-*

[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.

*naḍa*s[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* Sudārrjāṃ, 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 *Fù Wéijǐn* 富惟謹, whose Chinese title is attested in Archive 3/1.1 §8 (C): Administrative Assistant and Senior Secretary in Prince Jian's Establishment, Chin. *Pànguān Jiǎnwángfǔ Zhǎngshǐ* 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.[437] The role of the Administrative Assistant was an important one on the staff of the Military Commissioner.[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 *diǎn* 典 *Shǐ Huáipú* 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. *Yauvarāya*, is attested four times in Archive 3:

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[436] Referring to the monks, see below.

[437] *Fēng Chángqīng* 封常清, Administrative Assistant of Anxi Military Command *Ānxī Jiédù Pànguān* 安西節度判官 in 747, bore a similar civil title: Administrative Supervisor in Prince Qing's Establishment (Rank 6b) *Qìngwángfǔ Lùshìcānjūn* 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.

[438] Hucker 1985, p.363.

Table IV-3 *Yauvarāya* in Archive 3

Archive Number	Activity
Archive 3/1.43*	*Blon* Rmang bzher orders *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ to send Kharrjāṃ, a good wheat sower, to the Crown Prince.
Archive 3/5.12	Five men in the Crown Prince's entourage are listed.
Archive 3/5.20	Four men belonging to the Crown Prince are to be served.
Archive 3/6.7	10 servants belonging to the Crown Prince are among the 108 men who are ordered to buy a camel for the patrolmen.

*restored

Though *Yauvarāya* in Archive 3 is never named, it probably refers to Viśa' Kīrtta, who is attested as the King of Khotan in IOL Khot 50/4 and IOL Khot 54/2,[439] 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' Vāhaṃ's earlier reign. The title *Yauvarāya* attested in Archive 2 probably refers to the same person as it does in Archive 3, presumably Viśa' Kīrtta. Or.12637/21.3a, on the other hand, belongs to the Harding Collection, which predates Viśa' Vāhaṃ's reign. Skjærvø suggested that this *yauvarāya* refers to Viśa' Vāhaṃ 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.[440] I argue, however, that this *yauvarāya* refers to Viśya' Dharma. In any case, the *yauvarāya* in Or. 12637/21.3a is different from the *yauvarāya* attested in Archives 2 and 3.[441]

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[439] *Catalogue*, p.285, p.290.

[440] Skjærvø 1991, p.265.

[441] Zhang and Rong confused the two *yauvarāya*s, 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 *haubarai*s 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 IV-4 *Haubarai* in Archive 3

Name	Archive Number	Activity
Sīhai	Archive 3/4.5p	Salamai belonging to him is on the patrol roster.
	Archive 3/5.20	Paṃjamaka and Akānadatta belonging to him are among the men to be served.
Ttirikvira	Archive 3/5.20	Nahvąna belonging to him is among the men to be served.
N/A	Archive 3/6.7	13 men assigned to one *haubarai* and two *āmāca*s are among the men who are ordered to buy a camel for the patrolmen.

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.[442] 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.[443] Guo and Abdul-kerim

[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.[444] The five prefectures identified by Zhu Lishuang are:[445]

1) Six-Town Prefecture (Chin. *Liùchéng Zhōu* 六城州; Khot. *kṣau au*);

2) West River Prefecture (Chin. *Xīhé Zhōu* 西河州;[446] Tib. *Shel chab gong ma*);

3) East River Prefecture (Tib. *Shel chab 'og ma*);

4) Between-the-Rivers Prefecture (Tib. *Shel chab dbus*);[447]

5) Zhuba Prefecture (Chin. *Zhūbá Zhōu* 猪拔州).[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.[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.

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[444] Guo and Abdul-kerim 2014.

[445] See Zhu Lishuang 2012a, pp.71-78.

[446] Attested in Or. 8211/969-72, see Ikeda 1996.

[447] The Tibetan names of these three prefectures are attested in IOL Tib N 1854 (M.Tagh.b.i.0048). See *TLTD II*, pp. 167-169 and Takeuchi 2009, pp.145-146.

[448] Attested only in BH1-1 and BH1-2, two newly discovered Chinese documents from Khotan. See Zhu Lishuang 2012a, pp.77-78.

[449] *KT IV*, pp.176-177.

We know from Archive 3/6.1 §2 that the term for 'prefecture' in Khotanese is *piṣkala*.[450] 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 piṣkala*, corresponding to Chin. *Zhìluó 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 Sìzhèn Jiédù* 安西四鎮節度, meaning 'the Military Command of the Four Garrisons headed by Anxi'.[451]

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. *dàshǐ* 大使, the title of the commander of the Tang army stationed in Khotan,[452] corresponding to Tib. *theshi.*[453] 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.[454] This is implausible, since we learn from Archive 3/1.34 that *blon* Rmang bzher's residence was not in Shenshan, but in Phema.[455] 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.

[454] Yoshida 2006, p.24.

[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 IV-3 *Blon* Rmang bzher in Archive 3/1

Sender ⟶ Recipient	Archive Number	Type	Subject
Blon Rmang bzher ⟶ *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.12	Order in quote	Grain
	Archive 3/1.25	Order in quote	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.43	Order	Wheat sowing
Blon Rmang bzher ⟶ *spāta* Marṣa', *spāta* Vīsa, and all the officials.	Archive 3/1.34	Order	Wine
Blon Rmang bzher ⟶ Spāta Vidya-datta, Pharṣa Sāṃdara, and the work-ers.	Archive 3/1.42	Order	Drum

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. *cìshǐ* 刺史 '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 Sudārrjāṃ is attested:

Table IV-4 *Tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ in Orders and Petitions in Archive 3

Sender ⟶ Recipient	Archive Number	Type	Subject
King of Khotan ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.2	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.5	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.6	Order in quote	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.13	Order in quote	Grain
	Archive 3/1.18	Order in quote	Cloth and grain
Blon Rmang bzher ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.12	Order in quote	Grain
	Archive 3/1.25	Order in quote	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.43	Order	Wheat sower
Tibetan Masters ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.4	Order in quote	Evacuation
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *pharṣa* Sāṃdara	Archive 3/1.6	Order	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.9	Order	Grain
	Archive 3/1.15	Order	Tax in coins
	Archive 3/1.17	Order	Tax in coins
	Archive 3/1.18	Order	Cloth and grain
	Archive 3/1.20	Order	State work
	Archive 3/1.25	Order	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.26	Order	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.27	Order	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.28	Order	Canteen duty
	Archive 3/1.32	Order	Road work
	Archive 3/1.33	Order	Road work and wine

Table IV-4 *Tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ in Orders and Petitions in Archive 3

Sender ⟶ Recipient	Archive Number	Type	Subject
	Archive 3/1.36	Order	Wine, barley and sheep
	Archive 3/1.38	Order	Horse
	Archive 3/1.39	Order	Draft animal
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, *auva-haṃdasta* Sudatta and Sudatta from Pa’	Archive 3/1.5	Order	Evacuation
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, *auva-haṃdasta* Darauka and *auva-haṃdasta* Yseviṭi	Archive 3/1.14	Order	Money for those going to Erma
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *pharṣa* Sāṃdara and *mūra-haṃga*s	Archive 3/1.16	Order	Tax in coins
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *spāta* Vīsa	Archive 3/1.30		Irrigation work
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *spāta* Vidyadatta and *pharṣa* Sāṃdara and all the officials	Archive 3/1.3	Order	Evacuation
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *auva-haṃdasta*s	Archive 3/1.4	Order	Evacuation
	Archive 3/1.8	Order	Grain
Sudārrjāṃ ⟶ *auva-haṃdasta* Darauka	Archive 3/1.44	Order	Water
Sudārrjāṃ, officials and commoners ⟶ King of Khotan	Archive 3/1.13	Petition	Grain
	Archive 3/1.21	Petition	Court work
Pharṣa Sāṃdara ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.24	Petition	Canteen duty
Mulaka ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.29	Petition	Irrigation work
Residents in Cira ⟶ Sudārrjāṃ	Archive 3/1.22	Petition	Corvée labor

It is clear from the table above that Sudārrjāṃ 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-haṃdasta* Sudatta, *auva-haṃdasta* Darauka, and *auva-haṃdasta* Yseviṭi, all of whom were most likely township level officials. Sudārrjāṃ's status as the prefect is further confirmed by Archive 3/1.13 and Archive 3/1.21, two petitions that Sudārrjāṃ made to the king of Khotan on behalf of all the officials and commoners in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Petitions to Sudārrjāṃ sent by Pharṣa Sāṃdara, Mulaka, and the residents in Cira are also found, once again confirming Sudārrjāṃ'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 *spāta*s, officials on the township level.[457] He observed that in Archive 2, *spāta* Sīḍaka sometimes took orders from officials with the title *ṣau*, but in Archive 3, *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ did not take any order from a *ṣau.* He interpreted this phenomenon as a result of the downgrading of *ṣau* during the Tibetan Period.[458] In fact, *ṣau* was the title of an official on the prefecture level, ranking below *tsīṣī spāta* and above *spāta*. It is unsurprising, then, that *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ did not take orders from *ṣau*s, but *spāta* Sīḍaka did. Sudārrjāṃ's signum is found at the end of some prospective patrol rosters[459] 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.

[459] Archive 3/4.5p, Archive 3/4.6p, Archive 3/4.14p, Archive 3/4.17p, Archive 3/4.18p, and Archive 3/4.19p.

[460] Archive 3/5.4 and Archive 3/5.22.

Another official title on the prefecture level is *ṣau.* 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 *ṣau* was an official title on the prefecture level, corresponding to Chin. *Zhīshì* 知事 'Administrative Clerk'. There were multiple *ṣau*s in one prefecture; chief among them corresponded to Chin. *Dūzhīshì* 都知事 'Chief Administrative Clerk', and was reflected in the year name.[461] 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 *ṣau* are attested:

Table V-5 *ṣau* officials in Archive 3

Name	Title	Archive Number	Activity
An Kuk-syin	*ṣau*	Archive 3/1.8	He demands an agreement on grain.
An Kuh-syin	*ṣau*	Archive 3/3.6	He should receive 44,000 coins.
An Sam	*ṣṣau*	Archive 3/2.1	Naṃdaka delivered 3,000 coins into his treasury.
	ṣṣau	Archive 3/3.1	Namaubuda delivered 40,000 coins into his treasury.
	ṣau	Archive 3/2.2	He issues a voucher for Namaubuda's payment of 40,000 coins.
Cveṃdū	*ṣṣau*	Archive 3/6.7	He orders those in the Six Towns to collectively buy a camel.
Viṣṇadatta	*hiyauda āmāca ṣau*	Archive 3/1.4v	Recipient of a document, presumably a petition.
	hiyauda āmāca ṣau	Archive 3/1.19	Recipient of Ysevidṭä's petition.

[461] Wen Xin 2008a, pp.127-133.

Table V-5 *ṣau* officials in Archive 3

Name	Title	Archive Number	Activity
	ṣau	Archive 3/5.12	Three men are in his entourage.
	ṣau	Archive 3/5.20	One man belonging to him is to be served.

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* 安 as their Chinese surname.[462] Just like Administrative Assistant Fu Weijin and *spāta* Śe'maka, who came from the capital of Khotan to collect tribute cloth in Cira-Six Town Prefecture and issued vouchers to the payers,[463] *ṣau* An Sam, who also came to Cira-Six Town Prefecture to collect tax money and issued vouchers to the payers,[464] was presumably also from the capital of Khotan. It seems that *ṣau* An Sam replaced *ṣau* An Kuk-syin, whose scheduled arrival in Cira-Six Town Prefecture is mentioned in Archive 3/3.6 §3: '*ṣau* An Kuh-syin should receive 44,000 *mūra*s.' An Kuk-syin was also involved in a payment of grain in Archive 3/1.8.

Ṣau Cveṃdū 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.[465] Since *ṣau*

[462] See commentary on Archive 3/3.6 §3

[463] The vouchers for payment in cloth are Archive 3/2.3-17.

[464] The vouchers for payment in coins are Archive 3/2.1-2.

[465] More one him, see commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §2 and §9.

Cveṃdū 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 *ṣau* is Viṣṇadatta. In Archive 3/1.19, a petition made by a resident of the Six Towns, *ṣau* 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 *ṣau* Viṣṇadatta. This is in line with our understanding of *ṣau* as an official on the prefecture level. As for the two honorifics, *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ is also addressed as *hiyauda* in petitions,[466] whereas *āmāca*, from Skt. *āmātya* 'minister', corresponding to Chin. *Āmózhī* 阿摩支 and Tib. *'a ma cha*, seems to have been exclusively reserved for *ṣau* in Archive 3.

Wen Xin surveyed the role of *āmāca* reflected in Khotanese, Chinese, and Tibetan sources concerning Khotan.[467] He followed Zhang and Rong[468] 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.

[471] Hedin 48, Hedin 66, Hedin 67, Hedin 69. See *KT IV*, p.45, p.49.

amples except Hedin 69, *āmāca* is attested in the formula that introduces a quotation of received orders: *vaña vā āmācäna 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 miḍāṃ ḡyastäna parau ā si* 'now an order from the Gracious Lord has come, (saying:)'. *Miḍāṃ ḡyasta* 'Gracious Lord' is the honorific reserved for the King of Khotan. Wen Xin also observed a downgrading of *āmāca* during the Tibetan period.[472] 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 *ąmāci* Archive 3/3.8 §1 as an apposition of *sūlīna.* This is incorrect, since *ąmāci* is in the nominative case, while *sūlīna* is in the instrumental-ablative case. The entire passage reads: *@ ṣi' vā haṣṭāyeṃ thau*[*nāṃ ... paṃ*]*jsūsi ąmāci sūlīna paphve* 'Of the 80 bolts of cloth, …, *āmāca* collected 15 from the Sogdian'.[473] As for Or.12637/25, its first line reads: *…śirī mam āmāci pa' sa pastai si gari vī dąña parvāpąlaṃ…*[474] 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 *tsīṣī*, as in *tsīṣī āmāca* in Or.12637/17, *tcīṣī āmāca ṣṣau* in IOL Khot 54/2,[475] *cìshǐ āmózhī* 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, Birgaṃdara, Āskūra, and Gaysāta.[479] Drawing on Khotanese materials, especially those from the Russian Collection, Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja proposed a markedly different list: Phaṃnai, Pa', Tcina, Vīṃgula, Jīvva, and Ysāḍa.[480] Kumamoto refuted Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja's conclusion and

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[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'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1996.

criticized her for not taking Chinese sources into consideration.[481] He argued that as a crystallized toponym similar to Penjikent ('five cities') and Bishbalïq ('five cities'), 'Six Town Prefecture' may not have contained six actual towns in the eighth century.[482] Inferring from Дх.01461, a newly published Khotanese document from the Russian Collection, Yoshida tentatively proposed a new list: Cira, Pa', Phaṃnai, Birgaṃdara, Āskūra, and Gaysāta.[483] 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.[484] 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:[485]

Table IV-6 The Six Towns

Site	Khotanese	Chinese	Tibetan
Dandan-Uiliq	Gaysāta	*Jiéxiè* 傑謝	
Chira (?)	Cira	*Zhìluó* 質邏	Ji la

[481] Kumamoto 1996, pp.43-50.

[482] *Ibid*., p.48.

[483] Yoshida 2006, pp.47-48, n.66.

[484] Wen Xin 2008b. Listed in Archive 3/6.1 (Or.11252/2) are the names of grain deliverers from Cira, Birgamdara, 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: '[18][ttä || āsk]u[ī]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 Gaysāta. In fact, this document is complete, since its verso is blank. Gaysāta is not attested in it simply because Gaysāta was already abandoned in the beginning of 790s, see note 64.

[485] Modified from Table 1 in Wen Xin 2008b, p.110.

Table IV-6 The Six Towns

Site	Khotanese	Chinese	Tibetan
Balawaste (?)	Birgaṃdara	*Bájiā* 拔伽	Be rga ’dra
Mazar Toghrak (?)	Āskūra		O sku
	Phaṃnai	*Pānyě* 潘野	Pha nya
	Pa’		

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.[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, *Bájiā* 拔伽, is supplied according to the newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual wooden tallies.[487] This place name is also attested in the only Chinese wooden tally in the Hedin Collection,[488] and partially attested in Or.8211/981-983, three Chinese wooden tallies excavated from Balawaste by Stein.[489] Based on these wooden tallies, Yoshida identified Birgaṃdara with Balawaste, a site located to the north of the Domoko

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[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.

[487] Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 2008, p.60.

[488] Yoshida 2006, p.27.

[489] Chavannes (1913, p.219) reads the first two characters of Or.8211/981-983 as *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 *Bájiā* 拔伽. Arakawa (2014, p.3) reads the first two characters in Or.8211/981 and Or.8211/983 as *Bá* 拔□. The reading of *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.[490] Three partial attestations of *Bájiā* 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 *Bájiā* 拔伽 and Birgaṃdara are abundantly attested.[491] 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,[492] Wen Xin surmised that all documents bearing these register numbers are from Birgaṃdara.[493] 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 *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara. Archive 3/1.15 verso §1 reads: [*bi*]*rgaṃdara pharṣa sāṃdari haurāṃñä* '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[494] and a letter in 1931 by the British Consul-General in Kashgar

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[490] Yoshida 2006, p.51.

[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,[495] Wen Xin further placed Birgaṃdara in Old Domoko, an area encompassing Khadaliq, Balawaste, Mazar-Toghrak,[496] 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.[497] As for now, it is still premature to identify Balawaste with Birgaṃdara, 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* 俊, is also found in IOL Tib N 2220, a fragmentary wooden tally Stein obtained from Balawaste during his third expedition.[498] The full name of this official, *Zhào Jùn* 趙俊, is again attested in Or.8212/702 (Balawaste 0160), a Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document from Balawaste.[499] 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 Birgaṃdara. It is more likely that Birgaṃdara, 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-

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[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.

[498] Yoshida 2004, p.31.

[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.[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.[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.[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. *au*), but a fort (Khot. *kaṃtha*), where *blon* Rmang bzher and *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ resided.[503] Li Yinping convincingly identified the Fort of Phema (Khot. *phęmāña kaṃtha*, Chin. *kǎnchéng* 坎城., Tib. *kamsheng*) with Fort Kanaqin, located in the vicinity of Ulugh Ziarat to the north of the Domoko Oasis.[504] Kanaqin is but an old transcription of the Chinese name of Phema.

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[500] BH5-1 F3 line 3-4 reads: *birgaṃdaraja parramā pyaṃtsä ᾱna* 'in front of the *parrama*s of Birgaṃdara'. See Duan Qing 2015, p.83. BH5-2 J2 line 2 reads: *mara birgaṃdara auva* 'here in the town of Birgaṃdara'. See Duan Qing 2015, p.98.

[501] Wen Xin 2008b, pp.122-123.

[502] Arakawa 2014, pp.16-18.

[503] See commentary on Archive 3/1.5 §5 (K).

[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-haṃdasta* to *spāta*.[505] The following table lists the *spāta*s attested in Archive 3:

Table IV-7 *Spāta*s in Archive 3

Spāta	Archive Number	Activity
Budarma	Archive 3/1.38	He delivered a missive to Sudārrjāṃ concerning the purchase of horses.
Burmaka	Archive 3/3.6	He owes 20 feet of cloth.
Maṣa’	Archive 3/5.13	He is going to the Mountain.
Saṃgabuda	Archive 3/5.13	14 men brought his cotton and *bahauya.*
Śirīdatta	Archive 3/1.40	He brought an order concerning draft animals.
Marṣa	Archive 3/1.34	He and Vīsa are the recipients of an order from *blon* Rmang bzher.
	Archive 3/2.9	He delivered 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.1	He delivered 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.7	He owes 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/5.13	He is going to the Mountain.
	Archive 3/5.13	He brought *spāta* Saṃgabuda’s cotton and *bahauya.*
	Archive 3/5.17	He owes a draft animal.
Vidyadatta	Archive 3/1.3	He, Sāṃdara, and all the officials are the recipients of an order of evacuation from *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ.
	Archive 3/2.4	He delivered 18.5 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/2.7	He delivered 37 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.1	He delivered 18.5 feet of cloth.

[505] Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang 1997, p.351, table 2.

Table IV-7 *Spāta*s in Archive 3

Spāta	Archive Number	Activity
	Archive 3/3.1	He delivered 37 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.7	He is to deliver 15 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.11	Three men received 40 feet of cloth from him.
	Archive 3/3.13	He owes 1,800 *mūra*s.
Vīsa	Archive 3/1.24	*Pharṣa* Sāṃdara is ordered to put *spāta* Visa's dependent Puñadatta on canteen duty.
	Archive 3/1.30	He is the recipient of an order from *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ.
	Archive 3/1.34	He and Marṣa are the recipients of an order from *blon* Rmang bzher.
	Archive 3/2.8	He delivered 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.1	He delivered 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.6	He is to deliver 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.7	He is to deliver 20 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/5.3	Śaṃphaka from Suhīka, a house worker under him, is on the shift of the 11th of Haṃdyaja (the 5th month).
	Archive 3/5.13	He brought *spāta* Saṃgabuda's cotton and *bahauya.*
Yaniviṭa	Archive 3/1.10	*Blon* Zham rjai orders *pharṣa* Sāṃdara to bring the oil in *spāta* Yąniviṭa's hands.
	Archive 3/1.12	He is mentioned together with a corvée worker for the state.
	Archive 3/1.22	His son is mentioned in a petition concerning corvée labor for the state.
	Archive 3/3.2	He owes 40 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.3	He should deliver 40 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.5	He owes 40 feet of cloth.
	Archive 3/3.7	He is to deliver 40 feet of cloth.

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 *spāta*s from outside Cira-Six Town Prefecture, whereas the latter four might be *spāta*s 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 *spāta*s, 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.[506] Listed in Archive 3/3.6 §5-§14 are the amounts of cloth assigned to ten men in the following order: the prefect (*tsīṣī spāta*), four *spāta*s, two *pharṣa*s, and three men without official titles.[507] This list seems to include all the *spāta*s and *pharṣa*s 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 *spāta*s in Cira-Six Town Prefecture. Pre-

[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 *spāta*s 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 *spāta*s 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

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[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

Sender ⟶ Recipient	Archive Number	Type	Subject
Blon Zham rjai ⟶ Sāṃdara	Archive 3/1.10	Order	Grain
	Archive 3/1.11	Order	Grain
Blon Rmang bzher ⟶ Sāṃdara	Archive 3/1.42	Order	Drum
A Tibetan official ⟶ Sāṃdara	Archive 3/1.46	Order	

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* Sudārrjāṃ 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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[512] Archive 3/4.5p, Archive 3/4.6p, Archive 3/4.17p, Archive 3/4.18p, Archive 3/4.19p.

[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* 鄉頭.[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-haṃdasta*s in Cira-Six Town Prefecture

Auva-haṃdasta	Township	Archive number	Activity
Darauka	Birgaṃdara	Archive 3/6.8	He puts his finger mark on a certificate for the minors, the elders and the sick.
Sudatta	Pa’	Archive 3/1.5	He is the recipient of an order of evacuation from Sudārrjāṃ.
Ysāḍadatta	Āskūra	Archive 3/1.33	He is mentioned in an order from *tsīṣī spāta* Sudarrjāṃ to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara.
Ysiviṭa	Phaṃnai	Archive 3/3.10	The amounts of floss silk cloth, small hemp cloth and money belonging to him are listed.

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-haṃdasta*s 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-haṃdasta*s 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* Sudārrjāṃ. This difference of official status of *auva-haṃdas-ta* vis-à-vis *spāta*s and *pharṣa* is also discernible in Archive 3/3.2, Archive 3/3.3, and Archive 3/3.6, in which *spāta*s and *pharṣa*s are listed as officials (*hārua*), without any mention of *auva-haṃdasta*.[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 *-āña*, 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 IV-10 Villages in Cira-Six Town Prefecture

Township	Village	Villager	Archive number
Cira	Vīṃgula	Haskadarma	Archive 3/6.1
	Ysāḍa	Vismadatta	Archive 3/6.1
	Bikina	Mādāśa	Archive 3/1.23
		Ṣanīra	Archive 3/6.1

[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 IV-10 Villages in Cira-Six Town Prefecture

Township	Village	Villager	Archive number
Birgaṃdara	Dumesala	Hunaka	Archive 3/6.1
	Mattiśka	Naṃdaka	Archive 3/6.1
		Ṣanīraka	Archive 3/3.6
			Archive 3/5.3
			Archive 3/6.1
		Vidarrjāṃ	Archive 3/5.22
	Śirgula	Suhadatta	Archive 3/4.4r
			Archive 3/5.9
			Archive 3/5.17
	Spai	Sīlāṃ	Archive 3/6.1
		Virgāṃ	Archive 3/6.1
	Suhīka	Īrasaṃga	Archive 3/5.22*
			Archive 3/6.1
		Śaṃphaka	Archive 3/5.3
		Ṣanīra	Archive 3/4.6a
			Archive 3/4.6p
	Ustāka	Ṣanīra	Archive 3/5.11
Āskūra	Puñiśāla	Śī’laṃ	Archive 3/6.1
		Residents	Archive 3/3.11
	Gūma	Sūrada	Archive 3/4.6r
		Vidarrjāṃ	Archive 3/3.1
		Vidyade	Archive 3/5.22
Phaṃnai	Buttaka	Kharamurrai	Archive 3/6.1
	Kūla	Sudatta	Archive 3/4.20r
			Archive 3/6.1

Table IV-10 Villages in Cira-Six Town Prefecture

Township	Village	Villager	Archive number
	Spai	Si Vidyadatta	Archive 3/6.1
Pa’	Sūlya	Sudatta	Archive 3/6.1

In his translation of Or.11252/2 (Archive 3/6.1), Wen Xin took *jīvva* in ‘|| *jīvvā khąṣṭarāṃ* [8][x x x x] 2 ||’ (line 7-8, §10) as a village name and *khąṣṭarāṃ* as a personal name.[522] *Jīvvā*, however, is dissimilar to the adjectival forms of village names ending in *-āña*, such as *vīṃgulāña* and *ysāḍāña*, both in Archive 3/6.1 §10 as well. The length of the lacuna, not taken into consideration by Wen Xin, suggests that *khąṣṭarāṃ* 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 Birgaṃdara, attested in SI P 103.46 in Archive 2[523] and Hedin 4 in Archive 1,[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. *chìbàn* 叱半), however, is attested in Khotanese documents outside Archive 3[525] and Chinese documents from Khotan.[526] Yoshida suggested that Vaśi’rasamga in Archive 1, who was in charge of levying

[522] Wen Xin 2008b, p.116.

[523] Wen Xin 2008b, p.120, n.57.

[524] *KT IV*, p.23.

[525] SI P 103.46, SI P 103.49 (*SDTV III*, p.154, p.156) and Or.12637/13 (*Catalogue*, p.123).

[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.

taxes on five to six men, was a *chaupaṃ*.[527] He also linked this title with Chin. *chùbàn* 處半 in the Chinese documents from Douldour-aqour in the Kucha region, *čüpan* in Old Turkic, and *σωπανο* in Bactrian, and attributed the origin of these titles to the Hephthalite language.[528]

Following Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaya, Yoshida suggested that *stānaḍa*[529] was the title of a village-level official comparable to *chaupaṃ*,[530] but his understanding was based on a wrong interpretation of Archive 3/6.7 (Hedin 18).[531] Bailey suggested that Khot. *stānaḍa* 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.[532] I accept this etymology and would like to point out that the *stānaḍa*s 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?[533]

In Archive 3, commoners without official titles are known as Khot. *pa'kisina* (from Chin. *bǎixìng* 百姓 'commoner'), and contrasted with officials (*hārua*), as shown in Archive 3/1.13 §2: *tsīṣī āstaṃna hamīḍa hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina*, 'all the officials headed by *tsīṣī*, and all the commoners' and Archive 3/1.21 §2: *kṣvā auvā tsīṣī spāta sudārrjāṃ u kṣā auvā bisā hārva u hamīḍa pa'kisina* 'Sudārrjāṃ, *tsīṣī spāta* of the Six Towns, the officials in the Six Towns, and all the commoners'.

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[527] Yoshida 2006, pp.123-124.

[528] Yoshida 2004b, pp.132-133.

[529] Attested in Archive 3/1.21 §6, Archive 3/1.41 §2, Archive 3/6.7 §10.

[530] Yoshida 2006, p.104.

[531] See commentary on Archive 3/6.7 §10.

[532] Kumamoto 1996, p.50.

[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

Title			Name			Residence
Khotanese	**Chinese**	**Tibetan**	**Khotanese**	**Chinese**	**Tibetan**	
The Tibetan Empire						
Tcirthū	*節度		Lunä ha'ba śi'ra		**Blon* Lha bzher	
The Kingdom of Khotan						
Miḍāṃ jasta	節度副使 都督王		Viśa' Vāhaṃ	尉遲曜		Inner Court
Phạna kvana Cāṃṣṣī	判官 簡王府長史		Hvū	富惟謹		Inner Court (?)
Yauvarāya			Viśa' Kīrtta (?)			Inner Court (?)
Cira-Six Town Prefecture						
Thaiṣī	*大使	*Theshi*	Bulāna rmama śä'rä		Blon Rmang bzher	Phema
Tsīṣī spāta	刺史		Sudārrjāṃ		Sorzhong	Phema
Ṣau	*知事		Viṣṇadatta			
Townships in Cira-Six Town Prefecture						
Spāta	薩波	*spa*	Marṣa	末士		
			Vidyadatta			
			Vīsa	尾娑		
			Yaniviṭa			
Pharṣa	破沙	*Pharsha*	Sāṃdara	宋闥	Sodar	Birgaṃ-dara

Table IV-11 Titles and Names of the Officials in Archive 3

Title			Name			Residence
Khotanese	**Chinese**	**Tibetan**	**Khotanese**	**Chinese**	**Tibetan**	
			Sāmada			
Auva-haṃ-dasta	*鄉頭		Darauka			Birgaṃ-dara
			Sudatta			Pa’
			Ysāḍadatta			Āskūra
			Ysiviṭa			Phaṃnai

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.[534] 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. *mūra*s), the tax in grain, and the tax in cloth.[535]

[534] Yoshida 2006, pp. 97-161 (in Japanese) and Yoshida 2009 (in English).

[535] Yoshida 2006, pp.101-112.

Different from Archive 2, in which many documents concern the tax in coins[536] and the poll tax in particular,[537] 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 *mūra*s 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 *mūra*s 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 *mūra*s 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. *rrvī haṃbā*), just as the poll tax in Archive 2.[538] From Archive 3/1.15 §24, we know that collecting the tax money involved making the 'population registers' (Khot. *pravanāja*).[539] We do not know, however, the nature of the outstanding 20,000 or 22,120 *mūra*s. 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.

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[536] Khot. *thaṃga*. See *ibid*., p.100.

[537] Khot. *kamalaji mūra*, about 100 *mūra*s per person per month. See Yoshida 2006, pp.102-103.

[538] Yoshida 2006, pp.102-103; *idem* 2009, p.108.

[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* Sudārrjāṃ orders his subordinates to collect from 46 residents in five townships of Cira-Six Town Prefecture an *ad hoc* tax of 500 *mūra*s 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 *mūra*s 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* Sudārrjāṃ 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 *mūra*s and 3,000 *mūra*s 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]

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[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 *mūra*s were assigned to all the cloth payers as recorded in Archive 3/3.6 §17. 1000 *mūra*s were still outstanding.

and were delivered into the treasury[545] of *ṣṣau* An Sam, probably a descendent of Bukharan Sogdian.

Archive 3/3.12-14 are three accounts of outstanding *mūra*s, 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 *kūsa*s 9 *ṣaṃga*s 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'.[546] This phrase indicates that: 1) the annual tax in grain was levied here;[547] 2) the number of grain deliverers might vary from year to year;[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.[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 *blon* Zham rjai orders *pharṣa* Sāṃdara to deliver the poll tax in grain in Archive 3/1.11, and to deliver the out-

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[545] Khot. *pājiña* in Archive 3/2.1 §2 and Archive 3/3.1 §25.

[546] Khot. *nvā salī* in Archive 3/6.1 §2.

[547] This amount required here (11 *kūsa*s 9 *ṣaṃga*s) is comparable to the average amount of grain (11 *tuo* 3.5 *dou*) levied on each man per year in Dunhuang during the period of Tibetan occupation. See Yoshida 2009, p.118.

[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.

[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 Birgaṃdara of a certain year are recorded. See *Catalogue*, p.131.

standing grain and oil in Archive 3/1.10. *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders (presumably *pharṣa* Sāṃdara) to collect 100 *ṣaṃga* of wheat from 58 men in Āskūra, Phaṃnai, Pa', and Birgaṃdara 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 Birgaṃdara and Phaṃnai. *Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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,[551] and specified the amount assigned to the prefect, four *spāta*s, two *pharṣa*s, and three wealthy men.[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 s*pāta* 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. *pànguān* 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 *akṣara*s, giving the impression that the Chinese texts were written first, and the Khotanese texts were

[551] Archive 3/3.6 §4.

[552] Archive 3/3.6 §5-§14.

added later.[553] 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.[554] 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.[555] 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 lights 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 *Liùchéng* 六城, '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 *kṣvā 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.[556] 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.[557] Recorded in these Chinese documents are the amounts and types of the grain, the prefectures

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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 prefectural 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,[558] 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 (*Zhūbá 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.[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 *mūra*s,[560] and one foot of small cloth was equivalent of 450 *mūra*s.[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.[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.[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,[564]

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559 Archive 3/3.2-5. Yoshida already pointed out that these documents are related. See Yoshida 2006, p.58.

560 See commentary on Archive 3/3.9 §3.

561 Recorded in Archive 3/3.4 §8.

562 See Commentary on Archive 3/3.1 §34.

563 Yoshida 2006, p.59.

564 Yoshida 2006, p.59.

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

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[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.[571] Overall, 92 patrolmen are attested in these rosters.

The following table lists the date of patrol,[572] the number of patrolmen,[573] and the names of patrolmen[574] recorded in each patrol roster:[575]

Table IV-13 Patrol Rosters

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/4.1p	n/a	10/12	**Vidyade**, **Pu'ysdaka**, Ysāḍadatta, Suhadatta, **Īrasaṃga**, **Puñadatta**, **Suhena**, **Sudatta**, **Sīlāṃ**, **Virgāṃ**, **Saloka**, **Vidarrjāṃ**
Archive 3/4.1r	8/3	10/14	**Suhena**, **Īrasaṃga**, Ṣanīra, **Saloka**, **Puñadatta**, Suhadāysa, **Pu'ysdaka**, **Vidyade**, **Sudatta from Pa'**, Sūradatta, **Virgāṃ**, **Sīlāṃ**, **Vidarrjāṃ**, Kucalai.
Archive 3/4.2p	8/16	15/19	**Sahadatta from Phaṃnai**, **Ṣanīraka**, **Hvrrīviṭa**, **Visarrjāṃ**, **Kharamūrrai**, **Marṣa'datta**, {Śāṃdatta}, **Si Vidyadatta**, **Saloka**, **Maṃñe**, **Sarkāṃ**, {Hunaka}, {Makala}, **Īrvadatta**, **Arsäla**, {Yaudara}, **Budadatta**, **Kāśaka**, **Naṃdaka**.
Archive 3/4.2r	8/17	15/15	**Suhadatta from Phaṃnai**, **Ṣanīraka**, **Hvrrīviṭa**, **Visarrjāṃ**, **Kharamūrrai**, **Marṣa'datta**, **Si vidyadatta**, **Saloka**, **Maṃñe**, **Sarkāṃ**, **Īrvadatta**, **Naṃdaka**, **Kāśaka**, **Budadatta**, **Arsäla**.
Archive 3/4.3p	n/a	5/5	**Paṃjamaka**, **Maṃgala**, **Brīna**, **Haryāska**, **Saṃgaka**.

[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.

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/4.3r	9/4	5/13	Hunaka, Yaudara, Vidyadata, Saṃgada, Serjū, Īrvadatta, Saṃgūlai, Puñade, **Paṃjamaka**, **Maṃgala**, **Brīna**, **Haryāsaka**, **Saṃgaka**.
Archive 3/4.4p	9/15/35	12/15	{Mādāśa}, **Vidyadatta**, **Sirphūka**, **Sudarma**, **Akąnadatta**, **Budarma**, Vasade the elder, **Kharajsajsa**, **Mulaka**, **Sudatta**, **Īrasaṃga**, **Suhadatta**, **Suhadāysa**, {Suhena}, **Virgāṃ**.
Archive 3/4.4r	9/15	12/15	**Vidyadatta**, **Sirphūka**, **Sudarma**, **Akąnadatta**, **Budarma**, Sīlāṃ, **Kharajsajsa**, **Mulaka**, **Sudatta of Pa'**, **Īrasaṃga**, **Suhadatta from Śirgula**, **Suhadāysa**, **Virgāṃ**, Ṣanīra, {Puñadatta}.
Archive 3/4.5p	10/3	9/16	**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, Saṃgapuña, Vidarrjāṃ, Salamai belonging to haubarai Sīhai, **Buttaṃdai** the house-worker, **Suhadāysa** the house-worker, **Nahvana**, **Svarrnade** on behalf of Vidarrjāṃ
Archive 3/4.5r	10/3	9/12	**Vaśi'raka**, **Budadatta**, **Sudatta in Āskura**, [**Budāṣṭira**], **Kalidra**, Vidyadatta on behalf of Svarrnada. {Maṃgala}. Kāśaka on behalf of Surade. **Buttaṃdai**, **Suhadāysa** the house-worker, **Nahvana**, **Svarrnade,** Maṃgala went on behalf of Vasade.
Archive 3/4.6p	10/18	11/15	{Salamai}, {Saṃgapuña}, **Kharrjāṃ**, {Ṣanīra from Suhīka}, **Braṃga**, **Brūnade**, **Surade**, **Sāmadatta**, Saṃganaṃda, {Īysadatta}, **Vidyabuda**, Kharamurai owes one shift of patrol duty, Īrvadatta owes one shift of patrol duty, **Śirībuda**, Sūradatta owes one shift of patrol duty. **Vidarrjāṃ**. **Phāja**. **Ttāṃguysa**.

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/4.6r	10/18	11/12	**Braṃga**, **Brūnade**, **Surade from Gūma**, [**Sāma-datta**], Yaduysa on behalf of Saṃganaṃda, **Vidyabuda**, **Senila**, Kharamurrai went to us, Īrva-datta went to us, **Śirībuda**, Sūradatta went to us. **Vidarrjāṃ**, **Phāja**, **Ttāṃguysa**, **Kharrjāṃ**.
Archive 3/4.7p	11/3	14/14	**[Brīna, Saṃgūlai, Si vidya]datta, Sudarma, Puñade, Maṃgala, Haryāsaka, [Vaśi'raka, Vidyadatta], Paṃjaka, Mulaka, Jsajsaka, Huna-ka, Burmaka**.
Archive 3/4.7r	11/3	14/14	**Brīna**, **Saṃgūlai**, **Si Vidyadatta**, [**Sudarma**], **Puñade**, **Maṃgala**, **Haryāsaka**, **Vaśi'raka**, **Vidya-datta**, **Paṃjaka**, **Mulaka**, **Jsajsaka**, **Hunaka**, **Burmaka**.
Archive 3/4.8r	11/20	11	Sudatta from Gaysāta, Ṣanīra, Budadatta son of Uysbāka, Brīna, Sedrruṃ, Īrvadatta son of Rrūvaśa-ka, Ttāṃguysa, Yaduysa, Marṣa'datta, Svarrnade on *hīśī'nai*, Akānadatta.
Archive 3/4.9p	12/4	15	Nahvana in Āskura, Surada, Maṃñe, Kharajsajsa, Pu'ysdaka, Saṃgapuña, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgada, {Kharamurai} {Īrvadatta}, \Kūcalai/, Brīna, Si Vidyadatta, Jsajsaka, Vidyabuda, Hvrrīviḍta, Ttāṃguysa.
Archive 3/4.10p	12/21	14	Sudatta in Āskura, Saṃgūlai, Puñade, Burmaka, {Braṃga, Ttāṃguysi}, \Sūradatta, Jsajsaka/, Yaduysa, Paṃjamaka, Sudarma, Mulaka, Vidyadat-ta, Sirphūka, Vidyadatta of Gaysāta, Maṃgala.
Archive 3/4.11r	1/6/36	14	Haryāsaka, Akānadatta, Tcaṃjsai, Ṣanīra the khau, Vidyabuda, Īrvadatta of Cira, Sūrada, Nahvana, Gauda, Śīlaṃ, Suda \the Tibetan went for (him)/, Sudatta in Pa', Kucalai on behalf of Si Vidyadatta, Saloka,

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/3.12p	1/21	13/14	**Kharajsajsa in Āskūra, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta from Phaṃnāi, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta, Arsäla,** Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara**, Śāṃdatta, Si Vidyadatta, Marṣa'datta, Suhena, Ṣanīraka (the second) Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.**
Archive 3/3.12r	1/21	13/14	**Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Sūradatta, Īrvadatta, Suhadatta from Phaṃna, Marṣa'datta, Arsäla,** Virgāṃ**, Śāṃdatta, Si Vidyadatta the khau, Suhena (2), Ṣanīraka, then a second Ṣanīraka, Naṃdaka.**
Archive 3/3.13p	2/7	10/11	**Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, for Sude the Tibetan went, Sīlāṃ, Si Vidyadatta,** Sudatta of Pa'.
Archive 3/3.13r	2/7	10/10	**Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta on behalf of Kharamūrrai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, for Sude the Tibetan went, Sīlāṃ, Si Vidyadatti the *khau*.**
Archive 3/3.14p	2/23	7	Arsäla, Gauda for Marṣa'datta, Saloka,{Ṣanīraka} Īrvadatta for Si Vidyadatta, Sudatta the *khau*, Śiraka for Śādatta,{Suhena}, Kharamurrai
Archive 3/3.15p	3/7	6/6	**Ṣanīraka**, **Virgāṃ**, **Ṣanīraka**, **Suhena**, **[Īrva]datta**, **Sūradatta**.
Archive 3/3.15r	3/7	6/9	Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, **Suhena (3)**, **Virgāṃ**, Naṃdaka, **Ṣanīraka**, **Sūradatta**, **Īrvadatta**, **Ṣanīraka** (was) at the *dams.
Archive 3/3.16r	3/19	9	Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, Maṃñe, Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the Khau, Sudatta from Pa'.
Archive 3/3.17p	4/8	9/9	**Arsäla, Marṣa'datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta from Kūla the *khau*, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara**, **Kharamūrrai**, **Saloka**, **Sīlāṃ**.

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/3.17r	4/8	9/9	**Arsäla**, **Marṣa'datta**, **Īrvadatta**, **Sudatta from Kūla the *khau***, **Śāṃdatta**, **Suhadatta from Śirgula**, **Kharamūrrai**, **Sīlāṃ**, **Saloka**,
Archive 3/3.18p	4/29	8/9	**Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena, Virgām, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, Sūradatta**, Si Vidyadatta, **Ṣanīraka.**
Archive 3/3.18r	4/29	8/10	**Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa, Suhena (4), Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Ṣanīraka, [Sūradatta]**, Īrvadatta, **Ṣanīraka** at the dams. Sude opened one road.
Archive 3/3.19p	5/?	8/9	**Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka**, **Maṃñe, Suhadatti from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, the khau Si Vidyadatta,** Sudatta from Pa'.
Archive 3/3.19r	5/?	8/9	**Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka**, **Sahadatta from Phaṃnai, Maṃñe**, **Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, Si Vidyadatta the khau,** Ṣanīraka at the dams
Archive 3/3.20r	5/15	9	Arsäla, Marṣa'datta, Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau from Kūla, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta in Birgaṃdara, Kharamurrai, Saloka, Sīlāṃ at the dams.
Archive 3/3.21p	6/?	7/9	**Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa**, Saṃgade, **Virgāṃ, [Naṃdaka] Saloka, Sūradatta**, Kucalai, **Sudatta from Pa'.**
Archive 3/3.21r	6/?	7/10	**Kharajsajsa, Suhadāysa**, Suhena (5*), **Virgāṃ, Naṃdaka, Saloka, Sūradatta**, Si Vidyadatta, **Sudatta at the *dams,** Sude over three roads.
Archive 3/3.22r	6/?	9	Śī'laṃ, Pu'ysdaka, [Maṃñe], Suhadatta from Phaṃnai, Kucalai, Sarkāṃ, Saṃgade, [Si Vidyadattathe khau,] Sudatta from Pa'.
Archive 3/3.23r	7/10	9	Arsäla, [Marṣa'datta,] Īrvadatta, Sudatta the Khau, Śāṃdatta, Suhadatta from Birgaṃdara, Kharamurrai, Ṣanīraka, Sīlāṃ.

Archive number	Date	Number of Patrolmen	Patrolmen
Archive 3/3.24r	7/28	9	Jsajsaka, Vidyadatta, Sūrade, Śarkāṃ, Budarma, Sudatta, Sudatta, Puñada, Darauka.

The 24 patrols can be divided into two groups. In Patrol 12-23, three teams of patrolmen, Team 1 in red,[576] Team 2 in yellow,[577] and Team 3 in blue,[578] took turns to go on duty. Each team, typically consisting 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 Īrasaṃga 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,[579] Yoshida believed a patrolman named Mulaka was sent to Tibet.[580] In fact, Mulaka was on patrol duty for a Tibetan, presumably in Khotan.[581]

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

[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.[582] Indeed, the canteen duty is also associated with the Tibetans in Archive 3. Archive 3/1.24 is a petition *pharṣa* Sāṃdara made to *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ, in which Sāṃdara asks Sudārrjāṃ 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* Sudārrjāṃ's order in response, in which he denies *pharṣa* Sāṃdara'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* Sudārrjāṃ orders *pharṣa* Sāṃdara to transfer Naṃdaka's canteen duty to Makala, because Naṃdaka has replaced Makala as Sudārrjāṃ's assistant. In Archive 3/1.30, *spāta* Sudārrjāṃ 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-

[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 *paśāta*s 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,[583] but was more like a job with benefits that a commoner could take, as illustrated in Archive 3/1.26, in which *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ orders *pharṣa* Sāṃdara to transfer Naṃdaka's canteen duty to Makala, since Naṃdaka had replaced Makala to be Sudārrjāṃ's *paśāta*.[584] 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.[585]

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[583] Yoshida (2006, pp.120-122) translates *paśāta* as 'half-dependent', whereas Vorob'ëva-Desjatovkaja (1996, p. 174) translates it as 'servant'.

[584] See commentary on Archive 3/1.26 §3.

[585] See commentary on Archive 3/1.24 §5.

Different from *paśāta*, *māśa-vīraa* from **māśa-kīraa*- 'house worker', corresponding to Chin. *jiārén* 家人, literally 'person of the family', refers to servants or house slaves.[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, Svarrnade, Sarkāṃ, Sūrade, Buttaṃdai, Suhadāysa are listed in two patrol rosters, Archive 3/4.5p and Archive 3/4.5r. Śaṃphaka 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:[587]

Table IV-13 Various Tasks

Task in Khotanese	Task	Archive Number	Activity
jsāra-hauraa	Grain deliverer	Archive 3/6.1	There are 53 grain deliverers in Cira-Six Town Prefecture in that year.

[586] Wen Xin (2008a, p.125) first identified these two terms, but translated both *māśa-vīraa* and *paśāta* as house worker.

[587] This table is modified from the list in Yoshida 2006, p.122, in which the tasks outside Archive 3 are also included.

Table IV-13 Various Tasks

Task in Khotanese	Task	Archive Number	Activity
mūra-hauraa	Money deliverer	Archive 3/1.14	46 men deliver money for those going to Erma.
thauna-hauraa	Cloth deliverer	Archive 3/1.23	More than 17 men are listed as commissioned with cloth delivery.
jsāra-baraa	Grain carrier	Archive 3/5.12	Suhadatta, Pu'ysdaka, and Ysāḍadatta are grain carriers.
pāḍaka-baraa	Document carrier	Archive 3/5.10	Two document carrier s in Cira and document carrier s in Āskūra are mentioned.
		Archive 3/5.12	Vasade and Alttāṃ are document carriers.
ganama-keraa	Wheat sower	Archive 3/1.43	Kharrjāṃ on canteen duty is recalled because he is a good wheat sower.
		Archive 3/5.12	There are 24 sesame sowers and wheat sowers belonging to the King of Khotan.
		Archive 3/5.20	Three wheat sowers belong to the Crown Prince.
kaṃjsata-keraa	Sesame sower	Archive 3/5.12	There are 24 sesame sowers and wheat sowers belonging to the King of Khotan.
pira-vāraa	Silkworm raiser	Archive 3/1.12	Highland barley flour was given to all the silkworm raisers from Cira.
		Archive 3/1.39	Draft animals for the silkworm raisers are demanded.
		Archive 3/6.2	New grain is needed for the silkworm raisers.
drrīma-ttvaśdaa	Transporter in Drrama	Archive 3/1.4	Recipient of an order of evacuation.
		Archive 3/1.6*	Recipient of an order of evacuation.

Table IV-13 Various Tasks

Task in Khotanese	Task	Archive Number	Activity
erma-tsūka	Those going to Erma	Archive 3/1.14	46 men deliver money for those going to Erma.
spaśara	Patrolman	*passim* in Archive 3/4	A team of about 15 patrolmen men is on duty twice a month. 24 teams are on duty in one year.
ṣapāñara	Cook	Archive 3/1.25	The men on canteen duty are to be appointed.
		Archive 3/5.11	A group of men on canteen duty is listed.
kīrara	Worker	Archive 3/1.10	*Blon* Zham rjai orders *pharṣa* Sāṃdara to come here with the workers.
		Archive 3/1.20	Old workers are mentioned.
		Archive 3/1.25	*Pharṣa* Sāṃdara, the workers, and the commoners are the recipients of an order from *tsīṣī spāta* Sudārrjāṃ.
		Archive 3/1.33	The workers are coming to Āskūra.
		Archive 3/1.39	All the workers will get heavy sticks if pack animals are not sent.
		Archive 3/1.42	*Spāta* Vidyadatta, *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, and the workers are the recipients of an order from *blon* Rmang bzher.
		Archive 3/3.2	In the 35th regnal year, 44 workers are to deliver 23 feet of cloth each.
		Archive 3/3.3	
		Archive 3/3.4	
		Archive 3/3.6	
		Archive 3/1.12	Mentioned together with *spāta* Yanäviḍta
		Archive 3/1.20	Unclear

Table IV-13 Various Tasks

Task in Khotanese	Task	Archive Number	Activity
kṣīrva-vīraa	State worker	Archive 3/1.23	The state workers did not go on patrol duty.
		Archive 3/5.10	State workers who are exempt from patrol duty are listed.
		Archive 3/6.4	The petition is made concerning the tax money for the king and on behalf of the state workers

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-

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[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 Birgaṃdara.[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.[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[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[597] are all found in documents of Archive 3. Tibetan-only contracts involving Tibetans and Khotanese have also been

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[594] See Chapter IV: Analysis of Archive 3 and commentary on Archive 3/1.15 verso §1.

[595] Table IV-11 lists the titles and names of all the officials attested in Archive 3 according to their levels.

[596] A case in point is Archive 3/1.1, an evacuation order from the King of Khotan.

[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.[598] 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-

[598] Takeuchi 1994.

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.[599] 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.[600]

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

LMC	Late Middle Chinese.
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute.*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CFYG	*Cefuyuangui* 冊府元龜 12 vols., Beijing, 2006.
Chin.	Chinese.
Dic.	Bailey 1979.
Khot.	Khotanese.
KT III	Bailey 1956.
KT IV	Bailey 1961.
KT V	Bailey 1963.
KT VII	Bailey 1985.
MMP	Manichean Middle Persian.
JA	*Journal asiatique.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JP	*Judaeo-Persian.*
JTS	*Jiu Tangshu* 旧唐书 16 vols., Beijing, 1975.
SD	Bailey 1960.
SD VII	Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1993.
SDTV	Bailey 1968.
SDTV III	Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995.
SGS	Emmerick 1968a.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
T.	*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1924-1934.
Tib.	Tibetan.
TLTD I	Thomas 1935.
TLTD II	Thomas 1951.
TLTD III	Thomas 1955.
Catalogue	Skjærvø 2002.
Xiyuji	Xuan Zang and Bianji 2000
XTS	*Xin Tangshu* 新唐书 20 vols., Beijing, 1975.
ZZTJ	*Zizhitongjian* 资治通鉴 20 vols., Beijing 1956.
Studies II	Emmerick and Skjærvø 1987
Studies III	Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997

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