

SOGDIANS IN KHOTAN

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Sogdians, famous for their mercantile activities along the Silk Road, left traces in Khotan and its neighboring sites along the southern rim of the Tarim Basin as early as the fourth century CE. Due to the scarcity of the sources, we know little about them apart from their existence. A close reading of the Khotanese documents from Khotan, however, can illuminate in greater detail the Sogdians' roles in Khotan, especially in finance, taxation, and administration. In this paper, I first give an overview of the sources concerning Sogdians in Khotan, including those in Kharoshti, Sogdian, Chinese, and Khotanese, then examine two previously misunderstood key terms in Khotanese: *jäd-/jista- "to borrow," and jirma/järma "borrowed, owed." In light of this new understanding, I proceed to discuss the Sogdians' roles as money lenders, tax-collectors, and administrators in Khotan and the entire Tarim Basin in the eighth century CE.

In November 1906, the British archaeologist Aurel Stein discovered a wooden tablet (E. VI. ii. 1, now commonly designated as KI 661) at Endere, a ruined site roughly 350 km east of Khotan.¹ This tablet contains a camel purchase contract in Kharoṣṭhī dated to the tenth regnal year of Vijīda Siṃha,² king of Khotan, whom Zhu Lishuang (2017: 205-6) identified with Vijaya Siṃha (16) in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*,³ whose reign Étienne De la Vaissière (2014: 86) dated to ca. 320 CE. Sten Konow (1932: 74) realized that *suliga*, the epithet of the camel's buyer, means "Sogdian." John Brough (1965: 594) discerned that *Nani-vadhagā*, one of the witnesses to this contract, is but a rendering of *Nnyβntk*, a popular Sogdian name also borne by the writer of the Ancient Letter II.⁴ In other words, two Sogdians were involved in this transaction. In addition, Stein discovered at Loulan six Sogdian fragments during his second and third expeditions.⁵ In 1994, Chinese and Japanese archaeologists excavated another Sogdian fragment at Niya.⁶ These seven documents share the same script with the Ancient Letters, which were written around 313,⁷ and should date from roughly the same period.⁸

A few Sogdian documents from the seventh to the ninth centuries were discovered in the Khotan area. David N. MacKenzie (1976: ix) mentioned a Sogdian wooden slip from Khotan.⁹ Nicholas Sims-Williams (1976) published seven Sogdian fragments from Mazar Tagh, a ruined fort roughly 180 km north of Khotan. Yutaka Yoshida (1997: 568-69) listed four more Sogdian documents from Khotan: Fragment 36 in Sims-Williams and Hamilton 1990 (catalogued somewhat misleadingly as IOL Khot 158/5),¹⁰ one fragment from the Trinkler Collection, one fragment from the Francke Collection, and a seal with Sogdian writings found by Stein. Additionally, Or.11344/12r contains a few Sogdian words in its right bottom corner overlapping the Khotanese text. To my knowledge, no attempt has been made to read them.

In the past two decades, more Sogdian documents from Khotan have come to light. Bi Bo and Sims-Williams (2010 and 2015) published 13 Sogdian fragments in the Museum of Renmin University of China, including four economic documents, one letter, five letter fragments, and three small scraps. Among the collection of documents from the Khotan area recently acquired by the National Library of China is BH4-136, a slip of paper with a clay seal in the middle and one line of Sogdian. Duan Qing (2016: 97 and 115) published its picture and Yoshida's preliminary reading from an earlier picture. Based on the new picture, Yoshida (2017: 285) was able to improve the reading.¹¹ I (2013) also published a tiny Sogdian fragment from Khotan, which only contains four words from four lines.

Some Chinese documents from Khotan contain thinly veiled Sogdian names. Rong Xinjiang (1994: 161) collected five such examples. Yoshida (1997: 569) also collected these names and reconstructed the underlying Sogdian spellings.¹² He later (*apud* Duan 2009: 67) spotted another one in a recently discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document.¹³ All of these materials attest to the presence of Sogdians in Khotan. Due to the small number and the fragmentary nature of these documents, however, they do not reveal much about the Sogdi-

ans' activities in Khotan. For more details, we need to turn to Khotanese documents from Khotan.

In Khotanese, Sogdians were called *sūlī*, which later became a synonym of “merchants.” Bailey (1985: 76-77) and Kumamoto (1984: 16, n.19) respectively collected 14 and 20 examples of *sūlī* in Khotanese documents, both from Khotan and Dunhuang. From these examples, Rong (1994: 159-61) selected those from Khotan,¹⁴ twelve in total, and noted that the Sogdians in Khotan were involved in the local taxation system in some capacity. Yoshida (1997: 568) noticed another example of *sūlī* in the Russian Collection¹⁵ and corrected the translation from “merchants” to “Sogdians”. These examples are not very informative by themselves. We can, however, gain more insight into the role that Sogdians played in the society of Khotan via a better understanding of the Khotanese documents as a whole.

From the late nineteenth century till the early 1930s, governmental officials and explorers from various countries acquired numerous ancient manuscripts in a variety of languages and scripts from the Khotan area.¹⁶ Among them are secular Khotanese documents, most of which are now in three major collections, namely, the Hedin Collection (Bailey 1961), the Russian Collection (Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1993 and 1995), and the British Collection (Skjærvø 2002). In his groundbreaking work, Yoshida (2006) studied these documents as a whole across the boundary of collections. He regrouped all the documents into five archives (Archive 0-4) according to their dates and provenance,¹⁷ thus establishing a convenient framework for further work.

Following Yoshida's steps, I modified his grouping, and worked intensively on Archive 3, a group of documents consisting of 84 manuscripts from sites in present-day Domoko, some 100 km east of the city of Khotan. I divided the documents in Archive 3 into subgroups of different genres, and re-edited them.¹⁸ I am now applying the same method to Archive 2, the group of documents from Dandan-Uiliq, a site in the desert approximately 120 km northeast of Khotan. In the process, some previously misunderstood words revealed their true meanings, sometimes providing key information in an unexpected way.

On **jäd-/jista-* “To Borrow”

One such word is **jäd-* (past participle *jista-*), usually rendered as “to ask for, demand” (Emmerick 1968: 34; Bailey 1979: 108), and not differentiated from *pajäd-*, (past participle *pajista-*) “to beg, ask for, demand” (Emmerick 1968: 64-65; Bailey 1979: 198). Based on my analysis, it should instead mean “to borrow, to take a loan.” Let's take a look at the most convincing examples:

SI P 103.22 (Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 140)

This document in the Russian Collection is the lower part of a loan contract, in which three men and a woman borrowed *thaunaka* (small cloth),¹⁹ promised to pay back twice their debts in the autumn, and left their fingermarks to validate the contract. Three out of the four fingermark clauses were later crossed out after the repayment of the debts. In this document, *jistä* (past, 3 sg. m.) and *jistä* (past, 3 sg. f.) are used in explicit rhetorical contrast to *heḍä* (pres., 3 sg.), which means “s/he gives, delivers.” In this context, therefore, *jäd-/jista-* can be rendered as “to borrow”.

Text:²⁰

§1 ¹[pā]tc[i] īrasaṃgä thaunakä jistä 2 paśä heḍä 4
{īra | saṃä | haṃguṣṭä | }

§2 ²pātcī karūsai thaunakä jistä śau paśä heḍä 2 karū |
sai haṃ | gu | ṣṭi

§3 ³pātcī upadattä thaunakä jistä 1 paśä heḍä 2 {u |
pada | ttä haṃ || gu[ṣṭi |]}

§4 ⁴pātcī khattīnai nāri thaunakä jistä śau paśi' heḍä 2
{khattīnā | ña haṃ | gu | ṣṭi}

Translation:

§1 Next, Īrasaṃga borrowed two (pieces of) small cloth. In the autumn, he will give (= pay back) four (pieces). {Īrasaṃga's fingermark.}

§2 Next, Karūsai borrowed one (piece of) small cloth. In the autumn, he will give (= pay back) two (pieces). Karūsai's fingermark.

§3 Next, Upadatta borrowed one (piece of) small cloth. In the autumn, he will give (= pay back) 2 (pieces). Upadatta's fingermark.

§4 Next, Khattīnai's wife borrowed one (piece of) small cloth. In the autumn, she will give (= pay back) two (pieces). Fingermark of Khattīnai's wife.

Or.6397/2 (Skjærvø 2002: 9-10, with improved restoration)

This document in the British Collection is also a loan contract, in which seven men each take a loan of 125 *mūrās* at an interest rate of 10%. Its left part is slightly damaged and the first several *akṣaras* of each line are missing. Fortunately, the lacuna can be restored with confidence thanks to the repetitive wording of the contract itself and parallels in other documents. In this contract, *jistādä* (past, 3 pl. m.) is used in combination with *pudä*, which P. Oktor Skjærvø (*apud* Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997: 96-100) discussed at length and translated as “promised, committed oneself.” Duan and Li (2014: 31) published a newly discovered Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document, in which *Pudä* is attested and corresponds to Chin. *qiàn* 欠 ‘owing’. It can therefore be established that **jad-/jista-* means “to borrow.”

Text:

§1 ¹[@ kṣāmṇi x x bi]stamye salye kaji māštā dasamye haḍai

§2 ṣi’ pāra-va²[stū pīḍakā tte] pracaina cu

§3 āna hvācai sai ttā mūri hāyi

§4 tti buru ³[x x x] mūri jistādä

§5 || hatkaṃ mūri puḍā sa sparibistā

§6 || spāta sīḍa[⁴ki mūri] puḍā sa sparibistā

§7 || pheṃdūkā mūri puḍā sa sparibistā

§8 || alttā ⁵[sa spari]bistā

§9 || budarśaṃ’ 100 20 5

§10 || mayadattā sa sparābistā

§11 || rruhada⁶[ttā sa sparābistā]

§12 ⁷[khu x x x x]-i ni hauḍā yanī ṣi’ tti ysam⁸[thā heḍi da]si mūri sa

§13 ⁹a | lttām haṃ | guṣṭi | ⁷phedū | kā haṃ | guṣṭi | ⁸hatkaṃ | haṃgu | ṣṭi | ⁹maya | dattā | haṃ | guṣṭi | ¹⁰buda | rśaṃ haṃguṣṭi | ¹¹rruhadattā haṃguṣṭi | ¹²jsajsa | kā haṃ | gu | ṣṭi

Translation:

§1 On the tenth of Kaja (the second month) of Year 25 (or 26?)

§2 This document of loan (was made) for the reason that:

§3 The *hvācai* would like to send the *mūrās*.

§4 The following borrowed [*jistādä*] ... *mūrās*.

§5 Hatkaṃ owes [*pudä*] 125 *mūrās*.

§6 *Spāta* Sīḍaka owes 125 *mūrās*.

§7 Pheṃdūkā owes 125 *mūrās*.

§8 Alttām (owes) 125 (*mūrās*).

§9 Budarśaṃ’ (owes) 125 (*mūrās*).

§10 Mayadatta (owes) 125 (*mūrās*).

§11 Rruhadatta (owes 125 *mūrās*).

§12 If one could not give (= pay back) the *mūrās* [at the end of the month (?)], he shall pay ten *mūrās* as interest for every hundred *mūrās*.

§13 Alttām’s fingermark. Pheṃdūkā’s fingermark. Hatkaṃ’s fingermark. Mayadatta’s fingermark. Budarśaṃ’s fingermark. Rruhadatta’s fingermark. Jsajsa’s fingermark.

Commentary:

§1 The most common dating formula is *salī* ‘year’ followed by a numeral, but we do have @ *kṣā[m]ṇi 20 mye salye* ‘in the 20th regnal year’ in line 9 of Or.6396/1 (Skjærvø 2002: 8). The two *akṣaras* before *bistamye* cannot be ascertained. They can be, for instance, [*spari*] *bistamye* “25th” or [*kṣera*] *bistamye* “26th,” respectively corresponding to 790 or 791 (Zhang and Rong 1997: 353-354, table 3). Kumamoto (1996: 33) already suggested that the date of this document may be the 25th year.

§2 Restored by Bailey (1979: 231) via comparison with Hedin 4: *ṣi’ pāra-vastū pīḍakā tte pracaina*. This restoration fits the length of the lacuna established by §6.

§3 *hvācai* is a title, probably from Chinese, also attested in Hedin 26 (Hedin 1961: 140), SI P 103.7 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 137-138), SI P 103.12 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 139-140), IOL Khot 48/8 (Skjærvø 2002: 283), and IOL Khot 53/1 (Skjærvø 2002: 291).

§6 Restored via comparison with §4 and §6, both of which contains *mūri puḍā sa sparibistā*. Sīḍaka is the central figure of Archive 2, see Zhang and Rong 1997: 350-351. This restoration establishes the length of the lacunae, six *akṣaras* in line 1-3 and 6-8 and three *akṣaras* in line 4-6, which must be taken into account in the restoration of the lacunae.

§8 Skjærvø’s (2002: 10) restoration fits the length of the lacuna established in §6.

§11 Restored via comparison with §10 *mayadattā sa sparābistā*.

§12 Restored via comparison with in *khu ṣa māsā jīyyi u vaśa’rapqñā mūri ni hauḍi’yanī tī dasi mūri sa ysamṭhi heḍi* “If this month ends and Vaśa’rapāña

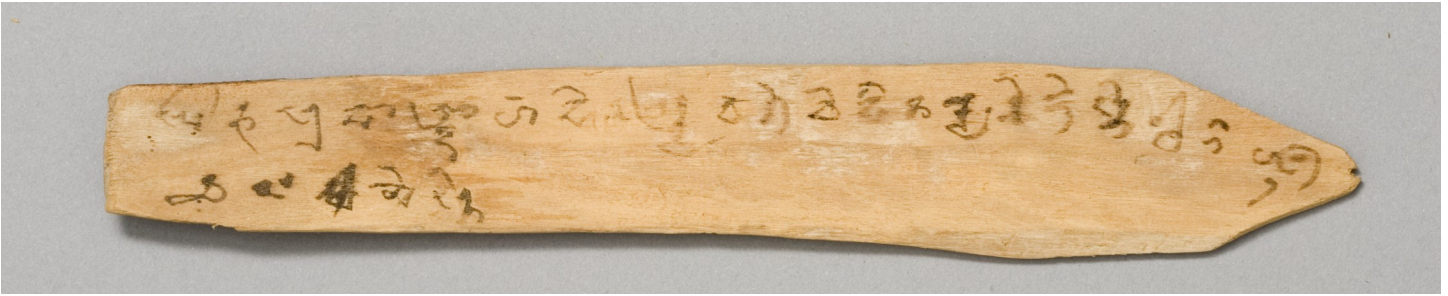


Fig. 1. Hedin 57r (Accession number: 1943.44.0027) Courtesy Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

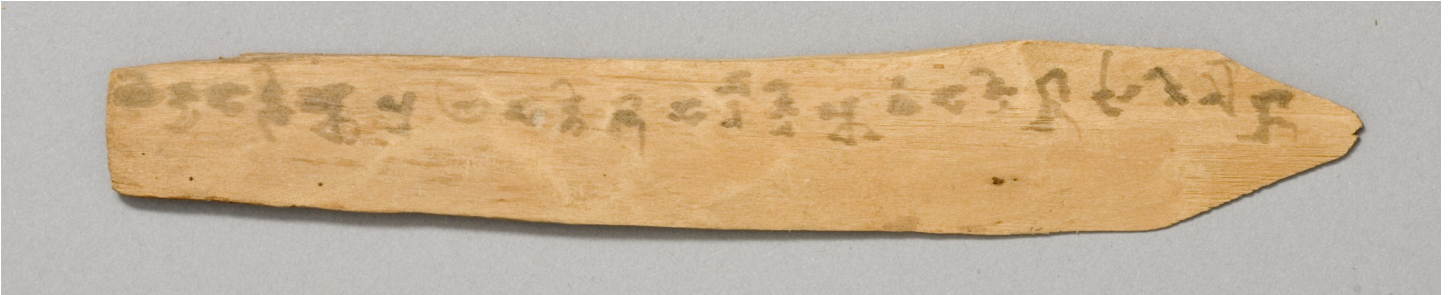


Fig. 2. Hedin 57v (Accession number: 1943.44.0027) Courtesy Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

could not repay the *mūrās*, he shall pay ten *mūrās* as interest for every hundred *mūrās*.” in SI P 103.49 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 156-157), a loan contract of 2200 *mūrās* between Sīḍaka and Vaša’rapāña. *Jīyyi* “to end” (opt. 3s) is comparable to OP *jiyamna*- “the end (of a month)” in DB 2.62, see Kent 1950: 185.²¹ Yoshida (2006: 116-117) correctly understood the phrase on interest rate (*dasi mūri sa* “10%”) in Or.6397/2 and SI P 103.49, and collected another example from Domoko A4 (Skjærvø 2002: 581-582), *haṣṭi mūri sa* “8%”.

§13 Note that Sīḍaka, who borrowed money in §6, did not leave his fingermark. Jsajsaka, who is not among the debtors in §5-11, did so instead. Jsajsaka is listed as a minor in Or.6396/2 (Skjærvø 2002: 8), an agreement on tax of the residents of Gaysāta from the 19th regnal year. Could he be Sīḍaka’s son?

Other Examples of **jād-/jista*- “To Borrow”

Having established the meaning of **jād-/jista*-, let’s look at other examples:

IOL Khot Wood 1 (Skjærvø 2002: 557-559) line a3-5: *hamīḍa birgaṃdaraja auya pharṣṣa visaunana mūrā jistāmdā 2000* “The residents of Birgaṃdara collectively borrowed 2000 *mūrās* from *pharṣa* Visauna.”

Or.6394/1 (Skjærvø 2002: 5) line 2-3: *vañau va mara hārū sāmāde u hattākam mūri jistādā dasau-ysācya drai se* “Now here *hārū* Sāmāde and Hattākam borrowed 10300 *mūrās* on your behalf.”²²

Or.6394/2 (Skjærvø 2002: 5-6) line 3-4: *u aysū sūlyā [jsa] ysamṭhaḍā jistem* “And I took a loan with interest on behalf of you from the Sogdian.”

Or.6401/3 (Skjærvø 2002: 20) line a3: *[pu]ñargam kapāysa-barai stūrā jisti* “Puñargam borrowed a pack-animal for cotton-bearing.”

SI P 96.5 + 96.9 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 110-111, pieced together by Skjærvø) line 3: *u ttūñām va ni jistem* “I did not borrow yours for them.”

SI P 99.8 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 121) line 2: *kūṣṭa burā hirā jistem* “wherever I borrowed tax.” For *hira*- ‘tax,’ not ‘thing,’ see Yoshida 2008: 103-5.

SI P 103.3 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 135) line 1: *sīḍakā haryāsi hiryāna hau nva mūri ni jiste* “Sīḍaka did not borrow *mūrās* according to the words of the blackness (?).”

SI P 103.52 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 158; Emmerick 1996a: 57) column 2 line 6: *mūre 10 5 haskāṣṭārā jiste*, “Haskāṣṭāra borrowed 15 *mūrās*.”

Domoko A4 (Skjærvø 2002: 581-82) line 3-4: *tti mūri ysamṭhaḍi pastāmdī {ša} jisti haṣṭi mūri sa* “they deigned to borrow the *mūrās* at eight percent interest.”

Hedin 57 (Bailey 1961: 47) line 1-2: *spāta sudārrjā haṃdira prū vagevidina mūri jisti 20 2 ysā’ca sa {20} bisti* “Spāta Sudārrjā borrowed 22,120 *mūrās* from Vagevida in the Inner Court.” Vageveda is probably a rendering of the Sogdian name *βγϋβntk* /*vayivande*/. See Lurje 2010: 140.

Hedin 3r (Bailey 1961: 22) line 5-6: *ysamṭhaḍi pastāmdī jiś[t]i [20] 2 ysā’[ca sa] bisti [haṣṭi mūri] sa* “They deigned to borrow 22,120 (*mūrās*) at eight percent interest.” Restored via comparison with Domoko A4 line 3-4 and Hedin 57 line 1-2, the previous two examples.

Hedin 3r (Bailey 1961: 22) line 17: *tī mūri vagevedina jistēm* “I borrowed the *mūrās* from Vageveda.”

On *jirma/järma* “Borrowed, Owed”

Moreover, from **jäd-/jista* is derived *jirma/järma*, “borrowed, owed,” not “excellent, outstanding” as in Bailey 1979: 109. Degener (1989: 296) noticed this word and the suffix. The intervocalic *-d-* is dropped, as in *pajīmdä*, 3 pl. pres. from *pajäd-* “to request, demand.” See Emmerick 1968: 64.

Let’s look at the passages in which *jirma/järma* appears:

SI P 94.22 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 103-4) line 3: *ysamthađi jirmä himye. vaña sūlī...* “It was borrowed with interest. Now the Sogdian...”

SI P 96.5 + 96.9 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 110-11, pieced together by Skjærvø) line 3: *gvašcem jirmyau mū[ryau]* “I paid with borrowed *mūrās*.”

SI P 103.7 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 137-38) line 6: *vaña buri hiri ši’šti ci jirma himye khu* “The tax till now is what was borrowed when ...”

SI P 103.30 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 147) line 6 + **SI P 103.36** (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 150) line 10 (pieced together by Skjærvø, with improved reading by me): *@ ttāna vavera bise mūri himya jirma phqnāji yadūysi va* “In this *vavera*, the *mūrās* were borrowed for *Yadūysa* from *Phāna*.”

SI P 103.40 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 152) line 4: *še hiri biši mara jirmi šti* “All the tax is borrowed here.”

SI P 103.41 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 152-153) line 3: *u ši’hiri bišä sūlyä jsa jirmä himye* “All the tax was borrowed from the Sogdian.”

Or.11344/5 (Skjærvø 2002: 109-10) line 3: *u tcahaura-ma järma himya* “And four of them were borrowed here.”

Hedin 60 (Bailey 1961: 47) line b1-2: *j[i]rmä himye dvī ysārä mūri* “2000 *mūrās* were borrowed.”

Sogdians in Loan Documents

Among these documents concerning loans, at least three (Or.6394/2, SI P 94.22, SI P 103.41) explicitly involve Sogdians. Let’s take a closer look at them.

Or.6394/2 (Skjærvø 2002: 5-6, with improved reading)

This document from the Hoernle Collection in the British Library is among the earliest acquired Khotanese documents. It is an order from Ššanīraka, the official in charge of the township, to his subordinate Sīḍaka, demanding the latter to bring the poll tax and the money for the cloth of winter clothes in the amount of 9370 *mūrās* within five days, since the Sogdian from whom *spāta* Ššanīraka borrowed this sum on Sīḍaka’s behalf has come to collect his debt.

Text

§1 [a] spāta ššanīrakä tta parī gayseta auva-ḥamḍastä sīḍa²[ki va]ra

§2 tvī tta kamalaji mūri šṭārä [x] vārä u ysumāña-vrra-ḥaunajām thaunām³[h]iye

§3 u tti mūri kaji māštä ḥamḍara prū šṭām pajistāḥdi

§4 u aysū sūlyä⁴[jsa] ysamthaḍä jistēm

§5 vaña ma sūlī ā

§6 khu parau pva’ tti mūri 9000 300 70 ḥamḥ⁵[tsa] ysamthina mara ājuma

§7 sūlī āḥ ttā ni jsāte

§8 khu paḥjvā ḥaḍvā tti mūrä⁶[ma]ra ni ājume

§9 pa’js-e phau’ va hvera himārä

§10 ḥamdyaji 6 mye ḥaḍai ttā parau⁷tsue Signum-Ššanīraka

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Ššanīraka thus orders Sīḍaka, *auva-ḥamḍasta* in Gaysāta:

§2 You owe the poll tax *mūrās* as well as those for the cloth of the winter clothes.

§3 Those in the Inner Court requested the *mūrās* in Kaja (the second month).

§4 And I took a loan for you from the Sogdian with interest.

§5 Now the Sogdian has come here.

§6 When you hear the order, bring here 9370 *mūrās* with interest.

§7 The Sogdian is not going to you.

§8 If you do not bring those *mūrās* here within five days,

§9 you will eat (= suffer) strong penalties.

§10 On the sixth of Ḥamdyaja (the fifth month), the order went out to you. Signum-Ššanīraka

Commentary

§1 auva-haṃdasta: the title of an official of the township (Kh. *au*; Ch. *xiāng* 乡), inferior to the *spāta*, probably corresponding to Ch. *xiāngtóu* 乡头 “head of the township.” See Wen 2008: 138-139. Sīḍaka became an *auva-haṃdasta* between the second month (Or.8210/S5864 = D.v.6) and the eighth month of the 15th regnal year of Viśa Vāham (781) (SI P 94.1), and was promoted from *auva-haṃdasta* to *spāta* between the tenth month of the 18th regnal year (784) (SI P 103.38) and the eighth month of the 19th regnal year (785) (Or.6396/2) of Viśa Vāham. See Kumamoto 1996: 33; Zhang and Rong 1997: 351, Table 2. In other words, this order was written between 781 and 785.

§2 ysumāñña-vrrahaunajām thaunām: “of the cloth of the winter clothes.” The Khotanese were required to provide silk cloth, hemp cloth, and sheepskin for the winter and summer clothes for the soldiers garrisoned there. See Zhang and Rong 2002: 229; Yoshida 2006: 108. In Khot missing frags. 2 = Godfrey 2 (Skjærvø 2002: 577), the half-paying men in Gaysāta were required to collectively pay 616 *mūrās* for 9.2 feet of hemp cloth for winter clothes at the price of 70 *mūrās* per foot,²³ 516 *mūrās* for 8.6 feet of hemp cloth for summer clothes at the price of 60 *mūrās* per foot, 225 *mūrās* for 1.5 feet of silk cloth for summer clothes at the price of 50 *mūrās* per foot, and 170 *mūrās* for summer clothes.

§3 haṃdara prū: “the Inner Court,” the residence of the king of Khotan. See Wen 2014: 94.

§6 9370: not 1370 as read by Skjærvø (2002: 5). This amount is comparable to that in Or.6396/2 (Skjærvø 2002: 8), in which Sīḍaka and all the townsmen agreed to pay 10,005 *mūrās*, 213 *mūrās* by each of the 41 whole paying men and 106 *mūrās* by each of the 12 half-paying minors and elderlies. For *hālaa*- ‘half-paying man’, see Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997: 171-73.

§10 Signum-Ṣṣanīraka: This is Ṣṣanīraka’s signature. Though looking like a Chinese character at the first glance, it is actually made of the initial *akṣaras* of his name stacked on one another. For more discussion on this and other signatures in Khotanese documents, see Skjærvø 2009: 131-34; Yoshida 2006: 31-33.

SI P 103.41 (Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 152-53, with improved reading)

This document from the Russian Collection is an order from *spāta* Ṣṣanīraka to Sīḍaka and the tax-collectors, demanding the latter to deliver the outstanding tax, borrowed from a Sogdian two months before. Since this order was issued on the sixth of the second month, the Sogdians must have come to lend the money in the beginning of the

12th month of the previous year. Such a timing reminds us of Hedin 16 (Bailey 1961: 30-31, 106-8, and 173-78), a large document from Archive 3, consisting of 14 Chinese-Khotanese bilingual tax vouchers issued between the 25th of the 11th month and the ninth of the 12th month in the 35th regnal year of Viśa Vāham, that is, Year 801.

Text

§1¹@ *spāta ṣṣanīrakā tta parī gayseta sīḍakā va²ra u mūrahaṃgām vara*

§2 *umānī tta pa’sīñā pharākā va vāri hi³ri ṣṭi*

§3 *u ṣi’ hiri biśā sūlyā jsa jirmā himye*

§4 *vañā ma dvī māṣṭi⁴ himye khu ma sūlyā āta*

§5 *hiri vā [n]i ha[m]jsaudai*

§6 *khu tta parau hīṣṭi⁵ ttinī mara hīsa*

§7 *maunai jsām vā cukvakā ttinī puṣa hajsēma*

§8 *kaj[i] ṣ⁶māṣṭi kṣemye haḍai ttā parau tsve mūsājsa*
Signum-Ṣṣanīraka

Translation

§1 *Spāta* Ṣṣanīraka thus orders Sīḍaka in Gaysāta and the tax-collectors:

§2 You have a lot of *pa’sīñā* tax outstanding there.

§3 All the tax was borrowed from the Sogdian.

§4 Now it has been two months since the Sogdians came here.

§5 You have not collected any tax.

§6 When the order arrives, come here immediately!

§7 And send our boy here immediately!

§8 The order went out to you on the sixth of Kaji (the second month). Mūsājsa. Signum-Ṣṣanīraka

Commentary

§1 mūrahaṃgām: “tax-collectors,” gen.-dat. pl. See Emmerick 1996b.

§2 pa’sīñā: unclear. Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja (1995: 153) preferred to see this word as a derivative of *pasa*- “sheep,” meaning “pertaining to sheep,” but as they pointed out, that word is *pasīñā*- without the subscript hook. Bailey’s (1979: 224) rendering “of the *pa’sa*- messengers (?)” seems more plausible, though it does not fit the context very well. Let’s have a look at two other occasions in which this word is attested. Line 4-5 of IOL Khot 41/1 (Skjærvø 2002: 270-71), a private letter from Mazar Tagh, reads: *ci tta aśnesalāñña pa’sīñā drāma ṣṭāri yām kūm x x hauryari khu na hvā’re* “However much the *pa’sīñā*

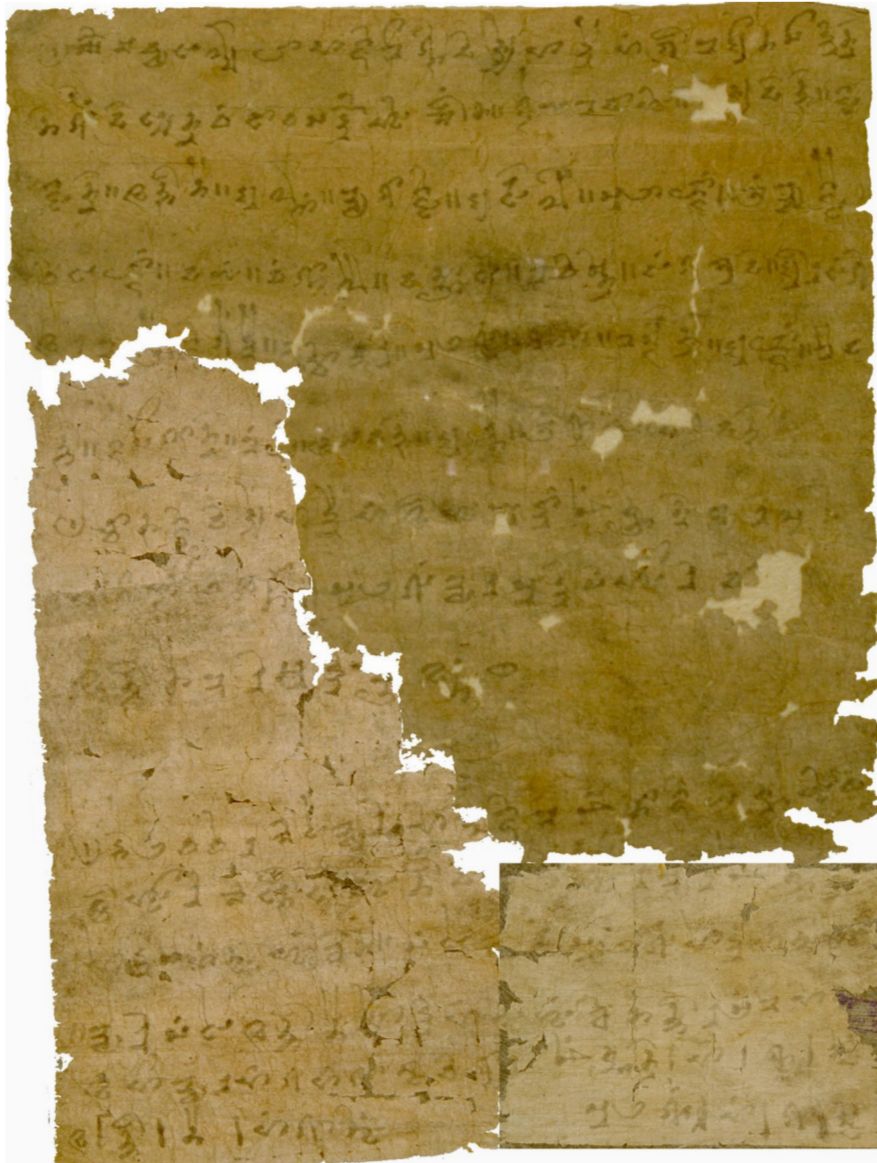


Fig. 3. Stitched image of three documents from the Russian Collection, including SI P 96.1 (bottom right), Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1993, plate 85a), SI P 103.30 (bottom left, *ibid.* plate 117a), SI P 103.36 (top, *ibid.*, plate 119b). P. Oktor Skjærvø pieced together SI P 103.30 and SI P 103.36, and I completed the jigsaw puzzle.

of Aśnesala there is, deliver ... so that they do not dry out." Here, I take *drāma* as a variant of *ttrāma* "so much." Skjærvø (2002: 271) took it as "pomegranates," while Bailey (1979: 167) took it as "runners (?)." Line 1-2 of IOL Khot W 33r (Skjærvø 2002: 568), an order on wood, reads: *pa'sīñā ganam x x x ñausam kūsa* "the *pa'sīñā* wheat ... *kūsa* (a measure of volume)." Note that *ganam* is our (Skjærvø, Wen Xin, and myself) improved reading. In all three cases, it seems, *pa'sīñā*- has something to do with some sort of tax to be delivered.

§7 maunai: "our," *mānaa*-, also attested in Or.11252/6v (read differently in Skjærvø 2002: 89). The *au* ~ *ā* alternation, a common phenomenon in Khotanese texts from Dunhuang, also appears in the Khotanese texts from Khotan. For instance, *ttāguttau* "in the Tibetan language" in Hedin 21 (Bailey 1961: 126) as opposed to *ttāguttā* in Or.11252/12r (understood differently in Skjærvø 2002: 92-93).

§7 cukvakä: "boy." See Maggi *apud* Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997: 53-55. It is not entirely clear to whom

this boy refers, and why *spāta* Ṣṣanīraka needed him. Note that Or.6393/1 (Skjærvø 2002: 4) also involves a boy to be "collected" from a *spāta*. I wonder if the boy is going to be a pledged collateral for the loan. For more on collaterals in Khotanese contracts, see Duan 2014.

§8 mūsājsä: personal name, also attested in SI P 94.9 (read incorrectly as *mū 20 x* in Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 99) and SI P 103.36 (Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 150). Its function here, however, is unclear. By the way, SI P 96.1 can be pieced together with SI P 103.30 + SI P 103.36 to form a complete document.

SI P 94.22 (Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 103-4, with improved reading and somewhat bold restoration)

This small document from the Russian Collection is a fragment of an order. Like the previous two orders, it also involves loans with interest from Sogdians. Thanks to their similarities, the lacunae can be partially restored. Issued in the fifth month and concerning outstanding cloth, it may have links with Or.6394/2.

Text

§1 ¹[@ *spāta* ṣṣanīrakä tta] parī gayseta auva-ham[dastā sīḍakā vara]

§2[..... vi]²rāṣṭa tsātām na thaunaka ya

§3 u kṣisayi [.....]

§4 [u ṣi' hiri biśä sūlyä jsa] ³ysamthaḍi jirmä himye

§5 vaña sūlī [ā]

§6 [khu parau pva' tti mūri ham]⁴tsa ysamthāna ttinī hajsema

§7 hamḍya[ji x mye haḍai ttā parau tsue Signum-Ṣṣanīraka]

Translation

§1 [*Spāta* Ṣṣanīraka thus orders Sīḍaka,] *auva-hamḍasta* in Gaysāta:

§2 There was no small cloth of the wealthy ones for [the inner court (?)]

§3 Six hundred (*mūrās* per foot ...)

§4 [All the tax] was borrowed with interest [from the Sogdian].

§5 Now the Sogdian [has come.]

§6 [When you here the order,] send [..... *mūrās*] with interest immediately.

§7 [On the x-th of] Hamdyaja (the fifth month), [the order went out to you. Signum-Ṣṣanīraka]

Commentary

§1 Restored according to Or.6394/2 §1.

§2 **tsātām**: “the wealthy,” gen.-dat. pl. In Archive 3, the wealthy ones were grouped with the officials, and an additional amount of cloth was assigned to them. For example, line 4 of Hedin 13 reads: *tsīṣī u hārvām u tsātā bida thauna himārā hauda u dīrsā chā* “The cloth (assigned) to the prefect, the officials, and the wealthy is 7 bolts and 30 feet.” (1 bolt = 40 feet)

§3 **kṣisayi**: “Six hundred (*mūrās* per foot).” The usage of the adjectival form of a numeral to express price is most conspicuous in Khot missing frags. 2 = Godfrey 2 (Skjærvø 2002: 577). Line 4-5 of this document reads: *u hamqñā-vrrahaunī kāmhi thau pasti 8 chā 6 tsūna tye va kṣaṣṭī chā-t-ī va mūri himāri 500 10 6* “He ordered 8.6 feet of hemp cloth for summer clothing. (At the price of) 60 (*mūrās*) per feet, it amounts to 516 *mūrās*.” $60 \times 8.6 = 516$.

§4 Restored via comparison with SI P 103.41 §3 *u ṣi’ hiri biṣā sūlyā jsa jirmā himye*.

§5 Restored via comparison with Or.6394/2 §5 *vaña ma sūlī ā*.

§6 Restored via comparison with Or.6394/2 §6 *khu parau pva’ tti mūri 9000 300 70 ham[tsa] ysamthina mara ājuma*.

§7 Restored according to Or.6394/2 §10 *hamdyaji 6 mye haḍai tṭā parau tsue* Signum-Ṣṣanīraka.

Sogdians’ Roles

From the three documents examined above, despite a few unclear words and phrases, we can see that the Sogdians were integrated into the taxation system of Khotan. When those from the Inner Court came down to the prefectures to collect taxes, the Sogdians would lend money to the officials on the prefecture level or below, and come

back to collect their debts with an interest after an interval of two or three months. This practice continued into Archive 3, when Khotan was under Tibetan rule. From Domoko A4 (Skjærvø 2002: 581-82), we learned that *spāta* Sudārrjām borrowed 20,000 *mūrās* at an 8% (per month!) interest to pay the tax. He asked *pharṣa* Sāmḍara²⁴ to quickly collect and send in the tax before the end of the month so that the interest would not accumulate.

From Hedin 3r (Bailey 1961: 22), however, we learned that Sāmḍara failed to carry out the task and Sudārrjām had to borrow 22,120 *mūrās* from a Sogdian named Vageveda (*βγγβntk, see above). Understandably, Sudārrjām was angry and frustrated.²⁵ Once again, Sudārrjām ordered Sāmḍara to collect *mūrās* in full and send them before the end of the month to minimize interest payment, but we do not know whether Sāmḍara managed to do so. Sudārrjām’s loan is also recorded on Hedin 57 (Bailey 1961: 47), a document on wood in Archive 3.²⁶ Note that Vageveda was coming from the Inner Court, thus revealing a deeper degree of participation in the administration.

In Archive 3, we also encounter Sogdian tax collectors. In the 35th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāham (801), as we learned from Or.11252/30 (Skjærvø 2002: 99), 44 workers (weavers) were ordered to pay as tribute, in addition to cloth, 44,000 *mūrās*, to be collected by *ṣau* An Kuh-syin,²⁷ who appears as *ṣau* An Kuk-syin in Or.11252/36v-a (Skjærvø 2002: 102-3),²⁸ a fragment of an order issued by *spāta* Sudārrjām with a hint at An Kuh-syin’s Sogdian identity.²⁹ Later that year, it seems, *ṣau* An Sam replaced *ṣau* An Kuh/k-syin and came to the Six Towns to collect the *mūrās*. On the 4th of the 12th month of the 35th regnal year, *ṣau* An Sam issued a voucher of 40,000 *mūrās* paid by Namaubuda, a representative of the residents of the Six-Town Prefecture.³⁰ This payment was copied in Hedin 19,³¹ an account of cloth and *mūrās* delivered before the 20th of the 12th month. On the 28th of the same month, another voucher of a payment of 3,000 *mūrās* into *ṣau* An Sam’s account (*pājiña*) was issued.³² Both An Kuh/k-syin and An Sam are most likely Chinese names of Sogdians bearing the surname Ān 安, the surname assumed by Bukharan Sogdians.³³ Two similar names, Ān Dáhàn 安達漢 and Ān Fēn 安芬, are attested in Dx 18925 and Or.6407 respectively.³⁴ This use of Chinese names

demonstrates that these Sogdians' cooperation with local authorities can be traced back to the previous period when Khotan and the entire Western regions were under Tang China's control.³⁵

In addition, the Sogdians in Khotan also helped convert small cloth (*thaunaka*) into standard cloth (*thau*) for those who only produced small cloth. According to Or.11252/38 (Skjærvø 2002: 103-4), the Sogdians took 53 pieces of small cloth for seven bolts of standard cloth.³⁶ Here I take one piece of small cloth as one foot of small cloth, because that is the default unit used to measure small cloth. One foot of small cloth is worth 450 *mūrās*³⁷ and one foot of standard cloth is worth 62.5 *mūrās*.³⁸ 53 feet of small cloth would make $53 \times 450 = 23,850$ *mūrās*. Seven bolts of normal cloth would make $7 \times 40 \times 62.5 = 17,500$ *mūrās*. Clearly, the Sogdians made a handsome profit out of the deal.

The Sogdians in Khotan also displayed some mobility in the larger region. The author of a Sogdian letter discovered in Khotan (No. 5 in Bi and Sims-Williams 2015) wrote that "I did not go to Sogd, nor to Turkestan,³⁹ nor to Tibet" (Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 266), indicating that he was able to go to these places. This letter itself was sent from *Prw'n*, corresponding to *Bōhuàn* 拨换, in the present-day Aksu area, roughly 500 km due north of Khotan. Yoshida (2017: 276) noticed that *Prw'n*, which was on one of the main routes connecting Khotan to the oases along the northern rim of the Taklamakan Desert, also appears in the Judeo-Persian letter from Dandan-Uiliq acquired by Stein.

Sogdians in Kucha, it seems, played a role very similar to that of the Sogdians in Khotan. Ching (2012: 67-69; 2013: 357-63) found in Cp.37 + 36, a long Tocharian document of legal complaints in the French Collection, that a Sogdian in Kucha named Puttewane collected money, cloth, and horses on behalf of a local official, and was subsequently embroiled into conflicts with the local people. In fact, it seems that certain Sogdians may have occupied very high positions in the Tang administration in the Western regions. Rong (2010: 450) noticed that Cao Lingzhong, the Military Commissioner of Yi Zhou, Xizhou, and Beiting⁴⁰ from 769-786, was probably a Sogdian, not only because of his surname, but also because the Tang emperor Daizong granted him the royal surname

Li and a new name Yuanzhong, a practice only applicable to non-Chinese.

In conclusion, through a close reading of the Khotanese documents from Khotan, especially the clarification of two key terms in Khotanese, we are able to gain a clearer understanding of the activities of the Sogdians in Khotan. Some lent money with interest to the local people and officials when their taxes were due; some converted small cloth into standard cloth for the local tax-payers (and made a handsome profit in the process); and some entered the administrative system as tax-collectors. We have hints that such phenomena occurred not only in Khotan, but also in Kucha, and presumably in other oases in the Tarim Basin as well. Their roles as money-lenders and tax-collectors vividly reflected their financial and political shrewdness.

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ENDNOTES

¹ For a description of the ruins, see Stein 1921: 280-285. A facsimile of this tablet is reproduced in Stein 1921: Plate XXXVIII and Boyer, Rapson, and Senart 1927: Plate XII. For an edition with translation and commentary, see Noble 1931. Stephen Baum prepared an updated transcription and bibliography, accessible at http://www.gandhari.org/a_document.php?catid=CKDo661. This tablet, together with a large number of Kharoṣṭhī documents on wood and other materials acquired by Stein, is now housed in the National Museum, New Delhi, India. A systematic digitalization of them is an urgent desideratum.

² Konow 1936: 234 and Burrow 1940: 137. It does not refer to Avijida Siṃha, as read by Boyer, Rapson and Senart (1927: 249) and accepted by Noble (1931: 445).

³ Emmerick 1967: 44-47. To facilitate reference, Emmerick (1967: 76-77) assigned a number to each Khotanese king mentioned in the text.

⁴ This name is abundantly attested in the Upper Indus Inscriptions. For a list of its attestations, see Lurje 2010: 271-73.

⁵ Listed in Sims-Williams and Bi 2018: 83, n.4 and Sims-Williams 1976: 43, n.10. The latter list also includes T. VI.c.ii.1, a Sogdian document on wood from one of the watch stations near Dunhuang, where the Ancient Letters were discovered.

⁶ Edited in Sims-Williams and Bi 2018.

⁷ Henning 1948: 614-615; Grenet, Sims-Williams, and de la Vaissière 1998: 101-2.

⁸ Sims-Williams and Bi (2018: 91-92) proposed 150-330 CE as the date range of the fragment from Niya.

⁹ Or.8212/91 (M.T.75.D). Note that this wooden slip is from Mazar Toghrak, not Mazar Tagh, as clarified by Yoshida (2010: 7). Unfortunately, it is too fragmentary to be legible.

¹⁰ Yoshida (2010: 6) later published this document, a fragment of a letter sent from Khotan.

¹¹ (t)βty βyy'n [ZKn] srtp'w 'kw't'kk “Sealed by Vaghyān, son of the sartpaw əKūrakk.” *Sartpaw* (Chin. *sàbǎo* 萨宝) originally meant ‘caravan leader’ and later became the title of the

leader of the Sogdian community. Yoshida (1988: 168-71) first discovered the meaning of this word from the addressee's title in Ancient Letter V.

¹² *Shǐ Huánpú* 史环仆 (alternative reading: *Shǐ Huái* ? 史怀□, see Zhang and Rong 1997: 340) in Hedin 24; *Ān Fēn* 安芬 (Sogd. **prn*) in Or.6407 (Hoernle MS 3); *Ān Dáhàn* 安达汉 in ㄨ.18925; *Kāng Yúnhàn* 康云汉 (Sogd. **wnx'n*) in Or.8212/1557 (M.Tagh. 092); *Luó Bódifēn* 罗勃帝芬 (Sogd. **pwtprn*) in Or.8212/709 (M.Tagh. 0634).

¹³ Chin. *Shīfántái* 失饭台 and Khot. *Śirvaṃdai* (corresponding to Sogd. *Śyrβntk*) in X15, now catalogued as BH1-15. Incidentally, this person is listed as a resident of the Suttīna Village (Khot. *Suttīnāṃṇa* Chin. *Sùdīnáng Cūn* 速底囊村). Without further substantiation, however, one has to refrain from identifying Suttīna with Sogdian. On the other hand, *sūlī biśa* “in the Sogdian village” is attested in Or.12637/23 (Skjærvø 2002: 132), indicating the existence of a Sogdian community. Yoshida (2017: 264) pointed out this document is from Mazar Toghrak, and drew attention to βονοσογολιγο [*bunsuglig*] “Sogdian settlement” in a Bactrian document in 693 from Guzman.

¹⁴ Or.6394/2, IOL Khot 2/1 (D.iv.6.1), Hedin 1, Hedin 19 (twice), Or.11252/2, Or.11252/36, Or.11252/38 (twice), Or.11344/4, Or.11344/16, Or.12637/23 (M.T. 0463).

¹⁵ SI P 103.41 in Emmerick and Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 152-53.

¹⁶ For a survey of the manuscript finds in Khotan during this period, see Sims-Williams 2018. For a detailed description for the Khotanese manuscripts in the British Library, see *eadem apud* Skjærvø 2002: xxxi-lxiv.

¹⁷ For a description of the archives, see Yoshida 2006: 44-66. Wen (2008a: 122, table 1) listed the groups of documents assigned to each archive. Shen (2015: 9, table 1) discerned some imperfections in Yoshida and Wen Xin's grouping and gave a modified list. For my updated definition of the archives, see Zhang 2018: 60, table 1.

¹⁸ For a complete re-edition of Archive 3, see Zhang 2016: 88-446.

¹⁹ Duan (2013: 311) identified Khot. *thaunaka* with Chin. *hújīn* 胡锦, the silk brocade locally produced in Khotan.

²⁰ All the Khotanese texts in this article are divided into sections, and the beginning of each line in the manuscript is indicated with a superscript number in the transcription and not reflected in the translation.

²¹ Skjærvø discovered this when reading the text with Wen Xin and me in 2013.

²² Yoshida (2006: 132) already noticed that this document involves money-lending.

²³ This calculation is mistaken: $9.2 \times 70 = 644$. The scribe mistakenly copied here the last two digits of 516 in the next entry of payment.

²⁴ *Pharša* is an official on the township level. For more details, see Zhang 2018: 76.

²⁵ Line 8-9 of Hedin 3r: *ši' ttadī [x x x] akalāscauñā ya. cūḍi haṃbā {x} \bi/śi uspurri ni pajistai?* “That was such ...incompetence! Why didn't you collect all the amount in full?”

²⁶ Line 1-2 of Hedin 57r: *spāta sudārrjā haṃdira prū vagevid-ina mūri jisti 20 2 ysā'ca sa {20} bisti* “*Spāta* Sudārrjāṃ borrowed 22,120 *mūras* from Vagevida in the Inner Court.”

²⁷ Line 2 of Or.11252/30: *mūri 40 4 ysā'cya šau qni kuhi syini nāsāñi* “*Šau* An Kuh-syin should receive 44,000 *mūras*.” *Šau* is an official on the prefecture level. For more details, see Zhang 2018: 71-72.

²⁸ Line 1 of Or.11252/36v-a: *samauca šau ani kuki syini paj[iste]* “*Šau* An Kuk-syin asked for an agreement.”

²⁹ Line 2 of Or.11252/36v-a: *sūlī ganaṃ ni byaudi* “The Sogdian has not obtained the wheat.”

³⁰ For the second voucher of Hedin 16 (line 4-5), see Bailey 1961: 30.

³¹ Lines 13-14 of Hedin 19: *@ kšvā auvā namaubudi šau qni sāmī pājiña mūri hauḍā ysārī haṃbā tcahau'si ysā'cya* “*Namaubuda* in the Six Towns delivered into the treasury of *Šau* An Sam 40,000 *mūras* with (strings of) 1000 *mūras*.”

³² For the first voucher of Hedin 16 (line 1-3), see Bailey 1961: 30.

³³ An Sam used the Chinese character *xìn* 信 as his signum (Hedin 16 line 5), suggesting his full Chinese name as Ān Xìn 安信, but for *xìn* 信 (Late Middle Chinese *sin*) one would expect *sīmna* as its Khotanese transcription. See Coblin 1994: 359. Besides, GXW 0114 (No.5 in Bi and Sims-Williams 2015), a Sogdian letter from Khotan, was addressed to 'ny'n, probably a combination of the Chinese surname Ān 安 and the Sogdian personal name y'n. See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 267.

³⁴ See note 12 above. For the edition of ㄨ.18925, see Zhang and Rong 2002: 230.

³⁵ Wen Xin suggested this point to me after my talk at the 2018 AAS Conference in Washington, D.C., on March 24, 2018.

³⁶ Lines 3-4 of Or.11252/38: *[thauna]ka 50 3 tti sūlya nāmdā haudyem thaunām va.*

³⁷ Line 8 of Hedin 13-a (Bailey 1961: 29): *še hvaṃḍyi hatcam 3 chā kṣi tsuna hālai tca'hausa paṃjsāsī chā* “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 (*mūras*) per foot.” First discovered by Duan (2013: 323).

³⁸ Duan (2013: 324) discovered that in Or.11252/28, those who only produced small cloth were required to deliver 3.2 feet of small cloth instead of 23 feet of standard cloth. The price of the standard cloth should be: $450 \times 3.2 \div 23 = 62.61 \approx 62.5$ *mūras* per foot.

³⁹ Referring to Semireche, according to Yoshida (2018: 175-80).

⁴⁰ Yi Zhou, Xizhou, and Beiting roughly correspond to present-day Hami/Qumul, Turfan, and Beshbaliq in Xinjiang, China.