Xiao Li   *Editor*

Non-Han Literature Along the Silk Road

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Silk Road Research Series

Series Editor

Xiao Li, Renmin University of China, Beijing, China

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Preface of Silk Road Research Series

In recent years, conducting research on the Silk Road has become a popular trend in the international academia. Without a doubt, this is directly related to China's Belt and Road initiative. At the same time, we notice that this particular trend is also a reflection of how the academia in the East and the West leverage the topic and engage in dialogue. Furthermore, this represents efforts by scholars in the post-Cold War world to promote direct dialogue on issues that are of common interest, rather talking about the past with each other.

There are two senses about the Silk Road. The narrow sense is about economic and cultural exchanges between ancient China and countries in Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia, and the Mediterranean region. On the other hand, the broad sense refers to all kinds of exchanges between the East and the West. As such, understanding of the Silk Road in the academia has long been tilted towards the popular narrative, and a majority of Silk Road research, in fact, caters to the taste of the general public.

Nevertheless, the Silk Road epitomizes all kinds of exchanges of material and spiritual cultures across a vast area, from China to Rome, and from the Equator to the North Pole.

As such, the development of Eastern and Western civilizations and their interactions in Asia and Europe can be understood within the Silk Road framework. In this vein, many far-sighted scholars have long ago started making use of this broad concept to consolidate the many common points that emerged from a variety of academic research. This also leads to the emergence of many issues that are of interest to both the East and the West. In particular, many archaeological relics unearthed at old Silk Road towns have become the focal points in the Silk Road research, as these relics exemplify the intermixture of Eastern and Western civilizations. Silk Road towns like Chang'an, Dunhuang, Turpan, Bamiyan, Ai-Khanum, Samarkand, and Palmyra have attracted the attention of scholars, and the related Silk Road research is also linked to a wide variety of disciplines, such as archaeology, history, Dunhuang studies, Iranian studies, and classical studies.

Over the years, there have been many scholarly works on the Silk Road. Yet, on its own, Silk Road is not an official academic discipline. Therefore, the relevant research results are classified under the related disciplines. In China, they are often seen through the lens of history of Chinese–Western communications, history of Sino-foreign relations, or history of cultural exchange between China and the world. That said, we understand that a stringent Silk Road research requires a scholarly journal about the Silk Road.

In the past, due to the popularization of concepts relating to the Silk Road, most magazines dealing with the topic were focused on content that were of popular interest. In fact, only a few titles were scholarly in nature. In the early 1990s, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, a journal published by the Institute of Silk Road Studies, which was in turn founded by Ikuo Hirayama, played an active role in advancing scholarly research on the Silk Road. Unfortunately, the passing away of Ikuo Hirayama had dealt a severe blow to the journal, as it was unable to continue operation. On the other hand, *the Silk Road*, supported solely by the American scholar Professor Daniel C. Waugh since 2000, has also become unsustainable despite its rich content.

Fortunately, under China's Belt and Road initiative, the academia and publishers in China have shown a great deal of interest in Silk Road research. Within the past two to three years, we have seen the birth of numerous scholarly journals bearing the "Silk Road" name. Among them is *Silk Road Research Series*, a large-scale and comprehensive scholarly journal edited by Li Xiao and published by Sanlian Bookstore. The first volume, in Chinese, has already been published, and it deals with wide ranging subject matters, such as archaeology, history, the arts, language, religion, and culture.

Now, we are launching the English version of *Silk Road Research Series*, and the content is sourced from the Chinese version as well as fresh contributions. The majority of the authors in the English version are Chinese scholars, and in some senses, this represents the contributions of Chinese authors to this field of study. We also hope that we can engage in dialogue with our international counterparts through this medium to advance research on the Silk Road. As the mother tongue of the authors and editors is not English, it is a challenge for them to publicize their works in this language. We hope that through our concerted efforts, this English-language journal will be more refined in the not-so-distant future.

Xinjiang Rong

Foreword

The present issue of *Silk Road Research Series* is dedicated to Hu-languages in the past of the Silk Road. Hu-languages have been a general terminology in historical Chinese literatures for languages of people who came into contact with Han-Chinese in the first millennium of the Common Era. Today, if the subject of an article is discussing about ancient societies along the Silk Road in Xinjiang, the terminology of Hu-languages is very often mentioned in the circle of Chinese scholars. However, by scrutinizing, it turns out that Hu-languages were a rather common reference to ancient languages including, as for instances, Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī, Sogdian, Khotanese, and Sanskrit, which are definitely Indo-European in modern term. I prefer the usage of terminologies such as Hu-languages and Hu-manuscripts because they instantly guide our attention to a specific time period which at last ended with the invade of Islam, and to the areas which were former oasis kingdoms. Moreover, by using the terms like Hu-language, the perspective from a Chinese viewpoint is somehow highlighted. Articles dealing with Hu-materials very often value Chinese historical sources. There are solidified words in Chinese historical books which were initially transliteration of a Hu-word, and vice versa. Deciphering such a word often reveals a historical moment, and sometimes, it even reflects historical changes of supreme powers which are otherwise not recorded in scriptures.

In the year 2012, the project aiming to research and publish newly discovered manuscripts and documents (other than Chinese) at the former southern Silk Road of Xinjiang received a support for 6 years through the foundation of Chinese National Social Science. During these years we have been focusing on ancient documents of Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī and Khotanese, on Sanskrit Buddhist manuscript-fragments, and on rare pieces in Sogdian which are mainly preserved in Hetian Museum and Xinjiang Museum in Urumqi. Series of articles and books are published in Chinese. Now we are very happy to present a few achievements of the project in the first volume of *Silk Road Research Series*. It is noteworthy that the articles in this volume focusing on Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī are all contributed by young scholars who were graduated students while they were working as team members of my project.

New materials always serve as a basement of progress in research field. One of the important achievements since working on new Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya is the discovery of the Kharoṣṭhī name of the kingdom. Diego Loukota, a former PKU graduate student and now a Ph.D. candidate at the University of USA, has, for the first time in the field of studies of Kharoṣṭhī documents, identified Nuava with the name of the kingdom which had been always misunderstood as an attribute to the titles of the kings whose names occur on Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed from Niya sites. The perplexity could happen due to the fact that Nuava, the real name of the kingdom that flourished through the third and fourth centuries on the location which is now Niya site, is always recorded as Shanshan in Chinese historical books ever since the earliest time. There are certainly more interesting discoveries in this article and other articles contributed to Kharoṣṭī documents in this volume. I would also like to take the opportunity for a brief stating of a related achievement published in one of my Chinese articles: 鄯善 Shanshan was a specially invented name for the ancient kingdom of Lolan. Since very beginning in ancient time, it remains a mere appellation of a country rather than a toponym. Shanshan, supposedly pronounced as [dzianʰ dzianʰ] in Early Middle Chinese[1], must be a transliteration based on foreign words. The most possible words from the linguistic aspect are *šar šarrāni*—a Middle Iranian imperial title to kings after they could have expanded their territories through overcoming other regions. It was the case in year 75 BC as recorded in *History of Later Han* that Lolan kingdom changed its name to Shanshan after it has annexed the adjacent kingdoms by the name Caḍota, Calma, and Saci.

Khotanese is another field which in recent years has yielded a number of Buddhist manuscripts and documents. All these recently discovered manuscripts and documents in Khotanese have been or will have been published in periodicals or as books. In the first issue of *Silk Road Research Series*, two papers are devoted to Khotanese studies which, however, hold only an explanation of two inscriptions—the one consists of one sentence with four words and the other, of one word. It must be true that precious things need time to reveal themselves. The first paper discussing on the Khotanese inscriptions on carpets from Shampul was published in 2012, but the interpretation was wrong. I am happy that a revision of the last interpretation before 7 years can be included in this volume. The inscriptions on the myth-carpets—as they are defined in the papers—are very important, which not only do offer the eldest kind of Khotanese script, but to much more surprise, they reveal—in combination with the mythic figures and decorative patterns—the ancient religion of Scythians which goes back to Sumerian civilization.

As stated above, in recent years researches focusing on Hu-languages and Hu-manuscripts have been carried out of which the achievements are for the great number published in Chinese language. It was a wish for a very long time that more articles could be translated into English so that findings, discoveries, and opinions can be shared with scholars in the world. Now, the first issue of *Silk Road Research*

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[1]Edwin G. Pulleyblank, Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Middle Chinese, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991, p. 275.

Series has managed to translate papers from Chinese to English and thus helps open the window to the English reading world. There might be some less satisfactoriness in reference to our English expressions. However, the first step has been taken. I wish that the periodical of *Silk Road Research Series* of English version will stay forever.

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Contents

Chapter 1
Across-Regional and Local Characteristics of Mythologies: On the Basis of Observing the Lop Museum Carpets

Qing Duan

Abstract Several carpets were excavated at Shampulu area in Lop County, Xinjiang in 2007. Among them, two large carpets are abundantly illustrated with mythical figures. A narrative thread, borrowed from the story Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the underworld, is running through while connecting mythological figures. The hero is depicted in seeking gods for rescuing a child from the underworld. At the end the hero has successfully found the right goddess who helped the little one returned life from the underworld. The goddess is Inanna of Sumerian mythology, while the other gods which the hero has met on his journey for seeking help are familiar gods in Greek mythology. The carpets, hereafter named myth-carpets, offer a rare case for observation of cultural interchanges in the ancient past: Although Greek mythological gods were familiar to Khotanese people, they were chosen for defined purpose of religious rituals of Khotanese people. In this sense, they were full of local characteristics.

1.1 Introduction

The present discussion is about the across-regional and local characteristics of mythologies. First, we need to define what is meant by "local characteristics". In this essay, the so-called local characteristics mean matters that once existed in the ancient kingdom of Khotan. Khotan was located along the Xinjiang Silk Road's southern route, and it collapsed during eleventh century AD. Ancient literature and unearthed relics have helped us to establish that the kingdom was located in an area

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This paper is written originally for a lecture for graduate students of the Department for Chinese Language and Literature at Peking University. Some of the information given in this paper may overlap with one of my English publications (Duan 2017, pp. 1–17).

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that roughly corresponds to the present area of Khotan. And the concept of so-called across-regionalism is about the neighbouring cultures and civilizations while taking the ancient kingdom of Khotan as the centre. To the east of Khotan lied the Chinese cultural sphere, and to the west, a variety of Indo-European ethnic groups. The Khotanese language was a branch of the Middle Iranian language, which belonged to the family of Indo-European languages. From a language perspective, there has been an unbreakable linkage between the Khotanese civilization and civilization of Indo-European languages. Taking these facts as presumed historical background for the observation, I am going to discuss the four carpets held by the Xinjiang Lop Museum, and examine the across-regional and local characteristics of this ancient civilization that has disappeared for a thousand years.

The myth-carpets have been found in 2007 or 2008 at a location that is situated in the present-day Shampulu area in Lop County. It was said that several people who were searching for jade, inadvertently excavated seven colourful carpets from a spot of sand and gravel where there must have been the tributary bank of a main river. Apparently, three carpets were lost due to unauthorized selling. Currently, the remaining four myth-carpets are being held at the Lop County Museum. In June 2017, a Carbon-14 analysis of the carpets has been carried out by the School of Archaeology and Museology at Peking University, and it is confirmed that a date for the production of the carpets can fall on any possible time during the period spanning from 420 to 565 AD. The result of Carbon-14 dating coincides with our estimation based on the analysis of a Khotanese word which, woven into the carpets, is read "spāvatä". However, the same word, in up to now published Khotanese documents, is written as "spāta-" meaning general officer and has been attested in translation as "Sabo" (萨波) in ancient Chinese language, which is definitely a late form derived from etymological *spādapati*. Scholars for Khotanese language have assumed that before the stage of *spāta-* there must have been a transient form like *spāvata-*. This assumption is finally confirmed in the Brāhmī line of Khotanese found on the carpets which, on the other hand, helps date the carpets. Since we know that it is not until the middle of the sixth century that Khotanese turned into a written language, based on this fact, it is likely to determine that the carpets were made circa 560 AD.

Let's first talk about the technical term 氍毹 (*qu shu*/a woollen carpet or a rug). 地毯 (*ditan*, literal meaning "earth blanket") and 毛毯 (*maotan*/blanket) are Chinese terms for flocked wool products. They are terms that have come about based more on an observation of the practical usage of the objects. Carpets were not traditional products of Han people and not a necessity in the daily lives of Han people. In ancient times, however, as attested in excavated documents in non-Han language from locations along the southern route of the Xinjiang Silk Road, flocked wool products were the daily necessities of the people living there. In fact, in ancient Xinjiang, there was a clear classification according to how the flocked wool products were knotted. Take the Kharosthi documents from Niya (Duan 2016, pp. 53–68) as an example; three different jargons were notable for discerning three varied flocking methods. Indeed, by observing the existing archaeological findings, three different knotting methods can be identified for carpets excavated at Xinjiang.

They are: "vachette clasp", "U-shaped buckle" (aka "single buckle"), and "splay buckle". The jargons used in the Kharosthi documents must have been created based on the varied wool flocking techniques, and they aligned with the archaeological findings. Among them, the U-shaped technique is also known as the "velvet buckle", for a carpet knotted with this technique is extra soft and dense (Jia 2015, p. 186). However, if broken, it's easy to fall apart. The four myth-carpets kept at the Lop Museum were knotted with U-shaped buckle. This kind of carpets is termed as *qu shu*s "carpet". The Kharosthi documents made multiple mentions that the *qu shu*s were from Khotan. Also, in *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, Xuanzang recorded that a specialty from Gosthāna (Khotan) was *qu shu* (Ji et al. 1985, p. 1001).

In Kharosthi/Gandhari language, *qu shu* was spelt as *kośava*, but in Pali as *kojava*. This Pali term has an English translation: a rug or cover with long hair, a fleecy counterpane, which indicates that *qu shu* is a sort of rugs marked through long hair (Jia 2015, p. 59). In May 2017, Professor Zheng Liang from the Faculty of Humanities and Arts of Shihezi University and I went to the Lop Museum and found out that the largest one of the four myth-carpets has really long hair for almost two inches, however, the long hair is not tufted to the front side, but on the reverse side of the carpet. Thus, we may exactly define what a *qu shu*, or *kojava* as spelt in Pali, is in reality: it is a double carpet or rug combined in a way that the obverse side is made of tufted U-shaped buckles while the reserve side is flocked with long woollen hair. The traditional technique for manufacturing this kind of double carpets in Khotan no more exists. The four myth-carpets at the Lop Museum are the remains from the ancient past.

1.2 Non-words Expression Tradition

Since the discovery of the myths-carpets at the Lop County Museum in Khotan, Xinjiang, I have already published some papers and explained my findings about the deities on the carpets by analysing the basic structure of those images on the carpets. Prior to my analyses, some scholars had also discussed the deities on those carpets. For example, it is suggested that on carpet #1, the dark-blue-coloured little figure depicted in the bottom layer should be Krishna, a deity in Hinduism; hence the illustration on the carpet should be about the work of Krishna. I think that such an explanation cannot be substantiated. For a brief reasoning: Hinduism was already a mature religion in the sixth century AD, the period in which the myth-carpets were made. A basic knowledge about Hinduism is taught that from the first century AD onwards, Hinduism (known as Brahmanism in its early stage) has been established as a comprehensively developed religion. Comprehensive in the sense that the myths and ceremonies of Hinduism are quite standardized, and the deities established in the Hindu religious world have their own symbols, accessories, and peculiar mounts in accordance with their myths which make them unique and easy recognizable. The same principles are also valid for every religion

which must have developed its own unique symbols to differentiate itself from other religions. A special characteristic common for divinities of Hinduism is that all deities of Hinduism wear a high crown. Krishna is a complete *avatara* of Vishnu, and his appearance is represented in special ways. He is often shown stepping on a giant snake or as a herd boy with a flute. The little dark blue figure on the myth-carpet#1 doesn't match with iconographies of Krishna. Moreover, the hands and legs of the little dark blue figure are outlined with nude colour, and this means his skin isn't black. Nevertheless, the use of dark blue colour is meaningful and indicative that this figure is in the underworld. Based on these considerations, any Hindu deities are excluded from a possibility to be present on the myth-carpets under discussion, when I started paying attention to the pattern of the myth-carpets in 2012. It is also easy to exclude Buddhism for an alternative direction. However, there is a strong feeling that the carpets might contain information about a yet-to-be-known ancient Khotanese religion.

So far, we know that the carpets have revealed a religion that has not been noticed by modern scholars though it was once popular in Khotan. The gods and goddesses depicted on the carpets are neither derived from Buddhism nor from Zoroastrianism—the religion once quite popular among the ancient Iranian ethnic groups. There is also no sign of fire worship. By the way, for me, fire worship is a valid name to design a religion because fire worshipping was common in folkloric beliefs, and there were fire worshipping ceremonies in different Indo-European tribes, also common and widespread throughout ancient Europe; for instance, there were ceremonies, gatherings, and parties centred on fire in winter and summer solstices (Frazer 1940, p. 609). As for the religion revealed by the carpets in ancient Khotan, its existence should be previous to Zoroastrianism, and it should be the ancient religion of a vanished human civilization—the religion of the Sakas. In a nut shell, the two large carpets of the four myth-carpets represent the manifesto of a goddess who was worshipped in ancient Khotan because of her special function, and who possessed the main place in the pantheon of this ancient religion.

As mentioned before, I have already published my explanation about who the deities are as depicted on the two large carpets. The aim of this and the next paper is to find out what the myth-carpets want to express, what a practical purpose the myth-carpets had, and what kind of local religion they are representing. A further analysis of literary scenes as narrated on the carpets helps understand the core spirit of the myths. Drawing otherwise popular well-known mythologies under comparison with the figures and scenes woven into the carpets, the purpose and peculiarity of why the certain deities are chosen will become clear. To facilitate our analysis, taking an overview of the stories of the mythologies as depicted by the carpets seems necessary. Before starting, let me explain my thought behind my observation.

While using the word "to narrate", it is reminded that even though what facing us are patterns and pictograms woven into the two carpets, those images are telling stories—stories about mythologies. To depict a story through pictures, one has to apply techniques such as composition and definition of different elements, practically the same way as to use vocabularies and grammar in order to narrate

something through words. To understand a literary work, one needs to possess enough knowledge of vocabularies and grammar, as grammar encapsulates the logic of a language. The pictorial elements, like vocabularies, have the same function for depiction. To understand the imageries on the myth-carpets, one needs to figure out the defined elements, symbols, what mythological stories are pre-supposed behind the symbols, and through what kind of logical relationships they are linked and connected.

Before going into the details, let's take a panorama view. The Han-Chinese people in *Zhonghua minzu* or Chinese nation are renowned for their writing, and their civilization possesses a long history in writing. However, many nations in the world are not famous for using writing as a medium of transmitting their civilization. For example, for a very long time the ancient Indian civilization is used to be passed down through mouth to mouth, and writing didn't appear until the period of Ashoka in the fourth century AD. In fact, scriptures and documents related to Indic religions like Buddhism and Hinduism weren't recorded until contact was made with writing culture in the broad area of Central Asia. Historically, several people, such as Sakas, Yuezhis, have been active in the western regions' expansive area. The Sakas were known as Scythians in Greek historic records. Scholars believe that from a linguistic perspective, Sogdians and the Khotanese were the Sakas. Take the Khotanese people as an example. They once used Kharosthi as the official script and Gandhari, a dialect from northwestern India, as the official language. Sanskrit was used in Buddhist monasteries at a later time. Approximately, in the middle of the sixth century people started writing Khotanese in Brāhmī script, and it was also around this period that the myth-carpets of the Lop Museum have been fabricated. A late adoption of script in the case of Khotanese Sakas doesn't mean that they did not reach a high level in spiritual world or they have fallen behind in development of transmitting cultural tradition. There are other techniques, for instance different kinds of weaving techniques, for recording their spiritual knowledge and passing down their cultural tradition. Perhaps another case can be mentioned here as observed in Niya's Kharosthi wooden tablets: Thus far, over 1,000 pieces have been found, and almost all of them are official documents, either royal edicts or contracts between people. There has been virtually no more literary work found than one mere poem. For the observation, a question has to be posed: could it be the case where literary work didn't exist in the lives of the ancient people that once lived in the area of the present-day Niya ruins? The reality should have been the opposite. A similar situation can also be observed about the Khotanese documents. If putting aside Buddhist literary works among scriptures which apparently have been found from Buddhist monasteries and have followed an alien tradition, other kind of literary scriptures is rare. However, their age-old mythology as shown on the myth-carpets proves that the Sakas once had a rich spiritual life and were very creative in the field of literary activity. Apart from writing, there are varied ways to pass down cultural tradition from generation to generation. Civilizations, which initially didn't rely on written records for passing down their legacies, probably had applied to this pattern: "words–simplicity–worldly" and "non-words–complexity–spiritual". It is suggestive that in studying foreign culture,

we should not narrow down ourselves to scripts and written literatures. In ancient time, unlike the Han-Chinese civilization, not all cultures distinguished themselves with scripts and writings. The expressive richness of the pictograms on the carpets shows that the Khotanese people had their own way for presenting mythologies and narrating gods' stories which reflect their spiritual life and their aspirations in the spiritual world. This is perhaps similar to the Classical Greeks where they used sculptures, drawings, and so on to present their religion and literary stories. When translating these visually expressive elements into words, the myth-carpets begin to narrate.

The main objective here is to demonstrate the across-regional and local characteristics of mythologies through the four Lop Museum carpets. Considering that Khotanese was a branch of the Middle Iranian language, in a broader sense an Indo-European language, as such, the mythologies as expressed by the pictograms on the myth-carpets may share commonalties with mythologies from other members of the Indo-European language family. As previously mentioned, after excluding mythological deities from ancient India, we still have West Asia and the vast area along the Mediterranean coast in reference to an exploration of the across-regional characteristics of the myth-carpets. Such a vast area had once given birth to rich mythologies. In fact, after a series of study, the deities on the carpets really are borrowed from the pantheon erected in that mythological world. Yet, the borrowed mythologies as shown on the carpets have been on the one side retained in a great fidelity of their original characteristic; on the other side, they are effectively arranged and developed for the necessity of the local religious service. Across-regional and local characteristics are to be distinguished on the two carpets (carpet #1 and carpet #2), and this underscores the theory that mythologies can be shared, but their priority is to be chosen in accordance with different regions and for the local purpose based on a specialty of the local religious cult (Illustrations 1.1 and 1.2).

1.3   Narrative Analyses of the Images in Carpets

As already known, the stories illustrated on the two large carpets are the same, but with varied layouts. First, focus on carpet #1; the story begins at the lower level. The two figures facing each other in the centre—one is in dark blue colour and the other in yellow colour—form the core line of the narration. The yellow figure then appears on the second level, left-hand side, as well as the third level, right-hand side. In short, he appears with different postures throughout the whole pattern. It is therefore evident that there is a serial narrative embedded in the entire pattern. The yellow figure is the hero that supports the whole structure. In addition, the hero at the bottom level of the two carpets, that is the yellow figure, appears in a kneel down posture which is so much as telling that this saga is about seeking assistance. Afterwards, the fifth level on myth-carpet #1 shows us the ending (Illustration 1.3).

Illustration 1.1 Myth-carpet #1

Illustration 1.2 Myth-carpet #2

Once upon a time, I thought the story told by the carpets should be an illustration of the 12th tablet of the Akkadian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (hereafter referred as *EG*). However, I later found out that the story on the carpets was not a parallel pictorial version of the 12th tablet of the *EG*. It is only the narrative thread of the 12th tablet that has been copied in order to display the pictures on the two myth-carpets; that is,

Illustration 1.3 Section a, Carpet #1; the central figure Gilgamesh is shown kneeling down

the main plot of Enkidu entered the underworld, and Gilgamesh, a hero in ancient Mesopotamian mythology, tried to get him out of the underworld by seeking different deities for help. The same narrative thread, however, has connected and gathered deities who are not the same as named on the 12th tablet of the *EG*, but whose functions and responsibilities are so good as protruding since they have been familiar deities to the local people. In addition, obviously for the main purpose, the copied narrative thread from the *EG* is used for underscoring the core concern that is the matter of the resurrection of humans. Generally speaking, humankind has fabricated mythologies because they thought that matters are happening between gods, and mythologies could illustrate capabilities and responsibilities of deities to serve them for differently aimed rituals. The weaving of the myth-carpets was certainly not aimed to create an overwhelming literary work although the literary narrative thread is creatively used for arranging the deities and mythologies which have been presupposed since they did exist in the religious belief and cult of the ancient Khotanese world. It is interesting to observe how the connection of humans with gods' world is established on the two myth-carpets. Humans appeal to gods because of their helplessness and strong requirement, especially when it concerns the resurrection from underworld. That humans, unlike gods, do not have eternal life—this has been accepted ever since as it is clearly expressed through the 11 tablets of the *EG*. But nonetheless, it does not mean that humans have given up longings for resurrection for the supposed case if their *yangshou* (life in the mortal world) would not have come to an end. That is why after 11 tablets of the *EG* have finished the narration that Gilgamesh finally confronted the end of his life, in addition the 12th tablet is attached dealing with resurrection of Enkidu from the underworld. This particular issue has been supported by all kinds of mythologies. Apparently, during sixth century, the manufacturing period of the carpets, Khotanese people believed in resurrection, and they were the ones who held the belief that only the gods they traditionally have worshipped could provide the real essence of power which would make resurrection possible.

As mentioned above, the yellow and dark blue ones at the bottom level of myth-carpet #1 (see the illustration) were the figures that linked the stories together. Their colours carried special meanings—yellow symbolizes life and dark blue, the underworld. Furthermore, the horizontal lines on the head of the dark blue figure symbolize the earth. It means that even though the dark blue figure is now located under the earth, in the underworld, his *yangshou* (life on earth) hasn't ended because his hands and feet have retained nude colour. He is eagerly longing to come out of the underworld while facing to the yellow one, who on his side is showing a posture of kneeling and petitioning—all of these colours, patterns, and postures in combination suggest that the main clue is related to resurrection. The dark blue one is actually Enkidu from the *EG*. He went to the underworld to retrieve the ball that had been thrown into the underworld, and in the process was detained by the goddess of the earth. Gilgamesh, in the mortal world, sought by different deities for help, and thus introduced a story type of having recourse. To be certain about that the narrative thread is copied from the 12th tablet of the *EG* is another remindful factor in this area of illustration: The right hand of the dark blue one—Enkidu—on the carpet #1 is indeed holding an object—a suggestion of a wooden ball, thus his whole image matches with the beginning of the story on the 12th tablet of the *EG*.

What has been discussed above is meant to show the narrative thread on the two large myth-carpets. While the main plot is copied from the 12th tablet of the *EG*, the deities the hero searches for help are totally different. The myth-carpets have five rows or sections of figure groups from bottom to top. Accordingly, the sections are named a through e in upgrading order, that is, a represents the bottom section and e represents the top one. I am going to offer a brief explanation to the main deities in each section.

Section a: Hermes, the Psychopompos.

On both myth-carpet #1 and #2, on right-hand side, a main god is depicted sitting on a platform with two snakes attached to him—the one in colour representing life and the mortal world, while the other black one, the underworld. The main god is Hermes of the Greek mythology, who is characterized through two snakes. According to *Homeric Hymns,* Hermes is the one who is able to move to and from between the mortal world and the underworld.

As the reasons, why the god is identified with Hermes, have been stated in *The Manifest of the Goddess Nana Underneath the Heavenly Trees* (Duan 2015, pp. 147–192), it is not necessary to repeat here all the details. What I want to emphasize is that the ancient Khotanese people were apparently very familiar with Greek mythology in reference to Hermes. His symbol—the double snakes, one in colour and the other one black, which symbolize the cycle of birth and death—was very vividly depicted on both the large myth-carpets. However, determined by the narrative logic of the story type of having recourse, Hermes could obviously not yield any help to Gilgamesh, hence further steps in Gilgamesh's search for help.

Section b: Persephone, Queen Goddess of the Underworld

The second figure on the left-hand side of this section on carpet #1 (Illustration 1.4) is Persephone, the Greek goddess of the underworld. The person next to him who wears a crown is her husband Hades, the god of the underworld. Mythology about Persephone came from passages in *Homeric Hymns*, composed in seventh century. Looking around in popular Greek mythological sculptures and drawings, Persephone is almost always depicted next to Demeter, her mother. In Chapter 44 of James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (Frazer, 393), a passage is dedicated about this pair of mother and daughter. Frazer suggested that the hymns written by Homer in seventh century that praised Demeter were to uncover a secret religious ceremony once popular in Eleusis. Under Homer's portrayal, Demeter was in grief after Hades had abducted Persephone. As a result, cows ploughed empty fields and seeds were nowhere to be seen after sowing. Humans faced extinction because of famine, and no one would make offerings to gods. The poem continues to depict how the goddess turned the barren plains in Eleusis into fields full of golden wheat. Frazer taught the theory that all mythologies have been initially related to certain ceremonies. In ancient Eleusis, both Demeter and Persephone were main figures in an opera, which made up the core part of a sacred religious ceremony in ancient Greece. Frazer believed that both Demeter and her daughter Persephone were personification of cereals. This was especially the case for Persephone who spent three months (or a half year in another version) in the underworld, the world of the dead people. When she was not in the mortal world, oat seeds were buried inside the ground. When springtime arrived and she returned, all things on earth came back to life and oat seeds sprouted. The daughter represented the rebirth of grains and plants. And the mother represented the harvest from the previous year. Frazer's

Illustration 1.4 Persephone
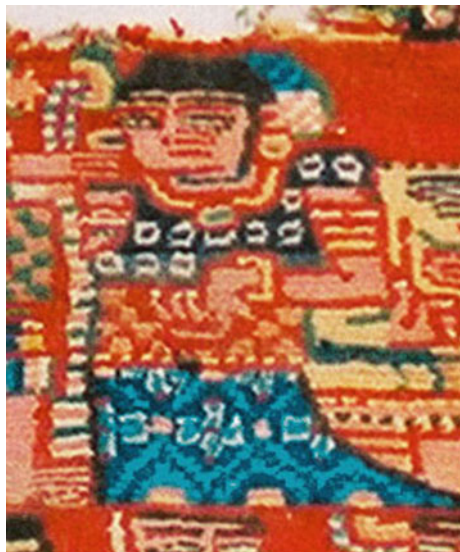
theory has already been validated: both of the female deities are wearing grain crowns and hold bunch of wheat-straws and wheatears. Up until nineteenth century, people living there still worshipped Demeter even though the residents became descendants of Christians. Yet, a statue of Demeter still was standing at the threshing floor. In the common belief of most Greeks, the two goddesses symbolized grains.

Let's return to section b of the two large myth-carpets. We found here that Persephone is depicted as holding a bunch of wheat and wearing a wheat harvest crown that aligns with Greek mythology—another evidence that the ancient Khotanese people were familiar with Greek mythologies. However, the image of Persephone is woven into the myth-carpets alone without accompanying of Demeter—her mother. It is because she is now situated in the underworld, the world of dead people which Demeter would never visit. The location and identity of Persephone as the queen goddess of the underworld has been singled out from the mythic stories about Demeter and Persephone. However, this identity of Persephone as the queen goddess of the underworld is rarely observed elsewhere and surely not common in Greek art. Museums in Berlin and Paris have large collections of Greek artworks, where stone coffins engraved with all kinds of Hellenistic mythology are exhibited. Given that my search in this field is far from exhausted, a note can still be made at the moment that any depiction of Persephone as the queen goddess of the underworld is not found in all the exhibits. Although Frazer has an extensive analysis of Demeter and Persephone, her mere role as the queen goddess governing the world of dead people is not stressed and analysed what it could mean for a special cult in ancient time. The case of Persephone exemplifies for what I mean about across-regional and localization of mythologies. While typical Greek mythologies were indeed familiar to the people who were living, far away from Mesopotamia, in the oasis of the ancient kingdom of Khotan at the fringe of Taklimakan desert, some Greek mythological figures have been endowed with strong local understanding. For the ancient Khotanese people, Persephone was the queen goddess of the underworld that pertained to the spiritual world of Greek people as stressed on the myth-carpets rather than a personification of cereals as Frazer suggested. That Persephone' identity in ancient Khotan differs from common knowledge, in this point the so-called localization is to be found which on its side is determined through necessities of the mythology for the service for local religious believe and cult.

In section of the both large myth-carpets, the hero is illustrated holding a dark blue flower which is an excellent exemplar to show a localized Greek mythology and at the same time the literary imagination and creativity of the ancient Khotanese people. It is told in the Greek mythology that Persephone has been abducted by Hades when she went down to the mortal world in order to pluck narcissus. Here, a narcissus is seen as a tool to bridge an audience with Persephone, the queen goddess of the underworld. It is noteworthy that the narcissus is depicted in dark blue, for apparently the dark blue colour should symbolize the underworld on the myth-carpets. This is the point that a part of detail of a Greek mythology is creatively developed by Khotanese people according to their reception.

While Persephone's illustration matches her image in Greek mythology, some factors in mythological story around her got expanded and extended, which in turn embodied the localization in order to serve the local religious cult. This will get further discussed in the next paper. Yet, in accordance with the narrative logic of the both large myth-carpets, as well as Persephone, the goddess of the underworld of the Greek people was unable to help the hero bring Enkidu, the little dark blue figure at the bottom of carpet #1, out of the underworld. This leads us to section c.

Section c: Hephaestus, God of Carpenter, Metalworking, and so on

In this section of the myth-carpet #1, there are two groups of images on right and left while the carpet #2 shows an expanded arrangement of the illustration of left-hand group of carpet #1 (Illustration 1.5). The following discussion is concerned with the identity of the deities of the left-hand side group of carpet #1 and the section c of carpet #2).
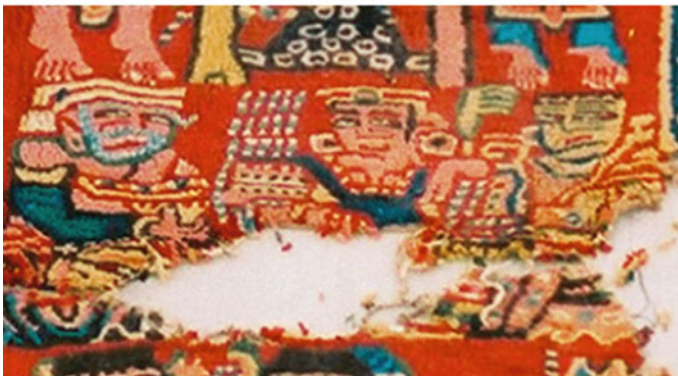
Illustration 1.5 Hephaestus, Aphrodite

The illustrated scene in this section is based on a combination of mythological figures which come from Greek mythology with presupposed knowledge of some Sumerian and Babylonian mythologies. Among the figures, the one with white beard is Hephaestus, the Greek god of carpenter and metalworking, who definitely is the focal point of this group of deities. The hero, supposedly named Gilgamesh since this is the name on the 12th tablet of the *EP*, represents the tradition of Sumerian and Babylonian mythologies. In this scene, the hero's visit to Hephaestus should be aimed to ask for heavenly vine for resurrection of his friend Enkidu, for we believe that the myth-carpets served as maṇḍala for the ritual of winning soma, and in Greek mythology, Hephaestus is not only the god of carpenter and metalworking, but also the producer of heavenly vines for gods. This part of illustration deserves a high evaluation. In the group of Greek gods, Hephaestus is virturely indicated through a depiction of a scene that is the plot of Hephaestus catching his wife Aphrodite, goddess of love, having an adulterous affair with Ares, god of war, who is displayed in this group at the lower right-hand corner of myth-carpet #1. Stripes on his face are the ingenious indication of the net in which the cheaters were caught. The hero does not belong to the group of Hellenistic gods. He is an outsider and has come to seek for help. Thus, his descent is to be found elsewhere. His origination in Sumerian mythology is finally indicated by the next scene of the section d through Inanna herself, but at this stage the tools added to the hero can also be sensed as an indication of his descent. The Sumerian myth is telling (Kramer 1938, p. 9) that Gilgamesh possessed an axe, and he was possible with it to drive away the demons and create a throne for goddess Inanna. It is also told in the Akkadian *EG* that Gilgamesh is equipped with two tools, of which the one is surely an axe fallen down from heaven. The scene of the myth-carpets in this section shows a creative cohesion of a part of Greek mythology with a role from Sumerian tradition. Having clarified the indications discussed and will be discussed, the scene of the presence of Hephaestus might be transformed in words like follows: By seeking help the hero has come to Hephaestus. But his capability and his vine could not help rescue Enkidu from the underworld; instead of receiving the heavenly vine the hero has learned crafting and using instruments which would help realize his final goal. The cohesion of two mythical traditions is due to the Khotanese local religious cult.

Section d: Inanna, the Goddess of Longevity

This section is the focal part of the two large myth-carpets. The title of my former paper *The Manifest of the Goddess Nana Underneath the Heavenly Trees* was based on the illustration of this section. The narrative logic of the myth-carpets about seeking help is finally to present the greatness of the goddess in local worship, who owns the power, the magic liquid, and divine assistants, for rescuing the friend of the hero out of the underworld. The ancient Khotanese people believed that while Persephone, the queen goddess of the underworld, ruled the underworld, Hermes had the ability to travel between the underworld and the mortal world; and Hephaestus, the god of blacksmiths and metalworking, had the ability to create magical liquid for eternal life. They were helpless when they faced with the request

to get one from the underworld and to resurrect him with proper remedy. Their presence on the myth-carpets is to make the goddess prominent who is depicted in section d, as she was ultimate deity that sent divine assistants to rescue Enkidu from the underworld. In other words, the two large myth-carpets with all the imageries connected through the narrative thread copied from the 12th tablet of the *EG* were created as a manifest of the goddess of longevity, that is the goddess Inanna.

The so-called heavenly trees refer to the two kinds of trees depicted in this section which must have come down from the ancient Iranian mythological tradition: The one must be the legendary Haoma tree—the tree of life, drinking the liquid from which would realize transcending life and death—while the other one, the tree of thousand seeds. The ancient Iranian mythology believed that seeds of all plants growing in this world had stemmed from the tree of thousand seeds (Duan 2015, p. 159). However, it is to point out that there are no signs to suggest that the version as illustrated on the myth-carpets is inherited from tradition of Zoroastrianism—the religion once prevalent among ancient Iranian people. The scenario displayed by the myth-carpets differs from the mythology as recorded in *Bundahishn*, an encyclopaedia of Zoroastrianism in Pahlavi language, according to which the two mythological trees were located in ocean without goddess standing underneath the trees. The myth-carpets have revealed another kind of religion which was once popular in ancient Khotan, but is unfamiliar to us. They must be the remembrance of a very ancient religion, which antedates Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. This religion should be the original one of Khotanese people with its mythological tradition going back even to the Sumerian civilization.

The goddess Nana in the paper title *The Manifest of the Goddess Nana Underneath the Heavenly Trees* should be changed to Inanna, the goddess in Sumerian mythology. Goddess Nana was once the main goddess worshipped by Sogdian people whereas the name "Nana" has never appeared among venerated deities in Khotanese documents. Therefore, it is erroneous to call the goddess underneath the heavenly trees as Nana (Illustration 1.6).

I thought the figure standing between the two divine trees should be Inanna, the goddess, whose mythic provenance is to be found in Sumerian mythology. This assertion has been won from the hints of the carpets. Section e of the myth-carpet #1 shows a happy ending. The little dark blue figure, originally standing in the first row on the bottom area, is now depicted in yellow colour symbolizing life and the mortal world. He is depicted in running, with his knees bended—one leg is in a forward position, the other in a backward position and his feet have yet to touch the ground. He is facing a woman, who welcomes him with smiling face and both arms in extending posture. Behind the little man is the hero of the entire narration. At this stage, he is illustrated holding a stick with his both hands, which in combination with the object held by the little dark blue one at the bottom area of the myth-carpet #1, has built up an obvious linkage of the illustration of the myth-carpets with a presupposed knowledge of the Sumerian mythology, or more precisely the

Illustration 1.6 Section e, Carpet #1, Ending. The protagonist holds a stick

mythology of *Gilgamesh and the ḫuluppu-Tree*[1] (Kramer 1938), since only through this mythological story one can learn about the origin of the "stick and ball", which is related with goddess Inanna of the Sumerian mythology. However, there is a large gap between the depiction on the myth-carpets and the original version as told in Sumerian mythology. If to transform the correlated visual indications into a context of words, the story narrated by the myth-carpet #1 would start with the "wooden ball" scenario of the 12th tablet of the *EG*, then at the end completed by a plot of receiving "stick"; and it was Inanna who got the little dark blue one out of the world and gave the stick to the hero of the both large myth-carpets which, in turn, presupposed the Sumerian mythology that Gilgamesh had helped Inanna to make her throne. Anyway, the "ball and stick" are the key indications for getting sensed of the mythological existence of Inanna.

More important are the two little divine beings in section d of the myth-carpet #1. It is impossible to tell the gender of these two characters. Before the unearthing of the Lop Museum carpets, there are enough references to two little divine beings: They are named Ttaśa and Ttara in Khotanese literature from the hidden cave of Dunhuang, and Daci and Dara in *Li Yul Lung-bstan-pa*, prophecy of the Li (Khotan) country; and they are also visually illustrated in the Dunhuang Cave #98, on the famous imagery of the king of Khotan, Li Shengtian—aka Viśa' Saṃbhava in Khotanese, as two flying kids above the king's head. Nevertheless, for a long

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[1] The following is the gist of the story: At the beginning of the creation, the land and the sky separated, and humans were created. Grand Gods Anu, Enlil, and Ereshkigal were responsible for heaven, earth, and the underworld, respectively. Enki began his journey to the underworld from the sea. To show its respect to the grand gods, the sea became rough. A ḫuluppu tree that originally grew at the bank of river Euphrates flowed along the current because it was uprooted by a sudden burst of southernly wind. A fairy who was walking along the river banks saw the tree; she moved and planted the tree in the divine garden. Under Goddess Inanna's careful nurturing, it was hoped that one day, the tree could be used for furnitures. Ten years have passed; Inanna was upset because her hope wasn't realized. A snake wandered around the tree's roots; a bird created a nest on the tree; and a witch, by the name of Lilith, lived right in the centre of the trunk. Gilgamesh killed the snake and chased the bird off, and the witch left. He used t created a throne and bed for goddess Inanna. As a reward he received the crown and roots of the tree and created a pukku (ball) and a mikku (stick) from them.

Illustration 1.7 A pair of agender gods

time, Ttaśa and Ttara were held as a pair of little dragon kings[2] (Duan 1992, pp. 42–43), whose mythological provenance was unknown. The myth-carpets have finally thrown light on the origin and responsibilities of these two divine beings. The narrative thread of the two large myth-carpets of seeking deities for rescuing someone out of the underworld outlined the background of the two divine beings that they were originated from the mythology of Inanna descending into the underworld (Illustration 1.7).

In mid-1940s, a German librarian finally deciphered the Sumerian language, and the Sumerian stories on the tablets have been analysed and explained one after another. There is a mythological story about Inanna going to the underworld available in English translation. It is narrated that Inanna went to the underworld in order to attend the funeral of her brother-in-law, the Bull of Heaven, for Inanna's sister was the goddess who reigned for the underworld where she had to live in darkness, and as such, used to complain a lot. When Inanna was allowed entering the underworld, she had to pass through seven gates. At each gate, she had to remove one of her belongings. When she passed through the first gate, Inanna was required to remove her crown. At the second gate, the lapis necklace was removed; at the third gate, the double strand of beads; at the fourth gate, her breastplate; at the fifth gate, the gold bracelet; at the sixth gate, the lapis measuring rope and rod; and at last at the seventh gate, she was required to take off her skirt. Now fully naked, Inanna's sister struck her with eyes of death, turned her into a corpse and hung her on the wall. Three days later, as instructed by Inanna, Inanna's servant sought help from a great god. To the request, the god created two agender divine beings with clay from his fingernails, gave them water and food of life, and sent them to the underworld so that they could placate Inanna's sister and receive the body of Inanna. After spreading the water of life and food on Inanna's body, Inanna stood up. I used to have a student who is now a well-known professor at Sichuan University, and his name is Luo Hong. He once answered his own question, "Why

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[2]I also have published a paper in Chinese discussing about the two little divine beings.

Inanna is endowed with the power to one out of the underworld? That's because Inanna was the only goddess that had personally come out of the underworld." His remark, in my view, is constructive.

The appearance of the two little divine creatures on the carpet #1 is crucial for the judgment that the scene with a goddess under two trees refers to the Sumerian version of the mythological tale—*the Descent of Inanna into the Underworld*. To point out this judgment is necessary since there are two versions of a goddess descending into the underworld. Apart from the Sumerian tale, there is also the Akkadian story of Ishtar going to the underworld, in which, however, the most powerful god had merely created one divine creature to resurrect Inanna. The divine twins show a tradition of the religious cult in ancient Khotan being traced back to Sumerian mythology.

What decisively reveals that the goddess under the two trees in section d of the two myth-carpets is indeed an imaginary of Inanna of the Sumerian mythology are the accessories associated with the goddess, which are named in the Sumerian tale of *The Descent of Inanna into the Underworld* when Inanna was passing through the seven gates. These accessories can surprisingly be found identically with the objects illustrated on the imaginary of Inanna on the carpets. The most striking ones include the dark blue and white necklace—describing the lapis necklace wore by Inanna, the gold bracelet on her wrist, and most importantly, the lapis measuring rope and measuring rod held by Inanna, which underscore Inanna's divine status. The comparison of both visual and textual depictions has ensured the establishment of an image of Inanna—the unique one in the world (Illustration 1.8).

Nevertheless, it is to mention that the name Inanna or Nana has never occurred in any Khotanese manuscripts or documents. Indeed, there was a local indigenous goddess whose name is spelt in Khotanese as būjsaṃjā- or būjsyajā; and as I assumed in a published English paper (Duan 2017, pp. 12–13), this must have been the name of the goddess Inanna in Khotanese. However, as I have conceded, the etymological derivation of this name was not clear, and no new ideas for solving the problem can be attached. Therefore, there is no need to repeat my opinion about it in detail. A short summary about the facts might be helpful: the hidden cave of Mogao caves has preserved several Khotanese invocative manuscripts which have retained all kinds of divine beings once in a while available in the spiritual world of the ancient Khotanese people. The prayers often mentioned the goddess būjsaṃjā- or būjsyajā by name and in accompany of the two small deities Ttaśa and Ttara— the twin divine creatures. There is also a broken Khotanese sentence indicating that this goddess was responsible for life. Her image is likely the goddess illustrated below the feet of the Khotanese king Li Shengtian in Dunhuang Cave #98. Such a depiction should have displayed the wish that the Khotanese king was supported and blessed by the goddess who, as the earth goddess in her capacity, was bestowing long life to the king. For the moment, I would rather call the goddess as the "goddess of longevity" than any other ones.

Illustration 1.8 A goddess
from the ancient past

1.4   Conclusion

The myth-carpets in Lop Museum, Xinjiang deserve to be most highly valued. They
are treasurable in both material and spiritual dimensions. They have preserved the
traditional religious belief and cult of ancient Khotanese civilization. The deities
woven into the carpets contained rich mythologies, not only those familiar
Hellenistic mythologies but also traces of ancient Sumerian mythology. It is sur-
prisingly to see how far both in time and space the mythologies could come down
with ancient people believing in them. Mythologies seem to have enormous power
to span over vast areas and could be shared by varied peoples. However, even
shared mythologies would undergo different developments which are determined
by regional religious cult and the purposes they serve.

As to why these myth-carpets were created? And what are their relationships
with the other three quadrate carpets and their stories? These questions will be
explored and answered in the next lecture.

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Chapter 2
Legends and Ceremonies: Based on the Observation of the Qu Shu Collection at Xinjiang Lop Museum

Qing Duan

Abstract Classical theories suggest that mythologies are born for religious ceremonies. This paper attempts to uncover the source of the religious belief and folklores in the ancient kingdom of Khotan by following two implicit clues—the clue stemmed from the mythical world as represented by mythologies and the clue stemmed from the real world as served by those mythologies. The place where gods or deities gather is *maṇḍala* or the altar. Findings from archaeological research carried out on the centaur diagram unearthed at Xinjiang's Shampul tombs have been thoroughly taken into consideration. It is, however, further observed that the griffin pattern to be found everywhere in Scythian world has a primary purpose for separating the eternal world from the mortal world. The reason why the griffin pattern is used in the five carpets (According to my information based on photos shown to me, there were five carpets. However now, Lop Museum has only four myth-carpets. My research is based on photos of five carpets; therefore five carpets are coherently mentioned in this paper.) is to form *maṇḍala*s. The Khotanese inscription on the three square carpets, meaning "To General Meri Soma is offered", points out that the kind of ceremony with the two large myth-carpets serving as altar was celebrated for producing soma juice to be served to Meri, the hero, when he sacrificed himself for the "River Dragon" as recorded by Xuanzang in *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*. The religious ceremony was a human sacrifice caused by the greatest drought in history of Khotan. As such, the tradition goes neither back to Buddhism nor Zoroastrianism.

2.1 Introduction

Our discussion on mythical stories and ceremonies stems from the amazing myths hidden behind the *qu shus* or carpets now preserved in Lop Museum (the Sampul carpets). Evidence suggests that these myths are closely associated with certain

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religious ceremonies. Uncovering these myths and their associated ceremonies and folklores would help us to understand the primitive religion in the Kingdom of Khotan. While it is widely known that Buddhism—especially the Mahayana Buddhism—was very popular in Khotan, the question still remains: what was the religion practiced by the royal family of Khotan and its people before they had adopted Buddhism? Or whether other religions could co-exist with their practise of Buddhism? Due to a lack of historical materials, there have been no clear answers to these questions. Generally speaking, from a linguistic perspective, as the Khotanese language is a branch of the Middle Iranian languages, and that tribes with ties to ancient Iranian culture characterized through Zoroastrianism, it is then presumed that Zoroastrianism might be also practised at one point in Khotan. Yet the myth-carpets in Lop Museum shed light—they suggest a different religious or folkloric origin that we have never heard of. After listening to the explanations about the mythical stories illustrated on the myth-carpets, a student asked why so many deities are displayed on the carpets. And how come some Greek mythology associated with myths that could be traced back to the Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilizations? As to my explanations, historians remark that in order to validate the argument that the myth-carpets are related to Sumerian civilization, it is then essential to find traces of a common civilization along all the points on a route from West Asia to the Khotan oasis. In essence, different methods have to be considered when observing human civilization. The carpets showcase rich myths and legends, and provide a clear clue to a scenario where mythical stories and ceremonies were combined together. To that end, the real history hidden behind the carpets can be discovered by interpreting mythical stories and legends. The mythical stories represent imagined worlds, and the ceremonies are about realities. This essay attempts to uncover the origins of the religious and folkloric believes in Khotan by threading the two clues (one on imagined worlds and the other on realities) together.

Speaking of mythical stories, I must say that there are a few basic questions that once bothered me. For example, what is a myth? Why there are so many mythical stories in the history of humankind? And why do we do research on mythology? I still remember the puzzlement when I first learned about Indian mythology. Take Indra, one of the three most famous deities in Hinduism, as an example. In *Rigveda*, Indra is the major deity. If we judge according to modern ethical standards, Indra is really bad. He was born out of the union of earth and heaven, and lived once as an adopted son under the roof of Tvaṣṭṛ–Hephaestus in Indian version. The Indian god of metalworking gave him a weapon, the vajra. In Tvaṣṭṛ's home, there were drinks for immortality that he didn't give away to strangers. One day, Indra secretly took the drinks, was discovered, and stopped by the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. As a result, Indra hit out at the biological son of his adoptive father with his vajra and killed him. He then obtained immortality and increase in physical strength. He also used the vajra to kill his father, the primordial god (Oberlies 1998, p. 247). Of course, this is a mythical

story that happened between gods. People living in the period of *Rigveda* believed that thundering and raining were due to Indra's striking with the vajra against the heaven. Therefore, Indra was worshipped by people as the god of rain. In this vein, James George Frazer's theory is sensible, as he believed that all the mythical stories were initially fabricated to serve for religious ceremonies. The only thing is that we tend to have no ideas about the relations between the mythical stories and ceremonies as these things originated in the distant past.

The mythical stories reflect the relations between human beings and the nature. According to Frazer, people initially invented witchcraft, followed by the development of religion, and eventually further, religion transitioned into science. Such a developmental trajectory is based on people's understanding of the nature. In the witchcraft stage, foolish human beings believed they had the power to intervene in natural phenomena[1] (Frzaer 1940, p. 771). When the sorcerers found out that they didn't have such power, then people started believing that gods must be behind these powerful and uncontrollable natural phenomena. This, in turn, helped to give birth to religion. From today's vantage point, Frazer provided a classic, yet somehow unilateral explanation about myths and religions. One has to bear in mind that theories born out of phenomena, much like the phenomena that give rise to theories, can be unilateral and superficial. Without any doubt, Frazer had a thorough understanding of Greek mythology and religion. As such, his approach to the observation and interpretation of mythical stories and religions were based on such an understanding. Under the logic of Frazer, mythical stories and religions encapsulate the relations between humans and the nature. Obviously, Frazer hadn't come into contact with Buddhism and didn't understand Buddhism, which rendered his views unilateral. Buddhism, especially Original Buddhism, focuses on human society and proclaims unsparingly that only human beings are possible to become a Buddha. Nevertheless, this essay is not a critique of Frazer but a review of his classic theory: each mythical story is related to a specific ceremony, and it reflects the relationship between humans and the nature. Any myth, such as the hymns in *Rigveda*, serves the needs of humans, even though the mythical stories are about things that happened between deities.

With the two clues, mythical stories and realities, I will try to find out the mythical stories and their relevant ceremonies as displayed by the Sampul myth-carpets. First of all, we need to answer the questions that I mentioned earlier, why we see a collation of Greek mythology, as well as deities associated with Mesopotamian and Sumerian civilizations on the myth-carpets? Let us first recapitulate the deities on the carpets.

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[1]Hereinafter known as Frazer. As to the author's viewpoints concerning the mistakes made by foolish humans, please refer to Frazer.

2.2 Deities Woven into Carpets

In the first row of the two large carpets, there is the Greek god Hermes depicted who should be able to travel between the mortal world and the underworld.

In the second row, the main figure is Persephone, queen of the underworld. A word in Brāhmī script is woven here which is compounded of the first word, meaning underworld in Greek, and the second word, meaning continent or island in Khotanesed Sanskrit. As such, it is apparent that the deities woven into this layer all come from the underworld. The deity wearing a crown next to Persephone should be Hades, god of the underworld.

The third layer is about Hephaestus. We can treat Hephaestus as the person who helped Gilgamesh to unlock the door so that he could finally see Inanna.

The fourth layer is about the venerable goddess, the goddess of longevity. She is standing underneath two trees, the tree of life (yellow) and the tree of thousand seeds.

In addition, in tapestry #1, there is a goddess playing flute next to Inanna. She should be Ishtar, a poplar goddess in West Asia. According to Frazer's description, Adonis, the moral lover of the goddess Aphrodite in Greek mythology, is known as Tammuz in West Asian mythology. In the Babylon Akkadian language literature, Tammuz is the lover of the goddess Ishtar. Ishtar is the great mother goddess! in Babylonian mythology; she represents the nature's renewable energy. Although stories of how she and her lover met could not be found in Babylonian clay tablets, with the death of Tammuz, Ishtar follows him to the underworld and enters a house that is in total darkness. The door and the door bolt are covered with dust. When the goddess enters the underworld, all loves come to a stop. Humans and animals stop procreating, and all biological beings face extinction. The story of Ishtar entering the underworld is like a simplified version of the story Inanna going to the underworld. The difference is that to save Ishtar, the almighty god creates a single minor god, so that the minor god can shower the living water onto Ishtar, so that she can return to the mortal world, and growth will return the natural world. In Babylonian mythology, a lot laments for Tammuz and sung by Ishtar has been retained. The most well-known among these laments is *Lament of the Flutes for Tammuz*. Her flute produces funeral music; the sad sound causes all things to stop growing (Frazer, 326) (Illustration 2.1).

The clues become clearer after sorting through the relevant information. It is true that there is a variety of deities from different civilizations on the carpets. In ascending order from old to new, the oldest one is Inanna and possibility the Double Tree, followed by Ishtar and the Greek gods and goddess. The assemblage of gods and goddess really reflects the folk religion of an ancient ethnic group—the yet to be understood religion in ancient Khotan. It is obvious that those who believe in this ancient religion did not exclude the deities of the Greek Pantheon. That said, that doesn't mean this particular ethnic group had given up its own primitive

Illustration 2.1 Inanna holds lazurite measuring strings and staff; double tree; someone holds a flute, i.e. Ishtar, on the right is a pair of minor gods

religion, and started believing in Greek deities. As previously analysed,[2] the two carpets display the structure of a story about seeking help by relating the story of a rescue mission in the underworld and linking up different deities. In the end, the deity that can fulfil wishes is the almighty god. As such, the tapestry is like a manifesto—a manifesto by the goddess of longevity that she has the power of resurrection. This suggests the goddess of longevity is the almighty god in the ancient religion of Khotan.

The deities on the carpets wouldn't appear in random. There is no question that there was a selection process, but why they picked these deities? Take the Greek deities as an example. The well-known ones include Zeus and Poseidon, but why they selected deities like Hermes and Persephone, the ones associated with the underworld and long life? In particular, Persephone always appears with her mother Demeter in Greek mythology, but why the two carpets only mention Persephone and neglect her mother? There is a universal dictum which stipulates that any item that is specifically manufactured must serves a specific purpose. Therefore, the legends on the carpets must serve a particular ceremony, and the carpets were made for the altar in this particular ceremony.

2.3 Altar Depicted by the Carpets

An altar is the place where deities gather. The altars that we normally come across with are usually situated inside buildings and temples, and temples are seen as places of worship and where deities gather. Yet, in ancient time, offerings and rituals for deities were not held in temples. Take the religions in ancient India as an example: the four Vedas are the core literature of these religions, and the oldest and the most well-known one is *Rigveda*, a collection of hymns that praise deities along

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[2]Please refer to the previous chapter.

with related commentaries on liturgy and ritual. *Rigveda* reflects the religious ceremonies practised in ancient Indian and Iranian civilizations, as well as the numerousness of deities—cosmic elements such as sun, moon, and stars, and gods of thunder, rain, and water, and so on. Some scholars even believe that we could gain a better understanding of the details of certain ceremonies through the Vedic hymns (Oberlies 1998, pp. 270–271). However, these hymns illustrate an important matter—temples did not exist. "There were no temples or permanent structures devoted to Vedic ritual. Rather, a sacrificial ground was chosen anew for each performance according to certain characteristics required of its natural features."[3] (Jamison and Witzel 1992, p. 33). The mentioning of *Rigveda* and ancient religious ceremonies is to illustrate rituals and offerings for deities that could held in a suitable outdoor place rather than inside a temple. The use of carpets to demonstrate a gathering of deities suggests that the two carpets were originally used as an altar in a ritual held in the outdoors. To put it this way, why did they use specially made *maṇḍala*s if they weren't prepared for an outdoor religious ceremony? Statues or models of beings are suitable for erection in temples, as they are designed and constructed as places of worship according to specific religious needs.

Granted, the period of *Rigveda* belongs to a distant past, and it is rather impossible to make a comparison with something people can still see in the present day. However, if we compare the two carpets with the rites performed in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, then it becomes clear that the carpets functioned as part of a religious ritual. The Buddhist rite, *maṇḍala*, is also known as yantra or magic circle in English. A *maṇḍala* appears in the form of geometric pattern, with circles drawn inside a square or a big circle. A *maṇḍala* symbolizes the deities' places of residence. The deity that is being worshipped lives in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. When conducting a religious ceremony, rites like worshipping, incense burning, mantra recitation, and asking the deity for empowerment will be performed according to the prescribed rules[4] (Gordon 1952, p. 24). Very often, in major ceremonies, Tibetan Buddhist monks have to repaint *maṇḍala*s.

Of course, the religious ceremony as reflected by *Rigveda* belongs to early Hinduism. *Maṇḍala*s, *yantra*s, and *thangka*s painted with *maṇḍala*s are associated with Tibetan Buddhism. The variations in rites reflect the differences between sects. In reality, the altars depicted in the Lop Museum carpets are easy to understand, and the key element is the illustrations around the altars. Through these illustrations, we can ascertain the religious nature of these legends. And this particular religion of the people of ancient Khotan is something we still yet to comprehend. But first, let's return to the vicinity of Lop County and look back at the history of the world.

Around 14 km southwest of Lop County lies a renowned archaeological site, the Shampul tombs. From 1983 to 1995, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage,

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[3]Cited from S. W. Jamison and M. Witzel, *Vedic Hinduism*. Right now, only the online PDF version could be found. There were no temples in Brahmanism, and this is a consensus.

[4]There is relatively more reference literature on Mandala in Tibet, such as Antoinette K. Gordon, *Tibetan Religious Art*.

Xinjiang Regional Museum and Hetian Cultural Relics Bureau undertook urgent excavations and unearthed important and diverse cultural relics. For example, a woollen object with Greek mythology features (a Greek centaur and a Greek soldier were woven into it) was found by archaeologists in tomb #1 in 1984. The object was fashioned into a pair of man's trousers wrapped around the deceased's legs. According to German archaeologist Max Wagner, the trousers were cobbled together with a tapestry, and it was made to decorate people who died in conflicts[5] (Wagner et al. 2009, p. 1068). As for this particular tapestry, the depiction of a centaur and a warrior matches the style in the Classical Greece period. For example, depictions of centaur can be found on the mosaics that belong to Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, Italy.[6] The only difference is that in Hadrian's Villa, the centaur holds up a large rock, and an injured tiger lies behind him. Whereas in Shampul's tomb #1, the centaur holds a salpinx, a long tube musical instrument (Illustration #2.2-1). Wagner believes that even though the centaur reflects the style in the Classical Greece period, the salpinx denotes a symbol of the Scythian civilization, as the salpinx originated in the East. For example, in *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (*The Music Life in Greece*), there is description of a Scythian playing the salpinx. The most obvious is that the person wears a pointed hat and holds the instrument (Illustration #2.2-2)[7] (*Shanpula*, pp. 360, 360−1; Wagner 1949, p. 26). Other than that, the flowers that scatter around the centaur didn't conform to Greek style. The flowers are consistent with the floral patterns found on metal objects made by Scythians, such as the famous gold disc armour ornament (Illustration #2.2-3)[8] (Dally 2007, p. 296).

Apart from the trousers made from a tapestry with Greek motif, a skirt embedded with dragon pattern was also unearthed in tomb #1 (Illustration #2.3, 1–2). Numerous skirts with similar pattern were unearthed at the Shampul tombs. Wagner has done some ground-breaking research on the pattern of the skirt and its meaning. She believes that the skirt with interweaving blue, red, and yellow abstract pattern denotes a thematic illustration—griffin—from the Scythian mythology. The skirts with such a pattern were certainly used as grave goods, but for me, they were laid down in tombs as talisman for protecting the soul of the dead from devildom.

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[5]Hereinafter known as Wagner et al. (2009).

[6]Wagner et al. (2009), refer to p. 1067 for illustration and p. 1069 for descriptions. Hadriana was a king in ancient Rome, reigned 117–138.

[7]The illustration of a centaur that has been de-coloured. The original can be seen in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum, Xinjiang Institute of Cultural Relics and archaeology, *Shanpula, Xinjian, China—The Discovery and Research of Ancient Khotanese Civilization* (hereinafter called *Shanpula*). Black and white contrast was made to the illustration, "Scythians Playing Salpinx". The original one can be seen at: Max Wagner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*.

[8]This accessory was unearthed at the Scythian tombs in southern Ukraine. Some of the curves were drawn by Dr. Hao Chunyang of Peking University's School of Archaeology and Museology. The original illustration can be seen at: O. Dally, "Skythische und greco-skythische Bildelemente im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum".

Illustration 2.2   1. The centaur unearthed in Shampul. 2. A Scythian playing salpinx. 3. Gold amour accessory

Pictures of griffin were common in artworks of the prairie nomadic tribes, and the popularity of these works spanned over 1,000 years before the Common Era. Of particular note is that pictures of griffin were more common in metal artworks and wood carvings, such as the gold disc armour ornament (Illustration 2.2-3) unearthed from a Scythian tomb. According to Wagner's viewpoints, the griffin motif was first spread to the Achaemenian Dynasty by the Scythians in southern Siberia, followed by the Sakas. The motif was eventually spread to Xiongnu. As such, we can see a common origin between the pattern on a leather wine sac unearthed at Pazyryk Tomb #1 in Russia and the depiction of a griffin tearing a goat on a silk item—a fine example Xiongnu art—unearthed at Noin Ula Tomb #6 in Mongolia. Wagner also pointed out that the griffin pattern on the skirts unearthed at the Shampul tombs is very similar to the pattern on the relics unearthed at the Saka tombs in Kazakhstan (Wagner et al. 2009, p. 1071). While griffin patterns are usually discovered during archaeological findings, the remarkable thing about the skirts is that the relics unearthed at Shampul are the only relics woven with different colours of wool. Wagner believes that while centaurs and warriors from the Classic Greece period are depicted on the wool trousers (tapestry), its pattern, especially the application of griffin patterns, suggests that those buried in the tombs are not only Greek people but rather Greek-Scythians, peoples that were heavily influenced by Scythian

Illustration 2.3 1. Skirt from Shampul Tomb #1. 2. Pattern on the skirt. 3. Surrounding pattern on the Shampul carpets

culture. And the Carbon-14 analysis makes it clear that these people probably entered the oasis via the southern route of the Xinjiang Silk Road in the first century BC.

The aforementioned passage talks about the relics unearthed at Shampul Tomb #1 containing rich Greek elements and Professor Wagner's ground-breaking views. This is because those characteristics—the mix of Greek and Scythian civilizations —are more profound on the carpets collected by Lop Museum. According to the Carbon-14 analysis performed by Professor Wu Xiaohong of Peking University's School of Archaeology and Museology in June 2017, the Lop Museum carpets were made between 420 and 565 AD. And according to an analysis of the Khotanese scripts on the carpets (Duan 2012a, p. 2), the carpets were made after 560 AD. As we can see, there was a gap of few hundred years between the Greek warriors and skirts from the first century BC Shampul and Sampul carpets, and this validates that the traditions in Khotan hadn't changed for hundreds of years.

Basically, the pattern on the fringes of the Sampul carpets and the pattern on the Shampul skirts have derived from the same origin. The only difference is that the pattern on the carpets is more abstract. Without the Shampul skirts, it would be very difficult to ascertain the griffin motif in the pattern. In a sense, the Sampul carpets

help us to gain a better understanding of the Greek-Scythian relics unearthed at Shampul. The reason is that some people have argued the skirt was not sewed together with the trousers, and that makes people wonder whether the skirt was an additional item for burial. As for the Sampul carpets, the griffin pattern surrounds the Greek deities.

The importance of the Sampul myth-carpets does not lie with the integration of Greek and Scythian styles but rather the existence of two very different styles. As to the questions about the origins of the Scythian and Saka peoples, the conventional viewpoint holds that the ancestral place of the Scythians is located north and east of Euxina, and the Scythian term used by ancient Greeks refers to a "barbarian tribe". On the other hand, according to ancient Chinese literature, the Sakas were actually a tribe spread all over Central Asia and along all the oases on the southern route of the Xinjiang Silk Road between Amu Darya and Syr Darya. Whether they were the Scythians mentioned in ancient Greek literature or the Sakas in Chinese literature, they shared some profound characteristics, such as wearing pointed hats and treating the griffin as their common deity. Yet, no one knows their original religion. Some even think the original religion could rival Shamanism (Minns 2010, p. 26). The Sampul carpets, on the other hand, provide a clear illustration about their primitive religion. At the very least, in ancient Khotan, records indicate that the goddess of longevity is their respected deity, and the goddess is Inanna of the Sumerian period. As such, Professor Wagner's analysis reveals that the residents in Khotan in the first century BC might be the so-called Greek-Scythians. And the information contained in Sampul carpets can be used to modify Professor Wagner's analysis. The patterns left behind suggest that they were not Greek people who had absorbed Scythian or Saka civilization. Rather, it should be understood in the reverse order, that is they were the real Scythians, and they had absorbed and accepted polytheism from Greek civilization.

The significance of Sampul carpets is not narrow or regional. The five carpets in Lop Museum share one common element—an abstract griffin pattern used for the surrounding design. Of note is that on myth carpets #1 and #2, deities of different origins—Mesopotamia mythic figures and deities from the Greek pantheon—are depicted at the centre. This suggests that the griffin pattern carries a special meaning, as the design was used to separate gods from the temporal world. In this vein, we discovered that designs with the same pattern mostly come from Scythian, or even Xiongnu tombs. For example, the gold disc armour ornament (Illustration 2.2-3) was unearthed at a Scythian tomb located in Ukraine. When the Scythians from ancient Khotan were buried in Shampul, skirts with the griffin pattern were buried as talisman. This explains why many skirts with the same motif were unearthed at Shampul. With the discovery of the five Sampul carpets, it becomes clear what this particular pattern—griffins surrounding deities—really entails. The purpose of using this pattern is to separate the realm of the humans from the realm of the gods. Within the circle are the deities and outside the circle is the temporal world. When a human is dead, his spirit belongs to the realm of the gods, and this essentially is the traditional belief of the Scythians. Such a belief was also preserved in the custom of the Scythians that lived in ancient Khotan.

The griffin pattern underwent a vivid to abstract transformation. For example, as it can be seen from the gold armour ornament (Illustration 2.3, 3), the pattern shows a vivid description: two griffins trying to tear a horse apart. A further investigation suggests that the horse represents a temporal being that can enter the realm of the gods. And such a pattern has become more abstract in the Shampul shirks even though it is still possible to identity shapes of deer horn and wings. The pattern woven with red, yellow, and blue fabrics has become unrecognizable in the period of Sampul carpets, circa 560 AD. That said, the illustration is still powerful, as it evokes the altar—the place where the deities live—is holy and inviolable.

If we take a closer examination of the pattern, we can see that the design of the altar in myth-carpets #1 and #2 is unique. Woven into the carpets are ancient mythologies, and that reflects the belief that Scythians had a long history. Altar is the conduit between the deities and the worshippers, and it is also the place where humans can express their wishes. These deities are called upon during praying. Through an analysis of the deities, it becomes apparent that the deities on the carpets are related to the underworld, such as Hermes, or responsible for the underworld, such as Persephone, or possess the longevity liquid, such as the goddess of longevity where she possesses the resurrection power. As such, it is likely to deduce that the altar of the myth-carpets should be used for funerals in ancient Khotan and play a role in a ceremony for the resurrection of the dead. Such premise seems to be also bolstered by the fact that those griffin patterns were used for burials. However, it would be inappropriate to assume that those carpets were used in commoners' funerals. The reason is that if such kind of carpets was commonly used in funerals, then there should be more relics with depiction of the goddess of longevity. At the very least, there should be similar discoveries in the Scythian tombs. However, the Sampul carpets are the only discovery. While it is safe to say that the carpets reflect the long history of the mythologies in ancient Khotan, and such an assertion is backed up by the trousers, carpets, and skirts unearthed at Shampul, but the Sampul carpets were made for specific occasions other than funerals. As previously mentioned, the carpets were made between 420 and 565 AD, according to Carbon-14 analysis. But an analysis of the language and script suggests that the carpets were made circa 560 AD. So what had happened during those years that necessitated the making of these deluxe carpets?

2.4 Soma the Miracle Liquid Had Been Offered to General Meri

Along with myth-carpets #1 and #2, three other square carpets were unearthed at the same time. The three square carpets were also infused with three colours—red, blue, and yellow. These were traditional colours of the skirts buried at the Shampul tombs. A pattern of two small figures was woven into each of the three square carpets, and it looks the same as the pattern of a pair of small figures on the

right-hand side in the fourth layer of carpet #1. The figures on both patterns are gender neutral, as one cannot tell whether they are male or female. The ribbon held by the figures symbolizes good fortune[9] (Duan 2015c, pp. 153–166), and the figures are shown in a posture of worship. Of note is that the design surrounding it is the griffin pattern. As such, it can be determined that they are just a pair of lesser gods with the miracle power of resurrection.

The three square carpets all contain a line of Brahmi script, representing the same phrase in Saka language: spāvatä meri sūmä hoḍä. While each word is clearly identifiable, an initial reading of the phrase yields a rather puzzling result. It is true that multiple meanings can be derived if the phrase is understood according to the syntax of the sentence. Therefore, when I published my English explanation in 2012, I selected a translation based on the order of the words. Subsequently, I used the same translation in the Chinese language essay that was published in 2014[10] (Duan 2012b, pp. 95–100). Now I realized the original explanation—General Meri provided to sūmä—is wrong, and a re-examination is required.

The word that triggered my suspicion is the third word, sūmä. In the existent Saka language literature, this word takes on the meaning of "sun, moon, and the planets"—the deified of sun, moon, stars, and the planets—and appears in a Khotanese manuscript of invocation found in the hidden cave of Dunhuang. A trace to the origin of the word indicates that it came from Vedic, and it is equivalent to the Sanskrit word soma. Yet, the etymology of soma suggests that it connected with the Avestan word haoma. Soma or haoma was a miracle plant in ancient Indian and Iranian mythologies. The juice from this plant could sustain longevity in human beings. A vast number of hymns in *Rigveda* are used in ceremonies for pressing soma juice. Also, many chapters in the Iranian mythology talk about the "haoma" trees. There is a pair of trees in Iranian mythology. The haoma tree is akin to the tree of life; and the other one is the tree of thousand seeds, from which the plants in the world are originated. According to legends, only mythical birds can fly to the tree of thousand seeds, and propagate the seeds to the ground. Also, through acts of Sirius, seeds from the tree of thousand seeds can start growing on earth. The Lianzhu pattern, a geometric pattern in ancient Chinese artworks, originated from the legend of the mythic bird propagating the seeds. The illustration of this bird actually appeared on the clay seal of a Khotanese contract from the first half of eighth century AD[11] (Duan Qing, Illustration #38). And the illustration of the double trees appears on the two large carpets, with the goddess of longevity standing between the two trees (see Illustration 2.1) (Duan 2015c, pp. 147–160). All the signs indicate that the Scythians in Khotan knew about "soma". Against this background and upon further observations of the three square carpets, it becomes

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[9]Hereinafter known as Duan (2015a, b, c).

[10]Hereinafter called Duan 2014.

[11]Enhancements were made by Dr. Ye Shayoung based on the original illustration. The original one can be found at Duan Qing, *Western Regions Documents Collected by National Library of China—Khotanese Scrolls*.

clear that the depiction is about twin gods supporting something. They are the twin gods who possess water of life; and what they are supporting for? What is their water of life? Based on the interpretation of the mythology depicted on the large myth-carpets, we can understand *sūmä* as a magic liquid, possessed by the twin gods, for resurrection and longevity.

Looking back, I realized the confusion caused by sūmä was due to another legend recorded in *Prophecy of the Li Country*, a Tibetan literature. It mentions a legend where an eminent monk in a monastery realized that he was about to attain *arhat* and free from *Samsara* (liberation from the six realms of rebirth), but it happened at a time of extreme drought where the river had already dried up. To save the monastery, he hoped to become a dragon. Once he had made the vow, water started flowing from his body, and he had become a small dragon and sunken into the ground. As such, he could protect the river and the monastery forever. The name of the monk was Sum-pon.[12]

Sum-pon is a Tibetan transliteration; in Khotanese, it is known as Sūmapauña. Although Khotanese literature didn't leave behind any legend about Sūmapauña, the two words appeared twice in Khotanese manuscripts of invocation from Dunhuang.[13] For example, in manuscript with signature S.2471, the word is listed together with deities who were worshipped as dragon kings. The first six of this group of dragon kings are obviously from the Buddhist scriptures, and number 7 to number 11 are local gods in ancient Khotan. Number 7 is Sūmapauña, number 8 is Ttaśa, number 9 is Ttara, number 10 is Būjsyaja, the goodness of longevity, and number 11 is ṣaṇīraka whose identity remains unknown. I have written an essay validating the hypothesis that Sūmapauña in Khotanese is the source of the modern toponym Shampul. While the Khotanese civilization no longer exists, some Khotanese words have been preserved in Uyghur language, such as Sūmapauña. When this particular word transformed into a Uyghur language loanword, its form became Sampul as Uyghur language doesn't have the palatal nasal ñ. Therefore, the dead consonant l was used to replace ñ. When the word was transliterated into Chinese from Uyghur, it appeared in two forms 山普鲁 (Shanpulu) and 山普拉 (Shanpula).

Sūmapauña is a compound noun, consisting of sūma and pauña. Let's first talk about pauña. This term is the same as the Sanskrit word puṇya, meaning merit. Logic dictates that when a *tatpuruṣa* compound is used as a name, the first noun would become a determiner after separating the two nouns. In this case, the first noun and the compound noun cannot be referred to the same person. For example, the eminent monk Sūmapauña means Sūma's merit, and the monk must not be Suma because no person would use his or her own name to restrict the use of another noun as his or her name. Sūma, as the first part of a compound noun, should

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[12]R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 106 (for Tibetan and English translations).

[13]I have written articles about the inscriptions and their holy names in Khotanese. See Duan Qing 2014.

be understood as "moon" or "soma". It was common for Sogdians to use gods' names as the first part of their names. Examples include xwmδ't/Xōmδat, meaning "bestowed by Soma" or "bestowed by miracle liquid" (Lurje 2010, p. 440). Xōm in Sogdian language is the same as sūma. The point here is to illustrate the fact that both Sogdian and Khotanese are related to Middle Iranian language, and the Sogdian people were a branch of the Saka people.

Now let's go back to the four Khotanese words on carpets, *spāvatä meri sūmā hoḍä*, and take a look at the third word, *sūmā*. When I wrote *Legends of Shanpulu —the Place Name in Xinjiang's Lop County*, I misunderstood sūmä as a personal name and took on the view that sūmä was an abbreviation of Sūmapauña. Yet, I still had doubts because if those three square carpets were offered to a person by the name of sūmä, why he wasn't recognized and honoured? The lack of recognition didn't fit the etiquette of religious offerings. It is important to note that the mythology in the two large carpets talks about resurrection and the origin of the miracle liquid, and that the altar, which comprised deities from mythology, was used to serve the needs of the person to whom the three square carpets were presented. As such, it is inconceivable that benefactor was not recognized in such a major ceremony. Now it is quite clear that sūmä is the same as soma. *Sūmä* is a singular first nominative case, and it is the subject in that phrase. And the subject is followed by the verb hoḍä, which is the past passive participle of hor-, which is also singular first nominative case, and it means being offered or bestowed. As such, sūmä hoḍä means soma being offered or the miracle liquid being bestowed.

A more thorough analysis of Khotanese sentence pattern reveals that there seems to be special rules governing the pattern of celebratory sentences. In celebratory sentences, the names of the beneficiaries appear at the beginning of the sentence. Yet, it doesn't align with the grammatical concept of subject, as there is the addition of dative or genitive case to the word stem. And so far we have discovered three such examples.

The first example appears in an elongated paper amulet discovered by Marc Aurel Stein in Khotan. The Khotanese words, *sūrade rakṣa sarvakālya ṣīvi haḍāya āysdai yanāte* (let this amulet protect Sūrade, day and night), appear on the amulet. This amulet was originally custom-made for a person by the name of Sūrade, and the appearance of Sūrade at the beginning of the sentence denotes the dative/ genitive case. The second word in the sentence, rakṣa (amulet), is the subject of the sentence. *Āysdai yanāte* is a phrasal verb, meaning "wish to protect/bless"[14] (Duan 2012, p. 219).

The second example appears in *A Long Scroll of an Amulet Against 15 Demons*, held by the National Library of China. The scroll is nearly 2 m long and was custom-made for a lady in Khotan, giving her blessing of beauty and lots of sons and luck. At the end of the scroll, there is a sentence that reads "mijṣe säväkä rakṣa

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[14]Emmerick misunderstood the sentence, as the scholar was unable to determine whether the first phrase was the subject in such a sentence structure. See Duan Qing, "An Amulet to Protect Against 15 Ghosts".

sarvakālya āysdai yanāte ṣṣīvi haḍāya tta tta khu mara hvaṣta pūrānī pyālya himāte", in translation: May the amulet at all times protect lady Säväkä, at day and night, so that she would be blessed with best sons[15] (Duan 2015b, p. 207). The key pattern of this sentence is the same as the previous one.

The third example is the Khotanese sentence woven into the three square carpets: *spāvatä meri sūmä hoḍä*, meaning Soma is given to *spāvatä meri*. *Spāvatä meri* appears at the beginning of the sentence, and its grammatical case is singular dative/genitive. The word stem of meri must be mera- because -i forms the regular dative/genitive case of an a- stem in Old-Khotanese. *Spāvatä* was a word of Old-Khotanese before Tang time. Once the word entered Tang dynasty's documents, the spelling then became *spāta*, and it was transliterated as *sabo* (萨波). In the Khotanese bureaucracy, *sabo* was an aristocrat, a high official, equivalent to a leader of a tribe and only subordinate to the king. *Sabo* is now generally translated as general. This general was named "mera", which seems to be beloved name in the oases along the southern Silk Road. In the late third century, there was Nuava king by name Mairi or Mahiri, and there are reasons to believe that both Mairi or Mahiri and Meri share the same etymological background. In the sentence, *spāvatä meri* is the indirect object of the verb *hor-* "to give". As such, soma is offered means that soma was being offered to the General Meri.

2.5 Suma and Legends of Shampul

spāvatä meri sūmä hoḍä—soma is offered to Sabo Meri or magical liquid is offered to General Meri—are the words woven into the three square carpets. This clearly suggests that the two carpets with depictions of an altar and the three square carpets were not used for funerals but rather a ceremony for producing "soma". In other words, they were custom-made for General Meri.

Now it is essential to ask the question, what exactly is soma? This question will bring us to the core of this mysterious word. "Soma" can be traced to the period where tribes speaking Indo- and Iranian languages of the Indo-European languages family were not yet rivalling against each other. Also, "soma" is a high-frequency word in the collection of hymns in *Rigveda*, the oldest extant literature in the Indian civilization, which was already founded by 1200 BC.

As previously mentioned, a large number of hymns in *Rigveda* were sung during ceremonies associated with the creation of soma. Examining soma and religions in *Rigveda* has also spawned a vast number of scholarly research.[16] In the Iranian civilization, homa was a core element in a majority of the mythologies in ancient Iranian culture, and this is evidenced in *Avesta* and related annotations. Almost all

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[15]See the previous footnote.

[16]For example, in Oberlies (1998), there are 200 pages of discussion about the relationship between soma and *Rigveda*.

the religious offering ceremonies saw the involvement of soma/homa. During the nineteenth century, some Western scholars realized that soma/homa was closely related to religious offering ceremonies in ancient India and Iran, and that soma/homa is actually a plant, and the juice extracted from the plant is highly stimulating for humans. Such a stimulant causes people to have a feeling of unity of god and man[17] (Falk 1989, pp. 77–90). From that point onwards, some Western scholars have started conducting research on the original ingredients of soma/homa, and how to obtain those ingredients. So far, a lot of plants have been identified as possible source materials for creating soma/homa.

According to the critiques made by Professor Falk of the Humboldt University of Berlin, we can classify the plants into three different categories. In the first category, the plants can produce hallucinating juice, such as marijuana and mushrooms. But Professor Falk has ruled this out, citing the lack of evidence to back up the assertion. In the second category, alcoholic drinks can be made from the plants through fermentation, such as rhubarb, millet, and grapes. Again, Professor Falk has ruled this out because there was no mentioning of fermentation in *Rigveda* or literature of Zoroastrianism. In the third category, the plants have stimulus substances, such as ephedra. Scholars, such as Professor Falk, who have hypothesized ephedra as the raw material for making soma/homa, have offered a dozen reasons to back up their claim. For example, the Parsi people living in India are followers of Zoroastrianism, and they still use ephedra as an ingredient in the homa ceremony. Another example is in the Balochi and Pashto languages, ephedra plants are known as *hum* or *hom*, and this becomes *som* or *soma* in the Gilgit region. It is clear that these names still have a linkage to the ancient name. Professor Falk also noted that ephedra was widely used in burials in the Lop Nur region in Xinjiang about 3,000 years ago. Inside the tombs, a large number of ephedra sticks was found, and the stomachs of some corpses were filled with ephedra sticks[18] (Xia 1997, p. 126).

The previous discussion on soma was rather skeletal, as the Khotanese words on the three square carpets clearly point out that the making of altar was to offer soma to General Meri.

Then the question becomes who was General Meri? Why a soma ceremony had to be held for him? In *Rigveda* mythologies, Indra gains enormous power and beat the devils after drinking soma. In the real world, there was a legend saying that soldiers were put under an experiment during World War I where they took ephedra essence to stay alert and enhance combat capabilities. Although we cannot infer the offering of soma to General Meri was to increase his power for the purpose of fighting a war, as the timeline of the Indra story suggests that when humans were supposed to drink soma they must at least be alive. This explains why the place

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[17]There are many articles about soma/homa. For highlights, see Harry Falk, "Soma I and II", *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies* (hereinafter called Falk 1989).

[18]This paragraph contains plenty of highlights form Falk (1989). As to the excavation of ephedra at the Lop Nur tombs, see Xia Leiming, "How the Ancient Loulan People Adapting their Environment".

where the carpets were discovered was not at the Shampul tombs, a place that symbolizes the ancient Khotan civilization—these carpets were not used for funerals.

It is also important to note the context of these carpets when discussing soma, as it is inappropriate to use ancient Indian and Iranian literature to address the functions of soma/ homa. Back to the original context, it is not difficult to find out that there is a clear relationship between the two large myth-carpets and the three square carpets. The altar on the carpets represents mythologies, and the three square carpets concern about the mortal world. This suggests mythologies serve the needs of the mortal world. On the surface, the inscriptions and deities on the five carpets showcase the inclusion of diverse cultures, but a closer look reveals the dominant religion of the Scythians. First of all, let's talk about the word *sūmä*. Its pronunciation is Indic. The tree of life is depicted on the myth-carpets, which signifies that soma originates from the tree. However, this coincides with the Iranian mythology where haoma comes from the tree of life. For more confusion: in the ancient Iranian mythology, the tree of life was situated in the centre of the sea whereas the Scythians' tree of life was apparently located in Inanna's garden. According to the Sumerian mythology, the twin gods, possessing the water of life, brought Inanna back to life and led her out of the underworld. This water of life leads people to think about the magical liquid that possesses the power of resurrection, and this water of life is actually the sūmä on the three square carpets. As such, the mythology on the carpets conveys the message of wishing General Meri an eternal life, because soma was offered to him.

In the natural world, there is saying about dark matter. Its presence is implied in the unintended change of position of the visible matter. In the world of languages is often logically to conceive the opposite when one matter is stressed. As far as the myth-carpets are concerned, the invocated goddess of longevity representing the primitive religion of the Scythians played the role of main altar, while the twin gods —Ttaśa and Ttara on the three square carpets, played the active role for offering powerful soma of immortality to Meri. The assembly of these deities, supplemented by the twin gods with water of life, expresses a strong wish—they hope Meri can enjoy an eternal life.

The creating of altars on carpets was for a ceremony. The wish for an eternal life suggests someone was about to pass away—Sabo Meri was about to die. So what kind of a ceremony? Was it a private ceremony of the Meri family? Or was it a state affair with the involvement of the king? From the specifications of the myth-carpets, it seems like the ceremony was a state affair. Among the five Sampul carpets, the large one measures 2.5 m by length and 1.5 m by width. The square ones measure 1.18 m by 1.18 m. The carpet #1 is double-sided; that is two carpets are combined together to make one. Such a large and heavy carpet; even if it is made today requires a long manufacturing period, and it would also cost a lot of money. This suggests that in the ancient time, a lot of efforts, or the effort of the entire nation, was put in for making those carpets. So this begs the question of what General Meri had done where the whole nation so wanted to create soma and cause him to have an eternal life?

In the *Prophecy of the Li Country*, there is a story of an eminent monk by the name of Som-pon who became a dragon by giving up his imminent attainment of *arhat* and making a dried-up river flowing again. This story exemplifies the Khotanese people's concept about the relationship between natural catastrophes and humans. This story must have profound influences in the Kingdom of Khotan, as his Khotanese name, Sūmapauña, is forever engraved in the Khotanese genealogies of gods, and the place name "Shampul", in a sense, tells us stories from the past. However, there are oddities in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*. First, the Tibetan language records have strong Buddhist overtones, but Sūmapauña shouldn't be the name of a Buddhist monk. This is an obvious heresy, and *Rigveda* is a classic heretical literature from a Buddhist perspective. Common sense informs us that every disciple by joining the Buddhist monastery would come up with a new name to highlight his aspiration to be a real Buddhist monk, let alone eminent monks who are about to attain *arhat.* Second, there should be a ceremony when an eminent monk becomes a dragon and a member of the deity, such as drinking soma, as in the case of General Meri. Another oddity is that according to the Tibetan language records, Sūmapauña was originally a man, and he transformed from man into god, and became a Khotanese deity. How come there is no such record in other literature?

The legend of a man transforming into a dragon in the *Prophecy of the Li Country* reminds us to check the records in ancient Chinese literature. In ancient China, a lot of eminent monks set off to the West to search for the truthful religion. Some of them had spent time in the Kingdom of Khotan and left behind records about the kingdom. All of these records have been validated—validated as historical facts or legends from Khotan.

Take Faxian as an example. He became a monk when he was 3 years old. In the third regnal year of Long'an in Eastern Jin (399 AD), he left Chang'an for Khotan, passing through areas like the Hexi Corridor and Dunhuang, and most likely crossing the Taklamakan Desert by way of following the Khotan River. In the end, he arrived Khotan in early fifth century and stayed there for a few months before setting off to Afghanistan via the present-day Indus Valley and Pakistan, and then returning to Pakistan and heading to Ganges Valley. He stayed in Magadha for three years and learned Sanskrit and Vinaya (Buddhist canon). The monks who accompanied Faxian were either passed away or stayed behind in Magadha, and Faxian himself returned to China by sea. According to *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, when Faxian met the Khotanese king, the following happened.

The king settled the monks at a samghārāma or Buddhist temple. The name of the temple was Qumodi (in Khotanese Gūmattīra), and it was a Mahayana temple. In this temple 3,000 monks were living, and there were straight rules governing the living and eating arrangements and rituals (CBETA, T51, 857).

It was eventually proven that the Gūmattīra monastery did exist and lasted for a couple of hundreds of years. Recently, the complete Khotanese version of the Buddhist text, *Āryarasmi-vimalavisuddha-prabhā nāma-dhāranī sūtra*, was discovered, and this was written for a deceased Gūmattīra monk buried inside the pagoda with the relics (Duan 2019).

In *Temples and Monasteries in Louyang*, there is a story about Song Yun travelling to Tianzhu (the historical East Asian name for India) with the following description about the dress of the Khotanese king, "The golden crown looks like a cockscomb; at the back of his turban two undyed silk ribbons of 2 feet by 5 in. are attached." Such a decoration was special in Iranian cultural sphere, as the two ribbons symbolizing the honour of the king (Duan 2015a, p. 163). Such ribbons can still be vaguely seen on the image of the Khotanese King Li Shengtian in Dunhuang Cave #98.

Yet, neither Faxian nor Song Yun recorded the story of a man who voluntarily became a dragon due to drought. The Buddhist monk, Xuanzang spent a much longer period in Khotan. When he arrived at Khotan, members of the Khotanese royal family came to welcome him, and he was settled in a monastery of Hinayana, where he lived for eight or nine months. More importantly, many of his records about Khotanese culture and legends were eventually validated by archaeological findings as well Khotanese and Tibetan records. For example, Xuanzang recorded the specialities of Khotan as follows: Khotan roughly 4,000 miles in circumference. A majority of the area is dessert with a narrow strip of land for cultivation. The soil is good for growing grains, and it produces lots of fruits. The place is known for manufacturing carpets, fine felts, *shi-chou* (a silk product), as well as black and white jade (CBETA, T51, 943).

All these Khotanese specialities have been validated. *Shi-chou* is a special silk product; according to Xuanzang's story of the spread of silkworm to the West, the Khotanese people harvested raw silk from silkworm cocoons after molting. Afterwards, the raw silk was turned into blended yarns and woven into textiles. A such, *shi-chou* cannot be as smooth as Chinese silk. Of particular note is that a lot of Khotanese taxation documents mentioned *shi-chou*[19] (Duan and Wang 2013, pp. 307–325).

Delving into the pages of *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, one can find out Xuanzang was good at recording folkloric legends from different parts of the region, and in particular, the legends from Khotan are particularly captivating. This is probably due to the fact that he spent an extended period of time in Khotan. Yet, there are some oddities. For example, Faxian had described Gūmattīra as the grandest Buddhist monastery in Khotan, but Xuanzang didn't mention it at all. It is believed that Xuanzang was a follower of Mahayana Buddhism, but he was settled in a Hinayana monastery. Xuanzang recorded over a dozen Khotanese legends, and many of them were related to the royal family. This could be due to the fact that Xuanzang had more interactions with the royal family. Among these legends, one is very captivating, as the description is very vivid. This particular legend is *The Legend of Longgu*.

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[19]There is numerous reference literature, such as Duan Qing and Helen Wang, "Were Textiles used as Money in Khotan in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries?".

2.6   The Legend as Recorded by Xuanzang

"The Legend of Longgu" in *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (Ji et al. 1995, p. 1024).

There is a river southeast of the city; the river flows in a northwesterly orientation. The people use the river for irrigation. The flow eventually stopped, and the king felt that it was unusual. As such, he decided to ask an arhat, "The river has been important to my people, but now it stops flowing. What really happened? Is it because there is something wrong with my rule? If not, who should be blamed?

The arhat replied, "Your majesty's rule has been clean. The river stop flowing because of a dragon. It is better to offer a sacrifice to god as quickly as possible so that the river can flow again." The king decided to offer a sacrifice to the River Dragon.

A woman suddenly appeared, and said, "My husband passed away early, and it has been unable to follow the ruler's orders. Therefore, the river stops flowing. And this causes problems to farmers. The king can pick an honourable minister and causes him to become my husband. The river will then start flowing again."

The king said, "I am listening."

The dragon then pique into the ministers.

The king returned and told his ministers, "Ministers are the pillars of the nation. Farmers feed our people. Our nation will be in grave danger if the pillars are gone, and our people will die if the food supply is disrupted. What can we do in light of these life and death matters?"

A minister came forward, kneeled down, and said: "Our vanity has been around for a long time, and that is unfit for important duties. I have been thinking how to give back to my country, and the timing hasn't come. Now the opportunity has come, and I feel an immense responsibility to act, especially this will benefit tens of thousands of people. Ministers are the nation's assistants, and people are the nation's foundation. I ask the king to stop thinking, and striving for happiness and longevity. Let's build samgharama!"

The king acceded to his request. Afterwards, when the preparation was not yet due, the minister urged for allowing him enter the Dragon's palace as early as possible. As such, the country's officials and commoners celebrated the event with music accompanied by beating drums. They bode farewell to the minister while giving him to drink. The minister wore a plain dress and rode on a white horse. He bode farewell to the king and thanked the people. He then rode towards the river; but he wasn't drowned. He then charged again, and the river opened up. He then went inside and disappeared. After a while the white horse came out of the water with on its back a big sandalwood drum and a letter saying to the effect that, "Your Majesty are benevolent even to the humblest creatures, and I thus have the opportunity to be the candidates for becoming a deity. Please do more good deeds to seek the blessings so as to benefit both your kingdom and subjects."

The river has seen been flowing, and being used. As time went by, the dragon's drum was left aside. A samgharama still stood at the place where the drum was hung, but it was abandoned, and there were no monks.

This passage is worthy of further analysis. At the beginning, the Khotanese king asked an arhat for advice when river stopped flowing. A lot of historical evidence has proved that the Khotanese royal family believed in Buddhism, therefore, it made sense that arhats were consulted when something happened. The Khotanese king, based on previous experiences, believed that natural catastrophes had to do with mischief of the royal family, and the lack of rain must be related to the king's ruling. Obviously, Buddhist monks didn't have the power to interfere the nature, and it's widely known that the birth of Buddhism was due to its opposition to Brahminism. Brahminism believes in the Vedic gods and deities who appear to be able to control the nature, such as praying to Indra for rainfall. Buddhism is different, as it is a religion specialized for individual cultivation of humankind. Its goal is to care for people. For example, the Twelve Nidanas formed the core of pre-sectarian Buddhism; it's about cultivation (*bhāvana*) and getting rid of greediness, and do nothing to interfere with the nature. The Buddha believed that only humans can become Buddha. But in real life, human to human relationships extended to human to nature relationships. This was especially true in the area of Khotan. When the great drought happened, extant folkloric believes suggested that it was a dragon who stirred up all the fuss. In this case when Buddhist monks felt at a loss to resist the drought, the Khotanese Royal Family had to resort to their traditional primitive religion.

The key in Xuanzang's records involved the religious belief of the Khotanese royal family. While they were defenders of Buddhism, it was likely that they retained their own primitive religious belief at the early stage. It should be mentioned that according to *Hou Han Shu* (*the History of the Latter Han*), when Ban Chao, a Chinese military general, explorer and diplomat of the Eastern Han Dynasty, went to Khotan, the Khotanese king "didn't have much of a knowledge in etiquette, and that they believed in witchcraft. The witch said, 'the god is angry why they have to be courteous to Han. The Han emissary has a horse, please go and get it as a sacrifice to me.'" As such, the Khotanese king sent an emissary to Ban Chao and asked for the light black horse. When Ban Chao got word of this, he let the witch to come and pick up the horse himself. "When the witch arrived, Ban ordered the beheading of the horse and sent it to Guangde." (Ye 2003, p. 1573). This record suggests that in the primitive religion of the Khotanese royal family, there was a practice of killing livestock as offering to deities. This does not conform to the teachings of Buddhism and the traditions of Zoroastrianism. Yet, it aligned with the religion as reflected on the carpets.

In religions where sacrificing for deities is carried out, they believed the nature was fond of blood. When there was a protracted drought that caused the river to stop flowing, the Khotanese king believed the next thing he had to do was to hold a human sacrifice ceremony. And this ceremony used the pretext of the need to select a minister due to the loss of the husband of the dragon's daughter. Obviously, the Scythians' human sacrifice was different from human sacrifice in Chinese culture—

they didn't select a young lady from the ordinary families—such as the story of Ximen Bao—but they were really going to select a nobleman. The need to carry out a human sacrifice and scarifying a nobleman suggests that the people were facing a calamitous situation. When the king was pondering, a minister came forward and offered to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the people of the kingdom.

This story of a minister scarifying himself aligns with the nature of the legend of an eminent monk transforming into a dragon as recorded in the *Prophecy of the Li Country*. Both legends concerned self-scarifying because of drought and the drying up of a river. The only thing is that there was a span of 200 years between *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* and *Prophecy of the Li Country*. Xuanzang arrived at Khotan in 644 AD, and the *Prophecy of the Li Country* was written probably in Dunhuang in 830[20] (Zhu 2011, pp. 8, 10). It is believed that the *Prophecy of the Li Country* was originally indicted by Buddhist monks from Khotan and translated into Tibetan language at a later time. The book talks how Khotanese kings supported Buddhism, and in this sense, it is more like a history of Buddhist monasteries in Khotan. The valuable thing is that the name of the individual who sacrificed himself was duly recorded, and that person was Sum-pon, aka Sūmapauña in Khotanese language. The name appeared as a deity in a Khotanese invocation. The records of Xuanzang, together with the Tibetan language *Prophecy of the Li Country*, provide a clue about a matter and explain this historical fact: Someone did scarify himself because of a drought, and the sacrifice was an offering to the River Dragon. And the appearance of *sūmä* on the three square carpets suggests that soma was offered to General Meri—the magical liquid from the twin gods which possessed the power for resurrection and could endow the man an eternal life. The myth-carpets show that human sacrifice involved an elaborate ceremony. The person who was prepared to scarify himself could gain an eternal life by drinking soma in a ceremony that turned a human being into a deity. Elevated as a deity, Sūmapauña, and the place name "Shampul" offered a proof that the person who scarified himself obtained an eternal life. Whether it's "Shampul" or "Shanpulu", and notwithstanding that people have forgotten the great sacrifice, both names live on to commemorate the person who made the ultimate sacrifice for the greater good of the people.

Previously, we touched on Faxian and Song Yun who spent time and arrived at Khotan in early fifth century and circa 519 AD, respectively. Both of them didn't make any record of human sacrifice or the dragon's daughter seeking a minister to become her husband. Yet, the matter was recorded by Xuanzang, and his records were real and captivating. This is because when Xuanzang arrived at Khotan in 644 AD, the matter was still circulating in people's oral history, as the matter happened not to far ago. The carpets and Xuanzang's records suggest that human sacrifice did happen. And it happened during a 30-year period that was between Song Yun's departure and the mid-sixth century (Duan 2017, p. 2). This is because on the three square carpets, sabo was written according to ancient Khotanese way. Those carpets

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[20]Research findings of Zhu Lishuang are cited here.

must be woven not long after the Khotanese language had become the official language. Furthermore, there is evidence to show that the elevation of Khotanese as the official language happened in mid-sixth century. And around 100 years had lapsed between this period and the arrival of Xuanzang. This explains why such a major event in the history of Khotan was still widely talked about and vividly recorded by Xuanzang.

2.7 Offering Ceremony for the River Dragon

Let us review this major event by referring to Xuanzang's captivating records and the mythology on the carpets.

First, there was an extended drought in Khotan. According to figures from China Meteorological Administration, China had entered a glacial period for 33 years before Sui and Tang dynasties[21] (Ge et al. 2013, p. 10), and this suggested an extended period of drought in Xinjiang. It was probably also during this time that the renowned ancient Shanshan Kingdom disappeared. Under this backdrop, the grand river in Khotan, flowing in northwesterly direction, became dried up. The Khotanese royal family, still maintained the ancient Scythian belief, started panicking. The king approached eminent Buddhist monks for assistance, but the monks were more apt at practicing their faith rather than praying to deities for guidance. Therefore, the Khotanese royal family resorted to their traditional religious belief and prayed to the deities. The conclusion was that with such a large-scale drought, they must use human sacrifice because the River Dragon's daughter had lost her husband. According to the custom of Scythians, blood from the nobles was required when conducting an offer to the deities. Consequently, a minister came forward, and the name of this so-called minister was Meri, and his official title was *spāvatä* "general".

Xuanzang's description, "preparation still needs time", suggests that the whole nation of Khotan was fully prepared for Sabo Meri's sacrificial ceremony, as soma was required to achieve the goal of transforming a human into a deity. For this particular ceremony, the royal family utilized the whole nation's effort in making the altar-carpets. To make altar-carpets which consisted of at least five pieces, the priest who had to carry out the religious ceremony caused the weaving of myths, which had passed down orally for nearly a thousand years, into the carpets. Such an act was to invoke the *avatāra* of the goddess of longevity and of twin gods, in turn, caused the soma to possess miracle power.

It didn't take long for the priest to refine soma, in time for the offering to the River Dragon. On that day, nobles and commoners stood on the banks of the river

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[21]Ge Quansheng, et al., "Climate Change and Social Development in China in the Past 2000 Years": "During 221–580 AD, the climate in the Eastern monsoon region was mainly dry; 581–907 AD, the average level of humidity fluctuated during the past 2,000 years.".

to witness the transformation of General Meri into a dragon. In reality, they were witnessing the self-sacrifice of General Meri. The sound from the drum was part of the ceremony; General Meri put on a white silk dress. He received the soma from the priest and drank it. Afterwards, he bode farewell to the king and thanked the people. He mounted horse and rode towards the centre of the river. Initially, he wasn't drowned and crossed the river's centre. As Meri was determined to sacrifice, he decided to charge into the river, where he let himself sink. Eventually, the white horse surfaced because a drum was tied to the horseback, and the drum provided buoyancy. The horse survived.

From now on, General Meri obtained an eternal life, and he became a deity. As such, he obtained a new name, Sūmapauña, meaning the blessing of soma. The transliteration of the name is Shampul. And I believe in Xuanzang's records of the river flowing again after the human sacrifice, as statistical weather and climate information indicated that the weather started getting warmer and there was more rainfall after entering the Sui and Tang dynasties.

At this point, I have described fully about the mythology as expressed by the myth-carpets from Shampul, as well as the possible relationships between the myth-carpets and realities. It was possible that my explanation involved some imagination, but it is important to bear in mind that the relics are real. According to the result of a Carbon-14 analysis, and after taking into account the development of Khotan, the carpets should be made circa 560 AD. The ancient Khotanese people's belief in goddess of longevity was long-held, but the woven of such a belief into the carpets should be done for a special event. The aforementioned analysis is an attempt to gain an understanding of the religious belief in the Kingdom of Khotan by looking into the relevant legends and ceremony. Notwithstanding whether General Meri was the minister in the Dragon's daughter case, one undisputable thing is that that particular event validated the existence of a special religion in Khotan. That religion was neither Buddhism nor Zoroastrianism. The myth-carpets of Shampul are relics from the Khotanese civilization, and they reflect the religious belief of Scythians. Due to elements of Sumerian civilization on the carpets, it is possible that the history of human civilization could be written as a result of these carpets.

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Chapter 3
Wang Shuhe Maijue in Iran

Guang Shi

Abstract Translated and edited by Rashīd ud-Dīn Fażl Allāh Hamidānī, a states-man in Ilkhanate-ruled Iran, *Tanksūqnāmah* is a four-volume book about Chinese science and technology. Currently, only Volume One—respecting Chinese medical science—survives. As the first book on Chinese traditional medicine translated into the Persian language, *Tanksūqnāmah* provides rich and invaluable first-hand information to those who conduct research on cultural and medical science exchanges between China and West Asia during the Middle Ages. *Tanksūqnāmah* recorded the complete, basic rhymed verses of *Wang Shuhe Maijue* (The title in Chinese is 《王叔和脉诀》. Hereinafter known as *Maijue*.) (*The Pulse Rhymes of Wang Shuhe*), an ancient Chinese literature on sphygmology. In the book, each verse was translated into Persian, and annotations by eminent Chinese physicians were also included. Due to the loss of the original copy of *Maijue* and some historical annotations, it becomes obvious that the translation, compilation, and study of *Tanksūqnāmah* will yield significant reference value in aiding the restoration of the original text of *Maijue*. Using ancient Chinese medicine literature as a reference point, this essay attempts to make a comparative study and analysis of certain passages of *Maijue* as written in *Tanksūqnāmah*.

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3.1 Introduction

Tanksūqnāma-yi Īlkhān dar Funūn-i 'Ulūm-i Khatāyī[1,2] is a Persian literature about China's science and technology translated and edited by Rashīd ud-Dīn Faẓl Allāh Hamidānī (1247–1318[3]), a statesman in Ilkhanate-ruled Iran. There were four volumes, and only Volume One, about Chinese medicine, survives. The sole manuscript, written by Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Mahmūd in 713 AH (1313 AD), is held at the library of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, Turkey. In 1972, the University of Tehran published a photocopy version of the book, with a preface about the development of the book by distinguished historian Mujtabā Mīnuvī.

Rashīd ud-Dīn Faẓl Allāh Hamidānī was born in Hamedan, a city in western Iran; he was the *Vazīr* under Ghāzān Khan, who reigned between 1295 and 1304. It was during this period that Rashīd ud-Dīn Faẓl Allāh Hamidānī built a centre for culture and technology in Tabriz. The centre, later known as Rab'-i Rashīdī, consisted of wide-ranging facilities, including school, library, observatory, workshop, hospital, pharmacy, mosque, and public bathhouse. Historical documents indicated that there were physicians from China living in the town, and through these physicians, local Iranians learned about traditional Chinese medicine, such as acupuncture, pulse diagnosis, and herbal medicine, as well as well-known Chinese medicine literature.

In fact, British physician Cyril Lloyd Elgood (1892–1970) mentioned in his book, *Medical History of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate from the Earliest Times Until 1932*, the existence of Chinese physicians in Ilkhanate-ruled Iran. "In that hospital, there were 50 physicians, some of whom hailed from other parts of the world, such as Egypt, China, India and Syria. Each physician was responsible for teaching 10 students. Aside from such a large-scale team, there were surgeons, ophthalmologists and orthopaedists working in the hospital, in which each of them had at least five students", read a letter in the book.

As the first ancient Chinese medical literature translated into Persian, *Tanksūqnāmah* provides invaluable information to those who engage in in-depth study in cultural exchange, especially in the field of medicine, between China and West Africa during the Middle Ages. The book mentioned about a Chinese medicine literature, *Pulse Rhymes*. This literature, also known as *Wang Shuhe Maijue* 《王叔和脉诀》, *The Pulse Rhymes of Wang Shuhe*), is about pulse diagnosis written in the form of rhymes. It is believed that the book was written by Wang Shuhe (201–208), an eminent Chinese physician during the Western Jin period. The book became popular with multiple versions circulated during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Yet, during the Northern Song period, some medical experts started to

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[1]The IJMES transliteration system has been used to transliterate the Persian and Arabic scripts. Words with Arabic vocabularies and articles are transliterated according to the corresponding pronunciation principles of hurūf shamsiyya and hurūf qamariyya.

[2]Hereinafter known as *Tanksūqnāmah*.

[3]Unless otherwise stated, all years are expressed as Common Era.

Illustration 3.1 Compilation of formulas, doctrines, pulse-taking, and rhymes redacted and illustrated, Vol 2

question whether the author was Wang Shuhe, and contended that the real author was Gao Yangsheng of the Six Dynasties period. As Gao wanted to make it easier for people to understand and remember the concepts behind pulse diagnosis, he decided to use rhymes to convey the meanings of those concepts. In addition, Gao purported that the book was written by Wang Shuhe, as Wang was an eminent physician and this could help getting people to pay attention to the book. As it turned out, the book did gain popularity among ordinary people even though Gao wasn't well-known in society. Questions about the book's inerrancy started coming up during the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, as some medical experts discovered errors and started critiquing the rhymes (Illustration 3.1).

Below are the examples of critiques and corrections of *Maijue*:

- *Wang Shuhe Maijue with Annotations by Tong Zhenzi*,[4] Liu Yuanbin (Northern Song)
- *An Annotated Maijue*[5] (lost), Chi Rong (Southern Song)
- *Commentaries on Maijue*[6] (lost), Li Wei (Southern Song)
- *The Essentials of Pulse Formula*,[7] Li Minshou (Southern Song)
- *Wang Shuhe Maijue with Annotations by the Elder Jiegu*,[8] Zhang Yuansu (Jin)
- *The Illustrated Wang Shuhe Maijue*,[9] Xiong Zongli (Ming)
- *Corrections in Maijue*,[10] Dai Qizong (Yuan)
- *Compilation of Formulas*, *Doctrines*, *Pulse-taking*, *and Rhymes Redacted and Illustrated*,[11] Heo Jun, 1581 (Korea) (Illustration 3.2)

In *Tanksūqnāmah*, the *Maijue* section is similar to the aforementioned critiques, where the translators and editors first used the Persian script and special symbols to annotate the Chinese pronunciations of the rhymed verses in *Maijue*, followed by presenting annotations and critiques of the verses by eminent Chinese physicians and ancient Chinese medicine classics.

Critiques by eminent physicians cited in *Tanksūqnāmah* included:

- Tong Zhenzi: aka Liu Yuanbin, and Tong Zhenzi (pseudonym), an eminent Chinese physician in Northern Song and author of *Wang Shuhe Maijue with Annotations by Tong Zhenzi*.
- Chi Daming: aka Chi Rong, and Daming (pseudonym), an eminent Chinese physician in Southern Song and author of *An Annotated Maijue*. The book has lost.
- Li Ziye: aka Li Jiong, and Ziye and Xifanzi (courtesy names), an eminent Chinese physician in Southern Song and author of *Commentaries on Maijue*. The book has lost.
- Li Minshou: aka Jingren (pseudonym), an eminent Chinese physician in Southern Song and author of *The Essentials of Pulse Formula*.
- Wuqiuzi: aka Zhu Gong, and Yizhong (courtesy name), an eminent Chinese physician in Northern Song and author of *Book from Nanyang for Saving People's Lives*.[12]

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[4]The title in Chinese is 《通真子补注王叔和脉诀》 (*Tong Zhenzi Buzhu Wang Shuhe Maijue*).

[5]The title in Chinese is 《脉诀注解》 (*Maijue Zhujie*).

[6]The title in Chinese is 《脉诀集解》 (*Maijue Jijie*).

[7]The title in Chinese is 《决脉精要》 (*Juemai Jingyao*).

[8]The title in Chinese is 《洁古老人注王叔和脉诀》 (*Jiegu laoren Zhu Wang Shuhe Maijue*).

[9]The title in Chinese is 《王叔和脉诀图要俗解大全》 (*Wang Shuhe Maijue Tuyao Sujie Daquan*).

[10]The title in Chinese is 《脉诀刊误》 (*Maijue Kanwu*).

[11]The title in Chinese is 《纂图方论脉诀集成》. Alternatively it is known as *Chando Banglon Magkyul Jipseong* (Korean Romanization).

[12]The title in Chinese is 《南阳活人书》 (*Nanyang Huoren Shu*).

- Zhang Zhongjing: aka Ji (given name) and Zhongjing (courtesy name), an eminent Chinese physician in late Eastern Han and later widely known as the miracle healer. He wrote the traditional Chinese medicine masterpiece, *Treatise on Exogenous Febrile and Miscellaneous Diseases.*[13]
- Yang Xuancao: an eminent physician in Tang dynasty; annotator of *The Canon of Eighty-one Difficult Issues aka The Huangdi's Canon of Eighty-one Difficult Issues*[14] and author of *An Annotated Huangdi's Canon of Eighty-one Difficult Issues.*[15] The book has lost.
- Du Guangting: aka Shengbin (courtesy name) and Dongyingzi (pseudonym), a Taoist priest and scholar in late Tang and the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. He was considered as the author of the sphygmology work, *Yuhan Cannon.*[16]
- Chen Cangqi: an eminent physician and pharmacist in Tang dynasty. He authored *Supplement to Materia Medica.*[17] The book has lost.
- Xu Jinzhi: aka Xu Guozhen, and Jinzhi (courtesy name), an eminent physician in Yuan dynasty. He authored *Prescriptions of the Royal Pharmacy.*[18]
- Xuanyan Xiansheng: aka Huangfu Mi, an eminent physician in Western Jin. His childhood given name was Jing and the courtesy name was Shi'an. He also gave himself a pseudonym, Xuanyan Xiansheng.

Apart from these physicians, there were also a number of physicians whose names were not known. Among them, four were referred as court physicians, namely Yu Taiyi,[19] Sheng Taiyi, Shen Taiyi, and Wei Taiyi. In addition, there were three physicians known as Din dāi shin and D.n čāi.

The Chinese medicine classics cited in the *Maijue* section of *Tanksūqnāmah* included:

- *The Canon of Eighty-one Difficult Issues*: Legend has it that the book was written by Qin Yueren, aka Bian Que before Eastern Han dynasty.
- *Basic Questions*[20]: the oldest surviving literature on Chinese medicine in China. Legend has it that the book was written by Huangdi during the Warrior States period.

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[13]The title in Chinese is 《伤寒杂病论》(*Shanghan Zabing Lun*).

[14]The title in Chinese is 《难经》aka《黄帝八十一难经》(*Nanjing* aka *Huangdi Bashiyi Na jing*).

[15]The title in Chinese is 《黄帝八十一难经注》(*Huangdi Bashiyi Nanjing Zhu*).

[16]The title in Chinese is 《玉函经》(*Yuhan Jing*).

[17]The title in Chinese is《本草拾遗》(*Bencao Shiyi*).

[18]The title in Chinese is《御药院方》(*Yuyaoyuan Fang*).

[19]It is possible that this individual was Northern Song physician Yu Shu in Northern Song and author of *The Canon of Eighty-one Difficult Issues with Annotations by Yu Shu* (《虞庶注难经》or *Yu Shu Zhu Nanjing*).

[20]The title in Chinese is《素问》(*Suwen*).

- *Causes of Disease* aka *A Dissertation on Etiology*, *Pathogenesis and Syndromes*[21]: A book written by the eminent Sui dynasty physician, Chao Yuanfang.
- *Invaluable Prescriptions*,[22] written by the Tang dynasty eminent physician, Sun Simiao.
- *Huangdi's Three Parts of Acupuncture*,[23] written by the eminent Western Jin physician, Huangfu Mi. It is the earliest book on acupuncture in China.

Tanksūqnāmah is one of the first books on Chinese literature in history translated into Persian. The very breadth and depth of Chinese medicine knowledge as recorded in the book is truly amazing. Unfortunately, after the execution of Rashīd ud-Dīn Fażl Allāh Hamidānī in 1318 and the ransack and destruction of Rab'-i Rashīdī, the book slid into obscurity in Iran. Also, there were no records of the spread and application of Chinese medicine, especially sphygmology, in Iran and neighbouring areas from the publication of the book until the near modern period. Nevertheless, a thorough studying of the book can shed light on the development of medicine in Song and Yuan dynasties of imperial China. Also, the compilation of the rhymed verses and critiques can help restoring the original text of *Maijue* and facilitating the comparative study of *Maijue* against existing annotated texts.

3.2 Comparative Study of the Persian Language and Chinese Language Versions of *Wang Shuhe Maijue*

In this section, we have selected two books as the basis for our comparative study of selected rhymed verses from *Tanksūqnāmah* and *Maijue*. They are *Wang Shuhe Maijue with Annotations by Tong Zhenzi*,[24] written by the eminent Northern Song physician, Liu Yuanbin, and *The Illustrated Wang Shuhe Maijue*, written by the eminent Ming physician, Xiong Zongli.[25]

There are several reasons why those books were selected. First, the period where Liu lived was closer to the period where *Tanksūqnāmah* was published. Second, in the Persian language copy, annotations by Liu were widely cited. While annotations by Chi Daming,[26] Li Ziye,[27] and others were also cited, but their books have been lost.

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[21]The title in Chinese is 《病源》 aka 《诸病源候论》 (*Bingyuan* aka *Zhu Bìngyuan Hou Lun*).

[22]The title in Chinese is 《千金方》 (*Qianjin Fang*).

[23]The title in Chinese is 《甲乙经》 aka 《黄帝三部针灸甲乙经》 (*Jiayi Jing* aka *Huangdi Sanbu Zhenjiu Jiayi Jing*).

[24]Hereinafter known as *Tong Zhenzi*.

[25]Hereinafter known as *Xiong Zongli*.

[26]aka Chi Rong.

[27]aka Li Jiong.

Third, Xiong's book cited passages from "Tong Zhenzi[28] (three areas), Zhu's[29] (one area), Chi's[30] (62 areas), Xi Fan[31] (16 areas), Du's[32] (one area), Li's[33] (three areas) and other physicians," and these passages were in turn cited in *Tanksūqnāmah*.

A comparison of the *Maijue* section of *Tanksūqnāmah* and *Tong Zhenzi* yielded interesting results, as the structure, headlines, and contents are basically the same. For example, the opening passage in both books started with the Visual Diagnosis Song (*Zhen Hou Ru Shi Ge*), followed by the Four Seasons—Five Organs—Left and Right Hands Separate Diagnosis Song (*Zuoyoushou Fen Zhen Wuzang Sishi Mai Ge*),[34] Seven External Pulses (*Qibiao Mai*), Eight Kinds of Pulses (*Bali Mai*), Nine Kinds of Pulses (*Jiudao Mai*), Diagnosis and Life and Death Song *(Zhen Zabing Shengsi Hou Ge)* (including Sudden Illness Diagnosis Song [*Zhen Baobing Ge*], Contrast in Appearance and Pulse Song [*Xíng Mai Xiangfan Ge*], Four Seasons Diagnosis and the Inner-inhibition of the Five Phases Song [*Zhen Sishi Bìng Wuxing Xiangke Ge*[35]], The Five Organs Song [*Wuzang Ge*], Postnatal Exogenous Febrile Disease Song [*Chanhou Shanghan Ge*], Children's Life and Death Song [*Xiao'er Shengsi Hou Ge*], Yang Toxins Song [*Yangdu Ge*[36]], Yin Toxins Song [*Yindu Ge*[37]], Exogenous Febrile Disease Song [*Shanghan Ge*], Four Seasons Diagnosis—Vacuity and Repletion Pulse Song [*Zhen Sishi Xushi Mai Ge*], etc.) Numerous Sickness and Life and Death Pulse Song (*Zhu Zabìng Shengsi Mai Ge*[38]) (including Cholera Song [*Huoluan Ge*], Nose Bleeding Song [*Binü Ge*], Heartache and Abdomen Pain Song [*Xinfu Tong Ge*], Headache Song [*Toutong Ge*], Stroke Song [*Zhongfeng Ge*], Exterior Sthenia Song [*Neishi Ge*], Short of Breath Song [*Qichuan Ge*], Blood Spitting Song [*Tuoxue Ge*], etc.) and Observe Patients' Life and Death Song (*Chase Guan Bingren Shengsi Hou Ge*[39]). The passage ends with Pregnancy Diagnosis Song (*Zhen Furen Youren Ge*) (including Pregnancy Diagnosis Song [*Zhen Furen Youren Ge*], Miscarriage Song [*Renshen Louji Hou Ge*], Pregnant Women's Acute Heartache and Adomen Pain Song [*Renshen Xinfu Jitong Ge*], Pregnant Women's Falls and Injuries Song [*Renshen Daopu Sunshang Ge*], Obstructed Labour and Life and Death Song [*Channan Shengsi Hou Ge*], Postnatal Life and Death Song [*Xinchan Shengsi Ge*], Pregnant Women's Exogenous Febrile Disease Song [*Renfu Shanghan Ge*], Fifteen Children External Diseases Song [*Xiao'er Waizheng Shiwu Hou Ge*], etc.)

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[28]aka Liu Yuanbin.

[29]aka Northern Song medical expert Zhu Gong.

[30]aka Chi Rong.

[31]aka Li.

[32]aka Du Guangting.

[33]aka Li Minshou.

[34]Known as *Zuoyoushou Zhenmai Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.

[35]Known as *Zhen Sishi Bing Wuxing Xiangke Mai Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.
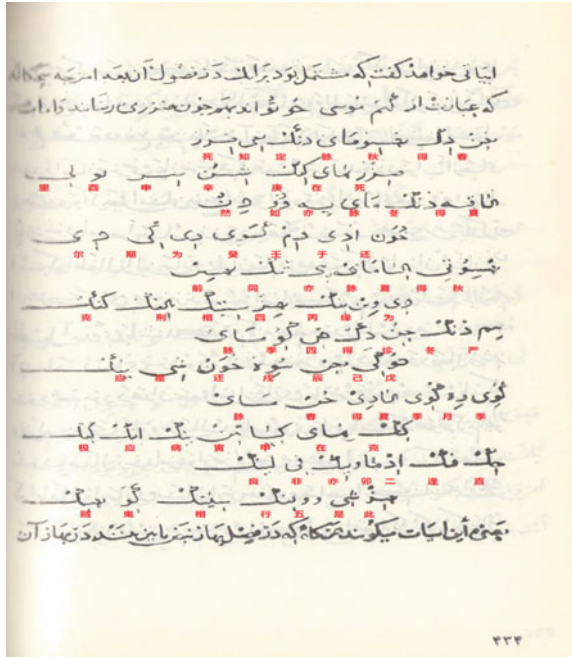
[36]Known as *Yangdu Hou Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.

[37]Known as *Yindu Hou Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.

[38]Known as *Zhu Zabing Shengsi Hou Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.

[39]Known as *Chase Guanbing Shengsi Hou Ge* in *Tong Zhenzi*.

Illustration 3.2
TANKSŪQNĀMAH, p. 434

Although the section contents are the same, there are differences in the order of the verses. For example, in *Tong Zhenzi*, Seven External Pulses, Eight Kinds of Pulses, Nine Kinds of Pulses, Yang Toxins Song, Yin Toxin Songs, The Treatise on Exogenous Febrile Disease Song and Four Seasons Diagnosis—Vacuity and Repletion Pulse Song appeared in the second volume of the book, whereas these verses appeared in Section Three of *Tanksūqnāmah*.

Maijue was written in the form of rhymed verses. Most of the verses are seven-word rhymes, some are five-word and four-word verses. After the translation, it was determined that the manuscript of *Tanksūqnāmah* contains a total of 802 *Maijue* verses.[40] Among them, there are 637 seven-word rhymes, 143 five-word rhymes, and 22 four-word rhymes. Also, empty spaces were left behind to make room for rewriting the Chinese rhymed verses. Referencing other *Maijue* annotations, it has been determined that there should be a supplement of 86 seven-word rhymes, 22 five-word rhymes, filling out of missing Chinese characters in rhymes in 16 areas and the deletion of wrong or repetitive syllables in five areas. As such, the editor of *Tanksūqnāmah* recorded a total of 910 compete rhymed verses, and the book is considered to be the most complete foreign language annotations of *Maijue*.

The Illustration 3.2 shows one of the *Maijue* verses in the manuscript of *Tanksūqnāmah* (with transliterated Chinese words added later in red).

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[40]It refers to a single-line rhymed verse, or half of a pair of double-line rhymed verse.

Referencing the rhymed verses in *Maijue*, we can tell that there are discrepancies between the rhymed verses in *Tanksūqnāmah* and those contained in *Tong Zhenzi* and *Xiong Zongli*. According to the numbers, there are discrepancies in 108 areas in terms of characters and words when comparing the rhymed verses in *Tanksūqnāmah* with the ones in the other two books—39 areas of discrepancies when compared with *Tong Zhenzi* and 18 areas of discrepancies when compared with *Xiong Zongli*. In addition, it is suspected that in these discrepancies, the 24 Chinese words (appeared in 26 times in the rhymed verses) were wrongly written during the hand copying process. (Please refer to the table below for details.)

Wrongly written characters in the *Maijue* section of *Tanksūqnāmah*

Transliteration and suspected wrongly written characters in *Tanksūqnāmah*'s rhymed verses (the page and verse numbers are denoted in parentheses)[a]	Chinese characters and their Hanyue pinyin of the rhymed verses in *Tong Zhenzi* and *Xiong Zongli*
giu- 古 (253-05)	舌 she
kiāy- 家 (268-03)	客 ke
lun- 沦 (287-15)	浓 nong
shin- 胜 (303-07,362-14)	胫 jing
fi- 肺 (306-13)	脉 mai
yū- 有[b] (313-03)	又 you
bū- 不 (398-06)	木 mu
she- 胁 (413-02)	肋 le
vi- 胃 (413-08)	肾 shen
khū- 和 (426-01)	知 zhi
tsez- 四 (434-08)	丁 ding
gi- 己 (434-10)	巳 si
gim- 今 (446-04)	令 ling
liāu- 了 (liǎo)(446-06)	子 zi
ren- 认 (448-03)	冷 leng
teu- 土 (466-01)	上 shang
kān- 干 (476-01)	千 qian
yuang/yung- 用 (496-14,500-12)	往 wang
kiei- 己 (498-04)	已 yi
tū- 土 (501-13)	右 you
yen- 延 (509-11)	诞 dan
fān- 反 (510-14)	及 ji
gim- 检 (512-09)	验 yan

[a]It refers to the photocopied version of *Tanksūqnāmah* (published by Tehran University Press on 1972)
[b]In the handwritten copy, the Persian transliteration of this particular Chinese character is marked with an explanation, noting that the character carries the meaning of "exist and have". As such, the transliterated Chinese should be "有." Also, it is suspected that due to the similar pronunciation of the characters "又" and "有", the transliterator mistakenly explained the character as having the same meaning of "有"

Apart from these discrepancies, some rhymed verses only appeared in *Tanksūqnāmah.* For example, these rhymed verses from the Fifteen Children External Diseases Song are found in *Tanksūqnāmah* only: "Diarrhea (*Xie zhi bu xie*)/Red

rashes throughout the body (*Dan tou bian shen*)/Dark spots on the body (*Shenshang hei ban*)/Frequent Screams (*E jiao shi pin*)." On the other hand, certain rhymed verses recorded in other annotated texts were not included in *Tanksūqnāma*. For example: This liver disease—liver qi stagnation (*Ji yin fei qi de*), lumps can be found in the left hypochondrium area (*bei fu xie yu bang*), it causes inflammation (*cui yu shen jiang ji*), chest pain and tightness (*yan tong kucao yang*), the weight of the liver is 4 catties and 4 taels and the anatomy of the liver consists of 7 segments in 2 rows (*si jin yu sì liang qi ye liang fenhang*)/and spittle coming out of the mouth, sign of *taiyin* illness caused by pathogenic wind (*yi guan xian chukuu, feng zhong jian fang ji gu*), and so on.

Throughout the history of China, there wasn't any literature that compiled the different annotations of *Maijue* prior to Yuan dynasty. As such, the *Maijue* section of *Tanksūqnāma* should not be seen as a complete translation of a Chinese medicine classic. It would be more correct to say the book represents a compilation of a vast number of Chinese medicine classics and multiple annotations of *Maijue*. This is significant in the sense of having a rather complete reference literature on Chinese sphygmology. At the same time, it also proves that in Rab'-i Rashīdī, there was already a fine and complete collection of Chinese literature.

3.2.1 Analysis of the Persian Version of Wang Shuhe Maijue

According to the present research and analysis of *Tanksūqnāmah*, the recording of the Persian version of *Maijue* wasn't done through the reading out of the verses by Chinese people. Given that it was handwritten by someone who used Persian script to transliterate the pronunciation, it is believed that the transliteration was done by Persian scholars who knew Chinese. The reasons are as follows:

First, an institution was set up in Rab'-i Rashīdī to train foreign language-learning talents in a somewhat standardized manner. Scholars from different parts of the world, including China, taught Persian students about the world's different languages and cultures. The preface in *Tanksūqnāmah*, believed to be handwritten by Rashīd ud-Dīn Fażl Allāh Hamidānī, recorded in part the following:

> We strove and found, among the masters, an individual who is well-versed in medical knowledge and logic. He is an outstanding, smart, meticulous, arduous and virtuous young man who grasps different knowledge and skills. He is the *mawlā* of the Nation of Scholars and a unique grand scholar in this era. Under our arrangement, he became a pupil of the Chinese sage Siu Se; we also arranged *Kalamachī*[41] who understand languages and good at making descriptive records of things to follow him. It was under these circumstances that he started to learn the Chinese language and characters, as well as their jargons. After one year, he mastered the language …

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[41]*Kalamachī* or foreign language translator was the original term used in the Persian manuscript. Yi Qiqi (approx. 1327–1390), a scholar in the late Yuan and early Ming period, gave the term a Chinese translation, "怯里马赤" in his book, *Caomu Zi.*

As such, it is obvious that in Rabʻ-i Rashīdī, there were both Iranian talents eager to learn Chinese and translators who already knew Chinese. Also, in *Tanksūqnāmah*, there is a passage about *Kalamachī*:

> There are many versions about this pulse, but the scholars haven't made any explanation. Each and every physician that we recorded has his own interpretation. As we don't know the details, we didn't write down their names and left some space until we are able to locate *Kalamachī*. We will then ask and copy the information.

As we can see from the preceding paragraphs, we are certain that the transliteration work in *Tanksūqnāmah* was carried out by *Kalamachī* or Iranian talents who understood Chinese. In the Persian version of the manuscript, the handwriting of the transliteration is manifestly different from others, and denoted in red ink. Also, it's a shame that there are blank spaces in multiple areas, as the *Kalamachī* were unable to record the transliteration of certain rhymed verses in time.

In addition, there are different transliterations of the same Chinese character in the manuscript of *Tanksūqnāmah*, and such a situation is not uncommon as it appears on the same page or around a cluster of few lines from time to time. If the verses were read by Chinese scholars and then copied by Iranians according to the pronunciation, there shouldn't be multiple transliterations of the same character. This suggests a more likely scenario where in an instructional setting, Chinese scholars first enunciated the pronunciations and explained the meanings of the rhyme verses to Iranian talents who were studying Chinese. These talents then recorded and copied onto the manuscript of *Tanksūqnāmah*. The fact that there are multiple transliterations could be due to different accents of the Chinese scholars, and the Iranian students didn't record what they heard accurately. Or it could be due to the errors made by the students, or the records were made in a rush.

Lastly, the Iranian talents learning Chinese or *Kalamachī* could, on their own, made a few transliterations of the rhymed verses of *Maijue*. In the previous section about wrongly written characters, we can see that for some Chinese characters, they wouldn't be wrongly pronounced by Chinese people but were wrongly transliterated according to the pronunciations of other Chinese characters. For example, 舌 → 古(she > gu), 巳 → 己 (si > ji), 令 → 今 (ling > jin), 千 → 干 (qian > gan), and such errors do not appear in the surviving Chinese annotations of *Maijue*. Moreover, there are cases where the pronunciations of synonymic characters were used to transliterate the original characters. For example, the pronunciation of "四" was used to transliterate "丁". These suggest the individuals who did the transliteration knew about Chinese language, but mispronounced certain look-alike characters, or they only understood the meaning but not the pronunciation. As such, errors occurred during transliteration as it was done by comparing the shape and look of the characters.

In sum, it is safe to assume that the Persian version of *Tanksūqnāmah* was created with the aid of one or multiple Chinese scholars (such as Siu Se, mentioned in the preface). The rhymed verses were first read by the Chinese scholars to the Iranian talents learning Chinese or *Kalamachī*, so that these students could record the pronunciations of the Chinese characters of the rhymed verses in Persian script,

followed by explaining the meanings of those verses and the related annotations by Chinese physicians and passages in Chinese medicine literature. Afterwards, these Iranians transliterated the verses and translated the annotations. They also provided explanations of the rhymed verses. Due to the different accents of the Chinese scholars involved, errors were made during the transliteration process, where we have seen issues like multiple transliterations for a single character, incomplete verses, inaccurate transliteration, and misleading transliteration. Moreover, due to the voluminous content of *Maijue*, those talents or *Kalamachī* only managed to finish a small part of the transliteration work.

All in all, *Tanksūqnāmah* reflects both the close cultural exchange in regions along the Silk Road and the fruit of close collaborations between scholars from China and Iran. Without a doubt, the literature is a precious gift for future generations left behind by Silk Road's peoples and cultures.

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Chapter 4
Relation Between Sogdiana and Turfan During the 10th–11th Centuries as Reflected in Manichaean Sogdian Texts

Yutaka Yoshida

Abstract In this article, I assemble the three Manichaean Sogdian texts discovered in Turfan which bear out the exchange between Sogdiana and Turfan during the tenth to early eleventh centuries. While the first one (Ch/U 6879) proves the importation of cotton cloth from Sogdiana, the other two [LM 20 1552 (23) of the Lushun National Museum and Bäzäklik Letter B] attest the regular correspondence between the Manichaeans of Samarqand and those of Turfan. The Manichaean New Persian texts discovered in Turfan are most likely to represent the literary works of the Manichaeans living in Samanid or Qarakhanid Samarqand. Bäzäklik Letter B was sent by a bishop (aftāδān) of the Manichaean community of the town of Tūdh near Samarqand to celebrate the New Year. The addressee was a Teacher Aryāmān Puhr staying in Turfan. Therefore, in the early eleventh century the Manichaeans of Samarqand were under the leadership of a možak or Teacher seated in the church of Turfan, possibly what is now called Ruin K. Finally, I dwell on the problems surrounding the so-called Manichaean Letters i and ii and argue that they are connected to the evacuation of Manichaeans from Mesopotamia reported by al-Nadīm as happening during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE).

4.1 Introduction

The heyday of the Silk Roads is no doubt the first half of the Tang dynasty (618–906 CE). Many foreigners, in particular Sogdians or *huren* 胡人, came to China and settled in Chinese cities like Changan and Loyang, where things related to *hu* 胡 such as *hufu* 胡服 "Sogdian dress", *hushi* 胡食 "Sogdian foods", and so on were very popular (Schafer 1963). Many books about the history of the Silk Roads spend the bulk of pages on the relationship between China and the West during and before

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this period.[1] Consequently, not much is written and known about the Silk Road history after the Anlushan Rebellion (755–763 CE), since Tang China evacuated Central Asia and lost interest in what was happening in that area. During this period the Islamization of Sogdiana happened to be underway and it gives a popular impression that the Silk Road trade came to an end after the Islamization. Nevertheless, the trade did survive and its traces are abundantly found among the Dunhuang documents of the tenth century, where productions of the Islamic West are recorded.[2] (Rong 2015). As for another oasis city Turfan, one may refer to a passage in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-Akhbār* (ca 1049–1052 CE); in connection with the residence of a qaghan of the West Uighur kingdom or the Toğuz Oğuz country it records as follows: His (i.e. qaghan's, Y.Y.) floor-coverings are made of felt. But over these are spread carpets made by Muslims …" (cf. Marinez 1982). In fact, fragments of the textiles produced in the Islamic world have been discovered among the Turfan remains (Sakamoto 2004).

In this article, I assemble the three Turfan Manichaean Sogdian texts of the tenth to the early eleventh centuries that point to the contemporary relationship or exchange between Sogdiana and Turfan can be seen.

4.2   Cotton Cloth of Sogdiana and Qarašahr

First, let us see the text and translation of an unpublished fragment Ch/U 6879; (Reck 2006) it attests an interesting expression *swγδ'ny wš'yny* "cotton cloth of Sogdiana". It is a fragment measuring 21.6×11.2 cm and is written on the backside of a Chinese Buddhist text corresponding to *Taisho Tripiṭaka* vol. 7, 700c12-23, part of the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Judging from the width of the fragment (11.2 cm), more than half is missing from the left hand margin of the original paper, which must have measured more or less 26 cm. Consequently, one cannot provide consecutive translation of the text. Manichaean affiliation of the text is made certain by *δyn''βr''y* "elect". Since the bulk of Manichaean texts discovered in Turfan are believed to go back to the tenth to the early eleventh centuries,[3] (Yoshida 2003; Hamilton 1992) there is practically no

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[1]One may refer to E. de la Vaissiere, tr. J. Ward, *Sogdian traders. A history*, 2005 which has now become a standard work. The third revised edition of its French original, *Histore des marchands sogdiens*, has just appeared in 2016. One of the latest works is V. Hansen, *The Silk Road. A new history*, 2013. For us Japanese, T. Moriyasu, *The Silk Road and the Tang Empire* (in Japanese) is the most popular and informative.

[2]Rong Xinjiang's article may be referred to: "Khotanese felt and Sogdian silver: Foreign gifts to Buddhist monasteries in 9th and 10th-century Dunhuang (in Chinese)".

[3]For the exact dating of the Turfan Manichaean texts, one may refer to the so-called Manichaean calendars in Sogdian and Uighur. So far the following dates have been proposed: Sogdian, (1)   M796 = 929–930 CE, (2) Otani 6191 = 932–933 CE, (3) M148 984–985 CE, (4) M5268 = 1000–1001 CE; Uighur, (5) Ch/U 6932 = 988–989 CE, (6) U495 = 989–990 CE, (7) No. 88 in the *Tulufankaoguji* of Xuang Wenbi = 1002–1003 CE. On the Sogdian texts, see

doubt that this manuscript written in late cursive script also originates from the same period.

a [   ](..w …)rt['yw''xr'ny ?]
b   ẓm'š''yky kwrδy o nw'[   ]
c   'δry 'rk-c'ny wš'yny (.)[   ]
d   'rk-c'ny o 'βt' kwm'n[   ]
e   wš'yny oo ctβ'r 'yw''x(r.)[   ]
f   δyn''βr''y wxwšw pr(t)[   ]
g   pncw prt kwm'n[   ]
h   'yw xw'nš'y wcny w(r)[nh?   ]
i   swγδ'ny wš'yny kwrδy[   ]
j   (w)[š'yn](y) 'yw knpy 20+20+20 oo[   ]
k   [ty]m δβrw 10+iii 'rk-c'ny[   ]
l   (wxw)šwmy m'xy wx[w]šw[sγty'   ]
m   δyn['']βr''y pncw prt(w)[   ]
n   (ZY 'δry kw)[m'n?   ]

TRANSLATION

"… a tunic for a novice(?). Nine … three (pieces of) cotton cloth of Ark … [made out of cotton cloth] of Ark. Seven (pairs of) trousers(?) … <5> cotton cloth. Four novices(?) … For an elect six (pieces of) silk cloth … five (pieces of) silk cloth for (?) trousers. … One tablecloth(?), old wool(?) … Cotton cloth of Sogdiana for a tunic. … <10> cotton cloth 59 (pieces) … [More]over, I gave(?) 13 (pieces) [cotton cloth] of Ark … The sixth month, on the six[th day] … (for) an elect five pieces of silk cloth … and three pairs of trousers(?)"

COMMENTARY

b.1 *ẓm'š''yky* "novice(?)".[4] This strange looking word is most likely to be connected with yet another enigmatic word *z-m'š'yktw 'yw'rx'ny* encountered in Bäzäklik Letter A (line 120).[5] Commenting on the word, I also referred to *'ywrx'ny z-m'štyk* found in the Manichaean Uighur text studied by Moriyasu (2004). In both the texts the expressions in question are most likely to denote Manichaean monks of relatively low rank, whence my translation "novice". It is to be noted that *'yw''x(r.) []* of line 5 seems to be the same word as *'yw'rx'ny* or *'ywrx'ny*, although spellings

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Yoshida "Buddhist influence on the bema festival?". For the Uighur calendars, see J. Hamilton "Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989, et 1003".

[4]Reck, *op. cit.*, p. 282, no. 394 reads *ẓm'š'n'ky*. The two letters before k look very similar and Reck's reading is equally possible. See also my comment on the spelling of *δyn''βr''y* below.

[5]On the three Manichaean Sogdian letters discovered from Bäzäklik and my studies on them, see Sect. 4.3.

differ slightly from each other. Slight discrepancy of spelling is again shared by *zm'š''yky, z-m'š'yktw*, and *z-m'štyk*. The most plausible explanation for this unusual vacillation in the spellings is likely to be sought in their foreign origin. Different order of the two words may perhaps imply that the two words denote two different kinds of novices. Among the Turfan Manichaean paintings and miniatures one actually finds two groups of young monks wearing headgears different from those worn by ordinary monks. One is those wearing a flat white hat and the other with a black hat, cf. left side of MIK III 4979 a, b.[6] (Gulácsi 2001; Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012).

In view of *δyn''βr''y* of line 6 and possibly of line 13, an unusual spelling of word medial -''- may belong to our scribe's orthographic peculiarity. Cf. also *ẓm'š''yky* and *'yw''x(r)[ ]*.

b.2 *kwrδy* "tunic, shirt". On this word see also Chr. *qwrθy*. (Sundermann 1975). It no doubt denotes a white robe worn by electi or Manichaean monks.

c.1 *'rk-c'ny* "of (the city) of Ark (i.e. what is now Qarašahr in Xinjiang)". The feminine form of this adjective is attested in L44, line 7: *'rkc'nch (x't'wnh)* "(Uighur) queen of Ark". (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst, p. 18a.).

c.2 *wš'yny* "cotton cloth". This word was first recognized by Sims-Williams, cf. Sims-Williams and J. Hamilton, *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Toen-houang,* London 1990, pp. 56–57.[7] In the light of the words surviving in the text, one may suppose that it is a document recording expenditure of textiles for making the dresses of Manichaean monks and novices. A similar Chinese text of 747 CE is known among the Turfan Chinese documents.[8] (Ikeda 1979). It is a document issued by a certain Buddhist temple and records the expenditure of cotton cloth for making the spring/summer clothing (*chunyi* 春衣) worn by the workers attached to the temple. Three kinds of dresses are mentioned there: (a) *shan* 衫 "shirt", *kun* 褌 "drawers", and *ku* 袴 "trousers".

d *kwm'n* "trousers(?)". Since *kwrδy* could be the Sogdian equivalent of *shan* 衫 "shirt", one may compare *kwm'n* with Khotanese *kaumadai* "trousers" (Bailey 1979), although the phonetic similarity is admittedly slight[9] (Ogihara 1979).

e *'yw''x(r.)[ ]* "novice(?)". On this word see above.

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[6]Reproduced in Zs. Gulácsi, *Manichaean art in Berlin collections*. Young monks wearing a flat hat are also seen in two different art objects, cf. Gulácsi, *ibid.*, pp. 90, 204. Gulácsi remarks as follows: "… its (flat hat, Y.Y.) connection with a specific rank, geographic or ethnic group within the Manichaean church is uncertain", cf. *ibid.*, p. 204. Yet another word meaning "novice" is suggested in Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst, *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian*.

[7]See now also its English version Sims-Williams and Hamilton 2015.

[8]For the text and translation, see Appendix.

[9]It may also be compared with Skt. *kaupīna,* which is translated with Chin. *kun* 褌 "drawers".

f *prt* "silk cloth(?)".[10] I take the word for a Sogdianized form of Skt. *pat* ≥ *a* "silk cloth, etc.". On Niya Prakrit *pat* ≥ *a* and related forms, see H. Lüders, "Textilien im alten Turkistan", *APAW*, no. 3, Berlin, 1936, pp. 24–28. On the pleonastic *r* in transcribing the Indian retroflex sound, cf. also *kwrty* "ten million" for *kot* ≥ *i* and *pwrny'nyh* "religious merit" for *pun* ≥ *ya*.

h.1 *xw'nš'y* "tablecloth(?)". My translation is a simple guess based on the assumption that *xw'n* is an element corresponding Middle Persian *xw'n* "table" widely used in Manichaean Sogdian and Uighur texts in the meaning of "cloth set with food, communal meal". Recently, the Chinese equivalent *shidan* 食單 was discovered by Wang Ding. (Wang 2014). On the other hand, if *xw'n* corresponds to *guan* 冠 "(Middle Chinese *kuân[11]), *xw'nš'y* may be taken to mean "headgear, crown", but I am not able to find the suitable character for the second element *š'y*.

h.2 *w(r)[nh]* "wool". This restoration is again nothing more than my conjecture. On Sogdian *wrnh* "wool" found in a medical text Pelliot sogdien 19, see E. Benvenisite *Textes sogdiens*, Paris 1940, p. 232.[12]

k.1 *δβrw*. My translation "I gave" is based on my presumption that it is an error for *δ'βrw*. In the light of the impersonal neuter preterite *xwrtw* "it was eaten" attested in Mug documents (Yoshida 2009), it may also be possible to take it for an error for *δβrtw "it was given". Whatever the case may be, 1 sg. injunctive of *δβr-* "to give" is most unexpected in the context.

k.2 A short line is drawn between lines 11 and 12. Since a date is entered in line 12, this short line may mark the end of the preceding entry or section, which would have been headed by another date earlier than the 6th of the 6th month.

The two kinds of cotton cloth mentioned in the text are *'rk-c'ny wš'yny* "cotton cloth of Ark"[13] (Raschmann 1995) and *swγδ'ny wš'yny* "cotton cloth of Sogdiana". Similarly in the contemporary Chinese documents from Dunhuang, two kinds of cotton cloth are encountered: *moluxie* 末禄緤 "cotton cloth of Merv" and *anxixie* 安西緤 "cotton cloth of Anxi, i.e. Kucha", cf. E. Trombert, "Une trajectoire d'ouest en est sur la Route de la Soie", in: *La Persia e l'Asia centrale de Alessandro al X secolo*, Rome 1996 (Atti dei convegni Lincei 127), pp. 205–227. I venture to suppose that the two expressions in the Sogdian text correspond to the two in Chinese, respectively, especially because Ark is a next oasis city to the east of Kucha usually referred to as Anxi.[14] The cotton cloth produced in Western Turkestan may have been referred to as either "cotton cloth of Sogdiana" or "cotton

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[10]In Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst, op. cit., p. 144a, *prt* is translated "roll of cloth" with a query and Lüders's work is referred to. It is interesting to see that when *prt* is mentioned three times in this text, it is always accompanied by *δyn''βr''y*. Different textiles, cotton and silk, appear to have been employed, respectively, for novices and ordinary monks.

[11]Middle Chinese forms are cited from Karlgren 1957, *Grammata Serica Recensa*.

[12]*wrn'* attested in medical texts, So 14822 and So 14842 (both unpublished), seems to be the same word.

[13]Professor T. Moriyasu drew my attention to the Uighur equivalent *solmï böz* "cotton cloth of (the country) Solmï or Qarašahr" found in Uighur letter.

[14]Cf. Trombert, ibid., p. 225.

cloth of Merv". In the eyes of the scribe of Ch/U 6879, one kind of cotton cloth was produced in Sogdiana and the other in Ark or Qarašahr. In any case the former must have been imported from or via Sogdiana.[15] Accordingly, this document suggests the trade conducted between Sogdiana and Turfan.

In concluding this section, I should like to cite yet another similar Manichaean Sogdian document belonging to the Otani collection now preserved in the Lushun National Museum, China. All these manuscripts are known to have been discovered in Turfan by the Otani expedition. The text in question bears a signature LM20 1514/528 in the museum and was reproduced in: Lushun Museum and Ryukoku University (ed.), *Selected fragments of Chinese Buddhist texts from Xinjiang region in Lushun Museum,* Kyoto 2006, p. 160. It measures 5.9 cm × 38.3 cm. Approximately three quarters of the sheet is lost from the right hand margin and only one or two words have survived. The Sogdian text is written on the backside of a Buddhist Chinese text, which is again a part of the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* but is too short to be identified with a particular place in this gigantic and repetitive Chinese text.[16,17]

a	δyn''βr['y?	elect ...
b	kwrδy XII[	a tunic, 12+x ...
c	XI prt'y[	eleven pieces of silk cloth(?) ...
d	'yw'x'[rny?	novice ...
e	'βt'[	seven ...
f	'δw p'n(.)[	two ? ...
g	tym '(y)[w	moreover, one ...
h	tym 'ny(w)[	yet another ...
i	'yw prt(')[y	one piece of silk cloth ...
j	kwmp'n[	trousers(?) ...
k	wšyny kw[rδy	cotton cloth, a tunic ...
l	'δry wr[nh(?)	three pieces of woolen cloth(?) ...

prt'y could be the same word as *prt* or a form derived from it. *'yw'x'[]* is likely to be compared with *'yw'rx'ny*, etc., while *kwmp'n* may be a spelling variant of *kwm'n* discussed above.

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[15]Nevertheless, every oasis city of Turkestan could have its own cotton cloth. Khotan was famous for its fine cotton cloth named *ganchengxixie* 紺城細緤 "fine cotton cloth of Gancheng or city of Phema", cf. Rong Xinjiang, art. cit., p. 271.

[16]After line l, or the last line of the text a blank space of two short lines and several incomplete lines follow. However, only beginnings of words are left and their relationship to the main text is hard to see. Here in this article I omitted this part.

[17]Since either a name of a textile or dress is expected, *p'n* "table" does not seem to suit the context.

4.3   Mention of Samarqand in a Manichaean Sogdian Text

Yet another fragment belonging to the Otani Turfan collection preserved in the Lushun National Museum, LM 20 1552 (23) P. 22. 9, is an oblong fragment measuring 11.0 cm by 27.0 cm (Yoshida 2012). It is written only on one side and the verso is left blank. One can see a place where two sheets of paper were glued together, which indicates that the fragment comes from a longer scroll. Its Manichaean affiliation is made certain by such expressions as *’δw wkry ’ncmn* "twofold community" and *δy-np’šyt pryšty-(t)* "angels protecting the (Manichaean) religion".[18] It being a Manichaean text discovered in Turfan, the manuscript is also likely to be dated to the tenth century; this dating seems to be corroborated again by its late cursive handwriting. Unfortunately, what has remained in this fragmentary text is too meagre to identify the contents. Nevertheless, the fact that the text was written on a scroll of which the verso was left blank leads one to presume that it comes from a long letter like the two letters discovered in Bäzäklik. As we shall see below, the surviving words are compatible with this assumption, because the parallel expressions occur in the two Bäzäklik letters.

a   [   ](.m. . ZY s)[   ](. . . .)[   ](m)γwnw
b   [mδy-c]yk ’δw wkry ’ncmnᵃ o βγ’nyk ’nt’c ZY sγtm’nw
c   [   ](y-)t šyrxwz-yty ’pryw (o) pr ’nẓ-’wy-n’kwᵇ xwβw []
d   [’yšwy   ](r) o Z(Y)[mγw](n) δy-np’šyt pryšty-(t)[]
e   [prn ZY w’xšykt?   ]ptnw smr[kn](δ)[h]ᶜ
f   [   ](..) ’x[   ]

(a) A short line is written across the final stroke of -*n*. It is not clear what this short line is meant to be. (b) Two dots are below the letter *z*. (c) The typical upper part of a letter *δ* (lamed) has survived and there is no doubt about the restoration of *δ*.

TRANSLATION

"… the whole twofold community staying [here]; together with the holy assembly and the entire [… and] friends; by […] of the redeeming lord [Jesus]; [… all] the angels protecting the religion, [guardian spirits …] the town of Samar[qand …]"

COMMENTARY

b.1 *[mδy-c]yk* "(residing) here". My restoration is a sheer guess. In principle *[tδy-c] yk* is equally possible.

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[18]The two expressions are encountered in the Bäzäklik letters to be discussed in the following section.

b.2 *'δw wkry 'ncmn* "twofold community". The combination also appears in M 697A and in Bäzäklik Letters A and B edited by me.[19] Its Uighur counterpart *iki ančman* is rendered by P. Zieme as "zwei Konvente (consisting of male and female believers)" (Zieme 1975). This assumption is supported by the Kephalaion 87: "Now the holy church exists in two forms: in the brothers and the sisters" (Gardner 1995). Differently van Tongerloo (1981) who considers the two to be consisting of clerical and secular congregations.

c *βγ'nyk 'nt'c ZY sγtm'n [](t) šyrxwz-yty 'pryw* "together with the holy assembly and the entire [… and] friends". This expression may perhaps refer to the divine or holy group of people, that is clergymen, and secular supporters of the Manichaean church.[20]

c.4 *'nẓ-'wy-n'kw xwβw ['yšwy]* "redeeming lord Jesus". For the restoration of *'yšwy* cf. *'nẓ-'wn'y xwβw 'yšwy* encountered in Bäzäklik Letter A, lines 76 and 106. On the combination of the preposition *pr* and *'yšw* see *pr xwβw*[21] *'yšwy frm'nw δstwβry* (Bäzäklik Letter A, 19; Bäzäklik Letter B, 77-78) "one who has authority by the command of Lord Jesus".[22] Therefore, it is tempting to restore ['yšwy δstwβr](y), but the damaged letter does look like *r* rather than *y*.

c.5 *[mγw](n) δy-np'šyt pryšty-(t) [prn ZY w'xšykt]*. On this restoration, see *mγwnw δyn-p'šytw pryšt'kt(y)[prn] ZY w'xšykty* (Bäzäklik Lettetr A, 77-78) "guardian angels, [glories] and guardian spirits of the religion".

e.1 *ptnw* "town". This word was borrowed from Indian *pattana* "id". It has been attested not only in Manichaean but also Buddhist Sogdian texts (Henning 1936; Sims-Williams 1983) and was well naturalized in Sogdian.

e.2 *smr[kn](δ)[h]*. The original name of Samarqand has been attested once on the envelope of Ancient Letter II: *sm'rknδh*. An adjective derived from it is encountered in Ancient Letter II, Mug documents, and the Ladakh inscription;[23] (Sims-Williams with Grenet and Podushkin 2007; Sims-Williams 2016) in all the texts it is spelled *sm'rknδc* except for one Mug document A14, where *smrknδc* is

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[19]For the three letters and my edition, see the next section.

[20]If this interpretation of mine is correct, it lends support to van Tongerloo's understanding of *'δw wkry 'ncmn* mentioned above. However, since the notion of two communities comprising clergymen and clergywomen is so common not only in Manichaeism but also in Buddhism (cf. *erbuseng* 二部僧 "two groups of monks consisting of male and female"), I stick to my understanding of the expression.

[21]In Letter B one reads *xwt'w* instead of *xwβw*.

[22]Cf. also *pr xwβw 'yšwy-y δstwβry* (Bäzäklik Letter B, 13–14) "one who has authority by (the help of) Lord Jesus".

[23]Samarqand is referred to in one of the old inscriptions discovered in Kultobe, Kazakhstan. In the inscription the adjective is spelled *symrkntc*. On the employment of t instead of δ in this very early monument, see Sims-Williams, "From Aramaic to Manchu: Prehistory, life and after-life of the Sogdian script".

attested twice.[24] (Sims-Williams 1993/2001; Livshitz 2015). Very few words begin with *smr-* and there is practically no doubt about this restoration. It is to be noted that this is the very first time that the name of Samarqand is found in the Sogdian texts unearthed from Turfan.

The mention of Samarqand in this text is presumably understood as indicating that it was dispatched either to or from Samarqand, and hence that during the tenth century exchange was held between the Manichaeans of Turfan and Samarqand. In fact existence of the Manichaean community in the Samarqand area in the tenth century was witnessed by such contemporary Islamic scholars as Ibn al-Nadīm (932–990 CE) and Al-Bīrūnī (973-after 1050 CE); Manichaeism is also mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (982/983 CE) in connection with Samarqand[25] (Reeves 2011). The fact that one ruler of the West Uighur Kingdom showed special concern about the fate of those Manichaeans who escaped from Babylonia and took refuge in Samarqand during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE). I cite Reeves's translation of the relevant passage of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*:[26]

> The last time when they were visible was during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE), when they kept close to Khurāsān. Out of fear for their lives, those of them who were left concealed their affairs and roamed about in this region. (Eventually) around five hundred of their members gathered together in Samarqand. When their business became public, the governor of Khurāsān sought to put them to death. Then the king of China — I think it was (actually) the lord of the Toghuzghuz — sent a message to him saying: "In my country there are many more Muslims than there are people of my religion in your country", and he swore to him that if he should kill a single one of them, he would kill the whole community (of Muslims) who were with him. (He also promised) he would demolish the mosques and leave among the remaining lands lookouts against the Muslims in order to (identify and) kill them. So the governor of Khurāsān refrained from harming them, and accepted the *jizya* from them.

Since al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* was drafted in 987 CE, the ruler of the Toghuzghuz mentioned by him is to be identified with one of the West Uighur qaghans, who were supporters of the Manichaean religion.

4.4 Bäzäklik Letters

In 1981, three Manichaean Sogdian letters and five Uighur ones were unearthed from one of the caves in Bäzäklik. They were edited by the present author in: Turfan Antiquarian Bureau (ed.), *Studies in the new Manichaean texts recovered*

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[24]For the editions of these texts, see the following publications: (1) Ancient Letter II: Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Ancient Letter II"; (2) Mug documents: V. A. Livshitz, *Sogdian epigraphy of Central Asia and Semirech'e*; (3) Ladakh inscription: Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh".

[25]Relevant passages from the three Islamic sources are collected and translated by J. Reeves.

[26]Reeves, *ibid.*, p. 228.

from Turfan, Beijing, 2000, pp. 3–199. Three letters are called: Letters A, B, and C. Letter A measures 26 cm by 268 cm and comprises 135 lines. Its left-hand margin is badly damaged and the damage is greater towards the end than at the beginning. Letter B (79 lines) measures 26 cm by 133 cm and Letter C (29 lines) 30 cm by 45.5 cm; both are preserved almost intact. While Letter C is written on one sheet of paper, Letters A and B are scrolls consisting of several sheets of paper glued together. Letter A differs from Letter B in that it shows a miniature between lines 25 and 26; it depicts a mitre of a Teacher or možak and two musicians in full colour. The miniature is painted on a narrower sheet of paper than the others and was glued between two sheets of paper comprising the body of the letter.

4.4.1 Dating of the Letters[27] (Yoshida *2002*)

Letter C is sent by a monk called Shāh Wispuhr (*š'γ wyspwxr*) to his elder Khwar Zādag (*xw'r z-'δ'k'*) and is more private than the others; it mentions as many as 19 acquaintances of the addressor bearing Uighur names such as Lord Inčü Bilgä Tiräk (*'yncw pylk' tyr'k xwβw*) and asks the addressee to send his greetings to them. Letters A and B were sent to one and the same addressee named Mār Aryāmān Puhr (*mr 'ry'm'n pwxr*), who was a možak or Teacher of eastern diocese (*xwrsncyk mwz'k*). The two were dispatched to cerebrate the New Year and are very similar in that they share almost identical hyperbole expressions praising the Teacher. They also share the feature of bearing crimson seal impressions in various places of the letters, which seems to indicate more official nature of the letters. Nevertheless, the body of Letter A consists in the wish of auspiciousness for the New Year, while Letter B lists the religious services conducted by the addressor and his colleague monks during the month of fast (*cxš'pt m'x*), which is the 12th luni-solar month preceding the New Year.

When I first published the letters, I dated them vaguely to the latter half of the tenth century, because it was once shown by Taqizadeh that towards the end of the tenth century in the West Uighur Kingdom, the month of fast was moved ahead by one month from its original position, and because there seemed to be no other indication specifying the exact date[28] (Taqizadeh apud Henning *1945*). However, it was Professor T. Moriyasu who drew my attention to the fact that a name or title Isig Ädgü Totoq Ögä (*'ysyk 'δkw twtwγ 'wyk'*) appears both in Letter C and the two Uighur stake inscriptions of 1008 and 1019 CE, and suggested that the two could

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[27]This is a somewhat enlarged version of my discussion published in the following article: Yoshida, "Manichaean Sogdian letters discovered in Bäzäklik".

[28]Originally, the Manichaean month of fast fell on the first luni-solar month of the Chinese calendar. Letters A and B are in fact dated towards the end of each letter. While almost nothing is left from this part of Letter A, Letter B states that it was written on Monday the sixth day of the month of Pushnu (*pwšnw*) or the first luni-solar month. This dating is far from specific enough to find the exact year.

represent one and the same person (Yoshida and Moriyasu 2000). Following his suggestion, I compared the proper names found in the three letters with those of the two stake inscriptions.[29] Apart from one suggested by Moriyasu, another three names were discovered to occur in the two groups of texts: (1) Alp Totoq Ögä (*'lp twtwx 'wyk'*: Letter A and the two Uighur inscriptions), (2) Sarïγ Baš Tarqan (*sryγ p'š trx'n*)[30] and (3) Asmïš Tängrim (*"smyš tnkrym*)[31] (Letter C and the inscription of 1008 CE).

Especially noteworthy is Alp Totoq Ögä. Letter A (line 123) mentions him as a leader (after the qaghan) heading the lay community of Qočo, where the Teacher was seated: *tδy βyk(k)[yr'nw nγwš'kptw] 'lp twtwx 'wyk'* "there (where you are), outside (with respect to secular matters,) [the leader of the auditors] Alp Totoq Ögä". The Uighur minister (Ögä) bearing the same name appears in the following titles: *qočo balïq bägi alp totoq ögä* "the head of the City of Qočo, Alp Totoq Ögä (Stake Inscription I, line 18) and *[el] ögäsi alp totoq ögä qutluγ qočo ulušuγ bašlayur ärkän* "the prime minister Alp Totoq Ögä is the head of the fortunate country of Qočo" (Stake Inscription III, lines 3–4). Accordingly, Alp Totoq Ögä was promoted from the head of the City of Qočo to the prime minister who was in charge of the entire country of Qočo by 1019. Although one does not know what title Alp Totoq Ögä bore in Letter A, the three names shared by Letter C and Stake Inscription I of 1008 CE induce one to date Letters A, B, and C nearer to Stake Inscription I of 1008 CE than to III of 1019 CE[32] (Sundermann 1992). Letter B is dated on Monday the 6th of the first month, and if one looks up the Chinese calendar of the early eleventh century, the sixth day of the first month falls on Monday in the years 1007 (27th January), 1010 (23rd January), and 1014 (8th February). In any case, all the three Bäzäklik letters are most likely to go back to the early eleventh century.[33]

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[29]The two inscriptions were driven into the ground when stupas were built and the names of donors were written on them. For the text and translation of the two inscriptions see.

[30]I now abandon my old reading Sarïγ Bars Tarqan (*sryγ prs trx'n*) in favour of Moriyasu's Sarïγ Baš Tarqan.

[31]Moriyasu reads Ašmïš, but for the reading of Asmïš see Sims-Williams and Hamilton, *Documents turco-sogdiens …*, p. 59.

[32]On the other hand, as Sundermann argued, not only Buddhism spread but also Manichaean literature flourished in particular under the qaghan mentioned in Stake Inscription III, Kün Ay Tängridä Qut Bulmïš Uluγ Qut Ornanmïš Alpïn Ärdämin Il Tutmïš Alp Arslan Qutluγ Köl Bilgä Tängri Xan, and the Bäzäklik letters may possibly be considered against this historical background..

[33]This dating no doubt applies to the other five Manichaean Uighur letters, which were discovered with the Sogdian letters.

4.4.2   *Twδ Kδ, the Place of Dispatch Mentioned in Letter B*

The West Uighur Kingdom had two cities as its capitals; one for winter is Qočo and the other for summer, Bešbalïq or Beiting 北庭, today's Jimsar located some 120 km to the north of Qočo. In Letter A (lines 42–44 and 96–97) the Uighur qaghan is mentioned as staying with Aryāmān Puhr; it is most expected that the qaghan stays in the winter capital during the New Year's season. Since princes and princesses, the members of the royal family, are mentioned with the addressor (lines 125–127), the most likely place of dispatch for Letter A is the winter capital Bešbalïq. In the light of the fact that Letter C mentions the several people bearing Uighur names as having departed from the place where the addressor is staying, it is fitting to suppose that the letter was sent from a locality well within the territory of the West Uighur Kingdom. In this respect Letter B differs from the other two in that no Uighur names are found in it. This situation suggests that Letter B was dispatched from the place outside of the kingdom. In fact, the place of dispatch is referred to in Letter B as *twδ-kδ*: *mδy ms twδ-kδcykw prn-w'xšykw* (line 70) "here again, the guardian spirits of the town of Tūdh". In my old study published in 2000, I suggested identifying *twδ* with a place named Tūdh which is described in an Islamic source as located within three farsangs or some 18 km from Samarqand (Balthold 1957).

Later when I came to recognize in Dodge's translation of the *Fihrist* that Tūnkath (*twnkθ*) is mentioned by al-Nadīm as a town in Sogdiana where Manichaeans were resident in his time, I proposed to identify *twδ-kδ* with al-Nadīm's *twnkθ*, which could have been a miscopying of **twδkθ* due to the similarity of Arabic letters *n* (nūn) and *δ* (dhāl).

> This people [the Manichaeans], who are called Ajārā, are at Rustāq, Samarqand, Ṣughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnkath. (Dodge 1970).

In his note, Dodge infers that twnkθ was located in the Shash or Tashkent region. In the meantime, Moriyasu and I discovered that one Manichaean Uighur text mentions the donators originating from the area around Semirech'e, and that it can be shown to date back to the early eleventh century (Moriyasu 2003; Yoshida 2004). Thus, my suggestion of identifying *twδ-kδ* with al-Nadīm's *twnkθ* seems to be supported. However, later I came to understand that Dodge's translation is not the only one possible rendering of the Arabic original, but several other versions have been proposed.

(1) Diese Manichäer heissen Adschârî und leben auf den Dörfern von Samarqand, Sogd und vorzugsweise in Nûnka† (Flügel) (Flügel 1862).
(2) An-Nadīm sagt aber auch, daß zu seiner Zeit Manichäer in Samarkand, Sugμd und insbesondere *Nawēkaθ lebten. Nawēkaθ ist eher Nawqad Quariš von Samarkqand, zwischen Nasaf und Kišals Nūkath in Shāsh und Īlāq (Sundermann) (Sundermann 2003).

(3) the remaining Manichaeans in Khurasan are in the district of Samarqand and Sogdiana and especially in Nawēkaθ (de Blois) (de Blois and Sims-Williams 2006).

(4) Those people whom they term 'ajārā live in the rural districts of Samarqand, Sogdia, and especially Nawīkath (Reeves, ibid., p. 229).

What Dodge read *twnkθ* has been read Nawēkath, and so on; that is *nwykθ*, by the other scholars. Unfortunately, where to locate Nawēkath has not yet been settled,[34] (Yoshida 2015; Lur'e 2013) although it is often searched for in the area surrounding Samarqand. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that the anonymous author of the *Óudūd al-'Alam* clearly indicates that in his time the area designated as Sughd was located between Buchara and Samarqand, much narrower than what we understand under the name of Sogdiana or Sogdian speaking area.[35] (Minorsky 1970; Dankoff and Kelly 1982–1985). In any case, the town of Tūdh near Samarqand is most likely to be equated rather with what al-Nadīm calls "district of Samarqand" than Nawēkath. Consequently, Letter B was sent from Samarqand to Turfan and betrays the correspondence or exchange between the Manichaean communities of the two cities during the early eleventh century.

4.5 The So-called Manichaean Letters: Letters from Samarqand?

The conclusion reached in the last section induces one to ask whether one can find any other Iranian texts originating from Samarqand among the Turfan materials. One will soon think of those Manichaean New Persian texts discovered from Turfan as likely candidates. Actually, in connection with the dating and the place of origin of the New Persian text studied by him, Sundermann states as follows: "das mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit im 11. Jahrhundert entstand und dessen Heimat Samarkand oder die Sogdiana im weiteren Sinne war" (Sundermann 2003, p. 251). In view of the fact that it is written on parchment rather than paper, one may also assume that one Middle Persian text discovered by A. Stein from the Ruin K (Kao. 0111 = Or. 12452D/3) was also copied in Samarqand (Gulácsi et al. 2006). If this assumption is correct, the miniature of the manuscript was also produced there and requires fresh studies from the viewpoint of the history of Manichaean art.

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[34]Since the presence of Manichaeans in the Semirech'e area is suggested by the Uighur text just mentioned, Moriyasu and myself propose to identify Nawēkath with the city referred to as *nwykt* in a Mug document. The town called *nwykt* is generally believed to be the old name of today's Krasnaya Rechka on the right bank of the Chu, cf. Livshitz, *op. cit.*, p. 22 with note 3.

[35]This understanding of the area covered by Sugd is corroborated by Kāšγarī's statement about Soγd: "They (= Soγdāq) are from Soγd which is between Bukhara and Samarqand".

Here I should like to propose that the two so-called Manichaean Letters once studied by Henning and Sundermann were also dispatched from Samarqand.[36] (Henning 1936; Sundermann 1984; Macuch et al. 2007; Durkin-Meisterernst 2015). In the letters, in particular Manichaean Letter i, the addressor, who appears to be an indigenous elect, complains about the foreign elects' misbehaviours, which, in his eyes, obviously transgress the precepts. The fact that the names of two factions Mihriyya and Miqlāṣiyya are mentioned in the forms of *myhry'n* "adherent of Mihr" and *mkl'syk* "adherent of Miklās" lead both Henning and Sundermann to date the letters to the period before the closing of the schism, which, according to Henning, happened before 880 CE.[37] Sundermann also paid attention to the fact that no Uighur element is found in the two letters, and assumed that they were written before the Uighurs' evacuation from Mongolia in 840 CE.

However, *myry'nd* and *mkl'syktyy* appearing in damaged and different places, one cannot see the exact relationship between the two adherents. Moreover, even if the schism was closed the adherents of the fractions and consequently their names could continue to exist. In my opinion *myš'nd rymnyt kmbyt swrykty* (Man. Let. ii, line 15) "these dirty mean Syrians" are to be identified with those approximately 500 Manichaeans mentioned by al-Nadīm who left Mesopotamia for Samarqand during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE). It would certainly be odd if one cannot find any Turkish word or proper name in the Sogdian letters written in the tenth century Turfan. Nevertheless, it would come as no surprise if letters sent from Samarqand during the tenth century lack Uighur elements. As a matter of fact, no Uighur form is encountered in Letter B. It may be worth noting that Sundermann himself seriously considered the possibility of connecting the situation described in the Manichaean Letters with the evacuation of Manichaeans from Babylon during the reign of al-Muqtadir. He remarked as follows: Es liegt nahe, das Vordringen der manichäischen Syrer nach Zentralasien dann mit diesem Ereignis (i.e. flight of Manichaeans from Babylon to Samarqand) zu verbinden und in das 10. Jh. zu datieren[38] (Sundermann 1984, p. 302).

If my assumption concerning the date and the place of dispatch of Manichaean Letter i proves to be correct, the verbs *sn-* "to go up" and *'wxz* "to go down" found in Manichaean Letter ii may directly refer to the elects' going back and forth between Samarqand and Turfan: *'rty cw w'nw w'β'nd skwn kt srδ(ng)t pr 'ywp'zky' sn'(nd) [']ty δβtyk 'wxz'nd δymyδ w'xš i p'ryk n's xcyy* (ii, lines 16–17) "And when they are saying that the leaders come up on the visit and go down again, in this word there is altogether destruction". Obviously možak Māhdād went up to Turfan for replacing the late možak Mihrizad, but there was no gain from that: *pr βγrw'n*

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[36]idem., "Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe", in: M. Macuch et al. (eds.), *Iranian languages and texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick memorial volume*. The English translation of the two letters was published in D. Durkin-Meisterernst, "Was Manichaeism a Merchant Religion?".

[37]As far as I can see, neither Henning nor Sundermann gives the basis for this dating.

[38]Sundermann himslef rejects this possibility on the ground that the language and the contents point to much older period.

myh(rʿy)[zd] (mwjʾk)yy sryy mʾhdʾd mwjʾk sttyy cn(d)n (f)[rtryʾ ʾkrtw] (δ)ʾrt (ii, lines 18–19) "Možak Māhdād went up (from Samarqand to Turfan) for replacing the late možak Mihrīzad. (But) how much profit and improvement did he do?".

When dating the Manichaean Letters, Henning, and for that matter Sundermann as well, did not pay attention to the Uighur text written on the verso of Manichaean Letter i, which, according to Menges, was written much later and had nothing to do with the Sogdian text on the recto. (Henning, pp. 17–18.) When Moriyasu re-edited the Uighur text published by Geng Shimin and Klimkeit, he was able to establish the exact date of the text based on the description of the year in Indian terms, which was identified by M. Yano, a specialist of the Indian astrology, with 983 CE[39] (Moriyasu 2004, pp. 174–181; Clark and Gulácsi 2015). The text was written by an elder (qoštar) named Käd Oγul, who complains about the ill-fate of one Manichaean temple in Qočo, from which several ornaments were taken away to decorate and equip a Buddhist temple. Although no connection can be seen between the Sogdian letter and the Uighur text, my dating of the Sogdian letter places the two texts well within the tenth century, when the bulk of the Turfan Manichaean texts are believed to be dated.

Since the first half of the tenth century onwards, when the Mesopotamian Manichaeans came to join the congregation of Samarqand, the organized Manichaean community existed only in Central Asia. The sender of Bäzäklik Letter B who lead the church of Samarqand was Mānī Wahman (*mʾny wxmn ʾβtʾδʾnw*) and he bore a title of bishop (aftāδān). Thus, he was inferior to Aryāmān Puhr, who was seated in Turfan and headed the entire community including the Manichaeans of Samarqand. This situation seems to suggest that Aryāmān Puhr was not just a Teacher of the eastern diocese but could also be an archegos of the whole Manichaean church. This assumption may be vindicated by the fact that Aryāmān Puhr is called *pšʾγryw* "successor, deputy" in Letters A and B. As Sundermann once proved, the word *pšʾγryw* refers to paraclete and the successor of Mani (Sundermann 1988). Towards the very end of Central Asian Manichaeism during the early eleventh century, the centre of the entire Manichaean world may have been situated in Turfan.

4.6 Conclusion

In this article, I assembled the three Manichaean Sogdian texts discovered in Turfan which bear out the exchange between Sogdiana and Turfan during the tenth to early eleventh centuries. While the first one (Ch/U 6879) proves the importation of cotton cloth from Sogdiana, the other two (LM 20 1552 (23) of the Lushun National Museum and Bäzäklik Letter B) attest the regular correspondence between the

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[39]The text was re-edited by L. Clark, and Gulácsi cites Clark's still unpublished translation in her recent work.

Manichaeans of Samarqand and those of Turfan. The Manichaean New Persian texts discovered in Turfan are most likely to represent the literary works of the Manichaeans living in Samanid or Qarakhanid Samarqand. Bäzäklik Letter B was sent by a bishop (aftāδān) of the Manichaean community of the town of Tūdh near Samarqand to celebrate the New Year. The addressee was a Teacher Aryāmān Puhr resident in Turfan. Therefore, in the early eleventh century the Manichaeans of Samarqand were under the leadership of a možak or Teacher seated in the church of Turfan, possibly what is now called Ruin K. Finally, I dwelled on the problems surrounding the so-called Manichaean Letters i and ii and argued that they are connected to the evacuation of Manichaeans from Mesopotamia reported by al-Nadīm as happening during the reign of al-Muqtadir (908–932 CE).

Appendix

1　天寶六載四月十四日給家入春衣歷
　　　　　　　　　　　　　己上肆人々各給■
2　　常住　大及　■子　■奴　一段充衫八尺充褌
3　　祀奴　末如　已上両人々各給一段充衫祀奴八尺充褌
4　可僧付■一段充衫　胡尾子付■一丈二尺充袴
5　　右件■玖段每段用錢貳伯貳買到用給上件
6　　家人春衣謹以爲案請僧連署　僧無生
7　　僧　　　僧玄藏　僧法藏　僧澄練

1　Ledger of spring clothes given to the house workers (attached to a certain Buddhist temple) on the 14th of the 4th month in the 6th year of Tianbao era (=747 CE).
2　Changzhu, Daji, [ ]zi, [ ]nu (Given) to each of these four people one *duan* 段 (=28 feet) of cotton cloth for making a shirt; eight feet (of cotton cloth) for making (one pair of) drawers.
3　Sinu, Moru: Given to each of these two people one *duan* 段 of cotton cloth for making a shirt; (Given) to Sinu eight feet (of cotton cloth) for making (one pair of) drawers.
4　Given to Keseng one *duan* 段 of cotton cloth for making a shirt. Given to Huweizi one *zhang* 丈 (=10 feet) and two feet of cotton cloth for making (one pair of) trousers.
5　The above mentioned nine *duans* 段 of cotton cloth: For each *duan* 段 202 coins were spent; the cotton cloth was bought up and given away to the above mentioned house workers for making their spring clothes. This matter is recorded here. The monks are requested to give their signatures: (Signatures) Monk Wusheng, Monk (left blank), Monk Xuanzang, Monk Fazang, Monk Chenglian.

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Chapter 5
Four New Kharoṣṭhī Documents Kept in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum

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Abstract In this paper are presented four new Kharoṣṭhī documents kept in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum. Two of them are legal transactions, respectively, about custody rights over two sons and grain loan dispute. The other two are a tax list and a payroll or account list. The peculiarity of the two lists is the new writing style of the numbers, presumably 1.5 and 2.

5.1 Introduction

After the expeditions of Aurel Stein and other European explorers, new Kharoṣṭhī documents have still been discovered probably at the same sites. Most of them are housed in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum now. Since 2012, Professor Duan Qing at Peking University has led a team to study and publish these new materials. This paper presents four documents on wooden tablets. Two are legal transactions about custody rights over two sons and grain loan dispute; and the other two are a tax list and a payroll or account list respectively.

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5.2   Inscription on the Rectangular Wooden Tablet XB6954

The document XB6954 records a legal transaction about the custody rights over two sons. It is an under-tablet of a rectangular wooden double tablet, of which the cover-tablet is missing.[1] Stein regretfully pointed out that this class of Kharoṣṭhī documents "was mainly represented by detached pieces wanting the corresponding covering- or under-tablets with which they must once have been fitted". Since the cover-tablet usually served as an "envelope", they were more likely to be dumped into the "rubbish-heap" (Stein 1907: 351). Here we have an under-tablet measuring 14.5 cm long and 6.5 cm wide.
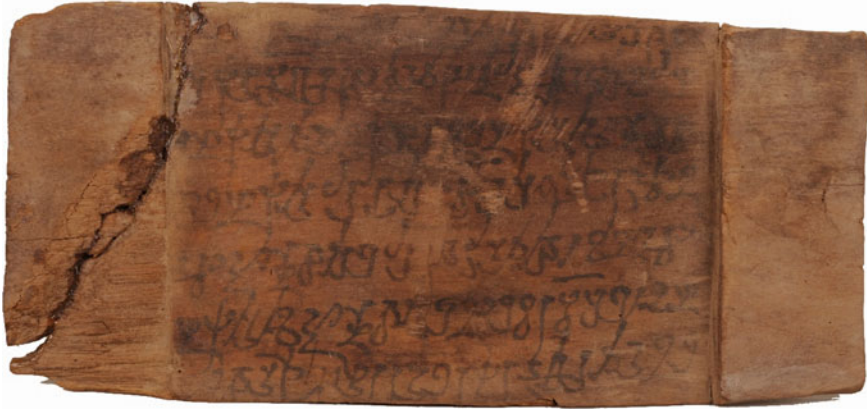
The main text on the reverse side of the under-tablet reads as follows[2]:

1. saṃvatsare 20 maharayatiraya(*ṣa mahanuava maharaya jiṭu-)
2. ga mahiri devaputraṣa maṣe 3 divaṣe 3 iśa kṣunaṃmi a-
3. (*ri ku)tǵeya stri cimiǵaae saṃgarahitaṃti cimiǵaa-
4. e putrāna praceya je(*ṭha) pu(*tra) vi[sma] naṃma cimiǵaae
5. tanuv́aǵa huda bhiti ca maṃśa[ra] naṃma ari kutǵeyaṣa tanuv́a-
6. ǵa huda aja kṣuna uatae ari kutǵeyaṣa stri cimiǵa-
7. ae vaṃti nasti dānagrana asaṃna na gaṃdavo pac̄aṃ bhuya

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[1]A large amount of rectangular wooden double tablets record legal transactions. For more details of the form and function of such rectangular tablets, see Stein (1907): 351–355, Duan (2016), and Guan (2016).

[2]The following symbols are used in the transcriptions of the texts: [] for an unclear or partially preserved akṣara whose reading is uncertain; (*) for a lost or illegible akṣara that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel citation, or other means; < * > for an omitted akṣara that has been conjecturally restored;. for a missing portion of a partially legible akṣara;? for an illegible but visible or partially visible akṣara; + for a missing akṣara that would have appeared on an obliterated portion of the board.

1. In the 20th year of the great king of kings of great Shanshan, the great king Jiṭuga
2. Mahiri, son of heaven, in the 3rd month, on the 3rd day, at this date,
3. the *ari* Kutǵeya and the woman Cimiǵa complained about Cimiǵa's
4. sons. The elder son named Vi[sma] belonged to Cimiǵa's own.
5. And the second named Maṃśa[ra] belonged to the *ari* Kutǵeya's own.
6. From this day and this moment forth the *ari* Kutǵeya and the woman Cimiǵa
7. shall have no payments or receipts, nor shall they go to the sitting place (the court)[3] later again.

The document offers no background details of the lawsuit, such as the relationship between Cimiǵa and Kutǵeya, the reason why they complained about Cimiǵa's two sons, and so on. The similar form of the name Cimiǵa, that is Cimika, is found in nos. 39 and 45.[4] According to those two documents, she was a slave (*dajhi*) of Lýipeya, probably living under the reign of the king Mahiri. However, it is difficult to tell whether Cimiǵa is the same person Cimika mentioned in the other two documents. After all, *stri* herein is a general term which means a woman (Agrawala 1952a: 327). If the two could be identified as the same person, did she become a freed woman later or was she still a slave? Was Kutǵeya the father of her two sons, or her master after Lýipeya, or both? If the two were actually different persons bearing similar names, was Cimiǵa a divorced wife of Kutǵeya, so they had quarrels about the custody rights over their two sons? If this is the case, then it is remarkable that the mother should have the custody rights over their elder son, which is very different from the practice in China. In a typical traditional Chinese family, the elder son is expected to inherit almost everything from his father. The court decision here seems to show more respect for a mother's rights. Kutǵeya is a very common name in Kharoṣṭhī documents, while the names of the two sons are not attested elsewhere.

5.3 Inscription on the Rectangular Wooden Double Tablet XB6953

Item XB6953 is a rectangular wooden double tablet of the usual type, consisting of a cover-tablet fixed in a longer under-tablet. We have both tablets, but they were already opened up at some time in the history since the clay seal was removed and the string was gone. In addition, the under-tablet is cracked and eroded, which means it might have been exposed outside for a long time. This document records a lawsuit about grain loan. And the case is somewhat complicated, probably written

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[3]For the analysis of the stock phrase "*nasti dānagrana asaṃna na gaṃdavo*", see Wu (2016: 79).

[4]According to Burrow (1937: 6), an intervocalick could be changed into -g- and then into -ǵ-, for instance, avaǵaja = avakāśa. Besides, inscriptions are cited in this article according to their numbers in Boyer et al. Boyer et al. (1920–9).

down by two different scribes. Due to the poor condition of the inscription, especially from line 7 to line 11, much of the information provided therein cannot be determined. As a result, the readings and interpretations of this part are provisional.

The cover-tablet measures 14.6 cm long and 8.8 cm wide.

In most cases, the writing on the cover-tablet is supposed to include the addressee and a brief indication of the content of the document. Perhaps owing to its exposed position on the outside surface, the writing here is almost faded. Only one line indicating the authenticity of the document could be restored on the basis of the usual formula and the content of the main text.

Top of the upper tablet, below the seal:
eṣa mutra paṃcina(*ṣa)

This is the seal of Paṃcina.

The under-tablet measures 21 cm long and 8.6 cm wide. It cracks in the middle and erodes in the lower edge, making the reading of those parts very difficult.

The main text on the reverse side of the under-tablet reads as follows:

1. saṃvatsare 4 4 1 mahanuava maharaya jiṭuga vaṣmana devaputrasa maṣe 4 1 divaṣe 20 2 iśa kṣu-
2. naṃmi maṃnuśa lýipǵa nama maǵenaṣa paride aṃna aʾamicae giḍa milima 1 khi 4 1 ṣoṭhaṃga lýipeyaṣa pu-
3. raṭha tatra sakṣi jaṃna asti tasuca paṃcina parvati kikhita karidhau suǵita edi jaṃna sakṣi iśa
4. kvaniyaṃmi ṣa aṃna diti iśe[va] sadha ayoǵena vyoṣitavya yadi caḍotaṃmi aṃnaṣa muli lýipǵa da-
5. syati viśpasta maǵenaṣa gi < *ni > (*davo) caḍotaṃmi i[chi]ta lýipǵa aśpa 1 viya < *la > deyanae yadi caḍotaṃmi a-
6. śpa na syati ṣa aṃna iśa va tina sadha ayoǵena vyo(*ṣitavya) eṣa (*lihida)ǵa li [hi] < *ta > ma(*hi) divira cǵi(*to)
7. jaṃ(*na) edeṣa lýi(*pǵa su)ǵi(*taṣa) ajeṣaṃnena?? ? ? [rsa] ? ? ? ? ? ? [leyā ṣa] suǵita aṃna e[ṭha]
8. [tha] ? gi ? ? [yo] ? (*mi)lima 1 khi 2? [se] aṃna ? ? ? [mi] na [tehi khi] 10 4 ayoǵe ṣadha
9. iśa khvaniyaṃ(*mi vyo)ṣidavo ayoǵena ṣadha eʾaṃ ca sa(*kṣi) guśura asuraǵa śe vasu ya[phǵu]
10. + + + + + + (*e)ṣa lihitaǵa tasuca paṃcinaṣa muṃ(*tra) ṣa suǵita maǵenaṣa ca ajeṃṣaṃnena
11. + [ǵ]e.e + + (*lihi)taǵa ma(*hi) tivira b(*u)dhila

1. In the 9th year of the great king of great Shanshan, Jiṭuga Vaṣmana, son of heaven, in the 5th month, on the 22nd day, at this date,
2. a man named Lýipǵa received 1 *milima* 5 *khi* grain on loan from Maǵena, in the presence of the *ṣoṭhaṃga* Lýipeya.
3. There are witnesses: the *tasuca* Paṃcina, the mountaineer Kikhita Karidhau, and Suǵita. These people are the witnesses.
4. Here in *Kvaniya* the grain has been given, then just here with interest (it) is to be repaid. If in *Caḍota* Lýipǵa will give the price of the grain,
5. undoubtedly it [will be received] by Maǵena. In *Caḍota* Lýipǵa [wanted] to give a wild horse. If in *Caḍota*
6. there is not a horse, the grain is therefore to be repaid with interest just here. This inscription was written by me the scribe Cǵito,
7. at the request of these people Lýipǵa and Suǵita. [……] Suǵita [……] grain
8. [……] 1 *milima* 2 *khi* [……] the grain [……] with the interest 14 *khi*.
9. Here in *Khvani* (it) is to be repaid with interest. And thus the witnesses are the *guśura* Asuraǵa, the *vasu* Ya[phǵu].
10. [……] This inscription is with the seal of the *tasuca* Paṃcina, at the request of Suǵita and Maǵena.
11. [……] inscription (is written) by me the scribe Budhila.

The quantities of the grain loaned are measured in terms of *milima* and *khi*. According to Burrow, 1 *milima* is equal to *20 khi* (Burrow 1940: 39). Professor Duan Qing further specified that 1 *milima* was approximately equivalent to 20 kilograms at that time (Duan 2012: 65). Then the amounts *milima* 1 *khi* 5 in line 2 of our document are equivalent to 25 kilograms. The amount of the interest is mentioned in line 8, but we cannot be sure whether 14 *khi* here is the exact sum due to the poor condition of the inscription. Burrow inferred that "what was borrowed was to be paid back double" based on document no. 142 (Burrow 1940: 26). Perhaps there was a different ratio concerning tax loan. Atwood gave two examples: The interest of 5 *khi* of ghee was 2 *khi*, while the ratio of wine tax was 2:1 or 1:1 (Atwood 1991: 187).

The name of the debtor is Lýipġa, which is very clear in our document. A similar form Lýipġaa or Lýipġo appears in document no. 132; and this Lýipġaa/o probably lived in the "hundred"[5] of the *ari* Kutġeya. The name of the creditor Maġena is found in nos. 80, 165, and 513. In no. 80 he was a *daśavida*, while in no. 165 he was ordered by the *ogu* Kirtiśama to send a letter and a present to the *cozbo* Kranaya and the *ṣoṭhaṃgha* Lýipeya with another man named Paġo. Document no. 513 was simply a name list, offering little information of Maġena. However, it is impossible to decide whether the creditor Maġena here is the same individual mentioned in the three other documents. Lýipeya served as the *ṣoṭhaṃga* of *Cadoṭa* from the 21st year of Mahiri (no. 576) to the 9th year of Vaṣmana in this document. Paṃcina is a common name in Kharoṣṭhī documents, but Paṃcina bearing the title *tasuca* is not attested before. Suġīta played an important role in this lawsuit. He did not only serve as a witness in the first phase of the case, but also requested twice the record to be written down, at first with the debtor Lýipġa, and then with the creditor Maġena. Suġīta is also a popular name, making the identification of this person in our document rather difficult. The name of the first scribe Cġito is attested in nos. 634 and 688. In our document the character for *to* is fainted, and restored on the basis of these parallels. Cġito was a messenger of the prince Puṃñabala in no. 634 and a *daśavita* in no. 688. For whatever reason, this lawsuit was refiled. In the second group of witnesses, Asuraġa is found in no. 318 with the title *ogu*. The name of the second scribe Budhila is found in nos. 419 and 569. In no. 419, as a son of the monk Aṭhamoya, he and his brother sold a vineyard and a piece of land in the 28th year of Aṃkvaġa. In no. 569, along with other officials and interested parties, he requested the lawsuit about an adopted child in the 13th year of Mahiri to be recorded.

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[5]Burrow (1940: 16) pointed out that śata "hundred" occurs frequently as an administrative division.

5.4 Inscription on the Oblong Wooden Tablet XB6937

XB6937 is an oblong wooden board with inscriptions on both sides. On the reverse side there are six columns. The first five columns have five lines each, while the last one has only two lines. And there is one more line on the obverse side.[6] The characters are slightly faded, but still relatively well preserved. The wood measures 26.8 cm long and 5.2 cm wide, with a hole at the left end. According to Lin Meicun, this hole might be used for the passage of the string which could bind the tablets of the same kind together (Lin 1988: 155).

The text on the reverse side reads as follows:

Column A   krayaṣa khi 1.5/caṣǵeyaṣa khi 1.5/śakhaṣa khi 1/larsuṣa khi 2/opiṃtaṣa khi 1.5

Column B   koñitaṣa vacarina/muchaḍhaṣa khi [1]/ari suǵitaṣa khi 1/suǵakoṣa khi 1/yitayaṣa khi 1

Column C   motekaṣa khi 1/saceyaṣa khi 1.5/koñayaṣa vacarina/kaṃjakaṣa khi 2/vakiṃteṣa khi 1

Column D   ṣayaṃmaṣa khi 1.5/budhaśura < *ṣa > vacarina/pǵi[ta]ṣa khi 1.5/koṃḍhalaṣa vacarina/sucaṃmaṣa khi 1.5

Column E   kusalaṣa khi 1.5/cimoyaṣa vacari[na]/paṃñaṣana < *ṣa > khi 1/baguleyaṣa khi 1.5/svacǵaṣa khi 1.5

Column F   kunaṣena[ṣa khi] 1.5/suǵitaṣa khi 1

This sort of list, indicating both names of individuals (in the genitive form) and the quantities of goods presumably received from them, is very common in Kharoṣṭhī documents.

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[6]Stein (1907: 357–358) pointed out that at the ruin N. xv., many oblong, or "narrow tablets, lath-like or resembling mere labels" were found, "recording brief memos or items of account", frequently arranged into small columns or detached items "usually ending with numerals".

The text on the obverse side reads as follows:
daśavita khara matśarsas̱a aṃ < *na > mili < *ma > 1 khi 10 2.

Of the *daśvita khara* Matśarsa, grain 1 *milima* 12 *khi*.

Judging from the obverse side, this document seems to be a tax payment list. Grain was used as payment for goods and taxes. *daśa* might be an administrative and fiscal unit of ten households in Niya, corresponding to similar institutions in India (Stein 1936: 768–773). Accordingly *daśavita* (or *daśavida*) is the official in charge of this area. After analysing the tax lists collected by *daśavidas*, Padwa found out that the average number of persons listed was 10.6; and consequently, he inferred that "the daśavidas would have in fact dealt with an 'ideal' unit of 10 persons" (Padwa 2007: 85–89). Nevertheless, 27 persons are listed in our document, which is very peculiar.

Another peculiarity of the document is the frequently appearing form of a numeral which is a downward stroke added by an oblique stroke drawn down to the left from the middle of the stem. Rapson regarded it as another type of 1 presuming that this form may have developed to avoid the confusion with *na* (Boyer et al. Boyer et al. 1920–9: 321–322; Glass 2000: 139). However, this presumption does not seem to be justifiable in our document, since it can hardly explain why two different forms appear in the same document. Here we would like to propose another possibility that this form might signify 1.5[7], but more materials should be analysed before we get to the final solution.

As for the measure unit *vacarina*, not much can be known from our document. Although we have a total sum on the reverse side, the relationship between *vacarina* and *khi* is still unclear due to an uncertain reading on the reverse side. But we do know that *vacarina* is a bigger unit than *khi* from no. 466; and Agrawala suggested that "there were also certain vacari pots or cups which may contain 1 *khi* or 4 *khi* of required thing" (Agrawala 1952b: 363).

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[7]During our discussion, Ms. Jiang Yixiu suggested that this form might signify 0.5 or 1.5. I think the latter is more reasonable since there is an additional stroke attached to the numeral 1. Besides, we might already have 0.5 in Kharoṣṭhī documents, which is *are*.

5.5 Inscription on the Oblong Wooden Tablet XB6940

XB6940 is an irregular oblong tablet written on both sides, very well preserved. This document measures 16 cm long and 2.6 cm wide, with a hole at the left end. On the reverse side, two columns of characters are divided into three lines, respectively.
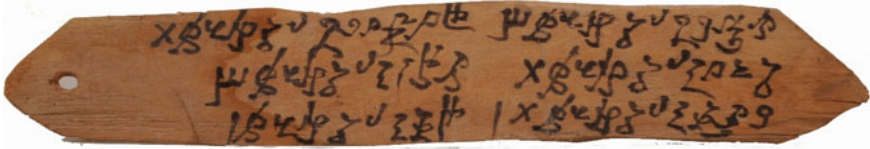
The text reads as follows:

Column A   kircoae masu giḍa khi 3/rutrayaṣa masu giḍa khi 4/arkaṃtġasa masu giḍa khi 4 1.

Column B   priyaśrryaae masu giḍa khi 4/kopeṃnasa masu giḍa khi 3/pitġasa masu giḍa khi 1.

The translation is as follows:

Column A   Kirco took 3 *khi* of wine/Rutraya took 4 *khi* of wine/Arkaṃtġa took 5 *khi* of wine.

Column B   Priyaśrrya took 4 *khi* of wine/Kopeṃna took 3 *khi* of wine/Pitġa took 1 *khi* of wine.

On the obverse side, there are two columns with two lines of characters.

The text reads as follows:

Column A   ṣularaṣa aḍi[ni] khi 2/kutġeyaṣa khi 1
Column B   svacġeyaṣa khi 3/taṃcġoaṣa khi 1.

The translation is as follows:

Column A   For Ṣulara, 2 *khi* of grain/for Kutġeya, 1 *khi*
Column B   For Svacġeya, 3 *khi*/for Taṃcġoa, 1 *khi*.

The inscription on the obverse side constitutes an account list or payroll, stating amounts of grain belonging to, or due from four individuals. Since the handwriting on the obverse side is the same as that on the reverse side, it might be judged from the content on the reverse side that this list indicates grain received by these people.

In this document, we encounter a new form of numerals ⌐ which we suppose to be a variety of the numeral 2. According to Glass, we already have three types of 2: ⲣ, ⌒ and ⱱ (Glass 2000: 139–140). Since the sign for the numeral 2 usually has two strokes, and we do not have any other form of 2 in this document, we suggest the form ⌐ to be the numeral 2 here.

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Chapter 6
A New Kharoṣṭhī Document from Kucha in the Hetian County Museum Collection

Diego Loukota

Abstract This article presents a previously unpublished Kharoṣṭhī document from the collection of the Hetian County museum in the Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region, China. Although the document was in all likelihood found in the Niya area, its contents make clear that it stems from the ancient kingdom of Kucha. The document is formed by a sealed pair of tablets that out of conservation concerns have not been opened yet and an attached external tablet: this article will only deal with the contents of the latter, for which I provide transcription, a tentative translation, notes, glossary, and a tentative transcription of what is visible of the exterior surface of the main double tablet in appendix. The document can be firmly dated to the later half of the third century because it mentions a certain Sagamoi, who is well known from the Niya corpus. In spite of the brevity of the document and the uncertainties involved in its reading, the document provides many new bits of information, like the name of an early king of Kucha (Pitrṛbhakta), evidence that the term *nuava* was the ancient name of Shan-shan, and possibly Tocharian and Iranian words.

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6.1   Introduction

The Kharoṣṭhī document presented here is part of the Hetian County museum collection in the Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region of China. Although the document must have been found in the Niya area, its contents make clear that it originates in the ancient kingdom of Kucha. The document can be safely dated to the last decade of the third century CE as it mentions a person well known from the Niya corpus, a certain Sagamoi (variosuly spelled) who fled from Shanshan to Kucha and after a few years came back to his home country. The connection with this person makes this tablet the earliest datable secular document known from Kucha: the early bilingual Prakrit-Tocharian B tablets from Kucha have been dated, according to the most up-to-date and comprehensive estimate, to the fifth to sixth centuries (Ching 2013a:88).

Before embarking in a presentation of the results of my examination of this interesting document, I would like to emphasize at this point that the results presented here are preliminary: our general ignorance of the linguistic and cultural context of the document is a difficult obstacle to its decipherment. Informed speculation seems to be, at this point, all that can be offered for certain particularly difficult points. Nonetheless, the new data contained in the document are important enough to deserve presentation in spite of the unsolved problems of interpretation that the document poses.

6.2   Findspot and Physical Description

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the findspot of this document is unknown. Since most of the documents relative to Sagamoi known so far were found in one single spot, ruin N. xxix in Niya, it seems possible that this document as well as the other previously unpublished documents related to Sagamoi in the museum collection were found in a separate cache in that same ruin, one that went undetected during Aurel Stein's excavations.

The entire document is composed of three rectangular tablets, each measuring 25 × 17.5 cm. Two of the tablets are bound with rope and sealed together with a clay seal that bears unfortunately rubbed writing signs and a central medallion with an abstract symbol that vaguely resembles an Iranian *tamga* (see figures below). The museum curators, concerned with the preservation of the seal, have not yet allowed the opening of the document. Behind the main double tablet, a third additional tablet was added and the whole was tied with a coarse stripe of straw. In this paper I will limit myself to a description of this outer tablet. The composition of the whole document is shown below:

Sealed double tablet

Additional tablet
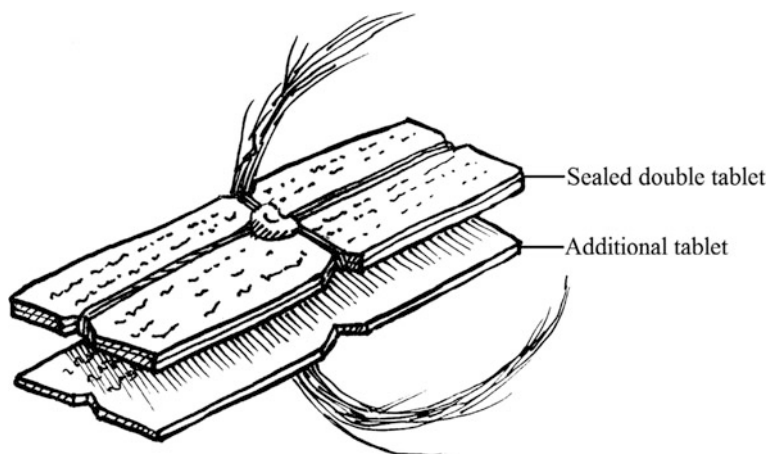
The format of the tablets, flat and with notches in the middle point of each side to pass string through them, is typical of the Kucha area, where early secular documents such as a group of well-known caravan *laissez-passers* are written on similar wooden tablets (see Pinault 2008:351–358 for a presentation of this genre of documents and some translated samples). No example of a document written in Niya with this format is known so far. Interestingly, the outside of the core double sealed tablet is entirely covered in writing, albeit severely rubbed, and this is in stark contrast with the practice of Niya and Shanshan in general, where the outside of the wooden documents has regularly only brief information about the subject matter and concise references to the senders, recipients, and subscribers. The outer tablet is broken in the lower portion, but apparently no writing was found there.

I present here photographs of the document:

(A) The unopened complete triple tablet
(B) The recto of the central double tablet (contrast enhanced)
(C) The verso of the central double tablet (contrast enhanced)
(D) The recto of the additional tablet (contrast enhanced)
(E) The verso of the additional tablet (contrast enhanced)
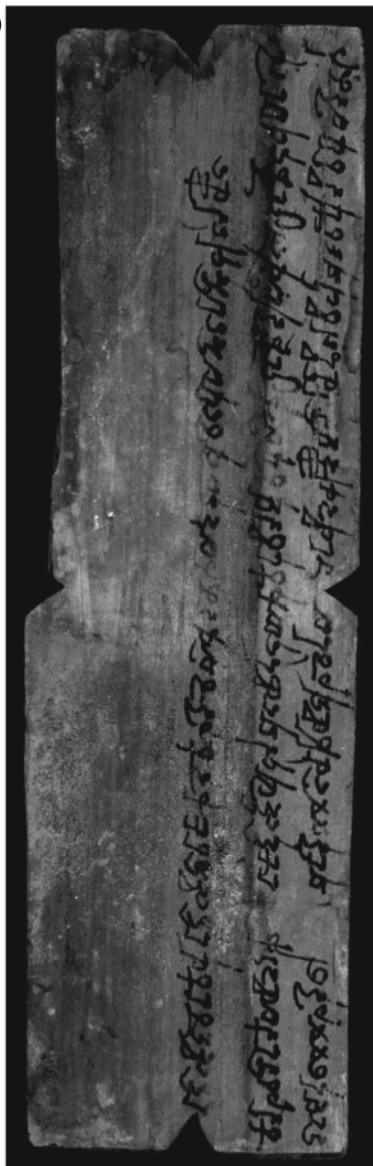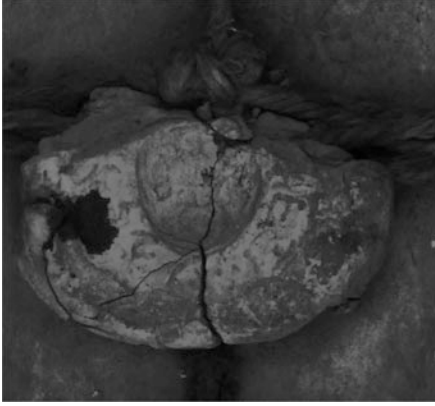(F) Detail of the seal
(G) Drawing of the seal.

(a) (b)

(c)

(d)

6.3   Transcription

1. saṃvatsare 10 4 4 ma<u>s</u>e 10 1 divyā<u>s</u>e 4 4 taṃ kālo kuci mahāraya V[1] devaputra-
   pitrrbha[k]t[en]a kaṃruña upaṃditaṃ asti nuaviya <u>s</u>agamo-
2. i nama arna-vaniya ku<u>v</u>anaṃmi vastavya tasya kritena dita ṣo rate yole ive
   unatse [o]riyaṃmi khaval<u>g</u>a siyati tade khaval<u>g</u>a te paśava 100
3. rajya-tasuca eva ike rajya-tasuca aṭha mitre ime saheyaṃti <u>s</u>agamoyasya diya(ṃ)
   ti aṃtariya zaṃda śarzape dāna kṛta.

6.4   Proposed Translation

In the year 18, the month 11, day 8. In this time the great king of Kucha, the son of
heaven Pitrrbhakta, has issued his mercy. There is a native of Shanshan, <u>S</u>agamoi
by name, merchant of *arna* in the capital. For his sake (the king?) gave six *rate yole
ive unatse*. Let there be a *khavalga* in Oriya, then the *khavalga* [are?] those 100
sheep.

   Only the *tasucas* of the kingdom:

   Some of the *tasucas* of the kingdom must be lenient towards (?) these eight friends
(?).[2] They should give to <u>S</u>agamoi the external *zaṃda*. Śarzape made a gift (?).

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[1]I indicate with this sign (V) the interruption in the writing created by the notch in the tablet.

[2]Or else *aṭhami tre ime saheyaṃti* "they must allow these three on the eighth night"?

6.5   Notes to the Transcription
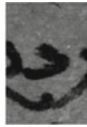
6.5.1   *Pitṛṛbhaktena*

Although the *akṣaras kta* and *na* are effaced, this reading can be confirmed from the external portions of the central double tablet, whose transcription is in the appendix at the end.

6.5.2   *da/ta*

In general terms, the shape of *da* is more rounded and that of *ta* more angular:
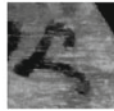
 di[vyāse] (line1)   *taṃ* (line 1)

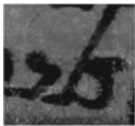However, *ta* occasionally appears with a rounded body as well:

 [kri]te[na] (line 2)   *de[vaputra]* (line 1)

In this last case, we can sure that we are dealing with *te* and not *de* because the latter has its own separate irregular graph. The defining characteristic of *da* should be looked for in the prominence of the leftward upper initial stroke:
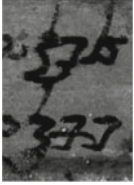
 dita (line 2)

6.5.3   *divyāse*

The vowel *ā* is consistently indicated with an oblique rightward stroke below the *akṣara*:

[ma]hā[raya] (line 1)

From the picture, it is difficult to decide to which line the stroke between the words *divyāse* and *vastavya* in lines 1 and 2 belongs:

divyāse (line 1); *vastavya* (line 2)

As it can be seen, subscript *-ya* in the lower *vya* has the hook-like footmark type 1 of Glass's typology (Glass 2000:21–24), and therefore the stroke in question cannot be simply an elongated footmark. It could represent the diacritic vowel *e* on the lower *vya*, but since this *vya* belongs to what appears to be the word *vastavya* "resident", the spelling *vastevya* would be odd, but perhaps not impossible. I feel inclined to interpret the stroke as an *ā* mark on the upper *vya*. This spelling is likewise difficult to explain, but it should be taken into account that *divyāse*, or at best *divyase*, stands for Sk. *divase* "in the day" and so the whole spelling reflects a fanciful hyper-sanskritic understanding of the word on the part of scribe, perhaps influenced by *divya* "divine".

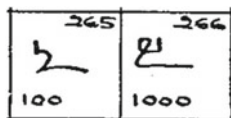### 6.5.4   1000

The numeral at the end of line 2 seems to combine characteristics of what have been so far identified as the symbols used in Niya for "100" and "1000":
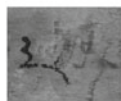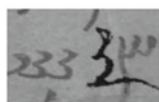

100   (line 2)

Below are the representations of the graphs for "100" and "1000" in Rapson's chart in the appendix to *KI*, as well as some exemplars from the Niya corpus:
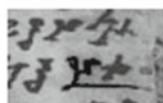
[1x]'100' （KI368）

[1x] '100' （KI309）

[3x]'100' （KI291）

'1000' （KI661）

It should be borne in mind that these two graphs are only attested in the Niya corpus: the "1000" numeral exclusively in the Niya documents,[3] whereas the numeral "100" has a different and apparently unrelated graph in the epigraphic repertoire of Gandhāra proper (cfr. Glass 2000:142–143). The graph that occurs in our document seems to combine the high initial straight vertical stroke of "100" and the right-hand angular stroke of "1000".

I have provisorily opted for "100" mostly because a thousand sheep would seem slightly unlikely in the context. In the Niya corpus, the greatest amount of sheep (*paśava*) ever mentioned in a transaction is 30 (KI486); even very large operations nowadays rarely deal with more than a thousand animals. The care of a thousand animals would require much more personnel than what the document seems to mention. Moreover, Y also judge possible that the right-hand angular stroke is a ligature form of the numeral "1": in Niya the hundreds are always written with a coefficient that indicates their number, and this rule applies also to "1x100"; in other words, the default manner to write "100" is, de facto, 1[x]100 (see KI309, obv. line 2; KI368, obv. line 4, pictured above). The regular numeral "1" is usually long and straight, and this is how it appears in our tablet:

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[3]The origins of the graph must be, however, ancient and stem in abbreviations that can be traced to Achaemenid Aramaic scribal practices, on which see Bailey 1950.

10[+]1 (line 1)

I would not exclude, however, the possibility that a special ligature form of "1" as a coefficient was in use in Kucha. Moreover, "1000" appears to be regularly executed in a single stroke, with a loop that connects what in origin were once the Aramaic letters Lamed and Peh (ꭶ<ꝯ<ꝿ).[4] The graph in our tablet seems to have involved two separate strokes, and no loop in the proper sense.

6.6 Notes to the Translation

6.6.1 *Pitrṛbhakta*

One of the most interesting data offered by this document is the name of the earliest king of Kucha mentioned outside Chinese sources. I will attempt here to present the evidence from Chinese materials to further contextualize this finding.

The biography of the general Ban Chao 班超 (the 37th biography, in Fascicle 47 of the Book of the Later Han, *Houhan shu* 後漢書) has the following passage describing an episode of his military expeditions in the Tarim Basin in the year 60 CE:

超與光共脅龜茲廢其王尤利多而立白霸, 使光將尤利多還詣京師[5]

[Ban] Chao [班]超 and the [major] [Yao] Guang [姚]光 went to coerce Kucha and eliminate their king *Wuwli^{h}ta[6] 尤利多 in order to establish *Bɛ:jk Pɛ:^{h}[7] 白霸 [as king]. [Ban Chao 班超] ordered [Yao] Guang [姚]光 to take *Wuwli^{h}ta and return to the capital (=Luoyang 洛陽).

Ever since this event, the dynastic name of the kings of Kucha in the Chinese dynastic annals is always *Bɛ:jk*[8] 白/ 帛until the eighth century.[9] It seems highly likely that the element –*bhak[ta]* in Pitrṛbhakta should be equated with the Chinese

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[4]Originally from Aramaic *'lp* "thousand", then abbreviated to only *lp*, on which see the previous note.

[5]p. 1006 of Volume II of the 中华书局 Zhonghua Shuju edition (hereafter = ZHSJ).

[6]Mandarin *Youliduo*. The Chinese pronunciation in italics with an asterisk from here on is Later Han Early Middle Chinese (unless otherwise specified) as reconstructed in Pulleyblank.

[7]Mandarin *Bo Ba*.

[8]Both should be read in Mandarin *bo2*.

[9]So Hansen 2012:75. It is true though that between the sixth and seventh centuries, the Chinese annals mention a series of kings whose names share the initial element *suəvha:t* 蘇伐 (the preceding is reconstructed Middle Chinese; Mandarin *sufa*) which can be convincingly equated with Tocharian B *swarn[a]*-, corresponding to Sk. *suvarṇa* 'gold'. No elements traceable to-*bhakta* are to be found in these names.

rendering *Bɛ:jk*白/帛. The compound *pitṛbhakta* "devoted to the father" does occur in Sanskrit from the epics onwards. However, it seems to have been the practice among many Indian dynasties, most prominently among the Guptas, to adopt a dynastic name to be affixed as the last member of their royal names (e.g. Candragupta, Samudragupta, Rāmagupta, etc.). Bajpai 161 suggests that such elements are actually the name of the founder of the dynasty concerned; in the case of the Guptas, the element *śrī* in the name of the first Gupta king Śrīgupta would have been only honorific. According to this hypothesis, the kings of Kucha would have been all called x-*bhakta*, and the royal names would have been chosen as plays on the meaning of this dynastic name: as all the Guptas were "protected (*gupta*) by x", all the kings of Kucha would have been "devoted (*bhakta*) to x". It would seem strange that in the Chinese histories the element *Bɛ:jk*白/帛 is placed before and not after the name. This, however, might make sense if *bhakta/bɛ:jk*白/帛 was perceived to be a family name and was placed according to the Chinese custom in initial position in Chinese. It must be remembered that at throughout pre-Islamic antiquity, China was always a powerful influence for the oasis kingdoms of the Tarim Basin. In neighboring Khotan, whose first known currency includes the famous Chinese-Prakrit bilingual coins datable to the first century CE (Cribb 1984:139), the rulers of the kingdom went so far as to adopt the alternative Chinese surname Li 李, which was completely unrelated to their local dynastic name (Viśa' < Vijaya, which is probably Sk. *vijaya* "victory") and also Chinese names in parallel to their Sanskrit/Khotanese ones. If my equation of *Bɛ:jk*白/帛 with *bhakta* is correct, the early date of what appears to be a fully Sanskrit form is very surprising. On the other hand, this hypothetical dynastic element may have continued to be used in Chinese long after the kings of Kucha stopped affixing it to their names.

In the 67th Record ("*Siyi*" 四夷 = "Barbarians") in Fascicle 97 of the Book of Jin (*Jin shu* 晉書), the section relative to Karashahr (Yanqi 焉耆)[10] mentions an event that took place in the late third century during the Taikang 太康 era of Emperor 武 Wu of Jin (280–289 CE): the king of Karashahr (*Iangji 焉耆, Mandarin *Yanqi*) sent his son to take revenge on the king of Kucha **Bɛ:jk Ṣɛ:m* 白山 (Mandarin *Bo2 Shan1*). The prince was successful in murdering **Bɛ:jk Ṣɛ:m* 白山 and in imposing his rule, but was murdered by the Kucheans soon after.

According to Brough 1965:604, the rule of Mayiri of Shanshan 鄯善, during which the documents from Niya relative to S̲agamoi were written, started around 283 CE. Another document of the Hetian county museum and edited as part of this project by Professor Duan Qing 段晴, dates from the year six of Mayiri (circa 289 CE), and there S̲agamoi (spelled there Sagamovi) was still struggling with issues related to his return to Shanshan. By this time, S̲agamoi must have already brought to Shanshan this document relative to his life in—or possibly departure from—Kucha. It is therefore likely that if Brough's estimate and the date in the Book of Jin

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[10]p. 1696 in volume III in the ZHSJ edition.

are correct, then Pitrṛbhakta is the predecessor of *Bɛːjk Ṣɛːm 白山. It is also possible that Pitrṛbhakta actually is *Bɛːjk Ṣɛːm 白山, but the lack of phonetic or semantic similarity (ṣɛːm山 means "mountains") between the names makes this sightly unlikely, although, as I mentioned before, the case of the Khotanese kings sets a precedent for Tarim Basin royals choosing Chinese names unrelated to the one in their native languages.

6.6.2   nuaviya= native of Shanshan 鄯善

In his "Comments on Third-Century Shan-shan", John Brough remarked that "no indication has been found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents themselves of a name used for the inhabitants of the country" (Brough 1965:605): another important piece of information inferrable from this document is precisely such an endonym. S̲agamoi was a native of Shanshan 鄯善 and if he is referred to as *nuaviya* in Kucha, this means that the ubiquitous term *Nuava*, long thought to correspond to Sk. *anubhāva* "majesty", must actually be the name used by the people of Shanshan 鄯善 to refer to their own kingdom in the third century. This conclusion solves a number of questions. Let me, in what follows, survey the evidence.

A turning point in the history of Shanshan 鄯善 is the year 263, in which the king Aṃgoka trimmed his long royal style and started using the unceremonious Chinese title *dziʰtrung* 侍中 (*shizhong* in Mandarin) "palace attendant" (a synecdoche for "vassal of the Chinese emperor"), phonetically rendered in Kharoṣṭhī as *jiṭuṃgha*. This is no doubt due to one of the periodic assertions of Chinese power in the Western regions, in this case probably the establishment of a Chinese military garrison in Loulan 樓蘭 (Brough 1965:603).[11] Whereas before that year, documents written during the reign of Aṃgoka would refer to the king with epithets as florid as *maharaya rayatiraya mahaṃta jayanta dharmiya sacadharmasthida mahanuava maharaya aṃkvaga devaputra* "great king, king of kings, great, victorious, pious, established in the truth and the law, great king of the great Nuava, son of the god[s], Aṃgoka" (KI579), after that year a sober *mahanuava maharaya jiṭuṃgha aṃkvaga* "great king of the great Nuava, Palace Attendant Aṃgoka" becomes the rule. It tells that the first documents in which the new nomenclature is used bear Chinese seals (Brough 1965:601).

I would like to stress here that the element *Nuava* was the only one that remains in place after 263 CE. If we compare other Tarim Basin royal styles, it becomes

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[11]It seems unlikely that this garrison is the same military agricultural colony that the general Suo Mai 索勱 established in Loulan as told in Section XIV of Book II of the sixth century *Commentary on the Scripture of Waters* (*Shui jing zhu* 水經注) by Li Daoyuan 酈道元. Stein and Chavannes place this event at least a century earlier (Stein 422–423).

evident that the element immediately before *maharaya* "great king" is always the name of the kingdom:

> *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya hinazasya avijida siṃhasya*
> Great king of Khotan, king of kings, general Avijida Siṃha (KI661)

> *Kuci mahāraya devaputra Pitṛrbha[k]t[en]a*
> The great king of Kucha, son of heaven Pitṛrbhakta.

The spelling *nuava* alternates with *nuhava*, and both are more often than not prefixed with *maha* "great". The addition of *maha-* can be periodized: of the four documents relative to the earliest known king of Shanshan, Pepiya (KI495, 648, 655, 656), only one, KI495 refers to the king as *mahanuava maharaya*, all the rest using only *nuava maharaya*. The use of the simple form *Nuava* becomes rare later on, being completely absent in the documents relative to the last two known kings, Mayiri and Vasmana. Burrow interpreted *mahanuava* as Sk. *mahānubhāva* "great majesty", and read the form *nuava* as an aphaeresis. He nevertheless expressed his hesitance by stating that "[*nuava* is] less likely an independent (non-Indian) title" (Burrow 1937:101 *sub nuava*).

As noted by my colleague Guan Di 关迪 at Peking University, the identity of Nuava as the indigenous name of Shanshan is further confirmed by the famous monk and traveller Xuanzang 玄奘 (602—664) in Book XII of his travelogue *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (*Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記), where he says: 復此東北行千餘里，至納縛波故國，即樓蘭地也[12] "marching [from Calmadana] towards the North–East more than a thousand miles, one finds the old country of *Napvʰapua 納縛波 (reconstructed Late Middle Chinese; Mandarin *nafubo*), which is the [ancient] site of Loulan 樓蘭". I also owe to Guan Di 关迪 a reference to Ji 1985:1034, where the late Chinese scholar shows that the name of the now desiccated Lop Nur Lake, on whose shores once stood the ancient capital of the kingdom, is derived from this term, which appears in Old Tibetan and Uyghur documents as, respectively, Nob and Nop, whereas Marco Polo refers to it already as Lob; the second element *nur* is of course only the Mongolian word for "lake". The term *nuava* might conceivably be Iranian in origin, being a compound of the stems **nau-*"new" (Bailey 1979:189) and a form akin to Khotanese *āvū, auv-* "village" (Bailey 1979:15, 48). I owe to Professor Duan Qing 段晴 this insight.

The fact that the name *Nuava* doesn't tally with the Chinese appellation Shanshan 鄯善 is not surprising. Loulan 樓蘭 (*Krorayina* in the Niya corpus) was the oldest indigenous name of the kingdom. Book CXXIII of Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Records of the Great Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) recounts that the famous Chinese explorer Zhang Qian 張騫, who lived in the late second century BCE, visited Loulan 樓蘭 and described it as having a capital with fortified walls (*yi you chengguo* 邑有城郭)[13] facing the salt-water lake (*lin yanze* 臨鹽澤),[14] that is, the

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[12]T 2087.945c.14-15.

[13]Vol. 3, p. 2397 in the ZHSJ edition.

[14]ibidem.

now dry Lop Nur Lake. Half a century after Zhang Qian's 張騫 visit occurred an interesting event that is described in chapter XCVIb of the Book of Han (*Han shu* 漢書). It relates that in the fourth year of the Yuanfeng era 元鳳 ("Primordial phoenix") of emperor Zhao 昭 of the Han 漢 (=76 BCE), the Chinese general Fu Jiezi 傅介子 worried about the growing influence of the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the area, went to Loulan 樓蘭, and presenting himself as an ambassador from the Chinese emperor with gifts invited the king of Loulan 樓蘭, *Dziaŋkuj[15] 嘗歸 by name, to drink. When the king was drunk, Fu Jiezi 傅介子 had two of his strongmen hold the king from behind, and then had him stabbed and decapitated, after which Fu Jiezi 傅介子 established in the throne the king's younger brother, *ʔUtdɔgji[16] 尉屠耆 and changed the name of the country to Shanshan 鄯善, giving to the new king an official Chinese seal that established the new state of affairs.[17] In view of the fact that the new name was given to mark a rearrangement of power in the kingdom under the Chinese aegis, it would not be surprising that Shanshan 鄯善 was actually an originally Chinese appellation.

The first component of the name, the character *dzian^h 鄯 (Mandarin *shan*) occurs exclusively in the name of this ancient polity in the vast repertoire of the Chinese language. The earliest comprehensive lexicographical work in Chinese, Late Han 漢 scholar Xu Shen's 許慎 (58–147 CE) *Explanation of Pictographs and Analysis of Logographs*[18] (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) has the following entry for *dzian^h 鄯: 鄯, 鄯善, 西胡國也。从邑从善, 善亦聲[19] "*dzian^h 鄯 [stands for] *Dzian^h dzian^h 鄯善 (=Shanshan), a country in the Western Regions. [It is made] from [the radical] *yi* 邑 'city, state'[as a semantic component, abbreviated to a right-hand 阝] and from *dzian^h* 善 'good'; *dzian^h* 善 acts also as a phonetic component". In Xu Shen's 許慎 technical idiom, the phrase 从 *x, y* 聲 *cong x, y sheng* means "[the graph stems] from *x* [as a semantic component], [while] *y* is the phonetic component", and this is how phonosemantic compounds, which account for the greatest majority of Chinese characters, are described. When he uses the phrase 从*x*, 从*y cong x, cong y* it means that both *x* and *y* are semantic components. This implies that in Xu Shen's 許慎 understanding, *dzian^h 鄯 means something like "the good city" (i.e. both "city" and "good" act as semantic parts of the character), and then he says that *dzian^h* 善 acts "*also* as a phonetic component". This interpretation is clearly a fanciful attempt by the distinguished Han lexicographer to make sense of the graph, but it shows that the term was not understood as a transcription of a foreign toponym, and was actually perceived as semantically significant in Chinese.

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[15]Mandarin *Changgui*.

[16]Mandarin *Weituqi*.

[17]Vol. 3, p. 2859 in the ZHSJ edition.

[18]For this interpretation of the title, see Wilkinson 79.

[19]p. 132, register a in the ZHSJ edition.

dzian^h 善 acts also as a verb "to hold good, to admire" and the phrase **dzian^h dzian^h*善善 "to admire the good" can be found in Western Han 西漢 usage: *junzi shan shan wu e* 君子善善惡惡[20] "the prince admires the good and hates evil" (*Shiji* 史記, Book CXI); *fu shan shan ji zi-sun, gu-jin zhi tongyi ye* 夫善善及子孙, 古今 之通誼也[21] "when a man admires the good, he has children and grandchildren; this is an old and new admonition" (*Han Shu* 漢書, Book LXXIV). It seems likely that the *yi* 邑 (阝) semantic radical was added later on to mark Shanshan 鄯善 as a toponym, but the original name might have been **dzian^h dzian^h* 善善 "praise of the good". Such a name was probably bestowed as the expression of the Chinese hope for future stability and submission, a practice illustrated by the abundance of Chinese toponyms containing the words *an* 安 "peace, stability" and *ning* 寧 "serenity".

Furthermore, it seems that Shanshan 鄯善 remained a purely official Chinese appellation. The epigraphic occurrences of the term are limited exclusively to official Chinese seals, whereas the Chinese officials and soldiers stationed at Shanshan 鄯善 were more inclined to refer to the kingdom and to its capital by their old name, Loulan 樓蘭=*Krorayina*.[22] The apparently Iranian term *Nuava* might have started being employed when a new political order was initiated in the Tarim Basin with the wave of immigration of Indic- and Iranian-speaking population from the Kuṣāna empire that settled in the area bringing with them their language, script, and legal system. This could have occurred with or without direct Kuṣāna military intervention[23] when this dynasty rose to political and military hegemony in South and Central Asia, that is, not before the early second century CE. The name *Nuava* would have been then by centuries younger than both Shanshan 鄯善 and Loulan 樓蘭, and this would explain its virtual absence from the Chinese records.

6.6.3   *kaṃruña upaṃditaṃ* = "has issued his mercy"

If I am correct in seeing here a phrase equivalent to Skt. **kāruṇyam utpāditam* "[he] issued [his] mercy",[24] it would be interesting to note that inorganic *anusvāra* appears exactly where long vowels should appear. This same phrase, spelled *kāruṃñaṃ opadita*, occurs in the same position (i.e. with the kings of Kucha as the

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[20]Vol. 3, p. 2255 in the ZHSJ edition.

[21]Vol. 3, p. 2356 in the ZHSJ edition.

[22]Chavannes 1921:537–545 provides edition and French translations of the Chinese documents from Niya, whereas those of Loulan are also edited and translated in 1913:§754, §907, §922 etc.

[23]For recent surveys that tend to advocate for and against this hypothesis, see respectively Hansen 2012:25–55 and Hitch 2009.

[24]I thank Prof. Stefan Baums for suggesting both this reading and the reference.

logical subject) also in another Kharoṣṭhī document from Kucha in the Berlin collection recently edited by Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉 in 2013 and, with modifications, in 2014 (see Ching 2013b, 2014). This might have been, then, a cliché from the royal chancellery of Kucha. It might be also worthy to note that Ching 2013b transcribes *kaṃ…* instead of *kā…*, and if the former reading happened to be correct —I cannot formulate a personal judgment as I have not seen the document—then the unusual spelling with *anusvāra* instead of the long vowel mark would be standard in Kucha.

6.6.4   arna

The terms *kavaji* and *arnavaji* from the Niya corpus both indicate textile products (Lüders 1973:456, 463). The occurrence of *arna* here suggests that perhaps the segment *vaji* indicates a textile manufacture, whereas the preceding element should be a qualifier, presumably the material, in spite of Lüders' connection of *kavaji* with the Sanskrit *kavacikā* "cover" in the Tibetan lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti*. A connection with Sk. *ūrṇa* "wool" and *uraṇa* "sheep" is tempting, although somewhat unlikely on phonological grounds, especially since Jarl Charpentier suggested that the hapax *urina* in the Niya corpus (KI638) might stand for *uraṇa* (mentioned in Rapson 1920:335 sub *urina*). Thomas Burrow tacitly rejected this latter hypothesis, though, by leaving the term untranslated in his translation of the Niya documents (Burrow 1940:§638).

6.6.5   tasya kritena dita = for his sake (the king?) gave

The base *krita* here could stand equally well for Skt. *kṛta* "done" and *krīta* "bought", with the latter being slightly more likely as the Skt. form *kṛta* actually occurs at the very end of the document. Nevertheless, even taking into account the fact that many terms in this passage are unknown, the syntax hardly makes sense if *kritena* is taken as a verbal participle. There is at least one occurrence in the Niya corpus where *kritena* apparently stands for the Sanskrit postposition *kṛte* "for the sake of", "on behalf of": KI377, rev. line 3 has *oguaṣa puraṭha pri[ya]niae kritena śvasti lekha karemi*, which Burrow 1940:§377 renders as "here in the presence of the ogu I make a health-wishing letter for the sake of Priyaniae." I have then with some hesitation opted to understand *kritena* here in this vein.

6.6.6   *rate yole ive unatse*

This sequence, however parsed, looks decidedly unlike Gāndhārī Prakrit. From the context one would expect a list of goods of some sort. Parsed as proposed above, these words would suggest Tocharian B ("Kuchean") morphophonemic features like masculine nominative singular endings in -*e* and genitive singular endings in -*[n]tse* of thematic stems, whereas *rate* might represent *lānte,* the irregular genitive of *walo* "king".[25] If *akṣara*s 3 to 6 in this sequence are read *śo le i ve* instead of *yo le i ve*, which I repute possible, and parsed *śol-eive*, it would be tempting to interpret this as a compound of Tocharian B *śol/śaul* "life" (>*śāw* 'live') and a word meaning "sheep" that might underlie the later Tocharian B forms *eyetse* "sheep" (gen. sing.), *aiyye* "ovine" (nom. sing.), *awi* "sheep" (nom. pl), *awantaññe* "ovine" (nom. sing.), all presumably from Proto-Indoeuropean *$*h_2óuis$* "sheep".[26] This hypothetical compound could conceivably mean "living sheep" and might refer to the same sheep (*paśava*) mentioned later on in the same line. Nevertheless, the *ṣo* that precedes this enigmatic sequence is the standard word for "six" at least in Niya, and this would be at odds with the numeral "100" ("1000"?) mentioned later on.

   It seems that even as Gāndhārī was the language of administration in the third century Tarim Basin, it must not have been a spoken language among most people, and clerks and scribes must have struggled sometimes to find words to describe items and circumstances of everyday life beyond the formulaic templates of legal procedure. One would imagine that confronted with such a problem they might have resorted to the use of words and phrases of their native Tocharian, just as, for example, the native English was used to fill in similar gaps in the formulaic "Court French" used in English courts of law from the Norman conquest until the early seventeenth century, (on which see Pollock 1896:280–288).

6.6.7   *khavalga*

The word, once again, does not seem to be Indic in origin, and so the initial aspirate poses interesting problems. An Iranian origin seems unlikely, as most Iranian languages lack unvoiced aspirated stops, although in fact the twin Saka languages, Khotanese and Tumšuqese, have in fact reverted the Iranian fricative series *f*, *θ*, *χ* into and unvoiced aspirate occlusive series p^h, t^h, k^h. That, however, the neighboring Tumšuqese or the much further Khotanese would have been influential enough to loan technical terms to the royal chancellery of Kucha seem somewhat

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[25]I owe this information to Professor Melanie Malzahn from Vienna, who through personal communication (April 7, 2014) shared with me her opinion on this passage from her expertise in the Tocharian language.

[26]All this information I have gathered from Adams 1999, aware of the criticisms that have been waged against this work.

implausible. The Kharoṣṭhī aspiration in *kha* may have been used to render an unknown phonetic feature of the non-Indic language that was being rendered here: if it was Tocharian, it might be of interest to note that the sign in Tocharian Brahmī formerly transliterated as *k a*, that is, the special graph for the consonant *k* followed by the so-called Fremdvokal *ä*, does bear a definite visual resemblance to Kharoṣṭhī *kha*.[27]

Moreover, the ending -*lga* might represent the ubiquitous Proto-Tocharian gerundival suffix *-*lyo* (treated in Pinault 2008:§230). In the usage of Niya, *g* certainly represents an etymological intervocalic *k* (e.g. *yathagamagaraniya* = Skt. *yathākāmakaraṇīya* "to be done according to wish"), but certain hypercorrect spellings like *apramega* for etymological *aprameya* "immeasurable" and even more fittingly *kośalga* for what in Sanskrit would be *kauśalya* "well being" make clear that in pronunciation *g* was merely a glide, as it would be expected for Gāndhārī.

6.6.8   *zaṃda, śarzape*

Other ways of parsing these *akṣara*s are not only likely, but in fact possibly correct. Be as it may, the non-intervocalic *z* in these words (formerly romanized as *jh*)[28] suggests an Iranian origin. In view of the wealth of administrative Bactrian loanwords that entered the lexicon of the Tarim Basin languages (on which see Hitch 2009:18–19), Bactrian seems a likely candidate, but I have so far failed to provide a convincing Bactrian etymology.

Glossary (The order of the letters follows that of the Brahmī alphabet, with *ṣ* and *z* after *s*)

aṭhami   Sk. *aṣṭamī* "the eighth [night of a fortnight]"

aṃtariya   (3) Cmp. Buddhist Sk. -*antarīya* "other than, further" and Skt. *antara* "proximate, interior" but also "mediate, distant" (!). Buddhist Skt. *antarika* does seem to mean, though, "neighboring"

aṭha   (3) Sk. *aṣṭa* 'eight'

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[27] Likewise, *ṣ a* = *ṣä* does in fact resemble Kharoṣṭhī *ṣa*.

[28] See Glass 2000:67. *jh/z* occurs in Indic words only in an intervocalic position, like *daza* = *dasa* 'slave'.

arna (2) Meaning unknown. See discussion above

√*as* Sk. √*as* "to be"; (1) *asti* third-person singular present; (2) *siyati* third-person singular optative (Sk. *syāt*)

asti see √*as*

ika- Sk. *eka* "one"; (3) *ike* nominative-accusative plural (Sk. nominative plural *eke*)

ike see *ika-*

ime Sk. pronominal base *im-* "she, he"; (3) *ime* nominative-accusative plural (Sk. masculine nominative plure *ime*)

upaṃdita (1) Sk. *utpādita* "issued", past passive participle of the causative of *ut-*√*pad* "come forth". See the discussion above

eva (3) Sk. *eva* "precisely, only"

Oriya- A place name?; (2) *Oriyaṃmi* locative singular "in Oriya (?)"

Oriyaṃmi see *Oriya-*

kaṃruña (1) Sk. *kāruṇya* "kindness, mercy" with intrusive *anusvara*. Please see discussion above

kālo (1) Sk. *kāla* "time": accusative *taṃ k[ā]laṃ* and hybrid accusative-locative *taṃ k[ā]laṃmi* (on which see Burrow 1937:§80) are standard phrases in Niya that mean "at that time"; *taṃ kālo* is unusual but undoubtedly related

Kuci (1) Kucha, compare Early Middle Chinese **Kuwdzi* 龜茲 (Mandarin *Qiuci*). Kucha has been the name of the area since Han times. Chapter 28b of the Book of Han (*Han shu* 漢書) describes a township in the Shang 上 prefecture (modern Shaanxi province) called also Qiuci 龜茲. Based on this and on commentarial literature, Yu 2013:29 suggests that Chinese settlers originally from this area gave the name to Kucha during Western Han times

kritena Please see discussion above

kṛta (3) Sk. *kṛta* "made", past passive participle of √*kṛ* "to do"

kuyanaṃmi Niya Prakrit *kuhani, khvani, khuyan[eṃci]* "citadel, capital"; (2) *kuyanaṃmi* locative singular

khavalga (2) Meaning unknown; please see discussion above

tade (2) Sk. *tataḥ* "therefore"

ta- third person pronominal base, akin to Sk. *tad*; (1) *taṃ* masculine-neuter accusative singular "that"; (2) *tasya* genitive singular "of him, his"; (2, 3) *te* nominative-accusative plural "those"

taṃ see *ta-*

tasya see *ta-*

te see *ta-*

tre Sk. *tri* "three"

√da Sk. *√da* "to give"; (3) *diyaṃti* (usually spelled *deyaṃti*) third-person plural optative "let them give". It is unlikely, although possible that it corresponds to the Sk. passive base *dīyante* "are given". See Burrow 1937:§100

dita (2) Sk. *datta* "given"

dāna (3) "gift"

diya(ṃ)ti see *√da-*

divyāsa- Sk. *divasa* "day", see discussion above; (1) *divyāse* locative singular "in the day"

devaputra (1) Sk. *devaputra*, made from the elements *deva* "god" and *putra* "son" = "son of a god". Although the compound occurs in Sanskrit, it is not usually a royal title and probably this usage is due to influence from either Western or Chinese imperial epithets

nama (2) Sk. *nāma* "[by] name"

Nuaviya (1) "[national] of Shanshan", from *Nuava* "Shanshan". See the notes to the translation for the possible etymology

paśava (2) Sk. *paśavaḥ* "animals, sheep", nominative plural of *paśu* "domestic animal". In the Niya usage this form occurs as a *pluralia tantum*

Pitṛṛbhakta- Personal name of the king of Kucha, whose elements correspond to Sk. *pitṛ* "father, ancestral spirit" and *bhakta* "devoted" = "devoted to the father" or "devoted to the ancestral *pitṛ* spirits"; (1) *Pitṛṛbhaktena* instrumental singular. Please see the discussion above

masa- Sk. *māsa* "month"; (1) *māse* locative singular "in the month"

māse see *masa-*

mahāraya (1) Sk. *mahārāja* "great king, maharaja"

rajya-tasuca (3) Sk. *rājya* "kingdom" and *tasuca*, a term of probably indigenous origin (akin to Tocharian B *tā[s]* "place, consider" + agentival suffix *-uca*?) that indicates an official rank with unknown functions (Burrow 1937:94)

vaniya (2) Sk. *vaṇij, vaṇija* "merchant"

vastavya- Sk. *vastavya* "resident"

Śarzape (3) Unknown meaning; the phonetic structure suggests an Iranian origin. I have very tentatively assumed it is a proper name. Please see discussion above

ṣo (2) Sk. *ṣaṭ* "six"

saṃvatsara (1) Sk. *saṃvatsara* "year"; (1) *saṃvatsare* locative singular "in the year"

√*sah* Sk. √*sah* "tolerate, have patience with, let pass, be lenient"; (3) *saheyaṃti* 3rd person singular optative "let them be lenient towards (?)"

saheyaṃti See √*sah*

siyati see √*as*

sa (1) Sk. *saḥ* nominative form of the 3rd person masculine pronoun

Sagamoi Personal name; (1-2) *Sagamoi* nominative singular; (3) *Sagamoyasya* genitive singular

Sagamoyasya see *Sagamoi*

zaṃda Unknown meaning, possibly of Iranian origin. Please see discussion above

Appendix: Preliminary Transcription of the Outer Surface of the Central Double Tablet

Recto

1. saṃvatsare 10 x x x ti x x x x 3 taṃ kālo kuci x x x x x va putra //pitrṛbhaktena kaṃru x ha –i –i sa s[t]i –i x x x ṣo x x x x x vya x
2. kuv́anaṃmi ive ri x sa x x x x x x x x x mayi[r]i x x x x x tayi nama teṣaṃ //artha ye aṃnata ima divi le x x ye va re x abhave x x ga -ga x bhava x
3. -o x na dhi ha ga śa –u x x x x ta pa x –i x x x x li ma […] u ma sya //x ma diśaye anu x dhitu […] ta kṣi x x x
4. […] kuv́anaṃmi […] //śata –i –i x k- x x x x x otarati x x x x x pa –ai ka
5. x x x x –ā x x x x x x x x x –u x x x x x x x x x x x //x x x x x x x x x x ya sagamoyasa x x -ya
6. x x pu x x po ta x x x x x […] ti –i ma [..] //kālo yo ca yo va x x x x x x x –i yo i x x x x x x
7. x x x pra x ye x x x x –i […] ya x x ya //ve de x x x x x x x x x x te va sta –i x x x x x x x
8. […] maharayasa –u x x //taṃ za la x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x ga x x x x
   Verso

1. x x x prati x x –u x r[x]a x x x mapitaṃ za te i tva na taṃ pra bh-//x x x x x ri x ha x […]
2. x x u x x lihitaga x x ta pu x x keṃ lo taṃ kālo aṃtariya ? pru ta śa //x tāna kṛta maya tivi(ra).

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Chapter 7
An Examination of Khujand

Yong Yuan

Abstract Mt Mug sogdian document A-9, an ordinary letter, however, records a "tragedy" that took place in 722 on the banks of Syr Darya. Based on the interpretation of the A-9 document by the older generation of scholars, this article uses the Muslim historical materials, Chinese historical materials, and archaeological data to verify the location, history, and traffic of the Khujand. Then we expound the events of Khujand in 722 to illustrate the political situation in the early eighth century and the history of Arabs conquest in Transoxiana. It represents the importance of the Khujand in the history of Transoxiana.

7.1 Introduction

The word Sogdiana or Sughd[1] first appeared in Behistun inscriptions, but there was no mentioning of the specific region.[2] The writings of ancient Greek scholars generally suggested that Sogdiana corresponded to Transoxiana, an area between Amu Darya and Syr Darya. After Alexander the Great's conquest of the East, the word referred to a more precise area—the basin of Zarafshan.[3] From third to eighth century, Sogdia or Sogdiana encompassed the basins of Zarafshan and Kashka

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[1]Cf. Frye (1943), pp. 14–16.

[2]Ancient Persian inscriptions recorded the word as sugudu, whereas Rustam inscriptions recorded it as suguda. Additionally, in the Avestan language, it was known as Sughda.

[3]Also known as "Shujin river" (lit. transporting gold river) in antiquity, or "Namishui" in the *Book of Sui: Traditions of the Western Region*s; Marquart (1938).

This manuscript is an English translation from its Chinese text. The original Chinese text shall prevail if any inconsistency occurs.

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Darya.[4] Sogdiana, in the writings of Muslim geographers in the Middle Ages, usually meant an area near Samarkand and Bukhara, such as al-Iṣṭakhri (i.e. Sughd represented an area from the east of Bukhara to Samarkand). In history books about Sui and Tang Dynasties of ancient China, Sogdiana referred to a group of small Sogdian speaking states (known as The Nine Surnames of Zhaowu Sogdians in Chinese: Kang [Samarkand], An [Bukhara], Cao [Kaboudhan],[5] Shi [Tashkent], Mi [Maimargh], He [Kushanika], Huoxun [Khwarizm], Wudi [Kesh], Shi [Betik]) between Amu Darya and Syr Darya. Among these states, Samarkand, Maimargh, and Kushanika were located in the basin of Zarafshan. Buddhist monk Xuanzang passed through the area in 7th century CE. In *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, Xuanzang wrote: "The area from Suyab to Kusana is known as Sūlika. Its people and language are also so-named."[6] In fact, Sūlika meant Sogdia, and in the Sogdian language, it was known as Sγwδy (Sogdian).[7] While the geographical area of Sogdiana varied between different writings, it is clear that the basin of Zarafshan roughly represented the core area of Sogdiana.

   In Muslim literature, the area north of Amu Darya was generally defined as Mā Warāʾ al-Nahr (lit. what lies beyond the river). This term not only referred in a strictly-speaking sense the territory of Sughd or Sogdiana but also areas further up north (Ustrushana, Tashkent, Fergana and even Zhetysu) as well as northern Bactria in antiquity.[8] To avoid confusion and unless the context otherwise requires, Sogdiana or Sughd is to be understood as Transoxiana in this essay.

7.2   Mount Mug Documents

Historical records and unearthed documents provide the bulk of information on Sogdian literature. First, most of the historical records concentrate in Chinese history books, such as *Book of Sui*, *Book of Tang*, and *Cefu Yuangui* (aka *Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau*, an encyclopaedia complied in the Song Dynasty), and writings by medieval Muslim geographers.[9] Of note is that virtually all Sogdian

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[4]*History of Civilizations of Central Asia* (2003), vol. 3, p. 195, trans. Ma Xiaohe.

[5]In this context, it usually means Eastern Cao or Ustrushana. In the *Book of New Tang*, it was referred as Sudujshana or Usrushana. In addition, there were Central Cao (Kaboudhandjakath) and Western Cao.

[6]Xuanzang-tsang (1985), p. 73, annot. Ji Xian-lin, et al.

[7]The origin of Sūlika: J. Marquart believed that Sūlika was the corresponding pronunciation of Sūlik in Middle Persian. H. W. Baily believed that it originated from Sūlya. Cf. Xuanzang-tsang (1985), pp. 73–74.

[8]de La Vaissière (2012), p. 174, translation by Wang Rui.

[9]Al-Tabari, *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa'l-mulūk. The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 1–38 (1987–1997). Anonymous, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. Boundaries of the World* (1970), trans. V. Minorsky, 2nd ed. Ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitāb al Masālik w'al Mamālik* (*The Book of Roads and Kingdoms,* with Kudqm's *Volume on Taxation*) (1991), trans. Song Xian.

documents were discovered in the East—particularly in China, such as Dunhung and Turfan areas—far away from Sogdiana.[10] The Sogdian documents discovered in these areas consisted of a large volume of materials related to Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Christianity, as well as some letters[11] and business documents. Another type of special Sogdian document was Sogdian inscriptions found in areas like Mongolia and Upper Indus Valley.[12] In essence, noting was virtually found in the Sogdiana proper until 1933 when a group of Soviet archaeologists unearthed nearly 90 documents at the Mount Mug fortress, 140 km east of Samarkand. The bulk of the documents were Sogdian documents, but there was also one Arabic document and one Turkic Rune document. Scholars had later confirmed that the documents belonged to the archives of Dēwāshtīch, a leader of Panjikent. They consisted mainly of legal and economic documents as well as letters, and it was also determined that these documents dating back no later than 722 AD.[13] These documents were the only Sogdian documents found in Sogdiana proper, and provided a valuable source for us to gain an insight into the politics and economic life of Sogdians. They also provided us an importance source to understand diplomacy and social conditions in Panjikent and nearby areas in early eighth century before the Arab conquest.

This essay further elaborates the fruits of research of the Mount Mug documents. V. A. Livshits, a former Soviet scholar, had made tremendous contribution to the annotation and transliteration of these documents. Since 1960, he had been publishing his research on these documents on a regular basis. In 2008, a collection of his writings on the subject matter was published. Titled *Sogdian Epigraphy of Central Asia and Semirech'e,* the author also included annotations and translations by Smirnova, I. Gershevitch,[14] Yakubovich, and other scholars. The book examined the origins of the Sogdian words that appeared on the documents, accompanied by a high-resolution photo for each of the translated document. The English translation was published in 2015, and was included in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum,* edited by Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams, in which corrections made to the original Russian version were included. In 1980s, Ma Xiaohe used the Mount Mug Documents (A-14, B-17, B-18, etc.) to examine Sogdian politics in the eighth century and the lives of Dēwāshtīch.[15] In 2002, Frantz Grenet and Etienne de

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[10]Cf. Huang (1981), pp. 28–33.

[11]Cf. Henning (1948), pp. 601–615; Sims-Williams (2001), pp. 267–280.

[12]The Sogdian inscriptions discovered at the upper basin of the Indus River valley in 1980 s have already been studied and explained by Professor Nicolas Sims-Williams.

[13]Viz. Diwashini in Arabic historical sources; he died in 722 CE. Cf. Al-Tabari, vol. 24 (1987–1997), p. 177.

[14]Gershevitch (1962), pp. 77–95.

[15]Ma Xiaohe, *Sogdiana in 712* (originally published in *Journal of Xinjiang University*, Issue 1, 1986), *Sogdiana in Eighth Century AD* (originally published in *Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 3, 1990), included in *Studies in Manichaeism and the Ancient History of the Western Regions* (2008).

la Vaissière published *The Last Days of Panjikent*,[16] a masterly paper about the pre-Islamic civilization of the Sogdians. In the paper, several important Mount Mug documents—B-18, Nov. 2; A-14; and A-9—were retranslated and reinterpreted. Based on the new findings, the author examined the political situation in Panjikent before its conquest by the Arabs.

As to the history of the Arab conquest of Transoxiana, we would like to introduce our readers two scholars who had done extraordinary research using Muslim historical materials. Russian scholar Vasily Vladimirovich Bartold's monumental work, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*,[17] was created from complex materials of Islamic sources. The work sorted out the copious Muslim literature and gave a rich and colourful account of the geography of Transoxiana and pre-twelfth century history of Central Asia. Even to this day, *Turkestan* remains a basic work of reference for the history of Central Asia. Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb's *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*[18] is also a masterpiece of Central Asia history, crafted from Muslim historical sources.

Based on Mount Mug documents, Arab and Chinese historical documents, and archeaological findings, this essay gives an account on the historical events that took place in Khujand in 722 CE and as recorded in the A-9 Mount Mug document. Also, through the author's research on Khujand's history, communication and other matters, we can gain a deeper understanding of the political situation in Transoxiana and the Arab conquest of Transoxiana in early eighth century. In the end, this illustrates the importance of Khujand in the history of Transoxiana.

7.3   Khujand
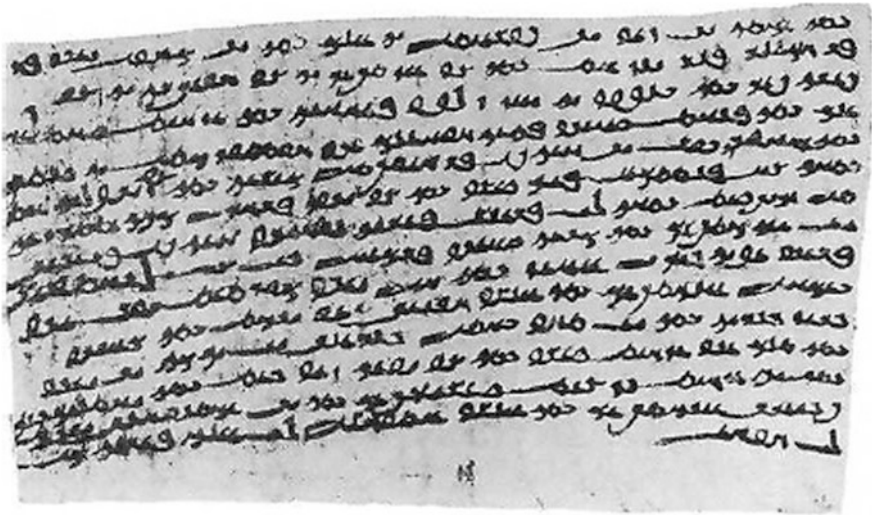
7.3.1   *The Mount Mug Document A-9*

There are 15 rows on the recto of the Mount Mug document A-9; it has been rather well-preserved. The verso has 26 rows, and the condition is unsatisfactory; they are fuzzy and with significant damages. In the last two rows, there are transliterated words written in the opposite direction. Overall, the documents on both recto and verso lack significant linkages, and it is believed that both are separate, unrelated letters. However, judging by the characteristics of the writings of the two documents (except the words in the last two rows), both letters were penned by the same person. The content and style of the document on the recto suggest that the letter was destined for Dēwāshtīch. Yet, when compared it with other letters discovered at

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[16]Grenet and de La Vaissière (2002), pp. 155–196.

[17]Bartold (2007), trans. Zhang Xitong and Zhang Guangda.

[18]Gibb (1923).

Mugh A-9 recto

Illustration 7.1 Mount Mug Document A-9

Mount Mug, this letter lacks the names of the recipient and the correspondent. Also, the letter lacks the usual opening greetings (Illustration 7.1).

Scholars like Livshits, Grenet, and de la Vaissière had transliterated and translated the A-9 document. Therefore, this essay only gives an account on the Khujand part in the document. The words on the 15 rows on the recto of the A-9 document have been translated as follows[19]:

1. The information is as follows: Kwc'nth[20] is over, all the people
2. Never trust xm'yr,[21] Aristocrats, merchant (Xw'kry) and
3. Worker (K'ryk'r). A total of 14,000 have left. We have sent a messenger,
4. However, we heard that you have left for Xwttwrstn.[22]
5. At the Day of Akhshewar, leader Š'ykn stopped at Šāwkat, I sent
6. All the "quick feet" to cross the Buttaman to reach his place, the open lands of Parghar

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[19]Livshits (2015), pp. 74–82, trans. Tom Stableford (Photos included). Grenet and de La Vaissière (2002), pp. 171–179.

[20]Initially, Livshits translated the word as "kwc'nt" and suggested that it meant Kuqa in Xinjiang, China. However, O.I. Smirnova pointed out that Livshits was wrong and retranslated it as "kwc'nth"—Khujand.

[21]This phrase could be erroneous because of mistakes made during hand copying. Livshits transliterated it as pr pr xm'yr pyr nyz'nt, and came up with two entirely different explanations, no longer believe in the emir; under the protection of the emir.

[22]Grenet and de La Vaissière (2002), p. 171.

7. Cannot leave behind for him because the chief leader will not go to your place.
8. Previously, Suzerain (MR'Y)! issued an order: "You and Dhishtach (name of a person?),
9. Start putting up goods on horsebacks! On Murtat, dependable persons
10. Will come to Raman." But there is no information. If
11. You have reached an agreement (βr'z), you and your people will not get fairness (peace?).
12. I have already sent another messenger, I will let you know if there is any new information.
13. I will send (a dependable) messenger. As to the people of Ustrushana
14. Some will come. There is nothing to be afraid of,
15. As such, there is no need to worry!

On the first row of the document, it mentioned "Kwc'nth is over." Kwc'nth (Kochanda) is the Sogdian version of the place name "Khujand". In medieval Iranian language, it was known as "Xwaǰand (hwcnd)".[23] As to the "k" in the Sogdian language "Kwc'nth", it is believed that the spelling reflected the Turkish-zation of the place name. The interchanging of the first alphabet k/x can also be found in the Sogdian inscriptions of Terak-sai and Kulan-sai. For example, the Sogdian "'kwsr'w" was written as "Xusraw"[24] in the Iranian language. Also, it is believed that "kwc'nth (kochanda)" is the same as "Juzhanti" in ancient Chinese history books, and its location is the present-day Khujand, located in Tajikistan. Formerly known as Leninabad, the city reverted to its original name in 1992 after the breakup of the Soviet Union. The city, at coordinates 40°17′N and 69°37′E, is situated on the left bank of Syr Darya and at the mouth of the Fergana Valley. As such, it is a considered a gateway city in the western region of the Fergana Valley. According to the *New Book of Tang: Traditions of the Western Regions*, Ustrushana and Tashkent are described as:

Eastern Cao, also known as Sudujshana, Sutrushana/Ustrushana, Kaputana and Osrushana, is located in the foothills of a mountain. The place was known as Ershicheng (a Chinese place name for Dayuan, a country in Fergana Valley) in Han dynasty. To the northeast is Khujand about 200 Chinese miles away. To the north is Tashkent and the west is Samarkand. Also, to the northeast is Ningyuan (Dayuan's name in Tang dynasty), about 400 Chinese miles away.

Tashkent, also known as Chaj, Chach, and Tash, is the northern neighbour of Dayuan. It is 9,000 Chinese miles away from the capital. To the northeast lies the Western Turkic Khaganate, northwest lies Bola. Also, to the south lies Khujand, which is 200 Chinese miles away, and Samarkand is 500 Chinese miles southwest of the city.

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[23]Bundahiš 88. 15: Xwaǰand-rōd pad mayān ī Smarkand ud Fragān be šawēd u-š rōd-iz Xšart xwānēnd: Khujand river, aka Syr Darya, flows between Samarkandand Fergana; They also called it the Jaxartes. Cited from Livshits (2015), p. 78.

[24]Livshits (2015), p. 78.

The present-day Tashkent—city of rocks—is the capital and largest city of Uzbekistan. Once the capital city of Eastern Cao, the area is now known as Istaravshan (Ura-Tyube before 2000). In the Tang dynasty literary work, *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang*, the following is mentioned: "The people of Khujand believe in ghosts and spirits. There is a spirit in the north of the city, 20 Chinese miles across the Pearl River. During the spring and autumn offerings, the spirt will appear automatically whenever the king needs goldware, silverware and other items. The spirt will disappear after the rituals, and this is not something that can be done casually." According to the *New Book of Tang: Traditions of the Western Regions*, there is a river, Jaxartes, in the southwest, which flows into China. It is also known as Pearl or Zhi River. (Other names included Yakhsha and Yinchu). The so-called Pearl River is believed to be the present-day Syr Darya, which in the old days, known as Jaxartes. The location of Khujand mentioned in the *New Book of Tang* generally matches the information in Arabic historical records. Yet, there are differences when it comes to the geographical relationships with Chach (Tashkent) and Eastern Cao. In Ibn Khordadbeh's *Book of Roads and Kingdoms*,[25] the distance between Sutrushana and Khujand was 17 farshkh,[26] or approximately 102 km. Also, the distance from Zheshi (Chach) to Khujand was 37 farshkh, or approximately 222 km. This differs from the 200 Chinese miles (approximately 88 km) mentioned in the *New Book of Tang* (a discrepancy of more than 10 km in the case of the distance between Sutrushana and Khujand). This could be due to the distance recorded by Khordadbeh represented a routing via Sabat but the latter would entail an inexplicable discrepancy of 134 km.

7.3.2   The Name of Khujand

In the passage about Chach in the *New Book of Tang: Traditions of the Western Regions*, it mentioned about a city by the name of Kanjie: In the third year of the Xianqing 显庆 era (=658 AD), Kanjie city is the seat of the office." (Dudu is a title given to military commanders in ancient China). Here, the old Chinese pronunciation of Kanjie was k'am kĭăt,[27] whereas the middle Chinese pronunciation was like k'am kĭɐt. As the pronunciations of Kanjie and Khujand are similar, it is believed that they belong to the same place. However, there weren't more leads as the Dayuan Dudu's office didn't have a long history there and it didn't appear in the *New Book of Tang: Geographical Treatises*. Some scholars set the pronunciation as Qaq (Tashkent according to Tajik-Persian literature) and deemed it as the city Chach mentioned in the *New Book of Tang: Traditions of the Western Regions*. Yet

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[25]Khordadbeh (1991), pp. 29–33.

[26]Farshkh was an ancient Persian and Arabic unit measuring road distance. One medieval farshkh is roughly equivalent to 6 km (cf. Guangda (1979), pp. 71–83.).

[27]Xiliang (ed.) (2010), pp. 60 and 295.

it was unlikely that the *New Book of Tang* would record the name of the capital city according to two different transliterations. At the same time, the passage about Fergana in the *New Book of Tang: Traditions of the Western Regions* mentioned that "during the Zhengguan 贞观 period (Emperor Taizong of Tang), Qipi, a king of Fergana, was killed by Külüg Sibir, a ruler of the Western Turkic Khaganate, and Ase Na Shuni took over the control of the state until he passed away. Afterwards, E Bozhi, the son of Qipi installed Qipi's nephew, A Lecan, as king. A Lecan ruled over Humen city, and E Bozhi ruled over Kesai city." Japanese scholar Toyohachi Fujita believed that Humen city (γwmp'n in Turkish language) was indeed Khujand.[28] In Tang Dynasty, Khujand was a term used by people to refer to this particular region. While there were variations in the name in later periods, but they all evolved from the sound of this word.

Furthermore, in Yuan and subsequent dynasties, it became common for history books and travel journals to use the word to describe Syr Darya, which flowed past the city. Such a change was closely related to the city's location as a major crossing point on the Syr Darya and reflected the importance of Khujand's location in terms of communication. In fact, in the *History of Yuan*, there were different names for the same place.[29] *History of Yuan: Geographical Treatise—Northwest Addendum* called the city "Huzhan"; Volume 149, *History of Yuan: Biography of Guo Baoyu* mentioned a river by the name of "Huzhang river"; Volume 151, *History of Yuan: Biography of Xueta Lahai* called it "Huchan". In Liu Yu's *An Embassy to the West*, the author used the name of the city to denote Syr Darya as "Huzhang river". As it turned out, "Huzhan", "Huchan", and "Huzhang" were transliterated from Khujand. In Yelu Chucai's *Memoir of Journey to the West*, the city was known as Khujand, "There are many pomegranates in Khujand. They are big and taste sweet with a bit of sourness. Plenty of juice can be made from a couple of pomegranates, and it is a great thirst-quencher."[30] This area teeming with fruits, and it was well-known for growing pomegranates.[31] This can be validated by Arab historical records. Sultan Baber described Khujand as an old city teeming with fruits, and in particular tasty pomegranates were grown there.[32] In *Boundaries of the World,* the book also mentioned "Huzhan is a major town in the region, and its residents are chivalrous. The place has a large number of crops, and it produces pomegranates." *Travels to the West of Qiu Chang Chun* also mentioned about this land, "Walking around for two days, there is a river by the name of Khujandmüren."[33] The so-called Khujandmüren was actually Khujand river, as the Turkish-Mongolian word

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[28]Toyohachi Fujita, *The Diary of Hyecho*, 72th list. Cf. Xue, *History of the Turks* (1992), pp. 326–327.

[29]*History of Yuan: Geographical Annals*, volume 63 (1976), p. 1568.

[30]Chucai (1981), p. 2, annot. Xiang Da.

[31]Zhang Xinglang (1978), p. 90, annot. Zhu Jieqin.

[32]This book was written in Persian language by an unknown author. The current hand-copied version has a notation at the end of the book, indicating that it was copied in 656 AH (1258 CE). Cf. Zhilai (trans.) (2010), p. 44.

[33]Li Zhichang (2016), p. 143, annot. Shang Yanbin and Huang Taiyong.

"müren" means river. *History of Ming—Traditions of the Western Regions* mentioned about a "Huozhan river": "…The river in the northwest is called Huozhan, with fast-moving water. Floating bridges are built for crossing." As it can be seen, "Huzhang river, Khujandmüren and Huozhan river" share one common element—that is the name of the city was used to refer to the river.

7.3.3 History of Khujand and Its Connection with Nearby Areas

Bordering Khujand were a couple of states, including to the north, Chach (Tashkent); to the east, βrγ'nk (Fergana); to the southeast, Ustrushana (Eastern Cao). Also, Khujand was a major crossing point on Syr Darya. Blessed with such a unique geographical location, Khujand occupied an important spot in the history of Transoxiana. According to archaeological findings,[34] we know underneath the stratum of modern-day Khujand lies the ruins from the Middle Ages, Hellenistic period, and Achamenid era, as the history of the city can be traced back to 6th century. It is believed that Cyrus the Great built a Cryropolis there, to act as northeast frontier of the Achaemenid Dynasty—a frontline to defend against the Sakas. After the conquest of the city by Alexander the Great, he founded the city Alexandria Eschate, literally Alexandria the Farthest, and archaeologists discovered coins and potteries from the Hellenistic period. From an archaeological perspective, from second to fifth century, Khujand's territory was limited to the area since antiquity, with the core area measured at 20 ha. From sixth to eighth century, Khujand underwent a rapid period of development, and rebuilt an area in the eastern part of the old city into an 8-ha fort. The old fort was included in the inner part of the new fort, and the rebuilt transformed Khujand into a big city consisted of three components—fort, urban area, and business—and with a massive defensive system.[35] Such a change was related to Arab activities in Transoxiana and the response taken by the people of Khujand in light of the complex situation. The writings of Muslim geographers in the tenth century described Khujand as follows: Huzhan was a major city in Transoxiana; it had a small city; inner city (Shahristān in Persian language) and outer city (Rabaḍ). The prison was located inside the small city, the grand mosque was located within Shahristān, and the palace was located at the centre of a square in Rabaḍ.[36]

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[34]The Soviet Union carried out a lot of archeological work in Central Asia. Cf. Frumkin (1981), trans. Huang Zhenhua.

[35]*History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 3, p. 234.

[36]Bartold (2007), p. 192.

Situated at the crossroads of the three nations—Chach, Eastern Cao, and βrγ'nk, and by the Syr Darya, Khujand became an important stronghold for connecting the East and West. Merchants doing business in the West and the East also treated Khujand as a transfer point and pit stop. As such, the city became an important connection hub in Transoxiana. The word "merchant (xw'kry)" only appeared on the Mount Mug Document A-9 once, and is related to Khujand. To this end, we can see the importance of the city's geographical location in the business world.

We have to rely on the writings of Muslim geographers in order to understand the communication in Khujand and nearby areas.[37] According to al-Iṣṭakhri, it took eight days to travel from Samarkand to Khujand, and the areas that travellers had to pass through along the journey almost fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of Ustrushana, and they had to pass through areas like Barkate, Sai Adelabat, Bourne Meade, Zaamin, Sabat, Alcande, and Shaukate along the way. Of these places, the most important was Zaamin, as it was the second largest city in Ustrushana. There were several travel routings between Zaamin and Khojend (i.e. Khujand), and one could travel to Khojend from Sabat by passing through Alcand and Garuk-Anda. The journey from Khojend to Fergana was also easy; Fergana's capital, Akhsīkath, was located on the right bank of Syr Darya, and the roads between the two cities were mostly following the river. The distance between the two cities was 23 farshkh or roughly 140 km. Starting from Khojend, one could reach Akhsīkath[38] by taking an additional journey of 4 farshkh from passing through the following locales:

Samghar (5 farshkh from Huzhan)
Khajistan (4 farshkh from Samghar)
Turmukan (7 farshkh from Khajistan)
Bab (3 farshkh from Turmukan)

Also, there was a road from Khojend to Osh (a 6-day journey) that traversed southern Fergana. This route passed through places like Kand, Shah, Rishton, Zengddam, Kuba, and so on. Osh was the third largest city in Fergana, and it was located at the frontier area between Fergana and the Turkic Khaganate. *Boundaries of the World* noted that "Osh is a prosperous and beautiful place, and its people are combative. On the top of a hill, there are scouts monitoring the pagan Turks."[39] The Sogdian Document A-14 unearthed at Mount Mug mentioned about Kand[40] (knδ in Sogdian language). The city was later known as Kand-i Bādām, meaning the city of

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[37]We gave a simple account here, as Bartold had already given a detailed account by referencing Arabic historical sources, such as *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*. Details can be found at Bartold (2007), pp. 189–194.

[38]This city should be the same as the one known as Xijian city in the *New Book of Tang*. 5 farshkh or 30 km north of the city lied Kesan city, which should be the same as the one known as Kesai city in the *New Book of Tang*, from late eighth century to early ninth century, Kesai was the capitol of various principalities in Fergana.

[39]Zhilai (trans.) (2010), p. 112.

[40]Livshits (2015), p. 74.

badam[41]—probably due to the fact that the city was well-known for producing badam (thin shell almonds). The distance between Khojend and Kand was approximately 5 farshkh, and during the Middle Ages, Kand and Samghar both belonged to Khujand. As for the road between Khojend and Tashkent, Kitāb al-Buldān said: "The journey from Fergana to Chach takes five days, and it takes four days to travel from Khojend to Chach."[42] These are how Muslim geographers described the transport situation in Khujand and nearby areas. This information helps us to fully understand the so-called Khujand Incident and its meaning.

7.3.4 Khujand in 722

In light of Khujand's unique position in Transoxiana as a communication hub, and the strengthening of its defence by building new forts between the sixth and eighth century, we are going to re-examine the Khujand Incident mentioned in document A-9. First, it is necessary to give an overview of the situation in Transoxiana before the incident.[43] There were three major powers in Transoxiana in early eighth century: Arab, Turks (Western and Eastern Turkic khaganates), and China (Tang dynasty). Since the first crossing of Syr Darya in 654 CE, the Arabs had invaded and looted Transoxiana multiple times. In 705 CE, the caliph appointed Qutayba ibn Muslim as governor of Khorasan, and that represented a new stage of Arab conquest of Transoxiana. Qutayba died in 715 CE, and by this time, the Arabs had already occupied areas like Khwarezm or Chorasmia, Bukhara, and Samarkand. They even set up an Arabic governorship in Fergana. Yet, the situation started to change in a few years' time after the death of Qutayba, as provinces in the Syr Darya basin fell one after another. In the southwestern area of Transoxiana, while the Arabs still controlled cities like Bukhara and Samarkand, they faced revolts from the natives.[44] At the same time, the intervention by the Turks had made the situation in Transoxiana more complicated (Illustration 7.2).

In the sixth century, the Turkic Khaganate was split into the Western Turkic Khaganate and the Eastern Turkic Khaganate. The strength and power of the two khaganates ebbed and flowed. During periods of weakness, other tribes would seize the opportunity to occupy the territory of the weakening khaganate, such as the Turgesh who established a khaganate after the demise of the Western Turkic Khaganate. On the other hand, China's Tang dynasty would take these Turkic tribes

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[41]Badam is the name of a Persian almond. Another translated name is vadam. In Yelu Chucai's Memoir of Journey to the West, it mentioned a Balan city, which was the same as Kand-i Bādām. Cf. Laufer (2015), pp. 248–253, trans. Lin Yunyin.

[42]Bartold (2007), p. 200.

[43]For details on the background situation of the Sogdian region in early eighth century, Cf. Ma Xiaohe, 2008 (in particular, the two essays, Sogdiana in Eighth Century and Sogdiana in 712).

[44]For details about the history of the Arab conquest of Central Asia, Cf. Bartold (2007) (Chapter 2: Central Asian History up until twelfth century) and Gibb (1923).
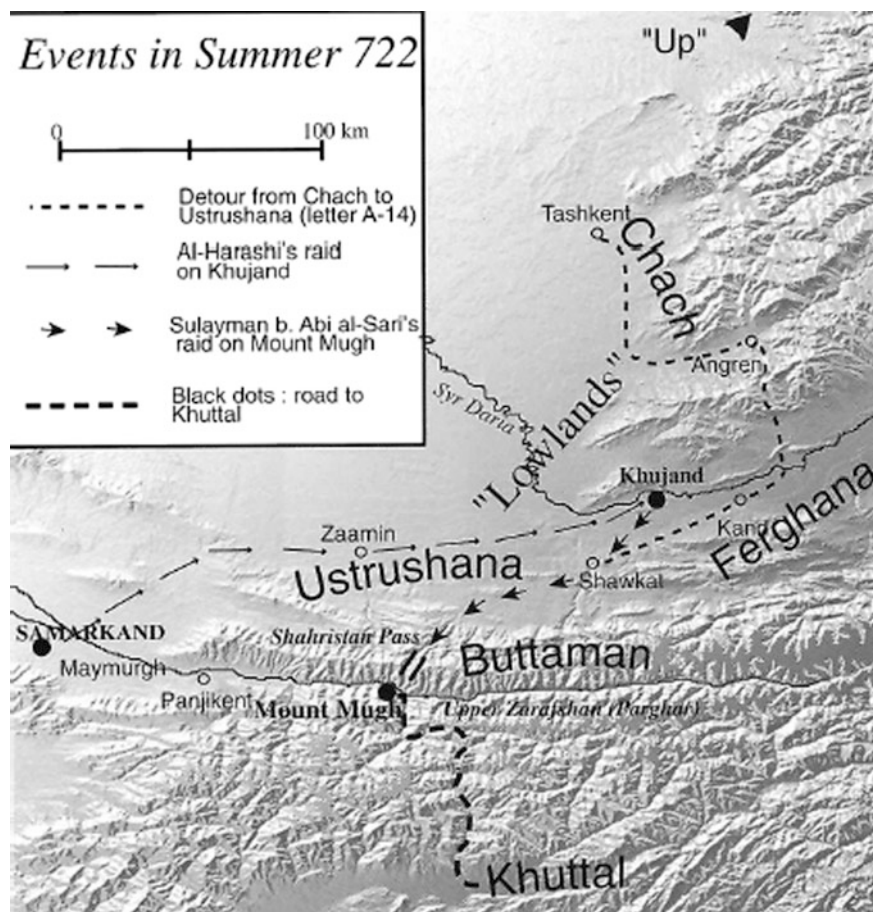
Illustration 7.2 Khujand in 722 (from *The Last Days of Panjikent*)

as its vassal states. As such, in most of the time during this period, Tang dynasty was the nominal sovereign of these states in the Sogdian area, where Jimizhou, an autonomous administrative and political organization, was set up in these places. Yet, China rarely interfered with the affairs of these states. In contrast, the Turks were very active in Transoxiana, as evidenced by the writings of medieval Muslim historians.[45] For example, it is common to read records of the Turks taking part in revolts organized by Transoxiana residents against the Arabs. The Eastern Turks, revived at the end of seventh century, were the first active Turkic tribe in Transoxiana in early eighth century, followed by the Turgesh.

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[45]In Muslim literature, Turk was used to refer to all non-Iranian tribes and ethnic groups. Cf. Frye and Sayili (1943), pp. 194–207.

Against this backdrop of different powers vying for influence and control, the Sogdian states in Transoxiana, faced with the Arab invasion, had to engage in realpolitik for survival by accepting the Arab domination, or leveraging the Turkic power to revolt against the Arabs, or asked China's Tang dynasty to deploy troops. As such, the Khujand Incident was a microcosm of the struggle between Sogdians and Arabs. The struggle came to a tragic end as the Sogdians and the Turks, in their united campaign against the Arabs, failed to win the conflict, and that the request for Chinese military intervention came to nought.

With Arabic and Chinese historical sources, we managed to sort out the Khujand Incident.[46] When Qutayba died in 715 CE, the Arab influence in Transoxiana saw a retreat to the south. At the same time, heavy taxation levied by the Arabs (jizya, a poll tax and kharaj, a land tax) prompted Transoxiana residents to rise up. Against this background, most of the states in Transoxiana were very active in trying to free themselves from Arab control and started looking for allies. In February of the seventh year of the Kaiyuan 开元 era (719 CE), rulers from these states, including Samarqand's king 乌勒伽, Bukhara's king 笃萨波提, and Termez's king 那罗延 wrote to Tang dynasty, requesting military intervention or ordering the Turgesh to deploy troops to defeat the Arabs.[47] In his letter, Samarqand's king requested Tang dynasty to "deploy Chinese troops to relive the suffering of your subjects." Bukhara's king commented that "I humbly request your majesty to show mercy and save your subjects from suffering. Please order the Turgesh to save us." Despite these pleas, Tang dynasty only placated them and did not take any real military action. In 716 CE after the death of Qapaghan Qaghan, the Turgesh, under the leadership of Suluk, occupied the former territory of the Western Turk.

In the east, facing two strong opponents, the Tibetan Empire and Tang dynasty, the Turgesh expressed their willingness (at least superficially) to submit themselves to Tang dynasty. In the west, facing the temporary decline of the Arab influence in Transoxiana, they didn't let this opportunity of occupying Transoxiana to slip away. The Turgesh leaders worked with the Sogdians, and sent Kursul, a general, to Transoxiana. According to Suluk al-Tabarī's description, the Turgesh went straight to Samarkand; the Governor of Khorasan, Sa'īd, was defeated by the Turgesh and trapped inside Samarkand. Yet, the Turgesh didn't even have enough forces to encircle the city, they suddenly decided to retreat. On the Arab side, al-Harashi, the newly arrived governor, decided to end his predecessor's kid-gloves policy and start suppressing revolts in Transoxiana. As such, the Sogdians who participated in the revolts, especially Dihqān[48] and well-off merchants, started panicking and decided to leave their homeland. At this moment, Samarkand's king appeared to side with the Arabs, as he did not take part in the "retreat" and tried to persuade these people to stay behind where they could pay the overdue taxes to the Arabs,

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[46]Basic materials came from al-Tabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*/ Cf. the English translation, "The Empire in Transition" (translated and annotated by S. P. David) (1989), vol 24, pp. 162–180.

[47]Cf. Qinruo and et al., ed. (1960), vol. 999, pp. 11722–11723.

[48]In Transoxiana, this could refer to ordinary landlords, or it could mean nobles in power.

provide hostages to them and guarantee their cooperation with Arabs. These people refused and indicated that they would go to Khujand and seek refuge from the sovereign there (judging by the text below, it is likely that this refers to the king of Fergana).

As such, some people went to Khujand, and the king of Fergana initially allowed them to take refuge at Isfara rustāq. However, he later abandoned his pledge and made these people staying at Khujand. He also disclosed discreetly their hiding location to the Arabs. In 722 CE, al-Harashi sent people to encircle Khujand. After a series of fighting, the trapped Sogdian residents in Khujand decided to surrender and promised to pay the overdue taxes. However, soon after the occupying the city, the Arabs reneged on their promise. Other than the 400 very wealthy merchants (there were reports suggesting these merchants were carrying goods from China) and aristocrats, the Khujand residents, including 3,000 farmers (some sources put the number at 7,000) were brutally killed by the Arabs. However, the Persian version of al-Tabarī's writings gave a different account—these Khujand refugees were eventually afforded protection by the Turgesh Khan.[49] It appeared that Dēwāshtīch, the owner of the Mount Mug documents, was a key organizer of this revolt. The letters A-14, B-17, and B-18[50] indicated that Dēwāshtīch called himself "King of Sogdiana—Lord of Samarkand", and he dispatched messengers to contact Fergana's sovereign and kaghan (obviously referring to Turgesh Kaghan Suluk). As such, after Sa'id ibn Amr al-Harashi had dispatched the troops, Dēwāshtīch led some people to hide in the fortress at Abargar, located on the left bank of Zarafshan River (modern day known as Mount Mug Fortress). In the end, the Arabs occupied the fortress in 722, and al-Harashi killed Dēwāshtīch on the road in autumn of the same year. At this point, the Sogdians' struggle against the Arab invaders ended in defeat.

Document A-9 reflected the situation of the Sogdians after losing the struggle and retreating to Khujand and vicinity. While the document did not record the actual date, it mentioned about "aristocrats, merchants, workers—a total of 14,000 persons have retreated," but it didn't mention about the massacre of the Sogdians by the Arabs. As such, the document was likely written not long after fall of Khujand. With the aid of the Arabic historical sources, it can be reasonably deduced that al-Harashi took over the governorship of Khorasan in autumn 721, and launched attacks against states in Transoxiana after crossing the Syr Darya in early 104 AH (722.6.21–723.6.9). Afterwards, the Sogdians retreated to Khujand.

Considering the down time (resting, sleeping, eating, etc.) the invaders had to spend en route to Khujand, both Grenet and de la Vaissiere estimated that the fall of Khujand likely occurred in early August 722. Therefore, this letter was most likely written in early August 722,[51] and the letter's recipient should be Panjikent leader Dēwāshtīch. It was likely that by this time he had already gone into hiding at Mount

[49]Gibb (1923), p. 63.

[50]Livshits (2015), pp. 67–74; pp. 97–102, Grenet and de la Vaissiere (2002), pp. 155–196.

[51]Grenet and de la Vaissiere (2002), pp. 178–179.

Mug, and he was very worried about the situation in Khujand, where he desperately wanted to have the latest information.

Although the Khujand Incident was a "microcosm" of the larger conflict between the Sogdians and the Arabs in Transoxiana, three different powers—Sogdians, Arabs, and Turks—were entangled in it. A couple of terms in Document A-9 further shed light on the matter; the emir (xm'yr) should be al-Harashi, the governor of Khorasan who besieged Khujand, and the leader (š'ykn) would likely to be the Turgesh Kaghan. Nevertheless, the Sogdians couldn't rely on Turgesh's assistance—the operation by the Turgesh was slightly better than military surveillance and predatory conquest—to drive away the Arabs. The document also mentioned the leader (š'ykn) made a stop at šāwkat, a town northeast of Ustrushana and one-day distance from Khujand. This suggested that the Sogdians couldn't expect much from the Turgesh, but the alliance between them didn't stop. Suluk had always been supportive of actions against the Arabs taken by dihqāns, and the Arabs had suffered great loss. This caused the Arabs to give Suluk a nickname Abū Muzāḥim, meaning the rival.[52]

When taking into account the complex situation in seventh and eighth century Transoxiana, it is not difficult to understand the fortification of Khujand from sixth to eighth century—the strengthening of the city's defence against the Arabs. Also, the ease of access in and out of Khujand—Samarkand on the west, Ustrushana on the south, Fergana on the east, and Tashkent on the north—coupled with its strategic location (an important staging point on the East–West trade route) and that it was next to Syr Darya (it goes without saying the importance of having a water source in one of the Central Asia river basin), explained why the Sogdian aristocrats and merchants took refuge in the city. Furthermore, we should take note that 400 merchants escaped the massacre, in which a majority of them could be the ones seeking refuge.

7.4   Epilogue

Khujand benefitted from ease of access to surrounding areas, and that explained the importance of its strategic location in Transoxiana. Although the Arabs briefly occupied Transoxiana in 722, residents in Khujand and vicinity didn't give up their struggle. In fact, the Sogdians joined forces with the Turgesh again and revolted against the Arabs. This time, the Turgesh managed to take back Khujand, and at one point occupied areas like Samarkand and Bukhara. This lasted until 737 when Turgesh general Kursul was killed by the Arabs and Transoxiana fell into the hands of the Arab again. Up until early ninth century, amidst the turmoil in Transoxiana—heavy taxation levied by the Arabs was resented by residents in Transoxiana and caused them to rise up—Khujand already stood out as a city of importance. During

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[52]Cf. Bartold (2007), pp. 218–223, Gibb (1923), pp. 65–85.

the Samanid Empire, through its superb location, rich mineral resources (Fergana is well-known for its rich mineral deposits) and other strengthens, it became an important political and economic centre in Transoxiana. Even to this day, it is still the second largest city in Tajikistan.

Illustration Appendix

See Illustrations .

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Chapter 8
The Xinjiang Region Museum Collection —An Interpretation of a Kharoṣṭhī Letter

Yixiu Jiang

Abstract This never-before-published document is a letter documenting a property dispute. In this essay, I transliterated, translated, and annotated the document. This document exhibits a special language phenomenon, where one can argue that it provides yet another piece of evidence of the sanskritization of the Gāndhārī language used in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from Niya. The keyword "kula" (family) appears in the document numerous times, and this can help us to understand the social structure in ancient Shanshan.

8.1   Introduction

This Kharoṣṭhī script—Gāndhārī language document is held at the Xinjiang Region Museum and has never been translated and published before.[1]

The document, rectangular in shape, is 47.5 cm long and 5 cm wide. Both sides have characters, with one line on the observe side and five lines on the reverse side. The handwriting is legible.

It is unclear where this document was originally uncovered. Yet, the content of the document provides some clues about the geographical location. First, one of the recipients, Lýipeya, can be affiliated with the settlement N.I of Niya ruins (Padwa 2007, 130). However, documents addressed to the two recipients Kranya and

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Lýipeya were unearthed at locations throughout the Niya ruins.[2] It is therefore unsafe to infer the unearth spot. Also, more in-depth investigations are required to determine the location of "Parvata" (literally, "the mountain"), a mountain area mentioned multiple times in the document. According to Professor Lin Meicun's *a Geographical Study of the Gāndhārī-language documents,* the so-called mountain area in the Kharoṣṭhī documents could mean the Kunlun Mountains area, which is located south of Minfeng County (Lin 1977, 33).

While the document itself doesn't contain any record of when it was written, the time of writing can be inferred by the prosopographical study of the two recipients who were senior officials of the Kingdom of Shanshan—Kranaya, a cozbo, and Lýipeya, a ṣothaṃgha. The name Lýipeya appeared frequently in edicts, letters, and ledgers during the reign of king Mayiri; he first appeared as a ṣothaṃgha in the 21st year in the reign of Mayiri, and continued to bear the title as late as the 7th year in the reign of Vaṣmana (Boyer et al. 1929, 323). Accordingly, this document should be written more or less during this period, which is approximately the early period of fourth century AD (Lin 1991, 40–50).

Although the document lacks the formulaic expressions that can be found in Kharoṣṭhī letters, for example, vyalidavo ("to be untied"), its form (rectangular) and the fact that there are plenty of greetings suggest that the document is a letter (Guan 2016, 90–1).

8.2 System of Transliteration

[] Unclear or incomplete character; meaning cannot be ascertained.

(*) Missing character or the character cannot be identified; Supplementation is made according to parallel text or other sources.

◇ Space in the original text.

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[2]Letters addressed to Kranaya and Lýipeya were found scattered throughout the settlements of the Niya ruins; for example, KI19 (N.i.), KI88 (N.iv), KI192(N.vi), KI243(N.xv), KI403(N.xvii), KI502(N.xxiii), etc., just list a few. KI is short for *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* (A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, E. Senart and P. S. Noble. 1929. Oxford: Clarendon Press), similarly hereinafter.
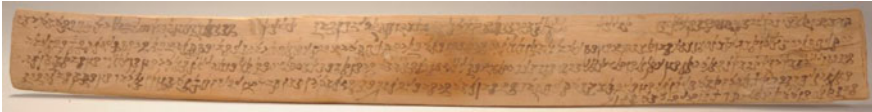
8.3 Transliteration

a. Observe

1 eṣa lihitaǵa parvati maṣḍhiǵeyasa vacanena iṃthu maṃtrita ahaṃ janami

b. Reverse

1 bhaṭaraǵana pracakṣa devatana mahacozbo kranaya ṣothaṃgha lýipeyasa ca ◊ padamulaṃmi ◊ lýimsu pulnaṃbhayae saca [śirṣa] piḍeṃti [1] namasaṃti yatha rayāna [2] śakra [3] prāhamu [4] devana iṃdrasa ◊ padamulaṃmi ◊ evaṃ ca (*śi) rasa [5] viñav́eyāmi yo mahi pitare iśa ahaṃti vaṃti [6] tatu[ṭa] [7]
2 tayā [8] kulaśukra [9] nitaya sakṣiyena puraṭha puraneya [10] jaṃna janati uṭa 1

paṃcavarṣaǵa aṃña aśpa motirḍhi jiṃtrapraṃna virini[yaya] [11] eta stri ahuno aniti asi tayā kulaśukra titāǵa ahuno mogheci ayita [12] trita [13] vyāla uṭe 1 aśpa kṛnitaǵa asi eta aśpa imade nita iṃthu ahuno matrita
3 etasa aśpasa muli parvataṃmi tenāmi parvataṃmi ne iṃci tita punu aṃña mogheci aṃna giḍa milima 20 10 eta aṃnasa samovata giḍāǵa asi muli deyamnae ne iṃci titaṃti eta aṃna purva avamiciya giḍaya asi pāce anavita muli ne iṃci tita aṃña aṃna milima 10 aṃña uṭa putǵebha [14] 1 nita
4 achinita [15] naṃmaśurasa hastaṃmi thavita tena parvati śaṃmasena nita aṃña amahu dhiḍu [16] smarati kulaśukra trevarṣaǵa uṭa 1 nitaṃti eta uṭa amahu nidavo asi ede nitaṃti tena kaṃraṃna bhaṭaraǵana mahadvana vistirna divya ñanena [17] ciṃtitavo aṃña akratsa uṭa nita edasa
5 uṭasa praceya aṃna titemi milima 10 kaśa [18] thavaṃnaǵa mahi giṭaṃti hastana [19] 10.

8.4 English Translation

This document is written according to the oral account of Maṣḍhiǵeya of the mountain. As such, I have learned the following: (a1)

With heads bowing down to the lords, incarnations of gods—cozbo Kranaya and ṣothaṃgha Lýipeya's feet, Lýimsu and Pulnaṃbhayae salute to them. Just like

bowing down to the feet of Śakra, the king of the kings, Indra, the god of the gods. (b1)

With bowed head, I am relaying what my parents have said about the camel that was taken away by the Śukra family. (b1–2)

There was a witness at the scene. As known by people earlier, the camel was five years old. (b2)

Also, a horse was sold to Jiṃtrapraṃna by Motirḍhi. (b2)

This woman brought [the horse] with her but was taken away by the Śukra family. (b2)

Mogheci has now come here. For the third time, she bought a wild camel and a horse. (b2)

She took away the horse and said, "I will pay for the horse in the mountains." However, she did not pay in the mountains. (b2–3)

Furthermore, Mogheci took away 30 milimas of foodstuff. (b3)

There is already an agreement about the foodstuff, and it should be paid. But she didn't pay. (b3)

Also, she took away 10 milimas of foodstuff, as well as one Putġebha camel. They have now gone into the hands of Naṃmaśura. (b3–4)

As such, Śaṃmaṣena of the mountain took away [these things]. (b4)

As our daughter remembers it, the Śukra family took away one camel aged three years old. This camel should be taken away by us, but it was taken away by them. (b4)

Thus, my lord and senior officials, please use the divine wisdom to consider this matter. (b4)

Also, one undomesticated camel was taken away. As for this camel, I have already paid 10 milimas of foodstuff. (b4–5)

They took away 10 units of my kaśa fabric.

## 8.5   Notes

[1]. śirṣa piḍeṃti

Judging by the writing, since the upper portion of the second letter isn't enclosed, it looks more or less like "rga". Yet, from the perspective of the meaning of the word, it would be better to read it as "śirṣa". The damage to the shoulder of the second letter could be caused by running out of the ink, and by referencing the "rṣa" in "trevarṣaǵa", which appears on the fourth line, reverse side of the document (right photo), we can see that other than the closed curvature in the upper left spot, these two characters are more or less the same. Śirṣa shares the same origin as the Sanskrit word śīrṣa, meaning head.

It is possible that "piḍemti" is cognate with the Sanskrit root $\sqrt{pīḍ}$. The original meaning, squeeze and harm, can be interpreted to refer to the act of paying tribute by bowing down one's head. Readers can refer to the Sanskrit-German Dictionary edited by Böhtlingk and Roth for more information. In particular, attention should be paid to the sample sentence from the Sanskirt literature, *Harivaṃśa*, "mātuśca śirasā pādau nipīḍya" (HariV 4776), under the entry of ni-$\sqrt{pīḍ}$ (Böhtlingk and Roth 1865, 740).

Also, in the document numbered KI133, the phrase on the first row, "śirṣa poḍemti" and the phrase "śirṣa piḍemti" in this document might be exactly the same greeting phrases. In his book, Thomas Burrow used the transliteration of KI and thus translated "śirṣa poḍemti" as scratching one's head (Burrow 1940, Sect. 133). In fact, the contexts of KI133 and this particular document are similar, as they pertain to the start of a letter. Due to the possibility that "po" is a mistransliteration, it should also be known as "śirṣa piḍemti" in KI133. As the International Dunhuang Project didn't collect photos of KI133, we have no way to ascertain the accuracy of the transliteration in KI133.

[2]. **Rayāna**
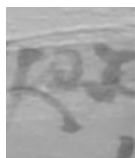
The vowel lengthening mark underneath the alphabet "ya" is elongated, which can easily cause confusion with the alphabet "kra". Yet according to its meaning, it obviously should be rayāna, the genitive plural of raya, which means "of the kings".

[3]. **Śakra**
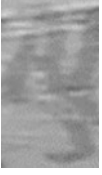
With reference to the previous annotation, while the letters "kra" and "ya" are similar, the end of the stroke denoting a postconsonantal "r" always consists a hook downward in this particular document. The character here can be deemed as a typical example. Hence the alphabet is determined as "kra".

Śakra is an alternate name of Indra, who is a major deity in Hinduism and Buddhism. Among all the Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya, only KI511, in addition to this document, mentions Śakra, aka Indra. Of note is that this document is secular in nature, whereas KI511 contains prayers for the bathing of the Buddha ceremony. Therefore, this is the first time we found the mentioning of the important deity, Indra, in a secular Niya document.

As king of the kings, Indra's name is used interchangeably with Śakra. This appears frequently in both Hinduism and Buddhism literature. For example, in Volume 20 of *Saṃyukta Āgama,* "That time, Śakra answered with a verse: 'I am above all, the big and small kings in this world, the Four Heavenly Kings and the devas of Trāyastriṃśa. As such, I am the most noble and commend the utmost respect (CBETA, T02, 293).'" Another example is the frequent mentioning of Śakra as king of the gods and that he has another name, Indra, in *Mahābhārata*. This is evident in śloka 20, Chapter 65 of Adi Prava (*The Book of the Beginning*): "Śakra is the lord of all gods (*Mahābhārata* 2005, I, 170)." Also, in śloka 7, Chapter 9 of Śalya Parva (*The Book of Shalya*), there is a mentioning that Śakra is the same as Indra (*Mahābhārata* 2005, III, 118).

Of particular note is that on one hand, there are several Buddhist texts unearthed at Niya, such as the Pratimokṣa (KI510); the secular documents also make frequent references to monks and saṃgha. On the other hand, fragments of *Mahābhārata* (KI523) have been found at Niya, and there is numerous mentioning of Hinduism castes, such as Brahmin, in secular documents (KI554). Given these complexities, it is not easy to determine whether such greetings indicate a Buddhist or Hindu context. Notwithstanding the religious element, this particular greeting exemplifies the immense knowledge the author had about ancient Indian culture.

[4]. **prāhamu**

According to the context, this could be an error of "prāmuha" made by the scribe. Prāmuha and its Sanskrit equivalent, pramukha, share the same origin, meaning "foremost" and "respectable".

[5]. **śira̱sa**

There are signs that corrections were made to the first letter, which made it hard to be identified. The context suggests that this word should be śira̱sa, meaning "head". Referencing the other Kharoṣṭhī documents such as KI189, KI97, KI341, and KI541, we can ascertain that "evaṃ ca śira̱sa viñav́eyāmi" is a polite phrase used for writing letters. Essentially it means "With bowed head, I inform you…"

[6]. **Yo mahi pitare iśa ahaṃti vaṃti**

There are a lot of queries about this phrase, but I believe that there are two plausible interpretations. Yet, this remains unsatisfactory as there are still problems, one relates to grammar and the other relates to transliteration.

Judging only by the features of the characters, this phrase should be read as "yomahipitareiśaahaṃtitaṃti". Both "ahaṃ" and "titaṃti" are frequently used words in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, therefore the phrasing should be "yo mahi pitare iśa ahaṃ titaṃti". Yet, such sentence is not grammatical. "Titaṃti" is third-person plural of the verb √dā, and the subject should thus be in plural form. The only noun or pronoun that appears to be a plural in this sentence is "pitare" (parents). On the other hand, "ahaṃ"—being cognate with "ahaṃ" in Sanskrit—first-person singular nominative pronoun, is never found to be of other grammatical cases in the Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya (Burrow 1937, Sect. 78), although in such a phrasing the "ahaṃ" has to be either in the dative case or genitive case. Thus, such reading would pose a grammatical construction of a paradox.

Alternatively, this can be transliterated as "yo mahi pitare iśa ahaṃti vaṃti". "Ahaṃti" and Sanskrit root √ah share the same etymological origin. In classical Sanskrit, the conjugation pertaining to √ah is incomplete. However, as can be seen from the other Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya, the root is included in the -ati conjugation, such as "ahati" in KI345. Ahaṃti is the present active third-person plural form of the verb, meaning "they say." Based on these interpretations, the whole sentence means "Here, these are [matters] my parents talk about." However, the problem here is about transliteration. Even though generally speaking, the Kharoṣṭhī "taṃ" may easily be confused with "vaṃ", the handwriting is clear in this document and there should be no uncertainties. According to the handwriting of this particular scribe, the letter seems to be a "taṃ". In addition, the preposition "vaṃti" is usually preceded by a genitive noun (Burrow 1937, Sect. 92), which doesn't align with the case of this document.

It is worth pointing out that Lýimsu is the son of Lýipeya (Padwa 2007, 326). Yet, this fact doesn't help us to understand the meaning of this phrase. People mentioned in this document (more than 10 names are mentioned) have complex family and superior-subordinate relationships. Further study of the relationships could potentially help us to gain a better understanding about the document.

Having regard to the context, the phrase in question is to be read tentatively as "yo mahi pitare iśa ahaṃti vaṃti."

[7]. **tatuṭa**

It is quite a challenge to explain these three alphabets coherently, as there isn't a satisfactory explanation that can take care of both the writing and meaning of the characters.

It is easy to recognize "ta", the first alphabet. Judging by its feature, "t" could be the first consonant in the second letter. Yet, the vowel underneath is unclear, and it could be "u". However, as the handwriting is choppy, this could also be part of a consonant cluster. The last alphabet looks like a "v́a".

Judging by its meaning, this could mean some kind of a merchandise. Among the common nouns, only ta rotaṃ (common madder) or tanuv́a (property) resembles closely to these three characters. Yet, when compared with other "nu" in the document, such as the "nu" of "punu" on the reverse side's third row (right photo), this suggests such an interpretation is not on a solid footing.

Aside from the above, it is possible that the situation is related to sandhi (the fusion of sounds) or compound (such as a genitive "tatpuruṣa") (Burrow 1937, Sect. 138). Also worth noting is that the word appears at the end of the first line, and with limited space, it is possible during writing, "ṭa" isn't rendered clearly and the end result looks like a "v́a". Accordingly, it can be pronounced as "tatuṭa" or "tat uṭa".

Referencing the succeeding phrase, "sakṣiyena puraṭha puraneya jaṃna janati uṭa 1 paṃcavarṣaǵa", it is believed that the word is related to camel, and the word is tentatively interpreted as tatuṭa.

[8]. **tayā**

According to Burrow, tayā is the third-person feminine pronoun in genitive case (cf. tasyāḥ in Sanskirt) (Burrow 1937, Sect. 80).

In reality, such a form is rarely found, and there is only one example in KI383, that is, "tayā dhitu puṅgebha 1". Such a word appears in this document twice, and on both occasions, it is followed by kulaśukra. As the context suggests that it may not have a matching feminine noun, it is possible that the word in question might not be a third-person feminine pronoun in genitive case here. In any case, there is no way to make an absolute determination, and it is safe to say it could be some kind of a pronoun.

[9]. **kulaśukra**

In the fourth sentence, "kulaśukra trevarṣaǵa uṭa 1 nitaṃti", when "kulaśukra" used as the subject of the sentence, the verb is plural, and this suggests kulaśukra means more than one person. This word can be broken up as "kula" (family) and "śukra" (bright), representing a family whose surname is śukra. Today in India, there still

exists a surname "Shukla", whereas śukla is the latter form of śukra (Jain 1972, 225). Śukra has a richer meaning, and it can mean "pure", "shine", "Venus", and so on. It is difficult to provide a literal translation of the word when it is used as a surname.

Also, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya, the Sanskrit word "kula" is always rendered as khula, means herds and groups of animals. Burrow noted that the equivalent of Sanskrit "kula" in Prakrit and Pali is "kula", showing the Niya-Gāndhārī form "khula" is a special case (Burrow 1937, 86). Futhermore, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya, the word "kula" has never been found before, but it appears in the Kharoṣṭhī Buddhist documents unearthed in the Greater Gāndhārī region. For example, in *Anavatapta-gāthā*, Professor Richard Salomon suggested that the word means "family" (Salomon 2008, 427). Therefore, the word "kula-śukra" might reflect the direct influence of Sanskrit; or when applied in the context of the Gāndhārī language used in ancient Shanshan, the Sanskirt word "kula" transformed into two separate words, with khula referring to herds and kula referring to family. Further validation of this proposition can be done when more materials are unearthed.

[10]. **Puraneya**
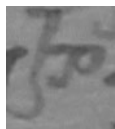
Here, the way "pu" is written is rather unique. In the document, the character "pu" appears six times, with five times the vowel "u" is suggested by a closed loop at the base of the stem. Such a unique writing can also be seen in the Kharoṣṭhī documents held at the National Library of China (right photo, see *Kharoṣṭhī Alphabet Table* by Professor Duan Qing) (Duan and Zhang 2013, 229).

[11]. **Viriniyaya**

The transliteration of this set of alphabets cannot be validated. The forms of the last two alphabets are rarely seen; the most similar Kharoṣṭhī character is "ya". Yet, when referencing the character "ya" in the same document, such as "ya" in the second row (right photo), there is obviously a discrepancy. Also, the forms of the characters in questions are not mentioned in Andrew Glass's research of the Kharoṣṭhī script (Glass 2000). While the Note 8
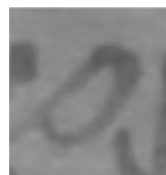
and Note 11 above suggest the same alphabet could be written in multiple ways in the same document, it is still rare to see such a rendering of "ya".

As such, the meaning of the word cannot be ascertained. Appeared at the end of the sentence, it is possible that the word is a gerundive. Therefore, the verb, in its gerundive form, can be tentatively read as vi-$\sqrt{}$krī (sell). In other words, this could be a corruption or change of sound of vikriniyaya. Per Burrow, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya, the consonant cluster "kr" is rarely assimilated (Burrow 1937, Sect. 37); therefore, we cannot flatly determine that the verb is a variation of vikriniyaya. And there could be a better reading.

[12]. **Ayita**

Generally speaking, in Kharoṣṭhī documents, when denoting a vowel "i", the vertical line should go through from the top to the bottom of the alphabet, but in this case, there appears to be a separation. As there isn't another sample of "yi" that we can take reference from, we can tentatively read it as "yi". Ayita is a past participle, and shares the same origin as the Sanskrit root "ā-$\sqrt{}$i", meaning "he (she) has come."

[13]. **trita**

This could be a corruption of the word "triti". In Kharoṣṭhī documents, there are numerous occasions where the scribe forgot to write a vowel diacritic (Glass 2007, 104). Triti is cognate with Sanskrit word tṛtīya, meaning "the third".

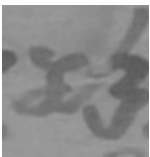### [14]. **putǵebha**

There are plenty of adjectives to modify camel in this document. Per the thesis, we translated vyāla as "wild", akratsa as "undomesticated". As there isn't a suitable explanation for putǵebha, we made no translation.

[15]. **achinita**

This is a past participle; it is a cognate with the Sanskrit root ā-$\sqrt{}$cchid, meaning "from … take away" or "appropriate".

[16]. **dhiḍu**

It is worthy to note the second character. Referencing the way "ḍa" is written in this particular document (right photo), if we purely look at it from a paleographical

perspective, then the second alphabet should be pronounced as "ḍu". However, if we consider it from another angle, that is, the meaning of the word, then it should be pronounced as "du", as this word means dhidu (daughter), which is cognate with the Sanskrit word "duhitṛ". In general, it is uncommon to see confusion between dental consonant and retroflex consonant in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya. For example, in the hundreds of documents that included in KI, there isn't a case where dhidu is written as dhiḍu.
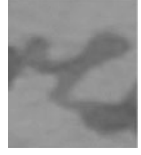
The change from "du" to "ḍu" here could be affected by the omitted "ṛ" succeeding it. In fact, we can see such change of sound in the Gāndhārī Buddhist texts unearthed at Afghanistan. For example, in the Gāndhārī *Saṃyukta Āgama*, "paṭikula", which is cognate with the Sanskrit word "pratikūla", the dental "t" of this word changed to retroflex "ṭ" due to the "pra" preceding it (Glass 2007, 116); also, in *Anavatapta-gāthā,* there are instances where dental consonants are affected by the preceding "r" and become retroflex consonants (Salomon 2008, 113). Furthermore, it is not uncommon to see the change from "rth" to "ṭh" in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (Lenz 2010, 32), or the interchanging of liquid consonants and retroflex consonants (Salomon 2000, 92). These changes stemming from dental consonants to retroflex consonants are all related to "r".

[17]. **Ñanena**
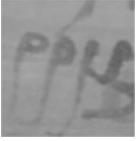
The way the two "n"s were written differs from the "n"s written elsewhere in this document. There is a small closed loop adding to the top of these two "n"s, whereas the "n"s in other instances are standardized. For example, on the same row, there isn't any loop but a tilde with the "na" (right photo). Due to the lack of sufficient information, it is difficult to determine whether the special treatment of "n" by the scribe carries any special meaning.

"tena kaṃraṃna bhaṭaraǵana mahadvana vistirna divya ñanena ciṃtitavo" (thus, my lord and senior officials, please use the divine wisdom to consider) is a formulaic speech or polite greetings in Kharoṣṭhī letters. Similar expressions, with variations, can be found in KI247, KI288, and KI585.

[18]. **kaśa**

Per KI460, it is known that under certain context, "kaśa" is used to modify "aṃna" (foodstuff). However, the specific implication is unknown. In this instance, it is believed that it was used to modify thavaṃnaǵa, and it might share the same origin as the Sanskrit word kāśa—a type of grass that can be used for hand weaving.

As to the case where "thavaṃnaǵa" is translated to Chinese as "plain weave woolen fabric"(平纹罽), please refer to Professor Duan Qing's discussion of fabrics in Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya (Duan and Cai 2016, 66).

[19]. **Hastana**

Due to the lack of space, the spacing between the characters is narrower. The author extended the horizontal stroke of the "t" in "sta" until ha, the character to its left. Accordingly, it should be read as "hastana".

"Hastana" is a genitive plural of the noun "hasta", whose original meaning is "hand". Here, same as in the case of "hasta-lekha"(尺牍), it corresponds to the Chinese unit of length "chi" (尺), which is a unit derived from the distance measured by hand. However, the specific value of the unit of length "hasta" in the Kharoṣṭhī documents cannot be ascertained due to lack of materials (Duan and Cai 2016, 61–62).

8.6 Conclusion

The language used in this document is special.

First, the long vowel ā is widely maintained in the document. The present indicative first-person singular verbs usually end with "-āmi" in this document (e.g. viñav́eyāmi, tenāmi), and the plural genitive nouns ends with "-āna" (rayāna). A major phonetic characteristic of the Gāndhārī language is the homogenization of long and short vowels (Boucher 1998, 476). For example, in my study of nearly 40 documents held by the Xinjiang Region Museum, the long vowel ā only appears in another document besides this one.[3]

Furthermore, the grammatical case of "śiraṣa" on the reverse side's first line is singular instrumental, with an "-a" ending. Referencing "śirasā", the singular instrumental case of the Sanskirt noun "śiras" and the common "-ena" ending of singular instrumental case of Niya-Gnādhāri language (Burrow 1937, Sect. 54), we learned that the declension of "śiraṣa" in this document is not a standard declension in the Gāndhārī language used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya. Rather, it is more similar to the declension in Sanskrit. In other words, such spelling suggests the influence of Sanskrit in the language.

Yet, the influence of Sanskrit is relatively weak when it comes to describing the dispute in the document. For example, in the case of verbs in the latter part of the document, the writer used "aṣi" consecutively five times. "Aṣi" is the imperfect

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[3]Pending publication.

third-person singular form of the root √as (to be), and in the document, it is used after the present indicative verb (aniti), past passive participle (giḍaǵa), gerund (giḍaya), and gerundive (nidavo) to indicate the past tense. These usages can be compared to those of the hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953, Sect. 41.1), showing the Middle Indo-Aryan languages characteristics.

Such a phenomenon can also be seen in the treatment of declensions. For example, in the instance of plural genitive case, the greetings on the first row contains the word "rayāna", and the case ending "-āna" is similar to the usage in Sanskrit. On the last row, the plural genitive case of the noun in describing the dispute is in the form of "hastana", with an "-ana" ending—the long and short vowels are homogenized. Also, in the instance of singular instrumental case, as per the aforementioned analysis of the word "śiras", the singular instrumental case used in the greeting part is similar to "śirasā" in Sanskrit. When describing the dispute, the word "sakṣi", which is cognate with Sanskrit "sakṣin", with singular instrumental case written as "sakṣinā" in Sanskrit, was formed as "sakṣiyena" in this document.

In conclusion, the language in certain parts of the document exemplifies the strong influence of Sanskrit. And the influence mainly affects greetings and formulaic speech. On the other hand, the latter part of the document is more colloquial in nature. This could mean that certain features of official documents writing in Sanskrit found their way in writing formulaic speech in the Gāndhārī language, whereas the colloquial part symbolizes the true characteristics of the Gāndhārī language used in ancient Shanshan.

The sanskritization of Gāndhārī Buddhist texts has been researched extensively. As Salomon describes, the partially sanskritized Gāndhārī of Buddhists texts found in Afghanistan "is characterized by a grammatical structure that is essentially Gāndhārī, but an orthography that is substantially influenced by Sanskrit (Allon and Salomon 2000, 270)." Sanskritization might also be an apt way to describe certain language phenomena in secular Gāndhārī language documents.

Lastly, it is important to note that the word "kula" appears three times in the document. As mentioned in Note 9, the information we gathered thus far suggests that this is the first time this particular word is found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents unearthed at Niya, and there has always been a great deal of interest in the social structure, especially kinship and geographical relationships, in ancient Shanshan society.

For example, many essays, such as the earliest ones written by Burrow and F. W. Thomas (Thomas 1934, 63), have studied the etymology and meaning of the word "kilme", as it touches on both kinship and geographical relationships. According to Burrow, "kilme" originally came from Tocharian languages, meaning fiefs and estates granted to nobility of the realm (Burrow 1935, 673–5), whereas the doctoral dissertation by Padwa suggests that kilme denotes a type of group allied by marriage (Padwa 2007, 204–11). Professor Duan Qing also examined the interpretation of kilme as manors granted by the ruler (Duan and Cai 2016, 43). In summary, these interpretations favour the geographical relationship over the

kinship relation aspect of the word "kilme". Therefore, the word kula provides a supplementation to an important concept in ancient Shanshan—family—the manifestation of kinship relationship.

As we see from this document, Kulaśukra can be seen as a whole economically in the sense that they might own the assets collectively. Also, the frequent mentioned mountain area ("parvata") could have a close geographical relationship with this family. It is hoped that the publishing of this document could lead to more in-depth examinations of this topic.

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Chapter 9
A New Transcription and Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Deed of Divorce in Hetian Museum

Check for updates

Yunpei Wu

Abstract The Kharoṣṭhī wooden tablet HTB000405 preserved in Hetian Museum is a deed of divorce, in the reign of the king Sulica of Cadh'ota (Niya) Kingdom, when water shortage and desertification imperiled the ancient civilization. An improved transcription and translation of this document is provided in this article.

9.1 Introduction

This Kharoṣṭhī wooden tablet preserved in Hetian Musem is designated as HTB000405. It was discovered in Niya by LI Xuehua of publicity department of party committee, Minfeng county, Xinjiang Province, China in 1981. The precise location of uncovering remains unclear. It is a rectangular tablet about 27 cm wide, in the local ancient language, a "hasta-lekha", which has the meaning of "hand-writing", while "hand" is a length unit, it corresponds to Chinese "chi du" (尺牍), meaning "wooden tablet of one foot length used for writing".[1] It is a double tablet, including a covering tablet and an under one. On the recto of the covering tablet, there is one seal indentation with the seal missing, and three string notches which correspond to the Chinese expression "san jian qi kou" (三缄其口), meaning "seal the opening thrice". The Kharoṣṭhī writing right or rather on top of the seal according to the scripts is a summary of its content, and that on the left or rather lower of it is a signature. The writing sequence of the main document begins from the recto of the under tablet, and continues on the verso of the covering tablet, making all the contents unseen from outside.

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[1]See Duan 2016a, pp. 182–195; Guan 2016, pp. 84ff.

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The content of the tablet is a deed of divorce, dating to the time of King Sulica who ruled Cadh'ota Kingdom on the last stage of its civilization, when water scarcity and desertification had seriously impeded its existence. And this tablet is one of the evidence of social relation breakdowns in this dire time.

The tablet has been studied by Prof. LIN Meicun (林梅村) in "Comment on a new Kharoṣṭhī Document from Niya" (《新疆尼雅发现的佉卢文契约考释》) on *Acta Archaeologica Sinica* (《考古学报》) in 1989 for the first time.[2] This article was then published in English as "A New Kharoṣṭhī Wooden Tablet from China" on *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* in 1990,[3] which will be shortened as Lin (1990) in the following passage. Thus the tablet is known as MC (shortened form of Meicun) by international scholars.[4]

Prof. Lin is the pioneer in the field of Kharoṣṭī studies of China, who used low-resolution photos to accomplish the work of transcription and translation for the first time, and reconstructed the chronicle of Shanshan, based on the the discovery of King Sulica whose name is found only in this single tablet, as he is neither seen in other Kharoṣṭhī documents nor in historical records. Prof. Lin argued that Sulica's reign should be between Humitra (休密驮)[5] and Vaṣmana (元孟). This discovery has shed light upon the studies of Shanshan history.

It has been more than 20 years since Prof. Lin's publication. Now with the help of the high-resolution technology and the great progress in the Kharoṣṭhī studies made by both international and Chinese scholars, it is possible to give a new reading to this important document. This article is intended to provide a new transcription and English translation, in order to give some insights to both Kharoṣṭhī language and customs of Cadh'ota Kingdom.

9.2 Transcription

Transcription Symbol:

[ ] An unclear or partially preserved graphic syllable whose reading is uncertain.

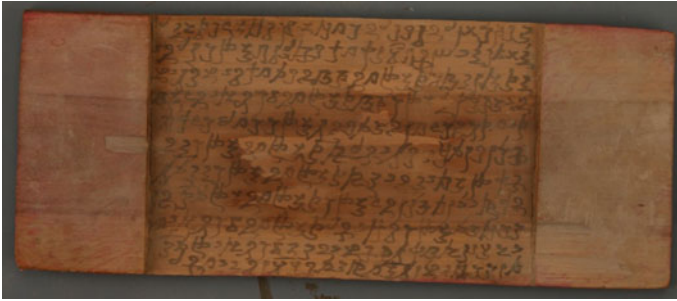---

[2]Lin 1989.

[3]Lin 1990.

[4]See Waghmar 2010.

[5]Humitra (休密驮), see *Book of Jin* (《晋书》), 1984, p. 2914.

Covering tablet, Recto:


Right of the seal (a):

1. eṣa lihitaǵa caṃpiraṣa paride nićeya
2. kritaǵa prace paṃcapriyae dharitavya[1]

Left of the seal (b):

1. eṣa muṃtra ogu alýakāmaṣa[2]

Under tablet, Recto (c):

1. saṃvatsare 4 1 mahanuava[3] maharaya jiṭuṃgha sulica devaputraṣa ma-
2. se 4 divaṣe 10 3 iśa kṣunaṃmi yatha asti maṃnuśa caṃpira nāma eda-
3. sa paṃcinaṣa dhitu paṃcapriyae bharya huati yatha udaǵa aṃnodaǵa
4. huta taṃ kalaṃmi se[4] caṃpira bharya paṃcapriyae dura oḍita[5] ede bharya-
5. padaya[6] parosparade vina[7] huvaṃti ahuṃno[8] caṃpira rayadvarade levi-
6. starena anatilekha anita ima stri paṃcapriyae caṃpiraṣa ha-
7. staṃmi picavitavya[9] eda sā[10] stri paṃcapriyae caṃpiraṣa vaṃti ni-
8. hala krita[11] tena vidhanena ede caṃpira paṃcapriyae ca priti[snehe]na[12]
9. sarajitaṃti caṃpira uthita ima paṃcapriyae dura oḍita yo[13]
10. tatra jaṃñatriyaṃmi nikastaǵa taha sarva dura oḍita[14] priti[sne-
11. ye]na[15] sarajitaǵena nićeya kritaṃti aja kṣuna uývataya ima

Covering tablet, Verso (d):
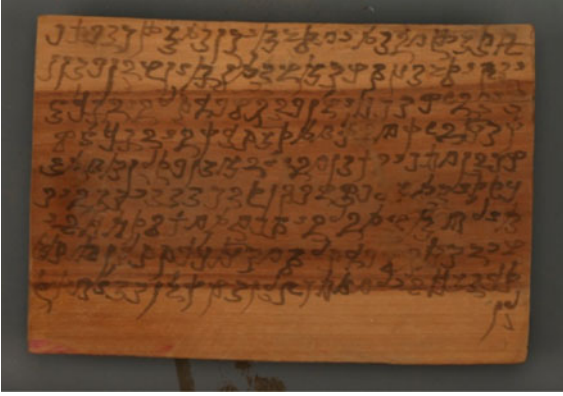
1. stri paṃcapriyae vaṃti taya putradhitarāna[16] vaṃti caṃpiraṣa athava
2. taṣa bhrata[17] putra aṃña bhaga[saṃ]ciǵa [syaṃ]ti[18] nasti danagrahaṃna asaṃna na
3. gaṃdavya[19] edeṣa sarajitaǵena ahaṃ ogu alýakāma eda[20] hastalekhaṃ-
4. mi sakṣi hudemi[21] yo icheyaṃti paċa kalaṃmi eda hastalekheṣu
5. garahaṃna ya vivata uthavaṃna ya ede muhacotaṃna apramāna siyati[22] daṃ-
6. ḍa prapta dasyaṃti catuvarṣaǵa aśpa 1[23] prahara 20 20 20 10 sarva[24] eta a-
7. viṃdama śodhiṣyaṃti ema eda bhavayāti[25] yatha upari lihita-
8. ǵa tatra sakṣi ogu alýakama bhuya sakṣi jelakaka[māṃ]na śrikici-
9. pala saca lihita maya[26] divira śramaṃna saṃghamitrena sarva deśaṃmi pra-
10. māna[27]

9.3   Translation

Covering tablet, recto, right of the seal (a):

1. This document concerning the judgement made from Caṃpira
2. should be preserved by Paṃcapriya.

Covering tablet, recto, left of the seal (b):

1. This is the seal of Ogu Alýakāma.

Under tablet, recto (c):

1. In the 5th year of the Great King of Great Nuava, Jiṭuṃgha Sulica, Son of Heaven,
2. on the 13th day of the 4th month. On this date there is a man named Caṃpira.
3. Paṃcina's daughter Paṃcapriya is his wife. When the river dried,
4. at that time Caṃpira sent his wife Paṃcapirya away. The husband and
5. wife separate from each other. Now Caṃpira from the royal court
6. received a letter of order with details that this woman Paṃcapriya to the hand of Caṃpira
7. should be handed over. But the woman Paṃcapriya in the presence of Caṃpira
8. was expelled. In that way Caṃpira and Paṃcapriya kindly
9. agreed. Caṃpira arose, he sent Paṃcapriya away. He who
10. went away in the marriage, also sent everything away. According to this kind
11. agreement, they make a decision: from now on.

Covering tablet, verso (d):

1. with the woman Paṃcapriya and her sons and daughters, Caṃpira or
2. his brothers and their sons, who should be another part (family), shall have no payments or receipts, nor to the sitting place (court)
3. shall they go. According to this agreement, I, Ogu Alýakāma, in regard to this hand-written document,
4. am the witness. Whoever at a future time wants to complain on the hand-written document
5. or to raise disputes, his bringing up again of the matter shall be without authority, and
6. he shall pay the penalty, i.e. one 4-year-old horse and 70 blows. All this
7. penalty shall be paid, and this shall remain as is written above.
8. Witness is Ogu Alýakama, and more witness is Jelakakamāṃna
9. together with Śrikicipala. This was written by me, the scribe Śramaṃna Saṃghamitra. All over the country it has autho-
10. -rity.

9.4 Commentary

[1] Missing in Lin (1989). Now reading *eṣa lihitaǵa caṃpiraṣa paride nic̄eya | kritaǵa prace paṃcapriyae dharitavya*, which means "This document concerning the judgement made from Caṃpira should be preserved by Paṃcapriya."

[2] Reading *eṣa muṃtra ṣvaṭhaǵa alýakaṃmaṣa*, and translating as "This is the seal of the ṣoṭhaṃga-official Alýakaṃma" in Lin (1990). *ṣvaṭhaṃga* is an obvious misreading, since *ogu Alýakaṃma* occurs twice in line 3 and line 8 on the verso of the under tablet. Now reading *ogu alýakāmaṣa. eṣa muṃtra*

ogu alýakāmaṣa means "This is the seal of Ogu Alýakāma." *ogu* actually means "patriarch".[6]

[3] The word *mahanuava* has long been considered the same as *anubhāva* in Sanskrit. *Nuava* is now identified as "Na Fu Bo" (纳缚波) in Xuanzang's (玄奘) *Journey* (《大唐西域记》), a place belonged to Loulan.[7]

[4] Reading *se* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *se*.

[5] *se caṃpira bharya paṃcapriyae dura oḍita*. *dura oḍita* does not mean "abandoned" as stated in Lin (1990). It means "let go", "send away", "allow".[8] An instance from Kharoṣṭhī document No. 24 in Xinjiang Museum, which states that *sa asataǵa oḍidemi na vikrintavo na krinitavo*, meaning "I release Asataǵa, who should neither be sold nor bought." So the word means the dissolution of a contract. Back to the deed of divorce, it means the act that the husband Caṃpira sent his wife Paṃcapriya away signifies the dissolution of their marriage contract, so from then on, Paṃcapriya no longer belonged to Caṃpira's family.

[6] Reading *padeya* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *padaya*.

[7] Reading *yena* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *vina*.

[8] Reading *ahuno* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *ahuṃno*.

[9] *ahuṃno caṃpira rayadvarade levistarena anatilekha anita | ima stri paṃcapriyae caṃpiraṣa hastaṃmi picavitavya*. In Lin (1990) it was translated as "Now a letter of command with a full written statement was brought to Caṃpira from the royal court. The letter was handed over to Caṃpira and his wife, Paṃcapriyaka". But an analysis of these two sentences shows that *Caṃpira* is the subject of the first sentence and *anita* its verb, while in the second sentence, *ima stri paṃcapriyae* "this woman Paṃcapriyae" is the subject with its nominative accusative form used in a sentence of gerundive construction,[9] and here the gerundive is *picavitavya* "should be handed over". So now it is translated as "Now Caṃpira received a letter of order with details from the royal court that this woman Paṃcapriya should be handed over to the hand of Caṃpira".

[10] Reading *edaṣa* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *sā*.

[11] *eda sā stri paṃcapriyae caṃpiraṣa vaṃti nihala krita*. In Lin (1990) it is translated as "Now the woman, Pamcapriyaka, made up the quarrel with Campira". There are two words in question. One is *nihala krita*, which equals to Sanskrit *niṣkalīkṛta*, forming from the adjetive *niṣkala-* and the verb √*kṛ*, meaning "is expelled". The other is *vaṃti*, which equals to Sanskrit *upānte*, meaning "in the presence of". So now it is translated as "But the woman Paṃcapriya was expelled in the presence of Caṃpira". It

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[6]See Duan 2016b, pp. 54ff.

[7]See Loukota 2016, pp. 65ff.

[8]See Burrow 1937, p. 81.

[9]For the usage of gerundive, see Burrow 1937, p. 22.

means Paṃcapriya is no longer a member of Caṃpira family for whatever reason.

[12] Reading *pridiba hu(taṃti)*, and translating as "(they) made friends again" in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *pritisnehena*. *pritisnehena* is instrumental of what corresponds to Sanskrit *pṛti-sneha*, so it can be used as an adverb of state or cause, meaning "friendly" or "from friendship", and it cannot be used independently as an verb to form a complete sentence.

[13] Reading *oḍidavo* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *oḍita yo*.

[14] *caṃpira uthita | ima paṃcapriyae dura oḍita | yo tatra jaṃñatriyaṃmi nikastaǵa taha sarva dura oḍita |priti[sneye]na sarajitaǵena nič̄eya kritaṃti*. In Lin (1990) it is translated as "Campira arose and parted from Pamcapriyaka. The marriage contract was terminated there. Everything has been settled amicably and decisions have been reached in accordance with this agreement." Now it is translated as "Caṃpira arose, he sent Paṃcapriya away. He who went away in the marriage, also sent everything away. According to this kind agreement, they make a decision."

Caṃpira is the subject of the first sentence, which governs the verb *uthita*. According to the legal proceedings described in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, the person who *uthita* "rises" is the plaintiff or someone who rises on the court to bring up a case. Here is Caṃpira who rises to bring up the case of releasing Paṃcapriyae.

The next sentence is a relative clause. The subject of the subordinate clause is *yo … nikastaǵa*, that is, "anyone who went away/ departed". *nikastaǵa* is the past pariticiple of verb *niṣ-√kas*.[10] The suffix *-taka-* is taken as the passive form for a transitive verb or the past participle for an intransitive verb.[11] It can not only serve in non-predicative value such as being used as passive adjective or in compound tenses, but also serve as predicates in many types of subordinate clauses.[12] Here is precisely one of the examples where *-taka-* serves as a predicate. The relative pronoun *sa* in the main clause is unexpressed, which is seen quite often. And *sarva* is the object of the main clause. Here comes the marriage law in Cadh'ota. One rule is that the one who sends someone away is giving up that person together with everything belonging to that person. Another rule is that children belong to their mother instead of their father. The same law applies to the case of Sagamoi and Supriya.[13] This pair of husband and wife illegally united and eloped to Kucha. A few years later they returned to Cadh'ota. It is the family of Supriya's mother who asked for Supriya and her children's legal status. So in Caṃpira and Paṃcapriya' divorce case, in the same way when Paṃcapriya left her husband, the children also left their father.

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[10] For this verb, see Burrow 1937, pp. 100–101.
[11] See Burrow 1937, pp. 53–55.
[12] See Jamison 2000, p. 71, footnote 30.
[13] See Duan 2016b, pp. 54ff.

In the last sentence, the verb *kritaṃti* is third plural preterite form based on its past passive participle *krita*. In Kharoṣṭhī, a sentence with a verb form constructed from its past passive participle can be ergative, just like in Pahlavi, Kurdish and other languages and they might have some connection. When a verb is ergative, its grammatical subject is the patient while the grammatical object is the agent. So in this case, *nǐceya* is nominative but the logical object, while the unexpressed "they" should be instrumental but the logical subject. Thus as pointed by Jamison, it should be translated as "(they —the two parties in the dispute) made decisions" rather than "decisions have been made".[14]

[15] Reading *pridiba yena* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *pritisneyena*. See note 12.

[16] Reading *putradhitaṃna* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *putradhitarāna*.

[17] Reading *bhada* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *bhrata*.

[18] Reading *vaṃti* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *syaṃti*.

[19] Now reading *ima stri paṃcapriyae vaṃti taya putradhitarāna vaṃti caṃpiraṣa athava taṣa bhrata putra aṃña bhaga[saṃ]ciġa [syaṃ]ti nasti danagrahaṃna | asaṃna na gaṃdavya*, and translating as "From now on, Caṃpira or his brothers and their sons, who should be another part (family), shall have no payments or receipts with the woman Paṃcapriya and her sons and daughters, nor shall they go to the sitting place (court)."

bhagasaṃciġa is formed from a noun with a native suffix *–e(ṃ)ci/-i(ṃ)ci*, which is used in making adjectives from place-names or applied to Prakrit words.[15] But *Bhagasa* has not been unproblematically recognized as a place yet. There is only one occurence of this word in addition to this deed of divorce we are currently dealing with, which is in KI 195, *asti jaṃna bhaġaseṃci bhradare*. And Burrow translated it as "there are some people of Bhaġasa, brothers (and sisters)."[16] We can see *bhagasaṃciġa/ bhagaseṃci* is directly linked with brothers or their sons in both two cases, which suggests the word might have some meaning closely connected with family instead of being a place name. We might introduce a verb corresponding to Sanskrit √*bhaj* "distribute, share" or a noun corresponding to Sanskrit *bhāga* "part" as the root of *bhagasaṃciġa/ bhagaseṃci*, which could be explained as "someone who has his fair share" or "someone who is one part of the whole", and thus give the meaning of "family, relative".

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[14]See Jamison 2000, p. 71.

[15]See Burrow 1937, p. 31.

[16]See Burrow 1940, p. 36.

nasti danagrahaṃna is translated as "there is no payment or receipt". It is an idiom often occurs, and here it means Pamcampriya and her offspring cannot request anything from her ex-husband and his family, and the latter has no responsibility towards the former. *asaṃna na gaṃdavya* is an idiom often used in which *seems* to mean "it is not to be taken possession of".[17] It can be suggested that *asaṃna* corresponds to Sanskrit *āsana*, which means "sitting, seat", and probably refers to the court where the judge or king sits. And *gaṃdavya* is clearly the gerundive form of verb √*gam* "go". Thus the idiom can be translated as "(Someone) should not go to the court". This means the case is closed once and for all, and there shall be no further appeal to the (higher if any) court.

There is still some subtlety implied beneath the standard form of wording for a legal case. Campira and his family are used in genitive to form a usage of possession, so it is the husband's kith and kin that are active to give and receive, or rather a euphemism for doing anything transgressing the law. Meanwhile the wife's family takes the passive role, by using their genitives with *vaṃti* to form an expression which means "in the presence of whom, towards whom". So it is the female's family the court is supposed to protect from the transgression of the male's family. All of this together with the title "This document … should be preserved by Paṃcapriya" indicates the social roles of male and female and their balance.

[20] Reading *alýakaṃma'e* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *alýakāma eda*.

[21] Reading *hodemi* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *hudemi*.

[22] Reading *yati va taha (ka)raṃnaya'e (mo)ha cotaṃna apramāna siyaṃti*, and translating as "(anyone who should …) stir up a dispute constantly" in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *ya vivata uthavaṃna ya ede muhacotaṃna apramāna siyati*, and translating as "(whoever wants …) to raise disputes, his bringing up again of the matter shall be without authority." The *yo/ya* in the subordinate clause corresponds to *ede* in the main clause. The main clause starts from *ede*, while *ya* before *ede* probably should be omitted. This sentence is an idiom repeatedly occurring in the legal documents, e.g. KI 345, 425, 571, 590, 591 etc.

[23] Reading *alśa* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as aśpa 1.

[24] Reading 20 20 and make it belong to the sentence before it in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *sarva*, which belongs to the sentence after it, thus rendering as *prahara 20 20 20 10 | sarva eta aviṃdama śodhiṣyaṃti*, translating as "… 70 blows. All this penalty shall be paid." Here comes the writing sequence of numbers. A larger number always comes before a smaller one and never after it. In Lin (1990), it is rendered as *20 20 20 10 20 20*, the last two *10*s of which is impossible. There should be no number larger than ten after *10*, so the last two syllables should be read as *sarva*.

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[17]See Burrow 1937, p. 79.

[25] Reading *bhaveyaṃti* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *bhavayāti*. The vertical line on top of the syllable *va* belongs to *1* in the previous line.

[26] Reading *jelaka kamana śrikalipalaǵa ca | lihitaǵa*, and translating as "… Jelaka, Kamana, and Śrikalipalaǵa. It is written …" in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *jelakakamāṃna śrikicipala ṣaca |lihita maya*, and translating as "… Jelakakamāṃna together with śrikicipala. It was written by me."

[27] Reading *pramaṃna* in Lin (1990). Now correcting as *pramāna*.

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