

Sino-Hvatanica Petersburgensia

Part I

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The manuscript fragments to be dealt with here are the following:

A. Дx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дx 18928

B. Дx 18916

C. Дx 18927

D. Дx 18930

E. Дx 18931

F. Дx 1461

They all belong to the Institute of Oriental Studies (St. Petersburg branch) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, but no transcription or interpretation is given in *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg collections* (1993) by R. E. EMMERICK and M. I. VOROB'ĖVA-DESJATOVSKAJA and *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg collections* (1995) by the same authors. The reason why the existence of these manuscripts was temporarily overlooked by the editors of the above volumes appears to be that all of them have a Chinese text on them, in fact more Chinese than Khotanese, and were put aside to be included in a future publication of Chinese documents from Central Asia. In any case, the Chinese texts as well as the Khotanese clearly show that these manuscripts come from the Gaysāta area (in the Domoko oasis north-east of Khotan) in the second half of the eighth century, although they are now given numbers with the signature Дx and classified among the Dunhuang Chinese documents.

Of these manuscripts with Chinese and Khotanese texts on them, however, only **A** (and possibly a small fragment **D**) can be called a bilingual document in the sense that the Khotanese text appears to be an interlinear translation of the Chinese. The same style of interlinear translation, where the Chinese text represents an original official document, and the Khotanese the gloss to it for the benefit of the non-Chinese local population, is found in Hedin 24¹, which is unfortunately more fragmentary than our text. There are also a series of bilingual voucher entries (Hedin 15, 16, Dumaqu C, D), in which Chinese appears to be primary, too.

¹ Published in facsimile in *Saka Documents I*. See *KT IV* for the first attempt at interpretation. Recently its date of 798 is proposed by ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang (1997).

In our texts part of **C** shows that the Khotanese text refers to the preceding Chinese text. In all others, **B**, **E**, **F** and the rest of **C**, the Chinese part and the Khotanese part appear to be unrelated. In what follows the Chinese texts are dealt with only so far as they are somehow related to the Khotanese texts. Otherwise the proper interpretation of the Chinese texts are left to the specialists in that field.

A. A contract of the sale of a camel (Дx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дx 18928)

It is immediately clear that the larger two pieces form a greater part of a single document. Dr. VOROB'ĖVA-DESJATOVSKAJA has kindly confirmed for me that the small piece of SI P 93.22 (published earlier in *Saka Documents VII*, plate 67e and *Saka Documents Text Volume III*, p. 94 as No. 112) neatly fits the upper left corner of the right-hand piece (Дx 18926). On the other hand the left-hand edge of Дx 18926 + SI P 93.22 combined and the right-hand edge of Дx 18928 do not make a perfect fit. In order to determine how much Chinese text with the accompanying **(Fig. 1)** Khotanese translation is lost in the gap one must first examine the external evidence. Fig. 1 shows bits of Chinese characters at the right margin of Дx 18928. The upper stroke going downwards to the left could be the lower left end of the character *qian* 錢 (compare the same character in line 3 middle and line 4 near bottom of Дx 18926) making up a whole character together with the remaining traces at the top of line 4 of Дx 18926. Likewise two small bits in the lower part of Fig. 1 could be the top part of the character *yi* 壹 in line 4 of Дx 18926 (the top of the vertical stroke of 士 and the beginning of 一 respectively).² In support of the assumption above that only a few characters at the bottom, but not a whole line (or lines), are lost from the Chinese text in the gap between the two larger fragments, parallel passages from other sales contracts may be adduced. In our document line 4 of Дx 18926 has 其錢及(駝) “That money (as agreed upon) and the camel” with a few characters missing at the broken bottom, while the first line of Дx 18928 has 交]相分付了 “have changed hands” with the first character lost at the broken top. This can readily be compared with S 5820+5826³ (a sales contract of a cow from Dunhuang under



² Although in line 1 of Дx 18926 the 一 part of the character *yi* 壹 appears to be written in one continuous stroke, it would normally be written in two strokes; compare the top left of three occurrences of the character *bo* 勃.

³ Translated in GERNET (1957) 349-353. This and other Chinese documents are most

Tibetan rule, in the year 803), lines 4-5 其牛及麥即日交相分布了 “That cow and the wheat changed hands on the very same day”, or S 1475 verso No. 7⁴ (a sales contract of an ox from Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, in the year 822?), line 4 其牛及麥當日交相付了 “the ox and the wheat changed hands on the very same day”.⁵ The first line of Dx 18928 must therefore immediately follow the last line of Dx 18926 with either *jiri* 即日 or *dangri* 當日, both meaning “on the very same day”, lost at the bottom of the line.

The Text⁶

- K1 || ulä śau dasalä
 C1 野駝壹頭父拾歲
 K2 10 6 mye salye rarūyā māstā 20 1 mye haḍai hamīḍaka gaysātaja
 bram[mūjsai āstaṃna?
 C2 大曆十六年六月廿一日傑謝合川百姓勃[門貿齊
 K3 tte / pracai(na) cu kṣīrve mūrā puḍa ya tte pracaina mī vaña
 ulä parāṃdi (nva?) [
 C3 等 / (為)役次負稅錢遂將前件駝(買) [与 [?] [?] [?] 斷
 K4 ni hīvī x / mi nvahi sinā tcinā vīra kṣasi ysārru būnā ulä paphvām(d)i [
 C4 作駝[價] / (錢)壹拾陸阡文其錢及(駝) [當日
 K5 x-i x-yi hä / [] h(ve?) himāt(e) x x ul(ä) (h)īyā ñā<py>e si maṃ hī x-ī [
 (break)
 C5 交]相付了後有識認一(仰) [主保知當

conveniently seen in facsimile and transcription in YAMAMOTO and IKEDA (1987).

⁴ Translated in HANSEN (1995), 54f.

⁵ On this phrase see GERNET (1957) 351. A similar expression is found, e.g., in 64TAM 35:21, lines 3-4 (sales contract of a camel, year 673), TAM 509, lines 3-4 (sales contract of a horse, year 733), an unnumbered MS at the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo, lines 3-4 (sales contract of a cow, year 741; see GERNET (1957) 358), S 1475 verso No. 6, lines 8-9 (sales contract of land, year 827?), S 3877 verso No. 4, lines 7-8 (sales contract of a house, year 897), S 3877 verso No. 2, lines 8-9 (sales contract of a house, year 897), S 3877 verso No. 7, line 7 (sales contract of land, year 909), P 3573 pièce 1, line 4 (sales contract of a slave, year 923), S 1285, lines 7-8 (sales contract of a house, year 936), P 4083, line 4 (sales contract of a cow, year 957?; see GERNET (1957) 354).

⁶ Here as well as in other texts, [] means editor’s restoration for the lost part, () partly visible letter(s), { } editor’s deletion from the MS, < > editor’s emendation to the MS, and x for an illegible letter. Uncertain Chinese characters are marked with a box []. A slash (/) in lines from K3 to K5 marks where SI P 93.22 joins Dx 18926.

K6	x-ī yā yana x		
C6	不關買人之事官有政法[人從私契		
C7	兩共平章畫指為記		
		C8	錢主
K7	braṃ[mū](js)ai (salī) x (60) 5	C9	駝主百姓勃門[買]齊[年六十五
K8	puñargaṃ salī 30 5	C10	保人勃迺仰年[卅五
K9	(vi)sarrjāṃ salī 60 1	C11	保人勿薩踵年[六十一
K10	ma(rṣ)ākā salī 30 1	C12	保人末查年[卅一
K11	rruhadattā [salī] (20?) 5	C13	保人紇羅捺年[廿?五
K12	pheṃdūkā (sa)lī 30 1	C14	保人奴 [√] 偏年卅一
K13	[vikausā salī] 30 4	C15	保人勿苟[悉]年卅四

Notes

The document apparently follows a format. The first line gives the subject of the contract, in this case a camel duly specified. The second line begins with the date, followed by the seller's name, (in line 3) the reason why he had to sell the item to whom (this part unfortunately lost), and (in line 4) the price agreed upon. The second half of the main text confirms that the exchange has taken place, followed by the standard precaution against possible claimants challenging the legitimacy of the owner, ending with another standard formula of private contracts. After the main text the list of the names of the buyer (left vacant), seller and guarantors with age is given. It is noteworthy that all the names are Khotanese transcribed in Chinese characters.

[C1 / K1] The title of the document in Chinese is “One male camel, ten years old”.⁷ *yetuo* 野駝, literally “wild camel”, is probably a particular kind of camel. This is literally translated in Khotanese, except “male” (*fu* 父). *dasalä*, not found elsewhere, can be explained as a haplology of a compound **dasa-sala*- “(of) ten years” rather than *dasa*- “ten” followed by a suffix *-la*.

[C2 / K2] The date “Dali 16th year (= Jianzhong 建中 2nd year, i.e. 781), 6th month, 21st day” shows that the change of the *nianhao* (reign title) at the capital is not yet known. The date in Khotanese at the beginning of the second line also translates the

⁷ Compared to quite a few lease contracts of camel (see GERNET (1966)), only a small number of sales contracts survive.

Chinese faithfully, which means that the regnal year of a Khotanese king is not used here. The seller is “the commoner (*baixing* 百姓) Brammūjsai from *Hechuan* 合川 in Gaysāta”. On the place name *Jiexie* 傑謝 identified with the Khotanese form Gaysāta, see KUMAMOTO (1996) 37 and n. 29, KUMAMOTO (forthcoming). *Hechuan*, meaning “confluence, where rivers join”, is probably the name of a subdistrict of Gaysāta. Khotanese *hamīḍaka* would mean “all together”. Coming before *gaysātaja* “of Gaysāta” it is unlikely to correspond to a place name *Hechuan*.⁸ Of the seller’s name C2 has only the first character *bo* 勃 but C9 has the whole name. In Khotanese only the first syllable *braṃ-* is left both here in K2 and at the top of the name-list in line K7. But the remaining traces in line K7 suggest the name *Brammūjsai*, which is also found in other documents in the Petrovsky collection, e.g. SI P 92.30.6, 98.10, 103.18, 103.19, 103.28, 103.29, 103.36. Of the Chinese form of his name in line C9, *bomenmaoqi* 勃門貿齊 (< b’uət muən məu dz’iei) (the reading of the third character somewhat uncertain), the second character must be an abbreviation or an error for *lan* 蘭 (< lân). The top of line C3 (in the small fragment SI P 93.22) has 等 (“popular” form for *deng* 等), which, coming after a personal name, would mean “and others” (in Khot. *āstaṃna* “etc.”).

[C3 / K3] After the seller’s name comes the reason for the sale just like in many sales and loan contracts in Chinese: (為)役次負稅錢 “in order to bear (the burden of) the tax money (稅錢) for (= in the place of) official labor (役次).” In Khotanese *ttye / pracai(na) cu kṣīrve mūrā puḍa ya* “For the reason that the state money (in plural, i.e. the taxes) was owed”. The meaning of *puḍa* was recently discussed by P. O. SKJÆRVØ, in *Studies III* (1997), 96-100, where he argues against the interpretation by R. E. EMMERICK as “paid” in *Saka Documents Text Volume III*. This passage makes it clear that the corvée obligations (*kṣīrva kīra* “state work” in Khot.) can be and are bought off with money.

The rest of C3 has 遂將前件駝(買) “thereupon (they) sell / sold⁹ the aforementioned camel”, while the rest of K3 is *ttye pracaina mī vaña ulä parāṃdi* “For that reason now they sold (3.pl!) the camel”. *mī vaña* “here now” translates *suijiang* 遂將 “thereupon, on the spot”. In the Chinese text the missing part at the bottom of line C3 is expected to have the buyer’s name, presumably a Chinese name. The shape of the

⁸ On the usual order of district name — subdistrict name — personal name, see KUMAMOTO (1996) 45.

⁹ *mai* 買 “buy” written for *mai* 賣 “sell”. Similar confusion is found e.g. in S 1475 verso, No. 7 mentioned above, where, in line 3, *chumai* 出買 is written for *chumai* 出賣 “sell” and, in line 6, *mairēn* 賣人 “seller” is written for *mairēn* 買人 “buyer”.

remaining part of the letter after *parāṃdi* in K3 looks like *nva* in line K4 (the phrase *nva pīha* “at the price of” comes to mind).

[C4 / K4] The top of line C4, in SI P 93.22, can be read as 作駝. After the name of the buyer (unfortunately lost) a phrase 斷作駝價 “The price of the camel was fixed as ...” is expected.¹⁰ In fact Dx 18926, which immediately joins below, has (錢)壹拾陸阡文 “sixteen thousand *wen* in (copper) coins” with the first character *qian* 錢 “coin” half visible. The second half of K4 has likewise *kṣasi ysārru būnā* “sixteen thousand *wen* (< *mjuən* with initial denasalization). The syllables preceding this part hardly make Khotanese words except for the postposition *vīra* “to”. It is likely, but impossible to prove, that a Chinese name of the buyer is hidden behind these syllables.¹¹ The rest of K4 has *ulä paphvām(d)i* “they collected the camel”, which would correspond to (part of) the Chinese phrase “That money and the camel changed hands” mentioned above.

[C5-6 / K5-6] The Chinese text of this part speaks in a somewhat abbreviated form about the warranty against the challenge to the seller’s rightful ownership at the point of transaction. 後有識認一(仰)[主保知當] / 不關買人之事 “If afterwards anyone should recognize (the camel and claim its ownership), the owner (= seller) and the guarantors shall unilaterally deal with such, and it shall be none of the buyer’s business”. On 後有識認 see S 5826 + S 5820, lines 5-6 後有人稱是寒盜識認者 “Si, par la suite, quelqu’un prétend qu’il y a eu vol et reconnaît [l’animal étant sien]”.¹² Likewise S 1475 verso No. 7, line 5 has 如後牛若有人識認, 稱是寒盜 “If afterwards anyone should recognize the ox and claim that it is stolen”. In our document the word for “theft” (*handao* 寒盜) is dropped. 一(仰) [主保知當] / 不關買人之事 is reconstructed after S 1475 verso No 7, line 6 一仰主保知當, 不忤 (=關) 賣 (=買) 人之事.

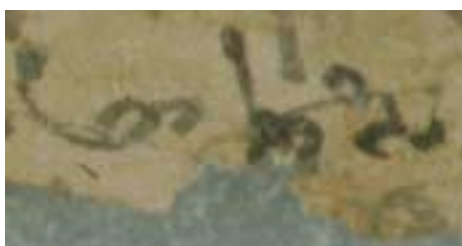
The very fragmentary Khotanese text in this part over the break between two major fragments cannot be reconstructed with confidence. *himāte* (3sg. subj. of the verb “to be”) is almost certain, and the preceding syllable may be *hve* “a man” (faint trace above and a hole below the akṣara *ha*). The syllable after *ñā* is blurred, although the vowel sign *-e* is clear. The restoration work on the manuscript has pasted a small piece a little

¹⁰ GERNET (1957) 361, has “On a fixé le prix à ...”.

¹¹ The syllable represented by *nvahi* would be unusual for a surname. Somewhat close to it would be *nou* 耨 (hardly a surname) which occurs as *nog* in transcriptions in Tibetan script from Dunhuang. On the other hand there are a number of possibilities for *sinä* and *tcinä*.

¹² GERNET (1957) 349, 332.

off, as the vowel sign of the following *si* shows (fig. 2). Even if corrected (as in fig. 3),



(fig. 2)



(fig. 3)

it is not possible to read *pye* here. But from the Chinese text a phrase such as *ulā hīya nāpye* “the camel is recognized as his own” would be expected here. The remaining few syllables in K6 cannot be interpreted. The next two couplets in C6-7 are probably not translated in Khotanese.

[C6-7] 官有政法[人從私契] / 兩共平章畫指為記 “The authorities have the government’s laws, (but) people observe private contracts. Both parties agree and have their finger-seals affixed”. On *huazhi* 畫指 “finger-seal”, the traces of which are not visible on the manuscript, see KUMAMOTO, in *Studies II* 151-154. The first couplet 官有政法, 人從私契 is found also in a Hoernle document (*JASB* LXX/1, Extra number 1, Pl. IV), and in a number of Stein documents; S 1475 verso, No. 7, S 3877 verso, No. 6 and S 3877 verso, No. 3 (there with *ciqi* 此契 “this contract” instead of *siqi* 私契 “private contract”). The second couplet 兩共平章, 畫指為記 is also found in S 5867, S 5871, Otani 1505, S 1475 verso, No. 7 and the Hoernle document mentioned above.

[C8] *qianzhu* 錢主 “owner of the money”, i. e. the buyer. The name is left blank.

[K7 / C9] All the personal names of the seller and guarantors are familiar ones among the Petrovsky and Hoernle documents from Gaysāta. On the name of the owner of the camel (*tuozhu* 駝主), i. e. the seller, “the commoner *Braṃmūjsai*, 65 years old”, and the Chinese form of his name see above on [C2 / K2]. Between the traces of the word *saī* “year” and of the numeral “60” another trace of a letter (possibly the numeral “20”) can be seen.

[K8 / C10] Here begins the list of the names of the guarantors. The shape of the second

character of the Chinese form of *Puñargaṃ*¹³ is somewhat unusual. The closest in form would be 迓, an alternative form of *er* 邇 (< *ńziě*), thus *boeryang* 勃迓仰 (< *b'uət ńziě ngjang*).

[K9 / C11] *Visarrjāṃ*¹⁴ together with the Chinese form *wusazhong* 勿薩踵 (< *mjuət sāt t'si'wong*) occurs in Hedin 15.1.

[K10 / C12] *Marşäkä*¹⁵ is written more often as *Marşa'kä* elsewhere. Its Chinese form is *mocha* 末查 (< *muät dž'a*) here; cf. Hedin 16.23 *Marşi'* with *moshi* 末士 (< *muät dž'i*) in Chinese.

[K11 / C 13] The next name, *Rruhadattä*,¹⁶ has a difficult Chinese form, which occurs again in ⅠX 18927 (C in Part 2) as 傑謝百姓紇羅捺 “commoner Rruhadattä of Gaysäta”. I tentatively follow Yutaka YOSHIDA’s suggestion that the first character of *heluona* 紇羅捺 (< *γuət lâ nāt*) represents some kind of onset to the non-Chinese *r*-sound (heavy trill?). The punctuation mark (two vertical strokes) at the beginning of K11 has a flourish as in K1.

[K12 / C 14] TAKATA Tokio kindly points out that the stroke between *nu* 奴 and *pian* 偏 to the right is the transposition sign (see **fig. 4**). The Chinese name of *Pheṃdūkä*,¹⁷ is written therefore as *piannu* 偏奴 (< *p'jän nuo*; the latter with initial denasalization).



(fig. 4)

[K13 / C 15] The Khotanese part of the last name is all lost. The remaining Chinese, if it is read as *wugouxi* 勿苟悉 (< *mjuət kəu siět*), would be close

¹³ Also found in Or. 6395.1, Or. 6400.2.2, Or. 6401.2.1 and Or. H Z in the Hoernle collection (published in *KT V*) and SI P 95.8, 95.14, 96.1, 101.1, 103.4, 103.5, 103.18, 103.28, 103.31, 103.33, 103.36, 103.43 and 103.49 in the Petrovsky collection.

¹⁴ Elsewhere also found in Domoko F (*KT II*), Or. 6400.2.1 (*KT V*), and SI P 97.6+7, 98.7, 98.10, 103.16, 103.36.

¹⁵ Also found in Or. H W (in *KT V*), and SI P 97.8, 101.14, 101.31.9, 103.5, 103.18, 103.28, 103.36, 103.49, 103.53.

¹⁶ Also found in Or. 6401.1.2 (in *KT V*), and SI P 93.14, 94.23 (*rrahadattä*), 95.2, 97.3, 103.53.

¹⁷ Also found in Or. 6398.8, Or. 6400.2.2, Or. 6401.1.2, Or. 6401.1.4, Or. H W 14, Balawaste 0159 (in *KT V*), and SI P 92.28, 94.10, 95.14, 96.1, 96.8, 96.10, 96.15, 101.7.2, 103.36, 103.0, 103.53.

enough to *Vikausä*,¹⁸ another common name among the Gaysāta documents.

(To be continued)

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¹⁸ Found in Or. 6395.1, Kha. ii.3 (in *KT V*), and SI P 96.3, 98.7, 103.11, 103.33, 103.34,

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