

A St. Petersburg Bilingual Document and Problems of the Chronology of Khotan*

HIROSHI KUMAMOTO

I

Studies trying to establish the exact dates of the Khotanese kings mentioned in documents and thereby to obtain a yardstick with which to judge the relative chronology of Khotanese manuscripts have been made from time to time since the 1910s, most of which are, as we see now, partly or wholly based on insufficient evidence or false assumptions. In recent decades, however, with the publication of the the Khotanese and Chinese manuscripts from the Petrovsky collection, and with the resulting re-evaluation of the hitherto known material from the Hoernle, Stein and Hedin collections, the possibility of reaching a solution to the problem is greatly enhanced. The attempts to place these Khotanese documents within an absolute time frame culminated, in my view, in the article of 1997 by Professors Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang on Khotan between the second half of the eighth century and the early ninth century, which regrettably does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves outside China and Japan.¹ The present article tries to put their results in a proper perspective, and discusses the data of a Khotanese-Chinese bilingual document from the Petrovsky collection which was presented for the first time in the 2004 symposium, and which therefore Zhang and Rong could not have considered in their argument.

Our present knowledge of the Khotanese manuscripts permits them to be classified basically in two groups, those found in, or presumed to have originated from, various ruins around Khotan, and those found in Dunhuang. The latter group of manuscripts belongs to the period of no earlier than the last decades of the ninth century and mostly to the tenth century, while the former group, so far as they can be dated, belongs to the period before the middle of the ninth century. It is this older group of manuscripts whose dates are discussed here.

A proper understanding of the historical data of these Khotanese documents from the Khotan area started, I believe, with Professors Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang's identification of the Khotanese place name *gaysāta* with Jiexie 傑謝 in the Chinese documents from the same area bearing Tang dates in the second half of the eighth century.² Some of the Khotanese documents are dated from the reign of the king Viśa' Vāhaṃon the one hand, and on the other, it is known from Chinese

sources that Yuchi Yao 尉遲曜 became king of Khotan sometime after 755, having succeeded his brother Yuchi Sheng 尉遲勝, and was still reigning there in 787 (possibly but less likely in early 788) when the Chinese pilgrim Wukong 悟空 visited Khotan on his way back from India. With this identification of Viśa' Vāhaṃ and Yuchi Yao, Professor P. O. Skjærvø presented in 1991 a chronology of Khotanese kings both before Yuchi Yao and after him, which he still largely maintains in his *Catalogue* of 2002.³

An important point made by Zhang and Rong in 1988, in another article, was that the Chinese part of the bilingual document Hedin 24 (Ms. 1941.36.21) follows the regular style of Chinese chancery documents, so that the year at the end cannot be the regnal year of a Khotanese king as previously supposed by Pulleyblank, but must be a Tang era (*nianbao*). As for the reading of the actual year, although they were able to show that Pulleyblank's 五十四 "fifty-four" was impossible, they did not come to a conclusion at this point, giving only the last character 四 "four."⁴

The next step towards a solution to the complicated problem of the chronology was, I might say, the distinction I made in my article of 1996 between the two different ways of notation of the year in the Chinese documents.⁵ On the one hand we have Hedin 24, a number of Hoernle and Stein Chinese documents as well as St. Petersburg Chinese documents (including a bilingual contract for the sale of a camel) from the Khotan area which employ the Tang era such as *dali* 大曆 (766-779 in the capital, but a few years later in Khotan as the news of the change of *nianbao* would have taken some time to reach there) with a numeral, while on the other hand, a small number of Chinese documents such as Hedin 15 (Ms. 1941.36.12), 16 (Ms. 1941.36.13), and Domoko C and D indicate the year by one of the twelve animals of the animal cycle. The use of the twelve year animal cycle alone, and not the sexagesimal cycle, is a feature of the Dunhuang Chinese documents under Tibetan rule. So it is natural to assume that the absence of the Tang era and the use of the animal cycle indicate that Chinese influence came to an end and that the Tibetans were in power in Khotan. However, exactly when that happened it was impossible to say. The latest Chinese documents in the first group were dated in the sixth year of *zhenyuan* 貞元, that is, 790. The Tibetan occupation of Khotan must have taken place

sometime after that. Even under Tibetan rule the use of the Chinese language along with Khotanese seems to have continued, as the second group of documents show. Some of the personal names in these documents are shared by a group of Khotanese documents from what was clearly the Tibetan period (most of the Or.11252 and Or.11344 groups, some Hedin documents) as well as the Hedin Tibetan documents published by Professor Takeuchi.⁶

A difficulty that I could not solve at the time was the existence of the same personal name in both groups above. The author of Hedin 24, Fu Weijin 富惟[謹]⁷ with the title of *panguan* 判官 “administrative assistant,” occurs in Hedin 15, 16, and Domoko C and D, which are dated in the 11th/12th months of a snake year and the third month of a horse year in the Chinese part and in the matching months/days of the 35th and 36th regnal year (*kṣunā*) of an unnamed king in the Khotanese part. Since the official Fu bears the same title in Hedin 24 under Chinese rule as well as in the other documents in the Tibetan period, these documents should not be separated by many years, certainly not by decades.

Shortly after my article of 1996, Professors Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang’s 1997 study, mentioned at the beginning, made a veritable breakthrough. They evaluated the stage that had been reached quite rightly, saying “these studies have contributed to a greater or lesser degree to the understanding of the documents, but as to the chronology of them none has drawn a conclusion that can convince everyone.”⁸ The solution they offered hinges on a new reading of Hedin 24 (based on a new photo obtained from Stockholm). The correct date of Hedin 24 is, according to them, *zhenyuan* 貞元 14th year (798), making this the latest dated document under Chinese rule. It is amazing that, once this date is established, all the difficulties seem to melt away and everything can be seen in a clearer perspective. Here I would briefly summarize their brilliant demonstration.

According to their interpretation, the content of the Chinese text of Hedin 24 is a report by the official Fu, who, having been informed that some local people around Mazar-Tagh had received news of imminent invasion, instructs that the people and livestock be evacuated to Phema, and this rather extensive action was later approved by the Vice Governor (*jiedufushi* 節度副使), which is the title borne by the king of Khotan under Chinese rule. The whole report is dated in the fourth intercalary month, fourth day of *zhenyuan* 貞元 14th year (798). The second key to the solution is Hedin 21 (Ms. 1941.36.18), which is, according to them, closely related to Hedin 24. It is dated in the fourth intercalary month, 28th day, presumably of the same year (which makes it just three weeks later than Hedin 24), and is issued from the king of Khotan, ordering, in answer to the request from the officials of Cira, weapons and equipments to be sent to Phema. Luckily in this document, the year

is given as the 32nd of the reign of an unnamed king. These two documents, Hedin 24 and Hedin 21, together depict a desperate political situation under the menace of invasion, which in fact became reality within a few years, for documents such as Hedin 15, 16, Domoko C and D, mentioned above, show that the Tibetans were in power in the 35th and 36th regnal years of presumably the same king.⁹

Thus, for the first time, the two systems of dating, the Tang era and the regnal year of a Khotanese king, are linked on the basis of something more than speculation, with the consequences that the first year of the reign of this king (Viśa’ Vāhaṃ) is 767 which is a sheep year, and that the Tibetan invasion occurred within or shortly after 798 but before 801.

Table 1. The Khotanese Regnal Years and the Tang era*

	<i>1st year</i>		<i>sheep</i>	767
Hedin 24		zhenyuan 貞元14	<i>tiger</i>	798
Hedin 21	32nd year		<i>tiger</i>	798
Hedin 15, 16, Domoko C	35th year		snake	801
Domoko D	36th year		horse	802

* The data in bold-face are actually found in the documents. The rest are the consequences resulting from them.

One might ask why nobody else (including myself) did not think of such an elegant solution. I would say that I, at least, was under the impression that, since the latest dated Chinese documents known were those of 790 (*zhenyuan* 貞元 sixth) published by Chavannes and Maspero,¹⁰ Hedin 24 must be earlier than that. The new scenario removes the major difficulty of Zhang and Rong’s earlier article of 1988 in which they proposed the sheep year of 755 as the beginning of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s reign. I, among others criticized them, pointing out that since the Rebellion of An Lushan began in the 11th month of that year, news of it could not have reached Khotan until many months later, whereupon the reigning king, Yuchi Sheng 尉遲勝, departed with an army to support the Tang emperor, leaving the country to the care of his younger brother Yuchi Yao 尉遲曜 = Viśa’ Vāhaṃ. According to the revised chronology, Viśa’ Vāhaṃ’s reign would begin 12 years later in the next sheep year (767). Although the Tang Court approved in 764 the request of Yuchi Sheng that his brother Yao should be permanently appointed king of Khotan, a careful examination of the use of Tang eras west of Dunhuang proves that the successive changes of the era at the Court after 764 were not known until 767 because the Tibetans occupied the areas in between. The picture Zhang and Rong have drawn of the situation up to and

after the Tibetan invasion of Khotan seems to me altogether plausible. Thus the Tibetan forces came in waves from the north and the east rather than from the west. After Dunhuang fell to them in 786, Beshbaliq and Kucha resisted their aggression until the middle of the 790s, sometimes taking the city back after having been overrun once. Khotan may have been one of the last city-states to go under Tibetan rule. Even after that, the local administration, with the same king and lower officials such as *panguan* Fu, appears to have remained largely untouched. The population, including the Chinese residents with their families, must have lived there as before. The pieces of the complicated jigsaw puzzle would seem to have finally fallen into place. For example, Zhang and Rong point out that the envoys of the Tang Court, who departed before the era was changed to *dali* 大曆 in the eleventh month of 766 (thus with no knowledge of the change), arrived back in Khotan in the first month of 767 and that Viśa' Vāhaṃ was only then informed of his appointment as king back in 764.¹¹ Thus it makes sense that 767 was considered his first regnal year. With the regnal years of Viśa' Vāhaṃ established, the years of other kings, with less certain data, could be estimated with more confidence than before.

II

In 2002, Professors Zhang and Rong published twenty-one fragments of Chinese documents from the Khotan area, which were unknown outside Russia until a few years before, and even within Russia only a handful of specialists had ever seen them.¹² Among them were five manuscripts with both Chinese and Khotanese written on them, which I have since published.¹³ One of them (Dx-18926 + SI P 93.22 + Dx-18928) is a contract for the sale of a camel dated in 781 in the Tang era, written in the format of regular contracts in Chinese with an added interlinear translation in Khotanese. Of two small scraps (Dx-18930 and Dx-18931), the first one with the place name *gaysāta* is mentioned above (note 2). In another fairly large sheet (Dx-18916), the Chinese and the Khotanese parts appear to have no relation to each other, but look as if they were pasted together just to use the empty space on the other side for an unrelated Khotanese text. The last manuscript, Dx-18927, has some bearing on the problem of Khotanese chronology as shown below. The reading and interpretation of its Chinese part is naturally based on Professors Zhang and Rong's.

Dx-18927 (Fig. 1)

1. 守捉使牒傑謝百姓紇羅捺供行軍入磧
2. 打駝麻卅斤 順 hvī hīvī kṣau ṣṭi 40 kiṇa
3. 建中六年十二月廿一日行官魏忠順抄 順
4. || salī 10 8 (mā)ṣṭa cuātaja haḍā 10 ttiṇa beḍa gaysātajā vikausā kamhā

5. hauḍe 10 6 sā kiṇa gvī tcyāṃ-kvinā nāte thīṣī hīyāṃ dva akṣa<ra> 順

[Translation of the Khotanese part]

2. It is a voucher of Hvī. 40 *jin* 斤 (< kṣān).

4/5. Year 18, the Cvātaja (first) month, tenth day. At that time Vikausa of Gaysāta gave hemp, 16 hundred *jin*. General Gvī took two (hundred?) of the Thī-ṣī's.¹⁴ Signature 順

The date of the Chinese document is *jianzhong* 建中 sixth year (785), 12th month, 21st day. In the Tang capital the era had been changed to *zhenyuan* 貞元 in that year, but it was not yet known in Khotan. In the Chinese part there is a minor difference from Zhang and Rong's reading. It concerns the first character of the personal name *beluona* 紇羅捺 (< γuət lâ nāt), a transcription of the Khotanese name *Rrubadatta*, who appears also as a guarantor in the camel contract of 781. The character represents some sort of onset glide in the Iranian initial *r*-sound unfamiliar to the Chinese, and I preferred this form over Zhang and Rong's reading *qi* 訖 (< kṣāt) with a different radical because, in addition to phonological reasons, the former character is also used in Xuanzang's *Travels* in the transcription of Rōb (modern Rūi)/Samingān in Bactria.¹⁵ In the Khotanese part, line 2 appears to be an abbreviated translation of the Chinese text. The personal name Hvī must represent the surname of Wei Zhongshun 魏忠順 (< ŋjuəi). Such velar nasal initials, called *Yimu* 疑母, are known to be represented in the Brāhmī transcription of Chinese both by *b*- and by *g*-. The second text in lines 4 and 5 is in a different hand. The personal name Vikausa occurs many times in the documents from Gaysāta including the camel contract mentioned above.¹⁶ The general¹⁷ Gvī would be, when the fluctuation in the representation of the initial ŋ- is considered, the same Wei Zhongshun of the Chinese part. The close connection between the Chinese text and the Khotanese text in lines 4 and 5 is evident from the character *shun* 順 appended as the signature both after the Chinese text (twice) and after the Khotanese text. In all three places the writing is characteristic and distinct from the same character used as the signature of General Zhang Shun 張順 in SI P 103.14 (who appears also in the Chinese text of Dx-18916). [Fig. 2]

III

From the appearance of the manuscript it is fairly evident that the Chinese text was written first and the Khotanese in lines 4 and 5 was added sometime (but not a very long time) later. The date in Khotanese, the first month, tenth day, is most likely to be just a few weeks after the date in Chinese, the 12th month, 21st day in the year 785. From this an inevitable conclusion would be that the year in Khotanese, the 18th regnal year, is 786.¹⁸ However, in the solution of Zhang and Rong that I described earlier, 786 was the 20th year of the reign of Viśa'

Vāhaṃ. The 18th regnal year in their scheme is 784. The Khotanese text bearing the date of the 18th year could not have been written after the Chinese text dated in 785. This presents a problem since the reading of Dx-18927, both in the Chinese part and in the Khotanese part, is quite clear for this kind of document. It does not seem to leave much room for emendation.

A rather tempting idea that might salvage the whole scheme with only a minor modification would be to assume that under Tibetan rule the animal cycle used was different from that of China, being behind by two. However, it has been established, since Pelliot's study in 1913, that the sexagesimal cycle of the Tibetan chronology is in perfect agreement, as far as the year is concerned, with that of the Chinese after 1027.¹⁹ Even before that, the close association of the Old Tibetan Kingdom with Tang China makes it highly unlikely that a two year lapse in terms of the animal cycle existed in the Tibetan calendar used in the ninth century Khotan. This solution should therefore be excluded.

Let us then try to retrace our argument. Hedin 15, 16, Domoko C and D, written under Tibetan rule, assure us that the 35th and 36th regnal years of a king were a snake year and a horse year, respectively. Hedin 24 was written not many years earlier, under Chinese rule (because of *panguan* Fu). No document could have been written under Tibetan rule as issued from *jiedufushi* 節度副使. Whether Hedin 21, written in the 32nd regnal year, belongs to the same year as Hedin 24 may not be one hundred percent certain, but the fact that the same intercalary month occurs only about three or four times in a century along with the contents of the two documents makes it more likely than not that they are indeed from the same year.

On the other hand, the reading of the date of *zhenyuan* 貞元 14th year in Hedin 24, in my opinion, cannot be said to be completely certain even in the new photograph. What is clear is the character “four” 四 and a character which looks like “ten” 十 just above, but above them, the most one can say is that the traces are not incompatible with *zhenyuan* 貞元. In fact the manuscript was not properly conserved when I saw it in the early 90s, and small bits were dangling around holes and tears, so that what appear to be strokes of a character may not represent their correct relative positions. It would not be impossible, although less likely, that the number was originally “twenty-four” 二十四. But even if such an era were to be used in Khotan in ignorance of the situation in the Tang capital, it would have been a mouse year (808), while Hedin 24 must have been written in a tiger year.

In this line of argument the only alternative that I can offer, although there is little to recommend it, is to separate the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ from those documents related to *panguan* Fu (Hedin 24 and others). We are assured by Wukong 悟空 that Viśa' Vāhaṃ was still alive in 787, which would be the 19th

regnal year on the new evidence instead of the 21st. The latest regnal year to be associated directly with Viśa' Vāhaṃ, as opposed to an unnamed king is still 20.²⁰ The highest number of the regnal year of a king that we know certainly to be Viśa' Vāhaṃ, although unnamed, is 22.²¹ This would be 790 in the new counting. If his reign ended shortly after that, the documents with the regnal years 32 to 36 would belong to one of the next kings. In that case the only possibility of a tiger year which would end in “four” or “fourteen” in the Chinese era would be 834, which would be *zhangqing* 長慶 14th year (actually *taihe* 太和 eighth year), much too late into the Tibetan period, and the traces on Hedin 24 do not seem to favor it.

Table 2. First Alternative

1st		803 (sheep)
32nd	Hedin 24 Hedin 21	834 (tiger) 長慶 14 = 太和 8
35th	Hedin 15, 16 Domoko C	837 (snake)
36th	Domoko D	838 (horse)

It looks as if we have reached an impasse. In order to find a way out, let us re-examine another assumption on which our argument has been based. Hedin 21, with the date of the 32nd regnal year and fourth intercalary month, was taken as belonging to the same year as Hedin 24. Certainly the contents of both documents seem to match, but one cannot deny that a similar situation might have arisen again and again. The same intercalary month does not actually prove that the two are in the same year, especially if one considers the possibility of switching from one calendar, say local Chinese, to another, Tibetan.²² A phrase in Hedin 21, *hā ttāguttau piḍakā pastem hauḍe* “I deigned to give an order (*lit.* letter or document) in Tibetan” was dismissed by Zhang and Rong as irrelevant, but it could mean that the document was written under Tibetan rule. Thus, provided that we can separate the year of Hedin 21 from that of Hedin 24, the earliest tiger year which is the 32nd regnal year of the next king would be 822, the first year being the sheep year of 791. In that case the date of the Chinese document of Hedin 24 would be 809, which is *yuanyuan* 元和 fourth year. In this scenario *panguan* Fu appears to have kept his position without promotion at least for 15 years.

Table 3. Second Alternative

1st		791 (sheep)
?	Hedin 24	809 元和4
32nd	Hedin 21	822
35th	Hedin 15, 16 Domoko C	825 (snake)
36th	Domoko D	826 (horse)

Neither of these alternatives, being merely a theoretical possibility, is satisfactory in the same manner as Zhang and Rong's scheme where disparate data tend to align themselves neatly. In the meantime Yutaka Yoshida has proposed yet another alternative while maintaining Zhang and Rong's original chronology.²³ Yoshida points out that, on the one hand, the manuscript IOL Khot 157/5 (= H. 143 MBD 13, KT 5, 33, *Catalogue*, 352-53) has the date in the seventh regnal year, which is a hare year, which means that there was a reign beginning with a cock year, while the first year of the reign whose 17th year was 785 as in our document would have indeed been a cock year. On the other hand, he considers this reign to represent the *yauvarāja* (heir apparent) years of Viśa' Vāhaṃ (757-767 according to Yoshida). The apparent discrepancy of the dates between the Zhang/Rong framework and the St. Petersburg document in question can be explained, according to Yoshida, by assuming that two separate pieces of receipts were pasted together to form a single sheet, where the one written later, in the 12th month, 785, came first (or above if seen according to the horizontal writing of Brāhmī), and the other written earlier, in the first month, 784, was placed to the left (or below).

This might be another theoretical possibility, but unfortunately things could not have happened that way. The motivation for pasting the two pieces together was, according to

Yoshida, to preserve them (i.e. filing them), while the reason for putting the older piece second was, again according to him, to re-use the blank space for other purposes, which would seem incompatible with the original purpose. Moreover, a close observation of the original manuscript suggests that the reason for pasting the two pieces together was to make a larger sheet before anything was written on it, in the same way that long scrolls were produced for writing Buddhist scriptures by pasting together oblong sheets of paper. The relatively straight line (for this kind of low quality paper) of the top and bottom edges does not suggest that two originally different documents were subsequently joined (see **Fig. 1**). In addition, the seam curves to the right near the bottom of the joint, where the signature *shun* 順 is written almost over the seam, which strongly suggests that two pieces had already been pasted together when it was written. [**Fig. 3**]

Thus, the St. Petersburg document Dx-18927, which could represent a scribal mistake for an unknown reason, or which could be significant for reconsidering the entire framework, remains an anomaly for the Khotanese chronology of the reigns of Viśa' Vāhaṃ and subsequent kings in the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth century, until and unless further pieces of evidence turn up in the ongoing archaeological excavations.

Notes

* An earlier version of this paper was read at the symposium "The Kingdom of Khotan to AD 1000: a Meeting of Cultures" held at the British Library on May 10-11, 2004, in conjunction with the exhibition *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. I am grateful to Ursula Sims-Williams who kindly suggested a number of revisions and improvements. All the St. Petersburg manuscripts (with the signatures SI P and Dx) are housed in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; all the Hedin manuscripts are at the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm [Ed: Photographs of Hedin 24 and 21 are included in P. O. Skjærvø's article "The End of Eighth-Century Khotan in Its Texts," in this volume, plates 1-3]. Manuscripts with the signatures IOL Khot and Or. are now found in the British Library, while the whereabouts of Domoko C and D from Stein's fourth expedition (1930-1931) are unknown; only photographs of them are available at the moment (see H. W. Bailey, *Saka Documents* 4 (London: Lund, Humphries, 1967); and Wang Jiqing, "Photographs in the British Library of Documents and Manuscripts from Sir Aurel Stein's Fourth Central Asian Expedition," *The British Library Journal* 24, 1998: 23-74).

¹ [Ed: See Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang's updated English version "On the Dating of the Khotanese Documents from the Area of Khotan," in this volume, xxx-xx.] For the original article, to which reference hereafter is made, see Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Ba shiji xiaban zhi jiu shiji chu de Yutian 八世紀下半至九世紀初的于闐 [Khotan Between the Second Half of the Eighth Century and Early Ninth Century]," *Tang yanjiu* 3 (1997): 339-61. In P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 2002), lxxviii-lxix, [hereafter *Catalogue*], although reference is made to their article (p. lxvii, n.

3), their results are unfortunately not fully appreciated. It is clear from their article that the reason Stein thought the site Dandan-Uiliq was abandoned shortly after 790 is simply because it was the year of the latest dated Chinese documents found there. The regnal years of Viśa' Vāhaṃ and Viśa' Kirttā are now corrected in P. O. Skjærvø, "Iranians, Indians, Chinese and Tibetans: the Rulers and Ruled of Khotan in the First Millennium," in *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, ed. Susan Whitfield (London: The British Library, 2004), 34-42. The key is Wukong's report on the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ; see S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, "L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong (751-790)," *Journal Asiatique* 9e. sér. 6 (1895): 341-84 and Zhang and Rong, "Ba shiji xiaban," 356.

² Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Tang Dali Sannian Sanyue Dian Cheng Xian Die Ba «唐大曆三年三月典成銑牒»跋 [Postscript to the 'Official Letter of the Clerk Cheng Xian dated in the third month, third year of Dali']; *Xinjiang Shehui Kexue* (1988/1): 60-69; reprinted in Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutianshi congkao* 于闐史叢考 [Studies in the History of Khotan] (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1993), 140-54; also in French "Sur un manuscrit chinois découvert à Cira près de Khotan," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 77-91. Their identification was later confirmed through a St. Petersburg bilingual document Dx-18930, where the Chinese *Jiexie* is translated into Khotanese *gayseta* (locative sg.).

³ P. O. Skjærvø, "Kings of Khotan in the Eighth Century," in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique*, eds. P. Bernard and F. Grenet (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991), 255-78.

⁴ Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Hetian chutu Yutian wenxian de niandai ji qi xiangguan wenti 關於和田出土于闐文獻的年

代及其相關問題 [On the chronology and related problems of the Khotanese documents discovered in Khotan], *Tōyō Gakubō* 69 (1988): 59-86; reprinted in Zhang and Rong, *Yutianshi congkao*, 71-97. The agreement of the month and day between Chinese and Khotanese (閏四月四日 and *še(?) senjsijsa amyē haḍai* “second Simjsimjsa [= fourth] month fourth day”) recurs, without exception, in other bilingual documents such as Hedin 15, 16, Domoko C, D, and Dx-18926 + SI P 93.22 + Dx-18928 (a sales contract of a camel). The position of the intercalary month in the calendar cannot be used for determining the year, since the evidence of Dunhuang Chinese documents shows that the calendar there differed in this point from that of the Tang capital; see H. Kumamoto, “Some Problems of the Khotanese Documents,” *Studia Grammatica Iranica: Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (München: Kitzinger, 1986), 227-44.

⁵ H. Kumamoto, “The Khotanese Documents from the Khotan Area,” *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 54 (1996): 27-64.

⁶ T. Takeuchi, “Three Old Tibetan Contracts in the Sven Hedin Collection,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57/3 (1994): 576-87.

⁷ The third character is lost. It is restored after Hedin 15, 16 and Domoko C, D. In these four bilingual documents he is *hvū phqñā-kvqñā* in Khotanese.

⁸ Zhang and Rong, “Ba shiji xiaban,” 339.

⁹ The large cursive Chinese character on Hedin 21 might just be the signature Yao 曜 of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ; see Y. Yoshida, *Kōtan shutsudo 8-9 seiki no Kōtango sezoku monjo ni kansuru oboegaki* コータン出土 8-9 世紀のコータン語世俗文書に関する覚え書き [Notes on the Khotanese Documents of the Eighth to Ninth Centuries unearthed from Khotan] (Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Gaikokugo Daigaku Gaikokugaku Kenkyūjo, 2006), 31.

¹⁰ É. Chavennes, “Chinese Documents from the Sites of Dandān-Uiliq, Niya and Endere,” in M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 533; H. Maspéro, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale* (London: British Museum, 1953), 186.

¹¹ Zhang and Rong, “Ba shiji xiaban,” 355.

¹² Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, “Shengbidebao cang Hetian chutu Hanwen wenshu kaoshi 聖彼得堡藏和田出土漢文文書考釋 [Interpretation of the Chinese Documents from Khotan Preserved in St. Petersburg],” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* = Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan studies 6 (2002): 221-41. To be added to them is Dx-1461, one side of

which has a Chinese document and the other an unrelated Khotanese document (see H. Kumamoto, “Sino-Hvatanica Petersburgensia: Part II,” in *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, eds. M. Macuch, M. Maggi and W. Sundermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 155-56).

¹³ H. Kumamoto, “Sino-Hvatanica Petersburgensia, Part I,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 7/1 (2001), 3-9 (the printed version is full of errors but the original text can be found at: <http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/pdf/SinoHvat.pdf>); H. Kumamoto, “Sino-Hvatanica Petersburgensia: Part II,” 147-59 (for better photos, however, see http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/pdf/SinoHvat_2.pdf).

¹⁴ A Chinese title. Cf. *thyänä ši* and *thjñää ši* in Khot (IO) 74.vii (H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts* [hereafter *KT*] 5, 310, #683) a6 (= IOL Khot 200/4, *Catalogue*, 442).

¹⁵ 紇露 悉泐健國 (*Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 51 (Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1927), 872b26).

¹⁶ Reconstructed on the basis of the Chinese transcription.

¹⁷ *Jiangjun* 將軍 (<tsjan kjuən). It is also found in SI P 103.14.1 *icy(ā)m-kunä* and Dx-18916r.1 *icyām-kviñä*. See Yoshida, *Kōtango sezoku monjo*, 71ff. on the elevated military titles used by the Chinese garrison leaders.

¹⁸ A Khotanese year began in all probability in what corresponds to the fifth Chinese month, *bandyaja*, as the list of the months in the Siddhasāra shows; see H. W. Bailey, “Hvatanica [I],” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 8/4 (1937): 93off. However, when the year starts is irrelevant in the present matter as we are dealing with what corresponds to the Chinese first month of 786, which is the 18th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ according to our text.

¹⁹ Pelliot, Paul, “Le cycle sexagenaire dans la chronologie tibétaine,” *Journal Asiatique* sér. 11, v. 1 (1913): 633-67. See also B. Laufer, “The Application of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle,” *T’oung Pao* 14 (1913): 569-96; D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalender-rechnung* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973), 142.

²⁰ Or.6397/1, *KT* 2, 66, *Catalogue*, 9.

²¹ SI P 103.31; Or.6395/1, *KT* 5, 3, *Catalogue*, 6. The official Siḍakā, who flourished under Viśa’ Vāhaṃ, is involved in these documents.

²² Recall that, although they are in agreement as to the year, months and days are a different matter.

²³ Yoshida, *Kōtango sezoku monjo*, 70ff.

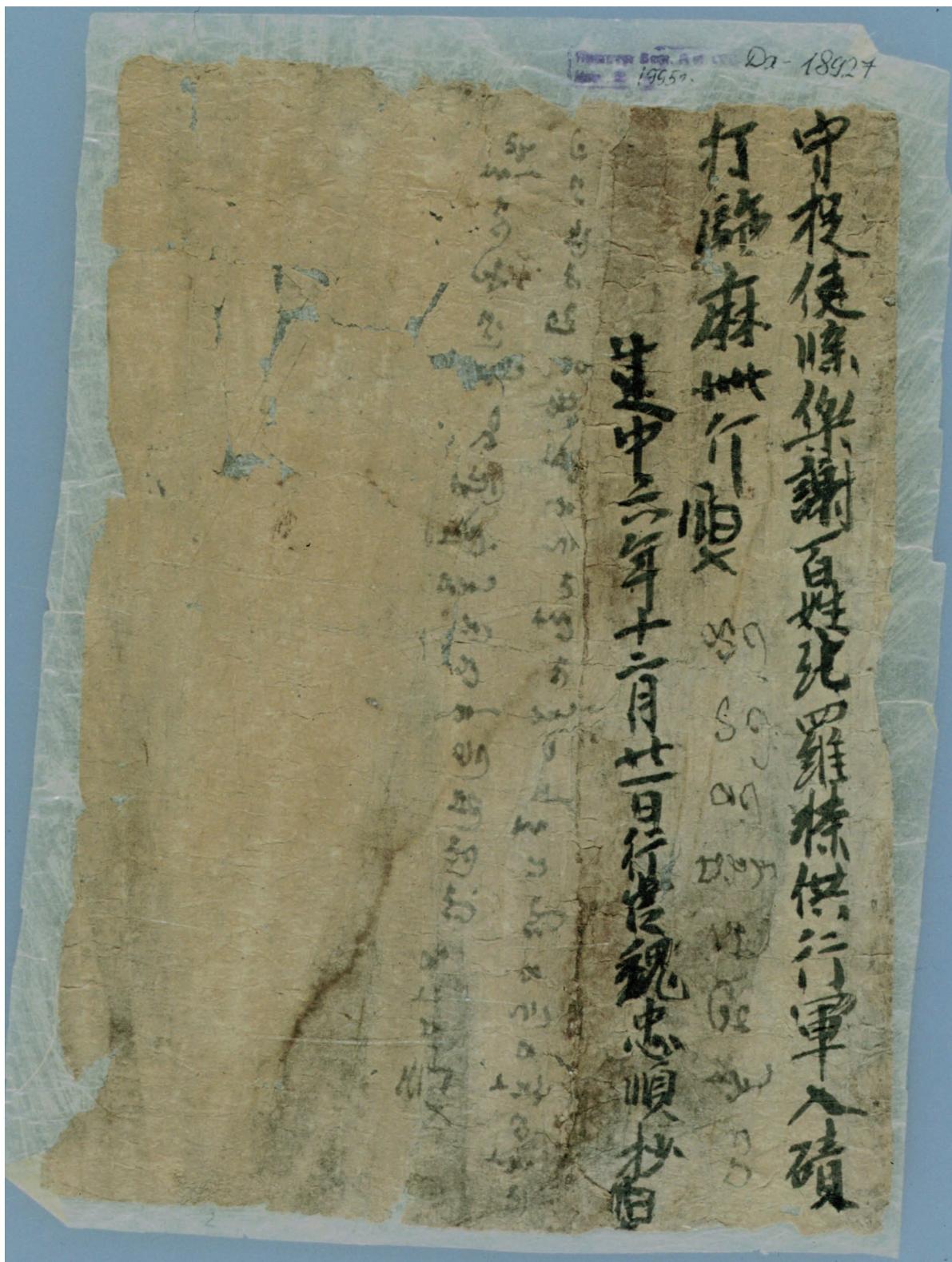


Fig. 1. Chinese-Khotanese bilingual document Dx-18927. Photograph courtesy of The Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. (See Colour Plate 1)

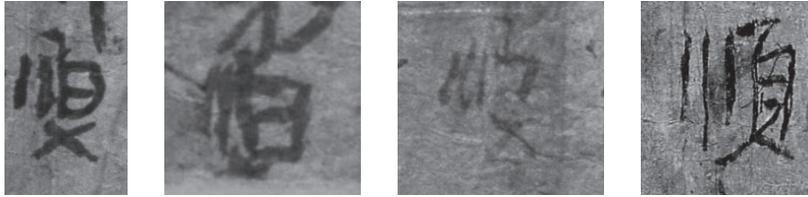


Fig. 2. Signatures (a, b, c: Dx-18927; d: SI P 103,14).



Fig. 3. Dx-18927.