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Two Judaeo-Persian Letters from Eighth-Century Khotan*

ZHANG ZHAN

In memory of my mentor Duan Qing

Introduction

On 5 January 1901 when Sir Aurel Stein returned to his camp after a day's excavation at Rawak, a minor site about 11 km to the north of Dandan-Uiliq (a major site roughly 130 km northeast of Khotan that Stein excavated from 19 December to 3 January), he was surprised to see that several workmen, who had been dismissed the previous day at Dandan-Uiliq, were waiting for him. They told him that they had not gone back to their village as instructed but continued "treasure-hunting" for another day and had come to present him with their discoveries: a piece of stucco with effaced Chinese characters and a lump of crumpled paper with writings in Hebrew. Stein carefully cross-examined the workmen and found their statements consistent and credible (Stein 1907, v.1: 306–7). Since it was not feasible for him to revisit Dandan-Uiliq, he continued his journey and eventually brought these items, together with many other finds, back to London.

After being unfolded by expert hands, the paper, though severely damaged, turned out to be a 38-line letter in Judaeo-Persian, dated to the late eighth century according to the archeological context of Dandan-Uiliq, and thus was the earliest material in New Persian known at that time. D. S. Margoliouth (1903) published the first edition of the letter (henceforth Du1), with a Persian transcription and an English translation. He read *sb'bd* in line 23 as *Ispahbud*, the title of a ruler of Tabaristān, and dated the letter to about 718 C.E. accordingly. This article was later reproduced as Appendix C in Stein 1907. In 1957, when W. B. Henning published three short JP rock inscriptions found at Tang-i Azao in western Afghanistan dated to 752/753 C.E., he discussed some

passages of Du1 in the footnotes. See Henning 1957: 341, nn. 2–4; p. 342, n. 1, n. 3. He continued to do so in Henning 1958: 79–80. In 1963, Gilbert Lazard included Du1 in his monumental work on Early New Persian *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*. (Lazard 1963: 31) In 1965, J. P. Asmussen (1965: 49–50) touched upon Du1 in his edition of the "Law Report," a legal document from Khuzistān preserved in the Cairo Geniza. In 1968, Bo Utas (1968) published an updated edition of Du1. He correctly rejected Margoliouth's identification and dated the letter to the late eighth century. In 1988, Lazard (1988) published a short article solely devoted to the first sentence of Du1 *zyd kwdh 'y y'r b'sd*, which he translated as "que le Seigneur Dieu [nous] aide." Interestingly, at the end of the article, Lazard lamented the fragmentary state of the manuscript and admitted that many obscure points in it would remain so for a long time without some interference from Providence, and ended the article with the very sentence *zyd kwdh 'y y'r b'sd* "May God the Lord be (our) helper!"

In 2004, Professor Lazard's prayers were answered. On a chilly November morning that year, as I was having a one-on-one Pahlavi class with Prof. Duan Qing, my mentor and Master's Thesis advisor, in her office in Peking University, someone knocked on the door. We weren't expecting anyone. It turned out to be a man in his thirties, a complete stranger. He came to show photographs of some manuscripts that he "accidentally" discovered in his old family house in Khotan to see if they were of any value because he had learned that Professor Duan was an expert on Khotanese. Among these manuscripts, mostly genuine Khotanese, is a Judaeo-Persian one, which is almost intact and bears a striking resemblance

to that acquired by Stein from Dandan-Uiliq. As I had some biblical Aramaic and modern Persian (both very elementary), a rather rare combination in China at that time, the task of deciphering this JP manuscript was assigned to me. I collaborated with Dr. Shi Guang, my Persian teacher, and first produced a preliminary edition of it as a writing sample for my application to the doctoral program at Harvard, then an improved Chinese version with input from my future doctoral advisor Prof. P. Oktor Skjærvø for my Master's Thesis in 2006. I presented my work on this important manuscript in multiple workshops and conferences and received helpful feedbacks from numerous scholars, including Prof. Shaul Shaked, Prof. Maria Macuch, Dr. Tamar Gindin, and Prof. Ludwig Paul, among many others, whose contributions are all duly acknowledged in the edition that Shi Guang and I published in Chinese in 2009. In our article (Zhang and Shi 2009), we demonstrated that the newly discovered JP letter (henceforth Du2) agrees with Du1 in terms of materiality (similar paper and ink), diplomatics (same number of lines, same curvature of the lines, similar handwriting), orthography, grammar, lexicon, and content, and established that both letters were almost certainly written by the same person. In other words, Du2 is also from late eighth-century Dandan-Uiliq. It is reported in Du2 line 31 that "the Tibetans have all been captured and killed." We linked this event with the clashes of the Tibetans and the Uyghurs in the Tarim Basin in the early ninth century and dated Du2 to around 802 C.E. accordingly (Zhang and Shi 2009: 79–81). After realizing that the latest dated document from Dandan-Uiliq is from year 791 and the site must have been abandoned shortly afterwards, I (Zhang 2016a: 667–68) revised the dating of Du2 to around 791 C.E. In the same year, I published an English translation of Du2 (Zhang 2016b). Ludwig Paul provided quite a few important new readings and interpretations of the two letters in *A Grammar of Early Judaeo-Persian* (Paul 2013). Lazard (2014: 90) also took notice of Du2 in one of his last articles. Yoshida Yutaka (2016, 2017, 2019) published three articles in Chinese, Japanese, and English, and illuminated several points in these two letters. His most important discovery is that *dihgān* in Du2, which we translated literally as "the landlord," actually refers to the king of Khotan, Viśa' Vāham.

So, many years after that chilly morning in 2004, the time is ripe to publish updated editions of Du1&2, with translation, commentary,

and a comprehensive glossary. Before embarking on that, I would like to briefly discuss the significance of these two letters for the study of the birth of New Persian, the history of Inner Asia in the late eighth century, and the activities of the Jews in the East.

The language of Du1&2 is clearly New Persian, since it does not have the ergative alignment, a characteristic feature of Middle Persian, but it still retains other elements of Middle Persian, as well as those of Sogdian, Hebrew/Aramaic, Arabic, and Chinese, including:

Elements of Various Languages in Du1 and Du2

Elements of Middle Persian:

1) Subjunctive:

'mdh b'd *āmada bād* "to come" past subj. 3s.

kr'm *xarām* "to buy" subj. 1s.

qwn'd *kunād* "to do" subj. 3s.

rs'd *rasād* "to reach" subj. 3s.

2) Use of *ezāfe* as a relative pronoun

3) Lexicon

by *bē* "towards"; "but"; preverb.

qrbqr *kirbakar* "beneficent."

bysp'n *bayaspān* "messenger."

qw *kū* "that," dependent clause introducer.

zy'n *wmnd zyān-ōmand* "harmful."

II. Elements of Sogdian:

1) The ordinal suffix -my -*mī*.

dh my *dahmī* "tenth" Sogd. *δsm'yk*.

pnc my *panjmī* "fifth" Sogd. *pncmyk*.

šš my *šašmī* "sixth" Sogd. *wxšmy{k}*.

2) Loanwords

'ndryq *andarik* "eunuch" Sogd. *'ntryk*.

cmkwy *čamxuy*, "harp" (or similar stringed instrument) Sogd. *cmxwy*.

gwlyq *γulīk* "vessel, pitcher" Sogd. *γwδ'k*.

ptqw *patku* "string, 1,000 coins" Sogd. *ptkwk*.

3) Personal names

bgydy *Bagidi* lit. "female slave of God" Sogd. *βγγδ'y*.

kwdynq *Xudēnak* lit. "little queen,"
diminutive of Sogd. *γwt'ynh* "queen."
šw'prdr *Šawāfradar* lit. "going better" from
Sogd. *šw-* "to go" and Sogd. *prtr* "better."

4) Title

kwdh rb *khudā rab* "lord, master," probably
a calque of Sogdian *βγw xwβw* "the lord,
sovereign."

5) Epistolary formula

wmrdmq'n 'y k'nh p' nyrw zydyd kwdh t
ymrwz *u-mardamakān ī xāna pa nērō*
īzid xudā tā imrōz "By the power of the
Lord God, children of the house (are good)
till today." Compare GXW 0114.6: *ms*
m'xw pr βγγ z'wr kw nwr myδ prm 'z-c't
's(kw)ym "We too, by God's help (lit.
power), are well up to the present day (=
today)." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015:
262.

6) In Du2.11, the author of the letter
reported that the ruler of Khotan called
the Jewish merchant "Sogdian." From the
perspective of the Khotanese, however,
these Persian-speaking Jews coming from
Sogdiana were perfectly Sogdian. For more
on this, see commentary on Du2.11.

Elements of Hebrew and/or Aramaic:

1) The Hebrew script

The orthography of Du1 and Du2 agree with
each other and Tang-i Azao, but differs
from later JP texts. See Lazard 1968: 83,
Zhang and Shi 2009: 76, and Paul 2013:
29–41.

2) Loanwords

šlm' *šalamā* "greeting," from Aramaic ~.
mmzyr *mamzēr* "bastard, illegitimate
child," from Heb. *mamzer*.

3) Title

rby *rabī* "Rabbi."

4) Personal names:

dwyd *Dawīd* "David."

yqh *Ičhak* "Itzhak."

mwsq *Mōšak* diminutive of *Mōše* "Moses."

Elements of Arabic:

1) Loanwords

gw'l'm *γulām* "slave" Ar. ~.

hrb *harb* "battle," Ar. *ḥarb* or *harab*
"escape," Ar. ~.

kwz'm *xuzām* "defeats," Ar. *hazā'im*, plural
of *hazīmat*.

kzym *xazīm* "defeat," Ar. *hazīmat*.

rqybyn *rakībain* "stirrups," dual form with
imāla from Ar. *rikāb*.

sl'm *salām* "peace," Ar. ~.

tyb *tīb* "perfume." Ar. *tīb*.

2) Personal names

'bw shq *Abū Sahak*.

hqym *Hakīm* Ar. *Ḥakīm*.

hrwn *Harūn* Ar. *Hārūn*.

3) the opening formula

pnn'm zydyd kwdh yqrbqr *pannām īzid xudā*
ī-kirbakar "In the name of God, the Lord,
the benevolent." This is an imitation of
the *Basmala*. See commentary on Du2.1.

Elements of Chinese:

1) loanwords from Chinese

šg *šag* a unit of volume, from Chin. *shí* LMC
šhiajk 石.

šmsy *šamsī* probably "shirt," from Chin.
shān zi LMC *šam tsz* 衫子.

2) titles in Chinese

qynq'k *kinkāx* "runner, messenger," from
Chin. *jīn jiǎo* LMC *kin kiak* 筋脚.

pnkw'n *panxwān*, "Administrative
Assistant," from Chin. *pàn guān* LMC
p'uan kuan 判官.

(py)nb'šy *pēnbāšī* "Commissioner of
Soldiers and Horses," from Chin. *bīng mǎ*
shǐ LMC *piayη ma šṛ* 兵馬使.

pwšy *fūšī* "the Vice Commissioner," from
Chin. *fùshǐ* LMC *fjyw/fuw* *šṛ* 副使. For
more on this title, see commentary on
Du2.31.

3) "The Chinese scent" in Du2.15 may refer
to the musk. See commentary on Du2.15.

All of the above vividly reflect the multi-linguistic/cultural background of the author of Du1 & 2. Due to its archaic features, the language he spoke, in which the percentage of loanwords from Arabic is significantly lower than that in classical New Persian, can be characterized as a kind of New Persian before the birth of New Persian, or “embryonic” New Persian. This is more in favor of the view that New Persian was the result of a creolization process, a product of the socio-political environment of multi-ethnic Central Asia in the first several centuries of the Islamic Conquest (Utas 2013: 89).

Transmitted historical sources in Chinese, such as *Xin Tangshu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, and *Zizhi Tongjian*, do not contain much information on the history of the Tarim Basin in the second half of the eighth and the ninth centuries because the Tibetans cut off communication between hinterland China and the Tarim Basin shortly after the An Lushan Rebellion broke out in late 755 C.E. Drawing on the large amount of documents discovered from Khotan, Turfan, and Dunhuang, among others, scholars have illuminated much of this shrouded period of history. For a brief survey of the history of Khotan during this period, see Zhang 2016c: 66–86. Khotan was still under Chinese control until 789, when the pilgrim Wukong traveled through the Tarim Basin on his way from India back to China. By 796, Khotan was already under Tibetan control because the Tibetan ruler Khri srong lde btsan, whose reign ended in 796, was able to collect taxes from Khotan (Yoshida 2009: 354). The defeat of the Tibetans in Kashgar recorded in Du2, which is tentatively dated to around 791, must have reflected the initial set-

backs that the Tibetan forces suffered as they attempted to wrest control of the Tarim Basin from the Chinese forces. It is interesting to note how the Jewish merchants tried their best to use their financial leverage to influence the course of political and military affairs of the region.

The discovery of JP materials from such an early date in Khotan is unexpected, if not surprising, at first glance. If we enlarge the scope of our investigation, however, it turns out to be less so. Three short JP inscriptions at Tang-i Azao in western Afghanistan date from 752/753 (Henning 1957). An undated inscription in Hebrew letters has been found in the valley of the Upper Indus (Jettmar 1987). A one-page amulet in Hebrew from Dunhuang dates from the ninth century (Wu 1996). The Quilon Copper Plates from south India, which contain a witness clause in JP, also date from the ninth century, showing that the Iranian Jews were using the maritime route (Cereti 2009). In the late ninth century, Jews were already present in South China, as it is recorded in Arabic sources that the rebel forces led by Huang Chao massacred a large number of Jews and Arabs in Guangzhou (Ferrand 1922: 76). Last but not least, the Jews who settled in Kaifeng in the 11th century were also Persian-speaking, as witnessed by the JP titles and colophons of their Haggadah (Wong and Yasharpour 2011). Du1 & 2 represent but a missing link in the spreading of the Jewish network in the East.

This short article could not and is not meant to exhaust all aspects of these two precious letters. My main purpose is to make them accessible and to invite others to study them further.

Du1 (fig. 1)

Provenance: Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan, China
 Date: around 791 C.E.
 Catalogue number: Or.8212/166
 Location: The British Library
 Size: 10–20 × 40 cm, recto 38 lines, verso blank
 Previous editions: Margoliouth 1903, Utas 1968

Transliteration

- 1 yzyd kwdh 'y y'r b'šd zwd rwz 'g
- 2dh wbyst n'mh byš qrdwm by š[m']
- 3 ngr qw c'mq 'y \mn/ p' cy rsd wp' dzt
- 4 ' sy rsd yš by prmy d'dn 'ny mr' b[y prmy d'dn]



Fig. 1. DU1 (Or. 8212/166).

- 5 ybryn kry t' mn 'br kstwmy prwd šwdwmy w
- 6 n 'y kwš twr' yzyd kwdh pdyš mwzd 'y [n]yyq
- 7 d dwr by wpt'd t' nwh my mh wt' dh m[y mh]
- 8 [gw]spnd by bwd wswstr krnd wyzyd kwdh kwkw
- 9 (q)wn'd cy qs 'z yš'n ??wd n' bwd cwn yš'(n)
- 10 ny cmh 'y prwkth bwd'(s)[?] (hmg)yn p' rwy ym' 'b(z)[wd]
- 11 [p]rwkth bwd qs n' bwr sd mrdwm'n 'y šhr pd
- 12 ('n syh ptqw 'y kr'm wcyz bd n' pydh hst y
- 13 cwn 'ny mn p' tw wmrđ d'rwm yqy q'(r)
- 14 swd wzy'n 'y mn by šn'ktn w-š šbyly y
- 15 [hm](g)y(n) gwspnd 'z swy 'y mnr' krydn t'
- 16 'ydwn gwpty qw rby syh
- 17 [']mdn wskt zy'n wmdn hs[t]
- 18 ' wr' 'z swy 'y mn yz typ
- 19 qw kwd krydy wkwd prwkty wkwd rn
- 20 'gr mnr' swd bkt b'ysty bwdn mn
- 21 by tw 'z šmr {ytw} 'y kwš cyz 'ndwh m' p(r)[my kwrđn]
- 22 [p](r)ystydy wny 'ydr bwd wswd 'y gwspnd ydwn drws(t)
- 23 [by] \tw/ rsd cwn yzyd kw'hd wtn yšm' nz(dy)q sb'b(d)
- 24 y r' sb'bd ydwn qwptyd qw mr' cmkwy yqy
- 25 cmkwy 'ry mn qnyzq r' 'mwzwm wend cwst
- 26 ' bh byndwm n' bynd'dwm by 'z nwrđq yqy (c)[mkwy]
- 27 [sb']bd dhwm t' bgydy r' b[y] 'mwzd 'ndryq 'y sy['h]
- 28 š qw n'mh yšm' yptwm by yqy byh 'z 'n gwptyd '[gr]
- 29 y q'r 'y prmwdy 'š skt qwnwm t' qr dh bwd
- 30 hwšwm cyz 'ndwh m' kwr cy hwšwm r' kwsth b(y)
- 31 'z sw(y) 'y ?gwšt rwbhh pwsydwym ydwn qwpty
- 32 p' prw'n wkwd 'z 'n swy kw'st'ry prmy qr dn
- 33 (w)'[nd]r n'mh yšm' prystydy qw p' sd wpn(c)
- 34 bwndh 'y 'n pšyz 'y gwspnd yn 'y š(m)[']
- 35 ['z] (š)hr by rwn n'mdh hy 'z swy '[y]
- 36 (s)mwr 'z zyn wrqybyn wdw'l
- 37 'z hr cy hyz 'y bryn 'z
- 38 kr

Transcription

- 1 *īzid xudā ē yār bāšad. zūd rōz ag*
- 2 *dah u-bīst nāma bēš kardum bē š[mā.]*
- 3 *nigar kū: jāmak ī man pa čē rasad? u-pa dazt*
- 4 *ā sē rasad-iš bē framāy dādan. ān-ī marā b[ē framāy dādan]*
- 5 *ī-barēn xarē, tā man abar xāstumē, frōd šudumē*
- 6 *n ī xwaš torā īzid xudā pad-iš muzd ī nēk*
- 7 *dūr bē oštād, tā noh mī māh u-tā dah m[ī māh]*
- 8 *[gō]sfand bē buwad. u-sustar xarand. u-īzid xudā xuxu(.*
- 9 *kunād. čē kas az ēšān . . . na buwad? čūn ēšān*
- 10 *ni jama ī frōxta būd-a(st). hamagīn pa rōy ī-mā ab(z)[ūd.]*
- 11 *[frōxta būd. kas na būd. sad mardōmān ī šahr pad*
- 12 *(ā)n sīh patkū ī xarām. u-čīz bad na paydā hast. y*
- 13 *čūn ān-ī man pa tō u-mard dārum, yakē kār*
- 14 *sūd u-zyān ī man bē šnāxtan. u-š Šabilī*

- 15 [hama][gīn] gōsfand az sōy ī man-rā xarīdan, tā
 16 ēdōn guftē kū: “rabī sīh
 17 [ā]madan. u-saxt zyān-ōmand has[t.]
 18 ā ō-rā az sōy ī man iz tīp
 19 kū xwad xarīdē, u-xwad frōxtē, u-xwad ran
 20 agar man-rā sūd baxt bāyistē būdan, man
 21 bē tō az šmar ī xwaš čiz andōh ma f[armāy xwardan.]
 22 frēstīdē. u-nē ēdar buwad. u-sūd ī gōsfand ēdōn drus[t]
 23 [bē] tō rasad, čūn īzid xwāhad. u-tan išmā nazdik spābad
 24 rā spābad ēdōn guftēd kū: “marā čamxuy yakē
 25 čamxuy ārē, man kanīzak rā amōzum. u-čand čust
 26 ābah bindum, na bindādum. bē az Nūrbak yakē (č)[amxuy]
 27 [spā]bad dahum, tā Bagidi rā bē amōzad. andarīk ī si[yāh]
 28 kū nāma išmā yaftum. bē yakē bih az ān guftēd. a[gar]
 29 kār ī framūdē aš saxt kunum, tā kar-da buwad.
 30 hōš-um čiz andōh ma xwar. čē hōš-um rā xwasta bē
 31 az sōy ī ?gušt rwbh h pursīdum. ēdōn guftē
 32 pa parwān. u-xwad az ān sōy xwāstārī framāy kar-dan.
 33 (andar) nāma išmā frēstīdē kū: “pa sad u-panj
 34 bunda ī ān pašiz ī gōsfand ēn ī šmā
 35 [az ša]hr bērōn nāmada hē. az sōy ī
 36 (s)amūr az zēn u-rikībain u-dawāl
 37 az har čēhiz ī barēn, az
 38 xar

Translation

- 1 May the Lord God be [our] helper. Soon the day
 2 I wrote more than twenty letters to you
 3 look! What will my clothes become? By the hand (?)
 4 Please give his three shares. [Please give] that of mine.
 5 You buy the upper . . . so that I would have arisen and gone down.
 6 of oneself, the Lord God [will give] you good reward for it.
 7 it has been delayed till the ninth month and till the tenth [month].
 8 it/he becomes . . . of the sheep. They buy more loosely. The Lord God
 9 He shall do Who among them is not . . .? Because they
 10 the clothes that have been sold, all increased in front of our face
 11 was sold. There was nobody. A hundred people of the city on
 12 (of) these thirty strings (of coins) which I shall buy. Nothing bad is found.
 13 because I have/hold that of mine upon you and the man, one work
 14 they understood my profit and loss. Šabilī . . . it.
 15 they bought all the sheep on my behalf so that. . .
 16 you said thus: “Rabbi, thirty
 17 They came. It is a heavy loss.
 18 him also for me
 19 that you bought by yourself, sold by yourself, and by yourself . . .
 20 if for me the profit shall have been the fate, I
 21 but, you, please don’t worry about (your) own account. . .
 22 you have sent . . . It is not here. The profit of sheep is so healthy (= high)
 23 It will reach you, when God wills (it). You (pl.) (are) physically close to the army
 commander

- 24 the commander said thus: “(give) me a harp
 25 . . . (if) you bring a harp, I will teach the slave-girl, and several (pieces) quickly
 26 I am looking for (a harp), but have not found (it). But from Nūrbak, (I received) a (harp)
 27 I will give the army commander (the harp) so that he may teach Bagidi. The (black)
 eunuch
 28 that I received your letter, but you said (there is) one better than that.
 29 I am working hard on the matter that you ordered, till it is done.
 30 Don’t worry at all for my mind. Whatever intention for my mind
 31 I asked on behalf of *ʔgwšt Rwbhh*, You said thus:
 32 to Parwān. Please make a request yourself on behalf of that.
 33 in the letter that you sent that: “on 105
 34 the *bundah* of that money of the sheep, this of **yours**
 35 you have not come out of the (city). On behalf of
 36 sable from saddle, stirrups, and straps
 37 from anything above, from
 38 ??

Commentary

- Line 1: As Yoshida (2019: 386) points out, this is not the opening of the letter, since it does not contain the opening formula attested in Du2. On the other hand, in my opinion, Du1 is not a direct continuation of Du2 either. By the way, neither Du1 nor Du2 reaches the end of the letter, since no margin is left at the bottom of the letters, and the closing formula is also missing. In other words, Du1 is at least three pages long.
- Line 2: “I wrote more than twenty letters to you.” Du2 lines 29–30 read: “I sent thirty letters to you.” It seems that Du1 was written before Du2 and was among the thirty letters mentioned in Du2.
- Line 9: Utas’ reading of the lacuna (*far*)*sū(d)* “worn, decayed” is not supported by the manuscript (1968: 128, 129).
- Line 14: For the *shin* in *u-š*, Utas (1968: 128, 129) reads it as *teth* and interprets it as the numeral 9. I think this is just a deficient *shin* because Hebrew numerals and *teth* are not attested elsewhere in Du1/2, and a numeral does not fit the context here either.
- Line 15: Here, the sender talks about trading sheep, a topic that also appears in Du2 lines 20–24. Since sheep cannot travel very far, it seems that the author and the recipient of the letters were engaged in local trade.
- Line 16: The sender quotes the words of the recipient: “Rabbi, thirty” In other words, the recipient addresses the sender as “Rabbi.” This is in line with Du2 line 4, in which the sender identifies himself as “Rabbi.”
- Line 19: Utas (1968: 128, 129) restores the last word as *ran[jīdē]* “to strive,” past 2s.
- Lines 23–27: It seems that the army commander was an acquaintance of the sender’s, and agreed to teach a girl/maid named Bagidi to play the harp. The sender, however, did not have a harp. Fortunately, Nurbak brought him a harp. He would then give the harp to the army commander so that the latter could teach the girl. Yoshida (2019: 389–90) links the teaching of playing the harp with the trade of skilled female slaves along the Silk Road, which is reflected in Chinese documents from Turfan. The scenario he proposes is plausible, but I would not expect an army commander to be a harp teacher of slave girls. Perhaps *sp’bd* is a personal name, not a title.
- Line 25: This line is still within the quotation of the army commander’s words.
- Line 32: Parwan is present-day Aqsu, about 550 km north of Khotan, right across the Taklamakan Desert. This place was well within reach of the travelers from Khotan. The sender of a Sogdian letter discovered in Khotan says that “I went to Parwan . . . I sent the letter from Parwan” (no. 5, lines 17–18, Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 266).

Du2 (fig. 2)

Provenance: Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan, China

Date: around 791 C.E.

Catalogue number: BH1-19

Location: National Library of China

Size: 28 × 40 cm, recto 38 lines, verso blank

Previous editions: Zhang and Shi 2009 (in Chinese), Zhang 2016b (English translation only)

Transliteration

1 pnn'm yzyd kwdh yqrbqr sd hzr šlm' by kwdh rb nysy cyl'g by 'zrmy
 2 'bw shq by gr'my br'dr šw'prdr by ychq wby mwšq wby hrwn by
 3 k'šq by kwhrq kwdynq by hmgyn mrdwm'n yš m' bzwrg wqwdq 'z mn
 4 rbyy drwd wdrwsty 'ghy yš mr' nbyswm qw mn whqym wpyrw wmmzyr šbly
 5 drwst wnyyqwm wmrmdm'n 'y k'nh p' nyrw yzyd kwdh t' ymrwz ps 'z yn
 6 'ghnwm by br'd šw'prdr qw \nwrbq/ 'ndr kwtn 'md wn'mh yš m' 'wrd wyptw\m/
 7 wbr kwndwm 'ny nbyšt bwdy hmgyn qw yš m' p' tn 'y kwš drwst wnyyq
 8 hyd m' 'z dwr skt š'd b' šym wsb's d'ry qwnym 'pyš yzyd kwdh
 9 wps tw 'gh \b'š/ qw m' gwspnd 'yptwm 'z dyhg'n skt 'zdyhh hdyh 'y
 10 prmwdy bwdym yš r'st cwn tyb 'ndr bwrwmm hmndr zm'n tyb p'n
 11 by qr dyd wmr cyk'šy r' prmwd qw zwd gwspnd yn swgdy by dyh
 12 wcykšy w'n bd pywstn by dyhg'n kyšm qrypt wcyz skwn 'y bd mrdwm
 13 n' grypt chr mrnd d'd šbly whqym wdw gw'l'm rptn p' qwh
 14 šš my mh p' dh sgd dyhg'n r' yqy gwlyq wyq qpyz qbr wpnc šg
 15 dwgbyk wyq šg dmyr wyq styr bwy 'y cyny h(dy)h 'z mr syky r' yqy
 16 prny'n wyqy šmsy hydyh cy nyyq qrdyd syky (cy)k'šy 'y dwktr 'y dyhg'n \ r/
 17 ???ryq qr'q n'm hst yqy prny'n wdw gnd wdw lymcw hdyh yq pnkw'n
 18 'y br gwspnd myhtr' yqy lyqyn wyqy gnd yqy lymcw hdyh dw mrnd
 19 r' qw sr šmr 'y gwspnd myhtr bwdn yq yq lyqyn wyq yq gnd wd lymcw
 20 hdyh šb'n'n r' bgdw wgdw wlymcw hdyh wšdn p' qw\h/ by nwz gwspnd
 21 by dyst m' n' rsyd wpyryptn qw gwspnd skt nyyq dyhym wp' n'mh
 22 nbyšt bwdy qw nyz pšyz kwstn p' gwspnd wn' d'dwm wn' nyyq qr dy
 23 'g(r) yn n'mh by šm' rs'd wd\w/ktr 'y dy\h/g'n by rwn n'mdh b'd
 24 [hr][c]nd pšyz kw'(h)[d][p]' gwspnd 'š by prmy d'dn wb' wy byrwn 'yy
 25 [mr' t]w cyšm wrwšny'y hm yn dwktr hst dyhg'n r' wskt sb's qwn
 26 ['g]r sb's 'y wr' qwny cyz gwm n' bwd mn skt bysy'r n'mh prystw\m/
 27 [by] šm' ps n' d'nwm qw by šm' n' rsd (p)[' pn](c) my m' p' hzd h sgd
 28 šbly 'ndr 'md p' byst wpnc sgd dw qynq'k dyhg'n nzdyq 'y
 29 dwktr prystyd mn p' dyst 'y hm 'n qynq'k syh n'mh prystydwm
 30 by šm' hr cy 'ghy 'y šhr wny q'šgr bwd hmgyn nbyšt bwdwm 'ghy 'y
 31 (q)'šgr yn hst qw twpyty'n r' p'q by qwštn wbgdw bstn wsb'pwšy šwd
 32 [p'] q'šgr 'b' p' sd mrnd cy sw'r wcy py'dh wsbs 'y sb'pwšy {hb}
 33 [py]nb'šy hrb r' wsl'm wkzym r' bysp'n prystyd wmn hrb r' cyz
 34 d'dwm p' m'yh 'y sd ptqw pšyz wndrz qr dydwm 'z swy 'y dwyd r'
 35 psr 'y nysy wkhr z'dh yš m' r' hm hrb r' wsl'm wkzw'm r' qw
 36 'gr 'mdh b'd p' q'šgr hr cnd kwzynh kw'hnd cyz b'z m'
 37 m' d' ryd by ydwn šnydwm qw hm dwyd whm
 38 kw'hr z'dh

פנאם ימי כונה ידעבדך סד הזר שלמא לזי כונה רב עמי צילאג בי ארמי
 אבו סחך בי גראמו בראר שואפרדר בי יצחק וזי גושק ובו חרנון בי
 באשך בו כוחדך כוויזן בי חמאן מרדומאן יש גאם באונג וקוידך אז גר
 לזני דרודו נדרוסאו אחתי יש גרא ציסום קן נאן נחזים ופניו נוגזיר שבל
 דרוסת וניקום נארוצקאן אי לאמא פא גרן יזע כונה תא ימרוז פס אז נ
 אמתום בו בראר שואפרדר קן אעדר כותן אמר נאמת יש גא אורדו ופת
 ער כוונים אמ נבוסת כווי חמאן קו יש גא פא תן אי כוש דרוסת ועיק
 חוד גא אז קור סכר שאר גא שום וסבאס דארי קוונים אפיש יאס כוודח
 פס תו אמר קן גא גוספא איתום אז דיתאן סכר אאזיחה חדיה אי
 פרמווי כוויים יש ראסת יצן תוב אער בורדום חמאן אמאן תיב פא
 בו קר דיני נגר ציכאשי רא פרמווי קו אור גוספא ין סנארי בי דינה
 נאיכשי טאן בר פוסתן בי דיתאן כושם דריפת יצן סכר אי בר מרדום
 נא גריפת יצתר מרע דאוי שבל נחזים ורו גולאם דפתן פא קוח
 שש מי נח פא דא סא דיתאן רא יקו גולין חק דפס דבר ופנע ש
 דמביד ויק שן דמביר ויק סתור בי אי יצנ הדיה אז מר סיכו רא יקו
 פרמאן ויקי שמוי חדייה יצן יציק דרודו סיכו צילאס או דוכתר אי דיתאן
 דנין דראן נאם חסת יקו פרמאן ורו גא ורו לומאן חדיה יק פוסאן
 אי בר גוספא מיתורא יקו ליקין ויקי גא יקו לומאן חדיה יק פוסאן
 לא קן סר שמוי אי גוספא מיתור צור יקו ליקין ויק יק גא וי לומאן
 חדיה סבאמאן רא גא וי לומאן חדיה ושרן פא קן בי נא גוספא
 בי דוסת גא נא רסיו (צווייפת) קן גוספא סכר יצן דוחים ופא אמאן
 נבישו כווי קונש פשו כוסתן פא גוספא ונא דאזום ונא יציק קר די
 אזי ין אמאן בי שמוי רסאן ודכר אי דיתאן בי רתן נאמרה באר
 יצן פשו כווי... א גוספא אש בו פרמו דאוי (נא ין בורדו אי
 י ציסום ודישניאי דתי ין דוכתר חסת דיתאן רא נכסת סבאס קן
 שמוי א ונא קנע יצן גום נא בור מן סכר ציסאר אמאן פרוסת
 שבל אמר אמר פא בוסת ופנע סא דו דיתאן דיתאן נאויק אי
 יצן שמוי חר יצן אחי אי שתר נא דאשגל בור דיתאן נאויק אי
 אמאן ין חסת קן תופתיאן רא פאק בי דוסת (נא דוסת) וסבאפוישי שוי
 דאשגל אבא פא סר מרע יצן סמאר יצן פואוח וסבאס אי סבאפוישי שוי
 נאמאשי חרב רא וסליים וכאים רא בוספאן פרוסתו (נא חרב רא יצן
 פסר אי ציסי וכתר אמאן אי סד פתקן פשו ערד קר דוויים אז סני אי דוויק רא
 אור אמאן באר פא דאשגל חר יצן כוזמאן כוזמאן וכוואם רא קן
 גא דא יצן בי ורוי שמוי קו חסת וויי ונא כוזמאן אמאן יצן באר נא

Fig. 2. Du2 (BH1-19).

Transcription

1 *pannām izid xudā ī-kirbakkar. sad hazar šalamā bē xudā rab Nīsī Čilāg, bē āzarmī*
 2 *Abū Sahak, bē grāmī brādar Šawāfradar, bē Ičhak, u-bē Mōšak, u-bē Harūn, bē*
 3 *Xāšak, bē xwāharak Xudēnak, bē hamagīn mardōmān iš~mā buzurg u-kōdak, az man*
 4 *rabi. drōd u-drustī. āgahī iš~marā nibēsum kū: man u-hakīm u-payrō u-mamzēr Šablī*
 5 *drust u-nēk-um. u-mardamakān ī xāna pa nērō izid xudā tā imrōz. pas az ēn,*
 6 *āgahanum bē brād Šawāfradar kū: Nūrbak andar Xōtan āmad. u-nāma iš~mā āward, u-yaftum.*
 7 *u-bar xwandum ān-ī nibišt būdē. hamagīn kū iš~mā pa tan ī xwaš drust u-nēk*
 8 *hēd. mā az dūr saxt šād bāšim. u-spās-dārī kunēm apēš izid xudā.*
 9 *u-pas tō āgah bāš kū: mā gōsfand ayāftum az dihgān saxt āzadihā. hidya ī*
 10 *framūdē būdēm iš rāst. čūn tīb andar burdum. hamandar zamān tīb pān*
 11 *bi~kr dīd, u-mar Čikāšī rā framūd kū: “zūd gōsfand ēn sugdī bē dih!”*
 12 *u-Čikāšī u-ān bad paywastan. bē dihgān xišm grift. u-čiz saxwan ī bad mardum*
 13 *na grift. čahar marand dād. Šablī u-hakīm u-dō yulām raftan pa kūh*
 14 *šaš~mī māh pa dah sayd. dihgān rā: yakē yulik u-yak kafiz kabar u-panj šag*
 15 *dugbix u-yak šag dambir u-yak satēr bōy ī činī hidya. az mar sixī rā: yakē*
 16 *parnyān u-yakē šamsi hidya. čē nēk kardēd! sixī čikāšī ī duxtar ī dihgān rā,*
 17 *??rik krāk nām hast, yakē parnyān u-dō gand u-dō limčū hidya. yak panxwān*
 18 *ī bar gōsfand mihtarā: yakē likīn u-yakē gand yakē limčū hidya. dō marand*
 19 *rā, kū sar šmar ī gōsfand mihtar būdan, yak yak likīn u-yak yak gand u-dō limčū*
 20 *hidya. šubānān rā: bagdū u-gand u-limčū hidya. u-šudan pa kūh. bē nūz gōsfand*
 21 *bē dist mā na rasid. u-padiriftan kū: “gōsfand saxt nēk dihēm.” u-pa nāma*
 22 *nibišt būdē kū: “niz pašiz xwāstan pa gōsfand, u-na dādum.” u-na nēk kar~dē.*
 23 *agar ēn nāma bē šmā rasād, u-duxtar ī dihgān bē~rōn nāmada bād,*
 24 *[har] čand pašiz xwā[had](p)a gōsfand aš, bē framāy dādan. u-bā ōy bērōn āyē.*
 25 *[marā t]ō čišm u-rōšnī-ē. ham ēn duxtar hast dihgān rā. u-saxt spās kun.*
 26 *[aga]r spās ī ō-rā kunē, čiz gum na buwad. man saxt bisyār nāma frēstum*
 27 *[bē] šmā. pas na dānum kū bē šmā na rasad. (p)[a pan]j~mī mā pa haždah sayd,*
 28 *Šablī andar āmad. pa bist u-panj sayd, dō kinkāx dihgān nazdik ī*
 29 *duxtar frēstid. man pa dist ī ham ān kinkāx sih nāma frēstidum*
 30 *bē šmā. har čē āgahī ī šahr u-nē kāšgar būd hamagīn nibišt būdum. āgahī ī*
 31 *kāšgar ēn hast kū: tūpityān rā pāk bē kuštan u-bagdū bastan. u-spāfūšī šud*
 32 *[pa] kāšgar abā pa~sad marand či sawār u-či payāda. u-spas ī spāfūšī,*
 33 *[pē]nbāšī harb rā u-salām u-xazīm rā bayaspān frēstid. u-man harb rā čiz*
 34 *dādum pa māyah ī sad patku pašiz. w-andarz kar~dēd-um, az sōy ī Dawīd rā,*
 35 *pisar ī Nīsī u-xahar zāda iš~mā rā, ham harb rā u-salām u-xuzām rā, kū:*
 36 *“agar āmada bād pa kāšgar, har čand xuzinah xwāhand, čiz bāz ma*
 37 *ma dā~rēd.” bē ēdōn šnidum, kū ham Dawīd u-ham*
 38 *xwāhar zāda.*

Translation

¹In the name of God, the Lord, the benevolent. A hundred thousand greetings to the lord master Nisi Chilag, to the honorable ²Abu Sahak, to (my) dear brother Shawāfradar, to Issac, to Mushak, to Harun, to ³Khashak, to (my) little sister Khudenak, to all your people, old and young from me, ⁴Rabbi. Regards and greetings! I write to inform you that: I, Hakim, the attendant, and Shabilī, the illegitimate, ⁵are healthy and good. By the power of the Lord God, children of the house (are good) till today. After this, ⁶I inform (my) brother Shawāfradar that: Nūrbak came to Khotan. He brought your letter, and I received (it). ⁷I read what you had written. All of you are physically healthy and sound. ⁸We are, from afar, very happy. We give thanks before the Lord God. ⁹And then, be aware of the fact that: We obtained sheep

from the local ruler very generously. The gifts that ¹⁰we had ordered (are) correct. When I brought in the perfume, as soon as he saw the perfume on that ¹¹maiden, he ordered *Čikāšī* that: Quickly deliver the sheep of this Sogdian! ¹²*Čikašī* and he did not get along. But the ruler became angry. He did not ¹³accept any words of the bad people. He [the ruler] gave four *marand* (?). Shabilī, Hakim, and two slaves went to the mountain ¹⁴on the 10th (day) of the 6th month. The gift for the ruler: a vase, one *kafīz* of capers, five *šag* of ¹⁵*dugbīkh*, one *šag* of *dambīr*, one stater of the Chinese scent [= musk?]. The gift for *sīkhī*: one (bolt of) ¹⁶silk and one shirt. How well you have done! For *sīkhī čikāšī* of the ruler's daughter, whose name is ¹⁷ *rīk krāk*, the gift is one (bolt of) silk, two (units of) sugar and two (units of) *līmčū*. For the Executive Officer, ¹⁸who is in charge of the sheep, the gift is one *likīn* and one (unit of) sugar and one (unit of) *līmčū*. For the two *marand* (soldiers?) ¹⁹who are in charge of sheep-counting, the gift is one *likīn* for each and one (unit of) sugar for each and two (units of) *līmčū*. ^{20–21}For the shepherds, the gift is *bagdū* (= slave?), sugar and *līmčū*. They have gone to the mountain, but we have not yet obtained the sheep. They promised that: we will give the sheep very properly. In the letter ²²you had written: They still wanted money for the sheep, and I did not give. You did not do well. ²³If this letter shall reach you, and the ruler's daughter has not come out, ²⁴however much money she may ask for the sheep, please give it to her, and come out with her. ²⁵[For me,] you are the eye and the light. This daughter is just like that for the ruler. Thank her a lot. ²⁶If you thank her, nothing will be lost. I will send a great many letters ²⁷to you. But I do not know whether these (letters) shall reach you or not. On the 18th of the 5th month, ²⁸Shablī came in [to Khotan]. On the 25th, the ruler sent two runners to ²⁹(his) daughter. By the hands of these runners, I sent thirty letters ³⁰to you. I have written about all the cities except for Kashgar. The news of ³¹Kashgar is this: They captured and killed all the Tibetans. The Vice Commissioner of the Army went ³²to Kashgar with 500 *marand* (= soldiers?), some on horseback, some on foot. After the Vice Commissioner of the Army, ³³the Commissioner of Soldiers and Horses sent a messenger for the battle and for peace and victory. For the battle, ³⁴I donated a sum worth 100 strings of coins. You have given me advice for the sake of David, ³⁵Nisi's son and your nephew, also for the battle, for peace and victory: ³⁶"If it [the war] had come to Kashgar, however much they may want ³⁷do not hold back anything." I listened to it [= followed your advice] as well as that of David ³⁸and the nephew.

Commentary

- Line 1: "In the name of God, the Lord, the benevolent." This is clearly an imitation of the *Basmala* formula, which is also partially attested in Sogdian and Bactrian. It is not surprising to find that Mount Mugh 1.I., a letter in Sogdian sent by an Arab to the ruler of Panjikent, opens thus: *prn'm βγγ δ'mδn'k* "In the name of God, the Creator." See Yakubovich 2002: 234, 235. This formula may have also appeared in GXW 0434, a Sogdian manuscript recently discovered from Khotan: [*pr*] *βγγ n'm* "In the name of God." See Yoshida 2019: 391. Note that Bi and Sims-Williams (2010: 504–5) read differently. Two 10th-century Sogdian manuscripts from Dunhuang (DTS A = *Pelliot Chinois* 3134 *verso* and DTS D = *Pelliot Chinois* 2782 *recto*) contain the same formula. See Sims-Williams and Hamilton 2015: 28, 47. Document Y, a Bactrian document from 771 C.E., the latest dated one in the corpus of Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan, opens with the same formula: *πδο ναμο ιεζιδ* "In the name of God." See Sims-Williams 2000: 144–45. All of above must be influenced by the original Arabic formula, which is attested in 31 out of the 32 documents in the corpus of Arabic documents from Northern Afghanistan, which are dated between 755 and 777 (Khan 2007: 92–165).
- Line 1: *kwdh rb* "lord, master," is probably a calque of Sogdian *βγω xwβw* "the lord, sovereign," amply attested in Mount Mugh documents, used as an honorific address. See Livshits 2015: 176.
- Lines 1–3: Personal names and epithets of those from the recipients' side and the sender's side, together with the languages from which they come, are listed below. Note that a female addressee is included, showing that the community was not made up of all male members doing short-term business. They have brought with them women and children and may have established at least two settlements in the Khotan area, doing local short-distance trade of sheep. For the trade of sheep, see Du1.15 and

Du2.20–24. The multilingualism of these names and epithets demonstrates the multi-cultural (Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sogdian) background of the community.

Name	Language	Epithet	Language
The recipients' side			
Nīsī Čilāg	?	lord master <i>xudā rab</i>	Persian
Abū Sahak	Arabic	honorable <i>āzarmī</i>	Persian
Šawāfradar	Sogdian	dear <i>grāmī</i>	Persian
Ičhak	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Mōšak	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Harūn	Arabic	n/a	n/a
Xāšak	?	n/a	n/a
Xudēnak (f.)	Sogdian	little sister <i>xwāharak</i>	Persian
The sender's side			
(the sender)	Hebrew	Rabbi <i>rabī</i>	Hebrew
Hakīm	Arabic	n/a	n/a
n/a	n/a	attendant <i>payrō</i>	Persian
Šablī	?	illegitimate <i>mamzēr</i>	Hebrew
David	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Bagidi	Sogdian	maiden <i>kanīzag</i>	Persian

Lines 3–4: “From me, Rabbi.” The sender identifies himself as a rabbi. In Du1.16, the sender also identifies himself as a rabbi, though in a somewhat indirect manner. This strongly suggests that the two letters were written by the same person.

Line 5: “By the power of the Lord God, children of the house (are good) till today.” A close parallel is found in line 6 of GXW 0114, a Sogdian letter from Khotan: *ms m'xw pr βγγ z'wr kw nwr myδ prm 'z-c't 's(kw)ym* “We too, by God’s help (lit. power), are well up to the present day (= today).” The words in the brackets are mine. See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262. Du2 is clearly following the epistolary convention of Sogdian letters.

Line 6: “Nūrbak came to Khotan.” In Du1.26, Nūrbak probably brought a harp to the sender. In other words, not only is the name Nūrbak attested in both letters, the person who bears this name also travels as a messenger between the recipient and the sender in both letters.

Lines 10–11: *hmndr zm'n tyb p'n by qr dyd* “As soon as he saw the perfume on that maiden” This passage is troubling. Here, I take *tyb* as “perfume” and *by qr* as one word *bikr* “virgin, maiden.” The subject of the sentence is *dyhg'n*, the ruler of Khotan.

Line 11: “Quickly deliver the sheep of this Sogdian!” These are the words of *dihgān*, presumably in Khotanese originally, which would be something like *thyaū ttye sūlyā pasi haura*. As the numerous Sogdian elements in the letters show, these Persian-speaking Jews came from Sogdiana, and were perfectly Sogdian in the eyes of local Khotanese, regardless of the language they actually spoke. Based on this passage and the Sogdian ordinal suffix *-my* used in these letters, however, Yoshida (2019: 390–91) argues that the native language of the sender of the letters was Sogdian, and Persian was his secondary language. I would imagine, on the other hand, that our Jewish friends in Khotan

formed close-knit communities and shared the same native language. That they used the Hebrew script to write the letters shows that they were corresponding within the community, and there was no need to use a secondary language. If Sogdian had been indeed their first language, they would have written in Judaeo-Sogdian. These people were Persian-speaking Jews from Sogdiana. In other words, they were culturally Jewish, linguistically Persian, and geographically Sogdian at the same time. Lines 14–20: These lines contain six sets of gifts to six different parties, probably in descending hierarchy.

Recipient	Quantity	Unit	Item
	1	n/a	vase (Sog.)
	1	<i>kafīz</i>	capers
<i>Dihgān</i> ruler of Khotan	5	<i>šag</i>	<i>dugbīx</i> ?
	1	<i>šag</i>	<i>dambīr</i> ?
	1	stater	Chinese scent (= musk?)
<i>Sīxī</i>	1	n/a	silk
	1	n/a	shirt (Chin.)
	1	n/a	silk
<i>Sīxī cīkāšī</i> of the ruler's daughter	2	n/a	sugar
	2	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
	1	n/a	<i>līkīn</i> ?
the Executive Official in charge of sheep	1	n/a	sugar
	1	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
	1 each	n/a	<i>līkīn</i> ?
two <i>marand</i> (soldiers?) in charge of sheep-counting	1 each	n/a	sugar
	2	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
	n/a	n/a	<i>bagdū</i> (slave?)
shepherds	n/a	n/a	sugar
	n/a	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?

Line 25: [*mr' t*]w cyšm wrwšny'y hm yn dwktr hst dyhg'n r' "[For me,] you are the eye and the light. This daughter is just like that for the ruler." I restored the beginning of the line a bit boldly. Concerning the daughter of the ruler, the following passage from *Xin Tangshu* v. 110 is of great interest:

安祿山反，勝使弟囉攝國事，身率兵五千赴難。國人固留勝，勝以少女為質而行。

"When An Lushan rebelled (in 755/756), Yuchi Sheng made his younger brother Yao (= Viśa Vāham, our *dihgān* here) in charge of the stately affairs (of Khotan), and led 5,000 soldiers himself to rescue the country out of the disaster. The people of the state insisted that Sheng stay. Sheng left his young daughter as hostage and departed."

The daughter of the ruler could be our *dihgān*'s niece, his elder brother Yuchi Sheng's daughter, who had been left as a hostage 35 years before.

Lines 27–30: On the 18th of the fifth month, Shabli came to Khotan, presumably bringing a message from the recipients to the sender. One week later, on the 25th, the sender sent 30 letters to the recipients via two runners of the ruler of Khotan, and wrote about “all the cities except for Kashgar.” Apparently, the sender was very eager to share information with the recipients. This reminds us of the Sogdian Ancient Letter No. 2 (Sims-Williams 2001), in which the sender shared political and financial information in China with his business partners in Samarkand. Du2 must have been written after the 10th of the sixth month, mentioned in line 14. Presumably, the incident in Kashgar happened after the 25th of the fifth month when he had sent the 30 letters.

Line 31: “They captured and killed (?) all the Tibetans.” The subject of the sentence should be the Chinese army stationed in Kashgar. Since Du1 was found in Dandan-Uiliq, Du2 in all likelihood should also be from Dandan-Uiliq, which was abandoned shortly after 791, probably a result of the political turmoil caused by the invasion of Tibetans. The incident at Kashgar reflects the initial attempt of the Tibetans to take control of the southern Tarim Basin in the late eighth century. Ten years later, in the early ninth century, the Uyghurs clashed with the Tibetans in Kashgar (Yoshida 2009).

Line 31: *sb'pwšy* “The Vice Commissioner of the Army.” This Vice Commissioner of the Army could not be the Vice Commissioner of the Military Command of the Four Garrisons (headed by) Anxi (= Kucha) 安西四镇节度副使, who was none other than the king of Khotan himself (Zhang and Rong 1997: 343), but the Vice Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守副使, subordinate to the Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守使, also known as the Great Commissioner of the Army of Khotan 于阗军大使 (Meng 2012: 123). By the same token, the Vice Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守副使 could also be called the Vice Commissioner of the Army of Khotan 于阗军副使, with the Vice Commissioner of the Army 军副使 corresponding to *sb'pwšy*. Another variant of this title, Vice Regulatory Commissioner of Khotan 于阗经略副使, is attested in three newly discovered Chinese documents from Khotan (Meng 2014: 4–5). Yoshida (2019: 387) proposes a different reading. He reads the first part *sbā* as a Chinese surname, from Chin. *sīmǎ* LMC *sźma* 司马. Someone bearing this surname is attested in a manuscript fragment in Chinese discovered in Khotan (Or.8212/1576, see Sha and Wood 2005, v.2: 227). In two cases in *Mahnāmag*, *'wlwgfwsy* (M1.94) and *l'fwšyy* (M1.95), the name and the title are written together as one word. If *sb'pwšy* is indeed such a combination of a Chinese surname and a title written together, I would expect a Chinese surname or just a name before (*pē*)*nbāšī* “the Commissioner of Soldiers and Horses” too, but there is none.

Lines 33–34: “I donated for the battle a sum worth 100 strings of coins.” One string equals one thousand coins. One hundred thousand coins is a good deal of money. The sender was trying very hard by using his financial leverage to intervene in the political and military affairs. An even greater amount of money, 1,000 strings or 1 million coins, is mentioned in GXW 0434, a Sogdian manuscript from Khotan. Yoshida (2019: 391) suggests that there may be some connection with these two manuscripts. He even muses about the possibility that a Jew composed the Sogdian manuscript. Unfortunately, GXW 0434 is just too fragmentary for any decisive conclusion to be drawn. It is conceivable, however, that the Sogdians in Khotan were also doing their best to maximize their interest.

Glossary

??ryq qr'q pn. Du2.17	think it is better to admit that the first letter is damaged and illegible. From the context, this is more likely a personal name. Du1.31
?gwšt ?guš-t unclear. Utas (1968: 168) reads (g)wšt <i>gōšt</i> “meat” and treats the trace before <i>gimēl</i> as a deleted letter. Paul (2013: 98, n. 1) reads 'gwš-t <i>āgōš-t</i> “your bosom.” The context is not clear enough to warrant this reading. I	'b' <i>abā</i> “with.” MP <i>abāg</i> NP <i>bā</i> . Du2.32
	'br <i>abar</i> “up.” MP ~ NP <i>bar</i> .

- Du1.5
'br kstn *bar xastan* "to rise, get up." MP *abar āxistan* NP *bar xāstan*.
'br kstwmy *abar xastumē* past irrealis 1s. See Paul 2013: 130.
Du1.5
'bw shq *Abū Šahak* pn.
Du2.2
'bzwdn *abzūdan* "to increase, grow." MP ~ NP *afzūdan*
'bzwd *abzūd* past 3s.
Du1.9
'gh *āgah* "aware, knowing." MP *āgāh* NP *āgah, āgāh*.
Du2.9
'ghn- *āgahan-* "to inform." MP *āgāhēn-*, NP *āgāhān-*.
'ghnwm *āgahanum* pres. 1s.
Du2.6
'ghy *āgāhī* "awareness, information." MP *āgāhīh* NP *āgāhī*.
Du2.4, 30*2
'gr *agar* "if." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.20, 28, Du2.23, [26], 36
'mwz- *āmōz-* "teach." MP *hammōz-* *hammōxtan* NP *āmōz-* *āmōxtan*.
'mwzd *āmōzad* pres. 3s.
Du1.27
'mwzwm *āmōzum* pres. 1s.
Du1.25
'n *ān* "that." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.28, 32, 34, Du2.12, 29
'ndr *andar* "inside." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.33, Du2.6, 10, 28
'ndryq *andarīk* "eunuch." Sogd. 'ntryk, see Utas 1968: 135.
Du1.27
'ndwh *andōh* "grief, worry." MP ~ NP ~ Sogd. 'ntwyc.
Du1.21, 30
'ndwh kwrđn *andōh xwardan* "to worry, lit. to eat anxiety." The same expression is found in two Sogdian letters, one from Khotan (GXW0114), the other from Dunhuang (Or.8212/86): "ycw 'ntwxch ZYL' prm'y xwrt "Please don't worry," 'ntwxc n' xwr', "Don't worry." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262, 266, and 267.
'ndwh m' p[rmy kwrđn] *andōh ma f[armāy xwardan]* impv 2s.
Du1.21
'ndwh m' kwr *andōh ma xwar* impv. 2s.
Du1.30
'ny *ān-ī = ān + ī* "that of."
Du1.4, 13, Du2.7
'pyš *apēš* "before." MP *pēš* NP *pēš*.
Du2.8
'(w)r-, 'wrđn *āwar-*, *āwardan* "to bring," MP ~ NP ~.
'ry *ārē* pres. 2s. with the shorter stem.
Du1.25
'wrđ *āward* past 3s.
Du2.6
'š -*aš* "his/her, to him/her," enclitic pronoun 3s., see Paul 2013: 98.
Du1.29, Du2.24
'y *ī ezāfe*. MP ~ NP *i*. It is usually written independently as such, but sometimes as /y-/ together with the following word, especially when followed by a pronoun. See *ym'*, *yšm'*, *yqrbqr*.
Du1.3, 6*2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31, 34*3, 35, 37, Du2.5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 16*2, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30*2, 32, 34*2, 35 relative pronoun.
Du1.10, 12, 29, Du2.9
'y *ē* hortative particle. MP *ē(w)/hēb*. See Lazard 1988: 208; Paul 2013: 115, 122.
Du1.1
'y -*ē* "you (sg.) are" enclitic copula 2s.
Du2.25
'ydr *ēdar* adv. "here," MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.22
'ydw n *ēdōn* adv. "thus, so," a variant of *ydw n*. MP ~ NP *ēdūn*.
Du1.16
'yptwm *yaftum* v., see *yptn*.
Du2.9
'y- 'mdn *āy- āmadan* "to come," MP ~ NP ~.
'yy present 2s., though impv. 2s. is expected.
Du2.24
'md *āmad* past 3s.
Du2.6, 28
'mdh b'd *āmada bād* past subj. 3s.
Du2.36
[']mdn *āmadan* past 3pl.
Du1.17
n'mdh b'd *nāmada bād* negative past subj. 3s.
Du2.23
n'mdh hy *nāmada hē* perfect. 2s.
Du1.35
'yptn *ayāftan* "to obtain." MP *ayāftan* NP *yāftan*.
'yptwm *ayāftum* past 1s.

- Du2.9
yptwm *yaftum* past 1s.
Du1.28, Du2.6
'z *az* prep. "from," MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.9, 15, 18, 21, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37*2,
Du2.3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 34
'zdyhh *āzādīhā* "generously," MP *āzād* NP *āzād*
"free, generous," with the MP adverbial end-
ing *-īhā*. See Paul 2013: 83.
Du2.9
'zrmy *āzarmī* "honored, respected." MP *āzarmīg*.
Du2.1
b' *bā* "with." MP *abāg* NP ~.
Du2.24
b'š- *bāš-* "to be." See Paul 2013: 139.
b'š *bāš* impv. 2s.
Du2.9
b'šd *bāšad* pres. 3s., used in conjunction with the
hortative particle 'y *ē*.
Du1.1
b' šym *bāšīm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.8
b'yst *bāyist* "it is necessary, should," MP *abāyist*
NP ~.
b'ysty *bāyistē* irrealist 3s., see Paul 2013: 130-31.
Du1.20
b'z *bāz* "back." MP *abāz* NP ~.
Du2.36
b'z d'r- *bāz dār-* "to withhold" MP *abāz dār-*.
b'z d'r m' m' d'ryd *bāz ma ma dārēd* impv. 2pl.
The repeated prohibitive particle is either a
dittography or an emphasis. It should not be
parsed as *bāz mā ma dārēd* "do not keep any-
thing from us," as Paul (2013: 143) did, since
such a reading does not fit the context.
Du2.36-37
bd *bad* "bad." MP *wad* NP ~.
Du1.12, Du2.12*2
bgdw *bagdu* meaning unclear. From the context,
it could mean "slave, captive."
Du2.20, 31
bgydy *Bagidi* pn. lit. "female slave of God," Sogd.
βγγδ'γ (M1.134). See Yoshida 2019: 389.
Du1.27
bkt *baxt* "fate, fortune." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.20
br *bar* "upon." MP *abar*, NP ~.
Du2.7, 18
br kwndn *bar xwandan* "to read." NP ~ "to
enumerate."
br kwndwm *bar xwandum* past 1s.
- Du2.7
br'd *brād* "brother." MP ~.
Du2.6
br'dr *brādar* "brother." MP ~ NP *barādar*.
Du2.2
bryn *barēn* "upper," see Paul 2013: 82.
Du1.5, 37
bstn *bastan* "to bind." MP ~ NP ~.
bstn *bastan* past 3pl.
Du2.31
bwdn *būdan buw-* "to be." MP ~ NP *būdan*.
bwd *būd* past 3s.
Du1.8, 11*2, Du2.30
bwd *buwad* pres. 3s.
Du1.9, 22, 29, 39, Du2.26
bwd'(st) *būdast* periphrastic perfect 3s., but the
reading is uncertain.
Du1.10
bwdn *būdan* inf.
Du1.20
bwdn *būdan* past 3pl.
Du2.19
bwndh *bunda* unclear, perhaps "servant." MP
bandag NP *banda* This may be only the lat-
ter part of a word. Utas (1968) read *(kw)ndh*.
Du1.34
bwr probably a mistake for bwd *būd*.
Du1.11
bwrnd *burdan* v. "to carry, take." MP ~ NP ~.
bwrndwm *burdum* past 1s.
Du2.10
bwy *bōy* "odor, scent." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.15
bwy 'y cyny *bōy ī čīnī* n. "Chinese scent," prob-
ably referring to musk. For more on the trade
of musk from Tibet to the Islamic world, see
King 2011 and 2017.
Du2.15
by¹ *bē* "to, towards." NP *bi*.
Du1.2, 30, Du2.1*2, 2*5, 3*2, 6, 11, 21, 23, 27,
30, 37
by² *bē* "but." MP ~.
Du1.21, 26, 28, Du2.12, 20
by³ *bē* preverb. MP ~. For a detailed discussion on
the function of this preverb, see Lazard 1963:
298–326; also see Paul 2013: 115, 120–21,
123–24, and 128–29.
Du1.4, 7, 8, 14, 27, Du2.11, 24, 31
With present stems:
by prmy d'dn *bē framāy dādan* impv 2s. "please
give!"

- Du1.4, Du2.24
by dyh *bē dih*, impv 2s. "give!"
Du2.11
by bwd *bē buwad* pres. 3s "(there) is/will be," see Lazard 1963: 317–18.
Du1.8
b(y) 'mwzd *bē amōzad* pres. 3s. "he will teach."
Du1.27
With past stems:
dwr by wpt'd *dūr bē oṯtād* past 3s. "to be delayed," with the old MP meaning "out, away," see Paul 2013: 129.
Du1.7
by šn'ktn *bē šnāxtan* past 3pl. "they understood."
Du1.14
by qwštn *bē kuštan* past 3pl. "they killed."
Du2.31
byh *bih* "better." MP *weh* NP ~.
Du1.28
by qr *bikr* "virgin, maiden."
Du2.11
bynd- bynd'dn *bind- bindādan* v. "to find." MP *wind- windādan*.
bynd'dwm *bindādum* past 1s.
Du1.26
byndwm *bindum* pres. 1s.
Du1.26
byrwn *bērōn* "outside." MP ~ NP *bērūn*.
Du1.35, Du2.23, 24
byrwn 'mdn *bērōn amadan* "to come outside," idiomatic "to make a deal (?)." The idiomatic usage of this phrase is conjectured from context.
Du2.23, 24
bysp'n *bayaspān* "messenger." MP ~.
Du2.33
byst *bīst* "twenty." MP *wīst* NP ~.
Du2.28, Du1.2
bysy'r *bisyār* "much." MP *wasyār* NP ~.
Du2.26
byš *bēš* "more." MP *wēš* NP ~.
Du1.2
bzwrg *b(u)zurg* "big." MP *wuzurg* NP ~.
Du2.3
c'mq *jāmak* "clothing, garment." MP *jāmag* NP *jāma*.
Du1.3
chr *čahar* "four." MP *čahār* NP *čahār*.
Du2.13
cmh *jama* "clothing, garment." MP *jāmag* NP *jāma*.
Du1.10
cmkwy *čamxuy*, "harp (or similar stringed instrument)." Sogd. *cmxwy*. See Utas 1968: 135.
Du1.24, 25
cnd *čand* "some, a few." MP ~ NP ~. Also see *hr cnd*.
Du1.25, Du2.36
cwn *čūn* "when, because." MP *čiyōn* NP ~.
Du1.9, 13, 23, Du2.10
cwst *čust* "quick," though this meaning does not fit the context well. NP ~.
Du1.25
cy *čē* "what," MP ~ NP *či*.
Du1.3, 9, 30, Du2.16, 30, 32*2
cy hyz *čēhiz* "everything." See Paul 2013: 105.
Du1.37
cyk'šy probably "prefect" *cīshī* 刺史 LMC *ts^hz ʃr* (Pulleyblank: 64, 283); MMP *cygšyy* Khot. *tsīšī*.
Du2.11, 16
cykšy a variant of *cyk'šy*.
Du2.12
cyny *čīnī* "Chinese." NP ~. Also see *bwy 'y cyny*.
Du2.15
cyl'g *Čilāg* pn. meaning unclear.
Du2.1
cyšm *čišm* "eye." MP *čašm* NP ~.
Du2.25
cyz *čiz* "thing, anything." NP ~.
Du1.12, 21, 30, Du2.12, 26, 33, 36
d'n- *dān-* "to know." MP ~ NP ~.
d'nwm *dānum* pres. 1s.
Du2.27
d'r- *dār-* "to hold, keep." MP ~ NP ~. Also see *b'z d'r*.
d'rwm *dārum* pres. 1s.
Du1.13
d' ryd *dārēd* impv. 2pl.
Du2.37
dh-/dyh- d'dn *dah-/dih- dādan* "to give." MP *dah- dādan* NP *dih- dādan*.
d'd *dād* past 3s.
Du2.13
d'dn *dādan* inf.
Du1.4, Du2.24
d'dwm *dādum* past 1s.
Du2.22, 34
dhwm *dahum* pres. 1s.
Du1.27
dyh *dih* impv. 2s.
Du2.11
dyhym *dihēm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.21
dh *dah* "ten." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.14
dh m[y] *dahmī* "tenth." Sogd. *δsm'yk*.

- Du1.7
dmyr *dambīr* an item on a list of gifts, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.15
drwd *drōd* "health, greeting." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.4
drwst *drust* "correct, healthy." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.22, Du2.5, 7
drwsty *drustī* "healthiness." MP *drustīh* NP ~.
Du2.4
dw *dō* "two." MP ~ NP *du*.
Du2.13, 17*2, 18, 28
dw'l *dawāl* "strap." NP ~.
Du1.36
dwgbyk *dūgbīx* an item on a list of gifts, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.15
dwktr *duxtar* "daughter, girl." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.16, 23, 25, 29
dwr *dūr* "far." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.7, Du2.8
dwyd *Dawīd* pn. "David."
Du2.34, 37
dydn *dīdan* "to see." MP ~ NP ~.
dyd *dīd* past 3s.
dyst *dist* "hand". MP *dast*. See Paul 2013: 62.
Bact. λιστο. This form is also attested in a JP letter from 11th-century Afghanistan (Heb. 8333.4=4.6). See Haim 2014: 104.
Du2.11
dyhg'n *dihgān* lit. "landlord." NP ~. Here, it most likely refers to Viśa' Vāhaṃ, the ruler of Khotan at that time, just as Dēwāštič, the ruler of Panjkent in the early eighth century, is referred to as *dihqān* in Ṭabarī. See Yoshida 2019: 392–94. For more on Viśa' Vāhaṃ, see Zhang 2017: 149–50.
Du2.9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 25, 28
dyst *dist* 'hand'. MP *dast* NP *dast*. See Paul 2013: 62. Bact. λιστο. This form is also attested in a JP letter from 11th-century Afghanistan (Heb. 8333.4–4.6). See Haim 2014: 104.
Du2.21, 29
dzt *dast* (?) "hand." For the neutralization of z/s before t or p, see Paul 2013: 51. The attestation of "dyst" twice in Du2, however, makes this solution less probable. On the other hand, the parallelism between p' dzt (Du1.3) and p' dyst (Du2.29) is in its favor.
Du1.3
gnd *gand* "sugar, candy." Yoshida (2017: 274) pointed out that this must be the Tashkent honey 石蜜 in Chinese sources.
Du2.17, 18, 19, 20
gr'my *grāmī* "respected, dear." MP *grāmīg* NP ~.
Du2.2
gryptn *griftan* "to take, receive." MP ~ NP *griftan*.
grypt *grift* past 3s.
Du2.13
grypt *grift* past 3s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du2.12
gw'l'm *γulām* "slave." NP ~, from Ar. ~.
Du2.13
gwlyq *γulīk* "vessel, pitcher." Sogd. γωδ'k γōδē NP *γolīn*. Sogdian δ regularly becomes l when borrowed into New Persian. See Henning 1939: 97. Khot. *gūthaka* (Or.11252/10v.1). See Yoshida 2006: 112. I imagine this pitcher would be similar to the elaborate ewers found in various places along the "Silk Road." For three examples, with images and description, see Whitfield 2019: 192–93.
Du2.14
gwm *gum* "lost." NP ~.
Du2.26
gwptn *guftan* "to say." MP ~ NP ~.
gwpty *guftē* past 2s.
Du1.16
gwptyd *guftēd* past 2pl.
Du1.28
qwpty *guftē* past 2s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du1.31
qwptyd *guftēd* past 2pl.(?) The expected form here seems to be *guft* past 3s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du1.24
gwspond *gōsfand* "sheep." MP *gōspand* NP ~.
Du1.8, 15, 22, 34, Du2.9, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24
h- *h-* "to be". MP ~. See Paul 2013: 138.
hst *hast* pres. 3s.
Du1.12, 17, Du2.17, 25, 31
hyd *hēd* pres. 2pl.
Du2.8
hdyh *hidya* "gift." NP ~.
Du2.9, 15, 17, 18, 20*2
hm *ham* "also, same." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.25, 29, 35, 37*2
hmgyn *hamagīn* "all." MP *hamāg* NP *hamagī*.
Du1.10, 15, Du2.3, 7, 30
hmndr zm'n *hamandar zamān* "as soon as."
Du2.10
hqym *Hakīm* pn., from Ar. *ḥakīm* "wise."
Du2.4, 13

- hr *har* "every." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du1.37, Du2.30
- hr cnd *har čand* "however much." NP ~.
 Du2.[24], 36
- hrb *harb* "battle," from Ar. *ḥarb* or *harab* "escape," from Ar. *harab*.
 Du2.33, 35
- hrwn *Harūn* pn. "Harun."
 Du2.2
- hwš *hōš* "consciousness, intelligence, mentality."
 MP *ōš* NP ~.
 Du1.30*2
- hwšwm *hōš-um* "my intelligence."
 Du1.30*2
- hydyh *hidya* "gift," a variant of *hdyh*.
 Du2.15, 16
- hyz see *cy hyz*.
 Du1.37
- hzdh *haždah* "eighteen." MP *haštdah* NP *hiždah*.
 Du2.27
- hzh *hazar* "thousand." MP *hazār* NP *hazār*
 Du2.1
- k'nh *xāna* "house." MP *xānag* NP ~.
 Du2.5
- k'šq *Xāšak* pn.
 Du2.3
- khr z'dh *xahar zāda* "nephew," a variant of *kw'hr z'dh*.
 Du2.35
- krydn kr- *xarīdan xar-* "to buy" MP *xrīdan xrīn-* NP ~.
 Du1.12
- kr'm *xarām* subj. 1s.
 Du1.12
- krnd *xarand* pres. 3s.
 Du1.8
- kry *xarē* pres. 2s., used as an imperative with a softened tone. See Paul 2013: 124.
 Du1.5
- krydn *xarīdan* past 3pl.
 Du1.15
- krydy *xarīdē* past 2pl.
 Du1.19
- kstwmy see 'br *kstn*
 Du1.5
- kw'hr *xwāhar* "sister." MP *xwahar* NP ~.
 Du2.38
- kw'hr z'dh *xwāhar zāda* "nephew." NP ~.
 Du2.38
- kw'st'ry *xwāstārī* "request." NP ~.
 Du1.32
- kwd *xwad* "self." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du1.19*3, 32
- kwdh *xudā* "lord." MP *xwadāy* NP ~.
 Du1.1, 6, 8, Du2.1*2, 5, 8
- kwdynq *Xudēnak* pn., lit. "little queen," diminutive of Sogd. *γwt'ynh* "queen."
 Du2.3
- kw'hrq *xwaharak* "little sister," diminutive of *kw'hr* "sister."
 Du2.3
- kwkw[. . .] unclear.
 Du1.8
- kwndn *xwandan* "to read." MP *xwandan xwān-* "to call" NP *xwāndan xwān-*.
 kwndwm *xwandum* past 1s.
 Du2.7
- kwrdn *xwardan xwar-* "to eat." MP ~ NP ~.
 kw'r *xwar* impv. 2s.
 Du1.30
- kwrdn *xwardan* inf.
 Du1.21
- kwsth *xwasta* "desire, intention." NP *xwāsta*.
 Du1.30
- kwstn kw'h- *xwastan xwāh-* v. "to want." MP *xwāstan xwāh-* NP *xwāstan xwāh-*.
 kw'(h)[d] *xwāhad* pres. 3s.
 Du1.23, Du2.24
- kw'hnd *xwāhand* pres. 3pl.
 Du2.36
- kwstn *xwastan* past 3pl.
 Du2.22
- kwš *xwaš* "self." MP *xwēš* NP *xwēš*.
 Du1.6, 21, Du2.7
- kwtn *Xōtan* "Khotan." By the way, Yoshida (2010: 6) found Sogd. 'xwδ'n, xwδn' "Khotan" in IOL Khot 158/5, a previously neglected Sogdian fragment from Khotan.
 Du2.6
- kwz'm *xuzām* "defeats," from Ar. *hazā'im*, plural of *hazīmat*. The alternation of x- and h- is also seen in *kwz'ym xuzīna* and *kzym xazīm*.
 Du2.35
- kwz'ym *xuzīna* "cost, expenditure." NP *hazīna* Paz. *xazīna*. See Lazard 1995: 136.
 Du2.36
- kyšm *xišm* "anger." MP *xēšm* NP ~.
 Du2.12
- kzym *xazīm* "defeat," from Ar. *hazīmat*. Also see *kwz'm*.
 Du2.33
- lymcw *līmčū* an item on the gift lists, exact meaning unclear.
 Du2.17, 18, 19, 20
- lyqyn *likīn* an item on the gift lists, exact meaning unclear.
 Du2.18, 19

- m' *mā* "we, us." MP *amā* NP ~.
Du2.8, 9, 21
- m' *mā* "month," a variant of *mh*.
Du2.27
- m' *ma* prohibitive particle. MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.21, 30, Du2.36, 37
- m'yh *māyah* "sum, capita." NP ~.
Du2.34
- mh *māh* "month." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.7, Du2.14
- mmzyr *mamzēr* "bastard, illegitimate child," from Heb. *mamzer*. Technically, this term refers to a person whose parents could not legally marry, a result of incest or adultery, for instance. It is used here as an epithet of Sablī, without any apparent pejorative connotations.
Du2.4
- mn *man* "I, me." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.3, 5, 13, 14, 18, 20, 25, Du2.3, 4, 26, 29, 33
- mnr' *manrā* = *man rā*.
Du1.15, 20
- mr . . . r' *mar . . . rā* = *rā*. See Lazard 1963: 382.
Du2.11, 15
- mr' *marā* = *man rā*
Du1.4, 24
- mrd *mard* "man." MP ~, NP ~. See Utas 1968: 133. Following Margoliouth, Paul (2013: 56) read *wmyd um(m)ēd* "hope."
Du1.13.
- mrdmq'n *mardamakān* "children," lit. "little people," diminutive of *mardōm* "people."
Du2.5
- mrdwm *mardōm* "people." MP ~ NP *mardum*.
Du2.12
- mrdwm'n *mardōmān* "people."
Du1.11, Du2.3
- mrnd *marand* meaning unclear. From the contexts, it could mean "soldier." Yoshida (2017: 280, n. 22) drew attention to its relationship with *γulām* "slave" and the famous *čakar* "slave/soldier" in Sogdiana.
Du2.13, 18, 32
- mwšq *Mōšak* pn., diminutive of *Mōše* "Moses."
Du2.2
- mwzd *muzd* "reward." MP *mizd* NP ~.
Du1.6
- my *-mī* ordinal suffix from Sogd. *-myk*. See *dh my, pnc my, šš my*.
Du2.14, 27
- myhtr *mihtar* lit. "elder, senior, chief," according to the contexts, "in charge of." MP ~ NP ~. For the MP short vowel *e*, see Paul 2013: 42.
Du2.18, 19
- myhtr' *mihtarā* = *mehtar rā*.
Du2.18
- n' *na* "not." MP *nē* NP *na*.
Du1.9, 11, 12, 26, Du2.13, 21, 22*2, 26, 27*2.
- n'm *nām* "name." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.1, 17
- n'mh *nāma* "letter." MP *nāmag* NP ~.
Du1.2, 28, 33, Du2.6, 21, 23, 26, 29
- n'mdh see *'mdn 'y-*.
Du2.23, 35
- nbysn nbys- *nibištan nibēs-* "to write." MP ~ NP ~.
nbyswm *nibēsum* pres. 1s.
Du2.4
- nbyšt bwdwm *nibišt būdum* pluperfect 1s.
Du2.30
- nbyšt bwdy *nibišt būdē* pluperfect 2s.
Du2.7, 22
- ngr *nigar-* "to look." MP *niger-* NP *nigar-*. For the MP short vowel *e*, see Paul 2013: 42.
ngr *nigar* impv 2s.
Du1.3
- nwh my *nohmī* "ninth," with the ordinal suffix *-my*, as opposed to MP/NP *nohom*.
Du1.7
- nwrbyq *Nūrbak* pn.
Du1.26, Du2.6
- nwz *nūz* "still, yet."
Du2.20
- ny *nē* "no, none," negation of a noun or a sentence, different from n' *na* "not," negation of the verb. See Lazard 1963: 440-41.
Du1.22, Du2.30.
- nyrw *nērō* "strength, power." MP *nērōg* NP ~.
Du2.5
- nysy *Nīsī* pn. This name is also attested four times in Heb. 8333.4-4, a JP letter from 11th-century Afghanistan. See Haim 2014: 104-5.
Du2.1, 35
- nyyq *nēk* "good, beautiful." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.6, Du2.5, 7, 16, 21, 22
- nyyqwm *nēk-um* = *nyyq + -wm*. "I am well."
Du2.5
- nyz *nīz* "still, yet." MP *anī-z* "other also" NP ~.
Du2.22
- nzdyq *nazdīk* "close, near." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.23, Du2.28
- p' *pa* "to, at, in, on," = pd *pad*. MP *pad* NP ~.
Du1.3*2, 10, 13, 32, 33, Du2.5, 7, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27*2, 28, 29, 32[*2], [32], 34, 36
- p'n *pān* = *pa ān*. "on that." It also appears in other JP texts. See Paul 2013:143.
Du2.10

- p'q *pāk* "clean." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.31
- pd *pad* "to, at, in, on," = p' MP ~ NP *pa*.
Du1.6, 11
- pdryptn *padiriftan* "to accept." MP ~ NP
padiruftan
- pdryptn *padiriftan* past 3pl.
Du2.21
- pdyš *pad-iš* "on it," = pd + -yš. It also appears in other JP texts. See Paul 2013:143.
Du1.6
- pnc *panj* "five." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.33, Du2.14, [27], 28
- [pn](c) my *panjmī* "fifth." Sogd. *pncmyk*.
Du2.27
- pnkw'n *panxwān* "Administrative Assistant (of the Military Commissioner)," a title from Chin. *pàn guān* LMC *p^huan kuan* 判官, lit. "decision-making official," see Hucker 1985: 363. This title also appears in Khotanese as *phānā kvānā* (Hedin 16 *passim*, for example, Bailey 1961: 30–31), in Tumshuqese as *phaṃ kwā nā* (HL 13.7, Ogihara and Ching 2017: 468), and in Manichean Middle Persian as *p'nxw'n* (M1.106–7, Yoshida 1994: 371). For more on Fu Weijin, an official bearing this title in the Chinese and Khotanese documents from Khotan, see Zhang 2018: 67. It is possible the *panguan* here also refers to Fu Weijin.
Du2.17
- pnn'm *pannām* "in the name (of)" = *pad nām*.
Du2.1
- prmw'dn prmy *framūdan framāy-* "to order, command." MP ~ NP *far-*.
- prmy *framāy* impv. 2s.
Du1.4, 32, Du2.24
- prmw'd *framūd* past. 3s.
Du2.11
- prmw'dy *framūdē* past 2s.
Du1.29
- prmw'dy bwdym *framūdē būdēm* pluperfect 1pl. The expected form is *prmw'd bwdym*. Paul (2013: 46) read it as *prmw'dy bwdy*.
Du2.10
- + inf., a polite way to make a request, modeled on the same construction in Sogdian, see Yoshida 2019: 390.
kw'st'ry prmy qr dn *xwāstārī framāy kardan* "please make a request."
Du1.32
- by prmy d'dn *bē framāy dādan* "please give."
- Du1.4, Du2.24
- prny'n *parnyān* "painted silk." NP ~.
Du2.16, 17
- prw'n *Parwān* present-day Aqsu, corresponding to Chin. *bō huàn* LMC *pua xhuan* 撥換, also attested as MMP *prw'nc* (M1.77, the adjectival form), Sogd. *prw'n* (Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 269). See Yoshida 2017: 284 and idem 2019: 386, n. 9.
Du1.32
- prwd *frōd* "down." MP ~ NP *furō(d)*.
Du1.5
- prwktn *frōxtan* "to sell." MP ~ NP *furōxtan*.
- prwkth bwd'st *frōxta būd ast* passive perfect 3s. The reading is uncertain.
Du1.10
- prwkth bwd *frōxta būd* passive 3s.
Du1.11
- prwkty *frōxtē* past 2s.
Du1.19
- prystydn pryst- *frēstīdan frēst* "to send." MP ~ NP *fristādan*.
- prystwm *frēstum* pres. 1s.
Du2.26
- prystyd *frēstīd* past 3s.
Du2.29, 33
- prystydwm *frēstīdum* past 1s.
Du2.29
- prystydy *frēstīdē* past 2s.
Du1.22, 33
- ps *pas* "then, afterwards." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.5, 9, 27
- psr *pisar* "son." MP *pusar* NP ~.
Du2.35
- pšyz *pašiz* "small coin, money," corresponding to Khot. *mūrā*, Sogd. *pny*, referring to the copper coins circulating in Khotan.
Du1.34, Du2.22, 24, 34
- ptqw *patku* "string, 1,000 coins," Sogd. *ptkwwk*, "a string (of coins) = 1,000 coins," from *pt-kwc-* "to thread, string together," translated from Chin. *guàn* 贯 "to run a thread through; a string of 1,000 coins." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2010: 505–6. Yoshida (2022: 70) argues more convincingly that Sogd. *ptkwc-* means "to fish," and Sogd. *ptkwwk* is a calque of *mīn* 緝 "a fishing-line."
Du1.12, Du2.34
- pwrsydn *pursīdan* "to ask." MP ~ NP ~.
pwrsydwm *pursīdum* past 1s.
Du1.31

- py'dh *payāda* "on foot, foot-soldier." MP *payādag*
NP *piyāda*.
Du2.32
- pydh *paydā* "found, revealed." MP *paydāg* NP ~.
Du1.12
- (py)nb'šy *pēnbāšī* "commissioner of soldiers and
horses," from Chin. *bīng mǎ shǐ* LMC *piayŋ*
ma šṛ 兵馬使. This title is also borrowed into
Khotanese as *peṃ'bašī*, attested in IOL Khot
Wood 3. See Yoshida 2019: 386-87.
Du2.33
- pyrw *payrō* "follower, disciple." NP ~.
Du2.4
- pywstn *paywastan* "to join, connect." MP ~ NP ~.
pywstn *paywastan* past 3pl.
Du2.12
- q'r *kār* "work." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.13, 29
- q'šgr *Kāšgar* "Kashgar." Khot. **kāša-* loc. s.
khyeša loc. pl. *khyešvā* MMP *k'šy* (adjecti-
val). For a somewhat lengthy discussion on
the etymology of this place name, see Bailey
1985: 50-54.
Du2.30, 31, 32, 36
- qbr *kabar* "caper," referring to the pickled flower
buds of *Capparis spinosa*, a plant native to
the Mediterranean, used as seasoning. This
must have been exotic in Khotan.
Du2.14
- qnyzq *kanīzak* "girl, maid." MP ~ NP *kanīz(ak)*.
Du1.25
- qpyz *kafīz* a unit of weight or volume, originally
from MP *kabīz*, later borrowed into Arabic
as *qafīz*, with great local variations. In the
10th century, for example, one *kafīz* was
equal to 56.23 kg in Nishapūr, and 3.2-6.4
kg in Fārs. See E. Ashtor and J. Burton-Page,
"Makāyil (a.)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,
Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bian-
quis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.
P. Heinrichs.
Du2.14
- qrbqr *kirbakkar* "beneficent." MP ~.
Du2.1
- qrđn qwn- *kardan kun-* "to do, make." MP ~ NP ~.
qrđwm *kardum* past 1s.
Du1.2
- qr dh bwd *karda buvad* passive present 3s.
Du1.29
- qr dn *kardan* inf.
Du1.32
- qr dy *kardē* past 2s.
Du2.22
- qrđyd *kardēd* past 2pl.
Du2.16
- qr dydwm *kardēd-um* past 2pl. plus 1s. enclitic
Du2.34
- qwn *kun* impv. 2s.
Du2.25
- qwn'd *kunād* subj. 3s.
Du1.9
- qwnwm *kunum* pres. 1s.
Du1.29
- qwny *kunē* pres. 2s.
Du2.26
- qwnym *kunēm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.8
- qrypt *grift* see "gryptn."
Du2.12
- qs *kas* "person, somebody." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.9, 11
- qw *kū* "that," dependent clause introducer. MP ~.
Du1.3, 16, 19, 24, 28, 33, Du2.4, 6, 7, 9, 11,
19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 31, 35, 37
- qwdq *kōdak* "young, small." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.3
- qwh *kōh* "mountain." MP *kōf* N ~.
Du2.13, 20
- qwpty see gwptn.
qwptyd see gwptn.
- qwštn *kuštan* "to kill," MP ~ NP ~.
qwštn *kuštan* past 3pl.
Du2.31
- qynq'k *kinkāx* "runner, messenger," from Chin.
jīn jiǎo LMC *kin kiak* 筋脚, attested in con-
temporary Chinese documents from Khotan,
see Bi 2015: 340.
Du2.28, 29
- r' *rā* "for," marker of direct object. MP *rāy* NP ~.
"for"
Du1.30, Du2.14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 33*3, 34,
35*3)
- marker of direct object
Du1.25, 27, Du2.11, 31
- unclear
Du1.24
- r'st *rāst* "true, correct." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.10
- rb *rab* "lord." NP ~.
Du2.1
- rby *rabī* "rabbi."
Du1.16

- rbyy *rabī* “rabbi.” We (Zhang and Shi 2009: 89) thought that the final -y is the indefinite article -ē, and translated it as “a Rabbi.” This may not be correct. The three dots on top of this word probably means deletion.
Du2.4
- rn[. . .] Utas (1968: 134) suggested two possible restorations: *ranjidē* “you (s.) strove” *rāndē* “you (s.) drove.”
Du1.19
- rptn *raftan* “to go, move.” MP ~ NP ~.
rptn *raftan* past 3pl.
Du2.13
- rqybyn *rakībain* “stirrups,” from Ar. *rikāb*, dual form with *imāla*, see Utas 1968: 136.
Du1.36
- rsd *rasad* “share, portion.” NP ~. The context does not allow a verbal form here. See Utas 1968: 132.
Du1.4
- rsydn, rs- *rasīdan ras-* “to arrive, reach.” MP ~ NP ~.
rs’d *rasād* subj. 3s.
Du2.23
- rsd *rasad* pres. 3s.
Du1.3, 23, Du2.27
- rsyd *rasīd* past 3s.
Du2.21
- rbwhh pn. or an epithet, perhaps *rōbāh* “fox” MP ~ NP ~. Paul’s (2013: 83) reading *kwbhh* is impossible.
Du1.31
- rwšny *rōšnī* “light, brightness.” MP *rōšnīh* NP *rōšanī*.
Du2.25
- rwy *rōy* “face.” MP ~, NP ~.
Du1.10
- rwz *rōz* “day.” MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.1
- sb’bd *spābad* “army commander.” MP *spāhbed* NP *sipāhbud*. Margoliouth (1903: 747–48) took this word as *Ispahbud*, the title of the prince of Tabaristan and dated the document to 718 C.E. Utas (1968: 34) correctly rejected this identification, but did not translate it. Paul’s (2013: 111) reading of it as a verbal form from *sabāb-* ‘to abuse’ or ‘to decorate’ does not fit the context. I think Margoliouth’s initial reading is correct, but it is not a specific title, but a general one. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du1.23, 24, 27
- sb’pwšy *sbāfūšī* “the Vice Commissioner of the Army.” This title consists of two parts. The first part is sb’ *sbā*, “army,” MP *spāh* NP *spāh*. The second part is pwšy *fūšī* “vice commissioner,” from Chin. *fūshǐ* LMC *fjyw/fuw* 副使, also attested in MMP *fwšy* (M1.70, 94, 94–95, 95, Müller 1912.8, 11) and Toch. B *hwuṣṣi* (Cp.37+36.82, Ching 2017: 69). For more on this word, see Commentary on Du2.31
Du2.31, 32
- sb’s *spās* “service, thanks.” MP ~ NP ~. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du2.8, 25, 26
- sb’s d’ry *spās-dārī* “gratitude.” MP *spās-dārīh* NP *sipās-dārī*.
Du2.8
- sbs *spas* “next, afterwards.” NP *sipas*. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du2.32
- sd *sad* “hundred.” MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.11, 33, Du2.1, 32, 34
- sgd *sayd* “passed,” part of the dating formula. OP *ṭakata-*, MMP *sxt*, Bact. σαχτο, Sogd. *sy-*, Khot. *skyätä-*. All of the cognates are part of the dating formula.
Du2.14, 27, 28
- shq *Sahak* pn.
Du2.2
- skt *saxt* “hard, very.” MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.17, 29, Du2.8, 9, 21, 25, 26.
- skwn *saxwan* “word, speech.” MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.12
- sl’m *salām* “peace.” NP ~, from Ar. ~.
Du2.33, 35
- smwr *samūr* “sable.” NP ~. Utas (1968: 135) mentioned this reading as a faint possibility but preferred (h)mwr *hamwār* “suitable.” Its plural form, however, *samāmīr* is attested twice in BH2-28, a newly discovered Arabic manuscript from Khotan, and corroborates the current reading. See Qian 2022: 153–54.
Du1.36
- sr *sar* “head,” MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.19
- sr šmr *sar šmar* “head count.”
Du2.19
- styr *stēr* “stater,” a unit of weight (8.6g, with local variations), from Gk. στατήρ, also in Khot. *satīra-*, Sogd. *st’yr-*, Uig. *sitīr*.
Du2.15
- sw’r *sawār* “horseman, rider.” MP *aswār* NP ~.

- Du2.32
swd *sūd* "profit." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.14, 20, 22
swgdy *sugdī* "Sogdian."
Du2.11
swstr *sustar* = *sust-tar* "looser, weaker." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.8
swy *sōy* "side, direction." MP *sōg* NP *sō(y)*.
Du1.15, 18, 31, 32, 35, Du2.34
sy *sē* "three." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.4
sy[h] *syāh* "black." MP *sya* NP ~.
Du1.27
syh *sīh* "thirty." MP ~ NP *sī*.
Du1.12, 16, Du2.29
syky *sīxī* title of an official, probably from Chinese.
Du2.15, 16
-š -š enclitic pronoun 3s. "his, her, its."
Du1.4, 14, Du2.10
š'd *šād* "happy, joyful." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.8
šb'n'n *š(u)bānān* "shepherd." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.20
šbly *Šablī* pn.
Du2.4, 13, 28
šbyly *Šabilī* pn., a variant of *Šablī*.
Du1.14
šdn *š(u)dan* see *šwdn*.
Du2.20
šg *šag* a unit of volume, from Chin. *shí* LMC *šhīajk* 石, also Sogd. *š'γ*, Bact. *σαγο*, Toch. B *cāk*, Uygh. *šīy*. See Sims-Williams 2007: 261.
Du2.14, 15
šhr *šahr* "city." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.11, 35, Du2.30
šlm' *šalamā* "greeting," from Aramaic ~, also attested in the opening formula of an 11th-century JP letter from Afghanistan. See Haim 2016: 109.
Du2.1
šm' *šmā* "you [pl]." MP *ašmā* NP *šumā*.
Du2.23, 27*2, 30
šmr *šmar* "counting, account." MP *ōšmurdan* *ōšmār*- 'to count' NP *šumār*.
Du1.21, Du2.19
šmsy *šamsī* "shirt," from Chin. *shān zi* LMC *šam tsz* 衫子, also Sogd. *š'mtsy*, Uig. *šamsī*. See Yoshida 2019: 388.
Du2.16
šn'ktn *šnāxtan* "to know, recognize." MP ~ NP *šināxtan*.
šn'ktn *šnāxtan* past 3pl.
Du1.14
šnydn *šnīdan* "to hear, understand." MP *ašnūdan* NP *šinīdan*.
šnydwm *šnīdum* past 1s.
Du2.37
šš my *šašmī* "sixth," with the ordinal suffix -my *mī*. Sogd. *wxšmy[k]*.
Du2.14
šw'prdr *Šawāfradar* pn., from Sogd. *šw-* "to go" and Sogd. *prtr* "better," "the one who goes better," similar to an attested Sogdian name **γtprtr*, "the better one who has come." See Lurje 2010: 67.
Du2.2, 6
šwdn *šudan* "to go." MP ~ NP ~.
šdn *š(u)dan* past 3pl.
Du2.20
šwd *šud* past 3s.
Du2.31
šwdwmy *šudum-ē* irrealis 1s.
Du1.5
t' *tā* "till, so that." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.5, 7, 15, 27, 29, Du2.5
tn *tan* "body." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.23, Du2.7
tw *tō* "you (s)." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.13, 21, 23, Du2.9
twpyty'n *tūpityān* "Tibetans." Sogd. *twpytstn* "Tibet." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262.
Du2.31
twr' *tōrā tō + rā*.
Du1.6
tyb *tīb* "perfume." NP ~, from Ar. *tīb*. This may refer to the "Chinese scent" (musk?) mentioned in Du2.15.
Du2.10*2
w- u- "and." MP ~ NP ~.
passim
w'n *w-ān* = *w-* + *ān*.
Du2.12
wd a mistake for *wdw u-dō* "and two."
Du2.19
-wm -um "my, me," enclitic 1s. pronoun.
Du1.30, Du2.34
-wm -um "am" enclitic 1s. copula.
Du2.5
wndrz *w-andarz* = *u + andarz* "advice." MP *handarz* NP ~.
Du2.34
wpt'dn *ōftādan* "to fall." MP ~ NP *uftādan*.
wpt'd *ōftād* past 3s.

- Du1.7.
 wr' *ō-rā* or *wa-rā* = *ōy* + *rā*. See Paul 2013: 95.
 Du1.18, Du2.26
 wš *w-š* = *w* + *-š* "and his."
 Du1.14
 wy *ōy* "he, she, that." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.24
 y'r *yār* "helper, friend." MP *ayār* NP ~.
 Du1.1
 ybryn *ī-barēn* The *ezāfe* is written together with the modifier. See *bryn*.
 Du1.5
 ychq *Ičhak* pn. "Itzhak."
 Du2.2
 ydwn *ēdōn* "thus" MP ~ NP *ēdūn*.
 Du1.22, 24, 31, Du2.37
 yq *yak* "one." MP *ēk* NP ~.
 Du1.13, 24, 26, 28, Du2.14, 15*2, 17, 18, 19*4
 yqy *yak-ē* "one," with the indefinite article *-ē*.
 Du2.14, 15, 16, 17, 18*2
 ym' *i-mā* = *ī mā* "of us."
 Du1.10
 ymrwz *imrōz* "today." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.5
 yn *ēn* MP ~ NP *īn*.
 Du1.34, Du2.5, 11, 23, 25, 31
 yptwm *yaftum* see *'yptn*.
 yqrbqr *ī-kirbakkar*. The *ezāfe* is written together with the modifier. See *qrbqr*.
 Du2.1
 yš *-iš* enclitic pronoun 3s. "his, her, its."
 Du1.4, 6, Du2.10
 yš'n *ēšān* personal pronoun 3pl. "they, them."
 Du1.9*2
 yš m' *išmā* = *ī* + *šmā*.
 Du1.23, 28, 33, Du2.3, 6, 7, 35
 yš mr' *išmarā* = *ī* + *šmā* + *rā*.
 Du2.4
 -yz *-iz* "also." MP ~.
 Du1.18
 yzyd *īzid* "god." MP *yazd* NP *īzad*. For its vocalization, see Lazard 1988: 205–6.
 Du1.1, 6, 8, Du2.1, 5, 8, 23
 zm'n *zamān* "time." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.10
 zwd *zūd* "quickly." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du1.1, Du2.11
 zy'n *zyān* "loss, harm, damage." MP ~ NP *zyān*.
 Du1.14
 zy'n *wmnd zyān-ōmand* "harmful." MP ~.
 Du1.17
 zyn *zēn* "saddle." MP ~, NP *zīn*.
 Du1.36

Note

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פנאם יאוי כווח ידרבקר סד הזר שלמא בי כווח רב נסוי צילאג בי אארמי
אבו סחק בי גראמו בראר שואפרורר בי יצחק יבי גושק ובו חרון בי
כאשק בו כחורק כוויצק בי חגאין מרדומאין יש גאג לאונג וקוויק אז גיג
ל'ויי ררוו וררוסווי אגתי יש מרא נביסום קו נג וחקים ופירי וגאזיר שזלי
דרוסת ונייקום נארדיגיאן אי לאגא פא זינר יזער כווח תא נארוד פס אז י
אחגום בו בראר שואפרורר קו אער כותן אמר נאגאג יש מא אורוד ויפת
ער כוועלום אג נבושת צווי חגאין קו יש מא פא תן אי כוש דרוסת ועיק
חיר גא אז יור סכת שאר בא שום וסבאס דארי קוננים אפיש יזער כווח
ופס תו אגה קו גא אספע איפתום אז דיהאגן סכת יאזיחה חריח אי
פרגווי צורים יש ראסת יצן תיב אער בורדום חגער אמאן תיב פא
בו קר דיו נאר ציכאשי רא פרמוו קו זור גוספע ין סגרו בי דיה
נעיקשי טאן בר פיוסת בי דיהאגן כישם קריפת ויין סכוז אי בר מריום
שש מי נח פא דח סג דיהאגן רא יקו גלייז ייק קפא דבר ופנצ שג
דמביי ויק שג דמביי ויק סתיר בי אי יצני הדיח אג מר סיכוי רא יקי
פריאין ויקי שמסי חריח יצני ויק קרויר סיכוי צכאשא או דוכתר אי דיהאגן
אי בר גוספע מיתתרא יקי ליקין יידין געג ורו ליגען חריח יק פכונאן
רא קו סר שמר אי גוספע מיתתר צור יקי ליקין ויק יקי ליגען חריח דו מרע
חריח שבאגאן רא בגרו געג וליגען חריח ושרץ פא קו בי נס אספע
בי דוסת גא נא רסיו (צוריקרית) קו אספע סכת ויין דוחים ופא נאגא
נבישת צווי קונש פשוה כוסת פא אספע נא יאנום ונא ויין קר רי
אג ין נאגא בי שמיי רסאד ודכתר אי דיהאגן בי רון נאמאח באר
י צישם וידישניאי חסין דוכתר חסת דיהאגן רא נסכת סבאס קו
י סבאס או ורא קנע יצן אום נא צור מן סכת ביסיאר נאגא פרוסת
שזלי אער אמר פא לוסת ופנצ סא דו דינדאן דיהאגן נפויק אי
דוכתר פריסתווי מן פא לוסת אי חסין קינדאן סיו נאגא פרוסתווי
בי שמא חרצי אחי אי שתר נע דאשגל צור הניגען נבישת צוונם אחיאי
אשגל ין חסת קו תופעניאן רא פאק בי קושת (בגרו כוסת) וסבאפוישי שווי
צאשוי חרב רא וסליים וכאים רא בוספאן פרוסתווי (מן חרב רא יצני
יאנום פא נאיה אי סד פודקן פשוה נערה קר דוירום אג סו אי דוויק רא
פסר אי ציסי וכתר אחיה יש גאג רא חס חרב רא נסליים וכאגאם רא קו
אג אמאח באר פא דאשגל חר צעג כואגא כואחע יצני לאג אג
גא דא חר בי ורוי שערום קו חס ויני וס

יזייד כוידח אי יאר באשד אונד רח אר
דיה זיסט נאמח ציש קר לום בי ש
גור דן יצאגד אי פלא ין רסד ופא דאח
פד רסד יש בי פרמי וצאזן אצי נרא פ
זכרון כרי ורא בן אבר שפתי פרמי נאדומי
אי כוש ונרא חיר בורה פריש גנאד אי
דור בי נפומד ורא בת או מת ורא דח
פפד בי צור ומסות כרע וחד כוידח כוכ
נצאד ין קס אא ושאת ין צור ין ושאת
צמח אי פרוכטח בורא ין פא רוי נאא אצ
וכוח צור קס נא בור סג גנודומאן אי שחר פ
סיה פתיקן אי כראם נציג בר נא פניח תסות
צן אצ מן פא ונו ומח דארום יקי קא
סור נאמאן אי מן בי שזאכוס וט שבי
ין אונסד אט שני אי גרא כרדין ורא
אויסן אונדי קונד בי סיה
נסבר איאן נאעז חס
ורא אט שני אא מן יא חס
קן כור כרדין וכור פרוכתי וכור ר
אג נאא סעז זכות באסונד בורן נ
זו ונו אט שער נאא כוש ין אצווח נאא פ
אונדוי נע אונד בור נסוד ין אונסד ינון דרוס
לסד יען סוד כסותו ורן נשעיא בוריק סבאבו
רא סבאבו ינון קור ין קו נרא נאכוו יקי
נאכוו ירי נא קעצק רא אונדוס ונעז צוסות
זבת ביניום נא בעראונד בי אט גרזיק יקי
ד רמום ורא בגידי רא צ אונדוי אונדוי אי ס
קן נאמאן יש נא ופתום בי יקי בית אא אן אונדוי
קאר אן פרומוי אונדוי צלח קנעם ורא קר דח בע
קשום ין אונדוי נא מר ין חושום רא ססות
אן סו אי אונדוי רובתח פרוסיום ינון קונדוי
נא פרוסן וכור אא אן סו כנאסונדוי פרמי קר ד
אונדוי נאמאן יש נא פרוסדוי קונדוי סוד
בן ח אי אן פשט אן אונדוי ין
קור בי נון נאמאן אא אן סו
נאמאן אא אן וקדיבן ודואל
אן ורן ינון אא בליז אא