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In search of traces of Sogdians : “Phoenicians of the Silk Road”

(Lecture at the BBAW on October 5th 1999)

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In search of traces of Sogdians “Phoenicians of the Silk Road”

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1 Sogdians and their language: Historical background

The subject of my lecture today is Sogdians and texts written in Sogdian. Sogdians, now extinct, were natives of Sogdiana which is the name of a land lying between the two great rivers of Central Asia, Oxus (modern Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (modern Syr Darya). Sogdiana consisted of several independent oasis states comparable to Ancient Greek poleis, the leading cities being Samarkand, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The history of Sogdiana is largely obscure. It constituted a satrapy of the Achaemenian empire. After the empire was conquered by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C., it came under the control of neighbouring superpowers, such as Kushans, Sasanians, Ephtalites, Western Turks, and Chinese. However, until it was conquered by the Arabs in the eighth century it was able to enjoy a degree of independence. During this period of relative independence the Sogdians played a most active role as traders along the Silk Road between China and the West, with the result that the Sogdian language became a kind of lingua franca in the region between Sogdiana and China where the Sogdians founded many trade diasporas. Because of their activities they are sometimes called the “Phoenicians of the Silk Road”.

The Sogdian language belongs to the Iranian group of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Thus it is a close relative of Modern Persian spoken in Iran and a remote relative of German and English. The Sogdian language is no longer spoken, but Yaghnobi, a small dialect spoken in a remote valley of Yaghnob literally meaning “ice river, glacier”, is closely related to it and is often called Modern Sogdian.

The Sogdians left many traces all over the Eurasian continent. Even in Europe a short Sogdian inscription was once discovered on a silk textile preserved in the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame at Huy, Belgium. However, the Sogdians and their activities were most vividly described by the contemporary Chinese both in literature and in plastic art. They remarked: “The Sogdians have gone wherever profit is to be

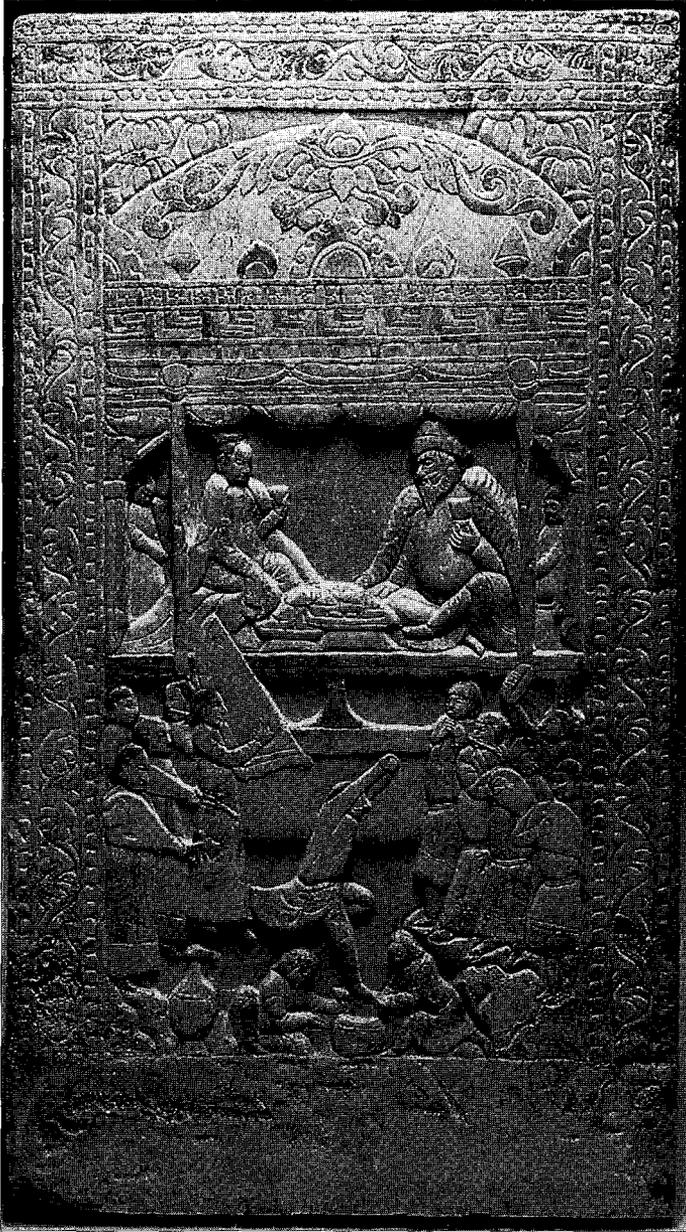


Plate 1

The Panel showing the scene of a Sogdian's wedding ceremony, from MIHO MUSEUM, South Wing, 1997, p. 253.

found” and in describing the sharpness of the Sogdian merchants they went so far as to fabricate an anecdote: “At birth sugar was put in their mouths and gum on their palms so that when grown up the children might speak honey words and might not lose money when it comes into their hands ...”. A famous Chinese pilgrim, Xuan Zang, who travelled to India via Central Asia in the first half of the seventh century reported: “They are tall of stature, but their wills are weak and pusillanimous. They are as a rule crafty and deceitful in their conduct and extremely covetous. Both parent and child plan how to get wealth; and the more they get the more they esteem each other ... even when immensely rich, they feed and clothe themselves meanly.” Incidentally, Sogdians resident in China bore special surnames according to their home city; thus those from Samarkand are called Kang 康, those from Maymurgu Mi 米, those from Kesh (modern Shahr-i Sabz) Shi 史, those from Tashkent Shi 石, those from Bukhara An 安, those from Kabudan Cao 曹, those from Kushanik He 何, etc.

As an example of plastic art I reproduce on plates 1 and 2 two of the eleven panels which once surrounded a funerary couch. The panels were recently unearthed somewhere in North China. They are thought to illustrate the life of a Sogdian merchant who came all the way from Sogdiana to China, where he married a Chinese woman and where he died. One panel reproduces a scene of his marriage in which a special dance referred to by the Chinese as “Sogdian prancing dance” is performed, whereas the other shows his funeral ceremony, the details of which clearly indicate his Zoroastrian affiliation. Zoroastrianism was a native religion of Iranian peoples including Sogdians; their cults differ from the orthodox Zoroastrianism of Sasanian Persians, who prohibited excessive expression of grief for the dead, such as hurting oneself with a knife as depicted in the panel.

Their activities as international traders along the Silk Road are documented by several contemporary manuscripts discovered in Turfan, which is an oasis city located in the Tarim Basin that was once a key point in the route connecting Central Asia and China (map). One Sogdian document dated to the year 639 A.D. is a sale contract of a female slave by the name of Upāch, who is said to have been born in Turkestan. She was sold by a Sogdian named Wakhushu-vīrt originating from Samarkand and the buyer was a Buddhist monk Yānsyān, apparently a Chinese. Her price was 120 drachm in the form of Sasanian silver coins, which was prized as the most highly appraised international currency in those days. Four Sogdians originating from several oases of Sogdiana are listed as the witnesses to the contract. I was fortunate to be the first Sogdianist to see the document and was given the opportunity to study the document by the local museum in Urumchi, which houses the original.

Another document is in Chinese and is dated approximately to the early seventh century. It is a record of “fee scales” that two traders paid as a tax for each transaction performed in the bazaar of the city of Kaochang, the capital of the Turfan oasis. As is clear from their surnames given in the accompanying table based on the document, the great majority of traders are Sogdians and one can see how international trade was monopolised by them.



Plate 2

The Panel showing the scene of a Sogdian's funeral ceremony, from MIHO MUSEUM, South Wing, 1997, p. 252.

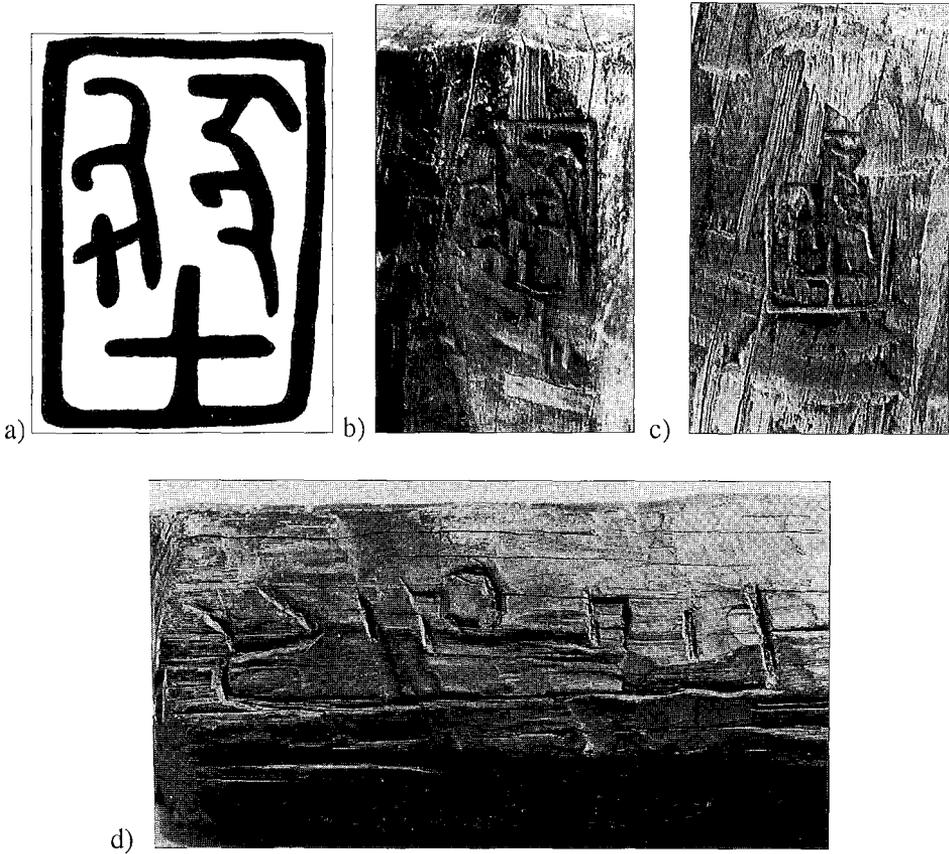


Plate 3

a) The Sogdian brands on the Sandalwood, b-d) The Sogdian brands and Pahlavi inscription on the Sandalwood, from MUSEUM, No. 433, April 1987, p. 10.

2 Sogdians in Japan and the Maritime Silk Road?

One may ask how far east the Sogdian merchants came. Did they come over to Manchuria, Korea, or even Japan? In this connection I should like to mention two sticks of sandalwood which have been preserved for more than 1200 years in Horyuji Temple in Nara, Japan (plate 3). Once I received a telephone call from a certain professor studying the history of Ancient Japan. He asked me to examine whether two almost identical inscriptions on the two sticks were in Middle Persian script generally known as Pahlavi. He also mentioned a brand in an unknown script affixed on the sticks. When I saw the photograph I was surprised to discover that the script

of the inscription actually is Pahlavi; in my opinion it is to be read as Bōxtōg, a Middle Persian proper name. Even more surprising to me was the fact that the brand is unmistakably inscribed in Sogdian script. I read *nym syr* [*nēm sēr*] meaning “a half *sēr*”. The word *sēr* is most likely to be a name of a unit of weight (or monetary unit) ultimately going back to Greek $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$. However, it is still not clear to me what is referred to by this inscription on the two sticks, which are much heavier than “a half *sēr*, i.e. ca. half an ounce”. Incidentally, I was able to find further occurrences of *syr* on fragments in the German Turfan collection (on which see below): Ch/U 6549 and Ch/So 20144 (both unpublished).

The oldest ink inscription written on them indicates that they had been imported to Japan by 761 A.D. Can this be taken as evidence that Sogdians once came as far east as Japan? It seems to me that “one swallow does not make a summer”. In fact many exotic goods were imported to Japan from or via Tang China during the eighth century so that the sandalwood is most likely to have been brought to Japan by Japanese envoys to China. However, another possibility is suggested by the sandalwood, which must have been exported ultimately from South Asia: Sogdian

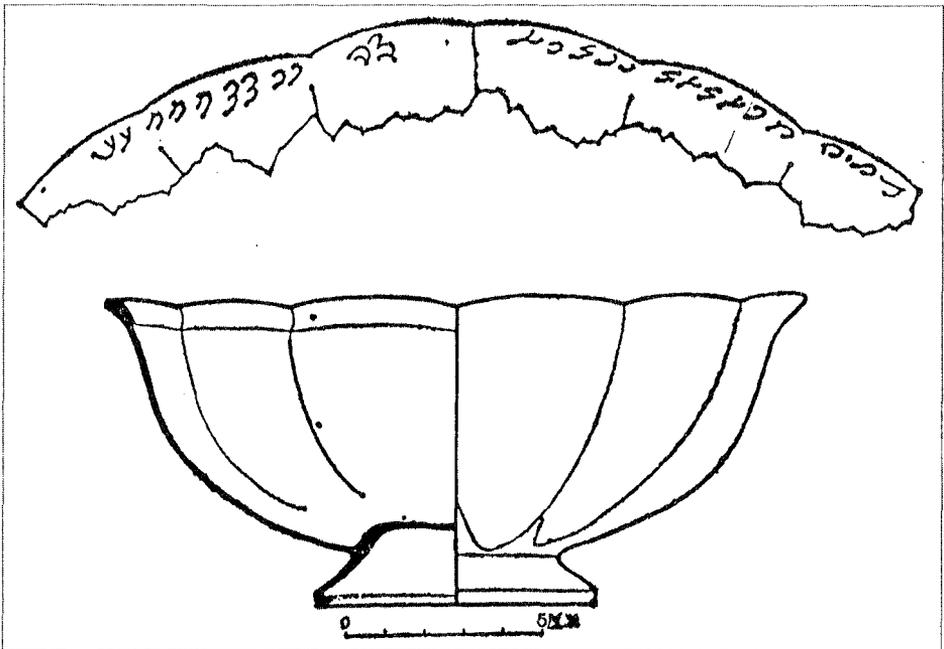


Figure 1
Kaogu 1986/3, pp. 243–246.

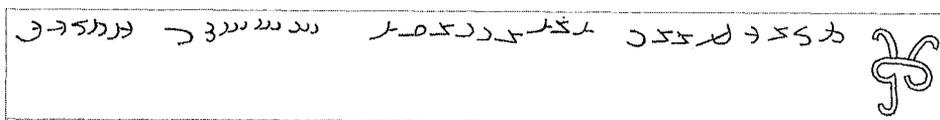


Figure 2

Я. И. Смирнов, Восточное серебро, С.-Петербург, 1909

merchants may have been active also along the Maritime Silk Road. A few other indications suggesting their activities on the sea route have recently been adduced by Professor F. Grenet. I myself have drawn attention to a silver vessel unearthed near Canton, Southern China. On the vessel there is an inscription in Sogdian, which, however, was not recognised as such by the Chinese excavators. The inscription reads: []+++sp c'c'nn'pc 42 styrk "... of the nation of Chāch, i.e. Tashkent. 42 stater (ca. 672 g)" (figure 1). Canton was the southern gate of China open to the Maritime Silk Road and the vessel may perhaps have been brought thither by the sea route.

The word *c'c'nn'pc* "of the nation of Tashkent" reminded me of another inscription found on a silver vessel that contains the same word. The vessel was discovered in the village Kerchevo in Southern Russia and was published as early as 1909. The inscription reads *my'rx'n c'c'nn'pc 39 styrk* "Mayārkhān of the nation of Tashkent. 39 stater (ca. 624 g)" (figure 2). I confess I still cannot see why these vessels with two similar inscriptions possibly mentioning the original owners' home city should have been found in places so far from Tashkent. However, that *c'c'nn'pc* really denotes Tashkent is now proved by the two coins discovered in the Tashkent area that were recently published by Professor Rtveladze. On the coins I suggest the reading *c'c'nn'pc wwnw xwβ* "Victorious ruler of the nation of Tashkent", which is slightly different from the publishers' reading (plate 4).

3 Sogdian material from the German Turfan Collection

So far I have been talking about the Sogdian materials scattered all over the Eurasian Continent. Apart from them inscriptions have been discovered in Mongolia, Tibet, and the Upper Indus area. However, this small amount of inscriptions is far from being representative of the Sogdian material in general. In fact our knowledge of the Sogdian language is obtained mainly from the substantial number of manuscript remains acquired in Turfan and Dunhuang. The latter is another oasis city located on the western frontier of China. These materials show us other aspects of the Sogdians who were resident in China and East Turkestan. While the Dunhuang manuscripts were obtained by English and French expeditions, the Turfan materials were mainly



1. Coin No. 1, AV.

2. Coin No. 1, RV.

Plate 4

Coin of Tashkent, from Rtveladze, art. cit., p. 327.

discovered by the four German expeditions headed first by A. Grünwedel and then by A. von Le Coq during the early years of the twentieth century. The Sogdian manuscripts in the Turfan Collection contain Buddhist, Manichaean, and Christian texts whereas the manuscripts from Dunhuang almost exclusively consist of Buddhist texts. Thus we can get an idea of the Sogdian Manichaeans and Sogdian Christians only through the German collection. It is also to be noticed that Manichaean and Christian texts are often written in Manichaean and Syriac scripts in contrast with Buddhist texts written only in Sogdian script, which is much inferior to the other two in transcribing the Sogdian sound system.

Another feature of the German collection is that a substantial amount of the materials has not, as yet, been studied while virtually all the Dunhuang texts have been published. The main reason seems to me to be the very nature of the German Collection, which consists mainly of smaller fragments containing texts of varied content; they resist most stubbornly attempts to decipher them. One example may suffice to illustrate the situation. It was only recently when a small fragment of the German collection was made public that we came to realize that Sogdian was once written also in Brāhmī script, a script of Indian origin mainly employed for writing Sanskrit. It had been left unstudied for almost eighty years until in 1991 Dr. D. Maue, an expert on Central Asian documents written in Brāhmī script, and Professor N. Sims-Williams, a distinguished Sogdian philologist, co-operated and elucidated the contents.

The Study of the Sogdian language was begun by two German scholars, F. W. K. Müller and F. C. Andreas. The former is remembered as the great decipherer of Sogdian as well as other languages of the German Turfan collection and the latter was the first to identify the language in question with what was once spoken in Sogdiana and to name it “Soghdisch”. Since then distinguished scholars have appeared and are still appearing in Germany, and Berlin has always been one of the centres of Sogdian studies. For many years Professor W. Sundermann has been very active in this field and has edited a large number of Sogdian texts. In the days of the Cold War we owed all our information on unpublished materials held in East Berlin to Sundermann, who was able to survey all the manuscripts in the collection, not only the Manichaean texts on which he is the greatest authority but also the Buddhist and Christian texts. At present his student Dr. Ch. Reck is tackling the difficult task of compiling a catalogue of the materials written in Sogdian script, for which no overall survey has so far been undertaken.

4 Sogdian and its neighbouring languages

One matter on which light may well be shed by the study of those unpublished materials is the extent of multilingualism that existed in Turfan. Already A. v. Le Coq stated in connection with the German collection: “there are no less than seventeen different languages in twenty-four different scripts”. However, his remark was based simply on the multilingual nature of the collection in general. It is not entirely clear who used what language or what language was written by whom for what purpose in tenth century Turfan. As an example one may mention a few fragments published in 1981 jointly by Professors W. Sundermann and P. Zieme where Sogdian words are glossed with Uighur counterparts. These fragments suggest that the Sogdian language was learned by Uighurs. In other words at least some of the Sogdian texts handed down to us were written not by Sogdians but by Uighurs.

Ten years later Professors N. Sims-Williams and J. Hamilton edited several late secular texts discovered in Dunhuang which they call “Turco-Sogdian documents” and date to the late ninth to tenth centuries. The reason for this designation is that among them one finds numerous Old Turkish or Uighur elements such as proper names and expressions calqued on Uighur syntax. One text is actually a bilingual ledger; in one place the scribe writes in Sogdian whereas in another he employs Uighur and one cannot see the reason why he prefers one to the other. Another document is a letter sent by a Christian monk Sergius to his friend bearing the Turkish name İl Bars Qutluγ Alp Tarxan. His Sogdian is primarily based on Uighur syntax. Thus one sentence ’ltwn yk’ny x’ny sty w’βky ptyγwšū [Altun Yegänī xānīstī wāβkī patīγōšū] “lit. Altun Yegän’s house-in is having-said I-heard, i.e. I heard that he is (staying) in Altun Yegän’s house” would be worded in idiomatic Sogdian as: ’zw w’nw ptyγwšw kt pr ’ltwn yk’ny x’ny sty [əzu wānō patīγōšū kat par Altun Yegänī

xānē stī]. However, if the sentence in question is translated word for word into Uighur the sentence *Altun Yegänning ävintä ärmış tep äšidtim* would be perfectly idiomatic in Uighur, as Professor Zieme has confirmed for me.

Since then several other similar Turco-Sogdian documents have been discovered among the Turfan manuscripts by Professor Sundermann and by me. In this connection one should refer to several late rock inscriptions found in Kirghizia. Some of them are dated possibly in the Yazdegird Era beginning in 632 A.D., the latest having been inscribed in the 394th year (i.e. 1025/6 A.D.). All the proper names appearing in the inscriptions are Turkish and it is almost certain that they were inscribed by Turkophones. Therefore, one may assume that in the tenth and eleventh centuries when the Sogdian language was in the process of fading away it was spoken or written partly by Turkish people and was finally displaced by Turkish. On the other hand, since what Maqdisī in the tenth century reports as the languages of Samarkand (*be-goftag-om* “I said”) and Bukhara (*dānestī* “you know”) is nothing but a variety of New Persian, Sogdiana proper was Persianised in contrast with the eastern Turkicised diasporas. At any rate the relationship between the Sogdians and the Turkish peoples is one of the urgent problems to be elucidated and the German Turfan Collection will certainly be one of the most important sources for the study.

As the Sogdian name of the Turfan oasis *cyn'ncknδ* “Chinese city” indicates, the majority of the population of Turfan used to be Chinese and one may certainly expect bilingualism of Chinese and Sogdian or Uighur. In the German Turfan Collection we actually have Chinese texts transcribed in Sogdian and Uighur scripts, which were made public only recently, in 1991 by Professor G. Kara (Sino-Uighur) and in 1994 by me (Sino-Sogdian). My experience in identifying the Chinese text in Sogdian script belonging to the German Collection and studying the system of transcription enabled me to identify a short text transcribed in Uighur script when Professor Zieme showed it to me. This fragment was later published by him. [On the bilingual text in Sanskrit and Sogdian see above.]

5 Japano-German work on the Iranian Turfan texts

Having given you some idea about Sogdians and the Sogdian texts of the German Turfan collection, I turn now to the collaboration between the Turfanforschung team here in Berlin and my colleagues in Japan. In the late sixties, the Sinologists and Buddhologists of Ryukoku University headed by the late Professor A. Fujieda and Professor T. Inokuchi came over to Berlin to help cataloguing the Chinese texts of the German Turfan Collection. As the result of collaboration two superb volumes of a catalogue had been published by the time of Germany's reunification. From the very beginning the Japanese side was also helpful in identifying Buddhist Uighur texts of the collection with their Chinese originals. A series of joint articles

was published by Professors P. Zieme and K. Kudara. Professor Kudara then was also asked by Professor W. Sundermann to help identify Buddhist Sogdian texts and since the eighties another series of joint articles has appeared as the result of their collaboration.

The reason why the two parties came to have contact was obviously the fact that Ryukoku University possesses manuscript remains acquired by the Otani Expedition mainly from Turfan, and that the Otani collection is a close relative, as it were, of the German collection. However, the Otani collection, which is much smaller than the German, is the poor relative and we need the knowhow of German colleagues especially when we come to deal with Uighur and Sogdian fragments. When Professor Kudara decided to make the catalogues of the Uighur and Sogdian sections of the collection, the problem was more serious with regard to the Sogdian and other Middle Iranian fragments because in Japan virtually no tradition of Middle Iranian philology had been built up by then. Therefore, in 1987 we invited Professor Sundermann to Kyoto to help us in cataloguing our Middle Iranian fragments, which amount to almost 500 in number but are all very small. Since then every two or three years he visited Japan and the last time Dr. Reck, who has been engaged in compiling a catalogue of the German Collection, accompanied him.

In order to show you how helpful the German side was, I refer to one instance. In April 1991 when Professor Sundermann was in Kyoto I showed him a Manichaean Parthian text in Sogdian script newly discovered in Bāzāklik, Turfan. I had transcribed the text in Turfan thinking that he might be interested in it. To my astonishment he noticed on the spot that the same hymn is found in two manuscripts of the German collection, one in Sogdian script and the other Manichaean. Later I was able to discover two further fragments containing the same hymn in the Otani collection. We then published all these texts and entitled our joint article "Bāzāklik, Berlin, and Kyoto" in the hope that the title will hint at the absolute necessity of international cooperation in the field of Turfan studies. Later still another small fragment was discovered in the German Collection but that was unfortunately too late to be included in the article.

We are very happy to announce that thanks to their help we have finally brought our catalogue to publication this year (1999). The catalogue consists of two volumes, one containing text with translation and the other facsimile reproduction of all the fragments in natural size though not in natural colour. We also reproduced the reverse of each fragment when it bears a Chinese or Uighur text. It is worth mentioning that in older days when paper was relatively expensive people often recycled old paper (almost exclusively those bearing Chinese Buddhist texts) to write new texts. We published the facsimile volume in the expectation that it may be helpful when we come to compare our fragments with those belonging to the other collections and to try to see whether they are from the same manuscripts. One can readily imagine how easy it will be to join the fragments if one can identify the Chinese texts on the other side. In this way we have been able to join several fragments from the Otani,

German, and St. Petersburg collections. The last named is another large collection of Turfan manuscripts that has become available quite recently. Since 1993 I have visited the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg three times and have examined the Sogdian fragments housed in the Institute while paying attention to and copying the Chinese texts on their reverse.

6 Buddhist Sogdian texts

Owing to my background of having been brought up and educated in Japan I am interested more in Buddhist Sogdian texts than in Manichaeic or Christian Sogdian texts. As I stated above Professor Kudara has helped identify several Buddhist texts with their originals. Apart from his competence and profound knowledge of Buddhism in general, his familiarity with Chinese Buddhist texts is most instrumental in identifying the texts because the bulk of the Buddhist Sogdian texts was translated from Chinese prototypes. In other words, almost all the so far identified texts are translations based on Chinese. This fact seems to indicate that the Sogdians were converted to Buddhism only after they had immigrated from their home country. One clear piece of evidence proving that is an official Chinese record of 767 A.D. which lists five Sogdians who were newly registered as monks.

Since Buddhism originated in India and came to China via Central Asia, one may well ask whether it once prevailed in Sogdiana as well, and if there once existed Buddhist temples there and Sogdian texts translated directly from Sanskrit. This is the most difficult question concerning Sogdian Buddhism. There are several pieces of mutually contradictory evidence. For example the strongest evidence for the flourishing of Buddhism in Sogdiana is the fact that among the early translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese one finds some bearing the surname Kang 康, which is believed to indicate their Samarkand origin. One of the most famous among them is Kang Sengkai (= Sanghavarman), who translated the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* into Chinese in the third century. Recently I was able to find the Sogdian version of the text in the German Turfan Collection (So 14680 + So 20152). The comparison with the Chinese version makes it beyond doubt that the Sogdian was based on the Chinese and not on the so far unknown original from which Kang Sengkai may have produced his translation.

I myself have a rather negative view about the assumption that Buddhism once flourished in Sogdiana proper. No remains of Buddhist temples have hitherto been excavated there. Although Xuan Zang reported that he saw two Buddhist temples in Samarkand, they were deserted and there was no monk. Moreover, my view seems to be consonant also with a recent archeological find. In the eighties former Soviet archaeologists discovered a 1.5 km wall of the Kushan period in Derbent which defended the northern border of the Kushan empire. In stark contrast with Sogdiana many Buddhist sites have been excavated to the south-east of Derbent, such as Kara-

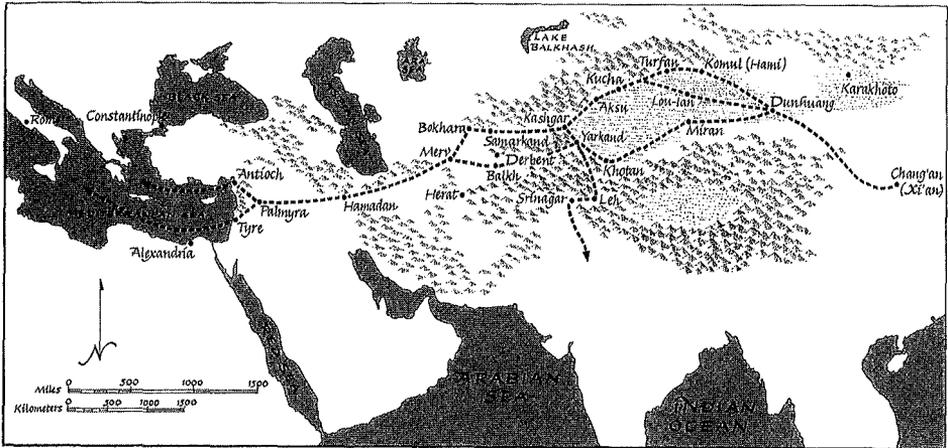
tepe and Dalverzin-tepe. Since all sites are located well within the territory of the Kushan empire one may assume that Buddhism flourished only in that part of Central Asia where the direct influence of the Kushan empire had prevailed.

Another interesting problem concerning the Buddhist Sogdian texts is the interrelationship among Sogdian, Tocharian, and Uighur texts. Recently two diametrically different hypotheses have been proposed on the origin of the Uighur Buddhist texts, one by Professor J. P. Laut and the other by Professor T. Moriyasu, both leading Uighurists. The former is referred to as the "Sogdian hypothesis", according to which the early Uighur Buddhist texts were based on Sogdian originals, whereas the other, the "Tocharian hypothesis", argues that the Tocharian origin is proved by a great many loanwords of Sanskrit origin which show unmistakable Tocharian traits.

So far we Sogdianists have never pronounced any opinion for or against the hypotheses because we possess no direct evidence proving or disproving one or the other. It was in 1992 when I visited Berlin for the third time and examined one Buddhist text joined and identified by Professor Sundermann that I noticed one passage which corresponds to the one in an Uighur text published long ago by F. W. K. Müller. The Uighur text is called *Daśakarmaṣaṭha-avadānamālā* and its colophon states that it was translated from the Tocharian original, which unfortunately is lost. The circumstance suggests that the Sogdian was also translated from a Tocharian (or possibly Sanskrit?) original because its Chinese version is not found in the Chinese canon. Comparison between the two passages leads me to suppose that the two are independent renderings based on the same original rather than that the one is the translation of the other. If my assumption is correct the "Tocharian hypothesis" seems to be preferable. However, this single example is far from sufficient to constitute a definitive conclusion and we can only hope to discover more solid evidence among the unpublished materials of the German Turfan Collection, which is a veritable mine of information for such studies.

Table

<i>goods</i>	<i>dates</i> (<i>month/date</i>)	<i>seller's surname</i> (<i>ethnicity</i>)	<i>buyer's surname</i> (<i>ethnicity</i>)	<i>quantity</i> (<i>silver coins</i>)	<i>scale fee</i>
gold	1st/2nd	Di (Turkish)	? (Chinese?)	9.5 liang	—
	1st/ --	-- (Sogd.?)	Kang (Sogd.)	10 liang	7.5
	3rd/ --	He? (Sogd.)	Gongqin (Tujue)	8.5 liang	2
	3rd/24th	Cao (Sogd.)	He (Sogd.)	9 liang	2
	8th/4th	Kang (Sogd.)	Ju (Jushi)	4 liang	—
	10th/19th	Kang (Sogd.)	Cao (Sogd.)	—	4
silver	1st/1st	Cao (Sogd.)	He (Sogd.)	2 jin	2
	1st/1st	Cao (Sogd.)	Kang (Sogd.)	2 jin 5 liang	2
	1st/3rd	He (Sogd.)	An (Sogd.)	5 jin 2 liang	5
	3rd/ --	Di (Turkish)	He (Sogd.)	8 jin 1 liang	—
	4th/5th	Kang (Sogd.)	He (Sogd.)	2 jin 1 liang	—
	4th/ --	?	He (Sogd.)	2 jin	—
silk thread	1st/ --	-- (Sogd.?)	Kang (Sogd.)	50 jin	7.5
	4th/5th	Kang (Sogd.)	Kang (Sogd.)	10 jin	1
	4th/ --	He (Sogd.)	Bai (Kuchean)	80 jin	8
	5th/2nd	Ju (Jushi)	Bai (Kuchean)	60 jin	2
incense	1st/3rd	Di (Turkish)	-----	572 jin	—
	1st/ --	Kang (Sogd.)	Kang (Sogd.)	252 jin	—
	3rd/24th	? (Sogd.)	Kang (Sogd.)	362 jin	15
	4th/ --	—	—	800 jin	22
	6th/ --	? (Sogd.)	He (Sogd.)	172 jin	4
	8th/ --	-----	Kang (Sogd.)	92 jin	2
	12th/27th	Kang (Sogd.)	Kang (Sogd.)	650+ jin	21
	12th/ --	-----	? (?)	52 jin	1
12th/ --	An (Sogd.)	An (Sogd.)	33 jin	8	



Map
Along the ancient Silk Road, New York, 1982, p. 19.

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Section 1

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- On the scale document see Sekio, Sh.: *History of China as seen from the Chinese documents unearthed from the Silk Road area (in Japanese)*, Tokyo, 1998, pp. 81–85.

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