

Old Tibetan Loan Contracts

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0. Introduction

Among the Old Tibetan texts unearthed from Dunhuang, Turfan and other parts of East Turkestan, there are a considerable number of contracts. I have so far identified about fifty texts. These contracts may be divided into three types according to their formulae: namely, contracts concerning sale, those concerning hiring, and those concerning loans.

Sale contracts have been described in a previous paper (Takeuchi "Sale"), where I have attempted to settle the basic questions concerning the formula, the origin, and the characteristics of the sale contracts. Elsewhere (Takeuchi "Cattle"), I have given the annotated translations of all the contracts for cattle sales.

In this paper I wish to present an outline of the Old Tibetan loan contracts, focusing on their contract formula. The first chapter gives a classified list of the loan contracts. The second chapter describes the formula of the Old Tibetan loan contracts and the stereotyped expressions used in them. The translations of the major loan contracts, which are to be subdivided into three types according to the object of the loan, will be presented in subsequent chapters (chapters 3 through 5). The edited texts will be found in the appendix.

1. A List

Loan contracts or contracts of borrowing are the most numerous among the Old Tibetan contracts. So far I have found twenty-five texts, as listed below.¹⁾ They belong to various collections: namely, the Stein Collection (Texts 1, 6, 9, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25), the Pelliot Collection (Texts 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16–22), the Hedin Collection (Text 5), and the Kozlov Collection (Text 11). As for their provenance, most of the texts were brought from the Dunhuang cave except for Text 5, which was found in Old Domoko, a district to the east of the Khotan oasis, and Text 14, which was unearthed from the old Mirān fort in the Lob-nor region.

These contracts may be subdivided into two groups according to the object borrowed. The first group includes contracts for borrowing small items such as a knife, paper, and cups (Texts 1–6). When these objects are borrowed, either the original item (in the case of a knife and cups) or an identical item (in the case of paper and cotton) is returned. In this sense they may be termed rental contracts. Contracts for borrowing cattle (Text 7) also belongs to this group.

no.	object	date ²⁾	text ³⁾	form
1	paper & cloth	824±	<i>TLTD</i> 2: 66 (Ch. -)	
2	knife	824±	P. 1166	
3	paper	824±	P. 1078	
4	cotton	834±	P. 2127	
5	silk & barley?	lac.	Hedin 2	
6	cups etc.	829±	Ch. 86, ii, verso (VP. 1424)	
7	mare	822/834	P. 1297/5	
8	barley & wheat	832/844?	P. 1297/1a	
9	barley & wheat	832±	Ch. frag. 82 verso (VP. 1141)	
10	wheat	835/847	P. 1088	
11	wheat	824±	Kozlov 4	
12	grain seeds	825±	P. 1115	
13	beans	821/833	P. 1297/6	
14	grain	825±	M. I. xvi. 22	
15	grain	om.?	S. 7133	
16	grain	830±	P. 1101	ledger
17	grain	830/842?	P. 1104	ledger
18	grain	830/842?	P. 1203	ledger
19	barley	828±	P. 2124	ledger
20	barley	828±	P. 2125	ledger
21	millet	lac.	P. 1119	ledger
22	wheat	lac.	P. 1208+P. 1221	ledger
23	wheat	829±	Ch. 80 v. 1 (VP. 1412)	receipt
24	wheat	829±	Ch. 79. xvi. 7 (VP. 1477)	receipt
25	wheat	829±	Ch. 77. xv. 10 (VP. 1289)	receipt

The texts of the second group, on the other hand, are contracts for consumption; the object loaned is grain. Some of these contracts consist of a single deal between two parties (Texts 8–15). However, contracts for loaning grain may take the form of a ledger when, for example, a temple granary makes a loan to peasants. In the second group are also included receipts (*bul-rgya*) for the repayment of loaned grain (Texts 23–25).

2. The Formula of the Old Tibetan Loan Contracts

The loan contracts are thus subdivided according to the object loaned; different expressions are used depending on the objects. Moreover, the language used also depends upon the specific context under which the contract was drafted. In this way, although the actual construction and the expressions used vary from text to text, all loan contracts were nevertheless based on an underlying basic

formula that constituted the skeleton of the contracts. The basic formula of the Old Tibetan loan contracts may be postulated as follows:

The Formula of the Old Tibetan Loan Contracts

- 1 *date of the contract*
- 2 subjects of the contract
 - a) creditor
 - b) borrower
 - c) object of transaction
- 3 terms of repayment
- 4 penalty for breach of the terms of repayment
 - a) the amount of payment to be doubled
 - b) *the security to be forfeited unless redeemed*
- 5 guarantee for the payment of penalty
 - a) the borrower's household goods to be forfeited, *and a commission to be organized*
 - b) *compensation by guarantor(s)*
- 6 sealing remarks
 - a) register of witnesses and their private seals to be affixed
 - b) finger-measure seals, signatures or seals of the borrower and guarantors to be marked
- 7 postscript (private seals, finger-measure seals, signatures)

(*N.B. Italicized paragraphs or items are non-obligatory elements.*)

Paragraph 1, the date of the contract, is often missing. When the date is stated, it is usually given by the twelve-year cycle only. This contrasts with sale contracts, where the date is usually stated explicitly by the combination of the twelve-year cycle and the location and convokers of the assembly.⁴⁾ The neglect, as such, is understandable, because what matters most in loan contracts is not the date of contract but the time of repayment. The latter is explicitly stated in paragraph 3.

As for paragraph 2, the subjects of the contract, different types of stereotyped expressions are found, which may be schematized as follows: (A: creditor, B: borrower, C: object)

Type 1: A *gyi bu-lon* C, B *la chags-te* Texts: 1, 2, 5

“the loan [of] C from (lit. of) A is made by (lit. rose at) B”

e.g. *l'u klu rton gyI bu lon gri / gchig // ser dzIn kheng la chags te* (Text 2)

“The loan of a knife from Li'u klu-rton was made by Ser dzin-kheng;”

Here, *bu-lon* and C are in apposition. The term *bu-lon* may drop, as in Text 23.

Type 2: B *gyis* A *la(s)* C *chags pa las* Texts: 3, 6, 22.

“B borrowed C from A”

e.g. *stong sar gyi shog mkhan shang he 'dos / blon rgyal zigs la shog shog yug rings yug nyis brgya' zhig chags pa las /* (Text 3)

“Shang he-'do, a paper maker in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district, borrowed two-hundred bolts of long-bolt paper from (lit. at) *blon* Rgyal-zigs”

Both type 1 and type 2 use the same verb form *chags*. But, the *chags* in type 1 is an intransitive verb, while the one in type 2 is a transitive verb, judging from the context. The former construction is still used today, whereas the latter, *chags* as a transitive verb meaning “borrow, make a loan,” is found only in Old Tibetan texts, where it also formed a compound noun *chags-rgya* or “loan contract” (Texts: 23, 24, 25).

Text 23 assigns an ablative case marker *las* to C (i.e. the object), which semantically makes sense, while Texts 3 and 6 use a dative-locative case marker *la*, taking C as an indirect object. Such an alternation between the dative-locative case marker and the ablative case marker is not rare in Old Tibetan texts.⁵⁾

Type 3: A *las(/gyi)* C, B *gyis snga-g.yar du 'tshal-te* Texts: 9, 10, 11, 12

“B took an advance loan [of] C from (/of) A”

e.g. *an [chu]ng legs gyi nas rgya shegs gnyis sh[i]g / stong sar gyi sde he'u dar tse / gyis snga g.yar du 'tshal te* (Text 11)

“He'u dar-tse in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district took an advance loan of two Chinese *shag* of barley from An [chu]ng-legs”

The following variant expressions are also used: *snga-g.yar du mnoste* (Texts 15, 17), *snga-skyin du 'tshal nas* (Text 4), *snga-skyin du blangs-te* (Text 8), *g.yar-por 'tshal-te* (Texts 17, 18), and *g.yar-te 'tshal nas* (Text 7).

Although three basic types, with minor variations, thus exist, there does not seem to be any substantial difference in meaning between these different types of expressions.

Paragraph 3, the terms of repayment, specifies the time limit and how and where repayments should be made. This is an indispensable statement in loan contracts. A typical expression used in contracts for borrowing small items may be schematized as follows:

(*slar*) 'bul ba'i dus ni / D la / A gang na mchis pa'i sgor 'bul bar bgyis

“as for the time of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made on such and such date (=D) to the house of the creditor (=A), no matter where he may be.”

e.g. 'bul ba'i dus ni 'brugI lo'i dgun sla ra ba tshes nyi shu la klu rton gang / na mchis pa'i sgor 'bul par bgyis (Text 2)

“as for the time of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made

on the twentieth of the first winter month of the dragon year to the house of Klu-rton.”

In the case of contracts for loaning grain, the time for repayment is usually fixed as harvest time, namely, the end of the middle autumn month (*ston sla 'bring-po'i gnam-stong / stong sla 'bring-po ma gum tshun chad*),⁶⁾ though a few exceptions to the rule exist: e.g. *tshé nyis-shu la* “on the twentieth” (Text 14). The typical expressions may be schematized as follows:

slar 'bul ba'i dus ni / lan 'di'i ston sla 'bring po'i gnam stong la (/ 'bring po ma gum tshun chad) / bre phul gang myi chad par dus gcig du A gyi sgor 'bul bar bgyis
 “as for the time of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made on the last day (/ by the end) of the middle autumn month of this year, to the house of the creditor (=A), in a lumpsum (lit. at one time) without any shortage (lit. without the shortage of one *bre* or *phul*)”

In a few cases there is an additional phrase which requires an exact measuring of the grain to be repaid: *bre-byed bzang du* “in full (lit. good) measure” (Text 9), or *'brus-byed bzangsu* “counting (or examining) the grain well” (Text 15). Interest rates are usually not mentioned except for special cases (e.g. Text 16).

Paragraph 4 states that should the borrower fail to repay within the time limit or if he conspires (*gya-gyu 'tshal*) not to pay, the amount of payment shall be doubled as penalty. The typical expressions of paragraph 4 may be schematized as follows:

brgyal la dus der ma phul lam gya-gyu zhig 'tshal na / C gcig las gnyis su bsgyur te /
 “in case [the borrower] should fail to repay at that time, or if he conspires [not to repay], [the amount of] the object (=C) shall be doubled”

In addition, forfeiture of the security or mortgage (*gta'*) is mentioned in a few cases (Texts: 4, 6, 11, 12).

Paragraph 5a guarantees the right of the creditor to confiscate the property of the borrower's household, should the borrower fail to pay the penalty. The borrower holds no right to start a lawsuit against confiscation. A general term for the property to be forfeited is *nang-nor phyi-phyug* “indoor treasures [and] outdoor wealth cattle.” Clothes (*rgyab-gos*) and tools (*sug-spyad*) are also often mentioned. Specific items such as towels and ink pots are mentioned in a few texts (Texts 1, 2). The core part of paragraph 5a may be schematized as follows:

B gyi nang nor phyi pyug ji la bab kyang rungste / phrogs kyang zhal mchu tshig gcig kyang myi mchi bar bgyis pa

“It is decided that the indoor treasures, outdoor wealth cattle, whatever [property] of the borrower (=B) [there is], may be forfeited; and [the borrower] should not start a lawsuit against it;”

An important phrase may be added to paragraph 5a, which states that a commission (*ring-lugs*)⁷⁾ is to be organized in case of confiscation. For example, Texts 1 and 2 have an additional phrase *ring-lugs bgyis-te* “having organized a commission,” while Texts 8, 9, 10 and 13, have the phrase *ring-lugsu* “to the commission” inserted before *phrog kyang*, which would mean that the borrower’s property is to be forfeited to the commission. Since the organization of a commission is mentioned only in one-third of the loan contracts, a question may be asked whether a commission was always organized or was it organized only when necessary. A clue to the answer may be given from a relevant expression in Text 16: *khong ta nmams kyi sgo nas nor phyugs ji la bab gyang rungs ste / ring lugs myi ’tshal bar rang lugsu phrogs na yang zhal mchu ma mchis pa’r bgyis* (ll. 8–9) “it is decided that the indoor treasures, outdoor wealth cattle, whatever [property] from the households of the debtors [there is], may be confiscated by [the creditor] himself (*rang-lugsu*), without organizing a commission; and [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit against it.” This expression seems to suggest that the confiscation was commissioned in some cases to avoid trouble, but otherwise the person concerned did it himself. The former cases may be considered as official confiscation, and the latter ones may be considered private confiscation, though it is not certain whether there was a clear distinction between the two cases.

The value of goods to be confiscated should be equal to the value of the object to be repaid, which is, double the amount of the object loaned. This is usually not stated except for two texts (Texts 10 and 15), where the clause *nas gyi ris-thang rtsis zhing* “counting the value of barley [to repay]” is inserted before *’phrog na yang*.

Another additional phrase is sometimes found at the beginning of paragraph 5a: namely, *gyur dang bcas par* (Texts: 3, 8, 13, 16) or *gyur du dbab* (Text 17). Though these two phrases, with apparently the same meaning, are hard to understand, I interpret *gyur* as a verb⁸⁾ anaphoric to the *bsgyur* in the preceding phrase in paragraph 4: *gcig las gnyis su bsgyur-te*. Hence, the phrases would mean “with [the amount of payment] made double.” In other words, the phrase makes explicit that it is double the value of what has been borrowed that is to be confiscated or garnisheed from the borrower’s property.

Paragraph 5a is in some cases followed up by paragraph 5b, a statement of the compensation by the guarantors (e.g. Text 8). It states that in case the borrower absconds or if he is unable to repay, his guarantors should take full responsibility for payment.

B ma mchis sam phan phun du gyur na / khong ta’i G dam gong nas smos pa bzhin mchid gyis ’tshal zhing ’bul bar bgyis

“it is decided that if the borrower (=B) should be absent or is in [financially] bad condition, his guarantors (=G) are to take responsibility and repay just as stated above”

The clause *phan-phun du gyur* “[the borrower] is (lit. becomes) in [financially] bad

condition” is sometimes missing.⁹⁾

Although *khas-len* is the term commonly used to denote guarantors, in some cases, the term *mjal-gnya'* or *'jal-gnya'* is used together with *khas-len* (e.g. *mjal-gnya' khas-len* in Text 9) or stands alone (Texts 15, 19, 20). This term, meaning “pay[ing] witness or joint debtor,” seems to be a synonym for *khas-len* “guarantor.” *Gtan-pa* “surety” is another term used in similar contexts (Texts 17, 18, 22). However, the *gtan-pa* seems to have had a heavier responsibility than the *khas-len* (cf. Text 17).

The main body of the contract concludes with paragraph 6, the sealing remarks of witnesses, the debtor (i.e. borrower) and guarantors. After the sealing remarks, the seals or signatures of the debtor, guarantors and witnesses are marked at the end of the contract. The formula for the sealing remarks and the forms of seals, finger-measure-seals, and signatures are common to the sale contracts (cf. Takeuchi “Sale”: 778–780).

In the following sections, we will look at examples of different kinds of loan contracts and discuss some points of interest in content.¹⁰⁾

3. Contracts for borrowing small items

3.1. Two contracts on *glegs-tshas* for borrowing utensils

Among the Tibetan texts found in Dunhuang there are a group of manuscripts characterized by the exceptionally large size (ca. 26×76 cm) and thick quality of paper.¹¹⁾ There are creases near the top and bottom ends of the paper, about 2 cm apart from the edge. On both sides of the paper are various kinds of writings, mostly in Tibetan, but some in Chinese. The writings include scribal exercises of letter formulae, beginnings of sutras, contracts, graffiti, personal names, verses and so on. In addition to these miscellaneous writings, each manuscript bears a signature in the form of “—*gyi glegs-tshas*.” Namely, each manuscript is claimed to be “someone’s *glegs-tshas*.” The names of the owners are apparently those of Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang who worked as scribes.

A Stein Tibetan text, Ch. 73. xv. 5, describes how these *glegs-tshas* were given to the scribes:¹²⁾ Copying the sutra *Shes-rab-'bum-pa* was intended in the horse and sheep years as an offering to the Buddha from the Prince. Paper was provided to the Chinese scribes in charge. When the scribes turned in copied sutras, the balance between the provided paper and the copied sutras was checked in order to calculate the deficit of paper among the scribes in the process of copying. At that time paper wasted due to miswriting (*re-gron*) and paper for *glegs-tshas* was excepted from the deficit. In other words, the scribes were allowed to take paper for *glegs-tshas* from the paper provided and keep them as their own.¹³⁾

The word *glegs-tshas* is not found in dictionaries, but is apparently related to words such as *glegs-thag* “a string for tying Buddhist texts,” *glegs-bam* “a box for Buddhist texts,” and *leg-shing* “a wooden coverboard for Buddhist texts.” *Tshas* is

found in *BRT* where it is glossed as “material for packing or tying, such as a string.” In one *glegs-tshas* text the term *phyi-tshas* is found as a synonym for *glegs-tshas*.¹⁴ *Phyi-tshas* is glossed in *BRT* as an old word for wrapping paper. I thus interpret *glegs-tshas* to mean “cover paper or paper board for Buddhist texts.” As seen above, this paper was given to the scribes and used by them as personal writing pads or cardboards, on which they wrote various things.¹⁵ Among such writings are found several contracts.

A Stein Tibetan text from Dunhuang now located in vol. 57, fol. 220 is one of the *glegs-tshas* manuscripts.¹⁶ On the recto side is found a contract for borrowing paper and a wrapping kerchief (*rgya-thag*).¹⁷ The creditor is named Ser dzin-kheng, one with a Chinese family name 薛 and a Chinese given name. The borrower, Li'u klu-rton, has a Chinese family name 劉 and a Tibetan given name. Both of them were apparently Chinese scribes who were put in charge of copying sutras in Tibetan.¹⁸ Both the objects borrowed (i.e. paper and a piece of cloth) and the penalty for non-payment (i.e. an ink pot and a handkerchief) are scribes' daily utensils. In another *gleg-tshas*, which we will see next, Ser dzin-kheng, having reversed roles, borrowed a knife from Li'u klu-rton. The two texts share witnesses who were also apparently scribes. Thus, these two contracts on *gleg-tshas* were written on occasions when Chinese scribes borrowed utensils from each other.

Text 1¹⁹)

A contract for the borrowing of paper and a piece of cloth:
Stein vol. 57, fol. 220 (=TLTD 2: 66)

- 2 The loan of a wrapping kerchief and ten short rolls of paper from Ser 薛 dzin-kheng was made by (lit. rose at) Li'u (劉) klu-rton;
- 3 as for the terms of repayment, it is decided that payment should be made on the twentieth of the last winter month of the dragon year to Dzin-kheng, wherever he should be.
- 4 In case [the borrower] should fail to repay by (lit. at) the time limit, the amount of paper and wrapping kerchiefs [to be repaid] shall be doubled; and,
- 5a having made a commission based on this late (i.e. the second) bond which was made in order not to have to make three bonds (i.e. the third one), [it is decided that] Klu-rton's ink pot, handkerchief (*shl'u-kln* < 手巾) and whatever [property there is] may be forfeited [to the commission]; and [Klu-rton] should not start a lawsuit against it;
- 6 as witness to the thus decided [bond], the witness seals of Sag (索) stag-slebs, Im (陰) 'bye-le'u, Khang (康) mang-zigs, Song lug-lug (宋陸々) etc. and the finger-size-measure of Klu-rton's hand are hereby affixed.
- 7 (upside down):
Klu-rton, not having a private seal, is marking a finger-size-measure.

The other loan contract on a *gleg-tshas* is found in the Pelliot Collection.

Text 2

A contract for the borrowing of a knife: P. 1166

2 The loan of a knife from Li'u (劉) klu-rton was made by Ser (薛) dzin-kheng;

3 as for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made on the twentieth of the first winter month of the dragon year to the house of Klu-rton, wherever he may be.

4 In case [the borrower] should fail to repay it at that time, the amount [to be repaid] shall be doubled; and,

5a having made a commission based on this bond, [it is decided that] Dzin-kheng's tools, handkerchiefs and whatever [property there is] may be forfeited, and [Dzin-kheng] should not start a lawsuit against it;

6 as witness to the thus decided [bond], the witness seals of Sag (索) stag-slebs, Im (陰) 'byi-le'u, Song lug-lug (宋陸々), Khang (康) mang-zigs etc, and the hand-letter-measure of Dzin-kheng are hereby affixed.

2' The size [of the knife] is just like the one of Im (陰) stag-rma.

Both Text 1 and Text 2 lack paragraph 1 (date) and paragraph 5b (compensation by guarantors), two optional elements in the formula. Text 2 has a description of the borrowed object (paragraph 2'); this must be an *ad hoc* addition. Text 1 has the finger-size-measure of the borrower but in an unusually simple form: a square enclosing the signature,²⁰⁾ while Text 2 has no seals. This is probably because the two contracts were privately made and valid only between them. Except for these qualities, the two contracts follow the basic formula.

It is interesting to see that these Chinese scribes wrote contracts between themselves but nevertheless strictly based them on the contract formula. This indicates that these scribes, whose main duty was copying Buddhist texts, were also accustomed to writing non-religious documents. In fact, drafts and scribal exercises of letters are also numerous on *gleg-tshas*. Many of these draft letters are not their own but those of Tibetan officials. As discussed in Takeuchi ("Sale": 779–781), the Tibetan contracts in Dunhuang were written neither by debtors nor by creditors but by scribes. Given the above, I am inclined to consider that these Chinese scribes, who were levied for copying sutras, also wrote some of these Old Tibetan contracts and possibly some of the letters between Tibetan officials as well. In other words, they served not only as sutra copyists but also as scribes.

Concerning the contract formula, a particularly interesting point in Text 1 is paragraph 5a, where a second and third bond is mentioned. It is inferred from the paragraph that a second (or third) contract was sometimes made, in case the first contract was breached. This also seems to be true of Text 3.

3.2 A contract for the borrowing of paper

Text 3

A contract for the borrowing of paper: P. 1078

1' In the spring of the dragon year, Shang he-'do (常海奴?), a paper maker in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district, borrowed two hundred bolts of long-bolt paper from *blon* Rgyal-zigs; but [the loan] has not been repaid.

2 [In order to pay the loan, Shang he-'do] borrowed in advance [from Bung dze-weng] two hundred bolts of long-bolt paper, which was in the hands of Bung (彭?) dze-weng for the purpose of copying [sutras as] an offering.

3' As for the terms of repayment, it is promised that the payment should be made on the fifth of the middle summer month of the dragon year;

4' but the borrower conspired and did not repay; in the meantime, Dze-weng (the creditor) fell ill and was not able to collect (*brda'?*) [the loan].

2' When [the creditor tried to] collect the paper from He-'do again in the first winter month of the sheep year, the debtor (i.e. He-'do) said, "[I] did not repay the paper for two or three years; neither did a [paper] collector (*rub-ma-pa*) try to collect [the paper]. [But] it was my fault that I did not repay, and [my] guarantor is also requesting that the time [for repayment] be decided."

3 Thus, the second time-limit (*yang-dus*) was set [as follows]: It is decided Dze-weng be repaid two hundred long bolts of paper in all on the tenth of the middle winter month of the sheep year.

4, 5a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay at that time, or if he conspires [not to pay], the indoor treasures, outdoor wealth cattle, whatever [property there is] at the household of the borrower may be forfeited for [the amount of double the payment]; and that [the borrower] should not start a lawsuit against it.

4" In addition [to this], it is decided that [the borrower] must be caned on a charge of disturbing the offering (i.e. copying sutras).

6 As witness to the thus decided [bond], the witness seals of Im (陰) gtsug-legs, Je'u (趙) tse-weng, Pin [. . .], and the hand-letter-measure of He-'do, not having a private seal, are hereby affixed.

8 Within the two hundred long bolts to be paid is one *theb* of paper for the yearly tribute.

7 (a private seal and a sign-mark?)

(upside down:) the hand-letter-measure of Shang he-'do

Text 3 is a contract concerning the borrowing of paper. This statement deviates considerably from the formula mainly due to the complex situation and the process of the contract, which may be reconstructed as follows: The borrower, Shang he-'do, a Chinese inhabitant of Dunhuang, was a paper maker who

belonged to the Stong-sar thousand-district. He first borrowed paper from a Tibetan official; but he was unable to repay (paragraph 1'). He had to borrow paper again from another Chinese, Bung dze-weng; who, being a scribe, had on hand paper provided for copying sutras as an offering from the *Btsan-po* or the prince (paragraph 2). The two parties set the time limit for repayment (paragraph 3'), but the borrower did not pay by the time limit, against which the creditor was unable to take any action due to illness (paragraph 4'). Three years later, the borrower agreed to repay and make the current contract (paragraph 2'). Paragraphs 1' through 2' are the description of the breach of the previous contract and the reason for making the current contract. The new time limit was set again in paragraph 3. From paragraph 3 on, the text basically follows the contract formula. Thus, this was the second (or third) contract for the borrowing of paper, made after the breach of the first (or second) contract.

Another peculiar point to note is paragraph 4'', an official penalty. The official penalty of caning for breach of contract is common in sale contracts (Takeuchi "Sale": 777), but it is rarely found in loan contracts. This penalty clause was specially added to this contract because the borrowed object was originally official property, and the delay in repayment of it could have jeopardized the official work of copying sutras.

3.3 A contract for the borrowing of cotton

Text 4 is a contract for the borrowing of cotton between two Chinese priests. One of the two witnesses is also a priest. The text contains various grammatical errors and misspellings, suggesting that it was written by an unskilled scribe. Nevertheless, the text basically conforms to the contract formula. A peculiar point is that paragraph 5a is missing and paragraph 5b is given instead.

Text 4

A contract for the borrowing of cotton: P. 2127

2] from [priest] Cang (張) 'e-shung, He-eng (慧英 ?) took an advance loan of [.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made on the [?] of the last spring month of the tiger year.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay at that time, the double the amount of good cotton is to be paid.

4b It is [also] decided that the security for the [loaned] cotton, namely *gtsag spu-[rgu?]* containing three *bre* of *tog-le* (?), is to be forfeited.

5b It is decided that in case priest He-eng is absent, the [two] guarantors, Then bun-'de and Je'u hvo-'do (趙和奴 ?), are to repay immediately as is stated in the above sentences.

6 As witness to the thus decided [bond], the witness seals of priest Cang (張) he-tshe'u, Cang ka-shun (張嘉俊 ?) and so on, [and] the hand-letter-

[measures] and the private seals of He-eng and the two guarantors are hereby affixed.

7 (upside down:)

the hand-letter-measure of He-tshe'u

the hand-letter-measure of Je'u hvo-'do being marked

3.4 A contract for the borrowing of a silk kerchief

Text 5

A contract for the borrowing of a silk kerchief: Hedin 2

1 In the winter of the [...] year, at the time when *blon* [...] was [...];
2 the loan of half [...] and a half *yug* of silk (*men-dri?*) from [An? ...]
ngo-log was made by Li (李) sar-zhong;

3 [as for] the time of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made on the fifteenth of the first winter month.

4 It is decided that [if the borrower] should fail to repay at that [time], [he] must pay double the amount; thereafter as for the time of payment, it is decided that it must be paid on the fifteenth of the middle month;

6 to [the thus decided bond] the witness [seals] of Sthang-bzang lha-brtsan, *spa* Yang ber-myi, 'De mye-sa and so on and the finger-size-measure of Li sar-zhong are hereby affixed.

8 It is decided to offer (*sar?*) to whoever is holding (*'dzas mchis-pa?*) this [
7 (upside down:) [the finger-size-measure of] Li sar-zhong

(a private seal and a simplified signature mark)

Text 5 is one of the three Old Tibetan contracts found in the Hedin Collection. Their provenance and date are discussed by Takeuchi ("Hedin"): i.e. they were most probably unearthed from Domoko, an area east of Khotan, and were written in 801 (or possibly 813). This is a contract for borrowing *men-dri*, a kind of silk cloth,²¹⁾ which is mentioned in several texts related to Khotan.

From the formulaic point of view, this text is peculiar among the loan contracts in that the date (paragraph 1) is stated by a combination of the twelve-year cycle and the place and convokers of the assembly. Another peculiar point is the total lack of paragraph 5. The unusual form of the finger-size-measure is also notable.

As discussed in Takeuchi ("Hedin"), the three Hedin contracts differ considerably from the others due to the specific situation in which they were written (cf. Takeuchi "Hedin" for more details).

3.5 A contract for the borrowing of household utensils

Text 6

A contract for the borrowing of household utensils: Ch. 86. ii verso
 (=vol. 53, fol. 50=TLTD 2: 45=VP. 1424)

- 1 In the spring of the bird year,
- 2 Song sam-nyang (宋三娘), wife of Ling-ho (=Leng-ho 令狐) ling-lug in the military [thousand-district], having made contact with Be'u-zhan, a female bondservant of Ling-ho shib-tig (令狐什德?), borrowed from Shib-bir the [following] goods, [namely] four cups, three *deb-tse*, and an old string [made of] twisted cotton threads;
- 3 as for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the fifth of the last spring month of the dog year to the household of Ling-ho shib-bir.
- 4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay at that time, the amount [of payment] shall be doubled,
- 5a and barley, copper utensils, or cups, whatever [property there is] at the borrower's household may be forfeited, against which [the borrower] should not start a lawsuit.
- 4b Again, it is decided that three and a half *chag* of cotton and four Chinese *bre* of barley must [be paid] no later than the tenth of the middle spring month of the dog year in order to redeem a door-bolt with a key, which have been deposited as the security; in case [they] should not be redeemed at that time, the door-bolt and [the key?] are to be forfeited, too.
- 6 As witness to the thus decided [bond], the witness seals of Cang (張) gu-gu, La (羅) legs-lod, Khe'u (高) bzang-gong and so on, and the hand-letter-measures of Song [sam nya]ng and her husband, Ling-lug, and the finger-size-measure of Sam-nyang are hereby affixed.
- 7 (upside down:)
 - the hand-letter-measure of husband, Ling-ho ling-lug
 - the hand-letter-measure of [Khe]'u bzang-gong (a witness)
 - the finger-size-measure of Song sam-nyang

Text 6 is a contract for the borrowing of household utensils by a housewife. The borrower, Song sam-nyang (宋三娘), is the wife of Ling-ho (令狐) ling-lug, who acted as guarantor. The borrower, having made contact with a female servant of Ling-ho shib-tig (什德?), borrowed household goods from Ling-ho shib-bir. Thus, the creditor, Ling-ho shib-bir, and Ling-ho shib-tig must have been related (—possibly brothers). And the borrower's husband may have been related, too. It is interesting that a formal contract like this was written for the borrowing of small household goods between relatives.

The text conforms with the formula, except that the statement concerning forfeiture of the security is quite substantial and more detailed than usual.

4. Contract for borrowing livestock

P. 1297 consists of seven distinct legal documents concerning the Yongshousi temple 永壽寺 (= *weng-shi'u-si* in Tibetan transliteration). They must have been glued together by the temple for the sake of preservation. Among them is found a contract for the borrowing of a mare (see Takeuchi "Cattle" and Takeuchi "Contracts," for more details on P. 1297).

Text 7

A contract for the borrowing of a mare: P. 1297 pièce 5

- 1 In the winter of the tiger year,
- 2 from Skyo yang-legs in the Se-tong-pa [thousand]-district, priest Cang leng-hyen (張靈顯) bought a female horse; afterwards, Yang-legs asked to borrow this horse.
- 3 Thus, it was decided that [the horse] should be returned to priest Leng-hyen no later than the middle autumn month of the hare year.
- 8 In case this female horse should die by that [time limit], a pregnant [horse] of the same (lit. reaching) size of the loaned one must immediately be repaid to Leng-hyen; and in case the horse concerned does not die and, having delivered a baby (*tshan [d]u stsald?*) in summer [and being with] a colt, [both the horse and the colt] will be taken [by Leng-hyen]; if the horse [turned out to be] not pregnant, Yang-legs is to take responsibility (i.e. give Leng-hyen a colt),—thus, it is decided.
- 5b In case Yang-legs should fail to return the horse by the time limit or if he should claim a dispute, the guarantors Skyo sma[.]-legs and Lha-stang-stang are to manage [the compensation], as is stated in the above pledge;
- 6 the private seals of the persons concerned (i.e. the borrower and the guarantors) and [the witness seals of] *blon* G.yu-[. .] are hereby affixed.
- 7 (four private seals)

The text is quite difficult to understand because of the complex situation and the unknown expressions found therein. I interpret the whole context as follows:

The creditor of the contract, Cang leng-hyen (張靈顯), was a priest of the Yongshousi temple. He bought a mare from Skyo yang-legs, a man in the Se-tong-pa [thousand]-district of the Mthong-kyabs people. But after the sale was completed, it turned out that the seller was still in need of the horse and thus asked to borrow it back. Accordingly, the two parties made a loan contract and set the time for repayment (paragraphs 1–2). There was, however, a special condition on the object of loan: namely, the horse was considered pregnant at the time of the sale and the subsequent loaning back. The following conditions were set for repayment: a) in case the horse should die, it must be compensated by another one of equal value (i.e. a pregnant one of the same size), b) in case the horse

delivers a colt, the colt should be given to the creditor together with the horse, c) even if it turns out that the horse was in fact not pregnant, the borrower should return the horse with a colt, because the borrower had admitted the pregnancy of the horse at the time he borrowed it (paragraph 8). It seems that a colt was considered to be the rent.

5. Contracts for loaning grain

Contracts for loaning grain are the most numerous among the loan contracts. Barley, wheat, millet, beans, and rice are mentioned as the objects of the loan. In some cases, the objects are stated only as *stsang* “grain” (e.g. Texts 14, 15) or *sa-bon* “seeds” (Text 12), but they undoubtedly mean barley or wheat (or both). Except for one text unearthed from the old Mirān fort, all the texts were found and apparently written in Dunhuang.

The borrowers are mostly local inhabitants, their status being commoners (*'bangs*), those who belong to a monastic estate (*lha-'bangs*), or bondservants (*bran*). Most of them are Chinese, but some belong to other ethnic groups or tribes such as the Sum-pa, Da-myi, Mthong-kyab, Khotanese, Uighurs, and Sogdians. Tibetan officials rarely acted as borrowers except in a few cases (Texts 17 and 18).

The creditors are either local inhabitants or temples. The temples loaned grain to the people of their monastic estates as well as to commoners who belonged to the thousand-districts such as Rgod-sar-gyi sde, and Snying-tshomsgyi sde. Grain was disbursed from a temple granary. A *dge-skos* is in some texts mentioned as taking charge of an account. When a temple made a loan to several peasants, the contract takes the form of a ledger.

In what follows we will first look at contracts for a single deal between two parties, namely, contracts for loaning grain between local inhabitants (§5.1), and contracts for loaning grain by a temple (§5.2). We will then discuss ledgers (§5.3).

5.1 Contracts for loaning grain between local inhabitants

Texts 9 and 10 are contracts for loaning grain between two Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang. The borrowers and the creditors belonged to different thousand-districts.

Text 9

A contract for the borrowing of barley: Ch. frag. 82 verso
(=TLTD 2: 58–59=VP. 1141)

- 1 At the beginning of the first summer month of the mouse year,
- 2 Sag (索) dge-legs of the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district borrowed in advance three *khal* of wheat and barley from [.] lha-skyes of the Snying-tsoms [thousand]-district.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the end of the middle autumn month of this year to the house of Lha-skyes in a lumpsum (lit. at one time) without any shortage in full measure.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he tries to conspire [not to pay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled,

5a and that, having made the object double, the outdoor wealth cattle, indoor treasures, tools, clothes, whatever [property there is] may be forfeited to the commission, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.

5b It is decided that if Dge-legs should be absent from his home place or if he is taken for an official duty (*rje-blas*), the guarantor (*mjal-gnya' kha-len*) is to take responsibility and repay as is stated in the above pledge.

6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of (blank space) and so on, and the private seal [and] the hand-letter-measure are hereby affixed.

Text 10

A contract for the borrowing of wheat: P. 1088/2²²)

1 At the beginning of the first spring month of the hare year,

2 Sag (索) dge-bstan of the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district borrowed in advance four *khal* of wheat from (lit. of) Cang (張) lha-legs of the Stong-sar [thousand]-district.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the end of the first [. . .] month of this year to the house of Lha-legs in a lumpsum without shortage of even one *bre* or one *phul*.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he tries to conspire [not to pay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled,

5a and that, having made the object [double] and examining the quality of barley [to be repaid], the outdoor wealth cattle, indoor treasures, tools, clothes, whatever [property there is] may be forfeited to the commission, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.

5b It is decided that if Dge-bstan is taken for an official duty and is not at his home place, or if he is in [financially] bad condition, the guarantor is to take responsibility and repay as is stated in the above pledge.

Text 9 is a complete text, while Text 10 is a draft. It lacks paragraph 6 (sealing remarks) and paragraph 7 (seals and signatures).

Text 11 is another contract for loaning grain between two Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang. Though I have found this text among the Kozlov Collection in the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg, the personal names in the

contract and the thousand-districts they belong to clearly indicate that it was written in Dunhuang.²³⁾

Text 11

Contracts for the borrowing of barley: Kozlov 4

- 1 In the summer of the dragon year,
- 2 He'u dar-tse (侯達子) of the Stong-sar [thousand]-district borrowed in advance two Chinese *sheg* (石) of barley from An (安) chung-legs.
- 3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the end of the middle autumn month [of this] year.
- 4b It is decided that in case [the borrower] should not repay by that time or if he conspires not to be able to repay, the security, —a vacant house and land of [. . . five . . .] from south to north and twenty *cheg* from east to west, which has been deposited as security—, will also [be forfeited? . . .],
- 4a and [the amount of payment] shall be doubled,
- 5a and that, having made the object [double], the outdoor wealth cattle and indoor treasures, whatever [property there is] at the household of the debtor may be forfeited to the creditor himself as is decided in this bond, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.
- 5b It is decided that if [the borrower] is not at his home place, or if he is in bad condition, the guarantor, Dze'u-za bur-tse (“wife from the 曹 family, given name 佛子”), the wife of the debtor, is to take responsibility and repay.
- 6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Wang kim-kang (王金剛), Cang (張) ldong-legs(?), Cang tsin-hing (張進興?) and so on, and the private seal and the finger-size-measure of the debtors are hereby affixed.
- 7 (a private seal with an inscription of the borrower:) He'u dar-tse

The existence of paragraph 4b (forfeiture of the security), which is missing in Texts 9 and 10, is an optional element of the formula and may be notable from the formulaic point of view.

Paragraph 4b is also found in Text 12. Text 12 is further distinguished by paragraph 2, where not only the subjects of the contract but also the process of loaning are stated. This statement is included because of the complex background behind the loan; namely, that the borrower, Song tig-tig, owned a field but was unable to farm it for himself. He thus asked the creditor, Wang hva-tshe, to farm the land together. But neither Song nor Wang had seeds for sowing. Thus, Wang made a loan of seeds from somewhere (e.g. a temple granary) and lent them to Song.²⁴⁾ A similar description of the process of loaning is found in Text 7.

Text 12²⁵⁾

A contract for the borrowing of grain seeds: P. 1115

- 1 In the spring of the snake year,
- 2 Song tig-tig (宋德々?) of the Snying-tshom [thousand]-district, [who owns] one and a half *dor* of crop field at Kham-cung, being unable to farm the field for himself, tilled [the field] together with Wang hva-tshe (王華子/和子?) as the equal partner. As for the seeds, Hva-tshe made a loan, and obtained two Chinese *sheg* (石) of seeds.
- 3 It is decided that, among the four *sheg* to be repaid in autumn [as] the cost of the loan, Song tig-tig should repay two Chinese *sheg* to Hva-tshe no later than the end of the middle autumn month without a shortage of even one *bre* or one *phul*.
- 4b It is decided that two doors (*sgo-mo gnyis*) which have been deposited in the hands of Hva-tshe as security for the two Chinese *sheg* will also be forfeited.
- 4a and [the amount of] barley will be changed (i.e. doubled?).
- 5b It is decided that if Song tig is absent, or if he turns out to be in bad condition, the guarantor for payment, Ser-za (i.e. a wife from the Ser (薛) family) shig-sam-nyang (十三娘), wife of the debtor, is to take responsibility.
- 6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Tshe'i in, Im (陰) se'u-se'u and so on, and the finger-size-measures of the debtor and the guarantor are hereby affixed.
- 7 (two private seals)

Text 14 is a rare example of a loan contract unearthed from the old Mīrān fort in the Lob-nor region.²⁶⁾ The borrower belonged to the Rtse-'thon thousand-district in the *Sum-pa'i ru*. The creditor, a person from the Rlang family, is most likely to be a Sum-pa. They were probably officials or soldiers sent from the *Sum-pa'i ru* and stationed in the Lob-nor area. Paragraph 3 indicates that the creditor was staying at Nob-chen-po "Great Nob" and not at Nob-chungu *alias* Mīrān. The text lacks the last few lines due to damage to the paper. The rest of the text is not very legible, either.

Text 14

A contract for the borrowing of barley and wheat: M. I. xvi. 22 recto

- 2 The loan of nine *khal* of wheat and barley, half of each, from Rlang khri-slebs was made by To[r]-'gu rmang-skyes of the Rtse-'thon [thousand]-district.
- 3 As for the terms of repayment, [the grain should be repaid] on the twentieth of the middle autumn month of the snake year at Nob-chen-po [5a] [the indoor] treasures, [outdoor wealth] cattle, barley, rice, whatever [property] of the debtor may be [forfeited ?] it is decided that five *khal* of barley is to be paid immediately;
- 6 as witness to the thus decided] bond [

Due to textual damage, we cannot fully analyze the construction of this contract; but it seems to lack paragraph 4 (penalty for breach of the terms of repayment). Though the paragraph with a question mark may be a statement of the penalty, it is not clear. On this point, this contract found in Mirān seems to deviate slightly from the formula.

5.2 Contracts for loaning grain by a temple

Among the documents of the Yongshousi temple (永壽寺) in P. 1297 are found three contracts for loaning grain by the temple (cf. Text 7 for P. 1297).

Text 8 is a contract for the borrowing of grain seeds. The borrower is a commoner in the Snying-tshoms thousand-district. Cang leng-hyen (張靈顯), a *dge-skos* of the Yongshousi temple, is mentioned as being in charge of loaning grain.

Text 8

A contract for the borrowing of grain seeds: P. 1297 pièce 1

- 1 (blank space)
- 2 Hva (華) dze-dze of the Snying-tshoms [thousand]-district, being in need with no seeds and provisions, borrowed in advance eight Chinese *shog* (石) of barley and wheat from the grain of the sacred assets of the Yongshousi temple (永壽寺).
- 3 [As for] the terms of repayment, it is decided that it should be delivered and paid to whichever granary of the ecclesiastical estate (*lha-ris*) designated by the priest Leng-hyen (靈顯), *dge-skos* of the Yongshousi temple, on the midday of the thirtieth of the middle autumn month of this year.
- 4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he tries to make fraud, [the amount of payment] shall be doubled,
- 5a and that, with [the amount] made double, the indoor treasures, outdoor wealth cattle, clothes, tools, whatever [property there is] at the household of Dze-dze may be forfeited to the commission, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.
- 5b It is decided that if Dze-dze should be absent, his son, Hva (華) khrom-legs, is to take responsibility and repay as is stated in the above pledge.
- 6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Wang (王) stagu, Li'u (劉) lha-legs (space) and so on, and the private seal [and] the hand-letter-measure of Dze-dze and the guarantor are hereby affixed.
- 7 (two private seals)

As for paragraph 1 (date), a space for the date is left blank. This is probably because the date of this contract is the same as that of the Chinese contracts written above this text, namely, 820 or 833 (Takeuchi "Cattle": §5). An optional element, paragraph 4b (forfeiture of the security), is missing. Except for these

differences, this contract faithfully follows the loan contract formula.

Two more loan contracts are found in P. 1297. They are written on one sheet of paper. Both contracts are for the loaning of beans. The borrower of Text 13A is a commoner of the Snying-tshoms thousand-district, while the borrower of Text 13B is a person attached to a monastic estate of the Yongshousi temple.

Text 13

Two contracts for the loaning of beans: P. 1297 pièce 6

A.

2 From the sacred grain assets of Weng-she'u-si (=the Yongshousi (永壽寺) temple), Khang (康) stag-tshang of the Snying-tshoms [thousand]-district borrowed ten Chinese *sheg* (?) of beans.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the thirtieth of the middle autumn month of the ox year and is to be delivered to the temple granary of Yongshousi without shortage of even one *phul*.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he tries to conspire [not to repay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled,

5a and that, having made the object [double], the indoor treasures, barley, [rice], whatever [property there is] in the household of the debtor may be forfeited to the commission, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit;

6 the private seal of Khang stag-tshang is affixed; as witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Song (宋) gu-hing, [. . .] Tshang(?) dze-dze, Leng-ho (令狐) ba'i-tig and so on are hereby affixed.

7 (two private seals, inscriptions illegible)

B

2 [From] the grain assets of the Yongshousi temple, [. . .]-de of the temple households attached to Yongshousi, borrowed two Chinese *sheg* of beans.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the thirtieth of the middle autumn month of the ox year and is to be delivered to the temple granary of Yongshousi without shortage of even once *phul*.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he tries to conspire [not to repay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled,

5a and that, having made the object [double], the indoor treasures, barley, [rice], clothes, tools, whatever [property there is] in the household of the debtor [may be forfeited], against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit.

5b It is decided that if the debtor should be absent, [the duty of] the guarantors who take responsibility will be imposed [on his] wife and children, and they will repay;

6 the [private] seal of the debtor is affixed; as witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Phab-tshven, Gong cha-dar, Leng-ho (令狐) be'i-tig and so on are hereby affixed.

7 (two private seals, inscriptions illegible)

A couple of contracts for loaning grain by an unnamed temple are written on a manuscript numbered S. 7133 in Or. 8210 in the British Library.²⁷⁾

Text 15

Two contracts for the loaning of grain: S. 7133 (Or. 8210)

A

2 From the grain of the monastic estate [which is] in the hands of priest Dze'u (曹) ing-dzeb, Ka' (賈) dze-shing [and] Bam-za shub [=shib]-sam-nyang (十三娘 of the 汜 family) of the [. . .]-district [borrowed] two *khal* of [. . .]

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of this year to the household [of the creditor] without any shortage in full measure.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he conspires [not to repay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled,
5a and that, having made the object [double] and examining the quality of barley [to be repaid], the outdoor wealth cattle, indoor [treasures], [. . .] clothes, whatever [property there is] in the household of Dze-shing, the debtor, may be forfeited to the commission, against which [the borrower should not start any] lawsuit;

5b [it is decided] that if Dze-shing and Bam-za shub-sam-nyang should be absent, or [. . .], the guarantor, Leng-ho (令狐) ge-zhen, is to take responsibility as is stated in the above pledge.

6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of 'Ba' (馬) shing-kun, Sgub-tse sme-ye and (space) and so on, and the private seal and the finger-size-measure [of the debtor] are hereby affixed.

7 (three private seals, inscriptions illegible)

B

2 Among the grain of the Yu-lem monastic estate [which is] in the hands of priest Dze'u (曹) ing-dzeb, Dze'u (曹) rma-brtsan of the [Snying]-tshom [thousand]-district borrowed in advance [. . .] Chinese *shog* of barley.

3 As for the terms of repayment, it is decided that the payment should be made no later than the fifteenth of [. . .] of this year to the granary of the monastic estate in full measure without any shortage.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time or if he conspires [not to repay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled, 5a and that, having made the object [double], examining the quality of barley [to be repaid] and holding as [. . .] the monastic estate, the outdoor wealth cattle, indoor treasures, tools, whatever [property there is in the household of] the debtor, may be forfeited, against which [the borrower] should not start any lawsuit;

6 as witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Leng-[po . . .], [. . .]-tse sme-ye and so on, and the private seal and the hand-letter-[measure] of the debtor, Rma-brtsan, [are hereby affixed].

7 (four private seals, inscriptions illegible)

Both texts are crossed out by oblique lines. This probably indicates that the loans were cleared (cf. Texts 23, 24, 25 paragraph I).

5.3 Ledgers

A contract for loaning grain may take the form of a ledger when one creditor makes a loan to several borrowers. We may distinguish three types among them: type A, a contract in which a creditor loans grain to several borrowers at a time; type B, a series of contracts of a single deal by the same creditor; and type C, a series of ledgers of type A. Type C is thus a combination of types A and B. Ledgers of type A basically follow the contract formula. In ledgers of type B, each contract is usually written in a more simplified formula, where only the information peculiar to each of the contracts is stated, and the statements common to a whole ledger, such as paragraphs 4a and 5a, are often omitted to avoid repetition.²⁸⁾

Text 16 is a ledger of type A. It is a contract for loaning barley by a Tibetan official, *zhang* Khri-gzigs, to eight Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang. The borrowers belong to the unit (*tshan*) headed by 'Go klu-gzigs, but it is not known which thousand-district in Dunhuang this *tshan* belongs to.²⁹⁾

Text 16

A ledger for the loaning of grain by a Tibetan official: P. 1101

2 [Since] the tax [payment] of the households of the unit (*tshan*) of the head (*lnga-bcu-rkang*), 'Go (興) klu-gzigs [became] insufficient, [the deficit] was imposed on the households. [But] as [the grain] was not collected (lit. did not come out) immediately, [they] made a large loan from the barley [of] the household of *zhang* Khri-gzigs.

3 And it is decided that [the repayment] of double the amount should be made to the granary on the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of the dog year.

2' The amount deficient for each name is written here: one *khal* for Ha (何)

le'u-le'u, four *khal* for Wang shun-shun (王俊々?), four *khal* for Cang (張) li-ki'u, six *khal* for Wang (王) kun-ci, three *khal* for Cang pe'u-hing (張保興?), two *khal* for 'Go kim-kang (吳金剛), three *khal* for Sheg pe'u-kim (石寶金?), one *khal* for Khang (康) deng-tsun.

3' It is decided that these amounts should be paid at the above mentioned time.

4a It is decided that in case they should fail to repay by that time or if they conspire not to pay, [the amount of payment] shall be doubled,

5a and that, having made the object [double], the [indoor] treasures, [outdoor] wealth cattle, whatever [property there is] in the households of the debtors may be confiscated by [the creditor] himself without organizing a commission, against which [the debtors] should not start any lawsuit.

6 As witness to the thus decided bond, the witness seals of Stag-bzang si'u-dam, 'Bal khong-rton, Ngom to-to, Chang (張) kog-tsheng and so on, and the private seals and the hand-letter-measures of the debtors are hereby affixed.

7 (upside down:)

the finger-size-measure of Shig bu-kim (=Sheg pe'u-kim) being affixed

the hand-letter-measure of Ha le'u-le'u being affixed

the hand-letter-measure of commoner Cang pe'u-hing being affixed

The first paragraph (paragraph 2) gives the subjects of the contract together with the process of and the reason for loaning: The eight Chinese householders, having failed to pay the grain tax, had to rent grain from a Tibetan official at high interest. The interest rate is stated as 100% in the next paragraph. Paragraph 3' is a name list of the borrowers with the amount loaned to each person. Paragraphs 4a, 5a, and 6 consist of idiomatic expressions found in loan contracts. In paragraph 7 are found the finger-seals of three of the eight borrowers. There are no private seals. Interestingly, the finger-seals are of three different kinds: *mdzub-mo-tshad*, *sug-yig-tshad*, and *lag-yig-tshad*. Their forms are discussed in Takeuchi ("Sale": 778–780).

Text 17 is a ledger of type B. It consists of two sheets of paper glued together. On the first sheet, which is complete, are written six separate paragraphs labeled as texts C through H. The second sheet is fragmentary, and has only two paragraphs: texts A and B. These two sheets are joined in such a way that texts A and B precede texts C through H. All the texts are apparently written by the same hand and they all concern the loaning or disbursing of grain by a temple creditor. Together they form a ledger or a record of disbursements. In the translation given below, only the texts written in the contract form, namely texts C, D, E, and G, will be paragraphed according to the contract formula.

Text 17

A ledger for the loaning of grain by a temple: P. 1104

A Four *khal* of rice was put out as the substance to be offered to *blon* Stag-zigs later, and was consigned to porters (*sgye'u-ka*). (two private seals, inscriptions illegible)

B [When] the granary of Ja-me-ting was cleaned, eight *khal* of rotten millet were found; among them, since two *khal* looked somewhat usable as material for [making] beverages, they were consigned to brewers (*chang-pha*). The [remaining] six *khal* were so badly rotten that they were consigned to porters. (a private seal, inscription illegible)

C

1 At the beginning of the first autumn month of the dog year, when the inspector of the military district government (*dmag-dpon spyan*) *blon* Stag-zigs came [to Dunhuang],

2 due to a lack of material for [making] beverages collected from the people of the [thousand]-districts, [they] borrowed ten *khal* of millet from the grain of the monastic estate; and Cang weng-yir (張榮逸?) of the Snying-tshoms [thousand]-district and Li dzin-dar (李進達) of the Stong-sar [thousand]-district received [the millet].

3 It is decided that [the millet] should be repaid to the granary of the monastic estate no later than the fifteenth of the last autumn month of this year.

4a It is decided that in case [the borrowers] should fail to return by that time, making [the amount double],

5a whatever [property there is] may be forfeited from the households of the debtors;

6 the private seals [of the borrowers] are hereby affixed.

7 (Two private seals are affixed and are crossed out. The inscriptions are not legible.)

D

1 At the same time as the above [contract],

2 *blon* Klu-bzang borrowed ten *khal* of millet from the grain of the monastic estate.

3 It is decided that [the millet] should be repaid to the granary of the monastic estate no later than the fifteenth of the last autumn month of this year.

5b As the sureties (*gtan-pa*) of the thus decided bond, An lha-'[dus], Cang dzin-dar, Khang ce'u-ce'u and Cang pug-tse have been designated;

5a It is decided that in case [the borrower] should fail to repay by that time, making [the amount double], whatever [property there is] may be forfeited [from the households of] the sureties.

5b These [men] were also made the sureties [who are liable for] breaking [of the bond];

Texts A, B, E, and H are records of the disbursing of grain from a temple granary. The grain was disbursed as food and material for brewing beverages for *blon* Stag-zigs. Text C is a contract for borrowing grain by local inhabitants of Dunhuang in order to pay the grain tribute for making beverages for *blon* Stag-zigs. A similar case is found in text E, where grain was borrowed by a Tibetan official for making beverages for *blon* Stag-zigs. These texts indicate that the visit of *blon* Stag-zigs, the inspector of the Kva-cu *khrom*, to Dunhuang was so important an event that the temples, the local people, and the local officials in Dunhuang had to serve festive drinks for his reception.

Concerning the contract formula, however, Texts D, E, and G are contracts for borrowing grain by Tibetan officials. A peculiar point common to these texts is the existence of sureties (*gtan-pa*): although the grain was borrowed by a Tibetan official, it was received by or consigned to servants or retainers of that official. These retainers were not Tibetans but local inhabitants, several Chinese and one Turk (probably an Uighur), judging from their names. They also seem to have served as sureties who were responsible for repayment and were liable for breaking the bond. Moreover, they affixed their seals or hand-letter-measures as debtors. Thus, although sureties (*gtan-pa*) may be considered to serve the same function as guarantors (*khas-len*), Text 17 and Text 18 suggest that these sureties are likely to have had heavier responsibilities than the guarantors found in other contracts. Texts C and E are crossed out by oblique lines, which probably means that the loans were cleared.

There is another ledger, Text 18, which is very similar to Text 17 both in appearance and content. They share the creditor, and some of the borrowers and sureties. For example, the temple granary Jang-meng-ting in Text 18 (text A) is identical with Ja-me-ting in Text 17 (text B).

Ten separate texts are found in Text 18, namely, texts A through J. They are all contracts for loaning grain except for text D, which is apparently a later addition written in smaller letters, in a different hand, in the space between text C and text E. In these contracts are found three different kinds of borrowers, namely, Tibetan officials (texts A, E and I), local inhabitants (texts F, G and H), and priests (texts B, C, J). It is worth noting that the priests in at least two of three texts (texts B and J), are of very high rank, with the title of *mkhan-po*. Furthermore, the borrower of text J is *mkhan-po* Hong-ben *alias* 吳洪辯, who was a leading priest-official in Dunhuang toward the end of the Tibetan rule and the beginning of the rule of Gui-yi-jun.

Text 18

A ledger for the loaning of grain by a temple: P. 1203

A

- 1 At the same time as the above [contract],
- 2 *blon* Klu-bzang borrowed ten *khal* of millet (*ci-tse* 稷子) from the granary of Jang-meng-ting.

3 It is decided that [the millet] should be repaid to the granary of the monastic estate no later than the fifteenth of the last autumn month of this year.

5b An lha-'dus has been designated as the surety (*gtan-pa*) of the thus decided bond;

6 the private seal is hereby affixed.

7 (a private seal, inscription illegible)

B

3 *Mkhan-po* Tshang-gi rgyal-po borrowed six *khal* of millet;

5b Li (李) dpal-legs and Cang (張) cung-cung have been designated as the sureties for autumn repayment;

6 [they] have affixed their private seals.

7 (two private seals)

C

2 Priest Dpal-dbyang borrowed five *khal* of millet;

3 it is decided that he should repay in autumn of this year;

6 the private seal is affixed.

7 (a private seal and a signature in Chinese characters:) 赤沒昔子

D By comparing the obtained grain (*stsang-'bogs*) with the sum given by the commission, it turned out that two and a half *khal* of millet was lost [on the way]. It is decided that the porters are to pay [back the loss] in autumn.

E

1 On the twenty-third of the first summer month,

2 seventy *khal* of wheat was disbursed from the granary of Srog-mkhar and given to *blon* Khri-brtsan as a loan.

3 It is decided that [the wheat] should be repaid to the granary of the monastic estate on the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of this year.

5b As the sureties (*gtan-pa*) of the thus decided bond, the horsemen (*chis-ka?*), Im (陰) dzi-hvan and Den-tsheng have been designated;

6 the private seals are hereby affixed.

F

2 Two *khal* of [millet] was loaned to Je'u (趙) wan-ben and 'Gem ing-tse (嚴英子?), one *khal* for each.

3 It is decided that [the millet] should be repaid in autumn of this year;

6 the private seals of the debtors are hereby affixed.

7 (three private seals)

G

3 Dze'u (曹) che'u-tse of the Snying-tsons [thousand]-district borrowed one *khal* of millet.

3 It is decided that [the millet] should be repaid in autumn of this year;

6 the private seals are hereby affixed.

H

2 Ge'u (高?) dge-legs of the Stong-sar [thousand]-district borrowed five *khal* of millet.

3 [It is decided that the millet] should be repaid on the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of this year.

5b Ha (何) dze-tsheng has been designated as the surety;

6 the private seals are hereby affixed.

7 (two private seals)

I

2 *Blon* Mdo-brtsan borrowed five *khal* of millet.

3 [It is decided that the millet] should be repaid on the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of this year.

5b Men dar-tse (孟達子?) has been designated as the surety;

6 the private seals are hereby affixed.

7 (two private seals)

J

2 *Mkhan-po* Hong-ben (洪辯) borrowed twenty *khal* of millet.

3 [It is decided that the millet] should be repaid on the fifteenth of the middle autumn month of the dog year.

5b Ha dze-tsheng has been designated as the surety;

6 he has affixed the private seal.

7 (a private seal)

8 It is decided that this twenty *khal* [of millet] is hereafter to be counted as the price of the previously received one *srang* of butter, the food for the *mkhan-po*.

P. 2124 (=Text 19) and P. 2125 (=Text 20) are ledgers for the loaning of grain by the same temple creditor. Both Texts 19 and 20 consist of several contracts. Three contracts are found in Text 19 and two in Text 20. Each contract concerns the loaning of grain to several borrowers. Thus, Texts 19 and 20 are ledgers of type C.

Text 19 and Text 20

Ledgers for the loaning of grain by a temple: P. 2124 and P. 2125

Text 19

A

2] six *khal* and [. . .] of barley [. . .] Gno stag-[rt]on, a lord, and his servants, Dru-gu lha-cung and Dru-gu a-se, [borrowed . . .] and a half *khal* of barley;
5b] each one got a surety.

3 As for the time of repayment, it is decided that [the barley] should be repaid in the [. . .] winter month of the sheep year to a monk [. . . lha . . .].

2' Afterwards, Dru-gu lha-cung [. . .] borrowed [. . .] and one and a half *bre* [of barley];

3' [at] the above time limit [.

6] the private seals and the hand-letter-measures of the borrowers and the [seals of] the witnesses, Gno mang-legs and Gno [. . .], are hereby affixed.

7 (upside down:) the hand-letter-[measure] of Dru-gu a-se
(seven private seals)

B

1 In the summer of [. . .],

2 from the grain assets in Dar-ma-sa, a place [where the] assembly [was held], [. . . khyi]-spe of the Zha-pa [district] of the monastic estate borrowed in advance three [*khal*] of barley and Khri-thang sog-po borrowed three *khal* of barley;

5b each one of them [got a surety].

3 As for the time of repayment, it is decided that [the payment should be made] on the fifteenth of the middle winter month of this year as is stated in the sentences of the bond.

4a It is decided that in case they do not repay by that time or if they try to conspire [not to pay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled;

6 the private seal and hand-letter-measure of the two borrowers [and the seals of] the witnesses [. . .] are hereby affixed.

7 (a part of a finger-size-measure and three private seals)

C

2] borrowed two [*khal* of barley?], and [. . .]i khyi-spe and Khri-thang sog-po [of] G[nya?]-tsha[n].

6] as witness to [the bond on which are affixed the private] seals and hand-letter-measure [of the borrowers], the witness seals of Skyogs [. . .] and so on are hereby affixed.

7 (four private seals)

Text 20

A

2 [In] the Zha-pa'i sde, Cang (張) le'u-le'u, a bondservant of [Kam] klu-bzher sngo-brtsan borrowed four *khal* and [. . .] *bre* of barley; A-snas

- mdo-legs borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and Yem (闇) 'j[i]ng-khyi-cung borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; Li'u (劉) sin-cung borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and
- 2 [among] the people put [into the region of] Bong, Da-myi yul-byin borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and Mo-lgo 'dzom-ge borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and
- 2 [in] Phug-yog-pa'i sde, Rgya so-gu, a bondservant of Rmar kam bzang-kong borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; Dru-gu khrom-skyes borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and
- 2 [in] Myang-ro'i [sd]e, Tshe'u dzin-hing (曹進興?), a bondservant of Dru-gu [tsho-stong?] borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; [Gshen?] gsas-chung, a commoner in Lug-ngan da-bu-sa, borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; [Sl]e lha-led, a commoner in Mngan khri-gsa(?), borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; Khe-rgad lha-chung borrowed two and a half *khal* and four *bre* of barley; and
- 5b each one of them got a surety;
- 3 it is decided that the repayment should be made [by] the time limit, as is stated in the sentences of the bond (*dam-gyi glad-nam*), to the granary of Dar-ma-sa;
- 6 the private seals and hand-letter-measures of the borrowers and [. . .], and the witness seals of Klu-brtan and so on are hereby affixed.
- 7 (seven hand-letter-measures in an upside down position:)
- the hand-letter of Rgya so-gu
 - the hand-letter of Dru-gu khrom-skyes being affixed
 - the hand-letter-measure of Khe-rgad lha-cung being affixed
 - the hand-letter-measure of A-snas mdo-legs
 - the hand-letter-measure of Yem 'jIng-khyi-cung being affixed
 - the hand-letter of Da-myi yu[l-byin]
 - the hand-letter-measure of Mo-lgo 'dzo-'ge
- (seven private seals)

B

- 1 In the spring of the ape year,
 2 'Ga [. . .], a subject of Dkor sde [

The name of the temple creditor of both Text 19 and Text 20 is not given. The borrowers and the districts they belong to are listed below.

The names of the borrowers suggest that they belong to various tribes or ethnic groups, including Chinese, Turks (*Dru-gu*), Sum-pa, and Da-myi. They are either commoners (*'bangs*) or bondservants (*bran*). In the former case, the division or place to which each borrower belongs is also mentioned, while in the latter case the lord of each borrower is mentioned. The borrowers are also divided into *sde*. Four *sde* are mentioned: i.e. Zha-pa'i sde, Phug-yog-pa'i sde, Myang-ro'i sde, and Dkor sde. They were probably the districts or divisions of the monastic estates of

Name List for P. 2124–2125

district (<i>sde</i>)	lord or division	borrower
P. 2124 A lac.	Gno stag-rton	Dru-gu lha-cung Dru-gu a-se
P. 2124 B, C Zha-pa[i sde]		khyi-spe Khri-thang sog-po
P. 2125 A Zha-pa'i sde	[Kam] klu-bzher sngo-brtsan (<i>gyi bran</i>)	Cang le'u-le'u A-snas mdo-legs Yem 'jing-khyi-cung Li'u sin-cung
	Bong-tsugs-pa('I 'bangs)	Da-myi yul-byin Mo-lgo 'dzom-ge
Phug-yog-pa'i sde	Rmar kam bzang-kong (<i>gi bran</i>)	Rgya so-gu Dru-gu khrom-skyes
Myang-ro'i sde	Dru-gu [tsho-stong?] (<i>gi bran</i>) Lug-ngan da-bu-sa('i 'bangs) Mngan khri-[gsa?](<i>'i 'bangs</i>)	Tshe'u dzin-hing [Gshen] gsas-chung [Sl]e lha-led Khe-rgad lha-chung
P. 2125 B Dkor sde		'Ga [

the temple creditor.

The tribal names of some borrowers (i.e. Da-myi and Rgya) suggest an origin in North-Eastern Tibet: Da-myi may correspond to Chinese Duomi 多彌 in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書,³⁰⁾ while Rgya may be a clan name of the Sum-pa tribe.³¹⁾ Myang-ro'i sde may be located either in Rtsang or Eastern Tibet (Sato *Rekishichiri*: 398–399). Thus, most of the borrowers seem to have come from outside Dunhuang, though there is little doubt that they were living in Dunhuang at the time of the contracts. Texts 19 and 20 seem to suggest that many non-Chinese and non-Tibetan inhabitants of east and north-eastern Tibet immigrated to Dunhuang during the Tibetan rule.³²⁾

Text 21 (=P. 1119) is another ledger for the loaning of grain by a temple. It is probably a ledger of type C; however, due to textual damage, only one contract remains identifiable. The contract consists of eight paragraphs (i.e. paragraphs D through K below).³³⁾ Paragraph D states the subjects and the conditions of contract, while paragraphs E through K are a name register:³⁴⁾ each paragraph lists the amount of millet loaned to each *tshan*, and also lists the name of the head

of the *tshan*. Interestingly, millet was loaned not to each household but to each unit called a *dog-tshan*. It was delivered to the head of each *dog-tshan*, called *dog-ngan*. Though the relation between the *dog-tshan* and the *tshan*, the subordinate administrative units of *stong-sde*, on the one hand, and the *dog-ngan* and the *lnga-bcu-rkang*, the head of a *tshan*, on the other, is not yet very clear, *dog-tshan* may be the units selected and formed from the members of each *tshan* for a particular purpose such as borrowing grain.³⁵⁾ It is also worth noting that a *dge-skos* of the temple is named as the person responsible for loaning the grain. It was probably a common practice in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang that *dge-skos* were in charge of loaning grain from the temple granary to which they belonged as exemplified by Text 8. But Text 21 is unique in that different *dge-skos* of the temple took charge of each loaning. At the end of each paragraph are sealed two round vermilion seals. One must be the seal of the borrower, *dog-ngan*, and the other is most probably the seal of *dge-skos*.

Text 21

A ledger for the loaning of grain by a temple: P. 1119

D

2] having distributed [. . .] millet, [the millet was] given as the bundle of loans by the commoners; *dog-ngan* [. . .] will be given as a loan; to the *dge-skos* and *dog-ngan* of each [borrower
 3 at] the time, as is stated in the bond, *dog-ngan* and *dge-skos* [will
 4 if they should] not repay by [the time limit] or should the grain actually not be collected, . . .] of each *dog-ngan* [
 6 having thus decided, a name register of distributing millet as a loan to each *dog-tshan* [is written as follows:]

E

2] having distributed twenty-seven and a half *khal* of millet, [the millet was delivered to] *dge-skos* Dam-hve and *dog-ngan* Dang bur-'do (唐佛奴) [
 6 (missing due to damage to the paper)
 7 (two private seals)

F

2] having distributed twenty-three *khal* of millet to the *tshan* [of . . .], [the millet was] delivered to Ha (何) stag-rton;
 6 [his] private seal [is affixed].
 7 (missing due to damage to the paper)

G

2] having distributed twenty-six *khal* of millet to the *tshan* of Big kim-kim (白金々?), [the millet was] delivered to Big kim-kim;

- 6 [his] private seal [is affixed].
7 (missing due to damage to the paper)

H

- 2] having distributed eleven *khal* of millet to the *tshan* of Khang hva-'do (康華奴), [the millet was] delivered to Khang hva-'do;
6 [his] private seal is affixed.
7 (missing due to damage to the paper)

I

- 2] having distributed forty-eight *khal* of millet to the *tshan* of Sheng kun-tse (常君子), [the millet was delivered to] *dge-skos* De'u-wen and *dog-ngan* Sheng kun-tse;
6 [their] private seals are affixed.
7 (two private seals)

J

- 2] having distributed eighteen and a half *khal* and five *bre* of millet to the *tshan* of the *dog-ngan*, Cang (張) he-je'u, [the millet was delivered to] *dge-skos* Ci-dzig and Cang he-[je'u];
6 [their] private seals are affixed.
7 (two private seals)

K

- 2] having distributed twenty-eight and a half *khal* and five *bre* of millet to the *tshan* of the *dog-ngan*, An kim-kang, [the millet was delivered to] *dge-skos* De'u-si and An kim-kang (安金剛);
6 [their] private seals are affixed.
7 (two private seals)

L

- 2] *dog-[ngan]* [
6 (missing due to damage to the paper)
7 (missing due to damage to the paper)

Although P. 1208 and P. 1221 are now separate and assigned different numbers, they undoubtedly once formed a single piece, which we shall call Text 22 here. On the combined manuscripts are found two ledgers, text A and text B, for loaning wheat, apparently by the same creditor.

Text A consists of several entries; here we call them entries (a) through (f). Each entry consists of the following items: 1) name of the borrower, 2) the [thousand]-district to which the borrower belongs, 3) the head of the unit (*tshan*) to which the borrower belongs, 4) the sureties (*gtan-pa*) for repayment: the

borrower himself and another person, probably the borrower's relative, 5) the amount of wheat to be borrowed. A witness is mentioned only in entry (c). Private seals or hand-letter-measures are marked at the end of each contract.

Similar to text A, text B has multiple entries (g) through (j). The difference between text A and text B is that text A mentions a single borrower and a surety who act as joint-debtors. Text B, on the other hand, includes two separate borrowers. Each borrower also mentions another person as his surety. In other words, text A is a ledger of type B, while text B is a ledger of type C. The following translation is paragraphed according to these entries. But, since all the entries are written in the same formula, they are not subdivided into paragraphs.

Text 22

Ledgers for the loaning of wheat: P. 1208+P. 1221

A

(a)] borrowed in advance. Bam bur-tshe (汜佛子) and the [the borrower] himself have been designated as the sureties for repayment; [. . .] (a private seal)

(b) Bam (汜) stag-legs of the *tshan* of Cang (張) stagu in the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district borrowed in advance one [. . .]. Bam dzo-shang (汜再裳?) and [the borrower] himself have been designated as the sureties for repayment. (the signature of Bam dzo-shang in Chinese script) 汜再裳(?)

(c) [. . . of the *tshan* of] Im (陰) ka [. . .] in the Snying-tshoms [thousand]-district borrowed two *khal* of wheat. [The borrower] himself, [. . .]-brang, and Bu dar-ta (武達多?) have been designated as the sureties for repayment. The seal of the witness Dze'u lang-tshe (曹朗子?) is hereby affixed. (a private seal)

(d) 'Ba hor-tshe (馬骨子?) of the *tshan* of Sag khun-tshe in the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district borrowed three and a half *khal* and three *bre*(?) of barley. [. . .] have been designated as the sureties for repayment. (upside down:) the hand-letter-measure of 'Ba' an-ta (馬安多?)

(e) La (羅) tshen-tshen [of the *tshan* of Dze'u (曹) . . .] in the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district, borrowed [. . . of] wheat. So(?) sho-ab(?) [. . . have been designated as] the sureties for repayment. (upside down:) the hand-letter-measure of La tshen-tshen

(f) Shig an-tshe (石安子?) of the unit (*tshan*) of Wang (王) rma-snang borrowed in advance four *khal* of wheat. [The borrower] himself and Pha shig-sik have been designated as the sureties for autumn repayment. Their private seals and hand-letter-measures are hereby affixed. (a private seal)

B

(g)] have been designated as [the sureties]. The private seals and the hand-letter-measures of the two [debtors] are hereby affixed. (upside down:) the hand-letter-measure of Dze'u-hing (曹興)

(h) Sheg (石) [. . .] of the *tshan* of Sheg pu-tshe in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district borrowed [. . . of wheat]. Pa dag-leg [. . .] borrowed [. . .]. One [person] has been designated as [the surety] for each borrower. The [private] seals of [the two debtors] are hereby affixed. (a private seal)

(i) [. . . of the *tshan* of] Bam (汜) [. . .] in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district borrowed two [. . .] *khal* of wheat; and [. . .] tshin-tshin [of the *tshan* of . . .] in the Snying-tshoms [thousand]-district borrowed [. . .] *khal* of wheat. [. . .] zhi-'brang, and one for each [borrower], have been designated as the sureties for autumn repayment. The private [seals] of the two [debtors] are hereby affixed.

(j) [. . . of the *tshan* of] 'Go (吳) stag-po in the Stong-sar [thousand]-district borrowed [. . .]; and [. . . of the *tshan* of] Khong (康?) [. . .] in the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district [. . .]. The private seals of the debtors are hereby affixed.

The following is a list of names of the borrowers, the head of the *tshan* to which each borrower belongs, the [*stong*]-*sde* to which each borrower and his *tshan* belong, the sureties, and the amount of wheat loaned.³⁶⁾

Name List for Text 22 (P. 1208+P. 1221)

no.	<i>sde</i>	head of <i>tshan</i>	borrower	joint debtor	wheat (<i>khal</i>)
A					
(a)	?	?	?	Bam bur-tshe	?
(b)	Rgod-sar	Cang stagu(?)	Bam stag-legs?	Bam dzo-shang(?)	?
(c)	Snying-tshoms	Im ka-[.]	?	Bu dar-ta	2
(d)	Rgod-sar	Sag kun-tshe	'Ba hor-tshe	'Ba' an-ta	3.5
(e)	Rgod-sar	Dze'u [. . .]	La tshen-tshen	So(?) sho(?) -ab	?
(f)	om.	Wang rma-snang	Shig an-tshe	Pha shig-sik	?
B					
(g)	?	?	?	Dze'u hing-[.]	?
	?	?	?	?	?
(h)	Stong-sar	Sheg pu-tshe	Sheg [. . .]	Pa dag-leg(?)	?
	?	?	?	?	?
(i)	Stong-sar	Bam [. . .]	?	?	2
	Snying-tshoms	?	[.] tshin-tshin	?	?
(j)	Stong-sar	'Go stag-po	?	?	?
	Rgod-sar	Khong	?	?	?

The family names Cang, Bam, Im, Sag, 'Ba, Dze'u, La, Wang, Shig, Sheg, 'Go, and Khong are Tibetan renderings of Chinese. The given names bur-tshe, kun-tse, dzo-shang, tshen-tshen, tshin-tshin, hing-[.], sho(?) -ab, shig-sik, pu-tse, hor-tshe, dar-ta, an-ta, and an-tse are also Chinese. The other given names stagu, stag-legs, ma-snang, stag-po, and dag-leg are Tibetan. For more details on the name forms, see the discussion in Takeuchi ("Sale": 781–782) and ("Contracts" §6.6).

5.4 Receipts

Apart from the loan contracts and ledgers examined above, there are three documents (Texts 23, 24 and 25) that concern the loaning of grain. They are not loan contracts, but receipts (*'bul-rgya*) for the repayment of loaned wheat. Nevertheless, these documents are important in understanding loan contracts because they describe the loaning of grain from a government granary and not from a temple granary or from the personal property of peasants. The borrowers in these texts are Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang: for example, the borrower in Text 23 belongs to the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district.

Since they are not loan contracts, the paragraphs in the translations below do not conform with those in the contract formula.

Text 23

A receipt for the repayment of loaned wheat: Ch. 80. v. 1
(=TLTD 2: 41=vol. 53, fol. 39=VP. 1412)

A) Cang kun-tse (張君子) in the unit (*tshan*) of Cang ka-dzo (張嘉藏?) in the Rgod-sar [thousand]-district borrowed one and a half *khal* and four *bre* of wheat from the grain levied last year (lit. previously) by Lo (魯?) byi-brtsan (=byis-brtsan), the former (lit. old) grain official (*stsang-mngan rnying*).

B) It was decided by the *rtse-rje* that [the wheat] should be repaid in the autumn of the hog year;

C) the register was accordingly altered.

D) Afterwards, the levy officials (*gnyer-pa*) Dar rgyal-ma, Tre mye-slebs, and so on, collected [the loaned wheat] back saying, "There came a dispatch (*phyag-rgya*) stating that the general is granting (i.e. donating) wheat to *mkhan-po* Thub-brtan in the middle spring month of the hog year."

E) [Accordingly, Cang kun-tse] repaid one and a half *khal* and four *bre* of wheat on the eleventh of the middle spring month of this year to Lo byi-brtsan, the grain official of the previous year.

F) And the seal of receipt by Byi-brtsan is affixed.

G) As witnesses, the witness seals of Bam (汜) stag-slebs, Dze'u (曹) gog-tsheng, Cang (張) klu-legs and so on are hereby affixed.

H) (five private seals. Among them two possibly belong to Lo byi-brtsan, though the inscriptions are not very legible. The inscriptions of the other seals are illegible.)

I) (upside down:) The dispatch having been carried out, the loan contract has been crossed out by lines (i.e. cleared).

Text 24

A receipt for the repayment of loaned wheat: Ch. 79. xvi. 7
(=TLTD 2: 44=vol. 54, fol. 42=VP. 1477)

A) Li kang-tse (李康子) borrowed in advance one and a half *khal* and four *bre* of wheat from what was in the hands of Lo byis-brtsan, the former grain official of all [Sha-chou].

D–E) [But] at the time when [the grain] was received as a grant to priest Thub-brtan on the thirteenth of the middle spring month of the boar year, [the wheat] was repaid to Byis-brtsan.

F–G) And the seal of receipt [by Byis-brtsan] and the witness seals of the levy officials, Tre mye-slebs, Khyung-po stag-legs and so on, are hereby affixed.

J) It is decided that the later (i.e. renewed) register which is held by the authorities (*bla-na mchis-pa*) is hereafter to be crossed out by lines.

H) (a private seal of Lo byis-brtsan)

I) (upside down:) The dispatch having been carried out, the loan contract was crossed out by lines (i.e. cleared).

Text 25

A receipt for the repayment of loaned wheat: Ch. 77. xv. 10
(=TLTD 2: 43=vol. 70, fol. 27=VP. 1289)

A) [. . . borrowed . . . of wheat from] the grain which was in the hands of Lo byis-brtsan, the former (lit. old) *mngan* official.

C) The register was [accordingly] altered.

D) Afterwards, having said, “Thub-brtan is to receive as a grant [from] the general [. . .”

E) [Accordingly,] Khong (孔 ?) man-tse repaid one and a half *khal* of wheat in the middle spring month of this year to Lo byis-brtsan, the *mngan* official.

F–G) And the seal of receipt [by Byis-brtsan] and the witness seals of Tre mye-slebs, Bam (汜) log-log, Cang (張) tshe-shing and so on are hereby affixed.

K) Six *bre* of additional wheat (*yang gro?*) is paid and the seal is hereby affixed.

H) (four private seals)

I) (upside down:)

Having carried out the dispatch and checking an account with the loan contract, [the contract] is to be crossed out by lines.

The dispatch having been carried out, the loan contract was crossed out by lines (i.e. cleared).

The three texts were apparently written under the same conditions, which may be reconstructed as follows: in each text a Chinese peasant borrowed wheat from the grain tribute of Sha-chou in the previous year. The grain was under the management of the previous grain official (paragraph A). The time of repayment was accordingly set as the middle autumn month (paragraph B). Since the grain

was disbursed from a government granary, the *rtse-rje*, the highest civil official in Sha-chou, took part and decided the terms of repayment. The register (*dkar-chag*) was altered accordingly (paragraph C). The said register was probably an official record of the income and expenses of the grain tribute of Sha-chou. This renewed register is again mentioned in paragraph J of Text 24.

Thus, paragraphs A and B describe how the grain was loaned, for which a loan contract, probably a ledger for all three loanings, must have been written separately. This contract or ledger is probably the "loan contract (*chags-rgya*) to be crossed out" mentioned in paragraph I.

Paragraphs D and E relate an unexpected happening after the contract. Namely, the general (*dmag-dpon*), who was probably the head of the military district government (*khrom*) of Kva-cu, decided to donate grain to *mkhan-po* Thub-brtan, a high-ranking priest in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang. Because the donation was to be disbursed from the grain tribute of Dunhuang, the borrowers were made to return the wheat immediately. In other words, the loans were cancelled.

Paragraphs F and G are the sealing remarks by the grain official and the witnesses. Private seals were affixed below the text (paragraph H).

Paragraph H is peculiar. It states that since the loan was repaid, the contract (ledger) was crossed out, in other words, the loan was cleared. It was a common practice in both Chinese and Tibetan contracts, especially ledgers, to cross out by lines the names of borrowers when the loans were repaid (see e.g. Text 20). It is also worth noting that paragraph H is written upside down in the same fashion as finger-size-measures. Moreover, while the three texts were apparently written by different hands, paragraph H was evidently written by the same hand throughout the three texts. This indicates that though the three receipts were written by different scribes, resulting in different wording, paragraph H was added to these receipts by an official, possibly the *stsang-mngan* or the *rtse-rje* of Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang.

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Notes

- 1) Besides these, there are several texts which are also considered to be loan contracts: S. 2228, M. I. xxiii. 009, M. I. xiv. 115, M. I. xiv. 113, M. I. xxiii. 0011, M. Tagh a. iv. 00121, M. Tagh 0509+0510, and Otani 6012. These texts are, however, either very fragmentary or limited to scribal exercises, and we cannot draw any substantial information from them. For that reason, they have not been included here. These texts will be translated in the section on “Unidentified contracts, Fragments or Drafts” in Takeuchi (“Contracts”).
- 2) Dates given are those deemed most plausible, followed by alternative dates, or plus/minus sign meaning that the next most probable date is plus or minus twelve years. In cases where the date of a contract can be fixed from its content or its relationship within a sequence of material, no mark is added. Om. stands for *omisit* (i.e. omitted in the text). Lac. stands for *lacuna* (i.e. illegible due to damage to the texts). A question mark is added in case my reading is still uncertain.
- 3) VP (Vallée Poussin) numbers after 766 are those assigned by the Toyo Bunko *Catalogue*.

- 4) For the description of sale contracts, see Takeuchi ("Sale": 775–776).
- 5) E.g. *gcig la gnyis su bsgyur* for *gcig las gnyis su bsgyur* (Text 9), and *lho myi la glang mjal pa* for *lho myi las glang mjal pa* in a sale contract (Takeuchi "Sale").
- 6) The contemporaneous Chinese loan contracts written in Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang have, as the time for repayment, the end of or the thirtieth of the eighth month in autumn (秋八月). Thus, the middle autumn month in Tibetan corresponds with the eighth month in Chinese. As for comparisons with the Chinese contracts, see Takeuchi ("Sale").
- 7) The interpretation of the term *ring-lugs* has not been well established. Uray ("*dbang-po*": 420, fn.8) points out, summarizing the previous interpretations, the meanings of *ring-lugs* as "emissary, commissioner" as an administrative term and "transmitter (of the doctrine)" as an ecclesiastical one. In fact, *ring-lugs* seems to have several different usages in Old Tibetan texts. But the common feature to all the usages may be phrased as "one who is authorized a power to perform various acts: namely, a commission or a commissioner." From the contexts it appears in, *ring-lugs* in the loan contracts may most properly be translated as "commission."
- 8) Unlike in Classical Tibetan, both *dang* and *du* may be attached directly to a verb stem in Old Tibetan.
- 9) The clause is found in Texts 10, 11, 12 and 25. The term *phan-phun* or *pan-pun* is translated by Thomas as "trouble, dissension" (TLTD 3: 152). It is explained in BRT as a contracted form of *phan-ni-phun-ni* "unrecoverably damaged condition." In any case, the phrase (*phan-phun du gyur na*) in the contracts is saying: "if [the borrower] is in bad condition such that he is unable to repay."
- 10) The original texts will be found in the appendix, but the commentaries and philological information are not included due to the limit of space, for which see Takeuchi ("Contracts").
- 11) E.g. Stein vol. 57, fol. 219, 220; vol. 70, fol. 219; P. 1127, 1147, 1149, 1152–56, 1166, 1169, 1176, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1182, 1189?, 1194?, 1196, 1205, 1207?, 1294. I have also found one in the Kozlov Collection in St. Petersburg, which is numbered Xt 56.
- 12) For more details and a translation of Ch. 73. xv. 5, see Takeuchi ("Tshan").
- 13) The paper size of *glegs-tshas* is equal to that of the *Shes-rab-'bum-pa* manuscripts in the Stein Collection (e.g. VP107=vol. 57, fol. 166–218).
- 14) TLTD 2: 66 (cf. Takeuchi "Contracts": Text 11 in the Text Section).
- 15) Thus, *glegs-tshas* manuscripts are interesting source for the daily activities of the Chinese scribes of Dunhuang as well as their socio-linguistic background. Details of the *glegs-tshas* texts will be discussed in a separate paper.
- 16) There is no Ch. number. No VP number is newly assigned in the Toyo Bunko Catalogue. The text is translated in TLTD 2: 66.
- 17) Thomas (TLTD 1: 66–67) renders it as "Chinese cord" or "seal-cord." In dictionaries it is found only in *Colloquial Lhasa*, where it is glossed as "string or cord for measurement (秤毫、秤紐)."
- 18) Li'u klu-rton is mentioned as scribe in P. 217 and P. 1629.
- 19) The paragraph numbers in the following texts correspond to those of the formula given in §2. Accordingly, they do not conform with the line numbers of the texts. For a paragraph which has no corresponding paragraph in the formula: a) if it is considered to be a derivation or an extension of a phrase in the formula, ['] is attached to the number of the paragraph, b) if a paragraph is totally new, it is identified by the numbers from 8 on up.
- 20) As for the forms of finger-size measure, see Takeuchi ("Sale"). The expression in this text, "Klu-rton, not having *sug-rgya*, is marking the finger-size-measure," supports my theory that *sug-rgya* was a private seal which had no functional difference from the finger-size-measure (*mdzub-mo-tshad*). Cf. Takeuchi ("Sale": §5).
- 21) For the interpretation of *men-dri*, see the commentary on Hedin 2 in Takeuchi ("Hedin").
- 22) On P. 1088 is found another draft of a contract for a cow sale. From the way texts are

- written, the two contracts apparently share the date, which is ascribed to 835 or 847 by Takeuchi ("Cattle": §4) and ("Contracts": Text 3).
- 23) It is not yet clear why a Dunhuang text is grouped with the finds brought by the Kozlov Expedition, who did not visit Dunhuang. The text may have originally been brought by the Oldenburg Expedition.
 - 24) I have yet to fully understand the passage concerned; there is still the possibility that Wang lent seeds of his own possession to Song. See the discussion in Text 22 in Takeuchi ("Contracts").
 - 25) A Chinese translation is found in Wang & Chen (*Wenxianxuan*: 55–56).
 - 26) Previously unpublished text.
 - 27) Since Or. 8210 consists mostly of Chinese Dunhuang texts brought by the Stein's second expedition, a Tibetan contract S. 7133 has not been noticed. Or. 8210 contains another manuscript S. 2228 which bears drafts of Tibetan loan contracts which are quoted in *TLTD* 2: 161, but is misnumbered as S. 0228. For S. 2228, see Takeuchi ("Contracts": Text 44).
 - 28) It is, however, difficult to clearly distinguish between a ledger and a series of independent contracts written on a sheet. For example, Text 13 and Text 15 may possibly be considered a ledger.
 - 29) For the unit *tshan*, see Takeuchi ("Tshan").
 - 30) So far Duomi 多彌 has been equated with Dangmi 當迷 in the chapter "Faguo zhuan" of the *Suishu* (隋書·附國傳), and they in turn are considered to correspond in Tibetan to either Thong-myi (Yamaguchi "Subi": 24, "su-p'i"), or Ldan-myi (Sato *Rekishichiri*: 346). Also, Duomi are known to have been named Nam-pa by Tibetans after subjugation. But *da-myi* corresponds better phonetically with Duomi.
 - 31) See Yamaguchi ("Subi": 25–28) and Sato (*Rekishichiri*: 356) for Rgya.
 - 32) This finds support in another Tibetan text (*TLTD* 2: 361–369), land registers from Dunhuang. The names of the owners of the fields listed in it are neither Chinese nor Tibetan. See Takeuchi ("Tshan").
 - 33) Paragraphs A, B, and C seem to be separate contracts for loaning grain by the same creditor. But because they are too fragmentary to identify, they are not included in the translation below.
 - 34) Since the bottom edge of the manuscript is torn off, we cannot judge whether there originally were more paragraphs (i.e. more borrowers) or not.
 - 35) See Takeuchi ("Tshan") for more details on *tshan*, *dog-tshan*, and *dog-ngan*.
 - 36) In some cases, e.g. entries (i) and (j), it is not possible to decide whether the written name is the head of the *tshan* or the borrower, due to damage to the text.

Appendix : Texts¹⁾

Text 1

- 1 / : / ser dzIn kheng gI bu lon rgya thag gcig dang shog shog yug thung bcu
II'u klu-rton la chags te /
- 2 'bul ba'I dus nI / 'brugI lo'i dgun sla tha chungs tshes nyi shu la / dzIn kheng
gang na mchis par 'bul /
- 3 bar bgyis / dus der ma phul na / shog shog dang rgya thag gnyis ka bsgyur te /
dam rgya gsum myi /
- 4 dgos par dam rgya phyi mo gcig bgyis pa des rIng lugs bgyis te / klu rton gyi
ram physis dang shI'u /
- 5 kIn jI la bab kyang rungste phrogs kyang zhal mchu tshIg gcIg kyang myi

mchi bar bgyis pa'I /

- 6 dpang la / sag stag slebs / im 'bye le'u / khang mang zIgs / song lug lug las /
 7 stsogs pa'I dpang rgya dang / klu rton gyi sug pa gyi mdzub tshad gyis btab
 pa'.

(upside down:)

klu rton sug rgya ma mchis the mdzub tshad btab pa //

-
 6 legs b *post* song *cancellavit*.

Text 2

- 1 /: / II'u klu rton gyI bu lon gri / ser dzIn kheng la chags te //
 2 'bul ba'i dus nI 'brugI lo'i dgun sla ra ba tshes nyi shu la klu rton gang /
 3 na mchis pa'i sgor 'bul par bgyIs / dus der ma phul na gcig las /
 4 gnyisu bsgyur te / dzin kheng gi sug spyad dang shi'u gIn gang la bab kyang
 rung
 5 ste dam rgya 'dIs rIng lugs bgyis te phrogs kyang zhal mchu /
 6 tshIlg cig kyang myi mchi' bar bgyis pa'I dpang la / sag stag slebs / im /
 7 'byI le'u dang song lug lug dang / khang ma[ng] zIgs lastshogs pa'i dpang
 8 rgya dang / dzIn kheng gi sug yIlg tshad kyis btab pa' / che chung ni im stag
 rma'I
 9 gri tsam mo // mchi'd // //

-
 1 che chung ni im stag *post* gri *cancellavit*. glo 'phyong *ante* gchig *cancellavit*.
 2 tshes *post* nI *cancellavit*. 5 phrogs *post* ste *cancellavit*. 6 s *post* mchi' *cancellavit*. 7
 gyi *post* lug lug *cancellavit*.

Text 3

recto

- 1 /: / 'brug gi lo'i dpyid / stong sar gyi shog mkhan shang he 'dos / blon rgyal
 zigs la shog shog yug rings yug nyis brgya' zhig chags pa las / 'jal du ma mchis
 te /
 2 sku yon 'dri ba'i shog shog yug rings nyis brgya' bung dze weng gi sug pa na
 mchis pa snga g.yar du 'tshal te / slar 'bul ba'i dus 'brug gi lo'i dbyar sla 'bring
 po tshes lnga la 'bul
 3 bar dam bgyis pa las / kho tas gya gyu dang / bgyis nas / ma phul / bar du yang
 tse weng bro nad kyis b[ta]b ste / brda' ba'i rngo ma thog / slar kyis lug gi lo'i
 dgun sla ra ba la
 4 he 'do la shog shog brdas na / kho na'i mchid nas / lo gnyis sum tsam gyi bar
 du shog shog ma phul [ba] / rub ma pas bro 'tshal te brdas pa yang ma mchis /
 5 [bda]g kyang ma phul [ba?] nongste / khre len yang dus bgyi [ma?] gsol zhes
 [mchi?'] nas / yang dus bgyis pa / lug gi lo'i dgun sla 'bring po tshes bcu la /
 yug
 6 rings nyis brgya' tshang bar dze weng la 'bul bar bgyis / dus der ma phul lam

gya gyu zhig 'tshal na bsgyur te / gyur dang bchas par kho na'i

verso

- 1 sgo nas / pyi phyugs nang rdzas sug spyad ci bab kyang rungste / phrogs kyang zhal ma mchis par bgyis pa'i steng du sku yon gcod pa'i gyur
- 2 lchag kyang gzhu bar bgyis pa'i dpang la / im gtsug legs / je'u tse weng / dang pin *** dang / he 'do'i sug rgya ma mchis
- 3 te / sug yig tshad gyis btab pa' // yug rings nyis brgya'i nang na lo thang shog shog theb gcig phul /
- 4 (upside down:) shang he' 'do'i sug yig tshad
(a round vermilion seal and a sign-mark?)

.....
recto 2 g.yar: g.yra scr. 3 du ante ma phul cancellavit. ma ante brda' cancellavit. sta ante dgun cancellavit. 4 mjal post he 'do cancellavit. de ante lo gnyis cancellavit. 6 s post na cancellavit. da ante gyur cancellavit.

verso 1 ma mchis: ma mchis scr. 2 ki'u ante pin cancellavit.

Text 4

- 1] / 'd[e] cang '[e] shung la[s]
- 2] [he] eng gyis snga skyin du 'tshal nas sla 'bul
- 3 [pa du] n[i] / stag gi lo'i dpyid sla tha chungs tses la 'pul par bgyis brgya la
- 4 du der ma pul na gcig las gnyisu ras rab 'bul par bgyis / ras gyi gta
- 5 tog le bre gsum shong ba g[tsa]g spu [rgu?] yang yal nas gyang gyur du 'bul
- 6 par bgyis brgya la ban 'de he eng ma mchis na khas len then bun 'de tseg gong
- 7 na smos pa dang je'u hvo 'do g[nyis] khang mchis pral du 'pul bgyis pa'i
- 8 dbang la ban 'de cang he tshe'u dang cang ka shun *** las stso[g]
- 9 pa'i dbang rgya he eng dang khas len gnyis gyi sug yig dang sug rgya btab pha /
- 10 (upside down:) [he tshe'u sug yig] tsad ba
je'u hvo 'do'i sug yig tsad btab pa

.....
5 b ante tog cancellavit. 7 r? post smos pa cancellavit. g[nyis] ante khang: gsuem scr. 8 tshe'u post he: che'u scr.

Text 5

- 1 [±2] gyi lo 'i dgun [-] blon *** / mchis pa'i tshe [--o-] [an?]
- 2 [±2] [ngo?] log gi bu lon li sar zhong la men dri yug pyed dang [-]s
- 3 [±2] [-] chags ste 'bul ba' / thugs / dgun zla ra ba nya la 'bul bgyis
- 4 [±2] der ma bul na chig las / gnyis su 'bul bar bgyis / slad
- 5 [±2] ste 'bul thugs nI / dgun zla 'bring pho nya 'bul / bar bgyis
- 6 [±2] [l?] / la / sthang bzang lha brtsan spa yang be[r] myi 'de mye sa
- 7 [±2] [la]s bstso[s] / dpang dang li sar zhong gyi 'dzub tshad bdab

- 8 [±2] 'di sus / 'dzas / mchis pa la / sal / phar bgyis
 9a (a finger-size-measure:) li / sar / zhong
 9b (a round vermilion seal)
 9c (a simplified signature mark)

.....
 1 s *post* tshe *cancellavit*. 4 las *ante* slad *cancellavit*. 8 'da *ante* mchis pa *cancellavit*.

Text 6

- 1 / : / bya gagi lo'i dpyid // rgod gyi lIng ho [ling lu]gI mchis brang song sam
 nyang gyIs // lIng ho shib
 2 [bir gi] bran mo / be'u zhan la brel te / rdzes phor pa bzhi dang deb tse gsum
 dang / ras kyI rgyu bkal lags
 3 pa rkya ma phyid de rnams / shib bir la chags te // slar 'phul ba'i dus ni // khyi'i
 lo'i dpyid sla tha cungs
 4 tshes lnga tshun la // lI[ng] ho shib bir gyi sgor 'bul bar bgyis // dus dir ma 'pul
 gchig
 5 las gnyIsu bsgyur de // khong ta'i sgor nas sam zang spyad 'am phor pa yang
 rung ste / dphrogs kyang
 6 zhal[chu ma] mchis par bgyis // yang ras chag phyed dang bzhi dang / nas
 rgya bre bzhi ni / sgo lcags
 7 [lde] myig dang bcas pa gta' [gzhu?]gs nas // khyi'i lo'i dpyid sla 'bring po tshes
 bcu tshun
 8 cad slad blus par bgyIs dusu ma blus na / sgo lcags g[---i-] yang yal bar bgyis
 9 pa'i dpang la // cang gu gu dang // la legs lod dang / [kh]e'u bzang gong dang
 / ***
 10 *** la stsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang / song [sam nya]ng dang / mo'i khyo ling
 lug kyi su[g]
 11 yig tshad dang / sam nyang gyi mdzub tshad btab pa' /
 12 (upside down:)
 kyo l[i]ng [ho ling lu]gi sug yig tsad
 [khe]'u bzang gong gyi sug tshad
 song sam nyang g[i] mdzub mo tshad

.....
 1 lIng: [l]eng *TLTD*. 2 [bir gi]: tigi *TLTD*. 4 cu *post* tshun *cancellavit*. 5 sam:
 sam *scr.* 'am: 'am *scr.* 7 g[zhū?]gs: g—gs *TLTD*. 8 g[---i-]: g-[khogyi] rgyu (?)
TLTD. 10 [sam nyan]ng: [sam nya]ng *scr.*: -i -ng *TLTD*. 12 l[i]ng: l[e]ng *TLTD*.

Text 7

- 1 / : / stagI lo'i dgun // se tong pa'I s[d]e skyo yang legs las // cang ban de leng
 hyen gyIs // rta rgod ma gchig mjald pa las // rta '[dI]
 2 slar // yang legs gyIs g.yar te 'tshald nas // yos bu lo'I ston sla 'bring po tshun
 chad slar ban de leng hyen gyI sgor bskya[ld?--]
 3 bar bgyIs // de tshun chad [r]god ma 'dI gum stor zhIg du gyurd [na ya]ng /

- / rta skyin tshad thu[b pa-] sbrum gchig 'pral la leng hyen la 'bul [ba]
 4 dang // rta dngos gum stor du ma gyurd na yang // dbyar tshan [d?]u stsald
 chIng rte'u mchis par yang g.yon blangste / rta myi sbrum na yang yang le[gs]
 5 mchid kyIs 'tshal bar bgyiste / yang legs dusu rta ma bskyald dam tha snyad
 chig btags par gyurd na / khas len skyo sma[-]
 6 legs dang / lha stang stang / dam gong nas 'byung ba bzhin mchid kyIs 'tshal
 bar bgyis ste / khong rta rnam kyI sug rgya dang / blon g.yu [± 2]
 7 [± 8] rgyas btab pa //
 8 (four round vermilion seals)

.....
 3 gum *ante* stor: gum *scr.* sbrum *ante* gchig: sbrum *scr.* 4 gum *ante* stor: gum
scr. sbrum *ante* na: sbrum *scr.* 5 dam *post* bskyald: dam *scr.* 6 rnam *post* rta:
 rnam *scr.* dam *ante* gong: dam *scr.*

Text 8

- 1 *** snying tshoms gyi sde / hva dze dzes sa bon dang brgyags ma mchis [st]e /
 2 phongs brel nas // gtshug lag khang weng shi'u si'i dkon mchog dang / bcu ca'i
 stsang las
 3 gro nas rgya sheg brgyad snga skyin du blangs te / slar 'bul ba'i dus / lan 'di'i
 ston sla 'bring
 4 po gnam stong gi g[d]ugs la // weng shi'u si'i dge skos / ban de leng hyen [ga]
 la
 5 mchis pa'i lha ris gyi bang sgor bskyal ching 'bul bar bgyis / dus der 'bul du
 6 ma btub bam / rang reng 'tshal na / gchig las gnyisu bsgyur te / gyur dang bcas
 pa //
 7 dze dze'i sgor nang [n]or phyi phyugs dang / rgyab gos gos sug spyad chi la
 bab kyang sdud ste
 8 r[ɪ]ng lugsu 'phrogs na yang zhal mchu tshig chig myi mchi bar bgyis / dze dze
 ma
 9 mchis na / kho na'i bu hva khrom legs dam gong nas smos pa bzhin mchid
 gyis 'tshal zhing
 10 'bul bar bgyis pa'i dpang la / wang stagu dang / li'u lha legs dang ***
 11 lastsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang / dze dze dang khas len gyi sug rgya
 12 sug yig tshad gyis btab pha' // (two round vermilion seals)

.....
 8 m *ante* tshig *cancellavit.* 11 s btab *post* rgya *cancellavit.*

Text 9²⁾

A

- 1 / : / byI ba lo'i dbyar sla ra ba 'I ngo la / tshe stobs gyI sde /

B

- 1 / : / byI ba lo'i dbyar sla ra ba 'I ngo la // snying tsoms gyI sde / [- lha] skyes gyI
 gro

- 2 nas khal gsum zh[i]g / rgod sar gyI sde / sag dge legs gis snga g.yar du 'tshalde
 3 slar 'bul ba'I dus ni lan 'di 'I ston sla 'bring po ma gum tshun chad bre byed
 bzang [d]u
 4 [bgyiste] / bre phul myI chad par dus gcIg du lha skyes gyI sgor 'bul bar
 5 bgyis / dus der ma phul lam gya gyu zhig 'tshal na / gcig la gnyIs su [-]
 6 bsgyur te / dngos sgyur dang bcas par kho na'I sgor phyI phyig dang nang
 rdzas sug spyad rgyab 'go[s]
 7 cI la bab kyang rungste / ring lugsu phrog na yang zhal cu tshIlg kyang myI
 mchis bgyis
 8 brgya la dge legs gzhi la ma mchis sam / rje blas bkur te gung chad du gyur
 9 na mjal gnya' kha len kho na'I pho bra[ng ----] dam gong nas byung bzhin
 10 mchid gyis 'tshal zhing 'bul bar bgyis pa'I dpang ***
 11 *** lastsogs pa'I dpang rgya dang sug yIlg tshad gyis btab pa /

.....
 4 dus gcig *ante* bre *cancellavit*. 5 su *post* bgyis / *cancellavit*. 8 bye ha *post* dge legs
cancellavit. 9 ni *ante* dam *cancellavit*.

Text 10

- 1 / : / yos bu lo 'i dpyid sla ra ba 'i ngo la / stong sar gyi sde / cang lha legs gyi gro
 khal bzhi [± 3]
 2 god sar gyi sde / sag dge bstan gyis snga g.yar du 'tshalte / slar 'bul ba'i dus ni
 lan 'di [± 3]
 3 [sla] ra ba ma gum tshun cad gro [bre] phul gang yang myI chad pa [dus]
 gchig [du] lha legs gyis sgor ['bul]
 4 [ba]r bgyis / dus der ma phul lam gya gyu zhig 'tshal na gchig la gnyis su
 bsgyur te / dngos sgyur [dang]
 5 [bca]s par nas si gyi ris thang rtsIs zhing r[i]ng lugsu phrog na yang zhal ce
 tshig chig kyang myI mchis par
 6 [b]gyis / brgya la dge bstan rje blas gis bsgal te gzhi la ma mchis [sam pa]n pun
 du gyur na dam rgya 'di gong na
 7 rmos pa bzhin mchid gyis [s] 'tshal zhing 'bul bar bgyis pa'i [- -] [len] /

.....
 2 g.yar *post* snga: g.yra *scr*. 4 lam *post* phul: lam *scr*.

Text 11³⁾

A

- 1 / : / 'brug gi lo'i dbyar // an [chu]ng legs gyi nas rgya shegs gnyis sh[i]g
 2 stong sar gyis sde he'u dar tse / gyis snga g.yar du 'tshal te 'bul ba'i dus ni
 la[n ---]
 3 ston sla 'bring po ma [gu]m tshun ca ['bul ba]r bgyis // dus der ma [- -]
 4 [- -] zhig ['tsha] te phul du ma btub na gta' ma khang sa stong pa [lho byang
 ± 2]
 5 lnga dang shar nub du cheg nyis shu mchis pa gta' bzhag pa yang zha[l la /
 ± 2]

- 6 gyur cig gis bsnan te / dngos bsgyur dang bcasu kho na'i sgo nas phyi phyugs
[dang]
- 7 nang rdzas ci la bab kyang rung ste / rang lug[su] shog rgya 'di su [chad par
'phrogs]
- 8 na yang zhal mchu ma mchis par bgyis // brgya [± 5]
- 9 gzhi la ma mchis sam phan phun du gyur na khas l[e]n [± 3]
- 10 kho na'i chung ma dze'u za bur tse mchid gyis 'tshal zhi[ng] [± 3]
- 11 bar bgyis // pa'i dpang la [wa]ng kim kang dang cang ldong le[± 4]
- 12 cang tsin hing la stsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang kho na'i sug rgya [± 1]
- 13 ma 'jub 'tshal btab pa' /
- 14 (a round vermilion seal with an inscription:) he'u da[r] tse
- B

- 1 /: / 'brug gi lo'i dbyar // im hing kog gi nas rgya sheg
2 rgod sar gyi s[d]e dze'u [-] [keng? tse? gis]]
-

3 de *ante* dus *cancellavit*. 10 ma *post* na'i *cancellavit*.

Text 12⁴)

recto

- 1 // sbrul gi lo'i dpyid // snying tsom gi sde song tig tig gi skya zhing dor pye
dang gnyis / kham cung na mchis pa
- 2 dngos rmo ba'i rngo ma thog te // wang hva tshe dang thun shas pyed mar
rmed de / sa bon ni bun kha hva tshes bgyiste / sa bon
- 3 rgya sheg gnyis 'tshal pa' / bun tang ston sheg bzhi 'bul ba la / rgya sheg gnyis
song tig tig gis / ston sla
- 4 'bri po ma gum tshun cad kyis bre phul yang myi chad par tig tig gis hva tshe
la 'bul bar bgyis te rgya sheg
- 5 gnyis gyi gta' ma yang sgo mo gnyis hva tshe 'i sug pa na bzhag pa yang yal
cing nas kyang bsgyur bar
- 6 bgyis // brgya la song tig ma mchis sam / phan phun du gyur na 'bul ba'i khas
len / dngos gyi mchi[s]
- 7 sbrang / ser za shig sam nyang gis mchid gyis 'tshal bar bgyis pa'i dpang la /
tshe'i in dang im
- 8 se'u se'u / la stsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang dngos dang khas len gi 'dzub tshad
gyis btab pa //
- 9 (two round vermilion seals. The inscription on one of them reads:) song tig

verso

- 1 /: / sbrul gi lo'i dpyid // stong sar gyi wang hva tshe gi sgo nas las // nas rgya
sheg gnyis shig / song tig tig
- 2 gis snga g.yar du 'tshal te // slar 'bul ba'i dus ni lan 'di 'i ston sla 'bring po ma
gum tshun cad gyis /
-

2 'a *post* bun kha *cancellavit*.

Text 13**A**

- 1 [/ : /] weng she'u sI'I dkon [m]chog gi dkor [stsa]ng las / sran ma [rgya? sheg?] bcu [shi]g // snyIng tshoms gi sde khang stag
- 2 [tshang la chag]s te / 'bul pa'I dus nI // glang gI lo'i ston sla 'brIng po gnam stong tshun chad phul [ga]ng myi chad par weng she'u
- 3 si'i bang sgor bskyal ching 'bul par bgyis / dus der ma phul [la]m gya gyu 'tshal na gcig las gnyisu bsgy[u]r te' /
- 4 [gyur] dang bchas [par] kho na'i sgor [na]ng nor dang nas ['bras] chi la bab kyang [ru]ngste / [ring lu]gsu 'phrog[s] na yang zhal
- 5 mcu tshig chig myi mchi bar bgyiste // khang stag tshang gi sug rgyas btab pa'i dpang la // song [gu] hing / dang /
- 6 [- - - tshang? dze dze] dang [l]eng ho [ba]I [t]ig lastsogs pa'i dpang rgyas btab pa /
- 7 (two round vermilion seals)

B

- 1 [//] weng she'u si'i dkor stsang [las] / sran ma rgya sheg gnyis shig // weng she'u s[I'i] lha ['ba]ngs [- -]
- 2 [- -] de la chags te / 'bul ba'I dus nI glang gI lo'i ston sla 'brIng po gnam stong tshun chad phul gang [myi]
- 3 [ca]d par / weng she'u si'i bang sgor bskyal ching 'bul bar bgyis / dus su ma [phu]l lam gya gyu
- 4 'tshal na gchig las gnyisu bsgyur te gyur dang bchas par kho na'i sgor nang [nor] dang nas /
- 5 ['bras] dang rgyab gos dang sug spyad chi la bab kyang rungste / zhal mchu tshig chig myi mchi' bar
- 6 bgyis / kho na ma mchis na mchid gyis 'tshal ba'i khas len mchis brang dang bu smad la gtan [na?]s
- 7 [- - -] 'bul bar bgyis te kho na'i rgyas btab pa'i dpang la / phab [tshven] dang / gong cha dar dang /
- 8 [le]ng ho [be'i tig] lastsogs pa'i dpang rgyas btab pa //
- 9 (two round vermilion seals)

.....
A2 s *post* weng *cancellavit*.

Text 14

recto

- 1 / : / rlang khri slebs gyi bu lon / gro nas pye ma khal dgu / rtse 'thon gyi sde to[r] 'gu rmang skyes / la cha[gs]
- 2 ['bul ba'i dus] ni / sbrul gyi lo'i [ston --] sla 'bring po tshes nyi shu la / nob chen por [---]
- 3 [±14] / kho na'i nor phyugs / nas 'bras chi la bab kyang rung ste
- 4] [---] nas khal lnga / 'phral du 'bul bar bgyis pa'i dpang

Text 15

A

- 1] [lha ri]s gyi stsang ban de dze'u ing dzeb gyi sug pa na' /
- 2] khal gny[is ±4]r gyi sde ka' dze shing d[ang?] bam za shub sam nyang gis /
- 3] d[e] 'bul ba'i dus ni lan 'di'i ston sla 'bring po nya' tshun chad 'brus byed
bzang[su]
- 4] sgo[r] bre phul myi chad bar 'bul bar bgyis / dus der ma phul lam gya gyus
shig /
- 5] gnyisu [bsgyur] te / dngos bsgyur bcas par kho na dze shing gi sgor phyi
phyugs nang
- 6 rgya]b gos ci bab kyang rung te // nas gyi ris thang brtsis zhing phrogs na yang
zhal che
- 7] mchis bar bgyis / brgya la dze shing dang bam za shub sam nyang ma mchis
sam /
- 8]n mjal khas len leng ho ge zhen dam gong na smos ba bzhin mchid gyi 'tshal
- 9] pa'i dpang 'ba' shing kun dang sgub tse sme ye dang *** lastsogs pa'i dpang
rgya dang
- 10] sug rgya dang dzub tshad gyi bthab pha' // (three round vermilion seals)

B

- 1] *** yu lem lha ris gyi stsang ban de dze'u ing dzeb gyi sug pa na mchis pa'i
nas rgya shig /
- 2] [sny]ing tshom gyi sde dze'u rma brtsan gyi snga g.yar du 'tshal te // slad 'bul
ba'i dus ni lan 'di'i
- 3] nya' tshun chad 'brus byed bzangsu bgyis te / lhas ris gyi bang sgor bre phul
myi chad bar 'bu[l]
- 4] de ma phul lam gya gyus zhig 'tshal na / zhig la nyisu bsgyur te / dngos
bsgyur / bcasu kho na
- 5] phyi phyugs dang nang nor sug spyad ci la bab kyang rung ste / nas gyi ris
thang brtsis lha ris
- 6] bzhing bzang zhing phrog na yang zhal che tshug chig kyang myi mchis bar
bgyis pa'i dpang leng [po]
- 7] tse rme ye // lastsogs pa'i dpang rgya dang kho na rma brtsan gyi sug rgya
sug yi /
- 8] pha' // (four round vermilion seals)

.....
A7 na *ante* sam *cancellavit*. A8 s *post* dam go *ante* ng *cancellavit*. B4 te *post* bsgyur
cancellavit. B5 ga *post* ci *cancellavit*.

Text 16

- 1 // lnga bcu rkang 'go klu gzigs kyI tshan gyi 'bangs kyI dphya' chad de 'bangs
la' las pa' // 'phral du
- 2 ma 'byor nas // zhang khri gzigs kyI sgo nas las bun chen du blangste / khyi'i
lo'i ston sla 'bring po nya la stsang bang

- 3 gI sgor khal gcig' la gnyis 'bul bar bgyis na // dphya chad gyI rnam mying smrar bris pha //
- 4 ha le'u le'u la khal gcig // wang shun shun la khal bzhI / cang II ki'u la khal bzhI / wang kun cI la khal
- 5 drug // cang pe'u hing la kal gsum // 'go kim kang la khal gnyis // sheg pe'u kim la khal gsum
- 6 khang deng tsun la khal gcig // 'di rnam dus gong ma bzhin du 'bul bar bgyis dus der ma phul
- 7 lam gya gyu zhig 'tsal de ma phul ba zhig mchis na / gcig las gnyisu bsgyur de gyur dang
- 8 bchas par khong ta rnam kyi sgo nas nor phyugs ji la bab gyang rung ste / ring lugs myi 'tshal
- 9 bar rang lugsu phrog na yang zhal mchu ma mchis par bgyis pa'I dphang la // stag bzang
- 10 si'u dam dang / 'bal khong rton dang / ngom to to dang / chang kog tsheng lastsogs pha'l dphang
- 11 rgya dang khong ta rnam kyi sug rgya dang sug yig tshad kyis bthab pha //
- 12 (upside down:)
shig bu kim / kyi mdzub / tshad bthabo
ha le'u le'u lag yig tsha[d] //
'bhangs cang pe'u hing kyi sug yig tshad // kyis bthabo

.....
3 'bul *post* sgor *cancellavit*. 7 gyu *post* lam *cancellavit*. 9 par *post* mchis: pa'r scr. 10 'ante 'bal *cancellavit*.

Text 17

A

- 1 /: / blon stag zigs la slan 'bul ba'I rgyur 'bras shol khal bzhI phogste sgye'u
2 ka la gtad // (two round vermilion seals)

B

- 3 // ja me ting gi stsang bang ph[y]agste khre rul khal brgyad byung ba'I nang na / khal
4 gnyis nI 'ol byir skyems rgyur rung ba 'dra nas skyems rgyur chang pha la gtad
5 khal drug nI rul tshabs cheste sgye'u ka la gthad // (a round vermilion seal)

C

- 6 /: / kyhI'I lo'i ston sla ra ba 'I ngo la // dmag dpon spyang blon stag zigs mchis pa'I tshe / sde ba'I tshogs skyems [rgyu]
7 ma mchis nas // lha ris gyi stsang las khre shol khal bcu zhig snga g.yar du mnoste 'tshalte / snying tsoms
8 gyI sde cang weng yir dang / stong sar gyI sde II dzin dar gyis mnos pha // lan 'dI'I ston sla tha cung nya tshun cad
9 lha ris gyi bang sgor 'bul bar bgyis / dusu ma phul na gyur du dbab [cir]

- khong ta'I sgo nas dbrog par
 10 bgyis nas sug rgyas btab pa // (two round vermilion seals)
 D
 11 // gong ma dang dus gcig du / lha ris gyi s[ts]ang las khre shol khal bcu / blon
 klu bzang gis g.yar por 'tsal
 12 te / lan 'dI'I ston sla tha cungs nya la lha ris gyi bang sgor 'bul bar bgyis pa'I
 gtan pa an lha '[du-]
 13 [--] / cang dzin dar dang / khang ce'u ce'u dang / cang pug tse la bcaste / dusu
 ma phul na gyur du dbab cir
 14 khong ta rnams dbrog par bgyis / 'dI rnams kyang gchog gI [g]tan pa gcig la
 bcaste
 15 sug rgyas btab pha /
 (upside down:) khang ce'u ce'u'I sug yig tshad
 cang dzem tsin gyi sug yig tshad
 E
 16 // ston sla [ra] ba gnam stong gI gdugs la / lha ris gyi stsang las / khre shol khal
 bcu zhig / blon
 17 ldong bzang gis g.yar phor 'tshal pha / blon stag zigs mchis pa'I tshe skyems
 rgyur 'tshal ces
 18 mchi nas / zhang lon gyi bran dru gu legs cung dang / sheg ne ne // gis mnos te
 / lan 'dI
 19 ston sla 'bring pho gnam stong tshun chad lha ris gyi bang sgor 'bul bar bgyis /
 dusu ma
 20 phul na gyur du dbab cir khong ta legs cung lastogs pa'I sgo nas dbrog phar
 21 bgyis te sug rgyas btab pha // (a round vermilion seal)
 F
 22 // gong ma dang dus gchig du / blon stag zigs la slan chang rgyu khre khal
 bchu phogste / sgye'u
 23 ka zhen 'do dang 'be tse la gthad // se
 G
 24 /: / gong ma dang dus gchig du / blon khri brtsan gyis yang khre khal lnga
 g.yar phor [---]
 25 pha im tsi hvan gis mnoste / sngar khal nyi shu 'tshal pa dang dus gchig du /
 ['b]ul
 26 bar bgyis dusu ma phul na gyur du dbab cing * * * sgo nas 'phrog par bgyis
 27 nas sug rgyas btab pha //
 H
 28 /:/ blon stag zigs bsu skyel gyi sug thab sbyar bar skyems rgyu khre khal bzhi
 phogste
 29 rgye'u ka la gthad //

- 13 la ante [--] cancellavit. 26 s ante sngar cancellavit. 'tshal post sngar cancellavit.

Text 18

recto

A

- 1 // gong dang dus gchig du jang meng ting g[I] stsang bang du ci [tse] khal bcu
blon klu bza[ng] gis
2 g.yar por 'tshal te / lan 'di 'i ston sla 'bring po nya la / slar lha ris gyi bang sgor
'bul bar bgyi[s]
3 pa'I gtan pa / an lha 'dus la bcaste / sug rgyas btab // (a round vermilion seal)

B

- 4 // mkhan po tshangs gI rgyal po khre khal drug g.yar por 'tshal te / ston 'bul
ba'i
5 gtan pa li dpal legs dang cang cung cung la bcaste sug rgyas btab // (two
round vermilion seals)

C

- 6 // ban de dpal dbyangs khre khal lnga g.yar por 'tshal te / lan 'di 'i ston 'bul
ba[r]
7 bgyis na sug rgyas btab // (a round vermilion seal and four Chinese
characters:) 长致細(心)十

D (in smaller letters:)

- 8 / : / stsang [ʼb]ogs rIng lugs gyis phul ba'I sdom dang sbyar na khre khal phye
dang gsum shor pa ston sgye'u kas 'bul bar bcad //

E

- 9 / : / dbyar sla ra ba tshes nyi shu gsum la / srog mkhar gyi stsang bang nas /
gro khal bdun cu //
10 phogste / blon khri brtsan la g.yar por stsal nas / lan 'di'I ston sla 'bring po nya
la lha ris
11 gyi bang sgor 'bul bar bgyis pa'I gtan pa chis ka im dzi hvan dang / den tsheng
la bcas
12 te sug rgyas btab //

.....

1 m ante jang cancellavit.

verso

F

- 1 // [±] [khre] khal gny[i]s // je'u wen beng dang / 'gem ing tse [/]
2 la khre khal re re g.yar por 'tshal te / lan 'di 'i ston 'bul bar bgyis nas / khong ta
rnam
3 sug rgyas btab / (three round vermilion seals)

G

- 4 // snying tsoms gyI sde dze'u che'u tse khre khal gchig g.yar por 'tshal te / lan
'di 'i ston 'bul bar
5 bgyis nas sug rgyas btab //

H

- 6 // stong sar gyI sde [g]e'u dge legs gyis khre khal lnga g.yar por 'tshal te / lan

- 'di 'i ston [sla] 'bring po
 7 nya la 'bul bar gtan pa ha dze tsheng la bcaste / sug rgyas btab // (two vermilion seals)
- I
 8 // blon mdo brtsan gyis khre khal lnga g.yar por 'tshal te / ston sla 'bring po nya la 'bul bar /
 9 gtan / rgod sar gyi sde meng dar tse la bcaste sug rgyas btab //
- J
 10 // mkhan po hong ben gyis khre khal nyi shu g.yar por 'tshal te / khyi 'I lo 'i ston
 11 sla 'bring po nya la / slar lha ris gyi bang sgor 'bul ba'I gtan pa ha dze tsheng la bcaste sug rgyas btab // (a round vermilion seal) khre khal nyi shu 'di / mkhan po 'I skrum mar srang re sngan chad mnos pa'i rin [d]u
 12 slad kyis stsi zhing gcad /

.....
 1 ha shing je'u dang wang [be]n tse dang *post gny[i]s / cancellavit.* 2 do in in *ante* la khre *cancellavit.* 2 rnam *post* khong ta: rnam *scr.* 12 m *ante* mnos *cancellavit.*

Text 19

A

- 1] [± 20]n gis nas khal drug dang [-]
 2] [sde g]no stag [rt]on dang dru gu lha cung dang dru gu a se je gol gis nas khal phye dang
 3 gci]g gi 'jal gnya gcig gIs bgyis / [slar?] 'bul ba'i dus nI lug gi lo'i dgun sla
 4] ['byung pa bzh]in du ban de [--] lha [li - - o - ru] 'bul bar bgyis / slad [gi]s drugu lha [cung]
 5] dang bre phye dang do 'tsald pa [te /] dus gong ma da[ng]
 6] [te] khon ta rnam gyi sug rgya dang sug yIg tshad dang dpang po gno mang legs dang gno
 7] rgyas btab pha //
 7a (upside down:) dru gu a se 'i sug yig (seven round vermilion seals)

B

- 8] 'i dbyar 'dun sa dar ma sa dkon mchog [gi] stsang las // [-u sgyur] snga g.yar du lha ris zha pa'i /
 9] s[p]es nas gsum 'tshal pa dang / khri [thang] sog pos nas khal gsum 'tshal pa 'di rnam gcig gi /
 10] ['bul pa'i dus ni lan 'di'i dgun sla 'brin [po] nya la dam gi glad nan [las] 'byung
 11] [bgy]is // dus der ma phul tam gya gyu [bgyi]s par gyur na gcig las gnyis
 12] bgyis ste / khong ta gnyis gyi sug rgya sug yig tshad dpang po [- -]
 13 (+ P. 2125 piéce 1)] rgyas btab /
 (upside down:) yI 'dzub tshad (three round vermilion seals)

C

14] [g]nyis 'tshal te / g[nyəʔ] tsha[n -i] khyi spe dang khri thang sog po /

15] rgya sug yig tshad gyis btab [pa]i / dpang la skyogs /

16] *** / las stsogs pa'i dpang rgyas btab pa[ʔ //]

16a (four round vermilion seals)

.....
 5 gno mang legs [ky]is nas khal *ante* dus gong *cancellavit*. 8 stsang *post* mchog [gi]:
 gstsang *scr*.

Text 20

A

1 / : / zha pa'i sde / [kam] klu bzher sngo brtsan gyi bran / cang le'u le'u gis nas
khal bzhi dang bre [--] 'tshal pa dang / a snas mdo legs gyis nas2 khal pye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal pa dang / yem 'j[i]ng khyi cung gis
nas khal pye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal pa dang / li'u sin cung gis nas
khal3 pye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal pa dang // bong tsugs pa'I 'bangs da myi
yul byin gyis nas khal pye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal pa dang / mo lgo
'dzom ge [-]4 khal pye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal pa dang / phug yog pa'i sde / rmar
kam bzang kong gi bran / rgya so gus nas khal phye dang gsum dang bre bzhi
'tshal5 pa' dang // dru gu khrom skyes nas khal phye dang gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshal
pa dang / myang ro'i [sd]e / dru gu [tshoʔ stongʔ] gi bran tshe'u dzIn hing gIs
nas khal [phye] dang6 gsum dang bre bzhi 'tshald [pa] dang // lug ngan da bu sa'i ['bang]s [gshenʔ]
gsas chung nas khal phye dang [g]sum dang bre bzhi 'tshald7 dang mngan khri [gsaʔ]i 'bangs [sl]e lha led kyis nas khal pye dang gsum
dang bre bzhi 'tshald pa dang / khe rgad lha8 chung nas khal pye dang gsum dang bre b[zh]i 'tshald pa dang myi 'di rnam
gchigi 'jal nya gchigis bgyis ste /9 'bul ba'i dus ni dam gyi glad na[n las 'byu]ng ba bzhin dar [ma sa'i bang sgor]
'bul bar bgyis ste // khong ta rnam [sug]

10 [--] rgya sug yig tshad dang / [. . .] * * *

11 dang / klu brtan la stsogs pa'i dpa[ng rgyas b]thab pa //

11a (upside down:)

rgya so gu'i sug yig

dru gu khrom skyes gyi sug yig tshad btab

khe rgad lha cung gi su[g yig] tshad gyis btab pa'

a snas mdo legs kyi sug yig tshad

yem 'jIng khyi cung gi sug yig tshad gyis btab

da myi yu[l byin su]g yig

mo lgo 'dzo 'ge'i sug yig tsha[d]

11b (seven round vermilion seals)

B

/:/ spre'u 'i lo 'i dpyid // dkor [sd]e'i 'bangs 'ga' [

Text 21

A

1]l bar bgyis / dusu

2][--] /

3 (a round vermilion seal)

B

4]s khre khal phyed [-]ngs

5] pa / dkar cag dang g[tan]

6]***

C

7] sl gyi bang sgor 'bul bar

8] 'I sgo nas [gta' nyi ----] zhing dbrog par bgyiste

9]***

D

10] khre phogste / 'bangs gyis skyin pod du stsal pa // dog ngan

11] [skyin po]r stsol pa yang / so so 'i dge skos dang dog ngan la /

12] dusu / dam yig las 'byung ba bzhin dog ngan dang dge skos rnam

13 su] ma phul lam / stsang dngos su ma 'byor na / dog tshan so so 'i

14 b]gyis nas / dog tshan so sor khre skyin po phog pa'i myi smra dkar chag

15]***

E

16] khre khal nyi shu rtsa phyed dang brgyad phogste / dge skos dam [hv]e
dang dog ngan dang bur 'do

17] / (two round vermilion seals)

F

18] tshan du khre khal nyi shu rtsa gsum phogste / ha stag rton la gthad nas sug
rgyas

19 ***

G

20] kim gI tshan du khre khal nyi shu rtsa drug phogste / big kim kim la gthad
nas sug

21 ***

H

22] 'do 'i tshan du khre khal bchu gchig phogste / khang hva 'do la gthad nas sug
rgyas btab /

23 ***

I

24] sheng kun tse 'i tshan du khre khal bzhi bchu rtsa brgyad phogste / dge skos
de'u wen dang dog ngan sheng kun tse

- 25] sug rgyas btab // (two round vermilion seals)
 J
 26 dog] ngan cang he je'u gi tshan du khre khal pyed dang bchu dgu dang bre
 lnga phogste / dge skos ci dzig dang cang he
 27] gthad de sug rgyas btab // (two round vermilion seals)
 K
 28] dog ngan an kim kang gi tshan du khre khal nyi shu rtsa phyed dang dgu
 dang bre lnga phogste / dge skos de'u si dang
 29 a]n kim kang la gthad de sug rgyas btab // (two round vermilion seals)
 L
 30] [dog --] [

Text 22

A: P. 1208

- 1 (a) g].yar du mno[ste] / slar 'bul ba'I gtan pa [bam bu]r tshe dang dngos
 2] // (a round vermilion seal * * * (b) rgod sar gyi sde cang [stagu?] tshan bam
 [stag? legs gy]is
 3] gchig zhig snga g.yar du mnoste / slar 'bul ba'i gtan pa bam [dze? shang]
 dang dngos
 4] ['brang] la bcas / རྩམས་ལྗོངས་ * * * (c) / snying tshoms [gyI] sde im ka [
 5 i][s] gro khal gnyis shig snga g.yar du mnoste / slar 'bul ba'i gtan pa dngos
 6] brang dang / bu dar ta la bcas // dpang po dze'u lang tshe'i rgyas btab pa
 / (a round vermilion seal)
 7 (d)] rgod sar gyi sde / sag khun tshe'i tshan 'ba hor tshe gis gro khal phyed
 dang bzhi
 8][- gsum] zhig [±5] [m]noste / slar 'bul ba'i gtan pa 'ba'
 9] [±5] (upside down:) 'ba' an ta'i sug yig tshad (e) rgod sar gyis sde / dze'u
 10] tshen tshen gis gro [±5] mnoste / slar 'bul [pa]i gtan pa [s?]o [sh?]o ab [-]
 11] (upside down:) la tshen tshen [gy]I sug yig tsha[d] (f) wang rma snang gyI
 tshan shIg an tshe gis gro khal bzhi snga g.yar du 'tshal te / slar ston phul
 12 [pa'i] gtan pa dngos dang pha shIg sik la bcaste / kho ta'i sug rgya dang sug
 yig tshad gyis btab pa' / (a round vermilion seal)

B: P. 1208+P. 1221

- 1 (P. 1208: 13) (g)] la bcaste / khong ta gnyis gyI (P. 1221: 1) sug rgya dang sug
 yig tshad gyis (P. 1208: 13) btab pa' / (upside down:) dze'u h[i]ng gI sug [yig
 tshad]
 2 (h) stong sar gyi sde sheg pu tshe'i (P. 1221: 2) tshan / sheg [±8] [g.ya]r du
 mnoste / pa dag le[g]
 3] [±12]g snga g.yar mnoste
 4] dngos gyi [±7 gchi]g las gchig bcaste
 5 rgya]s btab pa / (a round vermilion seal?) * * * (i) / stong sar gyi sde bam
 6] gro khal gnyis [±4] mnos pa dang / snying tshoms gyI
 7] tshin tshin gro khal [---] g.yar du mnoste slar ston 'bu[l]

- 8] [zh]I 'brang dang / gchig las gchig bcaste / khong ta [gny]is gyi s[u]g
 9] *** (j) / stong [sar gyi sde] 'go stag po [
 10] [d]u mnos pa dang rgod sar gyi sde khong [-]e [
 11] khong ta'i sug rgyas btab [

Text 23

- 1 /: / rgod sar gyi sde / cang ka dzo'i tshan / cang kun tses / stsang mngan
 rnying lo byi brtsan gyi gnyer
 2 rnyIng gi stsang las gro khal phye dang gnyis dang bre bzhi chags pa las //
 phagI lo'i ston 'bul
 3 bar rtse rjes gngangste // dkar chag spos pa las // phagI lo'i dpyid sla 'bring po'i
 ngo la'
 4 mkhan po thub brtan la dmag dpon gis stsang zhig gngang ba'I phyag rgya
 mchis zhes mchiste /
 5 gnyer pa dar rgyal ma dang tre mye slebs lastsogs pas bda'ste // gro khal
 phyed dang gnyis dang /
 6 bre bzhi lan 'dI 'i dpyid sla 'brIng po tshes bcu gcig la mngan rnying lo byi
 brtsan la phul
 7 te // byI brtsan gyi 'bul rgyas btab pa'i dpang la // bam stag slebs dang / dze'u
 gog tsheng dang /
 8 cang klu legs lastsogs pa'I dpang rgyas btab pa' //
 9 (upside down:) bkye gnyer khums ste chags rgya shad kyis gnan
 (five round vermilion seals)

.....

2 la *post* chags *cancellavit*. 3 sto *andte* dpyid *cancellavit*. 7 dpang: dbang *TLTD*.

Text 24

- 1 /: / spyi tshogs gyi stsang mngan rnying lo byis brtsan gyi sug pa na mcis pa
 las // li
 2 kang tses gro khal phye dang gnyis dang bre bzhi zhig snga g.yar du mnos pa
 // phag gi lo'i dpyid
 3 zla 'bring po tshes bcu gsum la // ban de thub brtan gyi nod du kha bstan pa'i
 tshe / byis
 4 brtsan la phul te // bul rgya dang gnyer pa // tre mye slebs dang / khyung po
 stag
 5 legs las stsogs pa'i dpang rgyas btab pa' // dkar chag pyi mo bla na
 6 mchis pa ni slad gyis shad gyis gnan par bgyis //
 7 (upside down:) bkye gnyer khumste chags rgya shad kyis gnan
 (a round vermilion seal with an inscription:) I[o] byis brtsan

Text 25

recto

- 1 [±12] stsang / mngan rnying lo byis brtsan gyi sug pa na /

- 2 [±12] dkar chag spos pa las // slad kyis dmag pon
 3 [±11 br]tan gyi nod du kha bstan no zhes mchi' nas //
 4 [--u --] kh[o]ng m[an tse la?] gro khal phyed dang gnyis lo 'dl'i dpyid
 5 sla 'bring po'i ngo la mngan lo byis brtsan la phul te 'bul rgya dang // tre mye
 slebs dang / bam
 6 log log / cang tshe shing // lastsogs pa'i dpang rgyas btab pa' // yang gro bre
 drug phul
 7 te rgyas btab pa' //
 8 (upside down:)
 bkye gnyer khums nas chags rgya dang gthugste shad kyis gnan
 bkye gnyer khums nas chags rgya shad kyis gnan
 (four round vermilion seals)

verso

khong man tshe'i bul [

3 kha *post* zhes *cancellavit*. 4 dang *post* gnyis *cancellavit*.

Appendix : Texts Notes

- (1) The following *signes critiques* and abbreviations are used in editing the texts.

Text

[abc]	Supplements: letters illegible or disappeared, but supplied by the present editor.
[abc?]	Doubtful readings.
[...]	Illegible letters. Number unknown.
[- - -]	Illegible letters. Number known, indicated by broken lines.
[±3]	Illegible letters. Approximate number known, indicated by a numeral with ±.
[a (/b)]	Ambiguous readings.
] abc	Text starts in the middle of the line due to physical damage.
abc [Text ends in the middle of the line due to physical damage.
***	Blank spaces left by copyist.
(abc)	Inserted remarks by the editor.

Critical Apparatus (below the text, separated by a dot-line).

<i>cancellavit</i>	crossed out in the original by the copyist
<i>ante</i>	before, in front of
<i>interlin.</i>	interlinear additions
<i>om.</i>	omitted in
<i>post</i>	after
<i>scr.</i>	a form written in the manuscript

- (2) Since text A is incomplete with only one line, it is not included in the translation.
 (3) Text B is incomplete due to damage to the paper; it is not included in the translation.
 (4) The text on the verso side is considered to be a draft of the contract on the recto side. See Takeuchi ("Contracts": Text 22) for more details.

