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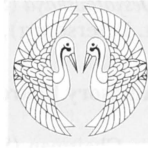
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“Portrait of a princess”, *Muraqqaʾ* X 3 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection, fol. 31a, 9.5 × 16.5 cm. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

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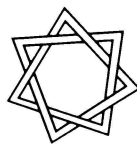
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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Hiroshi Kumamoto

## SINO-HVATANICA PETERSBURGENSIA (PART I)

The manuscript fragments we deal here with are the following: Dx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Dx 18928; Dx 18916; Dx 18927; Dx 18930; Dx 18931; Dx 1461. They all belong to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), but no transcription or interpretation of them was given in *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg Collections* (1993) by R. E. EMMERICK and M. I. VOROB'EVA-DES'ATOVSKAYA and *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg Collections* (1995) by the same authors. The reason these manuscripts first escaped the close attention of the editors of the above-mentioned volumes seems to be that all fragments contain Chinese text, with few portions of Khotanese added. In fact, they are more Chinese than Khotanese documents. For this reason, the fragments were put aside to be included in a future publication of Chinese documents from Central Asia. Although the manuscripts bear call numbers with signature Dx to indicate their Dunhuang origin, and are classified among Chinese Dunhuang documents, the Chinese texts, as well as the Khotanese ones, clearly show that the manuscripts come from the Gaysāta area (in the Domoko oasis north-east of Khotan); they can be dated to the second half of the eighth century.

### Camel sale contract (Dx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Dx 18928)

It is immediately clear that the larger two pieces (Dx 18926 and Dx 18928) form the greater part of a single document (see *fig. 1*). Dr. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has kindly confirmed for me that the small piece of SI P 93.22, published earlier in *Saka Documents VII*, plate 67c and *Saka Documents Text Volume III*, p. 94, No. 112, neatly fits the upper left corner of the right-hand piece (Dx 18926). On the other hand, the left-hand edge of combined Dx 18926 + SI P 93.22 and the right-hand edge of Dx 18928 do not make a perfect fit. In order to determine what portion of the Chinese text with the accompanying Khotanese translation is lost in the gap it is first necessary to examine the external evidence. *Fig. 2* shows bits of Chinese characters on the right margin of Dx 18928. The upper stroke going downward to the left could be the lower left end of the character *qian* 錢 (cf. the same character in the middle of line 3 and near the bottom of line 4 in

Of these manuscripts with Chinese and Khotanese texts, however, only Dx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Dx 18928 (and probably a small fragment Dx 18930) can be called a bilingual document in the sense that the Khotanese text appears to be an interlinear translation of the Chinese. We find the same method of interlinear translation, with a Chinese text representing an original official document and the Khotanese a gloss to it for the benefit of the non-Chinese local population in Hedind 24 [1]. This text is unfortunately more fragmentary than ours. There is also a series of bilingual voucher entries (Hedind 15, 16, Dumaqu C. D), in which the Chinese text appears to be primary, too.

As for our texts, part of Dx 18927 shows that the Khotanese text relates to the preceding Chinese text, whereas in all others (Dx 18916, Dx 18931, Dx 1461 and the remaining part of Dx 18927) the Chinese and Khotanese texts are independent.

We note here that in the present article, the Chinese texts are dealt with only if they have some relation to the Khotanese texts. We leave the proper interpretation of the Chinese texts to specialists in the field.

Dx 18926) making up a whole character together with the remaining traces at the top of line 4 of Dx 18926. Likewise, two small bits in the lower part of *fig. 2* might be the top part of the character *yi* 壹 in line 4 of Dx 18926 (the top of the vertical stroke of 士 and the beginning of 冫 respectively) [2]. In support of the assumption that only a few characters at the bottom, not the whole line (or lines) in the Chinese text are lost in the gap between the two larger fragments, identical passages from other sale contracts may be adduced. In our document, line 4 of Dx 18926 has 其錢及(駝) "That money (as agreed upon) and the camel" with a few characters missing at the broken bottom, while the first line of Dx 18928 has 交]相分付了 "have changed hands" with the first character lost at the broken top. This can readily be compared with S 5820+5826 [3] (a cow sale contract from Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, the year 803), lines 4—5 其牛及麥即日交相分付了 "That cow and

the wheat changed hands on the very same day”, or S 1475 verso No. 7 [4] (an ox sale contract from Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, the year 822?), line 4 其牛及麥當日交相付了 “the ox and the wheat changed hands on the very

same day” [5]. The first line of Dx 18928 must therefore immediately follow the last line of Dx 18926 with either *jiri* 即日 or *dangri* 當日, both meaning “on the very same day”, which is lost at the bottom of the line.

## Text [6]

K1 || *ulā šau dasalā*

C1 野駝壹頭父拾歲

K2 10 6 *mye salye rarūyā māštā* 20 1 *mye haḍai hamīdaka gaysātāja*  
*braṃ[mūjsai āstamna?*

C2 大曆十六年六月廿一日傑謝合川百姓勃[門賀齊

K3 *tṭye / pracai(na) cu kšīrve mūrā puḍa ya tṭye pracaina mī vaṇa*  
*ulā parāmdī (nva?)* [

C3 等 / (為)役次負稅錢遂將前件駝(買) [与 [?] [?] [?] 斷

K4 *ni hīvī x / mī nvahi sinā tcinā vīra kṣasi vsārṛu būnā ulā paphvām(d)i* [

C4 作駝[價] / (錢)壹拾陸阡文其錢及(駝) [當日

K5 *x-i x-yi hä / [ ] h(ve?) himāt(e) x x ul(ā)* / *(h)īyq nā<py>e si maṃ hī x-ī* [ (break)

C5 交]相分付了後有識認一(仰) [主保知當

K6 *x-ī vā yana x*

C6 不關買人之事官有政法[人從私契

C7 兩共平章畫指為記

K 7 || *braṃ[mū](js)ai (salī) x* (60) 5

K 8 || *puṅargam salī* 30 5

K 9 || *(vi)sarrjām salī* 60 1

K10 || *ma(rs)ākā salī* 30 1

K11 || *rruhadattā [salī]* (20?) 5

K12 *pheṃdūkā (salī)* 30 1

K13 [*vikausā salī*] 30 4

C 8 錢主

C 9 駝主百姓勃門賀齊[年六十五

C10 保人勃迹仰年[卅五

C11 保人勿薩睡年[卅一

C12 保人末查年[卅一

C13 保人紇羅捺年[卅?五

C14 保人奴<sup>レ</sup>偏年卅一

C15 保人勿苟<sup>レ</sup>悉年卅四

## Commentary

The document apparently follows a format. The first line names the object of the contract, in this particular case a camel duly specified. The second line begins with the date, followed by the seller's name; in line 3 the reason for the sale and to whom the camel is sold (this part of the text is unfortunately missing) are explained; and in line 4 the sale price is given. The second half of the main text is a confirmation that the exchange has taken place, which is followed by a standard precaution against possible claimants challenging the legitimacy of the owner, and the end contains another standard formula of private contracts. After the main text the names of the buyer (left vacant), the seller and guarantors and their age are given. It is noteworthy that all the names are Khotanese transcribed in Chinese characters.

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

C2 / K2. The date “Dali 16th year (= Jianzhong 建中 2nd year, i.e. 781), 6th month, 21st day” shows that the change of reign titles (*nianhao*) at the capital is not yet known. The date in Khotanese, at the beginning of the second line, faithfully follows the Chinese dating; the regnal year of a Khotanese king is therefore absent here. The seller is “the commoner (*baixing* 百姓) Braṃmūjsai from Hechuan 合川 in Gaysātal”. For the place-name Jieixie 傑謝 and its identification with the Khotanese Gaysāta, see KUMAMOTO (1996) 37 and n. 29, KUMAMOTO (forthcoming). Hechuan, meaning “confluence, where rivers join”, is probably the name of a subdistrict of Gaysāta. Khotanese *hamīdaka* must mean “all together”: it stands before *gaysātāja* “of Gaysāta” and is unlikely to correspond to the place-name Hechuan [8]. Of the seller's name C2 has only the first character *bo* 勃, but C9 provides the whole name. In Khotanese only the first syllable *braṃ-* can be seen both in K2 and at the top of the name-list in K7. However, the remaining traces in line K7 allow us to suggest the name *Braṃmūjsai*, also found in other documents from the Petrovsky collection (for example, SI P 92.30.6, 98.10, 103.18, 103.19, 103.28, 103.29, 103.36). In the Chinese variant of the seller's name as given in C9, *bomenmaoqi* 勃門賀齊 (<b'uot muən m̄u dz'iei) (the reading of the third character somewhat uncertain), the second character must be an abbreviation or an error

for *lan* 蘭 (<lân). The top of line C3 (in a small fragment SI P 93.22) has 等 (“popular” form for *deng* 等), which, standing after a personal name, would mean “and others” (in Khot. *āstamṇa* “etc.”).

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

The rest of C3 has 遂將前件駝(買) “thereupon (they) sell/sold [9] the aforementioned camel”, while the rest of K3 is *tṭye pracaina mī vaṇa ulā parāṃdi* “For that reason now they sold (3 pl.!) the camel”. *mī vaṇa* “here now” is the rendering of *suijiang* 遂將 “thereupon, on the spot”. In the Chinese text the missing part at the bottom of line C3 is expected to have had the buyer's name, presumably a Chinese one. The shape of the remaining part of the letter, after *parāṃdi* in K3, looks like *nva* in line K4, which brings to mind the phrase *nva pīha* “at the price of”.

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

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

A very fragmentary Khotanese rendering in this part (over the break between two major fragments) cannot be reconstructed with confidence. *himāte* (3sg. subj. of the verb “to be”) is almost certain, and the preceding syllable may be *hve iva manla* (a faint trace above and a hole below the *akṣara ha*). The syllable after *nā* is blurred, although the vowel sign *-e* is clearly visible. As a result of the manuscript's restoration a small piece of paper was pasted on a little off as the vowel sign of the following *si* shows (fig. 3). But even if placed correctly, (as in fig. 4), *pye* is illegible here. According to the Chinese text, the phrase *ulā hīvq nāpye* “the camel is recognized as his own” should be expected here. The remaining few syllables in K6 cannot be interpreted. The next two couplets in C6–7 were probably not translated into Khotanese.

**C6–7.** 官有政法[人從私契] / 兩共平章 畫指為記 “The authorities have the government's laws, (but) people observe private contracts. Both parties agree and have their finger-seals affixed”. For *huazhi* 畫指 “finger-seal”, the traces of which are not visible in the manuscript, see KUMAMOTO, in *Studies II*, 151—4. The first couplet 官有政法, 人從私契 is found also in a Hoernle document (*JASB LXX/1*, Extra number 1, Pl. IV), and in a number of Stein documents: S 1475 verso, No. 7, S 3877 verso, No. 6 and S 3877 verso, No. 3 (where we find *cīqi* 此契 “this contract”; instead of *sīqi* 私契 “private contract”). The second couplet 兩共平章, 畫指為記 is also found in S 5867, S 5871, Otani 1505, S 1475 verso, No. 7 and the Hoernle document mentioned above.

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

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

**K8/C10.** Here begins the list of guarantors' names. The shape of the second character in the Chinese equivalent of *Puñargam* [13] is somewhat unusual. The closest in form would be 迓, an alternative form of *er* 邇 (<ñiē), thus *boeryang* 勃迓仰 (<b'uat ñiē ngiang).

**K9/C11.** *Visarjām* [14], together with the Chinese form *wusazhong* 勿薩踵 (<miuət sāt t'šī<sup>o</sup>ng), occurs in Hedin 15.1.

**K10/C12.** Elsewhere, *Marṣākā* [15] is written more often as *Marṣa 'kā*. Its Chinese form is *mocha* 末查 (<muāt dʒ'a) here; cf. Hedin 16.23 *Marṣi'* with *moshi* 末士 (<muāt dʒ'i) in Chinese.

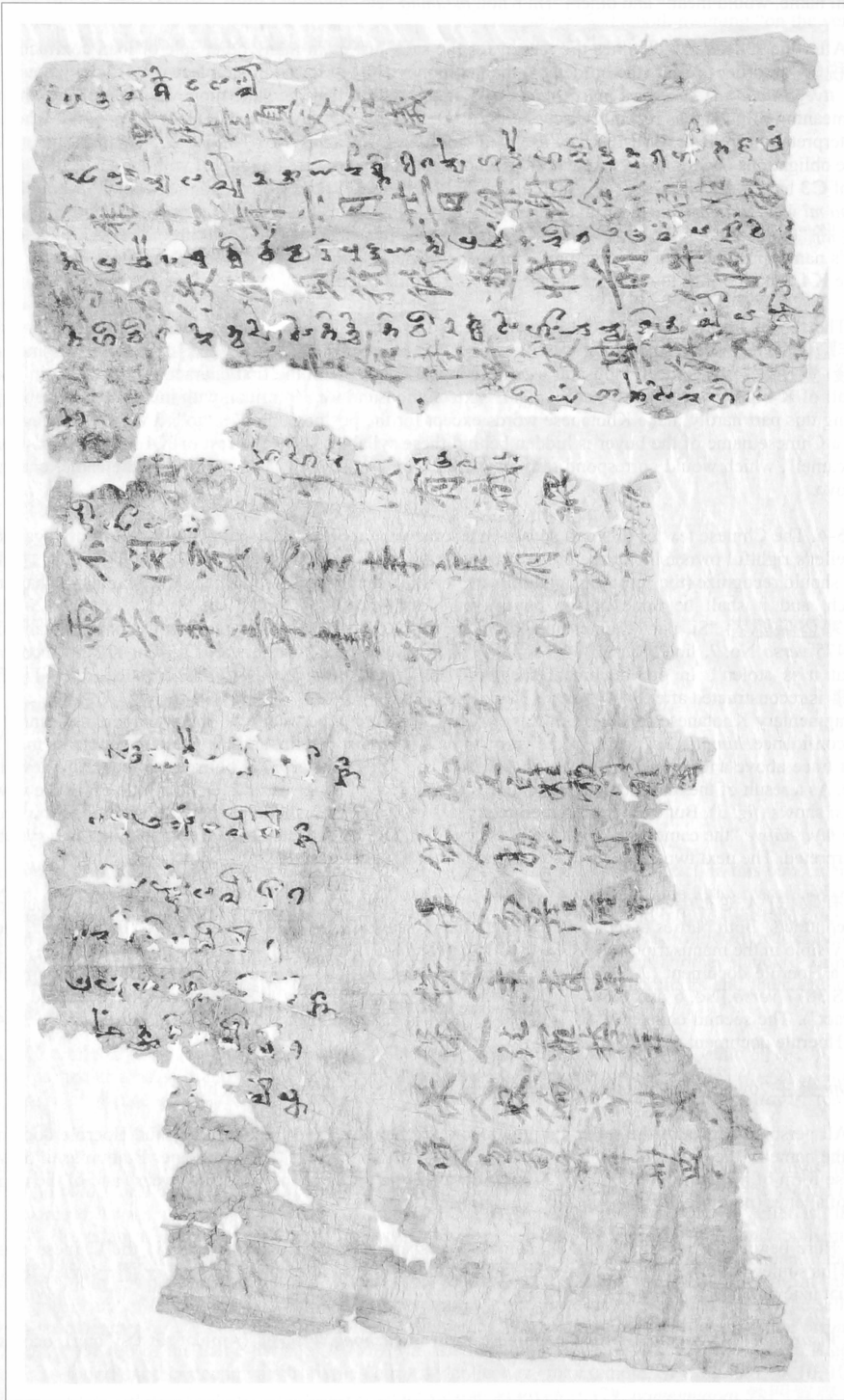


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

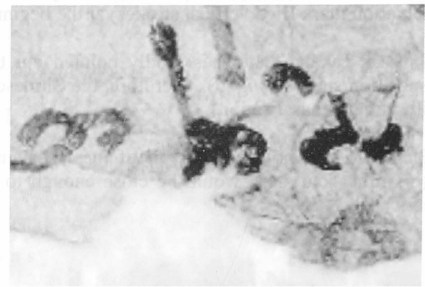


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

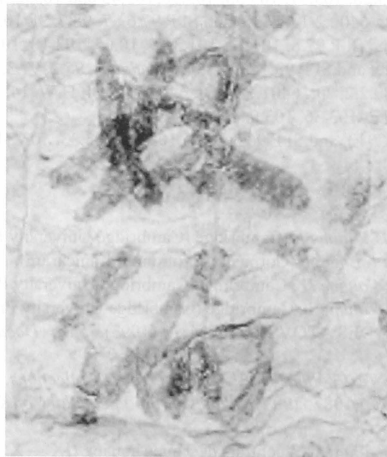


Fig. 5

**K11/C13.** The next name, *Rruhadattā* [16], has a difficult Chinese form, which occurs again in D<sub>x</sub> 18927 (in Part 2) as 傑謝百姓紇羅捺 “commoner Rruhadattā of Gaysāta”. I tentatively follow Yutaka Yoshida’s suggestion that the first character of *heluona* 紇羅捺 (<ɣuət lâ nāt) represents some kind of onset to the non-Chinese r-sound (heavy trill?). The punctuation mark (two vertical strokes) at the beginning of **K11** has a flourish as in **K1**.

**K12/C14.** Takata Tokio has kindly pointed out to me that the stroke between *nu* 奴 and *pian* 偏 on the right is the transposition sign (see *fig. 5*). Therefore, the Chinese name of *Phemdūkā* [17] is written as *piannu* 偏奴 (<p’jān nu; the latter with initial denasalisation).

**K13/C15.** The Khotanese variant of the last name is completely lost. The remaining Chinese, if read as *wugouxi* 勿苟悉 (<mjuət kəu sjet), would be close enough to *Vikausā* [18], which is another common name among the Gaysāta documents.

### Notes

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

2. Although in line 1 of D<sub>x</sub> 18926 the 彳 element of the character 彳 appears to be written in one continuous stroke, it would normally be in two strokes; cf. the top left of three occurrences of the character 勃.

3. Translated in GERNET (1957) 349–353. This and other Chinese documents are most conveniently seen in facsimile and transcription in YAMAMOTO and IKEDA (1987).

4. Translated in HANSEN (1995), 54 f.

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

6. Here, as in other texts, [ ] indicates editor’s reconstruction of the lost part, ( ) — partly visible letter(s), { } — editor’s deletion from the MS, < > — editor’s emendation to the MS, and x — an illegible letter. Uncertain Chinese characters are shown in a box □, while a slash ( / ) in lines from **K3** to **K5** marks where S I P 93.22 joins D<sub>x</sub> 18926.

7. In comparison to extant camel lease contracts (see GERNET (1966)), only a small number of sale contracts has survived.

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

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

10. In GERNET (1957) 361 — “On a fixé le prix à...”.

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

12. GERNET (1957) 349, 332.

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

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

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

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

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

18. Found in Or. 6395.1, Kha. ii.3 (in *KT V*), and S I P 96.3, 98.7, 103.11, 103.33, 103.34, S I M 50.

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### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** A single document consisting of three fragments (left to right  $\Delta x$  18928+ SI P 93.22 +  $\Delta x$  18926).

**Fig. 2.** Bits of Chinese characters on the right margin of  $\Delta x$  18928.

**Fig. 3.** A fragment of the  $\Delta x$  18926 left margin, with a small piece a little off as a result of the document's restoration.

**Fig. 4.** The same, with the small piece placed correctly.

**Fig. 5.** The transposition sign to the right of characters *nu* 奴 and *pian* 偏 in **K12/C14** ( $\Delta x$  18928).

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