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TIBETAN LITERARY TEXTS
AND DOCUMENTS CONCERNING
CHINESE TURKESTAN

SELECTED AND TRANSLATED BY
F. W. THOMAS

PART II: DOCUMENTS

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PREFACE

The matter in this volume, substantially, as may be seen from the Table of Contents, a reprint of articles contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in the years 1927-1934, had been attentively revised, with incorporation of some new items, prior to the outbreak of war in 1939; and the revision has continued since. But an accumulation of new observations and emendations has necessitated the preparation of a third volume, which is to accommodate also a concordance of document numbers, a Tibetan vocabulary and plates. An Introduction and an Index of Subjects and Proper Names have also been prepared. Pending publication of Volume III it is hoped that the analytical particulars given in the Table of Contents here may be found utilizable.

In regard to the cross-references in this volume it may be noted that where they point to expressions in the Tibetan texts the normal page-numbers are supplemented, taking as a full form, e.g. "p. 208: 43.2". What follows the colon (:) is always the serial number prefixed to the text, while what follows the dot (.) is the original line-number inserted in the text. Where on the page there is only one document the serial number is omitted, and where the document is quite short the line-number is omitted; hence, simpler forms, e.g. "p. 125: 7", or "p. 22.6". The same particularizations apply to the translations, which usually cite the line-numbers of the corresponding text.

Grateful thanks are due to the authorities of the India Office, and now the Commonwealth Relations Office, for permission to use and publish the manuscript material and for a liberal subvention already accorded to this work: and to two now retired Librarians, Professor C. A. Storey and Dr. H. N. Randle, C.I.E., and their staffs for constant kindness and help.

F. W. THOMAS.

August, 1948.
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1. The Ḥa-ža

AMONG the Tibetan MSS. recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from the now famous hidden library of Tun-huang (Ch‘ien-fo-tung) is a roll of thin paper inscribed on one side with a part of a text of a Buddhist sūtra in Chinese. The reverse contains a Tibetan document, which, as we may infer from many similar instances, was inscribed later. The Tibetan text, which consists of 254 lines of writing (plus the lower half of a preceding line) is a chronicle, covering without interruption a period of seventy-six years. Each entry commences with the name of the year according to the twelve-year cycle, and then appends a brief resumé of the leading events, usually ending with the phrase "[so] one year". The text contains a large number of names, names of peoples, places, and persons, including royalties, generals, and ministers, Chinese envoys and Turkish khaqans; and the whole conveys a lively impression of Tibetan activities during the period, especially of incessant campaigns against all co-terminous states, the Chinese, the Ḥbrog (nomads), and other tribes of Tibet. Of special interest for Indian history are the indications of Tibetan domination in Nepal.

As this text, of which an anterior portion exists in Professor Pelliot's collection in Paris, is to be edited in full by M. Bacot, who, after its cataloguing by Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, was the first to study it, we propose here to make only a few citations relating to the Ḥa-ža people, the subject of this chapter. It should, however, be mentioned that on the strength of various correspondences, e.g.:

year 12: death of queen Mun.can Khon.co (Wên-ch'êng), widow of Sroñ. btsan.sgam.po = A.D. 681 (Bushell, JRAS. 1889, p. 438);

1 Concerning this and a further MS., covering a subsequent period, see p. 38.
year 39: reception of the Chinese princess Kim-šen Khoń-co (i.e. Chin-ch'êng), as wife of the Tibetan king Khri-hdus-sron = A.D. 710 (Bushell, p. 457);
year 56: capture of the Chinese town of Kva-cu (An-hsi) = A.D. 727 (Bushell, p. 462);
year 68: death of the queen Kim-šen Khoń-co = A.D. 741 (Bushell, p. 438);

the initial year of the India Office MS. is fixed as adjacent to the year A.D. 672 and on the whole most probably coincides with parts of 672 and 673. This year having been an Ape year, the years A.D. 636, 648, and 660 will also have been Ape years; the other years of the cycle fall, of course, into their places; and we shall thus eventually be able to obtain approximate dates for various documents from Chinese Turkestan which make mention of cyclic years.

The Ha-ţa people occupy in history a position of considerable obscurity. A tribe of "inner dwarfs" bearing the name Se-ţa-ţa appears in the Tibetan chronicle of Ladakh; and Professor A. H. Francke, in editing the chronicle (Antiquities of Indian Tibet, ii, pp. 71 and 279), identified them with the people of Lahul, who themselves claim the designation. The name Ha-ţa appears, according to Professor Francke, in Padma-sambhava literature, and, as belonging to a kind of fairies, also in Bon-po writings. Finding it in the documents from Chinese Turkestan, Professor Francke was tempted to refer it there also to Lahul (J.R.A.S. 1914, p. 46, and Ancient Khotan, p. 1462). References to Western Tibetan countries are, however, hardly to be expected, and in point of fact rare, in those documents; and Professor Francke's suggestion was promptly countered by Professor Pelliot (Journal Asiatique, 1914, ii, p. 124, note), who had previously (ibid., 1912, ii, pp. 520-3) adduced strong reasons, including actual testimony, for identifying the Ha-ţa with the Tu-yu[k]-Jun, a people well known in Chinese history (see

* For other literary Tibetan reference see pp. 33-4 and Index.
Professor Cordier's *Histoire*, index) and located by Professor Chavannes in the mountains to the north of the Koko-nor lake in north-eastern Tibet. Previously (JRAS, 1926, pp. 311-12) we have ourselves, perhaps without sufficient regard to Professor Pelliot's evidence, proposed an identification of the Ha-ža with (practically) the people of the Shan-shan kingdom, south and south-west of Lop-nor. The means of settling this question exist, perhaps, in the Stein documents, and we propose therefore to cite the references to the Ha-žas which have been found therein. Many of the passages have a general interest in relation to the geography, history and culture of Chinese Turkestan.

**TEXTS ¹ AND TRANSLATIONS ²**

I. Chronicle, II. 33-5: Year 13 (Ape) = c. A.D. 684:—

_Hdun, ma, Dbu, ru, śod, kyi, Re, skam, du, bsdu, ste, Khu, H dus, tsan, dañ, Rüegs, Khyi, ma, re, dañ, Ha, ža, gsum, mchil, šags, htshal, žiñ,_

"The assemblage having been gathered in Re-skam of Dbu-ru-śod, the Khyn H dus-tsan, Khyi-ma-re of Rüegs, and the Ha-ža, these three, sent letters of complaint (protest ?)."

Dbu-rū-śod (smad), a district in Central Tibet (vol. i, pp. 279, 281). Khu is a tribal designation. Rüegs also is the name of a district. The exact force of the expression mchil-šags, which recurs in the documents (see Tibetan Index, below), is not certain; it might mean merely "letter", "statement".

¹ In all the texts which follow partly legible akṣaras are enclosed between square brackets and corrections between round brackets. Conjectural insertions are in *Italic*. Missing akṣaras are indicated by a corresponding number of dots, except where, especially at the beginnings and ends of lines, the number is not sufficiently determinable. In all cases the irregular spellings and punctuation of the originals are preserved.

² In view of the irregular spellings in the documents and the numerous words not hitherto recorded the translations are offered, especially in the case of fragmentary phrases, with some amount of reserve. In most cases, however, we have confirmatory evidence from other documents.
2. Chronicle, ll. 49-50: Year 18 (Ox) = c. A.D. 689:—
   "The Btsan-po (Khri-lḥdus-sron) residing at Thañ-bu-ra in Nen-kar, the Btsan-mo (princess) Khri-bañs went as wife to the Ha-ža king."

The name Khri-bañs seems to have belonged to more than one Tibetan princess: for an earlier one see below (pp. 13-5).  

3. Chronicle, l. 62: Year 22 (Snake) = c. A.D. 693:—
   "After levying the Ḥbrog (nomads) of Rtsañ-cen the Great Minister Khri-lḥbrin went into the Ha-ža country so one year."

The Great Minister Khri-lḥbrin is perhaps identical with the Ch’in-ling of Bushell (pp. 447, 451, 453, etc.). He died, by suicide, in A.D. 698-9 (Bushell, p. 485, Chronicle, l. 75). His father, the Mgar Ston-rtsan (= the Tungtsan, or Zutungtsan of Bushell, pp. 446-7, 453), was a great minister under Sron-btsan Sgam-po and his successor, dying in A.D. 667. One of his brothers, Btsan-sña, is the Tsanhsijo of Bushell, p. 447. Rtsañ-s[ḥ]jen, which is several times mentioned in the Chronicle, cannot be located with certainty.

4. Chronicle, ll. 68-9: Year 24 (Sheep) = c. A.D. 695:—
   "The Great Councillor Khri-lḥbrin having gone into the Ha-ža country, at Rgya-dur in Stag-la a battle was fought with the Chinese general Wañ-žan-so, and many Chinese were slain."

Stag-la and Rgya-dur are not as yet located with certainty. The Chinese general Wañ-žan-so may be the Hwang Jēnsu of Bushell (p. 454).

5. Chronicle, ll. 70-1: Year 25 (Ape) = c. A.D. 696:—
The words for this text are:**

hbrin, gyis | Ha, za, yul, gyi, sil, gu, cin, gyi, Ho, kol, du, Ha, zahi, mkhos, bgyis

"The Btsan-po residing in Zrid-mdah, the Great Councillor Khri-hbrin levied the Ha-zas in Ho-kol of Sil-gu-cin in the Ha-za country."

The places are not known (see below pp. 17-8, 28); but it seems likely that Ho-kol implies a river valley. Sil-gu-cin which recurs in No. 6, and in which cin probably = Chinese chen, "mart," may be connected with the Shih-wu-fou in the Sa-en region (Sir A. Stein's Serindia, p. 610 and map).

6: Chronicle, ll. 140-2: Year 43 (Tiger) = c. A.D. 714:—

blon, chen, po, Khri, gzigs, gyis, bsduste, Bru, pa, Rdo, rphan, ko, ni, byun, Tshes, po, Tre, go, behug, ste, Hbon, da, rgyal, dan, za, Btsan, to, re, Lhas, byin, gyis, sil, gu, cin, gyi, Ho, khol, du, Ha, zahi, mkhos, bgyis.

"The Great Councillor Khri-gzigs having assembled the conference, the Bru-pa Rdo-rphan-ko was dismissed and Tre-go of Tshes-po was appointed. The Hbon-da king and the uncle (minister) Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin levied the Ha-zas at Ho-khol in Sil-gu-cin."

Dbahs Khri-gzigs became chief minister in the year 34 = c. A.D. 705 (Chronicle, l. 102). His full name was Khri-gzigs-za-nen ("uncle-relation"?). The Hbon-da king, who recurs in the Chronicle,1 is perhaps king of a subdivision of the Ha-zas, the Hbon Ha-zas, who are mentioned below. The name Btsan-to-re we shall meet again. In the expression "uncle-minister" (za-n-blon) the word "uncle" should not be corrected to "noble" upon a supposition that a Chinese syllable is represented by za (see p. 321, n. 1). In a polyandrous country the position of "uncle" has special

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1. Ll. 104-143 (years 35-43 = A.D. 705-714), his surname being Btsan-zas. Since he is clearly identical with the Festayes of Bushell (p. 459) Khri-gzeigs, who is constantly associated with him, should be Bushell's Ch'di sna. His predecessor (father?), surnamed Khri-za, appears in this Chronicle, ll. 10-65 (years 3-23 = A.D. 675-895).
aspects: and we need not understand an actual relationship of that king. In the exchange of courtesies and treaties with China the avuncular relationship seems sometimes to imply only a past connexion of families by that relationship; and we can recall the use of the word "cousin" in Old English. It is conceivable that the Ḥbon or Dboṅ Ha-žas were really "nephew" or "grandson" Ha-žas on the above lines and that the Dboṅ (below, pp. 29, 32) country came so by its name. On Tshe-pon, = Tshe-spon, see vol. i, p. 271, n. 3.

7. Chronicle, ll. 190-3: Year 56 (Hare) = c. a.D. 727:—

Btsan po dbyar chab srid la Ha ža yul du gšegste ʃul du Dbahs Sum po skyes bkaḥ gyod la chags | . . . dguñ Btsan phoḥi pho bran Jor goṅ sna nah bzugste Ḥbon Ha ʒa rje daṅ žaṅ dboṅ gdan tshom Dbahs Stag sgra Khon lod blon ehen por bkaḥ stsal d Ha ʒa phal po che bya sga stsal |“The Btsan-po having gone in the summer to the Ha-ža country to assume sovereignty, on the way, the Dhahs Sum-po-skyes attempted to evade orders (bkaḥ-gyod!) . . . The Ḥbon Ha-ža chief and the uncle dboṅ (nephew?) resigned (exchanged?) their posts. The Dbahs Stag-sgra-Khon-lod was appointed Great Councillor. The Ha-ža for the most part sent presents.”

The rather strange-looking word dbahs (Chronicle, ll. 102, 170, 190, 192, 196) recurs infra, p. 9, 38, etc. In a Tibetan history (Rgyal-rabs-grsal-bahi-me-lon) (Lhasa Expedition, F. 1, fol. 30b, l. 3) the form dbas is found. In Vol. I, p. 302, the term is clearly a tribal or clan name.

Bya-sga (dyah) in the sense of "a present" occurs elsewhere (No. 11, ll. 4, 33, No. 13, l. 4). Another Stag-sgra-Khon-lod is mentioned in No. 11, l. 51, below.

8. Chronicle, ll. 216-17: Year 63 (Dog) = c. a.D. 734:—

Ha žahi pha los bgyis.
"The Ha-ža revolted."

9. Chronicle, l. 220: Year 64 (Hog) = c. a.D. 735:—
Blon.chen.po.Cuñ.bzañ.Ha.za.yul.du.mehis.par.lo.goig

"The Great Councillor Cuñ-bzañ being in the Ha-za country—so one year"

Cuñ-bzañ-Ḥor-man, of Ḫbro in Mdo-smad, became chief minister in the year 57 = c. A.D. 728. Concerning other Cuñ-bzans see below (p. 16).

10. Chronicle, l. 238 : Year 71 (Horse) = c. A.D. 742 :—

"At Khu-ṇe-Mon-gansa the minister Mañ-po-rje levied the Ha-za."

The term mañ-po-rje is properly an honorific, meaning "mighty chief", and in the documents it and the feminine mañ-mo-rje are found variously employed. In some cases, however, it was a standing designation, no doubt of feudatory chiefs. The person denoted in the present instance can hardly be the Khu-Mañ-po-rje Lha-zañ, who in the year 31 (Chronicle, ll. 87-8; A.D. 702) joined in levying the "Three Horns" and in the year 34 (ll. 101-2, A.D. 705) was first made chief minister and then, being incriminated, was replaced. That personage may be the Ch'umangpuchi of the Chinese history (Bushell, p. 455). Possibly the present Mañ-po-rje is his son.

Khu-ṇe Mon-gansa is clearly in the Ha-za country. It is possible that Khu-ṇe is equivalent to the khamiya, kuhaniya, etc., of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, which seems to have a local sense without being exactly a place-name. Possibly it means something like "citadel" (see Acta Orientalia, vol. xii, p. 61, n. 5). Mon-gansa, looks as if it meant "ice (-country) of the Mona", concerning whom, see pp. 288-299. In gansa, however, it is possible that we have really not the word for "ice", but another word, usually written gam or gams, which we shall discuss elsewhere.¹

¹ But probably the place meant is the Khu-lo-mo-ṇan, in the Sa-su region, mentioned infra, p. 367.
11. This document (now vol. 69, fol. 84) was one of the
trouvailles of Sir Aurel Stein's third expedition. Its exact
provenance is not stated. It is fragmentary, having lost at
the right hand about two-fifths of its width, and on the
average about 16–17 akṣaras at the end of each line. Some
lines, especially at the commencement, are far more defective,
and many are illegible, or hardly legible, at the beginning
and elsewhere. The document measures in height 49 cm. and
in breadth on the average about 14 cm.: the entire width of
the writing would appear from similar rolls to have been
about 25–6 cm. The obverse was originally devoted to
a Chinese text, no doubt a Buddhist sūtra, whereof twenty-
eight fragmentary lines, originally about 20 cm. in width,
are preserved. The Tibetan text, fifty-five lines of writing,
is in a rather small and cursive hand, well formed, such as is
found in a number of other documents from Śa-cu, and which
may be associated with the Shan-shan and Śa-cu regions.
It shows affinity to a rather larger form of writing which we
have previously (JRAS, 1926, p. 508, n. 1) assigned to
the same regions.

(1) ...... G.yaŋ.con.mkhar.na.mdz ...... (2) ......
s.sto (1).Khri.[g.klas.daŋ | Cog.[ro].Cuŋ.bzan.lbdam,
kon ...... (3) ...... Ma.ga.Tho.gon.Kha.gan.la.phyag,
[bgyiso (?) bgyiste or bgyisna ?]] || ston.mo.ched.po.gsol
 ...... (4) sras......mo [bu.mo ?].pha.hbars.d[nul].lba.daŋ,
bya.dgal.ched.po ...... (5) [du,bta] ...... rtaḥi.lo.sor.
daŋ, | dbyar.sla.ral.pahi.[sku.bla].ched.po.gsol
 ...... (6) spyan......dbyar.Rma.chab.kyi.Mn.to.lyi.na.chud,
du.btab ...... (7) \ līṅs.ched.po.bgyis.te || ri.dags,
kyan.n ...... (8) khrin.sa ...... s.kyi.pho.braḥ.deḥi.dg[u]n,
Sra.bal.gyi.G.ya[n.ca]n.mkhar.du ...... (9) de.nas.[deḥi]
 ...... (10) S[e].t[o].nahi.khab.tu.bze[s]te.Ha.ža.rjeḥi.dpyaḥ(d?),
pho.braḥ.Rma.chab.kyi.[Glaṅ].ma.luṅ.du.[b] ......
(14) dehi, ston, pho, braň, Sra, bal, gyi, G-yan, can, mkhar, du, btab, nas ... (15) db[y]ar, G-yan, [ca]n, mkhar, du, bzungste || žan, Rgyal, tsa'n, sug, las ... (16) žan, lo[n], hdi, gnis, [sug, las, rjes], nas, rts[i], ched, po, bgyis ... (17) [p]o, ya[n], der, gsol || [dehi, dbyar, pho, braň, Se, ton, du, btab, de, nas ... (18) [Ha, ža, sla, ya, der, gsol] || de, nas, ḫphrud, gyi, lha, Btsan, po[i] ... (19) db[em, sa, St[o?n, r?]n, Gnam, [n]un, la, stos, pa, mchis, te, ḥdun, ma ... (20) rkañ, [b]krīs, sna, drugi, [g]yun, (byun ?), btab || rkañ, ton, dañ, rtsis, ched, po, bgyi ... khyiñi ... (21) lo, sor, dañ ... dbyar, sla, ra, bahi, sku, bla, ched, po, gsol || de, nas, zla, ba ... (22) btsan, gyis ... Rgya, rjeñi, sras, mo, Mun, še[n, Khon, co, bē[s] ... (23) žan, Btsan, to, re, dañ ... Ḫbro, žan, Khri, bzañ, Kha, ce, btañ, dañ ... Cog, ro ... (24) [Sg]ra, ya, sto, mchis, nas || de, nas, Btsan, mo, Khri, bañs, dañ ... sras, Ma, ga, Tho, gon, Kha, gos ... (25) gseds, nas || yun, sras, kyi, žam, rin, du || Ha, žal, žan, lo[n, ched, po] ... (26) Da, red, Blon, yi, dañ ... || Mug, i, deñ, dñi, dboñ, sor, dañ ... [rta], dpon, Wañ ... (27) [p]on, dañ ... phuñi, thob, pa ... thabs, can, gi, mchis, brañ, la, stos, ce ... (28) Mun, šeñ, Khon, co, dañ, mjal, nas ... phan, tshun, phyag, bgyis, || ston ... (29) sna, mañ, po, phul ... de, nas, Mun, še[n, Kho, j, co, Dboñ, yul, dbusu ... (30) dur, btab ... de, nas, pho, brañ, Tsoñi, Rboñ, yo, dur, btab, nas ... dgu[n] ... (31) sla, ra, bahi, sku, bla, ched, po, yañ, der, gsol ... dehi, dbya[r], pho, [brañ], Lda (!), mûn [mj] ... (32) Mdo, blon, ched, po, (Ḫbro)4, žan, Btorn, sgr, ya, sto, la, stos, pa || phyag, htshal ... (33) pha, Ḫbabs, dañ ... || bya, dgañ, ched, po, stsal, te, rlag, brdzañs ... dehi, ston ... (34) dehi, dgun, Ha, žal, žan, lo[n, gyi, geo || Da, red, Pûn, yi, gun ... de, nas ... (35) g-yuñi, yi, ge, m, dehi, rtsa, rol, du, thob ... nañ, gi, blon, po, žal, ce, p[or, n ... byiñ, bahi ... (36) lo, s[o, r, dañ ... dbyar, sla, ra, bahi, sku, bla, yañ, der, gsol || de, nas, ston, [mo] ... (37) de, nas, dehi, dgun, Yañ, Tsha, šod, du, bzungste ... Btsan, mo, Khri, bañs ... (38) žan, fên, gyi, bu (?) ... Dbahs, Khri, bzañ, spo, skyes, la, stsal, te, brdzañs ... Ma, ga, Tho, (39) gon, Kha, gan, gyi, khab, du ... || Mug, i, deñ, Ha, rol, par, gyi, bu, mo ... Mug ... (40) bkvañ(?), nas ... mtshan, yañ, A, lyu, bañ, dig, žiñ, du, btags ... (41) de, nas, [gâñ], gi, lo, la ... pho, brañ, Tsha, šod, du, btab, nas ... lo, s[o, r, dañ ... dbya[r] ... (42) las, byun, ste ... skyin.

1 This syllable is inserted below the line.
bar. Šud. pu. Khri. gzu. sbur. cuñ. bskos || byuñ (?) . . .

TRANSLATION

“(1) . . . in G-yañ-can fort . . . (2) . . . Sgra ya-sto-Khri-gdas and Cuñ-bzañ-hdam-kon of Cog-ro . . . (3) paid their respects to Ma-ga Tho- gon Khagan and offered a great feast . . . (4) gave to his daughter five pieces of ancestral silver and great presents . . . (5) . . . the Horse year came and the feasting of magnates in the first summer month was celebrated . . . (6) invited . . . In the summer entry was made into Mu-to-lyin on the Peacock river (Hoang-ho) . . . (7) . . . made a great hunt. Wild beasts also . . . (8) palace of . . .

The winter was spent in G-yañ-can fort in Sra-bal . . . (9) Then in that winter the daughter of . . . gnam having by Maga Tho-gon Khagan . . . (10) been taken to wife at Se-to-ña, in fulfilment of the Ha-ža chief’s design . . . (11) erected at Lyon-jeñ in Bde. Then the Ape year came . . .

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In Sra-bal . . . (12) also was there feasted. In the summer, in the presence of the mother Queen Khri-baños . . . (13) lady of the Stoñ-sde having been commissioned to erect. The residence was in
Glañ-ma-lun on the Peacock river (Hoang-ho).

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... (14) In the autumn, having fixed the
residence at G-yen-can fort in Sra-bal ... 
(15) spending the summer in G-yen-can fort, the uncle
Rgyal-tsan ... task (16) having changed the
task of these two uncle Councillors, a great census
was made ... (17) also was there feasted. In the
summer the residence was fixed at Se-ton. Then
... (18) invited the Ha-za again there. Then the
"revealed divinity", the Btsan-po's ... (19) Gand-
lun of the hermitage Stoñ-re and others having come,
an assemblage ... (20) made ... of foot-wrappings of
six kinds, A review (rkan-ton) and a great census were
made ... Then the Dog (21) year came, and the
feasting of magnates in the first summer month
was celebrated. Then month (moon) ... (22)
the Btsan took to wife Mun-s[e]n-Khon-co, daughter of the king of China ... (23) sent to
Kashmir the uncle Btsan-to-re and the uncle
Khri-bzsn of Hbro; and the Cog-ro ... 
(24) Sgra-ya-sto arrived. Then Queen Khri-
bañs and her son Maga Tho-gon Khagan ... 
(25) having come, in the presence of mother and
son the great Ha-za uncle Councillor ... (26) Da-
red-Blon-yi, and Mug-lden, commandant of the
dn, came and Wañ ... commandant of horse,
... (27) commandant and the upper classes (?).
The wives and so forth of the officials (thabs-
cen) ... (28) having met Mun-šen Khon-co, there were mutual greetings. Festivity (autumn ?)
... (29) varied were offered. Then Mun-šen
Khon-co in the middle of the Dbon country
... at Rbon-yo- (30) du fixed her residence. Then,
the residence having been fixed at Rbon-yo-
du in Tsog, the winter ... (31) the feasting of mag-
nates in the first (summer) month was also there
celebrated. In the summer the residence being at
... (32) the Great Councillor(s) of Mdo, the uncle
Brtsan Sgra-ya-sto of Hbro and others paid their
respects ... (33) ancestral ... and great presents
having been given, they were sent back. In the
autumn ... (34) In the winter the chief of the
Ha-za uncle Councillors, Da-red Po-n-yi, died. Then (35) received turquoise letters at the foot thereof (of the commission). The Home Minister was made magistrate ... the Mouse (36) year came, and the feasting of magnates in the first summer month was also there celebrated. Then in the autumn ... (37) Then, spending the winter also at Tsha-sod (Lower Tsha), Queen Khri-ba-sha ... (38) sent to Dbahs Khri-bzang-spo-skyes, the son of the zhon-nyen as a gift ... (39) in the mansion of Maga Tho-gon Khagan the daughter of Mug-lden Ha-rod-par, Mug ... (40) having given birth to a daughter, the name 'A-lye-ban-dig was given ... (41) Then for the Ox year the residence was fixed at Tsha-sod (Lower Tsha). The year came, and in the summer ... (42) being dismissed ..., to replace him the Sud-pu Khri-gziu-sbur-cun was appointed ... (43) In the Summer, the residence being in Tsha-sod (Lower Tsha), the princess Khon-co Gbi-bod ... (44) feasted the magnates. The towns also were taken over. Subsequently, one after another ... (45) a hundred friends (!) and a hundred female camels with camel-grooms, and a hundred horses with horse-grooms ... (46) accompanied were sent. The Dbahs, master and men, who belonged to the parental relatives all ... (47) Then, the residence being in Tsha-sod (Lower Tsha), the feasting of magnates in the first summer month was celebrated ... (48) In the mansion of Maga Tho-gon Khagan the daughter of Khon-zun of Sto-n-re in Cog-ro, ... of Cog-ro ... the name ... (49) dig was given. In honour of the occasion Khon-zun of Cog-ro silver letters ... (50) put. The Tiger year came, and the feasting of magnates in the first winter month was celebrated ... (51) courier and the Dbahs Stag-sgra Khon-lod and Na ... of Cog-ro ... (52) Sto-n-nen Sbrur-kon and Mug-lden, the dben-bshes there, and Da-red ... (53) having been sent and having gone into the Ha-za country, the Ha-za subjects revolted (!) ... (54) While returning into the Ha-za country, on the way ... (55) ... mother and son ...
This document may be deemed to be, despite its fragmentary condition, one of the most interesting that Chinese Turkestan has yet yielded. Its feminine inspiration is apparent: the preoccupation with domestic interests, the ceremonies, the residencies in various palaces, the meetings of relatives, especially women, the marriages of Maga Tho-gon Khagan, and, apparently, the births of his daughters are recorded with an appreciation which would not otherwise be in keeping. And the inspiration emanates evidently from Queen Khri-bans, the mother of Maga Tho-gon Khagan, who herself figures prominently in the narrative.

Fortunately, there is no difficulty in dating the events recorded. The marriage of the Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po with the Chinese princess Mum-seň Khon-cc (Wên-ch'êng), recorded in ll. 22-9, is assigned by the Chinese to the year A.D. 641 and by the Tibetans to A.D. 639 (Bushell, p. 444; Csoma Körösi, Tibetan Grammar, p. 183). The fact that in the document the latter year (639), which may be taken as either correct or at least for this Tibetan document valid, is a "Dog" year accords well with our identification of the first year ("Ape") of the Chronicle with A.D. 672. For upon that supposition a "Dog" year should coincide with the year A.D. 638, and the difference between 638 and 639 may be merely calendrical. The period covered by the document (Horse-Tiger years) corresponds accordingly to A.D. 635-43.

Who then are Queen Khri-bans and her son Maga Tho-gon Khagan? The queen is evidently a Tibetan lady of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po's family; and we have already, in the larger Chronicle, had mention (p. 4) of a Tibetan princess Khri-bans, who in the year 18 (A.D. 689) was married to the Ḥa-ḍa king. Another (?) Khri-bans is recorded in a literary document. The name is therefore recurrent in the royal lineage of Tibet.

But this Queen Khri-bans is evidently in special connexion with the Ḥa-ḍas. Her son, however, bears two distinctively Turkish appellations: for this is true not only of Khagan,
but also of \textit{Magu}, which is apparently the same as the \textit{Moho} (Iranian \textit{Baga}?) which the Chinese apply to certain Turkish rulers during the period about A.D. 700 (Chavannes, \textit{Documents Chinois sur les Turcs Occidentaux}, Index). The middle name appears to be doubtful; for, while it reminds us of the great ruler Ton-ngo Khagan, who died in A.D. 630 (Chavannes, p. 25, n. 3), it corresponds more exactly to the phrase \textit{tho-gon}, occurring as a surname in a Tibetan document from Sa-ku (infra, pp. 367–8). If we should overlook that difficulty, it might seem possible to conclude either that the husband of Khri-bans was himself a Turk, or that out of compliment to the Turks his son received Turkish titles (see Vol. III, p. 76).

There is, however, another possibility which seems to deserve serious consideration. Professor Pelliot has shown (\textit{T'oung-Pao}, 1920–1, pp. 328–30) that the Tu-yu[k]-hum established near the Koko-nor used both the title \textit{khagan} and another, \textit{mo-bo}, which he regards as a form of the Mongol \textit{abara} "maternal uncle". If so, it seems natural to inquire whether the \textit{Tho-gon} which we have between the two titles is not the name of the Tu-yu[k]-hum king Mujung No-ho-po, who was installed in A.D. 636 (Bushell, p. 448; Chavannes, p. 189, n.; Cordier, vol. i, p. 417), i.e. almost the very year in which our document seems to relate the accession of a young prince. But, though \textit{Mujung} may well represent \textit{Magu}, it is not at all likely that \textit{Tho-gon} can in any way be reflected in the name No-ho-po. One or two further points may be noticed here: (1) Since Khri-bans is probably a sister or aunt, or at least a near relative, of Sron-btsan Sgam-po, it may seem unlikely that she should be queen among the Tu-yu[k]-hum, who were at this period the great rivals and enemies of the Tibetans. This objection may not hold good in the face of general experience and of the particular fact that according to Chinese testimony (Bushell, p. 449) "the Tu-ku-hun and the T'ufan families were originally allied by marriage". But the part played by Khri-bans and her people in the welcome of the Chinese princess Mun-šen Khon-co seems hardly
reconcilable with our knowledge (Bushell, pp. 443-4) that the marriage of the princess to the Tibetan king had been frustrated in A.D. 634 by the intrigues of the Tu-yu[k]-hun, who had then (in A.D. 635) been disastrously defeated by Sron-btsan Sgam-po’s armies; (2) the name of one of Maga Tho-gon Khagan’s daughters, “A-lye-bañ-dig (l. 49), has more a Turkestan than a Mongol appearance, and the last syllable dig at least, which recurs in the case of a second daughter (l. 49), is perhaps a Chinese word tîq, which actually occurs at the end of female names (p. 72, infra) as translation of the Sanskrit Śrī; in fact, bañ-dig looks very like sañ-tīq “Rājya-śrī”.

Hesitation on such grounds must, however, yield to the consideration that the places and residences named in the document are all probably included in the area of the Tu-yu[k]-hun kingdom, which in its widest extension covered also the Sa-ču and Shan-shan regions (see now Maps 30–3 in Professor A. Herrmann’s Atlas). They are the following:—

(a) Mdo, North-Eastern Tibet, and the districts Cog-ro and Hbro, which are known from the Chronicle, and also from the Bkaḥ-bḥyur and Bstan-bḥyur colophons and from other sources.

(b) Mu-to-lyiṅ and Glan-ma-hun, stated to be on the (Upper) Hoang-ho; on Glan-ma-hun see the Itinerary JASB. 1882 (p. 45, no. 60).

(c) Tsa(Tsha)-śod, “Lower Tsa,” probably in the Sa-ču region; see pp. 28–9.

(d) Sra-bal (So-fang ?), with G-yān-can fort, which may be Yung-chang (Liang-chou district), and Lyon-jen in Bde, which can hardly help being Liung-ch’eng, in the Si-ning district, both probably within the Tu-yu[k]-hun dominions.

(e) The Dboṅ country and Rboṅ-yo-du in Tsog. (On these, and on Sra-bal, see pp. 25–7 and Vol. III, p. 23.)

(f) Se-toṅ, certainly in the Shan-shan (or Sa-ču) area; see pp. 161–4.
Moreover, the name *Tho-gon* may be simply explained as the original of the Chinese *Tu-huen*, the usual designation of the Tu-yu[k]hun in T'ang times (see Professor Pelliot in *Journal Asiatique* xi, vii (1916), p. 118, and *Ts'oung-pao*, 1920–21, pp. 323 sqq.). Stated to have been originally a dynastic, not tribal, name, it appears very appropriately in the designation of the prince Maga Tho-gon Khagan, whose personal name may have been *No-ho-po*.

The other persons mentioned in the document do not seem to be at present identifiable. But in several cases the forms of the names may be paralleled. A Cu-m-bzan of Hbro became in a.d. 728 chief minister of Tibet, as has been noted above (p. 7); and another is mentioned in documents from Mazär-Tagh (north of the city of Khotan) (p. 384, c. iii, 001); parallel to the Btsan-to-re of l. 23 we have in the Chronicle a Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin (ll. 85, etc.) and a Sna-to-re Skyi-xun (l. 85), and at Mazär-Tagh a Tshaön-to-re; Btsan Sgrava-sto (l. 32), the *tsa-blan* of Hbro, recalls the *za-n* Rgya-sto of the Chronicle (l. 125).

The phrase *skha-ton* (l. 20), which we have rendered by "review", is certainly some performance connected with military exercises; and in the Chronicle (ll. 6, etc.) it is found associated with a *tsis* or army census. *Sud-pu* occurs as a tribal name in a document from Sa-cu (p. 70, n. 1) and also in other documents (Chronicle, l. 237; M.T. c. i, 0068; of. Vol. I, 271, n. 1).

*Rin-lugs* (*bus*) (l. 51) seems in some places (Chronicle, ll. 187, 254; M.I. xxviii, 0036) to mean "courier" or "commissioner", elsewhere "usage" or "decision" (see Index). *Skhu-bla* (ll. 21, 31, etc.) can hardly have here the natural sense of "exalted body"; it seems to mean "magnate" or "grandee"; it recurs, often with *gsol-ba*, in M.I., i, 25d, iii, 6, and elsewhere: see Index.

Concerning *dbahs* see above (p. 6).

12. Fr. 66 (paper, Vol. 54, fol. 18, cm. 32 wide × 18 high.
Eight lines of clear cursive writing above two fairly legible red impressions of a seal).


Tuo Seals

1. 1. Tshan. loñ.

(ll. 1–3) "To My Lords Councillor Ṣṭhun-bṣer and Councillor Legs-sgra: respectful letter of His Highness Hbrug-brtsan. He prays for the perpetual happiness of your respected Highnesses. In the written letter, wherein you inquire concerning his health, you have been pleased moreover to send instructions. (ll. 3–5) Upon comparison of the grain of the Ṣa-ṣṭe. farmers, thirty loads, with the number vouchsafed by My Lord Councillor Legs-sgra from his residence, Councillor Brts. bhṣer has sent by letter instructions to deliver at Ṣa-cu what is owing. (ll. 5–6) The Ṣa-cu grain official has previously remitted that of Ṣm. ka-cin and of Dṣe. Ṣthiṅ-tshiṅ. The Steg farmers also have sent payment, and the signed letter of payment has come. (ll. 7–8) Or else it has been already received, and the receipt is coming down. With respects to the grain official and Councillor Brts. bhṣer we beg to undertake that hereafter, when the grain is brought to account, there shall be no shortcoming."

Seals: Tshan-loñ [.= Ṣblon, "Minister of Accounts"], Lha Hbrug-brtsan's residence.

The situation here seems to be that the Hbrug chief, who clearly is in possession of Ṣa-ṣṭe Steg, Ṣm. ka-cin and
Dzechu Tshin-tshin, has received from the Tibetan minister, Councillor Brtan-bzer, a letter requiring him to deliver to the Tibetan officials at Sā-cu a residue of his tribute of corn. He has sent the corn and now notifies the Sā-cu Tibetans, who have furnished their superior with the statistics. They shall, therefore, not be expecting delivery at Sā-cu.

This letter proves that Ha-za Steg, Im-ka-cin and Dzechu Tshin-tshin were under a single ruler, who was a tributary of the Tibetans. Ha-za Steg is, therefore, in the same general region as Sā-cu, where are the headquarters of the Tibetan Residents. The termination cin in 'Im-ka-cin is obviously the same which we have seen in the Ha-za "Sil-gu-cin in Ho-khol" (p. 5) and which is probably the Chinese chēn, meaning "mart". It can be shown that Dzechu is probably a tribal, or titular, designation, well known at Sā-cu; and it may be conjectured that Tshin-tshin of the Dzechu is some place named on the maps.

It is worthy of note that the seal of the Hbrug ruler, and the titles which it contains (tshan-lon, Lha-Hbrug-brtsan), should be in Tibetan language. For we cannot suppose that by race or name he was a Tibetan. Other Hbrug persons are mentioned in documents from Mirān (xxiii, 000b, etc.); and clearly their country, which we must now identify with the Sā-cu region, is the Bug-cor or "Bug Province" mentioned by the side of Dru-gu-cor or "Dru-gu Province" in a narrative from Sā-cu itself (infra, pp. 278-9) and in the Chronicle, l. 162.

The meaning of the word steq, which does not appear in the Tibetan dictionaries, is obscure. Steqs occurs in the senses (1) "bridge", (2) "support", and—since st and th correspond in Tibetan—it is perhaps connected with theyq, which also means "support" and is used further as a rendering of the

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1 Chinese Teo, a family at Sā-cu (Seriad㎡, index).1
2 The Lung, Dragon (= Hbrug), tribe of Kan-su came from Karabahr (L. Giles, B.S.O.S., vi, p. 844).
3 Cor is perhaps identical with the teq'one of Chavannes, index.
Sanskrit yāna. Since we have it also (p. 28) in another local designation (Tsa-bo-steg), it probably bore a local sense, and we may perhaps regard it as meaning literally "road", so that Ha-za-steg, will mean "the [district along the] Ha-za road". Two other words in the document are likewise of uncertain sense. One of them, stsan, we have conjecturally rendered by "grain", because for "harvest" or "crop" we seem to have in the documents a different word (rkyi)1: it is frequent in the documents (see Index). The other, word mnaṅ, which in ordinary Tibetan means "curse" (mnaṅ, which might be a variant, means "power"), may have the sense of "authority" or "official".2 Bul-rgya, apparently = "receipt", is found elsewhere (pp. 41.7, 43.5, etc.), and mar-thal "arrives below" (cf. phar-thal "get through") recurs in No. 18, p. 31, infra.

13. Fr. 67 (Paper, Vol. 55, fol. 55, cm. 32 wide × 23 high: part cut away at bottom; ll. 9 of clear cursive writing above a red seal, representing a Garuda).


Seal: | Bde.blon.ḥdun.tsa.nas.bkya

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1 Sir A. Stein records (Serindia, p. 716) a word t′e′ang = "granary".
2 Mnaṅ is found with stsan in pp. 41.6, 43.1: and elsewhere. On the meaning "government" see p. 341.
(ll. 1-2) "By councillor Lha-bzer and the uncle Legs-bzan, from Bde-sum-tshal in Hdon-tsa-za, in the summer of the Dragon year, sent, seal attached, letter to the uncle Tiger (military) officer Rma Gyu-goń.

(ll. 3-6) On careful examination of the amount of the grain from the Sa-cu district for the summer of the Dragon year, the grain has fallen short to the extent of many loads. Of this if we exclude that previously remitted and what was variously bestowed as presents and that previously owing which is retained by the lord of the district and that not belonging to Khams, the deliveries are out of conformity with the orders which were associated with a fixed date. Instructions requiring a further remittance are hereby sent. (ll. 6-9) In connection with the qa's present demand for the Sa-cu grain connected with a fixed date a letter has been sent to the general, requiring that there be no long postponement of the collection of the grain from the autumn crop of the Dragon year. It is also requested that those engaged in storing the grain should send it in as means of dispatch present themselves."

Seal: "Sent from the assemblage of ministers of Bde."

Bde-sum-tshal (l. 1) "Wood of the Three Bdes" is not otherwise known; but names of quite similar formation (Sum-cu-bo) are not uncommon, and place-names ending in tshal "wood" are the most common of all. The Rma prefixed to the name of the addressee G-yu-gon (l. 2) indicates, no doubt, that he originated in the district of the Rma, or Upper Haung-ho, river. But, since the tribute demanded is that of Sa-cu, where the letter was preserved, he must have been in charge of that region.

The document emanates from an assemblage of ministers, which, as we know from the Chronicle, usually took place once in the summer and once in the winter.

Concerning stea (ll. 3, etc.) and bya-dga see pp. 6, 19. On gner-bkun, ged, sde-rje, dam-za, la-gtogs-pa, da-n-sbyar-na, yan-man-tu, gner-chags, see Index.

¹ e.g. Bzsn-sum-tsal, Nhra-sum-khol (Chr. ll. 38, 62).
14. Back of Ch. 87, xiii (Paper, Vol. 53, fol. 5, two fragments, 30 cm. wide by c. 18 and c. 7 respectively high; gap at beginning and in middle; ll. 19 of clear cursive writing):

(1) ... bran. śu (?) ... (2) lha. dpal. ḥphrul. daṅ. mtshun. pa. ḥi ... (3) bkah. stsal. par. ci. gnaṅ. || slain. ḥchad ... (4) lam. ḥtsal. žin. mchis. || sna. slad. bkah. sprin. las. g. yar. tu(du). mjal ... sk ... (5) gseg. pa. yaṅ || žan. lon. man. chad. na. mchis. pa. nmams. kyis. kyan || phyogs. rtog. m ... (6) ste || bdag. gis. Ha. ža. yul. daṅ. || Kva. cu. khrom. tu. rtog. tu. btaṅ. ba. nmam. gnis. || ḥthu ... (7) mchis. nas? || ḥdi. dag. phyogs. phyogs. bsun. žin. mchis. pas. || bye. brag. ma. phed. gyi ... u ... (8) ni (no ?) || mar. myi. mchis || glo. ba. naṅ. pa. la. dgoṅs. na. || de. bar. tsher. to. žor. pa. yaṅ. || dpon. snaḥi ... (9) bzhugs. so. ḥtsal. la || phlyogs. sum. legs. par. dphyad. de || ḥdi. dag. cal. col. tu. bla. ma. ma. (10) rmas. par. || gdan. naṅ. lon. chen. po. sar. || myur. tu (du) || Rta. xor. tu. gseg. pa. ḥi. rigs. || chen. (11) po. sar. gseg. te. || gsol. daṅ. dbyoṅ. śig. par. myi. gdab. pa. ḥi. sānd. ma. mchis. || dbyoṅ. ba (tsa ?). (12) ḥi. tus (du). su. || bkah. sags. thugs. la. ci. dgoṅs. pa. gdab. pa. ḥi. rigs. || rno. thog. pa. mchis (ma. mchis). (13) par. sāṅ. sāṅs. pa. gsol. žes. bkah. ḥbab. bam. myi. ḥbab || spod. sga. gyer. śas. śig. (14) sāṅ. sāṅs. na. || thugs. dpags— (20 aksaras, part of leaf lost between ll. 14 and 15) (15) ... b. daṅ. || Bde. g(a ?)ms. ḥdun. sar. || myi. ḥdi. rgyun. tu (du). m ... (16) der. rmas. te || sug. pa. myi. brgyud. par. yi. ge. stsal. par. ji. gnaṅ. || man ... (17) sāṅ. śig. tag (dag). ji. ḥdra. bdag. chag. spun. gi. ma. rghan. mo. ŋig. daṅ. nu. bo. byis. ba. (18) gnis. śig. mchis. pa. la. || noṅ. zo. mchis. sam. ma. mchis. || Śa. cur. ḥtul. (19) maṅ. rab. pas. || yi. ge. žib. mo. sprin. bar. gsold. ||

(ll. 1–4) "... The noble lord, equal to a theophany, has favoured us with his instructions. In the next place, we propose to start. (ll. 4–6) The previous letters of instructions having reached us in the upper country, we came to —. When the alternatives were being considered by the persons present, including from uncle councillors downwards, I put into consideration the Ha-ža country and Kva-cu town, two possibilities. (ll. 6–8) Upon our coming together, these people taking various sides, we could not make a decisive choice and so are not going
down. In the meanwhile, reflecting upon their stupidity (?), we were lost in grief. (ll. 8-13) With some supposed leaders we deliberated upon the three alternatives. In the course of these people's babble, it had not previously been mentioned, but a recommendation was made, more or less as follows: 'It is proper to proceed at once to Rta-zor, to the residence of the uncle Great Councillor. Going to the great man, there is no harm in presenting a request and asking for an interview (dbyons ?). At the time of the interview, it is proper that he should give a decision as he may think fit. If that is not possible, you can [merely] inquire as to his health.' (ll. 13-14) When the hermit merely made some indifferent inquiries as to health, attentively ... (ll. 15-17) and at our coming together at Bde-gams, these men, one after another, asked, 'Your hands not being tied, please send a writing.' What is a little advice? (ll. 17-19) We two here, an aged mother of a family and a younger son, a child, are we or are we not anxious? We beg that the best of the ascetics at Ša-cu should send us precise instructions in writing.'

This letter is evidently addressed to a high ecclesiastic or religious authority at Ša-cu. It mentions the Ha-ža country and Kva-cu (An-hai) as two alternative destinations; apparently it is written from the upper country. We should therefore envisage some place in the mountains where the alternative would present itself. The situations of Rta-zor and Bde-gams (in Mdo-smad) are not known.

15. Vol. 56, fol. 72 (Paper, 56 cm. high × 30 cm. wide; fragmentary at beginning and lower right; ll. 50 of clear cursive writing):—

(1) ... y[i]g.tsăn || (2) ... [g]s.las. || Gser.chu.nu. sum.rgyud.du.gnañ || (3) ... c. 20 aḵsarʌs ... gs.dan. ma.shyar.bar || phal.thaṅ.du.na.phabste.phraḥ || (4) ... c. 17 aḵsarʌs ... [d]bab.par ... [g]sol.pa.las || bkas.gnañ. ste.yus.hdi.dan || (5)... dbab.par.nod.[pa.]la.thug.pa.lags || gze.niṅ.slad.kyis || Ha-ža (6)... d.giša[r].du.hdzugs.par. chad.nas || pho.brañ.nas.bkañ.lun.stsalpa.las || bdagi ||

* Or "a previously (bla-nas) not mentioned recommendation" (?).
Dhon. Ha. ža, rje, daň || Ha. ža, blon, gis, žu, ba, gsol, pa, daň || bdag, ŋan, pa, rje, blas, gyi, rño, thog, myi, thog || (28) dbyangs, pahi, gzi, daň, thugs, tshod, tu, sbyar, žin, sgo, yus, ḡdi, rnama, zur, ḡdi, bziṅ, btod, de || dmyigs, gyi, naṅ, tu, (29) rnos, śiṅ || bdag, bsko, bar, mol, bar, ci, gnaṅ || Thir. bul, blon, Kon, gis, gsol, pa, || (30) gi, mchid, sags, las, || Khar, tsa, cin, sar, pa, glo, ba, riṅs, pahi, dpon, sna, daň || g-yon, khrin, la, kho || (31) gthogs, pa, daň, dnos, rño, thog, par || || Dhon, Ha, ža, rjes, spus, bthus, pa, daň || bkas, gnaṅ, že ||  || (32) bdagi, myes, po, 'O, dol, cu, daň, lo, stug, sjad, Khar, tsa, cin, sar, pahi, ston, pon, ḡtshal, ba, las || sug, rjed || (33) tshor, nas || blar, gsol, pa, las || ḡphral, tu, (du), ḡnul, ched, po, pho, na, las, sgor, stsal || legs, [mo] || ... (34) las, kyaṅ || ma, noṁs, par, gyur, te || Khar, tsa, chin, sar, pas, gis, bzuṅ, te || tham, žin, ston, sde, ge[ig] || (35) la || ston, pon, tu, yan, Led, kon, gi, bu, tsa, las, bsko, bar || bkhaḥ, luṅ, stsal, nas || rgyud, bziṅ, 'O, dol, cuḥi, (36) bu || bdagi, pha, Khye, stug, sksos || myes, po, 'O, dol, cu, la, yan, thabs, gser, stsal || slad, kyis, b[daq], pha, Khye, (37) stug, la, yan || phu, (phra), men, stsal, te || bkhaḥ, drin, rim, pas, nos, pa, daň, sbyar, na || noṁs, skyon, ma, moiste, bye (38) brag, phyed, pa, daň || Ha, ža, rjes, žu, ba, gsol, pa, las, ni || Led, kon, gi, bu, tsa, bstustte || Khye, dpal || (39) myi, bzi, rño, thog, par, gsol, paḥ || || Led, kon, gi, bu, tsar, ḡdraḥis, kyaṅ || Khar, tsa, chin, gsr, riṅ, gi, ston, pon, (40) 'O, dol, cu, daň, Ma, ko, caṅ, spun, gnis, re, re, ḡtshal, te || bdag, chag, phu, rgyud, gyi, rje, blas || Khar, tsa, chin (41) ston, sde, myi, tsam, || tham, žin, tu, bagnyur, bar, paste || bkhaḥ, luṅ, las, kyaṅ, ḡbyuṅ, ba, las || ... (42) la, Khye, dpal, myi, gthogs, par, ni || dnos, gyi, mchid, sags, las, ḡbyuṅ, bas, [kya]n || ... (43) gnaṅ, ba, yan, sgyus, gsol, pas || sgyus, gsol, pa, myi, brtsan, bar, mdzad, pahi, bkhaḥ, ḡau || (44) Thir, bul, Khye, dpal, gi, mchid, sags, las || bdag, chagi, myes, po, Led, kon, blar, glo, ba, ŋe, n || ḡbaṅs || ... (45) phyag, tu, phul, baḥi, ḡgel || Gser, myi, rabs, gsum, tu, gnaṅ, ba, daň || Khar, tsa, chin, sar, pahi, ston, pon, chaṅ || (46) khjur, gnaṅ, ste || myes, poḥi, mchid, drin, ḡdi, rnam, gnis, las, ma, mchis, paḥ || bdag, chag, spad, khu, mtsan, gis || (47) mnoste || bkhaḥ, drin, pham, rgyal, tu, gyur, ches, gsol, ba || daň, po, bdag, chagi, myes, po, Led, kon, bkhaḥ, drin || (48) Gser, rgyud, gsum, [daň] || Ha, ža, Khar, tsa, chin, gsr, riṅ, ston, sde, gnis, gyi, ston, pon, chaṅ.
It having been decided to establish next year anew... Ha-ža... and the order having been sent from the palace, our grandfather Led-kon died beforehand. Yet, in consequence of his having previously sent in a large contribution (in payment for the post?) the noble Councillors, out of regard for the unrealized purpose, issued orders with his (Led-kon's?) name that one of Led-kon's family, according to competence, should be appointed Thousand-commandant of the newly established chin as a whole (tham-žin = thams-cad, "entire"). We, the family, being at the time some youths and under the tutelage (?) of His Excellency, the Bde Councillors appointed Khye-stug. (ll. 10-17) Khye-stug having after five or six years died, now upon that opportunity the Councillor Kon petitions. His Excellency does not allow the contribution paid by the family to be quoted by Councillor Kon as a private service. The case is that one of our grandfather Led-kon's family should, according to competence, be appointed, and he is not mentioned by name; over and above which, as regards this "should, according to competence, be appointed", we brothers being of the family of Led-kon and not incompetent; and the leading officers of New Khar-tsa-chin, intelligent men, come for the summer solstice and persons not belonging to (g-yon-khrin "wrong judgment")¹ having, at the earnest request of our father Ma-ko-can, kindly sent a petition: we being of the family of Led-kon and competent, and having presented a highly useful contribution,² are entitled in common to the issue of this order. (ll. 17-29) Whomsoever of us His Excellency on the present occasion should appoint, he being competent, it is highly convenient: it is agreeable to the Dbon Ha-ža chief, and the

¹ "Not liable to wrong judgment"? or "against whom nothing is known"?

² The phrase dpen-bahi-bo-la recurs in M.I. x, 2, p. 451. A1, which also has the char-khyur of ll. 45-8 and 48 below.
Ha-ža Councillors have in addition to kind recommendation given a testimonial to our competence. Considering this and his recommendation to appoint us by name as commandant of the 1,000, and the special pleas proffered above, be pleased to appoint us commander of the 1,000. In one petition of Councillor Koń, he pleads, "appoint my elder brother Klu-bžer Commandant of the 1,000 of Old Khar-ťsa-chin." This is not on the part of His Excellency a grant to our father's family in general. If the special contribution made by our father Ma-ko-cań is placed by His Excellency to the credit of Koń, does it constitute a kindness to us, our father's family in general? In regard to Councillor Koń's petition, it is pleaded under the idea that the family of Led-kon cannot be pushed in at the door by His Excellency (?). If His Excellency has hereto no objection, then, in view of the order given to appoint us, and the recommendation of the leading officers in common, and the application to this occasion of His Excellency's recommendation to appoint us, the family of Led-kon, according to competence, and the courteous request of the Dbon Ha-ža chief and the Ha-ža councillors, and the reasons which His Excellency has for deciding as to the competence or incompetence of our unworthy selves, and these special representations composed according to the measure of our ability; if His Excellency will spare a moment to these and will turn them over in his thoughts, may he be pleased to consider our appointment.

(II. 30-5) Respectfully presented petition of Councillor Kono: According to the above statement we have the leading intelligent officers of New Khar-Tsa-chin, and the persons not liable to wrong judgement . . . . the testimonial of the Ha-ža chief as to actual competence and the orders issued . . . . My grandfather 'O-dol-cu and (daḥ, la, stug, spad ?), being appointed commandant of 1,000 at New Khar-ťsa-chin, on hearing of the . . . . commission, petitioned at once and immediately (kyphral-du) sent specially by messenger a great deal of silver. Even if he did not do well therein (?), yet no offence was committed.

(II. 35-8) Orders having been sent to make New Khar-tsacin a starting-point and appoint from the family of Led-kon a commandant of 1,000 for the whole (tham-żin) Thousand
District, in due succession my father Khye-stug, son of 'O-dol-cu, was appointed. To my grandfather 'O-dol-cu, moreover, occasion (thabs, complimentary?) gold was sent. Afterwards to my father, Khye-stug, also fine silk was sent. In view of the kindnesses successively received, if no offence or fault is found in me, a decision should be made. As regards the courteous petition of the Ha-ţa chief, he pleads competence on the part of four persons, Khye-dpal and the others, belonging together to the family of Led-koñ. (ll. 39–44) Equally of the family of Led-koñ, 'O-dol-cu and Ma-ko-cañ, two brothers, were appointed commandants of 1,000 for New and Old Khar-tsas-cin respectively. That by His Excellency our elder line (?) was appointed nominally over the Thousand District of Khar-tsas-cin, but really over the whole (tham-zin), appears from the order itself. . . . That Khye-dpal does not belong to . . . since it appears from the actual statement . . . the grant is falsely pleaded. An order invalidating the false plea should be sent.

(ll. 44–6) Respectfully presented statement from Khye-dpal: Our grandfather Led-koñ being a great friend, the responsibility of having placed in their hands . . . subjects was granted to three generations of Gser people (Led-koñ, his sons and grandsons), and he was appointed mayor (chan-khyur) commandant of 1,000 for New Khar-tsas-chin. Kind communications (mchod-drin) in respect to (?) our grandfather, save on these two occasions, there are none. (ll. 46–8) We, brothers, uncles, and nephews having received nothing (ma-nos-te: or mnos-te “having reflected?”), beg for a kind decision for or against (pham-rgyal). Originally our grandfather Led-koñ was favoured along with three generations of Gser people with the mayoral (chan-khyur) command of the 1,000 of New and Old Khar-tsas-chin, two Ha-ţa Thousand Districts. (ll. 48–50) Our grandfather 'O-dol-cu and his junior Ma-ko-cañ, two brothers, were severally appointed. As commandant of 1,000 for Old Khar-tsas-chin the junior Ma-ko-cañ was chosen. He having died, in due succession Khye-dpal's senior, Klu-bzer, is now chosen. As commandant of 1,000 for New Khar-tsas-cin.

The complicated family connections wherewith this
document is concerned may be represented more or less accurately as follows:

Lod-kön
- 'O-dol-cu
  (Commandant of the New City)
  - Khye-stug
    (Commandant of the New City)
    - Klu-bër
      (Councillor Kön)
  - Ma-ko-cön
    (Commandant of the Old City)
    - Khye-dpal and others

On the death of Ma-ko-cön Councillor Kön claims for his brother Klu-bër the appointment as successor. The obscurities which remain are due partly to the fragmentary opening of the document and partly to the infirmity of the Tibetan language as regards the distribution of speakers; it is not clear who are the spokesmen of the first plea. For our present purpose, however, these matters are secondary. The important points are geographical and historical.

The document comes from Sa-cu and is, no doubt, addressed to the chief Tibetan representative there, or is a dossier (yig-tsan, l. i.) of a communication to the Tibetan prime minister. It relates to official appointments to two places in the Ha-za country, old and new Khar-tsa-cin, occupied by the Tibetans. That a Ha-za country was adjacent to the Sa-cu territory we have already seen.

The name Khar-tsa-cin may contain two words meaning "mart" or "town", the first khar (mKhar) being Tibetan, and the second cin (chëns, "mart") Chinese. One of them, at least, is an addition, and this will be the Chinese element, since the existence of a place Khar-tsan in the Sa-cu region will be proved below. But Khar-Tsa might mean "the town Tsa" or "town of the Tsa people", and clearly then it should be associated with—

(1) Tsha-söd, "Lower Tsha" mentioned above (p. 15).
(2) Tsha-stoba, a district in the Sa-cu region (infra, p. 60).
Tsa occurs (infra, p. 116) as a clan-name at Ša-cu.

The manner in which the Dbon Ha-ža chief and his council are cited is interesting. Value is attached to their recommendation, but the appointments are not in their hands. This means that they were local authorities in whose territory were the places under Tibetan occupation.

Two of the persons mentioned as governors of the towns are designated by what are clearly place-names, 'O-dol-cu and Ma-ko-cañ (with cañ = Chinese ch'eng, "city"). That such was a common practice in Turkestan has, it is hoped, been proved (Festgabe H. Jacobi, pp. 47 sqq.): the present case is interesting as indicating, by contrast with the names of the other members of the family, that dignitaries were specially liable to be thus designated. It may be remarked (1) that the place-name Ma-ko-cañ is perhaps represented by the Maku-cana of the Kharoṣṭhī documents and is, in fact, Mo-kao-hsiang, the district of the Tun-huang cave-temples (L. Giles in BSOS., vii, p. 551); (2) that the family name Gær is perhaps identical with the Ser of Ša-cu (infra, p. 116).

The language of the document is formal and long-winded, with many repetitions and clichés, such as sten-du "over and above", dan-shyar-na "as regards", ḣhyṇ-a-ba "what arises from". It is very modern in its official or legal parlance. On chan-khyur (ll. 45–6, 48) see Vol. I, p. 27, n. 4. 16. M.I. xxiv, 0031 (Wood, 15 × 21 cm.: ll. 3 of clear cursive writing, 2 on obverse, 1 on reverse: complete).

(1) & || Ha-ža, zkya.ba, las.gzi, mkhan.ji, mchis. (2) pa., rmos.na, mchis.na, so.pahi, grañs, chode, thön. (B. 1) sig.

"While those Ha-žas who depend upon the crops are engaged in ploughing, send soldiers in fixed number."

This is evidently a message to the commandant at Mirān. Whether the Ha-žas in question were the local peasants or whether, as is now usual in Tibet, they travelled with their yaks or oxen from place to place—which seems more likely, as giving a reason for the supervision of the soldiers,
who would prevent brawls—a not remote situation of the Ḣa-ža country is implied. Chode is for chod-de and thon is imperative of gtaṅ.

17. M.I. xxviii, 1 (Wooden document, 12 × 2 cm., broken at right, with loss of probably a small number of aksaras; ll. 4 of clear cursive writing, 2 on obverse, 2 on reverse).

(1) Ḣa.ža.khris.de.stod.pa.† Rgya.la.gthogs
(2) rnam∥skya.re.ge.cig.re.stsha(bre-lha?), sbyar.te | khri
(B. 1) kyis.Drug.cun.gyi.nas.dha(=ldan).bsre.zi[ŋ]
(B. 2) kha.cig.lug.du.ma.ḥbyor.te.Gnag.du.
brdzan(s)…

“When the farmers of the Ḣa-ža Upper 10,000-district appertaining to China have put together the separate grain (“five bre” !) from each several crop, the 10,000 officers, having combined it with the barley of the Drug-cun, should despatch some, according as sheep are available, to Gnag.”

This document, found at Mirān, emanates probably from the authorities in Tibet, and it further establishes the adjacency of the upper 10,000 Ḣa-ža district to Mirān, since it comes within the purview of the officials there. But this district “appertains to or adjoins China”,* that is, by way of history or suzerainty, since at the time it is clearly under Tibetan control. Probably, therefore, it was previously under the supervision of the Chinese officials in Kva-cu or Sa-cu, or in the Shan-shan country.


Gnag is clearly identical with the Nag-šod “Lower Nag”, often mentioned in documents from Mirān (see pp. 125–7 and Index): in fact, it is evident that Nag or Gnag, was a form of the name Nob itself (see p. 188 and ZDMG., 91, p. 14, where Great and Little Nag are named); and obviously, considering the destination of the corn, it is either in the Ḣa-ža country or on the Lop-nor side of it.

* Is there a za or da here below the line?
* That this translation is open to no doubt will be shown below (p. 326).
As regards the language of the document, we have taken stsha as equivalent to the rtsan or stsan which we have found elsewhere. This is quite in accordance with the general variations of spelling, as is the writing dha, with subscript ṇ, for daṇ ; cf. the frequent hire for bzer.

18. M.I. viii, 91 (Wooden document, 15 × 2.5 cm. : broken at right, with loss of probably a small number of aksaras : ll. 6 of clear cursive writing, 3 on obverse, 3 on reverse).

(1) \( \text{ žib.tu.rtsis.mgo.gon.du.stsal.d.pa.lags } \text{ phan.}
\text{ tsun.du.m.} \text{ (2) gdugs.mtshan.spyad.de } \text{ māhī.}
\text{ dūn.shi.ru [ma].dan.phy.i.ra.dan} \text{ (3) teher.bgyis.}
\text{ nas } \text{ mar.thal.bāhī.rjes.nān.ma.byūn.[na]} \text{ (B. 1) sūl.}
\text{ du.gar.htubs.par.btsugs.nas } \text{ ye.myig} \text{ (B. 2) par.}
\text{ bgyis.te } \text{ snon.nas.stshus.la } \text{ [d]rind.cīn.[l]cēbs} \text{ (B. 3) cig}
\text{ rjes.nān.Tshal.byi.štār.phyu.na } \text{ Ha.ža.}
\text{ sten.du.[h]} \ldots

"A detailed account total (mgo) has been sent above. To and fro ... occupied noon and night, and, while coming (or while so engaged, spyad-de-mči-bāhī-dūsu), grieved by ... in front and behind, even if there were no bad omens of my arriving down there, yet on the way putting up where I could; keeping ever on the alert ...; from former times crippled (stshus-la ?), in kindness let me commit suicide. With bad omens having come within sight of Tshal-byi, up to Ha-ža ... ."

The important point here is the adjacency of the Ha-ža country to Tshal-byi, which, as will appear infra (pp. 119 sqq.), was a district 450 li to the south of Charklik (Nob). For the rest, the translation is in part doubtful owing to the defective text and to the uncertainty of the meaning of some words, e.g. ye-myig, stshus-la (?) = tshur-la “hither”, “until now”), or = bchus “crooked”. Rtsis-mgo “head, or total, of account,” occurs in the Chronicle (I. 52) and in pp. 140, 446, also in Vol. I, p. 29, n. 4; and that rjes-nān means “bad omen” is proved by the occurrence elsewhere (M.I. xxvii, 21, l. 12) of byams-pahī-rjes “good omen”.

DOCUMENTS: I. THE HA-ŻA 31


"Reflecting upon the nam-drod ("troubles") of the Chinese realm, he, though appointed commander of the army which first invaded the Khar-tsan district, was wise in the expediens of the god of war and had recourse to counsel. Having brought over the Ha-žas appertaining to the Chinese country, he detached (?) from China the subjects generally and gave China a fright."

That the Ha-ža people is here mentioned (Col. Waddell had read ža-ža, p. 1258) was suggested with reserve by Professor Pelliot in 1912 (*Journal Asiatique*, ii, 1912, p. 522, n. 5) All doubt is removed by the phrase Rgya...gtogs-pa, which we have now found in the same connexion (above, p. 30): and we may also adduce the testimony of the Tibetans themselves, who have furnished Sir Charles Bell with a translation naming "Hasha" (*Tibet Past and Present*, 1924, p. 213). That the Ha-žas were the instruments in the Tibetan aggressions upon China is in accord with known facts. For in the Chronicle the Dbon Ha-ža king plays a prominent part in the campaigns against the Chinese. Now we are told of the Pailan, the western neighbours of the Tang-hsiang (and Tu-yu[k]-hun), that after their conquest by the Tibetans (c. A.D. 635) "their warriors were usually placed in the van of the invading armies" (Bushell, p. 528). This might suggest an identification of the Ha-žas with the Pailan; but in Tibetan no "Pailan", or "Ting-ling", people has been traced.

Khar-tsan can hardly be other than the Ha-ža town Khart-sa-cin, with which we have already met (above, p. 28). In Mazār-Tāgh (a. iv. 0017, p. 192) we have Khar-tshaṅ.

20. M.I. viii, 21A (paper, fol. No. 31, c. 11 X 4-4-5 cm.)
very much worn and thin, so that the writing shows through verso; ll. 5 recto (+ 1 verso ?) of cursive dbu-can script, rubbed and faint).


[2] . . . bkah, stsal, bar. c[i], [gna¥]. | Khr[=o ?], legs. spri-. . . [khr-m] . . .

[3] . . . na | Ha. za, ya¥, phyogs, kyi, tha. [s¥ad], s[n]a, bzi¥. Ha. za¥hi. za¥ 1, lo

[4] . . . [zig] [bal(las ?)], [l[p ?]ag], co[n] [ho] . . .

[5] . . . [stag, char(b ?)]. bro (kho ?). ces, Iku

B (?)

[After thanks for a letter of inquiry concerning health—fragmentary] [l. 3] "the business on the Ha-za part the Ha-za uncle-councillor, as formerly, . . .

A reference to an "uncle-councillor" of the Ha-za has occurred in document No. 11 (p. 11) supra.

21. M.I. xxi, 9 (wood, c. 9-5 × 2-2-5 cm., broken away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of neat squarish dbu-can script, mostly faint).

[A 1] . . . [-i-rnu ?], Hog, pon, lastsogs-pahi, khrom, shy-d(r ?)

[A 2] . . . thebste, | Nob, chu[n 1, nahi]

[B 1] . . . [d ?]mag, pon, g[y ?]ab, st

[B 2] . . . [t ?]-g, tsam, zig, da¥, btab, ste | Ha. za, [dmag ?] . . .

[B 3] . . . [sts ?]al ||

This document, despite its very defective state, evidently refers to some loss inflicted by an enemy (? Hor, Turks) and orders from the general in Little Nob to send an officer with some troops (dmag-tsam-zig) into the Ha-za country (?). It brings the Ha-za into the range of the Nob area.

The above are not all the passages containing a mention of Ha-za (see Index): and we may adduce the fact that the Royal-rabs-gsal-bahi-me-lo¥ credits Ma¥-sron-ma¥, grandson of king Sron-btsan Sgam-po, with a Ha-za mother—

1. a below line.
btsun mo Ḥa-ža bzah ḵhjo.ḥmod. ḵhri.ḥkar-ti. ṣags ḯya Ḥa ḵhab tu bžes pas sras Maṅ sron man btsan ḥkhruṅs (I.O. Xylograph, fol. 28a, ll. 1–3).

"he having taken to wife a noble Ḥa-ža lady, named ḵhjo.ḥmod-ḥhrī-ḥkar-ti-ḥṣags, there was born a son Maṅ-sron-man-btsan."

But the other references are without geographical implication. What we have so far definitely ascertained may be summarized as follows:—

Geographical.—Ḥa-ža country was certainly adjacent on the one hand to the region of the Shan-shan kingdom (comprising Cerchen, Charklik, and Mirān) and on the other hand to the Sa-cu district. It included places named Sil-gu(-cin), 'Im-ka(-cin), Ḫu-ñe Mon-gans and Old and New Ḫahr-tṣa(-cin), which is probably identical with the great city-mart (khrom-chen-po) of Ḫahr-tṣan in the Sa-cu region.

Historical.—The Ḥa-ža (or some of them) originally "appertained to China". In the time of Sron-btsan Sgam-po they were in friendly relations with the Tibetans; and later on certain Ḥa-ža chiefs, called Dbon (or Ḥbon or Ḥbon) Ḥa-žas, figured prominently in the Tibetan armies which warred with China, particularly in the campaigns in the Sa-cu and Kva-cu region, wherein we know the Dbon Ḥa-žas and the city Ḫahr-tṣa(-cin) to have been comprised. It is probable, therefore, that the Tibetan routes to Shan-shan and Sa-cu lay through Ḥa-ža country. The Ḥa-žas were sometimes at variance with their Tibetan allies or suzerains, and we hear of Tibetan officials and the Btsan-po being in their country in A.D. 693, 695–6, 724, 727, 735, and 742 and of a revolt in 734.

Cultural.—More than one passage mentions Ḥa-žas in connexion with agriculture, and this applies both to Mirān (Nos. 16–17) and to Sa-cu. We may now add a passage from a document from Mazār-Tāgh, north of the city of Khotan (to be quoted hereafter in full), where a Ḥa-ža is mentioned as conveying "grain":—
It seems possible that the Ha-žas descended from the upper country with cattle or yaks to assist in the ploughing and harvest of the districts of Chinese Turkestan.

Of Ha-ža personal nomenclature the only at present citable examples are the above-mentioned G-yu-brtsan, the name of queen Khri-dkar-ti-ṣags, and that of the writer of another document (Ch. 77, x,infra, pp. 66–7), who describes himself as a "humble Ha-ža" (Ha-ža-nan-po), and is called Khri-legs. The names of the two Hbon-da chiefs Khri-zun and Brtsan-zun contain an element zun, which recurs in the name of Khoṅ-zun of Cog-ro and in those of the Khu chief Lha-zun and others; it may be simply Tibetan. It therefore appears that all the Ha-ža names which we know, if we put aside as doubtful a certain Žag-ldom (Fr. 61 = vol. liv, fol. 17), are of a Tibetan character; which, however, might be by way of translation or adaptation. The place-names Khar-tsän, Khar-tsats(-cin), 'Im-ka(-cin), Sil-gu(-cin), in Ho-khol, and Khu-ṅe Mon-gans also present a Tibetan or Turkestan appearance; with Sil-gu (=? river-gorge = Ho-khol ?) we may compare the name of the fort Sta-gu in the Mirān region and the Hanguya of Khotan. The people's own name rhymes with Brn-ža; if it is really represented by the Ajha of the Kharosthi documents, the date of the latter would perhaps exclude the Tu-yu[k]-hun.

It is now time to adopt an attitude towards Professor Pelliot's identification of the Ha-žas with the Tu-yu[k]-hun (Journal Asiatique, 1912, ii, p. 522; 1914, ii, p. 144 and n.). This identification seems in part unquestionable, since it depends upon actual equivalence in certain documents. But it hardly accords with the geographical and historical facts adduced above, since the Tu-yu[k]-hun seem to have lost all significance after their overthrow by the Tibetans in A.D. 663 and 670, and their later country does not appear to have extended so far westwards as to include the hinterland.
of Ša-cu, Mirān, and Charklik. It seems possible therefore that in the literary equivalence Ḥa-za = Tu-yu[k]-hun there is a confusion of two peoples who jointly at one period occupied the mountain background contemplated from the Shan-shan kingdom, the Lop-nor region, Ša-cu, and Western Kau-su. In this question are involved the name A-ch'ai, which Professor Pelliot has found (T'oung Pao, 1920–1, pp. 330–1) actually assigned to the Tu-yu[k]-hun, and which seems a good equivalent for Ḥa-za; also the equation Drug-gu = T'-u-chueh = Turk of Professor Pelliot (loc. cit.) as against the Drug-gu = Tu-yu[k]-hun of Colonel Waddell (JRAS. 1909, pp. 935–7). Moreover, the situation of the Sum-pa also comes into the question (Pelliot, T'oung Pao, loc. cit.). It may be that Professor Pelliot is entirely right; but it seems worth while to proceed to an examination of the Tibetan passages referring to the Drug-gu.

The above observations, published in 1927, may now be somewhat strengthened and in part amended. The references to the Ḥa-zas in later Tibetan literature: it may be questioned whether the (probably apocryphal) visit of Padmasambhava to the Ḥa-za country is proof of the existence of such a kingdom in his time; and even the mention of Ḥa-zas in the Vimalaprabhā prophecy (Vol. I, pp. 192–4, 226) as taking part in invasions of Khotan during the eighth century A.D. may be not too seriously regarded. But our documents have shown that a Ḥa-za state was in relation with the Tibetans down to the middle of that century, that it was adjacent to the Ša-cu region and also to Tshal-byi. The city of Khar-tsan, which was a Ḥa-za city, is clearly placed in the Kva-cu region (supra, p. 21), and the location of another city associated with the Ḥa-zas may now be stated with some confidence. For the Se-to-ña or Se-ton of the document given above, No. 11 (see pp. 10–11) can hardly be other than the Rtse-thon, Rtse-hthon, Rtse-hton, Rtse-mton, which will be cited below (pp. 160–1). In the Mirān documents it is mentioned six
times, and it was clearly under the military supervision of the Tibetan officers in that fort. This being so, we can hardly hesitate to identify it with the Ts'i-t'uen, located by the Chinese (see Chavannes, ap. Stein, Serindia, p. 1431) as the first place reached on a westward route from the south of Lop-Nor. Thus the Ha-za country overlapped in part at least with the old Shan-shan kingdom and may be taken as including that area in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

As regards the situation implied in the document No. II supra, it must now, it seems, be admitted that the lady Khri-bans, who speaks of residences on the Hoang-ho river as well as in the Ha-za country, may be a Tu-yu[k]-hun queen and that her son Maga Tho-gon Khagan can be the "Mujung No-ho-po," who according to the Chinese accounts succeeded to the throne in A.D. 636. As we have pointed out, the Ha-za kingdom was conquered and appropriated by the Tu-yu[k]-hun in A.D. 445; and though it may have been affected by Turkish interference at later times (Chavannes, Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, p. 57), it may well have remained in the position of a dependency of the Tu-yu[k]-hun, since the Turks did not usually oust, but merely dominated the rulers of the minor states within their sphere of influence. The manner in which the Ha-za chief is mentioned in the document suggests that he was in friendly relations with the family of queen Khri-bans, and it is likely that he represented a younger branch of the Tu-yu[k]-hun dynasty, which had ruled the Shan-shan kingdom, as a dependency, from the time of its subjugation. As regards the part taken by the Tu-yu[k]-hun queen, herself a Tibetan by birth, in welcoming Mun-šen Kon-čo, the Chinese wife of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, we can see that the Tu-yu[k]-hun ruling family, even if it had jealously intrigued, as the Tibetans believed, against the marriage, could not, in view of its own relations with China and its family connection with the Tibetan royal house, act otherwise.
On the whole, however, it seems probable that the Ha-ža, with whom Queen Khri-hbaṅs was connected were the appanage state described by Sung Yün, and that the places in the Koko-nor region were visited in virtue of a family connection. This explains the reference (ll. 54–5) to the return into the Ha-ža country, which otherwise she had never left, and the prominence of the place Se-toṅ in her narrative.

The existence of the separate Dbon or Ḥbon-da Ĥa-ža state in A.D. 659 is proved by the mention (in the Chronicle) of the death of a Ha-ža Da-rgyal in that year, and so again in A.D. 694: neither of those years witnessed the death of a member of the main Tu-yu[k]-hun dynasty. The early adhesion of this Ha-ža state to the Tibetan interest is asserted in document no. 19, confirmed by the prominence of a Fentayen (Bushell, *JRAS*. 1890, p. 459) = Ḥbon-da-rgyal, as a leader of Tibetan armies.

The name-form Tho-gon, current, as we see, in the dynasty itself, appears also (infra, pp. 366–7) applied in the Sa-cu region to private individuals. In regard to the Chinese A-chaṅ = Ha-ža it should be noted that the same appears as the name of a Tu-yu[k]-hun king of c. A.D. 417–430, who was the first to establish himself in Sa-cu (Bichurin, *Istorinya Tibeta i Khukhunora*, i, pp. 78–80), and may have received the name of the Ha-ža people.

[Addendum to p. 1 n. M. Bacot’s edition of the Chronicle, including all the three parts, has been published (Paris, 1940–6) in *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l’Histoire du Tibet*. Text and translation are arranged in annual paragraphs. The Paris portion has ll. 52, the India Office portion following with its ll. 254. The third portion (British Museum MS. Or. 8212 (187), ll. 61 + 6, of cruder form) continues the record, with a slight overlap, down to A.D. 763.]
2. The Ša-cu Region

(A. Places; B. Clans and Nomenclature; C. Paper and Copying of Manuscripts; D. Monasteries and a Historic Foundation)

In this chapter we have collected a certain number of documents whereof the subject matter has at least some special connexion with the Ša-cu district. A good portion of the matter contained in the previous chapter may be regarded as no less apposite here, and the reader, comparing the two chapters, may find on the whole little dissimilarity in the contents, except that in the former case we have adhered closely to the Ha-za people. In order to show some system in the papers, the references in which we are naturally not in a position to restrict, we have grouped them under four heads, representing the chief purpose of their selection, namely (A) Places, (B) Clans and Nomenclature, (C) Paper and Copying of MSS., (D) Monasteries and a Historic Foundation.

As before, the transcription of the texts is intended to be exact; but in the scripts it is generally difficult, or impossible, to distinguish between tu and du, nor have we anywhere sought to discriminate the reversed superscript i, which is an optional variant without significance. The translations are still provisional,1 and the notes are kept within a minimum.

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1 The reasons for this are partly: (1) the fragmentary condition of the documents; (2) the fact that Tibetan words, monosyllabic at the best, are irregular both at the beginning and at the end (also in the middle); (3) the numerous words and expressions not known from dictionaries; (4) the lack of indication of proper names; (5) the syntactical vagueness of the language, the interpretation of which (as in the case of English) depends mainly upon familiarity. After these qualifications it seems advisable to state that, apart from the doubts admitted in detail, experience seems to justify some confidence in the renderings. Subsequently the linguistic accessories may be studied.
A. Places

1. Ch. 83, vi. 5 (vol. 70, fol. 32: 27 x 7 cm.: ll. 3 of clear, rather small dbu-can script).

sde. gûs. kyi. || glan. gi. lo. daň | stagi. loñi | Drug.
mchis. pa. daň | Ša. cu. [3] ... las || lna. becu. rkañ ||
khal.geg || Can ...  

“... Chinese Ša-cu, Thousand-districts of Stoň-sar and Rgod-sar, Ox year and Tiger year, having been ordered to be conveyed to Kva-cu after being ground by the (?) mills of the Drug-chun, from the corn of Councillor G-yu-bzer, which was on the Kva-cu estate, and from ... Ša-cu, fifty bundles (rkañ). Account (tshan) of Khoñ Shan-tse; to Wâñ Bun-tsoñ one load of barley; [to] Can ...”

Notes

l. 1: Rgya, perhaps an error for rkya, “crop.”  
l. 1: on stoň-sde “district of 1,000 (estates?)” see above, p. 25 sqq. and infra, pp. 315 sqq., vol. i, pp. 282-3. 
Drug-chun(n) = “Little Dru-qu” (see pp. 30, 274-6).  
l. 2: stsan: see pp. 17, 19, and Index.  
tshan “account”: see p. 91 below.

From this fragment it appears likely that the Ša-cu division consisted mainly of two thousand-districts (stoň-sde), Ston-sar and Rgod-sar, those, in fact, of which we mostly hear elsewhere. But below (pp. 45, 58) we have Šniñ-tsoms, Spyi-tshogs and Tshas-stobs.

The personal names will appear in the consolidated list (infra, pp. 113 sqq.).

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1 A list of the persons mentioned will be found at the end of this chapter.

2 Compendious for bzer, as often.
2. Ch. 80, v, i (734, vol. 53, fol. 39: paper document: 28.5 x 22 cm.; II. 9 of ordinary epistolary dbu-can script, the last line inverted; complete. Five seals, illegible, between end of l. 8 and beginning of l. 9).


(ll. 1–3): "Rgod-sar division. Account of Cañ Ka-dzo. Cañ Kun-tse, agent to Byi-btsan, the corn official of the old year, having measured the corn of the old year at wheat two less a half loads and four bre, the orders of the chief (rtse-rje) were that it should be delivered in the autumn of the Hog year. (ll. 3–5) There was a change in the lists, and in the middle spring month of the Hog year there came a letter stating that some corn had been granted by the General to the Thub-brtan abbot. Thereupon the superintendents (gner-pa 'the persons in charge'), Dar Rgyal-ma and Tre Mye-slebs and the others, made the levy. (ll. 5–7) Two less a half loads and four bre of wheat were delivered to Byi-btsan, the corn official for the old year, on the eleventh day of the middle spring month of the present year. (ll. 7–8) In witness of Byi-btsan's receipt seal having been given the attestation
seals of Ram Stag-slebs, Dzelju Gog-tshen, Can Klu-legs and so forth are (here) given." (Several seal impressions illegible.)

(Endorsement, inverted): "The despatch has been carried out. The amount is impressed by marks (sad-kyis-gnan?)."

Notes

1. 1: *tshan*: see p. 91 below.
   Concerning *staṅ = "corn"*, *mōn = "government"*, "authority", see pp. 19, 341.
   *gñer "to be in charge of"*, "to be placed in charge of",
   and *gñer-hgum (bkum, khums) "to carry out a charge" are among the most common expressions in these Tibetan documents, whether on paper or on wood. For examples see the next documents and pp. 19, 79, 358: 40, etc

1. 2: *khaṅ "load" is no doubt technical = Sanskrit śāka.*

1. 4: We understand "the Thub-brtan abbot" to be connected with the previously mentioned Byi-brtan.
   As regards the intervention of "the General" (*dmag-dpon*), cf. the document given above (pp. 19-20).

1. 6: *lan = "year", as often (e.g. p. 75, B.7, 137.1).*

1. 9: In (conjecturally) interpreting chags as "measure" or "weight" and chags-rgyu (in the addendum) as "record of measure or weight" we may appeal to the expression chag-khoṅs "basket for measuring grain", chag-tshad "correct measure", tshags "a sieve", tshags-bu "a bag attached to a sieve", tshags-dam-po "strict care", tshags-tshad "to test properly". The word sad usually denotes the vertical line used in punctuation; and, in fact, some of the documents seem to show lines of such a kind appended to signify numbers. In this connexion the word gnan, which should mean "pressed", may possibly denote "confirmed" or "reinforced"; or were the signs actually "impressed" upon the measures or bundles or parcels? As regards the persons, see the consolidated list (pp. 113 sqq.).
3. Ch. 77, xv, 10 (733, vol. 70, fol. 27: 26.5 x 11 cm.; fragmentary at top left; ll. 7 of ordinary epistolary dbu-can script + ll. 2 inverted + l. 1 on verso; four or more red impressions of seals, illegible).

[1]...staṃ... || manān...raṇ...lo...Byis...brtsan...gyi...sug...pa...na...| [2]...dkar...chag...spos...pa...las...||...slad...kyis...dmag...pno...[3]...thub...brtan...gyi...nod...du...kha...brtan...no...żes...mchig...nas...|| [4]...u...Kh[o]n...M[a]n...tse...la...gro...khal...phyed...daṅ...gñis...daṅ²...lo...ḥdiḥi...dpyiṃd...[5]...sla...no²...ḥbrig...poḥi...no...la...manān...lo...Byis...brtsan...la...phul...te...|...bul...rgya...daṅ...|...Tre...Mye...selbs...daṅ...|...Bam...[6]...Log...log...|...Caṅ...Tshe...śiṅ...||...lastsogs...pahi...dpan...rgyas...btab...pah...||...yaṅ...gro...bre...drug...phul...[7]...te...rgyas...btab...pah...||

[8]...bkye...gñer...kuṃs...nas...chags...rgya...daṅ...gthugste...shad...kyis...gnan.

[9]...bkye...gñer...bkum...nas...chags...rgya...ṣad...kyis...gnan.

Rev.: Khön Man tseḥi bul.

[ll. 1–3] "...being in the hand (at the disposal of) Byis-brtsan, corn official for the old year, subsequently, the list having been changed, word came that the General had promised its delivery to Thub-brtan [ll. 4–6]...to Khön Man tseḥ two less a half loads of wheat, and on the first of the middle spring month of this year it has been delivered to the year official, Byis-brtsan. A receipt and the witness-seals of Tre Mye-selbs and Bam Log-log and Caṅ Tshe-śiṅ and others are attached. [ll. 6–7] An additional six bre of wheat having been delivered, seals are attached.

Endorsements

[l. 8] Despatch carried out; amount, compared with signature, impressed with marks.

[l. 9] Despatch carried out, amount impressed with marks.

Rev.: Receipt of Khön Man-tse."

¹ Compendious for pon.
² This syllable is erased.
Notes

The subject being similar to that of No. 2, and the persons partly the same, little comment is needed.

1. 4: The completion of the proper name is obvious from the receipt (verso).

1. 8: gthugs seems to belong to gthug-pa, thug-pa, "reach," "agree," and to mean "having compared"; cf. thug-chad, "agreement," and de-daṅ-gthugs-chiṅ, p. 74.16.

4. Ch. 79, xvi, 7 (732, vol. 54, fol. 42; 27.5 × 13.5 cm.; paper document, complete; ll. 7 of scrawled epistolary hand, the last line inverted; one red seal impression).


(After end of l. 6, red seal) l. 1: Ḫbyis . brtsan. l. 2 (illegible).


[ll. 1–4] Being in the hand (at the disposal) of Byis-brtsan, the corn official of Spyi-tshogs for the old year, two less a half loads and some four bre of wheat having been previously (sna ?) received on loan (g-yar-du) by Li Kaṅ-tse, on the thirteenth day of the middle spring month of the Hog year, at the time when its receipt was promised to ban-de Thub-brtan, it was delivered to Byis-brtsan. [ll. 4–6] Receipt and seals of superintendents Tre Mye-slebs and Khun-po Stag-legs and the others attached. A later list having come already (bla-na ?), afterwards an impression with marks was made.
(Seal (?) and signature of) Ḥbyis-brtson.

(Endorsement) [1, 7] Despatch carried out, amount impressed with marks."

Subject and persons for the most part as in Nos. 2 and 3.

Spyi tshogs is not known, unless it is the Spyil-cog of a Bstan-lugur colophon (Cordier, Catalogue, I, p. 33), which is not very unlikely, as the person there mentioned is a Thod-gar.

5. Back of 86, ii (vol. 53, fol. 50; 27.5 × 18.5 cm.; ii. 12 of ordinary epistolary dbu-can script, for the most part legible).


(Inverted)


1 For phyed. d erased.
2 Erased. Read cas.
3 Below line.
4 Compendious for bar.

[ll. 1-4] "Spring of the Bird year: the wife of Leñ-ho Lin-lug of Rgod, Soñ Sam-ŋaŋ, in employment with Behu-žan, female servant of Leñ-ho Sib-tig, having exchanged four cups, three register-baskets (deb-tse ?) and woven (spun) cotton material, half a rkya-ma, these belonging to Sib-bir, are to be given back by the fifth day of the last spring month of the Dog-year [ll. 4-6] at the door of Leñ-ho Sib-bir. If not delivered at the time, one is to become two. Also whatever barley or copper-utensils or cups are in her possession are to be taken without protest. [ll. 6-10] As furthermore four less a half weights of cotton and four bre of Chinese barley, together with the key of the door-bolt, were obtained in pledge, to be redeemed by the tenth day of the middle spring month of the Dog-year, if these are not redeemed in time, the iron (rgyu ?) of the door-bolt also is to be exacted; in attestation whereof the witness seals of Can Gu-gu, La Legs-lod, Khehu Bzaṅ-goṅ, and ... and the rest, and the written signature of the woman's husband, (Leñ-ho) Lin-lug, and the finger size-mark of Sam-ŋaṅ are attached."

(Endorsement)


It will be seen that Leñ-ho Lin-lug, whose surname, recurrent at Sa-cu (see p. 115), is possibly identical with the Ling-hu known from Chinese sources (Chavannes, Documents Chinois, Index), is described as "of Rgod". This is, however, hardly sufficient to prove that the Sa-en itself was in the Rgod division.

Concerning the names (e.g. Sib-tig = "Ten-beauty," daša-śrā), see pp. 71-3 and the list, infra, pp. 113 sqq.

Deb-tse (l. 2) seems to occur in a Bstan-hgyur colophon (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 328); sug-yig-tshad in p. 143, etc.

6. Fr. 80 (730, vol. lxxiii, fol. 37, imperfect at right; 15-5 × 16 cm.; ll. 11 of clear, rather small, regular dbu-can script).
[l. 1] "From the palace Hon-cañ-do sent, seal attached, for hearing in the presence.

[l. 2] "The Btsan (†)-po having taken possession of the fort of Sa-cu along with the subjects, the Chinese (†), in rivalry for dominion, having killed the best of the Tibetan subjects, appointed... as To-dog chief ruler. [ll. 4-6] Seven years having passed... killed. Afterwards the city, according merit to me... when I had been able to recover it by great efforts (†), sent me as chief ruler. [ll. 6-8] Ten years... there has been no internal strife and disagreement. To His Excellency also corn... has been delivered without intermission (or order), a highly beneficial gift. [ll. 8-11] Please send a signature that... is not to be delivered"—upon this petition... to be delivered is sanctioned,—to this effect Bkah-Councillor Btshan-bzer and Councillor... sent, bearing a signature."

This document refers apparently to a capture of Sa-cu by the Tibetans, a subsequent revolt, instigated, no doubt,
by the Chinese, and a recovery of the place and its retention during a peaceful period of ten years. The event may be that related from Chinese sources by Bushell in *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 514. The writers reside in the palace Hon-can-do, which therefore must have been situated not too far from Sa-cu. From a colophon in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 487), again, we know that Hon-can-do was in Skyi, a district several times mentioned in the *Chronicle*, II, 81, 88, 110, 115, to which further we may assign the following places (the authority is added in brackets):—

Bra-ma-than (*Chronicle*, II, 42 and 56).

Byar-lins-tshal (ibid., II, 96, 197, 251).

Dra-tshal (ibid., 133, and therefore also Dra-hi-Gro-pur, of Dra, ibid., II, 66, 154, Dra-hi-Zar-phur, l. 157).


Lhas-gan-tshal (ibid., l. 110, 115, 119, 125, 182, 193, 210).

Ri-se-gro in Dra (Brit. Mus. MS., l. 10).

Šo-ma-ra (ibid., II, 201, 207, 245).

Zar-phur (ibid., l. 157, Dra-hi-Zar-phur).

It seems possible that Hon-can-do, which itself is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (II, 81, 88, 111, 115, 120), may mean "Hon-city-land", the Hon being a people known from Buddhist literature and from the *Chronicle* (II, 12, 52, 73).

1. 3. chab-strid-la-bsdos-te: For the phrase see Index.

1. 4. To-dog = Chin. tu-tu, Turk. tu-tug, recurs p. 81.

1. 5. mdab-non-pas "by a great effort (or strong rally)" (1).

spus-bthus: The phrase has been found above, p. 24:31.

1. 7. nan-brug (bkhrug) "internal strife".


1. 8. biar "highly": cf. p. 23, I, 16 and Index.

smas-yon "beneficial gift" occurs also *Vol. I*, p. 29, n. 1.

7. Ch. 73, iv, 14 (125, vol. 68, fol. 29, paper; c. 25 x 8.5 cm.; now attached to a literary MS., wherewith it has no connexion; II, 5 of ordinary dbu-can script).
DOCUMENTS : 2. THE SA-CU REGION


[ll. 1-2] "From Lēn-cu (Liang-chou), assemblage of the great city of Bog-yas, letter sent, with seal of ... attached, on the ... of the mid-summer month of the Horse year, to the tshi-ši of Ša-cu and Kva-cu. Petition of Phag Stag-1 ... [ll. 3-4] The city chief (?) having last year been carrying on the government in Daṅ-to-kun, on the way back a peẖu of teamsmen was attacked by Kirghiz.

[ll. 4-5] The sgyes-pas, men and wives, were killed. From among those who sought to escape one Dge-ldem, a Gño-za, is going to S-g-cur ... ."

Notes

1. 1: Since the document seems to begin here, Bog-yas must be the name of the great city (or is Lēn-cu the city of Bog-yas ?); and since Bog is a tribal designation, and we have elsewhere (pp. 294, 407) a reference to a Bog-yul "Bog district" (or read Bod ?), it seems that we must recognize a district of this name somewhere in the region of Lēn-cu.

khrom-ched-po should mean "great city"; but below (l. 3) khrom-chen-po, the alternative spelling, seems to mean either "the [chief of] the great city" or "the great man (chief) of the city". Cf. p. 145: 41.1.

1. 2: tshi-ši. Is this the ts'e-che "prefect" of Chavannes, Documents, pp. 60, 72, = Uigur cışki (Pelliot).

1. 3: Daṅ-to-kun is certainly a place; see the next document and p. 316.

1. 4: dor-po-peẖu: A dor-po is, no doubt, a person in charge
of a dor "yoke of oxen (or yaks)"). Peḫu is unknown so far, except as = Chinese pao "a gem" and in names, Peḫo-te, etc.

Gir-ksi: a mention of Kirghiz has been previously cited (JRAS. 1927, p. 282).

Sgyes-pa, perhaps = sgyehu-ga "bagman". Naḥs occurs M.I., viii, 43, thabs.m.naḥs.par.vind, p. 158, q.v.

S-g-cur may be the Sug "province" (if cur = cor, chor, Turki cur, noted supra, pp. 8 and JRAS. 1927, p. 283).

Gño-za is a man of the Gño tribe or clan (see consolidated list, infra, and cf. Gños Ho-se in M.I., xliv, 7).

8. Ch. fr. 61 (747, vol. 54, fol. 17, paper; c. 26.5 × 17.5 cm.; ll. 12 of a rather peculiar, clumsy dbu-can script, with short lines (sad), more often than, but sometimes hardly distinguishable from, points, separating the syllables).


[ll. 1–3] "In Daņ-to-kun the three [persons], Khri-sgraḥ, Khyuñ-koņ and Bzaņ-koņ, having apportioned servants, the names and families of the servants acquired by them severally [are set down] in common (spi-las), and how they are to be taxed (or punished or forced to labour, khrald ?) is inscribed in a common document ...

Notes

This document being cited only in order to verify the place-name Daņ-to-kun, elicited supra (p. 49), and presenting difficulties owing to uncertainty regarding the numerous proper names, the remainder may be reserved for a subsequent treatment. In l. 9 there is mention of a Ha-ža named Zag-kdom.
9. M.I. ii, xxviii, 0036 (fol. 75; paper, c. 25 × 8 cm., with a horseman seal impression at top left; ll. 8 of clear, regular dbu-can script).


[l. 1–2] “By Councillor Mtsho-bžer and Councillor Lha-bžer, on the . . . day of the last winter month, . . . seal attached. [ll. 2–4] Messenger Rin-lugs (courier), porter Ḥdoṅ-phren and Ḥdor-dgu (or is Ḥdor-dgu = dor-dgu “nine yoke of oxen or yaks”?), and guide . . . must follow a company of banished men, Mog Kyem-po of the Upper Tsog district and Bon La-ku of the ņan-ma district, these two, wherever from Little Nob in Tshal-byi they go and go. [ll. 4–6] Proceeding as far as Khar-tsan of Kva-cu, their food, while in the upper country (g-yar) . . . rations at a level rate. If the business takes them to Ḥbrog-Sluṅs (the nomad Sluṅs), increase of maintenance circular-order-flour allowance (?), handfuls . . . circular-order-flour at the rate of four khor. [ll. 6–7] The company being for conveyance of 800 sras weight, to obtain that [they have] orders. Consorting with other messengers . . . and taking riṅs-pa into friendship is not allowed. [l. 7] If the men run
away and, while they are going in pursuit, Slunṣ and soldiers have not come, stage ... having signalled (I read g-yab?) soldiers from anywhere, sufficient for a road company (I) ... ."

**Notes**

It will be seen that the translation of this interesting, but unfortunately imperfect, document becomes in the latter part very doubtful and in fact conjectural. But the general sense is clear, and the geographical information is valuable. The route laid down is from Little Nob (Mirān) to Kva-cu (An-hsi); and it is evidently contemplated that it should be the direct mountain route and not follow the desert edge via Shan-shan. The document supplies two important facts, namely first that, as has been intimated above (p. 31), and will be more abundantly shown later, the Tsal-byi command included Mirān, and secondly, that the town of Khar-tsan (for this is clearly the name to be completed in the lacuna) was attached to An-hsi. As regards the other places mentioned, the Upper Tsog district (sde), the Ŝan-rama district and Hbrog-Sluṅs (the Nomad Sluṅs), Tsog has been noted above (p. 11), and with Hbrog-Sluṅs we may compare the Rgya-Sluṅs, Chinese Sluṅs, of M. Tagh, c, iii, 0043 (pp. 276-7) 

perhaps the word is connected with Tibetan luṅ "a valley" and means "the people of the Valley". Ŝan-rama has not yet been found: since the word is used in the sense of a "messenger" we might translate "Boṅ La-ku of the messenger division (sde)".

Concerning the names Mog Kyem-po and Boṅ La-ku see the classified list. Rins-pa (l. 7) = "runner" (cf. p. 136.3).

The expression rad-pa (l. 6) occurs not very infrequently in the documents: that it means a travelling party (byrod ?) appears from several documents, e.g. p. 141.3-4, rad-pa-gsum-mjalld-te "three parties (caravans) met", pp. 61, 205,

1 Other references for Sluṅs are p. 296:23 (a person's "card" of wood Rgya-Sluṅs Hbog-lan), p. 296 : 24, p. 431 : 1 (bystan-Sluṅs), p. 64 : 11J (Sluṅs in connection with Sāṅ-tsoms), M.I. xiii, 002 (Sluṅs), Chronicle, l. 169 (Sluṅs-stod-smad); see pp. 296-7.
371, 378. M.T. i, 0027, M.I. iii, 21. Khor is perhaps for khyor "handful": see pp. 112, etc.

10. Ch. xvi, 2 (716, vol. 70, fol. 15, a little torn; c. 26 × 7.5 cm.; ll. 6 obv. and 6 rev. of ordinary, rather small dbu-can script).

kyān: ma: byuṅ: no || Zu: tse: ḥdzans: so: žes: so ||
dgu: tshogs: so. ||

[ll. 1–2] "After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-po Khri
Sron-rtsan, the Khyun-po family was destroyed, only a certain Zu-tse being allowed on that day to escape (?). Afterwards Zu-tse petitioned in the presence of the Btsan-po, [ll. 2–4] 'In the lifetime of Gnam-ri, the father of the family, called up, I was treated by himself as a subject, forsooth. By the father even I was not even looked at, nor even trampled under his feet (disciplined). By the son Btsan-po I was regarded with the eye and disciplined. I petitioned. ‘Be pleased to invite your aged relative to pleasure, drinking, and feasting in Khri-boms.’ [l. 5–B l. 1] The Btsan-po Khri Sron-rtsan assented to Zu-tse’s petition. Following upon that, he sent orders to the palace Ma-hdri-ba, holding (zuâ ?) the Mgar district. Coming to Zu-tse at the city of Khri-boms, the Mgar . . . saw him. Zu-tse was attached to the council of that Mgar and was in favour. [B ll. 1–3] After that, in the lifetime of the Btsan-po [Khri] Sron-rtsan, Myan Žan-snañ, a clever man, being outwitted (dku-hpel ?) by Zu-tse, petitioned in the hearing of the Btsan-po. Zu-tse killed Žan-snañ and [remained] in favour.4 [B ll. 3–4] The chief of To-yo-chas-la, Bor Yon-tse, having revolted, Zu-tse brought To-yo-chas-la and all the rest of northern Žan-žuñ under the hand of Khri Sron-rtsan and [remained] in favour. [B ll. 4–6] Among the councillors of the Btsan-po no one before even had ever been more in favour than spun-sad Zu-tse. Zu-tse, it was said, is a wise man; he is very cunning and expert; he has a heroic soul; he has much sap (?chu-gan ‘water full’ or = cu-gan); he has a wide outlook (yan-ba (expansé ’?) ; if any single man combines all that is to be combined, it is so with spun-sad Zu-tse.’

Notes

1. 1. Khyun-po is a clan name; see above, pp. 44, 225, 249, and Vol. I, p. 277, n. 14. spun-sad we have translated as if

4 Or we might translate “Myan Žan-snañ being reported for treachery by Zu-tse in the hearing of the Btsan-po, Žan-snañ was killed . . . .”
it were "gsad or "bsdad: if that is right, the subsequent recurrence of the phrase as an epithet of Zu-tse has the sense of "last of his family", or is for spun-spad = "kinsman"? Rgal "escape" (usually "surmount") is also a conjecture. Is ni-ma-lder for ni-ma-lder?

1. 2. We have taken bdag as "self", not as "I".

1. 3. Btsan-po-sras is evidently in contrast to (Btsan-po-)yab.

ll. 4 and 6. Khri-boms is mentioned also in the Chronicle (l. 35); also in M.T. a. iv, 00136, e. iii, 0063, and p. 461. bom(s) (= bams) occurs further in Hgo-bom below (p. 87).

ll. 5–6. Mgar-yul and the palace Ma-hdri-ba (?) are not known to me. But in the Tibetan Me-lo the famous minister, of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, Gar-Gdoṅ-btsan, is called (fol. 21 a. 4 30 a. 5) Mgar, which is, no doubt, his tribal name. In the Chronicle we have Mgar Guṅ-ston, etc. (ll. 4, 66, 67, 75), and in the Bstan-hgyur colophons Hgar (Cordier, Catalogue, i, p. 198, etc.).

B l. 1. glo-ba-ne "intimate", "in favour", occurs in the Lha-sa inscriptions (1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1279, ll. 73–4); so also glo-ba-rins (p. 1276, l. 7, p. 1282, ll. 59 and 62) and p. 121, and pp. 23–4 supra and Chronicle, l. 67.

B l. 2. Myan is a tribal name of frequent occurrence in the documents; see p. 305 and Chronicle, l. 250.

B l. 3. To-yo-chas-la is not otherwise known to us. Zaṅ-žun occurs elsewhere as name of Gu-ge; and since in Pu-hrans, which is adjacent to modern Gu-ge, a place Do-yo, or To-yo, is actually named (Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, II, Index), it is very possible that that locality is here meant.

B l. 6. tshogs-dgu contains dgu in the known sense of a plural or a collection.

Since Gnam-ri is the name of the father of Sroṅ-btsan-Sgam-po and also because of the ready admission of Zu-tse to favour with Khri Sroṅ-btsan, it seems probable that Zu-tse himself was related to the royal house (cf. l. 5). The yab is perhaps the father of Khri Sroṅ-btsan, not of Zu-tse. The latter is remembered in (Bon-po) literature. Khri Sroṅ-
rtsan is Sron-btsan Sgam-po, who in the Lha-sa treaty (Waddell in JRAS. 1909 (p. 950, l. 26) ) is called Khri Lde-sron-btsan.

11. (Vol. 55, fol. 20 : c. 31 × 10 cm., ll. 12 of ordinary epistolary dbu-can script, rather close together; much discoloured, injured by folding, and hardly legible.)


3 * below line.  
2 myi crossed out.
To the Minister of the Interior, Councillor G-yu-bzer, letter-petition of Khris-legs. I am very glad to hear that on the part of you, equal to a theophany, there is no recurrence of your old illness. As regards the fact that, though I have sent various letters before this inquiring as to your health, no answer has come, and whereas I, a humble Ha-za, have sent various presents: Minister of the Interior, styled of the Ser-shyon family of Kva-chu, residing in your seat at Hi-na-te, engaged in saving (?) counsels, from the army also ... five ... very great distance ... your servant is ill at ease.

There being unequaled advantage in carrying on the business even while you are in your residence, when the courier’s missive and the substance of the orders came to Bde-gams, it was opportune for me to submit matters to my superiors (?). Having sent down a verbal order that ‘a courier’s missive having come into the country, carry out the orders (or punish) ...’ I sent to the place of the census (rtsi-sar).

As regards the law, the decision to punish having ... one year ..., accordingly begged to be not weak. Afterwards, being more hopeful than before, and relying upon the business (instructions), your humble servant submitted in council that it was right to act in accordance with the business undertaken (instructions received ?). The ten brothers being the leaders (?) ... as to sending up to ... bzer, no advantage whatever was effected, and in the meeting nothing at all being possible, it was ordered more or less that your humble servant should constantly write inquiries as to health. * From Mdo-gams, some market merchandize, very rotten, early and later ... things and general indifference
(sga-g-yer ?)’, so it was said. Having regard to the saying, ‘at a brother’s door usually . . . ’ we have sent a signed letter of inquiries as to health. If you send a letter, please trouble to send by this courier."

Possibly the translation of this difficult document may be improved later.

**Notes**

1. 2. On dan-sbyar-na = “as regards”: see p. 29.
1. 4. ḥphrin-byan or byan alone seems to be in these documents one of the expressions denoting a letter. Some wooden documents (pp. 203–4) refer to themselves as byan-ḥāvi. "this communication”. Byan-ḥu is “label” or (wooden) "postcard”. The Chronicle also has byan. See pp. 331–2 and Index.
1. 5. Bde-gams has occurred already (pp. 22, 25).
ḥbyun-ba: see p. 29.
1. 9. sman-yon: see above, p. 48.
1. 10. sñan-sũns “a letter of inquiries after health” seems to mean merely a formal letter of that nature (cf. p. 22). We have several among the documents.

**Mdo-gams**: see below, pp. 61, 106.
1. 11. chab-sgor “by the door of” or “an opportunity of” (?). sga-g-yer “indifferent” (?); cf. pp. 21, 22.
1. 12. thugs-dpag (or pags) and thugs-dpag-jir(cir)-mdzad, asking or stating attention, are common in the documents.

11A. Verso of Ch. fragm. 82 (paper, vol. 55, fol. 27, c. 28 × 19 cm.; ll. 12 of clear, ordinary, cursive dbu-can writing).

   dus. geig. du. Lha. skyes. gyi. sgor. hbul. bar
   gûcig | la. gûns. su
   rdzas. sug. spyad. rgyab. hgo[s]
   runste | riñ. lug. su. phrog. na. yañ. žal. cu. tshig.
   guñ. chad. du. gyur | mjal. gû. kha. len. kho.
   nahi. pho. bra | ni | dam. goñ. nas. byûn. bûin. du
   yig. tshad. gysisbtabpa.

[1] "At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Tshas-stobs. [2-3] At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Snîn-tsoms. Belonging to Lha-skyes some three loads of wheat and barley having previously been required (g-yar-du ?) 'on loan' by Sag Dge-legs of district Rgod-sar, as regards the time of rendering it back, it is the middle autumn month of the present year. [4-6] Until death (or until this is effected ! gûn = khums), half a bre is agreed (? bzahsu ? as interest): the delivery of the bre is to take place without interruption at one time at the door of Lha-skyes. [6-9] If it is not then delivered, or if trickery is attempted, the amount becomes doubled. Present goods at his house with their increase, outside cattle and things indoors, tools, clothes on his back, wherever put, may be seized according to the old usage without a word of protest. [9-11] Alternatively, if Dge-legs is not

---

1 These two syllables crossed out.
2 su crossed out.
3 nî crossed out.
4 These two syllables crossed out.
5 nî crossed out.
6 Compounded for bar.
at home or if through consideration on the part of His Excellency a division is made, then the witnesses to the agreement and the guarantor upon a demand [at their residences] by letter in accordance with the outcome of the above indenture are required to deliver: [11–12] in attestation whereof the attestation marks and written signatures of . . . . and the others are attached."

**Notes**

The agreement is a draft, as appears from the fact that in l. 1 a different document was commenced, and also from the gaps left in ll. 11–12 for insertion of the names of witnesses, etc. Concerning the phrases žal-cu, dam-goṅ-nas-byuṅ, brgya-la, we may refer to the notes on the similar document discussed infra, p. 145. This instrument comes from the Tun-huang library (it is written on the back of a MS.) and relates to the Sa-cu region.

l. 1. *Tshas-stobs:* This district has not hitherto been found.

ll. 2–3. *Ｓini-tsms and Ryod-sar:* On these districts see the references in pp. 40, 83.

l. 3. *Saṅ:* On this clan-name see pp. 50, 115.

l. 4. *bzhabsu:* Reading and sense uncertain.

l. 5. *myi-chad-par:* This seems clearly to mean "without interruption"; one would have preferred "if the delivery of the *bre* is not carried out".

ll. 6–7. *gcig-la-gņisu . . . bgyur:* Cf. p. 45.4–5 and Index.

l. 7. *phyi-phyi(a)g . . . rgyab-hgos:* The rendering is somewhat uncertain.

l. 9. *bkur-te-gun-chad-du:* The reading is uncertain.

**11b.** M.I. xiv, 113 (paper fragment, fol. no. 49 in vol.; c. 18 × 14 cm.; II. 8 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[b]tan | li. rams. la. chagste. hbul.bahi.rgyas.btan . . .

"[ll. 1–5] . . . attested as measuring . . . attested as measuring five . . . attested as measuring three bre of barley . . . attested as received with the measures stated in these attestations . . . are agreed to be paid not later than . . . [5–7] If not paid at that time, the amount is to be doubled . . . whoever [in possession of] this witnessed document presents a demand [may seize] the party’s travelling clothes and barley, food provision . . . ; [7–8] In witness of which agreement the signatures of Ḥgreṇ-ro Khyi-brug and rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes . . . are attached."

Notes

For similar legal documents, see pp. 45, 62, etc. The designation Ḥgreṇ-ro denotes, as we shall see below (pp. 99, 100), the country of the Ḥgren people of Mdo-gams. Professor Pelliot has pointed out that Mdo-gams, which is identical with, or a part of, Mdo-khams, north-eastern Tibet, was known to the Chinese of Mongol and Ming times as Tokan (i.e. Do-gam): see Bretschneider, Mediaval Researches, ii, pp. 203, 224. Ḥgreṇ, he thinks, may be the native name represented by the term K’iang, applied by the Chinese to the Tibetans of Kan-su, Ssū-ch’üan, and Koko-Nor.

II. 1–4, chaqs: See supra, p. 42.

l. 6, rad-gos: "Travel-clothes": see p. 205 and Index.

l. 7, rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes: On this designation and person see infra, p. 143 and Index.

11c. M.I. viii, 13 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5 cm., complete. hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

♀ | Ḥgren. ro. Zla. gtsug.

"Zla-gtsug, of [Ḥ]gren-ro.

11n. M.I. viii, 48 (wood, c. 11·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

♀ | Ḥgren. ro. Klū. brtan |
"Klu-bri-tan, of Ḥgreṇ-ro.

11e. M. Ṭagh. 0509 and 0510 (two paper fragments which can be fitted together, left (1509) and right (1510), the whole being still fragmentary at the commencement: 1509, c. 16 × 11 cm.; 1510, c. 14 × 8-5 cm.; ll. 7 (1509) + 5 (1510) of regular Dbu-can writing; red stain).

[4] las.sraṇ.šia | su.bsgyurd.[f]: Rme!b. Byi!n.la.[1510]
[gsas.gyi.sko.nas.progs | gya!h.rtsigs[u].
[1510] ' A: nañ. Byi!n.la.g . . . sug.

"[ll. 1–3] ... having on the last occasion become one sraṇ of copper, it was arranged that not later than ... of the Bird-year one sraṇ of copper should be delivered. [ll. 3–5] If at that time payment should not have been made, from one sraṇ it should become two; and even if it should be seized from the door of Li Rme!b Byi!n-la-gṣas, it was agreed that there should be no word [of protest]. [5–7] Witnesses are the following: Rhul-po of Phyug-[m]tshams and Dar Byi-rma and Tsi-bra Lha-goṅ. These witnesses have deposited their attestation with Rma 'A-ñañ Byi!n-la-gṣas [f]."

Notes

On Phyug-mtshams as a Thousand-district of Mdo-gams see p. 106, vol. i, p. 279. The surnames Li and Dar are instanced in the consolidated list infra (p. 113 sqq.); Rma has occurred supra (p. 20); Rhul-po occurs p. 215; Tsi-bra (for Tsi-b-ra?) is not known, but is, no doubt, name of some district.

¹ Crossed out.
² crossed out here.
11r. M. Tāgh. 0614 (wood, c. 24 × 2–2.5 cm., broken away at l., r., and bottom; ll. 2 of squarish dbu-can script).


"Zir Rgu-cag-cuñ of the Good-Hor regiment having borrowed (?) from Ba Snañ-rma of the Hbron-border regiment one horse, its [marks are as follows]. . ."

Notes

Hbron-tsams (mtshams), Hbron-border, the name of which is parallel to that of Phyug-tsams (p. 62), etc., belongs doubtless, along with Hbron-ston, to the Hbron district of Mdo-gams, concerning which see infra (p. 459). The script also, though the document comes from the Khotan region, is probably one characteristic of that area. It may be remarked that Hbron is probably "the Yak country", just as Cog (Tsog)-ro may be "the Donkey country".

1. 1, Zir Rgu-cag-chiñ: "Rgu-cag minor of Zir"; but it may be "Cag-cuñ of Zir-rgu".

Bzah-Hor-gyi-ste: On this regiment see Vol. I (p. 299) and infra (pp. 292–3, 456).

1. 2, mtshjald: Is this from htshal "request" or from htshol, or from what?

-o:[r]is-dañ-s-a-rtags: = no-ris-dañ-sna-rtags?

11v. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0019 (wood, c. 12–12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto and 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[B 2] thud .hbul.lam.myi.hbul.rma |

"Po-yoñ Hdus-rma, of the Hbron-border regiment, being at present in Khotan, inquires whether the additional wages in barley (?) owing to the army is to be paid or not."

1. ck here crossed out.
Notes

1. B 1, nas: "Barley": or should we translate "from (nas) what is owing"?


11h. M. Tāgh, a. iii, 004 (wood, c. 16 × 1.5-2 cm., broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

$\Phi$ | $\cdot$ | Br[ōu], tsham, gyi, sde | se. Nab, tsen.

"Se Nab-tsen of the Hbron-border regiment."

Note

On Se, as a surname, see pp. 427, 456, 468.

11i. M.I. xiv, 96 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

$\Phi$ | $\cdot$ | Hbron-stōn, Cun, goṅ, gi, mchid, gsol, ba

"Letter-petition of Cun-goṅ of Hbron-stōn."

Note


11j. M.I. vii, 32 (wood, c. 19 × 2.5 cm., complete, but one small piece detached; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of Dbu-can writing, faint).


"By Councillor Ldon-hzaṅ, who is anxious, ordered to be despatched in haste to Spa-ža. Whereas the Sluṅs Ho-ma Bu-lud (n ?) and Sūṅ-tsoms people, Zīn Rin-cen and Bag-bre Dpal-hṇaud and Hdzā-lda 'A-lum, these three, have been sent to Nob-ched-po, first and last several times even a reply by message tablet has not come."
Notes

On Sluňs see supra, p. 52, and infra, pp. 296-7. The district Sām-tsomas has already been mentioned. For the surnames Zān, Bag(Bгла?) br, Hdz(Hje? Hdzi?)-lda no citations seem available. Spa-ža also, as place-name (?), is apparently unknown. On Nob-ched-po see infra, pp. 155 sqq., and on phrin-byan supra, p. 58.

llk, M.I. xiv, 59 (fol. No. 42; paper, c. 21 × 7 cm., fragmentary at right; discoloured; ll. 6 of smallish, cursive dbu-can script).


"[ll. 1-2] To the presence of Lord Klu-smān: letter-petition of Rtsan Lde-ya. Prayers for ... Thanks for having, with a letter inquiring after health, sent instructions. [3-4] Not to have seen your face when departing for Po-gams [in] Kva-cu was to your maidservant like death. [4-6] Favour me by accepting the wool, one whole pho-re, if it has come. I desire to present ... the water and oil which were to be presented. Some servants having [absconded? being ill?], when I meet my servants again, I will send... ."

Notes

The letter seems to have been written by a lady who had left Mirān (Nob-ched-po) for Po-gams in Kva-cu. Po-gams is unknown, unless it is the Pou-kouang of Chavannes, Documents Chinois, p. 130; as regards the element gams

1 I below line.
in the name cf. Bde-gams, etc. From the tenor of the letter the lady would appear to be a landowner of Mirān who could make presents of water and oil to the Tibetan chief.

1. 4, bal-pho-re-gan = With this phrase cf. pp. 152: 46, 3, 377
63.3. Pho-re would seem to be = phor.

B. CLANS AND NOMENCLATURE

II. Ch. — (paper, fol. no. 220 of vol. 57: ll. 7 of good cursive dbu-can script, complete, covering, with other notes, part of a leaf at the end of a Buddhist MS. on large folios).


"[ll. 1–3] Loan [on the part] of Ser Dzin-khen: one Chinese cord and ten short pieces of paper being in the hands of Liñu Klu-rton, as regards the time of payment, it was arranged that payment should be made to Dzin-khen, wherever he should be, on the twentieth day of the last winter month of the Dragon year. [3–5] If at that time payment should not

1 Legs. b crossed out.
have been made, the paper and the Chinese cord should both become double; three bonds not being required, procedure according to custom should be taken upon the last bond singly, and Klu-rton's (by the last bond and Šihu-kin's) [property], wherever found, may be seized without a single word of complaint. [5–7] In attestation of which agreement the attestation seals of Sag Stag-slebs, 'Im Ḥbye-leḥu, Khan Mañ-zigs, Son Lug-lug and the rest, and the finger-measure of the hand of Klu-rton are impressed. [Inverted] Klu-rton not having a hand-signature his finger-measure is impressed."

Notes

This legal document is on the same lines as No. 5. For the clan names Ser, Liḥu, Sag, 'Im, Khan, Son see the consolidated list.

1. 1, Rgyal-thag-geg: This might mean "one seal-cord"; but, since Dzin-khe'ên has a Chinese name, the given rendering is more probable.

šog-šog: The usual reduplicated form, as p. 84. B 1.

chags: See pp. 258.10, 323.

1. 4, dam-phys: The syntax is here obscure: we gather that Šihu-kin is to be included, as a guarantor, in the last agreement.

"According to custom": On rin-lugs see p. 16.

1. 5, žal-mchu: See pp. 59.8, 180, and Index.

1. 7, mdzub-tshad: See p. 46.1–2.

mdzub: The alternative, less usual, form, mdzug, which here follows, recurs also in p. 75. B 9; in p. 74.11 mdzub reappears. Cf. the -b/-g in Nob/Nag.

12. Ch. 73, xv, 10 (fr. 12, vol. 69, foll. 62–3, originally a single roll; c. 76 × 15 cm.; fragmentary at the beginning; ll. 53 recto of ordinary dbu-can script, l. 2 verso in another hand).
Pho. kvāñ. s[i]hi. [l]ha. ḫbañs | J-ḥu | Ẓi. ṇañ. ḫphons |
Rgod. sar. kyi. sde | Soñ. Šin. dgon |
Pho. kvāñ. s[i]hi. lha. ḫbañs | Yañ. G-yu-tshe. ḫphons |
[5] Rgod. sar. kyi. sde | Bam. Kun. tse | dgon. g-yon |
Rgod. sar. kyi. sde | ban. de. Toñ. Thoñ. thoñ. dgon ||
" " | Cañ. Hva. hva. ḫphons |
" " | Cañ. Kun. tse. ḫphons |
" " | Cañ. Señu. señu. dgon |
" " | Cañ. Hbye. tig. ḫphons |
" " | Bañ. Kun. kun. ḫphons |
Rgod. sar. kyi. sde | Dvan. Hiñ. dar. dgon ||
" " | Žím. Ju. ju. ḫphons |
" " | Ser. Kheñ. kheñ³. ḫphons. ḫdzin. pa |
" " | Šud. pu. Legs. dgon ||

¹ II. 8-9 in red ink.
² Corrected from Tshen. tee.
Rgod.sar.kyi.sde | Cañ . Tsheñ . tseñ . ḡphons | drod.pa |
" " " | Wan . Kog . ne . ḡgon |
" " " | Cañ . Žañ . tse . ḡphons |
[35] " " " | ban . de . Cañ . La . tahir . ḡgon |
O " " " | Žim . Hiñ . tse . ḡphons |
" " " | ban . de . Dzeñu . Kve . kve . ḡgon |
" " " | Cañ . Theñu . cuñ . ḡphons |
[40] Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Wan . Tsheñ . tseñ . ḡphons |
Leñ . ho . siñi . lha . ḡbans | Wan . Kun . tse . ḡphons |
O Rgod . sar . kyi . sde | Wan . Dzin . šen . ḡgon |
" " " | Ton . Wan . ḡdo . ḡphons |
" " " | ban . de . Li . Jín . 'an . ḡgon |
[45] " " " | Ser . Dzin . 'in . ḡphons |
" " " | Cañ . Dze . tse . ḡgon |
" " " | Cañ . Gen . tse . ḡphons |
" " " | ban . de . Kun . tse . ḡgon |
" " " | Tson . Dze . tseñ . ḡphons |
[50] " " " | Tson . Dze . šin . ḡgon . ḡ-yon |

Verse (in another hand).
[1] žus . lags | ūa . ba(u)š . spud |


[ll. 8-9 Red ink] Rgod-sar division, middle horn: Sud-pu Legs-gzigs, master and servants, forty, one tshar, district list.

The god's servant of Leñ-ho-si, Wañ Kun-tse, *hphons*


(Rev.) "Submitted. I, son-brother, Pho-tshan wrote [this]."

There would be no purpose in a fuller translation of this document, which has been selected as showing clearly the system of the nomenclature. It is, as will be seen, simply a list of persons, who are alternately designated *dgon* and *hphons*. Most of the persons belong to the "Rgod-sar division (sde)"; but four are "god's servants" of Pho-kvan-si and Leñ-ho-si respectively, these being, no doubt, the *si* (probably Chinese *ssu* "temple") of Pho-kvan and of Leñ-ho respectively (since we already know Leñ-ho, p. 46).

The red-ink heading in ll. 8-9 shows that what follows is a district list (*yul-yig*) of one *tshar*, forty persons, belonging to the *Rgod-sar* division. But the expressions "right" and "left horn" suggest that it has a military significance. There are many indications that the Tibetan military system was territorial; and, in fact, we have mention of many regiments bearing the name of districts: in consequence the word *sde*, "district" or "division", has most often to be rendered "regiment", and that is, no doubt, the meaning here. There are further indications: for besides the "horn" (*ru*) and its commander (*ru-dpon*), which occur several times — on the term *tshar*, "parish," elsewhere evidenced (along with its *tshar-dpon*), see pp. 169, 338, the *dar-tshan* "silk-badge" (*mtshan*) will very likely be the banner-bearer: cf. *dar*, "banner," Vol. I, pp. 277 sqq. Of the two alternating terms attached to most of the names, *hphons* and *dgon*, the former has the sense of "archery", so that the *dgon* should be the archer's attendant, a sense which, however, does not seem to be attested. We

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*A list of the regiments will be given later (pp. 455 sqq.). On *Sud-pu* see p. 66. Note that not one of the 10 *bandes* is a *hphons*. 

"
have, however, a person’s (wooden) "card", which reads Dyon Mon-cun, i.e. "Mon-cun, a Dyon" (M.I. vii, 88a).

Coming now to the nomenclature, we find that most of the names have three syllables, of which the first is usually one which recurs and which in several cases (e.g. Cañ, Dzeñu, Li, Ser) we have already encountered. These, therefore, are surnames; and, not being for the most part geographical, they are clearly clan or tribe names. We have, therefore, in these papers a fair control of the ethnographical classification of the region.

Not to linger over the matter, and reserving any further comments for the combined list to be added below, we need here only remark that some of the names such as Śi-bu-tig and Ḫbyeñu-tig are clearly Chinese; and it is natural to conjecture that the majority are so (perhaps this will be evident to Sinologists). The principle of repetition, as in Hva-hva, Tsheñ-tsheñ, Señu-señu, Kun-kun, Ju-ju, Kheñ-kheñ, is extensively followed, and in other cases the syllable tse seems to be in high favour as final element in the names.

Concerning Zi-ñañ see p. 73.

13. Ch. 75, iii (vol. 56, fol. 39: 25 × 52 cm.; ll. 35 of good dbu-can script, part of a carefully inscribed document).


   It is needless to proceed with this lengthy document, which consists entirely of entries of the types:

   (a) Ša . cu . pha . Rgod . gyı . sde . Leñ . za . Señu . señu ||
   dge . sloñ . ma . Theći . cin ||

   "Ša-cu, Rgod division: Leñ-za Señu-señu; bhixunı (mun)
   Theći-cin."

   (b) Ša . cu . pha . Rgod . gyı . sde . Then . za . Beñ . 'em ||
   dge . sloñ . ma . Ḫbyeñu . 'dzı || Ša . cu . pha . dge . sloñ . ma .
   sloñ . ma . Thoñ . celu.
"Sa-cu, Rgod division: Then-za Ben-’em; bhikṣunī Ḥbyeļu-ḥḍzi; female servant of Sa-cu bhikṣunī Kvag-za Ji-lim, Kvag-za Tam-tam, bhikṣunī Thoṅ-čelů."

In a portion of the instances the "division" (sde) specified is not Rgod, but Dar-ḥa. In most cases the mistress of a female servant or slave (bran-mo) is described not merely as bhikṣunī, but as "bhikṣunī of Sa-cu or of a Sa-cu man" (Sa-cu-phu-dge-slou-mo). Two women are called "subject of the Sa-cu queen" (Sa-cu-phu-Btsun-mohi-hbaṅs); five are servants of a bhikṣu, and about fourteen of persons not stated to be bhikṣus, but who probably are men; many are not servants at all, and one is granddaughter (tsha-mo) of a bhikṣu.

What then is the relation of the bhikṣunī to the person, probably always a woman, whose name precedes? The obvious interpretation is that the relation was some kind of guardianship. It may be suggested that the function was that of spiritual adviser or "pious friend" (kalyāṇa-mitra), abundantly exemplified (vol. i, see Index) in the case of members of Khotan royal families.

In any case we have a good number of feminine names, which may prove linguistically instructive. From evident instances, such as Hva-sim "Flower-heart", Men-tig "Prabhā-śri", Tīg-nem "Obtain-memory", Hva-hgem "Flower-mass", Bo-de-sim "Bodhi-hrdaya (citta)", we infer that the majority will be recognizable as Chinese. These names of bhikṣunīs lack for the most part the clan-prefix.

The feminine names are partly of the same appearance as those in the other documents. In about a score of cases the second syllable is ēn. Instances such as Sib-ēn, Sib-hug-ēn, Sib-si-ēn, Sīm-si-ēn, commencing with what we can prove to be the Chinese for "10", "16", and "14", suggest that ēn is nothing else than the Chinese niang "girl", perhaps used in large families, where the female children bore no special names.

A feature of the clan-prefixes is the addition of the syllable
za to forms which elsewhere we find not so attended; thus in this document we have not Cän and Sag, but Cän-za and Sag-za. The phenomenon has presented itself before (p. 50); it is usual in the surnames of Tibetan women, being, in fact, merely a form of bjag "woman", "wife".

All the names will be found in the general list.

C. Paper and Copying of Manuscripts

14. (Vol. 56, foll. 73-4; c. 26 × 37 cm. + 26 × 33 cm.; fol. 73 much torn; ii. 26 + 21 of ordinary, clear dbu-can writing; fragmentary; paper discoloured and smudged.)

[1] chad. gyi. sky[i]n... [sbyar]. šig... r, n(?), n?, gy?, by(?); hth(?).ur. k(g?)yi. phyag. rgya.žig. nod.tu. gsol |

[2] ☛ Kva. cuh. khrom. rkyen. gyi. dar. ma. sde. gcig. yo. byad. dañ. ḫtshañ. bar... blon. Rgyal. khyi. [3] dañ. blon. Ldon. bzañ. gi|s... ] ban. de. Dpal. gyi. bzañ. po. la. brdzanste... da. ltar. yañ. [4] khrom. sar. bṣugs. na... [b][u]. rtags. kyi. phyag. rgya. ni. ma. mchis... bla ... go[d]. [n]i. yañ. stsal... [5] dar. ma. dañ. yo. byad. gyi. rgyu. dpyañ. las. god... pa. mñan. rnam. gyis. chad. du. bdas... m.nap(s?)!... ma... [6] b das.par.[rg]yul.god.kyi... phyag. rgya. rnam. gehi.god. du. gso[1]... [d (?)]e. ltar. ma... gnañ. na... [7] dar... ma... bla... nas... slar... batu... bañi... phyag... rgya... nod... du... gsol... |

[8] ☛... [rtañ]. [loñ]. [d]us... gcig. tu... sku... yon... tu... bsaños. [te]... blañi... mdzad... -ya... las... byun... ba... [B][o][d]. kyi. Ŝes.rab... [9] h[b]u[m]. pa. sde. brgyad. dañ... Rgyañi... Hbum. pa... bam. po... [d]rug. brgyañ... [pa]. sde... gsum. ris... šig... ches... byunístê... [10] Rgyañi... Hbum. pa... sde... gehi[g]. na... Bodd... kyi... Hbum. pa... sde... gñis... gyi... [g]od... chod... cig... pa[r]... bla... luñ... stsal... [11] pa... bzin... bris... lags... nas... Sa... cuñi... mdzod... tu... mdzub... tshigis... tsis... na... de... yañ... god... gyi... grañs... [12] gyi... ž-n... phyag... [rgya... n]od... tu.

1 Read bdas, sam.
2 For ni or dañ.
bahi, tshe, lag, rtsub, pos, sbyar | [B 6] nas, zo, goig, chad | 
bez, lags, nas, drul, te, go[i]g, chad | drul, lags, nas, 
gr'an [B 7] pa-li, tahe | byan, myig, tu, lan, sum, cu, 
bskor, te | zo, phyed, chad | btags, pa-li, tahe, [za]g, 
[B 8] bco, lha-hi, bar, du, drul, drul, nas, zo, guis, chad | 
lags, nas, brdun, bcegs, bagral, pa, [B 9] da-n, [mgo], mdzug, 
mtho, gahn, lhag, tsam, zig, bcad, pa, (below line zo, geig, 
chad), rnam, (below line kyi, chad), brtsis, na || glegs 
[B 10] goig, geig, la, zo, drug, drug, cron, tu, stsal, pa, | 
sna, slad, du || khams, gyi, gnas, brtsan, da-n [B 11] mkan, 
po, lhun, grub, dan, | rtsa, rje, lastsogs, pa, dam, zags, 
brtis, nas, cron, stsal, [B 12] s[t]e | bdag, cag, tan, pa, 
rnam, sgo, yns, tsam, zig, khon, subs, te, stams, las, 
chad, [B 13] chin, mehis, na, | bkas, sbyan, zin, mnan, 
gyi, mechid, sags, myi, brtsan, bar, chad, [B 14] myi, 
stsal, pa, tsham, tu, thugs, rje, chir, gzigs || 
[B 15]  | | rta-li, lo, la, bri, ba-li, dar, ma, sde, 
guis, || Sacu-hi, pho, na, Rgya, Seg, Tshen, tshen, la, 
brdza-ste | [B 16] bul, rtags, kyi, phyag, (below line rgya), 
ni, ma, mehis, nas || (below line sna,) slad, tu, | bla, nas, 
lar, ma, chad, zas, rma, ba, | khon, tas [B 17] su, la, 
phul, yahn, runeste | sgo, bul, tsam, yahn, sku, yon, sar, 
gner, myi, khums, te | dgu-n, [B 18] lo, bzu-hi, bar, tu, 
Bde, gamsu, gner, khums, zin, | bul, rtags, [kyl]i, phyag, 
rgya, nod, tu, [B 19] gta-n, bar | ban, de, Khyam, zan, 
gis, gzan, gdes, na, mchis, ma, btu[b], ste | dar, ma, 
[dl]e, [B 20] guis, po, hdi, | bla, nas, sde, grahs, god, tu, 
gna-n, na, ni | spyi, god, las, | Seg, Tshen, tshen, 
[B 21] myin, gis, amos, te, god, stsal, gsal, god, tu, [m], 
gna-n, na, | Tshen, tshen, dar, ma, ... 

[ll. 2-4] "Councillor Rgyal-khyi and Councillor Ldon-bzan 
having sent to ban-de Dpal-gyi-bzan-po for a scripture 
(dar-ma), one division, complete with appurtenances, on 
behalf of the city of Kva-cu, and that being now with the 
city, a signature of receipt has not come. The expense also

1 No doubt, such wraps, labels, and boards as are usual with Tibetan MSS.
has been already (bta) sent. [Il. 5-7] Whether a levy has been made or not made by the authorities to meet the expenditure upon material (rgyu) and costs († dpyaḥ “tax”) (chad-du-bdas-sum-ma-bdas-par), we beg to receive a signature, one part, for the expense of material (rgyu?). If that is not granted, we beg to receive a signature for at once taking back the scripture and appurtenances.

[Il. 8-9] A donation having been undertaken sometime in the Horse year, arising from the previously made communica-
tion (?) it appeared that a Tibetan Ses-rab-hbum-pa (Śātasa-
sāhasrika-Prajñā-paramitā) in eight divisions, and a Chinese Hbum-pa in six hundred chapters, three divisions, should be copied. [Il. 10-12] In accordance with a previous order to make the expenditure for a Chinese Hbum-pa, one division, and a Tibetan Hbum-pa, two divisions, the copying has been done. Upon finger-count in the store of Śa-cu, we beg to receive a signature of k[u]n (acknowledgment ?) of the reckoning of the expenditure. [Il. 12-15] For the Chinese Hbum-pa, three divi-
sions; and the Tibetan Hbum-pa, six divisions, the rations (tshal-
ma = “wages in kind” ?) are some four hundred and seventy loads (khal) of corn. The donation is some sixty loads. As regards the cost of ink and paper, that not being sent beforehand, it was stated that when the scripture was in existence it should be sent. [Il. 15-17] With reference to the difficulty (?) dkaḥ . . . ?), as the scribes have not obtained their rations, there being no donor, it is right that we should receive forthwith a signature for the expense. This agreed to, we beg to receive a signature, one, for the whole expenditure.

[Il. 18-21] The rations for the copying of the Tibetan Hbum-pa, eight divisions, having after that time by verbal order of some (?) . . . of the leading men of Śa-cu been diminished by half, copyists for the Chinese scripture up to eighty scribes and twenty revisors were sent, the leading men sending a letter to say that what was owing from (to) them should be the rations for copying the Chinese scripture
sent. [ll. 21–3] Afterwards, Councillors Khon-bzer and the other authorities having entered upon power, we once more beg to receive a signature for obtaining . . . scribes copying Tibetan scripture.

[ll. 24–5] . . . copy a Chinese Tshe-dpaq-tu-ma-mchis-pa (Aparimitāyus-sūtra) . . . the copying having been done accordingly, one chapter . . . sanction the expenditure . . .

[Bl. 1–3] . . . at ten, when complete with appurtenances, the measure came to thirteen. The scripture in the possession of the city had volume-extent (glegs-thag 'volume tie'?) one full fathom. [ll. 3–5] Ten years more having passed, on weighing upon the scales, the volume-extent comes at present to twoāra and seven zo, not reckoning the waste. In regard to reckoning the waste, there were no orders (or 'there is no measure', chad or tbad-ma-mchis): we beg to report on the waste (or we beg to report the waste which has not been fixed or deducted). [ll. 5–7] First, where, through injury by worms, there was at the time of weighing unevenness to the hand (or is this = lag-mulzub-mos-sbyar-nas, 'upon comparison (measuring) with a finger of the hand'?), one zo was fixed (deducted); where there was rot from damp, one was fixed (deducted); where from the rotting thirty years, to a good eye, had passed at the time of reckoning, half a zo was fixed (deducted). [ll. 7–8] If at a fixed time, after an interval of fifteen days, the rotting had gone on, two zo were fixed (deducted).

[ll. 8–10] Reckoning (note: the amount fixed or deducted for') those which, since their arrival, had been knocked about, trodden on, and cut and those which had lost more than a full span (measure) of the large finger (note: one zo was fixed or deducted'), for each volume six zo were set off as waste. [ll. 10–12] First and last, as the sthavira's of the realm, and the heaven-descended Abbot and the lord chief and the others set off a waste upon a count on a fixed day (dam-tags), our humble selves, having received orders restricting
us to sending in merely a private representation (sgo-yues), have discharged our task. [ll. 12–14] Will you have the kindness not to send orders invalidating the instructions of the authorities (mnan-rgyi-mchid-tags)?

[B ll. 15–16] The scripture, two divisions, to be copied in the Horse year having been sent to the Sa-cu envoy, the Chinaman, Seg Tahan-tsheh, a signature of receipt had not come. [ll. 16–17] Afterwards, stating that the scripture had already been paid for, whosoever had been the recipient failed to deliver even a private receipt at the residence of the donor. [ll. 17–19] Four years after it had been completed at Bde-gams, bande Khyam-zaan, being there on another business, was not able to secure the obtaining of a signature of receipt. [ll. 19–21] If the expenditure upon these two divisions of scripture (the divisions having been already counted) is sanctioned, we beg you out of the general expense to send the expense upon them, mentioning the name of Seg Tahan-tsheh. If the expense is not sanctioned, Tahan-tsheh should return the scripture . . . ."

Notes

1. 2. We translate rkyen (Sk. pratyaya) as meaning "on behalf of"; but in the next occurrence (B 2) the meaning "property" seems more apposite. In effect the latter meaning would here yield the same sense.

1. 3. bui-rtags = "receipt"; see pp. 17, 19.

1. 4 god occurs frequently in these documents (and in others on paper and on wood) with the meaning "expenditure or price", which is given by the dictionary to goâ; it usually means "loss".

1. 5. mnan- "the authorities"; see pp. 17, 19.

chad seems to mean either "sanction payment" or actually "pay".
1. 6. *rnam-gchig*, "one part" or "one instance", seems to be used here, and 1. 17 and elsewhere, of part or single settlements of accounts. Cf. Vol. I, p. 113, n. 6, and p. 23.21 and Index.

1. 7. *bstu* (from ḫdu). The meaning is to "send in", or "call in".

1. 8. *sku-yon" = "donor", the *sku* being an honorific.

1. 13. *stsan" = "corn": see pp. 17, 19.

1. 16. *duos, duos-kyis, duos-kyan" = "at present", "forthwith": See Index.

1. 18. *dphon-sna" = "chief leaders": see pp. 139, 345, and Index.

B I. 2. *rkyen": v. supra.

*glegs-thags* seems to denote the extent of the collection as merely measured. *Gcal* is from *kjal*, as p. 62.3

B I. 3. *sran" = "scales", and also a certain weight, so also is a weight.


B I. 13. *mchid-bags*


B I. 15. Rgya Śeg Taheṅ-tsheṅ. For similar names see the classified list given below.

1. 17. *gñer-khums*. Abundant evidence exists in the documents proving that, while *gñer* means to "be in charge of", *gñer-khyun* (past *gñer-khums*) means to "discharge a task", "deliver goods": cf. p. 42 and Index.

*Bde-gams*: cf. supra, p. 58.
19. *gzan-gdabs-na* "on another business".

This document is clearly a monastery record of work of copying scriptures (*dar-ma*) executed on behalf of outsiders. In the actual instances the orders are given, it is interesting to see, on behalf of cities (Kva-cu and Śa-cu), whether by their actual officials (*blon* or *dpon*) or in respect of donations from private persons (*sku-yon*) for their benefit. The texts are either Tibetan or Chinese. Scribes are apparently supplied, and their payment is in kind, in rations (*tshal-ma*); the work is carried out under the superintendence of the monasteries, which upon completion deliver the volumes and send in their accounts.

We thus see under what conditions the hundreds of copies of certain favourite texts, brought by Sir Aurel Stein from the Tun-huang library, may have come into being. The next document will supply further particulars of the *modus operandi*. In the meanwhile it is interesting to observe that of the two texts here named, to wit the *Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā* and the *Aparimitāyur-dhyāna-nāma-sūtra*, the former is represented by very numerous fragments and parts and the latter by many bundles of copies in the collections.

In the fifth paragraph (B ll. 1–14) we have a curious record of an inspection of the state of the volumes in a city library and an estimate of the damage due to worms, damp, and misuse. *Mutatis mutandis*, one could imagine that it referred not to a ninth or tenth century library in a Central Asian district on the Chinese frontier, but to a modern monastery library in Tibet, or, let us say, a library in Europe.

15. Ch. 73, xv, 5 (558, vol. 69, foll. 53–6; fol. 53, 25 × 34 cm., ll. 17 of neat ordinary *dbu-can* writing; fol. 54, 25 × 37 cm.; fol. 55, 25 × 39; fol. 56, 25 × 37 cm., paper as fol. 53, but writing very scrawled, with paragraphs marked | 88 | and some passages rubbed over with red. At the foot (left) of fol. 54 is a red impression of a seal, not quite legible; so too on fol. 55).

sku.yon.dar.ma. ṣes.rub. ḷbum.pā | bri. bāhī. yi. geh.[.pā]
koṅ. gi. g-ya. sna. || ṣog. ṣog. mnos. pahi. dkar. chag.
ro. gron. daṅ. glegs. tshas. bton. pahi. slad. na || yi.
ge. pahi. khoṅ. na [5] ṣog. ṣog. chad. yān. dag. pahi,
myin. smras || blon. Rgyal. zigs. daṅ || To. dog. blon.
sde. tshan. so. sohī. lā. beyu. rkaṅ. daṅ. ḷog. ana. la.
sla. ra. ba. sum. tshun. chad. kyis. ġner. ḷgumsu. stsol.
tu. bris. pā || ġner. pas. kyan. no. zlog. phod. par. ḷtsol.
ḥbyor. ram || raṅ. ri[n. ḷtshal. ba. žig [11] mchis. na ||
phu. nu. ūn. tuṅ. goig. zuṅst. || btson. car. stsol. la ||
kyis. ni || ṣog. ṣog. gi. ġner. ḷgumsu. stsol || ġner. ma.
gtāḥ. ni. ri. phrogs. la || rub. ma. pa. la. gtd. [14] cig ||
ġner. pas. no. zlog. ma. phod. dam || ġner. ma. gtus. par.
lec. bcu. bcūhu. than. tu. rgyab. chad. gyis. chod.
par. geado. || [16] li. cēn. gi. rams. kyan. gdugs. re. lan,
re. sku. yon. sar. ḷphyan. cad. sūogs. la || ṣog. ṣog [17]
ḥbul. stobs. che. chuṅ. yān. rtsi. žin. mchis. šig ||

ṣog. yug. lā || lug. gi. lo. la || yug. sum. chu. rtsa.
yug. bcu. chad ||

1 ġner-pa here erased.
2 A second re here erased.
[ll. 1–2] “In the Horse and Sheep years. Allotment of paper among the scribes who copied the scripture Šes-rab-bhum-pa (Śata-sāhasrika-Prajñā-pāramitā), whereof the Prince (lha-eras) was donor.

[ll. 2–6] After reckoning in the presence of courier Stag-bzan Tsi-dam and G-yun-bzer Brtan-kön the invoice of paper received and the acknowledgments of scriptures delivered, rejecting the waste remnant and fragments of volumes, report submitted to Councillor Rgyal-zigs and To-dog Councillor Btsan-bzer with full statement by name of the allotment of paper among the scribes.

[ll. 6–7] For the duty of arranging the committing these allotments of paper to some 50 individuals inferior and superior (rkan-dan-log-sna?) of several divisions and accounts, the rub-ma-pa appointed from the first was Jehû Brtn-kön. [ll. 7–9] He gave orders by letter that completion should be made by the third day of the first autumn month of the Ape year. The record of employment (gner-yig) was entered in a list (or It was written in the register of employment that—).

[ll. 9–11] The superintendent on his part should be required to overbear opposition (no-zlog-phod): if supplies of paper should be available, he should collect it at once; if supplies of paper should not be available, or if any persons should demand their own price, he should arrest one of their kin, senior or junior, and send him to prison, and he should be imprisoned in the residence of the donor. [ll. 12–13] The scribes must complete at once the supplies of paper entrusted to them: until completion has been made, their cattle, property, and so on of twice the value should be taken as security and deposited with the rub-ma-pa. [ll. 14–15] If the person in charge be not equal to opposition or should not have collected the allotments, the li-cen should punish him by whipping at the rate of ten lashes per roll (yug) of paper.

1 log-log, reduplicated, occurs frequently as, perhaps, a sort of plural.
[ll. 15-17] The li-chen people also, while each day and each year (time?) referring (sngo?) for certainty (lphyen(n)-chad?) to the residence of the donor, should take account of capability, great or small, of delivering the paper.

[B 1] Ston-sar division. Account of Leñ-ho Don-tshe. To Hva Stag-legs: in the Horse year, five rolls of paper, in the Sheep year thirty-six rolls were allotted. To Can Hig-tse.

The remainder of the document, B. l. 1-D l. 29, consists of the names of the persons keeping the accounts (the güer-pas, no doubt) and of those to whom paper, and in some cases ink (sngag or sngag-tse), was allotted or promised (kha-bstan) for each of the two, Horse and Sheep, years. These names will be included in the combined list below. Once or twice (e.g. B 4, C 14) it is noted that the copy was passed (gstan-la-phab-pa), or a figure was modified upon a count (C 14, D 6), or a total (spyur) is stated (D 19). All the items belong to the Ston-sar division (sde) as far as C l. 1, where begins the Rgod-sar division, followed at D l. 1 by the Shin-tsoms division, which is mentioned in M.I. vii, 32, Shin-tsoms-kyi-hbañs, pp. 64 and 60.

Notes
A l. 2. rin-lugs = "courier": see pp. 16 and 51.2.
1. 6. rkan-dan-hog-sna = "bundles and under"?
1. 6. sde-tshan "account": see pp. 91-2 and Index.
1. 7. The Ape year is that following the Sheep year.
1. 8. güer-ḥbumsnu, as at first read, would be an error, or variant, for güer-ḥgumsnu.
1. 9. ṣo-slog "turn the face" is stated to mean "oppose".
1. 11. sar "to the residence of": see p. 21.10-1 and Index.
1. 13. gtaḥ-ṭi-ri-ḥphogs = "pledge, twice value, taken".
1. 16. gdugs "noon": on lam "year", see Index. sṅogs, here Imperative of sṅeṣa, is literally "follow".
16. (No. 735; wood, 16.5 x 2 cm.; ll. 3 obv. + ll. 2 rev. of ordinary dbu-can script; clear and complete.)


"Counted in the school of Stag Su-tam and Bran-ceçu. In this bundle of chapters are: of three rolls, chapters seventy nine; of four rolls, chapters thirteen; of rolls five less a half chapter one; of rolls four less a half, chapters seven. On a total reckoning, for one hundred chapters it comes to rolls of paper three hundred and eighteen."

Notes

The word translated "school" is gra, which we have taken for grea. The form gra occurs in the next document (No. 17, ll. 3-5); but possibly the word written is gu, which might have the sense of "room". It is a fortunate chance which, after preserving to us records of the ordering and paying for copying of MSS. and of the method of employing and rewarding the labour, has in this complete and legible wooden tablet given us a label relating to a parcel placed ready, no doubt, for transmission.

It will be noted that the number of chapters is correctly added (100). The number of rolls, 318, is the total of \[(3 \times 79 =) 237 + (4 \times 13 =) 52 + 4\frac{1}{2} + (3\frac{1}{2} \times 7 =) 24\frac{1}{2}\].

D. Monasteries and a Historic Foundation

In the following important document Bo-de-sva-dea, 1, 2, is for Bodhisattva, sobriquet of Śantirakṣita, who in the

17. Ch. 6021 (670, vol. 31, fol. 116b; verso of fol. 2 of a text in dū-can script; l. 8 of clear dū-med).


Mdo. gams. gyi. chos. grañi. slob. dpon. ||


1 Corrected from yes.
2 Tṣog . . . ge repeated and then erased.
3 Below the line.
4 Below the line.
5 Corrected from Gog.
byaṅ.chub. || Ža,sña.Hjam.pahi.sniṅ.po || Hgo.bom.
aho. || rdzogs.so. ||

[1] "Record of the succession of kalyāṇa-mitrās who arose in Tibet.

[2-3] I. Pupils of the Indian abbots Bodesvdva and so forth:
Dbaṅ the reverence Ye-ses-dbaṅ-po (Jñānendra);
.. Dpal-dbyaṅs (Śrīghoṣa);
Rgyal-mchog-dbyaṅs (Ujjayana (?) ghoṣa) of Ōnan-lam;
Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (Vajrarāja) of Hgo-bhom;
Jeṅ Gsal-rab-rin-po-che (Prakāśaratna);
Myan Mchog-rab-gзо-nu (Prāgra(?kuniāra);
.. Gša-myi-go-cha (.. varman);
Gleṭu Gžo-nu-sniṅ-po (Kumāragarha);
Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje (Śrīvajra) of Lha-lun;
Dpal-gyi-seṅ-ge (Śrīsimha) of Tshog-ro;
Byams-pahi-seṅ-ge (Maitrisimha) of Tsog-ro;
Hchos-kyi-bses-gñen (Dharmamitra) of Cog-ro.
—these and others are the kalyāṇa-mitrās of [the country] as far as the monasteries Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snaṅ.

[3-4] II. Teachers of the seminary of Mdo-gams:
Waṅ Śes-rab-sla-ba (Prajñācandra);
Hdan-ma Kun-dgah-dpal (Ānandaśī); 
Nem Dgah-ilan-byaṅ-chub (Tuṣitabodhi);
—these and others are of the succession of Mdo-gams.

[4-5] III. Teachers of the seminary of Kam-bcu:
Dbas Byaṅ-chub-rin-chen (Bodhiratna);
‘An Dge-lam (Supatha, Kṣemamārga ?);
Dam-mtsho of Laṅ-hgro;
Lbe-zi Rnal-hbyor (Yoga);
Hphrul-ma-legs of Skyor;
—these and others are the succession in the region of the north.
IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary:—
Myan Rin-cen-byan-chub (Ratnabodhi);
Ża-sna Ḥjam-pahi-sūṅ-po (Maṅjugarbha);
Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of Ḥgo-hbom;
Dge-hi-blo-gros (Śubhamati) of Ḥgreṅ-ro;
Phun Dge-rgyas (Puṇyavistara);
—these and others are the succession of Śi-gon-bu. Finis.”

Notes.

l. 2. Dbah (l. 6 dbas): see p. 6.

Nan-lam, a place mentioned in the Lhasa treaties (JRAS., 1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1281, l. 47), where Col. Waddell reads Tshe-nan-lam, which he takes as referring to Singanfu; cf. also Chronicle, l. 84, and Laufer, Roman, pp. 215, 217.

Hgo-bom (l. 5 Ḥgo-hbom) has been mentioned above (p. 55), and the second element occurs in Khri-boms. The name of Kum-bum, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as Sku-hbum.

l. 2-3. Lha-lun and Cog(Tsog)-ro are known, and the Beam-yas and Ḥphrul-snaśn monasteries are the famous early foundations, the latter at Lha-sa.

l. 3. gra = grva, see p. 843.

l. 4. Kam-beu = Kan-chou.

Lam-hyro is mentioned in the Chronicle (lI. 174, 204, 237).

l. 5. Go-cu is not known (= Ho-chou, in Lan-chou region?).

Ḥgreṅ-ro is, no doubt, the territory of the Ḥgreṅ clan of Mdo-gama (p. 61).

Ża-sna, ordinarily a phrase meaning “presence”, occurs as a surname in the Chronicle, l. 208.

Śi-gon-bu (= Si-ngan-fu?) has not been found.

Concerning the surnames (Myan, Ḥdan-ma, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 113–17. Skyor = Skyor-mo-lun?

18. Ch. 73, viii, 5 (705; vol. lxix, foll. 45–6, and vol. liii, fol. 11; 30 × 25 + 30 × 53 + 30 × 25 cm.; discoloured and fragmentary; il. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent dbu-can script; paragraphs separated by | ’s and oo in red).
This document consists of a series of paragraphs having the form—

1Bam Stag zigs gyi khram tshan la 1 || Dgah ldan ḥbyun gnas gyi gtsug lag khan gyi yon bdag Bam Stag gi rkyā. | Dgah ldan gnas gyi gžal yas pahi gtsug lag khan gyi yon bdag Leñ ho Sihu lañ gyi rkyā.


The document again is therefore simply a systematically arranged list of monasteries receiving as income the crops of certain farms, with the names of the owners or occupants of the farms, who are styled yon-bdag (bya-gras "donors" or "patrons"). Though we have only a fragment, the number of establishments, many of which may have been small, is sufficient to remind us of the fact that Ša-cu was the place of the "Thousand Buddhas"; and the system, though perhaps the produce only, and not also the ownership, of the estates, belonged to the monasteries, is agreeably analogous to the holdings of the Tibetan Buddhist church and of the endowments of religion and learning in mediaeval Europe.

The names of the religious establishments, which are grouped under the several accounts according to their initial syllables, may conveniently be reproduced in the same manner:—

[ll. 1-5] (Title of account missing.)

Dri-myed . . . monastery;

- ya-nam-dag
- dgos grub
- tin-ne-ḥdzin
- rgyas-pa
- don-dam

1 This part in red ink.
[ll. 6-12] Account (tshan) of Klu-sbeḥi-bsgyehu-rje-gye-se Hpyan-legs:

Khram account (khram-tshan) of Caṅ Lha-legs:

[Rnam]-dag-dgaḥ-ldan monastery;
Rnam-dgaḥ-bo
Rnam-dag-yon-tan
  - pad-mo
  - don-grub
  - rin-chen
  - don-mdzad
  - snaḥ-mdzad
  - byams-pa
  - mthah-yas

[ll. 13-B.1. 6] Khram account of Baṅ Staṅ-zigs:
Dgaḥ-ldan-ḥbyun-gnas monastery;
  - gnas-kyi-gžal-nas
  - pad-mo
  - sprul-pa
  - myi-g-yoh
  - mthah-yas
  - rgyal-ba
  - dri-myed
  - byams-pa
  - rdo-rje

[B. ll. 6-12]. Khram account of Caṅ Si-ka:
Rin-chen-ḥod-ḥphro monastery;
  - ḥbar-ba
  - rnal-ḥbyor
  - bla-myed
  - bsam-yas
  - dus-gsum
  - don-dam
  - ḏkaḥ-thub
  - ḥod-khyab
  - chos-grags
[B II. 13-20]. Khram account of Li Sehu-lan:—
Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery;
  " -bkra-śis
  " -g-yun-hdrun
  " -dgah-ldan
  " -gzi-brjid
  " -rgyas-pa
  " -don-mdzad
  " -myi-g-yo
  " -legs-ldan

[B I. 20-7]. Khram account of Lei-ho Zun-zun:—
G-yun-hdrun-yaṅ-dag monastery;
  " -dam-pa
  " -don-dam
  " -rdzu-hphrul
  " -mṇam-ūid
  " -byams-pa
  " -bla-myed
  " -dge-rtags
  " -yid-bzin

[B II. 27-31]. Khram account of Wan Stagu:—
Don-dam-rnal-hbyor monastery;
  " -bla-myed
  " -byams-pa
  " -rdzu-hphrul
  " -mṇam-ūid
  " -myi-g-yoḥ

[C II. 1-2]. (Title of account missing).
Dbaṅ-mahog-rnal-hbyor monastery;

[C II. 2-9]. Khram account of Can Ka-dzo:—
Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery;
  " -myi-g-yoḥ
  " -rnal-hbyor
  " -rin-chen
  " -btaṅ-anoms
Bsam-yas-mchog monastery;
  "-yon-tan"

[C II. 9-15]. Khram account of Caṅ Ḥphan-legs:—
Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery;
  "-bla-myed"
  "-rgyal-ba"
  "-mchog"
  "-zi-ba"
  "-bph  . . . . . . ."
  "-don-mdzad"
  "-g-yun-drūn"

The names of these monasteries exhibit, as will be seen, a certain sameness. They consist for the most part of combinations of well-known Buddhist or Indian phrases, such as dri-med (= amala, nirmala), rnam-dag (= viśuddha), dgakldan (= tuṣita), rin-chen (= ratna), chos-grags (= dharma-kīrti), g-yun-hdrūn (= svastika), don-dam (= paramārtha), bsm-yas (= acintya), khams-gsum (= tri-loka), bla-med (= anuttara), byams-pa (= Maitreya), dnos-grub (= siddhi). They are all Tibetan, but may represent Sanskrit or Chinese originals.

It remains to justify the translation of tshan, which has occurred already several times (pp. 40, 42, 83), by "account" and to explain the phrase "khram account".

Tshan cannot have the common senses of "class", "group", "a number of", or of "mark", "name" (mtshan), or of "office". The sense of "account" (cf. yig-tshan) fits the occurrences. For khram (going back to khra-ma "register", etc. ?) we may cite khram-kha "chart used in witchcraft", "cross marks cut into a piece of wood", and khram-shīn "board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back". Remembering the numerous wooden sticks with combinations of lines and frequently with names and amounts, we can hardly hesitate to recognize in the khram-tshan these same tallies, such as were frequent in
England down to the seventeenth century. On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur (cf. p. 184):

(a) M.I., xxviii, 8:—

[1] Ḫphăn. cuñ. dog. tshan. gyi. bul ... 

[2] To. rtson. gis. phul. bāḥ ... 

(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a:—

[1] ra 3 | dre. dgu | ra. ma 


19. Ch. 9, I. 37 (722, vol. 32, foll. 88–96; c. 42.5 × 7.5 cm.; fol. 9, numbered 35–41; followed by No. 74, another text; II. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script; paragraph titles in red ink).


1 In the business, for instance, of the East India Company, as may be seen from the specimens exhibited in the India Office Library.

² Red ink in original.

² For *mkhyerd*, which, in fact, may be read.

lo, no, gnis [B l. 3] la, rgyal, khams, chen, po, gsum, mjäl, dum, ba, dān, gtsigs, chen, po, mdzad, paḥi, sa, gzi, ste | ḏi, bcas, pa, dān, sbyar, na¹ | ḏi, yan, sūn, gyi, ḏphags, pa, rnam, kyi, yān [B l. 4] dag, par, byin, kyi, brlabs, paḥi, sa, gzi, zig, ste | yoṅ, yān, ḏi, lta, buḥi, legs, pa, chen, po, dus, geng, tu, byun, baḥi, don, tu, btsigs, pa, lhag, par, yān, bsod, nams, che, žin, bkra, sīs, par, mūn, te | 91 (38) [A l. 1] ²² | bsod, nams, chen, po, de, dag, gi, byin, kyi, gtsun², lag, khan, ḏi, yan, nam, ni, ma, dān | zia, ba, yod, kyi, bar, tu, yun, tu, brtan, ba, dān | ḏphrul, kyi, lha, btsan, po, Khri, Gtsug, de, brtsan, gyi, ža, sūa, nas | sku, tshe, riṅ, žin [A l. 2] chab, srid, che, ba, dān | dgon, pa, yid, bzin, tu, grub, par, smon, to | sūn, Rgya, Drug, daṅ³ | chab, srid, la, ma, mjald, te, nold, pa, dag, gi, dus, na, lha, sras, dbu, rmog, brtsan, po, dān | blon, po, dpal, ḏdzan, [A l. 3] ldaya, žin, dgra, thabs, mkhas, paḥi, skyims⁴, kyi, dgra, la, phog, pa, dān | dmag, maṇ, poḥi, mthu, brtsan, pos, dgraḥi, mkhar, phab, pa, dān | g-yu, bzlog, pa, dān | yul, bcom, ba, dān | mnaṅ, bcad, pa, la [A l. 4] stsoṅste | dgraḥi, myi, phyugs, maṇ, pho, srog, dān, bral, ba, dān, ma, byind, par, blaṅs, phaḥi, dno, sdiṅ, ci, mei, pa, yan, bsod, nams, chen, po, ḏdiṅ, byin, dān, zil, kyi, mnand, te, žu, žin, byaṅ, bar, smon [B l. 1] to | dkon, mchog, gsum, la, mcod, ciṅ, yon, phul, ba, dān | dno(s), sdiṅ, bṣags, pa, lastogs, paḥi, bsod, nams, kyi, rjesu, bṣno, žin, dmyigs, pa, dān | bzod, pa, dān, ḏthol, tsaṅs, [B l. 2] gsol, ba, lastogs, pa, smon, lam, gzan, yan | bla, nas, mdzad, pa, dān, mthun, bar, smond, to | ⁵ De, ga, G-yu, tshal, gtsigs, kyi, gtsug, lag, khan, du, Mkhar, tsaṅ [B l. 3] khorn, chen, pos, smon, lam, tu, gsol, ba ⁶ | Bod, rje, blon, dbu, rmog, brtsan, Sgam, dkyel, chen, poḥi.

¹ = hare erased.
² = See for gtsug.
³ = Read ḏyan?
⁴ = For skyims.
⁵ = Red ink in original.
SKU. RIN. LA | BAR. TU. RGYA. DRUG. DÁN. HTAN. RGYAL. KHAMS. CHEN. PO. GSUM. GYIS. CHAB. SRID. KYI. MDAB. TU [B L. 4] BSNOS. PA. LAS | RJE. DBU. RMOG. BRTSAN. BLON. PO. RIN. PO. CHE. DPAH. RTSAL. DÁN. IDAN. BÁHI. BYIN. RLBS. KYIS. DGRA. BKAH. HOG. DU. CHUD. DU | GTSIGS. BKAH. STSALD. TO. HTSALD. TU. MNO. LA. NAM. ZA. 92 (39) [A L. 1] | : | MYI. RB. KYI. GTAM. BRJOD. KYI. BAR. TU. LEGS. PAHI. BKAH. DRIN. DBUGS. KYIS. ZIN. TO. HTSAL. LA. KHEBSTE. BRJOD. PAHI. GTSIGS. KYI. GTSUG. LAG. KHAN. BZEAS. PAR. RGYAL. KHAMS. CHAB. SRID. KYE


1 Read KYI, as below (B L. 4).
2 Red ink in original.
brjod. pa\text{hi}. gtsigs. kyi. gtsug. lag. khan. b\text{zen}s. par. rgyal.
khams. chab. srid. kyi. la. ltod. pa\text{hi}. slad. tu | lha. sras.
kyi. za. sna. nas | thugs. kyi.

93 (40) [A.l.1] \$ || lhphrin. las. su. mdzad. pa.
da\text{an} | blon. chen. po. za\text{an}. Khri. sum. rje. da\text{an} | chen. po.
za\text{an}. Lha. bzan. gis. Rgya. Drug. gi. g-yul. chen. po. bzlog.
pa. lastsogs. pha. Bod. rjes. lba\text{ns}. kyi\text{is}. chab. srid. la.
sdo. ba\text{hi}. slad. [A.l.2] tu. dgra. la. gnad. pa\text{hi}. shugs.
kyis. bgyis. so. htsal. bag. tsam. ma. lus. par. bya\text{an}. bar.
smon. lam. tu. gsol. te | Kva. cu. khrom. chen. po.
nas. yon. tu. dbul. ba\text{hi} | \$ | 1 Phyug. tsams. [A.l.3]
sto\text{th}. pon. dpon. g-yog. gi. smon. lam. tu. gsol. ba\text{hi} | 1
dkon. mchog. gsum. la. phyag. htsal. lo | sa\text{ns}. rgyas. la.
phyag. htsal. te. thams. ca\text{d}. mkhyan. pa. la\text{ho} | [A.l.4]
chos. la. phyag. htsal. te | theg. pa. bla. na. myed. pa.
la\text{ho} | dge. \text{ldun}. la. phyag. htsal. te | phyir. myi. log.
pa\text{hi}. bya\text{an}. cub. sems. dpal. rnas. la\text{ho} | bdag. da\text{n}.
gzan. kyi. don. sgrub. pa\text{hi}. phyir. dkon. mchog. gsum.
la. mechod. de | sdig. pa. thams [B.l.1] ca\text{d}. btsald. nas | bsod.
nams. kyi. rjes. su. yi. ra\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}
ste | dkon. mchog.
gsum. la. phyog. sin. rten. to | Thugs. skam. dbu. rmog.
brtsan. ba\text{hi}. rje. blon. thugs. la. lhphral. dgo\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
pha. Rgya. Drug. Hja\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
las. stseogs. pha [B.l.2] bar. tu. bkah.
myi. ma\text{n\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
and. pa. ya\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
lba\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
gnug. ma. da\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
da\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
hdra. bar.
rmal. tu. phab. nas. dbu. rmog. brtsan. la. chab. srid. che.
ba\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
ba\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
ldab. la. phyog. par. gsol. nas | mjal. dum. gyi.
gtsigs. bcas. nas. [B.l.3] rdo. rihs. la. bris | gtsigs. kyi.
gtsug. lag. khan. b\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
kham. kyi. khrom.
ni. dal. | yul. chen. po\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
dbus. skyid. ci\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
dar. bar.
bgyis. \text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
hdi. las. bkah. drin. che. ba. ma. mcis. pas. sri.
zu. da\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
bkah [B.l.4] drin. dran \text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
ba\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
tsmt. ma.
tsam. du. dkon. mchog. gsum. la. yon. ba\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
bsod. nams.
kyis | Bod. rje. blon. khhor. da\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{n}}}n}}}n}}}n}}
dcas. pha. sku. tshe.

1 Red ink in original.
2 Below line.
dañ, mñaḥ, than, g-yuñ, druñ, du, grub, la. Bod. khams, na, phas, kyi, dgra, dañ, hkhrug, pahi, myi, gragste | 94 (41) [A l. 1] § || lo, phyugs, rtag, legs, la, gtsigs, beas, pa, bžin, yun, du, brtan, žin, hjig, rten, dañ, hjig, rten, lañ, ldas, pahi, bde, skyid, phun, sum, tshogs, pha, dañ, ldan, bar, smon, to || [A. L. 2] § || 1 Hbrom, khon², sa, bi, smon, lam, du, gsal, bāḥ ¹ || rje, bla, na, bzugs, pa, ni, lha, chab, srid, kyi, blon, po, ni, hphrul, rje, blon, lha, hphrul, kyis, gnam, rał, ba, ni, lhañ, byin, kyis, drubs, sa, gas, pa, ni, blon, poli, rlab, kyis, [A l. 3] btsams³, te || gnam, sa, ni, yid, shyar, dgra, žin, ni, mjāl, dum, nas, mtha, nas, ni, dgra, myi, sdo, byañ, nas, ni, g-yag, myi, rτuñ, ste || Bod. hhañs, yoñs, bde, skyid, pa, hbañ, sig, tu, ma, bas, te || ū, hog, gi, rgya⁴, khamsna [A l. 4] rgyal, phran, mcis, pahi, rnas, sems, myi, bde, žin, srid, sør, du, dogs, pahi, rnas, kyañ, srid, la, myi, dhab, cin, sems, bde, ba, yañ, | rje, blon, lha, hphrul, kyi, sku, yon, | ldi, ldra, bar, bkah, drin, chen, po, stsalnas, [B l. 1] Bod. hbañs, yoñs, su, bde, bahi, dus, ni, ū, ma, bžin, tu, śard, |³ men, tog, bžin, tu, rgyas, nas, yul, Bkra, sīs, dbyar, mo, than, De, ga, G-yul, tsal, tu, | blon, chen, po, žañ, Khri, sum, rje, dañ, | žañ, chen, po, Lha, bzañ, dañ, | bkah [B l. 2] hkhor, dañ, bdag, cag, las, stsoğs, phas, gtsug, lag, khañ, brtsigs, dge, ldam, gyi, sde, gtsugs, rkyen, dañ, beas, | par, shyar, ba, pahi, yon, kyis, || rje, lha, sras, Khri. Gtsug, lde, brtsan, gyi, sku, tshe, riñ, | dbu, rmoñ, brtsan, dañ [B l. 3] blon, chen, po, žañ, Khri, sum, rje, dañ, žañ, chen, po, Lha, bzañ, dgoñs, so, ltsal, mthar, phyin, pa, dañ | Bod, rje, blon, kyi, gtsug, lag, ū, ma, dañ, ldra, bar, nam, žar, myi, hgyur, dañ | gtsigs, brtan, [B l. 4]
In founding the monastery erected in [Bkra-sis-dhyur-mo] than the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams pray that through the merit and blessing of this donation made in honour of the Three Jewels all the sins of His Majesty, the Btsan-po, together with his retinue of lords councillors, may have been cleansed, and that, their merits and wisdom being perfected, the state being established in a circle of concord, in the enjoyment of long life and of entire felicity on the part of gods and men, they may realize the attainment of supreme, perfect illumination.

Prayer offered by the Bde councillors at the face-warming of the De-ga monastery foundation.

To all the Tathāgatas of the Three Times living in the Ten Directions, infinite and limitless, and those, entirely free from restriction, possessing a non-existence and eternity without bounds, with honour and land seeking refuge in them, in reverence hail!

To the Exalted in the universe and in the beyond, possessed of omniscient wisdom, as many as abide in their state, to the Dharma, the Buddha and the Saṅgha, seeking refuge with them, in reverence hail!

From the time when Ḥo-ldé Spu-rgyal came from the gods of heaven to be lord of men, and ever in other exalted bodies—with great dominion, good religion, and great science, a royal lineage unbroken as far as the origin of the land where the kingdom arose—with the kind sway of a sovereignty firm on all sides and great filled and encompassed the Eight Regions; to us Ḥgreṅ people, without and within, equally considerate; by their influence and measures taming the high and proud and bringing them under the rule of right, with

1 Erased.
joy and encouragement in both present and future extolling the humble and afflicted; filling us Ḥgren people beneath the ends of heaven with perpetual kindness; rulers of the Four Quarters of the great heaven, equal to the manner of the divine, their Majesties the Btsan-pos of Tibet, of divine descent—

[89a, l. 1] Furthermore, established in his place, the pure and, his high kingdom, above great rivers and at the foot of high snow-mountains, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po, in the counting of the generations of his line (not ?) equal to the manner of the gods, is beyond other kings manifestly great and permanent.

[89a, l. 3] Of ancestry thus rivalling the gods, furthermore also great sovereign and of firm helmet, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, in body firm knit, in mind divinely endowed, with due foundation of all monasteries gives joy [to the people], headed by the great persons, their shepherds, and even all the gods and Nāgas of heaven and earth.

[89a, l. 4] At the time when, through his great compassionateness towards us Ḥgren people, the great authority of his government spread and flourished, protecting us with respect in a manner resembling heaven, there came into power certain exalted councillors of state, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje, and the Great Uncle Lha-bzan-po, these two. Humbling the might of enemies and setting them in the bosom of the state, by the power and influence of their stern commands they tamed all the border kings, of China, the Drug, the Ḥjan and others, till then venturing and making effort for dominion, and cut short their hopes. After long time, when righteous and prosperous kindness had engendered trust and encouragement, as though heaven were realized in men’s minds, some several states, respectfully heeding the orders of the high councillors of Tibet, made this great concordat of states: whereby, to say nought of ephemeral good and happiness both in present and future, there is among friend and foe alike reason profound indeed for extolling and
celebrating the bosom of the state. Through myriad millennia, undiminishingly beneficial and welcome, may this great, publicly enacted concordat, known and witnessed by the Three Jewels and by all gods and Nāgas of the universe, stand for all time unimpaired and firm. The subjects of the several kingdoms, by virtue of the thus enacted great concordat, consigning to oblivion their sufferings during the time of arms, and being united at one time in a situation of felicity, through the great merit thereof may His Divine Majesty, the honoured Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-ide-brtsan and the great councillors of State, successful in righteous achievement, the Great Councillors, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzan and the rest, together with their retinue of High Councillors of Tibet, and all beings, cleansed from the double darkness, and fulfilling their store of merit and wisdom, finally in supreme, perfected enlightenment attain to consummate Buddhahood [906, l. 2].

In respect of the choice of this place as site for the foundation of the monastery erected on the De-ga Turquoise-Wood Concordat Plain and for biennial convention of the three great kingdoms and for great foundations, the site being moreover one fully blessed by Āryas of old, may it furthermore, through a foundation in respect of such great good realized at one time, be even more manifestly of great merit and auspiciousness. And through the grandeur of those great merits may this monastery be perpetual in time, as long as sun and moon exist; and on the part of His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-ide-brtsan, may there be long life, great dominion, and purposes accomplished according to his mind.

Whereas formerly, in the time when China and the Drug were not in accord and harmony with the State, the firm-helmeted prince and the wise, heroic councillors, in the ardour of their warlike skill, smote at the foe and by the mighty power of large armies laid low enemy cities, won battles, conquered countries, slew the people and so forth, may the sin of severing
the lives of many enemy men and cattle and of taking what was not given be altogether dominated by the splendour and power of this great merit and be dissolved and washed away.

[91b, l. 1] In condevotion with the merit of this donation in honour of the Three Jewels and of the confession of sins and so forth supplication for insight, for tolerance, and for remission of the confessed is made equally with what is above set forth.

[91b, l. 2] Prayer offered by the Great City of Mkhar-tsan at the Monastery Erected in the De-ga Turquoise-Wood.

Whereas in the lifetime of the High Councillor of Tibet, the firm-helmeted Sgam-dkyel the Great,—for till then the three great kingdoms of China, the Drug, and the Hjän were resolute in contending for dominion,—the firm-helmeted lord designed to issue command that by the heroic might of his jewel councillors the enemy should be made to come beneath his sway, in founding a monastery erected to celebrate, as long as tradition of human generations endures, that that design is willed to be dominated and is covered up by kind summons to righteousness, and in thereby setting a crown upon the state's supremacy, may the purpose in the mind of the prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan have been accomplished; and may the harm done to the enemy by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzan through great defeats of the hostile Chinese and Drug and other means great and small, and on the part of certain of the city of Mkhar-tsan, who, taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet and being foremost of heroes in winning two great victories in a single year, on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet went forward with a will to harm animate creatures, so that wounds were needs inflicted, may those wounds likewise be healed so that not a scar remains!—with this prayer the great city Khar-tsan has made donation.
[926, 1. 1] Prayer offered from the great city of Kva-cu at the monastery erected at the De-ga Turquoise-Wood.

(This repeats 91b, 1. 2 as far, "on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet " and then continues) were willing to proceed with force in harming the enemy, may that without a remainder be healed!—with this prayer the great city of Kva-cu has made donation.

[93a, 1. 3] Prayer offered by the commandant of the Phjug-tsams Thousand, himself and his subordinates.

Hail to the Three Jewels! Hail to the Buddha, to the Omniscient! Hail to the Dharma, to the Path without superior! Hail to the Sangha, to the Bodhi-sattvas who do not regress! Honouring the Three Jewels in order to the success of the efforts of ourselves and others, having dismissed all sins and consenting to what is meritorious, we turn and cleave to the Three Jewels. That by inspired design in the mind of the firm-helmeted High Councillor Thugs-skam the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjan and others, until then heedless of commands, were set at rest equally with the native people and hidden to seek a shelter both firm-helmeted and great; that a concordat was framed and inscribed upon a stone pillar; that after foundation of the monastery [here] erected the border cities are at peace and in the interior of the great countries happiness has been made to flourish—forasmuch as there has been no greater kindness than this, in token of reverential and kind commemoration donation has been made to the Three Jewels: through the merit whereof may the lord of Tibet with his retinue of councillors enjoy long life and authority on all sides, and in the Tibetan realm, while foreign enemy and strife are unmentioned and the year's wealth is perpetually assured in accordance with rightful ordinance, may there be mundane and super-mundane happiness and felicity in perfection.
PRAYER OFFERED BY THE DISTRICT HBBOM-KHON.

The lord stationed on high a god; the councillors of the state inspired; the rift of heaven through divinely inspired High Councillors embroidered with divine blessing; the cloven earth, knitted by the influence of the councillors, a heaven realized; enemies held fast by concord; on the frontier no hostile venture; in the interior the yak not beaten (?)—not enough that thus merely the people of Tibet should be enjoying happiness and felicity: in the realms beneath the sun whatever lesser kings there are, uneasy though they were and apprehensive of loss of state, not being lowered in state, are happy. Great kindness such as this having come from the lord [and] councillors, divinely inspired benefactors, a time of universal happiness for the people of Tibet has risen like a sun. Like a flower abloom in the country of the Luck-Summer plain (Bkra'-sis-dbyar-mo-tham), in the De-ga Turquoise-Wood (G-yu-tsha'i), a monastery has been erected by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and their subordinates and ourselves and others, and furnished with means for the instalment of a brotherhood: through which benefaction may the lord prince Khri Gtsug-Idr-brtsan be of long life and firm helmet, may great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ attain their purposed ends, may the monastery of the lords councillors of Tibet be imperishable, like the sun, and of firm foundation, and may we ourselves and all creatures, cleansed from the darkness of generations, be born in the courts of the supreme god of gods, the Buddha, the holy Maitreya."

From this remarkable record, which by its elevated magniloquence and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious

1 Read sun for byam ("north").
2 Erased in the original.
3 The rather frequent occurrence of the word "great" is a noticeable feature of similar oratory elsewhere.
foundation, we may derive an enlarged conception of what was possible to the Tibetan people, and its language, during their period of greatness. While the background is the rigorous intellect of India, we note an accent reminding us that dogmatic systems, when planted among fresh peoples, may be capable of a certain resflorescence. What, however, more appropriately here attracts our attention is the circumstance that the great religious and historic occasion should have been greeted by "messages" not merely from princes and ministers, but from cities and local bodies. This invites a readjustment of our notions of life in north-eastern Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

The occasion was not the famous concordat whereby the Tibetans and Chinese sought to terminate a struggle of nearly (A.D. 783), or more than (A.D. 822), a century and a half. An account of those treaties has been given from Chinese sources by Bushell (J.R.A.S. 1880, pp. 487 sqq.), and the Lha-sa inscriptions relating to them have been published with translations and discussions by Col. Waddell. This is not the place for an examination of the question whether those treaty inscriptions are two parts of a single document, or the question of the Tibetan dynastic lists. What is important for us to note is that the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan of the document is certainly identical with the Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan Mes 'Ag-tshoms, the husband of Kim-šen Khon co, whose reign extended from A.D. 705–55, and that the treaty was made during his lifetime. Since he was definitely the Tibetan king (Btsan-po) of the time, the term lha-sras twice (92 A 2, 94 B 2) applied to him must have the sense of devaputra, "Son of Heaven." Of the two ministers, Khri-sum-rje and Lha-bzan, named in the document, the former must therefore be identified with the Khri-sum-rje Rtsan-bzer frequently mentioned in the Chronicle (ll. 147–85, years 44–54 = A.D. 715–25). He was Councillor in A.D. 715, Great Councillor in 721, Great Treasurer in 723, and he died in 725.
Another person mentioned as having initiated a war movement against China is a certain "Skam-skyel (or dkyel) the Great", also designated Thugs-skam. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1909, i. 44, 1910, B i. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-le-Gtsug-btsan.

From the dates of the persons concerned it is clear that the treaty in question is that concluded in A.D. 730 (Bushell, p. 466), on which occasion were erected boundary monuments, including, no doubt, the stone pillar (rdo-rinis) mentioned in 93 B 3 (p. 97).

The monastery having been erected on the site of the treaty conference, in the region of the Koko-nor lake, namely the Chhiling, "Red Hills," about 60 miles (320 li) from Si-ming-fu and 430 li west of the town of Shilp’u (Bushell, pp. 530–1)—known to the Tibetans (Chronicle, B.M. MS., II. 43, 47), as Skyi-bu, it is there that we must locate the "Turquoise-Wood" (G-yu-tschal), in the "Luck-summer steppe" (Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-than), in the "Phyung-tsams Thousand-District", in "Hbrom-khon territory", forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-than is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (JRAS. 1910, pp. 1255–67, I. 33 of text B), and in the Geografia Tibet (p. 55): probably it is the Yar (G-yar, G-yer)-mo-than, in Khams, mentioned in Ś. C. Das’ Dictionary, and is related to the G-yar-mo-sgan of the Geografia Tibet (p. 41). The Tson-ka named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-than in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tson-kha-pa, who was born near the Kum-bum monastery site. In the Chronicle also a Tson-ka is mentioned (l. 74). The fact that "messages" are received from the towns of Kva-cu and Mkhari-tsan illustrates the natural connexion which we have already (pp. 72, 78, 82) found between the Koko-Nor region and that part of Chinese Turkestan. The name of the monastery does not transpire; but it is, no doubt, the place referred to in the Bkra-hgyur (Beckh, Catalogue, p. 74 and Bstan-hgyur (Cordier, i. p. 96) as Phyung-mtshams. Hbrom-khon is not known; but cf. Hbrum-ston, M.I., xiv. 96.
Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjàn, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the "four exalted kings" (mtho-btsi-rgyal-po) of the treaty inscription (JRAS. 1910, p. 951, l. 47 of text), the Chinese and Tibetans demand no comment, and concerning the Drug something has already been said (pp. 18, 30, 36) and it is proposed to return to them later (pp. 267 sqq.). Of the Hjàn we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the Dpa-gsam-bjon-bran (ed. Ś. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, where Hjàn-sa is explained as a "place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet". But we may learn from the Royal-rabs ... me-lon (India Office Xylo- graph, fol. 31a) that the person Hjàn-tsha-Lha-dban "son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan" (Ś. C. Das' Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, "Hjàn grandson," because the queen, his mother, Khri-htam, was a Hjàn-mo, a Hjàn woman: and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people. Since their frontier was probably adjacent to the site of the conference, we are tempted to identify them with the Tang-hsiang kingdom, which according to Bushell (JRAS. 1880, pp. 450 and 528, n. 12) was east of the Tibetans and south of the Koko-nor. We know that this kingdom was conquered by the Tibetans in A.D. 678 (Bushell, p. 450), and it is mentioned (ibid., p. 464) in connection with the treaty of A.D. 730. How far the designation Hjàn may have reached, it would be premature to speculate; but it has been observed by M. Bacot (Les Mo-so, p. 13) that "le nom des mo-so, Djung (Hdjang), est relatif dans l'épopée du roi Géser (Gésar) et désigne un pays situé entre le Ling (Gling) et la Chine". It is possible that the Mo-so in their southern migrations took with them the name Hjàn. 1

The extent of the document may not have been as great as

1 The Hjàn country, Hjàn-yul, is mentioned also in the Chronicle (l. 92).

2 The Hjàn-sa-tham of a Tibetan sru-brum ("n. of a place in Kham", see, to Ś. C. Das' Dictionary) is perhaps the Su-dam of the Mo-so (Les Mo-so, pp. 3, 118, 164).
as might be indicated by the fact that the first surviving folio is numbered 35. But we naturally incline to believe that the "messages" from Mdo-gams (ll. 88.1–2) and Bde-gams (ll. 88.3 sqq.) were preceded at least by one from the Tibetan Btsan-po himself and perhaps by others. (See No. 21 infra.) Of the first "message" we have only the conclusion, and its source is for us therefore unknown.

The language of the document, in accord with its literary character, is regular and intelligible in a measure quite different from the fragmentary and business records with which we have hitherto for the most part been dealing. It presents many resemblances to the Lha-sa inscriptions, which in several passages may by its aid be emended or completed. The introductory account of the legendary king Ho-lde Spu-rgyal in the inscription at 1909, pp. 948–52, ll. 5–16 of the text, might almost be an extract from our document, which, however, is here, as everywhere, far more expansive and elaborate. The following notes include the analogies in the inscriptions published in Col. Waddell's articles:—

88 A, l. 1, etc., etc., etc., mjal-dum, cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 3, 54, 63, etc., etc.

88 A, l. 3: De-ga = "of Bde." To understand "here (there) erected monastery" would be awkward, as the pronoun has no reference: moreover, De-ga, as a surname occurs p. 440: 24.

88 B, l. 1: hyag-la "abide in their station", "remain at a standstill".

88 B, l. 2: sku-bla. On this phrase, see above, p. 16.


89 A, l. 1: kphrul "theophany". The word means "magic" or "magical manifestation", and was probably a pre-Buddhistic term for the divine.

89 A, l. 2: sa-gtsan, etc. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 20–1.

89 A, l. 1: Hgren-myi. Note that this definitely locates
the Ḥgreṅ people in the Koko-Nor region, or perhaps makes them include the people of Mdo-gams as a whole.

88 B. l. 4: bphral-du "in the present".
89 B. l. 4: gzal-gsaz "friends and enemies".
91 A. l. 3: skyems, literally "thirst".
91 A. l. 4: srog-dan-bral. The reference is to the two Buddhist prohibitions of killing and of appropriating what is not given (all adattādāna being "theft").
91 B. l. 3: Sgam-dkyel-chen-po is below (92 B 2, 93 B 1) styled Skam-skyel and Thugs-skam (see above, p. 106). Both names recur Lha-sa, 1909, l. 44, and 1910, B l. 42.
92 A. l. 1: khéis-te-briod. This is a good instance of the use of the form with te as a sort of infinitive after a word of saying.
92 A. l. 1: zin-to-btshal "will to grasp", literally "wish grasped". The use of the past form with to after btshal is frequent in the documents.
92 A. l. 1: la-thod = la-thod "turban" (Ś. C. Das)? We correct kye to kyi in accordance with the passage below.
92 A. l. 4: g-yul-bzlog-gānis. The two great victories include perhaps the capture of Kva-cu in a.d. 727 (supra, p. 2). Concerning the part played by the city of Mkhar-tsian, see above, p. 32.
94 A. l. 4: srid-la-myi-dbab-cin. The phrase occurs Lha-sa, 1911, C l. 64.
94 B. l. 2: rkyen "means"; see above, p. 78.
94 B. l. 3: nam-thar recurs in Lha-sa, 1910, C l. 48.

ADDENDUM

20. Ch. 75, xii, 5 (vol. 53, fol. 20 : v. 31:5 x 17 cm. : recto lII. 6, verso lI. 11 + 1 inserted, of ordinary dbu-can writing).


... [verso].


1 brgyaḥ. ve here erased.
2 Compendiums for bher.
3 š here erased.
4 bher here erased.
5 bzhig here erased.
7 phul. ve here erased.
8 Added below line.
On the fourth day of the middle spring month of the Ox year, the prince (lha-sras) having become an exalted donor in perpetuity, lamp-oil was provided in the monastery(ies) of Ša-cu. In the monastery Pho-kvaṅ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god's servant 'Im Dam-then-md Sho presented five phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day 'Im Dam-then-md Sho presented five phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 1½ phul, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.)

resulting in sixty portions of lamp-oil. Li Kim-kaṅ presented seven phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the twenty-eighth day Councillor Gtshug-bzer presented seven phul and one and a half khyor, resulting in one hundred and forty-seven portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day of the last winter month Wan Cvaṅ-cvaṅ presented seven phul of yu oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (The remainder of the document, B. II. 4-11, reports similar donations by An Zen-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzan), the God's servant Hag Khi-ba, and Cvaṅ Kvaṅ-thon.)

The facts ascertainable from this record of donations to provide illuminations in honour of the prince becoming patron of the Ša-cu monastery seem to be the following:—

(a) Pho-kvaṅ-si is a monastery, and the word si (Chinese, as suggested above) may represent, as Professor Pelliot has kindly suggested, the Chinese ssā "temple".

(b) lha-sras is, no doubt, "god's servant", not "king's servant".

1 Inscribed here erased.
2 Erased.
3 A measure defined as a "handful".
(c) As the number of lamps is consistently proportional to the number of phul presented, namely in the proportion of 20 to 1, and as 1½ and 2 khyor provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 khyor = ¾ phul, which latter measure is defined as "a handful".

(d) The phrase "with a half two" (phyed-daun-do) means not "two and a half", but "one and a half", corresponding to Sanskrit ardha-deviśya, German halb-zwei, etc. (and analogously in the case of other units).

The expression "yu oil" has not elsewhere been found. Probably yu is for rgyu "material", so that "yu oil" would be raw or unpurified oil.

21. (Vol. 53, fol. 1; c. 28 × 26 cm.; ll. 15 of good, cursive dbu-can writing; very fragmentary.)

[1] ... d ... [2] ... dpah | ... [3] ... paḥi | bj [4] ... lha-sras. Khri. Gtsug. ide. brtsan. gy[i] ... [5] ... bzin. bg[yi]s. te | dge. ldun. sde. guś. dañ ... [6] ... s. stsogs. pa | skye. bo. smos. mań. po. tshe. dpag. d[u]. myed ... [7] ... lha. sras. Khri. Gtsug. ide ... brtsan ¹ | gi. ža. śna. nas | sku. la. śun. nad. myi. mna[h] ... [8] ... bar. che | chab. srid. rtseg ², mar ... mtho. žiń | byin. rlas. yań. bas | ḫph ... [9] phyogs ... [g]yi. gnod. byed. kyi. bgegs. dań. | bsam. ba ... log. par. lhabs ... s[t]slog[s] ... [10] ... rab. tu. ži ... nas | sku. la. sdo. b ... dhań. du. ḫdas. par. gyur ... chig [1] ... lha. sras[s]. kyi. ža. [śna] ... [11] ... rnam ... guś[s]. [pa. ma]. 1-s. par. byan ... gse. ch ... s. ni ... yoń. su. rdzogs. nas | sań[s] ... [12] ... u. [n]ji. yon ... tan. sku. tse. ḫdi. ūnd. kyis. bže. par. gyur. e[i]g | lha. s[r]jas. kyi. ža. śna. nas. ji. lta. ... [13] chag. dkyil ... skhor. tu. žuga. pa. rmas. kyan | tse. riń. nad. myed ... mas | bsam. ba. yi ... [14] ... cig ... m[thaḥ]. yas. paḥi ... sens ... can ... dań ... Bod. kham. phyogs ... su. yań ... da[l].

¹ Added below the line.
² ² below line.
This passage is clearly a portion of another copy, or version, of the long document No. 19 above. Though it is for the most part too fragmentary for a connected rendering, the general sense is evident. It prays that in virtue of the action of the prince (*lha-sras) Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan the Samghas of both sexes and all creatures may enjoy happiness and unlimited life; that the prince himself, free from sickness, exalted in dominion, rid of all opposition and so forth, may attain to Buddhahood in his present life; that all those under his sway may have long life and freedom from disease; and that “innumerable living beings and all throughout the realm of Tibet, in complete felicity and happiness, free from disease in man and beast, may be perpetually prosperous in the produce of the year.”

**NAME-INDEX OF PERSONS**

**A**

List of clan-names contained in the documents 1-21, together with the accompanying personal names. N.B.—Names which seem to be Tibetan are *italicized*.

*An*: Dye-lam 17, Dzaṅ-tse 15 (B 11), Dze-hiṅ 12, Guṅ-legs 15 (D 20), Lha-legs 15 (D 10), Phab-dzaṅ 15 (C 13), Stag-can 15 (C 18), Wen-tse 15 (B 11), Žen-tse 20. *Bah*:


Hye-wi 13, Khe-jełu 15 (B 21), Ti-phor 13. *Boṅ*:

La-ku 9. *Bor*:

You-tse 10. *Buṅ*:

Sun-sum 18 (B 13), Hiu-šen 18 (B 19).
(C 26), Kvañ-wen 18 (C 11), Legs-skyes 15 (B 14, 15), Lha-bzer 15 (C 6), Pa-tshe 18 (C 13), Stag-slebs 11 L, Tsin-ben 18 (C 13), Wen-kog 18 (A 8).  

Sañ : Dza-rga 13, 

Seg : Lha-ton 15 (B 18), Seg : Dye-brtan 15 (B 5), Lha-ston 15 (B 4).  

Hyen-hyen 15 (B 7), Tshen-tsheñ 14 (B 15, 20).  


Ser-sbyon : G-yu-bzer 11.  

Sig : Dye-brtan 15 (D 19), Hgi-tig 15 (B 6).  

So : Legs-standen 15 (D 29).  

Son : Hyen-tse 15 (B 16), Šin-hdo 15 (D 27).  

Son : Bstan 15 (B 17), G-yu-legs 15 (C 1), Hgim-hgin 13, Lug-lug 11 L, Rnel-tshe 18 (A 11), Sam-nan | (a woman) 5, Šin 12, Stag-ma 15 (C 10), Tsin-hvi 18 (A 9).  


Then : Ben'em 13.  

Ton : Phug-man 12, Stag-cun 15 (C 7), Thon-thon 12, Wau-hdo 12, Yu-tsheñ 18 (B 10).  

Tre : Mge-slebs 2, 3, 4.  

Tshang : Bur-hdo 18 (B 22).  

Tshei : Hig-tse 15 (D 7).  

Tson : Dza-sün 12, Dzo-tshen 12, Tshen-tsheñ 12.  

Tsyän : Legs-hdus 15 (C 12).  

Wañ : Beñ-nan 13, Bun-tsoñ 1, Cháñ 13, Cvana 15 (B 15), Cvan-cvan 20, Deñ-tse 15 (B 18), Dzin-šen 12, Hig-tse 15 (B 12), Hün-tse 15 (C 16), Hva-kun 18 (B 28), Hyen-hyen 15 (B 5), Kog-ne 12, Kun-tse 12, Kvañ-hin 18 (A 5), Kvañ-cheñu 18 (B 17), Kyen-man 13, Kyva-yin 18 (B 29), Legs-brtan 15 (D 24, 25), Man-tse 13, Sa-hdo 18 (B 29), Ses-rab-sla-bu 17, Šib-nan 13, Šib-si-nan 13, Šib-tig 18 (B 7), Šiñ-si-nan 13, Stag-cun 15 (C 16), Stag 18 (B 27), Stag-zigs 15 (D 26), Šun-thon 15 (B 10), Tshen-tsheñ 12, Tyum-si 13, Wen-jehu 15 (B 11).  

Weñi : Cün-nan 13.  

Yam : Hgi-nan 13.  

Yan : G-yu-tse 12, Kog-bun 15 (B 18), Phu-cu 13, Stag-legs 12.  

Yehu : Lain-lañ 15 (D 8).  


Yun : 'An-tse 15 (B 20), Za-sna : Hjam-dpal-sün-po 17.  

Zen : Khyam-tse 15 (C 23).  

Zim : Hün-tse 12, Ju-ju 12, Kvon-hin 12, Li-theñu 12.  

Zin : Rin-chen 11 J.  

Zir-gu : Cag-cun 11 F.  

These names, if we omit those in italics, which are Tibetan (perhaps translations), seem to be in the main Chinese, and in many cases their meanings are certain or probable.  

* This phrase usually means "presence."
A careful scrutiny from a Sinologist standpoint may explain the majority and indicate those, if any (e.g. some under Beg and San?), which may be extraneous. It seems probable that the Im clan gave its name to the town Im-ka-cin, mentioned above (pp. 17-8) and perhaps also to the Im-shan mountains.

**ADDENDA**


**B**

List of names of women (mainly from document No. 13):—

   " -ji 13.
   " -meñ 13.
   " -sin 13.
Cin-hgo 13. Ḫva-cañ (Len) 13.
   " -ḥgem 13.
   " -sim (Len) 13.
   " -thełu 13.
   " -nen 13.
   " -sin 13.
   " -teñ 13.
   Ji-hyełi 13.
Kag-hbyižu 13.
Khye-wen 13.
Kim-hyen 13.
Kvag-hyeži 13.
Kvañ-lgam 13.
Kyen-lgi 13.
Kyen-hgo 13.
Lañ-cahu 13.
Lde-ya (Rtsan) 11 K.
Lehü-cin 13.
Men-ge 13.
" -hin 13.
" -hyveži 13.
" -kag 13.
" -lur 13.
" -tig 13.
" -ci 13.
" -cin ('Im) 13.
Phu-za-sim 13.
Phyañ-ceñ 13.
Po-špan 13.
Sam-ñañ (Soñ) 5.
Siňu-hgeži 13.
Siň-ci 13.
" -cin 13.
" -hgo 13.
" -kag 13.
Siň-tsañ 13.
Śvañ-kvañ 13.
Thebi-cin 13.
" -cin 13.
Thoñ-čeñu 13.
Tig-hbyižu 13.
" -nem 13.
" -šiñ 13.
Wen-hgo 13.
Žu-señ 13.

N.B.—In the preceding List of Clan-names the items from Document 13, which are now seen to be in nearly all cases names of women, include not a few additional to the above.
3. The Nob Region

By the "Nob region" we would for the present purpose indicate generally the stretch of country south of the desert of Chinese Turkestan and lying between "the Sa-cu region" on the east and "the Khotan region" on the west, together with any part of the mountain hinterland to the south. It would thus include, for example, Cer-een (Calmadana), Charklik (Nob), and the former Shan-shan kingdom. The documents come mainly from the old fort of Miran, which was also, as we have seen, in communication with Sa-cu; there is, indeed, ample evidence of active intercourse between the Tibetan authorities from Khotan as far as Sa-cu and Kva-cu and even further into China proper. In general it is clear that, by the routes along the desert edge and otherwise, long journeys, covering many hundreds of miles, were habitual among the populations of the scattered oases and widely separated mountain settlements; in respect of distances they thought in large measures. It is in virtue of apparent importance and frequent mention in the documents that Nob, with its three or four towns, or forts, may be used to symbolize the whole region. The citations may be arranged under the names of the districts or places, which hereafter may acquire a more definite location. The dates are, no doubt, for the most part in the eighth century A.D.

I. Tshal-byi

That this place-name is connected with Nob and with the Ha-za we have already seen (p. 37). Otherwise it had been known only from a mention in one of the Tibetan chronicles relating to Khotan (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 242). At the time of the downfall of Buddhism in Khotan the monks who abandoned the country and after a toilsome journey
found refuge at the Tibetan capital reached Tibetan territory first at a place called Tshal-byi. See vol. i, pp. 50-60, 82, where the place is identified, on Chinese authority, with a Sa-pi-ch'êng located (L. Giles, BSOS., vi, p. 830) by a lake in the mountains at a distance of 480 lî (say 100 miles) south of Charklik. The here available information is contained in the following documents:—

1. M.I. xix, 001 (wood, 16 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of clear dbu-can writing).


[1-2] "A servant of Councillor Stag-bzer, Je Lu Lho-ggigs, having been in Little Nob, employed by order (or as a punishment, bkah-c(k)yd-kyis-bcad-de) among the government subjects (mian-gyi-hba'us) of Tshal-byi, [2-B 1] I in Tshal-byi at the time of His Excellency's demand sent a note of instruction allowing him to serve on hire: [B 2] the message was that his handiwork should be cup-making. [B 2-3] As, while he was staying in Little Nob, they did not come, I sent to him to go to Ka-dag and engage in cup-making in accordance with the order given."

Notes

I. Je Lu : On this clan name see above, p. 115. Mian-gyi-hba'nus : This is a recurrent phrase of not definitely ascertained meaning. Thus in M.I. xxiv, 0029, we read: स |। | mian-gi.hba'us. |। | Mon.Tshe.skyes.la. | “To the government servant, the Mon Tshe-skyes.” Cf. pp. 42, 341.

bsnan : “employed”; see below, p. 123 and Index.
B.2. *Ka-day*: Concerning this place see below, pp. 132-5.

2. M.I. i, 3 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 18 × 2.5 cm.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive *dбу-can* writing, partly erased).

[1] [*] Tshal-byi.Car.chen..na || nhon.khyab.byau.. sru.n..pa. fiu.n..sas..sig [2] mchis..pa || bka..lun..rni.. dan. || khri..sde..gsa[r]. btsugs..kyi..bka..lun..dan.. sbyar..na [B 1] rts[e]. rgod..lta..bur..myi..na..gis..kha.. myi..bstan..zi.n..myi..gtor..bar..byun ....... [B 2] ... las || mnah..ris..su..hkhrug..pa..byun..mas || Tshal..byi.. khams..[s]a..yan [B 3] bbro..cog..lastsogs..ste. || glo.. ba..ri.n..pas || ma..legs..dgu..zig..bgyis.

[1-2] "In Car-chen of Tshal-byi the northern watch-tower has few defenders. [2-B 1] With regard to the old orders and the orders of the newly appointed 10,000 district [commanders], it appears that men should not be sent away, like police, without a warrant from me. [B 2] From .... trouble has arisen in the province, and in the region of Tshal-byi also there are runaways (*bbro-cog*), etc. The malecontents have committed simply every possible mistake."

Notes

ll. 2 and B.1. *dau-sbyar-na* and *byun*: On these phrases see p. 79, 2; on *rtse-rgod* and *khri-sde*, pp. 30, 153.

*nhon-khyab*: see below, pp. 123, 424.

1. B.3. *glo-ba-ri.n*: This phrase has occurred, supra, pp. 23, 14, 55. *ma-legs-dgu*: On *dgu* as a sign of plurality see above, p. 55; on *mnah-ris*, pp. 154, 342.

3. M.I. i, 23 (paper, fol. no. 1 in vol., c. 31.5 × 8 cm.; partly incomplete with loss of two half-lines at the upper right; ll. 8 + 1 recto, inverted, of somewhat cursive *dбу-can* writing; verso a different document).

"For a reminder to Gun Khri-bzer [letter of] inquiry as to his health. Tahal-byi ...
2-4] Whereas we, originally of the Laṅ-myi regiment, were, by order in our father's lifetime ..., commanded to be employed in the watch-tower, the Tahal-byi general having examined the service ..., 4-5] previously applied to the great Uncle-Minister for a summary (stams-las) reduction of the staff employed in the guard, and a letter was sent directing a change of staff in the Tahal-byi watch-tower; only pay for the employment was not received. 5-8] We being five or six brothers, sons of a father in service, and two brothers being capable persons useful in the harvest (trgya-pher ch) of the watch-tower, if a letter were sent with orders on the part of the prince and his mother advising an instruction to the Tahal-byi general and the King's Eye that the staff in the watch-tower should receive pay for their employment, it would be as if we had been saved from death.
[8] Before our father dies, we brothers are hoping to get a sight of his face (?)."


**Notes**

1. 1. bsinel-byan: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. α, iv, 00128; see pp. 160, 331.
2. 3, etc. mthoon-khyab (=khab): This might be an alternative form of mthoon-khab (there being not a little indifference as between ə and ə final), which might mean "high residence, head-quarters"; but the other occurrences of the phrase (see, e.g., pp. 121, 133, 274, 445–6, and cf. M.I. iv, 27: xxv, 003) seem to favour the rendering given.
3. bsun: This is clearly a form from snon, which occurs later in the document; the usual sense being that of "augmentation", the meaning here may be to employ in addition. Cf. pp. 120, 133, B. 1, 424.
4. dbyon-balas: On this phrase see p. 27.
5. 4. stams-balas, "Summarily": the phrase has occurred, p. 79.
7. 7. Sbyan: see pp. 126, 349.
8. 8. chi (ci) ..., spogs: "Shall we obtain ?"

4. M.I. iv, 49 (wooden tablet, fragmentary at right, c. 13 × 2.5–3 cm.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can writing).

Note

Concerning the Upper Dru-gu, with whom Tshal-byi is here associated, see pp. 274-6.

Bu'cans-par recurs p. 447: 43. Bla-nas, "previously."

5. M.I. xvi, 19 (paper, fol. No. 88 in vol., c. 24.5 x 8.5 cm.; obscure, left lower corner torn away; ll. 5 recto in a squarish cursive dbu-can script + ll. 6 verso, more rounded).


b[ran] . skyes . ste . sgrol . bar . chad . ces | | Bde . bion . gyis .
mchid . stsald . nas | | stag . . .

B, l. 5. . . | ña. Klu.len . . .

"The Bde councillors having sent a letter to the effect that, there having been a young (house ?) servant (na-bran ?) who has struck the Tshal-byi judge, protection should be given, the Tiger soldier . . . The witness (?) Klu.len . . ."

Note

1. 3. khri[ma]-bon-pho[g]-pa[i]: The reading is somewhat uncertain. As regards khri-m-bon = khri-m-dpon it may be remarked that dpon often appears in the documents in the forms bon and phon. Judges are sometimes mentioned, and it seems that the district Tshal-byi was provided with one. With na-bran "young servant" compare pha-bran above, p. 122.5. On Bde see pp. 20, 25; on "Tigers", p. 424.

6. M.I. xxii, 5 (wooden tablet, cut away at top, somewhat broken away at r.; c. 15 x 2 cm.; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing).


"Sent to the Tshal-byi general and the commissioner of the land-settlement."

Notes

1. 1. dmag-pon: It appears that there was a "general commander" for Tshal-byi: cf. p. 122 and No. 8, below.

žin-hgod: The phrase occurs below, pp. 140, 146.
rıu-la-gthad-phu: The reading riu (= rin) is not quite certain; gthad-pa = gstad-pa "sent". Riu, however, is evidently for rin-lugs, which occurs in a similar context pp. 139.2, 146: 41.2.

7. M.I. xli, 0013 (wood broken away at l. and r., c. 8.5 \times 2.5 cm.; ll. 2, recto + 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can writing). [A 2] . . . Tshal.byi, hi.ru, dpon, du, bskos.
"Was appointed Ru-dpon (Horn- or Wing-Commander) of Tshal-byi."

Notes

Ru-dpon: The title occurred, p. 70, where see reff.

8. M.I. iv, 10 (paper; c. 10 \times 8 cm.; ll. 5 of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing).

"bagman (?), Htsal-byi, . . . general."

Note

sgyedu-ku: See below, p. 136.

9. M. Tagh. a, iv, 00128 (paper; see p. 159).

[l. 2] . . . Tshal.byir, mechis, nas . . .
"having gone to Tshal-byi."

From these passages it appears that Cer-cen was included in Tshal-byi, i.e. under the Tshal-byi administration. M.I. iv, 111, xiv, 008e are uninformative. From the mention of the general and the "horn-commander" it is plain that Tshal-byi was the district of a military unit.

II. NAG-SOD, RGOD-TSÄN-SMAD (Lower Rgod-tsäñ), RGOD-TSAN-STOD (Upper Rgod-tsäñ), KHA-DRO

These are four districts, as is evident from the arrangement of the wooden document, M.I. xxviii, 0017.
10. | Nag.戕| Rgod. tsañ. smad | Rgod. tsañ. stod |
    | gro nas | gro nas | gro nas |
    | (wheat) | (wheat) | (wheat) |
    | (barley) | (barley) | (barley) |

Kha-dro

gro nas
(wheat) barley,

clearly a tally intended to record amounts of wheat and barley from the districts. The first three are not infrequently mentioned in connexion with their respective territorial regiments, e.g. in—

(a) 11. M.I. ii, 32 (wood, c. 11 × 5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

    Nag.戕.kyi.sde.gyab.Lha.ston, |

    "The gyab Lha-ston of the Nag-戕 district (or regiment)," where gyab seems to be a military title (pp. 427, 444).

12. M.I. xiv, 76 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


    "The Skyan-po Khrom-rma of the Nag-戕 district (or regiment)." Skyan-po recurs below, pp. 150, 241.

13. M.I. xvi, 005 (wood, c. 12.5 + 3 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 (crossed out) recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

    [A 1] ... [g].戕.gyi.izin.dor.gsum | [A 2] ... mánn.
    [B] ... Spyan.gi.izin.dor.[b]dun |

    ...[Nag]-戕 land: teams three... the government scribe’s land team one... Nag-戕 rough land, teams two ...

    —Spyan’s land: teams seven."

(Further mentions pp. 130, 299, 348, and in M.I. ii, 16. In M.I. viii, 37, we have the rye-izin “lord’s land” of Nag-戕.)

(b) 14. M.I. xi, 80 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; traces of ll. 2 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

"[To] the minor Thousand-[district officer] of Lower Rgod-tshañ, one team; B three teams."


15. M.I. viii, 45 (wood, c. 10 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"To the guide (p. 371) of Lower Rgod-tshañ three teams."

(On dor, = "team" or "yoke" of oxen (or yaks) for ploughing, see pp. 49-50. Many of the documents relate to the hiring-out of such teams; but cf. p. 349.)

16. M.I. xiv, 006 (wood, c. 12.5 x 1.5 cm.; cut and broken away at r.; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script; 7 incised lines).

[1] Rgod.tsan.smad.kyi.sde | mdah.g[ñ]u.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tshañ district (or regiment), Lbeg-rma Nuñ.zub, arrow, bow, scissors" (cf. pp. 440-1).

17. M.I. xxvii, 9 (wood, c. 10 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[2] kyi.sde

"Of the Lower Rgod-tshañ district (or regiment), the tsa.rìu. Khrom.legs."

(tsa.rìu (or ce-rìu), apparently an official title, recurs in M.I. xiv, 46; and pp. 138, 161, 273.)

18. M.I. lvii, 004 (wood, c. 15 x 1.5-2 cm.; curved, cut away at top and bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Land of Spoñ Rañ-slog, thousand-commander of Lower Rgod-tshañ, three yokes."
It appears heretofrom that Lower Rgod-tsaṅ was a Thousand-district, ston-sde, and had a ston-dpon. The term ston-sde, which perhaps denotes a district of 1,000 families (as Dr. Prāṇa Nath suggests for similar phrases in India), has been noted above, pp. 25 and 40. The district is mentioned also in M.I. 003, and M. Tagh. a ii, 0097 and elsewhere.

(c) 19. M.I. iv, 85 (wood, c. 11.5 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Of the Upper Rgod-tshang district, ston-gyan Lha Hbrug-brtsan." On ston-gyan see infra, pp. 160, 315, n. 5.

20. M.I. xiv, 108d (paper, fol. No. 45 in vol., c. 12 × 4 cm.; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"In Little Nob of Ho-brog . . . Upper Rgod-tsaṅ soldiers (police), thirteen men, came. Troop, five Tigers, arrived, leader the Tiger . . . ."

Connected probably with Rgod-tsaṅ is Rgod-kliṅ—

21. M.I. xiv, 135 (wood, c. 6.5 × 1.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Cook, Rgod-kliṅ regiment, P(h)yi-sgra sergeant . . . ."
(The phrase "lord's land", *rje-žin*, will recur again below, p. 140; see also above, pp. 127-8 and p. 318 and Index).

23. M.I. xiv, 41 (wood, c. 16 × 1.5-2 cm., broken away at r.; somewhat curved; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly erased).

[A 2] sde. [rtṣig]. Yu. yu[ā]. ma |
[A 2] sde. Nir. sto. Ldo. ku[g'] |
[B 1] [bya]n. yog. Snog. sō[d]... |


Notes

On *tshugs-pon*, Ḥog-pon, and *rtṣig* see Index. Snog-sōd should perhaps be Śog-sōd, which is known as one of the eighteen sōds. Na-sron is probably a place (or clan) -name, which is certainly the case with Pho-yon, as one of the wives of Khiri-sron Ldeḥu-bsan was Pho-yon-bsaḥ. It will be seen that Rgod-ldin (mentioned also in M.I. xvi, 15) evidently belongs to the same general region as Rgod-tshaṅ.

(d) 24. M.I. xiv, 124 and 129 (wood, cut and broken away irregularly at l. and r., respectively, but so that they fit together as right and left portions; no. 124 also irregularly broken away at r.; 124, c. 10 × 1.5-2 cm.; 129, c. 6.5 × 1.5-2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ḥog. pon. Rgod. tsaṅ... |
[A 2] (129) Laṅ. Klu. rton | (124) sa. ston. Klu. stol... |
Kha-dro is here again associated, though only indirectly, with Rgod-tsan-smad and Nag-šod. Lain is probably the tribe of the Lain-myi regiment (Vol. I, p. 278 and n. 4); Thre (Tre) also is, no doubt, tribal. On tshugs-pon and hog-pon see Index. byan-g-yog recurs infra, p. 252; sa-ston, p. 343.

25. M.I. xliii, 3 (wood, c. 10.5-11 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

"Laṅ Khlu-rtön,... of the Kha-dro regiment."

Khlu-rtön is obviously the Khru-rtön of the preceding document. The meaning of sdu-d-pön is not known.

26. M.I. xliii, 003 (wood, c. 7 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A.1]... niṣ. kyi. chun. skyen. du (?) [A.2]... gs[u]m [B]... pon. re. re | Kha. dro. rje. žin |

"... for skilled field-watchman of two... three... each officer... Kha-dro lord's-land."

III. Ḥdzom-smad (Lower Ḥdzom) and Ḥdzom-stod (Upper Ḥdzom)

A district Ḥdzom is several times mentioned in the documents, more often, in fact, than would be the case if it
were in another region. The name Ḥbrug suggests (see p. 18) that it lay east, towards the Ṣa-cu quarter.

(a) 27. M.I. ii, 25 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

‘| Ḥdzom . smad . kyi . sde | Ḥo . nal . Lha . zo.

"Of the Lower Ḥdzom district (or regiment), the Ḥo-nal Lha-zo."

Ho-nal seems to be an official title in M.I. ii, 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; see also pp. 170, 427.

(Other mentions in p. 460 and viii, 17; xxiii, 009 (verse); the last a letter from Ḥbrug-legs to Councillor Stag-bzan.)

(b) 28. M.I. ii, 17 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

‘| Ḥdzom . stod . kyi . sde . Lde . tahoṅ . Ḥbru (?). Ḥbrug . brtsan.

"Of the Upper Ḥdzom district (or regiment), Lde-tshoṅ-ḥbru (?) Ḥbrug-brtsan."

(The Ḥdzom-stod district is mentioned again pp. 443, 460.)

IV. Cer-cen

One reference to this well-known place has occurred above (p. 121); another may be cited, since there are no more.

29. M.I. xxviii, 2 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 20·5 × 2·3 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 4 verso of neat, cursive dbu-can writing, in very black ink, partly faded).


[1] "To the chiefs Mtso-gzigs and Klu-htsho : petitioner Myes-rtom. [1–2] After I also had arranged the journey down there was a report that Your Excellency yourself were departing to Cer-cen. [2–B 1] Here the ass (asses?) had fallen a little behind, so that not a morsel of millet and barley had arrived down here. Subsequently there has been a delay of some ten days. [B 1–3] If upon considering carefully with the messenger whether I ought or ought not to go to Cer-cen, you do not promptly send orders by the first post, it will be very unfortunate: I wish to go. [B 3–4] Since, if a good robe shall not have been procured, matters will not be well arranged, please ... price and quality, as may be arranged, and I will pay."

This letter may have been written (in Tshal-byi ?) by someone on the way down from Tibet to Charkilik. The contemplated deviation to Cer-cen would perhaps have taken the direct mountain route, over the Tokuz-davan. The letter will have been sent to Mirin, where it was found.

Notes
1. 3. kham-ga : Apparently = kham-ga "mouthful".

V. KA-DAG

As is noted by Sir Aurel Stein (Serindia, pp. 320 n., 454 n.), Mirza Haidar, in his Ta’risk-i-Rashidi (Elias and Ross, pp. 10, 52, 64, 406), mentions in connexion with Lob (= Nob) a city named Katak, and tells a story of its having been overwhelmed in a sand-storm. There has been some question concerning the name, which some MSS. give as Kanak; and Sir A. Stein even thought that the story was legendary, being based upon the expression köhek-shahri
"town of dead trees". These doubts must now disappear in view of the references to be cited from the Tibetan documents; but whether the place Kotak-Sheri, located by Mr. E. Huntingdon (The Pulse of Asia, p. 387) at a distance of 138 miles from Endere and 264 miles from Lulan, represents the old site and name we have at present no means of determining. See Forsyth, Mission to Yarkund, pp. 28-9.

30. M.I. x, 7 (wood, 19-20 x 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-cun script).


[1] "To the great lord, the magistrate, are submitted sorrow and mirth (!). [1-B 1] Previously, while in government council meeting of the citadel of Little Nob we were on the top of a part of the watch-tower, attended by the town (mkhar) guard of Ka-dag. [B 1-3] an enemy troop in great force slew our families. First of all they destroyed the harvest (or they carried off the things in the houses !). The food and victuals that were in the store-pits the enemy ate. Now a loss having taken place, we report."

Notes

1. [skyo]-gsolan-rgad: The reading is uncertain. We have translated skyo-gsol-ham-rgad.

2. skun-mkhar: Older form of sku-mkhar. Note that Little Nob has a citadel. mthoṅ-kyab: See above, p. 123.


31. M.I. xlii, 1 (wooden tablet; c. 21 x 2 cm., somewhat fragmentary; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of
regular *dbu-can* writing, partly erased, and the end part of
l. 2 in a different hand).

[1] ♂ | | sʰon gło | ... | [cag ra ?] | ...
∈iš [m]chis mchis pa las | rtahi lo la ban ḫde.
[2] Mtshog gyi’t byin [gi] | ...
[Dru gu?] sba-i | b[ro]u kes mchi nas
g[tšh]es [3] | [do] c[i]g stagi
[leñ ba dañ] | byuñ bah ḫog tu | myi ḫdihi
yus | [B 1] | ...
[mchi nas | [i ḫdi] sbyi (myi ?) skyings las | bdag gis mjald |
[B 2] do dpañ ky gtan tshigs kyañ gsañ ba |
las | lta ḫerde | yus mjald pa
skad (?) [B 3] u blar gsal te | gra tus Ka dag tu
ḥug pa lta žig | bdag ūnan [pa ni] | Nob chu
ṭuhi | [tšh]al kha ḫdzin[d] dañ yan lag ni ma
mchis |

(Apparently referring to some quarrel or suit about
a donkey, wherein a *bande* was concerned.)

[B 3] . . after previously requesting the complainants
to . . , the seminary assemblage was summoned, it
appears, to Ka-dag. Your humble servant himself wishes
. . . of Little Nob. The spokesman [and] his subordinates
are not come.

**Notes**

1. B 3. *gra-tus*: This apparently means "the assemblage
(*tus*) of the seminary (*grua*)" = "the seminary in a body". It
is mentioned again below (p. 151); perhaps it functioned
in trials of cases at law.

*$kha-hdzind-dañ-yan-lag*: In this connexion *yan-lag* seems
to mean "those associated with (= Sanskrit *anga* "member")"
the spokesman; below (pp. 142, 145) we have a "guarantor",
*khas-len*, in place of the "spokesman" *kha-hdzin*.

32. M.F. xiv, 23 (wood, fragment of a covering tablet,
with a cavity for a clay seal; c. 9 × 2.5 cm.; II. 1 recto
(the addressee) + 3 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script.

*gyi* crossed out

[1] “Happy or not happy... [2] the chief lord of Ka-dag and those in dispute concerning the fields. ... [3] unable to go at once to Ḥo-ni.”

33. M.I. iv, 101 (wooden tablet, fragmentary at l. and r.; c. 7 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 recto + traces of 3 verso of regular dbu-can writing, blurred and barely legible).

[A 1] | | | | Nob.chen.po.na | blon.nu... [A 2] bstus.pa.daṅ.Ka.dag.nas. [B 1] [gtiṅ.non.bzīn.nas]. | | nub]. [B 2] [kh-.][nī].su.ḥu.ḥu[s]... | Nob.[-u] [B 3] [che.bros.bton.bahi..r-n... [su] ?]

“In Great Nob Councillor... was mustered and from Ka-dag rear-guard following... sent in flight to Little and Great Nob.”

34. M.I. ii, 005 (wooden tablet, fragmentary; c. 17.5 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of small, regular dbu-can writing).


“To Little Nob two loads of millet were conveyed. From the Ka-dag millet Lha-chuṅ levied for the price of a horse.”

Ka-dag was mentioned above (in No. 1, p. 120), and it is further named in M.I. 0077; i, 14; i, 17; iv, 19; xiv, 38, 61a; wherein, however, there is no information. In ii, 40 (below, No. 30, p. 136) a courier of Ka-dag is mentioned.

The place was, as we see, a town (mkhar) with a watchtower (mthon-khyab) and a chief lord (rtse-rje). It seems to have been closely associated with Great and Little Nob, and it was, no doubt, in their neighbourhood. There was a territorial regiment belonging to the district.

VI. Nob-ched-po (Great Nob), Nob-chu-nu (Little Nob), Concerning Nob and its “three castles”, for which we should probably read “three towns” (mkhar-sum), informa-
tion furnished by the documents and elicited by Professor A. H. Francke has been given by Sir Aurel Stein in Serindia (pp. 322, 468–9, 1462). The obvious importance of the place or places, especially of Little Nob, which Sir Aurel Stein identifies with Charklik, may justify a publication in full of the more extensive documents, which also serve to throw light upon the circumstances and life of the time and name some of, no doubt, the leading personages.

35. M.I. ii, 40 (paper, fol. no. 11, complete; c. 30 × 5 cm.; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive dbu-cans writing, clear).


One or more seal-impressions.

[1] "Sent by Councillor Hphan-po-rje to the sgyehu-ga (bagmen?) of Nob, the Three Towns. [1–2] Of the revenue of presents, whatever has been collected, and besides (?) the śams and snams (defaults and surpluses of the subjects, an exact statement is to be sent later to Stag (Tiger) G-yu-bsan Lha-rtse-skyes. [2–3] After a rest there (?) send by a swift courier of Ka-dag (or Let the Ka-dag people send . . . )."

Notes

1. sgyehu-ga: "bagmen" is a conjecture; see above, p. 125, and cf. sgyehu "small bag".

Nob-mkhar-sum: Here we have the Three Towns of Nob; so too in M.I. viii, 10 (1) and (2), which mention also the various towers (?) of the town boundary (mkhar-ris-so-sohi rtse). The next document will mention the Four Towns.

1. 2. Stag G-yu-bsan: Evidently the local "general" (dwag-dpon), who, as in p. 20, would proceed to put pressure on the defaulters.

ḥdi-na-gthir-gyur: Perhaps this means "if there is any
question there" (hdi-na "here" = "there", like atra in the Kharosṭhī documents) from gti-ba "to question". Or perhaps gthir comes from stī "rest": cf. p. 164. 3, batis.

1. 3. Ka-dag: On this place see above, pp. 132-5.

36. M.I. xiv. 109b (paper, fol. no. 47, c. 29 × 19 cm.; ill. 12 of large, rather coarse, cursive dbu-can writ ng + l. I (inverted) in a smaller, neater hand).


[1] "... addressed to ... and the chief lord. Khrom-bžer Bzañ-koñ should be sent so as to reach Little Nob by the tenth day of the first autumn month of this year", upon
receipt, we hastened (bsgyans ? = brgyans 'arrive in haste')
... of the missive, and on the seventeenth day of the first
autumn month of the Dragon year came back to Little Nob.
[3-5] We not being satisfied with what you had written;
Pang-tsa, who was associated with the Klu-rtse soldiers,
and Myo with some twenty arrogant fellows (lha-tsha ?),
said 'Give us leave to go to Klu-rtse'. [5-6] Later, as a
mistress who was with child (spu-mdzad-mo ?) was come
to Little Nob, the Four Towns, they waited. [6-8] On the
seventeenth day of the first autumn month of this year they
took the road and went, saying, 'We do not believe ... from
a missive on the part of the previous chief of the Four Towns.'
[8-9] Setting at nought the entreaties of the courier Lda-ka
Hwa-lwa and ... quarrelling with (one another ?) ... , they
did not leave even the tent-coverings and sent not a word
to Rma-sgra, the chief of the Four Towns. 'This ought to
be reported. Those two should be looked after.' [10] the courier
Hwa-lwa having thus represented in the presence of the
chief lord Councillor Legs-bzañ, Councillor Rma-sgra and
the rest, the tsa-rnu Guñ-tshal Klus-ma-de and Sgya-ro
Zigs-legs, the Uncle Ministers caused their signatures to be
attached.'

Inverted: "Hand-signature of Lda-ka Wa-lwa."

Notes

1. 4. Pag-tsa: This is perhaps for Pa-tsub, which occurs
in Vol. I, p. 278, n. 4, and pp. 150, 305 below, and often in
the Bstan-lgyur colophons.

Klu-rtse: See below, p. 156.

1. 5. mkhar-bzi: The Four Towns of Nob.

1. 11. tsa-rnu: Probably an official title; see above,
p. 127.

1. 13. sug-yig-tshad: This phrase has occurred before,
p. 46.

37. M.I. iv, 93b (paper, fol. no. 21 in vol., c. 28 × .11 cm.;
discoloured; ll. 10 of black, ordinary dbu-can script).
DOUGMENTS: 3. THE NOB REGION


Verse: beo, [inya], beo, ina, dam, śib, [la]s, rtsal, cig.

[1] “In the summer of the Hare year the lord’s land in Little Nob was made into five partitions. [1-2] Counsel was taken to divide the tillers numerically; and the total of owners and of those who desired work according to the old usage of the land settlement was written down with mention of the names. [3-4] No persons having rights, or fixed lands, or remains of enclosure being confirmed, it was decided to divide the people of the various small lands numerically. [4-5] None being allowed to abandon the plough or to break open the partition, the division was made into five partitions, and the partition boundaries are to be furnished with boundary marks. [5-6] In case of any falling off from the total or of any persons breaking open
the partition or abandoning the plough, thereby violating the division of the tillage, the yield is to be raised (ṭhug-blar-badu ?). Immediate penalties to be fixed at rates for the several cases. [6-7] The number of men of the several fields was made into a song and committed to the chief officers of the town boundary. [7-9] If any should be recalcitrant or cause the water to dry up or disregard the officers or desire to alter (sbyur ?) what had been fixed, procedure should be according to the old town law of former times. [9-10] Great Uncle-Councillor Dge-bzān and Councillor Brtsan-la-ḥphan—these, who were at first appointed, having gone back down, the chief Lord Dpe-gzān and Mdo-ber, during the interval, continued the work."

*Verse:* "Send by fifteens according to a fixed reckoning (dam-ṣib-las ?)."

**Notes**

1. 2.  ziṅ-ḥgod; "Settling the land"; the phrase has been noted above, p. 124. Rje-ziṅ, pp. 127-9.
1. 3.  gtan-ziṅ; = "fixed field" or "established agreement"? The phrase recurs below, No. 38.
2. 2 and 5.  etsis-mgo; "Total"; see p. 31, and Index.
1. 5.  tho-rgya; = "boundary mark", occurs in other documents (pp. 274, 361-5).
38. M.I. xlv, 2 (wood, c. 10.5 x 2.5 cm., fragmentary at left; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[1] . . gyas.te   ||   dbaṅ.than.can.dan.gtan.ziṅ.gi.
n.n(rl)i-ni . . . [B 2] . . . thebs.pa.dan | Nob.chuṅ.nu[hi].yul.myi.bsungs.pa

Notes

This document has points of similarity to the preceding, e.g. in the phrases dban-than-can and gtan-tzin.


39. M.I. xiv, 109a (paper, fol. no. 47 in vol.; c. 29 × 17 cm.; smudged, discoloured; ll. 10 of large cursive dbu-can script).

dan . nas . bra[s] . chi . la . bab . kyan . ran . ste | bznñ .
rgyal . zigs . Legs . rtson . dan . rtsig . Lha . rtsa . skyes . dan |
rhya . dan . sug . yig . tshad . kyi . btob . pā
[1-2] "In reply to the despatch of Councillor Mañ-zigs and the rest in the summer of the Snake year, at the mart (town) assembly place, Gtsos-mo-glün. [2-5] There having arrived from the government servant (mñañ-gyi-bhañs) Steñ-bor Legs-sañ three travelling parties, the Ḥor Bañ and Gsas with an extra yak (!) and two extra cow-yaks (!)
which they failed to hide and Ko-hgon without a rtug and a sgal-dra (load-net?), the time for making payment is the fifth day of the middle autumn month, being the intercalary autumn month, of the present year. [5-7] Delivery is arranged to be at Little Nob. If delivery is not made at the time or does not reach the amount arising from the attested signature, or if it does, but Ko-hgon not showing agreement in proportion to the six kinds and the prices, then up to the value of the undersold merchandize (?) an attested signature of the three times not being required, [7-9] whatever belongings there may be in the hands of Legs-snañ and his guarantor, Nan Ldon-kön, property, cattle, and barley and rice, wherever found, may be seized without right of complaint: [9-10] in attestation whereof of the attestation seals of the 'royal eye' (rgyal-zigs = rāja-caḳṣuh) Legs-rtsa and the rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes and . . . and the hand-marks and hand-signatures of those two are attached."

Notes

The translation is in a few points uncertain or even conjectural. The general sense is that three persons are conveying government merchandize from Legs-snañ, to be delivered in Little Nob. In case of failure of delivery in time or in the right quantities or with bills for what is deficient Legs-snañ and his guarantor may have their whole property seized without right to bring a suit. The agreement is signed by a government overseer, a lawyer (?), and the two persons concerned. The gap in line 9, for a missing name, shows that the document is a draft only.

1. 1. khrom-gyi-hdun-sa: Concerning these assemblies see p. 20.

Gtsos-mo-glin: The place is not otherwise known.

1. 2. mhan-gyi-hdans: See above, p. 120.

Hor: A Turk.

1. 3. g-yag-sdin, hgri-sdin: Is sdin = rtin "rear", "extra", being without loads? hgri = hbei "female yak".
rad: “Caravan” (7), has been already noted (p. 52). Elsewhere we have the expression rad-gos “travelling-clothes”.

1. 6. hog-tshons: “Undersold merchandize” or “merchandise sold below”? cf. p. 415.4, bla-tshon?

1. 9. rtsig: Possibly this means “a lawyer”; the same rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes is mentioned in other legal agreements (p. 304, and Index).

1. 10. sug-yig-tshad: See p. 46.

40. M.I. xlv, 7 (paper, fol. no. 81 in vol., c. 30.5 x 9 cm.; ll. 9 of neat, commonplace dbu-can script; red impressions of six or more seals).

[1] "In the Hog year, in reply to the despatch of the
great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Dpal-bzan, at the mart
of Little Nob. [1-3] From a person of the Rgod-tsaṅ
upper district, who previously, when a layman, was called
Hu-tan Gsas-chuṅ, but after entering the community was
named Byañ-cub-bkra-śis (Bodhimārga), Gños Ho-se [had
hired] a servant stated to be Pho-btson, a man of Chinese
family, but in his signature named the Chinaman Phu-tsab,
aged about fifty years. [3] Ever since the arrival of an army
in old days, the bande having been made by Ho-se . . . of
Rje-gol, he had been in service with Ho-se. [3-4] In the
present year Ho-se, having come to an agreement, the
price being eight red sraṅ, sent it forthwith to the bande
in full. [4-5] Phu-tsab, while according to this agreement
under the authority of Ho-se, became involved in a dispute
at law and, being defeated (1), ran away to this side. [5-6]
After the bande had caused a demand by letter to be made
as to what the dispute was, it has been arranged that the
bande should at once give an equally capable servant to whoever
is in possession of this agreement. [6-7] In case the bande
does not come, it has been arranged that his guarantor
shall send by letter all that results from the above bond;
[7-9] in evidence whereof the attestation marks of Councillor
Stag-sgra, the head and lord Councillor Stag Stag-brtshan,
Councillor Dpal-bzan-po . . . dog-rje, Councillor Dge-bzhes Lha
Hhrug-brtshan, the farmers Stag-bzan Lha-spe, Ldon-phreṅ
Mdo-gon, and others and the written signatures (hand-marks)
of [the bande] and the guarantor are attached."

Verse: "Attestation mark of Phu-tsab."

Notes

The case seems to be that a certain bande, Byañ-cub-
bkra-śis, hired out his slave Phu-tsab, a Chinaman, to a
person Gños Ho-se in Ho-se (?), who paid a sum in compensation for the slave's services. The slave became involved in legal trouble and fled away to his old master, who after inquiring into the matter engages to compensate Gños Ho-se either by a substitute or otherwise. The signature of Phu-tsab on the verso proves that he was with his old owner, the bande.

1. 1. Rgyud-tsang-stod-kyi-sde: Concerning this district see above, pp. 126–8.

skya-bo: An ordinary man or layman.

1. 2. tha-mar-zugs-nas: The reading mar is partly conjectural; the sense must be that of "having become a monk".

Ho-se: A Chinese place-name, "West of the river," used as the name of the person.

Pho-btson: The name has occurred before, p. 69.

1. 3. Rje-gol: A place in the Ša-ču region (pp. 362, 367).

Phu-tsba: Compendious for Phu-tsab.

1. 4. žal-mchu: Perhaps only apparently = "face- lip". In the sense clearly of a dispute it occurs in the very analogous document from Tun-huang, pp. 58–60; see also Index.

tha-snad = Sanskrit vyavahāra "affair".

1. 5. brgya-la: Apparently = brgyal-la, but in the sense of being the loser, recurs similarly in the above-mentioned document (p. 60) and elsewhere (see Index): but the phrase occurs several times in the Tibetan Karma-vibhanga (ed. Levi, e.g. p. 191, l. 25, p. 193, l. 29) with the sense of "if", or "if not": perhaps we may understand "or at any rate"!

stein-du: "After"; see p. 29.

pod-pa: = phod-pa "capable".

1. 6. khas-len: The gap is, no doubt, for the insertion of the name, as in European legal drafts.

dam-gon-nas-hbyun-bahi-rnam: "The things ensuing from the above bond" recurs in the mentioned document (p. 59.10).

41. M.I. xliv, 0013 (paper, fol. no. 89 in vol., torn and with gaps; c. 22 × 9 cm.; ll. 4 of large cursive ḏbu-can script).

"Sent, seal attached, from the upper (eastern?) town, by the Great Uncle-Councillors and other city magnates: petition of Ho-se to the messenger of the farm-settlement and the ... heads of the Four Towns and ... Great Nob. ... I at my family residence in Little Nob ... Great Nob."

Notes
1. 2. žin-hgod-kyi-riñ-lugs: See above, pp. 124, 140.
1. 3. sdom-pa-sar: sdom-pa has occurred above, p. 133.
42. M.I. xxx, 8 (paper, fol. no. 79 in vol., nearly complete;
c. 28 × 75 cm.; II. 9 recto + 6 verso (five in a different hand)
of neat dbu-can script, close packed and in parts illegible).


¹ Corrected to gma ?
su. gro. kyan 1]. žes. ni. mchi | gdan. gsol. du. nuñ. 
dnos. kyis. gsal. pa. lags. te. gnañ | śi. sos. kyi. [gla]. 
dgra. chud. ma. ḫtshal. bar. gyis. śig. par. ḥdrul. ba. 
dag. tu. yañ. stsañ. lo. dgra. nos. pas | [bas. ma]. 
pa. ḥtar. bgyis. śiñ. mchis ||

(The remaining text (inverted) is a letter, in a different 
hand, from Rmañ-la-skyea and Stag-slebs to Jo-bo Zla-
ḇzer.)

[1–2] To . . agre-gan-sgra: letter-petition of Khrom-
kon. I was glad to have heard above that, as a letter stated, 
you were happy. Begging to inquire whether in the interval 
you have been happy or not happy, I beg you to send your 
received in the residence, first and last, and of the district 
[news]. With My Lord Zla-bzer there is tidings [ched 1] that 
disease of men and disease of cattle have not ceased (?). . . . 
In the property of monuments (?) and tombs, as far as the 
lower brigade-division, out of some six crops not more than 
six sran of silver has been levied. Before winter an army of 
brethren cannot assemble. [5–6] Letter of [from ?] Skal-
lkhar: In the residence there is nothing to eat. As for 
Khrom-bzer's gossip, what has been heard from Councilor 
Khri-rma need only be mentioned. [6–8] At the moment 
of sending this letter there have come from the residence of 
the Councillors of Mdo three despatches to the extent of nine 
ides. It seems that from Nañ-goñ plenty of men have 
come: from Smad also followers. There is nothing to report 
to your divan. Thanks for making now clear what has been 
sent to Councilor Mañ-zigs. [8–B 1] As regards stringent 
orders not having been sent by runner that at the price of

1 phyi. ma is crossed out.
life and death the enemy should not be allowed to penetrate; among the people here also, not content with the year's grain having been taken by the enemy, as soon as autumn arrives it is desired to let them in on the Nob-sod side. Rmañ-cun's handiwork also has at last come after long time to Nob-sod—so it has been made to appear."

Notes

The document reports the substance of news from various sources and not of a cheering character: an epidemic among men and cattle, want of money and food, scarcity of men for the army, encroachment of "the enemy". The places named are Skal-hkhar, which sounds like Khalkha (if conditions of time and place allow), Nan-gon and Mdo, which is clearly Mdo-khams. Who "the enemy" are does not appear. The translation is in part uncertain.

1. 3. cheid: This seems to mean "tidings".
1. 4. mdad: In the sense of a monument to the dead the word occurs in the Chronicle, ii. 32, 117.

rkyen = "property." Cf. p. 78. It seems as if the property of the tombs and monuments was being called into use. On ru-yan-lag see p. 435 and vol. i, p. 282.

1. 5. spun-dmuq: "Army of brethren," i.e. of clans (?).
1. 6. bphar ma: "Missive" occurs in M. Tagh., b, ii, 0035; pp. 203-4, 371, etc. rol-dgu: "Nine sides" of paper or wood ?
1. 7. Nan-gon(d): This is known as a name of Baltistan (Cunningham, Ladak, p. 34).

Smad: No doubt = Mdo-smad.

1. 8. ši-sos-kyi-gla: "Wages of being saved from death."
1. B I. sug-las: This might also mean "tidings".

43. M.I. xxviii, 002 (paper, fol. no. 70 in vol., discoloured, torn; c. 28 × 34 cm.; ll. 19 of cursive, scrawled dbu-can script).

pañi, g-yar, sīn. | yus, bdag, Pañ, tshab, Rbég [3] 
chuñ, dañ, Ldoñ, phran, Spra, hu, koñ, gnis, rin, lus, 
kyis | Rlañ, spun, po, spun, dañ, sñon [4] po, spun, 
dañ, phyis, spu, Klu, ēlus, dañ, Dañ, bhe, Myes, 
mthon, dañ, Rlañ, phran, Ḥphar, legs [5] la, stsgs, 
pāñ | glar, bkuñ, nas | yus, bdag, Rbég(g), chuñ, la, 
stsogs, pañi, mchid, nas | [6] bdag, cag, Nob, chu, nu, 
nas | Hor, gyi, mjug, stog, ltañ, sog, brgyad, puñ, 
cha, gcig | [7] btus, ste, Nob, ched, por, mchis, pa, 
dañ, rtse, rje, las, sīn, thun | [myi, ḡaṅ, g-yar, po, 
bgys, pa [8] las | śi(ṅ) | thun, gyi, myi, ni, ma, mchis, 
slad, rol, khañ, rul, śig, zīg, žes, mchi, nas | bdag, 
[9] gnis, kysi, kyi, khañ, ruł | gcig, bsiṅg, pa, las | 
kuñ, ta, goñ, na, sm[o]s, pa, myi, lla, log, nas [10] 
bdag, cag, gnis, [kh]ye, tshañ, [gs] | gbug (gbrug ? gngug ?), 
dub, gi, khar, bsdegs, nas | [thabs] | gum, tsam, bgys, 
la, bgo, la, chags, ste, mchid, yu[s], [rtso]d | ... ḡi, 
[lū] | [12] — Spra, hu, koñ, ni, da, du, spo, na, 
mchis, āñel | bdag, gnis, la, ston, sde, gnis, myi[1] rje, 
o — s [13] dañ, bdag, cag, bka, luñ, stsal, te | dka, 
blas, la, mchi, bañ | bkañ, luñ, sun, phym[s] [14] 
bhag, [c]ag, sma, phag | ḥhrims, gañ, tañ, ēbyor, pa, 
bla, ched, po, man, chad, gsol, žiñ, brtsad [15] ētshal, 
na, ūña, khrims, bzin, bakron, te, dus, tsa, gdam, par, 
gsol, žes, mchi, nas | khoñ, ta, n[a]s[ms] [16] ... 
| kyi, gñaḥi, myīñ, rus, la | Ḥgreñ, ro, Klu, brtan | 
Khu, Stag, chuñ, dañ | [17] So, nam, legs, Rum 
(Tum ?). Mtsa, brtsan | Ḫbrīñ, ēbrug, Sp, | Dru, gu. 
Lha, legs, rmams [18] kyi, gña, rgya, dañ, rīñ, lugs, 
dañ, dpañ, chen, dañ, khoñ, tah, rmams, kyi, sug, rgyaḥ, 
btab, pañi, [19] gra, dus, ni, dbyar, sla, ēbrīñ, poñi, 
ño, la, mchid, 4. śagsu, ētshal, par, bgys | | 

Five seals illegible.

1. k erased.  
2. pañi, mchid, nas is here crossed out.  
3. nas below the line.  
4. ku here crossed out.
"On the new-moon day of the first spring month of the Snake year, in the presence of the chief lord, Councillor Ju-cug, and the Uncle-Councillor Skyan-po Dbye-rma and the rest. [2-5] The complainants, Paṅ-tsab Rbe-gcun and Ldon-phraṇ Spra-ḥu-kon, two couriers, having engaged on hire the Rnaḥ eldest (?) brother and elder brother and younger brother Khu-ḥds and Daṅ-ḥbe Myes-mthoṇ and Rlaṅ-phraṇ Ḫphan-legs and others, the complainants Rbe[γ]-
chun and the rest state: [5-7] We, having from Little Nob assembled a company of eight porters . . . . . of the Turks, came to Great Nob. [7-10] Having from the chief lord procured the hire of some stick-gatherers and the stick-gatherers not having come, we were told to break down a ruined house outside. When we two had broken down a ruined house, the five above-mentioned persons, at a time when the children of both of us were tired . . . assaulted us and ill-treated us almost to the point of death. [11-12] With the sordid . . . clinging to our garments (?) we humble persons make verbal complaint as follows: [12-14] Spra-ḥu-kon during his removal here fell ill. The two Ston-sdes not . . . to us and sending us to the Bkah-lun, we went to the distinguished Dkah (sic). The Bkah-lun was biased and abused us. [14-15] 'Law you can have, if you like. In case you desire to complain by petition up to the great Lama (ि bla), pray take care to summon (?) witnesses according to law. [15-18] As to the names and families of their witnesses, they are Ḫgren-ro Klu-brtan, Khu Stag-chun and So Nam-legs, Rum Msḥo-brtsan, Ḫbrin-ḥbrug Spe, Dru-gu Lha-legs, whose attestation marks and the hand-signatures of the couriers, the dpaṅ-chen and of those persons are attached. [19] The seminary assembly has been called for the pleadings on the beginning of the middle summer month."

Notes

I. 3. Rlaṅ: This is, no doubt, a local name, and the Rlaṅ-phran below is "the little Rlaṅ". In p. 356 is named a Rlaṅ Klu-sto, and in pp. 241, 457 we have mention of a Rlaṅ district or regiment (sde). The three brothers seem all to have been named Klu-lhus, whence the manner in which they are particularized.

I. 6. Hor-gyi-mjug-stog: Is mjug-stog for hjug-ldog, which seems to have the sense of "obstacles" (= "protection against?")? But mjug occurs elsewhere (= "rear"?).

I. 8. slad-rol: "Outside," as in p. 452: 49, skun-kar-gyi-slad-rol "outside the fort". The ruined house was perhaps to be torn down for firewood.

II. 12-13. ston-sde... bkah-lun: "Thousand District" and "Command," seem to be used for the respective officials.

I. 14. gaṅ-t(h)ān: "As much as you like"?

I. 15. dus-tsa: = dun-pa?


44. M.L i, 27 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., right hand; c. 17 × 16.5 cm.; ll. 4 of rather clear, faint dbu-can script).


Notes

45. M.I. iv. 138 (wooden tablet, partly broken away at left; c. 15.5 x 2.5 cm.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can writing).


[1] "To the head Lama (?) and head physician of Little Nob: In the first spring month of the Hare year. Petition ...... request the attention of writing a prescription for lag-dgra and sogs-mein (retention of urine ? gsog-gein)."

Note.

It seems as if there were in Little Nob an official "head physician". Cf. pp. 399-401, where lag-dgra occurs.

46. M.I. xiii. 12 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., smudged and discoloured; c. 30 x 8 cm.; ll. 6 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


Verso: vod || Nob. ched. poñi. byi. ba. lohi. lo. tañ ||

[1-2] "To the lords Btsshan-ta and Klu-sgra: letter petition of the land-overseer. Then again he inquires as to your health. [2] In case the receipt for the delivery of the yearly-levy from the police officer in Great Nob has come to your
lordship's hands, despatch of the receipt is requested. [3-4] What remained of our year-levy, . . . and Khotan wool, one pho-re, these, I am requesting Councillor Lha-bzang to supply en route. [4-5] Of hair and wool there is thus with no one any not delivered, except this remainder. [5] My own signature also I beg now to submit. Attention is requested accordingly."

Verso: "Year-levy of Great Nob for the Mouse year."

Notes

1. 2. Rtsa-rgod: 'Chief of police'; see Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 50, p. 285. It is curious that rtsa-rgod may mean also "mirth and laughter", as supra, p. 133: [but see now Vol. III, pp. 49, 95].


47. M.I. viii, 63b (Wood, c. 15 × 2.2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. : ll. 3 recto + 4 verso of cursive dbu-can script, in places rubbed or otherwise indistinct).


[1-2] "In answer to the [letter of] Great Uncle Councillor Dpal-sum delivered in the town of Little Nob at the beginning
of the middle spring month of the Dragon year: petition of rtsig Graṅ-khu. [2-B 1] Your humble servant having, when trouble arose on the Tibetan frontier (or in the Tibetan state), having without regard for care of his own blood and for ease or life and body made a gift of a large contribution of barley, [B 1-4] the privilege of being kindly appointed mgo-rhon of Little Nob and a special donation of three loads [of grain] to be received from the smoke-tax corn from the city boundary was ordered by letter (or verbally, mchid-knyis) on the part of Ldon-phren Mdo-gon to be given: signed letter sent with seal attached."

Notes

The language of this document presents some difficulty, the phrases mgo-btsan and yon-gis being of somewhat doubtful meaning.

On the expressions rtsig, zo-sa, mkhar-ris see Index.
1. A 3, mkha-ris = either "frontier" or "state": see p. 342.

sku-mtshal: The dictionary gives the sense of "blood".
B 1, bkah-drin: Apparently adverbial, as elsewhere.
B 2, mgo-rhon: The nature of this office is not known, "head rhon." duul-khral: pp. 374-5.
B 4, rgya-rtags-gi-phyag-rgya: "Signed letter with seal attached."

48. M.I. ix, 10 (paper, fol. no. 36 in vol., c. 28 × 7.5 cm., complete except for one hole, discoloured; II, 4 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1-2] "Memorandum tablet of the Kho-ñam: To Mdzes-ldan three pho-re's of wool; to Hphan-la-bzer a couple of pho-re; Hphan-legs and Dge-bu — pho-re; to G-yu-rton barley, one load and fifteen bre. [2-4] To the people (?) of Great Nob barley four loads less one-half. Three pho-re of wool belonging to Hphan-legs delivered in return therefor: will send up not to deliver the remainder."

Notes

On pho-re and phyed-dan-bzi (= 3½) see pp. 66, 112. Khal, load, no doubt technical as on p. 41, contains 20 bre. Hphan-legs-kyi may be = "kyis, "by Hphan-legs."

Summarizing, we may mention in regard to Little Nob that we hear of its "chief lord" (rtse-rje, M.I. vii, 27, 76; xiv, 0027; xxvi. 13; xxxii, 13), of its mgo-rhon (p. 154), of its "foreign councillor" (dggra-blon, p. 337), of its "regional chiefs" (nos-pon, p. 337), and its "chief Lama" and "chief physician" (pp. 152, 399-401). It is called a "town" (mkhar, M.I. xlii, 005) and a "mart" (khrom, pp. 143, 153). We hear of the "Three Towns" and also of the "Four Towns". Great Nob is a "town" (mkhar, p. 140), and it has a "chief lord" (rtse-rje, pp. 449, 451, and M.I. vii, 27) and "lord's land" (rje-ñiû, p. 140). Sometimes we hear of the "chief lord of Great and Little Nob" (M.I. vii, 27).

The Three Towns (pp. 136, 318). Ka-dag, Great Nob and Little Nob, are named as such in the Saka-Khotani text (ll. 11-12) edited in Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow (Oslo, 1929). With the addition, no doubt, of Rtse-thon they become the Four Towns (pp. 138, 146).

VII. Nob-šod (Lower Nob), Klu-rtse, G-yun-druñ-rtse

49. M.I. i, 24 (paper, fol. no. 2 in vol., c. 11 x 17 cm.; much torn and badly smudged; ll. 17 (?) recto + 8 (?) verso of cursive dbu-can writing, barely legible).
[A 5] gñer, myi, khumṣu, myi, ruñste
[A 9] khrom, Der (?), ḫa, ra, tahun, cad, skad, sbyi...
[A 14] Klu. rtsebi, ḷphar, phyogs, dañ
[B 3] Nob, sôd, na, [phyu]
[A 5] "Not proper not to perform,"
[A 9] "As far as the mart Der-ḫa-ra a rumour"
[A 14] "Beyond Klu-rtse"
[B 3] "In Lower Nob"
[B 6] "Little Nob also."

Note
Concerning Der-ḫa-ra and the person Mdo-sgraḥ we have no information. Nob-ṣod, mentioned also in M.I. xxx. 8 (p. 148), recurs in a Tibetan text as one of the eighteen ṣods (low countries); since Nob = Nag (p. 30), it was substantially identical with Nag-ṣod. Klu-rtse is mentioned p. 138 above and in—

50. M.I. xxviii, 0021 (wood, c. 9.5 × 2 cm., broken at r., cut away at bottom; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


51. M.I. xxviii, 0010 (wood, c. 14 × 2.5 cm., broken at l.).

... [2] ... Klu. rtser, yan, spriñ, ste | "To Klu-rtse also a message has been sent."

VIII. SNAṆ-SDAN AND SNAṆ-RTSE

52-3. M.I. viii, 44 and 43 (two wooden tablets; No. 44, c. 17.5 × 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso; No. 43, c. 20 × 3 cm.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso; ordinary cursive dbu-can writing, in places rather faint).
[1] Taking the road at daybreak on the twenty-fifth day of the last spring month, march so as to arrive at Taṅ-gšor by the time it becomes hot. [B.1] Thence onwards be very alert in front and behind; avoiding the high road, look out for dust and heads during the day and during the night suppress sounds and listen. [B.1-43,3] As far as Snaṅ-sdaṅ and Snaṅ-rtse you will be awaited by an advance party: battle-ground where there convenient: [in] a tight place, if undefeated, seek to come through, accepting battle or flight. [43, 3–] Having halted in the Snaṅ-rtse territory five days, supposing nothing happens, on departure let the followers in succession after considering (?) the dangerous places be sent off in charge of (steṅ-du, or after, steṅ-du) the animals during the forenoon... If it is possible even to make..., or, if it is certain that without fleeing down there is no arriving, the fighting-men and the followers..."
difficult; but the latter name reminds us of Rta-zör (pp. 21–2) and Ltaṅ-yor (p. 268) and suggests the famous junction point Don-kyr, Tan-kar, Don-gor, Dang-gor near the Koko-Nor (Ritter, Geographie, iv, 217; Richthofen, I, p. 260).

The latter part of the document is hardly translatable, several of the expressions, e.g. phyug-ma, sna-longs, ltor, being obscure. [See now Vol. III, p. 57.]

44, B 1. ye-myig: On this phrase and on sna-ra and phyi-ra see p. 31.

43, 2. thabs-ma-nongs-par-zin-lcin: This might be read thabsam? "if caught where you must either fight or fly"? For nongs "escape" see M.I. iv, 00159, bdag-ga-la-nSN-ma-mchis-pas-ma-bros.

54. M.I. xiv, 134 (wood, c. 11.5 x 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-con script, blurred).


"Soldier-ticket belonging to some pay of the Ho-brag of Snañ-rtsañ sent on the sixth day of the last month of spring in the Dragon year."

Notes


so-byañ: See p. 429 and Index. The wages to which the docket refers may have been in the form of a load, or convoy, of grain.

IX. Sta-gu

In M.I. iv, 18, we have a wooden "card" of a certain Sta-gu G-yu-sgra, i.e. G-yu-sgra of Stagu, and a person of Pug-tshe Stagu, i.e. perhaps Pug-rtsa in Stagu, is mentioned in another wooden tablet (M.I. xxviii, 4). The place is, no doubt, the Sta-gu-khrom "mart (market-town) Sta-gu" mentioned in M. Tagh., a, iv, 00128 (l. 5): see also p. 248.
To my lord, the Tiger Stsañ-bzer, memorandum presented by Spra Legs-zigs. Your honour having sent strict injunction that it was not fitting that I should not come to the place here, I came to Tshal-byi and left what mdzos and yaks there were: there being also sheep, rotten ones, I sent them to the Hdron-koñ authority with shepherd Ku in attendance. Certain mdzos have arrived from up above (or being up here?), on counting, many... Afterwards, as the Sta-gu town people (or man) had little... [B 1-5] stom-kyan Klu-gtsun[g and] Spe-tsa, and also Rlañ Spe-slesbs... sent to myself some swords, and... two having come, [I] sent strict instructions that, whether they (?) had done ill or well, it was not fitting that

1 Compendious for bzer.
2 Something (pha? gya-gya?) crossed out here.
3 For g-yar?
they (?) should not go up. Even if it was not possible to send forthwith those coming from above, orders were given for the first opportunity (?). [B.6-7] I have also sent to Ril-khrid to transfer to this side also whatever remainder there is of soldiers called up."

**Notes**

1. 1, bsāel-byan : See p. 123.
2. 3, ser-ru : For this epithet applied to animals, see p. 259.
4. g-yu . . : Read g-yar-nas ! Or mdo, g-yag, "mdzos and yaks" ? : l. 4, grai-s-khīs, "by count" : see p. 139.1.
5. l. 5, Sta-gu-khron : This is evidently in the Tshal-byi region.

**B**
1. 2, stom-kyān : On this title see p. 128.
2. 3, Rlaṅ : See p. 151.
4. ll. 5-6, rnam-pa-pha : "The first despatch". ? On rnam-pa see p. 79.

**X. Rtsi-khthon**

The sde, district (or regiment), of Rtsi-khthon, is mentioned in p. 467 ; and a person Go-hji Spe-rtcon is named on his wooden card as belonging thereto (xv, 0012 : Rtsi. khθn. gi | Go. hji. Spe. rton |)

56. M.I. viii, 58 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 9 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"Plougher Hphan-la-brtsan : Rtsi-lton land, one and a half yoke."
Note

The hire of a dor, "yoke of oxen (or yaks)," for ploughing is the subject of many of the wooden documents.

57. M.I. xvi, 003 (wood, c. 12 × 2·5 cm., complete; ll. 3 of cursive dbu-can script, in part faint).


"Ploughed by G-yu-rtön for wheat, Rtsé-thon land, one yoke, one and a half yokes."

58. M.I. lviii, 006 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2·25 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ◊ | žiṅ . pon | Mdo . goṅ . gi . chun . pa | myi . g . . .


khe-bz-n is perhaps = kha-bzuṅ (from kha-hāzin, which occurs elsewhere, e.g. p. 238). Rtsé-mton is evidently well within the purview of Mirān.

59. M.I. ii, 16a (wood, c. 17·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Lord's land of Rtsé-rtön, six yokes. By tsa-rhu Guṅ-r(s ?)tön two yokes . . . . . . ."

Here again we have the "lord's land" (rje-žiṅ). On tsa-rhu see p. 127 and Index.

It suffices to mention the probability that this Rtsé-thön may be identical with the Se-to or Se-toṅ named in a document previously edited (pp. 8 sqq.).

60. British Museum, S. 0228 (paper roll, c. 27 × 30 cm., with Chinese and Tibetan texts, including verso, ll. 14 of good cursive Tibetan dbu-can script, considerably smudged,
with a small gap in ll. 6-7 and some Chinese characters substituted for erased letters in ll. 2, 12, and 13; a draft, fairly complete, but slightly worn at l. and r. edges, and showing many corrections: a similar text, ll. 8, follows).


1 Ste. ton here crossed out. 2 pa below line. 3 bu crossed out. 4 Chinese. 5 Span? corr. from Span. 6 Khas crossed out. 7 Ston crossed out. 8 Ska ya here crossed out. 9 na. dan crossed out. 10 rja here crossed out. 11 na here crossed out. 12 non here crossed out. 13 ci. noh- here crossed out and replaced by ci (below line). 14 Some sign here crossed out or smudged. 15 sa here crossed out. 16 ci. team. bol (? below dan. 17 kho crossed out. 18 Two Chinese signs.
yal. bar. žog. | dam. ūdi. brtsan. bar. 1 [mchid].
gyis. ūtshal || tsoṅ. la. myi. dbaṅ. nam. bdag. po [14]
ţig. byun. ste | nos. śul. pat. 2. gyur. 3. na. skyin. lus.
gyi. 4. ūdra. nahi. tshad. 5 ||

"[1] Hog year, spring, middle month: There being in
of Ḥkal-rgyab-bzan Teḻu-teḻu, of the watch-tower Se-toṅ
regiment (district), and Teḻu-teḻu being without plough-
oxen and hand-tools and having entered into relation with the
monk Leṅ-hyau [3], Leṅ-hyau’s ploughers, hand-tools in-
cluded, are to work it along with [his] own plot (cheṅu) of
land: seed and men [4] both to be on footing of equality:
regular watch-rounds against theft Teḻu-teḻu undertakes
by word of mouth (mchid). In the autumn, whatever the
amount of the barley, when it is gathered [5] (?) in the fields
from the several crops, any plaint claiming damage to animals
or goods [6] shall be rendered by Teḻu-teḻu in writing
(mchid)—in attestation (of these terms): If payment is not
forthwith made or if trickery is used [7], one is to become two,
and from his door any outside stock or inside goods, wherever
bestowed, [8] together with their increase, are to be seized
without a single protest. Whatever the damage sustained [9],
if the property does not equal the maximum (or former,
bla) weight and value, an equivalent debit is to be paid forth-
with. [10] Thus agreed, on each occasion of trickery or trouble
charged, he (Teḻu-teḻu) shall attend and escort. [11] If pay-
ment is not made in time, then upon application (gצabsu !)
according to usage, [his] household goods and hand-tools,
down to travel-clothes [12], wherever bestowed, may be seized
He is to write (mchid) confirming this bond. If without title
in the goods or [14] if some [other] owner appears, or if he
absconds leaving a void, the debt-residue is the same, as long
as he lives."

1 One Chinese syllable.
2 Below line is given nos. bōr. śul. lam
3 Corrected from gyus.
4 gyi crossed out.
5 tshad corrected from ?
In this draft agreement the monk Çañ Len-hyan undertakes, apparently of good will or on ground of relationship, to supply oxen and tools for tillage of the farm of Telłu-tełu in conjunction with his own, reserving a right to compensation for any damage to his goods.

The place Pog-pelçu-bhra (gra ![i][i][l][u].rēnś (rodo), which must have been in the Ša-cu region, whence the document comes, is not identified; cf. the documents discussed infra, pp. 351-3, 363-8. Se-ton, evidently the place so named supra, pp. 15-16, 36-7, cannot have been remote from Ša-cu. As a winter residence of the Ha-ža royal family (pp. 10-11), it must have had a certain importance. Here it appears as headquarters of a regiment or district (sde) with a watchtower. Its identity with Rtse-thon (supra, pp. 160-1) and the Tāi-tuen of the Chinese (p. 37) is hardly open to doubt.

The names Telłu-teçu and Çañ Len-hyan are normal in the Ša-cu region (pp. 113 sqq.). But the surname Hkalrgyaḥ-bzaṉ is obscure.

XI. 'A-ton

61. M.I. iv, 005 (wood, c. 14 x 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at t.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

♀ | . | 'A-ton | Khro, bzaṉ |

"Khro-bzaṉ of 'A-ton."

'A-ton is probably a place-name.

XII. Byēhu-lin

62. M.I. xxviii, 005 (paper, rather poor, fol. no. 75 in vol., c. 27 x 5 cm.; ll. 5 of dbu-can script, rather clear).


[1-2] "To the Home Ministers, Councillor Stag-bzañ and Councillor Mdo-bžer. Letter petition of Šan Rdzön: That the two Home Ministers may be perpetually happy and in state exalted is my prayer. The kindness of having given attention also is very great, [3-4] I have arrived at Byehu-lin: the escort also, which fell behind, is following soon; what with sickness and poor oxen and asses, taking not even a little rest, with water very short and little hope of obtaining water, it has been a little hampered in its coming. [4-5] We are thus a little late. Be so considerate as not to order punishment."

Notes

Byehu-lin has been noted, upon Professor A. H. Francke's information, by Sir Aurel Stein (Serindia, p. 470). It is mentioned, as he reports, in M.I. xxvii, 19 (verso, recording an assembly, ḥdun-īsā, there). Conceivably it is the Yū-ling of the Chinese, placed by Dr. Herrmann in the neighbourhood of Dālai-kurghān (Die alten Seidenstrassen, p. 99, cf. Serindia, p. 296). As to Byehu = Yū cf. Byehu = Yao, p. 233.

XIII. Gtson-mo-gliṅ

See pp. 141-2 above.

XIV. Dor-te

63. M.I. lviii, 003 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of small, cursive ḏbu-can script).

[A1] žes. žul. mthon. nas. sían. du. gsal. žiñ. mehis |
da (?). duñ. du. yañ. thugs. tshod[u] [B 1] [bžes. nas. šas. žig. ste. žib. du(?). bka. sprin. ba. gsal. žiñ. mehis]

"Beg to report in your hearing after seeing your face."
As regards the number of loads from the grain of the Dor-te people also, it seems to have come. If there is anything further that you are expecting, I beg you to send precise orders."

Notes

In pp. 456-7 we have mention of a soldier or police agent (so) of Dor-te (Dor-te-hi-so). Cf. Vol. I, p. 279, n. 6.

XV. Şod

This may be identical, or connected, with Nob-şod.

64. M.I. xxviii, 0024 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 21 × 1.7 cm.; l. 1 of ordinary dbu-can writing).

\( \mathbf{\hat{\omega}} \ | : | \ \text{ma} \ . \ \text{thag} \ . \ \text{tu} \ . \ \text{Şod} \ . \ \text{tn} \ . \ \text{mchis} \ . \ \text{na} \ . \ \text{de} \ . \ \text{las} \ . \ \text{cha} \ . \ \text{myur} \ . \ \text{du} \ . \ \text{sprin} \ . \ \text{bar} \ . \ \text{gsol} \ | \)

"As soon as you arrive in Şod (cf. p. 356), please send news from there forthwith."

The nomads of Şod (Şod-hbrog) are mentioned in company with other Hbrog in pp. 297-9.

XVI

Hbri-char-smad (Lower Hbri-char) seems to be a place-name in M.I. xxviii, 7: perhaps also in xxvii, 19.

65. M.I. xxviii, 7 (wood, c. 9 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] \( \mathbf{\hat{\omega}} \ | : | \ \text{Hbri} \ . \ \text{char} \ . \ \text{smad} \ . \ \text{kyi} \ . \ \text{kha} \ . \ \text{ḥdzin} \)

[B] Ldo.rba.rman.shy[įn]

"Ldo-rba Rman-shyin, guarantor, of Hbri-char-smad (Lower Hbri-char)."

XVII. Glaň-şiń-mkahr

66. M.I. viii, 46 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] \( \mathbf{\hat{\omega}} \ || \ \text{Stag} \ . \ [tshab I] \ . \ \text{Dpal} \ . \ \text{legs} \ . \ \text{Glaň} \ . \ \text{şiń} \ . \ \text{mkhar} \ . \)

[2] \( \text{nas} \ . \ \text{dor} \ . \ \text{gsum} \ . \ \text{gzi} \ . \ \text{rūñ} \ . \ \text{nod} \ | \)

"From substitute-Tiger Dpal-legs of Glaň-şiń town received old land, three yokes."
4. The Khotan Region

Coming to Khotan, we observe first that it is frequently mentioned in the documents under its name Hu-ten or with minor variations, such as Hu-den (M.T. a, iii, 0063) Hu-then (M.T. b, i, 0098). The country and the inhabitants are designated Li, as in the other known sources. The material may be grouped under heads as follows:—
I: The Khotan district and city, including A, The two rivers; B, The Parishes and streets; C, Temples or Monasteries; D, The citadel of Khotan; E, The Khotan King; F, Amacas, a Naṃ-rije-po and a Dmag-pon. II: Sin-san. III: Gyu-mo, Ho-ton Gyu-mo. IV: Places with names ending in rise. V: Other places presumably in the Khotan region. VI: Places or states adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan region. VII: Personal names of Khotani people. VIII: The Khotan language.

I: THE KHOTAN DISTRICT AND CITY

A: The two rivers, Upper (= Eastern, Yurungkash) and Lower (= Western, Karakash)

1. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0048 (wood, c. 22.5 x 2.5 cm.; rather curved, complete, hole for string at right; two columns separated by a line; II. 3 recto + 3 verso—the third in each case inverted—of cursive dbu-can script).

I


II


Ⅲ


IV

V. Gu (Gru ?). jo(dze ?). chad o | Li. Sam ('Am ?). rba (ga ?). chad | 000000 ...

I. "Sent to the company of (the country) below (sc. west of) the rivers, to the Khotani Smad as chief of twelve Khotanis. Parish Ši.ro.ňa.

II. "Sent to the company of above (sc. east of) the rivers, to the Khotani Bun-dar-ma as chief of seven Khotanis. Is in the Parish Has-go-ňa.

III. "Sent to the company between the rivers, to the Khotani Šir-de of Bar-ma-ro-ňa as chief of nine Khotanis.

IV. "Sent to the Khotani Khom (Khrom I Khos ?)-še-dad as chief of the six city-officers (or men). Is in the street Ba-žo-ňa.

V. "The Khotani Gu(Gru ?).jo(dze ?) was punished (executed), 1 : the Khotani Sam-rba(ga ? 'Am-ca ?) was (or thirty (sum. cu) Khotanis were ?) punished (executed)—figures."

Here we have the same discrimination of the lands east of the rivers, west of the rivers, and between the rivers, which, as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, has caused trouble to Rockhill (Life of the Buddha, p. 236) and Sir Aurel Stein (Ancient Khotan, 161–2). Previously (Asia Major, ii, p. 258) we have suggested alternative translations "east of the river" and "of the eastern river". In view of the correspondence of the three phrases šel-chab-hog-ma, šel-chab-gon-ma, and šel-chab-dbus, the former rendering, but with the plural "rivers", seems preferable. The interpretation of "above" and "below" as equivalent to "east" and "west" is in accordance with some Eastern-Asian usages.

The name of the western river is known to have been Go-ma. If this meant "lower-river", in which eventuality the eastern may have been called *Go-ja, the case for the alternative rendering would be strong.

Concerning the parishes, streets, and personal names see below (pp. 169–182, 260–2). It is likely that the parishes
belong respectively to the districts with which they are associated, namely Ši-ro-ña to that west of the rivers, Has-go-ña to that east of the rivers, Bar-ma-ro-ña to the district between the two; and the street Ba-zo-ña will be in the actual town of Khotan. The term tshar “parish” will now occupy us.

B: The Parishes (tshar) and streets (sran)

The term tshar occurs in some fragmentary and hardly legible documents which usually seem to be lists of soldiers or officials stationed in particular places. Since one of the places mentioned, namely Dro-tir, has been previously (“The Language of Ancient Khotan” in Asia Major, vol. ii, p. 262) noted as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, where it is styled ljoṣ, “district,” it would seem that the latter term is a Tibetan rendering of tshar. That the word may denote a subdivision of a sde, or regiment, has been shown above (p. 68); but even in that passage we have a yul-gig “district list”, and in view of the territorial arrangement of the Tibetan armies it is likely that, as in the case of sde, so in that of tshar the local sense was the prius. The term seems to have been originally not Tibetan, but Khotani, as is evidenced by the fact that the persons named in connection with tshars are invariably designated Khotanis. Possibly the name of the oldest Khotan shrine Tsar-ma (see below, p. 182) may mean merely “lower parish”, being short for Tsar-ma-ljo “temple of the lower parish”, which in fact occurs. But ma may be merely a termination, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19½ x 3, cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 4 recto of clear, regular, cursive, dbu-can script—perhaps palimpsest—+ ll. 3 verso, a different document in a more cursive hand, rather faint).

"The 'o-nal, the Khotan Hu-ten soldiery, the Khotani Gi-chog, of Parish Hdzam-na, requires five bre of barley belonging to Rgya (Chinaman?) Legs-khri; and the 'O-toñ Sgo-mo soldier, the Khotani Šan..., of Parish Ka-to-ži-na, requires two bre of barley belonging to... Kva-tahe (cho?)."

Notes

1. 1. 'o-nal, which occurs elsewhere (p. 131 and M.I. ii, 25 and 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; xxvii, 11), seems to be a military designation.

Li Hu-ten, "Khotan Hu-ten," denotes, no doubt, the city Hu-ten, to which the name always appertains, of the Li (Khotan) country.

Rgya Legs-khri: If this is a Chinaman (Rgya), he is here honoured with a Tibetan name.

1. 2. 'O-toñ Sgo-mo is, no doubt, a variant of Ho-toñ Gyu-mo, concerning which place see infra (pp. 212 sqq.).

3. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0096 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., a fragment of irregular shape; greatest height, 15 cm.; greatest width, 14 cm.; discoloured; ll. 12 recto + 11 verso of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script).

[A] [1] ... | ya ... 
[2] ... u, yañi. Li, 'Um: de ... 
[3] ... šul: du: | Hgrom: pahí, sde: [m] ... 
[4] ... ŋ (?). [o], nañi: Li: Bu: ŋon, dag: | tshar. De ... 
[5] ... glan, myi. Stag, rton: | tshogs: pond | tshar. Ts ... 
[6] ... r. mo. rohi: Li: Sar, žoñ | ʔ | hbañs. la. yo ... 
[7] ... nañi, Li. Ho (Rho ?): ne: | tshar: Šir: no. hi: Li. Ko, [š]e ...
The Khotan region

B. [1] “Parish Phro-no
... the Khotani Meg(Rmag !)-sur, of Parish Pan-ro-ña ...

[5] "... in ri-zu ... Regiment Ḥgrom-pa ...

[6] "... the Khotani Cam-po-la, of Parish So-žo-ña. Of Parish Su-dor ...

[7] "... sergeant. Of Parish Has-lo-ña ...

[8] "... Regiment ... Ḥdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtsho ...

[9] "... Of Parish Me-žali ...

[10] "... the Khotani Ko-ḥag (ḥeg !) of Parish ... -i-ña ...

[11] "... Regiment ... the g-yer-lo Khve ... "

Notes

We have here evidently a schedule of certain selected persons belonging to particular regiments. Of such regiments a list will be supplied later (pp. 455 sqq.) ; here it may suffice to note that some are found in several documents, e.g. the above-named Ḥgrom-pa regiment is mentioned also in p. 174 and Vol. I, p. 277. The G-yar-skyaṅ regiment is very possibly, as we have suggested (in Sir Aurel Stein’s Innermost Asia, p. 1085, for the Yar-skyaṅ-gi-sde), “the Yarkand regiment.” Cf. p. 469. Glan-myi, tshugs-pon, g-yer-lo (?), and ra-sāns are military or other designations which will be considered later (pp. 426-8). For tshugs-pon the translation “sergeant” is merely a make-shift. The word tshugs occurs usually in connection with small numbers of soldiers, and often there is a tshugs-pon “sergeant” and his subordinate Ḥog-pon “corporal”, while sometimes we have a tshugs-pa “a member of a tshugs”. The military connections exclude the dictionary meaning “caravansarai” for tshugs, and it might be convenient if tshugs were equivalent to phyugs “animal”, so that the tshugs-pon would be an officer in charge of horses, camels, etc. But possibly tshugs may denote camping arrangements, so that a tshugs-pon would be a sort of minor “adjutant” or “quarter-master”. Ra-sāns (sic) will be found
infra, pp. 175, 196; and it recurs elsewhere (Tibetan chronicle, ll. 19 and 22, ra-san-rje).

It is natural to inquire as to the purpose of such lists, which must, as will appear, have been numerous. Plainly these are not regimental lists, but notes of soldiers belonging to different regiments, who were stationed, or living, in detached places. Probably they were on duty, employed in espionage or in other special tasks, one of which will have been to form "relays" (so-res) for conveyance of correspondence, a function of which we often hear. It is likely in fact that the word so "soldier", which in Tibetan means "keeper", "guard", "watchman", "spy", "emissary", originally denoted "one who goes", corresponding to the Sanskrit cara (used in the Kharosṭhī documents). In our documents we sometimes (e.g. p. 444) find the phrase so-rjet, which should mean "soldier-memorandum" (cf. rjet-tho "note-book", rjet-byan "invoice", brjet-tho "memorandum"); and, as this phrase occurs on the verso of one of the lists (a, iv, 0074, p. 169 supra, a separate document), it is likely that it denotes precisely such a list.

4. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0095 (paper, tol. 36 in vol.; c. 28.5 × 8 cm.; ll. 5 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; on the recto ll. 5 in a different hand, containing a complete letter on another subject).

Khri.skugs.ljor.na.Bod.gsum.la.Grom.pahi
Myes.chun.Rtsal.mo.pag.gi.sde.3 sna.sur.

"In... gyi.rte two Tibetans, two Khotanis.

"In Khri-skugs-ljor of Stag.rte three Tibetans, [namely,]
the man Tshes.kon of the Grom-pa regiment, the lo-nan
Myes-chun of the Myan-ro regiment, the sña-ṣur Stag-bzañ of the Rtsal-mo-pag regiment.

"In Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse two Tibetans, one Khotani, [namely], phur-myi Rke-tun of the Yan-rtsañ regiment, sro Sti[Li?]kro of the Ho-tao-pag regiment, the Khotani Cełu-hdo of parish Jam-ña.

"In Ho-ton Gyu-mo two Tibetans, one Khotani, namely ....... of the Phod-kar regiment."

Notes

Concerning the place-names ending in -rtse (Stag-rtse, Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse), and concerning Ho-ton Gyu-mo, see infra (pp. 212 sqq.). As regards the regiments see supra (p. 172).

The terms lo-nan and phur-myi will recur infra (pp. 219, 224); sña-ṣur is found in M.T. a, iii, 0070, etc.: in the Tibetan Royal-rabs (Francke, Antiquities of Tibet, ii, p. 82) gña-ṣur seems to be local or tribal. Sro occurs, pp. 444, 457, in a military connection.

5. M. Tāgh. a, i, 0031 (paper fragment, of irregular shape; fol. no. 3 in vol.; greatest width and height, c. 16 × 21 cm.; li. 16, fragmentary, of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[1] tshard. Ha (?) ban gyi ....
[2] sde ra sañ Li (?) ... 
[3] sran (?) tshar. Dro tir gi Li Phu (Ha ?) sgra ... 
[4] bu [rtsa]n gi : sde Rlo sag myi ... 
[5] cum de 8 Drugi [c]or na san sde Ha ža .... 
[6] sdehi Li Ye ye tshar Nos go ñahi Li Chu (Mu?) 
[7] po tshar Bar mo ro ñahi Li Byi de tshard .... 
[8] Phu mar na Hbrom gi sde Co ze Lha .... 
[9] dir 51 gi Li Ku ju sran Byi nom chom ? nañi
[10] tshar: Las. ro. nahi. Sen. ge. ...
[12] nahi ... r. tshar: Dar (n?) ci
[13] ze ... bgyi ... n: khri. pa
[15] na ... gi
[16] Li. Si. nir | tshar

[1] "Parish Ha (?)-ban ...
[2] " ... regiment, ra-saños the Khotani ...
[3] " ... the Khotani Phu-sgra, of Parish Dro-tir ...
[4] " ... Rlo-sag-myi of the ... bu ... n regiment.
[5-7] " ... cun-de. " ... In the Dru-gu cor the Ha-ža ..., of the Šan regiment; the Khotani Ye-ye, of the ... regiment; ... the Khotani Chu (Mu ?) ..., of parish Nos-go-nia; the Khotani Byi-de, of Parish Bar-mo-ro-nia; ...
of parish ...
[8-16] " ... In Pehu-mar the co-ze Lha ..., of the Ḣbrom regiment; the Khotani Ku-žu, of Parish Dro-tir; ...
of street Byi-nom(chom ?)-na ...; the Khotani Sen-ge, of Parish Las-ro-nia; the Khotani -r-ne of ...; ...

Notes

Concerning the Ha-ža, the Dru-gu, and the word cor see pp. 1 sqq., 123-4, 267 sqq., and p. 18 and infra (p. 204); concerning ra-saños see supra (pp. 172-3).

Pehu-mar will recur below (pp. 244-6). The Parish Dro-tir, which will recur in the next document, is evidently the ljons ("district") Dro-tir of the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (Asia Major, ii, p. 262) and Vol. I, p. 114, n. 4.

6. M. Tăgh. 0492 (paper fragment, discoloured; c. 9 x 9 cm.; parts of ll. 8 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).
The expression su-tu seems not to be found elsewhere; but it might be Su(Si)-tu, "a place in Khams," named in Bstan-hgyur colophons.

7. M. Tágh. a, iii, 0074 (fol. no. 15 in vol., paper fragment, much lost at left; ll. 7 of ordinary cursive, rather neat, dbu-can script).

"Myaṅ Khu-hphian, of the . . . . regiment; Gce-hu-gtshes, of the . . . . myi regiment . . . . Thu-rgyal.
"In Ta-gu . . . . the Khotani Gu-dag.
"In . . . . Phag-sna . . . . r-vaṅ-saṅ; . . . . of Parish Go-sto.; the Khotani Wi-ne-sa of . . . . ra-yo; the Khotani Khu-le, of . . . . yo-ña; . . . . street . . . ."
Notes

Myan is, no doubt, a tribal name, since Myan-ro occurs as a place-name: see pp. 55, 305. Concerning Ta-gu see infra, p. 248.

8. M. Tāgh. 0513 (paper fragment, left end of fol.; c. 4 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as No. 0492; ll. 6 (beginning) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[4] Li . Bu (Cu ?) . de . san .

" . . . lod ; . . . parish Ro . . . ; . . . regiment .
 . tshan(siaŋ ?)-myi . ; . . . town . . ; the Khotani .
"Bu (Cu ?)-de san . . . ; . . . parish Gas (?)-sto . . . ."

9. M. Tāgh. 0503 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 7 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as Nos. 0492 and 0513; ll. 6 (parts) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


" . . . of Parish Zval-ro . . . ; the Khotani Saŋ-ge of . . . . ņe ; the 'Tiger' Hphan-chuŋ of . . . ; . . parish Ba-rog . . . ; glan-sum Bu-lod of . . . . regiment .
" In Lam-ko-ņa the Khotani Gu-de (ce ?) of . . . Na . . . ."

Notes

Glan-sum is perhaps a military designation; cf. glan-myi (supra, p. 172).
10. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0054 (paper fragment; fol. no. 44 in vol.; c. 21.5 × 6.5 cm.; l. 2 (No. 1 partly lower part only) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[1] . . . [Hjah]. la : tshar. Wam : na, g[e-]. Pu : de | 2 |

. . . . . . .

ko (!) . . . Šin. de | tshar. Bun. [b]o (?)(co ? so ?). 
do. ūna. Li.


11. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0010 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2.5 cm.; fragmentary at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, black).

＜＞ | : | tsard. Han : ge. ūna. ro. yo. ḫi | Li | Hi . . .

"The Khotani Hi . . . of Parish Han-ge-ūna-ro-yo." No doubt a visiting card, or docket.

12. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0018 (wood, c. 15 × 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; faint and partly illegible).


[ūnḥi] . . . [zar]

"The Khotani Dzazd-dod of Parish Ḥden-ro-ūna. The Khotani Ri-zo Tse-ldan (?). Parish Ḥde[n?]-ro-ūna."

Dzazd: Cf. the name Dzāṭā, ap. Konow, Ein neuer Sakadialekt (Berlin Sitzungsberichte, 1935), pp. 807, etc.

13. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper, c. 15 × 14 cm.; fragmentary at right, discoloured; ll. 9 verso of rather clumsy, square, dbu-can script, somewhat rubbed and smudged; recto a different document, see infra, p. 214).

¹ Corrected from Dza (1).
"Beginning of the last winter month of the Ape year . . . . petition of . . . chief and army commander Councillor Mtsho-bzān-po . . . of the Yaṅ-ṛṣaṅ regiment having paid to the Khotani Mar-son of Parish Žum-ba eleven . . . and one sabre, it was arranged that he should deliver in Śin-śaṅ . . . . . . . . . If at that time delivery should not take place, then for one piece of . . . two should be substituted . . . his private possessions, or any wealth within his dwelling, might be seized without complaint. His guarantors were set down as co-debtors (?) In witness whereof of the sbrad . . . . of the Maṅ-k(h)ar regiment . . . ."

Notes

This is an agreement, or legal decision, of a kind exemplified supra, pp. 45-6, 62, 66, etc. In this case the gaps prevent our knowing what the Khotani was to pay for the soldier’s goods. On the other hand, the document furnishes an instance of civil, and not military, use of designation by parish.

1. 6. ḡchig-las-yug-gniś-su-ṣgyur: cf. p. 60, etc.

1 Crossed out.
2 Erroneous for nor.
3 Crossed out.
4 Compendious for bar.

*khanas-pa*: This is evidently a compendious writing of *kha-blāns-pa* "guarantor," from *kha*(s)-*len* which occurred *supra* (pp. 134, 145).

1. 9. *sbrad*: Apparently a military title; cf. pp. 208 and 292 (*dbrad*).

14. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0030 (wood; c, 11.5 × 2.5 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

| bī. Li . . .

"Khotanī . . . of . . . spe | Khotanī . . . of street Ma-žo-"

The names of the "parishes" cited in the above texts are as follows:—

*A-ti-ko-ña* (*b*, *ii*, 0054).
*Bar-ma*(*mo*)-ro-*ña* (*b*, *i*, 0048; *a*, *i*, 0031).
*Ba-rog* (0503).
*Bun-gto*(*bo-do*)-*ña* (*b*, *ii*, 0054).
*Byi-ro-*ñ*a* (*a*, *ii*, 0096).
*Dar-ci* . . . . (*a*, *i*, 0031).
*De* . . . . . (*a*, *ii*, 0096).
*Dro-tir* (0492, *a*, *i*, 0031).
*Go-sto* . . . . (*a*, *iii*, 0074, 0513 (?)).
*Ha* (?)-*ban* . . . . (*a*, *i*, 0031).
*Ha* . . . . . (*a*, *ii*, 0096).
*Han-ge-*ñ*a-ro-yo* (*a*, *iii*, 0010).
*Has-lo*(*go*, ro-*ña* (*a*, *i*, 0031; *b*, *i*, 0048; *a*, *ii*, 0096).
*Hde-ro-*ñ*a* (*c*, *ii*, 0018).
*Hden-ro-*ñ*a* (*c*, *ii*, 0018).
*Hdi-*ñ*a* (vol. *i*, p. 101 and n. 5).
*Hdzam-*ñ*a* (*a*, *iv*, 0074).
*Jam-*ñ*a* (*b*, *i*, 0095).
*Ka-to-ži-*ñ*a* (*a*, *iv*, 0074).
Lam-ko-ña (0503).
Las-ro-ña (a, i, 0031).
Men-ko-ña (b, ii, 0054).
Me-ža-li (a, ii, 0096).
Nos-go-ña (a, i, 0031).
Pan-ro-ña (a, ii, 0096).
Phro-ño (a, ii, 0096).
Phun-bu-do (a, ii, 0096).
Ro (0513).
Śi-ro-ña (b, i, 0048).
Śir-no (a, ii, 0096).
Śo-žo-ña (a, ii, 0096).
Su-dor (a, ii, 0096).
Ts (r-me-ro (a, ii, 0096).
Wam-na (b, ii, 0054).
Žum-ba (0050).
Zval-ro (0503).
mo-ža (a, ii, 0096).
ñ-lo-ña (a, ii, 0096).
s-lo-no-ña (0492).
ro-ña (0492).
yo-ña (a, iii, 0074).
u-ya (a, ii, 0096).
su-mo-no (0492).
dir (a, i, 0031).
i-ña (a, ii, 0096).
la-ro-ña (0492).

In addition to these Sag-ti seems to occur in M. Tagh, b, i, 0092 (p. 186 below) and in 0508.

The most characteristic feature of these names is the terminal syllable ña, which appears in the great majority of them. This confirms the suggestion, previously (The Language of Ancient Khotan, pp. 259, 260; Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, pp. 49, 61-2) made, that it had a meaning similar to that of "Sanskrit bhūmi, sthāna, kṣetra; and the like ", or, we might add, the Teutonic ham, heim, etc. In a number of cases the
two final syllables are ro-ña, which combination may have conveyed a combined meaning. For the no in Šir-no the explanation previously suggested (The Language of Ancient Khotan, p. 267) for the "little hill" Hgus-no may also be adduced.

The "streets" (srañ) mentioned are:
Ba-žo-ña (b, i, 0048).
Byi-nom(chom ?)-na (a, i, 0031).
Ma-žo . . (a, vi, 0030).
No-ña (0492).

The general resemblance of these names of parishes and streets to those cited on pp. 264–6 of the article quoted will escape no one. It may be noted that in the bilingual document published in Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we probably have a parish name of the same kind, Mar-ši-ko-ña.

C. Temples or Monasteries
15. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0012 (wood; c. 21.5 × 1 × 2 cm.; complete; on one face (D) many notches with lines; l. l. (face A) + l. l. (face C) of ordinary cursive dāu-can script):
[A] Li. Gos. de | Li. Šir. de | Li. Hir. bod.
   hjø | Lha. gañ. Hgum. tir.

"The Khotani Gos-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjø temple; the Khotani Šir-de, of the Tshar-ma-hjø temple; the Khotani Hir-bod, of the Hgum-tir temple."

Since the syllable hjø is often found terminating the names of Khotan shrines, the Tshar-ma-hjø is probably identical with the famous Tsar-ma foundation mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 237–8), while the Hgum-tir caitya was almost equally famous (see Asia Major, vol. ii, pp. 262–3). Cf. Vol. I, pp. 104 sqq., 108 sqq.

The Tsar-ma-hjø is named also on another wooden slip (M. Tāgh. 0181); also b, i, 0046.
16. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0070 (wood, broken away at right
before being inscribed; c. 12 × 2.5 cm.; complete; l. 1 of clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

Lha. gaṅ. Gu. žau. do | Li. Sar. rñoṅ |  
"The Khotanī Sar-rñoṅ of the Gu-žan-do temple (Lha-khan)."


17. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0090 (wood; c. 8.5 × 2 cm.; complete; l. 1 of small, clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

"The Khotanī Ku-chi-śi of the Bru-ňo (Phru-ňo) temple."

This temple or monastery also is mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 266) and associated texts (see Vol. I, pp. 53, 118–120).

18. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0023 (wood; c. 11.5 × 2 cm.; complete; ll. 2 recto of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script, l. 1 verso in a larger hand, more formal, a writing exercise).

[A] Ø | : | So: ma-ña. Be. de. | j[o]; gyi | Žo: da:  
[B] ka kha ga | na ca cha ja ſha da ba na  
"Žo-da of the Be-de temple in So-ma-ña."

**Notes**

Žo-da may, or may not, be a personal name; if not, it is perhaps an official designation.

So-ma-ña Be-de-jo: This is, probably, the famous So-ma-ña or Sum-ña vihāra, the So-mo-je of Hui-an-Tsang, concerning which see *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194, n. 223–5, and Vol. I, p. 118.

It seems, therefore, that the documents name several of the most famous religious establishments in Khotan, confirming the literary records and supplying, where required, a chronological *terminus ad quem*.

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1 Add 18a. M.T. b, i, 0045 (wooden slip; c. 8 × 2 cm.; clear *dbu-can*).

**D. The Citadel of Khotan**

The actual fortified citadel of Khotan (sku-mkhar), which is several times mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (Ancient Khotan, p. 583), is once named in the documents.

19. M. Tǎgh. a, iv, 0022 (wooden stick, of irregular shape, four-sided, one side only partially flattened and retaining a portion of the bark; c. 27 × 2 × 1 cm.; II. 2 + 1 + 1 of coarse dbu-can script, blurred and in places difficult to read; four notches and six lines on face A).


"Of the men employed at nine copper srañ in all who came in the Hog year to the Fort of Hu-then, Lhā-rtsä, died at the time of coming to the guard-lines: five or six are at present still in this indenture."

**Notes**

1. A 2: brnans-geho: Perhaps for "tsko "company employed", with tsko as in so-tsko (p. 233 infra), mkhar-tsko (p. 424), etc., etc., and brnans = benan in pp. 120, 123. Gsogs may indicate the "collective" pay.

B. dgra-zun: This seems to be for dgra-zon "on the watch."

D. khram: Here the stick itself is the khram "inventory" (concerning the word see supra, pp. 91–2), as is indeed indicated by the notches on it. The word recurs below, p. 200. The dictionaries also give ṭag (or ṭa-ga)-khram with the sense of "notch" or "indenture."

**E. The Khotan King**

During the period when the Tibetans occupied the fort at Śin-šan the whole of the Khotan country must have been

\[1 \text{Crossed out.}\]
under their control. That period certainly, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown (Serindia, pp. 1287-91) on the basis of Chinese coins and documents, covered the last part of the eighth century A.D. To this time, therefore, belong the Tibetan documents which we have examined. They testify, as we have seen, to a constant correspondence with the city Khotan (Hu-ten), a control of its neighbourhood, and an active intercourse with Tibetan soldiers in other parts of Chinese Turkestan and naturally also with Tibet proper.

20. M. Tagh. b. i. 0092 (paper; c. 27.5 × 10.5 cm.; discoloured; ll. 8 recto + 8 verso of fine, thin, cursive, dbu-can script, rather smudged, and recto somewhat faint; from l. 8 recto a different pen; signature at end in a different hand; between ll. 7-8 recto and also in a blank space in middle of l. 8 apparent signs, really seen through from verso; similarly in left margin recto and slightly elsewhere. In ll. 1-2 recto a monogram.)


1 Compendious for bier.
2 Written compendiously and somewhat doubtful, parts of the sign being due to the verso. A reading du (simply) is possible.
3 There is here an apparent sign, due to the verso.
4 lku (?), lku ?
5 sug-sum-la "with hands closed up" ?

[A 1-3] "In the presence of our brothers, Home Ministers Khri-bzer and Ḥphan-bzer and Rgyal-bzer: letter-petition of King Ḥtran-čed-po of Khotan. Having heard that the brothers, the Home Ministers, are happy in mind, I am in entire serenity of spirit. [A 3-5] As regards some robberies having taken place on this side of Hel-ge and Nag, the dispatch from his excellency Mdo-bzer has not come. I am sending to the Three Tigers a robber man of my own people. [A 5-8] The forfeit of fruit sent to your serenities at the time of the discussion having been burned in a fire this side of Nag, the forfeit of fruit for within and this side Nag became double: it having been stolen, on reaching the Parish Sag-ti . . . was sent together with . . . ha-lo. [B 1-3] Of the Mdo-lo district . . . the commander of the Shuns in the town came here: after complaint . . . was possible: he also has been acting crookedly. He is now on the road away from here. [B 3-4] From beyond also no letter has come, so that

^1 Crossed out.
^2 Crossed out.
^3 Below this between the lines (above the words thugs. la in 1.5) is written the word diga inverted.
^4 * below the line.
I too here am very uneasy. [B 4-6] I pray you to notify me [or I beg to report] merely how things seem. Although generally I report how things seem, it is my intention to send [again] later. Robberies of minor importance shall be quickly settled: pray refer them here without delay. [B 7-8] Pending a sight of your suspicious countenances, I continue to pray for the perpetual happiness of the distinguished father and sons. | seal | seal | seal |Gden Pho-lod.”

Notes

This document is distinguished from most of the others by its writing, which is somewhat calligraphic, and, to a certain extent, by its phraseology. Thus it uses in ll. 2 and 6 the word "gyags" “transparent”, or “discern”, which except in M.I. i, 28 and pp. 23, 25, 383. 5 does not seem to recur, and the polite word mchod “brother” or “friend” (see p. 332) is employed with reference to the distinguished officials who are addressed. Also the letter was corrected in the course of being put on paper.

Before the writer’s name is written a sign which is clearly a monogram on the lines of the Phags-pa writing and the Dalai Lama’s seal, but simpler and, of course, very much older (see the plate): it can plainly be read as rgyal-po “king”.

The king’s name is Ittran, followed probably by the expression ced-po “great”, written in a compendious form, an expedient exemplified in the documents in the case of other phrases and very habitual in later Tibetan writings.

Now it happens that in a Tibetan letter 2 from an emissary of a Khotan king the Lion (Sen-ge) king is named Mun-dmaqrtrañ, in which phrase the syllables Mun-dmaq, which occur elsewhere, denote some kind of troops. The last syllable is the name which appears in our document. Professor Konow

1 See M. Bacot’s article in the Journal Asiatique, x. xix (1912), pp. 1 sqq.
4 Publications of the Indian Institute, Oslo University, 1, 3 (1929), Two medieval documents from Tsun-kars, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow,
has suggested that the king must be the Vijaya-bohan-chen-po of the Khotan Chronicle (see Ancient Khotan, p. 582), and the Viśa-Vā(ū)ham of a document published by Dr. Hoernle in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1901, Extra Number, i, pp. 36 sqq., and discussed by Professor Konow in the JRAS, 1914, pp. 339 sqq., and Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, viii, pp. 221 sqq.

This identification is reinforced by the addition of the phrase ced-po (if correctly read) in our document, a phrase appended to the name of no other Khotan king. Since Htrn is a good Tibetan equivalent (from ḫāren "draw", "lead," as Professor Konow suggests) for the Sanskrit vāhana, it remains a question whether we yet have the king's name in its native form; the Sanskrit equivalent of Mūn-dmaṅ-trān will, as Professor Konow has suggested, be senā-vāhana.

It is curious to note that in the emissary's letter mchel is used as in our present document. This latter is of great importance, since it definitely proves that Vijaya-bohan-chen-po belonged to the latter half of the eighth century A.D.; it gives us a fixed point in the chronology of the Khotan kings.

Furthermore, it sheds a clear light upon the position of the Khotan king in relation to the Tibetan officers occupying the station of Śin-śan. It refers plainly to complaints of robberies committed, no doubt, by Khotani people upon Tibetan goods and persons in transit. The king explains that he is taking steps to investigate and bring the offenders to justice, and he promises prompt attention to minor offences of like kind in the future. He was therefore, as was only natural, a ruler in no position to deny satisfaction to the Tibetans dominating his country.

1. 3. Hei-ge and Nag (Nob). See pp. 237, 240–1. It will be seen that elsewhere also Nag is associated with robberies.

rje-blas: This title, which has occurred before (p. 23, ll. 6, 9, etc.), seems to be applied to persons of great eminence in civil life or religion. It is the expression rendered as a
proper name by Colonel Waddell (JRAS. 1910, p. 1252) in its occurrence in Lhasa inscriptions.

1. 4. *stag-sum*: The Tibetan authorities.

1. 5. *rgyal-ta*: This is evidently = *rgyal* in the sense of "fine" or "forfeit". The word has also the sense of *phala* "fruit", which suggests that the *bras-bu* "fruit" here may not be literal, but form part of a phrase or denote "interest"; but that is not certain, and Khotan was famous for its fruits.

1. 6. *bsku* = *bskur* recurs *infra* in p. 218.51 and p. 259 A 7.

1. 7. *Sag-ti-hi-tshar*: This "parish" has a name on the lines of Dro-tir, Hgum-tir, and Sañ-tir, noted above; it is mentioned again in M. Tagh. 0508 (paper).

1. 8. The endorsement seems to be a note by an official to the effect that the king's gift has been dispatched. The reading is not clear; but *ha-lo* would mean "hollyhock".

*Mdo-lo*: This district has hitherto been known only from mention in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (see Vol. I, p. 59 and n.), which seems to indicate a territory in the direction of Polu. See *infra*, pp. 239-40.

1. B 1. *Sluns-pon*: On the *Sluns*, see pp. 52, 296-7, where, as here, they seem to be different from ordinary soldiers.

*zal-mchu*: "complaint" (see *supra*, pp. 67, 145, and p. 259 *infra*).


93B. 4.

1. B 6. *tshur*: "hither", i.e. "to me".

*phran-tshegs*: this phrase, in which *tshegs* means "difficulty", "check", and which in S. C. Das' Dictionary is given s.v. *phran*, recurs in Mi. iv. 133, as *phran-tshegs*.

1. B 7. *Stañs-dgyal*: *Stañs* = "style", "fashion". The phrase is evidently a politeness addressed to persons of high rank; it recurs p. 397 A 2 and in M. Tagh. b, i, 0098, b (stans-dbyald), p. 385 (stans-byal) and 0436, published in Innermost Asia, p. 1088 (stans-bsal-bya), c, ii, 0064 (stans-dbyal).

1. B 8. *gden Pho-lo* : No doubt, the endorsement of the
king's secretary, or even the king himself after dictating the document. Cf. *gde(n)*, p. 178, 10.

21. *M. Tāgh. a*, iv, 00121 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol.; c. 27.5 × 10 cm.; complete; ll. 4 of rather scrawled *dbu-can* script).

\[\text{[1]} \quad \text{rta \cdot hi \cdot lo \cdot hi \cdot dgun \cdot blon \cdot Klu \cdot sgra \cdot las \cdot stso\text{gs} \parallel \text{pa \cdot hi \cdot ldun \cdot tsa \cdot Šel \cdot than \cdot du \cdot btab \cdot pa \cdot lan:} \parallel \]

\[\text{[2]} \quad \text{la} \parallel \text{Yan \cdot rtsan \cdot gi \cdot sde \cdot Myan \cdot Lha \cdot mthon \cdot Li \cdot rjehi \cdot tshugs \cdot pa \cdot Li \cdot Bat: nag: li 1 \cdot men \cdot l 1 \cdot tri [3] yug \cdot 2 \cdot gnis \cdot sa 2 \cdot lan \cdot hdi \cdot hi \cdot dgun \cdot sla \cdot ra \cdot ba \cdot tshes \cdot ñi \cdot šu \cdot gsum \cdot la} \parallel \text{skyeds [4] pu 2 \cdot da \cdot] tsha[ld] \cdot de \cdot skyed \cdot gyi.} \]

"In answer to the letter dispatched at Šel-than at the winter meeting of Councillors Klu-sgra and the others in the Horse year. Myan Lha-mthon of the Yan-rtsan regiment demanded as interest (*skyeds*) from the Khotani Bat-nag, trooper of the Khotan king, on the 23rd of the first winter month of this year two pieces of silk: of the interest . . ."


**Notes**

1. 1. Šel-than: The place ("River-plain" ?) is not otherwise known.


In *M. Tāgh. a*, iv, 00159 (paper) also we have mention of a *Li-rjehi-tshugs-pa*, "trooper of the Khotan king".

22. *M. Tāgh. a*, vi, 0042 (wood; c. 7.5 × 1 cm.; a fragment; hole for string at right; l. 1 *recto* + l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

\[\text{[A]} \quad \ldots \quad [m] \cdot \text{du} \mid \text{Li \cdot rjehi \cdot steñ \cdot du} \]

\[\text{[B]} \quad \ldots \quad [\text{rt} \mid \text{(st ?)} \text{ogs} \mid \text{Li \cdot la \cdot rgya \cdot ñdra} \ldots \]

"... in ... Up to the Khotan king ..."

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} Crossed out; read la in the first occurrence.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} Crossed out.} \]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3} Crossed out.} \]
F. Amacas, a "nan-rje-po" and a "dmag-pon"

The title *a-mo-che*, granted by the Chinese governments to kings of Khotan and other states in Chinese Turkestan, seems to have been first discussed by Chavannes in his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, pp. 207–8. It was again discussed by Sir Aurel Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 66, 176, 256, and by Chavannes at p. 523. In the same work (pp. 582–3) we gave instances of Chinese *a-ma-cas* in Khotan history, and subsequently (*JRAS*. 1927, pp. 121–2) it was shown that the title had also at a late date been borne by rulers in the Ladakh region. Prof. Sylvain Lévi seems to have been the first (1915, *J.A. xi*, v, p. 191) to derive the term from the Sanskrit *amātya*; see Vol. I, p. 309, n. 6.

It seems worth while to quote the instances of the use of the title in our documents. We have the following:

23. M. Tāγh. b, i, 0088 (wood; c. 8 × 1 cm.; complete l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

♀ | 'Am. cha. Sir. de. tshan.

"The Amaca Sir-de-tshan."

The term *tshan* seems to have been an honorific (properly a plural), appended to the names of learned or distinguished persons: see *infra*, p. 194, and *Innermost Asia*, p. 1084. It is appended to the word *bun-de* in p. 210, and it is similarly employed in the document edited in Hoernle’s *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402–3.

24. M. Tāγh. i, 0021 (wood; c. 8.5 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; nine notches; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged).

'A. mcha; Si: [b]ir: [Tsa] - bdad [rdad ?].

"Amaca Si-bir Tsa-bdad (Ci-rdad ?)."

The occurrence of this title was noted in *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 121–3, with citation of Nos. 23–5 below. The latter, with Nos. 27 and 29, and also a new document from Turfan, have now been discussed in a recent paper (*Königswasser von Khotan (A-ma-ca) . . . SPAW.*, pp. 671–6, issued Jan. 1929) by Professor A. H. Francke. It appears that Professor Francke, who originally had understood the syllables *a-ma-ca*, *an-cha*, where he had read them, differently, now accepts the reference to the officials called *amacas*. How far we agree with his readings and renderings
25. M. Tağh. c, ii, 0011 (wood; c. 21 × 3 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso of rather coarse dbu-can script).


[A 1-2] "To My Lord Stoñ-bzer: letter of Yul-gzigs (Local Surveyor)—the usual compliments, then—[A 3] Khotan supplies sent by me for conveying to the 'A-ma-cha not having arrived, it is requested that five Chinese bre of barley may be dispatched from Ho-ni."

Notes

1. B 1. Ho-ni is the name of a place (infra, pp. 237-8).

1. A 1. Yul-gzigs: The name occurs in its literal denotation "Local Surveyor" in M.I. xiv, 1 (Innermost Asia, p. 1084). In such cases as the present we cannot be certain whether it is so used or is a proper name (cf. English Smith, etc., and the case of Rmañ-rgos, p. 258, infra), as in a, iii, 0070.


26. M. Tağh. a, iv, 0017 (wood; c. 17 × 1-5 cm.; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of neat, cursive dbu-can script; remains, lower part, of one line at top recto).


¹ For bre.
"... not sent. Let the residue of... recently sent by the high chief the Khotan king and all the oil which can come at once. Prepare also what was afterwards sent from the Khar- tshān carpenter. For the Amaca Stag-sum-rje leave a present of a feast (dgyes-gsol-mo = skyes-gsol-mo !) and a hatchet."

**Notes**

1.2. *Khar-tshān-sin-mkhan* might be the town of Khar-tsan or Khar-tsa-ciṅ discussed *supra* (pp. 28, 32, 52, 106).

1. B.1. *sta-hon*: This seems to be the same as *sta-gon*, which occurs in M.I. 0028, "make ready."

*Sgyes, 'feast,' 'cheer' = dgyes cf. p. 53.4 ?

27. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0021 (wood; c. 14 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


**Note**

1. 1. *Glumyi* = "singer"?

1. B. *Sen-do*: Possibly *Seen* (compendious for what?) is written. *Mtsali-mo = gsol-mo* ! or *ḥtsal-ma* ?

28. M. Tāgh. 0483 (paper fragment; c. 27 x 4 cm.; ll. 1 of cursive Brāhmī +1 (mutilated) of large cursive *dbu-can* script; the Brāhmī portion is a note, of later date).

["Khotanī" or *Saka language.*]

*garā vī ce Ysaināguttre ttye rā šā haurāmāñai.

γι . γι . Yon (Yod !) . 'A . ma . chas | | Sin (sic) . šan . gyi . rtse . r[j]e . lah . gsol . bah |

"Petition by the Amaca Yon (Yod !) to the chief in command of Sin-šan."

1 Possibly *Gra.*

2 Reading kindly corrected by Professor Steen Konow; but see p. 199.
29. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0057 (wood; c. 10 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; notches on B; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-son script).

[A] A ma ca Lha zuñ gre | tshand la [B] Sna bo Li In dad ḥbul ba nas.

"Barley, offering by the Khotanī In-dad of Sna-bo to the Amaca Lha-zuñ-gre."

Notes.

1. B. Sna-bo: Cf. p. 212. On Sna-bo as a name of the Cer-cen river see Acta Orientalia, xiii, p. 44.

1. A. tshand: See supra, p. 191. The name Lha-zuñ-gre is a hybrid, the first two syllables Lha-zuñ, being Tibetan and occurring in M.I. ii, 20b, M.T. a, iii, 0070.

It is perhaps no accident that in four of these texts there is reference to gifts of provisions or repasts and so on to the Amacas named, or that these share with the ban-de (= Nepalese bandya, Chinese bonze) the designation tshan. It is probable that, at least during the Tibetan domination, they enjoyed civil dignity and esteem rather than power, unless indeed they functioned as judges in the gresa-tus (= parisad, see supra, p. 134).

Of other Khotan dignitaries we do not hear. But it might be opportune to consider the Tibetan san-rje-pos, jo-cos, san-blons, etc., with a view to any chronological inferences that might arise. It might be thought that with the meagre resources of Tibetan nomenclature it would be a difficult matter to establish identifications. The difficulty, indeed, exists; but it is not due to that cause: such good use is made of the resources that in the documents the same names rarely recur. The subject is, however, somewhat complicated, and the names are very numerous: there being no doubt as to the general period to which the Mazār-Tāgh documents relate, it will be best to reserve the designations of the Tibetan officials for a separate, and wider, consideration.

We may, however, take note of the presence of one dimag-pon,
or General, in the city of Khotan and of the conduct of one nañ-rje-po.

30. M. Tâgh. 0515 (paper, originally folded in a long slip in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28.5 × 9 cm.; ll. 7 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script, scrawled and in places faint, + 1 of more ordinary cursive dbu-can).


"Be it so!" (or "May come", an endorsement).

[1–2] "To Ḥphan-gzigs: petition of Ḥphan-arya and Na-brtsan. We beg to inquire whether your illness is again apprehended or not.

[2–5] "At the time when you joined the soldiery, we too joined the soldiery, and we, through the fate of our works (?)

1 An endorsement in a different hand below the line.
2 Added below the line.
did not take to soldiering. Our aged mother... at the time when we her children came, we wish that she come [and join us]. So we beg not to disappoint her. At the present moment... mother has just arrived. [5-7] Here also the chief ra-san and the pur-ba and so forth. Owing to... we are not sending any little medicines. We beg you not to disappoint... We pray that you may quickly recover your health."

"To Ḫphan-gzigs: petition of Ḫphan-rgya."

[B 1] "To Ḫphan-gzigs: sent by Ḫphan-la-rya and Na-brtsan."

[B 2—a different hand] "Recommendation, submission from the ra-san and others and authorization by the General’s divān established in Ḫu-ten—a new copy."

Notes

1. 1. Ḫbyun: This is, no doubt, the General’s endorsement.


so-la-bthus: "Be called up for military service."

The phrase is found also in p. 454: 52. A 1.


so-ka-ma-la-hdzin: = "kha-ma"; cf. so-khal-zun, p. 238.

1. 4. chi-pyun-du-lṭshal... gyis: For mchi-phyun! or ci interrogative?

thugs-myi-chad-par-gsol: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. a, iv, 00123.

1. 5. ra-san: See supra, p. 172.

pur-ba: No doubt, some military designation (= phur-myi?). [l. B 2. This is a note by some subordinate of the General.]

spu-ṭus: Reading and sense not clear.

31. M. Tagh. b, ii, 0062 (paper; fol. no. 46, complete; ll. 5 recto of rather square, black dbu-can script, clear; ll. 4 verso + top of l. 5 of ordinary, rather square, curvilinear dbu-can, a different hand from recto).


"To my lord Khri-rje-ḥpāṇs, the city."

[B] "To My Lord Han-mdzes: letter petition of Mkhar-slebs—then after the usual compliments: This letter is to beg the dispatch of orders: for the rest I trust that my lord and his servants (or subjects) are happy and in good health, free from illness. What is the talk in the Hu-ten quarter may be heard from (or [told] privately by ?) the soldier."

**Notes**

This curious document presents considerable difficulties in translation. Not only is the subject-matter recto one likely to lead to obscure expressions, but it is also not quite clear from the ductus that the words in the vertical line really

---

1 = *pstr. Crossed out.*

2 Is *Lha* intended?
follow 1. 5: the latter is, however, from the sense highly probable. We have in any case an "anonymous letter" to an official, whether from one who signs as "the city" or not, and the charges which it lays against the Home-Minister are correspondingly serious. He is no doubt residing in Khotan, and the letter is written to an official there.

The verso is probably an inquiry made on behalf of the addressee of the recto, in which case it shows a good official discretion. Alternately the recto might be the reply to the inquiry verso: but this is in itself less probable, and, further, the letter is not addressed to the writer of the verso. The letter is, no doubt, sent from Khotan to Šin-šan.

[A] ma-rgyon-smyon-ba: By "mother" is perhaps meant "[other people's] wives"; similarly as concerns "sisters".
št-hbyis-paḥ: The expression "as to death, a child" may denote irresponsible killing. Or is it "a child of death"?
mdah-tshags-pa: mdah-tshags means "gourd" and tshags = "sieve"; perhaps this is a "portmanteau" expression.
rtol-po-che-chun: We have rendered this as meaning "whoever appears (comes in his way), great or small".

[B] slan-chad: "For the rest"; or "in future"?
bkaḥ-mchid: "Talk" or "news"; so pp. 146, 42.3, 222.4.

II. ŠIN-ŠAN

Šin-šan occurs as a place-name in over thirty documents from Mazār-Tāgh, a place on the Khotan river, about 100 miles north of Khotan, where Sir Aurel Stein discovered and excavated a Tibetan fort and other ruins. The name is hardly to be found in documents from other places, and we have already given expression (in Sir A. Stein's Innermost Asia, p. 1086) to the view that Šin-šan was the proper name of the settlement at Mazār-Tāgh itself. That the fact is so appears also from the circumstance that many of the documents are letters apparently addressed to Šin-šan; and this impression will be enhanced by a perusal of those which we will proceed to consider. See Vol. I, p. 307, n. 4.
The name Šin-šan, which appears to mean "Wood-mountain" (Chinese shan, as in Pha-šan, etc.), can never have been appropriate to the low barren hill on which rose the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh. It is perhaps, therefore, a corruption of some native name, and we may ask whether it is possibly the Šen-za of the Gosrūga-vyākaranā, denoting "the northern district Šen-za, protected by an image Šen-za, which would arise from the nether world" (Ancient Khotan, p. 584). As to Šen-za = Vaiśravaṇa, see Vol. I, p. 317, n. 12.

Since the above lines were written a definite confirmation of this suggestion has come to light. The Brāhmī endorsement of the document No. 28, p. 193 supra, addressed to a chief in command at Šin-šan, has been read by Professor Sten Konow, who has kindly furnished the following possible translation [but see a later note (1948) on the reading].

"On the hill which (or who) is Ysaināgotra, to him now to be given."

It is probable that the writer has by Ysaināgotra rendered into his Iranian speech the native name Šen-za; and perhaps he had some justification, since, as we have seen (p. 73), the syllable za, whether actually Iranian or not, was employed in Chinese Turkestan with precisely the sense of gotra: thus Šen-za (taken as "za") = Ysainā (i.e. Šenā)-gotra. Moreover, by adding the word "hill" (garā) he confirms our understanding of the second syllable in Šin-šan as the Chinese shan, a "hill". The Tibetan Šin-šan represents, therefore, an accommodation to their speech of *Šen-(za-)šan, a good instance of those etymologizing tendencies which seem to have specially influenced the folk-lore of Khotan (see infra, pp. 225-6, and Vol. I, pp. 158, 167, 307, n. 4, Asia Major, ii, pp. 258-9, 262-3).

32. H. 2 (wood; c. 12.5 × 1 × 2 cm.; cut away and broken—without loss?—at right; hole for string at left; two slight notches in C; ll. 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 of poor cursive dbu-can script).

[A] *|:| khram . ḫdi . la . meis . pa . daṅ . mar

[. .]
The indent has come here, and at the beginning of the barley of Šīn-šan, two hundred loads and four[teen?] brc, consigned to the Khotan Bu-hḥug, has been caused to be sent to Šīn-šan; apricots also were afterwards sent to Bu-hḥug."

Notes

33. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0040 (wood; 23 × 25.5 cm.; complete; hole with string at left; ll. 2 recto + ll. 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing, rather faint).

"From the place of the census of Hu-ten: Message to the authorities of Šīn-šan having been dispatched in one day five times (at the fifth hour? in five stages?), this message token, urgent and very important, is to be taken at once. If the message token does not arrive in time, or if any offend by going astray, they are to be punished according to law, From Hu-ten, date. . . ."

Notes
1. rtṣis-sa: Mentions of the "censuses" or "reckonings", which perhaps related to both persons and properties, are not infrequent in the Tibetan chronicle (e.g. ll. 8, 23, 78, etc.) or in
the documents. We have had before (pp. 31, 140) a rtsis-mgo "head, or total, of census", and this also recurs in M.I. xxviii, 2, and in that chronicle (l. 52). Cf. p. 56.6.

The Goshriga-zyakaran has (vol. i, p. 2, n. 4) yul-gyi-rtsis-mgo "the country's census-total".

l. A 2. ko-ches-pa: = go-ches-pa "of great consideration"?

l. B 1. dam-du: "At the fixed time" or "promptly", i.e. without loss of time at the relays. The phrase is found in p. 447:44. B 3, with myel-tse-dgu, "9 watches," and with nin-tshod mtshan-tshod "day-time or night-time" in M.T. 0334 and c, iii, 0025 (infra, pp. 204, 235), and we had dam-zag-du "on a fixed day" in pp. 19, 79, and nin-dam-du is found in M. Tagh. c, iii, 0034 below (p. 202).

34. M. Tagh. a, iii, 001 (wood; 15 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + ll. 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can script, rather faint).


(1) "Two Khotanis, Hdzas and Sir-hde, having been dispatched to Hu-then to fetch my winter things, [2-B 1] one returned; one has not come. [B 1-2] His rations, par-sa-ris-ma, etcetera, were sent before."

Note

With the name Hdzas, cf. the Dzadz of p. 178.

The expression par-sa-ris-ma is of unknown meaning; it recurs twice, in the form par-sa-re-shi-ma, in another wooden document (M. Tagh. a, vi, 0056).

35. M. Tagh. c, iii, 0034 (wood; 17 × 2.5 cm.; complete, but cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 3 recto + ll. 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can script, rather, in B, l. 2, very faint).

[1-3] "By Spe-staṅ and Mdo-brtsan, after taking counsel, dispatched from Hu-then on the twenty-second day of the last summer month of the Hare year for conveyance to reach Šin-šan. [3] This soldier-missive is to be taken immediately on the fixed day, and delivered on a witnessed (dpaṅ ?) date. [3-B2] In case of lateness or wandering astray and not providing convoy for the missive severe punishment is to be imposed."

Notes

1. A1. Šin-šan-ṛphar-du: This might perhaps be rendered "to beyond Šin-šan". Bsam-bor: see Ś. C. Das, s.v. ḫbor.


niṅ-dam-du-zun-la: See supra, p. 201.

1. B2. skyel-bskyal: This is the full phrase for "providing convoy"; ri-skyel recurs infra, pp. 220, 229, 373, also in other documents, e.g. a, ii, 0085.

36. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0016 (wood; 23 × 1.5 × 5 cm.; complete; ii. 2 recto + 1 on side + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, verso rather faint).

[1] Ṣ | | Ho, tön, Gyu, mo, yan, chad, gi, stag, so, pa, bzung, pa, la | | Glīṅ, riṅ, gi, so, paḥi [2] mchid, gsol, paḥ, bdag, cag, tshugs, pon, daṅ, ḥog, pon, guṅ, kūl, ri, zug, pas ([B] naṅ, rje, [po], b[l][o]n, Staṅ, legs, gi, ža, sna, gs[o], baḥ [s-r, gs-l, sḥ I] [C1] lṭshal, brgyags, bar, chad, du, gyur, Šin, mchis, na, sna, gtan, par, thugs.

ste.1 daṅ ?

[1] "To the tiger soldiers stationed as far on as Ho-ton Gyu-mo, letter petition of the Glin-riñas soldiers. We, a tshugs-pen (sergeant) and a hog-pon (corporal), both having mountain sickness (ri-zug-pa) (petition in the presence of the Home-Minister Councillor Stañ-legs), having run short of food and provisions, have the kindness to send them soon (snar). If there is none in the Dru-gu cor, pray send this tablet to Šin-šan."

Notes

The missive duly reached Šin-šan, where it was unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein.

Concerning Ho-ton Gyu-mo and Glin-riñas see below (pp. 212 sqq., 254–6). It will be observed that the former was clearly on the route from Glin-riñas, which was in Tibet, to Šin-šan, and it would appear to be connected with the Dru-gu cor, which was mentioned supra (pp. 18, 175) and will be the subject of further observations later (pp. 276–280).

1. A. 2. ri-zug occurs frequently (see pp. 224, 249 infra).
1. C. 2. byan-bu "little tablet" evidently denotes the wooden tablet itself; cf. phrin-byan, so-byan "soldier-tablet" (M.I. xiv, 0019, 126), pp. 58, 158, 206, 252, 433: 6. We have also so-ris tü-byan "soldier-relay-tablet" in p. 436: 14.

37. M. Tāgh, c, iii, 0025 (wooden stick, four-sided, rather curved; c. 19.5 × 1 × 1 cm.; 1. 1 on each face, ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


1 This line B seems to be part of a previously inscribed letter, which was erased or cut away when the present missive was inscribed.
2 * below line.

[A-B] “Sent to the soldiers onwards from Par-ban and onwards from Dru-ku hjor. [B-C] Dispatch this missive, without straying, to Šin-šan, taking care and avoiding remissness. [C-D] Day-time or night-time, it must be taken over immediately. Whoso shows remissness is to be punished.”

Notes

A. Par-ban : Concerning this place see infra, pp. 242-4. Dru-gu hjor : See supra, p. 203.
B. kpar-ma : See supra, p. 148 and Index.
D. dam-du-zun, nin-tshod, etc. : See supra, pp. 201-2.

38. M. Tāgh.a.iv, 005 (wood ; c. 18.5 × 2 cm ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint).


39. M. Tāgh.a.iv, 007 (wood ; c. 20 × 1.5 cm ; complete ; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso (inverted) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


* Compendious for ḫtsal.
* pas below line.
These two seem to belong together, and may be translated in one context, a proceeding which in any case seems harmless.

[005] "We humble persons, Rdze-sa(mi) (?), sent as soldier spies (so-lu)z of (the country) down to Šin-šan, have come in a long course (rgyu) from the top of the Žugs-nam. Not even travelling clothes are available. By the time of our arrival we have accomplished a task of one year less (šin) two months. While on our return—

[007] "We beg (htsal ?) to be provided in ample or small quantity (bam ?) with the rations which should have been sent. This message tablet [should be forwarded] quickly by the soldiers as far up as Caň-lam-tse to Šin-šan."

Notes

005, A 2. Žugs-nam-gyi-ltoins: This phrase, which recurs p. 224 below, is, no doubt, the same as the Žugs-dams of the Khotan chronicle, on whichever side may lie the easy confusion of a and d (z and t). From the passage quoted in Asia Major, ii, pp. 258-9, it is clear that the name belonged to some elevated plain near Tola in Me-skar; and, since the district of Me-skar lay between Khotan and Tashal-byi, concerning which see pp. 119-122, we must look for Me-skar and Tola, with its Žugs-dam (or nam), somewhere in the mountains between Polu and Cer-cen. See vol. i, pp. 100, nn. 5-6, 318, nn. 1 and 5. [But it now seems that Žugs-nams was different from Žugs-dams and that Tola was in the latter, being the village Dol, 16½ miles E. of Khotan.]

005, A 2. šinl: A "spy"; cf. pp. 224, 436, 446.

B 1. rad-gos: On rad see supra, pp. 52, 143. Rad-gos "travelling costume" occurs in the document published by the Oslo Institute (p. 187, n. 2 supra).

B 2. Dguñ . . . šin, "given two months, a year"; in M. Tāgh. a, v, 007 (p. 447), we have nīn-šin "in the daytime". Cf. vol. i, p. 22, n. 5.
B 3. *gner-hkums*: See *supra*, p. 42 and Index.

*hkor* = *hkhor*.

007. A. *htsal*: If correctly read, this seems to be an equivalent of *htsal*, as not infrequently.

B. *hpfrin-byan*: "Message-tablet"; see *supra*, p. 58.

*Can-lan-tse*: A place; see *infra*, p. 219. Clearly it must have been on the way to Siin-šan.

40. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0025 (wood; 17 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + ll. 2 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).


[1] "By Councillor Mtsho-bzan sent to Rid Khrom-rna [B 1] If an answer (lan = lan !) has been sent, it has not arrived, it seems: later also it has not come. [B 1-2] So report to Siin-šan immediately upon the receipt of [this] missive."

**Note**


41. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0039 (wood; c. 8 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).


"Ticket of work-levy of soldier in the lesser fort (town) of Siin-šan."

**Note**

1. 1. *mkhar-bu*: The "lesser fort" or town at Siin-šan is perhaps named in antithesis to the larger fort on the hill.

42. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0065 (paper, fol. 13 of vol.; c. 27.5 × 12 cm.; a fragment; ll. 8 of ordinary, rather large, *dbu-can* writing).
[1] opathic signs: 


[5] ... san. gyi. stsan. š[u]gs. nod. pañi. [tshe] . . . o . . . l. hg 


[7] ... hi. rigs. na. || kho. ru. chu 

[8] ... phyed. bskur. ūi 

[1-3] "To the [wife of the] Home Minister, the chief [in command] of Šiñ-šan, [the lady] Khri-ma-lod, of famous lineage (here a mutilated phrase containing the expression when riding, one horse): letter-petition of Klu-gzigs. [3-4] The Home Minister, equal to a theophany, having been so considerate as to send a glance (zigs) up here and (the message) having come to hand, I beg to tender thanks. [4-6] The Home Minister, when settling the measure (dispute, sug's?) of the (Šiñ .)-šan crop . . . is quite fitting (rab-tu- chags ?). [6-8] It being appropriate that your humble servant, if able, should send a present, I am sending there half a . . ."

Notes

1. 1. Khri-ma-lod: This name being, like most others ending in -lod, feminine—it occurs, in fact, in the Tibetan chronicle as the name of a princess—it is probable that the gap in the document contained the statement that the lady in question was the wife or mother of the Šiñ-šan rtse-rje "chief in command" and nañ-rje-po "Home Minister".

1. 2. . . . ra-myi-ra: "In . . . place or men's place."

1. 6. spyan-zigs: "A present," as on p. 224, etc., infra. The present is, no doubt, the customary upāyana.

43. M. Tāgh. b. 1, 0097 (paper, fol. no. 36; e. 20.5 × 5 cm.;

* Compendious for g-yar.
fragmentary at right; II. 3 of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing).


"In the middle Summer month of the Horse year. Rations of the men in the fort and soldier relays (so-res !) of Śiḥ-śaṅ. Barley grain, one hundred and forty loads, has been sent. To dbrad Chas-slebs, grain-official of Śiḥ-śaṅ, offered by the Ha-ža G-yu-brtsan, grain-conveyor."

Notes

l. 2. so-res: "Relay of soldiers" recurs pp. 224, 436, and not infrequently elsewhere (a, ii, 0054, and p. 203 supra).
l. 3. mṇan: See supra, p. 19, 79.


44. M. Tāgh. 0501 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 11 × 6 cm.; II. 6 of rather neat, cursive dbu-can writing).

Notes

1. 2. *ltan-sogs* : Apparently equivalent to *ltan-sogs* of M.I. xxviii, 002, 2. 0036.6 (pp. 51, 149) : or should we so read? The sense is "bale-man" or "bale-collector". The person G-yu-brtsan was in the previous document (p. 20) *stsan-hdren" conveyor of crop." *Ltan-sogs* = "bale-man".


45. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0062 (paper, c. 29 × 16 cm., fol. no. 12 in vol.; ll. 8 of clear, well-formed, *dbu-can* script).


[1-3] "To the Khotanī authorities of Šin-šan : letter-petition of Khotanī Bu-god. Having received in full the barley paid (?) for the conducting of the ban-de to Saṅ, on the way I sent the asses levied (or exacted) with the help of the Saṅ barley, [3-4] Having reached Khotan, I halted also on the estate and the Saṅ barley became three ass-loads in place of two. [4-5] When I came to the Šin-šan estate, at first the [Šin-šan barley not previously paid came satisfactorily to hand. Then there were presents to me and what was levied. [5-6] Since then they have been making insulting

1 *Phul* repeated and the second crossed out.
2 *Sic for bar.*
3 *Below line.*
remarks to your humble servant, saying 'For us how many spans to a bre? ' (1) [6-7] If strict instructions could be given to me soon to convey the barley now received from certain families, without being ordered to go up and up from house to house, straight through to Šin-san, I should regard it as a great favour.'

Notes

The writer of the letter had been employed to convoy a monk to a place called Saň, which was outside Khotan territory and was possibly the Šaň or Mo-šaň district of Shan-shan, on which see Stein (Serindia, pp. 333-4) and Chavannes (T'oung-pao, 1905, pp. 582, n. 7). On the way back he collects barley-rents from estates in Khotan territory and ultimately in the Šin-san region. Trouble having arisen as regards payments in the latter quarter, he asks leave to suspend operations and come straight on with what he has already collected.

1. 1. la is omitted between Li-muňan and Li.
1. 2. baň-de-tshan: On the honorific term tshan see supra, p. 191.
1. 3. ãlag: From ļo. The word seems to occur elsewhere with the sense of "putting up"; "staying": see Index.
1. 4. gcal: No doubt = bcal, from ļjal "pay".
1. 5. bre-gah-mtho: "a bre, how many spans?"
1. 6. mechid-phyar-gton: See Š. C. Das's dictionary, under Ḵphyar-kha.
1. 8. thal-byun: "Come straight on without stopping"; see Š. C. Das, under thal.

45a. M. Ṭagh. c. iv. 0035 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2 cm., nearly complete; hole (broken) for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive Ḩu-bu-can script, partly obscured by dirt).
[B] rji ; [z]ug. ||
“Pu-bag Šin-kuh of the Rlaṅ regiment, in the... of Šin-šan: [B] mountain-sick.”

**Note**

On the Rlaṅ regiment see p. 467; on ri-zug, p. 423-4.

Pu-bag may be a military designation: see pp. 458, 469.

45b. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0012 (wood, c. 10-5 × 2-5 cm., cut and broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


dan . mün . la . sprino |

[B 1]...[g] . tshagi . than . du . gslo . ba . than . yig . la .
yan. [Between B 1 and B 2]...n.chad.de. [B 2]...

la . gsol . bar . chad . kyis || skyems

“Sent by... to the chief lord and government of Šin-šan: petition in the presence of (or for authority of)... In a letter of authorization (than-yig, cf. p. 195. B 2), also... decided... by decision to petition to... Drink...”

Further mention in M. Tāgh. 0323, 0538, 0599, a. iii, 0024 and 0036, c. i, 0040, c. ii, 0036, c. iii, 0059, all, however, too slight or fragmentary for quotation.

45c. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 003 (wood, c. 20-20-5 × 1-5 cm., broken away at bottom; l. 1 (+ some vowel signs of a second) of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] $\circ$ : | rtah . dpyid . sla . tha . chuns . la | Šin . ši(a)n . chab . rgyud . gyi | snas | Stag . Rtsan . bžer . gyis

[2] -o...-e...

“In the last spring month of the Horse [year]. By Tiger Rtsan-bžer, chief of the Šin-šan administration...”

45d. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0038 (wood, c. 14 × 2 × 1 cm., cut away for a tally; hole for string at l.; notches on the two inscribed sides; ll. 1 + 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


“Sent to Šin-šan, addressed to the ban-de, the Khotani Bu-hñog-dag of Sna-bo: barley: [lower?] tally.”
Notes

On Sna-bo see p. 194. In khram-mah the second syllable is perhaps only an affix.

From these references to Sin-san it is clear that the place must have been the military headquarters of the whole Khotan region. Naturally it was in constant communication with the city of Khotan itself and other places in the area. But the documents suffice to show that it was a centre of communications from regions further afield, from Tibet and from the more easterly parts of Chinese Turkestan, and was a terminal point of Tibetan occupation in the west.

The place possessed the fort excavated by Sir Aurel Stein and also, apparently, a minor fort or town (mikhar-bu). It had a rtsa-rje "head official", who was a san-rje-po "Home Minister". It controlled, as we shall see, the supplies of numerous military posts, and also dominated the city of Khotan, which remained, however, under the administration of its native king.

III. Gyu-mo, Ho-thon Gyu-mo

For already cited references to a place named Ho-thon Gyu-mo, with variants 'O-ton Sgo-mo and Ho-thon Gyu-mo, see supra, pp. 170, 174, 203.

From the last of those references it appears, as we have seen, that the place lay between Glin-rins, in Tibet, and Sin-san, or Mazār-Tāgh. This serves to exclude any identification with either Ak-su, which had also a Chinese name Ku-mo (see Sir Aurel Stein's Innermost Asia, p. 835), or the oasis of Guma, between Khotan and Karghalik. There remain three possibilities, namely, (1) Cer-cen, which was also during a long period known as Tsū-mo or Chū-mo (Serindia, p. 297), and (2) the old kingdom of Yū-mi or Chū-mi (the Niū-mo, Han-mo, Kyu-mo of the Former Han Annals), located by the Chinese between the Keriya and Chira rivers (Stein, Ancient Khotan, p. 467), absorbed by Khotan, c. A.D. 152. (3) The place Kiu-mo, N.E. of Cer-cen, mentioned by the
Chinese (Grenard, in Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, iii, p. 146, and Chavannes, *T’oung-pao*, II, vi (1905), pp. 536, n. 4, 566) as on the Cer-cen river and probably therefore the point where (Stein, *Serindia*, pp. 298–9, 1331) the route from Mirân (Little Nob) to Khotan crossed the river.

No. 3 is markedly favoured by two references in the documents. In document 36 (pp. 202–3) Ho-ton Gyu-mo is evidently regarded as the far-limit (yan-chad) of the Drugu-cor from a place in N.E. Tibet in the direction of Khotan. In no. 37 (pp. 203–4) the Drugu hjor is the near-limit (man-chad) at which commences a transmission of a message within the Khotan administration; and evidently this implies that transmission inside the Drugu hjor was otherwise arranged. This shows that Ho-ton Gyu-mo functions as a frontier post between the two administrations, that of the Drugu cor, corresponding, as will appear, to the old Shan-shan kingdom, and that of Khotan, with headquarters in Sin-san. The other near-limit for the message, which evidently comes from Tibet, confirms this conclusion: it is Par-ban, which, being the Parvata of the Kharoṣṭhi records, was the mining town in the mountains south of the Niya-Cadota region, again a suitable point of entrance from N.E. Tibet into Khotan territory. The message will have been dispatched by two separate routes, viz. via Charklik and Ho-ton Gyu-mo and via Par-ban. The other references to Ho-ton Gyu-mo, though lacking decisive geographical implications, contain nothing adverse to the proposed identification.

The prefix Ho-ton, sometimes omitted, resembles that in Odon-Kaskar, which in the Tibetan *Rgyal-rabs* (see Francke, *Antiquities of Tibet*, ii, p. 87) appears to denote Kashgar. If a word of Mongol affinity could at the date of the documents have been current in Chinese Turkestan (see Pelliot, *T’oung-pao*, II, xxvi (1929), p. 250), Ho-ton might be = Mongol odon “town”. Or is it one of the various names of Khotan (Hsiung-nu Yü-tun, etc.) cited by Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 153–5, so that the meaning is “Gyu-mo of Khotan”?
In that case it would be parallel to the *Khema-Khotammra* of the Kharosti documents and the *Tshal-byi-Car-chen*, *Tshal-byi-Nob-chunu*, and *Kva-cu-Khar-ctsan*, recorded in the Tibetan (supra, pp. 51, 121).

45c. M. Tagh. 0050 (paper fragment; c. 14 × 15 cm; ll. 11 recto of good, cursive, black *dbu-can* script + ll. 9 verso of rather coarse, ordinary *dbu-can*—different matter, but the text (p. 178 supra), which has lost little at the left, makes it probable that in the recto little is missing on the right).

[1] rō dron · myi · Lha · goń · Nad · gos · Btsan · legs | Dgra · byun ... [2] ... na · Yul · ḫphān · Tses · mthön · Phug · Ḫdros · legs | ... [3] ... a · Btsan · zigs | Ḫphrul · gyi · rtse na · Kol · kol · Na · rtsan ... [4] ... Ryūn · g[ō]n · Rye (Nye ?) · skor. | 'An · tse · na · Rhu-l po · Khun · goń · Rgyal · slebs ... [5] ... d · na · G[s]as · zigs · Zla · rma · byēn : Ḫbu · šan · na · G-yu · l ... [6] ... n · Lad · rtsu | Stag · sras · na · Tses · zigs · Lha · mān · Ja · l ... [7] ... dus · na · Rmaṅ · [s]lebs · Žan · rmun · yul · tsaṅ | Ḫjag · ma · gu[r] ... [8] ... san · Dgra · mthön · Skyin · tṣud | Stag · sgugs · na · Liṅ ... [9] ... phan. | Mdoṅ · rtse · na · Phaṅs · legs · Lha · brtsan · | Jan · laṅ ... [10] ... legs | Ho · tōn · Gyū · mo · na · Byi · bu · Hul · tse | Tse ... u · cag · na ... [11] ... s · gyi · rtse · na · Myes · mton | Bye · ri · snaṅ · daṅ · rtse · na · Legs · gsas.

"Dron-myī Lha-goń, sick-clothes(-man) Btsan-legs.
"In Dgra-byun ... Yul-ḫphān, Tses-mthōṅ, Phug-Drosl legs ... Btsan-zigs.
"In Ḫphrul-gyi·rtse Kol-kol, Na-rtsan ... Ryūn-goń, Rye-skor.
"In 'An-tse Rhu-po Khun-goń, Rgyal-slebs ...
"In ... d Gsas-zigs, Zla-rma-byēn.
"In Ḫbu-šan G-yu-l ... n · Lad-rtṣu.
"In Stag-sras Tses-zigs, Lha-mān · Ja-l...
"In Stag-ḥdus Rmaṅ-slebs, Žan-rmum · Yul-tṣan.
"In Ḫjag-ma-gu ... san, Dgra-mthōṅ, Skyin-tṣud.
"In Stag-sgugs Liṅ ... [ḫ]phān.
"In Mdoṅ-rtse Phaṅs-legs, Lha-brtson.
"In Jan-lan-rtse . . . legs.
"In Ho-ton Gyu-mo Byi-bu, Hul-tse.
"In Tse- navigate . . .
"In . . . s-gyi-rtse Myea-mton.
"In Bya-ri-snaṅ-dan-rtse Legs-gsas."

Notes

Concerning the places with names ending in rtse, viz. 'An-tse, Bye-ri-snaṅ-dan-rtse, Jan-lan-rtse, Mdoṅ-rtse, Ḥphrul-gyi-rtse, Stag-ḥdus-kyi-rtse, Stag-agngs-kyi-rtse, Stag-sras-kyi-rtse, see below (pp. 217 sqq.), where several of them recur. Concerning Dgra-byun(-gi-rtse ?), Ḥbu-ṣan, Ḥjag-magu, Tse- navigate, see pp. 236-70, 250 infra.

The discrimination of the personal names is not in all cases certain; dron-myi (l. 1) may be 'merchant', yul-tsan (l. 7), 'local magnate' (p. 344), and skyin-tsal (l. 8) might likewise be a title. In l. 6 the expression ṭhul-po has been taken as a prefix (class or clan name) on the ground of its form (cf. Khyun-po, noticed above, p. 54) and of its occurrence in M.T. 0509, 0510 (p. 62).

It may be noted that in a case like the present, where a rather well-written official document shows on the reverse a private letter, especially if the latter is coarsely inscribed, the priority of the former is indubitable.

46. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0078 (wood; c. 22.5 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and partly rubbed away).


"In Ho-ton Gyu-mo two Tibetans, two Khotanis, sick-bedstead thag-bar Rtes-byin . . .

"In . . . s-rtse, the dṅul Klu-bzaṅ of the Upper Skyi regiment, the corporal . . ."
Notes

1.1. mʊ ald...: This phrase perhaps refers to conveyance of the sick. But we hear elsewhere of a mʊ ald-pahi-sde and mʊ ald-bphan-γyi-sde (pp. 247, 464), the medical contingent.

1.2. ḏul: Apparently not found elsewhere as a personal designation. Since ḏul = "money", it might mean "cashier".


47. M. Ṭāgh. c, i, 0053 (wood; c, 15.5 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[A] Ṭ | Ṭ Ho. ṭoṇ. Gyu. mo. li, rgyags] [B 1] Ḍa. ȥar. gy[i], dmag. la. ri. zugi. brgyags. ḏbag
[B 2] gu. yan. med. tho

"Supplies for Ho-ton Gyu-mo. For the army in the Ḍa-ţa [country] there is not even a moderate amount of ri-zug ('mountain-sickness') supplies."

Note

B 1. ri-zug-brgyags: See p. 249: this phrase recurs pp. 234, 372, 427, and a, iii, 0040, b, i, 0059.

48. H. 4 (wood; c, 11 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary, rather clumsy, cursive dbu-can script).

[Ho. ṭoṇ. Gyu. mor. mchi]

"Going to Ho-ton Gyu-mo."

49. M. Ṭāgh. b, i, 0066 (wood; c, 17 x 1 cm.; fragmentary, the top part lost; l. 1 recto + the top of l. 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


[B] Illegible.

"Food supplies not having been issued, very ... Now some little sent to Ho-ton Sgo[-mo]."

* Added below middle of line.
For a mention of a Gyu-mo without qualification see below, pp. 235, 249.

49a. M. Tagh. a. iii, 0051 (wood, c. 10.5 x 1.5-2 cm., cut to a point at 1., cut away at top; hole for string at r.; traces of II. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ... Ho-ton Gyu-mo: na ... ri.zug[i ?]

[A 2] ... [rgy]a-gs [ 
[B 1] ... [r yuñ-ō-.h l ... h ... te] ... [B 2] ... g ... 
[h y s ?]

"In Ho-ton Gyu-mo ... mountain-sick ... provisions(?)..."

IV. PLACES WITH NAMES ENDING IN "-RTSE"

The word rtse, "peak" or "top", is a very appropriate termination for the names of places in a mountainous region; in Tibet there are innumerable place-names of this type. In the Nob region of Chinese Turkestan we have noticed (pp. 155-7) several such names, e.g. Khu-rtse, Snan-rtse, Gyuñ-druñ-rtse. In the case of the last named we have suggested the possibility that -rtse may have denoted nothing more than a height in a fort. There may have been instances of such a nature; but in general the position will have been otherwise. The numerous names in -rtse will have been due to the occupation of commanding positions by the Tibetan troops for the purpose of observation and control. In the case of Peju-rtse we shall quote documents which in fact refer to building operations. The actual designations of some of the places, e.g. Stag-sras-dgyes-gyi-rtse "Young-tiger-delight (? feast ?)-peak", Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snän-rtse "Magic-mirror-all-vision-peak", while characteristically Tibetan, may also be set down partly to the fancy of those who established the new military posts. The names are naturally all Tibetan, and will not often have been attached to old sites.

Note may be taken of the manner in which the places are mentioned. We have called attention above to various lists of persons residing in certain tshars, or "parishes", or in places whose names frequently end in -rtse. It will be observed
that the two kinds of reference do not intermingle, a fact which clearly indicates that the former lists refer to "parishes" in the Khotan district itself, while the latter have in view the military posts outside. Most, however, of the documents are mere wooden labels, showing either simply the name of the place, or the same with references to supplies (brgyags), or barley (nas) or wheat (gro), or soldiers (so), and so forth—often with line-marks or notches plainly meant to denote numbers or amounts. They are, therefore, labels for articles kept or dispatched for the use of the places mentioned, or of persons belonging, or travelling, to the same. Usually, where there are notches, the wood is cut away for the purpose of a tally, and the hole for the string, which otherwise is at the right, is at the broader end to the left. An example M. Tāgh. 0564) is figured on plate cxxx of Innermost Asia.

(a) ‘An-tse.

Mentioned supra, p. 215, and a, iv, 0096, b, ii, 0022.

No doubt a place in the Khotan region and quite different from An-hsi (Kva-cu) in distant Kan-su and An-hsi = Kucā.

(b) Bye-ma-hdor-gyi-rtse.

Mention of this place has occurred in No. 4, p. 174 supra.

50. M. Tāgh. 0527 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at right; wood partly cut away; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; c. 12 lines or notches for numbers).

51. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0088 (wood; c. 11.5 × 1 cm.; complete, palimpsest; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; hole for string at right).

[A] [B] baku. bar. ton. šig.
"Bye-ma-hdor-gyi-rtse. Allow the lo-naṅ Mon to be sent."

Note

(c) Bye-ri-snāṅ-dan-rtse.
Mentioned in M.T. 0050 (p. 215 supra) and ii, 006.
(d) Cau-laṅ-rtse.
See above, p. 206, a, iii, 0032 and 0059 and add—
52. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0066 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 6 notches or lines).

 Possibly the Jāh-laṅ-rtse mentioned supra (p. 215) is only a variant of this name.
(c) Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse.
53. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 006 (wood; c. 7 × 2 cm.; complete; hole at right for string; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"Supplies for Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse on the frontier (or in the frontier country)."

54. M. Tāgh. a, v, 001 (wood; c. 8 × 3 cm.; imperfect at left and right; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of rather neat, cursive dbu-can script).


... "Travelling party ... to Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse mart. ..." Send soldier’s wages.

It seems therefore that Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse was a market town on the frontier (perhaps only of two provinces or administrations).
(f) *Hphrul-gyi-rtse* ("Magic Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 215) and a, ii, 0059, and cf. the following (g) and Mye-lon-rtse (infra).

(g) *Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snañ-rtse* ("Magic-mirror-all-appearing-peak").

55. M. Tāgh. i, 0020 (wooden tally; c. 9.5 × 2 cm.; complete (f); hole for string at left; II. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive *dbus-can* script).


"Hphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snañ-rtse: received by Glu-gan flour, one load (khal = váha), four bre: later half a bre."

56. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0011 (wood; c. 15.5 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; II. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary *dbus-can* script).

[A 1] [ ] [ ] [ ] Hphrul, gyi, mye, lon, du, mchi, ba, lṭdi, riñ[A 2]par, ton, šig. | riñ, ri, skyel, lṭdi, rnam, sña [B 1] byi | ma, nor, par, ton, šig | sña, rnam, ma, rñogs, sla. [B 2] gdod, gzān, ton, šig, |" Going to Hphrul-gyi-me-lon: send on quickly. These rapid mountain couriers are to be sent on early or late (sña-physi) without mistake (ma-nor-par? or non-par 'with effort'?). Before (If !) the first lot have finished (do not suffice!), straightway send others."

Mentioned also in M.T. a, 7, iv, 0026; b, i, 0036 c; ii, 0046; c, ii, 0014.

**Notes**

A2. *ri-skyel*: "Mountain convoy" (see p. 83 *supra*).

B 1. *ma-rñogs-sla* = *ma-rñogs-la*?

sña-rnam: For this use of *rnam* see p. 79.

(h) *Jan-lan-rtse*.

See above, under *Cah-lan-rtse*. 
(i) *Mdón-rtse*.
See M.T. 0050 (p. 215 *supra*).

(j) *Me-lon-rtse* ("Mirror Peak").
Possibly the same as Ḫphrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snaṅ-rtse

(9, *supra*).

57. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0015 (wood; c. 10.5 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left broken away; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


"For *Me-lon-rtse*, supplies: secret (or remainder, *ḥbaḥ*, or some ?)."

(k) *Mṇah-ris-byin-gyi-rtse* ("Two-frontier Peak").
See No. 0564, published in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085 and b, i, 0036a.

58. M. Tāgh. 0016 (wooden tally; c. 13.5 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; nine notches or lines *recto*, one *verso*).


"Mṇah-ris-byin-gyi-rtse: four *bre* of barley counted, received."

(l) *Mṇah-ris-rtse* ("Frontier Peak").
See M.T. 0050 (p. 215 *supra*, *mṇah-rtse*).

(m) *Mon-rtse* ("Mon Peak").

59. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0058 (wood; c. 10 x 2 cm.; complete; irregular at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


"For *Mon-rtse*, supplies."


60. M. Tāgh. 0615 (wood; c. 23.5 x 2 cm.; nearly
complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can writing).


"It having been settled to re-increase the soldiers there, reinforcements from here have been sent ... some soldiers of Tsheḥu-cag should be transferred to Bsam-cha. Of new Pehu-rtse ..."

Notes

On Tsheḥu-cag and Bsam-cha see pp. 232, 247, 250 infra.
1. ḥpos: Intransitive of sapos, from spo-ba, which has occurred supra (p. 122, I. 4); cf. p. 425.

61. M. Tāgh. a, v, 0015 (paper, fol. no. 27 of vol., fragmentary at right; c. 15 × 25 cm.; ll. 21 recto + ll. 2 verso of ordinary dbu-can script).


1 Or † pra (compendious for par) Ḥ
2 Crossed out.
3 Compendious for g-yar.
Tran: slebs, kyi, skyin, bar ¹, ri, zug, du, mchi...
[13] ḫdi, bzin, du, spyan, ris, btsa, žin | so, chad...
[14] mzdad || bdag, nan, pa, bro, cuṅ, zad, tha, gi | so, sla...
[15] ḫrend, dañ, sku, nas, myi, ḫtsal, bar | dusu, phyin...
[16] ba, dañ, phur, myiḥi, srid, du, be²
mzdad, chiṅ, spyan...
[17] ma, stōns, paḥi, mtshan, ma | spyan, zigs...
[18] mchis, na, rma, žin, bžes, par, chi, gnañ |...
[19] gniṣ, thugs, bde, sku, tshe, riṅ, bar, smon...
[20] so, ūnul, Klu, mthon, mchi, ba, la, ḫaṅ, žib, tu...
[21] chi, legsu, mzdad, par, smon, chiṅ, mchis...

Verso: [1] e | ḫan ḫan Khri, bzer², dañ | naṅ, rje, po, Lha[2] bzaṅ, la | Du, dam, skyes, kyi, m-i...

[1-4] “That the ḫan Uncle-Councilor Khri-bzer and the Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ, equal to the theopanies, while residing at military headquarters on the top of the Žugs-nam, should have written inquiries after my health, whether I am happy or not, what a favour! [4-6] As regards any talk at present going on in the Hu-ten quarter, your humble servant, unable...begs merely herein to inquire after your health: so...commands. [7-9] The Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ and the swordsmen are united and intimate (glo-ba-[že] or glo-ba-rin’ “far-seeing”?). At present, since in the summer I came to build Peḥu-rtsе, sent. [9-12] I am very ill at ease. My house-servant, the gu-rīb Tran-slebs, who renders me sick-service and blows the fire (phu-lḥir?), being lent to...on this soldier-relay coming here, was not sent, and his debtor (substitute?), a regimental man, Ḫpham-brod of Ḫa-gram,... went. [12-15] Tran-slebs’ debtor (substitute), being taken with mountain-sickness...thus scrutinizing, caused the soldier...to be punished. I, being a little convalescent, fetched the soldier back...[15-18]

¹ r crossed out.
² Crossed out.
³ Compendious for bzer.
Though I did not personally require . . . arrive in time and, if in token of the interview (?) placing me in the position of a dagger-man not having gone for nothing a present . . . comes, please inquire and favour me by acceptance . . [19–21] pray that . . . both may be happy and live long . . . Also, when the soldier-spy Klu-mton comes, I pray you to . . . particularly and do what is good . . .


Notes


1. 7. phur-myi: The phrase, which occurred supra, p. 174, is found also in a, ii, 0089 and p. 277 (phur-myi-stag-rnam-la).

1. 9. phu-ldir: Both phu and ldir seem to have the general sense of "blowing".

1. 10. gu-rib: A not infrequent phrase (pp. 344: 21, 468: 102; M. Tāgh, b, i, 0059; Ch. fr. 61), denoting perhaps some occupation (a slave?).


1. 11. skyin-ba: This naturally means a "debtor." Apparently the debtor was required to act as a substitute.

1. 12. ri-zug: See pp. 203, 434, 452.


1. 15. sku-nas: "By myself in person."


62. M. Tāgh, a, v, 0020 (paper, fol. no. 29 in vol., fragmentary; c. 20 × 13.5 cm.; ll. 6 of ordinary dbu-can script).

pas | g-yar | ga[m] ... [4] ... ri. mchis. na | PeHu. tse. rtsig. palji. bsel. du. yañ. mchi. bar. mehid. staald. ... [5] ... [d]jab. ham. chen. tags | rña. mo. geig. g-yar. por. gsol. žin. mchis. na ... [6] ... ž[i]ñ. g-yar. por. thugs. rje. ji. gazgs.||

"Letter of ... I and the dagger-men of Dur-ya went ... work on wild uncultivated land. The work upon the bad land being heavy, orders were sent that, having gone up ... we should also engage in safeguarding those who were building PeHu-tse ... beg for a camel on loan ... have the kindness to lend ... ."

Notes

Concerning Dur-ya see below, p. 235. It is evidently to be presumed that PeHu-rtse was in the vicinity of that place. The reference to the building of PeHu-rtse in this and the preceding document is in harmony with the mention of New PeHu-rtse in the one first quoted (M. Tāgh. 0615, p. 221).

1. l. rgod-kyi-gle-gugs : Gis is said to mean "a small uncultivated island", and gugs may mean "a corner" (angulus terrae). Cf. pp. 126:13 (gleHu), 232, 351.

1. 4. bsel : This may mean either "guard" or "clear up". In p. 133, B l. we have had it used, apparently, of defending a citadel.

(o) Ram-khyi-rtse

62 A. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0633 (wood, c. 12-12.5 x 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at l. ; ll. 2 of cursive dbru-can script).

[2] bañi.[b|l|t]?

"Rations (?) of Khyuñ.Luñ-bruñ-ba. Ram-khyi-rtse."

On the tribe-name Khyuñ see p. 54.

(p) Señ-ka-tse

By this name no place is otherwise known. But it seems not unreasonable to equate it to the Śaṅkā-giri, near to the Śaṅkā-prahāṇa vihāra, both of which are mentioned in the
Tibetan accounts of Khotan (see Ancient Khotan, p. 584; Asia Major, ii., p. 267; and Vol. I, pp. 53, 77). We can readily understand that into a native designation Seň-ka the monks may have interpreted the Sanskrit śāṅkā, though, of course, the Sanskrit may have actually been the prīnas. Assuming the identity, we learn, however, no more than the name itself reveals, to wit, that the place lay in the mountains of the Khotan region.

63. M. Tāgh. 0574 (wood; c. 12.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of rather square, cursive dbu-can script).


Note

A 1. khyar-mkhan-ḡi-ḡbaḥs: khyar is given in the dictionaries as a synonym of ḡyams.


64. M. Tāgh. 0583 (wood; c. 13.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of rather square dbu-can script, part of verso in a different, round, hand).


"Supply-basket-man Tsa and mate came at noon on the 24th of the last summer month. For Guň-beg Guň-legs."

65. M. Tāgh. 0517 (paper; c. 25.5 × 10 cm.; fragmentary at right (ll. 3–9) and left (ll. 3–6); ll. 9 of square, formal, dbu-can script).
Myes . tshab . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḥ | | so . pa . dag . la .
g-ya . du . mjald . ste . glo . [b]aḥ . rab . du . myi . dgaḥ . žiñ .
-wu . [bi]s . dañ . ḫbras . ḫpul . gan . glo . ba . myi . ḫriñ .
mchis . | | . g . . . . . [7] ba . bdagi . ḫpha . rgañ . ſam .
nonsu . gyurd . na . rul . bu . ma . khyams . pa . tsham . sñan .
Señ . gah . tse . la . | | Lha . lod . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḥ .
par . thugs . dpags . chir . mzdaz . žal . bzañ . [p]o .

[1-2] "For the hearing of My Lord Stag-mñen: letter-petition of Myes-tshab. The tidings having reached me up here upon inquiry of the soldiers that the chief is in anxiety as to his health, I am very uneasy in mind, and I apprehend that I am to be blamed. [3-4] Without having received . . . wages I cannot, even if I come, be of any help at all. When a little recovered from the illness . . . hump-fat and a full handful of rice. A not very clever person . . . . [5-6] With good wishes for health to Myes-kol . . . pray to come up. Illness . . . when cured of illness I pray to meet face to face . . . [7-8] my aged father being in bad health (grief ?), will you . . . a little note without delay . . . health."

[8-9] "To grandson Señ-gah-tse: letter-petition of Lhalod. Will you be so kind as not to . . . your humble servant . . . is beside . . . self? . . . your good countenance."

1 Apparently crossed out.
2 ikam?
Notes

This is one of the not infrequent documents in which a letter from one person shows a postscript in the form of a letter from another, addressed either to the same individual (as in M. Tāgh. 0430, edited in Innermost Asia, p. 1087) or to a member of his family and so forth. In some instances the writer of the postscript is a woman, which, since names ending in *lōd* are generally feminine, is probably the case here. The person addressed in the postscript as Seṅ-gal-tse is probably the Stag-mñen addressed in the same letter, Seṅ-gal-tse being a residence name, such as we constantly find (see supra, p. 29, and Festgabe H. Jacobi, pp. 47, 71-2); or perhaps it is his son.

The term "grandson", as has been suggested in Innermost Asia, p. 1088 (M. Tāgh. 0436), need not be taken literally: it may be a politeness on the part of a senior friend, no doubt the wife of the writer of the main letter.

1. 3. *snad-yon*: For *sman-yon* (pp. 48, 58, and Vol. I, p. 29, n. 1).


1. 4. *hpul-gah*: Cf. the phrases noted in p. 153.

*ghlo-ba-myi-hrins (= rin):* Cf. p. 55, 121.

1. 7. *rul-bu*: We have taken this as = *ḥdrul-bu* "a short letter".

1. 9. *mxind*: For *ma-zind*?


66. M. Tāgh. 004 (wooden tally; c. 11.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; three notches verso; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


(M. Tāgh. 0158 is similar: also b. i, 0034, ii. 0013, c. i, 0012).

67. M. Tāgh. a, i, 003 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; broken
away at right and at bottom (without loss?); l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, clear).

$\text{Sna\-Dan} \, \text{hpgrl} \, \text{gyi} \, \text{rtse} \, \text{na} \, \text{Bod} \, \text{bzi} \, \text{tshugs}.$

gcig \, la \, -yi

"In Sna\-Dan-hpgrl-gyi-rtse for four Tibetans, one squad, . . . ."

(c) Sna\-hpgrl-Dan-mthon-rtse ("Vision-magic-seeing Peak").

Mentioned (Sna\-hpgrl-mton-rtse) in ii, 003. c, ii, 0026.

(r) Sna\-lun-rtse ("Vision-Valley Peak"). Mentioned in c, ii, 0065, infra, p. 249: 104.

(r) Stag-hdus-dges-kyi-rtse ("Tiger-gathering-rejoicing Peak")
and Stag-sras-dges-kyi-rtse ("Tiger-son-rejoicing Peak").

Stag-sras has occurred as a place-name in M. Tagh. 0050 (p. 214 supra).

It is perhaps doubtful whether in these names the word dges or dgyes really means "rejoicing" or "feast" (see pp. 351, 456, and M.T., a, ii, 0097). The word Stag evidently alludes to the common application of the term to soldiers.

68. M. Tagh. a, ii, 0043 (wood; c. 20.5 x 1 x 1 cm.; cut away at one side; l. 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; on one side about 19 notches and lines).

[A] $\text{Hj} \, \text{'a} \, \text{(ma?)} : \text{nas} \, | \, \text{Stag} : \text{hdus} : \text{su} : \text{gtad} : \text{pa} : \text{ri} : \text{skyel} : \text{khram}\,[B] \text{khram} : \text{bu} : \text{yan} : \text{Stag} : \text{hdus} : \text{pa} : \text{tsugs} : \text{pon} : \text{la} : \text{gtad} : \text{do} : \text{|}

"List of mountain escort supplied from Hj-'a to Stag-hdus. A list-ticket has also been supplied to the Stag-hdus sergeant."

Notes

On khram in connection with notched lines see pp. 91-2, and p. 184.

Ri-skyel has occurred supra (pp. 202, 220).

Tsugs-pon: See supra, p. 172.

69. M. Tagh. 0589 (wooden tally; c. 14 x 2 cm.; com-
plete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, clear; groups of notches recto and verso).


70. M. Tāgh. 002 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; c. 6 notches and lines recto, c. 6 verso).


"Stag-ḥdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley."

71. M. Tāgh. 0012 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, 1 aḥṣara verso; 2 notches or lines recto, 2 verso).


"Stag-ḥdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley, flour."

M.T., i, 0013 has Stag-ḥdus only.

72. M. Tāgh. ī, 0018 (wooden tally; c. 14 × 2 cm.; slightly broken; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 6 notches or lines verso).


So also M.T. 0014, i, 0018, a, iv, 0029, b, i, 0063, b, ii, 0039, 0041.

(t) Stag-rtse (“Tiger-Peak”).

73. M. Tāgh. b, i, 0025 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; l. 1 verso in another hand; 4 notched lines).


"Khri-skugs hjoṛ of Stag-rtse: two bre of flour left."

74. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0032 (wooden tally; c. 13.5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; 6 notches verso; l. 1. of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[1] ⚫ | | Stag, rtse, Khri, skugs |

"Khri-skugs in Stag-rtse."

230. CHINESE TURKESTAN: TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS
75. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; clear).


“One soldier of Khri-skugs ḫor, a Khotan, punished (executed).”

On the expression (Khri-skugs ḫor) see p. 175 supra. It may be noted that in M. Tāgh. b, i, 0031 (p. 236 infra) Khri-skugs is made to be a part of Ḥbum-rdugs.

(u) *Stag-skugs-byel(gye)-ri-rtse* ("Tiger-in-wait-mountain Peak"). Sometimes the name appears as *Stag-skugs (skugs)* only, e.g. in M.T. 0572 and pp. 214, 446.

76. M. Tāgh. 005 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 3 notches or lines *recto*, 2 (3) *verso*).


(So M. Tāgh. 0011: b, ii, 009, is similar, but seems to have *gye* in place of *bye.*)

77. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0038 (wooden tally; c. 11.5 × 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, partly smudged; 4 notches or lines *recto*, 4 + 1 *verso*).

ʘ | . | Stag. skugs. bye. ri. -rtse | - - nas


78. M. Tāgh. 0010 (wooden tally; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).


“Stag-skugs: barley, six *bre*, not received: deliver later.”

79. M. Tāgh. i, 0026 (wood: c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; pointed at left; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).
8 | Stag, skugs, kyi, so, pa.

"Soldier of Stag-skugs."

80. M. Tägh, c, ii, 0019 (wood; c. 12 × 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"As far up as the wilds of Stag-skugs, five peñu . . . . four; on one side four fathoms straight (?) : as far down as . . . six thousand, four . . . of . . . two thousand."

Notes

A 1. rgoñ : Perhaps we should read rgyod, comparing the phrase rgyod-rgya-ble-gugs, p. 225 supra.

peñu : the word recurs b, i, 0013, also in c, iii, 0087. Is it here = Chinese pao, "fort" ? So too in Peñu-mar, Peñu-vtsu.

V. OTHER PLACES PRESUMABLY IN THE KHOTAN REGION

(a) Bsam-cha (Sam-cha).
See infra, pp. 247, 250.

(b) Bya-mäns-tshal ("Many-Bird Wood").

81. M. Tägh, a, iv, 001 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches verso; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


(c) Bya-rig-skugs.
See infra, p. 236.
Note

Bya-rig-skugs can hardly be different from Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse, supra, p. 231.

(d) Bya-tshan-smug-po ("Bird-Copse (?) Reeds").

82. M. Tagh. e, ii, 0042 (wood; c. 13.5 x 2 cm.; slightly fragmentary at top left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary, cursive dbu-can script).


"In Bya-tshan-smug-po up to Dgrahi-sag mountain three Nam-ru-pag [soldiers], one squad, gone astray—report to the soldiers of the enemy's chance (dgra-thabs?)".

Notes

A 1. Nam-ru-pag is the name of a regiment several times mentioned (p. 465 infra).

tshugs: See supra, p. 172.

so-tshor: On tsho see supra, p. 184: with dgra-thabs it recurs in a, iv, 0011, p. 432.

(e) Byehu-yog. (= "Yao-well,” Serindia, p. 1331: Cf. Byehu-lin.)

82, A. M. Tagh. a, ii, 0033 (wood, c. 12.5 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"On reaching Byehu-yog: five, less one-half, to Krom-skyes of He-brag."


(e) Byi-glan-pam.

In M. Tagh. b, i, 0098 (paper) occurs the sentence—

83. | Byi, glan, [pam], ya[n], khrom, du, ni, khral, phran . . . . bton . . . .

"Sent . . . in the market town Byi-glan-pam also small levies . . . ."
The place is otherwise unknown. On the Keriya river Sir Aurel Stein's maps note a place called Bilangan, which might be *Byi-glan-gam.

(f) Dgra-yi (or ya)-chad.

A place so named is mentioned in about six documents. Of these, two (a. iv, 0031 and b. i, 0029) present only the name (with "yi"); in one (a. vi, 001) the name appears with a very fragmentary context; and in one (a. vi, 0042) it may be conjecturally restored. There remain the following:—

83 A. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0065 (wood, c. 12 × 1-5-2 cm., cut away for a tally; hole for string at l.; incised lines and notches recto; ii. I recto + 2 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Dgra-ya-cad. Mountain-sickness provisions of Za-rma, received (by) Ryn-rogs."

83 B. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0015 (wood, c. 11-5 × 2-2-5 cm., cut away for a tally; hole for string at l.; incised lines and notches recto and verso; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

"| Dg[ra].ya.chad. | [na]s

"Dgra-ya-chad: barley."

83 C. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0069 (wood, c. 12-5 × 1-5-2 cm., cut away at top and bottom; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

| Dgra.yi.chad.na |

"In Dgra-yi-chad."

(g) Dmu-nu.

See infra, p. 259. Being there mentioned in connection with Me-nu, which can be Menut, on the Yarkand river, and with Khagapan, i.e. Karghalik or Kôk-yar, this may be Mumuk, on the Tizua river: see the map in Lord Dunmore's The Pamirs, vol. ii, where both are located.
(h) *Dur-ya.*

See supra, p. 225. As pointed out in *Asia Major,* ii pp. 260–1, this is probably the modern Duwa.

(i) *Hbog-la-tham.*

Associated pp. 249–51 infra with Yol-ba-ri and Sam-cha.

(j) *Hbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.*

84. M. *Tāgh.* 0334 (wood; c. 20.5 × 2 cm.; broken away at right; hole for string at left; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive *dbus-can* script).

[A] 1 | | Hbrog lig yan cag tsa gyi so pa la spriṅ no s-aga ... [2] yig ḥdi tshes bcu dguḥi nam ... na (ba ?) Śīn ... [B] nin tsod mdzan tsod dam du zuṅ sig

"Sent to the soldiers of *Hbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.*"

"This letter ... when received on ... of the nineteenth, is to be taken promptly, day-time or night-time, to Śīn-ṣan."

*Notes*

Concerning this place we have no information: it was in some region of nomads (*Hbrog*). *Cag* recurs in *Tshehu-cag,* p. 250, and therefore perhaps = Chinese *ch'eng.*


(k) *Hbum-rlugs.*

85. M. *Tāgh.* a, iii, 0043 (wood; c. 14 × 2.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive *dbus-can* script).


"In *Hbum-rlugs* is the Khotanī Pu-god, under safe-conduct (or in *Myi-hjigs* ?); Ho-si (?) is in Gyu-mo. Śir-ḥdo Mgo-su-cun (?) is in Ltag-bži."

1 Below line.
2 Above line.
Note

On Gyn-mo see pp. 212 sqq. Ltag-bzi may be one rendering of Tajik, on which see Vol. I, p. 273, n. 5.

86. M. Tagh. b, i, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"Khri-skugs hjor (cor) in Hbum-rdugs."

From this reference to Khri-skugs hjor, which is also in Stag-rtse (q.v., pp. 230-1), it is clear that these two places are in the same region as Hbum-rdugs. In M.T. c, i, 0034 we have the same text; in M.T. 008 only Hbum-rdugs.

(I) Hbu-şān or Hbu-zaa.

Mentioned above, p. 214 (M.T. 0050), and also in pp. 251-2 infra, this name is found in connection with a Yol-ba hill. In the following it occurs along with Šīn-šan and Bya-rig-skugs. [See now Vol. III, p. 70.]

87. M. Tagh. 0442 (wood; c. 18 x 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and rubbed).


"In Bya-rig-skugs this side the Slaas of Hbu-šān one Hor (Turk) . . . The Gños-Snaan-rtsan having first been scattered by the enemy, a great check, . . . should go at once. The soldiers as far as beyond Šīn-šan . . . being mustered in Šīn-šan . . . leave the Gños-Snaan-rtsan . . . between . . . and . . . "
Note

A 2, B 3. Gños-Snañ-rtsan: On Gños as a tribal name see pp. 144–5. The Gños-Snañ-rtsan may be a regiment.

88. M. Tāgh. c, iv, 0024 (wood; c. 12 × 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of scrawled cursive dbu-can script).

[B] Ḥbu: san.

M.T. 0018 reads Ḥbud-saṅ (only).

(m) Hel-ge mentioned in Ch. 73, xiii, 8, p. 379: 65, as Hel-ke.

See supra, p. 188. No information, except that the place, being associated with Nag, was probably in the Nob region or further east.

(n) Hjag-ma-gu.

Mentioned in p. 214 supra and p. 372. Since hjag-ma is the name of a kind of grass, the place probably exhibited that feature.

89. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 003 (wood; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

 بصورة | Mjąg ma mgur na Bod qūs mchis |

"In Mjąg-ma-gu are arrived two Tibetans."

(M. Tāgh. 009, a wooden tally, complete, reads Mjąg-ma-gur only: so too a, ii, 0068).

(o) Ho-ni.

Mentioned pp. 135, 192 supra. It occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0385, 0494, a, ii, 0079, b, i, 0080, and p. 246 infra. Whether it was in the Nob region or in the Khotan region does not appear.

90. M. Tāgh. 0575 (wood; c. 14 × 2 cm.; broken away at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

"Span-rje Rgon-kon... sent: is in Ho-ni or..."

91. M. Ta'gsh. a, i, 0012 (wood, c. 24.5-25 x 2.2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of squarish dbu-can script).


"To councillor Khri-btsan: petition of Lha-mton. Glad to hear that you are happy. Pray take care to send my provisions and..., without going astray, to Ho-ni. As I have taken to soldiering lately (or for the last time?) please be good to me. Being..., the provisons I beg you kindly to send...

"Praying that for the future also you may be free from ill-health, I rejoice."

Notes

The writer is probably the Lha-mthon of p. 277 infra.

He uses tos, ga, gda'n, mtsad, phar, sol, gya'n, rtsan, in place of thos, dgah, gta'n, mzdad, par, gsol, kyi'n, rdza'n. His nonchalance tone may reflect a high rank.

1. A 2, gal-thal: Cf. p. 453: 50. A 3, rgyags-snod-gal-du, where gal-du should be an Infinitive, perhaps from keq, "put on," whence khal, "a load"; cf. W. Tibetan kkhal, "send," "forward." Here, and also elsewhere, gal-[tha'] might appositely mean "load"; or, have we in both passages gal "importance" (see Š. C. Das' Dictionary) ?


2. Phar below line.

3. Below line.

4. Phar below line.
(p) Jeg-sin.

Mentioned p. 244 infra, where it is associated with Par-ban in a manner showing that it was in the same district and that it was a valley.

92. M. Tāgh. 0552 (wooden stick; e. 32 × 1.5 × 1.5 cm.; somewhat curved, with the edges of the four sides somewhat flattened; several notches, etc.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and partly illegible).


[gyi] [sten. du] . . .


"To grandsons Btsan-bzer and Hpham-bzer and — legs and the rest : letter of Rdzi-legs. I am on the road leading to (?) the Jeg-sin road . . . ." (the remainder too illegible to allow of a continuous rendering). Peḥu: Cf. pp. 49–50 ?

(q) Khri-skugs bhor.

Associated with Ḩbum-rdugs and Stag-rtse: see pp. 230–1, 236. M.T. a, 5 reads Khri-skugs | bu (cu?)-tse (only).


(s) Lho-lo-paṅ-ro-rgbog-skyes.

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0011, as a towniet (mkhar-bu).

(t) Mdo-lo and its town (mkhar).

Mentioned in No. 20 supra, p. 189.

Mdo-lo, always associated with Me-skar, is named in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (Vol. I, pp. 59, 81, 100, n. 6), and also in the two other Tibetan accounts of Buddhism in Khotan
The two latter rather contradictorily speak of Mdo-lo in Me-skar (rendered in Chinese by 'river valley') and of taking from Me-skar the road to Mdo-lo "traversing mountains and valleys". But it is easy to reconcile this by supposing Mdo-lo to be the mountainous, further, part of Me-skar, and it is certain that it lay in the Polu direction. It was on the route of the Buddhists who fled from Khotan to Tibet, which was perhaps the ordinary route of communications between the two countries.

(u) Me-nu. See p. 234.

Mentioned infra (p. 259) in the name Me-nu Na-gzigs and perhaps in M.l. xiv, 61b (Me-nu-mi-yul?).

(v) Mjqag-ma-gu.

See Hjqag-ma-gu, supra, p. 237.

(w) Nag (= Nāki, Nāhi; i.e. Nob) of the Khotan document cited supra, p. 155; cf. Nag-kol, pp. 125-6).

Mentioned supra, p. 69, where the place appears to be outside the Khotan king's dominions.

93. M.Tāgh. a, iii, 0063 (paper, fol. 12 in volume; c. 27 x 7 cm.; complete; ll. 5 recto of rather small cursive dbu-can script, partly faint; ll. 3 verso in another hand).

[A 1]  |  | | joi , co , Stag , bzhra , gyi , [za , sgar] |  |

1 Compendiums for blar.
2 pa below line.
3 s crossed out.

[B—a different document.]


[A 1-2] “In the presence of My Lord Stag-bžer: letter-petition of the Six Estates. We pray that His Highness My Lord may be happy. [A 2-3] On the evening of the twenty-ninth there came from Skyan-ro three sacks (rkya (l)) and eleven bundles. Upon our sending orders the messenger, who had the mark of a Phod-kar, joined us in the Nag plain. We do not make him out to be a robber. [A 4- ] The ... is very stupid: have the kindness to question him closely. The persons sent (or requisite) are four soldier brothers: their rations are ...”

[B 1—a different document.]

“A kinsman of the Ḥu-ten bande Ro-zañ-legs, stated to be the Sum-pa Gsas-slebs, sent on to the Uncle Councillor for examination.”

Notes

1. 2. Skyan-ro: Name of a locality, on the lines of Cog-ro, Hgrech-ro, etc. A Skyan-po, i.e. a man of the Skyan tribe of Skyan-ro, was mentioned p. 126, and another p. 150. A Skyan (from North-East Tibet) might well arrive in Nob.

Phod-kar: This local tribe name will come up for consideration later, pp. 294-5, cf. Vol. I, p. 278, n. 4.

1. 3. rkyan-por: It is interesting to see that a suspicion of robbery (of the grain) was promptly aroused in the Nag district, which above (pp. 18, 6-7) was mentioned in connection with robberies.

1. 4. rgyan: f for rkyan “wild ass” f Or ref. to Skyan f Altogether this incident, in which an up-countryman, arriving with a convoy of grain, naturally in the circumstances arouses the suspicion of the local Tibetans, is not
without a certain human interest: unable to make anything of him and baffled by his stupidity, the embarrassed officials send him on, with an escort, to headquarters—a Tibeto-Turkestan idyll of the eighth century A.D.

l. 4. *spu*: Cf. *spun-dma*g (p. 148) ?

*mtshal-ser* . . . . : This passage is obscure.

B.1. *ban-nog*: For the suffix *nog* (forming a plural of honour ?) used in cases of *bandes* cf. the document edited in Hoernle’s *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402-3.

*Sum-pa*: Cf. p. 36 and reff. The Sum-pas are stated in the dictionary to be the people of Amdo in north-eastern Tibet; see Vol. I, p. 156, n. 5 [and *The Nam Language*, Index].

*spyan-ras-kyis-btsa*h-bar*: On this phrase see p. 224 *supra* and pp. 246, 385 *infra*: *btsa*h recurs also p. 251.B1.

(x) *Na-gram*.

A place-name used as a surname: it occurs pp. 223, 461.

(y) *Par-ban*.

Mentioned p. 204 (M.T. c, iii, 0025) *supra*, in an urgent letter directed to be sent down (i.e. no doubt from Tibet) to Par-ban on the one hand and Dru-gu *hjor* on the other for forwarding to Sin-san. The implication is that for the sake of security duplicates were sent. Since certainly the Dru-gu *hjor* lay, as will be shown later, to the east, it seems clear that the Par-ban route must have led to a descent via Cer-cen or Polu; and this is confirmed by a document (given below, p. 249) in which Par-ban is associated with [Ho-to*n] Gyu-mo. The name does not seem to be Tibetan, and so is probably older than the Tibetan rule. Its non-occurrence in the Mirān documents suggests that the place lay rather in the Khotan region than in that of Nob. It may be the Parvata which in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see now Professor Rapson’s index) is several times mentioned in connection with Cadota (Niya region) and the Pe-pin of the Early Han Annals (Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. x, p. 29).
94. M. Tâgh. c, iv, 0036 (wood, pointed at left; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[1] | | Par. ban. gyi. th[a]d. ka. gyi. so. rtsaṅ.

“At the bank of the So river in the direction of Par-ban are arrived three of Nam-ru-pag with a ron-râu (†).”

Notes

Nam-ru-pag is a frequently mentioned regiment (and district in Tibet); see pp. 223, 465, and Innermost Asia, pp. 1084-5.

So-rtsan-hgram: “So-river-bank.” The same phrase occurs in 0522 (Innermost Asia, loc. cit.) and i, 0015 (chu-hdus-kyi-rtsan-hgram “river bank of the confluence”); so-rtsan is found in the Govinda-vyākaraṇa, Vol. I, p. 34, n. 5. In some cases hgram is perhaps confused with gam (ibid., p. 7). Here the river meant should be that of Niya.

ron-râu: The reading is uncertain. Perhaps the meaning may be soldiers with an officer; with ron-râu (if correct) cf. ce-râu or tsu-râu, pp. 127, 138, 427. The genitive mchis-pahi at the end either implies a continuation in another document (which was not unusual) or is like some genitives in Indian inscriptions and means merely that the wooden tablet belonged, or related, to the persons named. The usage is highly natural, and not rare in these documents.

95. M. Tâgh. 0523 (wood; c. 7.5 × 2.5 cm.; broken away at left; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


“Sent to reinforce (sno-sde (du?)) . . . this side of . . . New Par-ban and . . . one squad.”
Notes

1. 2. tshugs: See p. 172 supra.
1. 3. snon: See p. 184 supra and add p. 482: 3.

96. M. Tāgh. 0497 (paper; c. 18·5 × 9 cm.; fragmentary at right and below; ll. 6 of rather large rough cursive dbu-can script).


"To Home Minister Khri-bžer and the rest: letter-petition of . . . and Khyuṅ-bžer. [Then after the usual compliments.] We also . . ., as far as Par-ban and the lower valley of Jeg-śin . . . ."

Note

On Jeg-śin see p. 239 supra.

(c) Peẖu-mar (cf. Peẖu-rte). = Po-ma, in the Nissa district? Mentioned p. 175 supra and in M.T. a, iv, 0066.

97. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 001 (paper, fol. no. 43 in vol.; c. 28 × 13 cm.; rather fragmentary and discoloured; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


1 Compendious for bžer.
phyogs. gyi... na (cha?) bka'h. myi. ḡbab. [b]... pag. cir. [5] mdzad. bdag. ... n. cig. ma. mh[i]s. [par]. [s]ña. s[ll]ad. i... [thu]gs. pag. mdzad. [par]... bakur. ci'n [6] mh[i]s. | da. ya'n. ḡdi. skad. sña'n. sñun's. gsol. te. [bka'h]. [tsh]. [m]vi. ḡbab. | bdag. kyan. Pehu. mar. gyi. so. par. mehis. pa. sug. rjie'd. Li. [g]sum. [7] la. cig. ni. bro. ḡtshal. cig. ni. ri'n. sdod. ḡtshal. ch[i]g. tshal. ma. nod. du. bta'n. ḡin. mehisna. Ho. ni. dag. du. ḡkhor. bar. rgyur. na... [8] tshal. brgyags. kyan. gto'n. la. thugste. rab. tu. po'n'. ḡin. mehis. na. ḡdi. žal. ta. tsam. mdzade. -re. ya'n. [r]gyad. da'n. sgyu. dag. mehis. [9] se[s. g]da'h. na. sgyu. ma. ḡor. bar. spyan. ras. gyi[s]. btṣa. ži'n. [m]noste | Lis. ci. theg. pa. sa (s-a?) ma. brdzan'. | slad. ma. ža'n. po'hi. phyag. tu. phyag [10] rgyas. btab. te. bzag. nas. slar. len. par. ḡtshal. na | ḡdi. tsam. žig. spyan. ras. gyis. btṣa. bar. thugs. rje. cir. zigs. | ma. | [11] bskyud. gyi. mtshan. ma. sman. sna. gsun'. [ži]g. sug. rgyas. btabste. bskur. ba. da'n. spyan. zigs. ja. tor. gnis. ſig. ḡbul. ži[n]. [12] mehis. na. bžes. par. ci. gna'n. chu'n [b]. ſ[a]s. bka'h. myi. ḡbab. par. gsol. ži'n. mehis. | [1-2] “To Uncle ḫphan-bzer: letter-petition of Gsas-slebs. [Then after the usual compliments] [2-5] Encountering your missive on the way, I made earnest endeavour to deliver... only a little having come, and... left of the hemp († gro-ma) from the present (phyag ?) on the occasion of coming to... to... I am very much ashamed and ought to be reprimanded. Hereafter, if... would you do... not sending a reprimand. [5-6] I... no... having come, first and last giving attention to... shall be sending. For the present, merely on this occasion asking after your health, may I not be reprimanded. [6-9] I also am come to the soldiery (as a soldier ?) of Pehu-mar. Of the three Khotanis in the hand-list one is laid up, one is indolent, one, having been sent to get his rations, has (will have ?) to return to Ho-ni-dag. Even if he succeeds in getting the food-supplies
sent, he is quite destitute, and, as he is only acting as a servant, it is possible that ... and deception may come about. [9–10] In case deception may escape, I have determined to keep my eyes open. What the Khotani could carry I have sent first ... Later, it having been delivered with a sealed letter to the hand of the Uncle, I beg to receive it back. For the moment will you please be so good as to keep your eyes open? [10–12] As a sign of not having forgotten, I am sending some three medicines with a seal attached, and I am offering as a present two ja-tor. Please accept them. I beg you for a little while not to reprimand (me).”

Notes

1. 6. sug-rjed: “hand-list” recurs pp. 375, 443, 466.
1. 7. Ho-ni-dag: This seems to be a dual or plural of Ho-ni, which in that case would be double. Or can the meaning be “the Ho-ni people”? 8. -re-yan-brgyud: This might perhaps be for ḥdre-yan-brgyud “eight devils”. One of the documents (M.I. xiv, 002, p. 403-106.A.2) uses the phrase “a ḥdre is in my mind”, meaning “I am depressed”.
1. 9. lis-ci-thog: What the Khotani was to carry is not stated.
1. 11. ja-tor: Is this = ja-phor “tea-cup”? (aa) Rgya-ḥdrug-ḥdul.

This seems to be a place-name infra, pp. 250–1.
(bb) Rkêd-ched (= Lin-zked-chad, p. 239, supra?).
Mentioned by name merely in 0563 (Rke-chad) and c, iii, 0075, and perhaps occurring in 0571 (faint or erased).
98. M. Tâgh., 0532 (wood, c. 16·5 × 1 × .5 cm., broken away at r.; traces of cursive dbu-can script on four sides).
[A] ≈ Stshelbu. dna? | Rked. cad | kha. ḥdzin | drug ...
[B] . . . . . |
[C] po-lah | phog-pah | ... [D] rgyag ... dan ... chen, bzi |

"In Stshehu and Rked-cad: guarantor (?): wages for ... provisions and four large ..."

(cc) Sam-cha (= Saca, Sanea, of Kharosthi documents).

Mentioned p. 222 supra and pp. 250-1 infra.

99. M. Tagh. b, i, 0022 (wooden tally; c. 12 x 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches recto; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary curative dbu-can script; a different hand recto 1, 2 and verso).


"[To] Mdo-gchod of Bsam-cha: offered. By rag Hpam-rogs of the Mnal-hp[han] regiment, two bre of flour, after the census (or the reckoning later)."


In M. Tagh. a, ii, 0098 also Bsam-cha is a surname.

(dd) Sel-than.

Mentioned p. 190 supra.

(cc) Skyn-mkhar : G-gui-druutse.

The name (only) is given in M. Tagh. a, iv, 0085.

(FF) Snañ-dan-mthañ-hdul [ -gyi rtse ?].

The name (only) in M. Tagh. a, iv, 0086.

(cc) Snañ-hu-lha. (Cf. Han-gu-ya, Zan-gu-ya).

This is described as a towulet (mkhar-bu).

100. M. Tagh. ii, 1 (wood; c.13.5 x 2 cm.; broken away at top left; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) recto + 1 (+ upper part of another) verso of ordinary curative dbu-can script).

[A 1] ........................................


"To ... Kho-lho, servant of the authorities in council.
... In the townlet Snāh-hu-ḥa four Tibetans, ... squad
... in ... bar-tse-s-i sergeant."

The same place may be mentioned below, pp. 250-1.

(ff) Sta-gu and Ta-gu.

Some references to this place, which was a khrom "mart",
have been given in p. 158, and Ta-gu, which is, no doubt,
the same, has occurred p. 177 supra. The fact that the place
is mentioned in documents both from Mirān, where it is
definitely brought into connection with Tshal-byi, and from
Mazār-Tāgh suggests that it lay on the confines of the two
administrations, and it seems likely that it was somewhere
in the valley of the Čer-cen river.

101. M. Tāgh. b, i, 002 (wooden stick; c, 39 × 1 × 1.5;
nearly complete; ll. 1 [A] + 1 [B] + 1 [C] + 1 + 2 [D]
of square dbu-can script, two sizes).


102. M. Tāgh. 0491 (paper; c, 7 × 10 cm.; fragmentary
at right; ll. 4 of ordinary square dbu-can script).

[1] ☞ | [2] haṅ, cig, Stag. gu, i ... [3] mtho, dbu, rmog ... This is sent to a councillor in Sta-gu with compliments and
good wishes.

103. M. Tāgh. b, ii, 0017 (wood, curved; c, 16 × 2 cm.;
complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of
rather square dbu-can script, blurred).

[A] ☞ | [B] ... u, ru, chog ... "Khotani Śīr-dad is in Sta-gu with mountain sickness ...

(gg) Ta-ḥa (= Hiuen-Tsang's 'Old Tu-ho-lo' (Ta-hia)?)
The existence of a place so named appears from the following
documents, one of which associates it with [Ho-toň] Gyu-mo and Par-ban.

104. M. Tağh, c. ii, 0065 (paper, fol. no. 52 in volume; c. 14 x 7 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"In Ta-ha Zla-bžer, of Sna-nam, ri-zug. In Tahu...

Notes

On ri-zug "mountain-sick" see supra, pp. 203, 224; on Snañ-luñ-rtse, p. 229; on Liñ-sked-chad, p. 239; on the Dru-gu hjor, p. 276 sqq.; on Sna-nam, p. 259 infra; on Khynη-po, p. 215 supra.

Tahu . . . is, no doubt, part of a name: Hbog . . . is very likely the Hbog-la-tham of p. 250-1 infra.

Sman-lod, in virtue of the syllable lod, should probably be a woman, and the name Gže-ma reinforces the probability (Vol. I, p. 133).

105. M. Tağh. 0604 (wood; c. 12.5 x 1.5 cm.; complete; l. 1 recto of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; some traces of erased writing verso).


106. M. Tağh. 0524 (wood; c. 16 x 7.5 x 1 cm.; fragmentary at left; l. 1 of ordinary, square dbu-can script, in 3 compartments; 5 notches in B).

"Ta-ha | Gyu-mo, two squads | Par-ban."

¹ Compendious for tžer.
When publishing this document in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia* (p. 1085), I had not realized that both Ta-ha and Par-ban were certainly place-names, and hence the document was declared "unintelligible". The other occurrences suffice to make all clear.

On Par-ban and Gyu-mo see supra, pp. 212 sqq., 242-4. (hh) Tshehū-cag (≡ Ts'en-ch'eng of Serindia, p. 1331).

107. M. Tāgh. 007 (wooden tally; c. 9 × 1.5 cm.; slightly broken away; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; 5 notches or lines recto, 3 verso).

| Tshehū : chag : |

108. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0033 (wood; c. 9 × 1.5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

Tshehū, cagi, so, paḥ
"Soldier of Tshehū-cag."

Under the variant form Rtshehū-cag this name has occurred supra, p. 215, and with the above spelling, p. 222 (M. Tāgh. 0615) and M. Tāgh. 0022, i. 0017, a, iii, 0037. (ii) Yol-ba-ri ("the Yol-ba hill").

The name may retain a memory of Yol (Yeula), the early king of Khotan (Vol. I, p. 25, n. 5, p. 104, n. 2). It is associated with Ḥbu-šān.

109. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0027 (wood; c. 25.5 × 1 × 1 cm.; fragmentary right and left, one side (D) broken away for purposes of a tally (!) and showing 6 notches, C also showing a number of independent notches; A, II. 2 (one compartment), B, l. 1, (6 compartments) of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; C, l. 1 of a strange script, apparently a derivative of Brāhmī).


[C] Illegible.
The four compartments probably contain only place-names, although the third name "China- and Drug-taming" or "Six-Chinese-taming" would be more appropriate to a regiment—perhaps it is the name of a hill-station (rtse).

Lyuṅ may have something to do with Lyus-sked-chuṅ, while Sam-cha certainly, and perhaps Hbo-ga-la-tham and Snaʿ-u-ya (Snaʿ-hu-ḥa), have been noted above (see pp. 247-9).

110. Khad. 052 (paper, originally folded in a long alip, like a modern Tibetan letter; complete; II. 6 recto + 6 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, exceedingly faint).

(A for the most part illegible—a different document.)

[B 1] m | rta ḥi loḥi dpyid sla ra baḥi no las =

[B 1-2] "At the beginning of the first spring month of the Horse year, on examining the soldiers, a Khotani gleg, named Su-dad, one of the Khotanis serving as cooks in Yol-ba-ri in Ḥbu-ẓaṅ, having many times caused annoyance, it was decided that he should be put to death in the Khotanī troop. [B 2-4] It being decided that, even though he must die, he should be put in the ri-zu, his comrades, the sergeant and so forth, three parties (in three parts!), agreed to pay four thousand five hundred don-tse as ransom of their comrade, the first quota at once (?) ... [B 4-5] In case the parties prove tricky, for each [don-tse] two shall be substituted,
and they may be deprived of everything down to their travel-
clothes and punished as far as flogging and also put in the
ri-zu. [B 6] In witness whereof the signatures of the squad-
leader and the two ... and the rest are appended.”

Notes

This is one of the not infrequent cases where we have
mention of punishment or execution of Khotanīs by the
Tibetan authorities; cf. supra, p. 168. They show that the
Tibetan control was sternly maintained.

B 1. byan-g-yog: The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. b,
I. 3. ri-zu: Sense uncertain. Is it “torture” or “prison”,
of “left in the mountains”? Cha “part” or “troop”.
don-tse: A frequently named coin.
gyu: Usually gya-gyu “trickery”; cf. sgyu “deceit”.

111. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 00131 (paper fragment, fol. no. 21
in vol.; c. 15 x 6 cm.; ll. 5 of clear dbu-can script).

[1] ... tshuns, tshes, ni, su, la | chab, rgyud, ched,
pohi, so, pa, bthus, te | dgun, sla ... [2] ... dan. |
Stag, Klu, bzer, dan | blon, Mtsho, bzaň, gis | so,
bskos, nas | m ... [3] ... gs, chig, dan. | rnu, dkog,
ñul, tshungs, bzi, ni, so, byan, gi ... [4] Mtsho, bzaň,
Siň, san, du, mchis, nas | rnu, s-o ... [5] ... san, Yol-
ba, ri ... 

[1] “... on the 20th day of the last ... the soldiers
of the great government having been called up, in the winter
month ... [2] ... and Stag Klu-bzer and Councillor
Mtsho-bzaň having made the levy of soldiers ... [3] ...
one company and of secret camel spies four companies. Of
the soldier missive ... [4] Mtsho-bzaň having come
to Siň-san, the camel ... [5] Hbu-san, the hill Yol-ba.”

Notes

1. 5. san-Yol-ba-ri: This is, no doubt, Hbu-san, on
which see supra, pp. 236-7.
VI. Places or States Adjacent to, or Connected with, the Khotan Region

(a) Bru-ža. (See Vol. I, p. 100).

Assuming that it was proved in Asia Major, ii, pp. 258–9, that the name Bru-ža was originally attached to a part of the Khotan territory, it may still be a question what the term denoted in later times. In the Tibetan chronicle we have the following notices:—

112. Chronicle, ii, 223–4; year 66 (Ox) = A.D. 737:

"Councillor Skyes-bzaṅ Ldon-tsab having marched into the Bru-ža country, in the winter, when the Tibetan king was residing in the palace at Brag-mar, the Bru-ža king was reduced and sent homage."

113. Chronicle, ii, 230–1; year 69 (Dragon) = A.D. 740:
Bru . ža . rje . la . bag . mar . bjtan

"The Btsan-po being resident in his palace in Naṅ-mo-gniṅ of Mtshar-bu-sna during the summer, the princess (je-ba?) Khri-ma-lod was sent to be wife to the Bru-ža king."

The facts made known from Chinese sources by Chavannes (Documents, pp. 149 sqq.), and summarized in Ancient Khotan, pp. 6–7, especially the marriage with a Tibetan princess, make it plain that the above quotations relate to "Little
P'olū "; or Gilgit. The slight difference, if any, in date may be explained on another occasion. But this circumstance does not in the least invalidate the definite evidence of the Khotan chronicle attributing the name Bru-so-lo-ña (= Bružal) to a part (at least) of the Khotan territory, namely that in which were Mdo-lo and Me-skar. In that district is Polu, through which passes one route to the great northwestern Tibetan plain, the Byaṇ-thaṅ ; and the name reminds us of the Chinese P'olū and the Paloyo, which Sir Aurel Stein reports as applied by the Dards of Gilgit to the people of Baltistan. This may be remembered in support of the other indications previously (Asia Major, pp. 25, 270; Festgabe H. Jacobi, p. 73) cited in favour of some early ethnic connection between populations of Western Tibet and of Khotan.

(b) Glin-rīnas ("Long Meadow"), Glin-rīns-tshal ("Long-Meadow Wood"), Glin-rīna-smug-po-tshal ("Long-Meadow-Bamboo (Reed ? Cane ?) Wood").

A reference to a Glin-rīnas has been quoted supra (p. 203). Such a name might occur anywhere in Tibetan territory; but the additional terms tshal "wood" and smug-po-tshal "Bamboo (or Reed or Cane) Wood" justify us in identifying the place so named with the Glin-rīna-tshal mentioned previously (p. 48), as noticed in the Tibetan chronicle (ll. 59, 101) and in a document from Mirān. It belonged to the district of Skyi, which must have been a region of northern Tibet communicating with Mirān and, as we see, also with Khotan. In spite of its not belonging to the latter country, the number of references to it, suggesting that it was a centre for relations with Khotan (via Cer-cen or Polu ?), no doubt justify a citation of some or most of them here.

114. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0041 (wood; c. 17 × 3 cm.; complete; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] | | Stag. brtsan. daṅ. Mdo. brtsan ...
[A 2] lastsogs. so. baḥ. la : | ...


"Petition of . . . to soldiers Stag-brtsan and Mdo-brtsan, and the rest. [Then after the usual compliments.] To the Khotanis of Gliṅ-riṅs has a full bre of barley been sent or not? To . . . of Man-žu Stag (??) of Stag-rtsan [regiment] am sending."

Notes


1. B 3. Read sña-la-skur-žiñ-n[chis]?  

115. M. Tāgh. 006 (wood; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


Similar are M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0045 (notches recto) and 0017 (8 notches or lines recto); also 0013 and b, ii, 0016, which, however, omits tshal; a, iv, 0016 has Gliṅ-riṅ only.

116. M. Tāgh. 0151 (wood; c. 15.5 × 1 cm.; complete; ll. 1 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).


"In Gliṅ-riṅs to the gšen Ḥphan-legs."

Gšen, as a personal or official designation, occurs also in pp. 300:32, 335, 468.

117. M. Tāgh. a, iii, 0013 (wood; c. 21 × 3 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

"In Glin-rins-smug-po-tshal two Tibetans, two Khotanis, namely, Mn'an Ji-hu, of the Bzan-Hor regiment, serjeant, Dbyiil Chas-legs, of the Lahn-myi regiment, corporal, . . . ."

Notes

The two regiments, Bzan-Hor and Lahn-myi, are mentioned elsewhere; they will be noted again pp. 456, 462-3.

1. 2. tshugs-phon and hogs-phon: See supra, p. 172.

(c) G-yar-skyan.

The G-yar-skyan regiment is mentioned on p. 172 supra, and in M. Tagh. 0289 (p. 499, Innermost Asia, p. 1086) we have a regiment named Yar-skyan. The three are, no doubt, identical and designate a Tibetan force raised in, or serving in, Yarkand.

(d) Kha-ga-pan.

The single document being addressed to a khri "throne" or "divan", the place named will have been an independent, or quasi-independent, state. The only state that can come into question is that which in old writings, Kharosthi, Chinese, Tibetan, and Buddhist Sanskrit, is cited as Cugapan, Cugopa, Cakoka, Che-chu-chia, Chu-chu-po, Chu-chu-pan, Bcu-gon-pan, and the inhabitants of which are by the Chinese designated Tzu-ko = Cu-ya? (see Sir Aurel Stein's Ancient Khotan, pp. 89-93, 582; M. Sylvain Lévi in BÊFE-O, v, pp. 255-6, 263, 267; Chavannes, T'oung-pao, 1905, p. 334; notes in Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus, vi, pp. 184-5. Festgabe H. Jacobi, p. 47, and the sources cited in those connections). The syllable pam, which probably means "road", recurs in the old name (Kilpam or Gilpam) of Kilian, lying more or less in the same region west of Khotan. The place having been shown by Sir A. Stein to be identical with the modern Karhalik (or Kök-yar), it seems likely that in the name Kha-ga-pan we have in fact the oldest form of that designation, which may have resulted merely from an addition of the Turkish suffix lik to the Kha-ga apparently seen in the docu-
ment. As regards the difference between Kha-ga and Kartha (if the latter spelling is fully authorized), neither the r (see the remarks in Asia Major, ii, p. 262) nor the variation of the aspirates need trouble us in our documents.

It seems quite possible that another form of the name Cu-gon-pan is recorded in the Tibetan chronicle, which relates (l. 72) that in the year 26 (Bird) = A.D. 697

Ce. dog. pan. gyi. p[h]o. ŋa. phyag. htsald |
"An envoy of Ce-dog-pan did homage."

The date is not unsuitable, and the name needs only a transference of a vowel mark in order to become Ce-dgo-pan, which would be a fair approximation for the Tibetans in their early acquaintance with Karthalik. Also, if not Karthalik, what country is denoted? In a Miran document (a paper fragment, M.I. vii, 83a) the form Cu-chu-pan seems to occur, unfortunately without further information.

118. M. Tagh. h, i, 00104 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., fragmentary at right and at bottom; c. 25½ × 15 cm.; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

Rgyal. bzer | gi. bhaṅs | Me. nu. Na. gzigs. kyis | | gla. zo. bdun. chags. paḥ. Kha. ga. dān. chu. [11] gi. rgya. byun. nas | Dmu. mur. du. bsgugs. nas | zo. bdun. las | bcu. bžir. bskyur. nas | phro[ga]... [12]... bchos... "To the Kha-ga-pan divān: letter-petition of Rmaṅ-rogs—[then after the usual compliments.] Last year having heard of slanders by abusive persons, I retired to Se-ho. Then in my... a grand-daughter was born. Also in the Gnag country there was the... birthday of my grandson and presents of... pieces of satin with delay through wife and servant being in domestic trouble, and... a horse fell... man fell off. Preoccupied by these affairs I, after going, going,... copper and, the lady’s man having made a complaint against me, I lost... three staṅ of copper. Then a... complaint was made against me: it was stated that after the rotten (seru) horse there had come a riding horse. So then again I paid money. The year before last in... a servant of Uncle (taṅ) Rgyal-bzer, Na-gzigs of Me-nu, whose wages were agreed at seven zo, after there had come a signature Kha-ga and Chu...waited in Dmu-mu, and from seven zo it became fourteen. Seizing..."

Notes

1. 1. **Rmaṅ-rogs**: As suggested above (p. 192), this is one of the cases where a doubt exists as to whether we are dealing with a proper name or a professional designation. **Rmaṅ-rogs** means, no doubt, a "horse-attendant", and the drawing of horses published by Sir Aurel Stein in *Innermost Asia*, plate v, has a Tibetan dedication by a person so named. Hence the likelihood is that in this document also, which relates to such a person, the phrase denotes his occupation. It occurs also p. 343:17: in M.T. a, ii, 0097, rta-rogs.

1. 3. **Se-ho**: = Si-ho, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 215.

1. 4. **Gnag**: This also has not been traced, since we can hardly think of Gnag, "a place in Tibet".

lo-gro: This may = gro-lo-ma "a kind of satin".

1 Compendious for bzer.
1. 5. [s]go-skyes: A special present.
1. 7. žal-mchu: See p. 189. Rgal-sté, "being crossed"?
1. 8. seru: This seems to be = ser-ru "rotten". It is used of "sheep", p. 159.3.
1. 10. Me-nu: A place-name; see supra, p. 240.
Kha-ga: Apparently = people of Kha-ga-pan.
1. 11. Dmu-mu: Noted supra, p. 234.

(e) Sna-nam.
Mentioned p. 249 supra and p. 306 infra.
Sna-nam is the ordinary Tibetan name for Samarkand, and there seems no objection to its being mentioned in a document belonging to a time when the Tibetans were cooperating with the Arabs and had during over a century been in relations with the Turks. The person in question has a good Tibetan name, Zla-bzer, so that he would have to be a Tibetan belonging to Samarkand; and the reference maybe to the Tibetan Sna-nam of p. 306.

(f) Śu-lig (= Kashgar).
This well-known, ancient, designation of Kashgar occurs in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (Ancient Khotan, p. 52; supra, vol. i, pp. 61, n. 4, 77-8, 118, 130) and probably also (sulija) in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661.

119. M. Tāgh. c, 0028 (paper, fol. no. 51 in vol.; c. 9.5×10 cm.; ll. 7 recto + 7 verso (a different hand) of ordinary dbu-can script; recto faint).

[4] . . . ḫb-i se (mo ?) na tsam na Hu te du,
  pyn . . .
[7] chig | |

These two separate letters are too fragmentary for translation, though most of the words and phrases are familiar and have been noted above (e.g. so-byañ, so-rims = so-žes). The first, a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, speaks of going from Šu(Šu)-lig (= Kashgar) and arriving at Hu-te (= Khotan). On Byełu-yog see p. 233.

VII. PERSONAL NAMES OF KHOTAN§ PEOPLe

Most of the personal names occurring in the documents are either Tibetan or names of persons belonging to quasi-Tibetan peoples (Sum-pa, Ha-ča, and so forth) of the Tibeto-Chinese regions and in Tibetan service. The provenance of the documents, which were nearly all excavated in or near the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh, accounts sufficiently for this fact. That the Tibetans had not displaced the native Khotan rulers, but were content to hold the military control of the country, is evident from the above quoted references to the Li-če, or Khotan king. The matter of the documents is also largely military.

Naturally, however, there was multifarious intercourse with the native Khotanis, and names of such persons were sure to occur. Since the Tibetan names are easily recognizable, more especially in the light of the experience gathered from Mirān and elsewhere, the non-Tibetan names might with a fair probability have been discriminated as belonging to Khotanı people. But the writers of the documents have placed us in a still more favourable position. The discrimination between Tibetan and Khotanı was in their circumstances

1 Compendious for bźer.
2 Compendious for goł.
naturally an explicit one; and in mentioning a Khotanī person they usually show his nationality by prefixing the word ले "Khotan" or "Khotani". The following names are in that way guaranteed as Khotanī:

Bat-nag (a, iv, 00121).
Bu(Cu)-de (0513).
Bu-god (a, iii, 0062).
Bu-हन्ग-dag (b, i, 0038).
Bun-dar-ma (b, i, 0048).
Bu-िने (नो नी ध) -dag (Domoko 0168).
Bu-िनो (a, ii, 0096).
Byi — (a, i, 0031).
Byi-de (0184; 0344; a, i, 0031; a, vi, 0063).
Cam-po-la (b, ii, 0096).
Ceनु-हद (b, i, 0095).
Chu — (a, i, 0031).
Cu(Bu)-de (0513).
De-de (b, ii, 0054).
Dzadz-dod (a, ii, 0018).
Gi-chog (a, iv, 0074).
Gos-de (a, iii, 0012).
Gu-dag (a, ii, 0096; a, iii, 0074).
Gu-de (0503).
Gu-िद (H. 2).
Gu-िर (dze ?) (b, i, 0048).
Hdzas (a, iii, 001).
Hi — (a, iv, 0010).
Hir-bod (a, iii, 0012).
Ho(Rho ?)-ne (a, ii, 0096).
ि-िदुि (a, ii, 0018).
In-dad (a, vi, 0057, c, iii, 0024).
Khom-िर-dad (b, i, 0048).
Khu-le (a, iii, 0074).
Ko-िर (िेग ?) (a, ii, 0096).
Ko-िरे (a, ii, 0096).
Ku-िीि (b, i, 0090).
Ku-िु (a, i, 0031).
Mar-son (0050).
Meg(Rmag 1)-sur (a, ii, 0096).
 Nob-žo (a, v, 005).
Phu-sgra (a, i, 0036).
Phu(Pu)-de (0492; b, ii, 0054).
Pu-gol (a, iii, 0043).
Rdz — (c, ii, 0011).
Sa — (a, iv, 0074).
Sa-bdad (c, i, 0050).
Sam-rba (b, i, 0048).
Sañ (0586).
Sañ-ga(e t) (0492).
Sañ-ga-[î]e (b, i, 0084).
Sañ-ge (0503).
Sañ-ge-sur (a, iv, 0081).
Sa-rag (b, i, 0062).
Sar-dad (b, i, 0051).
Sar-rnoñ (b, i, 0070).
Sar-żon (a, ii, 0096).
Sen-ge (0238); Sen-ge-lag (0331).
S.n-de (b, i, 0054).
Sí-nir (a, i, 0031).
Sir-dad (b, ii, 0017; c, ii, 0017).
Sir-de (a, iii, 001; a, iii, 0012; b, i, 0048).
Si-šdo (a, iii, 0043).
Si-rhañ-za (b, 00103).
Si-rir-had (a, vi, 007).
Su-cu (c, i, 0038).
Su-dad (Khad, 052).
Su-de (0586).
Sur-de (0287).
'Sun-de (a, ii, 0096).
Usag-hven (c, i, 0042).
Wi — (0492).
Wi-ne-sa (a, iii, 0074; cf. -de-sa, 0492).
Ye-ye (a, i, 0031).

[The Amacas Sen-do, Si-bir (sic) and Sir-de mentioned]
above (pp. 191-3) and the Amaca Bi-dad of the Khotan chronicle (vol. i, p. 134) have names obviously belonging to the above types. We may also mention a certain Na-mo-bud (p. 412) and a councillor Na-mo-sa (b, ū, 5, c. iv, 008), clearly Khotanīs. The Amaca Khe-meg may possibly have been a Chinaman.

In this list we observe certain recurrent final, or second, members, such as de (12 times), dag (4 times), bdo (3 times), dad (5 times), sur (twice), ge (3 times); and the general system, composition of two monosyllables, is quite clear.

It is important to note the correspondences of this nomenclature with evidence derived from other sources. Thus from the Tibetan works we have quoted in the above cited article the names Brese Stu-lag (cf. Sei-ge-lag and Sa-rag above), Na-mo-bod (cf. Hir-bod above), 'A-ba-ya-rdad (cf. Indad, Khrom-she-dad, Sa-bdad, Sur-dad, Sir-dad above). The monosyllabic names Hdzas and Sei may be set by the side of the Hjes and Hji of the Tibetan works (pp. 252 and 270 of the article). To Hdoh-mo-ya and Za-ro of the Tibetan works we have as yet no parallel.1 Wi-ne-sa and Cam-po-la have many correspondences among the "Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan" discussed in Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, pp. 48-73, names which in consequence of the new light upon the attribution of the kings mentioned in Kharoṣṭhī documents (see Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions ... . Part III, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, pp. 323-5) must now be connected for the most part not with the Khotan kingdom proper, but with the adjacent, and no doubt cognate, people of Shan-shan. The Khotanī names appertain to a date about five centuries later, and, no doubt, to a partly different system.

Again, in a document edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402-3, we have mention of Khotanī (Li) persons with the names Suhe-sa Tsadzūg, Gu-tseg, Sur-dad, Man-bod, which present obvious analogies or correspondences to those cited above.

1 But cf. the place-names Han-yu-yu, Zan-yu-yu.
It would be unlikely that in so considerable a list of names of natives of Khotan there should be none of foreign origin, more especially when we remember that the Iranian language, which has been designated variously Tokhāri B, Khotani, and Saka, had been known in Khotan from at least about A.D. 500 (Asia Major, ii, p. 271), while an Indian Prākrit and the Chinese had been familiar from a much earlier period, perhaps from the very foundation of the city. The name Ku-chi-shi bears a resemblance to Šer-the-ši and Ka-the-ši, which in the Khotan chronicle (see Sir A. Stein’s Ancient Khotan, p. 582) are given as names of Chinese ministers. Concerning the ‘A-bo-yu-rdad of the same chronicle we formerly suspected that the syllable rdad might really represent an Iranian dāta “given”, in which case a corresponding suspicion might attach to the occurrences of dad in the above list. But clearly an Indian derivation (from Sanskrit datta) would be more probable, since the first part of the name, if not local, would be the Sanskrit word Abhaya, giving a known Sanskrit name Abhayadatta: moreover, we have in non-Tibetan documents a number of names in datti which necessitate the same conclusion. The same documents show also Sanskritic names of monks, such as Puṇade, which suggest that the terminal syllable de may really be derived from Sanskrit deva; but this point may be left for a later determination.

If we add to some of the names a final -a, which is likely to have been lost in the course of five centuries, we shall arrive at forms similar to those elicited from the Kharoṣṭhī documents. Thus—

*Bu-go-ta (for Bu-god)
*Hir-bo-ta (for Hir-bod)
*Pu-go-ta (for Pu-god)
*Sar-jo-na (for Sar-ţon)
*Seņ-ge-la-ga (for Seņ-ge-lag)

are of a type amply represented in those documents (see the above cited article). To follow up such a suggestion would, however, be inappropriate in the present connection, where we are concerned almost exclusively with a record of facts.
VIII. The Khotan Language.

The previously (Asia Major, vol. ii (1825), pp. 251-71) stated conclusion that the native language of Khotan was a monosyllabic speech of the Tibeto-Burman type was based upon the evidence of names found in the accounts of Khotan (Li-yul) contained in four texts preserved in the Tibetan Bstan-legateur. We may now point to the further evidence furnished by these new documents of the eighth century A.D., brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Mazār-Tāgh. The nomenclature of places (pp. 180-2) and persons (pp. 261-4) is clearly of the same type as that previously elicited. In the place-names the syllable ro (Bar-ma-ro-ṇa, Byi-ro-ṇa, Hden-ro-ṇa, Pan-ro-ṇa, Śi-ro-ṇa, Zwał-ro, etc.) is probably identical with the ro in names from N.E. Tibet (Cog-ro, Ḫgreṇ-ro, Myaṅ-ro, etc.), where it is employed to form derivatives from tribal designations: it is, no doubt, equivalent to the Tibetan ra "enclosed space" in Ldum-ra, bṣon-ra, khyams-ra, etc. The syllable -ti likewise recurs (p. 189, cf. vol. i, pp. 175-6) in analogous use.

The abundance of non-Iranian names in current use implies that the old native language of Khotan was still prevalent. Nevertheless, it is certain from the finds of documents in the actual Khotan region (at Mazār-Tāgh and elsewhere) that in the eighth century at least the "Saka-Khotani" speech was in full currency. In that language we have both Buddhist literary MSS. and legal and other business papers. It may be conjectured that the language was used by the higher classes and the monks in place of the old Indian Prākrit which had prevailed during the earlier centuries. Of its employment for religious publicity we have an interesting example in the inscriptions from Dandān-Uilig figured in plates lviii–ix of Sir A. Stein's Ancient Khotan. Beneath the painting of a monk we read (with Dr. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 248):—

dvi. pī sā. dām. so [ṣat] ḍā
Here the word pisā is possibly identical with the pisai, which Professor Konow (Hoernle, Buddhist Remains, p. 347) has found in a "Khotani" Vajra-chedikā, as representing the Sanskrit guru (see also Saka Studies, p. 170). Thus the painting may represent the guru Dāms śo-dā, in whose name the syllables śo-dā (if not śa-dā) may be connected with the śo-da noted above (p. 64). There is, however, another Saka-khotani word, pisā (ibíd.), meaning "art", "picture". Another inscription (D., x, 6, Ancient Khotan, pp. 300-1) is certainly in the same language.

Naturally the Chinese also was employed in Khotan. Witness the documents (from Dandān-Ullig, etc.) published and discussed by Chavannes (Ancient Khotan, pp. 521 sqq., and Documents Chinois, pp. 201 sqq.). There were, in fact, specially Chinese monasteries, at Mazār-Tāgh or elsewhere. But owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing the few probably native names or terms occurring in them require a separate examination.

From early times, however, and even—if there is any element of truth in the story (Vol. I, pp. 99 sqq.) of the foundation of the city—from the very beginning, there will have been an infiltration of Chinese words. Certain folk etymologies suggest a knowledge of Chinese, and the name of Mt. Goṅrṅa appears in two Chinese forms, one (Hoehu-to-san) earlier than the other (Gau-to-san); and it seems possible (Vol. I, p. 176) that the name Polu was originally only a Chinese representation of Brū.
5. The Dru-gu

((a) The Dru-gu (Great Dru-gu and Drug-cun; the Dru-gu cor and the Bug cor; the Dru-gu and Ge-sar; the title Bog-do; conclusion); (b) the Hor; (c)-(h) the Phod-kar, Sluüs, Hbrog, Mon, etc.)

Some texts mentioning the Dru-gu have been given above (pp. 18, 30, 40, 106-7, 123-4, 150, 175, 203-4, 249), and reference was made to the divergent views of Colonel Waddell and Professor Pelliot, the former having identified the Dru-gu with the Tu-yü[k]-hun of Chinese history, and the latter with the Turkish Uigurs. The name Drug-gu was first made known by Rockhill, who cited (The Life of the Buddha, p. 240) from the Tibetan Annals of Khotan a reference to a destructive invasion of the Khotan country by that people during the reign of King Vijaya-Kirti, whose date is not known, but who evidently belonged to a comparatively early generation. The name of the Dru-gu king appears as 'A-no-sos or 'A-no-mo-so. From the same Annals some further citations were given in an appendix to Sir A. Stein's Ancient Khotan (pp. 581-3). Thus a certain King Vijaya-Sangrama retaliated for the apparently forgotten Dru-gu invasion by devastating the country of that people, causing great slaughter, to atone for which he built the monastery Hgu-gzu or Hgu-zaun-ta. A subsequent Vijaya-Sangrama was killed by the Dru-gu in the course of a journey to China; and a daughter of a still later king, Vijaya-Hzah-la, was married to the king of Gu-zin, who may have been a Dru-gu. Unfortunately, these citations (given, with others, in Vol. I, pp. 24, 28, 66, 78, 121, 126, 269, 273-4) contain no clear geographical or temporal information.

References in the Tibetan Chronicle

Dated references to the Dru-gu are, however, furnished by
the Tibetan chronicle described in Chapter I (pp. 1-2). The passages may be cited in order.

1. Chronicle, ll. 11: Year 4 (a Hog-year) = A.D. 675.
   "Councillor Btsan-sña, having levied (?) the Za'n-zun in Gu-ran of Zims, went to Lta'n-yor in the Dru-gu country."

Notes

In A.D. 673, two years before, the Mgar Btsan-sña Ldom-bu (probably = the Tsanhsijo of Bushell, p. 447) had joined with (his brother) Khri-hbrin Btsan-brod (concerning whom see p. 4) in raising a force in Stag-tsal of Duña.

Zims and Gu-ran should be in the region of Gu-ge, in the Himalaya, where Za'n-zun is usually located. Lta'n-yor appears to be not elsewhere mentioned; but the syllable yor, found also in the name of Gtse-nam-yor (in Mdo-smad) possibly means "cairn", since it occurs in tho-yor "boundary cairn".

2. Chronicle, ll. 14-5: Year 5 (Mouse) = A.D. 676.
   "Councillor Btsan-sña, having marched into the Dru-gu country, sent vegetables to Khri-bos town."
   Khri-bos seems not to be known, see infra, pp. 285-6.

   Blon: Khri.hbrin.gyia | Dru.gu.yul.du : Dran. zes : bgyi.bgyi1.pa.las | phyi.dalte | dbyar.hdun.Šon.snar:hdus.
   "Councillor Khri-hbrin, lingering outside [on the way] from a [place] called Dran in the Dru-gu country, held the summer assemblage in Šon-sna."

Concerning Dran and Šon-sna, see infra, p. 285. These "assemblies" or gatherings of ministers or armies have been mentioned already several times (see pp. 3, 20, 142, etc).

1 Repeated in error.

Btsan. po. Ńen. kar. bāngs. sīn | dbyar. ḡdun. Șōn. anar. ḡdute | Mṉān. chen. po. drug. du. bskos |

"The Btsan-po residing in Ńen-ka, the summer assemblage being held in Șōn-sna, the supreme government was nominated in six departments or the Mṉān-chen-po was levied in [or for] the Drug country."

Since the alternative rendering which brings in the Drug is probably not correct, the only reason for quoting this passage here is the verification of the place-name Șōn-sna.


"Councillor Khri-ḥbrin marched into the Dru-gu Gu-zan country."

Notes

Concerning Gu-zan, see infra, pp. 282 sqq.

5. Chronicle, l. 50: Year 18 (Ox) = A.D. 689.

Blon. che. Khri. ḡbrin. Dru. gu. yul. nas. slar. ḥkhorte |

"The Great Councillor Khri-ḥbrin returning from the Dru-gu country."

6. Chronicle, ll. 79-80: Year 29 (Mouse) = A.D. 700.


"The Btsan-po . . . sent the Khagan Ton Yab-go into the Dru-gu country."

Notes

Of this Ton Yab-go Khagan, who is mentioned previously (ll. 64 and 77) as having done homage (phyaug-htsalld) in A.D. 694 and 699, and whose Turkish name and titles remind us of a famous early Khagan (see Chavannes, Documents sur les Ton-Kiue occidentaux, index), nothing further seems to be known from Tibetan sources: is he the Tun-yo-ku, Tonyuqq, of Thomsen, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, pp. 74, 185?
7. Chronicle, ll. 201-2: Year 58 (Serpent) = A.D. 729. 
Blon.chen.po: Cuñ-bzan.gyis | dgun.hdun: Skyi.So-
ma.rar.bsduste | Mun.magi: snon.god.brtsis | dmag:
"The Great Councillor Cuñ-bzan, having held the winter
muster in So-ma-ra of Skyi, made a reckoning of the expense
of reinforcements of the Mun troops, and led his army into the
Dru-gu country and returned."

Notes

Cuñ-bzan Hor-man of Hbro in Mdo-smad (l. 194) became
Chief Minister in the year 57 = A.D. 728 (l. 198); he is
frequently mentioned in the Chronicle.

On Skyi and So-ma-ra see p. 48. Skyi is the Tang-hsiang
country (Chinese Hsiih-chih), east of the Hoang-ho gorge.

The expression mun-dmag, denoting some kind of troops,
had been cited previously (Two Medieval Documents from Tun-
Huang, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, p. 129). In
the Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 50
(p. 286, n. 40) the meaning "guard", "household troops",
had been suggested; but see now BSOAS, xi, pp. 515-16.
Snon-god has occurred supra, p. 122, 5.

7a. M.I. iv, 132 (paper, c. 30-5 × 8 cm.; a fragment of a
verso; l. 1 of good, cursive, dbu-can script, rather faint).

culo | -i,lo,la | skm.mkhur | Nob.chunu:G-yun.drnu.
rtser | rkyen.gyi | mun.dmag;Spu.tshugs | dkar |

"Year.-- At G-yun-drnu-rtse of Little Nob town. Of the
property. Spu-tshugs (? not a proper name?) of the mun
troops. White (wheat)."

In the other occurrences of mun-dmag in the Chronicle (ll. 6,
51-2) it is again a question of a counting and a review
(rkan-ton).

8. Chronicle, ll. 221-2: Year 65 (Mouse) = A.D. 736.
Cog.ro.man.po.rje.Khyi.chuñ.gyis | Dru.gu.yul,
du.dranś.
"The Great Chief Khyi-chuñ of Cog-ro marched into the Dru-gu country."

**Notes**

On Cog-ro in Mdo-amad and on the expression mañ-po-rjc, denoting a feudatory chief, see pp. 7 and 15.

In these passages we have reports of expeditions into the Dru-gu country ranging from A.D. 675-736. The places named, Ltañ-yor, Khri-bóos, Drañ, Šoñ-sna, Gu-zan, are all provisionally unidentified; but to some of them we shall recur infra (pp. 282 sqq.). There are no other special indications as to the direction in which the Dru-gu country is to be sought.

**References in the Documents**

When we turn to the documents from Mirán, Mazár-Tágh and Tun-huang (Ša-cu), we are no longer furnished with definite dates. Some of the documents are indeed dated in years of the twelve-year cycle; but this indication is provisionally almost useless. Nor among the numerous officials mentioned has any one been found who can be identified elsewhere. Hence we can rely only upon the general dating furnished by Sir Aurel Stein's explorations, which attribute the forts at Mirán, Endere, and Mazár-Tágh to the eighth century A.D. The general probability that Mirán is the earliest is reinforced by the date (A.D. 717) of a Chinese coin found there; while similar, but more abundant, finds assign the occupation of Mazár-Tágh to the latter half of the century.

It is a curious fact that the Mirán documents, numerous as they are, never refer to Šin-šan, while those from Šin-šan, although mentioning, not infrequently, places in the eastern parts of Chinese Turkestan, do not name Ka-dag, and only twice refer to Nob (as Nag). This may be partly due to the fact that the documents, in spite of their number, are probably in each case collections covering comparatively short periods. The failure of mention of identical persons is, however, somewhat notable, and we may regard it as due to
difference of period, so that the Mirân collections would belong to the first half of the eighth century, and be thus at least one generation prior to those from Mazar-Tâgh. We cannot suppose that such records as we have, relating, as they do, to passing matters, would be preserved in the local archives over any considerable period of years.

9. M.I. iv, 71 (wood, c. 19·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; II, 2 recto + 3 verso of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script ; hole for string at right).


[A 1–B 1] “Returning after going to the up-country, and with effort reaching the high road, we came back. Having observed a Dru-gu station previously established as ‘dro-dgors’, some five scattered houses, and having killed a horse outpost, we set to work burning the corn and flesh. [B 2–3] In the dwellings we found a banner and a sabre-sheath. Being appointed to be up in Ce-ti of Chu-mdo, we have left the articles (byad), and [this] schedule (khram-bu). Petition of task accomplished.”

Notes

A. 2, dro-dgors: A “mid-day resting(-place).”
brañ-sa: “station” or “halting-place”. This expression is common in the names of stopping-places in the mountains, e.g. Saser Brañ-sa on the Karakoram route.
B. 2, stsan-sa: “the store of corn and (dried) meat.” Ce-ti is not known.
10. M.I. xxiii, 009 (paper, fol. no. 63 in vol.; c. 28.5 x 6 cm.; nearly complete; obscure; II. 6 recto + 6 verso (a different hand) of ordinary dbyu-cas script).

[A 1] | glan. gi. lohi. dpuyid. | blon. Btsan. Sug. bzer. dan | blon. [Gin. z]jigs. dan | blon. Dpal. bzan. la. stsogs. las | hdun. sa. [Dru.] gur. 2 | [Dru.] gur. yul. du. myi. hdzin. cha. gsum. [bkje]. bahi. rta. pa. cha. geigi. dpun. pon. pa | tsa. rnu. Kho'n. rgi'd. btsu. pas | btshal. bahi. g-yar. hog. rta ... [3] ma. lhyor. nas : | Rin. [[Hbrug. legs. kyi. rta. phros. pa. glaste | gla. [rgod. po. chon. phyugs] | pa. geig. yann. hadun. so. ril[bu. mtha. ril. ma. mchis. la] ... [4] sgru. dan. sgrad. [mam. chis] | sran. drag. ri. ba. geig. stsal. par. bgyis. pa. dan | rta. pho. nan. pa. dnos. gum. stor. ma. gyur. te | slan. [chad. m] ... [5] na. yan. [skad]. rmyig. [l]as. skyon. zugste. bkol. spyad. ltam gnod. par. gyur. ham. kho'n. geon. zugs. na. | Si. [n]jir. gi. ri ... [6] sum. cur. b[tah] ste. | rta. pho. rgod. gan. lhyor. lhyor. ... geig ... is. [bu. mtha. bzi] ... [A 1] "Spring of the Ox year; from Councillor Btsan-sug (sum ?)-bzer and Councillor Gin-zigs and Councillor Dpal-bzan and others. Assemblage in [Dru.] gu ... [A 2-3] The tsa-rnu Kho'n-rgi'd having been attached as commander of a horse-company belonging to three companies to be dispatched into the Dru-gu country to take prisoners (myi-hdzin), the requisite horse was not available, high or low (g-yar-hog). He having hired a spare horse of Rin [Hbrug-legs, the hire (here follow some particulars which cannot be clearly read) ... [A 4-6] it was arranged that he should give six sran as one [part of the] price. The tame stallion not having died or been lost and afterwards being found faulty in voice or hoofs or injured ... or with a cough it is to be left at the Si-nir hill, at Sum-cu: whatever untamed stallion is available ... one ..."

Notes


gla as a verb is not found elsewhere. The following passage no doubt stated the price.
A. 4, na-h-pa (na-h-pa?) : "Domestic" (i.e. tame ?), is apparently contrasted with the ryod "wild" (i.e. "not broken in"), p. 303 : 44, of l. 6.

A. 5, bkol-spyad-ltam : The sense is uncertain : bkol-spyad has the sense of "taming-exercise" ?

Śi-nir : On this place-name see infra, p. 285.

Sum-čun : This means "at thirty"; but it seems likely that a place-name is intended, and this might be Sum-čhu "Three Waters", since in the Chronicle we have such a place-name (ll. 3, 38 : "Sum-čhu-bo in Śaṇa"): the place may even be the same, the rivers being Tārīn, Konche, and Cercen daryā.

The Great and Little Drug-ču, and the Upper Drug-ču

In connection with the Ha-ža (p. 30) and with Śa-čun (p. 40), we have already met with the name Drug-čun and "čhun, which must have been understood to mean the "Little Drug-ču" (Drug-čhu). Further examples are the following:—

11. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. no. 19 in vol.; c. 6 x 6 cm.; parts of ll. 5 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script; similar to Ch. 56, fol. 51, p. 363).


"... boundary-stone mark ... came upon. West ... came upon a boundary-stone with a mark ... watch-tower, of the Drug-čun ..."

Notes

1. 1, mtshams-tho : The expression is frequent in another document, p. 361.6, etc.

1. 4, mthoń.khyab : On this expression see p. 123.

12. M.I. iv, 57 (a) (paper fragment, fol. 19 in vol.; c. 4 x 10.5 cm., discoloured; parts of ll. 6 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script; similar to Ch. 56, fol. 51, p. 363).
[1] ... gyi (gi | ?) | byaṅ.m ...  
[2] ... gi.mtahams ...  
[3] ... (gi | 33 | | rtse.h-(l-?) ...  
[4] ... || lho.Nag.śod ...  
[5] ... [tsh]aṅ.stod ...  
(A line is perhaps lost here.)  
[6] ... -un.gyi.rje.žin ...  
[7] -i ... o

"... north ... boundary of ... Rtse-[l̇uho?]. ... South Nag-śod ... Upper [Rgod.(?)-tsh]aṅ ... king’s land of the [Drug-c]un ..."

On rje-žin, see pp. 129, 140, and Index.

That the expression Drug-cun was understood by the Tibetans to mean "Little Dru-gu" is clear from the mention of the "Great Dru-gu", which is exemplified in—

13. M.I. iv, 81 (wood, c. 10 × 2.5 cm., fragmentary at right and left; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary, cursive, dbu-cun script, rather obscure).

[A 1] ... Ldon.bzaṅ.Lha.sgra.[gsas].kyi.gzi ...  
[A 2] ... s.kyis | stod.gyi.Dru.gu.dma[g] ...  
[B 1] ... gian ... [g]ly-h ...  
[B 2] ... [bla.Drug.che.chu[n].gi.[st]a ...  
[A 1] "... estate of Ldon-bzaṅ Lha-sgra-gsas ...  
[A 2] ... upper Dru-gu army ...  
[B] ... [corn] of the Great and Little Drug ..."

This document is evidently connected with M.I. iv, 49 (printed in full supra, p. 123), where the same Ldon-bzaṅ Lha-sgra-gsas is mentioned in connection with the Upper Dru-gu (and with Tshal-byi).

We have found the "Little Dru-gu" associated with the Ha-ža, Ša-cu, Kva-cu, Ston-sar. The "Upper Dru-gu" are in the above passage associated with the "Great" and the "Little", and in iv, 49 with Tshal-byi, which we have seen reason (p. 120) to regard as being in the mountainous hinterland of Charklik.
The "Great Dru-gu" will recur in a passage to be quoted below (p. 278).

P.K. 1024 (Kha. 140, paper) merely states that a Tibetan donkey and a Dru-gu donkey are alike. In all the remaining occurrences (M. Tāgh. 0022, 0147, 0558, i. 0016, a, vi, 0031, b, ii, 0623) we have on wooden tablets merely the expression Dru-gu-hjor, except that in one of them (0022) the place-name Tsehu.col[y] (see p. 250) is appended.

The Dru-gu cor and the Bug cor

The word cor has been equated (supra, p. 18) to the Chinese tch'ouo (chur), noted by Chavannes (Documents sur les Tou-kins Occidentaux, s. Index) as applied to certain five subdivisions of the Turkish tribes and also the persons at the head of them. There can be, it seems, little doubt that the term is identical with the Turkish cur, which Thomsen found (Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p. 155) in similar double employment. We might conveniently use "Count" and "County" as equivalent thereto.

The Dru-gu cor itself has been mentioned above (pp. 175, 203). In the form Dru-gu-hjor it has occurred, pp. 204, 249, and this is seen also in—

14. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0031 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm.; l. 1 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script: about 12 notches).

Drugu.hjor

and in the documents mentioned above. We have also a parallel in Khri-skugs-hjor, pp. 235-6). Since the words on the wooden tablets are very often merely the names of places for which the objects accompanying them were kept or destined, there can be no doubt that here also the meaning is "the Dru-gu county", "the Khri-skugs county". A probably erroneous variant Dru-gu-hjön is found in one instance, viz.—

15. M. Tāgh. c, iii, 0043 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script).

(man) [A 2] man, chad, kyi, phur, myi, stag, rnams, laḥ  
[B 1] Lḥaḥ, mthoṅ, gi, gsol, bā, sgya-hu, naḥdi, thugs, pag.  

"To the Tiger swordsmen (phur-myi) up to Chinese Sluṅs  
and down to the Dru-gu-hjon; request of Lḥaḥ(Lha)-mthoṅ.  
He requests that these things in the bag (sgya-hu-naḥdi ?)  
be conveyed (mjed ?) with care on from one to another."

If this Lha-mthoṅ is the żuṅ-khar Lha-mthoṅ named in  
the Lha-sa Pillar inscription (JRAS., 1911, p. 43) of A.D. 783  
or 822, his "request" is a polite command: see also p. 238  
supra. On Chinese Sluṅs and phur-myi see pp. 52, 174, 224,  

In the passage last cited, and also in that given supra  
pp. 202-4), there is a question of missives to Šin-śan  
by routes which reach down to the Dru-gu cor from the Tibetan  
highlands. The places mentioned in the same connection  
are Par-ban, probably in the region of Polu or Cer-cen (p. 242),  
and Chinese Sluṅs, probably in the mountains further east:  
elsewhere also Dru-gu are connected with (the mountain  
hinterland of) Tshal-byi and with the Ḥa-za, who have the  
same relationship.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the  
"Dru-gu county" or province, was, under the Tibetan  
administration, simply the "Nob region" or the old Shan-  
shan kingdom, for which the documents supply no other  
designation. That the term was not unreasonably applied  
we may judge from the statement of the Chinese pilgrim  
Sung-Yün (A.D. 518, Chavannes, p. 390) that—

"The kings who had been designated by that city [Shan-  
shan] have been conquered by the Tu-yū-hun: at present  
the sovereign in that city is the second son (of the king) of  
the Tu-yū-hun: he has the title of pacifier of the west, and  
commands 3,000 men, who are employed in withstanding the  
western Hu" (the people of Khotan).

We have other proofs that, prior to the coming of the  
Turks and Tibetans the Tu-yu[k]-hun were rather powerful;
and it is to be presumed that, under Chinese suzerainty, they remained in possession of Shan-shan, until overthrown by the Tibetans. The latter would therefore, if the Dru-gu were Tu-yu[k]-hun, have had good reason for styling that kingdom the Dru-gu cor. This would also account for the rather frequent association of the Dru-gu with the Ha-ža, if the Ha-ža were, as we have reason for believing, a people of Shan-shan, and its hinterland. We may also remark that the name Mu-li-gen, attributed by the Chinese to the Tu-yu[k]-hun king who invaded Khotan, has some resemblance to Mug-lien, which at a later date (c. A.D. 640) we have found in a Ha-ža connection (pp. 11 sqq.).

It is, however, the Drug-cun who are in the documents most clearly brought into connection with the Ha-ža; and this name, which rhymes somewhat obviously with Tu-yu[k]-hun, suggests that the Great Dru-gu, who are placed in antithesis to the Drug-cun, may be found elsewhere.

What then of the Bug cor? This is mentioned in the Tibetan Chronicle (l. 162), but only to say that in an Ape year (A.D. 719) an emissary came thence to present submission (phug-htsald); the context is uninstructive. There exists, however, a document which supplies more definite information. It contains an account (fragmentary) of the bad and better ages of human history.

16. Ch. 73, xv, 4 (vol. 56, fol. 35, a paper fragment, c. 25 × 46 cm., rather worn at left and right edges, yellowish; ll. 51 of cursive, dbu-can script, a small hand, obscure, and with some gaps due to holes in the paper).

The first forty-four lines are without historical attachments. On line 45 begins the following passage, which continues to the end of the MS.:

[45] ... || hun.nas.bar.hdihi.tshe.ni.spu<skyin.dan.ḥbab.pahi.tshe.yin.no || hun.nas.skyin.dan.ḥbab.pahi : [46] [dus.lo],sum.brgyaḥ,drug.cu.las.sa.dan || Rgyaḥ.yul.gyi.

1 Crossed out.
Next the present period is the period of loans and taxes. When of this period three hundred and sixty years had passed there came from a land on the far side of a great lake below (sc. west of) the country of China, a black-face king, riding in a black chariot, who flourished during sixty years. China's black-heads did homage to him and were subjugated by him. When of that king's time sixty years had passed, there arose from a small cave in the Chinese swamp country of the Bug chor a man called the Great Drug, who annihilated both the black-face king of China and the king of the Bug chor; the people of both China and the Bug chor were subjugated by that king and paid taxes. The Great Drug king flourished during seventy-two years. After he had flourished seventy-two years the Dru-gu of the East and the Dru-gu of the West fought. At first the Dru-gu of the West . . .

In this document, which comes from the hidden library of the Ch'ien-fo-tung and is therefore probably not later than the tenth century A.D., it seems as if the "Great Drug", who came from the Chinese swamp country of the Bug chor, no doubt the Lop-nor region, should be of Turkish stock. Following a "black-face" king, who might be a Tu-yu[k]-
hum, and being extant in the Tibetan period, he could not be a Huung-nu or a Juan-Juan. The division into "Dru-gu of the East" and "Dru-gu of the West" is hardly decisive, since not only the division of the Turks into northern and western (which was also eastern and western), but also an earlier division of the Juan-Juan on the same lines (Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine*, i, p. 351), and the division of Anterior and Posterior Chü-shih, i.e. Turfan and Guchen (Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 566 sqq.), might come into question. If the Turks are meant, the division might be either that into North and West, A.D. 582 (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, pp. 259 sqq.), or that into the five tribes Tu-Lu and the five tribes Nu-she-pi, c. A.D. 630 (ibid., pp. 265 sqq.): in the former case the periods of 60 years and 72 years, which numbers are likely to be correct, would correspond respectively to A.D. 450-510 and 510-82; in the latter case to A.D. 498-558 and A.D. 558-630. But these are rather questions for Sinologists and Turkologists, who may be able to decide whether the particulars stated are reconcilable with what is otherwise known. The legendary character of the narrative renders it inadvisable to pursue the matter here.

The Bug *cor*, however, "the Chinese swamp country," being clearly in the Lop-nor region, is, no doubt, identical with W. Kan-su, and perhaps *bug* = *pug*, attested (JRAS, 1927, p. 299) as an old form of *pei* "north". The local dynasty of the Sa-cu country seems to have been named *Hbrug* "Dragon", a term which we have recorded several times (pp. 17-18, 150) and which is equivalent to the name *lung*, given by the Chinese to a "Dragon" dynasty, originally from Karakashahr, established in Sa-cu during this period (L. Giles, *BSOS.*, vi, pp. 844-5).

It would seem, therefore, that we have evidence for the existence of two adjacent provinces, named respectively the *Drug-cor* and the *Bug-cor*, one of which we have identified with the old Shan-shan kingdom, while the other is W. Kan-su and probably includes the Sa-cu region as far west as Lop-nor.
Other References to the Dru-gu (Gru-gu)

In Tibetan literature generally the Dru-gu are practically unknown, and their name is not to be found in the dictionaries. Ś. C. Das, however, cites a Gru-gu-Rgya-ra, “a village in Khams” and the Geografia Tibet mentions (p. 54) a Gru-gu-dgon lamasonry in Amdo. In Vol. I (pp. 269, 273) we have noted a few other occurrences of the same spelling. Once or twice in documents from the hidden library of Chi’en-fo-tung the name of this people is mentioned, as is also that of the Ha-za; but the passages are uninformative. The same may be said of the references which we have previously cited from documents; in one document, however, from the Sha-gu region (p. 150) a Dru-gu man is mentioned along with a Hbrug, while in another (of the eighth century A.D., pp. 92 sqq.) the Drug are named, along with the Chinese and the Ḥjan, as having been at war with the Tibetans.

As a representative people of the north the Dru-gu are mentioned as early as the Lha-sa Pillar inscription of A.D. 783 or 822 (edited by Colonel Waddell in JRAS., 1909; see pp. 930, 948), where the four directions are represented by the Chinese (east), Nepal (south), Tibet (west), and the Drug (north). A like ascription of the Gru-gu (Dru-gu) to the north is to be found in a passage discussed infra (p. 288), derived from a literary notice of the Tibetan king Mu-tig-btsan-po (c. A.D. 800). The Bon literature, which in principle is fairly old, retains a souvenir of the Dru-gu people, and in fact locates them with some exactitude. Thus we are told that a range of mountains called Ba-dag-san (Badakshan) separates the Gru-gu from the Tsha-gser people, while another range, named Saṅ-la-nag-po, separates them from the Hor.

Conclusion

It might be thought that the citations contained in the last paragraph are decisive in favour of an identification of the Dru-gu with the Uigurs, who about the end of the eighth century A.D. became a great power in the regions north of Chinese Turkestan; and we might suppose that, while the Turks generally are designated Hor, the Uigur Turks are
distinguished by the special appellation Dru-gu, which distinction is, however, inverted by the Chinese evidence cited Vol. I, p. 78, nn. 9–10. Who else, in fact, are the Dru-gu to be? Since, however, the former impossibility, based upon dates (for the Tibetans are fighting the Dru-gu as early as A.D. 675—not to mention the far earlier Dru-gu episodes in Khotan history), still stands fast, it is clear that there must be some other way of escape from conflicting alternatives.

Starting with the fact that Gu-zan was in the Dru-gu country, we shall note first that this place must be the same in all the passages where it is named. The well-known passage in the Annals (vol. i, p. 119) which states that the king of Gu-zan, and the king of Kanika and king Vijaya-Kirti of Khotan made a joint expedition to India cannot be separated from the rest: for it was written in the eleventh century A.D., at which time the people of Chinese Turkestan and Tibet must have known quite definitely what they meant by the name Gu-zan, even if the statement which they made concerning a past event was contrary to fact. When, in the eighth century (c. A.D. 745), we hear (Vol. I, p. 254) of the Chinese being invited to come into Khotan and Gu-zan, the region meant must be the same as when, in A.D. 687, the Tibetan army marches to Gu-zan in the Dru-gu country.

The name Gu-zan is highly suggestive of Guchen. Situated to the north of the Bogdo-Ulä mountains, the most easterly extension of the Tien-shan, with Barkul to the east, Hami and Pi-chan beyond the range to the south, and the Turfan depression beyond another range to the west, it was the capital of what the Chinese designated Posterior Chü-shih, Anterior Chü-shih being Turfan itself. From the excellent account which Sir Aurel Stein has given of this region,¹ which is separated from Mongolia by the Dzungarian plateau and the

Altai mountains, we see that, though subject to the dominion of the successive great kingdoms to the north, the Hsung-nu, the Juan-Juan, the Turks, as well as to the Chinese, it had a continuous internal history, until it became absorbed in the kingdom of the Uighurs, with its capital at Karakoram. Sir Aurel Stein remarks upon "the close intercourse which, since ancient times, must have existed between Anterior and Posterior Ch'i-shih, i.e., Turfan and the present Guchen region" (p. 554), and manifests a lively recognition of a difference between the character of the population, which must be of highly mixed descent, and that of their northern neighbours beyond Dzungaria, the true Turks and Mongols from the Altai (pp. 550, 558). As regards the presence of Tibetans in this region, he reminds us that "We know that in A.D. 670 the 'Four Garrisons' controlled by the Protectorate of An-hsi (Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, Tokmak) were overrun by the Tibetans, who had in that year won a signal victory over the imperial forces north of the Kuku-nor, and that, notwithstanding the successes won by certain Chinese generals in 673 and 677-9, a Chinese supremacy in these regions was not re-established until 692. It seems difficult to believe that the Tibetans, who had then risen to formidable power, should have conquered the Tarim basin and made their influence felt even north of the Tien-shan, without having at least temporarily secured mastery over the oases from Tun-huang to Turfan, through which led the least difficult line of access to the former" (pp. 579-580). After its re-establishment the Chinese authority was maintained, precariously after A.D. 766, with the aid of the Uighurs, until 790, when "the people of Pei-t'ing, tired of Uigur exactions, submitted to the Tibetans, together with the Sha-t'o tribe, a branch of the Turkish Ch'u-yueh, who appear, as early as the first T'ang advance to Hami and Turfan, in semi-nomadic occupation of the Guchen region ... Towards the close of 790 a fresh effort was made by the Uighurs to retake Pei-t'ing, but led to their signal defeat ... The complete predominance
which the Tibetans appear to have gained in Eastern Turkestan during the early part of the ninth century accounts for the absence of further references to Turfan in the Chinese records for this period. But, soon after the middle of that century, Tibetan supremacy in that region and in westernmost Kan-su was broken by the Uighurs, whom Kirghiz attacks and internal dissensions had forced to move from their former seats in Mongolia to the south and south-west" (ibid., p. 581).

This history renders it highly probable that the Tibetan general who in the year A.D. 687 marched to Gu-zan in the Dru-gu country was really operating in the direction of Guchên. As regards the actual name, which in its Chinese form Ku-ch'êng-tzŭ means the "ancient town" (Stein, op. cit., p. 554), it seems possible that it has been adapted by the Chinese in order to provide it with a meaning. But there are other possibilities. Thus we have the pass Ku-ch'ên, which Sir A. Stein crossed on his way from Guchên to Turfan (ibid., p. 555). Further, the town of Pei-t'ing, which later appears in Turkish as Bêshbaliq "the five towns", was originally known to the Chinese by the same expression, which in its then Chinese form would have had the pronunciation *Gu-ziang; and this also may perhaps be an interpretation of a native Gu-zan. These alternatives—and it may be added that vice versa Gu-zan might be a representation of the Chinese Ku-ch'êng or Gu-ziang—may seem not to strengthen the arguments from nomenclature connecting Gu-zan with the Guchên-Turfan region. But they do not weaken it: until a preferable alternative is found, the attribution of Gu-zan to the Guchên region retains its philological probability.

This probability would be enhanced if we could find in the same general region place-names identifiable with some of those which have occurred in our extracts. These are Ltañ-yor, Khri-bös, Son-sna, Śi-nir, and Drañ. The first-named is not stated to be, though it must be agreed that it probably was, in the Dru-gu country. Ltañ-yor seems rather suggestive of north-eastern Tibet—for the syllable yor, which
recurs in the name of Gtse-nam-yor in Mdo-smad, may be a word of that region, meaning "cairn" or "boundary mark" of stones: though it is not at all improbable that in the year A.D. 675 a place in Turkish territory should have been invaded by a Tibetan force, Ltañ-yor could be, in fact, the well-known Tan-kar, in the Koko-nor region (p. 158). But Sön-sna, where the General Khri-hbrin, returning from Drañ, in the Dru-gu country, and "lingering outside" (sc. of Tibet), held the "summer assemblage", might very well be in the Shonä-nor depression, between Hami or Pichan and the Quruk-tägh mountains. Also the Si-nir mountain, mentioned in the document M.I. xxiii, 009 (supra, p. 273), in connection with the Dru-gu country, is likely to be the "Sinir-tag" of Andree's Atlas, and in fact to be the "mountain of Singer";¹ which lies north of the western part of the Quruk-tägh and may have been on a route from the Lop-nor district to Guchen, Pichan, and Turfân. That in all times there was regular communication between Lop-nor-Shan-shan and the Guchen-Turfân country is patent from the historical particulars cited by Chavannes and Sir A. Stein, as well as in other ways.² If these identifications are sound, then quite possibly Drañ may be Taranchi, which Sir A. Stein's map places south of the Bogdo-Ulâ mountains. Taranchi is, no doubt, simply Turkish taranchi "land-cultivator", where the chi is the common suffix (Vambéry, Kudatku Bilik, pp. 5, 232). To a Turkish local name there can be no objection, since the country had known a Turkish overlordship during a long period commencing about a century previously. Lastly, Khri-bös might be connected with the lake Khri-śo, which, according to a Bon book, lies between the kingdom

¹ For the frequency of mountain names meaning merely the "mountain of such and such a place" (and the same applies, no doubt, to other large natural features), see Conway, Climbing in the Karakoram, pp. 172, 297.

² In the passage quoted from the Chinese by Bushell in J.R.A.S., 1880, p. 454, the Tibetan king speaks of "one desert only, which horsemen can canter across in ten days", as the best approach to this region from Tibetan territory.
of Ge-sar and Tibet. This, is, perhaps, the lake Khri-šor, or Koko-nor, as seems to be indicated by the Tibetan Geography translated by Wassiliew (St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 55); but Khri-bšos- khrom, "the Khri-bšos mart."

The identification of the Dru-gu country with the Guchen-Turfan region seems, therefore, highly acceptable; and, since the region at the period in question was still under Chinese government and did not pass into the hands of the Uigurs until the middle of the ninth century, we have a further chronological proof that the original application of the name Dru-gu was not to the Uigurs. That at a later time, when the Uigurs became dominant in the region, the term was perhaps applied to them by the Tibetans creates no difficulty. In nomadic or semi-nomadic Asia the ethnic names seem to have two alternative destinies; either they cleave to the people who originally bore them, in which case they wander (e.g. Tokhari, Turk, Mughal) over the map; or they become attached to a district (e.g. Tokharistan, Turkestan) and so apply during different periods to different successive populations. The Tibetans, who in Chinese Turkestan appeared late, probably derived the term Dru-gu from the people of Shan-shan and Khotan. Originally it may have denoted not only the people of the Guchen-Turfan area, but generally the less civilized tribes of the whole Tien-shan region, including the "Wu-sun" of the Chinese. Possibly the name may have come to Khotan, along with some other impressions, from the Iranian sphere and may be ultimately identical with the druŋ or the Sanskrit Druh-γu, meaning, perhaps, originally "deceitful", "hated", "foreign", "barbarous", and applied to a people on the north-west of India. The Drug-cun, interpreted as the "Little Drug-gu", may have been originally the "Cun Dru-gu". Whether this name can be equated in part to that of the Tu-yu[k]-hun (stated to be the name of one of the early kings), we must leave to others to determine; but it certainly seems likely that it was applied by the Tibetans to "Dru-gu" connected with
the Ha-za country, which seems to be the Drug cor, originally Shan-shan. The relation of the name Dru-gu to that of the Turks, with which Professor Pelliot has reasonably connected it (J.A., 1914, ii, p. 144), remains somewhat obscure: Türk is said to have been a helmet-shaped mountain (in Kan-su¹, see Parker in Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, p. 193). It is certain that the Chinese Tou-kiue, T'u-chüeh, does not represent *Dru(Dur)-gu* rather than Türk?

**The Dru-gu and Ge-sar**

In this connection it is impossible to avoid a reference to that most widely spread and most wonderful popular Epic legend of Central and Eastern Asia, the Ge-sar story, first made known in Europe by I. J. Schmidt's translation from the Mongol under the title *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chans* (St. Petersburg, 1839). Besides being familiar to the Chinese and Manchus, it exists also in a Tibetan oral tradition, partly made known in published editions and translations by the late Dr. A. H. Francke, who has also edited a Western Tibetan (oral) version in full; a Burushaski, also oral, form of it is being communicated by Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer. We have previously (*Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, p. 65) had occasion to remark that a non-legendary Phrom Ge-sar is named in the Khotan Annals; and a similar observation was made by E. Schlagintweit concerning the (otherwise uninformative) references to Ge-sar in the Life of Padmasambhava (p. 522 of *Die Lebensbeschreibung von Padma Sambhava* in the Munich Academy *Abhandlungen*, 1903). But we do not realize the significance of this fact until we reflect that such a reference carries back the question of Ge-sar and his story to a date far anterior to our other knowledge of it. Even if we ignore the date of the Khotan king¹ who is stated to have married a daughter of Phrom Ge-sar, the actual statement in the Annals is not later than the eleventh century. In fact, however, we have an earlier Tibetan text which identifies the kingdom of Ge-sar with the Gru-gu (= Dru-gu). This is an account in

¹ *Antiquit Khotan*, p. 589.
verse, from the nature of its contents obviously quite early, of
the achievements of the Tibetan king Mu-tig-btsan-po (c. 800),
son of Khri-sron-ldelu-btsan; it occurs in the Royal-po'i
bkahi-thun-yig "Pronouncements concerning kings", being
the second part of the Padma-[byun-gnas]-bkahi-thun-yig, the
well-known "Pronouncements of Padma[śambhava]", a
work of probably the tenth century A.D.; and it is quoted
at length in the introductory Index volume to the Snar-than
edition of the Bkah-bgyur (fol. 14a 7, sqq.), where the lines
read as follows (fol. 22a of the Padma xylograph shows small
variants):

17. byun.phyogs.Ge.sar.Gru.gu.bzungs.pa.yan 9
bar.du.bkaḥ.bkhon.byun.nas.bsdo.ba.la 9
arin.po.Gdon.dmar.Bod.kyi.dmags.y-g.yos.nas 9
Gru.gu.yul.gyi.'On.ṇu.yan.chod.la 9
Bod.kyi.dmags.dpon.sbra.nag.phab.nas.mi 9
yul.brlag.mi.rnams.Mon.gyi.sa.la.bskyal 9
khyim.mkhar.Mon.gyi.sa.la.btod.nas.kyan 9
yul.du.mi.nan.bsten.pa.sun.phyun.ste 9
spa.bkon.ded.dpon.yul.ḥ(m)khar.htsho.bar.bzag 9
Gru.gu.Ge.sar.Bod.kyi.bran.du.phyag 9

"The Gru-gu Ge-sar, residing in the northern quarter,
having until then, in resentment at commands, shown rivalry
the demon Red-Face army of Tibet was set in motion. As far
as 'On-ṇu in the Gru-gu kingdom the army forces of Tibet,
set up the black tents and escorted the people, their land
overthrown, into the Mon territory. Though given a home
town in Mon territory, they were discontented, relying upon
evil men in the country. A terrifying leader (ded-dpon =
sārthavāha) being posted to garrison the country, the Gru-gu
Ge-sar gave his submission as a servant of Tibet."

1 I.e., among the Mons, a non-Tibetan people, usually associated with
the western parts of Tibet and the lower Himalayas. See the dictionaries,
and also Schiefner, Kino Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çukjamania, p. 328;
Lauder, Kuo 'Bum bdas pa'i stīh po, pp. 04 sqq.; A. H. Francke, Antiquities
of Western Tibet, vol. 1 (index).
From this extract it will be seen that the passage, which is given entire in Vol. i (pp. 269 sqq.), contains particulars of much verisimilodude concerning the king Mu-tig-btsan-po, the patron of Padmassimdhava, far different from the meagre notices in later works such as the *Rgyal-rabs*.

The association of Ge-sar with the country of the Dru-gu is not a casual idea of the panegyrist of Mu-tig-btsan-po. It is current in the Bon literature, where the kingdom of Ge-sar is regarded as being in the north and separated from Tibet and from China by sand-deserts. In spite of the schematistic and fanciful features which appear in the geographical notions it is clear that the Tibetans generally place the realm of Ge-sar precisely where we have found the Dru-gu. We shall, therefore, reject the statement on p. 224 of Šarat Candra Das' Tibetan Dictionary that Ge-sar was "a powerful king ruling in Shensi in China. . . . According to some authors he lived in the seventh century A.D.," in favour of his other statement (p. 845) that "Phrom is the name of a country situated to the north-east of Yarkand and north of Tibet. . . . This country in the sixth century A.D. is said to have been under the rule of king Gesar ".

It would be inadvisable to lay any stress upon any part of the personal nomenclature of the Ge-sar story, since this varies in the different versions. But the general lines of the story, a journey to the east on a friendly visit to China, a journey to the north into the country of the Turks, a combat with the "Tangut" chiefs who are in alliance with the king of Khotan, are not inconsistent with such a geographical situation as we have conceived. Moreover, the subjects are in part such as accord with the period which we have in view, say from A.D. 500-800: more especially the question of a Chinese wife, a matter of international rivalry in at least the earlier part of the period, seems significant in regard to the original historical setting of the legend. More generally still, we have in the fall of the old civilizations of Kucā and Turfan, overwhelmed by the comparative barbarism of the
northern hordes; the same favourable ground for the growth of a popular epic, based upon uncomprehended reminiscences, which exists in the cases of the legends of Priam, Brutus, and Arthur.

However this may be, the meaning of the expression Phrom Ge-sar "Gesar of the City" seems certain. For the alternative form khrom has in Tibetan regularly the meaning of "mart," or "town"; and in the Central Asian documents we have frequently found it in such expressions as Sta-gu-khrom, khrom-Nob-ched-po, khrom Kva-su Si-nan; in the year 741-2 the Tibetans, after capturing the Chinese city Dar-kha-khvan, inflicted in Zan-tsal of Zo-don a great defeat upon "Khrom"; the Btsan-po himself being present (Chronicle, ll. 232-3). It seems, therefore, likely that "Khrom", though it was afterwards regarded as a country, was originally "the city", meaning the great city or metropolis (of the Dru-gu), whether this was Guchen or Turfan or Karashahr or some other, and it became in popular talk the name of a country in the same way as Rome became Rûm. The Tibetans, however, seem sometimes to distinguish between "Phrom", or "Khrom", and Ge-sar: for instance, the Rgyal-rabs (fol. 21a 6) speaks of the four kings, of India, the Stag-gzag (Tajiks), Ge-gsar (Ge-sar), and Khrom (Rgya-gsar-chos-kyi-rgyal-po, Stag-gzag-nor-gyi-rgyal-po, Ge-gsar-dma-gyi-rgyal-po, Gzugs-mdzes-Khrom-gyi-rgyal-po, bzihi-blo ...), and in the Bon (schematistic) geography there is even mention of a range of mountains separating Phrom from Ge-sar. Is it possible that we have here a reminiscence of the distinction between the two kingdoms of "Anterior Chü-shih" (Turfan) and "Posterior Chü-shih" (Guchen), separated, as in fact they are, by a mountain-range!

What then is to be said of Professor Pelliot's attractive suggestion of connection between a Phrom (Fu-lin) and Rome and between Ge-sar and Caesar (J.A., 1914, i, pp. 498-9; 1923, i, pp. 83-8; approved by Dr. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, pp. 436-7)? The syllable prom certainly occurs otherwise in
Chinese Turkestan, and we can only conclude that the always unhappy nomenclature of that region has provided us with two, if not three, p(h)rons. Ge-sur may be a dynastic title (like Po in Kucā); the kingdom Kesara (Ki-sa-lo) traced by Professor Lévi (BÉFEO. v, p. 283) seems not to belong to Chinese Turkestan.

In any case, however, a connection between the name Dru-gu and the people of the Guchen region seems to have been made out. By the Tibetans, who came late upon the scene, the name must have been received from their Turkestan neighbours. The Khotanese, when invaded by the Tu-yu[k]-hun from Shan-shan (absorbed by that people, as we have seen, in the year A.D. 445), applied the name to them also. The Chinese account of the history of the Tu-yu[k]-hun is definite, and Professor Pelliot has adduced (J.A., 1912, ii, pp. 520-3; 1914, ii, p. 144 n.; 1916, i, p. 122; T'oung-Pao, 1920-1, pp. 323-5) direct evidence for the equation Tu-yu[k]-hun = Ha-ža. He, however, regards the name Ha-ža as properly denoting mixed tribes of the north of Kan-su, and applied to the Tu-yu[k]-hun from outside, by the Tibetans among others. What we have suggested is that the Tibetans (who speak of a Ha-ža kingdom long after the overthrow of the Tu-yu[k]-hun) understood by the term Ha-ža the people of the Shan-shan and Ša-cu area, and knew the Tu-yu[k]-hun, who had long dominated the Shan-shan kingdom, as Drag-can.

**The Title Bogdo**

The title Bogdo, applied to “Gesser Chan”, was borne by Mongol sovereigns, beginning with Cingis Khan; in the forms Pog-ta and Bog-do it appears in the Tibetan accounts of Mongolia (see the Hor-chos-hyuā, edited by Huth, pp. 16 sqq., and the dictionaries). In the Guchen area the title forms part of the name of the Bogdo-Ulā mountain, “the mountain of Bogdo” or “the holy mountain” (Klaproth, *Sprache und Schrift der Uigur*, p. 47). The designation may or might be Mongol; but the term bogdo must be far older.
than the first appearance of the Mongols in the vicinity of Chinese Turkestan, if it was used as a title by Khotan kings at least in the early part of the seventh century A.D. Several Khotan kings of about that period are mentioned by the Chinese with names wherein the syllables Wei-she, = Sanskrit Vijaya, are replaced by the syllables Fu-tu: these are Fu-tu-Hiung, Fu-tu-Sin, and Fu-tu-Ta. The Chinese character transliterated Fu had in Turkestan during Tibetan times the pronunciation Bug (JRAS. 1926, p. 516; cf. Karlgren's Analytical Dictionary, no. 46), while the tu seems hardly to be found except in transliterations; other characters, however, with the value tu in modern times are used to transliterate do (JRAS. 1926, p. 157). The title Bogdo might possibly have been introduced by the Juan-Juan, one of whose kings was, in fact, named Fu(Bug)-t'u (Cordier, op. cit., i, p. 347); but in all probability it came from the Turks, since in the time of Huan-Tsang the king of Khotan "had been subject to the Turks" (Abel-Rémy, Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, p. 35). Is the title Bogdo then the Bagatur of the Turks, which the Chinese represent by Mo-ho-tu (Chavannes, op. cit., index)? This is prima facie improbable, since Chinese Mo would hardly represent a syllable containing a u (or o) vowel. Whether the word is Turki at all or, perhaps, a borrowing from an older population is a question for the philology of eastern Turki: [see now JRAS. 1937, pp. 309-13].

b. The Hor (Turks)

In the documents there are rather frequent references to a Bzan-Hor-gyi-sde "Good Hor Regiment". We have already (pp. 55-6, cf. p. 456) cited one: we have further—

18. M. Tagh. 0345 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; II. 1 (faint) recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

Bzan.Hor.gyi.sde.dbra.d.Rgans.do. (Repeated verso).

"The dbra.d Rgan-pho (or old?) of the Bzan-Hor regiment, where dbra.d is a military designation previously noticed (pp. 180, 208).

Apart from the regiment we have already encountered in the
documents two references to the Hor (pp. 151, 236); and an individual Hor named Ban-Gsas-byin (p. 141), i.e., "Gsas-byin of the Ban clan" or "two Hors, Ban and Gsas", the former being the more probable, since a clan name Ban has been traced at Sa-cu (p. 113). Further references are:—

19. M. Tāgh. c, i. 0019 (wood, c. 13-5 x 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script).


"The Ni-mo-bag regiment; the Rhye-lig Hor Khen-tin-tse, corporal."

Rhye-lig is probably the name of a clan or of a locality.

20. M. Tāgh. b, 1, 0058 (wood, c. 12-5 x 2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script, rather smudged).


"The Ho-tso-bag regiment; the Snel Hor Na-gzigs."

The Ho-tso-bag (pag) regiment is several times mentioned (pp. 173, 454, 460-1). Snel is probably a place-name, since a Snel cor is mentioned in Bstan-hgyur colophons (Cordier, Index du Bstan-hgyur, i (ii), p. 66, ii (iii), p. 471). In another fragmentary document (M. Tāgh. a, iv, 00149, paper) we have a reference to "eight Snel Hors". But cf. sūe-lo, p. 461.

21. M. Tāgh. c, 1, 003 (wood, c. 10-5 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script).


"Letter-petition of Ne[o ʰ]hu.zuṅ in Hor" (or "of Na-ne[o ʰ]hu.zuṅ, the Hor ").

In Tibetan literature and history the Hor play, of course, a very important part, and it only remains to mention the Bha-ta-Hor, = "Good 'Hor", of Vol. 1, pp. 296-9.
c. The Phod-kar

A Phod-kar man from Skyan-ro and a Phod-kar [regiment] have been cited supra (pp. 174, 241; see also p. 466). The latter recurs in:—

22. M. Tāgh. 0291 (wood, c. 14 × 1.5 cm., fragmentary at right; l. 1 of ordinary, cursive, dbu-can script).

♀ | Phod-kar gyi sde Ska ba Klu

“Ska-ba Klu, of the Phod-kar regiment.”

Ska-ba, named in the Bstan-kgyur (Cordier, ii (iii), p. 524; cf. also Grünwedel, Lamaismus, pp. 49 and 56, and Laufer, Roman einer Tibetischen Königin, pp. 131, 216), was connected with Bog-yul, and was certainly in the [north-east in the region of Lem-cu (Liang-chiou, supra, p. 49 and p. 407). Since the Phod-kar ‘‘Thousand-district’’ (Vol. I, p. 278) was attached to the north-eastern division of Tibet and Skyan-ro belonged to the same region, it is certain that the Phod-kar tribe or people inhabited that quarter; and this fact is of some importance in regard to questions connected with the Tokhari.

The name Thod-kar, given as Tho-gar in the Tibetan dictionaries, occurs sometimes in Tibetan literary works and documents. Thus in the Rgyal-rabs-gsal-bahi-med-loh (India Office copy, fol. 14a, 4) the mother of Sron-btsan Sgam-po is said to have been Tshe-spon-bza Ḫbri-ma Thod-kar, where the last two syllables probably denote her race, while Tshe-spon is a district named in the Rgyal-pohi-bkah-thaṅ-yig (see Vol. I, p. 271, n. 3). The Thod-gar mentioned by Cordier (op. cit., i (ii), p. 33) belonged to Spyi-legs, which also was in the north-east (see p. 45). In the Lāfe (tenth century) of Padmasambhava and generally in the later literature (e.g. in the Dbya-gsum-bzun-bstan, edited by Sarat Candra Das, see Index), the name Tho-gar, Tho-kar, Thod-dkar denotes the historical Tokhari of the west.

The existence of the Thod-kar of the east does not, however, require to be proved by inference. For we have definite statements of the Greeks as to the existence of a mountain district Thagouros and a place Thogara on the route to the then
Chinese metropolis; and Professor Herrmann in his highly instructive work, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien*, i (Berlin, 1910), has identified the former with the Richthofen range and the latter with the city of Kan-chou (see the map); also a place named Ttangara, which may possibly correspond to the city Thogara, is mentioned in a Sakakhotani document of about A.D. 800 (*Two medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, p. 148).

Seeing that we have early statements by Chinese authors (see Marquart, *Krân-sahr*, pp. 201–2; Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 526–7 and nn. 8 and 1; Franke, *Zur Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Berlin, Abhandlungen, 1904, pp. 14, 26) to the effect that the original home of the Ta-yüeh-chih was "the country east of Tun-huang and west of the K'ölien mountains" (i.e. that part of the Nan-Shan which is south-west of Kan-chou), and that after their flight to the west in c. 165 B.C. some remnants of the Ta-yüeh-chih had remained behind, and had been active in the general region to which the mount Thagouros belongs, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the Phod-kar of our documents, who appertained to the same general area, were, in fact, Thogari or Tokhari; in which case there can no longer be any question as to the original name of the people known as the "Ta-Yüeh-chih". Through what dialect the name Thodkar was transmitted to the Tibetans in the form Phod-kar we may for the present leave undetermined; but, if it involved a change of a spirant th to a spirant f, that is abundantly exemplified elsewhere (e.g. Greek θεός for ἥθιος). As regards the Chinese name itself, it is unsafe for a non-Sinologist even to approach the subject.

But obviously, if the original was Thod-gar-ci (ṣi) "people of Thod-gar", wherein the ci (or ʂi) was in Central Asia a common and ancient gentilic suffix, the last syllable of the Chinese name need cause no difficulty; the second syllable also we have found in Kan-su in the eighth century A.D. with the value ḫgvar (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 297).
(d) Sluṅs

The Sluṅs mentioned on several occasions (pp. 52 and n. 1, 65, 189, 236, 276-7, and infra, pp. 423, 431, occur usually in connection with, but somehow distinguished from, soldiers (so): we have the expression "soldier Sluṅs" (p. 376), but also "Sluṅs and soldiers" (p. 52). That they were organized appears from the term "Sluṅs-commander" (Sluṅs-dpon, p. 189); and the general inference is (see infra, p. 423) that they were companies of military police, camp-followers, or the like. In view of the vagueness of this description the remaining occurrences may now be cited:—

23. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0092 (wood, c. 12-5-13 × 2 cm., cut away to a point at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

$\mathfrak{S} | \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{A} \ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{l} \mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{s} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{b} \mathfrak{o} \mathfrak{g} \ \mathfrak{l} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{n}$

"Hbog-lan, Chinese-Sluṅs."

Possibly Hbog-lan is a tribal, rather than a personal name, since M.T. b. ii, 0020 mentions a斯塔-nan (stan ?) who was a Hbog-lin-phā, the Hbog country being, as we have seen (p. 294), in the north-east.

24. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 003 (wood, c. 14 × 1-5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

$\mathfrak{S} | \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{a} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{g} \mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{c} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{a} \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{a} \mathfrak{a}$

"Among the Chinese Sluṅs of [Shaṅs ?] one Khotani executed." The Chinese Sluṅs were mentioned pp. 52, 276-7.

25. M.I. xv, 0020 (wood, c. 8 × 1-5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, partly erased).

$\ldots | \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{l} \mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{n} \ \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{o} \ \mathfrak{m} \ \mathfrak{a} \ \mathfrak{l} \mathfrak{u} \mathfrak{n} \ \mathfrak{g} \ \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak[e] \ \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{a}$

"To the Sluṅs chief of [Ho]-ma-lun."

A "Sluṅs Ho-ma Bu-luḍ(ū)" was mentioned supra, p. 64; 11 J.

The expressions "Chinese Sluṅs" (actually used to indicate a region, p. 52), "northern Sluṅs" (p. 431), "Sluṅs of Hbu-san" (p. 236), "Sluṅs, Upper and Lower" (stod-smad, Tibetan Chronicle, l. 169) suffice to show that the name Sluṅs
has a topographical implication, while the reference to "nomad Sũns" (Hbrog-Sũns, p. 52) is rather tribal or sociological; the other citations refer to service with the military. These contradictions can be resolved, if we suppose that Sũns properly denotes one of the four customary distinctions of Tibetan territory into flat steppe (thaṅ), upland pasture (ḥbrog), defile country (roṅ), and high country (sgaṅ), with distinctive populations; see Sandberg, Tibet and the Tibetans, pp. 13 sqq. If this is so, the mention of "Chinese Sũns" is in favour of an identification with the roṅ people and of the above (p. 52) suggested connection of the name with laṅ "valley". The characteristics of the people, as distinguished from the general body of the Tibetans, may have fitted them for only quasi-military service.

(e) Ḥbrog

There can be no doubt that the Ḥbrog are the modern Ḥbrog (vulgo Dok)-pas, "nomads," who derive their name from their occupation of the upland pastures. They have been mentioned supra (pp. 4, 52, Vol. I, pp. 261, 301-2), and they recur in the following documents:

26. M.I. xxvii, 008 and 18 (paper, fol. no. 67 in vol., two pieces, A, c. 14 × 4 cm., and B, c. 14 × 8 cm.); II. 3 (A) + 4 (B) of square dbu-can script).

gyi . mchid . gsol . bā | sũn . bžeṅs . sam . ma . bžeṅs .
[pa . g]sol . žes . bkāḥ . ḡbab . myi . ḡbab | jo . co [A 3] la .
myi . g[s][l]. naḥ . . . . . [B 3]-ḥ. eḥad . ma . de . tsam .
[ži | bdagi . [b]ul . loṅ . pa . daṅ . sbyard . te . Ḥbrog . tu .
giatan

yan . myi . nas . žiṅ (sic) . mchis . naḥ | gtaṅ . ḡdra .
[B 5, addition to B 4] Ḥbrog . tu . mchisna
[B, verse] Nob . chuṅu . ḥi . rtse . rje . blon ||
"To my lord Councillor Stag-bzaṅ: letter-petition of Klu... [Then after compliments, B 3] In regard to my debtor [bu-lon-pa] I will send to the Ḥbrog... Is not in the retinue (or is not returned, ḥkhor-tu-myi-mchis ?). Personally also [I] have a fever (myi-ḥas) ... will send it seems. Is in Ḥbrog. [B] The head-chief, the Councillor, of Little Nob."

Evidently the Ḥbrog district here in question was not excessively remote from Nob.

27. M.I. xiv, 122 (wood, c. 7 × 2 cm., broken away at l.: hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of squarish dbu-can script).


"... At present are in the Outer (Phyi) Ḥbrog [country]... six hundred and thirty; in Nob... and nine hundred and thirty, approximately... these... seem to be living happily."

The Outer Ḥbrog are mentioned also in vol. i, pp. 301-2. The Tibetan Chronicle mentions the Yar-Ḥbrog ("Upper Ḥbrog", i.e. Yam-dok, ll. 86, 94) and also the Ḥbrog of Rtsaṅ-cen (l. 62) and of G-yo-ri (l. 119).

28. M.I. i, 41 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., c. 13 × 9-5 cm., fragmentary at r.; ll. 8 of cursive dbu-can script).

"By Councillor Stag-guü with two others ... inquiring by letter as to health, happy or unhappy ... very unhappy. *Having gone to Snam in (?) Sod-Hbrog ... with the townspeople found nothing at all ... the resident peasants have very slight possessions. Domestic animals ... From the wild animals also in Sod [sic.] the yield is not good. Please send to ... Thus letter ... should decide to carry out ... "

(f) Mon

On the Mon people see supra p. 288 and vol. i, p. 274; one consort of Sron-btsan Sgam-po was a Mon woman. The name occurs in the documents as follows:—

29. M.I. 0062 (wood, c. 8 x 1-5 cm., complete; 1; 1 of ordinary *du-com* script).

Mon Khiyi gu cuń "The Mon Khiyi-gu-cün (Khiyi-gu Minor).

30. M.I. xv, 0013 (wood, 12 x 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso, faint, of cursive *du-com* script).


What a Turk Mon was does not appear; understand a Mon (Myes-cün) and a Turk (Hjín-ldu)!

31. M.I. xiv, 67 (wood, c. 17 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive *du-com* script).


(g) Various Other Places, etc.

(a) *A-rko* (unknown; possibly connected with the Arka-Tāgh).
32. M. Tagh. 0266 (wood, c. 12 x 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dhu-can script).


33. M. Tagh. 0350 (wood, c. 13 x 2 cm.; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dhu-can script).

[A] ☛ || Gnubs. Legs. zig. [B] 'A. rko'i. S[e. ruh] | [a]. h. [tshal]

"Legs-zigs of Gnubs sent (?) to Se-ruh of 'A-rko.'" Gnubs is a district in Tibet, mentioned in Bstan-ｂygyur colophons, and in the Tibetan Chronicle, ll. 108, 138.

(b) 'Aro (unknown; possibly connected with Ptolemy's 'Oposoáva (vi, 16, 8 = "'A-ro shan"?), associated with Øyapa, etc.).

34. M.I. iii, 2 (paper, fol. no. 13 in vol., c. 24 x 18.5 cm., fragmentary at r.; originally folded horizontally in the middle; ll. 3 + 3 (a different hand), inverted, of cursive dhu-can script).


A. "By counsellor Rgyal-zigs ... Ca-sto ... At present it is little time since (1) the numbering of the sheep; since ... has been caused to be sent, the recipient Gsas-koñ ..."

B. "Message to Sañ-spe of 'A-ro. Send to Gsas-koñ some one: afterward please ... sheep."

Lug-rtsis-kyi-tshe-yan-mo-lags might mean "there is little life in the counted sheep." !

1! below line.

*= guol.
(c) He-bam (mentioned, as Dpal-’E-bam, in a Bstan-bgyur colophon; location unknown. The reduplicated form of the name Leg-leg favours the Ša-cu region).

35. M.I. xiv, 52 (wood, c. 8-5-9 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, faint).


"The He-bam Leg-leg . . . ."

36. M.I. xiv, 0035 (wood, c. 4 x 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


(d) Hon (a tribe or district in Skyi; see supra, p. 48).

37. M. Tāgh. a, ii, 0011 (wood, c. 13-5 x 2-2-5 cm., complete; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script; indications verso of erased script?).


"Be pleased [to appoint] Skyi-snañ of Gyi-so to the status of corporal. The Hon chief, his divine majesty, equal to a theophany.

Gyi-so is perhaps the Gyi-co (jo) of the Bstan-bgyur colophons.

38. M. Tāgh. b, i, 00103 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., c. 24 x 7 cm., fragmentary at l.; ll. 3 of square dbu-can script).


". . . . letter petition of Khotani Ši-rhan-za . . . As I am not . . . a wife, be pleased now to send [me] to my maternal home (or not to send me home). The Hon chief, his majesty (or read la to", in place of lha !)."

*Also a "Bam Log-log" occurs there; see supra, p. 113.*
The writer, Śi-rhañ-za, is evidently a woman, as, indeed, is indicated by the sa suffix (= bza "woman"), on which see supra, p. 73.

(h) Places, etc., in Tibet


39. M.I. xi. 26 (wood, c. 10 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1]  Rgu-bon gi rje blas 1 | nas.kal [B 1] ben-

"To His Excellency Rgu-bon ten loads of barley, caused to be presented by Ldon-legs of Cog-ro."

40. M. Tāgh. 0378 (wood, c. 16.5 × 2 cm., broken away at l., burned and discoloured at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1]  ro dan | Chog ro Rtsan bzer Khyi
[B 1]  [rt]a dan | sa ston San rtsan dan

"...ro and Rtsan-bzer Khyi ... of Chog-ro, and the Span chief Stag-bzañ Hechos ky— ... horse and guide (sa-ston !) San-rtsan and ..."

On the surname Spran and Spran-ston, a district in S.E. Tibet, see Vol. I, p. 280, n. 7; on sa-ston, p. 343.

(b) Do (a district of Lho-brag in S.E. Tibet, mentioned in Bstan-hgyur colophons; but, as that district is rather remote from Chinese Turkestan, Mdo may be meant).

41. M.T. 0687 (wood, c. 9 × 2.5 cm., complete; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso (a different hand) of cursive dbu-can script).

[brugi lo [A 3] hi] ston sla hbrin pho
[B 1]  [hbrin] pho | Nañ dañ Lāñ[ñ] [B 2] ñbo li [le ?] dan

"An army of a thousand having been allowed to go

1 Sic! Read bla. la nas [h]al.
2 Spran?
(home ?) into the Do country, Dragon year, middle autumn month... Middle Nal and Liüns-ḥbo-li...

Nal is unknown, unless = Gñal in S.E. Tibet, or Mñal, which gave its name to a regiment (see infra, p. 464); Liüns-ḥbo-li also is unknown.

e) Gñi-ba (perhaps = Śni-ba, a military district in S.E. Tibet: see Vol. I, pp. 280 and n. 5, 284).

42. M. Tä̊gh. c. iii, 008 (wood, c. 13 x 2-5-3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1, 1 recto of square dbu-can script and remains of ll. 3 verso in a different, smaller, hand).

(A) ☐ | : | Gñi | ba - Lha-shyin, gi, pha, tsa, ||

[B 1-3] (obscure and very fragmentary).

"Parcel of Gñi-ba Lha-shyin."

d) Ḧbro (a well-known tribe and district of Gtsan, in Tibet: often mentioned in Bstan-ḥgyur colophons; see also supra, pp. 15-16, for its regiment, pp. 458-9).

43. M. Tä̊gh. b. i, 0060 (wood, c. 13 x 2-2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; 1, 1 of squarish dbu-can script).

☑ | : | Ḧbro - ḥi, Ṛon, liüns, yul, bzuñ |

"Roñ-liüns of Ḧbro (local government, bzuñ = gzun? or yul-bzuñ a proper name?)

Roñ-liüns might be = Roñ-gliüns of the colophon ap. Cordier, iii, p. 211.

(e) Ḧbrom (a district which furnished a regiment, supra, p. 175).

44. M. Tä̊gh. a. ii, 00101 (paper, fol. no. 9 in vol., c. 28 x 8 cm., ll. 3 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] ☐ || Ḧbrom, mañ, po, rjeḥi, khrul, rta1, rgod, ma, žyu, mo, tsha, baksön, pahi, slad, du, gne[r]... [2] kān, slo, Kl[u], sbyin, la, stog, g2-yon, bskor, na, tsod || dphun, dpon, stag, Stag, rjeḥi, g-yar, sḥa[3]... chis, par, gyur, te, stag, gi, dpañ, rgya

... in charge of an untamed tax horse of the Ḧbrom chief, overheated (tsha-bskons) through indigestion, having,

1 Drgya here crossed out.
2 Something here crossed out.
at a time when \( \text{zān-slo} = (\text{zān-lon}?) \) Klu-sbyin and others (read lastsoys) turned recalcitrant, come... to the presence of troop-commander Tiger Stag-rje, witness signature of the Tiger."

On dpun-dpon, rgod and g-yon-bskor see pp. 274, 375, 424.
(f) Khyun (a tribe of E. Tibet, noted supra, pp. 54, i, 277-8, etc., and mentioned also M. Ṭagh. b. ii, 0043, and in Bstan-bgyur colophons).

45. M.I. xl, 4 (wood, c. 11 \( \times \) 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

\[ \text{Khyun} \, \text{Byi}, \, \text{tsa} \, \text{Mtsho}, \, \text{gon} \]

"The Khyun Byi-tsa Mtsho-gon."

The Byi-tsa might be a clan included in the Khyun-po tribe.

(g) M[or Me]-nuag (a tribe or district in E. Tibet) see the maps—noticed Vol. I, p. 263 and n. 1, and in Bkug-bgyur (Beckh, p. 95) and Bstan-bgyur colophons, etc.

46. M.I. xiv, 24 (paper, fol. no. 41 in vol., c. 15 \( \times \) 6 cm., imperfect at r.; ll. 6 of rather coarse, squarish dbu-can script).

[1] \[ \text{yos} \, \text{lo} \, \text{la} \, \text{Yor} \, \text{bo} \, \text{Snam} \, \text{Sam} \, \text{bzañ} \ldots \]
[2] \[ \text{las} \, \text{ḥbul} \, \text{baḥi} \, \text{ḥdus} \, \text{bgyis} \, \text{ste} \, \text{ḥbrugi} \, \text{lo} \ldots \]
[3] \[ \text{bgyis} \, \text{ḥdus} \, \text{ma} \, \text{phul} \, \text{na} \, \text{geig} \, \text{la} \, \text{gnsu} \, \text{b}^2 \ldots \]
[4] \[ \text{ṭshig} \, \text{cig} \, \text{yaḥ} \, \text{myi} \, \text{mchib} \, \text{ba} \, \text{bgyis} \, \text{ḥdus} \, \text{leig}s^2 \ldots \]
[5] \[ \text{r}= \text{Ng} \, \text{gon} \, \text{dān} \, \text{rṭag} \, \text{Lha} \, \text{tsa} \, \text{skyes} \, \text{Myi} \, \text{ṅag} \, \text{Phy} \, \text{spō} \ldots \]
[6] \[ \text{rgyas} \, \text{tbar} \, \text{pa}^2 \]

"A time in the Hare year having been arranged for delivery from Snam Sam-bzañ of Yor-bo, the Dragon year has been [substituted]. If delivery is not made in time, it was arranged that in place of one two [should be delivered] without a single word [of protest]. The time... Na-gon and rṭag Lha-tsa-skyes and Phy-i-apo... of Myi-ṅag... attached their signatures."

Yor-bo and Snam are not identified.

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1 It is Hodgson's "Manyak"; see also Rockhill, The Land of the Lamas, p. 218, n. 1.
2 b?
3 Ṭag (1).
(h) Myâñ-yul and Myâñ-ro (districts, the latter certainly in S.E. Tibet, mentioned in Bstan-hgyur colophons, etc., also supra, pp. 55, 174, 177, and Vol. I, pp. 280, 284.)

47. M.I. xiv, 131b (wood, c. 7-5 × 2 cm., broken away at r. and partly at top; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script and top of another; also an independent l., very faint).


"Myâñ-yul artificer (bzo), government servant ...."

48. M. Tâgh. a, ii, 0016 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., fragmentary at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, mostly erased or very faint).

[B 1] ... Myâñ-ro ...

M. Tâgh. a, ii, 0037, is the card of a Myâñ Hphyan-slebs.

(i) Pa-tshab (a tribe in N.E. Tibet, often mentioned in Bstan-hgyur colophons, also supra, p. 138, 150; Vol. I, 278, 284.

49. M.I. viii, 53 (wood, c. 7-5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"The Pañ-tshab Hphyan-la-skyes."

50. M.I. xiv, 34 (wood, c. 8 × 1-5-2 cm., cut away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

☞ ☞ || Pañä . tshab . Rbge . mun

"The Pañ-tshab Rbge-mun."

The same person is mentioned p. 150, supra, and another Pañ-tshab in M.I., i, 15.

(j) Po (a tribe and district in E. Tibet; also, according to S. C. Das' Tibetan dictionary, "a place on the confines of Ge-sar and Tibet," i.e., Kucê).

51. M.I. xl, 6 c. (wood, c. 8 × 2 cm., cut away at l., slightly broken away at r. top; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] ✪ || Po . Khro . do (r) . bzi [B] [bab | ?]

1 a below line.
"The Po Khro, four teams... arrived."

(k) Sma-nam (1) a district in S.E. Tibet, (2) Samarkand, one or both of them mentioned in Bstan-hgyur colophons and also supra, pp. 259, and Vol. I, 279, 284, 295).

52. M. Tägh. c. ii, 0013 (wood, c. 8 × 1-5-2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; 1.1 of cursive dbu-can script).

... Sanaam . Khir . loñ

"Khir-loñ of Sma-nam."

(l) Sud-ke (probably in S.E. Tibet because (1) the Sud-pu belonged to that region, (2) the Sud-ke persons mentioned in Bkoh-hgyur (Beckh. p. 84) and Bstan-hgyur (Cordier, ii, p. 196) were connected with Sa-skya and Yar-luns respectively; as regards the form of the name cf. Mer-ke (Chronicle, l. 100, 103), Ron-ke and Hel-ke).

53. M.I. xiv, 51 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; traces of l.1 of cursive dbu-can script, faded and dirt encrusted).

S [ .. Sud-ke.[Drjum.[do].cm[a Ha;za.god.sde.?]]]

"Sud-ke Drum-do-cum, of the Ha-za God regiment."

(m) Sreg (probably in Tibet, since the word has a Tibetan meaning, "partridge"). The Bkoh-hgyur colophons mention (Beckh, p. 84) a Sreg-žin in Sana, and a royal palace at Sre-ga is named in the Chronicle (l. 186, 199).

54. M.I. xxi, 8 (wood, c. 6 × 2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square dbu-can script).


(a) Tre (no doubt connected with Tre-sod (= Tre-smad), which S. C. Dai dictionary locates in Khams. Cf. Dre-sod, one of the 18 sods, and Hdre, on which see Vol. I, p. 277).

55. M.I. 0046 (wood, c. 12-5 × 1 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1.1 of cursive dbu-can script, rubbed and faint).

Tre. smad. gyi. dpon. sna[s]. me[. hid. gsol. bal]

"Letter-petition of the chief officer (or officers) of Tre-smad (Lower Tre)."

Supra, pp. 41, 43-4, we had mention of a person Tre Mya-slebs and of a Thre Mthoñ-rma (p. 130).
Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VI: Government and Social Conditions.


In regard to civil conditions in Chinese Turkestan the documents are not much more widely informative than in regard to other matters. The states along the northern trade route, Karashahr, Kuca, Aksu, Kashgar, although from about A.D. 675 they were dominated (not indeed occupied) by the Tibetans, appear to escape attention; and this is the more regrettable as these states would seem from the culture objects recovered by archaeological research to have enjoyed rather fuller development of material civilization than those south of the desert. Their natural resources were not inferior; they were aligned along a more profitable route of trade and communication; they were less exposed to encroachment in the desert; their archaeological remains are more extensive and better preserved. To these states, and to the mixed people of the T’ien-shan valleys, we have perhaps—beyond the mention of a Yarkand regiment (pp. 256, 469) and of a journey from Su-lig —Kashgar (p. 260)—not a single reference.

The twin states of “Anterior” and “Posterior” Chü-shih, i.e. Turfan-Kao-chang and Gu-chên at the extreme east of the T’ien-shan, do indeed seem to be indicated as goal of hostile expeditions (satpra, pp. 281 sqq.). As has been made clear by Chavannes in Ancient Khotan, pp. 533-6, and Sir Aurel Stein, Innermost Asia, pp. 579-587, they maintained a precarious independence nearly to the end of the eighth century A.D., the Tibetans failing, despite their occupation of Kau-su,
to secure possession of them either by diplomatic proposals to China \(^1\) or by force until the year A.D. 790.

Of the more southern states, Yarkand, Karghalik, Khotan, Shan-shan, the two former are hardly more than mentioned in the documents (supra, pp. 256-9). But concerning Khotan and Shan-shan, and concerning the Sa-ku region of Chinese Kan-su, we have a certain amount of information. In the case of Khotan the allusions in the documents are supplemented, not only by the particulars recorded in Chinese works, but also by general impressions (largely of religious decadence) conveyed by the ecclesiastical annals and other literary texts which we have translated. For the Sa-ku region, where the conditions were mainly Chinese, but the Tibetans were during the period A.D. 731-850 politically dominant and long afterwards naturally influential as representing Buddhism, we have from Chinese sources general and also local information, the latter carefully edited in some valuable publications by Dr. Lionel Giles.\(^2\) For the Shan-shan kingdom, extending from Lop-nor westwards as far as Cer-cen and (say) Niya, the Chinese supply valuable geographical and historical indications, of which the latest summary is contained in Dr. Giles' third paper noted supra.

On the Tibetan side we have the mass of documents extracted from the fort of Miran and a number of references in the manuscript Chronicle. The area being practically identical with that covered by the Kharoshthi documents of much (c. 400-500 years) earlier date, and points of contact being inevitable, it may be worth while to institute a slight comparison of the two groups of records. In number the Tibetan (about 1,500)

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\(^1\) Rushall, J.R.A.S., 1886, pp. 453-4; Chavannes, Ton-Kins occidentaux, pp. 179-182.

have the advantage; but in extent of matter, being mostly scrappy or very fragmentary, they are considerably inferior. Of the chief classes of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, (a) royal rescripts, (b) registers of persons and objects, (c) legal agreements, (d) semi-official and unofficial correspondence, the first is wanting in the Tibetan collection (there being no ruling king), which on its part presents a large number of items (lists, visiting cards, etc.) connected with the soldiery. The most sweeping difference between the two classes of documents consists in the fact that the Kharoṣṭhī records are native in character, while those in Tibetan are the work of foreigners administering an annexed country and not primarily interested in the local population. This tends to enfeeble the light which they shed upon internal conditions, except in so far as those conditions had been introduced by the Tibetans themselves.

As regards Khotan, the new information may be briefly summarized. This state, of which the population was estimated about B.C. 30 at 19,300 and about A.D. 100 at 83,000, must during that interval have effected its recorded absorption of certain minor adjacent principalities. Its eastern frontier was at Phye-ma, or at times somewhat further east, at Niña, where it adjoined Shan-shan, which on its part had extended westward by similar absorption of minor intervening states. In early days it had engaged in local wars with Yarkand, Kashgar, and even Kuca; but its constant rival in later centuries had been Shan-shan, whose Tu-yu[k]-hun conquerors had in A.D. 445 wrought great havoc in Khotan (Vol. I, p. 121, n. 3). Like all the other principalities of Chinese Turkestan, it had been normally under domination either by the Chinese, or by invaders from the north, Hiung-nu, Juan-Juan, Hepthalites, and Turks. But this domination was not of an oft-meddling character; and so the lineage of local kings, though some of them received a surname of perhaps

1 Garnand in Dattelk de Rhine, La Haute Aisie, ii, p. 61; followed by A. Herrmann, Die alten Seidenstrassen, p. 76. See Ancient Khotan, p. 167.
Juan-Juan provenance (Bogdo, pp. 291–2) and one of them was subject to the Turks and one later successor had a Tibetan name (vol. i, pp. 69, 103), is said to have persisted unbroken. A division of the country into five districts (the capital, Mdo-lo and Me-skar, Kam-sêd, Ku-sêd, and Koñ-sêd) has been traced. But it would be difficult to select the "five large cities" (they would perhaps include Kilian, Guma, Phye-ma, and Durya (?)), which according to the Chinese contained. On the other hand, we have found (I, 101, II, 169 sqq.) in Tibetan times abundant evidence of a division of the area into parishes (tsbar) and also numerous names of places either belonging or adjacent to the country. The "five towns" which composed the capital included, no doubt, the "Nectarean City" (Dmar-dam), the "Hog's-colour city" (Phag-gi-nitshon), and the "Old City" (Rñun-ma) named in the Prophecy of Vimalaprabhā. Was Khu-sen "the western city" (Chinese Hsi-ch'eng), "the city where the king resides," a fourth? There are several indications (vol. i, p. 31, n. 3) that the country as a whole bore a name Kuşala or Kṣema rendered in Tibetan as Dye-ba, the capital also being Kuşali or Kuşalavarī or Kṣemavarī (Tibetan Dye-ba-can).

The celebrity of Khotan (according to Firdaynai's Shāh-nāmah, "the most famous of cities") rested upon its religious sanctity and its innumerable and splendid monasteries and shrines. There was some trace of Mazdaism, possibly a survival from ancient times; and references to unbelieving kings and nobles (vol. i, pp. 20-1, 29) may be directed at them among others. But the country, "the pocket estate of the Buddhas of the Three Times," was overwhelmingly Buddhist, partly Māhāsamghika, partly Sarvāstivādin, but in later times

1 Abel-Rémusat, Ville de Khotan, p. 95.
2 Vol. i, pp. 134-8, 322-3 (i.e. Jāt. alternates with Jāt).
3 Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., pp. 18, 28, 30-1. Kṣema (Chin. Kus-chou) in Kam-sêd is of the ninth century (ibid., p. 79).
4 Also a few districts in the vicinity of the capital with names ending in -dri (p. 180 and Vol. i, pp. 175-6).
5 Grenard, op. cit., pp. 58, 68; Chavannes, Tow-Kieh Occidentales, p. 125.
mainly Mahāyānist.\(^1\) Apparently (vol. i, pp. 107, 131, 133) there was constant communication with the Buddhists of India, especially of Kashmir. The clerics, male and female, numbered, as estimated at one period, over 11,000 (ibid., pp. 134–5), the large monasteries over 110.\(^2\) The communities owned gardens and pleasures and large estates and water-rights. The rulers and their families, men and women, were attended by pious “confessors” or “chaplains” (kalyāna-mitra, ibid., p. 98, n. 1, etc.), under whose influence they were lavish in the foundation and endowment of shrines, monasteries, and nunneries. It was not unusual for persons of royal or noble blood to enter the Sangha, winning for the families the title of “Bodhi-sattva lineage” (pp. 18–19).

The manners of the Khotanese were marked by mildness and ceremoniousness, which had, it was held, a humanizing effect upon foreign visitors and conquerors (ibid., p. 31). Hsinan-Tsang credits the people with politeness, justice, and a love of literature and arts, which opinion, confirmed by the T'ang-shu (Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 125–6), need not be, as Grenard suggests (op. cit., p. 67), due to Buddhist partiality. The sanctity of the country attracted sightseers and pilgrims, bringing riches to the shrines and to the peaceful and contented population. The local manufacture of silk, carpets and felt, the jade workings, and the mining for gold and copper in the mountains to the south brought merchants. Like all the other regions of Turkestan, Khotan was celebrated also for its fruit. In the documents there are some references to presents of silk (men-tri, *šdri*) or carpets or fruit, purchase of ribbons, and so on (pp. 179, 379, etc.). The phrase “Khotan provisions” (La-breqgags, pp. 192, etc.) recurs with, apparently, some special sense. One of the constant troubles of the country was incursions of freebooters from Tāshkurgān and


\(^2\) Hsinan-Tsang’s figures are 5,000 and 100; Fa-hian says “even several myriads.” For other totals see vol. i, pp. 322–3.
the mountains to the south, preying upon the merchant caravans (*A. Khotan*, pp. 31, 521). We have quoted a letter from a Khotan king to the Tibetan authorities, wherein an investigation of robberies is reported, together with a reference to a donation, or fine, of fruit (pp. 185 sqq.).

A feature, still noticeable, of Khotan life was the prominence of feminine interests and the freedom of women. In the religious sphere their participation was represented by numerous nunneries, founded in many cases by queens or princesses, who had feminine spiritual advisers (*kalyaṇa-mitra*) and themselves not infrequently “took the veil”. The *Prophecy of Vimalaprabhā* (eighth century A.D.) proclaims perhaps the first recorded religious mission to women, inaugurated by a royal lady. A particular custom was seclusion during seven days after the death of a husband.1

We need not dwell upon features of Khotan life already known from Chinese sources, the religious car-processions and festivals, the fondness for music, the erection of tall funeral monuments (*stūpas*) in front of the (widely spaced) dwellings. Some of these are mentioned in our texts, which also speak of religious drama (*sole*, Vol. I, p. 116, n. 2). Nor can we treat of the characteristics of the popular religion, in which a Buddhist mantle was thrown over a great amount of earlier superstition, whether indigenous (cult of “Nāgas” of localities and rivers and of demons, *Rākṣasas* and *Rākṣasīs*) or imported from India (worship of relics, vestments, and sacred footprints, use of charms, *mantras*, and magico-psychological phrases, *dhāranīs*, orally or in script, as amulets and inscriptions on banners and buildings). The pre-Buddhist religion of Chinese Turkestan, akin to Shamanism and the Tibetan *Bon*, is a subject upon which Grenard (op. cit., pp. 241–3) has some very just observations, but which is not yet ripe for discussion.

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The government was of the personal kind, with ministers (no doubt, nobles) holding office at the king's pleasure with occasional tragedies and troubles during minorities (vol. i, pp. 126, 128) and much ecclesiastical influence. As has frequently been pointed out, the Chinese, with their policy of subordinating foreign princes by conferring upon them titles of honour, awarded to some of the Khotan (Kashgar, etc.) kings the rank of amochih, in the Tibetan texts a-ma-ca, representing, as Professor Lévi was the first to remark, the Sanskrit anátya "councillor". From the documents (supra, pp. 191-4) we see that the title was borne also, in course of time, by non-royal persons in Khotan, and the same is evident from the local Chronicle (vol. i, pp. 132, 134). There is no evidence that in Khotan the title carried official functions. In regard to local administration and to law and justice we have no hints. But there was a regular assessment (rtsis) for purpose of revenue, and the supply of water was controlled (ibid., pp. 18, 120).

The Tibetans, when, in the last half of the eighth century A.D., they occupied the country and established the fort of Mazár-Tágh, left the general administration in the hands of the native king. There were, it is true, numerous military posts established by them in the country, especially on heights in the mountains (supra, p. 217), and even in the royal citadel a guard may have been posted (ibid., p. 184). But the presence of a general (dmag-dpon, p. 195) and of a minister of Inner Affairs (mañ-rje-po, pp. 196-8) in the capital may have been merely occasional. The Tibetan headquarters must have been in Šin-šan (Mazár-Tágh), whither urgent dispatches were sometimes sent from the capital and persons are recalled (pp. 197, 202). The supplies demanded from the Khotanese were based upon an assessment and were received in bulk (p. 200). The Khotan authorities (Li-mhan) in Šin-šan and elsewhere collected their own dues from the tenants in detail.

(supra, pp. 209–210). Khotani persons (Lo) were employed by the Tibetans, mostly, it seems, in subordinate capacities. Some served in the army, though we are not aware of any distinct Khotani regiments. Naturally there were business transactions and legal agreements (p. 179). It seems that the natives were not esteemed by their rude conquerors (pp. 245–6); there are several references to condign punishment of individuals, or even groups (pp. 168, 252).

The heads of Tibetan administration in Khotan were the nan-rje-pos ("Interior Lords") resident in Mazār-Tāgh, of whom in two letters (one quoted p. 185) three are addressed jointly. Presumably one was usually the leader (rtse, p. 207); but in regard to a distribution of functions we have no indication. The office of nan-rje-po, as also the titles žan-lon and rtse-rje, recurs in the case of Shan-shan, and may be further considered in that connection.

It is probable that the Khotanis, whose proficiency in literature, as well as their linguistic singularity, is recognized by the Chinese,¹ maintained a higher educational average than did the other states of Turkestan. It is therefore interesting to connect the story (Vol. I, p. 102 with note 11) of the origination of the language, as taught to herdsmen children, with what is stated by Sir Aurel Stein² concerning unexpected smattering of education among children of nomad herdsmen along the Kerīya river. For the rest, the Chinese noted a greater likeness of feature to themselves in the people of Khotan than was the case in other states; and the native Khotan Chronicle remarks (vol. I, p. 102) that "the manners of the laity agree for the most part with China".

The Ša-cu region being a part of Chinese Kan-su and accordingly a subject of much precise information and of special memoirs, of which three have been translated by Dr. Lionel Giles, the particulars ascertainable from Tibetan

¹ Supra, p. 311; cf. Beal, Si-yu-ki, ii, p. 300.
² Ancient Khotan, p. 143, n. 25.
³ Grenard, op. cit., ii, p. 31.
sources are perhaps of secondary interest. The Tibetans seem to have commenced their attacks on the city about A.D. 676; in A.D. 727 they captured Kva-cu Sin-can (Tsin-ch'ang ?). It is very difficult to follow the vicissitudes of the struggle in this area, which must have been constantly overrun by the Tibetans; but from A.D. 781–851 the region must have been definitely under Tibetan rule, except that during an interval of eleven years (A.D. 809–819 (?)) the city of Sa-cu was held for the Chinese. The Tibetan information may relate mainly to the period A.D. 781–851, although the particulars connected with Buddhist monasteries would be consistent with a later date.

During this period the region seems to have been under the rule of a Dragon (Hbrug) dynasty, mentioned by the Chinese as Lung and stated to have originated in Karashahr. The two Tibetan letters quoted supra (pp. 17–19), relating to delivery of requisitioned grain in bulk, seem to show that the Hbrug chief, from whose office one of them emanates, retained the internal administration of his country. He was therefore in a position similar to that of the king of Khotan; near the end of the eighth century A.D. a king The-bo of Sa-cu, who might be a Hbrug, received a mission from his Khotan compeer, with a letter which has recently been published. It seems likely that the Tibetans, as their invasions penetrated further into China, took over the administration of the Sa-cu country. For in other letters (pp. 40 sqq.) relating to requisition of grain we find mention of a division into Thousand-districts, a non-Chinese and specially Tibetan organization, but widespread in Central

4 Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Oslo, 1929.

* It is not implied that prior to the Tibetan occupation no "Thousand-districts" existed in Shan-shan. Elsewhere (see p. 128) it is suggested that the tongues of the Kharoṣṭhī documents was really a thun-dpaw.
Asia. The districts named are Rgod-sar, Ston-sar, Spyilcoqs, Sün-tshoms, Tshas-stobs, probably a complete list. Their geographical disposition is not evident; but Tshas-stobs may contain the name of a Tsha tribe (pp. 28-9), connected with a Tsha-sod district in north-eastern Tibet, and Rgod-sar, which prima facie may mean "New Rgod", was probably the most westerly, adjoining the Rgod District of the Shan-shan area. We have given (pp. 22 sqq.) a long dossier of appeals in connection with an appointment to the office of ston-dpon in this area. Is Sün-tshoms = Ning-hia?

Concerning towns in the Sa-cu region it is difficult to be precise, since from the Tibetan documents it is often not clear whether places there named belong to that region or to the adjacent parts of Tibet or to more easterly parts of Kan-su. Clearly we can leave out of account Lem-cu (Liang-chou) with Bog-yas, Dañ-to-kun, which is, no doubt, Tien-te Kun on the bend of the Yellow River, and the places noted above, p. 48, as in Skyi. Disregarding some minor localities, we are left with practically only Kva-cu, Sa-cu, Mkhars-tsan (= Khar-tsa-cin, supra, pp. 28 sqq.), Im-ka-cin, Sil-gu-cin, and Khun-ê Mong-gans, and residences Hi-ma-te (p. 57), Ma-ko-can and O-dol-cu (p. 29). Of these Mkhars-tsan was a great mart. Kva-cu and Sa-cu are well known from Chinese sources, and we need only add that the mention of tshi-si and tu-tuq (pp. 48-9) as titles of their magistrates seems to indicate that the Tibetans did not modify their administration, the titles being Turco-Chinese. Concerning the other places we can add nothing to what is stated supra, pp. 34-5.

The other information supplied by the Tibetan writings concerning this Sa-cu region is partly of singular interest. The legal agreements indeed (pp. 45-6, 58-67) are similar to those adduced from Khotan and Shan-shan. But other records are of a kind not exemplified elsewhere. There are lists

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1 L. Giles, op. cit., p. 834 (T'ien-tê Ch'êng); the Th'üan-te K'ia of Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, i, p. 288.
pp. 68-73, 83) of personal (both masculine and feminine) names and clan-names or surnames; throwing light upon the system of nomenclature and upon the sociology; lists also (pp. 88-91) of numerous shrines, probably some of the "Thousand Buddhas" of Tum-huang, with accounts of lands whereof they enjoyed the revenues; particulars of donations, of oil, etc. (pp. 109-12), for their service; references to their slaves (lha-kha‘a "god's servant"); an extensive description (supra, pp. 73 sqq.) of the operations of the monasteries in supplying manuscript copies of Buddhist canonical texts, Tibetan and Chinese, for the use of city libraries, etc., in procuring the labour and materials (paper and ink), in controlling the workers and providing for their rations, in totalling and dispatching the inscribed rolls, and in obtaining payment; also in inspecting and reporting upon deterioration in the library collections. A growing intimacy with Tibet is illustrated by a very remarkable compilation (pp. 92-109) of "messages" of pious felicitation, presented by the cities of Kva-cu and Mkhars-san (in conjunction with other authorities) upon the occasion of the foundation of a great monastery in the vicinity of the Koko-nor take, to commemorate the pact of peace made between China Tibet, and other powers in the year A.D. 730.

The two temples Le-nho-si and Pho-kvan-si, mentioned pp. 70, 83, 111, we are not in a position to locate. In regard to the curtailed document, pp. 85-7, containing succession-lists of the heads of certain famous Buddhist-seminaries, it may be remarked that it has considerable importance in connection with ecclesiastical history. But the seminaries in question belong evidently in most cases to other provinces, and no one is demonstrably connected with the Sa-cu region.

When we come to the Nob Region, the old Shan-shan kingdom, we might hope, as the administration had been taken over by the Tibetans, to find in the Mirân documents rather more definite indications of the actual manner of working. And it might be instructive to compare the

1 Are they the Ling-hu and Pa-kmuri of Documents Chinois, pp. 62, 130?
information with what may be elicited from the earlier Kharos̄thi documents belonging to the same area. Something indeed may be noted.

The region was divided into Thousand-districts, named respectively Nag-sød, Ḥdzom Upper (Stod) and Lower (Smad), Rgod Upper and Lower, Rgod-Iidi, and Kha-dro.

Of these Rgod, with Rgod-Iidi, must, for the reason stated above in connection with Rgod-sar, have been the most easterly. Nag-sød, one of the eighteen Ṣods reckoned in with Mdo-smad, would be its next neighbour. Kha-dro has a name which may be connected with the Caudota (the Niya site) of the Kharos̄thi documents; in which case Ḥdzom would inevitably cover some area in the region of Endere or Cer-cen, and it is perhaps no accident that a regiment or province of "Ḥzom-lom-stod" is named in a graffito in Endere fort.\(^1\) In the Kharos̄thi documents Cer-cen (Calma-dana) is under a Cøjibo (chief ruler) distinct from the Cojibo of Caudota.

In each of the Thousand-districts we find mention of "the lord’s land" (ṛje-zīn), and sometimes of special arrangements for its cultivation. Originally these lands may have been private property of the earlier kings (ṛje) or of local chiefs, probably the former, since they were administered by the Tibetans. The phrase occurs thrice (II, 158, 160, 163) in the Tibetan Chronicle, but without further indication.

The chief towns named in the documents are Little Nob, Great Nob, Ka-dag, Rtsa-thon, and Cer-cen. From the character of the references it appears that Ka-dag was in the same general district as Nob; and this is in accord with the traditional location\(^2\) at three days’ journey south of the also ruined city of Lop. Rtsa-thon, the Ch’i-qua of the Chinese, was also in that quarter. Hence we have no difficulty in identifying Little and Great Nob together with Ka-dag as the "three towns" (mḵhar-gsum, supra, p. 136), and this triad together

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\(^1\) Ancient Khotan, p. 369.
\(^2\) Forsyth, Mission to Yarkand, p. 27. Cf. Grenard, op. cit., iii, p. 117.
with Rtse-thou as the “four towns” (mKhar-btsi, pp. 138, 146) of Nob. Concerning Byelbu-lin, Sta-gu, Ho-ni, etc., see supra.

Whether there was a general council for the whole country is not apparent. It seems certain that the region was under the supervision of the council of the Bde region of Mdo-amad, the northern division of the north-east, Mdo, of Tibet. For the system is exhibited in the case of the felicitatory messages cited above, which are from the following in order, (a) the authorities of the realm of Mdo-game (Kham), (b) the councillors of Bde, (c)-(d) the cities of Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu, (e) the head of the Phyug-tsamus Thousand-district, (f) the local people of Hbirom-khon. Like Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu in the Ša-cu region, the towns of Shan-shan may have been immediately under a council (bkah-hyros, p. 338, etc.) presiding in Tshal-byi over the adjacent province of Tibet.

The officials in charge of the Thousand-districts, the Ston-dpons, may, like those in the Ša-cu region (supra, pp. 22-9), have been appointed directly by the Rje-bla “supreme lord”, who would be the Tibetan minister of state, or some deputy. We have a mention also (p. 452) of a Khri-dpon “Myriad-commandant”, who would be a superior of the Ston-dpon, and of a Ston-cun (p. 126) “Minor Thousand”, who may have been an inferior colleague. Sometimes we meet with the phrase dpon-sna, which may mean either “chief dpon” or “the leading dpons”, as an undefined group.

The functions of the chaṅ-khyur, who was plainly a superior official, are not clearly determinable; they may hereafter be determined, since the title may be recognized in literature and is obviously identical with the conkura of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.1

In the case of the towns the officials usually mentioned are the rtse-rje, jo-co, san-rje-po, sometimes in conjunction with councillors (blon) or uncle-councillors (zaṅ-lon) or to these

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1 See now Acta Orientalia, xii, pp. 68-70, where an endeavour is made to prove that chaṅ-khyur (chaṅ-khyaṅ, chaṅ-khyir) = conkura corresponds to Sanskrit niṣara-nukṣu or niṣaraṅka. For ref. see p. 452.
separately. In the Kharoṣṭhi documents the instructions are usually addressed to a cojbho (sometimes plural), often associated with a sotamgha, who may be a police officer and is in charge of granary and toll-stations (dranga), and sometimes with a tomgha, who is concerned with post and transport.

It is likely that the Tibetan rtse-rje or jo-co has taken over the functions of the cojbho, and therefore that the expression jo-co, or rje-cho, is in fact identical with cojbho. Rtse-rje does not occur in the Tibetan dictionaries, although both its constituents are common: jo-co and co-jo are also unattested, jo-bo and gtso-bo being the usual expressions for a "chief" or "lord". As co clearly means "chief", since it appears in the phrase Ha-zahi-zan-lon-gyi-qco (supra, p. 9) "doyen of the Ha-za Uncle-councillors", it seems likely that the older cojbho, which was probably only a way of writing co-zo, meant "chief-ruler" and zo corresponds to Tibetan rje, so that the Tibetan rtse-rje may be a translation of this title. In the documents we have at times only the form jo, which means simply a "chief" or "lord".

The functions of the Councillors (blon) are not clearly distinguished; but we have special titles for some of them, who are designated sau-blon, phyi-blon "councillor for internal, external affairs" and dgra-blon "councillor for enemy affairs"; possibly these would be found only in the chief administrative centre. The zan-lon "uncle-councillor", i.e. properly an uncle of the king functioning as councillor, is characteristically Tibetan; but, since we cannot suppose that all the zan-lons recorded in Tibet and those who occur rather plentifully in the Turkestan documents are of that quality, it may be conjectured that the designation became hereditary and so acquired a wide extension; in that case a zan-lon would be a councillor who was "of the blood", and perhaps such persons had a title to membership of councils wherever they were residing. In Turkestan the zan-lons may

1 This title occurs, along with sau-blon "councillor for internal affairs", in the Lha-as inscriptions (JRAS., 1911, p. 434).
have been *local* nobles; for the Khotan Chronicle mentions them with reference to pre-Tibetan times, and very likely they may be the *Ogus* (Tib. *a-khu* "uncle", the *A-gus* of the Ge-sar legend) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Shan-shan; see *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 58-9.¹

Besides these persons of *blon*, or "Councillor", quality we hear of a number of titles of *dpøns* or officials. To the *ston-dpons* and *khri-dpons* we have already referred. The *nos-dpon,*

¹ We must not omit to give reasons for not accepting the view, noticed previously (once, p. 5), according to which *zaa* does not mean "uncle", but is a Chinese designation *shang* "chief". This view is carefully stated in one of Dr. Laufer's extraordinarily learned and valuable papers, *Bird Division among the Tibetans* (*T'oung-pao*, 1914), pp. 103 sqq., and reinforced in another (ibid., 1916, p. 430). At first sight the argument seems conclusive; Dr. Laufer adduces a number of striking cases where the Tibetan *zaa* is represented in Chinese writing by *shang*. But let us first note some scruples: (1) if *zaa* were an adjective borrowed from Chinese, we should expect it to occur also in some other connections, whereas it appears only as a separate title or in the combination *zaa-lon* "zaa councillor"; (2) if *zaa-lon* means "chief councillor", then the common phrase *zaa-lon-chen-po* "great chief councillor" is rather offbeat; (3) in the Lha-sas edicts several ministers are called *blon* (or *blon-po-chen-po*, and in some cases *zaa* follows, and this is an indication that the *zaa* here attaches not to that phrase, but to the personal name which it precedes. All this is smoothed away if we accept Waddell's original explanation (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1274) of *zaa-lon* as "uncle minister", meaning minister of the blood royal. The employment of *shang* in Chinese as a translation of *zaa* seems to have little bearing on the matter.

But really the most conclusive proof is supplied by some of Dr. Laufer's own examples. Three of these (pp. 74-8) are in the form *san-blon-Mechim-zaa* "Interior Councillor Mechim-zaa", *phyi-blon-Hbro-zaa* "Exterior Councillor Hbro-zaa". Now *Mechim* and *Hbro* are both tribal names, and the form of the expressions is exactly parallel to *Mechim-basan, Hbro-chen, Tso-spa-zaa* "Mechim wife", "Hbro wife", "Tso-spo wife", meaning [royal] wives from those tribes. Moreover, we have other similar appellations, e.g. *Maa-zaa* "maternal uncle" (*Rgyal-tshas*, fols. 325, 5, 336, 1-2, 3, 5 of the India Office copy) and *San-nam-san-bas-Rgya-tsha* "San-nam uncle and China grandson", meaning that the person, whose name was Lha-snan, was in avuncular relation to the Tibetan royal house and had a Chinese mother; cf. also the *Rgya-bas-Lha-dan* who was a son of king Khri-lde-rges-brtan and had a *Rgya* mother (p. 107). We may also refer to the *blon*, "nephew," *ba-la* noted above (pp. 5-6). Proceeding a personal name, *zaa* (also *zaa-po, zaa-chen-po*) is too common (pp. 5, 9, 19, 94, 245, 436) to be local. Note also *san-zaa-blon*, p. 222: 61, 1.
"warden of a region," would be, no doubt, a person similar to the Indian anta-pāla, in charge of the approaches to the city from outside and of border transactions. The khrims-dpon "law-officer" is a judge—there was one for Tshal-byi—and possibly he was identical with the bkah-tsan and bkah-blon mentioned pp. 23, 16, 47, 10, 149-150, etc.

What was the office of mgo-rhon ("additional, or deputy, head" (?) ), to which an appointment is made (supra, p. 154), does not appear. The yul-mthon "country overseer" reports, p. 152: 46, on the year's levy; probably, like the yul-grigs of p. 192: 25, he was a local surveyor. The rgyal-grigs, whose designation translates the Sanskrit rāja-acaksus, was perhaps a general representative of the king's special interests. We find also (p. 341) a khral-dpon "tax-master".

In Little Nob there was a person entitled rtsa-bla-dan-rtses-man "head-lama (?) and head-physician", to whom application is made p. 152: 45 (cf. pp. 394-9) for a medical prescription. Elsewhere we find a yul-sman, "district" or "village physician", who appears in some ceremonial, not strictly medical, connection. Since here we have an appeal to yul-lha-yul-bdag-dan-sman "district god, district lord and physician", it seems clear that the persons in question combined religious with medical functions. It seems that Dr. Francke was right (JRAS., 1914, pp. 55-6) in suggesting that the documents exhibit traces of the Bon-po religion: see supra, p. 312, and compare the observation of Grenard cited infra, pp. 329-330.

In connection with legal transactions the old Kharoṣṭhī documents supply particulars of many cases. They may be classified as relating to either offences, or disputes, or agreements, whereof the last-named may in many instances represent the outcome of proceedings under the second. The cases of the first two kinds were in all instances decided either by the local officials, often upon reference through the king himself, or at "the king's gate"; and even matters of the third kind had often been brought to the cognizance of the
officials. There seem to be some clear instances of reference to a court, ecclesiastical or otherwise. From the Tibetan documents we have cited a few cases which happen to include all the three kinds; and here also there seems to be, though not in every instance, official cognizance. In the fact that in two instances (supra, pp. 134, 151) there are indications pointing to a trial in a *grea-tus*, which is probably an assemblage of an ecclesiastical character (a Buddhist *pariṣad*), we may perhaps find evidence of an extension of clerical influence; it will hardly have been due to the Tibetans, whose Buddhism was still in its infancy. There must have been some persons who acted practically as professional lawyers, since the *rtaig Lha-rtsa-skyes*, like the *divira Tamaspa* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, functions in a number of independent instances.

In cases not involving compatriots the Tibetans may very likely have administered not their own code, compiled for the great king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, but the local law or usage so often mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī. This inference is suggested by citation of the "old town law" (*shon-gyi-mkhar-khrims-rūṅ*, supra, pp. 139–140) and ancient custom (*rūṅ-lugs*, p. 16, etc.). In the case of debts (*bu-lon*) and loans (or renewals of loan) it is usually laid down that in the event of default the person's goods may be summarily seized by any one in rightful possession of the deed (in one case, of the last of three deeds) without any complaint on the part of the defaulter; often the person bound has a guarantor (*khaṇḍzin* or *khas-len*), who is involved in the obligation. The document terminates with the attestations (seals, signatures, or thumb-marks) of the witnesses (*dpaön-po*), often including councillors or other officials, and of the persons bound. A debtor is *skyin-po* (also "a substitute") and the debt is said to attach (*chags*) to him. A "pledge" is *glaḥ* (p. 45).

It may here be noted that banishment or exile has always been a feature of Chinese Turkestan. Banished men or refugees (*pala yanaka*) are constantly mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, and the Tibetan equivalent, *spyugs,*
has been exemplified supra, p. 51. Modern Turkestan speech has preserved the Sanskrit term in its palā-māq "to exile"; and Niya and Cer-cen have been used in modern times as convict settlements. The Chinese sent convicted persons to serve in Turkestan; and we have had (p. 120) an instance of a Tibetan similarly treated.

Concerning the occupations and lives of the people not much information is to be expected from the documents. Even in modern times trades are not numerous in Chinese Turkestan, and the Shan-shan kingdom was perhaps the state most undeveloped economically. Some copper- and gold-mining and jade-working, leather-work, felt and ropes, carpentry, building and pottery, these perhaps comprise all that is ever mentioned as industry practised in the Nob region, except of course what was connected with the tillage of the land. The documents cannot be said to refer to any of the industries or to persons following them, except in the case of cup-making (supra, p. 120), copper, and agriculture.

Breeding and letting of animals (camels, horses, asses) for purpose of transport must have provided part-time or whole-time occupation for a fair number of persons. The troubles of such a musn-rog or rta-rog (= arivâga in the Kharôṣṭhī documents and figured in a drawing, Innermost Asia, pl. vii) are recounted in a letter quoted supra, p. 258. Among minor occupations we find mention of couriers or runners (bañ-chen or riyu[l]u[ga]), porters (lañ-rog), bag-men (spade-ga), and wood-gatherers (sins-tham). The sa-mkhan (pp. 127, 371) may be a guide, as may also sa-stoh, if intended for sa-ston; but see p. 343. There were paid workmen or servants (las-myi); also slaves (qu-rib?), and "government-servants" (musn-gyu-hbans, apparently persons under sentence) and "god's servants" (lañ-hbans, slaves belonging to temples?), who might be employed (karmāvita, karma kūrita "made to

1 Forsyth, Mission to Turkestan, pp. 34, 102.
2 Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 107-8; cf. Hwe & Gabet (trans.), i, p. 276.
labour", of the Kharoṣṭhi documents and the Sanskrit Artha-śāstra) on hire (g-yar-por) or lent out to individuals.

The use of money is even in modern times restricted in Chinese Turkestan, where domestic (farm) industries and barter at fairs are prevalent. In the documents wages (rations, tshal-ma and gla) were usually reckoned in grain; where money payment was requisite, it was in the form of Chinese coins (don-tse) and copper sran ("ounces"). It will be realized that a sparse employment of coin entails a resort to orders or drafts convertible locally by travellers into supplies; and such seem, in fact, to be denoted by the expression brgya-gs-byan "provision-ticket." We also have the expressions "attested signature of the three times" (dus-sum-gyi-dpar-rgya, supra, pp. 141-2), which seems to be a bill payable at sight, and bkah-rims-phye "circular order flour" (p. 51), which must be an order to levy flour at successive points along a route.

As has been previously stated, a part of the land in each district was distinguished as "the lord's land". Special arrangements (zin-hgod) seem to have been made for its cultivation, upon communal lines and with limited freedom on the part of the tillers. The remaining land would be in the hands of private owners (zin-por) or held by official titles. The actual cultivator was called zin-pa (Sk. karṣaka). The ploughing (rmo-bo) seems to have usually been done with the aid of teams (dor) supplied from or through the officials, being probably yaks of the kind still reared in places on the northern slopes of the mountain barrier; the Kharoṣṭhi documents, however, do not seem to refer to yaks, and the teams of later times may indeed have been of oxen. One who takes care of fields is chin-pa. The crop (rkyṣa) was usually of wheat (gro), barley (nas), or millet (khre); whether the distinction of "white" (dkar) and "black" (gnag) was

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1 The glun-zin and dkon-chen of pp. 139-141, 159:B:2, seem to mean "fixed allotments" and "special privileges" respectively.
between different kinds of wheat or otherwise, does not appear —the white seems not to be the *suka massa* of the Kharosthi documents. The grain was *stsan*, and those who were engaged in conveying it from place to place were called *stsan-hdren*; flour is *phye*.

It would seem that pits (*ban-don*, p. 133) were used for storage of grain, as of other objects. The government portion taken as tax (*khral*) would, when not removed to headquarters, be deposited in toll and corn-stations (the *drafiga* of the Kharosthi records), whence, no doubt, couriers and other persons provided with orders would be supplied.

Taxation will not have been confined to agricultural produce. We hear (p. 360) of a horse levied as a tax and of a carpet demanded upon a particular occasion. It is probable that the yield of animal breeding (including wool used for making felt and ropes), and also the occupations of craftsmen, were taxed. Of the system followed in regard to irrigation and supply of water, which must always have been important and is mentioned, p. 140, Vol. I, p. 115, and in regard to gold or copper mining and jade-working, we have no inkling.

It is obvious that for the purposes of assessment and revenue, and also in connection with levies, assignments, and orders upon the store-houses, a system of accounts must have been necessary. Accordingly we have many references to the *rtsis* "census", "assessment", or "accounts", both in regard to countries or districts as a whole, and in regard to estates (as well as in connection with the army, on which matter see pp. 418, 420); thus the Tibetan Chronicle records (II. 158, 160, 163) a *rtsis* in connection with the demarking of certain "lord's lands" and in many other connections; the results of a *rtsis* are reported (p. 200) from Khotan to the authorities in Sin-san; and the Goṣrnga Prophecy speaks (I, p. 29) of the census-total of the country of Khotan. For these purposes use was made of wooden tablets such as those which have survived; we have *khram* accounts (*khram-tdhan*) of revenues of monasteries in Sa-cu (pp. 88-91, 368). The Tibetan
Chronicle has many references to these khrams, sometimes called red (dmar) khrams, and their revision, and in one instance we learn (l. 246) of a transfer of records from red khrams to yellow paper. For illustrations and descriptions of such khrams see Sir A. Stein’s Serindia, pls. clxxi–ii. Not seldom they are notched or lined for numerical purposes, and often they have been cut away to serve as a tally.

For the purpose of an assessment a survey would be an occasional or permanent necessity. The yul-mthon or yul-zigs would be the district surveyor or overseer; but we have also a fragment of a long document recording a survey of an obviously preliminary character. The Tibetan Chronicle uses the phrase phyi-n-rid “felt circumference”, in connection with the rtais of certain “lord’s lands”; and it seems likely that a boundary palisade is meant, such as we are told 1 that the Tibetans made of trees on the Chinese frontier at Liang-chou, posting guards along it.

The measures used in connection with grain are khal, “load” (= Sanskrit bhāra or vāha or khārī) = 20 br. Sometimes there is mention of a rkañ, “truss,” rkyal, “sack.” For oil and flesh we have the phul, literally “handful”, = 4 khyor; for wool the phor or pho-re; for butter (mar), etc., the srañ “ounce” = 10 zo. Measured lengths are in fathoms (ḥdom). A roll of silk or paper is yug, and a “bundle” of wood seems to be ris. A pa-ṣa or pha-ṭsha is a packet.

Coming to matters of a more individualist character and extending to the whole country of Chinese Turkestan, we find much evidence of journeyings covering considerable stretches. This has always been, as it still is, 2 a feature of Central Asia. The extent of the country of Chinese Turkestan itself, about 1,000 miles from East to West by about 500 from North to South, and the uninhabited spaces separating the settled oases, might have been sufficient to engender this trait. But the almost incredibly long trade routes, from

1 Bushell, JRAS., 1886, p. 469.
China to the Greek and Roman east, whereof the *traversée* of the whole country was only a stage; the dependence of the country upon distant China, interrupted only by domination of far-flung nomad powers issuing from Mongolia; the communications of China with its dependencies in and beyond the Pamirs; the passage in old days of Buddhist pilgrims from China to Bactria and India, then of Manicheans and Christians to Persia, later of Musalmans to Mecca, of Buddhists from Mongolia to Lhasa, must have accustomed the population at the several periods to contemplate a wide geographical horizon. This would certainly have undergone no contraction in Tibetan times. The mere presence in Turkestan of authorities from Lha-sa and of soldiers from all parts of the great country of Tibet, at a time when it was in military contact with the Chinese from Ssü-ch'üan to Kan-su, with the Turks from the Tian-shan to the Pamir countries and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana, must have dwarfed the scale of mere internal communications in Turkestan itself. We have (*JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 546–58) letters of introduction given by Tibetan authorities in Kan-su to a Buddhist pilgrim from the famous shrine of Wu-t'ai-shan in Shan-si, safeguarding him as far as Ša-cu, whence he was to make the grand pilgrimage to India. A mission from a Khotan king inspect all the towns to the east as far as Kan-su and Shen-si in China and includes in its survey the places in the Tian-shan region, and perhaps further west. A party of spies has been absent from Khotan nearly a year and has covered great distances, into Tibet (*supra*, p. 205); and other parties send missives to be passed on to the Nob region and then to Khotan (pp. 203–4). Certain emissaries are to follow a company of exiles from Nob as far as Kva-cu city (p. 51). A messenger arrives in the Nag (Nob) region with goods from remote Skyan- ro in North-Eastern Tibet (p. 241). These particulars may be sufficient to account for the rather frequent references in the documents to journeys (*rad*) and to matters (*skyel*, "convoy" or "transport", *ri-skyel*, "mountain convoy"),
rad-gos "travel-clothes", ri-zug "mountain-sickness") and persons (ban-ch'en, rin-lugs, etc., pp. 333–4), and to disputes in connection with these.

In the Kharoṣṭhī records the most frequently mentioned transport animal is the camel; but the horse and ox appear not rarely, and both are indigenous in the country. The Tibetan documents refer seldom to camels, which in Tibet itself are not liked. There is mention of riding-horses (uchibs, rta) not only in military connections, but also for private conveyance. But the place of pride in ordinary journeys belongs to the ass, the usual pack (and riding) animal. The sheep also serves (p. 30, 377) for conveyance, perhaps especially of corn; this expedient, the value of which has been estimated in modern times, may have been introduced from Tibet. To wheeled transport or to sedau-chairs or palankeens there is no reference.

The only other animal mentioned is the dog, which, as in the Chinese references to the dogs of Turfan and Kuqa, appears as an object of fancy (in Stein, Innermost Asia, p. 1087) or employed for hunting (p. 378).

Some slight interest attaches to the objects, other than provisions, mentioned in law-cases or in letters, as required or received—silk, carpets, wool, cotton, ribbons, ropes, paper; oil; dress, overcoats, winter things; fire-stones, cups, baskets, copper vessels, iron; rings, turquoise, jade, seed-pearls, coral; medicines. There are some recipes and applications for medicines, and also inquiries addressed to the doctor, involving, it seems, divination by means of [sheep’s] shoulder-blades (cf. Rubruquis Journey, tr. Rockhill, pp. 187–8).

Burial was practised in Chinese Turkestan, as is proved by the archaeological explorations of graves. In Khotan the normal practice was cremation; but the kings were buried far out in the desert, temples being built and services held in their honour. Grenard has propounded the view that the present shrines of Musalman saints in Khotan are really

1 Forsyth, Mission to Farkoud, pp. 492-3.
2 Sir A. Stein, Serindia and Innermost Asia, n.v. burial.
derived from cult of the royal tombs; and he even holds (op. cit., ii, pp. 240–3) that the Musalman sacred places in the country generally derive their sanctity from Buddhist and pre-Buddhist worship. In the documents we have reference to burial, both of soldiers and of civilians, and to a ceremony, apparently of mourning, wherein certain persons during certain days were to drink cups of liquid († beer, chan, pp. 389 sqq.) to a prescribed extent. These ceremonies may, however, have been not Central-Asian, but Tibetan.

The Buddhist religion is a subject too extensive to consider here. And so we need only refer to the decadence lamented in the translated texts. Particular matters are the mention of appropriation of the property (rkyen) of religious establishments, including tombs (p. 148, Vol. I, p. 201), in secular exigencies and of monks taking to mundane and undignified occupations. In the documents, both Kharašthi and Tibetan, the individual ban-de appears sometimes in connection with business transactions, such as loan, rent, or sale.

Of the art of writing the Tibetans, as neighbours of the Chinese and still more proximately of the Tu-yu[k]-hun, who employed the Chinese script, must have been aware from old times. Their contact with the Turkestan states, begun in the seventh century A.D., must have acquainted them from old times. Their contact with the Shan-shan kingdom, early in the seventh century A.D., must have acquainted them with developed forms of the Indian Brāhmī. It was therefore an outcome of amour-propre and political self-assertion when the great king Sron-btsan Sgam-po, about A.D. 632, dispatched a mission to Kashmir (supra, pp. 11 sqq.) with the object of designing a specially Tibetan alphabet. This alphabet, which differs widely from the Turkestan Brāhmī, developed quickly into "cursive" forms, normal in most of the documents, and in Kan-su was occasionally employed for writing Chinese and other languages. From the circumstance that non-cursive forms are rather more common in the documents from Mazār-Tāgh than in the (somewhat earlier) collection from Mirān it may be inferred that writing was
less practised in Tibet, whence the writers were more recently come, than in the Shan-shan area, where Tibetan rule was of older establishment upon a more cultivated local administrative basis. But in Tibet itself writing was in the eighth century very extensively practised for secretariat purposes and in elaborate systems of military (Vol. I. p. 285) and other registration, for which, as well as for other short records, dockets, tallies, etc., for letters and visiting cards, the wooden tablets were profusely employed. The writing often continued into a second, or third, tablet, attached by a tie through the string-holes; sometimes a paper missive was inserted between the split halves of a stick or pod. The paper, coarse, unglazed, and far inferior to the thin, smooth, yellow material devised by the Chinese, was designated sog, usually in the reduplicated form sog-sog. The scraping of the tablets for a second or third use and the inditing of letters on the verso of old ones or of Chinese literary MSS. show that economy was necessary in regard to both materials; paper, indeed, is sometimes selected by correspondents as an acceptable present. The ink (snaq) was ordinarily black, as indicated by its name; but red was sometimes used for headings, and there was affectation of other sorts, gold, silver, and turquoise, for distinction or for ornamental and honorific use (pp. 11-12, 408).

In the Buddhist monasteries there was, as we have seen, a regular business of copying MS., the hands being fairly calligraphic, though not attaining the beauty of some of the later Tibetan styles in Kan-su. The varieties of hand and of use in the documents and the sgrafi in the Endere fort prove that a knowledge of writing was widespread.

The terminology applied to postal communications has already been frequently exemplified, so that here we may be content to assemble the expressions:—

byan “tablet”, byan-bu “little tablet”, kyprin-byan “missive tablet”, bsñel (or rjed)-byan “reminder tablet”, grdn-byan “number tablet”, bskyel-byan “convoy tablet”.
bri.yags-byan "provision ticket";  
so-byan "soldier tablet";  
sgo-res-byan "soldier-relay tablet";  
byphar-ma "pass"?  
hārul-ba "letter" or "postman";  
sprin or gton[d] "to dispatch";  
mjal (in sense = Hindi mil) "arrive", "be received".

The composition of the letters is in more or less stereotyped form. They begin with an address to the presence or feet (in (kya)-sīna = pāda-māla of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) of the correspondent, a date in terms of the Twelve-Year Cycle being sometimes prefixed; then comes the name of the person from whom the communication, usually designated "petition" (gsol-ba) or "letter-petition" (mchod-gsol-ba), comes. Next follow inquiries concerning health (siṅ-sīnuś) or expressions of pleasure or regret or hope according to news of the addressee's good or bad health, and, casu obtenente, of thanks for inquiries or for the favour of a letter, often termed a "command" (bkaḥ, pp. 17, 21, 65 (2), etc.). Then, often introduced by the expression sga-n-cad "next", or "for the rest", follows the business part of the letter, which frequently terminates with a reiteration of prayer for the correspondent's health or for an early meeting. Sometimes there is a postscript from the writer's wife or a member of his family, addressed either to the same person or to a relative.

The tone is highly courteous. Important persons address each other as "brother" (mchod = priya-bhrātu of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) or are addressed as "equal to a theophany" or "to a god" (hphral-dān-mtshuns, bha-dān-mtshuns = pratyaka-devatā of the Kharoṣṭhī) or stana-dbyal "of distinguished station". To write is "a favour" (ci-gnaḥ "what a (or will you) favour!"). Thanks are expressed by stg-a-rag-hshul. Trouble to be taken is thugs-khral "mind-tax"; and "will you be so good as to attend to?" is thugs-pa-cir-mdzad (or gzigs). Often a present is sent, with a request for the favour of its acceptance (bies-par-ci-gnaḥ "do you consent to accept?").
or there may be apology for the failure or the inadequacy of a gift. A rather peremptory request from a friend or superior will be in the form "not to do... is not good (sman) or not proper (rphan)". An underling, servant, or agent refers to himself as "my humble self" (bdag-rphan-pa), makes excuses for failure, and hopes to escape punishment or reprimand. Often a friendly letter is sent merely to convey inquiries as to health, or an official one to "mark time"; and so the phrase sman-sühns seems to be used of such mere intimations of interest or good will. Despite the formalities the tone is often practical and of human interest, with signs of familiarity or even traces of jocosity between friends.

Official or semi-official occasions for letters would include such matters as replies to inquiry as to the gossip, bkah-mchid, in such and such a place, questions concerning appointments or favours, requests for interviews and appeals against punishment. We have one, apparently anonymous, letter of denunciation (pp. 196-8).

The many points of resemblance between these Tibetan letters and the earlier Kharosthi ones (the Tibetan ones are, however, not so extravagant in personal eulogy) suffice to prove that they are following the, ultimately, Indian model of the latter. In the Saka-Khotani language we possess a moderate number of similar documents, which may eventually, when read and understood, present material for comparison.

The function of the post-runner (traceable, perhaps, behind the Latin eques-pes, Greek ὀκόνος, and the story of the Marathon messenger Pheidippides) was of high antiquity and importance in the east; it has curiously eluded the writers of romance, though Bāna does, in his Harṣa-carita (c. 5), depict the dīrghādhena Kurungaka. For Central Asia we have the descriptions by Odoric de Pordenone and others cited in Cathay and the Way Thither, new ed., ii, pp. 232-3 and note; and in regard to Tibet Father Huc has a striking passage (Paris. 1850, vol. ii. pp. 443-4) concerning the

short-lived couriers who had to "travel during the night among these mountains, where frightful precipices are encountered at almost every step". The documents use several designations, rkaṅ-mgyogs "swift-foot", bka'-chen "great-speed (or leg)", rin-lu(g)s "distance-habit (or body)", rin-pa "fast"; hdi-rul(hgrul)-ba "traveller", none of them rendering the Kharoṣṭhī lekhaḥaragha, Sanskrit lekha-hāraka.¹

To books and literature the documents from Mirān and Mazār-Tāgh do not allude (the Kharoṣṭhī has references to pothi's). There are a few fragments of exercises in the alphabet, in arithmetic and in forms of address, and one or two of Buddhist quotations or expressions. But from the hidden library of Tun-huang we have, beside masses of Buddhist literary texts, some pieces of quasi-secular writing, medical, narrative, etc., including the previously (Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lamson, pp. 193–212) reported epitome version of the Rāmāyana.

The extent of the business of copying religious works may be judged from the hundreds of surviving duplicates of certain short texts and from the mention in one of the documents cited above (p. 77) of eighty scribes (yi-ge-pa) and twenty revisors (zu-che)n). These might be ecclesiastics. But the numerous legal and other documents, and a record of payment for a new copy of a letter damaged (?) in transit (pp. 408–9), imply, no doubt, professional scribes, distinct from the official persons and secretariats (iṣṭa-loṅ "councillor for accounts", in Sa-cu, pp. 17, 341). We have mention also of donations for the expense of copying, and of private persons themselves writing out texts as a work of merit (JRAS., 1927, pp. 282–3).

The linguistics of the early, popular, Tibetan of the documents could be discussed only at length. The script, sometimes

¹ Or lekha-hārīna. In a Jain story (Jacobi, Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri, p. 39, n. 27–8) King Pradyota has a famous lekhaṛīya, named Lohajanga, The lekhaḥ mark of the Lhasa treaty inscription (JRAS. 1911, p. 434) might correspond to the Sanskrit lekhaḥhārīna.
with the square forms usual in print, but commonly in the rounded style which we have termed "cursive *dbu-can*", shows numerous individualities of hand and penmanship (see *Ancient Khotan*, pl. cxviii, *Serindia*, pls. clxx-ii, *Innermost Asia*, pls. cxxx-l). Archaic forms of *w*, *r*, *h*, and *(a)* are not infrequent; and in regard to *n* | *d*, *tu* | *du*, *p* | *ph* there is sometimes room for doubt. The document or fol. opens with the usual flourish, followed by | . | , || || or || . ||, which also conclude the whole or the sentence; clause punctuation, capricious, is by | ; for the word (or syllable)-separating dot the colon (;) is sometimes substituted; more rarely a short śaṭ (*|*) is used. Omission of the dot is frequent in certain locutions, e.g. *la[*]sh[*]s[*]o[*]q[*]s*, or with particles, e.g. *leg[*]s[*]p[*]a*, *b[*]u[*]n[*]s[*]t[*]e*; the reverse in *de[*]h[*]i*, etc. Compendious writing, common in *du[*]a* (dan), *b[*]i[*]r[*]e* (bzer), *gs[*]l[*]o* (gsol), occurs also in cases such as *b[*]d[*]a[g[*]g[*]i[*]s*, *kho[*]h[*]i[*]na*, *du[*]x[*]su*.

1. **Officials.**

1. M.I. viii, 90 (wood, c. 16 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

| rtse, rje, blon, gyi, mchan, ka[b], du, bsk[o]spa |

"Appointed to the note (mchan)-office of the head chief (rtse-rje), the Councillor."

Does *mchan[a]*kh[l]ab mean "note (or account) office", secretariat? Cl. what is said *infra*, p. 341, concerning the *tshan-lo*n.

2. M.I. xl, 15 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5-2 cm., complete, slightly curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

| blon, Mdo, bzan, sa. | blon, po, gechig |

"Residence (sa) of Councillor Mdo-bzan; a Councillor."

On *sa* see pp. 17, 83.

3. M.I. xiv, 0017 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete, rather curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

| rtse, rje, dan, dgra, blon, la, g[th]ad, pah |
"Consigned to the head chief and War-councillor (dgra-blon)."

4. M.I. vii, 9 (wood, c. 9-9.5 x 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; II. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Minor ru-ña: War-councillor (dgra-blon)."

On ru-ña-chuñ see pp. 427, 444. A dgra-blon is mentioned further, pp. 337, 342, and in M.I. xv, 0024; M.T. b. 1, 0099.

5. M.I. iv, 38 and 39 (wood, two pieces, upper and lower, together c. 9 x 2 cm.; II. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Dgra-dog (1) Rji-rma-stañ: Ču-de . . . appointed Exterior-Councillor (phyi-blon)."

Possibly the sense is "in place of (stan) Rji-rma"; but stan is elsewhere (p. 370.D) a complimentary affix. "Exterior-Councillor" means, no doubt, "Councillor for affairs abroad."
The phrase phyi-blon-du-bskos recurs in M.I. iv, 42b.

Since the phyi-blon occurs in the Lha-sa inscriptions (JRAS., 1911, p. 434.14), while the dgra-blon does not, it is possible that the two designations are equivalent.

6. M.I. xxiv, 0030 (paper, fol. No. 64 in vol., c. 10.5 x 5 cm., torn away at r. and bottom; discoloured and stained; II. 5 (+ some vowels of a sixth) of neat cursive dbu-can script)


"Uncle-Councillor, Justicer, Councillor Stag-bzer."

In the Lha-sa inscriptions (ibid., p. 435) is mentioned a rgyal-zigs-chen-po-žal-ce-don-la "Great King's Eye for the purpose of justice"; which renders probable the view expressed supra (p. 322) that the rgyal-zigs, mentoned, pp. 411-2, 406, and recurring p. 300 and in M.I. xiv, 58a, discharged legal functions. The khram-bon (khrims-pon) mentioned above, p. 124, would be a local judge of lower rank. It would seem that the term blah-luṅ "command" (pp. 22, 6, 122, 3, etc.) was also used personally (pp. 151, 415) in the sense of "judge."
7. M.I. viii, 2 (wood, c. 22 x 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"To be sent without delay: in accordance with a message from Great Uncle-Councillor [zaṅ-lon-chen-po] Khri-dog-rje and Councillor Rgyal-gtsug-sgra to this effect: 'To Be-ce Stag-legs and Dol-po Rma-ston [and] Great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Klu-sgra, of very long descent, wherever in the Ḫbrog country they are and with whatever matter occupied, by day and by night send up with admonition from one [man] to another,' accordingly on receipt of the delivered despatch arrange to send with admonition."

Be-ce and Dol-po are both, no doubt, local names: on the former see Vol. I, p. 274, n. 5, on the latter the dictionaries; on the Ḫbrog, nomads, pp. 297-9. It may be suspected that the persons mentioned are not mere local Tibetans of the Mirūn region, but belonged to the Central Government. Councillor Khri-dog-rje is mentioned also in M.I. ii, 37b. The "admonition" is to the successive couriers.

In I. A 3 the two imperatives separated by la (gzen-thob-la-rdzoṅs-sig) exhibit the regular idiom with la. On gzen(n)-thob see S. C. Das' dictionary s.v. gzen; on las- Ḫbyun-bas, see supra, pp. 29, 58.

8. M.I. xxvii, 7 (wood, c. 14.5 x 2 cm.; defective at top l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Ordered to meet (reach?) the War-Councillor and the four

1 be below line.  2 d below line
Regional-Officials (nos-pon) of [Little Nob]“ (or “To the War-Councillor . . .; summons to meet”),

The nos-pon seems to correspond to the anta-pīla of Sanskrit. He is mentioned further pp. 445 and in M.I. xiv, 7.

9. M.I. xiv, 7 (wood, c. 10 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


“To the Regional-Officials of the four regions a carpet (gan, erroneous for ydan ?) each.”

On ydan see infra, pp. 344, 379-80.

10. M.I. x, 5 (wood, c. 13 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, partly erased).

... [c]an. khyir. htshol. cig

“... the can-khyir should require.”

On can-khyir see pp. 25 n., 29, 452, and Vol. I, p. 27, n. 4; since in the first of these occurrences he is a kind of ston-dpon, he is, no doubt, of the same order. On his equivalence to nāgaraka, nāgara-rakṣa see supra, p. 319.

11. M.I. xii, 3 (wood, c. 9-5 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square dbu-can script).

♀ : tshar. dpon | Pañ : khu : tshan |

“Pañ-kul, head of a parish (tshar).”

On tshar see supra, pp. 169 sqq., 310. The person is probably not a Tibetan, but a native, as is perhaps implied in the use of the honorific plural tshan (p. 191).

12. M.T., c. iii, 0074 (wood, c. 13-5 x 1 cm., a slice, broken away at l.; and r.; l. 1 of neat, squarish dbu-can script).


“From the Assemblage of Bde-gams . . .”

In connection with Bde-gams a ḡdun-saltsa), “general assemblage”, has been mentioned above, pp. 57-8. The general term for a council consultation, bkah-hyros, occurs ibid., and also pp. 53, 56, and 133. Bde-gams was, no doubt, in Mdo; whereas the ḡdun-τṣi’s in Gtseos-mo-glin (p. 141) and Byeṣu-lin (p. 163) and Šel-than (p. 190) were perhaps all
local conferences in Turkestan. As regards the spelling, it is possible that, whereas *ḥlun-sa* means the place of assembly, *ḥlun-tsa = ḥlun-ma*, the assembly itself. Sometimes (*e.g., M.T. a. ii, 0076) the leading *dpons* are grouped together in such phrases as *so-sohi-ston-sdehi-dpon-snu* "the leading officials of the several Thousand-districts".

13. Ch. 86, ii (paper, on verso of fol. No. 48 of volume liii, c. 27-5 × 24 cm.: ll. 9 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script + ll. 3 (a different hand) inverted).


¹ [I am] submitting a written inquiry as to health, whether on the part of the Great Ones, equal to heaven, there exists happiness of mind or non-happiness: to send a word would be a favour. As a visitor's gift (*spyan-[g]zigs*) and with the title of a present (*skyes-kyi-mts[a]n-ma*) I am sending a half-load of fruit (or rice, ḥbras) and one roll of Chinese cotton, these two. I am asking them from Rañ-ke Klu-gon, and I beg you to accept them. That your humble servant, being ineffective, should thus [merely] send inquiry as to health deserves indeed a reprimand: I beg His Excellency (*rje-blas*) kindly (*legs-pa-mi*) for a while (*tsam-zig*)

⁴ re here crossed out. ² Compendious for lañ. ³ = gsol.
to forbear (kha-bzan-bar) (or I beg you kindly to secure H.E.'s forbearance . . . ?).


[Inverted] Despatched from Thar-kar in Rog-tom with signature attached: addressed to the Chief-in-command (rtse-rje) of Ša-cu and the leading officials (dpon-sna) of the two Chinese districts (sde). Here on the present date (nöphral) Bde Ša-bṣun submits [it]."

Copy of a letter sent to Ša-cu from Thar-kar in Rog-tom, both unknown; Thar-kar is perhaps not a proper name, and Rog-tom may mean the "Rog Thousand[-district]". The two [Ston-]dpons of the two Chinese [Ston-]sde's may belong to two of the districts noted supra (p. 316). In the last sentence Bde Ša-bṣun, if it is really a proper name, means Ša-bṣun of Bde (a province of Mdo-smad), on which see supra (p. 319). The person Klu-gon has a name resembling that of the Tibetan minister Klu-khon, celebrated in a Lha-sa Edict edited and translated by Col. Waddell (JRAS, 1910, pp. 1255 sqq.): the surname Raṅ-ke seems to be unknown; but cf. Šud-ke and Hel-ke. The endorsement may have been added on the original in the course of a transmission through the Bde centre, which would be a geographically interesting circumstance. It will be noted that here the rje-blas (with s in the nominative as elsewhere, e.g. pp. 22-4, 302) is perhaps, but not necessarily, the nai-rje-po of Ša-cu.

The letter is an instance of the actually avowed (p. 412) principle of sending a polite letter (sčan-shuus) to "mark time", when there is nothing definite to report.

Spyan-zigs (= Sk. upāyana, "a visitor's gift", pp. 207, 224, 245, 11, etc.) and bkaḥ-bhab, "reprimand" (pp. 246, 397), have occurred previously.

The above citations illustrate the use of the expressions: —
rje-blas[1], "Excellency."
rtse-rje, "chief in command" (čhu-hu, "minor chief").
žan-lon (chen-po), "Uncle(noble)-Councillor."
blon, "Councillor"; nan-rje[-po] or nan-gi-blon-po (p. 9.35), "Interior-Councillor"; phyi-blon or dgra-blon, "Exterior, or War-Councillor."

rgyal-gzigs or zal-che[-pa], bkah-lun, also spyan-ched-po, "King's Eye", "Justice", "Great Eye".


To these we may add ston-gyan (pp. 128, 160), probably only the old local name (tonga of the Kharoṣṭhī) of the ston-dpon; jo-co (rje-cho, etc., pp. 17, 133, 152, 192, 240, 260, 297), a similar equivalent of rtse-rje; gul-nathon (pp. 152, and 469: 104) or gul-gzigs (p. 192, and M.T.a.iii, 0070) the local surveyor or overseer.

The zal, zan-po, zan-chen-po is, as we have seen (supra, p. 321, n.), the "Uncle" or noble, and the mañ-po-rje (pp. 7, 271) the feudal prince or tribal head.

The state officials of Tibet, as cited in the Lha-sa inscriptions (JRAS., 1911, pp. 433-5) include the blon-po-chen-po, nan-blon, phyi-blon, blon-phyi-pa, mañ-[d]pon, bkah-ni-phrin-blon-chen-kablon ("correspondence councillor"), rtsis-pa-chen-po ("census, or finance, minister") and the rgyal-[g]zigs-chen-po-zal-ce-don-lt ("minister of justice, or law"). To the rtsis-pa might correspond the local tshañ-lo (p. 17) of the Sa-cu state.

The general term for "government" is mañ, to which belong the above mañ-blon and the expression mañ-gyi-bhais, "government subject or convict." We have reference to the Bod-kyi-маn, "Tibetan authorities" (M. Tâghh. b. ii, 0066), and to the Li-mañ "Khotan authorities". Chañ-nerid is the authority of an official, but especially of the king, who is said (supra, p. 6) to proceed to the Ha-za country, "to take over the government"; metonymously the phrase
may mean a "state", even geographically. *Mūnāh-ris*, "authority-line" (boundary; cf. *yul-ris*, "local boundary", *mkhar-ris*, "city boundary"), naturally means "frontier" between states, provinces, etc. (cf. pp. 121.2, 219, 221); but this also comes to mean (Vol. I, p. 125, n. 5) "state" or "province", as in *Mūnāh-ris Ḥkhor-gsum* (vulgo, Nari Khorsum), and even the property or possession of a person or community.

2. **CLASSES AND PERSONS (ALSO DWELLINGS)**

14. M.I. xiv, 0011 (wood, c. 21) × 2–2.5 cm., broken away at lower l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint and smudged.

[A 1] *dāh*, ltań, dgraḥ, blon, dān, ẓiń, pon, -o ... bla. *stisna*, do, chig, [sky-], [sky-a slā ?], sa, ḫdi [A 2] ... *tsha*[l]ma, bskos, pāḥ, las, khoṅ, [skyahī ?], myi, gsold, pahī. sk- [B 1] ... raṅ. khri. sān. yan, ẓiń, pon, dān, dgraḥ, blon, ḥtshal, ḥtshal[d]. [to ! !] [B 2] [s]ug, lasu, bgyi, [bāli t]. nam, droid, kyaṅ. m[a t]tshal (mchis !) [rño ?]. yaṅ. thog | dra, ḡu ...  

"The present War-councillor and the landlords have already calculated. ... After the assignment of rations ... this land for the present harvest, the harvestmen petitioned ...  

Previously, whenever the landlords and War-councillor have required, we made no trouble about being set to work. Also we are competent ... ."

The defectiveness of the text occasions a partly conjectural rendering.

The *ziṅ-pa* (pp. 143.8, 161:58; cf. *ziṅ-hdag*, p. 352) is the landlord, in contrast to the *ziṅ-pa*, or cultivator, who is here a *skyahī-myı*, "harvester." On *nām[s]-droid*, "trouble," see p. 32; on *tshal-ma* (pp. 51, 80, etc.) and *bskos* see supra, pp. 4, 125:7, 160.

... raṅ-khri is not clear. For *tshal* read *ma-tшлаl*? The interposition of the "Foreign (War)-councillor" is, no doubt, due to the fact that to the Tibetans Shan-shan was conquered country and the population "enemy" or foreign.
15. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0047 (wood, c. 11.5 × 1 cm., cut to a point at l., cut away at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   m.ṇes || stsan ldren. Ḥa.ṇa
   "... grain-conveyor the Ḥa.ṇa..."

   The business of conveying grain (stsan ldren) is several times referred to; see pp. 208:3, 355:3. It must have occupied many persons.

16. M.I. ix, 1 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

   The same person is mentioned in viii, 896 (z[ ] | | zo[n]. [Klu]
   ...).

17. M.I. xiv, 0054 (wood, c. 10.5 × 1.5 cm., cut away to a point at l.; hole for string at r.; II, 1 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).
   [A] ℓ | | Bya' nad, rmañ, rog, ba (rogs?) [B] myi. gnis
   "Bya-nad, horse(camel?)-attendant. Two persons."

   On rmañ-rogs (cf. rta-rogs) see pp. 192, 258.

18. M.I. xiv, 50 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.5 cm., slightly broken away at l. lower corner; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   [Klu] || Bag. Mdo. ston
   "Bag Mdo-ston."

   The sense of Bag is unknown. It is probably a clan or family name; see infra, p. 345.

19. M.I. xiv, 15 (wood, c. 9 × 1.5 cm., broken away at r., lower corner; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   [Klu] || sa. ston, Sañ. ams
   Sa-ston recurs as a title, pp. 129:24, 302:40, and in M.I. xxvi, 2; the dictionary gives the meaning "desert," and so it might mean "desert man"; but possibly it is for sa-ston in the sense of "guide" (sa-mkhan, infra, p. 378).

20. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0015 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

\*d here crossed out. Is Bya-na a place-name?\*
yul . tsan . gcig

"A local magnate (or a business man)."

A document belonging to the Munich Ethnographical Museum (FK 1023) mentions a yul-[d]pon "local lord" or "local authority". This is perhaps a caller's "card".

21. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0010 (wood, c. 12 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script + 1 consisting of two quasi-circles).


"Slave Snañ . la . rgyug."

The meaning "slave" is conjectural: see supra, p. 224. The word is not infrequent. The circles perhaps indicate chastisement, as in p. 168.

22. M.I. xiv, 45 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Carpet to be collected on loan from the Uncle-Councillor and people of the district." Cf. p. 338.

23. M.I. iv, 17 (wood, c. 23 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Promised as price of ... sheep: To Khyi-cun bre two; to Kyad-nag a full bre; again to Khyi-cun a full bre; to the lay-worshipper (upāsaka) three bre less one-half; to Ḫphan-legs two bre less one-half; to monk (bun-de) Ron-po a full bre; to Sog-po five bre."

The meaning of ze-da is not apparent; is it = zed "damaged". Ron-po and Sog-po are probably both tribal or national names. In consideration of the Sogdian colony of the seventh century A.D. (Pelliot in Journal Asiatique, 1 = phyê.
xi, vii (1916), pp. 111 sqq.), it is possible that Sog, which recurs in the documents, denotes a Sogdian (in later times a Mongol). But v. Sog-dag in M.T., b. i, 0013, and Vol. I, p. 319, and Chronicle, l. 64, year 694.

24. M.I. xxxiii, 1 (wood, c. 13 × 2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"The lands belonging to this monastery were formerly thirteen less one-half. Last year, owing to disturbances through quarrels (rtsad-kysis ?), the rent (lhuba) . . . the livelihood of those belonging to the Samgha was not supplied by the householders (?). We six residents (rkyen-drun) require a benefactor (sku-yon). At present the chief officials (dpon-sna) of Lha-ris . . . the Samgha of Lha-ris . . . !"

On rkyen, "property," see pp. 78–9, 148, etc.; rkyen-sa = "proprietary land". Khab-so, which occurs in the Ladak Chronicle (Francke, Antiquities of Western Tibet, ii, p. 77), denotes perhaps the dwellers in mansions (khab), the rich; cf. Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 50, p. 286.

25. M.I. x, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5–2 cm., broken away at l., irregularly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"[watch]-tower regiment: widow Bag-za Mn—n-mo . . . letter petition."

On za with clan-names of women see p. 73. It is = bzañ "wife": "wife of Bag (cf. p. 343) family."

1 khañ below line.  2 = phyed.  3 rtsad f
26. M.I. xiv, 40 (wood, c. 8 x 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. l. of largish, square dbu-can script).

\[ \text{g-yar. po. G[u].c[ün].} \]

"Borrower (lender?) Gu-cün."

27. M.I. xiv, 43 (wood, c. 10 x 1.5 cm., complete, rather curved; hole for string at r.; l. l. of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

\[ \Theta \] [ce.sé]. Ba.spon

"Lady Ba-spon."

Ce-sé, which occurs elsewhere in the form ce-zé, is perhaps a feminine corresponding to jo-chó "chief", etc. In M.I. xxxii, 5m, we read che-ze-chen-mo-yum-sras "great lady, mother and son"; in M.I. 0028 Cuñ-brdzan-che-ze-cag, "Cuñ-brdzan and lady"; in M.T. 0503 tsha-bo-Btsan-ra-dan-che-ze-Lha-Idem, "grandson Btsan-ra and lady Lha-Idem"; in M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00151 : jo-bo-Klu-brdzan-dan-ce-ze-Gtsug-Idem.

Adding to the classes here instanced some others previously exemplified, we may arrange as follows:—

(a) General: kbañs (also dmañs, p. 32; mnañs, p. 95 (A. 3), "subject" (in a state); mnañ-gyi-kbañs, "government subject" or convict (pp. 120, 247, 305); tsha-gyi-kbañs or tsa-kbañs (pp. 70, 111; I, p. 56), "god's servant" or temple slave; sku-bla (pp. 16, 108; also in M.I. xliii, 0014; xliv, 4; M.T. e. iv, 0030), "magnate"; yul-ṣaṅ, "local magnate"; kha-b-so, "mansion-dweller"; las-ṣyi (M.I. vii, 64; xiv, 4; M.T. 0605; p. 391: 86), "workman"; bran (pp. 50, 143), "servant"; na-bran, "house servant" (p. 124, pha-bran, p. 122); gu-rīb, "slave"; spyugs (p. 51), "banished man"; ce-ze, "lady"; gñer, "steward" (p. 272); byan-po, "cook" (usually military); yon-po-mo, "widow"; yul-ṣyi (pp. 140, 344), "local people."

(b) Connected with agriculture: ſin-dpon, "landlord"; ſin-pa (p. 139), "cultivator"; gți-mkhan (p. 29), "peasant" (7); chun-pa (pp. 140, 161), "field-watchman"; stsan-hdeñ,
“grain conveyor” (quasi “carter”); śīn-thun (p. 149), “stick-gatherer.”

(c) Connected with animals and travel: see infra, pp. 378–9.

(e) Religious: mkhan-po, “abbot”; ban-de (the usual term), Buddhist dge-slaṅ or monk (bhikṣu); dge-bsun, “lay adherent (upāsaka)”; dben or sben, “hermit” (dben-sa “hermitage”, pp. 9–10); spod or htul-mun (gtul), “ascetic” (pp. 21–2); bon-po, “a Bon worshipper” (infra, pp. 394–5); lha-bon-po, “a deva-bon worshipper” (ibid.). On tshos-khur, “painter” (?), khur-skya (?), and ho-pen (?), see infra, p. 393.

In this connection we may take note of the designations of cities and places of residence:—

mkhar, “city,” the general term, perhaps, implying fortification; skun-khar (later ska-mkhar), “citadel” or “fortress” (pp. 47, 133, 184); khrom, “mart” or “city” (pp. 21, 47, 73, 290), khrom-chen-po, “great city” (pp. 49, 145, etc.); gron-khyer, “great city”; gron-rdal, “hamlet”; bran (pp. 209, 272), “dwelling-place”; pho-bran, “palace” or house of king, noble, or high official (pp. 6, 8, 22, etc.); bran-sa, “station on (mountain) route” (p. 272); khan, “house” or “hut” (p. 149, l. [9]); gtsug-lag-khan, “monastery”; khab, “mansion”; mbon-khab (khyab), “watch-tower” (pp. 123, 133, 274); to which we may append ndad(?), “monument,” and ban-so, “tomb” (pp. 146–8); dben-sa, “hermitage” (pp. 9, 11), gdan and gdan-sa, “divān” (pp. 21, 195, 380); gum, “posting station.”

3. AGRICULTURE AND CROPS, REGISTRATION, TAXATION

SURVEY

(a) Agriculture and Crops

28. M.I. xxv, 001 (paper, fol. No. 65 in vol., c. 27 x 16 cm.,
fragmentary on all sides; II. 14 of scrawled cursive dhu-can script);


¹ phye
² Li
³ crossed out
⁴ [ny]is
government land, ... teams ... [7] ploughed by ... for wheat. In "drained-pond" (a place?) three and one-half teams; government land, two teams; Gnag Ra-ba, one team ... [8] ...'s land, two and a half teams; ploughed by Dpal-po-legs for wheat ... two; Gnag Rnaḥ [9] ... one and a half teams; ploughed by To-ne for wheat. 'Drained-pond,' two teams ... 'drained-pond' ... [10] ... tsan's half team, Gnag Kha-bzans, one team. Rgod ... team ... [11] ... wheat, 'drained-pond,' one team. Gnag Rgod-niṅ's land, one team ... [12] ... wheat, 'drained-pond,' one and a half teams. The Horn-commander's land ... [13] ... a half: by Gröl-[thar], wheat crop ... [14] ... Chief of police, two and a half teams ...."

It seems possible that in these cases the word "team" or "yoke" (dor) is used as a measure of land, "as much as two strong oxen could plough from morn to night", see infra, p. 352; the word, however, does occur in its literal sense (p. 49.4, and see the dictionaries) and, as previously (pp. 29-30) suggested, the teams may have been supplied for the farmers' use; but the "half-team" is then a difficulty.

The "white" (dlkar), which we have rendered "wheat", is probably the "white grass" of the Ts'ien Han Shu (cf. Wylie, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, x, p. 25). The document contains some obscure phrases—yar-phugs, "upper corner," byrun-mdzin, "drained pond"; also gnag-ra-ba, and gnag-rgod-niṅ, which may not be personal names. Spyan is perhaps a short equivalent of Royal-gziṅs, "the King's Eye". On Nag-sod see supra, pp. 125 sqq.; on the rdpon, pp. 70, 426. The mention of the General's land, the Horn-commander's land, the Foreign Councillor's land, and infra (p. 359) the Tax-account Clerk's land, suggests a system of salary by way of jägir allotments.

29. M.I. xxviii, 0028 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2: recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

"... one. Baleman's land, one team ... land of ... half-team : ploughed by Stag-chun. [In] Nag-sod, land of ... two teams : the Horn-commander's land, one team. From extra-piece (lag = lhag ?) of land, one team : ploughed by Khrom-phan."

The expression "from extra piece ..." suggests that the above is a fragment of a list of returned teams, and thus favours the literal interpretation of dor : see also the next document.

30. M.I. xlv, 3 (wood, e. 14.5 × 1.5-2 cm., cut away at top and (?) bottom ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).


[A] "Tilled by Khu-cuñ Khu-rtañ ; small letter cornland, three teams. [B] One man returned."

The Khu-cuñ "Little Khu" would be a subdivision of the Khu tribe, whereof the chieftain was Khu-Mañ-po-xlje : for similar expressions see p. 150. Rbeg-chun. Rmañ is doubtless derived from rmed or remd "plough" or "till". "Small letter land crop" will refer to a system of accounts; cf. gi-ge-xed-po below (p. 418). On "are not returned", which might, however, relate to the tiller, see pp. 140 : 38. 2. 358.

31. M.I. vii, 21 (wood, e. 8 × 1.5-2 cm., rather pointed at l. broken away at r. ; 1. 1 recto of largish dbu-can script + 2 verso in a smaller, scrawled hand, rubbed and faint).

[A] Ggas  |  kol[?].

[B 1]  |  [idsus  |  la  |  dor  |  gsun[ñ]  |  [B 2]  [hkh]o[n]  |  gyi  |  gle[ñu  |  [z][ñ]  |  dor  |  g ...

The word glehu, which has occurred supra, recurs in the Tibetan Chronicle, I. 252, Ston-zde’-glehu-thogs-la-khral-pa-ga-du-spaqs; also in p. 126:13, and M.T. c. iii, 0066. It is identical with gle, noted supra, p. 225.

32. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0017 (wood, c. 15 x 1.5 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script; hole for string at r.).


"To Khri-ma-rjes of the Dgyes regiment: petition of Yul-skyes. I have come to this place. As in the Khotani land and the Tibetan land the rba does not correspond, send demanding a piece of the Khotani land. If no one comes to demand some satisfactory rba, it is not well (or if some satisfactory rba shall be required, it [will be] not well in future)."

The reference is, no doubt, to some local assignment of land where Khotanis and Tibetans were in joint occupation. What rba denotes is not clear; possibly it is a miswriting for rtsesu "grass". Ma-ḥons-na may mean "in the future". On Dgyes, see p. 456.

33. British Museum Or. 8212 (194a)² (paper, c. 30.5 x 15 cm., complete; ll. 7 of cursive dbu-can script).


¹ rtsas ²

² Photograph procured with the assistance of Dr. I. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department, who has kindly also given permission for publication.
Spring of the Dog year: Bam Şan-tsheṅ having in Hve-gu crop land, one team (dor) in three small enclosures, entrusted it to Wăn Bur-hido to plough for millet in partnership (thun-mon-du), at one-half; it is to be worked on a level with the previous man (myi-bla, i.e. the previous tenant). Plougher and hand-tools (sug-spyad) to be supplied by Bur-hdo. The resultant (ji-byun-bo) harvest of millet is to be divided in halves. In witness whereof the attestation-seals (dpah-rgya) of Sag Dge-legs and Son Hve-hdo and the rest and the hand-signature of the landlord (ziṅ-bdag), Şan-tsheṅ, are attached. Subsequently if any loss (gud) shall fall upon the owner, while Bur-hdo profits by (snams !) the land, Şan-tsheṅ is to make a demand in writing (mchid-gyis-hitshal-bo).

A very clear and complete document. The letting by a landlord (ziṅ-bdag = ziṅ-dpon) to a tenant, who is required to raise a crop of millet not falling below the level of the previous tenant, is attested by witnesses and signatures; the crop is to be halved, and in the event of a falling-off or loss the landlord is to make a protest. The term dor "team" seems clearly here to denote a measure of land. Slan-bu may be connected with slon, "erect," and mean "terrace" or "enclosed land"; cf. slon-kha, "shelf" or "stand." Snams: cf. p. 136.2.

As the document comes from the hidden library of Tun-luang, it is not surprising that the clan-names Bam, Wăn, Sag, Son are included among those previously elicited (pp. 41–6, 113 sqq.). The personal names also are accordant, being all, no doubt, Chinese, except that of Sag Dge-legs, a Tibetan, who seems actually to recur in that list.
The place Hve-gu, doubtless in the Ša-cu district, is not yet identified: but cf. Hui-ku in De Groot, *Die Hun-nen...*, p. 127 ?

34. M.I. ix, 15 (wood, c. 21 × 1.5 cm., cut away at top; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 (+ vowel-signs of a second) verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).


"There being in Little Nob some eight pieces of patrimonial garden land, these were cultivated by the *ban-de* Byaṅ-cub-sūṅ-po. The *ban-de* being deceased, as the Thousand-district and Uncle-officials are [under the charge] of my humble self (or 'in view of your humble servant’s being Thousand-governor and Uncle (noble) official')..."

*Lдум-ра*, "vegetable enclosure," garden, or orchard, recurs in M.I. xxii, 6.

The objection to the bracketed rendering is that grammatically it requires *bdag-ēnan-pa*, not "paḥi. On the *Ston-sde* see *supra* pp. 315-16, 341.

35. M.I. ii, 005 (wood, c. 18 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).


"Seed and farmer’s provisions for the Dragon year paid from the harvest wheat, loads... To Klu-dgos, provisions, half

*daṅ below line.
* ē below line.
a load, seed one load, four bre, cattle 1 flour-stuff two bre. To Lha-legs, price ... eight bre. By the District-chief twelve bre. From the field-harvest: To my lord Btsan-bzan, barley ... three loads. Millet conveyed to Little Nob, two loads. From the Ka-dag millet, to Lha-gun for price of a horse, loads ... ."

This document illustrates the process of distribution of cereals by way of wages, payments, and for seed. The distribution will not always have been direct; we have seen examples of distribution by way of drafts and circular orders and also of assignment and prescript. But the country must, nevertheless, have been covered with the storage granaries, corresponding to the drangas of the Kharosāṭhi documents, which also are seen (e.g. in Nos. 272, 439) to have been numerous.

36. M.I. iv, 44 and 46 (wood, c. 18 × 1·5 cm., broken in middle; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Without consideration of the message 'seed received with land ', it is said that the seed from last year's harvest (or dues, chad ?) should come later. Some leading person sent to Ḥgreñ-ro may or may not have received it."

Physis-šig must be an imperative (of Ḫṣṣi-ḥo). In skū-bla, "a magnate," skū is an honorific prefix, as in skū-yon, "donor," etc. On Ḥgreñ-ro see pp. 108-9.

37. M.I. xiv, 119 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 recto + 1 verso of rather small, cursive dbu-can script, faint).

[1] ⁷ | bgyir , myi , bde , na , yañ , gtañ , dpañ , poñ , sug , rgya , glan , du , bgyi , žiñ | tha , snañ , cis , gtañ , goog , pa , tsam , žiñ , g-yas ⁴ [2] [g-yosu] , rkyä , g-yar ⁵ , tshod , mchis , par .

1 Or is ba-pye; a miswriting for bap-pye. "flour" ² gyiñ ²
³ b = ⁴ a below line.
⁵ r below line.
[bgo †]; bar, gsol, žin, mchis || Sāon, cuñ, dañ, Dro, brtsan, gyi, dpya, stsañ, rnam, šas, sig [3] mchis, pa, || Hbrog, du, S[n]o, rña, la, s[ts]an, khal, bdun, žig, ḫdren, paḥi, slad, ma, khre, ba, mch[i]s, na, ci, lom, du, bsrgur, khre, [ma ⁴] [4] [mchis, ste] || khuṅs, bzañ, [po], la, ..., gtañ, žin, g[тан], tshig, bzañ, por, bgyi, bar, ci, gna[ょ] || Bor, [pha]ns, kyi, [B 1] rin, chab, srañ,guīs, žig, mehi, ba, žib, tu, Leg, leg, las, gsol, pa, lags, na, l̄ī, ṭshe, khon, [b]skur, bar, ci, gnañ

"Though sorry to do it, yet, as given witnessed signatures must be made good (glan from lan or len), I beg you to give orders for (or cause) the crops of all those (tsam-žig) who have defaulted in respect of the given agreement (tha-sṇad) to come in right and left (g-yas-g-yosu), to the amount of the borrowing (g-yar-tshod?). Of the tax corn (dpya-stsañ) of Sāon-cuñ and Dro-brtsan some instalment (rnam) has come. If millet has come subsequent to the conveying of seven loads of corn to Sāo-rña (†) in the Hbrog country, has it been received (ci-lom-du-bsrgur) †? If millet not come, as [I] am to send ... in large amount (kuṅs-bzañ-po-la?), please make a good arrangement (glan-tshigs?). I have definitely requested Leg-leg that Bor-phana's silk-cotton (rin-che-ba), some two srañ, should come. Be pleased to [see that he] send it now."

The obscurities in this in principle quite intelligible document are due to difficulties of reading. The beginning relates to calling in of an equivalent from the crops of certain defaulting obligees. On rnam, = "instalment", see supra (p. 79; Vol. I, p. 113, n. 6); glan-tshigs is "proof", "confirmation", "document" (pp. 134.B2, 143-6). Rin-che-ba is given in S. C. Das' dictionary as = du-kū-laṅi-ras, "silk-cotton." On lom (= lon?) see p. 443; tha-sṇad = Sanskrit evaṃhāra (pp. 33-20, 145). Sāo-rña not a proper name?

38. M.I. iv, 105 (wood, c. 21 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

† bgyi †
† rna †
† khruns †
† yas †

"Councillor Pal(Dpal)-sum having sent stringent orders, these are to be sent to Stag-bor:—For Myes-kri wheat, eight loads less one-half; for Con-stoñ, of the present harvest-cutting (thog-chad), two loads less one-half; for Ru-tsog, of the [present] harvest-cutting, three loads less one-half. To Rlañ Klu-sto a great deal of the old harvest has gone, at the time when [he] was in Śod last year."

On Śod see p. 164.

39. M. Tāgh. 0352 (wood, c. 8 × 2.5 cm., pointed at l. broken away at r.: ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Conveyed by Dge-bzan . . . also load . . ."

On transport of grain see supra.

We have seen above (pp. 124, 139-140, 146) that in the Nob region there was a "land-arrangement (or settlement, žin-lgod)"; a "commissioner" (rin-lugs) of the land-settlement is there mentioned. Since in the case of the "lord's-land" (rje-žin, royal or manorial land, on which see pp. 127, 129, 139, 275) there are special regulations prohibiting fixed holdings (gtan-žin) and special rights (dban-than, pp. 139-140, 153 and M.I. ii. 42, iv, 27), it is to be presumed that such privileges were elsewhere valid. The existence of a class of landlords (žin-dpon or bdag) and the frequent mention of the lands of individuals, both private and official, suggests that both private possession and official tenure (as jāgūr) were usual.

The manorial land of Nob was divided by raised partitions (bdens-kha, also in M.I. xxvi, 7) and the water-supply was regulated. The latter was doubtless the case elsewhere also;
in the Ša-cu area there is mention of canals or water-conduits (yur-ba, infra, pp. 365-6). On slaṅ-bu "small terrace" see supra p. 352.

Compulsory cultivation (perhaps, however, only after agreement) with punishments for abandoning the plough (thon-bros) and for positive offences is evidenced in the case of the manorial lands of Nob. Some other slight references to summoning tillers from the towns (for the season), e.g. p. 358 and pp. 139-141, suggest that in other cases also the cultivator (ziṅ-pa) may not have been completely free.

A Ša-cu document (infra, pp. 361 sqq.) discriminates (a) crop land (rkyu-ziṅ), (b) poor land (phons-ziṅ), and (c) "juniper-land" (bug-ziṅ). The "poor land" may be the same as the gle or glehu (supra, p. 351). We have also mention (p. 353) of pieces (lhu) of garden or vegetable plots (ldum-ra).

Ploughing (rmo-ba) was done with the aid of teams (dor) of oxen or yaks, apparently supplied; in the case of a vegetable plot the tilling is called rned-pa. The seed (sa-bon) seems to have been supplied to the cultivator (supra, pp. 353-4). The crop was rkyo and the harvest-yield (thog; lo-thog "year's yield") was "cut" (chad). Corn was stsaṅ, and "granary" stsaṅ-gam (?); "flour" is phyè, "mill" bṭag.

The commonest crops were barley (nas), wheat (gro), white (dkar) and black (gnag), and millet (kha). There is mention also of mustard or turnips (stsaṅ-yus) and cotton (nas). Implied in the mention of yu (rgyu)-mar "oil material" is sesame, and wood (ziṅ) is also rendered as material (rgyu) for arrows and tablets (khrum). Perhaps glue-material (sphyin) occurs, along with feathers (sgro), in the same connection (vol. liii, fol. 6).

The tax (dpya, khral) was levied in kind; so, too, rent, and the distribution by prescripts and assignments, as price (rin) of goods supplied, and by actual transport has been sufficiently illustrated.

The total of the year's revenue is lo-thaṅ (pp. 152: 46.2, 358).
(b) Registration, Taxation

40. M.I. xiv, 0016 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ¶ | lo. than. ḥdir. ḡner. bkum. bahl. rnams || rtsis. pahi. phrin. [by] ... [A 2] gi. nañ. nas. myin. smar [sic]. ḥbyuñ. ba. lagsna. Rgyal. bzañ. la. yan. de. [bzi] ... [B 1] ¶ | rtsis. kyäñ. aññon. dañ. myi. ḥdra. ste || blon. Man. zigs. kyi. g-yar. s[ñ]a[r] ... [B 2] mès || khrom. phyogs. kyi. bkañ. meid. ji. gdah. ba. ni || Klu. legs. kyis ..."[A] From the reports of statistics by those who have been engaged upon the year's revenue here we have the result with names. To Rgyal-bzañ also accordingly ..." [B] Statistics also not agreeing with the previous have already gone up to Councillor Mañ-zigs. As to the gossip in the town quarter, Klu-legs ..."

On phrin-by[añ] (pp. 58, 206, etc.) and ḡner-bkum (pp. 42, 79, 83, etc.), see supra; myin-smar (min-smrar) is a common phrase, and lo-thañ the usual designation of the annual revenue (p. 357).

41. M.I. xiv, 49 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Name-record of four defaulters (g-yon-len) at the time of counting those returned."

From other documents it would appear that the persons returned were those compelled to till the lands. G-yon-skor "taking to the left" = "deserting", "avoiding", occurs pp. 304, 375, 378.

42. M.I. viii, 6 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at l. top; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

"Hare-year, autumn: Name-record of those punished after the counting of the receipts of harvest income from the Uncle-Councillor’s servants who were farmers."

43. M.I. xxxiii, 5 c. (wood, c. 10 × 1.5–2 cm., somewhat broken away at l. top; l. 2 of cursive dbu-can script),


"Land of Rlaṅ Raṅ-ru, tax-account clerk, two teams."

Rlaṅ is a somewhat frequently recurring tribal name; see supra, p. 151. The Clerk’s land is perhaps a jāgīr; see supra, p. 356.

44. M.I. ii, 18 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1.5 × 1 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; notches; l. 1 (on narrow side) of cursive dbu-can script).

§|| bu . lon . gyi . baṅ . khram.

"Loan store ticket."

45. M.I. xxiv, 0013 (wood, c. 10.5 × 1 × 1 cm., split away at one edge for a tally; incised lines and notches; l. 1 (with indications of a prior one) + 1 + 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] rta | gro


[C] paḥi . baṅ . r[t[a | 1] ]

"[A] Horse: wheat.


A thorough system of accounts, as implied in the existence of a Tibetan ministry of accounts (rtsis-pa-chen-po), of a Councillor for Accounts (tshang-lon) at Ša-cu and a total of account (rtsis-mgo, supra, p. 140, etc.; Vol. I, p. 29, n. 4) for the Khotan kingdom, is exhibited by the documents in its working. Reckonings of all kinds, on the part of officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastic (pp. 76 sqq., 88 sqq.), contend in number with the letters (pp. 258, 344, etc.) of private individuals recording their dues, wages, claims, and payments; to judge from these records the people of Chinese Turkestan during the period of Tibetan rule (as also during
the previous Kharoṣṭhī period) seem to have found in such calculations an absorbing preoccupation.

The year's revenue (lo-thaṅ) will have included contributions (dpya) additional to the agricultural produce. Among a residue of a year's levy are mentioned (p. 153) "Khotan wool, hair, wool": we have also noted supra (p. 344) a carpet as a tax (khral); elsewhere we have a horse as a tax (khrat, p. 303: 44); and probably again (infra, p. 375) a smoke, or house, tax (duḥ-khral). There might be also a yield from gold and copper mining, from manufacture of silk (men-tri) and cotton goods, skins, woollen ropes and felta, and from the jade-workings; also from the following of trades and from transit dues.

The phrase "lands of small letter" implies perhaps a secretariat device; concerning the khrams and khram-tshan's sufficient has already been said (supra, pp. 91-2, 184; see also p. 365).

(c) Survey

46. Ch., no number (paper, fol. No. 2 in vol. lxxxii, c. 16 × 16 cm.; torn away at top, bottom, and r.; ll. 10 of cursive dbu-can script).


... eight chuł, fathoms forty-[one]... six: fields twenty-one... fathoms twenty-eight. On the west...

1 ŋi... bu here crossed out.  
2 gšon... sľaṅ here crossed out.  
3 bṛγa... bṛγa here crossed out.  
4 ḫdom... ḫdom here crossed out.
north forty-eight. This small terrace (slaṅ-bu) ... south [to] north, fathoms eight. North of the ravine ... west, fathoms twelve. On the west thereof [small terraces] ... seven. On the west thereof small terraces three: east ... On the west thereof small terrace one: south [to] north, fathoms twenty ... south to north fathoms four ..."

The expression chul is of unknown meaning; on slaṅ-bu see supra, p. 352. The document evidently describes a piece of land, belonging, doubtless, to a religious community.

47. Ch. 79, xiv — (paper, vol. liii, fol. 37, similar to the next following, c. 26-5 × 27-5-8 cm., with large defect at r. top; discoloured and dirty; ll. 1-10 + 13-16 of good cursive dbu-can script, separated by a space partly occupied by ll. 11-12 in a different, smaller hand, partly obscure; red-ink opening of l. 5 faded. Also two fragments of irregular shape, (a) c. 7 × 6 cm.; (b) c. 5-5 × 9 cm.)

[1] ... nub ... [2] kyi, mtsama, tho, p[h]yag ... [3] la[m], ched, poḥi, gram, na, tho ... [4] Thu, ni, bon, tsan, gyi, zīñ, mtsams ... [5] ... 1aug, zīñ ... [6] 8 mtsams, ni || Bor, gan, gyi, zīñ, daṅ, gūis, gyi, mtsams, tho, p[h]yag, rgya, can, mchis, pa, nas, lho [7] phyogsu, draṅ, ste || Thu, kur, zīn, gyi, che[h]u, la, thug || de, nas, nub, phyogsu, draṅs, the || Tho, gon, Seṅ, de, bon || [8] brgya, tsan, gyi, 1aug, zīñ, daṅ, gūis, gyi, mtsams, tho, pyag, rgya, can, la, thug || de, nas, byaṅ, pyogs, [9] su, draṅs, te, mya, nam, la, thug || de, na[s, šar], pyogsu, draṅs, the || Bor, gan, daṅ, gūis, gyi, mtsams, tho, pyag, rgya, can, la, slar, thug ||


1 Heading in red ink effaced.
2 zīñ [sic].

Fragments:—


"[l. 1] . . . west . . [l. 2] . . . boundary cairn [with] token . . [l. 3] on the border of the high road . boundary . . [l. 4] Thu-ňi’s land with asses . boundary . . [l. 5] . . . juniper land . . [ll. 6-7] boundary: Bor-gan’s land and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. Thence, proceeding in a southern direction, reaches a small piece (che[h]u) of Thu-kur land. [ll. 7-8] Thence, proceeding in a western direction, reaches juniper land of The-gon Seⁿ-de with one hundred asses, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 8-9] Thence, proceeding in a northern direction, reaches a sand desert (mya-nam). [ll. 9-10] Thence proceeding in an eastern direction reaches back to Bor-gan and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 11-2] (small script) Land amount not complete : adding Da-red Žal-yi’s ten crops in Rje-gol Da-red

¹ žiⁿ . gi ? ² rky[a]
Mab(?)-sgan's extensive land of thirty crops and what is in the Councillor's tabs, the amount is complete (?). Crops, poor and so on, four and a half belonging to Khar-go-can..., and four, five...

"[ll. 13-5] Boundaries of crop lands amounting to three, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ho-mod, sixty teams:—On the east reaches crop land of Tho-gon No-ko with one hundred chehi; on the south reaches crop land of a servant of Khar-go-can-Do-spon, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token; on the north reaches poor (phoñ) land of the Khri-tañ Hi-na(ni ?)-go khram account.

"[ll. 16-7] Boundary of poor (phoñ) land, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ho-mod, fifteen teams:—On the exact south reaches crop land of the khram account; on the west and north reaches the sand desert (mya-nam); on the east Tho-gon No-ko, with one hundred che, and... of the two..."

Fragments:

A "... desert and land... and of the two... Khri... cairn with manual..."

B "... Khri-tañ Thu-ñi, with one hundred asses... with a token."

For comments see after the next document.

48. Ch. 79, xiv, 5 (773, paper, vol. lvi, fol. 51, c. 27-5 x 53-5 cm., imperfect at top, esp. l., and bottom: similar to the preceding; discoloured and dirty; ll. 28 of good, cursive dû-can script).

mub. Ston bsoles gyi yur ba la thug || byan. Tho gon.

[9] Sen de bon brya tsan gyi rkya zin la thug ||
   Phoñ zin dor bco lña Khule. Mo ñan na meis pahi |

[10] mtshams ni || sär mya ñam la thug || lho Khule Mo ñan gyi chu myig la thug || mub Khri tañ Thu
   mog la dwen khram tsan gyi ...... Khri tañ Bor go khram tsan gyi phoñ zin la thug ||
   mub Da. myi Boñ tehe khram [13] tsan kyi sug zin la thug || lho Khar go mu sgehí lam pho che la thug ||

[14] bli (?). Khri (?) tañ Bor [Never ko (?) hí tsan bceu (?) 1 rkya zin dan phoñ zin dan sug zin dor

1 Red ink.

"[ll. 1-5] . . . conduit (yur-ba) . . . five . . . west, reaches Khri-taṅ . . . south . . .

"[ll. 6-9] Boundaries of crop-lands amounting to three, not irrigated, teams sixty, in Go-naḥi Khri-ma-bsñuṅs:—Reaches crop land of Khri-taṅ Bor-to with a hundred khū (huts ?), and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. On the south reaches the middle Ḫor-gol (or Ḫor-gol-bar) road. On the west reaches the Ston-bṣos conduit. On the north reaches crop land of Tho-gon [Señ]-de, with one hundred asses.

"[ll. 9-11] Boundaries of poor land in Khu-le Mo-nan, teams fifteen:—On the east reaches the sand desert. On the south reaches the spring of Khu-le Mo-nan. On the west reaches juniper land of the khram account of Khri-taṅ Thu . . . n. On the north reaches the sand desert.

"[ll. 11-3] Boundaries of juniper land, teams twenty . . . in . . .:—On the east . . . of the khram account [of] the retreat at œNam-kan-mog, . . . reaches the poor land of the khram account [of] Khri-taṅ Bor-go. On the west reaches juniper land of the khram account of Da-myī Bon-tshe. On the south reaches the high road of Khar-go-mu-sge.
Seal of Hbreg.

"[ll. 14–17]... account... ten of... Khri-tan Bor-No-ko(?)." Boundaries of crop land and poor land and juniper land, teams seven hundred and thirty, in the region of Khe-to-ḥo-mod and Bro-go and Sa-dar Mo-ḥan in Dgu-ṣul;—From the dry ravine Jir-ber-ḥu-di proceeding by the high road a little way westward, reaches crop land of Tho-gon No-ko, with one hundred [asses], and on the border of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 17–8] Thence proceeding along the crop land of No-ko and the border of the two a little in a northerly direction, reaches a cairn with a manual token, situated below (i.e., west of) a by-road. [ll. 18–20] Thence proceeding by the by-road in a westerly direction, reaches crop land of No-ko, with one hundred... and on the boundary of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 20–1] Thence by the crop land and the boundary of the two proceeding in a southerly direction, reaches on the border of the high road a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 21–3] Thence by the high road proceeding in a westerly direction, and after cutting across the swamp-land (lu-ma) of Sa-dar Mo-ḥan land o Tho-gon Sen-de, with — asses, and proceeding along the boundary of the two on a south-west line, reaches the conduit of Khu-le Mo-ḥan. [ll. 23–4] Thence by the conduit, where, uniting in a northerly direction, the steep (dkaḥ ?) lower valleys (ndo) of San-ḥdo-cin and Khe-to-ḥo-mod join in a head, reaches the sand desert. [ll. 24–5] Thence proceeding by the winding Khe-to-ḥo-mod conduit in a southerly direction, reaches, where two conduits part in valleys, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 25–6] Thence proceeding downwards by the conduit, reaches, in the steep separate valley of the Bye-ṭo-ja-ga conduit, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 26–9] Thence proceeding by the winding Bye-ṭo-ja-ga conduit, and, where beyond (mjuŋ) the conduit is a cairn with a manual token, cutting across the sand desert and proceeding on a south-easterly line, reaches crop land of

1 Red ink.
a servant of Da-red Žal-yi and on... a cairn with a manual token."

To the surveying operations indicated in the above three documents, with their classification of lands into (a) crop land, (b) poor land, and (c) juniper land, and their references to boundary cairns bearing tokens, and with their measurements of tenements, we may add the description of the division of the "lord's land" in Little Nob (pp. 139-140) into partitions byens-kha, with their boundaries (htshams) similarly demarked and with regulation of the water-supply. It may be conjectured that such matters were largely the concern of the yul-mthoṅ or yul-gzigs as "local surveyor".

The last two documents probably relate to lands belonging to the religious establishments of Ša-cu. It is therefore not surprising to find that the nomenclature, both local and personal, differs in type from that which we have found associated with the more westerly regions, Nob, etc. What is highly significant is its similarity to that exhibited in the document edited above, pp. 8 sqq., and the other documents discussed in connection with the Ha-žas. Thus among the place-names we have Ḥor-gol, Khu-le Mo-nan, similar to Ho-khol and Khu-ṅe Mon-gans, possibly indeed identical therewith. Rje-gol and Ḥor-gol are place-names of the same cast, and Sa-dar Mo-nan is similar to Khu-le Mo-nan; San-hdo-cin is in agreement with Sil-gu-cin, etc. (ibid., p. 34). The other place-names, Khe-to-ho-mod in Dyu-ɬul, Bro-go, Ňam-kan-mog, Khar-go-chan, Khar-go-mu-sye, Bye-jo-ja-ga, and stream-names Jir-ber-hu-di, Ston-bûs, although they manifest a certain analogy of type, afford no certain hold. The personal names include one who is called a Tho-gon, which occurred in the document cited and doubtless means a Tu-yu[k] hun (Chinese Tú-hüen, Tüeh-hüen, cited by Professor Pelliot, J.As., xi, vii (1916), p. 122, T'oung-pao, 1920, p. 323); and three persons, Da-red Žal-yi, Da-red M[?]ab-sgan, Da-red Žal-yi, with a prefix occurring in the Da-red Poṅ-yi and Da-red Blon-yi
of the document and probably meaning "of that ilk". *Da-nyi Bon-tshe* will probably mean "a man of that place". The clan-name and name-prefix *Khri-tan* is highly interesting; see infra, pp. 461–2; so also *Thu-kur*. *Dyu-su* (here partly conjectural) recurs in another text. In regard to frequent passage of Tu-yn[k]-hun individuals into Chinese Turkestan see Prof. Pelliot, *J. As. xi, vii*, p. 122, and Dr. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, p. 830.

The two documents enable us, it seems, to supplement the topographical particulars concerning W. Kan-su adduced supra, pp. 5, 34–7. The syllable *khol* in *Ha-khol*, understood as meaning "river-valley", Mongol *gol*, to be associated with some other terms of "Mongol" affinity which Pelliot has traced (*T'oung-pao*, H. xxvi (1929), p. 250) in pre-Mongol Kan-su, seems to recur in *Hor-gol* and *Rje-gol*. The *Hor-gol* can hardly help being the Bulungir river, which in the *Life* of Hiuan-tsang, who crossed it on leaving An-hai | Kva-cu, is mentioned (Beal, *Life*, p. 13, *Records*, i, p. xix) as *Hu-lu*. Accordingly the Rje-gol, in the same region, may be the Ji-ma-gol/khol, where in A.D. 668 the Tibetans built a warmagazine (*dgra-bzer*) and where in 670 they inflicted a defeat on the Chinese (see M. Bacot's *Documents*, pp. 14, 33). Is the Rje river the Ye-ma, which (see the Royal Geographical Society's map in S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*) flows north of the Ye-ma mountains into the Sa-cu district?

In the place-name *San-boo-cin* the element *cin* must be identical with the *cin* which we have found in *Sil-ju-cin* (p. 5), *lm-ka-cin* (p. 17) and *Khar-tee-cin | chin* (pp. 25–8) and have supposed to represent Chinese *chen*, "mart" (Japanese *tën*, *tin*), corresponding to Tibetan *khrom* in *Mkhar-tsan-khrom-chen-po* (p. 95, B2–3). The *can* in *Khar-go-can* may, as in *Ma-ko-can* (p. 29), represent Chinese *ch'eng*, "city," "fort," since a *cang* = *ch'eng* is certain in *Tse-hu-cang* = Chinese *Ts'eu-ch'eng* (p. 250), and the alternation *g* | *k* is frequent in the old Tibetan MSS, from Tun-huang. In
Khar-go-mu-sge the mu-sge should be another administrative term. Mo-han also is likely to have a topographical value.

The clan, or tribe, name Thu-kur may possibly be related to the Mount Thagouros of p. 294 supra.

The precise particulars of boundaries and boundary marks point to a highly developed survey system. Concerning the khram accounts (khram-ishan) see pp. 91-2 sqq., 360. One or two terms—che, and chehi, khu—are of unascertained meaning. "Crop land (rkyu-zin) was mentioned supra, p. 352: "not irrigated" (chu-ma) is defined in S. C. Das' dictionary as "cultivation which requires irrigation". On sjuug, "behind," "beyond" (p. 365, l. 27), see p. 151. The word bon, which has been translated "ass", may conceivably have denoted some local land-measure.

4. TRAVEL AND ANIMALS

(a) Travel

49. M.I. i, 30 (wood, c. 10 × 2.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso, of neat, cursive dbu-cun script).


"Ša-cu envoy . . . load, ass with back saddle . . . one. For three men, reckoning at the rate of two . . . required for one month . . . flour, twenty-two loads, [less] one-half; going as envoys . . . ."

For another despatch to the Ša-cu region (Kva-cu), with orders as to rations en route, see supra, pp. 51-2.

50. M. Tāgh. b. i, 002 (wood, c. 39 × 1 × 1.5 cm., nearly complete; ll. 1 (A), large hand + 1 (B) somewhat smaller + 1 (C), large at l., smaller at r. + (D) 1 at l., large, + 2 at r., smaller, of squarish dbu-cun script).


[B],...[Khrom?] bzer...n ma: [brid?], [rus, ni]: Schu: mye 2, sa 3, mkhan, ni, Brgyal: bzigs, myi, ni, [Na, sle]bs: rus, ni, Hgra: had (har?), rad, mkhan, ni, lán, skyes 4, myin, ni, Mad, don, rtsa, rus, ni, Hbre 6, mkhan, ni: [above had, rad, mkhan] gran: dar: [dod]


[Above line] Ṭ: | khy[i], b[i], l[o], la | Bzāñ, [Ho]t: gyi: sde: Dbyen, Legs, [kheñ 6], Ṣīn, san, [la], man, du, stsal: pa: ḫi: tahe: gsañ, rnan (daň, rman ?), dgor, daň, rtshe (??), dgor 7

[A] Barley, loads seventy-five; and silk, rolls one thousand; silver, ounces nine hundred; gold, ounces six hundred; oil...

[C] ... and ... and medicinal flowers (?) and felt. As regards arrangement of work: being sent to the chief, as hog-dpon, copper letters were sent; Rlañ Khýi-tsa, among the accountants of the Interior Minister at the residence of Sta-gu-gans...

[B] ... [Khrom?] bzer ... ma-brid ... Race, ...; name Schu (?) ; guide, Brgyal-bzigs; man (or read: myin
"name" 1) Na-slebs; race, Hgra-har. Caravan-leader Lan-skyes; name Mad Don-rtse; race, Hbre; master...

[D] ... sum; gian ... Do-mnen, Sregs Rhu-lu-staän; banner-bearer (dar ?), Legs-la-hpham; quartermaster (tha-bzi ?) ...; bedding-man, Pho-rma; guide, Rma-lod, Län Lnaig-hnaq ... .

Dog year: on the occasion of Dbyen Legs-kho'n (?) of the Bzaän-Hor regiment, sending in quantity to Sin-san, secret private property and ... property ..."

The account of the large caravan, conveying barley, silk, silver, gold, oil, flowers, felt, etc., is unfortunately in part imperfect or illegible: the order of the sides A, C, B, D is, however, evident. The caravan officials include a leader (rad-mkhan), a banner-bearer (dar), a quartermaster (tha-bzi, recurs in M.T. a. iii, 008), a bedding-man (mal-hpham), a guide (sa-rig and sa-mkhan), and others. The gran-mkhan (=gran-mkhan "accountant" ?) may not have been of the company. On hog-ldpon and mun-rje-po see supra. Schu, Hgra-had (?), and Hbre seem to be unknown. On Sta-gu yans, Sin-san, and the "Good Hor" regiment see supra. The district Sreg(s) is mentioned in p. 306: 54 and in a Bkak-hgyur colophon (Beckh, p. 84).

51. M. Tägh. a. iv, 0065 (wood, c. 18.5 x 1.5-2 cm., complete, a rather rough piece, with a knot hole, not planed; hole for string at l. and r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Missive arrived on the eighth of the male (pho) intercalary month, a fine day. On arriving at Stag-ri Khra-bo have immediately escorted it."

On lphar-ma, "missive" see supra (p. 148). Bsgyalld seems to be intended for bakyald (p. 202). The sense of pho "male" is obscure (error for øo ?).
52. M. Tāgh. c. iii. 0012 (wood, c. 9-5 × 2-5 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

"Baleman's provisions arrived (lon = lon?)." How the "baleman" (pp. 51, 149, 209) or "bale-attendant" (ltan-rogs) differed from the sqyechu-ga "bagman" (pp. 125, 136) is not apparent; perhaps the ltaṅ-roggs was only a porter.

53. M. Tāgh. 0177 (wood, c. 12 × 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; 4 lines of notches recto; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint and abraded).

"In Hjag-ma-gu: mountain-sickness provisions received by baleman."

On "mountain-sickness provisions" see pp. 216, 234; on Hjag-ma-gu, ibid., p. 237.

54. M. Tāgh. b. i. 0055 (wood, c. 17 × 1 cm.; lower part cut away (before inscribing?); ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

"A party of eighteen, mother, father, children, master and servants, have arrived sick; if they die therefrom, they beg [people] to keep away (?) (or people are respectfully gus-la) requested to keep away from them.)"

What request is expressed in dgol, for which bgos is a possibly alternative reading, is not certain. The form dgol should come from hgos, "separate", "stray", and is given in S. C. Das' dictionary with the meaning "disperse", or keep away; bgos might be connected with hgos, "infect", or hgos, "anoint".

55. M. Tāgh. 0582 (wood, c. 10-5 × 2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, faint).
"Petition of Im-kag, the swift-foot (courier)."

Rkañ-mgongs is given in the dictionaries. The more or less synonymous ban-chen (pp. 57, 136), rin- thugs (p. 16, etc.), rnis-pa (p. 53) and bdul-ba, "runner" (p. 429 n.), have already been noted.

56. M. Tāgh. a. ii. 0043 (wood; c. 20-20·5 × 75 × 75 cm., cut away on one side; some incised lines and notches on one side; ll. 1 + 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Mountain convoy tally of... from... to be delivered at Stag-ḥdns. A small tally has also been consigned to the corporal (station-commander) of (at ?) Stag-ḥdns."

On Stag-ḥdns (pp. 215, 229) and tshugs-[d]pon (p. 172) see supra.

57. Khad. 032 (wood; c. 16 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: 1. 1 of squarish dbu-can script).

|| r[i] | skye[ ] | pha: tsa: | rthi:n: non | [tshu][ | chad | beu: bdun: tsa: mchis: ||

"Mountain convoy parcels: down to (sc. including) the rearguard (or supplementary) as many as seven are come."

On ri-skypel (p. 202), pha-tsa (pp. 379, 438) and rthi-non (p. 424) see Index. It is possible that each man carried one pha-tsa.

(b) Animals

58. M.I. iii. 5 (paper, fol. No. 15 in vol., c. 32·5 × 4 cm., text complete; ll. 4 of cursive dbu-can script, small and in part rubbed and faint).


1 f. below line.

*Verso:* Klu . ḫbrug . [b]rtsan . gi . gelo *

"To Uncle . . . ; letter petition of Klu ḫbrug-brtsan. I am writing to send my prayers for your lordship's perpetual happiness. For having given attention and granted also an ass I gladly after seeing you personally beg to send thanks. The ass indeed acted as if he had orders to kill me (?) and, as he had no lucky appearance (!), I sent him on the fourteenth of the middle autumn month to Tiger Stön-ṛtsan. Thanking you generally again for the personal interview, I am paying the hire, etc., there. In the meanwhile please always send me your ideas."

"Petition of Klu ḫbrug-brtsan."

The sense of the expressions luñ (also = "strap")-ba-chan (= can ?)-du-bgyis-nas and skal-rmigs is not clear; possibly the latter means "lucky hoof" (bskal-rmig) and not "lucky fancy, appearance" (bskal-dnings); cf. p. 273.5, skal-rmig. The curtness of the last sentence seems nonchalant.

59. M.I. viii. 92 (wood, c. 16 × 1-5-2 em., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"For one empty (ston; unloaded) ass, pregnant, four srañ; for one male ass, three srañ; for one dgyeñu-thor

1 d crossed out. 2 = gos. 3 stsal . to ? 4 = khal.
two _sraḥ_ ; wages, beginning from the present day, at the rate of one _bre per diem_, sent to be levied from the smoke tax. Ox and ass going to Rgyan-rtse, empty, payment equal to the above. Wages, half a load."

_Dgyehu-thor _= _sgegμu_" "bag twist" or " _tho-re-cig_" "a few small bags"? _Dud-krul_ is perhaps = "house-tax"; cf. _dud-grans_, "number of smokes (= chimneys)". Possibly the intention is to levy the contribution from the houses _en route_. Rgyan-rtse seems to be a place-name not elsewhere mentioned.

60. M.I. iv, 40 (wood, c. 21 × 2 cm., practically complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 1 verso of cursive _dbu-can_ script, mostly faint).

[Annotations]


"Asses with ox substitute in rear (rgyab), three, to be sent quickly as convoy, some men from the city boundary (mkharris) having proved recalcitrant,—this is what I am sending greetings for. As I am going in company with very expensive (?) people, please send orders for some slight commissions to _reach me_? in good time."

_G-yon-skor-ba_ (also in M.I. lviii, 005, and p. 304) "turn left" has the sense of "avoid", here "desert"; cf. _g-yon-len_, supra, p. 358. In ll. A. 3–4 some readings are obscure, e.g. _gron_ (gyon "dress") and _rños_ (rdos ?). Perhaps the _sug-rjed-nan-pa-dag_, "poor hand-notes", are money-orders; but the phrase might mean "minor [holders of] commissions (= officials)", on which sense of _sug-rjed_, see _infra_, p. 428. _Ran_ may mean "in good time."

1 bu below line. 2 is crossed out. 3 _dgyan?_ dag. _dant_
61. M. Tāgh. a, iv, 0018 (wood, c. 16·5 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script). 

[A 1] ... .cmb̄z̄r̄.gyi̇s̄ | Khwēn̄.c̄n̄.la | [A 2] 
spri̇n̄o | [B 1] ... ō | thens̄.stē | gum̄.lā.thuḡ.pā 
Gū.mō | [nah̄] ̄l̄dī.t̄ | r̄.n̄ā.mō | [B 2] ... r̄.j̄.d̄.byān̄.z̄, 
zū.bā | r̄.n̄ā.mō | sgul̄.z̄ | lā | n̄.os̄.stē | gn̄is̄.

"By ... UMB̄z̄ sent to Khwēn̄-cūn̄. Camel, being lamed, ended by dying. In Gu-[mo] this (?) female camel ... memorandum obtained. Camel for a move received; two."

On [Ho-tōn̄] Gyu-mō, see pp. 212 sqq.

62. M. Tāgh. c, ii, 0047 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of rather neat, cursive dbu-can script, rather faint). 

[A 1] ☞ | cib̄s̄.rtā.rlāns̄.nā.mch̄ī.bāh̄.r̄.nō.yan̄.myī.thōḡ ... [A 2] cab̄.bzan̄.pō.dan̄.s̄byar̄l̄.t̄jē. 
b̄.zaḡ.pā.las̄.dī. ... [B 1] b̄.sos̄ ... nā.glō.rgyas̄.nin̄.kr̄.raḡ.rlā.gis̄.gan̄.zin̄ ... [B 2] byḡis̄.stē.sō.Sl̄ūns̄.lā.b̄.thnā.zī.n̄ ... 

"The riding-horse having fallen (?) and being unable to go ... left, supplying a lot of water ... when he has been treated ... these, his lungs expanded and his heart made full of moist blood ... he is to be delivered to the soldier Slūns̄ ..."

Rlāns̄ seems to be an error for lhun̄(s); b̄.sos̄ (or b̄.sos̄) may be for b̄.sos̄ "fed" or "cured". On Slūns̄-la-bhnā see pp. 423, 446.

For another case of a riding horse (mek̄ibs̄, with attendant rmān̄-rogs) see p. 258.

63. M.I. xxi, 1 A (paper, fol. No. 62 in vol., similar to xxi, 2, c. 27 × 8 cm., imperfect at r.; ll. 7 of scrawled, cursive dbu-can script). 

rgyun , bal , pho , re , gaṅ | thud , lu , gu , grod | bu , geig , ha * | myu ... [4] ḡdir , dblaṅs , zin (sic) | [Maṅ , zigs , las , ḡbru , kugs , kyaṅ , zer , ma , ku[g , ky]an , zer , na , lug , cīg , žes , ḡam * | pa , ḡdi , ma , thos * [5] zer , ba , yaṅ , ldeḥi , lan , la , m[a]rdzos | deḥi , res , la , ra , lug , ḡdi , rnams , rgyab , be * | tu , myi , run | slad , na , ḡbru * | [lu] ... [6] pa , rnams , rtṣas , te , bṣag , ḡdir , phyin , log , tu , blaṅ | žib , tu , ni , Dpal , bzer , chuṅ , las , sprin , ḡdeḥi , res , thogs ... [7] na , ma , p(h)jan ||

"Sent to Btsan-sum. Having heard that at present [you] are free from ... I am very glad. On this occasion are to be (have been ?) received promptly (myur-du) here for Dpal-bzer Rbeg-chuṅ sheep six, goats five, on back of (or after, rgyab) one ... sheep, bags eleven, felt-material (phyin-rgyu) wool a full pho-re, coagulated milk (thud) one small lamb-paunch (grod). Although said to have got grain from Maṅ-zigs, [I] am saying [I] have not got it; as to 'one sheep' it is said 'I have not heard of this ...; to that no reply should be sent. On this occasion (or In reply thereto, deḥi-res-la) it is not right to ... back these goats and sheep; later, after reckoning grain and sheep, they were delivered (bṣag). Here it is taken as error (phyin-log-ta-blaṅ). Delay in replying to that definite communication from Dpal-bzer [Rbeg-]chuṅ is not good."

On preservation of coagulated milk in a sheep's paunch see Ś. C. Das' dictionary, s.v. grod.

64. M.I. viii, 3 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script blurred).


1  bker.  2  gri ?  3  For la.  4  Below line.
par | bsgo . žin | rdzin . pa [B 2] la . yañ . g-yon . bskor || bar . žig . nas | bañ . phrugs . dañ | phyug . zan |

"... having been arranged, setting a dog-house (khyi-gtson = khyi-tshan ?), put the bundle outside. Bed-door (khri-[c]go ?) and bed-head are to be made with great care (t tshogs-cher). Carnivora of the different kinds (rnam) not being allowed to drink water in the ponds and the herdsmen being ordered to join, there should also be avoidance (g-yon-bskor) of the people at the ponds. After an interval the young racers (bañ-phrugs ? ?) and the carnivora ..."

The passage relates apparently to preparations for hunting wild animals with young hounds.

On g-yon-bskor, "turn left", etc. "avoid", see p. 358; on the dog as an object of fancy see ap. Stein, Innermost Asia, p. 1087.

The passages relating to travel cover the cases of official messages, private journeyings, the large organized caravan, details of payments and hiring of animals and service in connection with convoy or escort, the courier and runner, the baleman or load-porter, accidents and sickness en route, arrangements in regard to provisions, forwarding of correspondence. The general term for travel is rad (pp. 51.2 = skrad ?), whence rad-nkhan (p. 371), "caravan-leader", ral-gos, "travelling-clothes", rad-po, "traveller" or "caravan". In addition to the phrases (sa-nkhan, "guide", ri-skyl, etc.) noted above we may mention lam-hthal (supra, p. 21.4, and Two Medieval Documents, p. 124, l. 3, lam-gsol, also in M. Tägh. a, i, 0021, c. i, 0062), the real meaning of which seems to be "to take leave". We have found also sa-rig, "guide" (iho-mkhan, p. 51.2), [m]hub[k]-bzi (p. 371), "four ends", "quartermaster", mal-bphan (?), "bed-man", as well as the lañ-sogs, "porter", sgyed-yu, "baleman", rkar-mgongs, bañ-chen, hdrug-ba, "courier" previously recorded.

The animals named are ass, camel, horse, sheep, goat, dog:

1 Corrected from zan.
the camel appears far less frequently than in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, perhaps because he is not liked by the Tibetans, who substitute the yak. On the sheep as a transport animal see p. 30, 329: on rita-rogs, rmaṅ-rogs, “horse-attendant,” see supra.

5. Objects and Presents

65. Ch. 73, xiii, 8 (paper, No. 523, fol. No. 53 in vol. xv, c. 26.5 × 6.5 cm.).

[1] || Me. dza ne hi lag na dra bah gnis drgyal pa che cuṅ ben Hel ke ... [2] dra na bal ki pha tsa geig ra bal pha tsa geig khe te re geig thag pa bži || me ... [3] char [symbol] || o || || || || || ||

"In (On !) the hand of Me-dza-ne nets (dra-ba, handcuffs; cf. dra-ma, p. 404), two; sacks (rkyal-pa), great and small, ten..., Hel-ke..., parcel (pha-tea) of camel-hair, one; parcel of goat hair, one; each of one khe-te; ropes, four..."

The spellings drgyal (= rkyal) and dra (rña) are unexampled; but cf. dtshus, etc., supra, p. 377.4, dpʰrogs, p. 45.5. The sense of khe-te (probably a measure) is unknown.

66. M. Tagh. a, iv, 0056 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, blurred and somewhat faint).


Men-tri ("dri, "ḥdri) is frequently mentioned, e.g. p. 190, and Vol. I, pp. 69, 111.

67. M.I. xv, 0010 (wood, c. 7 × 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

♣ || Buṅ lod la gdan geig "To Buṅ-lod, one carpet,"

Similar despatch of gdan in xiv, 47 and 137.

68. M.I. xxiii, 001 (wood, c. 8 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of neat, cursive dbu-can script).
“Po-gsien: divân”.

69. M. Tâgh. n. iv, 0025 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of squarish dbu-can script).

[1]  |
Lha . goûn . gîyi . sin . sug . ma [2] michil[∫] |
“Lha-goûn’s wood [not] come to hand”.

70. M.I. i, 54 (wood, c. 17.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1]  |
Rkyañ . lvo (wo ?) . gñañ . ba . cau . lna | rkañ phugi * . ko . ba . gcig | [B] rkañ . lvo (wo ?) . gñañ . ba . ma . michis . pa . dgu |
“Pitchers (rkañ) with pouring-neck, five; pitcher-cavity leather, one. Pitchers without pouring-neck, nine.”

71. M.I. xiv, 31 (wood, c. 6.5 × 2-2.5 cm., cut away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

cau |
This is perhaps for chaû “barley beer”.

72. M. Tâgh. 0507 (paper, fragmentary at left, c. 13 × 6 cm.; ll. 4 of rather clumsy dbu-can script).

[1]  |
Legs . tshañ . gîyi . michid | gsoł . ba | jo . bo . l[ha] . dpal . [2]  |
“Letter-petition of Legs-tshan. I am submitting an inquiry as to my lord the chief’s [health]. In detail [I shall] submit from the city.

[3]  |
I am sending some five ribbons (leb), large and small, for Tshes-lod. I pray soon to see your auspicious countenance on entire happiness.

Verse: “Letter-petition of Legs-tshan: to the presence of my lord the Tiger (Stag) Rgyal-bzer.”

* na crossed out.  
* phrugi ?  
* Crossed out.
Tshes-lod is probably the wife of Stag Rgyal-bzer.

73. M.I. xxviii, 3 (wood, c. 17 × 2.5 cm., somewhat broken away at r.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 \textit{recto} + 3 \textit{verso} of cursive \textit{dbu-can} script, in part faint).

\[ \text{[A 1]} | : | \text{sku} \cdot \text{bla} \cdot \text{spyan} \cdot \text{dbyel} \cdot \text{ba} \cdot \text{rkyen} \cdot \text{so} \cdot \text{lor} \cdot \text{bab} \cdot \text{ste} \cdot \text{shyor} \cdot \text{ba} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{blon} \cdot \text{Khri} \cdot \text{rma} \ldots \]
\[ \text{[A 2]} \ldots \text{la} \cdot \text{ka} \cdot \text{sa} \cdot \text{rin} \cdot \text{nas} \cdot \text{bre} \cdot \text{bzi} \cdot \text{blon} \cdot \text{Mtsho} \cdot \text{bze}^1 \cdot \text{mm} \cdot \text{tig} \cdot \text{hbru} \cdot \text{bre}^2 \cdot \text{gehig} \cdot \text{[bl]} \ldots \]
\[ \text{[A 3]} \text{Stag} \cdot \text{bza} \cdot \text{sman} \cdot \text{sna} \cdot \text{tshogs} \cdot \text{zans} \cdot \text{ltags}^3 \cdot \text{Mdo} \cdot \text{bze}^1 \cdot \text{da} \cdot \text{du} \ldots \]
\[ \text{[B 1]} \text{chig} \cdot \text{Rgyal} \cdot \text{zigs} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{byu} \cdot \text{ru} \cdot \text{gehig} \cdot \text{Lha} \cdot \text{bze}^1 \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{g} \cdot \text{yu} \cdot \text{sar}^4 \cdot \text{ehig}^3 \ldots \]
\[ \text{[B 2]} \text{[Mgar]} \cdot \text{[G]} \cdot \text{bu} \cdot \text{sto} \cdot \text{la} \cdot \text{gs}[r] \cdot \text{[gyi]} \cdot \text{da} \cdot \text{kh[an]}^8 \cdot \text{mehia} \cdot \text{pahan} \cdot \text{blan} \ldots \]
\[ \text{[B 3]} \text{Htshug} \cdot \text{sna} \cdot \text{(stan} ? \ldots \text{la} \cdot \text{dar} \ldots \]

"Sum of" grandees-eye-opening\(^\star\) property (\textit{rkyen}) delivered severally: To councillor Khri-rma, from price of a ring (ka-\textit{sa}), barley four \textit{bre}; councillor Mtsho-bzer seed pearl, one \textit{bre}; coun[el]lors\(\text{[illor]}\) Stag-bza\(\text{[n]}\) various medicines, copper —; Mdo(for Mtsho \textit{t}?)-bzer furthermore one ... to Rgyal-zigs (the King's Eye) one coral (byu-\textit{ru}); to Lha-bzer one turquoise ... to Mgar G — bu-sto, though a \textit{dan-khan} (?) of gold has gone, not (?) received; to Htshug-sna\(\text{(n)}\) (\textit{stan} ?) silk (\textit{dar}) ..."

Of the doubtful terms in the above, \textit{zans-ltags} perhaps means a "copper-container", \textit{sar-ehig} (\textit{so-r-tshob} ?) should possibly be read \textit{so-\textit{gdub}} "finger-ring", and \textit{dan-khan} might be a \textit{tanka}.

An "eye-opening" gift would have the object of securing general attention or regard; \cf\ \textit{spyan-gzigs} "offering" or "present".

On \textit{sku-bla} = "grandee", "magnate", \see\ \textit{supra}, pp. 346, 354, and Index.

74. M. Tägh. 5, i, 0096 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 28 × 9 cm., nearly complete, discoloured; ll. 6 \textit{recto} + 1 \textit{verso} of cursive \textit{dbu-can} script).

\(1 \text{— bzer.} \quad 2 \text{— hbru, \textit{bc} ?} \quad 3 \text{— \textit{ltags} ?} \quad 4 \text{— sar} ? \quad 5 \text{— tshob(y) ?} \quad 6 \text{— kh[an] ?} \quad 7 \text{— \textit{stan} ?} \quad 8 \text{— \textit{kh[an]} ?} \)
I rejoice to have heard, upon inquiry of the soldiers, previously and later, that you are free from illnesses and happy. For your further freedom from illnesses I have prayed. [A 3-4]
The former and later letters sent and the paper and the flintstone apparatus (me-ṛdo-bsar-ba) have come: grateful thanks. [A 5-6] From the city post-missives have come. The Thousand-district(-governor) has no later illness; of the former ones you have heard previously—enough on that head. [B] Dpal-ḥdas. Sent to Legs-tsan."

On paper as a present see p. 383. Me-ṛdo-bsar-ba "firestone fitting" will denote the flint and steel purses characteristic of Central Asia and Tibet and represented in the museums. On ston-sde "Thousand-district[-governor]", see supra, pp. 315-16.

75. M. Tāgh, a. iii. 0064 (paper, fol. No. 13 in vol., c. 27-5 × 3-5 cm., complete; ll. 3 of clear dbu-can script).

[1] | | jo. cho. blon. Lig. bzaṅ. gi. ža. śnar |
"[1-2] To the presence of my lord Councillor Lis-bzan, letter-petition of Legs-tshan. In this letter I am making inquiry as to health, whether your Lordship has recovered your health or not. As a present I have sent for Glin-bzer some five rolls of paper; please accept them."

1. 2. bzer: This may be an error for the more usual bzes, "health recovered." Skyes-kyi-mtshan-ma: For the phrase see also infra: skyes = "present" occurred pp. 259, 339.

ll. 2-3. sog-sog-gug: Cf. pp. 67, 82 n. Glin-bzer: This is perhaps a son of the addressee.

76. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00160 (paper, fol. No. 26 in vol., c. 23.5 x 6.5 cm., discoloured; ll. 6 recto + 5 (very obscure) verso of squarish dbu-can script).


"... petition of Lha-la-rton. Having inquired of the soldier runner, I find that you are in good health. As a present, I am sending paper. To Stag-bzer Khlu-la-gzi(g)s I am sending a poor fire-stone; has it come up to date (tshes ?)? (I) being at present [ill], that these nurses, a good children’s nurse is dying to-day, should not have sent a good fire-stone is not ...; so I beg you to be serene (undisturbed, gdugs-pa) in mind. Afterwards, if I fall in with any ... suitable for a present, I will send by a reliable runner."

*gsph-yi*  
*For gziqs*  
*m here crossed out.  
*zh*  
*La here crossed out.*  
*ph here crossed out.

77. M. Tāgh. u, i. 0011 (wood, e. 23 × 1.5 cm., lower part cut away; ll. 2 (evidence of a third) recto + 2 (one partly cut away) verso of ordinary cursive dbu-can script, and an addition in a different hand below l. 2).

[1] [Image] | Dgyes-sde-po, Cun-bzan-dan, Stag-rtsan, la Skyos-legs-gyi, mchid-gsol-ba, bdagis-drul. [2] ba las, rmas, na, thugs, myi, bde, zes, thoste, rab, du, myi, dga\lh, zi\n, mehis, bdagi, Li, brgyags, len | [B 1] [Image] ... slar, la[g-u] ... rgyagsu, [s]khar, zig | de, bi, slad, na, nasu, myi, thob, na, myi, sman, [pas | legs] [B 2] par, zal, ta, mdzade, gta\n, par, gsol, rgyags, snod, ni, Li\h,pha, tsa, g\zhag, pa, lags, pas, [B 3] der, [ma-]ltad, [Image] *cig |

"To Cun-bzan and Stag-rtsan of the Dgyes[s] regiment: letter-petition of Skyos-legs. (After regrets concerning illness) [to] get my Khotan provisions ... [B 1] In return send ... provisions. Hereafter, as it is not good, if I do not get barley, I beg you kindly to lend your assistance (zal-ta-mdzad) and send. As regards a container for the provisions, a Khotan bag (Li\h-ph\a-tsa) is to be left; pray send in that."

The phrase Li-brgyags "Khotan provisions", noted supra, p. 192 (also in M.T. 068), may denote the "long Hu cakes" several times mentioned in the Chinese documents from Mazār-Tāgh (Chavannes, Documents Chinois, pp. 210, 214). The "Khotan bag" also recurs. Zal-ta "service" is found p. 245,8, and also infra, pp. 391: 87, 394.B.

78. M. Tāgh. 0516 (paper, e. 28 × 9 cm., complete except for holes; ll. 7 of cursive dbu-can script, in places rubbed).

[1] [Image] | zu\n, lon, lha, dan, hdra, bal, || ba\n, cen, dan, hdrul, ba, [la], rmasna, thugs, bde, a\nhun, gyis |

"Having heard, upon inquiry of the courier and runner that the godlike Uncle-Councillor is happy and in health untroubled, I am very glad. As I have previously sometimes proffered inquiry as to your health, your commands may or may not have issued. Being altogether without a vessel for taking meals, I am having disturbed meditations (dgog-zug-pa). The Uncle-Councillor, Lha-shyan, the copperman—of these three meditations, could you, if under your orders (bkah-log-na) there is a coppersmith, trouble about thugs-pags-cir-gzigs) a basin, with a foot, one holding about half a bre of corn, a pretty one! When you have given a glance at it (spyan-ras-bsas-te), please send it in a... impressed with a seal. I am praying for an early meeting face to face and for the perpetual (read: stag-te-bde-bar) happiness of the eminent father and son."

Bzerd seems to come from gzor-ba "suffer". Bkah-bkah-bam-myi-hbañ, a common phrase, = "perhaps you may reply or have replied." On thugs-pags-cir-gzigs (ndzad) see supra (pp. 58, 227.9) and on spyan-ras-bsas, pp. 221, 246, etc.; on stán-shyan, ibid., p. 189; hu-sna-ba is obscure in reading and in sense (= "quickly.") !: it might conceivably be connected with hu-log, "pressed service".
79. M.I. xxxii, 2 (wood, c. 22 × 2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, verso much rubbed and faint).

[A I] tshal. brgyags | zla. ba. geig. la | dkar. [bre].


tshal. ma. brtai. na. dkar. khal. geig. dan. bre. [beu].

[B 1] [bdun ?] nag. bre. bro. brgyad | de. hu. nan 1. gi.


bre. dgu[hö ?]. gnag. [bre]e. gsum | lug. rin. [gro]. khal. [l]

[bre ?] | gsu[m ?] | h[bras. ln 2. rg[u]. [bre]. g[se ?]

[B 3 a different hand] | ban 4. chán. be 5. la |

[Between B 1 (mag-bre) and B 2 (bre-dgu)] [sus 8. sgynu ! ?]

"Food provisions for one month: white, six bre; black, four bre. Reckoning rations for five and a half months, [we have] white, one load (khal) and [seventeen ?] bre; black, eighteen bre; minor small provisions, [two bre]. On occasion of entertaining the grandees, (white), nine bre; black, three bre. Price of sheep, [wheat, one load (khal)], three [bre].

Fruit (?), lamb (?), [three bre] . . .

"To courier (ban-chon) (!) Be."

On "white" and "black" see supra, pp. 325-6. The phrase "entertaining the grandees" has occurred above, p. 16; cf. p. 415.3. Is de-bu-nan = debu, "small," + nan !

80. M. Tágh. a, vi, 0018 (wood, c. 14-5-15 × 2-5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of squarish dbu-can script).

mchid. yi. gy. las | [A 2] . . . bkaḥ. stsal. par. chi. gnañ ||

bgyis. te. lags. shin. mchis. nañ. | hirl. brtan [B 2].

[s]kur. bar. 'ntal. šin. mchis. | de. las. žal. mjald. gyi. |

petition. Meanwhile I am favoured by your having sent your command in a letter [inquiring after] my happiness. The Home Minister’s rug which I have had made being done, I am proposing to send [by] a reliable runner. For the rest, until we meet face to face, I am I desire respectfully to offer in writing my prayers for your exalted religious authority.”

Snam-mdah = “a felt rug” (Kharosthi namata; see Stein, Ancient Khotan, p. 367); cf. snam, “a woollen blanket”.

81. M.I. ix, 4 (wood, e. 13 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

[B] bkar. pañi. gzi [[[[|

“Year; price of radishes (la-phug) for entertaining the grandees, sta-dkah (perhaps = star-ka, Sk. tinduka, Diospyros Embryopteris [fruit]), wages, and so forth.”

“Land to be taxed (for the purpose?).”

On sku-bla-gsol-ba, see supra, p. 386.

Little significance attaches to the articles of value, rings, turquoise, ruby, coral, etc., mentioned in the above, since they are such as would occur everywhere. Characteristic of Chinese Turkestan are the frequently mentioned rolls (yuq) of silk (men-tri (p. 379)) (lo-gro “satin”, p. 258?), with which we may associate the ribbons (leb) and the carpets (gdan), including the once-mentioned snam-mdah, or felt rug, which is the Kharosthi namata and the modern namudah; also the fruit, including apricots and dried grapes (kham-ryn, M.I. iv, 110, p. 393.91, xiv, 58a). The gifts of paper are significant of its increasing employment; and the flint and steel fitting.

1 s below line.
2 as below line.
3 stru.
4 wo-ro-bur.
remained until modern times a common object in Chinese Turkestan. The several references to copper and the one mention of the coppersmith (supra, p. 385) remind us of the copper-mining in the Kuen-lun valleys. Cotton, wool (bol), hair (skra), and ropes (of hair or wool, no doubt, pp. 415-6) occur, though more rarely than might be expected; raw oil (rgya-mar) and the same refined for lamps (rgya-mar) are more frequent. In transactions of all kinds the cereals play the greatest part. Wood (sin) is mentioned as material (sgyu) supplied for arrows (mdad-sin) and also for wooden tablets (khram-sin); a bundle of firewood is probably sin-ris.

Very limited possessions on the part of poor persons are indicated by such an agreement as is given above, pp. 45-6, where four cups, three baskets, and some woven cotton are borrowed and among the forfeits due to default are included barley, copper utensils, cotton, and the key and iron of the door-bolt.

The reference to overcoats (stod-gos) and winter things (dgun-chu) recalls the experience of the Forsyth mission, that European winter clothes are not suitable for the climate of Chinese Turkestan. Rad-gos, or "travelling clothes", seem to have been regarded as of the last necessity (supra, pp. 205, 252). The only other particularizations (except the military puttees, rka-s-bkris, pp. 9.26, 425) are of the cloak (slog-pa, pp. 132, 468), waistcoat (stod-khor), wrap or blanket (la-bu, M.T. a. iv, 00159), and the shoe (lham, M.T. b. ii, 0066).

The utensils named are the cup (pho-ga or rnts-byu), bowl or basin (bced-po), pitcher (rkyan), basket (deb-tse), bag (pha-tsa), sometimes a "Khotan bag" (Lihi-pha-tsa), ladle or spoon (skyoga), wine (or water)-skin (thul), sack (rkyal), net (dra-ba), pipkin (tsa-gu), couch or chair (khr). Snaêl denotes any "container". The general word for furniture or other objects is byad (p. 272. B3), from which comes yo-byad "appurtenance", "furniture" (p. 76 n.).

In respect of food we can cite, in addition to the flour (of wheat, barley etc.), and the "Khotan cakes" noted above,
only casual references to clotted cream (*thud*, preserved in a sheep's stomach), fruit (including the *tinduk* fruit), radishes and mustard; perhaps also barley beer (*chah*).

6. BURIAL, MOURNING AND OTHER CEREMONIAL

82. M.I., xix, 002 (wood, c. 9 \times 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1]... [n 1], nín ji lhчи gthōl ma mchis pas slar [A 2]... dag [dgra 1], dbān Nob che chuṅ nas sto 1 pon gyi[s 1] [A 3]... ste ston [lhī t] sla lhbrin po tshes ōj [šu] [B 1]... g dbān Nob che chuṅ gi [rts]e rgod [dañ] mkhar [B 2]... [s 1] rtse rje la [hañ] sprin na de las ston sla [B 3]... [gta 1]b par gsol 1 [1bī t 1]

"Those who died ... day not having been buried, back and the Thousand-governors from Great and Little Nob having, on the twenty ... day of the middle autumn month sent tidings to the chief of police of Great and Little Nob and to the chief in command of the ... town. Accordingly (or Thence) requested to ... autumn month ..."

The document relates perhaps to men killed in fight. On *rtse-rgod*, "chief wild man (*caṇḍāla*)", see pp. 153, 349: with *mkhar* we should perhaps supply, in the gap, bēi (bhīti) "the four towns", or *gsun* "the three towns". In the passage quoted p. 452 also *gthol* may mean "burying".

83. M.I., vii, 3 (wood, c. 14-5 \times 2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, rather faint and dirt-encrusted).

[1] s| | dro (dre !) tshos phan cad btol gyi myi ld[u]s gi leam skyo la [2] [thu]g 2 pa tshun chad chus pa dpon g-yog gis lhden pahi |

"Brought (drunk ?) by the water-drawers (?), master and servants, from when the heat (disease ?) ripened until the wives of all the men buried commenced their mourning."

1 For *slon*. 2 sīng 1 : sīng 1
If *hdas* could be read in l. 1, it might mean "deceased"; but see the next document.

That the reference is to some ceremony of water(or beer)-drinking during mourning appears from the next following documents. If the first word should be read *dre*, that would be for *hāre* "devil", and the case would be one of disease ascribed to possession. *Chus-pu* (from *bchu*) is not elsewhere found with a technical sense. *Hāren* in the sense of "drink" is exemplified below (p. 391).

84. M.I. vii. 20 (wood, c. 6 × 1 cm., a small fragment, cut (?) away at bottom, broken away at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive *dhu-can* script, rather faint).


... all the men buried ... and cup store?

85. M.I. vii. 55 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive *dhu-can* script, in part faint).


ste . . . cam . skyo . la . thug . gi . bar . du . . . gdug . gehig


skyogs . yams . bcu . [B 2] bcn . stsal . pañ . sdom . [skyej] [ms].

thul . gsum

"Second care: Seven Bon-po and two Bon leaders, making nine, with equal measure, from the time when the wife commenced mourning, every day, each man being required to drink ten spoonfuls of drink from the largest of six skins: drink, skins three."

A Bon-po mourning ceremony is indicated. On *thugs-gral* ("khral") "care" or "preoccupation", *rnam-gūs* "a second matter" (pp. 79, 355), *thān-bham* "equal measure" (p. 51.5), see supra. *Thul* probably denotes a wine-skin, and *skyo* (skyej) "a spoonful". The last three words give the total quantity drunk, and the document is an account.

86. M.I. vii. 2 (wood, c. 20 × 2.5 cm., somewhat broken
away at l. top: hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


...twenty-seven, with equal measure, each man quaffing [zim-ba?] five spoonfuls; of the six skins, middle skins four and a half. Servants one hundred and two... drank each three spoonfuls. Altogether required...of mouth-water for...skins eleven and a half drunk."

As appears from the next document, the "twenty-seven" are dge-ḥdun, clergy, not necessarily Buddhist. Chal-nan ("belly-strong" men cf. Harṣa-carita, trans., p. 138) and kha-chab ("mouth-water") are obscure.

87. M.I. vi, 12 (wood, c. 15.5 × 2 cm., cut and broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint).


"Clergy twenty-one, with equal measure, each man required...; drink, skins three and one half. [Adding together the expense (1 1)] drink... Administrators, upper row, twenty-four, with equal measure, each man being required to drink ten spoonfuls of...six; drink, [eight] skins..."

Phaṇa-dbu-ḥtus-la = "summing up the expense?" Żal- ta-pa recurs in the sense of "administrator", supra, p. 384, and also infra.

The readings in the above three passages are in some points

1 Sic for phyed. daṅ?
2 phaṇa? 3 Crossed out.
4 thu crossed out.
confirmed by other fragmentary documents, viz. M.I. vii, 59 and 70, viii, 23. The fact that most of the documents of this kind came from chamber vii points to an occupant specially concerned with such matters.

88. M.I. vi, 2a (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] *|:\n| nas| thugs, klu[d]. kyi, bsos, cha, goig
| gis, srod. [A 2] g, thugs, dbab|| de, nas, thugs, phebs, kyi, yams, btsal [B 1] te| gdugs. tshod, nar, ma, dan
| nas| stsan, nan, [y]ams, gsam, gs| 1|| [B 2] nam, pag, yams, gehig, btsugs, nas| gor, bu (ba?i), yal, sar, [B 3]
drans, te, g-yal, spyi, nas| do, mahi, cho, smos, te, hjol

*... In the dusk (srod) with one portion of victuals the soul of the soul substitute is to be inserted. Then after arranging (or giving? btsal) the soul-inserting spoonful, at the next following (nor-ma) noon three spoonfuls mixed with barley meal are to be drunk. Having with mind intent (nam-pag = nam-bag?) inserted one spoonful, proceed to the place of the courtyard brushwood and suspend it (the klu[d]) from the mass of brushwood, rapidly pronouncing scolding words (??).

For the rite of filling a klu[d], scapegoat figure or φάρμακος of straw, with grass, victuals, precious objects, etc., and casting it away in a direction whence an evil spirit may be thought to have come, see S. C. Das' dictionary, s.v. glud-tshub.

Several expressions are here obscure. We have taken yal as = yul-ga "branch", s.e. brushwood heap; in nam(s)-pag, the second monosyllable might mean "dough"; or we might translate "one spoonful [to draw] attention". The quite conjectural rendering of the last phrase presupposes that do-ma = do-mod and that cho in cho-smos has the sense of co in co-hdre-ba "revile", "scorn", etc.

89. M.I. xxiv, 003 (wood, c. 19 × 2 cm., burned away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

1 g crossed out.
2 geig =

"Upper line and row, twenty, with equal measure, in each measure, victuals (meals) four; khur-skya, ho-pen, s.dtsal (?), condiment, a small phial."

Here khur-skya and ho-pen are not separated by "and". Bôs is, no doubt, bôs-cha "a meal".

90. M.I. xxiv. 0017 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5 cm., broken away at top and r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] g [i] : | | gt | r | m | ch | gsum | than | mû[a]m | st[el] | gch[i] [2] khur | skya | ho | peñ | bog (cog ?) ran | [g]lan | rna | pañ | ki | [gro (gvo ?)]...

"Scattered oblation" (gtor-ma), three parts (or distributions, chad or rains, chur?), with equal measure, each... "Khur-skya, ho-pen, bog (cog ?)-ran, glan-rna ("ox-car" ?), pañ-ki, gro (gvo ?) ..."

The terms are unknown.

91. M.I. viii. 39 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Of the three first tshas-khus each (receives) fifteen; the first khur-skya and ho-pen each twenty-five; peaches and grapes (kham-sgum, dried grapes (rgum, p. 387)), three handfuls each; flour and oil, each three ounces (sran); ža (flesh ?), each one handful; corn-flour, five and one half bre."

This* and the two following documents evidently relate to some ceremonial distribution of food, as of tea in the ordinary Buddhist morning service. But several of the terms

---

1 stô ? staho ?
2 khû ?
3 ky-r ?
4 ch-1 ?
5 Read gsum.
are obscure. Can tshos-khar = tshos-mkhan "painter", a painter being mentioned in connection with a Buddhist monastery in Khotan (Chavannes, Documents Chinois, p. 214)? The khur-skya is here distinguished from the ho-pan, who, if identical with the hwa-pan of the Chinese documents (Chavannes, Documents Chinois, p. 211, n. 7), would be properly some taxing official of a quarter of a town. Za may be *ṣa* "flesh" (used with phul, p. 438: 21).

92. M.I. iv, 60 (wood, c. 18 x 1 x 1 cm., edges cut away, pointed at both ends, complete; ill. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive dbu-can script, blurred and in part faint).

[A] W || rtse, bla, [rtse], sman, dañ, g-yan, gsol, bāḥi, žal, ta, pa, dpon, g-yog, tu. [B] bskos, pa | Gy[a]b, Stag, rtan⁠¹, žal, ta, pa | Ya, sto[di], ḫdren⁠², lha, bon, po | [U] Phyi[i], mth[po], mnon, pa | Gsas, la, b[rtse]n, rtshu (mu ḫ [gyn?]) | ḫdzud (hrū?) | Myes, koṅ, phyag, tshaṅ [D 1] Dro, brtsean, sug, zuns | rtse, bla, rtse, sman, dañ, g-yan, g[u ḫ]?), dañ [don ḫ?], sn[a], tsha .. [D 2] [Stal]g, b[z]aṅ, [spy(?)]o, [ran ḫ?] | Stag, [Khr]l, gdas, dañ, [tso, lha, Dpal (Tse, sna, Pal ḫ?)] b[k]er ..

"Appointed ministrants, master and servant, in supplicating (or feasting, gsol?) the high chief, the chief physician and g-yan. Ministrant, Gyab Stag-rtan; Divine-Bon man, Ya-stod-ḥdren; mhon-po, Phyi-mthon; rtshu(?); ḫdzud, Gsas-la-brtsean; cook, Myes-koṅ; hand-taker, Dro-brtsean. The high chief, the chief physician and g-yan .. .

... various purposes, Stag-bsaṅ; spyo-را (ʔ), Stag Khri- gdas and Tso-lha Dpal-bzér .. ."

A Bon-po (Shamanist) ceremony is here in question, but several of the designations are unknown; lha-bon-po and sug-zuns recur in the next document; g-yan "blessing", "luck", here associated with the sman "physician", has Bon-po connections. In regard to the first it will be noted that there exist both lha (god) Bons and human Bons; the second may mean "right-hand man", or chief assistant. Ya-stod-

⁠¹ rtshil ² ⁠² stōd, rtan ³ ⁠³ For don-cun-telope ⁹
(stod)-hlaren does not look like a proper name and may mean "upward drawing" (lha); cf. yar-hlaren, an epithet of Ge-sar, ap. Francke, Antiquities of W. Tibet, ii, pp. 272 n. The phrase rtse-bla ... in D. 1 perhaps means "performer of gu (gus 'respect')" and various offices (don-sna-tshogs) for the high chief ..." Tso-lha-dpal recurs in the phrase Bon-do-tsho", p. 301:37. On žal-ta-pa see supra, p. 384.

93. M.I. iv, 121 (wood, c. 18.5 × 1 × 1 cm., complete; pointed at ends, edges pared; li. 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive dbu-can script, blurred and rubbed).


"Ministrants in supplicating (or feasting, gsol) the local deity, local master and physician: the gsen in person (attended?) by servants. Gy—d—[sad ?], ministrant; Gsas-chuñ, divine-Bon man; ... Spe-rtsañ, hand-taker; L[ha]-[ta]n-rtsol, hand-taker."

Connection with the preceding document is obvious. Gsen is a Bon-po term, which in mundane usage means "executioner". Las-myê = "workman", "servant", as supra.

94. M.I. xxvii, 15 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; li. 2 recto + 2 (partly an addition in a second hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"(Beginning as in the preceding: then) the gsen in person, master and servants.

"Councillor Mañ-gaigs Councillor Mdo-bzañ."

Of the four Tibetan methods of disposing of the dead only
one, namely burial, is indicated in the documents; it may have been favoured by scarcity of fuel. None of the citations belong, it is true, to the Khotan area, in regard to which cremation is attested by the Chinese (Abel-Rémuzaat, op. cit., p. 22).

The water(?)-drinking rites in connection with mourning are probably, despite the term dge-lha in M.I. vi, 12 (p. 391), not Buddhist; and the same may be said of the other ceremonies indicated. Their Bon-po character is authenticated in some cases by the occurrence of the actual term. On Bon religion in pre-Tibetan Central Asia see supra, p. 322. In its early forms it was hardly distinguished from Shamanism; the term Bon probably meant "lord", and would in Sanskrit be represented by nātha, as in the case of the Burmese nats. The nāgas (of streams, etc.) and yaksas, also characteristic of Chinese Turkestan, are very possibly of a different origin. The technical terms khur-skya, etc., await explanation. The gJud, or scapegoat effigy, is, of course, world-wide.

7. Medicine and Divination

(a) Medicine

95. M.I. i, 13 (wood, c. 20 × 2.5 cm., burnt at l. and r.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 of cursive dbu-can script).

[tshun ] ! chad . btsal . te . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . la . bdag . Nob . chu . nur . mehis . pa . tsam . na . hrnues . pa ...

"Petition, with prayer for his lordship's perpetual happiness and soon to see his face. Have you medicine at hand? If none at hand, [it should be] sought on this side of (= as far as) Rgya-skugs; on arriving in the first spring month at Little Nob I shall receive what you shall have obtained...

On Rgya-skugs see supra. Smyan, for sman, is irregular, the
y being usually inserted only before i and e: brūes-pa should be past tense, not future (brūed).

96. M.I. i. 23 (paper, fol. No. 1 in vol., c. 31.5 × 8 cm., incomplete at lower r., but without loss of text; discoloured, but mostly legible; ll. 7 recto + 9 (a different document) verso of cursive dbu-con script).


"To Councillor Skyes-bzāṅ: letter petition of Stag-legs. Having inquired by word of mouth (or by letter) and having heard that your unhappy former illness is not apprehended, I am glad. Hereafter also I pray that the distinguished father and son may ever be happy and that I may soon see them face to face. Just now I had had sent an ointment medicine; but the runner appointed not having come, the first was not sent
at once; for which please do not reprove me. The medicine has been sent from Mdo-roma with hand-seal attached. Of this medicine [taking] as much as half a sheep’s dung, in just a little water, in a small tube (tsa-gur), boil it over the fire (read: mye-la?) until it dissolves (bzus-bakol). When it melts, add oil little by little, mixing it with the melted substance, and, as far as the heated flesh can bear, smear the tumour (bras-bu) and where the pain is; wrap up the great finger in a sheath warmed in oil under the afternoon sun (!). If you do so some four or five times at the time when the place is hot (inflamed), the medicine gets the upper hand. Afterwards how it shall have befallen I beg you to send me a note in writing by the post.”

There are here some uncertainties due to difficulties of reading. On bhah-bhab “reprimand” see supra, p. 340. Tshe-gu is, no doubt, = tsa-gur “a small tube,” and bras-bu = Sanskrit phala “tumour.”

97. M.I.0018 (wood, c. 17.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


“To the great authority of the local physician one like a mother’s heart (presents) flour [and] oil, half an ounce (sun); geheis (?) a cupful; wild juniper with silken tie, one; gza (flesh), barley, a full khyor; cog drink, a cupful, medium ladles five.”

The measure khyor (“handful”), p. 412), [g]za, cog (393-90), and also the expression lbri[n]-skyo[l] “medium ladle”, have occurred supra. Geheis (?) is obscure. On [g]za see p. 394.

The yul-sman recurs below. On p. 152, we have mention of a “chief physician” (rtse-sman) of Little Nob.

1 rdz[hs]alu
2 crossed out
(b) Divination

98. M.I. xv, 0016. (wood, e, 11–11.5 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto of cursive dbu-can script, in part erased + 2 verso, a different hand).

[A 1] yul, sman, la, ma, sün, bžen, (b)zans, geqig;
[A 2] gis, gsol, ste, lag, dgra, la, žal, bže[n], tam, m[yi];

"To the local physician, petition by one kind as a mother's heart: Having lag-dgra (rheumatism?), (shall I) lift my face or not? Shoulder . . . Hare year autumn, crop of white and black (grain), (will it) suffer from rot or not?"

Lag-dgra has been noted above, p. 152, and it recurs in M.I. i, 14; iii, 7; and iv, 3; žal-bžen ("as") recurs similarly. On "white" and "black" grain see p. 349. The expression "kind . . . heart" is found also in a similar connection in M.I. i, 14. On sog, 'shoulder,' see infra, p. 400.

99. M.I. iii, 7 (wood, e, 11.5 × 2 cm., broken away at l. upper corner and at r.; ll. 3 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] . . . [dañ, rtse], sman, dañ, g-yañ, la | lu . . .
[A 2] . . . [l !] , dgra, la, žal, bžen, tam, ma, bžen | . . .
[A 3] mkhar, Nob, chu, ńu, yul, risu, slad, nañ . . .
[B 1] myi, mehi, lo, g-yañ, ḫhabs, sam, myi . . .
[B 2] . . . chi, ham, myi, mehi |||

"To the local divinity and head physician and g-yañ (petition by one mild as a sheep): Having lag-dgra, (shall I) lift my face or not? . . . (Shall I) come back or not to the bounds of the city of Little Nob? (Shall I) arrive back or not? (Shall I) go or not?"

The syllable lu in A 1 began, no doubt, the expression lag-bsan-bsan-gis-gsol "petition by one mild as a slaughtered sheep", which occurs (bsan-lug) in p. 401. Lo-g-yañ, which has been rendered as if it were log-yañ, ¹ = log, yan, as in M.I. i, 14.
might mean "year (sc. harvest)-blessing". With yul-ris "country boundary", cf. mkhar-ris "city-boundary".

100. M.I. iv, 79 (wood, e. 12 × 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-cas script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] ṣ | : | sogs . pa . g-yas . la |

"On the right shoulder.

"Is there — water or not? Is disease of the flesh coming or not? In the liver a lucky (pya?) state! State considered good: on the part of the teeth (l se, p[h]o, lo?) indications (no-che?) of rman-sri (?) and — worm."

This is an example of prognostication by means of sheep's shoulder-blades (scapulimancy), whereof a full account is given in William of Rubruck's Journey (Hakluyt Society's publication, pp. 187-8). See the next following documents.

101. M.I. iv, 35 (wood, e. 15 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-cas script).


"On the right shoulder.

"Of the noose of death (gšin[rjeh]-dra-[ba] "net?"; or read gšin-hdre "a ghost") not (ma?) firmly attached [shall I] he rid or not? Of demon (gdon) possession (gehags) great apprehension." On dra-ma, "not," see p. 404.4.

We have taken tsha-che "great heat", as equivalent to tsha-ma "anxiety"; cf. nam-drud, pp. 32, 342.

102. M.I. iv, 3 (wood, e. 9-5 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 2 (much blurred) verso of cursive dbu-cas script).

1 ma (?) perhaps preferable.
2 cam? bzin?
3 Corrected from bön?
4 tshas ; mar ? bhr ?
As will have been seen, the justification for treating the physician and the diviner together is the identity of the persons, the yul-sman "local physician", being also g-yam "luck", and often yul-bha "local divinity". To him application is made both for normal medicines and directions and for prognostications by means of the sheep shoulder-blades. Ordinary medicines and prescriptions are mentioned, as gifts or otherwise, in many letters; and in the literary MSS. from the Tun-huang library are a few, in some cases not inextensive, fragments of common-sense treatises (mainly, no doubt, of Indian inspiration) or collections of prescriptions relating to ordinary medicine and to horse doctoring. There are also pieces exemplifying the mo divination (by means of groups of circles), concerning which we may here be content to refer to the article by A. H. Francke in the Berlin Academy Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1924, pp. 5 sqq., 1928, pp. 110 sqq.

8. Law

103. M.I. vi. 1 (wood, c. 18 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of smallish, cursive abu-can script).
myi, khriams, bžin, gū[e]r, s[tso]l [B 2], la, dpañ, po, gañ, naḥ, mehis, paḥi, sar, thus, žig ||

"Thereat [I was] glad. This being true, I beg for immediate disposal of the matter by the Inner-Ministers sending strict orders not to make a decision ratifying the plaint put forward from Khyi-mo-rtse. If not, as a malicious accusation attaches [to me], send persons equipped with a seeing eye to dispose [of the matter] according to law and let them assemble at the place where the witnesses are."

The phrase sko-yus-sdams-la (cf. pp. 23, 20, 29, 75: B12, 79, where sgo, "private," is read) is not quite clear. Khyi-mo-rtse ("Bitch's Peak") looks like a place name; but there might be a reference to some test with a bitch's head. Bsñad-ḥdogs-pa = "make malicious accusation". On gñer-ogums and sar, see supra, pp. 42, 83.

104. M.I. 0010 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, blurred and rubbed).


"In accordance with a subsequent petition from my father also, the chief Zla-bzer and Ḥghan-ūen paying attention, the guarantor was put out of the farm (?) your humble servant rejoiced. That having become a mere illusory appearance (smyin-zigs ? spyin-zigs ?), and having none to rely upon but my lord (read lha-las ?), by this last petition, I beg for a general decision."

Sdu (A 1) may mean "also"; kha-bzuñ might mean "accepted" (the petition); but the technical sense of

1 = bker.

2 [m l]
"guarantor" seems more frequent with kha-hdzin-pa. Smyin-zigs "eyebrow-look" (the most probable reading) is perhaps a synonym of smig-rgyu; at least that sense fits in with san-n-ggah-tsham.

105. M.I. x, 6 (wood, c. 13.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Private request, verbally (or by letter) granted by the Great Eye, consigned to the chief ruler and Uncle-Councillor of Great Nob."

Spyan-ched-po: This (cf. p. 411, infra) probably means "by the great man in person"; or it may be "the king's eye" (rāja-caksus), on which see pp. 322, 341.

106. M.I. xiv, 002 (wood, c. 16.5 × 2.2-5 cm., burnt away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, very black).


"Your humble servant, dejected (or ashamed, no-skyon) and grievously alarmed, a devil being in his heart, took flight [into the Dru-gu?] country; now that the chief ruler, the corporal . . . in kindness has caused me to be brought in, a bird attracted back from flight (or by the hunter, gser-pas) . . ."

107. Ch. 82, xii, 3 (paper, fol. 58 in vol. lvi, torn away at r. and bottom, c. 29.5 × 32 cm.; ll. 6 of cursive dbu-can script, rather scrawled).

[1] s = par.
brtsan, kyi, rkya, la, rje, blas, bgyis, pha ... [2] bgyis, pa, la, žag, lña, [San, ho] 1, btson, sruños, bgyis 2 'In, tse, yañ, sña, bran, la, btson, sruños, žag, lñ[ñ] ... [3] bžan, gi, bser, Sa, Ti, puñ, žag, lña, bgyis, sgo, g-yog, žag, lña. 'In, tse, bgyis || gteñu ... [4] gcig, dañ, sña, gcig, brsun, ba, žag, lña, Sa, Ti, puñ, bgyis || Jan, lag, du, dra, ma, drañ, ba[ñi] ... [5] srañ, brgyad, htshala 3 | nas, phul, phyed, dañ, bži : htshala 3 | sa, ka, pa, btson, sruños, Kvañ, šen, gis, yañ ... žag, bcu, bgyis |

"Work caused by His Excellency to be done in regard to the trial (rkya = brgya ?) of Dge-brtsan from the first spring month of the Horse year; During five days San-ho kept prison guard; 'In-tse also kept prison guard during five days over witnesses' (sña) servants; observation of ... bžan was made during five days by Sa Ti-puñ; 'In-tse acted during five days as private servant; guarding of one ... guarantor (gteñu) and one witness was performed during five days by Sa Ti-puñ. For a net (handcuff ?) conveyed to the hand of Jañ (?) eight srañ are asked; of barley four less one-half phul (handfuls) are asked. Prison-guarding of (at ?) Sa-ka-pa was performed also by Kvañ-šen ... during ten days."

It seems possible that rkya-la = brgya-la (brgyal-la) "dispute" or "fine", on which see pp. 145, 189.5. Sña is clearly = gñañ "witness"; Sa-ka-pa might be either a place (the prison) or a person. "Observation" is bser. On dra-ma(ba) with lag see p. 379.

108. Ch. lxxiii, xiii, 18 (paper, No. 762 (?), fol. 19 in vol. liii, c. 30 × 23-5 cm.; ll. 5 of cursive dūn-cus script + 2 columns of signatures, r. 3 (4 more having been cut out), l. 3 (1 more having been cut out).

fifteen lashes with a Chinese whip were ordered."

There being a remainder of punishment and the work done not being nearly equal to the cash expended, the penalty was heavily augmented. The order not having been obeyed, it was decided that, where the plastering (za-la ?) had been done, the penalty should be three ounces (srañ) of gold and three loads (khal) of vegetables (snon-mo) and that each man should receive fifteen lashes with a Chinese whip; where the plastering was in progress it was decided that a feast of one slaughtered sheep should be supplied.
Plasterer Li Lha-sto, finger-mark (mark)

Yim-dzihi, finger-mark (mark)

Ha Shib-tig, finger-mark (mark)

Dbyun Ju-tse, finger-mark (mark)

Ho Khrom-pa, finger-mark (mark)

That za-la (za-la) here means "plasterer" and za-co "plaster-master" is far from certain; also the phrase byasu-byuñ-phon-rnags-pa is obscure. 'Ab-dzi is perhaps Chinese kao-chik, (or, as Dr. L. Giles suggests, kao-tsa), "mark." The clan-names Yim ('Im), Li, Ha, and also the personal names are characteristic of the Sa-cu region: see supra, pp. 113 sqq. On the Bhak-lun see supra, p. 336.

109. M.I. xiv, 61v (paper, fol. No. 43 in vol., e. 13'5 x 3 cm., a fragment; II. 2 of square dbu-can script).


"... in witness the [signatures] of rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes and the King's Eye Legs . . . and Ldon-kon . . ."

The rtsig Lha-rtsa-skyes was mentioned above, p. 143, in connection with the King's Eye; and, as he appears elsewhere (e.g. in p. 304. 46) also in legal concerns, his designation rtsig probably means "lawyer." In M.T. b. i, 0095 (p. 410), he has become himself "King's Eye."

110. M.I. xiv, 18 (wood, e. 10 x 2 cm., cut and broken away at r.; II. 3 of cursive dbu-can script).


khye(o.?) . sig . . .

"Petition: if it is possible for the old usage to be decided (gcad?) by you (plural) let the chief ruler decide . . . ."

Rin-lugs "old usage", occurred, pp. 59 8, 66 4.

The above citations relate to disputes, offences, and appeals. Previously we have had instances of prosecution for assault
(pp. 124, 150), misdemeanour (pp. 137–8), and damage (pp. 141–2, 144, 258), and also a number of attested agreements (pp. 46, 59–60, 179, etc.) in regard to debt, loan, and sale. In two cases (pp. 134, 151) there is indication of reference to a court (gywa-tus = pariṣad). The officials concerned with dispensation of justice (khrims-dpon, rgyal-gzigs, żal-ce-pa, bkah-luṅ, etc.) have been noted supra.

The "ancient usage" and "old town law" (pp. 59, 67, 139, 140) sometimes mentioned were not necessarily written, and the same applies to the dharma, which the Kharoṣṭhī royal rescripts so frequently direct to be followed; even perhaps to the khyim-phugs-gyi-khrims "law of house-burglary", named in a document from Mirān (Mi. 0052). But in the case of an administration of Indian origin even in the earlier period some written law is probable; and the Tibetans themselves were certainly in possession of a code compiled by order of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, now understood to be the basis of the present-day procedure. From the hidden library of Tun-huang we have reported a fragment in Tibetan, embodying a part of a law of theft; see Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. 50, pp. 275 sqq.

9. WRITING AND LETTERS

111. M.I. i, 25a (paper, fol. No. 3 in vol., c. 14.5 x 7 cm., a fragment; parts of ll. 6 of cursive dbu-can script).


"After being in Bog-yul of Ska-ba, now (?) [for] Stag, script, large gold script, and for Stag the Upper Councillor Btsan-sum gold, Councillor Dge-bzer silver script..."

The document refers to writings (testimonials or commissions?) executed for certain persons in gold or silver ink, such as may be seen in calligraphic MSS. obtained from Tibet.

Silver script and turquoise script, as mark of distinction, were mentioned above, p. 12, and elsewhere we have had reference to copper script and turquoise script distinguishing the records of different army brigades. M.I. i., 26, mentions silver, copper (zañsa), brass (ra-gan), large and small, and blue (shon?) writing. For sealings, and sometimes for headings and beginnings of paragraphs (e.g. supra, pp. 361 sq.), red ink, now in most cases faded, was in use. "Large writing" (yi-ge-ched-po, mentioned again in M.I. i., 26a) seems also, from the mention of "lands of small letter" (supra, p. 350), to have been distinctively employed. Among the (later) fragments from the Etsingol sites (Mongol period) the interlinear comments in literary MSS. are often in very minute, but excellent, hands.

Bog-yul was, as we have seen (supra, p. 49) in the region of Lem-cu (Liang-chou), to which accordingly Ska-ba (p. 294) also belonged.

112. M. Tâgh, b, i., 0051 (wood, c. 23 × 2.5 cm., somewhat broken away at bottom l.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, in places rubbed away).


"Ox year, first autumn month, day twenty-three, in the morning a new letter, required (bakuld) by a soldier relay arrived (so-res-bah-po), was made in agreement with the old by the Khotani Sor-dad; in witness whereof are impressed the seal of Preg-po Khrom-legs, and the hand[signature] of Sor-dad."

1 Read so-res-bah.
This seems to be a case of a letter damaged in transmission and replaced by an attested copy.

113. M. Tāgh. c. i, 005 (wood, c. 16 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of square dbu-can script, the verso partly erased).


"In witness that this wrapping, weighed in the presence of Khri-gdas and containing fifteen sraṅ, has been consigned to Khri-gdas with his own seal attached the witness signatures of ... and others of the Ṣaṅ regiment and the hand-finger mark of Khri-gdas are affixed."

The situation seems to be that the package was despatched by Khri-gdas to be delivered to himself elsewhere; but other interpretations are possible. De-bdag can hardly be any other person than Khri-gdas; otherwise we might understand that some one had accepted (kha-bzun) 15 sraṅ for conveying the parcel. Geal seems to come from ḫjal (gtsal might be from ḥtshol or stsol?); dbaṅ-rgya is probably dpaṅ-rgya "witness signature"; sug-mdzug-gi-ḵchad seems to be identical with the sug-yig-tshad of pp. 45-6. On the Ṣaṅ regiment see supra, pp. 467-8.

114. M. Tāgh. 0264 (wood, c. 12 x 1 x 1 cm., four sides; handle with hole at l.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive dbu-can script, clear).


1 gtsal 2 Corrected from gta-dad.
writing, having been tied in a woollen cloth, is to be sent by anyone to whom it is afterwards delivered to Slun(s) Legs-tshan of the Lho-brag regiment.

On the Slun(s) (pp. 52 n., 296-7, etc.) and the Lho-brag regiment (p. 463, Vol. I, 280) see supra. On brgya-la see supra, p. 145.

115. M. Tâgh, 6, i, 0095 (paper, fol. No. 36 in vol., 28.5 × 8 cm., originally folded in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; II. 5 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script + 1 in a different hand, inverted).

[1] \[\text{Jo cho Rgyal bzer gyi za snar}\]

"To the presence of the chief, Rgyal-bzer: letter-petition of Lha-ri-skyes. I am writing to inquire as to your health, whether meanwhile you are happy or not. In the town Cun-tsan and Snañ-bzer and Lha-bzan and the rest are free from illness. The King’s Eye, Lha-rtsa-skyses, also is recovered and is coming into the country, so they say. If any orders (letters) have come for me, please send them up to me. After submitting this letter, I am praying for your happiness with freedom from illness.

"To the residence of the chief, Rgyal-bzer."

116. M. Tâgh, 0512 (paper document, complete, originally folded in long strips like a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28 ×

\[\text{a crossed out. Was bdag-la “to me” intended? \[\text{b} = \text{bzer.}\]}}
To the presence of the chief, Councillor Mañ-bzer; letter petition of Phyi-mthon. Having inquired by word of mouth of the runner and having heard that you are continuously happy and with helm high, I am very glad. I make prayer that for the future also you may be happy and that I may soon see your good countenance.

"The oil and wool have come; but, as the Great Eye has not reached the town and the Uncle-Councillors, occupied with the new year, have not met, I have still not got them. If
one is not able, always offer inquiry as to health—so it would be well to send a word. Your humble servant, with rations scarce and being old, has requested from the Khotani Na-mo-bud barley grain [to the amount] of one animal-load; so please take care to send a receipt for one animal-load. As the Uncle-Councillor's dišān comes here, not wishing to disgrace [you?], I am handing over a receipt. Though he (Na-mo-bud !) does (or I do) not ask for return (or reply), he has still not come to town. The men on leave also now need a reminder. Fresh gossip we have not heard. I suggest that you inquire of Phu-tsab.

Verso [1] "To the presence of Stag-bzarn : Stag—
[2] ... receipt.

On the "Great Eye" see supra, p. 403. The phrases gdan-gtseg (M.I. iii, 6), khor-zag "leave" (p. 436), bkaḥ-mchid "gossip" (p. 198), and bkas-rma "question authoritatively" (p. 245), also occur elsewhere, Zabs-håren = "bring shame upon".

The first endorsement (verso) of the letter was perhaps made by the recipient when passing it on "for action". The Khotani Na-mo-bud has a characteristic name; see p. 263.

117. M. Tāgh. a, iv. 0068 (wood, c. 19.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of squarish dbu-con script, rather faint and l. 2 of verso partly erased).


1 If not to my lord, the councillor, ruling authority in the government, petition is made, to whom should petition be made! Your humble servants' elder brother, greatly their

1 my[i?] have crossed out. 2 so ?
senior, going into the country, we humble uterine brothers are as it were severed from dear life. Since ... some trouble (tseg?) must come, we implore the very exalted (bla-rin(s)) lord councillor."

The petition relates apparently to military service, which would be explicit, if the reading in A 2 were pa (phu) so. On ts(h)eg see pp. 236: 87, 436: 14; on the phrase "if petition is not made, etc." see p. 438.

118. M.I. xliv, 6 (paper, fol. 87 in vol., torn and partly fragmentary l. and r., c. 27.5 × 19 cm.); II. 16 of cursive dbu-can script, somewhat scrawled).


1 Or pa crossed out 2 gyā crossed out. 3 I? crossed out 4 m-tṣaṇ-pa 5 6 below line.

"To the great Inner-Minister, Councillor Rma-bzer; letter-petition of Boom-Idan-ḥdas and Sde-ña-legs... brtan and Tshe-yaṅs. [You] having inquired by letter... there follows a mutilated passage containing expressions of dejection, etc. ... reflecting upon the natural impermanence of living beings and upon phenomenal existence (chos-ūdi = dharmatā); [our] dejection has been in part diminished; thank you. For the rest (or For the future), with prayer that you may be perpetually happy and that perhaps we may soon see your good countenance, we are asking after your health. To send your commands would be a favour. When, [you] not being able, the kind bkhaḥ-lun made inquiry after [our] health, we were glad. At present we are free from illness.

"Since we first took charge (sna-ma-gzaṅ) of Little Nob, the surpluses delivered are not... good so far. So we are deliberating who is to take charge here hereafter. As the holders of the different appointments do not comprehend, we are sending up to my lord on his estate (in his place?).

"Private petition of Boom-Idan-ḥdas: "If not furnished with presents (or "Without adding a present"), send a letter of inquiry as to health"—did orders come to this effect or not? I am asking you to transmit, as a supplement to the winter provisions rations, some little harvest mustard. Can you attend to this?"

The communication is from some Buddhist clerics, who have been in authority, perhaps as a committee of inquiry, in Little Nob. They report that there is no surplus (snnams) (in the revenues? p. 136, 352), and they are considering who should be put in charge (gzaṅ). Not trusting the wisdom of the holders of different commissions or appointments (phyag-rjed-snnams-pa), they refer to the minister.

Mdab-kyis (l. 7), doubtless = ḫab-kyis; on snnams (l. 10) and zo-ša (l. 13) see supra. Phyag-rjed (l. 12) = sug-rjed
(supra) "a commission", and mchod-ma (l. 15) is for bzhud "supplement" or "addendum", cf. p. 192: 26.1; bsgral (l. 15) is from sgrol, in the sense of "transport"? Gcag(s) (l. 12) = "comprehend". The bkah-hun has been mentioned supra.

119. M. Tāgh a, iv, 00122 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol., c. 24 × 6 cm.; II. 5 recto + 6 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faded and obscure).


1 rad † 2 s[ne (?)] here erased † 3 b[ri †] 4 pu-ru-lan †
also: I have previously sent a reminder to Bžer (or I have sent a reminder to the four leaders, sna-bžir). [B ll. 1–2] The wool sent to... by the pony-master’s man, Pu-rig Gumplegs... Khotan silver sran... has been received: some of this wool, having been received for mid-rope (thag-bar) Hp[h]an-k[h]ri, has been... [B ll. 3–4] Bžer having made two animal-loads of hair from oxen and asses killed (?), with one sran wages of... Bžer has made half a sran of hair of some animals. [B ll. 4–5] What hair of goats, male and female, has been obtained, cost (chad) about six sran of oil: afterwards how much it cost will be reported. Subsequently also one animal-load of barley has been supplied. [B ll. 5–6, Please have made what rope (stö ?) is possible by the city] man Gumpin, as far as he has leisure (lañ ?)."

In this letter the imperfection of the text leaves many obscurities; but the general tenor, a report to officials by an agent collecting hair for rope-making, seems evident. The phrases sku-bla-gsol (A 3, p. 386), chibs-[d]pon (B 1, pp. 426, 445), thag-bar ("mid-rope", B 2, pp. 215: 46, 423) phy[n}s-k[h]al (B 3, 5, p. 411: 8), šul-du-zugs (A 3, pp. 137: 6, 157: 1) have occurred supra. What follows gsol-ba (A 3) is possibly bahs-su-bla-btshon-blañ, "on opportunity fine (or high-priced) goods were obtained": the next words are rather clearly sol-rido-ha-cañ-mchis, "fuel-stone in abundance has come," perhaps the sole reference in the documents to coal, which is known to have been mined in Turfan. Skyams-bekal (A 4) = skyams-bsgal; chad = "paid" or "cost"; du-rul-an-byed-po = "as far as he has leisure"?

The surname Pu-rig (B 1) may refer to the so-named W. Himalayan district. The rope mentioned in the last sentence would be of hair or wool (supra, p. 388).
Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VII: The Tibetan Army

A. General Description; B. Documents (1, Services, departments and divisions; 2, Provisions, rations, pay; 3, Armature; 4, Grades and commissions; 5, Military instructions; 6, Incidents; 7, Personalia; 8, List of Regiments)

A. General Description

UNDER the rule of Buddhist ecclesiastics, fostered originally by foreign (Mongol) suzerains, Tibet has not been a military power. Probably no religion is more potent than Buddhism in damping the fighting spirit, of which development Mongolia itself has in modern times afforded a signal example. The Tibetan people, though in some districts rough and turbulent, is not warlike: the brigand tribes of the northeast belong to a region which, since the overthrow (A.D. 1226) of the Tangut kingdom by Gengiz Khan, has been largely Mongolized, as even the geographical nomenclature proves, and which in native Tibetan times must have presented a quite different aspect. The Tibetan armies, when such are required, consist mainly of levies from the great monasteries; the creation of a small standing army in the most recent period has encountered prejudice.

In the regnal age of the Btsan-pos, when Tibet carried on during a hundred years and more a war, on the whole successful, with the great Chinese empire, when it annexed Chinese Turkestan and dominated states in the Pamir regions, fought with the Turks and Uigurs of the Tien-shan and Altai regions and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana, a different spirit must have existed in the country and far heavier demands must have been made upon the (then larger) population. That forgotten era of Dukes

1 Barthold, Turkestan, ed. 2, pp. 200, 202.
and Barons and great commanders comes to light in the Lha-sa treaty edicts, published by Colonel Waddell; and the Chinese notices extracted long before by Dr. Bushell had represented the Tibetans as not merely rude, but also warlike; while a fragmentary chronicle affords evidence of an incessant military activity during c. one hundred and fourteen years (c. A.D. 650-763). But it is from a literary description (Vol. I, pp. 276 sqq.) that we have obtained the first substantial conception of the extent and organization of the armies.

On several occasions we have adverted to the fact that the Tibetan military system was territorial; for which reason the word for regiment (šde) has also the sense of administrative "district". But the passage in question has shown that the whole kingdom was demarked into a definite number of military areas, superimposed upon old tribal divisions, and that the regiments were named after those areas. The huge statistical totals show that practically the whole male population of military age was liable, as was natural in a rude civilization, to be called up for service. The country was partitioned into four "horns" (ru) or "brigades", each of which consisted of an Upper and Lower "brigade-division" (ru-lag) with an army-commander (dmag-pon) and a second-in-command (sgab). We do not in that passage hear of lower ranks; but there is mention of the divisional "records" or "secretariat" (yig-tshans, also in Chronicle, 1. 77) and "record-keeper" (yig-tshans-po) and of the selected colours of their ink; also of the divisional banner (dar, "silk") and ensign, and the characteristic fighting spirit of each division. Another passage affords a glimpse of a Tibetan army on the march; and a third describes a composite army, including auxiliaries, present on the occasion of a great battle with

1 JRAS., 1909-1911.
2 JRAS., 1880, pp. 435-541.
2 2,860,000 men: another passage speaks of an army of a "hundred myriads". The Chinese state that Sron-bstan Sgam-po threatened Sā-n-sh'nas with an army of 200,000 men (Bushell, p. 444).
the Chinese. The regimental commanders would seem to have been tribal chiefs or territorial barons.

Forts do not appear in these accounts; but, no doubt, they existed and were similar to the existing rdzon’s, known often as "jongs") from modern descriptions, or to the forts of feudal Europe. We have mention of frontier toll-stations (so-kha or sna-kha); and the Chinese speak of high towers in the interior at intervals of 20 miles. The "smoke-fires", which the Chinese state (Bushell, p. 441) to have been lighted when the country was invaded, seem to be mentioned in the Chronicle (II. 8, 57) under the designation rgyas-loh(u), "fire-tidings [corps]."

In Chinese Turkestan the Tibetan armies have left evidence of their occupation in the shape of ruined mud forts, built, no doubt, and occupied by them. From two of these, excavated by Sir Aurel Stein, come most of the documents, the great majority inscribed on wooden slips, with which we have been dealing. The information which they afford is therefore for the most part incidental to administrative business; and naturally it includes many particulars relating to actual military life. Though scrappy and allusive (the wooden documents being in many cases mere labels or passes or lists or bills or name-cards) and seldom consecutively decipherable in the faded, erased, broken, palimpsest, and misspelled records, the information may be pieced together in such a way as to convey a modicum of definite, and indeed of vivid, fact, appertaining to a very obscure period.

Concerning the structure and arrangement of the forts themselves it suffices to refer to the full and precise descriptions given by Sir Aurel Stein in connection with his excavations.¹ They dominated the areas under their observation, whether these were administered by the native rulers or were actually governed from the fort. But, beside these strongholds, we have much evidence of occupation of commanding positions, "heights" (rtse), on a smaller scale;

¹ Ancient Khotan, pp. 430-4; Serindia, pp. 456 sqq., 1284 sqq.
and no doubt there were numerous stations on the lines of communication with north-eastern Tibet (Mdo), the Tibetan capital, and so forth. Such positions would be under the control of the larger establishments and would depend upon these for supplies of men and provisions; which relation explains the very numerous wooden tablets from Mazār-Tāgh which record only the names of such places and amounts of wheat, barley, etc.

As the Tibetan armies lived upon the countries in their occupation, there was requisitioning of grain and other provisions and much correspondence in connection therewith. There were arrears and changes of assessment, assignments to individuals, arithmetical adjustments, threats of forcible pressure upon defaulters and so forth. A form of record especially common, as it seems, at Mirān points to another feature in the system. These contain particulars of lands, teams (dor) of yaks (?), and cultivators; and they would record the supply of yaks from the military headquarters for the tillage with a view to a stipulated portion of the produce. In modern Tibet also yaks are customarily hired, not owned, by the peasants.

With a view to clarity, however, it should be pointed out that much of the business transacted in the forts, at least in Mirān, was not of a military character. It includes civil administration of various kinds, carried on by officials having civil titles, such as naṅ-ṣje-po "minister of internal affairs", councillors (blon) of various ranks, heads of Thousand-districts (ston-dpon), and so forth. As we know from the Lha-sa treaty inscriptions (for instance), the Tibetan government was organized in departments, and these will have been fully aware of their mutual limitations. What were their interrelations in Chinese Turkestan is matter for inference. Upon a survey of the exiguous evidences we may conclude (always with restriction to the several periods represented by the documents) as follows:—(1) Where the countries were left under their native rulers, the contributions of grain,
etc., required for the Tibetan armies would be levied by those rulers and furnished to the Tibetan officials in bulk. A Ša-cu document has illustrated this operation; the Tibetan officials are apparently civilians, while there is in the region a military commander who may, in an ultimate resort to force, be called in. In Khotan also we hear of the presence of a general, without, however, being able to ascertain whether he was ordinarily commandant of the fort of Šiṅ-šan (Mazār-Tāgh); it seems most likely that the commandant of the fort would be a different person, of lower rank. The supplies of Khotan were furnished to Šiṅ-šan upon a census; whether the control was in that instance purely military or with a civil admixture (as the mention of a nan-rje-po suggests) is not clear. (2) In the case of the Nob region the circumstances would seem to have been different. Certainly there was a general commander who had the region under his survey; this was the Tahal-byi general, to whom we have a number of references. But the several districts and towns in this area had their civilian administrators, who bore for the most part Tibetan names. And we have documents regulating in detail the cultivation of the lands. Accordingly it is to be concluded that in this region the whole administration had been taken over by the Tibetans (on the lines of "British India"); and we may connect with this the statement in the Chronicle (l. 190) to the effect that in the year A.D. 727 the Tibetan king went to the Ḥa-ža country to take over the government (chab-srid-la). There would be garrisons in the fort or forts and also town-garrisons (mḵhar-tsho, p. 432), available, under what regulations we can hardly expect to know, for the support of the civil administrators.

In view of these conditions we may, so far as the Tibetan army is concerned, dispense with any consideration of levies and supplies and general administration. Turning to strictly military matters, we must recognize, first, that we have actually but little evidence of different departments in the Tibetan army. No classification analogous to the Indian
description of the "four-membered" army, consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry, or of feudalatories, mercenaries, guild levies, and wild tribes, is here apparent. One passage refers to a "commandant of horse" (rta-dpon) and a "commandant of camels" (dvi-dpon), in the Ha-ža kingdom; and a "commandant of riding horses" ([m]chibs-dpon) is mentioned both in a document and also in the Chronicle (l. 152), which speaks further of "four regiments of horse" (chibs-sde-bi, l. 218) and of a "troop of horse" (chibs-kyi-cha, l. 164). But there is little to dispel the impression that, in general, riders and footmen belonged to the same regiment (sde): in view of the abundance of ponies in Tibet and the great distances which had to be traversed it is likely that the Tibetan armies consisted largely of mounted men (Vol. I, p. 285). In one passage (p. 272), however, we have a description of a marching army with horsemen in the van, archers and "dagger-armed soothsayers" (probably the phur-myi of p. 174 and M. Tagh. a, ii, 0089) in the middle, and mail-clad spearmen bringing up the rear.

The most abundant and important information contained in the documents consists in the names of regiments (sde). Their number is large, and with the aid of a literary statement it is possible to make a definite discrimination between those locally raised and those which belonged to Tibet proper. It is indeed highly interesting to read on the wooden or paper fragments from Chinese Turkestan the names of battalions which otherwise would be entirely unknown, were they not also recorded in a literary text, itself previously unexamined by scholars outside Tibet. A historical deduction also is suggested. In the Mirān documents the regiments named are almost exclusively such as were connected with the adjacent districts, those of Rgod, Nag-šod, Hdzom, and

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1 Several of the names are cited, but as names of "provinces" and without identifications, on p. 46 of Dr. A. H. Francke's "Notes on Sir Aurel Stein's Collection of Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan", JRAS., 1914, pp. 37-59—Serindia, pp. 1460-8.
Kha-dro, while at Mazār-Ṭāgh we have mention of many belonging to Tibet proper. This supports the conclusion that the Nob region, an earlier acquisition, was under peaceful local control, whereas in Khotan, a less accessible and more recently conquered kingdom, Tibetan armed forces were required. History is involved also in the mention of foreign-raised regiments, such as the Yarkand regiment and the "Good Hor (Turk)" regiment. In the appended list the units of the two classes are distinguished in detail.

Here also we should revert to the question of the Shuṅs. That Shuṅs was a tribal designation is, as we have seen, certain (pp. 52, 296-7). In connection with soldiers the Shuṅs are not infrequently mentioned, but in such a way as to imply a distinction; and once or twice we read of persons or things being "handed over to the Shuṅs" (Shuṅs-la-btan, infra, p. 446). It is to be inferred that the officers discharged were those of police, camp-servants, camp-followers, etc., and that the Shuṅs were a people who had established an aptitude for such work.

Some particularity is involved, no doubt, in the expressions spin(1)-dmag (p. 148), "brother-army", and mun-dmag (pp. 270, 435, Chronicle, II 6, 51-2, 201), which have a probably accidental assonance. The designation dgyes-sde (infra, p. 456) can hardly, as we have already noted, contain the word dgyes, "rejoicing", more especially as it recurs in the place-name Stag-sras-dgyes-kyi-rtsa "Tiger-son-dgyes-peak". It may have denoted some corps d'élite. An interesting feature is the existence of a separate ambulance corps, Mhäld-pahi-sde (from mňel or gnël, "be sick") or Mňal-kphan-ghi-sde ("Fatigue-benefit corps").¹ That such was the purpose of the corps appears from the fact that it included a functionary designated "middle-rope" (thag-bar, pp. 215, 416, 431, 464): a frequently recurring (pp. 203, 216, 464).

¹ See infra, p. 464.
224, 248 and M.T. b, i, 0059, etc.) expression is ri-sug, which can only be rendered "mountain-sick".

In connection with organization we may here refer also to a few other terms. The sense of augmenting or reinforcing is conveyed by the verb snon-pa (pp. 243, 432.3, and M.T. b, i, 0059), from which come bsnon "sent as reinforcement" (M.T. b, i, 0059), brnans-tsho "reinforcements" (p. 184), and the frequently (pp. 373, 433, and M.T. 0522, c. iii, 005) occurring rtin(qtin)-non "rear-guard (reserve?) man". The general term for a body of soldiers seems to be tsho, whence mkhar-tslo (p. 432 and M.T. a ii, 0976) "town-garrison" and so-tsho (pp. 432, 447:44) "soldiery". A "troop" of cavalry is cha (pp. 273.A2, 435). A small body detached for a special purpose is tshugs (pp. 232:82, 249:106); a dpun is a larger force, perhaps of indefinite size (since we have the expression cce-dpun (M.I. xvi, 0010) "large force"—but note dpun-dpon "commander of a dpun")—while an army is dmug.

The fort, sku-mkhar (or skun-khar), is properly "citadel"; we have also (p. 184) dgra-zun "guard-house". The watch-tower, mthon-khyab (p. 446:40 and M.I., xiii, 002, etc.) might either belong to a fort or have a separate existence. In the field a Tibetan army was known for its black tents (supra, p. 288): a day-time encampment was a shin-ma (infra, pp. 447, 451); at night it would perhaps be a mthshan-ra. A watch (eighth part of the 24-hour day) is theu, while mel(myes)-tshe, "watch" or "sentinel" (= mel-tshe-pa) is perhaps more technical (infra, p. 448). "Provisions" is bryngags (L-bryngags, "Khotan goods or provisions", p. 438 and ref.).

In regard to services and ranks we note first the general term for service as a soldier, so: the individual soldier is so or so-pa and often (perhaps if an officer or if marked out as a "brave") also stag "tiger", a term which is also an element in many proper names. For levying a force from a population and also for appointing to any office the regular verb is sko-bo (pp. 160, 206:41, etc.; Chronicle, ll. 58-9, 62,
etc.); the man "joins the soldiery or service" (so-la-sdu-bo, pp. 196, 454). When excused on ground of health or for other reason, he may have a substitute skyi-pa (or debtor, p. 224); and bodies of men in forts or other employment may (like assessment lists, etc.) be changed (spo-bo) or relieved. He receives rations (tshal-ma, p. 245, etc.), generally of wheat or barley, and no doubt drink (skyems), for which he has a cup (skyems-rdzehu); sometimes meat also, and wages (gla). When sent out on a journey, he is authorized perhaps to levy his rations en route. For the soldier, as for the civilian, default of travel clothes (rad-gos) is a hardship; and some letters, perhaps from higher ranks, refer to thick overcoats. Some means of punishment for misconduct is termed ri-su (p. 252): cowardice in face of an enemy is, naturally, punishable by death (infra, p. 453); to desert or run away is khro (or sbr-sbr-bo).

Coming now to the matter of armament and weapons, we find mention of the sgyogs "catapult," perhaps a sort of war-engine such as the ancient Indians had in their sataghnis and so forth. Scales of leather armour have been recovered by Sir Aurel Stein (Ancient Khotan, i, p. 252, n. 9), and the documents speak of the ya-lad "heim-and-corslet" (in one piece?) and of a Rgya-khrab "Chinese buckler or coast of mail" (infra, p. 442). We have also found the žub-chen (žub-can), "coat of mail," and the slob-khris "foot (leg)-wrapping," i.e. putte. Among weapons of offence we have, of course, the sword (rul-gril), spear (ngsugs), and dagger (phur); but no doubt the bow (gzhu) and arrow (nlab), sometimes a "poisoned reed-shaft") were the most usual, for which reason a list reproduced supra consists almost exclusively of archers (kphongs) and their supports (dgon, p. 441, and M.I., viii, 88a).

1 Note phyi-mahi-go (p. 238) and sso-shad-ma (a. iii, 6059) "later" or "subsequent" service; also khor-sag (pp. 306, 453) "inave".
2 According to the Chinese (Bushell, J.K.A.S., 1880, p. 442)."The [Tibetan] armour and helmet are very strong and cover the whole body, with holes for the eyes only."
In one passage (infra, pp. 440-1) we have apparently an outfit for a *dpson*, consisting of breast-plate, two knives, scissors (?), bow, arrow, sling, pouch for arrow and knife.

The numerous terms denoting ranks or special functions are partly expressions of unmistakable meaning and partly prefixes which, not being recognizable as clan or other surnames, seem from their occurrence to have official application. Of the former kind are.—

*dmag-dpon*, "army commander" or "general" (pp. 33, 122, 124, 196, 455, and M.T., 0503 bis, a. v, 0017, etc.);

*ru-dpon*, "horn (or wing) commander," probably either on a major or on a minor scale (pp. 349, 445, and M.I., xliii, 002);

*dpun-dpon*, "commander of a corps, troop" (or perhaps of any considerable body of men: pp. 179, 273, 304, 445);

*tshugs-dpon*, "commander of a squad or small party of men (most often, four)" (pp. 128, 130, 156, 172, 229, and M.T. 0013, etc.);

*bog-dpon*, "subordinate commander," second to the *tshugs-dpon* (pp. 129, 256, 301, 403, and M.I., xiv, 0070, etc.);

*mcibs-dpon*, "commander of riding horses (cavalry?)" (p. 445; Chronicle, l. 152);

*byan-po*, "cook," who, with his *byan-g-yog*, "cook's mate," (or "servant"), is frequently mentioned in connection with a *tshugs* or a regiment;

*dar-(m)tshan*, "silk(banner)-man," or standard-bearer (p. 70);

*yig-tshans-pa*, "record-keeper" (supra, p. 418).

To the second group belong—

*gyab* (pp. 126, 444, and M.I., xiv, 37);

or *egab* (p. 418).

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1 Several of these are noted (but *ru-dpon* as "master of a clan") by Dr. A. H. Francke, op. cit., p. 44.
bag-ru (M.I., xiv, 125; M.T. a, v, 008);

dag-(r)u-su (pp. 445-6);

cu-ru (pp. 127, 161, 273, and M.I. xiv, 46);
on-ru (p. 243);

dag-ra (p. 446);

dbrad (pp. 208, 292, and M.T. 0439);

or shrad (p. 180);

glan-sum (p. 177); glan-myi (p. 172);
g-yer-lo (p. 172) or gyerd (p. 458);
gu-nan (M.I., xiv, 007);

or ko-nan (pp. 457, 468, and M.I., xiv, 0059; M.T. a, ii, 0031);

or kho-nam (pp. 155, 466);

bhor (p. 469);

do-nam (pp. 174, 219);

ho-nal (pp. 131, 170, 460, and M.I., ii, 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; xxvii, 11);

ra-sangs (pp. 171, 175, 196, and M.T., a, i, 0031; ii, 003); sje (p. 196);

ru-sa (pp. 336, 443); cuh (p. 444);

se or sebu (pp. 456, 465, 468);

gebsen (pp. 255, 300, 462, 468);

sina-sur (pp. 174, 446, 454, 467, and M.T. a, iii, 0070; c, i, 0061);

sin-lo (p. 461);

sro (pp. 174, 444, 457);

stem-k(y)ya (pp. 128, 160);

sntu (p. 176).

The gyab or gab may perhaps be the sgab whom we have found mentioned as second to the army(or battalion)-commander. In the group bag-ru, bag-(r)u-su, ce-ru, ron-ru, the syllables bag and ce may mean respectively "little" and "big", while ron might represent ron-po, "big," "massive," "deep" (of sound): hence it is possible that ru is an old form of rna "drum", so that the persons in question would be drummers, while the bag-ru-su, who
is once styled "left-hand" (g-yon), implying a "right-hand" confrère, may be a drummer officer. Bag-ra might mean "small enclosure" or "precaution enclosure"; but ra can also mean "first". On the analogy of chen-ched, sman-smad, etc., gšen (Bon-po Gšen ?) might be = gšed "executioner". Concerning the remaining expressions conjecture seems idle. It is possible that some of them are not military, e.g. ra-sans (which with ra-sans-rje, "ra-sans chief," occurs in the Chronicle, II. 19, 22), and gšer-lo, which may be = sger-pa, "a private landholder" (sger-lo "private").

It seems that when a man was appointed to a special function he received a "hand-memorandum" (sug-rjed) or commission (pp. 246, 375, 443-4, 466). In p. 444 and M.T. a. ii, 0048 we have so-rjed.

Of peace-time operations the most important were the summer and winter assemblages (hdun or hdun-nsa, supra, pp. 190: 21, 338) of ministers and generals, constantly recorded in the Tibetan Chronicle. They were often preceded by levying of troops from particular populations or followed by official measures or warlike action. Their military aspect is represented by the reviews, rkan-ton, which may be rkan-hdon "giving out of bundles" (but rkan also = "foot"), and in part by the rtshis-mdge "census", which, however, would have mainly a civil bearing: see pp. 200-1. More staple duties were, of course, the garrisoning of the forts and towns (the citadel of Khotan, p. 184) and the building, maintaining and supplying of out-stations, as shown in numerous documents from Mazār-Tāgh. On one occasion we hear (at Mirān, supra, p. 29) of soldiers being sent to protect the peasants engaged upon the harvest. A preoccupation which appears rather plentifully in the documents is that of communications. We do not, indeed, hear of the towers at distance of about 20 miles or the arrangements for smoke-signalling. But we have examples of missives dispatched by various authorities, sometimes with insistence upon prompt forwarding, "day-time or night-time," and denunciation of
penalties in the event of straying or delay. There are circular communications (sometimes from parties in distress), to be acted upon or passed forward; and, similarly, parcels are sent on from stage to stage. The wooden tablet, byan or byan-bu, when conveyed by the soldier, is so-byan (pp. 252, 260, 463, and M.T., xiv, 0019, 126), while a “soldier pass” seems to be so-phyar-ma (p. 202 and M.T. b, ii, 0052). When it is a matter of relays (so-res, pp. 208, 224, 408, 436, and M.T. a, ii, 0054; or so-rims, pp. 260), the so-byan becomes so-res-byan, sometimes so-ris-byan (p. 436). For the longer and more important communications the folded paper letter may usually have been preferred; or the soldier may have a verbal or secret message. When dispatched on secret service the soldier is so-nil (pp. 224, 448, and M.T. 0257, 0380; a. iii, 0039); in one instance (p. 205), where the expression is so-rdzu-nil (also in M. Tägh 0439) “soldier-disguise-secret,” a party has been absent for nearly a year and has covered a great distance. If the word spa-sa (p. 437 and M.T. a. iii, 0067) means “spy,” it is a borrowing from the Prakrit of an earlier period, since it occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (ṣpasa, Index).

An art of war is naturally professed among all peoples. The Tibetans, during their long and intense struggle with China (not to mention other powers), must have developed conceptions of strategy and tactics. In the Lha-sa inscriptions the general Klü-khon is versed in the “expedients of the war-god” (dgra-lha-thabs, JRAS., 1910, p. 1277, ll. 28–9). The battles recorded year by year in the Tibetan Chronicle and the great victories (g-yul-bzlog-chen-po) mentioned in a text concerning the wars with China, the Drug, and the Hjan,

1 As suggested by Sir Aurel Stein in a note on p. 53 of Dr. A. H. Francke’s above-cited paper (JRAS., 1914). It should be mentioned that Dr. Francke takes bgral-ba as = bgral-sa, “the runner,” which, however, should be bgrul-ba-po. The sense of “post-runner” would indeed suit those passages where we seem to have the phrase bgrul-ba-la-rnas-po, “inquired of the runner”; possibly “the post” is sometimes an equivalent of “the postman.”
must have educated the Tibetan warriors and caused them to appreciate, as in a passage cited above, the various fighting qualities of different populations. In the Turkestan documents, however, there are no references to important military events (dgra-thabs "fighting" or "army", pp. 233, 432, 434, and M.T. 0273): the incidents brought to light are nothing more than a man-capturing (myi-ḥdzin, pp. 273, 435) expedition into the Dru-gu country, a hostile raid upon the town of Ka-dag, a Kirghiz attack upon an official party in Kan-su. But we have one or two fragments of tactical instructions, addressed to parties sent out on hostile errands or where an encounter with an enemy might be apprehended.

Naturally there are divers personalia mentioned in the documents, purchases, loans, legal agreements, punishments, complaints of failure of rations, appeals for interviews, friendly gossip, deaths. Along with most of the topics discussed above such matters have appeared incidentally in the previous articles. We may now prefix to the list of regiments some further pièces justificatives in relation to these as well as to the more general subjects. It is probable that to the populations of the cities and kingdoms in Chinese Turkestan, with their relatively old civilizations, the Tibetan invaders appeared rude even in comparison with their earlier conquerors, the Hiung-nu, Ephthalites, and Turks. It was not a century since the Tibetans had made the first advances out of their original barbarism, and the nobles had taken to Chinese silk in place of their native homespun. There was, no doubt, as has been suggested (Vol. I, p. 243, n. 5), some malice in the parable which made the Tibetan soldiers to be reincarnations of cattle. In the forts Sir Aurel Stein has exhumed a still active redolence (Serindia, pp. 459-60). The devastations of Buddhist shrines in the first Tibetan invasions of Khotan are lamented in the Prophecy of Vimalaprabhā. But Asiatic barbarians who have lived in the vicinity of great civilized empires such
as that of China are not obtuse or innocent or un receptive of civilized arts. They take quickly to literary and other culture and develop the formalities and graces of society. The encampments of the Hsiung-nu, the Ephthalites, and the Turks are described by Chinese visitors as exhibiting much splendour; and the same was certainly the case with the Tibetan courts. At a somewhat later time a passage which we have quoted (Vol. I, p. 275) is eloquent on the prosperity of the kingdom, the "rule of virtue and goodness", the "state-law of five divisions", "justice with its five procedures", safe frontiers, foreign conquests, "god's law, man's law both flourishing and prosperous". In Chinese Turkestan writing appears to have been in very general use among the military, as well as the civil, classes of Tibetans; and in both cases the epistolary correspondence is characterized by politenesses of expression and action: these matters, however, being not specially military, have been exemplified in another connection.

II. Documents

1. Services, Departments, and Divisions

1. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0022 (wood, c. 15-5 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ii. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] བ ་ཁང་བར་མེ་ཚབ་པ་གྱིས་ཤེས་ལ། རྒྱན་ སྦུ་ན།. [A 2] བམ་པ་ི། (for smra, baḥi ?) ་བོས་ རྡ་ཐེག་ིར་འབོད་པར་མ། ཨི་བོ གསོལ ་།

"To the 'mid-rope' soldier Mēstshab: petition for handing over (bzaṅ) a subject (servant, slave ?) Rya-sdug-skyes, stated to be a northern Slaṅs."

1 In regard to the last two see Boad, Buddhist Records of the Western World, i. pp. xci-li, Life of Hiuan-Tsang, p. 42.
2 See Franko, op. cit., pp. 50-1.
3 s here crossed out.
4 d here crossed out.
5 اپن here crossed out.
Notes

The doubt as to the readings (smra-baḥi and bṛug-bar) renders the translation uncertain: it is possible that Rynsdug-skyes is the writer of the letter. On Sluńs see pp. 296–7.

2. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0011 (wood, c. 23.5 × 2.2–2.5 cm., complete, somewhat curved; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Four couriers in one day sent to the company of soldiers. Written orders of importance to the members of the administration having been sent after the battle, show all possible zeal in accordance therewith and carry them out."

Notes

On so-tshor and ġier-khum see pp. 42, 424.

1. 1, phrugs: a period of 24 hours.

chab-srid = "government"; yan-lag = Sanskrit anga, "subordinate member."

1. 2, dgra-thabs seems here and elsewhere (supra, p. 430) to mean "battle". Or is it "down to the army"?

3. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0034 (wood, c. 10–10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"On the first of the middle spring month decided (or appointed?) to reinforce the town garrison afresh."

On mṛkhr-Ḥtsho (also in a. ii, 0076) see pp. 421, 424.

4. M. Tāgh., i, 0015 (wood, c. 10.5–11 × 2 cm., pointed at l., somewhat broken away at top and bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

"Nam-ru-pag rearguard (reserve?) soldier in River-confluence-bank."

**Notes**


5. M. Tāgh., 0522 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., pointed at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] ♃ [ : ] Nam. ru. pag. stai¹. rtiṅ. non. gi. Šo.
[2] rtsaṅ. ḡr[lam. gyi. so. pa |

"Nam-ru-pag rearguard soldier at Šo river-bank."

On Šo see p. 243.

6. M.I., xiv, 005 (wood, c. 12-5 × 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ♃ || Shal. pa. ri. ḡi. so, bzi. tso[gs. gchig
[A 2] ḡhrugu. lohi. dbyar. zla. ḡ [brīn (?)]. poḥi(?)]. tshes:
[B] dru[gs?]. la. brdzas. pa[ghi. so. byan

"Soldier ticket of four soldiers of Shal-pa-ri, one squad, sent on the sixth day of the middle summer month of the Dragon year."

On tshugs see supra, pp. 424, 426. M.I., viii, 75; xiv, 0019, 126 are similar.

7. M.I., xxvi, 13 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1-1.5 cm., cut away at top and bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[gh]tan. bahi

[B] dgra. thabs. d[an] ḡ[e ?] ... s. su. bg[ybh]

"Na-rton having been sent on the thirteenth day of the middle winter month to reinforce the soldiery of Shal-pa-ri, he is [to take part in] the fighting."

¹ stai crossed out.
² Below line.

ý f
Notes

The place Sbal-pa-ri (Sbal-pa mountain), which is common to the two documents, is not otherwise known: it would belong to the Miran region. On dyra-thabs see pp. 430, 432.

8. M. Tagh. 0581 (wood, c. 10.5 x 1.5 cm., cut away to a point at l. and r.; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) recto + l. 1 (+ upper part of another) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A1] ... -n-[t] | -n,-y- | [A2] [sl]a,[l]a : la : so,
bs[k]os ... 
[B] ... [s]o:bs[k]os | pa| | chu(l) [ga][m] (l).
"Soldier called up."
So-bosos: See p. 424.

9. M. Tagh. a. iv, 0014 (wood, c. 21.5 x 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

"To lord Btsan-ba: letter-petition of sergeant of four Tigers. A Khotan mountain-sick man having on the evening of the eleventh deserted, the station (so-kha) is left insufficiently manned (or the soldiers (so) are left deficient (kha-ral-du))."
Bros, from khrab-ba, is the regular term for desertion or running away: on this and on so-kha, see supra, pp. 419, 425.

10. M.I. xiv, 418b (wood, c. 16 x 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

"Soldiers come in one hundred (?) and twenty-seven."
If babs is here correctly read, the term ("come in"), which recurs below (p. 443, B1) and in M.T. a. ii, 0054, explains the (several) documents containing only, on the same or different sides, the words bab and that, signifying "come in" and

1  h crossed out.
"released"; but they might be records of imprisonment. Dr. A. H. Francke, who has referred (op. cit., p. 49) to such documents, has suggested a different explanation.

11. M.I. iv, 66 (wood, c. 11 × 2-3 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; II. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

[A 1] ... spuṅ.sde.myi.ḥdzin.cha.cig.gtān.chad (bar?)
[A 2] ... [s].miṃ.am.du.mchi.ba[r?]za[h,l]on
[B 1] ... zes.dgos.ches[es].pa,l...
[B 2] ... [辎].[m]un.mag.smad.du.[辎,s?]...

"... force regiment, one man-capturing troop ordered to be (?) sent ... to go with ... Uncle Councillor ... highly necessary ... the mun-army ... below ..."

On myi-ḥdzin-cha "man-capturing company" and mun-dnag see supra, pp. 273, 430.

12. M.I. xxvi. 1 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at l. and r. and somewhat rotten; II. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] ... [myi].gsol.na.su.la.gsol ... [A 2] ... chis. ][
dbus.pa.ru.yaṅ.lag.pah.khrom.[m] ... [B 1] ... Nob.
[ches].po.na.mchis.pah | Rgod.g-yu-[gyi?] ... paṅ su (?) ...
[B 2] ... [pha].h.la.[stsol].cig.bar.bkah.[gy] ...

Too fragmentary for continuous translation, the document speaks of a person belonging to a "brigade-division" (ru-yaṅ(n)-lag-pa) of the "Central area" (dbus) as being come into Great Nob. On the phrase "if request ..." see p. 438; on ru-lag p. 418 (ru-yaṅ-lag, p. 146: 42-4).

13. M. Tāgh. b. 1, 0019 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; II. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[ste?] ... stag.brtsan.Gyer bu.chuṅ.[B 1] gis.ston.sla:
ra.bahi.[bdagi]so.res.bgyis.[B 2] te.[bdag].gi[s]:
Gyer:bu.chuṅ:gi:so.res.[B 3] [b]gyis:[na]:ruṁ:nam:
m[y]i.ruṁ:cha:sp[r]ja:
"Or else, I having been granted leave (dhor-žag), Stag-britsan Gyer-bu-chun discharged my soldier-relay duty for the first autumn month. Is it proper or not proper for me to discharge Gyer-bu-chun's soldier-relay duty? Send word."

On so-res see p. 429; on brgyah-la see p. 145.

14. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0017 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5–2 cm., broken away at l.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

\[A\] . . . s. \| bdag.lta.\textit{nan}.pas.rno.thogs. \[B\] . . . kho.la.so.\textit{ris}.byan.myi.\textit{hiba}.na.tsheg.gehig [1].

"A humble person like me [not being] able, . . . if he has no soldier-relay ticket, it is a difficulty."

On so-\textit{ris}-byan see p. 429.

15. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 001 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete, stained; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


Orders regarding dispute (?) have been sent, signature attached, to Khotan."

On \textit{skyin} "substitute" see supra, p. 425. M.L. xiv, 0037, seems to speak of "four soldier substitutes" (so-\textit{skyin}-\textit{ba}).

16. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0038 (wood, c. 13 × 2.2–2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script, somewhat faint and obscured by dirt).

\[A\ 1\] \textit{\textbullet}. \| \textit{dyar.sla.ḥbrin.pho} | tshes.bco.brgyad \[A\ 2\] la | so.\textit{nul} | [Gž-ms.Khye\textit{h}u.\textit{e}n]un | slar [B] mchiste. | ĝnir.\textit{ḥgum}.la.

"Middle summer month, day eighteen. Soldier-spy Gž-ms. Khye\textit{h}u-\textit{e}n returned, with task performed."

On so-\textit{nul} and ĝnir-\textit{ḥgum} see pp. 42, 429.

17. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 18 × 2 × .75 cm.,

1 Compendious for \textit{gol}. 
cut away for a tally; incised lines recto; II. 1 (on side) + 2 (recto) + 1 (on side) of cursive dbu-can script.

[A] | lo.sar.gi. bag.pye. dan.chan (space) [s-]s.de. |
[B 1] cha[d]. te. sna. slad. sdoms. te. chad. pa (space) chan (space) bag.pye
[C] yahn.apah.sa.de.la.stsal.d |

"Barley-meal of the new year and beer. ... It having been decided, earlier and later, to pay it, it has been paid. Beer: barley-meal, separated in the ticket; a ticket has also (or again and again) been sent up to that spaḥ-sa."

The translation is in part uncertain. On spaḥ-sa (spa-sa) see supra, p. 429.

18. M.I. vii, 49 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2 cm., broken away at l. hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] . . . m.myi.m[no]rl (?). dpon.sna.la.myi.skyin. 
[A 2] . . . [ms]. mchil[s]. h[b]rel.mo. skyes.la. gcig(gan.g-?). 

"To ... the chief in command: [many] men substitutes have come. There being for the males not a single female companion, the ruler-in-chief is begged to send at once many serving-women."

The defective text allows of some dubiety in regard to this military communication.

2. Provisions, Rations, Pay

19. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0030 (wood, c. 9.5 × 1-5 × 1 cm., burned away at r.; "neck" for string at l.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] | jo: co : Btsan : bahī (bih ?) : rman : s[tsi ?]... 
[B] Li : ri : zug : chaḥi : brgyags ... 
[C] las : phaḥ : tsa : blaḥs : s[?]e ... 
[D 1] so : la : byon : [s]na : kyab ... 
[D 2] no : de : las : thugs ...
"A camel (horse ?)-man (rmön-rdzin ?) of the chief, Btsan-ba, having received a package from ... Khotan mountainsickness company provisions, is come to the soldiery ..."

*Pha-tsa* (in various spellings) "a package" recurs several times (p. 38, M. Tāgh, 0245, etc.). On *Li-ni-zag-chahi-brgyags* see pp. 192, 216. In M. Tāgh, 0440 occurs so-pa-ḥi-brgyag[x], "soldier-provisions."

20. M. Tāgh, c. iii, 0036 (wood, c. 22-5 × 2-2-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto +1 verse of cursive dbu-can script).


"Written by Khri-mnes (?), name-record of the men who have eaten pieces of ox-flesh. (The names follow.) To these men have been paid four small handfuls each."

For references to ḥṅkal-ma "rations" see supra, pp. 51, 208: 43.2, 241.5, 245-8, and infra, p. 454: 53, A 2, B 1 and 3. In case of civilians (travelling agents, etc.) rations and reckonings of pay are subject of such frequent mention and the reckonings so exclusively in terms of barley, millet, etc., that the single reference (M.T. a. iii, 0011) to zams-gla-don-tse, "wages in copper don-tse," is highly exceptional. Soldiers' pay in money of any kind is not instanced; but the ransom of the regimental Khotan of p. 251 is stated as 4500 don-tse; and in civil life the luckless pony-man of p. 258 incurs losses of "three sraṅ of copper" and of "seven zo", and the shirking plasterers of p. 405 are fined "three sraṅ of gold" along with "three loads of vegetables".

Appeals from travelling parties of soldiers are seen in pp. 203, 205; and in pp. 51-2 a company of emissaries is empowered to levy from stores en route "circular-order-flour" up to 800 sraṅ.
What was signified by the expression *par-ša-ris-ma* (p. 201: 34, *deki-tsul-ma-ní-par-ša-ris-ma-latsogspa-sna-mas-htshald,* "His rations, *par-ša-ris-ma,* etc., were sent before," or "at first") is not apparent. Like the rations, it was a requisite for the return journey of a messenger, but it need not have been of the same nature as the rations. In M. Tâgh. a.vi.0056 (fragmentary) it is asked "Has *par-ša-re-si-ma* been received?" The expression is not Tibetan; and since in p. 201: 34 the messenger in question was a Khotani, it is possible that he was not serving as a soldier and that *par-ša-ris-ma* denoted something requisite for non-military Khotani persons and was an expression in Saka-Khotani language.

3. Armature

21. M.I., vii, 59 bis (wood, c. 18 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; II. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"To Councillor Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corsets three; to Councillor Phya-bzer upper helm-and-corsets two; to Tiger Gtshug-bzañ upper helm-and-corsets two; to Gun Rgya-legs upper helm-and-corsets two; to Councillor Stag-sgra upper helm-and-corset one; to Tiger Stag-rtsan upper helm-and-corset one; to Dpal-bzer upper helm-and-corset one."

*g crossed out.*
Note

Ya-lad is given in the dictionary with the meaning "helmet and corselet", "coat of mail" (perhaps in one piece): stod, "upper," in this connection may mean "outer", as in stod-gos, "overcoat," or "for the upper part of the body". From the document it is evident that such protective armature was usual, at least for persons of rank and "Tigers" "braves"?; cf. Forsyth, A Mission to Yarkund, p. 13).

22. M.I., xl, 8 (wood, c. 11 × 1.5-2 cm., complete, slightly curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

mdal· dar· sny (for sne or rni?), can· gsum

"Arrows with silken nooses, three."

Possibly the silk string served for recovery of the arrow after emission.

Cf. M.I., xiv, 142, and lvii, 007 (infra, p. 441).

23. M. Tagh. c. ii, 0053 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

mda : hu· thu· gi· gzu· gchig

"Bow for short arrows, one."

Mde· hu recurs M.T. a. iv 0026, c. iv, 0025 (mde· hu-thun· mkhan, "short-arrow man.").

24. M. Tagh. b. ii, 0044 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso, in columns, of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] mdal | Nen· kar· gyi· sde· De· ga· Lha· skyes | phub |
[A 2] rje· blas· dgon· gi· bsar· bya· n

[A 1] ral | ral | mdal· gzu· rgyud
[A 2] gyu· ma | gyu· bca | chan | dan· chas
[B] do· sgye | hurdo | mdal· ral· [kh]od (single)

"Nen-kar regiment: equipment ticket of his eminence De· ga· Lha· skyes, dgon:—Armour (or breast-plate); knife without haft; knife with haft; arrow; scissors (?); bow with string; bags, two; sling; arrow and knife pouch."
Notes

This document is interesting as illustrating the case of a monk—for such the "eminent Lha-skyes of De" (on which see p. 106) clearly is—acting as a dgon or archer's comrade, a relation which we have had a previous occasion for noting. Secondly, it exhibits probably the complete outfit of a dgon. In several points the reading or meaning is doubtful: thus bchan "scissors" is not certain, though probable, and the reading of the last syllable as khod and its interpretation as khud, "wrapper," or khud-pa, "pouch," are somewhat conjectural; but there is no difficulty in gyu-ma and gyu-bea = yu-med and yu-beas, while sgyi and sgye can both mean "bag," and hurdo (bur-rdo) is certainly "sling." In M.I., xiv, 006, p. 127, we have mdaẖ gzi ... bchan, "arrow, bow, scissors (?)."

25. M.I., xiv, 39 (wood, c. 20.5 x 1.5 x .75 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, faint and partly erased).

[1] ṭi | . | Rgod . tsan . smad . kyi . sde . mdaẖ . [g]zu . mdaẖ . ral . gyi (for gri ?). phub ... [2] [Lba ? zi?] m. Kl. spe . bṣar . [bdu?] . [staa?] . (khog—(n?)?) . ma . [bla] . [dar?] . "Lower Rgod-tsan regiment: arrow, bow, arrow, knife (-pouch ?), armour ... sent ... equipment [for] [Lba ? zi?] m. Kl. spe ... with banner (?)."

Notes

This is plainly similar to the preceding. Bṣar is clearly identical with the bsar of that passage: glah-dar has occurred p. 272 (= bla-dar "a little flag" ?); ral-gyi, p. 159. B4.

26. M.I., Iviii, 007 (wood, c. 19 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script, faint).

"Of ... lha, one government balance, large, in the form of a he-goat (†); drinking-cup, one, full; co-qa drinking-cup, full; flour, a full bre; oil, one ounce; wood, one bundle (†); arrow with silken string, one."

Notes

The meaning of co-qa ("lark") in pp. 393, 398, cog or tsoq) is not known: ris, for which the rendering "bundle" is suggested, usually means "figure", "outline", "quarter" res, "time" (i.e. "allowance") may have been intended.

27. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0057 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5-2 cm., somewhat burnt away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of square dbu-can script).

Φ || RgyaΩ.m.dun.rtse.bcu

"Chinese spear-points, ten."

28. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0026 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; somewhat curved; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] Φ || Rgya.khrab.ma.hbiΩ.n.rim.dgu.pa [B] gsum

"Chinese bucklers (or mail-coat), medium, with nine rows (or with nine medium rows): three."

The "rows" may point rather to bucklers than to mailcoats, both of which senses are given in the dictionary.

29. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0021 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

Φ || Byi.byar.gyi.khrab.ma

"Buckler of Byi-byar."

Apparently Byi-byar is a personal name.

30. M. Tāgh., 0353 (wood, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 (mostly erased) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A.1] Φ || spah. qner. las. cag. grugs. su. byun. ste. ma. [A.2] lom. baΩ. mdeΩn. thuΩ. gi. gΩ[u]. gnis | Li. gΩ[u].yΩ.n. [B] [mo].gsum

"From the man in charge of ornaments (†), broken and
unserviceable (?) bows for short arrows, two; light Khotan bows, three."

Notes

ma-lom-baḥ appears to be unknown; possibly it means simply ma-lom-pa. "not arrived." Cf. ci-lom, p. 355.

4. Grades and Commissions

31. M.I., vii, 33 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).


"Your humble servant, when appointed in succession to a duty, did not receive a sroḥ (nit = "bit" (?)) of commission. Down to the present time he has not got a commission. If ratification was kindly intended, please trouble to send orders that the minor ru-ṇa of the Upper Ḧdzom regiment, who at present, after going about roaming the country, is returned and is on the spot, should send my commission."

Notes

A 1, ḫtheb-tu, "in succession." Does this mean "in due course of promotion" or "in succession" to another?

sug-rjed, "hand-memorandum," is given in the dictionaries as meaning "a mark of honour as a reward," but here and again (infra, p. 466) it evidently corresponds to what we understand by a "commission" or formal appointment to a function. See p. 428.

A 2, bkhāḥ-drin-yañ-chad[d].u[ : This might mean "to ratify the kindness"; but bkhāḥ-drin seems sometimes to be used adverbially. Is behald from behel "desire" or behol "appoint"?

B 1, Ḧdzom-stod-kyi-sde : Concerning this regiment see p. 460.
ru-ña-cuḥ: Cf. p. 336. Since the term ro-ña occurs else-
where p. 445: 38) as a military title, this should be likewise.

32. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19-5 × 2-5-3 cm., cut
and broken at 1.; hole for string at r.; II. 4 recto + 3 (a
different hand and subject) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

... d.,bro.rmas.pa,dg-r.,ḥtshal,de.bro.mi.ma.,ḥtshal.bar.
ches: so: rjed.phyis.de.ḥtshal [A 3],... [cin].mchis.len,
len, du, gtañ, ba, lagsna, de, las, na, der, skur, bar,
thugs.spag. [A 4] [e]jr.mdzad.

"Letter-petition of Legs-khri: while glad of your having
sent your commands and inquired after [my] illness, I believe
I am not ill. The soldier-memorandum (so-rjed), which is
delayed, I am desirous (of having) and I have sent to get it.
So please trouble to send it there (here)."

Notes

1. A 1-2, dgar-ḥtshal...ḥtshal-bar-ches: The phraseology
is unusual.

so-rjed: "Soldier-memorandum" (or commission); see
p. 428. In a. ii, 0048 we read gsan-skyold-du-mchis-na-so-
rjed-mchis-ham-myi "as I am come on secret convoy, is the
so-rjed coming or not?"

A 3, der "there" for "here" seems to be epistolary.

33. M.I., vii, 16 (wood, c. 8 × 3 cm., complete; hole for string
at r.; II. 3 recto + 1 verso of inelegant cursive dbu-can script).

bo[r] [A 3] dan | Myes.mthyon. [B] la.kha.bstan ||

"One ox belonging to ḡyab Lha-ston, promised to Myes-bor
and Myes-mth(y)on."

On ḡyab see p. 426-7.

34. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0048 (wood, c. 9-5 × 1-5-2 cm., com-
plete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

|| |: | sro : Dgyer : sto |

"Sro Dgyer-sto."

1 a below line. len seems to be repeated in error.
On sro see pp. 427, 457.

35. M.I., xlii, 0013 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., broken away at l.; in two pieces of equal size; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script),


"After the administration of [H]p[h]au-skyes . . . appointed by [His Excellency] brigade-commander of Tshal-byi. . . . In the Dragon year ploughed by Na-bzaṅ; in the Serpent year, Laṅ . . ."

On ru-dpon "brigade-commander" see pp. 418, 426; on Tshal-byi, p. 119; . . . blas is perhaps for ye-cblas.

36. M.I., xlii, 006 (wood, c. 8·5–9 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, in part faded or erased).


"Horse-commandant g-os-kyo Yor-go."

On mehbs-dpon see pp. 422, 426.

37. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0093 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 6 × 1·5 cm., a discoloured fragment; ll. 1 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, obscure).

[A 1] ... dpun . pon . chen . po ||
[B 1] ... bul(dul ?).rtsan[s] (saṅs ?).chuṅs.[m] . . .

". . . major troop-commander . . ."

On dpun-dpon see pp. 424, 426.

38. M.I., xiv, 0012 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Region-commander-watertower regiment: list of work to be done by bag-nu-sūva up to minor ro-na going on secret service."

1 Compendious for Tshal.
Notes

1.1. ṅos-pon: "commander of a direction" (i.e. of a frontier in one of the four directions). Recurs pp. 337-8.

bag-ṇu-siva and ro-ṇa: See supra, pp. 427-8; pra-no = phramo "little".

1.2. so-nil: See p. 429.

rtṣis-mgu: See p. 428.

39. M.I., xiv, 0062 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   ϒ | . | bag:ho.siva.g-yon. | "Left-hand bag-(r)ho-siva."

40. M.I., lviii, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   ϒ | mthoṅ.khyab.gyi.sde.bag.ra.Khri
   "bag-ra Khri of the Watch-tower regiment."

41. M.I., xxvii, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at each end; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).
   ϒ | : | bag.ra.Bṣa(i?)hi.mehid.gsol.ba | "Letter-petition of bag-ra Bṣa (or of four bag-ras)."

42. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0042 (wood, c. 13-13.5 × 2 cm., practically complete; hole with string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script; verso also ϒ).

   "Mountain-sickness provisions for saṅa-ṣur Baṅ-ṭhe in Stag-skugs; to be handed to [a] Sluṅs soldier and conveyed in haste."

On saṅa-ṣur, ri.zug, and Sluṅs see pp. 296-7, 427, 423-4. The phrase "to be handed to [a] Sluṅs" recurs in c. iii, 0016 and p. 376, and it is evident that the Sluṅs people furnished the army messengers, police, servants, and camp-followers. On Stag-skugs see pp. 231-2.
5. Military Instructions

43. M. Tâgh. a. v. 002 and 0081 (wood, two adjoining pieces, together c. 11.5 x 2.5 cm., broken away at l. hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] . . . rtsal dri pa : | dbyard sla tha chun tshe gsum
[A 2] . . . . u rtsig pa hi dusu bshe na par thung [A 3]
[ . . . . . bag ma | bdor bar | iin ra sa mtsho zi n |
[B 1] . . . [da n] | rdul mgo ji gdrä (gdrä) ba
brtag : | mtshan zi n [B 2] . . . om ji grag pa yan iin,
gyi fi n ra da n [B 3] . . . r(n ?) mthun tshor
na : | Nam ru pag gi |

"sent. Take care to arrive on the third day of the last summer month at the time of building. . . . Putting away carelessness, the day encampment being high ground, mark . . . and what dust and heads appear; at night . . . what sounds. For the day look for and examine the day encampment and . . . Of Nam-ru-pag . . ."

Notes

A.3, bag ma seems to be = bag-med. iin ra = "day-enclosure", here and in B 5. In Khad. 037 we read mtshan-yan-rkan-ra-dma-du-gzu[n] "at night again the bundle-enclosure (rkan-ra 'foot-enclosure') to be taken on low ground (dma-du !)"

B.3, Nam-ru-pag-gi: The instructions are apparently for a company of the (oft-mentioned) Nam-ru-pag regiment, on which see p. 465.

44. M. Tâgh. a. v. 007 (wood, c. 13.5 x 2.5-3 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] | s so (so l) : sa : ldi : rnam : gyi tsungs

rgy i ! . . . har tsag tsig da n : rta sgra lha n b[tsi] jer
"To the sergeant and company of soldiers [in charge] of these contributions[?]... While the contributions are on their way to reach the place, as at present there is in Peñu (rtse ? mar ?) but little, it is requested that there should be no carelessness. In the day-time the country sounds... rustling (?) and clear neighing of horses and enemy... Halt during just nine watches of the night. An enemy having appeared..."

Notes

Analogous directions for caution on a march have been exemplified (p. 157, cf. infra). On tshugs-pon, so-tsho, myel-tshe see pp. 424, 426, 424, respectively. The "nine watches" of the night may be "nine watchmen" or "all the watches". Tshugs (from hdzugs) = "halt" is conjectural.

45. M. Tâgh., 0485 (paper fragment, c. 21·5 × 3·5 cm.; ll. 4 recto + 3 verso of clear, regular, dbu-can script).

[A 1] ... sña. nas...
[A] "... in front (or first)... driving... marching day and night... the troop should go in six like... The workmen and the armed fighting men, on seeing enemy heads... The
troop of ... waiting a moment, after scrutinizing avenues of flight and battle-ground, should wait in its place. [B] If some news of an intended ... comes, in the van horsemen should go in the manner of pioneers checked by the enemy on the way. If falling in with men in arms and ... they should retreat ..."

Notes

The document is fragmentary and accordingly in places obscure.

A 2. rka(ska)-tsam-gbag : "sleep only for a moment" ?
tshog = rtsog ?
B 2, bkar : On this word see pp. 440–1.

6. Incidents

46. M.I., x, 3 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete (in two pieces); hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dbu-cas script, in part faint).


"In regard to certain comers, friends (servants ?) of a great person in authority, who are without a provision-ticket and reduced to hunger, high and low bowing their

1 paḥi
2 dnyaḥsṅ
3 glung
4 gtsen yo / gtsen [sa]?
head-wraps in alarm to insult and seeking to mend their old vessels (?), be pleased to send orders to the chief official of Great Nob that, while they lament their homes and families... the enemy, no one high or low should harm them, and that they with their little brother (?) should be allowed to go down to the Thousand-district...”

Notes

A 1, bogyags-byuln: No doubt, a ticket authorizing receipt of provisions.

A 2, sūn-myī: This may mean either “friends” (sūn, “dear”) or servants (sūn, “hear”).

dbu-yugs... glan: Reading in part uncertain and translation conjectural. Dbu-yugs should mean “head-wrap” (= turban); glan or glon may mean “lend”, but it may come from len “take”, and the sense may be that people are insulting them and seeking to rob them.

B 2, phra-miin-dar(ā): Can this mean “with their little brothers”?

stojn-sde: This may be the governor of the Thousand-district, as p. 151.

47. M.T., 0488 (paper, e. 22 × 5 cm., fragmentary at l. (7), r., top and bottom; ll. 5 recto of good dbu-can script + l. 1 verso in an inferior hand).

[A 1] ...n dūn, ch....[g]...y...[s]...r...hdustel, m[chis]....

[A 2] ...zugs, gy...g-y[o]n,...l...to | hog, pon, ni, mye... skrad, gth-n, pahi, zal, ta, dañ, ñin, rañ, sto... [A 3] ...tshugs, hon, geig, bu, ltshal, pa, dmig, skyo... pas so | ye, mygis, myi, tshor, par, [mchis, pa]...

[A 4] ...ni, hog, pon, man, cad, pyan, g-yog, yan, cad, rta, sor, [byed], [pahi, myi, de], las, -e...

[A 5] ...pa, sug, las, gžau, ni, marqgis, [pa]...i

[B]...g...gsold, ci, g

“...being again united, went...avoided (g-yon-lend) the fire. The corporal...the service of putting out the fire
and... of the day-encampment... The sergeant, who wished to be alone, being of a quarrelsome (?) disposition, went unperceived by the alert-eyed soldiers... The... from corporal down to cook's mate... from those men who were (that man who was) causing the horses to run away... The... who had no other task..."

**Notes**

The incident is one in which a squad, with a sergeant and corporal, encounters difficulties, its encampment being fired and the horses scared away. The fragmentary state of the document obscures the details. Concerning ŋiṅ-ṛa, tshugs-pon, ye-mnyig, ḥog-pun, and byan-g-yog see supra. Mye-skra (from skrod), "put out," the fire, is probable; dmyig-skya "fancy-quarrelsome (or sorrowful)."

48. M.I., x, 2 (wood, c. 15.5 x 2 cm., slightly cut away at r.; II. 2 recto + 3 verso of cursive dū-can script, verso in part very faint).


"The great Uncle Councillor has by letter ordered that the families of those killed by the enemy while bringing offerings of useful contributions should upon their arrival in the territories administered be interviewed by the chañ-ḥvur: the commandants of Ten-Thousands and the commandants of Thousands should [do no harm to any of them: whoever seeks to harm them] is not to [receive consideration] even when dead—[orders from] the chiefs in command of Great Nob, superior and inferior."
Notes


A 2, ḷkhor-yul-chis-skagsu: We have translated ḷkhor-yul-mchis-skabsu. ḷkhor, however, could be taken with bu-smad, in the sense of "and belongings". Skagsu could mean "in ill-luck".

eyaṅ-khyur: An official designation, perhaps of a specific nature (= "city mayor"): see p. 25 and Vol. I, p. 27, n. 4

B 1-2, khri-dpon, ston-dpon: The commandant of a "Ten-Thousand" (district) is obviously superior to the commandant of a Thousand, concerning which office see p. 319. Both are civilians. The original text perhaps continued dag-gis || žig-la, gtse-ma, žig || chis (chi), gtse, byi-r. htshol-bas

B 3, bla-hog: Perhaps the intended meaning is "to all, superiors and inferiors, [gives instruction]."

49. M.I., xxviii, 0023 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of neat, clear, dbu-can script).

[A 1]... sp[e ?] || skun, kar, gyi, slad, rol, žin, tog, du |
[A 2]... [y]as, gtse, šin, glan, ka, bgyid, du, yan, glo, ba, [B 1]... [-i(e ?)], du, mchis, pa, [htshol, žin, mchis, na, [B 2]... [-i]s, myi, gtse, bar, chu, gnaṅ, žes, gsal, te.

"... in the fields (žin-tog = "thog") outside the fort are being harmed by... and are tempted (glo-ba-ṇe-du) to make reprisals (glan-ka). Being engaged in digging (htshol, ...) beg [you] to allow no [one] to harm...

On skun-kar (sku-mkhar) see p. 424. Htshol (with biol, gtol) probably means "dig"; but in the Tibetan Chronicle (ll. 20, 134) it occurs several times with the sense of "bury", which perhaps it has here (as also pp. 389-390 and in M. Tāgh.. 0293).

50. M. Tāgh. 001 (wood, c. 20-5-21 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at r., upper and lower corners; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 (mostly erased) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[1]... gsal, ba, thugs, bde, bar, smon, mchid, yi, ge, [las, šun, gsal [2]... n, so, ūnul, [las, gsan, ba, tsam,

"... petitions: Prayers for (your) happiness: this letter is to inquire after (your) health. So far as I hear from the soldier spy, it is excellent. Your humble servant has exerted himself for the transmission of grandson... 's provision basket (?). Of the men here Mes-slebs has gone on leave to Hu-ten. Also there are many mountain-sick: being no good for... an enemy, it looks as if they ought to be let go up. Have the three letters, prior and later, come, or not? Until we meet face to face may you be in good spirits: I am praying for an early meeting face to face."

On khor-žag "leave" see p. 436: 13; on ri-zug, pp. 423-4; yar (B 2) "up" might mean "back to Tibet" or "back to headquarters (Sin-san ?)"

51. M. Tāgh., i, 0014 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5-2 cm.; incised lines and notches recto and verso; large notch in bottom centre; hole for string at l., ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Punished (executed) for flight on appearance of enemy."

Similar punishment for cowardice is reported in M. Tāgh., 0206, and a. v, 0012, and b. i, 0036b (?).

7. Personalia

52. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 006 (wood, c. 14.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r., ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

1 mā (?)

"Ho-ru P[h]iyi-tshab, of the Ho-tsho-pag regiment, having after joining service, fallen ill, and being unable to go on service, it was arranged that he should exchange service earlier and later with a sna-sur returning to the Thousand-district and that P[h]iyi-tshab should go in place of the returning man."

Notes
A-1, so-la-btus: On the phrase see p. 425.
ston-sde: The Thousand-district is, no doubt, Ho-tsho-pag.
B-1, slog-ta: Apparently a technical term, denoting a man released from military service. Concerning sna-sur see p. 427.

53. M. Tagh., 0019 (wood, c. 14–14-1/2 x 3-1/2 x 3 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 recto + 3 verso of squared dbu-can script).


"To Lord Khris(?)-bzer and grandsons Cui-ra and Cui-hbrin: letter petition of Hpan-skyes. Stag-cui's rations, any at all, not having been sent down, he has died by suicide (hunger, ltojes?). My own rations also having been injured, please send. As for dispatching [a message] up, it is not possible to go. At present I am... rations."

1 I omitted.
Notes

A 1: On *isa-bo* "grandsons" see p. 228. Cuñ-ra and Cuñ-hbrin are, doubtless, sons of Khri-bzer.

A 3. *lbe-sgs* = lchbr, found supra, p. 31.

B 3. *su-mnar-čin*?

54. M.I., vii. 46 (wood, c. 14·5 x 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 2 of cursive *dbyu-can* script).

\[1\] [\[1\] hyi . ba . bgyis . pa . khrims . che . la . thug . pa .
\[2\] dmag . pon . daŋ \[2\] spyan . gis . dbyons . dkyigs . [la].
\[1\] gsal . cig. \[1\]]

"One who, for adultery, has met with a heavy sentence begs for a personal interview with the general."

Notes

*spyan-gis-dbyons*: "interview with sight." On dbyons, from *lbyon-pa*, see p. 22.

*dkyigs*: This is perhaps the word *dkrig*, given in S. C. Das' dictionary as meaning "personally".

55. M. Taqgh. c. i. 0030 (wood, c. 13·5 x 1·5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of squarish *dbyu-can* script).

\[A 1\] [\[A 1\] naŋ . rje . po . blon . Lha . bzer \[1\] . gi . xa . snar \[1\]]
\[Gyi . na \[A 2\] rīn . gi . mchid . gsal . ba . Mars . Lha \[2\] . rma .
gyaŋ . rkub . bead . \[B 2\] bar . gsal. \[B 1\]]

"To the presence of Lha-bzer, minister of internal affairs: petition of Gyi-na-rīn. Thanks for (or Do you allow) the rkub-bead of Mars Lha-rma. Gyi-na-rīn also petitions for rkub-bead."

Rkub-bead, which in Sanskrit would perhaps be *pāyu-cheda*, is perhaps some surgical operation: since the request comes from the person concerned, it can hardly be disciplinary.

8. *List of Regiments* (*sde*)

(N.B.—Regiments certainly belonging to Tibet proper about twenty in number, are distinguished by a *).

*Bar-kho-ste* (Bar-kho unknown).

* Compendious for *bter.*

* lagi (?)*. 
56. M. Tāgh, c. i, 001 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] Ｓ | . | Bar , khoi , sde | Rlaṅ , Gyer , bu , cuñ ,
[B] bāi , beul , rtsa , lna , chad |

"Bar-kho regiment : Rlaṅ Gyer-bu minor punished forty-five (stripes ?)."

Ｂｒｏｎ-ｔｓａｍ-ｙｇｉ-ｓｄｅ. See Ｈｂｒｏն ⁶.
Ｂｚａｎ-Ｈｏｒ-ｙｇｉ-ｓｄे (“Good Hor regiment”).

On the Good Hor and on the Ｈｂｒｏन-ｔｓａｍｓ regiment see p. 292, and infra, p. 459, respectively.

Further mention of the same regiment in pp. 256, 292, 371, 459, and M. Tāgh, a. iv, 0026, c. iii, 0060.

* Ｄａｇｓ(or Ｄｒａｇｅ)-ｐｏ-ｓｄｅ (Dags-po, a Tibetan tribal division; see Vol. I, pp. 280, 284.)

57. M. Tāgh, 0332 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

Ｓ | . | Ｄａｇｓ.ｐｏ.ｓｄｅ | Ｓｅ : Khu : rton

"Dags-po regiment : Se Khu-rton."

Se is perhaps a military title : see supra, p. 427.

Ｄｇｙｅｓ-ｓｄे (Perhaps a special kind of troop; on dgyes or sggyes see p. 229, and supra, p. 423).

58. M. Tāgh, 0351 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, very faint).


"To Chun-ra and Snaṅ-bzer of the Dgyes regiment upon inquiry by ... that [you] on your part are happy."

Further mention pp. 351, 384, and in M. Tāgh, a. ii, 0097.

* Ｄｏｒ-ｔｅ-ｈｉ-ｓｄｅ (Dor-te (or de), a Thousand-district in Tibet, as noted supra, p. 165, and Vol. I, pp. 279, 284).

59. M.L., 0034 (wood, c. 8 × 2 cm., fragmentary at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

60. M. Tāgh, 0239 (wood, c. 8.5 × 2.5 cm., complete (!); ll. 1 recto + 2 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] Nam, nam, smon, leg |

"...Gad-sram regiment: sro Tshes-mthoṅ requests three bre of flour."

Sro is apparently a military title: see supra, pp. 427, 445.

61. M. Tāgh, a, 4 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 (in 4 compartments) of cursive dbu-can script).

[2] s[d]e, la | [stshab] | cad |


Glan-šan-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh, a, i, 0021 (fragmentary).

Gom-pahi-sde (apparently different from the Grom(Hgrom)-pa regiment).

62. M. Tāgh, a, iv, 0037 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Gom-pa regiment: ko-nam P(h)an-legs."

63. M. Tāgh, a, v, 008 (wood, c. 12.5 × 1.5–2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

† Compendious for mthoṅ.
Gom-pa regiment: Phu-bag Mu-ne-stan.

Phu (Pu)-bag, which recurs pp. 211, 469, may be an official (or local) designation.

Gran-brtsan-sde (= Dran-mtshams, Vol. 1, p. 278 f).

64. M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0047 (wood, c. 10 × 2.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 of squarish dbu-can script).

1) ....... Gran. brtsan. sde | stag. Khri. [e] ...

2) sūn-ņen. | Tro. ki. Min. phan. daň | ...

Gran-brtsan regiment: officer Khri.-e...

sūn-ņen: Tro-ki Min-phän and ...

Tro-ki is probably a surname.

65. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0020 (wood, c. 11 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, obscure and dirt-encrusted).


"Gran-brtsan regiment: gyerd Khons...."

Gyerd is perhaps an official title: see supra, p. 427.

* Grom-pahi-sde (= Hgrom-pahi-sde, q.v.).

Gyar-skyan-gi-sde (= Yar-skyan-gi-sde, "Yarkand regiment," q.v.).

* Hbro-mtshams-kyi-sde (Hbro, a tribal district in Tibet: see Vol. 1, p. 277).

66. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0019 (wood, c. 11 × 2-2.5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script, in part faint).


Ga. sram. gyi. [sd ?e. [Rgya ?]

[B 1] ... [ber. gys] | ... Skyan. po. Lha. goň. daň.

[B 2] ... | gy — hna. ky—[s] Rma... khri. la. [sprino ?]

... Khyun, and of the Bro-tshams regiment Chinaman Dred-po, and of the Hbro... kh-n regiment Dgro Legs-zigs,
and of the Ga[d]-sram regiment Chinaman (?) ... bžer : along with Skyan-po Lha-gon ... : by [these] five sent to Rma ... khri."

Khun and Skyan-po are, like Ḥbro, tribal designations (noted supra). Ḥbro ... kh—n is perhaps = Ḥbrom-khön, and Ga-sram is the Gad-sram recorded in this list. Ḥgro is perhaps the Sgro Thousand-district of Tibet (Vol. I, p. 277).

Ḥbrom-qi-sde
Mentioned p. 175.


67. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0019 (wood, c. 12-12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Ḥbrom-tsams regiment: P[h]o-yon Ḥtus(Hdus)-rma, at present in Huten, inquires whether from what is owing to the army (dmag-skyin ?) extra wage (gla-(k)thud) is, or is not, paid."

The place-name Pho-yon (g-yon) is known as surname of a Tibetan queen: see S. C. Das’ Dict.

68. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0046 (wood, c. 11.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r. 2 recto of square dbu-can script + 2 verso in a more cursive hand).


[B] "Good-Ḥor regiment: Ḥjan Ma-brid.”
Notes

On the Good-Hor, San, and Mnaal-plan regiments see in this list. Be-sna is perhaps identical with the Ba Snaa-rma (of the same regiment) mentioned above (p. 63: 11F).

Hdzom-byar-sar-lha-ntsohki-sde (title imperfect?)

Mentioned in M. Tāgh, a, ii, 0096, quoted p. 172, i, 8.

Hdzom-smad-kyi-sde (“Lower Hdzom” regiment, Nob region).

69. M.I., i, 6 (wood, c. 6.5 × 1.5 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 recto + 1 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

mkar.du.lhp(b ?)yun.ba.las | so.[pa] ... [B 1] tsan.na.
mchis.pa.dan | bcu ... “Lower Hdzom regiment: the ho-nal ... having been into ... town, soldier ... was in ... tsan and ten ...”

Mentioned p. 131 and in M.I., vii, 17; xxiii, 009b.

On ho-nal see supra, p. 427.


70. M.I., ii, 38 (wood, c. 14 × 1.5 cm., complete; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

१ || Hdzom.stod.kyi.sde | Tahe.spon.Mthoñ.skyungs “Upper Hdzom regiment: Mthoñ-skyungs of Tshe-spon (in Tibet).”

71. M.I., ii, 37a (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


Mentioned pp. 131, 443.

* Hyrom-pahi-sde (Grom-pa, a Thousand-district of Ḥbro, in Tibet).

Mentioned pp. 171, 173.

Ho-tsho-pag-gi-sde

72. M. Tāgh, a, iii, 002 (wood, c. 14 × 2-2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).
Delivered by Lha-brtse of Na-gram, Ho-tsho-pag regiment.


73. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0010 (wood, c. 11.5 x 1.5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, smudged and partly erased).

Ho-jo-pag regiment: Khyun-po Snaa-koṅ, corporal.

Khyun-po is the name of a Tribal division of Tibet.

74. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0031 (wood, c. 14 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, in part faint).

Ho-tsho-pag regiment: the sőe-lo Na-gzigs.

sőe-lo is apparently a military title or connected with the sőel of p. 293 (the same sde).

Mentioned also pp. 293, 454.

Kha-dro-lu-sde (Kha-dro, a district in the Nöb region).

Mentioned p. 130 and in M.I., xliii, 3.

Khar-sar-gyi-sde. See Mkhar.

Khri-boms-kyi-sde (Khri-boms, in Tibet: see supra, p. 55).

75. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0033 (wood, c. 11 x 1.5-2 cm., cut away at bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

Khri-boms regiment: Dbyen Hphan-la-rtom.

Mentioned also in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0063 and H, 6. Dbyen is an unknown surname; dben means "anchorite".

Khri-dan-tha-gi-sde (Khri-tha, a Thousand-district adjacent to Hdre, in Tibet (Vol. I, p. 277) or Khri-tān of p. 368 ?).
76. M. Tāgh. c. iv. 009 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete as new; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

Κχρ. ὁν. ἄλ. σδε. γεσ. Τα. [πα ! ?]  
"Khri-dan regiment: Ταρ. (error for Ταδ. or Ταρ?)

P[h]-an-legs."

77. M. Tāgh. c. iv. 0041 (wood, c. 13-13:5 × 1:5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, in part faint).

Κχρ. ὁν. γ. σδε. γεσ. Τα. [πα ! ?]  
"Khri-d'an regiment: the γεσ. Cis-pah."


* Khri-goms-kyi-sde (Khri-dgongs, a Thousand-district of Ἰπρο, in Tibet).

78. M. Tāgh. 0382 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; II. 1 (+ upper parts of another) recto. + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 1] Κχρ. ὁν. γ. σδε. Τολ. γοδ. Ραχ. [πα]  
[A 2] ηα (χα !) [πα !] [πα]. γτζ. σε. τσο  
[B] ηα. μη. [πα]  
"Khri-goms regiment: Ραχ. byangs of Τολ. god . . ."


79. M. Tāgh. a. iv. 0077 (wood, c. 13:5-14 × 2:5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; II. 2 recto of square dbu-can script; verso 1 okṣara of the same).

"Lane-myi regiment: ρτσ. Klu. lod. na
geg. myi. chad. par. rjes. gtsh. [B] . . . d
not to be punished (!)."

The meaning of ρτσ. and of geg. is unknown; but cf. tseg in pp. 413, 436: 14 (tseg = tsegs ?).

80. M. Tāgh. c. iv. 0034 (wood, c. 10-10:5 × 2 cm., somewhat cut away at bottom; II. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, somewhat faint).
The surname Kog or Ha-kog recurs infra, p. 465, and elsewhere.

81. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0033 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

82. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0028 (wood, c. 12–12.5 × 2.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script, the second faint).

83. M. Tāgh. c. i, 0023 (wood, c. 12–12.5 × 1.5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 verso of squarish dbu-can script).

84. M. Tāgh., 0343 (wood, c. 12.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

85. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0087 (wood, c. 13–13.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square dbu-can script).
Mkhar-sar regiment: petition to Mon-chuň.

Mñaal-kphan-ghi-sde ("Fatigue-benefit" regiment) and—

Mñaal-pahi-sde (possibly connected with the Gñaal Thousand-
district of S.E. Tibet; but see supra, pp. 423-4, and

86. M. Tāgh, b, i, 0075 (wood, c. 12 × 1.5-2 cm., complete;
hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script, in part
faint).

Mñaal (?). pahi (?). sd[e]. thag. bar. Rtses. phyan.

"Mñaal-pa regiment: middle-rope Rtses-phyan."

On thag-bar see supra, p. 423.

Further mention pp. 247, 459.

87. M. Tāgh, c, iii, 0017 (wood, c. 13 × 1.5-2 cm., complete;
hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can
script; rubbed and in part faint).

[A 1] Skyi. stod. gyi. s[d]e. Se-[stou]. la. g[so]

[A 2] rõi —, [ch?hén (tshug !)]

[B] Mñaal. p[ä]. sté:

"Upper Skyi regiment: S-e. tshal land . . .

Mñaal-pa regiment." Also in c. iii, 0078 (paper).

On the Upper Skyi regiment see infra, p. 468.

Mthun-khyab-kyi-sde ("Watch-tower" regiment; cf. Nos-
dpon-mthun-khyab-kyi-sde)

Mentioned p. 446 and in M.I., xxv, 003.

* Myan-robi-sde (Myan-ro, a tribal district in S.E. Tibet;

Mentioned in M. Tāgh, b, i, 0095 (p. 174).

Nag-khrid-kyi-sde (no doubt related to Nag-śod, in the Nob
region)

88. M.I., xxviii, 0016 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away
at r.; ll. 2 recto of cursive dbu-can script; verso traces of
script).
"Nag-khrid regiment : petition of gyab Stag-bzer."

Nag-sod-kyi-sde (Nag-sod, a district in the Nob region).

89. M.I., xxviii, 0034 (wood, c. 7-7.5 x 1.5 cm., complete; hole for string at r. : ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[1] "Nag " | Ha.kog.Bor |
[2] sod.sde | rtsan |

"Nag-sod regiment : Ha-kog Bor-rtsan."

Further mention pp. 126, 130. On the surname Ha-kog, see p. 463.

Nam-tsevi-sde

90. M. Tägh., 0073 (wood, c. 13.5 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at l. : l. 1 of squarish dbu-can script).

"Nam-tsevi regiment : Ha Hur-lod."

Rña = "drum" or "camel" man! Cf. p. 427.

91. H. 3 (wood, c. 14 x 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto of square dbu-can script; l. 1 verso in a somewhat different hand).


[Nam-ru-pag-gi-sde (Nam-ru district in Tibet = Gnam-ru, N. of the Tengri-nor; see Geografia Tibet, p. 32).

92. M. Tägh. c. i, 007 (wood, c. 13.5-14 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. : l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

"Nam-ru-pag regiment : sehu Klu-hrtan."

On sehu see supra, p. 427.

Further mention pp. 233, 433, 447, and in M.T. 0263, 0383, a. iv, 0033; b. ii, 0038; c. i, 009; c. iii, 005; c. iv, 0040.

93. M. Tāgh., 0193 (wood, c. 14·5 x 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 recto + 2 verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 2] sde  
[B 2] du  

"Nen-kar regiment: kho-nam Na-legs, in the city desiring a commission as Under-Chief."

On kho-nam(n) and sug-rjed see pp. 427, 457.

94. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0014 (wood, c. 13 x 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of square dbu-can script).

ër || Nen. kar. gyi. sde. Ldog. ge. Lha. skyes  
"Nen-kar regiment: Ldog-ge Lha-skyes."

Ld(Rê)dog-ge is a surname, recurring elsewhere.

95. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0029 (wood, c. 12·5 x 2 cm., slightly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; 1. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

ër || Nen. kar. gi. sde. Dbah. Kha. myi |  
"Nen-kar regiment: Dbah Kha-my'i,”

On Dbah, a clan name, see supra.

Further mention in M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0044 (quoted p. 440).

Ñi-mo-bag-gi-sde

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0019 (quoted p. 293).

Nos - dpon - mthun - khyab - kyi - sde ("Direction - commander Watch-tower regiment").

M.I., xiv, 0012 (quoted supra, p. 445).

*Phod-kar-gyi-sde* (Phod-dkar, a Thousand-district of the Pa-tahab, in N.E. Tibet).

Mentioned pp. 174, 294, and in M. Tāgh., 0302.

Rgod-ldin-gi-sde (Rgod-ldin district in the Nob region).

Mentioned pp. 128-9 and in M.I., xiv, 008.
Rgyod-tsan-smad-gi-sde (Lower Rgyod-tsan district in the Nob region).
Mentioned pp. 127, 129, 441.

Rgyod-tsan-stod-kyi-sde (Upper Rgyod-tsan district in the Nob region).
Mentioned pp. 128, 144.

Rlaṅ-gi-sde
Mentioned p. 211.

Rtsal-mo-pag-gi-sde

96. M. Tagh. c. i, 0013 (wood, c. 10.5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 recto + 1 (a different hand) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A] 🥂 | Rtsal.mo.pag.gi.sde | snaḥ-sur.Stag.la.re
[B] Pyi.rise |
"Rtsal-mo-pag regiment: snaḥ-sur Stag-la-re. Pyi-rtse (a place-name)."

On snaḥ-sur see supra, p. 427.
Another mention p. 174.

Rtsa-thon-gyi-sde (Rtsa-thon, in the Nob region; see pp. 160–1).

97. M.I., xvi, 22 (paper, fol. No. 57 in vol., c. 26 × 4 cm. discoloured and irregularly torn away all round; ll. 4 (and some vowel signs of another) recto + 3 (and some lower parts of a preceding one) verso of cursive dbu-can script, in part faint.
Rtsa.thon.gyi.sde.Tor.ḥgu.Maṅ.skyes.la
"To Tor-ḥgu Maṅ-skyes, of the Rtsa-thon regiment."
Tor-ḥgu is probably a surname.
Further mention in M.I., xv, 0012 (quoted p. 160).

Saṅ-sde (named, perhaps, after the Lop-nor kingdom of Šaṅs or Mo-Šaṅs or the Tibetan Saṅs Thousand-district; see Vol. I, p. 278).

98. M. Tagh., i, 0025 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm. complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script

99. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 0027 (wood, c. 11 × 1-5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

"Upper Skyid regiment: kho-nan Chas.zigs."


* Ste-hjam-sde (Ste-hjam, a Thousand-district in E. Tibet; see Vol. I, p. 279).

100. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0026 (wood, c. 12 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of square dbu-can script).


[2] slag.pā, thum. po, bzhag

"Ste-hjam regiment: thick (bthug-po, or packed, thum) fur-coat of géše Phan-legs delivered."

On géše see pp. 427-8; on bzhag, pp. 431, 461.

Spyin-rtsan-gi-sde

101. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0016 (wood, c. 11-11-5 × 1-5-2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).

"Spyin-rtsan regiment: se Gu-btsan-ba (or se-gu Btsan-ba i)."

On se see supra, p. 427.

Tshān-myi-sde (Perhaps = Rtsan-mi, i.e. Chitrāl).

Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0518 (quoted supra, p. 177).

Yan-rtsan-gi-sde

102. M. Tāgh. c. iv, 002 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive dbu-can script).

[2] had.ba.si.pa

"Yan-rtsan regiment: in the house of gu-rib (slave?) Nags-rye..."

103. M. Tāgh., 0262 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 recto + 2 (in a different hand and for the most part erased) verso of cursive dbu-can script).

[A 2]  sde

[B 1]  | : | Yan.[rtsa]n.gi.sde...n.mchi...

[B 2] nān.rje.po  m[ochid.gso(l)]


Hjor is probably a title: see p. 427.

Further mention pp. 174, 179, 190 and in M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0021; a. vi, 0075.

Yar-skyan-gi-sde ("Yarkand regiment").

104. M. Tāgh., 0544 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Yar-skyan regiment: Pu-bag, local surveyor."

On Pu-bag see supra, p. 458. Yul-mthoň is perhaps used as a surname, here and p. 152: 46.

105. M. Tāgh., 0280 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., somewhat broken away at top l.; ll. 1 of cursive dbu-can script).


"Yan-skyan regiment: six brothers Legs."

(To correct Innermost Asia, p. 1085).

* Yel-rab-kyi-sde (Yel-rab, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet; see Vol. I, p. 278).

106. M. Tāgh., 1616. (wood, c. 13 × 1-5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of squarish dbu-can script).

|:| Yel[.]rab.gyi.sde. | Lo.Legs.sroň.la (sroň? |

"Yel-rab regiment: (to) Lo Legs-sroň[s]."

Further mention in M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0038.

1 Three syllables apart and in a different hand.
Zom-sde (High Zom, a Thousand-district in N.E. Tibet: see Vol. 1, p. 278).

107. M.I., xiv, 0061 (wood, c. 7.5 x 2 cm., broken away at r. and at top; remains of hole for string at r.; traces of l.1 of cursive dlu-can script.)

[Φ]| Zom,sde,bl- n | ?

"Zom regiment . . . ."

Note that Zom seems to be different from the Hdzom of the Nob region: see Hdzom-smud(stod)-kyi-sde (supra).

. . . dan-phyin-bahi-sde
Mentioned in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0097.

. . . mkhar-gyi-sde (= Mān-khar-gyi-sde ?)
Mentioned in M. Tāgh., 0289.
See Vol. I